

LIBRARY EDITION
VOLUMES IX-XI

THE STONES OF VENICE
[AND]
EXAMPLES OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF
VENICE

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Allen A. Co. Inc.

The Grand Canal, Venice.

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THE WORKS OF

JOHN RUSKIN

EDITED BY

E. T. COOK

AND

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN



LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD
NEW YORK: LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO
1903

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LIBRARY EDITION

VOLUME IX

THE STONES OF VENICE

VOLUME I

THE
**STONES OF
VENICE**

VOLUME I

THE FOUNDATIONS

BY

JOHN RUSKIN

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS DRAWN BY THE AUTHOR

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD
NEW YORK: LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1903

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Of the additional illustrations, the following have appeared before: the frontispiece in the *Art Journal* (August 1882); Plate C (in separated pieces and by line blocks) in *Literature* (August 24, 1901); Plate D, in *Studies in Both Arts* (1895, Plate 5); facsimile No. 1, in the *Strand Magazine* (December 1895); facsimile No. 2, in the *Strand Magazine* (December 1902).

The drawing of the *frontispiece* was No. 81 in the Ruskin Exhibition at the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, 1901; Plate D was No. 92, and Plate E No. 246 in the same Exhibition.

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¹ The development from the primary forms shown in this figure is worked out in Fig. 64, and Plate 15, Figs. 1–14.

INTRODUCTION TO VOL. IX

The Stones of Venice (contained in Vols. IX.-XI.) is the sequel, chronologically and in subject-matter, to *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. At the time when the earlier book was published, Ruskin had the later already in his mind, and had pledged himself to its production, by announcing it as “in preparation.”¹ He subsequently requested his readers to regard *The Seven Lamps* as only “an introduction” to the later and larger work.² In *The Seven Lamps* he defined certain states of moral temper which were necessary, as he maintained, to the production of good architecture. In *The Stones of Venice* his central theme was to illustrate from the rise and fall of Venetian architecture the working of moral and spiritual forces. “He had,” he says,³ “from beginning to end, no other aim than to show that the Gothic architecture of Venice had arisen out of, and indicated in all its features, a state of pure national faith, and of domestic virtue; and that its Renaissance architecture had arisen out of, and in all its features indicated, a state of concealed national infidelity, and of domestic corruption.” The later book may thus be said to be a particular illustration of general principles laid down in the earlier one. This is a view which Ruskin himself incidentally presents in the preface to the second edition of *The Seven Lamps*. He devoted his more elaborate essay to Venice, not because he desired to put forward Venetian Gothic as “the most noble of the schools of Gothic,” but because the architecture of Venice “exemplifies, in the smallest compass, the most interesting facts of architectural history.”⁴ The first volume of *The Stones of Venice*, entitled “The Foundations,” was concerned—after a prelude setting forth the dominant motives of the whole book—with establishing fundamental principles of criticism—gathered in the main from consideration of architectural construction—which were indeed largely illustrated from the schools of Venice, but which are also applicable to works of architecture generally.

¹ See Vol. VIII. p. li.

² Preface to 2nd edition of *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 7.

³ *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 65.

⁴ See Vol. VIII. p. 13.

The leading ideas in the author's mind were, then, the same in both books. The same also was the impulse which led to the production of the one close upon the other. We have seen¹ how he hurried himself into *The Seven Lamps*, under pressure of the destructive forces of Neglect and "Restoration"; and so now it was his feeling that the charm of Venice was evanescent, his sight of the daily mouldering or rending of its walls, that drove him to postpone the completion of *Modern Painters* once more, until he had deciphered and imparted the lessons of the Stones of Venice. The title—as was often the case with Ruskin—had a double meaning. He hoped to make those Stones touchstones²—tests of the good and the bad in all architecture; crucial examples, too, of the connection between national feeling and national architecture. And, secondly, it was from a city fast falling into ruin that his teaching was to be drawn: "Thy servants think upon their stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust."³ The prophet had no time to lose in uttering his message, for the waves were gaining fast against the STONES OF VENICE.⁴

There was destined, however—as not unusually with Ruskin's eager undertakings—to be some delay. *The Seven Lamps* was published in May 1849; *The Stones of Venice* was not completed till October 1853. The principal cause of the delay was the unexpected difficulty and complexity of the task, as explained in the Preface to this Volume,⁵ to which may be added, as we shall see, the conscientious minuteness of the author's studies. At the outset, however, Ruskin felt the need of a holiday, after the strain of finishing *The Seven Lamps*. On the completion of that book, he went abroad, as we have seen,⁶ with his parents. As he had turned to architecture in relief from studies on *Modern Painters*, so now he sought relaxation from architecture for a while in resuming studies in painting and natural scenery. He went accordingly on his old road by Champagne and Geneva to the Alps. At Chamouni he felt once more at home, and the sense of rest and relief was strong within him, as this extract from his diary shows:—

August 15.—... I never saw the valley look so lovely as it did to-night, with its noble quiet slopes of deep, deep green and grey; and above them the rich orange of the Aiguilles. I know not where else [one sees]

¹ Introduction to Vol. VIII. p. xx.

² See below, ch. i. § 49, p. 57.

³ Quoted in *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. v. (added in the "Travellers' Edition").

⁴ See below, ch. i. § 1, p. 17.

⁵ See below, p. 3.

⁶ Vol. VIII. p. xxxv.

this green and orange, united by purple, as they are at the time when the sun has left the pines and stays on the granite. The great fall was bounding as it did, now with wilder crashes, I thought, as the wind brought its roar to me across the fields—the sweet level fields—all the tenderness of the forest lowland, with the calm and freshness of the mountain, not the hillocky wilderness of Zermatt, nor the ruined desolation of Courmayeur, but all full of peace and joy and power. I was almost in tears as I watched the light declining behind the grand pines' sweep and rugged crest of the noble Breven once more.

It is unnecessary in this introduction to follow him upon this tour, for he has himself elsewhere described it in some detail.¹ Such supplementary particulars as diaries and letters supply are given, not here, but in the introduction to vols. iii. and iv. of *Modern Painters*, because they refer to studies and impressions which made their mark in that work. It was now once more the turn of geology and the varying aspects of field and sky to take first place in his attention. On this tour also he spent several days in the galleries of the Louvre, and wrote elaborate notes on many of the pictures there (printed in a later volume of this edition). His general reading was diligently continued. The diaries and notebooks show, besides his constant study (close and minute) of the Bible, that he was deep in Dante and Aristophanes during this tour; he was also reading Carlyle with particular attention, and among other books which impressed him was the *Nouvelle Héloïse* of Rousseau; it "has given me," he says, "as much pleasure as surprise considering the way it is abused, but I must read more ere I judge."² Perhaps it was the reading of Rousseau that suggested to him an essay which he began to write at Chamouni (July 1, 1849), but did not carry very far, on "Principles of Virtue." At Courmayeur (July 29) he began another on a different subject—"The Uses of Ignorance." It had occurred to him, he notes, owing to "the diminution which my knowledge of the Alps had made in my sublime impressions of them, and by the way in which the investigation of strata and structure reduces all mountain sublimity to mere debris and wall-building."³ The wall-building of the Matterhorn supplied him, however, with materials for some effective pages in this volume (ch. v.); and though his principal interests on this summer tour of 1849 were mountains, clouds and pictures, he did not omit the

¹ *Præterita*, ii. ch. xi. See also *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 90.

² Further study did not altogether alter his view of Rousseau's influence: see *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 92, 93, and compare, at a later date and in a different connection, *Catalogue of the Educational Series*, No. 59. See also *Præterita*, i. ch. vi. § 134; ii. ch. v. §§ 84, 210; *Fiction, Fair and Foul*, § 73.

³ Compare the letter to Mr. C. E. Norton, cited below, p. xxvii.

opportunity, when at Amiens and Dijon, of making minute studies of the architecture in those cities. An occasional passage in his miscellaneous reading shows that the Stones of Venice, and their lessons, were still before his mind. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, he notes after reading her letters,¹ “does not say a word of the buildings, or beauty or history of the place,” but much of its gaieties and pageants; of the heavy play carried on far into the night; of the easy morals and gorgeous spectacles of that “centre of pleasure.” “There is something bitterly melancholy to me,” he adds, “in reading the short sentences which tell so much of pomp, pride and thoughtlessness of what was to come upon them. I had no idea that the magnificence of Venice had endured so long.”

Ruskin had no sooner returned to England with his parents after their Alpine journey than he set out again with his wife, bound for Venice. He showed her Chamouni on the way, and they went slowly through North Italy, arriving in November in Venice, where they established themselves at the Hotel Danieli for the winter.² This sojourn lasted from November to March, and like another sojourn two years later (Sept. 1, 1851-June 29, 1852), was a period of unremitting toil. Ruskin said at a later time that he “gave three years’ close and incessant labour to the examination of the chronology of the architecture of Venice,” and spent “two long winters in the drawing of details on the spot.”³ That this is no exaggeration, his diaries, note-books, sketches, and other graphic memoranda abundantly testify. The labour was fourfold; he read, he observed, he noted and measured, and he drew. He had already gone through, as he elsewhere says,⁴ a “steady course of historical reading”—in Sismondi, Alison, Daru, among other authors—in preparation for *The Stones of Venice*. At Venice itself he delved, with guiding help from Rawdon Brown,⁵ into the archives of the city and into the works of sundry local writers on its art and topography. Such reading may have given him a ground plan, and furnished him with hypotheses *pour servir*; but the conflict of authorities on the chronology of the Ducal Palace, and the absence of trustworthy data or established conclusions in the case of

¹ See *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, edited by Lord Wharncliffe, 3 vols., 1837. She was at Venice at various times between 1739 and 1761.

² The itinerary of the tour of 1849–1850 was as follows: Dijon (Oct. 6), Chamouni (Oct. 17), Milan (Oct. 27), Monza, Lecco (Nov. 1), Verona (Nov. 7), Venice (Nov. 1849-March 1850), Padua (March 7), Vicenza, Verona (March 11), Pavia, Cremona, Genoa, Avignon (March 31), Orange, Valence, Vienne, Lyons, Bourges (April 10). The dates are those which happen to be given in the diary.

³ *A Joy for Ever*, § 141 n.

⁴ *Præterita*, iii. ch. i. § 7.

⁵ For whom see below, p. 420 n.



Studies at the Frari, Venice.

other buildings,¹ speedily threw him back on his own resources; he must take nothing, he perceived, for granted or at second-hand. During this winter of 1849–1850, therefore, and similarly two years later, he devoted himself to close study of all the remaining edifices of the city. The “Venetian Index” (Vol. XI.) covers a great deal of ground, and the book itself bears emphatic evidence to the minuteness of his study; but the results that he garnered for publication, the conclusions at which he ultimately arrived, convey but a faint idea of his preparatory studies. Elsewhere referring to *The Stones of Venice* and his work upon the spot, he says,² “six hundred quarto pages of notes for it, fairly and closely written, now useless. Drawings as many—of a sort; useless too.” This is an under-estimate, and it may be interesting to give an account, from an inspection of the materials still extant, of his method of work.

The greater part of each day, so long as light availed, seems to have been spent out of doors, in measuring and examining the buildings, or in making drawings. He carried with him little square note-books, of a size easily pocketable, in which he entered measurements, contours of mouldings, and the like, with occasionally slight notes of colour. A large number of these books, evidently those in which he made his first notes for *The Stones of Venice*, are preserved at Brantwood. In the evening Ruskin entered up his memoranda and impressions in larger note-books. These are the “quarto pages” mentioned above, and are referred to in this edition as “the diary.” In them, all important measurements were entered; distinctive or remarkable features of each building examined during the day were fully noted; and suggestions or impressions were written out. He avoided foregone conclusions. He often notes such and such an observation as provisional, requiring further examination or subsequent comparison with other buildings.³ As the work progressed, cross-references were supplied, and at the end, each volume of the Venetian diary was fully indexed. Ruskin, when he came to write the ultimate treatise, spoke by the book.⁴

These written materials represent, however, but half of his preliminary

¹ See Preface below, p. 3.

² *Præterita*, iii. ch. i. § 10

³ For an instance of “a conclusion” altered on further study, see below, p. 292.

⁴ A passage in T. A. Trollope’s *Autobiography* gives the evidence of one who followed in Ruskin’s footsteps: “I spent several mornings in carefully hunting out all the specimens of Byzantine architecture which Ruskin registers as still existing in Venice, and can testify to the absolute exactitude of his topographical and architectural statements. I carefully examined also the examples which he cites as indications of subtle design on the part of the old architects in cases where abnormality and carelessness might be suspected. His facts and measurements I found invariably correct, but am disposed to think that he lets his hobby somewhat run away with him in the imputation of far-fetched and subtle design” (*What I Remember*, vol. iii. p. 217).

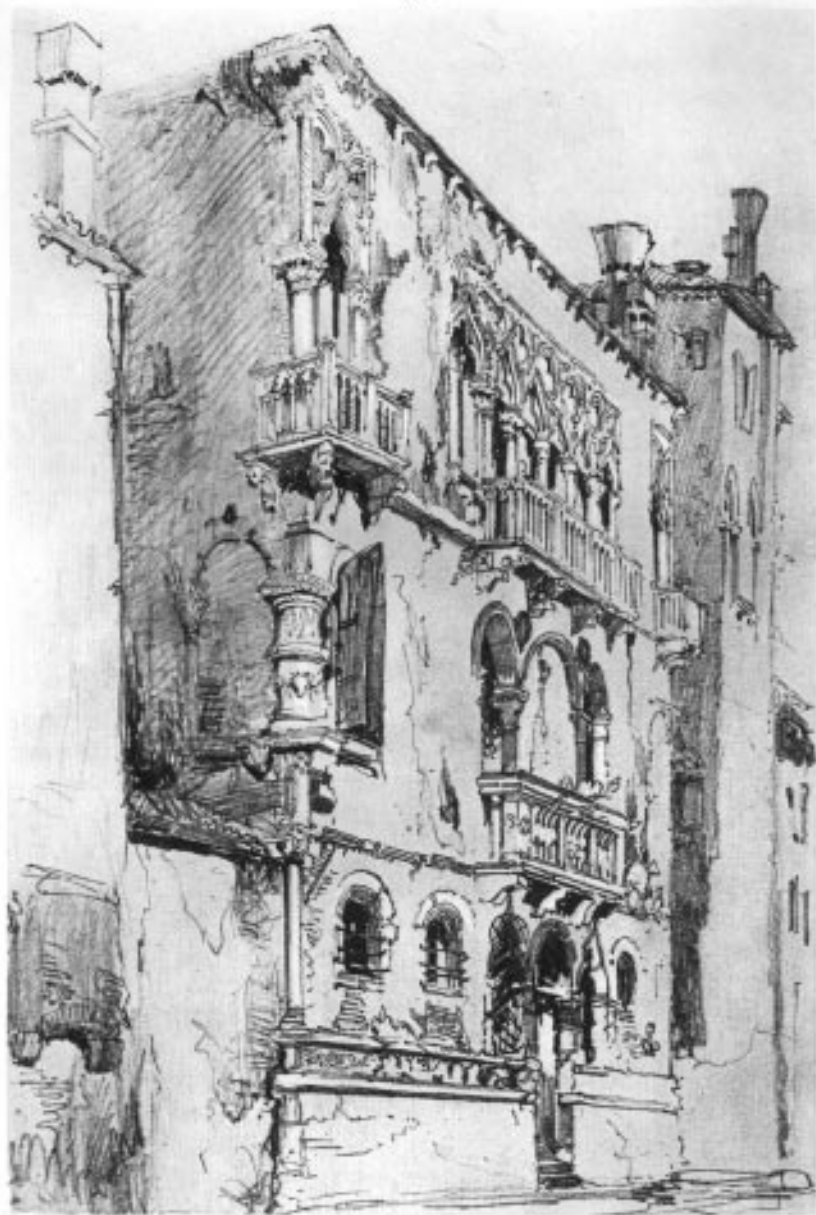
toil. To the plates illustrating the book, reference is made presently (p. xlix.); but the drawings which were engraved are only a few of those that were made. The woodcuts similarly represent only a small number of hundreds of careful diagrams, figures, and sketches of architectural details, which the author drew during the preparation of this book.¹ Sheets with pen drawings on them or with sketches in pencil and wash attached to them, are no doubt fair copies of the author's first graphic memoranda, just as the diaries were of his written notes.

Pre-occupied though Ruskin was with architectural detail, he found time to note also in his diary the broader effects of sea and sky, to which Venice owes no small portion of her charm:—

Tuesday, Nov. 20.—I got chilled to-day as I was drawing in the arcade of Doge's Palace, and ran away to the Rialto to warm myself, . . . [and then on] to the quay of Murano. It was a grey day; the sky lay in calm horizontal bars far to the northern horizon; then it suddenly broke to an open, long gulph of amber green; and against this, clear in rainy air, rose the chains of the Tyrolese Alps—one gloomy, serrated rank of purple grey, so clear that every field of snow was seen on their summits, though untouched by light, and all grim and wild against the sky. But at the end of the range, right over Murano—we being on the quay of the Jesuiti—burning crests of snow were seen mingled among bars of cloud and gaps of sky, relieved against grey sea cloud behind. The sun was seen setting, the calm space of sky changed not—the clouds, as motionless as the hills, and as defined—held up their waved curtain from off the field of gold; and the dark mountain chain, countless in its serration, and gathering together of pointed peaks, lay as sharp and shattered against the amber air, as if it had been a mass of near Highland hills.

Sunday, December 30.—I was to-day rambling, or rather running, among the quiet and melancholy canals which extend between the Madonna dell' Orto and Sta. Fosca:—the winter sun glowing on the deep red brick, and the canal beneath turned into a chasm of light—divided into sharp squares of blue and vermilion, as if the houses were standing on a scarlet carpet. They are lonely and stagnant canals, bordered for the most part by the dead walls of gardens, now waste ground; or by patches of dark mud, with decayed black gondolas lying keel upmost, sinking into the putrid and black ground gradually; or by remnant of palace wall, never finished, of which the doors and the angle shafts alone remain. Farther on, one comes to detached groups of low and filthy houses, with mud paths trodden hard between

¹ Several such sheets covered with notes and drawings and diagrams still remain. There are 166 at Brantwood, and others in the possession of Mr. Wedderburn and Mr. Allen.



Allen & Co. Sc.

Palazzo del Cammello.

them; but through their dark alleys I saw the horizontal brightness of the lagoon sunshine, and over the hard frozen snow made my way down to the shore. The sky was all serene white blue; the lagoon, as calm as a mirror, reflected it in a metallic aqua marine; only its strong tide was seen gliding and curdling in one flat mass of shallow water that seemed to move altogether without break or wave, and the far-away islands seemed gliding the opposite way. The water was not bright, only lustrous and of delicate metallic colour,—for the sun was too low to make it luminous, and the lower sky was hazy, and all of deep tone, so deep that Murano and St. Cristoforo, which caught the sunset light full, seemed coming out of the dark haze in one long bar of crimson light, which the eye felt, even when it was directed elsewhere, in its constant and intense presence. Far away out of the mist the endless range of the Alps lifted their jagged ridge of silver; melting into orange light towards the west, where the flat mainland showed its dark line across their ghostly distance: the single square mass of the Church of Mestre being the only object that broke its monotony. Close beside me, the green clear sea-water lay quietly among the muddy shingles of the level shore, so calm that it made a little islet at the edge of it, of every stone; as clear as a mountain stream and with here and there a large block of marble marking the outmost foundations of Venice.

It was a favourite theme with Ruskin that all ornament should be based on the animal or organic kingdom. Here, too, in the midst of his notes on Venetian architecture, it is interesting to come across a description of the sea-gulls and their colours:—

“It was lovely to see them in the grey darkness of the snowy sky with the deep local green of the sea—the dark canal reflected on their white under bodies in a dim chrysoprase, opposed to the purple grey of their backs. Their wings are edged with white in front, and they were pausing continually at one or two feet above the water, flapping their wings slowly like moths.”

But by the time his work was done, Ruskin's impressions—if we may trust his recollections in a letter of a somewhat later date—had lost their brightness; Venice had become to him all mouldings—and mud. The piece is worth giving here, as showing (behind an obvious and a characteristic strain of humorous exaggeration) the inconveniences and vexations under which his Venetian work was done. He is writing to a friend at Venice:—

May, 1859.— . . . I went through so much hard, dry, mechanical toil there, that I quite lost, before I left it, the charm of the place. Analysis is an abominable business. I am quite sure that people who

work out subjects thoroughly are disagreeable wretches. One only feels as one should when one doesn't know much about the matter. If I could give you for a few minutes, as you are floating up the canal just now, the kind of feeling I had when I had just done my work, when Venice presented itself to me merely as so many "mouldings," and I had few associations with any building but those of more or less pain and puzzle and provocation;—Pain of frost-bitten finger and chilled throat as I examined or drew the window-sills in the wintry air; Puzzlement from said window-sills which didn't agree with the doorsteps, or back of house which didn't agree with front; and Provocation from every sort of soul or thing in Venice at once,—from my gondoliers, who were always wanting to go home, and thought it stupid to be tied to a post in the Grand Canal all day long, and disagreeable to have to row to Lido afterwards; from my cook, who was always trying to catch lobsters on the doorsteps, and never caught any; from my valet-de-place, who was always taking me to see nothing, and waiting by appointment at the wrong place; from my English servant, whom I caught smoking genteelly on St. Mark's Place, and expected to bring home to his mother quite an abandoned character; from my tame fish, who splashed the water all over my room and spoiled my drawings; from my little sea-horses, who wouldn't coil their tails about sticks when I asked them; from a fisherman outside my window who used to pound his crabs alive for bait every morning, just when I wanted to study morning light on the Madonna della Salute; from the sacristans of all the churches, who never used to be at home when I wanted them; from the bells of all the churches, which used always to ring most when I was at work in the steeples; from the tides, which were never up, or down, at the hour they ought to have been; from the wind, which used to blow my sketches into the canal, and one day blew my gondolier after them;¹ from the rain, which came through the roof of the Scuola di San Rocco; from the sun, which blistered Tintoret's Bacchus and Ariadne every afternoon at the Ducal Palace; and from the Ducal Palace itself, worst of all, which wouldn't be found out, nor tell one how it was built. (I believe this sentence had a beginning somewhere, which wants an end someotherwhere; but I haven't any end for it, so it must go as it is.)

There was only one place in Venice which I never lost the feeling of joy in—at least the pleasure which is better than joy; and that was just half way between the end of the Guidecca and St. George of the seaweed, at sunset. If you tie your boat to one of the posts there you can see the Euganeans, where the sun goes down, and all the Alps and Venice behind you by the rosy sunlight: there is no other spot so beautiful. Near the Armenian convent is, however, very good also;

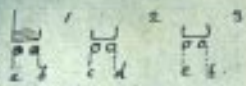
¹ For this incident, see *Academy Notes*, 1859, No. 160.

C
 Casa Farsetti's upper story

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Height of base (2y in figure blue) | 8 = 88. |
| — of shaft | 2 = 4. |
| — of capital, from joint | 1 = 1. |
| — of which (Vp) | 2 = 5. |
| Span of arch (Vv) | 3 = 9. |
| Circumference of small shaft at base | 1 = 5 1/4 or 10 1/2 |
| — — — — — in feet up | 1 = 4. |
| Diameter of pilaster | 1 = 1 3/4 |
| Interval between pair of shafts | 4 = 1. |



Interval of column shafts in pairs (Vv) 8 = 3
 Width of molding on abacus (Vv) 1 = 5 3/4



Let a be side of base, upper story: The breadth of each pair of shafts with their interval, which is about 3 inches, is always 1-1.

Call the intervals Bc, Dc, Dc, 1, 2, bc, counts from left to right.

| | |
|---------------------------|------|
| Row top 1, 2, 3, each one | 3-7 |
| 4 " | 3-5 |
| 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. | 4-1. |
| 12 | 3-5 |
| 13, 14, 15 | 3-6 |



the city is handsomer, but the place is not so simple and lovely. I have got/all the right feeling back now, however; and hope to write a word or two about Venice yet, when I have got the mouldings well out of my head—and the mud. For the fact is, with reverence be it spoken, that whereas Rogers says: “There is a glorious city in the Sea,” a truthful person must say, “There is a glorious city in the Mud.” It is startling at first to say so, but it goes well enough with marble, “Oh Queen of Marble and of Mud.”¹

And to Ruskin’s other labours at Venice must be added a labour of love—namely his unfailing daily letter to his father or mother. The series written during the winter of 1849–1850 has not been found among those preserved at Brantwood; the series for the following winter would make a volume hardly less substantial than the present. Among the papers of W. H. Harrison there is, however, a copy of one letter of the earlier period which must have been sent by J. J. Ruskin for his friend’s perusal. This also gives a lively account of the difficulties which Ruskin experienced in his work:—

VENICE, *Sunday, 23rd December.*

MY DEAREST FATHER,—The cold weather has come back again, but I hope will not stay except to make Xmas look like itself, which, by-the-bye, it does far more than I expected or thought probable in Italy. Their poultry here is very fine, and the Rialto and adjacent streets are lined by stands of it with black feathers in the tails—not unsatisfactory in general effect; there were, too, some specimens of beef in the richer quarters, and the apples and chestnuts make a goodly show everywhere. But there can be little of the merriment of Xmas here—they have as you say, suffered much, and lost all, or nearly so; and the more I see of the town—and I have now explored almost every corner of it—the more my fixed impression is of hopeless ruin; fully concealed by scabbles of whitewash—or by bad new brickwork—but ruin alike of palace and cot.

A week or two ago I commissioned my valet-de-place to obtain permission for me to draw the windows of the Palazzo Bernardo; he went, as he said, to the Count Bernardo, and I had hope for once of being admitted into a palace by the permission of its rightful owner. I was so—and found myself in a well-furnished room, with, however, the unsuitable adjunct of some clothes drying outside, the window not being the one I wanted. I asked to go upstairs. Alas, the Count owned but a single flat in his family palace—and I have now to get permission from the lodger above. In my walk to-day I passed through

¹ Letter to Professor Charles Eliot Norton, given in his Introduction to the “Brantwood” edition of *The Stones of Venice* (Travellers’ Edition), p. ix.

some of the outskirts of the city towards the mainland. I had little conception of anything so grass-grown or melancholy—all ruined walls—neglected patches of garden surmounted by rotten stakes, or heaps of refuse and plots of waste land—heaps and banks of kneaded mud or fallen walls—not even the picturesque nets of Italy to redeem it, the look was of the kind of place in the outskirts of London which are the shrines of Warren’s blacking and Parr’s pills. I see no hope for better things—the indolence of the people is unconquerable. Mr. Brown recommended me one man as the only one who knew *anything* of those connected with the library in the Ducal Palace. I asked him, among other matters, whether the windows, which have now no tracery in them, ever had any. Never, he said—there was not the slightest trace of it. These windows require ladders to get up to them and are difficult in the opening—so it struck me as quite possible that nobody might have taken the trouble to look. Yesterday I went for this special purpose—got the library steps and opened all the windows, one after another, round the palace. I found the bases of the shafts of the old tracery—the holes for the bolts which had fastened it—the marks of its exact diameter on the wall—and finally, in a window at the back, of which I believe not one of the people who have written on the place know so much as the existence, one of its spiral shafts left—capital and all. The librarian asked me afterwards “whether I had found any marks;” I said, “a few traces, certainly,” but told him nothing about my spiral shaft; he may go and look himself, if he likes.

The historical records about the palace are one mass of confusion. The name of its designer is not known; the builder was said to be a man who was hanged on the pillars of it, *Calendario*;¹ but by other accounts he was hanged before it was built—and most of the accounts agree in proving that the top was built before the bottom. I got sick of this sort of thing, and set to work, to separate its sculpture into classes, and I have got internal evidence of six different periods of work upon it—and of more than one architect in several of the periods—these broad facts I shall give in order, and let them quarrel about who was who, as they like. I have been reading my mother’s book to-day, the use of the body in relation to the mind, with great pleasure—though it bores me with its metaphysics, which are not good enough to be worth the trouble of thinking out. Its morality is very nice.

Dearest love to her.

Ever, my dearest Father,
Your affectionate son,
J. RUSKIN.

¹ See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. appendix 1.

The winter of 1849–1850 passed, and Ruskin was still only in the middle of his work for *The Stones of Venice*. His parents, however, were not in good health, and he set his face homewards once more, returning by Genoa and the South of France, and staying for a few days on the road to study the cathedrals of Valence, Vienne, Lyons, and Bourges. After a visit to the old people at Denmark Hill, Ruskin and his wife settled at their house in Park Street for the season. Ruskin was now one of the literary figures of the day, and the circle of his literary acquaintance was widening. He was a member, but not an habitu , of the Athen um Club. Of Rogers, to whom he had been introduced as a boy, he saw a good deal. He was on terms of friendship with Coventry Patmore, and through him he presently became known to the Brownings. His personal devotion to Carlyle was also now beginning. Nor did he hold entirely aloof from the distractions of general society. His impressions of a crush are lively, and might have been written by Dickens:—

MY DEAREST MOTHER,—Horrible party last night—stiff—large—dull—fidgety—strange—run-against everybody—know-nobody sort of party. Naval people. Young lady claims acquaintance with me. I know as much of her as of Queen Pomare.¹ Talk. Get away as soon as I can—ask who she is—Lady Charlotte Elliott—as wise as I was before. Introduced to a black man with chin in collar. Black man condescending. I abuse several things to black man, chiefly the House of Lords. Black man says he lives in it—asks where I live—I don't want to tell him—obliged. Black man asks, (*sic*)—go away and ask who he is. Mr. Shaw Lefevre—as wise as I was before. Introduced to a young lady—young lady asks if I like drawing—go away and ask who she is—Lady Something Conyngham. Keep away with back to the wall and look at watch. Get away at last—very sulky this morning—Hope my father's better—dearest love to you both.—Ever, my dearest mother, your most affec. son,

JOHN RUSKIN.²

Ruskin and his wife went also to Court, and the occasions are described in letters to his father:—

PARK ST., 4 o'clock, *May* 1850.

MY DEAREST FATHER,—I got through excellently well, and I believe did what was right—and I *thought* that Prince Albert put something

¹ Queen Pomare of Otaheite (Society Islands) was one of the actors in the "Pritchard affair," which had caused some political excitement a few years before the date of this letter. The Queen had made a treaty with France, providing for the occupation of the island, but Mr. Pritchard, consul and medical man to the Queen, persuaded her to repudiate it and to appeal for English protection.

² This letter has previously been printed in W. G. Collingwood's *Life and Work of John Ruskin*, 1900, pp. 122–123, where also the two following letters are given (run however into one, and with some omissions).

like markedness into his bow, but that may be his general manner. The Queen looked much younger and prettier than I expected—very like her pictures, even like those which are thought to flatter most—but I only saw the profile—I could not see the front face as I knelt to her, at least without an upturning of the eyes, which I thought would be unseemly—and there were but some two to three seconds allowed for the whole affair. After waiting an hour and three-quarters I think they really might allow people a quarter of a minute each, and time them off. The Queen gave her hand very graciously, but looked bored; poor thing, well she might be, with about a quarter of a square mile of people to bow to.

I met two people whom I have not seen this many a day—Kildare and Scott Murray¹—had a chat with the former and a word with Murray but nothing of interest. Dearest love to my mother.—Ever, my dearest father, your most affec. son,

JOHN RUSKIN.

MY DEAREST FATHER,—We got through gloriously, though at one place there was the most awkward crush I ever saw in my life—the pit at the Surrey, which I never saw, may, perhaps, show the like—nothing else. The floor was covered with the ruins of ladies' dresses, torn lace, and fallen flowers; but Effie was luckily out of it, and got through unscathed, and heard people saying, "What a beautiful dress!" just as she got up to the Queen. It was fatiguing enough, but not so *awkward* as I expected. Effie had no difficulty nor was in any embarrassment. I hope to be out to-morrow early. Dearest love to my mother.—Ever, my dearest father, your most affec. son,

JOHN RUSKIN.

The gaieties of the London Season did not conduce to speedy progress with his book, nor, it would seem, to his satisfaction in any respect. In a letter to his father of Feb. 8, 1852, containing an account of his stewardship of time and health, he says that in the spring of 1850 he "came home very well and set to write my book. But then came three months of society, and late hours; then after a little useless trip in the autumn, good hard work and a great deal of worry with the engravers, writing *Stones of Venice* all winter."

The "worry with the engravers" was no inconsiderable portion of the work which Ruskin gave himself in preparing *The Stones of Venice* and the later volumes of *Modern Painters*. He took legitimate pride in being the only considerable author of the time who was competent to

¹ Christ Church friends: see *Præterita*, i. ch. xi. § 236.

illustrate his own books, and the same minute pains that went to the production of the letterpress were thrown also into the plates and woodcuts. The Index to the Plates and Woodcuts introduced in this edition will show from how many places and buildings the illustrations were drawn. There was, first, the work on the spot in making careful studies and attaining the utmost exactitude. He has explained his practice in this matter in an appendix to *The Two Paths*, where reproductions are given of his detail-studies for the frontispiece (“Iron work of Bellinzona”) to that volume.¹ Among the MSS. of that work is some additional matter intended for the same appendix, illustrating the point further by reference to a Plate (No. 17, lower portion) and a woodcut (Fig. 18) in the present volume, both depicting two pillars in San Zeno, Verona. His drawing was founded, he explains, on a careful series of studies, and he contrasts his work with the less deliberate illustration in another book of the day.² The original drawing for the woodcut in question, with Ruskin’s notes at the time for corrections to be made by the engraver, enables us to illustrate the trouble which he took in such matters; the proof was bought by Mr. Allen, with other things of the same kind, in 1878, when Ruskin added the signature and the words at the bottom of the sheet.³ Another facsimile here given is of Ruskin’s drawing for Fig. 7 (not 9), in the present volume; it shows how carefully he drew these figures for the engravers.⁴ The same care he expected from them. His work in this matter was increased by the folio series of more elaborate plates, entitled *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, which he was preparing for publication at the same time; the “Examples” are, in this edition, reproduced in the third volume of the *Stones*.

Steady work at home through the winter of 1850–1851 enabled Ruskin to complete the first volume, and he determined to publish it forthwith, in advance of the rest of the book, for which at that time he supposed that a second volume would suffice. The first volume might, indeed, apart from the introductory and the concluding chapter, stand by itself as an independent work; but the method of publication was probably antagonistic to its immediate success and ready sale. The volume was published on March 3, 1851; the sale of it was slow, and no second edition was called for until 1858. The *Stones of Venice*, in its completed form, is

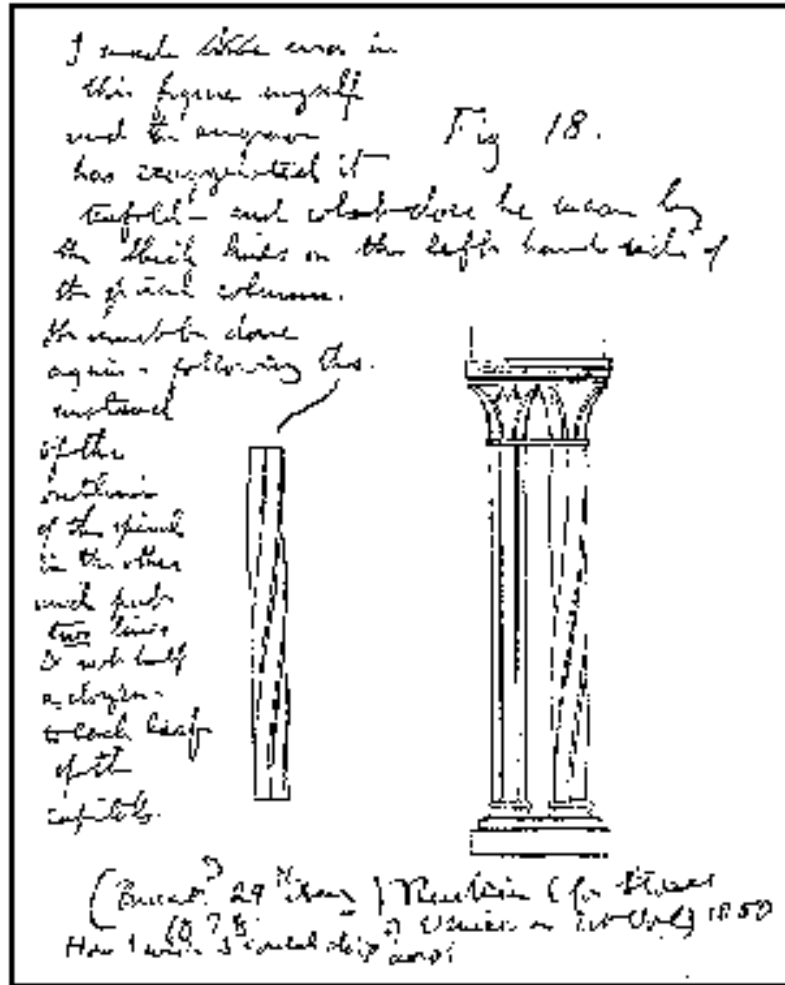
¹ The frontispiece and appendix appeared only in the first edition (1859); they are reprinted from the original plates in this edition.

² G. E. Street’s *Brick and Marble Architecture of Italy* (1855); for another criticism of which work in the same sense, see *A Joy for Ever*, § 141 n.

³ Previously published (on a reduced scale) in *The Strand Magazine*, December 1902.

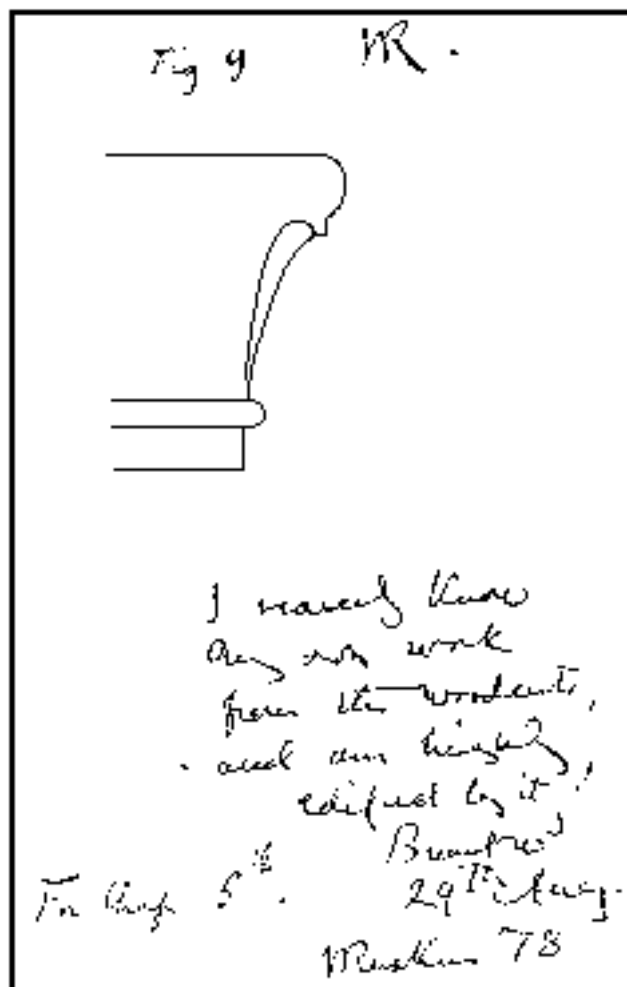
⁴ Previously published in *The Strand Magazine*, December 1895.

one of the two most stately monuments of Ruskin's genius. None of his other books contains passages of richer eloquence; and of all, it is the most orderly in treatment. The analyses, and arrangements, and classifications, and definitions in which this volume abound are very characteristic of the man. He loved putting a subject, or a room, in order;



and got the latter untidy again very quickly. The same fate sometimes overtook his literary arrangements; but *The Stones of Venice* is orderly and methodical throughout. That the foundations should be well and truly laid is essential to any great work; but the foundations, even of the noblest pile, lose some of their attractiveness apart from the superstructure. Moreover, the foundations are not the place for ornament; and this first volume has few of the purple patches which Ruskin's readers had come to

expect from him. Among even the most sympathetic, there was some disappointment at the comparative dryness of the theme. The author's father was in that company, and had fears lest even the remaining volumes should be too stiff for the popular taste. Ruskin bade him wait for the completion of the book, and at the same time entered upon some explanations



which are of interest as showing the spirit in which the author had addressed himself to this Venetian work:—

VENICE, January 18, 1852.—I don't think my powers are diminished; the only passages in the whole of *The Stones of Venice* [Vol. I.] which I finished as highly as I could are the opening page, the little bits about the Matterhorn in the 5th chapter, and the 17th paragraph of

the 21st, and I think they will bear comparison with anything in *The Seven Lamps*, though they do not treat of such high matters. There may perhaps be a little want of spirit in me at present, owing partly to the watching my health, and partly to the various little mortifications and anxieties which, while they do not disturb me in any straightforward work of inquiry and examination, may perhaps, without my knowing it, deaden the tone, and render lax the spring of a written sentence—just as they might a little deaden the eye or lower the voice. But I trust when you see the whole book together, with such retouching as I may be able to give it at home, that you will not think my twelve months in Venice have been misspent. I should say that I have great confidence in producing an impression with it, but my confidence has been now too often disappointed. I thought all *The Seven Lamps* would have sold within a year after the book was published; and though I did not suppose myself to have as many friends as the hare,¹ I thought there were more than fifteen people in London who would have given a guinea for five drawings with which I had taken all the pains I could. So I will be confident no more, but finish what has cost me thus much labour as well as I can, and then trouble myself as little as I can about it.

VENICE, *Feb.* 18, 1852.—I am sorry you are not at all interested in my antiquarianism, but I believe you will like the book better when you see it finished; at all events, it would be foolish to abandon the labour of two whole years, now that it is just approaching completion. I cannot write anything but what is in me and interests me. I never could write for the public—I never have written except under the conviction of a thing's being important, wholly irrespective of the public's thinking it so; and all my power, such as it is, would be lost, the moment I tried to catch people by fine writing. You know I promised them no Romance, I promised them stones. Not even bread. I do not *feel* any Romance in Venice. It is simply a heap of ruins, trodden under foot by such men as Ezekiel describes, xxi. 31;² and *this* is the great fact which I want to teach,—to give Turner-esque descriptions of the thing would not have needed ten days' study or residence. I believe that what I have done will be found useful at last. You say Fergusson and others can give details. Yes, but they can't put the details together; besides they are not here to do it. If Fergusson

¹ See Gay's *Fables*, No. 50 ("The Hare and many Friends"); and so Swift (*Libel on Dr. Delany*):—

Thus Gay the hare with many friends
Twice seven long years the court attends.

² "And I will pour out mine indignation upon thee; I will blow against thee in the fire of my wrath, and deliver thee into the hand of brutish men, and skilful to destroy."

and Cockerell were both at work on Venice, I should not be; but the one works in India, the other in Greece.¹ No one is inclined to work here, but I.

So little true is it, then, that Ruskin was a professional word painter or popularity-hunting rhetorician. With him, as perhaps with all other masters of a noble style, the thing to be said came before the manner of saying it; though, to be sure, that also exercised in due place his most careful skill.

“I have aimed chiefly,” he says in the original preface to this volume, “at clear intelligibility; that any one, however little versed in the subject, might be able to take up the book, and understand what it meant forthwith.” In this aim the volume is eminently successful. To its accomplishment the author devoted the utmost care. There is not a page in the MS. which does not bear marks of his desire to clarify the turning of phrases, and to find the most simply appropriate words. But it is possible to be both clear and dull. Ruskin, however, could not be dull. Technical though most of the subject-matter is, the volume is redeemed from severity not merely by occasional passages of imaginative eloquence, but by originality of treatment and brightness of style. Nothing is taken for granted; the reader is at every stage brought down to the foundations and invited to exercise his own judgment, free from the authority or prejudices of the schools. And everywhere, too, the style, though restrained and simple, is instinct with vivacity and allusive interest. Ruskin was never pedestrian, though it may be admitted that he sometimes moved on stilts. The second volume of *Modern Painters*, for instance, is by no means free, as its author perceived,² from a certain affectation. With regard to the present volume, one of the least well-disposed of his contemporary critics had to admit that it was written “with great ease, spirit, and clearness. There is a racy vigour in every page.”³ Ruskin’s own criticism of the volume, on re-reading it at Venice, was given in a letter to his father (Sunday, Feb. 29, 1852) and may be allowed to stand:—

“Opened at [first] breakfast my *Stones of Venice*. It led me on, and I did not lay it down till near prayer time, and now I must finish my letter for the post. I find it a most interesting book—not at all dull—and it gives me a great impression of reserved power, on coming to it with a fresh ear. I am quite sure it will sell eventually.”

¹ For Fergusson, see below, p. 440; the reference here is to his *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindustan* and other works on Indian antiquities. For Cockerell, see below, p. 430.

² See Vol. IV. pp. xliii.–iv.

³ *Blackwood’s Magazine*, September 1851, in the course of the article already mentioned (Vol. VIII. p. xxxix.).

The Stones of Venice marks in this matter the beginning of a transition to the style of Ruskin's middle period.

In one or two other respects this volume may be noticed as significant of later studies and characteristics. Ruskin was perhaps neither fitted by genius nor equipped by his education for close historical research; but he was fond of taking bird's-eye views. The sketch of Venetian history in the opening chapter of this volume is the first of many outlines of the kind, some of which he roughed out in his printed works, while others were only planned. The Notes on Frederick the Great at the end of *The Crown of Wild Olive*, *Val D'Arno*, *The Bible of Amiens*, the extensive scheme for the work (*Our Fathers have Told Us*) of which that was intended to be a part, and the sweeping, if somewhat loosely-knit, survey in *The Pleasures of England* will occur to his readers as examples. Ruskin, it has been well remarked, "thought in Encyclopædias, comprising Man and Nature in one library."¹ Already in this volume of *The Stones of Venice* we see his thoughts and interests and literary activity branching out in all directions. The number of the Appendices (25), into many of which he threw his notes and thoughts on extraneous subjects, is significant. One sees his mood in a passage in the Preface. A day does not pass, he says, "without causing me to feel more bitterly the impossibility of carrying out to the extent which I should desire, the separate studies which general criticism continually forces me to undertake." His friendship with Newton directed him towards Greek art (Appendix 21), and here we may see the beginning of the studies afterwards developed in *Aratra Pentelici*, *The Queen of the Air*, and various scattered lectures. His thoughts on Church questions, suggested by the connection between Romanism and Christian art, overflow into a separate pamphlet—*The Construction of Sheepfolds*; while into another Appendix (14) he flings a classification "of the mind and body of man in the sciences and arts."

The first volume of *The Stones of Venice* sold, as we have said, very slowly. *The Examples of Venetian Architecture* moved more slowly still. The original price of this volume (Two Guineas) was against its popular sale; but the expense of both works, meanwhile, had been very heavy,² and Ruskin's father—who was his son's literary agent, and also had to meet any debts—permitted himself (as we may surmise

¹ Frederic Harrison's *John Ruskin*, p. 158.

² Mr. William Rossetti states, on the authority of a conversation in 1866 with Howell (at one time Ruskin's secretary), that *The Stones of Venice* cost its author £12,000 (*Rossetti Papers*, 1903, p. 195). If that figure be correct, it no doubt included the outlay upon *The Examples of Venetian Architecture*. Perhaps, too, it included the cost of Ruskin's sojourns at Venice.

from passages in the son's letters) an occasional grumble on this score. The publisher also was despondent. "I got a letter from Mr. Smith yesterday," wrote Ruskin (Dec. 5, 1851), "very polite and kind as usual, but containing the somewhat unpleasant information that neither the *Stones* nor *Pre-Raphaelitism*¹ are selling. I am always 'going to write something that is to carry off the dead weight with it,' and never doing it. I must really make this second volume as popular as I can, and put a few plates in it and pretty ones. There is no use in writing fine books, if nobody will read them." "I am much appalled," he writes again (Dec. 19), "by the idea of the December account for my unfortunate folio publication, I must really mind very seriously what I am about. Still, I do not think that I shall lose by it in the long run; at all events, the public shall not have it cheap, however long they hold off." Meanwhile the author's expenses at Venice were running up into large figures. "I am really very sorry," he writes (Jan. 16, 1852), "and getting somewhat uncomfortable—one may be sorry without being fidgety, but I am getting fidgety too—at the continual drain I am making upon your purse, giving you no return." In the long run, Ruskin's books, and *The Stones of Venice* among them, were to prove very lucrative to their author; but it was not so at first, nor, as we have seen, did he attempt to make his works popular either by lowering the standard of what he deemed it important to say, or by deliberately indulging in fine writing. What he claimed for himself in later years is fully borne out by the inner history, as we are now able to follow it, of his literary life. He had "never," he once wrote, "written a word either for money or for vanity, nor even in the careless incontinence of the instinct for self-expression."²

The slow sale of the volume, and his father's disappointment, caused Ruskin to feel considerable chagrin at the tone of some of the reviews of *The Stones of Venice* (vol. i.). This appears in several letters to his father. The following is of particular interest, because the reviewer in question was himself a distinguished man of letters:—

(VENICE, *October 16th*, 1851.)—I have to-day yours with the *Edinburgh Review* which is marvellously dull, and I think about the most impertinent—next to the *Economist*³—that has come out. Fancy their coolly saying that my next volume will be much improved if I engraft their opinions on mine, but that otherwise—for this they

¹ See below, p. xlvi.

² *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 85, January 1878.

³ The *Economist* did not notice the *Stones of Venice*; the allusion must be, therefore, to a review of *Pre-Raphaelitism* (August 23, 1851) which was somewhat contemptuous in tone.

imply—it will not be fit to be published.¹ If the man who wrote that could enter into my mind, and see the sort of grasp that those ten years living among stones has given to it! I think they *will* be a little taken aback at last when they see the way that the short sentences which they call inconsiderate are fallen back upon again and again in this new volume, and form foundation for all manner of unexpected truth,—and when they begin to feel how far I was looking beyond them all, when I wrote them.

The reviewer whose “impertinence” thus angered Ruskin was his friend Coventry Patmore.² The fact was disclosed by Patmore in a letter to Ruskin’s father, explaining that certain passages had been subjected to editorial alteration in a sense unfriendly to Ruskin.³ But Patmore had written another review of the volume in the *British Quarterly*⁴ praising it as “his most valuable performance,” and this

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, October 1851, a review of *The Seven Lamps and Stones of Venice*, vol. i., entitled, “Sources of Expression in Architecture,” vol. 94, pp. 365–403. The particular passage referred to by Ruskin is as follows: “An attentive perusal of ‘The Foundations’ has served to convince us that Mr. Ruskin’s ideas upon this subject require considerable modification; and we venture to hope that the forthcoming part of the work, unless it is already in an advanced stage of preparation, may have its utility increased by the adoption into its system of certain widely practised, but hitherto imperfectly examined architectural principles, which shall be stated, and briefly explained, in the course of the following pages.”

² Ruskin in his early days had sat under Dr. Andrews (see *Præterita*, i. ch. iv.), whose daughter was Patmore’s first wife. Several letters from Ruskin to Patmore, in addition to those here given, have been printed in Mr. Basil Champney’s *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*, 1900; they will be found in a later volume of this edition.

³ This appears from J. J. Ruskin’s reply to Patmore:—

“DENMARK HILL, 15th Oct. 1851.—MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to thank you for your kind letter of 14th inst. I was not aware of the Article in the *Edinburgh Review* being yours, but I regarded it as a very able and kindly written Essay, and even passed unnoticed the passages you allude to. After such Reviews as *Blackwood*, one gets used to smaller rubs, and the Editor of the *Edinb.* would not be true to his place if he did not shake his Spear or Pepper Box over anything made too mild or bland for his taste. I deemed the notice so important from the acquaintance it manifested with the Subject, that I cut it out and sent it by post to my son at Venice, that he might see it before he was farther advanced in his second volume. He seldom entirely reads Critiques on his writings, unless he is told he can get some information from them. I recommended your essay to him as a very desirable one for him to consider well for his own sake. *Blackwood’s* is useless—merely smart, clever, spiteful and amusing; concocted for a purpose, it purposely mutilates and perverts. I send your Letters to my son, which I am sure he will be much gratified in perusing. I am, my dear sir, yours very truly,

JOHN JAMES RUSKIN.”

“C. K. PATMORE, ESQ.”

This letter has been published in Basil Champneys’ *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 285.

⁴ May, 1851; vol. 51, pp. 476–496.

pleased the author, as will be seen from the letters¹ he sent on the subject to Patmore:²—

DEAR PATMORE,—Best thanks for your most kind review—rather too much influence of friendship in it, I fear, but I think it will do *you* credit also—in several ways: the summary you have given of the historical views in the first chapter is magnificent, I should like to substitute it in the book itself.

I am surprised at your not having noticed one thing, of which I am very conceited, and which I should have thought would have interested you, the account of the nature of the Cusp.³ Whether it be stated for the first time, I know not—but I know I found it out for myself—and lived “pavoneggiando” for a month afterwards.

Kind regards to Mrs. Patmore,

Ever faithfully and gratefully yours,

J. RUSKIN.

I will show fight—*entre nous*, against your Early English capitals, but I daresay your objection on p. 484 is just; I hope it is so. I like your pp. 488 and 489 exceedingly.⁴

MY DEAR PATMORE,—Many thanks for your kind note, just received. I was on the point of writing to you to ask if your review editors gave you a copy of the book—they ought, unquestionably—

¹ Previously published by Basil Champneys, *ibid.*, pp. 286–287.

² The reviewer’s point, as suggested by the title of his article, was that many details, for which other explanations have been given, should be classed as “means of architectural expression”; that much decoration is neither arbitrary ornament (as the Renaissance school treated it) nor the ultimate expression (as Ruskin often suggests) of a merely constructive perfection.

³ See below, p. 167.

⁴ The “summary” of the first chapter is in the *British Quarterly Review*, pp. 478–480. The defence of Early English capitals against Ruskin’s strictures (ch. ix. § 9, 10) is in the *Edinburgh* (p. 394). The “objection on p. 484” is to Ruskin’s proposition that our delight in noble architecture arises largely from conscious reference to the intelligence and imagination of the architect (see below, p. 64). The Reviewer says that this is not his own experience, and continues: “We are persuaded that such reference, had it existed, must have materially lessened the emotion. With respect to Greek architecture, we fully allow that human mind, exquisitely balanced in beauty and power, is everywhere present to our consciousness. Its result upon our feelings, whatever may have been the intent of the builder, is man preaching himself; while the result of Gothic architecture, though Mr. Ruskin denies altogether that the Gothic architects were ‘heavenly-minded,’ is near giving proclamation to ‘the glory of God.’” On pp. 488–9, Patmore denounces “the trick” of the architectural “craft” in palming off dull and ugly buildings on the ground that their patrons if they were learned would perceive their beauties, and reinforces Ruskin’s appeal to people to use their instinctive judgment (see below, p. 62). He introduces, too, a reference to the Pre-Raphaelites. Once let sincerity of judgment be allowed its way, and “the tea-board designs of certain popular artists, in an annual exhibition, will no longer form the foci of hypocritical crowds of admirers, while the faithful labours of a Holman Hunt, or of a Millais, are passed with sneers or laughter, which are insults to nature rather than to these her truest reporters.”

and I have among my artist-friends many who would I believe be glad to have the book and cannot buy it—so that my presentation copies are nearly exhausted: but if your Review don't, I will send you one—only then send me back the sheets you have, that I may get them bound for somebody else—I hope they sent you the plates also, or the text would be of little use to you.

I shall be delighted to have a brush with the *Edinburgh*: and you may tell the Editor so—with my compliments. I will keep a corner of Appendix open for him in the second volume.¹

Yours most truly,
J. RUSKIN.

A later review annoyed Ruskin even more:—

“Don't send me any more critiques,” he writes to his father (Venice, Feb. 27, 1852). “I did not use to be sensitive to criticism. I used to be very angry when I was taxed with being so. But I am so now—partly from being nervous, partly because my works cost me more labour. I could sit down and write a poem, with a good deal of nonsense in it, in a couple of hours; if a reviewer said it was nonsense, I felt he had a right to his opinion and did not care. But when I work over a volume for two years, and weigh *every word* in it, and a dim-brained rascal like this of the *Guardian*² walks up to me and tells me ‘half of my statements are diametrically opposite to the others,’ simply because the poor long-eared brute cannot see that a thistle has two sides, it *does* worry me considerably, and makes me very angry, and yet depresses me at the same time. Miss Edgeworth says nothing will *satisfy* an author but ‘large draughts of unqualified praise.’ I believe I am getting to be a good deal of this temper: at all events don't send me any more reviews. I have quite enough to spoil my temper in my work.”

In a postscript he returns to the charge:—

“Who is the editor of this *Guardian*? I thought I knew him, and that he was a man of sense. Please ask Smith. I am like Imogen, ‘spirited with a fool, frightened, and angered worse.’ That a man should be able to spell, and not see the difference between religion bettering art, and art bettering religion, and then that the blockhead should give himself airs to me!”

¹ This, however, was not done.

² The *Guardian*, February 18, 1852; a review of *The Stones of Venice*, vol. i., and the *Examples of Venetian Architecture*, parts 1–3. The reviewer, after noticing what he alleged to be contradictions in Ruskin's argument on the connection of art and religion, proceeded to attack “the plates, which to us at least are the least interesting parts of Mr. Ruskin's book. We have also been very much disappointed with the three first

The Guardian, it may be remarked, was especially indignant with Ruskin's "bigotry" against Catholics, and the reader of this volume must allow that he was not exactly conciliatory towards the High Church party, from whom, owing to their interest in the Gothic Revival, he might otherwise have expected the largest measure of support.¹ Still less had he been conciliatory to the architectural profession. Protests from that quarter abounded in the periodical press,² and found further expression in a satirical pamphlet by "an Architect."³ The following extracts from its "Vestibule" will suffice to show the kind of thing:—

"Your book—since reviewers so swear—may be rational,
Still, 'tis certainly not either loyal or national . . .
You rip up reputations, great names you mow down,
And ride roughshod over most folks of renown . . .
O Ruskin! most ruthless, can aught e'er be ruder
Than your scurvy remarks on our old English Tudor? . . .
Your style is so soaring—and some it makes sore—
That plain folks can't make out your strange mystical lore. . .
Of eloquence, you, John, no doubt are the model,
Wherefore more is the pity you deal so in twaddle."

An extract from the prose part of the pamphlet is worth giving as illustrating the professional prejudice against which Ruskin had to fight in his vindication of the earlier Venetian buildings. At the end of the brochure there is a list, showing a merry wit, of "Works promised but not yet produced." It is headed as follows:—

An Attempt to demonstrate the loveliness of St. Mark's at Venice.—By a Candidate for *St. Luke's*.⁴

numbers of the *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, though the two last parts are somewhat better than the first. But powerful and well cast shadows do not reconcile us to uninteresting and poor architecture."

¹ Compare Vol. VIII. p. xlvi.

² See, for instance, two articles, contributed to *The Builder* of May 10 and 24, 1851, under the title "Ruskin and his Reviewers" from the point of view of a professional architect, and challenging the favourable opinions of the volume expressed in other periodicals. The writer was specially indignant at Ruskin's admiration of so "grotesque a pile" as St. Mark's. The editorial review in *The Builder* (March 22, 1851) had been complimentary: "Those who open Mr. Ruskin's new volume, expecting (through its pretty title) to find descriptions and comments on the structures of the sea-girt town, in the brilliant and forcible language of the Oxford graduate,—the city of poetry and art described by an artist and a poet,—will probably feel disappointed; but we caution them against hastily shutting it,—and will promise (however we may differ in various respects with the author) an ample return, in the shape of pleasure and instruction, for any time they may bestow upon its mastery."

³ *Something on Ruskinism; with a "Vestibule" in Rhyme*. By an Architect—London: Robert Hastings, 13 Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, 1851, large 12mo, pp. 51.

⁴ It may perhaps be well to explain, for the benefit of readers who are not Londoners, that St. Luke's is a lunatic asylum (Old Street, City Road).

And similarly in his more serious pages the “Architect” makes of Ruskin’s praise of St. Mark’s a crowning instance of perversity: “In direct opposition to every other critic and architectural writer who has spoken of that edifice, he scruples not to call its facade ‘as lovely a dream as ever filled the human imagination!’¹ After that, we must be impressed, if not with admiration of St. Mark’s, with astonishment at Mr. Ruskin’s notions of loveliness; he being the very first who has ever attributed that quality to an edifice which most others have branded by the epithet ugly, despite the sumptuousness of its materials, and its abundant, yet very unequal, as well as uncouth ornamentation” (pp. 45–46).

Ruskin’s old enemy, the *Athenæum* (March 22, 1851), made a great point, too, of the author’s running counter to so many deeply-rooted ideas. As for his style it was “whimsically studied quaintness and mere fustian rant,” while the argument raised “a question as to the condition of the author’s mind.”²

The general reception of the volume by the press was, however, very favourable; any slowness in the sale certainly could not be attributed to the critics. “I always think,” wrote Ruskin in a humorous strain (October 10, 1851), “the reviews read very well where they quote me and say nothing themselves.” This was in acknowledgment of a review sent by his father from *The Ecclesiologist*, which very handsomely waived the author’s attack on Catholicism (Anglican, as well as Roman) as a regrettable prejudice, and dealt with the volume on its merits by means of appreciative extracts.³ Probably Ruskin’s father did not withhold *all* reviews, and in that case the author might have drunk deep of those “draughts of unqualified praise” of which Miss Edgeworth speaks. One cupful may here suffice. It is from *The Church of England Quarterly* (July 1851, vol. 30, pp. 132–148), which after taking credit for having

¹ See below, p. 55 n.

² The reviewer was very angry with the title of ch. i., “The Quarry,” since “instead of treating as might be expected of the various kinds of stone employed by the Venetians in their structures, it turns out to be,” etc., etc.

³ *The Ecclesiologist*, Aug. 1851, vol. xi. pp. 275–284. In addition to those mentioned in the text the following among other reviews of the volume may be mentioned:—*The Express*, March 15, 1851; *Literary Gazette*, March 22, 1851; *Art Journal*, April 1851 (review signed “H”); *Examiner*, April 12, 1851; *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1851, N. S. vol. 18, pp. 286–292; *Eclectic Review*, May 1851, N.S. vol. i. pp. 591–601; *Architectural Quarterly Review*, June 1851, pp. 51–75; *Christian Observer*, August 1851, vol. 51, pp. 538–553; *Gentlemen’s Magazine*, August 1851, N.S. vol. 36, pp. 130–136; *North British Review*, August 1851, vol. 15, pp. 461–496; *Dublin University Magazine*, September 1851, vol. 38, pp. 253–271; *Free Church Magazine*, Edinburgh, 1851, vol. 8, pp. 196–202. Some of these reviews noticed at the same time *The Construction of Sheepfolds*, and others, the first three parts of *The Examples of Venetian Architecture*.

been the first of the quarterly reviews to recognise Ruskin's genius, and giving an appreciative summary of his new volume, thus continued:—

“We cannot conclude our notice of this remarkable volume without expressing our delight in the contemplation of one with all the allurements to idleness, and the profitless pleasures of fashionable life, which beset the path of a man in his known position, devoting his early and best energies to the illustration and advancement of art, and making all things subservient to the glory of God, dealing out his censures with severity, chiefly on those who have mistranslated the works of the Great Artificer. . . . In all societies, whether of literature, science, or art, we hear his name mentioned with respect, not only by those from whom he differs, but by those whose works he has condemned; and we have before us a letter from an artist of no mean mark, who writes to us in somewhat homely phrase, ‘He has blown me up; but he has spoken the truth, and I hope to profit by it: he is a glorious fellow!’ ”

Cultivated readers, themselves of eminence in letters, were of the same opinion. We have seen already how Mrs. Gaskell and Charlotte Brontë read the earlier volumes of *Modern Painters* together. In sending to her friend the first volume of *The Stones of Venice*, Charlotte Brontë wrote:—“I hope you will find passages in it that will please you. Some parts would be dry and technical were it not for the character, the marked individuality, which pervades every page.” To another correspondent she wrote:—

“The *Stones of Venice* seem nobly laid and chiselled. How grandly the quarry of vast marbles is disclosed! . . . I shall bring with me *The Stones of Venice*; all the foundations of marble and of granite, together with the mighty quarry out of which they were hewn; and, into the bargain, a small assortment of crotchets and dicta—the private property of one John Ruskin, Esq.”¹

Miss Brontë's admiration for Ruskin's work was no doubt passed on to him by Mr. George Smith, the friend and publisher of both. But the encouragement that must have pleased him most was Carlyle's:—

CHELSEA, *March 9, 1851.*

DEAR RUSKIN,—I did not know yesterday till your servant had gone that there was any note in the parcel; nor at all what a feat you had done! A

¹ The two letters are in Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, pocket ed., pp. 383, 368. The passage omitted in the second letter has already been given in Vol. III., p. xxxix.

loan of the gallant young man's Memoirs was what I expected;¹ and here, in the most chivalrous style, comes a gift of them. This, I think, must be in the style *prior* to the Renaissance! What can I do but accept your kindness with pleasure and gratitude, though it is far beyond my deserts? Perhaps the next man I meet will use me as much below them, and so bring matters straight again. Truly I am much obliged, and return you many hearty thanks.

I was already deep in the *Stones*; and clearly purpose to hold on there. A strange, unexpected, and I believe, most true and excellent *Sermon* in *Stones*—as well as the best piece of schoolmastering in *Architectorics*; from which I hope to learn much in a great many ways. The spirit and purport of these critical studies of yours are a singular sign of the times to me, and a very gratifying one. Right good speed to you, and victorious arrival on the farther shore! It is a quite new "Renaissance," I believe, we are getting into just now: either towards new, *wider* manhood, high again as the eternal stars; or else into final death, and the marsh of Gehenna for evermore! A dreadful process, but a needful and inevitable one; nor do I doubt at all which way the issue will be, though which of the extant nations are to get included in it, and which is to be trampled out and abolished in the process, may be very doubtful. God is great; and sure enough, the changes in the "Construction of Sheepfolds," as well as in other things, will require to be very considerable.

We are still labouring under the foul kind of influenza here, I not far emancipated, my poor wife still deep in the business, though, I hope, past deepest. Am I to understand that you too are seized? In a day or two I hope to ascertain that you are well again. Adieu; here is an interruption, here also is the end of the paper.—With many thanks and regards,

[Signature cut away.]²

The *Construction of Sheepfolds*, referred to in Carlyle's letter, was the pamphlet issued at the same time as the present volume (March 6), in which Ruskin carries further an ecclesiastical controversy touched upon in Appendix 12. Its publication brought him into correspondence with Frederic Denison Maurice—an acquaintance which was to have some importance in Ruskin's later career in connection with the Working Men's College. The letters to Maurice, on the subject of "Sheepfolds," of March 30 and April 25, 1851, were privately printed many years later; they will be found following the pamphlet in a later volume of this edition (Vol. XII.). For a rest after the publication of *The Stones of*

¹ Some book in Ruskin's library, which Carlyle had wanted to see.

² This letter is reprinted from Mr. Collingwood's *Life and Work of John Ruskin*, 1900, p. 126, where for "Marsh of Gehenna," here conjecturally read, the word is "mask."

Venice and *The Construction of Sheepfolds*, Ruskin went for a short while to Matlock, and there set to work on revising the first and second volumes of *Modern Painters*, new editions of which were published later in the year.¹ The fame of that book was steadily growing, and in March 1851 its author had the satisfaction of reading in the report of a public banquet² a very complimentary allusion to himself. M. Van de Weyer, the Belgian Minister, in proposing “the Artists and Sir Charles Eastlake,” referred to “Turner, whose genius had inspired the pages of the most eloquent moral and religious book ever published in this or any other age.” It was in the same year that the fairy tale written ten years before—*The King of the Golden River*—was published. This book at any rate had an immediate sale, three editions of it being issued in 1851. In the spring Ruskin made a visit to Cambridge, where, as already described (Vol. VIII. p. xl.), he had architectural talks and rambles with Whewell and Willis. From Cambridge he went to Lincoln, and thence on a visit to Mr. Fawkes at Farnley. His study of the Turner collection there was introduced into the pamphlet next to be mentioned. The Academy Exhibition of 1851 involved Ruskin in new interests which, in more ways than one, were to affect his work and life. This was the championship of the Pre-Raphaelites, which his friend Patmore induced him to undertake, and which led to his forming a friendship with Millais. Letters to *The Times* in defence of the Pre-Raphaelites (May 13 and May 30) were followed up by a pamphlet dealing with their works and also with Turner, which was issued under the title of *Pre-Raphaelitism* on August 13. Both the letters and the pamphlet will be found in a later volume of this edition (Vol. XII.).

These labours, and the distractions of another London season,³ left no time or energy for the continuance of *The Stones of Venice*. Moreover, for the Venetian part of the essay, further study on the spot was necessary. As soon, therefore, as he had written the last page of *Pre-Raphaelitism*, Raphaelitism, Ruskin started (August 4) with his wife for another autumn and winter in Venice. At this point, then, we may break off our account of the book, reserving for the Introduction to its other volumes the story of his further studies as well as some account of the reception and influence of the completed work.

¹ See Bibliographical Notes, Vol. III. p. lviii. and Vol. IV. p. liii. Referring to this visit in a letter to his father from Venice (Nov. 12, 1851) he says: “I found our old inland haunt, Matlock, little changed, and very sweet and quiet, and there seem some beautiful little places about Shropshire and the skirts of Wales.”

² To Macready on his retirement from the stage: see *Times*, March 3, 1851.

³ “I never was in better health in my life,” he writes to his mother from Venice (Oct. 22, 1851), “except that I still feel a little the effects of the London Season.”

The *text* of this volume presents fewer complexities than attend the earlier books. *The Stones of Venice*, in its full form, was not subjected by the author to the frequent and extensive revision which the first two volumes of *Modern Painters* underwent. The only considerable alteration made by him in the present volume was the abridgment of some of the Appendices. In this complete edition, passages thus omitted in the second and later editions, are restored—the fact being in each case stated in a footnote. The few and minor alterations made in the body of the book are enumerated in the Bibliographical Note (p. lix.). In 1879 Ruskin issued the first volume of an abridgment of *The Stones of Venice* as a “Travellers’ Edition.” This edition included, of the contents of the present volume, the first chapter only (“The Quarry”), and to it he appended a few notes. These are here given in their places, being distinguished from the author’s original notes by the addition of the date, thus: [1879]. The date is that of the first publication of the edition in question; but the notes were for the most part written in 1876–1877.

The *manuscript* of this volume to which the editors have had access is in the possession of Mr. George Allen. It is written on some four or five hundred leaves of blue foolscap. Some remarks on the evidence of careful revision supplied by this MS. have already been made (above, p. xxxvii.), and a few illustrative examples are given in footnotes to the text (see, *e.g.*, pp. 212, 228, 272, 353). The Allen MSS. include also several unpublished passages or discarded drafts. These are for the most part either incomplete or of little interest; a passage which seemed worth publication is given as a footnote to chapter ii. (pp. 62–63). A *facsimile* of the first page of the MS. of this volume is given between pp. 16 and 17.

The *illustrations* in this volume comprise (1) all that appeared in the original edition, (2) together with several now published for the first time. It has been thought better in a work so familiar as *The Stones of Venice* not to re-number the plates; the new ones are therefore distinguished by letters (A-E). The original illustrations from Ruskin’s drawings were of three kinds: (*a*) coloured lithographs, (*b*) engravings (mezzotint or line), and (*c*) woodcuts. With the coloured plates in the second and third editions Ruskin was far from satisfied: “I should tell you,” he wrote to a friend, “that the *coloured* plates in the *Stones of Venice* do great injustice to my drawings; the patches are

worn on the stones.”¹ It is hoped that in the present edition a more satisfactory result has been obtained. The original drawings for many of the engraved illustrations in *The Stones of Venice* were given by Ruskin to Lady Simon, from whom they passed to Herbert, youngest son of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Severn. They are now at Brantwood, and have been used by the lithographers in preparing the coloured plates for this edition. Any one who compares, say Plate I., in the first and in the second or third edition, will see in a moment how very poor the latter is in colour and general effect. But even in the first edition the coloured plates do not very correctly reproduce the original drawings. A comparison of the first edition with the present chromo-lithographs will reveal many differences, especially noticeable in the tones and detail of the backgrounds, and in the case of Plate XIX. in the general scheme of colour; in all such respects the present reproductions are the more faithful. Any reader who has access to an original edition of the volume, and who will compare Plate V. there with the corresponding plate in this edition, will note that in the latter shading has been introduced in the arches and the quatrefoil above them: this effect is inserted in accordance with shading pencilled in by Ruskin on the plate in Mr. Allen’s copy of the first edition. The present series of chromo-lithographs are, it should be added, within half-an-inch of the size of the original drawings.

The other engravings (with the exception of No. XX. printed from the original plate) are reproduced by photogravure from early impressions of the plates used in the first edition; the plates of sections, etc., have, however, been rendered by a line process which had not then attained its present perfection. The original drawings in Mr. Herbert Severn’s possession are very beautiful examples of Ruskin’s refinement of hand; the studies of capitals (Plate 8 in the next volume) in particular, done with a fine brush, are extraordinarily delicate. Certainly the engravers added nothing to his workmanship. The other illustrations, printed with the text, which, in the edition of 1886 and later were reproduced by electrotpe process, are in this printed from the original woodcuts.

As this is the volume in which Ruskin first employed engravers² (for the plates in the *first* edition of *Seven Lamps* were etched by himself), a few words may here be given to the men whose reputation is now in large measure linked with Ruskin’s own. “The English school of engraving,” says Mr. Collingwood, “was then in its last and most accomplished period. Photography had not yet begun to supersede it, and the

¹ *Hortus Inclusus*, p. 143 (1st edition).

² Some of his verses in *Friendship’s Offering* had, however, been illustrated by engravings from his drawings: see his letter to George Smith on the comparative merits of various engravers of the day, in Vol. II. p. xlii. *n*.

demand for delicate work in book illustration had encouraged minuteness and precision of handling to the last degree. In this excessive refinement there were the symptoms of decline; but it was most fortunate for Mr. Ruskin that his drawings could be interpreted by such men as Armytage and Cousen, Cuff and Le Keux, Boys and Lupton, and not without advantage to them that their masterpieces should be preserved in his works. . . . Like much else of his work, these Plates for *Stones of Venice* were in advance of the times. The publisher thought them ‘caviare to the general,’ so Mr. J. J. Ruskin told his son; but gave it as his own belief that ‘some dealers in Ruskins and Turners in 1890 will get great prices for what at present will not sell.’¹ The engravers employed in the present volume were Boys (Plates 1, 3–5, 8, 10, 19); Lupton (Plates 6, 12, 13, 16–18); Armytage (Plates 9, 11, 14, 20, 21); and Cuff (Plates 2, 7, 15). Thomas Shotter Boys (1803–1874) was a water-colour painter, and exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1824 onwards. He was responsible for all the original lithographs in this volume, and also (here as in the case of the *Examples*) etched some of the plates for Lupton to mezzotint. It may be interesting to state that for a large plate thus etched Boys received £33, 10s. To the fidelity of his work in this kind, Ruskin afterwards paid a high tribute (see Preface to *Modern Painters*, vol. iii.). For Thomas Lupton see below, p. 15; he executed the mezzotints in this volume and in the *Examples*, receiving £40 a plate. J. C. Armytage, who executed some good plates for this volume, was also the engraver of some of the finest of those in *Modern Painters*. R. P. Cuff was employed in these works, and also in the second edition of *Seven Lamps* (see Vol. VIII. p. 16, where Ruskin praises his “careful and singular skill”). In a letter to his father (March 17, 1852), referring to a Plate either for the *Stones of Venice*, or for the *Examples*, then in preparation, Ruskin wrote:—

“Cuff’s experiment most excellent; you rightly find fault with the want of the little refinements in distribution of shades, but these things can never be expected in a copy. If these refinements *were* perceived and followed, Cuff would cease to be Cuff and become Ruskin. All that can be hoped for is the diligent *try* to follow, and the care in measurements and other such mechanical points, as well as delicacy in execution, all of which this engraving has in a high degree. Then a touch or two on the missed parts would put it nearly right: although the difference between a thing done by the artist’s own hand, and a copy, however able, is always the difference between gold and gilding. But Cuff has done this little bit excellently, and with a degree of *pains*

¹ *Life and Work of John Ruskin*, 1900, pp. 121–122.

to copy accurately which only he and Armytage will take. Nevertheless, it will have to be done again, for it is to go on a large plate with five other traceries, and there was a mistake in the measurements of this; if you refer to my letter, you will find I said I had to do it over again. I will therefore send another little drawing or two belonging to the Plate and the measurement of this, and then Cuff can go on."

This letter illustrates Ruskin's "worry with the engravers" (which, however, seems to have included some due to his own account); it would also serve to explain the way in which the cost of producing the book was rendered very heavy.

The additional illustrations in this volume are photogravures from Ruskin's drawings at Venice and Verona. The *frontispiece* is a general view of the Grand Canal, taken from near the Rialto. The drawing, which is in pencil (13½x20), is at Brantwood; it was made in 1876.

Plates A, B and C are examples of the very numerous studies made by Ruskin during his work at Venice in preparation for *The Stones*. Plate A gives studies at the Church of the Frari; the original drawing, which is in pencil and wash (14x9), is now in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Severn. Plate B (the Palazzo del Cammello, with detail of some of the decoration) is also in Mrs. Severn's possession; it is in pencil (9x6). The house is so called from the camel with a man in oriental costume sculptured on it. It is situated on the Canale della Maria dell' Orto, and is one of three palaces built by the brothers Mastelli, who came from the Morea. Tintoret's house, close by, is another of them. Ruskin's sketch takes some liberty with the adjoining building—an old monastery, which is in fact a low building, though there is a high house beyond it. Plate C (details at the Casa Farsetti) is from a MS. sheet (with drawings pasted on by Ruskin) in the possession of Mr. George Allen. The whole sheet measures 14x11½; the drawings are in pen and wash. The Casa Farsetti is described in the next volume, ch. v. § 8, and Appendix ii. (6).

Plate D is from one of several drawings by Ruskin of the Castelbarco Tomb at Verona. The drawing, which is at Brantwood, is in sepia (18x9). The drawing may be the one referred to by Ruskin in a letter to his father from Venice (February 24, 1852):—"I hope you will like a drawing I am making (more satisfactory than usual to myself) of that one [tomb] at Verona—my most beloved—at St. Anastasia." So again, on August 30, 1851, he wrote in his diary:—"Again, thank God, in my beloved piazza St. Anastasia; with the little chapel opposite me—its pointed turrets of dark brick now seen against one flaming opening of pale gold in a grey sky of fading storm." For further references to it, see below, p. 175.

Plate E ("The Vestibule") is from a drawing in water-colour (13½x9¼) in the collection of Sir John Simon, K.C.B.

In addition to these photogravure plates, there are in the preceding pages (xxxiv., xxxv.) reproductions by line-process (in the size of the originals) of Ruskin's drawings for two of the original woodcuts (figs. 7 and 18 in the text), with Ruskin's corrections, in the latter case, for the engraver.

Another *facsimile* is of the cover of the early editions (below, opposite p. liv.). The figure at the top of the back of the cover is of course the Lion of St. Mark's. The figure on the side of the cover is the design of a Byzantine sculpture on St. Mark's; it is engraved as Fig. 1, Plate 11, in vol. ii. of *Stones of Venice* (described in ch. v. § 27). The stamped frame follows various Venetian mouldings.

E. T. C.

Bibliographical Note.—The bibliography of *The Stones of Venice* falls under three heads, dealing respectively with (1) editions of separate volumes, (2) editions of the whole work, (3) editions of the “Travellers’ Edition” selected from it. The separate editions of the other volumes will be dealt with in each of them.

SEPARATE EDITIONS OF VOLUME 1

Volume I.—*First Edition* (1851).—The title-page (enclosed in a plain ruled frame) is as follows:—

The Stones of Venice | Volume the First | The Foundations. | By John
Ruskin, | Author of “The Seven Lamps of Architecture,” “Modern Painters,”
| etc. etc. | With Illustrations drawn by the Author. | London: | Smith, Elder,
and Co., 65 Cornhill. | 1851.

Imperial 8vo, pp. xvi.+413. The Preface (here, pp. 3–10) occupied pp. v.-xii.; Contents (here pp. ix., x.), pp. xiii.-xv.; List of Plates (here p. xiii.), p. xvi. Each chapter is headed throughout with its number and title; pp. 52–204 (here pp. 80–252) are also further headed “Construction,” and pp. 205–338 (here pp. 254–405) “Decoration”; this arrangement, followed in succeeding editions, is preserved here. At the end of the book are 2 pages containing an advertisement of *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*: this is here reprinted in vol. iii. of the *Stones*. Issued on March 3, 1851, in dark brown cloth boards (see *facsimile* opposite next page). Price Two Guineas. In later copies the following slip of “Errata” was inserted:—

Page 89, line 11 from bottom, for c₂ read b₃.
” 297, line 15 from bottom, for roof *read* root.
” 384, line 3 from bottom, “olive shade” should not be in italics.

Of these errata, however, the first and the third passed uncorrected until the present edition; the second was corrected in ed. 2.

Sets of the first edition of *The Stones of Venice* (vol. i. 1851, vols. ii. and iii. 1853) have been sold in the auction-rooms during recent years at prices ranging, according to condition, etc., from £16, 15s. (1886) to £7, 12s. 6d. (1891).

Second Edition (1858).—Title-page the same as before, except for change of date and the words “Second Edition” above publisher’s imprint, Imperial 8vo, pp. xvi.+400; the reduction in the number of pages being due to omissions from the Appendix. Issued on September 1, 1858. Price and binding as before. The text was slightly revised, and the Appendix was abridged (see under “*Variæ Lectiones*” below). Different stones were used for the lithograph plates. The drawing is sometimes better, being less hard, but the colouring much worse, than in ed. 1.

These two are the only editions of Volume I. published separately.

EDITIONS OF THE WHOLE WORK

New Edition (1874),* being the *Third* of each volume, and the *First* of the whole work published together. Generally known as the *Autograph Edition*, from the fact of the new preface being signed by the author. The titlepages (enclosed in a ruled frame) are as follow:

The Stones of Venice. | Volume the First. | The Foundations. | By John Ruskin, LL.D. | Author of "Modern Painters," | etc. etc. | With illustrations drawn by the Author. | A New Edition. | London: | Smith, Elder, & Co., 15 Waterloo Place. | 1874 |. [The Author reserves the right of translation.]

The Stones of Venice. | Volume the Second. | The Sea-Stories. | By John Ruskin, LL.D. | etc. etc.

The Stones of Venice. | Volume the Third. | The Fall. | By John Ruskin, LL.D. | tc. etc.

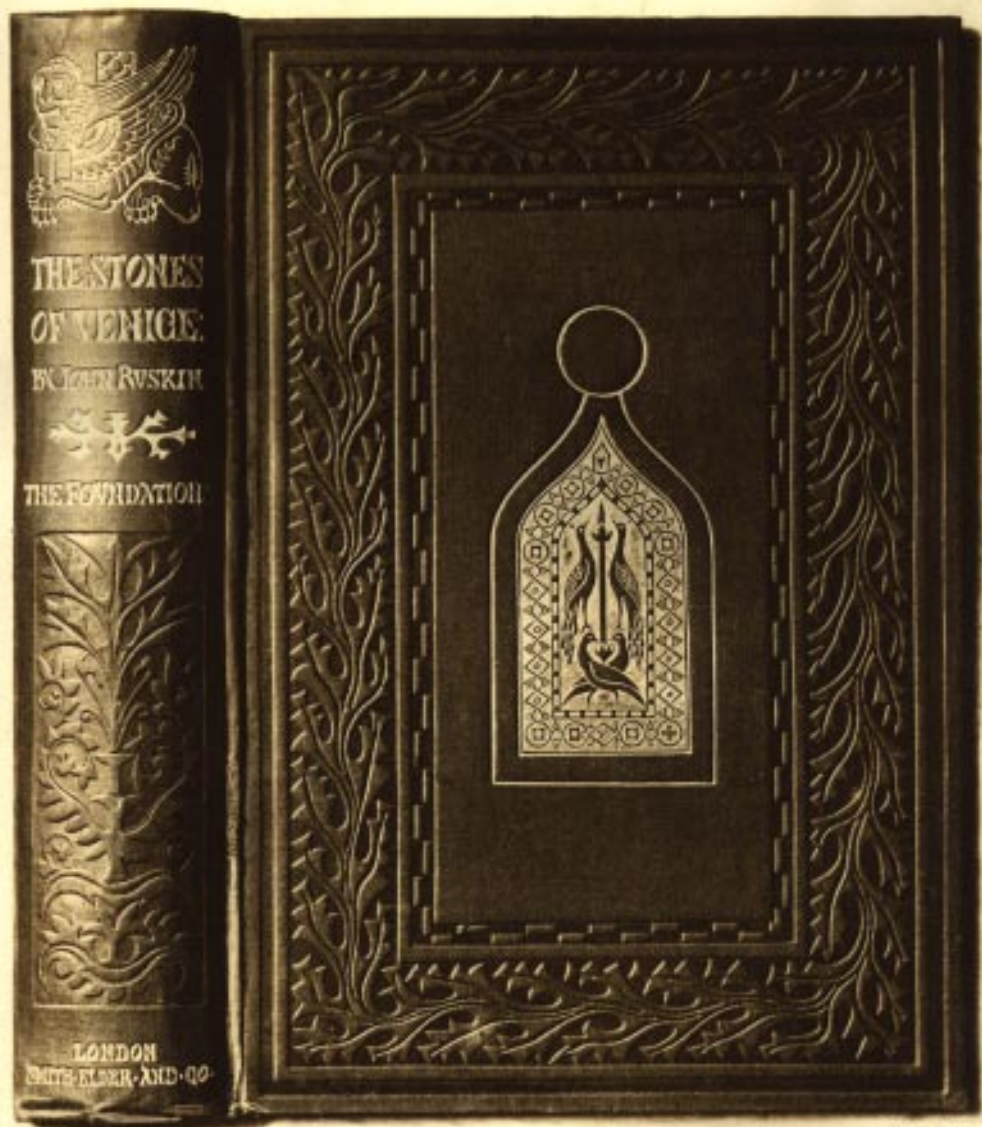
The collation is: vol. i. pp. xxii.+400. "Preface to New Edition" (here, pp. 11–16) occupies pp. v.-ix.; Preface to the First Edition, pp. xi.-xviii. The imprint at foot of p. 400 is: "London: Printed by Spottiswoode & Co. New Street Square and Parliament Street."—vol. ii. pp. vii.+394. The imprint on reverse of title-page (repeated at foot of the last page) is "Printed by Ballantyne & Company, Edinburgh and London."—vol. iii. pp. iv.+362. Imprint as in vol. ii. There were four indices:—(1) "Personal Index," pp. 257–262; (2) "Local Index," pp. 263–266; (3) "Topical Index," pp. 267–282; (4) "Venetian Index," pp. 283–362. The latter was retained in all subsequent editions; the three former did not appear after this edition, owing to the preparation of the more elaborate index described below.

The "New Edition" was issued on October 14, 1873, in boards similar to those of the previous editions. 1500 copies (see note*); price £5, 15s. 6d. the set. The illustrations are decidedly less satisfactory in this edition than in edition 1. The inferiority of the coloured plates in vol. i. has been noted above (p. xlviii.); it should be added that in most of the mezzotints a line tint was engraved to strengthen them; the use of a magnifying glass will reveal this at once. The text follows that of the Second Edition of each volume. This edition does not command a high price; copies have been sold in the auction-rooms for not more than £3, 8s.

Fourth Edition (1886).—The title-pages (enclosed in a ruled frame) are as follows:—

The | Stones of Venice. | Volume the First [Second *and* Third]. | The Foundations [The Sea-Stories *and* The Fall]. | By | John Ruskin, LL.D., | Honorary Student of Christ Church, | and Honorary Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. | With Illustrations drawn by the Author. | Fourth Edition. | George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1886. | *The Author reserves the Right of Translation.*

* Some copies, purporting to be of this edition, are dated "1873." These are made up of "remainders" of the Second Edition, with new title-pages and preface. It appears from a memorandum by the publisher preserved by Ruskin that 750 copies



Allen & Co. Sc.

Design of Cover
1851, 1858, 1874.

The collation is: vol. i. pp. xvi.+403. The "Preface" (to the first edition) occupies pp. v.-xii.—vol. ii. pp. xv.+397. The "Preface to the Third Edition" was published as preface to this second volume (pp. v.-ix.), the autograph signature being omitted, and the following "Note by Publisher, 1886" being appended:—

** The autograph signature of the author was accordingly appended to the 1500 copies of the third edition. For the present issue, Plates vi., xii., xiii., xvi., xvii. and xviii. of Vol. I. and Plates iii. of Vol. III. have been newly mezzotinted by the engraver of Mr. Ruskin's illustrations to *Proserpina*, *The Laws of Fésole*, etc. [Mr. G. Allen].

The abstract here promised of *Stones of Venice*, is that now sold as the Travellers' Edition"; additional matter from which is inserted in these volumes.

vol. iii. pp. vi.+352.

Issued on July 8, 1886, in plain brown cloth boards; 2000 copies were printed, price 4 guineas the set. 220 copies on Dutch hand-made paper, with the Plates on India paper, in green cloth boards, price 8 guineas the set. In some copies the New Index (see below) was bound up with vol. iii.

The text of the Fourth Edition is that of the "New Edition," with the additions first published in the "Travellers' Edition" (see below). These additions are: in vol. i. Appendix 26, pp. 401–403, being "Additional Notes; from the 'Travellers' Edition' of *Stones of Venice*." (These are in this edition printed as footnotes to the text)—in vol. ii. Appendix 13, pp. 394–397 (notes as before)—in vol. iii. an additional "Chapter V.—Castel Franco," Appendix 11, pp. 263–268 (notes as before), and additional notes to the Venetian Index. The other indices were omitted in view of the New Index separately published.

Many of the illustrations in the Fourth Edition were printed from new plates. In vol. i. for Plates 6, 12, 13, 16, 17 and 18, see "Note by Publisher" above. Plates 1, 5, 8 and 19, originally chromo-lithographed by T. S. Boys, were chromo-lithographed by Mr. G. Rosenthal. In vol. ii. the "Bridge of Sighs" in Fig. 37 was altered by Ruskin's directions; an alteration first made in the "Travellers' Edition." In some copies the separate engravings on wood (Figs. 36 and 37) were accidentally omitted. In vol. iii. Plate 3 was newly mezzotinted by Mr. G. Allen. The "woodcuts" in all three volumes were printed from electrotypes.

Reprinted July 1893: 1250 copies were printed. Price Four Guineas, reduced July 1900 to £2, 10s.

Small complete Edition (1898).—This, except for the alteration of size and reduction of the Plates, was similar to the Fourth Edition. Issued in June 1898, crown 8vo, in cloth boards, price 10s. per volume, sold separately.

of vol. i. were printed, and 1250 of vols. ii. and iii. There remained on hand enough copies of the several volumes to make up the whole edition to 1500 (see below, p. 16). The larger number of remainder copies of vol. i. illustrates what has been said above (pp. xxxiii., xxxix.) about its comparative unpopularity. Vol. i. of this 1873 issue resembles that of 1874, except that the imprint at the foot of p. 400 reads as in the Second Edition, viz: "London: Printed by Smith, Elder, & Co., Little Green Arbour Court" (the imprint in ed. 1 being "London: Spottiswoodes & Shaw, New Street Square.") Vols. ii. and iii. of the 1873 issue show the following variations from that of 1874: A half-title is added to each; the reverse of the title-page is blank; and the imprints (at the end of the volumes) agree with those of the second editions.

The text only differs from that of the Fourth Edition in that some trifling alterations, made in the new notes in later editions of the "Travellers' Edition," were incorporated. (3000 copies printed.)

Reprinted (1900, 1902, 1000 copies each time).

In December 1876, the three volumes of *The Stones of Venice* were advertised as Vols. x., xi., and xii. of the "Collected Work Series." The woodcuts were to be included, but not the plates. Ruskin refers to this intended edition in a note on the Ducal Palace in the "Travellers' Edition." The intention was, however, abandoned and the advertisement was subsequently withdrawn.

"TRAVELLERS' EDITION"

The *first edition* (1879–1881) of this selection from *The Stones of Venice*, prepared by Ruskin, was issued in two volumes separately published:—
Volume I. (1879).—The title-page was as follows:—

The Stones of Venice: | Introductory Chapters and Local Indices |
(printed separately) | for the Use of Travellers | while staying in Venice and
Verona. | By John Ruskin, LL.D., | Honorary Student of Christ Church,
| and Slade Professor of Fine Art, Oxford. | Volume I. | George Allen, |
Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1879.

Small post 8vo, pp. vi.+299. Preface (see p. 16 in the present volume), pp. v.-vi. Text of the volume, pp. 1–299, with the addition of a Note (on the Ducal Palace and the St. Mark's Mosaics, reprinted in the next volume of this edition) on two unnumbered pages (pp. 301–302 in later issues). Issued on July 1, 1879, in paper boards. 1000 copies printed. Price 5s. The *contents* of this volume are:—

- Ch. 1. The Quarry (ch. i. of vol. i.).
- " 2. The Throne (ch. i. of vol. ii.).
- " 3. Torcello (ch. ii. of vol. ii., omitting §§ 4–8).
- " 4. St. Mark's (ch. iv. of vol. ii., omitting part of § 2, §§ 3–7, and part of § 8).
- " 5. The Ducal Palace (ch. viii. of vol. ii., omitting §§ 44–64).

Several footnotes were added by the author. In the fourth and later editions of the complete work, these were given as additional Appendices to vols. i. and ii. respectively. The only *illustrations* are Figs. 26, 27, and 28 in vol. ii. of the complete work.

Volume II. (1881).—The title-page was the same as that of Vol. I., except for the alteration of number and date. Small post 8vo, pp. vii.+360. On p. vii. was the following "Publisher's Note":—

In the first of these volumes the reader will please observe that many of the references, and especially those to Appendices, are to the old edition of the work. In the second, they have in most cases been altered to suit the particular edition; but

throughout it may be assumed that wherever they appear inaccurate the old edition is referred to.

The following corrections should also be made:—

- Vol. I., p. 11, note, *dele* "See Notice in Handbook, index."
 " p. 15, note, *dele* "This Appendix, modified," etc.
 " p. 55, note, *for* Appendix II., *read* Appendix 12.
 " p. 148, note, *for* 1822, *read* 1877.
 " p. 198, note, *dele* last three lines of "Abstract."
 Vol. II., p. 28, *dele* note "See Trevisan, in index."
 " p. 40, note, *for* "Chapters on Roman and Grotesque Renaissance," *read* "Chapter on Roman Renaissance," *and dele* "unless by correcting sentences."

Issued on November 22, 1881, in paper boards uniform with vol. i. Price 5s., 3000 copies were printed. The contents of this volume are:—

Ch. 1. Early Renaissance (ch. i. of vol. iii.).

" 2. The Spite of the Proud (ch. ii. of vol. iii., §§ 1–11, 23–40 and 45 ("more or less abstracted and recast; but the text nowhere altered").

" 3. The Street of the Tombs (ch. ii. of vol. iii., §§ 46–85).

" 4. "Infidelitas" (ch. ii. of vol. iii., §§ 92–103).

" 5. Mene (ch. iii. of vol. iii., § 1–22, 39 and 76).

" 6. Castel-Franco (written for this edition, but ending with extracts from *St. Mark's Rest*, *Fors Clavigera* and *Modern Painters*; see Vol. XI. of this edition).

Appendix I. Grotesque Renaissance (ch. iii. of vol. iii., §§ 52–67).

" II. Venetian Index (Reprinted, with a few omissions, alterations and additions dated 1877, from the Venetian Index in vol. iii.).

Several footnotes were added by the author. These were Appendix 11 of vol. iii. in the fourth and later editions of the complete work. The additional chapter and alterations to the Venetian Index were also incorporated in those editions. There are no illustrations.

Second Edition (1881–1885).—The second edition of *vol. i.* was issued in March 1881, 2000 copies printed, covers altered to cloth in 1882. Date and number of ed. altered on title-page, and "Honorary Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford," substituted for "Slade Professor of Fine Art, Oxford." No other changes: the errata noted above were not corrected. The second ed. of *vol. ii.* was issued in March 1885, 3000 copies printed, cloth boards. Price 5s. each volume.

Third Edition (1884–1888).—The third ed. of *vol. i.* was dated 1884, 3000 copies printed. The third ed. of *vol. ii.* was issued in December 1888, 1300 copies printed; the publisher's note was omitted, all the corrections having now been made. Price as before.

Fourth Edition (1888–1890).—Of this edition of *vol. i.* there were two issues:—(a) January 1888; title-page a reprint of second edition, with date and number of edition altered; 2000 copies printed. (b) July 1890; publisher's imprint now ready: "George Allen, Sunnyside, Orpington, and 8, Bell Yard, Temple Bar, London"; 2100 copies printed. A half-title was added in these

issues. The fourth ed. of *vol. ii.* was issued in July 1890; title-page follows that of (*b*) above; 2000 copies printed. Price as before.

Later Editions.—There have been six reprintings of both volumes; in 1892, 1894, 1896, 1897, 1900 (called “Nineteenth Thousand”), and 1902 (“Twentieth Thousand”). In all these editions (Fifth of 1892 to the Twentieth Thousand), the Index described below was given at the end of *vol. ii.* Otherwise there was no change.

The text of the “Travellers’ Edition” has remained unchanged in all the editions of it, except for the errata noticed above, and for one or two other trifling alterations in the added notes. The edition was never revised by Ruskin himself.

For separate editions of portions of *vol. ii.* and of *vol. iii.* of the complete work respectively, see Bibliographical Notes in those volumes.

INDEX TO “THE STONES OF VENICE”

The title-page of this index (compiled by A. Wedderburn) was as follows.—

Index | Ruskin | Stones of Venice | General Index. | 1886.

Imperial 8vo, pp. iv.+135. Issued in cream-coloured paper boards, in two forms corresponding to the ordinary and to the special issues of the fourth edition of *The Stones of Venice*; 2000 copies at 5s.; and 220 at 10s. This index was incorporated in the complete work in 1893 (and in some copies of the ed. of 1886), in the small complete edition, and also, so far as applicable, in the later issues of the “Travellers’ Edition.” It is not here reprinted, but its contents are merged in the General Index to the whole edition.

Unauthorised *American editions* of *The Stones of Venice* have been numerous, and in various styles, from a “People’s Edition” (3 vols. in one) at one dollar 25 cents, to an “Elegant Edition” at 18 dollars. Reproductions of the Plates have also been separately issued. The “Travellers’ Edition” has similarly been produced in America.

An authorised “Brantwood Edition” of the “Travellers’ Edition” was published at New York in 1891, with an Introduction by Charles Eliot Norton (pp. v.-xiii.).

A *German* translation of the first volume of *The Stones of Venice* by Hadwig Jahn—“*Steine von Venedig, Band I*”—appeared in 1903, as *vol. viii.* of the “*Ausgewählte Werke,*” published by Eugen Diederichs, Leipzig. The text followed is that of the “Small Complete Edition.” All the plates and woodcuts are reproduced. Vols. II. and III. are announced as in preparation.

Volumes of selections from *The Stones of Venice* in German, with explanatory comment and dove-tailing by Jakob Feis, have also been published (1898–1900) as part of a series of “Gedankenlese aus den Werken John Ruskin’s aus dem Englischen übersetzt und zusammengestellt” (Strassburg: Heitz and Mundel). For instance: “Der Dogenpalast,” “Gothik und Renaissance.”

Minor Variæ Lectiones.—The following is a list of various readings shown by a collation of all the editions of *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. Those of any importance are noted under the text, and to these a reference only is here given. The list does not include variations in spelling, such as “gulphs” in the earlier editions for “gulfs,” nor alterations in references caused by different pagination:—

Preface to first edition, § 3, line 19, for “St. Mark” ed. 1 reads “St. Mark’s”; line 28, for “dei Leoni” all previous eds. read “de Leoni”; § 6, last line (see p. 8 *n.*).

Preface to third edition, heading (see p. 11 *n.*); § 4, line 5, all previous eds. read “Woddon” for “Waddon.”

Ch. i. § 3, note ‡ (see p. 19 *n.*); § 33, line 16, for “Giacomo” all previous eds. read “Giacopo,” and in line 17, “Carmine” for “Carmini.”

Ch. ii. § 1, note * (see p. 60 *n.*); § 7, line 20, for “specially” ed. 1 reads “especially”; § 10, line 18, for “would have stayed” ed. 1 reads “had stayed”; § 17, line 5 (see p. 72 *n.*).

Ch. v. § 4, line 11, ed. 1 does not capitalise “Builder.”

Ch. vii. § 1 *n.* (see p. 99 *n.*).

Ch. viii. § 8, line 3, all previous eds. read “travertin” for “travertine”; § 14, line 10, all previous eds. read “*c*₂” for “*b*₃.”

Ch. xi. § 7 was misprinted § 8 in ed. 1.

Ch. xiii. § 1, line 12, ed. 1 reads “mask” (here restored); in ed. 2 and later it was printed “masque.” § 4, line 6, ed. 1 omits “in” before “Germany and Switzerland.”

Ch. xv. § 2, ed. 1 omits the numerals (1), (2), (3). § 4, line 5, for “The approach” ed. 1 reads “This approach”; § 5, line 8, for “is” eds. 1–3 read “are,” and so also in § 6, line 3; § 11, last line but two (see p. 210 *n.*).

Ch. xviii. § 6, line 23, all eds. except ed. 1 read “Apollinaire” for “Apollinare”; § 8, last line but two, previous eds. read “Ricardi” for “Ricardi” (and so in Ch. xxvi. § 18, 14 lines from end).

Ch. xx. § 7, line 20, 1886 and later eds. read “Niccola” for “Niccolo.”

Ch. xxi. § 9 (see p. 288 *n.*), § 10, line 3 (see p. 288 *n.*), § 11, line 18 (see p. 289 *n.*).

Ch. xxii. § 14, at end, ed. 1 adds “And thus much may serve concerning angle decoration by chamfer.”

Ch. xxvi. § 16, line 3, all previous eds. read “Robert’s” for “Roberts’.”

Ch. xxvii. § 3, line 18, ed. 1 reads “roof” for “root”; § 10, line 15, all eds. except ed. 1 misprinted this passage; ed. 3 reads “the longest are 3, there arranged”; later eds. read “the longest arc 3, there arranged,” instead of “the longest 3, are there arranged.”

Ch. xxviii. § 4, last line "as in the plate opposite," in all previous eds. these words were retained, but the plate (19) was in fact given at the beginning of the chapter.

Ch. xxx. "§ 7" misprinted "§ 17" in 1886 ed.

Appendix (generally) no references to pages in ed. 1.

Appendix 2, line 2, all previous eds. read "Anafeste" for "Anafesto."

" 8. Page 428, line 5, for "arabesques" all previous eds. read "arabesque," and in line 19, for "great," "Greek"; the corrections are here made from Ruskin's diary.

" 12. A long passage omitted in eds. 2 and later, see p. 437 below; for variations in lines 8 and 9 from end, see p. 440.

" 13. In ed. 1 only (see p. 440).

" 15. Line 37, all previous eds. erroneously italicise "olive shade."

" 16. Printed as such in ed. 1 only (see pp. 99, 450).

" 17. For alterations and omissions after ed. 1 see pp. 450, 453, 454; p. 454, line 32, for "who may happen to glance," second and later eds. read "who glance slightly."

" 19. Title, ed. 1 reads "Tombs near St. Anastasia."

" 21. Page 461, line 27, for "the form only in which," 1886 and later eds. mis-read "the form in only which."

THE STONES OF VENICE

VOLUME I

IX.

A

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION¹

[1851]

1. IN the course of arranging the following essay, I put many things aside in my thoughts, to be said in the Preface, things which I shall now put aside altogether, and pass by; for when a book has been advertised a year and half,² it seems best to present it with as little preface as possible.

Thus much, however, it is necessary for the reader to know, that, when I planned the work, I had materials by me, collected at different times of sojourn in Venice during the last seventeen years,³ which it seemed to me might be arranged with little difficulty, and which I believed to be of value as illustrating the history of Southern Gothic. Requiring, however, some clearer assurance respecting certain points of chronology, I went to Venice finally in the autumn of 1849, not doubting but that the dates of the principal edifices of the ancient city were either ascertained, or ascertainable without extraordinary research. To my consternation, I found that the Venetian antiquaries were not agreed within a century as to the date of the building of the façade of the Ducal Palace, and that nothing was known of any other civil edifice of the early city, except that at some time or other it had been fitted up for somebody's reception, and been thereupon fresh

¹ [Reprinted in all subsequent editions of the complete work. The numbering of the paragraphs is here introduced for convenience of reference.]

² [*The Stones of Venice* was first announced as being in preparation in the advertisements (1849) of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*: see Vol. VIII. p. li.]

³ [*i.e.* since 1835, in which year Ruskin paid his first visit to Venice (October 6–12): for memorials of it see Vol. I. pp. lv. 537. His second visit was in 1841 (May 8–16): for his impressions on that occasion see Vol. I. p. 453. His third was in 1845 (September 10–October 13): see Vol. IV. pp. xxxv.–xxxix. His fourth was in 1846 (May 14–28): see Vol. VIII. p. xxiii. For his visit in 1849–1850, see above, Introduction, pp. xxiv.–xxx. After writing the first volume of the *Stones*, he again wintered at Venice (September 1, 1851–June 29, 1852).]

painted. Every date in question was determinable only by internal evidence; and it became necessary for me to examine not only every one of the older palaces, stone by stone, but every fragment throughout the city which afforded any clue to the formation of its styles. This I did as well as I could, and I believe there will be found, in the following pages, the only existing account of the details of early Venetian architecture on which dependence can be placed, as far as it goes. I do not care to point out the deficiencies of other works on this subject; the reader will find, if he examines them, either that the buildings to which I shall specially direct his attention have been hitherto undescribed, or else that there are great discrepancies between previous descriptions and mine: for which discrepancies I may be permitted to give this single and sufficient reason, that my account of every building is based on personal examination and measurement of it, and that my taking the pains so to examine what I had to describe, was a subject of grave surprise to my Italian friends. The work of the Marchese Selvatico¹ is, however, to be distinguished with respect; it is clear in arrangement, and full of useful, though vague, information: and I have found its statements of the chronological succession of the arts of Venice generally trustworthy. Fontana's "Fabbriche di Venezia" is also historically valuable, but does not attempt to give architectural detail. Cicognara, as is now generally known, is so inaccurate as hardly to deserve mention.

2. Indeed, it is not easy to be accurate in an account of anything, however simple. Zoologists often disagree in their descriptions of the curve of a shell, or the plumage of a bird, though they may lay their specimen on the table, and examine it at their leisure; how much greater becomes the likelihood

¹ [*Sulla Architettura e sulla Scultura in Venezia dal medio evo sino ai nostri giorni: Studi di P. Selvatico per servire di Guida estetica con settanta vignette in legno ed una tavola in rame*, Venezia, 1847. Selvatico was President of the Venetian Academy. Count Leopoldo Cicognara's work is entitled *Le Fabbriche e i Monumenti cospicui di Venezia* (2 vols., Venice, 1838–1850). Ruskin inadvertently ascribes Cicognara's book to Fontana. The latter's work is *Venezia Monumentale Pittoresca*, a series of lithographs designed by M. Moro, with descriptions in Italian by G. J. Fontana, 1847–1850.]

of error in the description of things which must be in many parts observed from a distance, or under unfavourable circumstances of light and shade; and of which many of the distinctive features have been worn away by time. I believe few people have any idea of the cost of truth in these things; of the expenditure of time necessary to make sure of the simplest facts, and of the strange way in which separate observations will sometimes falsify each other, incapable of reconciliation, owing to some imperceptible inadvertency. I am ashamed of the number of times in which I have had to say, in the following pages, "I am not sure,"¹ and I claim for them no authority, as if they were thoroughly sifted from error, even in what they more confidently state. Only, as far as my time, and strength, and mind served me, I have endeavoured, down to the smallest matters, to ascertain and speak the truth.

3. Nor was the subject without many and most discouraging difficulties, peculiar to itself. As far as my inquiries have extended, there is not a building in Venice, raised prior to the sixteenth century, which has not sustained essential change in one or more of its most important features. By far the greater number present examples of three or four different styles, it may be successive, it may be accidentally associated; and, in many instances, the restorations or additions have gradually replaced the entire structure of the ancient fabric, of which nothing but the name remains, together with a kind of identity, exhibited in the anomalous association of the modernised portions: the Will of the old building asserted through them all, stubbornly, though vainly, expressive; superseded by codicils, and falsified by misinterpretation; yet animating what would otherwise be a mere group of fantastic masque, as embarrassing to the antiquary as, to the mineralogist, the epigene² crystal, formed by materials of one

¹ [See, for instance, below, pp. 392, 401; but probably the reference is rather to the later volumes of the book. For Ruskin's industry, and method of work, upon *The Stones of Venice*, see above, Introduction, pp. xxiv., xxv.]

² [This term, in the sense of "subsequent to birth" (as opposed to "congenital"), is applied in mineralogy to crystals wherein a chemical alteration has taken place subsequent to their formation.]

substance modelled on the perished crystals of another. The church of St. Mark itself, harmonious as its structure may at first sight appear, is an epitome of the changes of Venetian architecture from the tenth to the nineteenth century.¹ Its crypt, and the line of low arches which support the screen, are apparently the earliest portions; the lower stories of the main fabric are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with later Gothic interpolations; the pinnacles are of the earliest fully developed Venetian Gothic (fourteenth century); but one of them, that on the projection at the eastern extremity of the Piazzetta dei Leoni,² is of far finer, and probably earlier workmanship than all the rest. The southern range of pinnacles is again inferior to the northern and western, and visibly of later date. Then the screen, which most writers have described as part of the original fabric, bears its date inscribed on its architrave, 1394, and with it are associated a multitude of small screens, balustrades, decorations of the interior building, and probably the rose window of the south transept. Then come the interpolated traceries of the front and sides; then the crocketings of the upper arches, extravagances of the incipient Renaissance; and, finally, the figures which carry the waterspouts on the north side—utterly barbarous seventeenth or eighteenth century work—connect the whole with the plastered restorations of the years 1844 and 1845.³ Most of the palaces in Venice have sustained interpolations hardly less numerous; and those of the Ducal Palace are so intricate, that a year's labour would probably be insufficient altogether to disentangle and define them.⁴ I therefore gave up all thoughts of obtaining a perfectly clear chronological view of the early architecture; but the dates necessary to the main purposes of the book the reader will find well established; and of the evidence brought forward for those of less importance, he is himself to judge. Doubtful estimates are never made grounds of

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. iv. §§ 5, 6, 8.]

² [The small open space on the north side of the church is so-called from its two red marble lions.]

³ [For Ruskin's notice of these restorations, see Vol. IV. p. 41.]

⁴ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. §§ 9–29.]

argument; and the accuracy of the account of the buildings themselves, for which alone I pledge myself, is of course entirely independent of them.

4. In like manner, as the statements briefly made in the chapters on construction involve questions so difficult and so general, that I cannot hope that every expression referring to them will be found free from error: and as the conclusions to which I have endeavoured to lead the reader are thrown into a form the validity of which depends on that of each successive step, it might be argued, if fallacy or weakness could be detected in one of them, that all the subsequent reasonings were valueless. The reader may be assured, however, that it is not so; the method of proof used in the following essay being only one out of many which were in my choice, adopted because it seemed to me the shortest and simplest, not as being the strongest. In many cases, the conclusions are those which men of quick feeling would arrive at instinctively; and I then sought to discover the reasons of what so strongly recommended itself as truth. Though these reasons could every one of them, from the beginning to the end of the book, be proved insufficient, the truth of its conclusions would remain the same. I should only regret that I had dishonoured them by an ill-grounded defence; and endeavour to repair my error by a better one.

5. I have not, however, written carelessly; nor should I in any wise have expressed doubt of the security of the following argument, but that it is physically impossible for me, being engaged quite as much with mountains, and clouds, and trees, and criticism of painting, as with architecture, to verify, as I should desire, the expression of every sentence bearing upon empirical and technical matters. Life is not long enough, nor does a day pass by without causing me to feel more bitterly the impossibility of carrying out to the extent which I should desire, the separate studies which general criticism continually forces me to undertake.¹ I can only assure the

¹ [So it was with Ruskin to the end of his working days. See, for instance, *Deucalion* (Introduction), where he enumerates (with some humorous exaggeration) various unwritten works in 63 volumes, for which he had accumulated material;

reader, that he will find the certainty of every statement I permit myself to make, increase with its importance; and that, for the security of the final conclusions of the following essay, as well as for the resolute veracity of its account of whatever facts have come under my own immediate cognisance, I will pledge myself to the uttermost.

6. It was necessary, to the accomplishment of the purpose of the work (of which account is given in the First Chapter), that I should establish some canons of judgment, which the general reader should thoroughly understand, and, if it pleased him, accept, before we took cognisance, together, of any architecture whatsoever. It has taken me more time and trouble to do this than I expected; but, if I have succeeded, the thing done will be of use for many other purposes than that to which it is now put. The establishment of these canons, which I have called “the Foundations,” and some account of the connection of Venetian architecture with that of the rest of Europe, occupy the present volume.¹

7. It was of course inexpedient to reduce drawings of crowded details to the size of an octavo volume—I do not say impossible, but inexpedient; requiring infinite pains on the part of the engraver, with no result except farther pains to the beholder. And as, on the other hand, folio books are not easy reading, I determined to separate the text and the unreducible plates. I have given, with the principal text, all the illustrations absolutely necessary to the understanding of it, and, in the detached work, such additional text as had special reference to the larger illustrations.²

A considerable number of these larger plates were at first intended to be executed in tinted lithography; but, finding

elsewhere he adds to the list—*e. g.*, “A Life of Pope” (*Fors Clavigera*, Letter 32), a series of Early English Reprints (*Letters to Ellis*), “A Life of Moses” (*Fors*, Letter 63).]

¹ [The first volume was, it will be remembered, published in advance of the remainder of the work. Ed. 1 here added the words:—

“The second will, I hope, contain all I have to say about Venice itself.”

The sentence was omitted in subsequent editions, when the second volume had grown into two.]

² [The detached work is *The Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, in this edition included in vol. iii. of *The Stones of Venice*, the processes now available rendering the reduction of the plates possible.]

the result unsatisfactory, I have determined to prepare the principal subjects for mezzotinting,—a change of method requiring two new drawings to be made of every subject; one a carefully penned outline for the etcher, and then a finished drawing upon the etching. This work does not proceed fast, while I am also occupied with the completion of the text; but the numbers of it will appear as fast as I can prepare them.¹

8. For the illustrations of the body of the work itself, I have used any kind of engraving which seemed suited to the subjects—line and mezzotint, on steel, with mixed lithographs and woodcuts, at considerable loss of uniformity in the appearance of the volume, but, I hope, with advantage, in rendering the character of the architecture it describes. And both in the plates and the text I have aimed chiefly at clear intelligibility; that any one, however little versed in the subject, might be able to take up the book, and understand what it meant forthwith. I have utterly failed of my purpose, if I have not made all the essential parts of the essay intelligible to the least learned, and easy to the most desultory readers, who are likely to take interest in the matter at all. There are few passages which even require so much as an acquaintance with the elements of Euclid, and these may be missed, without harm to the sense of the rest, by every reader to whom they may appear mysterious; and the architectural terms necessarily employed (which are very few) are explained as they occur, or in a note; so that, though I may often be found trite or tedious, I trust that I shall not be obscure. I am especially anxious to rid this essay of ambiguity, because I want to gain the ear of all kinds of persons. Every man has, at some time of his life, personal interest in architecture.² He has influence on the design of some public building; or he has to buy, to build, or alter his own house. It signifies less whether the knowledge

¹ [For particulars under this head, see Vol. XI.]

² [See for another enforcement of this point, *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 5, and below, ch. i. § 38, p. 46.]

of other arts be general or not; men may live without buying pictures or statues; but, in architecture, all must in some way commit themselves: they *must* do mischief and waste their money, if they do not know how to turn it to account. Churches, and shops, and warehouses, and cottages, and small row, and place, and terrace houses, must be built, and lived in, however joyless or inconvenient. And it is assuredly intended that all of us should have knowledge, and act upon our knowledge, in matters with which we are daily concerned, and not be left to the caprice of architects, or mercy of contractors. There is not, indeed, anything in the following essay bearing on the special forms and needs of modern buildings; but the principles it inculcates are universal; and they are illustrated from the remains of a city which should surely be interesting to the men of London, as affording the richest existing examples of architecture raised by a mercantile community, for civil uses, and domestic magnificence.

DENMARK HILL, *February*, 1851.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION¹

[1874]

1. No book of mine has had so much influence on contemporary art as the *Stones of Venice*;² but this influence has been possessed only by the third part of it, the remaining two-thirds having been resolutely ignored by the British public. And as a physician would, in most cases, rather hear that his patient had thrown all his medicine out of the window, than that he had sent word to his apothecary to leave out two of its three ingredients, so I would rather, for my own part, that no architects had ever condescended to adopt one of the views suggested in this book, than that any should have made the partial use of it which has mottled our manufactory chimneys with black and red brick, dignified our banks and drapers' shops with Venetian tracery, and pinched our parish churches into dark and slippery arrangements for the advertisement of cheap coloured glass and pantiles.

2. On last Waterloo day, I was driving through Ealing towards Brentford just as the sun set after the thunderous rain which the inhabitants of the district must very clearly recollect, and as I was watching the red light fade through the gaps left between the rows of new houses which spring up everywhere, nowadays, as unexpectedly as the houses in a pantomime, I was startled by suddenly finding, between me and the evening sky, a piece of Italian Gothic in the style of its best time.

¹ [Headed "Preface to New Edition" in ed. 3. Reprinted as above in all subsequent editions of the complete work. The numbering of the paragraphs is here inserted for convenience of reference.]

² [See on this subject the Introduction to the next volume.]

The architect had read his third part of the *Stones of Venice* to purpose; and the modern brickwork would have been in no discord with the tomb of Can Grande, had it been set beside it at Verona. But this good and true piece of brickwork was the porch of a public house, and its total motive was the provocation of thirst, and the encouragement of idleness.

3. I drove on to Brentford, and walked over Kew Bridge; the twilight relieving in purple masses the foliage on the Island above it, and glowing on the two reaches of the lovely river, around which modern art is now striving to realise the promise of its poet,

“Hail, sacred Peace! hail, long expected days
That Thames’s glory to the stars shall raise!
Though Tyber’s streams immortal Rome behold,
Though foaming Hermus swells with tides of gold,
From Heaven itself though sevenfold Nilus flows
And harvests on a hundred realms bestows;
These now no more shall be the Muse’s themes,
Lost in my fame, as in the sea their streams, . . .
No more my sons shall dye with British blood
Red Iber’s sands, or Ister’s foaming flood:
Safe on my shore each unmolested swain
Shall tend the flocks, or reap the bearded grain, . . .
Behold! th’ ascending villas on my side
Project long shadows o’er the crystal tide;
Behold! Augusta’s glittering spires increase,
And temples rise, the beauteous works of Peace.”¹

With these verses in my mind, I could not but be solemnly impressed by the appearance of a circular temple, built since I last crossed the bridge, some thirty or forty times the size of that (so called) of Vesta, by the Tyber,² which it otherwise in many particulars resembled, no less than that of the Sibyl at Tivoli. Its dark walls and singularly tall and narrow

¹ [Pope: from the speech of the river-god of the Thames in *Windsor Forest*, 355 *seq.* The lines are here punctuated in accordance with the poet’s text, and dots are inserted where Ruskin omitted lines. Of these the first two lines in Pope’s original MS. were curiously enough—

“Let Venice boast her towers amid the main,
Where the rough Adrian swells and roars in vain.”]

² [This temple, on the bank of the Tiber near the Ponte Palatino, is now generally supposed to have been that of Mater Matuta.]

columns rose sublimely against the twilight at the extremity of the longer reach of the stream, and presented at once a monument to the art and the religion of the children of Thames; being no less beautiful a work of peace than the new gasometer of (I presume) the Brentford Gas Company, limited.

4. Three days afterwards, I was sleeping in the Greyhound Inn at Croydon,¹ and my bedroom window commanded in the morning what was once a very lovely view over the tower of Croydon Church to the woods of Beddington and Waddon. But no fewer than seven newly erected manufactory chimneys stood between me and the prospect, and the circular temple of the Croydon Gas Company adorned the centre of the pastoral and sylvan scene.

5. There is not the remotest possibility of any success being obtained in any of the arts by a nation which thus delights itself in the defilement and degradation of all the best gifts of its God; which mimics the architecture of Christians to promote the trade of poisoners; and imagines itself philosophical in substituting the worship of coal gas for that of Vesta.

6. I republish this book, therefore,² merely for the little

¹ [Ruskin was familiar with Croydon from his boyhood: see *Præterita*, i. ch. i. The drawing, given as frontispiece to Vol. I. in this edition, is, it will be remembered, of a Croydon subject. Beddington Park (Waddon station), about a mile from West Croydon, was sold in 1864 for building purposes.]

² [The MS. here reads:—

“I republish this book therefore merely for my own gain, (being offered a certain sum for a new edition by my bookseller), and having arrived at an age and temper in which I am somewhat tired of endeavouring in vain to be useful to other people, and intend to try if I cannot henceforward be more serviceable to myself. I am sure at all events that the re-issue of the book can do no more mischief; Venetian architecture cannot be further misapplied or caricatured than it has been already; the succeeding style will probably be Californian or Polynesian; nor is it of the smallest consequence what it may be to any rational being.

“For the readers, few and unimportant, who still read books through and wish to understand them, it may be well that I state the main contents of this book.

“The first volume contains an analysis of the possible structure of all stone and brick building . . .” (The rest of the MS. is here wanting).

The “bookseller” in this case was Mr. George Smith (Smith, Elder & Co.), for though Ruskin had begun in 1872 to publish many of his books with Mr. George Allen, he did not finally leave his old publishers till 1878.]

pleasure which I hope it may yet give to the readers, few and uninfluential, who still read books through, and wish to understand them; for whom it may be well that I state the main contents of the three volumes.

7. The first contains an analysis of the best structure of stone and brick building, on a simple and natural scale. I meant it to be the groundwork of all my subsequent architectural teaching; and though it is a little forced and artificial in some parts of it, I strongly recommend any youth seriously desiring to understand the principles of noble building, to work steadily through it, reading either together with it or previously, Professor Willis's *Architecture of the Middle Ages*.¹ But this introduction can be of no use to any modern builder, as it absolutely ignores the use of iron, except as a cement, i. e. bars and rivets instead of mortar, for securing stones.²

The second and third volumes show how the rise and fall of the Venetian builder's art depended on the moral or immoral temper of the State. It is the main purpose of the book to do this; but in the course of the demonstration it does two other pieces of work besides. It examines the relation of the life of the workman to his work in mediæval times, and its necessary relation to it at all times; and it traces the formation of Venetian Gothic from the earliest Romanesque types until it perished in the revival, so called, of classical principles in the 16th century.

8. The relation of the art of Venice to her moral temper, which is the chief subject of the book, and that of the life of the workman to his work, which is the most important practical principle developed in it, have been both ignored, and could not but be so, by modern architectural readers. The third and comparatively unimportant part of the book, its exhibition of the transitional forms of Arabian and Byzantine architecture adopted by the Christian faith and

¹ [See for other recommendations of this work, Vol. VIII. pp. 87, 95.]

² [On this subject see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 66, and below, p. 222.]

the Gothic mind, they have used; with such results as I have above instanced.

9. It is curious that this architectural analysis, the only part of the book which has been read, is also the only part which is incomplete and unsatisfactory; owing to my not having enough dwelt upon the distinction between the Byzantine and Arab temper, the one being the channel through which Greek law was brought to bear upon Norman license,¹ the other that by which the mindless luxury of the East in great part developed the worst features of later “Arabesques” during the revival. Now, though I knew, and often stated,² during the execution of my work at Venice, that the Pisan Romanesque and Tuscan Gothic were the finer schools of architecture (that of Venice being chosen for my subject only for the simplicity of its history), I had not at that time enough acquaintance with the work of Nicolo Pisano and Arnolfo to place in its true rank the general Gothic of the 13th century in Italy, as opposed to that of France and the Rhine.

10. The lectures on architecture which I am preparing for delivery at Oxford³ will place all these matters in clearer light, and, if I live, some portions of the *Stones of Venice* will ultimately be published in such abstract as will make at once the first purpose of the book apparent, and its final statements conclusive; but it will be with fewer plates, and those less elaborate.⁴ The state of the old plates, which the death of my very dear friend Thomas Lupton⁵ prevents me from retouching, compels me, in justice to the purchasers,

¹ [See on this point *Val d' Arno*, § 193.]

² [See, for instance, below, ch. i. § 29, p. 40; ch. xxvi. § 2, p. 348.]

³ [No lectures so entitled were delivered. But the reference is, no doubt, to the course of lectures on Tuscan Art, delivered in Michaelmas Term, 1873, and published in 1874 under the title of *Val d' Arno*. In that book the points noted in § 9 above were treated: see reference in preceding note.]

⁴ [An intention partly fulfilled in the “Travellers’ Edition” of 1879: see below, Preface to that edition.]

⁵ [Thomas Goff Lupton (1791–1873) studied mezzotint-engraving under George Clint, A.R.A.; in 1822 received a gold medal for his successful use of steel in that process; was employed by Turner on the “*Liber Studiorum*,” and by Ruskin on *Stones of Venice*, *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, and *Modern Painters*; engraved the plates for Turner’s *Harbours of England*, with text by Ruskin, 1856.]

to limit the present edition to 1,500 copies, of which I sign each with my own hand, certifying it as containing the best states of the old plates now procurable.¹



PREFACE TO THE "TRAVELLERS' EDITION"²

[1879]

THIS volume is the first of a series designed by the Author with the purpose of placing in the hands of the public, in more serviceable form, those portions of his earlier works which he thinks deserving of a permanent place in the system of his general teaching. They were at first intended to be accompanied by photographic reductions of the principal plates in the larger volumes; but this design has been modified by the Author's increasing desire to gather his past and present writings into a consistent body, illustrated by one series of plates, purchaseable in separate parts, and numbered consecutively.³ The note at page 147⁴ in this volume, (lying by during my illness,) referred to the smaller photographs at that time in preparation: but the extension of the plan will render all directions to the binder unnecessary, except such as the possessor of the book may himself issue. Of other prefatory matter, once intended,—apologetic mostly,—the reader shall be spared the cumber: and a clear prospectus issued by the publisher of the new series of plates, as soon as they are in a state of forwardness.

The second volume of this edition will contain the most useful matter out of the third volume of the old one, closed by its topical index, abridged and corrected.

BRANTWOOD,
3rd May, 1879.

¹ [For the treatment of the plates in the present edition, see Introduction above, p. xlix.]

² [For contents and other particulars of this edition, see above, Bibliographical Note, p. lvi.]

³ [Ruskin prepared one or two plates for this intended series, but nothing came of it.]

⁴ [*i. e.* page 147 of the first volume of the "Travellers' Edition." The note will now be found in Vol. X. ch. iv. § 42.]

Since first the dominion of men was asserted over the sea, as well over the earth, three Thrones have been founded upon its Sands, the thrones of Tyre, Venice, & England. Two of these ^{of the first of these} great powers have departed of us only the memory ^{remains}; of the second the Ruins - and the Third will ^{in time} have inherited their greatness: if it ^{will not} take warning from their example.

The profanation - the Sin - and the punishment of Tyre have been recorded for us, in the most touching ^{words perhaps} of all the lamentations ~~which were~~ ^{were} last uttered by the prophets of Israel for ^{against} the fall of the Cities of the Stranger: - recorded I say for us for who can doubt to whom it is. But we read them as a lovely Song: profaning by their clear and terrible warning - ~~By the remembrance of their~~ ~~ruin~~ ~~that~~ ~~had~~ ~~fallen~~ ~~the~~ ~~sights~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~with~~ ~~violence~~: In the very depth of the ^{fall} punishment of Tyre has diminished its distinctness: and blinded us to its reality - we forget - as we watch the bleaching of the rocks between the sunshine and the ^{waves} sea. That that they were once as in Eden the Garden of God! Her Successor - like her in ^{and greater in endurance of storm} perfection of Beauty, ^{is still left from before our} eyes in the final period of her decline: a Ghost ^{of} the sands of the Sea - so weak - so ^{quiet} dead - so lost in brief of all but her loveliness - that we might well doubt as we watched her faint faint reflection on the mirage of the lagoon, which was the City - & which the Shadow.

I would ^{undoubtedly} ~~would~~ to turn the lines of this Song before it be for ever lost - and to read - as far as I may, the warning which seems to me to be uttered by ~~it~~ ^{every one of the} ~~the~~ ~~gaining~~ ~~waves~~ ~~that~~ ~~beat~~ like peeping bells, against the Stones of Venice.

CHAPTER I

THE QUARRY

§ 1. SINCE first the dominion of men was asserted over the ocean, three thrones, of mark beyond all others, have been set upon its sands: the thrones of Tyre, Venice, and England. Of the First of these great powers only the memory remains; of the Second, the ruin; the Third, which inherits their greatness, if it forget their example, may be led through prouder eminence to less pitied destruction.

The exaltation, the sin, and the punishment of Tyre have been recorded for us, in perhaps the most touching words ever uttered by the Prophets of Israel against the cities of the stranger.¹ But we read them as a lovely song; and close our ears to the sternness of their warning: for the very depth of the Fall of Tyre has blinded us to its reality, and we forget, as we watch the bleaching of the rocks between the sunshine and the sea, that they were once “as in Eden, the garden of God.”²

Her successor, like her in perfection of beauty, though less in endurance of dominion, is still left for our beholding in the final period of her decline: a ghost upon the sands of the sea, so weak—so quiet,—so bereft of all but her loveliness, that we might well doubt, as we watched her faint reflection in the mirage of the lagoon, which was the City, and which the Shadow.

I would endeavour to trace the lines of this image before it be for ever lost, and to record, as far as I may, the warning which seems to me to be uttered by every one of the fast-gaining waves, that beat like passing bells, against the STONES OF VENICE.

§ 2. It would be difficult to overrate the value of the

¹ [Isaiah xxiii.]

² [Ezekiel xxviii. 13.]

lessons which might be derived from a faithful study of the history of this strange and mighty city: a history which, in spite of the labour of countless chroniclers, remains in vague and disputable outline,—barred with brightness and shade, like the far away edge of her own ocean, where the surf and the sandbank are mingled with the sky. The inquiries in which we have to engage will hardly render this outline clearer, but their results will, in some degree, alter its aspect; and, so far as they bear upon it at all, they possess an interest of a far higher kind than that usually belonging to architectural investigations. I may, perhaps, in the outset, and in few words, enable the general reader to form a clearer idea of the importance of every existing expression of Venetian character through Venetian art, and of the breadth of interest which the true history of Venice embraces, than he is likely to have gleaned from the current fables of her mystery or magnificence.

§ 3. Venice is usually conceived as an oligarchy: She was so during a period less than the half of her existence, and that including the days of her decline; and it is one of the first questions needing severe examination, whether that decline was owing in anywise to the change in the form of her government, or altogether, as assuredly in great part, to changes in the character of the persons of whom it was composed.¹

The state of Venice existed Thirteen Hundred and Seventy-six years,² from the first establishment of a consular*

* I affectedly called it “consular” because the Ducal power was limited by the great council of the people, and often by two subordinate ministers. But see the clearer statement in my re-written history. [1879.]³

¹ [Ruskin, in one of the MS. drafts of this chapter, anticipates his answer to the question propounded again in § 6 below:—

“In every nation, I believe that changes of government are the expression rather than the cause of changes in character. They are the evidences, not the instruments, of its prosperity or distress; and the history of every people ought to be written with less regard to the events of which their government was the agent, than to the disposition of which it was the sign.”]

² [That is, from A.D. 421—the date commonly accepted for the foundation of Venice (but see note below to Appendix 1, p. 417)—to 1797, when General Bonaparte delivered his well-known *ultimatum*: “*Io non voglio più Inquisitori, non voglio più Senato, saro un Attila per lo Stato Veneto.*”]

³ [Later editions added the reference “*St. Mark’s Rest*, ch. v.,” where the outlines of Venetian history are again mapped out.]

government on the island of the Rialto,* to the moment when the General-in-chief of the French army of Italy pronounced the Venetian republic a thing of the past. Of this period, Two Hundred and Seventy-six† years were passed in a nominal subjection to the cities of old Venetia, especially to Padua, and in an agitated form of democracy of which the executive appears to have been entrusted to tribunes,‡ chosen, one by the inhabitants of each of the principal islands. For six hundred years, during which the power of Venice was continually on the increase, her government was an elective monarchy, her King or Doge possessing, in early times at least, as much independent authority as any other European sovereign, but an authority gradually subjected to limitation, and shortened almost daily of its prerogatives, while it increased in a spectral and incapable magnificence. The final government of the nobles under the image of a king, lasted for five hundred years, during which Venice reaped the fruits of her former energies, consumed them,—and expired.

§ 4. Let the reader therefore conceive the existence of the Venetian state as broadly divided into two periods:¹ the first of nine hundred, the second of five hundred years, the separation being marked by what was called the “Serrar del Consiglio;” § that is to say, the final and absolute distinction of the nobles from the commonalty, and the establishment of the government in their hands to the exclusion alike of the influence

* Appendix 1: “Foundation of Venice” [p. 417].

† Appendix 2: “Power of the Doges” [p. 418].

‡ There is no “appearance” in the matter. Each tribe or group of people had its own natural captain, and I don’t trace any subjection to the land cities, now. See again the new history. But the main truth of the statement remains: the government was at first democratic, agitated, and weak. [1879].²

§ Appendix 3: “Serrar del Consiglio”³ [p. 418].

¹ [See *St. Mark’s Rest*, §§ 59–65, for another division of Venetian history—into the four periods of (1) formation, A.D. 421–1100; (2) establishment, 1100–1301; (3) meditation, 1301–1402; and (4) luxury, 1421–1600.]

² [In place of this note, editions of the complete work give the following reference:—

“Sismondi, *Hist. des Rép. Ital.*, vol. i. ch. v.”]

³ [This famous measure, known as the *Serrata del Maggior Consiglio* (or closing of the Great Council), was passed in 1297.]

of the people on the one side, and the authority of the Doge on the other.

Then the first period, of nine hundred years, presents us with the most interesting spectacle of a people struggling out of anarchy into order and power; and then governed, for the most part, by the worthiest and noblest man whom they could find among them,* called their Doge or Leader, with an aristocracy gradually and resolutely forming itself around him, out of which, and at last by which, he was chosen; an aristocracy owing its origin to the accidental numbers, influence, and wealth of some among the families of the fugitives from the older Venetia, and gradually organising itself, by its unity and heroism, into a separate body.

This first period includes the Rise of Venice, her noblest achievements, and the circumstances which determined her character and position among European powers; and within its range, as might have been anticipated, we find the names of all her hero princes—of Pietro Orseolo, Ordalafo Falier, Domenico Michieli, Sebastiano Ziani, and Enrico Dandolo.¹

§ 5. The second period opens with a hundred and twenty years, the most eventful in the career of Venice—the central

* “Ha saputo trovar modo che non uno, non pochi, non molti, signoreggiano, ma molti buoni, pochi migliori, e insieme, *un ottimo solo*.”—*Sansovino*.² Ah, well done, Venice! Wisdom this, indeed.

¹ [Pietro Orseolo II. (reigned 991–1008), the hero of the Dalmatian War; it was to celebrate that expedition that the function, afterwards developed into the famous *Sposalizio del Mare*, originated. Ordalafo Falier (1102–1118), after a successful expedition to Sidon, was defeated and killed, in spite of his personal valour, by the Hungarians at Zara (see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 3). For Domenico Michieli (1118–1130), and his Tyrian expedition from which he brought back as spoils the Pillars of the Piazzetta and for the other famous things that he did, see *St. Mark's Rest*, ch. i. (“The Burden of Tyre”). For the brilliant reign of Sebastiano Ziani (1172–1178), see H. F. Brown's *Venice*, pp. 106–113; and for his work as a builder of the Ducal Palace, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 11. The reign of Enrico Dandolo—the “blind old Dandolo” of Byron (see *Childe Harold*, iv. 12)—(1193–1205) is memorable for the capture and sack of Constantinople: for a reference to his conduct in the siege, see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 91; it was he who brought to Venice the bronze horses which stand over the principal portal of St. Mark's.]

² [*Venetia Città Nobilissima et singolare descritta in xiiii Libri da M. Francesco Sansovino*, ed. 1663, p. 5.]

struggle of her life¹—stained with her darkest crime, the murder of Carrara—disturbed by her most dangerous internal sedition, the conspiracy of Falier—oppressed by her most fatal war, the war of Chiozza—and distinguished by the glory of her two noblest citizens (for in this period the heroism of her citizens replaces that of her monarchs), Vittor Pisani and Carlo Zeno.

I date the commencement of the Fall of Venice from the death of Carlo Zeno, 8th May 1418;* the *visible* commencement from that of another of her noblest and wisest children, the Doge Tomaso Mocenigo, who expired five years later. The reign of Foscari followed,² gloomy with pestilence and war; a war in which large acquisitions of territory were made by subtle or fortunate policy in Lombardy, and disgrace, significant as irreparable, sustained in the battles on the Po at Cremona, and in the marshes of Caravaggio.³ In 1454, Venice, the first of the states of Christendom, humiliated herself to the Turk:⁴ in the same year was established the Inquisition of

* Daru, liv. [book] xii. cap. xii.⁵

¹ [The long conflict with Genoa which lasted during the greater part of the fourteenth century. Francesco Carrara, Lord of Padua and a relentless enemy of Venice, was strangled in prison, January 17, 1405. The conspiracy of Marino Falier (Doge 1354–1355) to slay the nobles and proclaim himself Prince of Venice has been invested by the historians and by Byron's Tragedy with more importance than really belongs to it (see H. F. Brown's *Venice*, p. 204). For an estimate of gain and loss in the War of Chioggia (1379–1388), see the same authority, p. 233. In that war, Vittor Pisani and Carlo Zeno specially distinguished themselves: for another reference to the latter, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 66.]

² [For Tommaso Mocenigo (1414–1423)—the great doge who desired to arrest the extension of the Republic—see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 128 *n.*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 70; for his re-building of the Ducal Palace, § 45 below, and vol. ii. ch. viii. §§ 22, 25; for his tomb, § 40 below. For a summary of the results of the long and eventful reign of his successor, Francesco Foscari (1423–1457), see H. F. Brown's *Venice*, p. 306.]

³ [The reference is to the destruction of the Venetian flotilla at Casal-Maggiore on the Po, near Cremona, by Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, in 1448, and to his subsequent defeat of the Venetian forces at the battle of Caravaggio: see Daru, book xvi. chs. 5, 6.]

⁴ [The reference is to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the failure of Venice to defend the Emperor against them, and to the Treaty between the Republic and the Sultan Mahomet II. in the following year: see Daru, book xvi. ch. xv.]

⁵ [*Histoire de la Republique de Venise*, par P. Daru, is the authority principally followed by Ruskin in his allusions to Venetian history.]

State,* and from this period her government takes the perfidious and mysterious form under which it is usually conceived.† In 1477, the great Turkish invasion spread terror to the shores of the lagoons;¹ and in 1508 the league of Cambrai marks the period usually assigned as the commencement of the decline of the Venetian power;‡ the commercial prosperity of Venice in the close of the fifteenth century blinding her historians to the previous evidence of the diminution of her internal strength.

§ 6. Now there is apparently a significant coincidence between the establishment of the aristocratic and oligarchical powers, and the diminution of the prosperity of the state. But this is the very question at issue; and it appears to me quite undetermined by any historian, or determined by each in accordance with his own prejudices. It is a triple question: first, whether the oligarchy established by the efforts of individual ambition was the cause, in its subsequent operation, of the Fall of Venice; or (secondly) whether the establishment of the oligarchy itself be not the sign and evidence, rather than the cause, of national enervation; or (lastly) whether, as I rather think, the history of Venice might not be written almost without reference to the construction of her senate or the prerogatives of her Doge. It is the history of

* Daru, liv. [book] xvi. cap. xx. We owe to this historian the discovery of the statutes of the tribunal and date of its establishment.

† It has been indeed *conceived* under this form; and was assuredly in many respects “mysterious,” and in some acts “perfidious.” I believe it merits the title, in the essential spirit of its government, as much as “perfid Albion.” [1879.]

‡ Ominously signified by their humiliation to the Papal power (as before to the Turkish) in 1509, and their abandonment of their right of appointing the clergy of their territories.

¹ [The Treaty referred to in the preceding note provided but a short truce. The Turks pursued their career of conquest throughout the Levant, and the Republic was left by Europe to resist the invasion single-handed. At last Venice wearied of the conflict, and after a period of negotiation, 1476–1478, made an inglorious peace in 1479. Thereupon Europe combining against the surrender of Venice to the Turk on the one side, and her constant aggressions on the other, formed the League of Cambrai, by which France, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Pope, the King of Hungary, and the Dukes of Savoy and France, united to deprive the Republic of her possessions on the mainland.]

a people eminently at unity in itself, descendants of Roman race, long disciplined by adversity, and compelled by its position either to live nobly or to perish:—for a thousand years they fought for life; for three hundred they invited death: their battle was rewarded, and their call was heard.

§ 7. Throughout her career, the victories of Venice, and, at many periods of it, her safety, were purchased by individual heroism; and the man who exalted or saved her was sometimes (oftenest) her king, sometimes a noble, sometimes a citizen. To him no matter, nor to her: the real question is, not so much what names they bore, or with what powers they were entrusted, as how they were trained; how they were made masters of themselves, servants of their country, patient of distress, impatient of dishonour; and what was the true reason of the change from the time when she could find saviours among those whom she had cast into prison,¹ to that when the voices of her own children commanded her to sign covenant with Death.*

§ 8. On this collateral question I wish the reader's mind to be fixed throughout all our subsequent inquiries. It will give double interest to every detail: nor will the interest be profitless; for the evidence which I shall be able to deduce from the arts of Venice will be both frequent and irrefragable, that the decline of her political prosperity was exactly coincident with that of domestic and individual religion.²

* The senate voted the abdication of their authority by a majority of 512 to 14. (Alison, ch. xxiii.)

¹ [The allusion is to Vittor Pisani (above referred to, § 5); he had been cast into prison, after the battle of Pola (1379), in which, through no fault of his, the Venetian fleet had been completely routed by the Genoese. When in the further stress of war a popular cry arose for his services, Pisani was released. "I endured my imprisonment," he said, "without a murmur; now that I have regained my liberty, my whole existence is dedicated to my country." It was on the 12th of May, 1797, that the Great Council accepted a new form of government at the hands of General Bonaparte.]

² [In one MS. draft of this chapter is the following passage:—

"There is no cause to seek any other than this surface reason for the strength of Venice—or for her fate. We are not called upon to weigh her responsibilities or count her crimes: we have only to watch the courses of her former and her latter life, and to compare her youth in pursuit of power with her age in pursuit of pleasure. She sought both with the same avidity, and presents to us the simplest and most easily read of all the examples which are furnished by history."]

I say domestic and individual; for—and this is the second point which I wish the reader to keep in mind—the most curious phenomenon in all Venetian history is the vitality of religion in private life, and its deadness in public policy. Amidst the enthusiasm, chivalry, or fanaticism of the other states of Europe, Venice stands, from first to last, like a masked statue; her coldness impenetrable; her exertion only aroused by the touch of a secret spring. That spring was her commercial interest,—this the one motive of all her important political acts, or enduring national animosities. She could forgive insults to her honour, but never rivalry in her commerce; she calculated the glory of her conquests by their value, and estimated their justice by their facility. The fame of success remains, when the motives of attempt are forgotten; and the casual reader of her history may perhaps be surprised to be reminded, that the expedition which was commanded by the noblest of her princes, and whose results added most to her military glory, was one in which, while all Europe around her was wasted by the fire of its devotion, she first calculated the highest price she could exact from its piety for the armament she furnished, and then, for the advancement of her own private interests, at once broke her faith* and betrayed her religion.

§ 9. And yet, in the midst of this national criminality, we shall be struck again and again by the evidences of the most noble individual feeling. The tears of Dandolo¹ were not shed

* By directing the arms of the Crusaders against a Christian prince. Daru, liv. [book] iv. ch. iv., viii.²

¹ [On the reception of the pilgrims before the Fourth Crusade: see Rogers' *Italy* ("St. Mark's Place"), and the authority there cited:—

"Then did he stand, erect, invincible,
Though wan his cheeks, and wet with many tears,
For in his prayers he had been weeping much."

² [The reference is to the bargain made by Venice with the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, to furnish so many transports and galleys in return for so much money, and for half of any conquests made; and to the subsequent diversion of the Crusade, under the Doge Enrico Dandolo (see above, p. 20 *n.*), first to the conquest of Zara and then against the Emperor Alexius at Constantinople. On the vexed question of the "breach of faith," see H. F. Brown's *Venice*, p. 120.]

in hypocrisy, though they could not blind him to the importance of the conquest of Zara. The habit of assigning to religion a direct influence over all *his own* actions, and all the affairs of *his own* daily life, is remarkable in every great Venetian during the times of the prosperity of the state;¹ nor are instances wanting in which the private feeling of the citizens reaches the sphere of their policy, and even becomes the guide of its course where the scales of expediency are doubtfully balanced. I sincerely trust that the inquirer would be disappointed who should endeavour to trace any more immediate reasons for their adoption of the cause of Alexander III. against Barbarossa,² than the piety which was excited by the character of their suppliant, and the noble pride which was provoked by the insolence of the emperor. But the heart of Venice is shown only in her hastiest councils;* her worldly spirit recovers the ascendancy whenever she has time to calculate the probabilities of advantage, or when they are sufficiently distinct to need no calculation; and the entire subjection of private piety to national policy is not only remarkable throughout the almost endless series of treacheries and tyrannies by which her empire was enlarged and maintained, but symbolised by a very singular circumstance in the building of the city itself. I am aware of no other city of Europe in which its cathedral was not the principal feature. But the principal church in Venice was the chapel attached to the palace of her prince, and called the “Chiesa

* “Yes: that is so,—but it *is* her heart, which was the main gist of the matter,—fool that I was not to understand!³ Venice is superficially and apparently commercial;—at heart passionately heroic and religious; precisely the reverse of modern England, who is superficially and apparently religious; and at heart, entirely infidel, cowardly, and dishonest.” [1879.]

¹ [For instances of this from Venetian paintings, see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. iii. § 15; and compare *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. sec. i. ch. xiv. § 14 (Vol. IV. p. 189 n.). Cf. § 14, below, p. 31.]

² [In 1159; for a statement of the political reasons which may have inclined Venice to the side of the Pope against the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, see again H.F. Brown’s *Venice*, p. 98.]

³ [For a fuller correction of this “blunder, which (says Ruskin) I’ve left standing in all its shame, and with its hat off—like Dr. Johnson repentant in Lichfield Market,” see *St. Mark’s Rest*, §§ 88–90.]

Ducale.”¹ The patriarchal church,* inconsiderable in size and mean in decoration, stands on the outermost islet of the Venetian group, and its name, as well as its site, are probably unknown to the greater number of travellers passing hastily through the city. Nor is it less worthy of remark, that the two most important temples of Venice, next to the ducal chapel, owe their size and magnificence, not to national efforts, but to the energy of the Franciscan and Dominican monks,² supported by the vast organisation of those great societies on the mainland of Italy, and countenanced by the most pious, and perhaps also, in his generation, the most wise, of all the princes of Venice,† who now rests beneath the roof of one of those very temples, and whose life is not satirized by the images of the Virtues which a Tuscan sculptor has placed around his tomb.

§ 10. There are, therefore, two strange and solemn lights in which we have to regard almost every scene in the fitful history of the Rivo Alto.³ We find, on the one hand, a deep

* Appendix 4: “San Pietro di Castello”⁴ [p. 419].

† Tomaso Mocenigo, above named, § 5.⁵

¹ [In *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 90, 91, Ruskin reads a different inner meaning into the “Ducal Church” of Venice. The main function of St. Mark's, he there says, was something “more than of our St. George's at Windsor. . . . There was a greater Duke than her Doge, for Venice; and . . . she built, for her two Dukes, each their palace, side by side.”]

² [The Church of the Frari, founded by the Franciscans in 1250; and that of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, founded by the Dominicans in 1234; for the latter foundation, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 51.]

³ [The foundation of Venice was laid, it will be remembered, on the island of the Deep Stream (Rivo Alto, Rialto): see Appendix 1, p. 417, below, and *St. Mark's Rest*, ch. iii.]

⁴ [In the 1879 (Travellers') Edition, which did not include the appendices, this note ran as follows:—

“ ‘San Pietro di Castello.’ See notice in the Handbook Index.”

The first volume of the “Travellers' Edition” was published before the second, and Ruskin presumably intended to include in the Venetian Index of the latter the account of San Pietro. This, however, was not done, and in the 1884 and later issues of the “Travellers' Edition” the words were omitted.]

⁵ [The 1884 and later issues of the “Travellers' Edition” contained the following supplement to this note:—

“His tomb is in the northern aisle of S. Giovanni e Paolo. See § 40, and vol. iii. ch. ii. § 70.”]

and constant tone of individual religion characterising the lives of the citizens of Venice in her greatness; we find this spirit influencing them in all the familiar and immediate concerns of life, giving a peculiar dignity to the conduct even of their commercial transactions, and confessed by them with a simplicity of faith that may well put to shame the hesitation with which a man of the world at present admits (even if it be so in reality) that religious feeling has any influence over the minor branches of his conduct. And we find as the natural consequence of all this, a healthy serenity of mind and energy of will expressed in all their actions, and a habit of heroism which never fails them, even when the immediate motive of action ceases to be praiseworthy. With the fulness of this spirit the prosperity of the state is exactly correspondent, and with its failure her decline, and that with a closeness and precision which it will be one of the collateral objects of the following essay to demonstrate from such accidental evidence as the field of its inquiry presents. And, thus far, all is natural and simple. But the stopping short of this religious faith when it appears likely to influence national action, correspondent as it is, and that most strikingly, with several characteristics of the temper of our present English legislature, is a subject, morally and politically, of the most curious interest and complicated difficulty; one, however, which the range of my present inquiry will not permit me to approach, and for the treatment of which I must be content to furnish materials in the light I may be able to throw upon the private tendencies of the Venetian character.

§ 11. There is, however, another most interesting feature in the policy of Venice which will be often brought before us; and which a Romanist would gladly assign as the reason of its irreligion; namely, the magnificent and successful struggle which she maintained against the temporal authority of the Church of Rome. It is true that, in a rapid survey of her career, the eye is at first arrested by the strange drama to which I have already alluded, closed by that ever memorable scene

in the portico of St. Mark's,* the central expression in most men's thoughts of the unendurable elevation of the pontifical power;† it is true that the proudest thoughts of Venice, as well as the insignia of her prince, and the form of her chief festival, recorded the service thus rendered to the Roman Church.¹

* "In that temple porch,
(The brass is gone, the porphyry remains,
Did BARBAROSSA fling his mantle off,
And kneeling, on his neck receive the foot
Of the proud Pontiff²—thus at last consoled
For flight, disguise, and many an anguish shake
On his stone pillow."

I need hardly say whence the lines are taken: Rogers's *Italy* has, I believe, now a place in the best beloved compartment of all libraries, and will never be removed from it. There is more true expression of the spirit of Venice in the passages devoted to her in that poem, than in all else that has been written of her.³

† Most men being geese, in everything they think and say of all powers

¹ [It was after the homage of Barbarossa that the Doge received from the Pope the umbrella which henceforth was one of the insignia of his state. A picturesque account of the State procession of the Doge, from the chronicle of an eye-witness in 1278, may be read in H. F. Brown's *Venice*, pp. 147–148: "Behind the canons walks Monsignor the Doge, under the umbrella which Monsignor the apostle (*i.e.* the Pope) gave him; the umbrella is of cloth of gold, and a lad bears it in his hands." It was, too, after the homage of Barbarossa that "a sacramental complexion was given to the ancient ceremony of Ascension Day. Instead of a placatory or expiatory function, it became nuptial. Henceforth the Doge every year dropped a consecrated ring into the sea, and with the words *Desponsamus te, mare*, declared that Venice and the sea were indissolubly one" (*ibid.*, p. 110).]

² ["Three slabs of red marble in the porch of St. Mark's point out the spot where Frederick knelt in sudden awe, and the Pope (Alexander III.) with tears of joy raised him, and gave the kiss of peace. A later legend, to which poetry and painting have given an undeserved currency, tells how the pontiff set his foot on the neck of the prostrate king, with the words, 'The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot.' It needed not this exaggeration to enhance the significance of that scene, even more full of meaning for the future than it was solemn and affecting to the Venetian crowd that thronged the church and the piazza. For it was the renunciation by the mightiest prince of his time of the project to which his life had been devoted: it was the abandonment by the secular power of a contest in which it had twice been vanquished, and which it could not renew under more favourable conditions" (Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, ed. 1889, p. 164). The reconciliation took place on July 23, 1177. A picture in the great hall of the Ducal Palace (Sala del Maggior Consiglio) by Federigo Zuccaro represents the scene. For another reference by Ruskin to "the humiliation of Barbarossa," and to Byron's line summing up the Fall of Venice—"An Emperor tramples where an Emperor knelt"—see *Fiction, Fair and Foul*, § 90.]

³ [Rogers' *Italy* was connected, as we have seen, with Ruskin's earliest interest in the romance of Italy (see Vol. I. p. xxix.): and he was on friendly terms with the poet. For other complimentary references to the *Italy*, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. iii. § 3, and the letter to Rogers written from Venice in 1852, which is given in a later volume.]

But the enduring sentiment of years more than balanced the enthusiasm of a moment; and the bull of Clement V., which excommunicated the Venetians and their Doge, likening them to Dathan, Abiram, Absalom, and Lucifer,¹ is a stronger evidence of the great tendencies of the Venetian government than the umbrella of the Doge or the ring of the Adriatic. The humiliation of Francesco Dandolo blotted out the shame of Barbarossa, and the total exclusion of ecclesiastics from all share in the councils of Venice became an enduring mark of her knowledge of the spirit of the Church of Rome, and of her defiance of it.

To this exclusion of Papal influence from her councils, the Romanist will attribute their irreligion, and the Protestant their success.* The first may be silenced by a reference to the character of the policy of the Vatican itself; and the second by his own shame, when he reflects that the English legislature sacrificed their principles to expose themselves to the very danger which the Venetian senate sacrificed theirs to avoid.

§ 12. One more circumstance remains to be noted respecting the Venetian Government, the singular unity of the families composing it,—unity far from sincere or perfect, but

above them. See true account of this scene to be given in “St. Mark’s Rest.”² [1879.]

* At least, such success as they had. Vide Appendix 5: “The Papal Power in Venice”³ [p. 419].

¹ [Ruskin takes his description of this Bull from Daru, book vii. ch. vi. It was promulgated on March 27, 1309, in consequence of the attack of Venice upon Ferrara, which was claimed as a fief of the Church. In 1311 the interdict was removed, on the petition of Francesco Dandolo (afterwards Doge), who was sent as Ambassador to the Papal Court at Avignon, the Republic agreeing to pay indemnity. For a fuller account of “the humiliation of Francesco Dandolo,” see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 59.]

² [“Travellers’ Edition,” eds. 1 and 2, omit the words “to be given.” The account was, however, not given.]

³ [The “Travellers’ Edition” (eds. 1 and 2) contained the following addition to this note:—

“(This appendix, modified, is now printed in the third chapter of this book.)” Ruskin did not, however, thus print it; and in the third and later issues the words were omitted. In addition to Appendix 5, see for Ruskin’s intense opposition to Catholic Emancipation, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Vol. VIII. p. 269 of this edition.]

still admirable when contrasted with the fiery feuds, the almost daily revolutions, the restless successions of families and parties in power, which fill the annals of the other states of Italy. That rivalry should sometimes be ended by the dagger, or enmity conducted to its ends under the mask of law, could not but be anticipated where the fierce Italian spirit was subjected to so severe a restraint: it is much that jealousy appears usually unmingled with illegitimate ambition, and that, for every instance in which private passion sought its gratification through public danger, there are a thousand in which it was sacrificed to the public advantage. Venice may well call upon us to note with reverence, that of all the towers which are still seen rising like a branchless forest from her islands, there is but one¹ whose office was other than that of summoning to prayer, and that one was a watch-tower only:* from first to last, while the palaces of the other cities of Italy were lifted into sullen fortitudes of rampart, and fringed with forked battlements for the javelin and the bow, the sands of Venice never sank under the weight of a war-tower, and her roof terraces² were wreathed with Arabian imagery of golden globes suspended on the leaves of lilies.†

§ 13. These, then, appear to me to be the points of chief general interest in the character and fate of the Venetian people. I would next endeavour to give the reader some idea of the manner in which the testimony of Art bears upon these questions, and of the aspect which the arts themselves assume when they are regarded in their true connection with the history of the state:—

First, receive the witness of Painting.

* Thus literally was fulfilled the promise to St. Mark—Pax tibi Marce. [1879.]

† The inconsiderable fortifications of the arsenal are no exception to this statement, as far as it regards the city itself. They are little more than a semblance of precaution against the attack of a foreign enemy.

¹ [*i.e.*, the Campanile of St. Mark, which was a civic edifice; a watchman, stationed in the belfry, struck the great bell at every quarter of an hour; for its fall, see below, p. 248 *n.*]

² [See the description of them in *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. § 12.]

It will be remembered that I put the commencement of the Fall of Venice as far back as 1418.¹

Now, John Bellini was born in 1423, and Titian in 1480. John Bellini, and his brother Gentile, two years older than he, close the line of the sacred painters of Venice.² But the most solemn spirit of religious faith animates their works to the last. There is no religion in any work of Titian's: * there is not even the smallest evidence of religious temper or sympathies either in himself, or in those for whom he painted. His larger sacred subjects are merely themes for the exhibition of pictorial rhetoric,—composition and colour.³ His minor works are generally made subordinate to purposes of portraiture. The Madonna in the church of the Frari is a mere lay figure, introduced to form a link of connection between the portraits of various members of the Pesaro family who surround her.⁴

Now this is not merely because John Bellini was a religious man and Titian was not. Titian and Bellini are each true representatives of the school of painters contemporary with them; and the difference in their artistic feeling is a consequence not so much of difference in their own natural characters as in their early education: Bellini was brought up in faith; Titian in formalism. Between the years of their births the vital religion of Venice had expired.

§ 14. The *vital* religion, observe, not the formal. Outward observance was as strict as ever; and Doge and senator still were painted, in almost every important instance, kneeling before the Madonna or St. Mark; a confession of faith made universal by the pure gold of the Venetian sequin. But observe the great picture of Titian's, in the ducal palace, of

* These two paragraphs [§§ 13 and 14, are as true and sound as they are audacious. I am very proud of them, on re-reading. [1879.]

¹ [See above, § 5, p. 21.]

² [Ruskin at this time had not fully discovered Carpaccio (born 1450): see Vol. IV. p. 356 *n.*]

³ [See for passages in this sense *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 195), and *Notes on the Venetian Academy*; for a different estimate of the religious mind of Titian, see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. part ix. ch. iii. §§ 28–31.]

⁴ [For an appreciation of this picture, see note of 1877 in vol. iii. (Venetian Index, *s.* "Frari").]

the Doge Antonio Grimani kneeling before Faith: there is a curious lesson in it. The figure of faith is a coarse portrait of one of Titian's least graceful female models:¹ Faith had become carnal. The eye is first caught by the flash of the Doge's armour: the heart of Venice was in her wars, not in her worship.

The mind of Tintoret, incomparably more deep and serious than that of Titian, casts the solemnity of its own tone over the sacred subjects which it approaches, and sometimes forgets itself into devotion; but the principle of treatment is altogether the same as Titian's: absolute subordination of the religious subject to purposes of decoration or portraiture.²

The evidence might be accumulated a thousandfold from the works of Veronese, and of every succeeding painter,—that the fifteenth century had taken away the religious heart of Venice.

§ 15. Such is the evidence of Painting. To collect that of Architecture will be our task through many a page to come; but I must here give a general idea of its heads.

Philippe de Commynes, writing of his entry into Venice in 1495, says,—

“Chascun me fait seoir au meillieu de ces deux ambassadeurs qui est l'honneur d'Italie que d'estre au meillieu; et me menerent au long de la grant rue, qu'ilz appellent le Canal Grant, et est bien large. Les gallees y passent à travers, et y ay veu navire de quatre cens tonneaux ou plus pres des maisons; et est la plus belle rue que je croy qui soit en tout le monde, et la mieulx maisonnee, et va le long de la ville. Les maisons sont fort grandes et haultes, et de bonne pierre, et les anciennes toutes peintes; les aultres faictes depuis cent ans: toutes ont le devant de marbre blanc, qui leur vient, d'Istrie, à cent mils de là, et encores maincte grant piece de porphire et de sarpentine sur le devant. . . . C'est la plus triumpante cité que j'aye jamais veue et qui plus faict d'honneur à

¹ [For other references to this picture, see vol. iii. (Venetian Index, s. “Ducal Palace,” No. 3), and *Modern Painters*, vol. i. pt. ii. sec. i. ch. vii. § 29 (Vol. III. p. 211).]

² [See *Modern Painters*, vol. i. pt. ii. sec. i. ch. vii. § 12 (Vol. III. p. 182), where it is said of Tintoret's “noble treatment of religious subjects” that it resulted more from imaginative grasp than from “the more withdrawn and sacred sympathies.”]

ambassadeurs et estrangiers, et qui plus saigement se gouverne, et où le service de Dieu est le plus sollempnellement faict: et encores qu'il y peust bien avoir d'autres faultes, si croy je que Dieu les a en ayde pour la reverence qu'ilz portent au service de l'Eglise."*

§ 16. This passage is of peculiar interest, for two reasons. Observe, first, the impression of Commynes respecting the religion of Venice: of which, as I have above said, the forms still remained with some glimmering of life in them, and were the evidence of what the real life had been in former times. But observe, secondly, the impression instantly made on Commynes' mind by the distinction between the older palaces and those built "within this last hundred years; which all have their fronts of white marble brought from Istria, a hundred miles away, and besides, many a large piece of porphyry and serpentine upon their fronts."

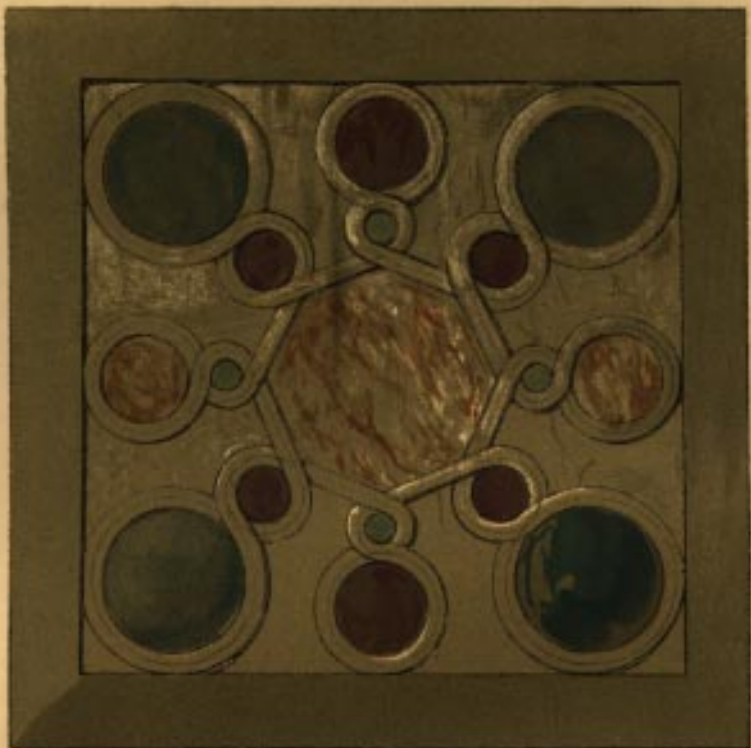
On the opposite page I have given two of the ornaments of the palaces which so struck the French ambassador.† He was right in his notice of the distinction. There had indeed come a change over Venetian architecture in the fifteenth century; and a change of some importance to us moderns: we English owe to it our St. Paul's Cathedral,¹ and Europe in general owes to it the utter degradation or destruction of her schools of architecture, never since revived. But that the reader may understand this, it is necessary that he should have

* *Mémoires de Commynes*, liv. [book] vii. ch. xviii.²

† Appendix 6: "Renaissance Ornaments" [p. 425].

¹ [For Ruskin's dislike of St. Paul's, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 67, 152, and below, pp. 44, 90, 245.]

² ["Placed between the two ambassadors, the middle being the most honourable place in Italy, I was conducted through the principal street, which they call the Grand Canal, and it is so wide that galleys frequently cross one another; indeed I have seen vessels of four hundred tons or more ride at anchor just by the houses. It is the fairest and best-built street, I think, in the world, and goes quite through the city; the houses are very large and lofty, and built of good stone; the old ones are all painted; those of about a hundred years' standing are faced with white marble from Istria (which is about a hundred miles from Venice), and inlaid with porphyry and serpentine. . . . It is the most triumphant city that I have ever seen, the most respectful to all ambassadors and strangers, governed with the greatest wisdom, and serving God with the most solemnity; so that, though in other things they might be faulty, I believe God blesses them for the reverence they show in the service of the Church" (*The Memoirs of Philip de Commynes*, Bohn's edition, 1856, ii. 170).]



J. Baskie

M'Leay & Cummings, Edin'

Wall-Veil Decoration.

Ca' Trevisan, Ca' Dario.

some general idea of the connection of the architecture of Venice with that of the rest of Europe, from its origin forwards.

§ 17. All European architecture, bad and good, old and new, is derived from Greece through Rome, and coloured and perfected from the East. The history of architecture is nothing but the tracing of the various modes and directions of this derivation. Understand this, once for all: if you hold fast this great connecting clue, you may string all the types of successive architectural invention upon it like so many beads. The Doric and the Corinthian orders are the roots, the one of all Romanesque, massy-capitalled buildings—Norman, Lombard, Byzantine, and what else you can name of the kind; and the Corinthian of all Gothic, Early English, French, German, and Tuscan. Now observe: those old Greeks gave the shaft; Rome gave the arch; the Arabs pointed and foliated the arch. The shaft and arch, the framework and strength of architecture, are from the race of Japheth: the spirituality and sanctity of it from Ismael, Abraham, and Shem.

§ 18. There is high probability that the Greek received his shaft system from Egypt; but I do not care to keep this earlier derivation in the mind of the reader. It is only necessary that he should be able to refer to a fixed point of origin, when the form of the shaft was first perfected. But it may be incidentally observed, that if the Greeks did indeed receive their Doric from Egypt, then the three families of the earth have each contributed their part to its noblest architecture: and Ham, the servant of the others, furnishes the sustaining or bearing member, the shaft; Japheth the arch; Shem the spiritualisation of both.

§ 19. I have said that the two orders, Doric and Corinthian, are the roots of all European architecture. You have, perhaps, heard of five orders: but there are only two real orders: and there never can be any more until doomsday. On one of these orders the ornament is convex: those are Doric, Norman, and what else you recollect of the kind. On the other the ornament is concave: those are Corinthian, Early

English, Decorated, and what else you recollect of that kind. The transitional form, in which the ornamental line is straight, is the centre or root of both. All other orders are varieties of these, or phantasms and grotesques, altogether indefinite in number and species.*

§ 20. This Greek architecture, then, with its two orders, was clumsily copied and varied by the Romans with no particular result, until they began to bring the arch into extensive practical service; except only that the Doric capital was spoiled in endeavours to mend it, and the Corinthian much varied and enriched with fanciful and often very beautiful imagery. And in this state of things came Christianity: seized upon the arch as her own: decorated it, and delighted in it: invented a new Doric capital to replace the spoiled Roman one: and all over the Roman empire set to work, with such materials as were nearest at hand, to express and adorn herself as best she could. This Roman Christian architecture is the exact expression of the Christianity of the time, very fervid and beautiful—but very imperfect; in many respects ignorant, and yet radiant with a strong, childish light of imagination, which flames up under Constantine, illumines all the shores of the Bosphorus and the Ægean and the Adriatic Sea, and then gradually, as the people give themselves up to idolatry, becomes corpse-light. The architecture, like the religion it expressed, sinks into a settled form—a strange, gilded, and embalmed repose; and so would have remained for ever,—so *does* remain, where its languor has been undisturbed.†¹ But rough wakening was ordained for it.

* Appendix 7: “Varieties of the Orders” [p. 426].

† The reader will find the *weak* points of Byzantine architecture shrewdly seized, and exquisitely sketched, in the opening chapter of the most delightful book of travels I ever opened,—Curzon’s *Monasteries of the Levant*.²

¹ [A variant of this passage in the MS. reads:—

“ . . . remained for ever. So does remain: in the spots of the earth where its sleep of death has been undisturbed, amidst the woods of Athos and on the crags of Albania.”]

² [*Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant*, by the Hon. Robert Curzon, Jun. (afterwards the 14th Baron Zouche, of Harringworth), had been published in 1849. The criticism of Byzantine architecture will be found at pp. xxiv.–xxxiii. of the original edition.]

§ 21. This Christian art of the declining empire is divided into two great branches, western and eastern; one centred at Rome, the other at Byzantium, of which the one is the early Christian Romanesque, properly so called, and the other, carried to higher imaginative perfection by Greek workmen, is distinguished from it as Byzantine. But I wish the reader, for the present, to class these two branches of art together in his mind,* they being, in points of main importance, the same; that is to say, both of them a true continuance and sequence of the art of old Rome itself, flowing uninterruptedly down from the fountain-head, and entrusted always to the best workmen who could be found—Latin in Italy and Greeks in Greece; and thus both branches may be ranged under the general term of Christian Romanesque, an architecture which had lost the refinement of Pagan art in the degradation of the Empire, but which was elevated by Christianity to higher aims, and by the fancy of the Greek workmen endowed with brighter forms. And this art the reader may conceive as extending in its various branches over all the central provinces of the empire, taking aspects more or less refined, according to its proximity to the seats of government; dependent for all its power on the vigour and freshness of the religion which animated it; and as that vigour and purity departed, losing its own vitality, and sinking into nerveless rest, not deprived of its beauty, but benumbed, and incapable of advance or change.

* This was a great error of mine, in endeavour for simplicity. The Greek school at Byzantium is pure Greek in decline; but that which passed through the Roman mind, and formed Roman and Romanesque architecture in North Europe, was sensualised and brutalised into forms which developed the Northern fleshly or naturalist instincts. Taken up by Niccolo Pisano, it superseded the old Greek, under Cimabue. For full statement of this, see the *Laws of Fésolle*; and at present, to set these pages right, omit from "But I wish" as far as "brighter forms," and for the second sentence of the twenty-second paragraph, read, "While in Rome, this corruptly enriched Roman art, and at Byzantium, this religiously-pining Greek art, were practised in all their refinements." [1879.]¹

¹ [The subject was not, however, discussed in the *Laws of Fésolle*; but see *Ariadne Florentina*, § 67 n.]

§ 22. Meantime there had been preparation for its renewal. While in Rome and Constantinople, and in the districts under their immediate influence, this Roman art of pure descent was practised in all its refinement, an impure form of it—a patois of Romanesque—was carried by inferior workmen into distant provinces; and still ruder imitations of this patois were executed by the barbarous nations on the skirts of the Empire. But these barbarous nations were in the strength of their youth; and while, in the centre of Europe, a refined and purely descended art was sinking into graceful formalism, on its confines a barbarous and borrowed art was organising itself into strength and consistency. The reader must therefore consider the history of the work of the period as broadly divided into two great heads: the one embracing the elaborately languid succession of the Christian art of Rome; and the other, the imitations of it executed by nations in every conceivable phase of early organisation, on the edges of the Empire, or included in its now merely nominal extent.

§ 23. Some of the barbaric nations were, of course, not susceptible of this influence; and, when they burst over the Alps, appear like the Huns, as scourges only, or mix, as the Ostrogoths, with the enervated Italians, and give physical strength to the mass with which they mingle, without materially affecting its intellectual character. But others, both south and north of the Empire, had felt its influence, back to the beach of the Indian ocean on the one hand, and to the ice creeks of the North Sea on the other. On the north and west the influence was of the Latins; on the south and east, of the Greeks. Two nations, pre-eminent above all the rest, represent to us the force of derived mind on either side. As the central power is eclipsed, the orbs of reflected light gather into their fulness; and when sensuality and idolatry had done their work, and the religion of the Empire was laid asleep in a glittering sepulchre, the living light rose upon both horizons, and the fierce swords of the Lombard and Arab and were shaken over its golden paralysis.

§ 24. The work of the Lombard was to give hardihood and system to the enervated body and enfeebled mind of Christendom; that of the Arab was to punish idolatry, and to proclaim the spirituality of worship. The Lombard covered every church which he built with the sculptured representations of bodily exercises—hunting and war.* The Arab banished all imagination of creature form from his temples, and proclaimed from their minarets, “There is no god but God.” Opposite in their character and mission, alike in their magnificence of energy, they came from the North and from the South, the glacier torrent and the lava stream: they met and contended over the wreck of the Roman empire; and the very centre of the struggle, the point of pause of both, the dead water of the opposite eddies, charged with embayed fragments of the Roman wreck, is VENICE.

The Ducal palace of Venice contains the three elements in exactly equal proportions—the Roman, Lombard, and Arab. It is the central building of the world.

§ 25. The reader will now begin to understand something of the importance of the study of the edifices of a city which concludes, within the circuit of some seven or eight miles, the field of contest between the three pre-eminent architectures of the world:—each architecture expressing a condition of religion; each an erroneous condition, yet necessary to the correction of the others, and corrected by them.

§ 26. It will be part of my endeavour in the following work, to mark the various modes in which the northern and southern architectures were developed from the Roman: here I must pause only to name the distinguishing characteristics of the great families. The Christian Roman and Byzantine work is round-arched, with single and well-proportioned shafts; capitals imitated from classical Roman;† mouldings more or less so; and large surfaces of walls entirely covered with

* Appendix 8: “The Northern Energy” [p. 426].

† Classical Greek, it should have been. I did not at this time myself know the difference between Roman and Greek acanthus. The rest of the chapter is now perfectly right, except in the slip pointed out in § 38. [1879.]

imagery, mosaic, and paintings, whether of scripture history or of sacred symbols.

The Arab school is at first the same in its principal features, the Byzantine workmen being employed by the caliphs; but the Arab rapidly introduces of characters half Persepolitan, half Egyptian, into the shafts and capitals: in his intense love of excitement he points the arch and writhes it into extravagant foliations; he banishes the animal imagery, and invents an ornamentation of his own (called Arabesque) to replace it: this not being adapted for covering large surfaces, he concentrates it on features of interest, and bars his surfaces with horizontal lines of colour, the expression of the level of the Desert. He retains the dome and adds the minaret. All is done with exquisite refinement.

§ 27. The changes effected by the Lombard are more curious still, for they are in the anatomy of the building, more than its decoration. The Lombard architecture represents, as I said, the whole of that of the northern barbaric nations. And this I believe was, at first, an imitation in wood of the Christian Roman churches or basilicas. Without staying to examine the whole structure of a basilica, the reader will easily understand this much of it: that it had a nave and two aisles, the nave much higher than the aisles; that the nave was separated from the aisles by rows of shafts, which supported, above, large spaces of flat or dead wall, rising above the aisles, and forming the upper part of the nave, now called the clerestory, which had a gabled wooden roof.

These high dead walls were, in Roman work, built of stone; but in the wooden work of the North, they must necessarily have been made of horizontal boards or timbers attached to uprights on the top of the nave pillars, which were themselves also of wood.* Now, these uprights were necessarily thicker than the rest of the timbers, and formed vertical square pilasters above the nave piers. As Christianity extended and civilization increased, these wooden structures were changed into stone; but they were literally petrified,

* Appendix 9: "Wooden Churches of the North" [p. 434].

retaining the form which had been made necessary by their being of wood. The upright pilaster above the nave pier remains in the stone edifice, and is the first form of the great distinctive feature of Northern architecture—the vaulting shaft. In that form the Lombards brought it into Italy in the seventh century, and it remains to this day in St. Ambrogio of Milan, and St. Michele of Pavia.¹

§ 28. When the vaulting shaft was introduced in the clerestory walls, additional members were added for its support to the nave piers. Perhaps two or three pine trunks, used for a single pillar, gave the first idea of the grouped shaft. Be that as it may, the arrangement of the nave pier in the form of a cross accompanies the superimposition of the vaulting shaft; together with correspondent grouping of minor shafts in doorways and apertures of windows. Thus, the whole body of the Northern architecture, represented by that of the Lombards, may be described as rough but majestic work, round arched, with grouped shafts, added vaulting shafts, and endless imagery of active life and fantastic superstitions.

§ 29. The glacier stream of the Lombards, and the following one of the Normans, left their erratic blocks wherever they had flowed; but without influencing, I think, the Southern nations beyond the sphere of their own presence. But the lava stream of the Arab, even after it ceased to flow, warmed the whole of the Northern air; and the history of Gothic architecture is the history of the refinement and spiritualisation of Northern work under its influence. The noblest buildings of the world,² the Pisan-Romanesque, Tuscan (Giottoesque) Gothic, and Veronese Gothic, are those of the Lombard schools themselves, under its close and direct influence; the various Gothics of the North are the original forms of the architecture which the Lombards brought into Italy, changing under the less direct influence of the Arab.

¹ [St. Ambrogio (founded by St. Ambrose in 387) dates, as it now stands, from 868–881. St. Michele dates in part from the sixth or seventh century. For other references to these churches, see pp. 133, 263 *n.*, 336, 342, 383, 393, 395, 427, 430.]

² [See above, Preface to ed. 3, p. 15.]

§ 30. Understanding thus much of the formation of the great European styles, we shall have no difficulty in tracing the succession of architectures in Venice herself. From what I said of the central character of Venetian art, the reader is not, of course, to conclude that the Roman, Northern, and Arabian elements met together and contended for the mastery at the same period. The earliest element was the pure Christian Roman; but few, if any, remains of this art exist at Venice; for the present city was in the earliest times only one of many settlements formed on the chain of marshy islands which extend from the mouths of the Isonzo to those of the Adige, and it was not until the beginning of the ninth century that it became the seat of government; while the cathedral of Torcello, though Christian Roman in general form, was rebuilt in the eleventh century, and shows evidence of Byzantine workmanship in many of its details. This cathedral, however, with the church of Santa Fosca at Torcello, San Giacomo di Rialto at Venice, and the crypt of St. Mark's,¹ form a distinct group of buildings, in which the Byzantine influence is exceedingly slight; and which is probably very sufficiently representative of the earliest architecture on the islands.

§ 31. The Ducal residence was removed to Venice in 809, and the body of St. Mark was brought from Alexandria twenty years later. The first church of St. Mark was, doubtless, built in imitation of that destroyed at Alexandria, and from which the relics of the Saint had been obtained. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the architecture of Venice seems to have been formed on the same model, and is almost identical with that of Cairo under the caliphs,* it being quite immaterial whether the reader chooses to call both Byzantine or both Arabic: the workmen being certainly Byzantine, but forced to the invention of new forms by their

* Appendix 10: "Church of Alexandria" [p. 434].

¹ [For the cathedral of Torcello, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. ii.; for Sta. Fosca, *ibid.*, § 3; for San Giacomo, vol. iii. (Venetian Index).]

Arabian masters, and bringing these forms into use in whatever other parts of the world they were employed.

To this first manner of Venetian Architecture, together with such vestiges as remain of the Christian Roman, I shall devote the first division of the following inquiry. The examples remaining of it consist of three noble churches (those of Torcello, Murano, and the greater part of St. Mark's), and about ten or twelve fragments of palaces.

§ 32. To this style succeeds a transitional one of a character much more distinctly Arabian; the shafts become more slender, and the arches consistently pointed, instead of round; certain other changes, not to be enumerated in a sentence, taking place in the capitals and mouldings. This style is almost exclusively secular. It was natural for the Venetians to imitate the beautiful details of the Arabian dwelling-house, while they would with reluctance adopt those of the mosque for Christian churches.

I have not succeeded in fixing limiting dates for this style. It appears in part contemporary with the Byzantine manner, but outlives it. Its position is, however, fixed by the central date, 1180, that of the elevation of the granite shafts of the Piazzetta, whose capitals are the two most important pieces of detail in this transitional style in Venice. Examples of its application to domestic buildings exist in almost every street of the city, and will form the subject of the second division of the following essay.

§ 33. The Venetians were always ready to receive lessons in art from their enemies (else had there been no Arab work in Venice). But their especial dread and hatred of the Lombards appear to have long prevented them from receiving the influence of the art which that people had introduced on the mainland of Italy. Nevertheless, during the practice of the two styles above distinguished, a peculiar and very primitive condition of pointed Gothic had arisen in ecclesiastical architecture. It appears to be a feeble reflection of the Lombard-Arab forms, which were attaining perfection upon the continent, and would probably, if left to itself, have been

soon merged in the Venetian-Arab school, with which it had from the first so close a fellowship, that it will be found difficult to distinguish the Arabian ogives from those which seem to have been built under this early Gothic influence. The churches of San Giacomo dell' Orio, San Giovanni in Bragora, the Carmini,¹ and one or two more, furnish the only important examples of it. But, in the thirteenth century, the Franciscans and Dominicans² introduced from the continent their morality and their architecture, already a distinct Gothic, curiously developed from Lombardic and Northern (German?) forms; and the influence of the principles exhibited in the vast churches of St. Paul and the Frari began rapidly to affect the Venetian-Arab school. Still the two systems never became united; the Venetian policy repressed the power of the church, and the Venetian artists resisted its example; and thenceforward the architecture of the city becomes divided into ecclesiastical and civil: the one an ungraceful yet powerful form of the Western Gothic, common to the whole peninsula, and only showing Venetian sympathies in the adoption of certain characteristic mouldings; the other a rich, luxuriant, and entirely original Gothic, formed from the Venetian-Arab by the influence of the Dominican and Franciscan architecture, and especially by the engrafting upon the Arab forms of the most novel feature of the Franciscan work, its traceries. These various forms of Gothic, the *distinctive* architecture of Venice, chiefly represented by the churches of St. John and Paul, the Frari, the San Stefano, on the ecclesiastical side, and by the Ducal palace, and the other principal Gothic palaces, on the secular side, will be the subject of the third division of the essay.

§ 34. Now observe. The transitional (or especially Arabic) style of the Venetian work is centralised by the date 1180, and is transformed gradually into the Gothic, which extends in its purity from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning

¹ [For San Giacomo dell' Orio and the Carmini, see further *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. (Venetian Index).]

² [See above, p. 26.]

of the fifteenth century; that is to say, over the precise period which I have described as the central epoch of the life of Venice. I dated her decline from the year 1418; Foscari became doge five years later, and in his reign the first marked signs appear in architecture of that mighty change which Philippe de Commynes notices as above, the change to which London owes St. Paul's Rome St. Peter's, Venice and Vicenza the edifices commonly supposed to be their noblest, and Europe in general the degradation of every art she has since practised.

§ 35. This change appears first in a loss of truth and vitality in existing architecture all over the world. (Compare *Seven Lamps*, chap. ii.) All the Gothics in existence, southern or northern, were corrupted at once: the German and French lost themselves in every species of extravagance; the English Gothic was confined, in its insanity, by a strait-waistcoat of perpendicular lines; the Italian effloresced on the mainland into the meaningless ornamentation of Certosa of Pavia¹ and the Cathedral of Como (a style sometimes ignorantly called Italian Gothic), and at Venice into the insipid confusion of the Porta della Carta² and wild crockets of St. Mark's. This corruption of all architecture, especially ecclesiastical, corresponded with, and marked the state of religion over all Europe,—the peculiar degradation of the Romanist superstition, and of public morality in consequence, which brought about the Reformation.

§ 36. Against the corrupted papacy arose two great divisions of adversaries, Protestants in Germany and England; Rationalists in France and Italy; the one requiring the purification of religion, the other its destruction. The Protestant kept the religion, but cast aside the heresies of Rome, and with them her arts, by which last rejection he injured his own character, cramped his intellect in refusing to it one of its noblest exercises, and materially diminished his

¹ [For other criticisms of the Certosa, see Vol. VIII. p. 52 *n.*, and below, ch. xx. § 14, p. 263; and for the Cathedral of Como, see also p. 263.]

² [For the Porta della Carta, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. i. § 15; and for the "wild crockets," *ibid.*, § 14, and Plate 42.]

influence. It may be a serious question how far the Pausing of the Reformation¹ has been a consequence of this error.

The Rationalist kept the arts and cast aside the religion. This rationalistic art is the art commonly called Renaissance, marked by a return to pagan systems, not to adopt them and hallow them for Christianity, but to rank itself under them as an imitator and pupil. In Painting it is headed by Giulio Romano and Nicolo Poussin; in Architecture, by Sansovino and Palladio.

§ 37. Instant degradation followed in every direction,—a flood of folly and hypocrisy. Mythologies ill understood at first, then perverted into feeble sensualities, take the place of the representations of Christian subjects, which had become blasphemous under the treatment of men like the Caracci. Gods without power, satyrs without rusticity, nymphs without innocence, men without humanity, gather into idiot groups upon the polluted canvas, and scenic affectations encumber the streets with preposterous marble. Lower and lower declines the level of abused intellect; the base school of landscape* gradually usurps the place of the historical painting, which had sunk into prurient pedantry,—the Alsatian sublimities of Salvator, the confectionery idealities of Claude, the dull manufacture of Gaspar and Canaletto, south of the Alps, and on the north the patient devotion of desotted lives to delineation of bricks and fogs, fat cattle and ditchwater. And thus, Christianity and morality, courage, and intellect, and art all crumbling together in one wreck, we are hurried on to the fall of Italy, the revolution in France, and the condition of art in England (saved by her Protestantism from severer penalty) in the time of George II.

§ 38. I have not written in vain if I have heretofore done anything towards diminishing the reputation of the Renaissance landscape painting.² But the harm which has been

* Appendix 11: "Renaissance Landscape" [p. 435].

¹ [Another illustration of Ruskin's alarm, at this time, of Catholic Emancipation and Puseyism: see above, p. 29.]

² [A reference of course to one of the main themes of *Modern Painters*, vol. i.]

done by Claude and the Poussins is as nothing when compared to the mischief effected by Palladio, Scamozzi, and Sansovino.¹ Claude and the Poussins were weak men, and have had no serious influence on the general mind. There is little harm in their works being purchased at high prices:² their real influence is very slight, and they may be left without grave indignation to their poor mission of furnishing drawing-rooms and assisting stranded conversation. Not so the Renaissance architecture. Raised at once into all the magnificence of which it was capable by Michael Angelo, then taken up by men of real intellect and imagination, such as Scamozzi, Sansovino, Inigo Jones, and Wren, it is impossible to estimate the extent of its influence on the European mind; and that the more, because few persons are concerned with painting, and of those few the larger number regard it with slight attention; but all men are concerned with architecture, and have at some time of their lives serious business with it.³ It does not much matter that an individual loses two or three hundred pounds in buying a bad picture, but it is to be regretted that a nation should lose two or three hundred thousand in raising a ridiculous building. Nor is it merely wasted wealth or distempered conception which we have to regret in this Renaissance architecture: but we shall find in it partly the root, partly the expression, of certain dominant evils of modern times—over-sophistication and ignorant classicalism; the one destroying the healthfulness of general society, the other rendering our schools and universities useless to a large number of the men who pass through them.

Now Venice, as she was once the most religious, was in her fall the most corrupt, of European states; and as she was

¹ [Palladio of Vicenza (1518–1580); for a criticism of his most admired building in Venice, the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, see under that title in *Venetian Index, Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. Scamozzi of Vicenza (1552–1616), architect and architectural writer, completed the Procuratie Nuove at Venice, designed by Sansovino. Sansovino (1477–1570), architect and historian (see above, p. 20 *n.*), built at Venice the public library, the mint, the Scuola della Misericordia, the loggia at the foot of the Campanile, and many palaces.]

² [The MS. adds: “They are merely another form of bank note, a part of the currency.”]

³ [See above, Preface, § 8, p. 9.]

in her strength the centre* of the pure currents of Christian architecture, so she is in her decline the source of the Renaissance. It was the originality and splendour of the palaces of Vicenza and Venice which gave this school its eminence in the eyes of Europe; and the dying city, magnificent in her dissipation, and graceful in her follies, obtained wider worship in her decrepitude than in her youth, and sank from the midst of her admirers into the grave.

§ 39. It is in Venice, therefore, and in Venice only, that effectual blows can be struck at this pestilent art of the Renaissance. Destroy its claims to admiration there, and it can assert them nowhere else. This, therefore, will be the final purpose of the following essay.¹ I shall not devote a fourth section to Palladio, nor weary the reader with successive chapters of vituperation; but I shall, in my account of the earlier architecture, compare the forms of all its leading features with those into which they were corrupted by the Classicalists; and pause, in the close, on the edge of the precipice of decline, so soon as I have made its depth discernible. In doing this I shall depend upon two distinct kinds of evidence:—the first, the testimony borne by particular incidents and facts to a want of thought or of feeling in the builders; from which we may conclude that their architecture must be bad:—the second, the sense, which I doubt not I shall be able to excite in the reader, of a systematic ugliness in the architecture itself. Of the first kind of testimony I shall here give two instances, which may be immediately useful in fixing

* I am ashamed of having been so entrapped by my own metaphor. Look back to § 24. She was the *centre* of Christian art only as the place of slack water between two currents. I confuse that notion here, with the central power of a fountain in a pool. [1879.]

¹ [Ruskin did not adhere quite strictly to the divisions of the treatise here sketched out. He promises three divisions, and a fourth point to be incidentally noticed—viz. (1) Byzantine architecture at Venice (§ 31 above), (2) Transitional (§ 32), and (3) Gothic (§ 33), with (4) incidental references to Renaissance. In fact, however, he treated (2) and (3) together (see vol. ii. ch. vi. § 1), and devoted a separate division of the work to (4), thus:—First, or Byzantine, Period (vol. ii. chs. i.–v.); Second, or Gothic, Period (vol. ii. chs. vi.–viii.); Third, or Renaissance, Period (vol. iii. chs. i.–iv.)]

in the reader's mind the epoch above indicated for the commencement of decline.

§ 40. I must again refer to the importance which I have above attached [§ 5] to the death of Carlo Zeno and the Doge Tomaso Mocenigo. The tomb of that doge is, as I said, wrought by a Florentine; but it is of the same general type and feeling as all the Venetian tombs of the period, and it is one of the last which retains it. The classical element enters largely into its details, but the feeling of the whole is as yet unaffected. Like all the lovely tombs of Venice and Verona, it is a sarcophagus with a recumbent figure above, and this figure is a faithful but tender portrait, wrought as far as it can be without painfulness, of the doge as he lay in death. He wears his Ducal robe and bonnet—his head is laid slightly aside upon his pillow—his hands are simply crossed as they fall. The face is emaciated, the features large, but so pure and lordly in their natural chiselling, that they must have looked like marble even in their animation. They are deeply worn away by thought and death; the veins on the temple branched and starting; the skin gathered in sharp folds; the brow high-arched and shaggy; the eyeball magnificently large; the curve of the lips just veiled by the light moustache at the side; the beard short, double, and sharp-pointed: all noble and quiet; the white sepulchral dust marking like light the stern the angles of the cheek and brow.

This tomb was sculptured in 1424,¹ and is thus described

¹ [This is a mistake; the date is 1423, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 70, where the tomb is again described; see also above, § 9, p. 26. On a sheet of the MS. of the present volume Ruskin gives the sculptors' inscription in the following note:—

“Insist on large curtain and pole—pushed aside by small angels. Much worse cut altogether than I thought: Madonna at top. Six figures in upper inches of shrine, I know not what virtues below; figures in Roman armour at angles. Insist on violent crocketing all over, in Porta della Carta style and entire Renaissance character [sketches of plinths].

‘PETRUS MAGISTRI NICHOLAI DE FLORENCIA
ET JOHANNES MARTINI DE FESUNS
INFISERUNT HOC OPUS 1423.’

“The intense absurdity of the people—Lazari and others—who with this before their eyes, and the monument having these plinths and luxuriant

by one of the most intelligent of the recent writers who represent the popular feeling respecting Venetian art.

“Of the Italian school is also the rich but ugly (*ricco ma non bel*) sarcophagus in which repose the ashes of Tomaso Mocenigo. It may be called one of the last links which connect the declining art of the Middle Ages with that of the Renaissance, which was in its rise. We will not stay to particularise the defects of each of the seven figures of the front and sides, which represent the cardinal and theological virtues: nor will we make any remarks upon those which stand in the niches above the pavilion, because we consider them unworthy both of the age and reputation of the Florentine school, which was then with reason considered the most notable in Italy.”*

It is well, indeed, not to pause over these defects: but it might have been better to have paused a moment beside that noble image of a king’s mortality.

§ 41. In the choir of the same church, St. Giov. and Paolo, is another tomb, that of the Doge Andrea Vendramin.¹ This doge died in 1478, after a short reign of two years, the most disastrous in the annals of Venice.² He died of a pestilence, which followed the ravage of the Turks, carried to the shores of the lagoons. He died, leaving Venice disgraced by sea and land, with the smoke of hostile devastation rising in the blue distances of Friuli; and there was raised to him the most costly tomb ever bestowed on her monarchs.

§ 42. If the writer above quoted was cold beside the statue of one of the fathers of his country, he atones for it by his eloquence beside the tomb of the Vendramin. I must not spoil the force of Italian superlative by translation.

“Quando si guarda a quella corretta eleganza di profili e di proporzioni, a quella squisitezza d’ornamenti, a quel certo sapore antico che senza ombra d’imitazione trasparire da tutta l’opera—etc. Sopra ornatissimo zoccolo fornito

* Selvatico, *Architettura di Venezia*, p. 147.

crockets projecting at its vertical sides, and every Renaissance character in full development, could attribute Ducal palace to a posterior date, is beyond measure marvellous.”

The tomb belongs, in its artistic character, to the point of transition between the Gothic and the Renaissance periods. The recumbent figure, as Ruskin here says, is very beautiful; but the images of the Virtues, though they have here no ironical power, mark the increase of a boastful spirit; while its decoration in other respects is of the Renaissance character.]

¹ [For a further criticism of the tomb, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 77.]

² [See above, p. 22 *n.*]

di squisiti intagli s' alza uno stylovate—etc. Sotto le colonne, il predetto stilobate si muta leggiadramente in piedistallo, poi con bella novità di pensiero e di effetto va coronato da un fregio il più gentile che veder si possa—etc. Non puossi lasciar senza un cenno l' *arca dove* sta chiuso il doge; capo lavoro di pensiero e di esecuzione," etc.

There are two pages and a half of closely printed praise, of which the above specimens may suffice; but there is not a word of the statue of the dead from beginning to end. I am myself in the habit of considering this rather an important part of a tomb, and I was especially interested in it here, because Selvatico only echoes the praise of thousands. It is unanimously declared the *chef d'œuvre* of Renaissance sepulchral work, and pronounced by Cicognara, (also quoted by Selvatico)

"Il vertice a cui l'arti Veneziane si spinsero col ministero del scalpello,"—"The very culminating point to which the Venetian arts attained by ministry of the chisel."

To this culminating point, therefore, covered with dust and cobwebs, I attained, as I did to every tomb of importance in Venice, by the ministry of such ancient ladders as were to be found in the sacristan's keeping. I was struck at first by the excessive awkwardness and want of feeling in the fall of the hand towards the spectator, for it is thrown off the middle of the body in order to show its fine cutting. Now the Mocenigo hand, severe and even stiff in its articulations, has its veins finely drawn, its sculptor having justly felt that the delicacy of the veining¹ expresses alike dignity and age and birth. The Vendramin hand is far more laboriously cut, but its blunt and clumsy contour at once makes us feel that all the care has

¹ [The MS. adds, but erases, a reference to Shakespeare—*Antony and Cleopatra*, ii. 5: "my bluest veins to kiss." This was a reference made by Ruskin in his diary, when he posted up his notes made at the time. The following additional description of the tomb is there given:—

"On one of the pedestals it has two vulgar shields tied up with a bit of narrow riband—2d. a yard. Below, a dragon with a woman's head on helmet. The spiral of the helmet is chiselled as sharply as a nautilus shell. The body is covered in centre with scales of various size, beautifully set on the back; it has sturgeon spines; on the belly, jointed mail; its wings are cut to as sharp a point in each plume as needles; and crescent-eyed. It stands holding the helmet distinctly with its claw, looking as though it would slip off. It ends in a woman's head with an insipid grin and a straight nose . . . [some words illegible], turned up hair behind, drawing-room fashion. The tail curls elaborately like a riband—no invention,

been thrown away, and well it may be, for it has been entirely bestowed in cutting gouty wrinkles about the joints. Such as the hand is, I looked for its fellow. At first I thought it had been broken off, but on clearing away the dust, I saw the wretched effigy had only *one* hand, and was a mere block on the inner side. The face, heavy and disagreeable in its features, is made monstrous by its semi-sculpture. One side of the forehead is wrinkled elaborately, the other left smooth; one side only of the doge's cap is chased; one cheek only is finished, and the other blocked out and distorted besides; finally, the ermine robe, which is elaborately imitated to its utmost lock of hair and of ground hair on the one side, is blocked out only on the other:—it having been supposed throughout the work that the effigy was only to be seen from below, and from one side.

§ 43. It was indeed to be so seen by nearly every one; and I do not blame—I should, on the contrary, have praised—the sculptor for regulating his treatment of it by its position; if that treatment had not involved, first, dishonesty, in giving only half a face, a monstrous mask, when we demanded true

no clatter of scales, no terror, no muscular action in wings, utterly base—Body stuffed.

“Fat-legged boys sprawling on sea-horses or spreading handkerchiefs on dolphins' backs occupy two panels of basement, the arabesques of leaves ending in currants with wriggly stems and birds eating them—or, at least, holding them in their bills, for there is no peck, no life, no gesture—only the two birds delicately feathered, each in a proper posture opposite the other, holding the currants as opera girls do in a ballet over the heads of the principal figures. . . . (Compare Middle Age sculpture, as Noah [see Plate 20 in *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii.], where the birds are really and truly alive, though not half so well cut.) All these arabesques, I say, are very graceful and wonderful, as sharply cut as it is possible to cut marble, and as brainless as the common penmanship of William Butterworth, Esq. [a law writer?]. One wants a name for such sculpture; it ought to be called Chiselmanship.

“The Sarcophagus is carried by the cardinal virtues as usual. I got up to examine them. It is impossible to express their utter insipidity. I never saw human faces so wanting in meaning. They are all, however, properly long-nosed and wreathy-haired, *à la Diane*, and round-thighed. The Temperance has perhaps the most of shallow and simple in her; and observe that instead of the vase with the curved stream of water, as in the good times, she has only the empty flagon, which *en revanche* is well carved at the top and a great way down inside. How little the man who cut them—these vile lay figures—could have felt what a Virtue was.

“Of all virtues, however, he is most wanting in Honesty. From the Sarcophagus I ascended to the figure. I was struck at first by the excessive awkwardness,” etc. etc. (much as in the text to the end of § 42).]

portraiture of the dead; and, secondly, such utter coldness of feeling, as could only consist with an extreme of intellectual and moral degradation: Who, with a heart in his breast, could have stayed his hand as he drew the dim lines of the old man's countenance—unmajestic once, indeed, but at least sanctified by the solemnities of death—could have stayed his hand, as he reached the bend of the grey forehead, and measured out the last veins of it at so much the zecchin?¹

I do not think the reader, if he has feeling, will expect that much talent should be shown in the rest of his work, by the sculptor of this base and senseless lie. The whole monument is one wearisome aggregation of that species of ornamental flourish, which, when it is done with a pen, is called penmanship, and when done with a chisel, should be called chiselmanship; the subject of it being chiefly fat-limbed boys sprawling on dolphins, dolphins incapable of swimming, and dragged along the sea by expanded pocket-handkerchiefs.

But now, reader, comes the very gist and point of the whole matter. This lying monument to a dishonoured doge, this culminating pride of the Renaissance art of Venice, is at least veracious, if in nothing else, in its testimony to the character of its sculptor. *He was banished from Venice for forgery in 1487.**

§ 44. I have more to say about this convict's work hereafter; but I pass, at present, to the second, slighter, but yet more interesting piece of evidence, which I promised.

The Ducal palace has two principal facades; one towards the sea, the other towards the Piazzetta. The seaward side, and, as far as its seventh main arch inclusive, the Piazzetta side, is work of the early part of the fourteenth century, some of it perhaps even earlier; while the rest of the Piazzetta side is of the fifteenth. The difference in age has been

* Selvatico, p. 221.²

¹ [On this subject, see *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, ch. i., Vol. VIII. pp. 47, 53.]

² [For a reply to a criticism of this connection between the style of the monument and the character of its sculptor, see letterpress to Plate 12 of the *Examples of Venetian Architecture* (vol. xi. of this ed.). The sculptor's name was Leopardo.]

gravely disputed by the Venetian antiquaries, who have examined many documents on the subject, and quoted some which they never examined. I have myself collated most of the written documents, and one document more, to which the Venetian antiquaries never thought of referring,—the masonry of the palace itself.

§ 45. That masonry changes at the centre of the eighth arch from the sea angle on the Piazzetta side. It has been of comparatively small stones up to that point; the fifteenth century work instantly begins with larger stones, “brought from Istria, a hundred miles away.”* The ninth shaft from the sea in the lower arcade, and the seventeenth, which is above it, in the upper arcade, commence the series of fifteenth century shafts. These two are somewhat thicker than the others, and carry the party-wall of the Sala del Scrutinio. Now observe, reader. The face of the palace, from this point to the Porta della Carta,¹ was built at the instance of that noble Doge Mocenigo beside whose tomb you have been standing; at his instance, and in the beginning of the reign of his successor, Foscari; that is to say, circa 1424. This is not disputed; it is only disputed that the sea façade is earlier; of which, however, the proofs are as simple as they are incontrovertible; for not only the masonry, but the sculpture, changes at the ninth lower shaft, and that in the capitals of the shafts both of the upper and lower arcade: the costumes of the figures introduced in the sea façade being purely Giottesque, correspondent with those of Giotto’s work in the Arena Chapel at Padua, while the costume on the other capitals is Renaissance-Classic: and the lions’ heads between the arches change at the same point. And there are a multitude of other evidences in the statues of the angles, with which I shall not at present trouble the reader.

§ 46. Now, the architect who built under Foscari, in 1424

* The older work is of Istrian stone also, but of different quality.²

¹ [The principal entrance to the Palace, on the Piazzetta: see further on the subject of this section, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii.]

² [For the quotation from Commynes, see above, § 15, p. 32.]

(remember my date for the decline of Venice, 1418), was obliged to follow the principal forms of the older palace. But he had not the wit to invent new capitals in the same style; he therefore clumsily copied the old ones. The palace has seventeen main arches on the sea façade, eighteen on the Piazzetta side, which in all are of course carried by thirty-six pillars; and these pillars I shall always number from right to left, from the angle of the palace at the Ponte della Paglia, to that next the Porta della Carta. I number them in this succession, because I thus have the earliest shafts first numbered. So counted, the 1st, the 18th, and the 36th, are the great supports of the angles of the palace; and the first of the fifteenth century series, being, as above stated, the 9th from the sea on the Piazzetta side, is the 26th of the entire series, and will always in future be so numbered, so that all numbers above twenty-six indicate fifteenth century work, and all below it, fourteenth century, with some exceptional cases of restoration.

Then the copied capitals are: the 28th, copied from the 7th; the 29th, from the 9th; the 30th, from the 10th; the 31st, from the 8th; the 33rd, from the 12th; and the 34th, from the 11th; the others being dull inventions of the fifteenth century, except the 36th, which is very nobly designed.

§ 47. The capitals thus selected from the earlier portion of the palace for imitation, together with the rest, will be accurately described hereafter;¹ the point I have here to notice is in the copy of the 9th capital, which was decorated (being, like the rest, octagonal) with figures of the eight Virtues:—Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Temperance, Prudence, Humility (the Venetian antiquaries call it Humanity!), and Fortitude. The virtues of the fourteenth century are somewhat hardfeatured; with vivid and living expression, and plain everyday clothes of the time. Charity has her lap full of apples (perhaps loaves), and is giving one to a little child, who stretches his arm for it across a gap in the leafage of the

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. Most of the capitals have been renewed since Ruskin wrote, but the originals have been closely copied: see note on that chapter.]

capital. Fortitude tears open a lion's jaws; Faith lays her hand on her breast, as she beholds the Cross; and Hope is praying, while above her hand is seen emerging from sunbeams—the hand of God (according to that of Revelations, “The Lord God giveth them light”¹); and the inscription above is, “Spes optima in Deo.”²

§ 48. This design, then, is, rudely and with imperfect chiselling, imitated by the fifteenth century workmen; the Virtues have lost their hard features and living expression; they have now all got Roman noses, and have had their hair curled. Their actions and emblems are, however, preserved until we come to Hope; she is still praying, but she is praying to the sun only; *The hand of God is gone.*

Is not this a curious and striking type of the spirit which had then become dominant in the world, forgetting to see God's hand in the light He gave; so that in the issue, when that light opened into the Reformation on the one side, and into full knowledge of ancient literature on the other, the one was arrested and the other perverted?

§ 49. Such is the nature of the accidental evidence on which I shall depend for the proof of the inferiority of character in the Renaissance workmen. But the proof of the inferiority of the work itself is not so easy, for in this I have to appeal to judgments which the Renaissance work has itself distorted. I felt this difficulty very forcibly as I read a slight review of my former work, *The Seven Lamps*, in *The Architect*: the writer noticed my constant praise of St. Mark's: “Mr. Ruskin thinks it a very beautiful building! We,” said the Architect, “think it a very ugly building.”³ I was not surprised at the difference of opinion, but at the thing being

¹ [Revelation xxii. 5.]

² [This is a mistake. The inscription over Faith is “Fides optima in Deo” (see next volume, ch. viii. § 78); that over Hope is “Spe. habe in DNo” (Domino).]

³ [The passage referred to is as follows:—“Mr. Ruskin alludes to the west front of St. Mark's at Venice, which in its ‘proportions’ and ‘colour’ is ‘as lovely a dream as ever filled the human imagination.’ To us it is a very *un-lovely* nightmare. Like Mr. Woods (whom Mr. Ruskin quotes) we think it extremely ugly” (*The Architect and Building Operative*, Jan. 3, 1850). Ruskin's praise of St. Mark's is quoted from *Seven Lamps*, ch. v. § 14 (Vol. VIII. p. 206). The critique in the *Architect* was one of a series (not “slight” in length at any rate) of “Comments on Ruskin's

considered so completely a subject of opinion. My opponents in matters of painting always assume that there *is* such a thing as a law of right, and that I do not understand it: but my architectural adversaries appeal to no law, they simply set their opinion against mine; and indeed there is no law at present to which either they or I can appeal. No man can speak with rational decision of the merits or demerits of buildings: he may with obstinacy; he may with resolved adherence to previous prejudices; but never as if the matter could be otherwise decided than by majority of votes, or pertinacity of partizanship. I had always, however, a clear conviction that there *was* a law in this matter: that good architecture might be indisputably discerned and divided from the bad; that the opposition in their very nature and essence was clearly visible; and that we were all of us just as unwise in disputing about the matter without reference to principle, as we should be for debating about the genuineness of a coin without ringing it. I felt also assured that this law must be universal if it were conclusive: that it must enable us to reject all foolish and base work, and to accept all noble and wise work, without reference to style or national feeling; that it must sanction the design of all truly great nations and times, Gothic or Greek or Arab; that it must cast off and reprobate the design of all foolish nations and times, Chinese or Mexican or modern European; and that it must be easily applicable to all possible architectural inventions of human mind. I set myself, therefore, to establish such a law, in full belief that men are intended, without excessive difficulty, and by use of their general common sense, to know good things from bad; and that it is only because they will not be at the pains required for the discernment, that the world is so widely encumbered with forgeries and basenesses. I found the work simpler than I had hoped; the reasonable things ranged themselves in the order I required, and the foolish things fell aside,

Seven Lamps of Architecture, by George Wightwick, Architect"; the others of the series appeared in the issues of Nov. 29, Dec. 6, 13, 20, and 27, 1849. Wightwick was equally contemptuous of the Ducal Palace (Dec. 13). It is perhaps worth noting that the same passage about St. Mark's is quoted by the anonymous "Architect," author of *Something about Ruskinism* (1851): see above, Introduction, p. xliii.]

and took themselves away so soon as they were looked in the face. I had then, with respect to Venetian architecture, the choice, either to establish each division of law in a separate form, as I came to the features with which it was concerned, or else to ask the reader's patience, while I followed out the general inquiry first, and determined with him a code of right and wrong, to which we might together make retrospective appeal. I thought this the best, though perhaps the dullest way; and in these first following pages I have therefore endeavoured to arrange those foundations of criticism, on which I shall rest in my account of Venetian architecture, in a form clear and simple enough to be intelligible even to those who never thought of architecture before. To those who have, much of what is stated in them will be well-known or selfevident; but they must not be indignant at a simplicity on which the whole argument depends for its usefulness. From that which appears a mere truism when first stated, they will find very singular consequences sometimes following,—consequences altogether unexpected, and of considerable importance; I will not pause here to dwell on their importance, nor on that of the thing itself to be done; for I believe most readers will at once admit the value of a criterion of right and wrong in so practical and costly an art as architecture, and will be apt rather to doubt the possibility of its attainment than dispute its usefulness if attained. I invite them, therefore, to a fair trial, being certain that even if I should fail in my main purpose, and be unable to induce in my reader the confidence of judgment I desire, I shall at least receive his thanks for the suggestion of consistent reasons, which may determine hesitating choice, or justify involuntary preference. And if I should succeed, as I hope, in making the Stones of Venice touch-stones, and detecting, by the mouldering of her marble, poison more subtle than ever was betrayed by the rending of her crystal;¹ and if thus I am enabled to

¹ [’Tis said that our Venetian crystal has
Such pure antipathy to poisons, as
To burst, if aught of venom touches it.
—BYRON: *The Two Foscari*, Act v. sc. i.]

show the baseness of the schools of architecture and nearly every other art, which have for three centuries been predominant in Europe, I believe the result of the inquiry may be serviceable for proof of a more vital truth than any at which I have hitherto hinted. For observe: I said the Protestant had despised the arts, and the Rationalist corrupted them.¹ But what has the Romanist done meanwhile? He boasts that it was the papacy which raised the arts; why could it not support them when it was left to its own strength? How came it to yield to the Classicalism which was based on infidelity, and to oppose no barrier to innovations, which have reduced the once faithfully conceived imagery of its worship to stage decoration? Shall we not rather find that Romanism, instead of being a promoter of the arts, has never shown itself capable of a single great conception since the separation of Protestantism from its side.* † So long as, corrupt though it might be, no clear witness had been borne against it, so that it still included in its ranks a vast number of faithful Christians, so long its arts were noble. But the witness was borne—the error made apparent: and Rome, refusing to hear the testimony or forsake the falsehood, has been struck from that instant with an intellectual palsy, which has not only incapacitated her from any further use of the arts which once were her ministers, but has made her worship the shame of its own shrines, and her worshippers

* Appendix 12: “Romanist Modern Art” [p. 436].

† Perfectly true: but the whole vital value of the truth was lost by my sectarian ignorance. Protestantism (so far as it was still Christianity, and did not consist merely in maintaining one’s own opinion for gospel) could not separate itself from the Catholic Church. The so-called Catholics became themselves sectarians and heretics in casting them out; and Europe was turned into a mere cockpit, of the theft and fury of unchristian men of both parties; while, innocent and silent on the hills and fields, God’s people in neglected peace, everywhere and for ever Catholic, lived and died.² [1879.]

¹ [Above, § 36.]

² [Perhaps Ruskin had here in his mind not only the meaning of the word “catholic” (καθ’ όλον), but the definition in the “bidding prayer,” then as now in use at Oxford: “Ye shall pray for God’s Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world.” (See *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, by F. Procter, 1875, p. 172.) See further on this subject, *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds*.]

their destroyers. Come, then, if truths such as these are worth our thoughts; come, and let us know, before we enter the streets of the Sea city, whether we are indeed to submit ourselves to their undistinguished enchantment, and to look upon the last changes which were wrought on the lifted forms of her palaces, as we should on the capricious towering of summer clouds in the sunset, ere they sank into the deep of night; or whether, rather, we shall not behold in the brightness of their accumulated marble, pages on which the sentence of her luxury was to be written until the waves should efface it, as they fulfilled—“God has numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.”¹

¹ [Daniel v. 26.]

CHAPTER II

THE VIRTUES OF ARCHITECTURE

§ 1. WE address ourselves, then, first to the task of determining some law of right, which we may apply to the architecture of all the world and of all time; and by help of which, and judgment according to which, we may as easily pronounce whether a building is good or noble, as, by applying a plumb-line, whether it be perpendicular.

The first question will of course be, What are the possible Virtues of architecture?

In the main, we require from buildings, as from men, two kinds of goodness: first, the doing their practical duty well: then that they be graceful and pleasing in doing it; which last is itself another form of duty.

Then the practical duty divides itself into two branches,—acting and talking:—acting, as to defend us from weather or violence; talking, as the duty of monuments or tombs, to record facts and express feeling; or of churches, temples, public edifices, treated as books of history,¹ to tell such history clearly and forcibly.

We have thus, altogether, three great branches of architectural virtue, and we require of any building,

- (1.) That it act well, and do the things it was intended to do in the best way.
- (2.) That it speak well, and say the things it was intended to say in the best words.
- (3.) That it look well, and please us by its presence, whatever it has to do or say.*

* Appendix 13: “Mr. Fergusson’s system”² [p. 440].

¹ [See later Ruskin’s account of St. Mark’s (*Stones of Venice*, ii. ch. iv. § 46) as “a book of common prayer, a vast illuminated missal.”]

² [This reference remained in all editions, though in the second and later editions of the volume the appendix in question was omitted; it is in this edition restored.]

§ 2. Now, as regards the second of these virtues, it is evident that we can establish no general laws. First, because it is not a virtue required in all buildings; there are some which are only for covert or defence, and from which we ask no conversation. Secondly, because there are countless methods of expression, some conventional, some natural: each conventional mode has its own alphabet, which evidently can be no subject of general laws. Every natural mode is instinctively employed and instinctively understood, wherever there is true feeling; and this instinct is above law. The choice of conventional methods depends on circumstances out of calculation, and that of natural methods on sensations out of control; so that we can only say that the choice is right, when we feel that the means are effective; and we cannot always say that it is wrong when they are not so.

A building which recorded the Bible history by means of a series of sculptural pictures, would be perfectly useless to a person unacquainted with the Bible beforehand: on the other hand, the text of the Old and New Testaments might be written on its walls, and yet the building be a very inconvenient kind of book, not so useful as if it had been adorned with intelligible and vivid sculpture. So, again, the power of exciting emotion must vary or vanish, as the spectator becomes thoughtless or cold; and the building may be often blamed for what is the fault of its critic, or endowed with a charm which is of its spectator's creation. It is not, therefore, possible to make expressional character any fair criterion of excellence in buildings, until we can fully place ourselves in the position of those to whom their expression was originally addressed, and until we are certain that we understand every symbol, and are capable of being touched by every association which its builders employed as letters of their language. I shall continually endeavour to put the reader into such sympathetic temper, when I ask for his judgment of a building; and in every work I may bring before him I shall point out, as far as I am able, whatever is peculiar in its expression; nay, I must even depend on such peculiarities for much of

my best evidence respecting the character of the builders. But I cannot legalise the judgment for which I plead, nor insist upon it if it be refused. I can neither force the reader to feel this architectural rhetoric, nor compel him to confess that the rhetoric is powerful, if it have produced no impression on his own mind.

§ 3. I leave, therefore, the expression of buildings for incidental notice only. But their other two virtues are proper subjects of law,—their performance of their common and necessary work, and their conformity with universal and divine canons of loveliness: respecting these there can be no doubt, no ambiguity. I would have the reader discern them so quickly that, as he passes along a street, he may, by a glance of the eye, distinguish the noble from the ignoble work. He can do this, if he permit free play to his natural instincts; and all that I have to do for him is to remove from those instincts the artificial restraints which prevent their action, and to encourage them to an unaffected and unbiassed choice between right and wrong.¹

¹ [This chapter was among those which gave the author most trouble. It is in reality the introduction to volume i.; ch. 1., "The Quarry," being rather a prelude to the whole work. One or two drafts of this proposed "Introduction," or of portions of it, exist among the MSS. The general treatment of the subject is the same in all, but some of the drafts went into greater detail on particular points. One excursus of this kind, omitted when Ruskin finally compressed his chapter, is here given. It goes off from the sentence above, where Ruskin promises that the reader will have no difficulty in distinguishing noble from ignoble architecture, if only he will give free play to his natural instincts:—

"I have endeavoured to show in the third chapter of the first volume of *Modern Painters* that there is a right and wrong way in liking and disliking; that even the most instinctive inclinations of taste are governable, and that it is a kind of duty to direct them rightly; that is to say, to their natural food; and I endeavoured also to show that this natural food was always the most abundant. But I did not in that place notice enough the peculiar character of the adverse circumstances which keep men from liking what they ought. The fact is that man being specially and nobly endowed with Freedom of Will, is therefore exposed, and necessarily exposed, to error and danger in everything which regards him: every one of his interests requires from him definite exertion of the Will to procure its furtherance; and that exertion failing, either from neglect and not using the Will or misdirecting the Will, it is appointed that he shall be punished by some special injury or loss in the province which he has neglected. Now this love of the Beautiful is one of the natural faculties, and his enjoyment of it one of the natural interests to which his Will is perhaps of all the least frequently directed. Men do not determine to like what is beautiful; they determine to be rich or great or good; but to be happy in a simple way,

§ 4. We have, then, two qualities of buildings for subjects of separate inquiry: their action, and aspect, and the sources

they think no determination necessary. Accordingly they are punished in one of two ways: if their employments and manner of life put the subject out of their thoughts, they lose the sense of beauty, or confuse it with usefulness, and become in this respect like peasants who for the most part think a well ploughed field the fairest sight in creation; and these may be sensible and good men, only they remain deprived of one of their best faculties. If, however, their position in life obliges them to think of the subject—while yet they never care to discover what is truly good and right in the matter—they are necessarily led by fashion into affectation, into pretending to like what they do not; and from this pretending it, into a veritable, though servile, liking it, because it is fashionable, and so gradually into endless wildernesses of false taste and vain imagination. From which, extrication is evermore impossible; the taste being utterly perverted, so that truly beautiful things give it delight no longer.

“Nay, it may perhaps be answered me, there are surely many persons who like what is lovely—flowers and skies and hills, who have never taken any pains in the matter. Yes, assuredly: persons to whom God has been very good, and whom he has filled with the love of his work as if it were their Life; so also he has made some men so naturally kind that they are led by impulse to the benevolent acts which another man only undertakes on spur of conscience. But this never for one instant would be alleged as a reason why the practice of benevolence should not be recommended as definite duty, and even in persons so happy in natural temper as we have supposed, the character would gradually deteriorate unless the acts to which they were urged by impulse were also in a measure undertaken with clear understanding of their relation to the Laws of Duty, and performed with distinct reference to those laws. And thus also even in those persons whose natural love of the Beautiful is true and strong, there will be found much imperfection, much inconsistency, much positive error, unless their enjoyment be regulated by some definite acknowledgment of the laws which have been appointed for their guidance. Of these laws there is no abstruse nor lengthy code. They impress themselves in the form of instincts on the heart and eye at every instant of our lives in which we will take the trouble to refer to them faithfully. All that is necessary is this faithful reference, a belief that there is indeed a right and wrong in the matter, and an honest desire to be right. Not to be a person of acknowledged taste. Not to be a connoisseur of pictures, or an authority upon architecture. But to be right in one’s own choice and delight; to know the sign manual of Divinity; to see God’s writing upon the torn leaves of the earth—to delight in it to the full—up to the measure of the capacity he has given us—and to be able to cast aside at once all forgeries of it. To know the men whom he has made more seeing than ourselves, and to cast out those who pretend to see—and do not. This is worth doing—even now when there is much to be done. Worth doing; if for no other reason, yet because it may as easily be done as not—nay, more easily. It is a hard thing to be a connoisseur of pictures—to know who paints cold and who paints hot—who paints thick and who paints thin—who dropped brushes and who picked them up. Hard work that for memories that do not well hold small things. But easy enough to know good painting in the essence and fire of it; and to know lovely things in the heart of them; and to know good architecture in the far away gleam of it—even when its towers stand without foundations in the grey mist of the morning;—easy enough to do that, if we will but take the pains to ask ourselves what is right—and to answer manfully and truly.”]

of virtue in both; that is to say, Strength and Beauty, both of these being less admired in themselves, than as testifying the intelligence or imagination of the builder.

For we have a worthier way of looking at human than at divine architecture; much of the value both of construction and decoration, in the edifices of men, depends upon our being led by the thing produced or adorned, to some contemplation of the powers of mind concerned in its creation or adornment. We are not so led by divine work, but are content to rest in the contemplation of the thing created. I wish the reader to note this especially; we take pleasure, or *should* take pleasure, in architectural construction altogether as the manifestation of an admirable human intelligence; it is not the strength, not the size, not the finish of the work which we are to venerate: rocks are always stronger, mountains always larger, all natural objects more finished: but it is the intelligence and resolution of man in overcoming physical difficulty which are to be the source of our pleasure and subject of our praise. And again, in decoration or beauty, it is less the actual loveliness of the thing produced than the choice and invention concerned in the production, which are to delight us; the love and the thoughts of the workman more than his work; his work must always be imperfect, but his thoughts and affections may be true and deep.

§ 5. This origin of our pleasure in architecture I must insist upon at somewhat greater length, for I would fain do away with some of the ungrateful coldness which we show towards the good builders of old time. In no art is there closer connection between our delight in the work, and our admiration of the workman's mind, than in architecture, and yet we rarely ask for a builder's name. The patron at whose cost, the monk through whose dreaming, the foundation was laid, we remember occasionally; never the man who verily did the work. Did the reader ever hear of William of Sens¹ as having had anything to do with Canterbury

¹ [The French architect, of "lively genius and good reputation," to whom the rebuilding of the choir was entrusted after the fire in 1174. He continued the work

Cathedral? or of Pietro Basegio¹ as in anywise connected with the Ducal palace of Venice? There is much ingratitude and injustice in this; and therefore I desire my reader to observe carefully how much of his pleasure in building is derived, or should be derived, from admiration of the intellect of men whose names he knows not.

§ 6. The two virtues of architecture which we can justly weigh, are, we said, its strength or good construction, and its beauty or good decoration. Consider first, therefore, what you mean when you say a building is well constructed or well built; you do not merely mean that it answers its purpose,—this is much, and many modern buildings fail of this much; but if it be verily well built, it must answer this purpose in the simplest way, and with no over-expenditure of means. We require of a lighthouse, for instance, that it shall stand firm and carry a light; if it do not this, assuredly it has been ill built; but it may do it to the end of time, and yet not be well built. It may have hundreds of tons of stone in it more than were needed, and have cost thousands of pounds more than it ought. To pronounce it well or ill built, we must know the utmost forces it can have to resist, and the best arrangements of stone for encountering them, and the quickest ways of effecting such arrangements: then only, so far as such arrangements have been chosen, and such methods used, is it well built. Then the knowledge of all difficulties to be met, and of all means of meeting them, and the quick and true fancy or invention of the modes of applying the means to the end, are what we have to admire in the builder, even as he is seen through this first or inferior part of his work. Mental power, observe; not muscular, nor mechanical, not technical, nor empirical,—pure, precious, majestic, massy intellect; not to be had at

till 1178, when (says the Monk Gervase) “through the vengeance of God or spite of the devil” he fell from a scaffolding and was so much injured that he had to return to France; the work was then handed over to another William (whose surname is not known), “English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest.”]

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., Appendix i., “Architect of the Ducal Palace.”]

vulgar price, nor received without thanks, and without asking from whom.

§ 7. Suppose, for instance, we are present at the building of a bridge: the bricklayers or masons have had their centering erected for them, and that centering was put together by a carpenter, who had the line of its curve traced for him by the architect: the masons are dexterously handling and fitting their bricks, or, by the help of machinery, carefully adjusting stones which are numbered for their places. There is probably in their quickness of eye and readiness of hand something admirable: but this is not what I ask the reader to admire: not the carpentering, nor the bricklaying, nor anything that he can presently see and understand, but the choice of the curve, and the shaping of the numbered stones, and the appointment of that number; there were many things to be known and thought upon before these were decided. The man who chose the curve and numbered the stones, had to know the times and tides of the river, and the strength of its floods, and the height and flow of them, and the soil of the banks, and the endurance of it, and the weight of the stones he had to build with, and the kind of traffic that day by day would be carried on over his bridge,—all this especially, and all the great general laws of force and weight, and their working; and in the choice of the curve and numbering of stones are expressed not only his knowledge of these, but such ingenuity and firmness as he had, in applying special means to overcome the special difficulties about his bridge. There is no saying how much wit, how much depth of thought, how much fancy, presence of mind, courage, and fixed resolution there may have gone to the placing of a single stone of it. This is what we have to admire,—this grand power and heart of man in the thing; not his technical or empirical way of holding the trowel and laying mortar.

§ 8. Now, there is in everything properly called art this concernment of the intellect, even in the province of the art which seems merely practical. For observe: in this bridge-building I suppose no reference to architectural principles;

all that I suppose we want is to get safely over the river; the man who has taken us over is still a mere bridge-builder,—a *builder*, not an architect; he may be a rough, artless, feelingless man, incapable of doing any one truly fine thing all his days. I shall call upon you to despise him presently in a sort, but not as if he were a mere smoother of mortar; perhaps a great man, infinite in memory, indefatigable in labour, exhaustless in expedient, unsurpassable in quickness of thought. Take good heed you understand him before you despise him.

§ 9. But why is he to be in anyway despised? By no means despise him, unless he happen to be without a soul,* or at least to show no signs of it; which possibly he may not in merely carrying you across the river. He may be merely what Mr. Carlyle rightly calls a human beaver¹ after all; and there may be nothing in all that ingenuity of his greater than a complication of animal faculties, an intricate bestiality,—nest or hive building in its highest development. You need something more than this, or the man is despicable; you need that virtue of building through which he may show his affections and delights; you need its beauty or decoration.²

§ 10. Not that, in reality, one division of the man is more human than another. Theologians fall into this error very fatally and continually; and a man from whom I have learned much, Lord Lindsay, has hurt his noble book by it, speaking as if the spirit of the man only were immortal, and were

* Appendix 14: "Divisions of Humanity" [p. 444].

¹ ["The Industrialisms are all of silent nature; and some of them are heroic and eminently human; others, again, we may call unheroic, not eminently human, *beaverish* rather, but still honest. . . . If a soul is born with divine intelligence, . . . this young soul will find the question asked of him by England every hour and moment: 'Canst thou turn thy human intelligence into the beaver sort?' " (*Latter-Day Pamphlets*, No. V.). This book had been just published (1850) when Ruskin wrote, and it may be observed that this is one of the first passages in which Ruskin's style has a faint ring of Carlyle.]

² [Compare on this subject *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, ch. i. § 1 (Vol. VIII. pp. 27–28), where Ruskin again distinguishes between architecture and building, and dwells on the "intellectual dominion" which "separates architecture from a wasp's nest."]

opposed to his intellect, and the latter to the senses;¹ whereas all the divisions of humanity are noble or brutal, immortal or mortal, according to the degree of their sanctification: and there is no part of the man which is not immortal and divine when it is once given to God, and no part of him which is not mortal by the second death,² and brutal before the first, when it is withdrawn from God. For to what shall we trust for our distinction from the beasts that perish?³ To our higher intellect?—yet are we not bidden to be wise as the serpent, and to consider the ways of the ant?⁴ Or to our affections? nay; these are more shared by the lower animals than our intelligence:—Hamlet leaps into the grave of his beloved, and leaves it,—a dog would have stayed. Humanity and immortality consist neither in reason, nor in love; not in the body, nor in the animation of the heart of it, nor in the thoughts and stirrings of the brain of it,—but in the dedication of them all to Him who will raise them up at the last day.⁵

§ 11. It is not, therefore, that the signs of his affections, which man leaves upon his work, are indeed more ennobling than the signs of his intelligence; but it is the balance of both whose expression we need, and the signs of the government of them all by Conscience; and Discretion, the Daughter of Conscience. So, then, the intelligent part of man being eminently, if not chiefly, displayed in the structure of his work, his affectionate part is to be shown in its decoration; and, that decoration may be indeed lovely, two things are needed: first, that the affections be vivid, and honestly shown; secondly, that they be fixed on the right things.

§ 12. You think, perhaps, I have put the requirements in wrong order. Logically I have; practically I have not: for it is necessary first to teach men to speak out, and say what

¹ [For this “analysis of human nature,” which is the metaphysical basis of Lord Lindsay’s *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, see Ruskin’s statement and criticism in his review of that work for the *Quarterly* (*On the Old Road*, 1899, vol. i. §§ 23 *seq.*.)]

² [Revelation xx. 14.]

³ [Psalms xlix. 12, 20.]

⁴ [Matthew x. 16; Proverbs vi. 6.]

⁵ [John vi. 40, 44, 54.]

they like, truly; and, in the second place, to teach them which of their likings are ill set, and which justly. If a man is cold in his likings and dislikings, or if he will not tell you what he likes, you can make nothing of him. Only get him to feel quickly and to speak plainly, and you may set him right. And the fact is, that the great evil of all recent architectural effort has not been that men liked wrong things; but that they either cared nothing about any, or pretended to like what they did not. Do you suppose that any modern architect likes what he builds, or enjoys it? Not in the least. He builds it because he has been told that such and such things are fine, and that he *should* like them. He pretends to like them, and gives them a false relish of vanity. Do you seriously imagine, reader, that any living soul in London likes triglyphs?*—or gets any hearty enjoyment out of pediments?† You are much mistaken. Greeks did: English people never did,—never will. Do you fancy that the architect of old Burlington Mews, in Regent Street,¹ had any particular satisfaction in putting the blank triangle over the archway, instead of a useful garret window? By no manner of means. He had been told it was right to do so, and thought he should be admired for doing it. Very few faults of architecture are mistakes of honest choice: they are almost always hypocrisies.

§ 13. So, then, the first thing we have to ask of the decoration is that it should indicate strong liking, and that honestly.

* Triglyph. Literally, “Three Cut.” The awkward upright ornament with two notches in it, and a cut at each side, to be seen everywhere at the tops of Doric colonnades, ancient and modern.²

† Pediment. The triangular space above Greek porticoes, as on the Mansion House or Royal Exchange.

¹ [The entrance to the Mews (now called New Burlington Place) is between Nos. 183 and 185 Regent Street (west side). In the MS. Ruskin gave a different illustration, thus:—

“Do you fancy that the architect of the Bank had any particular satisfaction in ruling straight lines along the walls?”

For the lines on the Bank, see below, ch. xxvi. § 2, p. 348.]

² [For an earlier reference to triglyphs, see *Poetry of Architecture*, § 126, note on p. 99 of Vol. I.]

It matters not so much what the thing is, as that the builder should really love it and enjoy it, and say so plainly. The architect of Bourges Cathedral¹ liked hawthorns; so he has covered his porch with hawthorn,—it is a perfect Niobe² of May. Never was such hawthorn; you would try to gather it forthwith, but for fear of being pricked. The old Lombard architects liked hunting; so they covered their work with horses and hounds, and men blowing trumpets two yards long. The base Renaissance architects of Venice liked masquing and fiddling; so they covered their work with comic masks and musical instruments. Even that was better than our English way of liking nothing, and professing to like triglyphs.

§ 14. But the second requirement in decoration, is that it should show we like the right thing. And the right thing to be liked is God's work, which He made for our delight and contentment in this world. And all noble ornamentation is the expression of man's delight in God's work.³

§ 15. So, then, these are the two virtues of building: first, the signs of man's own good work; secondly, the expression of man's delight in better work than his own. And these are the two virtues of which I desire my reader to be able quickly to judge, at least in some measure; to have a definite opinion up to a certain point. Beyond a certain point he cannot form one. When the science of the building is great, great science is of course required to comprehend it; and, therefore, of difficult bridges, and light-houses, and harbour walls, and river

¹ [Ruskin was at Bourges in 1850, and notes the hawthorn of the Cathedral in his diary:—

(April 10.)—. . . "It is curious to compare the Naturalism of this Gothic and of all frank early unimitative work, with the sophistication of Palladio. The dweller in the woods decorates the temple of God with a sculpture of his triumph over their savage beasts and with branches of hawthorn and oak and wild rose; the degraded noblesse of Venice decorated their houses also with the sources of *their* pleasures, with grinning masks and sculptured musical instruments."

For other references to Bourges, see Vol. VIII. p. 12 *n.*, and in this volume, pp. 126, 133, 208, 263, 274, 316, 323, 332, 336, 340, 352.]

² [*Hamlet*, i. 2.]

³ [See further below, ch. xx. (especially § 15), where this statement is repeated and reinforced; and compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 102, 141, and *Laws of Fésole*, ch. i., "All great Art is Praise."]

dykes, and railway tunnels, no judgment may be rapidly formed. But of common buildings, built in common circumstances, it is very possible for every man, or woman, or child, to form judgment both rational and rapid. Their necessary, or even possible, features are but few; the laws of their construction are as simple as they are interesting. The labour of a few hours is enough to render the reader master of their main points; and from that moment he will find in himself a power of judgment which can neither be escaped nor deceived, and discover subjects of interest where everything before had appeared barren. For though the laws are few and simple, the modes of obedience to them are not so. Every building presents its own requirements and difficulties: and every good building has peculiar appliances or contrivances to meet them. Understand the laws of structure, and you will feel the special difficulty in every new building which you approach; and you will know also, or feel instinctively,* whether it has been wisely met or otherwise. And an enormous number of buildings, and of styles of building, you will be able to cast aside at once, as at variance with these constant laws of structure, and therefore unnatural and monstrous.

§ 16. Then, as regards decoration, I want you only to consult your own natural choice and liking. There is a right and wrong in it; but you will assuredly like the right if you suffer your natural instinct to lead you. Half the evil in this world comes from people not knowing what they do like;—not deliberately setting themselves to find out what they really enjoy. All people enjoy giving away money, for instance: they don't know *that*,—they rather think they like keeping it;—and they *do* keep it, under this false impression, often to their great discomfort. Everybody likes to do good; but not one in a hundred finds *this* out. Multitudes think they like to do evil; yet no man ever really enjoyed doing evil since God made the world.

So in this lesser matter of ornament. It needs some little

* Appendix 15: "Instinctive Judgments" [p. 448].

care to try experiments upon yourself; it needs deliberate question and upright answer. But there is no difficulty to be overcome, no abstruse reasoning to be gone into; only a little watchfulness needed, and thoughtfulness, and so much honesty as will enable you to confess to yourself, and to all men, that you enjoy things, though great authorities say you should not.

§ 17. This looks somewhat like pride; but it is true humility, a trust that you have been so created as to enjoy what is fitting for you, and a willingness to be pleased, as it was intended you should be. It is the child's spirit, which we are most happy when we most recover; remaining wiser than children in our gratitude¹ that we can still be pleased with a fair colour, or a dancing light. And, above all, do not try to make all these pleasures reasonable, nor to connect the delight which you take in ornament with that which you take in construction or usefulness. They have no connection; and every effort that you make to reason from one to the other will blunt your sense of beauty, or confuse it with sensations altogether inferior to it. You were made for enjoyment, and the world was filled with things which you will enjoy, unless you are too proud to be pleased by them, or too grasping to care for what you cannot turn to other account than mere delight. Remember that the most beautiful things in the world are the most useless; peacocks and lilies for instance; at least I suppose this quill I hold in my hand writes better than a peacock's would, and the peasants of Vevay, whose fields in spring time are as white with lilies, as the Dent du Midi is with its snow, told me the hay was none the better for them.²

§ 18. Our task therefore divides itself into two branches, and these I shall follow in succession. I shall first consider

¹ [Ed. 1 here reads:—

“It is the child's spirit, which we are then most happy when we most recover; only wiser than children in that we are ready to think it a subject of thankfulness that we can still . . .”]

² [Ruskin spent several weeks at Vevay in the spring of 1849, and wrote there the first draft of a famous passage on the flowery meadows: see passage from his diary quoted, in this edition, in the note to *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xiv. § 51.]

the construction of buildings, dividing them into their really necessary members or features; and I shall endeavour so to lead the reader forward from the foundation upwards, as that he may find out for himself the best way of doing everything, and having so discovered it, never forget it. I shall give him stones, and bricks, and straw, chisels and trowels, and the ground, and then ask him to build; only helping him, as I can, if I find him puzzled. And when he has built his house or church, I shall ask him to ornament it, and leave it to him to choose the ornaments as I did to find out the construction: I shall use no influence with him whatever, except to counteract previous prejudices, and leave him, as far as may be, free. And when he has thus found out how to build, and chosen his forms of decoration, I shall do what I can to confirm his confidence in what he has done. I shall assure him that no one in the world could, so far, have done better, and require him to condemn, as futile or fallacious, whatever has no resemblance to his own performances.

CHAPTER III

THE SIX DIVISIONS OF ARCHITECTURE

§ 1. THE practical duties of buildings are twofold.

They have either (1), to hold and protect something; or (2), to place or carry something.

(1.) Architecture of Protection. This is architecture intended to protect men or their possessions from violence of any kind, whether of men or of the elements. It will include all churches, houses, and treasuries; fortresses, fences, and ramparts; the architecture of the hut and sheepfold; of the palace and citadel; of the dyke, breakwater, and sea-wall. And the protection, when of living creatures, is to be understood as including commodiousness and comfort of habitation, wherever these are possible under the given circumstances.

(2.) Architecture of Position. This is architecture intended to carry men or things to some certain places, or to hold them there. This will include all bridges, aqueducts, and road architecture; lighthouses, which have to hold light in appointed places; chimneys, to carry smoke or direct currents of air; staircases; towers, which are to be watched from or cried from, as in mosque, or to hold bells, or to place men in positions of offence, as ancient moveable attacking towers, and most fortress towers.

§ 2. Protective architecture has to do one or all of three things: to wall a space, to roof it, and to give access to it, of persons, light, and air; and it is therefore to be considered under the three divisions of walls, roofs, and apertures.

We will take, first, a short general view of the connection of these members, and then examine them in detail: endeavouring always to keep the simplicity of our first arrangement in view; for protective architecture has indeed no other members than these, unless flooring and paving be considered architecture, which it is only when the flooring is also a roof; the laying of the stones or timbers for footing being pavioir's or carpenter's work, rather than architect's; and, at all events, work respecting the well or ill doing of which we shall hardly find much difference of opinion, except in points of æsthetics. We shall therefore concern ourselves only with the construction of walls, roofs, and apertures.

§ 3. (1.) *Walls*.—A wall is an even and united fence, whether of wood, earth, stone, or metal. When meant for purposes of mere partition or enclosure, it remains a wall proper; but it has generally also to sustain a certain vertical or lateral pressure, for which its strength is at first increased by some general addition to its thickness; but if the pressure becomes very great, it is gathered up into *piers* to resist vertical pressure, and supported by *buttresses* to resist lateral pressure.

If its functions of partition or enclosure are continued, together with that of resisting vertical pressure, it remains as a wall veil between the piers into which it has been partly gathered; but if it is required only to resist the vertical or roof pressure, it is gathered up into piers altogether, loses its wall character, and becomes a group or line of piers.

On the other hand, if the lateral pressure be slight, it may retain its character of a wall, being supported against the pressure by buttresses at intervals; but if the lateral pressure be very great, it is supported against such pressure by a continuous buttress, loses its wall character, and becomes a dyke or rampart.

§ 4. We shall have therefore (A) first to get a general idea of a wall, and of right construction of walls; then (B) to see how this wall is gathered into piers, and to get a general idea of piers and the right construction of piers; then (C) to see

how a wall is supported by buttresses, and to get a general idea of buttresses and the right construction of buttresses. This is surely very simple, and it is all we shall have to do with walls and their divisions.

§ 5. (2.) *Roofs*.—A roof is the covering of a space, narrow or wide. It will be most conveniently studied by first considering the forms in which it may be carried over a narrow space, and then expanding these on a wide plan; only there

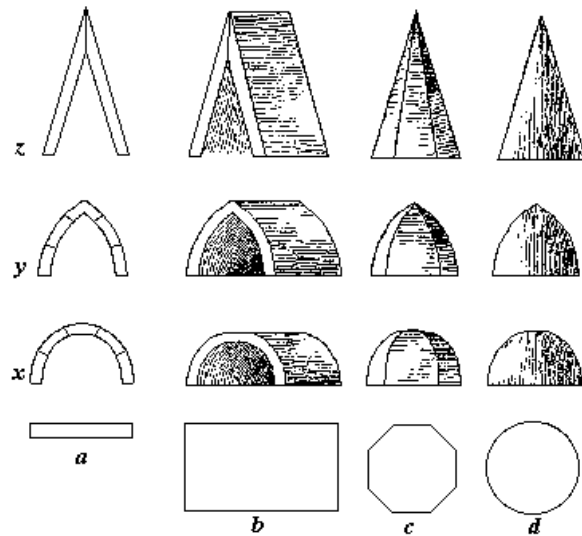


Fig. 1

is some difficulty here in the nomenclature, for an arched roof over a narrow space is called an arch; but a flat roof over a narrow space has (I believe) no name, except that which belongs properly to the piece of stone or wood composing such a roof, namely, lintel. But the reader will have no difficulty in understanding that he is first to consider roofs on the section only, thinking how best to construct a narrow bar or slice of them, of whatever form; as, for instance, *x*, *y*, or *z*, over the plan or area *a*, Fig. 1. Having done this, let him imagine these several divisions, first moved along (or set side by side) over a rectangle, *b*, Fig. 1, and then revolved round

a point (or crossed at it) over a polygon, *c*, or circle, *d*, and he will have every form of simple roof; the arched section giving successively the vaulted roof and dome, and the gabled section giving the gabled roof and spire.

As we go further into the subject, we shall only have to add one or two forms to the sections here given, in order to embrace all the *uncombined* roofs in existence; and we shall not trouble the reader with many questions respecting crossvaulting, and other modes of their combination.

§ 6. Now, it also happens, from its place in buildings, that the sectional roof over a narrow space will need to be considered before we come to the expanded roof over a broad one. For when a wall has been gathered, as above explained, into piers, that it may better bear vertical pressure, it is generally necessary that it should be expanded again at the top into a continuous wall before it carries the true roof. Arches or lintels are, therefore, thrown from pier to pier, and a level preparation for carrying the real roof is made above them. After we have examined the structure of piers, therefore, we shall have to see how lintels or arches are thrown from pier to pier, and the whole prepared for the superincumbent roof; this arrangement being universal in all good architecture prepared for vertical pressures: and we shall then examine the condition of the great roof itself. And because the structure of the roof very often introduces certain lateral pressures which have much to do with the placing of buttresses, it will be well to do all this before we examine the nature of buttresses, and, therefore, between parts (B) and (C) of the above plan, § 4. So now we shall have to study: (A) the construction of walls; (B) that of piers; (C) that of lintels or arches prepared for roofing; (D) that of roofs proper; and (E) that of buttresses.

§ 7. (3.) *Apertures*.—There must either be intervals between the piers, of which intervals the character will be determined by that of the piers themselves, or else doors or windows in the walls proper. And, respecting doors or windows, we have to determine three things: first, the proper

shape of the entire aperture; secondly, the way in which it is to be filled with valves or glass; and, thirdly, the modes of protecting it on the outside, and fitting appliances of convenience to it, as porches or balconies. And this will be our division F; and if the reader will have the patience to go through these six heads, which include every possible feature of protective architecture, and to consider the simple necessities and fitnesses of each, I will answer for it, he shall never confound good architecture with bad any more. For, as to architecture of position, a great part of it involves necessities of construction with which the spectator cannot become generally acquainted, and of the compliance with which he is therefore never expected to judge,—as in chimneys, light-houses, etc.: and the other forms of it are so closely connected with those of protective architecture, that a few words in Chap. XIX. respecting staircases and towers will contain all with which the reader need be troubled on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

THE WALL BASE

§ 1. OUR first business, then, is with Wall, and to find out wherein lies the true excellence of the “Wittiest Partition.”¹ For it is rather strange that, often as we speak of a “dead” wall, and that with considerable disgust, we have not often, since Snout’s time, heard of a living one. But the common epithet of opprobrium is justly bestowed, and marks a right feeling. A wall has no business to be dead. It ought to have members in its make, and purposes in its existence, like an organised creature, and to answer its ends in a living and energetic way; and it is only when we do not choose to put any strength nor organisation into it, that it offends us by its deadness. Every wall ought to be a “sweet and lovely wall.” I do not care about its having ears; but, for instruction and exhortation, I would often have it to “hold up its fingers.” What its necessary members and excellences are, it is our present business to discover.

§ 2. A wall has been defined² to be an even and united fence of wood, earth, stone, or metal. Metal fences, however, seldom, if ever, take the form of walls, but of railings; and, like all other metal constructions, must be left out of our present investigation; as may be also walls composed merely of light planks or laths for purposes of partition or enclosure. Substantial walls, whether of wood or earth (I use the word earth as including clay, baked or unbaked, and stone), have, in their perfect form, three distinct members;—the Foundation, Body or Veil, and Cornice.

¹ [A *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, v. 1, where also the other quotations in § 1 will be found.]

² [Above, ch. iii. § 3.]

§ 3. The foundation is to the wall what the paw is to an animal. It is a long foot, wider than the wall, on which the wall is to stand, and which keeps it from settling into the ground. It is most necessary that this great element of security should be visible to the eye, and therefore made a part of the structure above ground. Sometimes, indeed, it becomes incorporated with the entire foundation of the building, a vast table on which walls or piers are alike set; but even then, the eye, taught by the reason, requires some additional preparation or foot for the wall, and the building is felt to be imperfect without it. This foundation we shall call the Base of the wall.

§ 4. The body of the wall is of course the principal mass of it, formed of mud or clay, of bricks or stones, of logs or hewn timber; the condition of structure being, that it is of equal thickness everywhere below and above. It may be half a foot thick, or six feet thick, or fifty feet thick; but if of equal thickness everywhere, it is still a wall proper: if to its fifty feet of proper thickness there be added so much as an inch of thickness in particular parts, that added thickness is to be considered as some form of buttress or pier, or other appliance.*

In perfect architecture, however, walls are generally kept of moderate thickness, and strengthened by piers or buttresses; and the part of the wall between these, being generally intended only to secure privacy, or keep out the slighter forces of weather, may be properly called a Wall Veil. I shall always use this word "Veil" to signify the even portion of a wall, it being more expressive than the term Body.

§ 5. When the materials with which this veil is built are

* Many walls are slightly sloped or curved towards their tops, and have buttresses added to them (that of the Queen's Bench Prison¹ is a curious instance of the vertical buttress and inclined wall); but in all such instances the slope of the wall is properly to be considered a condition of incorporated buttress.

¹ [One of the debtors' prisons, in Southwark, abolished as such in 1860 and since pulled down.]

very loose, or of shapes which do not fit well together, it sometimes becomes necessary, or at least adds to security, to introduce courses of more solid material. Thus, bricks alternate with rolled pebbles in the old walls of Verona, and hewn stones with brick in its Lombard churches. A banded structure, almost a stratification of the wall, is thus produced; and the courses of more solid material are sometimes decorated with carving. Even when the wall is not thus banded through its whole height, it frequently becomes expedient to lay a course of stone, or at least of more carefully chosen materials, at regular heights; and such belts or bands we may call String courses. These are a kind of epochs in the wall's existence; something like periods of rest and reflection in human life, before entering on a new career. Or else, in the building, they correspond to the divisions of its stories within, express its internal structure, and mark off some portion of the ends of its existence already attained.

§ 6. Finally, on the top of the wall some protection from the weather is necessary, or some preparation for the reception of superincumbent weight, called a coping, or Cornice. I shall use the word Cornice for both; for, in fact, a coping is a roof to the wall itself, and is carried by a small cornice as the roof of the building by a large one. In either case, the cornice, small or large, is the termination of the wall's existence, the accomplishment of its work. When it is meant to carry some superincumbent weight, the cornice may be considered as its hand, opened to carry something above its head; as the base was considered its foot: and the three parts should grow out of each other and form one whole, like the root, stalk, and bell of a flower.

These three parts we shall examine in succession; and, first, the Base.

§ 7. It may be sometimes in our power, and it is always expedient, to prepare for the whole building some settled foundation, level and firm, out of sight. But this has not been done in some of the noblest buildings in existence. It cannot always be done perfectly, except at enormous expense;

and, in reasoning upon the superstructure, we shall never suppose it to be done. The mind of the spectator does not conceive it; and he estimates the merits of the edifice on the supposition of its being built upon the ground. Even if there be a vast tableland of foundation elevated for the whole of it, accessible by steps all round, as at Pisa,¹ the surface of this table is always conceived as capable of yielding somewhat to superincumbent weight, and generally is so; and we shall base all our arguments on the widest possible supposition, that is to say, that the building stands on a surface either of earth, or, at all events, capable of yielding in some degree to its weight.

§ 8. Now let the reader simply ask himself how, on such a surface, he would set about building a substantial wall, that should be able to bear weight and to stand for ages. He would

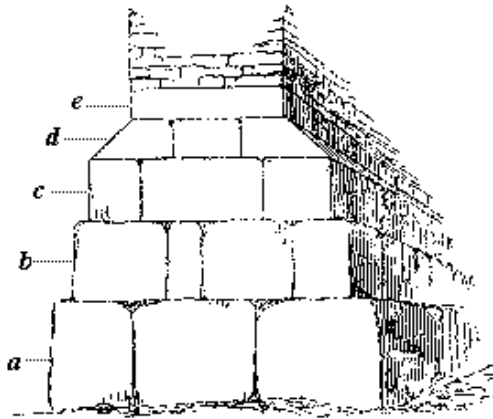


Fig. 2

assuredly look about for the largest stones he had at his disposal, and, rudely levelling the ground, he would lay these well together over a considerably larger width than he required the wall to be (suppose as at *a*, Fig. 2), in order to equalise the pressure of the wall over a large surface, and form its

foot. On the top of these he would perhaps lay a second tier of large stones, *b*, or even a third, *c*, making the breadth somewhat less each time, so as to prepare for the pressure of the wall on the centre, and, naturally or necessarily, using somewhat smaller stones above than below (since we supposed him to look about for the largest first), and cutting them more neatly. His third tier, if not his second, will probably appear a sufficiently secure foundation for finer work; for if the earth

¹ [Where the Cathedral is surrounded by a wide marble platform with steps.]

yield at all, it will probably yield pretty equally under the great mass of masonry now knit together over it. So he will prepare for the wall itself at once by sloping off the next tier of stones to the right diameter, as at *d*. If there be any joints in this tier within the wall, he may perhaps, for further security, lay a binding stone across them, *e*, and then begin the work of the wall veil itself, whether in bricks or stones.

§ 9. I have supposed the preparation here to be for a large wall, because such a preparation will give us the best general type. But it is evident that the essential features of the arrangement are only two, that is to say, one tier of massy work for foundation, suppose *c*, missing the first two; and the receding tier or real foot of the wall, *d*. The reader will find these members, though only of brick, in most of the considerable and independent walls in the suburbs of London.

§ 10. It is evident, however, that the general type, Fig. 2, will be subject to many different modifications in different circumstances. Sometimes the ledges of the tiers *a* and *b* may be of greater width; and when the building is in a secure place, and of finished masonry, these may be sloped off also like the main foot *d*. In Venetian buildings these lower ledges are exposed to the sea, and therefore left rough hewn; but in fine work and in important positions the lower ledges may be levelled and decorated like the upper, or another added above *d*; and all these parts may be in different proportions, according to the disposition of the building above them. But we have nothing to do with any of these variations at present, they being all more or less dependent upon decorative considerations, except only one of very great importance, that is to say, the widening of the lower ledge into a stone seat, which may be often done in buildings of great size with most beautiful effect: it looks kind and hospitable, and preserves the work above from violence. In St. Mark's at Venice, which is a small and low church, and needing no great foundation for the wall veils of it, we find only the three members, *b*, *c*, and *d*. Of these the first rises about a foot above the pavement of St. Mark's Place, and

forms an elevated dais in some of the recesses of the porches, chequered red and white; *c* forms a seat which follows the line of the walls, while its basic character is marked by its also carrying certain shafts with which we have here no concern; *d* is of white marble; and all are enriched and decorated in the simplest and most perfect manner possible, as we shall see in Chap. XXV. And thus much may serve to fix the type of wall bases, a type oftener followed in real practice than any other we shall hereafter be enabled to determine: for wall bases of necessity must be solidly built, and the architect is therefore driven into the adoption of the right form; or if he deviate from it, it is generally in meeting some necessity of peculiar circumstances, as in obtaining cellars and underground room, or in preparing for some grand features or particular parts of the wall, or in some mistaken idea of decoration,—into which errors we had better not pursue him until we understand something more of the rest of the building: let us therefore proceed to consider the wall veil.

CHAPTER V

THE WALL VEIL

§ 1. THE summer of the year 1849 was spent by the writer in researches little bearing upon his present subject,¹ and connected chiefly with proposed illustrations of the mountain forms in the works of J. M. W. Turner. But there are sometimes more valuable lessons to be learned in the school of nature than in that of Vitruvius,² and a fragment of building among the Alps is singularly illustrative of the chief feature which I have at present to develop as necessary to the perfection of the wall veil.

It is a fragment of some size; a group of broken walls, one of them overhanging; crowned with a cornice, nodding some hundred and fifty feet over its massive flank, three thousand above its glacier base, and fourteen thousand above the sea,—a wall truly of some majesty, at once the most precipitous and the strongest mass in the whole chain of the Alps, the Mont Cervin.³

¹ [See above, Introduction, p. xxiii.]

² [The *De Architectura* of Vitruvius, written in the reign of Augustus, is a curious instance of a book becoming famous many centuries after its publication. It was the text-book, and it may almost be said the gospel, of the Renaissance architects, and down to our own time its authority has been considerable. Yet there is nothing to show that among the Romans it possessed any special weight.]

³ [The studies of the Matterhorn here alluded to and utilised were developed more fully in *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xvi., where drawings of the mountain made by Ruskin in 1849 are engraved. The image here employed in § 3—“like the hollow of a wave”—occurred to him at the time, as is seen in the following passages from his diary:—

“ZERMATT, *Friday, August 3.*—Ascended as close as I could to the Matterhorn—a day much to be remembered. I was amazed to find on what a wide extent the rocks of these valleys are continuous, and that the Matterhorn was nothing more than an isolated fragment of a great series of nearly horizontal beds. The glacier of the Cervin pass terminates on the side farthest from Monte Rosa in a great level circular lake of ice, surrounded on three sides by a wall of rock, forming one of the most awful amphitheatres in the

§ 2. It has been falsely represented as a peak or tower. It is a vast ridged promontory, connected at its western root with the Dent d'Erin,¹ and lifting itself like a rearing horse with its face to the east. All the way along the flank of it, for half a day's journey on the Zmutt glacier, the grim black terraces of its foundations range almost without a break; and the clouds, when their day's work is done, and they are weary, lay themselves down on those foundation steps, and rest till dawn, each with his leagues of grey mantle stretched along the grisly ledge, and the cornice of the mighty wall gleaming in the moonlight, three thousand feet above.

§ 3. The eastern face of the promontory is hewn down, as if by the single sweep of a sword, from the crest of it to the base; hewn concave and smooth, like the hollow of a wave:

world. Southwards this wall, perhaps from one to two thousand feet in height, is overhung by enormous masses of nevé; westwards, it suddenly rises to the Matterhorn, which stands as it were on its edge, nodding over it; northwards, it terminates in the isolated promontory which I ascended. . . .

"Saturday, August 4.—Looking back upon that scene of yesterday, the image which struck me at the time is suggested with still greater force. Byron's line, of Soracte, applies only to the outline; but the resemblance to a breaking wave is traceable throughout the whole group of the Matterhorn and its snows. The hollow semi-circular precipice, nodding forwards at its crest, seems to roll round the gulph of glacier as a wild breaker bends round a level shore; the glacier itself, all traversed by curved and eddying fissures, looked like the sweeping sheet of foam left by the last wave, the receding remains of the last winter's snow, covered as it seemed by broken wreaths of kneaded spray, separated here and there by bands of free ice—as the sea foam is by the grey water. The central Matterhorn rose like the crested summit of the breaker met by the recoil; and, to increase the likeness, the cloud drifted from the front of it like the spray caught by the wind, adding at the same time to its natural grace of curve; and even the red rocks at its base, surmounted by the band of livid green, bore no unapt resemblance to the stain in the hollow of a nodding wave, where the green deep water joins that which has been fouled by the sand. Far to the south, the nevé hung from the ridges of the dark rocks, and carried deep into the blue and serene sky the image of the blanched rage of endless ocean."

The passage in Byron, referred to above, is in *Childe Harold*, canto iv. st. 74–75:

"Athos, Olympus, Ætna, Atlas, made
These hills seem things of lesser dignity,
All, save the lone Soracte's height display'd,
Not now in snow, which asks the lyric Roman's aid

"For our remembrance, and from out the plain
Heaves like a long-swept wave about to break,
And on the curl hangs pausing: . . ."]

¹ [i.e. the Dent d'Herens (otherwise known as "Mount Tabor").]

on each flank of it there is set a buttress, both of about equal height, their heads sloped out from the main wall about seven hundred feet below its summit. That on the north is the most important; it is as sharp as the frontal angle of a bastion, and sloped sheer away to the north-east, throwing out spur beyond spur, until it terminates in a long low curve of russet precipice, at whose foot a great bay of the glacier of the Col de Cervin lies as level as a lake. This spur is one of the few points from which the mass of the Mont Cervin is in anywise approachable. It is a continuation of the masonry of the mountain itself, and affords us the means of examining the character of its materials.

§ 4. Few architects would like to build with them. The slope of the rocks to the north-west is covered two feet deep with their ruins, a mass of loose and slaty shale, of a dull brick-red colour, which yields beneath the foot like ashes, so that, in running down, you step one yard, and slide three. The rock is indeed hard beneath, but still disposed in thin courses of these cloven shales, so finely laid that they look in places more like a heap of crushed autumn leaves than a rock; and the first sensation is one of unmitigated surprise, as if the mountain were upheld by miracle; but surprise becomes more intelligent reverence for the great Builder, when we find, in the middle of the mass of these dead leaves, a course of living rock, of quartz as white as the snow that encircles it, and harder than a bed of steel.¹

§ 5. It is one only of a thousand iron bands that knit the

¹ [Ruskin in the MS. had here added a further sentence:—

“Of the importance of this string-course to the mountain chain the reader may form some estimate, when he is told that it is found also on the opposite side of the valley; its white line traceable along every undulation of the mountains above Zermatt—that, though in places not above thirty feet thick, it extends over a surface on the least calculation of twelve square leagues, and the weight of the great Mont Cervin is set above it as if in a saucer of porcelain.”

Ruskin had noted this in his diary (Zermatt, August 2):—

“This vein of quartz is seen from the opposite side on the Col de Cervin to sweep back towards the Glacier de Zermatt underlying all the high peaks of the Weisshorn,” etc.

In the same diary he describes “a rough path: where it traversed the quartz, the steps of it looked like the most beautiful worn marble steps of some Italian duomo.”]

strength of the mighty mountain. Through the buttress and the wall alike, the courses of its varied masonry are seen in their successive order, smooth and true as if laid by line and plummet,* but of thickness and strength continually varying, and with silver cornices glittering along the edge of each, laid by the snowy winds and carved by the sunshine,—stain-less ornaments of the eternal temple, by which “neither the hammer nor the axe, nor any tool, was heard while it was in building.”¹

§ 6. I do not, however, bring this forward as an instance of any universal law of natural building; there are solid as well as coursed masses of precipice, but it is somewhat curious that the most noble cliff in Europe, which this eastern front of the Cervin is, I believe, without dispute, should be to us an example of the utmost possible stability of precipitousness attained with materials of imperfect and variable character; and, what is more, there are very few cliffs which do not display alternations between compact and friable conditions of their material, marked in their contours by bevelled slopes when the bricks are soft, and vertical steps when they are harder. And, although we are not hence to conclude that it is well to introduce courses of bad materials when we can get perfect material, I believe we may conclude with great certainty that it is better and easier to strengthen a wall necessarily of imperfect substance, as of brick, by introducing carefully laid courses of stone, than by adding to its thickness; and the first impression we receive from the unbroken aspect of a wall veil, unless it be of hewn stone throughout, is that it must be both thicker and weaker than it would have been, had it been properly coursed. The decorative reasons for adopting the coursed arrangement, which we shall notice hereafter,² are so weighty, that they would alone be almost sufficient to enforce it: and the constructive ones will apply

* On the eastern side: violently contorted on the northern and western.

¹ [1 Kings vi. 7.]

² [See below, ch. xxvi. § 1, p. 347.]

universally, except in the rare cases in which the choice of perfect or imperfect material is entirely open to us, or where the general system of the decoration of the building requires absolute unity in its surface.

§ 7. As regards the arrangement of the intermediate parts themselves, it is regulated by certain conditions of bonding and fitting the stones or bricks, which the reader need hardly be troubled to consider,¹ and which I wish that bricklayers themselves were always honest enough to observe. But I hardly know whether to note under the head of æsthetic or constructive law, this important principle, that masonry is always bad which appears to have arrested the attention of the architect more than absolute conditions of strength require. Nothing is more contemptible in any work than an appearance of the slightest desire on the part of the builder to *direct attention* to the way its stones are put together, or of any trouble taken either to show or to conceal it more than was rigidly necessary: it may sometimes, on the one hand, be necessary to conceal it as far as may be, by delicate and close fitting, when the joints would interfere with lines of sculpture or of mouldings; and it may often, on the other hand, be delightful to show it, as it is delightful in places to show the anatomy even of the most delicate human frame: but *studiously* to conceal it is the error of vulgar painters, who are afraid to show that their figures have bones; and *studiously* to display it is the error of the base pupils of Michael

¹ [In the first draft, however, Ruskin had begun to go into some of these matters:—

“Let the reader then suppose that he has either fastened together with cement, like the walls of our Kentish churches, or fitted together by adjustment, some certain height of wall-veil of the less perfect materials at his disposition; and then that on these he is about to lay a firm course of hewn stone:—he would naturally leave the edges of this rather projecting over the work below, than falling within it, in order to be sure of the full breadth to begin the smaller work upon again; and the edge of the projecting stones would therefore form a slight visible band along the face of the wall. If, however, these courses were very frequent, it would not do to leave these ledges, which would stop the rain from running down the wall, and cause it to soak in at the joints. They would, therefore, be all cut smooth to the wall face, except here and there the ledges of some of the more important tiers.”]

Angelo, who turned heroes' limbs into surgeons' diagrams,—but with less excuse than theirs, for there is less interest in the anatomy displayed. Exhibited masonry is in most cases the expedient of architects who do not know how to fill up blank spaces, and many a building, which would have been decent enough if let alone, has been scrawled over with straight

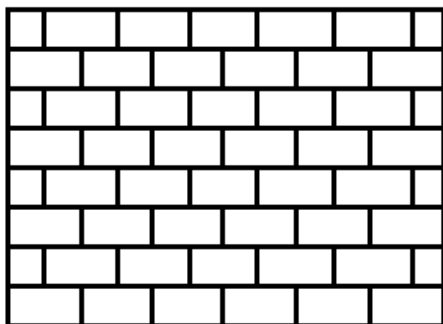


Fig. 3

lines, as in Fig. 3, on exactly the same principles, and with just the same amount of intelligence as a boy's in scrawling his copy-book when he cannot write. The device was thought ingenious at one period of architectural history: St. Paul's and Whitehall¹ are

covered with it, and it is in this I imagine that some of our modern architects suppose the great merit of those buildings to consist. There is, however, no excuse for errors in disposition of masonry, for there is but one law upon the subject, and that easily complied with, to avoid all affectation and all unnecessary expense, either in showing or concealing. Every one knows a building is built of separate stones; nobody will ever object to seeing that it is so, but nobody wants to count them. The divisions of a church are much like the divisions of a sermon; they are always right, so long as they are necessary to edification, and always wrong when they are thrust upon the attention as divisions only. There may be neatness in carving when there is richness in feasting; but I have heard many a discourse, and seen many a church wall, in which it was all carving and no meat.

¹ [St. Paul's, it will be remembered, was built 1675–1710; the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall (by Inigo Jones), in 1619–1622.]

CHAPTER VI

THE WALL CORNICE

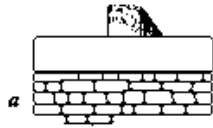
§ 1. WE have lastly to consider the close of the wall's existence or its cornice. It was above stated,¹ that a cornice has one of two offices: if the wall have nothing to carry, the cornice is its roof, and defends it from the weather; if there is weight to be carried above the wall, the cornice is its hand, and is expanded to carry the said weight.

There are several ways of roofing or protecting independent walls, according to the means nearest at hand: sometimes the wall has a true roof all to itself; sometimes it terminates in a small gabled ridge, made of bricks set slanting, as constantly in the suburbs of London; or of hewn stone, in stronger work; or in a single sloping face, inclined to the outside. We need not trouble ourselves at present about these small roofings, which are merely the diminutions of large ones; but we must examine the important and constant member of the wall structure, which prepares it either for these small roofs or for weight above, and is its true cornice.

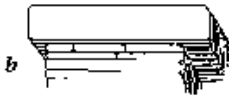
§ 2. The reader will, perhaps, as heretofore, be kind enough to think for himself, how, having carried up his wall veil as high as it may be needed, he will set about protecting it from weather, or preparing it for weight. Let him imagine the top of the unfinished wall, as it would be seen from above, with all the joints, perhaps uncemented, or imperfectly filled up with cement, open to the sky; and small broken materials filling gaps between large ones, and leaving cavities ready for the rain to soak into, and loosen and dissolve the cement, and split, as it froze, the whole to pieces.

¹ [Ch. iv. § 6, p. 81.]

I am much mistaken if his first impulse would not be to take a great flat stone and lay it on the top; or rather a series of such, side by side, projecting well over the edge of the wall veil. If, also, he proposed to lay a weight (as, for instance, the end of a beam) on the wall, he would feel at once that the pressure of this beam on, or rather among, the small stones of the wall veil, might very possibly dislodge or disarrange some of them; and his first impulse would be, in this case, also to lay a large flat



stone on the top of all to receive the beam, or any other weight, and distribute it equally among the small stones below, as at *a*, Fig. 4.



§ 3. We must therefore have our flat stone in either case; and let *b*, Fig. 4, be the section or side of it, as it is set across the wall. Now, evidently, if by any chance this weight happen to be thrown more on the edges of this stone than the centre, there will be a chance of these edges breaking off. Had we not better, therefore, put another stone, sloped off to the wall, beneath the projecting one, as at *c*? But now our cornice looks somewhat too heavy for the wall; and as the upper stone is evidently of needless thickness, we will thin it somewhat, and we have the form *d*.

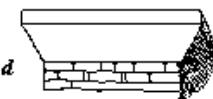
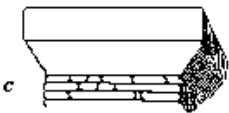


Fig. 4

Now observe: the lower or bevelled stone here at *d* corresponds to *d* in the base (Fig. 2, page 82). That was the foot of the wall; this is its hand. And the top stone here, which is a constant member of cornices, corresponds to the under stone *c*, in Fig. 2, which is a constant member of bases. The reader has no idea at present of the enormous importance of these members; but as we shall have to refer to them perpetually, I must ask him to compare them, and fix their relations well in his mind: and, for convenience, I shall call the bevelled or sloping stone, X, and the upright-edged stone, Y. The reader may remember easily which is which; for X is an intersection of

two slopes, and may therefore properly mean either of the two sloping stones; and Y is a figure with a perpendicular line and two slopes, and may therefore fitly stand for the upright stone in relation to each of the sloping ones: and as we shall have to say much more about cornices than about bases, let X and Y stand for the stones of the cornice, and X b and Y b for those of the base, when distinction is needed.

§ 4. Now the form at *d*, Fig. 4, is the great root and primal type of all cornices whatsoever. In order to see what forms may be developed from it, let us take its profile a little larger—*a*, Fig. 5, with X and Y duly marked.

Now this form, being the root of all cornices, may either have to finish the wall, and so keep off rain; or, as so often stated, to carry weight. If the former, it is evident that, in its present profile, the rain will run back down the slope of X; and if the latter, that the sharp angle or

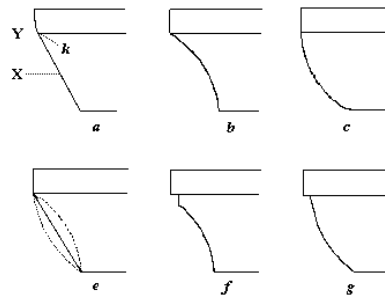


Fig. 5

edge of X, at *k*, may be a little too weak for its work, and run a chance of giving way. To avoid the evil in the first case, suppose we hollow the slope of X inwards, as at *b*; and to avoid it in the second case, suppose we strengthen X by letting it bulge outwards, as at *c*.

§ 5. These (*b* and *c*) are the profiles of two vast families of cornices, springing from the same root, which, with a third arising from their combination (owing its origin to æsthetic considerations, and inclining sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other), have been employed, each on its third part of the architecture of the whole world throughout all ages, and must continue to be so employed through such time as is yet to

come. We do not at present speak of the third or combined group; but the relation of the two main branches to each other, and to the line of origin, is given at *e*, Fig. 5; where the dotted lines are the representatives of the two families, and the straight line of the root. The slope of this right line, as well as the nature of the curves, here drawn as segments of circles, we leave undetermined: the slope, as well as the proportion of the depths of X and Y to each other, vary according to the weight to be carried, the strength of the stone, the size of the cornice, and a thousand other accidents; and the nature of the curves according to æsthetic laws. It is in these infinite fields that the invention of the architect is permitted to expatiate, but not in the alteration of primitive forms.

§ 6. But to proceed. It will doubtless appear to the reader, that, even allowing for some of these permissible variations in the curve or slope of X, neither the form at *b*, nor any approximation to that form, would be sufficiently undercut to keep the rain from running back upon it. This is true; but we have to consider that the cornice, as the close of the wall's life, is of all its features that which is best fitted for honour and ornament. It has been esteemed so by almost all builders, and has been lavishly decorated in modes here-after to be considered. But it is evident that, as it is high above the eye, the fittest place to receive the decoration is the slope of X, which is inclined towards the spectator; and if we cut away or hollow out this slope more than we have done at *b*, all decoration will be hid in the shadow. If, therefore, the climate be fine, and rain of long continuance not to be dreaded, we shall not hollow the stone X farther, adopting the curve at *b*, merely as the most protective in our power. But if the climate be one in which rain is frequent and dangerous, as in alternations with frost, we may be compelled to consider the cornice in a character distinctly protective, and to hollow out X farther, so as to enable it thoroughly to accomplish its purpose. A cornice thus treated loses its character as the crown or honour of the wall,

takes the office of its protector, and is called a DRIPSTONE. The dripstone is naturally the attribute of Northern buildings, and therefore especially of Gothic architecture; the true cornice is the attribute of Southern buildings, and therefore of Greek and Italian architecture: and it is one of their peculiar beauties, and eminent features of superiority.

§ 7. Before passing to the dripstone, however, let us examine a little farther into the nature of the true cornice. We cannot, indeed, render either of the forms, *b* or *c*, Fig. 5, perfectly protective from rain, but we can help them a little in their duty by a slight advance of their upper ledge. This, with the form *b*, we can best manage by cutting off the sharp upper point of its curve, which is evidently weak and useless; and we shall have the form *f*. By a slight advance of the upper stone in *c*, we shall have the parallel form *g*.

These two cornices, *f* and *g*, are characteristic of early Byzantine work, and are found on all the most lovely examples of it in Venice. The type *a* is rarer, but occurs pure in the most exquisite piece of composition in Venice—the northern portico of St. Mark's; and will be given in due time.

§ 8. Now the reader has doubtless noticed that these forms of cornice result, from considerations of fitness and necessity, far more neatly and decisively than the forms of the base, which we left only very generally determined. The reason is, that there are many ways of building foundations, and many *good* ways, dependent upon the peculiar accidents of the ground and nature of accessible materials. There is also room to spare in width, and a chance of a part of the arrangement being concealed by the ground, so as to modify height. But we have no room to spare in width on the top of a wall, and all that we do must be thoroughly visible; and we can but have to deal with bricks or stones of a certain degree of fineness, and not with mere gravel, or sand, or clay,—so that

¹ [See below, ch. xxvii. § 47, p. 386.]

as the conditions are limited, the forms become determined; and our steps will be more clear and certain the farther we advance. The sources of a river are usually half lost among moss and pebbles, and its first movements doubtful in direction; but, as the current gathers force, its banks are determined, and its branches are numbered.¹

§ 9. So far of the true cornice; we have still to determine the form of the dripstone.

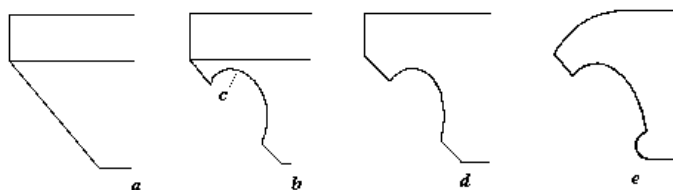


Fig. 6

We go back to our primal type or root of cornice, *a* of Fig. 5. We take this at *a* in Fig. 6, and we are to consider it entirely as a protection against rain. Now the only way in which the rain can be kept from running back on the slope of *X* is by a bold hollowing out of it upwards, *b*. But clearly, by thus doing, we shall so weaken the projecting part of it that the least shock would break it at the neck, *c*; we must therefore cut the whole out of one stone which will give us the form *d*. That the water may not lodge on the upper ledge of this, we had better round it off: and it will better protect the joint at the bottom of the slope if we let the stone project over it in a roll, cutting the recess deeper above. These two changes are made in *e*; *e* is the type of dripstones; the projecting part being, however, more or less rounded into an

¹ [The MS. has here an additional sentence:—

“If the reader chooses for a moment to anticipate his more regular progress, and will glance at the forms of cornice developed in Plate—[15], he will, I doubt not, be surprised to find by what slight decorative additions all of them are produced from the two simple profiles already [given] in fig. 5 above, or from the third type resulting from the combination of these two.”]

approximation to the shape of a falcon's beak, and often reaching it completely. But the essential part of the arrangement is the up and under cutting of the curve. Wherever we find this, we are sure that the climate is wet, or that the builders have been bred in a wet country, and that the rest of the building will be prepared for rough weather. The up cutting of the curve is sometimes all the distinction between the mouldings of far-distant countries and utterly strange nations. Fig. 7 represents a moulding with an outer and inner curve, the latter under-cut. Take the outer line, and this moulding is one constant in Venice, in architecture traceable to Arabian types, and chiefly to the early mosques of Cairo. But take the inner line; it is a dripstone at Salisbury. In that narrow interval between the curves there is, when we read it rightly, an expression of another and a mightier curve,—the orbed sweep of the earth and sea, between the desert of the Pyramids, and the green and level fields through which the clear streams of Sarum wind so slowly.

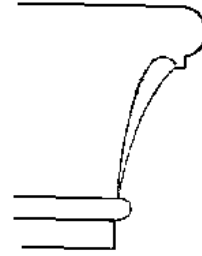


Fig. 7

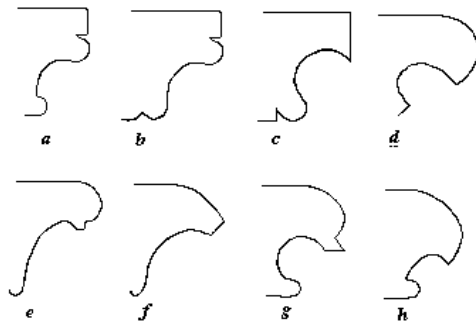


Fig. 8

And so delicate is the test, that though pure cornices are often found in the North,—borrowed from classical models,—so surely as we find a true dripstone moulding in the South, the influence of Northern

builders has been at work; and this will be one of the principal evidences which I shall use in detecting Lombard influence on Arab work; for the true Byzantine and Arab mouldings are all open to the sky and light, but the Lombards brought with them from the North the fear

of rain, and in all the Lombardic Gothic we instantly recognise the shadowy dripstone: *a*, Fig. 8, is from a noble fragment at Milan, in the Piazza dei Mercanti; *b*, from the Broletto of Como. Compare them with *c* and *d*, both from Salisbury; *e* and *f*, from Lisieux, Normandy; *g* and *h*, from Wenlock Abbey, Shropshire.¹

§ 10. The reader is now master of all that he need know about the construction of the general wall cornice, fitted either to become a crown of the wall, or to carry weight above. If, however, the weight above become considerable, it may be necessary to support the cornice at intervals with brackets; especially if it be required to project far, as well as to carry weight; as, for instance, if there be a gallery on the top of the wall. This kind of bracket-cornice, deep or shallow, forms a separate family, essentially connected with roofs and galleries; for if there be no superincumbent weight, it is evidently absurd to put brackets to a plain cornice or dripstone (though this is sometimes done in carrying out a style); so that, as soon as we see a bracket put to a cornice, it implies, or should imply, that there is a roof or gallery above it. Hence this family of cornices I shall consider in connection with roofing, calling them "roof cornices," while what we have hitherto examined are proper "wall cornices." The roof cornice and parapet are therefore treated in division D.²

We are not, however, as yet nearly ready for our roof. We have only obtained that which was to be the object of our first division (A); we have got, that is to say, a general idea of a wall and of the three essential parts of a wall; and we have next, it will be remembered, to get an idea of a pier and the essential parts of a pier, which were to be the subjects of our second division (B).

¹ [The Benedictine Abbey of St. Milburga, originally founded in the seventh century; the ruins now extant are of the building commenced by Roger de Montgomery, a kinsman of the Conqueror. For another reference, see below, ch. xxiii. § 8, p. 321.]

² [For these divisions, see ch. iii. § 6 above, p. 77; the discussion of division (D)—"roofs proper"—begins in ch. xiii.]

CHAPTER VII

THE PIER BASE

§ 1. IN § 3 of Chap. III., it was stated that when a wall had to sustain an addition of vertical pressure, it was first fitted to sustain it by some addition to its own thickness; but if the pressure became very great, by being gathered up into PIERS.

I must first make the reader understand what I mean by a wall's being gathered up. Take a piece of tolerably thick drawing-paper, or thin Bristol board, five or six inches square. Set it on its edge on the table, and put a small octavo book on the edge or top of it, and it will bend instantly. Tear it into four strips all across, and roll up each strip tightly. Set these rolls on end on the table, and they will carry the small octavo perfectly well. Now the thickness or substance of the paper employed to carry the weight is exactly the same as it was before, only it is differently arranged, that is to say, "gathered up."* If, therefore, a wall be gathered up like the

* The experiment is not quite fair in this rude fashion; for the small rolls owe their increase of strength much more to their tubular form than their aggregation of material; but if the paper be cut up into small strips, and tied together firmly in three or four compact bundles, it will exhibit increase of strength enough to show the principle.¹ I could have wished, before writing this chapter, to have given more study to the difficult subject of the strength of shafts of different materials and structure; but I cannot enter into every inquiry which general criticism might suggest, and this I believe to be one which would have occupied the reader with less profit than many others: all that is necessary for him to note is, that the great increase of strength gained by a tubular form in iron shafts, of given solid contents, is no contradiction to the general principle stated in the text, that the strength of materials is most available when they are most concentrated. The strength of the tube is owing to certain properties of the arch formed by its sides, not

¹ [The rest of the note—"I could have wished . . . sound of his voice"—was in ed. I printed as Appendix "16. Strength of Shafts"; and the note here continued "Vide, however, Appendix 16, "Strength of Shafts."]

Bristol board, it will bear greater weight than it would if it remained a wall veil. The sticks into which you gather it are called *Piers*. A pier is a coagulated wall.

§ 2. Now you cannot quite treat the wall as you did the Bristol board, and twist it up at once; but let us see how you *can* treat it. Let A, Fig. 9, be the plan of a wall which

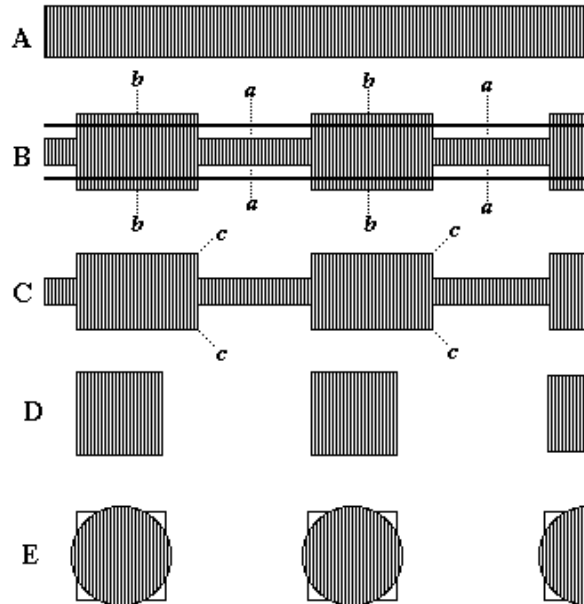


Fig. 9

you have made inconveniently and expensively thick, and which still appears to be slightly too weak for what it must carry: divide it, as at B, into equal spaces, *a*, *b*, *a*, *b*, etc. Cut

to the dispersion of its materials; and the principle is altogether inapplicable to stone shafts. No one would think of building a pillar of a succession of sandstone rings; however strong it might be, it would be still stronger filled up, and the substitution of such a pillar for a solid one of the same contents would lose too much space; for a stone pillar, even when solid, must be quite as thick as is either graceful or convenient, and in modern churches is often too thick as it is, hindering sight of the preacher, and checking the sound of his voice.

out a thin slice of it at every a on each side, and put the slices you cut out on at every b on each side, and you will have the plan at B, with exactly the same quantity of bricks. But your wall is now so much concentrated, that, if it was only slightly too weak before, it will be stronger now than it need be; so you may spare some of your space as well as your bricks by cutting off the corners of the thicker parts, as suppose $c, c, c, c,$ at c : and you have now a series of square piers connected by a wall veil, which, on less space and with less materials, will do the work of the wall at A perfectly well.

§ 3. I do not say *how much* may be cut away in the corners $c, c,$ —that is a mathematical question with which we need not trouble ourselves: all that we need know is, that out of every slice we take from the “ a ’s” and put on at the “ b ’s,” we may keep a certain percentage of room and bricks, until, supposing that we do not want the wall veil for its own sake, this latter is thinned entirely away, like the girdle of the Lady of Avenel,¹ and finally breaks, and we have nothing but a row of square piers, D.

§ 4. But have we yet arrived at the form which will spare most room, and use fewest materials? No; and to get farther we must apply the general principle to our wall, which is equally true in morals and mathematics, that the strength of materials or of men, or of minds, is always most available when it is applied as closely as possible to a single point.

Let the point to which we wish the strength of our square piers to be applied, be chosen. Then we shall of course put them directly under it, and the point will be in their centre. But now some of their materials are not so near or close to this point as others. Those at the corners are farther off than the rest.

Now, if every particle of the pier be brought as near as possible to the centre of it, the form it assumes is the circle.

¹ [*The Monastery*, ch. xvii. (“Look on my girdle—on this thread of gold—“); and again, almost the last words of the book (“—her golden zone, which was now diminished to the fineness of a silken thread”).]

The circle must be, therefore, the best possible form of plan for a pier, from the beginning of time to the end of it. A circular pier is called a pillar or column, and all good architecture adapted to vertical support is made up of pillars, has always been so, and must ever be so, as long as the laws of the universe hold.

The final condition is represented at E, in its relation to that at D. It will be observed that though each circle projects a little beyond the side of the square out of which it is formed, the space cut off at the angles is greater than that added at the sides; for, having our materials in a more concentrated arrangement, we can afford to part with some of them in this last transformation, as in all the rest.

§ 5. And now, what have the base and the cornice of the wall been doing while we have been cutting the veil to pieces and gathering it together?

The base is also cut to pieces, gathered together, and becomes the base of the column.

The cornice is cut to pieces, gathered together, and becomes the capital of the column. Do not be alarmed at the new word; it does not mean a new thing; a capital is only the cornice of a column, and you may, if you like, call a cornice the capital of a wall.

We have now, therefore, to examine these three concentrated forms of the base, veil, and cornice: first, the concentrated base, still called the **BASE** of the column; then the concentrated veil, called the **SHAFT** of the column; then the concentrated cornice, called the **CAPITAL** of the column.

And first the Base:—

§ 6. Look back to the main type, Fig. 2, p. 82, and apply its profiles in due proportion to the feet of the pillars at E in Fig. 9, p. 100: If each step in Fig. 2 were gathered accurately, the projection of the entire circular base would be less in proportion to its height than it is in Fig. 2; but the approximation to the result in Fig. 10 is quite accurate enough for our purposes. (I pray the reader to observe that I have not made the smallest change, except this necessary expression of

a reduction in diameter, in Fig. 2 as it is applied in Fig. 10, only I have not drawn the joints of the stones, because these would confuse the outlines of the bases; and I have not represented the rounding of the shafts, because it does not bear at present on the argument.) Now it would hardly be convenient, if we had to pass between the pillars, to have to squeeze ourselves through one of those angular gaps or brêches de Roland¹ in Fig. 10. Our first impulse would be to cut them open; but we cannot do this, or our piers are unsafe. We have but one other resource, to fill them up until we have a floor wide enough to let us pass easily: this we may perhaps

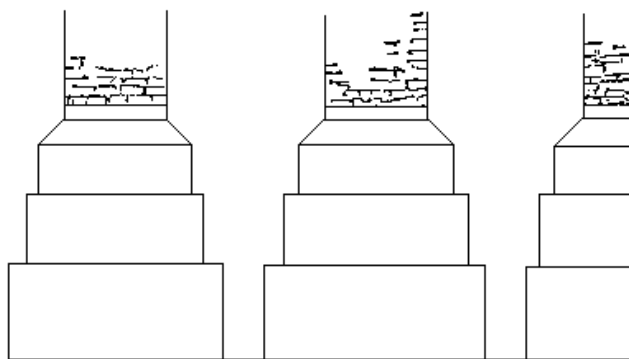


Fig. 10

obtain at the first ledge, we are nearly sure to get it at the second, and we may then obtain access to the raised interval, either by raising the earth over the lower courses of foundation, or by steps round the entire building.

Fig. 11 is the arrangement of Fig. 10 so treated.

§ 7. But suppose the pillars are so vast that the lowest chink in Fig. 10 would be quite wide enough to let us pass through it. Is there then any reason for filling it up? Yes.

¹ ["Roland's breach," a deep defile in the crest of the Pyrenees, near Gavarnie. The legend—that the paladin cleft the rock in two with his sword Durandal, when he was set upon by the Gascons at Roncesvalles—is referred to by Wordsworth:—

"Then would I seek the Pyrenean breach
Which Roland clove with huge two-handed sword."

(*Memorials of a Tour on the Continent: "Aix-la-Chapelle"*).]

It will be remembered that in Chap. IV. § 8 the chief reason for the wide foundation of the wall was stated to be “that it might equalise its pressure over a large surface;” but when the foundation is cut to pieces as in Fig. 10, the pressure is thrown on a succession of narrowed and detached spaces of that surface. If the ground is in some places more disposed to yield than in others, the piers in those places will sink more than the rest, and this distortion of the system will be probably of more importance in pillars than in a wall, because the adjustment of the weight above is more delicate; we thus actually want the *weight* of the stones between the pillars, in

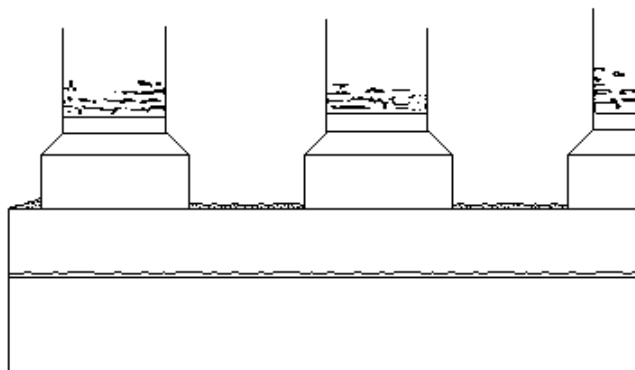


Fig. II

order that the whole foundation may be bonded into one, and sink together if it sink at all: and the more massy the pillars, the more we shall need to fill the intervals of their foundations. In the best form of Greek architecture, the intervals are filled up to the root of the shaft, and the columns have no independent base; they stand on the even floor of their foundation.

§ 8. Such a structure is not only admissible, but, when the column is of great thickness in proportion to its height, and the sufficient firmness, either of the ground or prepared floor, is evident, it is the best of all, having a strange dignity in its excessive simplicity. It is, or ought to be, connected in our minds with the deep meaning of primeval memorial.

“And Jacob took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar.”¹ I do not fancy that he put a base for it first. If you try to put a base to the rock-piers of Stonehenge, you will hardly find them improved; and two of the most perfect buildings in the world, the Parthenon and Ducal palace of Venice, have no bases to their pillars: the latter has them, indeed, to its upper arcade shafts; and had once, it is said, a continuous raised base for its lower ones: but successive elevations of St. Mark’s Place have covered this base, and parts of the shafts themselves, with an inundation of paving stones; and yet the building is, I doubt not, as grand as ever.² Finally, the two most noble pillars in Venice, those brought from Acre, stand on the smooth marble surface of the Piazzetta, with no independent bases whatever.³ They are rather broken away beneath, so that you may look under parts of them, and stand (not quite erect, but leaning somewhat) safe by their own massy weight. Nor could any bases possibly be devised that would not spoil them.

§ 9. But it is otherwise if the pillar be so slender as to look doubtfully balanced. It would indeed stand quite as safely without an independent base as it would with one (at least, unless the base be in the form of a socket). But it will not appear so safe to the eye. And here, for the first time, I

¹ [Genesis xxviii. 18.]

² [See further on this point *St. Mark’s Rest*, § 15: “the pillars (of the Ducal Palace) have been found fault with for wanting bases. But they were meant to be walked beside without stumbling.” The foundations of the Ducal Palace were strengthened in the restoration completed in 1889; for particulars on this subject, see next volume.]

³ [The pillars here referred to are the two short square marble pilasters which stand on the south side of St. Mark’s. They were brought in 1256 from the church of St. Saba at Ptolemais (St. Jean d’Acre), which was destroyed by the Venetians, and are elsewhere called by Ruskin the “Jean d’Acre Columns” (*St. Mark’s Rest*, § 100; and see also *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. iv. § 15, and vol. iii., Venetian index, s. “Piazzetta”). The pillars were subsequently given plinths—“which are as if you gave the Greek Pallas high-heeled boots”: see Ruskin’s preface (reprinted here in the volume containing *St. Mark’s Rest*) to Count Zorzi’s *Osservazioni intorno ai ristorni . . . della Basilica di San Marco*, 1877. The original standing of the pillars is well shown in a drawing by Prout, given in this edition as an illustration to Ruskin’s *Notes on Prout and Hunt*. For the granite “Pillars of the Piazzetta,” which on the other hand always had bases, see below, § 17.]

have to express and apply a principle, which I believe the reader will at once grant,—that features necessary to express security to the imagination are often as essential parts of good architecture as those required for security itself. It was said that the wall base was the foot or paw of the wall.¹ Exactly in the same way, and with clearer analogy, the pier base is the foot or paw of the pier. Let us, then, take a hint from nature. A foot has two offices, to bear up, and to hold firm. As far as it has to bear up, it is uncloven, with slight projection,—look at an elephant's (the Doric base of animality);* but as far as it has to hold firm, it is divided and clawed, with wide projections,—look at an eagle's.

§ 10. Now observe. In proportion to the massiness of the column, we require its foot to express merely the power of bearing up; in fact, it can do without a foot, like the Squire in Chevy Chase,² if the ground only be hard enough. But if the column be slender, and look as if it might lose its balance, we require it to look as if it had hold of the ground, or the ground hold of it, it does not matter which,—some expression of claw, prop, or socket.³ Now let us go back to Fig. 11, and take up one of the bases there, in the state in which we left it. We may leave out the two lower steps (with which we have nothing more to do, as they have become the united floor or foundation of the whole), and, for the sake of greater clearness, I shall not draw the bricks in the shaft, nor the flat stone which carries them, though the reader is to suppose them remaining as drawn in Fig. 11; but I shall only draw the shaft and its two essential members of base, X b and Y b, as explained at p. 93: and now, expressing the rounding of these members on a somewhat larger scale, we have the profile

* Appendix 17: "Answer to Mr. Garbett" [p. 450].

¹ [Ch. iv. § 3, p. 80.]

² ["For Wetharryngton my heart was wo,
That ever he slayne shulde be;
For when both his leggis were hewyan in to,
He knyled and fought on hys knee."]

³ [Ruskin did not, it may be observed, extend this principle to furniture: see below, ch. xx. § 32, p. 279, and compare *Seven Lamps*, ch. i. (Vol. VIII. p. 38 n.).]

a, Fig. 12; *b*, the perspective appearance of such a base seen from above; and *c*, the plan of it.

§ 11. Now I am quite sure the reader is not satisfied of the stability of this form as it is seen at *b*; nor would he ever

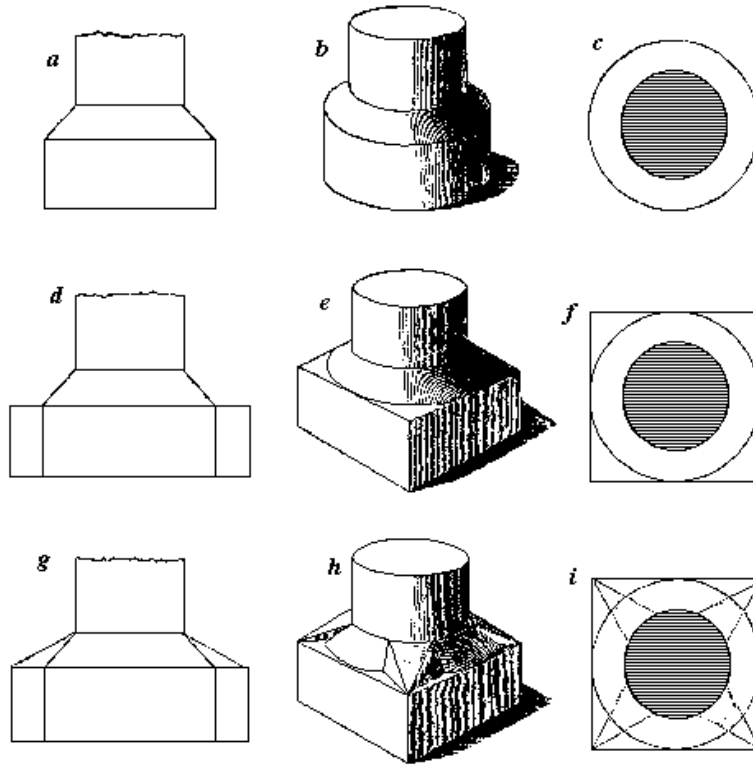


Fig. 12

be so with the main contour of a circular base. Observe, we have taken some trouble to reduce the member *Y b* into this round form, and all that we have gained by doing so, is this unsatisfactory and unstable look of the base; of which the chief reason is, that a circle, unless enclosed by right lines, has never

an appearance of fixture, or definite place,*—we suspect it of motion, like an orb of heaven; and the second is, that the whole base, considered as the foot of the shaft, has no grasp nor hold: it is a club-foot, and looks too blunt for the limb,—it wants at least expansion, if not division.

§ 12. Suppose, then, instead of taking so much trouble with the member *Y b*, we save time and labour, and leave it a square block. *X b* must, however, evidently follow the pillar, as its condition is that it slope to the very base of the wall veil, and of whatever the wall veil becomes. So the corners of *Y b* will project beyond the circle of *X b*, and we shall have (Fig. 12) the profile *d*, the perspective appearance *e*, and the plan *f*. I am quite sure the reader likes *e* much better than he did *b*. The circle is now placed, and we are not afraid of its rolling away. The foot has greater expansion, and we have saved labour besides, with little loss of space, for the interval between the bases is just as great as it was before,—we have only filled up the corners of the squares.

But is it not possible to mend the form still further? There is surely still an appearance of separation between *X b* and *Y b*, as if the one might slip off the other. The foot is expanded enough; but it needs some expression of grasp as well. It has no toes. Suppose we were to put a spur or prop to *X b* at each corner, so as to hold it fast in the centre of *Y b*. We will do this in the simplest possible form. We will have the spur or small buttress, sloping straight from the corner of *Y b* up to the top of *X b*, and, as seen from above, of the shape of a triangle. Applying such spurs in Fig. 12, we have the diagonal profile at *g*, the perspective *h*, and the plan *i*.

§ 13. I am quite sure the reader likes this last base the best, and feels as if it were the firmest. But he must carefully distinguish between this feeling or imagination of the eye, and the real stability of the structure. That this real stability

* Yet more so than any other figure enclosed by a curved line; for the circle, in its relations to its own centre, is the curve of greatest stability. Compare § 20 of Chap. XX. [p. 269].

has been slightly increased by the changes between *b* and *h*, in Fig. 12, is true. There is in the base *h* somewhat less chance of accidental dislocation, and somewhat greater solidity and weight. But this very slight gain of security is of no importance whatever when compared with the general requirements of the structure. The pillar must be *perfectly* secure, and more than secure, with the base *b*, or the building will be unsafe, whatever other base you put to the pillar. The changes are made, not for the sake of the almost inappreciable increase of security they involve, but in order to convince the eye of the real security which the base *b* *appears* to compromise. This is especially the case with regard to the props or spurs, which are absolutely useless in reality, but are of the highest importance as an expression of safety. And this will farther appear when we observe that they have been quite arbitrarily assumed to be of a triangular form. Why triangular? Why should not the spur be made wider and stronger, so as to occupy the whole width of the angle of the square, and to become a complete expansion of *X b* to the edge of the square? Simply because, whatever its width, it has, in reality, no supporting power whatever; and the *expression* of support is greatest where it assumes a form approximating to that of the spur or claw of an animal. We shall, however, find hereafter,¹ that it ought indeed to be much wider than it is in Fig. 12, where it is narrowed in order to make its structure clearly intelligible.

§ 14. If the reader chooses to consider this spur as an æsthetic feature altogether, he is at liberty to do so, and to transfer what we have here said of it to the beginning of Chap. XXV. I think that its true place is here, as an *expression* of safety, and not a means of beauty; but I will assume only, as established, the form *e* of Fig. 12, which is absolutely, as a construction, easier, stronger, and more perfect than *b*. A word or two now of its materials. The wall base, it will be remembered, was built of stones more neatly cut as they were

¹ [See below, ch. xxv. §§ 10, 11, pp. 338–339.]

higher in place; and the members, Y and X, of the pier base were the highest members of the wall base gathered. But, exactly in proportion to this gathering or concentration in form, should, if possible, be the gathering or concentration of substance. For, as the whole weight of the building is now to rest upon few and limited spaces, it is of the greater importance that it should be there received by solid masonry. X b and Y b are therefore, if possible, to be each of a single stone; or, when the shaft is small, both cut out of one block, and especially if spurs are to be added to X b. The reader must not be angry with me for stating things so self-evident, for these are all necessary steps in a chain of argument which I must not break. Even this change from detached stones to a single block is not without significance; for it is part of the real service and value of the member Y b to provide for the reception of the shaft a surface free from joints; and the eye always conceives it as a firm covering over all inequalities or fissures in the smaller masonry of the floor.

§ 15. I have said nothing yet of the proportion of the height of Y b to its width, nor of that of Y b and X b to each other. Both depend much on the height of shaft, and are besides variable within certain limits, at the architect's discretion. But the limits of the height of Y b may be thus generally stated. If it look so thin as that the weight of the column above might break it, it is too low; and if it is higher than its own width, it is too high. The utmost admissible height is that of a cubic block; for if it ever become higher than it is wide, it becomes itself a part of a pier, and not the base of one.

§ 16. I have also supposed Y b, when expanded from beneath X b, as always expanded into a square, and four spurs only to be added at the angles. But Y b may be expanded into a pentagon, hexagon, or polygon; and X b then may have five, six, or many spurs. In proportion, however, as the sides increase in number, the spurs become shorter and less energetic in their effect, and the square is in most cases the best form.

§ 17. We have hitherto conducted the argument entirely on the supposition of the pillars being numerous, and in a

range. Suppose, however, that we require only a single pillar: as we have free space round it, there is no need to fill up the first ranges of its foundations; nor need we do so in order to equalise pressure, since the pressure to be met is its own alone. Under such circumstances, it is well to exhibit the lower tiers of the foundation as well as Y b and X b. The noble bases of the two granite pillars of the Piazzetta at Venice¹ are formed by the entire series of members given in Fig. 10, the lower courses expanding into steps, with a superb breadth of proportion to the shaft. The member X b is of course circular, having its proper decorative mouldings, not here considered; Y b is octagonal, but filled up into a square by certain curious groups of figures representing the trades of Venice. The three courses below are octagonal, with their sides set across the angles of the innermost octagon, Y b. The shafts are 15 feet in circumference, and the lowest octagons of the bases 56 (7 feet each side).

§ 18. Detached buildings, like our own Monument,² are not pillars, but towers built in imitation of pillars. As towers they are barbarous, being dark, inconvenient, and unsafe, besides lying, and pretending to be what they are not. As shafts they are barbarous, because they were designed at a time when the Renaissance architects had introduced and forced into acceptance, as *de rigueur*, a kind of columnar high-heeled shoe,—a thing which they called a pedestal, and which is to a true base exactly what a Greek actor's cothurnus was to a Greek gentleman's sandal. But the Greek actor knew better, I believe, than to exhibit or to decorate his cork sole; and, with shafts as with heroes, it is rather better to put the sandal off than the cothurnus on. There are, indeed, occasions on which a pedestal may be necessary; it may be better to raise a shaft from a sudden depression of plinth to a level with others, its companions, by means of

¹ [See also *St. Mark's Rest*, § 15, where these bases are defended as appropriate: the bases are "restored,—but they must always have had them, in some such proportion."]

² [Designed by Wren, and erected 1671–1677.]

a pedestal, than to introduce a higher shaft; or it may be better to place a shaft of alabaster, if otherwise too short for our purpose, on a pedestal, than to use a larger shaft of coarser material; but the pedestal is in each case a make-shift, not an additional perfection. It may, in the like manner, be sometimes convenient for men to walk on stilts, but not to keep their stilts on as ornamental parts of dress. The bases of the Nelson column,¹ the Monument, and the column of the Place Vendôme, are to the shafts exactly what highly ornamented wooden legs would be to human beings.

§ 19. So far of bases of detached shafts. As we do not yet know in what manner shafts are likely to be grouped, we can say nothing of those of grouped shafts until we know more of what they are to support.

Lastly; we have throughout our reasoning upon the base supposed the pier to be circular. But circumstances may occur to prevent its being reduced to this form, and it may remain square or rectangular; its base will then be simply the wall base following its contour, and we have no spurs at the angles. Thus much may serve respecting pier bases; we have next to examine the concentration of the Wall Veil, or the Shaft.

¹ [Erected in 1843, from the design of W. Railton, in imitation of one of the Corinthian columns of the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome. For the Vendôme Column, see below, pp. 254, 256.]

CHAPTER VIII

THE SHAFT

§ 1. WE have seen in the last chapter how, in converting the wall into the square or cylindrical shaft, we parted at every change of form with some quantity of material. In proportion to the quantity thus surrendered, is the necessity that what we retain should be good of its kind, and well set together, since everything now depends on it.

It is clear also that the best material, and the closest concentration, is that of the natural crystalline rocks; and that, by having reduced our wall into the shape of shafts, we may be enabled to avail ourselves of this better material and to exchange cemented bricks for crystallised blocks of stone. Therefore, the general idea of a perfect shaft is that of a single stone hewn into a form more or less elongated and cylindrical. Under this form, or at least under the ruder one of a long stone set upright, the conception of true shafts appears first to have occurred to the human mind; for the reader must note this carefully, once for all, it does not in the least follow that the order of architectural features which is most reasonable in their arrangement, is most probable in their invention. I have theoretically deduced shafts from walls, but shafts were never so reasoned out in architectural practice. The man who first propped a thatched roof with poles was the discoverer of their principle; and he who first hewed a long stone into a cylinder, the perfecter of their practice.

§ 2. It is clearly necessary that shafts of this kind (we will call them, for convenience, *block shafts*) should be composed of stone not liable to flaws or fissures; and, therefore, that

we must no longer continue our argument as if it were always possible to do what is to be done in the best way; for the style of a national architecture may evidently depend, in great measure, upon the nature of the rocks of the country.

Our own English rocks, which supply excellent building stone from their thin and easily divisible beds, are for the most part entirely incapable of being worked into shafts of any size, except only the granites and whinstones, whose hardness renders them intractable for ordinary purposes;—and English architecture therefore applies no instances of the block shaft applied on an extensive scale, while the facility of obtaining large masses of marble has in Greece and Italy been partly the cause of the adoption of certain noble types of architectural form peculiar to those countries, or, when occurring elsewhere, derived from them.

We have not, however, in reducing our walls to shafts, calculated on the probabilities of our obtaining better materials than those of which the walls were built; and we shall therefore first consider the form of shaft which will be best when we have the best materials; and then consider how far we can imitate, or how far it will be wise to imitate, this form with any materials we can obtain.

§ 3. Now as I gave the reader the ground and the stones, that he might for himself find out how to build his wall, I shall give him the block of marble, and the chisel, that he may himself find out how to shape his column. Let him suppose the elongated mass, so given him, rudely hewn to the thickness which he has calculated will be proportioned to the weight it has to carry. The conditions of stability will require that some allowance be made in finishing it for any chance of slight disturbance or subsidence of the ground below, and that, as everything must depend on the uprightness of the shaft, as little chance should be left as possible of its being thrown off its balance. It will therefore be prudent to leave it slightly thicker at the base than at the top. This excess of diameter at the base being determined, the reader is to ask himself how most easily and simply to smooth the column

from one extremity to the other. To cut it into a true straight-sided cone would be a matter of much trouble and nicety, and would incur the continual risk of chipping into it too deep. Why not leave some room for a chance stroke, work it slightly, *very* slightly, convex, and smooth the curve by the eye between the two extremities? you will save much trouble and time, and the shaft will be all the stronger.

This is accordingly the natural form of a detached block shaft. It is the best. No other will ever be so agreeable to the mind or eye. I do not mean that it is not capable of more refined execution, or of the application of some of the laws of æsthetic

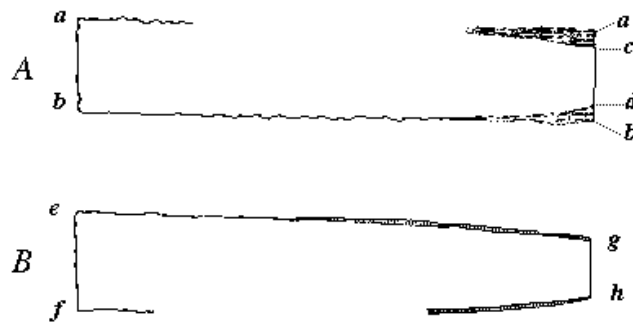


Fig. 13

beauty, but that it is the best recipient of execution and subject of law; better, in either case, than if you had taken more pains, and cut it straight.

§ 4. You will observe, however, that the convexity is to be very slight, and that the shaft is not to *bulge* in the centre, but to taper from the root in a curved line; the peculiar character of the curve you will discern better by exaggerating, in a diagram, the conditions of its sculpture.

Let *a, a, b, b*, at A, Fig. 13, be the rough block of the shaft, laid on the ground, and as thick as you can by any chance require it to be; you will leave it of this full thickness at its base at A, but at the other end you will mark off upon it the diameter, *c, d*, which you intend it to have at the summit; you will then take your mallet and chisel, and working from

c and *d* you will roughly knock off the corners, shaded in the figure, so as to reduce the shaft to the figure described by the inside lines in A and the outside lines in B; you then proceed to smooth it, you chisel away the shaded parts in B, and leave your finished shaft of the form of the *inside* lines *e, g, f, h*.

The result of this operation will be of course that the shaft tapers faster towards the top than it does near the ground. Observe this carefully; it is a point of great future importance.

§ 5. So far of the shape of detached or block shafts. We can carry the type no farther, on merely structural considerations: let us pass to the shaft of inferior materials.

Unfortunately, in practice, this step must be soon made. It is alike difficult to obtain, transport, and raise, block shafts more than ten or twelve feet long, except in remarkable positions, and as pieces of singular magnificence. Large pillars are therefore always composed of more than one block of stone. Such pillars are either jointed like basalt columns, and composed of solid pieces of stone set one above another; or they are filled-up *towers*, built of small stones cemented into a mass, with more or less of regularity: Keep this distinction carefully in mind, it is of great importance: for the jointed column, every stone composing which, however thin, is (so to speak) a complete *slice* of the shaft, is just as strong as the block pillar of one stone, so long as no forces are brought into action upon it which would have a tendency to cause horizontal dislocation. But the pillar which is built as a filled-up tower is of course liable to fissure in any direction, if its cement give way.

But, in either case, it is evident that all constructive reason for the curved contour is at once destroyed. Far from being an easy or natural procedure, the fitting of each portion of the curve to its fellow, in the separate stones, would require painful care and considerable masonic skill; while, in the case of the filled-up tower, the curve outwards would be even unsafe; for its greatest strength (and that the more in proportion to its careless building) lies in its bark, or shell of

outside stone; and this, if curved outwards, would at once burst outwards if heavily loaded above.

If, therefore, the curved outline be ever retained in such shafts, it must be in obedience to æsthetic laws only.

§ 6. But farther. Not only the curvature, but even the tapering by straight lines, would be somewhat difficult of execution in the pieced column. Where, indeed, the entire shaft is composed of four or five blocks set one upon another, the diameters may be easily determined at the successive joints, and the stones chiselled to the same slope. But this becomes sufficiently troublesome when the joints are numerous, so that the pillar is like a pile of cheeses; or when it is to be built of small and irregular stones. We should be naturally led, in the one case, to cut all the cheeses to the same diameter; in the other, to build by the plumb-line; and, in both, to give up the tapering altogether.

§ 7. Farther. Since the chance, in the one case, of horizontal dislocation, in the other, of irregular fissure, is much increased by the composition of the shaft out of joints or small stones, a larger bulk of shaft is required to carry the given weight; and *cæteris paribus*, jointed and cemented shafts must be thicker in proportion to the weight they carry than those which are of one block.

We have here evidently natural causes of a very marked division in schools of architecture: one group composed of buildings whose shafts are either of a single stone or of few joints; the shafts, therefore, being gracefully tapered, and reduced by successive experiments to the narrowest possible diameter proportioned to the weight they carry: and the other group embracing those buildings whose shafts are of many joints or of small stones; shafts which are therefore not tapered, and rather thick and ponderous in proportion to the weight they carry; the latter school being evidently somewhat imperfect and inelegant as compared with the former.

It may perhaps appear, also, that this arrangement of the materials in cylindrical shafts at all would hardly have

suggested itself to a people who possessed no large blocks out of which to hew them; and that the shaft built of many pieces is probably derived from, and imitative of, the shaft hewn from few or from one.

§ 8. If therefore, you take a good geological map of Europe, and lay your finger upon the spots where volcanic influences supply either travertine or marble in accessible and available masses, you will probably mark the points where the types of the first school have been originated and developed. If, in the next place, you will mark the districts where broken and rugged basalt or whinstone, or slaty sandstone, supply materials on easier terms indeed, but fragmentary and unmanageable, you will probably distinguish some of the birth-places of the derivative and less graceful school. You will, in the first case, lay your finger on Pæstum, Agrigentum, and Athens;¹ in the second, on Durham and Lindisfarne.

The shafts of the great primal school are, indeed, in their first form, as massy as those of the other, and the tendency of both is to continual diminution of their diameters: but in the first school it is a true diminution in the thickness of the independent pier; in the last, it is an apparent diminution, obtained by giving it the appearance of a group of minor piers. The distinction, however, with which we are concerned is not that of slenderness but of vertical or curved contour; and we may note generally that while throughout the whole range of Northern work, the perpendicular shaft appears in continually clearer development, throughout every group which has inherited the spirit of the Greek, the shaft retains its curved or tapered form; and the occurrence of the vertical detached shaft may at all times, in European architecture, be regarded as one of the most important collateral evidences of Northern influence.

§ 9. It is necessary to limit this observation to European architecture, because the Egyptian shaft is often untapered,

¹ [And also on the neighbourhood of Rome, *Lapis Tiburtinus* (the modern *travertine*) being so called from its chief quarries near Tibur (Tivoli).]

like the Northern. It appears that the Central Southern, or Greek shaft, was tapered or curved on æsthetic rather than constructive principles; and the Egyptian which precedes, and the Northern which follows it, are both vertical, the one because the best form had not been discovered, the other because it could not be attained. Both are in a certain degree barbaric; and both possess in combination and in their ornaments a power altogether different from that of the Greek shaft, and at least as impressive, if not as admirable.

§ 10. We have hitherto spoken of shafts as if their number were fixed, and only their diameter variable according to the weight to be borne. But this supposition is evidently gratuitous; for the same weight may be carried either by many and slender, or by few and massy shafts. If the reader will look back to Fig. 9, he will find the number of shafts into which the wall was reduced to be dependent altogether upon the length of the spaces, *a, b, a, b*, etc., a length which was arbitrarily fixed. We are at liberty to make these spaces of what length we choose, and, in so doing, to increase the number and diminish the diameter of the shafts, or *vice versâ*.

§ 11. Supposing the materials are in each case to be of the same kind, the choice is in great part at the architect's discretion, only there is a limit on the one hand to the multiplication of the slender shaft, in the inconvenience of the narrowed interval, and on the other, to the enlargement of the massy shaft, in the loss of breadth to the building.* That will be commonly the best proportion which is a natural mean between the two limits; leaning to the side of grace or of grandeur according to the expressional intention of the work. I say, *commonly* the best, because, in some cases, this

* In saying this, it is assumed that the interval is one which is to be traversed by men; and that a certain relation of the shafts and intervals to the size of the human figure is therefore necessary. When shafts are used in the upper storeys of buildings, or on a scale which ignores all relation to the human figure, no such relative limits exist either to slenderness or solidity.

expressional intention may prevail over all other considerations, and a column of unnecessary bulk or fantastic slightness be adopted in order to strike the spectator with awe or with surprise.* The architect is, however, rarely in practice compelled to use one kind of material only; and his choice lies frequently between the employment of a larger number of solid and perfect small shafts, or a less number of pieced and cemented large ones. It is often possible to obtain from quarries near at hand, blocks which might be cut into shafts eight or twelve feet long and four or five feet round, when larger shafts can only be obtained in distant localities; and the question then is between the perfection of smaller features and the imperfection of larger. We shall find numberless instances in Italy in which the first choice has been boldly, and I think most wisely made; and magnificent buildings have been composed of systems of small but perfect shafts, multiplied and superimposed. So long as the idea of the symmetry of a perfect shaft remained in the builder's mind, his choice could hardly be directed otherwise, and the adoption of the built and tower-like shaft appears to have been the result of a loss of this sense of symmetry consequent on the employment of intractable materials.

§ 12. But farther: we have up to this point spoken of shafts as always set in ranges, and at equal intervals from each other. But there is no necessity for this; and material differences may be made in their diameters if two or more be grouped so as to do together the work of one large one, and that within, or nearly within, the space which the larger one would have occupied.

§ 13. Let A, B, C, Fig. 14, be three surfaces, of which B and C contain equal areas, and each of them double that of A: then supposing them all loaded to the same height, B or C would receive twice as much weight as A; therefore,

* Vide the interesting discussion of this point in Mr. Fergusson's account of the Temple of Karnak, *Principles of Beauty in Art*, p. 219.¹

¹ [For a fuller reference to this book, see below, Appendix 13, p. 440.]

to carry B or C loaded, we should need a shaft of twice the strength needed to carry A. Let S be the shaft required to carry A, and S_2 the shaft required to carry B or C; then S may be divided into two shafts, or S_2 into four shafts, as at S_3 , all equal in area or solid contents;* and the mass A might be carried safely by two of them, and the masses B and C, each by four of them.

Now if we put the single shafts each under the centre of the mass they have to bear, as represented by the shaded circles at a, a_2, a_3 , the masses A and C are both of them very ill supported, and even B insufficiently; but apply the four and the two shafts as at b, b_2, b_3 , and they are supported satisfactorily. Let the weight on each of the masses be doubled and the shafts doubled, in area, then we shall have such arrangements as those at c, c_2, c_3 ; and if again the shafts and weight be doubled, we shall have d, d_2, d_3 .

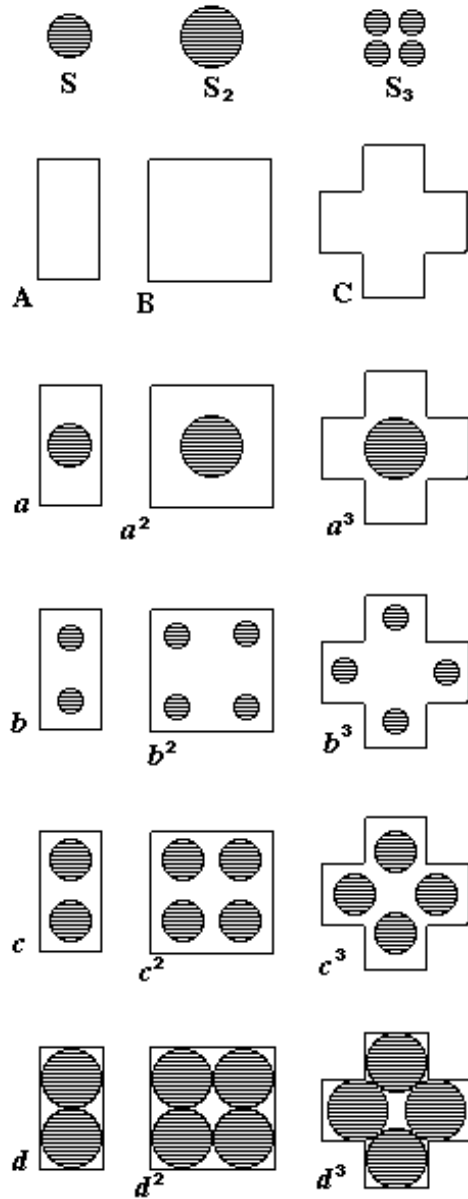


Fig. 14

§ 14. Now it will at once

* I have assumed that the strength of similar shafts of equal height is as the squares of their diameters; which though not actually a correct expression, is sufficiently so for all our present purposes.

be observed that the arrangement of the shafts in the series of B and C is always exactly the same in their relations to each other; only the group of B is set evenly, and the group of C is set obliquely,—the one carrying a square, the other a cross.

You have in these two series the primal representations of shaft arrangement in the Southern and Northern schools; while the group *b*, of which *b*₂ is the double, set evenly, and *b*₃ the double, set obliquely, is common to both. The reader will be surprised to find how all the complex and varied forms of shaft arrangement will range themselves into one or other of these groups; and still more surprised to find the oblique or cross set system on the one hand, and the square set system on the other,

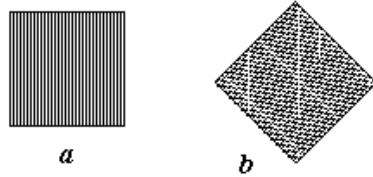


Fig. 15

severally distinctive of Southern and Northern work. The dome of St. Mark's, and the crossing of the nave and transepts of Beauvais, are both carried by square piers; but the piers of St. Mark's are set square to the walls of the church, and those of Beauvais obliquely to them; and this difference is even a more essential one than that between the smooth surface of the one and the reedy complication of the other. The two squares here in the margin (Fig. 15) are exactly of the same size, but their expression is altogether different, and in that difference lies one of the most subtle distinctions between the Gothic and Greek spirit,—from the shaft, which bears the building, to the smallest decoration. The Greek square is by preference set evenly, the Gothic square obliquely; and that so constantly, that wherever we find the level or even square occurring as a prevailing form, either in plan or decoration, in early Northern work, there we may at least suspect the presence of a Southern or Greek influence; and on the other hand, wherever the oblique square is prominent in the South, we may confidently look for further evidence of the influence of the Gothic architects. The rule must not of course be pressed

far when, in either school, there has been determined search for every possible variety of decorative figures; and accidental circumstances may reverse the usual system in special cases: but the evidence drawn from this character is collaterally of the highest value, and the tracing it out is a pursuit of singular interest. Thus, the Pisan Romanesque might in an instant be pronounced to have been formed under some measure of Lombardic influence, from the oblique square set under its arches; and in it we have the spirit of Northern Gothic affecting details of the Southern;—obliquity of square, in magnificently shafted Romanesque. At Monza, on the other hand, the levelled square is the characteristic figure of the entire decoration of the façade of the Duomo,¹ eminently giving it Southern character; but the details are derived almost entirely from the Northern Gothic. Here then we have Southern spirit and Northern detail. Of the cruciform outline of the load of the shaft, a still more positive test of Northern work, we shall have more to say in the 28th Chapter; we must at present note certain farther changes

¹ [Ruskin was much interested in the Cathedral of Monza which he studied in 1849. The following notes are from the pages in the diary devoted to it:—

(*November 1*).—“Monza is remarkable for its engrafting of Renaissance feeling on the Round arch; it is, as I believed, deserving of special notice as a separate school of Gothic, never developed. The main idea of the front is the surrounding a wheel (circular) window with a square, divided into square panels, the ribs dividing the panels cut deep and enriched with exquisite classical mouldings, and each panel filled with a circular tracery or star. Rose windows may evidently be fitly associated with a square panelled surface ornament, with more dignity even than with a diamond; and this idea of Monza is nothing else than the rose of St. Etienne, Beauvais, with its diamond panelling set vertical; its bars, instead of a mere roll, turned into a flat classical moulding, with rich flower work on the sides, and the roses of the fillings turned into hollow tracery. Evidently this enrichment would be an improvement if the tracteries were fine; they are, however, impure, and many of them ugly and like ventilators or iron work; the stars, many of them, harsh and stiff. The wheel window itself has an exquisitely deep and rich classical moulding substituted for the crude Norman one. . . . Below, on each side of the porch, there are two remarkable windows, one on each side of a superb round arch, filled with tracery, very elegant, in the southern one, and surrounded by a twisted column, moulding only inferior to Florence in grace and completion. It is Florence without its mosaics, and founded on a Romanesque idea instead of a Gothic one. . . . The gem of the façade is, however, its porch . . . [reference to sketch-book]. It unites in the most graceful way apparently discordant elements. Round arches, rich foliation, pointed gables enclosing circles of most rich and strange tracery above, and classical mouldings of exquisite delicacy.”]

in the form of the grouped shaft, which open the way to every branch of its endless combinations, Southern or Northern.

§ 15. (1.) If the group at d_3 , Fig. 14, be taken from under its loading, and have its centre filled up, it will become a quatrefoil; and it will represent, in their form of most frequent occurrence, a family of shafts, whose plans are foiled figures, trefoils, quatrefoils, cinquefoils, etc.; of which a trefoiled example, from

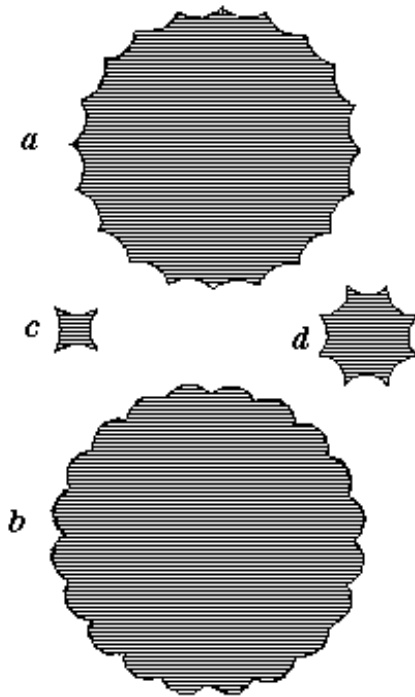


Fig. 16

the Frari at Venice, is the third in Plate 2, and a quatrefoil from Salisbury the eighth. It is rare, however, to find in Gothic architecture shafts of this family composed of a large number of foils, because multifoiled shafts are seldom true grouped shafts, but are rather canaliculated conditions of massy piers. The representatives of this family may be considered, as the quatrefoil on the Gothic side of the Alps; and the Egyptian multifoiled shaft on the south, approximating to the general type, *b*, Fig. 16.

§ 16. Exactly opposed to this great family is that of shafts which have concave curves instead of convex on each of their sides; but these are not, properly speaking, grouped shafts at all, and their proper place is among decorated piers; only they must be named here in order to mark their exact opposition to the foiled system. In their simplest form, represented by *c*, Fig. 16, they have no representatives in good architecture, being evidently weak and meagre; but approximations to them exist in late Gothic, as in the vile cathedral of Orleans,¹ and in modern cast-iron shafts. In their fully

¹ [Ruskin was there in 1840, and had then written of it (in *Letters to a College Friend*) as "the vilest piece of architecture in Europe": see Vol. I. p. 430.]

developed form they are the Greek Doric, *a*, Fig. 16, and occur in caprices of the Romanesque and Italian Gothic: *d*, Fig. 16, is from the Duomo of Monza.

§ 17. (2.) Between c_3 and d_3 of Fig. 14 there may be evidently another condition, represented at 6, Plate 2 (opposite p. 130), and formed by the insertion of a central shaft within the four external ones. This central shaft we may suppose to expand in proportion to the weight it has to carry. If the external shafts expand in the same proportion, the entire form remains unchanged; but if they do not expand, they may (1) be pushed out by the expanding shaft, or (2) be gradually swallowed up in its expansion, as at 4, Plate 2. If they are pushed out, they are removed farther from each other by every increase of the central shaft; and others may then be introduced in the vacant spaces; giving, on the plan, a central orb with an ever increasing host of satellites, 10, Plate 2; the satellites themselves often varying in size, and perhaps quitting contact with the central shaft. Suppose them in any of their conditions fixed, while the inner shaft expands, and they will be gradually buried in it, forming more complicated conditions of 4, Plate 2. The combinations are thus altogether infinite, even supposing the central shaft to be circular only; but their infinity is multiplied by many other infinities when the central shaft itself becomes square or crosslet on the section, or itself multifoiled (8, Plate 2) with satellite shafts eddying about its recesses and angles, in every possible relation of attraction. Among these endless conditions of change, the choice of the architect is free, this only being generally noted: that, as the whole value of such piers depends, first, upon their being wisely fitted to the weight above them, and secondly, upon their all working together: and one not failing the rest, perhaps to the ruin of all, he must never multiply shafts without visible cause in the disposition of members superimposed:* and in his multiplied

* How far this condition limits the system of shaft grouping we shall see presently. The reader must remember, that we at present reason respecting shafts in the abstract only.

group he should, if possible, avoid a marked separation between the large central shaft and its satellites; for if this exist, the satellites will either appear useless altogether, or else, which is worse, they will look as if they were meant to keep the central shaft together by wiring or caging it in; like iron rods set round a supple cylinder,—a fatal fault in the piers of Westminster Abbey, and, in a less degree, in the noble nave of the cathedral of Bourges.

§ 18. While, however, we have been thus subdividing or assembling our shafts, how far has it been possible to retain their curved or tapered outline? So long as they remain distinct and equal, however close to each other, the independent curvature may evidently be retained. But when once they come in contact it is equally evident that a column, formed of shafts touching at the base and separate at the top, would appear as if in the very act of splitting asunder. Hence, in all the closely arranged groups, and especially those with a central shaft, the tapering is sacrificed: and with less cause for regret, because it was a provision against subsidence or distortion, which cannot now take place with the separate members of the group. Evidently, the work, if safe at all, must be executed with far greater accuracy and stability when its supports are so delicately arranged, than would be implied by such precaution. In grouping shafts, therefore, a true perpendicular line is, in nearly all cases, given to the pier; and the reader will anticipate that the two schools, which we have already found to be distinguished, the one by its perpendicular and pierced shafts, and the other by its curved and block shafts, will be found divided also in their employment of grouped shafts;—it is likely that the idea of grouping, however suggested, will be fully entertained and acted upon by the one, but hesitatingly by the other; and that we shall find, on the one hand, buildings displaying sometimes massy piers of small stones, sometimes clustered piers of rich complexity, and on the other, more or less regular succession of block shafts, each treated as entirely independent of those around it.

§ 19. Farther, the grouping of shafts once admitted, it is probable that the complexity and richness of such arrangements would recommend them to the eye, and induce their frequent, even their unnecessary introduction; so that weight which might have been borne by a single pillar, would be in preference supported by four or five. And if the stone of the country, whose fragmentary character first occasioned the building and piecing of the large pier, were yet in beds consistent enough to supply shafts of very small diameter, the strength and simplicity of such a construction might justify it, as well as its grace. The fact, however, is that the charm which the multiplication of line possesses for the eye has always been one of the chief ends of the work in the grouped shafts; and that, so far from employing the grouped piers in order to the introduction of very slender block shafts, the most common form in which such piers occur is that of a solid jointed shaft, each joint being separately cut into the contour of the group required.

§ 20. We have hitherto supposed that all grouped or clustered shafts have been the result or the expression of an actual gathering and binding together of detached shafts. This is not, however, always so: for some clustered shafts are little more than solid piers channelled on the surface, and their form appears to be merely the development of some longitudinal furrowing or striation on the original single shaft. That clustering or striation, whichever we choose to call it, is in this case a decorative feature, and to be considered under the head of decoration.

§ 21. It must be evident to the reader at a glance, that the real serviceableness of any of these grouped arrangements must depend on the relative shortness of the shafts, and that, when the whole pier is so lofty that its minor members become mere reeds or rods of stone, those minor members can no longer be charged with any considerable weight. And the fact is, that in the most complicated Gothic arrangements, when the pier is tall and its satellites stand clear of it, no real work is given them to do, and they might all be

removed without endangering the building. They are merely the *expression* of a great consistent system, and are in architecture what is often found in animal anatomy,—a bone, or process of a bone, useless, under the ordained circumstances of its life, to the particular animal in which it is found, and slightly developed, but yet distinctly existent, and representing, for the sake of absolute consistency, the same bone in its appointed, and generally useful, place, either in the skeletons of all animals, or in the genus to which the animal itself belongs.

§ 22. Farther: as it is not easy to obtain pieces of stone long enough for these supplementary shafts (especially as it is always unsafe to lay a stratified stone with its beds upright) they have been frequently composed of two or more short shafts set upon each other, and to conceal the unsightly junction, a flat stone has been interposed, carved into certain mouldings, which have the appearance of a ring on the shaft. Now observe: the whole pier was the gathering of the whole wall, the base gathers into base, the veil into the shaft, and the string courses of the veil gather into these rings; and when this is clearly expressed, and the rings do indeed correspond with the string courses of the wall veil, they are perfectly admissible and even beautiful; but otherwise, and occurring, as they do in the shafts of Westminster, in the middle of continuous lines, they are but sorry make-shifts, and of late, since gas has been invented, have become especially offensive from their unlucky resemblance to the joints of gas-pipes, or common water-pipes. There are two leaden ones, for instance, on the left hand as one enters the abbey at Poet's Corner, with their solderings and funnels looking exactly like rings and capitals, and most disrespectfully mimicking the shafts of the abbey, inside.

Thus far we have traced the probable conditions of shaft structure in pure theory; I shall now lay before the reader a brief statement of the facts of the thing in time past and present.

§ 23. In the earliest and grandest shaft architecture which

we know, that of Egypt, we have no grouped arrangements, properly so called, but either single and smooth shafts, or richly reeded and furrowed shafts, which represent the extreme conditions of a complicated group bound together to sustain a single mass; and are indeed, without doubt, nothing else than imitations of bundles of reeds, or of clusters of the lotus:* but in these shafts there is merely the idea of a group, not the actual function or structure of a group; they are just as much solid and simple shafts as those which are smooth, and merely by the method of their decoration present to the eye the image of a richly complex arrangement.

§ 24. After these we have the Greek shaft, less in scale, and losing all suggestion or purpose of suggestion of complexity, its so-called flutings¹ being, visibly as actually, an external decoration.

§ 25. The idea of the shaft remains absolutely single in the Roman and Byzantine mind: but true grouping begins in Christian architecture by the placing of two or more separate shafts side by side, each having its own work to do; then three or four, still with separate work; then by such steps as those above theoretically pursued, the number of the members increases, while they coagulate into a single mass; and we have finally a shaft apparently composed of thirty, forty, fifty, or more distinct members; a shaft which, in the reality of its service, is as much a single shaft as the old Egyptian one: but which differs from the Egyptian in that all its members, how many soever, have each individual work to do, and a separate rib of arch or roof to carry: and thus the great Christian truth of distinct services of the individual soul is typified in the Christian shaft; and the old Egyptian servitude of the multitudes, the servitude inseparable from the children of Ham, is typified also in that ancient shaft of the Egyptians, which in its gathered strength of the

* The capitals being formed by the flowers, or by a representation of the bulging out of the reeds at the top, under the weight of the architrave.

¹ [On the fluting of Greek columns, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 2, Vol. VIII. p. 139 n.]
IX. I

river reeds, seems, as the sands of the desert drift over its ruin, to be intended to remind us for ever of the end of the association of the wicked. "Can the rush grow up without mire, or the flag grow without water?—So are the paths of all that forget God; and the hypocrite's hope shall perish."¹

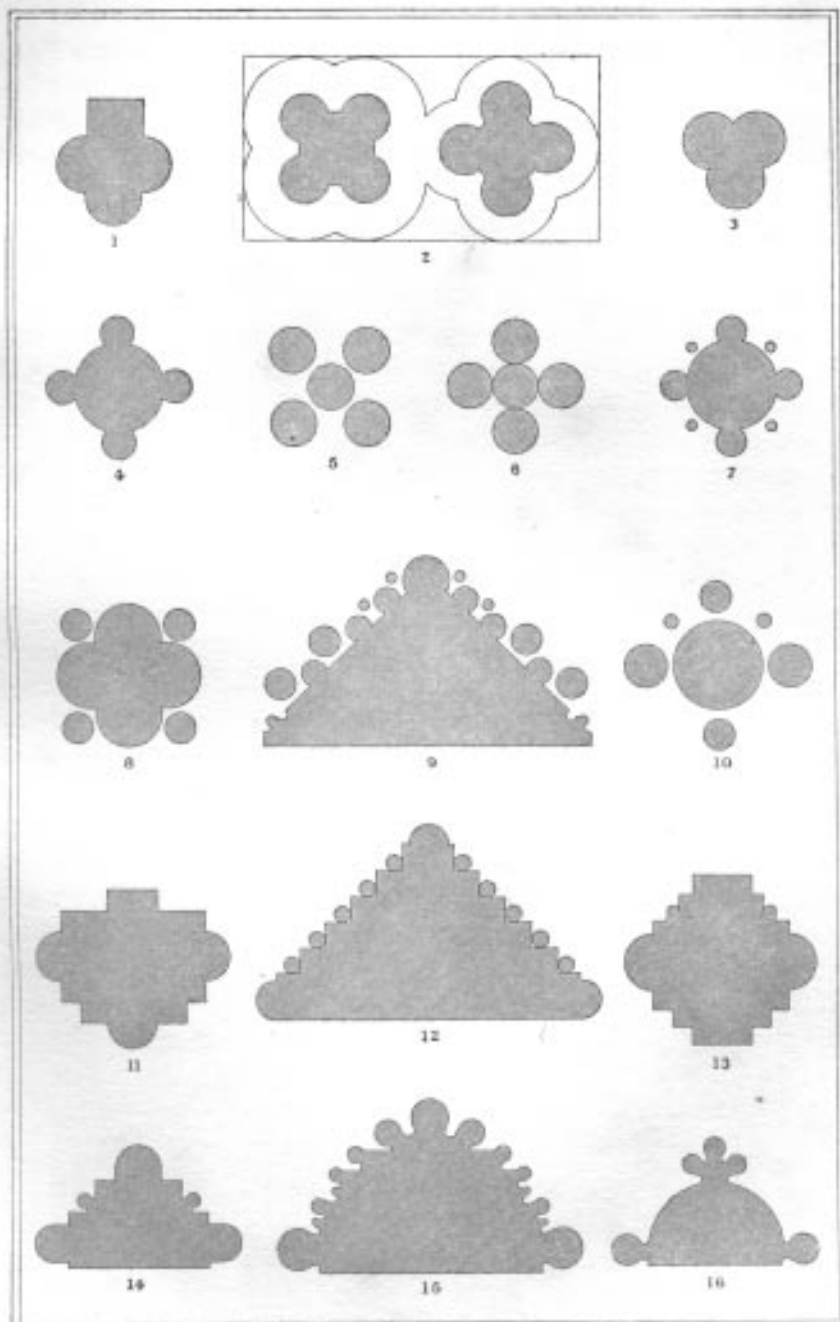
§ 26. Let the reader then keep this distinction of the three systems clearly in his mind: Egyptian system, an apparent cluster supporting a simple capital and single weight; Greek and Roman system, single shaft, single weight; Gothic system, divided shafts, divided weight: at first actually and simply divided, at last apparently and infinitely divided; so that the fully formed Gothic shaft is a return to the Egyptian, but the weight is divided in the one and undivided in the other.

§ 27. The transition from the actual to the apparent cluster, in the Gothic, is a question of the most curious interest; I have thrown together the shaft sections in Plate 2 to illustrate it, and exemplify what has been generally stated above.*

(1.) The earliest, the most frequent, perhaps the most beautiful of all the groups, is also the simplest; the two shafts arranged as at *b* or *c*, (Fig. 14) above, bearing an oblong mass, and substituted for the still earlier structure *a*, Fig. 14. In Plate 17 (Chap. XXVII.) are three examples of the transition: the one on the left, at the top, is the earliest single-shafted arrangement, constant in the rough Romanesque windows; a huge hammer-shaped capital being employed to sustain the thickness of the wall. It was rapidly superseded by the double shaft, as on the right of it, a very early example from the cloisters of the Duomo, Verona. Beneath, is a most elaborate and perfect one from St. Zeno of Verona, where the group is twice complicated, two shafts

* I have not been at the pains to draw the complicated piers in this plate with absolute exactitude to the scale of each: they are accurate enough for their purpose; those of them respecting which we shall have farther question will be given on a much larger scale.

¹ [Job viii. 11, 13.]



being used, both with quatrefoil sections. The plain double shaft, however, is by far the most frequent, both in the Northern and Southern Gothic, but for the most part early; it is very frequent in cloisters; and in the singular one of St. Michael's Mount, Normandy, a small pseudo-arcade runs along between the pairs of shafts, a miniature aisle. The group is employed on a magnificent scale, but ill-proportioned, for the main piers of the apse of the cathedral of Coutances, its purpose being to conceal one shaft behind the other, and make it appear to the spectator from the nave as if the apse were sustained by single shafts of inordinate slenderness. The attempt is ill-judged, and the result unsatisfactory.

§ 28. (2.) When these pairs of shafts come near each other, as frequently at the turnings of angles (Fig. 17), the quadruple group results, *b* 2, Fig. 14, of which the Lombardic sculptors were excessively fond, usually tying the shafts together in their centre, in a lover's knot. They thus occur in Plate 5, from the Broletto of Como; at the angle of St. Michele of Lucca, Plate 21; and in the balustrade of St. Mark's. This is a group, however, which I have never seen used on a large scale.*

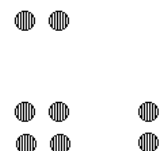


Fig. 17

§ 29. (3.) Such groups, consolidated by a small square in their centre, from the shafts of St. Zeno, just spoken of, and figured in Plate 17, which are among the most interesting pieces of work I know in Italy. I give their entire arrangement on the next page at the side, Fig. 18:¹ both shafts have the same section, but one receives a half turn as it ascends,

* The largest I remember support a monument in St. Zeno of Verona: they are of red marble, some ten or twelve feet high.

¹ [See above, Introduction, p. xxxiii., for a reference to this figure. In the additional matter there mentioned, Ruskin says:—

“At the 100th page of Mr. Street's *Brick and Marble Architecture of Italy* he has given a drawing of two pillars in San Zenone of Verona. Four years previously I had engraved the same two pillars in the 17th plate of the first volume of *The Stones of Venice*. It is quite worth the reader's while to take some pains to compare the two plates, and as he will find considerable differences between them, I will give in full the notes on which my own drawing was founded, merely engraving the rough sketches made on the spot in facsimile. [These sketches were not, however, engraved, and they

giving it an exquisite spiral contour: the plan of their bases, with their plinth, is given at 2, Plate 2; and note it carefully, for it is an epitome of all that we observed above respecting the oblique and even square. It was asserted that the oblique belonged to the

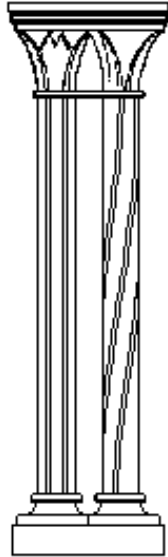


Fig. 18

North, the even to the South: we have here the Northern Lombardic nation naturalised in Italy, and, behold, the oblique and even quatrefoil linked together; not confused, but actually linked by a bar of stone, as seen in Plate 17, under the capitals.

(4.) Next to these, observe the two groups of five shafts each 5 and 6, Plate 2, one oblique, the other even. Both are from upper storeys; the oblique one from the triforium of Salisbury: the even one from the upper range of shafts in the façade of St. Mark's at Venice.*

§ 30. Around these central types are grouped, in Plate 2, four simple examples of the satellitic cluster all of the Northern Gothic; 4, from the cathedral of Amiens; 7, from that of Lyons (nave pier); 8, the same from Salisbury; 10, from the porch of Notre Dame, Dijon, having satellites of three magnitudes; 9 is one of the piers between the doors of the same church, with shafts of four magnitudes, and is an instance of the confusion of mind of the Northern architects between piers proper and jamb mouldings (noticed farther in the next chapter, § 31): for this fig. 9, which is an angle at the meeting of two jambs,

* The effect of this last is given in Plate VI. of the folio series.

are not now available.] The piece of architecture is in itself so interesting and bears so strangely on the subjects we have been inquiring into [*i.e.* in *The Two Paths*, § 171] that the reader will not find it a loss of time to pursue these details even for their own sake. The main point in the character of those two shafts is their subtlety of treatment in curvature, indicating a very highly trained and sensitive condition of mind in the designer. This is marked in nothing so much as in the reserve of curve in the twisted pillar, and that reserve is brought out in subservience to a curious idea of making one pillar literally the reverse or 'reflection' of the other, so that the eye shall take the kind of complementary pleasure in the reversed form which the ear does in an alternating passage of music. . . ." Ruskin then goes on to explain his successive studies of the pillars.]

is treated like a rich independent shaft, and the figure below, 12, which is half of a true shaft, is treated like a meeting of jambs.

All these four examples belonging to the oblique or Northern system, the curious trefoil plan, 3, lies *between* the two, as the double quatrefoil next it *unites* the two. The trefoil is from the Frari, Venice, and has a richly worked capital in the Byzantine manner,—an imitation, I think, of the Byzantine work by the Gothic builders: 1 is to be compared with it, being one of the earliest conditions of the cross shaft, from the atrium of St. Ambrogio at Milan. 13 is the nave pier of St. Michele at Pavia, showing the same condition more fully developed; and 11 another nave pier from Vienne,¹ on the Rhone, of far more distinct Roman derivation, for the flat pilaster is set to the nave, and is fluted like an antique one. 12 is the grandest development I have ever seen of the cross shaft, with satellite shafts in the nooks of it: it is half of one of the great western piers of the cathedral of Bourges, measuring eight feet each side, thirty-two round.* Then the one below (15) is half of a nave pier of Rouen Cathedral, showing the mode in which such conditions as that of Dijon (9) and that of Bourges (12) were fused together into forms of inextricable complexity; (inextricable I mean in the irregularity of proportion and projection, for all of them are easily resolvable into simple systems in connection with the roof ribs). This pier of Rouen is a type of the last condition of the good Gothic; from this point the small shafts begin to lose shape, and run into narrow fillets and ridges, projecting at the same time farther and farther in weak tongue-like

* The entire development of this cross system in connection with the vaulting ribs, has been most clearly explained by Professor Willis (*Architecture of Mid. Ages*, Chap. IV.²); and I strongly recommend every reader who is inclined to take pains in the matter, to read that chapter. I have been contented, in my own text, to pursue the abstract idea of shaft form.

¹ [Ruskin was at Vienne in April 1850, and several pages of the diary are filled with notes on the cathedral; for other references to it see below, pp. 326, 336, 342, 432.]

² [For fuller reference to this book, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 87, 95, and *cf.* above, p. 14.]

sections, as described in the *Seven Lamps*.¹ I have only here given one example of this family, an unimportant but sufficiently characteristic one (16), from St. Gervais of Falaise. One side of the nave of that church is Norman, the other Flamboyant, and the two piers 14 and 16 stand opposite each other. It would be useless to endeavour to trace farther the fantasticism of the later Gothic shafts; they become mere aggregations of mouldings very sharply and finely cut, their bases at the same time running together in strange complexity, and their capitals diminishing and disappearing. Some of their conditions, which, in their rich striation, resemble crystals of beryl, are very massy and grand; others, meagre, harsh, or effeminate in themselves, are redeemed by richness and boldness of decoration; and I have long had it in my mind to reason out the entire harmony of this French Flamboyant system, and fix its types and possible power.² But this inquiry is foreign altogether to our present purpose, and we shall therefore turn back from the Flamboyant to the Norman side of the Falaise aisle, resolute for the future that all shafts of which we may have the ordering, shall be permitted, as with wisdom we may also permit men or cities, to gather themselves into companies, or constellate themselves into clusters, but not to fuse themselves into mere masses of nebulous aggregation.

¹ [See ch. ii. §§ 27, 28, Vol. VIII. pp. 94–98.]

² [An intention partly fulfilled in a lecture at the Royal Institution in 1869 on “The Flamboyant Architecture of the Valley of the Somme”; the lecture is printed for the first time in a later volume of this edition; an annotated catalogue of drawings and sketches exhibited to illustrate the lecture was published at the time.]

CHAPTER IX

THE CAPITAL

§ 1. THE reader will remember that in Chap. VII. § 5 it was said that the cornice of the wall, being cut to pieces and gathered together, formed the capital of the column. We have now to follow it in its transformation.

We must, of course, take our simplest form or root of cornices (*a*, in Fig. 5, above). We will take X and Y there, and we must necessarily gather them together as we did X b and Y b in Chap. VII. Look back to the tenth paragraph of Chap. VII., read or glance it over again, substitute X and Y for X b and Y b, read capital for base, and, as we said that the capital was the hand of the pillar, while the base was its foot, read also fingers for toes; and as you look to the plate, Fig. 12, turn it upside down. Then *h*, in Fig. 12, becomes now your best general form of block capital, as before of block base.

§ 2. You will thus have a perfect idea of the analogies between base and capital; our farther inquiry is into their differences. You cannot but have noticed that when Fig. 12 is turned upside down, the square stone (Y) looks too heavy for the supporting stone (X); and that in the profile of cornice (*a* of Fig. 5) the proportions are altogether different. You will feel the fitness of this in an instant when you consider that the principal function of the sloping part in Fig. 12 is as a prop to the pillar to keep it from *slipping aside*; but the function of the sloping stone in the cornice and capital is to *carry weight above*. The thrust of the slope in the one case should therefore be lateral, in the other upwards.

§ 3. We will therefore take the two figures, *e* and *h* of Fig. 12, and make this change in them as we reverse them, using now the exact profile of the cornice *a*,—the father of cornices; and we shall thus have *a* and *b*, Fig. 19.

Both of these are sufficiently ugly, the reader thinks; so do I; but we will mend them before we have done with them; that at *a* is assuredly the ugliest—like a tile on a flower-pot. It is, nevertheless, the father of capitals; being the simplest

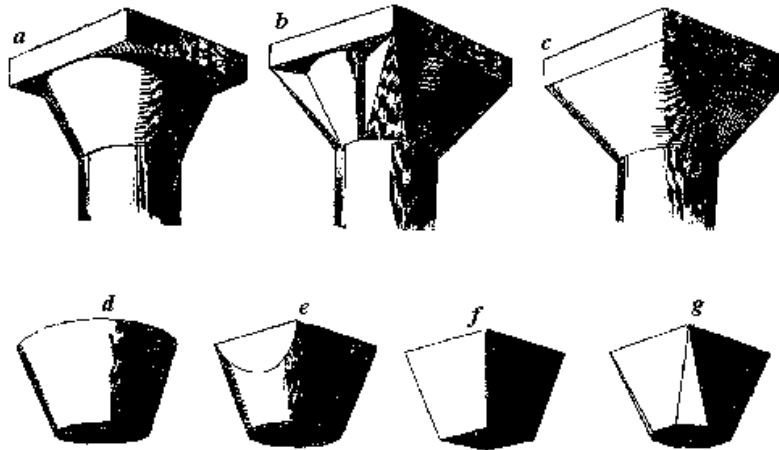


Fig. 19

condition of the gathered father of cornices. But it is to be observed that the diameter of the shaft here is arbitrarily assumed to be small, in order more clearly to show the general relations of the sloping stone to the shaft and upper stone; and this smallness of the shaft diameter is inconsistent with the serviceableness and beauty of the arrangement at *a*, if it were to be realised (as we shall see presently); but it is not inconsistent with its central character, as the representative of every species of possible capital; nor is its tile and flower-pot look to be regretted, as it may remind the reader of the reported origin of

the Corinthian capital.¹ The stones of the cornice, hitherto called X and Y, receive, now that they form the capital, each a separate name; the sloping stone is called the Bell of the capital, and that laid above it, the Abacus. Abacus means a board or tile; I wish there were an English word for it, but I fear there is no substitution possible, the term having been long fixed, and the reader will find it convenient to familiarise himself with the Latin one.

§ 4. The form of base, *e* of Fig. 12, which corresponds to this first form of capital, *a*, was said to be objectionable, only because it *looked* insecure; and the spurs were added as a kind of pledge of stability to the eye. But evidently the projecting corners of the abacus at *a*, Fig. 19, are *actually* insecure; they may break off if great weight be laid upon them. This is the chief reason of the ugliness of the form: and the spurs in *b* are now no mere pledges of apparent stability, but have very serious practical use in supporting the angle of the abacus. If, even with the added spur, the support seems insufficient, we may fill up the crannies between the spurs and the bell, and we have the form *c*.

Thus *a*, though the germ and type of capitals, is itself (except under some peculiar conditions) both ugly and insecure; *b* is the first type of capitals which carry light weight; *c*, of capitals which carry excessive weight.

§ 5. I fear, however, the reader may think he is going slightly too fast, and may not like having the capital forced

¹ [The story is told by Vitruvius, book iv. ch. i.: "The third species (of capital), which is called Corinthian, resembles in its character the graceful, elegant appearance of a virgin, in whom, from her tender age, the limbs are of a more delicate form, and whose ornaments should be unobtrusive. The invention of the capital of this order is said to be founded on the following occurrence. A Corinthian virgin, of marriageable age, fell a victim to a violent disorder. After her interment, her nurse, collecting in a basket the articles to which she had shown a partiality when alive, carried them to her tomb, and placed a tile on the basket for the longer preservation of its contents. The basket was accidentally placed on the root of an acanthus plant, which, pressed by the weight, shot forth, towards spring, its stems and large foliage, and in the course of its growth reached the angles of the tile, and thus formed volutes at the extremities. Callimachus, who, for his great ingenuity and taste was called by the Athenians Catatechnos, happening at this time to pass by the tomb, observed the basket, and the delicacy of the foliage which surrounded it. Pleased with the form and novelty of the combination, he constructed from the hint thus afforded, columns of this species in the country about Corinth" (Gwilt's translation).]

upon him out of the cornice; but would prefer inventing a capital for the shaft itself, without reference to the cornice at all. We will do so then; though we shall come to the same result.

The shaft, it will be remembered, has to sustain the same weight as the long piece of wall which was concentrated into the shaft; it is enabled to do this both by its better form and better knit materials: and it can carry a greater weight than the space at the top of it is adapted to receive. The first point, therefore, is to expand this space as far as possible, and that in a form more

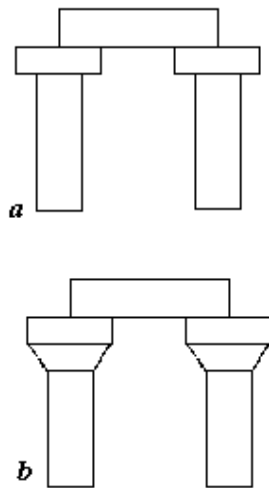


Fig. 20

convenient than the circle for the adjustment of the stones above. In general the square is a more convenient form than any other; but the hexagon or octagon is sometimes better fitted for masses of work which divide in six or eight directions. Then our first impulse would be to put a square or hexagonal stone on the top of the shaft, projecting as far beyond it as might be safely ventured; as at *a*, Fig. 20. This is the abacus. Our next idea would be to put a conical shaped stone beneath this abacus, to support its outer edge, as at *b*. This is the bell.

§ 6. Now the entire treatment of the capital depends simply on the manner in which this bell stone is prepared for fitting the shaft below and the abacus above. Placed as at *a*, in Fig. 19, it gives us the simplest of possible forms; with the spurs added, as at *b*, it gives the germ of the richest and most elaborate forms: but there are two modes of treatment more dexterous than the one, and less elaborate than the other, which are of the highest possible importance,—modes in which the bell is brought to its proper form by truncation.

§ 7. Let *d* and *f*, Fig. 19, be two bell stones; *d* is part of a cone (a sugar-loaf upside down, with its point cut off); *f* part of a four-sided pyramid. Then, assuming the abacus to be

square, *d* will already fit the shaft, but has to be chiselled to fit the abacus; *f* will already fit the abacus, but has to be chiselled to fit the shaft.¹

From the broad end of *d* chop or chisel off, in four vertical planes, as much as will leave its head an exact square. The vertical cuttings will form curves on the sides of the cone (curves of a curious kind, which the reader need not be troubled to examine), and we shall have the form at *e*, which is the root of the greater number of Norman capitals.

From *f* cut off the angles, beginning at the corners of the square and widening the truncation downwards, so as to give the form at *g*, where the base of the bell is an octagon, and its top remains a square. A very slight rounding away of the angles of the octagon at the base of *g* will enable it to fit the circular shaft closely enough for all practical purposes, and this form, at *g*, is the root of nearly all Lombardic capitals.

If, instead of a square, the head of the bell were hexagonal or octagonal, the operation of cutting would be the same on each angle: but there would be produced, of course, six or eight curves on the sides of *e*, and twelve or sixteen sides to the base of *g*.

§ 8. The truncations in *e* and *g* may of course be executed on concave or convex forms of *d* and *f*; but *e* is usually worked on a straight-sided bell, and the truncation of *g* often becomes concave while the bell remains straight for this simple reason,—that the sharp points at the angles of *g*, being somewhat difficult to cut, and easily broken off, are usually avoided by beginning the truncation a little way down the side of the bell, and then recovering the lost ground by a deeper cut inwards, as here, Fig. 21. This is the actual form of the capitals of the balustrades of St. Mark's: it is the root of all the Byzantine Arab capitals, and

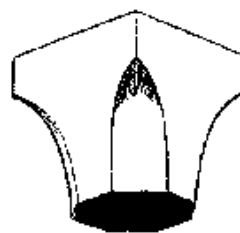


Fig. 21

¹ [See *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 18, 19, for some experiments in capital-cutting out of a cube of cheese.]

of all the most beautiful capitals in the world, whose function is to express lightness.

§ 9. We have hitherto proceeded entirely on the assumption that the form of cornice which was gathered together to produce the capital was the root of cornices, *a* of Fig. 5. But this, it will be remembered, was said in § 6 of Chap. VI. to be especially characteristic of Southern work, and that in Northern and wet climates it took the form of a dripstone.¹

Accordingly, in the Northern climates, the dripstone gathered together forms a peculiar Northern capital, commonly

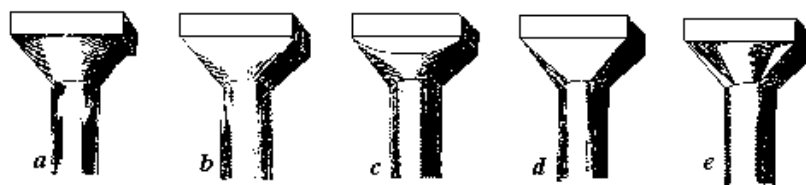


Fig. 22

called the Early English,* owing to its especial use in that style.

There would have been no absurdity in this, if shafts were always to be exposed to the weather; but in Gothic constructions the most important shafts are in the inside of the building. The dripstone sections of their capitals are therefore unnecessary and ridiculous.

§ 10. They are, however, much worse than unnecessary.

The edge of a dripstone, being undercut, has no bearing power, and the capital fails, therefore, in its own principal function; and besides this, the undercut contour admits of no distinctly visible decoration; it is, therefore, left utterly barren, and the capital looks as if it had been turned in a lathe. The Early English capital has, therefore, the three

* Appendix 18: "Early English Capitals" [p. 457].

¹ [So in all the editions; grammatical correctitude requires the insertion between "and" and "that" of some such words as "it was added."]

greatest faults that any design can have: (1) it fails in its own proper purpose, that of support; (2) it is adapted to a purpose to which it can never be put, that of keeping off rain; (3) it cannot be decorated.

The Early English capital is, therefore, a barbarism of triple grossness, and degrades the style in which it is found, otherwise very noble, to one of second-rate order.

§ 11. Dismissing, therefore, the Early English capital as deserving no place in our system, let us reassemble in one view the forms which have been legitimately developed, and which are to become hereafter subjects of decoration. To the forms *a*, *b*, and *c*, Fig. 19, we must add the two simplest truncated forms *e* and *g*, Fig. 19, putting their abaci on them (as we considered their contours in the bells only), and we shall have the five forms now given in Fig. 22, which are the roots of all good capitals existing or capable of existence, and whose variations, infinite and a thousand times infinite, are all produced by introduction of various curvatures into their contours, and the endless methods of decoration superinduced on such curvatures.

§ 12. There is, however, a kind of variation, also infinite, which takes place in these radical forms, before they receive either curvature or decoration. This is the variety of proportion borne by the different lines of the capital to each other, and to the shafts. This is a structural question, at present to be considered as far as is possible.

§ 13. All the five capitals (which are indeed five orders with legitimate distinction; very different, however, from the five orders as commonly understood) may be represented by the same profile, a section through the sides of *a*, *b*, *d*, and *e*, or through the angles of *c*, Fig. 22. This profile we will put on the top of a shaft, as at A, Fig. 23, which shaft we will suppose of equal diameter above and below for the sake of greater simplicity: in this simplest condition, however, relations of proportion exist between five quantities, any one, or any two, or any three, or any four of which may change, irrespective of the others. These five quantities are:

- (1.) The height of the shaft, $a b$;
- (2.) Its diameter, $b c$;
- (3.) The length of slope of bell, $b d$;
- (4.) The inclination of this slope, or angle $c b d$;
- (5.) The depth of abacus, $d e$.

For every change in any one of these quantities we have a new proportion of capital: five infinites, supposing change only in one quantity at a time; infinity of infinites in the sum of possible changes.

It is, therefore, only possible to note the general laws of

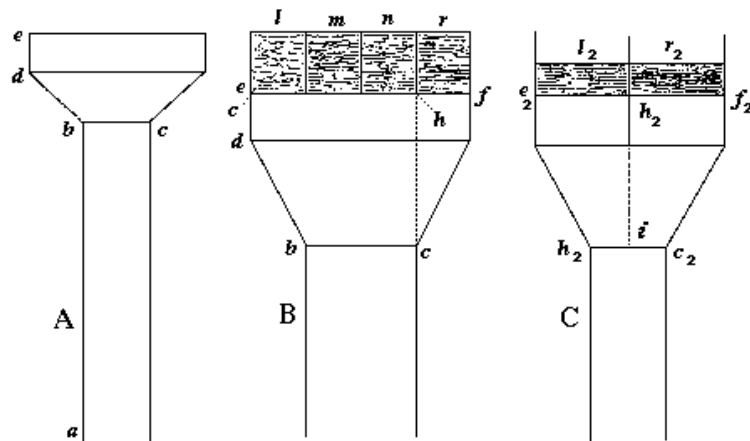


Fig. 23

change; every scale of pillar, and every weight laid upon it, admitting, within certain limits, a variety, out of which the architect has his choice; but yet fixing limits which the proportion becomes ugly when it approaches, and dangerous when it exceeds. But the inquiry into this subject is too difficult for the general reader, and I shall content myself with proving four laws, easily understood and generally applicable; for proof of which if the said reader care not, he may miss the next four paragraphs without harm.

§ 14. (1.) *The more slender the shaft, the greater, proportionally, may be the projection of the abacus.* For, looking back to Fig. 23, let the height $a b$ be fixed, the length $d b$,

the angle $d b c$, and the depth $d e$. Let the single quantity $b c$ be variable; let B be a capital and shaft which are found to be perfectly safe in proportion to the weight they bear, and let the weight be equally distributed over the whole of the abacus. Then this weight may be represented by any number of equal divisions, suppose four, as l, m, n, r , of brickwork above, of which each division is one fourth of the whole weight; and let this weight be placed in the most trying way on the abacus, that is to say, let the masses l and r be detached from m and n , and bear with their full weight on the outside of the capital. We assume, in B, that the width of abacus $c f$ is twice as great as that of the shaft, $b c$, and on these conditions we assume the capital to be safe.

But $b c$ is allowed to be variable. Let it become $b_2 c_2$ at C, which is a length representing about the diameter of a shaft containing half the substance of the shaft B, and, therefore, able to sustain not more than half the weight sustained by B. But the slope $b d$ and depth $d e$ remaining unchanged, we have the capital of C, which we are to load with only half the weight of l, m, n, r , i.e. with l and r alone. Therefore the weight of l and r , now represented by the masses l_2, r_2 , is distributed over the whole of the capital. But the weight r was adequately supported by the projecting piece of the first capital $h f c$; much more is it now adequately supported by $i h_2 f_2 c_2$. Therefore, if the capital of B was safe, that of C is more than safe. Now in B the length $e f$ was only twice $b c$; but in C, $e_2 f_2$ will be found more than twice that of $b_2 c_2$. Therefore, the more slender the shaft, the greater may be the proportional excess of the abacus over its diameter.

§ 15. (2.) *The smaller the scale of the building, the greater may be the excess of the abacus over the diameter of the shaft.* This principle requires, I think, no very lengthy proof; the reader can understand at once that the cohesion and strength of stone which can sustain a small projecting mass, will not sustain a vast one overhanging in the same proportion. A bank even of loose earth, six feet high, will sometimes

overhang its base a foot or two, as you may see any day in the gravelly banks of the lanes of Hampstead: but make the bank of gravel, equally loose, six hundred feet high, and see if you can get it to overhang a hundred or two! much more if there be weight above it increased in the same proportion. Hence, let any capital be given, whose projection is just safe, and no more, on its existing scale; increase its proportions every way equally, though ever so little, and it is unsafe; diminish them equally, and it becomes safe in the exact degree of the diminution.

Let, then, the quantity $e d$, and angle $d b c$, at A of Fig. 23, be invariable, and let the length $d b$ vary: then we shall have such a series of forms as may be represented by

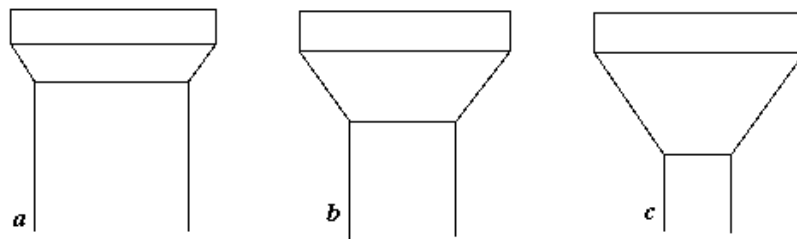


Fig. 24

a , b , c , Fig. 24, of which a is a proportion for a colossal building, b for a moderately sized building, while c could only be admitted on a very small scale indeed.

§ 16. (3.) *The greater the excess of abacus, the steeper must be the slope of the bell, the shaft diameter being constant.*

This will evidently follow from the considerations in the last paragraph; supposing only that, instead of the scale of shaft and capital varying together, the scale of the capital varies alone. For it will then still be true, that, if the projection of the capital be just safe on a given scale, as its excess over the shaft diameter increases, the projection will be unsafe, if the slope of the bell remain constant. But it may be rendered safe by making this slope steeper, and so increasing its supporting power.

Thus let the capital a , Fig. 25, be just safe. Then the

capital *b*, in which the slope is the same but the excess greater, is unsafe. But the capital *c*, in which, though the excess equals that of *b*, the steepness of the supporting slope is increased, will be as safe as *b*, and probably as strong as *a*.*

§ 17. *The steeper the slope of the bell, the thinner may be the abacus.*

The use of the abacus is eminently to equalise the pressure over the surface of the bell, so that the weight may not by any accident be directed exclusively upon its edges. In proportion to the strength of these edges, this function of the abacus is superseded, and these edges are strong in proportion to the steepness of the slope. Thus, in Fig. 26, the bell at *a* would carry weight safely enough without any abacus; but that at *c* would not: it would probably have its edges broken off. The abacus superimposed might be on *a* very thin, little more than formal, as at *b*; but on *c* must be thick, as at *d*.

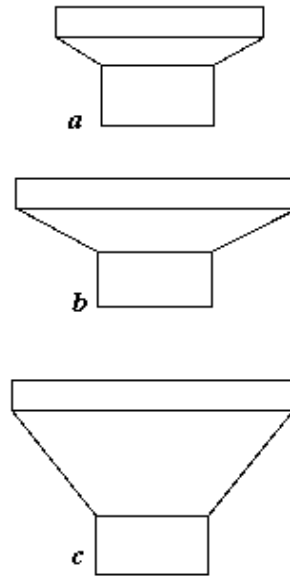


Fig. 25

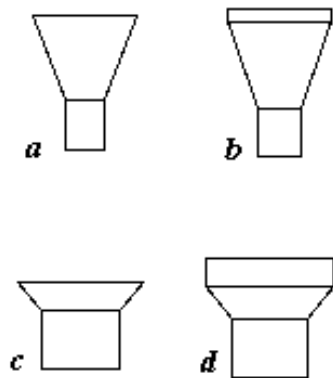


Fig. 26

§ 18. These four rules are all that are necessary for general criticism; and observe that these are only semi-imperative,—rules of permission, not of compulsion. Thus, Law 1 asserts that the slender shaft *may* have greater excess of capital than the thick shaft; but it need not, unless the architect chooses: his thick shafts *must* have small excess, but his slender ones need not have large. So Law 2 says, that as the building is smaller, the

excess *may* be greater; but it need not, for the excess which is safe in the large is still safer in the small. So Law 3 says

* In this case, the weight borne is supposed to increase as the abacus widens; the illustration would have been clearer if I had assumed the breadth of abacus to be constant, and that of the shaft to vary.

that capitals of great excess must have steep slopes; but it does not say that capitals of small excess may not have steep slopes also, if we choose. And lastly Law 4 asserts the necessity of the thick abacus for the shallow bell; but the steep bell may have a thick abacus also.

§ 19. It will be found, however, that in practice some confession of these laws will always be useful, and especially of the two first. The eye always requires, on a slender shaft, a more spreading capital than it does on a massy one,¹ and a bolder mass of capital on a small scale than on a large. And in the application of the first rule it is to be noted that a shaft of height; that either mode of change presupposes the weight above it diminished, and requires an expansion of abacus. I know no mode of spoiling a noble building more frequent in actual practice than the imposition of flat and slightly expanded capitals on tall shafts.

§ 20. The reader must observe also that, in the demonstration of the four laws, I always assumed the weight above to be given. By the alteration of this weight, therefore, the architect has it in his power to relieve, and therefore alter, the forms of his capitals. By its various distribution on their centres or edges, the slope of their bells and thickness of abaci will be affected also; so that he has countless expedients at his command for the various treatment of his design. He can divide his weights among more shafts; he can throw them in different places and different directions on the abaci; he can alter slope of bells or diameter of shafts; he can use spurred or plain bells, thin or thick abaci; and all these changes admitting of infinity in their degrees, and infinity a thousand times told in their relations; and all this without reference to decoration, merely with the five forms of block capital!

§ 21. In the harmony of these arrangements, in their fitness, unity, and accuracy, lies the true proportion of every

¹ [See in Vol. VIII. p. xxxi. an extract from Ruskin's diary at Coutances in 1848, giving his first notice of this principle, and compare *St. Mark's Rest*, § 16.]

building,—proportion utterly endless in its infinities of change, with unchanged beauty. And yet this connection of the frame of their building into one harmony has, I believe, never been so much as dreamed of by architects. It has been instinctively done in some degree by many, empirically in some degree by many more; thoughtfully, and thoroughly, I believe, by none.¹

§ 22. We have hitherto considered the abacus as necessarily a separate stone from the bell: evidently, however, the strength of the capital will be undiminished if both are cut out of one block. This is actually the case in many capitals, especially those on a small scale; and in others the detached upper stone is a mere representative of the abacus, and is much thinner than the form of the capital requires while the true abacus is united with the bell, and concealed by its decoration, or made part of it.

§ 23. Farther; we have hitherto considered bell and abacus as both derived from the concentration of the cornice. But it must at once occur to the reader, that the projection of the under stone and the thickness of the upper, which are quite enough for the work of the continuous cornice, may not be enough always, or rather are seldom likely to be so, for the harder work of the capital. Both may have to be deepened and expanded: but as this would cause a want of harmony in the parts when they occur on the same level, it is better in such case to let the *entire* cornice form the abacus of the capital, and to put a deep capital bell beneath it.

§ 24. The reader will understand both arrangements instantly by two examples. Fig. 27 represents two windows, more than usually beautiful examples of a very frequent Venetian form. Here the deep cornice or string course which

¹ [The MS. here adds:—

“Errors may be traced in the buildings even of the best times which look as if their architect had worked in great measure without principle; and the attempt of the Renaissance architects, with the help of Vitruvius, to assign to each of their so-called orders an invariable proportion of its own may be classed among the maxima stupidities ever displayed by the human race out of a savage state.”]

runs along the wall of the house is quite strong enough for the work of the capitals of the slender shafts: its own upper stone is therefore also theirs; its own lower stone, by its revolution or concentration, forms their bells: but to mark the increased importance of its function in so doing, it receives decoration, as the bell of the capital, which it did not receive as the under stone of the cornice.

In Fig. 28, a little bit of the church of Santa Fosca at

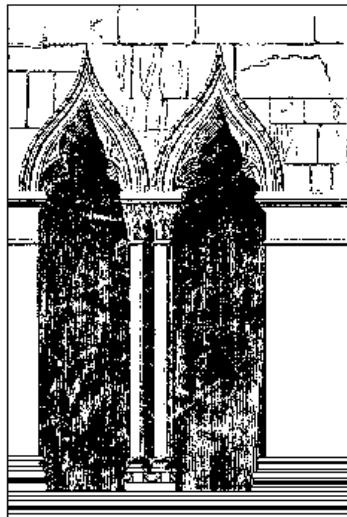


Fig. 27

Torcello, the cornice or string course, which goes round every part of the church, is not strong enough to form the capitals of the shafts. It therefore forms their abaci only; and in order to mark the diminished importance of its function, it ceases to receive, as the abacus of the capital, the decoration which it received as the string course of the wall.

This last arrangement is of great frequency in Venice, occurring most characteristically in St. Mark's: and in the Gothic of St. John and Paul we find the

two arrangements beautifully united, though in great simplicity; the string courses of the walls form the capitals of the shafts of the traceries, and the abaci of the vaulting shafts of the apse.

§ 25. We have hitherto spoken of capitals of circular shafts only: those of square piers are more frequently formed by the cornice only; otherwise they are like those of circular piers, without the difficulty of reconciling the base of the bell with its head.

§ 26. When two or more shafts are grouped together, their capitals are usually treated as separate, until they come

into actual contact. If there be any awkwardness in the junction, it is concealed by the decoration, and one abacus serves, in most cases, for all. The double group, Fig. 27, is the simplest possible type of the arrangement. In the richer Northern Gothic groups of eighteen or twenty shafts cluster together, and sometimes the smaller shafts crouch under the capitals of the larger, and hide their heads in the crannies, with small nominal abaci of their own, while the larger shafts carry the serviceable abacus of the whole pier, as in the nave of Rouen. There is, however, evident sacrifice of sound principle in this

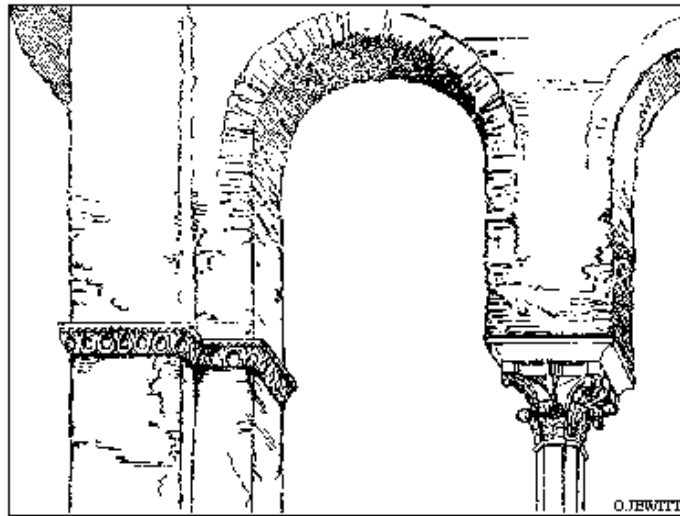


Fig. 28

system, the smaller abaci being of no use. They are the exact contrary of the rude early abacus at Milan, given in Plate 17. There one poor abacus stretched itself out to do all the work: here there are idle abaci getting up into corners and doing none.

§ 27. Finally, we have considered the capitals hitherto entirely as an expansion of the bearing power of the shaft, supposing the shaft composed of a single stone. But, evidently, the capital has a function, if possible, yet more important, when the shaft is composed of small masonry. It enables all that masonry to act together, and to receive the

pressure from above collectively, and with a single strength. And thus, considered merely as a large stone set on the top of the shaft, it is a feature of the highest architectural importance, irrespective of its expansion, which indeed is, in some very noble capitals, exceedingly small. And thus every large stone set at any important point to reassemble the force of smaller masonry and prepare it for the sustaining of weight, is a capital or "head" stone (the true meaning of the word), whether it project or not. Thus at 6, in Plate 4, the stones which support the thrust of the brick-work are capitals which have no projection at all; and the large stones in the window above are capitals projecting in one direction only.

§ 28. The reader is now master of all he need know respecting construction of capitals; and from what has been laid before him, must assuredly feel that there can never be any new system of architectural forms invented;¹ but that all vertical support must be, to the end of time, best obtained by shafts and capitals. It has been so obtained by nearly every nation of builders, with more or less refinement in the management of the details; and the later Gothic builders of the North stand almost alone in their effort to dispense with the natural development of the shaft, and banish the capital from their compositions.

They were gradually led into this error through a series of steps which it is not here our business to trace. But they may be generalised in a few words.

§ 29. All classical architecture, and the Romanesque which is legitimately descended from it, is composed of bold independent shafts, plain or fluted, with bold detached capitals, forming arcades or colonnades where they are needed; and of walls whose apertures are surrounded by courses of parallel lines called mouldings, which are continuous round the apertures, and have neither shafts nor capitals. The shafts system and moulding system are entirely separate.

¹ [On the mistaken cry for "a new style" of architecture, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. vii. § 4, Vol. VIII. p. 252.]

The Gothic architects confounded the two. They clustered the shafts till they looked like a group of mouldings. They shod and capitalled the mouldings till they looked like a group of shafts. So that a pier became merely the side of a door or window rolled up, and the side of the window a pier unrolled (vide last Chapter, § 30), both being composed of a series of small shafts, each with base and capital. The architect seemed to have whole mats of shafts at his disposal, like the rush mats which one puts under cream cheese. If he wanted a great pier he rolled up the mat; if he wanted the side of a door he spread out the mat: and now the reader has to add to the other distinctions between the Egyptian and the Gothic shaft, already noted in § 26 of Chap. VIII., this one more—the most important of all—that while the Egyptian rush cluster has only one massive capital altogether, the Gothic rush mat has a separate tiny capital to every several rush.

§ 30. The mats were gradually made of finer rushes, until it became troublesome to give each rush its capital. In fact, when the groups of shafts became excessively complicated, the expansion of their small abaci was of no use: it was dispensed with altogether, and the mouldings of pier and jamb ran up continuously into the arches.

This condition, though in many respects faulty and false, is yet the eminently characteristic state of Gothic: it is the definite formation of it as a distinct style, owing no farther aid to classical models; and its lightness and complexity render it, when well treated, and enriched with Flamboyant decoration, a very glorious means of picturesque effect. It is, in fact, this form of Gothic which commends itself most easily to the general mind, and which has suggested the innumerable foolish theories about the derivation of Gothic from tree trunks and avenues, which have from time to time been brought forward by persons ignorant of the history of architecture.¹

¹ [See *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 87, where this false theory is disposed of.]

§ 31. When the sense of picturesqueness, as well as that of justness and dignity, had been lost, the spring of the continuous moulding was replaced by what Professor Willis calls the Discontinuous impost;¹ which, being a barbarism of the basest and most painful kind, and being to architecture what the setting of a saw is to music, I shall not trouble the reader to examine. For it is not in my plan to note for him all the various conditions of error, but only to guide him to the appreciation of the right; and I only note even the true Continuous or Flamboyant Gothic because this is redeemed by its beautiful decoration, afterwards to be considered. For, as far as structure is concerned, the moment the capital vanishes from the shaft, that moment we are in error: all good Gothic has true capitals to the shafts of its jambs and traceries, and all Gothic is debased the instant the shaft vanishes. It matters not how slender, or how small, or how low, the shaft may be: wherever there is indication of concentrated vertical support, then the capital is a necessary termination. I know how much Gothic, otherwise beautiful, this sweeping principle condemns: but it condemns not altogether. We may still take delight in its lovely proportions, its rich decoration, or its elastic and reedy mouldings: but be assured, wherever shafts, or any approximations to the forms of shafts, are employed, for whatever office, or on whatever scale, be it in jambs, or piers, or balustrades, or traceries, without capitals, there is a defiance of the natural laws of construction; and that, wherever such examples are found in ancient buildings, they are either the experiments of barbarism, or the commencements of decline.

¹ [*Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 1835, p. 31.]

CHAPTER X¹

THE ARCH LINE

§ 1. WE have seen in the last section how our means of vertical support may, for the sake of economy both of space and material, be gathered into piers or shafts, and directed to the sustaining of particular points. The next question is how to connect these points or tops of shafts with each other, so as to be able to lay on them a continuous roof. This the reader, as before, is to favour me by finding out for himself, under these following conditions.

Let *s, s*, Fig. 29 (on next page), be two shafts, with their capitals ready prepared for their work: and *a, b, b*, and *c, c, c*, be six stones of different sizes, one very long and large, and

¹ [Mr. John Morley, in a lecture on the "Study of Literature," has commended the plan adopted by Gibbon and some other great men of "always before reading a book, making a short, rough analysis of the questions which they expected to be answered in it." The plan may be applied also to the writing of books. Thus, in the case of this chapter, it appears, from a sheet of the MS., that Ruskin, before writing it, set himself a kind of examination paper in the subject to be discussed; thus:—

"Describe the principal forms of arches, and the services to which each are adopted.

"An intelligent answer should describe the use of low arches for bridges and strengthening walls; of round arches for vaults, etc.; of pointed arches for height; and of baseless arches in decoration work, as rose-windows, etc.

"What do you consider the best mode of arranging bricks or stones for the lintel of a square aperture? Can you suggest any advisable connection of decorative type with the structural arrangements you prefer?

"Describe the relation of decoration to construction in the principal forms of spires. If you remember the forms used at Salisbury, St. Pierre of Caen, and Freiburg in Breisgau, take these for illustrations of your answers.

"Describe the best known constructions of stone staircases. Which would you consider most generally advisable in modern buildings?

"Can you suggest any more . . ."

But here the examination paper, which (it will be seen) had begun to range over a wide field, was broken off, and the MS. continues with the beginning of ch. x. as in the text.]

two smaller, and three smaller still, of which the reader is to choose which he likes best, in order to connect the tops of the shafts.

I suppose he will first try if he can lift the great stone *a*,

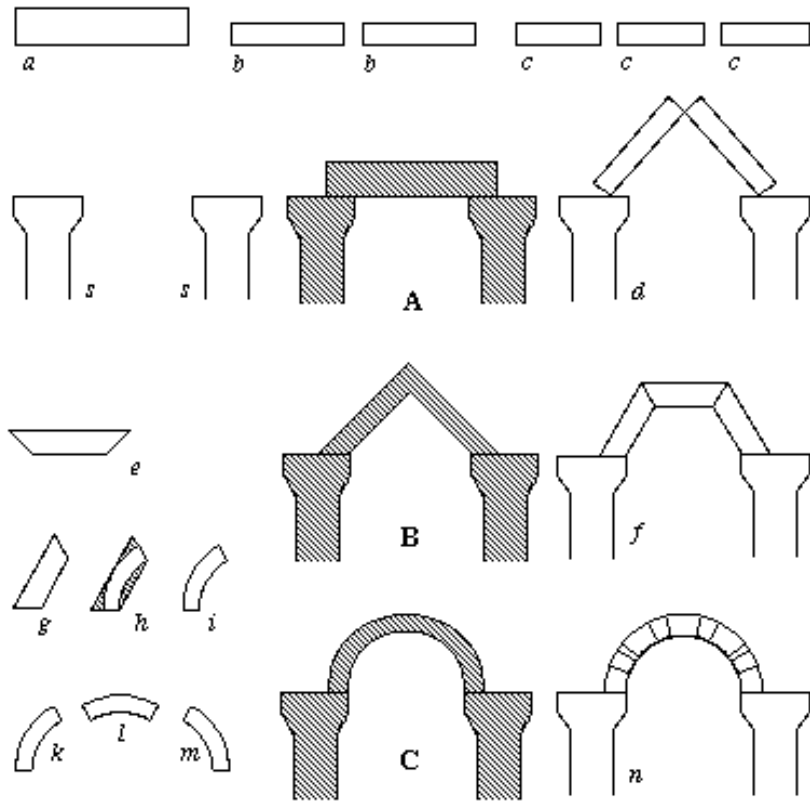


Fig. 29

and if he can, he will put it very simply on the tops of the two pillars, as at A.

Very well indeed: he has done already what a number of Greek architects have been thought very clever for having done. But suppose he *cannot* lift the great stone *a*, or

suppose I will not give it to him, but only the two smaller stones at *b, b*; he will doubtless try to put them up, tilted against each other, as at *d*. Very awkward this; worse than card-house building. But if he cuts off the corners of the stones, so as to make each of them of the form *e*, they will stand up very securely as at B.

But suppose he cannot lift even these less stones, but can raise those at *c, c, c*. Then, cutting each of them into the form at *e*, he will doubtless set them up as at *f*.

§ 2. This last arrangement looks a little dangerous. Is there not a chance of the stone in the middle pushing the others out, or tilting them up and aside, and slipping down itself between them? There is such a chance: and if, by somewhat altering the form of the stones, we can diminish this chance, all the better. I must say “we” now, for perhaps I may have to help the reader a little.

The danger is, observe, that the midmost stone at *f* pushes out the side ones: then if we can give the side ones such a shape as that, left to themselves, they would fall heavily forward, they will resist this push *out* by their weight, exactly in proportion to their own particular inclination or desire to tumble *in*. Take one of them separately, standing up as at *g*; it is just possible it may stand up as it is, like the Tower of Pisa: but we want it to fall forward. Suppose we cut away the parts that are shaded at *h* and leave it as at *i*, it is very certain it cannot stand alone now, but will fall forward to our entire satisfaction.

Farther: the midmost stone at *f* is likely to be troublesome, chiefly by its weight, pushing down between the others: the more we lighten it the better: so we will cut it into exactly the same shape as the side ones, chiselling away the shaded parts, as at *h*. We shall then have all the three stones *k, l, m*, of the same shape; and now putting them together, we have, at C, what the reader, I doubt not, will perceive at once to be a much more satisfactory arrangement than at *f*.

§ 3. We have now got three arrangements; in one using

only one piece of stone, in the second two, and in the third three. The first arrangement has no particular name, except the "horizontal:" but the single stone (or beam, it may be,) is called a lintel; the second arrangement is called a "Gable;" the third an "Arch."

We might have used pieces of wood instead of stone in all these arrangements, with no difference in plan, so long as the beams were kept loose, like the stones; but as beams can be securely nailed together at the ends, we need not trouble ourselves so much about their shape or balance, and therefore the plan at *f* is a peculiarly wooden construction (the reader will doubtless recognise in it the profile of many a farmhouse roof): and again, because beams are tough, and light, and long, as compared with stones, they are admirably adapted for the constructions at A and B, the plain lintel and gable, while that at C is, for the most part, left to brick and stone.

§ 4. But farther. The constructions, A, B, and C, though very conveniently to be first considered as composed of one, two, and three pieces, are by no means necessarily so. When we have once cut the stones of the arch into a shape like that of *k*, *l*, and *m*, they will hold together, whatever their number, place, or size, as at *n*; and the great value of the arch is, that it permits small stones to be used with safety instead of large ones, which are not always to be had. Stones cut into the shape of *k*, *l*, and *m*, whether they be short or long (I have drawn them all sizes at *n* on purpose), are called *Voussoirs*; this is a hard, ugly French name; but the reader will perhaps be kind enough to recollect it; it will save us both some trouble: and to make amends for this infliction, I will relieve him of the term *keystone*. One *voussoir* is as much a keystone as another; only people usually call the stone which is last put in, the keystone; and that one happens generally to be at the top or middle of the arch.

§ 5. Not only the arch, but even the lintel, may be built of many stones or bricks. The reader may see lintels built in this way over most of the windows of our brick London

houses, and so also the gable: there are, therefore, two distinct questions respecting each arrangement;—First, what is the line, or direction of it, which gives it its strength? and, secondly, what is the manner of masonry of it, which gives it its consistence? The first of these I shall consider in this Chapter under the head of the Arch Line, using the term arch as including all manner of construction (though we shall have no trouble except about curves); and in the next Chapter I shall consider the second, under the head, Arch Masonry.

§ 6. Now the arch line is the ghost or skeleton of the arch; or rather it is the spinal marrow of the arch, and the voussoirs are the vertebræ, which keep it safe and sound, and clothe it. This arch line the architect has first to conceive and shape in his mind, as opposed to, or having to bear, certain forces which will try to distort it this way and that; and against which he is first to direct and bend the line itself into as strong resistance as he may, and then, with his voussoirs and what else he can, to guard it, and help it, and keep it to its duty and in its shape. So the arch line is the moral character of the arch, and the adverse forces are its temptations; and the voussoirs, and what else we may help it with, are its armour and its motives to good conduct.

§ 7. This moral character of the arch is called by architects its “Line of Resistance.” There is a great deal of nicety in calculating it with precision, just as there is sometimes in finding out very precisely what is a man’s true line of moral conduct: but this, in arch morality and in man morality, is a very simple and easily to be understood principle,—that if either arch or man expose themselves to their special temptations or adverse forces, *outside* of their voussoirs or proper and appointed armour, both will fall. An arch whose line of resistance is in the middle of its voussoirs is perfectly safe: in proportion as the said line runs near the edge of its voussoirs, the arch is in danger, as the man is who nears temptation; and the moment the line of resistance emerges out of the voussoirs the arch falls.

§ 8. There are, therefore, properly speaking, two arch lines.

One is the visible direction or curve of the arch, which may generally be considered as the under edge of its voussoirs, and which has often no more to do with the real stability of the arch, than a man's apparent conduct has with his heart. The other line, which is the line of resistance, or line of good behaviour, may or may not be consistent with the outward and apparent curves of the arch; but if not, then the security of the arch depends simply upon this, whether the voussoirs which assume or pretend to the one line are wide enough to include the other.

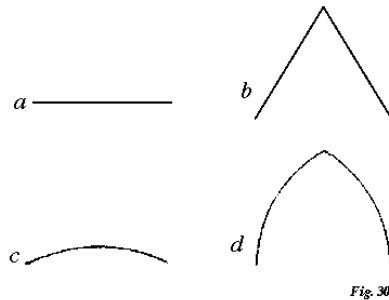
§ 9. Now when the reader is told that the line of resistance varies with every change either in place or quantity of the weight above the arch, he will see at once that we have no chance of arranging arches by their moral characters: we can only take the apparent arch line, or visible direction, as a ground of arrangement. We shall consider the possible or probable forms or contours of arches in the present Chapter, and in the succeeding one the forms of voussoir and other help which may best fortify these visible lines against every temptation to lose their consistency.

§ 10. Look back to Fig. 29. Evidently the abstract or ghost line of the arrangement at A is a plain horizontal line, as here at *a*, Fig. 30. The abstract line of the arrangement at B, Fig. 29, is composed of two straight lines set against each other, as here at *b*. The abstract line of C, Fig. 29, is a curve of some kind, not at present determined, suppose *c*, Fig. 30. Then, as *b* is two of the straight lines at *a*, set up against each other, we may conceive an arrangement, *d*, made up of two of the curved lines at *c*, set against each other. This is called a pointed arch, which is a contradiction in terms: it ought to be called a curved gable; but it must keep the name it has got.

Now, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, Fig. 30, are the ghosts of the lintel, the gable, the arch, and the pointed arch. With the poor lintel ghost we need trouble ourselves no farther; there are no changes in him: but there is much variety in the other three, and the method of their variety will be best discerned by

studying *b* and *d*, as subordinate to and connected with the simple arch at *c*.

§ 11. Many architects, especially the worst, have been very curious in designing out of the way arches,—elliptical arches, and four-centred arches, so called, and other singularities. The good architects have generally been content, and we for the present will be so, with God's arch, the arch of the rainbow and of the apparent heaven, and which the sun shapes for us as it sets and rises. Let us watch the sun for a moment as it climbs: when it is a quarter up, it will give us the arch *a*, Fig. 31; when it is half up, *b*, and when three quarters up, *c*. There will be an infinite number of arches between these, but we will take these as sufficient representatives of all. Then *a* is the low arch, *b* the central or pure arch, *c* the high arch, and the rays of the sun would have drawn for us their voussoirs.



§ 12. We will take these several arches successively, and fixing the top of each accurately, draw two right lines thence to its base, *d*, *e*, *f*, Fig. 31. Then these lines give us the relative gables of each of the arches; *d* is the Italian or southern gable, *e* the central gable, *f* the Gothic gable.

§ 13. We will again take the three arches with their gables in succession, and on each of the sides of the gable, between it and the arch, we will describe another arch, as at *g*, *h*, *i*. Then the curves so described give the pointed arches belonging to each of the round arches; *g*, the flat pointed arch, *h*, the central pointed arch, and *i*, the lancet pointed arch.

§ 14. If the radius with which these intermediate curves are drawn be the base of *f*, the last is the equilateral pointed arch, one of great importance in Gothic work. But between

the gable and circle, in all the three figures, there are an infinite number of pointed arches, describable with different radii: and the three round arches, be it remembered, are themselves representatives of an infinite number, passing from the flattest conceivable curve, through the semicircle and horseshoe, up to the full circle.

The central and the last group are the most important. The central round, or semicircle, is the Roman, the Byzantine,

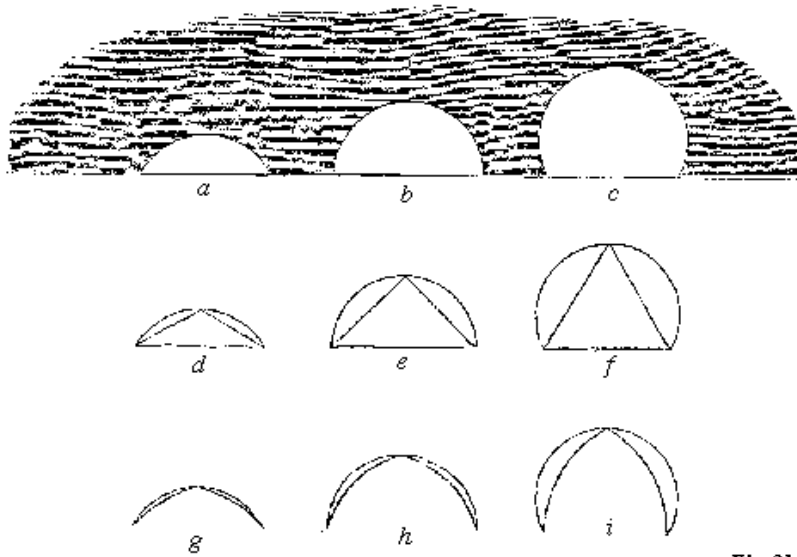


Fig. 31

and Norman arch; and its relative pointed includes one wide branch of Gothic. The horseshoe round is the Arabic and Moorish arch, and its relative pointed includes the whole range of Arabic and lancet, or Early English and French Gothics. I mean of course by the relative pointed the entire group of which the equilateral arch is the representative. Between it and the outer horseshoe, as this latter rises higher, the reader will find, on experiment, the great families of what may be called the horseshoe pointed,—curves of the highest

importance, but which are all included, with English lancet, under the term, relative pointed of the horseshoe arch.

§ 15. The groups above described are all formed of circular arcs, and include all truly useful and beautiful arches for ordinary work. I believe that singular and complicated curves are made use of in modern engineering, but with these the general reader can have no concern: the Ponte della Trinita at Florence is the most graceful instance I know of such structure; the arch made use of being very subtle, and approximating to the low ellipse; for which, in common work, a barbarous pointed arch, called four-centred, and composed of bits of circles, is substituted by the English builders. The high ellipse, I believe, exists in eastern architecture.¹ I have never myself met with it on a large scale; but it occurs in the niches of the later portions of the Ducal palace at Venice, together with a singular hyperbolic arch, *a* in Fig. 33, to be described hereafter: with such caprices we are not here concerned.

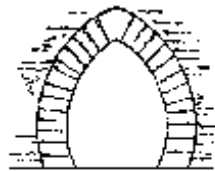


Fig. 32

§ 16. We are, however, concerned to notice the absurdity of another form of arch, which, with the four-centred, belongs to the English perpendicular Gothic.

Taking the gable of any of the groups in Fig. 31 (suppose the equilateral), here at *b*, in Fig. 33, the dotted line representing the relative pointed arch, we may evidently conceive an arch formed by reversed curves on the inside of the gable, as here shown by the inner curved lines. I imagine the reader by this time knows enough of the nature of arches to understand that, whatever strength or stability was gained by the curve on the *outside* of the gable, exactly so much is lost by curves on the *inside*. The natural tendency of such an arch to dissolution by its own mere weight renders it a feature of

¹ [The MS. here inserts:—

“But even the pure ellipse is a barbarism, it being always wrong to use a difficult curve when one easily built would have done as well (there may perhaps be some reason for it in the Trinita bridge, connected with the nature of the floods of the Arno; on this point I cannot speak with certainty”).]

detestable ugliness, wherever it occurs on a large scale. It is eminently characteristic of Tudor work, and it is the profile of the Chinese roof; (I say on a large scale, because this, as well as all other capricious arches, may be made secure by their masonry when small, but not otherwise). Some allowable modifications of it will be noticed in the chapter on Roofs.¹

§ 17. There is only one more form of arch which we have to notice. When the last described arch is used, not as the principal arrangement, but as a mere heading to a common pointed arch, we have the form *c*, Fig. 33. Now this is better than the entirely reversed arch for two reasons: first, less of the line is weakened by reversing; secondly, the double curve has a very high æsthetic value, not existing in the mere segments



Fig. 33

of circles. For these reasons arches of this kind are not only admissible, but even of great desirableness, when their scale and masonry render them secure, but above a certain scale they are altogether barbarous; and, with the reversed Tudor arch, wantonly employed, are the characteristics of the worst and meanest schools of architecture, past or present.

This double curve is called the Ogee: it is the profile of many German leaden roofs, of many Turkish domes (there more excusable, because associated and in sympathy with exquisitely managed arches of the same line in the walls below), of Tudor turrets, as in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and it is at the bottom or top of sundry other blunders all over the world.²

¹ [See below, ch. xiii. § 3, p. 183.]

² [For Ruskin's other criticisms of this chapel, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 8 (Vol. VIII. p. 146).]

§ 18. The varieties of the ogee curve are infinite, as the reversed portion of it may be engrafted on every other form of arch, horseshoe, round, or pointed. Whatever is generally worthy of note in these varieties, and in other arches of caprice, we shall best discover by examining their masonry; for it is by their good masonry only that they are rendered either stable or beautiful. To this question, then, let us address ourselves.

CHAPTER XI

THE ARCH MASONRY

§ 1. ON the subject of the stability of arches, volumes have been written, and volumes more are required. The reader will not, therefore, expect from me any very complete explanation of its conditions within the limits of a single chapter. But that which is necessary for him to know is very simple and very easy; and yet, I believe, some part of it is very little known, or noticed.

We must first have a clear idea of what is meant by an arch. It is a curved *shell* of firm materials, on whose back a burden is to be laid of *loose* materials. So far as the materials above it are *not loose*, but themselves hold together, the opening below is not an arch, but an *excavation*. Note this difference very carefully. If the King of Sardinia tunnels through the Mont Cenis, as he proposes,¹ he will not require to build a brick arch under his tunnel to carry the weight of the Mont Cenis: that would need scientific masonry indeed. The Mont Cenis will carry itself, by its own cohesion, and a succession of invisible granite arches, rather larger than the tunnel. But when Mr. Brunel tunnelled the Thames bottom, he needed to build a brick arch to carry the six or seven feet of mud and the weight of water above. That is a type of all arches proper.

¹ [The idea of this—the first of the tunnels through the Alps—originated with M. Médail of Bardonnèche in 1832, who died in 1850. His scheme was adopted by the Piedmontese Government, but the work was not begun till 1857; it was completed in 1870. The mountain actually tunnelled is not the Mont Cenis, but Mont Fréjus. The tunnel is lined with brick or masonry throughout. The Thames Tunnel, from Wapping to Rotherhithe, was begun in 1824, on the plans and under the supervision of Sir Isambard Brunel, and completed in 1843, after several accidents caused by the water bursting in upon the works. It consists of two parallel arched passages of masonry.]

§ 2. Now arches, in practice, partake of the nature of the two. So far as their masonry above is Mont-Cenisian, that is to say, colossal in comparison of them, and granitic, so that the arch is a mere hole in the rock substance of it, the form of the arch is of no consequence whatever: it may be rounded, or lozenged, or ogee'd, or anything else; and in the noblest architecture there is always *some* character of this kind given to the masonry. It is independent enough not to care about the holes cut in it, and does not subside into them like sand. But the theory of arches does not presume on any such condition of things: it allows itself only the shell of the arch proper; the vertebræ, carrying their marrow of resistance; and, above this shell, it assumes the wall to be in a state of flux, bearing down on the arch, like water or sand, with its whole weight. And farther, the problem which is to be solved by the arch builder is not merely to carry this weight, but to carry it with the least thickness of shell. It is easy to carry it by continually thickening your voussoirs: if you have six feet depth of sand or gravel to carry, and you choose to employ granite voussoirs six feet thick, no question but your arch is safe enough. But it is perhaps somewhat too costly: the thing to be done is to carry the sand or gravel with brick voussoirs, six inches thick, or, at any rate, with the least thickness of voussoir which will be safe; and to do this requires peculiar arrangement of the lines of the arch. There are many arrangements, useful all in their way, but we have only to do, in the best architecture, with the simplest and most easily understood. We have first to note those which regard the actual shell of the arch, and then we shall give a few examples of the superseding of such expedients by Mont-Cenisian masonry.

§ 3. What we have to say will apply to all arches, but the central pointed arch is the best for general illustration. Let *a*, Plate 3, be the shell of a pointed arch with loose loading above; and suppose you find that shell not quite thick enough, and that the weight bears too heavily on the top of the arch, and is likely to break it in, you proceed to

thicken your shell, but need you thicken it all equally? Not so; you would only waste your good voussoirs. If you have any common sense you will thicken it at the top, where a Mylodon's skull¹ is thickened for the same purpose (and some human skulls, I fancy), as at *b*. The pebbles and gravel above will now shoot off it right and left, as the bullets do off a cuirassier's breastplate, and will have no chance of beating it in.²

If still it be not strong enough, a further addition may be made, as at *c*, now thickening the voussoirs a little at the base also. But as this may perhaps throw the arch inconveniently high, or occasion a waste of voussoirs at the top, we may employ another expedient.

§ 4. I imagine the reader's common sense, if not his previous knowledge, will enable him to understand that if the arch at *a*, Plate 3, burst *in* at the top, it must burst *out* at the sides. Set up two pieces of pasteboard, edge to edge, and press them down with your hand, and you will see them bend out at the sides. Therefore, if you can keep the arch from starting out at the points *p, p*, it *cannot* curve in at the top, put what weight on it you will, unless by sheer crushing of the stones to fragments.

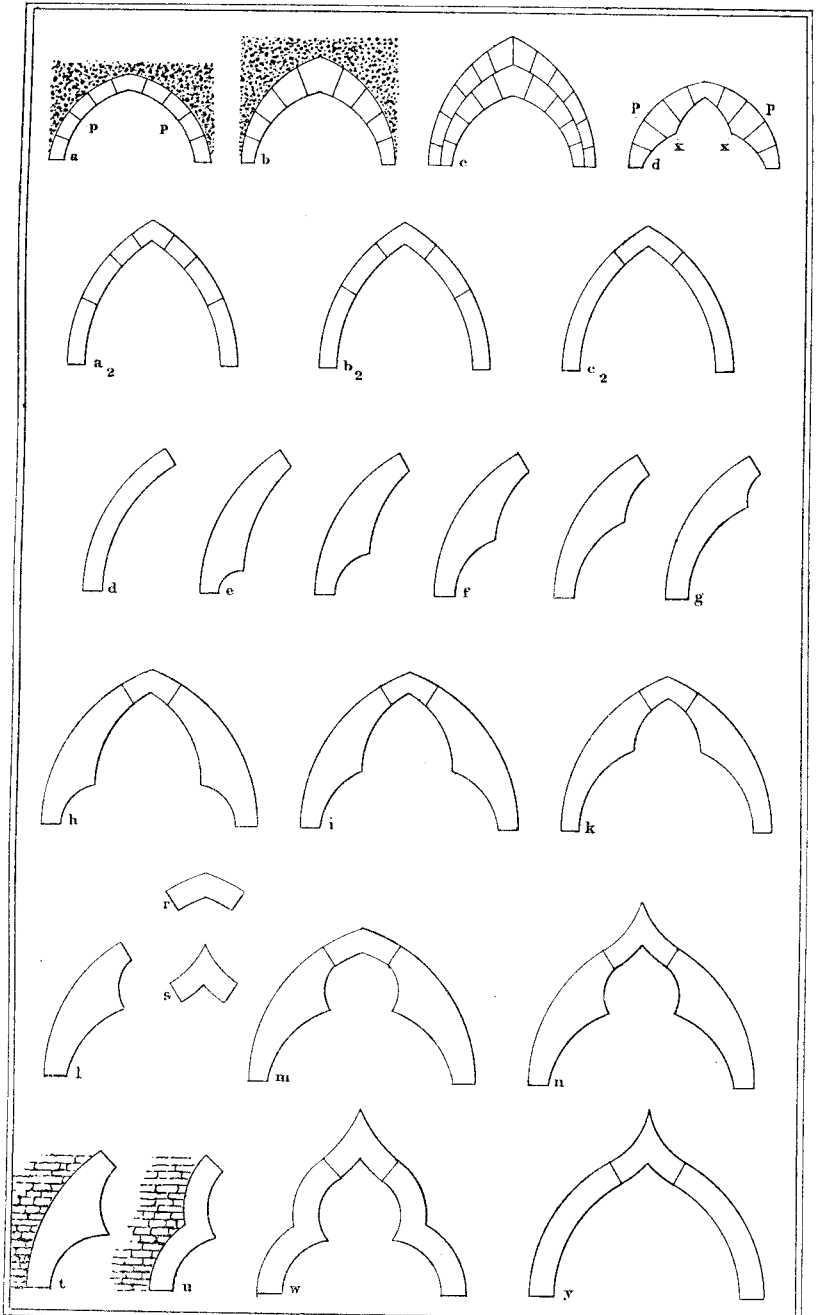
§ 5. Now you may keep the arch from starting out at *p* by loading it at *p*, putting more weight upon it and against it at that point; and this, in practice, is the way it is usually done. But we assume at present that the weight above is sand or water, quite unmanageable, not to be directed to the points we choose; and in practice, it may sometimes happen that we cannot put weight upon the arch at *p*. We may perhaps want an opening above it, or it may be at the side

¹ [For the double skull of the mylodon, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. ii. § 13, Vol. VIII. p. 72.]

² [The MS. here gives a footnote:—

“I give this simple reason for adopting the form, for the sake of the general reader; and when there is one good reason for doing a thing and no reason against it, it is wasted time to look for another on its side. But the architect will see in a moment that the principal value of the form consists in the deeper inclination given to the line of resistance of the voussoirs.”]

III.



of the building, and many other circumstances may occur to hinder us.

§ 6. But if we are not sure that we can put weight above it, we are perfectly sure that we can hang weight under it. You may always thicken your shell inside, and put the weight upon it as at *x x*, in *d*, Plate 3. Not much chance of its bursting out at *p* now, is there?

§ 7. Whenever, therefore, an arch has to bear vertical pressure, it will bear it better when its shell is shaped as at *b* or *d*, than as at *a*: *b* and *d* are, therefore, the types of arches built to resist vertical pressure, all over the world, and from the beginning of architecture to its end. None others can be compared with them: all are imperfect except these.¹

The added projections at *x x*, in *d*, are called CUSPS, and they are the very soul and life of the best Northern Gothic; yet never thoroughly understood nor found in perfection, except in Italy, the Northern builders working often, even in the best times, with the vulgar form at *a*.

The form at *b* is rarely found in the North: its perfection is in the Lombardic Gothic; and branches of it, good and bad according to their use, occur in Saracenic work.

§ 8. The true and perfect cusp is single only. But it was probably invented (by the Arabs?) not as a constructive, but a decorative feature, in pure fantasy; and in early Northern work it is only the application to the arch of the foliation, so called, of penetrated spaces in stone surfaces, already enough explained in the *Seven Lamps*, Chap. III.,

§ 18, *et seq.*² It is degraded in dignity, and loses in usefulness, exactly in proportion to its multiplication on the arch. In later architecture, especially English Tudor, it is sunk into dotage, and becomes a simple excrescence, a bit of stone

¹ [For a reference to this passage, with its demonstration of the constructive value of the Gothic cusp—a statement “first denied, and then taken advantage of, by modern architects”—see *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 58 *n*. Ruskin refers again to his discovery in a letter to Coventry Patmore: see above, Introduction, p. xli.]

² [Vol. VIII. p. 126.]

pinched up out of the arch, as a cook pinches the paste at the edge of a pie.

§ 9. The depth and place of the cusp, that is to say, its exact application to the shoulder of the curve of the arch, varies with the direction of the weight to be sustained. I have spent more than a month, and that in hard work too, in merely trying to get the forms of cusps into perfect order; where by the reader may guess that I have not space to go into the subject now: but I shall hereafter give a few of the leading and most perfect examples, with their measures and masonry.¹

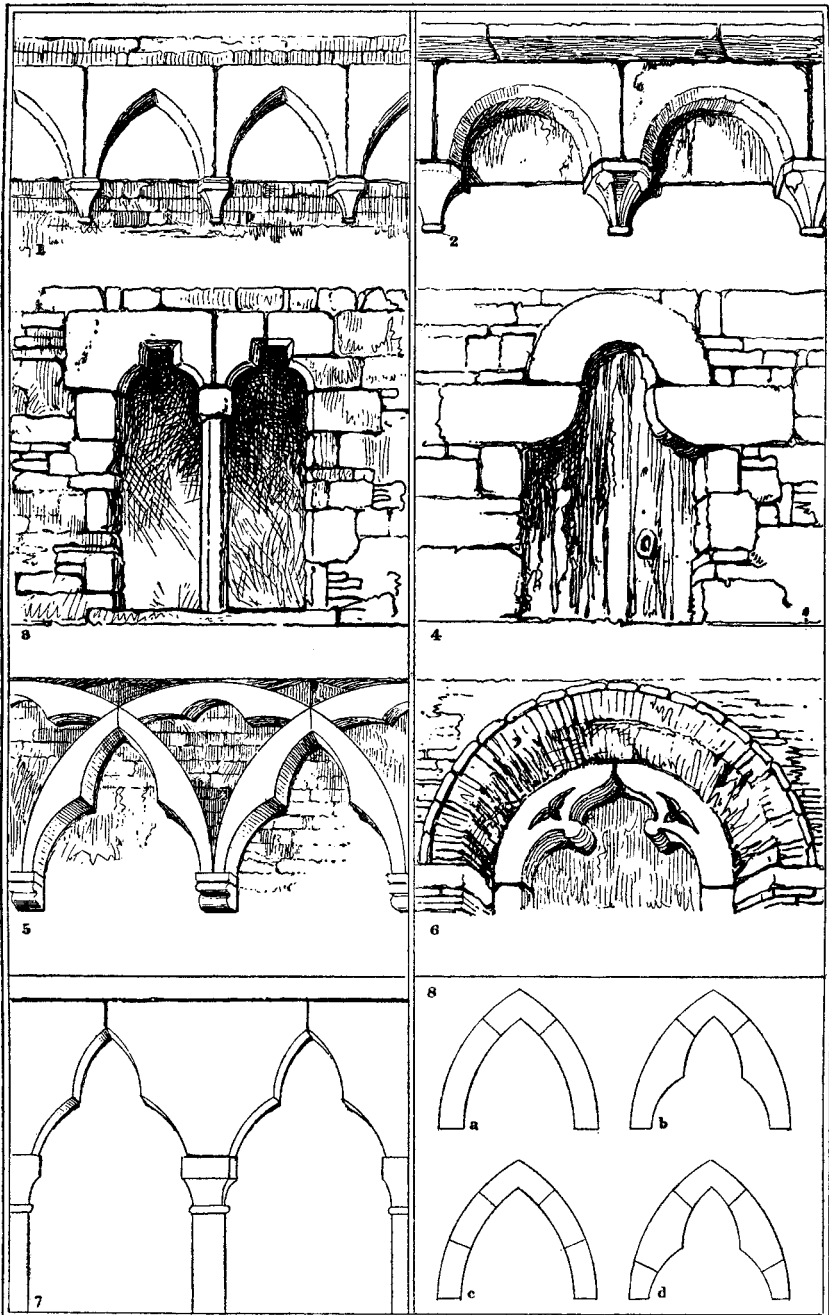
§ 10. The reader now understands all that he need about the shell of the arch, considered as an united piece of stone.

He has next to consider the shape of the voussoirs. This, as much as is required, he will be able best to comprehend by a few examples; by which I shall be able also to illustrate, or rather which will force me to illustrate, some of the methods of Mont-Cenisian masonry, which were to be the second part of our subject.

§ 11. 1 and 2, Plate 4, are two cornices; 1 from St. Antonio, Padua; 2, from the Cathedral of Sens. I want them for cornices; but I have put them in this plate because, though their arches are filled up behind, and are in fact mere blocks of stone with arches cut into their faces, they illustrate the constant masonry of small arches, both in Italian and Northern Romanesque, but especially Italian, each arch being cut out of its own proper block of stone: this is Mont-Cenisian enough, on a small scale.

3 is a window from Carnarvon Castle, and very primitive and interesting in manner,—one of its arches being of one stone, the other of two. And here we have an instance of a form of arch which would be barbarous enough on a large scale, and of many pieces; but quaint and agreeable thus massively built.

¹ [An intention partly fulfilled in *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. appendix 10 (vi).]



4 is from a little belfry in a Swiss village above Vevay; one fancies the window of an absurd form, seen in the distance, but one is pleased with it on seeing its masonry. It could hardly be stronger.

§ 12. These then are arches cut of one block. The next step is to form them of two pieces, set together at the head of the arch. 6, from the Eremitani, Padua, is very quaint and primitive in manner: it is a curious church altogether, and has some strange traceries cut out of single blocks. One is given in the *Seven Lamps*, Plate VII.,¹ in the left-hand corner at the bottom.

7, from the Frari, Venice, very firm and fine, and admirably decorated, as we shall see hereafter. 5, the simple two-pieced construction, wrought with the most exquisite proportion and precision of workmanship, as is everything else in the glorious church to which it belongs, San Fermo of Verona.² The addition of the top piece, which completes the circle, does not affect the plan of the beautiful arches, with their simple and perfect cusps; but it is highly curious, and serves to show how the idea of the cusp rose out of mere foliation. The whole of the architecture of this church may be characterised as exhibiting the maxima of simplicity in construction, and perfection in workmanship,—a rare unison; for, in general, simple designs are rudely worked, and as the builder perfects his execution, he complicates his plan. Nearly all the arches of San Fermo are two-pieced.

§ 13. We have seen the construction with one and two pieces: *a* and *b*, Fig. 8, Plate 4, are the general types of the construction with three pieces, uncusped and cusped; *c* and *d* with five pieces, uncusped and cusped. Of these the three-pieced construction is of enormous importance, and must detain us some time. The five-pieced is the three-pieced with a joint added on each side, and is also of great importance.

¹ [Vol. VIII. p. 129.]

² [For another illustration of an arch from this church, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. § 36 (Plate 38, Fig. 4).]

The four-pieced, which is the two-pieced with added joints, rarely occurs, and need not detain us.

§ 14. It will be remembered that in first working out the principle of the arch, we composed the arch of three pieces.¹ Three is the smallest number which can exhibit the real *principle* of arch masonry, and it may be considered as representative of all arches built on that principle; the one and two pieced arches being microscopic Mont-Cenisian, mere caves in blocks of stone, or gaps between two rocks leaning together.

But the three-pieced arch is properly representative of all; and the larger and more complicated constructions are merely produced by keeping the central piece for what is called a keystone, and putting additional joints at the sides. Now so long as an arch is pure circular or pointed, it does not matter how many joints or voussoirs you have, nor where the joints are; nay, you may joint your keystone itself, and make it two-pieced. But if the arch be of any bizarre form, especially ogee, the joints must be in particular places, and the masonry simple, or it will not be thoroughly good and secure; and the fine schools of the ogee arch have only arisen in countries where it was the custom to build arches of few pieces.

§ 15. The typical pure pointed arch of Venice is a fivepieced arch, with its stones in three orders of magnitude, the longest being the lowest, as at b_2 , Plate 3. If the arch be very large, a fourth order of magnitude is added, as at a_2 . The portals of the palaces of Venice have one or other of these masonries, almost without exception. Now, as one piece is added to make a larger door, one piece is taken away to make a smaller one, or a window, and the masonry type of the Venetian Gothic window is consequently three pieced, c_2 .

§ 16. The reader knows already where a cusp is useful.² It is wanted, he will remember, to give weight to those side

¹ [Above, ch. x. §§ 2, 3, p. 155.]

² [Above, § 7 of this chapter.]

stones, and draw them inwards against the thrust of the top stone. Take one of the side stones of c_2 out for a moment, as at d . Now the *proper* place of the cusp upon it varies with the weight which it bears or requires; but in practice this nicety is rarely observed; the place of the cusp is almost always determined by æsthetic considerations, and it is evident that the variations in its place may be infinite. Consider the cusp as a wave passing up the side stone from its bottom to its top; then you will have the succession of forms from e to g (Plate 3), with infinite degrees of transition from each to each; but of which you may take e , f , and g , as representing three great families of cusped arches. Use e for your side stones, and you have an arch as that at h below, which may be called a down-cusped arch. Use f for the side stone, and you have i , which may be called a mid-cusped arch. Use g , and you have k , an up-cusped arch.

§ 17. The reader will observe that I call the arch midcusped, not when the cusp point is in the middle of the curve of the arch, but when it is in the middle of the *side piece*, and also that where the side pieces join the keystone there will be a change, perhaps somewhat abrupt, in the curvature.

I have preferred to call the arch mid-cusped with respect to its side piece than with respect to its own curve, because the most beautiful Gothic arches in the world, those of the Lombard Gothic, have, in all the instances I have examined, a form more or less approximating to this mid-cusped one at i (Plate 3), but having the curvature of the cusp carried up into the keystone, as we shall see presently: where, however, the arch is built of many voussoirs, a mid-cusped arch will mean one which has the point of the cusp midway between its own base and apex.

The Gothic arch of Venice is almost invariably up-cusped, as at k . The reader may note that, in both down-cusped and up-cusped arches, the piece of stone, added to form the cusp, is of the shape of a scymitar, held down in the one case and up in the other.

§ 18. Now, in the arches *h, i, k*, a slight modification has been made in the form of the central piece, in order that it may continue the curve of the cusp. This modification is not to be given to it in practice without considerable nicety of workmanship; and some curious results took place in Venice from this difficulty.

At *l* (Plate 3) is the shape of the Venetian side stone, with its cusp detached from the arch. Nothing can possibly be better or more graceful, or have the weight better disposed in order to cause it to nod forwards against the keystone, as above explained, Chap. X. § 2, where I developed the whole system of the arch from three pieces, in order that the reader might now clearly see the use of the weight of the cusp.

Now a Venetian Gothic palace has usually at least three storeys; with perhaps ten or twelve windows in each storey, and this on two or three of its sides, requiring altogether some hundred to a hundred and fifty side pieces.

I have no doubt, from observation of the way the windows are set together, that the side pieces were carved in pairs, like hooks, of which the keystones were to be the eyes; that these side pieces were ordered by the architect in the gross, and were used by him sometimes for wider, sometimes for narrower windows; bevelling the two ends as required, fitting in keystones as he best could, and now and then varying the arrangement by turning the side pieces *upside down*.

There are various conveniences in this way of working, one of the principal being that the side pieces with their cusps were always cut to their complete form, and that no part of the cusp was carried out into the keystone, which followed the curve of the outer arch itself. The ornaments of the cusp might thus be worked without any troublesome reference to the rest of the arch.

§ 19. Now let us take a pair of side pieces, made to order, like that at *l*, and see what we can make of them. We will try to fit them first with a keystone which continues the

curve of the outer arch, as at *m*. This the reader assuredly thinks an ugly arch. There are a great many of them in Venice, the ugliest things there, and the Venetian builders quickly began to feel them so. What could they do to better them? The arch at *m* has a central piece of the form *r*. Substitute for it a piece of the form *s*, and we have the arch at *n*.

§ 20. This arch at *n* is not so strong as that at *m*; but, built of good marble, and with its pieces of proper thickness, it is quite strong enough for all practical purposes on a small scale. I have examined at least two thousand windows of this kind and of the other Venetian ogees, of which that at *y* (in which the plain side piece *d* is used instead of the cusped one) is the simplest; and I never found *one*, even in the most ruinous palaces (in which they had had to sustain the distored weight of falling walls) in which the central piece was fissured; and this is the only danger to which the window is exposed; in other respects it is as strong an arch as can be built.

It is not to be supposed that the change from the *r* keystone to the *s* keystone was instantaneous. It was a change wrought out by many curious experiments, which we shall have to trace hereafter, and to throw the resultant varieties of form into their proper groups.¹

§ 21. One step more: I take a mid-cusped side piece in its block form at *t*, with the bricks which load the back of it. Now, as these bricks support it behind, and since, as far as the use of the cusp is concerned, it matters not whether its weight be in marble or bricks, there is nothing to hinder us from cutting out some of the marble, as at *u*, and filling up the space with bricks. (*Why* we should take a fancy to do this, I do not pretend to guess at present; all I have to assert is, that, if the fancy should strike us, there would be no harm in it.) Substituting this side piece for the other in the window *n*, we have that at *w*, which

¹ [This subject is worked out in ch. vii. of the next volume, §§ 24–49.]

may, perhaps, be of some service to us afterwards: here we have nothing more to do with it than to note that, thus built, and properly backed by brickwork, it is just as strong and safe a form as that at *n*; but that this, as well as every variety of ogee arch, depends entirely for its safety, fitness, and beauty on the masonry which we have just analysed; and that, built on a large scale, and with many voussoirs, all such arches would be unsafe and absurd in general architecture. Yet they may be used occasionally for the sake of the exquisite beauty of which their rich and fantastic varieties admit, and sometimes for the sake of another merit, exactly the opposite of the constructional ones we are at present examining, that they seem to stand by enchantment.¹

§ 22. In the above reasonings, the inclination of the joints of the voussoirs to the curves of the arch has not been considered. It is a question of much nicety, and which I have not been able as yet fully to investigate: but the natural idea of the arrangement of these lines (which in round arches are of course perpendicular to the curve) would be that every voussoir should have the lengths of its outer and inner arched surface in the same proportion to each other. Either this actual law, or a close approximation to it, is assuredly enforced in the best Gothic buildings.

§ 23. I may sum up all that it is necessary for the reader to keep in mind of the general laws connected with this subject, by giving him an example of each of the two forms of the perfect Gothic arch, uncusped and cusped, treated with the most simple and magnificent masonry, and partly, in both cases, Mont-Cenisian.

The first, Plate 5, is a window from the Broletto of Como. It shows, in its filling, first, the single-pieced arch, carried on groups of four shafts, and a single slab of marble filling the space above, and pierced with a quatrefoil (Mont-Cenisian, this), while the mouldings above are each constructed with a separate system of voussoirs, all of them shaped, I think, on

¹ [For this effect in Venetian Gothic, see next volume, ch. vii. § 10.]



Arch-Masonry.
Broletto of Como.

the principle above stated, § 22, in alternate serpentine and marble; the outer arch being a noble example of the pure uncusped Gothic construction, *b* of Plate 3.

§ 24. Fig. 34 is the masonry of the side arch of, as far as I know or am able to judge, the most perfect Gothic sepulchral monument in the world, the four square canopy of the (nameless?)* tomb¹ standing over the small cemetery gate of the Church of St. Anastasia at Verona. I shall have frequent occasion to recur to this monument, and, I believe, shall be able sufficiently to justify the terms in which I speak of it: meanwhile, I desire only that the reader should observe the severity and simplicity of the arch lines, the exquisitely delicate suggestion of the ogee curve in the apex, and chiefly

* At least, I cannot find any account of it in Maffei's "Verona,"² nor anywhere else, to be depended upon. It is, I doubt not, a work of the beginning of the thirteenth century. Vide Appendix 19: "Tombs at St. Anastasia."

¹ [The monument is of Count Guglielmo da Castelbarco (1320), the friend and adviser of the Scaligers, and one of the chief benefactors of St. Anastasia. Of him Ruskin writing at a later date says: "I do not feel sure that even, in after times, the poem of Dante has had any political effect in Italy; but at all events, in his life, even at Verona, where he was treated most kindly, he had not half so much influence with Can Grande as the rough Count of Castelbarco, not one of whose words was ever written, or now remains; and whose portrait, by no means that of a man of literary genius, almost disfigures, by its plainness, the otherwise grave and perfect beauty of his tomb" (*Val d' Arno*, § 89). The "frequent occasion to recur to this monument" was not found in *Stones of Venice*, though minor references to it occur in ch. xxv. § 14 below, p. 341, and in vol. ii. ch. vii. § 39. But in the catalogue of "drawings and photographs, illustrative of the architecture of Verona, shown at the Royal Institution, February 4, 1870," many particulars were given; the tomb had recently been "restored." The catalogue is reprinted in a later volume of this edition where another drawing of the subject is reproduced; the reference in the 1899 ed. of *On the Old Road* is vol. ii. § 246. The "careful plate" was not included in *Stones of Venice* or in the accompanying *Examples*. The plate (D) here given is from one of several drawings of the subject by Ruskin; the drawing was first published in *Studies in Both Arts* (1895), Plate 5. The passage § 24 above, together with Fig. 34, was printed in that work to accompany the plate—the words "The accompanying figure" being substituted for "Fig. 34," and "Castelbarco" for "(nameless?)." Ruskin's affection for the monument dated back to his first visit to Verona in 1835. A drawing of it made in that year was published as Plate v. in *Verona and its Rivers*, 1894. In a copy of the first edition of this volume inscribed by Ruskin "To my dear Mother, March 1851" (now in Mr. Wedderburn's collection), he has begun to pencil in the decorative details on the outline of the arch given in the text. Mr. Wedderburn has a sketch of the tomb in black and white, rapidly done, said Ruskin in giving it to him, "just to show I could blotch." For further reference to St. Anastasia and to Plate D, see above, Introduction, p. li.]

² [*Verona Illustrata*, by the Marquis Francesco Scipione Maffei, first published 1732 and frequently re-issued.]

the use of the cusp in giving *inward* weight to the great pieces of stone of the flanks of the arch, and preventing their thrust outwards from being severely thrown on the lowermost stones. The effect of this arrangement is, that the whole

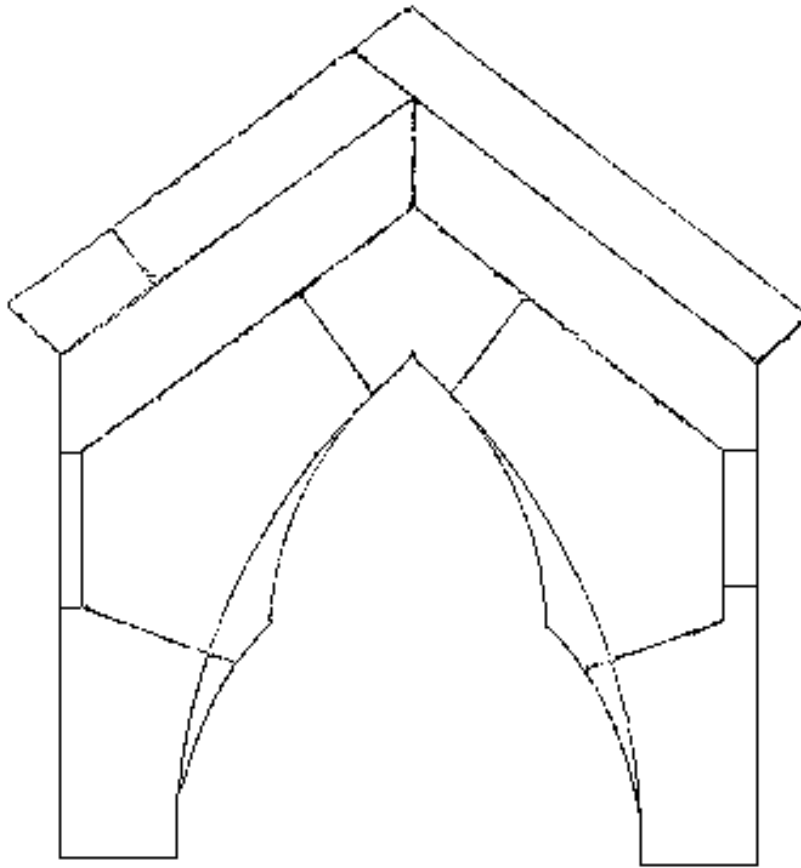


Fig. 34

massy canopy is sustained safely by four slender pillars (as will be seen hereafter in the careful plate I hope to give of it), these pillars being rather steadied than materially assisted against the thrust, by iron bars, about an inch thick, connecting them at the heads of the abaci; a feature of peculiar importance in this monument, inasmuch as we know it to be



The Castelbarco Tomb, Verona.

part of the original construction, by a beautiful little Gothic wreathed pattern, like one of the hems of garments of Fra Angelico, running along the iron bar itself. So carefully, and so far, is the system of decoration carried out in this pure and lovely monument, my most beloved throughout all the length and breadth of Italy;—chief, as I think, among all the sepulchral marbles of a land of mourning.

IX.

M

CHAPTER XII

THE ARCH LOAD

§ 1. IN the preceding inquiry we have always supposed either that the load upon the arch was perfectly loose, as of gravel or sand, or that it was Mont-Cenisian, and formed one mass with the arch voussoirs, of more or less compactness.

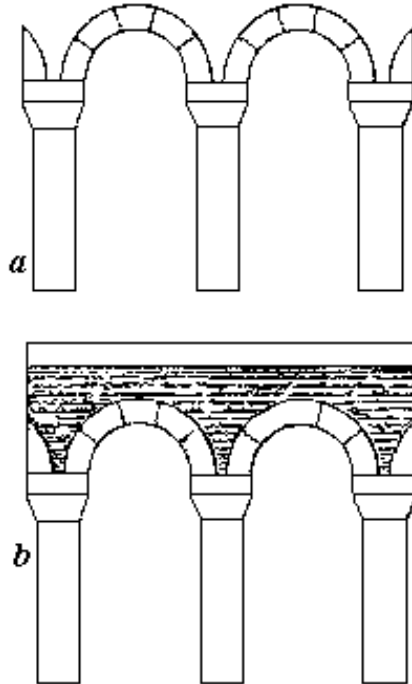


Fig. 35

In practice, the state is usually something between the two. Over bridges and tunnels it sometimes approaches to the condition of mere dust or yielding earth; but in architecture it is mostly firm masonry, not altogether acting with the voussoirs, yet by no means bearing on them with perfectly dead weight, but locking itself together above them, and capable of being thrown into forms which relieve them, in some degree, from its pressure.

§ 2. It is evident that if we are to place a continuous roof above the line of arches, we must first fill up the intervals between them on the tops of the columns. We have at present nothing granted us but the bare masonry, as here at *a*, Fig. 35, and we must fill up the intervals between the semicircle so as to obtain a level line of support. We may first do this simply as at *b*, with plain mass of wall; so laying the roof on the top, which is the

method of the pure Byzantine and Italian Romanesque. But if we find too much stress is thus laid on the arches, we may introduce small second shafts on the top of the great shaft, *a*, Fig. 36, which may assist in carrying the roof, conveying great part of its weight at once to the heads of the main shafts, and relieving from its pressure the centres of the arches.

§ 3. The new shaft thus introduced may either remain lifted on the head of the great shaft, or may be carried to the ground in front of it, or through it, *b*, Fig. 36; in which latter case the main shaft divides into two or more minor shafts, and forms a group with the shaft brought down from above.

§ 4. When this shaft, brought from roof to ground, is subordinate to the main pier, and either is carried down the face of it, or forms no large part of the group, the principle is Romanesque or Gothic, *b*, Fig. 36. When it becomes a bold central shaft, and the main pier splits into two minor shafts on its sides, the principle is Classical or Palladian, *c*, Fig. 36. Which latter arrangement becomes absurd or unsatisfactory in proportion to the sufficiency of the main shaft to carry the roof without the help of the minor shafts or arch,

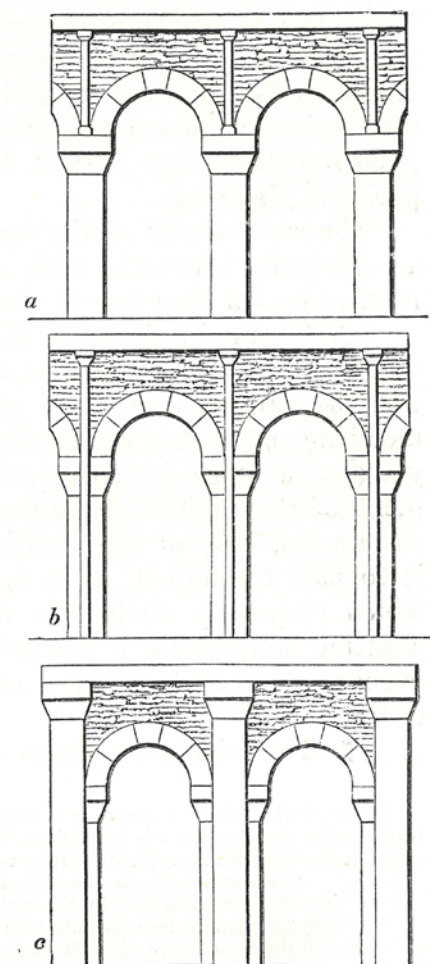


Fig. 36

which in many instances of Palladian work look as if they might be removed without danger to the building.

§ 5. The form *a* is a more pure Northern Gothic type than even *b*, which is the connecting link between it and the classical type. It is found chiefly in English and other Northern Gothic, and in early Lombardic, and is, I doubt not, derived as above explained, Chap. I., § 27 *b*, in a general French Gothic and French Romanesque form, as in great purity at Valence.¹

The small shafts of the forms *a* and *b*, as being Northern, are generally connected with steep vaulted roofs, and receive for that reason the name of vaulting shafts.

§ 6. Of all the forms *b*, Fig. 35, is the purest and most sublime, expressing the power of the arch most distinctly. All the others have some appearance of dovetailing and morticing of timber rather than stonework; nor have I ever yet seen a single instance, quite satisfactory, of the management of the capital of the main shaft, when it had either to sustain the base of the vaulting shaft, as in *a*, or to suffer it to pass through it, as in *b*, Fig. 36. Nor is the bracket which frequently carries the vaulting shaft in English work a fitting support for a portion of the fabric which is at all events presumed to carry a considerable part of the weight of the roof.

§ 7. The triangular spaces on the flanks of the arch are

¹ [The Cathedral of Valence is a Romanesque building of the twelfth century. Ruskin went there on his way home from Venice in the spring of 1850; the following notes on the Cathedral are from his diary:—

“Nor is the *Roman* character of the Romanesque less singularly marked [*i.e.* than at Avignon] in the cathedral of Valence; which seems to me an *exactly* balanced intermediate step between Romanesque and Gothic, nor can I in the least say to which it most inclines. As compared with our Norman churches, it is most singular in the height of its nave arches; which from the ground must be, to their spring, somewhat more than three times their span. They are therefore almost lancet in their tallness while semi-circular in their heads; and adding the effect of the clustered pier (*vide* Willis), it becomes in effect a tall, light, involved Gothic aisled church; while its details are for the most part pure *Roman*, the capitals of the nave shafts being imitation of Corinthian, cut with an elegance and sharpness altogether unknown in the North.”

The reference to Willis is to his *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 1835, pp. 90–91, and Plate v. Fig. 2.]

called Spandrils, and if the masonry of these should be found, in any of its forms, too heavy for the arch, their weight may be diminished, while their strength remains the same, by piercing them with circular holes or lights. This is rarely necessary in ordinary architecture, though sometimes of great use in bridges and iron roofs (a succession of such circles may be seen, for instance, in the spandrils at the Euston Square station); but, from its constructional value, it becomes the best form in which to arrange spandril decorations, as we shall see hereafter.¹

§ 8. The height of the load above the arch is determined by the needs of the building and possible length of the shaft; but with this we have at present nothing to do, for we have performed the task which was set us. We have ascertained, as it was required that we should in § 6 of Chap. III., (A), the construction of walls; (B), that of piers; (C), that of piers with lintels or arches prepared for roofing. We have next, therefore, to examine (D) the structure of the roof.

¹ [See below, ch. xxvi. § 9, p. 352.]

CHAPTER XIII

THE ROOF

§ 1. HITHERTO our inquiry has been unembarrassed by any considerations relating exclusively either to the exterior or interior of buildings. But it can remain so no longer. As far as the architect is concerned, one side of a wall is generally the same as another; but in the roof there are usually two distinct divisions of the structure: one, a shell, vault, or flat ceiling internally visible, the other, an upper structure, built of timber, to protect the lower; or of some different form, to support it. Sometimes, indeed, the internally visible structure is the real roof, and sometimes there are more than two divisions, as in St. Paul's, where we have a central shell with a mask below and above.¹ Still it will be convenient to remember the distinction between the part of the roof which is usually visible from within, and whose only business is to stand strongly, and not fall in, which I shall call the Roof Proper; and, secondly, the upper roof, which, being often partly-supported by the lower, is not so much concerned with its own stability as with the weather, and is appointed to throw off snow, and get rid of rain, as fast as possible, which I shall call the Roof Mask.²

§ 2. It is, however, needless for me to engage the reader in the discussion of the various methods of construction of Roofs Proper, for this simple reason, that no person without long experience can tell whether a roof be wisely constructed or not; nor tell at all, even with help of any amount of experience, without examination of the several parts and

¹ [For Ruskin's criticism of the dome of St. Paul's, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 67 n.]

² [Cf. *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vi. § 81.]

bearings of it, very different from any observation possible to the general critic: and more than this, the inquiry would be useless to us in our Venetian studies, where the roofs are either not contemporary with the buildings, or flat, or else vaults of the simplest possible constructions, which have been admirably explained by Wills in his *Architecture of the Middle Ages*, Chap. VII., to which I may refer the reader for all that it would be well for him to know respecting the connection of the different parts of the vault with the shafts. He would also do well to read the passages on Tudor vaulting, pp. 185–193, in Mr. Garbett's rudimentary Treatise on Design,¹ before alluded to.* I shall content myself therefore with noting one or two points on which neither writer has had occasion to touch, respecting the Roof Mask.

§ 3. It was said in § 5 of Chap. III., that we should not have occasion, in speaking of roof construction, to add materially to the forms then suggested. The forms which we have to add are only those resulting from the other curves of the arch developed in the last chapter; that is to say, the various eastern domes and cupolas arising out of the revolution of the horseshoe and ogee curves, together with the well-known Chinese concave roof. All these forms are of course purely decorative, the bulging outline, or concave surface being of no more use, or rather of less, in throwing off snow or rain, than the ordinary spire and gable; and it is rather curious, therefore, that all of them, on a small scale, should have obtained so extensive use in Germany and Switzerland, their native climate being that of the East, where their purpose seems rather to concentrate light upon their orbed surfaces. I much doubt their applicability, on a large scale, to architecture of any admirable dignity: their chief charm is, to the European eye, that of strangeness; and it seems

* Appendix 17 [p. 450].

¹ [The reference is to ch. vii. § 9 *n.*, p. 106, above. The full title of the work in question is *Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture as deducible from nature and exemplified in the works of the Greek and Gothic Architects*, 1850.]

to me possible that in the East the bulging form may be also delightful, from the idea of its enclosing a volume of cool air. I enjoy them in St. Mark's chiefly because they increase the fantastic and unreal character of St. Mark's Place; and because they appear to sympathise with an expression, common, I think, to all the buildings of that group, of a natural buoyancy, as if they floated in the air¹ or on the surface of the sea. But assuredly, they are not features to be recommended for imitation.*

§ 4. One form, closely connected with the Chinese concave, is, however, often constructively right,—the gable with an



Fig. 37

inward angle, occurring with exquisitely picturesque effect throughout the domestic architecture of the North, especially in Germany and Switzerland; the lower slope being either an attached external penthouse roof, for protection of the wall, as in Fig. 37, or else a kind of buttress set on the angle of the tower; and in either case the roof itself being a simple gable, continuous beneath it.

§ 5. The true gable, as it is the simplest and most natural, so I esteem it the grandest of roofs; whether rising in ridgy darkness, like a grey slope of slaty mountains, over the precipitous walls of the Northern cathedrals, or stretched in burning breadth above the white and square-set groups of the Southern architecture. But

* I do not speak of the true dome, because I have not studied its construction enough to know at what largeness of scale it begins to be rather a *tour de force* than a convenient or natural form of roof, and because the ordinary spectator's choice among its various outlines must always be dependent on æsthetic considerations only, and can in no wise be grounded on any conception of its infinitely complicated structural principles.

¹ [For this effect in the case of the Ducal Palace, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. § 10.]

this difference between its slope in the Northern and Southern structure is a matter of far greater importance than is commonly supposed, and it is this to which I would especially direct the reader's attention.

§ 6. One main cause of it, the necessity of throwing off snow in the North, has been a thousand times alluded to: another I do not remember having seen noticed, namely, that rooms in a roof are comfortably habitable in the North, which are painful *sotto piombi* in Italy; and that there is in wet climates a natural tendency in all men to live as high as possible, out of the damp and mist. These two causes, together with accessible quantities of good timber, have induced in the North a general steep pitch of gable, which, when rounded or squared above a tower, becomes a spire or turret; and this feature, worked out with elaborate decoration, is the key-note of the whole system of aspiration, so called, which the German critics¹ have so ingeniously and falsely ascribed to a devotional sentiment pervading the Northern Gothic: I entirely and boldly deny the whole theory;² our cathedrals were for the most part built by worldly people, who loved the world, and would have gladly stayed in it for ever;³ whose best hope was the escaping hell, which they thought to do by building cathedrals, but who had very vague conceptions of Heaven in general, and very feeble desires respecting their entrance therein; and the form of the spired cathedral has no more intentional reference

¹ [See, for instance, Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842), who takes an expression of aspiration as the distinguishing characteristic of the Gothic style. Ruskin, who seldom read German, probably took his reference to this theory at secondhand from the article in the *British Quarterly* (elsewhere referred to, p. 304n.), in which (pp. 52–53) an abstract of Kugler's views is given.]

² [Ruskin returned to the subject and dealt with it more at length in *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 19–21, where he deduces the form of the spire from domestic architecture.]

³ [It was objected by one of Ruskin's critics that this passage seemed inconsistent with others in which, in the case of Venice, he connected Venetian architecture with Venetian piety. For his reply to the criticism, see *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 22 n., where he distinguishes (1) between decorative features which may reasonably be ascribed to sentiment and structural features which are presumably due to convenience, and (2) between the general spirit of a national architecture and "occasional efforts of superstition."]

to Heaven, as distinguished from the flattened slope of the Greek pediment, than the steep gable of a Norman house has, as distinguished from the flat roof of a Syrian one. We may now, with ingenious pleasure, trace such symbolic characters in the form; we may now use it with such definite meaning; but we only prevent ourselves from all right understanding of history, by attributing much influence to these poetical symbolisms in the formation of a national style. The human race are, for the most part, not to be moved by such silken cords; and the chances of damp in the cellar, or of loose tiles in the roof, have, unhappily, much more to do with the fashions of a man's house building than his ideas of celestial happiness or angelic virtue. Associations of affection have far higher power, and forms which can be no otherwise accounted for may often be explained by reference to the natural features of the country, or to anything which habit must have rendered familiar, and therefore delightful: but the direct symbolisation of a sentiment is a weak motive with all men, and far more so in the practical minds of the North than among the early Christians, who were assuredly quite as heavenly-minded, when they built basilicas, or cut conchas out of the catacombs, as were ever the Norman barons or monks.

§ 7. There is, however, in the North an animal activity which materially aided the system of building begun in mere utility,—an animal life, naturally expressed in erect work, as the languor of the South in reclining or level work.¹ Imagine the difference between the action of a man urging himself to his work in a snowstorm, and the action of one laid at his length on a sunny bank among cicadas and fallen olives, and you will have the key to a whole group of sympathies which were forcibly expressed in the architecture of both; remembering always that sleep would be to the one luxury, to the other death.

§ 8. And to the force of this vital instinct we have farther

¹ [Cf. *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vi. § 75.]

to add the influence of natural scenery; and chiefly of the groups and wildernesses of the tree which is to the German mind what the olive or palm is to the Southern, the spruce fir.¹ The eye which has once been habituated to the continual serration of the pine forest, and to the multiplication of its infinite pinnacles, is not easily offended by the repetition of similar forms, nor easily satisfied by the simplicity of flat or massive outlines. Add to the influence of the pine, that of the poplar, more especially in the valleys of France; but think of the spruce chiefly, and meditate on the difference of feeling with which the Northman would be inspired by the frost-work wreathed upon its glittering point, and the Italian by the dark green depth of sunshine on the broad table of the stone pine,* (and consider by the way whether the spruce fir be a more heavenly-minded tree than those dark canopies of the Mediterranean isles).

§ 9. Circumstance and sentiment, therefore, aiding each other, the steep roof becomes generally adopted, and delighted in, throughout the North; and then, with the gradual exaggeration with which every pleasant idea is pursued by the human mind, it is raised into all manner of peaks, and points, and ridges; and pinnacle after pinnacle is added on its flanks, and the walls increased in height in proportion, until we get indeed a very sublime mass, but one which has no more principle of religious aspiration in it than a child's tower of cards. What is more, the desire to build high is complicated with the peculiar love of the grotesque † which is characteristic of the North, together with especial delight in multiplication

* I shall not be thought to have overrated the effect of forest scenery on the northern mind; but I was glad to hear a Spanish gentleman, the other day, describing, together with his own, the regret which the peasants in his neighbourhood had testified for the loss of a noble stone pine, one of the grandest in Spain, which its proprietor had suffered to be cut down for small gain. He said that the mere spot where it had grown was still popularly known as "El Pino."

† Appendix 8 [p. 426].

¹ [Ruskin's favourite tree: compare *Seven Lamps*, ch. iii. § 17, Vol. VIII. p. 124, and see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. vi. ch. ix. § 3.]

of small forms, as well as in exaggerated points of shade and energy, and a certain degree of consequent insensibility to perfect grace and quiet truthfulness; so that a Northern architect could not feel the beauty of the Elgin marbles, and there will always be (in those who have devoted themselves to this particular school) a certain incapacity to taste the finer characters of Greek art, or to understand Titian, Tintoret, or Raphael: whereas among the Italian Gothic workmen, this capacity was never lost, and Nino Pisano and Orcagna could have understood the Theseus in an instant, and would have received from it new life.¹ There can be no question that theirs was the greatest school, and carried out by the greatest men; and that while those who began with this school could perfectly well feel Rouen Cathedral, those who study the Northern Gothic remain in a narrowed field—one of small pinnacles, and dots, and crockets, and twitched faces—and cannot comprehend the meaning of a broad surface or a grand line. Nevertheless the Northern school is an admirable and delightful thing, but a lower thing than the Southern. The Gothic of the Ducal Palace of Venice is in harmony with all that is grand in all the world: that of the North is in harmony with the grotesque Northern spirit only.

§ 10. We are, however, beginning to lose sight of our roof structure in its spirit, and must return to our text. As the height of the walls increased, in sympathy with the rise of the roof, while their thickness remained the same, it became more and more necessary to support them by buttresses; but—and that is another point that the reader must specially note—it is not the steep roof mask which requires the buttress, but the vaulting beneath it; the roof mask being a mere wooden frame tied together by cross timbers, and in small buildings often put together on the ground, raised afterwards, and set on the walls like a hat, bearing vertically upon them; and farther, I believe in most cases the northern

¹ [For other references to the so-called “Theseus” of the British Museum as the standard of the Greek genius in sculpture, see note in Vol. IV. p. 119.]

vaulting requires its great array of external buttress, not so much from any peculiar boldness in its own forms, as from the greater comparative thinness and height of the walls, and more determined throwing of the whole weight of the roof on particular points. Now the connection of the interior framework (or true roof) with the buttress, at such points, is not visible to the spectators from without; but the relation of the roof mask to the top of the wall which it protects or from which it springs, is perfectly visible; and it is a point of so great importance in the effect of the building, that it will be well to make it a subject of distinct consideration in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ROOF CORNICE

§ 1. It will be remembered that in the Sixth Chapter we paused (§ 10) at the point where the addition of brackets to the ordinary wall cornice would have converted it into a structure proper for sustaining a roof. Now the wall cornice was treated throughout our enquiry (compare Chapter VII. § 5) as the capital of the wall, and as forming, by its concentration, the capital of the shaft. But we must not reason *back* from the capital to the cornice, and suppose that an extension of the principles of the capital to the whole length of the wall, will serve for the roof cornice; for all our conclusions respecting the capital were based on the supposition of its being adapted to carry considerable weight condensed on its abacus: but the roof cornice is, in most cases, required rather to project boldly than to carry weight; and arrangements are therefore to be adopted for it which will secure the projection of large surfaces without being calculated to resist extraordinary pressure. This object is obtained by the use of brackets at intervals, which are the peculiar distinction of the roof cornice.

§ 2. Roof cornices are generally to be divided into two great families: the first and simplest, those which are composed merely by the projection of the edge of the roof mask over the wall, sustained by such brackets or spurs as may be necessary; the second, those which provide a walk round the edge of the roof, and which require, therefore, some stronger support, as well as a considerable mass of building above or beside the roof mask, and a parapet. These two families we shall consider in succession.

§ 3. (1.) The Eaved Cornice. We may give it this name as represented in the simplest form by cottage eaves. It is used, however, in bold projection, both in North and South, and East; its use being, in the North, to throw the rain well away from the wall of the building; in the South, to give it shade; and it is ordinarily constructed of the ends of the timbers of the roof mask (with their tiles or shingles continued to the edge of the cornice) and sustained by spurs of timber. This is its most picturesque and natural form; not inconsistent with great splendour of architecture in the mediæval Italian domestic buildings, superb in its mass of cast shadow, and giving rich effect to the streets of Swiss towns, even when they have no other claim to interest. A farther value is given to it by its waterspouts, for in order to avoid loading it with weight of water in the gutter at the edge, where it would be a strain on the fastenings of the pipe, it has spouts of discharge at intervals of three or four feet,—rows of magnificent leaden or iron dragons' heads, full of delightful character, except to any person passing along the middle of the street in a heavy shower. I have had my share of their kindness in my time, but owe them no grudge; on the contrary, much gratitude for the delight of their fantastic outline on the calm blue sky, when they had no work to do but to open their iron mouths and pant in the sunshine.

§ 4. When, however, light is more valuable than shadow, or when the architecture of the wall is too fair to be concealed, it becomes necessary to draw the cornice into narrower limits; a change of considerable importance, in that it permits the gutter, instead of being of lead and hung to the edge of the cornice, to be of stone, and supported by brackets in the wall, these brackets becoming proper recipients of after decoration (and sometimes associated with the stone channels of discharge, called gargoyles, which belong, however, more properly to the other family of cornices). The most perfect and beautiful example of this kind of cornice is the Venetian, in which the rain from the tiles is received in a stone gutter,

supported by small brackets, delicately moulded, and having its outer lower edge decorated with the English dogtooth moulding, whose sharp zigzag mingles richly with the curved edges of the tiling. I know no cornice more beautiful in its extreme simplicity and serviceableness.¹

§ 5. The cornice of the Greek Doric is a condition of the same kind, in which, however, there are no brackets, but useless appendages hung to the bottom of the gutter (giving, however, some impression of support as seen from a distance), and decorated with stone symbolisms of raindrops. The brackets are not allowed, because they would interfere with the sculpture, which in this architecture is put beneath the cornice; and the overhanging form of the gutter is nothing more than a vast dripstone moulding, to keep the rain from such sculpture: its decoration of guttæ, seen in silver points against the shadow, is pretty in feeling, with a kind of continual refreshment and remembrance of rain in it; but the whole arrangement is awkward and meagre, and is only endurable when the eye is quickly drawn away from it to sculpture.

§ 6. In later cornices, invented for the Greek orders, and farther developed by the Romans, the bracket appears in true importance, though of barbarous and effeminate outline: and gorgeous decorations are applied to it, and to the various horizontal mouldings which it carries, some of them of great beauty, and of the highest value to the mediæval architects who imitated them. But a singularly gross mistake was made in the distribution of decoration on these rich cornices, (I do not know when first, nor does it matter to me or to the reader,) namely, the charging with ornament the under surface of the cornice between the brackets, that is to say, the exact piece of the whole edifice, from top to bottom, where ornament is least visible. I need hardly say much respecting the wisdom of this procedure, excusable only if the whole building were covered with ornament; but it is curious to see the way in which modern architects have copied it, even when they

¹ [Cf. *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. § 12.]

had little enough ornament to spare. For instance, I suppose few persons look at the Athenæum Clubhouse¹ without feeling vexed at the meagreness and meanness of the windows of the ground floor; if, however, they look up under the cornice, and have good eyes, they will perceive that the architect has reserved his decorations to put between the brackets; and by going up to the first floor and out on the gallery, they may succeed in obtaining some glimpses of the designs of the said decorations.

§ 7. Such as they are, or were, these cornices were soon considered essential parts of the “order” to which they belonged; and the same wisdom which endeavoured to fix the proportions of the orders, appointed also that no order should go without its cornice. The reader has probably heard of the architectural division of superstructure into architrave, frieze, and cornice; parts which have been appointed by great architects to all their work, in the same spirit in which great rhetoricians have ordained that every speech shall have an exordium, and narration, and peroration. The reader will do well to consider that it may be sometimes just as possible to carry a roof, and get rid of rain, without such an arrangement, as it is to tell a plain fact without an exordium or peroration: but he must very absolutely consider that the architectural peroration or cornice is strictly and sternly limited to the end of the wall’s speech,—that is, to the edge of the roof; and that it has nothing whatever to do with shafts nor the orders of them. And he will then be able fully to enjoy the farther ordinance of the late Roman and Renaissance architects, who, attaching it to the shaft as if it were part of its shadow, and having to employ their shafts often in places where they came not near the roof, forthwith cut the roof-cornice to pieces, and attached a bit of it to every column; thenceforward to be carried by the unhappy shaft wherever it went, in addition to any other work on which it might happen to be employed. I do not recollect among any living

¹ [For other references to the architecture of this clubhouse, built by Decimus Burton 1824–26, see below, p. 335, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 23.]

beings, except Renaissance architects, any instance of a parallel or comparable stupidity: but one can imagine a savage getting hold of a piece of one of our iron wire ropes, with its rings upon it at intervals to bind it together, and pulling the wires asunder to apply them to separate purposes; but imagining there was magic in the ring that bound them, and so cutting that to pieces also, and fastening a little bit of it to every wire.

§ 8. This much may serve us to know respecting the first family of wall cornices. The second is immeasurably more important, and includes the cornices of all the best buildings in the world. It has derived its best form from mediæval military architecture, which imperatively required two things; first, a parapet which should permit sight and offence, and afford defence at the same time; and secondly, a projection bold enough to enable the defenders to rake the bottom of the wall with falling bodies; a projection which, if the wall happened to slope inwards, required not to be small. The thoroughly magnificent forms of cornice thus developed by necessity in military buildings, were adopted, with more or less of boldness or distinctness, in domestic architecture, according to the temper of the times and the circumstances of the individual—decisively in the baron's house, imperfectly in the burgher's: gradually they found their way into ecclesiastical architecture, under wise modifications in the early cathedrals, with infinite absurdity in the imitations of them; diminishing in size as their original purpose sank into a decorative one, until we find battlements, two-and-a-quarter inches square, decorating the gates of the Philanthropic Society.¹

§ 9. There are, therefore, two distinct features in all cornices of this kind; first, the bracket, now become of enormous importance and of most serious practical service; the second, the parapet: and these two features we shall

¹ [The Industrial School of the Philanthropic Society for the Reformation of Criminal Boys, now removed to Red Hill, was for many years situated at 15 London Road, Southwark, near the Obelisk, and on Ruskin's route between Denmark Hill and London. The building is now demolished.]

consider in succession, and, in so doing, shall learn all that it is needful for us to know, not only respecting cornices, but respecting brackets in general, and balconies.

§ 10. (1.) The Bracket. In the simplest form of military cornice, the brackets are composed of two or more long stones, supporting each other in gradually increasing projection, with roughly rounded ends, Fig. 38, and the parapet is simply a low wall carried on the ends of these, leaving, of course, behind, or within it, a hole between each bracket for the convenient dejection of hot sand and lead. This form is best seen, I think, in the old Scotch castles: it is very grand, but has a giddy look, and one is afraid of the whole thing toppling off the wall. The next step was to deepen the brackets, so as to get them propped against a great depth of the main rampart, and to have the inner ends of the stones held by a greater weight of that main wall above; while small arches were thrown from bracket to bracket to carry the parapet wall more securely. This is the most perfect form of cornice, completely satisfying the eye of its security, giving full protection to the wall, and applicable to all architecture, the interstices between the brackets being filled up, when one does not want to throw boiling lead on anybody below, and the projection being always delightful, as giving greater command and view of the building, from its angles, to those walking on the rampart. And as, in military buildings, there were usually towers at the angles (round which the battlements swept) in order to flank the walls, so often, in the translation into civil or ecclesiastical architecture, a small turret remained at the angle, or a more bold projection of balcony, to give larger prospect to those upon the rampart. This cornice, perfect in all its parts, as arranged for ecclesiastical architecture, and exquisitely decorated, is the one employed in the Duomo of Florence and Campanile of Giotto, of



Fig. 38

which¹ I have already spoken as, I suppose, the most perfect architecture in the world.

§ 11. In less important positions and on smaller edifices, this cornice diminishes in size, while it retains its arrangement, and at last we find nothing but the spirit and form of it left; the real practical purpose having ceased, and arch, brackets, and all, being cut out of a single stone. Thus we find it used in early

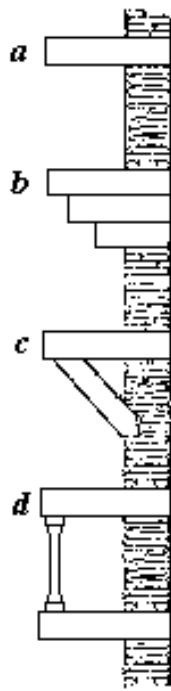


Fig. 39

buildings throughout the whole of the north and south of Europe, in forms sufficiently represented by the two examples in Plate 4: 1, from St. Antonio, Padua; 2, from Sens in France.

§ 12. I wish, however, at present to fix the reader's attention on the form of the bracket itself; a most important feature in modern as well as ancient architecture. The first idea of a bracket is that of a long stone or piece of timber projecting from the wall, as *a*, Fig. 39, of which the strength depends on the toughness of the stone or wood, and the stability on the weight of wall above it (unless it be the end of a main beam). But let it be supposed that the structure at *a*, being of the required projection, is found too weak: then we may strengthen it in one of three ways; (1) by putting a second or third stone beneath it, as at *b*; (2) by giving it a spur, as at *c*; (3) by giving it a shaft and another bracket below, *d*;

the great use of this arrangement being that the lowermost bracket has the help of the weight of the shaft length of wall above its insertion, which is, of course, greater than the weight of the small shaft: and then the lower bracket may be farther helped by the structure at *b* or *c*.

§ 13. Of these structures, *a* and *c* are evidently adapted especially for wooden buildings; *b* and *d* for stone ones; the last, of course, susceptible of the richest decoration, and

¹ [*i.e.*, of the Campanile: see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 43 (Vol. VIII. p. 187).]

superbly employed in the cornice of the cathedral of Monza:¹ but all are beautiful in their way, and are the means of, I think, nearly half the picturesqueness and power of mediæval building; the forms *b* and *c* being, of course, the most frequent: *a*, when it occurs, being usually rounded off, as at *a*, Fig. 40; *d*, also, as in Fig. 38, or else itself composed of a single stone cut into the form of the group *b* in Fig. 40, or plain, as at *c*, which is also the proper form of the brick bracket, when stone is not to be had. The reader will at once perceive that the form *d* is a barbarism (unless when the scale is small and the weight to be carried exceedingly light): it is of course, therefore, a favourite form with the Renaissance architects; and its introduction is one of the first corruptions of the Venetian architecture.

§ 14. There is one point necessary to be noticed, though bearing on decoration more than construction, before we leave the subject of the bracket. The whole power of the construction depends upon the stones being well *let into* the wall; and the first function of the decoration should be to give the idea of this insertion, if possible; at all events, not to contradict this idea. If the reader will glance at any of the brackets used in the ordinary architecture of London, he will find them of some such character as Fig. 41; not a bad form in itself, but exquisitely absurd in its curling lines, which give the idea of some writhing suspended tendril instead of a stiff support, and by their careful avoidance of the wall make the bracket look pinned on, and in constant danger of sliding down. This is, also, a Classical and Renaissance decoration.

§ 15. (2.) The Parapet. Its forms are fixed in military architecture by the necessities of the art of war at the time of building, and are always beautiful wherever they have been really thus fixed; delightful in the variety of their

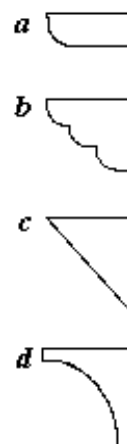


Fig. 40



Fig. 41

¹ [For this cathedral, see above, p. 123 *n.*]

setting, and in the quaint darkness of their shot-holes, and fantastic changes of elevation and outline. Nothing is more remarkable than the swiftly discerned difference between the masculine irregularity of such true battlements, and the formal pitifulness of those which are set on modern buildings to give them a military air,—as on the jail at Edinburgh.

§ 16. Respecting the parapet for mere safeguard upon buildings not military, there are just two fixed laws. It should be pierced, otherwise it is not recognised from below for a parapet at all, and it should not be in the form of a battlement, especially in church architecture.

The most comfortable heading of a true parapet is a plain level on which the arm can be rested,¹ and along which it can glide. Any jags or elevations are disagreeable; the latter, as interrupting the view and disturbing the eye, if they are higher than the arm, the former, as opening some aspect of danger if they are much lower, and the inconvenience, therefore, of the battlemented form, as well as the worse than absurdity, the bad feeling, of the appliance of a military feature to a church, ought long ago to have determined its rejection. Still (for the question of its picturesque value is here so closely connected with that of its practical use, that it is vain to endeavour to discuss it separately,) there is a certain agreeableness in the way in which the jagged outline dovetails the shadow of the slated or leaded roof into the top of the wall, which may make the use of the battlement excusable where there is a difficulty in managing some unvaried line, and where the expense of a pierced parapet cannot be encountered: but remember always, that the value of the battlement consists in its letting shadow into the light of the wall, or *vice versâ*, when it comes against light sky, letting the light of the sky into the shade of the wall; but that the actual outline of the parapet itself, if the eye be arrested upon this, instead of upon the alteration of shadow, is as *ugly* a succession of line as can by any possibility be invented. Therefore, the

¹ [Cf. *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. § 16, where parapets of this kind are illustrated from the Gothic palaces.]

battlemented parapet may only be used where this alteration of shade is certain to be shown, under nearly all conditions of effect; and where the lines to be dealt with are on a scale which may admit battlements of bold and manly size. The idea that a battlement is an ornament anywhere, and that a miserable and diminutive imitation of castellated outline will always serve to fill up blanks and Gothicise unmanageable spaces, is one of the great idiocies of the present day. A battlement is in its origin a piece of wall large enough to cover a man's body, and however it may be decorated, or pierced, or finessed away into traceries, as long as so much of its outline is retained as to suggest its origin, so long its size must remain undiminished. To crown a turret six feet high with chopped battlements three inches wide, is children's Gothic; it is one of the paltry falsehoods for which there is no excuse, and part of the system of using models of architecture to decorate architecture, which we shall hereafter note¹ as one of the chief and most destructive follies of the Renaissance;* and in the present day the practice may be classed as one which distinguishes the architects of whom there is no hope, who have neither eye nor head for their work, and who must pass their lives in vain struggles against the refractory lines of their own buildings.

§ 17. As the only excuse for the battlemented parapet is its alternation of shadow, so the only fault of the natural or level parapet is its monotony of line. This is, however, in practice, almost always broken by the pinnacles of the

* Not of Renaissance alone: the practice of modelling buildings on a minute scale for niches and tabernacle-work has always been more or less admitted, and I suppose *authority* for diminutive battlements might be gathered from the Gothic of almost every period, as well as for many other faults and mistakes: no Gothic school having ever been thoroughly systematised or perfected, even in its best times. But that a mistaken decoration sometimes occurs among a crowd of noble ones, is no more an excuse for the habitual—far less, the exclusive—use of such a decoration, than the accidental or seeming misconstructions of a Greek chorus are an excuse for a schoolboy's ungrammatical exercise.

¹ [See below, ch. xx. §§ 10, 11, pp. 259, 260.]

buttresses, and if not, may be varied by the tracery of its penetrations. The forms of these evidently admit every kind of change; for a stone parapet, however pierced, is sure to be strong enough for its purpose of protection, and, as regards the strength of the building in general, the lighter it is the better. More fantastic forms may, therefore, be admitted in a parapet than in any other architectural feature, and for most services, the Flamboyant parapets seem to me preferable to all others; especially when the leaden roofs set off by points of darkness the lace-like intricacy of penetration. These, however, as well as the forms usually given to Renaissance balustrades (of which, by the bye, the best piece of criticism I know is the sketch in *David Copperfield* of the personal appearance of the man who stole Jip),¹ and the other and finer forms invented by Paul Veronese in his architectural backgrounds, together with the pure columnar balustrade of Venice, must be considered as altogether decorative features.

§ 18. So also are, of course, the jagged or crown-like finishings of walls employed where no real parapet of protection is desired; originating in the defences of outworks and single walls: these are used much in the East on walls surrounding unroofed courts. The richest examples of such decoration are Arabian; and from Cairo they seem to have been brought to Venice. It is probable that few of my readers, however familiar the general form of the Ducal Palace may have been rendered to them by innumerable drawings, have any distinct idea of its roof, owing to the staying of the eye on its superb parapet, of which we shall give an account hereafter.² In most of the Venetian cases the parapets which surround roofing are very sufficient for protection, except that the stones of which they are composed appear loose and infirm: but their purpose is entirely

¹ ["Man to be identified by broad nose, and legs like balustrades of bridge" (ch. xxxviii.). Ruskin, it will be seen, read every book by Dickens as it came out (*cf.* Vol. I. p. xlix., III. pp. 347, 571); *David Copperfield* was published in 1850, when Ruskin was writing this volume. See another reference to "Jip" in Appendix 8, p. 429, below.]

² [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. §§ 12–14.]

decorative; every wall, whether detached or roofed, being indiscriminately fringed with Arabic forms of parapet, more or less Gothicised, according to the lateness of their date.

I think there is no other point of importance requiring illustration respecting the roof itself, or its cornice; but this Venetian form of ornamental parapet connects itself curiously, at the angles of nearly all the buildings on which it occurs, with the pinnacled system of the North, founded on the structure of the buttress. This, it will be remembered, is to be the subject of the fifth division of our enquiry.

CHAPTER XV

THE BUTTRESS

§ 1. WE have hitherto supposed ourselves concerned with the support of vertical pressure only; and the arch and roof have been considered as forms of abstract strength, without reference to the means by which their lateral pressure was to be resisted. Few readers will need now to be reminded, that every arch or gable not tied at its base by beams or bars, exercises a lateral pressure upon the walls which sustain it,—pressure which may, indeed, be met and sustained by increasing the thickness of the wall or vertical piers, and which is in reality thus met in most Italian buildings, but may, with less expenditure of material, and with (perhaps) more graceful effect, be met by some particular application of the provisions against lateral pressure called Buttresses. These, therefore, we are next to examine.

§ 2. Buttresses are of many kinds, according to the character and direction of the lateral forces they are intended to resist. But their first broad division is into buttresses which meet and break the force before it arrives at the wall, and buttresses which stand on the lee side of the wall and prop it against the force.

The lateral forces which walls have to sustain are of three distinct kinds: dead weight, as of masonry or still water; moving weight, as of wind or running water; and sudden concussion, as of earthquakes, explosions, etc.

(1.) Clearly, dead weight can only be resisted by the buttress acting as a prop; for a buttress on a side of, or towards the weight, would only add to its effect. This, then, forms the first great class of buttressed architecture; lateral thrusts of roofing or arches being met by props of masonry

outside—the thrust from within, the prop without; or the crushing force of water on a ship's side met by its cross timbers—the thrust here from without the wall, the prop within.

(2.) Moving weight may, of course, be resisted by the prop on the lee side of the wall, but is often more effectually met, on the side which is attacked, by buttresses of peculiar forms, cunning buttresses, which do not attempt to sustain the weight, but *parry* it, and throw it off in directions clear of the wall.

(3.) Concussions and vibratory motion, though in reality only supported by the prop buttress, must be provided for by buttresses on both sides of the wall, as their direction cannot be foreseen, and is continually changing.

We shall briefly glance at these three systems of buttressing; but the two latter, being of small importance to our present purpose, may as well be dismissed first.

§ 3. (1.) Buttresses for guard against moving weight, set, therefore, towards the weight they resist.

The most familiar instance of this kind of buttress we have in the sharp piers of a bridge in the centre of a powerful stream, which divide the current on their edges, and throw it to each side under the arches. A ship's bow is a buttress of the same kind, and so also the ridge of a breastplate, both adding to the strength of it in resisting a cross blow, and giving a better chance of a bullet glancing aside. In Switzerland, projecting buttresses of this kind are often built round churches, heading up hill, to divide and throw off the avalanches. The various forms given to piers and harbour quays, and to the bases of lighthouses, in order to meet the force of the waves, are all conditions of this kind of buttress. But in works of ornamental architecture such buttresses are of rare occurrence; and I merely name them in order to mark their place in our architectural system, since in the investigation of our present subject we shall not meet with a single example of them, unless sometimes the angle of the foundation of a palace against the sweep of the tide, or

the wooden piers of some canal bridge quivering in its current.

§ 4. (2.) Buttresses for guard against vibratory motion.

The whole formation of this kind of buttress resolves itself into mere expansion of the base of the wall, so as to make it stand steadier, as a man stands with his feet apart when he is likely to lose his balance. The approach to a pyramidal form is also of great use as a guard against the action of artillery; that if a stone or tier of stones be battered out of the lower portions of the wall, the whole upper part may not topple over or crumble down at once. Various forms of this buttress, sometimes applied to particular points of the wall, sometimes forming a great sloping rampart along its base, are frequent in buildings of countries exposed to earthquake. They give a peculiarly heavy outline to much of the architecture of the kingdom of Naples,¹ and they are of the form in which strength and solidity are first naturally sought, in the slope of the Egyptian wall. The base of Guy's Tower at Warwick is a singularly bold example of their military use; and so, in general, bastion and rampart profiles, where, however, the object of stability against a shock is complicated with that of sustaining weight of earth in the rampart behind.

§ 5. (3.) Prop buttresses against dead weight.

This is the group with which we have principally to do; and a buttress of the kind acts in two ways, partly by its weight and partly by its strength. It acts by its weight when its mass is so great that the weight it sustains cannot stir it, but is lost upon it, buried in it, and annihilated: neither the shape of such a buttress nor the cohesion of its materials is of much consequence: a heap of stones or sandbags laid up against the wall will answer as well as a built and cemented mass.

But a buttress acting by its strength is not of mass sufficient to resist the weight by mere inertia; but it conveys

¹ [See on the point *The Poetry of Architecture*, §§ 138–142, Vol. I. pp. 108–112.]

the weight through its body to something else which is so capable; as for instance, a man leaning against a door with his hands, and propping himself against the ground, conveys the force which would open or close the door against him through his body to the ground. A buttress acting in this way must be of perfectly coherent materials, and so strong that though the weight to be borne could easily move it, it cannot break it; this kind of buttress may be called a conducting buttress. Practically, however, the two modes of action are always in some sort united. Again, the weight to be borne may either act generally on the whole wall surface, or with excessive energy on particular points: when it acts on the whole wall surface, the whole wall is generally supported; and the arrangement becomes a continuous rampart, as a dyke, or bank of reservoir.

§ 6. It is, however, very seldom that lateral force in architecture is equally distributed. In most cases the weight of the roof, or the force of any lateral thrust, is more or less confined to certain points and directions. In an early state of architectural science this definiteness of direction is not yet clear, and it is met by uncertain application of mass or strength in the buttress, sometimes by mere thickening of the wall into square piers, which are partly piers, partly buttresses, as in Norman keeps and towers. But as science advances, the weight to be borne is designedly and decisively thrown upon certain points; the direction and degree of the forces which are then received are exactly calculated, and met by conducting buttresses of the smallest possible dimensions; themselves, in their turn, supported by vertical buttresses acting by weight, and these, perhaps, in their turn, by another set of conducting buttresses: so that, in the best examples of such arrangements, the weight to be borne may be considered as the shock of an electric fluid, which, by a hundred different rods and channels, is divided and carried away into the ground.

§ 7. In order to give greater weight to the vertical buttress piers which sustain the conducting buttresses, they are loaded

with pinnacles, which, however, are, I believe, in all the buildings in which they become very prominent, merely decorative: they are of some use, indeed, by their weight; but if this were all for which they were put there, a few cubic feet of lead would much more securely answer the purpose, without any danger from exposure to wind. If the reader likes to ask any Gothic architect with whom he may happen to be acquainted, to substitute a lump of lead for his pinnacles, he will see by the expression of the face how far he considers the pinnacles decorative members. In the work which seems to me the great type of simple and masculine buttress structure, the apse of Beauvais,¹ the pinnacles are altogether insignificant, and are evidently added just as exclusively to entertain the eye and lighten the aspect of the buttress, as the slight shafts which are set on its angles; while² in other very noble Gothic buildings the pinnacles are introduced as niches for statues, without any reference to construction at all; and sometimes even, as in the tomb of Can Signorio at Verona,³ on small piers detached from the main building.

§ 8. I believe, therefore, that the development of the pinnacle is merely a part of the general erectness and picturesqueness of northern work above alluded to;⁴ and that, if there had been no other place for the pinnacles, the Gothic builders would have put them on the tops of their arches (they often *did* on the tops of gables and pediments), rather than not have had them; but the natural position of the pinnacle is, of course, where it adds to, rather than diminishes, the stability of the building; that is to say, on its main wall-piers and the vertical piers of the buttresses. And thus the edifice is surrounded at last by a complete company of

¹ [See *Seven Lamps*, ch. ii. § 7 (Vol. VIII. p. 62) for another reference to the construction of this apse as an "achievement of the bolder Gothic."]

² [The MS. here is longer:-

"; while in the buildings in which the pinnacle attains its greatest height and richest decoration, as in Milan, the buttress structure is surrendered, and the Italian system adopted in the walls: and in other very noble buildings the pinnacles are introduced. . ."]

³ [Drawings by Ruskin of this tomb are given as illustrations to *Verona and its Rivers* in a later volume of this edition.]

⁴ [Ch. xiii. § 9 above, p. 187.]

detached piers and pinnacles, each sustaining the inclined prop against the central wall, and looking something like a band of giants holding it up with the butts of their lances. This arrangement would imply the loss of an enormous space of ground, but the intervals of the buttresses are usually walled in below, and form minor chapels.

§ 9. The science of this arrangement has made it the subject of much enthusiastic declamation among the Gothic architects,¹ almost as unreasonable, in some respects, as the declamation of the Renaissance architects respecting Greek structure. The fact is, that the whole northern buttress-system

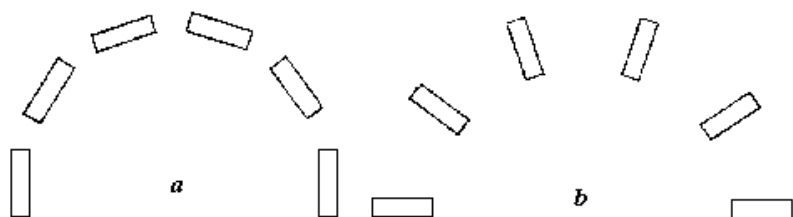


Fig. 42

is based on the grand requirement of tall windows and vast masses of light at the end of the apse. In order to gain this quantity of light, the piers between the windows are diminished in thickness until they are far too weak to bear the roof, and then sustained by external buttresses. In the Italian method the light is rather dreaded than desired, and the wall is made wide enough between the windows to bear the roof, and so left. In fact, the simplest expression of the difference in the systems is, that a northern apse is a southern one with its inter-fenestral piers set edgewise. Thus, *a*, Fig. 42, is the general idea of the southern apse; take it to pieces, and set all its piers edgewise, as at *b*, and you have the northern one. You gain much light for the interior, but you cut the exterior to pieces, and instead of a bold rounded or polygonal surface, ready for any kind of

¹ [See, for instance, Pugin's *Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, Lecture i.]

decoration, you have a series of dark and damp cells, which no device that I have yet seen has succeeded in decorating in a perfectly satisfactory manner. If the system be farther carried, and a second or third order of buttresses be added, the real fact is that we have a building standing on two or three rows of concentric piers, with the *roof off* the whole of it except the central circle, and only ribs left, to carry the weight of the bit of remaining roof in the middle; and after the eye has been accustomed to the bold and simple rounding of the Italian apse, the skeleton character of the disposition is painfully felt. After spending some months in Venice, I thought Bourges Cathedral looked exactly like a half-built ship on its shores.¹ It is useless, however, to dispute respecting the merits of the two systems: both are noble in their place; the northern decidedly the most scientific, or at least involving the greatest display of science, the Italian the calmest and purest; this having in it the sublimity of a calm heaven or a windless noon, the other that of a mountain flank tormented by the north wind, and withering into grisly furrows of alternate chasm and crag.

§ 10. If I have succeeded in making the reader understand the veritable action of the buttress, he will have no

¹ [Ruskin stayed at Bourges in 1850 on his way home from his winter at Venice. His impressions on revisiting Bourges are thus noted in the diary:—

“BOURGES, 10th April.—I feel more and more as I compare this wonderful Gothic with the Italian, how natural and inevitable would be the prejudice of either nation in favour of their own; how, in each country, the powers of invention and fancy have existed in an almost equal development; how, wherever these exist, coupled with general greatness of mind and religious faith, a great architecture exists which it is utterly futile to condemn or criticise because it is not in this rule or in that, because it is not classical in its mouldings, or vertical in its structure; how, wherever fancy fails and affectation and infidelity appear, mean architecture follows—be it in France, Italy, or Germany. This is the leading point I must develope.”

And in a note added to a previous description of Lyons Cathedral, he says:—

(The apse of Lyons) “is marvellously harsh and meagre. As compared either with the apse of the Frari, or of St. John and Paul, so with the lovely Romanesque apses of Verona, it is like the pasteboard Gothic of a bazaar and well shows the superiority of the buttress to the pier, when the former is the least contracted or undecorated. I felt this still more at Bourges, where the perfectly undecorated flying buttresses have exactly the look of shores set to support a ship.”

For other notes from the diary on Bourges, see above, p. 70, and below, p. 263.]

difficulty in determining its fittest form. He has to deal with two distinct kinds: one, a narrow vertical pier, acting principally by its weight, and crowned by a pinnacle; the other, commonly called a Flying buttress, a cross bar set from such a pier (when detached from the building) against the main wall. This latter, then, is to be considered as a mere prop or shore, and its use by the Gothic architects might be illustrated by the supposition that we were to build all our houses with walls too thin to stand without wooden props outside, and then to substitute stone props for wooden ones. I have some doubts of the real dignity of such a proceeding, but at all events the merit of the form of the flying buttress depends on its faithfully and visibly performing this somewhat humble office; it is, therefore, in its purity, a mere sloping bar of stone, with an arch beneath it to carry its weight, that is to say, to prevent the action of gravity from in anywise deflecting it, or causing it to break downwards under the lateral thrust; it is thus found quite simple in Notre Dame of Paris, and in the Cathedral of Beauvais, while at Cologne the sloping bars are pierced with quatrefoils, and at Amiens with traceried arches. Both seem to me effeminate and false in principle; not, of course, that there is any occasion to make the flying buttress heavy, if a light one will answer the purpose; but it seems as if some security were sacrificed to ornament. At Amiens the arrangement is now seen to great disadvantage, for the early traceries have been replaced by base flamboyant ones, utterly weak and despicable. Of the degradations of the original form which took place in after times, I have spoken in Chap. II. § 8 of the *Seven Lamps*.¹

§ 11. The form of the common buttress must be familiar to the eye of every reader, sloping if low, and thrown into successive steps if they are to be carried to any considerable height. There is much dignity in them when they are of essential service; but, even in their best examples, their awkward angles are among the least manageable features of the

¹ [Vol. VIII. p. 64.]
IX.

Northern Gothic, and the whole organisation of its system was destroyed by their unnecessary and lavish application on a diminished scale; until the buttress became actually confused with the shaft, and we find strangely crystallised masses of diminutive buttress applied, for merely vertical support, in the Northern tabernacle-work; while in some recent copies of it the principle has been so far distorted that the tiny buttressings look as if they carried the superstructure on the points of their pinnacles, as in the Cranmer memorial at Oxford.¹ Indeed, in most modern Gothic, the architects evidently consider buttresses as convenient breaks of blank surface, and general apologies for deadness of wall. They stand in the place of ideas, and I think are supposed also to have something of the odour of sanctity about them; otherwise one hardly sees why a warehouse seventy feet high should have nothing of the kind, and a chapel, which one can just get into with one's hat off, should have a bunch of them at every corner; and worse than this, they are even thought ornamental when they can be of no possible use; and these stupid penthouse outlines are forced upon the eye in every species of decoration; in some of our modern chapels I have actually seen² a couple of buttresses at the end of every pew.

§ 12. It is almost impossible, in consequence of these unwise repetitions of it, to contemplate the buttress without some degree of prejudice; and I look upon it as one of the most justifiable causes of the unfortunate aversion with which many of our best architects regard the whole Gothic school. It may, however, always be regarded with respect, when its form is simple and its service clear; but no treason to Gothic can be greater than the use of it in indolence or vanity, to enhance the intricacies of structure, or occupy the vacuities of design.

¹ [The "Martyrs" Memorial," built to commemorate the burning of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, was erected in 1851. The design by Sir Gilbert Scott is an imitation of the Eleanor Crosses.]

² [Ed. 1 reads: "in St. Margaret's Chapel, West St., there are actually a couple . . ." The reference was presumably a mistake, for the chapel thus named cannot be identified, and in ed. 2 the passage was altered as in the text.]

CHAPTER XVI

FORM OF APERTURE

§ 1. WE have now, in order, examined the means of raising walls and sustaining roofs, and we have finally to consider the structure of the necessary apertures in the wall veil, the door and window, respecting which there are three main points to be considered.

- (1.) The form of the aperture, *i.e.*, its outline, its size, and the forms of its sides.
- (2.) The filling of the aperture, *i.e.*, valves and glass, and their holdings.
- (3.) The protection of the aperture, and its appliances, *i.e.*, canopies, porches, and balconies. We shall examine these in succession.

§ 2. (1.) The form of the aperture: and first of doors. We will, for the present, leave out of the question doors and gates in unroofed walls, the forms of these being very arbitrary, and confine ourselves to the consideration of doors of entrance into roofed buildings. Such doors will, for the most part, be at, or near, the base of the building; except when raised for purposes of defence, as in the old Scotch border towers, and our own Martello towers, or, as in Switzerland, to permit access in deep snow, or when stairs are carried up outside the house for convenience or magnificence. But in most cases, whether high or low, a door may be assumed to be considerably lower than the apartments or buildings into which it gives admission, and therefore to have some height of wall above it, whose weight must be carried by the heading of the door. It is clear, therefore, that the best heading must be an arch, because the strongest, and that a square-headed door

must be wrong, unless under Mont-Cenisian masonry;¹ or else, unless the top of the door be the roof of the building, as in low cottages. And a square-headed door is just so much more wrong and ugly than a connection of main shafts by lintels, as the weight of wall above the door is likely to be greater than that above the main shafts. Thus, while I admit the Greek general forms of temple to be admirable in their kind, I think the Greek door always offensive and unmanageable.

§ 3. We have it also determined by necessity that the apertures shall be at least above a man's height, with perpendicular sides (for sloping sides are evidently unnecessary, and even inconvenient, therefore absurd,) and level threshold; and this aperture we at present suppose simply cut through the wall without any bevelling of the jambs. Such a door, wide enough for two persons to pass each other easily, and with such fillings or valves as we may hereafter find expedient, may be fit enough for any building into which entrance is required neither often, nor by many persons at a time. But when entrance and egress are constant, or required by crowds, certain further modifications must take place.

§ 4. When entrance and egress are constant, it may be supposed that the valves will be absent or unfastened,—that people will be passing more quickly than when the entrance and egress are unfrequent, and that the square angles of the wall will be inconvenient to such quick passers through. It is evident, therefore, that what would be done in time, for themselves, by the passing multitude, should be done for them at once by the architect; and that these angles, which would be worn away by friction, should at once be bevelled off, or, as it is called, splayed, and the most contracted part of the aperture made as short as possible, so that the plan of the entrance should become as at *a*, Fig. 43.

§ 5. Farther. As persons on the outside may often approach the door or depart from it, *beside* the building, so

¹ [For the meaning of this phrase, here adopted for brevity, see above, p. 164. In the MS. Ruskin had first written, "unless either it is in comparison of the mass of the wall, a mere mousehole whose vacuity in nowise disturbs the continuity and holding of the great stones; or else . . ."]

as to turn aside as they enter or leave the door, and therefore touch its jamb, but, on the inside, will in almost every case approach the door or depart from it in the direct line of the entrance (people generally walking *forward* when they enter a hall, court, or chamber of any kind, and being forced to do so when they enter a passage), it is evident that the bevelling may be very slight on the inside, but should be large on the outside, so that the plan of the aperture should become as at *b*, Fig. 43. Farther, as the bevelled wall cannot conveniently carry an unbevelled arch, the door arch must be bevelled also, and the aperture, seen from the outside, will have somewhat the aspect of a small cavern diminishing towards the interior.

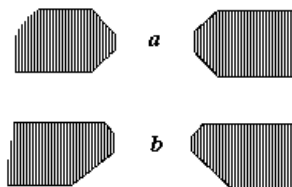


Fig. 43

§ 6. If, however, beside frequent entrance, entrance is required for multitudes at the same time, the size of the aperture either must be increased, or other apertures must be introduced. It may, in some buildings, be optional with the architect whether he shall give many small doors, or few large ones; and in some, as theatres, amphitheatres, and other places where the crowd are apt to be impatient, many doors are by far the best arrangement of the two. Often, however, the purposes of the building, as when it is to be entered by processions, or where the crowd must usually enter in one direction, require the large single entrance; and (for here again the æsthetic and structural laws cannot be separated,) the expression and harmony of the building require, in nearly every case, an entrance of largeness proportioned to the multitude which is to meet within. Nothing is more unseemly than that a great multitude should find its way out and in, as ants and wasps do, through holes; and nothing more undignified than the paltry doors of many of our English cathedrals,¹ which look as if they were made, not for

¹ [Compare on this point *Seven Lamps*, ch. iii. § 24 (Vol. VIII. p. 136), where “the pitiful pigeon-holes which stand for doors in the west front of Salisbury” are likened to “the entrances to a beehive or wasp’s nest.”]

the open egress, but for the surreptitious drainage of a stagnant congregation. Besides, the expression of the church door should lead us, as far as possible, to desire at least the western entrance to be single, partly because no man of right feeling would willingly lose the idea of unity and fellowship in going up to worship, which is suggested by the vast single entrance; partly because it is at the entrance that the most serious words of the building are always addressed, by its sculptures or inscriptions, to the worshipper;¹ and it is well that these words should be spoken to all at once, as by one great voice, not broken up into weak repetitions over minor doors.

In practice, the matter has been, I suppose, regulated almost altogether by convenience, the western doors being single in small churches, while in the larger the entrances become three or five, the central door remaining always principal, in consequence of the fine sense of composition which the mediæval builders never lost. These arrangements have formed the noblest buildings in the world. Yet it is worth observing* how perfect in its simplicity the single entrance may become, when it is treated as in the Duomo and St. Zeno of Verona, and other such early Lombard churches, having noble porches, and rich sculptures grouped around the entrance.

§ 7. However, whether the entrances be single, triple, or

* And worth questioning, also, whether the triple porch has not been associated with Romanist views of the mediatorship; the Redeemer being represented as presiding over the central door only, and the lateral entrances being under the protection of saints, while the Madonna almost always has one or both of the transepts.² But it would be wrong to press this, for, in nine cases out of ten, the architect has been merely influenced in his placing of the statues by an artist's desire of variety in their forms and dress; and very naturally prefers putting a canonization over one door, a martyrdom over another, and an assumption over a third, to repeating a crucifixion or a judgment above all. The architect's doctrine is only, therefore, to be noted with indisputable reprobation when the Madonna gets possession of the main door.

¹ [Compare in the next volume (ch. iv. § 67), in the account of St. Mark's, the description of the door as the type of baptism.]

² [See, for instance, the account of "the Madonna's porch" in *The Bible of Amiens*, ch. iv.]

manifold, it is a constant law that one shall be principal, and all shall be of size in some degree proportioned to that of the building. And this size is of course chiefly to be expressed in width, that being the only useful dimension in a door (except for pageantry, chairing of bishops and waving of banners, and other such vanities, not, I hope, after this century, much to be regarded in the building of Christian temples); but though the width is the only necessary dimension, it is well to increase the height also in some proportion to it, in order that there may be less weight of wall above, resting on the increased span of the arch. This is, however, so much the necessary result of the broad curve of the arch itself, that there is no structural necessity of elevating the jamb; and I believe that beautiful entrances might be made of every span of arch, retaining the jamb at little more than a man's height, until the sweep of the curves became so vast that the small vertical line became a part of them, and one entered into the temple as under a great rainbow.

§ 8. On the other hand, the jamb *may* be elevated indefinitely, so that the increasing entrance retains *at least* the proportion of width it had originally: say 4 ft. by 7 ft. 5 in. But a less proportion of width than this has always a meagre, inhospitable, and ungainly look, except in military architecture, where the narrowness of the entrance is necessary, and its height adds to its grandeur, as between the entrance towers of our British castles. This law however, observe, applies only to true doors, not to the arches of porches, which may be of any proportion, as of any number, being in fact intercolumniations, not doors; as in the noble example of the west front of Peterborough, which, in spite of the destructive absurdity of its central arch being the narrowest, would still, if the paltry porter's lodge or gatehouse, or turnpike, or whatever it is, were knocked out of the middle of it, be the noblest west front in England.¹

¹ [For Ruskin's admiration of Peterborough Cathedral, see again *Letters to a College Friend* in Vol. I. p. 447; *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 18; and *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xx. § 23.]

§ 9. Farther, and finally. In proportion to the height and size of the building, and therefore to the size of its doors, will be the thickness of its walls, especially at the foundation, that is to say, beside the doors; and also in proportion to the numbers of a crowd will be the unruliness and pressure of it. Hence, partly in necessity and partly in prudence, the splaying or chamfering of the jamb of the larger door will be deepened, and, if possible, made at a larger angle for the large door than for the small one; so that the large door will always be encompassed by a visible breadth of jamb proportioned to its own magnitude. The decorative value of this feature we shall see hereafter.¹

§ 10. The second kind of apertures we have to examine are those of windows.

Window apertures are mainly of two kinds; those for outlook, and those for inlet of light, many being for both purposes, and either purpose, or both, combined in military architecture with those of offence and defence. But all window apertures, as compared with door apertures, have almost infinite license of form and size; they may be of any shape, from the slit or cross slit to the circle;* of any size, from the loophole of the castle to the pillars of light of the cathedral apse. Yet, according to their place and purpose, one or two laws of fitness hold respecting them, which let us examine in the two classes of windows successively, but without reference to military architecture, which here, as before, we may dismiss as a subject of separate science; only noticing that windows, like all other features, are always delightful, if not beautiful, when their position and shape have indeed been thus necessarily determined, and that many of their most picturesque forms have resulted

* The arch heading is indeed the best where there is much incumbent weight, but a window frequently has very little weight above it, especially when placed high, and the arched form loses light in a low room: therefore the square-headed window is admissible where the square-headed door is not.

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. Appendix 10.]

from the requirements of war. We should also find in military architecture the typical forms of the two classes of outlet and inlet windows in their utmost development; the greatest sweep of sight and range of shot on the one hand, and the fullest entry of light and air on the other, being constantly required at the smallest possible apertures. Our business, however, is to reason out the laws for ourselves, not to take the examples as we find them.

§ 11. (1.) Outlook apertures. For these no general outline is determinable by the necessities or conveniences of outlook, except only that the bottom or sill of the windows, at whatever height, should be horizontal, for the convenience of leaning on it, or standing on it if the window be to the ground. The form of the upper part of the window is quite immaterial, for all windows allow a greater range of sight when they are *approached*, than that of the eye itself: it is the approachability of the window, that is to say, the annihilation of the thickness of the wall, which is the real point to be attended to. If, therefore, the aperture be inaccessible, or so small that the thickness of the wall cannot be entered, the wall is to be bevelled* on the outside, so as to increase the range of sight as far as possible; if the aperture can be entered, then bevelled from the point to which entrance is possible. The bevelling will, if possible, be in every direction, that is to say, upwards at the top, outwards at the sides, and downwards at the bottom, but essentially *downwards*; the earth and the doings upon it being the chief object in outlook windows except of observatories; and where the object is a distinct and special view downwards, it will be of advantage to shelter the eye as far as possible from the rays of light coming from above, and the head of the window may be left horizontal, or even the whole aperture sloped outwards, as the slit in a letter-box is inwards.

* I do not like the sound of the word "splayed;" I always shall use "bevelled" instead.

The best windows for outlook are, of course, oriels and bow windows, but these are not to be considered under the head of apertures merely; they are either balconies roofed and glazed, and to be considered under the head of external appliances, or they are each a storey of an external semi-tower, having true aperture windows on each side of it.

§ 12. (2.) Inlet windows. These windows may, of course, be of any shape and size whatever, according to the other necessities of the building, and the quantity and direction of light desired, their purpose being now to throw it in streams on particular lines or spots; now to diffuse it everywhere; sometimes to introduce it in broad masses, tempered in strength, as in the cathedral coloured window; sometimes in starry showers of scattered brilliancy, like the apertures in the roof of an Arabian bath: perhaps the most beautiful of all forms being the rose, which has in it the unity of both characters, and sympathy with that of the source of light itself. It is noticeable, however, that while both the circle and pointed oval are beautiful



window forms, it would be very painful to cut either of them in half and connect them by vertical lines, as in Fig. 44. The reason is, I believe, that so treated, the upper arch is not considered as connected with the lower, and forming an entire figure, but as the ordinary arch roof of the aperture, and the lower arch as an arch *floor*, equally unnecessary and unnatural. Also, the elliptical oval is generally an unsatisfactory form, because it gives the idea of useless trouble in building it, though it occurs quaintly and pleasantly in the dormer windows of France: I believe it is also objectionable because it has an indeterminate, slippery look, like that of a bubble rising through a fluid. It, and all elongated forms, are still more objectionable placed horizontally, because this is the weakest position they can structurally have; that is to say, less light is admitted, with greater loss of strength to the building, than by any other form. If admissible anywhere, it is for the sake of variety at the top of the building, as

the flat parallelogram sometimes not ungracefully in Italian Renaissance.

§ 13. The question of bevelling becomes a little more complicated in the inlet than the outlook window, because the mass or quantity of light admitted is often of more consequence than its direction, and often *vice versâ*; and the outlook window is supposed to be approachable, which is far from being always the case with windows for light, so that the bevelling which in the outlook window is chiefly to open range of sight, is in the inlet a means not only of admitting the light in greater quantity, but of directing it to the spot on which it is to fall. But, in general, the bevelling of the one window will reverse that of the other; for, first, no natural light will strike on the inlet window from beneath, unless reflected light, which is (I believe) injurious to the health and the sight; and thus, while in the outlook window the outside bevel downwards is essential, in the inlet it would be useless: and the still is to be flat, if the window be on a level with the spot it is to light; and sloped downwards within, if above it. Again, as the brightest rays of light are the steepest, the outside bevel upwards is as essential in the roof of the inlet as it was of small importance in that of the outlook window.

§ 14. On the horizontal section the aperture will expand internally, a somewhat larger number of rays being thus reflected from the jambs; and the aperture being thus the smallest possible outside, this is the favourite military form of inlet window, always found in magnificent development in the thick walls of mediæval castles and convents. Its effect is tranquil, but cheerless and dungeon-like in its fullest development, owing to the limitation of the range of sight in the outlook, which, if the window be unapproachable, reduces it to a mere point of light. A modified condition of it, with some combination of the outlook form, is probably the best for domestic buildings in general (which, however, in modern architecture, are unhappily so thin walled, that the outline of the jambs becomes a matter almost of indifference),

it being generally noticeable that the depth of recess which I have observed to be essential to nobility of external effect has also a certain dignity of expression, as appearing to be intended rather to admit light to persons quietly occupied in their homes, than to stimulate or favour the curiosity of idleness.

CHAPTER XVII

FILLING OF APERTURE

§ 1. THUS far we have been concerned with the outline only of the aperture: we were next, it will be remembered, to consider the necessary modes of filling it with valves in the case of the door, or with glass or tracery in that of the window.

(1.) Filling of doors. We concluded, in the previous chapter, that doors in buildings of any importance or size should have headings in the form of an arch. This is, however, the most inconvenient form we could choose, as respects the fitting of the valves of the doorway; for the arch-shaped head of the valves not only requires considerable nicety in fitting to the arch, but adds largely to the weight of the door,—a double disadvantage, straining the hinges and making it cumbersome in opening. And this inconvenience is so much perceived by the eye, that a door-valve with a pointed head is always a disagreeable object. It becomes, therefore, a matter of true necessity so to arrange the doorway as to admit of its being fitted with rectangular valves.

§ 2. Now, in determining the form of the aperture, we supposed the jamb of the door to be of the utmost height required for entrance. The extra height of the arch is unnecessary as an opening, the arch being required for its strength only, not for its elevation. There is, therefore, no reason why it should not be barred across by a horizontal lintel, into which the valves may be fitted, and the triangular or semicircular arched space above the lintel may then be permanently closed, as we choose, either with bars, or glass, or stone.

This is the form of all good doors, without exception, over the whole world and in all ages, and no other can ever be invented.¹

§ 3. In the simplest doors the cross lintel is of wood only, and glass or bars occupy the space above, a very frequent form in Venice. In more elaborate doors the cross lintel is of stone, and the filling sometimes of brick, sometimes of stone, very often a grand single stone being used to close the entire space: the space thus filled is called the Tympanum. In large doors the cross lintel is too long to bear the great incumbent weight of this stone filling without support; it is, therefore, carried by a pier in the centre; and two valves are used, fitted to the rectangular spaces on each side of the pier. In the most elaborate examples of this condition, each of these secondary doorways has an arch heading, a cross lintel, and a triangular filling or tympanum of its own, all subordinated to the main arch above.

§ 4. (2.) Fillings of windows.²

When windows are large, and to be filled with glass, the sheet of glass, however constructed, whether of large panes or small fragments, requires the support of bars of some kind, either of wood, metal, or stone. Wood is inapplicable on a large scale, owing to its destructibility; very fit for door-valves, which can be easily refitted, and in which weight would be an inconvenience, but very unfit for window-bars, which, if they decayed, might let the whole window be blown in before their decay was observed, and in which weight would be an advantage, as offering more resistance to the wind.

Iron is, however, fit for window-bars, and there seems no constructive reason why we should not have iron trceries, as well as iron pillars, iron churches, and iron steeples. But I have, in the *Seven Lamps*, given reasons for not considering such structures as architecture at all.³

¹ [For illustrations, see Plate 11 in *Examples of Venetian Architecture* (Vol. XI).]

² [On this subject, compare *Val d' Arno*, § 156.]

³ [See Vol. VIII. p. 66.]

The window-bars must, therefore, be of stone, and of stone only.

§ 5. The purpose of the window being always to let in as much light, and command as much view, as possible, these bars of stones are to be made as slender and as few as they can be, consistently with their due strength.

Let it be required to support the breadth of glass, $a b$, Fig. 45. The tendency of the glass sustaining any force, as of wind from without, is to bend into an arch inwards, in the dotted line, and break in the centre. It is to be supported, therefore, by the bar put in its centre, c .

But this central bar, c , may not be enough, and the spaces $a c$, $c b$, may still need support. The next step will be to put two bars instead of one, and divide the window into three spaces, as at d .

But this may still not be enough, and the window may need three bars. Now the greatest stress is always on the centre of the window. If the three bars are equal in strength, as at e , the central bar is either too slight for its work, or the lateral bars too thick for theirs. Therefore, we must slightly increase the thickness of the central bar, and diminish that of the lateral ones, so as to obtain the arrangement at $f h$. If the window enlarge farther, each of the spaces $f g$, $g h$, is treated as the original space $a b$, and we have the groups of bars k and l .

So that, whatever the shape of the window, whatever the direction and number of the bars, there are to be central or main bars; second bars subordinated to them; third bars subordinated to the second, and so on to the number required. This is called the subordination of tracery, a system delightful to the eye and mind, owing to its anatomical framing and unity, and to its expression of the laws of good

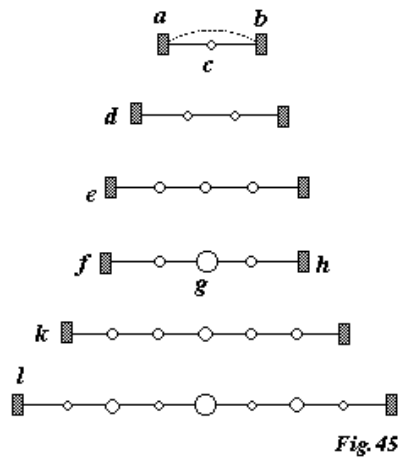


Fig. 45

government in all fragile and unstable things. All tracery, therefore, which is not subordinated, is barbarous, in so far as this part of its structure is concerned.

§ 6. The next question will be the direction of the bars. The reader will understand at once, without any laborious proof, that a given area of glass, supported by its edges, is stronger in its resistance to violence when it is arranged in a long strip or band than in a square; and that, therefore, glass is generally to be arranged, especially in windows on a large scale, in oblong areas: and if the bars so dividing it be placed horizontally, they will have less power of supporting themselves, and will need to be thicker in consequence, than if placed vertically. As far, therefore, as the form of the window permits, they are to be vertical.

§ 7. But even when so placed, they cannot be trusted to support themselves beyond a certain height, but will need cross bars to steady them. Cross bars of stone are, therefore, to be introduced at necessary intervals, not to divide the glass, but to support the upright stone bars. The glass is always to be divided longitudinally as far as possible, and the upright bars which divide it supported at proper intervals. However high the window, it is almost impossible that it should require more than two cross bars.

§ 8. It may sometimes happen that when tall windows are placed very close to each other for the sake of more light, the masonry between them may stand in need, or at least be the better of, some additional support. The cross bars of the windows may then be thickened, in order to bond the intermediate piers more strongly together, and if this thickness appear ungainly, it may be modified by decoration.

§ 9. We have thus arrived at the idea of a vertical framework of subordinated bars, supported by cross bars at the necessary intervals, and the only remaining question is the method of insertion into the aperture. Whatever its form, if we merely let the ends of the bars into the voussoirs of its heading, the least settlement of the masonry would

distort the arch, or push up some of its voussoirs, or break the window bars, or push them aside. Evidently our object should be to connect the window bars among themselves, so framing them together that they may give the utmost possible degree of support to the whole window head in case of any settlement. But we know how to do this already: our window bars are nothing but small shafts. Capital them: throw small arches across between the smaller bars, large arches over them between the larger bars, one comprehensive arch over the whole, or else a horizontal lintel, if the window have a flat head; and we have a complete system of mutual support, independent of the aperture head, and yet assisting to sustain it, if need be. But we want the spandrels of this arch system to be themselves as light, and to let as much light through them, as possible; and we know already how to pierce them (Chap. XII. § 7). We pierce them with circles; and we have, if the circles are small and the stonework strong, the traceries of Giotto and the Pisan school; if the circles are as large as possible and the bars slender, those which I have already figured and described as the only perfect traceries of the Northern Gothic.* The varieties of their design arise partly from the different size of window and consequent number of bars; partly from the different heights of their pointed arches, as well as the various positions of the window head in relation to the roof, rendering one or another arrangement better for dividing the light; and partly from æsthetic and expressional requirements, which, within certain limits, may be allowed a very important influence: for the strength of the bars is ordinarily so much greater than is absolutely necessary, that some portion of it may be gracefully sacrificed to the attainment of variety in the plans of tracery—a variety which, even within its severest limits, is perfectly endless; more especially in the pointed arch, the proportion of the tracery being in the round arch necessarily more fixed.

* *Seven Lamps*, II. § 21. [Vol. VIII. p. 88, and compare *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vi. § 97.]

§ 10. The circular window furnishes an exception to the common law, that the bars shall be vertical through the greater part of their length: for if they were so, they could neither have secure perpendicular footing, nor secure heading, their thrust being perpendicular to the curve of the voussoirs only in the centre of the window; therefore, a small circle, like the axle of a wheel, is put into the centre of the window, large enough to give footing to the necessary number of radiating bars: and the bars are arranged as spokes, being all of course properly capitalled and arch-headed. This is the best form of tracery for circular windows, naturally enough called wheel windows when so filled.

§ 11. Now, I wish the reader especially to observe that we have arrived at these forms of perfect Gothic tracery without the smallest reference to any practice of any school, or to any law of authority whatever. They are forms having essentially nothing whatever to do either with Goths or Greeks. They are eternal forms, based on laws of gravity and cohesion; and no better, nor any others so good, will ever be invented, so long as the present laws of gravity and cohesion subsist.

§ 12. It does not at all follow that this group of forms owes its origin to any such course of reasoning as that which has now led us to it. On the contrary, there is not the smallest doubt that tracery began, partly in the grouping of windows together (subsequently enclosed within a large arch*), and partly in the fantastic penetrations of a single slab of stone under the arch, as the circle in Plate 5 above.¹ The perfect form seems to have been accidentally struck in

* On the north side of the nave of the cathedral of Lyons² there is an early French window, presenting one of the usual groups of foliated arches and circles, left, as it were, loose, without any enclosing curve. The effect is very painful. This remarkable window is associated with others of the common form.

¹ [For a discussion of the origin of tracery, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. ii. § 21 (Vol. VIII. p. 87).]

² [Ruskin studied the cathedral of Lyons on his way back from Venice in April 1850; see below, p. 432.]

passing from experiment on the one side, to affectation on the other; and it was so far from ever becoming systematised, that I am aware of no type of tracery for which a *less* decided preference is shown in the buildings in which it exists. The early pierced traceries are multitudinous and perfect in their kind,—the late Flamboyant, luxuriant in detail, and lavish in quantity,—but the perfect forms exist in comparatively few churches, generally in portions of the church only; and are always connected, and that closely, either with the massy forms out of which they have emerged, or with the enervated types into which they are instantly to degenerate.

§ 13. Nor indeed are we to look upon them as in all points superior to the more ancient examples. We have above conducted our reasoning entirely on the supposition that a single aperture is given, which it is the object to fill with glass, diminishing the power of the light as little as possible. But there are many cases, as in triforium and cloister lights, in which glazing is not required; in which, therefore, the bars, if there be any, must have some more important function than that of merely holding glass, and in which their actual use is to give steadiness and *tone*, as it were, to the arches and walls above and beside them; or to give the idea of protection to those who pass along the triforium, and of seclusion to those who walk in the cloister. Much thicker shafts, and more massy arches, may be properly employed in work of this kind; and many groups of such tracery will be found resolvable into true colonnades, with the arches in pairs, or in triple or quadruple groups, and with small rosettes pierced above them for light. All this is just as *right* in its place, as the glass tracery is in its own function, and often much more grand. But the same indulgence is not to be shown to the affectations which succeeded the developed forms. Of these there are three principal conditions:¹ the Flamboyant of France, the Stump tracery of Germany, and the Perpendicular of England.

¹ [For general references to the first of these conditions of “affectation” (the French Flamboyant), see above, ch. viii. § 30, p. 134, and compare *Seven Lamps*, ch. ii. § 24 and *n.* (Vol. VIII. p. 92). For Ruskin’s dislike of the English Perpendicular, see

§ 14. Of these the first arose, by the most delicate and natural transitions, out of the perfect school. It was an endeavour to introduce more grace into its lines, and more change into its combinations; and the æsthetic results are so beautiful that for some time after the right road had been left, the aberration was more to be admired than regretted. The final conditions became fantastic and effeminate, but, in the country where they had been invented, never lost their peculiar grace until they were replaced by the Renaissance. The copies of the school in England and Italy have all its faults and none of its beauties; in France, whatever it lost in method or in majesty, it gained in fantasy; literally Flamboyant, it breathed away its strength into the air; but there is not more difference between the commonest doggerel that ever broke prose into unintelligibility, and the burning mystery of Coleridge,¹ or spirituality of Elizabeth Barrett,² than there is between the dissolute dulness of English Flamboyant, and the flaming undulations of the wreathed lines of delicate stone, that confuse themselves with the clouds of every morning sky that brightens above the valley of the Seine.³

below, § 16 and ch. xxi. § 29, p. 303; *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 108; and *Val d' Arno*, § 140. By "the Stump Tracery of Germany" Ruskin means the intersectional system, described below (§ 15) and more fully in *Seven Lamps* (Vol. VIII. pp. 94–98), with its stumpy and truncated forms. The term was invented by Willis: "The After Gothic of Germany has tracery in which the ribs are made to pass through each other, and are then abruptly cut off. This may be called Stump Tracery."—(*Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 1835, p. 61.)]

¹ [For Ruskin's appreciation of Coleridge, see Vol. IV. p. 391, and *cf.* Vol. VIII. pp. 249, 271.]

² [For other instances of Ruskin's admiration for Mrs. Browning's poetry, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vi. § 77 *n.*; *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvi. § 10; *A Joy for Ever*, § 78 *n.*; *Elements of Drawing*, § 258. Mrs. Browning, on her side, was an appreciative, though critical, reader of the first two volumes of *Modern Painters* (see Vol. III. p. xxxviii.). It was in the year following the publication of the present volume that Ruskin made her acquaintance (see Introduction to next volume).]

³ [The variations in the MS. may here be given as an instance of Ruskin's careful consideration of his words. Thus, he first wrote "dreariest doggerel," but afterwards sacrificed the alliteration (owing, no doubt, to the two *d*'s below); for "spirituality of Elizabeth Barrett," he first wrote (*a*) "the wild, bright spirituality," then (*b*) "bright spirituality," and next (*c*) "disembodied spirituality." For "dissolute dulness," he first wrote "the dull, unbalanced, purposeless dissoluteness and stupidity;" for "flaming undulations," "undulating threads;" and for the last words of the passage, "that confuse themselves in light with the interwoven clouds of the morning sky when they form above the valley of Seine."]

§ 15. The second group of traceries, the intersectional or German group, may be considered as including the entire range of the absurd forms which were invented in order to display dexterity in stone-cutting and ingenuity in construction. They express the peculiar character of the German mind, which cuts the frame of every truth joint from joint, in order to prove the edge of its instruments; and, in all cases, prefers a new or a strange thought to a good one, and a subtle thought to a useful one. The point and value of the German tracery consists principally in turning the features of good traceries upside down, and cutting them in two where they are properly continuous. To destroy at once foundation and membership, and suspend everything in the air, keeping out of sight, as far as possible, the evidences of a beginning and the probabilities of an end, are the main objects of German architecture, as of modern German divinity.¹

§ 16. This school has, however, at least the merit of ingenuity. Not so the English Perpendicular, though a very curious school also in *its* way. In the course of the reasoning which led us to the determination of the perfect Gothic tracery, we were induced successively to reject certain methods of arrangement as weak, dangerous, or disagreeable. Collect all these together, and practise them at once, and you have the English Perpendicular.

As thus. You find, in the first place (§ 5), that your tracery bars are to be subordinated, less to greater; so you take a group of, suppose, eight, which you make all exactly equal, giving you nine equal spaces in the window, as at A, Fig. 46. You found, in the second place (§ 7), that there was no occasion for more than two cross bars; so you take at least four or five (also represented at A, Fig. 46), also carefully equalised, and set at equal spaces. You found, in the third place (§ 8), that these bars were to be strengthened, in order to support the main piers; you will therefore cut

¹ [See Vol. IV. p. 57 *n.*]

the ends off the uppermost, and the fourth into three pieces (as also at A). In the fourth place, you found (§ 9) that you were never to run a vertical bar into the arch head; so you run them all into it (as at B, Fig. 46): and this last arrangement will be useful in two ways, for it will not only expose both the bars and the archivolt to an apparent probability of every species of dislocation at any moment, but it will provide you with two pleasing interstices at the flanks, in the shape of carving knives, *a, b*, which, by throwing

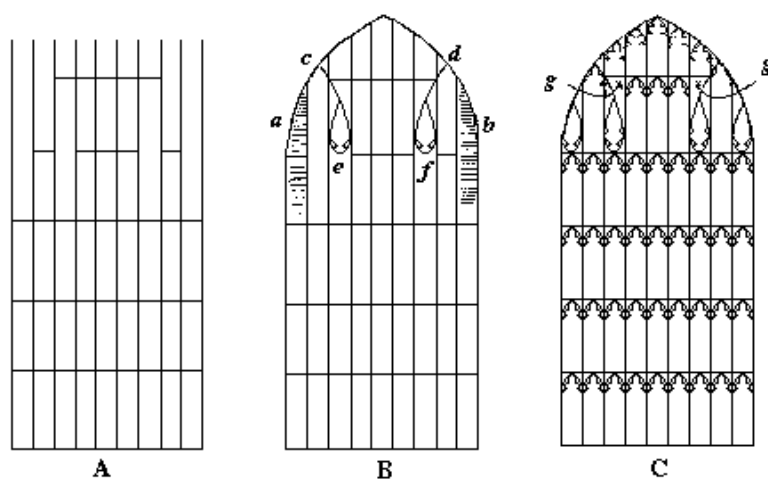


Fig. 46

across the curves *c, d*, you may easily multiply into four; and these, as you can put nothing into their sharp tops, will afford you a more than usually rational excuse for a little bit of Germanism, in filling them with arches upside down, *e, f*. You will now have left at your disposal two and forty similar interstices, which, for the sake of variety, you will proceed to fill with two and forty similar arches: and, as you were told that the moment a bar received an arch heading, it was to be treated as a shaft and capitalled, you will take care to give your bars no capitals nor bases, but to run bars, foliations and all, well into each other,

after the fashion of cast-iron, as at C. You have still two triangular spaces occurring in an important part of your window, *g g*, which, as they are very conspicuous, and you cannot make them uglier than they are, you will do wisely to let alone:—and you will now have the west window of the cathedral of Winchester,¹ a very perfect example of English Perpendicular. Nor do I think that you can, on the whole, better the arrangement, unless, perhaps, by adding buttresses to some of the bars, as is done in the cathedral of Gloucester; these buttresses having the double advantage of darkening the window when seen from within, and suggesting, when it is seen from without, the idea of its being divided by two stout party walls, with a heavy thrust against the glass.

§ 17. Thus far we have considered the plan of the tracery only: we have lastly to note the conditions under which the glass is to be attached to the bars; and the sections of the bars themselves.

These bars we have seen, in the perfect form, are to become shafts; but, supposing the object to be the admission of as much light as possible, it is clear that the thickness of the bar ought to be chiefly in the depth of the window, and that by increasing the depth of the bar we may diminish its breadth: clearly, therefore, we should employ the double group of shafts, *b* of Fig. 14, setting it edgewise in the window: but as the glass would then come between the two shafts, we must add a member into which it is to be fitted, as at *a*, Fig. 47, and uniting these three members together in the simplest way with a curved instead of a sharp recess behind the shafts, we have the section *b*, the perfect, but simplest, type of the main tracery bars in good Gothic. In triforium and cloister tracery, which has no glass to hold, the central member is omitted, and we have either the pure



Fig. 47

¹ [For other references to Winchester Cathedral, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 188 n.; *St. Mark's Rest*, § 21.]

double shaft, always the most graceful, or a single and more massy shaft, which is the simpler and more usual form.

§ 18. Finally: there is an intermediate arrangement between the glazed and the open tracery, that of the domestic traceries of Venice. Peculiar conditions, hereafter to be described, require the shafts of these traceries to become the main vertical supports of the floors and walls. Their thickness is therefore enormous; and yet free egress is required between them (into balconies), which is obtained by doors in their lattice glazing. To prevent the inconvenience and ugliness of driving the hinges and fastenings of them into the shafts, and having the play of the doors in the intervals, the entire glazing is thrown behind the pillars, and attached to their abaci and bases with iron. It is thus securely sustained by their massy bulk, and leaves their symmetry and shade undisturbed.

§ 19. The depth at which the glass should be placed in windows without traceries will generally be fixed by the forms of their bevelling, the glass occupying the narrowest interval: but when its position is not thus fixed, as in many London houses, it is to be remembered that the deeper the glass is set (the wall being of given thickness), the more light will enter, and the clearer the prospect will be to a person sitting quietly in the centre of the room; on the contrary, the farther out the glass is set, the more convenient the window will be for a person rising and looking out of it. The one, therefore, is an arrangement for the idle and curious, who care only about what is going on upon the earth: the other for those who are willing to remain at rest, so that they have free admission of the light of Heaven. This might be noted as a curious expressional reason for the necessity (of which no man of ordinary feeling would doubt for a moment) of a deep recess in the window, on the outside, to all good or architectural effect: still, as there is no reason why people should be made idle by having it in their power to look out of window; and as the slight increase of light or clearness

of view in the centre of a room is more than balanced by the loss of space and the greater chill of the nearer glass and outside air, we can, I fear, allege no other structural reason for the picturesque external recess, than the expediency of a certain degree of protection, for the glass, from the brightest glare of sunshine, and heaviest rush of rain.

CHAPTER XVIII

PROTECTION OF APERTURE

§ 1. WE have hitherto considered the aperture as merely pierced in the thickness of the walls; and when its masonry is simple, and the fillings of the aperture are unimportant, it may well remain so. But when the fillings are delicate and of value, as in the case of coloured glass, finely wrought tracery, or sculpture, such as we shall often find occupying the tympanum of doorways, some protection becomes necessary against the run of the rain down the walls, and back by the bevel of the aperture to the joints or surface of the fillings.

§ 2. The first and simplest mode of obtaining this is by channelling the jambs and arch head; and this is the chief practical service of aperture mouldings, which are otherwise entirely decorative. But as this very decorative character renders them unfit to be made channels for rain water, it is well to add some external roofing to the aperture, which may protect it from the run of all the rain, except that which necessarily beats into its own area. This protection, in its most usual form, is a mere dripstone moulding carried over or round the head of the aperture. But this is, in reality, only a contracted form of a true *roof*, projecting from the wall over the aperture; and all protections of apertures whatsoever are to be conceived as portions of small roofs, attached to the wall behind; and supported by it, so long as their scale admits of their being so with safety, and afterwards in such manner as may be most expedient. The proper forms of these, and modes of their support, are to be the subject of our final inquiry.

§ 3. Respecting their proper form we need not stay long

in doubt. A steep gable is evidently the best for throwing off rain; even a low gable being better than a high arch. Flat roofs, therefore, may only be used when the nature of the building renders the gable unsightly; as when there is not room for it between the stories; or when the object is rather shade than protection from rain, as often in verandahs and balconies. But for general service the gable is the proper and natural form, and may be taken as representative of the rest. Then this gable may either project unsupported from the wall, *a*, Fig. 48; or be carried by brackets or spurs, *b*; or by walls or shafts, *c*, which shafts or walls may themselves be, in windows, carried on a sill; and this, in its turn, supported by brackets or spurs. We shall glance at the applications of each of these forms in order.

§ 4. There is not much variety in the case of the first, *a*, Fig. 48. In the Cumberland and border cottages the door is generally protected by two pieces of slate arranged in a gable, giving the purest possible type of the first form. In elaborate architecture such a projection hardly ever occurs, and in large architecture cannot with safety occur, without brackets; but by cutting away the greater part of the projection, we shall arrive at the idea of a plain gabled cornice, of which a perfect example will be found in Plate VII. of the folio series. With this first complete form we may associate the rude, single, projecting, penthouse roof; imperfect, because either it must be level and the water lodge lazily upon it, or throw off the drip upon the persons entering.

§ 5. (2.) *b*, Fig. 48. This is a most beautiful and natural type, and is found in all good architecture, from the highest to the most humble: it is a frequent form of cottage door, more especially when carried on spurs, being of peculiarly easy construction in wood: as applied to large architecture, it can



Fig. 48

evidently be built, in its boldest and simplest form, either of wood only, or on a scale which will admit of its sides being each a single slab of stone. If so large as to require jointed masonry, the gabled sides will evidently require support, and an arch must be thrown across under them, as in Fig. 49, from Fiesole.

If we cut the projection gradually down, we arrive at the common Gothic gable dripstone carried on small brackets, carved into bosses, heads, or some other ornamental form; the

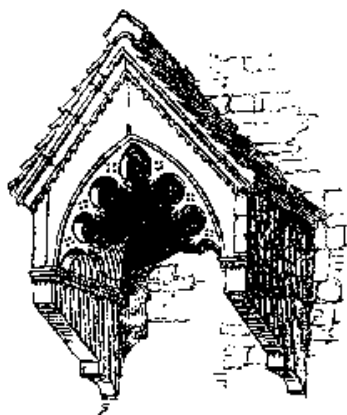


Fig. 49

sub-arch in such case being useless, is removed, or coincides with the arch head of the aperture.

§ 6. (3.) *c*, Fig. 48. Substituting walls or pillars for the brackets, we may carry the projection as far out as we choose, and form the perfect porch, either of the cottage or village church, or of the cathedral. As we enlarge the structure, however, certain modifications of form become

necessary, owing to the increased boldness of the required supporting arch. For, as the lower lines of the gable roof and of the arch cannot coincide, we have necessarily above the shafts one of the two forms *a* or *b*, in Fig. 50, of which the latter is clearly the best, requiring less masonry and shorter roofing; and when the arch becomes so large as to cause a heavy lateral thrust, it may become necessary to provide for its farther safety by pinnacles, *c*.

This last is the perfect type of aperture protection. None other can ever be invented so good. It is that once employed by Giotto in the cathedral of Florence, and torn down by the proveditore, Benedetto Ugucione, to erect a Renaissance front instead;¹ and another such has been destroyed, not long

¹ [It now appears that the façade usually attributed to Giotto was not commenced till twenty years after his death, and was the joint composition of several artists—of Orcagna and Taddeo Gaddi, among the number. In 1558 it was destroyed by

since, in Venice, the porch of the church of St. Apollinare, also to put up some Renaissance upholstery: for Renaissance, as if it were not nuisance enough in the mere fact of its own existence, appears invariably as a beast of prey, and founds itself on the ruin of all that is best and noblest. Many such porches, however, happily still exist in Italy, and are among its principal glories.

§ 7. When porches of this kind, carried by walls, are placed close together, as in cases where there are many and large entrances to a cathedral front, they would, in their general form, leave deep and uncomfortable intervals, in which damp would lodge and grass grow; and there would

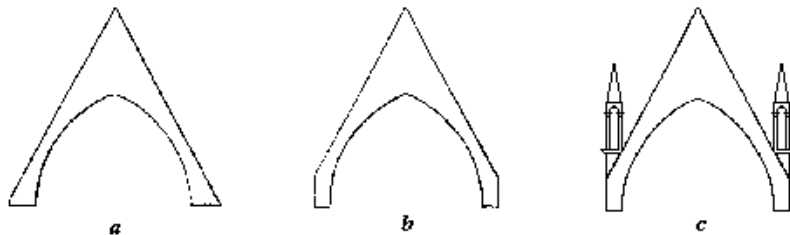


Fig. 50

be a painful feeling in approaching the door in the midst of a crowd, as if some of them might miss the real doors, and be driven into the intervals, and embayed there. Clearly it will be a natural and right expedient, in such cases, to open the walls of the porch wider, so that they may correspond in slope, or nearly so, with the bevel of the doorway, and either meet each other in the intervals, or have the said intervals closed up with an intermediate wall, so that nobody may get

Uguccione, the superintendent of the building, for the purpose, as he stated, of re-erecting it in the then modern style; "so eager was he to effect the demolition, that, instead of detaching the precious marbles, which might have been employed again, the facing was plucked off so rudely and hastily that, according to a contemporary, not a slab or column was left entire." In 1636 another façade was begun, but the works were suspended, and so remained until 1887. A careful pencil drawing of what is called Giotto's façade, and which may have been built from his designs, is in the Opera del Duomo, and it may also be seen in the background of a lunette in the convent of S. Marco.]

embayed in them. The porches will thus be united, and form one range of great open gulfs or caverns, ready to receive all comers, and direct the current of the crowd into the narrower entrances. As the lateral thrust of the arches is now met by each other, the pinnacles, if there were any, must be removed, and waterspouts placed between each arch to discharge the double drainage of the gables. This is the form of all the noble northern porches, without exception, best represented by that of Rheims.¹

§ 8. Contracted conditions of the pinnacled porch are beautifully used in the doors of the cathedral of Florence; and the entire arrangement, in its most perfect form, as adapted to window protection and decoration, is applied by Giotto with inconceivable exquisiteness in the windows of the campanile; those of the cathedral itself being all of the same type. Various singular and delightful conditions of it are applied in Italian domestic architecture (in the Broletto of Monza² very quaintly), being associated with balconies for speaking to the people, and passing into pulpits. In the north we glaze the sides of such projections, and they become bow-windows, the shape of roofing being then nearly immaterial and very fantastic, often a conical cap. All these conditions of window protection, being for real service, are endlessly delightful (and I believe the beauty of the balcony, protected by an open canopy supported by light shafts, never yet to have been properly worked out). But the Renaissance architects destroyed all of them, and introduced the magnificent and witty Roman invention of a model of the Greek pediment, with its cornices of monstrous thickness, bracketed up above the window. The horizontal cornice of the pediment is thus useless, and of course, therefore, retained; the protection to the head of the window being constructed on the principle of a hat with its crown sewn up. But the deep and dark triangular cavity thus obtained affords farther opportunity

¹ [For the porch of Rheims Cathedral, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 136; see also "A Tour through France" in the early Poems, Vol. II. pp. 401-2.]

² [This town-hall of Italian Gothic is supposed to have been part of the palace of Frederick Barbarossa.]

for putting ornament out of sight, of which the Renaissance architects are not slow to avail themselves.

A more rational condition is the complete pediment with a couple of shafts, or pilasters, carried on a bracketed sill; and the windows of this kind, which have been well designed, are perhaps the best things which the Renaissance schools have produced: those of Whitehall are, in their way, exceedingly beautiful; and those of the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence, in their simplicity and sublimity, are scarcely unworthy of their reputed designer, Michael Angelo.¹

¹ [Cf. *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 14, Vol. VIII. p. 153 and *n.*, for another reference to Michael Angelo's windows in that Palace.]

CHAPTER XIX

SUPERIMPOSITION

§ 1. THE reader has now some knowledge of every feature of all possible architecture. Whatever the nature of the building which may be submitted to his criticism, if it be an edifice at all, if it be anything else than a mere heap of stones, like a pyramid or breakwater, or than a large stone hewn into shape, like an obelisk, it will be instantly and easily resolvable into some of the parts which we have been hitherto considering: its pinnacles will separate themselves into their small shafts and roofs; its supporting members into shafts and arches, or walls penetrated by apertures of various shape, and supported by various kinds of buttresses. Respecting each of these several features I am certain that the reader feels himself prepared, by understanding their plain function, to form something like a reasonable and definite judgment whether they be good or bad; and this right judgment of parts will, in most cases, lead him to just reverence or condemnation of the whole.

§ 2. The various modes in which these parts are capable of combination, and the merits of buildings of different form and expression, are evidently not reducible into lists, nor to be estimated by general laws. The nobility of each building depends on its special fitness for its own purposes; and these purposes vary with every climate, every soil, and every national custom: nay, there were never, probably, two edifices erected in which some accidental difference of condition did not require some difference of plan or of structure; so that, respecting plan and distribution of parts, I do not hope to collect any universal law of right; but there are a few points necessary to be noticed respecting the means by which height is attained in

buildings of various plans, and the expediency and methods of superimposition of one story or tier of architecture above another.

§ 3. For, in the preceding inquiry, I have always supposed either that a single shaft would reach to the top of the building, or that the farther height required might be added in plain wall above the heads of the arches; whereas it may often be rather expedient to complete the entire lower series of arches, or finish the lower wall, with a bold stringcourse or cornice, and build another series of shafts, or another wall, on the top of it.

§ 4. This superimposition is seen in its simplest form in the interior shafts of a Greek temple; and it has been largely used in nearly all countries where buildings have been meant for real service. Outcry has often been raised against it, but the thing is so sternly necessary that it has always forced itself into acceptance; and it would, therefore, be merely losing time to refute the arguments of those who have attempted its disparagement. Thus far, however, they have reason on their side, that if a building can be kept in one grand mass, without sacrificing either its visible or real adaptation to its objects, it is not well to divide it into stories until it has reached proportions too large to be justly measured by the eye. It ought then to be divided in order to mark its bulk; and decorative divisions are often possible, which rather increase than destroy the expression of general unity.

§ 5. Superimposition, wisely practised, is of two kinds, directly contrary to each other, of weight on lightness, and of lightness on weight; while the superimposition of weight on weight, or lightness on lightness, is nearly always wrong.

(1.) Weight on lightness; I do not say weight on *weakness*. The superimposition of the human body on its limbs I call weight on lightness; the superimposition of the branches on a tree trunk I call lightness on weight: in both cases the support is fully adequate to the work, the form of support being regulated by the differences of requirement. Nothing in architecture is half so painful as the apparent want of

sufficient support when the weight above is visibly passive; for all buildings are not passive; some seem to rise by their own strength, or float by their own buoyancy; a dome requires no visibility of support, one fancies it supported by the air. But passive architecture without help for its passiveness is unendurable. In a lately built house, No. 86, in Oxford Street,¹ three huge stone pillars in the second story are carried apparently by the edges of three sheets of plate glass in the first. I hardly know anything to match the painfulness of this and some other of our shop structures, in which the ironwork is concealed; nor even when it is apparent, can the eye ever feel satisfied of their security, when built, as at present, with fifty or sixty feet of wall above a rod of iron not the width of this page.²

§ 6. The proper forms of this superimposition of weight on lightness have arisen, for the most part, from the necessity or desirableness, in many situations, of elevating the inhabited portions of buildings considerably above the ground level, especially those exposed to damp or inundation, and the consequent abandonment of the ground story as unserviceable, or else the surrender of it to public purposes. Thus, in many market and town houses, the ground story is left open as a general place of sheltered resort, and the enclosed apartments raised on pillars. In almost all warm countries the luxury, almost the necessity, of arcades to protect the passengers from the sun, and the desirableness of large space in the rooms above, lead to the same construction. Throughout the Venetian islet group, the houses seem to have been thus, in the first instance, universally built; all the older palaces appearing to have had the *rez de chaussée* perfectly open, the upper parts of the palace being sustained on magnificent arches, and the smaller houses sustained in the same manner on wooden piers, still retained in many of the cortiles, and exhibited characteristically throughout the main street of

¹ [Now No. 134, being a tailor's shop.]

² [The reference is to the original Imp. 8vo edition of this work, *i.e.* about 7 inches wide.]

Murano. As ground became more valuable and house-room more scarce, these ground-floors were enclosed with wall veils between the original shafts, and so remain; but the type of the structure of the entire city is given in the Ducal Palace.

§ 7. To this kind of superimposition we owe the most picturesque street effects throughout the world, and the most graceful, as well as the most grotesque, buildings, from the many-shafted fantasy of the Alhambra (a building as beautiful in disposition as it is base in ornamentation¹) to the four-legged stolidity of the Swiss Chalet:* nor these only, but great part of the effect of our cathedrals, in which, necessarily, the close triforium and clerestory walls are superimposed on the nave piers; perhaps with most majesty where with greatest simplicity, as in the old basilican types, and the noble cathedral of Pisa.²

§ 8. In order to the delightfulness and security of all such arrangements, this law must be observed:—that in proportion to the height of wall above them, the shafts are to be short. You may take your given height of wall, and turn any quantity of that wall into shaft that you like; but you must not turn it all into tall shafts, and then put more wall above. Thus, having a house five stories high, you may turn the lower story into shafts, and leave the four stories in wall; or the two lower stories into shafts, and leave three in wall; but, whatever you add to the shaft, you must take from the wall. Then also, of course, the shorter the shaft the thicker will be its *proportionate*, if not its actual,

* I have spent much of my life among the Alps; but I never pass, without some feeling of new surprise, the Chalet, standing on its four pegs (each topped with a flat stone), balanced in the fury of the Alpine winds. It is not, perhaps, generally known that the chief use of the arrangement is not so much to raise the building above the snow, as to get a draught of wind beneath it, which may prevent the drift from rising against its sides.

¹ [See below, appendix 22, p. 469.]

² [For the proportions of this cathedral, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iii. § 10 (Vol. VIII. p. 111); for numerous references to it, see General Index to this edition.]

diameter. In the Ducal Palace of Venice the shortest shafts are always the thickest.*

§ 9. The second kind of superimposition, lightness on weight, is, in its most necessary uses, of stories of houses one upon another, where, of course, wall veil is required in the lower ones, and has to support wall veil above, aided by as much of shaft structure as is attainable within the given limits. The greatest, if not the only, merit of the Roman and Renaissance Venetian architects is their graceful management of this kind of superimposition; sometimes of complete courses of external arches and shafts one above the other; sometimes of apertures with intermediate cornices at the levels of the floors, and large shafts from top to bottom of the building; always observing that the upper stories shall be at once lighter and richer than the lower ones. The entire value of such buildings depends upon the perfect and easy expression of the relative strength of the stories, and the unity obtained by the varieties of their proportions, while yet the fact of superimposition and separation by floors is frankly told.

§ 10. In churches and other buildings in which there is no separation by floors, another kind of pure shaft superimposition is often used, in order to enable the builder to avail himself of short and slender shafts. It has been noted¹ that these are often easily attainable, and of precious materials, when shafts large enough and strong enough to do the work at once could not be obtained except at unjustifiable expense, and of coarse stone. The architect has then no choice but to arrange his work in successive stories; either frankly completing the arch work and cornice of each, and beginning a new story above it, which is the honester and nobler way; or else tying the stories together by supplementary shafts from floor to roof,—the general practice of the Northern Gothic, and one which, unless most gracefully managed, gives

* Appendix 20: "Shafts of the Ducal Palace" [p. 458].

¹ [See above, ch. viii. §§ 2, 8, pp. 114, 118.]

the look of a scaffolding, with cross-poles tied to its uprights, to the whole clerestory wall. The best method is that which avoids all chance of the upright shafts being supposed continuous, by increasing their number and changing their places in the upper stories, so that the whole work branches from the ground like a tree. This is the superimposition of the Byzantine and the Pisan Romanesque; the most beautiful examples of it being, I think, the southern portico of St. Mark's,¹ the church of S. Giovanni at Pistoja, and the apse of the cathedral of Pisa. In Renaissance work the two principles are equally distinct, though the shafts are (I think) always one above the other. The reader may see one of the best examples of the separately superimposed story in Whitehall (and another far inferior in St. Paul's), and by turning himself round at Whitehall may compare with it the system of connecting shafts in the Treasury;² though this is a singularly bad example, the window cornices of the first floor being like shelves in a cupboard, and cutting the mass of the building in two, in spite of the pillars.

§ 11. But this superimposition of lightness on weight is still more distinctly the system of many buildings of the kind which I have above called Architecture of Position,³ that is to say, architecture of which the greater part is intended merely to keep something in a peculiar position; as in lighthouses, and many towers and belfries. The subject of spire and tower architecture, however, is so interesting and extensive, that I have thoughts of writing a detached essay upon it,⁴ and, at all events, cannot enter upon it here: but this much is enough for the reader to note for our present purpose, that, although many towers do in reality stand on

¹ [The southern portico of St. Mark's is shown in Plate 6 of the *Examples* (Vol. XI). For another reference to the "graceful and grand" Romanesque of S. Giovanni, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. v. § 13 (Vol. VIII. p. 204).]

² [By "Whitehall" is meant the Banqueting Hall (see above, p. 90); the Treasury Buildings, originally built by Sir John Soane, were given a new façade in the Corinthian style by Sir Charles Barry in 1850.]

³ [Above, ch. iii. § 1, p. 74.]

⁴ [The detached essay was not written, but the subject was given some prominence in the first of Ruskin's Edinburgh lectures in 1853: see *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 19–21.]

piers or shafts as the central towers of cathedrals, yet the expression of all of them, and the real structure of the best and strongest, are the elevation of gradually diminishing weight on massy or even solid foundation. Nevertheless, since the tower is in its origin a building for strength of defence, and faithfulness of watch, rather than splendour of aspect, its true expression is of just so much diminution of weight upwards as may be necessary to its fully balanced strength, not a jot more. There must be no light-headedness in your noble tower: impregnable foundation, wrathful crest, with the vizor down, and the dark vigilance seen through the clefts of it; not the filigree crown or embroidered cap. No towers are so grand as the square browed ones, with massy cornices and rent battlements: next to these come the fantastic towers, with their various forms of steep roof; the best, not the cone, but the plain gable thrown very high; last of all in my mind (of good towers), those with spires or crowns, though these, of course, are fittest for ecclesiastical purposes, and capable of the richest ornament. The paltry four or eight pinnacled things we call towers in England (as in York Minister¹), are mere confectioner's Gothic, and not worth classing.

§ 12. But, in all of them, this I believe to be a point of chief necessity,—that they shall seem to stand, and shall verily stand, in their own strength; not by help of buttresses, nor artful balancings on this side and on that. Your noble tower must need no help, must be sustained by no crutches, must give place to no suspicion of decrepitude. Its office may be to withstand war, look forth for tidings, or to point to heaven: but it must have in its own walls the strength to do this; it is to be itself a bulwark, not to be sustained by other bulwarks; to rise and look forth, “the tower of Lebanon that looketh toward Damascus,”² like a stern sentinel, not like a child held up in its nurse's arms. A tower may,

¹ [For another critical observation on York Minster, see below, ch. xxvii. § 16, p. 367.]

² [Song of Solomon, vii. 4.]

indeed, have a kind of buttress, a projection, or subordinate tower at each of its angles; but these are to its main body like the satellites to a shaft, joined with its strength, and associated in its uprightness, part of the tower itself: exactly in the proportion in which they lose their massive unity with its body, and assume the form of true buttress walls set on its angles, the tower loses its dignity.

§ 13. These two characters, then, are common to all noble towers, however otherwise different in purpose or feature,—the first, that they rise from massive foundation to lighter summits, frowning with battlements perhaps, but yet evidently more pierced and thinner in wall than beneath, and, in most ecclesiastical examples, divided into rich open work: the second, that whatever the form of the tower, it shall not appear to stand by help of buttresses. It follows from the first condition, as indeed it would have followed from ordinary æsthetic requirements, that we shall have continual variation in the arrangements of the stories, and the larger number of apertures towards the top,—a condition exquisitely carried out in the old Lombardic towers, in which, however small they may be, the number of apertures is always regularly increased towards the summit; generally one window in the lowest stories, two in the second, then three, five, and six; often, also, one, two, four, and six, with beautiful symmetries of placing not at present to our purpose. We may sufficiently exemplify the general laws of tower building by placing side by side, drawn to the same scale, a mediæval tower, in which most of them are simply and unaffectedly observed, and one of our own modern towers, in which every one of them is violated in small space, convenient for comparison. (Plate 6.)¹

§ 14. The old tower is that of St. Mark's at Venice, not a very perfect example, for its top is Renaissance, but as

¹ [See below, p. 249 *n.*, and for the plate, *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. pp. 346–347 *n.*), where Ruskin remarks that the Edinburgh tower is “not kindly represented,” and the Venetian campanile “also, unintentionally, maligned,” the entasis (or swelling) of the tower being omitted.]

good Renaissance as there is in Venice; and it is fit for our present purpose, because it owes none of its effect to ornament.¹ It is built as simply as it well can be to answer its purpose: no buttresses; no external features whatever, except some huts at the base, and the loggia, afterwards built, which, on purpose, I have not drawn; one bold square mass of brickwork; double walls, with an ascending inclined plane between them, with apertures as small as possible, and these only in necessary places, giving just the light required for ascending the stair or slope, not a ray more; and the weight of the whole relieved only by the double pilasters on the sides, sustaining small arches at the top of the mass, each decorated with the scallop or cockle shell, presently to be noticed² as frequent in Renaissance ornament, and here, for once, thoroughly well applied. Then, when the necessary height is reached, the belfry is left open, as in the ordinary Romanesque campanile, only the shafts more slender, but severe and simple, and the whole crowned by as much spire as the tower would carry, to render it more serviceable as a land-mark.³ The arrangement is repeated in numberless campaniles throughout Italy.

¹ [Ruskin's first note on the architectural merits of the Campanile is in the diary of 1846:—

Padua, May 28.—"I think the Campanile of St. Mark's is the most perfect instance of the power of proportion that can be given. So by this alone and the right introduction of the little and grand ornament that it has, it entirely effaces all sense of its rude materials and ugly surface; the shell ornament at the top is perfectly right in its use; one of the few instances of its coming well; the loggia is delicious; and yet all this would be quite vulgar without its great blank pyramidal top, and the whole vulgar if it were the least more slender than it is; as may be seen by comparing it with the lanky campanile at Dolo, the middle stage between here and Venice, which has above the loggia an octagonal story with little oblong windows, which spoils it in taste as well as in proportion, for it looks as if the loggia instead of being the top-end, and object of the tower, were only a point on it, and a preparation for the shabby story above, which is worth no preparation, but a blank and important conclusion; and the exaggerated slenderness of the whole completes the viciousness of it, so that though the pyramidal termination is the same as St. Mark's, there is no virtue in it, and it would be impossible to draw it or use it in any way."

² [See below, ch. xx. § 28, p. 275.]

³ [A landmark no longer; the Campanile, after a life (in part) of exactly 1000 years, fell on the morning of July 14, 1902. "Shortly after 9.30," writes an eye-witness, "I had gone into the Piazza and found a crowd of people in front of the clock-tower, gazing at the crack which had appeared in the Campanile, and which had become



J. Ruskin.

Aquafort. T. Boys.

G. Allen.
Allen & Co. Sr.

British.

Types of Towers.
Venetian.

§ 15. The one beside it is one of those of the lately built college at Edinburgh.¹ I have not taken it as worse than many others (just as I have not taken the St. Mark's tower as better than many others); but it happens to compress our British system of tower building into small space. The Venetian tower rises 350 feet,* and has no buttresses, though built of brick; the British tower rises 121 feet, and is built

* I have taken Professor Willis's estimate; there being a discrepancy among various statements. I did not take the trouble to measure the height

more evident during the night. The crack started at the north-east corner at the top of the Loggia Sansovino, went diagonally across the main corner buttress of the tower, and then perpendicularly for about 8 feet. A few moments before the disaster happened, I saw some dust coming from the crack. Then suddenly one of the columns of the bell chamber at the top fell, followed by the golden angel at the summit, and in another moment the whole stone top of the Campanile came crashing to the ground, crushing the Loggia Sansovino. There was a pause, and then the whole edifice sank with a moan almost gently to the ground. That portion of the tower which was nearest to the Palazzo Reale, and which had been rendered more solid by the recent pointing of the bricks, fell in greater masses, and striking the corner of the palace, destroyed some six yards of the frontage. . . . Not a stone of St. Mark's or the Doge's Palace is injured. Masses of bricks and stones lie in heaps, and the golden angel of the Campanile fell and lies shattered in the central porch of the Church, on the very spot, so dear to the proud Venetians of old, where Frederick Barbarossa made his submission to the Pope. . . . The attitude of the public is most pathetic. Women are weeping in the street, and as hour passes hour and the Campanile bells are silent a void is felt which those who knew Venetian life can appreciate" (*Times*, July 15, 1902). It appears that "twenty years since, the Venetian authorities were warned by an American engineer that the Campanile would fall; and ten years ago, Vendrasco, an old builder, who had had a life's experience of the bricks and stones of Venice, and who had been employed in repairs in Sansovino's Loggia and on the summit of the tower itself, declared that the Campanile would collapse if the necessary repairs, such as repainting and strengthening with iron bands, were not undertaken. . . . Now that the tower has gone, one realises how important it was to the beauty and dignity of the Piazza. The highly decorated buildings round it, which are somewhat low in elevation, required the simple, grand old tower as a contrast to their ornate magnificence" (*ibid.*, July 18). The Campanile was begun in 902, but was not carried up to the belfry until the time of Domenico Morosini (1148–1155). The belfry and pyramid were added in 1510. The Loggia at the foot was built by Sansovino in 1540. The Campanile is to be reconstructed, under the superintendence of Signor Boni (the Director of National Monuments in Italy), who was at once ordered to proceed to Venice and examine the stability of other famous buildings there.]

¹ [The building is the Free Church College (now the United Free Church College of Scotland), which stands at the top of "The Mound." The foundation stone was laid by Dr. Chalmers in 1846, and it was opened in November 1850. There is a drawing of the College Tower on a blank page of Ruskin's Venetian Diary of 1850, where he notes:—

"Now, how meaningless this is, as well as ugly. For who can possibly live in the square room at top, lighted by a single slit, fit neither for bells nor anything else; and the pinnacles have not so much as wreath corbels on them—mere finials. No string-courses."]

of stone, but is supposed to be incapable of standing without two huge buttresses on each angle. The St. Mark's tower has a high sloping roof, but carries it simply, requiring no pinnacles at its angles; the British tower has no visible roof, but has four pinnacles for mere ornament. The Venetian tower has its lightest part at the top, and is massy at the base; the British tower has its lightest part at the base, and shuts up its windows into a mere arrowslit at the top.¹ What the tower was built for at all must therefore, it seems to me, remain a mystery to every beholder; for surely no studious inhabitant of its upper chambers will be conceived to be pursuing his employments by the light of the single chink on each side; and had it been intended for a belfry, the sound of its bells would have been as effectually prevented from getting out, as the light from getting in.

§ 16. In connection with the subject of towers and of superimposition, one other feature, not conveniently to be omitted from our house-building, requires a moment's notice,—the staircase.

In modern houses it can hardly be considered an architectural feature, and is nearly always an ugly one, from its being apparently without support. And here I may not unfitly note the important distinction, which perhaps ought to have been dwelt upon in some places before now, between the *marvellous* and the *perilous* in apparent construction. There are many edifices which are awful or admirable in their height, and lightness, and boldness of form, respecting

myself, the building being one which does not come within the range of our future inquiries; and its exact dimensions even here are of no importance as respects the question at issue.²

¹ [For some remarks on the proportions of the campanile, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 28, Vol. VIII. p. 167.]

² [Willis's estimate is at p. 186 of his *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 1835. The actual height was 323 ft.; the width at the base, 42 ft. Some interesting particulars with regard to the bricks of which the Campanile was built were ascertained by Signor Boni on examining the débris. Many of them were of Veneto-Roman make, from Aquileja, surpassing in quality the best bricks of ancient Rome, and resisting a pressure three times as great as that which the best modern bricks are capable of withstanding (see *Times*, October 7, 1902).]

which, nevertheless, we have no fear that they should fall. Many a mighty dome and aerial aisle and arch may seem to stand, as I said, by miracle,¹ but by steadfast miracle notwithstanding; there is no fear that the miracle should cease. We have a sense of inherent power in them, or, at all events, of concealed and mysterious provision for their safety. But in leaning towers, as of Pisa² or Bologna, and in much minor architecture, passive architecture, of modern times, we feel that there is but a chance between the building and destruction; that there is no miraculous life in it, which animates it into security, but an obstinate, perhaps vain, resistance to immediate danger. The appearance of this is often as strong in small things as in large; in the sounding boards of pulpits, for instance, when sustained by a single pillar behind them, so that one is in dread, during the whole sermon, of the preacher being crushed if a single nail should give way; and again, the modern geometrical unsupported staircase. There is great disadvantage, also, in the arrangement of this latter, when room is of value; and excessive ungracefulness in its awkward divisions of the passage walls or windows. In mediæval architecture, where there was need of room, the staircase was spiral, and enclosed generally in an exterior tower, which added infinitely to the picturesque effect of the building; nor was the stair itself steeper nor less commodious than the ordinary compressed straight staircase of a modern dwelling-house. Many of the richest towers of domestic architecture owe their origin to this arrangement. In Italy the staircase is often in the open air, surrounding the interior court of the house, and giving access to its various galleries or loggias: in this case it is almost always supported by bold shafts and arches, and forms a most interesting additional feature of the cortile, but presents no peculiarity of construction requiring our present examination.

We may here, therefore, close our inquiries into the

¹ [See above, ch. xiii. § 3, p. 184.]

² [For Ruskin's first impression of this "nasty squinting" tower, see *Letters to a College Friend*, Vol. I. p. 432.]

subject of construction; nor must the reader be dissatisfied with the simplicity or apparent barrenness of their present results. He will find, when he begins to apply them, that they are of more value than they now seem; but I have studiously avoided letting myself be drawn into any intricate question, because I wished to ask from the reader only so much attention as it seemed that even the most indifferent would not be unwilling to pay to a subject which is hourly becoming of greater practical interest. Evidently it would have been altogether beside the purpose of this essay to have entered deeply into the abstract science, or closely into the mechanical detail, of construction: both have been illustrated by writers far more capable of doing so than I, and may be studied at the reader's discretion; all that has been here endeavoured was the leading him to appeal to something like definite principle, and refer to the easily intelligible laws of convenience and necessity, whenever he found his judgment likely to be overborne by authority on the one hand, or dazzled by novelty on the other. If he has time to do more, and to follow out in all their brilliancy the mechanical inventions of the great engineers and architects of the day, I, in some sort, envy him, but must part company with him: for my way lies not along the viaduct, but down the quiet valley which its arches cross, not through the tunnel, but up the hill-side which its cavern darkens, to see what gifts Nature will give us, and with what imagery she will fill our thoughts, that the stones we have ranged in rude order may now be touched with life; nor lose for ever, in their hewn nakedness, the voices they had of old, when the valley streamlet eddied round them in palpitating light, and the winds of the hill-side shook over them the shadows of the fern.

CHAPTER XX

THE MATERIAL OF ORNAMENT

§ 1. WE enter now on the second division of our subject. We have no more to do with heavy stones and hard lines; we are going to be happy: to look round in the world and discover (in a serious manner always however, and under a sense of responsibility) what we like best in it, and to enjoy the same at our leisure: to gather it, examine it, fasten all we can of it into imperishable forms, and put it where we may see it for ever.

This it is to decorate architecture.

§ 2. There are, therefore, three steps in the process: first, to find out in a grave manner what we like best; secondly, to put as much of this as we can (which is little enough) into form; thirdly, to put this formed abstraction into a proper place.

And we have now, therefore, to make these three inquiries in succession: first, what we like, or what is the right material of ornament; then how we are to present it, or its right treatment; then, where we are to put it, or its right place. I think I can answer that first inquiry in this Chapter, the second inquiry in the next Chapter, and the third I shall answer in a more diffusive manner, by taking up in succession the several parts of architecture above distinguished, and rapidly noting the kind of ornament fittest for each.

§ 3. I said in Chapter II. § 14, that all noble ornamentation was the expression of man's delight in God's work. This implied that there was an *ignoble* ornamentation, which was the expression of man's delight in his *own*. There is such a school, chiefly degraded classic and Renaissance, in which the ornament is composed of imitations of things made by man.

I think, before inquiring what we like best of God's work, we had better get rid of all this imitation of man's, and be quite sure we do not like *that*.

§ 4. We shall rapidly glance, then, at the material of decoration hence derived. And now I cannot, as I before have done respecting construction, *convince* the reader of one thing being wrong, and another right. I have confessed as much again and again; I am now only to make appeal to him, and cross-question him, whether he really does like things or not. If he likes the ornament on the base of the column of the Place Vendôme, composed of Wellington boots and laced frock coats,¹ I cannot help it; I can only say I differ from him, and don't like it. And if, therefore, I speak dictatorially, and say this is base or degraded or ugly, I mean only that I believe men of the longest experience in the matter would either think it so, or would be prevented from thinking it so only by some morbid condition of their minds; and I believe that the reader, if he examine himself candidly, will usually agree in my statements.

§ 5. The subjects of ornament found in man's work may properly fall into four heads: (1.) Instruments of art, agriculture, and war; armour, and dress; (2.) Drapery; (3.) Shipping; (4.) Architecture itself.

(1.) Instruments, armour, and dress.

The custom of raising trophies on pillars, and of dedicating arms in temples, appears to have first suggested the idea of employing them as the subjects of sculptural ornament: thenceforward, this abuse has been chiefly characteristic of classical architecture, whether true or Renaissance. Armour is a noble thing in its proper service and subordination to the body; so is an animal's hide, on its back; but a heap of cast skins, or of shed armour, is alike unworthy of all regard or imitation. We owe much true sublimity and more of delightful picturesqueness to the introduction of

¹ [See below, § 5, p. 256 *n.*]

armour both in painting and sculpture: in poetry it is better still,—Homer's undressed Achilles is less grand than his crested and shielded Achilles,¹ though Phidias would rather have had him naked: in all mediæval painting, arms, like all other parts of costume, are treated with exquisite care and delight; in the designs of Leonardo, Raffaele, and Perugino, the armour sometimes becomes almost too conspicuous from the rich and endless invention bestowed upon it; while Titian and Rubens seek in its flash, what the Milanese and Perugian sought in its form, sometimes subordinating heroism to the light of the steel, while the great designers wearied themselves in its elaborate fancy.

But all this labour was given to the living, not the dead armour; to the shell with its animal in it, not the cast shell of the beach; and even so, it was introduced more sparingly by the good sculptors than the good painters; for the former felt, and with justice, that the painter had the power of conquering the over prominence of costume by the expression and colour of the countenance, and that by the darkness of the eye, and glow of the cheek, he could always conquer the gloom and the flash of the mail; but they could hardly, by any boldness or energy of the marble features, conquer the forwardness and conspicuousness of the sharp armorial forms. Their armed figures were therefore almost always subordinate, their principal figures draped or naked, and their choice of subject was much influenced by this feeling of necessity. But the Renaissance sculptors displayed the love of a Camilla² for the mere crest and plume. Paltry and false alike in every feeling of their narrowed minds, they attached themselves, not only to costume without the person, but to the pettiest details of the costume itself. They could not describe Achilles, but

¹ [Compare, for instance, the picture of Achilles sitting in his hut taking his pleasure of a loud lyre wherein he was delighting his soul, and singing of the glories of heroes (*Il.*, 9, 186) with Achilles in the armour made by Hephæstus effulgent like bright Hyperion (*Il.*, 19, 398).]

² [Camilla excited admiration for her armour (see Virg. *Æn.* vii. 813), but it is not said that she was herself vain of it.]

they could describe his shield; a shield like those of dedicated spoil, without a handle, never to be waved in the face of war. And then we have helmets and lances, banners and swords, sometimes with men to hold them, sometimes without; but always chiselled with a tailor-like love of the chasing or the embroidery,—show helmets of the stage, no Vulcan work on them, no heavy hammer strokes, no Etna fire in the metal of them, nothing but pasteboard crests and high feathers. And these, cast together in disorderly heaps, or grinning vacantly over keystones, form one of the leading decorations of Renaissance architecture, and that one of the best; for helmets and lances, however loosely laid, are better than violins, and pipes, and books of music, which were another of the Palladian and Sansovinian sources of ornament. Supported by ancient authority, the abuse soon became a matter of pride, and since it was easy to copy a heap of cast clothes, but difficult to manage an arranged design of human figures, the indolence of architects came to the aid of their affectation, until by the moderns we find the practice carried out to its most interesting results, and, as above noted, a large pair of boots occupying the principal place in the bas-reliefs on the base of the Colonne Vendôme.¹

§ 6. A less offensive, because singularly grotesque, example of the abuse at its height, occurs in the Hôtel des Invalides,² where the dormer windows are suits of armour down to the bottom of the corslet, crowned by the helmet, and with the window in the middle of the breast.

Instruments of agriculture and the arts are of less frequent occurrence, except in hieroglyphics and other work, where they are not employed as ornaments, but represented for the sake of accurate knowledge, or as symbols. Wherever

¹ [The column, an imitation of Trajan's column at Rome, was erected by order of Napoleon in 1806–1810, to commemorate his victories over the Russians and Austrians in 1805; the reliefs on the pediment represent the uniforms and weapons of the conquered armies. The column was taken down by the Communists in 1871, at the instigation of the painter, Courbet, but was subsequently re-erected.]

² [This building was begun in 1671 by Bruant and completed in 1675 by Mansart.]

they have purpose of this kind, they are of course perfectly right; but they are then part of the building's conversation,¹ not conducive to its beauty. The French have managed, with great dexterity, the representation of the machinery for the elevation of their Luxor obelisk,² now sculptured on its base.

§ 7. (2.) Drapery. I have already spoken of the error of introducing drapery, as such, for ornament, in the *Seven Lamps*.³ I may here note a curious instance of the abuse in the church of the Jesuiti at Venice (Renaissance). On first entering you suppose that the church, being in a poor quarter of the city, has been somewhat meanly decorated by heavy green and white curtains of an ordinary upholsterer's pattern: on looking closer they are discovered to be of marble, with the green pattern inlaid. Another remarkable instance is in a piece of not altogether unworthy architecture at Paris (Rue Rivoli),⁴ where the columns are supposed to be decorated by images of handkerchiefs tied in a stout knot round the middle of them. This shrewd invention bids fair to become a new order. Multitudes of massy curtains and various upholstery, more or less in imitation of that of the drawing-room, are carved and gilt, in wood or stone, about the altars and other theatrical portions of Romanist churches; but from these coarse and senseless vulgarities we may well turn, in all haste, to note, with respect as well as regret, one of the errors of the great school of Niccolo Pisano,—an error so full of feeling as to be sometimes all but redeemed, and altogether forgiven,—the sculpture, namely, of curtains around the recumbent statues upon tombs, curtains which angels are represented as withdrawing, to gaze upon the faces of those who are at rest. For some time the idea was simply and slightly expressed, and though there was always a painfulness in finding the shafts of stone, which were felt

¹ [See above, ch. ii. § 1, p. 60.]

² [Presented to Louis Philippe by Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, in 1831; erected in the Place de la Concorde in 1836.]

³ [Ch. iv. § 11, Vol. VIII. p. 150.]

⁴ [The Rue de Rivoli was constructed at various times between 1802 and 1865.]

to be the real supporters of the canopy, represented as of yielding drapery, yet the beauty of the angelic figures, and the tenderness of the thought, disarmed all animadversion. But the scholars of the Pisani, as usual, caricatured when they were unable to invent; and the quiet curtained canopy became a huge marble tent, with a pole in the centre of it. Thus vulgarised, the idea itself soon disappeared, to make room for urns, torches, and weepers, and the other modern paraphernalia of the churchyard.

§ 8. (3.) Shipping. I have allowed this kind of subject to form a separate head, owing to the importance of rostra in Roman decoration, and to the continual occurrence of naval subjects in modern monumental bas-relief. Mr. Fergusson says, somewhat doubtfully, that he perceives a “*kind of beauty*” in a ship:¹ I say, without any manner of doubt, that a ship is one of the loveliest things man ever made, and one of the noblest;² nor do I know any lines, out of divine work, so lovely as those of the head of a ship, or even as the sweep of the timbers of a small boat, not a race boat, a mere floating chisel, but a broad, strong, sea boat, able to breast a wave and break it: and yet, with all this beauty, ships cannot be made subjects of sculpture. No one pauses in particular delight beneath the pediments of the Admiralty;³ nor does scenery of shipping ever become prominent in bas-relief without destroying it: witness the base of the Nelson pillar. It may be, and must be sometimes, introduced in severe subordination to the figure subject, but just enough to indicate the scene; sketched in the lightest lines on the background; never with any attempt at realisation, never with any equality to the force of the figures, unless the whole purpose of the subject be picturesque. I shall

¹ [A reference, not textual however, to James Fergusson’s *Historical Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art, more especially with reference to Architecture*, 1849, p. 138.]

² [An opinion which Ruskin afterwards elaborated in the prefatory matter to *The Harbours of England*.]

³ [The main part of the building abutting on Whitehall was built in 1722–26 from the designs of Ripley. The screen before the court, which has marine ornaments on the entablatures, was subsequently built by Robert Adam.]

explain this exception presently, in speaking of imitative architecture.

§ 9. There is one piece of a ship's fittings, however, which may be thought to have obtained acceptance as a constant element of architectural ornament,—the cable: it is not, however, the cable itself, but its abstract form, a group of twisted lines (which a cable only exhibits in common with many natural objects), which is indeed beautiful as an ornament. Make the resemblance complete, give to the stone the threads and character of the cable, and you may, perhaps, regard the sculpture with curiosity, but never more with admiration. Consider the effect of the base of the statue of King William IV. at the end of London Bridge.¹

§ 10. (4.) Architecture itself. The erroneous use of armour, or dress, or instruments, or shipping, as decorative subject, is almost exclusively confined to bad architecture—Roman or Renaissance. But the false use of architecture itself, as an ornament of architecture, is conspicuous even in the mediæval work of the best times, and it is a grievous fault in some of its noblest examples.

It is, therefore, of great importance to note exactly at what point this abuse begins, and in what it consists.

§ 11. In all bas-relief, architecture may be introduced as an explanation of the scene in which the figures act; but with more or less prominence in the *inverse ratio of the importance of the figures*.

The metaphysical reason of this is, that where the figures are of great value and beauty, the mind is supposed to be engaged wholly with them; and it is an impertinence to disturb its contemplation of them by any minor features whatever. As the figures become of less value, and are regarded with less intensity, accessory subjects may be introduced, such as the thoughts may have leisure for.

Thus, if the figures be as large as life, and complete statues, it is gross vulgarity to carve a temple above them,

¹ [Erected by the Common Council of London, from the designs of Nixon.]

or distribute them over sculptured rocks, or lead them up steps into pyramids: I need hardly instance Canova's works,* and the Dutch pulpit groups, with fishermen, boats, and nets, in the midst of church naves.

If the figures be in bas-relief, though as large as life, the scene may be explained by lightly traced outlines: this is admirably done in the Ninevite marbles.¹

If the figures be in bas-relief, or even alto-relievo, but less than life, and if their purpose is rather to enrich a space and produce picturesque shadows, than to draw the thoughts entirely to themselves, the scenery in which they act may become prominent. The most exquisite examples of this treatment are the gates of Ghiberti.² What would that Madonna of the Annunciation be, without the little shrine into which she shrinks back? But all mediæval work is full of delightful examples of the same kind of treatment: the gates of hell and of paradise are important pieces, both of explanation and effect, in all early representations of the last judgment, or of the descent into Hades. The keys of St. Peter, and the crushing flat of the devil under his own door, when it is beaten in, would hardly be understood

* The admiration of Canova I hold to be one of the most deadly symptoms in the civilization of the upper classes in the present century.³

¹ [In the British Museum, the fruit of Sir Austen Layard's explorations on behalf of the Museum at Nimroud and Kouyunjik (the site of Nineveh). The diggings began in 1845; the first arrivals of sculptures, ivories, etc., at the Museum were in 1847; others followed at various intervals, 1848–1851. Ruskin often refers to the antiquities in his books written in those years; see, e.g., *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 160 (ivories), 170 (sculptures), 244; below, §§ 14, 25, 36; ch. xxi. §§ 7, 11, 12; *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. iv. § 38, ch. vi. § 26; vol. iii. ch. iii. § 69.]

² [For another reference to the bronze gates of the Baptistery of Florence by Ghiberti, see Vol. VIII. pp. 149, 154. The Annunciation is the first subject on the Northern Gate. Ruskin's defence of the treatment of architectural accessories, etc., is the more interesting for the criticism in a contrary sense by Reynolds and Flaxman. "The criticism of Sir Joshua Reynolds," says the latter in noticing Ghiberti's Gates, "was one indisputable proof of that great man's judgment in the sister arts. His observation amounted to this, that Ghiberti's landscape and buildings occupied so large a portion of the compartments that the figures remained but secondary objects, entirely contrary to the principle of the ancients" (*Lectures on Sculpture*, by John Flaxman, R. A., 1838, p. 249).]

³ [For other references to Canova in a like sense, see Vol. III. pp. 154, 230; Vol. IV. pp. 121, 279.]

without the respective gateways above. The best of all the later capitals of the Ducal palace of Venice¹ depends for great part of its value on the richness of a small campanile, which is pointed to proudly by a small emperor in a turned-up hat, who, the legend informs us, is “Numa Pompilio, imperador, edificador di tempi e chiese.”

§ 12. Shipping may be introduced, or rich fancy of vestments, crowns, and ornaments, exactly on the same conditions as architecture; and if the reader will look back to my definition of the picturesque in the *Seven Lamps*,² he will see why I said, above, that they might only be prominent when the purpose of the subject was partly picturesque; that is to say, when the mind is intended to derive part of its enjoyment from the parasitical qualities or accidents of the thing, not from the heart of the thing itself.

And thus, while we must regret the flapping sails in the death of Nelson in Trafalgar-square,³ we may yet most heartily enjoy the sculpture of a storm in one of the bas-reliefs of the tomb of St. Pietro Martire in the church of St. Eustorgio at Milan, where the grouping of the figures is most fancifully complicated by the under-cut cordage of the vessel.⁴

§ 13. In all these instances, however, observe that the permission to represent the human work as an ornament is conditional on its being necessary to the representation of a scene, or explanation of an action. On no terms whatever could any such subject be independently admissible.

¹ [Capital 36: see the description in vol. ii. ch. vii. § 127.]

² [Ch. vi. § 16, Vol. VIII. p. 236.]

³ [The bas-relief of the Death of Nelson on one of the sides of the pedestal is by J. E. Carew (1785–1865).]

⁴ [The following is Ruskin's note on this tomb in the diary of 1849:—

“A most glorious piece of Gothic in the church of St. Eustorgio at Milan: statues standing in front of the *square red* pillars with flowing foliage capitals, about half the size of life—very Mino da Fiesole like—complete sculpture painting, with exquisite costume. The Temperantia with a veil and ivy crown pouring water into a vase, the water cut in a wavy detached stream; and the Obedientia with a cattle (?) [*sic*] yoke, pre-eminently beautiful. Much spoiled by gilding above. A bas-relief of a ship with ropes all undercut out of the marble, remarkable for its picturesqueness and depth.”]

Observe, therefore, the use of manufacture as ornament is—

- (1.) With heroic figure sculpture, not admissible at all.
- (2.) With picturesque figure sculpture, admissible in the degree of its picturesqueness.
- (3.) Without figure sculpture, not admissible at all.

So also in painting: Michael Angelo, in the Sistine Chapel, would not have willingly painted a dress of figured damask or of watered satin: his was heroic painting, not admitting accessories.

Tintoret, Titian, Veronese, Rubens, and Vandyck, would be very sorry to part with their figured stuffs and lustrous silks; and sorry, observe, exactly in the degree of their picturesque feeling. Should not *we* also be sorry to have Bishop Ambrose without his vest in that picture of the National Gallery?¹

But I think Vandyck would not have liked, on the other hand, the vest without the bishop. I much doubt if Titian or Veronese would have enjoyed going into Waterloo House,² and making studies of dresses upon the counter.

§ 14. So, therefore, finally, neither architecture nor any other human work is admissible as an ornament, except in subordination to figure subject. And this law is grossly and painfully violated by those curious examples of Gothic, both early and late, in the North (but late, I think, exclusively, in Italy), in which the minor features of the architecture were composed of *small models* of the larger: examples which led the way to a series of abuses materially affecting the life, strength, and nobleness of the Northern Gothic,—abuses which no Ninevite, nor Egyptian, nor Greek, nor Byzantine, nor Italian of the earlier ages, would have endured for an instant, and which strike me with renewed surprise whenever I pass

¹ [No. 50: "St. Ambrose and Theodosius."]

² ["Waterloo House," which occupies a large part of the block of buildings between Cockspur Street and Pall Mall East, was for many years a large draper's shop.]

beneath a portal of thirteenth century Northern Gothic, associated as they are with manifestations of exquisite feeling and power in other directions. The porches of Bourges,¹ Amiens, Notre Dame of Paris, and Notre Dame of Dijon, may be noted as conspicuous in error: small models of feudal towers with diminutive windows and battlements, of cathedral spires with scaly pinnacles, mixed with temple pediments and nondescript edifices of every kind, are crowded together over the recess of the niche into a confused fool's cap for the saint below. Italian Gothic is almost entirely free from the taint of this barbarism until the Renaissance period, when it becomes rampant in the cathedral of Como and Certosa of Pavia;² and at Venice we find the Renaissance churches

¹ [The porches of Bourges are criticised in the diary alike for the inappropriateness of their ornament and for the style of it:—

“Now, these porches are a perfect study for their elaborate failure. Everything that the Byzantines did is done; and almost all Verona and St. Mark's is put together and worked with an intention to be more elaborate than ever work was before, and all kinds of ornaments are tried one after another—chains of studs and diamonds and bosses and roses, and early dentils—one single row and one four deep like a chequer; and leaf borders delicate and classical, and Gothic quatrefoils and Lombardic beasts and Byzantine birds and chequered pillars. And all in vain. Everything is overcrowded and misplaced—joyless and valueless. There is no real power of design, and it is in every part what one's own idle compositions are, when one ornament is put after another, without meaning or purpose,—nay, even without felicity. I never saw anything that after the first surprise of its richness and antiquity was so painful—so like to the commonest accumulations of Renaissance.”

In a note appended to this entry, he continues:—

“The more I think of these porches, the more I am struck with the admirable system of ornamentation in St. Ambrogio and St. Michele; so quiet, masterly and manly in its lines, every touch telling and not a touch too much—while these vain struggles at effect are like Hans, our old needle and pin colourist—compared to Prout, all dot and spot and twist and double line and deep exaggerated shade. . . .”

For “St. Ambrogio,” Milan, and “St. Michele,” Pavia, see above, ch. i. § 27, p. 40. The other porches were noted by Ruskin in his diary of 1849:—

“Amiens, Sept. 14 . . . Each of the main shafts has its perfect capital and base, and attached to its shaft a figure with a niche and pedestal. All the niches and all the pedestals are of imitative architecture, some very graceful, some awkward in the usual way with round towers, slits and battlements; yet none of such bad taste as Notre Dame of Paris or Dijon.”]

² [The “corrupt” ornamentation of Como Cathedral is noted in the diary of 1846:—

“The northern door is altogether corrupt, its columns being like two handsome altar candlesticks. . . . The two lancet windows of the front are surrounded by a cable moulding; then, in their deep wall thickness, with niches of Gothic nearly pure, but uninventive and cold in effect. The crockets

decorated with models of fortifications like those in the Repository at Woolwich,¹ or inlaid with mock arcades in pseudoperspective, copied from gardeners' paintings at the ends of conservatories.

§ 15. I conclude, then, with the reader's leave, that all ornament is base which takes for its subject human work, that it is utterly base,—painful to every rightly-toned mind, without perhaps immediate sense of the reason, but for a reason palpable enough when we *do* think of it. For to carve our own work, and set it up for admiration, is a miserable self-complacency, a contentment in our own wretched doings, when we might have been looking at God's doings. And all noble ornament is the exact reverse of this. It is the expression of man's delight in God's work.²

§ 16. For observe, the function of ornament is to make you happy. Now in what are you rightly happy? Not in thinking of what you have done yourself; not in your own pride; not your own birth; not in your own being, or your own will, but in looking at God; watching what He does; what He is; and obeying His law, and yielding yourself to His will.

You are to be made happy by ornaments; therefore they

round the upper part are so round as to look like apples or pomegranates, but their effect good. The pinnacles round are peculiarly vulgar; all of them approximating to chimney-post, being little temples of various design set on square pedestals, like models of large buildings. Shell canopies occur frequently and bits of morbid Gothic mixed with classic form, as in . . . [reference to a sketch-book]. The most interesting portion is the row or column of detached pieces of carving on each pilaster all up the front; each subject seems full of character and interest, one of the lowest represents a little church, with steps up to it, on a rock, the rock cut away deep under the church, and the steps therefore singularly inaccessible; yet the story told, and large flowers on the rock, one bunch intended, I think, for pansies, the other as at *c* [reference to sketch], three on stalk . . .”

For criticisms of the Certosa of Pavia, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. i. § 14, Vol. VIII. p. 50 and *n.*]

¹ [Within the Royal Military Repository on Woolwich Common is the Rotunda (built by Nash in 1814), containing a Military Museum with models of fortifications, etc.]

² [See also above, ch. ii. § 14, p. 70, and compare *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 68, where the statement is repeated and guarded against some possible misunderstanding: ornament need not be an exact imitation of natural forms, nor does the mere following of natural forms of itself make ornament good.]

must be the expression of all this. Not copies of your own handiwork; not boastings of your own grandeur; not heraldries;¹ not king's arms, nor any creature's arms, but God's arm, seen in His work. Not manifestation of your delight in your own laws, or your own liberties, or your own inventions; but in divine laws, constant, daily, common laws;—not Composite laws, nor Doric laws, nor laws of the five orders, but of the Ten Commandments.²

§ 17. Then the proper material of ornament will be whatever God has created; and its proper treatment, that which seems in accordance with or symbolical of His laws. And, for material, we shall therefore have, first, the abstract lines which are most frequent in nature; and then, from lower to higher, the whole range of systematised inorganic and organic forms. We shall rapidly glance in order at their kinds; and, however absurd the elemental division of inorganic matter by the ancients may seem to the modern chemist, it is one so grand and simple for arrangements of external appearances, that I shall here follow it; noticing first, after abstract lines, the imitable forms of the four elements of Earth, Water, Fire, and Air, and then those of animal organisms. It may be convenient to the reader to have the order stated in a clear succession at first, thus:—

- (1.) Abstract lines.
- (2.) Forms of Earth (Crystals).
- (3.) Forms of Water (Waves).
- (4.) Forms of Fire (Flames and Rays).
- (5.) Forms of Air (Clouds).
- (6.) (Organic forms). Shells.
- (7.) Fish.
- (8.) Reptiles and Insects.
- (9.) Vegetation (A). Stems and Trunks.

¹ [For an "atonement" for Ruskin's depreciation of heraldry in ornament, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 8, note of 1880 to a passage similar to this (Vol. VIII. p. 147).]

² [With §§ 15, 16 here, compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xiv. § 41, and the other passages there noted as "knitting our conclusions together" and establishing "a great declaration of the central mediæval purpose"—namely, that men's happiness "was not in themselves, and that their labour was not to have their own service as its chief end."]

- (10.) Vegetation (B). Foliage.
- (11.) Birds.
- (12.) Mammalian animals and Man.

It may be objected that clouds are a form of moisture, not of air. They are, however, a perfect expression of aërial states and currents, and may sufficiently well stand for the element they move in. And I have put vegetation apparently somewhat out of its place, owing to its vast importance as a means of decoration, and its constant association with birds and men.

§ 18. (1.) Abstract lines. I have not with lines named also shades and colours, for this evident reason, that there are no such things as abstract shadows, irrespective of the forms which exhibit them, and distinguished in their own nature from each other; and that the arrangement of shadows, in greater or less quantity, or in certain harmonical successions, is an affair of treatment, not of selection. And when we use abstract colours, we are in fact using a part of nature herself,—using a quality of her light, corresponding with that of the air, to carry sound; and the arrangement of colour in harmonious masses is again a matter of treatment, not selection. Yet even in this separate art of colouring, as referred to architecture, it is very notable that the best tints are always those of natural stones.¹ These can hardly be wrong; I think I never yet saw an offensive introduction of the natural colours of marble and precious stones, unless in small mosaics, and in one or two glaring instances of the resolute determination to produce something ugly at any cost. On the other hand, I have most assuredly never yet seen a painted building, ancient or modern, which seemed to me quite right.

§ 19. Our first constituents of ornament will therefore be abstract lines, that is to say, the most frequent contours of natural objects, transferred to architectural forms when it is not right or possible to render such forms distinctly imitative. For instance, the line or curve of the edge of

¹ [Cf. *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 35 (Vol. VIII. p. 176), where the same subject is treated more at length.]

a leaf may be accurately given to the edge of a stone, without rendering the stone in the least *like* a leaf, or suggestive of a leaf; and this the more fully, because the lines of nature are alike in all her works; simpler or richer in combination, but the same in character; and when they are taken out of their combinations it is impossible to say from which of her works they have been borrowed, their universal property being that of ever-varying curvature in the most subtle and subdued transitions, with peculiar expressions of motion, elasticity, or dependence, which I have already insisted upon at some length in the chapters on typical beauty in *Modern Painters*.¹ But, that the reader may here be able to compare them for himself as deduced from different sources, I have drawn, as accurately as I can, on the opposite plate (Plate 7),² some ten or eleven lines from natural forms of very different substances and scale: the first, *a b*, is, in the original, I think, the most beautiful simple curve I have ever seen in my life; it is a curve about three quarters of a mile long, formed by the surface of a small glacier of the second order, on a spur of the Aiguille de Blaitière (Chamouni).³ I have merely outlined the crags on the right of it, to show their sympathy and united action with the curve of the glacier, which is of course entirely dependent on their opposition to its descent; softened, however, into unity by the snow, which rarely melts on this high glacier surface.

The line *d c* is some mile and a half or two miles long; it is part of the flank of the chain of the Dent d'Oche above the lake of Geneva, one or two of the lines of the higher and more distant ranges being given in combination with it.

h is a line about four feet long, a branch of spruce fir. I have taken this tree because it is commonly supposed to be stiff and ungraceful: its outer sprays are, however, more

¹ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. ii., more especially sec. i. ch. v. §§ 14, 15 (Vol. IV. pp. 87-88.)]

² [For further remarks on this plate, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. i. § 8.]

³ [For a drawing of this glacier, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. Plate 31, and ch. xiv. § 16.]

noble in their sweep than almost any that I know:¹ but this fragment is seen at great disadvantage, because placed upside down in order that the reader may compare its curvatures with *c d*, *e g*, and *i k*, which are all mountain lines: *e g*, about five hundred feet of the southern edge of the Matterhorn; *i k*, the entire slope of the Aiguille Bouchard, from its summit into the valley of Chamouni, a line some three miles long; *l m* is the line of the side of a willow leaf traced by laying the leaf on the paper; *n o*, one of the innumerable groups of curves at the lip of a paper Nautilus;² *p*, a spiral, traced on the paper round a Serpula;³ *q r*, the leaf of the *Alisma Plantago*⁴ with its interior ribs, real size; *s t*, the side of a bay-leaf; *u w*, of a salvia leaf: and it is to be carefully noted that these last curves, being never intended by nature to be seen singly, are more heavy and less agreeable than any of the others which would be seen as independent lines. But all agree in their character of changeful curvature, the mountain and glacier lines only excelling the rest in delicacy and richness of transition.

§ 20. Why lines of this kind are beautiful, I endeavoured to show in the *Modern Painters*;⁵ but one point, there omitted, may be mentioned here,—that almost all these lines are expressive of action or *force* of some kind, while the circle is a line of limitation or support. In leafage they mark the forces of its growth and expansion, but some among the most beautiful of them are described by bodies variously in motion, or subjected to force; as by projectiles in the air, by the particles of water in a gentle current, by planets in motion in an orbit, by their satellites, if the actual path of the satellite in space be considered instead of its relation to the planet; by boats, or birds, turning in the water or air,

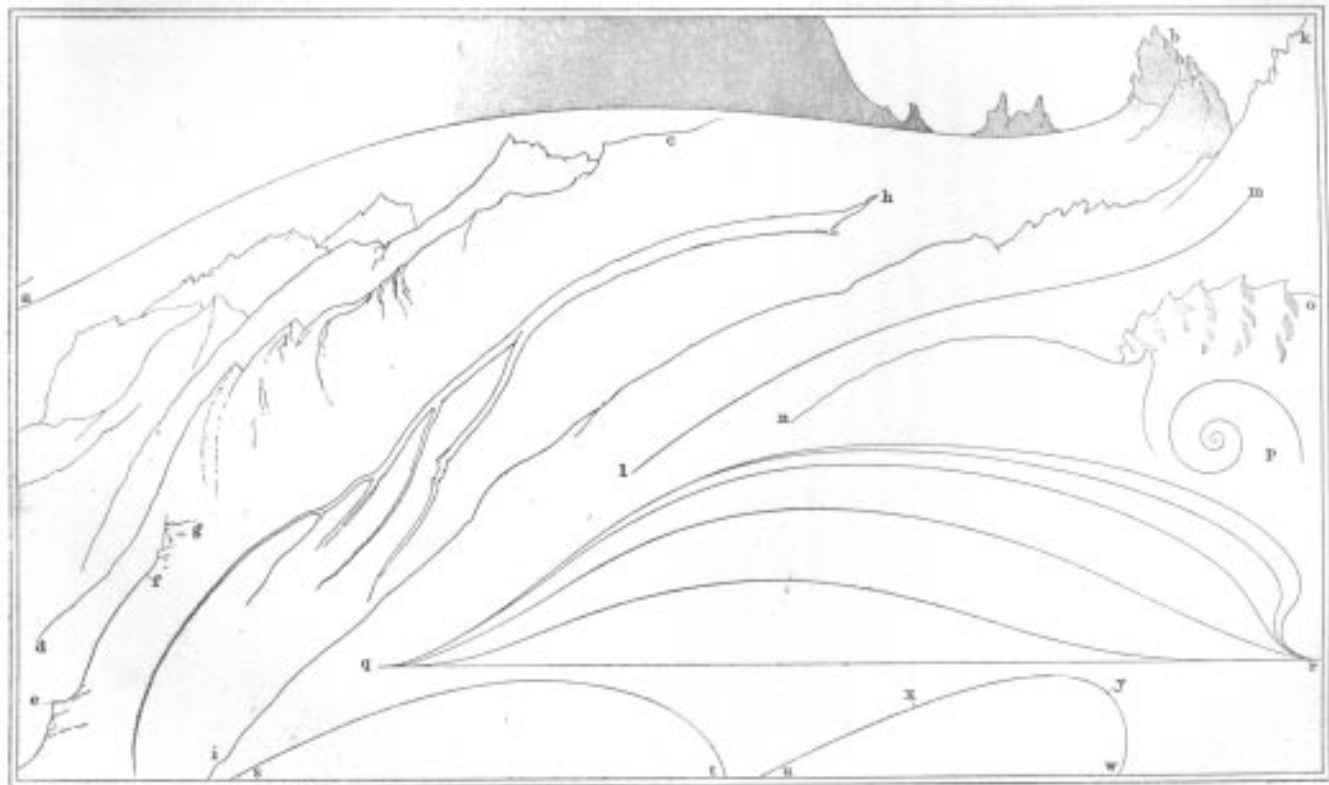
¹ [See above, p. 187 *n.*]

² [There is a study by Ruskin of the shell of the paper-Nautilus (or, *argonauta*) in the Drawing School at Oxford: Educational Series.]

³ [A genus of worms inhabiting cylindrical calcareous tubes, often massed together in heaps attached to rocks, shells, &c.]

⁴ [For Ruskin's studies of this plant, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 29, Vol. VIII. p. 168.]

⁵ [See reference in Note 1 on p. 267.]



by clouds in various action upon the wind, by sails in the curvatures they assume under its force, and by thousands of other objects moving or bearing force. In the *Alisma* leaf, *qr*, the lines through its body, which are of peculiar beauty, mark the different expansions of its fibres, and are, I think, exactly the same as those which would be traced by the currents of a river entering a lake of the shape of the leaf, at the end where the stalk is, and passing out at its point. Circular curves, on the contrary, are always, I think, curves of limitation or support; that is to say, curves of perfect rest. The cylindrical curve round the stem of a plant binds its fibres together; while the *ascent* of the stem is in lines of various curvature: so the curve of the horizon and of the apparent heaven, of the rainbow, etc.: and though the reader might imagine that the circular orbit of any moving body, or the curve described by a sling, was a curve of motion, he should observe that the circular character is given to the curve not by the motion, but by the confinement: the circle is the consequence not of the energy of the body, but of its being forbidden to leave the centre; and whenever the whirling or circular motion can be fully impressed on it we obtain instant balance and rest with respect to the centre of the circle.

Hence the peculiar fitness of the circular curve as a sign of rest, and security of support, in arches; while the other curves, belonging especially to action, are to be used in the more active architectural features—the hand and foot (the capital and base), and in all minor ornaments; more freely in proportion to their independence of structural conditions.

§ 21. We need not, however, hope to be able to imitate, in general work, any of the subtly combined curvatures of nature's highest designing: on the contrary, their extreme refinement renders them unfit for coarse service or material. Lines which are lovely in the pearly film of the *Nautilus* shell, are lost in the grey roughness of stone; and those which are sublime in the blue of far away hills, are weak in the substance of incumbent marble. Of all the graceful

lines assembled on Plate 7, we shall do well to be content with two of the simplest. We will take one mountain line (*e, g*) and one leaf line (*u, w*), or rather fragments of them, for we shall perhaps not want them all. I will mark off from *u w* the little bit *x y*, and from *e g* the piece *e f*; both which appear to me likely to be serviceable: and if hereafter we need the help of any abstract lines, we will see what we can do with these only.¹

§ 22. (2.) Forms of Earth (Crystals). It may be asked why I do not say rocks or mountains? Simply, because the nobility of these depends, first, on their scale, and, secondly, on accident. Their scale cannot be represented, nor their accident systematised. No sculptor can in the least imitate the peculiar character of accidental fracture: he can obey or exhibit the laws of nature, but he cannot copy the felicity of her fancies, nor follow the steps of her fury. The very glory of a mountain is in the revolutions which raised it into power, and the forces which are striking it into ruin. But we want no cold and careful imitation of catastrophe; no calculated mockery of convulsion; no delicate recommendation of ruin. We are to follow the labour of Nature, but not her disturbance; to imitate what she has deliberately ordained,* not what she has violently suffered, or strangely permitted. The only uses, therefore, of rock form which are wise in the architect, are its actual introduction (by leaving untouched such blocks as are meant for rough service), and that noble use of the general examples of mountain structure of which I have often heretofore spoken.² Imitations of rock form have, for the most part, been confined to periods of degraded feeling and to architectural toys or pieces of dramatic effect,—the Calvaries and holy sepulchres of Romanism, or the grottoes and fountains of English gardens. They were, however, not

* Thus above [p. 85] I adduced for the architect's imitation the appointed stories and beds of the Matterhorn, not its irregular forms of crag or fissure.

¹ [See below, pp. 339, 360, 384.]

² [See, for instance, above, ch. viii. § 1, and *Seven Lamps*, ch. iii. § 3 (Vol. VIII. p. 102.)]

unfrequent in mediæval bas-reliefs; very curiously and elaborately treated by Ghiberti on the doors of Florence,¹ and in religious sculpture necessarily introduced wherever the life of the anchorite was to be expressed. They were rarely introduced as of ornamental character, but for particular service and expression; we shall see an interesting example in the Ducal Palace at Venice.²

§ 23. But against crystalline form, which is the completely systematised natural structure of the earth, none of these objections hold good, and, accordingly, it is an endless element of decoration, where higher conditions of structure cannot be represented. The four-sided pyramid, perhaps the most frequent of all natural crystals, is called in architecture a dog-tooth; its use is quite limitless, and always beautiful: the cube and rhomb are almost equally frequent in chequers and dentils; and all mouldings of the middle Gothic are little more than representations of the canaliculated crystals of the beryl, and such other minerals.

§ 24. Not knowingly. I do not suppose a single hint was ever actually taken from mineral form;³ not even by the Arabs in their stalactite pendants and vaults; all that I mean to allege is, that beautiful ornament, wherever found, or however invented, is always either an intentional or unintentional copy of some constant natural form; and that in this particular instance, the pleasure we have in these geometrical figures of our own invention, is dependent for all its acuteness on the natural tendency impressed on us by our Creator to love the forms into which the earth He gave us to tread, and out of which He formed our bodies, knit itself as it was separated from the deep.

§ 25. (3.) Forms of Water (Waves).

The reasons which prevent rocks from being used for

¹ [See above, p. 260 *n.*]

² [The reference seems to be to capital 19 (vol. ii. ch. vii. § 116), where the subject represented is the arts of sculpture and architecture, and the materials of those arts are accordingly introduced.]

³ [This qualification should be remembered in reading passages in the *Seven Lamps* which have sometimes been considered strained and fanciful in their connection of architectural forms with crystalline structure: see Vol. VIII. pp. 143, 145.]

ornament repress still more forcibly the portraiture of the sea. Yet the constant necessity of introducing some representation of water in order to explain the scene of events, or as a sacred symbol, has forced the sculptors of all ages to the invention of some type or letter for it, if not an actual imitation. We find every degree of conventionalism or of naturalism in these types, the earlier being, for the most part, thoughtful symbols; the later, awkward attempts at portraiture.* The most conventional of all types is the Egyptian zigzag, preserved in the astronomical sign of Aquarius; but every nation with any capacities of thought, has given, in some of its work, the same great definition of open water, as “an undulatory thing with fish in it.” I say *open* water, because inland nations have a totally different conception of the element. Imagine for an instant the different feelings of an husbandman whose hut is built by the Rhine or the Po, and who sees, day by day, the same giddy succession of silent power, the same opaque, thick, whirling, irresistible, labyrinth of rushing lines and twisted eddies, coiling themselves into serpentine race by the reedy banks, in omne volubilis ævum,¹—and the image of the sea in the mind of the fisher upon the rocks of Ithaca, or by the Straits of Sicily, who sees how, day by day, the morning winds come coursing to the shore, every breath of them with a green wave rearing before it; clear, crisp, ringing, merry-minded waves, that fall over and over each other, laughing like children as they near the beach, and at last clash themselves all into dust of crystal over the dazzling sweeps of sand.² Fancy the difference of the image of water in those two minds

* Appendix 21: “Ancient Representations of Water” [p. 460].

¹ [Horace: *Epist.* i. 2, 43.]

² [A comparison of the text with the MS. may here again be given (*cf.* p. 228 *n.* above) to illustrate Ruskin’s gradual arrival at his ultimate words. The MS. reads:—“the same giddy succession of smooth, whirling, irresistible, labyrinth of rushing lines and twisted eddies, coiling themselves into serpentine racing, . . . and the thought of the sea . . . by the Straits of Scylla, who sees day by day the morning winds come riding to the shore, every breath with a wild horse of a wave pawing before it; and bright, crisp, ringing, merry-minded waves, that fall over and over each other, as they near the beach, and at last clash themselves all into a dust of crystal over the dazzling sand.”]

and then compare the sculpture of the coiling eddies of the Tigris and its reedy branches in those slabs of Nineveh,¹ with the crested curls of the Greek sea on the coins of Camarina or Tarentum. But both agree in the undulatory lines, either of the currents or the surface, and in the introduction of fish as explanatory of the meaning of those lines (so also the Egyptians in their frescoes, with most elaborate realisation of the fish).² There is a very curious instance on a Greek mirror in the British Museum, representing Orion on the sea;³ and multitudes of examples with dolphins on the Greek vases: the type is preserved without alteration in mediæval painting and sculpture. The sea in that Greek mirror (at least 400 B.C.), in the mosaics of Torcello and St. Mark's, on the font of St. Frediano at Lucca, on the gate of the fortress of St. Michael's Mount in Normandy, on the Bayeux tapestry, and on the capitals of the Ducal Palace at Venice (under Arion on his dolphin)⁴ is represented in a manner absolutely identical. Giotto, in the frescoes of Avignon,⁵ has, with his usual strong feeling for naturalism, given the best example I remember, in painting, of the unity of the conventional system with direct imitation, and that both in sea and river; giving in pure blue colour the coiling whirlpool of the stream, and the curled crest of the breaker. But in all early sculptural examples, both imitation and decorative effect are subordinate to easily

¹ [In the British Museum; *cf.* above, p. 260 *n.* A charming instance of the representation of the sea may be seen on the coin of Camarina by Evaenetus, II. c. 18, in the Museum display of electrotypes. Ruskin took another of the coins of Camarina as the text for a discourse on the characteristics of Greek art ("The Hercules of Camarina," in *Queen of the Air*, §§ 161–177). For a specimen of similar representations on coins of Tarentum, see III. c. 10 in the Museum electrotypes; for Ruskin's account of it, see *The Cestus of Aglaia*, § 18.]

² [Several examples may be seen in the Egyptian Gallery at the British Museum.]

³ [No. 545 in the Collection of Bronzes; in the Etruscan Saloon: see E. T. Cook's *Popular Handbook to the . . . British Museum*, p. 482. The mirror is of Etruscan workmanship.]

⁴ [Capital No. 8 in the description in *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 77.]

⁵ [The story of Giotto's visit to Avignon told by Vasari (Bohn's ed. 1855, i. 106) is incorrect. He was invited there by Pope Benedict XI., but the death of the pontiff prevented the visit. (See Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in Italy*, 1864, ii. 272.) The frescoes at Avignon are by Simone Martini, who settled there 1338–39 (see *ibid.* ii. 90–6). Some are on the portico of the cathedral, now much defaced; others in the Hall of Consistory and in two chapels in the Palace of the Popes; the latter are those here referred to; compare *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 85.]

understood symbolical language; the undulatory lines are often valuable as an enrichment of surface, but are rarely of any studied gracefulness. One of the best examples I know of their expressive arrangement is around some figures in a spandril at Bourges, representing figures sinking in deep sea (the deluge): the waved lines yield beneath the bodies and wildly lave the edge of the moulding, two birds, as if to mark the reverse of all order of nature, lowest of all sunk in the depth of them. In later times of debasement, water began to be represented with its waves, foam, etc., as on the Vendramin tomb at Venice, above cited;¹ but even there, without any definite ornamental purpose, the sculptor meant partly to explain a story, partly to display dexterity of chiselling, but not to produce beautiful forms, pleasant to the eye. The imitation is vapid and joyless, and it has often been matter of surprise to me that sculptors, so fond of exhibiting their skill, should have suffered this imitation to fall so short, and remain so cold,—should not have taken more pains to curl the waves clearly, to edge them sharply, and to express, by drillholes or other artifices, the character of foam. I think in one of the Antwerp churches something of this kind is done in wood, but in general it is rare.

§ 26. (4.) Forms of Fire (Flames and Rays). If neither the sea nor the rock can be imaged, still less the devouring fire. It has been symbolised by radiation both in painting and sculpture, for the most part in the latter very unsuccessfully. It was suggested to me, not long ago,* that the zigzag decorations of Norman architects were typical of light springing from the half-set orb of the sun; the resemblance to the ordinary sun type is indeed remarkable, but I believe accidental.² I shall give, in my large plates,³ two curious instances

* By the friend to whom I owe Appendix 21. [Sir Charles Newton.]

¹ [See ch. i. § 42, p. 49.]

² [See further on this subject note to ch. xxiii. § 8, p. 322, below; and *cf.* ch. xxviii. § 14, p. 395.]

³ [The reference is to Plates 12 and 13 in the *Examples of the Architecture of Venice* (Vol. XI).]

of radiation in brick ornament above arches, but I think these also without any very luminous intention. The imitations of fire in the torches of Cupids and genii, and burning in tops of urns, which attest and represent the mephitic inspirations of the seventeenth century in most London churches, and in monuments all over civilized Europe, together with the gilded rays of Romanist altars, may be left to such mercy as the reader is inclined to show them.

§ 27. (5.) Forms of Air (Clouds). Hardly more manageable than flames, and of no ornamental use, their majesty being in scale and colour, and inimitable in marble. They are lightly traced in much of the cinque cento sculpture; very boldly and grandly in the strange Last Judgment in the porch of St. Maclou at Rouen, described in the *Seven Lamps*.¹ But the most elaborate imitations are altogether of recent date, arranged in concretions like flattened sacks, forty or fifty feet above the altars of continental churches, mixed with the gilded truncheons intended for sunbeams above alluded to.

§ 28. (6.) Shells. I place these lowest in the scale (after inorganic forms) as being moulds or coats of organism; not themselves organic. The sense of this, and of their being mere emptinesses and deserted houses, must always prevent them, however beautiful in their lines, from being largely used in ornamentation. It is better to take the line and leave the shell. One form indeed, that of the cockle, has been in all ages used as the decoration of half domes, which were named conchas from their shell form; and I believe the wrinkled lip of the cockle, so used, to have been the origin, in some parts of Europe at least, of the exuberant foliation of the round arch. The scallop also is a pretty radiant form, and mingles well with other symbols when it is needed. The crab is always as delightful as a grotesque, for here we suppose the beast inside the shell; and he sustains his part in a lively manner among the other signs of the zodiac, with the scorpion; or scattered upon sculptured shores, as beside the Bronze Boar

¹ [Ch. v. § 19, Vol. VIII. p. 212.]

of Florence.¹ We shall find him in a basket at Venice, at the base of one of the Piazzetta shafts.²

§ 29. (7.) Fish. These, as beautiful in their forms as they are familiar to our sight, while their interest is increased by their symbolic meaning, are of great value as material of ornament. Love of the picturesque has generally induced a choice of some supple form with scaly body and lashing tail, but the simplest fish form is largely employed in mediæval work. We shall find the plain oval body and sharp head of the Thunny constantly at Venice; and the fish used in the expression of sea-water, or water generally, are always plain-bodied creatures in the best mediæval sculpture. The Greek type of the dolphin, however, sometimes but slightly exaggerated from the real outline of the Delphinus Delphis,* is one of the most picturesque of animal forms; and the action of its slow revolving plunge is admirably caught upon the surface sea represented in Greek vases.

§ 30. (8.) Reptiles and Insects. The forms of the serpent and lizard exhibit almost every element of beauty and horror in strange combination; the horror, which in an imitation is felt only as a pleasurable excitement, has rendered them favourite subjects in all periods of art; and the unity of both lizard and serpent in the ideal dragon, the most picturesque and powerful of all animal forms, and of peculiar symbolical interest to the Christian mind, is perhaps the principal of

* One is glad to hear from Cuvier, that though dolphins in general are “les plus carnassiers, et, proportion gardée avec leur taille, les plus cruels de l’ordre;” yet that in the Delphinus Delphis, “toute l’organisation de son cerveau annonce *qu’il ne doit pas être dépourvu de la docilité qu’ils*” (les anciens) “lui attribuaient.”³

¹ [This famous piece of Greek sculpture is in the second vestibule of the Uffizi. A copy of it in bronze, forming a fountain, by Pietro Tacca, is in the Mercato Nuovo. Ruskin refers to the Boar in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 303).]

² [The crab is, however, not again referred to. Ruskin had intended to describe the pillars of the Piazzetta in the *Examples* (see *Stones of Venice*, Venetian index, s. “Piazzetta”), but that work was suspended before he had done so and was never continued.]

³ [Though dolphins in general are “the most carnivorous and in proportion to their size the most cruel of their order . . . the common dolphin appears to have been the dolphin of the ancients. . . . The entire organisation of the beast would seem to indicate the docility which they attributed to it” (Cuvier’s *Animal Kingdom*, London: 1840, p. 146).]

all the materials of mediæval picturesque sculpture. By the best sculptors it is always used with this symbolic meaning, by the cinque cento sculptors as an ornament merely. The best and most natural representations of mere viper or snake are to be found interlaced among their confused groups of meaningless objects. The real power and horror of the snake-head has, however, been rarely reached. I shall give one example from Verona of the twelfth century.¹

Other less powerful reptile forms are not unfrequent. Small frogs, lizards, and snails almost always enliven the foregrounds and leafage of good sculpture. The tortoise is less usually employed in groups. Beetles are chiefly mystic and colossal. Various insects, like everything else in the world, occur in cinque cento work; grasshoppers most frequently. We shall see on the Ducal Palace at Venice an interesting use of the bee.²

§ 31. (9.) Branches and stems of Trees. I arrange these under a separate head: because, while the forms of leafage belong to all architecture, and ought to be employed in it always, those of the branch and stem belong to a peculiarly imitative and luxuriant architecture, and are only applicable at times. Pagan sculptors seem to have perceived little beauty in the stems of trees; they were little else than timber to them; and they preferred the rigid and monstrous triglyph, or the fluted column, to a broken bough or gnarled trunk. But with Christian knowledge came a peculiar regard for the forms of vegetation, from the root upwards. The actual representation of entire trees required in many Scripture subjects,—as in the most frequent of Old Testament subjects, the Fall; and again in the Drunkenness of Noah, the Garden Agony, and many others, familiarised the sculptors of bas-relief to the beauty of forms before unknown; while the symbolical name given to Christ by the Prophets, “the

¹ [The promised illustration (perhaps intended to be placed in the *Examples*) was not given; but for a further reference, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. iii. § 69.]

² [The reference is to Capital 20 on the Ducal Palace; see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 118, and Plate 1 in *Examples of Venetian Architecture*.]

Branch,”¹ and the frequent expressions referring to this image throughout every scriptural description of conversion, gave an especial interest in the Christian mind to this portion of vegetative structure. For some time, nevertheless, the sculpture of trees was confined to bas-relief; but it at last affected even the treatment of the main shafts in Lombard Gothic buildings,—as in the western façade of Genoa, where two of the shafts are represented as gnarled trunks:² and as bas-relief itself became more boldly introduced, so did tree sculpture, until we find the writhed and knotted stems of the vine and fig used for angle shafts on the Doge’s Palace,³ and entire oaks and apple-trees forming, roots and all, the principal decorative sculptures of the Scala tombs at Verona. It was then discovered to be more easy to carve branches than leaves; and, much helped by the frequent employment in later Gothic of the “Tree of Jesse” for traceries and other purposes, the system reached full development in a perfect thicket of twigs, which form the richest portion of the decoration of the porches of Beauvais. It had now been carried to its richest extreme; men wearied of it and abandoned it, and, like all other natural and beautiful things, it was ostracised by the mob of Renaissance architects. But it is interesting to observe how the human mind, in its acceptance of this feature of ornament, proceeded from the ground, and followed as it were, the natural growth of the tree. It began with the rude and solid trunk, as at Genoa; then the branches shot out, and became loaded with leaves; autumn came, the leaves were shed, and the eye was directed to the extremities of the delicate branches;—the Renaissance frosts came, and all perished.⁴

§ 32. (10.) Foliage, Flowers, and Fruit. It is necessary

¹ [E.g., Isaiah xi. 1; Jeremiah xxiii. 5; Zechariah iii. 8.]

² [Ruskin studied the architecture of Genoa in March 1850. He notes in his diary:—
“these branched stems of the west front as one of the earliest occurrences of Gothic imitative vegetation subdued into architectural severity, *i.e.*, the shaft or foliation composed of tree stems instead of the tree introduced as such as in Scala monuments. The practice is a bad one.”]

³ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 37, and Plate 20.]

⁴ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. i. § 23.]

to consider these as separated from the stems; not only, as above noted, because their separate use marks another school of architecture, but because they are the only organic structures which are capable of being so treated, and intended to be so, without strong effort of imagination. To pull animals to pieces, and use their paws for feet of furniture, or their heads for terminations of rods and shafts, is *usually* the characteristic of feelingless schools; the greatest men like their animals whole. The head may, indeed, be so managed as to look emergent from the stone, rather than fastened to it; and wherever there is throughout the architecture any expression of sternness or severity (severity in its literal sense, as in Romans xi. 22), such divisions of the living form may be permitted; still, you cannot cut an animal to pieces as you can gather a flower or a leaf. These were intended for our gathering, and for our constant delight: wherever men exist in a perfectly civilized and healthy state, they have vegetation around them; wherever their state approaches that of innocence or perfectness, it approaches that of Paradise,—it is a dressing of garden.¹ And, therefore, where nothing else can be used for ornament, vegetation may; vegetation in any form, however fragmentary, however abstracted. A single leaf laid upon the angle of a stone, or the mere form or framework of the leaf drawn upon it, or the mere shadow and ghost of the leaf,—the hollow “foil” cut out of it,—possesses a charm which nothing else can replace; a charm not exciting, nor demanding laborious thought or sympathy, but perfectly simple, peaceful, and satisfying.

§ 33. The full recognition of leaf forms, as the general source of subordinate decoration, is one of the chief characteristics of Christian architecture; but the two *roots* of leaf ornament are the Greek acanthus,² and the Egyptian lotus.*

* Vide Wilkinson, vol. v., woodcut, No. 478, fig. 8.³ The tamarisk appears afterwards to have given the idea of a subdivision of leaf more pure and quaint

¹ [Cf. *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. vi. ch. i.]

² [For the acanthus, see further *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. ii. § 6.]

³ [*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, by J. G. Wilkinson, first series 1837, second series 1841, 6 vols.]

The dry land and the river thus each contributed their part; and all the florid capitals of the richest Northern Gothic on the one hand, and the arrowy lines of the severe Lombardic capitals on the other, are founded on these two gifts of the dust of Greece and the waves of the Nile. The leaf which is, I believe, called the Persepolitan water-leaf, is to be associated with the lotus-flower and stem, as the origin of our noblest types of simple capital; and it is to be noted that the florid leaves of the dry land are used most by the Northern architects, while the water leaves are gathered for their ornaments by the parched builders of the Desert.

§ 34. Fruit is, for the most part, more valuable in colour than form; nothing is more beautiful as a subject of sculpture on a tree; but, gathered and put in baskets, it is quite possible to have too much of it. We shall find it so used very dexterously on the Ducal Palace of Venice, there with a meaning which rendered it right and necessary;¹ but the Renaissance architects address themselves to spectators who care for nothing but feasting, and suppose that clusters of pears and pine-apples are visions of which their imagination can never weary, and above which it will never care to rise. I am no advocate for image-worship, as I believe the reader will elsewhere sufficiently find;² but I am very sure that the Protestantism of London would have found itself quite as secure in a cathedral decorated with statues of good men, as in one hung round with bunches of ribston pippins.³

§ 35. (11.) Birds. The perfect and simple grace of bird form, in general, has rendered it a favourite subject with early sculptors, and with those schools which loved form

than that of the acanthus. Of late our botanists have discovered, in the 'Victoria regia' (supposing its blossom reversed), another strangely beautiful type of what we may perhaps hereafter find it convenient to call *Lily* capitals.⁴

¹ [On Capital 27: see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 125.]

² [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. iii. § 40; ch. iv. § 62, and appendix 10.]

³ [For another criticism of the fruit and flower decoration of St. Paul's, see *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 13, Vol. VIII, p. 152, and below, p. 284.]

⁴ [See below, ch. xxvii. § 48, p. 387.]

more than action; but the difficulty of expressing action, where the muscular markings are concealed, has limited the use of it in later art. Half the ornament, at least, in Byzantine architecture, and a third of that of Lombardic, is composed of birds, either pecking at fruit or flowers, or standing on either side of a flower or vase, or alone, as generally the symbolical peacock. But how much of our general sense of grace or power of motion, of serenity, peacefulness, and spirituality, we owe to these creatures, it is impossible to conceive; their wings supplying us with almost the only means of representation of spiritual motion which we possess, and with an ornamental form of which the eye is never weary, however meaninglessly or endlessly repeated; whether in utter isolation or associated with the bodies of the lizard, the horse, the lion, or the man. The heads of the birds of prey are always beautiful, and used as the richest ornaments in all ages.

§ 36. (12.) Quadrupeds and Men. Of quadrupeds the horse has received an elevation into the primal rank of sculptural subject, owing to his association with men. The full value of other quadruped forms has hardly been perceived, or worked for, in late sculpture; and the want of science is more felt in these subjects than in any other branches of early work. The greatest richness of quadruped ornament is found in the hunting sculpture of the Lombards;¹ but rudely treated (the most noble examples of treatment being the lions of Egypt, the Ninevite bulls, and the mediæval griffins). Quadrupeds of course form the noblest subjects of ornament next to the human form; this latter, the chief subject of sculpture, being sometimes the end of architecture rather than its decoration.

We have thus completed the list of the materials of architectural decoration, and the reader may be assured that no effort has ever been successful to draw elements of beauty from any other sources than these. Such an effort was once

¹ [See the description of the hunting scenes on St. Michele, Lucca, in Vol. III. p. 206 *n.*, and below, p. 430.]

resolutely made. It was contrary to the religion of the Arab to introduce any animal form into his ornament;¹ but although all the radiance of colour, all the refinements of proportion, and all the intricacies of geometrical design were open to him, he could not produce any noble work without an *abstraction* of the forms of leafage, to be used in his capitals, and made the ground plan of his chased ornament. But I have above noted that colouring is an entirely distinct and independent art; and in the *Seven Lamps*² we saw that this art had most power when practised in arrangements of simple geometrical form: the Arab, therefore, lay under no disadvantage in colouring, and he had all the noble elements of constructive and proportional beauty at his command: he might not imitate the sea-shell, but he could build the dome. The imitation of radiance by the variegated voussoir, the expression of the sweep of the desert by the barred red lines upon the wall, the starred inshedding of light through his vaulted roof, and all the endless fantasy of abstract line,* were still in the power of his ardent and fantastic spirit. Much he achieved; and yet, in the effort of his overtaxed invention, restrained from its proper food, he made his architecture a glittering vacillation of undisciplined enchantment, and left the lustre of its edifices to wither like a startling dream, whose beauty we may indeed feel, and whose instruction we may receive, but must smile at its inconsistency, and mourn over its evanescence.

* Appendix 22: "Arabian Ornamentation" [p. 469].

¹ [The representation of animal forms was forbidden by the religion of Mahomet.]

² [Ch. iv. § 40, Vol. VIII. p. 184.]

CHAPTER XXI

TREATMENT OF ORNAMENT

§ 1. WE now know where we are to look for subjects of decoration. The next question is, as the reader must remember, how to treat or express these subjects.

There are evidently two branches of treatment: the first being the expression, or rendering to the eye and mind, of the thing itself; and the second, the arrangement of the things so expressed: both of these being quite distinct from the placing of the ornament in proper parts of the building. For instance suppose we take a vine-leaf for our subject. The first question is, how to cut the vine-leaf? Shall we cut its ribs and notches on the edge, or only its general outline? and so on. Then, how to arrange the vine-leaves when we have them; whether symmetrically, or at random; or unsymmetrically, yet within certain limits? All these I call questions of treatment. Then, whether the vine-leaves so arranged are to be set on the capital of a pillar or on its shaft, I call a question of place.

§ 2. So, then, the questions of mere treatment are two-fold: how to express, and how to arrange. And expression is to the mind or to the sight. Therefore, the inquiry becomes really threefold:—

(1.) How ornament is to be expressed with reference to the mind.

(2.) How ornament is to be expressed with reference to the sight.

(3.) How ornament is to be arranged with reference to both.

§ 3. (1.) How is ornament to be treated with reference to the mind?

If, to produce a good or beautiful ornament, it were only necessary to produce a perfect piece of sculpture, and if a well-cut group of flowers or animals were indeed an ornament wherever it might be placed, the work of the architect would be comparatively easy. Sculpture and architecture would become separate arts: and the architect would order so many pieces of such subject and size as he needed, without troubling himself with any questions but those of disposition and proportion. But this is not so. *No perfect piece either of painting or sculpture is an architectural ornament at all*, except in that vague sense in which any beautiful thing is said to ornament the place it is in. Thus we say that pictures ornament a room; but we should not thank an architect who told us that his design, to be complete, required a Titian to be put in one corner of it, and a Velasquez in the other; and it is just as unreasonable to call perfect sculpture, niched in, or encrusted on a building, a portion of the ornament of that building, as it would be to hang pictures by way of ornament on the outside of it. It is very possible that the sculptured work may be harmoniously associated with the building, or the building executed with reference to it; but in this latter case the architecture is subordinate to the sculpture, as in the Medicean chapel, and I believe also in the Parthenon. And so far from the perfection of the work conducing to its ornamental purpose, we may say, with entire security, that its perfection, in some degree, unfits it for its purpose, and that no absolutely complete sculpture can be decoratively right. We have a familiar instance in the flower-work of St. Paul's,¹ which is probably, in the abstract, as perfect flower sculpture as could be produced at the time; and which is just as rational an ornament of the building as so many valuable Van Huysums,² framed and glazed, and hung up over each window.

§ 4. The especial condition of true ornament is, that it be beautiful in its place, and nowhere else, and that it aid

¹ [See preceding chapter, § 34, p. 280.]

² [See Vol. III. p. 672.]

the effect of every portion of the building over which it has influence; that it does not, by its richness, make other parts bald, or by its delicacy, make other parts coarse. Every one of its qualities has reference to its place and use: *and it is fitted for its service by what would be faults and deficiencies if it had no especial duty*. Ornament, the servant, is often formal, where sculpture, the master, would have been free; the servant is often silent where the master would have been eloquent; or hurried, where the master would have been serene.

§ 5. How far this subordination is in different situations to be expressed, or how far it may be surrendered, and ornament, the servant, be permitted to have independent will; and by what means the subordination is best to be expressed when it is required, are by far the most difficult questions I have ever tried to work out respecting any branch of art; for, in many of the examples to which I look as authoritative in their majesty of effect, it is almost impossible to say whether the abstraction or imperfection of the sculpture was owing to the choice, or the incapacity, of the workman; and if to the latter, how far the result of fortunate incapacity can be imitated by prudent self-restraint. The reader, I think, will understand this at once by considering the effect of the illuminations of an old missal.¹ In their bold rejection of all principles of perspective, light and shade, and drawing, they are infinitely more ornamental to the page, owing to the vivid opposition of their bright colours and quaint lines, than if they had been drawn by Da Vinci himself: and so the Arena chapel is far more brightly *decorated* by the archaic frescoes of Giotto,² than the Stanze of the Vatican are by those of Raffaello. But how far it is possible to recur to such archaicism, or to make up for it by any voluntary abandonment of power, I cannot as yet venture in any wise to determine.

¹ [For Ruskin's study of missals which had begun at this time (1850–1851), see *Præterita*, iii. ch. i. § 18.]

² [For further remarks on the decorative effect of Giotto's frescoes, see *Giotto and his Works in Padua*, § 20, and *cf.* below, appendix 15, p. 449.]

§ 6. So, on the other hand, in many instances of finished work in which I find most to regret or to reprobate, I can hardly distinguish what is erroneous in principle from what is vulgar in execution. For instance, in most Romanesque churches of Italy, the porches are guarded by gigantic animals, lions or griffins, of admirable severity of design; yet, in many cases, of so rude workmanship, that it can hardly be determined how much of this severity was intentional,—how much involuntary; in the cathedral of Genoa two modern lions have, in imitation of this ancient custom, been placed on the steps of its west front; and the Italian sculptor, thinking himself a marvellous great man because he knew what lions were really like, has copied them, in the menagerie, with great success, and produced two hairy and well-whiskered beasts, as like to real lions as he could possibly cut them. One wishes them back in the menagerie for his pains; but it is impossible to say how far the offence of their presence is owing to the mere stupidity and vulgarity of the sculpture, and how far we might have been delighted with a realisation, carried to nearly the same length by Ghiberti or Michael Angelo. (I say *nearly*, because neither Ghiberti nor Michael Angelo would ever have attempted, or permitted, entire realisation, even in independent sculpture.)

§ 7. In spite of these embarrassments, however, some few certainties may be marked in the treatment of past architecture and secure conclusions deduced for future practice. There is first, for instance, the assuredly intended and resolute abstraction of the Ninevite and Egyptian sculptors. The men who cut those granite lions in the Egyptian room of the British Museum, and who carved the calm faces of those Ninevite kings, knew much more, both of lions and kings, than they chose to express. Then there is the Greek system, in which the human sculpture is perfect, the architecture and animal sculpture is subordinate to it, and the architectural ornament severely subordinated to this again, so as to be composed of little more than abstract lines: and, finally, there is the peculiarly mediæval system, in which the

inferior details are carried to as great or greater imitative perfection as the highest sculpture; and the subordination is chiefly effected by symmetries of arrangement, and quaintnesses of treatment, respecting which it is difficult to say how far they resulted from intention, and how far from incapacity.

§ 8. Now of these systems, the Ninevite and Egyptian are altogether opposed to modern habits of thought and action; they are sculptures evidently executed under absolute authorities, physical and mental, such as cannot at present exist. The Greek system presupposes the possession of a Phidias: it is ridiculous to talk of building in the Greek manner; you may build a Greek shell or box, such as the Greek intended to contain sculpture, but you have not the sculpture to put in it. Find your Phidias first, and your new Phidias will very soon settle all your architectural difficulties in very unexpected ways indeed; but until you find him, do not think yourselves architects while you go on copying those poor subordinations, and secondary and tertiary orders of ornament, which the Greek put on the shell of his sculpture. Some of them, beads, and dentils, and such like, are as good as they can be for their work, and you may use them for subordinate work still; but they are nothing to be proud of, especially when you did not invent them: and others of them are mistakes and impertinences in the Greek himself, such as his so-called honeysuckle ornaments¹ and others, in which there is a starched and dull suggestion of vegetable form, and yet no real resemblance nor life, for the conditions of them result from his own conceit of himself, and ignorance of the physical sciences, and want of relish for common nature, and vain fancy that he could improve everything he touched, and that he honoured it by taking it into his service: by freedom from which conceits the true Christian architecture is distinguished,—not by points to its arches.

§ 9. There remains, therefore, only the mediæval system,

¹ [See further, ch. xxvii. §§ 17, 18, pp. 368, 369.]

in which¹ everything is realised as far as possible, leaves, birds, and lizards, quite as carefully as men and quadrupeds; and usually with much greater success. The realisation is, however, in all cases, dangerous except under most skilful management, and the abstraction, if true and noble, is almost always more delightful.*

§ 10. What, then, *is* noble abstraction? It is taking first the essential elements of the thing to be represented, then the rest in the order of importance,² and using any expedient to impress what we want upon the mind, without caring about the mere literal accuracy of such expedient. Suppose, for instance, we have to represent a peacock: now a peacock has a graceful neck, so has a swan; it has a high crest, so has a cockatoo; it has a long tail, so has a bird of Paradise. But the whole spirit and power of [the] peacock is in those eyes of the tail.³ It is true, the argus pheasant,⁴ and one or two more birds, have something like them, but nothing for a moment comparable to them in brilliancy: express the gleaming of the blue eyes through the plumage, and you have nearly all you want of peacock, but without this, nothing; and yet those eyes are not in relief; a rigidly *true* sculpture of a peacock's form could have no eyes,—nothing but feathers. Here, then, enters the stratagem of sculpture; you *must* cut the eyes in relief, somehow or another; see how it is done in the peacock opposite: it is so done by

* Vide *Seven Lamps*, Chap. IV. § 34. [Vol. VIII. p. 175.]

¹ [Ruskin's first conclusions on the practice of the mediæval system in this respect were somewhat different. Ed. I reads:—

“ . . . in which I think, generally, more completion is permitted (though this often because more was possible) in the inferior than in the higher portions of ornamental subject. Leaves and birds, and lizards are realised, or nearly so; men and quadrupeds formalised. For, observe, the smaller and inferior subject remains subordinate, however richly finished; but the human sculpture can only be subordinate by being imperfect. The realisation is, however, . . . ”

² [Ed. I inserts “(so that wherever we please we shall always have obtained more than we leave behind)”.]

³ [Cf. the letter of May 2, 1874, in *Hortus Inclusus*, where Ruskin, in describing some Pompeian frescoes, speaks of “the feverish wretchedness of the humanity which . . . had reduced itself to see no more than eleven eyes in a peacock's tail.”]

⁴ [Cf. *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 5, Vol. VIII. p. 144.]



Decoration by Disks.
Palazzo dei Badoari Partecipazzi.

nearly all the Byzantine sculptors: this particular peacock is meant to be seen at some distance (how far off I know not, for it is an interpolation in the building where it occurs, of which more hereafter),¹ but at all events at a distance of thirty or forty feet; I have put it close to you that you may see plainly the rude rings and rods which stand for the eyes and quills, but at the just distance their effects is perfect.

§ 11. And the simplicity of the means here employed may help us, both to some clear understanding of the spirit of Ninevite and Egyptian work, and to some perception of the kind of enfantillage or archaicism to which it may be possible, even in days of advanced science, legitimately to return. The architect has no right, as we said before, to require of us a picture of Titian's in order to complete his design; neither has he the right to calculate on the co-operation of perfect sculptors, in subordinate capacities. Far from this; his business is to dispense with such aid altogether, and to devise such a system of ornament as shall be capable of execution by uninventive and even unintelligent workmen; for supposing that he required noble sculpture for his ornament, how far would this at once limit the number and the scale of possible buildings? Architecture is the work of nations; but we cannot have nations of great sculptors. Every house in every street of every city ought to be good architecture, but we cannot have Chantrey or Thorwaldsen² at work upon it: nor, even if we chose only to devote ourselves to our public buildings, could the mass and majesty of them be great, if we required all to be executed by great men: greatness is not to be had in the required quantity. Giotto may design a campanile, but he cannot carve it; he can only carve one or two of the bas-reliefs at the base of it.³ And with every increase of your fastidiousness in the execution of your ornament, you diminish the possible number

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., Venetian Index, s. "Badoer, Palazzo."]

² Instead of "Chantrey" ed. 1 reads "Flaxman," who is cited again in a similar passage in *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 44.]

³ [For a description of these bas-reliefs, and a discussion of the amount of Giotto's handiwork in them, see *Mornings in Florence*, ch. vi.]

and grandeur of your buildings. Do not think you can educate your workmen, or that the demand for perfection will increase the supply: educated imbecility and finessed foolishness are the worst of all imbecilities and foolishnesses; and there is no free-trade measure which will ever lower the price of brains,—there is no California of common sense.¹ Exactly in the degree in which you require your decoration to be wrought by able men, you diminish the extent and number of architectural works. Your business as an architect, is to calculate only on the co-operation of inferior men, to think for them, and to indicate for some of them at least such expressions of your thoughts as the weakest capacity can comprehend and the feeblest hand can execute. This is the definition of the purest architectural abstractions. They are the deep and laborious thoughts of the greatest men, put into such easy letters that they can be written by the simplest. *They are expressions of the mind of manhood by the hands of childhood.*

§ 12. And now suppose one of those old Ninevite or Egyptian builders, with a couple of thousand men—mud-bred, onion-eating creatures—under him, to be set to work, like so many ants, on his temple sculptures. What is he to do with them? He can put them through a granitic exercise of current hand; he can teach them all how to curl hair thoroughly into *croche-cœurs*,² as you teach a bench of school-boys how to shape pothooks; he can teach them all how to draw long eyes and straight noses, and how to copy accurately certain well-defined lines. Then he fits his own great design to their capacities; he takes out of king, or lion, or god, as much as was expressible by *croche-cœurs* and granitic pothooks; he throws this into noble forms of his own

¹ [These were topical allusions, when this volume was written (1850). Peel's Free Trade policy had come into effect in 1849, and at the same time the gold rush into California began.]

² [These curls, more properly "*accroche-cœurs*" or heart-hookers, are pomaded on to the face, in the shape of hooks, just in front of the ears, and sometimes on the forehead. They are much favoured by Spanish women—perhaps Adèle Domecq (Vol. II. p. xx.) and her sisters had worn them—and they may be seen in some of the pictures of J. F. Lewis. At one time they were also fashionable in France and America.]

imagining, and having mapped out their lines so that there can be no possibility of error, sets his two thousand men to work upon them, with a will, and so many onions a day.

§ 13. I said those times cannot now return. We have, with Christianity, recognised the individual value of every soul; and there is no intelligence so feeble but that its single ray may in some sort contribute to the general light. This is the glory of Gothic architecture, that every jot and tittle, every point and niche of it, affords room, fuel, and focus for individual fire.¹ But you cease to acknowledge this, and you refuse to accept the help of the lesser mind, if you require the work to be all executed in a great manner. Your business is to think out all of it nobly, to dictate the expression of it as far as your dictation can assist the less elevated intelligence; then to leave this, aided and taught as far as may be, to its own simple act and effort; and to rejoice in its simplicity if not in its power, and in its vitality if not in its science.

§ 14. We have, then, three orders of ornament, classed according to the degrees of correspondence of the executive and conceptive minds.² We have the servile ornament, in which the executive is absolutely subjected to the inventive,—the ornament of the great Eastern nations, more especially Hamite, and all pre-Christian, yet thoroughly noble in its submissiveness. Then we have the mediæval system, in which the mind of the inferior workman is recognised, and has full room for action, but is guided and ennobled by the ruling mind. This is the truly Christian and only perfect system. Finally, we have ornaments expressing the endeavour to equalise the executive and inventive,—endeavour which is Renaissance and revolutionary, and destructive of all noble architecture.

§ 15. Thus far, then, of the incompleteness or simplicity of execution necessary in architectural ornament, as referred to

¹ [See further, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vi. ("The Nature of Gothic").]

² [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vi. § 9, where this classification is repeated and further illustrated.]

the mind. Next we have to consider that which is required when it is referred to the sight, and the various modifications of treatment which are rendered necessary by the variation of its distance from the eye. I say necessary: not merely expedient or economical. It is foolish to carve what is to be seen forty feet off with the delicacy which the eye demands within two yards; not merely because such delicacy is lost in the distance, but because it is a great deal worse than lost:—the delicate work has actually worse effect in the distance than rough work. This is a fact well known to painters, and, for the most part, acknowledged by the critics of painting, namely, that there is a certain distance for which a picture is painted; and that the finish, which is delightful if that distance be small, is actually injurious if the distance be great:¹ and, moreover, that there is a particular method of handling which none but consummate artists reach, which has its effect at the intended distance, and is altogether hieroglyphical and unintelligible at any other. This, I say, is acknowledged in painting, but it is not practically acknowledged in architecture; nor until my attention was specially directed to it, had I myself any idea of the care with which this great question was studied by the mediæval architects. On my first careful examination of the capitals of the upper arcade of the Ducal Palace at Venice,² I was induced, by their singular inferiority of workmanship, to suppose them posterior to those of the lower arcade. It was not till I discovered that some of those

¹ [Ruskin referred to this subject in the volume of *Modern Painters* (vol. iii. ch. iii. § 20) which followed *The Stones of Venice*.]

² [For the capitals of the upper arcade, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 129. We can trace Ruskin's studies on this point in his diary. "To-day" (17th January 1850), he writes, "I examined the shafts of the upper arcade towards the sea." He notes and analyses them, and finding many of them bad, enters into speculations as to their later date. But further on in the diary he writes:—

"In the last walk that I took in the upper arcade of Ducal Palace, I thought I had been hardly justified in supposing the ill-executed capitals to be of later time; more especially as I found the upper traceries of the Frari also rough chiselled and their capitals vilely cut, so that it would seem a general practice of the Italian workmen to put careless cutting into the upper stories, (note the remarkable exception in Ca' d'Oro, where also note the Byzantine forms of capital used in the detached shafts of lower story, while the pilaster heads are elaborately florid, the whole building being thus patch-work), only in the Ducal Palace it is so strange on the one hand to

which I thought the worst above, were the best when seen from below, that I obtained the key to this marvellous system of adaptation; a system which I afterwards found carried out in every building of the great times which I had opportunity of examining.

§ 16. There are two distinct modes in which this adaptation is effected. In the first, the same designs which are delicately worked when near the eye, are rudely cut, and have far fewer details when they are removed from it. In this method it is not always easy to distinguish economy from skill, or slovenliness from science. But, in the second method, a different kind of design is adopted, composed of fewer parts and of simpler lines, and this is cut with exquisite precision. This is of course the higher method, and the more satisfactory proof of purpose; but an equal degree of imperfection is found in both kinds when they are seen close: in the first, a bald execution of a perfect design; in the second, a baldness of design with perfect execution. And in these very imperfections lies the admirableness of the ornament.

§ 17. It may be asked whether, in advocating this adaptation to the distance of the eye, I obey my adopted rule of observance of natural law. Are not all natural things, it may be asked, as lovely near as far away? Nay, not so. Look at the clouds, and watch the delicate sculpture of their alabaster sides, and the rounded lustre of their magnificent rolling. They were meant to be beheld far away; they were shaped for their place, high above your head; approach them, and they fuse into vague mists, or whirl away in fierce fragments of thunderous vapour. Look at the crest of the Alp, from the far-away plains over which its light is cast, whence human souls have communion with it by their myriads. The child looks up to it in the dawn, and the husbandman in the burden

find *some* of the capitals so utterly coarse and vile, while towards the angle they better gradually, as if the architect expected more people to look at them from the Piazzetta and from between the columns than from the sea. In fact the current of people might be considered as setting broad from the Ponte della Paglia as marked by the tidal lines opposite [reference to a diagram], and when they spread most, the upper columns would be most regarded.”]

and heat of the day, and the old man in the going down of the sun, and it is to them all as the celestial city on the world's horizon; dyed with the depth of heaven, and clothed with the calm of eternity. There was it set, for holy dominion, by Him who marked for the sun his journey, and bade the moon know her going down. It was built for its place in the far-off sky; approach it, and, as the sound of the voice of man dies away about its foundation, and the tide of human life, shallowed upon the vast aërial shore, is at last met by the Eternal "Here shall thy waves be stayed," the glory of its aspect fades into blanched fearfulness; its purple walls are rent into grisly rocks, its silver fretwork saddened into wasting snow: the storm-brands of ages are on its breast, the ashes of its own ruin lie solemnly on its white raiment.¹

Nor in such instances as these alone, though, strangely enough, the discrepancy between apparent and actual beauty is greater in proportion to the unapproachableness of the object, is the law observed. For every distance from the eye there is a peculiar kind of beauty, or a different system of lines of form; the sight of that beauty is reserved for that distance, and for that alone. If you approach nearer, that kind of beauty is lost, and another succeeds, to be disorganised and reduced to strange and incomprehensible means and appliances in its turn. If you desire to perceive the great harmonies of the form of a rocky mountain, you must not ascend upon its sides. All is there disorder and accident, or seems so; sudden starts of its shattered beds hither and thither; ugly struggles of unexpected strength from under the ground; fallen fragments, toppling one over another into more helpless fall. Retire from it, and, as your eye commands it more and more, as you see the ruined mountain world with a wider glance, behold! dim sympathies begin to busy themselves in the disjointed mass; line binds itself into stealthy fellowship with line; group by group, the

¹ [Ruskin took particular pains with this § 17: see above, Introduction, p. xxxvi. The reader will have noted how many Biblical phrases are introduced: see Matthew xx. 12, Daniel vi. 14, Psalms civ. 19, Job xxxviii. 11.]

helpless fragments gather themselves into ordered companies; new captains of hosts and masses of battalions become visible, one by one, and far away answers of foot to foot, and of bone to bone, until the powerless chaos is seen risen up with girded loins, and not one piece of all the unregarded heap could now be spared from the mystic whole.

§ 18. Now it is indeed true that where nature loses one kind of beauty, as you approach it, she substitutes another; this is worthy of her infinite power: and, as we shall see, art can sometimes follow her even in doing this; but all I insist upon at present is, that the several effects of nature are each worked with means referred to a particular distance, and producing their effect at that distance only. Take a singular and marked instance: When the sun rises behind a ridge of pines, and those pines are seen from a distance of a mile or two, against his light, the whole form of the tree, trunk, branches, and all, becomes one frostwork of intensely brilliant silver, which is relieved against the clear sky like a burning fringe, for some distance on either side of the sun.* Now suppose that a person who had never seen pines were, for the first time in his life, to see them under this strange aspect, and, reasoning as to the means by which such effect could be produced, laboriously to approach the eastern ridge, how would he be amazed to find that the fiery spectres had been produced by trees with swarthy and grey trunks, and dark green leaves! We, in our simplicity,

* Shakspeare and Wordsworth (I think they only) have noticed this. Shakspeare, in *Richard II.*:—

“But when, from under this terrestrial ball,
He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines.”

And Wordsworth, in one of his minor poems on leaving Italy:—

“My thoughts become bright like yon edging of pines
On the steep’s lofty verge—how it blackened the air!
But, touched from behind by the sun, it now shines
With threads that seem part of his own silver hair.”¹

¹ [The passage from *Richard II.* is in Act iii., scene 2; that from Wordsworth in *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent* (1820), xxix., “Stanzas composed in the Simplon Pass.”]

if we had been required to produce such an appearance, should have built up trees of chased silver, with trunks of glass, and then been grievously amazed to find that, at two miles off, neither silver nor glass was any more visible; but nature knew better, and prepared for her fairy work with the strong branches and dark leaves, in her own mysterious way.

§ 19. Now this is exactly what you have to do with your good ornament. It may be that it is capable of being approached, as well as likely to be seen far away, and then it ought to have microscopic qualities, as the pine leaves have, which will bear approach. But your calculation of its purpose is for a glory to be produced at a given distance; it may be here or may be there, but it is a *given* distance; and the excellence of the ornament depends upon its fitting that distance, and being seen better there than anywhere else, and having a particular function and form which it can only discharge and assume there. You are never to say that ornament has great merit because “you cannot see the beauty of it here:” but it has great merit because “you *can* see its beauty *here only*.” And to give it this merit is just about as difficult a task as I could well set you. I have above noted the two ways in which it is done: the one, being merely rough cutting, may be passed over; the other, which is scientific alteration of design, falls, itself, into two great branches, Simplification and Emphasis.

A word or two is necessary on each of these heads.

§ 20. When an ornamental work is intended to be seen near, if its composition be indeed fine, the subdued and delicate portions of the design lead to, and unite, the energetic parts, and those energetic parts form with the rest a whole, in which their own immediate relations to each other are not perceived. Remove this design to a distance, and the connecting delicacies vanish, the energies alone remain, now either disconnected altogether, or assuming with each other new relations, which, not having been intended by the designer, will probably be painful. There is a like, and a more palpable, effect, in the retirement of a band of music

in which the instruments are of very unequal powers; the fluting and ficing expire, the drumming remains, and that in a painful arrangement, as demanding something which is unheard. In like manner, as the designer at arm's length removes or elevates his work, fine gradations, and roundings and incidents, vanish, and a totally unexpected arrangement is established between the remainder of the markings, certainly confused, and in all probability painful.

§ 21. The art of architectural design is therefore, first, the preparation for this beforehand, the rejection of all the delicate passages as worse than useless, and the fixing the thought upon the arrangement of the features which will remain visible far away. Nor does this always imply a diminution of resource: for, while it may be assumed as a law that fine modulation of surface in light becomes quickly invisible as the object retires, there are a softness and mystery given to the harder markings, which enable them to be safely used as media of expression. There is an exquisite example of this use, in the head of the Adam of the Ducal Palace.¹ It is only at the height of 17 or 18 feet above the eye; nevertheless, the sculptor felt it was no use to trouble himself about drawing the corners of the mouth, or the lines of the lips, delicately, at that distance; his object has been to mark them clearly, and to prevent accidental shadows from concealing them, or altering their expression. The lips are cut thin and sharp, so that their line cannot be mistaken, and a good deep drill-hole struck into the angle of the mouth; the eye is anxious and questioning, and one is surprised, from below, to perceive a kind of darkness in the iris of it, neither like colour, nor like a circular furrow. The expedient can only be discovered by ascending to the level of the head; it is one which would have been quite inadmissible except in distant work, six drill-holes cut into the iris, round a central one for the pupil.

§ 22. By just calculation, like this, of the means at our

¹ [On the "Fig-tree angle:" see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 310.]

disposal, by beautiful arrangement of the prominent features, and by choice of different subjects for different places, choosing the broadest forms for the farthest distance, it is possible to give the impression, not only of perfection, but of an exquisite delicacy, to the most distant ornament. And this is the true sign of the right having been done, and the utmost possible power attained:—The spectator should be satisfied to stay in his place, feeling the decoration, wherever it may be, equally rich, full, and lovely: not desiring to climb the steeples in order to examine it, but sure that he has it all, where he is. Perhaps the capitals of the cathedral of Genoa are the best instances of absolute perfection in this kind: seen from below they appear as rich as the frosted silver of the Strada degli Orefici;¹ and the nearer you approach them, the less delicate they seem.²

§ 23. This is, however, not the only mode, though the best, in which ornament is adapted for distance. The other is emphasis,—the unnatural insisting upon explanatory lines, where the subject would otherwise become unintelligible. It

¹ [The allusion is of course to the filigree work of frosted silver which is a speciality of the Genoese jewellers, whose shops are in the street named after them which runs through the heart of the old city.]

² [The Cathedral of Genoa was constructed in the 14th century, some details belonging to the previous building of the 11th century being preserved. Ruskin studied it in 1850 on his way home from Venice. The following notes are from his diary:—

“Most singular, as having the utmost delicacy of detail engrafted on a mingling of our Norman and early French with Romanesque. The three main doors are almost pure Norman in their plan; only their shafts are set in front of a sloping wall instead of in nooks; but above, the rolls are carried or touched by zigzag mouldings, or long teeth, of the severest Norman cast. The capitals are for the most part of the peculiar early French knob-leaved springing bell; but instead of the heavy contours of Dijon, their leaves are cut through and through into a transparent *chasing*, which I can compare to nothing but the wrought silver of the Strada degli Orefici. These capitals are the most exquisite I have ever seen for delicacy of effect on the eye from below; perfect filigree, while yet their simplicity of general form is never sacrificed. I think they lose somewhat in dignity and power; but it is a new form of management of this capital, worth the most attentive study.

“These capitals are set on shafts—some slender and like rods; some, at least two, of the most graceful wave of white alabaster, like a rolling wave, properly a spherical spiral like that of Raffaello’s Beautiful Gate [see p. 357]; others with stems twined round them and throwing off knots at intervals with great boldness and yet formality—all finished with consummate delicacy; and the wall behind and arch mouldings striped first and then inlaid with lovely patterns in dark green, russet green or brown, red and white marble. . .”]

is to be remembered that, by a deep and narrow incision, an architect has the power, at least in sunshine, of drawing a black line on stone just as vigorously as it can be drawn with chalk on grey paper; and that he may thus, wherever and in the degree that he chooses, substitute *chalk sketching* for sculpture. They are curiously mingled by the Romans. The bas-reliefs on the Arc d' Orange¹ are small, and would be confused, though in bold relief, if they depended for intelligibility on the relief only; but each figure is outlined by a strong *incision* at its edge into the background, and all the ornaments on the armour are simply drawn with incised lines, and not cut out at all. A similar use of lines is made by the Gothic nations in all their early sculpture, and with delicious effect. Now, to draw a mere pattern—as, for instance, the bearings of a shield—with these simple incisions, would, I

¹ [Ruskin was at Orange in 1850. The note in his diary on the Roman Triumphal Arch there is as follows:—

(April 1.)—"It has a rich bas-relief of a battle on both sides, at the top—far finer than I supposed Romans could do; no ideal form nor much grace but thorough hard fighting; rich confusion of forms, and vigorous ornamental arrangement of them. Below this and above the main arch story runs round a narrow frieze of which only a fragment is left, on the south side; in which from the peculiar smallness yet distinctness of the figures, I first observed what I found presently to be a characteristic of the bas-reliefs throughout: every figure is traced by an outline formed by a sharp incision, exactly correspondent to one of Prout's hard black outlines. At a great height, when the figures are in low relief, it is impossible too much to admire the clearness and sharpness of effect given by this device. The figures on the small frieze are all single, in various actions of effort. Below them, above the lower side arches, is a mass of noble trophy ornamentation, most picturesquely and deeply cut, chiefly ships' heads and armour; the latter covered with ornamentation, not as in the vile cinque cento, in raised relief, but all simply drawn by lines of sharp incision on the surfaces. It is Proutism of the purest kind, so much so that I think Prout is in art precisely the representative of Romanism in architecture. No one so fit to draw Roman ruins . . . But I was most interested by the architrave of the central arch. It was a piece of naturalism of the purest kind; might belong to any period of Gothic—consisting of successive portions of ornament composed of apples and apple leaves, vine fruit and vine leaf, fir cones and their long spiny bushes of foliage; all admirably cut . . ."

In an addition to the note he writes:—

"I ought also to have noted respecting this arch that there is down the inner, or jamb, side of its pilasters at the side of the arch, a superb writhing roll of flowing leafage almost exactly resembling, as far as its mouldering outline can be traced, that of the north door of the west front of Rouen; that the old capitals of the main shafts are Corinthian, very sharp and Byzantine in the leaf-cutting, and in the restorations all the cutting of the leaf internally been missed out; they look like early Lombard."]

suppose, occupy an able sculptor twenty minutes or half an hour; and the pattern is then clearly seen, under all circumstances of light and shade; there can be no mistake about it, and no missing it. To carve out the bearings in due and finished relief would occupy a long summer's day, and the results would be feeble and indecipherable in the best lights, and in some lights totally and hopelessly invisible, ignored, non-existent. Now the Renaissance architects, and our modern ones, despise the simple expedient of the rough Roman or barbarian. They do not care to be understood. They care only to speak finely, and be thought great orators, if one could only hear them. So I leave you to choose between the old men, who took minutes to tell things plainly, and the modern men, who take days to tell them unintelligibly.

§ 24. All expedients of this kind, both of simplification and energy, for the expression of details at a distance where their actual forms would have been invisible, but more especially this linear method, I shall call Proutism; for the greatest master of the art in modern times has been Samuel Prout. He actually takes up buildings of the later times in which the ornament has been too refined for its place, and translates it into the energised linear ornament of earlier art: and to this power of taking the life and essence of decoration, and putting it into a perfectly intelligible form, when its own fulness would have been confused, is owing the especial power of his drawings. Nothing can be more closely analogous than the method with which an old Lombard uses his chisel, and that with which Prout uses the reed-pen; and we shall see presently farther correspondence in their feeling about the enrichment of luminous surfaces.¹

§ 25. Now, all that has been hitherto said refers to ornament whose distance is fixed, or nearly so; as when it is at any considerable height from the ground, supposing the spectator to desire to see it, and to get as near it as he can.

¹ [See below, § 29, p. 303.]

But the distance of ornament is never fixed to the *general* spectator. The tower of a cathedral is bound to look well, ten miles off, or five miles, or half a mile, or within fifty yards. The ornaments of its top have fixed distances, compared with those of its base; but quite unfixed distances in their relation to the great world: and the ornaments of the base have no fixed distance at all. They are bound to look well from the other side of the cathedral close, and to look equally well, or better, as we enter the cathedral door. How are we to manage this?

§ 26. As nature manages it. I said above, § 17, that for every distance from the eye there was a different system of form in all natural objects: this is to be so then in architecture. The lesser ornament is to be grafted on the greater, and third or fourth orders of ornaments upon this again, as need may be, until we reach the limits of possible sight; each order of ornament being adapted for a different distance: first, for example, the great masses,—the buttresses and stories and black windows and broad cornices of the tower, which give it make and organism, as it rises over the horizon, half a score of miles away: then the traceries and shafts and pinnacles, which give it richness as we approach: then the niches and statues and knobs and flowers, which we can only see when we stand beneath it. At this third order of ornament, we may pause, in the upper portions; but on the roofs of the niches, and the robes of the statues, and the rolls of the mouldings, comes a fourth order of ornament, as delicate as the eye can follow, when any of these features may be approached.

§ 27. All good ornamentation is thus arborescent, as it were, one class of it branching out of another and sustained by it; and its nobility consists in this, that whatever order or class of it we may be contemplating, we shall find it subordinated to a greater, simpler, and more powerful; and if we then contemplate the greater order, we shall find it again subordinated to a greater still; until the greatest can only be quite grasped by retiring to the limits of distance commanding it.

And if this subordination be not complete, the ornament is bad: if the figurings and chasings and borderings of a dress be not subordinated to the folds of it,—if the folds are not subordinated to the action and mass of the figure,—if this action and mass, not to the divisions of the recesses and shafts among which it stands,—if these, not to the shadows of the great arches and buttresses of the whole building, in each case there is error; much more if all be contending with each other and striving for attention at the same time.

§ 28. It is nevertheless evident, that, however perfect this distribution, there cannot be orders adapted to *every* distance of the spectator. Between the ranks of ornament there must always be a bold separation: and there must be many intermediate distances, where we are too far off to see the lesser rank clearly, and yet too near to grasp the next higher rank wholly: and at all these distances the spectator will feel himself ill-placed, and will desire to go nearer or farther away. This must be the case in all noble work, natural or artificial. It is exactly the same with respect to Rouen Cathedral or the Mont Blanc. We like to see them from the other side of the Seine, or of the Lake of Geneva: from the Marché aux Fleurs,¹ or the Valley of Chamouni; from the parapets of the apse, or the crags of the Montagne de la Côte:² but there are intermediate distances which dissatisfy us in either case, and from which one is in haste either to advance or to retire.

§ 29. Directly opposed to this ordered, disciplined, well officered, and variously ranked ornament, this type of divine, and therefore of all good human government, is the democratic ornament, in which all is equally influential, and has equal office and authority; that is to say, none of it any office nor authority, but a life of continual struggle for

¹ [That is, the near view of the west front from the Cathedral square, filled, in Turner's sketch (No. 133 in the National Gallery), with the stalls and baskets of the market-women.]

² [A drawing of this mountain is engraved in plate 35, *Modern Painters*, vol. iv.]

independence and notoriety, or of gambling for chance regards. The English perpendicular¹ work is by far the worst of this kind that I know; its main idea, or decimal fraction of an idea, being to cover its walls with dull, successive, eternity of reticulation, to fill with equal foils the equal interstices between the equal bars, and charge the interminable blanks with statues and rosettes, invisible at a distance, and uninteresting near.

The early Lombardic, Veronese, and Norman work is the exact reverse of this; being divided first into large masses, and these masses covered with minute chasing and surface work which fill them with interest, and yet do not disturb nor divide their greatness. The lights are kept broad and bright, and yet are found on near approach to be charged with intricate design. This, again, is a part of the great system of treatment which I shall hereafter call "Proutism;"² much of what is thought mannerism and imperfection in Prout's work, being the result of his determined resolution that minor details shall never break up his large masses of light.

§ 30. Such are the main principles to be observed in the adaptation of ornament to the sight. We have lastly to inquire by what method, and in what quantities, the ornament, thus adapted to mental contemplation, and prepared for its physical position, may most wisely be arranged. I think the method ought first to be considered, and the quantity last; for the advisable quantity depends upon the method.

§ 31. It was said above,³ that the proper treatment or arrangement of ornament was that which expressed the laws and ways of Deity. Now, the subordination of visible orders to each other, just noted, is one expression of these. But

¹ [See above, pp. 227–228 *n.*]

² [See above, § 24. Ruskin in later works used the verb rather than the noun, "to Proutise" (a coinage suggested to him by Copley Fielding): see *Elements of Drawing*, § 257, *Notes on Prout and Hunt*, *pref.* § 36. For a list of the very numerous references to Prout's works and characteristics, see Index Volume.]

³ [See above, ch. xx. § 17, p. 265.]

there may also—must also—be a subordination and obedience of the parts of each other to some visible law, out of itself, but having reference to itself only (not to any upper order): some law which shall not oppress, but guide, limit, and sustain.

In the tenth chapter of the second volume of *Modern Painters*,¹ the reader will find that I traced one part of the beauty of God's creation to the expression of a *self*-restrained liberty: that is to say, the image of that perfection of *divine* action, which, though free to work in arbitrary methods, works always in consistent methods, called by us Laws.

Now, correspondingly, we find that when these natural objects are to become subjects of the art of man, their perfect treatment is an image of the perfection of *human* action: a voluntary submission to divine law.

It was suggested to me but lately, by the friend to whose originality of thought I have before expressed my obligations,² Mr. Newton, that the Greek pediment, with its enclosed sculptures, represented to the Greek mind the law of Fate, confining human action within limits not to be overpassed. I do not believe the Greeks ever distinctly thought of this; but the instinct of all the human race, since the world began, agrees in some expression of such limitation as one of the first necessities of good ornament.* And this expression is heightened, rather than diminished, when some portion of the design slightly breaks the law to which the rest is subjected: it is like expressing the use of miracles in the divine government; or perhaps, in slighter degrees, the relaxing of a law, generally imperative, in compliance with some more imperative

* Some valuable remarks on this subject will be found in a notice of the *Seven Lamps* in the *British Quarterly* for August 1849 [p. 66].³ I think, however, the writer attaches too great importance to out of many ornamental necessities.

¹ [See i. ch. x. § 5, Vol. IV. p. 138; and *cf.* Vol. VIII. p. 249.]

² [See above, p. 274, and below, p. 460; and *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 239.]

³ [For other references to this article, see below, pp. 335 *n.*, 355.]

need—the hungering of David.¹ How eagerly this special infringement of a general law was sometimes sought by the mediæval workman, I shall be frequently able to point out to the reader; but I remember just now a most curious instance, in an archivolt of a house in the Corte del Remer, close to the Rialto, at Venice.² It is composed of a wreath of flower-work—a constant Byzantine design—with an animal in each coil; the whole enclosed between two fillets. Each animal, leaping or eating, scratching or biting, is kept nevertheless strictly within its coil, and between the fillets. Not the shake of an ear, not the tip of a tail, overpasses this appointed line, through a series of some five-and-twenty or thirty animals; until, on a sudden, and by mutual consent, two little beasts (not looking, for the rest, more rampant than the others), one on each side, lay their small paws across the enclosing fillet at exactly the same point of its course, and thus break the continuity of its line. Two ears of corn or leaves, do the same thing in the mouldings round the northern door of the Baptistery at Florence.

§ 32. Observe, however, and this is of the utmost possible importance, that the value of this type does not consist in the mere shutting of the ornament into a certain space, but in the acknowledgment *by* the ornament of the fitness of the limitation;—of its own perfect willingness to submit to it; nay, of a predisposition in itself to fall into the ordained form, without any direct expression of the command to do so; an anticipation of the authority, and an instant and willing submission to it, in every fibre and spray; not merely *willing*, but *happy* submission, as being pleased rather than vexed to have so beautiful a law suggested to it, and one which to follow is so justly in accordance with its own nature. You must not cut out a branch of hawthorn as it grows, and rule

¹ [1 Samuel xxi. 3–6; Luke vi. 3, 4.]

² [The house is drawn in *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. § 27, though not in sufficient detail to illustrate the point here made. It was noted by Ruskin in the diary: “an interruption so small, the paws being not the 150th part of [reference to diagram], that the eye does not perceive it—it seems purposeless, and yet it is delightful.”]

a triangle round it, and suppose that it is then submitted to law. Not a bit of it. It is only put in a cage, and will look as if it must get out, for its life, or wither in the confinement. But the spirit of triangle must be put into the hawthorn. It must suck in isoscelesism with its sap. Thorn and blossom, leaf and spray, must grow with an awful sense of triangular necessity upon them, for the guidance of which they are to be thankful, and to grow all the stronger and more gloriously. And though there may be a transgression here and there, and an adaptation to some other need, or a reaching forth to some other end, greater even than the triangle, yet this liberty is to be always accepted under a solemn sense of special permission; and when the full form is reached and the entire submission expressed, and every blossom has a thrilling sense of its responsibility down into its tiniest stamen, you may take your terminal line away if you will. No need for it any more. The commandment is written on the heart of the thing.

§ 33. Then, besides this obedience to external law, there is the obedience to internal headship, which constitutes the unity of ornament, of which I think enough has been said for my present purpose in the chapter on Unity in the second vol. of *Modern Painters*.¹ But I hardly know whether to arrange as an expression of a divine law, or a representation of a physical fact, the alternation of shade with light which, in equal succession, forms one of the chief elements of *continuous* ornament, and in some peculiar ones, such as dentils and billet² mouldings, is the source of their only charm. The opposition of good and evil, the antagonism of the entire human system (so ably worked out by Lord Lindsay³), the alternation of labour with rest, the mingling of life with death, or the actual physical fact of the division of light from darkness, and of the falling and rising of night and day, are all typified or represented by these chains of shade and light, of which the eye

¹ [Sec. i. ch. vi., Vol. IV. pp. 92 *seq.*]

² [For dentils, see below, ch. xxiii. § 13; for billet mouldings, ch. xxiv. § 3.]

³ [See also below, p. 445; and *cf.* Vol. IV. p. 348; Vol. VIII. p. 121.]

never wearies, though their true meaning may never occur to the thoughts.

§ 34. The next question respecting the arrangement of ornament is one closely connected also with its quantity. The system of creation is one in which “God’s creatures leap not, but express a feast, where all the guests sit close, and nothing wants.”¹ It is also a feast where there is nothing redundant. So, then, in distributing our ornament, there must never be any sense of gap or blank, neither any sense of there being a single member, or fragment of a member, which could be spared. Whatever has nothing to do, whatever could go without being missed, is not ornament; it is deformity and encumbrance. Away with it. And, on the other hand, care must be taken either to diffuse the ornament which we permit, in due relation over the whole building, or so to concentrate it, as never to leave a sense of its having got into knots, and curdled upon some points, and left the rest of the building whey. It is very difficult to give the rules, or analyse the feelings, which should direct us in this matter: for some shafts may be carved and others left unfinished, and that with advantage; some windows may be jewelled like Aladdin’s, and one left plain,² and still with advantage; the door or doors, or a single turret, or the whole western façade of a church, or the apse or transept, may be made special subjects of decoration, and the rest left plain, and still sometimes with advantage. But in all such cases there is either sign of that feeling which I advocated in the First Chapter of the *Seven Lamps*,³ the desire of rather doing some portion of the building as we would have it, and leaving the rest plain, than doing the whole imperfectly; or else there is choice made of some important feature, to which, as more honourable than the rest, the decoration is confined. The evil is when, without system,

¹ [This quotation from George Herbert (*The Temple*) is also given in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii.; see Vol. IV. p. 176.]

² [In the palace built by the Genius of the Lamp, there were, it will be remembered, twenty-four windows, all but one being set in frames of precious stones; the last was left unfinished, nor was even the Sultan able “to finish Aladdin’s window.”]

³ [§ 10, Vol. VIII. p. 44.]

and without preference of the nobler members, the ornament alternates between sickly luxuriance and sudden blankness. In many of our Scotch and English Abbeys, especially Melrose, this is painfully felt; but the worst instance I have ever seen is the window in the side of the arch under the Wellington statue, next St. George's Hospital.¹ In the first place, a window has no business there at all; in the second, the bars of the window are not the proper place for decoration, especially *wavy* decoration, which one instantly fancies of cast iron; in the third, the richness of the ornament is a mere patch and eruption upon the wall, and one hardly knows whether to be most irritated at the affectation of severity in the rest, or at the vain luxuriance of the dissolute parallelogram.

§ 35. Finally, as regards quantity of ornament. I have already said, again and again,² you cannot have too much if it be good; that is, if it be thoroughly united and harmonised by the laws hitherto insisted upon. But you may easily have too much, if you have more than you have sense to manage. For with every added order of ornament increases the difficulty of discipline. It is exactly the same as in war; you cannot, as an abstract law, have too many soldiers, but you may easily have more than the country is able to sustain, or than your generalship is competent to command. And every regiment which you cannot manage will, on the day of battle, be in your way, and encumber the movements it is not in disposition to sustain.

§ 36. As an architect, therefore, you are modestly to measure your capacity of governing ornament. Remember, its essence,—its being ornament at all, consists in its being governed. Lose your authority over it, let it command you, or lead you, or dictate to you in any wise, and it is an offence, an incumbrance, and a dishonour. And it is

¹ [The Green Park Arch (by Decimus Burton), erected in 1846 immediately opposite Hyde Park Corner, was removed to its present site at the west end of Constitution Hill in 1883. The Wellington Statue (by Wyatt), which formerly surmounted it, was removed to Aldershot Camp.]

² [See, especially, *Seven Lamps*, ch. i. § 15, Vol. VIII. p. 52.]

always ready to do this; wild to get the bit in its teeth, and rush forth on its own devices. Measure, therefore, your strength; and as long as there is no chance of mutiny, add soldier to soldier, battalion to battalion; but be assured that all are heartily in the cause, and that there is not one of whose position you are ignorant, or whose service you could spare.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ANGLE

§ 1. WE have now examined the treatment and specific kinds of ornament at our command. We have lastly to note the fittest places for their disposal. Not but that all kinds of ornament are used in all places; but there are some parts of the building, which, without ornament, are more painful than others, and some which wear ornament more gracefully than others; so that, although an able architect will always be finding out some new and unexpected modes of decoration, and fitting his ornament into wonderful places where it is least expected, there are, nevertheless, one or two general laws which may be noted respecting every one of the parts of a building, laws not (except a few) imperative, like those of construction, but yet generally expedient, and good to be understood, if it were only that we might enjoy the brilliant methods in which they are sometimes broken. I shall note, however, only a few of the simplest; to trace them into their ramifications, and class in due order the known or possible methods of decoration for each part of a building, would alone require a large volume, and be, I think, a somewhat useless work; for there is often a high pleasure in the very unexpectedness of the ornament, which would be destroyed by too elaborate an arrangement of its kinds.

§ 2. I think that the reader must, by this time, so thoroughly understand the connection of the parts of a building, that I may class together, in treating of decoration, several parts which I kept separate in speaking of construction. Thus, I shall put under one head (A) the base of the wall and of the shaft; then (B) the wall veil and shaft itself;

then (C) the cornice and capital; then (D) the jamb and archivolt, including the arches both over shafts and apertures, and the jambs of apertures, which are closely connected with their archivolts; finally (E) the roof, including the real roof, and the minor roofs or gables of pinnacles and arches. I think, under these divisions, all may be arranged which is necessary to be generally stated; for tracery-decorations or aperture-fillings are but smaller forms of application of the arch, and the cusps are merely smaller spandrils; while buttresses have, as far as I know, no specific ornament. The best are those which have least; and the little they have resolves itself into pinnacles, which are common to other portions of the building, or into small shafts, arches, and niches, of still more general applicability. We shall therefore have only five divisions to examine in succession, from foundation to roof.

§ 3. But in the decoration of these several parts, certain minor conditions of ornament occur which are of perfectly general application. For instance, whether in archivolts, jambs, or buttresses, or in square piers, or at the extremity of the entire building, we necessarily have the awkward (moral or architectural) feature, the *corner*. How to turn a corner gracefully becomes, therefore, a perfectly general question; to be examined without reference to any particular part of the edifice.

§ 4. Again, the furrows and ridges by which bars of parallel light and shade are obtained, whether these are employed in arches, or jambs, or bases or cornices, must of necessity present one or more of six forms: square projection, *a* (Fig. 51), or square recess, *b*, sharp projection, *c*, or sharp recess, *d*, curved projection, *e*, or curved recess, *f*. What odd curves the projection or recess may assume, or how these different conditions may be mixed and run into one another, is not our present business. We note only the six distinct kinds of types.

Now, when these ridges or furrows are on a small scale they often themselves constitute all the ornament required

for larger features, and are left smooth cut; but on a very large scale they are apt to become insipid, and they require a sub-ornament of their own, the consideration of which is, of course, in great part, general, and irrespective of the place held by the mouldings in the building itself; which consideration I think we had better undertake first of all.

§ 5. But before we come to particular examination of these minor forms, let us see how far we can simplify it. Look back to Fig. 51 above. There are distinguished in it six forms of moulding. Of these, *c* is nothing but a small corner; but, for convenience' sake, it is better to call it an edge, and to consider its decoration together with that of the member *a*, which is called a fillet; while *e*, which I shall call a roll (because I do not choose

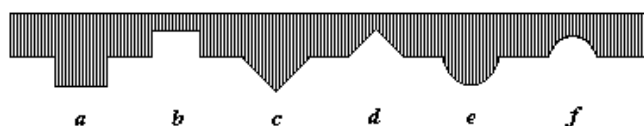


Fig. 51

to assume that it shall be only of the semicircular section here given), is also best considered together with its relative recess, *f*; and because the shape of a recess is of no great consequence, I shall class all the three recesses together, and we shall thus have only three subjects for separate consideration:—

- (1.) The Angle.
- (2.) The Edge and Fillet.
- (3.) The Roll and Recess.

§ 6. There are two other general forms which may probably occur to the reader's mind, namely, the ridge (as of a roof), which is a corner laid on its back, or sloping,—a supine corner, decorated in a very different manner from a stiff upright corner: and the point, which is a concentrated corner, and has wonderfully elaborate decorations all to its insignificant

self, finials, and spikes, and I know not what more. But both these conditions are so closely connected with roofs (even the cusp finial being a kind of pendant to a small roof), that I think it better to class them and their ornament under the head of roof decoration, together with the whole tribe of crockets and bosses; so that we shall be here concerned only with the three subjects above distinguished: and, first, the corner or Angle.

§ 7. The mathematician knows there are many kinds of angles; but the one we have principally to deal with now, is that which the reader may very easily conceive as the corner of a square house, or square anything. It is of course the one of most frequent occurrence; and its treatment, once understood, may, with slight modification, be referred to other corners, sharper or blunter, or with curved sides.

§ 8. Evidently the first and roughest idea which would occur to any one who found a corner troublesome, would be to cut it off. This is a very summary and tyrannical proceeding, somewhat barbarous, yet advisable if nothing else can be done: an

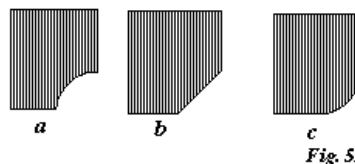


Fig. 52

amputated corner is said to be chamfered. It can, however, evidently be cut off in three ways: (1.) with a concave cut, *a*; (2.) with a straight cut, *b*; (3.) with a convex cut, *c*, Fig. 52.

The first two methods, the most violent and summary, have the apparent disadvantage that we get by them—two corners instead of one; much milder corners, however, and with a different light and shade between them; so that both methods are often very expedient. You may see the straight chamfer (*b*) on most lamp-posts, and pillars at railway stations, it being the easiest to cut; the concave chamfer requires more care, and occurs generally in well finished but simple architecture,—very beautifully in the small arches of the Broletto of Como, Plate 5; and the straight chamfer

in architecture of every kind, very constantly in Norman cornices and arches, as in fig. 2, Plate 4, at Sens.¹

§ 9. The third, or convex chamfer, as it is the gentlest mode of treatment, so (as in medicine and morals) it is very generally the best. For while the two other methods produce two corners instead of one, this gentle chamfer does verily get rid of the corner altogether, and substitutes a soft curve in its place.

But it has, in the form above given, this grave disadvantage, that it looks as if the corner had been rubbed or worn off, blunted

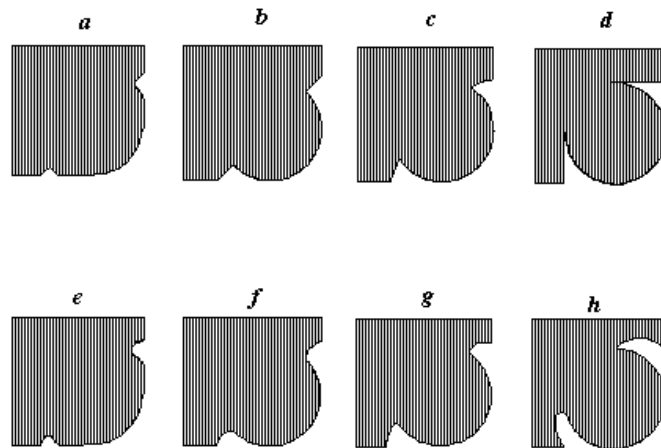


Fig. 53

by time and weather, and in want of sharpening again. A great deal often depends, and in such a case as this everything depends, on the *Voluntariness* of the ornament. The work of time is beautiful on surfaces, but not on edges intended to be sharp. Even if we need them blunt, we should not like them blunt on compulsion; so, to show that the bluntness is our own ordaining, we will put a slight incised line to mark off the rounding, and show that it goes no farther than we choose. We shall thus have the section *a*, Fig. 53; and this mode of turning an

¹ [The MS. here adds: "It is to these two conditions that the word Chamfer is specially applied."]

angle is one of the very best ever invented. By enlarging and deepening the incision, we get in succession the forms *b*, *c*, *d*; and by describing a small equal arc on each of the sloping lines of these figures, we get *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*.

§ 10. I do not know whether these mouldings are called by architects chamfers or beads; but I think *bead* a bad word for a continuous moulding, and the proper sense of the word chamfer is fixed by Spenser as descriptive not merely of truncation, but of trench or furrow:—

“The gin you, fond flies, the cold to scorn,
And, crowing in pipes made of green corn,
You thinken to be lords of the year;
But eft, when ye count you freed from fear,
Comes the breme winter with chamfred brows,
Full of wrinkles and frosty furrows.”¹

So I shall call the above mouldings beaded chamfers, when there is any chance of confusion with the plain chamfer, *a* or *b*, of Fig. 52: and when there is no such chance, I shall use the word chamfer only.

§ 11. Of those above given, *b* is the constant chamfer of Venice, and *a* of Verona; *a* being the grandest and best, and having a peculiar precision and quaintness of effect about it. I found it twice in Venice, used on the sharp angle, as at *a* and *b*, Fig. 54, *a* being from the angle of a house on the Rio San Zulian, and *b* from the windows of the church of San Stefano.

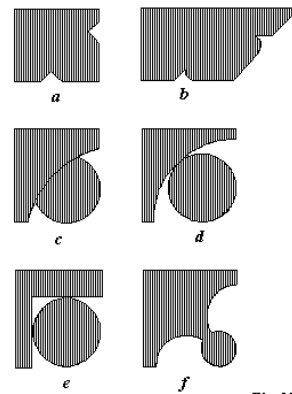


Fig. 54

§ 12. There is, however, evidently another variety of the chamfers, *f* and *g*, Fig. 53, formed by an unbroken curve instead of two curves, as *c*, Fig. 54; and when this, or the

¹ [*The Shepherds Calender*: “Februarie.” Ruskin modernises the spelling.]

chamfer *d*, Fig. 53, is large, it is impossible to say whether they have been derived from the incised angle, or from small shafts set in a nook, as at *e*, Fig. 54, or in the hollow of the curved chamfer, as *d*, Fig. 54. In general, however, the shallow chamfers, *a*, *b*, *e*, and *f*, Fig. 53, are peculiar to Southern work; and may be assumed to have been derived from the incised angle, while the deep chamfers, *c*, *d*, *g*, *h*, are characteristic of Northern work, and may be partly derived or imitated from the angle shaft; while, with the usual extravagance of the Northern architects, they are cut deeper and deeper until we arrive at the condition *f*, Fig. 54, which is the favourite chamfer at Bourges and Bayeux, and in other good French work.

I have placed in the Appendix* a figure belonging to this subject, but which cannot interest the general reader, showing the number of possible chamfers with a roll moulding of given size.

§ 13. If we take the plain chamfer, *b*, of Fig. 52, on a large scale, as at *a*, Fig. 55, and bead both its edges, cutting away the

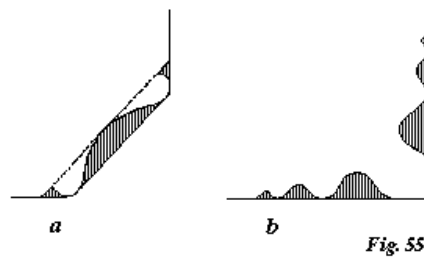


Fig. 55

parts there shaded, we shall have a form much used in richly decorated Gothic, both in England and Italy. It might be more simply described as the chamfer *a* of Fig. 52, with an incision on each edge; but the part

here shaded is often worked into ornamental forms, not being entirely cut away.

§ 14. Many other mouldings, which at first sight appear very elaborate, are nothing more than a chamfer, with a series of small echoes of it on each side, dying away with a ripple on the surface of the wall, as in *b*, Fig. 55, from Coutances: (observe, here the white part is the solid stone, the shade is cut away).

* Appendix 23: "Varieties of Chamfer" [p. 469].

Chamfers of this kind are used on a small scale and in delicate work: the coarse chamfers are found on all scales: *f* and *g*, Fig. 53, in Venice, form the great angles of almost every Gothic palace; the roll being a foot or a foot and a half round, and treated as a shaft, with a capital and fresh base at every story, while the stones of which it is composed form alternate quoins in the brick-work beyond the chamfer curve. I need hardly say how much nobler this arrangement is than a common quoined angle; it gives a finish to the aspect of the whole pile attainable in no other way.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EDGE AND FILLET

§ 1. THE decoration of the angle by various forms of chamfer and bead, as above described, is the quietest method we can employ; two quiet, when great energy is to be given to the moulding, and impossible, when, instead of a bold angle, we have to deal with a small projecting edge, like *c* in Fig. 51. In such cases we may employ a decoration, far ruder and easier in its simplest conditions than the bead, far more effective when not used in too great profusion; and of which the complete developments are the source of mouldings at once the most picturesque and most serviceable which the Gothic builders invented.

§ 2. The gunwales of the Venetian heavy barges being liable to some what rough collision with each other, and with the walls of the streets, are generally protected by a piece of timber, which projects in the form of a fillet *a*, Fig. 51; but which, like all other fillets, may, if we so choose, be considered as composed of two angles, or edges, which the natural and most wholesome love of the Venetian boatmen for ornament, otherwise strikingly evidenced by their painted sails and glittering flag-vanes, will not suffer to remain wholly undecorated. The rough service of these timbers, however, will not admit of rich ornament, and the boat-builder usually contents himself with cutting a series of notches in each edge, one series alternating with the other, as represented at 1, Plate 9.

§ 3. In that simple ornament, not as confined to Venetian boats, but as representative of a general human instinct to hack at an edge, demonstrated by all school-boys and all idle possessors of penknives or other cutting instruments on both



sides of the Atlantic;—in that rude Venetian gunwale, I say, is the germ of all the ornament which has touched, with its rich successions of angular shadow, the portals and archivolts of nearly every early building of importance, from the North Cape to the Straits of Messina. Nor are the modifications of the first suggestion intricate. All that is generic in their character may be seen on Plate 9 at a glance.

§ 4. Taking a piece of stone instead of timber, and enlarging the notches, until they meet each other, we have the condition 2, which is a moulding from the tomb of the Doge Andrea Dandolo, in St. Mark's. Now considering this moulding as composed of two decorated edges, each edge will be reduced, by the meeting of the notches, to a series of four-sided pyramids (as marked off by the dotted lines), which, the notches here being shallow, will be shallow pyramids; but by deepening the notches, we get them as at 3, with the profile *a*, more or less steep. This moulding I shall always call "the plain dogtooth;" it is used in profusion in the Venetian and Veronese Gothic, generally set with its front to the spectator, as here at 3; but its effect may be much varied by placing it obliquely (4, and profile as at *b*); or with one side horizontal (5, and profile *c*). Of these three conditions, 3 and 5 are exactly the same in reality, only differently placed; but in 4 the pyramid is obtuse, and the inclination of its base variable, the upper side of it being always kept vertical. It is comparatively rare. Of the three, the last, 5, is far the most brilliant in effect, giving in the distance a zigzag form to the high light on it, and a full sharp shadow below. The use of this shadow is sufficiently seen by fig. 7 in this plate (the arch on the left, the number beneath it), in which these levelled dogteeth, with a small interval between each, are employed to set off by their vigour the delicacy of floral ornament above. This arch is the side of a niche from the tomb of Can Signorio della Scala, at Verona; and the value, as well as the distant expression of its dogtooth, may be seen by referring to Prout's beautiful drawing of this tomb in

his *Sketches in France and Italy*.¹ I have before observed that this artist never fails of seizing the true and leading expression of whatever he touches: he has made this ornament the leading feature of the niche, expressing it, as in distance it is only expressible, by a zigzag.

§ 5. The reader may perhaps be surprised at my speaking so highly of this drawing, if we take the pains to compare Prout's symbolism of the work on this niche with the facts as they stand here in Plate 9. But the truth is that Prout has rendered the effect of the monument on the mind of the passer-by;—the effect it was intended to have on every man who turned the corner of the street beneath it: and in this sense there is actually more truth and likeness* in Prout's translation than in my facsimile, made diligently by peering into the details from a ladder.² I do not say that all the symbolism in Prout's sketch is the best possible; but it is the best which any architectural draughtsman has yet invented; and in its application to special subjects it always shows curious internal evidence, that the sketch has been made on the spot, and that the artist tried to draw what he saw, not to invent an attractive subject. I shall notice other instances of this hereafter.³

§ 6. The dogtooth, employed in this simple form, is, however, rather a foil for other ornament, than itself a satisfactory or generally available decoration. It is, however, easy to enrich it as we choose: taking up its simple form at 3,

* I do not here speak of artistical merits, but the play of the light among the lower shafts is also singularly beautiful in this sketch of Prout's, and the character of the wild and broken leaves, half-dead, on the stone of the foreground.

¹ [For this work, see references in Vol. I. p. xxix., and Vol. III. p. 217. The drawing here referred to was in Ruskin's collection and is now at Brantwood. It was No. 49 in the Prout and Hunt Exhibition; it is reproduced in this edition as a plate in Ruskin's notes on that exhibition. Some of Ruskin's own drawings of the same subject are given as illustrations to *Verona and its Rivers*.]

² [Cf. *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 219), where Ruskin remarks of Prout's architectural drawings generally that "his abstract of decoration has more of the spirit of the reality than far more laborious imitation."]

³ [An intention fulfilled many years later in the *Notes on Prout and Hunt*.]

and describing the arcs marked by the dotted lines upon its sides, and cutting a small triangular cavity between them, we shall leave its ridges somewhat rudely representative of four leaves, as at 8, which is the section and front view of one of the Venetian stone cornices described above, Chap. XIV., § 4, the figure 8 being here put in the hollow of the gutter. The dogtooth is put on the outer lower truncation, and is actually in position as fig. 5; but being always looked up to, is to the spectator as 3, and always rich and effective. The dogteeth are perhaps most frequently expanded to the width of fig. 9.

§ 7. As in nearly all other ornaments previously described, so in this,—we have only to deepen the Italian cutting, and we shall get the Northern type. If we make the original pyramid, somewhat steeper, and instead of lightly incising, cut it through, so as to have the leaves held only by their points to the base, we shall have the English dogtooth; somewhat vulgar in its piquancy, when compared with French mouldings of a similar kind.* It occurs, I think, on one house in Venice, in the Campo St. Polo;¹ but the ordinary moulding, with light incisions, is frequent in archivolt and architraves, as well as in the roof cornices.

§ 8. This being the simplest treatment of the pyramid, fig. 10, from the refectory of Wenlock Abbey,² is an example of the simplest decoration of the recesses or inward angles between the pyramids; that is to say, of a simple hacked edge like one of those in fig. 2, the *cuts* being taken up and decorated instead of the *points*. Each is worked into a small trefoiled arch, with an incision round it to mark its outline, and another slight incision above, expressing the angle of the first cutting. I said that the teeth in fig. 7 had in distance the effect of a zigzag: in fig. 10 this zigzag effect is seized upon and developed, but with the easiest and roughest work;

* Vide the *Seven Lamps*, Chap. IV., § 31. [Vol. VIII. p. 172.]

¹ [See, for this house, *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., Venetian Index, s. "Polo, Square of St."]

² [Cf. above, ch. vi. § 9, p. 98.]

the angular incision being a mere limiting line, like that described in § 9 of the last chapter. But hence the farther steps to every condition of Norman ornament are self-evident. I do not say that all of them arose from development of the dogtooth in this manner, many being quite independent inventions and uses of zigzag lines;¹ still, they may all be referred to this simple type as their root and representative, that is to say, the mere hack of the Venetian gunwale, with a limiting line following the resultant zigzag.

§ 9. Fig. 11 is a singular and much more artificial condition, cast in brick, from the church of the Frari, and given here only for future reference.² Fig. 12, resulting from a fillet with the cuts on each of its edges interrupted by a bar, is a frequent Venetian moulding, and of great value; but the plain or leaved dogteeth have been the favourites, and that to such a degree, that even the Renaissance architects took them up; and the best bit of Renaissance design in Venice, the side of the Ducal Palace next the Bridge of Sighs,³ owes great part of its splendour to its foundation, faced with large flat dogteeth, each about a foot wide in the base, with their points truncated, and alternating with cavities, which are their own negatives or casts.

§ 10. One other form of the dogtooth is of great importance in Northern architecture, that produced by oblique cuts slightly curved, as in the margin, Fig. 56. It is susceptible of the most fantastic and endless decoration; each of the resulting leaves being, in the early porches of Rouen and Lisieux, hollowed out and worked into branching tracery: and

¹ [Here, it will be seen, Ruskin traces back the Norman zigzag to the angular notches with which the blow of an axe can most easily vary the solid edge of a square fillet (see § 3 above). He notices previously a symbolic theory with regard to the use of this ornament by the Normans, namely, Sir Charles Newton's idea of radiation (ch. xx. § 26, p. 274, and ch. xxviii. § 14, p. 395), which he rejects. At a later time Ruskin inclined to another theory of the kind, namely, the derivation of the Norman zigzag from the Greek, with further reference to its symbolic use by the Egyptians to represent water (*cf.* above, ch. xx. § 25, p. 272): see on this subject *The Pleasures of England*, § 87, where he compares the Norman arch of Iffley, near Oxford, with the Athena of Ægina.]

² [No such reference seems to have been made.]

³ [See further *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. i. § 38, and appendix 5.]

at Bourges, for distant effect, worked into plain leaves, or bold bony processes with knobs at the points, and near the spectator, into crouching demons and broad winged owls, and other fancies and intricacies, innumerable and inexpressible.

§ 11. Thus much is enough to be noted respecting edge decoration. We were next to consider the fillet. Professor Willis has noticed an ornament, which he has called the Venetian dentil, as “the most universal ornament in its own district that ever I met with;”¹ but has not noticed the reason for its frequency. It is nevertheless highly interesting.

The whole early architecture of Venice is architecture of incrustation: this has not been enough noticed in its peculiar relation to that of the rest of Italy. There is, indeed, much incrustated architecture throughout Italy, in elaborate ecclesiastical work, but there is more which is frankly of brick, or thoroughly of stone. But the



Fig. 56

Venetian habitually incrustated his work with nacre; he built his houses, even the meanest, as if he had been a shell-fish,—roughly inside, mother-of-pearl on the surface: he was content, perforce, to gather the clay of the Brenta banks, and bake it into brick for his substance of wall; but he overlaid it with the wealth of ocean, with the most precious foreign marbles. You might fancy early Venice one wilderness of brick, which a petrifying sea had beaten upon till it coated it with marble: at first a dark city—washed white by the sea foam. And I told you before² that it was also a city of shafts and arches, and that its dwellings were raised upon continuous arcades, among which the sea waves wandered. Hence the thoughts of its builders were early and constantly directed to the incrustation of arches.

§ 12. In Fig. 57 I have given two of these Byzantine stilted arches: the one on the right, *a*, as they now too often appear, in its bare brick work; that on the left, with

¹ [*Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 1835, p. 196.]

² [See above, p. 242; and *cf.* vol. ii. ch. v. § 13.]

its alabaster covering, literally marble defensive armour, riveted together in pieces, which follow the contours of the building. Now, on the wall, these pieces are mere flat slabs cut to the arch outline; but under the soffit of the arch the marble mail is curved, often cut singularly thin, like bent tiles, and fitted together so that the pieces would sustain each other even without rivets. It is of course desirable that this thin sub-arch of marble should project enough to sustain the facing of the wall; and the reader will see, in Fig. 57, that its edge forms a kind of narrow band round the arch (*b*), a band which the least enrichment would

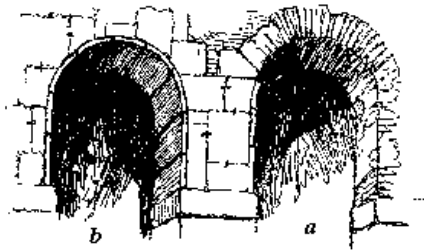


Fig. 57

render a valuable decorative feature. Now this band is, of course, if the soffit pieces project a little beyond the face of the wall-pieces, a mere fillet, like the wooden gunwale in Plate 9; and the question is, how to enrich it most wisely. It might

easily have been dogtoothed, but the Byzantine architects had not invented the dogtooth, and would not have used it here, if they had; for the dogtooth cannot be employed alone, especially on so principal an angle as this of the main arches, without giving to the whole building a peculiar look, which I can no otherwise describe than as being to the eye, exactly what untempered acid is to the tongue. The mere dogtooth is an *acid* moulding, and can only be used in certain mingling with others, to give them piquancy; never alone. What, then, will be the next easiest method of giving interest to the fillet?

§ 13. Simply to make the incisions square instead of sharp, and to leave equal intervals of the square edge between them. Fig. 58 is one of the curved pieces of arch armour, with its edge thus treated; one side only being done at the bottom, to show the simplicity and ease of the work. This ornament gives force and interest to the edge of the arch, without in

the least diminishing its quietness. Nothing was ever, nor could be ever invented, fitted for its purpose, or more easily cut. From the arch it therefore found its way into every position where the edge of a piece of stone projected, and became, from its constancy of occurrence in the latest Gothic as well as the earliest Byzantine, most truly deserving of the name of the "Venetian Dentil." Its complete intention is now, however, only to be seen in the pictures of Gentile Bellini and Vittor Carpaccio; for, like most of the rest of the mouldings of Venetian buildings, it was always either gilded or painted—often both, gold being laid on the faces of the dentils, and their recesses coloured alternately red and blue.

§ 14. Observe, however, that the reason above given for the *universality* of this ornament was by no means the reason of its *invention*. The Venetian dentil is a particular application (consequent on the incrustated character of Venetian architecture) of the general idea of dentil, which had been originally given by the Greeks, and realised both by them and by the Byzantines in many laborious forms, long before there was need of them for arch armour; and the lower half of Plate 9 will give some idea of the conditions which occur in the Romanesque of Venice, distinctly derived from the classical dentil; and of the gradual transition to the more convenient and simple type, the running-hand dentil, which afterwards became the characteristic of Venetian Gothic. No. 13* is the common dentiled cornice, which occurs repeatedly in St. Mark's; and, as late as the thirteenth century, a reduplication of it forming the abaci of the capitals of the



Fig. 58

* The sections of all the mouldings are given on the right of each; the part which is constantly solid being shaded, and that which is cut into dentils left in open line.

Piazzetta shafts. Fig. 15 is perhaps an earlier type; perhaps only one of more careless workmanship, from a Byzantine ruin in the Rio di Ca' Foscari: and it is interesting to compare it with Fig. 14 from the cathedral of Vienne, in South France.¹ Fig. 17, from St. Mark's, and 18, from the apse of Murano, are two very early examples, in which the future true Venetian dentil is already developed in method of execution, though the object is still only to imitate the classical one; and a rude imitation of the bead is joined with it in Fig. 17. No. 16 indicates two examples of experimental forms: the uppermost from the tomb of Mastino della Scala, at Verona; the lower from a door in Venice, I believe, of the thirteenth century: 19 is a more frequent arrangement, chiefly found in cast brick, and connecting the dentils with the dogteeth: 20 is a form introduced richly in the later Gothic, but of rare occurrence until the latter half of the thirteenth century. I shall call it the *gabled* dentil.² It is found in the greatest profusion in sepulchral Gothic, associated with several slight variations from the usual dentil type, of which No. 21, from the tomb of Pietro Cornaro,³ may serve as an example.

§ 15. All the forms given in Plate 9 are of not unfrequent occurrence: varying much in size and depth, according to the expression of the work in which they occur; generally increasing in size in late work (the earliest dentils are seldom more than an inch or an inch and a half long: the fully developed dentil of the later Gothic is often as much as four or five in length, by one and a half in breadth); but they are all somewhat rare, compared to the true or armour dentil, above described. On the other hand, there are one or two unique conditions, which will be noted in the buildings where

¹ [See above, p. 133; and below, pp. 336, 342, 432.]

² [With Fig. 20 *cf.* Plate 4 in *Examples of Venetian Architecture.*]

³ [This, and another reference below (ch. xxvii. § 28), are a slip on Ruskin's part. The tomb is that of the Doge Marco Cornaro, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (for which see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. i. § 15, ch. ii. § 65). The remains of Pietro Cornaro are enclosed in a sepulchral urn in another chapel of the same church.]

they occur.* The Ducal Palace furnishes three anomalies in the arch, dogtooth, and dentil: it has a hyperbolic arch, as noted above, Chap. X., § 15; it has a double-fanged dogtooth in the rings of the spiral shafts on its angles; and, finally, it has a dentil with concave sides of which the section and two of the blocks, real size,¹ are given in Plate 14. The labour of obtaining this difficult profile has, however, been thrown away; for the effect of the dentil at ten feet distance is exactly the same as that of the usual form: and the reader may consider the dogtooth and dentil in that Plate as fairly representing the common use of them in the Venetian Gothic.

§ 16. I am aware of no other form of fillet decoration requiring notice: in the Northern Gothic the fillet is employed chiefly to give severity or flatness to mouldings supposed to be too much rounded, and is therefore generally plain. It is itself an ugly moulding, and, when thus employed, is merely a foil for others, of which, however, it at last usurped the place, and became one of the most painful features in the debased Gothic both of Italy and the North.

* As, however, we shall not probably be led either to Bergamo or Bologna, I may mention here a curiously rich use of the dentil, entirely covering the foliation and tracery of a niche on the outside of the duomo of Bergamo; and a roll, entirely encrusted, as the handle of a mace often is with nails, with massy dogteeth or nail-heads, on the door of the Pepoli palace of Bologna.²

¹ [*i.e.* in the original edition, and in subsequent editions of the same size; in this edition the scale is slightly reduced.]

² [See *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 84.]

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ROLL AND RECESS

§ 1. I HAVE classed these two means of architectural effect together, because the one is in most cases the negative of the other, and is used to relieve it exactly as shadow relieves light; recess alternating with roll, not only in lateral, but in successive order; not merely side by side with each other, but interrupted the one by the other in their own lines. A recess itself has properly no decoration; but its depth gives value to the decoration which flanks, encloses, or interrupts it, and the form which interrupts it best is the roll.

§ 2. I use the word roll generally for any mouldings which present to the eye somewhat the appearance of being cylindrical, and look like round rods. When upright they are in appearance, if not in fact, small shafts; and are a kind of bent shaft, even when used in archivolts and traceries;—when horizontal, they confuse themselves with cornices, and are, in fact, generally to be considered as the best means of drawing an architectural line in any direction, the soft curve of their side obtaining some shadow at nearly all times of the day, and that more tender and grateful to the eye than can be obtained either by an incision or by any other form of projection.

§ 3. Their decorative power is, however, too slight for rich work, and they frequently require, like the angle and the fillet, to be rendered interesting by subdivision or minor ornament of their own. When the roll is small, this is effected, exactly as in the case of the fillet, by cutting pieces out of it; giving in the simplest results what is called the Norman billet moulding: and when the cuts are given in couples, and the pieces rounded into spheres and almonds,

we have the ordinary Greek bead, both of them too well known to require illustration. The Norman billet we shall not meet with in Venice; the bead constantly occurs in Byzantine, and of course in Renaissance work. In Plate 9, fig. 17, there is a remarkable example of its early treatment, where the cuts in it are left sharp.

§ 4. But the roll, if it be of any size, deserves better treatment. Its rounded surface is too beautiful to be cut away in notches; and it is rather to be covered with flat chasing or inlaid patterns. Thus ornamented, it gradually blends itself with the true shaft, both in the Romanesque work of the North, and in the Italian connected schools; and the patterns used for it are those used for shaft decoration in general.

§ 5. But, as alternating with the recess, it has a decoration peculiar to itself. We have often, in the preceding chapters,¹ noted the fondness of the Northern builders for deep shade and hollowness in their mouldings; and in the second chapter of the *Seven Lamps*,² the changes are described which reduced the massive roll mouldings of the early Gothic to a series of recesses, separated by bars of light. The shape of these recesses is at present a matter of no importance to us: it was, indeed, endlessly varied; but needlessly, for the value of a recess is in its darkness, and its darkness disguises its form. But it was not in mere wanton indulgence of their love of shade that the Flamboyant builders deepened the furrows of their mouldings: they had found a means of decorating those furrows as rich as it was expressive, and the entire framework of their architecture was designed with a view to the effect of this decoration; where the ornament ceases, the framework is meagre and mean: but the ornament is, in the best examples of the style, unceasing.

§ 6. It is, in fact, an ornament formed by the ghosts or anatomies of the old shafts, left in the furrows which had taken their place. Every here and there, a fragment of a

¹ [See, *e.g.*, ch. xxiii. § 7, p. 321.]

² [Vol. VIII. pp. 90 *seq.*]

roll or shaft is left in the recess or furrow;—a billet-moulding on a huge scale, but a billet-moulding reduced to a skeleton; for the fragments of roll are cut hollow, and worked into mere entanglement of stony fibres, with the gloom of the recess shown through them. These ghost rolls, forming sometimes pedestals, sometimes canopies, sometimes covering the whole recess with an arch of tracery, beneath which it runs like a tunnel, are the peculiar decorations of the Flamboyant Gothic.

§ 7. Now observe, in all kinds of decoration, we must keep carefully under separate heads, the consideration of the changes wrought in the mere physical form, and in the intellectual purpose, of ornament. The relations of the canopy to the statue it shelters, are to be considered altogether distinctly from those of the canopy to the building which it decorates. In its earliest conditions the canopy is partly confused with representations of miniature architecture: it is sometimes a small temple or gateway, sometimes an honorary addition to the pomp of a saint, a covering to his throne, or to his shrine; and this canopy is often expressed in bas-relief (as in painting), without much reference to the great requirements of the building. At other times it is a real protection to the statue, and is enlarged into a complete pinnacle, carried on proper shafts, and boldly roofed. But in the late Northern system the canopies are neither expressive nor protective. They are a kind of stone lace-work, required for the ornamentation of the building, for which the statues are often little more than an excuse, and of which the physical character is, as above described, that of ghosts of departed shafts.

§ 8. There is, of course, much rich tabernacle work which will not come literally under this head, much which is straggling or flat in its plan, connecting itself gradually with the ordinary forms of independent shrines and tombs; but the general idea of all tabernacle work is marked in the common phrase of a “niche,” that is to say, a hollow intended for a statue, and crowned by a canopy; and this

niche decoration only reaches its full development when the Flamboyant hollows are cut deepest, and when the manner and spirit of sculpture had so much lost their purity and intensity that it became desirable to draw the eye away from the statue to its covering, so that at last the canopy became the more important of the two, and is itself so beautiful that we are often contented with architecture from which profanity has struck the statues, if only the canopies are left; and consequently, in our modern ingenuity, even set up canopies where we have no intention of setting statues.

§ 9. It is a pity that thus we have no really noble example of the effect of the statue in the recesses of architecture; for the Flamboyant recess was not so much a preparation for it as a gulf which swallowed it up. When statues were most earnestly designed, they were thrust forward in all kinds of places, often in front of the pillars, as at Amiens, awkwardly enough, but with manly respect to the purpose of the figures. The Flamboyant hollows yawned at their sides, the statues fell back into them, and nearly disappeared, and a flash of flame in the shape of a canopy rose as they expired.

§ 10. I do not feel myself capable at present of speaking with perfect justice of this niche ornament of the North, my late studies in Italy having somewhat destroyed my sympathies with it. But I once loved it intensely, and will not say anything to depreciate it now, save only this, that while I have studied long at Abbeville, without in the least finding that it made me care less for Verona, I never remained long in Verona without feeling some doubt of the nobility of Abbeville.¹

§ 11. Recess decoration by leaf mouldings is constantly and beautifully associated in the North with niche decoration, but requires no special notice, the recess in such cases being used merely to give value to the leafage by its gloom,

¹ [For Ruskin's love for Abbeville, see *Præterita*, i. ch. ix. § 180, where he mentions Rouen (in which he includes Abbeville), Geneva, and Pisa as his three tutress cities. For his early impressions of the architecture, see "A Tour through France," in Vol. II. p. 398.]

and the difference between such conditions and those of the South being merely, that in the one the leaves are laid across a hollow, and in the other over a solid surface; but in neither of the schools exclusively so, each in some degree intermingling the method of the other.

§ 12. Finally, the recess decoration by the ball flower is very definite and characteristic, found, I believe, chiefly in English work. It consists merely in leaving a small boss or sphere, fixed, as it were, at intervals in the hollows; such bosses being afterwards carved into roses, or other ornamental forms, and sometimes lifted quite up out of the hollow or projecting processes, like vertebræ, so as to make them more conspicuous, as throughout the decoration of the cathedral of Bourges.

The value of this ornament is chiefly in the *spotted* character which it gives to the lines of mouldings seen from a distance. It is very rich and delightful when not used in excess; but it would satiate and weary the eye if it were ever used in general architecture. The spire of Salisbury, and of St. Mary's at Oxford, are agreeable as isolated masses; but if an entire street were built with this spotty decoration at every casement, we could not traverse it to the end without disgust. It is only another example of the constant aim at piquancy of effect which characterised the Northern builders; an ingenious but somewhat vulgar effort to give interest to their grey masses of coarse stone, without overtaxing their powers either of invention or execution. We will thank them for it without blame or praise, and pass on.

CHAPTER XXV

THE BASE

§ 1. WE know now as much as is needful respecting the methods of minor and universal decoration, which were distinguished in Chapter XXII., § 3, from the ornament which has special relation to particular parts. This local ornament, which it will be remembered, we arranged in § 2 of the same Chapter under five heads, we have next, under those heads to consider. And, first, the ornament of the bases, both of walls and shafts.

It was noticed in our account of the divisions of a wall,¹ that there was something in those divisions like the beginning, the several courses, and the close of a human life. And as, in all well-conducted lives, the hard work, and roughing, and gaining of strength comes first, the honour or decoration in certain intervals during their course, but most of all in their close, so, in general, the base of a wall, which is its beginning of labour, will bear least decoration, its body more, especially those epochs of rest called its string courses; but its crown or cornice most of all. Still, in some buildings, all these are decorated richly, though the last most; and in others, when the base is well protected and yet conspicuous, it may properly receive even more decoration than other parts.

§ 2. Now, the main things to be expressed in a base are its levelness and evenness. We cannot do better than construct the several members of the base, as developed in Fig. 2, p. 82, each of a differently coloured marble, so as to produce marked level bars of colour all along the foundation. This is exquisitely done in all the Italian elaborate

¹ [See above, p. 81.]

wall bases; that of St. Anastasia at Verona is one of the most perfect existing, for play of colour; that of Giotto's campanile is on the whole the most beautifully finished. Then, on the vertical portions, *a*, *b*, *c*, we may put what patterns in mosaic we please, so that they be not too rich; but if we choose rather to have sculpture (or *must* have it for want of stones to inlay), then observe that all sculpture on bases must be in panels, or it will soon be worn away, and that a plain panelling is often good without any other ornament. The member *b*, which in St. Mark's is subordinate, and *c*, which is expanded into a seat, are both of them decorated with simple but exquisitely finished panelling, in red and white or green and white marble, and the member *e* is in bases of this kind very valuable, as an expression of a firm beginning of the substance of the wall itself. This member has been of no service to us hitherto, and was unnoticed in the chapters on construction; but it was expressed in the figure of the wall base, on account of its great value when the foundation is of stone and the wall of brick (coated or not). In such cases it is always better to add the course *e*, above the slope of the base, than abruptly to begin the common masonry of the wall.

§ 3. It is, however, with the member *d*, or X b,¹ that we are most seriously concerned; for this being the essential feature of all bases, and the true preparation for the wall or shaft, it is most necessary that here, if anywhere, we should have full expression of levelness and precision; and farther, that if possible, the eye should not be suffered to rest on the points of junction of the stones, which would give an effect of instability. Both these objects are accomplished by attracting the eye to two rolls, separated by a deep hollow, in the member *d* itself. The bold projections of their mouldings entirely prevent the attention from being drawn to the joints of the masonry, and besides form a simple but beautifully connected group of bars of shadow,

¹ [This letter was, it will be remembered, adopted as an abbreviation for the bevelled or sloping stone of the base: see above, p. 93.]

which express, in their perfect parallelism, the absolute levelness of the foundation.

§ 4. I need hardly give any perspective drawing of an arrangement which must be perfectly familiar to the reader, as occurring under nearly every column of the too numerous classical buildings all over Europe. But I may name the base of the Bank of England¹ as furnishing a very simple instance of the group, with a square instead of a rounded hollow, both forming the base of the wall, and gathering into that of the shafts as they occur; while the bases of the pillars of the facade of the British Museum are as good examples as the reader can study on a larger scale.

§ 5. I believe this group of mouldings was first invented by the Greeks, and it has never been materially improved, as far as its peculiar purpose is concerned;* the classical attempts at its variation being the ugliest; one, the using a single roll of larger size, as may be seen in the Duke of York's column,² which therefore looks as if it stood on a large sausage (the Monument has the same base, but more concealed by pedestal decoration): another, the using two rolls without the intermediate cavetto,—a condition hardly less awkward, and which may be studied to advantage in the wall and shaft bases of the Athenæum Club-house: and another, the introduction of what are called fillets between the rolls, as may be seen in the pillars of Hanover Chapel, Regent Street,³ which look, in consequence, as if they were standing upon a pile of pewter collection-plates. But the

* Another most important reason for the peculiar sufficiency and value of this base, especially as opposed to the bulging forms of the single or double roll, without the cavetto, has been suggested by the writer of the Essay on the *Æsthetics of Gothic Architecture*, in the *British Quarterly* for August, 1849:⁴—"The Attic base *recedes* at the point where, if it suffered from superincumbent weight, it would bulge out."

¹ [Mainly the work of Sir John Soane, who was architect to the Bank from 1788 to 1827. For the building of the British Museum, see Vol. VIII, p. 76 *n.*]

² [Designed by Wyatt; erected in 1833. For the Monument, see p. 111; and for the Athenæum, p. 193.]

³ [This chapel, formerly a conspicuous object on the west side of Regent Street, towards its northern end, was pulled down a few years ago and replaced by shops.]

⁴ [See above, p. 304 *n.*, and below, p. 355.]

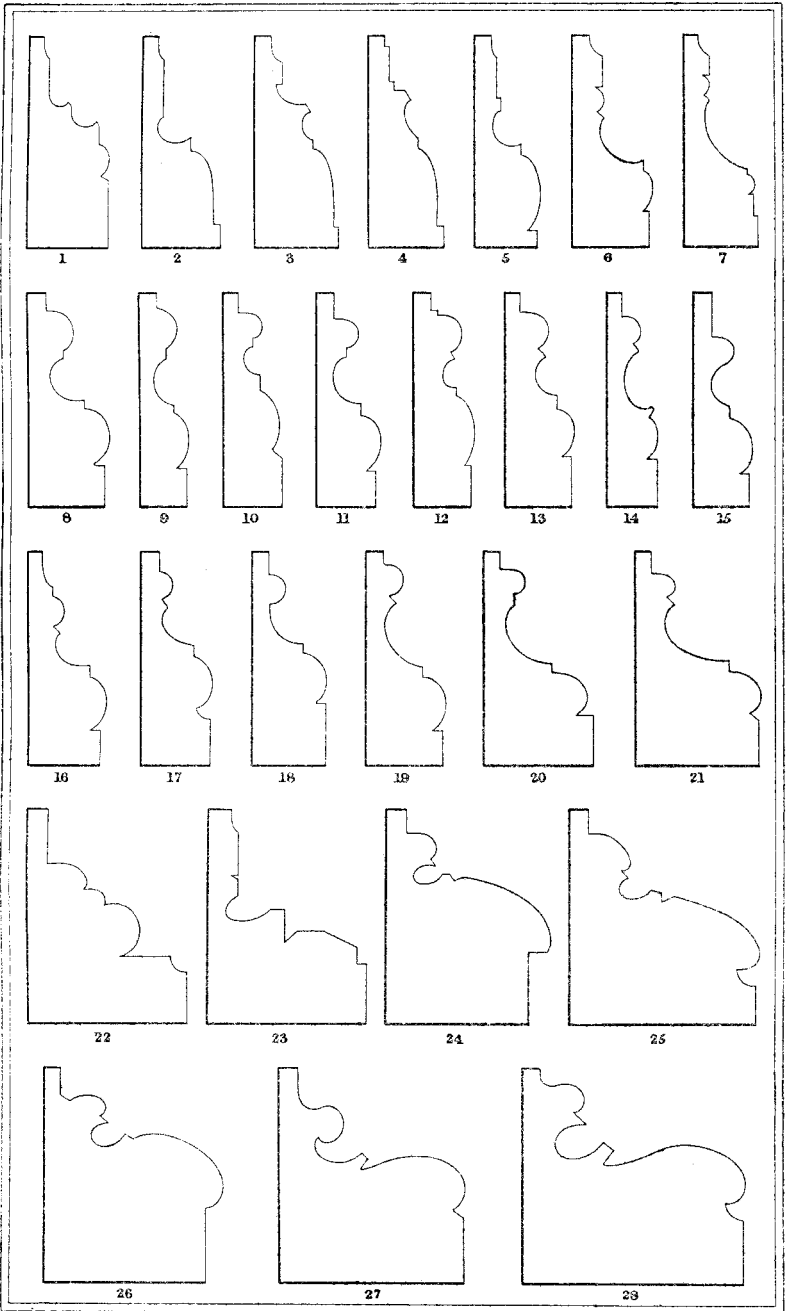
only successful changes have been mediæval; and their nature will be at once understood by a glance at the varieties given on the opposite page. It will be well first to give the buildings in which they occur, in order.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Santa Fosca, Torcello. | 13. Fondaco de' Turchi, Venice. |
| 2. North transept, St. Mark's, Venice. | 14. Ca' Giustiniani, Venice. |
| 3. Nave, Torcello. | 15. Byzantine fragment, Venice. |
| 4. Nave, Torcello. | 16. St. Mark's, upper colonnade. |
| 5. South transept, St. Mark's. | 17. Ducal Palace, Venice (windows). |
| 6. Northern portico, upper shafts, St. Mark's. | 18. Ca' Falier, Venice. |
| 7. Another of the same group. | 19. St. Zeno, Verona. |
| 8. Cortile of St. Ambrogio, Milan. | 20. San Stefano, Venice. |
| 9. Nave-shafts, St. Michele, Pavia. | 21. Ducal Palace, Venice (windows). |
| 10. Outside wall base, St. Mark's, Venice. | 22. Nave, Salisbury. |
| 11. Fondaco de' Turchi, Venice. | 23. Santa Fosca, Torcello. |
| 12. Nave, Vienne, France. | 24. Nave, Lyons Cathedral. |
| | 25. Notre Dame, Dijon. |
| | 26. Nave, Bourges Cathedral. |
| | 27. Nave, Mortain (Normandy). |
| | 28. Nave, Rouen Cathedral. |

§ 6. Eighteen out of the twenty-eight varieties are Venetian, being bases to which I shall have need of future reference; but the interspersed examples, 8, 9, 12, and 19, from Milan, Pavia, Vienne (France), and Verona, show the exactly correspondent conditions of the Romanesque base at the period, throughout the centre of Europe. The last five examples show the changes effected by the French Gothic architects: the Salisbury base (22) I have only introduced to show its dulness and vulgarity beside them; and 23, from Torcello, for a special reason, in that place.

§ 7. The reader will observe that the two bases, 8 and 9, from the two most important Lombardic churches of Italy, St. Ambrogio of Milan and St. Michele of Pavia,¹ mark the character of the barbaric base founded on pure Roman models, sometimes approximating to such models very closely; and the varieties 10, 11, 13, 16 are Byzantine types also founded on Roman models. But in the bases 1 to 7 inclusive, and, still more characteristically, in 23 below, there

¹ [For these churches, see above, p. 40.]



is evidently an original element, a tendency to use the fillet and hollow instead of the roll, which is eminently Gothic; which in the base 3 reminds one even of Flamboyant conditions, and is excessively remarkable as occurring in Italian work certainly not later than the tenth century, taking even the date of the last rebuilding of the Duomo of Torcello,¹ though I am strongly inclined to consider these bases portions of the original church. And I have therefore put the base 23 among the Gothic group to which it has so strong relationship, though, on the last supposition, five centuries older than the earliest of the five terminal examples; and it is still more remarkable because it reverses the usual treatment of the lower roll, which is in general a tolerably accurate test of the age of a base, in the degree of its projection. Thus, in the examples, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, the lower roll is hardly rounded at all, and diametrically opposed to the late Gothic conditions, 24 to 28, in which it advances gradually, like a wave preparing to break, and at last is actually seen curling over with the long-backed rush of surf upon the shore. Yet the Torcello base resembles these Gothic ones both in expansion beneath and in depth of cavetto above.

§ 8. There can be no question of the ineffable superiority of these Gothic bases, in grace of profile, to any ever invented by the ancients. But they have all two great faults: They seem, in the first place, to have been designed without sufficient reference to the necessity of their being usually seen from above; their grace of profile cannot be estimated when so seen, and their excessive expansion gives them an appearance of flatness and separation from the shaft, as if they had splashed out under its pressure: in the second place, their cavetto is so deeply cut that it has the appearance of a black fissure between the members of the base; and in the Lyons and Bourges shafts, 24 and 26, it is impossible to conquer the idea suggested by it,

¹ [Fully described in the next Volume, ch. ii.]
IX.

that the two stones above and below have been intended to join close, but that some pebbles have got in and kept them from fitting; one is always expecting the pebbles to be crushed, and the shaft to settle into its place with a thunder-clap.

§ 9. For these reasons, I said that the profile of the pure classic base had hardly been materially improved; but the various conditions of it are beautiful or commonplace, in the ratio of the variety of proportion among their lines and the delicacy of their curvatures; that is to say, the expression of characters like those of the abstract lines in Plate 7.

The five best profiles in Plate 10 are 10, 17, 19, 20, 21; 10 is peculiarly beautiful in the opposition between the bold projection of its upper roll, and the delicate leafy curvature of its lower; and this and 21 may be taken as nearly perfect types, the one of the steep, the other of the expansive basic profiles. The characters of all, however, are so dependent upon their place and expression, that it is unfair to judge them thus separately; and the precision of curvature is a matter of so small consequence in general effect, that we need not here pursue the subject farther.

§ 10. We have thus far, however, considered only the lines of moulding in the member X b, whether of wall or shaft base. But the reader will remember that in our best shaft base, in Fig. 12 (p. 107), certain props or spurs were applied to the slope of X b; but now that X b is divided into these delicate mouldings, we cannot conveniently apply the spur to its irregular profile; we must be content to set it against the lower roll. Let the upper edge of this lower roll be the curved line here, *a, d, e, b*, Fig. 59, and *c* the angle of the square plinth projecting beneath it. Then the spur, applied as we saw in Chap. VII. [p. 109], will be of some such form as the triangle *c e d*, Fig. 59.

§ 11. Now it has just been stated that it is of small importance whether the abstract lines of the profile of a base moulding be fine or not, because we rarely stoop down to look at them. But this triangular spur is nearly always

seen from above, and the eye is drawn to it as one of the most important features of the whole base; therefore it is a point of immediate necessity to substitute for its harsh right lines (*c d*, *c e*) some curve of noble abstract character.

§ 12. I mentioned, in speaking of the line of the salvia leaf at p. 270, that I had marked off the portion of it, *x y*, because I thought it likely to be generally useful to us afterwards; and I promised the reader that as he had built, so he should decorate

his edifice at his own free will. If, therefore, he

likes the above triangular spur, *c d e*, by all means let him keep it; but if he be on the whole dissatisfied with it, I may be permitted, perhaps, to advise him to set to work like a tapestry bee, to cut off the little bit of line of salvia leaf *x y*, and try how he can best substitute it for the awkward lines

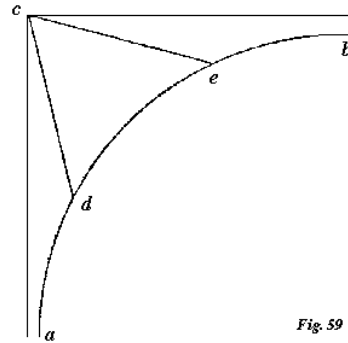


Fig. 59

c d, *c e*. He may try it any way that he likes; but if he puts the salvia curvature inside the present lines, he will find the spur looks weak, and I think he will determine at last on placing it as I have done at *c d*, *c e*, Fig. 60. (If the reader will be at the pains to transfer the salvia leaf line with tracing paper, he will find it accurately used in this figure.) Then I merely add an outer circular line to represent the outer swell of the roll against which the spur is set, and I put another such spur to the opposite corner of the square, and we have the half base, Fig. 60, which is a general type of the best Gothic bases in existence, being very nearly that of the upper shafts of the Ducal Palace of Venice. In those shafts the quadrant *ab*, or the upper edge of the lower roll, is 2 feet $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches round, and the base of the spur, *d e*, is 10 inches; the line *d e* being therefore to *ab* as 10 to $25\frac{3}{8}$. In Fig. 60 it is as 10 to 24,

the measurement being easier and the type somewhat more generally representative of the best, *i.e.* broadest spurs of Italian Gothic.

§ 13. Now the reader is to remember, there is nothing magical in salvia leaves: the line I take from them happened merely to fall conveniently on the page, and might as well have been taken from anything else; it is simply its character of graduated curvature which fits it for our use. On Plate 11, opposite, I have given plans of the spurs and quadrants of twelve Italian and three Northern bases; these latter, (13) from Bourges,

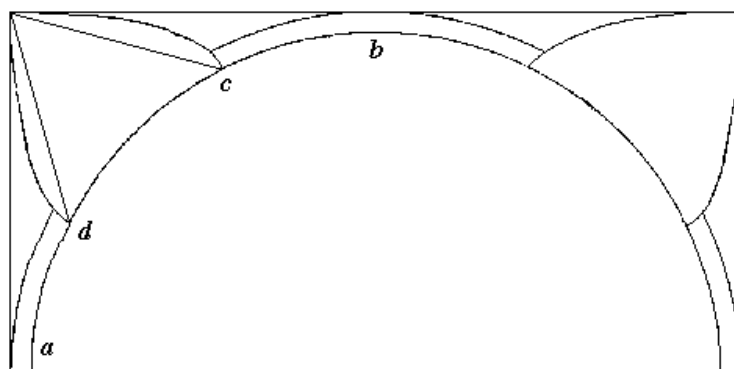
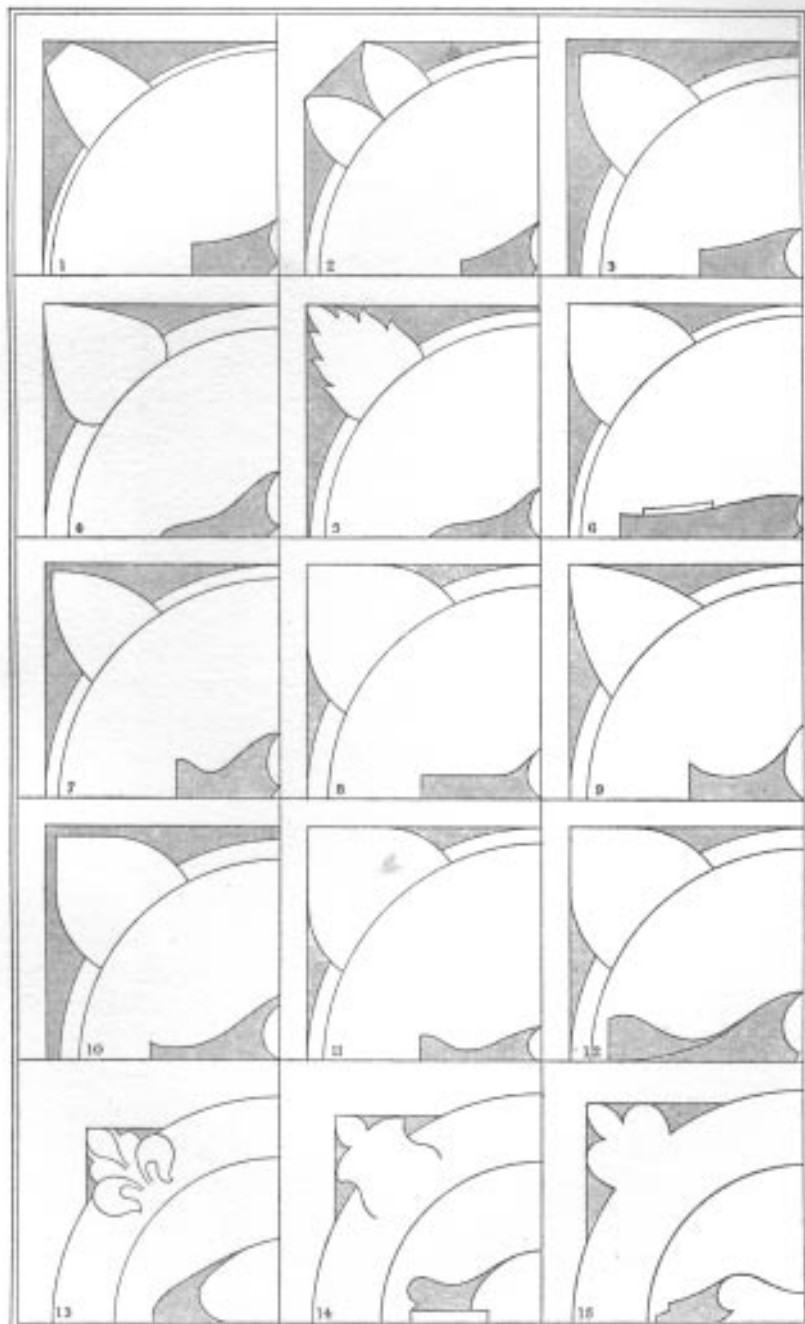


Fig. 60

(14) from Lyons, (15) from Rouen, are given merely to show the Northern disposition to break up bounding lines, and lose breadth in picturesqueness. These Northern bases look the prettiest in this plate, because this variation of the outline is nearly all the ornament they have, being cut very rudely; but the Italian bases above them are merely prepared by their simple outlines for far richer decoration at the next step, as we shall see presently. The Northern bases are to be noted also for another grand error: the projection of the roll beyond the square plinth, of which the corner is seen, in various degrees of advancement, in the three examples. 13 is the base whose profile is No. 26 in Plate 10; 14 is 24 in the same plate; and 15 is 28.



§ 14. The Italian bases are the following; all, except 7 and 10, being Venetian: 1 and 2, upper colonnade, St. Mark's; 3, Ca' Falier; 4, lower colonnade, and 5, transept, St. Mark's; 6, from the church of St. John and Paul; 7, from the tomb near St. Anastasia, Verona, described above (p. 175); 8 and 9, Fondaco de' Turchi, Venice; 10, tomb of Can Mastino della Scala, Verona; 11, San Stefano, Venice; 12, Ducal Palace, Venice, upper colonnade. The Nos. 3, 8, 9, 11 are the bases whose profiles are respectively Nos. 18, 11, 13, and 20 in Plate 10. The flat surfaces of the basic plinths are here shaded; and in the lower corner of the square occupied by each quadrant is put, also shaded, the central profile of each spur, from its root at the roll of the base to its point; those of Nos. 1 and 2 being conjectural, for their spurs were so rude and ugly, that I took no note of their profiles; but they would probably be as here given. As these bases, though here, for the sake of comparison, reduced within squares of equal size, in reality belong to shafts of very different size, 9 being some six or seven inches in diameter, and 6, three or four feet, the proportionate size of the roll varies accordingly, being largest, as in 9, where the base is smallest; and in 6 and 12 the leaf profile is given on a larger scale than the plan, or its character could not have been exhibited.

§ 15. Now, in all these spurs, the reader will observe that the narrowest are for the most part the earliest. No. 2, from the upper colonnade of St. Mark's, is the only instance I ever saw of the double spur, as transitive between the square and octagon plinth; the truncated form, 1, is also rare, and very ugly. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, and 9 are the general conditions of the Byzantine spur; 8 is a very rare form of plan in Byzantine work, but proved to be so by its rude level profile; while 7, on the contrary, Byzantine in plan, is eminently Gothic in the profile. 9 to 12 are from formed Gothic buildings, equally refined in their profile and plan.

§ 16. The character of the profile is indeed much altered by the accidental nature of the surface decoration; but the

importance of the broad difference between the raised and flat profile will be felt on glancing at the examples 1 to 6 in Plate 12. The three upper examples are the Romanesque types, which occur as parallels with the Byzantine types, 1 to 3 of Plate 11. Their plans would be nearly the same; but instead of resembling flat leaves, they are literally spurs, or claws, as high as they are broad; and the third, from St. Michele of Pavia, appears to be intended to have its resemblance to a claw enforced by the transverse fillet. 1 is from St. Ambrogio, Milan; 2 from Vienne, France. The 4th type, Plate 12, almost like the extremity of a man's foot, is a Byzantine form (perhaps worn on the edges), from the nave of St. Mark's; and the two next show the unity of the two principles, forming the perfect Italian Gothic types,—5, from the tomb of Can Signorio della Scala, Verona; 6, from San Stefano, Venice (the base 11 of Plate 11 in perspective). The two other bases, 10 and 12 of Plate 11 are conditions of the same kind, showing the varieties of rise and fall in exquisite modulation; the 10th, a type more frequent at Verona and Venice, in which the spur profile overlaps the roll, instead of rising out of it, and seems to hold it down, as if it were a ring held by sockets. This is a character found both in early and late work: a kind of band, or fillet, appears to hold and even compress, the *centre* of the roll in the base of one of the crypt shafts of St. Peter's, Oxford,¹ which has also spurs at its angles; and long bands flow over the base of the angle shaft of the Ducal Palace of Venice, next the Porta della Carta.

§ 17. When the main contours of the base are once determined, its decoration is as easy as it is infinite. I have merely given, in Plate 12, three examples to which I shall need to refer, hereafter. No. 9 is a very early and curious one; the decoration of the base 6 in Plate 11, representing a leaf turned over and flattened down; or, rather, the idea of the turned leaf, worked as well as could be managed on

¹ [St. Peter in the East, in New College Lane; the Norman crypt is of about the time of Stephen (A.D. 1150).]



J. Busatta

Arch. Inst. T. Joyce

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the flat contour of the spur. Then 10 is the perfect, but simplest possible development of the same idea, from the earliest bases of the upper colonnade of the Ducal Palace, that is to say, the bases of the sea facade; and 7 and 8 are its lateral profile and transverse section. Finally, 11 and 12 are two of the spurs of the later shafts of the same colonnade on the Piazzetta side (No. 12 of Plate 11). No. 11 occurs on one of these shafts only, and is singularly beautiful. I suspect it to be earlier than the other, which is the characteristic base of the rest of the series, and already shows the loose, sensual, ungoverned character of fifteenth century ornament in the dissoluteness of its rolling.

§ 18. I merely give these as examples ready to my hand, and necessary for future reference; not as in anywise representative of the variety of the Italian treatment of the general contour, far less of the endless caprices of the North. The most beautiful base I ever saw, on the whole, is a Byzantine one in the Baptistery of St. Mark's, in which the spur profile approximates to that of No. 10 in Plate 11; but it is formed by a cherub, who sweeps downwards on the wing. His two wings, as they half close, form the upper part of the spur, and the rise of it in the front is formed by exactly the action of Alichino, swooping on the pitch lake; "queidrizzo, volando, suso il petto."¹ But it requires noble management to confine such a fancy within such limits. The greater number of the best bases are formed of leaves; and the reader may amuse himself as he will by endless inventions of them, from types which he may gather among the weeds at the nearest roadside. The value of the vegetable form is especially here, as above noted, Chap. XX., § 32, its capability of unity with the mass of the base, and of being suggested by few lines; none but the Northern Gothic architects were able to introduce entire animal forms in this position with perfect success. There is a beautiful instance at the

¹ [Dante: *Inferno*, xxii. 129; in the account of the device of Ciampolo to escape from Alichino and the other demons, Ciampolo plunged beneath, and "he (Alichino) with upward pinion raised his breast."]

North door of the west front of Rouen;¹ a lizard pausing and curling himself round a little in the angle; one expects him the next instant to lash round the shaft and vanish; and we may with advantage compare this base with those of the Renaissance Scuolo di San Rocco* at Venice, in which the architect, imitating the mediæval bases, which he did not understand, has put an elephant, four inches high, in the same position.

§ 19. I have not in this chapter spoken at all of the profiles which are given in Northern architecture to the projections of the lower members of the base *b* and *c* in Fig. 2, nor of the methods in which both these, and the rolls of the mouldings in Plate 10 are decorated, especially in Roman architecture, with superadded chainwork or chasing of various patterns. Of the first I have not spoken, because I shall have no occasion to allude to them in the following essay; nor, of the second, because I consider them barbarisms. Decorated rolls, and decorated ogee profiles, such for instance, as the base of the Arc de l'Etoile, at Paris,² are among the richest and farthest refinements of decorative appliances: and they ought always to be reserved for jambs, cornices, and archivolts; if you begin with them in the base, you have no power of refining your decoration as you ascend, and, which is still worse, you put your most delicate work on the jutting portions of the foundation,—the very portions which are most exposed to abrasion. The best expression of a base is that of stern endurance,—the look of being able to bear roughing; or, if the whole building is so delicate that no one can be expected to treat even its base with unkindness, † then at least the expression of quiet, prefatory

* I have put in Appendix 24, "Renaissance Bases," my memorandum written respecting this building on the spot [p. 471]. But the reader had better delay referring to it until we have completed our examination of ornaments in shafts and capitals. † Appendix 25: "Romanist Decoration of Bases" [p. 471].

¹ [See also *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 216.]

² [Completed in 1836 from designs by Chalgrin.]

simplicity. The angle spur may receive such decoration as we have seen, because it is one of the most important features in the whole building; and the eye is always so attracted to it that it cannot be in rich architecture left altogether blank; the eye is stayed upon it by its position, but glides, and ought to glide, along the basic rolls to take measurement of their length: and even with all this added fitness, the ornament of the basic spur is best, in the long run, when it is boldest and simplest. The base above described, § 18, as the most beautiful I ever saw, was not for that reason the best I ever saw; beautiful in its place, in a quiet corner of a Baptistery sheeted with jasper and alabaster, it would have been utterly wrong, nay, even offensive, if used in sterner work, or repeated along a whole colonnade. The base No. 10 of Plate 12 is the richest with which I was ever perfectly satisfied for general service: and the basic spurs of the building which I have named as the best Gothic monument in the world, (p. 177), have no ornament upon them whatever. The adaptation, therefore, of rich cornice and roll mouldings to the level and ordinary lines of bases, whether of walls or shafts, I hold to be one of the worst barbarisms which the Roman and Renaissance architects ever committed: and that nothing can afterwards redeem the effeminacy and vulgarity of the buildings in which it prominently takes place.

§ 20. I have also passed over, without present notice, the fantastic bases formed by couchant animals, which sustain many Lombardic shafts. The pillars they support have independent bases of the ordinary kind; and the animal form beneath is less to be considered as a true base (though often exquisitely combined with it, as in the shaft on the south-west angle of the cathedral of Genoa¹) than as a piece of sculpture, otherwise necessary to the nobility of the building, and deriving its value from its special positive fulfilment of expressional

¹ [This (as Ruskin notes in his diary) is “a detached shaft carried on a lion, with an elaborately sculptured bracket above”; for other notes on the cathedral of Genoa, see above, p. 298 *n.*]

purposes, with which we have here no concern. As the embodiment of a wild superstition, and the representation of supernatural powers, their appeal to the imagination sets at utter defiance all judgment based on ordinary canons of law; and the magnificence of their treatment atones, in nearly every case, for the extravagance of their conception. I should not admit this appeal to the imagination, if it had been made by a nation in whom the powers of body and mind had been languid; but by the Lombard, strong in all the realities of human life, we need not fear being led astray: the visions of a distempered fancy are not indeed permitted to replace the truth, or set aside the laws of science: but the imagination which is thoroughly under the command of the intelligent will,* has a dominion indiscernible by science, and illimitable by law; and we may acknowledge the authority of the Lombardic gryphons in the mere splendour of their presence, without thinking idolatry an excuse for mechanical misconstruction, or dreading to be called upon in other cases, to admire a systemless architecture,¹ because it may happen to have sprung from an irrational religion.

* In all the wildness of the Lombardic fancy (described in Appendix 8), this command of the will over its action is as distinct as it is stern. The fancy is, in the early work of the nation, visibly diseased; but never the will, nor the reason.

¹ [It appears from the first draft of this passage in the MS. that Ruskin was thinking of Indian architecture—a subject to which his attention had early been called in connection with his prize poem, *Salsette and Elephanta* (see Vol. II. p. 90).]

CHAPTER XXVI

THE WALL VEIL AND SHAFT

§ 1. No subject has been more open ground of dispute among architects than the decoration of the wall veil, because no decoration appeared naturally to grow out of its construction; nor could any curvatures be given to its surface large enough to produce much impression on the eye. It has become, therefore, a kind of general field for experiments of various effects of surface ornament, or has been altogether abandoned to the mosaicist and fresco painter. But we may perhaps conclude, from what was advanced in the Fifth Chapter, that there is one kind of decoration which will, indeed, naturally follow on its construction. For it is perfectly natural that the different kinds of stone used in its successive courses should be of different colours; and there are many associations and analogies which metaphysically justify the introduction of horizontal bands of colour, or of light and shade.¹ They are, in the first place, a kind of expression of the growth or age of the wall, like the rings in the wood of a tree; then they are a farther symbol of the alternation of light and darkness, which was above noted as the source of the charm of many inferior mouldings: again, they are valuable as an expression of horizontal space to the imagination, space of which the conception is opposed, and gives more effect by its opposition, to the enclosing power of the wall itself (this I spoke of² as probably the great charm of these horizontal bars to the Arabian mind): and again they are valuable in their suggestion of the natural courses of rocks, and beds of the earth itself. And to all these powerful imaginative reasons we have to add the merely ocular charm of interlineal opposition of

¹ [On this subject see *Val d'Arno*, §§ 139, 140, where Ruskin summarises, and adds to, the defence here given of horizontal stripes in marble walls.]

² [See above, p. 39.]

colour; a charm so great, that all the best colourists, without a single exception, depend upon it for the most piquant of their pictorial effects, some vigorous mass of alternate stripes or bars of colour being made central in all their richest arrangements. The whole system of Tintoret's great picture of the Miracle of St. Mark¹ is poised on the bars of blue, which cross the white turban of the executioner.

§ 2. There are, therefore, no ornaments more deeply suggestive in their simplicity than these alternate bars of horizontal colours; nor do I know any buildings more noble than those of the Pisan Romanesque, in which they are habitually employed; and certainly none so graceful, so attractive, so enduringly delightful in their nobleness. Yet, of this pure and graceful ornamentation, Professor Willis says, "a practice more destructive of architectural grandeur can hardly be conceived:"² and modern architects have substituted for it the ingenious ornament of which the reader has had one specimen above, Fig. 3, p. 90, and with which half the large buildings in London are disfigured, or else traversed by mere straight lines, as, for instance, the back of the Bank. The lines on the Bank may, perhaps, be considered typical of accounts; but in general the walls, if left destitute of them, would have been as much fairer than the walls charged with them, as a sheet of white paper is than the leaf of a ledger. But that the reader may have free liberty of judgment in this matter, I place two examples of the old and the Renaissance ornament side by side on the opposite page. That on the right is Romanesque, from St. Pietro of Pistoja; that on the left, modern English, from the Arthur Club-house,³ St. James's Street.

¹ [In the Academy at Venice. In his guide to that collection, Ruskin alludes to it as "fine, but much over-rated;" and compare *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., Venetian Index, s. "Accademia."]

² [*Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 1835, p. 12 n.]

³ ["Arthur's Chocolate House" dates back to 1765, but in 1811 the home of the Club was modernised by the building of a new stone front with Corinthian columns in accordance with designs by Thomas Hopper, the architect of Penrhyn Castle. One of Ruskin's reviewers observed that Arthur's did not specially deserve being gibbeted in this plate. A worse instance, said the critic, was "the Army and Navy Club in Pall Mall, where the use of rustication is carried to much greater excess. The architect seems to have been unable to keep his fingers off a piece of plain stone, and hardly a square inch of surface has been left free from his markings and erosions" (*Christian Observer*, August 1851, p. 548).]



J. Rusden

Renaissance.



August T. Buge

Wall-Veil Decoration. Romanesque.

G. Allen
Allen & Co. St.

§ 3. But why, it will be asked, should the lines which mark the division of the stones be wrong when they are chiselled, and right when they are marked by colour? First, because the colour separation is a natural one. You build with different kinds of stone, of which, probably, one is more costly than another; which latter, as you cannot construct your building of it entirely, you arrange in conspicuous bars. But the chiselling of the stones is a wilful throwing away of time and labour in defacing the building: it costs much to hew one of those monstrous blocks into shape; and, when it is done, the building is *weaker* than it was before, by just as much stone as has been cut away from its joints. And, secondly, because, as I have repeatedly urged,¹ straight lines are ugly things as *lines*, but admirable as limits of coloured spaces; and the joints of the stones, which are painful in proportion to their regularity, if drawn as lines, are perfectly agreeable when marked by variations of hue.

§ 4. What is true of the divisions of stones by chiselling, is equally true of divisions of bricks by pointing. Nor, of course, is the mere horizontal bar the only arrangement in which the colours of brick-work or masonry can be gracefully disposed. It is rather one which can only be employed with advantage when the courses of stone are deep and bold. When the masonry is small, it is better to throw its colours into chequered patterns. We shall have several interesting examples to study in Venice besides the wellknown one of the Ducal Palace. The town of Moulins,² in France, is one of the most remarkable on this side of the Alps for its chequered patterns in bricks. The church of Christchurch, Streatham,³ lately built, though spoiled by many grievous errors, (the ironwork in the campanile being

¹ [See, e.g., *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 145, and above, p. 266.]

² [Moulins, capital of the department of the Allier, was in the 15th century the residence of the Dukes of Bourbon. Several houses of that and the succeeding century remain; built of red bricks, the fronts being ornamented with patterns formed in black bricks. Ruskin sketched there in 1850, on his way from Lyons to Bourges.]

³ ["In my own immediate neighbourhood," adds the MS. It would seem, however, from the local guide-book, that the inhabitants do not altogether appreciate the opportunity: "Christchurch was built from the designs of J. W. Wild, Esq., and

the grossest), yet affords the inhabitants of the district a means of obtaining some idea of the variety of effects which are possible with no other material than brick.

§ 5. We have yet to notice another effort of the Renaissance architects to adorn the blank spaces of their walls by what is called Rustication.¹ There is sometimes an obscure trace of the remains of the imitation of something organic in this kind of work. In some of the better French eighteenth century buildings it has a distinctly floral character, like a final degradation of Flamboyant leafage; and some of our modern English architects appear to have taken the decayed teeth of elephants for their type; but, for the most part, it resembles nothing so much as worm casts; nor these with any precision. If it did, it would not bring it within the sphere of our properly imitative ornamentation. I thought it unnecessary to warn the reader that he was not to copy forms of refuse or corruption; and that, while he might legitimately take the worm or the reptile for a subject of imitation, he was not to study the worm cast or coprolite.²

§ 6. It is, however, I believe, sometimes supposed that rustication gives an appearance of solidity to foundation stones. Not so; at least to any one who knows the look of a hard stone. You may, by rustication, make your good marble or granite look like wet slime, honeycombed by sand-eels, or like half-baked tufo covered with slow exudation of stalactite, or like rotten claystone coated with concretions of its own mud; but not like the stones of which the hard world is built. Do not think that Nature rusticates her foundations. Smooth sheets of rock, glistening like sea waves, and that ring under the hammer like

consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester in 1841. . . . It is a curious-looking edifice, and one which impresses the beholder from its very peculiarity. The lofty bell tower (113 ft.) is said to remind one of the world-famed Campanile of St. Mark's Church at Venice" (Frederick Arnold, jun.: *The History of Streatham*, 1886, p. 53).]

¹ [For another sense in which this term is used, namely, rustication in construction, and for Ruskin's partiality for it, see *Notes on Prout and Hunt*, preface, § 23.]

² [A stony roundish fossil, supposed to consist of the petrified excrement of an animal.]

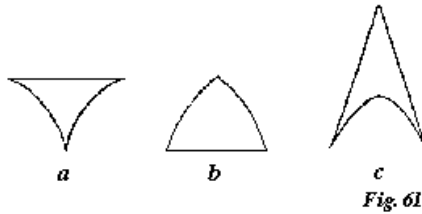
a brazen bell,—that is her preparation for first stories. She does rusticate sometimes: crumbly sandstones, with their ripple marks filled with red mud; dusty limestones, which the rains wash into labyrinthine cavities; spongy lavas, which the volcano blast drags hither and thither into ropy coils and bubbling hollows;—these she rusticates, indeed, when she wants to make oyster-shells and magnesia of them; but not when she needs to lay foundations with them. Then she seeks the polished surface and iron heart, not rough looks and incoherent substance.

§ 7. Of the richer modes of wall decoration it is impossible to institute any general comparison; they are quite infinite, from mere inlaid geometrical figures up to incrustations of elaborate bas-relief. The architect has perhaps more license in them, and more power of producing good effect with rude design than in any other features of the building; the chequer and hatchet work of the Normans and the rude bas-reliefs of the Lombards being almost as satisfactory as the delicate panelling and mosaic of the Duomo of Florence. But this is to be noted of all good wall ornament, that it retains the expression of firm and massive substance, and of broad surface, and that architecture instantly declined when linear design was substituted for massive, and the sense of weight of wall was lost in a wilderness of upright or undulating rods. Of the richest and most delicate wall-veil decoration by inlaid work, as practised in Italy from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, I have given the reader two characteristic examples in Plates 20 and 21.

§ 8. There are, however, three spaces in which the wall veil, peculiarly limited in shape, was always felt to be fitted for surface decoration of the most elaborate kind; and in these spaces are found the most majestic instances of its treatment, even to late periods. One of these is the spandril space, or the filling between any two arches, commonly of the shape *a*, Fig. 61; the half of which, or the flank filling of any arch, is called a spandril. In Chapter XVII., on Filling of Apertures, the reader will find another of these

spaces noted, called the tympanum, and commonly of the form *b*, Fig. 61; and finally, in Chapter XVIII., he will find the third space described, that between an arch and its projecting gable, approximating generally to the form *c*, Fig. 61.

§ 9. The method of treating these spaces might alone furnish subject for three very interesting essays; but I shall only note the most essential points respecting them.



(1.) The Spandril. It was observed in Chapter

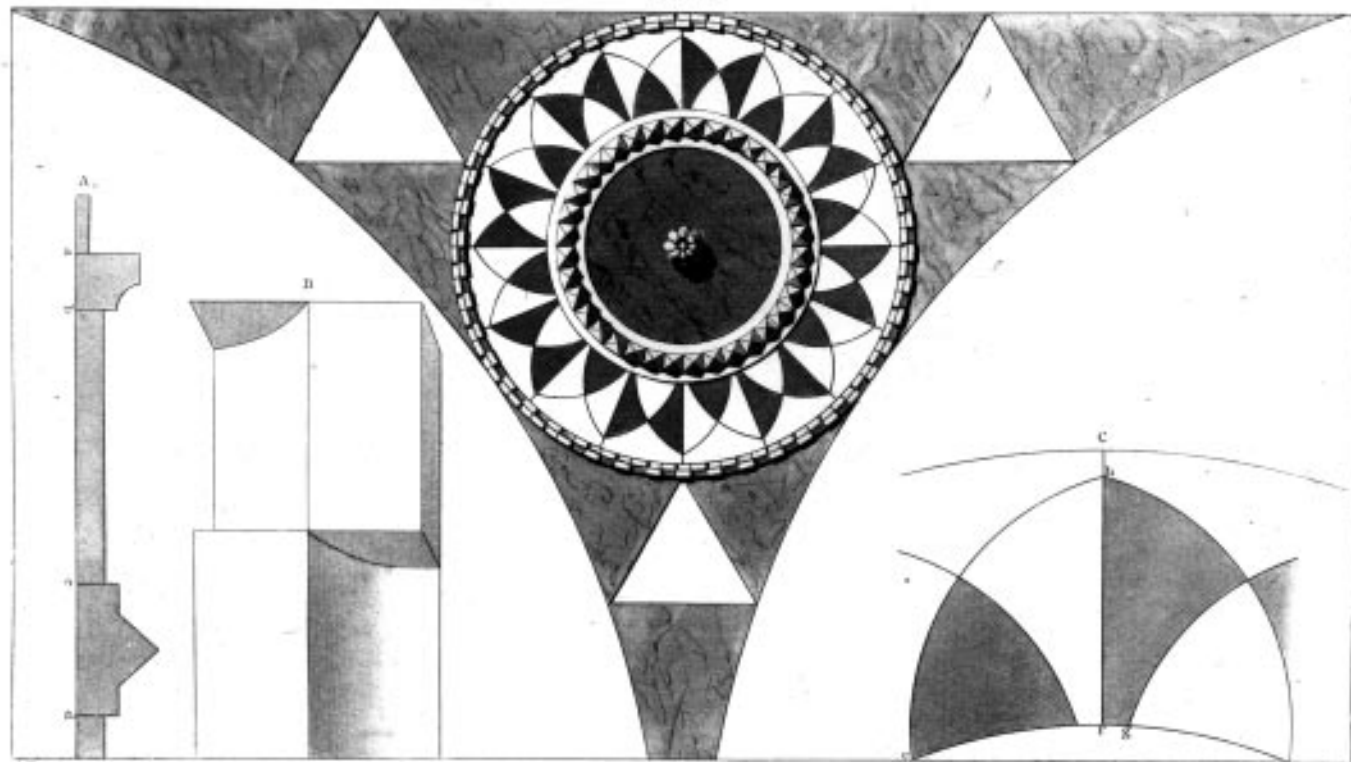
XII., that this portion of the arch load might frequently be lightened with great advantage by piercing it with a circle, or with a group of circles; and the roof of the Euston Square railroad station was adduced as an example. One of the spandril decorations of Bayeux Cathedral is given in the *Seven Lamps*, Plate VII., Fig. 4.¹ It is little more than one of these Euston Square spandrils with its circles foliated.

Sometimes the circle is entirely pierced; at other times it is merely suggested by a mosaic or light tracery on the wall surface, as in Plate 14, which is one of the spandrils of the Ducal Palace at Venice. It was evidently intended that all the spandrils of this building should be decorated in this manner, but only two of them seem to have been completed.*

§ 10. The other modes of spandril filling may be broadly reduced to four heads. (1.) Free figure sculpture, as in the Chapter-house of Salisbury, and very superbly along the west front of Bourges, the best Gothic spandrils I know. (2.) Radiated foliage, more or less referred to the centre, or to the bottom of the spandril for its origin; single figures with expanded wings often answering the same purpose.

* Vide end of Appendix 20 [p. 459].

¹ [Vol. VIII., facing p. 128.]



J. Enslem.

J.C. Armytage
Allen & Co. Es.

Spandril Decoration .
The Ducal Palace.

(3.) Trefoils; and (4.), ordinary wall decoration, continued into the spandril space, as in Plate 13, from St. Pietro at Pistoja, and in Westminster Abbey. The Renaissance architects introduced spandril fillings composed of colossal human figures reclining on the sides of the arch, in precarious lassitude; but these cannot come under the head of wall veil decoration.¹

§ 11. (2.) The Tympanum. It was noted² that, in Gothic architecture, this is for the most part a detached slab of stone, having no constructional relation to the rest of the building. The plan of its sculpture is therefore quite arbitrary; and as it is generally in a conspicuous position, near the eye, and above the entrance, it is almost always charged with a series of rich figure sculptures, solemn in feeling and consecutive in subject. It occupies in Christian sacred edifices very nearly the position of the pediment in Greek sculpture. This latter is itself a kind of tympanum, and charged with sculpture in the same manner.

§ 12. (3.) The Gable. The same principles apply to it which have been noted respecting the spandril, with one more of some importance. The chief difficulty in treating a gable lies in the excessive sharpness of its upper point. It may, indeed, on its outside apex, receive a finial; but the meeting of the inside lines of its terminal mouldings is necessarily both harsh and conspicuous, unless artificially concealed. The most beautiful victory I have ever seen obtained over this difficulty was by placing a sharp shield, its point, as usual, downwards, at the apex of the gable, which exactly reversed the offensive lines, yet without actually breaking them; the gable being completed behind the shield. The same thing is done in the Northern and Southern Gothic: in the porches of Abbeville and the tombs of Verona.

¹ [The reading in the first draft may here be given as an instance of the chastening to which Ruskin subjected his MS. on revision:—

“ . . . in precarious lassitude; I do not know what they are meant for or what is their moral; they have the look of having got into their places by mistake, and one feels eager to send a policeman to fetch them down.”]

² [See above, p. 222.]

§ 13. I believe there is little else to be noted of general laws of ornament respecting the wall veil. We have next to consider its concentration in the shaft.

Now the principal beauty of a shaft is its perfect proportion to its work,—its exact expression of necessary strength. If this has been truly attained, it will hardly need, in some cases hardly bear, more decoration than is given to it by its own rounding and taper curvatures; for, if we cut ornaments in intaglio on its surface, we weaken it; if we leave them in relief, we overcharge it, and the sweep of the line from its base to its summit, though deduced in Chap. VIII., from necessities of construction, is already one of gradated curvature, and of high decorative value.

§ 14. It is, however, carefully to be noted, that decorations are admissible on colossal and on diminutive shafts, which are wrong upon those of middle size. For, when the shaft is enormous, incisions, or sculpture on its sides (unless colossal also), do not materially interfere with the sweep of its curve, nor diminish the efficiency of its sustaining mass. And if it be diminutive, its sustaining function is comparatively of so small importance, the injurious results of failure so much less, and the relative strength and cohesion of its mass so much greater, that it may be suffered in extravagances of ornament or outline which would be unendurable in a shaft of middle size, and impossible in one of colossal. Thus, the shafts drawn in Plate XIII. of the *Seven Lamps*,¹ though given as examples of extravagance, are yet pleasing in the general effect of the arcade they support; being each some six or seven feet high. But they would have been monstrous, as well as unsafe, if they had been sixty or seventy.

§ 15. Therefore, to determine the general rule for shaft decoration, we must ascertain the proportions representative of the mean bulk of shafts: they might easily be calculated from a sufficient number of examples, but it may perhaps

¹ [Vol. VIII., facing p. 212.]

be assumed, for our present general purpose, that the mean standard would be of some twenty feet in height, by eight or nine in circumference; then this will be the size on which decoration is most difficult and dangerous: and shafts become more and more fit subjects for decoration, as they rise farther above or fall farther beneath it, until very small and very vast shafts will both be found to look blank unless they receive some chasing or imagery; blank, whether they support a chair or table on the one side, or sustain a village on the ridge of an Egyptian architrave on the other.

§ 16. Of the various ornamentation of colossal shafts, there are no examples so noble as the Egyptian; these the reader can study in Mr. Roberts' work on Egypt¹ nearly as well, I imagine, as if he were beneath their shadow, one of their chief merits, as examples of method, being the perfect decision and visibility of their designs at the necessary distance: contrast with these the incrustations of bas-relief on the Trajan pillar,² much interfering with the smooth lines of the shaft, and yet themselves untraceable if not invisible.

§ 17. On shafts of middle size, the only ornament which has ever been accepted as right, is the Doric fluting, which, indeed, gave the effect of a succession of unequal lines of shade, but lost much of the repose of the cylindrical gradation. The Corinthian fluting, which is a mean multiplication and deepening of the Doric, with a square instead of a sharp ridge between each hollow, destroyed the serenity of the shaft altogether, and is always rigid and meagre. Both are, in fact, wrong, in principle; they are an elaborate weakening* of the shaft, exactly opposed (as above shown) to the

* Vide, however, their defence in the Essay above quoted, p. 335.³

¹ [*Egypt and Nubia* (letterpress by W. Brockendon), with drawings made on the spot by David Roberts, R.A.: 1846.]

² [The column of Trajan at Rome is 94 ft. high, and the bas-reliefs extend to the top; the reliefs which are 2 ft. high in the lower part increase to nearly 4 as they approach the summit. There is a copy of it, in two parts, in the Victoria and Albert (South Kensington) Museum.]

³ [The "Essay above quoted" is the review of the *Seven Lamps* in the *British Quarterly* (see pp. 304 n., 335 n.). For another reference to the Greek fluting of columns, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 131, 139.]

ribbed form, which is the result of a group of shafts bound together, and which is especially beautiful when special service is given to each member.

§ 18. On shafts of inferior size, every species of decoration may be wisely lavished, and in any quantity, so only that the form of the shaft be clearly visible. This I hold to be absolutely essential, and that barbarism begins wherever the sculpture is either so bossy, or so deeply cut, as to break the contour of the shaft, or compromise its solidity. Thus, in Plate 21 (Appendix 8), the richly sculptured shaft of the lower story has lost its dignity and definite function, and become a shapeless mass, injurious to the symmetry of the building, though of some value as adding to its imaginative and fantastic character. Had all the shafts been like it, the façade would have been entirely spoiled; the inlaid pattern, on the contrary, which is used on the shortest shaft of the upper story, adds to its preciousness without interfering with its purpose, and is every way delightful, as are all the inlaid shaft ornaments of this noble church (another example of them is given in Plate XII. of the *Seven Lamps*).¹ The same rule would condemn the Caryatid: which I entirely agree with Mr. Fergusson² in thinking (both for this and other reasons) one of the chief errors of the Greek schools; and, more decisively still, the Renaissance inventions of shaft ornament, almost too absurd and too monstrous to be seriously noticed, which consist in leaving square blocks between the cylinder joints,³ as in the portico of No. 1, Regent Street, and many other buildings in London; or in rustivating portions of the shafts, or

¹ [The church is S. Michele, Lucca: see Vol. VIII. p. 125; and *cf.* Vol. I. p. 206; Vol. II. p. xxviii.; and below, p. 430.]

² [See James Fergusson's *Historical Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art, more especially with reference to Architecture*, p. 384. Fergusson condemns "so manifest an absurdity as employing statues, representing living figures, to do the duty of stone pillars." "It is difficult to understand," he says of the Caryatid in the British Museum, "what kind of entablature could be placed over it, of sufficient lightness to avoid the effect of either crushing the figure, or of being so flimsy as to be insufficient for the purposes of a roof."]

³ [No longer visible, either through the alteration or frequent re-painting of the building.]

wrapping fleeces about them, as at the entrance of Burlington House, in Piccadilly;¹ or tying drapery round them in knots, as in the new buildings above noticed (Chap. XX., § 7), at Paris. But, within the limits thus defined, there is no feature capable of richer decoration than the shaft; the most beautiful examples of all I have seen, are the slender pillars, encrusted with arabesques, which flank the portals of the Baptistery and Duomo at Pisa, and some others of the Pisan and Lucchese churches; but the varieties of sculpture and inlaying, with which the small Romanesque shafts, whether Italian or Northern, are adorned when they occupy important positions, are quite endless, and nearly all admirable. Mr. Digby Wyatt has given a beautiful example of inlaid work so employed, from the cloisters of the Lateran, in his work on early mosaic;² an example which unites the surface decoration of the shaft with the adoption of the spiral contour. This latter is often all the decoration which is needed, and none can be more beautiful; it has been spoken against, like many other good and lovely things, because it has been too often used in extravagant degrees, like the well-known twisting of the pillars in Raffaele's "Beautiful gate."³ But that extravagant condition was a Renaissance barbarism: the old Romanesque builders kept their spirals slight and pure; often, as in the example from St. Zeno, in Plate 17, giving only half a turn from the base of the shaft to its head, and nearly always observing what I hold to be an imperative law, that no twisted shaft shall be single, but composed of at least two distinct members, twined with each other. I suppose they followed their own right feeling in doing this, and had never studied natural shafts; but the type they *might* have followed was caught by one of the few great painters who were not affected by the evil influence of the fifteenth century, Benozzo Gozzoli, who,

¹ [The reference is to Old Burlington House (built 1695–1743), which was bought by Government in 1854. The present façade of the building is new.]

² [For a note on this work, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII, p. 177 *n.*]

³ [In the cartoon of "Peter and John healing the Lame Man," now in the Victoria and Albert (South Kensington) Museum.]

in the frescoes of the Riccardi Palace,¹ among stems of trees for the most part as vertical as stone shafts, has suddenly introduced

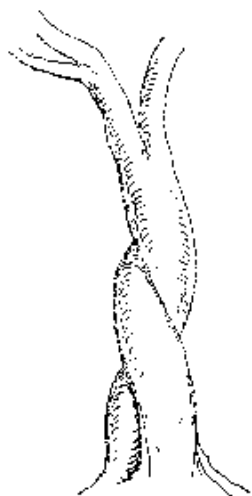


Fig. 62

one of the shape given in Fig. 62. Many forest trees present, in their accidental contortions, types of most complicated spiral shafts, the plan being originally of a grouped shaft rising from several roots; nor, indeed, will the reader ever find models for every kind of shaft decoration, so graceful or so gorgeous, as he will find in the great forest aisle, where the strength of the earth itself seems to rise from the roots into the vaulting; but the shaft surface, barred as it expands with rings of ebony and silver, is fretted with traceries of ivy, marbled with purple moss, veined with grey lichen, and tessellated, by the rays of the rolling heaven, with flitting fancies of blue shadow and burning gold.

¹ [For other references to these frescoes, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 320).]

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CORNICE AND CAPITAL

§ 1. THERE are no features to which the attention of architects has been more laboriously directed, in all ages, than these crowning members of the wall and shaft; and it would be vain to endeavour, within any moderate limits, to give the reader any idea of the various kinds of admirable decoration which have been invented for them. But, in proportion to the effort and straining of the fancy, have been the extravagances into which it has occasionally fallen; and while it is utterly impossible severally to enumerate the instances either of its success or its error, it is very possible to note the limits of the one and the causes of the other. This is all that we shall attempt in the present chapter, tracing first for ourselves, as in previous instances, the natural channels by which invention is here to be directed or confined, and afterwards remarking the places where, in real practice, it has broken bounds.

§ 2. The reader remembers, I hope, the main points respecting the cornice and capital, established above in the Chapters on Construction. Of these I must, however, recapitulate thus much:—

(1.) That both the cornice and capital are, with reference to the *slope* of their profile or bell, to be divided into two great orders; in one of which the ornament is convex, and in the other concave. (Ch. VI., § 5.)

(2.) That the capital, with reference to the method of twisting the cornice round to construct it, and to unite the circular shaft with the square abacus, falls into five general forms, represented in Fig. 22, p. 140.

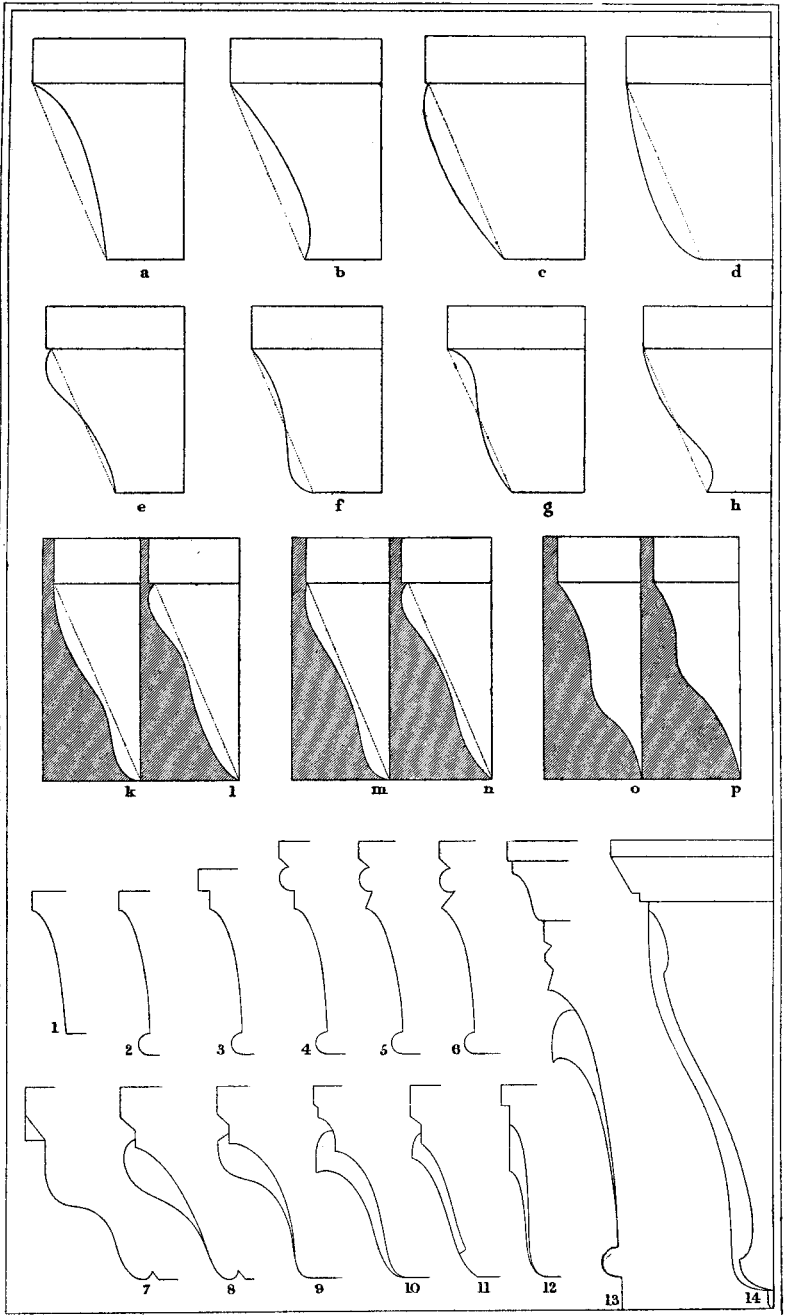
(3.) That the most elaborate capitals were formed by true or simple capitals with a common cornice added above their abacus. (Ch. IX., § 24.)

We have then, in considering decoration, first to observe the treatment of the two great orders of the cornice; then their gathering into the five of the capital; then the addition of the secondary cornice to the capital when formed.

§ 3. The two great orders or families of cornice were above distinguished in Fig. 5, p. 93; and it was mentioned in the same place that a third family arose from their combination. We must deal with the two great opposed groups first.

They were distinguished in Fig. 5 by circular curves drawn on opposite sides of the same line. But we now know that in these smaller features the circle is usually the least interesting curve that we can use; and that it will be well, since the capital and cornice are both active in their expression, to use some of the more abstract natural lines. We will go back, therefore, to our old friend the salvia leaf; and taking the same piece of it we had before, *x*, *y*, Plate 7, we will apply it to the cornice line; first within it, giving the concave cornice, then without, giving the convex cornice. In all the figures, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, Plate 15, the dotted line is at the same slope, and represents an average profile of the root of cornices (*a*, Fig. 5, p. 93); the curve of the salvia leaf is applied to it in each case, first with its roundest curvature up, then with its roundest curvature down; and we have thus the two varieties, *a* and *b*, of the concave family, and *c* and *d*, of the convex family.

§ 4. These four profiles will represent all the simple cornices in the world; represent them, I mean, as central types: for in any of the profiles an infinite number of slopes may be given to the dotted line of the root (which in these four figures is always at the same angle); and on each of these innumerable slopes an innumerable variety of curves may be fitted, from every leaf in the forest, and every shell on the shore, and every movement of the human fingers



and fancy; therefore, if the reader wishes to obtain something like a numerical representation of the number of possible and beautiful cornices which may be based upon these four types or roots, and among which the architect has leave to choose according to the circumstances of his building and the method of its composition, let him set down a figure 1 to begin with, and write ciphers after it as fast as he can, without stopping, for an hour.

§ 5. None of the types are, however, found in perfection of curvature, except in the best work. Very often cornices are worked with circular segments (with a noble, massive effect, for instance, in St. Michele of Lucca), or with rude approximation to finer curvature, especially *a*, Plate 15, which occurs often so small as to render it useless to take much pains upon its curve. It occurs perfectly pure in the condition represented by 1 of the series 1–6, in Plate 15, on many of the Byzantine and early Gothic buildings of Venice; in more developed form it becomes the profile of the bell of the capital in the later Venetian Gothic, and in much of the best Northern Gothic. It also represents the Corinthian capital in which the curvature is taken from the bell to be added in some excess to the nodding leaves. It is the most graceful of all simple profiles of cornice and capital.

§ 6. *b* is a much rarer and less manageable type; for this evident reason, that while *a* is the natural condition of a line rooted and strong beneath, but bent out by superincumbent weight, or nodding over in freedom, *b* is yielding at the base and rigid at the summit. It has, however, some exquisite uses, especially in combination, as the reader may see by glancing in advance at the inner line of the profile 14 in Plate 15.

§ 7. *c* is the leading convex or Doric type, as *a* is the leading concave or Corinthian. Its relation to the best Greek Doric is exactly what the relation of *a* is to the Corinthian; that is to say, the curvature may be taken from the straighter limb of the curve and added to the

bolder bend, giving it a sudden turn inwards (as in the Corinthian a nod outwards), as the reader may see in the capital of the Parthenon in the British Museum,¹ where the lower limb of the curve is *all but* a right line.* But these Doric and Corinthian lines are mere varieties of the great families which are represented by the central lines *a* and *c*, including not only the Doric capital, but all the small cornices formed by a slight increase of the curve of *c*, which are of so frequent occurrence in Greek ornaments.

§ 8. *d* is the Christian Doric, which I said (Chap. I., § 20) was invented to replace the antique; it is the representative of the great Byzantine and Norman families of convex cornice and capital, and, next to the profile *a*, the most important of the four, being the best profile for the convex capital, as *a* is for the concave; *a* being the best expression of an elastic line inserted vertically in the shaft, and *d* of an elastic line inserted horizontally and rising to meet vertical pressure.

If the reader will glance at the arrangements of boughs of trees, he will find them commonly dividing into these two families, *a* and *d*: they rise out of the trunk and nod from it as at *a*, or they spring with sudden curvature out from it, and rise into sympathy with it, as at *d*; but they only accidentally display tendencies to the lines *b* or *c*. Boughs which fall as they spring from the tree also describe the curve *d* in the plurality of instances, but reversed in arrangement; their junction with the stem being at the top of it, their sprays bending out into rounder curvature.

§ 9. These then being the two primal groups, we have next to note the combined group, formed by the concave and convex lines joined in various proportions of curvature, so as to form together the reversed or ogee curve,

* In very early Doric it was an absolute right line; and that capital is therefore derived from the pure cornice root, represented by the dotted line.

¹ [No. 380 in the *Catalogue of Sculpture*, vol. i.]

represented in one of its most beautiful states by the glacier line *a*, on Plate 7. I would rather have taken this line than any other to have formed my third group of cornices by, but as it is too large, and almost too delicate, we will take instead that of the Matterhorn side, *e, f*, Plate 7. For uniformity's sake I keep the slope of the dotted line the same as in the primal forms; and applying this Matterhorn curve in its four relative positions to that line, I have the types of the four cornices or capitals of the third family, *e, f, g, h*, on Plate 15.

These are, however, general types only thus far, that their line is composed of one short and one long curve, and that they represent the four conditions of treatment of every such line; namely, the longest curve concave in *e* and *f*, and convex in *g* and *h*; and the point of contrary flexure set high in *e* and *g*, and low in *f* and *h*. The relative depth of the arcs, or nature of their curvature, cannot be taken into consideration without a complexity of system which my space does not admit.

Of the four types thus constituted, *e* and *f* are of great importance; the other two are rarely used, having an appearance of weakness in consequence of the shortest curve being concave: the profiles *e* and *f*, when used for cornices, have usually a fuller sweep and somewhat greater equality between the branches of the curve; but those here given are better representatives of the structure applicable to capitals and cornices indifferently.

§ 10. Very often, in the farther treatment of the profiles *e* or *f*, another limb is added to their curve in order to join it to the upper or lower members of the cornice or capital. I do not consider this addition as forming another family of cornices, because the leading and effective part of the curve is in these, as in the others, the single ogee: and the added bend is merely a less abrupt termination of it above or below: still this group is of so great importance in the richer kinds of ornamentation that we must have it sufficiently represented. We shall obtain a type of it by merely continuing

the line of the Matterhorn side, of which before we took only a fragment. The entire line *e* to *g* on Plate 7 is evidently composed of three curves of unequal lengths, which if we call the shortest 1, the intermediate one 2, and the longest 3, are there arranged in the order 1, 3, 2, counting upwards. But evidently we might also have had the arrangements 1, 2, 3, and 2, 1, 3, giving us three distinct lines, altogether independent of position, which being applied to one general dotted slope will each give four cornices, or twelve altogether. Of these the six most important are those which have the shortest curve convex: they are given in light relief from *k* to *p*, Plate 15, and, by turning the page upside down, the other six will be seen in dark relief, only the little upright bits of shadow at the bottom are not to be considered as parts of them, being only admitted in order to give the complete profile of the more important cornices in light.

§ 11. In these types, as in *e* and *f*, the only general condition is, that their line shall be composed of three curves of different lengths and different arrangements (the depth of arcs and radius of curvatures being unconsidered). They are arranged in three couples, each couple being two positions of the same entire line; so that numbering the component curves in order of magnitude and counting upwards, they will read—

| | | | |
|----------|----|----|----|
| <i>k</i> | 1, | 2, | 3, |
| <i>l</i> | 3, | 2, | 1, |
| <i>m</i> | 1, | 3, | 2, |
| <i>n</i> | 2, | 3, | 1, |
| <i>o</i> | 2, | 1, | 3, |
| <i>p</i> | 3, | 1, | 2. |

m and *n*, which are the *Matterhorn line*, are the most beautiful and important of all the twelve; *k* and *l* the next; *o* and *p* are used only for certain conditions of flower carving on the surface. The reverses (dark) of *k* and *l* are also of considerable service; the other four hardly ever used in good work.

§ 12. If we were to add a fourth curve to the component



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Cornice Decoration.

series, we should have forty-eight more cornices: but there is no use in pursuing the system further, as such arrangements are very rare and easily resolved into the simpler types with certain arbitrary additions fitted to their special place; and, in most cases, distinctly separate from the main curve, as in the inner line of No. 14, which is a form of the type *e*, the longest curve, *i.e.* the lowest, having deepest curvature, and each limb opposed by a short contrary curve at its extremities, the convex limb by a concave, the concave by a convex.

§ 13. Such, then, are the great families of profile lines into which all cornices and capitals may be divided; but their best examples unite two such profiles in a mode which we cannot understand till we consider the further ornament with which the profiles are charged. And in doing this we must, for the sake of clearness, consider, first the nature of the designs themselves, and next the mode of cutting them.

§ 14. In Plate 16, I have thrown together a few of the most characteristic mediæval examples of the treatment of the simplest cornice profiles: the uppermost, *a*, is the pure root of cornices from St. Mark's. The second, *d*, is the Christian Doric cornice,¹ here lettered *d* in order to avoid confusion, its profile being *d* of Plate 15 in bold development, and here seen on the left-hand side, truly drawn, though filled up with the ornament to show the mode in which the angle is turned. This is also from St. Mark's. The third, *b*, is *b* of Plate 15, the pattern being inlaid in black because its office was in the interior of St. Mark's, where it was too dark to see sculptured ornament at the required distance. (The other two simple profiles, *a* and *c* of Plate 15, would be decorated in the same manner, but require no example here, for the profile *a* is of so frequent occurrence that it will have a page to itself alone in the next volume;² and *c* may be seen over nearly every shop in London, being that of the common Greek egg cornice.) The fourth, *e* in Plate 16, is a transitional cornice, passing from Byzantine

¹ [Shown again in Plate 7 of the *Examples*.]

² [*i.e.* Plate 8 in that volume, "Byzantine Capitals. Concave Group."]

into Venetian Gothic: *f* is a fully developed Venetian Gothic cornice founded on Byzantine traditions; and *g* the perfect Lombardic-Gothic cornice, founded on the Pisan Romanesque traditions, and strongly marked with the noblest Northern element, the Lombardic vitality restrained by classical models. I consider it a perfect cornice, and of the highest order.

§ 15. Now in the design of this series of ornaments there are two main points to be noted; the first, that they all, except *b*, are distinctly rooted in the lower part of the cornice, and spring to the top. This arrangement is constant in all the best cornices and capitals; and it is essential to the expression of the supporting power of both. It is exactly opposed to the system of *running* cornices and *banded** capitals, in which the ornament flows along them horizontally, or is twined round them, as the mouldings are in the early English capital, and the foliage in many decorated ones. Such cornices have arisen from a mistaken appliance of the running ornaments, which are proper to archivolts, jambs, etc., to the features which have definite functions of support. A tendril may nobly follow the outline of an arch, but must not creep along a cornice, nor swathe or bandage a capital; it is essential to the expression of these features that their ornament should have an elastic and upward spring; and as the proper profile for the curve is that of a tree bough, as we saw above, so the proper arrangement of its farther ornament is that which best expresses rooted and ascendant strength like that of foliage.

There are certain very interesting exceptions to the rule (we shall see a curious one presently);¹ and in the carrying out of the rule itself, we may see constant licenses taken by the great designers, and momentary violations of it, like those above spoken of, respecting other ornamental laws—

* The word *banded* is used by Professor Willis in a different sense;² which I would respect by applying it in his sense always to the Impost, and in mine to the capital itself. (This note is not for the general reader, who need not trouble himself about the matter.)

¹ [See below, § 16, p. 368.]

² [*Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 1835, p. 31.]

violations which are for our refreshment, and for increase of delight in the general observance; and this is one of the peculiar beauties of the cornice *g*, which, rooting itself in strong central clusters, suffers some of its leaves to fall languidly aside, as the drooping outer leaves of a natural cluster do so often; but at the very instant that it does this, in order that it may not lose any of its expression of strength, a fruit-stalk is thrown up above the languid leaves, absolutely vertical, as much stiffer and stronger than the rest of the plant as the falling leaves are weaker. Cover this with your finger, and the cornice falls to pieces, like a bouquet which has been untied.

§ 16. There are some instances in which, though the real arrangement is that of a running stem, throwing off leaves up and down, the positions of the leaves give nearly as much elasticity and organization to the cornice, as if they had been rightly rooted; and others, like *b*, where the reversed portion of the ornament is lost in the shade, and the general expression of strength is got by the lower member. This cornice will, nevertheless, be felt at once to be inferior to the rest; and though we may often be called upon to admire designs of these kinds, which would have been exquisite if not thus misplaced, the reader will find that they are both of rare occurrence, and significative of declining style; while the greater mass of the banded capitals are heavy and valueless, mere aggregations of confused sculpture, swathed round the extremity of the shaft, as if one had dipped it into a mass of melted ornament, as the glass-blower does his blowpipe into the metal, and brought up a quantity adhering glutinously to its extremity. We have many capitals of this kind in England: some of the worst and heaviest in the choir of York.¹ The later capitals of the Italian Gothic have the same kind of effect, but owing to another cause; for their structure is quite pure, and based on the Corinthian type: and it is the branching form of the heads of the

¹ [The choir, in the perpendicular style, dates from 1373 to 1400. For another reference to York Minister, see above, p. 246.]

leaves which destroys the effect of their organization. On the other hand, some of the Italian cornices, which are actually composed by running tendrils throwing off leaves into oval interstices, are so massive in their treatment, and so marked and firm in their vertical and arched lines, that they are nearly as suggestive of support as if they had been arranged on the rooted system. A cornice of this kind is used in St. Michele of Lucca (Plate VI. in the *Seven Lamps*, and 21 here), and with exquisite propriety; for that cornice is at once a crown to the story beneath it and a foundation to that which is above it, and therefore unites the strength and elasticity of the lines proper to the cornice with the submission and prostration of those proper to the foundation.

§ 17. This, then, is the first point needing general notice in the designs in Plate 16. The second is the difference between the freedom of the Northern and the sophistication of the classical cornices, in connection with what has been advanced in Appendix 8. The cornices, *a*, *d*, and *b*, are of the same date, but they show a singular difference in the workman's temper: that at *b* is a simple copy of a classical mosaic; and many carved cornices occur, associated with it, which are, in like manner, mere copies of the Greek and Roman egg and arrow mouldings. But the cornices *a* and *d* are copies of nothing of the kind; the idea of them has indeed been taken from the Greek honeysuckle ornament, but the chiselling of them is in no wise either Greek, or Byzantine, in temper. The Byzantines were languid copyists; this work is as energetic as it is original; energetic, not in the quantity of work, but the spirit of it: an indolent man, forced into toil, may cover large spaces with evidence of his feeble action, or accumulate his dulness into rich aggregation of trouble, but it is gathered weariness still. The man who cut those two uppermost cornices had no time to spare; did as much cornice as he could in half an hour; but would not endure the slightest trace of error in a curve, or of bluntness in an edge. His work is absolutely unprovable; keen, and true, as Nature's own; his entire force

is in it, and fixed on seeing that every line of it shall be sharp and right: the faithful energy is in him: we shall see something come of that cornice. The fellow who inlaid the other (*b*), will stay where he is for ever; and when he has inlaid one leaf up, will inlay another down,—and so undulate up and down to all eternity: but the man of *a* and *d* will cut his way forward or there is no truth in handicrafts, nor stubbornness in stone.¹

§ 18. But there is something else noticeable in those two cornices, besides the energy of them: as opposed either to *b*, or the Greek honeysuckle or egg patterns, they are *natural* designs. The Greek egg and arrow cornice is a nonsense cornice, very noble in its lines, but utterly absurd in meaning.² Arrows have had nothing to do with eggs (at least since Leda's time³), neither are the so-called arrows like arrows, nor the eggs like eggs, nor the honeysuckles like honeysuckles; they are all conventionalised into a monotonous successiveness of nothing,—pleasant to the eye, useless to the thought. But those Christian cornices are, as far as may be, suggestive; there is not the tenth of the work in them that there is in the Greek arrows, but, as far as that work will go, it has consistent intention; with the fewest possible incisions, and those of the easiest shape, they suggest the true image of clusters of leaves, each leaf with its central depression from root to point, and that distinctly visible at almost any distance from the eye, and in almost any light.

§ 19. Here, then, are two great new elements visible; energy and naturalism:—Life, with submission to the laws of God, and love of His works; this is Christianity, dealing with her classical models. Now look back to what I said in Chap. I. § 20 of this dealing of hers, and invention of the

¹ [With this passage may be compared the poem entitled "The Palace," in Rudyard Kipling's *The Five Nations* (1903), with its refrain "After me cometh a Builder. Tell him I too have known."]

² [For a possible explanation, see E. T. Cook's *Popular Handbook to the . . . British Museum*, p. 197. For Ruskin's remarks on his failure at this time to appreciate the full significance of Greek symbolism in design, see below, p. 408 *n.*]

³ [It seems probable that Ruskin was here confusing Leda and Leto, for neither Castor nor Pollux, who sprung from Leda's eggs, were archers, but Leto's children (Apollo and Diana) were.]

new Doric line; then to what is above stated (§ 8) respecting that new Doric, and the boughs of trees; and now to the evidence in the cutting of the leaves on the same Doric section, and see how the whole is beginning to come together.

§ 20. We said that something would come of these two cornices, *a* and *d*.¹ In *e* and *f* we see that something *has* come of them: *e* is also from St. Mark's, and one of the earliest examples in Venice of the transition from the Byzantine to the Gothic cornice. It is already singularly developed; flowers have been added between the clusters of leaves, and the leaves themselves curled over; and observe the well-directed thought of the sculptor in this curling;—the old incisions are retained below, and their excessive rigidity is one of the proofs of the earliness of the cornice; but those incisions now stand for the *under* surface of the leaf; and behold, when it turns over, on the top of it you see true *ribs*. Look at the upper and under surface of a cabbage-leaf, and see what quick steps we are making.

§ 21. The fifth example (*f*) was cut in 1347; it is from the tomb of Marco Giustiniani, in the church of St. John and Paul,² and it exhibits the character of the central Venetian Gothic fully developed. The lines are all now soft and undulatory, though elastic; the sharp incisions have become deeply-gathered folds; the hollow of the leaf is expressed completely beneath, and its edges are touched with light, and incised into several lobes, and their ribs delicately drawn above. (The flower between is only accidentally absent; it occurs in most cornices of the time.)

But in both these cornices the reader will notice that while the naturalism of the sculpture is steadily on the increase, the classical formalism is still retained. The leaves are accurately numbered, and sternly set in their places; they are leaves in office, and dare not stir nor wave. They have

¹ [See above, § 17 *ad fin.*]

² [This tomb is in the first chapel on the right (south) of the choir, on its north side.]

the shapes of leaves, but not the functions; “having the form of knowledge, but denying the power thereof.”¹ What is the meaning of this?

§ 22. Look back to the 33rd paragraph of the first chapter, and you will see the meaning of it. Those cornices are the Venetian Ecclesiastical Gothic; the Christian element struggling with the Formalism of the Papacy,—the Papacy being entirely heathen in all its principles. That officialism of the leaves and their ribs means Apostolic succession, and I don’t know how much more, and is already preparing for the transition to old Heathenism again, and the Renaissance.*

§ 23. Now look to the last cornice (*g*). That is Protestantism,—a slight touch of Dissent, hardly amounting to schism, in those falling leaves, but true life in the whole of it. The forms all broken through, and sent heaven knows where, but the root held fast; and the strong sap in the branches; and, best of all, good fruit ripening and opening straight towards heaven, and in the face of it, even though some of the leaves lie in the dust.

Now, observe. The cornice *f* represents Heathenism and Papistry, animated by the mingling of Christianity and nature. The good in it, the life of it, the veracity and liberty of it, such as it has, are Protestantism in its heart; the rigidity and saplessness are the Romanism of it. It is

* The Renaissance period being one of return to formalism on the one side, of utter licentiousness on the other, so that sometimes, as here, I have to declare its lifelessness, at other times (Chap. XXV. § 17) its lasciviousness. There is, of course, no contradiction in this: but the reader might well ask how I knew the change from the base 11 to the base 12, in Plate 12, to be one from temperance to luxury; and that from the cornice *f* to the cornice *g*, in Plate 16, to be one from formalism to vitality. I know it, both by certain internal evidences, on which I shall have to dwell at length hereafter,² and by the context of the works of the time. But the outward signs might in both ornaments be the same, distinguishable only as signs of opposite tendencies by the event of both. The blush of shame cannot always be told from the blush of indignation.

¹ [2 Timothy iii. 5.]

² [A general reference to the subsequent chapters (in vol. iii. of the work) on the Renaissance. It should be remembered, in these references forward, that vol. i. was written and published before the remainder of the book was written or even, in any detail, planned out.]

the mind of Fra Angelico in the monk's dress,—Christianity before the Reformation. The cornice *g* has the Lombardic life element in its fulness, with only some colour and shape of Classicalism mingled with it—the good of Classicalism; as much method and Formalism as are consistent with life, and fitting for it: The continence within certain border lines, the unity at the root, the simplicity of the great profile,—all these are the healthy classical elements retained: the rest is reformation, new strength, and recovered liberty.

§ 24. There is one more point about it especially noticeable. The leaves are thoroughly natural in their general character, but they are of no particular species; and after being something like cabbage-leaves in the beginning, one of them suddenly becomes an ivy-leaf in the end. Now I don't know what to say of this. I know it, indeed, to be a classical character;—it is eminently characteristic of Southern work; and markedly distinctive of it from the Northern ornament, which would have been oak, or ivy, or apple, but not anything, nor two things in one. It is, I repeat, a clearly thing, nor two things in one. It is, I repeat, a clearly classical element; but whether a good or bad element I am not sure;—whether it is the last trace of Centaurism and other monstrosity dying away; or whether it has a figurative purpose, legitimate in architecture (though never in painting), and has been rightly retained by the Christian sculptor, to express the working of that spirit which grafts one nature upon another, and discerns a law in its members warring against the law of its mind.¹

§ 25. These, then, being the points most noticeable in the spirit both of the designs and the chiselling, we have now to return to the question proposed in § 13, and observe the modifications of form of profile which resulted from the changing contours of the leafage; for up to § 13, we had, as usual, considered the possible conditions of form in the abstract;—the modes in which they have been derived from each other in actual practice require to be followed in

¹ [Romans vii. 27.]

their turn. How the Greek Doric or Greek ogee cornices were invented is not easy to determine, and, fortunately, is little to our present purpose; for the mediæval ogee cornices have an independent development of their own, from the first type of the concave, cornice, *a* in Plate 15.

§ 26. That cornice occurs, in the simplest work, perfectly pure, but in finished work it was quickly felt that there was a meagreness in its junction with the wall beneath it, where it was set as here at *a*, Fig. 63, which

could only be conquered by concealing such junction in a bar of shadow. There were two ways of getting this bar; one by a projecting roll at the foot of the cornice (*b*, Fig. 63), the other by slipping the whole cornice a little

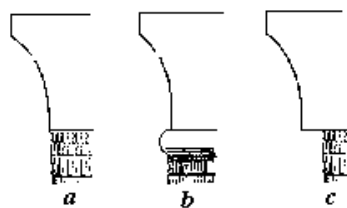


Fig. 63

forward (*c*, Fig. 63). From these two methods arise two groups of cornices and capitals, which we shall pursue in succession.

§ 27. First group. With the roll at the base (*b*, Fig. 63). The chain of its succession is represented from 1 to 6, in Plate 15: 1 and 2 are the steps already gained, as in Fig. 63; and in them the profile of cornice used is *a* of Plate 15, or a refined condition of *b* of Fig. 5, p. 93 above. Now, keeping the same refined profile, substitute the condition of it, *f* of Fig. 5 (and there accounted for),¹ above the roll here, and you have 3, Plate 15. This superadded abacus was instantly felt to be harsh in its projecting angle; but you know what to do with an angle when it is harsh. Use your simplest chamfer on it (*a* or *b*, Fig. 53, page 314 above), but on the visible side only, and you have Fig. 4, Plate 15 (the top stone being made deeper that you may have room to chamfer it). Now this Fig. 4 is the profile of Lombardic and Venetian early capitals and cornices, by tens of thousands: and it continues into the late Venetian Gothic, with this only difference, that as time advances, the vertical

¹ [See above, ch. vi. § 7, p. 95.]

line at the top of the original cornice begins to slope outwards, and through a series of years rises like the hazel wand in the hand of a diviner:—but how slowly! a stone dial which marches but 45 degrees in three centuries, and through the intermediate condition 5 arrives at 6, and so stays.

In tracing this chain I have kept all the profiles of the same height in order to make the comparison more easy; the depth chosen is about intermediate between that which is customary in cornices on the one hand, which are often a little shorter, and capitals on the other, which are often a little deeper.* And it is to be noted that the profiles 5 and 6 establish themselves in capitals chiefly, while 4 is retained in cornices to the latest times.

§ 28. Second group (*c*, Fig. 63). If the lower angle, which was quickly felt to be hard, be rounded off, we have the form *a*,

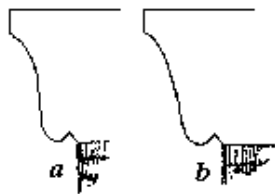


Fig. 64

Fig. 64. The front of the curved line is then decorated, as we have seen; and the termination of the decorated surface marked by an incision, as in an ordinary chamfer, as at *b* here. This I believe to have been the simple origin of most of the Venetian ogee cornices; but they are farther complicated by the curves given to the leafage which flows over them. In the ordinary Greek cornices, and in *a* and *d* of Plate 16, the decoration is *incised* from the outside profile, without any

* The reader must always remember that a cornice, in becoming a capital, must, if not originally bold and deep, have depth added to its profile, in order to reach the just proportion of the lower member of the shaft head; and that therefore the small Greek egg cornices are utterly incapable of becoming capitals till they have totally changed their form and depth. The Renaissance architects, who never obtained hold of a right principle but they made it worse than a wrong one by misapplication, caught the idea of turning the cornice into a capital, but did not comprehend the necessity of the accompanying change of depth. Hence we have pilaster heads formed of small egg-cornices, and that meanest of all mean heads of shafts, the coarse Roman Doric profile, chopped into a small egg and arrow moulding, both which may be seen disfiguring half the buildings in London.

suggestion of an interior surface of a different contour. But in the leaf cornices which follow, the decoration is represented as *over-laid* on one of the early profiles, and has another outside contour of its own; which is indeed the true profile of the cornice, but beneath which, more or less, the simpler profile is seen or suggested, which terminates all the incisions of the chisel. This under profile will often be found to be some condition of the type *a* or *b*, Fig. 64; and the leaf profile to be another ogee with its fullest curve up instead of down, lapping over the cornice edge above, so that the entire profile may be considered as made up of two ogee curves laid, like packed herrings, head to tail. Figures 8 and 9¹ of Plate 15 exemplify this arrangement. Fig. 7 is a heavier contour, doubtless composed in the same manner, but of which I had not marked the innermost profile, and which I have given here only to complete the series which, from 7 to 12 inclusive, exemplifies the gradual restriction of the leaf outline, from its boldest projection in the cornice to its most modest service in the capital. This change, however, is not one which indicates difference of age, merely of office and position: the cornice 7 is from the tomb of the Doge Andrea Dandolo (1350)² in St. Mark's, 8 from a canopy over a door of about the same period, 9 from the tomb of the Dogressa Agnese Venier (1411), 10 from that of Pietro Cornaro (1361),* and 11 from that of Andrea Morosini (1347), all in the church of San Giov. and Paolo, all these being cornice profiles; and, finally, 12 from a capital of the Ducal Palace, of fourteenth century work.

§ 29. Now the reader will doubtless notice that in the

* I have taken these dates roughly from Selvatico; their absolute accuracy to within a year or two, is here of no importance.

¹ [With Fig. 9 *cf.* Plate 4 in *Examples of Venetian Architecture.*]

² [The tomb of Andrea Dandolo is described in the next volume, ch. iv. § 16, and in *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 61, while other details from it are illustrated above, ch. xxiii. § 4, p. 319, and in the next volume, ch. viii. § 40; he died in 1343, and the tomb was completed in 1354. For the tomb of Pietro (? Marco) Cornaro (reigned 1361–5), see above, p. 326 *n.*]

three examples, 10 to 12, the leaf has a different contour from that of 7, 8, or 9. This difference is peculiarly significant. I have always desired that the reader should theoretically consider the capital as a concentration of the cornice; but in practice it often happens that the cornice is, on the contrary, an unrolled capital; and one of the richest early forms of the Byzantine cornice (not given in Plate 15, because its separate character and importance require examination apart,) is nothing more than an unrolled continuation of the lower range of acanthus leaves on the Corinthian capital. From this cornice others appear to have been derived, like *e* in Plate 16, in which the acanthus outline has become confused with that of the honeysuckle, and the rosette of the centre of the Corinthian capital introduced between them; and thus their forms approach more and more to those derived from the cornice itself. Now if the leaf has the contour of 10, 11, or 12, Plate 15, the profile is either actually of a capital, or of a cornice derived from a capital; while, if the leaf have the contour of 7 or 8, the profile is either actually of a cornice or of a capital derived from a cornice. Where the Byzantines use the acanthus, the Lombards use the Persepolitan water-leaf; but the connection of the cornices and capitals is exactly the same.

§ 30. Thus far, however, we have considered the characters of profile which are common to the cornice and capital both. We have now to note what farther decorative features or peculiarities belong to the capital itself, or result from the theoretical gathering of the one into the other.

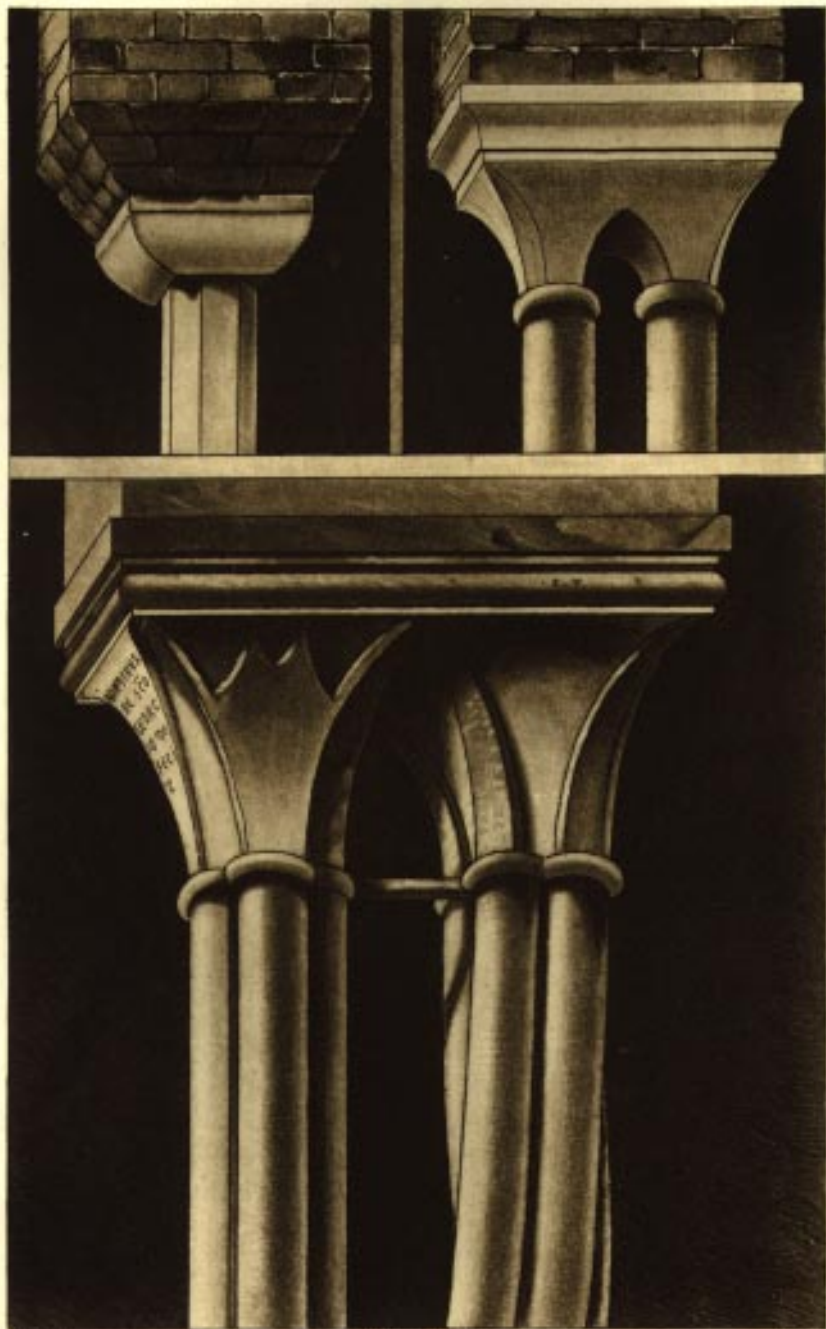
Look back to Fig. 22, p. 140. The five types there given represented the five different methods of concentration of the root of cornices, *a*, of Fig. 5. Now, as many profiles of cornices as were developed in Plate 15, from this cornice root, there represented by the dotted slope, so many may be applied to each of the five types in Fig. 22,—applied simply in *a* and *b*, but with farther modifications, necessitated by their truncations or spurs, in *c*, *d*, and *e*.

Then, these cornice profiles having been so applied in such

length and slope as is proper for capitals, the farther condition comes into effect described in Chapter IX. § 24, and any one of the cornices in Plate 15 may become the *abacus* of a capital formed out of any other, or out of itself. The infinity of forms thus resultant cannot, as may well be supposed, be exhibited or catalogued in the space at present permitted to us; but the reader, once master of the principle, will easily be able to investigate for himself the syntax of all examples that may occur to him; and I shall only here, as a kind of exercise, put before him a few of those which he will meet with most frequently in his Venetian inquiries, or which illustrate points, not hitherto touched upon, in the disposition of the abacus.

§ 31. In Plate 17 the capital at the top, on the left hand, is the rudest possible gathering of the plain Christian Doric cornice, *d* of Plate 15. The shaft is octagonal, and the capital is not cut to fit it, but is square at the base: and the curve of its profile projects on two of its sides more than on the other two, so as to make the abacus oblong, in order to carry an oblong mass of brickwork, dividing one of the upper lights of a Lombard campanile at Milan. The awkward stretching of the brickwork, to do what the capital ought to have done, is very remarkable. There is here no second superimposed abacus.

§ 32. The figure on the right hand, at the top, shows the simple but perfect fulfilment of all the requirements in which the first example fails. The mass of brickwork to be carried is exactly the same in size and shape; but instead of being trusted to a single shaft, it has two of smaller area (compare Chap. VIII. § 13), and all the expansion necessary is now gracefully attained by their united capitals, hewn out of one stone. Take the section of these capitals through their angle, and nothing can be simpler or purer; it is composed of 2, in Plate 15, used for the capital itself, with *c* of Fig. 63 used for the abacus; the reader could hardly have a neater little bit of syntax for a first lesson. If the section be taken through the side of the bell, the capital profile is the root of



J. H. M. S. M.

By J. H. M. S. M.

J. H. M. S. M.
At the S. E. Co.

Capitals.
Concave Group.

cornices, *a* of Fig. 5, with the added roll. This capital is somewhat remarkable in having its sides perfectly straight, some slight curvature being usual on so bold a scale; but it is all the better as a first example, the method of reduction being of order *d*, in Fig. 22, p. 140, and with a concave cut, as in Fig. 21, p. 139. These two capitals are from the cloister of the duomo of Verona.

§ 33. The lowermost figure in Plate 17 represents an exquisitely finished example of the same type, from St. Zeno of

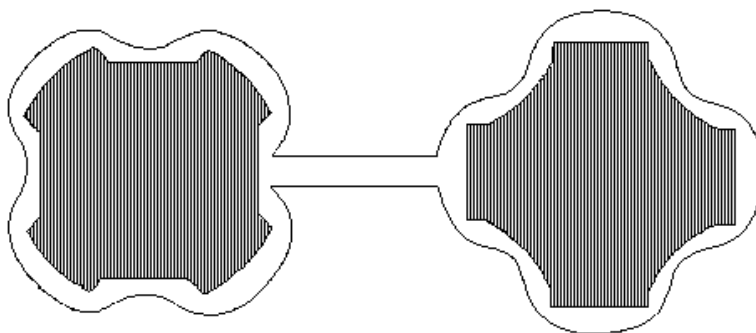


Fig. 65

Verona.¹ Above, at 2, in Plate 2, the plan of the shafts was given, but I inadvertently reversed their position: in comparing that plan with Plate 17, Plate 2 must be held upside down. The capitals, with the band connecting them, are all cut out of one block: their profile is an adaptation of 4 of Plate 15, with a plain headstone superimposed. Their method of reduction is that of order *d* in Fig. 22, but the peculiarity of treatment of their truncation is highly interesting. Fig. 65 represents the plans of the capitals at the base, the shaded parts being the bells; the open line, the roll with its connecting band. The bell of the one, it will be seen, is

¹ [The scroll which surrounds the arch above this pillar is drawn in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. Fig. 42 (pt. vi. ch. vi. § 12). San Zeno was a favourite church with Ruskin: see Vol. VIII p. 48 *n.*]

the exact reverse of that of the other: the angle truncations are, in both, curved horizontally as well as uprightly; but their curve is convex in the one, and in the other concave. Plate 17 will show the effect of both, with the farther incisions, to the same depth, on the flank of the one with the concave truncation, which join with the rest of its singularly bold and keen execution in giving the impression of its rather having been cloven into its form by the sweeps of a sword, than by the dull travail of a chisel. Its workman was proud of it, as well he might be: he has written his name upon its front (I would that more of his fellows had been as kindly vain), and the goodly stone proclaims for ever, ADAMINUS DE SANCTO GIORGIO ME FECIT.

§ 34. The reader will easily understand that the gracefulness of this kind of truncation, as he sees it in Plate 17, soon suggested the idea of reducing it to vegetable outline, and laying four healing leaves, as it were, upon the wounds which the sword had made. These four leaves, on the truncations of the capital, correspond to the four leaves which we saw, in like manner, extend themselves over the spurs of the base, and, as they increase in delicacy of execution, form one of the most lovely groups of capitals which the Gothic workmen ever invented; represented by two perfect types in the capitals of the Piazzetta columns of Venice.¹ But this pure group is an isolated one; it remains in the first simplicity of its conception far into the thirteenth century, while around it rise up a crowd of other forms imitative of the old Corinthian, and in which other and younger leaves spring up in luxuriant growth among the primal four. The varieties of their grouping we shall enumerate hereafter: one general characteristic of them all must be noted here.

§ 35. The reader has been told repeatedly* that there are two, and only two, real orders of capitals, originally represented by the Corinthian and the Doric; and distinguished

* Chap. I. § 19, Appendix 7: and Chap. VI. § 5.²

¹ [For a discussion of these capitals, see *St. Mark's Rest*, ch. ii. §§ 17–23.]

² [See also §§ 3 and 40 of this chapter; and vol. ii. ch. v. § 14.]

by the concave or convex contours of their bells, as shown by the dotted lines at *e*, Fig. 5, p. 93. And hitherto, respecting the capital, we have been exclusively concerned with the methods in which these two families of simple contours have gathered themselves together, and obtained reconciliation to the abacus above and the shaft below. But the last paragraph introduces us to the surface ornament disposed upon these, in the chiselling of which the characters described above, § 28, which are but feebly marked in the cornice, boldly distinguish and divide the families of the capital.

§ 36. Whatever the nature of the ornament be, it must clearly have relief of some kind, and must present projecting surfaces separated by incisions. But it is a very material question whether the contour, hitherto broadly considered as that of the entire bell, shall be that of the *outside* of the projecting and relieved ornaments, or of the *bottoms of the incisions* which divide them: whether, that is to say, we shall first cut out the bell of our capital quite smooth, and then cut further into it, with incisions, which shall leave ornamental forms in relief; or whether, in originally cutting the contour of the bell, we shall leave projecting bits of stone, which we may afterwards work into the relieved ornament.

§ 37. Now, look back to Fig. 5, p. 93. Clearly, if to ornament the already hollowed profile, *b*, we cut deep incisions into it, we shall so far weaken it at the top, that it will nearly lose all its supporting power. Clearly, also, if to ornament the already bulging profile *c* we were to leave projecting pieces of stone outside of it, we should nearly destroy all its relation to the original sloping line X,¹ and produce an unseemly and ponderous mass, hardly recognisable as a cornice profile. It is evident, on the other hand, that we can afford to cut into this profile without fear of destroying its strength, and that we can afford to leave projections outside of the other, without fear of destroying its lightness. Such is, accordingly, the natural disposition of the sculpture, and the

¹ [Shown and explained on p. 93.]

two great families of capitals are therefore distinguished, not merely by their concave and convex contours, but by the ornamentation being left outside the bell of the one, and cut into the bell of the other; so that, in either case, the ornamental portions will fall *between the dotted lines* at *e*, Fig. 5, and the pointed oval, or vesica piscis,¹ which is traced by them, may be called the Limit of ornamentation.

§ 38. Several distinctions in the quantity and style of the ornament must instantly follow from this great distinction in its position. First, in its quality. For, observe; since in the Doric profile, *c*, of Fig. 5, the contour itself is to be composed of the surface of the ornamentation, this ornamentation must be close and united enough to form, or at least suggest, a continuous surface; it must, therefore, be rich in quantity and close in aggregation; otherwise it will destroy the massy character of the profile it adorns, and approximate it to its opposite, the concave. On the other hand, the ornament left projecting from the concave must be sparing enough, and dispersed enough, to allow the concave bell to be clearly seen beneath it; otherwise it will choke up the concave profile, and approximate it to its opposite, the convex.

§ 39. And, secondly, in its style. For, clearly, as the sculptor of the concave profile must leave masses of rough stone prepared for its outer ornament, and cannot finish them at once, but must complete the cutting of the smooth bell beneath first, and then return to the projecting masses (for if we were to finish these latter first, they would assuredly, if delicate or sharp, be broken as he worked on): since, I say, he must work in this foreseeing and predetermined method, he is sure to reduce the system of his ornaments to some definite symmetrical order before he begins; and the habit of conceiving beforehand all that he has to do, will probably render him not only more orderly in its arrangement, but more skilful and accurate in its

¹ [The Vesica Piscis (fish bladder), or in French "the mystic almond," is an oval with pointed end, but in reality struck from two centres and forming part of two circles cutting each other; a frequent form of aureole in Christian art.]

execution, than if he could finish all as he worked on. On the other hand, the sculptor on the convex profile has its smooth surface laid before him, as a piece of paper on which he can sketch at his pleasure; the incisions he makes in it are like touches of a dark pencil; and he is at liberty to rove over the surface in perfect freedom, with light incisions or with deep; finishing here, suggesting there, or perhaps in places leaving the surface altogether smooth. It is ten to one, therefore, but that, if he yield to the temptation, he becomes irregular in design, and rude in handling; and we shall assuredly find the two families of capitals distinguished, the one by its symmetrical, thoroughly organised, and exquisitely executed ornament, the other by its rambling, confused, and rudely chiselled ornament: But, on the other hand, while we shall often have to admire the disciplined precision of the one, and as often to regret the irregular rudeness of the other, we shall not fail to find balancing qualities in both. The severity of the disciplinarian capital represses the power of the imagination; it gradually degenerates into Formalism; and the indolence which cannot escape from its stern demand of accurate workmanship, seeks refuge in copyism of established forms, and loses itself at last in lifeless mechanism. The licence of the other, though often abused, permits full exercise to the imagination: the mind of the sculptor, unshackled by the niceties of chiselling, wanders over its orbed field in endless fantasy; and, when generous as well as powerful, repays the liberty which has been granted to it with interest, by developing through the utmost wildness and fulness of its thoughts, an order as much more noble than the mechanical symmetry of the opponent school, as the domain which it regulates is vaster.

§ 40. And now the reader shall judge whether I had not reason to cast aside the so-called Five orders of the Renaissance architects,¹ with their volutes and fillets, and to

¹ [See above, pp. 34–35. Barocchio (1507–1573), who succeeded Michael Angelo as architect of St. Peter's, was the author of *The Five Orders of Architecture*; they are discussed by Ruskin in Appendix 7, below, p. 426.]



J. Buskin.

Ag. fort. T. Deyr.

G. Allen,
Allen & Co. St.

Capitals.
Convex Group.

tell him that there were only two real orders, and that there could never be more.* For we now find, that these two great and real orders are representative of the two great influences which must for ever divide the heart of man: the one of Lawful Discipline, with its perfection and order, but its danger of degeneracy into Formalism; the other of Lawful Freedom, with its vigour and variety, but its danger of degeneracy into Licentiousness.

§ 41. I shall not attempt to give any illustrations here of the most elaborate developments of either order; they will be better given on a larger scale:¹ but the examples in Plates 17 and 18 represent the two methods of ornament in their earliest appliance. The two lower capitals in Plate 17 are a pure type of the concave school; the two in the centre of Plate 18, of the convex. At the top of Plate 18 are two Lombardic capitals; that on the left from Sta. Sofia at Padua, that on the right from the cortile of St. Ambrogio at Milan. They both have the concave angle truncation; but being of date prior to the time when the idea of the concave bell was developed, they are otherwise left square, and decorated with the surface ornament characteristic of the convex school. The relation of the designs to each other is interesting; the cross being prominent in the centre of each, but more richly relieved in that from St. Ambrogio. The two beneath are from the southern portico of St. Mark's;² the shafts having been of different lengths, and neither, in all probability, originally intended for their present place, they have double abaci, of which the uppermost is the cornice running round the old façade. The zigzagged capital is highly curious, and in its place very effective and beautiful; although

* Chap. I. § 19 [p. 34].

¹ [A reference to intended plates in the *Examples of Venetian Architecture*; such capitals as are there illustrated will be found in Plates 1 (Ducal Palace, capital 20), 3 (Byzantine), 7 ("Lily capitals"), 14 (Hotel Danieli), and 15 (Renaissance capitals, Loggia, Ducal Palace).]

² [For a general illustration of the portico, see Plate 6 in *Examples of Venetian Architecture*.]

one of the exceptions which it was above noticed that we should sometimes find to the law stated in § 15 above.

§ 42. The lower capital, which is also of the true convex school, exhibits one of the conditions of the spurred type, *e* of Fig. 22, respecting which one or two points must be noticed.

If we were to take up the plan of the simple spur, represented at *e* in Fig. 22, p. 140, and treat it, with the salvia leaf, as we did the spur of the base [p. 339], we should have for the head of our capital a plan like Fig. 66, which is actually that of one of the

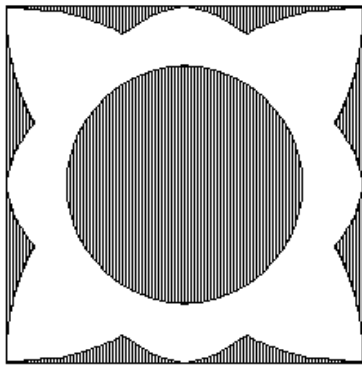


Fig. 66

capitals of the Fondaco de' Turchi at Venice; with this only difference, that the intermediate curves between the spurs would have been circular: the reason that they are not so, here, is that the decoration, instead of being confined to the spur, is now spread over the whole mass, and contours are therefore given to the intermediate curves which fit them for this

ornament; the inside shaded space being the head of the shaft, and the outer, the abacus. The reader has in Fig. 66 a characteristic type of the plans of spurred capitals, generally preferred by the sculptors of the convex school, but treated with infinite variety, the spurs often being cut into animal forms, or the incisions between them multiplied, for richer effect; and in our own Norman capital the type *c* of Fig. 22 is variously subdivided by incisions on its slope, approximating in general effect to many conditions of the real spurred type *e*, but totally differing from them in principle.

§ 43. The treatment of the spur in the concave school is far more complicated, being borrowed in nearly every case from the original Corinthian. Its plan may be generally represented by Fig. 67. The spur itself is carved into a curling tendril or concave leaf, which supports the projecting

angle of a four-sided abacus, whose hollow sides fall back behind the bell, and have generally a rosette or other ornament in their centres. The mediæval architects often put another square abacus above all, as represented by the shaded portion of Fig. 67, and some massy conditions of this form, elaborately ornamented, are very beautiful; but it is apt to become rigid and effeminate, as assuredly it is in the original Corinthian, which is thoroughly mean and meagre in its upper tendrils and abacus.

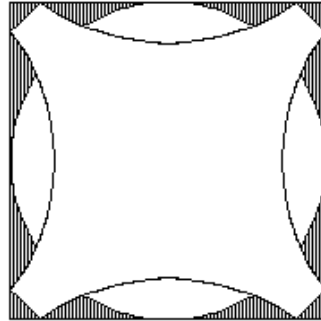


Fig. 67

§ 44. The lowest capital in Plate 18 is from St. Mark's, and singular in having double spurs; it is therefore to be compared with the doubly spurred base, also from St. Mark's, in Plate 11. In other respects it is a good example of the union of breadth of mass with subtlety of curvature, which characterises nearly all the spurred capitals of the convex school. Its plan is given in Fig. 68: the inner shaded circle is the head of the shaft; the white cross, the bottom of the capital, which expands itself into the external shaded portions at the top.

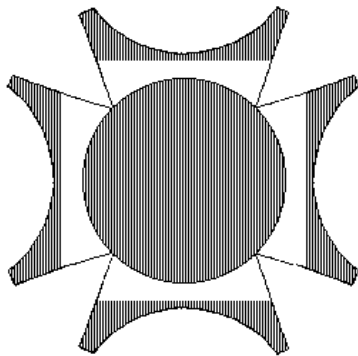


Fig. 68

Each spur, thus formed, is cut like a ship's bow, with the Doric profile; the surfaces so obtained are then charged with arborescent ornament.

§ 45. I shall not here farther exemplify the conditions of the treatment of the spur, because I am afraid of confusing the reader's mind, and diminishing

the distinctness of his conception of the differences between the two great orders, which it has been my principal object to develop throughout this chapter. If all my readers lived in London, I could at once fix this difference in their minds by

a simple, yet somewhat curious illustration. In many parts of the west end of London, as, for instance, at the corners of Belgrave Square, and the north side of Grosvenor Square, the Corinthian capitals of newly-built houses are put into cages of wire. The wire cage is the exact form of the typical capital of the convex school; the Corinthian capital, within, is a finished and highly decorated example of the concave. The space between the cage and capital is the limit of ornamentation.

§ 46. Those of my readers, however, to whom this illustration is inaccessible, must be content with the two profiles, 13 and 14, on Plate 15. If they will glance along the line of sections from 1 to 6, they will see that the profile 13 is their final development, with a superadded cornice for its abacus. It is taken from a capital in a very important ruin of a palace, near the Rialto of Venice, and hereafter to be described;¹ the projection, outside of its principal curve, is the profile of its *superadded* leaf ornamentation; it may be taken as one of the simplest, yet a perfect type of the concave group.

§ 47. The profile 14 is that of the capital of the main shaft of the northern portico of St. Mark's, the most finished example I ever met with of the convex family, to which, in spite of the central inward bend of its profile, it is marked as distinctly belonging, by the bold convex curve at its root, springing from the shaft, in the line of the Christian Doric cornice, and exactly reversing the structure of the other profile, which rises from the shaft, like a palm leaf from its stem. Farther, in the profile 13, the innermost line is that of the bell; but in the profile 14, the outermost line is that of the bell, and the inner line is the limit of the incisions of the chisel, in undercutting a reticulated veil of ornament, surrounding a flower like a lily; most ingeniously, and, I hope, justly, conjectured by the Marchese Selvatico² to have been intended for an imitation of the capitals of the temple

¹ [See next volume, ch. vii. §§ 20, 32.]

² [At p. 51 of the work described above, p. 4 n.]

of Solomon, which Hiram made, with “nets of checker work, and wreaths of chain work for the chapiters that were on the top of the pillars . . . and the chapiters that were upon the top of the pillars were of lily work in the porch.” (1 Kings vii. 17, 19.)

§ 48. On this exquisite capital there is imposed an abacus of the profile with which we began our investigation long ago, the profile *a*, of Fig. 5 [p. 93]. This abacus is formed by the cornice already given, *a*, of Plate 16; and therefore we have, in this lovely Venetian capital, the summary of the results of our investigation, from its beginning to its close: the type of the first cornice; the decoration of it, in its emergence from the classical models; the gathering into the capital; the superimposition of the secondary cornice, and the refinement of the bell of the capital by triple curvature in the two limits of chiselling. I cannot express the exquisite refinements of the curves on the small scale of Plate 15; I will give them more accurately in a larger engraving;¹ but the scale on which they are here given will not prevent the reader from perceiving, and let him note it thoughtfully, that the outer curve of the noble capital is the one which was our first example of associated curves; that I have had no need, throughout the whole of our inquiry, to refer to any other ornamental line than the three which I at first chose, the simplest of those which Nature set by chance before me; and that this lily, of the delicate Venetian marble, has but been wrought, by the highest human art, into the same line which the clouds disclose, when they break from the rough rocks of the flank of the Matterhorn.

¹ [Details of the Lily Capitals of St. Mark's were given on their actual scale in Plate 7 of the *Examples of Venetian Architecture*, included on a reduced scale in this edition in *Stones of Venice*, vol iii. The whole capital on its shaft is given in Plate 9 of vol. ii., where it is further described (ch. v. § 24).]

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ARCHIVOLT AND APERTURE

§ 1. IF the windows and doors of some of our best Northern Gothic buildings were built up, and the ornament of their archivolt concealed, there would often remain little but masses of dead wall and unsightly buttress; the whole vitality of the building consisting in the graceful proportions or rich mouldings of its apertures. It is not so in the South, where, frequently, the aperture is a mere dark spot on the variegated wall; but there the column, with its horizontal or curved architrave, assumes an importance of another kind, equally dependent upon the methods of lintel and archivolt decoration. These, though in their richness of minor variety they defy all exemplification, may be very broadly generalised.

Of the mere lintel, indeed, there is no specific decoration, nor can be; it has no organism to direct its ornament, and therefore may receive any kind and degree of ornament, according to its position. In a Greek temple, it has meagre horizontal lines; in a Romanesque church, it becomes a row of upright niches, with an apostle in each; and may become anything else at the architect's will. But the arch-head has a natural organism, which separates its ornament into distinct families, broadly definable.

§ 2. In speaking of the arch-line and arch masonry, we considered the arch to be cut straight through the wall:¹ so that, if half built, it would have the appearance at *a*, Fig. 69. But in the chapter on Form of Apertures, we found that the side of the arch, or jamb of the aperture, might

¹ [See above, chapters x. and xi.; and for the following reference, ch. xvi. § 4, p. 212.]

often require to be bevelled so as to give the section *b*, Fig. 69. It is easily conceivable that when two ranges of voussoirs were used, one over another, it would be easier to leave those beneath, of a smaller diameter, than to bevel them to accurate junction with those outside. Whether influenced by this facility, or by decorative instinct, the early Northern builders often substitute for the bevel the third condition, *c* of Fig. 69; so that, of the three forms in that figure, *a* belongs principally to the South, *c* to the North, and *b* indifferently to both.

§ 3. If the arch in the Northern building be very deep, its depth will probably be attained by a succession of steps, like that in *c*; and the richest results of Northern archivolt decoration are entirely based on the aggregation of the ornament of these several steps; while those of the South are only the complete finish and perfection of the ornament of one. In this ornament of the single arch, the points for general note are very few.

§ 4. It was, in the first instance, derived from the classical architrave,* and the early Romanesque arches are nothing but such an architrave, bent round. The horizontal lines of the latter become semicircular, but their importance and value remain exactly the same; their continuity is preserved across all the voussoirs, and the joints and functions of the latter are studiously concealed. As the builders get accustomed to the arch, and love it better, they cease to be ashamed of its structure: the voussoirs begin to show themselves confidently, and fight for precedence with the architrave lines; and there is an entanglement of the two structures, in consequence,

* The architrave is properly the horizontal piece of stone laid across the tops of the pillars in Greek buildings, and commonly marked with horizontal lines obtained by slight projections of its surface, while it is projected above, in the richer orders, by a small cornice.

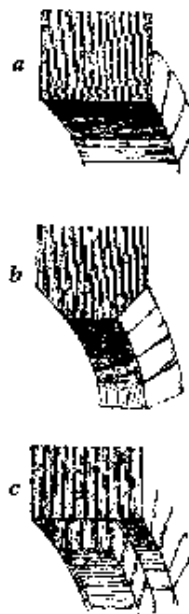


Fig. 69

like the circular and radiating lines of a cobweb, until at last the architrave lines get worsted, and driven away outside of the voussoirs; being permitted to stay at all only on condition of their dressing themselves in mediæval costume, as in the plate opposite.

§ 5. In other cases, however, before the entire discomfiture of the architrave, a treaty of peace is signed between the adverse parties on these terms: That the architrave shall entirely dismiss its inner three meagre lines, and leave the space of them to the voussoirs, to display themselves after their manner; but that, in return for this concession, the architrave shall have leave to expand the small cornice which usually terminates it (the reader had better look at the original form in that of the Erechtheum, in the middle of the Elgin room of the British Museum¹) into bolder prominence, and even to put brackets under it, as if it were a roof cornice, and thus mark with a bold shadow the terminal line of the voussoirs. This condition is seen in the arch from St. Pietro of Pistoja, Plate 13, opposite p. 348.

§ 6. If the Gothic spirit of the building be thoroughly determined, and victorious, the architrave cornice is compelled to relinquish its classical form, and take the profile of a Gothic cornice or dripstone; while, in other cases, as in much of the Gothic of Verona, it is forced to disappear altogether. But the voussoirs then concede, on the other hand, so much of their dignity as to receive a running ornament of foliage or animals, like a classical frieze, and continuous round the arch. In fact, the contest between the adversaries may be seen running through all the early architecture of Italy: success inclining sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, and various kinds of truce or reconciliation being effected between them: sometimes merely formal, sometimes honest and affectionate, but with no regular succession in time. The greatest victory of the

¹ [Pieces of the architrave of the Erechtheum are Nos. 413 and 414 in the *Catalogue of Sculpture*, vol. i.]



J. Ruskin.

H. Long & Co. Engrs. Edin.

Archivolt Decoration.
At Verona.

voussoir is to annihilate the cornice, and receive an ornament of its own outline, and entirely limited by its own joints; and yet this may be seen in the very early apse of Murano.¹

§ 7. The most usual condition, however, is that unity of the two members above described, § 5, and which may be generally represented by the archivolt section *a*, Fig. 70; and from this descend a family of Gothic archivolts of the highest importance. For the cornice, thus attached to the arch, suffers exactly the same changes as the level cornice, or capital; receives, in due time, its elaborate ogee profile and leaf ornaments, like Fig. 8 or 9 of Plate 15; and, when the shaft loses its shape, and is lost in the later Gothic jamb, the archivolt has influence enough to introduce this ogee profile in the jamb also, through the banded impost: and we immediately find ourselves involved in deep successions of ogee mouldings in sides of doors and windows, which never would have been thought of, but for the obstinate resistance of the classical architrave to the attempts of the voussoir at its degradation or banishment.

§ 8. This, then, will be the first great head under which we shall in future find it convenient to arrange a large number of archivolt decorations.² It is the distinctively Southern and Byzantine form, and typically represented by the section *a*, of Fig. 70; and it is susceptible of almost every species of surface ornament, respecting which only this general law may be asserted: that, while the outside or vertical surface may properly be decorated, and yet the soffit or under surface left plain, the soffit is never to be decorated, and the outer surface left plain. Much beautiful sculpture is, in the best Byzantine buildings, half lost by being put under soffits; but the eye is led to discover it, and even to demand it, by the rich chasing of the outside of the voussoirs.

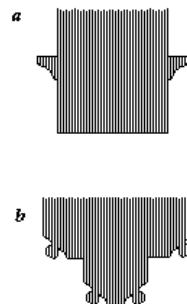


Fig. 70

¹ [Described in detail in the next volume, ch. iii. and appendix 6.]

² [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., "Final Appendix," No. iv.]

It would have been an hypocrisy to carve them externally only. But there is not the smallest excuse for carving the soffit, and not the outside; for, in that case, we approach the building under the idea of its being perfectly plain; we do not look for the soffit decoration, and, of course, do not see it; or, if we do, it is merely to regret that it should not be in a better place. In the Renaissance architects, it may, perhaps, for once, be considered a merit, that they put their bad decoration systematically in the places where we should least expect it, and can seldome see it:—Approaching the Scuola di San Rocco,¹ you probably will regret the extreme plainness and barrenness of the window traceries; but, if you will go very close to the wall beneath the windows, you may, on sunny days, discover a quantity of panel decorations which the ingenious architect has concealed under the soffits.

The custom of decorating the arch soffit with panelling is a Roman application of the Greek roof ornament, which, whatever its intrinsic merit (compare Chap. XXIX., § 4), may rationally be applied to waggon vaults, as of St. Peter's, and to arch soffits under which one walks. But the Renaissance architects had not wit enough to reflect that people usually do not walk through windows.

§ 9. So far, then, of the Southern archivolt: in Fig. 69, p. 389, it will be remembered that *c* represents the simplest form of the Northern. In the farther development of this, which we have next to consider, the voussoirs, in consequence of their own negligence or over-confidence, sustain a total and irrecoverable defeat. That archivolt is in its earliest conditions perfectly pure and undecorated,—the simplest and rudest of Gothic forms. Necessarily, when it falls on the pier, and meets that of the opposite arch, the entire section of the masonry is in the shape of a cross, and is carried by the crosslet shaft, which we above stated to be distinctive of Northern design.² I am more at a loss to account for the

¹ [For further reference to the architecture of this building, see Venetian Index in vol. iii. of the *Stones of Venice*.]

² [See above, p. 133.]

sudden and fixed development of this type of archivolt than for any other architectural transition with which I am acquainted. But there it is, pure and firmly established, as early as the building of St. Michele of Pavia:¹ and we have thenceforward only to observe what comes of it.

§ 10. We find it first, as I said, perfectly barren; cornice and architrave altogether ignored, the existence of such things practically denied, and a plain, deep-cut recess with a single mighty shadow occupying their place. The voussoirs, thinking their great adversary utterly defeated, are at no trouble to show themselves; visible enough in both the upper and under archivolts, they are content to wait the time when, as might have been hoped, they should receive a new decoration peculiar to themselves.

§ 11. In this state of paralysis, or expectation, their flank is turned by an insidious chamfer. The edges of the two great blank archivolts are felt to be painfully conspicuous; all the four are at once beaded or chamfered, as at *b*, Fig. 70; a rich group of deep lines, running concentrically with the arch, is the result on the instant, and the fate of the voussoirs is sealed. They surrender at once without a struggle, and unconditionally; the chamfers deepen and multiply themselves, cover the soffit, ally themselves with other forms resulting from grouped shafts or traceries, and settle into the inextricable richness of the fully developed Gothic jamb and arch; farther complicated in the end by the addition of niches to their recesses, as above described.

§ 12. The voussoirs, in despair, go over to the classical camp, in hope of receiving some help or tolerance from their former enemies. They receive it indeed: but as traitors should, to their own eternal dishonour. They are sharply chiselled at the joints, or rusticated, or cut into masks and satyrs' heads, and so set forth and pilloried in the various detestable forms of which the simplest is given above in Plate 13 (on the left); and others may be seen in nearly

¹ [For other references to this church, see above, note on p. 40; also in the next volume, ch. ii. § 8, and ch. iii. § 33.]

every large building in London, more especially in the bridges; and, as if in pure spite at the treatment they had received from the archivolt, they are now not content with vigorously showing their lateral joints, but shape themselves into right-angled steps at their heads, cutting to pieces their limiting line, which otherwise would have had sympathy with that of the arch, and fitting themselves to their new friend, the Renaissance Ruled Copy-book wall. It had been better they had died ten times over, in their own ancient cause, than thus prolonged their existence.

§ 13. We bid them farewell in their dishonour, to return to our victorious chamfer. It had not, we said, obtained so easy a conquest, unless by the help of certain forms of the grouped shaft. The chamfer was quite enough to decorate the archivolt, if there were no more than two; but if, as above noticed in § 3, the archivolt was very deep, and composed of a succession of such steps, the multitude of chamferings were felt to be weak and insipid, and instead of dealing with the outside edges of the archivolt, the group was softened by introducing solid shafts in their dark inner angles. This, the manliest and best condition of the early Northern jamb and archivolt, is represented in section at Fig. 12 of Plate 2; and its simplest aspect in Plate 5, from the Broletto of Como,—an interesting example, because there the voussoirs, being in the midst of their above-described Southern contest with the architrave, were better prepared for the flank attack upon them by the shaft and chamfer, and make a noble resistance, with the help of colour, in which even the solid angle between the shafts gets slightly worsted, and cut across in several places, like General Zach's column at Marengo.¹

¹ [Zach was second in command under Melas, the Austrian General. He was sent forward and drove the French forces back, until the reserve under Desaix (see Vol. I. p. 526) appeared on the field. Desaix himself fell dead at the first fire, but the French line continued to advance while the cavalry took Zach's column in the flank; by this unexpected attack his troops were broken and compelled to surrender. Ruskin's interest in Napoleon's Italian campaigns dates back to early days: see in the *Poems* (Vol. II.) "The Battle of Montenotte" and "The Alps seen from Marengo."]

§ 14. The shaft, however, rapidly rallies, and brings up its own peculiar decorations to its aid; and the intermediate archivolt receives running or panelled ornaments, also, until we reach the exquisitely rich conditions of our own Norman archivolts, and of the parallel Lombardic designs, such as the entrance of the Duomo, and of San Fermo, at Verona.¹ This change, however, occupies little time, and takes place principally in doorways, owing to the greater thickness of wall, and depth of archivolt; so that we find the rich shafted succession of ornament, in the doorway and window aperture, associated with the earliest and rudest double archivolt, in the nave arches, at St. Michele of Pavia. The nave arches, therefore, are most usually treated by the chamfer, and the voussoirs are there defeated much sooner than by the shafted arrangements, which they resist, as we saw, in the South by colour; and even in the North, though forced out of their own shape, they take that of birds' or monsters' heads, which for some time peck and pinch the rolls of the archivolt to their hearts' content; while the Norman zigzag ornament allies itself with them, each zigzag often restraining itself amicably between the joints of each voussoir in the ruder work, and even in the highly finished arches, distinctly presenting a concentric or sunlike arrangement of lines: so much so, as to prompt the conjecture, above stated, Chap. XX. § 26, that all such ornaments were intended to be typical of light issuing from the orb of the arch.² I doubt the intention, but acknowledge the resemblance; which perhaps goes far to account for the never-failing delightfulness of this zigzag decoration. The diminution of the zigzag, as it gradually shares the defeat of the voussoir, and is at last overwhelmed by the complicated, railroad-like fluency of the later Gothic mouldings, is to me one of the saddest sights in the drama of architecture.

§ 15. One farther circumstance is deserving of especial

¹ [For other references to this church, see above, ch. xi. § 12, p. 169, and in the next vol., ch. vii. §§ 36, 37.]

² [See also note on p. 322, above.]

note in Plate 5, the greater depth of the voussoirs at the top of the arch. This has been above alluded to as a feature of good construction, Chap. XI. § 3; it is to be noted now on one still more valuable in decoration: for when we arrive at the deep succession of concentric archivolt, with which Northern portals, and many of the associated windows, are headed, we immediately find a difficulty in reconciling the outer curve with the inner. If, as is sometimes the case, the width of the group of archivolt be twice or three times that of the inner aperture, the inner arch may be distinctly pointed, and the outer one, if drawn with concentric arcs, approximate very nearly to a round arch. This is actually the case in the later Gothic of Verona; the outer line of the archivolt having a hardly perceptible point, and every inner arch of course forming the point more distinctly, till the innermost becomes a lancet. By far the nobler method, however, is that of the pure early Italian Gothic; to make every outer arch a *magnified facsimile* of the innermost one, every arc including the same number of degrees, but degrees of a larger circle. The result is the condition represented in Plate 5, often found in far bolder development; exquisitely springy and elastic in its expression, and entirely free from the heaviness and monotony of the deep Northern archivolt.

§ 16. We have not spoken of the intermediate form, *b*, of Fig. 69 (which its convenience for admission of light has rendered common in nearly all architectures), because it has no transitions peculiar to itself: in the North it sometimes shares the fate of the outer architrave, and is channelled into longitudinal mouldings; sometimes remains smooth and massy, as in military architecture, or in the simpler forms of domestic and ecclesiastical. In Italy it receives surface decoration like the architrave, but has, perhaps, something of peculiar expression in being placed between the tracery of the window within, and its shafts and tabernacle work without, as in the Duomo of Florence;

in this position it is always kept smooth in surface, and inlaid (or painted) with delicate arabesques: while the tracery and the tabernacle work are richly sculptured. The example of its treatment by coloured voussoirs, given in Plate 19, may be useful to the reader as a kind of central expression of the aperture decoration of the pure Italian Gothic;—aperture decoration proper; applying no shaft work to the jambs, but leaving the bevelled opening unenriched; using on the outer archivolt the voussoirs and concentric architrave in reconciliation (the latter having, however, some connection with the Norman zigzag); and beneath them, the Italian two-pieced and mid-cusped arch, with rich cusp decoration. It is a Veronese arch, probably of the thirteenth century, and finished with extreme care; the red portions are all in brick, delicately cast: and the most remarkable feature of the whole is the small piece of brick inlaid on the angle of each stone voussoir, with a most just feeling, which every artist will at once understand, that the colour ought not to be let go all at once.

§ 17. We have traced the various conditions of treatment in the archivolt alone; but except in what has been said of the peculiar expression of the voussoirs, we might throughout have spoken in the same terms of the jamb. Even a parallel to the expression of the voussoir may be found in the Lombardic and Norman divisions of the shaft, by zigzags and other transverse ornamentation, which in the end are all swept away by the canaliculated mouldings. Then, in the recesses of these and of the archivolts alike, the niche and statue decoration develops itself; and the vaulted and cavernous apertures are covered with incrustations of fretwork, and with every various application of foliage to their fantastic mouldings.

§ 18. I have kept the inquiry into the proper ornament of the archivolt wholly free from all confusion with the questions of beauty in tracery; for, in fact, all tracery is a mere multiplication and entanglement of small archivolts, and its cusp ornament is a minor condition of that proper to the

spandril. It does not reach its completely defined form until the jamb and archivolt have been divided into longitudinal mouldings; and then the tracery is formed by the innermost group of the shafts or fillets, bent into whatever forms or foliations the designer may choose; but this with a delicacy of adaptation which I rather choose to illustrate by particular examples, of which we shall meet with many in the course of our inquiry, than to delay the reader by specifying here. As for the conditions of beauty in the disposition of the tracery bars, I see no hope of dealing with the subject fairly but by devoting, if I can find time, a separate essay to it¹—which, in itself, need not be long, but would involve, before it could be completed, the examination of the whole mass of materials lately collected by the indefatigable industry of the English architects who have devoted their special attention to this subject, and which are of the highest value as illustrating the chronological succession or mechanical structure of tracery, but which, in most cases, touch on their æsthetic merits incidentally only. Of works of this kind, by far the best I have met with is Mr. Edmund Sharpe's, on *Decorated Windows*,² which seems to me, as far as a cursory glance can enable me to judge, to exhaust the subject as respects English Gothic; and which may be recommended to the readers who are interested in the subject, as containing a clear and masterly enunciation of the general principles by which the design of tracery has been regulated, from its first development to its final degradation.

¹ [Time was never found, for the essay was not written.]

² [Sharpe (1809–1877), architect, was a Cambridge man, and a pupil of Rickman. The work here referred to is *Decorated Windows; a Series of Illustrations of the Window Tracery of the Decorated Style of Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1849). Another work by the same author is commended below, see p. 431. In 1851 he abandoned architecture for engineering, and was engaged in railway construction.]

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ROOF

§ 1. THE modes of decoration hitherto considered, have been common to the exteriors and interiors of all noble buildings; and we have taken no notice of the various kinds of ornament which require protection from weather, and are necessarily confined to interior work. But in the case of the roof, the exterior and interior treatments become, as we saw in construction, so also in decoration, separated by broad and bold distinctions. One side of a wall is, in most cases, the same as another, and if its structure be concealed, it is mostly on the inside; but, in the roof, the anatomical structure, out of which decoration should naturally spring, is visible, if at all, in the interior only: so that the subject of internal ornament becomes both wide and important, and that of external, comparatively subordinate.

§ 2. Now, so long as we were concerned principally with the outside of buildings, we might with safety leave expressional character out of the question for the time, because it is not to be expected that all persons who pass the building, or see it from a distance, shall be in the temper which the building is properly intended to induce; so that ornaments somewhat at variance with this temper may often be employed externally without painful effect. But these ornaments would be inadmissible in the interior, for those who enter will for the most part either be in the proper temper which the building requires, or desirous of acquiring it. (The distinction is not rigidly observed by the mediæval builders, and grotesques, or profane subjects, occur in the interior of churches, in bosses, crockets, capitals, brackets, and such other portions of minor ornament; but we do not find the

interior wall covered with hunting and battle pieces, as often the Lombardic exteriors.) And thus the interior expression of the roof or ceiling becomes necessarily so various, and the kind and degree of fitting decoration so dependent upon particular circumstances, that it is nearly impossible to classify its methods, or limit its applications.

§ 3. I have little, therefore, to say here, and that touching rather the omission than the selection of decoration, as far as regards interior roofing. Whether of timber or stone, roofs are necessarily divided into surfaces, and ribs or beams;—surfaces, flat or carved; ribs, traversing these in the directions where main strength is required; or beams, filling the hollow of the dark gable with the intricate roof-tree, or supporting the flat ceiling. Wherever the ribs and beams are simply and unaffectedly arranged, there is no difficulty about decoration; the beams may be carved, the ribs moulded, and the eye is satisfied at once; but when the vaulting is unribbed, as in plain waggon vaults and much excellent early Gothic, or when the ceiling is flat, it becomes a difficult question how far their surfaces may receive ornamentation independent of their structure. I have never myself seen a flat ceiling satisfactorily decorated, except by painting; there is much good and fanciful panelling in old English domestic architecture, but it always is in some degree meaningless and mean. The flat ceilings of Venice, as in the Scuola di San Rocco and Ducal Palace, have in their vast panellings some of the noblest paintings (on stretched canvas) which the world possesses: and this is all very well for the ceiling; but one would rather have the painting in a better palce, especially when the rain soaks through its canvas, as I have seen it doing through many a noble Tintoret.¹ On the whole, flat ceilings are as much to be avoided as possible; and when necessary, perhaps a panelled ornamentation with rich coloured patterns is the most satisfying, and loses least of valuable labour. But I leave the question to the reader's

¹ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. pp. 40, 395); and *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 139.]

thought, being myself exceedingly undecided respecting it: except only touching one point—that a blank ceiling is not to be redeemed by a decorated ventilator.

§ 4. I have a more confirmed opinion, however, respecting the decoration of curved surfaces. The majesty of a roof is never, I think, so great, as when the eye can pass undisturbed over the course of all its curvatures, and trace the dying of the shadows along its smooth and sweeping vaults. And I would rather, myself, have a plain ridged Gothic vault, with all its rough stones visible, to keep the sleet and wind out of a cathedral aisle, than all the fanning and pendanting and foliation that ever bewildered Tudor weight. But mosaic or fresco may of course be used as far as we can afford to obtain them; for these do not break the curvature. Perhaps the most solemn roofs in the world are the apse conchas of the Romanesque basilicas, with their golden ground and severe figures. Exactly opposed to these are the decorations which disturb the serenity of the curve without giving it interest, like the vulgar panelling of St. Peter's and the Pantheon;¹ both, I think, in the last degree detestable.

§ 5. As roofs internally may be divided into surfaces and ribs, externally they may be divided into surfaces, and points, or ridges; these latter often receiving very bold and distinctive ornament. The outside surface is of small importance in central Europe, being almost universally low in slope, and tiled, throughout Spain, South France, and North Italy: of still less importance where it is flat, as a terrace; as often in South Italy and the East, mingled with low domes: but the larger Eastern and Arabian domes become elaborate in ornamentation: I cannot speak of them with confidence; to the mind of an inhabitant of the North, a roof is a guard against wild weather; not a surface which is for ever to bask in serene heat, and gleam across deserts like a rising moon. I can only say, that I have never seen

¹ [At Rome, the panelling of St. Peter's being founded on the old Roman style.]
IX. 2C

any drawing of a richly decorated Eastern dome that made me desire to see the original.

§ 6. Our own Northern roof decoration is necessarily simple. Coloured tiles are used in some cases with quaint effect; but I believe the dignity of the building is always greater when the roof is kept in an undisturbed mass, opposing itself to the variegation and richness of the walls. The Italian round tile is itself decoration enough, a deep and rich fluting, which all artists delight in; this, however, is fitted exclusively for low pitch of roofs. On steep domestic roofs, there is no ornament better than may be obtained by merely rounding, or cutting to an angle, the lower extremities of the flat tiles or shingles, as in Switzerland: thus the whole surface is covered with an appearance of scales, a fish-like defence against water, at once perfectly simple, natural, and effective at any distance; and the best decoration of sloping stone roofs, as of spires, is a mere copy of this scale armour; it enriches every one of the spires and pinnacles of the cathedral of Countances, and of many Norman and early Gothic buildings. Roofs covered or edged with lead have often patterns designed upon the lead, gilded and relieved with some dark colour, as on the house of Jacques Cœur¹ at Bourges; and I imagine the effect of this must have been singularly delicate and beautiful, but only traces of it now remain. The Northern roofs, however, generally stand in little need of surface decoration, the eye being drawn to the fantastic ranges of their dormer windows, and to the finials and fringes on their points and ridges.

§ 7. Whether dormer windows are legitimately to be classed as decorative features, seems to me to admit of doubt. The Northern spire system is evidently a mere elevation and exaggeration of the domestic turret with its look-out windows, and one can hardly part with the grotesque lines of the projections, though nobody is to be expected to

¹ [This house, built for Jacques Cœur, the financier, in the reign of Charles VII., is now the Palais de Justice.]

live in the spire; but, at all events, such windows are never to be allowed in places visibly inaccessible, or on less than a natural and serviceable scale.

§ 8. Under the general head of roof-ridge and point decoration, we may include, as above noted, the entire race of fringes, finials, and crockets. As there is no use in any of these things, and as they are visible additions and parasitical portions of the structure, more caution is required in their use than in any other features of ornament, and the architect and spectator must both be in felicitous humour before they can be well designed or thoroughly enjoyed. They are generally most admirable where the grotesque Northern spirit has most power; and I think there is almost always a certain spirit of playfulness in them, adverse to the grandest architectural effects, or at least to be kept in severe subordination to the serener character of the prevalent lines. But as they are opposed to the seriousness of majesty on the one hand, so they are to the weight of dulness on the other; and I know not any features which make the contrast between continental domestic architecture, and our own, more humiliatingly felt, or which give so sudden a feeling of new life and delight, when we pass from the streets of London to those of Abbeville or Rouen, as the quaint points and pinnacles of the roof gables and turrets. The commonest and heaviest roof may be redeemed by a spike at the end of it, if it is set on with any spirit; but the foreign builders have (or had, at least) a peculiar feeling in this, and gave animation to the whole roof by the fringe of its back, and the spike on its forehead, so that all goes together, like the dorsal fins and spines of a fish: but our spikes have a dull, screwed on, look; a far-off relationship to the nuts of machinery; and our roof fringes are sure to look like fenders, as if they were meant to catch ashes out of the London smoke-clouds.

§ 9. Stone finials and crockets are, I think, to be considered in architecture, what points and flashes of light are in the colour of painting, or of nature. There are some

landscapes whose best character is sparkling, and there is a possibility of repose in the midst of brilliancy, or embracing it,—as on the fields of summer sea, or summer land:

“Calm and deep peace, on this high wold,
And on the dews that drench the furze,
And on the silvery gossamers
That twinkle into green and gold.”¹

And there are colourists who can keep their quiet in the midst of a jewellery of light; but, for the most part, it is better to avoid breaking up either lines or masses by too many points, and to make the few points used exceedingly precious. So the best crockets and finials are set, like stars, along the lines, and at the points, which they adorn, with considerable intervals between them, and exquisite delicacy and fancy of sculpture in their own designs; if very small, they may become more frequent, and describe lines by a chain of points: but their whole value is lost if they are gathered into bunches or clustered into tassels and knots; and an over indulgence in them always marks lowness of school. In Venice the addition of the finial to the arch-head is the first sign of degradation; all her best architecture is entirely without either crockets or finials; and her ecclesiastical architecture may be classed, with fearless accuracy, as better or worse in proportion to the diminution or expansion of the crocket. The absolutely perfect use of the crocket is found, I think, in the tower of Giotto, and in some other buildings of the Pisan school. In the North they generally err on one side or other, and are either florid and huge, or mean in outline, looking as if they had been pinched out of the stonework, as throughout the entire cathedral of Amiens; and are besides connected with the generally spotty system which has been spoken of under the head of archivolt decoration.

§ 10. Employed, however, in moderation, they are among

¹ [Tennyson: *In Memoriam*, xi. The poem was published in the year in which Ruskin was writing, 1850. He quoted from memory, as the original has “these dews” (for “the”) and “all” for “on” in the second line.]

the most delightful means of delicate expression; and the architect has more liberty in their individual treatment than in any other feature of the building. Separated entirely from the structural system, they are subjected to no shadow of any other laws than those of grace and chastity; and the fancy may range without rebuke, for materials of their design, through the whole field of the visible or imaginable creation.

CHAPTER XXX

THE VESTIBULE

§ 1. I HAVE hardly kept my promise. The reader has decorated but little for himself as yet;¹ but I have not, at least, attempted to bias his judgment. Of the simple forms of decoration which have been set before him, he has been always left free to choose; and the stated restrictions in the methods of applying them have been only those which followed on the necessities of construction previously determined. These having been now defined, I do indeed leave my reader free to build; and with what a freedom! All the lovely forms of the universe set before him, whence to choose, and all the lovely lines that bound their substance or guide their motion; and of all these lines,—and there are myriads of myriads in every bank of grass and every tuft of forest; and groups of them, divinely harmonised, in the bell of every flower, and in every several member of bird and beast,—of all these lines, for the principal forms of the most important members of architecture, I have used but Three! What, therefore, must be the infinity of the treasure in them all? There is material enough in a single flower for the ornament of a score of cathedrals: but suppose we were satisfied with less exhaustive appliance, and built a score of cathedrals, each to illustrate a single flower? that would be better than trying to invent new styles, I think. There is quite difference of style enough, between a violet and a harebell, for all reasonable purposes.

§ 2. Perhaps, however, even more strange than the struggle of our architects to invent new styles,² is the way

¹ [See above, p. 253.]

² [On this subject see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 252.]

they commonly speak of this treasure of natural infinity. Let us take our patience to us for an instant, and hear one of them, not among the least intelligent:—

“It is not true that all natural forms are beautiful. We may hardly be able to detect this in Nature herself; but when the forms are separated from the things, and exhibited alone (by sculpture or carving), we then see that they are not all fitted for ornamental purposes; and indeed that very few, perhaps none, are so fitted without correction. Yes, I say *correction*, for though it is the highest aim of every art to imitate Nature, this is not to be done by imitating any natural form, but by *criticising* and *correcting* it,—criticising it by Nature’s rules gathered from all her works, but never completely carried out by her in any one work; correcting it, by rendering it more natural, *i.e.*, more conformable to the general tendency of Nature, according to that noble maxim recorded of Raffaelle, ‘that the artist’s object was to make things not as Nature makes them, but as she WOULD make them;’ as she ever tries to make them, but never succeeds, though her aim may be deduced from a comparison of her efforts; just as if a number of archers had aimed unsuccessfully at a mark upon a wall, and this mark were then removed, we could by the examination of their arrow-marks point out the most probable position of the spot aimed at, with a certainty of being nearer to it than any of their shots.”*

§ 3. I had thought that, by this time, we had done with that stale, second-hand, one-sided, and misunderstood saying of Raffaelle’s; or that at least, in these days of purer Christian light, men might have begun to get some insight into the meaning of it: Raffaelle was a painter of humanity, and assuredly there is something the matter with humanity, and few *dovrebbe*’s more or less, wanting in it.¹ We have most of us heard of original sin, and may perhaps, in our modest moments, conjecture that we are not quite what God, or Nature, would have us to be. Raffaelle *had* something to mend in Humanity: I should have liked to have seen him mending a daisy!—or a pease-blossom, or a month, or a mustard-seed, or any other of God’s slightest works. If he had accomplished that, one might have found for him more

* Garbett on Design, p. 74.

¹ [The saying of Raphael, about the painter following the “should have been” of nature (cited by Zuccherò in his *Lettera a’ Principi et Signori Amatori del disegno*, 1605) is: “Soleva dire Raffaello che il pittore ha obbligo di fare le cose non come le fa la natura ma come ella le dovrebbe fare.”]

respectable employment,—to set the stars in better order, perhaps (they seem grievously scattered as they are, and to be of all manner of shapes and sizes,—except the ideal shape, and the proper size): or to give us a corrected view of the ocean: that, at least, seems a very irregular and improvable thing: the very fishermen do not know, this day, how far it will reach, driven up before the west wind:—Perhaps Some One else does, but that is not our business. Let us go down and stand by the beach of it,—of the great irregular sea, and count whether the thunder of it is not out of time. One,—two:—here comes a well-formed wave at last, trembling a little at the top, but, on the whole, orderly. So, crash among the shingle, and up as far as this grey pebble; now stand by and watch! Another:—Ah, careless wave! why couldn't you have kept your crest on? It is all gone away into spray, striking up against the cliffs there—I thought as much—missed the mark by a couple of feet! Another;—How now, impatient one! couldn't you have waited till your friend's reflux was done with, instead of rolling yourself up with it in that unseemly manner? You go for nothing. A fourth, and a goodly one at last. What think we of yonder slow rise, and crystalline hollow, without a flaw? Steady, good wave; not so fast, not so fast; where are you coming to?—By our architectural word, this is too bad; two yards over the mark, and ever so much of you in our face besides; and a wave which we had some hope of, behind there, broken all to pieces out at sea, and laying a great white tablecloth of foam all the way to the shore,¹ as if the marine gods were to dine off it! Alas, for these unhappy arrow shots of Nature; she will never hit her mark with those unruly waves of hers, nor get

¹ [In *Val d' Arno* (1873), § 171, Ruskin gave an interesting criticism both of the style and of the contents of this section. He found in it, on looking back, "petulance and vulgarity of expression," and recalled how his father wisely, but vainly, entreated him to re-word the clause and especially to take out of it the description of the seawave as "laying a great white tablecloth of foam all the way to the shore." He reasserted emphatically the main contention of the passage, namely, the necessity of inequality and variety in ornament; but he explained that "the reserved variation" of the Greeks had at this time escaped him, and that he had failed to comprehend the symbolic power of such Greek ornament as he here illustrates. The woodcut is of the spiral ornament on the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ.]

one of them into the ideal shape, if we wait for her a thousand years. Let us send for a Greek architect to do it for her. He comes—the great Greek architect, with measure and rule. Will he not also make the weight for the winds? and weigh out the waters by measure? and make a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder?¹ He sets himself orderly to his work, and behold! this is the mark of Nature, and this is the thing into which the great Greek architect improves the sea—



Fig. 71

Qalatta, qalatta:² Was it this, then, they wept to see from the sacred mountain—those wearied ones?

§ 4. But the sea was meant to be irregular! Yes, and were not also the leaves, and the blades of grass; and, in a sort, as far as may be without mark of sin, even the countenance of man? Or would it be pleasanter and better to have us all alike, and numbered on our foreheads, that we might be known one from the other?

§ 5. Is there, then, nothing to be done by man's art? Have we only to copy, and again copy, for ever, the imagery of the universe? Not so. We have work to do upon it; there is not any one of us so simple, nor so feeble, but he has work to do upon it. But the work is not to improve, but to explain. This infinite universe is unfathomable, inconceivable, in its whole; every human creature must slowly spell out, and long contemplate, such part of it as may be possible for him to reach; then set forth what he has learned of it for those beneath him; extricating it from infinity, as one gathers a violet out of grass; one does not improve either violet or grass in gathering it, but one makes the flower

¹ [Job xxviii. 25, 26.]

² [The cry of the Ten Thousand on getting the first sight of the sea from the top of "The Sacred Mountain," see Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. 7, 24.]

visible; and then the human being has to make its power upon his own heart visible also, and to give it the honour of the good thoughts it has raised up in him, and to write upon it the history of his own soul. And sometimes he may be able to do more than this, and to set it in strange lights, and display it in a thousand ways before unknown: ways specially directed to necessary and noble purposes, for which he had to choose instruments out of the wide armoury of God. All this he may do: and in this he is only doing what every Christian has to do with the written, as well as the created word, “rightly *dividing* the word of truth.”¹ Out of the infinity of the written word, he has also to gather and set forth things new and old,² to choose them for the season and the work that are before him, to explain and manifest them to others, with such illustration and enforcement as may be in his power, and to crown them with the history of what, by them, God has done for his soul. And, in doing this, is he improving the Word of God? Just such difference as there is between the sense in which a minister may be said to improve a text, to the people’s comfort, and the sense in which an atheist might declare that he could improve the Book, which, if any man shall add unto, there shall be added unto him the plagues that are written therein;³ just such difference is there between that which, with respect to Nature, man is, in his humbleness, called upon to do, and that which, in his insolence, he imagines himself capable of doing.⁴

§ 6. Have no fear, therefore, reader, in judging between Nature and art, so only that you love both. If you can love one only, then let it be Nature; you are safe with her: but do not then attempt to judge the art, to which you do not care to give thought or time. But if you love both, you may judge between them fearlessly; you may estimate the

¹ [2 Timothy ii. 15.]

² [Mathew xiii. 52.]

³ [Revelation xxii. 18.]

⁴ [With § 5 here, compare *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III, p. 137), where Ruskin likens the proper function of the artist’s mind to “a glass of sweet and strange colour . . . and a glass of rare strength . . . to bring nature up to us and near us.”]

last, by its making you remember the first, and giving you the same kind of joy. If, in the square of the city, you can find a delight, finite, indeed, but pure and intense, like that which you have in a valley among the hills, then its art and architecture are right; but if, after fair trial, you can find no delight in them, nor any instruction like that of Nature, I call on you fearlessly to condemn them.

We are forced, for the sake of accumulating our power and knowledge, to live in cities: but such advantage as we have in association with each other is in great part counterbalanced by our loss of fellowship with Nature. We cannot all have our gardens now, nor our pleasant fields to meditate in at eventide. Then the function of our architecture is, as far as may be, to replace these;¹ to tell us about Nature; to possess us with memories of her quietness; to be solemn and full of tenderness, like her, and rich in portraiture of her; full of delicate imagery of the flowers we can no more gather, and of the living creatures now far away from us in their own solitude. If ever you felt or found this in a London street,—if ever it furnished you with one serious thought, or one ray of true and gentle pleasure,—if there is in your heart a true delight in its grim railings and dark casements, and wasteful finery of shops, and feeble coxcombery of club-houses,—it is well: promote the building of more like them. But if they never taught you anything, and never made you happier as you passed beneath them, do not think they have any mysterious goodness nor occult sublimity. Have done with the wretched affectation, the futile barbarism, of pretending to enjoy; for, as surely as you know that the meadow grass, meshed with fairy rings, is better than the wood pavement, cut into hexagons; and as surely as you know the fresh winds and sunshine of the upland are better than the choke-damp of the vault, or the gas-light of the ball-room, you may know, as I told you that you should,² that the good architecture,

¹ [Cf. *Seven Lamps* (ch. vi. "Lamp of Memory"), where also this function of architecture in modern life is dwelt upon: Vol. VIII. p. 246.]

² [See above, p. 62.]

which has life, and truth, and joy in it, is better than the bad architecture, which has death, dishonesty, and vexation of heart in it, from the beginning to the end of time.

§ 7. And now come with me, for I have kept you too long from your gondola: come with me, on an autumnal morning, through the dark gates of Padua, and let us take the broad road leading towards the East.¹

It lies level, for a league or two, between its elms, and vine festoons full laden, their thin leaves veined into scarlet hectic, and their clusters deepened into gloomy blue; then mounts an embankment above the Brenta, and runs between the river and the broad plain, which stretches to the north in endless lines of mulberry and maize. The Brenta flows slowly, but strongly; a muddy volume of yellowish-grey water, that neither hastens nor slackens, but glides heavily between its monotonous banks, with here and there a short, babbling eddy twisted for an instant into its opaque surface, and vanishing, as if something had been dragged into it and gone down. Dusty and shadeless, the road fares along the dyke on its northern side; and the tall white tower of Dolo² is seen trembling in the heat mist far away, and never seems nearer than it did at first. Presently, you pass one of the much vaunted “villas on the Brenta:”³ a glaring, spectral shell of brick and stucco, its windows with painted architraves like picture-frames, and a court-yard paved with pebbles in front of it, all burning in the thick glow of the feverish sunshine,

¹ [Ruskin is describing one of his several journeys before the completion of the railroad. In 1845 he saw the railway-bridge across the lagoon and the railway station at Venice in course of construction: see the passage from a letter cited in Vol. IV., pp. 40–1. The line was opened in that year. Dolo (now on a local line from Padua to Fusina) was in old days the half-way house between Padua and Mestre (now the last station on the main line before Venice). A lively description of Mestre, when it was the posting terminus and point of embarkation for Venice, is given in Ruskin’s juvenile tale, “Velasquez, the Novice,” see Vol. I. p. 537.]

² [For another reference to this tower, see p. 248 *n.*]

³ [The Brenta flows from its source in Tyrol, past Padua into the Lagoon at Fusina. Its banks were much in favour with the Venetian noblemen as the site for their country villas. An interesting account of the famous villa at Strà and of the villeggiatura existence passed on the river may be read in H. F. Brown’s *Life on the Lagoons*. Byron, during his residence at Venice, rented also one of these villas—“La Mira,” about seven miles inland: see *Don Juan* (i. 112): “Long ere I dreamt of dating from the Brenta.” “Deep-dyed” he elsewhere calls it (*Childe Harold*, iv. 27).]

but fenced from the high road, for magnificence' sake, with goodly posts and chains; then another, of Kew Gothic,¹ with Chinese variations, painted red and green; a third composed for the greater part of dead wall, with fictitious windows painted upon it, each with a pea-green blind, and a classical architrave in bad perspective; and a fourth, with stucco figures set on the top of its garden-wall: some antique, like the kind to be seen at the corner of the New Road,² and some of clumsy grotesque dwarfs, with fat bodies and large boots. This is the architecture to which her studies of the Renaissance have conducted modern Italy.

§ 8. The sun climbs steadily, and warms into intense white the walls of the little piazza of Dolo, where we change horses. Another dreary stage among the now divided branches of the Brenta, forming irregular and half-stagnant canals; with one or two more villas on the other side of them, but these of the old Venetian type, which we may have recognised before at Padua, and sinking fast into utter ruin, black, and rent, and lonely, set close to the edge of the dull water, with what were once small gardens beside them, kneaded into mud, and with blighted fragments of gnarled hedges and broken stakes from their fencing; and here and there a few fragments of marble steps, which have once given them graceful access from the water's edge, now setting into the mud in broken joints, all aslope, and slippery with green weed. At last the road turns sharply to the north, and there is an open space covered with bent grass, on the right of it: but do not look that way.

§ 9. Five minutes more, and we are in the upper room of the little inn at Mestre, glad of a moment's rest in shade. The table is (always, I think) covered with a cloth of nominal white and perennial grey, with plates and glasses at due intervals, and small loaves of a peculiar white bread, made

¹ [The phrase refers to the modern Gothic villas at Kew, with perhaps an allusion also to the Chinese Pagoda in the Gardens. Compare the phrase "Twickenham Classicism" in *Pre-Raphaelitism*, § 37.]

² [The Euston Road, formerly called the New Road, still contains, on its southern side, some statuary yards, such as that to which Ruskin refers.]

with oil, and more like knots of flour than bread. The view from its balcony is not cheerful: a narrow street, with a solitary brick church and barren campanile on the other side of it: and some conventual buildings, with a few crimson remnants of fresco about their windows: and, between them and the street, a ditch with some slow current in it, and one or two small houses beside it, one with an arbour of roses at its door, as in an English tea-garden; the air, however, about us having in it nothing of roses, but a close smell of garlic and crabs, warmed by the smoke of various stands of hot chestnuts. There is much vociferation also going on beneath the window respecting certain wheelbarrows which are in rivalry for our baggage; we appease their rivalry with our best patience, and follow them down the narrow street.

§ 10. We have but walked some two hundred yards when we come to a low wharf or quay at the extremity of a canal, with long steps on each side down to the water, which latter we fancy for an instant has become black with stagnation; another glance undeceives us,—it is covered with the black boats of Venice. We enter one of them, rather to try if they be real boats or not, than with any definite purpose, and glide away; at first feeling as if the water were yielding continually beneath the boat and letting her sink into soft vacancy. It is something clearer than any water we have seen lately, and of a pale green; the banks only two or three feet above it, of mud and rank grass, with here and there a stunted tree; gliding swiftly past the small casement of the gondola, as if they were dragged by upon a painted scene.

Stroke by stroke, we count the plunges of the oar, each heaving up the side of the boat slightly as her silver beak shoots forward. We lose patience, and extricate ourselves from the cushions: the sea air blows keenly by, as we stand leaning on the roof of the floating cell. In front, nothing to be seen but long canal and level bank; to the west, the tower of Mestre is lowering fast, and behind it there have risen purple shades, of the colour of



J. B. Smith

Allen & Co. St.

"The Vestibule."

From the Collection of Sir John Simon, K.C.B.

dead rose-leaves, all round the horizon, feebly defined against the afternoon sky,—the Alps of Bassano!¹ Forward still: the endless canal bends at last, and then breaks into intricate angles about some low bastions, now torn to pieces and staggering in ugly rents towards the water,—the bastions of the fort of Malghera.² Another turn, and another perspective of canal; but not interminable. The silver beak cleaves it fast,—it widens: the rank grass of the banks sinks lower, and lower, and at last dies in tawny knots along an expanse of weedy shore. Over it, on the right, but a few years back, we might have seen the lagoon stretching to the horizon, and the warm southern sky bending over Malamocco³ to the sea. Now we can see nothing but what seems a low and monotonous dockyard wall, with flat arches to let the tide through it;—this is the railroad bridge, conspicuous above all things. But at the end of those dismal arches there rises, out of the wide water, a straggling line of low and confused brick buildings, which, but for the many towers which are mingled among them, might be the suburbs of an English manufacturing town. Four or five domes, pale, and apparently at a greater distance, rise over the centre of the line; but the object which first catches the eye is a sullen cloud of black smoke brooding over the northern half of it, and which issues from the belfry of a church.

It is Venice.

¹ [Lying some 25 or 30 miles north-west of Venice.]

² [Shown in Ruskin's sketch here reproduced (Plate E). It underwent a long siege in 1849; it has now been considerably repaired and strengthened. The train, going to Venice, passes it on the left soon after leaving Mestre.]

³ [The Porto di Malamocco is one of the southern entrances to the lagoons from the open sea. Malamocco itself is a village on the long island of the Lido which forms the natural breakwater for Venice.]

AUTHOR'S APPENDIX

I. P. 19.—FOUNDATION OF VENICE

I FIND the chroniclers agree in fixing the year 421, if any:¹ the following sentence from De Monaci² may perhaps interest the reader:—

“God, who punishes the sins of men by war sorrows, and whose ways are past finding out, willing both to save the innocent blood, and that a great power, beneficial to the whole world, should arise in a spot strange beyond belief, moved the chief men of the cities of the Venetian province (which, from the border of Pannonia, extended as far as the Adda, a river of Lombardy), both in memory of past, and in dread of future distress, to establish states upon the nearer islands of the inner gulphs of the Adriatic, to which, in the last necessity, they might retreat for refuge. And first Galienus de Fontana, Simon de Glauconibus, and Antonius Calvus, or, as others have it, Adalbertus Falerius, Thomas Candiano, Comes Daulus, Consuls of Padua, by the command of their King and the desire of the citizens, laid the foundations of the new commonwealth, under good auspices, on the island of the Rialto, the highest and nearest to the mouth of the deep river now called the Brenta, in the year of Our Lord, as many writers assure us, four hundred and twenty-one, on the 25th day of March.”

It is matter also of very great satisfaction to know that Venice was founded by good Christians: “La qual citade è stada hedificada da veri e boni Christiani:” which information I found in the MS. copy of the Zancoral Chronicle, in the library of St. Mark's.*

Finally, the conjecture as to the origin of her name, recorded by Sansovino,³ will be accepted willingly by all who love Venice: “Fu interpretato da alcuni, che questa voce VENETIA voglia dire *VENI ETIAM*, cioè, vieni ancora, e ancora, percioche quante volte verrai, sempre vedrai nuove cose, e nuove bellezze.”

* Ed. Venetis, 1758, Lib. I. [The Cronaca Zancariol, a first-rate authority down to 1446, where it stops; written about 1519.]

¹ [The date, March 25, 421, is based upon “a document well known to Venetian historians, the famous commission of the three Consuls who were sent from Padua to superintend the building of a city at Rialto.” There is, however, “little doubt that the document, as we have it, is a forgery:” see H. F. Brown's *Venice: an Historical Sketch of the Republic*, ed. 1895, p. 4.]

² [Lorenzo de Monacis: *Chronicon de rebus Venetis*, Venetiis, 1758.]

³ [*Venetia Citta Nobilissima*, ed. 1663, p. 5. “The word *Venetia* is interpreted by some to mean *Veni Etiam*, which is to say, ‘Come again and again;’ for how many times soever thou shalt come, new things and new beauties thou shalt see.”]

2. P. 19.—POWER OF THE DOGES

The best authorities agree in giving the year 697 as that of the election of the first doge, Paul Luke Anafesto. He was elected in a general meeting of the commonalty, tribunes, and clergy, at Heraclea, "divinis rebus procuratis," as usual, in all serious work, in those times. His authority is thus defined by Sabellico,¹ who was not likely to have exaggerated it:—"Penes quem decus omne imperii ac majestas esset: cui jus concilium cogendi quoties de republica aliquid referri oporteret; qui tribunos annuos in singulas insulas legeret, a quibus ad Ducem esset provocatio. Cæterum, si quis dignitatem, ecclesiam, sacerdotumve cleri populique, suffragio esset adeptus, ita demum id ratum haberetur si dux ipse auctor factus esset." (Lib. I.) The last clause is very important, indicating the subjection of the ecclesiastical to the popular and ducal (or patrician) powers, which, throughout her career, was one of the most remarkable features in the policy of Venice. The appeal from the tribunes to the doge is also important; and the expression "decus omne imperii," if of somewhat doubtful force, is at least as energetic as could have been expected from an historian under the influence of the Council of Ten.

3. P. 19.—SERRAR DEL CONSIGLIO²

The date of the decree which made the right of sitting in the grand council hereditary, is variously given; the Venetian historians themselves saying as little as they can about it. The thing was evidently not accomplished at once, several decrees following in successive years; the Council of Ten was established without any doubt in 1310, in consequence of the conspiracy of Tiepolo. The Venetian verse quoted by Mutinelli (*Annali Urbani di Venezia*, p. 153) is worth remembering:—

"Del mille tresento e diese
A mezzo el mese delle ceriese³
Bagiamonte passò el ponte
E per esso fo fatto el Consegio di diese."

The reader cannot do better than take 1297 as the date of the beginning of the change of government, and this will enable him exactly to divide the 1100 years from the election of the first doge into 600 of monarchy and 500 of aristocracy. The coincidence of the numbers is somewhat curious; 697 the date of the establishment of the government, 1297 of its change, and 1797 of its fall.⁴

¹ [*Rerum Venetarum libri xxxiii*, Venetiis, 1487.]

² [Particulars of the constitutional changes referred to in this appendix may be read in H. F. Brown's *Venice*, pp. 161–164.]

³ [June, "the month of cherries;" see in *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 124, the description of Capital No. 25 in the Ducal Palace.]

⁴ [Cf. *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 12.]

4. P. 26.—S. PIETRO DI CASTELLO¹

It is credibly reported to have been founded in the seventh century, and (with somewhat less of credibility) in a place where the Trojans, conducted by Antenor, had, after the destruction of Troy, built “un castello chiamato prima Troja, poscia Olivolo, interpretato, luogo pieno.” It seems that St. Peter appeared in person to the Bishop of Heraclea, and commanded him to found, in his honour, a church in that spot of the rising city on the Rialto: “ove avesse veduto una mandra di buoi e di pecore pascolare unitamente. Questa fu la prodigiosa origine della Chiesa di San Pietro, che poscia, o rinovata, o ristaurata da Orso Participazio IV. Vescovo Olivolense, divenne la Cattedrale della Nuova città.” (Notizie Storiche delle Chiese e Monasteri di Venezia, Padua, 1758.²) What there was so prodigious in oxen and sheep feeding together, we need St. Peter, I think, to tell us. The title of Bishop of Castello was first taken in 1091: St. Mark’s was not made the cathedral church till 1807. It may be thought hardly fair to conclude the small importance of the old St. Pietro di Castello from the appearance of the wretched modernisations of 1620. But these modernisations are spoken of as improvements; and I find no notice of peculiar beauties in the older building, either in the work above quoted, or by Sansovino, who only says that when it was destroyed by fire (as everything in Venice was, I think, about three times in a century) in the reign of Vital Michele,³ it was rebuilt “with good thick walls, maintaining, *for all that*, the order of its arrangement taken from the Greek mode of building.” This does not seem the description of a very enthusiastic effort to rebuild a highly ornate cathedral. The present church is among the least interesting in Venice; a wooden bridge something like that of Battersea⁴ on a small scale, connects its island, now almost deserted, with a wretched suburb of the city behind the arsenal; and a blank level of lifeless grass, rotted away in places rather than trodden, is extended before its mildewed façade and solitary tower.

5. P. 29.—PAPAL POWER IN VENICE

I may refer the reader to the eleventh chapter of the twenty-eighth book of Daru for some account of the restraints to which the Venetian clergy were subjected. I have not myself been able to devote any time to the examination of the original documents bearing on this matter, but the following

¹ [Ruskin had intended to print some portion of this appendix in the Travellers’ Edition (see above, p. 26). In going over the book for the preparation of that edition, he erased the passage from “The title of Bishop of Castello” to “highly ornate cathedral,” and made the following note:—

“I retain, for exposition of my former vulgar conceit and for permanent humiliation, the following fragments of my old notice of this cathedral.” The “vulgar conceit” is explained in the author’s note on p. 25, above.]

² [A fuller account of this legend—“quite one of the most precious things in the story of Venice”—is given in *St. Mark’s Rest*, § 73.]

³ [Sansovino’s *Venetia*, p. 6. Sansovino does not state which doge of that name he means: the first reigned 1096–1102; the second, 1156–1172.]

⁴ [The old bridge, of course; now replaced by a new bridge opened in 1891.]

extract from the letter of a friend, who will not at present permit me to give his name, but who is certainly better conversant with the records of the Venetian State than any other Englishman,¹ will be of great value to the general reader:—

“In the year 1410, or perhaps at the close of the thirteenth century, churchmen were excluded from the grand Council and declared ineligible to civil employments; and in this same year, 1410, the Council of Ten, with the Giunta, decreed that whenever in the state’s councils matters concerning ecclesiastical affairs were being treated, all the kinsfolk of Venetian beneficed clergymen were to be expelled; and, in the year 1434, the RELATIONS of churchmen were declared ineligible to the post of ambassador at Rome.

“The Venetians never gave possession of any see in their territories to bishops unless they had been proposed to the pope by the senate, which elected the patriarch, who was supposed, at the end of the sixteenth century, to be liable to examination by his Holiness, as an act of confirmation or installation; but, of course, everything depended on the relative power at any given time of Rome and Venice: for instance, a few days after the accession of Julius II., in 1503, he requests the Signory, cap in hand, to ALLOW him to confer the archbishopric of Zara on a dependent of his, one Cipico, the Bishop of Famagosta. Six years later, when Venice was overwhelmed by the leaguers of Cambrai, that furious pope would assuredly have conferred Zara on Cipico WITHOUT asking leave. In 1608, the rich Camaldolite Abbey of Vangadizza, in the Polesine, fell vacant through the death of Lionardo Loredano, in whose family it had been since some while. The Venetian ambassador at Rome received the news on the night of the 28th December; and, on the morrow, requested Paul IV. not to dispose of this preferment until he heard from the senate. The pope talked of ‘poor cardinals’ and of his nephew, but made no positive reply; and, as Francesco Contarini was withdrawing, said to him: ‘My Lord ambassador, with this opportunity we will inform you that, to our very great regret, we understand that the chiefs of the Ten mean to turn sacristans; for they order the parish priests to close the church doors at the Ave Maria, and not to ring the bells at certain hours. This is precisely the sacristan’s office; we don’t know why their lordships, by printed edicts, which we have seen, choose to interfere in this matter. This is pure and mere ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and even, in case of any inconvenience arising, is there not the patriarch, who is at any rate your own; why not apply to him, who could remedy these irregularities? These are matters which cause us very notable

¹ [Doubtless Rawdon Brown (1803–1883), who resided in Venice from 1833 until his death, occupied in researches among the Venetian archives. In 1862 he received an appointment to calendar those Venetian State papers which treated of English history. He used to say that he went to Venice to find the tomb of the Duke of Norfolk, who “there at Venice gave his body to that pleasant country’s earth” (*Richard II.*, iv. 1, 98); that he became interested in the place, and stayed on for the rest of his life, eventually finding the tomb (see Introduction to next volume). He was an “old crony” of Robert Browning (see the Sonnet in the *Century Magazine*, February 1884) and a “very dear friend” of Ruskin: see *Præterita*, iii. ch. i. § 6, and a letter of May 10, 1862, printed in *Letters upon Subjects of General Interest from John Ruskin to Various Correspondents*, 1892, p. 42 (reprinted in a later volume of this edition). For references to Brown’s Venetian researches, see *Relation of Michael Angelo and Tintoret*, and *Stones of Venice*, vols. ii. and iii. *passim* (see General Index), and also Introduction to next volume.]

displeasure; we say so that they may be written and known: it is decided by the councils and canons, and not uttered by us, that whosoever forms any resolve against the ecclesiastical liberty, cannot do so without incurring censure; and in order that Father Paul (Bacon's correspondent) may not say hereafter, as he did in his past writings, that our predecessors assented either tacitly or by permission, we declare that we do not give our assent, nor do we approve it; nay, we blame it, and let this be announced in Venice, so that, for the rest, every one may take care of his own conscience. St. Thomas à Becket, whose festival is celebrated this very day, suffered martyrdom for the ecclesiastical liberty; it is our duty likewise to support and defend it.' Contarini says: 'This remonstrance was delivered with some marks of anger, which induced me to tell him how the tribunal of the most excellent the Lords chiefs of the Ten is in our country supreme; that it does not do its business unadvisedly, or condescend to unworthy matters; and that, therefore, should those Lords have come to any public declaration of their will, it must be attributed to orders anterior, and to immemorial custom and authority; recollecting that, on former occasions likewise, similar commissions were given to prevent divers incongruities; wherefore an upright intention, such as this, ought not to be taken in any other sense than its own, especially as the parishes of Venice were in her own gift,' etc., etc. The pope persisted in bestowing the abbacy on his nephew, but the republic would not give possession, and a compromise was effected by its being conferred on the Venetian Matteo Priuli, who allowed the cardinal five thousand ducats per annum out of its revenues. A few years before this, this very same pope excommunicated the State, because she had imprisoned two churchmen for heinous crimes; the strife lasted for more than a year, and ended through the mediation of Henry IV., at whose suit the prisoners were delivered to the French ambassador, who made them over to a papal commissioner.

"In January, 1484, a tournament was in preparation on St. Mark's Square: some murmurs had been heard about the distribution of the prizes having been pre-arranged, without regard to the 'best man.' One of the chiefs of the Ten was walking along Rialto on the 28th January, when a young priest, twenty-two years old, a sword-cutler's son, and a Bolognese, and one of Perugia, both men-at-arms under Robert Sansoverino, fell upon a clothier with drawn weapons. The chief of the Ten desired they might be seized, but at the moment the priest escaped; he was however subsequently retaken, and in that very evening hanged by torch-light between the columns with the two soldiers. Innocent VIII. was less powerful than Paul IV.; Venice weaker in 1605 than in 1484.

"* * * The exclusion from the Grand Council, whether at the end of the fourteenth or commencement of the following century, of the Venetian ecclesiastics (as induced either by the republic's acquisitions on the mainland then made, and which, through the rich benefices they embraced, might have rendered an ambitious churchman as dangerous in the Grand Council as a victorious condottiere; or from dread of their allegiance being divided between the church and their country, it being acknowledged that no man can serve two masters), did not render them hostile to their fatherland, whose interests were, with very few exceptions, eagerly fathered by the Venetian prelates at Rome, who, in their turn, received all honour at Venice, where state receptions given to cardinals of the houses of Correr, Grimani, Cornaro,

Pisani, Contarini, Zeno, Delfino, and others, vouch for the good understanding that existed between the 'Papalists' and their countrymen. The Cardinal Grimani was instrumental in detaching Julius II. from the league of Cambrai; the Cardinal Cornaro always aided the State to obtain anything required of Leo X.; and, both before and after their times, all Venetians that had a seat in the Sacred College were patriots rather than pluralists: I mean that they cared more for Venice than for their benefices, admitting thus the soundness of that policy which denied them admission into the Grand Council."

To this interesting statement, I shall add, from the twentieth-eighth book of Daru, two passages, well deserving consideration by us English in present days:

"Pour être parfaitement assurée contre les envahissements de la puissance ecclésiastique, Venise commença par lui ôter tout prétexte d'intervenir dans les affaires de l'Etat; elle resta invariablement fidèle au dogme. Jamais aucune des opinions nouvelles n'y prit la moindre faveur; jamais aucun hérésiarque ne sortit de Venise. Les conciles, les disputes, les guerres de religion, se passèrent sans qu'elle y prit jamais la moindre part. Inébranlable dans sa foi, elle ne fut pas moins invariable dans son système de tolérance. Non seulement ses sujets de la religion grecque conservèrent l'exercice de leur culte, leurs évêques et leurs prêtres; mais les Protestants, les Arméniens, les Mahomitans, les Juifs, toutes les religions, toutes les sectes qui se trouvaient dans Venise, avaient des temples, et la sépulture dans les églises n'était point refusé aux hérétiques. Une police vigilante s'appliquait avec le même soin à éteindre les discordes, et à empêcher les fanatiques et les novateurs de troubler l'Etat." * * * *

"Si on considère que c'est dans un temps où presque toutes les nations tremblaient devant la puissance pontificale, que les Vénitiens surent tenir leur clergé dans la dépendance, et braver souvent les censures ecclésiastiques et les interdits, sans encourir jamais aucun reproche sur la pureté de leur foi, on sera forcé de reconnaître que cette république avait devancé de loin les autres peuples dans cette partie de la science du gouvernement. La fameuse maxime, 'Siamo veneziani, poi christiani,' n'était qu'une formule énergique qui ne prouvait point qu'ils voulussent placer l'intérêt de la religion après celui de l'Etat, mais qui annonçait leur invariable résolution de ne pas souffrir qu'un pouvoir étranger portât atteinte aux droits de la république.

"Dans toute la durée de son existence, au milieu des revers comme dans la prospérité, cet inébranlable gouvernement ne fit qu'une seule fois des concessions à la cour de Rome, et ce fut pour détacher le Pape Jules II. de la ligue de Cambrai.

"Jamais il ne se relâcha du soin de tenir le clergé dans une nullité absolue relativement aux affaires politiques; on peut en juger par la conduite qu'il tint avec l'ordre religieux le plus redoutable et le plus accoutumé à s'immiscer dans les secrets de l'Etat et dans les intérêts temporels."

The main points, next stated, respecting the Jesuits are, that the decree which permitted their establishment in Venice required formal renewal every three years: that no Jesuit could stay in Venice more than three years; that the slightest disobedience to the authority of the government was instantly punished by imprisonment; that no Venetian could enter the Order without express permission from the government; that the notaries were forbidden to sanction any testamentary disposal of property to the Jesuits; finally, that the

heads of noble families were forbidden to permit their children to be educated in the Jesuits' colleges, on pain of degradation from their rank.

Now, let it be observed that the enforcement of absolute exclusion of the clergy from the councils of the State, dates exactly from the period which I have marked for the commencement of the decline of the Venetian power. The Romanist is welcome to his advantage in this fact, if advantage it be; for I do not bring forward the conduct of the senate of Venice, as Daru does, by way of an example of the general science of government. The Venetians accomplished therein what we ridiculously call a separation of "Church and State" (as if the State were not, in all Christendom, necessarily also the Church*), but *ought* to call a separation of lay and clerical officers. I do not point out this separation as subject of praise, but as the witness borne by the Venetians against the principles of the Papacy. If they were to blame, in yielding to their fear of the ambitious spirit of Rome so far as to deprive their councils of all religious element, what excuse are we to offer for the state, which, with Lords Spiritual of her own faith already in her senate, permits the polity of Rome to be represented by lay members? To have sacrificed religion to mistaken policy, or purchased security with ignominy, would have been no new thing in the world's history; but to be at once impious and impolitic, and seek for danger through dishonour, was reserved for the English parliament of 1829.

I am glad to have this opportunity of referring to, and farther enforcing, the note on this subject which, not without deliberation, I appended to the *Seven Lamps*;¹ and of adding to it the following passage, written by my father in the year 1839, and published in one of the journals of that year:—a passage remarkable as much for its intrinsic value, as for having stated, twelve years ago, truths to which the mind of England seems but now, and that slowly, to be awakening.

"We hear it said, that it cannot be merely the Roman religion that causes the difficulty [respecting Ireland], for we were once all Roman Catholics, and nations abroad of this faith are not as the Irish. It is totally overlooked, that when we were so, our government was despotic, and fit to cope with this dangerous religion, as most of the Continental governments yet are. In what Roman Catholic state, or in what age of Roman Catholic England, did we ever hear of such agitation as now exists in Ireland by evil men taking advantage of an anomalous state of things—Roman Catholic ignorance in the people, Protestant toleration in the Government? We have yet to feel the tremendous difficulty in which Roman Catholic emancipation has involved us. Too late we discover that a Roman Catholic is wholly incapable of being safely connected with the British constitution, as it now exists, *in any near relation*. The present constitution is no longer fit for Catholics. It is a creature essentially Protestant, growing with the growth, and strengthening with the strength, of Protestantism. So entirely is Protestantism interwoven with the whole frame of our constitution and laws, that I take my stand on this, against all agitators in existence, that the Roman religion is totally

* Compare Appendix 12 [p. 437].

¹ [For Ruskin's very strong objections, at the time of this book, to Catholic Emancipation, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 267–269.]

incompatible with the British constitution. We have, in trying to combine them, got into a maze of difficulties; we are the worse, and Ireland none the better. It is idle to talk of municipal reform or popular Lords Lieutenant. The mild sway of a constitutional monarchy is not strong enough for a Roman Catholic population. The stern soul of a republican would not shrink from sending half the misguided population and all the priests into exile, and planting in their place an industrious Protestant people. But you cannot do this, and you cannot convert the Irish, nor by other means make them fit to wear the mild restraints of a Protestant Government. It was, moreover, a strange logic that begot the idea of admitting Catholics to administer any part of our laws of constitution. It was admitted by all that, by the very act of abandoning the Roman religion, we became a free and enlightened people. It was only by throwing off the yoke of that slavish religion that we attained to the freedom of thought which has advanced us in the scale of society. We are so much advanced by adopting and adhering to a reformed religion, that, to prove our liberal and unprejudiced views, we throw down the barriers betwixt the two religions, of which the one is the acknowledged cause of light and knowledge, the other the cause of darkness and ignorance. We are so much altered to the better by leaving this people entirely, and giving them neither part nor lot amongst us, that it becomes proper to mingle again with them. We have found so much good in leaving them, that we deem it the best possible reason for returning to be among them. No fear of their Church again shaking us, with all our light and knowledge. It is true, the most enlightened nations fell under the spell of her enchantments, fell into total darkness and superstition; but no fear of us—we are too well informed! What miserable reasoning! infatuated presumption! I fear me, when the Roman religion rolled her clouds of darkness over the earlier ages, that she quenched as much light, and knowledge, and judgment as our modern Liberals have ever displayed. I do not expect a statesman to discuss the point of Transubstantiation betwixt Protestant and Catholic, nor to trace the narrow lines which divide Protestant sectarians from each other: but can any statesman that shall have taken even a cursory glance at the face of Europe, hesitate a moment on the choice of the Protestant religion? If he unfortunately knew nothing of its being the true one in regard to our eternal interests, he is at least bound to see whether it be not the best for the worldly prosperity of a people. He may be but moderately imbued with pious zeal for the salvation of a kingdom, but at least he will be expected to weigh the comparative merits of religion, as of law or government; and blind, indeed, must he be if he does not discern that, in neglecting to cherish the Protestant faith, or in too easily yielding to any encroachments on it, he is foregoing the use of a state engine more powerful than all the laws which the uninspired legislators of the earth have ever promulgated, in promoting the happiness, the peace, prosperity, and the order, the industry, and the wealth, of a people; in forming every quality valuable or desirable in a subject or a citizen; in sustaining the public mind at that point of education and information that forms the best security for the state, and the best preservative for the freedom of the people, whether religious or political.”

6. P. 33.—RENAISSANCE ORNAMENTS

There having been three principal styles of architecture in Venice,—the Greek or Byzantine, the Gothic, and the Renaissance, it will be shown, in the sequel, that the Renaissance itself is divided into three correspondent families:¹ Renaissance engrafted on Byzantine, which is earliest and best; Renaissance engrafted on Gothic, which is second, and second best; Renaissance on Renaissance, which is double darkness, and worst of all. The palaces in which Renaissance is engrafted on Byzantine are those noticed by Commynes: they are characterised by an ornamentation very closely resembling, and in some cases identical with, early Byzantine work; namely, groups of coloured marble circles inclosed in interlacing bands. I have put opposite one of these ornaments, from the Ca' Trevisan, in which a most curious and delicate piece of inlaid design is introduced into a band which is almost exactly copied from the church of Theotocos at Constantinople,² and correspondent with others in St. Mark's. There is also much Byzantine feeling in the treatment of the animals, especially in the two birds of the lower compartment, while the peculiar curves of the cinque cento leafage are visible in the leaves above. The dove, alighted, with the olive-branch plucked off, is opposed to the raven with restless expanded wings. Beneath are evidently the two sacrifices "of every clean fowl and of every clean beast."³ The colour is given with green and white marble, the dove relieved on a ground of greyish green, and all is exquisitely finished.

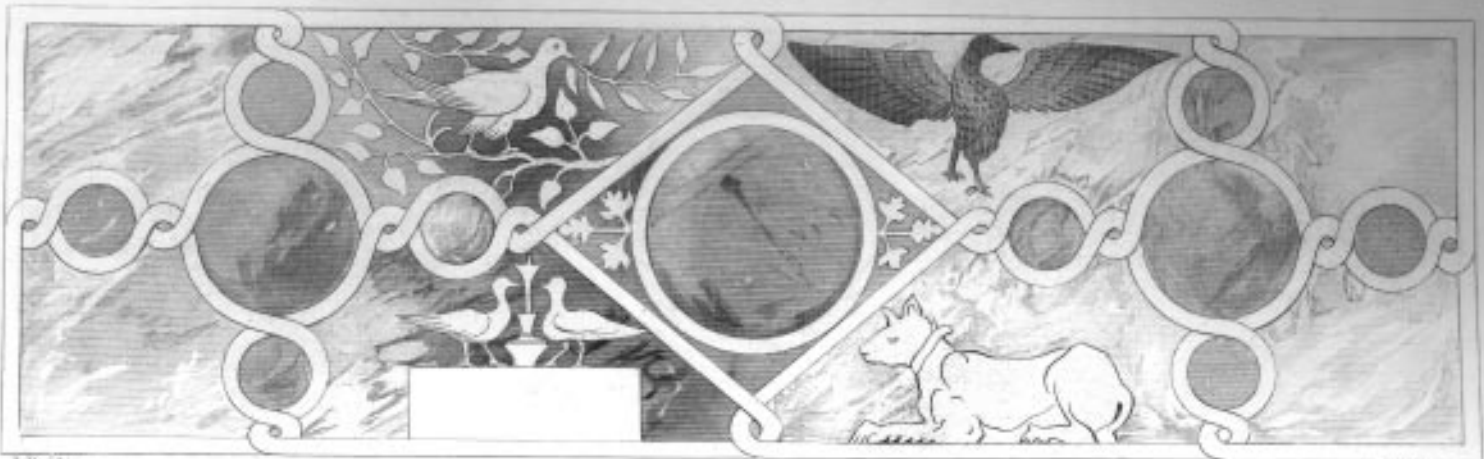
In Plate 1, [facing] p. 33, the upper figure is from the same palace (Ca' Trevisan), and it is very interesting in its proportions. If we take five circles in geometrical proportion, each diameter being two-thirds of the diameter next above it, and arrange the circles so proportioned, in contact with each other, in the manner shown in the plate, we shall find that an increase quite imperceptible in the diameter of the circles in the angles, will enable us to inscribe the whole in a square. The lines so described will then run in the centre of the white bands. I cannot be certain that this is the actual construction of the Trevisan design, because it is on a high wall surface, where I could not get at its measurements; but I found this construction exactly coincide with the lines of my eye-sketch. The lower figure in Plate 1 is from the front of the Ca' Dario, and probably struck the eye of Commynes⁴ in its first brightness. Selvatico, indeed, considers both the Ca' Trevisan (which once belonged to Bianca Cappello) and the Ca' Dario, as

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. i. § 3.]

² [This is the church of S. Theodore Tyrone (Kilisse Mesjidi), erroneously designated in several works upon art as that of Theotokos. The present structure probably dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century, but it stands upon the site, and includes many of the materials, of a church as old as the sixth century. It is, says Fergusson, "the most complete and elegant church of its class now known to exist in or near the capital, and many of its details are of great beauty and perfection." (*History of Architecture*, ii. 327). Views of it are given in Salzenberg's *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel*.]

³ [Genesis viii. 20.]

⁴ [See above, p. 32.]



J. H. H. H.

Z. C. H. H.

Wall-Veil Decoration.

CA' TREVISAN.

buildings of the sixteenth century. I defer the discussion of the question at present,¹ but have, I believe, sufficient reason for assuming the Ca' Dario to have been built about 1486, and the Ca' Trevisan not much later.

7. P. 35.—VARIETIES OF THE ORDERS

Of these phantasms and grotesques, one of some general importance is that commonly called Ionic, of which the idea was taken (Vitruvius says) from a woman's hair, curled;² but its lateral processes look more like rams' horns: be that as it may, it is a mere piece of agreeable extravagance, and if, instead of rams' horns, you put ibex horns, or cows' horns, or an ass's head at once, you will have ibex orders, or ass orders, or any number of other orders, one for every head or horn. You may have heard of another order, the Composite, which is Ionic and Corinthian mixed, and is one of the worst of ten thousand forms referable to the Corinthian as their head: it may be described as a spoiled Corinthian. And you may have also heard of another order, called Tuscan (which is no order at all, but a spoiled Doric): and of another called Roman Doric, which is Doric more spoiled, both which are simply among the most stupid variations ever invented upon forms already known. I find also in a French pamphlet upon architecture,* as applied to shops and dwelling-houses, a sixth order, the "Ordre Francais," at least as good as any of the three last, and to be hailed with acclamation, considering whence it comes, there being usually more tendency on the other side of the Channel to the confusion of "orders" than their multiplication: but the reader will find in the end that there are in very deed only two orders, of which the Greek, Doric, and Corinthian are the first examples, and *they* not perfect, nor in anywise sufficiently representative of the vast families to which they belong; but being the first and the best known, they may properly be considered as the types of the rest. The essential distinctions of the two great orders he will find explained in §§ 35 and 36 of Chap. XXVII., and in the passages there referred to; but I should rather desire that these passages might be read in the order in which they occur.

8. PP. 38, 187.—THE NORTHERN ENERGY

I have sketched above, in the First Chapter, the great events of architectural history in the simplest and fewest words I could; but this indraught of the Lombard energies upon the Byzantine rest, like a wild north wind

* *L'Artiste en Bâtimens*, par Louis Berthaux: Dijon, 1847. My printer writes at the side of the page a note, which I insert with thanks:—"This is not the first attempt at a French order. The writer has a treatise by Sebastian Le Clerc, a great man in his generation, which contains a Roman order, a Spanish order, which the inventor appears to think very grand, and a *new* French order nationalised by the Gallic cock crowing and clapping its wings in the capital."

¹ [The question is discussed later in *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. Appendix 4.]

² [Vitruvius (bk. iv. ch. i.) says that the Ionic order was modelled on the female figure. "They also added volutes to its capital, like graceful curling hair hanging on each side, and the front they ornamented with cymatia and festoons in the place of hair. On the shafts they sunk channels which bear a resemblance to the folds of a matronly garment."]

descending into a space of rarefied atmosphere, and encountered by an Arab simoom from the south, may well require from us some farther attention; for the differences in all these schools are more in the degrees of their impetuosity and refinement (these qualities being, in most cases, in inverse ratio, yet much united by the Arabs) than in the style of the ornaments they employ. The same leaves, the same animals, the same arrangements are used by Scandinavians, ancient Britons, Saxons, Normans, Lombards, Romans, Byzantines, and Arabians; all being alike descended through classic Greece from Egypt and Assyria, and some from Phœnicia. The belts which encompass the Assyrian bulls, in the hall of the British Museum, are the same as the belts of the ornaments found in Scandinavian tumuli; their method of ornamentation is the same as that of the gate of Mycenæ, and of the Lombard pulpit of St. Ambrogio of Milan, and of the church of Theotocos at Constantinople: the essential differences among the great schools are their differences of temper and treatment, and science of expression; it is absurd to talk of Norman ornaments, and Lombard ornaments, and Byzantine ornaments as formerly distinguished; but there is irreconcilable separation between Arab temper, and Lombard temper, and Byzantine temper.

Now, as far as I have been able to compare the three schools, it appears to me that the Arab and Lombard are both distinguished from the Byzantine by their energy and love of excitement, but the Lombard stands alone in his love of jest: Neither an Arab nor Byzantine ever jests in his architecture; the Lombard has great difficulty in ever being thoroughly serious: thus they represent three conditions of humanity, one in perfect rest, the Byzantine, with exquisite perception of grace and dignity; the Arab, with the same perception of grace, but with a restless fever in his blood; the Lombard, equally energetic, but not burning himself away, capable of submitting to law, and of enjoying jest. But the Arabian feverishness infects even the Lombard in the South, showing itself, however, in endless invention, with a refreshing firmness and order directing the whole of it. The excitement is greatest in the earliest times, most of all shown in St. Michele of Pavia; and I am strongly disposed to connect much of its peculiar manifestations with the Lombard's habits of eating and drinking, especially his carnivorousness. The Lombard of early times seems to have been exactly what a tiger would be, if you could give him love of a joke, vigorous imagination, strong sense of justice, fear of hell, knowledge of Northern mythology, a stone den, and a mallet and chisel: fancy him pacing up and down in the said den to digest his dinner, and striking on the wall, with a new fancy in his head, at every turn, and you have the Lombardic sculptor. As civilisation increases the supply of vegetables, and shortens that of wild beasts, the excitement diminishes; it is still strong in the thirteenth century at Lyons and Rouen; it dies away gradually in the later Gothic, and is quite extinct in the fifteenth century.

I think I shall best illustrate this general idea by simply copying the entries in my diary¹ which were written when, after six months' close study of Byzantine work in Venice, I came again to the Lombard work of Verona and Pavia. There are some other points alluded to in these entries not

¹ [The diary of 1849–1850, quoted from by the editors on previous pages of this volume. The passages were slightly altered for publication here, and a few mistakes were made in copying, which are now corrected (see "Variæ Lectiones," above, p. lx.).]

pertaining to the matter immediately in hand; but I have left them, as they will be of no use hereafter.

“(Verona.) Comparing the arabesques and sculpture of the Duomo here with St. Mark’s, the first thing that strikes one is the low relief, the second the greater motion and spirit, with infinitely less grace and science. With the Byzantines, however rude the cutting, every line is lovely, and the animals or men are placed in any attitudes which secure ornamental effect, sometimes impossible ones, always severe, restrained, or languid. With the Romanesque workmen all the figures show the effort (often successful) to express energetic action; hunting chiefly, much fighting, and both spirited; some of the dogs running capitably, straining to it, and the knights hitting hard, while yet the faces and drawing are in the last degree barbarous. At Venice all is graceful, fixed, or languid; the Eastern torpor is in every line, the mark of a school formed on severe traditions, and keeping to them, and never likely or desirous to rise beyond them, but with an exquisite sense of beauty, and much solemn religious faith.

“If the great outer archivolt of St. Mark’s is Byzantine, the law is somewhat broken by its busy domesticity; figures engaged in every trade, and in the preparation of viands of all kinds; a crowded kind of London Christmas scene, interleaved (literally) by the superb balls of leafage, unique in sculpture; but even this is strongly opposed to the wild war and chase passion of the Lombard. Farther, the Lombard building is as sharp, precise, and accurate, as that of St. Mark’s is careless. The Byzantines seem to have been too lazy to put their stones together; and, in general, my first impression on coming to Verona, after four months in Venice, is of the exquisitely neat masonry and perfect *feeling* here; a style of Gothic formed by a combination of Lombard surface ornament with Pisan Gothic, than which nothing can possibly be more chaste, pure, or solemn.”

I have said much of the shafts of the entrance to the crypt of St. Zeno;* the following note of the sculptures on the archivolt above them is to our present purpose:—

“It is covered by very light but most effective bas-reliefs of jesting subjects,—two cocks carrying on their shoulders a long staff, to which a fox (?) is tied by the legs, hanging down between them: the strut of the foremost cock, lifting one leg at right angles to the other, is delicious. Then a stag hunt, with a centaur horseman¹ drawing a bow; the arrow has gone clear through the stag’s throat, and is sticking there. Several capital hunts with dogs, with fruit trees between, and birds in them; the leaves, considering the early time, singularly well set, with the edges outwards, sharp, and deep cut; snails and frogs filling up the intervals, as if suspended in the air, with some saucy puppies on their hind-legs, two or three nondescript beasts; and, finally, on the centre of one of the arches on the south side, an elephant and castle,—a very strange elephant, yet cut as if the carver had seen one.”

Observe this elephant and castle; we shall meet with him farther north.²

* The lower group in Plate 17. [See pp. 130, 131, 357; and *cf.* p. xxxiii.]

¹ [The MS. diary reads “huntsman.”]

² [See below, p. 433, a reference to the same subject on the cathedral of Lyons. The sign of the “Elephant and Castle” would have had some special interest to Ruskin in connection with the public-house, a well-known landmark to dwellers, like him, in South London suburbs.]

“These sculptures of St. Zeno are, however, quite quiet and tame compared with those of St. Michele of Pavia, which are designed also in a somewhat gloomier mood; significative, as I think, of indigestion. (Note that they are much earlier than St. Zeno; of the seventh century at latest. There is more of nightmare, and less of wit in them.) Lord Lindsay has described them admirably, but has not said half enough; the state of mind represented by the west front is more that of a feverish dream, than resultant from any determined architectural purpose, or even from any definite love and delight in the grotesque. One capital is covered with a mass of grinning heads, other heads grow out of two bodies, or out of and under feet; the creatures are all fighting, or devouring, or struggling which shall be uppermost, and yet in an ineffectual way, as if they would fight for ever, and come to no decision. Neither sphinxes nor centaurs did I notice, nor a single peacock (I believe peacocks to be purely Byzantine), but mermaids with *two* tails (the sculptor having, perhaps, seen double at the time), strange, large fish, apes, stags, (bulls?), dogs, wolves, and horses, griffins, eagles, long-tailed birds, (cocks?), hawks, and dragons, without end, or with a dozen of ends, as the case may be; smaller birds, with rabbits, and small nondescripts, filling the friezes. The actual leaf, which is used in the best Byzantine mouldings at Venice, occurs in parts of these Pavian designs. But the Lombard animals are all *alive*, and fiercely alive too, all impatience and spring; the Byzantine birds peck idly at the fruit, and the animals hardly touch it with their noses. The cinque cento birds in Venice hold it up daintily, like train-bearers; the birds in the earlier Gothic¹ peck at it hungrily and naturally; but the Lombard beasts gripe at it like tigers, and tear it off with writhing lips and glaring eyes. They are exactly like Jip with the bit of geranium, worrying imaginary cats in it.”²

The notice of the leaf in the above extract is important,—it is the vineleaf; used constantly both by Byzantines and Lombards, but by the latter with especial frequency, though at this time they were hardly able to indicate what they meant. It forms the most remarkable generality of the St. Michele decoration; though, had it not luckily been carved on the façade, twining round a stake, and with grapes, I should never have known what it was meant for, its general form being a succession of sharp lobes, with incised furrows to the point of each. But it is thrown about in endless change; four or five varieties of it might be found on every cluster of capitals: and not content with this, the Lombards hint the same form even in their griffin wings. They love the vine very heartily.

In St. Michele of Lucca we have perhaps the noblest instance in Italy of the Lombard spirit in its later refinement. It is some four centuries later than St. Michele of Pavia, and the method of workmanship is altogether different. In the Pavian church, nearly all the ornament is cut in a coarse sandstone, in bold relief; a darker and harder stone (I think, not serpentine, but its surface is so disguised by the lustre of ages that I could not be certain) is used for the capitals of the western door, which are especially elaborate in their sculpture;—two devilish apes, or apish devils, I know not which, with bristly moustaches and edgy teeth, half-crouching, with their hands impertinently on their knees, ready for a spit or a spring if one goes near them; but all is pure bossy

¹ [The MS. diary has “the birds of Noah and Adam (Ducal Palace):” see next volume, ch. viii. §§ 35–37, and Plate 20.]

² [*David Copperfield*, ch. xxxiii.: see above, p. 200.]

sculpture; there is no inlaying, except of some variegated tiles in the shape of saucers set concave (an ornament used also very gracefully in St. Jacopo of Bologna); and the whole surface of the church is enriched with the massy reliefs, well preserved everywhere above the reach of human animals, but utterly destroyed to some five or six feet from the ground; worn away into large cellular hollows and caverns, some almost deep enough to render the walls unsafe, entirely owing to the uses to which the recesses of the church are dedicated by the refined and high-minded Italians. But St. Michele of Lucca is wrought entirely in white marble and green serpentine; there is hardly any relieved sculpture except in the capitals of the shafts and cornices, and all the designs of wall ornament are inlaid with exquisite precision—white on dark ground; the ground being cut out and filled with serpentine, the figures left in solid marble. The designs of the Pavian church are encrusted on the walls; of the Lucchese, incorporated with them; small portions of real sculpture being introduced exactly where the eye, after its rest on the flatness of the wall, will take most delight in the piece of substantial form. The entire arrangement is perfect beyond all praise, and the morbid restlessness of the old designs is now appeased. Geometry seems to have acted as a febrifuge, for beautiful geometrical designs are introduced amidst the tumult of the hunt; and there is no more seeing double, nor ghastly monstrosity of conception; no more ending of everything in something else; no more disputing for spare legs among bewildered bodies; no more setting on of heads wrong side foremost. The fragments have come together: we are out of the Inferno with its weeping down the spine; we are in the fair hunting-fields of the Lucchese mountains (though they had their tears also),—with horse, and hound, and hawk; and merry blast of the trumpet.—Very strange creatures to be hunted, in all truth; but still creatures with a single head, and that on their shoulders, which is exactly the last place in the Pavian church where a head is to be looked for.

My good friend Mr. Cockerell wonders, in one of his lectures, why I give so much praise to this “crazy front of Lucca.”¹ But it is not crazy; not by any means. Altogether sober, in comparison with the early Lombard work, or with our Norman. Crazy in one sense it is: utterly neglected, to the breaking of its old stout heart; the venomous nights and salt frosts of the Maremma winters have their way with it—“Poor Tom’s a cold!”² The weeds that feed on the marsh air have twisted themselves into its crannies; the polished fragments of serpentine are split and rent out of their cells, and lie in green ruins along its ledges; the salt sea winds have eaten away the fair shafting of its star window into a skeleton of crumbling rays. It cannot stand much longer; may Heaven only, in its benignity, preserve it from restoration, and the sands of the Serchio give it honourable grave.³

In the *Seven Lamps*, Plate VI., I gave a faithful drawing of one of its upper arches, to which I must refer the reader; for there is a marked piece

¹ [Charles Robert Cockerell (1788–1863), R.A., was Professor of Architecture to the Royal Academy 1840–1857, but his lectures were not printed. In one of these he must have referred to the *Seven Lamps* and the praise there given to San Michele, Lucca (see Vol. VIII. p. 185).]

² [*King Lear*, iv. 1.]

³ [The prayer was not granted; the church was restored into “a mere architect’s copy” in 1862: see Vol. III. 206 *n.*]

of character in the figure of the horseman on the left of it. And in making this reference, I would say a few words about those much-abused plates of the *Seven Lamps*.¹ They are black, they are overbitten, they are hastily drawn, they are coarse and disagreeable; how disagreeable to many readers I venture not to conceive. But their truth is carried to an extent never before attempted in architectural drawing. It does not in the least follow that because a drawing is delicate, or looks careful, it has been carefully drawn from the thing represented; in nine instances out of ten, careful and delicate drawings are made at home. It is not so easy as the reader, perhaps, imagines, to finish a drawing altogether on the spot, especially of details seventy feet from the ground; and any one who will try the position in which I have had to do some of my work—standing, namely, on a cornice or window sill, holding by one arm round a shaft and hanging over the street (or canal, at Venice), with my sketch-book supported against the wall from which I was drawing, by my breast, so as to leave my right hand free—will not thenceforward wonder that shadows should be occasionally carelessly laid in, or lines drawn with some unsteadiness. But, steady or infirm, the sketches of which those plates in the *Seven Lamps* are facsimiles, were made from the architecture itself, and represent that architecture with its actual shadows at the time of day at which it was drawn, and with every fissure and line of it as they now exist; so that when I am speaking of some new point, which perhaps the drawing was not intended to illustrate, I can yet turn back to it with perfect certainty that if anything be found in it bearing on matters now in hand, I may depend upon it just as securely as if I had gone back to look again at the building.

It is necessary that my readers should understand this thoroughly, and I did not before sufficiently explain it; but I believe I can show them the use of this kind of truth, now that we are again concerned with this front of Lucca. They will find a drawing of the entire front in Gally Knight's *Architecture of Italy*.² It may serve to give them an idea of its general disposition, and it looks very careful and accurate; but every bit of the ornament on it *is drawn out of the artist's head*. There is not *one line* of it that exists on the building. The reader will therefore, perhaps, think my ugly black plate of somewhat more value upon the whole, in its rough veracity, than the other in its delicate fiction.*

* One of the upper stories is also in Gally Knight's plate represented as merely banded, and otherwise plain: it is, in reality, covered with as delicate inlaying as the rest. The whole front is besides out of proportion, and out of perspective, at once; and yet this work is referred to as of authority, by our architects. Well may our architecture fall from its place among the fine arts, as it is doing rapidly; nearly all our works of value being devoted to the Greek architecture, which is *utterly useless* to us—or worse. *One* most noble book, however, has been dedicated to our English abbeys,—Mr. E. Sharpe's *Architectural Parallels*—almost a model of what I should like to see done for the Gothic of all Europe.³

¹ [On this subject, see Vol. VIII. pp. xlv., 276.]

² [For a note on this book, and further criticisms of it, see Vol. VIII. p. 277.]

³ [See above, p. 398, for a reference to another work by the same author. The full title of the book here referred to is *Architectural Parallels; or the Progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, through the 12th and 13th centuries, exhibited in a series of Parallel Examples*: 1848.]

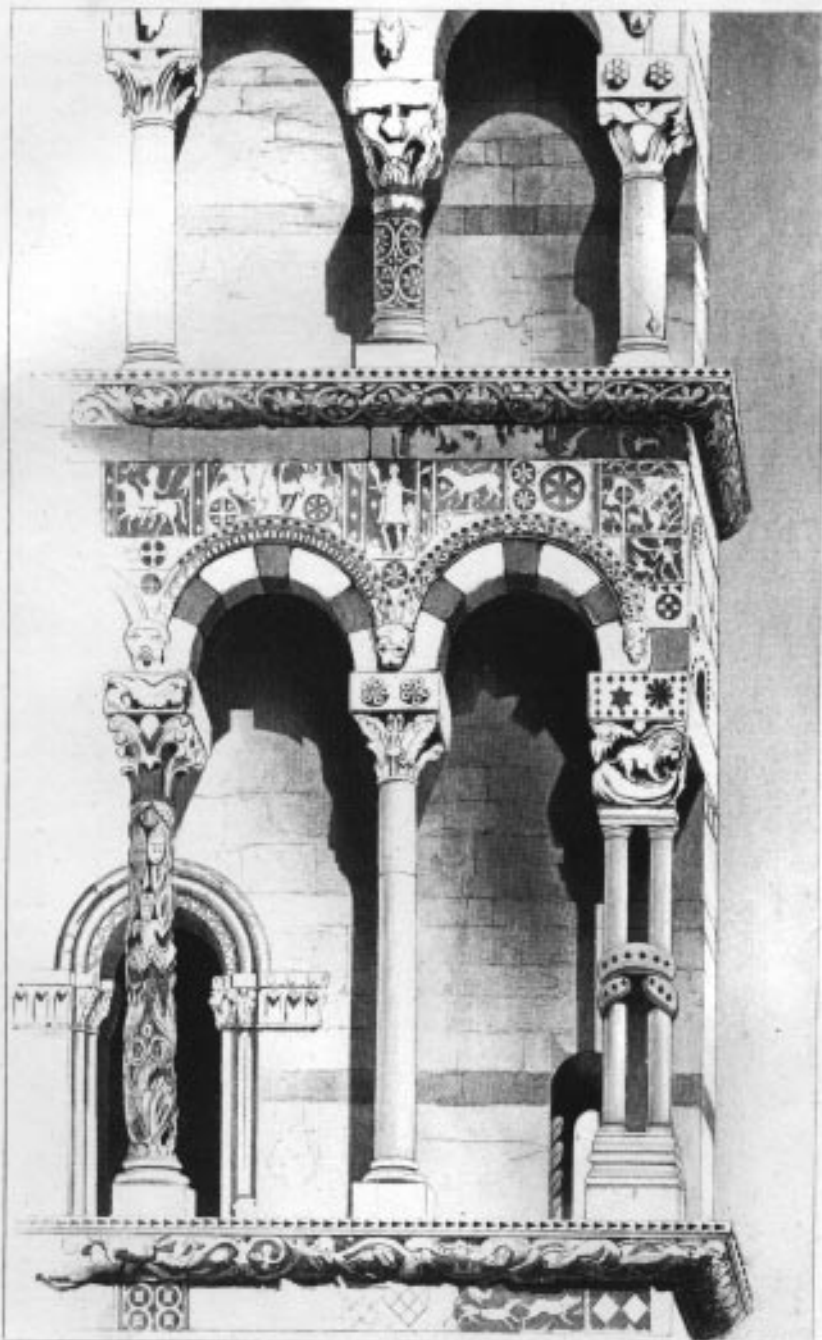
As, however, I made a drawing of another part of the church somewhat more delicately, and as I do not choose that my favourite church should suffer in honour by my coarse work, I have had this, as far as might be, facsimiled by line engraving (Plate 21). It represents the southern side of the lower arcade of the west front, and may convey some idea of the exquisite finish and grace of the whole; but the old plate, in the *Seven Lamps*, gives a nearer view of one of the upper arches, and a more faithful impression of the present aspect of the work, and especially of the seats of the horsemen; the limb straight and well down on the stirrup (the warrior's seat, observe, not the jockey's), with a single pointed spur on the heel. The bit of the lower cornice under this arch I could not see, and therefore had not drawn; it was supplied from beneath another arch. I am afraid, however, the reader has lost the thread of my story while I have been recommending my veracity to him. I was insisting upon the healthy tone of this Lucca work as compared with the old spectral Lombard friezes. The apes of the Pavian church ride without stirrups, but all is in good order and harness here: civilisation had done its work; there was reaping of corn in the Val d'Arno, though rough hunting still upon its hills. But in the North, though a century or two later, we find the forests of the Rhone, and its rude limestone cotes, haunted by phantasms still; (more meat-eating, then, I think).¹ I do not know a more interesting group of cathedrals than that of Lyons, Vienne, and Valence:²

¹ [So in the diary, quoted also in the next note, Ruskin writes of the grotesques of Lyons:—

“Now, in what does all this differ from the cinque cento flat and cold grotesque? Chiefly in its energy and involuntariness. It is like natural wit compared with euphuism. It is the overflowing fancy of children compared with the drivelling of old men. (Consider if the exercise and carnivorous habits of the North did not compel this feverish fancy as opposed to the polenta eating Italian). The learned sculptor ought to be able to do more than grotesque; his laboured nonsense is wrong and mean. But from the northern peasant the vision or ghostly superstition comes well.”]

² [As we have already seen (pp. 180, 133, 226), Ruskin studied these cathedrals on his way home from Venice in the spring of 1850. In the diary, from which he copied out the list of subjects given in the text, he thus describes the niches and panelled decoration of Lyons:—

“The west front is of the time and style of the North gate transept of Rouen. In its general arrangement, placing of niches and filling of gables, it is so totally inferior that I do not wonder it is so often passed with a glance; in fact, at first one would set it down as a very ugly façade in good style. Much more might one say this of the apse; which is marvellously harsh and meagre. As compared either with the apse of the Frari or of St. John and Paul, or with the lovely Romanesque apses of Verona, it is like the pasteboard Gothic of a bazaar, and well shows the superiority of the buttress to the pier, when the former is the least contracted or undercorated. I felt this still more at Bourges, where the perfectly undecorated flying buttresses have exactly the look of shores set to support a ship. But on examining the work of the niches and pedestals I found it by far the most wonderful I have yet seen in northern Gothic. The pedestals of the porches are the same in plan exactly as at Rouen: filled with grotesques in the same way; less able in sculpture but more wild and curious in fancy than Rouen, and many of them much richer in ornamentation, the whole panel filled with a ground of running foliage, like Italian (Can Mastino sarcophagus). Those of the central door are chiefly sacred subject—those of the lateral doors mostly grotesques. I put down from the lateral ones a few of the more striking



Wall-Veil Decoration.
San Michele, Lucca.

more interesting indeed, generally, than beautiful; but there is a row of niches on the west front of Lyons, and a course of panelled decoration about its doors, which is, without exception, the most exquisite piece of Northern Gothic I ever beheld, and with which I know nothing that is even comparable, except the work of the north transept at Rouen, described in the *Seven Lamps*, V., § 23; work of about the same date, and exactly the same plan; quatrefoils filled with grotesques, but somewhat less finished in execution, and somewhat less wild in imagination. I wrote down hastily, and in their own course, the subjects of some of the quatrefoils of Lyons; of which I here give the reader the sequence:—

1. Elephant and castle; less graphic than the St. Zeno one.
2. A huge head walking on two legs, turned backwards, hoofed; the head has a horn behind, with drapery over it, which ends in another head.¹
3. A boar hunt; the boar under a tree, very spirited.
4. A bird putting its head between its legs to bite its own tail, which ends in a head.
5. A dragon with a human head set on the wrong way.
6. St. Peter awaked by the angel in prison; full of spirit, the prison picturesque, with a trefoiled arch, the angel eager, St. Peter startled, and full of motion.
7. St. Peter led out by the angel.
8. The miraculous draught of fishes; fish and all, in the small space.
9. A large leaf, with two snails rampant, coming out of nautilus shells with grotesque faces, and eyes at the ends of their horns.
10. A man with an axe, striking at a dog's head, which comes out of a nautilus shell: the rim of the shell branches into a stem with two large leaves.
11. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian; his body very full of arrows.
12. Beasts coming to ark; Noah opening a kind of wicker cage.
13. Noah building the ark on shores.

subjects. [Here follows the list in the text above, and the diary proceeds on the page facing the list.] The sculptures described opposite are of great importance as giving the Lombard hunting and fantastic spirit with Gothic feeling and style fully developed and yet with a grace in the single figures like Pisan work. It is most necessary to verify their date to be compared with the sculpture on the facade of Bourges, where the feeling has sunk into one of entire repose, and the subjects are altogether sacred. No more phantasms—no more feverish visions; a regular history of the Old Testament in quiet procession round the arches—no more leaping, wrestling, galloping, or sword playing. Gentle figures with falling draperies who rarely do more than lift their hands (except when Cain kills Abel), even under the strongest excitement, and yet all this with a picturesqueness of grouping—a power of grotesque when it is admitted and a redundant variety, as far removed from Byzantine languor on the one hand, as from Lombard fury on the other. The connection between both schools is however traceable here and there, in the interlaced dragons' necks of the tympanum string-course, for instance,—very Byzantine; and the dragons with leaf tails in the sculpture of the Creation.”

The panelled decorations of sacred subjects are described at some length and illustrated by woodcuts in *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 37 and figs. 13, 15.]

¹ [The diary adds: “like Lord Brougham.”]

14. A vine leaf with a dragon's head and tail, the one biting the other.
15. A man riding a goat, catching a flying devil.
16. An eel or muraena growing into a bunch of flowers, which turns into two wings.
17. A spring of hazel, with nuts, thrown all round the quatrefoil; with a squirrel in centre, apparently attached to the tree only by its enormous tail, richly furrowed into hair, and nobly sweeping.
18. Four hares fastened together by the ears, galloping in a circle. Mingled with these grotesques are many *sword* and *buckler* combats, the bucklers being round and conical like a hat; I thought the first I noticed, carried by a man at full gallop on horseback, had been a small umbrella.

This list of subjects may sufficiently illustrate the feverish character of the Northern Energy; but influencing the treatment of the whole there is also the Northern love of what is called the Grotesque, a feeling which I find myself, for the present, quite incapable either of analysing or defining, though we all have a distinct idea attached to the word: I shall try, however, in the next volume.

9. P. 39.—WOODEN CHURCHES OF THE NORTH

I cannot pledge myself to this theory of the origin of the vaulting shaft, but the reader will find some interesting confirmations of it in Dahl's work on the wooden churches of Norway.¹ The inside view of the church of Borgund shows the timber construction of one shaft run up through a crossing architrave and continued into the clerestory; while the church of Urnes is in the exact form of a basilica; but the wall above the arches is formed of planks, with a strong upright above each capital. The passage quoted from Stephen Eddy's *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, at p. 86 of Churton's *Early English Church*, gives us one of the transformations or petrifications of the wooden Saxon churches. "At Ripon he built a new church *of polished stone*, with columns variously ornamented, and porches." Mr. Churton adds: "It was perhaps in bad imitation of the marble buildings he had seen in Italy, that he washed the walls of this original York Minster, and made them 'whiter than snow.' "

10. P. 41.—CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA

The very cause which enabled the Venetians to possess themselves of the body of St. Mark, was the destruction of the church by the caliph for the *sake of its marbles*: the Arabs and Venetians, though bitter enemies, thus building on the same models; these in reverence for the destroyed church, and those with the very pieces of it. In the somewhat prolix account of the matter given in the *Notizie Storiche* (above quoted)² the main points are, that "il Califa

¹ [*Denkmale einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus den frühesten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens*: 3 parts. By J. C. C. Dahl: Dresden, 1837. The inside view of the church of Borgund is Plate 3 in part i.; the views of Urnes, Plates 1 and 3 in part ii.]

² [See p. 419.]

de' Saraceni, per fabbricarsi un Palazzo presso di Babilonia, aveva ordinato che dalle Chiese de' Cristiani si togliessero i più scelti marmi;" and that the Venetians, "videro sotto i loro occhi flagellarsi crudelmente un Cristiano per aver infranto un marmo." I heartily wish that the same kind of punishment were enforced to this day, for the same sin.

11. P. 45.—RENAISSANCE LANDSCAPE

I am glad here to re-assert opinions which it has grieved me to be suspected of having changed. The calmer tone of the second volume of *Modern Painters* as compared with the first, induced, I believe, this suspicion, very justifiably, in the minds of many of its readers. The difference resulted, however, from the simple fact, that the first was written in great haste and indignation, for a special purpose and time;—the second, after I had got engaged, almost unawares, in inquiries which could not be hastily nor indignantly pursued: my opinions remaining then, and remaining now, altogether unchanged on the subject which led me into the discussion.¹ And that no farther doubt of them may be entertained by any who may think them worth questioning, I shall here, once for all, express them in the plainest and fewest words I can. I think that J. M. W. Turner is not only the greatest (professed) landscape painter who ever lived, but that he has in him as much as would have furnished all the rest with such power as they had; and that, if we put Nicolas Poussin, Salvator, and our own Gainsborough out of the group, he would cut up into Claudes, Cuypes, Ruysdaels, and such others, by uncounted bunches. I hope this is plainly and strongly enough stated. And farther, I like his later pictures, up to the year 1845, the best; and believe that those persons who only like his early pictures, do not, in fact, like him at all. They do *not* like that which is essentially *his*.² They like that in which he resembles other men; which he had learned from Louthembourg, Claude, or Wilson: that which is indeed his own, they do not care for. Not that there is not much of his own in his early works; they are all invaluable in their way; but those persons who can find no beauty in his strangest fantasy on the Academy walls, cannot distinguish the peculiarly Turner-esque characters of the earlier pictures. And, therefore, I again state here, that I think his pictures painted between the years 1830 and 1845 his greatest; and that his entire power is best represented by such pictures as the *Temeraire*, the *Sun of Venice* going to Sea, and others, painted exactly at the time when the public and the press were together loudest in abuse of him.

I desire, however, the reader to observe that I said above *professed* landscape painters, among whom, perhaps, I should hardly have put Gainsborough.

¹ [On this subject see Vol. III. pp. xxxiii., 53, 630, 654.]

² [See again Vol. III. p. 654. For this passage—"and believe . . . essentially *his*"—the MS. reads:—

"and that nothing annoys me more in a small way than having it said to me, as it is generally about once a day by some one or other desiring to be courteous to me, that they 'like Turner's early pictures, but really cannot understand his later ones.' For this is all one in my mind as if they said they did not like him at all. In fact they do *not* like *Him*. They like that in which he resembles other men, decent, straightforward, prosy painting. Any-thing of His own they do not care for."]

Turner. Tintoret.
 Masaccio.
 John Bellini.
 Albert Durer.
 Giorgione.
 Paul Veronese.
 Titian.
 Rubens.
 Correggio.
 Orcagna.
 Benozzo Gozzoli.
 Giotto.
 Raffaello.
 Perugino.

The landscape of the great figure painters is often majestic in the highest degree, and Tintoret's¹ especially shows exactly the same power and feeling as Turner's. If with Turner I were to rank the historical painters as landscapists, estimating rather the power they show than the actual value of the landscape they produced, I should class those whose landscapes I have studied in some such order as this at the side of the page; associating with the landscape of Perugino that of Francia and Angelico, and the other severe painters of religious subject. I have put Turner and Tintoret side by side, not knowing which is, in landscape, the greater; I had nearly associated in the same manner the noble names of John Bellini and Albert Durer; but Bellini must be put first, for his profound religious peace, yet not separated from the other, if but that we might remember his kindness to him in Venice: and it is well we should take note of it here, for it furnishes us with the most interesting confirmation of what was said in the text respecting the position of Bellini as the last of the religious painters of Venice. The following passage is quoted in Jackson's "Essay on Wood-engraving,"² from Albert Durer's Diary:—

"I have many good friends among the Italians, who warn me not to eat or drink with their painters, of whom several are my enemies, and copy my picture in the church, and others of mine, wherever they can find them, and yet they blame them, *and say they are not according to ancient art, and therefore not good.* Giovanni Bellini, however, has praised me highly to several gentlemen, and wishes to have something of my doing: he called on me himself, and requested that I would paint a picture for him, for which, he said, he would pay me well. People are all surprised that I should be so much thought of by a person of his reputation: he is very old, but is still the best painter of them all."³

A choice little piece of description this, of the Renaissance painters, side by side with the good old Venetian, who was soon to leave them to their own ways. The Renaissance men are seen in perfection, envying, stealing, and lying, but without wit enough to lie to purpose.

12. P. 58.—ROMANIST MODERN ART

It is of the highest importance, in these days, that Romanism should be deprived of the miserable influence which its pomp and picturesqueness have given it over the weak sentimentalism of the English people; I call it a miserable influence, for of all motives to sympathy with the Church of Rome, this I unhesitatingly class as the basest: I can, in some measure, respect the other feelings which have been the beginnings of apostasy; I can respect the desire for unity which would reclaim the Romanist by love, and the distrust of his own heart which subjects the proselyte to priestly power: I say I can respect

¹ [Cf. *Modern Painters*, vol. i. pt. ii. sec. i. ch. vii. § 12 (Vol. III. p. 181).]

² [*A Treatise on Wood Engraving, Historical and Practical.* [By W. Chatto.] With . . . illustrations by John Jackson, 1839, p. 293.]

³ [This passage (from a letter, not diary, of Dürer) is given more accurately in Ruskin's *Catalogue of the Standard Series* (Oxford), under No. 5. See the same catalogue, under No. 36, for further particulars of Dürer's intercourse with Bellini.]

these feelings, though I cannot pardon unprincipled submission to them, nor enough wonder at the infinite fatuity of the unhappy persons whom they have betrayed:—Fatuity, self-inflicted, and stubborn in resistance to God’s Word and man’s reason!—to talk of the authority of the Church, as if the Church were anything else than the whole company of Christian men, or were ever spoken of in Scripture* as other than a company to be taught and fed, not to teach and feed.¹—Fatuity! to talk of a separation of Church and State, as if a Christian State, and every officer therein, were not necessarily a part of the Church, † and as if any State officer could do his duty without endeavouring to aid and promote religion, or any clerical officer do his duty without seeking for such aid and accepting it:—Fatuity! to seek for the unity of a living body of truth and trust in God, with a dead body of lies and trust in wood, and thence to expect anything else than plague, and consumption by worms undying, for both. Blasphemy as well as fatuity! to ask for any better interpreter of God’s Word than God, or to expect knowledge of it in any other way than the plainly ordered way: if *any* man will DO he shall KNOW.² But of all these fatuities, the basest is the being lured into the Romanist Church by the glitter of it, like larks into a trap by broken glass; to be blown into a change of religion by the whine of an organ-pipe; stitched into a new creed by gold threads on priests’ petticoats; jangled into a change of conscience by the chimes of a belfry. I know nothing in the shape of error so dark as this, no imbecility so absolute, no treachery so contemptible.³ I had hardly believed that it was possible, though vague stories had been told me of the effect on some minds, of mere scarlet and candles, until I came on this passage in Pugin’s *Remarks on Articles in the Rambler*:—

“Those who have lived in want and privation are the best qualified to appreciate the blessing of plenty: thus, to those who have been devout and sincere members of the separated portion of the English Church; who have

* Except in the single passage, “tell it unto the church,”⁴ which is simply the *extension* of what had been commanded before, i.e., tell the fault first “between thee and him,” then taking “with thee one or two more,” then, to all Christian men capable of hearing the cause: if the refuse to hear their common voice, “let him be unto thee as an heathen man and publican:” (But consider how Christ treated both).

† One or two remarks on this subject, some of which I had intended to have inserted here, and others in Appendix 5, I have arranged in more consistent order, and published in a separate pamphlet, “Notes on the Construction of Sheep-folds,” for the convenience of readers interested in other architecture than that of Venetian palaces.

¹ [The MS. has an additional passages here:—

“Allege, if you will, the authority of a flock to make sheep walks, but not the authority of the Church to make any other path to Heaven than the straight one long since made and for ever visible. Fatuity! to talk of the power of the Keys, as if we had not the record of St. Peter trying this same power (within three verses of the record of his supposed reception of it) and being called Satan on the spot.”

See Matthew xvi. 19, 23.]

² [John vii. 17.]

³ [The passage here following—“I had hardly believed . . .” down to “artistical apostacy” (p. 439), is restored from ed. 1. In ed. 2 and later it was omitted, the appendix reading “. . . no treachery so contemptible. It would be so even if Giotto . . .”]

⁴ [Matthew xviii. 17. Compare *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds*, § 4.]

prayed and hoped and loved, through all the poverty of the maimed rites which it has retained—to them does the realisation of all their longing desires appear truly ravishing . . . Oh! then, what delight! what joy unspeakable! when one of the solemn piles is presented to them in all its pristine life and glory!—the stoups are filled to the brim; the rood is raised on high; the screen glows with sacred imagery and rich device; the niches are filled; the altar is replaced, sustained by sculptured shafts, the relics of saints repose beneath, the Body of our Lord is enshrined on its consecrated stone; the lamps of the sanctuary burn bright; the saintly portraiture in the glass windows shine all gloriously; and the albs hang in the oaken ambries, and the cope chests are filled with orphreyed baudekins; and pix and pax, and chrismatory are there, and thurible and cross.”

One might have put this man under a pix, and left him, one should have thought; but he has been brought forward, and partly received, as an example of the effect of ceremonial splendour on the mind of a great architect. It is very necessary, therefore, that all those who have felt sorrow at this should know at once that he is not a great architect, but one of the smallest possible or conceivable architects: and that by his own account and setting forth of himself. Hear him:

“I believe, as regards architecture, few men have been so unfortunate as myself. I have passed my life in thinking of fine things, studying fine things, designing fine things, and realising very poor ones. I have never had the chance of producing a single fine ecclesiastical building, except my own church, where I am both paymaster and architect, but everything else, either for want of adequate funds or injudicious interference and control, or some other contingency, is more or less a failure . . . St. George’s was spoilt by the very instructions laid down by the committee, that it was to hold 3,000 people on the floor at a limited price; in consequence height, proportion, everything, was sacrificed to meet these conditions. Nottingham was spoilt by the style being restricted to lancet,—a period well suited to a Cistercian abbey in a secluded vale, but very unsuitable for the centre of a crowded town . . . Kirkham was spoilt through several hundred pounds being reduced on the original estimate; to effect this, which was a great sum in proportion to the entire cost, the area of the church was contracted, the walls lowered, tower and spire reduced, the thickness of walls diminished and stone arches omitted” (*Remarks, etc.*, by A. Welby Pugin: Dolman, 1850).

Is that so? Phidias can niche himself into the corner of a pediment, and Raffaele expatiate within the circumference of a clay platter, but Pugin is inexpressible in less than a cathedral. Let his ineffableness be assured of this, once for all, that no difficulty or restraint ever happened to a man of real power, but his power was the more manifested in the contending with or conquering it; and that there is no field so small, no cranny so contracted, but that a great spirit can house and manifest itself therein. The thunder that smites the Alp into dust, can gather itself into the width of a golden wire. Whatever greatness there was in you, had it been Buonarroti’s own, you had room enough for it in a single niche; you might have put the whole power of it into two feet cube of Caen stone. St. George’s was not high enough for want of money? But was it want of money that made you put that blunt, overloaded, laborious ogee door into the side of it? Was it for lack of funds that you sunk that tracing of the parapet in its clumsy zigzags?

Was it in parsimony that you buried its paltry pinnacles in that eruption of diseased crockets? or in pecuniary embarrassment that you set up the belfry fools' caps with the mimicry of dormer windows which nobody can reach nor look out of? Not so, but in mere incapability of better things.

I am sorry to have to speak thus of any living architect; and there is much in this man, if he were rightly estimated, which one might both regard and profit by. He has a most sincere love for his profession, a heartily honest enthusiasm for pixes and piscinas; and though he will never design so much as a pix or a piscina thoroughly well, yet better than most of the experimental architects of the day. Employ him by all means, but on small work. Expect no cathedrals of him; but no one at present can design a better finial.¹ That is an exceedingly beautiful one over the western door of St. George's: and there is some spirited impishness and switching of tails in the supporting figures at the impost. Only do not allow his good designing of finials to be employed as an evidence in matters of divinity, nor thence deduce the incompatibility of Protestantism and art.² I should have said all that I have said, above, of artistical apostasy, if Giotto had been now living in Florence, and if art were still doing all that it did once for Rome. But the grossness of the error becomes incomprehensible as well as unpardonable, when we look to what level of degradation the human intellect has sunk at this instant in Italy. So far from Romanism now producing anything great in art, it cannot even preserve what has been given to its keeping. I know no abuses of precious inheritance half so grievous, as the abuse of all that is best in art wherever the Romanist priesthood gets possession of it. It amounts to absolute infatuation. The noblest pieces of mediæval sculpture in North Italy, the two griffins at the central (west) door of the cathedral of Verona,³ were daily permitted to be brought into service, when I was there in the autumn of 1849, by a washer-woman living in the Piazza, who tied her clothes-line to their beaks: and the shafts of St. Mark's at Venice were used by a salesman of common caricatures to fasten his prints upon (Compare Appendix 25); and this in the face of the continually passing priests: while the quantity of noble art annually destroyed in altarpieces by candle-droppings, or perishing by pure brutality of neglect, passes all estimate. I do not know, as I have repeatedly stated,⁴ how far the splendour of architecture, or other art, is compatible with the honesty and usefulness of religious service. The longer I live, the more I incline to severe

¹ [Ruskin in quoting this passage in *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 64, adds the words, "though he will never design even a final perfectly."]

² [For the place of A. W. N. Pugin (1812–1852) in the architectural history of his time, see C. L. Eastlake's *History of the Gothic Revival*, 1872, ch. ix. He was a peculiarly zealous convert to Roman Catholicism; in 1851 he lost his reason, and, after confinement in Bedlam, died in the following year. It was doubtless for this reason that Ruskin withdrew the above passage at the time. "St. George's" is the pro-cathedral in St. George's Fields, Westminster; "Kirkham" is the Roman Catholic church of St. John the Evangelist, Early English style, at Kirkham, near Preston, Lancashire; "Nottingham," the Roman Catholic cathedral in that town; Pugin's own church adjoins the house which he built for himself on the West Cliff at Ramsgate. For Ruskin's reply to a suggestion that he had "plagiarised" from Pugin, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. appendix 3.]

³ [One of these griffins is engraved in Plate 1 in *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. (ch. iii. § 11).]

⁴ [See, e.g., *Seven Lamps*, ch. i., and especially p. 40. n. (Vol. VIII.).]

judgment in this matter, and the less I can trust the sentiments excited by painted glass and coloured tiles. But if there be indeed value in such things, our plain duty is to direct our strength against the superstition which has dishonoured them; since¹ there are thousands to whom they are now merely an offence, owing to their association with absurd or idolatrous ceremonies. I have but this exhortation for all who love them,—not to regulate their creeds by their taste in colours, but to hold calmly to the right, at whatever present cost to their imaginative enjoyment; sure that they will one day find in heavenly truth a brighter charm than in earthly imagery, and striving chiefly to gather stones for the eternal building, whose walls shall be salvation, and whose gates shall be praise.²

13. P. 60.—MR. FERGUSSON'S SYSTEM³

The reader may at first suppose this division of the attributes of buildings into action, voice, and beauty, to be the same division as Mr. Fergusson's, now well known, of their merits, into technic, æsthetic, and phonetic.⁴

But there is no connection between the two systems: mine, indeed, does not profess to be a system, it is a mere arrangement of my subject, for the sake of order and convenience in its treatment; but, as far as it goes, it differs altogether from Mr. Fergusson's, in these two following respects:—

The action of a building, that is to say its standing or consistence, depends on its good construction; and the first part of the foregoing volume has been entirely occupied with the consideration of the constructive merit of buildings: but construction is not their only technical merit. There is as much of technical merit in their expression, or in their beauty, as in their construction. There is more mechanical or technical admirableness in the stroke of the painter who covers them with fresco, than in the dexterity of the mason who cements their stones: there is just as much of what is technical in their beauty, therefore, as in their construction; and, on the other hand, there is often just as much intellect shown in their construction as there is in either their expression or decoration. Now Mr. Fergusson means by his "Phonetic" division, whatever expresses intellect: my constructive division, therefore, includes part of his phonetic; and my expressive and declarative divisions include part of his technical.

Secondly, Mr. Fergusson tries to make the same divisions fit the *subjects* of art, and art itself; and therefore talks of technic, æsthetic, and phonetic, *arts*, (or translating the Greek, of artful arts, sensitive arts, and talkative arts;) but I have nothing to do with any division of the arts, I have to deal only with the merits of *buildings*. As, however, I have been led into reference to Mr. Fergusson's system, I would fain say a word or two to effect Mr. Fergusson's extrication from it. I hope to find in him a noble ally, ready to join

¹ [Ed. 1 omits "since," and after "thousands" adds "who might possibly be benefited by them"; and in the next line omits "absurd or."]

² [Isaiah lx. 18.]

³ [In ed. 1 only. The numbering of the Appendices, however, was not changed; and in ed. 2 and subsequently there here appeared the words "13.—Mr. Fergusson's System. (Cancelled.)"]

⁴ [See Fergusson's *Principles of Beauty in Art* (1849), Introduction, ch. vi., "Classification of the Arts."]

with me in war upon affectation, falsehood, and prejudice, of every kind: I have derived much instruction from his most interesting work, and I hope for much more from its continuation; but he must disentangle himself from his system, or he will be strangled by it: never was anything so ingeniously and hopelessly wrong throughout; the whole of it is founded on a confusion of the instruments of man with his capacities.

Mr. Fergusson would have us take—

“First, man’s muscular action or power.” (Technics.)

“Secondly, those developments of sense *by which he does !!* as much as by his muscles.” (Æsthetics.)

“Lastly, his intellect, or to confine this more correctly to its external action, *his power of speech !!*!” (Phonetics.)

Granting this division of humanity correct, or sufficient, the writer then most curiously supposes that he may arrange the arts as if there were some belonging to each division of man,—never observing that every art must be governed by, and addressed to, one division, and executed by another; executed by the muscular, addressed to the sensitive or intellectual; and that, to be an art at all, it must have in it work of the one, and guidance from the other. If, by any lucky accident, he had been led to arrange the arts, either by their objects, and the things to which they are addressed, or by their means, and the things by which they are executed, he would have discovered his mistake in an instant. As thus:—

The arts are addressed to the,—Muscles !!
Senses !!
Intellect.
or executed by,—Muscles,
Senses,
Intellect;

Indeed it is true that some of the arts are in a sort addressed to the muscles, surgery, for instance; but this is not among Mr. Fergusson’s technic, but his politic, arts! and all the arts may, in a sort, be said to be performed by the senses, as the senses guide both muscles and intellect in their work: but they guide them as they receive information, or are standards of accuracy, but not as in themselves capable of action. Mr. Fergusson is, I believe, the first person who has told us of senses that act or do, they having been hitherto supposed only to sustain or perceive. The weight of error, however, rests just as much in the original division of man, as in the endeavour to fit the arts to it. The slight omission of the soul makes a considerable difference when it begins to influence the final results of the arrangement.

Mr. Fergusson calls morals and religion “Politick arts” (as if religion were an art at all! or as if both were not as necessary to individuals as to societies); and therefore, forming these into a body of arts by themselves, leaves the rest of the arts to do without the soul and the moral feelings as best they may. Hence “expression,” or “phonetics,” is of intellect only (as if men never expressed their *feelings!*); and then, strangest and worst of all, intellect is entirely resolved into talking! There can be no intellect but it must talk, and all talking must be intellectual. I believe people do sometimes talk without understanding; and I think the world would fare ill if they never understood without talking. The intellect is an entirely silent

faculty, and has nothing to do with parts of speech any more than the moral part has. A man may feel and know things without expressing either the feeling or knowledge; and the talking is a *muscular* mode of communicating the workings of the intellect or heart:—muscular, whether it be by tongue or by sign, or by carving or writing, or by expression of feature; so that to divide a man into muscular and talking parts, is to divide him into body in general, and tongue in particular, the endless confusion resulting from which arrangement is only less marvellous in itself, than the resolution with which Mr. Fergusson has worked through it, and in spite of it, up to some very interesting and suggestive truths; although starting with a division of humanity which does not in the least raise it above the brute, for a rattlesnake has his muscular, æsthetic, and talking part as much as man, only he talks with his tail, and says, “I am angry with you, and should like to bite you,” more laconically and effectively than any phonetic biped could, were he so minded. And, in fact, the real difference between the brute and man is not so much that the one has fewer means of expression than the other, as that it has fewer thoughts to express, and that we do not understand its expressions. Animals can talk to one another intelligibly enough when they have anything to say, and their captains have words of command just as clear as ours, and better obeyed. We have indeed, in watching the efforts of an intelligent animal to talk to a human being, a melancholy sense of its dumbness; but the fault is still in its intelligence, more than in its tongue. It has not wit enough to systematise its cries or signs, and form them into language.

But there is no end to the fallacies and confusions of Mr. Fergusson’s arrangement. It is a perfect entanglement of gun-cotton, and explodes into vacuity wherever one holds a light to it. I shall leave him to do so with the rest of it for himself, and should perhaps have left it to his own handling altogether, but for the intemperateness of the spirit with which he has spoken on a subject perhaps of all others demanding gentleness and caution.¹ No man could more earnestly have desired the changes lately introduced into the system of the University of Oxford than I did myself: no man can be more deeply sensible than I of grievous failures in the practical working even of the present system: but I believe that these failures may be almost without exception traced to one source, the want of evangelical, and the excess of rubrical, religion among the tutors; together with such rustinesses and stiffnesses as necessarily attend the continual operation of any intellectual

¹ [In some introductory remarks (p. 14) Fergusson inveighs against the backward-ness of the universities to provide adequate education in science and art:—“Can we hope to rouse the Ephesian sleepers of our universities from their slumber of ages, and convince them that the sixteenth century has passed away, and that we are really living in the nineteenth? Will they ever be taught to believe that what was a respectable education in the days of Wykeham, or Waynflete, or Wolsey, is only a very contemptible one after the invention of the printing-press and steam-engine? etc., etc.” Fergusson’s cry for reform was soon to be taken up both within and without the University of Oxford. In 1849 Stanley and Jowett (the leaders of the reform party) secured the passing of the New Examination Statute providing an intermediate examination, and widening the curriculum. In the following year lord John Russell issued the University Commission, of which Stanley was secretary, and which resulted in larger measures of reforms: see Evelyn Abbott’s *Life and Letters of Jowett*, vol. i. ch. vi., and Morley’s *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i. pp. 496 *seq.*]

machine. The fault is, at any rate, far less in the system than in the imperfection of its administration; and had it been otherwise, the terms in which Mr. Fergusson speaks of it are hardly decorous in one who can but be imperfectly acquainted with its working. They are sufficiently answered by the structure of the essay in which they occur; for if the high powers of mind which its author possesses had been subjected to the discipline of the schools, he could not have wasted his time on the development of a system which their simplest formulæ of logic would have shown him to be untenable.

Mr. Fergusson will, however, find it easier to overthrow his system than to replace it. Every man of science knows the difficulty of arranging a *reasonable* system of classification, in any subject, by any one group of characters; and that the best classifications are, in many of their branches, convenient rather than reasonable: so that, to any person who is really master of his subject, many different modes of classification will occur at different times; one of which he will use rather than another, according to the point which he has to investigate. I need only instance the three arrangements of minerals, by their external characters, and their positive or negative bases, of which the first is the most useful, the second the most natural, the third the most simple; and all in several ways unsatisfactory.

But when the subject becomes one which no single mind can grasp, and which embraces the whole range of human occupation and inquiry, the difficulties become as great, and the methods as various, as the uses to which the classification might be put; and Mr. Fergusson has entirely forgotten to inform us what is the object to which his arrangements are addressed. For observe: there is one kind of arrangement which is based on the rational connection of the sciences or arts with one another; an arrangement which maps them out like the rivers of some great country, and marks the points of their junction, and the direction and force of their united currents; and this without assigning to any one of them a superiority above another, but considering them all as necessary members of the noble unity of human science and effort. There is another kind of classification which contemplates the order of succession in which they might most usefully be presented to a single mind, so that the given mind should obtain the most effective and available knowledge of them all: and, finally, the most usual classification contemplates the powers of mind which they each require for their pursuit, the objects to which they are addressed, or with which they are concerned; and assigns to each of them a rank superior or inferior, according to the nobility of the powers they require, or the grandeur of the subjects they contemplate.

Now, not only would it be necessary to adopt a different classification with respect to each of these great intentions, but it might be found so even to vary the order of the succession of sciences in the case of every several mind to which they were addressed; and that their rank would also vary with the power and specific character of the mind engaged upon them. I once heard a very profound mathematician remonstrate against the impropriety of Wordsworth's receiving a pension from government, on the ground that he was "only a poet." If the study of mathematics had always this narrowing effect upon the sympathies, the science itself would need to be deprived of the rank usually assigned to it; and there could be no doubt that, in the effect it had on the mind of this man, and of such others, it was a very contemptible science indeed. Hence, in estimating the real rank of any art or science, it is necessary for us to conceive it as it would be grasped by minds of every

order. There are some arts and sciences which we underrate, because no one has risen to show us with what majesty they may be invested; and others which we overrate, because we are blinded to their general meanness by the magnificence which some one man has thrown around them: thus, philology, evidently the most contemptible of all the sciences, has been raised to unjust dignity by Johnson.* And the subject is farther complicated by the question of usefulness; for many of the arts and sciences require considerable intellectual power for their pursuit, and yet become contemptible by the slightness of what they accomplish: metaphysics, for instance, exercising intelligence of a high order, yet useless to the mass of mankind, and, to its own masters, dangerous. Yet, as it has become so by the want of the true intelligence which its inquiries need, and by substitution of vain subtleties in its stead, it may in future vindicate for itself a higher rank than a man of common sense usually concedes to it.

Nevertheless, the mere attempt at arrangement must be useful, even where it does nothing more than develop difficulties. Perhaps the greatest fault of men of learning is their so often supposing all other branches of science dependent upon or inferior to their own best beloved branch; and the greatest deficiency of men comparatively unlearned, their want of perception of the connection of the branches with each other. He who holds the tree only by the extremities, can perceive nothing but the separation of its sprays. It must always be desirable to prove to those the equality of rank, to these the closeness of sequence, of what they had falsely supposed subordinate or separate. And, after such candid admission of the co-equal dignity of the truly noble arts and sciences, we may be enabled more justly to estimate the inferiority of those which indeed seem intended for the occupation of inferior powers and narrower capacities. In Appendix 14, following, some suggestions will be found as to the principles on which classification might be based; but the arrangement of all the arts is certainly not a work which could with discretion be attempted in the Appendix to an essay on a branch of one of them.

14. P. 67.—DIVISIONS OF HUMANITY¹

The reader will probably understand this part of the subject better if he will take the trouble briefly to consider the actions of the mind and body of man in the sciences and arts, which give these latter the relations of rank usually attributed to them.

* Not, however, by Johnson's testimony: Vide "Adventurer," No. 39. "Such operations as required neither celerity nor strength,—the low drudgery of collating copies, comparing authorities, digesting dictionaries, or accumulating compilations."

¹ [The first rough draft of this appendix occurs at the end of Ruskin's Venetian diary, 1849–1850. It begins thus:—

"CLASSIFICATION OF ARTS

"I have always felt that in every subject of science, it was very vain to dispute respecting modes of classification; but that many classifications would occur to the minds of those who were familiar with the subject, of which sometimes one, sometimes another, would be adopted according to the object in view; but of which all would present some inconvenience if rigidly adhered to."]

It was above observed (Appendix 13),¹ that the arts were generally ranked according to the nobility of the powers they require, that is to say, the quantity of the being of man which they engaged or addressed. Now their rank is not a very important matter as regards each other, for there are few disputes more futile than that concerning the respective dignity of arts, all of which are necessary and honourable. But it is a very important matter as regards themselves:—very important whether they are practised with the devotion and regarded with the respect which are necessary or due to their perfection. It does not at all matter whether architecture or sculpture be the nobler art; but it matters much whether the thought is bestowed upon buildings, or the feeling is expressed in statues, which makes either deserving of our admiration. It is foolish and insolent to imagine that the art which we ourselves practise is greater than any other; but it is wise to take care that in our own hands it is as noble as we can make it. Let us take some notice, therefore, in what degrees the faculties of man may be engaged in his several arts: we may consider the entire man as made up of body, soul, and intellect (Lord Lindsay, meaning the same thing, says inaccurately—sense, intellect, and spirit—forgetting that there is a moral sense as well as a bodily sense, and a spiritual body as well as a natural body, and so gets into some awkward confusion, though right in the main points).² Then, taking the word soul as a short expression of the moral and responsible part of being, each of these three parts has a passive and active power. The body has senses and muscles; the soul, feeling and resolution; the intellect, understanding and imagination. The scheme may be put into tabular form, thus:—

| | Passive or Receptive Part. | Active or Motive Part. |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Body | Senses. | Muscles. |
| Soul | Feeling. | Resolution. |
| Intellect | Understanding. | Imagination. |

In this scheme I consider memory a part of understanding, and conscience I leave out, as being the voice of God in the heart, inseparable from the system, yet not an essential part of it. The sense of beauty I consider a mixture of the Senses of the body and soul.

Now all these parts of the human system have a reciprocal action on one another, so that the true perfection of any of them is not possible without some relative perfection of the others, and yet any one of the parts of the system may be brought into a morbid development, inconsistent with the perfection of the others. Thus, in a healthy state, the acuteness of the senses quickens that of the feelings, and these latter quicken the understanding, and then all the three quicken the imagination, and then all the four strengthen the resolution; while yet there is a danger, on the other hand, that the encouraged and morbid feeling may weaken or bias the understanding, or that the over shrewd and keen understanding may shorten the imagination, or that the understanding and imagination together may take place of, or undermine, the resolution, as in Hamlet. So in the mere bodily frame there is a delightful perfection of the senses, consistent with

¹ [These words were retained in ed. 2 and subsequently, though Appendix 13 was no longer given.]

² [For another reference to Lord Lindsay's system, see above, p. 306.]

the utmost health of the muscular system, as in the quick sight and hearing of an active savage: another false delicacy of the senses, in the Sybarite, consequent on their over indulgence, until the doubled rose-leaf is painful; and this inconsistent with muscular perfection. Again; there is a perfection of muscular action consistent with exquisite sense, as in that of the fingers of a musician or of a painter, in which the muscles are guided by the slightest feeling of the strings, or of the pencil; another perfection of muscular action inconsistent with acuteness of sense, as in the effort of battle, in which a soldier does not perceive his wounds. So that it is never so much the question, what is the solitary perfection of a given part of the man, as what is its balanced perfection in relation to the whole of him: and again, the perfection of any single power is not merely to be valued by the mere rank of the power itself, but by the harmony which it indicates among the other powers. Thus, for instance, in an archer's glance along his arrow, or a hunter's raising of his rifle, there is a certain perfection of sense and finger which is the result of mere practice, a simply bodily perfection; but there is a farther value in the habit which results from the resolution and intellect necessary to the forming of it: in the hunter's raising of his rifle there is a quietness implying far more than mere practice,—implying courage, and habitual meeting of danger, and presence of mind, and many other such noble characters. So also in a musician's way of laying finger on his instrument, or a painter's handling of his pencil, there are many qualities expressive of the special sensibilities of each, operating on the production of the habit, besides the sensibility operating at the moment of action. So that there are three distinct stages of merit in what is commonly called mere bodily dexterity: the first, the dexterity given by practice, called command of tools or of weapons; the second stage, the dexterity or grace given by character, as the gentleness of hand proceeding from modesty or tenderness of spirit, and the steadiness of it resulting from habitual patience coupled with decision, and the thousand other characters partially discernible, even in a man's writing, much more in his general handiwork; and, thirdly, there is the perfection of action produced by the operation of *present* strength, feeling, or intelligence, or instruments thus *previously* perfected, as the handling of a great painter is rendered more beautiful by his immediate care and feeling and love of his subject, or knowledge of it, and as physical strength is increased by strength of will and greatness of heart. Imagine, for instance, the difference in manner of fighting, and in actual muscular strength and endurance, between a common soldier, and a man in the circumstances of the Horatii, or of the temper of Leonidas.¹

Mere physical skill, therefore, the mere perfection and power of the body as an instrument, is manifested in three stages:

- First, Bodily power by practice;
- Secondly, Bodily power by moral habit;
- Thirdly, Bodily power by immediate energy;

and the arts will be greater or less, *cæteris paribus*, according to the degrees of these dexterities which they admit. A smith's work at his anvil admits little but the first; fencing, shooting, and riding admit something of the

¹ [Compare *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 31.]

second; while the fine arts admit (merely through the channel of the bodily dexterities) an expression almost of the whole man.

Nevertheless, though the higher arts *admit* this higher bodily perfection, they do not all *require* it in equal degrees, but can dispense with it more and more in proportion to their dignity. The arts whose chief element is bodily dexterity, may be classed together as arts of the third order, of which the highest will be those which admit most of the power of moral habit and energy, such as riding and the management of weapons; and the rest may be thrown together under the general title of handicrafts, of which it does not much matter which are the most honourable, but rather, which are the most necessary and least injurious to health, which it is not our present business to examine. Men engaged in the practice of these are called artisans, as opposed to artists, who are concerned with the fine arts.

The next step in elevation of art is the addition of the intelligences which have no connection with bodily dexterity; as, for instance, in hunting, the knowledge of the habits of animals and their places of abode; in architecture, of mathematics; in painting, of harmonies of colour; in music, of those of sound; all this pure science being joined with readiness of expedient in applying it, and with shrewdness in apprehension of difficulties, either present or probable.

It will often happen that intelligence of this kind is possessed without bodily dexterity, or the need of it; one man directing and another executing, as for the most part in architecture, war, and seamanship. And it is to be observed, also, that in proportion to the dignity of the art, the bodily dexterities needed even in its subordinate agents become less important, and are more and more replaced by intelligence; as in the steering of a ship, the bodily dexterity required is less than in shooting or fencing, but the intelligence far greater: and so in war, the mere swordsmanship and marksmanship of the troops are of small importance in comparison with their disposition, and right choice of the moment of action. So that arts of this second order must be estimated, not by the quantity of bodily dexterity they require, but by the quantity and dignity of the knowledge needed in their practice, and by the degree of subtlety needed in bringing such knowledge into play. War certainly stands first in the general mind, not only as the greatest of all arts. It is which I have called of the second order, but as the greatest of all arts. It is not, however, easy to distinguish the respect paid to the Power, from that rendered to the Art of the soldier; the honour of victory being more dependent, in the vulgar mind, on its results, than its difficulties. I believe, however, that taking into consideration the greatness of the anxieties under which this art must be practised, the multitude of circumstances to be known and regarded in it, and the subtleties both of apprehension and stratagem constantly demanded by it, as well as the multiplicity of disturbing accidents and doubtful contingencies against which it must make provision on the instant, it must indeed rank as far the first of the arts of the second order; and next to this great art of killing must come the art of healing, medicine being much like war in its stratagems and watchings against its dark and subtle death-enemy.

Then the arts of the first order will be those in which the Imaginative part of the intellect and the Sensitive part of the soul are joined; as poetry, architecture, and painting; these forming a kind of cross, in their part of the scheme of the human being, with those of the second order, which wed the

Intelligent part of the intellect and Resolute part of the soul. But the reader must feel more and more, at every step, the impossibility of classing the arts themselves, independently of the men by whom they are practised; and how an art, low in itself, may be made noble by the quantity of human strength and being which a great man will pour into it; and an art, great in itself, be made mean by the meanness of the mind occupied in it. I do not intend, when I call painting an art of the first, and war an art of the second, order, to class Dutch landscape painters with good soldiers; but I mean, that if from such a man as Napoleon we were to take away the honour of all that he had done in law and civil government, and to give him the reputation of his soldiership only, his name would be less, if justly weighed, than that of Buonarroti, himself a good soldier, also, when need was.¹ But I will not endeavour to pursue the inquiry, for I believe that of all the arts of the first order it would be found that all that a man has, or is, or can be, he can fully express in them, and give to any of them, and find it not enough.

15. p. 71.—INSTINCTIVE JUDGMENTS

The same rapid judgment which I wish to enable the reader to form of architecture, may in some sort also be formed of painting, owing to the close connection between execution and expression in the latter; as between structure and expression in the former. We ought to be able to tell good painting by a side glance as we pass along a gallery; and, until we can do so, we are not fit to pronounce judgment at all: not that I class this easily visible excellence of painting with the great expressional qualities which time and watchfulness only unfold. I have again and again insisted on the supremacy of these last, and shall always continue to do so. But I perceive a tendency among some of the more thoughtful critics of the day to forget that the business of a painter is *to paint*, and so altogether to despise those men, Veronese and Rubens for instance, who were painters, par excellence, and in whom the expressional qualities are subordinate.² Now it is well, when we have strong moral or poetical feeling manifested in painting, to mark this as the best part of the work; but it is not well to consider as a thing of small account, the painter's language in which that feeling is conveyed; for if that language be not good and lovely, the man may indeed be a just moralist or a great poet, but he is not a *painter*, and it was wrong of him to paint. He had much better have put his morality into sermons, and his poetry into verse, than into a language of which he was not master. And this mastery of the language is that of which we should be cognisant by a glance of the eye; and if that be not found, it is wasted time to look farther; the man has mistaken his vocation, and his expression of himself will be cramped by his awkward efforts to do what he was not fit to do. On the other hand, if the man be a painter indeed, and have the gift of colours and lines, what is in him will

¹ [It will be remembered that Michael Angelo was in 1529 appointed Inspector of Fortifications at Florence. So, too, at a later date, he was entrusted with the preparation of schemes for the defence of Rome. There is an interesting account by the master himself of his services in war in the recently discovered dialogues by Francisco d'Ollanda: see Sir Charles Holroyd's *Michael Angelo*, 1903, p. 308.]

² [There may be remarked among critics of a later day a tendency to ignore this side of Ruskin's teaching (though it is enforced throughout his works), and to represent him as attaching importance only to expressional qualities in painting].

come from his hand freely and faithfully; and the language itself is so difficult and so vast, that the mere possession of it argues the man is great, and that his works are worth reading. So that I have never yet seen the case in which this true artistical excellence, visible by the eye-glance, was not the index of some true expressional worth in the work. Neither have I ever seen a good expressional work without high artistical merit: and that this is ever denied is only owing to the narrow view which men are apt to take both of expression and of art; a narrowness consequent on their own especial practice and habits of thought. A man long trained to love the monk's visions of Fra Angelico, turns in proud and ineffable disgust from the first work of Rubens which he encounters on his return across the Alps. But is he right in his indignation? He has forgotten, that while Angelico prayed and wept in his olive shade, there was different work doing in the dank fields of Flanders;—wild seas to be banked out; endless canals to be dug, and boundless marshes to be drained; hard ploughing and harrowing of the frosty clay; careful breeding of stout horses and fat cattle; close setting of brick walls against cold winds and snow; much hardening of hands and gross stoutening of bodies in all this; gross jovialities of harvest homes and Christmas feasts which were to be the reward of it; rough affections, and sluggish imaginations; fleshy, substantial, iron-shod humanities, but humanities still; humanities which God had His eye upon, and which won, perhaps, here and there, as much favour in His sight as the wasted aspects of the whispering monks of Florence (Heaven forbid it should not be so, since the most of us cannot be monks, but must be ploughmen and reapers still). And are we to suppose there is no nobility in Rubens' masculine and universal sympathy with all this, and with his large human rendering of it, Gentleman though he was, by birth, and feeling, and education, and place; and, when he chose, lordly in conception also? He had his faults, perhaps great and lamentable faults, though more those of his time and his country than his own; he has neither cloister breeding nor boudoir breeding, and is very unfit to paint either in missals or annuals; but he has an open sky and wide-world breeding in him, that we may not be offended with, fit alike for king's court, knight's camp, or peasant's cottage. On the other hand, a man trained here in England, in our Sir Joshua school, will not and cannot allow that there is any art at all in the technical work of Angelico. But he is just as wrong as the other. Fra Angelico is as true a master of the art necessary to his purposes, as Rubens was of that necessary for his. We have been taught in England to think there can be no virtue but in a loaded brush and rapid hand; but if we can shake our common sense free of such teaching, we shall understand that there is art also in the delicate point and in the hand which trembles as it moves; not because it is more liable to err, but because there is more danger in its error, and more at stake upon its precision. The art of Angelico, both as a colourist and a draughtsman, is consummate; so perfect and beautiful, that his work may be recognised at any distance by the rainbow-play and brilliancy of it. However closely it may be surrounded by other works of the same school, glowing with enamel and gold, Angelico's may be told from them at a glance, like so many huge pieces of opal lying among common marbles. So again with Giotto; the Arena chapel is not only the most perfect expressional work, it is the prettiest piece of wall decoration and fair colour, in North Italy.¹

¹ [See above, ch. xxi. § 5, p. 285.]

Now there is a correspondence of the same kind between the technical and expressional parts of architecture;—not a true or entire correspondence, so that when the expression is best, the building must be also best; but so much of correspondence as that good building is necessary to good expression, comes before it, and is to be primarily looked for: and the more, because the manner of building is capable of being determinately estimated and classed; but the expressional character not so: we can at once determine the true value of technical qualities, we can only approximate to the value of expressional qualities: and besides this, the looking for the technical qualities first will enable us to cast a large quantity of rubbish aside at once, and so to narrow the difficult field of inquiry into expression: we shall get rid of Chinese pagodas and Indian temples, and Renaissance Palladianisms, and Alhambra stucco and filigree, in one great rubbish heap; and shall not need to trouble ourselves about their expression, or anything else concerning them. Then taking the buildings which have been rightly put together, and which show common sense in their structure, we may look for their farther and higher excellencies; but on those which are absurd in their first steps we need waste no time.

16. P. 99.—STRENGTH OF SHAFTS

[Appendix 16 in ed. 1 was afterwards, and is here, printed as a footnote to ch. vii. § 1, see p. 99 above.]

17. PP. 106, 183.—ANSWER TO MR. GARBETT¹

Some three months ago, and long after the writing of this passage, I met accidentally with Mr. Garbett's elementary Treatise on Design. (Weale, 1850.)² If I had cared about the reputation of originality, I should have been annoyed—and was so at first, on finding Mr. Garbett's illustrations of the subject exactly the same as mine, even to the choice of the elephant's foot for the parallel of the Doric pillar: I even thought of omitting, or re-writing, great part of the chapter, but determined at last to let it stand. I am striving to speak plain truth on many simple and trite subjects, and I hope, therefore, that much of what I say has been said before, and am quite willing to give up all claim to originality in any reasoning or assertion whatsoever, if any one cares to dispute it. I desire the reader to accept what I say, not as mine, but as the truth, which may be all the world's, if they look for it. If I remember rightly, Mr. Frank Howard promised at some discussion respecting the *Seven Lamps*, reported in the *Builder*, to pluck all my borrowed feathers off me; but I did not see the end of the discussion, and do not know to this day how many feathers I have left: at all events the elephant's foot must belong to Mr. Garbett, though, strictly speaking, neither he nor I can

¹ [The first part of this appendix, down to p. 454 (see note 1), appeared in ed. 1 only.]

² [*Elementary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture as deducible from Nature and exemplified in the Works of the Greek and Gothic Architects*, by Edward Lacey Garbett, pp. 264. The parallel between the elephant's foot and the Doric pillar is illustrated by a woodcut at p. 116.]

be quite justified in using it, for an elephant in reality stands on tiptoe; and this is by no means the expression of a Doric shaft. As, however, I have been obliged to speak of this treatise of Mr. Garbett's, and desire also to recommend it as of much interest and utility in its statements of fact, it is impossible for me to pass altogether without notice, as if unanswerable, several passages in which the writer has objected to views stated in the *Seven Lamps*. I should at any rate have noticed the passage quoted above, (Chap. 30th.) which runs counter to the spirit of all I have ever written, though without referring to me; but the references to the *Seven Lamps* I should not have answered, unless I had desired, generally, to recommend the book, and partly also, because they may serve as examples of the kind of animadversion which the *Seven Lamps* had to sustain from architects, very generally; which examples being once answered, there will be little occasion for my referring in future to other criticisms of the kind.

The first reference to the *Seven Lamps* is in the second page, where Mr. Garbett asks a question, "Why are not convenience and stability enough to constitute a fine building?"—which I should have answered shortly by asking another, "Why we have been made men, and not bees nor termites:" but Mr. Garbett has given a very pretty, though partial, answer to it himself, in his 4th to 9th pages—an answer which I heartily beg the reader to consider. But, in page 12, it is made a grave charge against me, that I use the words beauty and ornament interchangeably. I do so, and ever shall; and so, I believe, one day, will Mr. Garbett himself; but not while he continues to head his pages thus:—"Beauty not dependent on ornament, *or superfluous* features." What right has he to assume that ornament, rightly so called, ever was, or can be, superfluous. I have said above, and repeatedly in other places, that the most beautiful things are the most useless; I never said superfluous. I said useless in the well-understood and usual sense, as meaning, inapplicable to the service of the body. Thus I called peacocks and lilies useless; meaning, that roast peacock was unwholesome (taking Juvenal's word for it),¹ and that dried lilies made bad hay: but I do not think peacocks superfluous birds, nor that the world could get on well without its lilies. Or, to look closer, I suppose the peacock's blue eyes to be very useless to him; not dangerous indeed, as to their first master,² but of small service, yet I do not think there is a superfluous eye in all his tail; and for lilies, though the great King of Israel was not "arrayed" like one of them,³ can Mr. Garbett tell us which are their superfluous leaves? Is there no Diogenes among lilies? none to be found content to drink dew, but out of silver? The fact is, I never met with the architect yet who did not think ornament meant a thing to be bought in a shop, and pinned on, or left off, at architectural toilets, as the fancy seized them, thinking little more than many women do of the other kind of ornament—the only true kind—St. Peter's kind,—“Not that outward adorning, but the inner—of the heart.”⁴ I do not mean that architects cannot conceive this better ornament, but they do not understand that it is the *only* ornament; that *all*

¹ ["Pœna tamen præsens, cum tu deponis amictus Turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas," i. 143.]

² [See Ovid, *Metam.* i. 720. Hermes, it will be remembered, killed Argus, and Juno put his hundred eyes into the peacock's tail.]

³ [Matthew vi. 29.]

⁴ [1 Peter iii. 3.]

architectural ornament is this, and nothing but this; that a noble building never has any extraneous or superfluous ornament; that all its parts are necessary to its loveliness, and that no single atom of them could be removed without harm to its life. You do not build a temple and then dress it.* You create it in its loveliness, and leave it, as her Maker left Eve. Not unadorned, I believe, but so well adorned as to need no feather crowns. And I use the words ornament and beauty interchangeably, in order that architects may understand this: I assume that their building is to be a perfect creature, capable of nothing less than it has, and needing nothing more. It may, indeed, receive additional decoration afterwards, exactly as a woman may gracefully put a bracelet on her arm, or set a flower in her hair: but that additional decoration is *not* the *architecture*. It is of curtains, pictures, statues, things which may be taken away from the building, and not hurt it. What has the architect to do with these? He has only to do with what is part of the building itself, that is to say, its own inherent beauty. And because Mr. Garbett does not understand or acknowledge this, he is led on from error to error; for we next find him endeavouring to define beauty as distinct from ornament, and saying that “Positive beauty may be produced by a studious collation of whatever will display design, order, and congruity” (p. 14). Is that so? There is a highly studious collation of whatever will display design, order, and congruity, in a skull, is there not?—yet small beauty. The nose is a decorative feature,—yet slightly necessary to beauty, it seems to me; now, at least, for I once thought I must be wrong in considering a skull disagreeable. I gave it fair trial; put one on my bedroom chimney-piece, and looked at it by sunrise every morning, and by moonlight every night, and by all the best lights I could think of, for a month, in vain. I found it as ugly at last as I did at first.¹ So, also, the hair is a decoration, and its natural curl is of little use; but can Mr. Garbett conceive a bald beauty? or does he prefer a wig, because that is a “studious collation” of whatever will produce design, order, and congruity? So the flush of the cheek is a decoration,—God’s painting of the temple of his spirit,²—and the redness of the lip; and yet poor Viola thought it beauty truly blent;³ and I hold with her.

I have answered enough to this count.

The second point questioned is my assertion, “Ornament cannot be overcharged if it is good, and is always overcharged when it is bad.”⁴ To which Mr. Garbett objects in these terms: “I must contend, on the contrary, that the very best ornament may be overcharged by being misplaced” [p. 17].

A short sentence, with two mistakes in it.

First. Mr. Garbett cannot get rid of his unfortunate notion that ornament is a thing to be manufactured separately, and fastened on. He supposes that an ornament may be called good in itself, in the stonemason’s yard or in the ironmonger’s shop. Once for all, let him put this idea out of his head. We

* We have done so—theoretically: just as one would reason on the human form from the bones outwards: but the Architect of the human form frames all at once—bone and flesh.

¹ [See *Præterita*, iii. ch. ii. § 25, and compare Vol. II. p. 57 n.]

² [1 Corinthians vi. 19.]

³ [*Twelfth Night*, i. 5; compare *Modern Painters*, vol. ii., Vol. IV. p. 131 n.]

⁴ [*Seven Lamps*, ch. i. § 15, Vol. VIII. p. 52.]

may say of a thing, considered separately, that it is a pretty thing; but before we can say it is a good ornament, we must know what it is to adorn, and how. As, for instance, a ring of gold is a pretty thing: it is a good ornament on a woman's finger; not a good ornament hung through her under lip. A hollyhock, seven feet high, would be a good ornament for a cottage-garden; not a good ornament for a lady's head-dress. Might not Mr. Garbett have seen this without my showing? and that, therefore, when I said "good" ornament, I said "well-placed" ornament, in one word; and that, also, when Mr. Garbett says "it may be overcharged by being misplaced," he merely says it may be overcharged by being *bad*.

Secondly. But, granted that ornament *were* independent of its position, and might be pronounced good in a separate form, as books are good, or men are good. Suppose I had written to a student in Oxford, "You cannot have too many books, if they be good books;" and he had answered me, "Yes, for if I have many, I have no place to put them in but the coalcellar." Would that in anywise affect the general principle that he could not have too many books?

Or suppose he had written, "I must not have too many, they confuse my head." I should have written back to him: "Don't buy books to put in the coal-hole, nor read them if they confuse your head; you cannot have too many, if they be good: but if you are too lazy to take care of them, or too dull to profit by them, you are better without them."

Exactly in the same tone, I repeat to Mr. Garbett, "You cannot have too much ornament, if it be good: but if you are too indolent to arrange it, or too dull to take advantage of it, assuredly you are better without it."

The other points bearing on this question have already been stated in the close of the 21st chapter.

The third reference I have to answer, is to my repeated assertion, that the evidence of manual labour is one of the chief sources of value in ornament, (*Seven Lamps*, p. 49, *Modern Painters*, paragraph 1, chap. III.)¹ to which objection is made in these terms [p. 162 n.]: "We must here warn the reader against a remarkable error of Ruskin. The value of ornaments in architecture depends *not in the slightest degree* on the *manual labour* they contain. If it did, the finest ornaments ever executed would be the stone chains that hang before certain Indian rock-temples." Is that so? Hear a parallel argument. "The value of the Cornish mines depends not in the slightest degree on the quantity of copper they contain. If it did, the most valuable things ever produced would be copper saucepans." It is hardly worth my while to answer this; but, lest any of my readers should be confused by the objection, and as I hold the fact to be of great importance, I may re-state it for them with some explanation.

Observe, then, the appearance of labour, that is to say, the evidence of the past industry of man, is always, in the abstract, intensely delightful: man being meant to labour, it is delightful to see that he *has* laboured, and to read the record of his active and worthy existence.²

The evidence of labour becomes painful only when it is a *sign of Evil*

¹ [The references in this edition are Vol. VIII. p. 82, Vol. III. p. 93.]

² [The following passage (with an introductory "But"), from "The evidence of labour" down to "crooked limbs," was printed as a note to a later passage in this appendix in the second and later editions: see below, p. 456.]

greater, as Evil, than the labour is great, as Good. As, for instance, if a man has laboured for an hour at what might have been done by another man in a moment, this evidence of his labour is also evidence of his weakness; and this weakness is greater in rank of evil, than his industry is great in rank of good.

Again, if a man have laboured at what was not worth accomplishing, the signs of his labour are the signs of his folly, and his folly dishonours his industry; we had rather he had been a wise man in rest, than a fool in labour.

Again, if a man have laboured without accomplishing anything, the signs of his labour are the signs of his disappointment; and we have more sorrow in sympathy with his failure, than pleasure in sympathy with his work.

Now, therefore, in ornament, whenever labour replaces what was better than labour, that is to say, skill and thought; whenever it substitutes itself for these, or *negatives these by its existence*, then it is positive evil. Copper is an evil when it alloys gold, or poisons food: not an evil, as copper; good in the form of pence, seriously objectionable when it occupies the room of guineas. Let Danaë cast it out of her lap, when the gold comes from heaven; but let the poor man gather it up carefully from the earth.

Farther, the evidence of labour is not only good when added to other good, but the utter absence of it destroys good in human work. It is only for God to create without toil; that which man can create without toil is worthless: machine ornaments are no ornaments at all. Consider this carefully, reader: I could illustrate it for you endlessly; but you feel it yourself every hour of your existence. And if you do not know that you feel it, take up, for a little time, the trade which of all manual trades has been most honoured: be for once a carpenter. Make for yourself a table or a chair, and see if ever you thought any table or chair so delightful, and what strange beauty there will be in their crooked limbs.

I have not noticed any other animadversions on the *Seven Lamps* in Mr. Garbett's volume; but if there be more, I must now leave it to his own consideration, whether he may not, as in the above instances, have made them incautiously: I may,¹ perhaps, also be permitted to request architects, who may happen to glance at the preceding pages, not immediately to condemn what may appear to them false in general principle. I must often be found deficient in technical knowledge;² I may often err in my statements respecting matters of practice or of special law: but I do not write thoughtlessly respecting principles; and my statements of these will generally be found worth reconnoitring before attacking. Architects, no doubt, fancy they have strong grounds for supposing me wrong when they seek to invalidate my assertions. Let me assure them, at least, that I mean to be their friend, although they may not immediately recognise me as such. If I could obtain the public ear, and the principles I have advocated were carried into general practice, porphyry and serpentine would be given to them instead of limestone and brick; instead of tavern and shop-fronts they would have to build goodly

¹ [From this point the second and later editions contain Appendix 17, the words "also" after "I may" and "other" before "architects" being omitted, and the following introductory words being supplied: "I have withdrawn part of these Appendices, which contained merely answers to objections brought forward against my statements; not wishing to encumber the general treatise with accidental inquiry or controversy; but, in doing so, I may perhaps . . ."]

² [The words "I must often . . . technical knowledge" were added in ed. 2.]

churches and noble dwelling-houses; and for every stunted Grecism and stucco Romanism, into which they are now forced to shape their palsied thoughts, and to whose crumbling plagiarisms they must trust their doubtful fame, they would be asked to raise whole streets of bold, and rich, and living architecture, with the certainty in their hearts of doing what was honourable to themselves, and good for all men.

Before I altogether leave the question of the influence of labour on architectural effect, the reader may expect from me a word or two respecting the subject which is every year becoming of greater interest—the applicability, namely, of glass and iron to architecture in general, as in some sort exemplified by the Crystal Palace.¹

It is thought by many that we shall forthwith have great part of our architecture in glass and iron, and that new forms of beauty will result from the studied employment of these materials.

It may be told in few words how far this is possible; how far eternally impossible.

There are two means of delight in all productions of art—colour and form.

The most vivid conditions of colour attainable by human art are those of works in glass and enamel, but not the most perfect. The best and noblest colouring possible to art is that attained by the touch of the human hand on an opaque surface, upon which it can command any tint required, without subjection to alteration by fire or other mechanical means. No colour is so noble as the colour of a good painting on canvas or gesso.

This kind of colour being, however, impossible, for the most part, in architecture, the next best is the scientific disposition of the natural colours of stones, which are far nobler than any abstract hues producible by human art.

The delight which we receive from glass painting is one altogether inferior, and in which we should degrade ourselves by over indulgence. Nevertheless, it is possible that we may raise some palaces like Aladdin's with coloured glass for jewels, which shall be new in the annals of human splendour, and good in their places; but not if they superseded nobler lustre.²

Now, colour is producible either on opaque or in transparent bodies: but form is only expressible, in its perfection, on opaque bodies, without lustre.

This law is imperative, universal, irrevocable. No perfect or refined form can be expressed except in opaque and lustreless matter. You cannot see the form of a jewel, nor, in any perfection, even of a cameo or bronze. You cannot perfectly see the form of a humming-bird, on account of its burnishing; but you can see the form of a swan perfectly. No noble work in form can ever, therefore, be produced in transparent or lustrous glass or enamel. All noble architecture depends for its majesty on its form: therefore you can never have any noble architecture in transparent or lustrous glass or enamel. Iron is, however, opaque; and both it and opaque enamel may, perhaps, be rendered quite lustreless; and, therefore, fit to receive noble form.

Let this be thoroughly done, and both the iron and enamel made fine in paste or grain, and you may have an architecture as noble as cast or

¹ [Three years later when the Crystal Palace was re-opened at Sydenham, Ruskin brought out a pamphlet—*The Opening of the Crystal Palace Considered in some of its Relations to the Progress of Art*; in this he further develops some of the points here noted: see Vol. XII.]

² [Ed. 1 reads “edifices” for “lustre.”]

struck architecture ever can be: as noble, therefore, as coins can be, or common cast bronzes, and such other multiplicable things;*—eternally separated from all good and great things by a gulph which not all the tubular bridges¹ nor engineering of ten thousand nineteenth centuries cast into one great bronze-foreheaded century, will ever overpass one inch of. All art which is worth its room in this world, all art which is not a piece of blundering refuse, occupying the foot or two of earth which, if unencumbered by it, would have grown corn or violets, or some better thing, is *art which proceeds from an individual mind, working through instruments which assist, but do not supersede, the muscular action of the human hand, upon the materials which most tenderly receive, and most securely retain, the impressions of such human labour.*

And the value of every work of art is exactly in the ratio of the quantity of humanity which has been put into it, and legibly expressed upon it for ever:²—

First, of thought and moral purpose;

Secondly, of technical skill;

Thirdly, of bodily industry.

The quantity of bodily industry which that Crystal Palace expresses is very great. So far it is good.³

The quantity of thought it expresses is, I suppose, a single and very admirable thought of Sir Joseph Paxton's,⁴ probably not a bit brighter than thousands of thoughts which pass through his active and intelligent brain every hour—that it might be possible to build a greenhouse larger than ever greenhouse was built before. This thought, and some very ordinary algebra, are as much as all that glass can represent of human intellect. “But one poor halfpennyworth of bread to all this intolerable deal of sack.” Alas!

“The earth hath bubbles as the water hath:

And this is of them.”⁵

* Of course mere multiplicity, as of an engraving, does not diminish the intrinsic value of the work; and if the casts of sculpture could be as sharp as sculpture itself, they would hold to it the relation of value which engravings hold to paintings. And, if we choose to have our churches all alike, we might cast them all in bronze—we might actually coin churches, and have mints of cathedrals. It would be worthy of the spirit of the century to put milled edge for mouldings, and have a popular currency of religious subjects; a new cast of nativities every Christmas. I have not heard this contemplated, however, and I speak, therefore, only of the results which I believe are contemplated, as attainable by mere mechanical applications of glass and iron.

¹ [An allusion to Robert Stephenson's tubular “Britannia Bridge” over the Menai Straits, 1845.]

² [With this statement compare *Modern Painters*, vol. i. pt. i. sec. i. ch. iii. § 2.]

³ [Here, in ed. 2 and subsequently was a footnote containing the portion of this appendix indicated above: see note 2, p. 453.]

⁴ [In ed. 1 “Mr. Paxton.” He was superintendent of the gardens at Chatsworth from 1826, and became an intimate friend of the seventh Duke of Devonshire. He was knighted in 1851, in connection with the Industrial Exhibition, of which he designed the plan; the building (the Crystal Palace) was re-erected at Sydenham 1853–1854. He died at the age of 64 in 1865.]

⁵ [1 *Henry IV.*, Act ii. sc. 4; *Macbeth*, i. 3.]

18. P. 140.—EARLY ENGLISH CAPITALS

The depth of the cutting in some of the early English capitals is, indeed, part of a general system of attempts at exaggerated force of effect, like the “*black touches*” of second-rate draughtsmen, which I have noticed¹ as characteristic of nearly all Northern work, associated with the love of the grotesque; but the main section of the capital is indeed a dripstone rolled round as above described; and dripstone sections are continually found in Northern work, where not only they cannot increase force of effect, but are entirely invisible except on close examination; as, for instance, under the uppermost range of stones of the foundation of Whitehall, or under the slope of the restored base of All Souls College, Oxford, under the level of the eye. I much doubt if any of the Fellows be aware of its existence.

Many readers will be surprised and displeased by the disparagement of the early English capital. That capital has, indeed, one character of considerable value; namely, the boldness with which it stops the mouldings which fall upon it, and severs them from the shaft, contrasting itself with the multiplicity of their vertical lines. Sparingly used, or seldom seen, it is thus, in its place, not unpleasing; and we English love it from association, it being always found in connection with our purest and loveliest Gothic arches, and never in multitudes large enough to satiate the eye with its form. The reader who sits in the Temple church every Sunday, and sees no architecture during the week but that of Chancery Lane, may most justifiably quarrel with me for what I have said of it. But if every house in Fleet Street or Chancery Lane were Gothic, and all had early English capitals, I would answer for his making peace with me in a fortnight.

19. P. 175.—TOMBS AT ST. ANASTASIA

Whose they are is of little consequence to the reader or to me, and I have taken no pains to discover; their value being not in any evidence they bear respecting dates, but in their intrinsic merit as examples of composition. Two of them are within the gate, one on the top of it, and this latter is on the whole the best, though all are beautiful; uniting the intense Northern energy in their figure sculpture with the most serene classical restraint in their outlines, and unaffected, but masculine simplicity of construction.

I have not put letters to the diagram of the lateral arch at page 176, in order not to interfere with the clearness of the curves, but I shall always express the same points by the same letters, whenever I have to give measures of arches of this simple kind, so that the reader need never have the diagrams lettered at all. The base or span of the centre arch will always be *a b*; its vertex will always be *V*; the points of the cusps will be *c c*; *p p* will be the bases of perpendiculars let fall from *V* and *c* on *a b*; and *d* the base of a perpendicular from the point of the cusp to the arch line. Then *a b* will always be the span of the arch, *V p* its perpendicular height, *V a* the chord of its side arcs, *d c* the depth of its cusps, *c c* the horizontal interval between the cusps,

¹ [*i.e.* noticed in his studies and here remarked on, for there is no reference earlier in the volume which precisely applies. For the general point—namely, the Northern straining after effect and reliance upon deep shadows—see above, p. 329, and Vol. VIII. p. 128.]

$a c$ the length of the chord of the lower arc of the cusp, $V c$ the length of the chord of the upper arc of the cusp (whether continuous or not), and $c p$ the length of a perpendicular from the point of the cusp on $a b$.

Of course we do not want all these measures for a single arch, but it often happens that some of them are attainable more easily than others; some are often unattainable altogether, and it is necessary therefore to have expressions for whichever we may be able to determine.

$V p$ or $V a$, $a b$, and $d c$ are always essential; then either $a c$ and $V c$, or $c c$ and $c p$; when I have my choice, I always take $a b$, $V p$, $d c$, $c c$, and $c p$, but $c p$ is not to be generally obtained so accurately as the cusp arcs.

The measures of the present arch are:

| | Ft. In. |
|---------|---------|
| $a b$, | 3 ,, 8 |
| $V p$, | 4 ,, 0 |
| $V c$, | 2 ,, 4½ |
| $a c$, | 2 ,, 0¼ |
| $d c$, | 0 ,, 3½ |

20. P. 244.—SHAFTS OF THE DUCAL PALACE

The shortness of the thicker ones at the angles is induced by the greater depth of the enlarged capitals: thus the 36th shaft is 10 ft. $4\frac{1}{3}$ in. in circumference at its base, and 10 ,, $0\frac{1}{2}$ * in circumference under the fillet of its capital; but it is only 6 ,, $1\frac{3}{4}$ high, while the minor intermediate shafts, of which the thickest is 7 ,, 8 round at the base, and 7 ,, 4 under capital, are yet on the average 7 ,, 7 high. The angle shaft towards the sea (the 18th) is nearly of the proportions of the 36th, and there are three others, the 15th, 24th, and 26th, which are thicker than the rest, though not so thick as the angle one. The 24th and 26th have both party walls to bear, and I imagine the 15th must in old time have carried another, reaching across what is now the Sala del Gran Consiglio.

They measure respectively round at the base,

| | |
|-----------|---------|
| The 15th, | 8 ,, 2 |
| 24th, | 9 ,, 6½ |
| 26th, | 8 ,, 0½ |

The other pillars towards the sea, and those to the 27th inclusive of the Piazzetta, are all seven feet round at the base, and then there is a most curious and delicate crescendo of circumference to the 36th, thus:

| | | | |
|-----------|--------|-----------|----------------------|
| The 28th, | 7 ,, 3 | The 33rd, | 7 ,, 6 |
| 29th, | 7 ,, 4 | 34th, | 7 ,, 8 |
| 30th, | 7 ,, 6 | 35th, | 7 ,, 8 |
| 31st, | 7 ,, 7 | 36th, | 10 ,, $4\frac{1}{3}$ |
| 32nd, | 7 ,, 5 | | |

The shafts of the upper arcade, which are above these thicker columns, are also thicker than their companions, measuring, on the average, 4 ,, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in circumference, while those of the sea façade, except the 29th, average 4 ,, $7\frac{1}{2}$

* I shall often have occasion to write measures in the current text, therefore the reader will kindly understand that whenever they are thus written, 2 ,, 2, with double commas between, the first figures stand for English feet, the second for English inches.

in circumference. The 29th, which is of course above the 15th of the lower story, is 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, 5 in circumference, which little piece of evidence will be of no small value to us by-and-by. The 35th carries the angle of the palace, and is 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, 0 round. The 47th, which comes above the 24th, and carries the party wall of the Sala del Gran Consiglio, is strengthened by a pilaster; and the 51st, which comes over the 26th, is 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ round, or nearly the same as the 29th; it carries the party wall of the Sala del Scrutinio; a small room containing part of St. Mark's library, coming between the two saloons; a room which, in remembrance of the help I have received in all my inquiries from the kindness and intelligence of its usual occupant, I shall never easily distinguish otherwise than as "Mr. Lorenzi's."*

I may as well connect with these notes respecting the arcades of the Ducal Palace, those which refer to Plate 14, which represents one of its spandrels. Every spandril of the lower arcade was intended to have been occupied by an ornament resembling the one given in that Plate. The mass of the building being of Istrian stone, a depth of about two inches is left within the mouldings of the arches, rough hewn, to receive the slabs of fine marble composing the patterns. I cannot say whether the design was never completed, or the marbles have been since removed, but there are now only two spandrels retaining their fillings, and vestiges of them in a third.¹ The two complete spandrels are on the sea façade, above the 3rd and 10th capitals (*vide* method of numbering, Chap I., page 54); that is to say, connecting the 2nd arch with the 3rd, and the 9th with the 10th. The latter is the one given in Plate 14. The white portions of it are all white marble, the dentil band surrounding the circle is in coarse sugary marble, which I believe to be Greek, and never found in Venice, to my recollection, except in work at least anterior to the fifteenth century. The shaded fields charged with the three white triangles are of red Verona marble; the inner disc is green serpentine, and the dark pieces of the radiating leaves are grey marble. The three triangles are equilateral. The two uppermost are 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, 5 each side, and the lower one 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2.

The extreme diameter of the circle is 3 $\frac{1}{2}$, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$; its field is slightly raised above the red marbles, as shown in the section at A, on the left. *A a* is part of the red marble field; *a b* the section of the dentil moulding led into it; *b c* the entire breadth of the rayed zone, represented on the other side of the spandril by the line *C f*; *c d* is the white marble band let in, with the dog-tooth on the face of it; *b c* is 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches across; *c d* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$; and at B are given two joints of the dentil (mentioned above, in the chapter on dentils,² as unique in Venice), of their actual size. At C is given one of the inlaid leaves: its measure being (in inches) *C f* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$; *C h* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$; *f g* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$; *f e* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$, the base

* I cannot suffer this volume to close without also thanking my kind friend Mr. Rawdon Brown,³ for help given me in a thousand ways during my stay in Venice: but chiefly for his direction to passages elucidatory of my subject in the MSS. of St. Mark's library.

¹ [See above, p. 352. Between the third and fourth arch of the Piazzetta façade—that is, over capital No. 21—the stone is prepared for decoration, two deep circular grooves being cut in it. The design cannot ever have been carried out; for, if it had been, the other spandrels would show similar grooves.]

² [See above, p. 323.]

³ [See above, p. 420 *n.*]

of the smaller leaves being of course $fe - fg = 4$. The pattern which occupies the other spandril is similar, except that the field bc , instead of the intersecting arcs, has only triangles of grey marble, arranged like rays, with their bases towards the centre. There being twenty round the circle, the reader can of course draw them for himself; they being isosceles, touching the dentil with their points, and being in contact at their bases; it has lost its central boss. The marbles are, in both, covered with a rusty coating, through which it is excessively difficult to distinguish the colours (another proof of the age of the ornament). But the white marbles are certainly, in places (except only the sugary dentil), veined with purple, and the grey seems warmed with green.

A trace of another of these ornaments may be seen over the 21st capital; but I doubt if the marbles have ever been inserted in the other spandrils, and their want of ornament occasions the slight meagreness in the effect of the lower story, which is almost the only fault of the building.

This decoration by discs, or shield-like ornaments, is a marked characteristic of Venetian architecture in its earlier ages and is carried into later times by the Byzantine Renaissance, already distinguished from the more corrupt forms of Renaissance, in Appendix 6. Of the disc decoration, so borrowed, we have already an example in Plate 1. In Plate 8 we have an earlier condition of it, one of the discs being there sculptured, the others surrounded by sculptured bands: here we have, on the Ducal Palace, the most characteristic of all, because likeliest to the shield, which was probably the origin of the same ornament among the Arabs, and assuredly among the Greeks. In Mr. Donaldson's restoration of the gate of the treasury of Atreus,¹ this ornament is conjecturally employed, and it occurs constantly on the Arabian buildings of Cairo.

21. P. 272.—ANCIENT REPRESENTATION OF WATER

I have long been desirous of devoting some time to an inquiry into the effect of natural scenery upon the pagan, and especially the Greek, mind: and knowing that my friend, Mr. C. Newton,² had devoted much thought to the elucidation of the figurative and symbolic language of ancient art, I asked him to draw up for me a few notes of the facts which he considered most interesting as illustrative of its methods of representing nature. I suggested to him, for an initiative subject, the representation of water; because this is one of the natural objects whose portraiture may most easily be made a test of treatment, for it is one of universal interest, and of more closely similar aspect in all parts of the world than any other. Waves, currents, and eddies are much more like each other, everywhere, than either land or vegetation. Rivers and lakes, indeed, differ widely from the sea, and the clear Pacific from the angry Northern ocean; but the Nile is liker the Danube than a knot of Nubian palms is to a glade of the Black Forest; and the Mediterranean is liker the Atlantic than the Campo Felice is like Solway Moss.

Mr. Newton has accordingly most kindly furnished me with the following data. One or two of the types which he describes have been already noticed

¹ [See Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens and other Monuments in Greece*, for T. L. Donaldson's restoration.]

² [See Vol. VIII. p. 239.]

in the main text; but it is well that the reader should again contemplate them in the position which they here occupy in a general system. I recommend his especial attention to Mr. Newton's definitions of the terms "figurative" and "symbolic," as applied to art, in the beginning of the paper.

In ancient art, that is to say, in the art of the Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman races, water is, for the most part, represented conventionally rather than naturally.

By natural representation is here meant as just and perfect an imitation of nature as the technical means of art will allow: on the other hand, representation is said to be conventional, either when a confessedly inadequate imitation is accepted in default of a better, or when imitation is not attempted at all, and it is agreed that other modes of representation, those by figures or by symbols, shall be its substitute and equivalent.

In figurative representation there is always *impersonation*; the sensible form, borrowed by the artist from organic life, is conceived to be actuated by a will, and invested with such mental attributes as constitute personality.

The sensible *symbol*, whether borrowed from organic or from inorganic nature, is not a personification at all, but the conventional sign or equivalent of some object or notion, to which it may perhaps bear no visible resemblance, but with which the intellect or the imagination has in some way associated it.

For instance, a city may be figuratively represented as a woman crowned with towers; here the artist has selected for the expression of his idea a human form animated with a will and motives of action analogous to those of humanity generally. Or, again, as in Greek art, a bull may be a figurative representation of a river, and, in the conception of the artist, this animal form may contain, and be ennobled by, a human mind.

This is still impersonation; the form only in which personality is embodied is changed.

Again, a dolphin may be used as a symbol of the sea: a man ploughing with two oxen is a well-known symbol of a Roman colony. In neither of these instances is there impersonation. The dolphin is not invested, like the figure of Neptune, with any of the attributes of the human mind; it has animal instincts but no will; it represents to us its native element, only as a part may be taken for a whole.

Again, the man ploughing does not, like the turreted female figure, *personify*, but rather *typifies* the town, standing as the visible representation of a real event, its first foundation. To our mental perceptions, as to our bodily senses, this figure seems no more than man; there is no blending of his personal nature with the impersonal nature of the colony, no transfer of attributes from the one to the other.

Though the conventionally imitative, the figurative, and the symbolic are three distinct kinds of representation, they are constantly combined in one composition, as we shall see in the following examples, cited from the art of successive races in chronological order.

In Egyptian art the general representation of water is the conventionally imitative. In the British Museum are two frescoes from tombs at Thebes, Nos. 177 and 170;¹ the subject of the first of these is an oblong pond,

¹ [These wall-paintings are in the Northern Egyptian Gallery.]

ground-plan and elevation being strangely confused in the design. In this pond water is represented by parallel zigzag lines, in which fish are swimming about. On the surface are birds and lotos flowers; the herbage at the edge of the pond is represented by a border of symmetrical fan-shaped flowers; the field beyond by rows of trees, arranged round the sides of the pond at right angles to each other, and in defiance of all laws of perspective.

In the fresco, No. 170, we have the representation of a river with papyrus on its bank. Here the water is rendered by zigzag lines arranged vertically and in parallel lines, so as to resemble herring-bone masonry, thus. There are fish in this fresco as in the preceding, and in both, each fish is drawn very distinctly, not as it would appear to the eye viewed through water. The mode of representing this element in Egyptian painting is further abbreviated in their hieroglyphic writing, where the sign of water is a zigzag line; this line is, so

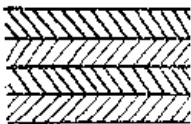


Fig. 72

to speak, a picture of water written in shorthand. In the Egyptian Pantheon there was but one aquatic deity, the god of the Nile; his type is, therefore, the only figurative representation of water in Egyptian art. (Birch, *Gallery of British Museum Antiquities*, Pl. 13.) In Assyrian sculpture we have very curious conventionally imitative representations of water. On several of the friezes from Nimroud and Khorsabad, men are seen crossing a river in boats, or on skins, accompanied by horses swimming (see Layard, ii. p. 381). In these scenes water is represented by masses of wavy lines somewhat resembling tresses of hair, and terminating in curls or volutes: these wavy lines express the general character of a deep and rapid current like that of the Tigris. Fish are but sparingly introduced, the idea of surface being sufficiently expressed by the floating figures and boats. In the representation of these there is the same want of perspective as in the Egyptian fresco which we have just cited.

In the Assyrian Pantheon one aquatic deity has been discovered, the god Dagon, whose human form terminates in a fish's tail. Of the character and attributes of this deity we know but little.

The more abbreviated mode of representing water, the zigzag line, occurs on the large silver coins with the type of a city or a war-galley (see Layard, ii. p. 386). These coins were probably struck in Assyria, not long after the conquest of it by the Persians.

In Greek art the modes of representing water are far more varied. Two conventional imitations, the wave moulding and the Mæander, are well known. Both are probably of the most remote antiquity; both have been largely employed as an architectural ornament, and subordinately as a decoration of vases, costume, furniture, and implements. In the wave moulding we have a conventional representation of the small cringing waves which break upon the shore of the Mediterranean, the sea of the Greeks.

Their regular succession, and equality of force and volume, are generalised in this moulding, while the minuter varieties which distinguish one wave from another are merged in the general type. The character of ocean waves is to be "for ever changing, yet the same forever;"¹ it is this eternity of recurrence which the early artist has expressed in this hieroglyphic.

¹ [Coleridge: *Hymn before Sunrise, in the Vale of Chamouni*—"For ever shattered and the same for ever."]

With this profile representation of water may be compared the sculptured waves out of which the head and arms of Hyperion are rising in the pediment of the Parthenon (Elgin Room, No. (65) 91,¹ *Museum Marbles*, vi., pl. 1). Phidias has represented these waves like a mass of overlapping tiles, thus generalising their rippling movement. In the Mæander pattern the graceful curves of nature are represented by angles, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphic of water: so again the earliest representation of the labyrinth on the coins of the Cretan Cnossus is rectangular; on later coins we find the curvilinear form introduced.

In the language of Greek mythography, the wave pattern and the Mæander are sometimes used singly for the idea of water, but more frequently combined with figurative representation. The number of aquatic deities in the Greek Pantheon led to the invention of a great variety of beautiful types. Some of these are very well known. Everybody is familiar with the general form of Poseidon (Neptune), the Nereids, the Nymphs, and River Gods; but the modes in which these types were combined with conventional imitation and with accessory symbols deserve careful study, if we would appreciate the surpassing richness and beauty of the language of art formed out of these elements.

This class of representations may be divided into two principal groups, those relating to the sea, and those relating to fresh water.

The power of the ocean and the great features of marine scenery are embodied in such types as Poseidon, Nereus, and the Nereids, that is to say, in human forms moving through the liquid element in chariots, or on the back of dolphins, or who combine the human form with that of the fish-like Tritons. The sea-monsters who draw these chariots are called Hippocamps, being composed of the tail of a fish and the fore-part of a horse, the leg terminating in web-feet; this union seems to express speed and power under perfect control, such as would characterise the movements of sea deities. A few examples have been here selected, to show how these types were combined without symbols and conventional imitation.

In the British Museum is a vase, No. 1257,² engraved, (*Lenormant et De Witte, Mon. Céram.*, i. pl. 27) of which the subject is, Europa crossing the sea on the back of the bull. In this design the sea is represented by a variety of expedients. First, the swimming action of the bull suggests the idea of the liquid medium through which he moves. Behind him stands Nereus, his staff held perpendicularly in his hand: the top of his staff comes nearly to the level of the bull's back, and is probably meant as the measure of the whole depth of the sea. Towards the surface line thus indicated a dolphin is rising; in the middle depth is another dolphin; below, a shrimp and a cuttle-fish, and the bottom is indicated by a jagged line of rocks, on which are two echini.

On a mosaic found at Oudnah in Algeria (*Revue Archéol.*, iii. pl. 50), we have a representation of the sea, remarkable for the fulness of detail with which it is made out.

This, though of the Roman period, is so thoroughly Greek in feeling, that it may be cited as an example of the class of mythography now under consideration

¹ [The Sun-god in his chariot emerging from the waves is now numbered 303 A in the Museum *Catalogue of Sculpture*.]

² [This vase is now numbered F 184; it stands on Pedestal vii. in the Fourth Vase Room.]

The mosaic lines the floor and sides of a bath, and, as was commonly the case in the baths of the ancients, serves as a figurative representation of the water it contained.

On the sides are hippocamps, figures riding on dolphins, and islands, on which fishermen stand; on the floor are fish, crabs, and shrimps.

These, as in the vase with Europa, indicate the bottom of the sea; the same symbols of the submarine world appear on many other ancient designs. Thus in vase pictures, when Poseidon upheaves the island of Cos to overwhelm the Giant Polybotes, the island is represented as an immense mass of rock; the parts which have been under water are indicated by a dolphin, a shrimp, and a sepia, the parts above the water by a goat and a serpent (Lenormant et De Witte, i., Tav. 5).

Sometimes these symbols occur singly in Greek art, as the types, for instance, of coins. In such cases they cannot be interpreted without being viewed in relation to the whole context of mythography to which they belong. If we find, for example, on one coin of Tarentum a shell, on another a dolphin, on a third a figure of Taras, the mythic founder of the town, riding on a dolphin in the midst of the waves, and this latter group expresses the idea of the town itself and its position on the coast, then we know the two former types to be but portions of the greater design, having been detached from it, as we may detach words from sentences.

The study of the fuller and clearer examples, such as we have cited above, enables us to explain many more compendious forms of expression. We have, for instance, on coins several representations of ancient harbours.

Of these the earliest occurs on the coins of Zancle, the modern Messina, in Sicily. The ancients likened the form of this harbour to a sickle, and on the coins of the town we find a curved object, within the area of which is a dolphin. On this curve are four square elevations placed at equal distances. It has been conjectured that these projections are either towers or the large stones to which galleys were moored still to be seen in ancient harbours (see Burgon, *Numismatic Chronicle*, iii. p. 40). With this archaic representation of a harbour may be compared some examples of Roman period. On a coin of Sept. Severus struck at Corinth (Millingen, *Sylloge of Uned. Coins*, 1837, p. 57, Pl. II. No. 30), we have a female figure standing on a rock between two recumbent male figures holding rudders. From an arch at the foot of the rock a stream is flowing: this is a representation of the rock of the Acropolis of Corinth; the female figure is a statue of Aphrodite, whose temple surmounted the rock. The stream is the fountain Pirene. The two recumbent figures are impersonations of the two harbours, Lechreum and Cenchreia, between which Corinth was situated. Philostratus (*Icon.* ii., c. 16) describes a similar picture of the Isthmus between the two harbours, one of which was in the form of a youth, the other of a nymph.

On another coin of Corinth we have one of the harbours in a semicircular form, the whole are being marked with small equal divisions, to denote the archways under which the ancient galleys were drawn, *subductæ*; at either horn or extremity of the harbour is a temple; in the centre of the mouth, a statue of Neptune. (Millingen, *Médailles, Inéd.*, Pl. II. No. 19. Compare also Millingen, *Ancient Coins of Cities and Kings*, 1831, pp. 59–61, Pl. IV. No. 15; Mionnet, *Suppl.* vii. p. 79, No. 246; and the harbour of Ostium, on the large brass coins of Nero, in which there is a representation of the Roman fleet and a reclining figure of Neptune.)

In vase pictures we have occasionally an attempt to represent water naturally. On a vase in the British Museum (No. 785),¹ of which the subject is Ulysses and the Sirens, the sea is rendered by wavy lines drawn in black on a red ground, and something like the effect of light playing on the surface of the water is given. On each side of the ship are shapeless masses of rock on which the Sirens stand.

One of the most beautiful of the figurative representations of the sea is the well-known type of Scylla. She has a beautiful body, terminating in two barking dogs and two serpent tails. Sometimes drowning men, the *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,² appear caught up in the coils of these tails. Below are dolphins. Scylla generally brandishes a rudder, to show the manner in which she twists the course of ships. For varieties of her type see *Monum. dell' Inst. Archeol. Rom.*, iii., Tavv. 52–3.

The representations of fresh water may be arranged under the following heads—rivers, lakes, fountains.

There are several figurative modes of representing rivers very frequently employed in ancient mythography.

In the type which occurs earliest we have the human form combined with that of the bull in several ways. On an archaic coin of Metapontum in Lucania (see frontispiece to Millingen, *Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings*), the river Archelous is represented with the figure of a man with a shaggy beard and bull's horns and ears. On a vase of the best period of Greek art (Brit. Mus. No. 789:³ Birch, *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit.*, New Series, Lond. 1843, i. p. 100) the same river is represented with a satyr's head and long bull's horns on the forehead; his form, human to the waist, terminates in a fish's tail; his hair falls down his back: his beard is long and shaggy. In this type we see a combination of the three forms separately enumerated by Sophocles, in the commencement of the *Trachiniæ*:

Ἀχελῷον λεγῶ,
 ὅς μ' ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν ἐξίηται πατρός
 φοιτῶν ἐναργῆς τάνρος, ἀλλοτ' αἰολός
 δράκων ἐλικτός, ἀλλοτ' ἀνδρείῳ κντεῖ
 βονπρωρός, ἐκ δὲ δασκίον γενεαῖδος
 κρουνοὶ διερραίνοντο κρηναίων ποτόν.⁴

In a third variety of this type the human-headed body is united at the waist with the shoulders of a bull's body, in which it terminates. This occurs on an early vase. (Brit. Mus., No. 452.⁵) On the coins of Æniadæ in Acarnania, and on those of Ambracia, all of the period after Alexander the Great, the Achelous has a bull's body and head with a human face. In this variety of the type the human element is almost absorbed, as in the first variety cited above, the coin of Metapontum, the bull portion of the type is

¹ [Now numbered E 440; it is in the Third Vase Room.]

² [Virgil, *Æn.*, i. 118.]

³ [Now E 437; in the Third Vase Room.]

⁴ ["I mean Achelous, who often asked me of my sire, appearing visibly in three shapes; now as a bull he would come; now as a writhing speckled snake; and other whiles with human trunk and forehead of an ox, with streams of his fountain's water gushing from his shaggy beard on every side."]

⁵ [Now B 313; in the Second Vase Room.]

only indicated by the addition of the horns and ears to the human head. On the analogy between these varieties in the type of the Achelous and those under which the metamorphoses of the marine goddess Thetis are represented, see Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, ii. pp. 106–113. It is probable that, in the type of Thetis, of Proteus, and also of the Achelous, the singular combinations and transformations are intended to express the changeful nature of the element water.

Numerous other examples may be cited, where rivers are represented by this combination of the bull and human form, which may be called, for convenience, the Androtauric type. On the coins of Sicily, of the Archaic and also of the finest period of art, rivers are most usually represented by a youthful male figure, with small budding horns; the hair has the lank and matted form which characterises aquatic deities in Greek mythology. The name of the river is often inscribed round the head. When the whole figure occurs on the coin, it is always represented standing, never reclining.

The type of the bull on the coins of Sybaris and Thurium, in Magna Græcia, has been considered, with great probability, a representation of this kind. On the coins of Sybaris, which are of a very early period, the head of the bull is turned round; on those of Thurium, he stoops his head, butting: the first of these actions has been thought to symbolise the winding course of the river, the second, its headlong current. On the coins of Thurium, the idea of water is further suggested by the adjunct of dolphins and other fish in the exergue¹ of the coin. The ground on which the bull stands is indicated by herbage or pebbles. This probably represents the river bank. Two bulls' heads occur on the coins of Sardis, and it has been ingeniously conjectured by Mr. Burgon² that the two rivers of the place are expressed under this type.

The representation of river-gods as human figures in a reclining position, though probably not so much employed in earlier Greek art as the Androtauric type, is very much more familiar to us, from its subsequent adoption in Roman mythology. The earliest example we have of a reclining river-god is in the figure in the Elgin Room commonly called the Ilissus, but more probably the Cephissus. This occupied one angle in the western pediment of the Parthenon: the other Athenian river, the Ilissus, and the fountain Callirrhoe, being represented by a male and female figure in the opposite angle; this group, now destroyed, is visible in the drawing made by Carrey in 1678.³

It is probable that the necessities of pedimental composition first led the artist to place the river-god in a reclining position. The head of the Ilissus being broken off, we are not sure whether he had bull's horns, like the Sicilian figures already described. His form is youthful; in the folds of the drapery behind him there is a flow like that of waves, but the idea of water is not suggested by any other symbol. When we compare this figure with that of the Nile (Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Clem.*, i., Pl. 38), and the figure of the Tiber in

¹ [This term denotes in numismatics the space immediately below the design on the coin.]

² [Thomas Burgon (1787–1858), a colleague at one time of Newton's in the British Museum, being employed in the Coin Department.]

³ [In 1674 (not 1678), Jacques Carrey, a painter in the suite of the French Ambassador at the Porte, made sketches of the then extant portions of the pediments of the Parthenon; photographic reproductions of them are exhibited in the Elgin Room at the British Museum. The "Ilissus" is No. 304 A in the *Catalogue of Sculpture*; the other group (casts) is 304 V, W.]

the Louvre, both of which are of the Roman period, we see how in these later types the artist multiplied symbols and accessories, ingrafting them on the original simple type of a river-god, as it was conceived by Phidias in the figure of the Ilissus. The Nile is represented as a colossal bearded figure reclining. At his side is a cornucopia, full of the vegetable produce of the Egyptian soil. Round his body are sixteen naked boys, who represent the sixteen cubits, the height to which the river rose in a favourable year. The statue is placed on a basement divided into three compartments, one above another. In the uppermost of these, waves are flowing over in one great sheet from the side of the river-god. In the other two compartments are the animals and plants of the river; the bas-reliefs on this basement are, in fact, a kind of abbreviated symbolic panorama of the Nile.

The Tiber is represented in a very similar manner. On the base are, in two compartments, scenes taken from the early Roman myths; flocks, herds, and other objects on the banks of the river. (Visconti, *Mus. P. Cl.*, i., Pl. 39; Millin., *Galérie Mythol.*, i. p. 77, Pl. 74, Nos. 304, 308.)

In the types of the Greek coins of Camarina, we find two interesting representations of lakes. On the obverse of one of these we have, within a circle of the wave pattern, a male head, a full face, with dishevelled hair, and with a dolphin on either side; on the reverse, a female figure sailing on a swan, below which a wave moulding, and above, a dolphin.

On another coin the swan type of the reverse is associated with the youthful head of a river-god, inscribed "Hipparis" on the obverse. On some smaller coins we have the swan flying over the rippling waves, which are represented by the wave moulding. When we examine the chart of Sicily, made by the Admiralty survey, we find marked down at Camarina a lake, through which the river Hipparis flows.

We can hardly doubt that the inhabitants of Camarina represented both their river and their lake on their coins. The swan flying over the waves would represent the lake; the figure associated with it being no doubt the Aphrodite worshipped at the place: the head, in a circle of wave pattern, may express that part of the river which flows through the lake.

Fountains are usually represented by a stream of water issuing from a lion's head in the rock: see a vase (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, taf. cxxxiv.), where Hercules stands, receiving a shower-bath from a hot spring at Thermæ in Sicily.¹ On the coins of Syracuse the fountain Arethusa is represented by a female head seen to the front; the flowing lines of her dishevelled hair suggest, though they do not directly imitate, the bubbling action of the freshwater spring; the sea in which it rises is symbolised by the dolphins round the head.² This type presents a striking analogy with that of the Camarina head in the circle of wave pattern described above.

These are the principal modes of representing water in Greek mythography. In the art of the Roman period, the same kind of figurative and symbolic language is employed, but there is a constant tendency to multiply accessories and details, as we have shown in the later representations of harbours and river-gods cited above. In these crowded compositions the eye

¹ [B 229; in the Second Vase Room.]

² [See III. c. 30 in the British Museum exhibition of electrotypes. In the same collection the other coin-types mentioned above may also be seen.]

is fatigued and distracted by the quantity it has to examine; the language of art becomes more copious, but less terse and emphatic, and addresses itself to minds far less intelligent than the refined critics who were the contemporaries of Phidias.

Rivers in Roman art are usually represented by reclining male figures, generally bearded, holding reeds or other plants in their hands, and leaning on urns from which water is flowing. On the coins of many Syrian cities, struck in imperial times, the city is represented by a turreted female figure seated on rocks, and resting her feet on the shoulder of a youthful male figure, who looks up in her face, stretching out his arms, and who is sunk in the ground as high as the waist. See Müller (*Denkmäler d. A. Kunst.*, i., taf. 49, No. 220), for a group of this kind in the Vatican, and several similar designs on coins.

On the column of Trajan there occur many rude representations of the Danube, and other rivers crossed by the Romans in their military expeditions. The water is imitated by sculptured wavy lines, in which boats are placed. In one scene (Bartoli, *Colonna Trajana*, Tav. 4), this rude conventional imitation is combined with a figure. In a recess in the river bank is a reclining river-god, terminating at the waist. This is either meant for a statue which was really placed on the bank of the river, and which therefore marks some particular locality, or we have here figurative representation blended with conventional imitation.

On the column of Antoninus (Bartoli, *Colon. Anton.*, Tav. 15), a storm of rain is represented by the head of Jupiter Pluvius, who has a vast outspread beard flowing in long tresses. In the Townley collection, in the British Museum, is a Roman helmet found at Ribchester in Lancashire, with a mask or vizor attached.¹ The helmet is richly embossed with figures in a battle scene; round the brow is a row of turrets; the hair on the forehead is so treated as to give the idea of waves washing the base of the turrets. This head is perhaps a figurative representation of a town girt with fortifications and a moat, near which some great battle was fought. It is engraved (*Vetusta Monum. of Soc. Ant. London*, iv., Pl. 1-4).

In the Galeria at Florence is a group in alto rilievo (Gori, *Inscript. Ant.*, Flor. 1727, p. 76, Tab. 14) of three female figures, one of whom is certainly Demeter Kourotrophos, or the earth; another, Thetis, or the sea; the centre of the three seems to represent Aphrodite associated, as on the coins of Camarina, with the element of fresh water.

This figure is seated on a swan, and holds over her head an arched veil. Her hair is bound with reeds; above her veil grows a tall water-plant, and below the swan other water-plants, and a stork seated on a *hydria*, or pitcher, from which water is flowing. The swan, the stork, the water-plants, and the *hydria* must all be regarded as symbols of fresh water, the latter emblem being introduced to show that the element is fit for the use of man.

Fountains in Roman art are generally personified as figures of nymphs reclining with urns, or standing holding before them a large shell.

One of the latest representations of water in ancient art is the mosaic

¹ [This helmet is among the larger bronzes in the Anglo-Roman collection; for further particulars see E. T. Cook's *Popular Handbook to the . . . British Museum*, p. 728.]

of Palestrina (Barthelémy, in Bartoli, *Peint. Antiques*), which may be described as a kind of rude panorama of some district of Upper Egypt, a bird's-eye view, half map, half picture, in which the details are neither adjusted to a scale, nor drawn according to perspective, but crowded together, as they would be in an ancient bas-relief.

22. P. 282.—ARABIAN ORNAMENTATION

I do not mean what I have here said of the inventive power of the Arab to be understood as in the least applying to the detestable ornamentation of the Alhambra.* The Alhambra is no more characteristic of Arab work, than Milan Cathedral is of Gothic:¹ it is a late building, a work of the Spanish dynasty in its last decline, and its ornamentation is fit for nothing but to be transferred to patterns of carpets or bindings of books, together with their marbling, and mottling, and other mechanical recommendations. The Alhambra ornament has of late been largely used in shop-fronts, to the no small detriment of Regent Street and Oxford Street.

23. P. 316.—VARIETIES OF CHAMFER

Let BAC , Fig. 72, be the original angle of the wall. Inscribe within it a circle pQ Np , of the size of the bead required, touching AB , AC , in p , p ; join p , p , and draw BC parallel to it, touching the circle.

Then the lines BC , pp are the limits of the possible chamfers constructed with curves struck either from centre A , as the lines Qq , Nd , ru , gc , etc., or from any other point chosen as a centre in the direction QA produced: and also of all chamfers in straight lines, as $abef$. There are, of course,

* I have not seen the building itself, but Mr. Owen Jones's work may, I suppose, be considered as sufficiently representing it for all purposes of criticism.²

¹ [Ruskin studied the architecture of Milan Cathedral closely in his autumn tour of 1849, and thus summed up his conclusions in the diary:—

“Throughout the cathedral there are mixtures of stealing from every style in the world; and every style spoiled. One or two of the traceries have capitals to their shafts, but capitals of the most vile proportion; the niches are as base as base can be, absolute curled wigs of petty crockets, heavy and mean at the same time; some of the windows have them running up their jambs, but they look stuck full of extinguishers; others have steep canopies and finials *in* their traceries, as in Merton large east window, but so mixed with the absurd flamboyant that they are of no use; finally, the statues are all over of the worst possible common stonemason's yard species, and look pinned on for show; the only redeeming character about the whole being the frequent use of the sharp gable . . . [reference to drawing in a sketch-book] which gives lightness, and the crowding of the spiry pinnacles into the sky.”]

² [Ruskin refers to this criticism and justifies it in the *Two Paths*, § 67. See also above, p. 243. Owen Jones' work—*Plans, Elevations, etc., of the Alhambra*—was published 1842–1845.]

an infinite number of chamfers to be struck between $B C$ and $p p$, from every point in $Q A$ produced to infinity; thus we have infinity multiplied into infinity, to express the number of possible chamfers of this species, which are peculiarly Italian chamfers; together with another singly infinite group of the straight chamfers, $a b, e f$, etc., of which the one formed by the line $a b$, passing through the centre of the circle, is the universal early Gothic chamfer of Venice.

Again. Either on the line $A C$, or on any other lines $A l$ or $A m$, radiating from A , any number of centres may be taken, from which, with any radii not greater than the distance between such points and Q , an infinite

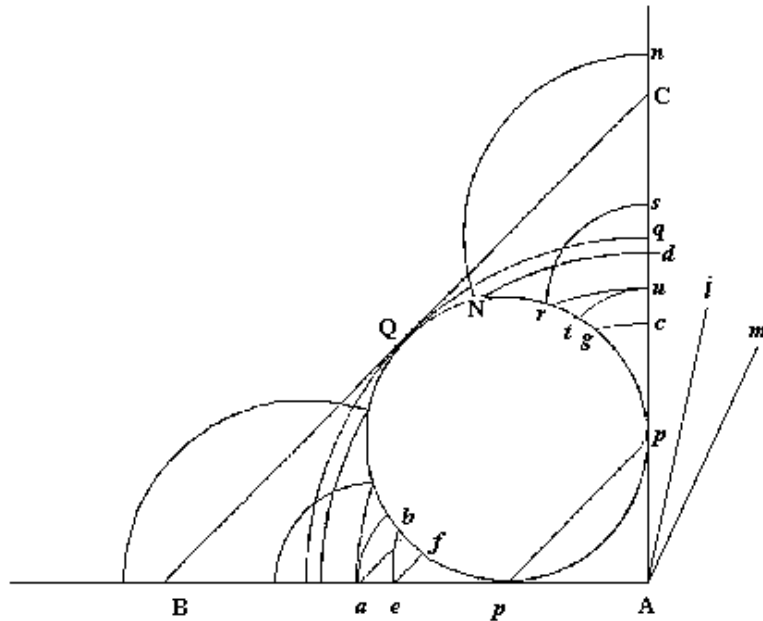


Fig. 73

number of curves may be struck, such as $t u, r s, N n$ (all which are here struck from centres on the line $A C$). These lines represent the great class of the Northern chamfers, of which the number is infinity raised to its fourth power, but of which the curve $N n$ (for Northern) represents the average condition; the shallower chamfers of the same group, $r s, t u$, etc., occurring often in Italy. The lines $r u, t u$, and $a b$ may be taken as approximating to the most frequent conditions of the Southern chamfer.

It is evident that the chords of any of these curves will give a relative group of rectilinear chamfers, occurring both in the North and South; but the rectilinear chamfers, I think, invariably fall within the line $Q C$, and are either parallel with it, or inclined to $A C$ at an angle greater than $A C Q$, and often perpendicular to it; but never inclined to it at an angle less than $A C Q$.

24. p. 344.—RENAISSANCE BASES

The following extract from my note-book¹ refers also to some features of late decoration of shafts.

“The Scuola di San Rocco is one of the most interesting examples of Renaissance work in Venice. Its fluted pillars are surrounded each by a wreath, one of vine, another of laurel, another of oak, not indeed arranged with the fantasticism of early Gothic; but, especially the laurel, reminding one strongly of the laurel sprays, powerful as well as beautiful, of Veronese and Tintoret. Their stems are curiously and richly interlaced—the last vestige of the Byzantine wreathed work—and the vine-leaves are ribbed on the surfaces, I think, nearly as finely as those of the Noah,* though more injured by time. The capitals are far the richest Renaissance in Venice, less corrupt and more masculine in plan than any other, and truly suggestive of support, though of course showing the tendency to error in this respect; and finally, at the angles of the pure Attic bases, on the square plinth, are set couchant animals; one, an elephant four inches high, very curiously and cleverly cut, and all these details worked with a spirit, finish, fancy, and affection quite worthy of the Middle Ages. But they have all the marked fault of being utterly detached from the architecture. The wreaths round the columns look as if they would drop off the next moment,² and the animals at the bases produce exactly the effect of mice who had got there by accident: one feels them ridiculously diminutive, and utterly useless.”

The effect of diminutiveness is, I think, chiefly owing to there being no other groups or figures near them, to accustom the eye to the proportion, and to the needless choice of the largest animals, elephants, bears, and lions, to occupy a position so completely insignificant, and to be expressed on so contemptible a scale,—not in a bas-relief or pictorial piece of sculpture, but as independent figures. The whole building is a most curious illustration of the appointed fate of the Renaissance architects—to caricature whatever they imitated, and misapply whatever they learned.

25. P. 344.—ROMANIST DECORATION OF BASES

I have spoken above (Appendix 12) of the way in which the Roman Catholic priests everywhere suffer their churches to be desecrated. But the worst instances I ever saw of sacrilege and brutality, daily permitted in the face of all men, were the uses to which the noble base of St. Mark's was put, when I was last in Venice. Portions of nearly all cathedrals may be found abandoned to neglect; but this base of St. Mark's is in no obscure position. Full fronting the western sun—crossing the whole breadth of St. Mark's

* The sculpture of the Drunkenness of Noah on the Ducal Palace, of which we shall have much to say hereafter.³

¹ [The Venetian diary of 1849–1850.]

² [The diary adds: “and in spite of their beauty, one wishes they would.” . . .]

³ [See next volume, ch. viii.]

Place—the termination of the most noble square in the world—the centre of the most noble city—its purple marbles were, in the winter of 1849, the customary *gambling tables* of the idle children of Venice; and the parts which flank the Great Entrance, that very entrance where “Barbarossa flung his mantle off,”¹ were the counters of a common bazaar for children’s toys, carts, dolls, and small pewter spoons and dishes; German caricatures, and books of the Opera, mixed with those of the offices of religion; the caricatures being fastened with twine round the porphyry shafts of the church. One Sunday, the 24th of February, 1850, the book-stall being somewhat more richly laid out than usual, I noted down the titles of a few of the books in the order in which they lay, and I give them below. The irony conveyed by the juxtaposition of the three in italics appears too shrewd to be accidental; but the fact was actually so.

Along the edge of the white plinth were a row of two kinds of books,
Officium Beatæ Virg. M.; and *Officium Hebdomadæ sanctæ, juxta Formam Missalis et Breviarii Romani sub Urbano VIII. correcti.*

Behind these lay, side by side, the following:—

Don Desiderio. *Dramma Giocoso per Musica.*

Breve Esposizione della Carattere di vera Religione.

On the top of this latter, keeping its leaves open,

La Figlia del Reggimento. *Melodramma comica.*

Carteggio di Madama la Marchesa di Pompadour, ossia raccolta di Lettere scritte della Medesima.

Istruzioni di morale Condotta per le Figlie.

Francesca di Rimini. Dramma per Musica.

Then, a little farther on, after a mass of plays:—

Orazioni a Gesu Nazareno e a Maria addolorata.

Semiramide; *Melodramma tragico da rappresentarsi nel Gran Teatro il Fenice.*

Modo di orare per l’Acquisto del S. Giubileo, concesso a tutto il Mondo Cattolico da S. S. Gregorio XVI.

Le due illustre Rivali, *Melodramma in Tre Atti, da rappresentarsi nel nuovo Gran Teatro il Fenice.*

Il Cristiano secondo il Cuore di Gesu, per la Pratica delle sue Virtue. Traduzione dell’ Idioma Italiana.

La chiave Chinese; *Commedia del Sig. Abate Pietro Chiari.*

La Pelarina; *Intermezzo di Tre Parti per Musica.*

Il Cavaliere e la Dama; *Commedia in Tre Atti in Prosa.*

I leave these facts without comment.² But this being the last piece of Appendix I have to add to the present volume, I would desire to close its pages with a question to my readers—a statistical question—which, I doubt not, is being accurately determined for us all elsewhere, and which, therefore, it seems to me, our time would not be wasted in determining for ourselves.

There has now been peace between England and the continental powers about thirty-five years, and during that period the English have visited the continent at the rate of many thousands a year, staying there, I suppose, on the average, each two or three months; nor these an inferior kind of English,

¹ [Rogers: see above, p. 28.]

² [Compare the advertisements copied from St. Mark’s at a later date: *Fors Clavigera*, letter 78.]

but the kind which ought to be the best—the noblest born, the best taught, the richest in time and money, having more leisure, knowledge, and power than any other portion of the nation. These, we might suppose, beholding, as they travelled, the condition of the States in which the Papal religion is professed, and being, at the same time, the most enlightened section of a great Protestant nation, would have been animated with some desire to dissipate the Romanist errors, and to communicate to others the better knowledge which they possessed themselves. I doubt not but that He who gave peace upon the earth, and gave it by the hand of England, expected this much of her, and has watched every one of the millions of her travellers as they crossed the sea,¹ and kept count for him of his travelling expenses, and of their distribution, in a manner of which neither the traveller nor his courier was at all informed. I doubt not, I say, but that such accounts have been literally kept for all of us, and that a day will come when they will be made clearly legible to us, and when we shall see added together, on one side of the account-book, a great sum, the certain portion, whatever it may be, of this thirty-five years' spendings of the rich English, accounted for in this manner:—

To wooden-spoons, nut-crackers, and jewellery, bought at Geneva and elsewhere among the Alps, so much; to shell cameos and bits of mosaic bought at Rome, so much; to coral horns and lava brooches bought at Naples, so much; to glass beads at Venice, and gold filigree at Genoa, so much; to pictures, and statues, and ornaments, everywhere, so much; to avant-couriers and extra post-horses, for show and magnificence, so much; to great entertainments and good places for seeing sights, so much; to balldresses, and general vanities, so much. This, I say, will be the sum on one side of the book; and on the other will be written,

To the struggling Protestant Churches of France, Switzerland, and Piedmont, so much.

Had we not better do this piece of statistics for ourselves, in time?

¹ [Ruskin is referring, of course, to the impetus given to continental travel by the long peace after Waterloo.]



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[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 Grottesque 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.¹

¹ [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 halfstone 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 x 7) was No. 68; and that for Plate 16 (pencil and tint, 4¾ x 3¾), 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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38. " " " SECTION (p. 333)

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,¹ 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 Moore² and Mrs. Moore, who accompanied them for a fortnight, and at Geneva they picked up Charles Newton.³ 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

¹ Vol. IX. pp. xlvii., xlviii.

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

³ See Vol. VIII. p. 239.

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.¹ His pleasure was increased by falling in at Champagnole with some other friends, Mr. and Mrs. Pritchard,² 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 Pélerins, 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.”³

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

¹ 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).

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

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

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

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

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

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 Cheney²—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

¹ 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.

² 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 stair-way 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.¹

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."² 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*.³ 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 Zobenigo⁴:—

"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

¹ 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 Ca' Ferro, see below, p. 9 *n*.

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

³ 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."

⁴ Now the Palazzo Swift, an annex of the Grand Hotel.

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 . . ."¹

"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

¹ 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).

Governors and Generals, but also the aged Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, one of Napoleon's Marshals.

In one letter Ruskin gives an interesting description of a Venetian interior:—

“*22nd Feb.* [1852.]—I paid yesterday—one of what are now the rarest of my payments—a morning call. Mme. Esterhazy having invited me again and again to see her, I went yesterday with Effie for the first time; Marmont came in while we were sitting with her, and cross-examined me not unintelligently respecting the chief styles of the architecture I was examining at Venice. The Countess' house is the prettiest thing I ever saw on a small scale, only wanting some Turner pictures to complete its perfection. It is a corner house, with side windows looking up and down the Grand Canal—every window having its balcony, be it long or short, roofed in, and hung with silk, and filled with flowers; not inconveniently, as—begging my mother's pardon—that corner in our anteroom is sometimes filled, especially when I want to look at my *Isola Madre* drawing; but a pot here, and a pot there, not pots exactly, but nondescript vases of graceful forms, of glass, overrun with leaves. The one that struck me most was in the form of a large star or flower, and of coral-red colour, hung from the ceiling with a fresh green climbing plant straggling over it: it looked as if it were at once the support and the blossom. I found it was only of common smooth earth painted a delicate red, but its effect was exquisite. Then the inner rooms are an exact and most skilfully compounded harmony of French fancy and English comfort; the pretty silken and golden and enamelled luxury of Paris, with a grave tone of English quiet through it all—effected, I believe, first by everything being good and well finished, fit for use, and not over-crowded; secondly, by a good deal of dark colouring in the decorative painting—one room being painted with a deep bronze or mahogany colour, and the lights touched upon it in silver-white so skilfully as to delight me merely as a piece of artistic painting. The man who did it could have become a real painter if he had liked: the handling just like Etty's . . .”

There were masked balls, too, and gala nights at the opera;¹ illuminations on the water to receive the present Emperor of Austria—whom Ruskin describes as “a well-made youth, with rather a thin, ugly, not unpleasant face” (Sept. 14, 1851)—and many private parties in honour of distinguished visitors to Venice, such as the Infanta of Spain, the

¹ For a notice of the theatre at Venice in these days, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xix. § 14.

Duchesse de Berri, and Henri Cinq. Ruskin took pride in the way in which his wife shone in such assemblies. The Austrian High Admiral came to Venice for a launch; she was invited to give the signal. They went on a visit of charity to the convent of the "Do good" Brethren. "You will do yourself a great deal of harm at the Carnival," said the Prior to her; "we all know what a dancer you are." "Fancy Effie's fame as a dancer having extended," writes Ruskin, "to the brethren in the Island Convent" (Dec. 21).

Sometimes, too, Ruskin went with his wife to other gaieties at Verona, where the famous Marshal Radetsky, then in his 87th year, had his headquarters. Ruskin had a sincere regard for the old General,¹ who on his part paid both to the English writer and his wife the most graceful attentions. The description, in a letter home, of one of the Marshal's balls gives a lively account of old-world courtesy:—

"VERONA, 26th January [1852].—We arrived here very comfortably at two o'clock, and one of the Marshal's aide-de-camps, Count Thun, was at the station. . . . We had a lovely day to come here, and I never saw the mountains look more heavenly; about Vicenza especially, and the Euganeans in the soft wintry haze on the other side. I did not lose my time either, having read through the opinions of fifteen architects in the year 1577 as to whether the Ducal Palace could be saved after the fire,² with much edification, and as the Marshal opens his doors at eight, and likes people to come early, I don't expect to be kept up very late to-night. However, I must go and dress, for I have been drawing a little, and had to call on the Minischalchis, which took up time."

"VERONA, 27th January.—I have been as busy as I could be all day, in this heavenly city, and so could only send you the line I wrote last night. I will make Effie write you an account of the Marshal's ball; one of the chief points about it was that there was entertainment for *everybody*; there were musicians for the dancers, cards for the whist-players, sofas for the loungers, and a library for the readers, with all manner of valuable books laid open, so that instead of having to stand with my back to the wall in a hot room the whole time, I got a quiet seat—and a book of natural history. Effie was well dressed, and allowed by every one to be the *reine du bal*. The old Marshal took her up the room himself to present her to the Maréchale, and then to the Archduke, Charles Ferdinand, another of the sons of the Archduke

¹ See a letter of 1859 to *The Scotsman* on "The Italian Question," where, too, there is a reference to the ball here described; the letter was reprinted in *Arrows of the chance*, 1880, vol. i. p. 7, and is included in a later volume of this edition.

² For references to this book by Cadorn, see below, pp. 279, 336 *n.*, 355.

Charles. The dancing was very much more spirited than ours: till twelve o'clock, when all the ladies were taken down to supper. There had meantime been tea, for all who liked it, in a room beyond the library—not tea handed over a counter by confectioners' girls, as it is in London, making the people's houses look like railway stations, but tea made at a large comfortable table where people sat down and talked, and in large cups, the tea-maker being one of the Marshal's aide-de-camps, the Count Thun—the same who met us at the railroad. But at the ladies' supper the old Marshal was head-waiter himself; he went down and stood at the end of the room, just behind Princess Esterhazy's chair, seeing that they all had enough; and not only so, but kept running into the kitchen to order things for them, and at last brought out a bowl of soup himself, keeping his aide-de-camps not less busy the whole time; nor that a short one, for the ladies were exceedingly comfortable, and sat at their supper full three-quarters of an hour. This—we hear from the said Count Thun—was as much in politeness to the Marshal as in kindness to themselves; for he is exactly like my mother, nothing annoys him so much as the idea that people have gone away without having been made comfortable; but especially without having enough to eat. 'Il a toujours peur,' says his aide-de-camp, 'qu'on meurt de faim.' With this substantial attention to all his guests there was great simplicity. The supper looked as if it were meant to be eaten, not to be looked at. There was not a single showy dish nor piece of finery on the table.

"The Maréchale is a very old lady, like most other old ladies. The gentlemen, of course chiefly soldiers, looked all of them like gentlemen *and* soldiers. I cannot say much for the women. The Countess Minischalchi was there, and looking very beautiful; but she and Effie were, I thought, the only pretty women in the room, and the appearance of the assembly in general did not at all assist the endeavour to suppose oneself in the palace of the Capulets.

"But the exquisite beauty of every scene in the city gains upon me each time that I return to it. We go back to Venice to-morrow; but I hope to wait on the old Marshal once more, when the weather is finer."

He looked on these gay scenes, it will be remarked, with the eyes of a painter or a poet. They went back to Verona two or three times, and on one of these visits he notes the picturesqueness of the Austrian chivalry:—

"VERONA, 4th June.—... We are excessively petted here. Marshal Radetsky sent Effie his picture yesterday, with his own signature. I wish I could write as well, as dashing and firm as if it had been written

at 30 instead of 86; and his chief of the staff, who is not now in Verona, left his carriage for us, with all manner of insists on our using it when we wanted; and the Marshal's two aide-de-camps and another young officer came to escort us in our drive in the evening. It was pleasant, after being so long in Venice, to see the young men's riding—the nice, loose, cavalry balanced, swinging seat, and the horses as happy as their masters, but keeping their place beside the carriage to a hair's-breadth. We went to an old Veronese castle on one of the first slopes of the Alpine spurs above the plain, and it was delightful to have one's foot again upon the rocks, and see the shadows of the cypresses on the long summer grass."

Ruskin and his wife themselves received occasionally in a quiet way, and gave evening parties to their Austrian and Italian acquaintance. They were sought out, too, by compatriots who chanced to be in Venice. We read, in Ruskin's letters home, of Scott (Sir Gilbert) coming to tea, and "a great architectural séance" afterwards; of an expected visit from the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce); of "several lectures on the Renaissance" given to Mr. Gibbs, tutor to the Prince of Wales, in the hope of exercising "influence in that quarter"—lectures which may or may not have been passed on to his present Majesty. Of Lord Dufferin, who came to dinner and to tea, we get a little sketch:—

"The Venetians have certainly some reason to think the English odd people. Lord Dufferin was paddling about in the lagoons all the while he was here, in one of those indian-rubber boats which you may see hanging up at the door of a shop in Bond Street. He took it over to Lido and rowed some way in the sea with it; when he landed, an Austrian coast-guard came to investigate him, and wanted to rip up his boat to see what was inside! . . ." (Letter to his father, November 10).

Ruskin was in request as *cicerone*. Thus we read that (Sept. 16), "I showed the Dean of St. Paul's [Milman] over the Duomo of Murano yesterday, abusing St. Paul's all the time, and making him observe the great superiority of the old church and the abomination of its Renaissance additions, and the Dean was much disgusted." But we may doubt whether Ruskin had it all his own way, for in a later letter (Sept. 20) we learn that the Dean "is very fond of hearing himself talk and very positive," though "very good and on the whole sensible." English artists preparing pictures of Venice for the exhibitions—E. W. Cooke and David Roberts among the number—foregathered with their critic. Ruskin tells his father how much the paternal sherry was appreciated: "the artists declared it was like the best painting, at once tender and expressive."

But these were only occasional distractions. Nothing was allowed

to interfere for long or seriously with the steady prosecution of his work. He did not, however, work quite so hard as during his former winter in Venice. Then he was collecting materials, which he hoped would have sufficed for the whole book; now he was writing—supplementing his former materials and correcting and revising, but in the main writing, and the writing, he found, could not be hurried or done with a wearied pen. He gives his father an account of a normal day:—

“VENICE, *September 26.*—I rise at half-past six: am dressed by seven—take a little bit of bread and read till nine. Then we have breakfast punctually: very orderly served—a little marmalade with a silver leafage spoon on a coloured tile at one corner of the table; butter very fresh, in ice; fresh grapes and figs, which I never touch, on one side; peaches on the other, also for ornament chiefly—I never take them; a little hot dish which the cook is bound to furnish every morning, a roast beccafico or other little tiny kickshaw; before Effie, white bread and coffee. Then I read Pope or play myself till ten, when we have prayers; and Effie reads to me and I draw till eleven. Then I write till one, when we have lunch; then I go out and sketch or take notes till three, then row for an hour and a half; come in and dress for dinner at five, play myself till seven; sometimes out on the water again in an idle way; tea at seven, write or draw till nine, and get ready for bed.”

In the days thus spent from September 1851 to June 1852 Ruskin wrote the greater part of the second and third volumes of *The Stones of Venice*. He wrote in full zest and enthusiasm. “My head and heart,” he says (Feb. 4), “are altogether in my book.” This, however, was but a first draft, and often contained only the descriptive passages for which study on the spot was essential;¹ general reflections, as well as the pruning and polishing of the whole were left over for revision and further work at home. Extracts from letters to his father will best explain his method; they will show, too, how the work gradually took form:—

“*September 9.*—I am going on writing the text with the things before me, and as soon as the chapters are severally done I shall make George copy them and send his copy to be printed as accurately as possible under Mr. Harrison’s care.²

“*November 2.*—I am getting on very nicely with my work, but find myself continually forced to abridge and simplify my designs. Life is not long enough. I shall soon send you a chapter or two to read.

¹ See, for instance, ch. iii. §§ 35, 36.

² W. H. Harrison; see Vol. II. p. xix., Vol. III. p. lii.

“*November 28.*—I find that as to printing any of the volume till it is finished, it will be impossible, for almost everything I read gives me some little notes to add, and there are perpetual gaps left which cannot be filled up till the book nears the close. So I must just send you a detached bit here and there as it comes into form. . . . I enjoy my life in Venice exceedingly, now that I am not working hard; but the sad *little* that I do every day vexes me sometimes. Still, I believe it on the whole to be more profitable, and that I shall think and write better by just working as I find it pleasant, and resting thoroughly each day, mixing other subjects with my architecture.”

Among these other subjects was a study of the ways and forms of Venetian fish:—

“*October 8.*—I have very pleasant recreation, refreshing after my stoney work, in studying the fish or rather aquatic inhabitants of the lagoons, of anomalous and indescribable characters, represented mainly by the cuttlefish, with whom I have a species of sympathy on account of his pen and ink; and the sea-horse,¹ whom I like much better than a land horse, chiefly because having no legs, there is no chance of his coming down on his knees. It is a pity he is so small, for he is very beautiful in the water, with his crest erect and a fin on his back, invisible in the dried specimens, with which he propels himself like a screw steamer, revolving it with a velocity like the whirr of an insect’s wing. There are also little green long-nosed beasts of the same family, which I like for being six-sided, like a quartz crystal; and besides, we are great friends with the crabs under the windows, whom I believe to be fellows of infinite jest, as well as ingenuity. In fact they *back* out of any awkward position with a dexterity which her Majesty’s ministers might envy. A crab on shore can only be considered a good fellow at a *pinch*; but a crab in the water is a very different sort of person. I had no idea of their rapidity of motion.

“The book is going on very nicely, and I think will be very interesting.

“*November 9.*— . . . The fish appear quite infinite in variety, but the most beautiful of them are the nondescripts—things like the sea-horses, neither fish nor flesh, and the cuttlefish. I think the cuttlefish was intended to be a lesson to painters; first, to teach them that the best of all colours were, as Tintoret said, black and white,² or rather brown and white; and secondly, to show them what lovely colours might be put into grey: I never saw anything except an opal so beautiful as the living cuttlefish.”

¹ See the engraving in Vol. IV., opposite p. 154.

² Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvi. § 42.

Then, too, there were the varying moods of sea and sky to note and record:—

“*November 2.*—We had a superb high tide this morning, in all over our courtyard and over the greater part of St. Mark’s Place, and nothing could be more exquisite than the appearance of the church from the other end, with the reflection of its innumerable pillars white and dark-green and purple, thrown down over the square in bright bars, fading away in confused arrows of colour, with here and there a touch of blue and gold from the mosaics. Had there been sunshine it would have been like a scene in the Arabian Nights.

“*November 10.*—A sunny morning at last, very beautiful to behold. It is high time—the distress in the country being very great, but I am very glad to have seen the stormy weather; there were pieces of scenery thoroughly noble; and among them, the way the top of the Tower of St. Mark’s entangled itself among the rain cloud, not the least interesting. It is the Venetian Aiguille Dru. . . .”

The book progressed; but the more Ruskin did, the more he found to do:—

“*14th January* [1852].— . . . Touching my writing I hope the difference you feel depends chiefly on your getting the sheets as I write them, before they get any retouching or cutting out. When I get into a thorough writing humour I can do a good deal nearly in current hand, but when I write only for two hours each morning—and that partly with the desire only to *secure* facts rather than to set them in the best light—the result needs a great deal of squeezing and lopping before it comes right. I have no doubt as I go over the sheets you are now receiving, that at least one-third of their bulk will be evaporated, and the remaining two-thirds re-arranged and enriched, but I cannot do this till the whole matter of the book is before me, or in my head. Much of the *Seven Lamps* was written three times over, some of it five times. Besides this, which is enough to account for considerable inferiority, the very contents of this book are by no means the same; they are in great part mere accounts of buildings in the most complete terms I can use, seeing that they are soon likely to be destroyed, and the facts that columns are so high, and so far apart, and that a triangle is not a square, cannot be made very piquant—though some time hence, people will thank me more for them than for all the fine writing in the world. You may say that other people than *I* could do this. Yes, but other people *won’t* with the requisite care.¹ Even I find myself now more accurate than I was two years ago, and yet not so accurate as I want to be.”

¹ Compare the letter of February 18, and another extract from that of January 18, in Vol. IX. pp. xxxv., xxxvi.

“*January 18, 1852.*— . . . This six months in Venice has been little enough for what I desired to do. Take all the time that I have had here, about twelve months in all, in which I have had to examine piece by piece buildings covering five square miles of ground—to read, or glance at, some forty volumes of history and chronicles—to make elaborate drawings—as many as most artists would have made in the time, and to compose my book, what of it is done (for I do not count the first volume anything), and you will not, I think, wonder that I grudge the losing of a single day.”

Stray leaves were sent home to his father to read, who—perhaps because they were disconnected—did not always think them equal to his son’s best work. To some such expression of opinion, Ruskin replies:—

“*January 18.*—I was reading over some passages of the *Seven Lamps* this evening, and I certainly do not wonder at your feeling considerable inferiority in the text I am now sending you. I took great pains with most of the *Seven Lamps*, and I recollect, as I read the passages, the labour they cost me—some of them being as highly finished as it is, I believe, possible for me to finish prose. I remember, for instance, that the last half page of the ‘Lamp of Beauty’ cost me a whole forenoon—from ten to two, and that then I went out to walk quite tired, and yet not satisfied with the last sentence, and turned and returned it all the way to Dulwich. *Now*, as I told you, I do not like to tire myself, and I still less like to give the time. If half a page takes me an hour I get angry, and say to myself: This will never do; I shall never be done; and run it off any way it will come; and if I get out to walk, I see something, the first step I take, which brings a new subject into my head, and it is all over with the difficult sentence. The feeling of Time running away from me operates very unfortunately on writing, for I am firmly persuaded that neither writing nor drawing can be well done against time. There is also something burdensome in the vast breadth of the subject at present. It is all weighing on my brains at once, and I cannot devote my full mind to any part of it. As soon as I have it all down on paper—out of *danger*, as it were, and well in sight—I can take up any part and finish it as highly as I like. . . .

“*January 31.*— . . . George has written the enclosed much too close. . . . The pieces of evidence referred to in the text will be intelligible references to passages which I can expand afterwards, if I have time. In fact, the whole sheet, chiefly written on the spot to secure the necessary points, may be much concentrated and better expressed. But what a dream this human life is, and how fast it goes. I am getting rather jealous of time spent in turning sentences musically.

“*February 25.*— . . . I am glad to say that I now see the way to the

end of my work very well. Having the book once in form is a great thing. I have not, however, been sending you any bits lately, partly because George has been working for me in tracing inscriptions, and partly because I have not anything in complete form enough for sending. The chapter on the Ducal Palace, which has cost me a great deal of reading, is still devoid of all adornment: some chapters, finished to within a certain point, contain rather more of the homely facts of Venice than I am afraid you would like; and, in fact, the whole book, even where it is quite put up, is a good deal like a house just built, full of dust and damp plaster—you could hardly see it at a worse time, and I must let it dry before I paint or paper it.”

Neither Ruskin’s literary work, nor his artistic pursuits, nor social distractions interrupted his religious studies and exercises. It has been said by a graceful French critic that Ruskin’s religion was that of beauty,¹ and there is a sense in which the saying is true, but much more was he filled with the beauty of holiness. Acland, who saw much of him in the following year (1853), wrote: “Ruskin I understand more than I have before; truth and earnestness of purpose are his great guides, and no labour of thought or work is wearisome to him;” and again: “I ought to say, as a key to Ruskin, I had no idea of the intensity of his religious feeling before now.”² Similarly in perusing Ruskin’s diaries and family letters one is impressed at every page with the deeply religious bent of his mind, as, for instance, in the entry which heads this introduction. His Bible studies were never intermitted. Here at Venice, while at work on *The Stones*, he wrote “a commentary of 90 pages on Job” (Dec. 3). In his home letters, too, there are careful analyses and collations of Bible teaching on various points—on the Psalmist’s conception, for instance, of righteousness, and on the relations between rich and poor. Such studies were not merely literary or critical; they tended to edification; they were aids to personal religion. He regrets in one letter that his observance of outward ceremonies—such as his Scripture readings, family prayers, and church-going—did not lead to such true contrition as he could desire. In other letters he discusses with his father the doubts and difficulties that beset him in the manner of Divine revelation, and then comes a piece of religious experience in which doubts and despondency vanish before earnest resolutions and answered prayer:—

“*Good Friday* [April 9, 1852].—. . . One day last week I was getting very nervous about the *continual* feeling of relaxation in the throat, though in itself such a trifle. . . . I began thinking over my past life,

¹ See *Ruskin et la Religion de la Beauté*, par Robert de la Sizeranne, 1897.

² *Sir Henry Acland: a Memoir*, by J. B. Atlay, 1903, pp. 173–174.

and what fruit I had had of the joy of it, which had passed away, and of the hard work of it; and I felt nothing but discomfort in looking back; for I saw that I had always been working for *myself* in one way or another. Either for myself, in doing things that I enjoyed, *i.e.* climbing mountains, looking at pictures, etc.; or for my own aggrandisement and satisfaction of ambition, or else to gratify my affections in pleasing you and my mother, but that I had never really done anything for God's service. Then I thought of my investigations of the Bible and found no comfort in that either, for there seemed to me nothing but darkness and doubt in it; and as I was thinking of these things the illness increased upon me, and my chest got sore, and I began coughing just as I did at Salisbury, and I thought I was going to have another violent attack at once, and that all my work at Venice must be given up. This was about two in the morning. So I considered that I had now neither pleasure in looking to my past life, nor any hope, such as would be any comfort to me on a sick-bed, of a future one. And I made up my mind that this would never do.

"So after thinking a little more about it, I resolved that at any rate I would act as if the Bible *were* true; that if it were not, at all events I should be no worse off than I was before; that I would believe in Christ, and take Him for my Master in whatever I did; that assuredly to disbelieve the Bible was quite as difficult as to believe it; that there were mysteries either way; and that the best mystery was that which gave me Christ for a Master. And when I had done this I fell asleep directly. When I rose in the morning the cold and cough were gone; and though I was still unwell, I felt a peace and spirit in me I had never known before, at least to the same extent; and the next day I was quite well, and everything has seemed to go right with me ever since, all discouragement and difficulties vanishing even in the smallest things. . . ."

The religious tone and moral purpose which govern the argument and inspire the appeal in *The Stones of Venice* came from the very heart of the man. They were at once his inspiration and his encouragement:—

"The fact is" (he writes) "one's days must be either a laying up of treasure or a loss of it; life is either an ebbing or a flowing tide; and every night one must say. Here is so much of my fortune gone—irrevocably—with nothing to restore it or to be given in exchange for it; or, Here is another day of good service done and interest got, good vineyard digging, for which very assuredly 'whatsoever is right, that I shall receive' " (Letter to his father, April 14, 1852).

The longer passage just cited indicates some unsettlement of Ruskin's

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early faith, and in the text of the present volume will be found the first passages in his works which were written in a temper different from the exclusive Protestantism that he came in after years to deplore and denounce. Such a passage as that in the third chapter (§ 40) on the Madonna of Murano heralds his subsequent power of sympathy with every kind of sincere religious emotion, and even of sincere agnosticism.¹ As his own views broadened, so did his power of sympathy expand.

Ruskin's religious exercises were accompanied, it should be added, now as always, by much practical benevolence. "I can this time show you," he writes to his father (January 16, 1852), "*how* the money has gone to the last fraction. I have given a great deal in charity. There is not, I think, one man of the lower classes whom I have ever known in Venice who does not come begging, and with as much justness of claim as habitual improvidence can give to any one." His wife, too, visited the poor and sick, both in the hospitals and in their own homes. Nor were home charities forgotten. In these his father acted as his almoner, and Ruskin sent him the names and addresses of poor and deserving men, struggling artists and others, whom he was to search out and help.

Occasionally in the letters of this period one finds, too, anticipations of those wider social problems—of the unequal distribution of riches and poverty, of luxury and misery, which were afterwards to occupy so much of his time and thoughts:—

“(November 12, 1851.)—I was rather struck yesterday by three paragraphs in *Galignani*—in parallel columns—so that the eye ranged from one to the other. The first gave an account of a girl aged twenty-one, being found, after lying exposed all night, and having given birth to a dead child, on the banks of the canal near (Maidstone, I think—but some English county town); the second was the fashions for November, with an elaborate account of satin skirts; and the third, a burning to death of a child—or rather, a dying after burning—because the surgeon, without an order from the parish, would neither go to see it nor send it any medicine.”

A note such as this is significant of the social sympathies which informed, as we shall see, some of the most vital and effective passages of the present volume. In after years—and first, prominently, in *Sesame and Lilies*—Ruskin made much of arguments or appeals from cuttings in the newspapers, arranged by “Fors Clavigera”—by chance, but by chance that hit the nail on the head. During his present sojourn at Venice Ruskin put his thoughts on public affairs into the form of three letters to the *Times*, dealing severally with the principles of taxation, representation,

¹ See Introduction to *The Crown of Wild Olive*, and compare Vol. IV. p. 386 n.

and education. "I hope," he wrote to his father, in sending the first sheets for transmission to the newspaper (March 14, 1852), "the *Times* will put these letters in, for twenty years hence, if I live, I should like to be able to refer to them, and say, 'I told you so, and now you are beginning to find it out.'" The letters were, however, in the exercise of paternal discretion, held back; but Ruskin seems to have used the third of the series, or some portion of it, as Appendix 7 ("Modern Education") in the third volume of *The Stones of Venice*. Such portions of the letters as have been found among the author's MSS., together with an interesting correspondence on the subject between father and son, are given in a later volume of this edition.

Two other distractions from his regular work, of a different kind, remain to be mentioned before we leave Venice. On December 19, 1851, Turner died, and though the precise terms of the will were not yet known, Ruskin learnt at once that he had been appointed an executor. The position was to involve him in many worries, but for the moment it filled him with new interests and excitements. He would perhaps write *Turner's Life*; he would at any rate arrange all his works; the nation would build a gallery for the reception of the artist's bequest, and he, the disciple, would be commissioned to plan the shrine. Meanwhile it was to be presumed that many of Turner's drawings and sketches would come into the market, and Ruskin wrote to his father letter after letter of instructions with regard to those which were, and were not, to be acquired for their collection. We shall have to refer to these matters in a later volume, wherein Ruskin's *Turner Notes* are collected. Another affair which occupied some of his time and thoughts at Venice was the acquisition which he hoped to persuade the Trustees to allow him to make on their behalf of two pictures by Tintoret for the National Gallery. He took much trouble in the matter, but was unsuccessful; to this also we shall refer in a later volume.¹

The negotiations with the Trustees of the National Gallery kept him at Venice beyond his appointed time; his lease of the Casa Wetzler was up, and at the beginning of May he moved into lodgings in St. Mark's Place, "It is very delicious," he wrote (May 16), "looking *down* upon the place, as Turner found out long ago when he painted the first picture I defended²—'Juliet and her Nurse.'" He was detained at Venice yet further by the theft of some of his wife's jewels

¹ Ruskin bought another picture by Tintoret for himself, which he afterwards presented to the University of Oxford; see note in the next volume, *Venetian Index*, s. "Ducal Palace," *ad fin.*

² See Vol. III. p. 636.

and by vexatious proceedings which arose out of it; but at length, at the end of June, they left, homeward bound, with the greater part of the second and third volumes of his book roughed out. They returned by the St. Gothard, and Ruskin stayed a day or two once more in the scenes of some of his best-beloved Turner drawings. Venice, as we have seen, was a by-work; it was among the fields and hills that Ruskin felt upon his native heath:—

“AIROLO, *Sunday, 4th July* [1852].—I do not know when I have reached a more delightful place for a Sunday’s rest. There is a new inn here, not a fashionable hotel, but small, clean, and Swiss. The weather was lovely yesterday, and this morning is cloudless; and the contrast between the filth and vice of Venice and the purity of the scene which I have before me to-day is intense beyond expression. I always used to feel rejoiced in coming out of Italy into Switzerland; but this time I have been more completely shut into a city—though a beautiful one—than ever in my life before. There are indeed gardens and vines scattered among the houses, but one’s eye in Venice is never familiar with grass or vegetation, and is necessarily familiar with much misery and wickedness; and the scene before my window this morning is one of the most exquisite purity and peace; a good deal like that from our windows at Chamouni, but the green slopes of hill less steep, and softer, all broken into sweet knolls and studded with cottages and clusters of pine, and above them a mass of snowy rocks, not disfigured by débris or glaciers, but with the snow glittering in starry fragments upon their flanks, and crowning them with delicate lines and threads of silver, and the Ticino murmuring in the valley—not a white glacier stream, but clear and blue, and so far away that its sound is like the gentle voice of one of our English streams; and down the valley, promontory beyond promontory of pines, all dim with the morning mist and sunshine. I had no idea Airolo was so beautifully placed, but one must *rest* at a place before it can be known. To-morrow, D. V., we sleep at Fluelen, where I want to see the evening and morning effect upon the scene of our loveliest Turner. I shall then send the carriage we have brought from Verona to Lucerne by the steamer, but I shall go round by Schwytz and Goldau to see Turner’s other subjects.”

The middle of July (1852) saw Ruskin at home, and he settled down at once to finish his book. He had given up his house in Park Street before going abroad in the previous summer; he could not live any more, he said, “with a dead brick wall opposite his windows.”¹ His father had taken and furnished for him a house on Herne Hill (No. 30), next door to his old house, and there he and his wife resided till the following

¹ See the letter to Samuel Rogers, given in the Introduction to the next volume.

spring. There are but few letters, memorials, or diary-entries of this period (1852–1853); it must have been a time of hard and continuous work, with the two volumes of *The Stones* to be revised, re-cast, and completed, and the plates to be prepared.

How busy he was may be gathered from apologetic letters to his friends. “Pray ask Mrs. Harrison to forgive my rudeness,” he writes to his old friend and mentor, W. H. Harrison, “in not having called, but I am tormented by the very gentry of whom Cruikshank was talking, the woodcutters, until I begin to believe they consider me the block they are to carve upon; and all I can do is to get my run in the forenoon each day—as much open air as possible. I have not been into one house, up the hill or down, save my own and my father’s, for a month back.” So, again, he writes to F. T. Palgrave (March 14, 1853):—

“I am getting the work of eighteen months to a conclusion, and am obliged to keep for a fortnight or three weeks my forenoon and evenings unbroken, but if you like walking we could have a walk together any day after Wednesday that is fine, from four to six, my days at present being thus divided. I don’t get up very early: don’t breakfast till eight, nor get to my work before half-past nine. I have then about four hours for writing, including letters: we dine at half-past one, and from half-past two till four I draw; then I walk till six, come home to tea, and read in the evenings. Now you can either lunch with us at our dinner, and come out and take a walk to Norwood with me at four o’clock any day you like: the March afternoons are now very delightful.”

By the end of the year (1852) the second volume was nearly off his hands; it was out early in the spring, and for the London season of 1853 he took a house (No. 6) in Charles Street, Grosvenor Square. The third volume of *The Stones* was now nearing completion, and he had written also the first part of his notes for the Arundel Society on *Giotto and his Works in Padua*. In July 1853 he took a cottage at Glenfinlas for a well-earned holiday, on which he and his wife were presently joined by the brothers William and John Everett Millais. In Scotland he passed the last proofs of the third volume of *The Stones*, but his principal work there was the preparation of his Edinburgh *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*; the story of his Scottish sojourn may therefore conveniently be deferred to the Introduction to that book (Vol. XII.). By the time the lectures were ready the last volume of *The Stones of Venice* had been given to the public.

It had been Ruskin’s intention to conclude the work in one volume, the second; but even with much curtailment his materials were found

ample to furnish forth two volumes. The first volume, as we have seen, was concerned with "The Foundations." To the second, which was occupied with the Byzantine and the Gothic buildings of Venice, he gave the sub-title of "The Sea-Stories," or, as he calls them in the *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*,¹ "The Water-Stories." He explains the title in a letter to his father:—

"October 16 [1851].—... The second volume is to be called 'The Sea-Stories,' for what on land we call a ground floor, I always call in speaking of Venetian building the *Sea Story*, and this will give you the same kind of double meaning to the title of the second volume that there is in the first."²

The volume was to be concerned with the palaces which were raised on the inlets of the sea, and this central period in Venetian architecture was the period also of her best strength as Queen of the Adriatic. The third volume, dealing with the Renaissance buildings, was naturally entitled "The Fall," though the author afterwards regretted that he had not thought of another title:—

"I almost wish," he wrote to his father (from Glenfinlas, September 18, 1853), "I had thought of Isaiah xxxiv. 11 before fixing the title of the third volume. I think The 'Stones of Emptiness' would so *precisely* have fitted the Renaissance architecture."³

The work involved in the third volume was greatly increased by the Venetian Index, in which Ruskin noted for the use of travellers all the principal buildings of the city, and included descriptions of many of the pictures. The notice of the works of Tintoret in the school and church of S. Rocco were particularly elaborate, and became among the best known and most often quoted passages of Ruskin's works. His study of Tintoret had begun, as we have already seen,⁴ in 1845, and in this respect *The Stones of Venice* was a continuation of *Modern Painters*.

The publication of the second and third volumes, so near together as to enable them to be read and reviewed consecutively, added sensibly to Ruskin's already high reputation. The novelty of his views, the ingenuity and knowledge with which they were presented, the orderly marshalling of his subject, the imaginative eloquence of his language, made a deep impression. One of his principal themes in this second

¹ Letterpress to Plate 8 of the *Examples*, in the next volume.

² See Vol. IX. pp. xxxiv. and xlv.

³ "But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness."

⁴ See Vol. IV. pp. xxxvii.—xxxix.

volume was the glory of Venetian colour, and much of the quality which he described passed into his own brilliant pages. The descriptions of the approach to Venice and of the first vision of St. Mark's are familiar to every reader, and not less celebrated is the imaginative piece in which he pictures "that difference between the district of the gentian and of the olive which the stork and the swallow see far off, as they lean upon the sirocco wind" (ch. vi. § 8). To some of the new notes in Ruskin's message, contained in this volume, we shall presently refer, but here we may remark also, that in various passages of this volume Ruskin introduces references to illuminated manuscripts (see pp. 257, 321, 385), and in the next volume illustrations from them (vol. iii. Plate 1). He had begun the collection of such things a year or two before, and in 1853–1854 he devoted much time to them—studies which had result in some lectures given in the latter year (Vol. XII.), and which for the remainder of his life were one of his principal interests. We may remark also, in the eighth chapter, the passages by the way on Dante and Spenser, which with the chapter "Of Imagination Contemplative" in the second volume of *Modern Painters*, were among the earliest of his excursions into literary criticism. Even in the most methodical of his books Ruskin often digressed, but his readers recognised that whatever he touched he adorned with fresh and suggestive flashes of insight.

All this was fully recognised in the reviews of the volumes at the times of their publications.¹ "Mr. Ruskin," wrote one of them, "is the first really popular writer we have ever had upon architecture; and paradoxical as this may seem, it is because he is almost the first truly profound writer we have had on that subject."² "*The Stones of Venice*,"

¹ In addition to the reviews cited in the text the following may be referred to:—*The Globe*, July 21, 1853; *Literary Gazette*, July 30, August 16, October 29; *Critic*, August 1, November 1; *Examiner*, August 6; *Guardian*, August 24; *Edinburgh Guardian*, October 22 ("far in advances of all Mr. Ruskin's previous works"); the *Ecclesiastic*, October 1853, vol. 15, pp. 467–476 (unfavourable); the *Monthly Christian Spectator*, October 1853, vol. 3, pp. 589–595 ("the Turner of modern literature and the Johnson of art"); the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1853, N. S., vol. 40, pp. 392–394, December 1853, pp. 607–609; the *British Quarterly Review*, November 1853, vol. 18, pp. 460–483; the *Electic Review*, November 1853, N. S., vol. 6, pp. 553–563; the *National Miscellany*, November 1853, vol. 2, pp. 30–38 (a review still worth reading; see a reference below, p. 335); the *Ecclesiologist*, December 1853, vol. 14, pp. 415–417; the *Illustrated London News*, December 3, 17, 31 (hostile); the *Westminster Review*, January 1854, N. S., vol. 5, pp. 315–319; the *Prospective Review*, February 1854, vol. 10, pp. 19–51; and *Fraser's Magazine*, February and April 1854, vol. 49, pp. 127–138, 463–478. The *Builder* reviewed the second volume on August 6, 1853; and published hostile articles, written from the professional point of view, by "Z." on August 13 and October 22. Ruskin's father sent him the former article; "it is a species of encouragement to me," he replied (Aug. 15), "in showing what paltry opponents I have to deal with."

² *Daily News*, August 1, 1853.

said another, in taking leave of the completed work, “is a solemn book; the production of an earnest, religious, progressive, and informed mind. The author of this essay has condensed into it a poetic apprehension, the fruit of awe of God and delight in nature, a knowledge, love, and just estimate of art, a holding fast to fact and repudiation of hearsay, an historic breadth, and a fearless challenge of existing social problems, whose union we know not where to find paralleled.”¹ The volumes appeased old enemies and made new friends. “I was surprised,” wrote Ruskin to his father (August 1, 1853), “by the *Athenaeum*, which I think is intended for a most favourable review; nay, I think it is their idea of eulogium. They clearly want to make peace, and the objections are so ridiculous that I believe the very idlest reader can see their quality.” That journal, which had hitherto been very hostile,² devoted a very long notice to the second volume of *The Stones of Venice*, parting with it as a “fanciful, eloquent, suggestive, prejudiced, and inconclusive book”—a book “to be cavilled at” but to be “read and quoted.”³ The *Times*, which had not hitherto noticed any of Ruskin’s books, and which indeed in those days allotted very little space to literature, now gave marked and unusual prominence to *The Stones of Venice*. Two long reviews were devoted to the second volume, and another of yet greater length to the third. It recognised in the author “a contemporary of Tennyson and Turner, and one of the consolations of an age which, unheroic in action and perplexed in faith, has fed its sentiment on the poetical aspects of nature and of history.”⁴ Ruskin was much pleased with the prominence given to his book in the leading journal, though on particular points many objections were taken to his views. “I am much pleased,” he writes to his father (October 2), “with critique in *Times*. It is by a man who has really read the book, and thought over it—incomparably the best critique I ever had.”

What, we may now pass to consider, was Ruskin’s purpose in the Venetian work which had detained his time and thoughts for three years, to the interruption of *Modern Painters*? What were its leading ideas? and what its influence on the art and thought of the time? Ruskin

¹ *Spectator*, October 8, 1853. “One of the best and most intelligent critiques I have had,” writes Ruskin to his father (Oct. 21). This was a review of vol. iii.; vol. ii. had been noticed on July 23.

² See Vol. III. p. xlii.; Vol. IV. p. xlii.; Vol. VIII. p. xxxix.

³ No. 1343, pp. 879–881, July 23, 1853. The review of the third volume (No. 1356, pp. 1249–1250, October 22) was less friendly, but the notices of Tintoret’s pictures were highly praised.

⁴ The reviews in the *Times* appeared on September 24, October 1, and November 12. The passage quoted above is from the second notice.

always regarded his work upon Venice as an interlude, a diversion, an interruption. “All that I did at Venice,” he says, “was by-work, because her history had been falsely written before. . . . Something also was due,” he adds, “to my love of gliding about in gondolas.”¹ But he came to recognise that through this by-way he had been led to the heart of the matter. His study of Tintoret (in 1845) had led him “into the study of the history of Venice herself; and through that into what else I have traced or told of the laws of national strength and virtue. I am happy in having done this so that the truth of it must stand.”² And similarly in a letter to a Venetian friend, Count Zorzi, he calls himself “a foster-child of Venice; she has taught me all that I have rightly learned of the arts which are my joy; and of all the happy and ardent days, which, in my earlier life, it was granted to me to spend in this holy land of Italy, none were so precious as those which I used to pass in the bright recess of your Piazzetta, by the pillars of Acre; looking sometimes to the glimmering mosaics in the vaults of the church; sometimes to the Square, thinking of its immortal memories; sometimes to the Palace and the Sea.”³ Before coming to the lessons learnt and taught by Ruskin from the stones of Venice we may remark that the digression turned out to lead back to the main theme of *Modern Painters*, which was the history of the art of landscape painting. It was “the Renaissance frosts,”⁴ Ruskin held, that had killed at once the vital art of architecture, and the love of landscape. He was full of this point as he neared the end of his book:—

“I have now done all the hard dry work,” he writes to his father (April 26, 1852), “and I see my superstructure in progress—a noble subject: *Why* is it that we have now no great art, except in landscape, and what the consequences will be, if we continue in this state; while the ‘except in landscape’ forms, as I told you, the subject of the third volume of *Modern Painters*. All *Modern Painters* together will be the explanation of a parenthesis in *The Stones of Venice*.”⁵

Or, to put it the other way round, as Ruskin sometimes did, all *The Stones of Venice* was the explanation of a point in *Modern Painters*. It was thus that Ruskin put the matter in an earlier letter than the one referred to above; it will be found cited in a note on p. 207, below. So,

¹ *Praeterita*, i. ch. ix. § 180.

² *Ibid.* ii. ch. vii. § 140.

³ *Osservazioni intorno ai Ristauri interni ed esterni della Basilica di San Marco*, Venezia, 1877, p. 12.

⁴ *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. ch. xxi. § 31; vol. iii. ch. i. § 23.

⁵ That is to say, the parenthetical explanation of the manner in which the Renaissance, by destroying the picturesque element in architecture, contributed to divert the love of nature into landscape painting: see below, p. 207.

again, and more generally, Ruskin says in the third volume of *Modern Painters* (ch. viii. § 1) that the two books “are parts of one whole, divided merely as I had occasion to follow out one or other of its branches; for I have always considered architecture as an essential part of landscape.”

This, however, was an *ex post facto* harmony of conclusions. At the time *The Stones of Venice* seemed a digression, and its teaching may properly be isolated and regarded as significant in itself. We have noticed already¹ one of its main themes, connecting it with *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*—namely, its illustration of the principle laid down in the earlier book, that architecture is the expression of certain states in the moral temper of the people by and for whom it is produced. It is unnecessary to give here any outline of the argument. The progress of it, though occasionally delayed by digressions, is perfectly clear and orderly throughout; moreover, the author himself has given two summaries of it—first and fully, in an introduction to the Venetian Index (Vol. XI.); secondly and more shortly, in the preface to the edition of 1874 (see Vol. IX. p. 14). What is here proposed is to call attention to a few points which either have significance in relation to Ruskin’s subsequent work, or which have had traceable influence on the art and thought of our time.

The use of architecture as an historical document was one of the original and fruitful points in Ruskin’s Venetian work,² and later studies in Venetian history have on the whole tended to confirm the substantial accuracy of his conclusions in this particular case. If it is said that he made too little of political forces and ignored some commercial factors altogether—especially, for instance, the discovery of the Cape route in 1486, which to the historians had a principal effect in hastening the decline of Venetian supremacy³—the answer is that he was dealing with moral causes and conditions which were long antecedent to that particular event, and of which, as he maintained, political changes were the expression rather than the cause.⁴ The question is whether his theory, deduced from the spirit of Venetian architecture, is or is not in general conformity with the other orders of facts upon which general historians are wont exclusively to dwell. The answer is that substantially and with some qualifications Ruskin was right. This is the view of the modern historian of the Republic. “Ruskin,” says Mr. Horatio Brown, “carried his theories further than history, faithfully studied, would warrant, but in most cases he had reason on his side. It may be doubted if the year 1418

¹ See Vol. IX. p. xxi. ² Compare Vol. IX. p. xlii.

See *St. Mark’s Rest*, § 34.

See ch. i. of the first volume, and especially p. 18 *n.* (Vol. IX.).

and the death of Carlo Zeno mark categorically the point at which the history of Venice begins to decline and fall; but, on the other hand, the transition from the Gothic style to that of the Renaissance undoubtedly coincides with a radical change in the character of the Venetian people and in the views and aspirations of the Republic.”¹

Ruskin’s work may properly be considered, therefore, to have thrown important light on Venetian history. In regard to Venetian architecture it has been as a revelation. The success of his work in this respect tends to obscure its value. For two generations past Venice has been seen through Ruskin’s eyes; it is forgotten that his vision was individual and original. He produced something of the same effect in relation to the architecture of Venice that Turner produced in relation to her scenery of sea and sky. The Venice of all the painters of to-day, whether with the brush or in words, is the Venice of Turner—a city of enchanted colour; but in the eighteenth century the popular Venice was that of Canaletto—a city of murky shadows. When we now read in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* that the Ducal Palace is “a model of all perfection,”² we may or may not entirely agree, but the judgment does not surprise as a paradox. And when we are told that the façade of St. Mark’s is “a lovely dream,”³ we are most of us inclined to acquiesce, and few, if any, are startled into indignation. But when Ruskin wrote, the architects of the time regarded such opinions as indicating the wildest caprice, if not as evidence of insanity.⁴ Professional opinion was that St. Mark’s and the Ducal Palace were as ugly and repulsive as they were contrary to rule and order.⁵ The general public did not, perhaps, entirely share such views, but Gibbon is worth citing as an example of educated and cultured opinion in the eighteenth century:—

“Of all the towns in Italy,” he writes to his stepmother on April 22, 1765, “I am the least satisfied with Venice. Objects which are only singular without being pleasing produce a momentary surprise which soon gives way to satiety and disgust. Old, and in general, ill-built houses, ruined pictures, and stinking ditches, dignified with the pompous denomination of canals, a fine bridge spoilt by two rows of houses upon it, and a large square decorated with the worst architecture I ever saw.”⁶

¹ Translated from an article in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, vol. xix. (1900), subsequently issued as a pamphlet, p. 2.

² Vol. VIII. p. 111.

³ Vol. VIII. p. 206.

⁴ See the passages cited in Vol. IX. pp. xliii., xliv., 55 n.

⁵ See Vol. VIII. pp. 206, 207.

⁶ *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon*, edited by R. E. Prothero, 1896, i. 75. See also the extract from Lady Craven’s letter in *Præterita*, ii. ch. iii. § 55. But see the contrary opinion of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale), cited below, p. 62.

The “worst architecture” alluded, one may imagine, not to the Renaissance arcades but to the church, the palace, and the campanile.¹ It would be as easy to multiply instances of depreciation of the Byzantine and Gothic architecture of Venice in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as to adduce echoes of Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice* from subsequent literature. The novelty of Ruskin’s views comes out very clearly in one of the contemporary reviews of this volume:—

“His chief architectural service consists in the light he has thrown upon Lombard, and especially Venetian architecture, which, until the appearance of the *Seven Lamps* and the *Stones of Venice*, was popularly regarded as the result of the ‘barbarous’ taste to which in Wren’s and Evelyn’s time even the pointed Gothic was attributed. He has proved to the hearts as well as to the heads of his readers that the Lombard architects were artists of profound and tender feelings, and that the ignorance and want of principle which has been attributed to them has only existed in ourselves. In the cases in which we felt best fortified against a good opinion of the mediæval architecture of Italy, Mr. Ruskin has met us and overthrown our theoretical objections with the most startling and unanswerable pleas. For example, the architecture of St. Mark’s at Venice has, from of old, been the but for students, as well of the classic as of the Gothic schools, to aim their wit at. Its ill-shaped domes; its walls of brick incrusting with marble; its chaotic disregard of symmetry in the details; its confused hodge-podge of classic, Moresque, and Gothic were strong points in the indictment. But Mr. Ruskin comes and assures us,” etc., etc. (*Daily News*, August 1, 1853).²

Ruskin’s work upon the early architecture of Venice was original and fruitful in relation both to the Byzantine and to the Gothic styles. He justly claims for himself in conjunction with Lord Lindsay the position of a pioneer (in this country at any rate) in the appreciation of Byzantine art.³ It is now well known and understood that the Church of the Holy Wisdom at Constantinople exercised a wide influence on the architecture, both of the East and of the West. Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice*, with its

¹ Disraeli in *Contarini Fleming* admires the Palladian churches, and writes of “the barbarous although picturesque buildings called the Ducal Palace.” Dickens, on the contrary, was a Ruskinian. In his *Letters from Italy* (1846) he is disappointed with St. Peter’s at Rome, and has “a much greater sense of mystery and wonder in the Cathedral of San Mark at Venice.” He also greatly prefers Tintoret to Michael Angelo (pp. 167, 209).

² So also the *North British Review* (May 1854) said: “In our opinion—and we have made no light study of architecture and its related arts—the most important piece of criticism as yet produced by Mr. Ruskin is his account and justification of the Church of St. Mark’s Venice, an edifice which, up to the time of the publication of *The Stones of Venice*, was a stumbling-block and a mystery to all persons, architects or amateurs, who beheld it.”

³ *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 121 n.

elaborate account of St. Mark's—one of the buildings which derive from St. Sofia—had much effect in arousing interest in Byzantine architecture. “The half century that has passed since he wrote has thrown a flood of light,” says Mr. Frederic Harrison, “upon the history of Byzantine art and its far-radiating influence on all forms of art in the West. It is a remarkable instance of Ruskin's genius that, long before the special studies in Southern Italy and the Mediterranean seaboard which have given us so much new information, he does seem to have said nothing which the later studies have disproved, if, indeed, he does not seem from time to time implicitly to have felt the truth.”¹ In the present day the study of Byzantine art has led to an adoption of Byzantine architecture, of which Mr. Bentley's Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster, now in process of being incrustated internally with marble and mosaics, is so conspicuous an illustration. It is thus not unreasonable to trace back to *The Stones of Venice*, with its vindication of St. Mark's from the charge of barbarism, some share in the influences which have led to a Byzantine Revival. In his study of the details of St. Mark's, again, Ruskin broke new ground, at any rate for English readers. The elaborate works on the subject which enthused him. He described the church as an illuminated Bible, and he was the first English writer who devoted any serious attention to reading its letters (? Lindsay). There was already a description of the church published in Venice in 1753–1754—*La Chiesa Ducale di S. Marco colle Notizie del suo Innalzamento, Spiegazione delli Mosaici, e delle Iscrizioni; un Dettaglio della preziosità delli marmi, con tutto ciò che di fuori et di dentro vi si contienè; e con varie riflessioni et scoperte*, 3 vols. To this book a reference is made below, p. 137 n. The author (as stated in a MS. note in a copy in the possession of Mr. Wedderburn) was Giovanni Meschinello, “priest of Santa Maria Zobenigo and of the Church of S. Marco; a learned man and much devoted to books.” Among the books of a date later than

¹ *John Ruskin*, 1900, p. 71. Mr. Harrison has given an interesting sketch of the influence and character of the arts of Constantinople in his Rede Lecture, *Byzantine History of the Early Middle Ages*, 1900: see especially pp. 29–33. I am unable to follow entirely his statement in the former work (p. 70) that Ruskin failed to understand “the real relation of the buildings and arts he found at Venice to their true sources in the Byzantine school and in Greek invention.” The connection was one of Ruskin's main theses in his book, and he frequently refers to the employment of Greek workmen in Venice (see also *St. Mark's Rest*, § 57). Probably Mr. Harrison was thinking of the distinction which Ruskin drew—most clearly in the *Seven Lamps* (Vol. VIII. pp. 119–121)—between Greek and Byzantine; a distinction which, in the later note to that passage, he corrects; see also *St. Mark's Rest*, § 92. In his later books he frequently insists on the connection between the arts of Greece and of Italy (see, e.g., his preface to *The Economist of Xenophon (Bibliotheca Pastorum)*). On this subject, see further *St. George* (the Journal of the Ruskin Union), October 1903 p. 319.

Ruskin's, a French guide is worthy of notice—*Guide de la Basilique St. Marc à Venise*, par Antoine Pasini, Chanoine de la même Basilique (Schio: 1888); and English readers may usefully consult *The Bible of St. Mark: St. Mark's Church, The Altar and Throne of Venice*, by Alexander Robertson, D. D. (1898). But the most important work on St. Mark's is the sumptuous and monumental series of volumes issued by Signor F. Ongania, of Venice (1881–1888), and these were inspired directly by Ruskin and by the enthusiasm for their church which he had kindled among patriotic Venetians. In Ongania's volumes and portfolios every portion of the church, inside and out, is illustrated either by permanent photographs or by chromo-lithographs. The scale of the work may be judged from its price—£97. The volume containing the text has been translated into English—*The Basilica of S. Mark in Venice illustrated from the points of view of art and history by Venetian writers under the direction of professor Camillo Boito, translated by William Scott* (Ongania, 1888). Signor Ongania, in a preface written upon the completion of his undertaking, describes its magnitude and his discouragements; but, he adds, "there served to inspire him with courage the voice and the wise counsels of the celebrated English writer, John Ruskin," and accordingly

"TO
PROFESSOR JOHN RUSKIN, M.A., LL. D.,

whose cordial encouragement and able suggestions have contributed not a little to the successful conclusion of an arduous enterprise, this English translation is respectfully dedicated by his obliged and faithful servant,
F. ONGANIA."

The reader who now visits St. Mark's should remember that the building has been much "restored" since Ruskin wrote. Some account of the restorations is given in the volume of this edition containing his later Venetian studies which have many references to the subject. Here it may be said generally that the north and south fronts of the church have been refaced and to some extent rebuilt; that the south-west portico has been reconstructed (see below, p. 115); that some of the pavement inside has been re-laid (see p. 116 *n.*); and that on the cathedral generally many of the old Greek marbles have been replaced by inferior Carrara. A similar remark applies to the Ducal Palace, which has been very largely "restored" since Ruskin described it in this volume. Full particulars on this subject will be found in a terminal note (below, p. 464); while in notes below the text information is given with regard to capitals of which Ruskin's descriptions are affected by subsequent restorations, and a list of the subjects sculptured on the capitals is added in tabular

from, which will, it is hoped, be found convenient (p. 468). Occasional notes of a similar kind are given on topographical points. In this part of their work the editors gratefully acknowledge the assistance rendered them by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Robertson, of Venice; to Mr. Horatio Brown also they are indebted for information kindly given on particular points.

In the study and appreciation of the Gothic of Venice, as well as in the vindication of its Byzantine basilica, Ruskin was again a pioneer. "No one," he says, "had ever drawn the traceries of the Ducal Palace till I did it myself . . .; and not a soul in England knew that there was a system in Venetian architecture at all, until I made the measured (to half and quarter inches) elevation of it, and gave the analysis of its tracery mouldings and their development from those of the Frari (*Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii.)."¹ Ruskin attached importance, too, to the definition of Gothic generally, on its structural side, which he worked out in the sixth chapter of this volume. In one of the little pocket note-books already referred to (Vol. IX. p. xxv.), filled with notes and sketches made in 1849, Ruskin jotted down some of the main points here developed (pp. 245–265). In looking through the note-book in after years, he summarised its contents and wrote: "My first ideas for the *Stones of Venice* (the mathematical part) put down as they came into my head in travelling" (from York to Scotland). To the influence of Ruskin's defence of Gothic architecture some reference has already been made in connection with *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Vol. VIII. p. xlii.), but this influence was greatly deepened by *The Stones of Venice*. The Gothic Revival in England did not originate with Ruskin, but he gave to it a stimulus and an extension. He introduced Venetian Gothic into the movement; he made it popular, and gave to it the force derived from his incomparable resources of argument, imagination and eloquence. "We do not remember anything in the history of art in England," wrote a reviewer in the year following the completion of *The Stones of Venice*, "at all corresponding in suddenness and extent to the effect which the works of Mr. Ruskin have already exercised upon the popular taste directly, and through popular taste on the taste and theories of artists themselves."² The character of this influence has been traced by the historian of the movement:—

"Students who, but a year or so previously, had been content to regard Pugin as their leader, or who had modelled their works of art on the principles of the *Ecclesiologist*, found a new field open to them and hastened

¹ *Notes on Prout and Hunt*, No. 58.

² *North British Review*, May 1854, vol. 21, pp. 172–200, in a notice of *The Stones of Venice*, vols. ii. and iii.

to occupy it. They prepared designs in which the elements of Italian Gothic were largely introduced; churches in which the ‘lily capital’ of St. Mark’s was found side by side with Byzantine bas-reliefs and mural inlay from Murano; town halls wherein the arcation and baseless columns of the Ducal Palace were reproduced; mansions which borrowed their parapets from the Calle del Bagatin, and windows from the Ca’ d’Oro. They astonished their masters by talking of the savageness of Northern Gothic, of the Intemperance of Curves, and the Laws of Foliation; and broke out into open heresy in their abuse of Renaissance detail. They went to Venice or Verona—not to study the works of Sansovino and San Michele—but to sketch the tomb of the Scaligers and to measure the front of the Hotel Danieli. They made drawings in the Zoological Gardens, and conventionalised the forms of birds, beasts, and reptiles into examples of ‘noble grotesque’ for decorative sculpture. They read papers before Architectural Societies, embodying Mr. Ruskin’s sentiments in language which rivalled the force, if it did not exactly match the refinement, of their model. They made friends of the Pre-Raphaelite painters (then rising into fame), and promised themselves as radical a reform in national architecture as had been inaugurated in the field of pictorial art. Nor was this all. Not a few architects who had already established a practice began to think that there might be something worthy of attention in the new doctrine. Little by little they fell under its influence. Discs of marble, billet-mouldings, and other details of Italian Gothic crept into many a London street-front. Then bands of coloured brick (chiefly red and yellow) were introduced, and the voussoirs of arches were treated after the same fashion.

“But the influence of Mr. Ruskin’s teaching reached a higher level than this, and manifested itself in unexpected quarters. Years afterwards, in the centre of the busiest part of our busy capital—the very last place one would have supposed likely to be illumined by the light of *The Seven Lamps*—more than one palatial building was raised, which recalled in the leading features of its design and decoration the distinctive character of Venetian Gothic. The literature of the Revival was sensibly affected by the same cause. It is impossible not to recognise, even in the title of Mr. Street’s charming volume, *The Brick and Marble Architecture of North Italy* [1855], a palpable echo from *The Stones of Venice*, while in some of his theories—as, for instance, that the undulation in the pavement of St. Mark’s was intended to typify the stormy seas of life—we find a reflex of Mr. Ruskin’s tendency to natural symbolisms.”¹

Mr. Eastlake mentions a curious evidence of the extent to which Ruskin’s architectural writings had impressed themselves upon the life of the time. The Latin Epilogue to the Westminster Play is generally a

¹ *A History of the Gothic Revival*, by Charles L. Eastlake, 1872, pp. 278–280. Mr. Eastlake’s volume is copiously illustrated, and contains in an appendix a list of “selected examples of Gothic buildings,” with dates and other particulars, from which the development of the Revival and Ruskin’s influence upon it may be traced.

reflex of some popular taste or current topic of sufficient notoriety to afford scope for good-humoured satire. In 1857 the epilogue to the *Adelphi* of Terence contained the following dialogue:—

Ctesipho. Græcia in hac nle palmam fert semper.
Æschinus. Ineptis!
 Est cumulus nudæ simplicitatis iners.
 Ars contra mediæva haud lege aut limite iniquo
 Contenta, huc, illuc, pullulat ad libitum. . .
Ctesipho. An rectum atque fidem saxa laterque docent?
Æschinus. Graiâ et Romanâ nihil immoralius usquam
 Archi—est—tecturâ—(turning to “*The Seven Lamps*” pagina sexta—tene.
 Sic ipse dixit.
Ctesipho. Vix hæc comprehendere possum.
Æschinus. Scilicet Æsthesi tu, miserande, cares.

And every reader will remember the lines in Charles Kingsley’s “The Invitation—To Tom Hughes” (1856):—

“Leave to Robert Browning
 Beggars, fleas and vines;
 Leave to mournful Ruskin
 Popish Apennines,
 Dirty stones of Venice,
 And his Gas-lamps Seven—
 We’ve the stones of Snowdon
 And the lamps of heaven.”

Ruskin also had his heavenly lamps and the stones of Chamouni beneath them, but Kingsley’s lines were not, of course, to be taken seriously.

Two points may specially be noticed in which Ruskin’s work gave a new turn to the architectural movement of the day. The Gothic Revival, as has already been said (Vol. VIII., p. xlvi.), was largely bound up with Catholicism, Roman and Anglican. Pugin hoped to convert his countrymen to Rome by Christianising their architecture;¹ and the High Church Party, who were pioneers in the revival of Gothic, sought to revive also ritual ceremonies and observances. Ruskin put the movement on a Protestant basis, and thus won for it a hearing in circles where it had hitherto been suspect. So, again, the movement had been mainly ecclesiastical. Ruskin made it civic. He showed that when an architecture is truly national its spirit pervades alike the temple and the palace; he illustrated—both in *The Stones of Venice* and again in his Edinburgh *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*—the derivation of ecclesiastical

¹ See Vol. IX. p. 437.

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forms from civil buildings, and he contested vigorously the popular idea that Gothic was good only for churches. “It was one of the purposes of *The Stones of Venice*,” said Ruskin in his inaugural *Lectures on Art* at Oxford (§ 122), to show that the lovely forms of cathedral domes and porches, of the vaults and arches of their aisles, of the canopies of their tombs, “were every one of them developed in civil and domestic building.” It is significant that of the modern buildings which may be traced most directly to Ruskin’s influence, one was a museum, another an insurance office, and the third a palace of justice.¹

It is the fate of every movement to pay the penalty of success in being caricatured and vulgarised. Ruskin makes complaint of this in the preface to the third edition of *The Stones of Venice* (1874). “No book of mine,” he there says, “has had so much influence on contemporary art,” and goes on to deplore the mottling of manufactory chimneys with black and red brick and the introduction of Italian Gothic into the porches of public houses (Vol. IX. p. 11). This order of Victorian architecture, which has sometimes been distinguished as the streaky bacon style, is indeed unlovely enough, and Ruskin—in a letter reprinted in an additional appendix to this volume (p. 458)—deplores that his house in the suburbs had come to be surrounded everywhere by the “accursed Frankenstein monster of, indirectly, my own making.” “For Venetian architecture developed out of British moral consciousness I decline,” he says again, “to be answerable.” Of a building for which he did answer—the Museum at Oxford—we shall hear in a later volume. By one of the same architects was the Crown Life Insurance Office (1855) in New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, of which D. G. Rossetti said: “It seems to me the most perfect piece of civil architecture of the new school that I have seen in London. I never cease to look at it with delight.”² But Ruskin for his part feared that the effect produced by his preaching and by the practice of architects such as Benjamin Woodward was only transitory. “The architecture we endeavoured to introduce is inconsistent,” he wrote, “alike with the reckless luxury, the deforming mechanism, and the squalid misery of modern cities; among the formative fashions of the day, aided, especially in England, by ecclesiastical sentiment, it indeed obtained notoriety; and sometimes behind an engine furnace, or a railroad bank, you may detect the pathetic discord of its momentary grace, and, with toil, decipher its floral carvings choked with soot. I felt answerable to the schools I loved, only for their injury.”³

¹ See below, Appendix 13, p. 459.

² *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, 1897, p. 145.

³ “The Mystery of Life and its Arts,” in *Sesame and Lilies*, § 104.

What has been spoken of as the Gothic Revival was, however, it should be remembered, not merely a crusade to advocate a particular style of architecture, it was part of a movement directed towards enlisting better enthusiasm in the pursuit of the art, and attracting to it greater public interest and support. From this point of view Ruskin's aid was, as already has been pointed out (Vol. VIII., p. xli.), of the highest value. It is worth noting that in 1852 was held the first architectural exhibition, and two years later was founded the Architectural Museum. Ruskin calls attention to the Museum in the preface to the second edition of *The Seven Lamps* (Vol. VIII. p. 13); he presented to it a large collection of casts, taken in France and at Venice; and in November 1854 he delivered a course of lectures there.¹ A report of these is reprinted in Vol. XII.

It may be doubted, however, whether the influence of *The Stones of Venice* was not greater in the social than in the artistic sphere. We have seen how already in *The Seven Lamps* Ruskin had been drawn from the artistic side of his subject to consider questions relating to the organisation of labour. The test of good ornament, he had found, was this—was it done from the heart? was the workman happy while he was about it? Then, he had seen something of the revolutionary movement in France; he was writing, too, at a time when the Chartist movement at home, and the echo from the crash of tumbling thrones abroad, were filling men's minds with uncertain fears and a sense of disquietude. Ruskin seems to have seen some special danger in the enrolment of large bodies of navvies on the then busy work of railway construction. Was it an occupation which conduced to the happy life of the workman? Would not social stability, no less than the cause of art, be better advanced by the organisation of labour in arts and crafts as in the older days? Thus far had Ruskin tentatively come in *The Seven Lamps*.² Then, at Venice, his thoughts were again turned to a point at which his artistic analysis, his social interests, and his historical inquiries all seemed to converge. As he considered the essentials of Gothic architecture, he became more and more convinced that its virtue was found in the free play of individual fancy; that the highest achievements had only been possible when the artist was a craftsman and the craftsman an artist. "The chief purpose," he wrote in after times to Count Zorzi, in the letter already quoted, "with which, twenty years ago, I undertook my task of the history of Venetian architecture, was to show the dependence of its beauty on the happiness and fancy of the workman, and to show

¹ See above, p. xlv.

² See Vol. VIII. pp. xlv., 218, 264.

also that no architect could claim the title to authority of *magister* unless he himself wrought at the head of his men, captain of manual skill, as the best knight is captain of armies.”¹ So it had been, he found, in Venice—in the days of the best health and strength of the Republic. Must it not be so also in modern states, if they were to consist of communities, healthy in their organisation, happy in their activities, and free in their constitution—in that positive sense of freedom which means liberty to all men to make the best of their capacities? What he found positively in his study of Gothic architecture, he found also negatively in that of the Renaissance at Venice. When art was reduced to formalism its vitality was gone; and “the Fall” was of the state, as well as of its architecture. The third volume thus connected itself closely with the central chapter in the second. Ruskin’s thoughts at Venice were much given, as we have seen, to the political and social mysteries of life—the inequalities of worldly fortune, the existence side by side of idle luxury and servile toil (p. xl.). He had written, also, his first essays on questions of politics and political economy (p. xli.). He had been brought into personal contact with popular revolutionaries, and the Austrian officers of law and order. He sought for some synthesis of all these things, and he found it in the central pages (§§ 9–21) of the sixth chapter of this volume, on “The Nature of Gothic Architecture,” and on the true functions of the workman in art. True art, he said, can only be produced by artists; true freedom is the freedom of the soul. “Life without industry,” as he summed up the matter in a later book, “is guilt, and industry without art is brutality.”² “There might be more freedom in England, though her feudal lords’ lightest words were worth men’s lives, and though the blood of the vexed husbandman dropped in the furrows of her fields, than there is while the animation of her multitudes is sent like fuel to feed the factory smoke, and the strength of them is given daily to be wasted into the fineness of a web, or racked into the exactness of a line.”³ This chapter, said Ruskin in the following year, “was precisely and accurately the most important in the whole book.”⁴ In it is to be found “the creed, if it be not the origin, of a new industrial school of thought.”⁵

“I should be led far from the matter in hand,” wrote Ruskin, “if I were to pursue this interesting subject” (below, p. 202). He was to be led far in later years; and at the time the effect of his words was far-reaching,

¹ See p. 14 of the work cited above (p. xlvii. n.).

² *Lectures on Art*, § 95.

³ See below, ch. vi. § 13.

⁴ *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, 1854, § 76.

⁵ F. Harrison’s *John Ruskin*, p. 76.

too. Nowhere did the seed sown by Ruskin in this chapter fall upon more fruitful ground than at Oxford, where Burne-Jones and William Morris were undergraduates. "Ruskin became for them," says Morris's biographer, "a hero and a prophet, and his position was more than ever secured by the appearance of *The Stones of Venice* in 1853. The famous chapter on 'The Nature of Gothic Architecture,' long afterwards lovingly reprinted by Morris as one of the earliest productions of the Kelmscott Press, was a new gospel and a fixed creed."¹ Canon Dixon, another member of the same set at Oxford (though of a different college), draws an interesting picture of their evenings with Ruskin's books:—

"It was when the Exeter men, Burne-Jones and he [Morris], got at Ruskin, that strong direction was given to a true vocation—*The Seven Lamps*, *Modern Painters*, and *The Stones of Venice*. It was some little time before I and others could enter into this; but we soon saw the greatness and importance of it. Morris would often read Ruskin aloud. He had a mighty singing voice, and chanted rather than read those weltering oceans of eloquence as they have never been given before or since, it is most certain. The description of the 'Slave Ship' or of Turner's skies, with the burden, 'Has Claude given this?'² was declaimed by him in a manner that made them seem as if they had been written for no end but that he should hurl them in thunder on the head of the base criminal who had never seen what Turner saw in the sky."³

Morris's preface to the Kelmscott edition of the chapter is here reprinted in an appendix (p. 460), and in it he tells us what effect Ruskin's words had upon him, and what was his estimate of their significance. The chapter is, he says, "one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century," and "to some of us when we first read it, it seemed to point out a new road on which the world should travel." Morris in after years was to throw himself with eager activity into an endeavour to drive the world along that road; and there were others at the time who felt, like those eager undergraduates at Oxford, that this chapter was essentially a tract for the times. The first suggestion for a separate publication of the chapter seems to have come from Dr. John Brown (author of *Rab and his Friends*). In sending on a letter from Dr. Brown, Ruskin writes to his father (Aug. 1, 1853): "Please notice what he says about publishing sixth chapter cheap, separate—'The Nature of Gothic'—for railway reading. Would you propose this to Mr. Smith?" Nothing seems to have come of the suggestion for the moment, but in the following year it was adopted

¹ *The Life of William Morris*, by J. W. Mackail, 1899, vol. i. p. 38.

² See Vol. III. pp. 416–418.

³ Mackail's *William Morris*, i. 46.

in another form. The story has been told by the prime mover in the matter, Dr. Furnivall:—

“The first reprint of this grand chapter of *The Stones of Venice*, and its sub-title, ‘And Herein of the True Functions of the Workman in Art,’ were due, not to the ‘Master’ himself, but to his humble disciple and friend—myself. Through my sending him a prospectus of our Working Men’s College, Ruskin kindly offered to help us, and take the art classes. We were to hold our opening meeting in Hullah’s Hall, in Long Acre, at the corner of Endell-Street, where the big coach factory now is. I felt that we wanted some printed thing to introduce us to the working men of London, as we knew only the few we had come across in our co-operative movement, and all our Associations had failed. F. D. Maurice had written nothing good enough for this purpose, but Ruskin had. So I got leave from him and his publisher, Mr. George Smith, to reprint this grand chapter, ‘On the Nature of Gothic’; and I had to add to it the sub-title, ‘And Herein of the True Functions of the Workman in Art,’ to show working men how it touches them. I had ‘Price Fourpence’ put on the title; but we gave a copy to everybody who came to our first meeting—over 400—and the tract well served its purpose. Afterwards an orange wrapper and a folding woodcut from the *Stones* were added to the reprint, and it was sold at 6d. for the benefit of the college.”¹

It is not often that the preacher of a new gospel finds his words taken up thus promptly as the text for practical effort. Through these cheap reprints some of the central and most characteristic passages of Ruskin’s teaching found opportunities of influence in a wide circle. The Kelmscott reprint of 1892 is described below (p. lxix.); it was an expensive book, intended for the few; but the chapter was again issued at a cheap price, in 1899, with Morris’s preface, and has once more had a large popular sale.

In its original form this volume, as also that of the succeeding volume, had for some years only a slow sale. They were both issued, as we have seen, in 1853; there was no second edition of them till 1867. A new edition of the whole work followed in 1874, and then, again, there was a long interval, the book in this case being allowed to go out of print. Ruskin had come to feel the same dislike to some of it that he entertained towards *The Seven Lamps*.² He had so outgrown the narrow Protestantism of his early years that he felt he could not re-issue the early books without many omissions.³ The religious teaching was, he said, “all the more for the sincerity of it, misleading—sometimes even

¹ *The Daily News*, April 4, 1899. For further particulars of this reprint, see below, Bibliographical Note, p. lxviii.

² See Vol. VIII. p. xlvi.

³ *Sesame and Lilies*, preface to edition of 1871, § 2.

poisonous; always, in a manner, ridiculous.”¹ Another, though minor, matter on which he had found reason to revise the views expressed in *The Stones of Venice* were the depreciation, in some aspects, of Greek art and the influence of classical tradition upon the art of the Renaissance.² It should further be remembered here, that, as has been said above, Ruskin regarded his Venetian studies as a by-work, somewhat outside the main current of his interests. The duties of his Professorship, however, and the fresh studies to which he devoted himself in preparation for them, revived his interest in Venetian architecture and painting. “I am very glad to find,” he wrote to his mother from Venice in 1869 (August 7), “that after seventeen years, I can certify the truth of every word of *The Stones of Venice* as far as regards art.” The new work which he did, in this, his second Venetian period, is collected in another volume—containing, besides some scattered pieces, *St. Mark’s Rest*, and the *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Venetian Academy*. This work led Ruskin also to re-publish the old book. At first he republished selections from it only. This was the “Travellers’ Edition” of *The Stones of Venice*, already described (Vol. IX. pp. lvi.–lviii.). In the two volumes of that Edition (1879 and 1881) he brought together the chapters most likely to be useful to travellers on the spot, and corrected by condemnatory or explanatory notes some of the passages which offended against his later views. Having placed this self-condemnation on record, he consented a few years later (1886) to the republication of the whole work in its original form. The notes from the “Travellers’ Edition” were included, so that the errors (as he had now come to regard them) might not pass unobserved; to the art-teaching of it he adhered. Of that teaching he desired to “re-affirm every syllable.”³ “I have authorised,” he said in 1886, “the republication of *The Stones of Venice* in its original text and form chiefly for the sake of its clear, and the reader will find, wholly incontrovertible statement of the deadly influence of Renaissance Theology on the arts in Italy, and on the religion of the world.”⁴

The *manuscripts* and other material to which the editors have had access in preparing this volume include (besides Ruskin’s Venetian diaries, letters, note-books and numerous pages of loose memoranda) (1) the final MS. of the volume, and (2) copies of the printed volume with notes by the author. The MS., which is in possession of Mr. George Allen, is

¹ *Fors Clavigera*, 1877, Letter 76.

² On these subjects see the notes in Vol. IX. p. 408, and in the next volume, on ch. ii. § 102.

³ *Fors Clavigera*, 1877, Letter 76.

⁴ *Præterita*, ii. ch. § 34 n.

written on some 560 leaves, principally of blue foolscap. As we have seen, this MS. was the outcome of many earlier drafts; in its final form it shows further on every page frequent marks of close revision. A few illustrative examples are given in footnotes to the text (see, *e.g.*, pp. 13, 106, 141). A *facsimile* of part of a celebrated passage is given between pp. 186, 187. The Allen MSS. include also several unpublished passages and discarded drafts. These have occasionally been used to illustrate or supplement the text (see, *e.g.*, pp. 149, 275, 430). There are several copies of the printed text on which Ruskin at one time or another made notes. His own copy at Brantwood contains some. Portions of another copy (now belonging to Mr. Wedderburn) were used by him in preparing the "Travellers' Edition"; and these pages contain a few notes, additional to those printed in that edition, which have here been included. Revises of some of the sheets were also kept by Ruskin's valet (Crawley), at whose death they passed into the possession of Crawley's son-in-law, Mr. Maltby. These also contain notes and corrections which have been utilised in this edition.

The *text* of this volume in successive editions exhibits comparatively few variations, and these are not very important. But a few mistakes which appeared in all previous editions are here corrected (see, *e.g.*, pp. 96, 111, 187, 291, 384, 395), and a few passages have been revised in accordance with the author's notes (see, *e.g.*, pp. 23, 383, 415). Ruskin does not seem ever to have revised the volume, after its first publication, for the press; in the present edition it is for the first time printed correctly (the editors believe) throughout and in accordance with the author's intention, the text hitherto given being supplied at the foot. An enumeration of all the various readings is added at the end of the Bibliographical Note (p. lxx.).

The *illustrations* in this volume comprise (1) all that appeared in the original edition, together with (2) eleven now published as additional illustrations. As in the case of the preceding volume, the old illustrations have not been re-numbered; the new ones are distinguished by letters A—J). In the case of some of the old illustrations, it has been found possible to use the original plates (15, 16, and 18). The names of the first engravers are given on the various plates. Comparing the original plates in the first volume of *The Stones of Venice* with those in the second, the reader will be struck by the greater delicacy of many of them. Ruskin called attention to the difference in a letter to his father:—

"October 19 [1851].— . . . Until now I have drawn everything with the sole view of learning what things were; the moment I had got

all the information I wanted, the sketch was thrown aside and only preserved as a memorial of certain facts. I have now arrived at a time of life when I feel that my knowledge must—if it is ever to be so—be expressed in an intelligible form, legible by others as well as by myself. The drawings which I now am making here will be brought home, not only finished, but framed, ready to be sent to the engraver the moment they are unpacked. They will also be much more popular in form and manner—many of them like the little vignettes to Rogers.”

These remarks apply especially to such vignetted drawings as those in Plates 15 and 16. The drawing for Plate 16 has been exhibited (see above, p. xvii.), and those who saw it will remember that the engravers had nothing left to add in the matter of delicacy. Their work, however, gave the author much satisfaction. “I am really very well pleased,” he wrote to his father (July 17, 1853), “with even the coloured plates, if only all the copies are as good as that sent me, and like the engravings very much when seen altogether.”

The illustrations added in this edition represent different methods, and periods, in Ruskin’s drawing; some of them being sketches in a broader manner, others showing the same refinement as those noticed above. The *frontispiece* is a drawing of a portion of the Fondaco de’ Turchi (see ch. v.) as it stood at the time when *The Stones of Venice* was written. The drawing, which is in water-colour (13¼x18½), is in the collection of Mrs. Cunliffe, The Croft, Ambleside.

Plate A is a sketch of San Giorgio in Alga,—the church of “St. George of the Seaweed,” described in chapter i. (p. 4). The drawing, which is in colour (7x9), is in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Severn, at Herne Hill. Its date is 1849.

Plate B, Murano, is a sketch of a much later date (1876). The scene is described in ch. iii. (p. 39).

Plate C, from J. W. Bunney’s oil-painting of the west front of St. Mark’s, is here introduced in order to enable the reader to follow more easily Ruskin’s descriptions of the building and references to it. The picture, which measures 7 feet 7 inches wide, and 5 feet high, is in the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield. The picture was commissioned by Ruskin and partly paid for out of a St. Mark’s Fund raised by him in 1879–1883; the artist spent upon it no less than six hundred days’ constant labour. It is, as it was intended to be, a strictly accurate architectural record; the clearness of the plate, even when the picture is reduced from feet to inches, is remarkable. Particulars of the artist and of his work for Ruskin will be found in a later volume of this edition.

If the reader will refer to Mr. William White's *Principles of Art as Illustrated in the Ruskin Museum* (1895), he will find opposite p. 237 a reproduction of another work by Bunney of the same kind—"The North-West Angle of St. Mark's, Venice." This is also the subject of Ruskin's drawing reproduced in Plate D, and it would be interesting, if the discussion would not take us too far afield, to contrast the detailed record of the one with the brilliant effect of the other. "This drawing," says Professor Charles Eliot Norton, to whose collection it belongs, "is a study of colour to which Mr. Ruskin's remarks on a study of similar character in the London Exhibition equally apply."¹ The reference is to Ruskin's *Notes on his Drawings by Turner* (1878). The exhibition included also several of Ruskin's own drawings, and under No. 12R (a study of the Ducal Palace) he discusses the question how far, and by what means, it is possible to combine architectural detail with colour effect. Professor Norton's drawing was copied for him by Ruskin, in 1879, from part of a sketch made in 1877, and now at Brantwood. The reader will observe that in the arch over the portico is the piece of Byzantine sculpture which figured on the cover of the earlier editions of *The Stones of Venice* (see the *facsimile* facing p. liv. in Vol. IX.); it is engraved in Plate XI. below, and described at p. 168.

Plate E—showing five shafts and capitals of St. Mark's and part of the understored cornice—is from a drawing which must have been made at the time *The Stones of Venice* was written, and is a fine example of Ruskin's picturesque rendering of architecture. The five shafts are in the second tier, on the spectator's left, of the central porch. Two of them are entirely, and one is partly, under the base of the archivolt which is sculptured with the Trades of Venice (see below, p. 316 *n.*). The shafts outside the base of the archivolt support a ledge, on which pigeons rest and rain falls; manure earth is thus formed, and hence comes the vegetation shown in Ruskin's drawing. This has long since been cleared away; its presence in Ruskin's time, though very picturesque, was hardly conducive to the preservation of the building, and is characteristic of the neglect of the fabric under the Austrian occupation. The first column, on the spectator's right, had chequer-work upon it (indicated on the left side in the drawing), which was destroyed in Ruskin's day. The drawing, which is in water-colour (8¾ x 5¼), is in the collection of Sir John Simon, K.C.B.

Plate F is from a beautiful drawing in the possession of Mr. George Thomson, of Huddersfield. The drawing adds to Ruskin's original plates an excellent illustration of windows of the Third Order (below);

¹ *Notes on Drawings by Mr. Ruskin, placed on exhibition by Professor Norton. . . , December 1879, New York, p. 30.*

in the centre group above the windows are of the Fourth Order (see below, ch. viii. § 33, and in the next volume, under "Sagredo," in the Venetian Index). The detached window on the spectator's right is engraved as Fig. 1 in Plate 13. The reader will observe the chequerwork; this is referred to in the next volume (ch. i. § 32). The drawing is in water-colour (8 x 5). It was probably made in 1851–1852, and is one of many of a similar kind—thus illustrating once more the detailed study and close observation on which Ruskin's Venetian work was founded.

Plate G is another study of the sort. It shows the centre windows (Fourth and Fifth Orders) of the palace of the Falier family. The palace is situated on the Grand Canal in the parish of S. Vitale, almost opposite the Academia (not to be confused with the Casa Falier of Plate 15). This drawing, again, must have been made in 1849–1850 or 1851–1852; it represents the palace almost as it is to-day, but the first window (on the spectator's left) and the last, which are shown built up in the drawing, are now open. The house has two wings which project on either side of the central windows; that on the left is now filled in with glass. The drawing, which is in lamp-black (5 x 8½), is in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Severn, at Herne Hill.

Plate H—"The Fig-tree Angle"—is from a drawing of a later date (1869). It illustrates in a very effective way Ruskin's account of the constructive features of the Ducal Palace (see below, ch. viii. § 31, pp. 357–358). The drawing, which is in pencil and tint (19 x 19¼, is at Brantwood.

Plate I shows another angle of the palace—the Vine Angle—that at the south-east corner, where the palace turns upon the canal crossed by the Bridge of Sighs. The sculpture of the sons of Noah is engraved in Plate 19. This drawing, which is in colour (19½ x 13), is also at Brantwood.

The last Plate (J) shows an effect of moonlight on Venice, from the Lagoon, as described below (ch. viii., § 114, p. 415). The drawing is in colour (6½ x 9), and is in Mrs. Arthur Severn's possession, at Herne Hill.

Bibliographical Note.—The bibliography of *The Stones of Venice*, volume i., and of the complete work, has already been given (Vol. IX. p. liii.). The present note deals with that of volume ii., and of reprints from it.

SEPARATE EDITIONS OF VOLUME II

Volume II.—*First Edition* (1853).—The title-page (enclosed in a plain ruled frame) is as follows:—

The | Stones of Venice | Volume the Second. | The Sea-Stories. | By
John Ruskin, | Author of “The Seven Lamps of Architecture,” “Modern
Painters,” | etc. etc. | With illustrations drawn by the author.
| London: | Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. | 1853. [Below,
outside the frame:—] [The Author of this Work reserves the right of
authorizing a Translation of it.]

Imperial 8vo, pp. vii.+394. The “Advertisement” (here, p. ix.) occupies p. iii.; the Contents (here p. xi.), pp. v. vi.; List of Plates (here p. xv.), p. vii. The headline on the left-hand pages 2–150 is “First Period”; on the left-hand pages 152–374 is “Second Period.” On the right-hand pages, it is the number and title of the chapter. In chapter vi., pp. 154–207 (here pp. 184–244), there are additional side headings at the top of each page, “I. Savageness,” “II. Changefulness,” etc. The imprint on the reverse of the title-page and at the foot of p. 394 is “London: Spottiswoodes and Shaw, New Street Square.” At the end is a leaf headed “Mr. Ruskin’s Illustrations of ‘The Stones of Venice,’” and announcing as “Now in course of publication the *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*. A list of the Contents of Parts i. to iii. followed (for these see the next volume). At the foot of the leaf was the announcement “The Third and concluding Volume of ‘The Stones of Venice’ will be published in October.” Issued on July 28, 1853, in boards similar to those of volume i. Price Two Guineas.

The Plates were more satisfactory in this volume than in its predecessor (see Ruskin’s remarks quoted above, p. lxiii.). They also wore better, and there is not the same amount of superiority in the first edition over its successors as in the case of vol. i. (see Vol. IX. pp. xlvi., liv.). In the coloured Plates, III. and V., part of the colour was done by hand, and part put on by lithographic stones. Plate V. is lettered “In colours by W. Dickes & Co., Licensees.” For a note by the author on the lettering of the plates, see in the next volume “Explanatory Note” to the Venetian Index.

A few copies of vol. ii. were issued in two parts, the first including pp. 1–150, and the second pp. 151–394. They were made up in cloth boards, similar to those of the issue in one part, but lettered “The | Sea Stories I. [II.]” and the central design appeared upon the front cover only. It appears also from a note from Ruskin to his father (July 14, 1853), that he had “some Plates struck without colour of the archivolt of Murano,” and that these were bound up with some of the presentation copies.

Second Edition (1867).—Title-page the same as before, except for the alteration of date; the addition of the words “Second Edition”; and the transposition of *Modern Painters* and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in the description of the author. The collation is the same, but there is a different imprint: “London. Printed by Spottiswoode and Co., New Street Square.” The binding and price remained the same. Issued on March 20, 1867. The alterations in the text were very few (see below).

These two are the only editions of vol. ii. published separately. For issues of the volume as part of the complete work, and for the “Travellers’ Edition,” see Vol. IX. pp. liv.–lviii.

SEPARATE REPRINTS OF CHAPTER VI. (“THE NATURE OF GOTHIC”)

First Edition (1854).—The title-page is as follows:—

On | the Nature of Gothic Architecture: | and herein of the |
True Functions of the Workman in Art. | By | John Ruskin,
Esq., A. M. | Being the greater part of the Sixth Chapter of the Second
Volume of Mr. Ruskin’s “Stones of Venice” (3 vols., royal 8vo, £5,
15s. 6d., | Smith, Elder, & Co.) here reprinted by the kind permission |
of the Author and his Publisher. | London: | Smith, Elder, & Co., 65
Cornhill. | 1854. | Price Fourpence.

Small 8vo, pp. 48. On p. 48 is the following footnote:—“The profits arising from the sale of this pamphlet will be offered to the Working Men’s College, 31 Red Lion Square, London.” The imprint reads: “Kenny, Printer, 5 Heathcock Court, Strand.” Issued on Monday, October 30, 1854, sewn, without wrappers. For the circumstances of its publication see Dr. Furnivall’s statement quoted above, p. lx. He adds in a note to the editor of Wise and Smart’s *Bibliography* (ii. 75): “I can’t tell you how many were printed, but suppose 600 at first—cost me £5 or £6, I think—and perhaps 500 afterwards. . . . Kenny didn’t print the tract himself—he was too small a man, but got Spottiswoode or Bradbury to do it for him.” Copies of this first edition are comparatively rare.

The text of this reprint included, as stated on the title-page, “the greater part of the sixth chapter.” Omissions were necessary owing to the non-inclusion of plates referred to in the text; all the original woodcuts were, however, given. The reprint, omitting the first few lines of § 1, begins “I shall endeavour to give the reader, etc.,” and continues to the end of § 44. The whole of § 45, except the last two lines, is omitted. It then continues down to the end of the first paragraph of § 101. The rest of that section, and §§ 102–105 (inclusive), are omitted in the text, but the latter portion of § 105 (“The superiority of the Surface Gothic, etc.”), with the accompanying Fig. 20, is given as a footnote on p. 46. It then continues to the end of the chapter, omitting, however, in § 112 the last nine lines containing a reference to the woodcut of the Ducal Palace in ch. viii.; a few other references to different portions of the work are omitted in earlier sections. The sections are not numbered in the reprint.

Second Edition (1854).—“The tract was naturally much liked,” says Dr. Furnivall in the note quoted above, “and folk thought it would bring the

College a little money; so I got Ruskin to lend me the block (or stero) in Smith's hands of the Doge's Palace cut, and put an orange cover on the new issue on rather larger paper, and the College got what proceeds came of it." The title-page of this second edition is as follows:—

On the Nature of | Gothic Architecture: | and herein of the | True
Functions of the Workman | in Art. | By John Ruskin, Esq., A.M.
| Reprinted from the Sixth Chapter of the Second Volume of Mr.
Ruskin's | "Stones of Venice," by the kind permission of the Author
| and his Publishers. | London: | Published by Smith, Elder, & Co., 65
Cornhill; | and sold by all Booksellers. | 1854. | [Price Sixpence.]

Small 8vo, pp. ii.+50. Half-title (with the note about profits in the centre of the reverse), pp. i.-ii.; Title-page, p. i.; and Text, pp. 2-50. Imprint as before. Issued on November 18, 1854, in buff-coloured paper wrappers, with the title-page slightly varied in setting, enclosed in an ornamental ruled frame. Pages 3 and 4 of the wrappers are filled with advertisements of the following "Works of Mr. Ruskins":—(1) *The Opening of the Crystal Palace*, (2) *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, (3) *The Stones of Venice*, (4) *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, (5) *Modern Painters*, vol. i. and vol. ii. (with the announcement "The Third Volume is in Preparation"), (6) *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (7) *Pre-Raphaelitism*, (8) *The King of the Golden River*, (9) *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds*. A few copies were issued in cloth boards.

In this edition the woodcut of the Ducal Palace, Venice, is inserted as a frontispiece, printed upon a folding page; the omitted reference to it in § 112 is restored; and the text is enlarged by a passage on pp. 48-49 "From the Third Chapter of the Third Volume of *The Stones of Venice*" (§§ 32, 33, and 34); and on pp. 49-50 by a passage "From the 'Conclusion' to *The Stones of Venice*, vol. iii." (§ 8). The text is otherwise unchanged.

Third ("Kelmescott") edition (1892).—This was the fourth work issued by William Morris from his "Kelmescott Press." It is in the "golden type" and in black only. The title-page is:—

The Nature of Gothic A Chap- | ter of the Stones of Venice. | By
John Ruskin.

Small quarto, pp. vi.+128; the title, however, is not included in the pagination in the text, the preface being paged, at the foot, i.-v. This preface, by William Morris, is here reprinted (p. 460). The Text occupies pp. 1-123, each paragraph having an ornamental initial letter; the Appendix, pp. 124-128: this consists of the longer footnotes thus brought together. At the close of it is the following colophon: "Here ends the *Nature of Gothic*, by John Rus- | kin, printed by William Morris at the Kelmescott | Press, Hammer- smith, and published by George | Allen, 8 Bell Yard, Temple Bar, London, and | Sunnyside, Orpington." Issued on March 24, 1892, in antique limp vellum boards, with green, pink, blue, or yellow strings to tie, and lettered in gilt across the back: "The | Nature | of | Gothic | . By | John | Ruskin | 1892." Five hundred copies were printed upon English hand-made paper, the price being 30s. net. Copies have been sold in the auction-rooms in recent years at prices ranging from £3, 3s. to £4, 16s.

The contents of this edition differ from those of the preceding reprints. It begins earlier in § 1, at the words "We are now about to enter, etc.," and the

passages noted as omitted above are included (though one or two references, but not all, to other parts of the work are left out). The supplementary passages given in ed. 2 above, are not included. The Kelmscott edition was set up from the 1886 edition of the complete work, and some misprints which crept into that issue are repeated: see list of variations in ch. vi. in the "Variæ Lectiones" below. Two misprints peculiar to the Kelmscott may also be noted. On p. 26, lines 11 and 12, the last letters are wrongly spaced; and on p. 56, last line, "God" is printed with a small "g."

Fourth Edition (1899).—The title-page of this edition, which includes the preface by William Morris, is as follows:—

The | Nature of Gothic | A chapter from | The Stones of Venice | By | John
Ruskin | With a preface by | William Morris | George Allen, Sunnyside
Orpington | and | 156, Charing Cross Road, London | 1899 | [*All rights
reserved*]

Crown 8vo, pp. 4+80. On p. v. is the following "Note":—"To avoid confusion, the original numbering of the woodcuts is retained." Preface, pp. vii.—x. The imprint, on reverse of the title-page and at the end is "Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co. | Edinburgh & London." Issued in grey wrappers, with the following title (enclosed in a plain ruled frank, and with the initial letters of "The," "Nature" and "Gothic" printed in red):—"The Nature | of Gothic | By | John Ruskin | London | George Allen," | and outside the frame "One Shilling Net." Two thousand copies were printed.

This edition was a page for page reprint of the complete ch. vi. in the small complete edition of *The Stones of Venice*.

The fourth edition was *reprinted* in 1900 (1000 copies). Some copies are put up in green cloth (price 1s. 6d.) lettered on the back "Ruskin | The | Nature | of | Gothic."

Variæ Lectiones.—The following is a list of various readings shown by a collation of all the editions of *The Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. Those of importance are noted under the text, and to them a reference only is here given. The list does not include variations in spelling, nor alterations in references caused by different pagination:—

Advertisement. For additional words in ed. 1, see p. ix.

Ch. i. § 1, 18 lines from the end, 4th and later eds. misread "splash" for "plash." "Travellers' Edition" (all issues) reads "plash."

Ch. ii. § 1, line 2, small complete ed. reads "nearer" for "near."

Ch. iii. § 18, line 6, all eds. after ed. 1 misread "marble" for "marbles"; § 23, line 4, all previous eds. read "Plate 4" for "Plate 3"; § 28, line 19, eds. 1–4 incorrectly referred to Plate V. instead of Plate IV.

Ch. iv. § 2, last line but one, for "veduta" all previous eds. read "vedutta": Ruskin marked the correction in his copy for revision; § 3, last line but one, ed. 1 reads "Geminian"; eds. 2–4, "Gemanium"; small complete ed.,

“Germanium.” (The saint’s name is “Geminianus,” so that the first reading is correct.) § 5, last line but one, ed. 1 reads “alteration,” for “alterations”; p. 96); §8, line 11 (see p. 76); § 26, seventh line from end (seep. 96); § 28, lines 8, 13, all previous eds. read “Wood” for “Woods”; line 11, for “The” ed. 1 reads “This”; § 29, line 13, for “defence of the brightness” ed. 1 reads “defence and . . .”; § 37, lines 13–14, for “darknesses,” 4th and later eds. read, probably by mistake, “darkness”; § 40, line 5, for “When” ed. 1 reads “Where”; § 45, line 6 (see p. 111); § 46, line 4, “the” before “naïveté” omitted in all eds. except the first; § 48, note* (see p. 115); § 49, line 33, for “expensive” in eds. 1–3, later eds. read “expressive,” but the MS. shows that Ruskin wrote the former; § 49, 1877 addition to author’s footnote, the first edition of the “Travellers’ Edition” misprinted the date as “1822”; § 57, line 15, for “plain” ed. 1 reads “plane”; § 61 *n.* (p. 128, third line of note), all previous eds. read “Dideron” for “Didron”; § 66, third line from end, for “opened” 4th and later eds. read “open”; § 71, line 30, for “merchantman” 4th and later eds. read “merchantmen.”

Ch. v. § 4, last line but one, 5th and later eds. read “alteration” for “alternation”; § 17, line 9, for “this” 4th and later eds. read “which”; § 27, line 7, ed. 1 rightly reads “or spray,” ed. 2 and all later “of”; § 36, line 7, for “but” ed. 1 reads “for”; line 23, for “lips” ed. 1 reads “lip.”

Ch. vi. § 8, line 74, for “with a work” ed. 1 reads “with work,” which is probably what Ruskin intended, though in the MS. it is “the work.” Eds. 1 and 2 of the separate reprint follow ed. 1; the Kelmscott and later issues of it have “with a work”; § 8, line 75 (see p. 187); § 8, five lines from the end, for “nor” the 1886 and later eds. misread “not”; and so the Kelmscott and later issues of the reprint; § 40, five lines from the end (see p. 214); § 48, line 7, small complete ed. (all issues) and the 4th and later eds. of the reprint misread “fungus” for “fungous”; § 52, line 2, ed. 1 and the first two eds. of the separate reprint read correctly “Out”; ed. 2 and all later issues of the complete work, and the Kelmscott and later issues of the separate reprint, read “But”; § 95, line 23, “singlecusped,” *single* is italicised in ed 1, and eds. 1 and 2 of the reprint.

Ch. viii. § 11, line 16, 4th and 5th eds. misread “earn” for “ear”; § 24, last line but one (see p. 291); § 25, line 12, for “1a” all previous eds. misread “1 c”; § 41, line 20, for “my” 1886 and later eds. misread “any”; § 44, lines 2 and 3 and *n.* in the small complete ed., the two engravings on Plates 18 were printed on two different Plates (numbered 39 and 39A respectively) and alterations were made in the text accordingly, and so in some lines lower down; § 50, line 10, fig. “26” misprinted “25” in all previous eds.

Ch. viii. § 5, line 11, ed. 1 misprinted “is is” for “it is”; § 7, line 6, the reference to “Ch. VI.” is wrongly given to “Ch. VII.” in all previous eds.; § 13, author’s note*, eds. 1 and 2 of the “Travellers’ Edition” made the following addition to this note (printed in error from the author’s private annotations):—“Abstract. 1301 to 1309, Gradenigo’s room. 1340–1342, page 295. 1419, New Proposals, p. 298”; § 31, sixth line from end, 4th and all later eds. (including all issues of the “Travellers’ Edition”) misprint “angles which project” for “angles”; § 35, line 13 (see p. 359); § 38, last two lines (see p. 362); § 49, line 2 (see p. 370); § 62, line 11 (see p. 383);

§ 63, line 4 (see p. 384); § 66, line 15 (see p. 386); § 79, line 4, 5th large ed. and small complete ed. (all issues) misread "Courage and Fortitude" for "Courage than Fortitude"; § 80, line 28 (see p. 395); § 92, line 3, ed. 1 correctly reads "roses form her crown," ed. 2 and all later ones misprint "for" instead of "form"; § 97, line 5 (see p. 408); § 108 *n.* (see p. 413); § 115, line 11 (see p. 415); § 126, line 10, small complete ed. misreads "Had" for "Has."

Appendix 3, last line of first paragraph (see p. 444).
 " 9, line 62 (see p. 449).
 " 11 (3), line 1, 4th and later eds. omit "the" before "Casa
 Grimani."
 " 12, line 51 (see p. 456).

The *numbering of the Plates* was altered in the Small Complete Edition (all issues). Instead of the plates in this volume being independently numbered I.–XX., they were numbered consecutively with those in the first volume: thus I. became XXII., and so on down to XXXVIII. (originally No. XVII.). Then, owing to the smaller page, the two figures on the original Plate XVIII. were, as above stated, printed on two separate Plates, numbered XXXIX. and XXXIXA. It may be noted, lastly, for the sake of completeness, that in eds. 1–4, the engraver's name "R. P. Cuff" was misprinted "R. E. Cuff."

THE STONES OF VENICE
VOLUME II

FIRST, OR BYZANTINE, PERIOD

CHAPTER I

THE THRONE¹

§ 1. IN the olden days of travelling, now to return no more,* in which distance could not be vanquished without toil, but in which that toil was rewarded, partly by the power of deliberate survey of the countries through which the journey lay, and partly by the happiness of the evening hours, when from the top of the last hill he had surmounted, the traveller beheld the quiet village where he was to rest, scattered among the meadows beside its valley stream; or, from the long hoped for turn in the dusty perspective of the causeway, saw, for the first time, the towers of some famed city, faint in the rays of sunset—hours of peaceful and thoughtful pleasure, for which the rush of the arrival in the railway station is perhaps not always, or to all men, an equivalent,²—in those days, I say, when there was something more to be anticipated and remembered in the first aspect of each successive halting-place, than a new arrangement of glass roofing and iron girder, there were few moments of which the recollection was more fondly cherished by the traveller, than that

* I have as little doubt of their return now, as I had then hope of it, though before that day, I shall have travelled whence there is no return. [1879.]

¹ [This chapter is ch. ii. of vol. i. of the “Travellers’ Edition.”]

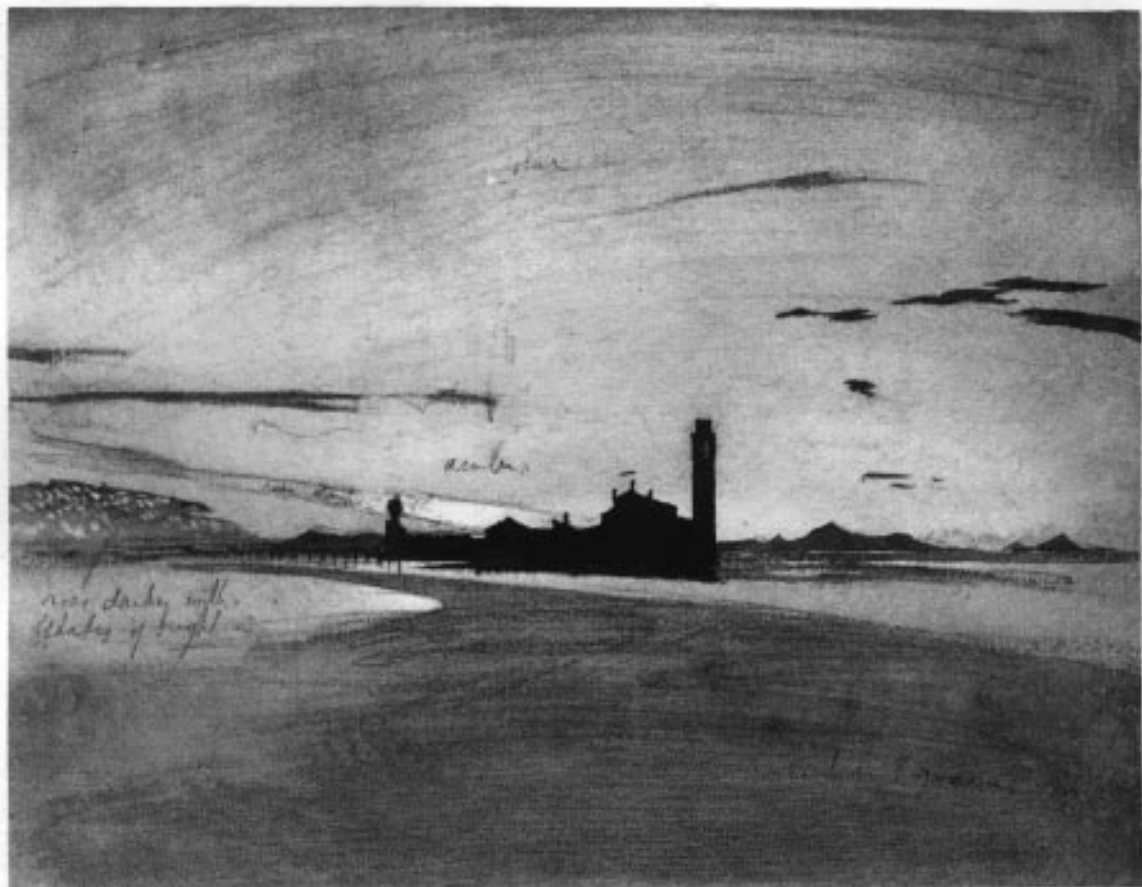
² [For other descriptions of Ruskin’s mode of travel in these olden days, see *Præterita*, i. ch. ix., ii. ch. iii. § 55, and *Proserpina*, “Giulietta.” For the contrary—viz., those of railway travelling—see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvii. § 24, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. xi. § 15; *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 159; *Bible of Amiens*, ch. i. § 4; and *Præterita* i. ch. ix. § 177.]

which, as I endeavoured to describe in the close of the last chapter, brought him within sight of Venice, as his gondola shot into the open lagoon from the canal of Mestre.¹ Not but that the aspect of the city itself was generally the source of some slight disappointment, for, seen in this direction, its buildings are far less characteristic than those of the other great towns of Italy; but this inferiority was partly disguised by distance, and more than atoned for by the strange rising of its walls and towers out of the midst, as it seemed, of the deep sea, for it was impossible that the mind or the eye could at once comprehend the shallowness of the vast sheet of water which stretched away in leagues of rippling lustre to the north and south, or trace the narrow line of islets bounding it to the east. The salt breeze, the white moaning seabirds, the masses of black weed separating and disappearing gradually, in knots of heaving shoal, under the advance of the steady tide, all proclaimed it to be indeed the ocean on whose bosom the great city rested so calmly; not such blue, soft, lake-like ocean as bathes the Neapolitan promontories, or sleeps beneath the marble rocks of Genoa, but a sea with the bleak power of our own northern waves, yet subdued into a strange spacious rest, and changed from its angry pallor into a field of burnished gold, as the sun declined behind the belfry tower of the lonely island church, fitly named “St. George of the Seaweed.”² As the boat drew nearer to the city, the

¹ [See Plate E, “The Vestibule,” in Vol. IX.; and for Ruskin’s earliest impressions of the approach to Venice, see *Velasquez, the Novice*, Vol. I. pp. 537–545.]

² [For another notice of this view see in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. “Giorgio in Alga,” where a note added in 1877 describes how “all is spoiled from what it was.” See also the letter to C. E. Norton, in Vol. IX. p. xxviii. The sketch here given (Plate A) was made in 1849; another sketch made in the same year was engraved for *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. (Plate 15). In Ruskin’s diary (1851) we get a word-picture of a similar effect:—

“November 19.—There was a lovely scene this evening out by San Giorgio in Alga. It had been raining nearly all night and was very foul weather to-day and wretchedly cold, and the snow was down on the hills, nearly to the plains. And there was the strange snow mist upon them—not cloud, but a kind of dense light breaking into flakes and wreathes, and the upper precipices came gleaming out here and there fitfully in the haze, their jagged edges burning like lightning, then losing themselves again in blue bars of clouds, to the north disappearing altogether in one mass of leaden grey, against which the whole line of Venice came out in broad red light. As the sun set, there were fiery flakes and streams of long cloud brought out from this grey veil, and the



J. Burkin

Allen & Co. So.

"St. George of the Seaweed"

(1849)

coast which the traveller had just left sank behind him into one long, low, sad-coloured line,* tufted irregularly with brushwood and willows: but, at what seemed its northern extremity, the hills of Arqua rose in a dark cluster of purple pyramids, balanced on the bright mirage of the lagoon; two or three smooth surges of inferior hill extended themselves about their roots, and beyond these, beginning with the craggy peaks above Vicenza, the chain of the Alps girded the whole horizon to the north—a wall of jagged blue, here and there showing through its clefts a wilderness of misty precipices, fading far back into the recesses of Cadore, and itself rising and breaking away eastward, where the sun struck opposite upon its snow, into mighty fragments of peaked light, standing up behind the barred clouds of evening, one after another, countless, the crown of the Adrian Sea, until the eye turned back from pursuing them, to rest upon the nearer burning of the campaniles of Murano, and on the great city, where it magnified itself along the waves, as the quick silent pacing of the gondola drew nearer and nearer. † And at last, when its walls

* Nonsense. I might as truly have said “merry-coloured.” It is simply the colour of any other distant country. [1879].

† All this is quite right. The group of precipices above the centre of the Alpine line is the finest I know in any view of the chain from the south, and the extent of white peaks to the north-east always takes me by renewed surprise, in clear evenings.¹ [1879.]

lagoon flowed and rippled under them in great sheets of rose colour with ripples of green. The seagulls were sinking and flitting by toward the south—not the common shrieking gull, but one that gives a low, clear, plaintive whistle of two short notes dying upon the salt wind like a far away human voice. And at last as the sun went down, he sank behind a bank of broken clouds which threw up their shadows as on the opposite page [reference to a sketch] on dark grey horizontal soft bands of vapour, the clear sky seen through, shadowless. When the sun had sunk, the shadows disappeared, but the grey bands became blood colour, and so remained glowing behind the tower of the St. Eufemia, as I rowed back up the Giudecca, growing purple and darker gradually, till their deep crimson became a dark colour on the clear sky behind. Note that at this time of evening one may have—down on the horizon—grey cold clouds, and across them bars of dead crimson of a depth which is *light* upon the grey cloud but dark against the soft amber of the sky.”]

¹ [Ruskin had noted the same thing in letters to his father (1851):—

“VENICE, *November* 15.—I do not know if it is the same in Switzerland, but certainly the best views of the Alps, and on the whole the most striking scenery here, of distant effects of every kind, are in the winter.

were reached, and the outmost of its untrodden streets was entered, not through towered gate or guarded rampart, but as a deep inlet between two rocks of coral in the Indian Sea; when first upon the traveller's sight opened the long ranges of columned palaces,—each with its black boat moored at the portal,—each with its image cast down, beneath its feet, upon that green pavement which every breeze broke into new fantasies of rich tessellation; when first, at the extremity of the bright vista, the shadowy Rialto threw its colossal curve slowly forth from behind the palace of the Camerlenghi;¹ that strange curve, so delicate, so adamantine, strong as a mountain cavern, graceful as a bow just bent; when first, before its moonlike circumference was all risen, the gondolier's cry, "Ah! Stali,"* struck sharp upon the ear, and the prow turned aside under the mighty cornices that half met over the narrow canal, where the splash of the water followed close and loud, ringing along the marble by the boat's side; and when at last that boat darted forth upon the breadth of silver sea, across which the front of the Ducal Palace, flushed with its sanguine veins, looks to the snowy dome of Our Lady of Salvation,† it was no marvel that the mind should be so deeply entranced by the visionary charm of a scene so beautiful and so strange, as to forget the darker truths of its history and its being. Well might it seem that such a city had owed her existence rather to the rod of the enchanter, than the fear of the fugitive; that the waters which encircled her had been

* Appendix 1: "The Gondolier's Cry" [p. 441.]

† Appendix 2: "Our Lady of Salvation" [p. 443].

Yesterday was a wonderful day: the breaking-up of our week of fine weather, and the whole chain of the Alps were bare and bright in the strange sharp clearness which one only has before rain, seen along the horizon in a belt of open sky. . . .

"*November 27.*—Yesterday there was one blue-grey mass of dark cloud upon the plains running along the whole horizon—not a bit of the bases visible, but their tops out, so—[sketch] in glowing rose light. You never saw anything so fine (even the Bernese Alps are hardly so grand), and they rise from the dead level of the sea; contrasting so suddenly with the waste of lagoon and sand island. . . ."

¹ [See in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. "Salute."]

chosen for the mirror of her state, rather than the shelter of her nakedness; and that all which in nature was wild or merciless,—Time and Decay, as well as the waves and tempests,—had been won to adorn her instead of to destroy, and might still spare, for ages to come, that beauty which seemed to have fixed for its throne the sands of the hour-glass as well as of the sea.

§ 2. And although the last few eventful years,¹ fraught with change to the face of the whole earth, have been more fatal in their influence on Venice than the five hundred that preceded them; though the noble landscape of approach to her can now be seen no more, or seen only by a glance, as the engine slackens its rushing on the iron line; and though many of her palaces are for ever defaced, and many in desecrated ruins, there is still so much of magic in her aspect, that the hurried traveller, who must leave her before the wonder of that first aspect has been worn away, may still be led to forget the humility of her origin, and to shut his eyes to the depth of her desolation. They, at least, are little to be envied,* in whose hearts the great charities of the imagination lie dead, and for whom the fancy has no power to repress the importunity of painful impressions, or to raise what is ignoble, and disguise what is discordant, in a scene so rich in its remembrances, so surpassing in its beauty. But for this work of the imagination there must be no permission during the task which is before us. The impotent feelings of romance, so singularly characteristic of this century, may indeed gild, but never save, the remains of those mightier ages to which they are attached like climbing flowers; and

* This is a true, and, as far as I can judge of my own writing, one of my best finished passages, to the close of the paragraph; except that the charity of imagination, in the beginning of the clause, should have been more directly connected with the indolence of the imagination at its end. [1879.]

¹ [Written, it will be remembered, in 1851–1852, in a time of political revolution, railway and telegraph extension, and “Progresso” generally (see in the next volume, ch. i. § 32 *n*).—which seemed to all to open a new earth, and to many (though not to Ruskin) a new heaven. For the railway and other “improvements” at Venice, see Vol. IV. pp. 40–41.]

they must be torn away from the magnificent fragments, if we would see them as they stood in their own strength. Those feelings, always as fruitless as they are fond, are in Venice not only incapable of protecting, but even of discerning, the objects to which they ought to have been attached. The Venice of modern fiction and drama is a thing of yesterday, a mere efflorescence of decay, a stage dream which the first ray of daylight must dissipate into dust. No prisoner, whose name is worth remembering, or whose sorrow deserved sympathy, ever crossed that "Bridge of Sighs," which is the centre of the Byronic ideal of Venice;¹ no great merchant of Venice ever saw that Rialto under which the traveller now passes with breathless interest: the statue which Byron makes Faliero address as of one of his great ancestors was erected to a soldier of fortune a hundred and fifty years after Faliero's death;² and the most conspicuous parts of the city have been so entirely altered in the course of the last three centuries, that if Henry Dandolo or Francis Foscari³ could be summoned from their tombs, and stood each on the deck of his galley at the entrance of the Grand Canal, that renowned entrance, the painter's favourite subject, the novelist's favourite scene, where the water first narrows by

¹ [See *Childe Harold*, canto iv. st. 1. The Bridge of Sighs was built by Antonio da Ponte in 1589: see below, ch. viii. § 29, p. 355, and in the next volume, ch. iii. §§ 16, 22. The Rialto, by the same architect, was built in 1588.]

² [See *Marino Faliero*, Act iii. sc. i. The doge was put to death in 1355. The statue (in the square of SS. Giovanni e Paolo) which Byron makes Faliero address as "the sire of my sire's fathers," is Verrocchio's splendid equestrian one of Bartolommeo Colleoni, erected in 1496, for which see in the next volume, ch. i. § 22. Ruskin's father, on reading this passage, seems to have put in a plea for Byron. Ruskin replied (September 12, 1853):—

"I don't think Byron's ignorance of a kind to be compared with Shakespeare's or any other great man's: *their* ignorance is always of things out of their way,—inevitable, natural, and excusable. Byron's is of the things which he *took in hand* to write notes about, and was interested in, and in the midst of, but too idle to be accurate, or even to *approach* accuracy."

It should, however, be stated that in the Preface to *Marino Faliero*, Byron explains that he took poetic licence in Faliero's address; "The equestrian statue," he says, "is not of a Faliero, but of some other now obsolete warrior, although of a later date." Ruskin returns to the charge against "the ignorant sentimentality of Byron" in the next volume (Venetian Index, s. "Ponte de' Sospiri.") but in his epilogue of 1881 ("Castel-Franco," §§ 2, 3) makes amends to the poet who had "taught him so much."

³ [For Enrico Dandolo and Francesco Foscari, see Vol. IX. pp. 20, 21.]

the steps of the Church of La Salute,*—the mighty Doges would not know in what part of the world they stood, would literally not recognise one stone of the great city, for whose sake, and by whose ingratitude, their grey hairs had been brought down with bitterness to the grave. The remains of *their* Venice lie hidden behind the cumbrous masses which were the delight of the nation in its dotage; hidden in many a grass-grown court, and silent pathway, and lightless canal, where the slow waves have sapped their foundations for five hundred years, and must soon prevail over them for ever. It must be our task to glean and gather them forth, and restore out of them some faint image of the lost city; more gorgeous a thousandfold than that which now exists, yet not created in the day-dream of the prince, nor by the ostentation of the noble, but built by iron hands and patient hearts, contending against the adversity of nature and the fury of man, so that its wonderfulness cannot be grasped by the indolence of imagination, but only after frank inquiry into the true nature of that wild and solitary scene, whose restless tides and trembling sands did indeed shelter the birth of the city, but long denied her dominion.

§ 3. When the eye falls casually on a map of Europe, there is no feature by which it is more likely to be arrested than the strange sweeping loop formed by the junction of the Alps and Apennines, and enclosing the great basin of Lombardy. This return of the mountain chain upon itself causes a vast difference in the character of the distribution of its débris on its opposite sides. The rock fragments and sediments which the torrents on the north side of the Alps bear into the plains are distributed over a vast extent of country, and, though here and there lodged in beds of enormous thickness, soon permit the firm substrata to appear from underneath them; but all the torrents which descend

* Little thought I that, five-and-twenty years after writing this sentence, I should revise it again for press with this piece of the canal lapping under my window (Casa Ferro,¹ 21st December, 1876.) [1879.]

¹ [The Grand Hotel.]

from the southern side of the High Alps, and from the northern slope of the Apennines, meet concentrically in the recess or mountain bay which the two ridges enclose; every fragment which thunder breaks out of their battlements, and every grain of dust which the summer rain washes from their pastures, is at last laid at rest in the blue sweep of the Lombardic plain; and that plain must have risen within its rocky barriers as a cup fills with wine, but for two contrary influences which continually depress, or disperse from its surface, the accumulation of the ruins of ages.

§ 4. I will not tax the reader's faith in modern science* by insisting on the singular depression of the surface of Lombardy, which appears for many centuries to have taken place steadily and continually; the main fact with which we have to do is the gradual transport, by the Po and its great collateral rivers, of vast masses of the finer sediment to the sea. The character of the Lombardic plains is most strikingly expressed by the ancient walls of its cities, composed for the most part of large rounded Alpine pebbles alternating with narrow courses of brick; and was curiously illustrated in 1848, by the ramparts of these same pebbles thrown up four or five feet high round every field, to check the Austrian cavalry in the battle under the walls of Verona.¹ The finer dust among which these pebbles are dispersed is taken up by the rivers, fed into continual strength by the Alpine snow, so that, however pure their waters may be when they issue from the lakes at the foot of the great chain, they reach the Adriatic; the sediment which they bear is at once thrown down as they enter the sea, forming a vast belt of low land along the

* I wish I could now appeal to his faith in anything else. [1879.]

¹ [The reference is to the Battle of Custoza (1848), near Verona, in which the Austrians defeated the Piedmontese, driving them back upon Milan and Novara: see *A Joy for Ever*, § 77, "heaped pebbles of the Mincio divide her fields to this hour with lines of broken rampart, whence the tide of war rolled back to Novara." Ruskin would have heard many particulars of the campaign during his sojourns at Venice, 1849–1850 and 1851–1852, for he saw something of Field-Marshal Radetsky and his staff (see above, Introduction, p. xxxi.), and was on friendly terms with other Austrian officers (see letter of June 6, 1859, in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, ii. 6).]

eastern coast of Italy. The powerful stream of the Po of course builds forward the fastest; on each side of it, north and south, there is a tract of marsh, fed by more feeble streams, and less liable to rapid change than the delta of the central river. In one of these tracts is built RAVENNA, and in the other VENICE.

§ 5. What circumstances directed the peculiar arrangement of this great belt of sediment in the earliest times, it is not here the place to inquire. It is enough for us to know that from the mouths of the Adige to those of the Piave there stretches, at a variable distance of from three to five miles from the actual shore, a bank of sand, divided into long islands by narrow channels of sea. The space between this bank and the true shore consists of the sedimentary deposits from these and other rivers, a great plain of calcareous mud, covered, in the neighbourhood of Venice, by the sea at high water, to the depth in most places of a foot or a foot and a half, and nearly everywhere exposed at low tide, but divided by an intricate network of narrow and winding channels, from which the sea never retires. In some places, according to the run of the currents, the land has risen into marshy islets, consolidated, some by art, and some by time, into ground firm enough to be built upon, or fruitful enough to be cultivated: in others, on the contrary, it has not reached the sea level; so that, at the average low water, shallow lakelets glitter among its irregularly exposed fields of seaweed. In the midst of the largest of these, increased in importance by the confluence of several large river channels towards one of the openings in the sea bank, the city of Venice itself is built, on a crowded cluster of islands; the various plots of higher ground which appear to the north and south of this central cluster, have at different periods been also thickly inhabited, and now bear, according to their size, the remains of cities, villages, or isolated convents and churches, scattered among spaces of open ground, partly waste and encumbered by ruins, partly under cultivation for the supply of the metropolis.

§ 6. The average rise and fall of the tide is about three feet (varying considerably with the seasons*); but this fall, on so flat a shore, is enough to cause continual movement in the waters, and in the main canals to produce a reflux which frequently runs like a mill stream. At high water no land is visible for many miles to the north or south of Venice, except in the form of small islands crowned with towers or gleaming with villages: there is a channel, some three miles wide, between the city and the mainland, and some mile and a half wide between it and the sandy breakwater called the Lido, which divides the lagoon from the Adriatic, but which is so low as hardly to disturb the impression of the city's having been built in the midst of the ocean, although the secret of its true position is partly, yet not painfully, betrayed by the clusters of piles set to mark the deep-water channels, which undulate far away in spotty chains like the studded backs of huge sea-snakes, and by the quick glittering of the crisped and crowded waves that flicker and dance before the strong winds upon the uplifted level of the shallow sea. But the scene is widely different at low tide. A fall of eighteen or twenty inches is enough to show ground over the greater part of the lagoon; and at the complete ebb the city is seen standing in the midst of a dark plain of sea-weed, of gloomy green, except only where the larger branches of the Brenta and its associated streams converge towards the port of the Lido. Through this salt and sombre plain the gondola and the fishing-boat advance by tortuous channels, seldom more than four or five feet deep, and often so choked with slime that the heavier keels furrow the bottom till their crossing tracts are seen through the clear sea water like the ruts upon a wintry road, and the oar leaves blue gashes upon the ground at every stroke,¹ or is entangled among the thick weed that

* Appendix 3: "Tides of Venice" [p. 443].

¹ [Here, as elsewhere, Ruskin's phrases were founded on personal observation. In his diary of 1852 is the note of things seen which informed this passage:—

"The brownish yellow decayed looking surface of the mud in the canals, seen in low clear water, all gashed into blue wounds, triangular with

fringes the banks with the weight of its sullen waves, leaning to and fro upon the uncertain sway of the exhausted tide. The scene is often profoundly oppressive, even at this day, when every plot of higher ground bears some fragment of fair building: but, in order to know what it was once, let the traveller follow in his boat at evening the windings of some unfrequented channel far into the midst of the melancholy plain; let him remove, in his imagination, the brightness of the great city that still extends itself in the distance, and the walls and towers from the islands that are near; and so wait, until the bright investiture and sweet warmth¹ of the sunset are withdrawn from the waters, and the black desert of their shore lies in its nakedness beneath the night, pathless, comfortless, infirm, lost in dark languor and fearful silence, except where the salt runlets splash into the tideless pools, or the sea-birds flit from their margins with a questioning cry; and he will be enabled to enter in some sort into the horror of heart with which this solitude was anciently chosen by man for his habitation. They little thought, who first drove the stakes into the sand, and strewed the ocean reeds for their rest, that their children were to be the princes of that ocean, and their palaces its pride; and yet, in the great natural laws that rule that sorrowful wilderness, let it be remembered what strange preparation had been made for the things which no human imagination could have foretold, and how the whole existence and fortune of the Venetian nation were anticipated or compelled, by the setting of those bars and doors to the rivers and the sea. Had deeper currents divided their islands, hostile navies would again and again have reduced the rising city into servitude; had stronger surges beaten their shores, all the richness and refinement of the Venetian architecture must have been

lifted flesh like edges, by the strokes and thrusts of the oars; the gravel of broken stones and bricks that grates the gondola bottoms when the tide is low . . .”]

¹ [The MS. here may be cited as an instance of Ruskin’s gradual selection of his final phrases. He had first written “the golden honour of the sunset;” then he inserted “the bright investiture and golden honour;” and lastly he changed “golden honour” into “sweet warmth.”]

exchanged for the walls and bulwarks of an ordinary seaport. Had there been no tide, as in other parts of the Mediterranean, the narrow canals of the city would have become noisome, and the marsh in which it was built pestiferous. Had the tide been only a foot or eighteen inches higher in its rise, the water-access to the doors of the palaces would have been impossible: even as it is, there is sometimes a little difficulty, at the ebb, in landing without setting foot upon the lower and slippery steps; and the highest tides sometimes enter the courtyards, and overflow the entrance halls. Eighteen inches more of difference between the level of the flood and ebb would have rendered the doorsteps of every palace, at low water, a treacherous mass of weeds and limpets, and the entire system of water-carriage for the higher classes, in their easy and daily intercourse, must have been done away with. The streets of the city would have been widened, its network of canals filled up, and all the peculiar character of the place and the people destroyed.

§ 7. The reader may perhaps have felt some pain in the contrast between this faithful view of the site of the Venetian Throne, and the romantic conception of it which we ordinarily form: but this pain, if he have felt it, ought to be more than counterbalanced by the value of the instance thus afforded to us at once of the inscrutableness and the wisdom of the ways of God. If, two thousand years ago, we had been permitted to watch the slow settling of the slime of those turbid rivers into the polluted sea, and the gaining upon its deep and fresh waters of the lifeless, impassable, unvoyageable plain, how little could we have understood the purpose with which those islands were shaped out of the void, and the torpid waters enclosed with their desolate walls of sand! How little could we have known, any more than of what now seems to us most distressful, dark, and objectless, the glorious aim which was then in the mind of Him in whose hands are all the corners of the earth!¹ how little

¹ [Revelation vii. 1.]

imagined that in the laws which were stretching forth the gloomy margins of those fruitless banks, and feeding the bitter grass among their shallows, there was indeed a preparation, and *the only preparation possible*, for the founding of a city which was to be set like a golden clasp on the girdle of the earth, to write her history on the white scrolls of the sea-surges, and to word it in their thunder, and to gather and give forth, in world-wide pulsation, the glory of the West and of the East, from the burning heart of her Fortitude and Splendour!¹

¹ It is interesting to compare with this finished passage the first idea of it, which occurs in a letter from the author to his father:—

“[VENICE] *October* 12 [1851].— . . . I never saw tides—up and down to all manner of heights at all manner of times. The sea cannot be said to ebb and flow. It shakes up and down. However, I shall have an interesting paragraph about the tides in the first chapter of next volume. For it is curious, rather, that the place where Venice was built, was the only place in the world where it *could* have been built. Had the tide been the *least* less than it is, had it been 2½ feet instead of three, the run of water through the streets would not have been enough for their healthy drainage, they would have become slow sewers,—and the people would have been compelled to roof them in, and the town would have become pestiferous, like those on the edge of the Pontines. Had the tide been a foot more than it is, had it been *four* feet instead of three, no access could have been had to the gondolas at low water except down slimy steps; the entire system of boat carriage must thus have been put an end to.

“No woman, no gaily dressed cavalier, could have been sure of being able to step into the gondola without a complete Brighton pier of planks and other machinery;—and the result would have been an extension of the city on higher foundations, and common street carriage, as at any other seaport. But this would have implied also the loss of the aristocratic character in the seamanship, and we should have had *land* nobles as well as sea nobles, and the whole state would have become like that of Pisa or Genoa.

“When people first discovery the peculiar adaptations of an animal or plant to its position, they are apt to exclaim—What wonderful preparation for the existence of this little creature! Whereas, if they knew more of the Universe, they would begin to understand that everything in existence was put in the place it was fit for, and the mere fact of its existence proved that it was in its right place. And so one might look over Europe and see how each town takes its natural position and becomes prosperous if it happens to understand that position, and take due advantage of it; and one might say generally, Genoa grows up in the place for Genoa, and Rotterdam in that for Rotterdam, and Venice in that for Venice. But I am almost disposed to admit a sort of special providence for Venice. The tide at this end of the Adriatic is a mystery no philosopher has explained. The structure of the mouths of the Brenta and Adige is unexampled in the history of Geology. It seems that just in the centre of Europe, and at the point where the influence of the East and West, of the old and new world, were to meet, preparation was made for a city which was to unite the energy of the one with the splendour of the other; and the Sea, which in other countries is an Enemy as well as a Servant, and must be fought with

to be enslaved,—or else, as to us in England, is a severe tutor as well as protector, was ordered to minister to Venice like a gentle nurse, and to nourish her power without fretting her peace—to bear her ships with the strength of our English seas, but to surround her palaces with the quietness of the Arabian sands.

“There is a great deal more to be said to strengthen this, about climate, position under mountains, etc., but that is the main point impressed upon me daily by the degree of ease or difficulty with which my gondola beak runs against the posts of my door.”

It was characteristic of Ruskin that he was not satisfied with casual or second-hand information about the tides. “Preparatory to my chapter on the situation of Venice,” he writes in a later letter (November 23), “I have begun to study the tides carefully, as I found it was hopeless to arrive at any result by mere watching. I have got a tide book, and am putting down the hours of turning very carefully.”]

CHAPTER II

TORCELLO¹

§ 1. SEVEN miles to the north of Venice, the banks of sand, which near the city rise little above low-water mark, attain by degrees a higher level, and knit themselves at last into fields of salt morass, raised here and there into shapeless mounds, and intercepted by narrow creeks of sea. One of the feeblest of these inlets, after winding for some time among buried fragments of masonry, and knots of sunburnt weeds whitened with webs of fucus, stays itself in an utterly stagnant pool beside a plot of greener grass covered with ground ivy and violets. On this mound is built a rude brick campanile, of the commonest Lombardic type, which if we ascend towards evening (and there are none to hinder us, the door of its ruinous staircase swinging idly on its hinges), we may command from it one of the most notable scenes in this wide world of ours. Far as the eye can reach, a waste of wild sea moor, of a lurid ashen grey; not like our northern moors with their jet-black pools and purple heath, but lifeless, the colour of sackcloth, with the corrupted sea-water soaking through the roots of its acrid weeds, and gleaming hither and thither through its snaky channels. No gathering of fantastic mists, nor coursing of clouds across it; but melancholy clearness of space in the warm sunset, oppressive, reaching to the horizon of its level gloom. To the very horizon, on the north-east; but, to the north and west, there is a blue line of higher land along the border of it, and above this, but farther back, a misty band of mountains, touched with snow. To the east, the paleness and roar of

¹ [This chapter is ch. iii. in vol. i. of the "Travellers' Edition," which, however, omits §§ 4-8.]

the Adriatic, louder at momentary intervals as the surf breaks on the bars of sand; to the south, the widening branches of the calm lagoon, alternately purple and pale green, as they reflect the evening clouds or twilight sky; and almost beneath our feet, on the same field which sustains the tower we gaze from, a group of four buildings, two of them little larger than cottages (though built of stone, and one adorned by a quaint belfry), the third an octagonal chapel, of which we can see but little more than the flat red roof with its rayed tiling, the fourth, a considerable church with nave and aisles, but of which, in like manner, we can see little but the long central ridge and lateral slopes of roof, which the sunlight separates in one glowing mass from the green field beneath and grey moor beyond. There are no living creatures near the buildings, nor any vestige of village or city round about them. They lie like a little company of ships becalmed on a far-away sea.

§ 2. Then look farther to the south. Beyond the widening branches of the lagoon, and rising out of the bright lake into which they gather, there are a multitude of towers, dark, and scattered among square-set shapes of clustered palaces, a long and irregular line fretting the southern sky.

Mother and daughter, you behold them both in their widowhood,—TORCELLO, and VENICE.

Thirteen hundred years ago, the grey moorland looked as it does this day, and the purple mountains stood as radiantly in the deep distances of evening; but on the line of the horizon, there were strange fires mixed with the light of sunset, and the lament of many human voices mixed with the fretting of the waves on their ridges of sand. The flames rose from the ruins of Altinum;¹ the lament from

¹ [Altinum, on the mainland opposite Torcello, was a prosperous town at the beginning of the Christian era, as we know from Martial (iv. 25), who compares the villas there with those at Baiae. In 452 it was sacked by the Huns; but it was not until the Lombard invasion in 568 that the inhabitants finally forsook the mainland. They were "in sore doubt whither they should turn to seek a home. . . . Then a voice was heard, as though in thunder, saying to them, 'Climb ye up to the tower and look at the stars.' Then the Bishop Paul climbed the tower, and, looking up to the heavens, he saw the stars arranged as it were like islands in the lagoon. Thus

the multitude of its people, seeking, like Israel of old, a refuge from the sword in the paths of the sea.¹

The cattle are feeding and resting upon the site of the city that they left;² the mower's scythe swept this day at dawn over the chief street of the city that they built, and the swathes of soft grass are now sending up their scent into the night air, the only incense that fills the temple of their ancient worship. Let us go down into that little space of meadow land.

§ 3. The inlet which runs nearest to the base of the campanile is not that by which Torcello is commonly approached. Another, somewhat broader, and overhung by alder copse, winds out of the main channel of the lagoon up to the very edge of the little meadow which was once the Piazza of the city, and there, stayed by a few grey stones which present some semblance of a quay, forms its boundary at one extremity. Hardly larger than an ordinary English farmyard, and roughly enclosed on each side by broken palings and hedges of honeysuckle and briar, the narrow field retires

guided, the people of Altino moved to Torcello, leaving their home to be burned by the Lombards when they found it empty. The fugitives called their new abode Torcello, in memory of many-towered Altino, which they had left behind. Their first care was to build a church to the honour of Mary, the Virgin. It was beautiful in form and very fair; its pavement was made in circles of precious marbles." (H. F. Brown's *Venice*, p. 10, where further extracts from the old chronicles relating to Torcello will be found.)

¹ [A Biblical phrase: see Psalms viii. 8.]

² [Yet above, § 1, it is stated that "there are no living creatures near the buildings." Ruskin's letters to his father show that the description is the reminiscence of the winter and spring aspects of the place respectively:—

"[*May 24, 1852.*]—I have . . . been again to Torcello; it is so beautiful now; there never was a place on which season made so much difference. The fields and vineyards in winter are lost among the marshy land, all trampled into mud; but now, they are separated from the canals which encircle the little island by hedges of briar and honeysuckle and hawthorn, and the vineyards are in young leaf; and in the little piazza of the ancient city, round its flagstaff, they are mowing their hay, and it lies in fragrant heaps about the bases of the pillars of the cathedral, and all the peasantry look happy and even healthy, the spring sunshine making their faces ruddy: they sing everywhere as they go. I am very glad I have seen it at this season; it will at least give *one* pleasant picture for the opening of my book. I daresay I shall go there once more. Leaving here at three o'clock we get there at ½ past four, can see the long sunshine fading over the narrow field, and gilding vine leaves of the old shafts, and be back in Venice by twilight, much to enjoy one's tea after the long row."]

from the water's edge, traversed by a scarcely traceable footpath, for some forty or fifty paces, and then expanding into the form of a small square, with buildings on three sides of it, the fourth being that which opens to the water. Two of these, that on our left and that in front of us as we approach from the canal, are so small that they might well be taken for the outhouses of the farm, though the first is a conventual building, and the other aspires to the title of the "Palazzo publico," both dating as far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century; the third, the octagonal church of Santa Fosca,¹ is far more ancient than either, yet hardly on a larger scale. Though the pillars of the portico which surrounds it are of pure Greek marble, and their capitals are enriched with delicate sculpture, they, and the arches they sustain, together only raise the roof to the height of a cattle-shed; and the first strong impression which the spectator receives from the whole scene is, that whatever sin it may have been which has on this spot been visited with so utter a desolation, it could not at least have been ambition. Nor will this impression be diminished as we approach, or enter, the larger church, to which the whole group of building is subordinate.* It has evidently been built by men in flight and distress,† who sought in the hurried erection of their island church such a shelter for their earnest and sorrowful worship as, on the one hand, could not attract the eyes of their enemies by its splendour,

* Appendix 4: "Date of the Duomo of Torcello" [p. 444].

† A great deal of this talk is flighty, and some of it fallacious; I should have to rewrite it all, or must leave it alone. Aquileia, not Torcello, was the true mother of Venice;² but the sentiment and essential truth of general principle in the chapter induce me to reprint the available part of it in this edition.³ [1879.]

¹ [This church dates from about 1000 A.D. It contains the remains of Sta. Fosca, a virgin of noble birth, who, together with her nurse, Marca, had, during the persecution of Decius (A.D. 249–251), earned the palm of martyrdom at Ravenna, her native city.]

² [Aquileia was a more important city than Torcello; its inhabitants took refuge in the lagoons as early as 452, and they were among the communities which made the first election of tribunes in 466.]

³ [In the "Travellers' Edition" §§ 4–8 were omitted as not available, i.e., as requiring illustrations, and § 9 (there § 4) began after asterisks: "And observe . . ."]

and yet, on the other, might not awaken too bitter feelings by its contrast with the churches which they had seen destroyed. There is visible everywhere a simple and tender effort to recover some of the form of the temples which they had loved, and to do honour to God by that which they were erecting, while distress and humiliation prevented the desire, and prudence precluded the admission, either of luxury of ornament or magnificence of plan. The exterior is absolutely devoid of decoration, with the exception only of the western entrance and the lateral door, of which the former has carved sideposts and architrave, and the latter, crosses of rich sculpture; while the massy stone shutters of the windows, turning on huge rings of stone, which answer the double purpose of stanchions and brackets, cause the whole building rather to resemble of a refuge from Alpine storm than the cathedral of a populous city; and, internally, the two solemn mosaics of the eastern and western extremities,—one representing the Last Judgment, the other the Madonna, her tears falling as her hands are raised to bless,¹—and the noble range of pillars which enclose the space between, terminated by the high throne for the pastor and the semicircular raised seats for the superior clergy, are expressive at once of the deep sorrow and the sacred courage of men who had no home left them upon earth, but who looked for one to come,² of men “persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed.”³

§ 4. I am not aware of any other early church in Italy which has this peculiar expression in so marked a degree; and it is so consistent with all that Christian architecture ought to express in every age (for the actual condition of the exiles who built the cathedral of Torcello is exactly typical of the spiritual condition which every Christian ought to recognise in himself, a state of homelessness on earth,

¹ [For an earlier reference to the Madonna of Torcello, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 184.]

² [Isaiah xli. 25.]

³ [2 Corinthians iv. 9.]

except so far as he can make the Most High his habitation),¹ that I would rather fix the mind of the reader on this general character than on the separate details, however interesting, of the architecture itself. I shall therefore examine these only so far as is necessary to give a clear idea of the means by which the peculiar expression of the building is attained.

§ 5. On the opposite page, the uppermost figure, 1, is a rude plan of the church. I do not answer for the thickness and external disposition of the walls, which are not to our present purpose, and which I have not carefully examined; but the interior arrangement is given with sufficient accuracy. The church is built on the usual plan of the Basilica,* that is to say, its body divided into a nave and aisles by two rows of massive shafts, the roof of the nave being raised high above the aisles by walls sustained on two ranks of pillars, and pierced with small arched windows. At Torcello the aisles are also lighted in the same manner, and the nave is nearly twice their breadth.† The capitals of all the great shafts are of white marble, and are among the best I have ever seen, as examples of perfectly calculated effect from every touch of the chisel. Mr. Hope calls them “indifferently imitated from the Corinthian:”‡ but the expression is as inaccurate as it is unjust; every one of them is different in design, and their variations are as graceful as they are fanciful. I could not, except by an elaborate drawing,² give any idea of the sharp, dark, deep penetrations of the chisel into their snowy marble,

* For a full account of the form and symbolical meaning of the Basilica, see Lord Lindsay's *Christian Art*, vol. i. p. 12. It is much to be regretted that the Chevalier Bunsen's work on the Basilicas of Rome is not translated into English.³

† The measures are given in Appendix 3 [p. 444].

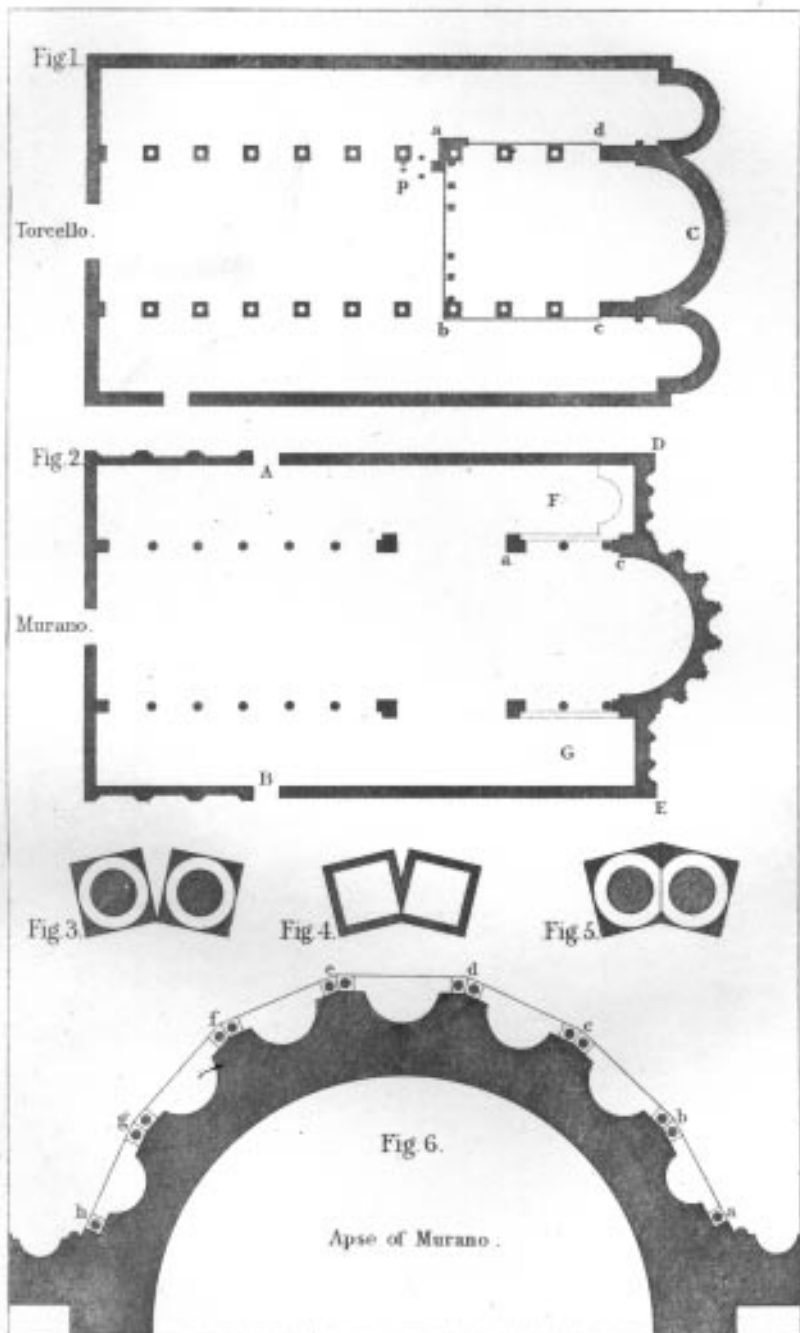
‡ Hope's *Historical Essay on Architecture* (third edition, 1840), chap. ix. p. 95. In other respects Mr. Hope has done justice to this building, and to the style of the early Christian churches in general.⁴

¹ [Psalms xci. 9.]

² [See, in the next volume, Plate 3 of the *Examples*, which gives one of the capitals of Torcello.]

³ [*Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms nach ihren Zusammenhänge mit Idee und Geschichte der Kirchenbaukunst, dargestellt von C. C. J. Bunsen*, Munich, 1843. A French translation was published in 1872.]

⁴ [For another reference to this book, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 63.]



Plans of Torcello and Murano.

but a single example is given in the next Plate (2), fig. 1, of the nature of the changes effected in them from the Corinthian type. In this capital, although a kind of acanthus (only with rounded lobes) is indeed used for the upper range of leaves, the lower range is not acanthus at all, but a kind of vine, or at least that species of plant which stands for vine in all early Lombardic and Byzantine work (vide Vol. I., Appendix 8, p. 429¹); the leaves are trefoiled, and the stalks cut clear so that they might be grasped with the hand, and cast sharp dark shadows, perpetually changing, across the bell of the capital behind them. I have drawn one of these vine plants larger in fig. 2 [Plate 2], that the reader may see how little imitation of the Corinthian there is in them, and how boldly the stems of the leaves are detached from the ground. But there is another circumstance in this ornament still more noticeable. The band which encircles the shaft beneath the spring of the leaves is copied from the common classical wreathed or braided fillet, of which the reader may see examples on almost every building of any pretensions in modern London. But the mediæval builders could not be content with the dead and meaningless scroll: the Gothic energy and love of life, mingled with the early Christian religious symbolism, were struggling daily into more vigorous expression, and they turned the wreathed band into a serpent of three times the length necessary to undulate round the shaft, which, knotting itself into a triple² chain, shows at one side of the shaft its tail and head, as if perpetually gliding round it beneath the stalks of the vines. The vine, as is well known, was one of the early symbols of Christ, and the serpent is here typical either of the eternity of his dominion, or of the Satanic power subdued.



Fig. 1

§ 6. Nor even when the builder confines himself to the acanthus leaf (or to that representation of it, hereafter to

¹ [References in the text to volumes are, unless otherwise stated, to volumes of the particular work—in this case, *The Stones of Venice*. Similar references in the editors' notes are, if printed in large Roman letters, to the volumes of this edition.]

² ["Double not triple," Ruskin notes in his copy for revision.]

be more particularly examined,¹ constant in Romanesque work) can his imagination allow him to rest content with its accustomed position. In a common Corinthian capital the leaves nod forward only, thrown out on every side from the bell which they surround: but at the base of one of the capitals on the opposite side of the nave from this of the vines,* two leaves are introduced set with their sides outwards, forming spirals by curling back, half closed, in the position shown in fig. 4, Plate 2, there represented as in a real acanthus leaf; for it will assist our future inquiries into the ornamentation of capitals that the reader should be acquainted with the form of the acanthus leaf itself. I have drawn it, therefore, in the two positions, figs. 3 and 4 in Plate 2; while fig. 5 is the translation of the latter form into marble by the sculptor of Torcello. It is not very like the acanthus, but much like than any Greek work; though still entirely conventional in its cinque-foiled lobes. But these are disposed with the most graceful freedom of line, separated at the roots by deep drill holes, which tell upon the eye far away like beads of jet; and changed, before they become too crowded to be effective, into a vigorous and simple zigzagged edge, which saves the designer some embarrassment in the perspective of the terminating spiral. But his feeling of nature was greater than his knowledge of perspective; and it is delightful to see how he has rooted the whole leaf in the strong rounded under-stem, the indication of its closing with its face inwards, and has thus given organization and elasticity to the lovely group of spiral lines; a group of which, even in the lifeless sea-shell, we are never weary, but which becomes yet more delightful when the ideas of elasticity and growth are joined to the sweet succession of its involution.

§ 7. It is not, however, to be expected that either the

* A sketch has been given of this capital in my folio work [*Examples of the Architecture of Venice* (Plate 3)].

¹ [See below, ch. v. §§ 19 *seq.*]



1



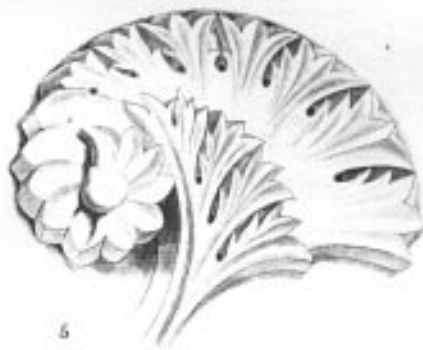
2



4



3



5

mute language of early Christianity (however important a part of the expression of the building at the time of its erection), or the delicate fancies of the Gothic leafage springing into new life, should be read, or perceived, by the passing traveller who has never been taught to expect anything in architecture except five orders:¹ yet he can hardly fail to be struck by the simplicity and dignity of the great shafts themselves; by the frank diffusion of light, which prevents their serenity from becoming oppressive; by the delicate forms and lovely carving of the pulpit and chancel screen; and, above all, by the peculiar aspect of the eastern extremity of the church, which, instead of being withdrawn, as in later cathedrals, into a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, or contributing by the brilliancy of its windows to the splendour of the altar, and theatrical effect of the ceremonies performed there, is a simple and stern semicircular recess, filled beneath by three ranks of seats, raised one above the other, for the bishop and presbyters, that they might watch as well as guide the devotions of the people, and discharge literally in the daily service the functions of bishops or *overseers* of the flock of God.²

§ 8. Let us consider a little each of these characters in succession; and first (for of the shafts enough has been said already), what is very peculiar to this church, its luminousness. This perhaps strikes the traveller more from its contrast with the excessive gloom of the Church of St. Mark's; but it is remarkable when we compare the Cathedral of Torcello with any of the contemporary basilicas in South Italy or Lombardic churches in the North. St. Ambrogio at Milan, St. Michele at Pavia, St. Zeno at Verona, St. Frediano at Lucca, St. Miniato at Florence, are all like sepulchral caverns compared with Torcello, where the slightest details of the sculptures and mosaics are visible, even when twilight is deepening. And there is something especially

¹ [See Vol. IX. pp. 35, 426.]

² [Ruskin was often to make a point of this function of bishops as overseers; see, for instance, *Sesame and Lilies*, § 22.]

touching in our finding the sunshine thus freely admitted into a church built by men in sorrow. They did not need the darkness; they could not perhaps bear it. There was fear and depression upon them enough, without a material gloom. They sought for comfort in their religion, for tangible hopes and promises, not for threatenings or mysteries; and though the subjects chosen for the mosaics on the walls are of the most solemn character, there are no artificial shadows cast upon them, nor dark colours used in them: all is fair and bright, and intended evidently to be regarded in hopefulness, and not with terror.

§ 9. For observe this choice of subjects. It is indeed possible that the walls of the nave and aisles, which are now whitewashed, may have been covered with fresco or mosaic, and thus have supplied a series of subjects, on the choice of which we cannot speculate. I do not, however, find record of the destruction of any such works; and I am rather inclined to believe that at any rate the central division of the building was originally decorated, as it is now, simply by mosaics representing Christ, the Virgin, and the Apostles, at one extremity, and Christ coming to judgment at the other.¹ And if so, I repeat, observe the significance of his choice. Most other early churches are covered with imagery sufficiently suggestive of the vivid interest of the builders in the history and occupations of the world. Symbols or representations of political events, portraits of living persons, and sculptures of satirical, grotesque, or trivial subjects are of constant occurrence, mingled with the more strictly appointed representations of scriptural or ecclesiastical history; but at Torcello even these usual, and one should have thought

¹ [The central apse is covered with figures of the Apostles in mosaic; above are the Virgin and Child. These mosaics, Byzantine in style, are believed to be late seventh-century work. On the west wall is a restored series of mosaic compartments, representing the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment. This, "with its ingenuous realism and grim humour, is unrelated in style to anything in St. Mark's, and is the analogue of many a sculptured Gothic west front in northern Europe" (T. Okey's *Venice*, p. 319, where the mosaics of the west wall are attributed, in accordance with a view now commonly held, to the thirteenth century. For another reference to them see below, ch. vi. § 65). All the mosaics have been restored.]

almost necessary, successions of Bible events do not appear. The mind of the worshipper was fixed entirely upon two great facts, to him the most precious of all facts,—the present mercy of Christ to His Church, and His future coming to judge the world. That Christ's mercy was, at this period, supposed chiefly to be attainable through the pleading of the Virgin, and that therefore beneath the figure of the Redeemer is seen that of the weeping Madonna in the act of intercession, may indeed be matter of sorrow to the Protestant beholder,* but ought not to blind him to the earnestness and singleness of the faith with which these men sought their sea-solitudes; not in hope of founding new dynasties, or entering upon new epochs of prosperity, but only to humble themselves before God, and to pray that in His infinite mercy He would hasten the time when the sea should give up the dead which were in it,¹ and Death and Hell give up the dead which were in them, and when they might enter into the better kingdom, “where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.”²

§ 10. Nor were the strength and elasticity of their minds, even in the least matters, diminished by thus looking forward to the close of all things. On the contrary, nothing is more remarkable than the finish and beauty of all the portions of the building, which seem to have been actually executed for the place they occupy in the present structure; the rudest are those which they brought with them from the mainland; the best and most beautiful, those which appear to have been carved for their island church: of these, the new capitals already noticed, and the exquisite panel ornaments of the chancel screen, are the most conspicuous; the latter form a low wall across the church between the six small shafts whose

* The Protestant beholder may now advisedly reserve his sorrow for those of his own sect, now numerous enough, who deny the efficacy of prayer altogether. [1879.]

¹ [Revelation xx. 13.]

² [Job iii. 17.]

places are seen in the plan, and serve to enclose a space raised two steps above the level of the nave, destined for the singers, and indicated also in the plan by an open line *a b c d*. The bas-reliefs on this low screen are groups of peacocks and lions, two face to face on each panel, rich and fantastic beyond description, though not expressive of very accurate knowledge either of leonine or pavonine forms. And it is not until we pass to the back of the stair of the pulpit, which is connected with the northern extremity of this screen, that we find evidence of the haste with which the church was constructed.

§ 11. The pulpit, however, is not among the least noticeable of its features. It is sustained on the four small detached shafts marked at *p* in the plan, between the two pillars at the north side of the screen; both pillars and pulpit studiously plain, while the staircase which ascends to it is a compact mass of masonry (shaded in the plan), faced by carved slabs of marble; the parapet of the staircase being also formed of solid blocks like paving-stones, lightened by rich, but not deep exterior carving. Now these blocks, or at least those which adorn the staircase towards the aisle, have been brought from the mainland; and, being of size and shape not easily to be adjusted to the proportions of the stair, the architect has cut out of them pieces of the size he needed, utterly regardless of the subject or symmetry of the original design. The pulpit is not the only place where this rough procedure has been permitted; at the lateral door of the church are two crosses, cut out of slabs of marble, formerly covered with rich sculpture over their whole surfaces, of which portions are left on the surface of the crosses; the lines of the original design being, of course, just as arbitrarily cut by the incisions between the arms, as the patterns upon a piece of silk which has been shaped anew. The fact is, that in all early Romanesque work, large surfaces are covered with sculpture for the sake of enrichment only; sculpture which indeed had always meaning, because it was easier for the sculptor to work with some chain of thought to guide his chisel, than without any; but it was not always intended, or at least not always hoped, that this

chain of thought might be traced by the spectator. All that was proposed appears to have been the enrichment of surface, so as to make it delightful to the eye; and this being once understood, a decorated piece of marble became to the architect just what a piece of lace or embroidery is to a dressmaker, who takes of it such portions as she may require, with little regard to the places where the patterns are divided. And though it may appear, at first sight, that the procedure is indicative of bluntness and rudeness of feeling, we may perceive, upon reflection, that it may also indicate the redundancy of power which sets little price upon its own exertion. When a barbarous nation builds its fortress-walls out of fragments of the refined architecture it has overthrown, we can read nothing but its savageness in the vestiges of art which may thus chance to have been preserved; but when the new work is equal, if not superior, in execution, to the pieces of the older art which are associated with it, we may justly conclude that the rough treatment to which the latter have been subjected is rather a sign of the hope of doing better things, than of want of feeling for those already accomplished. And, in general, this careless fitting of ornament is, in very truth, an evidence of life in the school of builders, and of their making a due distinction between work which is to be used for architectural effect, and work which is to possess an abstract perfection; and it commonly shows also that the exertion of design is so easy to them, and their fertility so inexhaustible, that they feel no remorse in using somewhat injuriously what they can replace with so slight an effort.

§ 12. It appears, however, questionable in the present instance whether, if the marbles had not been carved to his hand, the architect would have taken the trouble to enrich them. For the execution of the rest of the pulpit is studiously simple, and it is in this respect that its design possesses, it seems to me, an interest to the religious spectator greater than he will take in any other portion of the building. It is supported, as I said, on a group of four slender shafts; itself of a slightly oval form, extending nearly from one pillar

of the nave to the next, so as to give the preacher free room for the action of the entire person, which always gives an unaffected impressiveness to the eloquence of the southern nations. In the centre of its curved front, a small bracket and detached shaft sustain the projection of a narrow marble desk (occupying the place of a cushion in a modern pulpit), which is hollowed out into a shallow curve on the upper surface, leaving a ledge at the bottom of the slab, so that a book laid upon it, or rather into it, settles itself there, opening as if by instinct, but without the least chance of slipping to the side, or in any way moving beneath the preacher's hands.* Six balls, or rather almonds, of purple marble veined with white are set round the edge of the pulpit, and form its only decoration. Perfectly graceful, but severe and almost cold in its simplicity, built for permanence and service, so that no single member, no stone of it, could be spared, and yet all are firm and uninjured as when they were first set together, it stands in venerable contrast both with the fantastic pulpits of mediæval cathedrals and with the rich furniture of those of our modern churches. It is worth while pausing for a moment to consider how far the manner of decorating a pulpit may have influence on the efficiency of its service, and whether our modern treatment of this, to us all-important, feature of a church be the best possible.†

§ 13. When the sermon is good we need not much concern ourselves about the form of the pulpit. But sermons cannot always be good; and I believe that the temper in which the congregation set themselves to listen may be in some degree modified by their perception of fitness or unfitness, impressiveness or vulgarity, in the disposition of the place appointed for the speaker,—not to the same degree, but somewhat in the same way, that they may be influenced by his own gestures or expression, irrespective of the sense of what he says. I believe, therefore, in the first place, that

* Appendix 5: "Modern Pulpits" [p. 445].

† The next two paragraphs, §§ 13 and 14, are very good. [1879].

pulpits ought never to be highly decorated; the speaker is apt to look mean or diminutive if the pulpit is either on a very large scale or covered with splendid ornament, and if the interest of the sermon should flag the mind is instantly tempted to wander. I have observed that in almost all cathedrals, when the pulpits are peculiarly magnificent, sermons are not often preached from them; but rather, and especially for any important purpose, from some temporary erection in other parts of the building: and though this may often be done because the architect has consulted the effect upon the eye more than the convenience of the ear in the placing of his larger pulpit, I think it also proceeds in some measure from a natural dislike in the preacher to match himself with the magnificence of the rostrum, lest the sermon should not be thought worthy of the place. Yet this will rather hold of the colossal sculptures, and pyramids of fantastic tracery which encumber the pulpits of Flemish and German churches, than of the delicate mosaics and ivory-like carving of the Romanesque basilicas, for when the form is kept simple, much loveliness of colour and costliness of work may be introduced, and yet the speaker not be thrown into the shade by them.¹

§ 14. But, in the second place, whatever ornaments we admit ought clearly to be of a chaste, grave, and noble kind; and what furniture we employ, evidently more for the honouring of God's word than for the ease of the preacher. For there are two ways of regarding a sermon, either as a human composition, or a Divine message. If we look upon it entirely as the first, and require our clergymen to finish with their utmost care and learning, for our better delight whether of ear or intellect, we shall necessarily be led to expect much formality and stateliness in its delivery, and to think that all is not well if the pulpit have not a golden fringe round it, and a goodly cushion in front of it, and if the sermon be not fairly written in a black book, to be smoothed

¹ [See especially the illustration, and description, of Niccolo Pisano's Pulpit at Pisa in *Val d' Arno*, ch. i.]

upon the cushion in a majestic manner before beginning; all this we should duly come to expect: but we shall at the same time consider the treatise thus prepared as something to which it is our duty to listen without restlessness for half an hour or three quarters, but which, when that duty has been decorously performed, we may dismiss from our minds in happy confidence of being provided with another when next it shall be necessary. But if once we begin to regard the preacher, whatever his faults, as a man sent with a message to us, which it is a matter of life or death whether we hear or refuse; if we look upon him as set in charge over many spirits in danger of ruin, and having allowed to him but an hour or two in the seven days to speak to them; if we make some endeavour to conceive how precious these hours ought to be to him, a small vantage on the side of God after his flock have been exposed for six days together to the full weight of the world's temptation, and he has been forced to watch the thorn and the thistle springing in their hearts, and to see what wheat had been scattered there snatched from the wayside by this wild bird and the other;¹ and at last, when, breathless and weary with the week's labour, they give him this interval of imperfect and languid hearing, he has but thirty minutes to get at the separate hearts of a thousand men, to convince them of all their weaknesses, to shame them for all their sins, to warn them of all their dangers, to try by this way and that to stir the hard fastenings of those doors where the Master Himself has stood and knocked yet none opened,² and to call at the openings of those dark streets where Wisdom herself hath stretched forth her hands and no man regarded,³—thirty minutes to raise the dead in,—let us but once understand and feel this, and we shall look with changed eyes upon that frippery of gay furniture about the place from which the message of judgment must be delivered, which either breathes upon the dry

¹ [See Matthew xiii. 1–9.]

² [Revelation iii. 20.]

³ [Proverbs i. 20, 24.]

bones that they may live,¹ or, if ineffectual, remains recorded in condemnation, perhaps against the utterer and listener alike, but assuredly against one of them. We shall not so easily bear with the silk and gold upon the seat of judgment, nor with ornament of oratory in the mouth of the messenger; we shall wish that his words may be simple, even when they are sweetest, and the place from which he speaks like a marble rock in the desert, about which the people have gathered in their thirst.²

§ 15. But the severity which is so marked in the pulpit at Torcello is still more striking in the raised seats and episcopal throne which occupy the curve of the apse.³ The arrangement at first somewhat recalls to the mind that of the Roman amphitheatres; the flight of steps which lead up to the central throne divides the curve of the continuous steps or seats (it appears in the first three ranges questionable which were intended, for they seem too high for the one, and too low and close for the other), exactly as in an amphitheater the stairs for access intersect the sweeping ranges of seats. But in the very rudeness of this arrangement, and

¹ [Ezekiel xxxvii. 5.]

² [For an earlier reference by Ruskin to sermons and the duties of their hearers, see *Letters to a College Friend* and the lines from George Herbert there cited, Vol. I. p. 489; for a later reference to the present passage, with remarks on "the false eloquence of the pulpit," see *Præterita*, ii. ch. viii. § 157 n.]

³ [The original arrangement remains, but the marbles have been restored. "Less than fifteen years since could be seen the old episcopal throne and semi-circular tiers of seats worn by generations of Christian pastors as they sat amid their clergy facing the people. But the seats have been rebuilt, and the throne partly restored with ill-fitting slabs of cheap Carrara marble. We remember visiting the cathedral shortly after the renewal with a young Italian architect, who, to our expression of pained surprise, replied, *Ma signore, era in disordine* (But, sir, it was so untidy). There is no *disordine* now in the scraped and restored interior. Many of the original marbles . . . however still remain in the chancel; and in the facings of the pulpit stairs . . . we may perhaps gaze on the very stones brought from the mainland at the time of the great migration under Bishop Paul" (T. Okey's *Venice*, 1903, pp. 318–319). In connection with what Ruskin says in the next chapter (pp. 62, 63, 66) about the treatment of its ancient buildings by the Church, a note on the altar of Torcello may be added. In front of the bishop's throne "must have stood a low communion table with a screen between the seats and staircase and the church at the sides. This is now replaced by an offensive seventeenth or eighteenth century theatrical altar, with cupids and posturing angels hiding the throne of the bishop and the seats of the clergy, which, being out of sight, have been pillaged of all the casing of Greek marble which covered the brick substructure, which now appears in a state of utter dilapidation" (*Times*, August 18, 1886). For the restoration, the State is responsible; for the neglect, the Church.]

especially in the want of all appliances of comfort (for the whole is of marble, and the arms of the central throne are not for convenience, but for distinction, and to separate it more conspicuously from the undivided seats), there is a dignity which no furniture of stalls nor carving of canopies ever could attain, and well worth the contemplation of the Protestant, both as sternly significative of an episcopal authority which in the early days of the Church was never disputed, and as dependent for all its impressiveness on the utter absence of any expression either of pride or selfindulgence.

§ 16. But there is one more circumstance which we ought to remember as giving peculiar significance to the position which the episcopal throne occupies in this island church, namely, that in the minds of all early Christians the Church itself was most frequently symbolised under the image of a ship, of which the bishop was the pilot. Consider the force which this symbol would assume in the imaginations of men to whom the spiritual Church had become an ark of refuge in the midst of a destruction hardly less terrible than that from which the eight souls were saved of old, 1 Peter iii. 20, a destruction in which the wrath of man had become as broad as the earth and as merciless as the sea, and who saw the actual and literal edifice of the Church raised up, itself like an ark in the midst of the waters. No marvel if with the surf of the Adriatic rolling between them and the shores of their birth, from which they were separated for ever, they should have looked upon each other as the disciples did when the storm came down on the Tiberias Lake,¹ and have yielded ready and loving obedience to those who ruled them in His name, who had there rebuked the winds and commanded stillness to the sea. And if the stranger would yet learn in what spirit it was that the dominion of Venice was begun, and in what strength she went forth conquering and to conquer,²

¹ [Mark iv. 37–39; Luke viii. 22, 24.]

² [Revelation vi. 2.]

let him not seek to estimate the wealth of her arsenals or number of her armies, nor look upon the pageantry of her palaces, nor enter into the secrets of her councils; but let him ascend the highest tier of the stern ledges that sweep round the altar of Torcello, and then, looking as the pilot did of old along the marble ribs of the goodly templeship, let him re-people its veined deck with the shadows of its dead mariners, and strive to feel in himself the strength of heart that was kindled within them, when first, after the pillars of it had settled in the sand, and the roof of it had been closed against the angry sky that was still reddened by the fires of their homesteads,—first, within the shelter of its knitted walls, amidst the murmur of the waste of waves and the beating of the wings of the sea-birds round the rock that was strange to them,—rose that ancient hymn, in the power of their gathered voices:

THE SEA IS HIS, AND HE MADE IT;
AND HIS HANDS PREPARED THE DRY
LAND.¹

¹ [Psalms xciv. 5.]

CHAPTER III

MURANO

§ 1. THE decay of the city of Venice is, in many respects, like that of an outwearied and aged human frame; the cause of its decrepitude is indeed at the heart, but the outward appearances of it are first at the extremities. In the centre of the city there are still places where some evidence of vitality remains, and where, with kind closing of the eyes to signs, too manifest even there, of distress and declining fortune, the stranger may succeed in imagining, for a little while, what must have been the aspect of Venice in her prime. But this lingering pulsation has not force enough any more to penetrate into the suburbs and outskirts of the city; the frost of death has there seized upon it irrevocably, and the grasp of mortal disease is marked daily by the increasing breadth of its belt of ruin. Nowhere is this seen more grievously than along the great north-eastern boundary, once occupied by the smaller palaces of the Venetians, built for pleasure or repose; the nobler piles along the Grand Canal being reserved for the pomp and business of daily life. To such smaller palaces some garden ground was commonly attached, opening to the water-side; and, in front of these villas and gardens, the lagoon was wont to be covered in the evening by gondolas: the space of it between this part of the city and the island group of Murano being to Venice, in huger time of power, what its parks are to London; only gondolas were used instead of carriages, and the crowd of the population did not come out till towards sunset, and prolonged their pleasures far into the night, company answering to company with alternate singing.¹

¹ [It was in this part of the city that Titian lived (*cf.* Vol. III. p. 170); Priscianese, who was on a visit from Rome to Venice, has left a description of an evening with the artist, which Ruskin perhaps had here in mind (for the passage is cited in one of the

§ 2. If, knowing this custom of the Venetians, and with a vision in his mind of summer palaces lining the shore, and myrtle gardens sloping to the sea, the traveller now seeks this suburb of Venice, he will be strangely and sadly surprised to find a new but perfectly desolate quay, about a mile in length, extending from the arsenal to the Sacca della Misericordia,¹ in front of a line of miserable houses built in the course of the last sixty or eighty years, yet already tottering to their ruin;² and not less to find that the principal object in the view which these houses (built partly in front and partly on the ruins of the ancient palaces) now command is a dead brick wall, about a quarter of a mile across the water, interrupted only by a kind of white lodge, the cheerfulness of which prospect is not enhanced by his finding that this wall encloses the principal public cemetery of Venice. He may, perhaps, marvel for a few moments at the singular taste of the old Venetians in taking their pleasure under a churchyard wall; but on further inquiry, he will find that the building on the island, like those on the shore, is recent, that it stands on the ruins of the Church of St. Cristoforo della Pace; and that, with a singular, because unintended, moral, the modern Venetians have replaced the Peace of the Christ-bearer by the Peace of Death, and where they once went, as the sun set daily, to their pleasure, now go, as the sun sets to each of them for ever, to their graves.

§ 3. Yet the power of Nature cannot be shortened by the folly, nor her beauty altogether saddened by the misery, of man. The broad tides still ebb and flow brightly about the

notes to Rogers' *Italy*):—"Before the tables were set out, we spent the time in looking at the life-like figures in the excellent paintings of which the house was full, and in discussing the real beauty and charm of the garden, which was a pleasure and a wonder to every one. It is situated in the extreme part of Venice upon the sea, and from it may be seen the pretty little island of Murano, and other beautiful places. This part of the sea, as soon as the sun went down, swarmed with gondolas adorned with beautiful women, and resounded with varied harmonies—the music of voices and instruments till midnight, accompanied our delightful supper, which was no less beautiful and wellarranged than abundantly provided."

¹ [The Fondamenta Nuove, running north-west from the Arsenal to the Sacca (leading to the Abbazia) della Misericordia. "Sacca" means a piece of water enclosed, for the retention of planks of wood.]

² [The buildings still stand, but are used more for warehouses than for dwellings.]

island of the dead, and the linked conclave of the Alps know no decline from their old pre-eminence, nor stoop from their golden thrones in the circle of the horizon. So lovely is the scene still, in spite of all its injuries, that we shall find ourselves drawn there again and again at evening¹ out of the narrow canals and streets of the city, to watch the wreaths of the sea-mist weaving themselves like mourning veils around the mountains far away, and listen to the green waves as they fret and sigh along the cemetery shore.²

§ 4. But it is morning now: we have a hard day's work to do at Murano, and our boat shoots swiftly from beneath the last bridge of Venice, and brings us out into the open sea and sky.

The pure cumuli of cloud lie crowded and leaning against one another, rank beyond rank, far over the shining water, each cut away at its foundation by a level line, trenchant and clear, till they sink to the horizon like a flight of marble steps, except where the mountains meet them, and are lost in them, barred across by the grey terraces of those cloud foundations, and reduced into one crestless bank of blue, spotted here and there with strange flakes of wan, aerial greenish light, strewed upon them like snow. And underneath is the long dark line of the mainland fringed with low trees; and then

¹ [An autobiographical note; Ruskin often went to what he calls "the quay of Murano," *i.e.*, the quay of Venice looking towards Murano, on winter evenings during his sojourn at Venice: see the passages from his diary cited in Vol. IX. p. xxvi., to which the following extract from a letter of 1851 to his father may be added:—

"Dec. 22.— . . . After prayers I had a long quiet walk on the quay which is described in the last sheet sent you, commanding the view of Murano and the Alps. . . . Though there was a fresh north wind, it was quite calm on the quay, and quite lonely, all the Venetians being drawn to the other side of the city, like the damp, by the sunshine; and the hoarfrost, untrodden, lay thick upon the pavement, and the Alps without a cloud, 150 miles of them, in the clear winter air, and the sea blue and cheerful, with a full bent sail glittering here and there upon its deeper channels."]

² [The cemetery island is known as S. Michele, from the church of that name upon it (erected in 1478). Ruskin in a letter to his father from Venice (Dec. 28, 1851), written upon hearing of the death of Turner, refers to this passage, a draft of which he had already sent home:—

"I have been walking among tombs, curiously enough, for this last three weeks, and I was thinking of adding to that passage about the cemetery of Murano, saying that Turner had been struck with it, and had made its long purple wall the subject of the second most lovely picture he ever painted of Venice."]

The picture in question is the "Campo Santo"; see note in Vol. III. p. 251.]

the wide-waving surface of the burnished lagoon trembling slowly, and shaking out into forked bands of lengthening light the images of the towers of cloud above. To the north, there is first the great cemetery wall, then the long stray buildings of Murano, and the island villages beyond, glittering in intense crystalline vermilion, like so much jewellery scattered on a mirror, their towers poised apparently in the air a little above the horizon, and their reflections, as sharp and vivid and substantial as themselves, thrown on the vacancy between them and the sea. And thus the villages seem standing on the air; and to the east, there is a cluster of ships that seem sailing on the land; for the sandy line of the Lido stretches itself between us and them, and we can see the tall white sails moving beyond it, but not the sea, only there is a sense of the great sea being indeed there, and a solemn strength of gleaming light in the sky above.

§ 5. The most discordant feature in the whole scene is the cloud which hovers above the glass furnaces of Murano; but this we may not regret, as it is one of the last signs left of human exertion among the ruinous villages which surround us. The silent gliding of the gondola brings it nearer to us every moment; we pass the cemetery, and a deep sea-channel which separates it from Murano, and finally enter a narrow water-street, with a paved footpath on each side, raised three or four feet above the canal, and forming a kind of quay between the water and the doors of the houses. These latter are, for the most part, low, but built with massy doors and windows of marble or Istrian stone, square set, and barred with iron; buildings evidently once of no mean order, though now inhabited only by the poor. Here and there an ogee window of the fourteenth century, or a doorway deeply enriched with cable mouldings, shows itself in the midst of more ordinary features; and several houses, consisting of one story only carried on square pillars, forming a short arcade along the quay, have windows sustained on shafts of red Verona marble, of singular grace and delicacy.¹ All now in vain:

¹ [See Plate B.]

little care is there for their delicacy or grace among the rough fishermen sauntering on the quay with their jackets hanging loose from their shoulders, jacket and cap and hair all of the same dark-greenish sea-grey. But there is some life in the scene more than is usual in Venice; the women are sitting at their doors knitting busily, and various workmen of the glass-houses sifting glass-dust upon the pavement, and strange cries coming from one side of the canal to the other, and ringing far along the crowded water, from vendors of figs and grapes, and gourds, and shell-fish; cries partly descriptive of the eatables in question, but interspersed with others of a character unintelligible in proportion to their violence, and fortunately so, if we may judge by a sentence which is stencilled in black, within a garland, on the whitewashed walls of nearly every other house in the street, but which, how often soever written, no one seems to regard: "Bestemme non più. Lodate Gesù."¹

§ 6. We push our way on between large barges laden with fresh water from Fusina, in round white tubs seven feet across,² and complicated boats full of all manner of nets, that look as if they could never be disentangled, hanging from their masts and over their sides; and presently pass under a bridge with the lion of St. Mark on its archivolt, and another on a pillar at the end of the parapet, a small red lion with much of the puppy in his face, looking vacantly up into the air (in passing we may note that, instead of feathers, his wings are covered with hair, and in several other points the manner of his sculpture is not uninteresting). Presently the canal turns a little to the left, and thereupon becomes more quiet, the main bustle of the water-street being usually confined to the first straight reach of it, some quarter of a mile long, the Cheapside of Murano. We pass

¹ ["Swear no more. Praise Jesus."]

² ["The canal . . . is used chiefly by the boats that bring the water of the Brenta into Venice. When little rain has fallen, and the wells run dry, the contractors, who are bound to keep four and a half feet of water in every well, find themselves obliged to carry the fresh supply from the Brenta, past Fusina, into the city" (H. F. Brown: *Life on the Lagoons*, 1884, p. 47, where further particulars will be found).]



J. H. Johnston.

Allen & Co. Sc.

Murano.
(1876)

a considerable church on the left, St. Pietro, and a little square opposite to it with a few acacia trees, and then find our boat suddenly seized by a strong green eddy, and whirled into the tide-way of one of the main channels of the lagoon, which divides the town of Murano into two parts by a deep stream some fifty yards over, crossed only by one wooden bridge. We let ourselves drift some way down the current, looking at the low line of cottages on the other side of it, hardly knowing if there be more cheerfulness or melancholy in the way the sunshine glows on their ruinous but whitewashed walls, and sparkles on the rushing of the green water by the grass-grown quay. It needs a strong stroke of the oar to bring us into the mouth of another quiet canal on the farther side of the tide-way, and we are still somewhat giddy when we run the head of the gondola into the sand on the left-hand side of this more sluggish stream, and land under the east end of the Church of San Donato, the "Matrice" or "Mother" Church of Murano.

§ 7. It stands, it and the heavy campanile detached from it a few yards, in a small triangular field of somewhat fresher grass than is usual near Venice, traversed by a paved walk with green mosaic of short grass between the rude squares of its stones, bounded on one side by ruinous garden walls, on another by a line of low cottages, on the third, the base of the triangle, by the shallow canal from which we have just landed. Near the point of the triangular space is a simple well, bearing date 1502; in its widest part, between the canal and campanile, is a four-square hollow pillar, each side formed by a separate slab of stone, to which the iron hasps are still attached that once secured the Venetian standard.

The cathedral itself occupies the northern angle of the field, encumbered with modern buildings, small outhouse-like chapels, and wastes of white wall with blank square windows, and itself utterly defaced in the whole body of it, nothing but the apse having been spared; the original plan is only discoverable by careful examination, and even then

but partially. The whole impression and effect of the building are irretrievably lost, but the fragments of it are still most precious.

We must first briefly state what is known of its history.

§ 8. The legends of the Romish Church, though generally more insipid and less varied than those of Paganism, deserve audience from us on this ground, if on no other, that they have once been sincerely believed by good men, and have had no ineffective agency in the formation of the existent European mind. The reader must not therefore accuse me of trifling, when I record for him the first piece of information I have been able to collect respecting the cathedral of Murano: namely, that the emperor Otho the Great, being overtaken by a storm on the Adriatic, vowed, if he were preserved, to build and dedicate a church to the Virgin, in whatever place might be most pleasing to her; that the storm thereupon abated; and the Virgin appearing to Otho in a dream, showed him, covered with red lilies, that very triangular field on which we were but now standing amidst the ragged weeds and shattered pavement. The emperor obeyed the vision; and the church was consecrated on the 15th of August, 957.

§ 9. Whatever degree of credence we may feel disposed to attach to this piece of history, there is no question that a church was built on this spot before the close of the tenth century: since in the year 999 we find the incumbent of the Basilica (note this word, it is of some importance) di Santa Maria Plebania di Murano taking an oath of obedience to the Bishop of the Altinate¹ church, and engaging at the same time to give the said bishop his dinner on the Domenica in Albis,² when the prelate held a confirmation in the Mother Church, as it was then commonly called, of Murano. From this period, for more than a century, I can find no records

¹ [*i.e.*, of Altinum: see above, p. 18.]

² [Dominica in Albis depositis is the Sunday after Easter, so called from its being the day after the Saturday on which those who had been baptized on Easter Eve laid aside their white garments.]

of any alternations made in the fabric of the church, but there exist very full details of the quarrels which arose between its incumbents and those of San Stefano, San Cipriano, San Salvatore, and the other churches of Murano, touching the due obedience which their less numerous or less ancient brotherhoods owed to St. Mary's.

These differences seem to have been renewed at the election of every new abbot by each of the fraternities, and must have been growing serious when the patriarch of Grado, Henry Dandolo, interfered in 1102, and, in order to seal a peace between the two principal opponents, ordered that the abbot of St. Stephen's should be present at the service in St. Mary's on the night of the Epiphany, and that the abbot of St. Mary's should visit him of St. Stephen's on St. Stephen's day; and that then the two abbots "should eat apples and drink good wine together, in peace and charity."*

§ 10. But even this kindly effort seems to have been without result: the irritated pride of the antagonists remained unsoothed by the love-feast of St. Stephen's day; and the breach continued to widen until the abbot of St. Mary's obtained a timely accession to his authority in the year 1125. The Doge Domenico Michele,¹ having in the second crusade secured such substantial advantages for the Venetians as might well counterbalance the loss of part of their trade with the East, crowned his successes by obtaining possession in Cephalonia of the body of St. Donato, bishop of Eurœa; which treasure he having presented on his return to the Murano basilica, that church was thenceforward called the Church of Sts. Mary and Donato. Nor was the body of the saint its only acquisition; St. Donato's principal achievement had been the destruction of a terrible dragon in Epirus; Michele brought home the bones of the dragon

* "Mela, e buon vino, con pace e carità." *Memorie Storiche de' Veneti Primi e Secondi*, di Jacopo Filiasi (Padua, 1811), tom. iii. cap. 23. Perhaps, in the choice of the abbot's cheer, there was some occult reference to the verse of Solomon's Song [ii. 5]: "Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples."

¹ [See Vol. IX. p. 20 *n.*]

as well as of the saint; the latter were put in a marble sarcophagus, and the former hung up over the high altar.

§ 11. But the clergy of St. Stefano were indomitable. At the very moment when their adversaries had received this formidable accession of strength, they had the audacity “ad onta de ’ replicati giuramenti, e dell’ inveterata consuetudine,”* to refuse to continue in the obedience which they had vowed to their mother church. The matter was tried in a provincial council; the votaries of St. Stephen were condemned, and remained quiet for about twenty years, in wholesome dread of the authority conferred on the abbot of St. Donato, by the Pope’s legate, to suspend any of the clergy of the island from their office if they refused submission. In 1172, however, they appealed to Pope Alexander III., and were condemned again: and we find the struggle renewed at every promising opportunity, during the course of the 12th and 13th centuries; until at last, finding St. Donato and the dragon together too strong for him, the abbot of St. Stefano “discovered” in his church the bodies of two hundred martyrs at once!—a discovery, it is to be remembered, in some sort equivalent in those days to that of California in ours.¹ The inscription, however, on the façade of the church recorded it with quiet dignity:—“MCCCLXXIV. a dí XIV. di Aprile. Furono trovati nella presente chiesa del protomartire San Stefano, duecento e più corpi de ’ Santi Martiri, dal Ven. Prete Matteo Fradello, piovano della chiesa.”† Corner, who gives this inscription, which no longer exists, goes on to explain with infinite

* *Notizie Storiche delle Chiese di Venezia*, illustrate da Flaminio Corner (Padua, 1758), p. 615. [“In spite of repeated oaths and long established usage.”]

† “On the 14th day of April, 1374, there were found, in the church of the first martyr St. Stefano, two hundred and more bodies of holy martyrs, by the venerable priest, Matthew Fradello, incumbent of the church.”

¹ [An allusion specially appropriate at the time this book was written; *cf.* Vol. IX. p. 290; for the “covetousness” of early Venice for other things besides money—for relics, chiefly, thus making the discovery of the bodies of two hundred martyrs as valuable to them as the gold discoveries in California to us—see *St. Mark’s Rest*, §§ 3, 4.]

gravity, that the bodies in question, "being of infantile form and stature, are reported by tradition to have belonged to those fortunate innocents who suffered martyrdom under King Herod; but that when, or by whom, the Church was enriched with so vast a treasure, is not manifested by any document."*

§ 12. The issue of the struggle is not to our present purpose. We have already arrived at the fourteenth century without finding record of any effort made by the clergy of St. Mary's to maintain their influence by restoring or beautifying their basilica; which is the only point at present of importance to us. That great alterations were made in it at the time of the acquisition of the body of St. Donato is however highly probable, the mosaic pavement of the interior, which bears its date inscribed, 1140, being probably the last of the additions. I believe that no part of the ancient church can be shown to be of more recent date than this; and I shall not occupy the reader's time by any inquiry respecting the epochs or authors of the destructive modern restorations: the wreck of the old fabric, breaking out beneath them here and there, is generally distinguishable from them at a glance; and it is enough for the reader to know that none of these truly ancient fragments can be assigned to a more recent date than 1140, and that some of them may with probability be looked upon as remains of the shell of the first church, erected in the course of the latter half of the tenth century. We shall perhaps obtain some further reason for this belief as we examine these remains themselves.

§ 13. Of the body of the church, unhappily, they are few and obscure; but the general form and extent of the building, as shown in the plan, Plate 1, fig. 2, are determined, first, by the breadth of the uninjured east end DE; secondly, by some remains of the original brickwork of the clerestory, and in all probability of the side walls also, though

* Notizie Storiche, p. 620.

those have been refaced; and finally by the series of nave shafts, which are still perfect. The doors A and B may or may not be in their original positions; there must of course have been always, as now, a principal entrance at the west end. The ground plan is composed, like that of Torcello, of nave and aisles only, but the clerestory has transepts extending as far as the outer wall of the aisles. The semicircular apse, thrown out in the centre of the east end, is now the chief feature of interest in the church, though the nave shafts and the eastern extremities of the aisles, outside, are also portions of the original building; the latter having been modernised in the interior, it cannot now be ascertained whether, as is probable, the aisles had once round ends as well as the choir. The spaces F G form small chapels, of which g has a straight terminal wall behind its altar, and f a curved one, marked by the dotted line; the partitions which divide these chapels from the presbytery are also indicated by dotted lines, being modern work.

§ 14. The plan is drawn carefully to scale, but the relation in which its proportions are disposed can hardly be appreciated by the eye. The width of the nave from shaft to opposite shaft is 32 feet 8 inches; of the aisles, from the shaft to the wall, 16 feet 2 inches, or allowing 2 inches for the thickness of the modern wainscot, 16 feet 4 inches, half the breadth of the nave exactly. The intervals between the shafts are exactly one-fourth of the width of the nave, or 8 feet 2 inches, and the distance between the great piers which form the pseudo-transept is 24 feet 6 inches, exactly three times the interval of the shafts. So the four distances are accurately in arithmetical proportion; *i.e.*—

| | Ft. | In. |
|--------------------|-----|-----|
| Interval of shafts | 8 | 2 |
| Width of aisle | 16 | 4 |
| Width of transept | 24 | 6 |
| Width of nave | 32 | 8 |

The shafts average 5 feet 4 inches in circumference, as near the base as they can be got at, being covered with wood;

and the broadest sides of the main piers are 4 feet 7 inches wide, their narrowest sides 3 feet 6 inches. The distance ac from the outmost angle of these piers to the beginning of the curve of the apse is 25 feet, and from that point the apse is nearly semicircular, but it is so encumbered with Renaissance fittings that its form cannot be ascertained with perfect accuracy. It is roofed by a concha, or semi-dome; and the external arrangement of its walls provides for the security of this dome by what is, in fact, a system of buttresses as effective and definite as that of any of the Northern churches, although the buttresses are obtained entirely by adaptations of the Roman shaft and arch, the lower story being formed by a thick mass of wall lightened by ordinary semicircular round-headed niches, like those used so extensively afterwards in Renaissance architecture, each niche flanked by a pair of shafts standing clear of the wall, and bearing deeply moulded arches thrown over the niche. The wall with its pillars thus forms a series of massy buttresses (as seen in the ground plan), on the top of which is an open gallery, backed by a thinner wall, and roofed by arches whose shafts are set above the pairs of shafts below. On the heads of these arches rests the roof. We have, therefore, externally a heptagonal apse, chiefly of rough and common brick, only with marble shafts and a few marble ornaments; but for that very reason all the more interesting, because it shows us what may be done, and was done, with materials such as are now at our own command; and because in its proportions, and in the use of the few ornaments it possesses, it displays a delicacy of feeling rendered doubly notable by the roughness of the work in which laws so subtle are observed, and with which so thoughtful ornamentation is associated.

§ 15. First, for its proportions: I shall have occasion in Chapter V. to dwell at some length on the peculiar subtlety of the early Venetian perception for ratios of magnitude;¹ the relations of the sides of this heptagonal apse supply

¹ [See below, pp. 148–153.]

one of the first and most curious instances of it. The proportions above given of the nave and aisles might have been dictated by a mere love of mathematical precision; but those of the apse could only have resulted from a true love of harmony.

In fig. 6, Plate 1, the plan of this part of the church is given on a large scale, showing that its seven external sides are arranged on a line less than a semicircle, so that if the figure were completed, it would have sixteen sides; and it will be observed also, that the seven sides are arranged in four magnitudes, the widest being the central one. The brickwork is so much worn away, that the measures of the arches are not easily ascertainable, but those of the plinth on which they stand, which is nearly uninjured, may be obtained accurately. This plinth is indicated by the open line in the ground plan, and its sides measure respectively:

| | Ft. | In |
|---------------------------|-----|----|
| 1st, <i>a b</i> in plan | 6 | 7 |
| 2nd, <i>b c</i> | 7 | 7 |
| 3rd, <i>c d</i> | 7 | 5 |
| 4th, <i>d e</i> (central) | 7 | 10 |
| 5th, <i>e f</i> | 7 | 5 |
| 6th, <i>f g</i> | 7 | 8 |
| 7th, <i>g h</i> | 6 | 1 |

§ 16. Now observe what subtle feeling is indicated by this delicacy of proportion. How fine must the perceptions of grace have been in those builders who could not be content without *some* change between the second and third, the fifth and sixth terms of proportion, such as should oppose the general direction of its cadence, and yet *were* content with a diminution of two inches on a breadth of seven feet and a half ! For I do not suppose that the reader will think the curious lessening of the third and fifth arch a matter of accident, and even if he did so, I shall be able to prove to him hereafter that it was not, but that the early builders were always desirous of obtaining some alternate proportion of this kind.¹ The relations of

¹ [See below, ch. v. §§ 6–12, and especially p. 153.]

the numbers are not easily comprehended in the form of feet and inches, but if we reduce the first four of them into inches, and then subtract some constant number, suppose 75, from them all, the remainders 4, 16, 14, 19, will exhibit the ratio of proportion in a clearer, though exaggerated form.

§ 17. The pairs of circular spots at *b*, *c*, *d*, etc., on the ground plan, fig. 6, represent the bearing shafts, which are all of solid marble as well as their capitals. Their measures and various other particulars respecting them are given in Appendix 6 [p. 446], "Apse of Murano;" here I only wish the reader to note the colouring of their capitals. Those of the two single shafts in the angles (*a*, *h*) are both of deep purple marble; the two next pairs, *b* and *g*, are of white marble; the pairs *c* and *f* are of purple, and *d* and *e* are of white: thus alternating with each other on each side; two white meeting in the centre. Now observe, *the purple capitals are all left plain; the white are all sculptured*. For the old builders knew that by carving the purple capitals they would have injured them in two ways: first, they would have mixed a certain quantity of grey shadow with the surface hue, and so adulterated the purity of the colour; secondly, they would have drawn away the thoughts from the colour, and prevented the mind from fixing upon it or enjoying it, by the degree of attention which the sculpture would have required. So they left their purple capitals full broad masses of colour; and sculptured the white ones, which would otherwise have been devoid of interest.¹

§ 18. But the feature which is most to be noted in this apse is a band of ornament, which runs round it like a silver

¹ [In one draft of this chapter Ruskin adds:—

"Could any proof be more complete of the admirable science of the builder? I need not tell the reader that of all those great principles modern architects are more ignorant than children. Even a child, if you give it pieces of white and coloured paper, will presently begin to draw upon the white, and to cut the coloured into pretty figures. But if you give a modern builder the most beautiful stones in the world, he does not know what to do with them. He never has been taught anything about colour, and his youth has been so enclosed by false laws that he has not a single natural instinct left to help him."]

girdle, composed of sharp wedges of marble, preciouslly inlaid, and set like jewels into the brickwork; above it there is another band of triangular recesses in the bricks, of nearly similar shape, and it seems equally strange that all the marbles should have fallen from it, or that it should have been originally destitute of them. The reader may choose his hypothesis; but there is quite enough left to interest us in the lower band, which is fortunately left in its original state, as is sufficiently proved by the curious niceties in the arrangement of its colours, which are assuredly to be attributed to the care of the first builder. A word or two, in the first place, respecting the means of colour at his disposal.

§ 19. I stated that the building was, for the most part, composed of yellow brick.¹ This yellow is very nearly pure, much more positive and somewhat darker than that of our English light brick, and the material of the brick is very good and hard, looking, in places, almost vitrified, and so compact as to resemble stone. Together with this brick occurs another of a deep full red, and more porous substance, which is used for decoration chiefly, while all the parts requiring strength are composed of the yellow brick. Both these materials are *cast into any shape and size* the builder required, either into curved pieces for the arches, or flat tiles for filling the triangles; and, what is still more curious, the thickness of the yellow bricks used for the walls varies considerably, from two inches to four; and their length also, some of the larger pieces used in important positions being a foot and a half long.

With these two kinds of brick, the builder employed five or six kinds of marble: pure white, and white veined with purple; a brecciated marble of white and black; a brecciated marble of white and deep green; another, deep red, or nearly of the colour of Egyptian porphyry; and a grey and black marble, in fine layers.

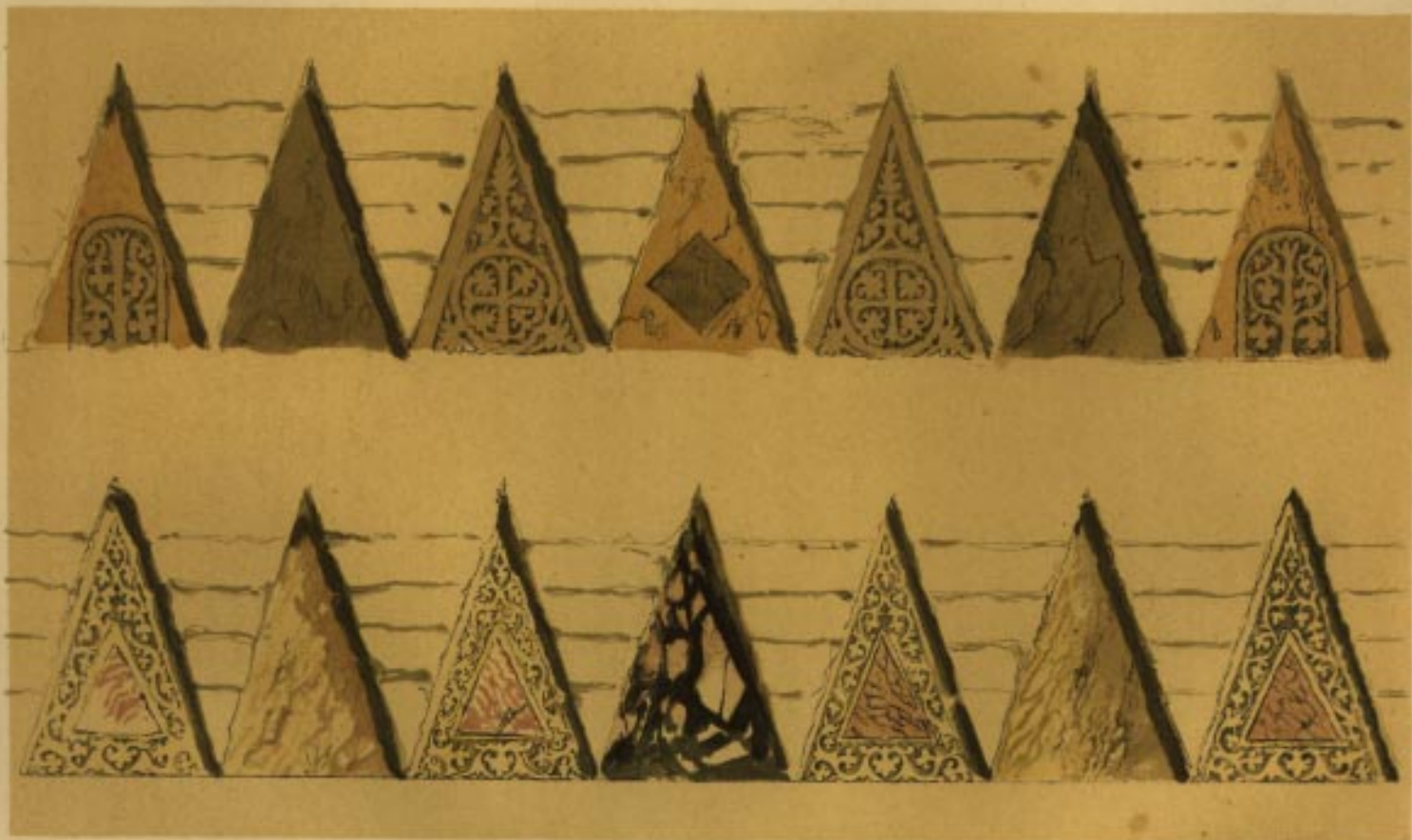
§ 20. The method of employing these materials will be understood at once by a reference to the opposite plate

¹ [See above, § 14, "of rough and common brick."]

(Plate 3), which represents two portions of the lower band. I could not succeed in expressing the variation and chequering of colour in marble, by real tints in the print; and have been content, therefore, to give them in line engraving. The different triangles are, altogether, of ten kinds:

- a. Pure white marble with sculptured surface (as the third and fifth in the upper series of Plate 3).
- b. Cast triangle of red brick with a sculptured round-headed piece of white marble inlaid (as the first and seventh of the upper series, Plate 3).
- c. A plain triangle of greenish black marble, now perhaps considerably paler in colour than when first employed (as the second and sixth of the upper series in Plate 3).
- d. Cast red brick triangle, with a diamond inlaid of the above-mentioned black marble (as the fourth in the upper series of Plate 3).
- e. Cast white brick, with an inlaid round-headed piece of marble, variegated with black and yellow, or white and violet (not seen in the plate).
- f. Occurs only once, a green-veined marble, forming the upper part of the triangle, with a white piece below.
- g. Occurs only once. A brecciated marble of intense black and pure white, the centre of the lower range in Plate 3.
- h. Sculptured white marble with a triangle of veined purple marble inserted (as the first, third, fifth, and seventh of the lower range in Plate 3).
- i. Yellow or white marble veined with purple (as the second and sixth of the lower range in Plate 3).
- k. Pure purple marble, not seen in this plate.

§ 21. The band, then, composed of these triangles, set close to each other in varied but not irregular relations, is thrown, like a necklace of precious stones, round the apse and along the ends of the aisles; each side of the apse taking, of course, as many triangles as its width permits. If the reader will look back to the measures of these sides of the apse, given before, p. 48, he will see that the first and seventh of the series, being much narrower than the rest, cannot take so many triangles in their band. Accordingly, they have only six each, while the other five sides have seven. Of these groups of seven triangles each, that used for the third and fifth sides of the apse is the uppermost in Plate 3; and that used for the centre of the apse, and of the whole series, is the lowermost in the same plate; *the piece of black and white*



Inlaid Bands of Murano.

marble being used to emphasize the centre of the chain, exactly as a painter would use a dark touch for a similar purpose.

§ 22. And now, with a little trouble, we can set before the reader, at a glance, the arrangement of the groups along the entire extremity of the church.

There are thirteen recesses, indicative of thirteen arches; seen in the ground plan, fig. 2, Plate 1. Of these, the second and twelfth arches rise higher than the rest; so high as to break the decorated band; and the groups of triangles we have to enumerate are, therefore, only eleven in number; one above each of the eleven low arches. And of these eleven, the first and second, tenth and eleventh, are at the ends of the aisles; while the third to the ninth, inclusive, go round the apse. Thus, in the following table, the numerals indicate the place of each entire group (counting from the south to the north side of the church, or from left to right), and the letters indicate the species of triangle of which it is composed, as described in the list given above.

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| | 6. h. i. h. g. h. i. h. | |
| | 5. b. c. a. d. a. c. b. | 7. b. c. a. d. a. c. b. |
| | 4. b. a. b. c. a. e. a. | 8. a. e. a. c. b. a. b. |
| | 3. b. a. b. e. b. a. | 9. a. b. e. b. a. b. |
| | 2. a. b. c. | 10. a. b. c. b. |
| | 1. a. b. c. b. a. | 11. b. a. c. a. f. a. a. |

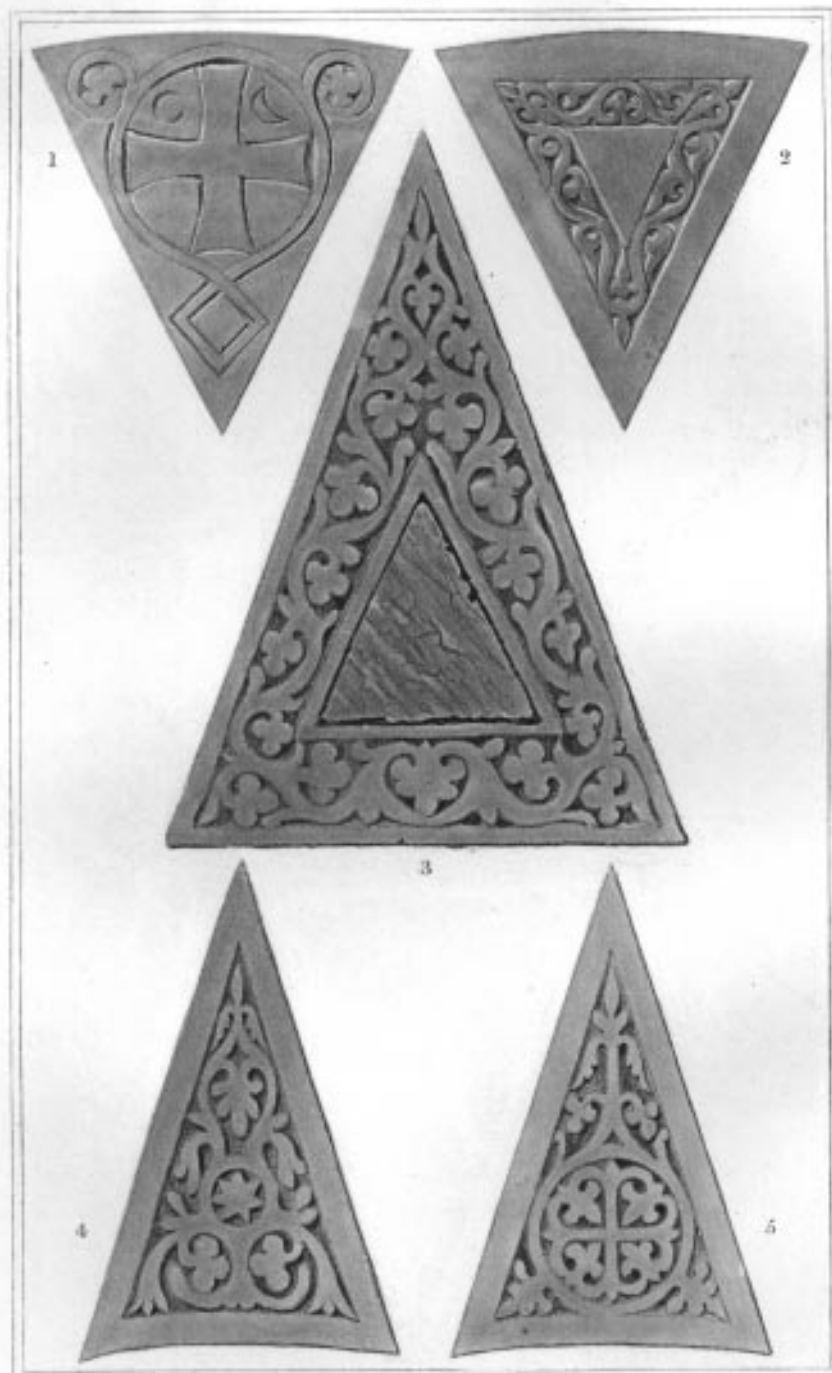
The central group is put first, that it may be seen how the series on the two sides of the apse answer each other. It was a very curious freak to insert the triangle e, in the outermost place *but one* of both the fourth and eighth sides of the apse, and in the outermost *but two* in the third and ninth; in neither case having any balance to it in its own group, and the real balance being only effected on the other side of the apse, which it is impossible that any one should see at the same time. This is one of the curious pieces of system which so often occur in mediæval work, of which the key is now lost. The groups at the ends of the transepts correspond neither in number nor arrangement; we shall presently see why, but must first examine more closely the

treatment of the triangles themselves, and the nature of the floral sculpture employed upon them.

§ 23. As the scale of Plate 3 is necessarily small, I have given three of the sculptured triangles on a larger scale in Plate 4 opposite. Fig. 3 is one of the four in the lower series of Plate 3, and figs. 4 and 5 from another group. The forms of the trefoils are here seen more clearly; they, and all the other portions of the design, are thrown out in low and flat relief, the intermediate spaces being cut out to the depth of about a quarter of an inch. I believe these vacant spaces were originally filled with a black composition, which is used in similar sculptures at St. Mark's, and of which I found some remains in an archivolt moulding here, though not in the triangles. The surface of the whole would then be perfectly smooth, and the ornamental form relieved by a ground of dark grey; but, even though this ground is lost, the simplicity of the method insures the visibility of all its parts at the necessary distance (17 or 18 feet), and the quaint trefoils have a crispness and freshness of effect which I found it almost impossible to render in a drawing. Nor let us fail to note in passing how strangely delightful to the human mind the trefoil always is.¹ We have it here repeated five or six hundred times in the space of a few yards, and yet are never weary of it. In fact, there are two mystical feelings at the root of our enjoyment of this decoration: the one is the love of trinity in unity, the other that of the sense of fulness with order; of every place being instantly filled, and yet filled with propriety and ease; the leaves do not push each other, nor put themselves out of their own way, and yet whenever there is a vacant space, a leaf is always ready to step in and occupy it.

§ 24. I said the trefoil was five or six hundred times repeated. It is so, but observe, it is hardly ever twice of the same size; and this law is studiously and resolutely observed. In the carvings *a* and *b* of the upper series, Plate 3, the

¹[Compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 129 n.]



diminution of the leaves might indeed seem merely representative of the growth of the plant. But look at the lower: the triangles of inlaid purple marble are made much more nearly equilateral than those of white marble, into whose centres they are set, so that the leaves may continually diminish in size as the ornament descends at the sides. The reader may perhaps doubt the accuracy of the drawing on the smaller scale, but in that given larger, fig. 3, Plate 4, the angles are all measured, and the *purposeful* variation of width in the border therefore admits of no dispute.* Remember how absolutely this principle is that of nature; the same leaf continually repeated, but never twice of the same size. Look at the clover under your feet, and then you will see what this Murano builder meant, and that he was not altogether a barbarian.

§ 25. Another point I wish the reader to observe is, the importance attached to *colour* in the mind of the designer. Note especially—for it is of the highest importance to see how the great principles of art are carried out through the whole building—that, as only the white capitals are sculptured below, only the white triangles are sculptured above. No coloured triangle is touched with sculpture; note also, that in the two principal groups of the apse, given in Plate 3, the centre of the group is colour, not sculpture, and the eye is evidently intended to be drawn as much to the chequers of the stone, as to the intricacies of the chiselling. It will be noticed also how much more precious the lower series, which is central in the apse, is rendered, than the one above it in the plate, which flanks it: there is no brick in the lower one, and three kinds of variegated marble are used in it, whereas the upper is composed of brick, with black and white marble only; and lastly—for this is especially delightful—see how the workman made his chiselling finer where it was to go

* The intention is farther confirmed by the singular variation in the breadth of the small fillet which encompasses the inner marble. It is much narrower at the bottom than at the sides, so as to recover the original breadth in the lower border.

with the variegated marbles, and used a bolder pattern with the coarser brick and dark stone. The subtlety and perfection of artistical feeling in all this are so redundant, that in the building itself the eye can rest upon this coloured chain with the same kind of delight that it has in a piece of the embroidery of Paul Veronese.

§ 26. Such being the construction of the lower band, that of the upper is remarkable only for the curious change in its proportions. The two are separated, as seen in the little woodcut here at the side, by a string-course composed of two layers of red bricks, of which the uppermost projects as a cornice, and is sustained by an intermediate course of irregular brackets, obtained by setting the thick yellow bricks edgeways, in the manner common to



Fig. 2

this day. But the wall above is carried up perpendicularly from this projection so that the whole upper band is advanced to the thickness of a brick over the lower one. The result of this is, of course, that each side of the apse is four or five inches broader above than below; so that the same number of triangles which filled a whole side of the lower band, leave an inch or two blank at each angle in the upper. This would have looked awkward, if there had been the least appearance of its being an accidental error; so that, in order to draw the eye to it, and show that it is done on purpose, the upper triangles are made about two inches higher than the lower ones, so as to be much more acute in proportion and effect, and actually to look considerably narrower, though of the same width at the base. By this means they are made lighter in effect, and subordinated to the richly decorated series of the lower band, and the two courses, instead of repeating, unite with each other, and become a harmonious whole.

In order, however, to make still more sure that this difference in the height of the triangles should not escape

the eye, another course of plain bricks is added above their points, increasing the width of the band by another two inches. There are five courses of bricks in the lower band, and it measures 1 ft. 6 in. in height: there are seven courses in the upper (of which six fall between the triangles), and it measures 1 ft. 10 in. in height, except at the extremity of the northern aisle, where for some mysterious reason the intermediate cornice is sloped upwards so as to reduce the upper triangles to the same height as those below. And here, finally, observe how determined the builder was that the one series should not be a mere imitation of the other; he could not now make them acute by additional height—so he here, and here only, *narrowed their bases*, and we have seven of them above, to six below.

§ 27. We come now to the most interesting portion of the whole east end, the archivolt at the end of the northern aisle.

It was above stated [§ 22], that the band of triangles was broken by two higher arches at the ends of the aisles. That, however, on the northern side of the apse does not entirely interrupt, but lifts it, and thus forms a beautiful and curious archivolt, drawn in Plate 5. The upper band of triangles cannot rise together with the lower, as it would otherwise break the cornice prepared to receive the second story; and the curious zig-zag with which its triangles die away against the sides of the arch, exactly as waves break upon the sand, is one of the most curious features in the structure.

It will be also seen that there is a new feature in the treatment of the band itself when it turns the arch. Instead of leaving the bricks projecting between the sculptured or coloured stones, reversed triangles of marble are used, inlaid to an equal depth with the others in the brick-work, but projecting beyond them so as to produce a sharp dark line of zig-zag at their junctions. Three of the supplementary stones have unhappily fallen out, so that it is now impossible to determine the full harmony of colour in which they were originally arranged. The central one,

corresponding to the keystone in a common arch, is, however, most fortunately left, with two lateral ones on the right hand, and one on the left.

§ 28. The keystone, if it may be so called, is of white marble, the lateral voussoirs of purple; and these are the only coloured stones in the whole building which are sculptured; but they are sculptured in a way which more satisfactorily proves that the principle above stated was understood by the builders, than if they had been left blank. The object, observe, was to make the archivolt as rich as possible; eight of the white sculptured marbles were used upon it in juxtaposition. Had the purple marbles been left altogether plain, they would have been out of harmony with the elaboration of the rest. It became necessary to touch them with sculpture as a mere sign of carefulness and finish, but at the same time destroying their coloured surface as little as possible. *The ornament is merely outlined upon them with a fine incision*, as if it had been etched out on their surface preparatory to being carved. In two of them it is composed merely of three concentric lines, parallel with the sides of the triangle; in the third, it is a wreath of beautiful design, which I have drawn of larger size in fig. 2, Plate 4, that the reader may see how completely the surface is left undestroyed by the delicate incisions of the chisel, and may compare the method of working with that employed on the white stones, two of which are given in that plate, figs. 4 and 5. The keystone, of which we have not yet spoken, is the only white stone worked with the light incision; its design not being capable of the kind of workmanship given to the floral ornaments, and requiring either to be carved in complete relief, or left as we see it.¹ It is given at fig. 1 of Plate 4. The sun and moon on each side of the cross

¹ [In one draft of this chapter Ruskin adds:—

“I hardly know whether to admire in it most the exquisite adaptation of the lines of the ornament to its form and place (their peculiar simplicity and severity indicating that this stone has a more important function than any of the others), or the sweet feeling which places the cross, between the sun and moon, at the head of the archivolt.”]

are, as we shall see in the fifth Chapter,¹ constantly employed on the keystones of Byzantine arches.

§ 29. We must not pass without notice the grey and green pieces of marble inserted at the flanks of the arch. For, observe, there was a difficulty in getting the forms of the triangle into anything like reconciliation at this point, and a mediæval artist always delights in a difficulty; instead of concealing it, he boasts of it; and just as we saw above² that he directed the eye to the difficulty of filling the expanded sides of the upper band by elongating his triangles, so here, having to put in a piece of stone of awkward shape, he makes that very stone the most conspicuous in the whole arch, on both sides, by using in one case a dark, cold grey; in the other a vigorous green, opposed to the warm red and purple and white of the stones above and beside it. The green and white piece on the right is of a marble, as far as I know, exceedingly rare. I at first thought the white fragments were inlaid, so sharply are they defined upon their ground. They are indeed inlaid, but I believe it is by nature; and that the stone is a calcareous breccia of great mineralogical interest.³ The white spots are of singular value in giving piquancy to the whole range of more delicate transitional hues above. The effect of the whole is, however, generally injured by the loss of the three large triangles above. I have no doubt they were purple, like those which remain, and that the whole arch was thus one zone of white, relieved on a purple ground, encircled by the scarlet cornices of brick, and the whole chord of colour contrasted by the two precious fragments of grey and green at either side.

§ 30. The two pieces of carved stone inserted at each side of the arch, as seen at the bottom of Plate 5, are of different workmanship from the rest; they do not match each other, and form part of the evidence which proves that portions of

¹ [See below, p. 166.]

² [See § 26.]

³ [And therefore of great interest to Ruskin. See his contributions to the *Geological Magazine* (1867–1870), reprinted in a later volume of this edition, “On Banded and Brecciated Concretions.”]



Archivolt in the Duomo of Murano.

the church had been brought from the mainland. One bears an inscription, which, as its antiquity is confirmed by the shapelessness of its letters, I was much gratified by not being able to read; but M. Lazari, the intelligent author of the latest and best Venetian guide,¹ with better skill, has given as much of it as remains, thus:—

T SCEMARIEDIGENETRICISETBEATIESTEFANIMART
IRIEGOINDIGNVSETPECCATVRDOMENICVST

I have printed the letters as they are placed in the inscription, in order that the reader may form some idea of the difficulty of reading such legends when the letters, thus thrown into one heap, are themselves of strange forms, and half worn away; any gaps which at all occur between them, coming in the wrong places. There is no doubt, however, as to the reading of this fragment:—"T . . . Sancte Marie Domini Genetricis et beati Estefani martiri ego indignus et peccator Domenicus T." On these two initial and final Ts, expanding one into Templum, the other into Torcellanus, M. Lazari finds an ingenious conjecture that the inscription records the elevation of the church under a certain bishop Dominic of Torcello (named in the Altinate chronicle), who flourished in the middle of the ninth century. If this were so, as the inscription occurs broken off on a fragment inserted scornfully in the present edifice, this edifice must be of the twelfth century, worked with fragments taken from the ruins of that built in the ninth. The two Ts are, however, hardly a foundation large enough to build the church upon, a hundred years before the date assigned to it both by history and tradition (see above, § 8); and the reader has yet to be made aware of the principal fact bearing on the question.

§ 31. Above the first story of the apse runs, as he knows already, a gallery under open arches, protected by a light

¹ [*Guida Artistica e Storica di Venezia . . . autori P. Selvatico e V. Lazari, Venezia, 1852.*]

balustrade. This balustrade is worked on the *outside* with mouldings, of which I shall only say at present that they are of exactly the same school as the greater part of the work of the existing church. But the great horizontal pieces of stone which form the top of this balustrade are fragments of an older building turned inside out. They are covered with sculptures on the back, only to be seen by mounting into the gallery. They have once had an arcade of low wide arches traced on their surface, the spandrels filled with leafage, and archivolts enriched with studied chainwork and with crosses in their centres. These pieces have been used as waste marble by the architect of the existing apse. The small arches of the present balustrade are cut mercilessly through the old work, and the profile of the balustrade is cut out of what was once the back of the stone; only some respect is shown for the crosses in the old design, the blocks are cut so that these shall be not only left uninjured, but come in the centre of the balustrades.

§ 32. Now let the reader observe carefully that this balustrade of Murano is a fence of other things than the low gallery round the deserted apse. It is a barrier between two great schools of early architecture. On one side it was cut by Romanesque workmen of the early Christian ages, and furnishes us with a distinct type of a kind of ornament which, as we meet with other examples of it, we shall be able to describe in generic terms, and to throw back behind this balustrade, out of our way. The *front* of the balustrade presents us with a totally different condition of design, less rich, more graceful, and here shown in its simplest possible form. From the outside of this bar of marble we shall commence our progress in the study of existing Venetian architecture. The only question is, do we begin from the tenth or from the twelfth century?

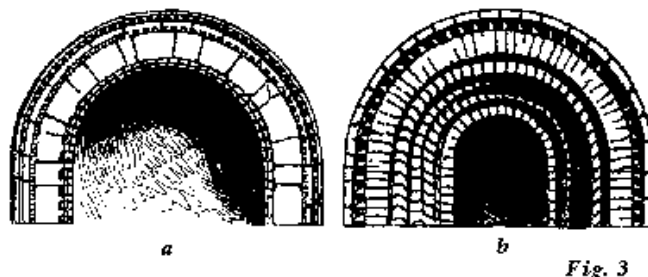
§ 33. I was in great hopes once of being able to determine this positively; but the alterations in all the early buildings of Venice are so numerous, and the foreign fragments introduced so innumerable, that I was obliged to leave the

question doubtful. But one circumstance must be noted, bearing upon it closely.

In the woodcut below, Fig. 3, *b* is an archivolt of Murano, *a* one of St. Mark's; the latter acknowledged by all historians and all investigators to be of the twelfth century.

All the twelfth century archivolts in Venice, without exception, are on the model of *a*, differing only in their decorations and sculpture. There is not one which resembles that of Murano.

But the deep mouldings of Murano are almost exactly similar to those of St. Michele of Pavia, and other Lombard



churches built, some as early as the seventh, others in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.¹

On this ground it seems to me probable that the existing apse of Murano is part of the original earliest church, and that the inscribed fragments used in it have been brought from the mainland. The balustrade, however, may still be later than the rest; it will be examined, hereafter, more carefully.*

I have not space to give any farther account of the exterior of the building, though one half of what is remarkable in it remains untold. We must now see what is left of interest within the walls.

§ 34. All hope is taken away by our first glance; for it

* Its elevation is given to scale in fig. 4, Plate 13 below [p. 288].

¹ [For St. Michele, see Vol. IX, p. 40 n.]

falls on a range of shafts whose bases are concealed by wooden panelling, and which sustain arches decorated in the most approved style of Renaissance upholstery, with stucco roses in squares under the soffits, and egg and arrow mouldings on the architraves, gilded, on a ground of spotty black and green, with a small pink-faced and black-eyed cherub on every keystone; the rest of the church being for the most part concealed either by dirty hangings, or dirtier whitewash, or dim pictures on warped and wasting canvas; all vulgar, vain, and foul.¹ Yet let us not turn back, for in the shadow of the apse our more careful glance shows us a Greek Madonna, pictured on a field of gold; and we feel giddy at the first step we make on the pavement, for it, also, is of Greek mosaic, waved like the sea,² and dyed like a dove's neck.

§ 35. Nor are the original features of the rest of the edifice altogether indecipherable; the entire series of shafts marked in the ground plan on each side of the nave, from

¹ [The cathedral underwent elaborate and careful restoration at the expense of the Government in 1870.]

² [Ruskin had the same theory about the undulations in the old pavement of St. Mark's, now put straight, he complains (see below, p. 116 *n.*), by Messrs. Salviati. When he was in Venice in 1851, his father sent him an extract from the Journal of Mrs. Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale), where the same suggestion is made. "The Ducal palace is so beautiful, it were worth while almost to cross the Alps to see that, and return home again: and St. Mark's Church, whose mosaic paintings on the outside are surpassed by no work of art, delights one no less on entering with its numberless rarities, the flooring first, which is all paved with precious stones of the second rank, in small squares, not bigger than a playing-card and sometimes less. By the second rank in gems I mean, carnelian, agate, jasper, serpentine, and verd-antique; on which you place your feet without remorse, but not without a very odd sensation, when you find the ground undulated beneath them, to represent the waves of the sea, and perpetuate marine ideas, which prevail in everything at Venice" (*Observations and Reflections made in the course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany*, by Hester Lynch Piozzi, 2 vols. 1789, i. 152).

"I think," wrote Ruskin in reply (Nov. 24, 1851), "she is quite right about the floor being to *imitate* waves in St. Mark's. There is no reason for its settling when there is no weight. If it had settled so much under plain pavement what would it have done under the piers? I think it is a very beautiful intention, and that it was partly intended to be marked for such by the very curious mosaic of the Fat Lion on the Sea and the Lean Lion on the Sand, which in another manner warned Venice always to keep upon the waves."

The excavations made in the crypt during recent years seem, however, to have disposed of the theory in the case of St. Mark's. "The uneven, wavy form is due, not to any intent of imitating the waves of the sea, but to the fact that the pavement is supported by the crypt, and has settled into hollows corresponding to the cells of the vaulting which, being filled with loose material, are less rigid than the crown where no settlement has taken place" (T. Okey's *Venice*, 1903, p. 241).]

the western entrance to the apse, are nearly uninjured; and I believe the stilted arches they sustain are those of the original fabric, though the masonry is covered by the Renaissance stucco mouldings. Their capitals, for a wonder, are left bare, and appear to have sustained no farther injury than has resulted from the insertion of a large brass chandelier into each of their abaci, each chandelier carrying a sublime wax candle two inches thick, fastened with wire to the wall above. The due arrangement of these appendages, previous to festa days, can only be effected from a ladder set against the angle of the abacus; and ten minutes before I wrote this sentence, I had the privilege of watching the candlelighter at his work, knocking his ladder about the heads of the capitals as if they had given him personal offence. He at last succeeded in breaking away one of the lamps altogether, with a bit of the marble of the abacus; the whole falling in ruin to the pavement, and causing much consultation and clamour among a tribe of beggars who were assisting the sacristan with their wisdom respecting the festal arrangements.

§ 36. It is fortunate that the capitals themselves, being somewhat rudely cut, can bear this kind of treatment better than most of those in Venice. They are all founded on the Corinthian type, but the leaves are in every one different: those of the easternmost capital of the southern range are the best, and very beautiful, but presenting no features of much interest, their workmanship being inferior to most of the imitations of Corinthian common at the period; much more to the rich fantasies which we have seen at Torcello. The apse itself, to-day (12th September, 1851), is not to be described; for just in front of it, behind the altar, is a magnificent curtain of new red velvet with a gilt edge and two golden tassels, held up in a dainty manner by two angels in the upholsterer's service; and above all, for concentration of effect, a star or sun, some five feet broad, the spikes of which conceal the whole of the figure of the Madonna except the head and hands.

§ 37. The pavement is however still left open, and it is of infinite interest, although grievously distorted and defaced. For whenever a new chapel has been built, or a new altar erected, the pavement has been broken up and readjusted so as to surround the newly inserted steps or stones with some appearance of symmetry; portions of it either covered or carried away, others mercilessly shattered or replaced by modern imitations, and those of very different periods, with pieces of the old floor left here and there in the midst of them, and worked round so as to deceive the eye into acceptance of the whole as ancient. The portion, however, which occupies the western extremity of the nave, and the parts immediately adjoining it in the aisles, are, I believe, in their original positions, and very little injured: they are composed chiefly of groups of peacocks, lions, stags, and griffins,—two of each in a group, drinking out of the same vase, or shaking claws together,—enclosed by interlacing bands, and alternating with chequer or star patterns, and here and there an attempt at representation of architecture, all worked in marble mosaic. The floors of Torcello and of St. Mark's are executed in the same manner; but what remains at Murano is finer than either, in the extraordinary play of colour obtained by the use of variegated marbles. At St. Mark's the patterns are more intricate, and the pieces far more skilfully set together; but each piece is there commonly of one colour: at Murano every fragment is itself variegated, and all are arranged with a skill and feeling not to be taught, and to be observed with deep reverence, for that pavement is not dateless, like the rest of the church; it bears its date on one of its central circles, 1140, and is, in my mind, one of the most precious monuments in Italy, showing thus early, and in those rude chequers which the bared knee of the Murano fisher wears in its daily bending, the beginning of that mighty spirit of Venetian colour, which was to be consummated in Titian.

§ 38. But we must quit the church for the present, for its garnishings are completed; the candles are all upright

in their sockets, and the curtains drawn into festoons, and a pasteboard crescent, gay with artificial flowers, has been attached to the capital of every pillar, in order, together with the gilt angles, to make the place look as much like Paradise as possible. If we return to-morrow we shall find it filled with woful groups of aged men and women, wasted and fever-struck, fixed in paralytic supplication, half-kneeling, half-crouched upon the pavement; bowed down, partly in feebleness, partly in a fearful devotion, with their grey clothes cast far over their faces, ghastly and settled into a gloomy animal misery, all but the glittering eyes and muttering lips.

Fit inhabitants, these, for what was once the garden of Venice, “a terrestrial Paradise,—a place of nymphs and demigods!”*

§ 39. We return, yet once again, on the following day. Worshippers and objects of worship, the sickly crowd and gilded angels, all are gone; and there, far in the apse, is seen the sad Madonna standing in her folded robe, lifting her hands in vanity of blessing.¹ There is little else to draw away our thoughts from the solitary image. An old wooden tablet, carved into a rude effigy of San Donato, which occupies the central niche in the lower part of the tribune, has an interest of its own, but is unconnected with the history of the older church. The faded frescoes of saints, which cover the upper tier of the wall of the apse, are also of comparatively recent date, much more the piece of Renaissance workmanship, shaft and entablature, above the altar which has

* “Luogo de’ ninfe e de’ semidei.”—*M. Andrea Calmo*, quoted by Mutinelli, *Annali Urbani di Venezia* (Venice, 1841), p. 362.

¹ [Elsewhere Ruskin instances the Madonna of Murano as a type of the Mater Dolorosa, distinguished from the Madonna Reine and the Madonna Nourrice: see *Bible of Amiens*, ch. iv. It had already been described by Lord Lindsay: “At Murano the mosaic in the tribune of the Duomo, executed about the middle of the twelfth century, is one of the most remarkable of the Byzantine revival—a single figure only, the Virgin, the Greek type—standing on a cushion of cloth of gold, alone in the field, and completely enveloped in her long blue robe; her hands are held forth appealingly towards the spectator, two large tear-drops hang on her cheek, settled sorrow dwells on every feature; the very spirit of the ‘Stabat Mater’ breathes through this affecting portraiture—the silent, searching look for sympathy is irresistible” (*Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, 1847, vol. i. p. 128).]

been thrust into the midst of all, and has cut away part of the feet of the Madonna. Nothing remains of the original structure but the semidome itself, the cornice whence it springs, which is the same as that used on the exterior of the church, and the border and face-arch which surround it. The ground of the dome is of gold, unbroken except by the upright Madonna, and usual inscription, MR (H) V.¹ The figure wears a robe of blue, deeply fringed with gold, which seems to be gathered on the head and thrown back on the shoulders, crossing the breast, and falling in many folds to the ground. The under robe, shown beneath it where it opens at the breast, is of the same colour; the whole, except the deep gold fringe, being simply the dress of the women of the time. “Le donne, anco elle del 1100, vestivano *di turchino con manti in spalla*, che le coprivano dinanzi e di dietro.”*

Round the dome there is a coloured mosaic border; and on the edge of its arch, legible by the whole congregation, this inscription:

“QUOS EVA CONTRIVIT, PIA VIRGO MARIA REDEMIT;
HANC CUNCTI LAUDENT, QUI CRISTI MUNERE
GAUDENT.”†

The whole edifice is, therefore, simply a temple to the Virgin: to her is ascribed the fact of Redemption, and to her its praise.

§ 40. “And is this,” it will be asked of me, “the time, is this the worship, to which you would have us look back

* “The women, even as far back as 1100, wore dresses of blue, with mantles on the shoulder, which clothed them before and behind.”—*Sansovino*.

It would be difficult to imagine a dress more modest or beautiful. See Appendix 7 [p. 447].

† “Whom Eve destroyed, the pious Virgin Mary redeemed;
All praise her, who rejoice in the Grace of Christ.”²

Vide Appendix 8 [p. 447].

¹ [MHTPH HOV (Mother of God).]

² [More literally, “Let all praise her who enjoy Christ’s gift.”]

with reverence and regret?" Inasmuch as redemption is ascribed to the Virgin, No. Inasmuch as redemption is a thing desired, believed, rejoiced in, Yes,—and Yes a thousand times. As far as the Virgin is worshipped in place of God, No; but as far as there is the evidence of worship itself, and of the sense of a Divine presence, Yes. For there is a wider division of men than that into Christian and Pagan: before we ask what a man worships, we have to ask whether he worships at all. Observe Christ's own words on this head: "God is a spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit, *and* in truth."¹ The worshipping in spirit comes first, and it does not necessarily imply the worshipping in truth. Therefore, there is first the broad division of men into Spirit worshippers and Flesh worshippers; and then, of the Spirit worshippers, the farther division into Christian and Pagan,—worshippers in Falsehood or in Truth. I therefore, for the moment, omit all inquiry how far the Mariolatry of the early Church did indeed eclipse Christ, or what measure of deeper reverence for the Son of God was still felt through all the grossest forms of Madonna worship. Let that worship be taken at its worst; let the goddess of this dome of Murano be looked upon as just in the same sense an idol as the Athene of the Acropolis, or the Syrian Queen of Heaven; and then, on this darkest assumption, balance well the difference between those who worship and those who worship not;—that difference which there is in the sight of God, in all ages, between the calculating, smiling, self-sustained, self-governed man, and the believing, weeping, wondering, struggling, Heaven-governed man;—between the men who say in their hearts "there is no God," and those who acknowledge a God at every step, "if haply they might feel after Him and find Him."² For that is indeed the difference which we shall find, in the end, between the builders of this day and the builders on that sand island long ago. They *did* honour something out of themselves;

¹ [John iv. 24.]

² [Psalms xiv. 1, liii. 1; Acts xvii. 27.]

they did believe in spiritual presence judging, animating, redeeming them: they built to its honour and for its habitation; and were content to pass away in nameless multitudes, so only that the labour of their hands might fix in the sea-wilderness a throne for their guardian angel. In this was their strength, and there was indeed a Spirit walking with them on the waters, though they could not discern the form thereof, though the Master's voice came not to them, "It is I."¹ What their error cost them, we shall see hereafter; for it remained when the majesty and the sincerity of their worship had departed, and remains to this day. Mariolatry is no special characteristic of the twelfth century; on the outside of that very tribune of San Donato, in its central recess, is an image of the Virgin which receives the reverence once paid to the blue vision upon the inner dome. With rouged cheeks and painted brows, the frightful doll stands in wretchedness of rags, blackened with the smoke of the votive lamps at its feet; and if we would know what has been lost or gained by Italy in the six hundred years that have worn the marbles of Murano, let us consider how far the priests who set up this to worship, the populace who have this to adore, may be nobler than the men who conceived that lonely figure standing on the golden field, or than those to whom it seemed to receive their prayer at evening, far away, where they only saw the blue clouds rising out of the burning sea.

¹ [Matthew xiv. 27; Mark vi. 48-50.]

CHAPTER IV

ST. MARK'S¹

§ 1. "AND so Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus." If as the shores of Asia lessened upon his sight, the spirit of prophecy had entered into the heart of the weak disciple who had turned back when his hand was on the plough, and who had been judged, by the chiefest of Christ's captains,

¹ [This chapter forms, with some omissions noted in their places, ch. iv. in vol. i. of the "Travellers' Edition." Among the MS. of *The Stones of Venice* there is a large number of sheets belonging to earlier drafts of this chapter. Ruskin had at first intended to describe the architectural features of the building minutely throughout, with plans and diagrams. This intention was abandoned when he perceived that a volume would be required for its fulfilment. (An elaborate series of volumes has in recent years been devoted to the purpose: see above, Introduction, p. lii.). Ruskin sent home a first draft of the chapter on November 30, 1851; and the criticisms of his father, who seems to have found the architectural details a little dry, may have induced the author to adopt a more generalised treatment. Some of the material, collected and worked up for inclusion in the original draft, was afterwards transferred to other places; see below, ch. v. §§11–13 for remarks on the varied harmonies of proportion in the arches of the western facade, and Appendix 9 (pp. 448–450) for the relations of the shafts and wall, and the superimposition of the shafts. The unused material among the MSS. preserved by Ruskin is for the most part either incomplete or unintelligible without the intended illustrations. The following passage on the plinth is, however, complete in itself:—

"The base is one of the most embarrassing parts of the structure. It appears to have been restored, along the façade and northern side, at a period comparatively recent; and on the southern side, partly torn away, partly replaced by Renaissance plinths; and the restorations have been so frequent, so confused, and in many places so dextrous, that it has become altogether impossible to form any conjecture as to the original condition of this part of the building. The base, however, along the west front is at present consistent with itself, and harmonizes with the effect of the whole, so that, whatever its date, it is worth while to examine its arrangement for its own sake, even were it not necessary to do so, in order to comprehend that of the superstructure. The first elevation, then, above the pavement of St. Mark's Place is a step, or plinth, about a foot high, more or less according to the height of the pavement itself. It retires with the line of the wall piers in the main entrances or porches, that is to say, the first and third, but it forms a raised floor in the other three porches, chequered with red and white marble. It is faced all along with panels of red marble, enclosing slabs of white, or nearly white, some of the pieces being more or less veined . . . [reference to a diagram]. Above this plinth rises another, about a foot and a half high, and falling about 1., 2 back from the lower plinth along the fronts of the piers. On this member of the base the lower pillars of the

unworthy thenceforward to go forth with him to the work,* how wonderful would he have thought it, that by the lion symbol in future ages he was to be represented among men! how woful, that the war-cry of his name should so often reanimate the rage of the soldier, on those very plains where he himself had failed in the courage of the Christian, and so often dye with fruitless blood that very Cypriot Sea, over whose waves, in repentance and shame, he was following the Son of Consolation!

§ 2. That the Venetians possessed themselves of his body in the ninth century, there appears no sufficient reason to doubt, nor that it was principally in consequence of their having done so, that they chose him for their patron saint.¹ There exists, however, a tradition that before he went into Egypt he had founded the church at Aquileia, and was thus in some sort the first bishop of the Venetian isles and people. I believe that this tradition stands on nearly as good grounds as that of St. Peter having been the first bishop of Rome;† but, as usual, it is enriched by various later additions and embellishments, much resembling the stories told respecting the church of Murano. Thus we find it recorded by the Santo Padre who compiled the “Vite de’ Santi spettanti alle

* Acts xiii. 13, xv. 38, 39.

† The reader who desires to investigate it may consult Gallicioli, “Delle Memorie Venete” (Venice, 1795), tom, ii., p. 332, and the authorities quoted by him.

porches stand, and it forms a convenient seat, about two feet wide, between the bases of these pillars, the lower plinth forming the step to it. The common people sleep or lounge upon it nearly all day, except when it is occupied as a counter by the vendors of toys, mats, or books, noticed in the appendix to vol. i.” [Vol. IX. p. 472 and cf. § 15 below.]

With regard to this base, and in relation to the appearance of the edifice generally, it should be remembered that “the raising of the level of the Piazza has somewhat detracted from the elevation of both the basilica and the palace. Fynes Moryson notes in his Itinerary (1617) that ‘there were stairs of old to mount out of the marketplace into the church, till the waters of the channel increasing, they were forced to raise the height of the market-place’ ” (T. Okey’s *Venice*, p. 222). For some other remarks on the base of St. Mark’s, see in the next volume, Final Appendix (1).]

¹ [With the opening paragraphs of this chapter the reader should compare *St. Mark’s Rest*, ch. viii., where Ruskin emphasises more strongly than here “what the church had been built for,” namely, to be “a chapel over the cherished grave” of St. Mark. The “Travellers” Edition” omits from this point down to line 10 in § 8.]

Chiese di Venezia,”* that “St. Mark having seen the people of Aquileia well grounded in religion, and being called to Rome by St. Peter, before setting off took with him the holy bishop Hermagoras, and went in a small boat to the marshes of Venice. There were at that period some houses built upon a certain high bank called Rialto, and the boat being driven by the wind was anchored in a marshy place, when St. Mark, snatched into ecstasy, heard the voice of an angel saying to him: ‘Peace be to thee, Mark;¹ here shall thy body rest.’ ” The angel goes on to foretell the building of “una stupenda, ne più veduta Città”; but the fable is hardly ingenious enough to deserve farther relation.²

§ 3. But whether St. Mark was first bishop of Aquileia or not, St. Theodore was the first patron of the city; nor can he yet be considered as having entirely abdicated his early right, as his statue, standing on a crocodile, still companions the winged lion on the opposing pillar of the piazzetta.³ A church erected to this Saint is said to have occupied, before the ninth century, the site of St. Mark's; and the traveller, dazzled by the brilliancy of the great square, ought not to leave it without endeavouring to imagine its aspect in that early time, when it was a green field, cloisterlike and quiet, † divided by a small canal, with a line of trees on each side; and extending between the two churches of St. Theodore and St. Geminian,⁴ as the little piazza of Torcello lies between its “palazzo” and cathedral.

* Venice, 1761, tom. i., p. 126.

† St. Mark's Place, “partly covered by turf, and planted with a few trees; and on account of its pleasant aspect called Brollo or Broglio, that is to say, Garden.” The canal passed through it, over which is built the bridge of the Malpassi. Galliciolli, lib. i., cap. viii.

¹ [See Vol. IX. p. 30 *n.*, where a fulfilment of this promise is referred to.]

² [In revising this passage for the “Travellers' Edition” Ruskin noted here:—

“I have ceased now to look for ingenuity in fables; and look only for feeling, or meaning.”]

³ [The legend of St. Theodore is told, and his place in the early affections of the Venetians fully described in *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 1, 23, 26, 28, 41, 54, 124.]

⁴ [This early church was also dedicated to another saint, and in one MS. draft of the chapter Ruskin thus refers to the legends:—

“San Menna, to whom the church of St. Geminiano was partly dedicated, was an Egyptian saint of the third century, of whom little is recorded but that he was a soldier and a Christian; that on the publication of the edict

§ 4. But in the year 813, when the seat of government was finally removed to Rialto, a Ducal Palace, built on the spot where the present one stands, with a Ducal Chapel beside it,* gave a very different character to the Square of St. Mark; and fifteen years later, the acquisition of the body of the Saint, and its deposition in the Ducal Chapel, perhaps not yet completed, occasioned the investiture of that Chapel with all possible splendour. St. Theodore was deposed from his patronship, and his church destroyed, to make room for the aggrandizement of the one attached to the Ducal Palace, and thenceforward known as “St. Mark’s.”†

§ 5. This first church was however destroyed by fire, when the Ducal Palace was burned in the revolt against Candiano, in 976.¹ It was partly rebuilt by his successor, Pietro Orseolo,

* My authorities for this statement are given below, in the chapter on the Ducal Palace [pp. 336–337].

† In the Chronicles, “Sancti Marci Ducalis Cappella.”

of Diocletian he retired from the city of Corice in Phrygia into the wilderness to prepare for martyrdom, and that after five years, returning in the midst of some public games, he went into the amphitheatre in the dress of a hermit, and proclaimed himself a Christian aloud, using the words of Isaiah [lxv. 1], ‘I was found of them that sought me not, I was manifest to them that asked not after me,’ and that he then and there suffered, martyrdom under grievous torments. The ‘Padre dell’ Oratorio di Venezia,’ from whose work [see note* on p. 71] I abridge this account, does indeed fix the date of the martyrdom in 269; and as the persecution of Diocletian did not begin till 303, some slight suspicion may attach at least to the chronology of the relation, if not to its circumstances. In the accounts of St. Geminian some difficulties of this kind have been recognised by the pious writers themselves. Finding some of the actions of the saint authoritatively described as having taken place in the reign of the Emperor—[word indecipherable], and others in the time of Attila, they have dexterously reconciled the accounts by a postulate of two St. Geminians, both bishops of Modena.”

For the more generally accepted legend of St. Geminian, the subject of many pictures in, or painted for, churches of Modena, see Mrs. Jameson’s *Sacred and Legendary Art*, ed. 1850, p. 417. On the dates of various parts of St. Mark’s, see Vol. IX. p. 6.]

¹ [Pietro Candiano IV. (959–976), who commenced his public career by rebellion against his father, ended it by the suspicion he engendered that he was aiming at absolute sovereignty. He was surrounded by the populace, and the palace was fired: see H. F. Brown’s *Venice*, 1895, p. 59. The reign of his successor, Pietro Orseolo I. (976–978), was mainly concerned with repairing the ravages of the fire, which had destroyed the palace, the church, and many private houses. He summoned workmen from Constantinople, and devoted the bulk of his private fortune to the new Basilica of St. Mark. He then abdicated in order to enter a monastery: see *St. Mark’s Rest*, ch. ix. “Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus” (by A. Wedderburn), § 145, where the mosaic of him in the Baptistery is described; see also below, ch. viii. § 10 and *n.*]

on a larger scale; and, with the assistance of Byzantine architects, the fabric was carried on under successive Doges for nearly a hundred years; the main building being completed in 1071, but its incrustation with marble not till considerably later. It was consecrated on the 8th of October, 1085,* according to Sansovino and the author of the "Chiesa Ducale di S. Marco," in 1094 according to Lazari, but certainly between 1084 and 1096, those years being the limits of the reign of Vital Falier; I incline to the supposition that it was soon after his accession to the throne in 1085, though Sansovino writes, by mistake, Ordelafo instead of Vital Falier. But, at all events, before the close of the eleventh century the great consecration of the church took place. It was again injured by fire in 1106, but repaired; and from that time to the fall of Venice there was probably no Doge who did not in some slight degree embellish or alter the fabric, so that few parts of it can be pronounced boldly to be of any given date. Two periods of interference are, however, notable above the rest: the first, that in which the Gothic school had superseded the Byzantine towards the close of the fourteenth century, when the pinnacles, upper archivolts, and window traceries were added to the exterior, and the great screen, with various chapels and tabernaculwork, to the interior; the second, when the Renaissance school superseded the Gothic, and the pupils of Titian and Tintoret substituted, over one half of the church, their own compositions for the Greek mosaics with which it was originally decorated;† happily, though with no good-will,

* "To God the Lord, the glorious Virgin Annunciate, and the Protector St. Mark."—*Corner*, p. 14. It is needless to trouble the reader with the various authorities for the above statements. I have consulted the best. The previous inscription once existing on the church itself:

"Anno milleno transacto bisque trigeno
Desuper undecimo fuit facta primo,"

is no longer to be seen, and is conjectured by Corner, with much probability, to have perished "in qualche ristaurò."

† Signed Bartolomeus Bozza, 1634, 1647, 1656, etc.

having left enough to enable us to imagine and lament what they destroyed. Of this irreparable loss we shall have more to say hereafter;¹ meantime, I wish only to fix in the reader's mind the succession of periods of alterations as firmly and simply as possible.²

§ 6. We have seen that the main body of the church may be broadly stated to be of the eleventh century, the Gothic additions of the fourteenth, and the restored mosaics of the seventeenth. There is no difficulty in distinguishing at a glance the Gothic portions from the Byzantine; but there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining how long, during the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, additions were made to the Byzantine church, which cannot be easily distinguished from the work of the eleventh century, being purposely executed in the same manner. Two of the most important pieces of evidence on this point are, a mosaic in the south transept, and another over the northern door of the façade; the first representing the interior, the second the exterior of the ancient church.³

§ 7. It has just been stated that the existing building was consecrated⁴ by the Doge Vital Falier. A peculiar solemnity was given to that of consecration, in the minds of the Venetian people, by what appears to have been one of the best arranged and most successful impostures ever attempted by the clergy of the Romish Church. The body of St. Mark had, without doubt, perished in the conflagration of 976; but the revenues of the church depended too much upon the devotion excited by these relics to permit the confession of their loss. The following is the account

¹ [See below, p. 139.]

² [See the *Circular respecting Memorial Studies of St. Mark's* (in the volume containing *St. Mark's Rest*) where Ruskin emphasises the antiquity of much of the existing building. The visitor finds it hard to realise, he says, "that he is actually standing before the very shafts and stones that were set on their foundations here while Harold the Saxon stood by the grave of the Confessor under the fresh-raised vaults of the first Norman Westminster Abbey, of which now a single arch only remains standing."]

³ [The mosaic in the south transept, Ruskin proceeds to describe (§ 8); the other—over the Door of St. Alipius—is described and illustrated in Dr. Alexander Robertson's *Bible of St. Mark*, 1898, p. 68.]

⁴ [In his copy for revision Ruskin here inserts the words "in completion."]

given by Corner, and believed to this day by the Venetians, of the pretended miracle by which it was concealed.¹

“After the repairs undertaken by the Doge Orseolo, the place in which the body of the holy Evangelist rested had been altogether forgotten; so that the Doge Vital Falier was entirely ignorant of the place of the venerable deposit. This was no light affliction, not only to the pious Doge, but to all the citizens and people; so that at last, moved by confidence in the Divine mercy, they determined to implore, with prayer and fasting, the manifestation of so great a treasure, which did not now depend upon any human effort. A general fast being therefore proclaimed, and a solemn procession appointed for the 25th day of June, while the people assembled in the church interceded with God in fervent prayers for the desired boon, they beheld, with as much amazement as joy, a slight shaking in the marbles of a pillar (near the place where the altar of the Cross is now), which, presently falling to the earth, exposed to the view of the rejoicing people the chest of bronze in which the body of the Evangelist was laid.”

§ 8. Of the main facts of this tale there is no doubt. They were embellished afterwards, as usual, by many fanciful traditions; as, for instance, that, when the sarcophagus was discovered, St. Mark extended his hand out of it, with a gold ring on one of the fingers, which he permitted a noble of the Dolfin family to remove; and a quaint and delightful story was further invented of this ring, which I shall not repeat here,

¹ [The body, or reputed body, of St. Mark has had in all five resting-places in Venice:—(1) in the Ducal Palace, for three years, until the church was ready to receive it; (2) in the crypt of the church, 836–976; (3) a place unknown, during its “concealment,” 976–1094. One reputed place is “the large pilaster that sustains the south-east corner of the central cupola in the south transept. The south side of this pilaster bears a panel of rich mosaic decoration, with a lamp in its centre, which marks the spot from which, tradition says, the body was taken in 1094.” As a matter of fact, the pilaster has never been disturbed since the church was built. The other supposed hiding-place is a column shown in the mosaic described below (§ 8). (4) The new crypt, the present one, into which the body was borne in 1094. A leaden plate states that the sepulture was made “in the year of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, 1094, in the 8th day of the current month October, in the reign of the Doge Vital Falier.” There it remained till (5) it was moved in 1811 to its present resting-place, under the high altar of the chancel. For fuller particulars, see *Bible of St. Mark*, pp. 68–72.]

as it is now as well known as any tale of the Arabian Nights.¹ But the fast and the discovery of the coffin, by whatever means effected, are facts; and they are recorded² in one of the best-preserved mosaics of the south³ transept, executed very certainly not long after the event had taken place, closely resembling in its treatment that of the Bayeux tapestry,⁴ and showing, in a conventional manner, the interior of the church, as it then was, filled by the people, first in prayer, then in thanksgiving, the pillar standing open before them, and the Doge, in the midst of them, distinguished by his crimson bonnet embroidered with gold, but more unmistakably by the inscription “Dux” over his head, as uniformly is the case in the Bayeux tapestry, and most other pictorial works of the period. The church is, of course, rudely represented, and the two upper stories of it reduced to a small scale in order to form a background to the figures; one of those bold pieces of picture history which we in our pride of perspective, and a thousand things besides, never dare attempt.* We should have put in a column or two, of the real or perspective size, and

* “The church . . . we never dare attempt.”—I leave this exceedingly ill-written sentence, trusting the reader will think I write better now. [1879.]

¹ [The story is of the miraculous intervention of St. Mark, with St. George and St. Nicholas, to save Venice from being overwhelmed by a great storm in 1340. The saints had themselves rowed out to sea by a fisherman, and there exorcised the demons of the storm. “Then St. Mark took off a ring which was on his finger, which ring was worth five ducats; and he said, ‘Show them this, and tell them when they look in the sanctuary they will not find it;’ and thereupon he disappeared. The next morning the said fisherman presented himself before the Doge and related all he had seen the night before, and showed him the ring for a sign. And the Procuratore having sent for the ring, and sought it in the usual place, found it not; by reason of which miracle the fisherman was paid, and a solemn procession was ordained, giving thanks to God, and to the relics of the three holy saints, who rest in our land and who delivered us from this great danger. The ring was given to Signor Marco Loredano and to Signor Andrea Dandolo, the Procuratore, who placed it in the sanctuary.” The whole tale, translated from the old chronicles, may be read in Mrs. Jameson’s *Sacred and Legendary Art*. It is the subject of a celebrated picture by Paris Bordone in the Venetian Academy.]

² [The “Travellers’ Edition” here resumes from line 4 of § 2, reading “The rediscovery of the relics, lost in the conflagration of 976, is recorded . . .” In crossing out § 7, Ruskin noted it as “a vile piece of sectarian puppyism and insolence.”]

³ [All previous editions read “north” for “south”—an obvious slip. The mosaic is on the west wall of the south transept. It is again mentioned in *St. Mark’s Rest*, § 111, where Ruskin ascribes it, however, to a date later than that here suggested.]

⁴ [Now in the Public Library of that city. It represents the various episodes of the conquest of England by William of Normandy, but was probably not worked till early in the twelfth century.]

subdued it into a vague background: the old workman crushed the church together that he might get it all in, up to the cupolas;¹ and has, therefore, left us some useful notes of its ancient form, though any one who is familiar with the method of drawing employed at the period will not push the evidence too far. The two pulpits are there, however, as they are at this day, and the fringe of mosaic flowerwork which then encompassed the whole church, but which modern restores have destroyed, all but one fragment still left in the south aisle. There is no attempt to represent the other mosaics on the roof, the scale being too small to admit of their being represented with any success; but some at least of those mosaics had been executed at that period church is especially to sence in the representation of the entire church is especially to be observed, in order to show that we must not trust to any negative evidence in such works. M. Lazari has rashly concluded that the central archivolt of St. Mark's *must* be posterior to the year 1205, because it does not appear in the representation of the exterior of the church over the northern door;* but he justly observes that this mosaic (which is the other piece of evidence we possess respecting the ancient form of the building) cannot itself be earlier than 1205, since it represents the bronze horses which were brought from Constantinople in that year. And this one fact renders it very difficult to speak with confidence respecting the date of any part of the exterior of St. Mark's; for we have above seen that it was consecrated in the eleventh century, and yet here is one of its most important exterior decorations assuredly retouched, if not entirely added, in the thirteenth, although its style would have led us to suppose it had been an original part of the fabric. However, for all our purposes, it will be enough for the reader to remember that the earliest parts of

* Guida di Venezia, p. 6.²

¹ [The "Travellers' Edition" omits "We should have . . . vague background," and reads "The old workman has, therefore, left us. . ."]

² [To this note Ruskin added in the "Travellers' Edition" [1879]:—

"He is right, however."

On the subject of these dates, see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 104, 105.]

the building belong to the eleventh, twelfth, and first part of the thirteenth century; the Gothic portions to the fourteenth; some of the altars and embellishments to the fifteenth and sixteenth; and the modern portion of the mosaics to the seventeenth.

§ 9. This, however, I only wish him to recollect in order that I may speak generally of the Byzantine architecture of St. Mark's, without leading him to suppose the whole church to have been built and decorated by Greek artists. Its later portions, with the single exception of the seventeenth century mosaics, have been so dexterously accommodated to the original fabric that the general effect is still that of a Byzantine building; and I shall not, except when it is absolutely necessary, direct attention to the discordant points, or weary the reader with anatomical criticism. Whatever in St. Mark's arrests the eye, or affects the feelings, is either Byzantine, or has been modified by Byzantine influence; and our inquiry into its architectural merits need not therefore be disturbed by the anxieties of antiquarianism, or arrested by the obscurities of chronology.

§ 10. And now I wish that the reader, before I bring him into St. Mark's Place, would imagine himself for a little time in a quiet English cathedral town, and walk with me to the west front of its cathedral.¹ Let us go together up the more retired street, at the end of which we can see the pinnacles of one of the towers, and then through the low grey gateway, with its battlemented top and small latticed window in the centre, into the inner private-looking road or close, where nothing goes in but the carts of the tradesmen who supply the bishop and the chapter, and where there are little shaven grass-plots, fenced in by neat rails, before old-fashioned groups of somewhat diminutive and excessively trim houses, with

¹ [The English Cathedral has on some grounds been identified with Canterbury, and on some with Salisbury; there are other details which would suggest other cathedrals. It is clear, however, that the description is, and was meant to be, generic. So also with the reference in the author's note on the next page to Sir Gilbert Scott's work of restoration upon many cathedrals. Salisbury underwent complete restoration in 1862 and following years, and sixty new statues were erected in the niches of the west front. Compare the comparison in *The Seven Lamps*, between Salisbury and Florence (Vol. VIII. p. 188).]

little oriel and bay windows jutting out here and there, and deep wooden cornices and eaves painted cream colour and white, and small porches to their doors in the shape of cockleshells, or little, crooked, thick, indescribable wooden gables warped a little on one side; and so forward till we come to larger houses, also old-fashioned, but of red brick, and with garden behind them, and fruit walls, which show here and there, among the nectarines, the vestiges of an old cloister arch or shaft, and looking in front on the cathedral square itself, laid out in rigid divisions of smooth grass and gravel walk, yet not uncheerful, especially on the sunny side, where the canon's children are walking with their nurserymaids. And so, taking care not to tread on the grass, we will go along the straight walk to the west front, and there stand for a time, looking up at its deep-pointed porches and the dark places between their pillars where there were statues once, and where the fragments, here and there, of a stately figure are still left, which has in it the likeness of a king, perhaps indeed a king on earth, perhaps a saintly king long ago in heaven; and so higher and higher up to the great mouldering wall of rugged sculpture and confused arcades, shattered, and grey, and grisly with heads of dragons and mocking fiends, worn by the rain and swirling winds into yet unseemlier shape, and coloured on their stony scales by the deep russet-orange lichen,* melancholy gold; and so, higher still, to the bleak towers, so far above that the eye loses itself among the bosses of their traceries, though they are rude and strong, and only sees like a drift of eddy black points, now closing, now scattering, and now settling suddenly into invisible places among the bosses and flowers, the crowd of restless birds that fill the whole square with that strange clangour of theirs, so harsh and yet so soothing, like the cries of birds on a solitary coast between the cliffs and sea.

* Alas! all this was described from things now never to be seen more. Read, for "the great mouldering wall," and the context of four lines, "the beautiful new parapet by Mr. Scott, with a gross of kings sent down from Kensington." [1879.]

§ 11. Think for a little while of that scene, and the meaning of all its small formalisms, mixed with its serene sublimity. Estimate its secluded, continuous, drowsy felicities, and its evidence of the sense and steady performance of such kind of duties as can be regulated by the cathedral clock; and weigh the influence of those dark towers on all who have passed through the lonely square at their feet for centuries, and on all who have seen them rising far away over the wooded plain, or catching on their square masses the last rays of the sunset, when the city at their feet was indicated only by the mist at the bend of the river. And then let us quickly recollect that we are in Venice, and land at the extremity of the Calle Lunga San Moisè,¹ which may be considered as there answering to the secluded street that led us to our English cathedral gateway.

§ 12. We find ourselves in a paved alley, some seven feet wide where it is widest, full of people, and resonant with cries of itinerant salesmen,—a shriek in their beginning, and dying away into a kind of brazen ringing, all the worse for its confinement between the high houses of the passage along which we have to make our way. Overhead, an inextricable confusion of rugged shutters, and iron balconies and chimney flues, pushed out on brackets to save room, and arched windows with projecting sills of Istrian stone, and gleams of green leaves here and there where a fig-tree branch escapes over a lower wall from some inner cortile, leading the eye up to the narrow stream of blue sky high over all. On each side, a row of shops, as densely set as may be, occupying, in fact, intervals between the square stone shafts, about eight feet high, which carry the first floors: intervals of which one is narrow and serves as a door; the other is, in the more respectable shops, wainscotted to the height of the counter and glazed above, but in those of

¹ [In 1880 the south side of this street was taken down and the houses were built back. The street thus broadened is now called the Calle Larga xxii Marzo, in commemoration of the declaration on that day in 1848 of the short-lived Republic under Daniele Manin.]

the poorer tradesmen left open to the ground, and the wares laid on benches and tables in the open air, the light in all cases entering at the front only, and fading away in a few feet from the threshold into a gloom which the eye from without cannot penetrate, but which is generally broken by a ray or two from a feeble lamp at the back of the shop, suspended before a print of the Virgin. The less pious shopkeeper sometimes leaves his lamp unlighted, and is contented with a penny print; the more religious one has his print coloured and set in a little shrine with a gilded or figured fringe, with perhaps a faded flower or two on each side, and his lamp burning brilliantly. Here, at the fruiterer's, where the dark-green water-melons are heaped upon the counter like cannon balls, the Madonna has a tabernacle of fresh laurel leaves; but the pewterer next door has let his lamp out, and there is nothing to be seen in his shop but the dull gleam of the studded patterns on the copper pans, hanging from his roof in the darkness. Next comes a "Vendita Frittole e Liquori," where the Virgin, enthroned in a very humble manner beside a tallow candle on a back shelf, presides over certain ambrosial morsels of a nature too ambiguous to be defined or enumerated. But a few steps farther on, at the regular wine-shop of the calle, where we are offered "Vino Nostrani a Soldi 28.32," the Madonna is in great glory, enthroned above ten or a dozen large red casks of three-year-old vintage, and flanked by goodly ranks of bottles of Maraschino, and two crimson lamps; and for the evening, when the gondoliers will come to drink out, under her auspices, the money they have gained during the day, she will have a whole chandelier.¹

§ 13. A yard or two farther, we pass the hostelry of the Black Eagle, and glancing as we pass through the square door of marble, deeply moulded, in the outer wall, we see the shadows of its pergola of vines resting on an ancient well, with a pointed shield carved on its side; and so

¹ [Ruskin's description still for the most part holds good. The pewterer and the wine-shop have gone, but the other shops remain. On the site of the Black Eagle stands the "Restaurant Bauer-Grünwald."]

presently emerge on the bridge and Campo San Moisè, whence to the entrance into St. Mark's Place, called the Bocca di Piazza (mouth of the square), the Venetian character is nearly destroyed, first by the frightful façade of San Moisè, which we will pause at another time to examine.¹ and then by the modernizing of the shops as they near the piazza, and the mingling with the lower Venetian populace of lounging groups of English and Austrians. We will push fast through them into the shadow of the pillars at the end of the "Bocca di Piazza," and then we forget them all; for between those pillars there opens a great light, and, in the midst of it, as we advance slowly, the vast tower of St. Mark seems to lift itself visibly forth from the level field of chequered stones; and, on each side, the countless arches prolong themselves into ranged symmetry, as if the rugged and irregular houses that pressed together above us in the dark alley had been struck back into sudden obedience and lovely order, and all their rude casements and broken walls had been transformed into arches charged with goodly sculpture, and fluted shafts of delicate stone.

§ 14. And well may they fall back, for beyond those troops of ordered arches there rises a vision out of the earth, and all the great square seems to have opened from it in a kind of awe, that we may see it far away;—a multitude of pillars and white domes, clustered into a long low pyramid of coloured light; a treasure-heap, it seems, partly of gold, and partly of opal and mother-of-pearl, hollowed beneath into five great vaulted porches, ceiled with fair mosaic, and beset with sculpture of alabaster, clear as amber and delicate as ivory,—sculpture fantastic and involved, of palm leaves and lilies, and grapes and pomegranates, and birds clinging and fluttering among the branches, all twined together into an endless network of buds and plumes; and in the midst of it, the solemn forms of angels, sceptred, and robed to the feet, and leaning to each other across the gates, their figures indistinct among the gleaming of the golden ground through

¹ [See in the next volume, ch. iii. §§ 19, 20.]



The West Front of St. Mark's

(From the oil painting by J.W. Burney)

the leaves beside them, interrupted and dim, like the morning light as it faded back among the branches of Eden, when first its gates were angel-guarded long ago. And round the walls of the porches there are set pillars of variegated stones, jasper and porphyry, and deep-green serpentine spotted with flakes of snow, and marbles, that half refuse and half yield to the sunshine, Cleopatra-like, "their bluest veins to kiss"¹—the shadow, as it steals back from them, revealing line after line of azure undulation, as a receding tide leaves the waved sand; their capitals rich with interwoven tracery, rooted knots of herbage, and drifting leaves of acanthus and vine, and mystical signs, all beginning and ending in the Cross; and above them, in the broad archivolt, a continuous chain of language and of life—angels, and the signs of heaven, and the labours of men, each in its appointed season upon the earth; and above these, another range of glittering pinnacles, mixed with white arches edged with scarlet flowers,—a confusion of delight, amidst which the breasts of the Greek horses² are seen blazing in their breadth of golden strength, and the St. Mark's lion, lifted on a blue field covered with stars, until at last, as if in ecstasy, the crests of the arches break into a marble foam, and toss themselves far into the blue sky in flashes and wreaths of sculptured spray, as if the breakers on the Lido shore had been frost-bound before they fell, and the sea-nymphs had inlaid them with coral and amethyst.³

¹ [*Antony and Cleopatra*, Act ii. sc. 5.]

² [The Bronze Horses, formerly gilt, which stand over the central porch of the west front, were sent from the Hippodrome at Constantinople in 1204 by the Doge Enrico Dandolo, as part of the plunder when that city was taken in the Fourth Crusade. Napoleon removed them to Paris in 1797 and they adorned the Triumphal Arch in the Place du Carousel, but they were restored to Venice in 1815. Goethe was enthusiastic in their praise, and Rogers speaks of them as

"the four steeds divine
That strike the ground, resounding with their feet,
And from their nostrils snort ethereal flame."

Modern archæologists are divided in opinion as to their workmanship. Some consider them to be Greek work of the school of Lysippus; others, to be Roman, of the time of Nero; another conjecture is that Augustus brought them from Alexandria, after his victory over Mark Antony. They are supposed to have been attached to a chariot and to have been placed by successive Roman emperors on their triumphal arches. For other references to them, see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 99, and *Ariadne Florentina*, § 213.]

³ [In his *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy at Venice* (1877) Ruskin

Between that grim cathedral of England and this, what an interval! There is a type of it in the very birds that haunt them; for, instead of the restless crowd, hoarse-voiced and sable-winged, drifting on the bleak upper air, the St. Mark's porches are full of doves, that nestle among the marble foliage, and mingle the soft iridescence of their living plumes, changing at every motion, with the tints, hardly less lovely, that have stood unchanged for seven hundred years.

§ 15. And what effect has this splendour on those who pass beneath it? You may walk from sunrise to sunset, to and fro, before the gateway of St. Mark's, and you will not see an eye lifted to it, nor a countenance brightened by it. Priest and layman, soldier and civilian, rich and poor, pass by it alike regardlessly. Up to the very recesses of the porches, the meanest tradesmen of the city push their counters; nay, the foundations of its pillars are themselves the seats—not “of them that sell doves”¹ for sacrifice, but of the vendors of toys and caricatures. Round the whole square in front of the church there is almost a continuous line of cafés, where the idle Venetians of the middle classes lounge, and read empty journals; in its centre the Austrian bands play during the time of vespers, their martial music jarring with the organ notes,—the march drowning the miserere, and the sullen crowd thickening round them,—a crowd, which, if it had its will, would stiletto every soldier that pipes to it.² And in the recesses of the porches, all day long, knots of men of the lowest classes, unemployed and listless, lie basking in the sun like lizards; and unregarded children,—every heavy glance of their young eyes full of desperation and stony depravity, and their throats hoarse with cursing,—gamble, and fight, and snarl, and sleep, hour

refers to this passage and partly revises it. He confirms the comparison to “the tossed spray of sea waves,” but says that they were not “meant to be like sea-foam white in anger, but like light spray in morning sunshine. They were all overlaid with gold”—as may be seen in Gentile Bellini's picture in the Academy. The comparison, it may be noted, was not a mere piece of “word painting”; Ruskin adopted it “believing then, as I do still, that the Venetians . . . were always influenced in their choice of guiding lines of sculpture by their sense of the action of wind or sea.”]

¹ [Matthew xxi. 12; John ii. 16.]

² [On the Austrian occupation of Venice, see in the next volume, Appendix 3.]

after hour, clashing their bruised centesimi upon the marble ledges of the church porch. And the images of Christ and His angels look down upon it continually.

That we may not enter the church out of the midst of the horror of this, let us turn aside under the portico which looks across the sea, and passing round within the two massive pillars brought from St. Jean d'Acre,¹ we shall find the gate of the Baptistery; let us enter there. The heavy door closes behind us instantly, and the light and the turbulence of the Piazzetta are together shut out by it.

§ 16. We are in a low vaulted room; vaulted, not with arches but with small cupolas starred with gold, and chequered with gloomy figures: in the centre is a bronze font charged with rich bas-reliefs, a small figure of the Baptist standing above it in a single ray of light that glances across the narrow room, dying as it falls from a window high in the wall, and the first thing that it strikes, and the only thing that it strikes brightly, is a tomb. We hardly know if it be a tomb indeed; for it is like a narrow couch set beside the window, low-roofed and curtained, so that it might seem, but that it is some height above the pavement, to have been drawn towards the window, that the sleeper might be wakened early;—only there are two angels, who have drawn the curtain back, and are looking down upon him. Let us look also, and thank that gentle light that rests upon his forehead for ever, and dies away upon his breast.

The face is of a man in middle life, but there are two deep furrows right across the forehead, dividing it like the foundations of a tower: the height of it above is bound by the fillet of the ducal cap. The rest of the features are singularly small and delicate, the lips sharp, perhaps the sharpness of death being added to that of the natural lines; but there is a sweet smile upon them, and a deep serenity upon the whole countenance. The roof of the canopy above has been blue, filled with stars; beneath, in the centre of

¹ [See Vol. IX. p. 105.]

the tomb on which the figure rests, is a seated figure of the Virgin, and the border of it all around is of flowers and soft leaves, growing rich and deep, as if in a field in summer.

It is the Doge Andrea Dandolo, a man early great among the great of Venice; and early lost. She chose him for her king in his 36th year; he died ten years later, leaving behind him that history to which we owe half of what we know of her former fortunes.¹

§ 17. Look round at the room in which he lies.² The floor of it is of rich mosaic, encompassed by a low seat of red marble, and its walls are of alabaster, but worn and shattered, and darkly stained with age, almost a ruin,—in places the slabs of marble have fallen away altogether, and the rugged brickwork is seen through the rents, but all beautiful; the ravaging fissures fretting their way among the islands and channelled zones of the alabaster, and the time-stains on its translucent masses darkened into fields of rich golden brown, like the colour of seaweed when the sun strikes on it through deep sea. The light fades away into the recess of the chamber towards the altar, and the eye can hardly trace the lines of the bas-relief behind it of the baptism of Christ: but on the vaulting of the roof the figures are distinct, and there are seen upon it two great circles, one surrounded by the “Principalities and powers in heavenly places,”³ of which Milton has expressed the ancient division in the single massy line,

“Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,”⁴

¹ [The *Chronicum Venetum Andreae Danduli*. The reign of Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354) was notable both for the war with Genoa in the East and for the Black Death (1348).]

² [For a detailed account of the Mosaics of the Baptistry, see *St. Mark's Rest*, chapters viii. and ix.]

³ [See Ephesians iii. 10.]

⁴ [*Paradise Lost*, v. 601; Ruskin quotes the line again in *Munera Pulveris*, § 105. He was reading Milton at Venice at the time when he was writing this volume. A letter to his father contains some interesting criticism:—

“*Sunday, 4th April*.—I have many times in my life sat down to read Milton all through, but never *got* through. I suppose few people have: I am now reading a few lines every day, and I don't think I shall miss any. I came

and around the other, the Apostles; Christ the centre of both: and upon the walls, again and again repeated, the gaunt figure of the Baptist, in every circumstance of his life and death; and the streams of the Jordan running down between their cloven rocks; the axe laid to the root of a fruitless tree that springs up on their shore. "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down, and cast into the fire."¹ Yes, verily: to be baptized with fire,

upon a great deal that I had never read, and more that I had never noticed or understood; but I am most struck with his dextrous use of language—he is the very master of Verbiage in its best sense, just as Paul Veronese is a master of costume. It is true that dress does not make a man, neither do words make a thought; but as Veronese and Tintoret bring highest dignity out of, or rather put it into, furs, tissues and brocades, so Milton puts a play of colour into his wordy tissue which is as majestic as most men's ideas. For instance, in order to exalt the idea of the dignity of Satan, he exhausts the *terms* of monarchy. First

‘The uplifted spear
Of their great *Sultan* waving to direct.’

Then presently

‘Who first, who last . . .
At their great *Emperor's* call.’

Then presently

‘Thus far these beyond. . .
Their dread *Commander*. He above the rest.’

Then again

‘In order came the grand Infernal Peers,
‘Midst came their mighty *Paramount*.’

And just before

‘Thus saying, rose
The *Monarch*, and prevented all reply’

—while ‘Prince’ and ‘Archangel’ are used in general. All this is nothing more than magnificent state of words; but it is very grand of its kind. There needs an essay on noble and ignoble verbiage; there is exactly the difference between them that there is between Titian's velvet or Vandyck's point lace, and Chalon's. What a delicious sound of splintering of lances there is in the single line

‘Jousted in Aspramount or Montalban,’
dying away into pensiveness as he goes on,
‘When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabia.’

Tennyson is a great master in this kind of verbiage, also, but more finedrawn and affected. I must manage to put a little more of it into the pages enclosed, or they will hardly go down.”

The references are to *Paradise Lost*, i. 348, 378, 587; ii. 508, 467; i. 582, 586. See note on p. 112, below, for a further quotation from Milton; and for another reference to that poet's magnificent verbiage, see below, p. 430; for Ruskin's numerous studies of Milton, see General Index. John James Chalon (1778–1854), R. A., published *Sketches from Parisian Manners*, which contained many studies of costume.]

¹ [Matthew iii. 10.]

or to be cast therein; it is the choice set before all men. The march-notes still murmur through the grated window, and mingle with the sounding in our ears of the sentence of judgment, which the old Greek has written on that Baptistery wall. Venice has made her choice.

§ 18. He who lies under that stony canopy would have taught her another choice, in his day, if she would have listened to him; but he and his counsels have long been forgotten by her, and the dust lies upon his lips.

Through the heavy door whose bronze network closes the place of his rest, let us enter the church itself. It is lost in still deeper twilight, to which the eye must be accustomed for some moments before the form of the building can be traced; and then there opens before us a vast cave, hewn out into the form of a Cross, and divided into shadowy aisles by many pillars. Round the domes of its roof the light enters only through narrow apertures like large stars; and here and there a ray or two from some far-away casement wanders into the darkness, and casts a narrow phosphoric stream upon the waves of marble that heave and fall in a thousand colours along the floor. What else there is of light is from torches, or silver lamps, burning ceaselessly in the recesses of the chapels; the roof sheeted with gold, and the polished walls covered with alabaster, give back at every curve and angle some feeble gleaming to the flames; and the glories round the heads of the sculptured saints flash out upon us as we pass them, and sink again into the gloom. Under foot and over head, a continual succession of crowded imagery, one picture passing into another, as in a dream; forms beautiful and terrible mixed together; dragons and serpents, and ravening beasts of prey, and graceful birds that in the midst of them drink from running fountains and feed from vases of crystal; the passions and the pleasures of human life symbolized together, and the mystery of its redemption; for the mazes of interwoven lines and changeful pictures lead always at last to the Cross, lifted and carved in every place and upon every stone; sometimes with the

serpent of eternity wrapt round it, sometimes with doves beneath its arms, and sweet herbage growing forth from its feet; but conspicuous most of all on the great rood that crosses the church before the altar, raised in bright blazonry against the shadow of the apse. And although in the recesses of the aisles and chapels, when the mist of the incense hangs heavily, we may see continually a figure traced in faint lines upon their marble, a woman standing with her eyes raised to heaven, and the inscription above her, "Mother of God," she is not here¹ the presiding deity. It is the Cross that is first seen, and always, burning in the centre of the temple; and every dome and hollow of its roof has the figure of Christ in the utmost height of it, raised in power, or returning in judgment.

§ 19. Nor is this interior without effect on the minds of the people. At every hour of the day there are groups collected before the various shrines, and solitary worshippers scattered through the darker places of the church, evidently in prayer both deep and reverent, and, for the most part, profoundly sorrowful. The devotees at the greater number of the renowned shrines of Romanism may be seen murmuring their appointed prayers with wandering eyes and unengaged gestures; but the step of the stranger does not disturb those who kneel on the pavement of St. Mark's; and hardly a moment passes, from early morning to sunset, in which we may not see some half-veiled figure enter beneath the Arabian porch,² cast itself into long abasement on the floor of the temple, and then rising slowly with more confirmed step, and with a passionate kiss and clasp of the arms given to the feet of the crucifix, by which the lamps burn always in the northern aisle, leave the church, as if comforted.

§ 20. But we must not hastily conclude from this that the nobler characters of the building have at present any influence in fostering a devotional spirit. There is distress

¹ [As at Murano; see above, p. 66.]

² [See below, author's note on p. 91.]

enough in Venice¹ to bring many to their knees, without excitement from external imagery; and whatever there may be in the temper of the worship offered in St. Mark's more than can be accounted for by reference to the unhappy circumstances of the city, is assuredly not owing either to the beauty of its architecture or to the impressiveness of the Scripture histories embodied in its mosaics. That it has a peculiar effect, however slight, on the popular mind, may perhaps be safely conjectured from the number of worshippers which it attracts, while the churches of St. Paul and the Frari, larger in size and more central in position, are left comparatively empty.* But this effect is altogether to be ascribed to its richer assemblage of those sources of influence which address themselves to the commonest instincts of the human mind, and which, in all ages and countries, have been more or less employed in the support of superstition. Darkness and mystery; confused recesses of building; artificial light employed in small quantity, but maintained with a constancy which seems to give it a kind of sacredness; preciousness of material easily comprehended by the vulgar eye; close air loaded with a sweet and peculiar odour associated only with religious services, solemn music, and tangible idols or images having popular legends attached to them,—these, the stage properties of superstition, which have been from the beginning of the world, and must be to the end of it, employed by all nations, whether openly savage or nominally civilized, to produce a false awe in minds incapable of apprehending the true nature of the Deity, are assembled in St. Mark's to a degree, as far as I know, unexampled in any other European church. The arts of the Magus and

* The mere warmth of St. Mark's in winter, which is much greater than that of the other two churches above named, must, however, be taken into consideration, as one of the most efficient causes of its being then more frequented.

¹ [See, again, Appendix 3 in the next volume. Ruskin's references there to the distress as due more to laziness and political unrest than to tangible grievances, did not prevent him from seeking to relieve it; see above, Introduction, p. xl.]

the Brahmin are exhausted in the animation of a paralyzed Christianity; and the popular sentiment which these arts excite is to be regarded by us with no more respect than we should have considered ourselves justified in rendering to the devotion of the worshippers at Eleusis, Ellora,¹ or Edfou.*

§ 21. Indeed, these inferior means of exciting religious emotion were employed in the ancient Church as they are at this day, but not employed alone. Torchlight there was, as there is now; but the torchlight illumined Scripture histories on the walls, which every eye traced and every heart comprehended, but which, during my whole residence in Venice, I never saw one Venetian regard for an instant. I never heard from any one the most languid expression of interest in any feature of the church, or perceived the slightest evidence of their understanding the meaning of its architecture; and while, therefore, the English cathedral, though no longer dedicated to the kind of services for which it was intended by its builders, and much at variance in many of its characters with the temper of the people by whom it is now surrounded, retains yet so much of its religious influence that no prominent feature of its architecture can be said to exist altogether in vain, we have in St. Mark's a building apparently still employed in the ceremonies for which it was designed, and yet of which the

* I said above that the larger number of the devotees entered by the "Arabian" porch; the porch, that is to say, on the north side of the church, remarkable for its rich Arabian archivolt, and through which access is gained immediately to the northern transept. The reason is, that in that transept is the chapel of the Madonna, which has a greater attraction for the Venetians than all the rest of the church besides. The old builders kept their images of the Virgin subordinate to those of Christ; but modern Romanism has retrograded from theirs, and the most glittering portions of the whole church are the two recesses behind this lateral altar, covered with silver hearts dedicated to the Virgin.

¹ [At Ellora, in the state of Hyderabad, temples have been excavated with figures of Indra, the god of the firmament, and other Hindu divinities. They are described in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Photographs of the famous Temple of Edfou in Upper Egypt are exhibited in the British Museum.]

impressive attributes have altogether ceased to be comprehended by its votaries. The beauty which it possesses is unfelt, the language it uses is forgotten; and in the midst of the city to whose service it has so long been consecrated, and still filled by crowds of the descendants of those to whom it owes its magnificence, it stands, in reality, more desolate than the ruins through which the sheep-walk passes unbroken in our English valleys;¹ and the writing on its marble walls is less regarded and less powerful for the teaching of men, than the letters which the shepherd follows with his finger, where the moss is lightest on the tombs in the desecrated cloister.

§ 22. It must therefore be altogether without reference to its present usefulness, that we pursue our inquiry into the merits and meaning of the architecture of this marvellous building; and it can only be after we have terminated that inquiry, conducting it carefully on abstract grounds, that we can pronounce with any certainty how far the present neglect of St. Mark's is significative of the decline of the Venetian character, or how far this church is to be considered as the relic of a barbarous age, incapable of attracting the admiration, or influencing the feelings of a civilized community.

The inquiry before us is twofold. Throughout the first volume, I carefully kept the study of *expression* distinct from that of abstract architectural perfection; telling the reader that in every building we should afterwards examine, he would have first to form a judgment of its construction and decorative merit, considering it merely as a work of art; and then to examine farther, in what degree it fulfilled its expressional purposes.² Accordingly, we have first to judge of St. Mark's merely as a piece of architecture, not as a church; secondly, to estimate its fitness for its special duty as a place of worship, and the relation in which it

¹ [Compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 99.]

² [See especially ch. ii. Vol. IX. pp. 60–62.]

stands, as such, to those Northern cathedrals that still retain so much of the power over the human heart, which the Byzantine domes appear to have lost for ever.

§ 23. In the two succeeding sections of this work,¹ devoted respectively to the examination of the Gothic and Renaissance buildings in Venice, I have endeavoured to analyze, and state, as briefly as possible, the true nature of each school,—first in Spirit, then in Form. I wished to have given a similar analysis, in this section, of the nature of Byzantine architecture; but could not make my statements general, because I have never seen this kind of building on its native soil. Nevertheless, in the following sketch of the principles exemplified in St. Mark's, I believe that most of the leading features and motives of the style will be found clearly enough distinguished to enable the reader to judge of it with tolerable fairness, as compared with the better known systems of European architecture in the middle ages.

§ 24. Now the first broad characteristic of the building, and the root nearly of every other important peculiarity in it, is its confessed *incrustation*. It is the purest example in Italy of the great school of architecture in which the ruling principle is the incrustation of brick with more precious materials; and it is necessary, before we proceed to criticise any one of its arrangements, that the reader should carefully consider the principles which are likely to have influenced, or might legitimately influence the architects of such a school, as distinguished from those whose designs are to be executed in massive materials.

It is true, that among different nations, and at different times, we may find examples of every sort and degree of incrustation, from the mere setting of the larger and more compact stones by preference at the outside of the wall, to the miserable construction of that modern brick cornice with its coating of cement, which, but the other day in London,

¹ [The "Second, or Gothic, Period" occupies chapters vi., vii., and viii. of this volume; the "Third, or Renaissance, Period," chapters i.–iv. of the next.]

killed its unhappy workmen in its fall.* But just as it is perfectly possible to have a clear idea of the opposing characteristics of two different species of plants or animals, though between the two there are varieties which it is difficult to assign either to the one or the other, so the reader may fix decisively in his mind the legitimate characteristics of the incrustated and the massive styles, though between the two there are varieties which confessedly unite the attributes of both. For instance, in many Roman remains, built of blocks of tufa and incrustated with marble, we have a style, which, though truly solid, possesses some of the attributes of incrustation; and in the Cathedral of Florence, built of brick and coated with marble, the marble facing is so firmly and exquisitely set, that the building, though in reality incrustated, assumes the attributes of solidity. But these intermediate examples need not in the least confuse our generally distinct ideas of the two families of buildings: the one in which the substance is alike throughout, and the forms and conditions of the ornament assume or prove that it is so, as in the best Greek buildings, and for the most part in our early Norman and Gothic; and the other, in which the substance is of two kinds, one internal, the other external, and the system of decoration is founded on this duplicity, as pre-eminently in St. Mark's.

§ 25. I have used the word duplicity in no depreciatory sense. In Chapter II. of the *Seven Lamps*, § 18, I especially guarded this incrustated school from the imputation of insincerity, and I must do so now at greater length. It appears insincere at first to a Northern builder, because, accustomed to build with solid blocks of freestone, he is in

* Vide *Builder*, for October, 1851.¹

¹ ["Four men were killed on Friday last by the fall of an exterior cornice newly erected on a building of five stories, and nearly 80 feet in length, forming three houses in course of erection near Vauxhall Bridge. . . . The whole of the cornice fell in one piece, carrying the whole of the stage with it, and snapping the scaffold-poles, precipitating the workmen to the ground" (*Builder*, September 27, 1851). The accident formed the subject of a leading article in the same journal of October 4, 1851. For a reference to another accident of the kind, see below, ch. vii. § 47, p. 313.]

the habit of supposing the external superficies of a piece of masonry to be some criterion of its thickness. But, as soon as he gets acquainted with the incrustated style, he will find that the Southern builders had no intention to deceive him. He will see that every slab of facial marble is fastened to the next by a confessed *rivet*, and that the joints of the armour are so visibly and openly accommodated to the contours of the substance within that he has no more right to complain of treachery than a savage would have, who, for the first time in his life seeing a man in armour, had supposed him to be made of solid steel. Acquaint him with the customs of chivalry, and with the uses of the coat of mail, and he ceases to accuse of dishonesty either the panoply or the knight.

These laws and customs of the St. Mark's architectural chivalry it must be our business to develope.

§ 26. First, consider the natural circumstances which give rise to such a style. Suppose a nation of builders, placed far from any quarries of available stone, and having precarious access to the mainland where they exist; compelled therefore either to build entirely with brick, or to import whatever stone they use from great distances, in ships of small tonnage, and, for the most part, dependent for speed on the oar rather than the sail. The labour and cost of carriage are just as great, whether they import common or precious stone, and therefore the natural tendency would always be to make each shipload as valuable as possible. But in proportion to the preciousness of the stone, is the limitation of its possible supply; limitation not determined merely by cost, but by the physical conditions of the material, for of many marbles, pieces above a certain size are not to be had for money. There would also be a tendency in such circumstances to import as much stone as possible ready sculptured, in order to save weight; and therefore, if the traffic of their merchants led them to places where there were ruins of ancient edifices, to ship the available fragments of them home. Out of this supply of marble, partly

composed of pieces of so precious a quality that only a few tons of them could be on any terms obtained, and partly of shafts, capitals, and other portions of foreign buildings, the island architect has to fashion, as best he may, the anatomy of his edifice. It is at his choice either to lodge his few blocks of precious marble here and there among his masses of brick, and to cut out of the sculptured fragments such new forms as may be necessary for the observance of fixed proportions in the new building; or else to cut the coloured stones into thin pieces, of extent sufficient to face the whole surface of the walls, and to adopt a method of construction irregular enough to admit the insertion of fragmentary sculptures; rather with a view of displaying their intrinsic beauty, than of setting them to any regular service in the support of the building.

An architect who cared only to display his own skill, and had no respect for the works of others, would assuredly have chosen the latter¹ alternative, and would have sawn the old marbles into fragments in order to prevent all interference with his own designs. But an architect who cared for the preservation of noble work, whether his own or others', and more regarded the beauty of his building than his own fame, would have done what those old builders of St. Mark's did for us, and saved every relic with which he was entrusted.

§ 27. But these were not the only motives which influenced the Venetians in the adoption of their method of architecture. It might, under all the circumstances above stated, have been a question with other builders, whether to import one shipload of costly jaspers, or twenty of chalk flints; and whether to build a small church faced with porphyry and paved with agate, or to raise a vast cathedral in freestone. But with the Venetians it could not be a question for an instant; they were exiles from ancient and beautiful cities, and had been accustomed to build with their ruins, not less in affection than in admiration: they

¹ [The slip of the pen "former" for "latter" has passed uncorrected in all previous editions. Ruskin noted it in his copy for revision.]

had thus not only grown familiar with the practice of inserting older fragments in modern buildings, but they owed to that practice a great part of the splendour of their city, and whatever charm of association might aid its change from a Refuge into a Home. The practice which began in the affections of a fugitive nation, was prolonged in the pride of a conquering one; and besides the memorials of departed happiness, were elevated the trophies of returning victory. The ship of war brought home more marble in triumph than the merchant vessel in speculation; and the front of St. Mark's became rather a shrine at which to dedicate the splendour of miscellaneous spoil, than the organized expression of any fixed architectural law or religious emotion.

§ 28. Thus far, however, the justification of the style of this church depends on circumstances peculiar to the time of its erection, and to the spot where it arose. The merit of its method, considered in the abstract, rests on far broader grounds.

In the fifth chapter of the *Seven Lamps*, § 14, the reader will find the opinion of a modern architect of some reputation, Mr. Woods,¹ that the chief thing remarkable in this church "is its extreme ugliness;" and he will find this opinion associated with another, namely, that the works of the Caracci are far preferable to those of the Venetian painters. The second statement of feeling reveals to us one of the principal causes of the first; namely, that Mr. Woods had not any perception of colour, or delight in it. The perception of colour is a gift just as definitely granted to one person, and denied to another, as an ear for music; and the very first requisite for true judgment of St. Mark's, is the perfection of that colour-faculty which few people ever set themselves seriously to find out whether they possess or not. For it is on its value as a piece of perfect and unchangeable colouring, that the claims of this edifice to our respect are finally rested; and a deaf man might as well pretend to pronounce judgment on the merits of a full

¹ [See Vol. VIII. p. 206 and *n.*]
x.

orchestra, as an architect trained in the composition of form only, to discern the beauty of St. Mark's. It possesses the charm of colour in common with the the greater part of the architecture, as well as of the manufactures, of the East; but the Venetians deserve especial note as the only European people who appear to have sympathized to the full with the great instinct of the Eastern races. They indeed were compelled to bring artists from Constantinople to design the mosaics of the vaults of St. Mark's,¹ and to group the colour of its porches; but they rapidly took up and developed, under more masculine conditions, the system of which the Greeks had shown them the example: while the burghers and barons of the North were building their dark streets and grisly castles of oak and sandstone, the merchants of Venice were covering their palaces with porphyry and gold; and at last, when her mighty painters had created for her a colour more priceless than gold or porphyry, even this, the richest of her treasures, she lavished upon walls whose foundations were beaten by the sea: and the strong tide, as it runs beneath the Rialto, is reddened to this day by the reflection of the frescoes of Giorgione.²

§ 29. If, therefore, the reader does not care for colour, I must protest against his endeavour to form any judgment whatever of this church of St. Mark's. But, if he both cares for and loves it, let him remember that the school of incrustated architecture is *the only one in which perfect and permanent chromatic decoration is possible*; and let him look upon every piece of jasper and alabaster given to the architect as a cake of very hard colour, of which a certain portion is to be ground down or cut off, to paint the walls with. Once understand this thoroughly, and accept the condition that the body and availing strength of the edifice are to be in brick, and that this under muscular power of brickwork is to be clothed with the defence of the brightness of the marble, as the body of an animal is protected and adorned by its scales or its skin, and all the consequent fitnesses and laws of the structure

¹ [See above, § 9, and compare *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 91–93.]

² [See *Modern Painters*, vol. i.; in this edition, Vol. III. p. 212 and *n.*]

will be easily discernible: These I shall state in their natural order.

§ 30. LAW I. *That the plinths and cornices used for binding the armour are to be light and delicate.* A certain thickness, at least two or three inches, must be required in the covering pieces (even when composed of the strongest stone, and set on the least exposed parts), in order to prevent the chance of fracture, and to allow for the wear of time. And the weight of this armour must not be trusted to cement; the pieces must not be merely glued to the rough brick surface, but connected with the mass which they protect by binding cornices and string courses; and with each other, so as to secure mutual support, aided by the rivetings, but by no means dependent upon them. And, for the full honesty and straightforwardness of the work, it is necessary that these string courses and binding plinths should not be of such proportions as would fit them for taking any important part in the hard work of the inner structure, or render them liable to be mistaken for the great cornices and plinths already explained as essential parts of the best solid building. They must be delicate, slight, and visibly incapable of severer work than that assigned to them.

§ 31. LAW II. *Science of inner structure is to be abandoned.* As the body of the structure is confessedly of inferior, and comparatively incoherent materials, it would be absurd to attempt in it any expression of the higher refinements of construction. It will be enough that by its mass we are assured of its sufficiency and strength; and there is the less reason for endeavouring to diminish the extent of its surface by delicacy of adjustment, because on the breadth of that surface we are to depend for the better display of the colour, which is to be the chief source of our pleasure in the building. The main body of the work, therefore, will be composed of solid walls and massive piers; and whatever expression of finer structural science we may require, will be thrown either into subordinate portions of it, or entirely directed to the support of the external mail, where in arches

or vaults it might otherwise appear dangerously independent of the material within.

§ 32. LAW III. *All shafts are to be solid.* Wherever, by the smallness of the parts, we may be driven to abandon the incrustated structure at all, it must be abandoned altogether. The eye must never be left in the least doubt as to what is solid and what is coated. Whatever appears *probably* solid must be *assuredly* so, and therefore it becomes an inviolable law that no shaft shall ever be incrustated. Not only does the whole virtue of a shaft depend on its consolidation, but the labour of cutting and adjusting an incrustated coat to it would be greater than the saving of material is worth. Therefore the shaft, of whatever size, is always to be solid; and because the incrustated character of the rest of the building renders it more difficult for the shafts to clear themselves from suspicion, they must not, in this incrustated style, be in any place jointed. No shaft must ever be used but of one block; and this the more, because the permission given to the builder to have his walls and piers as ponderous as he likes, renders it quite unnecessary for him to use shafts of any fixed size. In our Norman and Gothic, where definite support is required at a definite point, it becomes lawful to build up a tower of small stones in the shape of a shaft. But the Byzantine is allowed to have as much support as he wants from the walls in every direction, and he has no right to ask for further licence in the structure of his shafts. Let him, by generosity in the substance of his pillars, repay us for the permission we have given him to be superficial in his walls. The builder in the chalk valleys of France and England may be blameless in kneading his clumsy pier out of broken flint and calcined lime; but the Venetian, who has access to the riches of Asia and the quarries of Egypt, must frame at least his shafts out of flawless stone.¹

§ 33. And this for another reason yet. Although, as

¹ [See ch. viii. § 2, in the preceding volume.]

we have said, it is impossible to cover the walls of a large building with colour, except on the condition of dividing the stone into plates, there is always a certain appearance of meanness and niggardliness in the procedure. It is necessary that the builder should justify himself from this suspicion; and prove that it is not in mere economy or poverty, but in the real impossibility of doing otherwise, that he has sheeted his walls so thinly with the precious film. Now the shaft is exactly the portion of the edifice in which it is fittest to recover his honour in this respect. For if blocks of jasper or porphyry be inserted in the walls, the spectator cannot tell their thickness, and cannot judge of the costliness of the sacrifice. But the shaft he can measure with his eye in an instant, and estimate the quantity of treasure both in the mass of its existing substance, and in that which has been hewn away to bring it into its perfect and symmetrical form. And thus the shafts of all buildings of this kind are justly regarded as an expression of their wealth, and a form of treasure, just as much as the jewels or gold in the sacred vessels; they are, in fact, nothing else than large jewels,* the block of precious serpentine or jasper being valued according to its size and brilliancy of colour, like a large emerald or ruby; only the bulk required to bestow value on the one is to be measured in feet and tons, and on the other in lines and carats. The shafts must therefore be, without exception, of one block in all buildings of this kind; for the attempt in any place to incrust or joint them would be a deception like that of introducing a false stone among jewellery (for a number of

* "Quivi presso si vedi una colonna di tanta bellezza e finezza che e riputato piuttosto gioia che pietra."—*Sansovino*, of the verd-antique pillar in San Giacomo dell' Orio.¹ A remarkable piece of natural history and moral philosophy, connected with this subject, will be found in the second chapter of our third volume [§44], quoted from the work of a Florentine architect of the fifteenth century.

¹ [For other references to this church, see Vol. IX. ch. i. § 33, and in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. "Giacomo." The last paragraph of the author's note is omitted in the "Travellers' Edition."]

joints of any precious stone are of course not equal in value to a single piece of equal weight), and would put an end at once to the spectator's confidence in the expression of wealth in any portion of the structure, or of the spirit of sacrifice in those who raised it.

§ 34. LAW IV. *The shafts may sometimes be independent of the construction.* Exactly in proportion to the importance which the shaft assumes as a large jewel, is the diminution of its importance as a sustaining member; for the delight which we receive in its abstract bulk, and beauty of colour, is altogether independent of any perception of its adaptation to mechanical necessities. Like other beautiful things in this world, its end is to *be* beautiful; and, in proportion to its beauty, it receives permission to be otherwise useless. We do not blame emeralds and rubies because we cannot make them into heads of hammers. Nay, so far from our admiration of the jewel shaft being dependent on its doing work for us, it is very possible that a chief part of its preciousness may consist in a delicacy, fragility, and tenderness of material which must render it utterly unfit for hard work; and therefore that we shall admire it the more, because we perceive that if we were to put much weight upon it, it would be crushed. But, at all events, it is very clear that the primal object in the placing of such shafts must be the display of their beauty to the best advantage, and that therefore all imbedding of them in walls, or crowding of them into groups, in any position in which either their real size or any portion of their surface would be concealed, is either inadmissible altogether, or objectionable in proportion to their value; that no symmetrical or scientific arrangements of pillars are therefore ever to be expected in buildings of this kind, and that all such are even to be looked upon as positive errors and misapplications of materials: but that, on the contrary, we must be constantly prepared to see, and to see with admiration, shafts of great size and importance set in places where their real service is little more than nominal, and where the chief end of their existence is to catch the

sunshine upon their polished sides, and lead the eye into delighted wandering among the mazes of their azure veins.

§ 35. LAW V. *The shafts may be of variable size.* Since the value of each shaft depends upon its bulk, and diminishes with the diminution of its mass in a greater ratio than the size itself diminishes, as in the case of all other jewellery, it is evident that we must not in general expect perfect symmetry and equality among the series of shafts, any more than definiteness of application; but that, on the contrary, an accurately observed symmetry ought to give us a kind of pain, as proving that considerable and useless loss has been sustained by some of the shafts, in being cut down to match with the rest. It is true that symmetry is generally sought for in works of smaller jewellery; but, even there, not a perfect symmetry, and obtained under circumstances quite different from those which affect the placing of shafts in architecture. First: the symmetry is usually imperfect. The stones that seem to match each other in a ring or necklace, appear to do so only because they are so small that their differences are not easily measured by the eye; but there is almost always such difference between them as would be strikingly apparent if it existed in the same proportion between two shafts nine or ten feet in height. Secondly, the quantity of stones which pass through a jeweller's hands, and the facility of exchange of such small objects, enable the tradesman to select any number of stones of approximate size; a selection, however, often requiring so much time, that perfect symmetry in a group of very fine stones adds enormously to their value. But the architect has neither the time nor the facilities of exchange. He cannot lay aside one column in a corner of his church till, in the course of traffic, he obtain another that will match it; he has not hundreds of shafts fastened up in bundles, out of which he can match sizes at his ease; he cannot send to a brother tradesman and exchange the useless stones for available ones, to the convenience of both. His blocks of stone, or his ready hewn shafts, have been brought to him

in limited number, from immense distances; no others are to be had; and for those which he does not bring into use, there is no demand elsewhere. His only means of obtaining symmetry will therefore be, in cutting down the finer masses to equality with the inferior ones; and this we ought not to desire him often to do. And therefore, while sometimes in a Baldacchino, or an important chapel or shrine, this costly symmetry may be necessary, and admirable in proportion to its probable cost, in the general fabric we must expect to see shafts introduced of size and proportion continually varying, and such symmetry as may be obtained among them never altogether perfect, and dependent for its charm frequently on strange complexities and unexpected rising and falling of weight and accent in its marble syllables: bearing the same relation to a rigidly chiselled and proportioned architecture that the wild lyric rhythm of Æschylus or Pindar bears to the finished measures of Pope.¹

§ 36. The application of the principles of jewellery to the smaller as well as the larger blocks, will suggest to us another reason for the method of incrustation adopted in the walls. It often happens that the beauty of the veining in some varieties of alabaster is so great, that it becomes desirable to exhibit it by dividing the stone, not merely to economise its substance, but to display the changes in the disposition of its fantastic lines. By reversing one of two thin plates successively taken from the stone, and placing their corresponding edges in contact, a perfectly symmetrical figure may be obtained, which will enable the eye to comprehend more thoroughly the position of the veins. And this is actually the method in which, for the most part, the alabasters of St. Mark are employed; thus accomplishing a double good,—directing the spectator, in the first place, to close observation of the nature of the stone employed, and in the second, giving him a farther proof of the honesty of intention in the builder: for wherever similar veining is discovered in two pieces, the fact is declared that

¹ [For Ruskin's other references to these poets, see General Index.]

they have been cut from the same stone. It would have been easy to disguise the similarity by using them in different parts of the building; but on the contrary they are set edge to edge, so that the whole system of the architecture may be discovered at a glance by any one acquainted with the nature of the stones employed. Nay, but, it is perhaps answered me, not by an ordinary observer; a person ignorant of the nature of alabaster might perhaps fancy all these symmetrical patterns to have been found in the stone itself, and thus be doubly deceived, supposing blocks to be solid and symmetrical which were in reality subdivided and irregular. I grant it; but be it remembered, that in all things, ignorance is liable to be deceived, and has no right to accuse anything but itself as the source of the deception. The style and the words are dishonest, not which are liable to be misunderstood if subjected to no inquiry, but which are deliberately calculated to lead inquiry astray. There are perhaps no great or noble truths, from those of religion downwards, which present no mistakable aspect to casual or ignorant contemplation. Both the truth and the lie agree in hiding themselves at first, but the lie continues to hide itself with effort, as we approach to examine it; and leads us, if undiscovered, into deeper lies: the truth reveals itself in proportion to our patience and knowledge, discovers itself kindly to our pleading, and leads us, as it is discovered, into deeper truths.

§ 37. LAW VI. *The decoration must be shallow in cutting.* The method of construction being thus systematized, it is evident that a certain style of decoration must arise out of it, based on the primal condition that over the greater part of the edifice there can be *no deep cutting*. The thin sheets of covering stones do not admit of it; we must not cut them through to the bricks; and whatever ornaments we engrave upon them cannot, therefore, be more than an inch deep at the utmost. Consider for an instant the enormous differences which this single condition compels between the sculptural decoration of the incrustated style, and that of the solid stones of the North, which may be hacked and hewn into whatever cavernous

hollows and black recesses we choose; struck into grim darkneses and grotesque projections, and rugged ploughings up of sinuous furrows, in which any form or thought may be wrought out on any scale,—mighty statues with robes of rock and crowned foreheads burning in the sun, or venomous goblins and stealthy dragons¹ shrunk into lurking-places of untraceable shade: think of this, and of the play and freedom given to the sculptor's hand and temper, to smite out and in, hither and thither, as he will; and then consider what must be the different spirit of the design which is to be wrought on the smooth surface of a film of marble, where every line and shadow must be drawn with the most tender pencilling and cautious reserve of resource,—where even the chisel must not strike hard, lest it break through the delicate stone, nor the mind be permitted in any impetuosity of conception inconsistent with the fine discipline of the hand. Consider that whatever animal or human form is to be suggested, must be projected on a flat surface; that all the features of the countenance, the folds of the drapery, the involutions of the limbs, must be so reduced and subdued that the whole work becomes rather a piece of fine drawing than of sculpture: and then follow out, until you begin to perceive their endlessness, the resulting differences of character which will be necessitated in every part of the ornamental designs of these incrustated churches, as compared with that of the Northern schools. I shall endeavour to trace a few of them only.

§ 38. The first would of course be a diminution of the builder's dependence upon human form as a source of ornament: since exactly in proportion to the dignity of the form itself is the loss which it must sustain in being reduced to a shallow and linear bas-relief, as well as the difficulty of expressing it at all under such conditions. Wherever sculpture can be solid, the nobler characters of the human form

¹ [As an instance of the care which Ruskin took in selecting even what might seem unimportant words, we may trace the variations in the MS. here. First he wrote "lurking fiends and cavernous beasts;" next, "subtle fiends and venomous beasts;" and finally the words as in the text.]

at once lead the artist to aim at its representation, rather than at that of inferior organisms; but when all is to be reduced to outline, the forms of flowers and lower animals are always more intelligible, and are felt to approach much more to a satisfactory rendering of the objects intended, than the outlines of the human body. This inducement to seek for resources of ornament in the lower fields of creation was powerless in the minds of the great Pagan nations, Ninevite, Greek, or Egyptian; first, because their thoughts were so concentrated on their own capacities and fates, that they preferred the rudest suggestion of human form to the best of an inferior organism; secondly, because their constant practice in solid sculpture, often colossal, enabled them to bring a vast amount of science into the treatment of the lines, whether of the low relief, the monochrome vase, or shallow hieroglyphic.

§ 39. But when various ideas adverse to the representation of animal, and especially of human, form, originating with the Arabs and iconoclast Greeks, had begun at any rate to direct the builders' minds to seek for decorative materials in inferior types, and when diminished practice in solid sculpture had rendered it more difficult to find artists capable of satisfactorily reducing the high organisms to their elementary outlines, the choice of subject for surface sculpture would be more and more uninterruptedly directed to floral organisms, and human and animal form would become diminished in size, frequency, and general importance. So that, while in the Northern solid architecture we constantly find the effect of its noblest features dependent on ranges of statues, often colossal, and full of abstract interest, independent of their architectural service, in the Southern incrustated style we must expect to find the human form for the most part subordinate and diminutive, and involved among designs of foliage and flowers, in the manner of which endless examples had been furnished by the fantastic ornamentation of the Romans, from which the incrustated style had been directly derived.

§ 40. Farther. In proportion to the degree in which his subject must be reduced to abstract outline will be the tendency in the sculptor to abandon naturalism of representation, and subordinate every form to architectural service. When the flower or animal can be hewn into bold relief, there will always be a temptation to render the representation of it more complete than is necessary, or even to introduce details and intricacies inconsistent with simplicity of distant effect. Very often a worse fault than this is committed; and in the endeavour to give vitality to the stone, the original ornamental purpose of the design is sacrificed or forgotten. But when nothing of this kind can be attempted, and a slight outline is all that the sculptor can command, we may anticipate that this outline will be composed with exquisite grace; and that the richness of its ornamental arrangement will atone for the feebleness of its power of portraiture. On the porch of a Northern cathedral we may seek for the images of the flowers that grow in the neighbouring fields, and as we watch with wonder the grey stones that fret themselves into thorns, and soften into blossoms, we may care little that these knots of ornament, as we retire from them to contemplate the whole building, appear unconsidered or confused. On the incrusting building we must expect no such deception of the eye or thoughts. It may sometimes be difficult to determine, from the involutions of its linear sculpture, what were the natural forms which originally suggested them; but we may confidently expect that the grace of their arrangement will always be complete; that there will not be a line in them which could be taken away without injury, nor one wanting which could be added with advantage.

§ 41. Farther. While the sculptures of the incrusting school will thus be generally distinguished by care and purity rather than force, and will be, for the most part, utterly wanting in depth of shadow, there will be one means of obtaining darkness peculiarly simple and obvious, and often in the sculptor's power. Wherever he can, without danger, leave a hollow behind his covering slabs, or use them, like

glass, to fill an aperture in the wall, he can, by piercing them with holes, obtain points or spaces of intense blackness to contrast with the light tracing of the rest of his design. And we may expect to find this artifice used the more extensively, because, while it will be an effective means of ornamentation on the exterior of the building, it will be also the safest way of admitting light to the interior, still totally excluding both rain and wind. And it will naturally follow that the architect, thus familiarized with the effect of black and sudden points of shadow, will often seek to carry the same principle into other portions of his ornamentation, and by deep drill-holes, or perhaps inlaid portions of black colour, to refresh the eye where it may be wearied by the lightness of the general handling.

§ 42. Farther. Exactly in proportion to the degree in which the force of sculpture is subdued, will be the importance attached to colour as a means of effect or constituent of beauty. I have above stated¹ that the incrustated style was the only one in which perfect or permanent colour decoration was *possible*. It is also the only one in which a true system of colour decoration was ever likely to be invented. In order to understand this, the reader must permit me to review with some care the nature of the principles of colouring adopted by the Northern and Southern nations.

§ 43. I believe that from the beginning of the world there has never been a true or fine school of art in which colour was despised.² It has often been imperfectly attained and injudiciously applied, but I believe it to be one of the essential signs of life in a school of art that it loves colour; and I know it to be one of the first signs of death in the Renaissance schools, that they despised colour.

Observe, it is not now the question whether our Northern cathedrals are better with colour or without. Perhaps the great monotone grey of Nature and of Time is a better colour

¹ [See § 29, p. 98.]

² [This was a frequent text with Ruskin; see below, ch. v. § 30, and compare especially *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. xi. § 8.]

than any that the human hand can give; but that is nothing to our present business. The simple fact is, that the builders of those cathedrals laid upon them the brightest colours they could obtain, and that there is not, as far as I am aware, in Europe, any monument of a truly noble school which has not been either painted all over, or vigorously touched with paint, mosaic, and gilding in its prominent parts. Thus far, Egyptians, Greeks, Goths, Arabs, and mediæval Christians all agree: none of them, when in their right senses, ever think of doing without paint; and, therefore, when I said above¹ that the Venetians were the only people who had thoroughly sympathized with the Arabs in this respect, I referred, first to their intense love of colour, which led them to lavish the most expensive decorations on ordinary dwelling-houses; and, secondly, to that perfection of the colour-instinct in them, which enabled them to render whatever they did, in this kind, as just in principle as it was gorgeous in appliance. It is this principle of theirs, as distinguished from that of the Northern builders, which we have finally to examine.

§ 44. In the second chapter of the first volume, it was noticed that the architect of Bourges Cathedral liked hawthorn,² and that the porch of his cathedral was therefore decorated with a rich wreath of it; but another of the predilections of that architect was there unnoticed, namely, that he did not at all like *grey* hawthorn, but preferred it green, and he painted it green accordingly, as bright as he could. The colour is still left in every sheltered interstice of the foliage. He had, in fact, hardly the choice of any other colour; he might have gilded the thorns, by way of allegorizing human life, but if they were to be painted at all, they could hardly be painted anything but green, and green all over. People would have been apt to object to any pursuit of abstract harmonies of colour, which might have induced him to paint his hawthorn blue.

§ 45. In the same way, whenever the subject of the

¹ [See above, § 28, p. 98.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 70, and the passage from Ruskin's diary there cited in a note.]

sculpture was definite, its colour was of necessity definite also; and, in the hands of the Northern builders, it often became, in consequence, rather the means of explaining and animating the stories of their stone-work, than a matter of abstract decorative science. Flames¹ were painted red, trees green, and faces flesh-colour; the result of the whole being often far more entertaining than beautiful. And also, though in the lines of the mouldings and the decorations of shafts or vaults, a richer and more abstract method of colouring was adopted (aided by the rapid development of the best principles of colour in early glass-painting²), the vigorous depths of shadow in the Northern sculpture confused the architect's eye, compelling him to use violent colours in the recesses, if these were to be seen as colour at all, and thus injured his perception of more delicate colour harmonies; so that in innumerable instances it becomes very disputable whether monuments even of the best times were improved by the colour bestowed upon them, or the contrary. But, in the South, the flatness and comparatively vague forms of the sculpture, while they appeared to call for colour in order to enhance their interest, presented exactly the conditions which would set it off to the greatest advantage; breadth of service displaying even the most delicate tints in the lights, and faintness of shadow joining with the most delicate and pearly greys of colour harmony; while the subject of the design being in nearly all cases reduced to mere intricacy of ornamental line, might be coloured in any way the architect chose without any loss of rationality. Where oak-leaves and roses were carved into fresh relief and perfect bloom, it was necessary to paint the one green and the other red; but in portions of ornamentation where there was nothing which could be definitely construed into either an oak-leaf or a rose, but a mere labyrinth of beautiful lines, becoming here something

¹ [This word, which is quite distinct in the MS. (having been altered from "Fire"), has been misprinted "Flowers" in all previous editions.]

² [For the attention given by Ruskin to this subject in a particular instance, see Vol. IV. p. xxiii. *n.*; see also Vol. IX., Appendix i., p. 455; Appendix 12 in this volume, p. 457; and generally in the Index.]

like a leaf, and there something like a flower, the whole tracery of the sculpture might be left white, and grounded with gold or blue, or treated in any other manner best harmonizing with the colours around it. And as the necessarily feeble character of the sculpture called for, and was ready to display, the best arrangements of colour, so the precious marbles in the architect's hands give him at once the best examples and the best means of colour. The best examples, for the tints of all natural stones are as exquisite in quality as endless in change; and the best means, for they are all permanent.

§ 46. Every motive thus concurred in urging him to the study of chromatic decoration, and every advantage was given him in the pursuit of it; and this at the very moment when, as presently to be noticed,¹ the *naïveté* of barbaric Christianity could only be forcibly appealed to by the help of coloured pictures: so that, both externally and internally, the architectural construction became partly merged in pictorial effect; and the whole edifice is to be regarded less as a temple wherein to pray, than as itself a Book of Common Prayer, a vast illuminated missal, bound with alabaster instead of parchment, studded with porphyry pillars instead of jewels, and written within and without in letters of enamel and gold.²

§ 47. LAW VII. *That the impression of the architecture is not to be dependent on size.* And now there is but one final

¹ [See below, § 62, p. 129.]

² [A passage from one of Ruskin's letters to his father is interesting here:—

“January 10, [1852].— . . . I have been reading *Paradise Regained* lately. It seems to me an exact parallel to Turner's latest pictures—the mind failing altogether, but with irregular intervals and returns of power, exquisite momentary passages and lines. . . . I must quote his description of the temple in my chapter on St. Mark's:

‘And higher yet the glorious temple reared
Her pile, far off appearing, like a mount
Of alabaster, top with golden spires.’

Exactly what St. Mark's is. It was all gilded at top—in old time.”

(The quotation is from book iv. line 546). So, in *Deucalion* (i. ch. vii. “The Iris of the Earth”) Ruskin says of St. Mark's that it was once “a sea-borne vase of alabaster full of incense of prayers; and a purple manuscript,—floor, walls, and roofs blazoned with the scrolls of the gospel.”]

consequence to be deduced. The reader understands, I trust, by this time, that the claims of these several parts of the building upon his attention will depend upon their delicacy of design, their perfection of colour, their preciousness of material, and their legendary interest. All these qualities are independent of size, and partly even inconsistent with it. Neither delicacy of surface sculpture, nor subtle gradations of colour, can be appreciated by the eye at a distance; and since we have seen that our sculpture is generally to be only an inch or two in depth, and that our colouring is in great part to be produced with the soft tints and veins of natural stones, it will follow necessarily that none of the parts of the building can be removed far from the eye, and therefore that the whole mass of it cannot be large. It is not even desirable that it should be so; for the temper in which the mind addresses itself to contemplate minute and beautiful details is altogether different from that in which it submits itself to vague impressions of space and size. And therefore we must not be disappointed, but grateful, when we find all the best work of the building concentrated within a space comparatively small; and that, for the great cliff-like buttresses and mighty piers of the North, shooting up into indiscernible height, we have here low walls spread before us like the pages of a book, and shafts whose capitals we may touch with our hand.

§ 48. The due consideration of the principles above stated will enable the traveller to judge with more candour and justice of the architecture of St. Mark's than usually it would have been possible for him to do while under the influence of the prejudice necessitated by familiarity with the very different schools of Northern art. I wish it were in my power to lay also before the general reader some exemplification of the manner in which these strange principles are developed in the lovely building. But exactly in proportion to the nobility of any work, is the difficulty of conveying a just impression of it; and wherever I have occasion to bestow high praise, there it is exactly most dangerous for me to endeavour to illustrate my

meaning, except by reference to the work itself. And, in fact, the principal reason why architectural criticism is at this day so far behind all other, is the impossibility of illustrating the best architecture faithfully. Of the various schools of painting, examples are accessible to every one, and reference to the works themselves is found sufficient for all purposes of criticism; but there is nothing like St. Mark's or the Ducal Palace to be referred to in the National Gallery, and no faithful illustration of them is possible on the scale of such a volume as this. And it is exceedingly difficult on any scale. Nothing is so rare in art, as far as my own experience goes, as a fair illustration of architecture; *perfect* illustration of it does not exist. For all good architecture depends upon the adaptation of its chiselling to the effect at a certain distance from the eye; and to render the peculiar confusion in the midst of order, and uncertainty in the midst of decision, and mystery in the midst of trenchant lines, which are the result of distance, together with perfect expression of the peculiarities of the design, requires the skill of the most admirable artist, devoted to the work with the most severe conscientiousness, neither the skill nor the determination having as yet been given to the subject. And in the illustration of details, every building of any pretensions to high architectural rank would require a volume of plates, and those finished with extraordinary care.¹ With respect to the two buildings which are the principal subject of the present volume, St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace, I have found it quite impossible to do them the slightest justice by any kind of portraiture;² and I abandoned the endeavour in the case of the latter with less regret, because in the new Crystal Palace (as the poetical public insist upon calling it, though it is neither a palace nor of crystal) there will be placed, I believe, a noble cast of one of its angles.³ As

¹ [See the reference in the Introduction, above, p. lii., to Ongania's work.]

² [For Ruskin's subsequent undertakings to secure portraiture of St. Mark's, see note on p. 464 below. A view of the west front of St. Mark's is here introduced for convenience of reference (Plate C), and photogravures of two of Ruskin's drawings are added (Plates D and E).]

³ [See below, pp. 416, 466–467.]

for St. Mark's, the effort was hopeless from the beginning. For its effects depend not only upon the most delicate sculpture in every part, but, as we have just stated, eminently on its colour also, and that the most subtle, variable, inexpressible colour in the world,—the colour of glass, of transparent alabaster, of polished marble, and lustrous gold. It would be easier to illustrate a crest of Scottish mountain, with its purple heather and pale harebells at their fullest and fairest, or a glade of Jura forest, with its floor of anemone and moss, than a single portico of St. Mark's.* The fragment of one of its archivolts, given at the bottom of the opposite Plate,¹ is not to illustrate the thing itself, but to illustrate the impossibility of illustration.

§ 49. It is left a fragment, in order to get it on a larger scale; and yet even on this scale it is too small to show the sharp folds and points of the marble vine-leaves with sufficient clearness. The ground of it is gold, the sculpture in the spandrils is not more than an inch and a half deep, rarely so much. It is in fact nothing more than an exquisite sketching of outlines in marble, to about the same depth as

* The two loveliest of which have now been torn down, and vile models put up where they stood, by the accursed modern Italians.² [1879.]

¹ [The "Travellers' Edition" reads:—

"The fragment of one of its archivolts, given at the bottom of the opposite photograph . . ."

And the following note is appended:—

"See preface, for my present system of illustration, and directions to binder.

The portico is the one on left hand of great entrance, and may best be examined to illustrate itself."

The preface referred to is that already given in Vol. IX. p. 16; the scheme of illustrative photographs then contemplated was abandoned, but see below, p. 464. In the 1886 edition, and later issues of the complete work, containing the "Travellers' Edition" notes in an appendix, the two notes—* and the one just given—were run into one, the words "See preface . . . binder" were omitted; as also were the words in note*, "by the accursed modern Italians." The revision, however, was not Ruskin's. The porch, whose archivolt is shown in this plate, is the lateral door next to the central one, on the spectator's right as he fronts the facade. The porch next to it, more on the spectator's right, is shown in Plate 16 of the *Examples* in Vol. XI.]

² [This refers to the "restoration" of the semi-detached porticoes at either end of the facade; for particulars, see the later volume of this edition containing *St. Mark's Rest*; and for Ruskin's particular admiration of the porticoes in question, see Vol. IX. p. 245, and below, p. 450.]



J. Ruskin.

J. C. Armytage
Allen & Co. So.

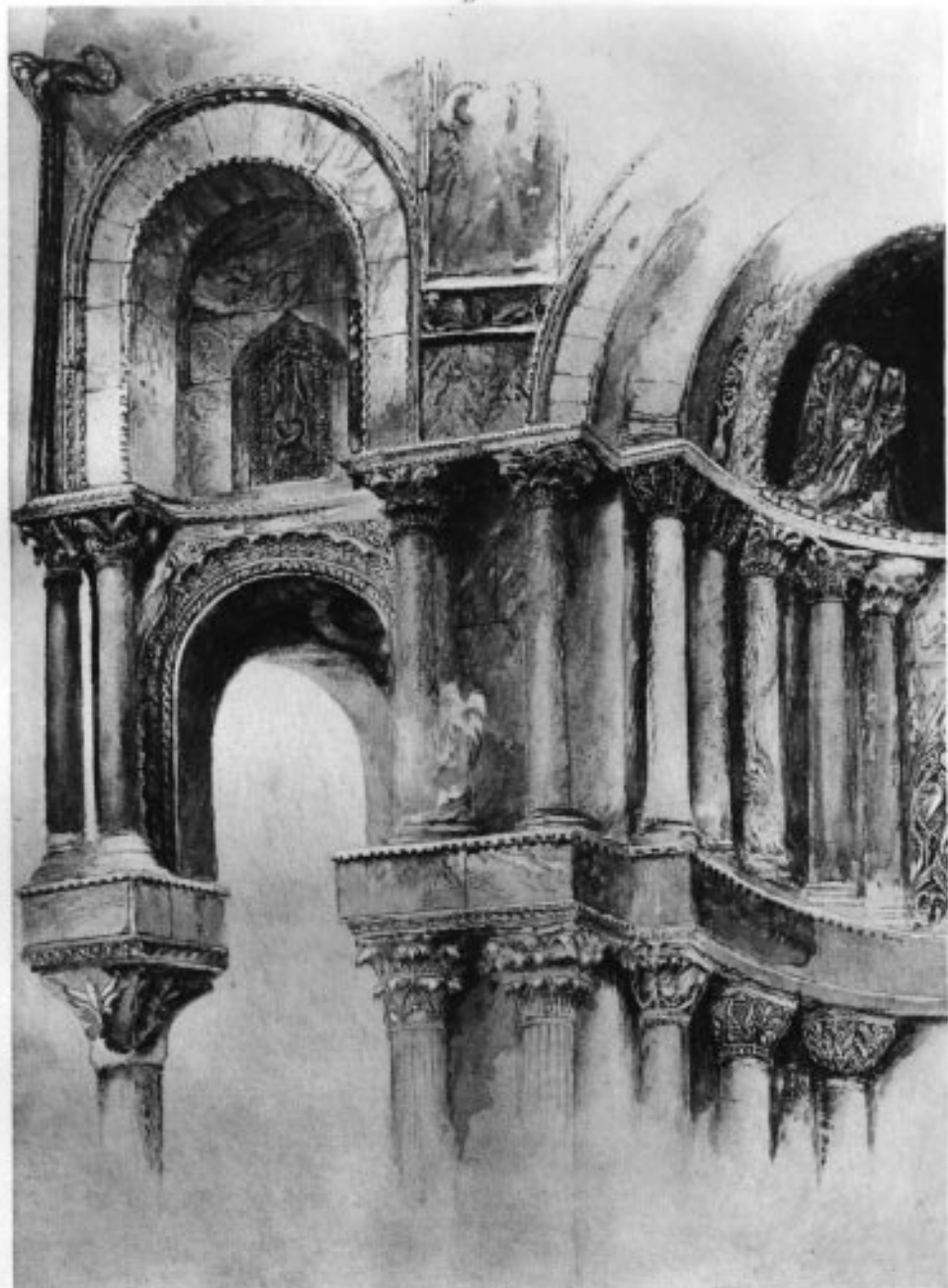
The Vine . Free, and in Service.

in the Elgin frieze; the draperies, however, being filled with close folds, in the manner of the Byzantine pictures, folds especially necessary here, as large masses could not be expressed in the shallow sculpture without becoming insipid; but the disposition of these folds is always most beautiful, and often opposed by broad and simple spaces, like that obtained by the scroll in the hand of the prophet seen in the Plate.

The balls in the archivolt project considerably, and the interstices between their interwoven bands of marble are filled with colours like the illuminations of a manuscript; violet, crimson, blue, gold, and green, alternately: but no green is ever used without an intermixture of blue pieces in the mosaic, nor any blue without a little centre of pale green; sometimes only a single piece of glass a quarter of an inch square, so subtle was the feeling for colour which was thus to be satisfied.* The intermediate circles have golden stars set on an azure ground, varied in the same manner: and the small crosses seen in the intervals are alternately blue and subdued scarlet, with two small circles of white set in the golden ground above and beneath them, each only about half an inch across (this work, remember, being on the outside of the building, and twenty feet above the eye), while the blue crosses have each a pale green centre. Of all this exquisitely mingled hue, no plate, however large or expensive, could give any adequate conception; but, if the reader will supply in imagination to the engraving what he supplies to a common woodcut of a group of flowers, the decision of the respective merits of modern

* The fact is, that no two tesserae of the glass are exactly of the same tint, the greens being all varied with blues, the blues of different depths, the reds of different clearness, so that the effect of each mass of colour is full of variety, like the stippled colour of a fruit piece. [Messrs. Salviati have, of course, put all this to rights in the new floor, and made it as flat as an oilcloth long ago.—1877.¹]

¹ [The words in brackets were thus added to the author's note in the "Travellers' Edition". The reference is to the new pavement of the north aisle; compare *Deucalion*, ch. vii.]



J. Russell

A. Len & Co. Sc.

The North-West Porch of S. Mark's

[1879]

From the Collection of Professor Charles Eliot Norton

and of Byzantine architecture may be allowed to rest on this fragment of St. Mark's alone.

From the vine-leaves of that archivolt, though there is no direct imitation of nature in them, but on the contrary a studious subjection to architectural purpose more particularly to be noticed hereafter, we may yet receive the same kind of pleasure which we have in seeing true vine-leaves and wreathed branches traced upon golden light; its stars upon their azure ground ought to make us remember, as its builder remembered, the stars that ascend and fall in the great arch of the sky; and I believe that stars, and boughs, and leaves, and bright colours are everlastingly lovely, and to be by all men beloved; and, moreover, that church walls grimly seared with squared lines, are not better nor nobler things than these. I believe the man who designed and the man who delighted in that archivolt to have been wise, happy, and holy. Let the reader look back to the archivolt I have already given out of the streets of London (Plate 13, Vol. I.¹), and see what there is in it to make us any of the three. Let him remember that the men who design such work as that call St. Mark's a barbaric monstrosity, and let him judge between us.

§ 50. Some farther details of the St. Mark's architecture, and especially a general account of Byzantine capitals, and of the principal ones at the angles of the church, will be found in the following chapter.* Here I must pass on to the second part of our immediate subject, namely, the inquiry how far the exquisite and varied ornament of St. Mark's fits it, as a Temple, for its sacred purpose, and would be applicable in the churches of modern times. We have here evidently two questions: the first, that wide and continually agitated one, whether richness of ornament

* Some illustration, also, of what was said in § 33 above, respecting the value of the shafts of St. Mark's as large jewels, will be found in Appendix 9, "Shafts of St. Mark's" [p. 448.]

¹ [In this edition, Vol. IX., opposite p. 348. In the "Travellers' Edition" the reference is omitted and an explanatory note added "Rusticated, from a London club-house."]

be right in churches at all; the second, whether the ornament of St. Mark's be of a truly ecclesiastical and Christian character.

§ 51. In the first chapter of the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*¹ I endeavoured to lay before the reader some reasons why churches ought to be richly adorned, as being the only places in which the desire of offering a portion of all precious things to God could be legitimately expressed. But I left wholly untouched the question: whether the church, as such, stood in need of adornment, or would be better fitted for its purposes by possessing it. This question I would now ask the reader to deal with briefly and candidly.

The chief difficulty in deciding it has arisen from its being always presented to us in an unfair form. It is asked of us, or we ask of ourselves, whether the sensation which we now feel in passing from our own modern dwelling-house, through a newly-built street, into a cathedral of the thirteenth century, be safe or desirable as a preparation for public worship. But we never ask whether that sensation was at all calculated upon by the builders of the cathedral.

§ 52. Now I do not say that the contrast of the ancient with the modern building, and the strangeness with which the earlier architectural forms fall upon the eye, are at this day disadvantageous. But I do say, that their effect, whatever it may be, was entirely uncalculated upon by the old builder. He endeavoured to make his work beautiful, but never expected it to be strange. And we incapacitate ourselves altogether from fair judgment of its intention, if we forget that, when it was built, it rose in the midst of other work fanciful and beautiful as itself; that every dwelling-house in the middle ages was rich with the same ornaments and quaint with the same grotesques which fretted the porches or animated the gargoyles of the cathedral; that what we now regard with doubt and wonder, as well as with delight, was then the natural continuation, into the principal edifice of the city, of a style which was familiar to every eye

¹ [Vol. VIII. p. 34.]

throughout all its lanes and streets; and that the architect had often no more idea of producing a peculiarly devotional impression by the richest colour and the most elaborate carving, than the builder of a modern meeting-house has by his white-washed walls and square-cut casements.*

§ 53. Let the reader fix this great fact well in his mind, and then follow out its important corollaries. We attach, in modern days, a kind of sacredness to the pointed arch and the groined roof, because, while we look habitually out of square windows and live under flat ceilings, we meet with the more beautiful forms in the ruins of our abbeys. But when those abbeys were built, the pointed arch was used for every shop door, as well as for that of the cloister, and the feudal baron and freebooter feasted, as the monk sang, under vaulted roofs; not because the vaulting was thought especially appropriate to either the revel or psalm, but because it was then the form in which a strong roof was easiest built. We have destroyed the goodly architecture of our cities; we have substituted one wholly devoid of beauty or meaning; and then we reason respecting the strange effect upon our minds of the fragments which, fortunately, we have left in our churches, as if those churches had always been designed to stand out in strong relief from all the buildings around them, and Gothic architecture had always been, what it is now, a religious language, like Monkish Latin. Most readers know, if they would arouse their knowledge, that this was not so; but they take no pains to reason the matter out: they abandon themselves drowsily to the impression that Gothic is a peculiarly ecclesiastical style; and sometimes, even, that richness in church ornament is a condition or furtherance of the Romish religion. Undoubtedly it has become so in modern times: for there being no beauty

* See the farther notice of this subject in Vol. III. Chap. IV.¹ [of *The Stones of Venice*.]

¹ [In the "Travellers' Edition" the above note was omitted and the following substituted:—

"Compare my Oxford lecture (in the inaugural series), on the relation of Art to Religion" [Lecture ii. in *Lectures on Art*].

in our recent architecture, and much in the remains of the past, and these remains being almost exclusively ecclesiastical, the High Church and Romanist parties have not been slow in availing themselves of the natural instincts which were deprived of all food except from this source; and have willingly promulgated the theory, that because all the good architecture that is now left is expressive of High Church or Romanist doctrines, all good architecture ever has been and must be so,—a piece of absurdity from which, though here and there a country clergyman may innocently believe it, I hope the common sense of the nation will soon manfully quit itself. It needs but little inquiry into the spirit of the past, to ascertain what, once for all, I would desire here clearly and forcibly to assert, that wherever Christian church architecture has been good and lovely, it has been merely the perfect development of the common dwelling-house architecture of the period;¹ that when the pointed arch was used in the street, it was used in the church; when the round arch was used in the street, it was used in the church: when the pinnacle was set over the garret window, it was set over the belfry tower; when the flat roof was used for the drawing-room, it was used for the nave. There is no sacredness in round arches, nor in pointed; none in pinnacles, nor in buttresses; none in pillars, nor in traceries. Churches were larger than most other buildings, because they had to hold more people; they were more adorned than most other buildings, because they were safer from violence, and were the fitting subjects of devotional offering: but they were never built in any separate, mystical, and religious style; they were built in the manner that was common and familiar to everybody at the time. The flamboyant traceries that adorn the facade of Rouen Cathedral had once their fellows in every window of every house in the market-place; the sculptures that adorn the porches of St. Mark's had once their match on the walls of every palace on the Grand Canal;

¹ [Compare in Vol. XII. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, Lecture 1, where this point is illustrated in the cases of the spire and the tower.]

and the only difference between the church and the dwelling-house was, that there existed a symbolical meaning in the distribution of the parts of all buildings meant for worship,¹ and that the painting or sculpture was, in the one case, less frequently of profane subject than in the other. A more severe distinction cannot be drawn: for secular history was constantly introduced into church architecture; and sacred history or allusion generally formed at least one half of the ornament of the dwelling-house.²

§ 54. This fact is so important, and so little considered, that I must be pardoned for dwelling upon it at some length, and accurately marking the limits of the assertion I have made. I do not mean that every dwelling-house of mediæval cities was as richly adorned and as exquisite in composition as the fronts of their cathedrals, but that they presented features of the same kind, often in parts quite as beautiful; and that the churches were not separated by any change of style from the buildings round them, as they are now, but were merely more finished and full examples of a universal style, rising out of the confused streets of the city, as an oak tree does out of an oak copse, not differing in leafage, but in size and symmetry. Of course the quainter and smaller forms of turret and window necessary for domestic service, the inferior materials, often wood instead of stone, and the fancy of the inhabitants, which had free play in the design, introduced oddnesses, vulgarities, and variations into house architecture, which were prevented by the traditions, the wealth, and the skill of the monks and freemasons; while, on the other hand, conditions of vaulting, buttressing, and arch and tower building, were necessitated by the mere size of the cathedral, of which it would be difficult to find examples elsewhere. But there was nothing more in these features

¹ [As, for instance, in their cruciformity, even in some cases with the chancel aslant to symbolise the drooping head of the Christ; and see what is said below, § 66, about "the visible temple," in the case of St. Mark's, "as in every part a type of the invisible Church of God."]

² [Compare, again, *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § § 115–117, where Ruskin gives instances from English documents of the reign of Henry III.]

than the adaptation of mechanical skill to vaster requirements; there was nothing intended to be, or felt to be, especially ecclesiastical in any of the forms so developed; and the inhabitants of every village and city, when they furnished funds for the decoration of their church, desired merely to adorn the house of God as they adorned their own, only a little more richly, and with a somewhat graver temper in the subjects of the carving. Even this last difference is not always clearly discernible: all manner of ribaldry occurs in the details of the ecclesiastical buildings of the North, and at the time when the best of them were built, every man's house was a kind of temple; a figure of the Madonna, or of Christ, almost always occupied a niche over the principal door, and the Old Testament histories were curiously interpolated amidst the grotesques of the brackets and the gables.

§ 55. And the reader will now perceive that the question respecting fitness of church decoration rests in reality on totally different grounds from those commonly made foundations of argument. So long as our streets are walled with barren brick, and our eyes rest continually, in our daily life, on objects utterly ugly, or of inconsistent and meaningless design, it may be a doubtful question whether the faculties of eye and mind which are capable of perceiving beauty, having been left without food during the whole of our active life, should be suddenly feasted upon entering a place of worship; and colour, and music, and sculpture should delight the senses, and stir the curiosity of men unaccustomed to such appeal, at the moment when they are required to compose themselves for acts of devotion;—this, I say, may be a doubtful question: but it cannot be a question at all, that if once familiarized with beautiful form and colour, and accustomed to see in whatever human hands have executed for us, even for the lowest services, evidence of noble thought and admirable skill, we shall desire to see this evidence also in whatever is built or laboured for the house of prayer; that the absence of the accustomed loveliness would disturb instead of assisting devotion; and that we should feel it as

vain to ask whether, with our own house full of goodly craftsmanship, we should worship God in a house destitute of it, as to ask whether a pilgrim whose day's journey had led him through fair woods and by sweet waters, must at evening turn aside into some barren place to pray.

§ 56. Then the second question submitted to us, whether the ornament of St. Mark's be truly ecclesiastical and Christian, is evidently determined together with the first; for, if not only the permission of ornament at all, but the beautiful execution of it, be dependent on our being familiar with it in daily life, it will follow that no style of noble architecture *can* be exclusively ecclesiastical. It must be practised in the dwelling before it be perfected in the church, and it is the test of a noble style that it shall be applicable to both; for, if essentially false and ignoble, it may be made to fit the dwelling-house, but never can be made to fit the church: and just as there are many principles which will bear the light of the world's opinion, yet will not bear the light of God's word, while all principles which will bear the test of Scripture will also bear that of practice, so in architecture there are many forms which expediency and convenience may apparently justify, or at least render enduring, in daily use, which will yet be found offensive the moment they are used for church service; but there are none good for church service, which cannot bear daily use. Thus the Renaissance manner of building is a convenient style for dwelling-houses, but the natural sense of all religious men causes them to turn from it with pain when it has been used in churches; and this has given rise to the popular idea that the Roman style is good for houses and the Gothic for churches. This is not so; the Roman style is essentially base, and we can bear with it only so long as it gives us convenient windows and spacious rooms; the moment the question of convenience is set aside, and the expression or beauty of the style is tried by its being used in a church, we find it fail. But because the Gothic and Byzantine styles are fit for churches they are not therefore less fit for dwellings.

They are in the highest sense fit and good for both, nor were they ever brought to perfection except where they were used for both.

§ 57. But there is one character of Byzantine work which, according to the time at which it was employed, may be considered as either fitting or unfitting it for distinctively ecclesiastical purposes; I mean the essentially pictorial character of its decoration. We have already seen what large surfaces it leaves void of bold architectural features, to be rendered interesting merely by surface ornament or sculpture. In this respect Byzantine work differs essentially from pure Gothic styles, which are capable of filling every vacant space by features purely architectural, and may be rendered, if we please, altogether independent of pictorial aid. A Gothic church may be rendered impressive by mere successions of arches, accumulations of niches, and entanglements of tracery. But a Byzantine church requires expression and interesting decoration over vast plain surfaces,—decoration which becomes noble only by becoming pictorial; that is to say, by representing natural objects—men, animals, or flowers. And, therefore, the question whether the Byzantine style be fit for church service in modern days, becomes involved in the inquiry, what effect upon religion has been or may yet be produced by pictorial art, and especially by the art of the mosaicist?

§ 58. The more I have examined this subject the more dangerous I have found it to dogmatize respecting the character of the art which is likely, at a given period, to be most useful to the cause of religion.¹ One great fact first meets me. I cannot answer for the experience of others, but I never yet met with a Christian whose heart was thoroughly set upon the world to come, and, so far as human judgment could pronounce, perfect and right before God,² who cared about art at all. I have known several very noble Christian men who loved it intensely, but in them there was always traceable some entanglement of the thoughts with the matters

¹ [See on this subject *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 40 n.]

² [See Colossians iv. 12.]

of this world, causing them to fall into strange distresses and doubts, and often leading them into what they themselves would confess to be errors in understanding, or even failures in duty. I do not say that these men may not, many of them, be in very deed nobler than those whose conduct is more consistent; they may be more tender in the tone of all their feelings, and farther-sighted in soul, and for that very reason exposed to greater trials and fears, than those whose hardier frame and naturally narrower vision enable them with less effort to give their hands to God and walk with Him.¹ But still, the general fact is indeed so, that I have never known a man who seemed altogether right and calm in faith, who seriously cared about art; and when casually moved by it, it is quite impossible to say beforehand by what class of art this impression will on such men be made. Very often it is by a theatrical commonplace, more frequently still by false sentiment. I believe that the four painters who have had, and still have, the most influence, such as it is, on the ordinary Protestant Christian mind, are Carlo Dolci, Guercino, Benjamin West, and John Martin. Raphael, much as he is talked about, is, I believe in very fact, rarely looked at by religious people; much less his master,² or any of the truly great religious men of old. But a smooth Magdalen of Carlo Dolci with a tear on each cheek, or a Guercino Christ or St. John, or a Scripture illustration of West's, or a black cloud with a flash of lightning in it of Martin's, rarely fails of being verily, often deeply, felt for the time.³

§ 59. There are indeed many very evident reasons for this; the chief one being that, as all truly great religious painters have been hearty Romanists, there are none of their works

¹ [See Genesis v. 24.]

² [In a letter to the *Times* on the National Gallery in 1847, Ruskin refers to the "shallow materialism" of the view that "the works of Perugino were of no value but as they taught Raphael" (*Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, i. 63). It was only in 1856 that a picture by Perugino was acquired for the Gallery: see *Notes on the Turner Gallery*, 1856 (Appendix).]

³ [For other references to Carlo Dolci, see *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 91); for Guercino, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 203); for Martin, see Vol. I. p. 243, Vol. III. pp. 36, 38 *n.* Two "Scripture illustrations," by Benjamin West, belong to the National Gallery—No. 131, "Christ Healing the Sick," now at Nottingham, and No. 132, "The Last Supper," now at Glasgow.]

which do not embody, in some portions of them, definitely Romanist doctrines. The Protestant mind is instantly struck by these, and offended by them, so as to be incapable of entering, or at least rendered indisposed to enter, farther into the heart of the work, or to the discovering those deeper characters of it, which are not Romanist, but Christian, in the everlasting sense and power of Christianity. Thus most Protestants, entering for the first time a Paradise of Angelico, would be irrevocably offended by finding that the first person the painter wished them to speak to was St. Dominic; and would retire from such a heaven as speedily as possible,—not giving themselves time to discover, that whether dressed in black, or white, or grey, and by whatever name in the calendar they might be called, the figures that filled that Angelico heaven were indeed more saintly, and pure, and full of love in every feature, than any that the human hand ever traced before or since.¹ And thus Protestantism, having foolishly sought for the little help it requires at the hand of painting from the men who embodied no Catholic doctrine, has been reduced to receive it from those who believed neither Catholicism nor Protestantism, but who read the Bible in search of the picturesque. We thus refuse to regard the painters who passed their lives in prayer, but are perfectly ready to be taught by those who spent them in debauchery. There is perhaps no more popular Protestant picture than Salvator's "Witch of Endor,"² of which the subject was chosen by the painter simply because, under the names of Saul and the Sorceress, he could paint a captain of banditti, and a Neapolitan hag.

§ 60. The fact seems to be that strength of religious feeling is capable of supplying for itself whatever is wanting in the rudest suggestions of art, and will either, on the one hand, purify what is coarse into inoffensiveness, or, on the other, raise what is feeble into impressiveness. Probably all art, as such, is unsatisfactory to it; and the effort which

¹ [Compare the closing passage in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 332).]

² [In the Louvre (No. 1478); for another reference to the picture, see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. viii. § 14.]

it makes to supply the void will be induced rather by association and accident than by the real merit of the work submitted to it. The likeness to a beloved friend, the correspondence with a habitual conception, the freedom from any strange or offensive particularity, and, above all, an interesting choice of incident, will win admiration for a picture when the noblest efforts of religious imagination would otherwise fail of power. How much more, when to the quick capacity of emotion is joined a childish trust that the picture does indeed represent a fact! It matters little whether the fact be well or ill told: the moment we believe the picture to be true, we complain little of its being ill-painted. Let it be considered for a moment, whether the child, with its coloured print, inquiring eagerly and gravely which is Joseph, and which is Benjamin, is not more capable of receiving a strong, even a sublime, impression from the rude symbol which it invests with reality by its own effort, than the connoisseur who admires the grouping of the three figures in Raphael's "Telling of the Dreams;"¹ and whether also, when the human mind is in right religious tone, it has not always this childish power—I speak advisedly, this power—a noble one, and possessed more in youth than at any period of after life, but always, I think, restored in a measure by religion—of raising into sublimity and reality the rudest symbol which is given to it of accredited truth.

§ 61. Ever since the period of the Renaissance, however, the truth has not been accredited; the painter of religious subject is no longer regarded as the narrator of a fact, but as the inventor of an idea.* We do not severely criticise the manner in which a true history is told, but we become harsh investigators of the faults of an invention; so that in

* I do not mean that modern Christians believe less in the *facts* than ancient Christians,** but they do not believe in the representation of the facts as true. We look upon the picture as this or that painter's conception; the

** I ought to have meant it though, and very sternly. [1879.]

¹ ["Joseph relating his dreams to his brethren," one of the subjects in "Raphael's Bible" in the Loggia of the Vatican; in the foreground, beside Joseph, is a group of three figures with their arms and hands linked together.]

the modern religious mind, the capacity of emotion, which renders judgment uncertain, is joined with an incredulity which renders it severe; and this ignorant emotion, joined with ignorant observance of faults, is the worst possible temper in which any art can be regarded, but more especially sacred art. For as religious faith renders emotion facile, so also it generally renders expression simple: that is to say, a truly religious painter will very often be ruder, quainter, simpler, and more faulty in his manner of working, than a great irreligious one. And it was in this artless utterance, and simple acceptance, on the part of both the workman and the beholder, that all noble schools of art have been cradled; it is in them that they *must* be cradled to the end of time. It is impossible to calculate the enormous loss of power in modern days, owing to the imperative requirement that art shall be methodical and learned: for as long as the constitution of this world remains unaltered, there will be more intellect in it than there can be education; there will be many men capable of just sensation and vivid invention, who never will have time to cultivate or polish their natural powers. And all unpolished power is in the present state of society lost; in other things as well as in the arts, but in the arts especially: nay, in nine cases out of ten, people mistake the polish for the power. Until a man has passed through a course of academy studentship, and can draw in an improved manner with French chalk, and knows fore-shortening, and perspective, and something of anatomy, we do not think he can possibly be an artist; what is worse,

elder Christians looked upon it as this or that painter's description of what had actually taken place. And in the Greek Church all painting is, to this day, strictly a branch of tradition. See M. Didron's admirably written introduction to his *Iconographie Chrétienne*,¹ p. 7:—"Un de mes compagnons s'étonnait de retrouver à la Panagia de St. Luc, le saint Jean Chrysostome qu'il avait dessiné dans le baptistère de St. Luc, le saint Jean Chrysostome personnages est partout et en tout temps le même, non-seulement pour la forme, mais pour la couleur, mais pour le dessin, mais jusque pour le nombre et l'épaisseur des plis."

¹ [*Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne Grecque et Latine* (by Dionysius, Monk of Fournas d' Agrapha), avec une introduction et des notes, par M. Didron, 1845.]

we are very apt to think that we can *make* him an artist by teaching him anatomy, and how to draw with French chalk; whereas the real gift in him is utterly independent of all such accomplishments: and I believe there are many peasants on every estate, and labourers in every town, of Europe, who have imaginative powers of a high order, which nevertheless cannot be used for our good, because we do not choose to look at anything but what is expressed in a legal and scientific way. I believe there is many a village mason who, set to carve a series of Scripture or any other histories, would find many a strange and noble fancy in his head, and set it down, roughly enough indeed, but in a way well worth our having. But we are too grand to let him do this, or to set up his clumsy work when it is done; and accordingly the poor stonemason is kept hewing stones smooth at the corners, and we build our church of the smooth square stones, and consider ourselves wise.

§ 62. I shall pursue this subject farther in another place;¹ but I allude to it here in order to meet the objections of those persons who suppose the mosaics of St. Mark's, and others of the period, to be utterly barbarous as representations of religious history. Let it be granted that they are so; we are not for that reason to suppose they were ineffective in religious teaching. I have above spoken of the whole church as a great Book of Common Prayer;² the mosaics were its illuminations, and the common people of the time were taught their Scripture history by means of them, more impressively perhaps, though far less fully, than ours are now by Scripture reading. They had no other Bible, and—Protestants do not often enough consider this—*could* have no other. We find it somewhat difficult to furnish our poor with printed Bibles; consider what the difficulty must have been when they could be given only in manuscript. The walls of the church

¹ [See below, ch. vi. §§ 11–24, and see, in Vol. XII., *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 43, and the letter to Acland in *The Oxford Museum (Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, i. 199).]

² [Above, § 46, p. 112.]

necessarily became the poor man's Bible, and a picture was more easily read upon the walls than a chapter. Under this view, and considering them merely as the Bible pictures of a great nation in its youth, I shall finally invite the reader to examine the connection and subjects of these mosaics;¹ but in the meantime I have to deprecate the idea of their execution being in any sense barbarous. I have conceded too much to modern prejudice, in permitting them to be rated as mere childish efforts at coloured portraiture: they have characters in them of a very noble kind; nor are they by any means devoid of the remains of the science of the later Roman empire. The character of the features is almost always fine, the expression stern and quiet, and very solemn, the attitudes and draperies always majestic in the single figures, and in those of the groups which are not in violent action;* while the bright colouring and disregard of chiaroscuro cannot be regarded as imperfections, since they are the only means by which the figures could be rendered clearly intelligible in the distance and darkness of the vaulting. So far am I from considering them barbarous, that I believe of all works of religious art whatsoever, these, and such as these, have been the most effective. They stand exactly midway between the debased manufacture of wooden and waxen images which is the support of Romanist idolatry all over the world, and the great art which leads the mind away from the religious subject to the art itself. Respecting neither of these branches of human skill is there, nor can there be, any question. The manufacture of puppets, however influential on the Romanist

* All the efforts of Byzantine art to represent violent action are inadequate, most of them ludicrously so, even when the sculptural art is in other respects far advanced. The early Gothic sculptors, on the other hand, fail in all points of refinement, but hardly ever in expression of action. This distinction is of course one of the necessary consequences of the difference in all respects between the repose of the Eastern, and activity of the Western, mind, which we shall have to trace out completely in the inquiry into the nature of Gothic.²

¹ [See below, §§ 64–70.]

² [See below, ch. vi., and compare Vol. IX., Appendix 8.]

mind of Europe, is certainly not deserving of consideration as one of the fine arts. It matters literally nothing to a Romanist what the image he worships is like. Take the vilest doll that is screwed together in a cheap toy-shop, trust it to the keeping of a large family of children let it be beaten about the house by them till it is reduced to a shapeless block, then dress it in a satin frock and declare it to have fallen from heaven, and it will satisfactorily answer all Romanist purposes. Idolatry,* it cannot be too often repeated, is no encourager of the fine arts. But, on the other hand, the highest branches of the fine arts are no encouragers either of idolatry or of religion. No picture of Leonardo's or Raphael's, no statue of Michael Angelo's, has ever been worshipped, except by accident. Carelessly regarded, and by ignorant persons, there is less to attract in them than in commoner works. Carefully regarded, and by intelligent persons, they instantly divert the mind from their subject to their art, so that admiration takes the place of devotion. I do not say that the Madonna di S. Sisto, the Madonna del Cardellino,¹ and such others, have not had considerable religious influence on certain minds, but I say that on the mass of the people of Europe they have had none whatever; while by far the greater number of the most celebrated statues and pictures are never regarded with any other feelings than those of admiration of human beauty, or reverence for human skill. Effective religious art, therefore, has always lain, and I believe must always lie, between the two extremes—of barbarous idol-fashioning on one side, and magnificent craftsmanship on the other. It consists partly in missal-painting, and such book-illustrations as, since the invention of printing, have taken its place; partly in glass-painting; partly in rude sculpture on the outsides of buildings; partly in mosaics; and partly in the frescoes and tempera pictures which, in the fourteenth century, formed the link between this powerful, because

* Appendix 10: "Proper Sense of the word Idolatry" [p. 450].

¹ [For the Madonna di S. Sisto, see Vol. III. p. 13 *n.*, Vol. IV. pp. 127, 369; for the Madonna del Cardellino, Vol. IV. p. 85.]

imperfect, religious art, and the impotent perfection which succeeded it.

§ 63. But of all these branches the most important are the inlaying and mosaic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, represented in a central manner by these mosaics of St. Mark's. Missal-painting could not, from its minuteness, produce the same sublime impressions, and frequently merged itself in mere ornamentation of the page. Modern book-illustration has been so little skilful as hardly to be worth naming. Sculpture, though in some positions it becomes of great importance, has always a tendency to lose itself in architectural effect; and was probably seldom deciphered, in all its parts, by the common people, still less the traditions annealed in the purple burning of the painted window. Finally, tempera pictures and frescoes were often of limited size or of feeble colour. But the great mosaics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries covered the walls and roofs of the churches with inevitable lustre; they could not be ignored or escaped from; their size rendered them majestic, their distance mysterious, their colour attractive. They did not pass into confused or inferior decorations; neither were they adorned with any evidences of skill or science, such as might withdraw the attention from their subjects. They were before the eyes of the devotee at every interval of his worship; vast shadowings forth of scenes to whose realization he looked forward, or of spirits whose presence he invoked. And the man must be little capable of receiving a religious impression of any kind, who, to this day, does not acknowledge some feeling of awe, as he looks up to the pale countenances and ghastly forms which haunt the dark roofs of the Baptisteries of Parma¹ and Florence, or remains altogether untouched by the majesty of the colossal images of apostles, and of Him who sent apostles, that look down from the darkening gold of the domes of Venice and Pisa.

¹ [See *Seven Lamps*, ch. iv. § 40 (Vol. VIII. p. 184), where the mosaics of Parma are cited as the richest example of the manner.]

§ 64. I shall, in a future portion of this work, endeavour to discover what probabilities there are of our being able to use this kind of art in modern churches;¹ but at present it remains for us to follow out the connection of the subjects represented in St. Mark's, so as to fulfil our immediate object, and form an adequate conception of the feelings of its builders, and of its uses to those for whom it was built.

Now there is one circumstance to which I must, in the outset, direct the reader's special attention, as forming a notable distinction between ancient and modern days. Our eyes are now familiar and wearied with writing; and if an inscription is put upon a building, unless it be large and clear, it is ten to one whether we ever trouble ourselves to decipher it. But the old architect was sure of readers. He knew that every one would be glad to decipher all that he wrote; that they would rejoice in possessing the vaulted leaves of his stone manuscript; and that the more he gave them, the more grateful would the people be. We must take some pains, therefore, when we enter St. Mark's, to read all that is inscribed, or we shall not penetrate into the feeling either of the builder or of his times.²

§ 65. A large atrium or portico is attached to two sides of the church, a space which was especially reserved for

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. iv. § 36.]

² [As Ruskin's accounts of the Mosaics of St. Mark's are to be found in various places, a conspectus of references to them is here given:—

Mosaics of the exterior:—Ancient one (of St. Mark's), *St. Mark's Rest*, § 97; *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii., above, p. 77. New ones, *St. Mark's Rest*, § 104.

Atrium, here § 65; *St. Mark's Rest*, § 106; and (*Deluge*) *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 518).

Baptistery, *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 94–96, and ch. ix. *Interior*:—Over the main entrance, here § 66.

First Cupola (Pentecost), here § 67.

Vault between it and the next, here § 68. *Central Cupola* (Ascension), here §§ 68, 69; below, ch. viii. § 63; and in the next volume, ch. iv. §§ 10, 16–18; also *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 107, 126–131. *Third Cupola*, here § 70, and *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 118–123. *South Transept*, here § 8, and *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 109, 111. *North Transept*, here § 70 n., and *St. Mark's Rest*, § 108. *Eastern aisle*, *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 111, 112.

Convenient plans of the mosaics are given at pp. 106, 204 of Dr. Robertson's *The Bible of St. Mark*, in which book the whole series is described and illustrated.]

unbaptized persons and new converts. It was thought right that, before their baptism, these persons should be led to contemplate the great facts of the Old Testament history; the history of the Fall of Man, and of the lives of Patriarchs up to the period of the covenant by Moses; the order of the subjects in this series being very nearly the same as in many Northern churches, but significantly closing¹ with the Fall of the Manna in order to mark to the catechumen the insufficiency of the Mosaic covenant for salvation,—“Our fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead,”—and to turn his thoughts to the true Bread of which that manna was the type.²

§ 66. Then, when after his baptism he was permitted to enter the church, over its main entrance he saw, on looking back, a mosaic of Christ enthroned, with the Virgin on one side and St. Mark on the other, in attitudes of adoration. Christ is represented as holding a book open upon His knee, on which is written: “I AM THE DOOR; BY ME IF ANY MAN ENTER IN, HE SHALL BE SAVED.”³ On the red marble moulding which surrounds the mosaic is written: “I AM THE GATE OF LIFE; LET THOSE WHO ARE MINE ENTER BY ME.” Above, on the red marble fillet which forms the cornice of the west end of the church, is written, with reference to the figure of Christ below: “WHO HE WAS, AND FROM WHOM HE CAME, AND AT WHAT PRICE HE REDEEMED THEE, AND WHY HE MADE THEE, AND GAVE THEE ALL THINGS, DO THOU CONSIDER.”

Now observe, this was not to be seen and read only by the catechumen when he first entered the church; every one who at any time entered was supposed to look back and to read this writing; their daily entrance into the church was thus made a daily memorial of their first entrance

¹ [Ruskin had intended to enumerate the subjects, for in the MS. the passage reads:—
“I have merely placed an enumeration of them in the appendix in order that the reader may judge of their fulness, but I would especially direct his attention to the significant close of the series. . . .”]

² [John vi. 49–58.]

³ [John x. 9.]

into the spiritual Church; and we shall find that the rest of the book which was open for them upon its walls continually led them in the same manner to regard the visible temple as in every part a type of the invisible Church of God.

§ 67. Therefore the mosaic of the first dome, which is over the head of the spectator as soon as he has entered by the great door (that door being the type of baptism), represents the effusion of the Holy Spirit, as the first consequence and seal of the entrance into the Church of God. In the centre of the cupola is the Dove, enthroned in the Greek manner, as the Lamb is enthroned, when the Divinity of the Second and Third Persons is to be insisted upon, together with their peculiar offices. From the central symbol of the Holy Spirit twelve streams of fire descend upon the heads of the twelve apostles, who are represented standing around the dome; and below them, between the windows which are pierced in its walls, are represented, by groups of two figures for each separate people, the various nations who heard the apostles speak, at Pentecost, every man in his own tongue.¹ Finally, on the vaults, at the four angles which support the cupola, are pictured four angels, each bearing a tablet upon the end of a rod in his hand: on each of the tablets of the three first angels is inscribed the word "Holy;" on that of the fourth is written "Lord;" and the beginning of the hymn being thus put into the mouths of the four angels, the words of it are continued around the border of the dome, uniting praise to God for the gift of the Spirit, with welcome to the redeemed soul received into His Church:

"Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth:
Heaven and earth are full of the Glory.
Hosanna in the highest:
Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the
LORD."²

¹ [Acts ii. 8.]

² [Matthew xxi. 9.]

And observe in this writing that the convert is required to regard the outpouring of the Holy Spirit especially as a work of *sanctification*. It is the *holiness* of God manifested in the giving of His Spirit to sanctify those who had become His children, which the four angels celebrate in their ceaseless praise; and it is on account of this holiness that the heaven and earth are said to be full of His glory.

§ 68. After thus hearing praise rendered to God by the angels for the salvation of the newly-entered soul, it was thought fittest that the worshipper should be led to contemplate, in the most comprehensive forms possible, the past evidence and the future hopes of Christianity, as summed up in the three facts without assurance of which all faith is vain;¹ namely, that Christ died, that He rose again, and that He ascended into heaven, there to prepare a place for His elect. On the vault between the first and second cupolas are represented the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, with the usual series of intermediate scenes,—the treason of Judas, the judgment of Pilate, the crowning with thorns, the descent into Hades, the visit of the women to the Sepulchre, and the apparition to Mary Magdalene. The second cupola itself, which is the central and principal one of the church, is entirely occupied by the subject of the Ascension.² At the highest point of it Christ is represented as rising into the blue heaven, borne up by four angels, and throned upon a rainbow, the type of reconciliation. Beneath Him, the twelve apostles are seen upon the Mount of Olives, with the Madonna,³ and, in the midst of them, the two men

¹ [See 1 Corinthians xv. 14.]

² [For a fuller description of the mosaics of the Central Dome, see *St. Mark's Rest*—§ 126 (the Four Evangelists under its angles), §§ 127–131 (the Christian Virtues).]

³ [Upon the mosaics on this cupola Ruskin wrote in one draft of the chapter some artistic criticism which he intended to illustrate by a plate. This, however, was not prepared; but the reader will find a photographic reproduction of the mosaics opposite p. 278 of Dr. Robertson's *Bible of St. Mark*. The passage in the MS. is as follows:—

“There are one or two circumstances in the mode of decoration itself, considered as such, which we ought not to pass without notice. Trees, much smaller in size and much less conspicuous in position, would as well or better have indicated that the scene was on the Mount of Olives, but their tall stems and dark foliage are of admirable service in dividing, like so many slender

in white apparel who appeared at the moment of the Ascension, above whom, as uttered by them, are inscribed the words, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This Christ, the Son of God, as He is taken from you, shall so come, the arbiter of the earth, trusted to do judgment and justice."¹

§ 69. Beneath the circle of the apostles, between the windows of the cupola, are represented the Christian virtues, as sequent upon the crucifixion of the flesh, and the spiritual ascension together with Christ. Beneath them, on the vaults which support the angles of the cupola, are placed the four Evangelists, because on their evidence our assurance of the

pillars, the golden field of the vaults. In order to fit them for this architectural service, the branches are lopped off all up the trunks, and the foliage is only represented in the clustering heads. There may, perhaps, be a meaning in this, some allusion to the cutting away of the old branches from the Jewish olive tree and the grafting in of the new, but the procedure would have involved a painful stiffness in the stems if the growth and life had not been faithfully represented by golden lines drawn within the dark ground of the stems. In the last stage of Venetian architecture we shall again meet with trees whose boughs have been lopped away, but without any revivifying powers. I have therefore given at the side of the page one of these Byzantine stems, and beside it the portion of the stem of a real tree with its bark removed, in order that the reader may judge for himself of the degree of perception of the essential and vital power of the thing represented which is so remarkably characteristic of this early art.

"Another remarkable point is the interruption of the general aspect of the circle by the figure of the Madonna. A modern architect required to decorate a dome would assuredly have made it with the figures in all its compartments as nearly alike as might be; but in this case the twelve figures of the Apostles are arranged in unbroken series, with drapery in finely divided folds and of light colours; then come the two angels in white, with their wings bedropped with gold, and between these, that is to say, in the whitest part of the whole circle, is placed the Madonna, in a solid mass of dark blue drapery nearly black, and relieved only by three small golden crosses, one on each shoulder, and one on the part of the dress which falls over the forehead; this figure fronts the west door of the church, and its darkness gives light and brilliancy to all the rest of the dome. This exquisite decorative arrangement has been fancied by later Catholic writers to be merely a piece of Mariolatry, and the writer of the account of St. Mark's, above quoted, not recollecting that St. Luke [Acts i. 10] tells us that "two men stood by them in white apparel," supposes them to have been introduced merely to increase the Virgin's importance, and describes this part of the mosaic as the Madonna accompanied by two angels."

The "writer above quoted" (*i.e.* in the MS., not in the text as it stands) is the author of the Italian work referred to in the Introduction, above, p. li.; the passage cited is at vol. ii. p. 33. For some further remarks on the artistic quality of these mosaics, see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 108.]

¹ [Acts i. 11; Jeremiah xxiii. 5. For another translation of this inscription, see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 107, 131.]

fact of the Ascension rests: and, finally, beneath their feet, as symbols of the sweetness and fulness of the Gospel which they declared, are represented the four rivers of Paradise, Pison, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates.¹

§ 70. The third cupola, that over the altar, represents the witness of the Old Testament to Christ; showing Him enthroned in its centre, and surrounded by the patriarchs and prophets.² But this dome was little seen by the people;* their contemplation was intended to be chiefly drawn to that of the centre of the church, and thus the mind of the worshipper was at once fixed on the main groundwork and hope of Christianity,—“Christ is risen,” and “Christ shall come.” If he had time to explore the minor lateral chapels and cupolas, he could find in them the whole series of New Testament history,³ the events of the life of Christ, and the

* It is also of inferior workmanship, and perhaps later than the rest. Vide Lord Lindsay [*Sketches of the History of Christian Art*], vol. i., p. 124, note.

¹ [Genesis ii. 10–14. One draft of this chapter here continues:—

“Can anything more admirable be well conceived than this simple placing before the mind of the worshipper in the central dome of the temple, the fact which is the beginning of his faith and the judgment which is to be the end of his life; or than the intimation conveyed in the most splendid and central portion of the decoration of the earthly temple that He in whose honour it was raised had gone before to prepare for His worshippers an eternal temple in the Heavens?”]

² [In his later study of the mosaics Ruskin gave much greater importance to those of the Altar Dome: see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 118–123.]

³ [In one draft of this chapter Ruskin notices some of these other mosaics:—

“The great tree at the end of the [North] transept, representing the generations of Christ, is good in its effect from below; the other modern mosaics are better than whitewash, and that is all. The small cupola over this transept retains, however, its old work; it represents the Life of St. John and his miracles, intended, however, always to enhance the honour of Christ, as we read by the inscription which encircles it: ‘Christ reigns, Christ conquers, Christ commands. He is God everywhere, doing wonders. He is seen in His saints, and this the life of St. John teaches us.’ There are also one or two interesting fragments in the sides of the vault over the genealogical tree, more especially the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, the Calming of the Sea, and the Curing of the Cripple let down through the house-top. In this latter subject, bearing the quaint inscription, ‘PONUNT LANGUENTEM, FIT SANUS, FERTQUE FERENTEM,’ a piece of architecture is introduced necessarily. In that of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes a high tower, perhaps Capernaum, is introduced as a side scene, and in the Calming of the Sea, a great rock, but the main purpose of all these objects, like that of the trees in the central fresco, is merely decorative.”

The “great tree” represents the genealogy of Mary; the date of the mosaic is 1542–1551. Ruskin attributes it to Paolo Veronese (see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 108); it is, however, the work of Bianchini, from a drawing by Salviati. The mosaics on the cupola

Apostolic miracles in their order, and finally the scenery of the Book of Revelation;* but if he only entered, as often the common people do to this hour, snatching a few moments before beginning the labour of the day to offer up an ejaculatory prayer, and advanced but from the main entrance as far as the altar screen, all the splendour of the glittering nave and variegated dome, if they smote upon his heart, as they might often, in strange contrast with his reed cabin among the shallows of the lagoon, smote upon it only that they might proclaim the two great messages,—“Christ is risen,” and “Christ shall come.” Daily, as the white cupolas rose like wreaths of sea-foam in the dawn,¹ while the shadowy campanile and frowning palace were still withdrawn into the night, they rose with the Easter Voice of Triumph,—“Christ is risen;” and daily, as they looked down upon the tumult of the people, deepening and eddying in the wide square that opened from their feet to the

* The old mosaics from the Revelation have perished, and have been replaced by miserable work of the seventeenth century.²

of the North Transept represent (1) the Sermon on the Mount, (2) traditional scenes from the life of St. John the Evangelist (see Robertson, pp. 236, 302). The Miracles of Christ are represented on the vaults of the North Transept: those here mentioned by Ruskin are described more fully in Robertson, pp. 243, 244, 246.]

¹ [See above, pp. 83–84 *n.*]

² [The scenes from the Book of Revelation begin on the vault that spans the nave immediately in front of the west gallery, are continued in the galleries to right and left, and finish in the great vault of the west gallery. Those that begin the series were by Francesco and Valerio Zuccato, from cartoons by E. Paoletti and Palma Giovane; the others, by Bozza and other workmen, from the designs of Jacopo and Domenico Tintoretto—“miserable picture mosaics of the 16th century,” Ruskin calls them in the MS.—“vain efforts to copy the cartoons of Tintoret with broken bits of stone.” Ruskin’s characterisation of them as “miserable work” was the opinion at the time of their execution. The Procurators of St. Mark in 1563 brought a suit against the brothers Zuccato, at the instance of Bozza, alleging that he had produced certain effects by painting over a gold ground, instead of putting in coloured tesserae. The great painters of the day were called as witnesses. Titian and Tintoret testified in favour of the defence, and stigmatised Bozza’s own work as the worst of the whole. Ultimately the brothers Zuccato were condemned to re-do the work at their own expense. Curiously enough the same thing happened thirty years ago when the mosaics were restored; the mosaic-workers were again accused of using the brush, and were condemned to re-make the mosaics (Robertson’s *Bible of St. Mark*, pp. 315–316). On one of his loose sheets of MS. with notes and illustrations for *The Stones of Venice* (see Vol. IX. p. xxvi.), Ruskin remarks on “the deadness of colour” in the later mosaics. “It is most curious,” he says, “that the modern mosaics make the church tawdry outside and dull within.”]

sea, they uttered above them the sentence of warning,—“Christ shall come.”

§ 71. And this thought may surely dispose the reader to look with some change of temper upon the gorgeous building and wild blazonry of that shrine of St. Mark's. He now perceives that it was in the hearts of the old Venetian people far more than a place of worship. It was at once a type of the Redeemed Church of God, and a scroll for the written word of God. It was to be to them, both an image of the Bride, all glorious within, her clothing of wrought gold;¹ and the actual Table of the Law and the Testimony, written within and without. And whether honoured as the Church or as the Bible, was it not fitting that neither the gold nor the crystal should be spared in the adornment of it; that, as the symbol of the Bride, the building of the wall thereof should be of jasper,* and the foundations of it garnished with all manner of precious stones; and that, as the channel of the Word, that triumphant utterance of the Psalmist should be true of it,—“I have rejoiced in the way of Thy testimonies, as much as in all riches”?² And shall we not look with changed temper down the long perspective of St. Mark's Place towards the sevenfold gates and glowing domes of its temple, when we know with what solemn purpose the shafts of it were lifted above the pavement of the populous square? Men met there from all countries of the earth, for traffic or for pleasure; but, above the crowd swaying for ever to and fro in the restlessness of avarice or thirst of delight, was seen perpetually the glory of the temple, attesting to them, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear, that there was one treasure which the merchantman might buy without a price, and one delight better than all others, in the word and the statutes of God.

* Rev. xxi. 18.

¹ [Psalms xlv. 13.]

² [Psalms cxix. 14.]

Not in the wantonness of wealth, not in vain ministry to the desire of the eyes or the pride of life, were those marbles hewn into transparent strength, and those arches arrayed in the colours of the iris. There is a message written in the dyes of them, that once was written in blood; and a sound in the echoes of their vaults, that one day shall fill the vault of heaven,—“He shall return to do judgment and justice.”¹ The strength of Venice was given her, so long as she remembered this: her destruction found her when she had forgotten this; and it found her irrevocably, because she forgot it without excuse. Never had city a more glorious Bible. Among the nations of the North, a rude and shadowy sculpture filled their temples with confused and hardly legible imagery; but, for her, the skill and the treasures of the East had gilded every letter, and illumined every page, till the Book—Temple shone from afar off like the star of the Magi. In other cities, the meetings of the people were often in places withdrawn from religious association, subject to violence and to change; and on the grass of the dangerous rampart, and in the dust of the troubled street, there were deeds done and counsels taken, which, if we cannot justify, we may sometimes forgive. But the sins of Venice, whether in her palace or in her piazza, were done with the Bible at her right hand. The walls on which its testimony was written were separated but by a few inches of marble from those which guarded the secrets of her councils, or confined the victims of her policy.² And when in her last hours she threw off all shame and all restraint, and the great square of the city became filled with the madness of the whole earth, be it remembered how much her sin was greater, because it was done in the face of the House of God, burning with the letters of His Law.

¹ [See Genesis xviii. 19.]

² [Here, again, we may illustrate Ruskin's gradual arrival at the ultimate form of his sentences. First he wrote, “from those which encased her councils, or concealed the bitterness of her vengeance;” next, “from those which guarded her councils or shrouded the malignities of her vengeance;” lastly, as in the text.]

Mountebank and masquer laughed their laugh, and went their way; and a silence has followed them, not unforeshadowed; for amidst them all, through century after century of gathering vanity and festering guilt, that white dome of St. Mark's had uttered in the dead ear of Venice, "Know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment."¹

¹ [Ecclesiastes xi. 9.]

CHAPTER V

BYZANTINE PALACES

§ 1. THE account of the architecture of St. Mark's given in the previous chapter has, I trust, acquainted the reader sufficiently with the spirit of the Byzantine style; but he has probably, as yet, no clear idea of its generic forms. Nor would it be safe to define these after an examination of St. Mark's alone, built as it was upon various models, and at various periods. But if we pass through the city, looking for buildings which resemble St. Mark's—first, in the most important feature of incrustation; secondly, in the character of the mouldings,—we shall find a considerable number, not indeed very attractive in their first address to the eye, but agreeing perfectly, both with each other, and with the earliest portions of St. Mark's, in every important detail; and to be regarded, therefore, with profound interest, as indeed the remains of an ancient city of Venice, altogether different in aspect from that which now exists. From these remains we may with safety deduce general conclusions touching the forms of Byzantine architecture, as practised in Eastern Italy, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

§ 2. They agree in another respect, as well as in style. All are either ruins, or fragments disguised by restoration. Not one of them is uninjured or unaltered; and the impossibility of finding so much as an angle or a single story in perfect condition is a proof, hardly less convincing than the method of their architecture, that they were indeed raised during the earliest phases of the Venetian power. The mere fragments, dispersed in narrow streets, and recognizable by a single capital, or the segment of an arch, I shall not enumerate: but, of

important remains, there are six in the immediate neighbourhood of the Rialto, one in the Rio di Ca' Foscari, and one conspicuously placed opposite the great Renaissance Palace known as the Vendramin Calerghi, one of the few palaces still inhabited* and well maintained;¹ and noticeable, moreover, as having a garden beside it, rich with evergreens, and decorated by gilded railings and white statues that cast long streams of snowy reflection down into the deep water. The vista of canal beyond it is terminated by the Church of St. Geremia, another but less attractive work of the Renaissance;² a mass of barren brickwork, with a dull leaden dome above, like those of our National Gallery.³ So that the spectator has the richest and meanest of the late architecture of Venice before him at once: the richest, let him observe, a piece of private luxury; the poorest, that which was given to God. Then, looking to the left, he will see the fragment of the work of earlier ages, testifying against both, not less by its utter desolation than by the nobleness of the traces that are still left of it.⁴

* In the year 1851, by the Duchesse de Berri.

¹ [The Vendramin Calerghi Palace was built in 1481, at the expense of Andrea Loredan, by Pietro Lombardo. The garden wing was added in the sixteenth century by Scamozzi. In this palace Richard Wagner died in 1883.]

² [Built in 1753.]

³ [For other references to the architecture of the National Gallery, see Vol. I. pp. 6, 168, 430.]

⁴ [This is the Fondaco de' Turchi. Originally built as a private dwelling, it was purchased by the Republic in the sixteenth century, as stated below in the text, for the use of the Turkish merchants. The frontispiece to this volume shows a portion of it as it was at the time when Ruskin wrote this passage. For several years later it remained in its ruined state. "In 1861," says Mr. Okey, "it was an imposing and picturesque ruin, with a cherry-tree growing and fruiting on one of the turrets. In 1869 it was wholly restored (*guasto e profanato*, says Boni), all the beautiful capitals and columns were recut and scraped, and subsequently anointed with oil to bring out the veining" (*Venice*, 1903, p. 303). The work was done by the architect, Berchet, for the Municipality. The modernised building is now used to contain the Museo Civico, which is united with the Museo Correr. The drawing, from which the frontispiece is taken, was published in *Studies in Both Arts*, 1895, where portions of this chapter (with Fig. 4) were printed as accompanying letterpress—viz., § 1, "If we pass through the city . . .," down to the end of § 3; § 6, "The Fondaco de' Turchi has sixteen arches . . .," down to the end of § 6; § 11 down to "needless reproduction"; § 12, "And let it not be said . . .," down to "flower and leaves"; § 27, "The sculptures which were set . . .," down to the end of the section; § 29 and § 30 down to "forest branches turned to marble."]

§ 3. It is a ghastly ruin; whatever is venerable or sad in its wreck being disguised by attempts to put it to present uses of the basest kind. It has been composed of arcades borne by marble shafts, and walls of brick faced with marble: but the covering stones have been torn away from it like the shroud from a corpse; and its walls, rent into a thousand chasms, are filled and refilled with fresh brickwork, and the seams and hollows are choked with clay and whitewash, oozing and trickling over the marble,—itself blanched into dusty decay by the frosts of centuries. Soft grass and wandering leafage have rooted themselves in the rents, but they are not suffered to grow in their own wild and gentle way, for the place is in a sort inhabited; rotten partitions are nailed across its corridors, and miserable rooms contrived in its western wing; and here and there the weeds are indolently torn down, leaving their haggard fibres to struggle again into unwholesome growth when the spring next stirs them: and thus, in contest between death and life, the unsightly heap is festering to its fall.

Of its history little is recorded, and that little futile. That it once belonged to the dukes of Ferrara, and was bought from them in the sixteenth century, to be made a general receptacle for the goods of the Turkish merchants, whence it is now generally known as the Fondaco, or Fontico, de' Turchi, are facts just as important to the antiquary, as that, in the year 1852, the municipality of Venice allowed its lower story to be used for a “deposito di Tabacchi.” Neither of this, nor of any other remains of the period, can we know anything but what their own stones will tell us.

§ 4. The reader will find in Appendix 11 [p. 453], written chiefly for the traveller's benefit, an account of the situation and present state of the other seven Byzantine palaces. Here I shall only give a general account of the most interesting points in their architecture.

They all agree in being round-arched and incrustated with marble, but there are only six in which the original disposition of the parts is anywise traceable; namely, those distinguished

in the Appendix as the Fondaco de' Turchi, Casa Loredan, Casa Farsetti, Rio-Foscari House, Terraced House, and Madonnetta House:* and these six agree farther in having continuous arcades along their entire fronts from one angle to the other, and in having their arcades divided, in each case, into a centre and wings; both by greater size in the midmost arches, and by the alternation of shafts in the centre, with pilasters, or with small shafts, at the flanks.

§ 5. So far as their structure can be traced, they agree also in having tall and few arches in their lower stories, and shorter and more numerous arches above: but it happens most unfortunately that in the only two cases in which the second stories are left the ground floors are modernized, and in the others where the sea stories are left the second stories are modernized; so that we never have more than two tiers of the Byzantine arches, one above the other. These, however, are quite enough to show the first main point on which I wish to insist, namely, the subtlety of the feeling for proportion in the Greek architects: and I hope that even the general reader will not allow himself to be frightened by the look of a few measurements, for, if he will only take the little pains necessary to compare them, he will, I am almost certain, find the result not devoid of interest.

§ 6. I had intended originally to give elevations of all these palaces; but have not had time to prepare plates requiring so much labour and care.¹ I must, therefore, explain the position of their parts in the simplest way in my power.

The Fondaco de' Turchi has sixteen arches in its sea story, and twenty-six above them in its first story, the whole based on a magnificent foundation, built of blocks of red marble, some of them seven feet long by a foot and a half thick, and

* Of the Braided House and Casa Businello, described in the Appendix, only the great central arcades remain.

¹ [In the first draft of the chapter, rough sketches of all the elevations occur, with elaborate measurements and detailed descriptions; see, *e.g.*, below, p. 149 *n.*]

raised to a height of about five feet above high-water mark. At this level, the elevation of one half of the building, from its flank to the central pillars of its arcades, is rudely given in Fig. 4, below. It is only drawn to show the arrangement of the parts, as the sculptures which are indicated by the circles and upright oblongs between the arches are too delicate

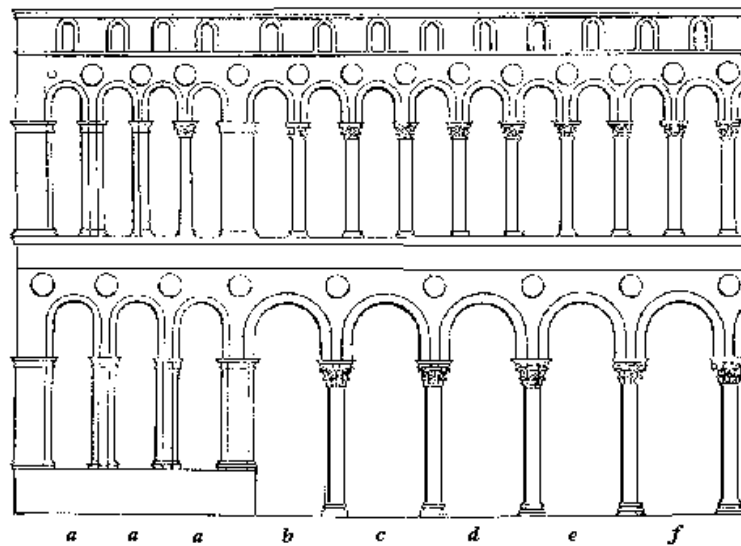


Fig. 4

to be shown in a sketch three times the size of this. The building once was crowned with an Arabian parapet; but it was taken down some years since, and I am aware of no authentic representation of its details.¹ The greater part of the sculptures between the arches, indicated in the woodcut only by blank circles, have also fallen, or been removed, but enough remain on the two flanks to justify the representation given in the diagram of their original arrangement.

And now observe the dimensions. The small arches of the

¹ [The Arabian parapet is added in the now restored building.]

wings in the ground story, *a, a, a*, measure, in breadth, from

| | Ft. | In. |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|
| shaft to shaft | 4 | 5 |
| interval <i>b</i> | 7 | 6½ |
| interval <i>c</i> | 7 | 11 |
| intervals <i>d, e, f</i> , etc | 8 | 1 |

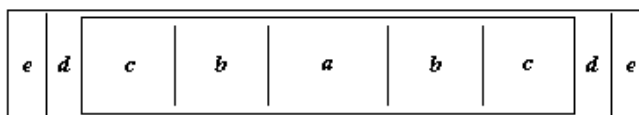
The difference between the width of the arches *b* and *c* is necessitated by the small recess of the cornice on the left hand as compared with that of the great capitals; but this sudden difference of half a foot between the two extreme arches of the centre offended the builder's eye, so he diminished the next one, *unnecessarily*, two inches, and thus obtained the gradual cadence to the flanks, from eight feet down to four and a half in a series of continually increasing steps. Of course the effect cannot be shown in the diagram, as the first difference is less than the thickness of its lines. In the upper story the capitals are all nearly of the same height, and there was no occasion for the difference between the extreme arches. Its twenty-six arches are placed, four small ones above each lateral three of the lower arcade, and eighteen larger above its central ten; thus throwing the shafts into all manner of relative positions, and completely confusing the eye in any effort to count them: but there is an exquisite symmetry running through their apparent confusion; for it will be seen that the four arches in each flank are arranged in two groups, of which one has a large single shaft in the centre, and the other a pilaster and two small shafts. The way in which the large shaft is used as an echo of those in the central arcade, dovetailing them, as it were, into the system of the pilasters,—just as a great painter, passing from one tone of colour to another, repeats, over a small space, that which he has left,—is highly characteristic of the Byzantine care in composition. There are other evidences of it in the arrangement of the capitals, which will be noticed below in the seventh chapter.¹ The lateral arches of this upper arcade

¹ [See below, p. 277.]

V. BYZANTINE PALACES 149

measure 3 ft. 2 in. across, and the central 3 ft. 11 in., so that the arches in the building are altogether of six magnitudes.

§ 7. Next let us take the Casa Loredan.¹ The mode of arrangement of its pillars is precisely like that of the Fondaco de' Turchi, so that I shall merely indicate them by vertical lines in order to be able to letter the intervals. It has five arches in the centre of the lower story, and two in each of its wings.



| | Ft. | In |
|--|-----|----|
| The midmost interval, <i>a</i> , of the central five, is | 6 | 1 |
| The two on each side, <i>b</i> , <i>b</i> | 5 | 2 |
| The two extremes, <i>c</i> , <i>c</i> | 4 | 9 |
| Outer arches of the wings, <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> | 4 | 6 |
| Inner arches of the wings, <i>d</i> , <i>d</i> | 4 | 4 |

The gradation of these dimensions is visible at a glance; the boldest step being here taken nearest the centre, while

¹ [The Casa Loredan, on the Grand Canal, now forms with the adjoining Casa Farsetti the Municipal Offices. It bears on the facade the scutcheon of Peter Lusignan, King of Cyprus, who lodged there in 1363–1366. Ruskin had intended, as above stated, to describe and illustrate all these Byzantine houses in detail, and several sheets dealing with the Casa Loredan are among the MSS. The following are passages from them:—

“One of the loveliest palaces in Venice. Its two upper stories indeed are modernized, but not so discordantly as to destroy the charms of the exquisite arcades beneath. Not that even these are untouched: Renaissance balconies with common balusters have been thrown out from the lateral windows of the first story, and Gothic statues and niches have been introduced among its Byzantine marbles. Still it possesses a grace almost unrivalled. . . .

“The capitals resemble those of St. Mark’s more than any we have hitherto met with, and the reader will notice in the double shaft, the lily pattern with which he is so familiar, and in the first shaft on the right, an ivy leaf wreath such as he saw at Torcello. . . . But all these Loredan capitals are excessively rude in cutting, blunt and imperfect Yet the effect of the capitals from beneath is altogether admirable, and I cannot conceive anything more instructive to an architect than the rich vigour of the touches of shade, and admirable placing of the principal points of the design, though so coarsely executed; and the wreaths of ivy (?) are so peculiar in the little pointed stem which holds, but does not *rib* the leaves, and so gracefully varied in arrangement and even in type on the four capitals on which they occur, that I am inclined to consider the whole series as of true ancient workmanship, contemporary with St. Mark’s, but more cheaply and hastily executed, and retained, with the shafts, in the rebuilding of the palace.

“On these shafts are carried a series of stilted arches . . . on the same

in the Fondaco it is farthest from the centre. The first loss here is of eleven inches, the second of five, the third of five, and then there is a most subtle increase of two inches in the extreme arches, as if to contradict the principle of diminution, and stop the falling away of the building by firm resistance at its flanks.

I could not get the measures of the upper story accurately, the palace having been closed all the time I was in Venice; but it has seven central arches above the five below, and three at the flanks above the two below, the groups being separated by double shafts.

§ 8. Again in the Casa Farsetti,¹ the lower story has a centre of five arches, and wings of two. Referring, therefore, to the last figure, which will answer for this palace also, the measures of the intervals are:

| | Ft. | In. |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>a</i> | 8 | 0 |
| <i>b</i> | 5 | 10 |
| <i>c</i> | 5 | 4 |
| <i>d</i> and <i>e</i> | 5 | 3 |

It is, however, possible that the interval *c* and the wing arches may have been intended to be similar; for one of the wing arches measures 5 ft. 4 in. We have thus a simpler proportion than any we have hitherto met with; only two losses taking place, the first of 2 ft. 2 in., the second of 6 inches.

system as those of the Fondaco de' Turchi. The dentil bands, by their smallness, are probably ancient, and perhaps the stones of the original archivolt may have been kept in the restorations; but the facing of the wall above may be seen at a glance to be comparatively modern. There can be no doubt at least respecting the figure of Venice under the niche; and if the reader will compare the circle on the right with Plate 14 in the first volume [Vol. IX., facing p. 352], he will probably think me justified in ascribing the execution of this part of the building to the same date as that of the front of the Ducal Palace; that is to say, early in the fourteenth century."

Some of the capitals are illustrated in Plate 8 (Figs. 4, 5, 7, see below, p. 159). There is a note of the bands of colour on the palace below, § 29; and see also, Appendix 11 (7), p. 454. Ruskin's drawing of the palace, made in 1845, faces p. 300 in Vol. IV.]

¹ [Adjoining the Casa Loredan: see last note, and below, Appendix 11 (6), p. 454. A sheet of Ruskin's notes of this house, with measurements and sketches, is given as Plate C (facing p. xxviii.) in Vol. IX. See also Fig. 3 in Plate 8, below, p. 159.]

The upper story has a central group of seven arches, whose widths are 4 ft. 1 in.

| | Ft. | In. |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|
| The next arch on each side | 3 | 5 |
| The three arches of each wing | 3 | 6 |

Here again we have a most curious instance of the subtlety of eye which was not satisfied without a third dimension, but *could* be satisfied with a difference of an inch on three feet and a half.

§ 9. In the Terraced House,¹ the ground floor is modernized, but the first story is composed of a centre of five arches with wings of two, measuring as follows:

| | Ft. | In. |
|---|-----|-----|
| Three midmost arches of the central group | 4 | 0 |
| Outermost arch of the central group | 4 | 6 |
| Innermost arch of the wing | 4 | 10 |
| Outermost arch of the wing* | 5 | 0 |

Here the greatest step is towards the centre; but the increase, which is unusual, is towards the outside, the gain being successively six, four, and two inches.

I could not obtain the measures of the second story, in which only the central group is left; but the two outermost arches are visibly larger than the others, thus beginning a correspondent proportion to the one below, of which the lateral quantities have been destroyed by restorations.

§ 10. Finally, in the Rio-Foscari House,² the central arch is the principal feature, and the four lateral ones form one magnificent wing; the dimensions being from the centre to the side:

| | Ft. | In. |
|----------------|-----|-----|
| Central arch | 9 | 9 |
| Second ,, | 3 | 8 |
| Third ,, | 3 | 10 |
| Fourth ,, | 3 | 10 |
| Fifth ,, | 3 | 8 |

* Only one wing of the first story is left. See Appendix 11 [p. 453].

¹ [On the Grand Canal, opposite the Casa Grimani; its local name is the Palazzo Mengaldo. See for some of its pillars, Fig. 2 in Plate 8, below, p. 159.]

² [The position of this ruined house, in the Rio di Ca' Foscari, is described below, Appendix 11 (5), p. 454. It is illustrated in Plates 8, 9, and 10 of the *Examples* (see

The difference of two inches on nearly three feet in the two midmost arches being all that was necessary to satisfy the builder's eye.

§ 11. I need not point out to the reader that these singular and minute harmonies of proportion indicate, beyond all dispute, not only that the buildings in which they are found are of one school, but (so far as these subtle coincidences of measurement can still be traced in them) in their original form. No modern builder has any idea of connecting his arches in this manner, and restorations in Venice are carried on with too violent hands to admit of the supposition that such refinements would be even noticed in the progress of

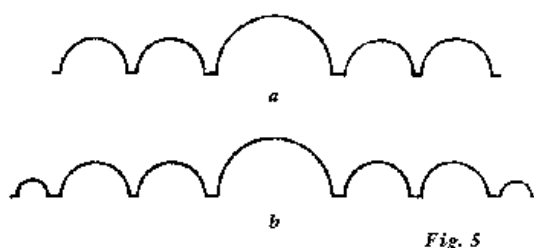


Fig. 5

demolition, much less imitated in heedless reproduction. And as if to direct our attention especially to this character, as indicative of Byzantine workmanship, the most interesting example of all will be found in the arches of the front of St. Mark's itself, whose proportions I have not noticed before, in order that they might here be compared with those of the contemporary palaces.¹

§ 12. The doors actually employed for entrance in the western façade are as usual five, arranged as at *a* in the annexed woodcut, Fig. 5; but the Byzantine builder could

the next volume); in the letterpress to Plate 10 the proportions of the arches are again noted, while in a footnote to the letterpress to Plate 8 some additional matter is given from the MS.]

¹ [Compare in Vol. XII. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 66; also *Seven Lamps*, ch. v. (Vol. VIII. pp. 208–209), for some further notes on the subtle variations in the proportions of St. Mark's. Ruskin had first noted this feature of the building in 1846. "I have been especially struck in saying good-bye to St. Mark's this evening," he writes in his diary (May 27), "with its amazing variety of composition," proceeding to make some rough notes on points which he afterwards elaborated.]

not be satisfied with so simple a group, and he therefore introduced two minor arches at the extremities, as at *b*, by adding two small porticos which are of *no use whatever* except to consummate the proportions of the façade, and themselves to exhibit the most exquisite proportions in arrangements of shaft and archivolt with which I am acquainted in the entire range of European architecture.

Into these minor particulars I cannot here enter; but observe the dimensions of the range of arches in the façade, as thus completed by the flanking porticos:

| | Ft. | In. |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| The space of its central archivolt is | 31 | 8 |
| „ the two on each side, about* | 19 | 8 |
| „ the two succeeding, about | 20 | 4 |
| „ small arches at flanks, about | 6 | 0 |

I need not make any comment upon the subtle difference of eight inches on twenty feet between the second and third dimensions. If the reader will be at the pains to compare the whole evidence now laid before him, with that deduced above from the apse of Murano,¹ he cannot but confess that it amounts to an irrefragable proof of an intense perception of harmony in the relation of quantities, on the part of the Byzantine architects; a perception which we have at present lost so utterly as hardly to be able even to conceive it. And let it not be said, as it was of the late discoveries of subtle curvature in the Parthenon, † that what is not to be

* I am obliged to give these measures approximately, because, this front having been studied by the builder with unusual care, not one of its measures is the same as another; and the symmetries between the correspondent arches are obtained by changes in the depth of their mouldings and variations in their heights, far too complicated for me to enter into here; so that of the two arches stated as 19 ft. 8 in. in span, one is in reality 19 ft. 6½ in., the other 19 ft. 10 in., and of the two stated as 20 ft. 4 in., one is 20 ft. and the other 20 ft. 8 in.

† By Mr. Penrose.²

¹ [See above, p. 48.]

² [Francis Cranmer Penrose (1817–1903), F.R.S., distinguished as architect, astronomer, and mathematician. In his *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, published by the Society of Dilettanti in 1851, he showed for the first time that the main lines of the Parthenon were not straight, but drawn on an elaborate system of slight curves which wonderfully enhanced the architectural effect. For another reference to Penrose's work, see *Fors Clavigera*, letter 75 (Notes and Correspondence, vi.).]

demonstrated without laborious measurement, cannot have influence on the beauty of the design. The eye is continually influenced by what it cannot detect; nay, it is not going too far to say, that it is most influenced by what it detects least. Let the painter define, if he can, the variations of lines on which depend the changes of expression in the human countenance. The greater he is, the more he will feel their subtlety, and the intense difficulty of perceiving all their relations, or answering for the consequences of a variation of a hair's breadth in a single curve. Indeed, there is nothing truly noble either in colour or in form, but its power depends on circumstances infinitely too intricate to be explained, and almost too subtle to be traced. And as for these Byzantine buildings, we only do not feel them because we do not



Fig. 6

watch them; otherwise we should as much enjoy the variety of proportion in their arches, as we do at present that of the natural architecture of flowers and leaves. Any of us can feel in an instant the grace of the leaf group, *b*, in the annexed figure; and yet that grace is simply owing to its being proportioned like the façade of St. Mark's; each leaflet answering to an arch,—the smallest, at the root, to those of the porticos. I have tried to give the proportion quite accurately in *b*; but as the difference between the second and third leaflets is hardly discernible on so small a scale, it is somewhat exaggerated in *a*.* Nature is often far more subtle in her proportions. In looking at some of the nobler species of lilies, full in the front of the flower, we may fancy for a moment that they form a symmetrical six-petaled star; but on examining them more closely, we shall find that they are thrown into a group of three magnitudes by the expansion of two of the inner petals above the stamens to a breadth greater than any of the four others; while the third

* I am sometimes obliged, unfortunately, to read my woodcuts backwards, owing to my having forgotten to reverse them on the wood.

inner petal, on which the stamens rest, contracts itself into the narrowest of the six, and the three under petals remain of one intermediate magnitude, as seen in the annexed figure.

§ 13. I must not, however, weary the reader with this subject, which has always been a favourite one with me,¹ and is apt to lead me too far; we will return to the palaces on the Grand Canal. Admitting, then, that their fragments are proved, by the minute correspondence of their arrangement, to be still in their original positions, they indicate to us a form, whether of palace or dwelling-house, in which there were, universally, central galleries



Fig. 7

or loggias, opening into apartments on each wing, the amount of light admitted being immense; and the general proportions of the building, slender, light, and graceful in the utmost degree, it being in fact little more than an aggregate of shafts and arches. Of the interior disposition of these palaces there is in no one instance the slightest trace left, nor am I well enough acquainted with the existing architecture of the East to risk any conjecture on this subject. I pursue the statement of the facts which are still ascertainable respecting their external forms.

§ 14. In every one of the buildings above mentioned, except the Rio-Foscari House (which has only one great entrance between its wings), the central arcades are sustained, at least in one story, and generally in both, on bold detached cylindrical shafts, with rich capitals, while the arches of the wings are carried on smaller shafts assisted by portions of wall, which become pilasters of greater or less width.

And now I must remind the reader of what was pointed out above (Vol. I. Chap. XXVII. §§ 3, 35, 40),² that there are two great orders of capitals in the world; that one of these is convex in its contour, the other concave; and that richness of ornament, with all freedom of fancy, is for the

¹ [See, for instance, the discussion of the principles of proportion founded on a stem of the water plantain (*Alisma plantago*) in *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 168, 169.]

² [Of *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. IX. pp. 360, 379, 383, in this edition.]

most part found in the one, and severity of ornament, with stern discipline of the fancy, in the other.

Of these two families of capitals, both occur in the Byzantine period, but the concave group is the longest-lived, and extends itself into the Gothic times. In the account which I gave of them in the first volume, they were illustrated by giving two portions of a simple curve, that of a *salvia* leaf.¹ We must now investigate their characters more in detail; and these may be best generally represented by considering both families as formed upon the types of flowers,—the one upon that of the water-lily, the other upon that of the *convolvulus*. There was no intention in the Byzantine architects to imitate either one or other of these flowers; but, as I have already so often repeated, all beautiful works of art must either intentionally imitate or accidentally resemble natural forms;² and the direct comparison with the natural forms which these capitals most resemble, is the likeliest mode of fixing their distinctions in the reader's mind.

The one then, the convex family, is modelled according to the commonest shapes of that great group of flowers which form rounded cups, like that of the water-lily, the leaves springing horizontally from the stalk, and closing together upwards. The rose is of this family, but her cup is filled with the luxuriance of her leaves; the *crocus*, *campanula*, *ranunculus*, *anemone*, and almost all the loveliest children of the field, are formed upon the same type.

The other family resembles the *convolvulus*, trumpetflower, and such others, in which the lower part of the bell is slender, and the lip curves outward at the top. There are fewer flowers constructed on this than on the convex model; but in the organization of trees and of clusters of herbage it is seen continually. Of course, both of these conditions are modified, when applied to capitals, by the enormously greater thickness of the stalk or shaft, but in other respects the parallelism is close and accurate; and the reader had better

¹ [See Vol. IX., Plate vii., p. 268.]

² [See, *e.g.*, Vol. IX., pp. 70, 253, 293, 409.]



J. Ruskin.

Allen & Co. Sc.

Cornice and Capitals of St. Mark's.

From the Collection of Sir John Simon, K.C.B.

at once fix the flower outlines in his mind,* and remember them as representing the only two orders of capitals that the world has ever seen, or can see.

§ 15. The examples of the concave family in the Byzantine times are found principally either in large capitals founded on the Greek Corinthian, used chiefly for the nave pillars of churches, or in the small lateral shafts of the palaces. It appears somewhat singular that the pure Corinthian form should have been reserved almost exclusively for nave pillars, as at Torcello, Murano, and St. Mark's; it occurs, indeed, together with almost every other form, on the exterior of St. Mark's also, but never so definitely as in the nave and transept shafts. Of the conditions assumed by it at Torcello enough has been said; and one of the most delicate of the varieties occurring in St. Mark's is given in Plate 8 (facing p. 159), fig. 15, remarkable for the cutting of the sharp thistle-like leaves into open relief, so that the light sometimes shines through them from behind, and for the beautiful curling of the extremities of the leaves outwards, joining each other at the top, as in an undivided flower.

§ 16. The other characteristic examples of the concave groups in the Byzantine times are as simple as those resulting from the Corinthian are rich. They occur on the *small* shafts at the flanks of the Fondaco de' Turchi, the Casa Farsetti, Casa Loredan, Terraced House, and upper story of the Madonnetta House, in forms so exactly similar that the two figures 1 and 2 in Plate 8 may sufficiently represent them all. They consist merely of portions cut out of the plinths or string-courses which run along all the faces of these palaces, by four truncations in the form of arrowy leaves (fig. 1, Fondaco de' Turchi), and the whole rounded a little at the bottom so as to fit the shaft. When they occur between two arches they assume the form of the group fig. 2 (Terraced House). Fig. 3 is from the central arches of the Casa Farsetti, and is only given because either

* Vide Plate 10 (facing p. 164), figs. 1 and 4.

it is a later restoration or a form absolutely unique in the Byzantine period.

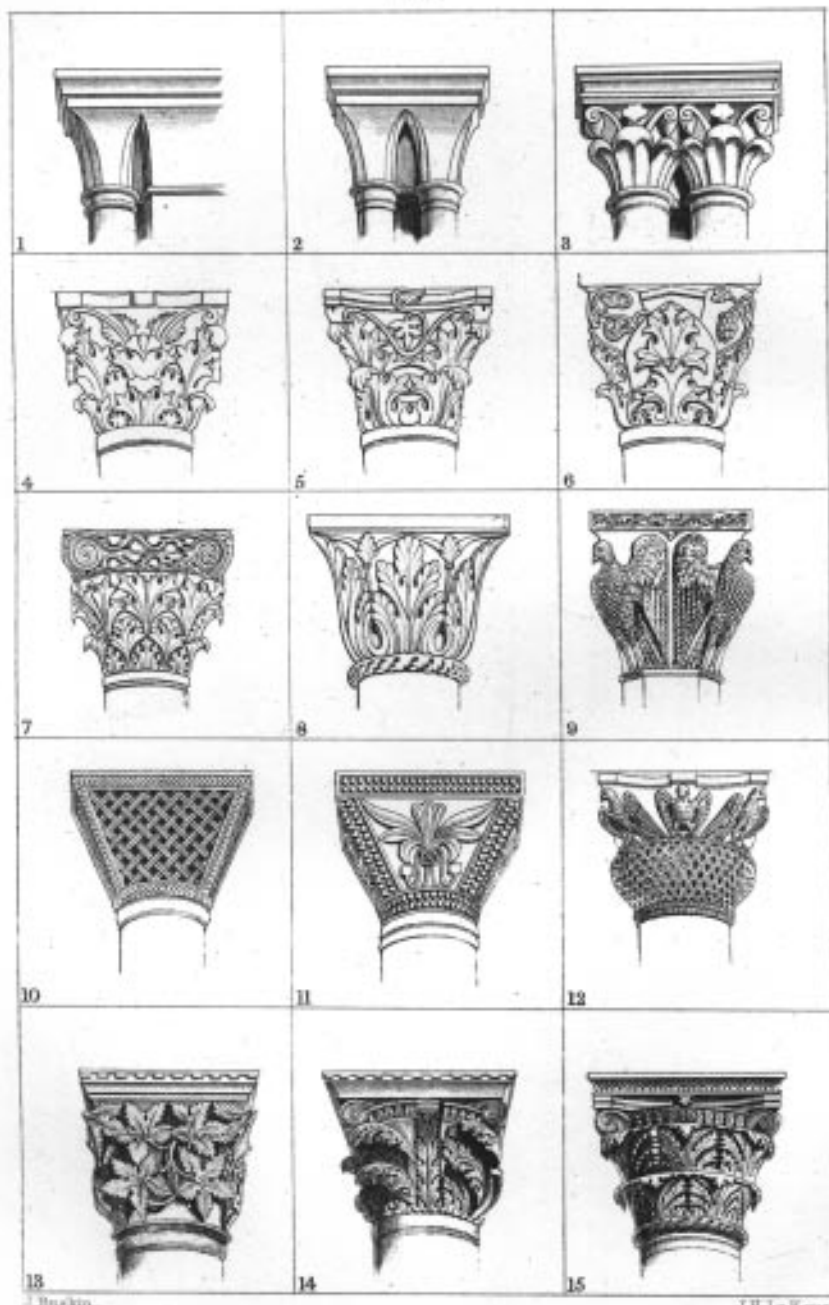
§ 17. The concave group, however, was not naturally pleasing to the Byzantine mind. Its own favourite capital was of the bold convex or cushion shape, so conspicuous in all the buildings of the period, that I have devoted Plate 7, opposite, entirely to its illustration. The form in which it is first used is practically obtained from a square block laid on the head of the shaft (fig. 1, Plate 7), by first cutting off the lower corners, as in fig. 2, and then rounding the edges, as in fig. 3; this gives us the bell stone; on this is laid a simple abacus, as seen in fig. 4, which is the actual form used in the upper arcade of Murano, and the framework of the capital is complete. Fig. 5 shows the general manner and effect of its decoration on the same scale; the other figures, 6 and 7 both from the apse of Murano,¹ 8 from the Terraced House, and 9 from the Baptistery of St. Mark's, show the method of chiselling the surfaces in capitals of average richness, such as occur everywhere, for there is no limit to the fantasy and beauty of the more elaborate examples.

§ 18. In consequence of the peculiar affection entertained for these massy forms by the Byzantines, they were apt, when they used any condition of capital founded on the Corinthian, to modify the concave profile by making it bulge out at the bottom. Fig. 1 *a*, Plate 10,² is the profile of a capital of the pure concave family; and observe, it needs a fillet or cord round the neck of the capital to show where it separates from the shaft. Fig. 4 *a*, on the other hand, is the profile of the pure convex group, which not only needs no such projecting fillet, but would be encumbered by it; while fig. 2 *a* is the profile of one of the Byzantine capitals (Fondaco

¹ [They are two sides of the same capital; see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., Appendix 10 ("Capitals"), where some further particulars are given with regard to the capitals on Plate 7.]

² [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., Appendix 10 ("capitals"), for further particulars with regard to Plate 10. The Plate, No. 12 in that volume, giving capitals from the Fondaco de' Turchi, was intended to illustrate this chapter.]





J. Bucklin.

J. H. Le Roux,
Allen & Co. So.

Byzantine Capitals. Concave Group.

de' Turchi, lower arcade) founded on Corinthian, of which the main sweep is concave, but which bends below into the convex bell-shape, where it joints the shaft. And, lastly, fig. 3 *a* is the profile of the nave shafts of St. Mark's, where, though very delicately granted, the concession to the Byzantine temper is twofold; first at the spring of the curve from the base, and secondly at the top, where it again becomes convex, though the expression of the Corinthian bell is still given to it by the bold concave leaves.

§ 19. These, then, being the general modifications of Byzantine profiles, I have thrown together in Plate 8, opposite, some of the most characteristic examples of the decoration of the concave and transitional types; their localities are given in the note below,* and the following are the principal points to be observed respecting them.

The purest concave forms, 1 and 2, were never decorated in the earliest times, except sometimes by an incision or rib down the centre of their truncations on the angles.

Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7 show some of the modes of application of a peculiarly broad-lobed acanthus leaf, very characteristic of native Venetian work; 4 and 5 are from the same building, two out of a group of four, and show the boldness of the variety admitted in the management even of the capitals most closely derived from the Corinthian. I never saw one of these Venetian capitals in all respects like another. The trefoils into which the leaves fall at the extremities are, however, for the most part similar, though variously disposed, and generally niche themselves one under the other, as very characteristically in fig. 7. The form 8

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|------------------------------|
| * Fondaco de' Turchi, lateral | 8. | St. Mark's. |
| 1. pillars. | | |
| 2. Terraced House, lateral pillars. | 9. | St. Mark's. |
| 3. Casa Farsetti, central pillars, | 10 | Braided House, upper arcade. |
| upper arcade. | | |
| 4. Casa Loredan, lower arcade. | 11 | Casa Loredan, upper arcade. |
| | | |
| 5. Casa Loredan, lower arcade. | 12 | St. Mark's. |
| | | |
| 6. Fondaco de' Turchi, upper | 13 | St. Mark's. |
| arcade. | | |
| 7. Casa Loredan, upper arcade. | 14 | Fondaco de' Turchi, upper |
| | | arcade. |
| | 15 | St. Mark's. |
| | | |

occurs in St. Mark's only, and there very frequently: 9 at Venice occurs, I think, in St. Mark's only; but it is a favourite early Lombardic form. 10, 11, and 12 are all highly characteristic. 10 occurs with more fantastic interweaving upon its sides in the upper stories of St. Mark's; 11 is derived, in the Casa Loredan, from the great lily capitals of St. Mark's, of which more presently. 13 and 15 are peculiar to St. Mark's. 14 is a lovely condition, occurring both there and in the Fondaco de' Turchi.

The modes in which the separate portions of the leaves are executed in these and other Byzantine capitals, will be noticed more at length hereafter. Here I only wish the reader to observe two things, both with respect to these and the capitals of the convex family on the former Plate: first, the Life, secondly, the Breadth, of these capitals, as compared with Greek forms.

§ 20. I say, first, the Life. Not only is every one of these capitals differently fancied, but there are many of them which *have no two sides alike*. Fig. 5, for instance, varies on every side in the arrangement of the pendent leaf in its centre; fig. 6 has a different plant on each of its four upper angles. The birds are each cut with a different play of plumage in figs. 9 and 12, and the vine-leaves are every one varied in their position in fig. 13. But this is not all. The differences in the character of ornamentation between them and the Greek capitals, all show a greater love of nature; the leaves are, every one of them, more founded on realities, sketched, however rudely, more directly from the truth; and are continually treated in a manner which shows the mind of the workman to have been among the living herbage, not among Greek precedents. The hard outlines in which, for the sake of perfect intelligibility, I have left this Plate, have deprived the examples of the vitality of their light and shade; but the reader can nevertheless observe the *ideas* of life occurring perpetually: at the top of fig. 4, for instance, the small leaves turned sideways; in fig. 5, the formal volutes of the old Corinthian transformed into a branching tendril; in fig. 6,

the bunch of grapes thrown carelessly in at the right-hand corner, in defiance of all symmetry; in fig. 7, the volutes knitted into wreaths of ivy; in fig. 14, the leaves, drifted, as it were, by a whirlwind round the capital by which they rise; while figs. 13 and 15 are as completely living leaves as any of the Gothic time. These designs may or may not be graceful; what grace or beauty they have is not to be rendered in mere outline,—but they are indisputably more *natural* than any Greek ones, and therefore healthier, and tending to greatness.

§ 21. In the second place, note, in all these examples, the excessive breadth of the masses, however afterwards they may be filled with detail. Whether we examine the contour of the simpler convex bells, or those of the leaves which bend outwards from the richer and more Corinthian types, we find they are all outlined by grand and simple curves, and that the whole of their minute fretwork and thistle-work is cast into a gigantic mould which subdues all their multitudinous points and foldings to its own inevitable dominion. And the fact is, that in the sweeping lines and broad surfaces of these Byzantine sculptures we obtain, so far as I know, for the first time in the history of art, the germ of that unity of perfect ease in every separate part, with perfect subjection to an enclosing form or directing impulse, which was brought to its most intense expression in the compositions of the two men in whom the art of Italy consummated itself and expired—Tintoret and Michael Angelo.

I would not attach too much importance to the mere habit of working on the rounded surface of the stone, which is often as much the result of haste or rudeness as of the desire for breadth, though the result obtained is not the less beautiful. But in the capital from the Fondaco de' Turchi, fig. 6, it will be seen that while the sculptor had taken the utmost care to make his leaves free, graceful, and sharp in effect, he was dissatisfied with their separation, and could not rest until he had enclosed them with an unbroken line,

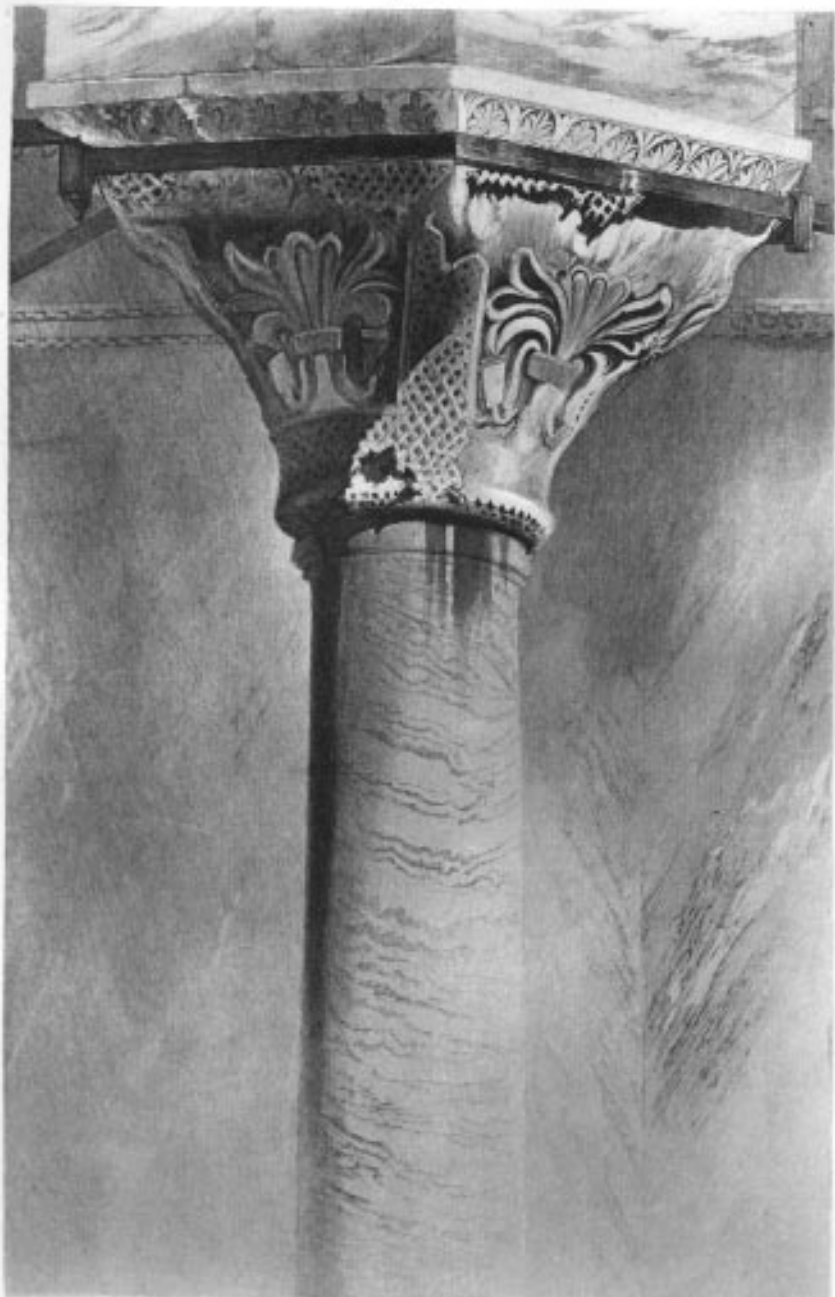
like that of a pointed arch; and the same thing is done in many different ways in other capitals of the same building, and in many of St. Mark's: but one such instance would have been enough to prove, if the loveliness of the profiles themselves did not do so, that the sculptor understood and loved the great laws of generalization; and that the feeling which bound his prickly leaves, as they waved or drifted around the ridges of his capital, into those broad masses of unbroken flow, was indeed one with that which made Michael Angelo encompass the principal figure in his Creation of Adam with the broad curve of its cloudy drapery.¹ It may seem strange to assert any connexion between so great a conception and these rudely hewn fragments of ruined marble; but all the highest principles of art are as universal as they are majestic, and there is nothing too small to receive their influence. They rule at once the waves of the mountain outline, and the sinuosities of the minutest lichen that stains its shattered stones.

§ 22. We have not yet spoken of the three braided and chequered capitals, numbered 10, 11, and 12. They are representations of a group, with which many most interesting associations are connected. It was noticed in the last chapter,² that the method of covering the exterior of buildings with thin pieces of marble was likely to lead to a system of lighting the interior by minute perforation. In order to obtain both light and air, without admitting any unbroken body of sunshine, in warm countries, it became a constant habit of the Arabian architects to pierce minute and starlike openings in slabs of stone; and to employ the stones so pierced where the Gothic architects employ traceries. Internally, the form of stars assumed by the light as it entered* was, in itself, an exquisite decoration; but, externally, it was felt necessary to add some slight ornament upon the surface

* Compare *Seven Lamps*, chap. ii. § 22 [Vol. VIII. p. 89].

¹ [In the Sistine Chapel. For another reference see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 281).]

² [See § 41, p. 108.]



J. Buskin.

J. H. La Mota.
Allen & Co. S.

Lily Capital of S' Mark's.

of the perforated stone; and it was soon found that, as the small perforations had a tendency to look scattered and spotty, the most effective treatment of the intermediate surfaces would be one which bound them together, and gave unity and repose to the pierced and disturbed stone: universally, therefore, those intermediate spaces were carved into the semblance of interwoven fillets, which alternately sank beneath and rose above each other as they met. This system of braided or woven ornament was not confined to the Arabs; it is universally pleasing to the instinct of mankind. I believe that nearly all early ornamentation is full of it—more especially, perhaps, Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon; and illuminated manuscripts depend upon it for their loveliest effects of intricate colour, up to the close of the thirteenth century. There are several very interesting metaphysical reasons for this strange and unfailing delight, felt in a thing so simple. It is not often that any idea of utility has power to enhance the true impressions of beauty; but it is possible that the enormous importance of the art of weaving to mankind may give some interest, if not actual attractiveness, to any type or image of the invention to which we owe, at once, our comfort and our pride. But the more profound reason lies in the innate love of mystery and unity; in the joy that the human mind has in contemplating any kind of maze or entanglement, so long as it can discern, through its confusion, any guiding clue or connecting plan: a pleasure increased and solemnized by some dim feeling of the setting forth, by such symbols, of the intricacy, and alternate rise and fall, subjection and supremacy, of human fortune; the

”Weave the warp, and weave the woof,”¹

of Fate and Time.

§ 23. But be this as it may, the fact is that we are never tired of contemplating this woven involution; and that, in some degree, the sublime pleasure which we have in watching the branches of trees, the intertwining of the grass, and the

¹ [Gray: *The Bard*, ii. 1.]

tracery of the higher clouds, is owing to it, not less than that which we receive from the fine meshes of the robe, the braiding of the hair, and the various glittering of the linked net or wreathed chain. Byzantine ornamentation, like that of almost all nations in a state of progress, is full of this kind of work: but it occurs most conspicuously, though most simply, in the minute traceries which surround their most solid capitals; sometimes merely in a reticulated veil, as in the tenth figure in the Plate, sometimes resembling a basket, on the edges of which are perched birds and other animals.¹ The diamonded ornament in the eleventh figure is substituted for it in the Casa Loredan, and marks a somewhat later time and a tendency to the ordinary Gothic chequer; but the capitals which show it most definitely are those already so often spoken of as the lily capitals of St. Mark's,² of which the northern one is carefully drawn in Plate 9, facing p. 163.

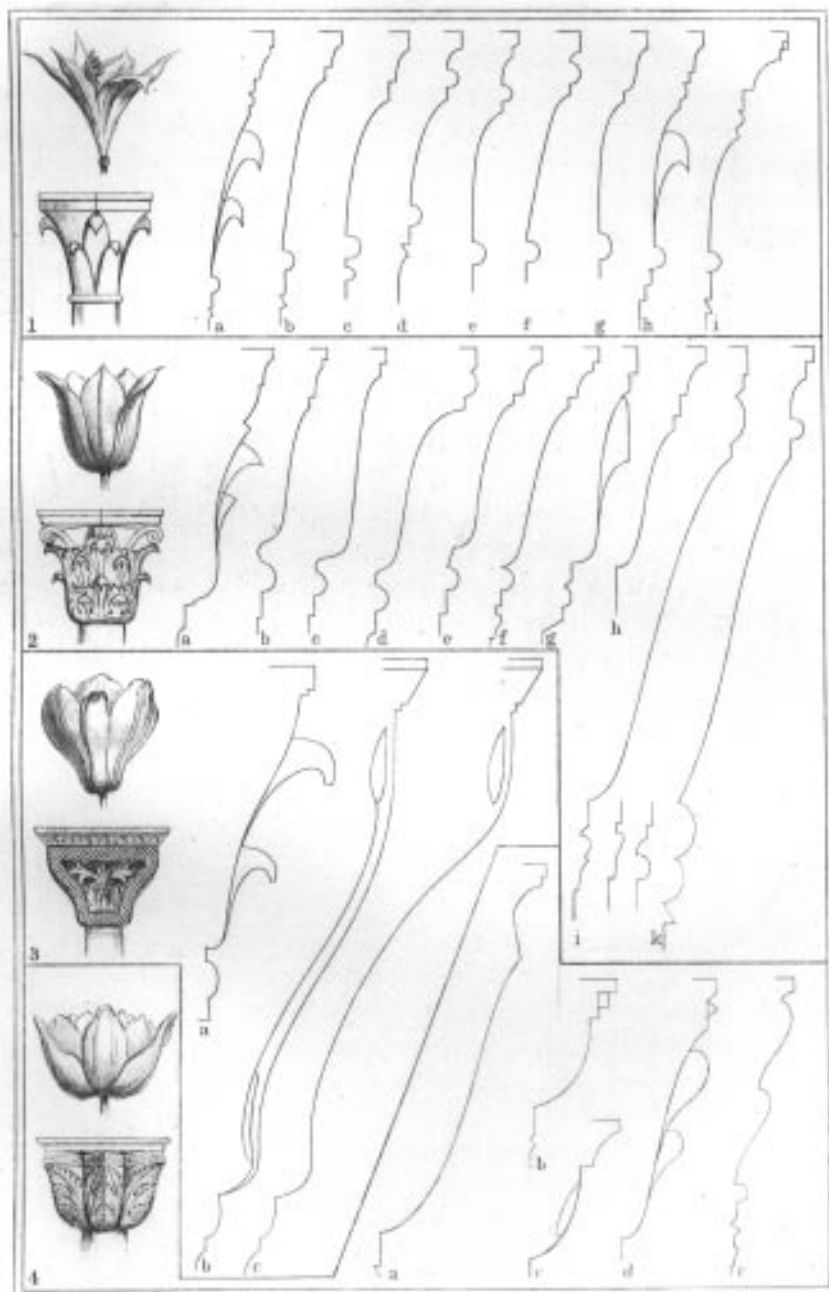
§ 24. These capitals, called barbarous by our architects, are without exception the most subtle pieces of composition in broad contour which I have ever met with in architecture. Their profile is given in the opposite Plate 10,³ fig. 3 *b*; the inner line in the figure being that of the stone behind the lily, the outer, that of the external network, taken through the side of the capital; while fig. 3 *c* is the outer profile at its angle: and the reader will easily understand that the passing of the one of these lines into the other is productive of the most exquisite and wonderful series of curvatures possible within such compass, no two views of the capital giving the same contour. Upon these profoundly studied outlines, as remarkable for their grace and complexity as the general mass of the capital is for solid strength and proportion to its necessary service, the braided work is wrought with more than usual care; perhaps, as suggested by the Marchese Selvatico,⁴

¹ [See *Proserpina*, i. ch. v., for some further remarks on the basket-work capitals.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 386, and above, § 19, p. 160.]

³ [For further particulars with regard to this Plate, see in the next volume, Appendix 10 (iii.). Fig. 4, from the Fondaco de' Turchi, is shown larger in Plate 12 (at the bottom) in the next volume.]

⁴ [See Vol. IX. p. 386, where the passage is more fully referred to.]



with some idea of imitating those “nets of chequer-work and wreaths of chain-work” on the chapiters of Solomon’s temple, which are, I suppose, the first instances on record of an ornamentation of this kind thus applied. The braided work encloses on each of the four sides of the capital a flower whose form, derived from that of the lily, though as usual modified, in every instance of its occurrence, in some minor particulars, is generally seen as represented in fig. 11, Plate 8. It is never without the two square or oblong objects at the extremity of the tendrils issuing from its root, set like vessels to catch the dew from the points of its leaves; but I do not understand their meaning. The abacus of the capital has already been given at *a*, Plate 16, Vol. I.; but no amount of illustration or eulogium would be enough to make the reader understand the perfect beauty of the thing itself, as the sun steals from interstice to interstice of its marble veil, and touches with the white lustre of its rays at midday the pointed leaves of its thirsty lilies.

In all the capitals hitherto spoken of, the form of the head of the bell has been square, and its varieties of outline have been obtained in the transition from the square of the abacus to the circular outline of the shafts. A far more complex series of forms results from the division of the bell by recesses into separate lobes or leaves, like those of a rose or tulip, which are each in their turn covered with flowerwork or hollowed into reticulation. The example (fig. 10, Plate 7) from St. Mark’s will give some idea of the simplest of these conditions: perhaps the most exquisite in Venice, on the whole, is the central capital of the upper arcade of the Fondaco de’ Turchi.

Such are the principal generic conditions of the Byzantine capital; but the reader must always remember that the examples given are single instances, and those not the most beautiful but the most intelligible, chosen out of thousands: the designs of the capitals of St. Mark’s alone would form a volume.

§ 25. Of the archivolts which these capitals generally

sustain, details are given in the Appendix¹ and in the notice of Venetian doors in Chapter VII.² In the private palaces, the ranges of archivolt are for the most part very simple, with dentilled mouldings; and all the ornamental effect is entrusted to pieces of sculpture set in the wall above or between the arches, in the manner shown in Plate 15 below, Chapter VII. These pieces of sculpture are either crosses, upright oblongs, or circles: of all the three forms an example is given in Plate 11 opposite. The cross was apparently an invariable ornament, placed either in the centre of the archivolt of the doorway, or in the centre of the first story above the windows; on each side of it the circular and oblong ornaments were used in various alternation. In too many instances the wall marbles have been torn away from the earliest Byzantine palaces, so that the crosses are left on their archivolts only. The best examples of the cross set above the windows are found in houses of the transitional period: one in the Campo St^a M. Formosa; another, in which a cross is placed between every window, is still well preserved in the Campo St^a Maria Mater Domini;³ another, on the Grand Canal, in the parish of the Apostoli, has two crosses, one on each side of the first story, and a bas-relief of Christ enthroned in the centre; and finally, that from which the larger cross in the Plate was taken is the house once belonging to Marco Polo, at San Giovanni Grisostomo.⁴

§ 26. This cross, though graceful and rich, and given because it happens to be one of the best preserved, is uncharacteristic in one respect; for, instead of the central rose at the meeting of the arms, we usually find a hand raised in the attitude of blessing, between the sun and moon, as in the two smaller crosses seen in the Plate. In nearly all representations of the Crucifixion, over the whole of Europe, at the period in question, the sun and moon are introduced, one on each side of the cross,—the sun generally, in paintings, as a red star; but I

¹ [That is, Appendix 10 (iv.) in the next volume.]

² [See §§ 25–30, pp. 291–295.]

³ [See further, *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. (Venetian Index, s. “Mater Domini”).]

⁴ [*Ibid.* (Venetian Index, s. “Polo, Palazzo”).]



do not think with any purpose of indicating the darkness at the time of the agony; especially because, had this been the intention, the moon ought not to have been visible, since it could not have been in the heavens during the day at the time of the passover. I believe rather that the two luminaries are set there in order to express the entire dependence of the heavens and the earth upon the work of the Redemption: and this view is confirmed by our frequently finding the sun and moon set in the same manner beside the figure of Christ, as in the centre of the great archivolt of St. Mark's, or beside the hand signifying benediction, without any cross, in some other early archivolt;* while, again, not unfrequently they are absent from the symbol of the cross itself, and its saving power over the whole of creation is indicated only by fresh leaves springing from its foot, or doves feeding beside it; and so also, in illuminated Bibles, we find the series of pictures representing the Creation terminate in the Crucifixion, as the work by which all the families of created beings subsist, no less than that in sympathy with which "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now."¹

§ 27. This habit of placing the symbol of the Christian faith in the centres of their palaces was, as I above said, universal in early Venice; it does not cease till about the middle of the fourteenth century. The other sculptures, which were set above or between the arches, consist almost invariably of groups of birds or beasts; either standing opposite to each other with a small pillar or spray of leafage between them, or else tearing and devouring each other. The multitude of these sculptures, especially of the small ones enclosed in circles, as figs. 5 and 6, Plate 11, which are now scattered through the city of Venice, is enormous, but they are seldom to be seen in their original positions. When the Byzantine palaces were destroyed, these fragments were generally preserved, and

* Two of these are represented in the second number of my folio work upon Venice [*Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, Plates 8 and 11.]

¹ [Romans viii. 22.]

inserted again in the walls of the new buildings, with more or less attempt at symmetry; fragments of friezes and mouldings being often used in the same manner; so that the mode of their original employment can only be seen in St. Mark's, the Fondaco de' Turchi, Braided House, and one or two others. The most remarkable point about them is, that the groups of beasts or birds on each side of the small pillars bear the closest possible resemblance to the group of Lions over the gate of Mycenæ; and the whole of the ornamentation of that gate, as far as I can judge of it from drawings,¹ is so like Byzantine sculpture, that I cannot help sometimes suspecting the original conjecture of the French antiquarians, that it was a work of the Middle Ages, to be not altogether indefensible. By far the best among the sculptures at Venice are those consisting of groups thus arranged; the first figure in Plate 11 is one of those used on St. Mark's,² and, with its chain of wreathen work round it, is very characteristic of the finest kind, except that the intermediate trunk or pillar often branches into luxuriant leafage, usually of the vine, so that the whole ornament seems almost composed from the words of Ezekiel [xvii. 3–6]—"A great eagle with great wings, long-winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar: He cropped off the top of his young twigs; and *carried it into a city of traffic; he set it in a city of merchants.* He took also of the seed of the land, . . . and it grew, and became a spreading vine of low stature, *whose branches turned towards him, and the roots thereof were under him.*"

§ 28. The groups of contending and devouring animals are always much ruder in cutting, and take somewhat the place in Byzantine sculpture which the lower grotesques do in the Gothic; true, though clumsy, grotesques being sometimes mingled among them, as four bodies joined to one head

¹ [As, for instance, in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens and Other Places in Greece*, 1830.]

² [Its position may be seen in Plate D: see p. 116, above. The design was used on the cover of the early issues of *The Stones of Venice*: see the facsimile opposite p. liv. in Vol. IX.]

in the centre;* but never showing any attempt at variety of invention, except only in the effective disposition of the light and shade, and in the vigour and thoughtfulness of the touches which indicate the plumes of the birds, or foldings of the leaves. Care, however, is always taken to secure variety enough to keep the eye entertained, no two sides of these Byzantine ornaments being in all respects the same: for instance, in the chain-work round the first figure in Plate 11 there are two circles enclosing squares on the left-hand side of the arch at the top, but two smaller circles and a diamond on the other, enclosing one square, and two small circular spots or bosses; and in the line of chain at the bottom there is a circle on the right, and a diamond on the left, and so down to the working of the smallest details. I have represented this upper sculpture as dark, in order to give some idea of the general effect of these ornaments when seen in shadow against light; an effect much calculated upon by their designer, and obtained by the use of a golden ground, formed of glass mosaic inserted in the hollow of the marble. Each square of glass has the leaf gold upon its surface protected by another thin film of glass above it, so that no time or weather can affect its lustre, until the pieces of glass are bodily torn from their setting. The smooth glazed surface of the golden ground is washed by every shower of rain, but the marble usually darkens into an amber colour in process of time; and when the whole ornament is cast into shadow, the golden surface, being perfectly reflective, refuses the darkness, and shows itself in bright and burnished light behind the dark traceries of the ornament. Where the marble has retained its perfect whiteness, on the other hand, and is seen in sunshine, it is shown as a snowy tracery on a golden ground; and the alternations and intermingling of these two effects form one of the chief enchantments of Byzantine ornamentation.

§ 29. How far the system of grounding with gold and

* The absence of the true grotesque spirit in Byzantine work will be examined in the third chapter of the third volume [§ 72].

colour, universal in St. Mark's, was carried out in the sculptures of the private palaces, it is now impossible to say. The wrecks of them which remain, as above noticed, show few of their ornamental sculptures in their original position; and from those marbles which were employed in succeeding buildings, during the Gothic period, the fragments of their mosaic grounds would naturally rather have been removed than restored. Mosaic, while the most secure of all decorations if carefully watched and refastened when it loosens, may, if neglected and exposed to weather, in process of time disappear so as to leave no vestige of its existence. However this may have been, the assured facts are that both the shafts of the pillars and the facing of the whole building were of veined or variously coloured marble: the capitals and sculptures were either, as they now appear, of pure white marble, relieved upon the veined ground; or, which is infinitely the more probable, grounded in the richer palaces with mosaic of gold, in the inferior ones with blue colour, and only the leaves and edges of the sculpture gilded. These brighter hues were opposed by bands of deeper colour, generally alternate russet and green in the archivolt,—bands which still remain in the Casa Loredan and Fondaco de' Turchi, and in a house in the Corte del Remer near the Rialto, as well as in St. Mark's; and by circular disks of green serpentine and porphyry, which, together with the circular sculptures, appear to have been an ornament peculiarly grateful to the Eastern mind, derived probably in the first instance from the suspension of shields upon the wall, as in the majesty of ancient Tyre. "The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers; they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect."* The sweet and solemn harmony of purple with various green (the same, by-the-bye, to which the hills of Scotland owe their best loveliness) remained a favourite chord

* Ezek. xxvii. 11.

of colour with the Venetians, and was constantly used even in the later palaces; but never could have been seen in so great perfection as when opposed to the pale and delicate sculpture of the Byzantine time.

§ 30. Such, then, was that first and fairest Venice which rose out of the barrenness of the lagoon, and the sorrow of her people; a city of graceful arcades and gleaming walls, veined with azure and warm with gold, and fretted with white sculpture like frost upon forest branches turned to marble. And yet, in this beauty of her youth, she was no city of thoughtless pleasure. There was still a sadness of heart upon her, and a depth of devotion, in which lay all her strength. I do not insist upon the probable religious signification of many of the sculptures which are now difficult of interpretation; but the temper which made the cross the principal ornament of every building is not to be misunderstood, nor can we fail to perceive, in many of the minor sculptural subjects, meanings perfectly familiar to the mind of early Christianity. The peacock, used in preference to every other bird, is the well-known symbol of the resurrection;¹ and, when drinking from a fountain (Plate 11, fig. 1) or from a font (Plate 11, fig. 5) is, I doubt not, also, a type of the new life received in faithful baptism. The vine, used in preference to all other trees, was equally recognized as, in all cases, a type either of Christ Himself,* or of those who were in a state of visible or professed union with Him. The dove, at its foot, represents the coming of the Comforter; and even the groups of contending animals had, probably, a

* Perhaps this type is in no place of Scripture more touchingly used than in Lamentations i. 12, where the word "afflicted" is rendered in the Vulgate "vindemiavit," "vintaged."

¹ [The peacock was regarded as an emblem of the resurrection from the yearly changing and renewal of its brilliant feathers, and from an old belief in the incorruptibility of its flesh. It appears on the coins of Faustina [A.D. 138] as a symbol of the glorified soul, encircled with a nimbus. It was a favourite form in Byzantine art, and was often employed in later times; thus in an inventory of the property of West-minster Abbey made in 1388 there is mention of vestments worked with peacocks: see F. E. Hulme's *Symbolism in Christian Art*, 1891, p. 191.]

distinct and universally apprehended reference to the powers of evil. But I lay no stress on these more occult meanings. The principal circumstance which marks the seriousness of the early Venetian mind is perhaps the last in which the reader would suppose it was traceable;—that love of bright and pure colour which, in a modified form, was afterwards the root of all the triumph of the Venetian schools of painting, but which, in its utmost simplicity, was characteristic of the Byzantine period only; and of which, therefore, in the close of our review of that period, it will be well that we should truly estimate the significance. The fact is, we none of us enough appreciate the nobleness and sacredness of colour.¹ Nothing is more common than to hear it spoken of as a subordinate beauty,—nay, even as the mere source of a sensual pleasure; and we might almost believe that we were daily among men who

“Could strip, for aught the prospect yields
To them, their verdure from the fields;
And take the radiance from the clouds
With which the sun his setting shrouds.”²

But it is not so. Such expressions are used for the most part in thoughtlessness; and if the speakers would only take the pains to imagine what the world and their own existence would become, if the blue were taken from the sky, and the gold from the sunshine, and the verdure from the leaves, and the crimson from the blood which is the life of man, the flush from the cheek, the darkness from the eye, the radiance from the hair,—if they could but see, for an instant, white human creatures living in a white

¹ [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xiv. § 42, where the love of colour in Dante is discussed as typical of the mediæval mind; vol. iv. ch. iii. § 23, where it is observed that colour is employed in God’s creation “for all that is purest, most innocent and most precious;” and *Laws of Fésole*, ch. vii., where enjoyment of natural colours is taken as a test of “the rightness of your sense.” See also ch. iv. § 43, p. 109, above, and Appendix 12, p. 457 *n.*, below; and for a “collected system of the various statements made respecting colour in my works,” vol. v. pt. ix. ch. xi. § 8.]

² [Wordsworth: “To the Lady Fleming on seeing the foundation preparing for the erection of Rydal Chapel, Westmoreland,” vi. In the second line, “them” is “him” in the original, and in the fourth, “With” is “In.”]

world,—they would soon feel what they owe to colour. The fact is, that, of all God's gifts to the sight of man, colour is the holiest, the most divine, the most solemn. We speak rashly of gay colour and sad colour, for colour cannot at once be good and gay. All good colour is in some degree pensive, the loveliest is melancholy, and the purest and most thoughtful minds are those which love colour the most.

§ 31. I know that this will sound strange in many ears, and will be especially startling to those who have considered the subject chiefly with reference to painting: for the great Venetian schools of colour are not usually understood to be either pure or pensive, and the idea of its pre-eminence is associated in nearly every mind with the coarseness of Rubens, and the sensualities of Correggio and Titian. But a more comprehensive view of art will soon correct this impression. It will be discovered, in the first place, that the more faithful and earnest the religion of the painter, the more pure and prevalent is the system of his colour. It will be found, in the second place, that where colour becomes a primal intention with a painter otherwise mean or sensual, it instantly elevates him, and becomes the one sacred and saving element in his work.¹ The very depth of the stoop to which the Venetian painters and Rubens sometimes condescend, is a consequence of their feeling confidence in the power of their colour to keep them from falling. They hold on by it, as by a chain let down from heaven, with one hand, though they may sometimes seem to gather dust and ashes with the other. And, in the last place, it will be found that so surely as a painter is irreligious, thoughtless, or obscene in disposition, so surely is his colouring cold, gloomy, and valueless. The opposite poles of art in this respect are Frà Angelico and Salvator Rosa; of whom the one was a man who smiled seldom, wept often, prayed constantly, and never harboured an impure thought. His pictures are simply so many pieces of jewellery, the

¹ [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 197).]

colours of the draperies being perfectly pure, as various as those of a painted window, chastened only by paleness, and relieved upon a gold ground. Salvator was a dissipated jester and satirist, a man who spent his life in masquing and revelry.¹ But his pictures are full of horror, and their colour is for the most part gloomy grey. Truly it would seem as if art had so much of eternity in it, that it must take its dye from the close rather than the course of life:—"In such laughter the heart of man is sorrowful, and the end of that mirth is heaviness."²

§ 32. These are no singular instances. I know no law more severely without exception than this of the connexion of pure colour with profound and noble thought. The late Flemish pictures, shallow in conception and obscene in subject, are always sober in colour. But the early religious painting of the Flemings is as brilliant in hue as it is holy in thought. The Bellinis, Francias, Peruginos painted in crimson, and blue, and gold. The Caraccis, Guidos, and Rembrandts in brown and grey. The builders of our great cathedrals veiled their casements and wrapped their pillars with one robe of purple splendour. The builders of the luxurious Renaissance left their palaces filled only with cold white light, and in the paleness of their native stones.*

§ 33. Nor does it seem difficult to discern a noble reason for this universal law. In that heavenly circle which binds the statutes of colour upon the front of the sky, when it became the sign of the covenant of peace, the pure hues of divided light were sanctified to the human heart for ever;³ nor this, it would seem, by mere arbitrary appointment, but in consequence of the fore-ordained and marvellous constitution of those hues into a sevenfold, or, more strictly still, a threefold order, typical of the Divine nature itself. Observe also, the name Shem, or Splendour, given

* Appendix 12: "Modern Painting on Glass" [p. 455].

¹ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. iv. ("Dürer and Salvator").]

² [Proverbs xiv. 13.]

³ [Here, again, compare *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. xi.]

to that son of Noah in whom this covenant with mankind was to be fulfilled, and see how that name was justified by every one of the Asiatic races which descended from him. Not without meaning was the love of Israel to his chosen son expressed by the coat "of many colours;"¹ not without deep sense of the sacredness of that symbol of purity did the lost daughter of David tear it from her breast:—"With such robes were the king's daughters that were virgins appalled."* We know it to have been by Divine command that the Israelite, rescued from servitude, veiled the tabernacle with its rain of purple and scarlet,² while the under sunshine flashed through the fall of the colour from its tenons of gold: but was it less by Divine guidance that the Mede, as he struggled out of anarchy, encompassed his king with the sevenfold burning of the battlements of Ecbatana?³—of which one circle was golden like the sun, and another silver like the moon; and then came the great secret chord of colour, blue, purple, and scarlet; and then a circle white like the day, and another dark, like night; so that the city rose like a great mural rainbow, a sign of peace amidst the contending of lawless races, and guarded, with colour and shadow, that seemed to symbolize the great order which rules over Day, and Night, and Time, the first organization of the mighty statutes—the law of the Medes and Persians, that altereth not.⁴

* 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

¹ [Genesis xxxvii. 3, 32.]

² [Exodus xxvi.]

³ ["And as the Medes obeyed him in this also, he (Deïokes, their King) built large and strong walls, those which are now called Ecbatana, standing in circles one within the other. And this wall is so contrived that one circle is higher than the next by the height of the battlement alone. And to some extent, I suppose, the nature of the ground, seeing that it is on a hill, assists towards this end; but much more was it produced by art, since the circles are in all seven in number . . . and of the first circle the battlements are white, of the second black, of the third crimson, of the fourth blue, of the fifth red: thus are the battlements of all the circles coloured with various tints, and the two last have their battlements, one of them overlaid with silver and the other with gold" (Herodotus, i. 98). Discoveries made in recent years on Eastern sites tend to bear out this gorgeous description of Herodotus; see W. K. Loftus' *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 185. For another reference to the battlements of Ecbatana, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. iii. § 24.]

⁴ [Daniel vi. 8, 12.]

§ 34. Let us not dream that it is owing to the accidents of tradition or education that those races possess the supremacy over colour which has always been felt, though but lately acknowledged among men. However their dominion might be broken, their virtue extinguished, or their religion defiled, they retained alike the instinct and the power; the instinct which made even their idolatry more glorious than that of others, bursting forth in fire-worship from pyramid, cave, and mountain, taking the stars for the rulers of its fortune, and the sun for the God of its life; the power which so dazzled and subdued the rough crusader into forgetfulness of sorrow and of shame, that Europe put on the splendour which she had learnt of the Saracen, as her sackcloth of mourning for what she suffered from his sword;—the power which she confesses to this day, in the utmost thoughtlessness of her pride, or her beauty, as it treads the costly carpet, or veils itself with the variegated Cachemire;¹ and in the emulation of the concourse of her workmen, who, but a few months back,² perceived, or at least admitted, for the first time, the pre-eminence which has been determined from the birth of mankind, and on whose charter Nature herself has set a mysterious seal, granting to the Western races, descended from that son of Noah whose name was Extension,³ the treasures of the sullen rock, and stubborn ore, and gnarled forest, which were to accomplish their destiny across all distance of earth and depth of sea, while she matured the jewel in the sand, and rounded the pearl in the shell, to adorn the diadem of him whose name was Splendour.

§ 35. And observe, farther, how in the Oriental mind a peculiar seriousness is associated with this attribute of the love of colour; a seriousness rising out of repose, and out of the depth and breadth of the imagination, as contrasted with the activity, and consequent capability of surprise, and

¹ [Formerly a common spelling for the Cashmere shawl; thus in Lytton's *Pelham* (ch. 1.), "Perhaps you could get my old friend Madame de—to choose the Cachemire."]

² [The reference is to the Eastern exhibits at the Great Exhibition of 1851.]

³ [Japheth: Genesis ix. 27.]

of laughter, characteristic of the Western mind: as a man on a journey must look to his steps always, and view things narrowly and quickly; while one at rest may command a wider view, though an unchanging one, from which the pleasure he receives must be one of contemplation, rather than of amusement or surprise. Wherever the pure Oriental spirit manifests itself definitely, I believe its work is serious; and the meeting of the influences of the Eastern and Western races is perhaps marked in Europe more by the dying away of the grotesque laughter of the Goth than by any other sign. I shall have more to say on this head in other places of this volume;¹ but the point I wish at present to impress upon the reader is, that the bright hues of the early architecture of Venice were no sign of gaiety of heart, and that the investiture with the mantle of many colours by which she is known above all other cities of Italy and of Europe, was not granted to her in the fever of her festivity, but in the solemnity of her early and earnest religion. She became in after times the revel of the earth, the masque of Italy;² and *therefore* is she now desolate; but her glorious robe of gold and purple was given her when first she rose a vestal from the sea, not when she became drunk with the wine of her fornication.³

§ 36. And we have never yet looked with enough reverence upon the separate gift which was thus bestowed upon her; we have never enough considered what an inheritance she has left us, in the works of those mighty painters who were the chief of her children. That inheritance is indeed less than it ought to have been, and other than it ought to have been; but before Titian and Tintoret arose,—the men in whom her work and her glory should have been together consummated,—she had already ceased to lead her sons in the way of truth and life,⁴ and they erred much, and

¹ [Ruskin intended to discuss this point in the present volume, but when he came to it, postponed the subject to the next volume; see below, ch. vi. § 72, p. 239.]

² [*Childe Harold*, iv. 3.]

³ [Revelation xvii. 2.]

⁴ [Much of the phraseology here, again, is Biblical; see, for instance, Proverbs x. 17; Matthew v. 13; vi. 19.]

fell short of that which was appointed for them. There is no subject of thought more melancholy, more wonderful, than the way in which God permits so often His best gifts to be trodden under foot of men, His richest treasures to be wasted by the moth, and the mightiest influences of His Spirit, given but once in the world's history, to be quenched and shortened by miseries of chance and guilt.¹ I do not wonder at what men Suffer, but I wonder often at what they Lose. We may see how good rises out of pain and evil; but the dead, naked, eyeless loss, what good comes of that? The fruit struck to the earth before its ripeness; the glowing life and goodly purpose dissolved away in sudden death; the words, half spoken, choked upon the lip with clay for ever; or, stranger than all, the whole majesty of humanity raised to its fulness, and every gift and power necessary for a given purpose, at a given moment, centred in one man, and all this perfected blessing permitted to be refused, perverted, crushed, cast aside by those who need it most,—the city which is Not set on a hill, the candle that giveth light to None that are in the house;²—these are the heaviest mysteries of this strange world, and, it seems to me, those which mark its curse the most. And it is true that the power with which this Venice had been entrusted was perverted, when at its highest, in a thousand miserable ways: still, it was possessed by her alone; to her all hearts have turned which could be moved by its manifestation, and none without being made stronger and nobler by what her hand had wrought. That mighty Landscape, of dark mountains that guard the horizon with their purple towers, and solemn forests that gather their weight of leaves, bronzed with sunshine, not with age, into those gloomy masses fixed in heaven, which storm and frost have power no more to shake or shed;³—that mighty Humanity, so perfect and so proud, that hides no weakness

¹ [To this "mystery of life" Ruskin often reverted; see, e.g., *Sesame and Lilies*, § 102, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 82.]

² [Matthew v. 14, 15.]

³ [For Ruskin's admiration of the landscape of the Venetian painters, see *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 170), and vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 126).]

beneath the mantle, and gains no greatness from the diadem;¹ the majesty of thoughtful form, on which the dust of gold and flame of jewels are dashed as the sea-spray upon the rock, and still the great Manhood seems to stand bare against the blue sky;—that mighty Mythology, which fills the daily walks of men with spiritual companionship, and beholds the protecting angels break with their burning presence through the arrow-flights of battle;—measure the compass of that field of creation, weigh the value of the inheritance that Venice thus left to the nations of Europe, and then judge if so vast, so beneficent a power could indeed have been rooted in dissipation or decay. It was when she wore the ephod of the priest, not the motley of the masquer, that the fire fell upon her from heaven; and she saw the first rays of it through the rain of her own tears, when, as the barbaric deluge ebbed from the hills of Italy, the circuit of her palaces, and the orb of her fortunes, rose together, like the Iris, painted upon the Cloud.

¹ [See, for other testimony to the humanity and mythology of the Venetian painters, *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. iii. ("The Wings of the Lion").]

SECOND, OR GOTHIC, PERIOD

CHAPTER VI

THE NATURE OF GOTHIC¹

§ 1. IF the reader will look back to the division of our subject which was made in the first chapter of the first volume,² he will find that we are now about to enter upon the examination of that school of Venetian architecture which

¹ [The first scheme of the chapter is mapped out in Ruskin's diary of 1851–1852. He there proposed to divide the characteristics of Gothic into (1) chemical elements (see below, §§ 4–78), and (2) crystalline form (§§ 79–106). For the history and significance of the chapter, see above, Introduction, p. lviii.; and for particulars of separate reprints of it, Bibliographical Note, p. lxxviii. Ruskin began work on it in Venice in February 1852, and in a letter to his father describes the difficulties to which he here alludes (§ 2):—

“22nd Feb.[1852].— . . . I have had great difficulty in defining Gothic, the fact being that to define an architectural style is like defining a language—you have pure Latin and impure Latin in every form and stage, till it becomes Italian and not Latin at all. One can say Cicero writes Latin and Dante Italian; I can say that Giotto built Gothic and Michael Angelo Classic; but between the two there are all manner of shades, so that one cannot say ‘here one ends and the other begins.’ I shall show that the greatest distinctive character of Gothic is in the workman's heart and mind; but its outward distinctive test is the trefoiled arch [sketch], *not* the mere point [sketch of a plain pointed arch]. Gothic is pure and impure according to the prominence and severity of this arch. If people say, ‘Can we build Gothic by covering our buildings with trefoils,’ I answer No,—any more than a child can write Latin by copying words at random out of Cicero, but the words he copies are nevertheless the tests of a pure style.

“I have worked gradually up to this conclusion from the time I wrote the note ‘10, p. 87’ at page 203 of *Seven Lamps* [Vol. VIII. p. 129], and I shall show that this distinctive test of Gothic architecture is so by a mysterious ordainment;—being, first, a type of the Trinity in number; secondly, of all the beauty of vegetation upon the earth—which was what man was intended to express his love of, even when he built in stone; lastly, because it is the perfect expression of the strongest possible way of building an arch, which I, I believe, was the first to show in the *Stones*, vol. i. page 129, §§ 4, 5, 6, 7 [Vol. IX. pp. 166–167].”

With the latter part of this letter, *cf.* ch. iii. § 23, above, p. 53, and §§ 93–95, below, pp. 256–259.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 47 *n.*, where Ruskin's first division of his subject, and his subsequent alteration of it, are set out.]

forms an intermediate step between the Byzantine and Gothic forms; but which I find may be conveniently considered in its connexion with the latter style. In order that we may discern the tendency of each step of this change, it will be wise in the outset to endeavour to form some general idea of its final result. We know already what the Byzantine architecture is from which the transition was made, but we ought to know something of the Gothic architecture into which it led. I shall endeavour therefore to give the reader in this chapter an idea, at once broad and definite, of the true nature of *Gothic* architecture, properly so called; not of that of Venice only, but of universal Gothic: for it will be one of the most interesting parts of our subsequent inquiry¹ to find out how far Venetian architecture reached the universal or perfect type of Gothic, and how far it either fell short of it, or assumed foreign and independent forms.

§ 2. The principal difficulty in doing this arises from the fact that every building of the Gothic period differs in some important respect from every other; and many include features which, if they occurred in other buildings, would not be considered Gothic at all; so that all we have to reason upon is merely, if I may be allowed so to express it, a greater or less degree of *Gothicness* in each building we examine. And it is this Gothicness,—the character which, according as it is found more or less in a building, makes it more or less Gothic,—of which I want to define the nature; and I feel the same kind of difficulty in doing so which would be encountered by any one who undertook to explain, for instance, the nature of Redness, without any actually red thing to point to, but only orange and purple things. Suppose he had only a piece of heather and a dead oak-leaf to do it with. He might say, the colour which is mixed with the yellow in this oak-leaf, and with the blue in this heather, would be red, if you had it separate; but it would be difficult, nevertheless, to make the abstraction perfectly intelligible:

¹ [See, for instance, ch. vii. § 35, pp. 300–301; ch. viii. § 31, p. 357, and ch. vii. generally.]

and it is so in a far greater degree to make the abstraction of the Gothic character intelligible, because that character itself is made up of many mingled ideas, and can consist only in their union. That is to say, pointed arches do not constitute Gothic, nor vaulted roofs, nor flying buttresses, nor grotesque sculptures; but all or some of these things, and many other things with them, when they come together so as to have life.

§ 3. Observe also, that, in the definition proposed, I shall only endeavour to analyze the idea which I suppose already to exist in the reader's mind. We all have some notion, most of us a very determined one, of the meaning of the term Gothic, but I know that many persons have this idea in their minds without being able to define it: that is to say, understanding generally that Westminster Abbey is Gothic, and St. Paul's is not, that Strasburg Cathedral is Gothic, and St. Peter's is not, they have, nevertheless, no clear notion of what it is that they recognize in the one or miss in the other, such as would enable them to say how far the work at Westminster or Strasburg is good and pure of its kind; still less to say of any nondescript building, like St. James's Palace or Windsor Castle, how much right Gothic element there is in it, and how much wanting. And I believe this inquiry to be a pleasant and profitable one; and that there will be found something more than usually interesting in tracing out this grey, shadowy, many-pinnacled image of the Gothic spirit within us; and discerning what fellowship there is between it and our Northern hearts. And if, at any point of the inquiry, I should interfere with any of the reader's previously formed conceptions, and use the term Gothic in any sense which he would not willingly attach to it, I do not ask him to accept, but only to examine and understand, my interpretation, as necessary to the intelligibility of what follows in the rest of the work.

§ 4. We have, then, the Gothic character submitted to our analysis, just as the rough mineral is submitted to that of the chemist, entangled with many other foreign substances,

itself perhaps in no place pure, or ever to be obtained or seen in purity for more than an instant; but nevertheless a thing of definite and separate nature, however inextricable or confused in appearance. Now observe: the chemist defines his mineral by two separate kinds of character; one external, its crystalline form, hardness, lustre, etc.; the other internal, the proportions and nature of its constituent atoms. Exactly in the same manner, we shall find that Gothic architecture has external forms and internal elements. Its elements are certain mental tendencies of the builders, legibly expressed in it; as fancifulness, love of variety, love of richness, and such others. Its external forms are pointed arches, vaulted roofs, etc. And unless both the elements and the forms are there, we have no right to call the style Gothic. It is not enough that it has the Form, if it have not also the power and life. It is not enough that it has the Power, if it have not the form. We must therefore inquire into each of these characters successively; and determine first, what is the Mental Expression, and secondly, what the Material Form of Gothic architecture, properly so called.

1st. Mental Power or Expression. What characters, we have to discover, did the Gothic builders love, or instinctively express in their work, as distinguished from all other builders?

§ 5. Let us go back for a moment to our chemistry, and note that, in defining a mineral by its constituent parts, it is not one nor another of them, that can make up the mineral, but the union of all: for instance, it is neither in charcoal, nor in oxygen, nor in lime, that there is the making of chalk, but in the combination of all three in certain measures; they are all found in very different things from chalk, and there is nothing like chalk either in charcoal or in oxygen, but they are nevertheless necessary to its existence.

So in the various mental characters which make up the soul of Gothic. It is not one nor another that produces it; but their union in certain measures. Each one of them is found in many other architectures beside Gothic; but Gothic cannot exist where they are not found, or, at least, where

their place is not in some way supplied. Only there is this great difference between the composition of the mineral and of the architectural style, that if we withdraw one of its elements from the stone, its form is utterly changed, and its existence as such and such a mineral is destroyed; but if we withdraw one of its mental elements from the Gothic style, it is only a little less Gothic than it was before, and the union of two or three of its elements is enough already to bestow a certain Gothicness of character, which gains in intensity as we add the others, and loses as we again withdraw them.

§ 6. I believe, then, that the characteristic or moral elements of Gothic are the following, placed in the order of their importance:

1. Savageness.
2. Changefulness.
3. Naturalism.
4. Grotesqueness.
5. Rigidity.
6. Redundance.

These characters are here expressed as belonging to the building; as belonging to the builder, they would be expressed thus:—1. Savageness or Rudeness. 2. Love of Change. 3. Love of Nature. 4. Disturbed Imagination. 5. Obstinacy. 6. Generosity. And I repeat, that the withdrawal of any one, or any two, will not at once destroy the Gothic character of a building, but the removal of a majority of them will. I shall proceed to examine them in their order.

§ 7. (1.) SAVAGENESS. I am not sure when the word “Gothic”¹ was first generically applied to the architecture

¹ [It appears from the passages collected in Dr. Murray’s *New English Dictionary*, that the term “Gothic,” as applied to architecture, was taken in the first instance from the French, *les siècles gothiques* denoting the middle or dark ages, and was employed—sometimes, though not universally—with a suggestion of reprobation, to denote any style of building that was not Greek or Roman. The earliest use of the term applied to architecture, given in the Dictionary, is from Evelyn’s *Diary* (1641): “One of the fairest churches of the Gotiq design I had seene.”]

of the North; but I presume that, whatever the date of its original usage, it was intended to imply reproach, and express the barbaric character of the nations among whom that architecture arose. It never implied that they were literally of Gothic lineage, far less that their architecture had been originally invented by the Goths themselves; but it did imply that they and their buildings together exhibited a degree of sternness and rudeness, which, in contradistinction to the character of Southern and Eastern nations, appeared like a perpetual reflection of the contrast between the Goth and the Roman in their first encounter. And when that fallen Roman, in the utmost impotence of his luxury, and insolence of his guilt, became the model for the imitation of civilized Europe, at the close of the so-called Dark ages, the word Gothic became a term of unmitigated contempt, not unmingled with aversion. From that contempt, by the exertion of the antiquaries and architects of this century, Gothic architecture has been sufficiently vindicated; and perhaps some among us, in our admiration of the magnificent science of its structure, and sacredness of its expression, might desire that the term of ancient reproach should be withdrawn, and some other, of more apparent honourableness, adopted in its place. There is no chance, as there is no need, of such a substitution. As far as the epithet was used scornfully, it was used falsely; but there is no reproach in the word, rightly understood; on the contrary, there is a profound truth, which the instinct of mankind almost unconsciously recognizes. It is true, greatly and deeply true, that the architecture of the North is rude and wild; but it is not true, that, for this reason, we are to condemn it, or despise. Far otherwise: I believe it is in this very character that it deserves our profoundest reverence.

§ 8. The charts of the world which have been drawn up by modern science have thrown into a narrow space the expression of a vast amount of knowledge, but I have never yet seen any one pictorial enough to enable the

spectator to imagine the kind of contrast in physical character which exists between Northern and Southern countries. We know the differences in detail, but we have not that broad glance and grasp which would enable us to feel them in their fulness. We know that gentians grow on the Alps, and olives on the Apennines; but we do not enough conceive for ourselves that variegated mosaic of the world's surface which a bird sees in its migration, that difference between the district of the gentian and of the olive which the stork and the swallow see far off, as they lean upon the sirocco wind. Let us, for a moment, try to raise ourselves even above the level of their flight, and imagine the Mediterranean lying beneath us like an irregular lake, and all its ancient promontories sleeping in the sun: here and there an angry spot of thunder, a grey stain of storm, moving upon the burning field; and here and there a fixed wreath of white volcano smoke, surrounded by its circle of ashes; but for the most part a great peacefulness of light, Syria and Greece, Italy and Spain, laid like pieces of a golden pavement into the sea-blue, chased, as we stoop nearer to them, with bossy beaten work of mountain chains, and glowing softly with terraced gardens, and flowers heavy with frankincense, mixed among masses of laurel, and orange, and plummy palm, that abate with their grey-green shadows the burning of the marble rocks, and of the ledges of porphyry sloping under lucent sand. Then let us pass farther towards the north, until we see the orient colours change gradually into a vast belt of rainy green, where the pastures of Switzerland, and poplar valleys of France, and dark forests of the Danube and Carpathians stretch from the mouths of the Loire to those of the Volga, seen through clefts in grey swirls of raincloud and flaky veils of the mist of the brooks, spreading low along the pasture lands: and then, farther north still, to see the earth heave into mighty masses of leaden rock and heathy moor, bordering with a broad waste of gloomy purple that belt of field and wood, and splintering into

of France and dark forests of the Danube and Carpathians - stretch from
 the ~~hot~~ mouths of the Loire to those of the Volga - seen through clefts
 in grey fields of raimonal and flaky ^{with} oaks of ^{the} west of the brooks -
 spreading low along the pasture lands - but then ^{with} ^{with} still 3 or 4
 the earth ^{leaves} into ^{mighty} masses of leaden rock and ^{healthy} ^{bordering} ^{ground}
^{with} gloomy purple that ^{forms} belt of field & wood - &
~~plunging~~ into irregular and grimy islands amidst the northern seas
~~beaten~~ by storm & chilled by indraft into and tormented by ^{fangs} of
 furious ~~fast~~ pulses of ^{contending} tide - until the roots of the last forests
 fail, for among the hell-rooms - and the ^{hunger} ^{of} ^{the} northward bites
 their peaks into ^{lashed} bareness - and ^{last} the wall of ice, denuded like iron
^{into its} ^{white} ^{teeth} ^{graced} against us out of the Polar twilight - ~~let us face the sight of~~
~~this great column~~ ~~rainbow~~ ~~embodying~~ ~~the~~ ~~and~~ ~~having~~ ~~over~~ ~~traversed~~
 in thought the gradation of the ^{ice} ^{grazed} ⁱⁿ ^{material} ~~structure~~ of the earth - in all its vastness
 - let us go down nearer to it - & watch the parallel change as the belt
 of animal life - the multitudes of swift and brilliant creatures that
 glance in ^{the} ^{sea} ^{and} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{southern} ^{zone} - striped gazelles & spotted
 leopards, ~~off~~ ~~gleaming~~ ~~serpents~~ and ~~birds~~ ~~arrayed~~ ~~in~~ ~~purple~~ ~~&~~ ~~scarlet,~~ ~~ob~~
 - striped gazelles & spotted leopards - ~~all~~ ~~delicate~~ ~~in~~ ~~form~~ ~~&~~ ~~swift~~
 in motion - and then ~~and~~ ^{let us} ^{contrast} ^{their} ^{delicacy} [&] ^{brilliance} ^{of} ^{colour}
 & swiftness of motion, ~~with~~ ^{post-crowned} ^{the} ^{strong} ^{stagnant} ^{coverings}
 and more ^{darkly} ^{plumage} of the northern tribes - contrast the Arabian
 horse with the Holland - the leopard with the ^{tiger} ^{and} ^{wolf} ^{and} ^{beast} - the antelope
 with the elk - the ^{bird} ^{of} ^{paradise} ^{with} ^{the} ^{ostrich} - and then, ^{acknowledging}
~~with~~ ~~amazement~~ ~~the~~ ~~great~~ ~~laws~~ ~~by~~ ~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~Earth~~ ~~and~~ ~~all~~ ~~that~~ ~~it~~ ~~bears~~
~~are~~ ~~ruled~~ ~~through~~ ~~their~~ ~~being~~ - let us not condemn - but rejoice in - the ^{creator}
 by means of his ^{own} ^{act} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{eternal} ^{statutes} ^{of} ^{the} ^{universe} that
 gave him birth - & let us watch him with reverence as he sets aside by
 side the burning ^{glare} ^{of} ^{the} ^{sun} - & to smother with soft sculpture the
 golden ^{glare} ^{of} ^{the} ^{sun} ^{that} ^{are} ^{to} ^{reflect} ^a ^{deadly} ^{machine} [&] ^{is} ^{it} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{clouds} ^{of} ^{the} ^{sky}

irregular and grisly islands amidst the northern seas, beaten by storm, and chilled by ice-drift, and tormented by furious pulses of contending tide, until the roots of the last forests fail from among the hill ravines, and the hunger of the north wind bites their peaks into barrenness; and, at last, the wall of ice, durable like iron, sets, deathlike, its white teeth against us out of the polar twilight. And, having once traversed in thought this gradation of the zoned iris of the earth¹ in all its material vastness, let us go down nearer to it, and watch the parallel change in the belt of animal life; the multitudes of swift and brilliant creatures that glance in the air and sea, or tread the sands of the southern zone; striped zebras and spotted leopards, glistening serpents, and birds arrayed in purple and scarlet. Let us contrast their delicacy and brilliancy of colour, and swiftness of motion, with the frost-cramped strength, and shaggy covering, and dusky plumage of the northern tribes; contrast the Arabian horse with the Shetland, the tiger and leopard with the wolf and bear, the antelope with the elk, the bird of paradise with the osprey; and then, submissively acknowledging the great laws by which the earth and all that it bears are ruled throughout their being, let us not condemn, but rejoice in the expression by man of his own rest in the statutes of the lands that gave him birth. Let us watch him with reverence as he sets side by side the burning gems, and smooths with soft sculpture the jasper pillars, that are to reflect a ceaseless sunshine, and rise into a cloudless sky: but not with less reverence let us stand by him, when, with rough strength and hurried stroke, he smites an uncouth animation out of the rocks which he has torn from among the moss of the moorland, and heaves into the darkened air the pile of iron buttress and rugged wall, instinct with work of an imagination as wild and wayward as the northern sea; creatures² of ungainly shape and rigid limb, but full of wolfish life;

¹ [Compare *Deucalion*, ch. vii. ("The Iris of the Earth").]

² [So, clearly written, in the MS.; in all previous editions "creations."]

fierce as the winds that beat, and changeful as the clouds that shade them.

There is, I repeat, no degradation, no reproach in this, but all dignity and honourableness: and we should err grievously in refusing either to recognize as an essential character of the existing architecture of the North, or to admit as a desirable character in that which it yet may be, this wildness of thought, and roughness of work; this look of mountain brotherhood between the cathedral and the Alp; this magnificence of sturdy power, put forth only the more energetically because the fine finger-touch was chilled away by the frosty wind, and the eye dimmed by the moor-mist, or blinded by the hail; this out-speaking of the strong spirit of men who may not gather redundant fruitage from the earth, nor bask in dreamy benignity of sunshine, but must break the rock for bread, and cleave the forest for fire, and show, even in what they did for their delight, some of the hard habits of the arm and heart that grew on them as they swung the axe or pressed the plough.¹

§ 9. If, however, the savageness of Gothic architecture, merely as an expression of its origin among Northern nations, may be considered, in some sort, a noble character, it possesses a higher nobility still, when considered as an index, not of climate, but of religious principle.

In the 13th and 14th paragraphs of Chapter XXI. of the first volume of this work, it was noticed that the systems of architectural ornament, properly so called, might be divided into three:—1. Servile ornament, in which the execution or power of the inferior workman is entirely subjected to the intellect of the higher;—2. Constitutional ornament, in which the executive inferior power is, to a certain point, emancipated and independent, having a will of its own, yet confessing its inferiority and rendering obedience to higher powers;—and 3. Revolutionary ornament,

¹ [With § 8 here, compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvi. § 43, where Ruskin illustrates the contrast between the Northern and the Southern temper from the landscape of the poets.]

in which no executive inferiority is admitted at all. I must here explain the nature of these divisions at somewhat greater length.

Of Servile ornament, the principal schools are the Greek, Ninevite, and Egyptian; but their servility is of different kinds. The Greek master-workman was far advanced in knowledge and power above the Assyrian or Egyptian. Neither he nor those for whom he worked could endure the appearance of imperfection in anything; and, therefore, what ornament he appointed to be done by those beneath him was composed of mere geometrical forms,—balls, ridges, and perfectly symmetrical foliage,—which could be executed with absolute precision by line and rule, and were as perfect in their way, when completed, as his own figure sculpture. The Assyrian and Egyptian, on the contrary, less cognisant of accurate form in anything, were content to allow their figure sculpture to be executed by inferior workmen, but lowered the method of its treatment to a standard which every workman could reach, and then trained him by discipline so rigid, that there was no chance of his falling beneath the standard appointed. The Greek gave to the lower workman no subject which he could not perfectly execute. The Assyrian gave him subjects which he could only execute imperfectly, but fixed a legal standard for his imperfection. The workman was, in both systems, a slave.*

§ 10. But in the mediæval, or especially Christian, system of ornament, this slavery is done away with altogether; Christianity having recognized, in small things as well as

* The third kind of ornament, the Renaissance, is that in which the inferior detail becomes principal, the executor of every minor portion being required to exhibit skill and possess knowledge as great as that which is possessed by the master of the design; and in the endeavour to endow him with this skill and knowledge, his own original power is overwhelmed, and the whole building becomes a wearisome exhibition of well-educated imbecility. We must fully inquire into the nature of this form of error, when we arrive at the examination of the Renaissance schools.¹

¹ [See ch. ii. in the next volume.]

great, the individual value of every soul. But it not only recognizes its value; it confesses its imperfection, in only bestowing dignity upon the acknowledgment of unworthiness. That admission of lost power and fallen nature, which the Greek or Ninevite felt to be intensely painful, and, as far as might be, altogether refused, the Christian makes daily and hourly, contemplating the fact of it without fear, as tending, in the end, to God's greater glory. Therefore, to every spirit which Christianity summons to her service, her exhortation is: Do what you can, and confess frankly what you are unable to do; neither let your effort be shortened for fear of failure, nor your confession silenced for fear of shame. And it is, perhaps, the principal admirableness of the Gothic schools of architecture, that they thus receive the results of the labour of inferior minds; and out of fragments full of imperfection, and betraying that imperfection in every touch, indulgently raise up a stately and unaccusable whole.

§ 11. But the modern English mind has this much in common with that of the Greek, that it intensely desires, in all things, the utmost completion or perfection compatible with their nature. This is a noble character in the abstract, but becomes ignoble when it causes us to forget the relative dignities of that nature itself, and to prefer the perfectness of the lower nature to the imperfection of the higher; not considering that as, judged by such a rule, all the brute animals would be preferable to man, because more perfect in their functions and kind, and yet are always held inferior to him, so also in the works of man, those which are more perfect in their kind are always inferior to those which are, in their nature, liable to more faults and shortcomings. For the finer the nature, the more flaws it will show through the clearness of it; and it is a law of this universe, that the best things shall be seldomest seen in their best form. The wild grass grows well and strongly, one year with another; but the wheat is, according to the greater nobleness of its nature, liable to the bitterer blight.

And therefore, while in all things that we see or do, we are to desire perfection, and strive for it, we are nevertheless not to set the meaner thing, in its narrow accomplishment, above the nobler thing, in its mighty progress; not to esteem smooth minuteness above shattered majesty; not to prefer mean victory to honourable defeat; not to lower the level of our aim, that we may the more surely enjoy the complacency of success.¹ But, above all, in our dealings with the souls of other men, we are to take care how we check, by severe requirement or narrow caution, efforts which might otherwise lead to a noble issue; and, still more, how we withhold our admiration from great excellencies, because they are mingled with rough faults. Now, in the make and nature of every man, however rude or simple, whom we employ in manual labour, there are some powers for better things; some tardy imagination, torpid capacity of emotion, tottering steps of thought, there are, even at the worst; and in most cases it is all our own fault that they *are* tardy or torpid. But they cannot be strengthened, unless we are content to take them in their feebleness, and unless we prize and honour them in their imperfection above the best and most perfect manual skill. And this is what we have to do with all our labourers; to look for the *thoughtful* part of them, and get that out of them, whatever we lose for it, whatever faults and errors we are obliged to take with it. For the best that is in them cannot manifest itself, but in company with much error. Understand this clearly: You can teach a man to draw a straight line, and to cut one; to strike a curved line,

¹ [So George Herbert, in a poem which Ruskin knew by heart (*The Church Porch*, 56):—

“Sink not in spirit; who aimeth at the sky
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.”

And so Browning, in *A Grammarian's Funeral* (1855):—

“That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it:
This high man with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.”]

and to carve it; and to copy and carve any number of given lines or forms, with admirable speed and perfect precision; and you find his work perfect of its kind: but if you ask him to think about any of those forms, to consider if he cannot find any better in his own head, he stops; his execution becomes hesitating; he thinks, and ten to one he thinks wrong; ten to one he makes a mistake in the first touch he gives to his work as a thinking being. But you have made a man of him for all that. He was only a machine before, an animated tool.

§ 12. And observe, you are put to stern choice in this matter. You must either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him. You cannot make both. Men were not intended to work with the accuracy of tools, to be precise and perfect in all their actions. If you will have that precision out of them, and make their fingers measure degrees like cog-wheels, and their arms strike curves like compasses, you must unhumanize them. All the energy of their spirits must be given to make cogs and compasses of themselves. All their attention and strength must go to the accomplishment of the mean act. The eye of the soul must be bent upon the finger-point, and the soul's force must fill all the invisible nerves that guide it, ten hours a day, that it may not err from its steely precision, and so soul and sight be worn away, and the whole human being be lost at last—a heap of sawdust, so far as its intellectual work in this world is concerned: saved only by its Heart, which cannot go into the form of cogs and compasses, but expands, after the ten hours are over, into fireside humanity. On the other hand, if you will make a man of the working creature, you cannot make a tool. Let him but begin to imagine, to think, to try to do anything worth doing; and the engine-turned precision is lost at once. Out come all his roughness, all his dulness, all his incapability; shame upon shame, failure upon failure, pause after pause: but out comes the whole majesty of him also; and we know the height of it only when we see the clouds settling upon him. And, whether

the clouds be bright or dark, there will be transfiguration behind and within them.

§ 13. And now, reader, look round this English room of yours, about which you have been proud so often, because the work of it was so good and strong, and the ornaments of it so finished. Examine again all those accurate mouldings, and perfect polishings, and unerring adjustments of the seasoned wood and tempered steel. Many a time you have exulted over them, and thought how great England was, because her slightest work was done so thoroughly. Alas! if read rightly, these perfectnesses are signs of a slavery in our England a thousand times more bitter and more degrading than that of the scourged African, or helot Greek. Men may be beaten, chained, tormented, yoked like cattle, slaughtered like summer flies, and yet remain in one sense, and the best sense, free. But to smother their souls with them, to blight and hew into rotting pollards the suckling branches of their human intelligence, to make the flesh and skin which, after the worm's work on it, is to see God,¹ into leathern thongs to yoke machinery with,—this is to be slave-masters indeed; and there might be more freedom in England, though her feudal lords' lightest words were worth men's lives, and though the blood of the vexed husbandman dropped in the furrows of her fields, than there is while the animation of her multitudes is sent like fuel to feed the factory smoke, and the strength of them is given daily to be wasted into the fineness of a web, or racked into the exactness of a line.²

§ 14. And, on the other hand, go forth again to gaze upon the old cathedral front, where you have smiled so often at the fantastic ignorance of the old sculptors: examine once more those ugly goblins, and formless monsters, and stern statues, anatomiless³ and rigid; but do not mock at them, for they are signs of the life and liberty of every workman who

¹ [Job xix. 26.]

² [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. iii. § 71 *n.*, for an instance from the "Grotesque Renaissance" of neatness and precision contrasted with the "frank and fearless" irregularity of earlier work.]

³ [This word is a coinage of Ruskin's; no other use of it is recorded in *The New English Dictionary*.]

struck the stone; a freedom of thought, and rank in scale of being, such as no laws, no charters, no charities can secure; but which it must be the first aim of all Europe at this day to regain for her children.

§ 15. Let me not be thought to speak wildly or extravagantly. It is verily this degradation of the operative into a machine, which, more than any other evil of the times, is leading the mass of the nations everywhere into vain, incoherent, destructive struggling for a freedom of which they cannot explain the nature to themselves. Their universal outcry against wealth, and against nobility, is not forced from them either by the pressure of famine, or the sting of mortified pride. These do much, and have done much in all ages; but the foundations of society were never yet shaken as they are at this day. It is not that men are ill fed, but that they have no pleasure in the work by which they make their bread, and therefore look to wealth as the only means of pleasure. It is not that men are pained by the scorn of the upper classes, but they cannot endure their own; for they feel that the kind of labour to which they are condemned is verily a degrading one, and makes them less than men. Never had the upper classes so much sympathy with the lower, or charity for them, as they have at this day, and yet never were they so much hated by them: for, of old, the separation between the noble and the poor was merely a wall built by law; now it is a veritable difference in level of standing, a precipice between upper and lower grounds in the field of humanity, and there is pestilential air at the bottom of it. I know not if a day is ever to come when the nature of right freedom will be understood, and when men will see that to obey another man, to labour for him, yield reverence to him or to his place, is not slavery. It is often the best kind of liberty,—liberty from care. The man who says to one, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh,¹ has, in most cases, more sense of restraint and difficulty than the man who obeys him. The movements of

¹ [Matthew viii. 9.]

the one are hindered by the burden on his shoulder; of the other by the bridle on his lips: there is no way by which the burden may be lightened; but we need not suffer from the bridle if we do not champ at it. To yield reverence to another, to hold ourselves and our likes at his disposal, is not slavery; often it is the noblest state in which a man can live in this world. There is, indeed, a reverence which is servile, that is to say, irrational or selfish: but there is also noble reverence, that is to say, reasonable and loving; and a man is never so noble as when he is reverent in this kind; nay, even if the feeling pass the bounds of mere reason, so that it be loving, a man is raised by it. Which had, in reality, most of the serf nature in him,—the Irish peasant who was lying in wait yesterday for his landlord, with his musket muzzle thrust through the ragged hedge;¹ or that old mountain servant, who 200 years ago, at Inverkeithing, gave up his own life and the lives of his seven sons for his chief?—as each fell, calling forth his brother to the death, “Another for Hector!”* And therefore, in all ages and all countries, reverence has been paid and sacrifice made by men to each other, not only without complaint, but rejoicingly; and famine, and peril, and sword, and all evil, and all shame, have been borne willingly in the causes of masters and kings; for all these gifts of the heart ennobled the men who gave, not less than the men who received them, and nature prompted, and God rewarded the sacrifice. But to feel their souls withering within them, unthanked, to find their whole being sunk into an unrecognized abyss, to be counted off into a heap of mechanism numbered with its wheels, and weighed with its hammer strokes—this, nature bade not,—this, God blesses not,—this, humanity for no long time is able to endure.

* Vide Preface to *Fair Maid of Perth*.

¹ [At the time Ruskin wrote, agrarian crime had been prevalent in Ireland. In 1847 a Coercion Act was passed; in 1848 the “Young Ireland” rebellion broke out, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; in 1850 the Irish Tenant-Right League was formed; in the same year “several landlords were murdered by discontented tenants” (see *Annual Register* for 1850, p. 198.)]

§ 16. We have much studied and much perfected, of late, the great civilized invention of the division of labour; only we give it a false name. It is not, truly speaking, the labour that is divided; but the men:—Divided into mere segments of men—broken into small fragments and crumbs of life; so that all the little piece of intelligence that is left in a man is not enough to make a pin, or a nail, but exhausts itself in making the point of a pin or the head of a nail. Now it is a good and desirable thing, truly, to make many pins in a day; but if we could only see with what crystal sand their points were polished,—sand of human soul, much to be magnified before it can be discerned for what it is—we should think there might be some loss in it also. And the great cry that rises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace blast, is all in very deed for this,—that we manufacture everything there except men; we blanch cotton, and strengthen steel, and refine sugar, and shape pottery; but to brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages. And all the evil to which that cry is urging our myriads can be met only in one way: not by teaching nor preaching, for to teach them is but to show them their misery, and to preach to them, if we do nothing more than preach, is to mock at it. It can be met only by a right understanding, on the part of all classes, of what kinds of labour are good for men, raising them, and making them happy; by a determined sacrifice of such convenience, or beauty, or cheapness as is to be got only by the degradation of the workman; and by equally determined demand for the products and results of healthy and ennobling labour.

§ 17. And how, it will be asked, are these products to be recognized, and this demand to be regulated? Easily: by the observance of three broad and simple rules:

1. Never encourage the manufacture of any article not absolutely necessary, in the production of which *Invention* has no share.

2. Never demand an exact finish for its own sake, but only for some practical or noble end.

3. Never encourage imitation or copying of any kind, except for the sake of preserving records of great works.

The second of these principles is the only one which directly rises out of the consideration of our immediate subject; but I shall briefly explain the meaning and extent of the first also, reserving the enforcement of the third for another place.¹

1. Never encourage the manufacture of anything not necessary, in the production of which invention has no share.

For instance. Glass beads are utterly unnecessary, and there is no design or thought employed in their manufacture. They are formed by first drawing out the glass into rods; these rods are chopped up into fragments of the size of beads by the human hand, and the fragments are then rounded in the furnace. The men who chop up the rods sit at their work all day, their hands vibrating with a perpetual and exquisitely timed palsy, and the beads dropping beneath their vibration like hail.² Neither they, nor the men who draw out the rods or fuse the fragments, have the smallest occasion for the use of any single human faculty; and every young lady, therefore, who buys glass beads is engaged in the slave-trade, and in a much more cruel one than that which we have so long been endeavouring to put down.³

But glass cups and vessels may become the subjects of

¹ [Ruskin enforced this point in many places—first at Edinburgh (1853), in his *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 46–49, where he suggests the purchase of drawings rather than engravings; then at Manchester (1857), in the lectures published as *The Political Economy of Art*, and afterwards printed under the title *A Joy for Ever*, §§ 90, 91, where he says, “never buy a copy of a picture”; and see also *Val d’Arno*, § 291.]

² [Ruskin is no doubt describing what he had seen at the glass works of Murano.]

³ [The abolition of the slave-trade, so far as this country was concerned, was enacted in 1807; the abolition of slavery in British colonies, in 1833. The anti-slavery movement then took a further development, being directed towards treaties with other countries regarding the right of search and other measures for the suppression of the trade; as, for instance, in Brazilian waters (1845). It is to such efforts as these that Ruskin is here alluding.]

exquisite invention; and if in buying these we pay for the invention, that is to say, for the beautiful form, or colour, or engraving, and not for mere finish of execution, we are doing good to humanity.

§ 18. So, again, the cutting of precious stones, in all ordinary cases, requires little exertion of any mental faculty; some tact and judgment in avoiding flaws, and so on, but nothing to bring out the whole mind. Every person who wears cut jewels merely for the sake of their value is, therefore, a slave-driver.¹

But the working of the goldsmith, and the various designing of grouped jewellery and enamel-work, may become the subject of the most noble human intelligence. Therefore, money spent in the purchase of well-designed plate, of precious engraved vases, cameos, or enamels, does good to humanity; and, in work of this kind, jewels may be employed to heighten its splendour; and their cutting is then a price paid for the attainment of a noble end, and thus perfectly allowable.

§ 19. I shall perhaps press this law farther elsewhere,² but our immediate concern is chiefly with the second, namely, never to demand an exact finish, when it does not lead to a noble end. For observe, I have only dwelt upon the rudeness of Gothic, or any other kind of imperfectness, as admirable, where it was impossible to get design or thought without it. If you are to have the thought of a rough and untaught man, you must have it in a rough and untaught way; but from an educated man, who can without effort express his thoughts in an educated way, take the graceful expression, and be thankful. Only *get* the thought, and do not silence the peasant because he cannot speak good grammar, or until you have taught him his grammar. Grammar and refinement are good things, both,

¹ [Compare *Aratra Pentelici*, § 17: “the idolatry is wholly diabolic, which, for vulgar display, sculptures diamonds,” and *Seven Lamps*, ch. ii. § 19 (Vol. IX. p. 82). For notes on the right and wrong use of jewellery, see *Deucalion*, ch. vii. (“The Iris of the Earth”).]

² [See, for instance, the chapter in *Deucalion*.]

only be sure of the better thing first. And thus in art, delicate finish is desirable from the greatest masters, and is always given by them.¹ In some places Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Phidias, Perugino, Turner, all finished with the most exquisite care; and the finish they give always leads to the fuller accomplishment of their noble purposes. But lower men than these cannot finish, for it requires consummate knowledge to finish consummately, and then we must take their thoughts as they are able to give them. So the rule is simple: Always look for invention first, and after that, for such execution as will help the invention, and as the inventor is capable of without painful effort, and no more. Above all, demand no refinement of execution where there is no thought, for that is slaves' work, unredeemed. Rather choose rough work than smooth work, so only that the practical purpose be answered, and never imagine there is reason to be proud of anything that may be accomplished by patience and sand-paper.

§ 20. I shall only give one example, which however will show the reader what I mean, from the manufacture already alluded to, that of glass. Our modern glass is exquisitely clear in its substance, true in its form, accurate in its cutting. We are proud of this. We ought to be ashamed of it. The old Venice glass was muddy, inaccurate in all its forms, and clumsily cut, if at all. And the old Venetian was justly proud of it. For there is this difference between the English and Venetian workman, that the former thinks only of accurately matching his patterns, and getting his curves perfectly true and his edges perfectly sharp, and becomes a mere machine for rounding curves and sharpening edges; while the old Venetian cared not a whit whether his edges were sharp or not, but he invented a new design for every glass that he made, and never moulded a handle or a lip without a new fancy in it. And therefore, though some Venetian glass is ugly and clumsy enough when made by clumsy and

¹ [For a summary and harmony of Ruskin's views on finish in art, see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. vii. § 21 n.]

uninventive workmen, other Venetian glass is so lovely in its forms that no price is too great for it; and we never see the same form in it twice.¹ Now you cannot have the finish and the varied form too. If the workman is thinking about his edges, he cannot be thinking of his design; if of his design, he cannot think of his edges. Choose whether you will pay for the lovely form or the perfect finish, and choose at the same moment whether you will make the worker a man or a grindstone.

§ 21. Nay, but the reader interrupts me,—“If the workman can design beautifully, I would not have him kept at the furnace. Let him be taken away and made a gentleman, and have a studio, and design his glass there, and I will have it blown and cut for him by common workmen, and so I will have my design and my finish too.”

All ideas of this kind are founded upon two mistaken suppositions: the first, that one man’s thoughts can be, or ought to be, executed by another man’s hands; the second, that manual labour is a degradation, when it is governed by intellect.

On a large scale, and in work determinable by line and rule, it is indeed both possible and necessary that the thoughts of one man should be carried out by the labour of others; in this sense I have already defined the best architecture to be the expression of the mind of manhood by the hands of childhood.² But on a smaller scale, and in a design which cannot be mathematically defined, one man’s thoughts can never be expressed by another: and the difference between the spirit of touch of the man who is inventing, and of the man who is obeying directions, is often all the difference between a great and a common work of art. How wide the separation is between original and second-hand execution, I shall endeavour

¹ [These points may be studied in the collection of Venetian glass in the British Museum. It is worth nothing in connection with the general argument that the Venetian glass makers had their own *Libro d’Oro* and ranked with patricians; “nobles gave their daughters in marriage to glass workers, and their children retained their nobility” (see M. A. Wallace-Dunlop’s *Glass in the Old World*, p. 144, and T. Okey’s *Venice*, 1903, p. 213).]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 290.]

to show elsewhere;¹ it is not so much to our purpose here as to mark the other and more fatal error of despising manual labour when governed by intellect; for it is no less fatal an error to despise it when thus regulated by intellect, than to value it for its own sake. We are always in these days endeavouring to separate the two; we want one man to be always thinking, and another to be always working, and we call one a gentleman, and the other an operative; whereas the workman ought often to be thinking, and the thinker often to be working, and both should be gentlemen, in the best sense. As it is, we make both ungentle, the one envying, the other despising, his brother; and the mass of society is made up of morbid thinkers, and miserable workers. Now it is only by labour that thought can be made healthy, and only by thought that labour can be made happy, and the two cannot be separated with impunity. It would be well if all of us were good handicraftsmen in some kind,² and the dishonour of manual labour done away with altogether; so that though there should still be a trenchant distinction of race between nobles and commoners, there should not, among the latter, be a trenchant distinction of employment, as between idle and working men, or between men of liberal and illiberal professions. All professions should be liberal, and there should be less pride felt in peculiarity of employment, and more in excellence of achievement. And yet more, in each several profession, on master should be too proud to do its hardest work. The painter should grind his own colours; the architect work in the mason's yard with his men;³ the master-manufacturer be himself a more skilful operative than any man in his mills; and the distinction between

¹ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. iii. § 21, where Invention is laid down as one of the distinguishing characteristics between Higher and Lower Art.]

² [This was a constant theme with Ruskin in later times. See, for instance, *Munera Pulveris*, § 109, and *Aratra Pentelici*, § 97: "Resolve upon this one thing at least, that you will enable yourselves daily to do actually with your hands, something that is useful to mankind." Hence the road-making by his pupils which he superintended at Hincksey during his Professorship at Oxford in 1874–1875.]

³ [See below, ch. viii. § 117, p. 418, where this passage is illustrated from a capital on the Ducal Palace.]

one man and another be only in experience and skill, and the authority and wealth which these must naturally and justly obtain.

§ 22. I should be led far from the matter in hand, if I were to pursue this interesting subject. Enough, I trust, has been said to show the reader that the rudeness or imperfection which at first rendered the term “Gothic” one of reproach is indeed, when rightly understood, one of the most noble characters of Christian architecture, and not only a noble but an *essential* one. It seems a fantastic paradox, but it is nevertheless a most important truth, that no architecture can be truly noble which is *not* imperfect. And this is easily demonstrable. For since the architect, whom we will suppose capable of doing all in perfection, cannot execute the whole with his own hands, he must either make slaves of his workmen in the old Greek, and present English fashion, and level his work to a slave’s capacities, which is to degrade it; or else he must take his workmen as he finds them, and let them show their weaknesses together with their strength, which will involve the Gothic imperfection, but render the whole work as noble as the intellect of the age can make it.¹

§ 23. But the principle may be stated more broadly still. I have confined the illustration of it to architecture, but I must not leave it as if true of architecture only. Hitherto I have used the words imperfect and perfect merely to distinguish between work grossly unskilful, and work executed with average precision and science; and I have been pleading that any degree of unskilfulness should be admitted, so only that the labourer’s mind had room for expression. But, accurately speaking, no good work whatever can be perfect, and *the demand for perfection is always a sign of a misunderstanding of the ends of art.*

§ 24. This for two reasons, both based on everlasting laws. The first, that no great man ever stops working till

¹ [For this principle, that art (and especially architecture) is the expression of the general spirit of its age, see *St. Mark’s Rest*, Preface.]

he has reached his point of failure: that is to say, his mind is always far in advance of his powers of execution, and the latter will now and then give way in trying to follow it; besides that he will always give to the inferior portions of his work only such inferior attention as they require; and according to his greatness he becomes so accustomed to the feeling of dissatisfaction with the best he can do, that in moments of lassitude or anger with himself he will not care though the beholder be dissatisfied also. I believe there has only been one man who would not acknowledge this necessity, and strove always to reach perfection, Leonardo; the end of his vain effort being merely that he would take ten years to a picture and leave it unfinished.¹ And therefore, if we are to have great men working at all, or less men doing their best, the work will be imperfect, however beautiful. Of human work none but what is bad can be perfect, in its own bad way.*

§ 25. The second reason is, that imperfection is in some sort essential to all that we know of life. It is the sign of life in a mortal body, that is to say, of a state of progress and change. Nothing that lives is, or can be, rigidly perfect; part of it is decaying, part nascent. The foxglove blossom,—a third part bud, a third part past, a third part in full bloom,—is a type of the life of this world. And in all things that live there are certain irregularities and deficiencies which are not only signs of life, but sources of beauty. No human face is exactly the same in its lines on each side, no leaf perfect in its lobes, no branch in its symmetry. All admit irregularity as they imply change; and to banish imperfection is to destroy expression, to

* The Elgin marbles are supposed by many persons to be “perfect.” In the most important portions they indeed approach perfection, but only there. The draperies are unfinished, the hair and wool of the animals are unfinished, and the entire bas-reliefs of the frieze are roughly cut.

¹ [See also, for Leonardo’s dissipation of energy, *Queen of the Air*, § 157.]

check exertion, to paralyze vitality. All things are literally better, lovelier, and more beloved for the imperfections which have been divinely appointed, that the law of human life may be Effort, and the law of human judgment, Mercy.

Accept this then for a universal law, that neither architecture nor any other noble work of man can be good unless it be imperfect; and let us be prepared for the otherwise strange fact, which we shall discern clearly as we approach the period of the Renaissance, that the first cause of the fall of the arts of Europe was a relentless requirement of perfection, incapable alike either of being silenced by veneration for greatness, or softened into forgiveness of simplicity.

Thus far then of the Rudeness or Savageness, which is the first mental element of Gothic architecture. It is an element in many other healthy architectures also, as the Byzantine and Romanesque; but true Gothic cannot exist without it.

§ 26. The second mental element above named was CHANGEFULNESS, or Variety.

I have already enforced the allowing independent operation to the inferior workman, simply as a duty *to him*, and as ennobling the architecture by rendering it more Christian. We have now to consider what reward we obtain for the performance of this duty, namely, the perpetual variety of every feature of the building.

Wherever the workman is utterly enslaved, the parts of the building must of course be absolutely like each other; for the perfection of his execution can only be reached by exercising him in doing one thing, and giving him nothing else to do. The degree in which the workman is degraded may be thus known at a glance, by observing whether the several parts of the building are similar or not; and if, as in Greek work, all the capitals are alike, and all the mouldings unvaried, then the degradation is complete; if, as in Egyptian or Ninevite work,

though the manner of executing certain figures is always the same, the order of design is perpetually varied, the degradation is less total; if, as in Gothic work, there is perpetual change both in design and execution, the workman must have been altogether set free.

§ 27. How much the beholder gains from the liberty of the labourer may perhaps be questioned in England, where one of the strongest instincts in nearly every mind is that Love of Order which makes us desire that our house windows should pair like our carriage horses, and allows us to yield our faith unhesitatingly to architectural theories which fix a form for everything, and forbid variation from it. I would not impeach love of order: it is one of the most useful elements of the English mind; it helps us in our commerce and in all purely practical matters; and it is in many cases one of the foundation stones of morality. Only do not let us suppose that love of order is love of art. It is true that order, in its highest sense, is one of the necessities of art, just as time is a necessity of music; but love of the order has no more to do with our right enjoyment of architecture or painting, than love of punctuality with the appreciation of an opera. Experience, I fear, teaches us that accurate and methodical habits in daily life are seldom characteristic of those who either quickly perceive, or richly possess, the creative powers of art; there is, however, nothing inconsistent between the two instincts, and nothing to hinder us from retaining our business habits, and yet fully allowing and enjoying the noblest gifts of Invention. We already do so, in every other branch of art except architecture, and we only do *not* so there because we have been taught that it would be wrong. Our architects gravely inform us that, as there are four rules of arithmetic, there are five orders of architecture; we, in our simplicity, think that this sounds consistent, and believe them. They inform us also that there is one proper form for Corinthian capitals, another for Doric, and another for Ionic. We, considering that there is also

a proper form for the letters A, B, and C, think that this also sounds consistent, and accept the proposition. Understanding, therefore, that one form of the said capitals is proper, and no other, and having a conscientious horror of all impropriety, we allow the architect to provide us with the said capitals, of the proper form, in such and such a quantity, and in all other points to take care that the legal forms are observed; which having done, we rest in forced confidence that we are well housed.

§ 28. But our higher instincts are not deceived. We take no pleasure in the building provided for us, resembling that which we take in a new book or a new picture. We may be proud of its size, complacent in its correctness, and happy in its convenience. We may take the same pleasure in its symmetry and workmanship as in a well-ordered room, or a skilful piece of manufacture. And this we suppose to be all the pleasure that architecture was ever intended to give us. The idea of reading a building as we would read Milton or Dante, and getting the same kind of delight out of the stones as out of the stanzas, never enters our mind for a moment. And for good reason;—There is indeed rhythm in the verses, quite as strict as the symmetries or rhythm of the architecture, and a thousand times more beautiful, but there is something else than rhythm. The verses were neither made to order, nor to match, as the capitals were; and we have therefore a kind of pleasure in them other than a sense of propriety. But it requires a strong effort of common sense to shake ourselves quit of all that we have been taught for the last two centuries, and wake to the perception of a truth just as simple and certain as it is new: that great art, whether expressing itself in words, colours, or stones, does *not* say the same thing over and over again; that the merit of architectural, as of every other art, consists in its saying new and different things; that to repeat itself is no more a characteristic of genius in marble than it is of genius in print; and that we may, without offending any laws of good taste, require of an architect, as we

do of a novelist, that he should be not only correct, but entertaining.¹

Yet all this is true, and self-evident; only hidden from us, as many other self-evident things are, by false teaching. Nothing is a great work of art, for the production of which either rules or models can be given. Exactly so far as architecture works on known rules, and from given models, it is not an art, but a manufacture; and it is, of the two procedures, rather less rational (because more easy) to copy capitals or mouldings from Phidias, and call ourselves architects, than to copy heads and hands from Titian, and call ourselves painters.

§ 29. Let us then understand at once that change or variety is as much a necessity to the human heart and brain in buildings as in books; that there is no merit, though there is some occasional use, in monotony; and that we must no more expect to derive either pleasure or profit from an architecture whose ornaments are of one pattern, and whose pillars are of one proportion, than we should out of a universe in which the clouds were all of one shape, and the trees all of one size.

§ 30. And this we confess in deeds, though not in words. All the pleasure which the people of the nineteenth century take in art, is in pictures, sculpture, minor objects of virtu, or mediæval architecture, which we enjoy under the term picturesque: no pleasure is taken anywhere in modern buildings, and we find all men of true feeling delighting to escape out of modern cities into natural scenery: hence, as I shall hereafter show, that peculiar love of landscape, which is characteristic of the age.² It would

¹ [With § 28 compare *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 3, 4, where the same points are dwelt upon.]

² [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. iv. § 33. Ruskin was pleased when this point occurred to him, for it established also a point of contact between his architectural work at Venice and his suspended work on *Modern Painters*. This appears in a letter to his father:—

“Venice, 22nd Feb. [1852].— . . . I have been . . . getting my work into its final form, subject only now to contraction, not to expansion. The reason that I have added the fourth part to it [as finally arranged, the third, dealing in detail with the Renaissance, see Vol. IX. p. 47 *n.*], is chiefly because I see

be well, if in all other matters, we were as ready to put up with what we dislike, for the sake of compliance with established law, as we are in architecture.

§ 31. How so debased a law ever came to be established, we shall see when we come to describe the Renaissance schools; here we have only to note, as a second most essential element of the Gothic spirit, that it broke through that law wherever it found it in existence; it not only dared, but delighted in, the infringement of every servile principle; and invented a series of forms of which the merit was, not merely that they were new, but that they were *capable of perpetual novelty*. The pointed arch was not merely a bold variation from the round, but it admitted of millions of variations in itself; for the proportions of a pointed arch are changeable to infinity, while a circular arch is always the same. The grouped shaft was not merely a bold variation from the single one, but it admitted of millions of variations in its grouping, and in the proportions resultant from its grouping. The introduction of tracery was not only a startling change in the treatment of window lights, but admitted endless changes in the interlacement of the tracery bars themselves.¹ So that, while in all living Christian architecture the love of variety

a very interesting connexion between it and *Modern Painters*. The first part of this book will give an account of the effect of Christianity in colouring and spiritualising Roman or Heathen architecture [the Byzantine influence, see Vol. IX. p. 36]. The second and third parts [now the second] will give an account of the Transition to Gothic, with a definition of the nature and essence of the Gothic style. The fourth part, of the decline of all this back into Heathenism, and of the reactionary symptoms attending the course of the relapse, of which the strongest has been the development of landscape painting. For, so long as the Gothic and other fine architecture existed, the love of Nature, which was an essential and a peculiar feature of Christianity, found expression and food enough in them—vide *Seven Lamps* [Vol. VIII. p. 246], *Stones*, vol. i. [Vol. IX. p. 70], the whole of chap. 20, and chap. 30, § 6 [*ibid.*, p. 411]. But when the Heathen architecture came back, this love of Nature, still happily existing in some minds, could find no more food there—it turned to landscape painting and has worked gradually up into Turner. The last part of this book, therefore, will be an introduction to the last of *Modern Painters*.”

Ruskin it will be observed, still hoped to finish that work in one more part.]

¹ [Yet such interlacement was a characteristic of Gothic in its decline, rather than in its perfection: see *Seven Lamps*, ch. ii. §§ 22 *seq.* (Vol. VIII. pp. 88 *seq.*)]

exists, the Gothic schools exhibited that love in culminating energy; and their influence, wherever it extended itself, may be sooner and farther traced by this character than by any other; the tendency to the adoption of Gothic types being always first shown by greater irregularity, and richer variation in the forms of architecture it is about to supersede, long before the appearance of the pointed arch or of any other recognizable *outward* sign of the Gothic mind.

§ 32. We must, however, herein note carefully what distinction there is between a healthy and a diseased love of change; for as it was in healthy love of change that the Gothic architecture rose, it was partly in consequence of diseased love of change that it was destroyed. In order to understand this clearly, it will be necessary to consider the different ways in which change and monotony are presented to us in nature; both having their use, like darkness and light, and the one incapable of being enjoyed without the other: change being most delightful after some prolongation of monotony, as light appears most brilliant after the eyes have been for some time closed.

§ 33. I believe that the true relations of monotony and change may be most simply understood by observing them in music. We may therein notice first, that there is a sublimity and majesty in monotony, which there is not in rapid or frequent variation. This is true throughout all nature. The greater part of the sublimity of the sea depends on its monotony; so also that of desolate moor and mountain scenery; and especially the sublimity of motion, as in the quiet, unchanged fall and rise of an engine beam. So also there is sublimity in darkness which there is not in light.

§ 34. Again, monotony after a certain time, or beyond a certain degree, becomes either uninteresting or intolerable, and the musician is obliged to break it in one of two ways: either while the air or passage is perpetually repeated, its notes are variously enriched and harmonized; or else, after

a certain number of repeated passages, an entirely new passage is introduced, which is more or less delightful according to the length of the previous monotony. Nature, of course, uses both these kinds of variation perpetually. The seawaves, resembling each other in general mass, but none like its brother in minor divisions and curves, are a monotony of the first kind; the great plain, broken by an emergent rock or clump of trees, is a monotony of the second.

§ 35. Farther: in order to the enjoyment of the change in either case, a certain degree of patience is required from the hearer or observer. In the first case, he must be satisfied to endure with patience the recurrence of the great masses of sound or form, and to seek for entertainment in a careful watchfulness of the minor details. In the second case, he must bear patiently the infliction of the monotony for some moments, in order to feel the full refreshment of the change. This is true even of the shortest musical passage in which the element of monotony is employed. In cases of more majestic monotony, the patience required is so considerable that it becomes a kind of pain,—a price paid for the future pleasure.

§ 36. Again: the talent of the composer is not in the monotony, but in the changes: he may show feeling and taste by his use of monotony in certain places or degrees; that is to say, by his *various* employment of it; but it is always in the new arrangement or invention that his intellect is shown, and not in the monotony which relieves it.

Lastly: if the pleasure of change be too often repeated, it ceases to be delightful, for then change itself becomes monotonous, and we are driven to seek delight in extreme and fantastic degrees of it. This is the diseased love of change of which we have above spoken.

§ 37. From these facts we may gather generally that monotony is, and ought to be, in itself painful to us, just as darkness is; that an architecture which is altogether monotonous is a dark or dead architecture; and of those who love it, it may be truly said, “they love darkness rather

than light.”¹ But monotony in certain measure, used in order to give value to change, and above all, that *transparent* monotony, which like the shadows of a great painter, suffers all manner of dimly suggested form to be seen through the body of it, is an essential in architectural as in all other composition; and the endurance of monotony has about the same place in a healthy mind that the endurance of darkness has: that is to say, as a strong intellect will have pleasure in the solemnities of storm² and twilight, and in the broken and mysterious lights that gleam among them, rather than in mere brilliancy and glare, while a frivolous mind will dread the shadow and the storm;² and as a great man will be ready to endure much darkness of fortune in order to reach greater eminence of power or felicity, while an inferior man will not pay the price; exactly in like manner a great mind will accept, or even delight in, monotony which would be wearisome to an inferior intellect, because it has more patience and power of expectation, and is ready to pay the full price for the great future pleasure of change. But in all cases it is not that the noble nature loves monotony, any more than it loves darkness or pain. But it can bear with it, and receive a high pleasure in the endurance or patience, a pleasure necessary to the well-being of this world; while those who will not submit to the temporary sameness, but rush from one change to another, gradually dull the edge of change itself, and bring a shadow and weariness over the whole world from which there is no more escape.

§ 38. From these general uses of variety in the economy of the world, we may at once understand its use and abuse in architecture. The variety of the Gothic schools is the more healthy and beautiful, because in many cases it is entirely unstudied, and results, not from mere love of change, but from practical necessities. For in one point of view

¹ [John iii. 19.]

² [Compare *Eagle's Nest*, §7, where Ruskin describes the different feeling which a storm at Pæstum would excite in different orders of mind.]

Gothic is not only the best, but the *only rational* architecture, as being that which can fit itself most easily to all services, vulgar or noble. Undefined in its slope of roof, height of shaft, breadth of arch, or disposition of ground plan, it can shrink into a turret, expand into a hall, coil into a staircase, or spring into a spire, with undegraded grace and unexhausted energy; and whenever it finds occasion for change in its form or purpose, it submits to it without the slightest sense of loss either to its unity or majesty,—subtle and flexible like a fiery serpent, but ever attentive to the voice of the charmer. And it is one of the chief virtues of the Gothic builders, that they never suffered ideas of outsidings symmetries and consistencies to interfere with the real use and value of what they did. If they wanted a window, they opened one; a room they added one; a buttress, they built one; utterly regardless of any established conventionalities of external appearance, knowing (as indeed it always happened) that such daring interruptions of the formal plan would rather give additional interest to its symmetry than injure it. So that, in the best times of Gothic, a useless window would rather have been opened in an unexpected place for the sake of the surprise, than a useful one forbidden for the sake of symmetry. Every successive architect, employed upon a great work, built the pieces he added in his own way, utterly regardless of the style adopted by his predecessors; and if two towers were raised in nominal correspondence at the sides of a cathedral front, one was nearly sure to be different from the other, and in each the style at the top to be different from the style at the bottom.*

§ 39. These marked variations were, however, only permitted as part of the great system of perpetual change which ran through every member of Gothic design, and rendered it as endless a field for the beholder's inquiry as

* In the eighth chapter we shall see a remarkable instance of this sacrifice of symmetry to convenience in the arrangement of the windows of the Ducal Palace [p. 334]

for the builder's imagination: change, which in the best schools is subtle and delicate, and rendered more delightful by intermingling of a noble monotony; in the more barbaric schools is somewhat fantastic and redundant; but, in all, a necessary and constant condition of the life of the school. Sometimes the variety is in one feature, sometimes in another; it may be in the capitals or crockets, in the niches or the traceries, or in all together, but in some one or other of the features it will be found always. If the mouldings are constant, the surface sculpture will change; if the capitals are of a fixed design, the traceries will change; if the traceries are monotonous, the capitals will change; and if even, as in some fine schools, the early English for example, there is the slightest approximation to an unvarying type of mouldings, capitals, and floral decoration, the variety is found in the disposition of the masses, and in the figure sculpture.

§ 40. I must now refer for a moment, before we quit the consideration of this, the second mental element of Gothic, to the opening of the third chapter of the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, in which the distinction was drawn (§ 2)¹ between man gathering and man governing; between his acceptance of the sources of delight from nature, and his development of authoritative or imaginative power in their arrangement: for the two mental elements, not only of Gothic, but of all good architecture, which we have just been examining, belong to it, and are admirable in it, chiefly as it is, more than any other subject of art, the work of man, and the expression of the average power of man. A picture or poem is often little more than a feeble utterance of man's admiration of something out of himself; but architecture approaches more to a creation of his own, born of his necessities, and expressive of his nature. It is also, in some sort, the work of the whole race, while the picture or statue is the work of one only, in most cases

¹ [Vol. VIII. p. 101]

more highly gifted than his fellows. And therefore we may expect that the first two elements of good architecture should be expressive of some great truths commonly belonging to the whole race, and necessary to be understood or felt by them in all their work that they do under the sun. And observe what they are: the confession of Imperfection, and the confession of Desire of Change. The building of the bird and the bee needs not express anything like this. It is perfect and unchanging. But just because we are something better than birds or bees, our building must confess that we have not reached the perfection we can imagine, and cannot rest in the condition we have attained. If we pretend to have reached either perfection or satisfaction, we have degraded ourselves and our work. God's work only may express that; but ours may never have that sentence written upon it,—“And behold, it was very good.”¹ And, observe again, it is not merely as it renders the edifice a book of various knowledge, or a mine of precious thought, that variety is essential to its nobleness. The vital principle is not the love of *Knowledge*, but the love of *Change*. It is that strange *disquietude* of the Gothic spirit that is its greatness; that restlessness of the dreaming mind, that wanders hither and thither among the niches, and flickers feverishly around the pinnacles, and frets and fades in labyrinthine knots and shadows along wall and roof, and yet is not satisfied, nor shall be satisfied. The Greek could stay in his triglyph furrow, and be at peace; but the work of the Gothic heart² is fretwork still, and it can neither rest in, nor from its labour, but must pass on, sleeplessly, until its love of change shall be pacified for ever in the change that must come alike on them that wake and them that sleep.³

¹ [Genesis i. 31.]

² [Ruskin wrote “heart” (as below p. 359, line 8), and so the word reads in ed. 1, and in the separate issue (*On the Nature of Gothic Architecture*). In the second and all later editions, and in the Kelmscott and later reprint of the chapter, “art” was substituted.]

³ [See 1 Thessalonians v. 10.]

§ 41. The third constituent element of the Gothic mind was stated to be NATURALISM; that is to say, the love of natural objects for their own sake, and the effort to represent them frankly, unconstrained by artistical laws.

This characteristic of the style partly follows in necessary connection with those named above. For, so soon as the workman is left free to represent what subjects he chooses, he must look to the nature that is round him for material, and will endeavour to represent it as he sees it, with more or less accuracy according to the skill he possesses, and with much play of fancy, but with small respect for law. There is, however, a marked distinction between the imaginations of the Western and Eastern races, even when both are left free; the Western, or Gothic, delighting most in the representation of facts, and the Eastern (Arabian, Persian, and Chinese) in the harmony of colours and forms. Each of these intellectual dispositions has its particular forms of error and abuse, which, though I have often before stated,¹ I must here again briefly explain; and this the rather, because the word Naturalism is, in one of its senses, justly used as a term of reproach, and the questions respecting the real relations of art and nature are so many and so confused throughout all the schools of Europe at this day, that I cannot clearly enunciate any single truth without appearing to admit, in fellowship with it, some kind of error, unless the reader will bear with me in entering into such an analysis of the subject as will serve us for general guidance.

§ 42. We are to remember, in the first place, that the arrangement of colours and lines is an art analogous to the composition* of music, and entirely independent of the

* I am always afraid to use this word "Composition;" it is so utterly misused in the general parlance respecting art. Nothing is more common than to hear divisions of art into "form, composition, and colour," or "light and shade and composition," or "sentiment and composition," or it matters

¹ [See, for instance, above, ch. iv. § § 43 *seq.*, pp. 110 *seq.*]

representation of facts. Good colouring does not necessarily convey the image of anything but itself. It consists in certain proportions and arrangements of rays of light, but not in likenesses to anything. A few touches of certain greys and purples laid by a master's hand on white paper will be good colouring; as more touches are added beside them, we may find out that they were intended to represent a dove's neck, and we may praise, as the drawing advances, the perfect imitation of the dove's neck.¹ But the good colouring does not consist in that imitation, but in the abstract qualities and relations of the grey and purple.

In like manner, as soon as a great sculptor begins to shape his work out of the block, we shall see that its lines are nobly arranged, and of noble character. We may not have the slightest idea for what the forms are intended, whether they are of man or beast, of vegetation or drapery. Their likeness to anything does not affect their nobleness. They are magnificent forms, and that is all we need care to know of them, in order to say whether the workman is a good or bad sculptor.

§ 43. Now the noblest art is an exact unison of the abstract value, with the imitative power, of forms and colours. It is the noblest composition, used to express the noblest facts. But the human mind cannot in general unite the two perfections: it either pursues the fact to the neglect

not what else and composition; the speakers in each case attaching a perfectly different meaning to the word, generally an indistinct one, and always a wrong one. Composition is, in plain English, "putting together," and it means the putting together of lines, of forms, of colours, of shades, or of ideas. Painters compose in colour, compose in thought, compose in form, and compose in effect; the word being of use merely in order to express a scientific, disciplined, and inventive arrangement of any of these, instead of a merely natural or accidental one.²

¹ [Ruskin was thinking perhaps of Turner's sketch of a dove at Farnley which he greatly admired (see *On the Old Road*, 1899, iii. § 281), and of William Hunt's dove, which his father had just bought (see *Notes on Prout and Hunt*, No. 145).]

² [For Ruskin's full discussions of composition in art, see *Elements of Drawing*, Letter iii., and *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. viii. ch. i.]

of the composition, or pursues the composition to the neglect of the fact.

§ 44. And it is intended by the Deity that it *should* do this: the best art is not always wanted. Facts are often wanted without art, as in a geological diagram; and art often without facts, as in a Turkey carpet. And most men have been made capable of giving either one or the other, but not both; only one or two, the very highest, can give both.

Observe then. Men are universally divided, as respects their artistical qualifications, into three great classes; a right, a left, and a centre. On the right side are the men of facts, on the left the men of design,* in the centre the men of both.¹

The three classes of course pass into each other by imperceptible gradations. The men of facts are hardly ever altogether without powers of design; the men of design are always in some measure cognizant of facts; and as each class possesses more or less of the powers of the opposite one, it approaches to the character of the central class. Few men, even in that central rank, are so exactly throned on the summit of the crest that they cannot be perceived to incline in the least one way or the other, embracing both horizons with their glance. Now each of these classes has, as I above said, a healthy function in the world, and correlative diseases or unhealthy functions; and, when the work of either of them is seen in its morbid condition, we are apt to find fault with the class of workmen, instead of finding fault only with the particular abuse which has perverted their action.

§ 45. Let us first take an instance of the healthy action

* Design is used in this place as expressive of the power to arrange lines and colours nobly. By facts, I mean facts perceived by the eye and mind, not facts accumulated by knowledge. See the chapter on Roman Renaissance (Vol.III. Chap. II.) for this distinction [§§ 6 *seq.*, "Pride of Science"].

¹ [With the distinction here drawn compare *The Two Paths*, Lecture i. ("Conventional Art").]

of the three classes on a simple subject, so as fully to understand the distinction between them, and then we shall more easily examine the corruptions to which they are liable. Fig. 1 in Plate 6 is a spray of vine with a bough of cherrytree, which I have outlined from nature as accurately as I could, without in the least endeavouring to compose or arrange the form. It is a simple piece of fact-work, healthy and good as such, and useful to any one who wanted to know plain truths about tendrils of vines, but there is no attempt at design in it. Plate 19 below, represents a branch of vine used to decorate the angle of the Ducal Palace. It is faithful as a representation of vine, and yet so designed that every leaf serves an architectural purpose, and could not be spared from its place without harm. This is central work; fact and design together. Fig. 2 in Plate 6 is a spandril from St. Mark's, in which the forms of the vine are dimly suggested, the object of the design being merely to obtain graceful lines, and well-proportioned masses upon the gold ground. There is not the least attempt to inform the spectator of any facts about the growth of the vine; there are no stalks or tendrils,—merely running bands with leaves emergent from them, of which nothing but the outline is taken from the vine, and even that imperfectly. This is design, unregardful of facts.

Now the work is, in all these three cases, perfectly healthy. Fig. 1 is not bad work because it has not design, nor Fig. 2 bad work because it has not facts. The object of the one is to give pleasure through truth, and of the other to give pleasure through composition. And both are right.

What, then, are the diseased operations to which the three classes of workmen are liable?

§ 46. Primarily, two; affecting the two inferior classes;

1st, When either of those two classes Despises the other;

2nd, When either of the two classes Envyies the other; producing, therefore, four forms of dangerous error.

First, when the men of facts despise design. This is the error of the common Dutch painters, of merely imitative painters of still life, flowers, etc., and other men who, having either the gift of accurate imitation or strong sympathies with nature, suppose that all is done when the imitation is perfected or sympathy expressed. A large body of English landscapists come into this class, including most clever sketchers from nature, who fancy that to get a sky of true tone, and a gleam of sunshine or sweep of shower faithfully expressed, is all that can be required of art. These men are generally themselves answerable for much of their deadness of feeling to the higher qualities of composition. They probably have not originally the high gifts of design, but they lose such powers as they originally possessed by despising, and refusing to study, the results of great power of design in others. Their knowledge, as far as it goes, being accurate, they are usually presumptuous and self-conceited, and gradually become incapable of admiring anything but what is like their own works. They see nothing in the works of great designers but the faults, and do harm almost incalculable in the European society of the present day by sneering at the compositions of the greatest men of the earlier ages,* because they do not absolutely tally with their own ideas of "Nature."

§ 47. The second form of error is when the men of design despise facts. All noble design must deal with facts to a certain extent, for there is no food for it but in nature. The best colourist invents best by taking hints from natural colours; from birds, skies, or groups of figures. And if, in the delight of inventing fantastic colour and form, the truths of nature are wilfully neglected, the intellect becomes comparatively decrepit, and that state of art results which we find among the Chinese. The Greek designers delighted in the facts of the human form, and became great in consequence;

* "Earlier," that is to say, pre-Raphaelite ages. Men of this stamp will praise Claude, and such other comparatively debased artists; but they cannot taste the work of the thirteenth century.

but the facts of lower nature were disregarded by them, and their inferior ornament became, therefore, dead and valueless.

§ 48. The third form of error is when the men of facts envy design; that is to say, when, having only imitative powers, they refuse to employ those powers upon the visible world around them; but, having been taught that composition is the end of art, strive to obtain the inventive powers which nature has denied them, study nothing but the works of reputed designers, and perish in a fungous growth of plagiarism and laws of art.

Here was the great error of the beginning of this century;¹ it is the error of the meanest kind of men that employ themselves in painting, and it is the most fatal of all, rendering those who fall into it utterly useless, incapable of helping the world with either truth or fancy, while, in all probability, they deceive it by base resemblances of both, until it hardly recognizes truth or fancy when they really exist.

§ 49. The fourth form of error is when the men of design envy facts; that is to say, when the temptation of closely imitating nature leads them to forget their own proper ornamental function, and when they lose the power of the composition for the sake of graphic truth; as, for instance, in the hawthorn moulding so often spoken of round the porch of Bourges Cathedral,² which, though very lovely, might perhaps, as we saw above, have been better, if the old builder, in his excessive desire to make it look like hawthorn, had not painted it green.

§ 50. It is, however, carefully to be noted, that the two morbid conditions to which the men of facts are liable are much more dangerous and harmful than those to which the men of design are liable. The morbid state of men of design injures themselves only; that of the men of facts injures the whole world. The Chinese porcelain-painter is,

¹ [In the case of painters and critics such as Sir George Beaumont (1753–1827), mentioned below (§ 50), who is cited in *Modern Painters*, vol. i. as “a melancholy instance of the degradation into which the human mind may fall” (Vol. III. p. 45 n.).]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 70, and above, p. 110.]

indeed, not so great a man as he might be, but he does not want to break everything that is not porcelain: but the modern English fact-hunter, despising design, wants to destroy everything that does not agree with his own notions of truth, and becomes the most dangerous and despicable of iconoclasts, excited by egotism instead of religion. Again: the Bourges sculptor, painting his hawthorns green, did indeed somewhat hurt the effect of his own beautiful design, but did not prevent any one from loving hawthorn: but Sir George Beaumont, trying to make Constable paint grass brown *instead* of green,¹ was setting himself between Constable and nature, blinding the painter, and blaspheming the work of God.

§ 51. So much, then, of the diseases of the inferior classes, caused by their envying or despising each other. It is evident that the men of the central class cannot be liable to any morbid operation of this kind, they possessing the powers of both.

But there is another order of diseases which affect all the three classes, considered with respect to their pursuit of facts. For observe, all the three classes are in some degree pursuers of facts; even the men of design not being in any case altogether independent of external truth. Now, considering them *all* as more or less searchers after truth, there is another triple division to be made of them. Everything presented to them in nature has good and evil mingled in it: and artists, considered as searchers after truth, are again to be divided into three great classes, a right, a left, and a centre. Those on the right perceive, and pursue, the good, and leave the evil: those in the centre, the greatest, perceive and pursue the good and evil together, the whole thing as it verily is: those on the left perceive and pursue the evil, and leave the good.

§ 52. The first class, I say, take the good and leave the evil. Out of whatever is presented to them, they gather

¹ [See Vol. III. p. 45 *n.*]

what it has of grace, and life, and light, and holiness, and leave all, or at least as much as possible, of the rest undrawn. The faces of their figures express no evil passion; the skies of their landscapes are without storm; the prevalent character of their colour is brightness, and of their chiaroscuro fulness of light. The early Italian and Flemish painters, Angelico and Hemling, Perugino, Francia, Raffaelle in his best time, John Bellini, and our own Stothard, belong eminently to this class.¹

§ 53. The second, or greatest class, render all that they see in nature unhesitatingly, with a kind of divine grasp and government of the whole, sympathizing with all the good, and yet confessing, permitting, and bringing good out of the evil also. Their subject is infinite as nature, their colour equally balanced between splendour and sadness, reaching occasionally the highest degrees of both, and their chiaroscuro equally balanced between light and shade.

The principal men of this class are Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Giotto, Tintoret, and Turner. Raffaelle in his second time, Titian, and Rubens are transitional; the first inclining to the eclectic, and the last two to the impure class, Raffaelle rarely giving all the evil, Titian and Rubens rarely all the good.²

§ 54. The last class perceive and imitate evil only. They cannot draw the trunk of a tree without blasting and shattering it, nor a sky except covered with stormy clouds; they delight in the beggary and brutality of the human race; their colour is for the most part subdued or lurid, and the greater spaces of their pictures are occupied by darkness.

¹ [For the "purism" of Fra Angelico—its strength and its weakness—see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 332); vol. iii. ch. vi. § 4; and *Ethics of the Dust*, §§ 85, 86. The true spelling of the next painter's name (as researches later than the date of this book have shown), is Hans Memlinc (1430–1494), the Fra Angelico, we may call him, of Flanders. For Perugino, Francia, and the early Raffaelle in this connection, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. pp. 330–331). For Stothard, as "the Angelico of England," see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 194); vol. iii. ch. vi. § 5; and *The Cestus of Aglaia*, § 80. For John Bellini, see *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret*.]

² [For these painters, see General Index; and in regard to their relative ranks, see the class list drawn up by Ruskin in 1845, Vol. IV. pp. xxxiv. –xxxv., and the references to other lists there noted.]

Happily the examples of this class are seldom seen in perfection. Salvator Rosa and Caravaggio are the most characteristic: the other men belonging to it approach towards the central rank by imperceptible gradations, as they perceive and represent more and more of good. But Murillo, Zurbaran, Camillo, Procaccini, Rembrandt, and Teniers, all belong naturally to this lower class.¹

§ 55. Now, observe: the three classes into which artists were previously divided, of men of fact, men of design, and men of both, are all of Divine institution; but of these latter three, the last is in nowise of Divine institution. It is entirely human, and the men who belong to it have sunk into it by their own faults. They are, so far forth, either useless or harmful men. It is indeed good that evil should be occasionally represented, even in its worst forms, but never that it should be taken delight in: and the mighty men of the central class will always give us all that is needful of it; sometimes, as Hogarth did, dwelling upon it bitterly as satirists,—but this with the more effect, because they will neither exaggerate it, nor represent it mercilessly, and without the atoning points that all evil shows to a Divinely guided glance, even at its deepest. So then, though the third class will always, I fear, in some measure exist, the two necessary classes are only the first two: and this is so far acknowledged by the general

¹ [Here again, for Salvator, Rembrandt, and Teniers, see General Index. For Murillo and the development of Ruskin's attitude towards him, see note at Vol. III. p. 635. For Caravaggio, see in Vol. XII. *Review of Lord Lindsay's Christian Art*, § 30; and *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. iii. § 12, ch. xvi. § 18. Zurbaran is not elsewhere referred to by Ruskin; for good examples of him, see National Gallery, Nos. 230, 232. For Camillo Procaccini, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 202). In one draft of this § 54 the following alternative or footnote to the second paragraph occurs:—

“I do not mean in this general statement to include workmen, such as John Martin, whom I do not regard as painters at all. Martin's works are merely a common manufacture, as much makeable to order as a tea-tray or a coal-scuttle—such may be made and sold by the most respectable people, to any extent, without the least discredit to their characters. But I speak of men really deserving to be called painters, such as Zurbaran or Salvator; and of works which involve real skill and certain imagery truly, though coarsely terrible.”

For Martin, see Vol. I. p. 243, and Vol. III. pp. 36, 38.]

sense of men, that the basest class has been confounded with the second; and painters have been divided commonly only into two ranks, now known, I believe, throughout Europe by the names which they first received in Italy, "Puristi and Naturalisti." Since, however, in the existing state of things, the degraded or evil-loving class, though less defined than that of the Puristi, is just as vast as it is indistinct, this division has done infinite dishonour to the great faithful painters of nature: and it has long been one of the objects I have had most at heart to show¹ that, in reality, the Purists, in their sanctity, are less separated from these natural painters than the Sensualists in their foulness; and that the difference, though less discernible, is in reality greater between the man who pursues evil for its own sake and him who bears with it for the sake of truth, than between this latter and the man who will not endure it at all.

§ 56. Let us, then, endeavour briefly to mark the real relations of these three vast ranks of men, whom I shall call, for convenience in speaking of them, Purists, Naturalists, and Sensualists; not that these terms express their real characters, but I know no word, and cannot coin a convenient one, which would accurately express the opposite of Purist; and I keep the terms Purist and Naturalist in order to comply, as far as possible, with the established usage of language on the Continent.² Now, observe: in saying that nearly everything presented to us in nature has mingling in it of good and evil,³ I do not mean that nature is conceivably improvable, or that anything that God has made could be called evil, if we could see far enough into its uses, but that, with respect to immediate effects or appearances, it may be so, just as

¹ [Ruskin returned to the subject in the third volume of *Modern Painters*: see the next note.]

² [See *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. vi. § 2, where Ruskin similarly divides "true idealism" into purist, naturalist, and grotesque.]

³ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. iii., *pref.* § 4, where Ruskin replies to a criticism on this passage.]

the hard rind or bitter kernel of a fruit may be an evil to the eater, though in the one is the protection of the fruit, and in the other its continuance. The Purist, therefore, does not mend nature, but receives from nature and from God that which is good for him; while the Sensualist fills himself “with the husks that the swine did eat.” Luke xv. 16.

The three classes may, therefore, be likened to men reaping wheat, of which the Purists take the fine flour, and the Sensualists the chaff and straw, but the Naturalists take all home, and make their cake of the one, and their couch of the other.

§ 57. For instance. We know more certainly every day that whatever appears to us harmful in the universe has some beneficent or necessary operation; that the storm which destroys a harvest brightens the sunbeams for harvests yet unsown, and that the volcano which buries a city preserves a thousand from destruction. But the evil is not for the time less fearful, because we have learned it to be necessary; and we easily understand the timidity or the tenderness of the spirit which would withdraw itself from the presence of destruction, and create in its imagination a world of which the peace should be unbroken, in which the sky should not darken nor the sea rage, in which the leaf should not change nor the blossom wither. That man is greater, however, who contemplates with an equal mind the alternations of terror and of beauty; who, not rejoicing less beneath the sunny sky, can bear also to watch the bars of twilight narrowing on the horizon; and, not less sensible to the blessing of the peace of nature, can rejoice in the magnificence of the ordinances by which that peace is protected and secured. But separated from both by an immeasurable distance would be the man who delighted in convulsion and disease for their own sake; who found his daily food in the disorder of nature mingled with the suffering of humanity; and watched joyfully at the right hand of the Angel whose appointed work is to destroy as

well as to accuse, while the corners of the house of feasting were struck by the wind from the wilderness.¹

§ 58. And far more is this true, when the subject of contemplation is humanity itself. The passions of mankind are partly protective, partly beneficent, like the chaff and grain of the corn; but none without their use, none without nobleness when seen in balanced unity with the rest of the spirit which they are charged to defend. The passions of which the end is the continuance of the race: the indignation which is to arm it against injustice, or strengthen it to resist wanton injury; and the fear* which lies at the root of prudence, reverence, and awe, are all honourable and beautiful, so long as man is regarded in his relations to the existing world. The religious Purist, striving to conceive him withdrawn from those relations, effaces from the countenance the traces of all transitory passion, illumines it with holy hope and love, and seals it with the serenity of heavenly peace; he conceals the forms of the body by the deep-folded garment, or else represents them under severely chastened types, and would rather paint them emaciated by the fast, or pale from the torture, than strengthened by exertion, or flushed by emotion. But the great Naturalist takes the human being in its wholeness, in its mortal as well as its spiritual strength. Capable of sounding and sympathizing with the whole range of its passions, he brings one majestic harmony out of them all; he represents it fearlessly in all its acts and thoughts, in its haste, its anger, its sensuality, and its pride, as well as in its fortitude or faith, but makes it noble in them all; he casts aside the veil from the body, and beholds the mysteries of its form like an angel looking down on an inferior creature: there is nothing which he is reluctant to behold, nothing that he is ashamed to confess; with all

* Not selfish fear, caused by want of trust in God, or of resolution in the soul. Compare *Modern Painters*, vol.ii. pt. iii. section 1, chap. xiv. § 27 [Vol. IV. p. 199].

¹ [Job i. 19.]

that lives, triumphing, falling, or suffering, he claims kindred, either in majesty or in mercy, yet standing, in a sort, afar off, unmoved even in the deepness of his sympathy; for the spirit within him is too thoughtful to be grieved, too brave to be appalled, and too pure to be polluted.

§ 59. How far beneath these two ranks of men shall we place, in the scale of being, those whose pleasure is only in sin or in suffering; who habitually contemplate humanity in poverty or decrepitude, fury or sensuality; whose works are either temptations to its weakness, or triumphs over its ruin, and recognize no other subjects for thought or admiration than the subtlety of the robber, the rage of the soldier, or the joy of the Sybarite? It seems strange, when thus definitely stated, that such a school should exist. Yet consider a little what gaps and blanks would disfigure our gallery and chamber walls, in places that we have long approached with reverence, if every picture, every statue, were removed from them of which the subject was either the vice or the misery of mankind, portrayed without any moral purpose; consider the innumerable groups having reference merely to various forms of passion, low or high: drunken revels and brawls among peasants, gambling or fighting scenes among soldiers, amours and intrigues among every class, brutal battle pieces, banditti subjects, gluts of torture and death in famine, wreck, or slaughter, for the sake merely of the excitement,—that quickening and suppling of the dull spirit that cannot be gained for it but by bathing it in blood, afterward to wither back into stained and stiffened apathy; and then that whole vast false heaven of sensual passion, full of nymphs, satyrs, graces, goddesses, and I know not what, from its high seventh circle in Correggio's *Antiope*,¹ down to the Grecized balletdancers and smirking Cupids of the Parisian upholsterer. Sweep away all this, remorselessly, and see how much art we should have left.

¹ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. v. § 4.]

§ 60. And yet these are only the grosser manifestations of the tendency of the school. There are subtler, yet not less certain, signs of it in the works of men who stand high in the world's list of sacred painters. I doubt not that the reader was surprised when I named Murillo among the men of this third rank. Yet, go into the Dulwich Gallery, and meditate for a little over that much celebrated picture of the two beggar boys, one eating, lying on the ground, the other standing beside him.¹ We have among our own painters one who cannot indeed be set beside Murillo as a painter of Madonnas, for he is a pure Naturalist, and, never having seen a Madonna, does not paint any; but who, as a painter of beggar or peasant boys, may be set beside Murillo, or any one else,—W. Hunt.² He loves peasant boys, because he finds them more roughly and picturesquely dressed, and more healthily coloured, than others. And he paints all that he sees in them fearlessly; all the health and humour, and freshness and vitality, together with such awkwardness and stupidity, and what else of negative or positive harm there may be in the creature; but yet so that on the whole we love it, and find it perhaps even beautiful, or if not, at least we see that there is capability of good in it, rather than of evil; and all is lighted up by a sunshine and sweet colour that makes the smock frock as precious as cloth of gold. But look at those two ragged and vicious vagrants that Murillo has gathered out of the street. You smile at first, because they are eating so naturally, and their roguery is so complete. But is there anything else than roguery there, or was it well for the painter to give his time to the painting of those repulsive and wicked children? Do you feel moved with any charity towards children as you look at them? Are we the least more likely to take any interest in ragged schools, or to help the next pauper child that comes in our way, because

¹ [The picture is No. 224 (formerly 286). Ruskin alludes to it again in *Ariadne Florentina*, § 143. For his attitude to Murillo generally, see note in Vol. III. p. 635.]

² [See *Notes on Prout and Hunt*, and compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. vii. § 7.]

the painter has shown us a cunning beggar feeding greedily? Mark the choice of the act. He might have shown hunger in other ways, and given interest to even this act of eating, by making the face wasted, or the eye wistful. But he did not care to do this. He delighted merely in the disgusting manner of eating, the food filling the cheek; the boy is not hungry, else he would not turn round to talk and grin as he eats.

§ 61. But observe another point in the lower figure. It lies so that the sole of the foot is turned towards the spectator; not because it would have lain less easily in another attitude, but that the painter may draw, and exhibit, the grey dust engrained in the foot. Do not call this the painting of nature: it is mere delight in foulness. The lesson, if there be any, in the picture, is not one whit the stronger. We all know that a beggar's bare foot cannot be clean; there is no need to thrust its degradation into the light, as if no human imagination were vigorous enough for its conception.

§ 62. The position of the Sensualists, in treatment of landscape, is less distinctly marked than in that of the figure, because even the wildest passions of nature are noble: but the inclination is manifested by carelessness in marking generic form in trees and flowers: by their preferring confused and irregular arrangements of foliage or foreground to symmetrical and simple grouping; by their general choice of such picturesqueness as results from decay, disorder, and disease, rather than of that which is consistent with the perfection of the things in which it is found; and by their imperfect rendering of the elements of strength and beauty in all things. I propose to work out this subject fully in the last volume of *Modern Painters*;¹ but I trust that enough has been here said to enable the reader to understand the relations of the three great classes of artists, and therefore also the kinds of morbid condition into which the two higher

¹ [The last volume turned out to be three. Ruskin treated the subject in various places of all three volumes; but especially in vol. iii. ch. iv.–viii., and vol. v. pt. ix.]

(for the last has no other than a morbid condition) are liable to fall. For, since the function of the Naturalists is to represent, as far as may be, the whole of nature, and of the Purists to represent what is absolutely good for some special purpose or time, it is evident that both are liable to err from shortness of sight, and the last also from weakness of judgment. I say, in the first place, both may err from shortness of sight, from not seeing all that there is in nature; seeing only the outside of things, or those points of them which bear least on the matter in hand. For instance, a modern continental Naturalist sees the anatomy of a limb thoroughly, but does not see its colour against the sky, which latter fact is to a painter far the more important of the two. And because it is always easier to see the surface than the depth of things, the full sight of them requiring the highest powers of penetration, sympathy, and imagination the world is full of vulgar Naturalists: not Sensualists observe, not men who delight in evil; but men who never see the deepest good, and who bring discredit on all painting of Nature by the little that they discover in her. And the Purist, besides being liable to this same shortsightedness, is liable also to fatal errors of judgment; for he may think that good which is not so, and that the highest good which is the least. And thus the world is full of vulgar Purists,*

* I reserve for another place¹ the full discussion of this interesting subject, which here would have led me too far; but it must be noted, in passing, that this vulgar Purism, which rejects truth, not because it is vicious, but because it is humble, and consists not in choosing what is good, but in disguising what is rough, extends itself into every species of art. The most definite instance of it is the dressing of characters of peasantry in an opera or ballet scene; and the walls of our exhibitions are full of works of art which "exalt nature" in the same way, not by revealing what is great in the heart, but by smoothing what is coarse in the complexion. There is nothing, I believe, so vulgar, so hopeless, so indicative of an irretrievably base mind, as this species of Purism. Of healthy Purism carried to the utmost endurable length in this direction, exalting the heart first, and the features with it, perhaps the most characteristic instance I can give is Stothard's vignette to "Jorasse," in Rogers's *Italy*;

¹ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. iii., and especially ch. vii. § 9.]

who bring discredit on all selection by the silliness of their choice; and this the more, because the very becoming a Purist is commonly indicative of some slight degree of weakness, readiness to be offended, or narrowness of understanding of the ends of things: the greatest men being, in all times of art, Naturalists, without any exception; and the greatest Purists being those who approach nearest to the Naturalists, as Benozzo Gozzoli and Perugino.¹ Hence there is a tendency in the Naturalists to despise the Purists, and in the Purists to be offended with the Naturalists (not understanding them, and confounding them with the Sensualists); and this is grievously harmful to both.

§ 63. Of the various forms of resultant mischief it is not here the place to speak; the reader may already be somewhat wearied with a statement which has led us apparently so far from, our immediate subject. But the digression was necessary, in order that I might clearly define the sense in which I use the word Naturalism when I state it to be the third most essential characteristic of Gothic architecture. I mean that the Gothic builders belong to the central or greatest rank in *both* the classifications of artists which we have just made; that considering all artists as either men of design, men of facts, or men of both, the Gothic builders were men of both; and that again, considering all artists as either Purists, Naturalists, or Sensualists, the Gothic builders were Naturalists.

§ 64. I say first, that the Gothic builders were of that central class which unites fact with design; but that the

at least it would be so if it could be seen beside a real group of Swiss girls. The poems of Rogers, compared with those of Crabbe,² are admirable instances of the healthiest Purism and healthiest Naturalism in poetry. The first great Naturalists of Christian art were Orcagna and Giotto.

¹ [For Ruskin's numerous references to these painters, see General Index; and especially see for Gozzoli, *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 320); and for Perugino, *Ariadne Florentina*, § 72]

² [Ruskin included Crabbe among the modern poets whom everybody should read: see *Elements of Drawing*, § 258; and quoted from him in *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. iii. § 24 n.]

part of the work which was more especially their own was the truthfulness. Their power of artistical invention or arrangement was not greater than that of Romanesque and Byzantine workmen: by those workmen they were taught the principles, and from them received their models, of design; but to the ornamental feeling and rich fancy of the Byzantine the Gothic builder added a love of *fact* which is never found in the South. Both Greek and Roman used conventional foliage in their ornament, passing into something that was not foliage at all, knotting itself into strange cup-like buds or clusters, and growing out of lifeless rods instead of stems; the Gothic sculptor received these types, at first, as things that ought to be just as we have a second time received them; but he could not rest in them. He saw there was no veracity in them, no knowledge, no vitality. Do what he would, he could not help liking the true leaves better; and cautiously, a little at a time, he put more of nature into his work, until at last it was all true, retaining, nevertheless, every valuable character of the original well-disciplined and designed arrangement.*

§ 65. Nor is it only in external and visible subject that the Gothic workman wrought for truth: he is as firm in his rendering of imaginative as of actual truth; that is to say, when an idea would have been by a Roman, or Byzantine, symbolically represented, the Gothic mind realizes it to the utmost. For instance, the purgatorial fire is represented in the mosaic of Torcello¹ (Romanesque) as a red stream, longitudinally striped like a riband, descending out of the throne of Christ, and gradually extending itself to envelope the wicked. When we are once informed what this means, it is enough for its purpose; but the Gothic inventor does not leave the sign in need of interpretation. He

* The reader will understand this in a moment by glancing at Plate 20, the last in this volume, where the series 1 to 12 represents the change in one kind of leaf, from the Byzantine to the perfect Gothic.

¹ [See above, ch. ii. § 9, p. 26.]

makes the fire as like real fire as he can; and in the porch of St. Maclou at Rouen¹ the sculptured flames burst out of the Hades gate, and flicker up, in writhing tongues of stone, through the interstices of the niches, as if the church itself were on fire. This is an extreme instance, but it is all the more illustrative of the entire difference in temper and thought between the two schools of art, and of the intense love of veracity which influenced the Gothic design.

§ 66. I do not say that this love of veracity is always healthy in its operation. I have above noticed the errors into which it falls from despising design; and there is another kind of error noticeable in the instance just given, in which the love of truth is too hasty, and seizes on a surface truth instead of an inner one. For in representing the Hades fire, it is not the mere *from* of the flame which needs most to be told, but its unquenchableness, its Divine ordainment and limitation, and its inner fierceness, not physical and material, but in being the expression of the wrath of God. And these things are not to be told by imitating the fire that flashes out of a bundle of sticks. If we think over his symbol a little, we shall perhaps find that the Romanesque builder told more truth in that likeness of a blood-red stream, flowing between definite shores, and out of God's throne, and expanding, as if fed by a perpetual current, into the lake wherein the wicked are cast,² than the Gothic builder in those torch-flickerings about his niches. But this is not to our immediate purpose; I am not at present to insist upon the faults into which the love of truth was led in the later Gothic times, but on the feeling itself, as a glorious and peculiar characteristic of the Northern builders. For, observe, it is not, even in the above instance, love of truth, but want of thought, which *causes* the fault. The love of truth, as such, is good, but

¹ [The Last Judgment is sculptured on the central tympanum; it is referred to again in Vol. IX. p. 275, and Vol. VIII. p. 212. For another reference to the church (built 1437-1480), see Vol. VIII. p. 41 *n.*]

² [See Revelation xix. and xx.]

when it is misdirected by thoughtlessness or over-excited by vanity, and either seizes on facts of small value, or gathers them chiefly that it may boast of its grasp and apprehension, its work may well become dull or offensive. Yet let us not, therefore, blame the inherent love of facts, but the incautiousness of their selection, and impertinence of their statement.

§ 67. I said, in the second place, that Gothic work, when referred to the arrangement of all art, as purist, naturalist, or sensualist, was naturalist. This character follows necessarily on its extreme love of truth, prevailing over the sense of beauty, and causing it to take delight in portraiture of every kind, and to express the various characters of the human countenance and form, as it did the varieties of leaves and the ruggedness of branches. And this tendency is both increased and ennobled by the same Christian humility which we saw expressed in the first character of Gothic work, its rudeness.¹ For as that resulted from a humility which confessed the imperfection of the *workman*, so this naturalist portraiture is rendered more faithful by the humility which confesses the imperfection of the *subject*. The Greek sculptor could neither bear to confess his own feebleness, nor to tell the faults of the forms that he portrayed. But the Christian workman, believing that all is finally to work together for good,² freely confesses both, and neither seeks to disguise his own roughness of work, nor his subject's roughness of make. Yet this frankness being joined, for the most part, with depth of religious feeling in other directions, and especially with charity, there is sometimes a tendency to Purism in the best Gothic sculpture; so that it frequently reaches great dignity of form and tenderness of expression, yet never so as to lose the veracity of portraiture wherever portraiture is possible: not exalting its kings into demi-gods, nor its saints into archangels, but giving what kingliness and sanctity was in them, to the

¹ [See above, § 10, p. 190.]

² [Romans viii. 28.]

full, mixed with due record of their faults; and this in the most part with a great indifference like that of Scripture history,¹ which sets down, with unmoved and unexcusing resoluteness, the virtues and errors of all men of whom it speaks, often leaving the reader to form his own estimate of them, without an indication of the judgment of the historian. And this veracity is carried out by the Gothic sculptors in the minuteness and generality, as well as the equity, of their delineation: for they do not limit their art to the portraiture of saints and kings, but introduce the most familiar scenes and most simple subjects: filling up the backgrounds of Scripture histories with vivid and curious representations of the commonest incidents of daily life, and availing themselves of every occasion in which, either as a symbol, or an explanation of a scene or time, the things familiar to the eye of the workman could be introduced and made of account. Hence Gothic sculpture and painting are not only full of valuable portraiture of the greatest men, but copious records of all the domestic customs and inferior arts of the ages in which it flourished.*

§ 68. There is, however, one direction in which the Naturalism of the Gothic workmen is peculiarly manifested; and this direction is even more characteristic of the school than the Naturalism itself; I mean their peculiar fondness for the forms of Vegetation. In rendering the various circumstances of daily life, Egyptian and Ninevite sculpture is as frank and as diffuse as the Gothic. From the highest pomps of state or triumphs of battle, to the most trivial

* The best art either represents the facts of its own day, or, if facts of the past, expresses them with accessories of the time in which the work was done. All good art, representing past events, is therefore full of the most frank anachronism, and always *ought* to be. No painter has any business to be an antiquarian. We do not want his impressions or suppositions respecting things that are past. We want his clear assertions respecting things present.²

¹ [Compare what Ruskin says of the universal grasp and "absolute equality of judgment" in Shakespeare, "removed from all influences which could in the least warp or bias his thoughts" (*Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xx. § 28).]

² [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. vii. §§ 19, 20.]

domestic arts and amusements, all is taken advantage of to fill the field of granite with the perpetual interest of a crowded drama; and the early Lombardic and Romanesque sculpture is equally copious in its description of the familiar circumstances of war and the chase. But in all the scenes portrayed by the workmen of these nations, vegetation occurs only as an explanatory accessory; the reed is introduced to mark the course of the river, or the tree to mark the covert of the wild beast, or the ambush of the enemy, but there is no especial interest in the forms of the vegetation strong enough to induce them to make it a subject of separate and accurate study. Again, among the nations who followed the arts of design exclusively, the forms of foliage introduced were meagre and general, and their real intricacy and life were neither admired nor expressed. But to the Gothic workman the living foliage became a subject of intense affection, and he struggled to render all its characters with as much accuracy as was compatible with the laws of his design and the nature of his material, not unfrequently tempted in his enthusiasm to transgress the one and disguise the other.

§ 69. There is a peculiar significance in this, indicative both of higher civilization and gentler temperament, than had before been manifested in architecture. Rudeness, and the love of change, which we have insisted upon as the first elements of Gothic, are also elements common to all healthy schools. But here is a softer element mingled with them, peculiar to the Gothic itself. The rudeness or ignorance which would have been painfully exposed in the treatment of the human form, are still not so great as to prevent the successful rendering of the wayside herbage; and the love of change, which becomes morbid and feverish in following the haste of the hunter and the rage of the combatant, is at once soothed and satisfied as it watches the wandering of the tendril, and the budding of the flower. Nor is this all: the new direction of mental interest marks an infinite change in the means and the habits of life.

The nations whose chief support was in the chase, whose chief interest was in the battle, whose chief pleasure was in the banquet, would take small care respecting the shapes of leaves and flowers; and notice little in the forms of the forest trees which sheltered them, except the signs indicative of the wood which would make the toughest lance, the closest roof, or the clearest fire. The affectionate observation of the grace and outward character of vegetation is the sure sign of a more tranquil and gentle existence, sustained by the gifts, and gladdened by the splendour, of the earth. In that careful distinction of species, and richness of delicate and undisturbed organization, which characterize the Gothic design, there is the history of rural and thoughtful life, influenced by habitual tenderness, and devoted to subtle inquiry; and every discriminating and delicate touch of the chisel, as it rounds the petal or guides the branch, is a prophecy of the development of the entire body of the natural sciences, beginning with that of medicine, of the recovery of literature, and the establishment of the most necessary principles of domestic wisdom and national peace.

§ 70. I have before alluded to the strange and vain supposition, that the original conception of Gothic architecture had been derived from vegetation,—from the symmetry of avenues, and the interlacing of branches.¹ It is a supposition which never could have existed for a moment in the mind of any person acquainted with early Gothic; but, however idle as a theory, it is most valuable as a testimony to the character of the perfected style. It is precisely because the reverse of this theory is the fact, because the Gothic did not arise out of, but develop itself into, a resemblance to vegetation, that this resemblance is so instructive as an indication of the temper of the builders. It was no chance suggestion of the form of an arch from the bending of a bough, but a gradual and continual discovery

¹ [See *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 88; and *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. (Vol. IX. p. 226).]

of a beauty in natural forms which could be more and more perfectly transferred into those of stone, that influenced at once the heart of the people, and the form of the edifice. The Gothic architecture arose in massy and mountainous strength, axe-hewn, and iron-bound, block heaved upon block by the monk's enthusiasm and the soldier's force; and cramped and stanchioned into such weight of grisly wall, as might bury the anchorite in darkness, and beat back the utmost storm of battle, suffering but by the same narrow crosslet the passing of the sunbeam, or of the arrow. Gradually, as that monkish enthusiasm became more thoughtful, and as the sound of war became more and more intermittent beyond the gates of the convent or the keep, the stony pillar grew slender and the vaulted roof grew light, till they had wreathed themselves into the semblance of the summer woods at their fairest, and of the dead field-flowers, long trodden down in blood, sweet monumental statues were set to bloom for ever, beneath the porch of the temple, or the canopy of the tomb.

§ 71. Nor is it only as a sign of greater gentleness or refinement of mind, but as a proof of the best possible direction of this refinement, that the tendency of the Gothic to the expression of vegetative life is to be admired. That sentence of Genesis, "I have given thee every green herb for meat,"¹ like all the rest of the book, has a profound symbolical as well as a literal meaning. It is not merely the nourishment of the body, but the food of the soul, that is intended. The green herb is, of all nature, that which is most essential to the healthy spiritual life of man. Most of us do not need fine scenery; the precipice and the mountain peak are not intended to be seen by all men,—perhaps their power is greatest over those who are unaccustomed to them. But trees and fields and flowers were made for all, and are necessary for all. God has connected

¹ [i. 30.]

the labour which is essential to the bodily sustenance with the pleasures which are healthiest for the heart; and while He made the ground stubborn, He made its herbage fragrant, and its blossoms fair. The proudest architecture that man can build has no higher honour than to bear the image and recall the memory of that grass of the field which is, at once, the type and the support of his existence; the goodly building is then most glorious when it is sculptured into the likeness of the leaves of Paradise; and the great Gothic spirit, as we showed it to be noble in its disquietude, is also noble in its hold of nature; it is, indeed, like the dove of Noah, in that she found no rest upon the face of the waters,—but like her in this also, “LO, IN HER MOUTH WAS AN OLIVE BRANCH, PLUCKED OFF.”¹

§ 72. The fourth essential element of the Gothic mind was above stated to be the sense of the GROTESQUE; but I shall defer the endeavour to define this most curious and subtle character until we have occasion to examine one of the divisions of the Renaissance schools, which was morbidly influenced by it (Vol. III. Chap. III). It is the less necessary to insist upon it here, because every reader familiar with Gothic architecture must understand what I mean, and will, I believe have no hesitation in admitting that the tendency to delight in fantastic and ludicrous, as well as in sublime, images, is a universal instinct of the Gothic imagination.

§ 73. The fifth element above named was RIGIDITY; and this character I must endeavour carefully to define, for neither the word I have used, nor any other that I can think of, will express it accurately. For I mean, not merely stable, but *active* rigidity; the peculiar energy which gives tension to movement, and stiffness to resistance, which makes the fiercest lightning forked rather than curved, and the stoutest oak-branch angular rather than bending, and is as much seen in the quivering of the lance as in the glittering of the icicle.

¹ [Genesis viii. 9–11.]

§ 74. I have before had occasion (Vol. I. Chap. XIII. § 7) to note some manifestations of this energy or fixedness; but it must be still more attentively considered here, as it shows itself throughout the whole structure and decoration of Gothic work. Egyptian and Greek buildings stand, for the most part, by their own weight and mass, one stone passively incumbent on another; but in the Gothic vaults and traceries there is a stiffness analogous to that of the bones of a limb, or fibres of a tree; an elastic tension and communication of force from part to part, and also a studious expression of this throughout every visible line of the building. And, in like manner, the Greek and Egyptian ornament is either mere surface engraving, as if the face of the wall had been stamped with a seal, or its lines are flowing, lithe, and luxuriant; in either case, there is no expression of energy in the framework of the ornament itself. But the Gothic ornament stands out in prickly independence, and frosty fortitude, jutting into crockets, and freezing into pinnacles; here starting up into a monster, there germinating into a blossom, anon knitting itself into a branch, alternately thorny, bossy, and bristly, or writhed into every form of nervous entanglement; but, even when most graceful, never for an instant languid, always quickset: erring, if at all, ever on the side of brusquerie.

§ 75. The feelings or habits in the workman which give rise to this character in the work, are more complicated and various than those indicated by any other sculptural expression hitherto named. There is, first, the habit of hard and rapid working; the industry of the tribes of the North, quickened by the coldness of the climate, and giving an expression of sharp energy to all they do (as above noted, Vol. I. Chap. XIII. § 7), as opposed to the languor of the Southern tribes, however much of fire there may be in the heart of that languor, for lava itself may flow languidly. There is also the habit of finding enjoyment in the signs of cold, which is never found, I believe, in the inhabitants of countries south of the Alps. Cold is to them an

unredeemed evil, to be suffered and forgotten as soon as may be; but the long winter of the North forces the Goth (I mean the Englishman, Frenchman, Dane, or German), if he would lead a happy life at all, to find sources of happiness in foul weather as well as fair, and to rejoice in the leafless as well as in the shady forest. And this we do with all our hearts; finding perhaps nearly as much contentment by the Christmas fire as in the summer sunshine, and gaining health and strength on the ice-fields of winter, as well as among the meadows of spring. So that there is nothing adverse or painful to our feelings in the cramped and stiffened structure of vegetation checked by cold; and instead of seeking, like the Southern sculpture, to express only the softness of leafage nourished in all tenderness, and tempted into all luxuriance by warm winds and glowing rays, we find pleasure in dwelling upon the crabbed, perverse, and morose animation of plants that have known little kindness from earth or heaven, but, season after season, have had their best efforts palsied by frost, their brightest buds buried under snow, and their goodliest limbs lopped by tempest.

§ 76. There are many subtle sympathies and affections which join to confirm the Gothic mind in this peculiar choice of subject; and when we add to the influence of these, the necessities consequent upon the employment of a rougher material, compelling the workman to seek for vigour of effect, rather than refinement of texture or accuracy of form, we have direct and manifest causes for much of the difference between the Northern and Southern cast of conception: but there are indirect causes holding a far more important place in the Gothic heart, though less immediate in their influence on design. Strength of will, independence of character, resoluteness of purpose, impatience of undue control, and that general tendency to set the individual reason against authority, and the individual deed against destiny, which, in the Northern tribes, has opposed itself throughout all ages, to the languid submission, in the

Southern, of thought to tradition, and purpose to fatality, are all more or less traceable in the rigid lines, vigorous and various masses, and daringly projecting and independent structure of the Northern Gothic ornament: while the opposite feelings are in like manner legible in the graceful and softly guided waves and wreathed bands, in which Southern decoration is constantly disposed; in its tendency to lose its independence, and fuse itself into the surface of the masses upon which it is traced; and in the expression seen so often, in the arrangement of those masses themselves, of an abandonment of their strength to an inevitable necessity, or a listless repose.

§ 77. There is virtue in the measure, and error in the excess, of both these characters of mind, and in both of the styles which they have created; the best architecture, and the best temper, are those which unite them both; and this fifth impulse of the Gothic heart is therefore that which needs most caution in its indulgence. It is more definitely Gothic than any other, but the best Gothic building is not that which is *most* Gothic: it can hardly be too frank in its confession of rudeness, hardly too rich in its changefulness, hardly too faithful in its naturalism; but it may go too far in its rigidity, and, like the great Puritan spirit in its extreme, lose itself either in frivolity of division, or perversity of purpose.* It actually did so in its later times; but it is gladdening to remember that in its utmost nobleness, the very temper which has been thought most adverse to it, the Protestant spirit of self-dependence and inquiry, was expressed in its every line. Faith and aspiration there were, in every Christian ecclesiastical building, from the first century to the fifteenth; but the moral habits to which England in

* See the account of the meeting at Talla Linns, in 1682, given in the fourth chapter of the *Heart of Midlothian*. At length they arrived at the conclusion that "they who owned (or allowed) such names as Monday, Tuesday, January, February, and so forth, served themselves heirs to the same if not greater punishment than had been denounced against the idolaters of old."

this age owes the kind of greatness that she has,—the habits of philosophical investigation, of accurate thought, of domestic seclusion and independence, of stern self-reliance and sincere upright searching into religious truth,—were only traceable in the features which were the distinctive creation of the Gothic schools, in the veined foliage, and thorny fretwork, and shadowy niche, and buttressed pier, and fearless height of subtle pinnacle and crested tower, sent like an “unperplexed question up to Heaven.”*

§ 78. Last, because the least essential, of the constituent elements of this noble school, was placed that of REDUNDANCE,—the uncalculating bestowal of the wealth of its labour. There is, indeed, much Gothic, and that of the best period, in which this element is hardly traceable, and which depends for its effect almost exclusively on loveliness of simple design and grace of uninvolved proportion; still, in the most characteristic buildings, a certain portion of their effect depends upon accumulation of ornament; and many of those which have most influence on the minds of men, have attained it by means of this attribute alone. And although, by careful study of the school, it is possible to arrive at a condition of taste which shall be better contented by a few perfect lines than by a whole facade covered with fretwork, the building which only satisfies such a taste is not to be considered the best. For the very first requirement of Gothic architecture being, as we saw above,¹ that it shall both admit the aid, and appeal to the admiration, of the rudest as well as the most refined minds, the richness of the work is, paradoxical as the statement may appear, a part of its humility. No architecture is so

* See the beautiful description of Florence in Elizabeth Browning's *Casa Guidi Windows*, which is not only a noble poem, but the only book I have seen which, favouring the Liberal cause in Italy, gives a just account of the incapacities of the modern Italian.²

¹ [See above, p. 190.]

² [For Ruskin's admiration of Mrs. Browning's poetry, see note in Vol. IX. p. 228. *Casa Guidi Windows* was published in 1851.]

haughty as that which is simple; which refuses to address the eye, except in a few clear and forceful lines; which implies, in offering so little to our regards, that all it has offered is perfect; and disdains, either by the complexity or the attractiveness of its features, to embarrass our investigation, or betray us into delight. That humility, which is the very life of the Gothic school, is shown not only in the imperfection, but in the accumulation, of ornament. The inferior rank of the workman is often shown as much in the richness, as the roughness, of his work; and if the co-operation of every hand, and the sympathy of every heart, are to be received, we must be content to allow the redundance which disguises the failure of the feeble, and wins the regard of the inattentive. There are, however, far nobler interests mingling, in the Gothic heart, with the rude love of decorative accumulation: a magnificent enthusiasm, which feels as if it never could do enough to reach the fulness of its ideal; an unselfishness of sacrifice, which would rather cast fruitless labour before the altar than stand idle in the market;¹ and, finally, a profound sympathy with the fulness and wealth of the material universe, rising out of that Naturalism whose operation we have already endeavoured to define. The sculptor who sought for his models among the forest leaves, could not but quickly and deeply feel that complexity need not involve the loss of grace, nor richness that of repose; and every hour which he spent in the study of the minute and various work of Nature, made him feel more forcibly the barrenness of what was best in that of man: nor is it to be wondered at, that, seeing her perfect and exquisite creations poured forth in a profusion which conception could not grasp nor calculation sum, he should think that it ill became him to be niggardly of his own rude craftsmanship; and where he saw throughout the universe a faultless beauty lavished on measureless spaces of brodered field and blooming mountain, to grudge

¹ [Matthew xx. 3.]

his poor and imperfect labour to the few stones that he had raised one upon another, for habitation or memorial. The years of his life passed away before his task was accomplished; but generation succeeded generation with unwearied enthusiasm, and the cathedral front was at last lost in the tapestry of its traceries, like a rock among the thickets and herbage of spring.

§ 79. We have now, I believe, obtained a view approaching to completeness of the various moral or imaginative elements which composed the inner spirit of Gothic architecture. We have, in the second place, to define its outward form.¹

Now, as the Gothic spirit is made up of several elements, some of which may, in particular examples, be wanting, so the Gothic form is made up² of minor conditions of form, some of which may, in particular examples, be imperfectly developed.

We cannot say, therefore, that a building is either Gothic or not Gothic in form, any more than we can in spirit. We can only say that it is more or less Gothic, in proportion to the number of Gothic forms which it unites.³

§ 80. There have been made lately many subtle and ingenious endeavours to base the definition of Gothic form entirely upon the roof-vaulting; endeavours which are both forced and futile; for many of the best Gothic buildings in the world have roofs of timber, which have no more connexion with the main structure of the walls or the edifice than a hat has with that of the head it protects; and other Gothic buildings are merely enclosures of spaces, as ramparts and walls, or enclosures of gardens or cloisters, and have

¹ [On the following §§, see above, Introduction, p. liii.]

² [In the first version of this sentence in the MS. Ruskin gives examples:—

“Now as in different varieties of Gothic, the various moral elements occur in different quantities—the element of grotesque, for instance, being found in small proportion in that of Venice, the element of wealth [redundance] deficient in that of England, and of savageness sometimes hardly traceable in that of Tuscany; so the forms into which the Gothic spirit casts itself are made up. . . .”]

³ [See above, p. 181.]

no roofs at all, in the sense in which the word "roof" is commonly accepted. But every reader who has ever taken the slightest interest in architecture must know that there is a great popular impression on this matter, which maintains itself stiffly in its old form, in spite of all ratiocination and definition; namely, that a flat lintel from pillar to pillar is Grecian, a round arch Norman or Romanesque, and a pointed arch Gothic.

And the old popular notion, as far as it goes, is perfectly right, and can never be bettered. The most striking outward feature in all Gothic architecture is, that it is composed of pointed arches, as in Romanesque that it is in like manner composed of round; and this distinction would be quite as clear, though the roofs were taken off every cathedral in Europe. And yet if we examine carefully into the real force and meaning of the term "roof," we shall perhaps be able to retain the old popular idea in a definition of Gothic architecture which shall also express whatever dependence that architecture has upon true forms of roofing.

§ 81. In Chap. XIII. of the first volume, the reader will remember that roofs were considered as generally divided into two parts: the roof proper, that is to say, the shell, vault, or ceiling, internally visible; and the roof-mask, which protects this lower roof from the weather. In some buildings these parts are united in one framework; but, in most, they are more or less independent of each other, and in nearly all Gothic buildings there is a considerable interval between them.

Now it will often happen, as above noticed, that owing to the nature of the apartments required, or the materials at hand, the roof proper may be flat, coved, or domed, in buildings which in their walls employ pointed arches, and are, in the strictest sense of the word, Gothic in all other respects. Yet so far forth as the roofing alone is concerned, they are not Gothic unless the pointed arch be the principal form adopted either in the stone vaulting or the timbers of the roof proper.

I shall say then, in the first place, that “Gothic architecture is that which uses, if possible, the pointed arch in the roof proper.” This is the first step in our definition.

§ 82. Secondly. Although there may be many advisable or necessary forms for the lower roof or ceiling, there is, in cold countries exposed to rain and snow, only one advisable form for the roof-mask, and that is the gable, for this alone will throw off both rain and snow from all parts of its surface as speedily as possible. Snow can lodge on the top of a dome, not on the ridge of a gable. And thus, as far as roofing is concerned, the gable is a far more essential feature of Northern architecture than the pointed vault, for the one is a thorough necessity, the other often a graceful conventionality; the gable occurs in the timber roof of every dwelling-house and every cottage, but not the vault; and the gable built on a polygonal or circular plan, is the origin of the turret and spire;* and all the so-called aspiration of Gothic architecture is, as above noticed (Vol. I. Chap. XII. § 6), nothing more than its development.¹ So that we must add to our definition another clause, which will be, at present, by far the most important, and it will stand thus: “Gothic architecture is that which uses the pointed arch for the roof proper, and the gable for the roof-mask.”

§ 83. And here, in passing, let us notice a principle as true in architecture as in morals. It is not the *compelled*, but the *wilful* transgression of law which corrupts the character. Sin is not in the act, but in the choice. It is a law for Gothic architecture, that it shall use the pointed arch for its roof proper; but because in many cases of domestic building, this becomes impossible for want of room (the whole height of the apartment being required

* Salisbury spire is only a tower with a polygonal gabled roof of stone, and so also the celebrated spires of Caen and Coutances.

¹ [Compare also in Vol. XII. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 19–21, where the spire of Coutances is illustrated by a woodcut, and that of Salisbury is again referred to.]

everywhere), or in various other ways inconvenient, flat ceilings may be used, and yet the Gothic shall not lose its purity. But in the roof-mask, there can be no necessity nor reason for a change of form: the gable is the best; and if any other—dome, or bulging crown, or whatsoever else—be employed at all, it must be in pure caprice and wilful transgression of law. And wherever, therefore, this is done, the Gothic has lost its character; it is pure Gothic no more.

§ 84. And this last clause of the definition is to be more strongly insisted upon, because it includes multitudes of buildings, especially domestic, which are Gothic in spirit, but which we are not in the habit of embracing in our general conception of Gothic architecture; multitudes of street dwelling-houses and straggling country farm-houses, built with little care for beauty, or observance of Gothic laws in vaults or windows, and yet maintaining their character by the sharp and quaint gables of the roofs. And, for the reason just given, a house is far more Gothic which has square windows, and a boldly gable roof, than one which has pointed arches for the windows, and a domed or flat roof. For it often happened in the best Gothic times, as it must in all times, that it was more easy and convenient to make a window square than pointed: not but that, as above emphatically stated, the richness of church architecture was also found in domestic; and systematically “when the pointed arch was used in the church it was used in the street,”¹ only in all times there were cases in which men could not build as they would, and were obliged to construct their doors or windows in the readiest way; and this readiest way was then, in small work, as it will be to the end of time, to put a flat stone for a lintel, and build the windows as in Fig. 8; and the occurrence of such windows in a building or a street will not un-Gothicize them, so long as the bold gable roof be retained, and the

¹ [See above, ch. iv. § 53, p. 120, and compare in Vol. XII. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, Lecture i.]

spirit of the work be visibly Gothic in other respects. But if the roof be wilfully and conspicuously of any other form than the gable,—if it be domed, or Turkish, or Chinese,—the building has positive corruption, mingled with its Gothic elements, in proportion to the conspicuousness of the roof; and, if not absolutely un-Gothicized, can

maintain its character only by such vigour of vital Gothic energy in other parts as shall cause the roof to be forgotten, thrown off like an eschar¹ from the living frame. Nevertheless,



Fig. 8

we must always admit that it *may* be forgotten, and that if the Gothic seal be indeed set firmly on the walls, we are not to cavil at the forms reserved for the tiles and leads. For, observe, as our definition at present stands, being understood of large roofs only, it will allow a conical glass-furnace to be a Gothic building; but will *not* allow so much, either of the Duomo of Florence, or the Baptistery of Pisa. We must either mend it, therefore, or understand it in some broader sense.

§ 85. And now, if the reader will look back to the fifth paragraph of Chap. III. Vol. I., he will find that I carefully extended my definition of a roof so as to include more than is usually understood by the term. It was there said to be the covering of a space, *narrow or wide*. It does not in the least signify, with respect to the real nature of the covering, whether the space protected be two feet wide, or ten; though in the one case we call the protection an arch, in the other a vault or roof. But the real point to be considered is, the manner in which this protection stands, and not whether it is narrow or broad. We call the vaulting of a bridge “an arch,” because it is narrow with respect to the river it crosses; but if it were built above us on the ground, we should call it a waggon vault, because then we

¹ [A slough resulting from the destruction, by burn or caustics, of a living part.]

should feel the breadth of it. The real question is the nature of the curve, not the extent of space over which it is carried: and this is more the case with respect to Gothic than to any other architecture; for, in the greater number of instances, the form of the roof is entirely dependent on the ribs; the domical shells being constructed in all kinds of inclinations, quite indeterminable by the eye, and all that is definite in their character being fixed by the curves of the ribs.

§ 86. Let us then consider our definition as including the narrowest arch, or tracery bar, as well as the broadest roof, and it will be nearly a perfect one. For the fact is, that all good Gothic is nothing more than the development, in various ways, and on every conceivable scale, of the group formed by the *pointed arch for the bearing line* below, and *the gable for the protecting line* above; and from the huge, grey, shaly slope of the cathedral roof, with its elastic pointed vaults beneath, to the slight crown-like points that enrich the smallest niche of its doorway, one law and one expression will be found in all. The modes of support and of decoration are infinitely various, but the real character of the building, in all good Gothic, depends upon the single lines of the gable over the pointed arch, Fig. 9, endlessly rearranged or repeated. The larger woodcut, Fig. 10, on the next page, represents three characteristic conditions of the treatment of the group: *a*, from a tomb at Verona (1328);¹ *b*, one of the lateral porches at Abbeville;² *c*, one of the uppermost points of the great western façade of Rouen Cathedral; both these last being, I believe, early work of the fifteenth century. The forms of the pure early English and French Gothic are too well known to need any notice: my reason will appear presently for choosing, by way of example, these somewhat rare conditions.



Fig. 9

¹ [The tomb is that of Can Grande; see below, § 101, p. 262, and in the next volume, ch. ii. § 53, where the date is given as 1335.]

² [See below, § 102; the porch is that of the Church of St. Wolfram.]

§87. But, first, let us try whether we cannot get the forms of the other great architectures of the world broadly expressed by relations of the same lines into which we have compressed the Gothic. We may easily do this if the reader will first allow me to remind him of the true nature of the pointed arch, as it was expressed in § 10, Chap. X. of the first volume. It was said there, that it ought to be called a “curved gable,” for, strictly speaking, an “arch” cannot be “pointed.” The so-called pointed arch ought always to be considered as a gable, with its sides curved in order to enable them to bear pressure from without. Thus considering it, there are but three ways in which an interval between piers can be bridged,—the three ways represented by A, B, and C, Fig. 11,* on the next page, A, the lintel; B, the round arch; C, the gable. All the architects in the world will never discover any other ways of bridging a space than these three; they may vary the curve of the arch, or curve the sides of the gable or break them; but in doing this they are merely modifying or subdividing, not adding to the generic forms.

* Or by the shaded portions of Fig. 29, Vol. I. [Vol. IX. p. 154].

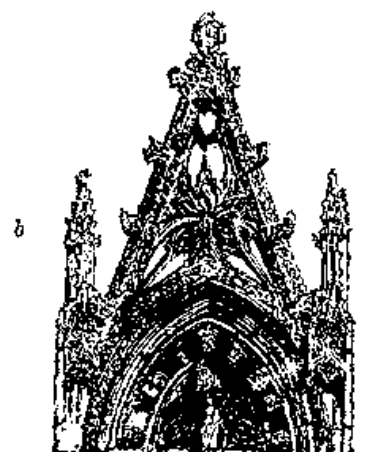


Fig. 10

§ 88. Now there are three good architectures in the world, and there never can be more, correspondent to each of these three simple ways of covering in a space, which is the original function of all architectures. And those three architectures are *pure* exactly in proportion to the simplicity and directness with which they express the condition of roofing on which they are founded. They have many interesting varieties according to their scale, manner of decoration, and character of the nations by whom they are practised, but all their varieties are finally referable to the three great heads—

A, Greek: Architecture of the Lintel.

B, Romanesque; Architecture of the Round Arch.

C, Gothic: Architecture of the Gable.

The three names, Greek, Romanesque, and Gothic, are indeed inaccurate when used in this vast sense, because they

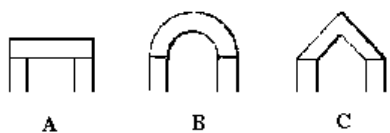


Fig. 11

imply national limitations; but the three architectures may nevertheless not unfitly receive their names from those nations by whom they were carried to the highest

perfection. We may thus briefly state their existing varieties.

§ 89. A. GREEK: Lintel Architecture. The worst of the three; and, considered with reference to stone construction, always in some measure barbarous. Its simplest type is Stonehenge; its most refined, the Parthenon; its noblest, the Temple of Karnak.¹

In the hands of the Egyptian, it is sublime; in those of the Greek, pure; in those of the Roman, rich; and in those of the Renaissance builder, effeminate.

B. ROMANESQUE: Round-arch Architecture. Never thoroughly developed until Christian times. It falls into two great branches, Eastern and Western, or Byzantine and Lombardic; changing respectively in process of time, with

¹ [Compare Vol. IX. p. 120 n.]

certain helps from each other, into Arabian Gothic, and Teutonic Gothic. Its most perfect Lombardic type is the Duomo of Pisa; its most perfect Byzantine type (I believe), St. Mark's at Venice. Its highest glory is, that it has no corruption. It perishes in giving birth to another architecture as noble as itself.

C. GOTHIC: Architecture of the Gable. The daughter of the Romanesque; and, like the Romanesque, divided into two great branches, Western and Eastern, or pure Gothic and Arabian Gothic; of which the latter is called Gothic, only because it has many Gothic forms, pointed arches, vaults, etc., but its spirit remains Byzantine, more especially in the form of the roof-mask, of which, with respect to these three great families, we have next to determine the typical form.

§ 90. For, observe, the distinctions we have hitherto been stating depend on the form of the stones first laid from pier to pier; that is to say, of the simplest condition of roofs proper. Adding the relations of the roof-mask to these lines, we shall have the perfect type of form for each school.

In the Greek, the Western Romanesque, and Western Gothic, the roof-mask is the gable; in the Eastern Romanesque, and Eastern Gothic, it is the dome: but I have not studied the roofing of either of these last two groups, and shall not venture to generalise them in a diagram. But the three groups, in the hands of the

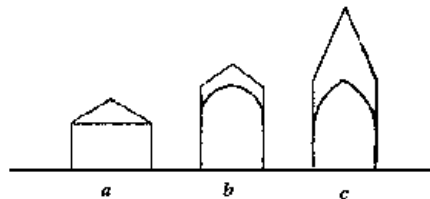


Fig. 12

Western builders, may be thus simply represented: *a*, Fig. 12, Greek;* *b*, Western Romanesque; *c*, Western, or true, Gothic.

* The reader is not to suppose that Greek architecture had always, or often, flat ceilings, because I call its lintel the roof proper. He must remember I always use these terms of the first simple arrangements of materials that bridge a space; bringing in the real roof afterwards, if I can. In the case of Greek temples it would be vain to refer their structure to the real roof, for many were hypæthral, and without a roof at all. I am unfortunately more ignorant of Egyptian roofing than even of Arabian, so that I cannot

Now, observe, first, that the relation of the roof-mask to the roof proper, in the Greek type, forms that pediment which gives its most striking character to the temple, and is the principal recipient of its sculptural decoration. The relation of these lines, therefore, is just as important in the Greek as in the Gothic schools.

§ 91. Secondly, the reader must observe the difference of steepness in the Romanesque and Gothic gables. This is not an unimportant distinction, nor an undecided one. The Romanesque gable does not pass gradually into the more elevated form; there is a great gulf between the two; the whole effect of all Southern

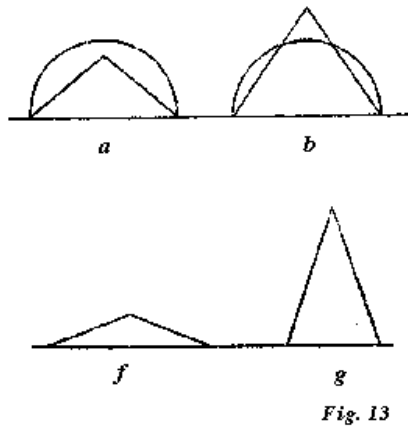


Fig. 13

architecture being dependent upon the use of the flat gable, and of all Northern upon that of the acute. I need not here dwell upon the difference between the lines of an Italian village, or the flat tops of most Italian towers, and the peaked gables and spires of the North, attaining their most fantastic development, I believe, in Belgium; but it may be well to state the law

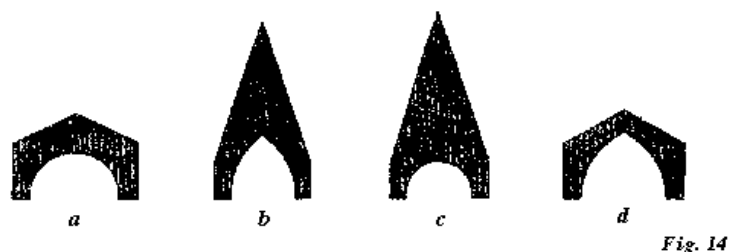
of separation, namely, that a Gothic gable *must* have all its angles acute, and a Romanesque one *must* have the upper one obtuse; or, to give the reader a simple practical rule, take any gable, *a* or *b*, Fig. 13, and strike a semicircle on its base; if its top rises above the semicircle, as at *b*, it is a Gothic gable; if it falls beneath it, a Romanesque one; but the best forms in each group are those which are distinctly steep, or distinctly low.

bring this school into the diagram: but the gable appears to have been magnificently used for a bearing roof. Vide Mr. Fergusson's section of the Pyramid of Geezeh, *Principles of Beauty in Art*, Plate I., and his expressions of admiration of Egyptian roof masonry, page 201.¹

¹ [For other references to this book, see Vol. IX. pp. 120, 440.]

In the figure, *f* is, perhaps, the average of Romanesque slope, and *g* of Gothic.

§ 92. But although we do not find a transition from one school into the other in the slope of the gable, there is often a confusion between the two schools in the association of the gable with the arch below it. It has just been stated that the pure Romanesque condition is the round arch under the low gable, *a*, Fig. 14, below, and the pure Gothic condition is the pointed arch under the high gable, *b*. But in the passage from one style to the other, we sometimes find the two conditions reversed: the pointed arch under a low gable, as *d*, or the round arch under a high gable, as *c*.

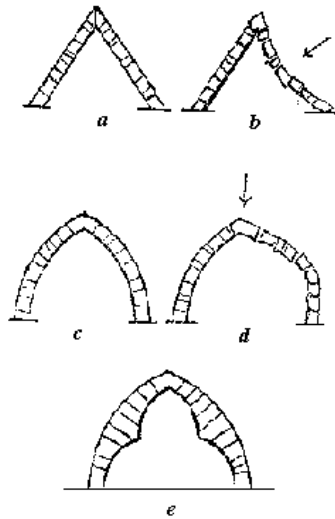


The form *d* occurs in the tombs of Verona, and *c* in the doors of Venice.

§ 93. We have thus determined the relation of Gothic to the other architectures of the world, as far as regards the main lines of its construction; but there is still one word which needs to be added to our definition of its form, with respect to a part of its decoration, which rises out of that construction. We have seen that the first condition of its form is, that it shall have pointed arches. When Gothic is perfect, therefore, it will follow that the pointed arches must be built in the strongest possible manner.

Now, if the reader will look back to Chapter XI. of Vol. I., he will find the subject of the masonry of the pointed arch discussed at length, and the conclusion deduced, that of all possible forms of the pointed arch (a certain weight of material being given), that generically represented at *e*,

Fig. 15, is the strongest. In fact, the reader can see in a moment that the weakness of the pointed arch is in its flanks, and that by merely thickening them gradually at this point all chance of fracture is removed. Or, perhaps, more simply still:—Suppose a gable built of stone, as at *a*, and pressed upon from without by a weight in the direction of the arrow, clearly it would be liable to fall in, as at *b*. To prevent this, we make a pointed arch of it, as at



c; and now it cannot fall inwards, but if pressed upon from above may give way outwards, as at *d*. But at last we build it as at *e*, and now it can neither fall out nor in.

§ 94. The forms of arch thus obtained, with a pointed projection called a cusp on each side, must for ever be delightful to the human mind, as being expressive of the utmost strength and permanency obtainable with a given mass of material. But it was not by any such process of reasoning, nor with any reference to laws of construction, that the cusp was originally

invented. It is merely the special application to the arch of the great ornamental system of FOLIATION; or the adaptation of the forms of leafage which has been above insisted upon as the principal characteristic of Gothic Naturalism.¹ This love of foliage was exactly proportioned, in its intensity, to the increase of strength in the Gothic spirit: in the Southern Gothic it is *soft* leafage that is most loved; in the Northern, *thorny* leafage.² And if we take up any Northern illuminated manuscript of the great Gothic

¹ [See above, § 68, p. 235.]

² [Compare *Proserpina*, i. ch. v.]

time, we shall find every one of its leaf ornaments surrounded by a thorny structure laid round it in gold or in colour;¹ sometimes apparently copied faithfully from the prickly development of the root of the leaf in the thistle, running along the stems and branches exactly as the thistle leaf does along its own stem, and with sharp spines proceeding from the points, as in Fig. 16. At other times, and for the most part in work of the thirteenth century, the golden ground takes the form of pure and severe cusps, sometimes enclosing the leaves, sometimes filling up the forks of the branches (as in the example fig. 1, Plate 1, Vol. III.), passing imperceptibly from the distinctly vegetable condition (in which it is just as certainly representative of the thorn, as other parts of the design are of the bud, leaf, and fruit) into the crests on the necks, or the membranous sails of the wings, of serpents, dragons, and other grotesques, as in Fig. 17,



Fig. 16

and into rich and vague fantasies of curvature; among which,

however, the pure cusped system of the pointed arch is continually discernible, not accidentally, but designedly indicated, and connecting itself with the literally architectural portions of the design.

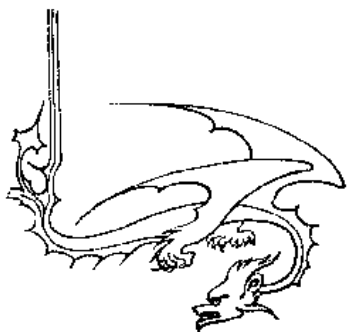


Fig. 17

§ 95. The system, then, of what is called Foliation, whether simple, as in the cusped arch, or complicated, as in tracery, rose out of this love of leafage; not that the form of the arch is intended to *imitate* a leaf, but

¹ [For Ruskin's study of illuminated manuscripts at this time, see Introduction to Vol. XII., in which volume are included reports of three lectures on the subject, given at the Architectural Museum in 1854.]

*to be invested with the same characters of beauty which the designer had discovered in the leaf.*¹ Observe, there is a wide difference between these two intentions. The idea that large Gothic structure, in arches and roofs, was intended to imitate vegetation, is, as above noticed, untenable for an instant in the front of facts.² But the Gothic builder perceived that, in the leaves which he copied for his minor decorations, there was a peculiar beauty, arising from certain characters of curvature in outline, and certain methods of subdivision and of radiation in structure. On a small scale, in his sculptures and his missal-painting, he copied the leaf or thorn itself; on a large scale he adopted from it its abstract sources of beauty, and gave the same kind of curvatures and the same species of subdivision to the outline of his arches, so far as was consistent with their strength, never, in any single instance, suggesting the resemblance to leafage by irregularity of outline, but keeping the structure perfectly simple, and, as we have seen, so consistent with the best principles of masonry, that in the finest Gothic designs of arches, which are always single-cusped (the cinquefoiled arch being licentious, though in early work often very lovely), it is literally impossible, without consulting, the context of the building, to say whether the cusps have been added for the sake of beauty or of strength; nor, though in mediæval architecture they were, I believe, assuredly first employed in mere love of their picturesque form, am I absolutely certain that their earliest invention was not a structural effort. For the earliest cusps with which I am acquainted are those used in the vaults of the great galleries of the Serapeum, discovered in 1850 by M. Mariette³ at Memphis, and described by Colonel Hamilton in a paper read in February last (1853) before the Royal Society of Literature.* The roofs of its galleries were

* See *Athenæum*, March 5th, 1853.

¹ [Compare in Vol. XII. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 14.]

² [See above, § 70, p. 237.]

³ [The great French Egyptologist (1821–1881), from 1858 till his death director of the official excavations in Egypt. His discovery of the temple of Serapis at Sakkâra, on the site of the ancient, first brought him into notice.]

admirably shown in Colonel Hamilton's drawings made to scale upon the spot, and their profile is a cusped round arch, perfectly pure and simple; but whether thrown into this form for the sake of strength or of grace, I am unable to say.

§ 96. It is evident, however, that the structural advantage of the cusp is available only in the case of arches on a comparatively small scale. If the arch becomes very large, the projections under the flanks must become too ponderous to be secure; the suspended weight of stone would be liable to break off, and such arches are therefore never constructed with heavy cusps, but rendered secure by general mass of masonry; and what additional *appearance* of support may be thought necessary (sometimes a considerable degree of *actual* support) is given by means of tracery.

§ 97. Of what I stated in the second chapter of the *Seven Lamps* respecting the nature of tracery,¹ I need repeat here only this much, that it began in the use of penetrations through the stonework of windows or walls, cut into forms which looked like stars when seen from within, and like leaves when seen from without; the name foil or feuille being universally applied to the separate lobes of their extremities, and the pleasure received from them being the same as that which we feel in the triple, quadruple, or other radiated leaves of vegetation, joined with the perception of a severely geometrical order and symmetry. A few of the most common forms are represented, unconfused by exterior mouldings, in Fig. 18, and the best traceries are nothing more than close clusters of such forms, with mouldings following their outlines.

§ 98. The term "foliated," therefore, is equally descriptive of the most perfect conditions both of the simple arch and of the traceries by which in later Gothic it is filled; and this foliation is an essential character of the style. No Gothic is either good or characteristic, which is not foliated either in its arches or apertures. Sometimes the bearing arches are foliated, and the ornamentation above composed of

¹ [See Vol. VIII. p. 88.]

figure sculpture; sometimes the bearing arches are plain, and the ornamentation above them is composed of foliated apertures. But the element of foliation *must* enter somewhere, or the style is imperfect. And our final definition of Gothic will, therefore, stand thus:—

“*Foliated* Architecture, which uses the pointed arch for the roof proper, and the gable for the roof-mask.”

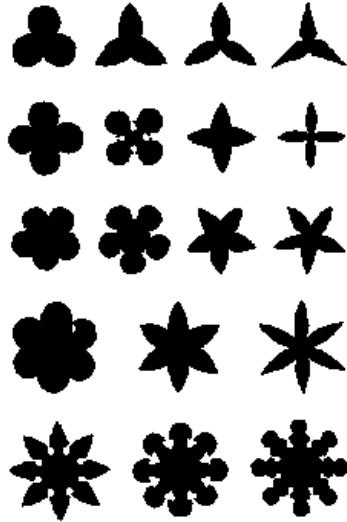


Fig. 18

§ 99. And now there is but one point more to be examined, and we have done.

Foliation, while it is the most distinctive and peculiar, is also the easiest method of decoration which Gothic architecture possesses; and, although in the disposition of the proportions and forms of foils, the most noble imagination may be shown, yet a builder without imagination at all, or any other faculty of

design, can produce some effect upon the mass of his work by merely covering it with foolish foliation. Throw any number of crossing lines together at random, as in Fig. 19, and fill all their squares and oblong openings with quatrefoils and cinquefoils, and you will immediately have what will stand, with most people, for very satisfactory Gothic. The slightest possible acquaintance with existing forms will enable any architect to vary his patterns of foliation with as much ease as he would those of a kaleidoscope, and¹ to produce a building which the present European

¹ [Fig. 19 is evidently taken from the Houses of Parliament. In the MS. Ruskin let himself go more violently, inserting here the words:—

“and—though the result to any one who knows and loves true Gothic is not only valueless, but even disgusting—to produce. . . .”

For other expressions of his dislike of the building in question, see note at Vol. IV. p. 307; Vol. VIII. p. 147 *n.*; and in Vol. XII., in the lectures on Illumination.]

public will think magnificent, though there may not be, from foundation to coping, one ray of invention, or any other intellectual merit, in the whole mass of it. But floral decoration, and the disposition of mouldings, require some skill and thought; and, if they are to be agreeable at all, must be verily invented, or accurately copied. They cannot be drawn altogether at random, without becoming so commonplace as to involve detection: and although, as I have just said, the noblest imagination may be shown in the disposition of traceries, there is far more room for its play and power when those traceries are associated with floral or animal ornament; and it is probable, *á priori*, that, wherever true invention exists, such ornament will be employed in profusion.

§ 100. Now, all Gothic may be divided into two vast schools, one early, the other late;* of which the former, noble, inventive, and progressive, uses the element of foliation moderately, that of floral and figure-sculpture decoration profusely; the latter, ignoble, uninventive, and declining, uses foliation immoderately, floral and figure-sculpture subordinately. The two schools touch each other at that instant of momentous change, dwelt upon in the *Seven Lamps*, Chap. II., § 22,¹ a period later or earlier in different districts, but which may be broadly stated as the middle of the fourteenth century; both styles being, of course, in their highest excellence at the moment when they meet; the

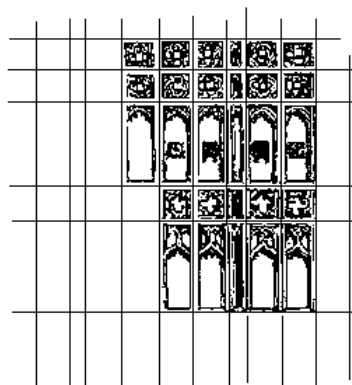


Fig. 19

* Late, and chiefly confined to Northern countries, so that the two schools may be opposed either as Early and Late Gothic or (in the fourteenth century) as Southern and Northern Gothic.

¹ [Vol. VIII. p. 89.]

one ascending to the point of junction, the other declining from it, but, at first, not in any marked degree, and only showing the characters which justify its being above called, generically, ignoble, as its declension reaches steeper slope.

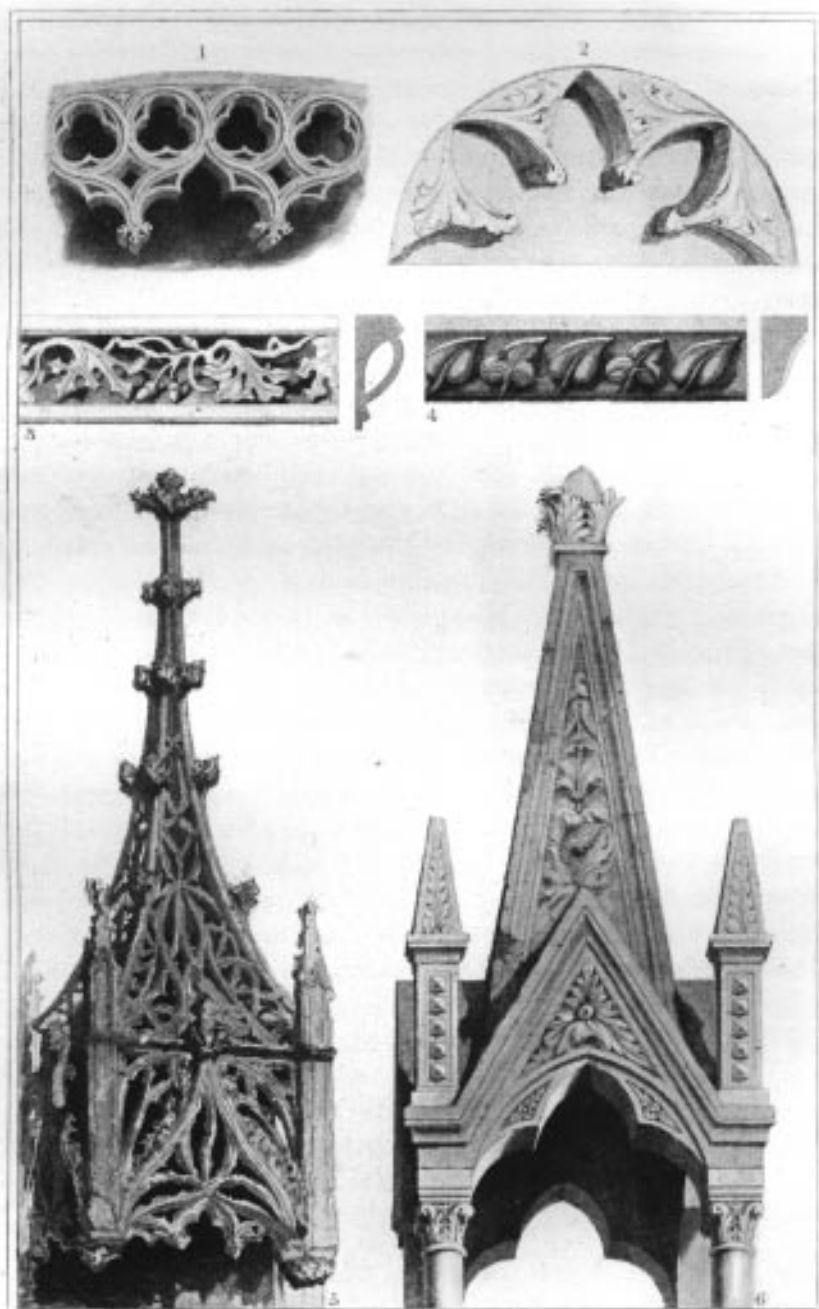
§ 101. Of these two great schools, the first uses foliation only in large and simple masses, and covers the minor members, cusps, etc., of that foliation with various sculpture. The latter decorates foliation itself with minor foliation, and breaks its traceries into endless and lace-like subdivision of tracery.

A few instances will explain the difference clearly. Fig. 2, Plate 12, represents half of an eight-foiled aperture from Salisbury;¹ where the element of foliation is employed in the larger disposition of the starry form; but in the decoration of the cusp it has entirely disappeared, and the ornament is floral.

But in fig. 1, which is part of a fringe round one of the later windows in Rouen Cathedral, the foliation is first carried boldly round the arch, and then each cusp of it divided into other forms of foliation. The two larger canopies of niches below, figs. 5 and 6, are respectively those seen at the flanks of the two uppermost examples of gabled Gothic in Fig. 10, p. 251. Those examples were there chosen in order also to illustrate the distinction in the character of ornamentation which we are at present examining; and if the reader will look back to them, and compare their methods of treatment, he will at once be enabled to fix that distinction clearly in his mind. He will observe that in the uppermost the element of foliation is scrupulously confined to the bearing arches of the gable, and of the lateral niches, so that, on any given side of the monument, only three foliated arches are discernible. All the rest of the ornamentation is “bossy sculpture,”² set on the broad marble surface. On the point of the gable are set the shield

¹ [For another reference to this window, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. i. § 14.]

² [*Paradise Lost*, i. 716; see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 118, where the passage is given in a note.]



and dog-crest of the Scalas, with its bronze wings, as of a dragon, thrown out from it on either side; below, an admirably sculptured oak-tree fills the centre of the field; beneath it is the death of Abel, Abel lying dead upon his face on one side, Cain opposite, looking up to heaven in terror: the border of the arch is formed of various leafage, alternating with the Scala shield; and the cusps are each filled by one flower, and two broad flowing leaves. The whole is exquisitely relieved by colour; the ground being of pale red Verona marble, and the statues and foliage of white Carrara marble, inlaid.

§ 102. The figure below it, *b*, represents the southern lateral door of the principal church in Abbeville; the smallness of the scale compelled me to make it somewhat heavier in the lines of its traceries than it is in reality, but the door itself is one of the most exquisite pieces of flamboyant Gothic in the world; and it is interesting to see the shield introduced here, at the point of the gable, in exactly the same manner as in the upper example, and with precisely the same purpose,—to stay the eye in its ascent, and to keep it from being offended by the sharp point of the gable, the reversed angle of the shield being so energetic as completely to balance the upward tendency of the great convergent lines. It will be seen, however, as this example is studied, that its other decorations are altogether different from those of the Veronese tomb; that, here, the whole effect is dependent on mere multiplications of similar lines of tracery, sculpture being hardly introduced except in the seated statue under the central niche, and, formerly, in groups filling the shadowy hollows under the small niches in the archivolt, but broken away in the Revolution.¹ And if now we turn to Plate 12, just passed, and examine the heads of the two lateral niches there given from each of these monuments on a larger scale, the contrast will be yet more apparent. The one from Abbeville (fig. 5), though it contains much floral

¹ [See author's note below, p. 265.]

work of the crisp Northern kind in its finial and crockets, yet depends for all its effect on the various patterns of foliation with which its spaces are filled; and it is so cut through and through that it is hardly stronger than a piece of lace: whereas the pinnacle from Verona depends for its effect on one broad mass of shadow, boldly shaped into the trefoil in its bearing arch; and there is no other trefoil on that side of the niche. All the rest of its decoration is floral, or by almonds and bosses; and its surface of stone is unpierced, and kept in broad light, and the mass of it thick and strong enough to stand for as many more centuries as it has already stood, scatheless, in the open street of Verona. The figures 3 and 4, above each niche, show how the same principles are carried out into the smallest details of the two edifices, 3 being the moulding which borders the gable at Abbeville, and 4 that in the same position at Verona; and as thus in all cases the distinction in their treatment remains the same, the one attracting the eye to broad sculptured *surfaces*, the other to involutions of intricate *lines*, I shall hereafter characterize the two schools, whenever I have occasion to refer to them, the one as Surface Gothic, the other as Linear Gothic.

§ 103. Now observe: it is not, at present, the question, whether the form of the Veronese niche, and the design of its flower-work, be as good as they might have been; but simply, which of the two architectural principles is the greater and better. And this we cannot hesitate for an instant in deciding. The Veronese Gothic is strong in its masonry, simple in its masses, but perpetual in its variety. The late French Gothic is weak in masonry, broken in mass, and repeats the same idea continually. It is very beautiful, but the Italian Gothic is the nobler style.

§ 104. Yet, in saying that the French Gothic repeats one idea, I mean merely that it depends too much upon the foliation of its traceries. The disposition of the traceries themselves is endlessly varied and inventive; and, indeed, the mind of the French workman was, perhaps,

even richer in fancy than that of the Italian, only he had been taught a less noble style. This is especially to be remembered with respect to the subordination of figure sculpture above noticed as characteristic of the later Gothic.¹

It is not that such sculpture is wanting; on the contrary, it is often worked into richer groups, and carried out with a perfection of execution, far greater than those which adorn the earlier buildings: but, in the early work, it is vigorous, prominent, and essential to the beauty of the whole; in the late work it is enfeebled, and shrouded in the veil of tracery, from which it may often be removed with little harm to the general effect.*

§ 105. Now the reader may rest assured that no principle of art is more absolute than this,—that a composition from which anything can be removed without doing mischief, is always so far forth inferior. On this ground, therefore, if on no other, there can be no question, for a moment, which of the two schools is the greater; although there are many most noble works in the French traceried Gothic, having a sublimity of their own, dependent on their extreme richness and grace of line, and for which we may be most grateful to their builders. And, indeed, the superiority of the Surface Gothic cannot be completely felt, until we compare it with the more degraded Linear schools, as, for instance, with our own English perpendicular.² The ornaments of the Veronese niche, which we have used for our example, are by no means among the best of their school, yet they will serve our purpose for such a comparison. That of its pinnacle is composed of a single upright flowering plant, of which the stem shoots up through

* In many of the best French Gothic Churches, the groups of figures have been all broken away at the Revolution, without much harm to the picturesqueness, though with grievous loss to the historical value of the architecture: whereas, if from the niche at Verona we were to remove its floral ornaments, and the statue beneath it, nothing would remain but a rude square trefoiled shell, utterly valueless, or even ugly.

¹ [See above, § 100, p. 261.]

² [For Ruskin's dislike of this style, see Vol. IX. p. 227 *n.*]

the centres of the leaves, and bears a pendant blossom, somewhat like that of the imperial lily. The leaves are thrown back from the stem with singular grace and freedom, and foreshortened, as if by a skilful painter, in the shallow marble relief. Their arrangement is roughly shown in the little woodcut at the side (Fig. 20); and if the reader will simply try the



Fig. 20

experiment for himself,—first, of covering a piece of paper with crossed lines, as if for accounts, and filling all the interstices with any foliation that comes into his head, as in Figure 19 above; and then, of trying to fill the point of a gable with a piece of leafage like that in Figure 20, putting the figure itself aside,—he will presently find that more thought and invention are required to design this single minute pinnacle, than to cover acres of ground with English perpendicular.

§ 106. We have now, I believe, obtained a sufficiently accurate knowledge both of the spirit and form of Gothic architecture; but it may, perhaps, be useful to the general reader, if, in conclusion, I set down a few plain and practical rules for determining, in every instance, whether a given building be good Gothic or not, and, if not Gothic, whether its architecture is of a kind which will probably reward the pains of careful examination.

§ 107. First, Look if the roof rises in a steep gable, high above the walls. If it does not do this, there is something wrong: the building is not quite pure Gothic, or has been altered.

§ 108. Secondly, Look if the principal windows and doors have pointed arches with gables over them. If not pointed arches, the building is not Gothic; if they have not any gables over them, it is either not pure, or not first-rate.

If, however, it has the steep roof, the pointed arch, and

gable all united, it is nearly certain to be a Gothic building of a very fine time.

§ 109. Thirdly, Look if the arches are cusped, or apertures foliated. If the building has met the first two conditions, it is sure to be foliated somewhere; but, if not everywhere, the parts which are unfoliated are imperfect, unless they are large bearing arches, or small and sharp arches in groups, forming a kind of foliation by their own multiplicity, and relieved by sculpture and rich mouldings. The upper windows, for instance, in the east end of Westminster Abbey are imperfect for want of foliation. If there be no foliation anywhere, the building is assuredly imperfect Gothic.

§ 110. Fourthly, If the building meets all the first three conditions, look if its arches in general, whether of windows and doors, or of minor ornamentation, are carried on *true shafts with bases and capitals*. If they are, then the building is assuredly of the finest Gothic style. It may still, perhaps, be an imitation, a feeble copy, or a bad example, of a noble style; but the manner of it, having met all these four conditions, is assuredly first-rate.

If its apertures have not shafts and capitals, look if they are plain openings in the walls, studiously simple, and unmoulded at the sides; as, for instance, the arch in Plate 19, opposite p. 390, Vol. I. If so, the building may still be of the finest Gothic adapted to some domestic or military service. But if the sides of the window be moulded, and yet there are no capitals at the spring of the arch, it is assuredly of an inferior school.

This is all that is necessary to determine whether the building be of a fine Gothic style. The next tests to be applied are in order to discover whether it be good architecture or not; for it may be very impure Gothic, and yet very noble architecture; or it may be very pure Gothic, and yet if a copy, or originally raised by an ungifted builder, very bad architecture.

If it belong to any of the great schools of colour, its

criticism becomes as complicated, and needs as much care, as that of a piece of music, and no general rules for it can be given; but if not—

§ 111. First, See if it looks as if it had been built by strong men; if it has the sort of roughness, and largeness, and nonchalance, mixed in places with the exquisite tenderness which seems always to be the sign-manual of the broad vision, and massy power of men, who can see *past* the work they are doing, and betray here and there something like disdain for it. If the building has this character, it is much already in its favour; it will go hard but it proves a noble one. If it has not this, but is altogether accurate, minute, and scrupulous, in its workmanship, it must belong to either the very best or the very worst of schools: the very best, in which exquisite design is wrought out with untiring and conscientious care, as in the Giottesque Gothic; or the very worst, in which mechanism has taken the place of design. It is more likely, in general, that it should belong to the worst than the best: so that, on the whole, very accurate workmanship is to be esteemed a bad sign; and if there is nothing remarkable about the building but its precision, it may be passed at once with contempt.

§ 112. Secondly, Observe if it be irregular, its different parts fitting themselves to different purposes, no one caring what becomes of them, so that they do their work. If one part always answers accurately to another part, it is sure to be a bad building; and the greater and more conspicuous the irregularities, the greater the chances are that it is a good one. For instance, in the Ducal Palace, of which a rough woodcut is given in Chap. VIII., the general idea is sternly symmetrical; but two windows are lower than the rest of the six; and if the reader will count the arches of the small arcade as far as to the great balcony, he will find it is not in the centre, but set to the right-hand side by the whole width of one of those arches. We may be pretty sure that the building is a good one; none but a master of his craft would have ventured to do this.

§ 113. Thirdly, Observe if all the traceries, capitals, and other ornaments are of perpetually varied design. If not, the work is assuredly bad.

§ 114. Lastly, *Read* the sculpture. Preparatory to reading it, you will have to discover whether it is legible (and, if legible, it is nearly certain to be worth reading). On a good building, the sculpture is *always* so set, and on such a scale, that at the ordinary distance from which the edifice is seen, the sculpture shall be thoroughly intelligible and interesting. In order to accomplish this, the uppermost statues will be ten or twelve feet high, and the upper ornamentation will be colossal, increasing in fineness as it descends, till on the foundation it will often be wrought as if for a precious cabinet in a king's chamber; but the spectator will not notice that the upper sculptures are colossal. He will merely feel that he can see them plainly, and make them all out at his ease.

And having ascertained this, let him set himself to read them. Thenceforward the criticism of the building is to be conducted precisely on the same principles as that of a book; and it must depend on the knowledge, feeling, and not a little on the industry and perseverance of the reader, whether, even in the case of the best works, he either perceive them to be great, or feel them to be entertaining.

CHAPTER VII

GOTHIC PALACES

§ 1. THE buildings out of the remnants of which we have endeavoured to recover some conception of the appearance of Venice during the Byzantine period, contribute hardly anything at this day to the effect of the streets of the city. They are too few and too much defaced to attract the eye or influence the feelings. The charm which Venice still possesses, and which for the last fifty years has rendered it the favourite haunt of all the painters of picturesque subject, is owing to the effect of the palaces belonging to the period we have now to examine, mingled with those of the Renaissance.

This effect is produced in two different ways. The Renaissance palaces are not more picturesque in themselves than the club-houses of Pall Mall;¹ but they become delightful by the contrast of their severity and refinement with the rich and rude confusion of the sea-life beneath them, and of their white and solid masonry with the green waves. Remove from beneath them the orange sails of the fishingboats, the black gliding of the gondolas, the cumbered decks and rough crews of the barges of traffic, and the fretfulness of the green water along their foundations, and the Renaissance palaces possess no more interest than those of London or Paris. But the Gothic Palaces are picturesque in themselves, and wield over us an independent power. Sea and

¹ [The club-houses of Pall Mall illustrate very well the Classical Revival in England in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Athenæum (Decimus Burton), built 1824–1826, shows the Frieze of the Parthenon (see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 23). The Travellers' (Sir C. Barry), is copied from the Pandolfini Palace at Rome. The Reform (also Sir C. Barry), suggests the Farnese Palace there. The Carlton (Smirke), is founded on Sansovino's Library of St. Mark's at Venice. For the Army and Navy, a combination of that Library and the Palazzo Cornaro, see Vol. IX. p. 348 *n.*]

sky, and every other accessory, might be taken away from them, and still they would be beautiful and strange. They are not less striking in the loneliest streets of Padua and Vicenza¹ (where many were built during the period of the Venetian authority in those cities) than in the most crowded thoroughfares of Venice itself; and if they could be transported into the midst of London, they would still not altogether lose their power over the feelings.²

§ 2. The best proof of this is in the perpetual attractiveness of all pictures, however poor in skill, which have taken for their subject the principal of these Gothic buildings, the Ducal Palace. In spite of all architectural theories and teachings, the paintings of this building are always felt to be delightful; we cannot be wearied by them, though often sorely tried; but we are not put to the same trial in the case of the palaces of the Renaissance. They are never drawn singly, or as the principal subject, nor can they be. The building which faces the Ducal Palace, on the opposite side of the Piazzetta,³ is celebrated among architects, but it is not familiar to our eyes; it is painted only incidentally, for the completion, not the subject, of a Venetian scene; and even the Renaissance arcades of St. Mark's Place, though frequently painted, are always treated as a mere avenue to its Byzantine church and colossal tower. And the Ducal Palace itself owes the peculiar charm which we have hitherto felt, not so much to its greater size as compared with other Gothic buildings, or nobler design (for it never yet has been rightly drawn), as to its comparative isolation. The other Gothic structures are as much injured by the continual juxtaposition of the Renaissance palaces, as the latter are aided by it; they exhaust their own life by breathing it

¹ [For a notice of a beautiful house in Vicenza, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 228; and for another general reference to Gothic houses in Vicenza and Padua, below, § 46. For references, in a different sense, to the later Palladian architecture of Vicenza, see Vol. IX. pp. 44, 47.]

² [The experiment was presently to be tried: see above, Introduction, p. liv.]

³ [The Libreria Vecchia, designed for the senate in 1536 by Sansovino, and completed by Scamozzi in 1582. Gwilt in his *Encyclopædia of Architecture* (p. 148) calls it "the chef d'œuvre of the master." It was the model for the Carlton Club: see note on preceding page.]

into the Renaissance coldness: but the Ducal Palace stands comparatively alone, and fully expresses the Gothic power.

§ 3. And it is just that it should be so seen, for it is the original of nearly all the rest. It is not the elaborate and more studied development of a national style, but the great and sudden invention of one man,¹ instantly forming a national style, and becoming the model for the imitation of every architect in Venice for upwards of a century. It was the determination of this one fact which occupied me the greater part of the time I spent in Venice. It had always appeared to me most strange, that there should be in no part of the city any incipient or imperfect types of the form of the Ducal Palace; it was difficult to believe that so mighty a building had been the conception of one man, not only in disposition and detail, but in style; and yet impossible, had it been otherwise, but that some early examples of approximate Gothic form must exist. There is not one. The palaces built between the final cessation of the Byzantine style, about 1300, and the date of the Ducal Palace (1320–1350), are all completely distinct in character, so distinct that I at first intended the account of them to form a separate section of this volume;² and there is literally *no* transitional form between them and the perfection of the Ducal Palace. Every Gothic building in Venice which resembles the latter is a copy of it. I do not mean that there was no Gothic in Venice before the Ducal Palace, but that the mode of its application to domestic architecture had not been determined. The real root of the Ducal Palace is the apse of the Church of the Frari.³ The traceries of that apse, though earlier and ruder in workmanship, are nearly the same in mouldings, and precisely the same in treatment (especially in the placing of the lions' heads), as those of the great Ducal Arcade; and the originality of thought in the architect of the Ducal Palace

¹ [On this subject see below, ch. viii. § 1, p. 328.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 47*n*.]

³ [See Ruskin's sketches at the Frari, Plate A in Vol. IX. For the importance he attached to the point here made, see above, Introduction, p. liii.]

consists in his having adapted those traceries, in a more highly developed and finished form, to civil uses. In the apse of the church they form narrow and tall window lights, somewhat more massive than those of Northern Gothic, but similar in application: the thing to be done was to adapt these traceries to the forms of domestic building necessitated by national usage. The early palaces consisted, as we have seen, of arcades sustaining walls faced with marble, rather broad and long than elevated.¹ This form was kept for the Ducal Palace; but instead of round arches from shaft to shaft, the Frari traceries were substituted, with two essential modifications. Besides being enormously increased in scale and thickness, that they might better bear the superincumbent weight, the quartrefoil, which in the Frari windows is above the arch, as at *a*, Fig. 21, was in the Ducal Palace put between the arches, as at *b*; the main reason for this alteration

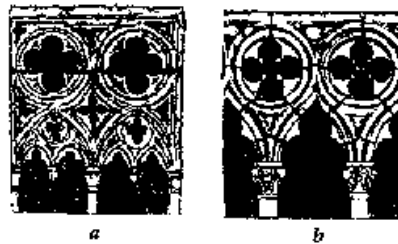


Fig. 21

being that the bearing power of the arches, which was now to be trusted with the weight of a wall forty feet high,* was thus thrown *between* the quartrefoils, instead of under them, and thereby applied at far better advantage. And, in the second place, the joints of the masonry were changed. In the Frari (as often also in St. John and Paul's), the tracery is formed of two simple cross bars or slabs of stone, pierced into the requisite forms, and separated by a horizontal joint, just on a level with the lowest cusp of the quartrefoils, as seen in Fig. 21 *a*. But at the Ducal Palace the horizontal joint is in the centre of the quartrefoils, and two others are introduced beneath it at right angles to the run of the mouldings, as

* 38 ft. 2 in. without its cornice, which is ten inches deep, and sustains pinnacles of stone 7 feet high. I was enabled to get the measures by a scaffolding erected in 1851 to repair the front.

¹ [See above, ch. v.]
x.

seen in Fig. 21 *b*.* The Ducal Palace builder was sternly resolute in carrying out this rule of masonry. In the traceries of the large upper windows, where the cusps are cut through as in the quatrefoil Fig. 22, the lower cusp is left partly solid, as at *a*, merely that the joint *a b* may have its right place and direction.

§ 4. The ascertaining the formation of the Ducal Palace traceries from those of the Frari, and its priority to all other buildings which resemble it in Venice, rewarded me for a great deal of very uninteresting labour in the examination of

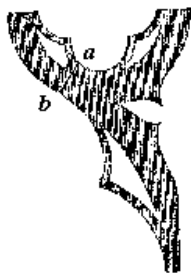


Fig. 22

mouldings and other minor features of the Gothic palaces, in which alone the internal evidence of their date was to be discovered, there being no historical records whatever respecting them. But the accumulation of details on which the complete proof of the fact depends, could not either be brought within the compass of this volume, or be made in anywise interesting to the general

reader. I shall therefore, without involving myself in any discussion, give a brief account of the development of Gothic design in Venice, as I believe it to have taken place. I shall possibly be able at some future period so to compress the evidence on which my conviction rests, as to render it intelligible to the public,¹ while, in the meantime, some of the more essential points of it are thrown together in the Appendix,² and in the history of the Ducal Palace given in the next chapter.

§5. According, then, to the statement just made, the Gothic architecture of Venice is divided into two great periods: one, in which, while various irregular Gothic tendencies are exhibited, no consistent type of domestic

* I believe the necessary upper joint is vertical, through the uppermost lobe of the quatrefoil, as in the figure; but I have lost my memorandum of this joint.

¹ [This, however, was not done. The voluminous notes described in Vol. IX. p. xxvi., are largely occupied with "the examination of mouldings," etc., in order to establish points of chronology in the development of Venetian architecture.]

² [*i.e.*, Appendix 10 in the next volume.]

building was developed: the other, in which a formed and consistent school of domestic architecture resulted from the direct imitation of the great design of the Ducal Palace. We must deal with these two periods separately; the first of them being that which has been often above alluded to, under the name of the transitional period.

We shall consider in succession the general form, the windows, doors, balconies, and parapets, of the Gothic palaces belonging to each of these periods.

§ 6. First, General Form.¹

We have seen that the wrecks of the Byzantine palaces consisted merely of upper and lower arcades surrounding

¹ [In an earlier draft of this chapter there is a detailed description of an early Gothic house in the Calle del Rimedio referred to below (§ 30), and in this description Ruskin traces more fully, and perhaps more clearly than in the text, the transition briefly noted in this § 6. The description was to have been illustrated by diagrams and sketches. Some of it, however, will be intelligible without these:—

“Fronting the bridge which crosses the Rio de Palazzo and leads into the Calle di Rimedio, is a square door, surrounded by an architrave of red marble. The moulding of this architrave, which surrounds the door without any break or interruption, . . . will at once be seen to belong to the early Byzantine group of St. Mark’s. The wall in which this occurs has been restored; but passing beneath it, we enter a courtyard fenced from the Calle di Rimedio by a wall with parapets, and, on the other side, enclosed by a most picturesque mass of buildings. The ground floor has been much altered, but three shafts are still left, . . . which, instead of carrying arches, as hitherto we have been accustomed to find them, sustain a massy horizontal wooden beam, on which rests the first floor of the house above. . . .

“In the first story above these shafts is a group of four windows sustained by three shafts and two pilasters. Both shafts and pilasters stand *without any base*, on a low continuous plinth. . . .

“Now, observe, in the old Byzantine work, the pilaster has no stated breadth in relation to the shaft. . . . The pilaster is merely a piece of the wall, with a fragment of cornice on the top of it, which cornice is continuous all along the house wall. But in the example with which we are now concerned, the pilaster has taken a definite breadth, related to that of the shaft; and though its head is still nothing but a fragment of the old cornice, that cornice is not continuous along the wall. This is one of the most important transitions in the history of Venetian architecture and must be thoroughly understood.

“The first conception of any given story of a house in the Byzantine mind is that of a space enclosed by a wall-veil crowned with a simple cornice. . . . The second idea is to cut this wall-veil into pieces, cornice and all; as I made the reader do himself in Vol. I. [Vol. IX. p. 102]; and head the intervals with arches; the simple cornice remaining wherever the wall-veil was left, and becoming a capital wherever the wall-veil became a shaft. . . . And in this stage the whole width of the house is considered as one arcade with intervals more or less wide. But in the third stage the idea of the continuous arcade is lost. The groups of its arches contract themselves only *windows*; the cornice, as if unable to bear the contraction, snaps and remains only in fragments at the top of the narrow pilasters. The windows as they shrink

cortiles; the disposition of the interiors being now entirely changed, and their original condition untraceable.¹ The entrances to these early buildings are, for the most part, merely large circular arches, the central features of their continuous arcades: they do not present us with definitely separated windows and doors.

But a great change takes place in the Gothic period. These long arcades break, as it were, into pieces, and coagulate into central and lateral windows, and small arched doors, pierced in great surfaces of brick wall. The sea story of a Byzantine palace consists of seven, nine, or more arches in a continuous line; but the sea story of a Gothic palace consists of a door and one or two windows on each side, as in a modern house. The first story of a Byzantine palace consists of, perhaps, eighteen or twenty arches, reaching from one side of the house to the other; the first story of a Gothic palace consists of a window of four or five lights in the centre, and one or two single windows on each side. The germ, however, of the Gothic arrangement is already found in the Byzantine, where, as we have seen, the arcades, though continuous, are always composed of a central mass and two wings

in width, shrink in height also, draw up their feet, as it were, and instead of falling to the general foundation of the building, receive, as we have just seen, a narrow plinth or still for a foundation of their own. At the same time the great arch of the entrance sinks into a mere door; and the building, instead of the appearance of a great court or public place surrounded by arcades, assumes that of a very closely veiled private house, with door and windows of ordinary size. . . . [Reference to two typical figures, showing a Byzantine, and a Gothic palace. For the Byzantine type, the reader may here refer to Fig. 4 above, p. 147; for the Gothic, to Plate F, p. 299.] It will be noticed that there remains to the last a trace of Byzantine feeling in the connected group of central windows of the upper story, or stories (for the Gothic palaces have many), and the transition is effected very gradually, and with more or less retention of the idea of an arcade and confusion of it with that of the window; while in the Ducal Palace both systems are represented and reconciled, the long arcade being used below, the windows above. It is only by keeping this derivation in mind that the grouping of the windows in later Venetian palaces is to be fully understood. The connected clusters of them, remnants of the Byzantine manner, lighted the great halls of audience, while the single windows belonged to the private apartments. . . .”

Ruskin here notes in the MS. as a point for future consideration “of what change in the material mind this greater privacy of structure is significant,” and returns to the house in the Calle del Rimedio; the rest of the description, however, is hardly intelligible without the intended illustrations.]

¹ [See above, pp. 146, 155.]

of smaller arches. The central group becomes the door or the middle light of the Gothic palace, and the wings break into its lateral windows.

§ 7. But the most essential difference in the entire arrangement, is the loss of the unity of conception which regulated Byzantine composition. How subtle the sense of gradation which disposed the magnitudes of the early palaces we have seen already, but I have not hitherto noticed that the Byzantine work was centralised in its ornamentation as much as in its proportions. Not only were the lateral capitals and archivolts kept comparatively plain, while the central ones were sculptured, but the midmost piece of sculpture, whatever it might be,—capital, inlaid circle, or architrave,—was always made superior to the rest. In the Fondaco de'Turchi, for instance,¹ the midmost capital of the upper arcade is the key to the whole group, larger and more studied than all the rest; and the lateral ones are so disposed as to answer each other on the opposite sides, thus, A being put for the central one,

F E B C A C B E F,

a sudden break of the system being admitted in one unique capital at the extremity of the series.

§ 8. Now, long after the Byzantine arcades had been contracted into windows, this system of centralisation was more or less maintained; and in all the early groups of windows of five lights the midmost capital is different from the two on each side of it, which always correspond. So strictly is this the case, that whenever the capitals of any group of windows are not centralised in this manner, but are either entirely like each other, or all different, so as to show no correspondence, it is a certain proof, even if no other should exist, of the comparative lateness of the building.

In every group of windows in Venice which I was able to examine, and which were centralised in this manner, I found evidence in their mouldings of their being *anterior* to the

¹ [See above, p. 148.]

Ducal Palace. That palace did away with the subtle proportion and centralisation of the Byzantine. Its arches are of equal width and its capitals are all different and ungrouped; some, indeed, are larger than the rest, but this is not for the sake of proportion, only for particular service, when more weight is to be borne. But, among other evidences of the early date of the sea façade of that building, is one subtle and delicate concession to the system of centralisation which it finally closed. The capitals of the upper arcade are, as I said, all different, and show no arranged correspondence with each other; but *the central one is of pure Parian marble*, while all the others are of Istrian stone.

The bold decoration of the central window and balcony above, in the Ducal Palace, is only a peculiar expression of the principality of the central window, which was characteristic of the Gothic period not less than of the Byzantine. In the private palaces the central windows become of importance by their number of lights; in the Ducal Palace such an arrangement was, for various reasons, inconvenient, and the central window, which, so far from being more important than the others, is every way inferior in design to the two at the eastern extremity of the façade, was nevertheless made the leading feature by its noble canopy and balcony.

§ 9. Such being the principal differences in the general conception of the Byzantine and Gothic palaces, the particulars in the treatment of the latter are easily stated. The marble facings are gradually removed from the walls; and the bare brick either stands forth confessed boldly, contrasted with the marble shafts and archivolt of the windows, or it is covered with stucco painted in fresco, of which more hereafter. The Ducal Palace, as in all other respects, is an exact expression of the middle point in the change. It still retains marble facing; but instead of being disposed in slabs as in the Byzantine times, it is applied in solid bricks or blocks of marble, 11½ inches long, by 6 inches high.

The stories of the Gothic palaces are divided by stringcourses, considerably bolder in projection than those of the

Byzantines, and more highly decorated; and while the angles of the Byzantine palaces are quite sharp and pure, those of the Gothic palaces are wrought into a chamfer, filled by small twisted shafts which have capitals under the cornice of each story.

§ 10. These capitals are little observed in the general effect, but the shafts are of essential importance in giving an aspect of firmness to the angle; a point of peculiar necessity in Venice, where, owing to the various convolutions of the canals, the angles of the palaces are not only frequent, but often necessarily *acute*, every inch of ground being valuable. In other cities, the appearance as well as the assurance of stability can always be secured by the use of massy stones, as in the fortress palaces of Florence; but it must have been always desirable at Venice to build as lightly as possible, in consequence of the comparative insecurity of the foundations. The early palaces were, as we have seen, perfect models of grace and lightness,¹ and the Gothic, which followed, though much more massive in the style of its details, never admitted more weight into its structure than was absolutely necessary for its strength. Hence, every Gothic palace has the appearance of enclosing as many rooms, and attaining as much strength, as is possible, with a minimum quantity of brick and stone. The traceries of the windows, which in Northern Gothic only support the *glass*, at Venice support the *building*; and thus the greater ponderousness of the *traceries* is only an indication of the greater lightness of the *structure*. Hence, when the Renaissance architects give their opinions as to the stability of the Ducal Palace when injured by fire,² one of them, Christoforo Sorte, says, that he thinks it by no means laudable that the “Serenissimo Dominio” of the Venetian senate “should live in a palace built in the air.”* And again,

*“Dice, che non lauda per alcun modo di metter questo Serenissimo Dominio in tanto pericolo d’ habitar un palazzo fabricato in aria.”—*Pareri di XV. Architetti, con illustrazioni dell’ Abbate Giuseppe Cadorin* (Venice, 1838), p. 104.

¹ [See above, p. 155.]

² [This was in 1574: see ch. viii. §28, p. 355.]

Andrea della Valle says, that* the wall of the saloon is thicker by fifteen inches than the shafts below it, projecting nine inches within, and six without, *standing as if in the air*, above the piazza; † and yet this wall is so nobly and strongly knit together, that Rusconi,¹ though himself altogether devoted to the Renaissance school, declares that the fire which had destroyed the whole interior of the palace had done this wall no more harm than the bite of a fly to an elephant. “Troveremo che el danno che ha patito queste muraglie sarà conforme alla beccatura d’ una mosca fatta ad un elefante.”‡

§ 11. And so in all the other palaces built at the time, consummate strength was joined with a lightness of form and sparingness of material which rendered it eminently desirable that the eye should be convinced, by every possible expedient, of the stability of the building; and these twisted pillars at the angles are not among the least important means adopted for this purpose, for they seem to bind the walls together as a cable binds a chest. In the Ducal Palace, where they are carried up the angle of an unbroken wall forty feet high, they are divided into portions, gradually diminishing in length towards the top, by circular bands or rings, set with the nail-head or dog-tooth ornament, vigorously projecting, and giving the column nearly the aspect of the stalk of a reed; its diminishing proportions being exactly arranged as they are by Nature in all jointed plants.² At the top of the palace, like the wheat-stalk branching into the ear of corn, it expands into a small niche with a pointed canopy, which joins with the fantastic parapet in at once relieving, and yet making more notable by its contrast, the weight of massy wall below. The arrangement is seen in the woodcut,

* “11 muro della sala è più grosso delle colonne sott’ esso piedi uno e onze tre, et posto in modo che onze sei sta come in aere sopra la piazza, et onze nove dentro.”—*Pareri di XV. Architetti*, p. 47.

† Compare *Seven Lamps*, chap. iii. § 7 [Vol. VIII. p. 108].

‡ *Pareri*, above quoted, p. 21.

¹ [See below, p. 355.]

² [See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. vi. ch. vii., where this subject is worked out; and compare *Elements of Drawing*, Letter iii.]

Chap. VIII. [p. 331]; the angle shafts being slightly exaggerated in thickness, together with their joints, as otherwise they would hardly have been intelligible on so small a scale.

The Ducal Palace is peculiar in these niches at the angles, which throughout the rest of the city appear on churches only; but some may perhaps have been removed by restorations, together with the parapets with which they were associated.

§ 12. Of these roof parapets of Venice, it has been already noticed that the examples which remain differ from those of all other cities of Italy in their purely ornamental character. (Chap. I. § 12.¹) They are not battlements, properly so called; still less machicolated cornices, such as crown the fortress palaces of the great mainland nobles; but merely adaptations of the light and crown-like ornaments which crest the walls of the Arabian mosque. Nor are even these generally used on the main walls of the palaces themselves. They occur on the Ducal Palace, on the Casa d'Oro, and, some years back, were still standing on the Fondaco de' Turchi;² but the majority of the Gothic palaces have the plain dog-tooth cornice under the tiled projecting roof (Vol. I. Chap. XIV. §4); and the highly decorated parapet is employed only on the tops of walls which surround courts or gardens, and which, without such decoration, would have been utterly devoid of interest. Fig. 23 represents, at *b*, part of a parapet of this kind which surrounds the courtyard of a palace in the Calle del Bagatin, between San G. Grisostomo and San Canzian: the whole is of brick, and the mouldings peculiarly sharp and varied; the height of each separate pinnacle being about four feet, crowning a wall twelve or fifteen feet high: a piece of the moulding which surrounds the quatrefoil is given larger in the figure at *a*, together with the top of the small arch below, having the common Venetian dentil round it, and a delicate little moulding with dog-tooth ornament to carry the flanks of

¹ [Vol. i.; in this edition Vol. IX. p. 30.]

² [See above, note on p. 147.]

the arch. The moulding of the brick is throughout sharp and beautiful in the highest degree. One of the most curious points about it is the careless way in which the curved outlines of the pinnacles are cut into the plain brickwork with no regard whatever to the places of its joints. The weather of course wears the bricks at the exposed joints, and jags the outline a little; but the work has stood, evidently from the fourteenth century, without sustaining much harm.

§ 13. This parapet may be taken as a general type of the *wall*-parapet of Venice in the Gothic period; some being

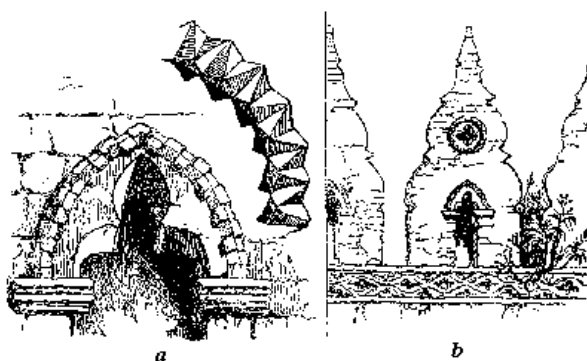


Fig. 23

much less decorated, and others much more richly; the most beautiful in Venice is in the little Calle, opening on the Campo and Traghetto San Samuele; it has delicately carved devices in stone let into each pinnacle.

The parapets of the palaces themselves were lighter and more fantastic, consisting of narrow lance-like spires of marble, set between the broader pinnacles, which were in such cases generally carved into the form of a fleur-de-lis: the French word gives the reader the best idea of the form, though he must remember that this use of the lily for the parapets has nothing to do with France, but is the carrying out of the Byzantine system of floral ornamentation, which introduced the outline of the lily everywhere; so that I

¹ [In his copy for revision Ruskin has noted at the side of Fig. 23, "Confer Deuteronomy xxii. 8"—"When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence."]

have found it convenient to call its most beautiful capitals, the *lily* capitals of St. Mark's.¹ But the occurrence of this flower, more distinctly than usual, on the battlements of the Ducal Palace, was the cause of some curious political speculation in the year 1511, when a piece of one of these battlements was shaken down by the great earthquake of that year. Sanuto notes in his diary that "the piece that fell was just that which bore the lily," and records sundry sinister anticipations, founded on this important omen, of impending danger to the adverse French power.² As there happens, in the Ducal Palace, to be a joint in the pinnacles which exactly separates the "part which bears the lily" from that which is fastened to the cornice, it is no wonder that the omen proved fallacious.

§ 14. The decorations of the parapet were completed by attaching gilded balls of metal to the extremities of the leaves of the lilies, and of the intermediate spires, so as literally to form for the wall a diadem of silver touched upon the points with gold; the image being rendered still more distinct in the Casa d'Oro, by variation in the height of the pinnacles, the highest being in the centre of the front.

Very few of these light roof-parapets now remain; they are, of course, the part of the building which dilapidation first renders it necessary to remove.³ That of the Ducal Palace, however, though often, I doubt not, restored, retains much of the ancient form, and is exceedingly beautiful, though it has no appearance from below of being intended for protection, but serves only, by its extreme lightness, to relieve the eye when wearied by the breadth of wall beneath; it is nevertheless a most serviceable defence for any person walking along the edge of the roof. It has some

¹ [See above, p. 164.]

² [The reverential feeling for the stones of Venice which lies behind such sinister anticipations may be compared with the story of the Mowbray monument (above, p. xxviii.) which the mason refused to tamper with. Nor is this kind of feeling extinct. When the King and Queen of Italy went to Venice after the fall of the Campanile, and inspected the site of the old tower, "a lament was heard in the crowd of people: *I varda dove gera el nostro povaro morto* (They are going where our poor dead one lies)": Okey's *Venice*, p. 220.]

³ [Compare Vol. IX. p. 200.]

appearance of insecurity, owing to the entire independence of the pieces of stone composing it, which, though of course fastened by iron, look as if they stood balanced on the cornice like the pillars of Stonehenge; but I have never heard of its having been disturbed by anything short of an earthquake; and, as we have seen, even the great earthquake of 1511, though it much injured the *gorne*,¹ or battlements, of the Casa d'Oro, and threw down several statues at St. Mark's,* only shook one lily from the brow of the Ducal Palace.

§ 15. Although, however, these light and fantastic forms appear to have been universal in the battlements meant primarily for decoration, there was another condition of parapet altogether constructed for the protection of persons walking on the roofs or in the galleries of the churches,

* It is a curious proof how completely, even so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Venetians had lost the habit of *reading* the religious art of their ancient churches, that Sanuto, describing this injury, says, that "four of the *Kings* in marble fell from their pinnacles above the front, at St. Mark's church;" and presently afterwards corrects his mistake, and apologises for it thus: "These were four saints, St. Constantine, St. Demetrius, St. George, and St. Theodore, all Greek saints. *They look like Kings.*" Observe the perfect, because unintentional, praise given to the old sculptor.

I quote the passage from the translation of these precious diaries of Sanuto, by my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, a translation which I hope will some day become a standard book in English libraries.²

¹ [*Gorna* is the Venetian word for gutter; protected, in this case, by battlements: see in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. "D'Oro," n.]

² [Marin Sanuto, the younger, was a senator of Venice and an historian. From his chronicles (*Vite Ducum*), Ruskin quotes below, p. 349. His diaries (1496–1533), in the compilation of which he was given special facilities by the Council of Ten, contain a record day by day—made (in his own words) "at the sweat of the brow, at the cost of much labour, many vigils and continual researches"—of every note-worthy occurrence not only in Venice and the provinces of the Republic, but in all the then known world. Rawdon Brown was among the first to appreciate and make known the historical value of "these precious diaries." In 1837 he published (in Italian) two volumes of extracts from them with notes (see below, p. 354 n.). It appears from the present passage that he had intended to publish a translation of some of them, but this was not done. Brown's subsequent labours being concentrated on the State Papers (see Vol. IX. p. 420 n.). The diaries themselves (*I Diarii di Marin Sanuto*) were published in fifty-six folio volumes by the *Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria* in 1877 and following years. The passages here quoted by Ruskin are in vol. xii. pp. 79, 81; the earthquake occurred on March 26, 1511.]

and from these more substantial and simple defences, the BALCONIES, to which the Gothic palaces owe half of their picturesque effect, were immediately derived; the balcony being, in fact, nothing more than a portion of such roof parapets arranged round a projecting window-sill sustained on brackets, as in the central example of the annexed figure. We must, therefore, examine these defensive balustrades and the derivative balconies consecutively.

§ 16. Obviously, a parapet with an unbroken edge, upon which the arm may rest (a condition above noticed, Vol. I. Chap. XIV. §16, as essential to the proper performance of its duty), can be constructed only in one of three ways. It must either be (1) of solid stone, decorated, if at all, by mere surface sculpture as in the uppermost example in the annexed figure; or (2) pierced into some kind of tracery, as in the second; or (3) composed of small pillars carrying a level bar of stone, as in the third; this last condition being, in a diseased and swollen form, familiar to us in the balustrades of our bridges.*

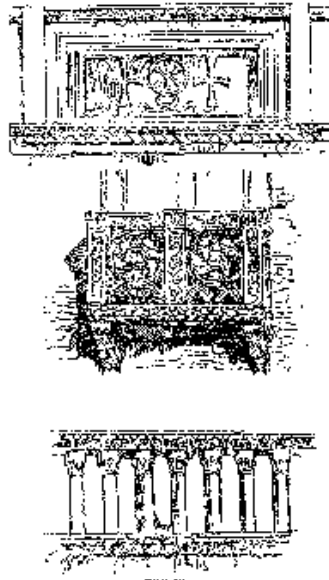


Fig. 24

§ 17. (1) Of these three kinds, the first, which is employed for the pulpit at Torcello and in the nave of St. Mark's, whence the uppermost example is taken, is beautiful when sculpture so rich can be employed upon it; but it is liable to objection, first, because it is heavy and unlike a parapet when seen from below; and, secondly, because it is inconvenient in use. The position of leaning over a balcony becomes cramped and painful if long continued, unless the

* I am not speaking here of iron balconies. See below, § 22.

foot can be sometimes advanced *beneath* the ledge on which the arm leans, *i.e.*, between the balusters or trceries, which of course cannot be done in the solid parapet: it is also more agreeable to be able to see partially down through the penetrations, than to be obliged to lean far over the edge. The solid parapet was rarely used in Venice after the earlier ages.

§ 18. (2) The Traceried Parapet is chiefly used in the Gothic of the North, from which the above example, in the Casa Contarini Fasan,¹ is directly

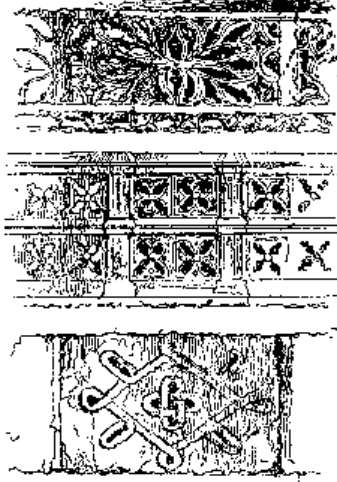


Fig. 25

derived. It is, when well designed, the richest and most beautiful of all forms, and many of the best buildings of France and Germany are dependent for half their effect upon it; its only fault being a slight tendency to fantasticism. It was never frankly received in Venice, where the architects had unfortunately returned to the Renaissance forms before the flamboyant parapets were fully developed in the North; but, in the early stage of the Renaissance, a kind of pierced parapet was

employed, founded on the old Byzantine interwoven trceries; that is to say, the slab of stone was pierced here and there with holes, and then an interwoven pattern traced on the surface round them. The difference in system will be understood in a moment by comparing the uppermost example in the figure above, which is a Northern parapet from the Cathedral of Abbeville, with the lowest, from a secret chamber in the Casa Foscari. It will be seen that the Venetian one is far more simple and severe, yet singularly piquant, the black penetrations telling sharply on the plain broad surface. Far inferior in beauty, it has yet one point

¹ [See Ruskin's drawing opposite p. 212, Vol. III.]

of superiority to that of Abbeville, that it proclaims itself more definitely to be stone. The other has rather the look of lace.

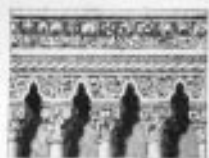
The intermediate figure is a panel of the main balcony of the Ducal Palace,¹ and is introduced here as being an exactly transitional condition between the Northern and Venetian types. It was built when the German Gothic workmen were exercising considerable influence over those in Venice, and there was some chance of the Northern parapet introducing itself. It actually did so, as above shown, in the Casa Contarini Fasan, but was for the most part stoutly resisted and kept at bay by the Byzantine form, the lowest in the last figure, until that form itself was displaced by the common, vulgar, Renaissance baluster; a grievous loss, for the severe pierced type was capable of a variety as endless as the fantasticism of our own Anglo-Saxon manuscript ornamentation.

§ 19. (3) The Baluster Parapet. Long before the idea of tracery had suggested itself to the minds either of Venetian or any other architects, it had, of course, been necessary to provide protection for galleries, edges of roofs, etc.: and the most natural form in which such protection could be obtained was that of a horizontal bar or hand-rail, sustained upon short shafts or balusters, as in Fig. 24, p. 285. This form was above all others likely to be adopted where variations of Greek or Roman pillared architecture were universal in the larger masses of the building; the parapet became itself a small series of columns, with capitals and architraves; and whether the crossbar laid upon them should be simply horizontal, and in contact with their capitals, or sustained by mimic arches, round or pointed, depended entirely on the system adopted in the rest of the work. Where the large arches were round, the small balustrade arches would be so likewise; where those were pointed, these would become so in sympathy with them.

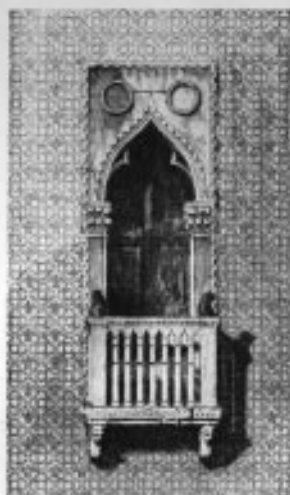
¹ [Engraved on a larger scale, and with detailed sections, etc., in Plates 5 and 6 of the *Examples*: see next volume.]

§ 20. Unfortunately, wherever a balcony or parapet is used in an inhabited house, it is, of course, the part of the structure which first suffers from dilapidation, as well as that of which the security is most anxiously cared for. The main pillars of a casement may stand for centuries unshaken under the steady weight of the superincumbent wall, but the cement and various inseting of the balconies are sure to be disturbed by the irregular pressures and impulses of the persons leaning on them; while, whatever extremity of decay may be allowed in other parts of the building, the balcony, as soon as it seems dangerous, will assuredly be removed or restored. The reader will not, if he considers this, be surprised to hear that, among all the remnants of the Venetian domestic architecture of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, there is not a single instance of the original balconies being preserved. The palace mentioned below (§ 32), in the piazza of the Rialto, has, indeed, solid slabs of stone between its shafts, but I cannot be certain that they are of the same period; if they are, this is the only existing example of the form of protection employed for casements during this transitional period, and it cannot be reasoned from as being the general one.

§ 21. It is only, therefore, in the churches of Torcello, Murano, and St. Mark's, that the ancient forms of gallery defence may still be seen. At Murano, between the pillars of the apse, a beautiful balustrade is employed, of which a single arch is given in the Plate opposite, fig. 4, with its section, fig. 5; and at St. Mark's, a noble round arched parapet, with small pillars of precisely the same form as those of Murano, but shorter, and bound at the angles into groups of four by the serpentine knot so often occurring in Lombardic work, runs round the whole exterior of the lower story of the church, and round great part of its interior galleries, alternating with the more fantastic form, fig. 6. In domestic architecture, the remains of the original balconies begin to occur first in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the round arch had entirely disappeared; and



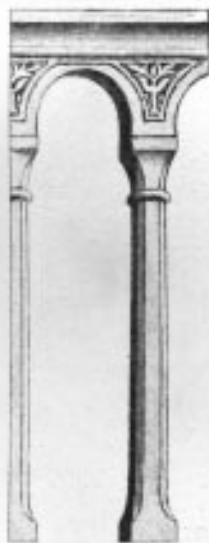
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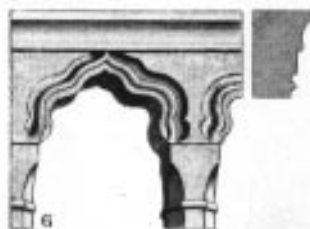
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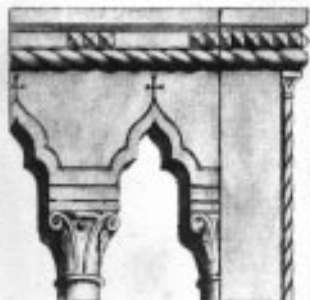
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5



6



7

the parapet consists, almost without exception, of a series of small trefoiled arches, cut boldly through a bar of stone which rests upon the shafts, at first very simple, and generally adorned with a cross at the point of each arch, as in fig. 7 in the last Plate (13), which gives the angle of such a balcony on a large scale; but soon enriched into the beautiful conditions, figs. 2 and 3, and sustained on brackets formed of lions' heads, as seen in the central example of their entire effect, fig. 1.

§ 22. In later periods, the round arches return; then the interwoven Byzantine form; and finally, as above noticed, the common English or classical balustrade; of which, however, exquisite examples, for grace and variety of outline, are found designed in the backgrounds of Paul Veronese. I could willingly follow out this subject fully, but it is impossible to do so without leaving Venice; for the chief city of Italy, as far as regards the strict effect of the balcony, is Verona; and if we were once to lose ourselves among the sweet shadows of its lonely streets, where the falling branches of the flowers stream like fountains through the pierced traceries of the marble, there is no saying whether we might soon be able to return to our immediate work. Yet before leaving the subject of the balcony* altogether, I must allude, for a moment, to the peculiar treatment of the iron-work out of which it is frequently wrought on the mainland of Italy—never in Venice. The iron is always wrought, not cast, beaten first into thin leaves, and then cut either into strips or bands, two or three inches broad, which are bent into various curves to form the sides of the balcony, or else into actual leafage, sweeping and free, like the leaves of nature, with which it is richly decorated.¹ There is no end to the variety of design, no limit to the

* Some details respecting the mechanical structure of the Venetian balcony are given in the final Appendix [Vol. XI. App. 10 (vi.)].

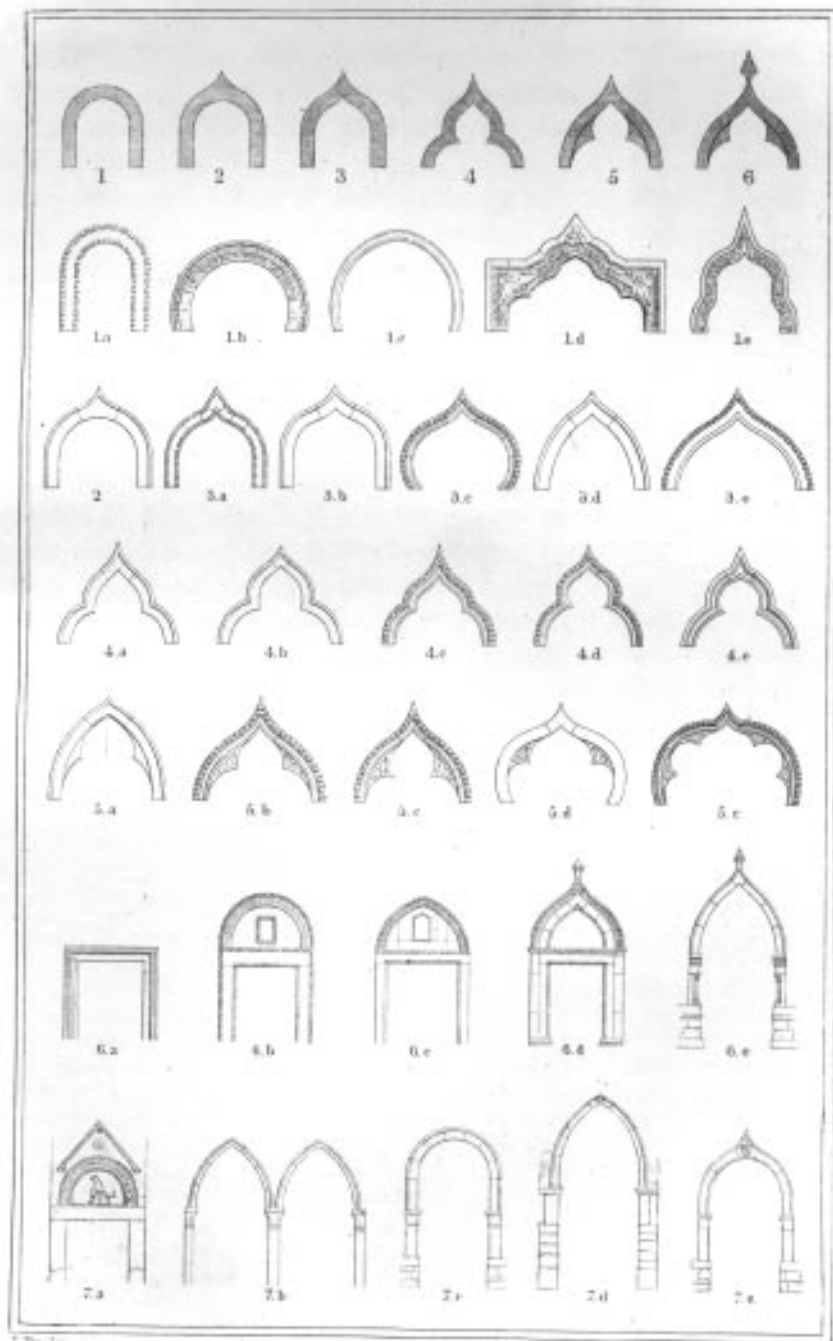
¹ [For some notes from one of Ruskin's diaries on Italian iron-work, see Vol. VIII. p. 85 n., and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 2, where a woodcut of the "iron-lace" of Verona is given.]

lightness and flow of the forms, which the workman can produce out of iron treated in this manner; and it is very nearly as impossible for any metal-work, so handled, to be poor, or ignoble in effect, as it is for cast metal-work to be otherwise.

§ 23. We have next to examine those features of the Gothic palaces in which the transitions of their architecture are most distinctly traceable: namely, the arches of the windows and doors.

It has already been repeatedly stated, that the Gothic style had formed itself completely on the mainland, while the Byzantines still retained their influence at Venice; and that the history of early Venetian Gothic is therefore not that of a school taking new forms independently of external influence, but the history of the struggle of the Byzantine manner with a contemporary style quite as perfectly organized as itself, and far more energetic. And this struggle is exhibited partly in the gradual change of the Byzantine architecture into other forms, and partly by isolated examples of genuine Gothic, taken prisoner, as it were, in the contest; or rather entangled among the enemy's forces, and maintaining their ground till their friends came up to sustain them. Let us first follow the steps of the gradual change, and then give some brief account of the various advanced guards and forlorn hopes of the Gothic attacking force.

§ 24. The uppermost shaded series of six forms of windows in Plate 14 opposite, represents, at a glance, the modifications of this feature in Venetian palaces, from the eleventh to fifteenth century. Fig. 1 is Byzantine, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; figs. 2 and 3 transitional, of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; figs. 4 and 5 pure Gothic, of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth; and fig. 6 late Gothic, of the fifteenth century, distinguished by its added final. Fig. 4 is longest-lived of all these forms: it occurs first in the thirteenth century; and, sustaining modifications only in its mouldings, is found also in the middle of the fifteenth.



I shall call these the six orders* of Venetian windows, and when I speak of a window of the fourth, second, or sixth order, the reader will only have to refer to the numerals at the top of Plate 14.

Then the series below shows the principal forms found in each period, belonging to each several order; except, 1 *b* to 1 *c*, and the two lower series, numbered 6 *a* to 7 *e*,¹ which are types of Venetian doors.

§ 25. We shall now be able, without any difficulty, to follow the course of transition, beginning with the first order, 1 and 1 *a*, in the second row. The horse-shoe arch, 1 *b*, is the door-head commonly associated with it, and the other three in the same row occur in St. Mark's exclusively; 1 *c* being used in the nave, in order to give a greater appearance of lightness to its great lateral arcades, which at first the spectator supposes to be round-arched, but he is struck by a peculiar grace and elasticity in the curves for which he is unable to account, until he ascends into the galleries whence the true form of the arch is discernible. The other two,—1 *d*, from the door of the southern transept, and 1 *a*, from that of the treasury,—sufficiently represent a group of fantastic forms derived from the Arabs, and of which the exquisite decoration is one of the most important features in St. Mark's. Their form is indeed permitted merely to obtain

* I found it convenient in my own memoranda to express them simply as fourths, seconds, etc. But "order" is an excellent word for any known group of forms, whether of windows, capitals, bases, mouldings, or any other architectural feature, provided always that it be not understood in any wise to imply pre-eminence or isolation in these groups. Thus I may rationally speak of the six orders of Venetian windows, provided I am ready to allow a French architect to speak of the six or seven, or eight, or seventy or eighty, orders of Norman windows, if so many are distinguishable; and so also we may rationally speak, for the sake of intelligibility, of the five orders of Greek pillars, provided only we understand that there may be five millions of orders, as good or better, of pillars *not* Greek.²

¹ [Wrongly printed "7 to 16" in all previous editions (the figures in the Plate having been re-numbered and this corresponding alteration having been forgotten). Ruskin notes the error in his copy for revision.]

² [On the subject of architectural "orders," see Vol. IX. pp. 34–35, 426.]

more fantasy in the curves of this decoration.* The reader can see in a moment, that, as pieces of masonry, or bearing arches, they are infirm or useless, and therefore never could be employed in any building in which dignity of structure was the primal object. It is just because structure is *not* the primal object in St. Mark's, because it has no severe weights to bear, and much loveliness of marble and sculpture to exhibit, that they are therein allowable. They are of course, like the rest of the building, built of brick and faced with marble, and their inner masonry, which must be very ingenious, is therefore not discernible. They have settled a little, as might have been expected, and the consequence is, that there is in every one of them, except the upright arch of the treasury, a small fissure across the marble of the flanks.

§ 26. Though, however, the Venetian builders adopted these Arabian forms of arch where grace of ornamentation was their only purpose, they saw that such arrangements were unfit for ordinary work; and there is no instance, I believe, in Venice, of their having used any of them for a dwelling-house in the truly Byzantine period. But so soon as the Gothic influence began to be felt, and the pointed arch forced itself upon them, their first concession to its attack was the adoption, in preference to the round arch, of the form 3 *a* (Plate 14 above); the point of the Gothic arch forcing itself up, as it were, through the top of the semicircle which it was soon to supersede.

§ 27. The woodcut on next page, Fig. 26, represents the door and two of the lateral windows of a house in the Corte del Remer, facing the Grand Canal, in the parish of the Apostoli.¹ It is remarkable as having its great entrance on the first floor, attained by a bold flight of steps, sustained on pure *pointed* arches wrought in brick. I cannot tell if these arches are contemporary with the building, though it must

* Or in their own curves; as, on a small scale, in the balustrade, Fig. 6, Plate 13 above.

¹ [For other references to this house, see Vol. IX. p. 305; and in this volume, above, ch. v. § 29, p. 170, below, § 31.]

always have had an access of the kind. The rest of its aspect is Byzantine, except only that the rich sculptures of its archivolt show in combats of animals, beneath the soffit, a beginning of the Gothic fire and energy. The moulding of its plinth is of a Gothic profile,* and the windows are pointed, not with a reversed curve, but in a pure straight gable, very curiously contrasted with the delicate bending of the pieces of marble armour cut for the shoulders of each arch. There is a two-lighted window, such as that seen in

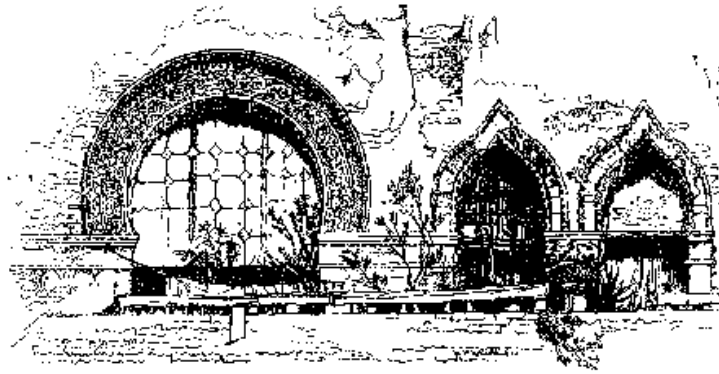


Fig. 26

the vignette, on each side of the door, sustained in the centre by a basket-worked Byzantine capital: the mode of covering the brick archivolt with marble, both in the windows and doorway, is precisely like that of the true Byzantine palaces.

§ 28. But as, even on a small scale, these arches are weak, if executed in brickwork, the appearance of this sharp point in the outline was rapidly accompanied by a parallel change in the method of building; and instead of constructing the arch of brick and coating it with marble, the builders formed it of three pieces of hewn stone inserted in the wall, as in Fig. 27. Not, however, at first in this perfect form. The endeavour to reconcile the grace of the reversed arch

* For all details of this kind, the reader is referred to the final Appendix in Vol. III. [Vol. XI. in this edition, Appendix 10].

with the strength of the round one, and still to build in brick, ended at first in conditions such as that represented at *a*, Fig. 28,



Fig. 27

which is a window in the Calle del Pistor, close to the church of the Apostoli, a very interesting and perfect example. Here, observe, the poor round arch is still kept to do all the hard work, and the fantastic ogee takes its pleasure above in the form of a moulding merely, a chain of bricks cast to

the required curve. And this condition, translated into stone-work, becomes a window of the second order (*b*, Fig. 28, or 2 in Plate 14): a form perfectly strong and serviceable, and of immense importance in the transitional architecture of Venice.

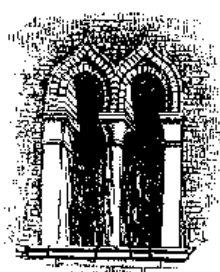
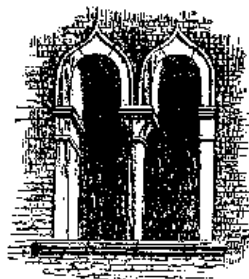
*a**b*

Fig. 28

§ 29. At *b*, Fig. 28 above, is given one of the earliest and simplest occurrences of the second order window (in a double group, exactly like the brick transitional form *a*), from a most important fragment of a defaced house in the Salizzata San Lio, close to the Merceria. It is associated with a fine *pointed* brick arch, indisputably of contemporary work, towards the close of the thirteenth century, and it is shown to be later than the previous example, *a*, by the greater development of its mouldings. The archivolt profile, indeed, is the simpler of the two, not having the sub-arch; as in the brick example; but the other mouldings are far more developed. Fig. 29 shows at 1 the arch profiles, at 2

the capital profiles, at 3 the basic-plinth profiles, of each window, *a* and *b*.

§ 30. But the second order window soon attained nobler development. At once simple, graceful, and strong, it was received into all the architecture of the period, and there is hardly a street in Venice which does not exhibit some important remains of palaces built with this form of window in many stories, and in numerous groups. The most extensive and perfect is one upon the Grand Canal in the parish of the Apostoli, near the Rialto, covered with rich decoration, in the Byzantine manner, between the windows of its first story; but not completely characteristic of the transitional period, because still retaining the dentil in the arch mouldings, while the transitional houses all have the simple roll.¹ Of the fully established type, one of the most extensive and perfect examples is in a court in the Calle di Rimedio,² close to the Ponte dell' Angelo, near St. Mark's Place.

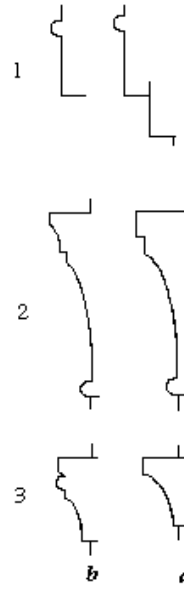


Fig. 29

Another looks out upon a small square garden, one of the few visible in the centre of Venice, close by the Corte Salviati³ (the latter being known to every cicerone as that from which Bianca Cappello fled⁴). But, on the whole, the most interesting to the traveller is that of which I have given a vignette opposite [Plate 15].

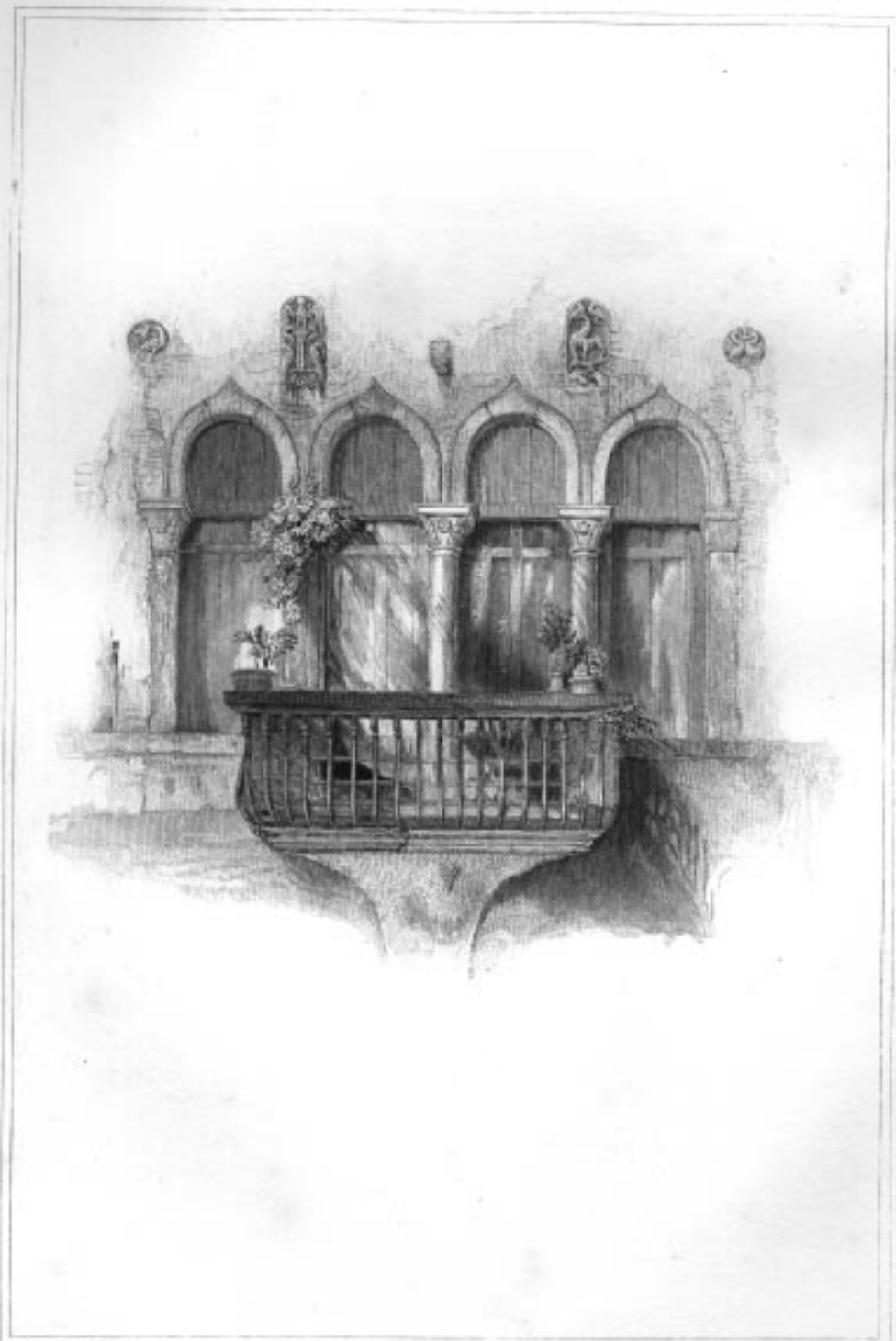
But for this range of windows, the little piazza SS. Apostoli would be one of the least picturesque in Venice; to those, however, who seek it on foot, it becomes geographically

¹ [This is the Ca' da Moro; entrance through it to the Fishmarket ferry. For a further notice see in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. "Apostoli."]

² [For a description of the house, see above, p. 275 *n*. It is in the court of the Palace of the Angel (now the offices of the Gas Company) at the corner of the Ponte del Rimedio.]

³ [Now the Bianca Salviati, at San Silvestro, near the Rialto. The windows referred to by Ruskin can no longer be identified; those of the palaces that now looks into the garden are of the fourth order.]

⁴ [Compare in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. "Cappello."]



Windows of the Second Order.
Casa Falier.

interesting from the extraordinary involution of the alleys leading to it from the Rialto. In Venice, the straight road is usually by water, and the long road by land; but the difference of distance appears, in this case, altogether inexplicable. Twenty or thirty strokes of the oar will bring a gondola from the foot of the Rialto to that of Ponte SS. Apostoli; but the unwise pedestrian, who has not noticed the white clue beneath his feet,* may think himself fortunate, if, after a quarter of an hour's wandering among the houses behind the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, he find himself anywhere in the neighbourhood of the point he seeks. With much patience, however, and modest following of the guidance of the marble thread, he will at last emerge over a steep bridge into the open space of the Piazza, rendered cheerful in autumn by a perpetual market of pomegranates, and purple gourds, like enormous black figs; while the canal, at its extremity, is half-blocked up by barges laden with vast baskets of grapes as black as charcoal, thatched over with their own leaves.

Looking back, on the other side of this canal, he will see the windows represented in Plate 15, which, with the arcade of pointed arches beneath them, are the remains of the palace once belonging to the unhappy Doge Marino Faliero.¹

* Two threads of white marble, each about an inch wide, inlaid in the dark grey pavement, indicate the road to the Rialto from the farthest extremity of the north quarter of Venice. The peasant or traveller, lost in the intricacy of the pathway in this portion of the city, cannot fail, after a few experimental traverses, to cross these white lines, which thenceforward he has nothing to do but to follow, though their capricious sinuosities will try his patience not a little.²

¹ [On one of the loose sheets of MS. there is a further description of the house and its balcony:—

“The group of delicate arches which form the window of the first story are rather set off than injured in effect by the leafage and flowers with which the modern balcony projecting beneath them is generally filled, and might probably arrest the eye even of the passing traveller: they will richly reward our laborious examination. The whole group is drawn as it at present stands. The modern balcony of iron and wood is probably the successor of a Renaissance one of stone.”]

² [The construction of the new street, the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, which leads from the square of the Apostoli towards the railway station, has destroyed most of these marbles; some of them, however, remain in narrow back streets, but they now guide the traveller only for a short way.]

The balcony is, of course, modern, and the series of windows has been of greater extent, once terminated by a pilaster on the left hand, as well as on the right; but the terminal arches have been walled up. What remains, however, is enough, with its sculptured birds and dragons, to give the reader a very distinct idea of the second order window in its perfect form. The details of the capitals, and other minor portions, if these interest him, he will find given in the final Appendix.¹

§ 31. The advance of the Gothic spirit was, for a few years, checked by this compromise between the round and pointed arch. The truce, however, was at last broken, in consequence of the discovery that the keystone² would do duty quite as well in the form *b* as in the form *a*, Fig. 30; and the substitution of *b*, at the head of the arch, gives us the window of the third order, 3 *b*, 3 *d*, and 3 *e*, in Plate 14.

The forms 3 *a* and 3 *c* are exceptional; the first occurring, as we have seen, in the Corte del Remer, and in one other palace on the Grand Canal, close to the church of St.

Eustachio; the second only, as far as I know, in one house on the Cannareggio,³ belonging to the true Gothic period. The other three examples, 3 *b*, 3 *d*, 3 *e*, are generally characteristic of the third order; and it will be observed that they differ not merely in mouldings, but in slope of sides, and this latter difference is by far the most material. For in the example 3 *b* there is hardly any true Gothic expression; it is still the pure Byzantine arch, with a point thrust up through it; but the moment the flanks slope, as in 3 *d*, the Gothic expression is definite, and the entire school of the architecture is changed. This slope of the flanks occurs, first, in so slight a degree as to be hardly perceptible, and gradually increases until, reaching the form 3 *e* at the close of the thirteenth

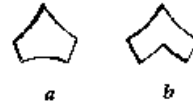


Fig. 30

¹ [Vol. XI. App. 10. Other details from this house are given in Plates 10 and 11, Vol. IX.]

² [See Vol. IX. Plate 3, Figs. *r* and *s*, and p. 173, where also the development of the keystone is illustrated.]

³ [The Cannareggio is the broad canal which strikes out of the Grand Canal to the north-west, a short distance east of the railway station.]

century, the window is perfectly prepared for a transition into the fifth order.

§ 32. The most perfect examples of the third order in Venice are the windows of the ruined palace of Marco Querini, the father-in-law of Bajamonte Tiepolo, in consequence of whose conspiracy against the government this palace was ordered to be razed in 1310;¹ but it was only partially ruined, and was afterwards used as the common shambles. The Venetians have now made a poultry market of the lower story (the shambles being removed to a suburb), and a prison of the upper, though it is one of the most important and interesting monuments in the city, and especially valuable as giving us a secure date for the central form of these very rare transitional windows. For, as it

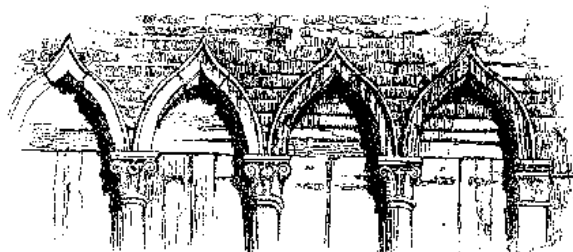
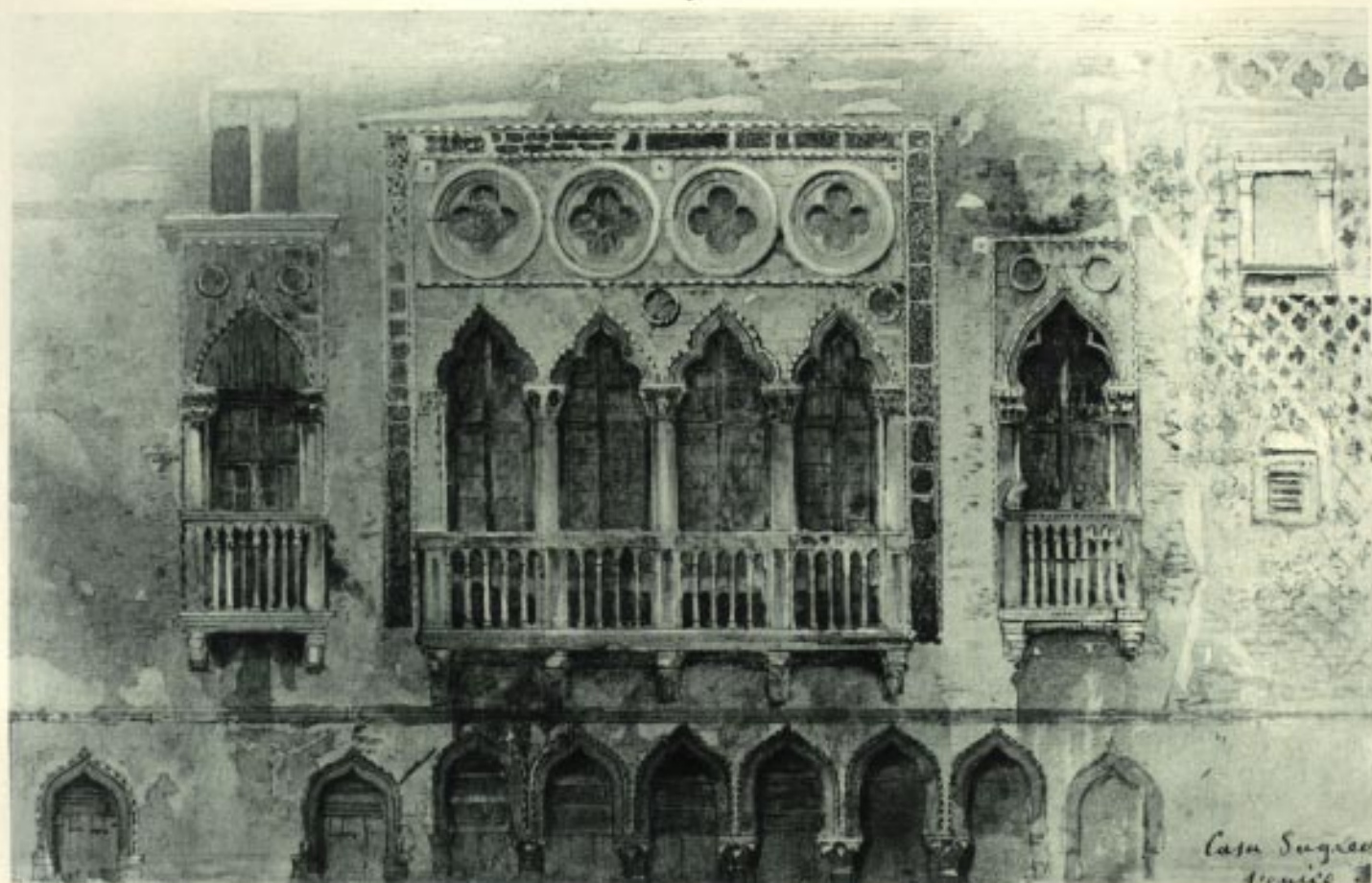


Fig. 31

was the palace of the father-in-law of Bajamonte, and the latter was old enough to assume the leadership of a political faction in 1280,* the date of the accession to the throne of the Doge Pietro Gradenigo, we are secure of this palace

* An account of the conspiracy of Bajamonte may be found in almost any Venetian history; the reader may consult Mutinelli, *Annali Urbani*, lib. iii.

¹ [The closing of the Great Council (Serrar del Consiglio) in 1297 (see Vol. IX. p. 418), and the Papal Interdict in 1309 were followed by a serious conspiracy against the Doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311) and the new oligarchy. The chief conspirators were Marco Querini, Bajamonte Tiepolo, and Badoer, and the place of meeting was the Ca' Querini. Plans were laid for an attack on June 14, 1309, but the Doge got wind of the plot and defeated the conspirators in detail; Querini was slain, Badoer tried and executed, and Tiepolo banished. It seems to have been an elder Tiepolo, Jacopo, who was the leader of a faction, and a popular candidate for the dogeship, at the earlier date (1280) mentioned further on in the text. The "ruined palace," just above the Rialto, is now being restored in the style of the original building, with additions, to make it into a fish market.]



J. Ruskin

 Casa Sagredo
 Allen & Co. 25

Windows of the Third and Fourth orders: the Casa Sagredo.

(From the Collection of George Thomson Esq Huddersfield.)

having been built not later than the middle of the thirteenth century. Another example, less refined in workmanship, but, if possible, still more interesting, owing to the variety of its capitals, remains in the little piazza opening to the Rialto, on the St. Mark's side of the Grand Canal. The house faces the bridge, and its second story has been built in the thirteenth century, above a still earlier Byzantine cornice remaining, or perhaps introduced from some other ruined edifice, in the walls of the first floor. The windows of the second story are of pure third order; four of them are represented above, with their flanking pilaster, and capitals varying constantly in the form of the flower or leaf introduced between their volutes.

§ 33. Another most important example exists in the lower story of the Casa Sagredo, on the Grand Canal, remarkable as having the early upright form (3 *b*, Plate 14) with a somewhat late moulding.¹ Many others occur in the fragmentary ruins in the streets: but the two boldest conditions which I found in Venice are those of the Chapter-house of the Frari, in which the Doge Francesco Dandolo was buried circa 1339;² and those of the flank of the Ducal Palace itself, absolutely corresponding with those of the Frari, and therefore of inestimable value in determining the date of the palace. Of these, more hereafter.³

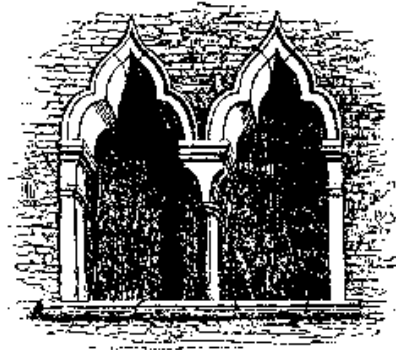


Fig. 32

§ 34. Contemporarily with these windows of the second and third orders, those of the fourth (4 *a*, and 4 *b*, in Plate 35) occur, at first in pairs, and with simple mouldings, precisely similar to those of the second order, but much more rare, as in the example at the side, Fig. 32, from the Salizzada

¹ [See the drawing (Plate F) introduced in this edition; for the chequer-work see next volume, ch. i. § 32, and for a further notice of the house, Venetian Index.]

² [See below, p. 343, and in the next volume, ch. ii. § 58.]

³ [See Plate A in Vol. IX. for details of the Frari window; and for the chronological point, above, pp. liii. and 272.]

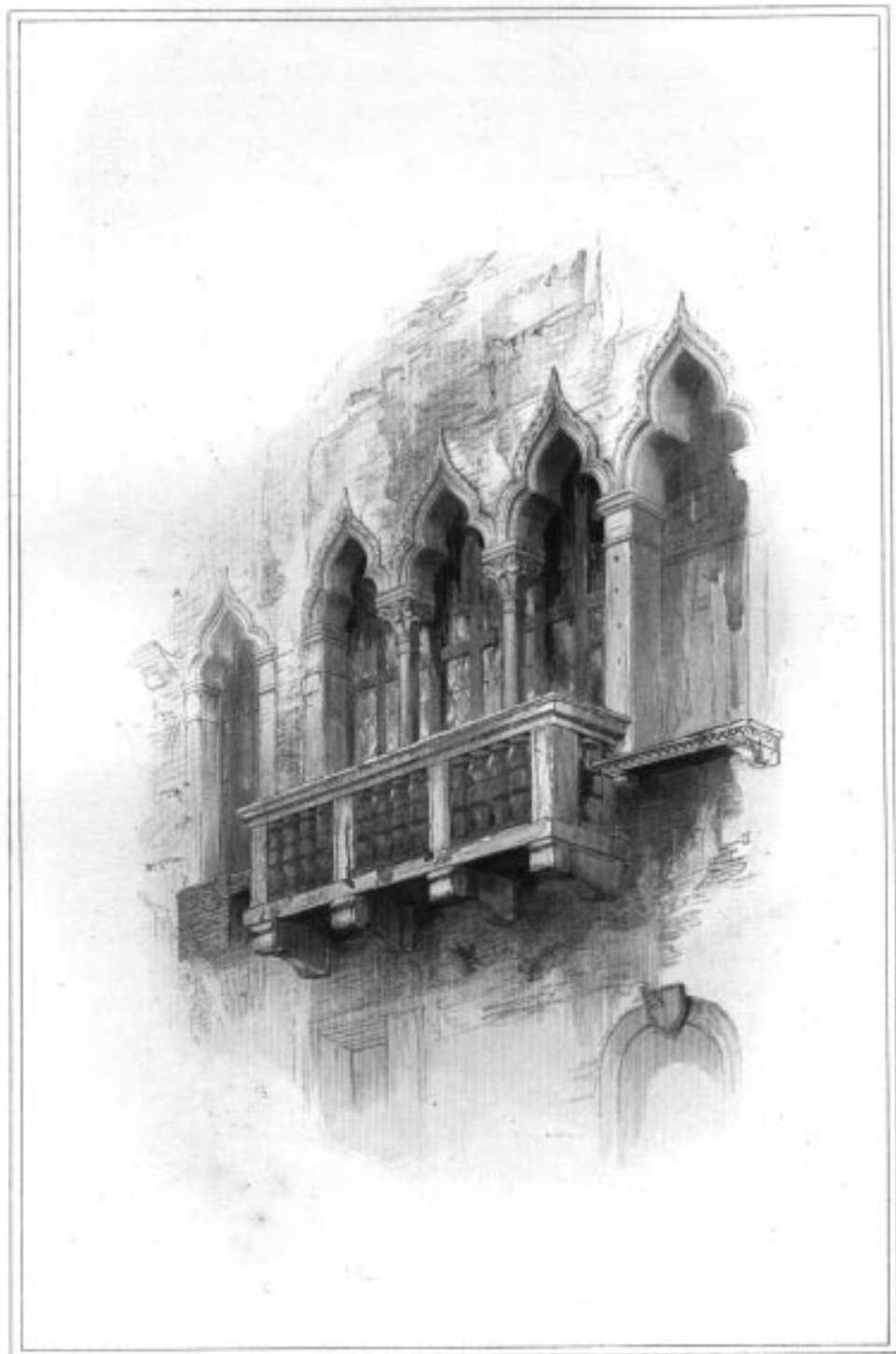
San Liò;¹ and then, enriching their mouldings as shown in the continuous series 4 *c*, 4 *d*, of Plate 14, associate themselves with the fifth-order windows of the perfect Gothic period. There is hardly a palace in Venice without some example, either early or late, of these fourth-order windows; but the Plate opposite (16) represents one of their purest groups at the close of the thirteenth century, from a house on the Grand Canal, nearly opposite the Church of the Scalzi.² I have drawn it from the side, in order that the great depth of the arches may be seen, and the clear detaching of the shafts from the sheets of glass behind. The latter, as well as the balcony, are comparatively modern; but there is no doubt that if glass were used in the old window, it was set behind the shafts at the same depth. The entire modification of the interiors of all the Venetian houses by recent work has, however, prevented me from entering into any inquiry as to the manner in which the ancient glazing was attached to the interiors of the windows.

The fourth-order window is found in great richness and beauty at Verona, down to the latest Gothic times, as well as in the earliest, being then more frequent than any other form. It occurs, on a grand scale, in the old palace of the Scaligers, and profusely throughout the streets of the city. The series 4 *a* to 4 *e*, Plate 14, shows its most ordinary conditions and changes of arch-line: 4 *a* and 4 *b* are the early Venetian forms; 4 *c*, later, is general at Venice; 4 *d*, the best and most piquant condition, owing to its fantastic and bold projection of cusp, is common to Venice and Verona; 4 *e* is early Veronese.

§ 35. The reader will see at once, in descending to the fifth row in Plate 14, representing the windows of the fifth order, that they are nothing more than a combination of the third and fourth. By this union they become the nearest approximation to a perfect Gothic form which occurs

¹ [See above, § 29, p. 294.]

² [The house is the Palazzo Foscarini (Vecchio), in the parish of S. Simeone, No. 729, Ramo di Brato.]



Windows of the Fourth Order .

characteristically at Venice; and we shall therefore pause on the threshold of this final change, to glance back upon, and gather together, those fragments of purer pointed architecture which were above noticed as the forlorn hopes of the Gothic assault.

The little Campiello San Rocco is entered by a sottoportico behind the Church of the Frari. Looking back, the upper traceries of the magnificent apse are seen towering above the irregular roofs and chimneys of the little square; and our lost Prout¹ was enabled to bring the whole subject into an exquisitely picturesque composition, by the fortunate occurrence of four quaint trefoiled windows in one of the houses on the right. These trefoils are among the most ancient efforts of Gothic art in Venice. I have given a rude sketch of them in Fig. 33. They are built entirely of brick, except the central shaft and capital, which are of Istrian stone. Their structure is the simplest possible; the trefoils being cut out of the radiating bricks which form the pointed arch, and the edge or upper limit of that pointed arch indicated by a roll moulding formed of cast bricks, in length of about a foot, and ground at the bottom so as to meet in one, as in Fig. 34. The capital of the shaft is one of the earliest transitional forms,* and observe

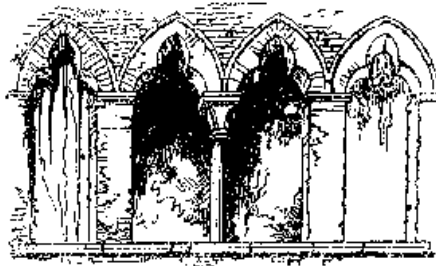


Fig. 33

the central shaft and capital, which are of Istrian stone. Their structure is the simplest possible; the trefoils being cut out of the radiating bricks which form the pointed arch, and the edge or upper limit of that pointed arch indicated by a roll moulding formed of cast bricks, in length of about a foot, and ground at the bottom so as to meet in one, as in Fig. 34. The capital of the shaft is one of the earliest transitional forms,* and observe

* See account of series of capitals in final Appendix.2

¹ [Prout had died of a stroke of apoplexy on February 9 or 10, 1852. Ruskin heard the news while he was writing this book at Venice, and thus refers to it in a letter to his father (February 17):—

“Strange—in my dressing room, I have on the opposite sides, ever since I came here, six plates from Turner and three of Prout; all now by dead men. I carried nobody else with me on this journey except some Albert Dürer. . . . Apoplexy!—hardly the kind of man one would have expected to go that way. Poor little fellow! it will be long ere England sees the like of him again—little as she thought of him compared with her R.A.’s and Sir this-and-thats.”

² [Appendix 10 (iii.) in the next volume.]

the curious following out, even in this minor instance, of the great law of centralization above explained with respect to the Byzantine palaces. There is a central shaft, a pilaster on each side, and then the wall. The pilaster has, by way of capital, a square flat brick projecting a little, and cast, at the edge, into the form of the first type of all cornices (*a*, p. 93, Vol. I.;¹ the reader ought to glance back at this passage, if he has forgotten it); and the shafts and pilasters all stand, without any added bases, on a projecting plinth of the same simple profile. These windows have been much defaced; but I have not the least doubt that their plinths are the original ones: and the whole group is one of the



Fig. 34

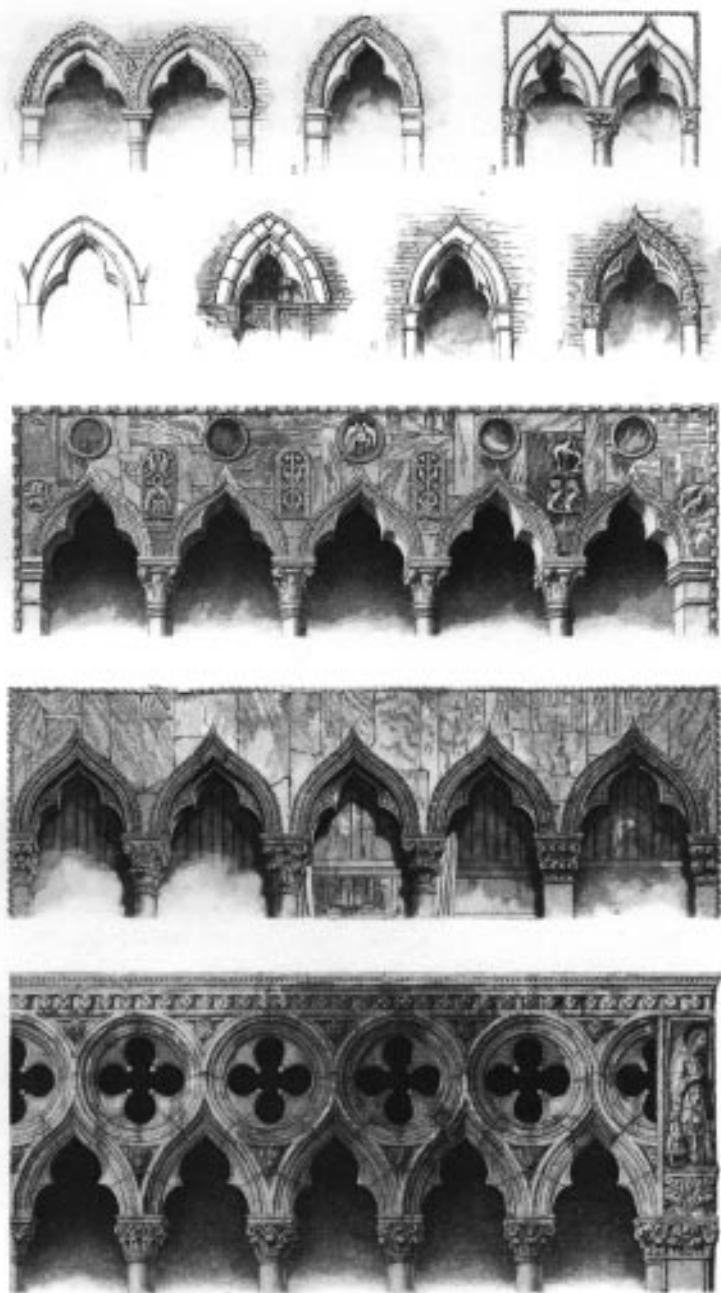
most valuable in Venice, as showing the way in which the humblest houses, in the noble times, followed out the system of the larger palaces, as far as they could, in their rude materials. It is not often that the dwellings of the lower orders are preserved to us from the thirteenth century.

§ 36. In the two upper lines of the opposite Plate (17), I have arranged some of the more delicate and finished examples of Gothic work of this period.

Of these, fig. 4 is taken from the outer arcade of San Fermo of Verona,² to show the condition of mainland architecture, from which all these Venetian types were borrowed. This arch, together with the rest of the arcade, is wrought in fine stone with a band of inlaid red brick, the whole chiselled and fitted with exquisite precision, all Venetian work being coarse in comparison. Throughout the streets of Verona, arches and windows of the thirteenth century are of continual occurrence, wrought, in this manner, with brick and stone; sometimes the brick alternating with the stones of the arch, as

¹ [*Stones of Venice*, Vol. IX. in this edition.]

² [For other references to this church, see Vol. IX. pp. 169, 395.]



in the finished example given in Plate 19 of the first volume, and there selected in preference to other examples of archivolt decoration, because furnishing a complete type of the master school from which the Venetian Gothic was derived.

§ 37. The arch from St. Fermo, however, fig. 4, Plate 17, corresponds more closely, in its entire simplicity, with the little windows from the Campiello San Rocco; and with the type 5 set beside it in Plate 17, from a very ancient house in the Corte del Forno at Santa Marina¹ (all in brick); while the upper examples, 1 and 2, show the use of the flat but highly enriched architrave, for the connection of which with Byzantine work see the final Appendix, Vol. III., under the head "Archivolt." These windows (figs. 1 and 2, Plate 17) are from a narrow alley in a part of Venice now exclusively inhabited by the lower orders, close to the Arsenal;* they are entirely wrought in brick, with exquisite mouldings, not cast, but *moulded in the clay by the hand*, so that there is not one piece of the arch like another; the pilasters and shafts being, as usual, of stone.

§ 38. And here let me pause for a moment, to note what one should have thought was well enough known in England,—yet I could not perhaps touch upon anything less considered,—the real use of brick. Our fields of good clay were never given us to be made into oblong morsels of one size. They were given us that we might play with them, and that men who could not handle a chisel, might knead out of them some expression of human thought. In the ancient architecture of the clay districts of Italy, every possible adaptation of the material is found exemplified; from the coarsest and most brittle kinds, used in the mass of the structure, to bricks for arches and plinths, cast in

* If the traveller desire to find them (and they are worth seeking), let him row from the Fondamenta S. Biagio down the Rio della Tana; and look, on his right, for a low house with windows in it like those in the woodcut No. 31, above, p. 298. Let him go in at the door of the portico in the middle of this house, and he will find himself in a small alley, with the windows in question on each side of him.

¹ [The name of a parish; the church was pulled down in 1820.]

the most perfect curves, and of almost every size, strength, and hardness; and moulded bricks, wrought into flower-work and tracery as fine as raised patterns upon china. And, just as many of the finest works of the Italian sculptors were executed in porcelain, many of the best thoughts of their architects are expressed in brick, or in the softer material of terra cotta; and if this were so in Italy, where there is not one city from whose towers we may not descry the blue outline of Alp or Apennine, everlasting quarries of granite or marble, how much more ought it to be so among the fields of England! I believe that the best academy for her architects, for some half century to come, would be the brick-field;¹ for of this they may rest assured, that till they know how to use clay, they will never know how to use marble.

§ 39. And now observe, as we pass from fig. 2 to fig. 3, and from fig. 5, to fig. 6, in Plate 17, a most interesting step of transition. As we saw above, § 14, the round arch yielding to the Gothic, by allowing a point to emerge at its summit, so here we have the Gothic conceding something to the form which had been assumed by the round; and itself slightly altering its outline so as to meet the condescension of the round arch half way. At page 176 of the first volume, I have drawn to scale one of these minute concessions of the pointed arch, granted at Verona out of pure courtesy to the Venetian forms, by one of the purest Gothic monuments in the world;² and the small window here, fig. 6, is a similar example at Venice itself, from the Campo Santa Maria Mater Domini, where the reversed curve at the head of the pointed arch is just perceptible and no more. The other examples, figs. 3 and 7, the first from a small but very noble house in the Merceria, the second from an isolated palace at Murano, show more advanced conditions of the reversed curve, which, though still employing the broad decorated

¹ [See *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 64, "go and learn" to make bricks; and compare Letter 47. Ruskin had already in his first architectural essay dealt at some length with the proper use of brick: see in Vol. I., *The Poetry of Architecture*, §§ 185–195.]

² [The Castelbarco Tomb. See in Vol. IX., Fig. 34 and Plate D.]



Windows of the Casa Falier

(On the Grand Canal)

architrave of the earlier examples, are in all other respects prepared for the transition to the simple window of the fifth order.

§ 40. The next example, the uppermost of the three lower series in Plate 17, shows this order in its early purity; associated with intermediate decorations like those of the Byzantines, from a palace once belonging to the Erizzo family, near the Arsenal. The ornaments appear to be actually of Greek workmanship (except, perhaps, the two birds over the central arch, which are bolder, and more free in treatment), and built into the Gothic fronts; showing, however, the early date of the whole by the manner of their insertion, corresponding exactly with that employed in the Byzantine palaces, and by the covering of the intermediate spaces with sheets of marble, which, however, instead of being laid over the entire wall, are now confined to the immediate spaces between and above the windows, and are bounded by a dentil moulding.

In the example below this the Byzantine ornamentation has vanished, and the fifth-order window is seen in its generic form, as commonly employed throughout the early Gothic period. Such arcades are of perpetual occurrence; the one in the Plate was taken from a small palace on the Grand Canal, nearly opposite the Casa Foscari. One point in it deserves especial notice, the increased size of the lateral window as compared with the rest: a circumstance which occurs in a great number of the groups of windows belonging to this period, and for which I have never been able to account.

§ 41. Both these figures have been most carefully engraved; and the uppermost will give the reader a perfectly faithful idea of the general effect of the Byzantine sculptures, and of the varied alabaster among which they are inlaid, as well as of the manner in which these pieces are set together, every joint having been drawn on the spot: and the transition from the embroidered and silvery richness of this architecture, in which the Byzantine ornamentation was associated with the Gothic form of arch, to the simplicity of the pure Gothic arcade as seen in the lower figure, is one of the most

remarkable phenomena in the history of Venetian art. If it had occurred suddenly, and at an earlier period, it might have been traced partly to the hatred of the Greeks consequent upon the treachery of Manuel Comnenus,* and the fatal war to which it led;¹ but the change takes place gradually, and not till a much later period. I hoped to have been able to make some careful inquiries into the habits of domestic life of the Venetians before and after the dissolution of their friendly relations with Constantinople; but the labour necessary for the execution of my more immediate task has entirely prevented this: and I must be content to lay the succession of the architectural styles plainly before the reader, and leave the collateral questions to the investigation of others; merely noting this one assured fact, that *the root of all that is greatest in Christian art is struck in the thirteenth century;*² that the temper of that century is the life-blood of all manly work

* The bitterness of feeling with which the Venetians must have remembered this, was probably the cause of their magnificent heroism in the final siege of the city under Dandolo, and, partly, of the excesses which disgraced their victory.³ The conduct of the allied army of the Crusaders on this occasion cannot, however, be brought in evidence of general barbarism in the thirteenth century: first, because the masses of the crusading armies were in great part composed of the refuse of the nations of Europe; and, secondly, because such a mode of argument might lead us to inconvenient conclusions respecting ourselves, so long as the horses of the Austrian cavalry are stabled in the cloister of the convent which contains the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci.⁴ See Appendix 3, Vol. III., "Austrian Government in Italy."

¹ [In 1171 the Emperor Manuel, in consequence of attacks by the Venetians upon the Lombards, had ordered all the Venetians in his dominions to be arrested and their property to be sequestered. The Republic regarded this as an act of treachery; but for the other side, see Finlay's *History of Greece*, 1877, iii. 181. In the spring of 1172 an expedition set sail under the Doge Vital Michieli II. to exact reparation. After some initial success, pestilence broke out in the Venetian fleet, and the Doge ultimately returned home with only seventeen of the one hundred galleys with which he had set out: he was put to death by the infuriated populace.]

² [Compare *Eagle's Nest*, § 239, where Ruskin says that "whatever else we may have advanced in, there is no dispute that, in the great arts, we have steadily, since that thirteenth century, declined," and refers to his "idea of writing the story of that century, at least in England."]

³ [For Enrico Dandolo and his capture of Constantinople in 1204, see Vol. IX. p. 20 n. An account of the excesses committed by the Crusaders may be read in Finlay, *l. c.*, iii. 270.]

⁴ [S. M. delle Grazie at Milan; the fresco, sadly damaged, is on the wall of the Refectory.]

thenceforward in Europe; and I suppose that one of its peculiar characteristics was elsewhere, as assuredly in Florence, a singular simplicity in domestic life:¹

“I saw Bellincion Berti walk abroad
 In leathern girdle, and a clasp of bone;
 And, with no artful colouring on her cheeks,
 His lady leave the glass. The sons I saw
 Of Nerli and of Vecchio, well content
 With unrobed jerkin, and their good dames handling
 The spindle and the flax. . . .

One waked to tend the cradle, hushing it
 With sounds that lulled the parents' infancy:
 Another, with her maidens, drawing off
 The tresses from the distaff, lectured them
 Old tales of Troy, and Fesole, and Rome.”*

§ 42. Such, then, is the simple fact at Venice, that from the beginning of the thirteenth century there is found a

* It is generally better to read ten lines of any poet in the original language, however painfully, than ten cantos of a translation. But an exception may be made in favour of Cary's Dante. If no poet ever was liable to lose more in translation, none was ever so carefully translated; and I hardly know whether most to admire the rigid fidelity, or the sweet and solemn harmony, of Cary's verse. There is hardly a fault in the fragment quoted above, except the word “lectured” for Dante's beautiful “favoleggiava;” and even in this case, joining the first words of the following line, the translation is strictly literal. It is true that the conciseness and the rivulet-like melody of Dante must continually be lost; but if I could only read English, and had to choose, for a library narrowed by poverty, between Cary's Dante and our own original Milton, I should choose Cary without an instant's pause.²

¹ [The quotation following is from the *Paradiso*, xv. 106–119. A footnote to the passage in Cary's Dante gives some interesting particulars from G. Villani of Florentine simplicity in costume at this period (A. D. 1259).]

² [At the time when he was writing this book at Venice, Ruskin was reading Milton through and also Dante, as always. For his Milton readings see passages from his letters cited above, pp. 87, 112; in another letter to his father, he enters into a comparison between Milton and Dante:—

“*April 23* [1852].— . . . I quite agree with you in your fondness for Milton's pieces of softer verse; still I think both Dante and Shakespeare beat him far in true tenderness: the passage you quote from Dante, and many others like it, are the most truly noble pieces of tenderness that the world possesses. I think it is Byron who says—and it is one of the truest things that he ever said—that there is *no* tenderness like Dante's [see Vol. IV. p. 257]. It owes a peculiar charm to its *shortness*; it is always as if the words had been stopped by tears. Shakespeare comes near him sometimes, but never quite touches him. I think in the setting forth of a sublime vision

singular increase of simplicity in all architectural ornamentation; the rich Byzantine capitals giving place to a pure and severe type hereafter to be described,* and the rich sculptures vanishing from the walls, nothing but the marble facing remaining. One of the most interesting examples of this transitional state is a palace at San Severo, just behind the Casa Zorzi. This latter is a Renaissance building, utterly worthless in every respect, but known to the Venetian Ciceroni; and by inquiring for it, and passing a little beyond it down the Fondamenta San Severo, the traveller will see, on the other side of the canal, a palace which the Ciceroni never notice, but which is unique in Venice for the magnificence of the veined purple alabasters with which it has been decorated, and for the manly simplicity of the foliage of its capitals. Except in these, it has no sculpture whatever, and its effect is dependent entirely on colour. Disks of green serpentine are inlaid on the field of purple alabaster; and the pillars are

* See final Appendix, Vol. III., under head "Capitals."

by the best possible words and metaphors, Milton beats them both. I know nothing in Shakespeare or Dante so grandly painted as the two scenes of preparation for battle—between Satan and Death [ii. 704] and Satan and Gabriel [iv. 977]. The Death scene every one knows, but I don't so much care for the first mysterious sketch of the shadows as for the opposition of Dark and Light, in their most appalling forms, when they prepare for battle, like the two clouds 'over the Caspian'—Satan burning like a comet, Death wrapped in darkness. The other passage is in the end of the fourth book, where the angelic squadron 'Turned fiery red, sharpening in mooned horns.' That change of colour is very like Dante, and the rest of it is finer than Dante—in its kind, as a piece of painting.

"I would infinitely rather have written the passage where the Angel opens hell gates to Dante [*Inferno*, ix. 76], the evil spirits leaping out of his way *like frogs*, than either of these—the best in Milton; but still *in their way* they are finer than anything in anybody else. Dante thinks immeasurably finer things than Milton, but draws them more hastily; in this respect he is a good deal like Tintoret beside Titian.

"P.S.—When I say that Dante paints more hastily, I don't mean less *distinctly*. Far more so. Dante would never write a piece of rank nonsense—like the expression 'Sat honor, plumed' [iv. 989]. He would have either told you nothing, or told you that the crest was of such and such a shape. But for this very reason, he often does not excite the imagination to help him out, as Milton does."

One of the passages from Milton noted in this letter is quoted also and commented on in *Modern Painters*, ii. (Vol. IV. pp. 227, 291; and cf. pp. 327, 330). For another reference to the high praise here given to Cary's translation, see a letter to *The Builder* in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, ii. 255.]

alternately of red marble with white capitals, and of white marble with red capitals. Its windows appear of the third order; and the back of the palace, in a small and most picturesque court, shows a group of windows which are, perhaps, the most superb examples of that order in Venice. But the windows to the front have, I think, been of the fifth order, and their cusps have been cut away.

§ 43. When the Gothic feeling began more decidedly to establish itself, it evidently became a question with the Venetian builders how the intervals between the arches, now left blank by the abandonment of the Byzantine sculptures, should be enriched in accordance with the principles of the new school. Two most important examples are left of the experiments made at this period: one at the Ponte del Forner, at San Cassano, a noble house in which the spandrils of the windows are filled by the emblems of the four Evangelists, sculptured in deep relief, and touching the edges of the arches with their expanded wings; the other now known as the Palazzo Cicogna, near the Church of San Sebastiano, in the quarter called "of the Archangel Raphael," in which a large space of wall above the windows is occupied by an intricate but rude tracery of involved quatrefoils. Of both these palaces I purposed to give drawings in my folio work; but I shall probably be saved the trouble by the publication of the beautiful calotypes lately made at Venice of both;¹ and it is unnecessary to represent them here, as they are unique in Venetian architecture, with the single exception of an unimportant imitation of the first of them in a little by-street close to the Campo Sta. Maria Formosa. For the question as to the mode of decorating the interval between the arches was suddenly and irrevocably determined by the builder of the Ducal Palace, who, as we have seen, taking his first idea from the tracteries of the Frari, and arranging those tracteries as best fitted his own purpose, designed the great arcade (the

¹ [For Ruskin's interest in the various photographic processes then coming into use, see Vol. III. p. 210 *n.*, and in the same volume, the note on daguerreotypes and calotypes at p. 169. For the Palazzo Cicogna, see in the next volume, Appendix 10 (iii).]

lowest of the three in Plate 17), which thenceforward became the established model for every work of importance in Venice. The palaces built on this model, however, most of them not till the beginning of the fifteenth century, belong properly to the time of the Renaissance; and what little we have to note respecting them may be more clearly stated in connexion with other facts characteristic of that period.

§ 44. As the examples in Plate 17 are necessarily confined to the upper parts of the windows, I have given in Plate 18* examples of the fifth-order window, both in its earliest and in its fully developed form, completed from base to keystone. The upper example is a beautiful group from a small house, never of any size or pretension, and now inhabited only by the poor, in the Campiello della Strope, close to the Church of San Giacomo de Lorio. It is remarkable for its excessive purity of curve, and is of very early date, its mouldings being simpler than usual.† The lower example is from the second story of a palace belonging to the Priuli family, near San Lorenzo, and shows one feature to which our attention has not hitherto been directed, namely, the penetration of the cusp, leaving only a silver thread of stone traced on the darkness of the window. I need not say that, in this condition, the cusp ceases to have any constructive use,¹ and is merely decorative, but often exceedingly beautiful. The steps of transition from the early solid cusp to this slender thread are noticed in the final Appendix, under the head “Tracery bars;” the commencement of the change

* This plate is not from a drawing of mine. They have been engraved by Mr. Armytage, with great skill, from two daguerreotypes.²

† Vide final Appendix, under head “Archivolt.”

¹ [For the use of the cusp in construction, see Vol. IX. p. 167.]

² [“Although Mr. Ruskin states that this plate was not from a drawing of his but was engraved by Mr. Armytage from two daguerreotypes, yet the drawings of the windows done by Mr. Ruskin for the engraver are in existence; the upper one being in the possession of Mr. J. P. Smart, junr., and the lower one belonging to Mr. William Ward. The presumption is that Mr. Armytage found a difficulty in engraving owing to the reflections on the daguerreotypes, and asked Mr. Ruskin for drawings from which to do the work” (note in the *Bibliography of Ruskin* by Wise and Smart, 1893, ii. 56). The lower drawing was reproduced by half-tone process in the *Strand Magazine*, December 1895.]



J. C. Anstey.



J. C. Anstey.

Windows of the Fifth Order.

being in the thinning of the stone, which is not cut through until it is thoroughly emaciated. Generally speaking, the condition in which the cusp is found is a useful test of age, when compared with other points; the more solid it is, the more ancient: but the massive form is often found associated with the perforated, as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the Ducal Palace, the lower or bearing traceries have the solid cusp, and the upper traceries of the windows, which are merely decorative, have the perforated cusp, both with exquisite effect.

§ 45. The smaller balconies between the great shafts in the lower example in Plate 18 are original and characteristic: not so the lateral one of the detached window, which has been restored; but by imagining it to be like that represented in fig. 1 Plate 13 above, which is a perfect window of the finest time of the fifth order, the reader will be enabled to form a complete idea of the external appearance of the principal apartments in the house of a noble of Venice, at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

§ 46. Whether noble or merchant, or, as frequently happened, both, every Venetian appears, at this time, to have raised his palace or dwelling-house upon one type. Under every condition of importance, through every variation of size, the forms and mode of decoration of all the features were universally alike; not servilely alike, but fraternally; not with the sameness of coins cast from one mould, but with the likeness of the members of one family. No fragment of the period is preserved, in which the windows, be they few or many, a group of three or an arcade of thirty, have not the noble cusped arch of the fifth order. And they are especially to be noted by us at this day, because these refined and richly ornamented forms were used in the habitations of a nation as laborious, as practical, as brave, and as prudent as ourselves; and they were built at a time when that nation was struggling with calamities and changes threatening its existence almost every hour. And, farther, they are interesting because perfectly applicable to modern

habitation. The refinement of domestic life appears to have been far advanced in Venice from her earliest days; and the remains of her Gothic palaces are, at this day, the most delightful residences in the city, having undergone no change in external form, and probably having been rather injured than rendered more convenient by the modifications which poverty and Renaissance taste, contending with the ravages of time, have introduced in the interiors. So that, at Venice and the cities grouped around it, Vicenza, Padua, and Verona, the traveller may ascertain, by actual experience, the effect which would be produced upon the comfort or luxury of daily life by the revival of the Gothic school of architecture. He can still stand upon the marble balcony in the soft summer air, and feel its smooth surface warm from the noontide as he leans on it in the twilight; he can still see the strong sweep of the unruined traceries drawn on the deep serenity of the starry sky, and watch the fantastic shadows of the clustered arches shorten in the moonlight on the chequered floor; or he may close the casements fitted to their unshaken shafts against such wintry winds as would have made an English house vibrate to its foundation, and, in either case, compare their influence on his daily home feeling with that of the square openings in his English wall.

§ 47. And let him be assured, if he find there is more to be enjoyed in the Gothic window, there is also more to be trusted. It is the best and strongest building, as it is the most beautiful. I am not now speaking of the particular form of Venetian Gothic, but of the general strength of the pointed arch as opposed to that of the level lintel of the square window; and I plead for the introduction of the Gothic form into our domestic architecture, not merely because it is lovely, but because it is the only form of faithful, strong, enduring, and honourable building, in such materials as come daily to our hands.¹ By increase of scale and cost, it is possible to build, in any style, what will

¹ [Compare on this subject, in Vol. XII., *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 6.]

last for ages; but only in the Gothic is it possible to give security and dignity to work wrought with imperfect means and materials. And I trust that there will come a time when the English people may see the folly of building basely and insecurely. It is common with those architects against whose practice my writings have hitherto been directed, to call them merely theoretical and imaginative. I answer, that there is not a single principle asserted either in the *Seven Lamps* or here, but is of the simplest, sternest veracity, and the easiest practicability: that buildings, raised as I would have them, would stand unshaken for a thousand years; and the buildings raised by the architects who oppose them will not stand for one hundred and fifty, they sometimes do not stand for an hour. There is hardly a week passes without some catastrophe brought about by the base principles of modern building: some vaultless floor that drops the staggering crowd through the jagged rents of its rotten timbers; some baseless bridge that is washed away by the first wave of a summer flood; some fungous wall of nascent rottenness that a thunder-shower soaks down with its workmen into a heap of slime and death.* These we hear of, day by day; yet these indicate but the thousandth part of the evil. The portion of the national income sacrificed in mere bad building, in the perpetual repairs and swift condemnation and pulling down of ill-built shells of houses, passes all calculation. And the weight of the penalty is not yet felt; it will tell upon our children some fifty years hence when the cheap work, and contract work, and stucco and

* "On Thursday, the 20th, the front walls of two of the new houses now building in Victoria Street, Westminster, fell to the ground. . . . The roof was on, and a massive *compo cornice* was put up at top, as well as dressings to the upper windows. The roof is formed by girders and 4½ brick arches in cement, covered with asphalte to form a flat. The failure is attributed to the quantity of rain which has fallen. Others suppose that some of the girders were defective, and gave way, carrying the walls with them."—Builder, for January 29th, 1853. The rest of this volume might be filled with such notices, if we sought for them.¹

¹ [See above, p. 94, for the report of another accident of the kind.]

plaster work, and bad iron work, and all the other expedients of modern rivalry, vanity, and dishonesty, begin to show themselves for what they are.

§ 48. Indeed, dishonesty and false economy will no more build safely in Gothic than in any other style: but of all forms which we could possibly employ, to be framed hastily and out of bad materials, the common square window is the worst; and its level head of brickwork (*a*, Fig. 35) is the weakest way of

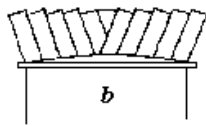
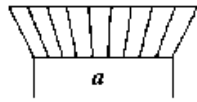


Fig. 35

covering a space. Indeed, in the hastily heaped shells of modern houses, there may be seen often even a worse manner of placing the bricks, as at *b*, supporting them by a bit of lath till the mortar dries; but even when worked with the utmost care, and having every brick tapered into the form of a voussoir and accurately fitted, I have seen such a window-head give way, and a wide fissure torn through all the brickwork above it, two years after it was built; while the pointed arch of the Veronese Gothic, wrought in brick also, occurs at every corner of the streets of the city, untouched since the thirteenth century, and without a single flaw.

§ 49. Neither can the objection, so often raised against the pointed arch, that it will not admit the convenient adjustment of modern sashes and glass, hold for an instant. There is not the smallest necessity, because the arch is pointed, that the aperture should be so. The work of the arch is to sustain the building above; when this is once done securely, the pointed head of it may be filled in any way we choose. In the best cathedral doors it is always filled by a shield of solid stone; in many early windows of the best Gothic it is filled in the same manner, the introduced slab of stone becoming a field for rich decoration; and there is not the smallest reason why lancet windows, used in bold groups, with each pointed arch filled by a sculptured tympanum, should not allow as much light to enter, and in as convenient a way, as the most luxuriously glazed square

windows of our brick houses. Give the groups of associated lights bold gabled canopies; charge the gables with sculpture and colour; and instead of the base and almost useless Greek portico, letting the rain and wind enter it at will, build the steeply vaulted and completely sheltered Gothic porch; and on all these fields for rich decoration let the common workman carve what he pleases, to the best of his power, and we may have a school of domestic architecture in the nineteenth century, which will make our children grateful to us, and proud of us, till the thirtieth.

§ 50. There remains only one important feature to be examined, the entrance gate or door. We have already observed that the one seems to pass into the other, a sign of increased love of privacy rather than of increased humility, as the Gothic palaces assume their perfect form. In the Byzantine palaces the entrances appear always to have been rather great gates than doors, magnificent semicircular arches opening to the water, and surrounded by rich sculpture in the archivolt. One of these entrances is seen in the small woodcut above, Fig. 26, and another has been given carefully in my folio work:¹ their sculpture is generally of grotesque animals scattered among leafage, without any definite meaning; but the great outer entrance of St. Mark's, which appears to have been completed some time after the rest of the fabric, differs from all others in presenting a series of subjects altogether Gothic in feeling, selection, and vitality of execution, and which show the occult entrance of the Gothic spirit before it had yet succeeded in effecting any modification of the Byzantine forms. These sculptures represent the months of the year employed in the avocations usually attributed to them throughout the whole compass of the Middle Ages, in Northern architecture and manuscript calendars, and at last exquisitely versified by Spenser. For the sake of the traveller in Venice, who should examine this archivolt carefully. I shall enumerate these sculptures in

¹ [See Plate 8 in the *Examples* (Vol. XI.); Byzantine ruins in the Rio de Ca' Foscari.]

their order, noting such parallel representations as I remember in other work.

§ 51. There are four successive archivolt, one within the other, forming the great central entrance of St. Mark's. The first is a magnificent external arch, formed of obscure figures mingled among masses of leafage, as in ordinary Byzantine work; within this there is a hemispherical dome, covered with modern mosaic; and at the back of this recess the other three archivolt follow consecutively, two sculptured, one plain; the one with which we are concerned is the outermost.¹

It is carved both on its front and under surface or soffit; on the front are seventeen female figures bearing scrolls, from which the legends are unfortunately effaced.² These figures were once gilded on a dark blue ground, as may still be seen in Gentile Bellini's picture of St. Mark's in the Accademia delle Belle Arti. The sculptures of the months are on the under-surface, beginning at the bottom on the left hand of the spectator as he enters, and following in succession round the archivolt; separated, however, into two groups, at its centre, by a beautiful figure of the youthful Christ, sitting in the midst of a slightly hollowed sphere covered with stars to represent the firmament, and with

¹ [The position of the archivolt will be better understood by reference to the picture of the west front (Plate C, opposite p. 82). The three sculptured archivolt (in all of which a figure of Christ forms the keystone) are as follow:—

(1) The first, or lowest, represents Christ as the Redeemer. On the *under side*, or soffit, are various representations of wild human life; on the *outer face*, of life civilized and redeemed. This archivolt is described in Dr. Robertson's *Bible of St. Mark*, pp. 31–34; and is briefly referred to by Ruskin in *St. Mark's Rest*, § 105.

(2) The second archivolt shows on its *under side* the months, here described; on its outer face the Beatitudes and Virtues, described in *St. Mark's Rest*, § 105 (compare *Bible of St. Mark*, pp. 35–40).

(3) The third, or outermost, archivolt shows on its *under side* the trades of Venice, described in *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 102, 103 (compare *Bible of St. Mark*, pp. 77–91); on its *outer face* the prophets and wreaths of foliage, described in *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 99, 100 (compare *Bible of St. Mark*, p. 43). One of "the hollow bales of stones surrounded by flowing leafage" is etched on Plate I. (Fig. 3) in the *Seven Lamps* (see Vol. VIII. p. 121), and a reproduction of another study by Ruskin from the same archivolt will be found in the volume of this edition containing *St. Mark's Rest*.]

² [Enough of the legends, however, has now been deciphered to identify the figures and interpret their meaning; see *Bible of St. Mark*, 1. c.]

the attendant sun and moon, set one on each side, to rule over the day and over the night.

§ 52. The months are personified as follows:—

1. JANUARY. *Carrying home a noble tree on his shoulders, the leafage of which nods forward, and falls nearly to his feet.* Superbly cut. This is a rare representation of him. More frequently he is represented as the two-headed Janus, sitting at a table, drinking at one mouth and eating at the other. Sometimes as an old man, warming his feet at a fire, and drinking from a bowl; though this type is generally reserved for February. Spenser, however, gives the same symbol as that on St. Mark's:

"Numbd with holding all the day
An hatchet keene, with which he felled wood."¹

His sign, Aquarius, is obscurely indicated in the archivolt by some wavy lines representing water, unless the figure has been broken away.

2. FEBRUARY. *Sitting in a carved chair, warming his bare feet at a blazing fire.* Generally, when he is thus represented, there is a pot hung over the fire, from the top of the chimney. Sometimes he is pruning trees, as in Spenser:

"Yet had he by his side
His plough and harness fit to till the ground,
And tooles to prune the trees."

Not unfrequently, in the calendars, this month is represented by a female figure carrying candles, in honour of the Purification of the Virgin.

His sign, Pisces, is prominently carved above him.

3. MARCH. Here, as almost always in Italy, *a warrior*: the Mars of the Latins being, of course, in mediæval work, made representative of the military power of the place and period; and thus, at Venice, having the winged Lion

¹ [The quotations from Spenser are from canto vii. book vii. of *The Faerie Queene*—January, stanza 42; February, 43; March, 32; April to December, 33–41. Ruskin occasionally modernises the spelling.]

painted upon his shield. In Northern work, however, I think March is commonly employed in pruning trees; or, at least, he is so when that occupation is left free for him by February's being engaged with the ceremonies of Candlemas. Sometimes, also, he is reaping a low and scattered kind of grain; and by Spenser, who exactly marks the junction of mediæval and classical feeling, his military and agricultural functions are united, while also, in the Latin manner,¹ he is made the first of the months:

“First sturdy March, with brows full sternly bent,
And armèd strongly, rode upon a Ram,
The same which over Hellespontus swam;
Yet in his hand a spade he also hent,
And in a bag all sorts of seeds ysame,*
Which on the earth he strowed as he went.”

His sign, the Ram, is very superbly carved above him in the archivolt.

4. APRIL. Here, *carrying a sheep upon his shoulder*. A rare representation of him. In Northern work he is almost universally gathering flowers, or holding them triumphantly in each hand. The Spenserian mingling of this mediæval image with that of his being wet with showers, and wanton with love, by turning his zodiacal sign, Taurus, into the bull of Europa, is altogether exquisite:

“Upon a Bull he rode, the same which led
Europa floating through the Argolick fluds:
His horns were gilden all with golden studs,
And garnished with garlonds goodly dight
Of all the fairest flowers and freshest buds
Which th' earth brings forth; and *wet he seemed in sight*
With waves, through which he waded for his love's delight.”

5. MAY is seated, while two young maidens crown him with

* “Ysame,” collected together.

¹ [The Roman origin of our calendar is of course revealed by the names which the last four months still retain—September, October, November, and December being the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months, counting from March as the first. It was not till 1752 that January was made, by Act of Parliament of 1751, the first month of the year in the British Isles—a fact which is still sometimes forgotten in chronological reckonings.]

flowers. A very unusual representation, even in Italy; where, as in the North, he is almost always riding out hunting or hawking, sometimes playing on a musical instrument.¹ In Spenser, this month is personified as “the fayrest mayd on ground,” borne on the shoulders of the Twins.

In this archivolt there are only two heads to represent the zodiacal sign.

The summer and autumnal months are always represented in a series of agricultural occupations, which, of course, vary with the locality in which they occur; but generally in their order only. Thus, if June is mowing, July is reaping; if July is mowing, August is reaping; and so on. I shall give a parallel view of some of these varieties presently; but, meantime, we had better follow the St. Mark's series, as it is peculiar in some respects.

6. JUNE. *Reaping*. The corn and sickle sculptured with singular care and precision, in bold relief, and the zodiacal sign, the Crab, above, also worked with great spirit. Spenser puts plough irons into his hand. Sometimes he is sheep-shearing; and, in English and Northern French manuscripts, carrying a kind of fagot or barrel, of the meaning of which I am not certain.

7. JULY. *Mowing*. A very interesting piece of sculpture, owing to the care with which the flowers are wrought out among the long grass. I do not remember ever finding July but either reaping or mowing. Spenser works him hard, and puts him to both labours:

“Behinde his backe a sithe, and by his side
Under his belt he bore a sickle circling wide.”

8. AUGUST. Peculiarly represented in this archivolt, *sitting in a chair, with his head upon his hand, as if asleep; the*

¹ [“The Venetians could not indulge in such pastimes, whilst love of flowers is a pleasing trait in their character. In the month of May, the very streets of Venice are brightened and sweetened by the quantities of flowers that are heaped up in the open shop windows, and carried about in the streets, in baskets, for sale. . . . Many are grown in the city itself. There are many more gardens in Venice than strangers are aware of” (*The Bible of St. Mark*, p. 97).]

Virgin (the zodiacal sign) *above him, lifting up her hand*. This appears to be a peculiarly Italian version of the proper employment of August.¹ In Northern countries he is generally threshing, or gathering grapes. Spenser merely clothes him with gold, and makes him lead forth

“the righteous Virgin, which of old
Lived here on earth, and plenty made abound.”

9. SEPTEMBER. *Bearing home grapes in a basket*. Almost always sowing, in Northern work. By Spenser, with his usual exquisite ingenuity, employed in gathering in the general harvest, and *portioning it out with the Scales*, his zodiacal sign.²

10. OCTOBER. *Wearing a conical hat, and digging busily with a long spade*.³ In Northern work he is sometimes a vintager, sometimes beating the acorns out of an oak to feed swine. When September is vintaging, October is generally sowing. Spenser employs him in the harvest both of vine and olive.⁴

11. NOVEMBER. *Seems to be catching small birds in a net*.⁵

¹ [In his left hand the sleeping figure holds a fan. “At the present day it is a more common thing to see in the streets of Venice, in August, young men with fans in their hands, or projecting out of their breast pockets, than without them” (*The Bible of St. Mark*, p. 98).]

² [“In his one hand, as fit for harvest’s toil,
He held a knife-hook; and in th’ other hand
A paire of waights, with which he did assoyle
Both more and lesse, which in doubt did stand,
And equall gave to each as Justice duly scann’d.”]

³ [Such as is used in the present day in Venetia; so too in “September,” “the same kind of basket, borne in the same way, is still seen in use in Venice” (*The Bible of St. Mark*, pp. 99).]

⁴ [“Then came October full of merry glee;
For yet his noule was totty of the must,
Which he was treading in the wine-fats see,
And of the joyous oyle, whose gentle gust
Made him so frolick and so full of lust.”]

⁵ [An occupation very characteristic of Venetia and indeed of Italy, namely, that of catching birds by the use of bird-lime. “An artificial tree is erected on a bare height, which offers a temptation to wearied birds of passage to alight. The success of this method is here indicated by the man holding two birds in his left hand, whilst with his right he is removing another from a branch. Two more birds, free, but ready to ensnare themselves, perch on the boughs above” (*The Bible of St. Mark*, p. 100).]

I do not remember him so employed elsewhere. He is nearly always killing pigs; sometimes beating the oak for them; with Spenser, fattening them.¹

12. DECEMBER. *Killing swine*. It is hardly ever that this employment is not given to one or other of the terminal months of the year. If not so engaged, December is usually putting new loaves into the oven; sometimes killing oxen. Spenser properly makes him feasting and drinking instead of January.²

§ 53. On the next page I have given a parallel view of the employment of the months from some Northern manuscripts, in order that they may be more conveniently compared with the sculptures of St. Mark's in their expression of the varieties of climate and agricultural system. Observe that the letter (f.) in some of the columns, opposite the month of May, means that he has a falcon on his fist; being, in those cases, represented as riding out, in high exultation, on a caparisoned white horse. A series nearly similar to that of St. Mark's occurs on the door of the Cathedral of Lucca, and on that of the Baptistery of Pisa; in which, however, if I recollect rightly, February is fishing, and May has something resembling an umbrella in his hand, instead of a hawk. But, in all cases, the figures are treated with the peculiar spirit of the Gothic sculptors; and this archivolt is the first expression of that spirit which is to be found in Venice.

§ 54. In the private palaces, the entrances soon admitted some concession to the Gothic form also. They pass through nearly the same conditions of change as the windows, with these three differences: first, that no arches of the fantastic fourth order occur in any doorways; secondly, that the pure

¹ ["Next was November; he full grosse and fat
As fed with lard, and that right well might seeme;
For he had been fattening hogs of late."]

² ["Yet he, through merry feasting which he made
And great bonfires, did not the cold remember. . .
And in his hand a broad deepe bowle he beares,
Of which he freely drinks an health to all his peeres."]

| | ST. MARK'S. | M.S. French. Late 15th Century. | M.S. French. Late 15th Century. | M.S. French. Early 14th Century. | M.S. French. Early 14th Century. | M.S. English. Early 14th Century. | M.S. Flemish. 15th Century. |
|-------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| JANUARY . | Carrying wood. | Janus feasting. | Drinking and stirring fire. | Warming feet. | Warming feet. | Janus feasting. | Feasting. |
| FEBRUARY . | Warming feet. | Warming feet. | Pruning. | Bearing candles. | Warming feet. | Warming feet. | Warming hands. |
| MARCH . . | Going to war. | Pruning. | Striking with axe. | Pruning. | Pruning. | Carrying candles. | Reaping. |
| APRIL. . . | Carrying sheep. | Gathering flowers. | Gathering flowers. | Gathering flowers. | Gathering flowers. | Pruning. | Gathering flowers. |
| MAY . . . | Crowned with flowers. | Riding (f.). | Playing on violin. | Riding (f.). | Riding (f.). | Riding (f.). | Riding, with lady on pillion. |
| JUNE . . . | Reaping. | Mowing. | Gathering large red flowers. | Carrying (fagots?) | Carrying fagots. | Mowing. | Sheep-shearing. |
| JULY . . . | Mowing. | Reaping. | Mowing. | Mowing. | Mowing. | Mowing. | Mowing. |
| AUGUST . . | Asleep. | Gathering grapes. | Reaping. | Reaping. | Reaping. | Reaping. | Reaping. |
| SEPTEMBER . | Carrying grapes. | Sowing. | Drinking wine. | Threshing. | Threshing. | Threshing. | Sowing. |
| OCTOBER . . | Digging. | Gathering grapes. | Sowing. | Sowing. | Sowing. | Sowing. | Beating oak. |
| NOVEMBER . | Catching birds. | Beating oak. | Killing swine. | Killing swine. | Killing swine. | Killing swine. | Pressing (grapes?) |
| DECEMBER . | Killing swine. | Killing swine. | Killing oxen. | Baking. | Baking. | Baking. | Killing swine. |

pointed arch occurs earlier, and much oftener, in doorways than in window-heads; lastly, that the entrance itself, if small, is nearly always square-headed in the earliest examples, without any arch above, but afterwards the arch is thrown across above the lintel. The interval between the two, or tympanum, is filled with sculpture, or closed by iron bars, with sometimes a projecting gable, to form a porch, thrown over the whole, as in the perfect example, 7 *a*, Plate 14 above. The other examples in the two lower lines 6 and 7 of that Plate are each characteristic of an enormous number of doors, variously decorated, from the thirteenth to the close of the fifteenth century. The particulars of their mouldings are given in the final Appendix.¹

§ 55. It was useless, on the small scale of this Plate, to attempt any delineation of the richer sculptures with which the arches are filled; so that I have chosen for it the simplest examples I could find of the forms to be illustrated: but, in all the more important instances, the door-head is charged either with delicate ornaments and inlaid patterns in variously coloured brick, or with sculptures, consisting always of the shield or crest of the family, protected by an angel. Of these more perfect doorways I have given three examples carefully, in my folio work;² but I must repeat here one part of the account of their subjects given in its text, for the convenience of those to whom the larger work may not be accessible.

§ 56. "In the earlier ages, all agree thus far, that the name of the family is told, and together with it there is always an intimation that they have placed their defence and their prosperity in God's hands; frequently accompanied with some general expression of benediction to the person passing over the threshold. This is the general theory of an old Venetian doorway;—the theory of modern doorways remains to be explained: it may be studied to advantage in our rows of new-built houses, or rather of

¹ [See in the next volume, Appendix 10 (ii).]

² [See Plates 11, 12, and 13 in the *Examples* (Vol. XI). The following passage is from the letterpress to Plate 11.]

new-built house, changeless for miles together, from which, to each inhabitant, we allot his proper quantity of windows, and a Doric portico. The Venetian carried out his theory very simply. In the centre of the archivolt we find almost invariably, in the older work, the hand between the sun and moon in the attitude of blessing, expressing the general power and presence of God, the source of light. On the tympanum is the shield of the family. Venetian heraldry requires no beasts for supporters, but usually prefers angels, neither the supporters nor crests forming any necessary part of Venetian bearings.¹ Sometimes, however, human figures, or grotesques, are substituted; but, in that case, an angel is almost always introduced above the shield, bearing a globe in his left hand, and therefore clearly intended for the 'Angel of the Lord,' or, as it is expressed elsewhere, the 'Angel of His Presence.' Where elaborate sculpture of this kind is inadmissible, the shield is merely represented as suspended by a leather thong; and a cross is introduced above the archivolt. The Renaissance architects perceived the irrationality of all this, cut away both crosses and angels, and substituted heads of satyrs, which were the proper presiding deities of Venice in the Renaissance periods, and which, in our own domestic institutions, we have ever since, with much piety and sagacity, retained."

§ 57. The habit of employing some religious symbol, or writing some religious legend, over the door of the house, does not entirely disappear until far into the period of the Renaissance. The words "Peace be to this house" occur on one side of a Veronese gateway, with the appropriate and veracious inscription S. P. Q. R.,² on a Roman standard,

¹ [Ruskin at this time had not paid, he tells us (Vol. VIII. p. 147 *n.*), the attention to heraldry which he afterwards gave. What he here says about "neither supporters nor crests forming any necessary part of bearings" is not peculiar to Venetian heraldry. Thus, see the distinction that he draws in *The Eagle's Nest* (§ 228) between the crest as "the indication of personality" and the bearings which "indicate race." Similarly, the use of supporters was at first restricted to a few ranks or otherwise privileged persons; in Scotland, for instance, they are properly used only by heads of houses.]

² [The familiar Roman inscription, Senatus Populus Que Romanus. The two Bible references are 1 Samuel xxv. 6 (also Luke x. 5) and Matthew xxi. 9.]

on the other; and “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,” is written on one of the doorways of a building added at the flank of the Casa Barbarigo,¹ in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It seems to be only modern Protestantism which is entirely ashamed of *all* symbols and words that appear in anywise like a confession of faith.²

§ 58. This peculiar feeling is well worthy of attentive analysis. It indeed, in most cases, hardly deserves the name of a feeling; for the meaningless doorway is merely an ignorant copy of heathen models; but yet, if it were at this moment proposed to any of us, by our architects, to remove the grinning head of a satyr, or other classical or Palladian ornament, from the keystone of the door, and to substitute for it a cross, and an inscription testifying our faith, I believe that most persons would shrink from the proposal with an obscure and yet overwhelming sense that things would be sometimes done, and thought, within the house which would make the inscription on its gate a base hypocrisy. And if so, let us look to it, whether that strong reluctance to utter a definite religious profession, which so many of us feel, and which, not very carefully examining into its dim nature, we conclude to be modesty, or fear of hypocrisy, or other such form of amiableness, be not, in very deed, neither less nor more than Infidelity; whether Peter’s “I know not the man”³ be not the sum and substance of all these misgivings and hesitations; and whether the shamefacedness which we attribute to sincerity and reverence, be not such shamefacedness as may at last put us among those of whom the Son of Man shall be ashamed.⁴

¹ [On the Grand Canal, next the Casa Pisani: see in the next volume, Venetian Index.]

² [Compare *Seven Lamps*, ch. vi. (Vol. VIII. p. 229), where some other illustrations are given of “that good custom which was of old universal, and which still remains among some of the Swiss and Germans, of acknowledging the grace of God’s permission to build and possess a quiet resting-place.” At Chatsworth, over the fireplace of the main hall is the inscription *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*, and the same motto has been similarly placed in a Scottish house. These, however, are interior inscriptions, and so do not amount to public professions of faith.]

³ [Matthew xxvi. 72.]

⁴ [Mark viii. 38. Compare in Vol. XII. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 110–122, where this subject is treated more fully.]

§ 59. Such are the principal circumstances to be noted in the external forms and details of the Gothic palaces; of their interior arrangements there is little left unaltered. The gateways which we have been examining almost universally lead, in the earlier palaces, into a long interior court, round which the mass of the palace is built; and in which its first story is reached by a superb external staircase, sustained on four or five pointed arches gradually increasing as they ascend, both in height and span,—this change in their size being, so far as I remember, peculiar to Venice, and visibly a consequence of the habitual admission of arches of different sizes in the Byzantine façades. These staircases are protected by exquisitely carved parapets, like those of the outer balconies, with lions or grotesque heads set on the angels and with true projecting balconies on their landing-places. In the centre of the court there is always a marble well; and these wells furnish some of the most superb examples of Venetian sculpture.¹ I am aware only of one remaining from the Byzantine period; it is octagonal, and treated like the richest of our Norman fonts: but the Gothic wells of every date, from the thirteenth century downwards, are innumerable, and full of beauty, though their form is little varied; they being, in almost every case, treated like colossal capitals of pillars, with foliage at the angles, and the shield of the family upon their sides.

§ 60. The interior apartments always consist of one noble hall on the first story, often on the second also, extending across the entire depth of the house, and lighted in front by the principal groups of its windows, while smaller apartments open from it on either side. The ceilings, where they remain untouched, are of bold horizontal beams, richly carved and gilded; but few of these are left from the true Gothic

¹ [An interesting study of Venetian wells, with numerous illustrations of the sculptures upon them, was contributed by Mr. William Scott to the *Universal Review* for November 1890; see also *Delle sponde Marmoree, e degli Antichi Edificii di Venezia* (A. and E. Seguso, Venezia, 1859), and a portfolio of heliotype illustrations of Venetian well-heads, published by F. Ongania (*Raccolta delle Vere da Pozzo in Venezia*).]

times, the Venetian interiors having, in almost every case, been remodelled by the Renaissance architects. This change, however, for once, we cannot regret, as the walls and ceilings, when so altered, were covered with the noblest works of Veronese, Titian, and Tintoret; nor the interior walls only, but, as before noticed, often the exteriors also. Of the colour decorations of the Gothic exteriors I have, therefore, at present taken no notice, as it will be more convenient to embrace this subject in one general view of the systems of colouring of the Venetian palaces, when we arrive at the period of its richest development.* The details, also, of most interest, respecting the forms and transitional decoration of their capitals, will be given in the final Appendix to the next volume, where we shall be able to include in our inquiry the whole extent of the Gothic period: and it remains for us, therefore, at present, only to review the history, fix the date, and note the most important particulars in the structure of the building which at once consummates and embodies the entire system of the Gothic architecture of Venice,—the DUCAL PALACE.¹

* Vol. III., Chap. I. I have had considerable difficulty in the arrangement of these volumes, so as to get the points bearing upon each other grouped in consecutive and intelligible order.

¹ [Here we reach what Ruskin considered the climax of his subject, as appears from the following letter to his father:—

“*Sunday, 26th April* [1852].— . . . The fact is the whole book will be a kind of great ‘moral of the Ducal Palace of Venice,’ and all its minor information will concentrate itself on the Ducal Palace and its meaning, as the History of Herodotus concentrates itself on the Battle of Salamis. He rambles all over the world and gives the History of Egypt and of Babylon and of Persia and of Scythia and of Phœnicia and of old Greece, and to a careless student the book appears a farrago of unconnected matter, but a careful one soon discovers that all in the eight first books are mere prefaces to the ninth, and that whatever is told, or investigated, is to show what the men were, who brought their ships beak to beak in the straits of Salamis. And so I shall give many a scattered description of a moulding here and an arch there, but they will be mere notes to the account of the Rise and Fall of the Ducal Palace, and that account itself will be subservient to the showing of the causes and consequences of the rise and fall of Art in Europe.”]

CHAPTER VIII¹

THE DUCAL PALACE

§1. IT was stated in the commencement of the preceding chapter that the Gothic art of Venice was separated by the building of the Ducal Palace into two distinct periods; and that in all the domestic edifices which were raised for half a century after its completion, their characteristic and chiefly effective portions were more or less directly copied from it. The fact is, that the Ducal Palace was the great work of Venice at this period, itself the principal effort of her imagination, employing her best architects in its masonry, and her best painters in its decoration, for a long series of years; and we must receive it as a remarkable testimony to the influence which it possessed over the minds of those who saw it in its progress, that, while in the other cities of Italy every palace and church was rising in some original and daily more daring form, the majesty of this single building was able to give pause to the Gothic imagination in its full career; stayed the restlessness of innovation in an instant, and forbade the powers which had created it thenceforth to exert themselves in new directions, or endeavour to summon an image more attractive.

§ 2. The reader will hardly believe that while the architectural invention of the Venetians was thus lost, Narcissuslike, in self-contemplation, the various accounts of the progress of the building thus admired and beloved are so confused as frequently to leave it doubtful to what portion of the palace they refer;² and that there is actually, at the time being, a dispute between the best Venetian antiquaries,

¹ [Chapter V. in vol. i. of the "Travellers' Edition": see below, p. 463.]

² [See on this point the author's preface to the book, Vol. IX. p. 3.]

whether the main façade of the palace be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The determination of this question is of course necessary before we proceed to draw any conclusion from the style of the work; and it cannot be determined without a careful review of the entire history of the palace, and of all the documents relating to it. I trust that this review may not be found tedious,—assuredly it will not be fruitless,—bringing many facts before us singularly illustrative of the Venetian character.

§ 3. Before, however, the reader can enter upon any inquiry into the history of this building, it is necessary that he should be thoroughly familiar with the arrangement and names of its principal parts, as it at present stands; otherwise he cannot comprehend so much as a single sentence of any of the documents referring to it. I must do what I can, by the help of a rough plan and bird's-eye view, to give him the necessary topographical knowledge:

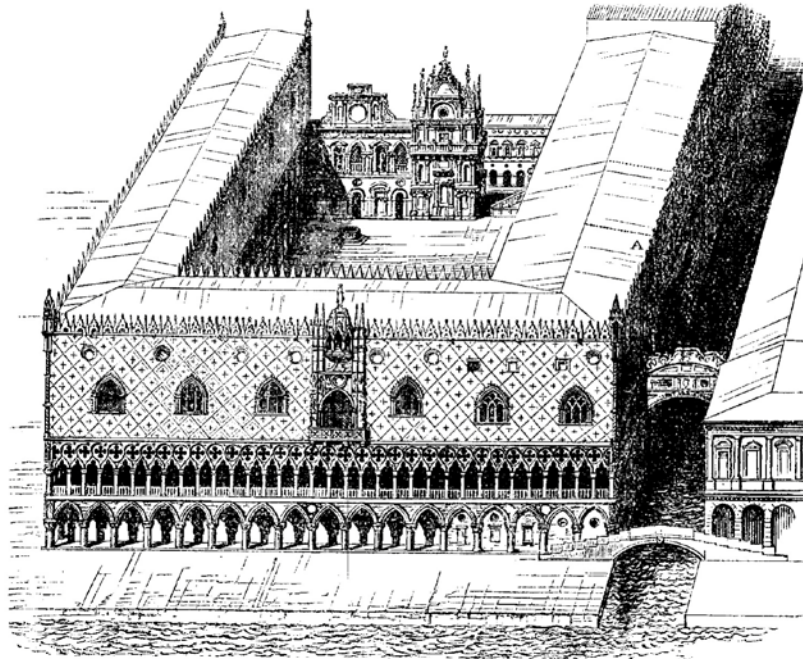
Fig. 36 on the next page is a rude ground plan of the buildings round St. Mark's Place; and the following references will clearly explain their relative positions:

- | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----------------|
| A. | St. Mark's Place. | | |
| B. | Piazzetta. | | |
| P. | V. Procuratie Vecchie. | | |
| P. | N. (opposite) Procuratie Nuove. | | |
| P. | L. Libreria Vecchia. | | |
| I. | Piazzetta de' Leoni. | | |
| T. | Tower of St. Mark. | | |
| FF | Great Facade of St. Mark's Church. | | |
| M | St. Mark's. (It is so united with the Ducal Palace, that the separation cannot be indicated in the plan, unless all the walls had been marked, which would have confused the whole.) | | |
| DD D | Ducal Palace. | g s | Giant's stair. |
| C. | Court of Ducal Palace. | J | Judgment angle. |
| c. | Porta della Carta. | a | Fig-tree angle. |
| p. | p. Ponte della Paglia (Bridge of Straw). | | |
| S. | Ponte de' Sospiri (Bridge of Sighs). | | |
| R R | Riva de' Schiavoni. | | |

The reader will observe that the Ducal Palace is arranged somewhat in the form of a hollow square, of which one side faces the Piazzetta, B, and another the quay called the

very much the position of Fleet Street and Temple Bar in that of a Londoner,—at least, at the time when Temple Bar was occasionally decorated with human heads. The two buildings closely resemble each other in form.

§ 4. We must now proceed to obtain some rough idea



THE DUCAL PALACE—BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

of the appearance and distribution of the palace itself; but its arrangement will be better understood by supposing ourselves raised some hundred and fifty feet above the point in the lagoon in front of it, so as to get a general view of the Sea Façade and Rio Façade (the latter in very steep perspective), and to look down into its interior court. Fig. 37

roughly represents such a view, omitting all details on the roofs, in order to avoid confusion. In this drawing we have merely to notice that, of the two bridges seen on the right, the uppermost, above the black canal, is the Bridge of Sighs; the lower one is the Ponte della Paglia, the regular thoroughfare from quay to quay, and, I believe, called the Bridge of Straw, because the boats which brought straw from the mainland used to sell it at this place. The corner of the palace, rising above this bridge, and formed by the meeting of the Sea Façade and Rio Façade, will always be called the Vine angle, because it is decorated by a sculpture of the drunkenness of Noah. The angle opposite will be called the Fig-tree angle, because it is decorated by a sculpture of the Fall of Man. The long and narrow range of building, of which the roof is seen in perspective behind this angle, is the part of the palace fronting the Piazzetta; and the angle under the pinnacle most to the left of the two which terminate it will be called, for a reason presently to be stated, the Judgment angle. Within the square formed by the building is seen its interior court (with one of its wells), terminated by small and fantastic buildings of the Renaissance period, which face the Giant's Stair, of which the extremity is seen sloping down on the left.

§ 5. The great façade which fronts the spectator looks southward. Hence the two traceried windows lower than the rest, and to the right of the spectator, may be conveniently distinguished as the "Eastern Windows." There are two others like them, filled with tracery, and at the same level, which look upon the narrow canal between the Ponte della Paglia and the Bridge of Sighs: these we may conveniently call the "Canal Windows." The reader will observe a vertical line in this dark side of the palace,¹ separating its nearer and plainer wall from a long fourstoried range of rich architecture. This more distant range is

¹ [The letter A in this woodcut was introduced in the "Travellers' Edition." Though not referred to, it was doubtless intended to indicate more clearly the line of demarcation here spoken of.]

entirely Renaissance: its extremity is not indicated, because I have no accurate sketch of the small buildings and bridges beyond it, and we shall have nothing whatever to do with this part of the palace in our present inquiry.¹ The nearer and undecorated wall is part of the older palace, though much defaced by modern opening of common windows, refittings of the brick-work, etc.

§ 6. It will be observed that the façade is composed of a smooth mass of wall, sustained on two tiers of pillars, one above the other. The manner in which these support the whole fabric will be understood at once by the rough section, Fig. 38, which is supposed to be taken right through the palace to the interior court, from near the middle of the Sea Façade. Here *a* and *d* are the rows of shafts, both in the inner court and on the façade, which carry the main walls; *b*, *c* are solid walls variously strengthened with pilasters. A, B, C are the three stories of the interior of the palace.

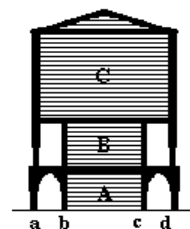


Fig. 38

The reader sees that it is impossible for any plan to be more simple, and that if the inner floors and walls of the stories A, B, were removed, there would be left merely the form of a basilica,—two high walls, carried on ranges of shafts, and roofed by a low gable.

The stories A, B are entirely modernised, and divided into confused ranges of small apartments, among which what vestiges remain of ancient masonry are entirely undecipherable, except by investigations such as I have had neither the time nor, as in most cases they would involve the removal of modern plastering, the opportunity, to make. With the subdivisions of this story, therefore, I shall not trouble the reader; but those of the great upper story, C, are highly important.

§ 7. In the bird's-eye view above, Fig. 37, it will be noticed that the two windows on the right are lower than

¹ [See, however, in the next volume, ch. i. §§ 23, 38, for some account of the Rio Façade.]

the other four of the façade. In this arrangement there is one of the most remarkable instances I know of the daring sacrifice of symmetry to convenience, which was noticed in Chap. VI. as one of the chief noblenesses of the Gothic schools.¹

The part of the palace in which the two lower windows occur, we shall find, was first built, and arranged in four stories in order to obtain the necessary number of apartments. Owing to circumstances, of which we shall presently give an account, it became necessary, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, to provide another large and magnificent chamber for the meeting of the Senate. That chamber was added at the side of the older building; but, as only one room was wanted, there was no need to divide the added portion into two stories. The entire height was given to the single chamber, being indeed not too great for just harmony with its enormous length and breadth. And then came the question how to place the windows, whether on a line with the two others, or above them.

The ceiling of the new room was to be adorned by the paintings of the best masters in Venice, and it became of great importance to raise the light near that gorgeous roof, as well as to keep the tone of illumination in the Council Chamber serene; and therefore to introduce light rather in simple masses than in many broken streams. A modern architect, terrified at the idea of violating external symmetry, would have sacrificed both the pictures and the peace of the Council. He would have placed the larger windows at the same level with the other two, and have introduced above them smaller windows, like those of the upper story in the older building, as if that upper story had been continued along the façade. But the old Venetian thought of the honour of the paintings, and the comfort of the Senate, before his own reputation. He unhesitatingly raised the large windows to their proper position with reference to the

¹ [See above, p. 212.]

interior of the chamber, and suffered the external appearance to take care of itself. And I believe the whole pile rather gains than loses in effect by the variation thus obtained in the spaces of wall above and below the windows.

§ 8. On the party wall, between the second and third windows, which faces the eastern extremity of the Great Council Chamber, is painted the Paradise of Tintoret;¹ and this wall will therefore be hereafter called the “Wall of the Paradise.”

In nearly the centre of the Sea Façade, and between the first and second windows of the Great Council Chamber, is a large window to the ground, opening on a balcony, which is one of the chief ornaments of the palace, and will be called in future the “Sea Balcony.”

The façade which looks on the Piazzetta is very nearly like this to the Sea, but the greater part of it was built in the fifteenth century, when people had become studious of their symmetries. Its side windows are all on the same level. Two light the west end of the Great Council Chamber, one lights a small room anciently called the Quarantia Civile Nuova; the other three, and the central one, with a balcony like that to the Sea, light another large chamber, called Sala del Scrutinio, or “Hall of Inquiry,” which extends to the extremity of the palace above the Porta della Carta.

§ 9. The reader is now well enough acquainted with the topography of the existing building, to be able to follow the accounts of its history.²

¹ [See below, pp. 345, 355.]

² [With regard to the chronology of the Ducal Palace, fully discussed in §§ 9–29 of this chapter, and again in Appendix i, in the next volume, it should be stated that all Ruskin’s conclusions are not universally accepted. A case against them on one point was first stated in a review (above referred to, p. xlv.) in *The National Miscellany* for November 1853. This was probably written by J. H. Parker, the Oxford antiquary, as the illustrations given in the review appear again in that author’s *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture* (pp. 296–297). One of these is a woodcut from a MS. of 1360 (MS. Bodl. 264, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), giving a view of St. Mark’s and the Ducal Palace. The reader, by referring to the woodcut and considering the representation of St. Mark’s there given, will judge how far the drawing can be accepted as good evidence in the case of the Ducal Palace. (For a remark by Ruskin on the inaccuracy of early *prints*, see his note in Appendix i. in the next volume.) Parker accepts the evidence as conclusive; and the drawing shows the upper stories set back

We have seen above, that there were three principal styles of Venetian architecture; Byzantine, Gothic, and Renaissance.¹

The Ducal Palace, which was the great work of Venice, was built successively in the three styles. There was a Byzantine Ducal Palace, a Gothic Ducal Palace, and a Renaissance Ducal Palace. The second superseded the first totally: a few stones of it (if indeed so much) are all that is left. But the third superseded the second in part only, and the existing building is formed by the union of the two.

We shall review the history of each in succession.*

1st. The BYZANTINE PALACE.

In the year of the death of Charlemagne, 813, † the

* The reader will find it convenient to note the following editions of the printed books which have been principally consulted in the following inquiry. The numbers of the manuscripts referred to in the Marcian Library are given with the quotations.

Sansovino. *Venetia Descritta*. 4to, Venice, 1663.
 Sansovino. *Lettera intorno al Palazzo Ducale*. 8vo, Venice, 1829.
 Temanza. *Antica Pianta di Venezia*, with text. Venice, 1780
 Cadorin. *Pareri di XV. Architetti*. 8vo, Venice, 1838.
 Filiasi. *Memorie storiche*. 8vo, Padua, 1811.
 Bettio. *Lettera discorsiva del Palazzo Ducale*. 8vo, Venice, 1837.
 Selvatico. *Architettura di Venezia*. 8vo, Venice, 1847.

† The year commonly given is 810, as in the *Savina Chronicle* (Cod. Marcianus), p. 13. "Del 810 fece principiar el pallazzo Ducal nel luogo ditto Bruolo in confin di S. Moisè, et fece riedificar la isola di Eraclia." The *Sagorin Chronicle* gives 804; and Filiasi, vol. vi. chap. 1, corrects this date to 813.

behind the arcades, and consisting of a very ornate construction, with round turrets, bold oriels, dormers, etc. On this showing the upper story as we now see it can have been no part of the Gothic Palace; and this is Parker's view. "The upper part," he says (p. 294), "is of the sixteenth century when it was rebuilt after the great fire, and this is extremely flat. The singularity of it is, that it is built of pink marble, cut in imitation of bricks." It is contended in *The National Miscellany* that Ruskin was inconsistent in not denouncing the use of marble to represent brick, just as much as if the process had been reversed (see in the next volume, ch. i. § 38 n.). "We have seen two artists standing before the wall," says the reviewer (p. 36), "looking at it carefully, and heard them disputing whether the material was really brick or marble." For Ruskin's remarks on the chequer-work of the "wall-veil" of the Palace, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 183, and in this volume ch. vii. § 3, and in the next volume, ch. i. § 32. That much of the masonry was renewed after the fire, Ruskin thinks probable (see below, § 133), but his general argument is, as will be seen, that the design is still that of the Gothic Palace; compare ch. vii. § 9, above, p. 278.]

¹ [See above, pp. 180–181.]

Venetians determined to make the island of Rialto the seat of the government and capital of their state. Their Doge, Angelo or Agnello Participazio, instantly took vigorous means for the enlargement of the small group of buildings which were to be the nucleus of the future Venice. He appointed persons to superintend the raising of the banks of sand, so as to form more secure foundations, and to build wooden bridges over the canals. For the offices of religion, he built the Church of St. Mark; and on, or near, the spot where the Ducal Palace now stands, he built a palace for the administration of the government.*

The history of the Ducal Palace, therefore, begins with the birth of Venice, and to what remains of it, at this day, is entrusted the last representation of her power.

§ 10. Of the exact position and form of this palace of Participazio little is ascertained. Sansovino says that it was "built near the Ponte della Paglia, and answeringly on the Grand Canal,"† towards San Giorgio; that is to say, in the place now occupied by the Sea Façade; but this was merely the popular report of his day. We know, however, positively, that it was somewhere upon the site of the existing

* "Amplio la città, fornilla di casamenti, e per il culto d' Iddio e l' amministrazione della giustizia eresse la cappella di S. Marco, e il palazzo di sua residenza."—*Pareri*, p. 120. Observe, that piety towards God, and justice towards man, have been at least the nominal purpose of every act and institution of ancient Venice. Compare also Temanza, p. 24. "Quello che abbiamo di certo si è che il suddetto Agnello lo incominciò da fondamenti, e così pure la cappella ducale di S. Marco."

† What I call the Sea, was called "the Grand Canal" by the Venetians, as well as the great water street of the city; but I prefer calling it "the Sea," in order to distinguish between that street and the broad water in front of the Ducal Palace, which, interrupted only by the island of San Giorgio, stretches for many miles to the south, and for more than two to the boundary of the Lido. It was the deeper channel, just in front of the Ducal Palace, continuing the line of the great water street itself which the Venetians spoke of as "the Grand Canal." The words of Sansovino are: "Fu cominciato dove si vede, vicino al ponte della paglia, et rispondente sul canal grande." Filiasi says simply: "The palace was built where it now is." "Il palazzo fu fatto dove ora pure esiste."—Vol. iii. chap. 27. The Savina Chronicle, already quoted, says: "In the place called the Bruolo (or Broglio), that is to say, on the Piazzetta."

palace; and that it had an important front towards the Piazzetta, with which, as we shall see hereafter, the present palace at one period was incorporated. We know, also, that it was a pile of some magnificence, from the account given by Sagornino¹ of the visit paid by the Emperor Otho the Great, to the Doge Pietro Orseolo II. The chronicler says that the emperor “beheld carefully all the beauty of the palace;”^{*} and the Venetian historians express pride in the building’s being worthy of an emperor’s examination. This was after the palace had been much injured by fire in the revolt² against Candiano IV.,[†] and just repaired, and richly adorned by Orseolo himself, who is spoken of by Sagornino as having also “adorned the chapel of the Ducal Palace” (St. Mark’s) with ornaments of marble and gold.[‡] There can be no doubt whatever that the palace at this period resembled and impressed the other Byzantine edifices of the city, such as the Fondaco de’ Turchi, &c., whose remains have been already described; and that, like them, it was covered with sculpture, and richly adorned with gold and colour.

* “Omni decoritate illius perlustrata.”—Sagornino, quoted by Cadorin and Temanza.

† There is an interesting account of this revolt in Monaci, p. 68. Some historians speak of the palace as having been destroyed entirely; but, that it did not even need important restorations, appears from Sagornino’s expression, quoted by Cadorin and Temanza. Speaking of the Doge Participazio, he says: “Qui Palatii hucusque manentis fuerit fabricator.” The reparations of the palace are usually attributed to the successor of Candiano, Pietro Orseolo I.; but the legend, under the picture of that Doge in the Council Chamber, speaks only of his rebuilding St. Mark’s, and “performing many miracles.” His whole mind seems to have been occupied with ecclesiastical affairs; and his piety was finally manifested in a way somewhat startling to the state, by his absconding with a French priest to St. Michael’s, in Gascony, and there becoming a monk.³ What repairs, therefore, were necessary to the Ducal Palace, were left to be undertaken by his son, Orseolo II., above named.

‡ “Quam non modo marmoreo, verum aureo compsit ornamento.”—*Temanza*, p. 25.

¹ [This is the chronicle of John the Deacon (about 995 A.D.), formerly known as that of Sagornino, because his name is signed to a memorandum written on a blank space; see further, and on the Venetian chronicles generally, *The Early History of Venice*, by F. C. Hodgson (1901).]

² [In the same revolt the first church of St. Mark was also burnt; see above, p. 73.]

³ [See above, note on p. 72.]

§ 11. In the year 1106, it was for the second time injured by fire,* but repaired before 1116, when it received another emperor, Henry V. (of Germany), and was again honoured by imperial praise.† Between 1173 and the close of the century, it seems to have been again repaired and much enlarged by the Doge Sebastian Ziani. Sansovino says that this Doge not only repaired it, but “enlarged it in every direction;”‡ and, after this enlargement, the palace seems to have remained untouched for a hundred years, until, in the commencement of the fourteenth century, the works of the Gothic Palace were begun. As, therefore, the old Byzantine building was, at the time when those works first interfered with it, in the form given to it by Ziani, I shall hereafter always speak of it as the *Ziani* Palace;¹ and this the rather, because the only chronicler whose words are perfectly clear respecting the existence of part of this palace so late as the year 1422, speaks of it as built by Ziani. The old “Palace, of which half remains to this day, was built, as we now see it, by Sebastian Ziani.”§

So far, then, of the Byzantine Palace.

§ 12. 2nd. THE GOTHIC PALACE. The reader, doubtless, recollects that the important change in the Venetian government which gave stability to the aristocratic power took place about the year 1297,|| under the Doge Pietro Gradenigo, a man thus characterised by Sansovino:—“A prompt and prudent man, of unconquerable determination and great

* “L’anno 1106, uscito fuoco, d’ una casa privata, arse parte del palazzo.”—*Sansovino*. Of the beneficial effect of these fires, vide Cadorin, pp. 121, 123.

† “Urbis situm, ædificiorum decorem, et regiminis æquitatem multipliciter commendavit.”—*Cronaca Dandolo*, quoted by Cadorin.

‡ “Non solamente rinovò il palazzo, ma lo aggrandì per ogni verso.”—*Sansovino*. Zanotto quotes the Altinat Chronicle for account of these repairs.

§ “El palazzo che anco di mezzo se vede vecchio, per M. Sebastian Ziani fu fatto compir, come el se vede.”—*Chronicle of Pietro Dolfino*, Cod. Ven., p. 47. This Chronicle is spoken of by Sansovino as “molto particolare e distinta.”—*Sansovino*, *Venezia descritta*, p. 593. It terminates in the year 1422

|| See Vol. I. Appendix 3 [Vol. IX. p. 418].

¹ [Compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 130 n.]

eloquence, who laid, so to speak, the foundations of the eternity of this republic, by the admirable regulations which he introduced into the government.”

We may now, with some reason, doubt of their admirableness; but their importance, and the vigorous will and intellect of the Doge, are not to be disputed. Venice was in the zenith of her strength, and the heroism of her citizens was displaying itself in every quarter of the world.* The acquiescence in the secure establishment of the aristocratic power was an expression, by the people, of respect for the families which had been chiefly instrumental in raising the commonwealth to such a height of prosperity.

The Serrar del Consiglio fixed the numbers of the Senate within certain limits, and it conferred upon them a dignity greater than they had ever before possessed. It was natural that the alteration in the character of the assembly should be attended by some change in the size, arrangement, or decoration of the chamber in which they sat.

We accordingly find it recorded by Sansovino, that “in 1301 another saloon was begun on the Rio del Palazzo, *under the Doge Gradenigo*, and finished in 1309, *in which year the Grand Council first sat in it.*”† In the first year, therefore, of the fourteenth century, the Gothic Ducal Palace of Venice was begun; and as the Byzantine Palace was, in its foundation, coeval with that of the state, so the Gothic Palace was, in its foundation, coeval with that of the aristocratic power. Considered as the principal representation of the Venetian school of architecture, the Ducal Palace is the Parthenon of Venice, and Gradenigo its Pericles.¹

§ 13. Sansovino, with a caution very frequent among Venetian historians, when alluding to events connected with the Serrar del Consiglio, does not specially mention the cause

* Vide Sansovino's enumeration of those who flourished in the reign of Gradenigo, p. 564.

† Sansovino, 324, 1.

¹ [For the year 1301 as beginning the period of the noble art-work of Venice, see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 60.]

for the requirement of the new chamber; but the Sivos Chronicle is a little more distinct in expression. "In 1301, it was determined to build a great saloon *for the assembling* of the Great Council, and the room was built which is *now* called the Sala del Scrutinio."* *Now*, that is to say, at the time when the Sivos Chronicle was written: the room has long ago been destroyed, and its name given to another chamber on the opposite side of the palace: but I wish the reader to remember the date 1301, as marking the commencement of a great architectural epoch, in which took place the first appliance of the energy of the aristocratic power, and of the Gothic style, to the works of the Ducal Palace. The operations then begun were continued, with hardly an interruption, during the whole period of the prosperity of Venice. We shall see the new buildings consume, and take the place of, the Ziani Palace, piece by piece: and when the Ziani Palace was destroyed, they fed upon themselves; being continued round the square, until, in the sixteenth century, they reached the point where they had been begun in the fourteenth, and pursued the track they had then followed some distance beyond the junction; destroying or hiding their own commencement, as the serpent, which is the type of eternity, conceals its tail in its jaws.

§ 14. We cannot, therefore, *see* the extremity, wherein lay the sting and force of the whole creature,—the chamber, namely, built by the Doge Gradenigo; but the reader must keep that commencement and the date of it carefully in his mind. The body of the Palace Serpent will soon become visible to us.

* "1301 fu presa parte di fare una sala grande per la riduzione del gran consiglio, e fu fatta quella che ora si chiama dello Scrutinio."—*Cronaca Sivos*, quoted by Cadorin [p. 182]. There is another most interesting entry in the Chronicle of Magno, relating to this event; but the passage is so ill written, that I am not sure if I have deciphered it correctly:—"Del 1301 fu preso de fabricar la sala fo ruina e fu fata (fatta) quella se adoperava a far el pregadi e fu adopera per far el Gran Consegio fin 1423, che fu anni 122." This last sentence, which is of great importance, is luckily unmistakable:—"The room was used for the meetings of the Great Council until 1423, that is to say, for 122 years."—*Cod. Ven.*, tom. i. p. 126. The Chronicle extends from 1253 to 1454.

The Gradenigo Chamber was somewhere on the Rio Façade, behind the present position of the Bridge of Sighs; *i.e.*, about the point marked on the roof by the dotted lines in the woodcut: it is not known whether low or high, but probably on a first story. The great façade of the Ziani Palace being, as above mentioned, on the Piazzetta, this chamber was as far back and out of the way as possible; secrecy and security being obviously the points first considered.

§ 15. But the newly constituted Senate had need of other additions to the ancient palace besides the Council Chamber. A short, but most significant, sentence is added to Sansovino's account of the construction of that room. "There were, *near it*," he says, "the Cancellaria, and the *Gheba* or *Gabbia*, afterwards called the Little Tower."*

Gabbia means a "cage;" and there can be no question that certain apartments were at this time added at the top of the palace and on the Rio Façade, which were to be used as prisons. Whether any portion of the old Torresella still remains is a doubtful question; but the apartments at the top of the palace, in its fourth story, were still used for prisons as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century.† I wish the reader especially to notice that a separate tower or range of apartments was built for this purpose, in order to clear the government of the accusations so constantly made against them, by ignorant or partial historians, of wanton cruelty to prisoners. The stories commonly told respecting the "piombi" of the Ducal Palace are utterly false. Instead of being, as usually reported, small furnaces under the leads of the palace, they were comfortable rooms with good flat roofs of larch, and carefully ventilated.‡ The new chamber,

* "Vi era appresso la Cancellaria, e la Gheba o Gabbia, chiamata poi Torresella."—P. 324. A small square tower is seen above the Vine angle in the view of Venice dated 1500, and attributed to Albert Dürer. It appears about 25 feet square, and is very probably the Torresella in question.

† Vide Bettio, *Lettera*, p. 23.

‡ Bettio, *Lettera*, p. 20. "Those who wrote without having seen them described them as covered with lead; and those who have seen them know that, between their flat timber roofs and the sloping leaden roof of the palace, the interval is five metres where it is least, and nine where it is greatest."

then, and the prisons, being built, the Great Council first sat in their retired chamber on the Rio in the year 1309.

§ 16. Now, observe the significant progress of events. They had no sooner thus established themselves in power than they were disturbed by the conspiracy of the Tiepolos, in the year 1310.¹ In consequence of that conspiracy the Council of Ten was created, still under the Doge Gradenigo; who, having finished his work and left the aristocracy of Venice armed with this terrible power, died in the year 1312, some say by poison. He was succeeded by the Doge Marino Giorgio, who reigned only one year; and then followed the prosperous government of John Soranzo.² There is no mention of any additions to the Ducal Palace during his reign, but he was succeeded by that Francesco Dandolo, the sculptures on whose tomb, still existing in the cloisters of the Salute,³ may be compared by any traveller with those of the Ducal Palace. Of him it is recorded in the Savina Chronicle: "This Doge also had the great gate built which is at the entry of the palace, above which is his statue kneeling, with the gonfalon⁴ in hand, before the feet of the Lion of St. Mark's."*

§ 17. It appears, then, that after the Senate had completed their Council Chamber and the prisons, they required a nobler door than that of the old Ziani Palace for their Magnificences to enter by. This door is twice spoken of in the government accounts of expenses, which are fortunately preserved,† in the following terms:—

"1335, June 1. We, Andrew Dandolo and Mark Loredano, procurators of St. Mark's, have paid to Martin

* "Questo Dose anche fese far la porta granda che se al intrar del Palazzo, in su la qual vi e la sua statua che sta in zenocchioni con lo confalon in man, davanti li pie de lo Lion S. Marco."—*Savin Chronicle*, Cod. Ven., p. 120.

† These documents I have not examined myself, being satisfied of the accuracy of Cadorin, from whom I take the passages quoted.

¹ [For this conspiracy, see above, p. 298 *n.*]

² [Reigned 1312–1329.]

³ [See above, p. 299, and in the next volume, ch. ii. § 58.]

⁴ [For a note on the gonfalon, the pointed ensign of forward battle, see *The Bible of Amiens*, ch. iv.]

the stone-cutter and his associates* . . . , for a stone of which the lion is made which is put over the gate of the palace.”

“1344, November 4. We have paid thirty-five golden ducats for making gold leaf, to gild the lion which is over the door of the palace stairs.”

The position of this door is disputed, and is of no consequence to the reader, the door itself having long ago disappeared, and been replaced by the Porta della Carta.

§ 18. But before it was finished, occasion had been discovered for further improvements. The Senate found their new Council Chamber inconveniently small, and, about thirty years after its completion, began to consider where a larger and more magnificent one might be built. The government was now thoroughly established, and it was probably felt that there was some meanness in the retired position, as well as insufficiency in the size, of the Council Chamber on the Rio. The first definite account which I find of their proceedings, under these circumstances, is in the Caroldo Chronicle:†

“1340. On the 28th of December, in the preceding year, Master Marco Erizzo, Nicolo Soranzo, and Thomas Gradenigo, were chosen to examine where a new saloon might be built in order to assemble therein the Greater Council. . . . On the 3rd of June, 1341, the Great Council elected two procurators of the work of this saloon, with a salary of eighty ducats a year.”

It appears from the entry still preserved in the Archivio, and quoted by Cadorin, that it was on the 28th of December, 1340, that the commissioners appointed to decide on this important matter gave in their report to the Grand Council, and that the decree passed thereupon for the commencement of a new Council Chamber on the Grand Canal.‡

* “Libras tres, soldos 15 grossorum.”—*Cadorin*, 189, 1.

† *Cod. Ven.*, No. CXXI., p. 365.

‡ Sansovino is more explicit than usual in his reference to this decree: “For it having appeared that the place (the first Council Chamber) was not

The room then begun is the one now in existence, and its building involved the building of all that is best and most beautiful in the present Ducal Palace, the rich arcades of the lower stories being all prepared for sustaining this Sala del Gran Consiglio.

§ 19. In saying that it is the same now in existence, I do not mean that it has undergone no alterations; as we shall see hereafter, it has been refitted again and again, and some portions of its walls rebuilt; but in the place and form in which it first stood, it still stands; and by a glance at the position which its windows occupy, as shown in Fig. 37 above, the reader will see at once that whatever can be known respecting the design of the Sea Façade, must be gleaned out of the entries which refer to the building of this Great Council Chamber.

Cadorin quotes two of great importance, to which we shall return in due time, made during the progress of the work in 1342 and 1344; then one of 1349, resolving that the works at the Ducal Palace, which had been discontinued during the plague, should be resumed; and finally one in 1362, which speaks of the Great Council Chamber as having been neglected and suffered to fall into "great desolation," and resolves that it shall be forthwith completed.*

The interruption had not been caused by the plague only, but by the conspiracy of Faliero, and the violent death of the master builder.† The work was resumed in 1362, and completed within the next three years, at least so far as that Guariento¹ was enabled to paint his Paradise on the

capacious enough, the saloon on the Grand Canal was ordered." "Per cio parendo che il luogo non fosse capace, fu ordinata la Sala sul Canal Grande." —P. 324.

* Cadorin, 185, 2. The decree of 1342 is falsely given as of 1345 by the Sivos Chronicle, and by Magno; while Sanuto gives the decree to its right year 1342, but speaks of the Council Chamber as only begun in 1345.

† Calendario. See Appendix 1, Vol. III.

¹ [A painter of Padua, among the artists employed to decorate the Great Hall in 1365. Frescoes by him may still be seen in the Eremitani at Padua.]

walls;* so that the building must, at any rate, have been roofed by this time. Its decorations and fittings, however, were long in completion; the paintings on the roof being only executed in 1400.† They represented the heavens covered with stars,‡ this being, says Sansovino, the bearings of the Doge Steno. Almost all ceilings and vaults were at this time in Venice covered with stars, without any reference to armorial bearings; but Steno claims, under his noble title of Stellifer, an important share in completing the chamber, in an inscription upon two square tablets, now inlaid in the walls on each side of the great window towards the sea:

“MILLE QUADRINGENTI CURREBANT QUATUOR ANNI
HOC OPUS ILLUSTRIS MICHAEL DUX STELLIFER AUXIT.”

And in fact it is to this Doge¹ that we owe the beautiful balcony of that window, though the work above it is partly of more recent date; and I think the tablets bearing this important inscription have been taken out and reinserted in the newer masonry. The labour of these final decorations occupied a total period of sixty years. The Grand Council sat in the finished chamber for the first time in 1423. In that year the Gothic Ducal Palace of Venice was completed. It had taken, to build it, the energies of the entire period which I have above described as the central one of her life.²

* “Il primo che vi colorisse fu Guariento, il quale l’ anno 1365 vi fece il Paradiso in testa della sala.”—*Sansovino*.

† “L’ an poi 1400 vi fece il cielo compartita a quadretti d’ oro, ripieni di stelle, ch’ era la insegna del Doge Steno.”—*Sansovino*, lib. VIII.

‡ “In questi tempi si messe in ore il cielo della sala del Gran Consiglio et si fece il pergolo del finestra grande che guarda sul canale, adornato l’ uno e l’ altro di stelle, ch’ erano l’ insegne del Doge.”—*Sansovino*, lib. XIII. Compare also *Pareri*, p. 129.

¹ [Reigned 1400–1414.]

² [Ruskin was much gratified when this coincidence was borne in upon him; the discovery was a landmark in his work. He describes it in a letter to his father:—

“*Sunday, February 1st* [1852].— . . . I am happy to say that the book is now coming well together. I see both ends of it in one view, which is comfortable, and I am very happy to find that my further investigations confirm and fit in delightfully with my first chapter [of vol. i.]. You will see that that first chapter promises three divisions of the main subject: the

§ 20. 3rd. The RENAISSANCE PALACE. I must go back a step or two, in order to be certain that the reader understands clearly the state of the palace in 1423. The works of addition or renovation had now been proceeding, at intervals, during a space of a hundred and twenty-three years. Three generations at least had been accustomed to witness the gradual advancement of the form of the Ducal Palace into more stately symmetry, and to contrast the works of sculpture and painting with which it was decorated,—full of the life, knowledge, and hope of the fourteenth century,—with the rude Byzantine chiselling of the palace of the Doge Ziani. The magnificent fabric just completed, of which the New Council Chamber was the nucleus, was now habitually known in Venice as the “Palazzo Nuovo;” and the old Byzantine edifice, now ruinous, and more manifest in its decay by its contrast with the goodly stones of the building which had been raised at its side, was of course known as the “Palazzo Vecchio.”* That fabric, however, still occupied the principal position in Venice. The new Council Chamber had been erected by the side of it towards the sea; but there was not then the wide quay in front, the Riva dei Schiavoni, which now renders the Sea Façade as important as that to the Piazzetta. There was only a narrow walk between the pillars and the water; and the *old* palace of Ziani still faced the

* Baseggio (*Pareri*, p. 127) is called the Proto¹ of the *New* Palace. Farther notes will be found in Appendix 1, Vol. III.

Greek or Byzantine period, the Transitional period, and the Gothic period, the last mainly represented by the Ducal Palace. Now I said at page 4 [now p. 20] of vol. i. that the second period of the career of Venice opened with 120 years—the *central struggle of her life* beginning in 1300, finishing in 1418, or, in the next sentence, five years later, *i.e.*, 1423. Now I knew when I wrote this that the Ducal Palace was fourteenth-century work, but I did *not* know what I know now, that the first stone of it was laid in 1301, the last in 1423! . . . I am especially delighted to find my third, or Gothic period, limited to the *very years* which in the first chapter I gave for the central struggle of Venetian life.

“I think this will interest you and make you happy, so I don’t mind writing it on Sunday.”

For Ruskin’s strict observance of Sunday, see *Præterita*, ii. ch. vi. § 111, where he says it was not till 1858 that he ever made a sketch on that day.]

¹ [*i.e.*, Prototajapiera, chief mason. For Baseggio, see in the next volume, Appendix 1, “Architect of the Ducal Palace,” and *cf.* Vol. IX. p. 65.]

Piazzetta, and interrupted, by its decrepitude, the magnificence of the square where the nobles daily met. Every increase of the beauty of the new palace rendered the discrepancy between it and the companion building more painful; and then began to arise in the minds of all men a vague idea of the necessity of destroying the old palace, and completing the front of the Piazzetta with the same splendour as the Sea Façade. But no such sweeping measure of renovation had been contemplated by the Senate when they first formed the plan of their new Council Chamber. First a single additional room, then a gateway, then a larger room; but all considered merely as necessary additions to the palace, not as involving the entire reconstruction of the ancient edifice. The exhaustion of the treasury, and the shadows upon the political horizon,¹ rendered it more than imprudent to incur the vast additional expense which such a project involved; and the Senate, fearful of itself, and desirous to guard against the weakness of its own enthusiasm, passed a decree, like the effort of a man fearful of some strong temptation to keep his thoughts averted from the point of danger. It was a decree, not merely that the old palace should not be rebuilt, but that no one should *propose* rebuilding it.² The feeling of the desirableness of doing so was too strong to permit fair discussion, and the Senate knew that to bring forward such a motion was to carry it.

§ 21. The decree, thus passed in order to guard against their own weakness, forbade any one to speak of rebuilding the old palace, under the penalty of a thousand ducats. But they had rated their own enthusiasm too low: there was a man among them whom the loss of a thousand ducats could not deter from proposing what he believed to be for the good of the state.

Some excuse was given him for bringing forward the

¹ [For at this period the Republic was pursuing a policy of expansion on the mainland, which threatened her with dangers from Hungary, Austria and Francesco Carrara on the mainland, and with Genoa and her own colonies (such as Candia) in her Levantine Empire.]

² [For a further reference to this decree, see in the next volume, Appendix 1.]

motion by a fire which occurred in 1419, and which injured both the Church of St. Mark's, and part of the old palace fronting the Piazzetta. What followed, I shall relate in the words of Sanuto.*

§ 22. "Therefore they set themselves with all diligence and care to repair and adorn sumptuously, first God's house:¹ but in the Prince's house things went on more slowly, *for it did not please the Doge † to restore it in the form in which it was before*; and they could not rebuild it altogether in a better manner, so great was the parsimony of these old fathers; because it was forbidden by laws, which condemned in a penalty of a thousand ducats any one who should propose to throw down the *old* palace, and to rebuild it more richly and with greater expense. But the Doge, who was magnanimous, and who desired above all things what was honourable to the city, had the thousand ducats carried into the Senate Chamber, and then proposed that the palace should be rebuilt; saying: that, 'since the late fire had ruined in great part the Ducal habitation (not only his own private palace, but all the places used for public business), this occasion was to be taken for an admonishment sent from God, that they ought to rebuild the palace more nobly, and in a way more befitting the greatness to which, by God's grace, their dominions had reached; and that his motive in proposing this was neither ambition, nor selfish interest; that as for ambition, they might have seen in the whole course of his life, through so many years, that he had never done anything for ambition, either in the city, or in foreign business; but in all his actions had kept justice first in his thoughts, and then the advantage of the state,² and the honour of the Venetian name; and that, as far as regarded

* *Cronaca Sanudo*, No. CXXV. in the Marcian Library, p. 568.

† Tomaso Mocenigo.

¹ [For some reflections on "God's house" and the Duke's house, see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 91.]

² [See below, § 128 *n.*]

his private interest, if it had not been for this accident of the fire, he would never have thought of changing anything in the palace into either a more sumptuous or a more honourable form; and that during the many years in which he had lived in it, he had never endeavoured to make any change, but had always been content with it as his predecessors had left it; and that he knew well that, if they took in hand to build it as he exhorted and besought them, being now very old, and broken down with many toils, God would call him to another life before the walls were raised a pace from the ground. And that therefore they might perceive that he did not advise them to raise this building for his own convenience, but only for the honour of the city and its Dukedom; and that the good of it would never be felt by him, but by his successors.' Then he said, that 'in order, as he had always done, to observe the laws, . . . he had brought with him the thousand ducats which had been appointed as the penalty for proposing such a measure, so that he might prove openly to all men that it was not his own advantage that he sought, but the dignity of the state. ' ” There was no one (Sanuto goes on to tell us) who ventured, or desired, to oppose the wishes of the Doge; and the thousand ducats were unanimously devoted to the expenses of the work. “And they set themselves with much diligence to the work; and the palace was begun in the form and manner in which it is at present seen; but, as Mocenigo had prophesied, not long after, he ended his life, and not only did not see the work brought to a close, but hardly even begun.”

§ 23. There are one or two expressions in the above extracts which, if they stood alone, might lead the reader to suppose that the whole palace had been thrown down and rebuilt. We must however remember, that, at this time, the new Council Chamber, which had been one hundred years in building, was actually unfinished, the Council had not yet sat in it; and it was just as likely that the Doge should then propose to destroy and rebuild it, as in this

year, 1853, it is that any one should propose in our House of Commons to throw down the new Houses of Parliament under the title of the "old palace," and rebuild *them*.

§ 24. The manner in which Sanuto expresses himself will at once be seen to be perfectly natural, when it is remembered that although we now speak of the whole building as the "Ducal Palace," it consisted, in the minds of the old Venetians, of four distinct buildings. There were in it the palace, the state prisons, the senate-house, and the offices of public business; in other words, it was Buckingham Palace, the Tower of olden days, the Houses of Parliament, and Downing Street, all in one; and any of these four portions might be spoken of, without involving an allusion to any other. "Il Palazzo" was the Ducal residence, which, with most of the public offices, Mocenigo *did* propose to pull down and rebuild, and which was actually pulled down and rebuilt. But the new Council Chamber, of which the whole façade to the Sea consisted, never entered into either his or Sanuto's mind for an instant, as necessarily connected with the Ducal residence.

I said that the new Council Chamber, at the time when Mocenigo brought forward his measure, had never yet been used. It was in the year 1422* that the decree passed to rebuild the palace: Mocenigo died in the following year,† and Francesco Foscari was elected in his room. The Great Council Chamber was used for the first time on the day when Foscari entered the Senate as Doge,—the 3rd of April, 1423, according to the Caroldo Chronicle;‡ the 23rd, which is probably correct, by an anonymous MS., No. 60, in the

* Vide notes in Appendix [No. 1 in the next volume, where the text of the decree is given.]

† On the 4th of April, 1423, according to the copy of the Zancarol Chronicle in the Marcian Library, but previously, according to the Caroldo Chronicle, which makes Foscari enter the Senate as Doge on the 3rd of April.

‡ "Nella quale (the sala del Gran Consiglio) non si fece Gran Consiglio salvo nell' anno 1423, alli 3 April, et fu il primo giorno che il Duce Foscari venisse in Gran Consiglio dopo la sua creatione."—Copy in Marcian Library, p. 365.

Correr Museum;*—and, the following year, on the 27th of March, the first hammer was lifted up against the old palace of Ziani.†

§ 25. That hammer stroke was the first act of the period properly called the “Renaissance.” It was the knell of the architecture of Venice,—and of Venice herself.

The central epoch of her life was past; the decay had already begun; I dated its commencement above (Chap. I. Vol. I.) from the death of Mocenigo.¹ A year had not yet elapsed since that great Doge had been called to his account: his patriotism, always sincere, had been in this instance mistaken; in his zeal for the honour of future Venice, he had forgotten what was due to the Venice of long ago. A thousand palaces might be built upon her burdened islands, but none of them could take the place, or recall the memory, of that which was first built upon her unfrequented shore. It fell; and, as if it had been the talisman of her fortunes, the city never flourished again.

§ 26. I have no intention of following out, in their

* “E a di 23 April” (1423, by the context) “sequente fo fatto Gran Consejo in la salla nuova dovi avanti non esta piu fatto Gran Consejo si che el primo Gran Consejo dopo la sua” (Foscari’s creation) “fo fatto in la salla nuova, nel qual consejo fu el Marchese di Mantoa,” etc., p. 426.

† Compare Appendix 1, Vol. III.

¹ [1423: see Vol. IX. p. 21. This also was a coincidence which pleased Ruskin. In sending the first draft of this passage to his father he writes:—

“16th April [1852].—I hope the enclosed pieces of MS. will be rather more interesting to you than those you have had lately. They are so to me as finally settling a question which has cost me much trouble to investigate: more perhaps as a victory over difficulties than for the actual value of the results. But it is curious, among the other coincidences which offer themselves as I work the thing more completely out, that the first hammer should have been lifted against the *old* palace in the very year, from which I have dated the *visible* commencement of the Fall of Venice, 1424. However patriotic and fine the conduct of the Doge, I intend to show that he was mistaken in his patriotism, and that old palaces should *not* be thrown down to build new ones. There is another curious thing respecting this epoch—that at the accession of Foscari, ‘si festeggia la citta me anno intero’ (the city made feast for a whole year). ‘Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep’ [Luke vi. 25]. It all comes together very wonderfully.”

For some further remarks on this passage, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 130, note of 1880. With Ruskin’s saying that “old palaces should *not* be thrown down to build new ones,” compare *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. i. p. 225.]

intricate details, the operations which were begun under Foscari, and continued under succeeding Doges, till the palace assumed its present form, for I am not in this work concerned, except by occasional reference, with the architecture of the fifteenth century: but the main facts are the following. The palace of Ziani was destroyed; the existing façade to the Piazzetta built, so as both to continue and to resemble, in most particulars, the work of the Great Council Chamber. It was carried back from the Sea as far as the Judgment angle; beyond which is the Porta della Carta, begun in 1439, and finished in two years, under the Doge Foscari;* the interior buildings connected with it were added by the Doge Christopher Moro (the Othello¹ of Shakespeare)† in 1462.

* "Tutte queste fatture si compirono sotto il dogado del Foscari, nel 1441."—*Pareri*, p. 131.

† This identification has been accomplished, and I think conclusively, by my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, who has devoted all the leisure which, during the last twenty years, his manifold offices of kindness to almost every English visitant of Venice have left him, in discovering and translating the passages of the Venetian records which bear upon English history and literature. I shall have occasion to take advantage hereafter of a portion of his labours, which I trust will shortly be made public.²

¹ [This was a slip on Ruskin's part which, though he tacitly corrected it in the next volume, escaped his revision here. Rawdon Brown's ingenious identification of Shakespeare's Othello refers not to this Doge (who, according to a contemporary was short-statured and squint-eyed), but to another Cristoforo Moro who lived a generation later, and was an officer of the Republic during the wars of the League of Cambrai. Ruskin states the case correctly in the Venetian Index (Vol. XI.), under the heading, "Othello, House of," where the reference to Brown's researches is given. In a letter to his father from Venice (Oct. 15, 1851), Ruskin mentions (again confusing the two men, it will be seen) that Lockhart (then editor of the *Quarterly*) "had refused a paper of Mr. Brown's nailed on some book or other lately out, but in reality all about *Othello*, who was, in reality, the Doge Ludovic Moro, whose shield bore three mulberries—the same as the sign of the Desdemona handkerchief—and who among the various annals of great services done by him for the state is —just at Shakespeare's time, and before Moro was Doge—described one day as coming from Cyprus, 'wearing his beard long, for the death of his wife; ' and there is a great deal more which Mr. Brown has fished out about him, very interesting."]

² [See in the next volume, ch. iii. § 10, and appendices 4 and 9. Rawdon Brown's principal publications are "Calendar of State Papers relating to English affairs existing in the Archives of Venice," 1864, etc., issued by the Commission for printing and publishing State Papers. "Four years at the Court of Henry VIII. A selection of despatches (from S. Giustiniano) to the Signory of Venice, 1515–1519, 2 vols., 1854." Ruskin quotes a passage from these despatches in the next volume (appendix 9). "*Avisi di Londra*. An account of News Letters sent from London to Venice during the first

§ 27. By reference to the figure the reader will see that we have now gone the round of the palace, and that the new work of 1462 was close upon the first piece of the Gothic palace, the *new* Council Chamber of 1301. Some remnants of the Ziani Palace were perhaps still left between the two extremities of the Gothic palace; or, as is more probable, the last stones of it may have been swept away after the fire of 1419, and replaced by new apartments for the Doge. But whatever buildings, old or new, stood on this spot at the time of the completion of the Porta della Carta were destroyed by another great fire in 1479, together with so much of the palace on the Rio, that, though the saloon of Gradenigo, then known as the Sala de' Pregadi, was not destroyed, it became necessary to reconstruct the entire façades of the portion of the palace behind the Bridge of Sighs, both towards the court and canal. This work was entrusted to the best Renaissance architects of the close of the fifteenth and opening of the sixteenth centuries; Antonio Ricci¹ executing the Giant's staircase, and, on his absconding with a large sum of the public money, Pietro Lombardo² taking his place. The whole work must have been completed towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The architects of the palace, advancing round the square and led by fire, had more than reached the point from which they had set out; and the work of 1560 was joined to the work of 1301–1340, at the point marked by the conspicuous vertical line in Fig. 37 on the Rio Façade.

§ 28. But the palace was not long permitted to remain in this finished form. Another terrific fire, commonly called the Great Fire, burst out in 1574, and destroyed the inner

half of the 17th century," 1854. "Notices concerning John Cabot and his son, Sebastian," 1855 (this and the *Avisi* published by the Philobiblion Society). Also, *Lettere diplomatiche inedite*, Venezia, 1840; and (edited by Brown) *Itinerario di Marin Sanuto per la Terraferma Veneziana*, 1483: Padua, 1847; and *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Marin Sanuto*: 3 vols., Venice, 1837.]

¹ [Antonio Riccio or Rizzo ("curly pate") of Verona, called also Briosco, was appointed architect of the Palace in 1483, and absconded in 1498.]

² [Architect and sculptor, about 1445–1530. For the "Lombardic" style, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. iv. § 9 n.]

fittings and all the precious pictures of the Great Council Chamber, and of all the upper rooms on the Sea Façade, and most of those on the Rio Façade, leaving the building a mere shell, shaken and blasted by the flames. It was debated in the Great Council whether the ruin should not be thrown down, and an entirely new palace built in its stead. The opinions of all the leading architects of Venice were taken, respecting the safety of the walls, or the possibility of repairing them as they stood. These opinions, given in writing, have been preserved, and published by the Abbé Cadorin, in the work already so often referred to;¹ and they form one of the most important series of documents connected with the Ducal Palace.

I cannot help feeling some childish pleasure in the accidental resemblance to my own name in that of the architect whose opinion was first given in favour of the ancient fabric, Giovanni Rusconi.² Others, especially Palladio, wanted to pull down the old palace, and execute designs of their own; but the best architects in Venice, and, to his immortal honour, chiefly Francesco Sansovino, energetically pleaded for the Gothic pile, and prevailed. It was successfully repaired, and Tintoret painted his noblest picture on the wall from which the "Paradise" of Guariento had withered before the flames.³

§ 29. The repairs necessarily undertaken at this time were however extensive, and interfere in many directions with the earlier work of the palace: still the only serious alteration in its form was the transposition of the prisons, formerly at the top of the palace, to the other side of the Rio del Palazzo; and the building of the Bridge of Sighs, to connect them with the palace, by Antonio da Ponte.⁴ The completion of this work brought the whole edifice into

¹ [The book is *Pareri* (opinions) *di XV. Architetti*, etc.: see above, ch. vii. § 10, for some quotations from it.]

² [For Rusconi's opinion, see above, ch. vii. § 10.]

³ [See above, § 19, for Guariento; and below, p. 438, for Tintoret's "Paradise."]

⁴ [Giovanni Antonio del Ponte, of Venice, 1512–1597; architect also of the Rialto bridge.]

its present form; with the exception of alterations in doors, partitions, and staircases among the inner apartments, not worth noticing, and such barbarisms and defacements as have been suffered within the last fifty years, by, I suppose, nearly every building of importance in Italy.

§ 30. Now, therefore, we are at liberty to examine some of the details of the Ducal Palace, without any doubt about their dates.¹ I shall not, however, give any elaborate illustrations of them here, because I could not do them justice on the scale of the page of this volume, or by means of line engraving. I believe a new era is opening to us in the art of illustration,* and that I shall be able to give large figures of the details of the Ducal Palace at a price which will enable every person who is interested in the subject to possess them; so that the cost and labour of multiplying illustrations here would be altogether wasted. I shall therefore direct the reader's attention only to such points of interest as can be explained in the text.

§ 31. First, then, looking back to the woodcut at the beginning of this chapter, the reader will observe that, as the building was very nearly square on the ground plan, a peculiar prominence and importance were given to its angles, which rendered it necessary that they should be enriched and softened by sculpture. I do not suppose that the fitness of this arrangement will be questioned; but if the reader will take the pains to glance over any series of engravings of church towers or other four-square buildings in which great refinement of form has been attained, he will at once observe how their effect depends on some modification of the sharpness of the angle, either by groups of buttresses, or by turrets and niches rich in sculpture. It is to be noted also that this principle of breaking the angle

* See the last chapter of the third volume [ch. iv. § 3 n.]

¹ [It should be remembered, in reading the rest of this chapter and especially if the reader is studying the capitals on the spot, that the Palace has been restored since Ruskin wrote. Particulars of the restoration are given in a note below, pp. 464–466.]

is peculiarly Gothic, arising partly out of the necessity of strengthening the flanks of enormous buildings, where composed of imperfect materials, by buttresses or pinnacles; partly out of the conditions of Gothic warfare, which generally required a tower at the angle; partly out of the natural dislike of the meagreness of effect in buildings which admitted large surfaces of wall, if the angle were entirely unrelieved. The Ducal Palace, in its acknowledgement of this principle, makes a more definite concession to the Gothic spirit than any of the previous architecture of Venice. No angle, up to the time of its erection, had been otherwise decorated than by a narrow fluted pilaster of red marble, and the sculpture was reserved always, as in Greek and Roman work, for the plane surfaces of the building, with, as far as I recollect, two exceptions only, both in St. Mark's; namely, the bold and grotesque gargoyle on its north-west angle, and the angels which project from the four inner angles under the main cupola; both of these arrangements being plainly made under Lombardic influence. And if any other instances occur, which I may have at present forgotten, I am very sure the Northern influence will always be distinctly traceable in them.

§ 32. The Ducal Palace, however, accepts the principle in its completeness, and throws the main decoration upon its angles. The central window, which looks rich and important in the woodcut, was entirely restored in the Renaissance time, as we have seen,¹ under the Doge Steno; so that we have no traces of its early treatment; and the principal interest of the older palace is concentrated in the angle sculpture, which is arranged in the following manner. The pillars of the two bearing arcades are much enlarged in thickness at the angles, and their capitals increased in depth, breadth, and fulness of subject: above each capital, on the angle of the wall, a sculptural subject is introduced, consisting, in the great lower arcade, of two or more figures of the size of life; in the upper

¹ [Above, p. 346.]

arcade, of a single angel holding a scroll: above these angels rise the twisted pillars with their crowning niches, already noticed in the account of parapets in the seventh chapter;¹ thus forming an unbroken line of decoration from the ground to the top of the angle.²

§ 33. It was before noticed that one of the corners of the palace joins the irregular outer buildings connected with St. Mark's, and is not generally seen. There remain, therefore, to be decorated, only the three angles, above distinguished³ as the Vine angle, the Fig-tree angle, and the Judgment angle; and at these we have, according to the arrangement just explained—

First, Three great bearing capitals (lower arcade).

Secondly, Three figure subjects of sculpture above them (lower arcade).

Thirdly, Three smaller bearing capitals (upper arcade).

Fourthly, Three angels above them (upper arcade).

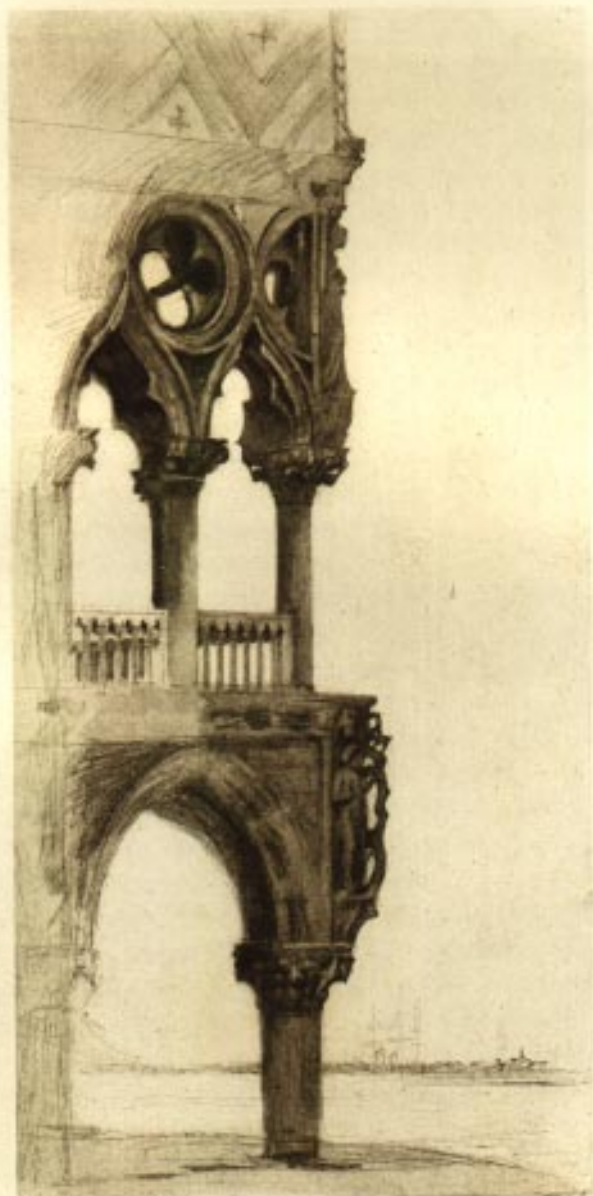
Fifthly, Three spiral shafts with niches.

§ 34. I shall describe the bearing capitals hereafter, in their order, with the others of the arcade; for the first point to which the reader's attention ought to be directed is the choice of subject in the great figure sculptures above them. These, observe, are the very corner stones of the edifice, and in them we may expect to find the most important evidences of the feeling, as well as of the skill, of the builder. If he has anything to say to us of the purpose with which he built the palace, it is sure to be said here; if there was any lesson which he wished principally to teach to those for whom he built, here it is sure to be inculcated; if there was any sentiment which they themselves desired to have expressed in the principal edifice of their city, this is the place in which we may be secure of finding it legibly inscribed.

¹ [See above, pp. 279, 280.]

² ["The national audacity of the great builder of the Ducal Palace in supporting its walls on, virtually, two rows of marble piles" is well illustrated by the drawing here given (Plate H.). It is of the Fig-tree angle, looking seaward from the Piazzetta—"just where the shafts of the angle let the winds blow through them as frankly as the timbers of Calais pier" (*Notes on Prout and Hunt*, s. No. 58).]

³ [See above, p. 332.]



The Fig-tree Angle.

(1869)

§ 35. Now the first two angles, of the Vine and Fig-tree, belong to the old, or true Gothic, Palace; the third angle belongs to the Renaissance imitation of it: therefore, at the first two angles, it is the Gothic spirit which is going to speak to us; and, at the third, the Renaissance spirit.

The reader remembers, I trust, that the most characteristic sentiment of all that we traced in the working of the Gothic heart, was the frank confession of its own weakness;¹ and I must anticipate, for a moment, the results of our inquiry in subsequent chapters, so far as to state that the principal element in the Renaissance spirit, is its firm confidence in its own wisdom.

Hear,² then, the two spirits speak for themselves.

The first main sculpture of the Gothic Palace is on what I have called the angle of the Fig-tree:

Its subject is the FALL OF MAN.

The second sculpture is on the angle of the Vine:

Its subject is the DRUNKENNESS OF NOAH.

The Renaissance sculpture is on the Judgment angle:

Its subject is the JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON.

It is impossible to overstate, or to regard with too much admiration, the significance of this single fact. It is as if the palace had been built at various epochs, and preserved uninjured to this day, for the sole purpose of teaching us the difference in the temper of the two schools.³

§ 36. I have called the sculpture on the Fig-tree angle the principal one; because it is at the central bend of the palace, where it turns to the Piazzetta (the façade upon the Piazzetta being, as we saw above, the more important one in ancient times).⁴ The great capital, which sustains this Fig-tree angle, is also by far more elaborate than the head

¹ [See above, ch. vi. § 67, p. 234.]

² [All editions except the first read "Here," but the MS. shows that Ruskin wrote "Hear," which reading is accordingly now restored.]

³ [In *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 74, Ruskin describes more fully the significance of these corner-stones of the building—"meaning, if you read them in their national lesson, 'Let him who thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.' " In the same letter, there is some further account of the figures of Michael and Raphael: see below, § 42.]

⁴ [See above, § 20, p. 347.]

of the pilaster under the Vine angle, marking the pre-eminence of the former in the architect's mind. It is impossible to say which was first executed, but that of the Fig-tree angle is somewhat rougher in execution, and more stiff in the design of the figures, so that I rather suppose it to have been the earliest completed.¹

§ 37. In both the subjects, of the Fall and the Drunkenness, the tree, which forms the chiefly decorative portion of the sculpture,—fig in the one case, vine in the other,—was a necessary adjunct. Its trunk, in both sculptures, forms the true outer angle of the palace; boldly cut separate from the stonework behind, and branching out above the figures so as to enwrap each side of the angle, for several feet, with its deep foliage. Nothing can be more masterly or superb than the sweep of this foliage on the Fig-tree angle; the broad leaves lapping round the budding fruit, and sheltering from sight, beneath their shadows, birds of the most graceful form and delicate plumage. The branches are, however, so strong, and the masses of stone hewn into leafage so large, that, notwithstanding the depth of the undercutting, the work remains nearly uninjured; not so at the Vine angle, where the natural delicacy of the vine-leaf and tendril having tempted the sculptor to greater effort, he has passed the proper limits of his art, and cut the upper stems so delicately that half of them have been broken away by the casualties to which the situation of the sculpture necessarily exposes it. What remains is, however, so interesting in its extreme refinement, that I have chosen it for the subject of the opposite illustration² rather than the nobler masses of the fig-tree, which ought to be rendered on a larger scale. Although half of the beauty of the composition is destroyed by the breaking away of its central masses, there is still

¹ [For a further discussion of this point, see in the next volume, Appendix 1.]

² [See also the new Plate (I.) introduced in this edition. The "Travellers' Edition" here reads "the subject of the first illustration," and appends a footnote, "See note at end of this chapter." See below, p. 463, where the note in question is given, and Ruskin's intended scheme of illustration explained.]



J. Buskin.

J. C. Arnytago.
Allen & Co. Sc.

Leafage of the Vine Angle.

enough in the distribution of the variously bending leaves, and in the placing of the birds on the lighter branches, to prove to us the power of the designer. I have already referred to this Plate as a remarkable instance of the Gothic Naturalism;¹ and, indeed, it is almost impossible for the copying of nature to be carried further than in the fibres of the marble branches, and the careful finishing of the tendrils: note especially the peculiar expression of the knotty joints of the vine in the light branch which rises highest. Yet only half the finish of the work can be seen in the Plate: for, in several cases, the sculptor has shown the under sides of the leaves turned boldly to the light, and has literally *carved every rib and vein upon them in relief*; not merely the main ribs which sustain the lobes of the leaf, and actually project in nature, but the irregular and sinuous veins which chequer the membranous tissues between them, and which the sculptor has represented conventionally as relieved like the others, in order to give the vine-leaf its peculiar tessellated effect upon the eye.

§ 38. As must always be the case in early sculpture, the figures are much inferior to the leafage; yet so skilful in many respects, that it was a long time before I could persuade myself that they had indeed been wrought in the first half of the fourteenth century. Fortunately, the date is inscribed upon a monument in the Church of San Simeon Grande, bearing a recumbent statue of the saint, of far finer workmanship, in every respect, than those figures of the Ducal Palace, yet so like them, that I think there can be no question that the head of Noah was wrought by the sculptor of the palace in emulation of that of the statue of St. Simeon.² In this latter sculpture, the face is represented in death; the mouth partly open, the lips thin and sharp, the teeth carefully sculptured beneath; the face full of

¹ [See above, ch. vi. § 45, p. 218.]

² [This statue is again referred to in the next volume, ch. ii. § 52, and Venetian Index.]

quietness and majesty. though very ghastly; the hair and beard flowing in luxuriant wreaths, disposed with the most masterly freedom, yet severity, of design, far down upon the shoulders; the hands crossed upon the body, carefully studied, and the veins and sinews perfectly and easily expressed, yet without any attempt at extreme finish or display of technical skill. This monument bears date 1317,* and its sculptor was justly proud of it; thus recording his name:

“CELAVIT MARCUS OPUS HOC INSIGNE ROMANUS,
LAUDIBUS NON PARCIS EST SUA DIGNA MANUS.”¹

§ 39. The head of the Noah on the Ducal Palace, evidently worked in emulation of this statue, has the same profusion of flowing hair and beard, but wrought in smaller and harder curls; and the veins on the arms and breast are more sharply drawn, the sculptor being evidently more practised in keen and fine lines of vegetation than in those of the figure; so that, which is most remarkable in a workman of this early period, he has failed in telling his story plainly, regret and wonder being so equally marked on the features of all the three brothers, that it is impossible to say which is intended for Ham. Two of the heads of the brothers are seen in the Plate; the third figure is not with the rest of the group, but set at a distance of about twelve feet, on the other side of the arch which springs from the angle capital.

§ 40. It may be observed, as a farther evidence of the date of the group, that, in the figures of all the three youths, the feet are protected simply by a bandage arranged in crossed folds round the ankle and lower part of the limb;² a feature

* “In XRI—NOIE AMEN ANNINCARNATIONIS MCCCXVII. INESETBR.” “In the name of Christ, Amen, in the year of the incarnation, 1317, in the month of September,” etc.

¹ [All previous editions read (and Ruskin wrote) “Romanis” and “Parcus”; the alterations made in the text are obviously required.]

² [Seen clearly in Plate I.]



J. Ruskin.

Allen & Co. N.Y.

The Vine Angle.

of dress which will be found in nearly every piece of figure sculpture in Venice, from the year 1300 to 1380, and of which the traveller may see an example within three hundred yards of this very group, in the bas-reliefs on the tomb of the Doge Andrea Dandolo (in St. Mark's), who died in 1354.¹

§ 41. The figures of Adam and Eve, sculptured on each side of the Fig-tree angle, are more stiff than those of Noah and his sons, but are better fitted for their architectural service;² and the trunk of the tree, with the angular body of the serpent writhed around it, is more nobly treated as a terminal group of lines than that of the vine.

The Renaissance sculptor of the figures of the Judgment of Solomon has very nearly copied the fig-tree from this angle, placing its trunk between the executioner and the mother, who leans forward to stay his hand. But, though the whole group is much more free in design than those of the earlier palace, and in many ways excellent in itself, so that it always strikes the eye of a careless observer more than the others, it is of immeasurably inferior spirit in the workmanship; the leaves of the tree, though far more studiously varied in flow than those of the fig-tree from which they are partially copied, have none of its truth to nature: they are ill set on the stems, bluntly defined on the edges, and their curves are not those of growing leaves, but of wrinkled drapery.³

§ 42. Above these three sculptures are set, in the upper arcade, the statues of the archangels Raphael, Michael, and Gabriel: their positions will be understood by reference to the lowest figure in Plate 17, where that of Raphael above the Vine angle is seen on the right. A diminutive figure of

¹ [This tomb, in the Baptistery, is described above, ch. iv. § 16, p. 86, and again in the next volume, ch. ii. § 61; and details from it are given in Vol. IX. pp. 319, 375. He reigned 1343–1354.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 297, where the "exquisite" adjustment of the workmanship of the figures to their distance from the eye is dwelt upon.]

³ [The "Judgment of Solomon" is by two Tuscan sculptors, Pietro di Nicolo of Florence and Giovanni di Martino of Fiesole—the same who wrought the tomb of the Doge Tomaso Mocenigo, described in the preceding volume, p. 48. The date is thus early Renaissance.]

Tobias follows at his feet, and he bears in his hand a scroll with this inscription:

EFICE Q
SOFRE
TUR AFA
EL REVE
RENDE
QUIETU

i.e., Effice (quæso?) fretum, Raphael reverende, quietum.* I could not decipher the inscription on the scroll borne by the angel Michael;¹ and the figure of Gabriel, which is by much the most beautiful feature of the Renaissance portion of the palace, has only in its hand the Annunciation lily.

§ 43. Such are the subjects of the main sculptures decorating the angles of the palace; notable, observe, for their simple expression of two feelings, the consciousness of human frailty, and the dependence upon Divine guidance and protection: this being, of course, the general purpose of the introduction of the figures of the angels; and, I imagine, intended to be more particularly conveyed by the manner in which the small figure of Tobias follows the steps of

* "Oh, Venerable Raphael, make thou the gulf calm, we beseech thee." The peculiar office of the angel Raphael is, in general, according to tradition, the restraining the harmful influences of evil spirits. Sir Charles Eastlake told me, that sometimes in this office he is represented bearing the gall of the fish caught by Tobias; and reminded me of the peculiar superstitions of the Venetians respecting the raising of storms by fiends, as embodied in the well-known tale of the Fisherman and St. Mark's ring.²

¹ [A note added in the revised (1884) issue of the "Travellers' Edition" says:—

"It was, however, lately (1884) read by a correspondent, thus:—'Ense bonos tego, malorum crimina purgo.'"

This reading was in fact supplied by Ruskin in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 78 (1877), where he describes the sculpture more fully, discussing also and translating the inscription: "With my sword I guard the good, and purge the crimes of the evil."]

² [For this tale, see above, p. 76 *n.* The story of Tobias and the Angel (from the Book of Tobit) was a favourite one with the mediæval painters (see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 74, for Ruskin's account of it); Raphael carrying a small box for the gall of the fish (Tobit, vi. 4) may be seen in a beautiful picture of the Florentine School in the National Gallery, No. 781. Ruskin had made the acquaintance of Sir Charles Eastlake in 1850; see *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake*, vol. i. p. 252.]

Raphael, just touching the hem of his garment. We have next to examine the course of divinity and of natural history embodied by the old sculptor in the great series of capitals which support the lower arcade of the palace; and which, being at a height of little more than eight feet above the eye, might be read, like the pages of a book, by those (the noblest men in Venice) who habitually walked beneath the shadow of this great arcade at the time of their first meeting each other for morning converse.¹

§ 44. The principal sculptures of the capitals consist of personifications of the Virtues and Vices, the favourite subjects of decorative art, at this period, in all the cities of Italy; and there is so much that is significant in the various modes of their distinction and general representation, more especially with reference to their occurrence as expressions of praise to the dead in sepulchral architecture, hereafter to be examined, that I believe the reader may both happily and profitably rest for a little while beneath the first vault of the arcade, to review the manner in which these symbols of the virtues were first invented by the Christian imagination, and the evidence they generally furnish of the state of religious feeling in those by whom they were recognised.

§ 45. In the early ages of Christianity, there was little care taken to analyze character. One momentous question was heard over the whole world,—Dost thou believe in the Lord with all thine heart?² There was but one division among men,—the great unatoneable division between the disciple and adversary. The love of Christ was all, and in all;³ and in proportion to the nearness of their memory of His person and teaching, men understood the infinity of the requirements of the moral law, and the manner in which it alone could be fulfilled. The early Christians felt that virtue, like sin, was a subtle universal thing, entering into every act and thought, appearing outwardly in ten

¹ [The "Travellers' Edition" omits §§ 44–64 inclusive.]

² [See Acts viii. 37.]

³ [Colossians iii. 11.]

thousand diverse ways, diverse according to the separate framework of every heart in which it dwelt; but one and the same always in its proceeding from the love of God, as sin is one and the same in proceeding from hatred of God. And in their pure, early, and practical piety, they saw that there was no need for codes of morality, or systems of metaphysics. Their virtue comprehended everything, entered into everything; it was too vast and too spiritual, to be defined; but there was no need of its definition. For through faith, working by love,¹ they knew that all human excellence would be developed in due order; but that, without faith, neither reason could define, nor effort reach, the lowest phase of Christian virtue. And therefore, when any of the Apostles have occasion to describe or enumerate any forms of vice or virtue by name, there is no attempt at system in their words. They used them hurriedly and energetically, heaping the thoughts one upon another, in order as far as possible to fill the reader's mind with a sense of the infinity both of crime and of righteousness. Hear St. Paul describe sin: "Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful."² There is evidently here an intense feeling of the universality of sin; and in order to express it, the Apostle hurries his words confusedly together, little caring about their order, as knowing all the vices to be indissolubly connected one with another. It would be utterly vain to endeavour to arrange his expressions as if they had been intended for the ground of any system, or to give any philosophical definition of the vices.* So also hear him

* In the original, the succession of the words is evidently suggested partly by similarity of sound; and the sentence is made weighty by an alliteration

¹ [Galatians v. 6.]

² [Romans i. 29–31.]

speaking of virtue: “Rejoice in the Lord. Let your moderation be known unto all men. Be careful for nothing, but in everything let your requests be made known unto God; and whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.”¹ Observe, he gives up all attempt at definition; he leaves the definition to every man’s heart, though he writes so as to mark the overflowing fulness of his own vision of virtue. And so it is in all writings of the Apostles; their manner of exhortation, and the kind of conduct they press, vary according to the persons they address, and the feeling of the moment at which they write, and never show any attempt at logical precision. And, although the words of their Master are not thus irregularly uttered, but are weighed like fine gold, yet, even in His teaching, there is no detailed or organized system of morality; but the command only of that faith and love which were to embrace the whole being of man: “On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”² Here and there an incidental warning against this or that more dangerous form of vice or error, “Take heed and beware of covetousness,” “Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees;” here and there a plain example of the meaning of Christian love, as in the parables of the Samaritan and the Prodigal, and His own perpetual example: these were the elements of Christ’s constant teaching; for the Beatitudes, which are the only approximation to anything like a systematic statement, belong to different conditions and characters of individual men, not

which is quite lost in our translation;³ but the very allowance of influence to these minor considerations is a proof how little any metaphysical order or system was considered necessary in the statement.

¹ [Philippians iv. 4–8.]

² [Matthew xxii. 40. The following references in this section are Matthew xvi. 6; Luke xii. 1, 15; Mark viii. 15; Luke x. 20, xv. 11; and Matthew v. 3–11; 1 Corinthians x. 4, i. 30.]

³ [ItephrwmenouV pash adikia porneia, ponhia, ple jonou . . . asunetouV, asunqetouV, astorgouV, aspondouV. . . .]

to abstract virtues. And all early Christians taught in the same manner. They never cared to expound the nature of this or that virtue; for they knew that the believer who had Christ had all. Did he need fortitude? Christ was his rock: Equity? Christ was his righteousness: Holiness? Christ was his sanctification: Liberty? Christ was his redemption: Temperance? Christ was his ruler: Wisdom? Christ was his light: Truthfulness? Christ was the truth: Charity? Christ was love.

§ 46. Now, exactly in proportion as the Christian religion became less vital, and as the various corruptions which time and Satan brought into it were able to manifest themselves, the person and offices of Christ were less dwelt upon, and the virtues of Christians more. The Life of the Believer became in some degree separated from the Life of Christ; and his virtue, instead of being a stream flowing forth from the throne of God, and descending upon the earth, began to be regarded by him as a pyramid upon earth, which he had to build up, step by step, that from the top of it he might reach the Heavens. It was not possible to measure the waves of the water of life, but it was perfectly possible to measure the bricks of the Tower of Babel; and gradually, as the thoughts of men were withdrawn from their Redeemer, and fixed upon themselves, the virtues began to be squared, and counted, and classified, and put into separate heaps of firsts and seconds; some things being virtuous cardinally, and other things virtuous only north-north-west. It is very curious to put in close juxtaposition the words of the Apostles and of some of the writers of the fifteenth century touching sanctification. For instance, hear first St. Paul to the Thessalonians: "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it."¹ And then the following part of a prayer which I translate from a MS. of the fifteenth

¹ [1 Thessalonians v. 23.]

century: "May He (the Holy Spirit) govern the Five Senses of my body; may He cause me to embrace the Seven Works of Mercy, and firmly to believe and observe the Twelve Articles of the Faith and the Ten Commandments of the Law, and defend me from the Seven Mortal Sins, even to the end."

§ 47. I do not mean that this quaint passage is generally characteristic of the devotion of the fifteenth century: the very prayer out of which it is taken is in other parts exceedingly beautiful:* but the passage is strikingly illustrative of the tendency of the later Romish Church, more especially in its most corrupt condition, just before the Reformation, to throw all religion into forms and ciphers; which tendency, as it affected Christian ethics, was confirmed by the Renaissance enthusiasm for the works of Aristotle and Cicero, from whom

* It occurs in a prayer for the influence of the Holy Spirit, "That He may keep my soul, and direct my way; compose my bearing, and form my thoughts in holiness; may He govern my body, and protect my mind; strengthen me in action, approve my vows, and accomplish my desires; cause me to lead an honest and honourable life, and give me good hope, charity and chastity, humility and patience: may He govern the Five Senses of my body," etc. The following prayer is also very characteristic of this period. It opens with a beautiful address to Christ upon the cross; then proceeds thus: "Grant to us, O Lord, we beseech Thee, this day and ever, the use of penitence, of abstinence, of humility, and chastity; and grant to us light, judgment, understanding, and true knowledge, even to the end." One thing I note in comparing old prayers with modern ones, that however quaint, or however erring, they are always tenfold more condensed, comprehensive, and to their purpose, whatever that may be. There is no dilution in them, no vain or monotonous phraseology. They ask for what is desired plainly and earnestly, and never could be shortened by a syllable. The following series of ejaculations are deep in spirituality, and curiously to our present purpose in the philological quaintness of being built upon prepositions:—

"Domine Jesu Christe, sancta cruce tua apud me sis, ut me defendas.
 Domine Jesu Christe, pro veneranda cruce tua post me sis, ut me gubernes.
 Domine Jesu Christe, pro benedicta cruce tua intra me sis, ut me reficeas.
 Domine Jesu Christe, pro benedicta cruce tua circa me sis, ut me conserves.
 Domine Jesu Christe, pro gloriosa cruce tua ante me sis, ut me deducas.
 Domine Jesu Christe, pro laudanda cruce tua super me sis, ut benedicas.
 Domine Jesu Christe, pro magnifica cruce tua in me sis, ut me ad regnum tuum perducas, per D. N. J. C. Amen."

x.

2 A

the code of the fifteenth century virtues was borrowed, and whose authority was then infinitely more revered by all the Doctors of the Church than that either of St. Paul or St. Peter.

§ 48. Although, however, this change in the tone of the Christian mind was most distinctly manifested when the revival of literature rendered the works of the heathen philosophers the leading study of all the greatest scholars of the period, it had been, as I said before, taking place gradually from the earliest ages. It is, as far as I know, that root of the Renaissance poison-tree, which, of all others, is deepest struck; showing itself in various measures through the writings of all the Fathers, of course exactly in proportion to the respect which they paid to classical authors, especially to Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. The mode in which the pestilent study of that literature affected them may be well illustrated by the examination of a single passage from the works of one of the best of them, St. Ambrose, and of the mode in which that passage was then amplified and formulized¹ by later writers.²

§ 49. Plato, indeed, studied alone, would have done no one any harm. He is profoundly spiritual and capacious³ in all his views, and embraces the small systems of Aristotle and Cicero, as the solar system does the Earth. He seems to me especially remarkable for the sense of the great Christian virtue of Holiness, or sanctification; and for the sense of the presence of the Deity in all things, great or small, which always runs in a solemn under-current beneath his exquisite playfulness and irony; while all the merely moral virtues may be found in his writings defined in the most noble manner, as a great painter defines his figures, *without*

¹ [In the MS. "formalized," but as ed. 1 reads "formulized" Ruskin presumably altered the word in revising; see note on § 51 below.]

² [See below, §§ 51 *seq.*]

³ [Ruskin wrote "capacious," which is the reading in eds. 1 and 2. But some copies of ed. 3 misprinted "capricious," and this error has been repeated in ed. 4 and all subsequent issues. For the "exquisite playfulness" of Plato, see again in the next volume, ch. iii. § 26, and for Ruskin's study of Plato generally, see Vol. I. p. 494*n*. For his views on Aristotle, see below, § 51.]

outlines. But the imperfect scholarship of later ages seems to have gone to Plato, only to find in him the system of Cicero;¹ which indeed was very definitely expressed by him. For it having been quickly felt by all men who strove, unhelped by Christian faith, to enter at the strait gate into the paths of virtue, that there were four characters of mind which were protective or preservative of all that was best in man, namely, Prudence, Justice, Courage, and Temperance,* these were afterwards, with most illogical inaccuracy, called cardinal *virtues*, Prudence being evidently no virtue, but an intellectual gift: but this inaccuracy arose partly from the ambiguous sense of the Latin word “*virtutes*,” which sometimes, in mediæval language, signifies virtues, sometimes powers (being occasionally used in the Vulgate for the word “hosts,” as in Psalm ciii. 21, cxlviii. 2, etc., while “*fortitudines*” and “*exercitus*” are used for the same word in other places), so that prudence might properly be styled a power, though not properly a virtue; and partly from the confusion of Prudence with Heavenly Wisdom. The real rank of these four virtues, if so they are to be called, is however properly expressed by the term “cardinal.” They are virtues of the compass, those by which all others are directed and strengthened; they are not the greatest virtues, but the restraining or modifying virtues, thus Prudence restrains zeal, Justice restrains mercy, Fortitude and Temperance guide the entire system of the passions; and, thus understood, these virtues properly assumed their peculiar leading or guiding position in the system of Christian ethics. But in Pagan ethics, they were not only guiding, but comprehensive. They meant a great deal more on the lips of the ancients than they now express to the

* This arrangement of the cardinal virtues is said to have been first made by Archytas. See D’Ancarville’s illustration of the three figures of Prudence, Fortitude, and Charity, in Selvatico’s “*Cappellina degli Scrovegni*,” Padua, 1836.

¹ [See the *De Officiis*, i. §§ 20 *seq.*, for Justice; §§ 61 *seq.* for Fortitude; and §§ 93 *seq.* for Temperance.]

Christian mind.¹ Cicero's justice includes charity, beneficence, and benignity, truth, and faith in the sense of trustworthiness. His fortitude includes courage, self-command, the scorn of fortune and of all temporary felicities. His temperance includes courtesy and modesty. So also, in Plato, these four virtues constitute the sum of education. I do not remember any more simple or perfect expression of the idea, than in the account given by Socrates, in the "Alcibiades I.," of the education of the Persian kings, for whom, in their youth, there are chosen, he says, four tutors from among the Persian nobles; namely, the Wisest, the most Just, the most Temperate, and the most Brave of them. Then each has a distinct duty: "The Wisest teaches the young king the worship of the gods, and the duties of a king;" (something more here, observe, than our "Prudence!"); "the most Just teaches him to speak all truth, and to act out all truth, through the whole course of his life; the most Temperate teaches him to allow no pleasure to have the mastery of him, so that he may be truly free, and indeed a king; and the most Brave makes him fearless of all things, showing him that the moment he fears anything, he becomes a slave."²

§ 50. All this is exceedingly beautiful, so far as it reaches; but the Christian divines were grievously led astray by their endeavours to reconcile this system with the nobler law of love. At first, as in the passage I am just going to quote from St. Ambrose, they tried to graft the Christian system on the four branches of the Pagan one; but finding that the tree would not grow, they planted the Pagan and Christian branches side by side; adding to the four cardinal virtues the three called by the schoolmen theological, namely, Faith, Hope, and Charity; the one series considered as attainable by

¹ [Ruskin in re-reading this chapter in later times was not satisfied with this § 49; he has written, in his own copy, against the page ending at this point "all wrong."]

² [*Alcibiades I.*, 122. Ruskin himself tried to influence the education of princes. See his conversations, cited above, p. xxxiii., with one of his present Majesty's tutors, and, in a later volume of this edition, a long letter to another. Upon the late Duke of Albany Ruskin's influence was considerable, as will also appear in a later volume.]

the Heathen, but the other by the Christian only. Thus Virgil to Sordello:

“Loco e laggiù, non tristo da martiri
Ma di tenebre solo, ove i lamenti
Non suonan come guai, ma son sospiri:

Quivi sto io, con quei che le tre sante
Virtù non si vestiro, e senza vizio
Conobber l' altre, e seguir, tutte quante.”

“There I with those abide
Who the Three Holy Virtues put not on,
But understood the rest, and without blame
Followed them all.”

—CARY.¹

§ 51. This arrangement of the virtues was, however, productive of infinite confusion and error: in the first place, because Faith is classed with its own fruits,—the gift of God, which is the root of the virtues, classed simply as one of them; in the second, because the words used by the ancients to express the several virtues had always a different meaning from the same expressions in the Bible, sometimes a more extended, sometimes a more limited one. Imagine, for instance, the confusion which must have been introduced into the ideas of a student who read St. Paul and Aristotle alternately; considering that the word which the Greek writer uses for Justice, means, with St. Paul, Righteousness.² And lastly, it is impossible to overrate the mischief produced in former days, as well as in our own, by the mere habit of

¹ [*Purgatorio*, vii. 28–36. In the first draft Ruskin again praised the translation (see above, p. 307): “Cary’s translation is very true and beautiful.” The translation of the three lines first quoted is:—

“There is a place
There underneath, not made by torments sad,
But by dim shades alone; where mourning’s voice
Sounds not of anguish sharp, but breathes in sighs.”]

² [*dikaïosunh*, Plato’s Justice, is regarded by St. Paul as the supreme aim and crown of the Christian life; thus in 2 Timothy iv. 8: *o thV dikaïosunhV steqanoV* (“a crown of righteousness”), and in Romans iv. 3: “Abraham believed God and it was counted unto him for righteousness” (*dikaïousunhn*).]

reading Aristotle, whose system is so false, so forced, and so confused, that the study of it at our universities is quite enough to occasion the utter want of accurate habits of thought, which so often disgraces men otherwise well-educated.¹ In a word, Aristotle mistakes the Prudence or Temperance which must regulate the operation of the virtues, for the essence of the virtues themselves; and striving to show that all virtues are means between two opposite vices, torments his wit to discover and distinguish as many pairs of vices as are necessary to the completion of his system, not disdaining to employ sophistry where invention fails him.

And, indeed,² the study of classical literature, in general, not only fostered in the Christian writers the unfortunate love of systematizing, which gradually degenerated into every species of contemptible formulism,³ but it accustomed them to work out their systems by the help of any logical quibble, or verbal subtlety, which could be made available for their

¹ [To some inquiries from his father about this passage, Ruskin replied as follows:—
 “5th September [1853].— . . . You ask when I began to suspect Aristotle. When I was at Oxford I read him first, and liked the study so much that it was the only book I took up thoroughly, and had I gone up for honours, my principal success, if any, would have been in my philosophy, as Gordon will tell you. I once knew nearly the half of Aristotle’s *Ethics* word for word, by heart, and deliberately set myself to learn the whole but gave it up, finding the difficulty increase in proportion to the quantity I knew. I saw there were some flaws in the thing then, and marked one or two, but did not see the fallacy of the *system*. When, however, I began the *Rhetoric*, I thought it so weak and foolish that I began to suspect the *Ethics*. They were, I think, the only Greek book I carried with me on our long journey to Italy [1840–1841], when I took in hand to write a new system of ethics in the form of a corrected and amplified Aristotle. After doing three or four chapters, at Naples, I got puzzled, and out of my depth, and after getting ill again at Albano, I threw the thing aside, and from that time to this I have hardly read anything [on philosophy] but Plato and Bacon, who gradually drew me into clear water and into my depth again, and at last showed me that the ethics were a mere bog of glittering mud, which fact I mean to prove and maintain. I have the chapters still, written at Naples, and quantities of abstracts of the *Ethics*, which will serve me conveniently for reference.”

For Ruskin’s opinion of Aristotle, see also Vol. I. pp. xxxv. n., 419, and *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. Appendix 3.]

² [Here, again, Ruskin was not in after years sure of this section. Against the paragraph “And, indeed . . .” he wrote in his only copy “Examine.”]

³ [Here, again, the MS. has “formalism” (*cf.* above, § 48) but ed. 1 “formulism,” a word first used by Carlyle in his *Heroes* (1840).]

purpose, and this not with any dishonest intention, but in a sincere desire to arrange their ideas in systematical groups, while yet their powers of thought were not accurate enough, nor their common sense stern enough, to detect the fallacy, or disdain the finesse, by which these arrangements were frequently accomplished.

§ 52. Thus St. Ambrose, in his commentary on Luke vi. 20, is resolved to transform the four Beatitudes there described into rewards of the four cardinal Virtues, and sets himself thus ingeniously to the task:

“ ‘Blessed be ye poor.’ Here you have Temperance. ‘Blessed are ye that hunger now.’ He who hungers, pities those who are an-hungered; in pitying, he gives to them, and in giving he becomes just (*largiendo fit justus*). ‘Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh.’ Here you have Prudence, whose part it is to weep, so far as present things are concerned, and to seek the things which are eternal. ‘Blessed are ye when men shall hate you.’ Here you have Fortitude.”

§ 53. As a preparation for this profitable exercise of wit, we have also a reconciliation of the Beatitudes as stated by St. Matthew, with those of St. Luke, on the ground that “in those eight are these four, and in these four are those eight;” with sundry remarks on the mystical value of the number eight, with which I need not trouble the reader. With St. Ambrose, however, this puerile systematization is quite subordinate to a very forcible and truthful exposition of the real nature of the Christian life. But the classification he employs furnishes ground for farther subtleties to future divines; and in a MS. of the thirteenth century I find some expressions in this commentary on St. Luke, and in the treatise on the duties of bishops, amplified into a treatise on the “Steps of the Virtues: by which every one who perseveres may, by a straight path, attain to the heavenly country of the Angels.” (“*Liber de Gradibus Virtutum: quibus ad patriam angelorum supernam itinere recto ascenditur ab omni perseverante.*”) These Steps are thirty in number (one expressly for each day

of the month), and the curious mode of their association renders the list well worth quoting:—

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| § 54. | Primus gradus est | Fides recta. | Unerring faith. |
| | Secundus | Spes firma. | Firm hope. |
| | Tertius | Caritas perfecta. | Perfect charity. |
| | 4. | Patientia vera. | True patience. |
| | 5. | Humilitas sancta. | Holy humility. |
| | 6. | Mansuetudo. | Meekness. |
| | 7. | Intelligentia. | Understanding. |
| | 8. | Compunctio cordis. | Contrition of heart. |
| | 9. | Oratio. | Prayer. |
| | 10. | Confessio pura. | Pure confession. |
| | 11. | Penitentia digna. | Fitting penance.* |
| | 12. | Abstinentia. | Abstinence (fasting). |
| | 13. | Timor Dei. | Fear of God. |
| | 14. | Virginitas. | Virginity. |
| | 15. | Justicia. | Justice. |
| | 16. | Misericordia. | Mercy. |
| | 17. | Elemosina. | Almsgiving. |
| | 18. | Hospitalitas. | Hospitality. |
| | 19. | Honor parentum. | Honouring of parents. |
| | 20. | Silencium. | Silence. |
| | 21. | Consilium bonum. | Good counsel. |
| | 22. | Judicium rectum. | Right judgment. |
| | 23. | Exemplum bonum. | Good example. |
| | 24. | Visitatio infirmorum. | Visitation of the sick. |
| | 25. | Frequentatio sanctorum. | Companying with saints. |
| | 26. | Oblatio justa. | Just oblations. |
| | 27. | Decimas Deo solvere. | Paying tithes to God. |
| | 28. | Sapientia. | Wisdom. |
| | 29. | Voluntas bona. | Goodwill. |
| | 30. | Perseverantia. | Perseverance. |

§ 55. The reader will note that the general idea of Christian virtue embodied in this list is true, exalted, and beautiful; the points of weakness being the confusion of duties with virtues, and the vain endeavour to enumerate the various offices of charity as so many separate virtues; more frequently arranged as seven distinct works of mercy. This general

* Or penitence: but I rather think this is understood only in *Compunctio cordis*.

tendency to a morbid accuracy of classification was associated, in later times, with another very important element of the Renaissance mind, the love of personification; which appears to have reached its greatest vigour in the course of the sixteenth century, and is expressed to all future ages, in a consummate manner, in the poem of Spenser. It is to be noted that personification is, in some sort, the reverse of symbolism, and is far less noble.¹ Symbolism is the setting forth of a great truth by an imperfect and inferior sign (as, for instance, of the hope of the resurrection by the form of the phoenix); and it is almost always employed by men in their most serious moods of faith, rarely in recreation. Men who use symbolism forcibly are almost always true believers in what they symbolize. But personification is the bestowing of a human or living form upon an abstract idea: it is, in most cases, a mere recreation of the fancy, and is apt to disturb the belief in the reality of the thing personified. Thus symbolism constituted the entire system of the Mosaic dispensation: it occurs in every word of Christ's teaching; it attaches perpetual mystery to the last and most solemn act of His life. But I do not recollect a single instance of personification in any of His words. And as we watch, thenceforward, the history of the Church, we shall find the declension of its faith exactly marked by the abandonment of symbolism,* and the profuse employment of personification,—even to such an extent that the virtues came, at last, to be confused with the saints; and we find in the later Litanies, St. Faith, St. Hope, St. Charity, and St. Chastity, invoked immediately after St. Clara and St. Bridget.

§ 56. Nevertheless, in the hands of its early and earnest masters, in whom fancy could not overthrow the foundations of faith, personification is often thoroughly noble and

* The transformation of a symbol into a reality, observe, as in transubstantiation, is as much an abandonment of symbolism as the forgetfulness of symbolic meaning altogether.

¹ [On this distinction, see also C. T. Newton in Appendix 21, Vol. IX. p. 461; and on the subject of symbolism, see in the next volume, ch. iii. §§ 63, 64; ch. iv. § 10.]

lovely; the earlier conditions of it being just as much more spiritual and vital than the later ones, as the still earlier symbolism was more spiritual than they. Compare, for instance, Dante's burning Charity, running and returning at the wheels of the chariot of God,—

"So ruddy, that her form had scarce
Been known within a furnace of clear flame,"¹

with Reynolds' Charity, a nurse in a white dress, climbed upon by three children.* And not only so, but the number and nature of the virtues differ considerably in the statements of different poets and painters, according to their own views of religion, or to the manner of life they had in mind to illustrate. Giotto, for instance, arranges his system altogether differently at Assisi, where he is setting forth the monkish life, and in the Arena Chapel, where he treats of that of mankind in general, and where, therefore, he gives only the so-called theological and cardinal virtues; while, at Assisi, the three principal virtues are those which are reported to have appeared in vision to St. Francis, Chastity, Obedience, and Poverty: Chastity being attended by Fortitude, Purity, and Penance; Obedience by Prudence and Humility; Poverty by Hope and Charity.² The systems vary with almost every writer, and in almost every important work of art which embodies them, being more or less spiritual according to the power of intellect by which they were conceived. The most noble in literature are, I suppose, those

* On the window of New College, Oxford.³

¹ [*Purgatorio*, xxix. 112. For other references to Dante's Charity, see below, § 82, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 7.]

² [For Giotto's "Poverty" at Assisi, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 4, 5; for his frescoes in the Arena Chapel, *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 5 (where "Hope" is the frontispiece), 7 ("Charity," frontispiece), 11 ("Justice," frontispiece). For detailed remarks on Giotto's Virtues, see below—Prudence, § 84; Fortitude, § 79; Temperance, § 80; Justice, § 83; Faith, § 78; Hope, § 85. Illustrations of Giotto's Virtues at Padua (other than those given in *Fors*) will be found in a later volume of this edition containing *Giotto and his Works in Padua*.]

³ [For the window in the ante-chapel of New College painted from the design of Reynolds, see *The Two Paths*, Appendix ii.]

of Dante and Spenser: and with these we may compare five of the most interesting series in the early art of Italy; namely, those of Orcagna, Giotto, and Simon Memmi, at Florence and Padua, and those of St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace at Venice.¹ Of course, in the richest of these series, the vices are personified together with the virtues, as in the Ducal Palace; and by the form or name of opposed vice, we may often ascertain, with much greater accuracy than would otherwise be possible, the particular idea of the contrary virtue in the mind of the writer or painter. Thus, when opposed to Prudence, or Prudentia, on the one side, we find Folly, or Stultitia, on the other, it shows that the virtue understood by Prudence is not the mere guiding or cardinal virtue, but the Heavenly Wisdom,* opposed to that folly which hath said in its heart, "There is no God;" and of which it is said, "The thought of foolishness is sin;" and again, "Such as be foolish shall not stand in Thy sight."² This folly is personified, in early painting and illumination, by a half-naked man, greedily eating an apple or other fruit, and brandishing a club; showing that sensuality and violence are the two principal characteristics of Foolishness, and lead into atheism. The figure, in early Psalters, always forms the letter D, which commences the fifty-third Psalm, "*Dixit insipiens.*"

§ 57. In reading Dante, this mode of reasoning from contraries is a great help, for his philosophy of the vices is the only one which admits of classification; his descriptions of virtue, while they include the ordinary formal divisions, are far too profound and extended to be brought under definition. Every line of the *Paradise* is full of the most exquisite and spiritual expressions of Christian truth; and that poem is only less read than the "Inferno," because it

* Uniting the three ideas expressed by the Greek philosophers under the terms, *qronhsiv*, *soqia*, and *episthmh*; and part of the idea of *swqrosunh*.

¹ [See below, § 63 *n.*]

² [Psalms xiv. 1; Proverbs xxiv. 9; Psalms v. 5.]

requires far greater attention, and, perhaps, for its full enjoyment, a holier heart.

§ 58. His system in the *Inferno* is briefly this. The whole nether world is divided into seven circles, deep within deep, in each of which, according to its depth, severer punishment is inflicted. These seven circles, reckoning them downwards, are thus allotted:

1. To those who have lived virtuously, but knew not Christ.
2. To Lust.
3. To Gluttony.
4. To Avarice and Extravagance.
5. To Anger and *Sorrow*.
6. To Heresy.
7. To Violence and Fraud.

This seventh circle is divided into two parts; of which the first, reserved for those who have been guilty of violence, is again divided into three, apportioned severally to those who have committed, or desired to commit, violence against their neighbours, against themselves, or against God.

The lowest hell, reserved for the punishment of Fraud, is itself divided into ten circles, wherein are severally punished the sins of—

1. Betraying women.
2. Flattery.
3. Simony.
4. False prophecy.
5. Peculation.
6. Hypocrisy.
7. Theft.
8. False counsel.
9. Schism and Imposture.
10. Treachery to those who repose entire trust in the traitor.

§ 59. There is, perhaps, nothing more notable in this most interesting system than the profound truth couched under the attachment of so terrible a penalty to sadness or sorrow.

It is true that Idleness does not elsewhere appear in the scheme, and is evidently intended to be included in the guilt of sadness by the word “accidioso;” but the main meaning of the poet is to mark the duty of rejoicing in God, according both to St. Paul’s command, and Isaiah’s promise, “Thou meetest him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness.”* I do not know words that might with more benefit be borne with us, and set in our hearts momentarily against the minor regrets and rebelliousnesses of life, than these simple ones:

“Tristi fummo
Nell’ aer dolce, che del sol s’ allegra,
Or ci attristiam, nella belletta negra.”¹

“We once were sad,
In the sweet air, made gladsome by the sun,
Now in these murky settlings are we sad.”† —CARY.

The virtue usually opposed to this vice of sullenness is Alacritas, uniting the sense of activity and cheerfulness. Spenser has cheerfulness simply, in his description, never enough to be loved or praised, of the virtues of Womanhood; first, feminineness or womanhood in specialty; then,—

“Next to her sate goodly Shamefastnesse,
Ne ever durst her eyes from ground upreare,
Ne ever once did looke up from her desse,‡
As if some blame of evill she did feare
That in her cheekes made roses oft appeare:
And her against sweet Cherefulnessse was placed,
Whose eyes, like twinkling stars in evening cleare,
Were deckt with smyles that all sad humours chaced.

* Isa. lxiv. 5.

† I can hardly think it necessary to point out to the reader the association between sacred cheerfulness and solemn thought, or to explain any appearance of contradiction between passages in which (as above in Chap. V.) I have had to oppose sacred pensiveness to unholy mirth, and those in which I have to oppose sacred cheerfulness to unholy sorrow.

‡ “Desse,” seat [dais].

¹ [*Inferno*, vii. 121. Ruskin omits the line (before the last one) containing the word just referred to, “accidioso”—“Portando dentro accidioso fummo”: “Carrying a foul and lazy mist within.”]

“And next to her sate sober Modestie,
 Holding her hand upon her gentle hart;
 And her against, sate comely Curtesie,
That unto every person knew her part;
 And her before was seated overthwart
 Soft Silence, and submisse Obedience,
 Both linckt together never to dispart.”¹

§ 60. Another notable point in Dante’s system is the intensity of uttermost punishment given to treason, the peculiar sin of Italy, and that to which, at this day, she attributes her own misery with her own lips. An Italian, questioned as to the causes of the failure of the campaign of 1848,² always makes one answer, “We were betrayed;” and the most melancholy feature of the present state of Italy is principally this, that she does not see that, of all causes to which failure might be attributed, this is at once the most disgraceful, and the most hopeless. In fact, Dante seems to me to have written almost prophetically, for the instruction of modern Italy, and chiefly so in the sixth canto of the *Purgatorio*.

§ 61. Hitherto we have been considering the system of the *Inferno* only. That of the *Purgatorio* is much simpler, it being divided into seven districts, in which the souls are severally purified from the sins of Pride, Envy, Wrath, Indifference, Avarice, Gluttony, and Lust;³ the poet thus implying in opposition, and describing in various instances, the seven virtues of Humility, Kindness,* Patience, Zeal, Poverty, Abstinence, and Chastity, as adjuncts of the

* Usually called Charity; but this virtue in its full sense is one of the attendant spirits by the Throne; the Kindness here meant is Charity with a special object; or Friendship and Kindness, as opposed to Envy, which has always, in like manner, a special object. Hence the love of Orestes and Pylades is given as an instance of the virtue of Friendship; and the Virgin’s “They have no wine,” at Cana, of general kindness and sympathy with others’ pleasure.

¹ [*Faerie Queene*, book iv. canto x. 50, 51. At the end of the first stanza a line is omitted, “And darted forth delights the which her goodly graced.”]

² [For another reference to this abortive campaign in the struggle for Italian independence against Austria, see above, p. 10.]

³ [See cantos x.-xxv. The love of Orestes and Pylades is referred to in canto xiii. 29; “They have no wine” (John ii. 3), in xiii. 26.]

Christian character, in which it may occasionally fail, while the essential group of the three theological and four cardinal virtues are represented as in direct attendance on the chariot of the Deity; and all the sins of Christians are in the seventeenth canto traced to the deficiency or aberration of Affection.

§ 62. The system of Spenser is unfinished, and exceedingly complicated, the same vices and virtues occurring under different forms in different places, in order to show their different relations to each other. I shall not therefore give any general sketch of it, but only refer to the particular personification of each virtue in order to compare it with that of the Ducal Palace.* The peculiar superiority of his system is in its exquisite setting forth of Chastity under the figure of Britomart; not monkish chastity, but that of the purest Love. In completeness of personification he is rarely equalled;¹ not even in Dante do I remember anything quite so great as the description of the Captain of the Lusts of the Flesh:

“As pale and wan as ashes was his looke;
His body leane and meagre as a rake;
And skin all withered like a dryed rooke;
Thereto as cold and dreary as a snake;
That seemed to tremble evermore, and quake;
All in a canvas thin he was bedight,
And girded with a belt of twisted brake;
Upon his head he wore an helmet light,
Made of a dead man’s skull.”

* The *Faerie Queen*, like Dante’s *Paradise*, is only half estimated, because few persons take the pains to think out its meaning. I have put a brief analysis of the first book in Appendix 2, Vol. III.; which may perhaps induce the reader to follow out the subject for himself. No time devoted to profane literature will be better rewarded than that spent *earnestly* on Spenser.²

¹ [The words “he is rarely equalled” are Ruskin’s correction in his copy for revision for “no one can approach him” in all editions hitherto. Ruskin refers to the passage below, § 100, as requiring this correction.]

² [Ruskin, it will be seen, had been studying Spenser to better purpose than in earlier days when he found the *Faerie Queene* “heavy”: see Vol. IV. p. 131 *n.*]

He rides upon a tiger, and in his hand is a bow, bent:

“And many arrows under his right side,. . .
Headed with flint, and feathers bloody dide.”¹

The horror and the truth of this are beyond everything that I know, out of the pages of Inspiration. Note the heading of the arrows with flint, because sharper and more subtle in the edge than steel, and because steel might consume away with rust, but flint not; and consider in the whole description how the wasting away of body and soul together, and the *coldness* of the heart, which unholy fire has consumed into ashes, and the loss of all power, and the kindling of all terrible impatience, and the implanting of thorny and inextricable griefs are set forth by the various images, the belt of brake, the tiger steed, and the *light* helmet, girding the head with death.

§ 63. Perhaps the most interesting series of the Virtues expressed in Italian art are those above mentioned of Simon Memmi in the Spanish chapel at Florence, of Ambrogio di Lorenzo in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena,² of Orcagna in Or San Michele at Florence, of Giotto at Padua and Assisi, in mosaic on the central cupola of St. Mark’s, and in sculpture on the pillars of the Ducal Palace. The first two series are carefully described by Lord Lindsay; both are too complicated for comparison with the more simple series of the Ducal Palace:

¹ [*Faerie Queene*, book ii. canto xi. 21, 22.]

² [In all previous editions, and in the MS., “Pisa”—an obvious slip of the pen for Siena. The reference is to the celebrated frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1337) in the Palazzo Pubblico of that city, representing Good and Bad Government. A beautiful figure impersonating Siena is shown with Wisdom over her head; at her side is Justice. A throng of citizens pass toward Good Government, represented as a grave and reverend Seignior, enthroned between Magnanimity, Temperance, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Peace. The Virtues in the Spanish Chapel are described in *Mornings in Florence*, § 85. Those by Orcagna are in white marble in his celebrated tabernacle executed between 1348 and 1359; the tabernacle is noticed in the *Review of Lord Lindsay’s “Christian Art,”* § 62 (Vol. XII.). The Virtues in mosaic on the central cupola of St. Mark’s are described in *St. Mark’s Rest*, §§. 127–131. There is also a sculptured series of Virtues on one of the archivolts of the main door; see note on p. 316, above, and the reference there given. Another series of Virtues, which Ruskin afterwards analysed and described, is on the Cathedral of Amiens: see *The Bible of Amiens*, ch. iv. (“Interpretations”).]

the other four of course agree in giving first the cardinal and evangelical virtues; their variations in the statement of the rest will be best understood by putting them in a parallel arrangement.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------------------|
| ST. MARK'S. | ORCAGNA. | GIOTTO. | DUCAL PALACE. |
| Constancy. | Perseverance. | | Constancy. |
| Modesty. | | | Modesty. |
| Chastity. | Virginitv. | Chastity. | Chastity. |
| Patience. | Patience. | | Patience. |
| Mercy. | | | |
| Abstinence. | | | Abstinence? ¹ |
| Piety.* | Devotion. | | |
| Benignity. | | | |
| Humility. | Humility. | Humility. | Humility. |
| | Obedience. | Obedience. | Obedience. |
| | Docility. | | |
| | Caution. | | |
| | | Poverty. | <i>Honesty.</i> |
| | | | <i>Liberality.</i> |
| | | | <i>Alacrity.</i> |

§ 64. It is curious, that in none of these lists do we find either *Honesty* or *Industry* ranked as a virtue, except in the Venetian one, where the latter is implied in *Alacritas*, and opposed not only by "Accidia" or sloth, but by a whole series of eight sculptures on another capital, illustrative, as I believe, of the temptations to idleness;² while various other capitals, as we shall see presently, are devoted to the representation of the active trades. Industry, in Northern art and Northern morality, assumes a very principal place. I have seen in French manuscripts the virtues reduced to these seven, Charity, Chastity, Patience, Abstinence, Humility, Liberality, and Industry: and I doubt whether, if we

* Inscribed, I believe, *Pietas*, meaning general reverence and godly fear.³

¹ [Queried by Ruskin, because the figure is obscure: see below, § 101.]

² [See below, § 103, p. 410.]

³ [This was a mistake; see the corrected list in *St. Mark's Rest*. In addition to the cardinal (p. 371, above) and evangelical virtues (p. 372), the mosaics include the eight others in the above list, and the ninth is not "Piety," but "Compulsion" (compassion, or compunction).]

were but to add Honesty (or Truth), a wiser or shorter list could be made out.

§ 65. We will now take the pillars of the Ducal Palace in their order. It has already been mentioned¹ (Vol. I. Chap. I. § 46) that there are, in all, thirty-six great pillars supporting the lower story; and that these are to be counted from right to left, because then the more ancient of them come first: and that, thus arranged, the first, which is not a shaft, but a pilaster, will be the support of the Vine angle; the eighteenth will be the great shaft of the Fig-tree angle; and the thirty-sixth, that of the Judgment angle.

§ 66. All their capitals, except that of the first, are octagonal, and are decorated by sixteen leaves, differently enriched in every capital, but arranged in the same way; eight of them rising to the angles, and there forming volutes; the eight others set between them, on the sides, rising half-way up the bell of the capital; there nodding forward, and showing above them, rising out of their luxuriance, the groups or single figures which we have to examine.* In some instances, the intermediate or lower leaves are reduced to eight sprays of foliage; and the capital is left dependent for its effect on the bold position of the figures. In referring to the figures on the octagonal capitals, I shall call the outer side, fronting either the Sea or the Piazzetta, the first side; and so count round from left to right; the fifth² side being thus, of course, the innermost. As, however, ever, the first five arches were walled up after the great fire, only three sides of their capitals are left visible, which

* I have given one of these capitals carefully already in my folio work, and hope to give most of the others in due time.³ It was of no use to draw them here, as the scale would have been too small to allow me to show the expression of the figures.

¹ [At this point—"It has already been mentioned"—the "Travellers' Edition" resumes: see above, § 43 n.]

² [By a slip of the pen Ruskin wrote "fourth," which has appeared in all previous editions. He reads the capitals, it should be noted, from right to left, from the *spectator's* point of view; as will be seen by comparing the description of Capital No. 20 with the plate of it (No. 1 in the *Examples* in Vol. XI.). The first five arches are no longer walled up. For a list showing which capitals have been renewed, see below, p. 465.]

³ [Capital No. 20; Plate 1 in the *Examples*. The additional plates in contemplation were not issued.]

we may describe as the front and the eastern and western sides of each.

§ 67. FIRST CAPITAL: *i.e.* of the pilaster at the Vine angle.

In front, towards the Sea. A child holding a bird before him, with its wings expanded, covering his breast.

On its eastern side. Children's heads among leaves.

On its western side. A child carrying in one hand a comb; in the other a pair of scissors.¹

It appears curious, that this, the principal pilaster of the façade, should have been decorated only by these graceful grotesques, for I can hardly suppose them anything more. There may be meaning in them, but I will not venture to conjecture any, except the very plain and practical meaning conveyed by the last figure to all Venetian children, which it would be well if they would act upon. For the rest, I have seen the comb introduced in grotesque work as early as the thirteenth century, but generally for the purpose of ridiculing too great care in dressing the hair, which assuredly is not its purpose here. The children's heads are very sweet and full of life, but the eyes sharp and small.

§ 68. SECOND CAPITAL. Only three sides of the original work are left unburied by the mass of added wall. Each side has a bird, one web-footed, with a fish; one clawed, with a serpent, which opens its jaws, and darts its tongue at the bird's breast; the third pluming itself, with a feather between the mandibles of its bill. It is by far the most beautiful of the three capitals decorated with birds.²

THIRD CAPITAL. Also has three sides only left. They have three heads, large, and very ill cut; one female, and crowned.³

¹ [This capital (renewed) now shows six sides; 1, 2, and 6 in Ruskin's plan of enumeration are described in the text; 3 shows an old man, his hands resting on acanthus leaves; 4, a man in the prime of life, with tasselled cap, holding a tumbler in his left hand, and a graving tool (?) in his right; 5, a young man in a tall cap, with a razor in the left hand. For the probable sequence of these subjects, see below, p. 468.]

² [Namely, Nos. 2, 4, 11. This capital (renewed) now shows all its eight sides. The bird on sides 1-5 is a swan. Side 1, with serpent; 2, with fish; 3, biting its wing; 4, with head near the ground; 5, picking up food; 6, a hawk (?); 7, eagle; 8, a bird pluming its feathers.]

³ [This capital also is new; side 1, female head with jewelled cap; 2-8, male heads; 2, with helmet with a cross on it; 3, with turbaned cap; 4, with chequer-work cap; 5, with cap; 6, bare-headed; 7, old man with worked turban; 8, young man with curly hair.]

FOURTH CAPITAL. Has three children.¹ The eastern one is defaced: the one in front holds a small bird, whose plumage is beautifully indicated, in its right hand; and with its left holds up half a walnut, showing the nut inside: the third holds a fresh fig, cut through, showing the seeds.

The hair of all the three children is differently worked; the first has luxuriant flowing hair, and a double chin; the second, light flowing hair falling in pointed locks on the forehead; the third, crisp curling hair, deep cut with drill holes.

This capital has been copied on the Renaissance side of the palace, only with such changes in the ideal of the children as the workmen thought expedient and natural.² It is highly interesting to compare the child of the fourteenth with the child of the fifteenth century. The early heads are full of youthful life, playful, humane, affectionate, beaming with sensation and vivacity, but with much manliness and firmness also, not a little cunning, and some cruelty perhaps, beneath all; the features small and hard, and the eyes keen. There is the making of rough and great men in them. But the children of the fifteenth century are dull smooth-faced dunces, without a single meaning line in the fatness of their stolid cheeks; and, although, in the vulgar sense, as handsome as the other children are ugly, capable of becoming nothing but perfumed coxcombs.

FIFTH CAPITAL. Still three sides only left,³ bearing three half-length statues of kings; this is the first capital which bears any inscription. In front, a king with a sword in his right hand points to a handkerchief embroidered and fringed, with a head on it, carved on the cavetto of the abacus. His name is written above, "TITUS VESPASIAN IMPERATOR" (contracted IRAT.).

¹ [Now 8 sides, those described in the text being 1 and 8; 2, child with bunch of grapes; 3, with right hand raised to its cheek; 4, feeding a bird; 5, holding a dead bird; 6, with apple; 7, with a bunch of cherries.]

² [See Capital 35, below, § 126.]

³ [Again, a new capital. Sides 1, 2, and 8 described in the text; 3, king with a lily sceptre, inscribed (in the usual Latin) "Priam, King of Troy"; 4, Nebuchadnezzar; 5, Alexander; 6, Darius; 7, Julius Cæsar.]

On eastern side, "TRAJANUS IMPERATOR." Crowned, a sword in right hand, and sceptre in left.

On western, "(OCT) AVIANUS AUGUSTUS IMPERATOR." The "OCT" is broken away. He bears a globe in his right hand, with 'MUNDUS PACIS' upon it; a sceptre in his left, which I think has terminated in a human figure. He has a flowing beard and a singularly high crown; the face is much injured, but has once been very noble in expression.

SIXTH CAPITAL. Has large male and female heads, very coarsely cut, hard, and bad.¹

§ 69. SEVENTH CAPITAL. This is the first of the series which is complete; the first open arch of the lower arcade being between it and the sixth. It begins the representation of the Virtues.

First side. Largitas, or Liberality: always distinguished from the higher Charity. A male figure, with his lap full of money, which he pours out of his hand. The coins are plain, circular, and smooth; there is no attempt to mark device upon them. The inscription above is, "LARGITAS ME ONORAT."

In the copy of this design on the twenty-fifth capital, instead of showering out the gold from his open hand, the figure holds it in a plate or salver, introduced for the sake of disguising the direct imitation. The changes thus made in the Renaissance pillars are always injuries.

The virtue is the proper opponent of Avarice; though it does not occur in the systems of Orcagna or Giotto, being included in Charity. It was a leading virtue with Aristotle and the other ancients.

§ 70. *Second side.* Constancy; not very characteristic. An armed man with a sword in his hand, inscribed, "CONSTANTIA SUM, NIL TIMENS."

This virtue is one of the forms of fortitude, and Giotto therefore sets as the vice opponent to Fortitude, "Inconstantia," represented as a woman in loose drapery, falling from a rolling globe. The vision seen in the interpreter's house in the *Pilgrim's Progress*,² of the man with a very

¹ [New capital; the heads are now all female.]

² [Page 30 in the "Golden Treasury" edition.]

bold countenance, who says to him who has the writer's ink-horn by his side, "Set down my name," is the best personification of the Venetian "Constantia" of which I am aware in literature. It would be well for us all to consider whether we have yet given the order to the man with the ink-horn, "Set down my name."

§ 71. *Third side*. Discord; holding up her finger, but needing the inscription above to assure us of her meaning, "DISCORDIA SUM, DISCORDANS." In the Renaissance copy¹ she is a meek and nun-like person with a veil.

She is the Atë of Spenser; "mother of debate," thus described in the fourth book:²

"Her face most fowle and filthy was to see,
With squinted eyes contrarie wayes intended;
And loathly mouth, unmeete a mouth to bee,
That nought but gall and venim comprehended,
And wicked wordes that God and man offended:
Her lying tongue was in two parts divided,
And both the parts did speake, and both contended;
And as her tongue, so was her hart discided,
That never thought one thing, but doubly stil was guided."

Note the fine old meaning of "discided," cut in two; it is a great pity we have lost this powerful expression. We might keep "determined" for the other sense of the word.

§ 72. *Fourth side*. Patience. A female figure, very expressive and lovely, in a hood, with her right hand on her breast, the left extended, inscribed "PATIENTIA MANET MECUM."

She is one of the principal virtues in all the Christian systems, a masculine virtue in Spenser, and beautifully placed as the *Physician* in the House of Holinesse.³ The opponent vice, Impatience, is one of the hags who attend the Captain of the Lusts of the Flesh;⁴ the other being Impotence. In like manner, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*⁵ the

¹ [Capital No. 28.]

² [Canto i. 27.]

³ [Book i. canto x. 23. Compare Ruskin's analysis in *The Cestus of Aglaia* (ch. iii.) of Chaucer's "Dame Pacience"; and see the report of his Oxford lecture on "Patience," given in E. T. Cook's *Studies in Ruskin*, Appendix iii., and reprinted in a later volume of this edition.]

⁴ [Book ii. canto xi. 23.]

⁵ [Page 27 in the "Golden Treasury" edition.]

opposite of Patience is Passion; but Spenser's thought is farther carried. His two hags, Impatience and Impotence, as attendant upon the evil spirit of Passion, embrace all the phenomena of human conduct, down even to the smallest matters, according to the adage, "More haste, worse speed."

§ 73. *Fifth side*. Despair. A female figure thrusting a dagger into her throat, and tearing her long hair, which flows down among the leaves of the capital below her knees. One of the finest figures of the series; inscribed "DESPERACIO MÔS (mortis?) CRUDELIS." In the Renaissance copy she is totally devoid of expression, and appears, instead of tearing her hair, to be dividing it into long curls on each side.

This vice is the proper opposite of Hope. By Giotto she is represented as a woman hanging herself, a fiend coming for her soul.¹ Spenser's vision of Despair is well known, it being indeed currently reported that this part of the *Faerie Queen* was the first which drew to it the attention of Sir Philip Sidney.²

§ 74. *Sixth side*. Obedience: with her arms folded; meek, but rude and commonplace, looking at a little dog standing on its hind legs and begging, with a collar round its neck. Inscribed "OBEDIENTI * *;" the rest of the sentence is much defaced, but looks like AONOBO.

I suppose the note of contraction above the final A has disappeared, and that the inscription was "Obedientiam domino exhibeo."³

This virtue is, of course, a principal one in the monkish systems; represented by Giotto at Assisi as "an angel robed in black, placing the finger of his left hand on his

¹ [Giotto's "Despair" is in the Arena Chapel. See *Giotto and his Works in Padua* in a later volume of this edition.]

² [The description of Despair is in book i. canto ix. 36. Sidney died in 1586, and the *Faerie Queene* was not published till 1590, but parts of it are known to have been in existence and shown to the poet's friends in 1579–1580. Mr. Grosart, however, considers as "semi-legendary" "the anecdote that the Cave of Despair was submitted to Sir Philip Sidney—to his ecstasy" (see *The Complete Works of Edmund Spenser*, edited by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, 1882–1884, vol. i. p. 154.)]

³ [Or, perhaps, "Obedientiam honoram exhibeo."]

mouth, and passing the yoke over the head of a Franciscan monk kneeling at his feet.”*

Obedience holds a less principal place in Spenser. We have seen her above [§ 59] associated with the other peculiar virtues of womanhood.

§ 75. *Seventh side*. Infidelity. A man in a turban, with a small image in his hand, or the image of a child. Of the inscription nothing but “INFIDELITATE * * *” and some fragmentary letters, “ILI, CERO,” remain.¹

By Giotto Infidelity is most nobly symbolised as a woman helmeted, the helmet having a broad rim which keeps the light from her eyes. She is covered with a heavy drapery, stands infirmly as if about to fall, is *bound by a cord round her neck to an image* which she carries in her hand, and has flames bursting forth at her feet.

In Spenser, Infidelity is the Saracen knight Sans Foy,—

“Full large of limbe and every joint
He was, and cared not for God or man a point.”²

For the part which he sustains in the contest with Godly Fear, or the Red-cross Knight, see Appendix 2, Vol. III.

“**MODESTIA ROBUSTITIA.**”³

§ 76. *Eighth side*. Modesty; bearing a pitcher. (In the Renaissance copy, a vase like a coffee-pot.) Inscribed

I do not find this virtue in any of the Italian series, except that of Venice. In Spenser she is of course one of those attendant on Womanhood, but occurs as one of the tenants of the Heart of Man, thus portrayed in the second book:

“Straunge was her tyre, and all her garments blew,
Close rownd about her tuckt with many a plight:
Upon her first the bird which shonneth vew.

*Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 226.

¹ [Perhaps, “infidelitate nulla gero.” Giotto’s “Infidelity” is in the Arena Chapel.]

² [Book i. canto ii. 12.]

³ [Modestiâ robur obtineo—“By modesty I obtain strength.”]

And ever and anone with rosy red
 And bashfull blood her snowy cheekes did dye,
 That her became, as polisht yvory
 Which cunning craftsman hand hath overlayd
 With fayre vermilion or pure castory."¹

§ 77. EIGHTH CAPITAL. It has no inscriptions, and its subjects are not, by themselves, intelligible; but they appear to be typical of the degradation of human instincts.

First side. A caricature of Arion on his dolphin; he wears a cap ending in a long proboscis-like horn, and plays a violin with a curious twitch of the bow and wag of the head, very graphically expressed, but still without anything approaching to the power of Northern grotesque. His dolphin has a goodly row of teeth, and the waves beat over its back.²

Second side. A human figure, with curly hair and the legs of a bear; the paws laid, with great sculptural skill, upon the foliage. It plays a violin, shaped like a guitar, with a bent double-stringed bow.

Third side. A figure with a serpent's tail and a monstrous head, founded on a Negro type, hollow-cheeked, large-lipped, and wearing a cap made of a serpent's skin holding a fir-cone in its hand.

Fourth side. A monstrous figure, terminating below in a tortoise. It is devouring a gourd, which it grasps greedily with both hands; it wears a cap ending in a hoofed leg.

Fifth side. A centaur wearing a crested helmet, and holding a curved sword.³

Sixth side. A knight, riding a headless horse, and wearing chain armour, with a triangular shield flung behind his back, and a two-edged sword.

Seventh side. A figure like that on the fifth, wearing a round helmet, and with the legs and tail of a horse. He bears a long mace with a top like a fir-cone.

¹ [Book ii. canto ix. 40, 41.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 273, for a reference to the waves on this capital.]

³ [It is on side 3 that the figure is more like a centaur; the figure here rises out of foliage.]

Eighth side. A figure with curly hair, and an acorn in its hand, ending below in a fish.

§ 78. NINTH CAPITAL. *First side.* Faith. She has her left hand on her breast, and the cross on her right. Inscribed "FIDES OPTIMA IN DEO."¹ The Faith of Giotto² holds the cross in her right hand; in her left, a scroll with the Apostles' Creed. She treads upon cabalistic books, and has a key suspended to her waist. Spenser's Faith (Fidelia) is still more spiritual and noble:

"She was araied all in lilly white,
And in her right hand bore a cup of gold,
With wine and water fild up to the hight,
In which a serpent did himselfe enfold,
That horroure made to all that did behold;
But she no whitt did chaunge her constant mood:
And in her other hand she fast did hold
A booke, that was both signd and seald with blood;
Wherein darke things were writt, hard to be understood."³

§ 79. *Second side.* Fortitude. A long-bearded man [Samson?] tearing open a lion's jaw. The inscription is illegible, and the somewhat vulgar personification appears to belong rather to Courage than Fortitude. On the Renaissance copy⁴ it is inscribed "FORTITUDO SUM VIRILIS." The Latin word has, perhaps, been received by the sculptor as merely signifying "Strength," the rest of the perfect idea of this virtue having been given in "Constantia" previously. But both these Venetian symbols together do not at all approach the idea of Fortitude as given generally by Giotto⁵ and the Pisan sculptors; clothed with a lion's skin, knotted about her neck, and falling to her feet in deep folds; drawing back her right hand, with the sword pointed towards

¹ [This capital has been already referred to in *Seven Lamps* (Vol. VIII. p. 231), and in the preceding volume of *Stones of Venice* (Vol. IX. p. 55, where see the note), and is referred to again in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 77: it is one of those of which Ruskin had special photographs made.]

² [In the Arena Chapel. The words on the scroll are the beginning ones of the creed: "Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem cœli et terræ, et in Iesum Christum filium Dei unigenitum." In the original fresco the cabalistic signs are clearly seen on the covers of the books at her feet.]

³ [Book i. canto x. 13.]

⁴ [Capital No. 29: the inscription is "Fortitudo Invincibilis."]

⁵ [In the Arena Chapel.]

her enemy; and slightly retired behind her immovable shield, which with Giotto is square, and rested on the ground like a tower, covering her up to above the shoulders; bearing on it a lion, and with broken heads of javelins deeply infixd.

Among the Greeks, this is, of course, one of the principal virtues; apt, however, in their ordinary conception of it, to degenerate into mere manliness or courage.

§ 80. *Third side.* Temperance; bearing a pitcher of water and a cup. Inscription, illegible here, and on the Renaissance copy nearly so, "TEMPERANTIA SUM" (INOM' L^s)? only left. In this somewhat vulgar and most frequent conception of this virtue (afterwards continually repeated, as by Sir Joshua in his window at New College),¹ temperance is confused with mere abstinence, the opposite of Gula, or Gluttony; whereas the Greek Temperance, a truly cardinal virtue, is the moderator of *all* the passions, and so represented by Giotto,² who has placed a bridle upon her lips, and a sword in her hand, the hilt of which she is binding to the scabbard. In his system, she is opposed among the vices, not by Gula, or Gluttony, but by Ira, Anger. So also the Temperance of Spenser, or Sir Guyon, but with mingling of much sternness:

"A goodly knight, all armd in harnesse meete,
That from his head no place appeared to his feete.
His carriage was full comely and upright;
His countenance demure and temperate;
But yett so sterne and terrible in sight,
That cheard his friendes, and did his foes amate."³

The temperance of the Greeks, *σωφροσύνη*, involves the idea of Prudence, and is a most noble virtue, yet properly marked by Plato as inferior to sacred enthusiasm, though necessary for its government. He opposes it, under the name "Mortal Temperance" or "the Temperance which is of men," to divine madness, *μανία*, or inspiration; but he most justly and nobly expresses the general idea of its opposite⁴

¹ [See above, p. 378 *n.*]

² [In the Arena Chapel.]

³ [Book ii. canto i. 5, 6.]

⁴ [For "its opposite" all previous eds. read "it." Ruskin notes the correction in his copy for revision.]

under the term *ubriV*, which, in the *Phædrus*, is divided into various intemperances with respect to various objects, and set forth under the image of a black, vicious, diseased, and furious horse, yoked by the side of Prudence or Wisdom (set forth under the figure of a white horse with a crested and noble head, like that which we have among the Elgin Marbles) to the chariot of the Soul.¹ The system of Aristotle, as above stated,² is throughout a mere complicated blunder, supported by sophistry, the laboriously developed mistake of temperance for the essence of the virtues which it guides. Temperance in the mediæval systems is generally opposed by Anger, or by Folly, or Gluttony: but her proper opposite is Spenser's *Acrasia*, the principal enemy of Sir Guyon, at whose gates we find the subordinate vice "Excesse," as the introduction to Intemperance; a graceful and feminine image, necessary to illustrate the more dangerous forms of subtle intemperance, as opposed to the brutal "Gluttony" in the first book. She presses grapes into a cup, because of the words of St. Paul, "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess;"³ but always delicately.

"Into her cup her scruzd with daintie breach
Of her fine fingers, without fowle empeach,
That so faire winepresse made the wine more sweet."⁴

The reader will, I trust, pardon these frequent extracts from Spenser, for it is nearly as necessary to point out the profound divinity and philosophy of our great English poet, as the beauty of the Ducal Palace.

§ 81. *Fourth side*. Humility; with a veil upon her head, carrying a lamb in her lap. Inscribed in the copy, "HUMILITAS HABITAT IN ME."

This virtue is of course a peculiarly Christian one, hardly recognized in the Pagan systems, though carefully impressed

¹ [The references here are all to the *Phædrus*. See p. 244 (Stephanus), where "madness" is said to be "superior to a sane mind (*σωφρονη*), for the one is of human, the other of divine origin;" 238, where the various forms of excess (*ubriV*) are enumerated; and 253 for the description of the two horses of the soul.]

² [See § 51.]

³ [Ephesians v. 18.]

⁴ [Book ii. canto xii. 56.]

upon the Greeks in early life¹ in a manner which at this day it would be well if we were to imitate, and, together with an almost feminine modesty, giving an exquisite grace to the conduct and bearing of the well-educated Greek youth. It is, of course, one of the leading virtues in all the monkish systems, but I have not any notes of the manner of its representation.²

§ 82. *Fifth side.* Charity. A woman with her lap full of loaves (?), giving one to a child, who stretches his arm out for it across a broad gap in the leafage of the capital.

Again very far inferior to the Giottesque rendering of this virtue. In the Arena Chapel³ she is distinguished from all the other virtues by having a circular glory round her head, and a cross of fire; she is crowned with flowers, presents with her right hand a vase of corn and fruit, and with her left receives treasure from Christ, who appears above her, to provide her with the means of continual offices of beneficence, while she tramples under foot the treasures of the earth.

The peculiar beauty of most of the Italian conceptions of Charity is in the subjection of mere munificence to the glowing of her love, always represented by flames; here in the form of a cross, round her head; in Orcagna's shrine at Florence, issuing from a censer in her hand; and, with Dante, inflaming her whole form, so that, in a furnace of clear fire, she could not have been discerned.⁴

Spenser represents her as a mother surrounded by happy children,⁵ an idea afterwards grievously hackneyed and vulgarised by English painters and sculptors.

§ 83. *Sixth side.* Justice. Crowned, and with sword. Inscribed in the copy "REX SUM JUSTICIE."

¹ [See, for instance, Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 961 *seq.*, and for the Spartans, Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* 3, 5.]

² [At Amiens Humility is represented with a shield with dove: see *The Bible of Amiens*, 12A in the list of Virtues and Vices.]

³ [For an illustration of this fresco see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 7. The cross of fire is not now discernible; but the fresco must have faded, for Lord Lindsay speaks of "three flames of fire lambent round her head" (ii. 196).]

⁴ [See above, § 56.]

⁵ [Book i. canto x. 30, 31.]

This idea was afterwards much amplified and adorned in the only good capital of the Renaissance series, under the Judgment angle.¹ Giotto has also given his whole strength to the painting of this virtue,² representing her as enthroned under a noble Gothic canopy, holding scales, not by the beam, but one in each hand; a beautiful idea, showing that the equality of the scales of Justice is not owing to natural laws, but to her own immediate weighing the opposed causes in her own hands. In one scale is an executioner beheading a criminal; in the other an angel crowning a man, who seems (in Selvatico's plate) to have been working at a desk or table.

Beneath her feet is a small predella, representing various persons riding securely in the woods, and others dancing to the sound of music.

Spenser's Justice, Sir Artegall, is the hero of an entire book [v.], and the betrothed knight of Britomart, or Chastity.

§ 84. *Seventh side*. Prudence. A man with a book and a pair of compasses, wearing the noble cap, hanging down towards the shoulder, and bound in a fillet round the brow, which occurs so frequently during the fourteenth century in Italy in the portraits of men occupied in any civil capacity.

This virtue is, as we have seen, conceived under very different degrees of dignity, from mere worldly prudence up to heavenly wisdom, being opposed sometimes by Stultitia, sometimes by Ignorantia. I do not find, in any of the representations of her, that her truly distinctive character, namely *forethought*, is enough insisted upon: Giotto expresses her vigilance and just measurement or estimate of all things by painting her as Janus-headed, and gazing into a convex mirror, with compasses in her right hand; the convex mirror showing her power of looking at many things in small

¹ [Capital No. 36; see below, § 127.]

² [In the Arena Chapel. See, for a further description of Giotto's "Justice," *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 11, where the fresco is engraved as frontispiece. The scenes in the predella indicate (says Lord Lindsay, ii. 197) that "the enjoyment of life is the fruit of the equal enforcement of law."]

compass.¹ But forethought or anticipation, by which, independently of greater or less natural capacities, one man becomes more *prudent* than another, is never enough considered or symbolized.

The idea of this virtue oscillates, in the Greek systems, between Temperance and Heavenly Wisdom.

§ 85. *Eighth side.* Hope. A figure full of devotional expression, holding up its hands as in prayer, and looking to a hand which is extended towards it out of sunbeams. In the Renaissance copy this hand does not appear.

Of all the virtues, this is the most distinctively Christian (it could not, of course, enter definitely into any Pagan scheme); and above all others, it seems to me the *testing* virtue,—that by the possession of which we may most certainly determine whether we are Christians or not; for many men have charity, that is to say, general kindness of heart, or even a kind of faith, who have not any habitual *hope* of, or longing for, heaven. The Hope of Giotto² is represented as winged, rising in the air, while an angel holds a crown before her. I do not know if Spenser was the first to introduce our marine Virtue, leaning on an anchor, a symbol as inaccurate as it is vulgar: for, in the first place, anchors are not for men, but for ships; and, in the second, anchorage is the characteristic not of Hope, but of Faith. Faith is dependent, but Hope is aspirant. Spenser, however, introduces Hope twice,—the first time as the Virtue with the anchor; but afterwards fallacious Hope, far more beautifully, in the Masque of Cupid:

“She always smyld, and in her hand did hold
An holy-water-sprinckle, dipt in deowe.”³

¹ [One of the frescoes in the Arena Chapel. Lord Lindsay (ii. 197) suggests that the second face is that of Socrates.]

² [In the Arena Chapel. The fresco is engraved as the frontispiece to *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 5; see the further remarks there made on the virtue of Hope. Compare what is said of Hope in a description of a picture by Veronese, in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. iii. § 20; and see the account of Hope in *The Bible of Amiens*, ch. iv.]

³ [The first picture of Hope is in book i. canto x. 14:

“Upon her arme a silver anchor lay,
Whereon she leaned ever, as befell.”

The second picture, in the Masque of Cupid, is in book iii. canto xii. 13.]

§ 86. TENTH CAPITAL. *First side.* Luxury (the opposite of Chastity, as above explained). A woman with a jewelled chain across her forehead, smiling as she looks into a mirror, exposing her breast by drawing down her dress with one hand. Inscribed “LUXURIA SUM IMENSA.”

These subordinate forms of vice are not met with so frequently in art as those of the opposite virtues, but in Spenser we find them all. His Luxury rides upon a goat:

“In a greene gowne he clothed was full faire,
Which underneath did hide his filthinesse,
And in his hand a burning hart he bare.”¹

But, in fact, the proper and comprehensive expression of this vice is the Cupid of the ancients; and there is not any minor circumstance more indicative of the *intense* difference between the mediæval and the Renaissance spirit, than the mode in which this god is represented.

I have above said, that all great European art is rooted in the thirteenth century; and it seems to me that there is a kind of central year about which we may consider the energy of the Middle Ages to be gathered; a kind of focus of time, which, by what is to my mind a most touching and impressive Divine appointment, has been marked for us by the greatest writer of the Middle Ages, in the first words he utters; namely, the year 1300, the “mezzo del cammin” of the life of Dante.² Now, therefore, to Giotto, the contemporary of Dante, and who drew Dante’s still existing portrait³ in this very year, 1300, we may always look for the central mediæval idea in any subject: and observe how he represents Cupid; as one of three, a terrible trinity, his companions being Satan and Death; and he himself “a lean scarecrow, with bow, quiver, and fillet, and feet ending in claws,”*

* Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. Letter iv. [p. 225, ed. 1847].

¹ [Book i. canto iv. 25.]

² [*Inferno*, canto i., line 1.—

“Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura.”]

³ [See Vol. IV. p. 188.]

thrust down into Hell by Penance, from the presence of Purity and Fortitude.¹ Spenser, who has been so often noticed as furnishing the exactly intermediate type of conception between the mediæval and the Renaissance, indeed represents Cupid under the ancient form of a beautiful winged god, and riding on a lion, but still no plaything of the Graces, but full of terror:

“With that the darts which his right hand did straine
Full dreadfully he shooke, that all did quake,
And clapt on hye his coloured winges twaine,
That all his many it afraide did make.”²

His *many*, that is to say, his company;³ and observe what a company it is. Before him go Fancy, Desire, Doubt, Danger, Fear, Fallacious Hope, Dissemblance, Suspicion, Grief, Fury, Displeasure, Despite, and Cruelty. After him, Reproach, Repentance, Shame:

“Unquiet Care, and fond Unthriftyhead,
Lewd Losse of Time, and Sorrow seeming dead,
Inconstant Chaunge, and false Disloyalty,
Consuming Riotise, and guilty Dread
Of heavenly vengeance; faint Infirmity,
Vile poverty, and lastly Death with infamy.”⁴

Compare these two pictures of Cupid with the Love-god of the Renaissance,⁵ as he is represented to this day, confused with angels, in every faded form of ornament and allegory, in our furniture, our literature, and our minds.

§ 87. *Second side.* Gluttony. A woman in a turban, with a jewelled cup in her right hand. In her left, the clawed limb of a bird, which she is gnawing. Inscribed “GULA SINE ORDINE SUM.”

¹ [The reference is to the fresco of “Sancta Castitas” in the Lower Church of Assisi.]

² [Book iii. canto xii. 23.]

³ [See the preface to Ruskin’s book on birds, *Love’s Meinie*, where the word is explained.]

⁴ [Book iii. canto xii. 25.]

⁵ [See, for instance, the description of the Cupids by Albani given in Ruskin’s *Inaugural Address at the Cambridge School of Art* (1858), § 18.]

Spenser's Gluttony is more than usually fine:

“His belly was upblowne with luxury,
And eke with fatnesse swollen were his eyne,
And like a crane his necke was long and fyne,
Where with he swallowed up excessive feast,
For want whereof poore people oft did pyne.”¹

He rides upon a swine, and is clad in vine-leaves, with a garland of ivy. Compare the account of Excesse, above [§ 80], as opposed to Temperance.

§ 88. *Third side*. Pride. A knight, with a heavy and stupid face, holding a sword with three edges; his armour covered with ornaments in the form of roses, and with two ears attached to his helmet. The inscription undecipherable, all but “SUPERBIA.”

Spenser has analyzed this vice with great care. He first represents it as the Pride of life; that is to say, the pride which runs in a deep under-current through all the thoughts and acts of men. As such, it is a feminine vice, directly opposed to Holiness, and mistress of a castle called the House of Pryde, and her chariot is driven by Satan, with a team of beasts, ridden by the mortal sins. In the throne chamber of her palace she is thus described:

“So proud she shyned in her princely state,
Looking to Heaven, for Earth she did disdayne;
And sitting high, for lowly she did hate:
Lo, underneath her scornfull feete was layne
A dreadfull dragon with an hideous trayne;
And in her hand she held a mirrhour bright,
Wherein her face she often vewed fayne.”²

The giant Orgoglio is a baser species of pride, born of the Earth and Eolus; that is to say, of sensual and vain conceits. His foster-father and the keeper of his castle is Ignorance. (Book I. Canto VIII.)

Finally, Disdain is introduced, in other places, as the form of pride which vents itself in insult to others.³

¹ [Book i. canto iv. 21.]

² [Book i. canto iv. 10.]

³ [Book ii. cantos vii. and viii; v. canto xi. 8; vi. canto vii. 44.]

§ 89. *Fourth side.* Anger. A woman tearing her dress open at her breast. Inscription here undecipherable; but in the Renaissance copy it is “IRA CRUDELIS EST IN ME.”

Giotto represents this vice under the same symbol; but it is the weakest of all the figures in the Arena Chapel. The “Wrath” of Spenser rides upon a lion, brandishing a firebrand, his garments stained with blood.¹ Rage, or Furor, occurs subordinately in other places. It appears to me very strange that neither Giotto nor Spenser should have given any representation of the *restrained* Anger, which is infinitely the most terrible; both of them make him violent.

§ 90. *Fifth side.* Avarice. An old woman with a veil over her forehead, and a bag of money in each hand. A figure very marvellous for power of expression. The throat is all made up of sinews with skinny channels deep between them, strained as by anxiety, and wasted by famine; the features hunger-bitten, the eyes hollow, the look glaring and intense, yet without the slightest caricature. Inscribed in the Renaissance copy “AVARITIA IMPLETOR.”

Spenser’s Avarice (the vice) is much feebler than this; but the god Mammon and his kingdom have been described by him with his usual power. Note the position of the house of Richesse:

“Betwixt them both was but a little stride,
That did the House of Richesse from Hell-mouth divide.”²

It is curious that most moralists confuse avarice with covetousness, although they are vices totally different in their operation on the human heart and on the frame of society. The love of money, the sin of Judas and Ananias, is indeed the root of all evil³ in the hardening of the heart; but “covetousness, which is idolatry,” the sin of Ahab, that is, the inordinate desire of some seen or recognized good,—thus destroying peace of mind,—is probably productive of much more

¹ [Book i. canto iv. 33. For “Furor” see book ii. cantos iv. and v.]

² [For the description of Avarice, see book i. canto iv. 27–29; for the house of Richesse, book ii. canto vii. 24.]

³ [1. Timothy vi. 10; Colossians iii. 5; 1 Kings xxi. 2–16.]

misery in heart, and error in conduct, than avarice itself, only covetousness is not so inconsistent with Christianity: for covetousness may partly proceed from vividness of the affections and hopes, as in David, and be consistent with much charity; not so avarice.¹

§ 91. *Sixth side*. Idleness. Accidia.² A figure much broken away, having had its arms round two branches of trees.

I do not know why Idleness should be represented as among trees, unless, in the Italy of the fourteenth century, forest country was considered as desert, and therefore the domain of Idleness. Spenser fastens this vice especially upon the clergy,—

“Upon a slouthful asse he chose to ryde,
Arayd in habit blacke, and amis thin,
Like to an holy monck, the service to begin.
And in his hand his portesse still he bare,
That much was worne, but therein little redd.”

And he properly makes him the leader of the train of the vices:

“May seem the wayne was very evil ledd,
When such an one had guiding of the way.”³

Observe that subtle touch of truth in the “wearing” of the portesse, indicating the abuse of books by idle readers, so thoroughly characteristic of unwilling studentship from the schoolboy upwards.

§ 92. *Seventh side*. Vanity. She is smiling complacently as she looks into a mirror in her lap. Her robe is embroidered with roses, and roses form her crown. Undecipherable.

There is some confusion in the expression of this vice, between pride in the personal appearance and lightness of

¹ [Ruskin analyzes avarice, and kindred vices connected with money, in *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 88–94. The passage should be read in connexion with this part of the present chapter.]

² [In his copy for revision Ruskin here notes:—
“akxhdia don’t care-ishness.”

The figure has been restored; she leans back; in the left hand the stem of a flower; the right arm round a branch. Inscribed “Accidia mi stringit.”]

³ [Book i. canto iv. 18, 19.]

purpose. The word Vanitas generally, I think, bears, in the mediæval period, the sense given it in Scripture. "Let not him that is deceived trust in Vanity, for Vanity shall be his recompense." "Vanity of Vanities." "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain."¹ It is difficult to find this sin,—which, after Pride, is the most universal, perhaps the most fatal, of all, fretting the whole depth of our humanity into storm "to waft a feather or to drown a fly,"²—definitely expressed in art. Even Spenser, I think, has only partially expressed it under the figure of Phædria, more properly Idle Mirth, in the second book.³ The idea is, however, entirely worked out in the Vanity Fair of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

§ 93. *Eighth side.* Envy. One of the noblest pieces of expression in the series. She is pointing malignantly with her finger; a serpent is wreathed about her head like a cap, another forms the girdle of her waist, and a dragon rests in her lap.

Giotto has, however, represented her,⁴ with still greater subtlety, as having her fingers terminating in claws, and raising her right hand with an expression partly of impotent regret, partly of involuntary grasping; a serpent, issuing from her mouth, is about to bite her between the eyes; she has long membranous ears, horns on her head, and flames consuming her body. The Envy of Spenser is only inferior to that of Giotto, because the idea of folly and quickness of hearing is not suggested by the size of the ear: in other respects it is even finer, joining the idea of fury, in the wolf

¹ [Job xv. 31; Ecclesiastes i. 2; Psalms xciv. 11; 1 Corinthians iii. 20.]

² [Young's *Night Thoughts*, i. 154. Ruskin quotes the passage in a letter to his father (May 2, 1852):—

"There is not any passage which I oftener repeat to myself of profane literature than that of Young—

'A soul immortal raptured or alarmed
At aught this scene can threaten or indulge,
Resembles ocean into tempest wrought
To waft a feather or to drown a fly.'"]

³ [Canto vi.]

⁴ [In the Arena Chapel. The fresco is engraved as frontispiece to *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 6, where some further reference is made to it.]

on which he rides, with that of corruption on his lips, and of discolouration or distortion in the whole mind:

“Malicious Envy rode
Upon a ravenous wolfe, and still did chaw
Between his cankred teeth a venomous tode
That all the poison ran about his jaw
All in a kirtle of discoloured say
He clothed was, ypaynted full of eies,
And in his bosome secretly there lay
An hatefull snake, the which his taile uptyes
In many folds, and mortall sting implyes.”¹

He has developed the idea in more detail, and still more loathsomely, in the twelfth canto of the fifth book.

§ 94. ELEVENTH CAPITAL. Its decoration is composed of eight birds, arranged as shown in Plate V. of the *Seven Lamps*,² which, however, was sketched from the Renaissance copy. These birds are all varied in form and action, but not so as to require special description.

§ 95. TWELFTH CAPITAL. This has been very interesting, but is grievously defaced,³ four of its figures being entirely broken away, and the character of two others quite undecipherable. It is fortunate that it has been copied in the thirty-third capital of the Renaissance series, from which we are able to identify the lost figures.

First side. Misery. A man with a wan face, seemingly pleading with a child who has its hands crossed on its breast. There is a buckle at his own breast in the shape of a cloven heart. Inscribed “MISERIA.”

The intention of this figure is not altogether apparent, as it is by no means treated as a vice; the distress seeming real, and like that of a parent in poverty mourning over his child. Yet it seems placed here as in direct opposition to the virtue of Cheerfulness, which follows next in order; rather, however, I believe, with the intention of illustrating human life, than

¹ [Book i. canto iv. 30, 31. After the fourth line of the quotation, the five last lines of stanza 30 are omitted. The second description of Envy is in stanzas 29–31 of book v. canto xii.]

² [See Vol. VIII. p. 122, where the luxuriant play of leafage is noticed, and p. 231, where the birds are referred to.]

³ [Now restored. The inscription is “Misericordia Dñi mecum e(st).”]

the character of the vice which, as we have seen, Dante placed in the circle of hell.¹ The word in that case would, I think, have been “Tristitia,” the “unholy Griefe” of Spenser:

“All in sable sorrowfully clad,
Downe hanging his dull head with heavy chere:

A pair of pincers in his hand he had,
With which he pinched people to the heart.”²

He has farther amplified the idea under another figure in the fifth canto of the fourth book:³

“His name was Care; a blacksmith by his trade,
That neither day nor night from working spared;
But to small purpose yron wedges made:
Those be unquiet thoughts that carefull minds invade.
Rude was his garment, and to rags all rent,
Ne better had he, ne for better cared:
With blistered hands among the cinders brent.”

It is to be noticed, however, that in the Renaissance copy this figure is stated to be, not Miseria, but “Misericordia.” The contraction is a very moderate one, Misericordia being in old MS. written always as “Mia.” If this reading be right, the figure is placed here rather as the companion, than the opposite, of Cheerfulness; unless, indeed, it is intended to unite the idea of Mercy and Compassion with that of Sacred Sorrow.

§ 96. *Second side.* Cheerfulness. A woman with long flowing hair, crowned with roses, playing on a tambourine, and with open lips, as singing. Inscribed “ALACRITAS.”

We have already met with this virtue among those especially set by Spenser to attend on Womanhood.⁴ It is inscribed in the Renaissance copy,⁵ “ALACHRITAS CHANIT MECUM.” Note the gutturals of the rich and fully developed

¹ [See above, § 59.]

² [Book iii. canto xii. 16.]

³ [Stanza 35. Ruskin transposes the lines; his lines 5, 6, 7 are lines 1, 2, 3 of the stanza; line 4—“And fingers filthie with long nayles unpared”—is omitted; and then come Ruskin’s lines 1–4.]

⁴ [See above, § 59.]

⁵ [Capital No. 33. The inscription is now restored from the copy.]

Venetian dialect now affecting the Latin, which is free from them in the earlier capitals.

§ 97. *Third side.* Destroyed;¹ but, from the copy, we find it has been Stultitia, Folly; and it is there represented simply as a man *riding*, a sculpture worth the consideration of the English residents who bring their horses to Venice. Giotto gives Stultitia a feather-cap, and club.² In early manuscripts he is always eating with one hand, and striking with the other; in later ones he has a cap and bells, or cap crested with a cock's head, whence the word "coxcomb."

§ 98. *Fourth side.* Destroyed, all but a book, which identifies it with the "Celestial Chastity" of the Renaissance copy; there represented as a woman pointing to a book, (connecting the convent life with the pursuit of literature?).

Spenser's Chastity, Britomart, is the most exquisitely wrought of all his characters; but, as before noticed, she is not the chastity of the convent, but of wedded life.³

§ 99. *Fifth side.* Only a scroll is left;⁴ but, from the copy, we find it has been Honesty or Truth. Inscribed "HONESTATEM DILIGO." It is very curious, that among all the Christian systems of the virtues which we have examined, we should find this one in Venice only.⁵

The Truth of Spenser, Una, is, after Chastity, the most exquisite character in the *Faerie Queen*.

§ 100. *Sixth side.* Falsehood. An old woman leaning on a crutch; and inscribed in the copy "FALSITAS IN ME SEMPER EST." The Fidessa of Spenser, the great enemy of Una, or Truth, is far more subtly conceived, probably not without

¹ [Now restored; inscribed "Stultitia in me regnat."]

² [Giotto's fresco is in the Arena Chapel. As the reader will see by referring to the illustration in *Giotto and his Works in Padua*, "feather-cap" is an obvious emendation for the misreading of all previous editions "feather, cap." Lord Lindsay (ii. 197) remarks that this figure of Folly, "looking upwards, with a club as if about to strike," recalls the line of Horace—"Cælum ipsum petimus stultitia" (*Odes*, i. 3, 38). Ruskin refers again to this capital and to Giotto's fresco in his *Review of Lord Lindsay*, § 48 (Vol. XII.)]

³ [See above, § 62, p. 383.]

⁴ [Now restored; a man with an open scroll.]

⁵ [Curious, and, as Ruskin afterwards found special reason to perceive, significant. See the accounts of his discovery of "the first words that Venice ever speaks aloud," on an inscription upon the church of San Giacomo di Rialto—"Around this Temple, let the Merchant's law be just, his weights true, and his covenants faithful;" *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 76 (notes and correspondence), and *St. Mark's Rest*, § 131.]

special reference to the Papal deceits. In her true form she is a loathsome hag, but in her outward aspect,

“A goodly lady, clad in scarlot red,
Purfled with gold and pearle; . . .
Her wanton palfrey all was overspred
With tinsell trappings, woven like a wave,
Whose bridle rung with golden bells and bosses brave.”¹

Dante's Fraud, Geryon, is the finest personification of all, but the description (*Inferno*, Canto XVII.) is too long to be quoted.²

§ 101. *Seventh side*. Injustice.³ An armed figure holding a halbert; so also in the copy. The figure used by Giotto,⁴ with the particular intention of representing unjust government, is represented at the gate of an embattled castle in a forest, between rocks, while various deeds of violence are committed at his feet. Spenser's "Adicia" is a furious hag, at last transformed into a tiger.⁵

§ *Eighth side*. A man with a dagger looking scornfully at a child, who turns its back to him. I cannot understand this figure. It is inscribed in the copy, "ASTINECIA (Abstinentia?) OPITIMA?"

§ 102. THIRTEENTH CAPITAL. It has lions' heads all round, coarsely cut.

FOURTEENTH CAPITAL. It has various animals, each sitting on its haunches. Three dogs, one a greyhound, one long-haired, one short-haired with bells about its neck; two monkeys, one with fan-shaped hair projecting on each side of its face; a noble boar, with its tusks, hoofs, and bristles sharply cut; and a lion and lioness.

§ 103. FIFTEENTH CAPITAL. The pillar to which it belongs is thicker than the rest, as well as the one over it in the upper arcade.

¹ [Book i. canto ii. 13.]

² [See, however, *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. x. § 13, where the passage is quoted, and Dante's conception analyzed; and compare *Unto This Last*, § 74, § 148 n., and *Munera Pulveris*, § 88.]

³ [Inscribed "Injusticia seva (sæva) su(m)," but on Capital 33 "su(m)" is "est."]

⁴ [In the Arena Chapel. The fresco is engraved as frontispiece to *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 10 ("The Baron's Gate"), where it is further described; there is another allusion to it in *Val d'Arno*, § 32.]

⁵ [Book v. canto viii. 49.]

The sculpture of this capital is also much coarser, and seems to me later than that of the rest; and it has no inscription, which is embarrassing, as its subjects have had much meaning; but I believe Selvatico is right in supposing it to have been intended for a general illustration of Idleness.¹

First side. A woman with a distaff; her girdle richly decorated, and fastened by a buckle.

Second side. A youth in a long mantle, with a rose in his hand.

Third side. A woman in a turban stroking a puppy, which she holds by the haunches.

Fourth side. A man with a parrot.

Fifth side. A woman in very rich costume, with braided hair, and dress thrown into minute folds, holding a rosary (?)² in her left hand, her right on her breast.

Sixth side. A man with a very thoughtful face, laying his hand upon the leaves of the capital.

Seventh side. A crowned lady, with a rose in her hand.

Eighth side. A boy with a ball in his left hand, and his right laid on his breast.

§ 104. SIXTEENTH CAPITAL. It is decorated with eight large heads, partly intended to be grotesque,* and very coarse and bad, except only that in the sixth side, which is totally different from all the rest, and looks like a portrait. It is thin, thoughtful, and dignified; thoroughly fine in every way. It wears a cap surmounted by two winged lions; and, therefore, I think Selvatico must have inaccurately written the list given in the note, for this head is certainly meant to express the superiority of the Venetian character over that of other nations. Nothing is more remarkable in all early sculpture than its appreciation of the

* Selvatico states that these are intended to be representative of eight nations, Latins, Tartars, Turks, Hungarians, Greeks, Goths, Egyptians, and Persians. Either the inscriptions are now defaced, or I have carelessly omitted to note them.³

¹ [See above, § 64, p. 385.]

² [What looks somewhat like a rosary seems rather to be the jewel-buttons of her dress; she has both hands on her breast.]

³ [See below, Capital 23, p. 422.]

signs of dignity of character in the features, and the way in which it can exalt the principal figure in any subject by a few touches.

§ 105. SEVENTEENTH CAPITAL. This has been so destroyed by the sea wind, which sweeps at this point of the arcade round the angle of the palace, that its inscriptions are no longer legible, and great part of its figures are gone. Selvatico states them as follows; Solomon, the wise; Priscian, the grammarian; Aristotle, the logician; Tully, the orator; Pythagoras, the philosopher; Archimedes, the mechanic; Orpheus, the musician; Ptolemy, the astronomer. The fragments actually remaining are the following.¹

First side. A figure with two books, in a robe richly decorated with circles of roses. Inscribed "SALOMON (SAP)IENS."

Second side. A man with one book, poring over it; he has had a long stick or reed in his hand. Of inscription only the letters "GRAMMATIC" remain.²

Third side. "ARISTOTLE": so inscribed. He has a peaked double beard and a flat cap, from under which his long hair falls down his back.

Fourth side. Destroyed.

Fifth side. Destroyed, all but a board with three (counters?) on it.

Sixth side. A figure with compasses. Inscribed "GEOMET**."

Seventh side. Nothing is left but a guitar with its handle wrought into a lion's head.

Eighth side. Destroyed.

¹ [This capital is again described in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 77. Ruskin had casts and photographs made of it. The capital has now been renewed.]

² [The new capital adds "PRISCIANUS," and on the third side "ARISTOTELES DIALECTICUS." The fourth side now shows a man with a book on his knee, and with the left hand raised, as if teaching, inscribed "TULIUS RHETORICUS," Tullius standing of course for Marcus Tullius Cicero. On the fifth side the restored inscription is "PUTHAGORAS ARITHMETICUS"; the three objects are perhaps weights. On the sixth side the name, much contracted, is Archimedes. On the seventh is the inscription "TUBAL CHAIN MUSICUS." This is evidently a mistake for Jubal, "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ," whereas Tubal-cain was "an instructor . . . in brass and iron" (Genesis iv. 21, 22). Selvatico gives the original inscription as "Orpheus Musicus." The eighth side now shows the figure of a bearded man with a pointed cap, sitting; his left hand raised, pointing to a representation of the sun, moon, and stars; inscribed "TOLEMÆUS ASTROLOGUS," *i.e.* Ptolemy, the astronomer.]

§ 106. We have now arrived at the EIGHTEENTH CAPITAL, the most interesting and beautiful of the palace. It represents the planets, and the sun and moon, in those divisions of the zodiac known to astrologers as their “houses;” and perhaps indicates, by the position in which they are placed, the period of the year at which this great corner-stone was laid. The inscriptions above have been in quaint Latin rhyme, but are now decipherable only in fragments, and that with the more difficulty because the rusty iron bar that binds the abacus has broken away, in its expansion, nearly all the upper portions of the stone, and with them the signs of contraction, which are of great importance. I shall give the fragments of them that I could decipher; first, as the letters actually stand (putting those of which I am doubtful in brackets, with a note of interrogation), and then as I would read them.

§ 107. It should be premised that, in modern astrology, the houses of the planets are thus arranged:

| | | |
|----------------------|----|-------------------------|
| The house of the Sun | is | Leo. |
| ” Moon | ” | Cancer. |
| ” of Mars | ” | Aries and Scorpio. |
| ” Venus | ” | Taurus and Libra. |
| ” Mercury | ” | Gemini and Virgo. |
| ” Jupiter | ” | Sagittarius and Pisces. |
| ” Saturn | ” | Capricorn. |
| ” Herschel | ” | Aquarius. |

The Herschel planet¹ being of course unknown to the old astrologers, we have only the other six planetary powers, together with the sun; and Aquarius is assigned to Saturn as his house. I could not find Capricorn at all; but this sign may have been broken away, as the whole capital is grievously defaced.² The eighth side of the capital, which the Herschel planet would now have occupied, bears a sculpture of the Creation of Man: it is the most conspicuous

¹ [Discovered by Sir William Herschel (1738–1822) in 1781, now known as Uranus.]

² [It has now been renewed; and Capricorn is conspicuous as forming with Aquarius the house of Saturn.]

side, the one set diagonally across the angle; or the eighth in our usual mode of reading the capitals, from which I shall not depart.

§ 108. The *first side*, then, or that towards the Sea, has Aquarius, as the house of Saturn, represented as a seated figure beautifully draped, pouring a stream of water out of an amphora over the leaves of the capital. His inscription is:

“ET SATURNE DOMUS (ECLOCERUNT?)I^s 7BRE.”¹

§ 109. *Second side*. Jupiter, in his houses Sagittarius and Pisces, represented throned, with an upper dress disposed in radiating folds about his neck, and hanging down upon his breast, ornamented by small pendent trefoiled studs or bosses. He wears the drooping bonnet and long gloves; but the folds about the neck, shot forth to express the rays of the star, are the most remarkable characteristic of the figure. He raises his sceptre in his left hand over Sagittarius, represented as the centaur Chiron; and holds two thunnies in his right. Something rough, like a third fish, has been broken away below them; the more easily because this part of the group is entirely undercut, and the two fish glitter in the light, relieved on the deep gloom below the leaves. The inscription is:

“INDE JOVI * DONA PISES SIMUL ATQ^s CIRONA.”

Or,

“Inde Jovis dona
Pisces simul atque Chirona.”

Domus is, I suppose, to be understood before Jovis: “Then the house of Jupiter gives (or governs?) the fishes and Chiron.”

* The comma in these inscriptions stands for a small cuneiform mark, I believe of contraction, and the small ^s for a zigzag mark of the same kind. The dots or periods are similarly marked on the stone.

¹ [The 4th and later editions (but not the “Travellers’ Edition”) contain (in the appendix) the following note:—

“Another correspondent suggests ‘ÆGLOCERUNTIS & URNÆ;’ ‘of the Bright-horned (Capricorn) and of the Urn (Aquarius);’ the mark like ‘7’ here, as at p. 354, line 33, standing for ‘&’ [now § 115, line 9].

“Next page, last line [now § 113, last line], the same reads ‘Occupat Erigonem Stilbons Geminumque Laconem;’ ‘Mercury (called “Stilbōn” by Hyginus) holds the Virgin (Erigone) and Spartan Twins.’”]

§ 110. *Third side.* Mars, in his houses Aries and Scorpio. Represented as a very ugly knight in chain mail, seated sideways on the ram, whose horns are broken away, and having a large scorpion in his left hand, whose tail is broken also, to the infinite injury of the group, for it seems to have curled across to the angle leaf, and formed a bright line of light, like the fish in the hand of Jupiter. The knight carries a shield, on which fire and water are sculptured, and bears a banner upon his lance, with the word “DEFEROSUM,” which puzzled me for some time. It should be read, I believe, “De ferro sum;” which would be good *Venetian Latin* for “I am of iron.”

§ 111. *Fourth side.* The Sun, in his house Leo. Represented under the figure of Apollo, sitting on the Lion, with rays shooting from his head, and the world in his hand. The inscription:

“TU ES DOMU’ SOLIS (QUO*?) SIGNE LEONI.”

I believe the first phrase is, “Tunc est Domus solis;” but there is a letter gone after the “quo,” and I have no idea what case of signum “signe” stands for.

§ 112. *Fifth side.* Venus in her houses Taurus and Libra. The most beautiful figure of the series. She sits upon the bull, who is deep in the dewlap, and better cut than most of the animals, holding a mirror in her right hand, and the scales in her left. Her breast is very nobly and tenderly indicated under the folds of her drapery, which is exquisitely studied in its fall. What is left of the inscription runs

“LIBRA CUM TAURO DOMUS * * * PURIOR AUR*.”

§ 113. *Sixth side.* Mercury, represented as wearing a pendent cap, and holding a book: he is supported by three children in reclining attitudes, representing his houses Gemini and Virgo. But I cannot understand the inscription, though more than usually legible:

“OCCUPAT ERIGONE STIBONS GEMINUQ^s LACONE.”¹

§ 114. *Seventh side.* The Moon, in her house Cancer. This sculpture, which is turned towards the Piazzetta, is

¹ [See note on preceding page.]

the most picturesque of the series. The moon is represented as a woman in a boat upon the sea, who raises the crescent in her right hand, and with her left draws a crab¹ out of the waves, up the boat's side. The moon was, I believe, represented in Egyptian sculptures as in a boat; but I rather think the Venetian was not aware of this, and that he meant to express the peculiar sweetness of the moonlight at Venice, as seen across the lagoons. Whether this was intended by putting the planet in the boat, may be questionable, but assuredly the idea was meant to be conveyed by the dress of the figure. For all the draperies of the other figures on this capital, as well as on the rest of the façade, are disposed in severe but full folds, showing little of the forms beneath them; but the moon's drapery *ripples* down to her feet, so as exactly to suggest the trembling of the moonlight on the waves. This beautiful idea is highly characteristic of the thoughtfulness of the early sculptors: five hundred men may be now found who could have cut the drapery, as such, far better, for one who would have disposed its folds with this intention. The inscription is:

“LUNE CANCER DOMU T. PBET IORBE SIGNORU.”

§ 115. *Eighth side.* God creating man.² Represented as a throned figure, with a glory round the head, laying his left hand on the head of a naked youth, and sustaining him with his right hand. The inscription puzzled me for a long time; but except the lost r and m of “formavit,” and a letter quite undefaced, but to me unintelligible,³ before the word Eva, in the shape of a figure of 7, I have safely ascertained the rest:

[jc]”DELIMO DSADA DECO STAFO * * AVIT7EVA.”

Or,

“De limo Dominus Adam, de costa fo(r)mavit et⁴ Evam;”

“From the dust the Lord made Adam, and from the rib Eve.”

¹ [For a fuller account of this representation of the moon, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 78. For the crab in ornament, see Vol. IX. p. 275.]

² [For a fuller account of this side of the capital, see again, *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 78.]

³ [See note on p. 413 above.]

⁴ [The word *et* is inserted by Ruskin in his copy for revision.]



J. Rusden

Allen & Co. Sc.

Moonlight on Venice, from the Lagoon.

I imagine the whole of this capital, therefore—the principal one of the old palace,—to have been intended to signify, first, the formation of the planets for the service of man upon the earth; secondly, the entire subjection of the fates and fortune of man to the will of God, as determined from the time when the earth and stars were made, and, in fact, written in the volume of the stars themselves.

Thus interpreted, the doctrines of judicial astrology were not only consistent with, but an aid to, the most spiritual and humble Christianity.

In the workmanship and grouping of its foliage, this capital is, on the whole, the finest I know in Europe. The sculptor has put his whole strength into it. I trust that it will appear among the other Venetian casts lately taken for the Crystal Palace; but if not, I have myself cast all its figures, and two of its leaves, and I intend to give drawings of them on a large scale in my folio work.¹

§ 116. NINETEENTH CAPITAL. This is, of course, the second counting from the Sea, on the Piazzetta side of the palace, calling that of the Fig-tree angle the first.

It is the most important capital, as a piece of evidence in point of dates, in the whole palace. Great pains have been taken with it, and in some portion of the accompanying furniture or ornaments of each of its figures a small piece of coloured marble has been inlaid, with peculiar significance: for the capital represents the *arts of sculpture and architecture*;² and the inlaying of the coloured stones (which are far too small to be effective at a distance, and are found in this one capital only of the whole series) is merely an expression of the architect's feeling of the essential importance of this art of inlaying, and of the value of colour generally in his own art.

¹ [The Crystal Palace, constructed mainly from the materials of the Great Exhibition of 1851, was opened to the public in 1854; its various "Courts" containing copies of the architecture and sculpture of various nations and styles: *cf.* above, p. 114. For Ruskin's casts, see note on pp. 466–467. The intended drawings were not given, for the publication of the *Examples* was discontinued.]

² [See Vol. IX. pp. 259–261.]

§ 117. *First side.* "ST. SIMPLICIUS": so inscribed. A figure working with a pointed chisel on a small oblong block of green serpentine, about four inches long by one wide, inlaid in the capital. The chisel is, of course, in the left hand, but the right is held up open, with the palm outwards.

Second side. A crowned figure, carving the image of a child on a small statue, with a ground of red marble. The sculptured figure is highly finished, and is in type of head much like the Ham or Japheth at the Vine angle. Inscription effaced.¹

Third side. An old man, uncrowned, but with curling hair, at work on a small column, with its capital complete, and a little shaft of dark red marble, spotted with paler red. The capital is precisely of the form of that found in the palace of the Tiepolos² and the other thirteenth century work of Venice. This one figure would be quite enough, without any other evidence whatever, to determine the date of this flank of the Ducal Palace as not later, at all events, than the first half of the fourteenth century. Its inscription is broken away, all but "DISIPULO."

Fourth side. A crowned figure; but the object on which it has been working is broken away, and all the inscription except "ST. E(N?)AS."

Fifth side. A man with a turban and a sharp chisel, at work on a kind of panel or niche, the back of which is of red marble.

Sixth side. A crowned figure, with hammer and chisel, employed on a little range of windows of the fifth order, having roses set, instead of orbicular ornaments, between the spandrils, with a rich cornice, and a band of purple marble inserted above. This sculpture assures us of the date of the fifth-order window, which it shows to have been universal in the early fourteenth century.

There are also five arches in the block on which the

¹ [This is one of the renewed capitals; the inscription is "S. CLAUDIUS." The inscription on side 3 is "DISCIPULUS INCREDULUS." On side 4, inscribed "S. CHASTORIUS," is a man working on an oblong block of stone; a chisel in his left hand; a mallet has dropped from his right hand. On side 5 the inscription is "DISCIPULUS OPTIMUS."]

² [See below, Appendix 11 (3), p. 453, where Ruskin calls it "The Braided House," from the braided border of the capitals.]

sculptor is working, marking the frequency of the number five in the window groups of the time.

Seventh side. A figure at work on a pilaster, with Lombardic thirteenth century capital (for account of the series of forms in Venetian capitals, see the final Appendix of the next volume), the shaft of dark red spotted marble.¹

Eighth side. A figure with a rich open crown, working on a delicate recumbent statue, the head of which is laid on a pillow covered with a rich chequer pattern; the whole supported on a block of dark red marble. Inscription broken away,² all but "ST. SYM. (Symmachus?) TV * * ANV." There appear, therefore, altogether to have been five saints, two of them popes, if Simplicius is the pope of that name (three in front, two on the fourth and sixth sides), alternating with the three uncrowned workmen in the manual labour of sculpture.³ I did not, therefore, insult our present architects in saying above that they "ought to work in the mason's yard with their men."⁴ It would be difficult to find a more interesting expression of the devotional spirit in which all great work was undertaken at this time.

§ 118. TWENTIETH CAPITAL. It is adorned with heads of animals, and is the finest of the whole series in the broad massiveness of its effect; so simply characteristic, indeed, of the grandeur of style in the entire building, that I chose it for the first Plate in my folio work.⁵ In spite of the sternness of its plan, however, it is wrought with great care in surface detail; and the ornamental value of the minute chasing obtained by the delicate plumage of the birds, and the clustered bees on the honeycomb in the

¹ [Inscribed "TARTARUS DISCIPULUS."]

² [It now reads "SIMFORIANUS."]

³ [Simplicius was Pope from 468 to 483; Symmachus from 498 to 514. Of the latter it is recorded that he built or beautified many churches in Rome; but see preceding note.]

⁴ [See above, ch. vi. § 21, p. 201. The "Travellers' Edition," which omits that chapter, has the following note:—

"The reference is to a passage in the old edition, unnecessary here, but which cannot be too strongly reiterated, in its proper place."]

⁵ [See the next volume for the plate, and Vol. IX. p. 277, for a reference to the bee: see also *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 307 n.).]

bear's mouth, opposed to the strong simplicity of its general form, cannot be too much admired. There are also more grace, life, and variety in the sprays of foliage on each side of it, and under the heads, than in any other capital of the series, though the earliness of the workmanship is marked by considerable hardness and coldness in the larger heads. A Northern Gothic workman, better acquainted with bears and wolves than it was possible to become in St. Mark's Place, would have put far more life into these heads, but he could not have composed them more skilfully.

§ 119. *First side.* A lion with a stag's haunch in his mouth. Those readers who have the folio plate, should observe the peculiar way in which the ear is cut into the shape of a ring, jagged or furrowed on the edge; an archaic mode of treatment peculiar, in the Ducal Palace, to the lions' heads of the fourteenth century. The moment we reach the Renaissance work, the lions' ears are smooth. Inscribed simply, "LEO."

Second side. A wolf with a dead bird in his mouth, its body wonderfully true in expression of the passiveness of death. The feathers are each wrought with a central quill and radiating filaments. Inscribed "LUPUS."

Third side. A fox, not at all like one, with a dead cock in his mouth, its comb and pendent neck admirably designed so as to fall across the great angle leaf of the capital, its tail hanging down on the other side, its long straight feathers exquisitely cut. Inscribed "(VULP?)IS."

Fourth side. Entirely broken away.¹

Fifth side. "APER." Well tusked, with a head of maize in his mouth; at least I suppose it to be maize, though shaped like a pine-cone.

Sixth side. "CHANIS."² With a bone, very ill cut; and a bald-headed species of dog, with ugly flap ears.

Seventh side. "MUSCIPULUS." With a rat (?) in his mouth.

¹ [This capital also is new. On this side the animal is inscribed "GRIFO"; the gryphon grasps in its jaws the neck of a lion, of which are seen the head and the forepaws. On side 7, a cat with a mouse.]

² [For this form of Venetian Latin for *canis*, compare *chanit* above, § 96.]

Eighth side. "URSUS." With a honeycomb, covered with large bees.

§ 120. TWENTY-FIRST CAPITAL. Represents the principal inferior professions.¹

First side. An old man, with his brow deeply wrinkled, and very expressive features, beating in a kind of mortar with a hammer. Inscribed "LAPICIDA SUM."

Second side. I believe, a goldsmith; he is striking a small flat bowl or patera, on a pointed anvil, with a light hammer. The inscription is gone.

Third side. A shoemaker, with a shoe in his hand, and an instrument for cutting leather suspended beside him. Inscription undecipherable.

Fourth side. Much broken. A carpenter planing a beam resting on two horizontal logs. Inscribed "CARPENTARIUS SUM."

Fifth side. A figure shovelling fruit into a tub; the latter very carefully carved from what appears to have been an excellent piece of cooperage. Two thin laths cross each other over the top of it. The inscription, now lost, was, according to Selvatico, "MENSURATOR"?

Sixth side. A man, with a large hoe, breaking the ground, which lies in irregular furrows and clods before him. Now undecipherable, but, according to Selvatico, "ACRICHOLA."

Seventh side. A man, in a pendent cap, writing on a large scroll which falls over his knee. Inscribed "NOTARIUS SUM."

Eighth side. A smith forging a sword or scythe-blade: he wears a large skull-cap; beats with a large hammer on a solid anvil; and is inscribed "FABER SUM."

§ 121. TWENTY-SECOND CAPITAL. The Ages of Man; and the influence of the planets on human life.

First side. The moon, governing infancy for four years, according to Selvatico. I have no note of this side, having,

¹ [This capital should be compared with the sculptures of Venetian trades on the central archivolt of St. Mark's. It is now renewed. The inscription on side 2 is "AURIFICIS"; on side 3, "CERDO SUM." The carpenter on 4 is splitting a beam with an axe. On 5 the inscription is restored; the man is shovelling grain into a measure.]

I suppose, been prevented from raising the ladder against it by some fruit-stall or other impediment in the regular course of my examination; and then forgotten to return to it.¹

Second side. A child with a tablet, and an alphabet inscribed on it. The legend above is

“MECUR^S DNT. PUERICIE. PAN X.”

Or, “Mercurius dominatur pueritiæ per annos X.” (Selvatico reads VII.²), “Mercury governs boyhood for ten (or seven) years.”

Third side. An older youth, with another tablet, but broken. Inscribed

“ADOLOSCENCIE * * * P. AN. VII.”

Selvatico misses this side altogether, as I did the first, so that the lost planet is irrecoverable,³ as the inscription is now defaced. Note the o for e in adolescentia; so also we constantly find u for o; showing, together with much other incontestable evidence of the same kind, how full and deep the old pronunciation of Latin always remained, and how ridiculous our English mincing of the vowels would have sounded to a Roman ear.

Fourth side. A youth with a hawk on his fist.

“IUVENTUTI DNT SOL P. AN. XIX.”

The sun governs youth for nineteen years.

Fifth side. A man sitting, helmed, with a sword over his shoulder. Inscribed

“SENECTUTI DNT MARS. P. AN. XV.”

Mars governs manhood for fifteen years.

Sixth side. A very graceful and serene figure, in the pendent cap, reading.

“SENICIE DNT JUPITER, P. ANN. xii.”

Jupiter governs age for twelve years.

¹ [The sculpture is of an infant with an unwritten scroll in the right hand. The inscription is “LUNA DNT INFANCIE P. AN. IIII.”]

² [Selvatico’s reading is incorrect.]

³ [It is Venus, as the broken sculpture shows; part of the “N” and the whole of the “U” and “S” in the inscription are visible.]

Seventh side. An old man in a skull-cap, praying.

“DECREPITE DNT SATN Q ADMOTE.” (Saturnus usque ad mortem.)
Saturn governs decrepitude until death.

Eighth side. The dead body lying on a mattress.

“ULTIMA EST MORS PENA PECCATI.”
Last comes death, the penalty of sin.

§ 122. Shakespeare’s Seven Ages¹ are of course merely the expression of this early and well-known system. He has deprived the dotage of its devotion; but I think wisely, as the Italian system would imply that devotion was, or should be, always delayed until dotage.

TWENTY-THIRD CAPITAL. I agree with Selvatico in thinking this has been restored. It is decorated with large and vulgar heads.²

§ 123. TWENTY-FOURTH CAPITAL. This belongs to the large shaft which sustains the great party wall of the Sala del Gran Consiglio. The shaft is thicker than the rest; but the capital, though ancient, is coarse and somewhat inferior in design to the others of the series. It represents the history of marriage: the lover first seeing his mistress at a window, then addressing her, bringing her presents; then the bridal, the birth and the death of a child.³ But I have not been able to examine these sculptures properly, because the pillar is encumbered by the railing which surrounds the two guns set before the Austrian guard-house.⁴

§ 124. TWENTY-FIFTH CAPITAL. We have here the

¹ [*As You Like It*, act ii. sc. 7, l. 143.]

² [Representatives of the eight nations, as on Capital 16, see p. 410 *n*; each nation is distinguished by name, type of face, and head-dress.]

³ [For the full sequence of subjects, see the table below, p. 459.]

⁴ [Ruskin had later some good words to say for the Austrian occupation (see Appendix 3 in the next volume), but he objected to its armaments, as appears from a letter to his father:—

“16th November [1851].— . . . I get very angry every time I pass the guns in St. Mark’s Place or the pontoons opposite it; and very much provoked—and indeed it *is* sufficiently tiresome—that there is now no ‘lonely isle’ in all the lagoons of Venice. Wherever you go, where once there were quiet little gardens among ruins of island churches, there is now a sentinel and a powder magazine, and there is no piece of unbroken character to be found anywhere. There is not a single shore, far or near, which has not in some part of it the look of fortification, or violent dismantling, or renewing for military purposes of some kind or another; and there is hardly

employments of the months, with which we are already tolerably acquainted.¹ There are, however, one or two varieties worth noticing in this series.

First side. March. Sitting triumphantly in a rich dress, as the beginning of the year.

Second side. April and May. April with a lamb: May with a feather fan in her hand.

Third side. June. Carrying cherries in a basket.

I did not give this series with the others in the previous chapter, because this representation of June is peculiarly Venetian. It is called "the month of cherries," mese delle ceriese, in the popular rhyme on the conspiracy of Tiepolo, quoted above, Vol. I. Appendix iii.²

The cherries principally grown near Venice are of a deep red colour, and large, but not of high flavour, though refreshing. They are carved upon the pillar with great care, all their stalks undercut.

Fourth side. July and August. The first reaping; the leaves of the straw being given, shooting out from the tubular stalk. August, opposite, beats (the grain?) in a basket.

Fifth side. September. A woman standing in a wine-tub, and holding a branch of vine. Very beautiful.

Sixth side. October and November. I could not make out their occupation; they seem to be roasting or boiling some root over a fire.

Seventh side. December. Killing pigs, as usual.

Eighth side. January warming his feet, and February frying

an old convent window out of which you will not see a Croat's face peeping, or his pipe-clayed sword-belt hanging. It reads curiously enough over the Gothic doors, 'Caserma de' Gesuiti. ' However, better the Croats than the Jesuits."

The quotation "lonely isle" is from Shelley's description in *Julian and Maddalo* (line 248: "Amid you lonely isles of desert sand.") For a description of such an island-garden as Ruskin refers to, see the chapter on "Sant' Elena" in H. F. Brown's *Life on the Lagoons*; the island, a barracks under the Austrians, is now the site of an iron foundry. Ruskin mentions the island in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 72.]

¹ [See above, pp. 317-321. This is a new capital. March, the month of blustering winds, is blowing two horns; inscribed "MARCIVS CORNATOR"; in the old capital, as seen and described by Ruskin, the horns had been broken away. On side 4, August with chisel and mallet is making a barrel for the coming vintage. On side 6, October is a man with a *massa*, a loaf-shaped stone for beating out grain by hand. Then November is pouring grain into an upper mill-stone. On side 8, January is a double-faced Janus.]

² [Vol. IX. p. 418.]

fish. This last employment is again as characteristic of the Venetian winter as the cherries are of the Venetian summer.

The inscriptions are undecipherable, except a few letters here and there, and the words MARCIUS, APRILIS, and FEBRUARIUS.¹

This is the last of the capitals of the early palace; the next, or twenty-sixth capital; is the first of those executed in the fifteenth century under Foscari; and hence to the Judgment angle the traveller has nothing to do but to compare the base copies of the earlier work with their originals, or to observe the total want of invention in the Renaissance sculptor, wherever he has depended on his own resources. This, however, always with the exception of the twenty-seventh and of the last capital, which are both fine.

I shall merely enumerate the subjects and point out the plagiarisms of these capitals, as they are not worth description.

§ 125. TWENTY-SIXTH CAPITAL. Copied from the fifteenth, merely changing the succession of the figures.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CAPITAL. I think it possible that this may be part of the old work displaced in joining the new palace with the old: at all events, it is well designed, though a little coarse. It represents eight different kinds of fruit, each in a basket; the characters well given, and groups well arranged, but without much care or finish. The names are inscribed above, though somewhat unnecessarily, and with certainly as much disrespect to the beholder's intelligence as the sculptor's art,² namely ZEREXIS, PIRI, CHUCUMERIS, PERSICI, ZUCHE, MOLONI, FICI, HUVA. Zerexis (cherries) and Zuche (gourds) both begin with the same letter, whether meant for Z, S, or C, I am not sure. The Zuche are the common gourds, divided into two protuberances, one larger than the other, like a bottle compressed near the neck; and the Moloni are the long water-melons, which, roasted, form a staple food of the Venetians to this day.

§ 126. TWENTY-EIGHTH CAPITAL. Copied from the seventh.

¹ [The inscriptions are now all restored; "March" has already been given. Then "JUNIUS CU(M) CERESIS," "DECEMBER NECAT SUEM," and the others are the simple names.]

² [Compare the passage from the MS. of *The Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 231 n.]

TWENTY-NINTH CAPITAL. Copied from the ninth.

THIRTIETH CAPITAL. Copied from the tenth. The "Accidia" is noticeable as having the inscription complete, "ACCIDIA ME STRINGIT;" and the "Luxuria" for its utter want of expression, having a severe and calm face, a robe up to the neck, and her hand upon her breast. The inscription is also different: "LUXURIA SUM STERC^s (?) INFERI (?)."

THIRTY-FIRST CAPITAL. Copied from the eighth.

THIRTY-SECOND CAPITAL. Has no inscription, only fully robed figures laying their hands, without any meaning, on their own shoulders, heads, or chins, or on the leaves around them.

THIRTY-THIRD CAPITAL. Copied from the twelfth.

THIRTY-FOURTH CAPITAL. Copied from the eleventh.

THIRTY-FIFTH CAPITAL. Has children, with birds or fruit, pretty in features, and utterly inexpressive, like the cherubs of the eighteenth century.¹

§ 127. THIRTY-SIXTH CAPITAL.² This is the last of the Piazzetta façade, the elaborate one under the Judgment angle. Its foliage is copied from the eighteenth at the opposite side, with an endeavour on the part of the Renaissance sculptor to refine upon it, by which he has merely lost some of its truth and force.³ This capital will, however, be always thought, at first, the most beautiful of the whole series: and indeed it is very noble; its groups of figures most carefully studied, very graceful, and much more pleasing than those of the earlier work, though with less real power in them; and its foliage is only inferior to that of the magnificent Fig-tree angle. It represents, on its front or first side, Justice enthroned, seated on two lions; and on the seven other sides examples of acts of justice or good government, or figures of lawgivers, in the following order:

Second side. Aristotle, with two pupils, giving laws.
Inscribed

"ARISTOT * * CHE DIE LEGE."
Aristotle who declares law.

¹ [Copied from the fourth.]

² [See again *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 231.]

³ [See Fig. 13 in Plate 20, and p. 431 below.]

Third side. I have mislaid my note of this side: Selvatico and Lazari called it "Isidore" (?) *

Fourth side. Solon with his pupils. Inscribed

"SAL^O UNO DEI SETE SAVI DI GRECIA CHE DIE LEGE."

Solon, one of the seven sages of Greece, who declares laws.

Note, by-the-by, the pure Venetian dialect used in this capital, instead of the Latin in the more ancient ones. One of the seated pupils in this sculpture is remarkably beautiful in the sweep of his flowing drapery.

Fifth side. The chastity of Scipio. Inscribed

"ISIPIONE A CHASTITA CH * * * E LA FIA (e la figlia?) * * ARE."

A soldier in a plumed bonnet presents a kneeling maiden to the seated Scipio, who turns thoughtfully away.

Sixth side. Numa Pompilius building churches.

"NUMA POMPILIO IMPERADOR EDIFICHADOR DI TEMPI E CHIESE."

Numa, in a kind of hat with a crown above it, directing a soldier in Roman armour (note this, as contrasted with the mail of the earlier capitals). They point to a tower of three stories filled with tracery.¹

Seventh side. Moses receiving the law. Inscribed

"QUANDO MOSE RECEVE LA LEGE I SUL MONTE."

Moses kneels on a rock, whence springs a beautifully fancied tree, with clusters of three berries in the centre of three leaves, sharp and quaint, like fine Northern Gothic. The half figure of the Deity comes out of the abacus, the arm

* Can they have mistaken the ISIPIONE of the fifth side for the word Isidore?²

¹ [See Vol. IX. p. 261, where the decorative value of the tower is dwelt upon.]

² [For St. Isidore, see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 148, and *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 61; the inclusion of this martyr saint among the lawgivers would hardly be appropriate. It is, however, now impossible to recover the inscription. What remains is unintelligible; it begins "VOLO," but a new piece of stone has displaced that on which the first syllables were carved. The sculpture is of a man with an open book, teaching boys to read.]

meeting that of Moses, both at full stretch, with the stone tablets between.

Eighth side. Trajan doing justice to the Widow.¹

“TRAJANO IMPERADOR CHE FA JUSTITIA A LA VEDOVA.”

He is riding spiritedly, his mantle blown out behind; the widow kneeling before his horse.

§ 128. The reader will observe that this capital is of peculiar interest in its relation to the much disputed question of the character of the later government of Venice. It is the assertion by that government of its belief that Justice only could be the foundation of its stability, as these stones of Justice and Judgment are the foundation of its halls of council. And this profession of their faith may be interpreted in two ways. Most modern historians would call it, in common with the continual reference to the principles of justice in the political and judicial language of the period,* nothing more than a cloak for consummate violence and guilt; and it may easily be proved to have been so in myriads of instances. But in the main, I believe the expression of feeling to be genuine. I do not believe, of the majority of the leading Venetians of this period whose portraits have come down to us, that they were deliberately and ever-lastingly hypocrites. I see no hypocrisy in their countenances. Much capacity of it, much subtlety, much natural and acquired reserve; but no meanness. On the contrary, infinite grandeur, repose, courage, and the peculiar unity and tranquillity of expression which come of sincerity or *wholeness*

* Compare the speech of the Doge Mocenigo, above,—“first justice, and *then* the interests of the state [above p. 349:]” and see [*Stones of Venice*], Vol. III. Chap. II. § 59.

¹ [The story of the Roman widow who stopped the Emperor, as he was about to proceed on one of his foreign expeditions, to ask and obtain instant judgment on the murderers of her son, was a favourite subject with Italian artists. There is a quaint representation of it on two panels, of the Veronese school, in the National Gallery, Nos. 1135, 1136. The incident is engraved, with the record of his victories, on Trajan's Column.]

of heart, and which it would take much demonstration to make me believe could by any possibility be seen on the countenance of an insincere man. I trust, therefore, that these Venetian nobles of the fifteenth century did, in the main, desire to do judgment and justice¹ to all men; but, as the whole system of morality had been by this time undermined by the teaching of the Romish Church, the idea of justice had become separated from that of truth, so that dissimulation in the interest of the state assumed the aspect of duty. We had, perhaps, better consider, with some carefulness, the mode in which our own government is carried on, and the occasional difference between parliamentary and private morality, before we judge mercilessly of the Venetians in this respect. The secrecy with which their political and criminal trials were conducted, appears to modern eyes like a confession of sinister intentions; but may it not also be considered, and with more probability, as the result of an endeavour to do justice in an age of violence?—the only means by which Law could establish its footing in the midst of feudalism. Might not Irish juries² at this day justifiably desire to conduct their proceedings with some greater approximation to the judicial principles of the Council of Ten? Finally, if we examine, with critical accuracy, the evidence on which our present impressions of Venetian government are founded, we shall discover, in the first place, that two-thirds of the traditions of its cruelties are romantic fables: in the second, that the crimes of which it can be proved to have been guilty differ only from those committed by the other Italian powers in being done less wantonly, and under profounder conviction of their political expediency: and lastly, that the final degradation of the Venetian power appears owing not so much to the principles of its government, as to their being forgotten in the pursuit of pleasure.³

§ 129. We have now examined the portions of the palace

¹ [Genesis xviii. 19.]

² [See above, note on p. 195.]

³ [Compare *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. (Vol. IX. pp. 18, 22).]

which contain the principal evidence of the feeling of its builders. The capitals of the upper arcade are exceedingly various in their character; their design is formed, as in the lower series, of eight leaves, thrown into volutes at the angles, and sustaining figures at the flanks; but these figures have no inscriptions, and though evidently not without meaning, cannot be interpreted without more knowledge than I possess of ancient symbolism. Many of the capitals towards the Sea appear to have been restored, and to be rude copies of the ancient ones; others, though apparently original, have been somewhat carelessly wrought; but those of them which are both genuine and carefully treated are even finer in composition than any, except the eighteenth, in the lower arcade.¹ The traveller in Venice ought to ascend into the corridor, and examine with great care the series of capitals which extend on the Piazzetta side from the Fig-tree angle to the pilaster which carries the party wall of the Sala del Gran Consiglio. As examples of graceful composition in massy capitals meant for hard service and distant effect, these are among the finest things I know in Gothic art; and that above the fig-tree is remarkable for its sculptures of the four winds; each on the side turned towards the wind represented. Levante, the east wind; a figure with rays round its head, to show that it is always clear weather when that wind blows, raising the sun out of the sea: Hotro, the south wind; crowned, holding the sun in its right hand: Ponente, the west wind;² plunging the sun into the sea: and Tramontana, the north wind; looking up at the north star. This capital should be carefully examined, if for no

¹ [For Ruskin's first impression of the capitals of the upper arcade, and for his correction of it later when he perceived their carefully calculated effect, see the passage from his diary at Vol. IX. p. 292 *n.* A portion of the upper arcade is shown in Plate 15 of the *Examples*.]

² [In his copy of the volume Ruskin has here made the following note:—
“ ‘East, melting snow; West, shedding it.’—*Odyssey*, xix. 206.”
The lines are,

wV de ciwn katathket en akropoloisin oressin,
hv t EnroV katethxen, ephn ZefnroV katacenh

(“And even as the snow melts in the high places of the hills, the snow that the South-east wind has thawed when the West has scattered it abroad”.)]

other reason than to attach greater distinctness of idea to the magnificent verbiage of Milton:

“Thwart of these, as fierce,
Forth rush the Levant and the Ponent winds,
Eurus, and Zephyr; with their lateral noise,
Sirocco, and Libecchio.”¹

I may also especially point out the bird feeding its three young ones on the seventh pillar on the Piazzetta side; but there is no end to the fantasy of these sculptures;² and the

¹ [*Paradise Lost*, x. 705. For Ruskin’s remarks on “the magnificent verbiage” of Milton, see above, p. 87.]

² [There is an additional passage at this point in one draft of the chapter which Ruskin withdrew because he did not complete the plate intended to illustrate it (substituting the present Plate 20), but which is given here for the benefit of readers able to examine the details on the spot:—

“. . . there is no end to the fantasy of these sculptures; and I believe I shall best illustrate the character of the general workmanship of the Palace, by taking a simple fragment of leafage.

“The lowest figure, in the opposite plate(—), represents the ornament which is placed on the Fig-tree angle above its main capital, to sustain the sculpture of the eave; I have chosen this example, though far from being one of the finest, because it afforded the best ground for comparison with Byzantine art. The figure above it represents a side of one of the capitals of the Greek pillars brought from St. Jean d’Acre, and now standing before the Porta della Carta. The difference in style between these two sculptures shows the entire extent and character of the change which had been accomplished by Gothic art. But observe in the first place that both these designs are distinguished from classical work by their vitality. The Greek sculpture, though conventional in the form of its leaves, is changeful and playful in the extreme; observe especially that though for a moment it may appear the same on each side, one of the upright clusters of flowers is nearly twice as large as the other, and in order to obtain room for it, the base or stem of the ornament beneath is sloped *down* on the right-hand side, while it is carried *up* on the left. Examine the separate leaves and stems of each cluster—not one will be found like another, either in position or action; finally, observe the simple manner of cutting—sharp, bold, and daringly conventional—a kind of five-spoked wheel being used to express the flowers in the centre of the leaf clusters, but, in the real sculpture, with exquisite effect, for the deep incisions between the spokes of what here looks like a wheel, are, when seen at the proper distance, exactly like the ‘freaks of jet’ on the leaves of the flower.

“The piece of the Ducal Palace beneath, is, as I said, quite in a subordinate position, and it has therefore neither flowers nor bold shadows, nor any other feature of interest, so that it is hardly fair in this respect to compare it with a piece of Byzantine work so rich as the one above. Yet observe also, here, no one feature is exactly like another; there is no absolute, only a suggestive, correspondence. Note especially in the leaves that cannon to the right and left the varied position of the massive ribs, the rib nearest the extremity of the leaf being on the under side of the stalk in the one, and on the upper side in the other; note also one of the drill-holes lower than the other, and so on. The grand flowing line on the left, formed by the central rib of

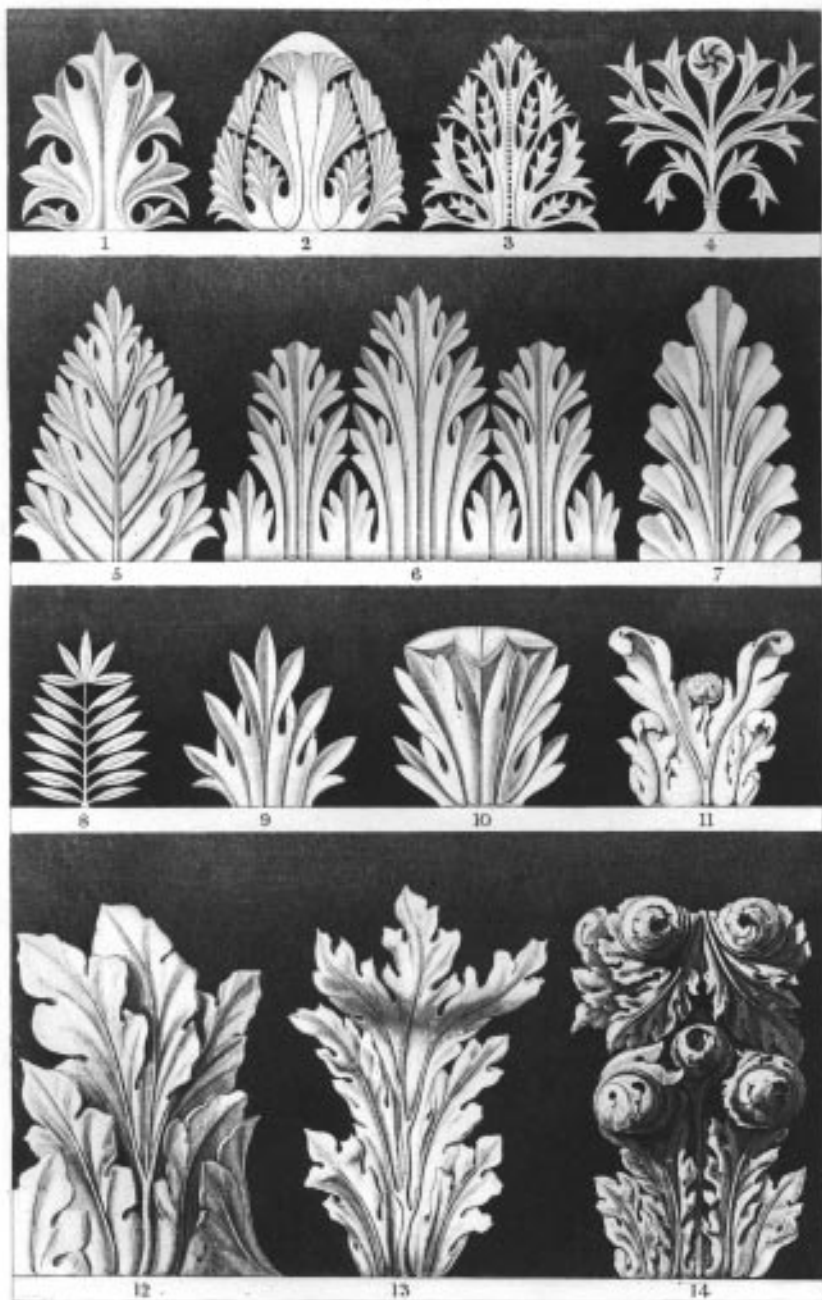
traveller ought to observe them all carefully, until he comes to the great pilaster or complicated pier which sustains the party wall of the Sala del Consiglio; that is to say, the forty-seventh capital of the whole series, counting from the pilaster of the Vine angle inclusive, as in the series of the lower arcade. The forty-eighth, forty-ninth, and fiftieth are bad work, but they are old; the fifty-first is the first Renaissance capital of the upper arcade; the first new lion's head with smooth ears,¹ cut in the time of Foscari, is over the fiftieth capital; and that capital, with its shaft, stands on the apex of the eighth arch from the Sea, on the Piazzetta side, of which one spandril is masonry of the fourteenth and the other of the fifteenth century.

§ 130. The reader who is not able to examine the building on the spot may be surprised at the definiteness with which the point of junction is ascertainable; but a glance at the lowest range of leaves in the opposite Plate (20) will enable him to judge of the grounds on which the above statement is made. Fig. 12 is a cluster of leaves from the capital of the Four Winds; early work of the finest time. Fig. 13 is a leaf from the great Renaissance capital at the Judgment angle, worked in imitation of the older leafage. Fig. 14 is a leaf from one of the Renaissance capitals of the upper arcade, which are all worked in the natural manner of the

the upright leaf, is on the actual angle of the palace. But the notable point about it is the magnificence of its style, its perfect, pure, unlaboured naturalism; the freshness, elasticity, and softness of its leafage, united with the most perfect symmetry and severe reserve—no running to waste, no loose or experimental lines, no extravagance, but no weakness. The whole design is sternly architectural; there is none of the wildness or redundancy of natural vegetation, but there is all the strength, life, and tossing flow of the free leaves that have been rippled, as they grew, by the summer winds, as the sands are by the sea.”

It will be observed that the last 8 lines correspond, with a few verbal alterations, to the last 11 lines of § 131 in the text, the characteristics being there given as applicable to the Ducal Palace sculpture generally. A *portion* of the intended illustration from the Jean d'Acre column (for which see Vol. IX. p. 105) is Fig. 4 in Plate 20; Figs. 12 and 13 are examples of Gothic leafage from the Ducal Palace. Plate 20 is again referred to in the next volume, ch. i. §§ 11 seq., and its various figures are explained in the Final Appendix (“iii.—Capitals”) to the next volume: see also p. 232 *n.* above. The quotation “freaks of jet” is from Milton's *Lycidas* (line 144: “The pansy freaked with jet”).]

¹ [See above, p. 409.]



J. Ruskin.

J. H. Lee, Engraver,
Allen & Co., So.

Leafage of the Venetian Capitals.

period. It will be seen that it requires no great ingenuity to distinguish between such design as that of fig. 12 and that of fig. 14.

§ 131. It is very possible that the reader may at first like fig. 14 the best. I shall endeavour, in the next chapter,¹ to show why he should not; but it must also be noted, that fig. 12 has lost, and fig. 14 gained, both largely, under the hands of the engraver. All the bluntness and coarseness of feeling in the workmanship of fig. 14 have disappeared on this small scale, and all the subtle refinements in the broad masses of fig. 12 have vanished. They could not, indeed, be rendered in line engraving, unless by the hand of Albert Dürer;² and I have, therefore, abandoned, for the present, all endeavour to represent any more important mass of the early sculpture of the Ducal Palace: but I trust that, in a few months, casts of many portions will be within the reach of the inhabitants of London,³ and that they will be able to judge for themselves of their perfect, pure, unlaboured naturalism; the freshness, elasticity, and softness of their leafage, united with the most noble symmetry and severe reserve,—no running to waste, no loose or experimental lines, no extravagance, and no weakness. Their design is always sternly architectural; there is none of the wildness or redundance of natural vegetation, but there is all the strength, freedom, and tossing flow of the breathing leaves, and all the undulation of their surfaces, rippled, as they grew, by the summer winds, as the sands are by the sea.

§ 132. This early sculpture of the Ducal Palace, then, represents the state of Gothic work in Venice at its central and proudest period, *i.e.*, circa 1350. After this time, all is decline,—of what nature and by what steps, we shall inquire in the ensuing chapter; for as this investigation, though

¹ [See the next volume, ch. i. § § 6 *seq.*, and compare above, ch. vi. § 64.]

² [Ruskin had plates by Dürer in his room at Venice: see above, p. 301 *n.*]

³ [Some casts were made for the Crystal Palace: see above, p. 114; others were made for Ruskin, and copies of them were presented by him to the Architectural Museum: see below, p. 467.]

still referring to Gothic architecture, introduces us to the first symptoms of the Renaissance influence, I have considered it as properly belonging to the third division of our subject.

§ 133. And as, under the shadow of these nodding leaves, we bid farewell to the great Gothic spirit, here also we may cease our examination of the details of the Ducal Palace; for above its upper arcade there are only the four traceried windows,* and one or two of the third order on the Rio Façade, which can be depended upon as exhibiting the original workmanship of the older palace. I examined the capitals of the four other windows on the façade, and of those on the Piazzetta, one by one, with great care, and I found them all to be of far inferior workmanship to those which retain their traceries: I believe the stone framework of these windows must have been so cracked and injured by the flames of the great fire, as to render it necessary to replace it by new traceries: and that the present mouldings and capitals are base imitations of the original ones. The traceries were at first, however, restored in their complete form, as the holes for the bolts which fastened the bases of their shafts are still to be seen in the window-sills, as well as the marks of the inner mouldings on the soffits. How much the stone facing of the façade, the parapets, and the shafts and niches of the angles retain of their original masonry, it is also impossible to determine; but there is nothing in the workmanship of any of them demanding especial notice; still less in the large central windows on each façade, which are entirely of Renaissance execution. All that is admirable in these portions of the building is the disposition of their various parts and masses, which is without doubt the same as in the original fabric,¹ and

* Some further details respecting these portions, as well as some necessary confirmations of my statements of dates, are, however, given in Appendix 1, Vol. III. I feared wearying the general reader by introducing them into the text.

¹ [On this question, see note on p. 335, above.]
X.

calculated, when seen from a distance, to produce the same impression.¹

§ 134. Not so in the interior. All vestige of the earlier modes of decoration was here, of course, destroyed by the fires; and the severe and religious work of Guariento and Bellini² has been replaced by the wildness of Tintoret and the luxury of Veronese. But in this case, though widely different in temper, the art of the renewal was at least intellectually as great as that which had perished; and though the halls of the Ducal Palace are no more representative of the character of the men by whom it was built, each of them is still a colossal casket of priceless treasure; a treasure whose safety has till now depended on its being despised, and which at this moment, and as I write, is piece by piece being destroyed for ever.

§ 135. The reader will forgive my quitting our more immediate subject, in order briefly to explain the causes and the nature of this destruction; for the matter is simply the most important of all that can be brought under our present consideration respecting the state of art in Europe.

The fact is, that the greater number of persons or societies throughout Europe, whom wealth, or chance, or inheritance has put in possession of valuable pictures, do not know a good picture from a bad one,* and have no idea in what the value of a picture really consists. The reputation of certain works is raised, partly by accident, partly by the just testimony of

* Many persons, capable of quickly sympathising with any excellence, when once pointed out to them, easily deceive themselves into the supposition that they are judges of art. There is only one real test of such power of judgment. Can they, at a glance, discover a good picture obscured by the filth, and confused among the rubbish, of the pawnbroker's or dealer's garret?

¹ [It may be noted that "before 1577 all the windows of the Great Chamber were decorated with Gothic triforia. It is now proposed to restore them, though the project meets with much opposition" (T. Okey's *Venice*, 1903, p. 245).]

² [For Guariento, see above, p. 345; for a decree relating to Bellini's work on the walls of the Great Council Chamber, see *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret.*]

artists, partly by the various and generally bad taste of the public (no picture, that I know of, has ever, in modern times, attained popularity, in the full sense of the term, without having some exceedingly bad qualities mingled with its good ones), and when this reputation has once been completely established, it little matters to what state the picture may be reduced: few minds are so completely devoid of imagination as to be unable to invest it with the beauties which they have heard attributed to it.

§ 136. This being so, the pictures that are most valued are for the most part those by masters of established renown, which are highly or neatly finished, and of a size small enough to admit of their being placed in galleries or saloons, so as to be made subjects of ostentation, and to be easily seen by a crowd. For the support of the fame and value of such pictures, little more is necessary than that they should be kept bright, partly by cleaning, which is incipient destruction, and partly by what is called “restoring,” that is, painting over, which is of course total destruction. Nearly all the gallery pictures in modern Europe have been more or less destroyed by one or other of these operations, generally exactly in proportion to the estimation in which they are held; and as, originally, the smaller and more highly finished works of any great master are usually his worst, the contents of many of our most celebrated galleries are by this time, in reality, of very small value indeed.

§ 137. On the other hand, the most precious works of any noble painter are usually those which have been done quickly, and in the heat of the first thought, on a large scale, for places where there was little likelihood of their being well seen, or for patrons from whom there was little prospect of rich remuneration.¹ In general, the best things are done in this way, or else in the enthusiasm and pride of accomplishing some great purpose, such as painting a cathedral or a campo-santo

¹ [For the relations between the great painters of Venice and her Senate—“relations which, in monetary matters, are entirely right and exemplary for all time”—see *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret.*]

from one end to the other, especially when the time has been short, and circumstances disadvantageous.

§ 138. Works thus executed are of course despised, on account of their quantity, as well as their frequent slightness, in the places where they exist; and they are too large to be portable, and too vast and comprehensive to be read on the spot, in the hasty temper of the present age. They are, therefore, almost universally neglected, whitewashed by custodes, shot at by soldiers, suffered to drop from the walls piecemeal in powder and rags by society in general;¹ but, which is an advantage more than counterbalancing all this evil, they are

¹ With these sections, Browning's Dramatic Lyric, "Old Pictures in Florence," published two years later, may well be compared:—

"Wherever a fresco peels and drops,
Wherever an outline weakens and wanes,
Till the latest life in the painting stops,
Stands One when each fainter pulse-tick pains:
One, wishful each scrap should clutch the brick,
Each tinge not wholly escape the plaster,
—A lion who dies of an ass's kick,
The wronged great soul of an ancient Master."

How intensely Ruskin felt the injuries which he describes in those sections will be seen from the following letters to his father:—

"Jan. 8, 1852.—. . . They talk of taking down Tintoret's Paradise and 'retouching' it. The world is such a heap of idiots that if it were not for the Turner Gallery I believe I should go and live in a cave in a cliff—among crows!

"Jan. 9.—. . . I have been rather low these two days, for I have heard there is a project to take down the Paradise of Tintoret and 'retouch' it and put it up, well varnished; and I went up to look at it, and though miserably injured, it is *now* as pure as if he had left it yesterday, and all California and Botany Bay together could not express its value,—if men did but know what God had given them and what he leaves it to their own hands to take away.

"Jan. 28.—. . . Men are more evanescent than pictures, yet one sorrows for lost friends, and pictures *are* my friends. I have none others. I am never long enough with men to attach myself to them; and whatever feelings of attachment I have are to material things. If the great Tintoret here were to be destroyed, it would be precisely to me what the death of Hallam was to Tennyson—as far as *this* world is concerned—with an addition of bitterness and indignation, for *my* friend would perish murdered, *his* by a natural death. Hearing of plans for its restoration is just the same to me as to another man hearing talk behind an Irish hedge of shooting his brother. . . . All my labour and all my writing are done under the conviction of pictures being of enormous importance, and of our neglect of them being sin. So that, needs must be, if I am ardent at one time, I am despondent at another, and in exact proportion to the pleasure I have in getting a Turner, or saving some record of a piece of architecture, is the pain I have in losing a Tintoret, or seeing a palace destroyed."]

not often “restored.” What is left of them, however fragmentary, however ruinous, however obscured and defiled, is almost always *the real thing*; there are no fresh readings: and therefore the greatest treasures of art which Europe at this moment possesses are pieces of old plaster on ruinous brick walls, where the lizards burrow and bask, and which few other living creatures ever approach: and torn sheets of dim canvas, in waste corners of churches; and mildewed stains, in the shape of human figures, on the walls of dark chambers, which now and then an exploring traveller causes to be unlocked by their tottering custode, looks hastily round, and retreats from in a weary satisfaction at his accomplished duty.

§ 139. Many of the pictures on the ceilings and walls of the Ducal Palace, by Paul Veronese and Tintoret, have been more or less reduced, by neglect, to this condition. Unfortunately they are not altogether without reputation, and their state has drawn the attention of the Venetian authorities and academicians. It constantly happens, that public bodies who will not pay five pounds to preserve a picture, will pay fifty to repaint it:* and when I was at Venice in 1846, there were two remedial operations carrying on, at one and the same time, in the two buildings which contain the pictures of greatest value in the city (as pieces of colour, of greatest value in the world), curiously illustrative of this peculiarity in human nature. Buckets were set on the floor of the Scuola di San Rocco, in every shower, to catch the rain which came through the pictures of Tintoret on the ceiling; while, in the Ducal Palace, those of Paul Veronese were themselves laid on the floor to be repainted; and I was myself present at the re-illumination of the breast of a white horse, with a brush, at the end of a stick five feet

* This is easily explained. There are, of course, in every place and at all periods, bad painters who conscientiously believe that they can improve every picture they touch; and these men are generally, in their presumption, the most influential over the innocence, whether of monarchs or municipalities. The carpenter and slater have little influence in recommending the repairs of the roof; but the bad painter has great influence, as well as interest, in recommending those of the picture.

long, luxuriously dipped in a common house-painter's vessel of paint.¹

This was, of course, a large picture. The process has already been continued in an equally destructive, though somewhat more delicate manner, over the whole of the humbler canvases on the ceiling of the Sala del Gran Consiglio; and I heard it threatened when I was last in Venice (1851–2) to the “Paradise” at its extremity, which is yet in tolerable condition,—the largest work of Tintoret, and the most wonderful piece of pure, manly, and masterly oil-painting in the world.²

§ 140. I leave these facts to the consideration of the European patrons of art. Twenty years hence they will be acknowledged and regretted; at present I am well aware that it is of little use to bring them forward, except only to explain the present impossibility of stating what pictures *are*, and what *were* in the interior of the Ducal Palace. I can only say that, in the winter of 1851, the “Paradise” of Tintoret was still comparatively uninjured, and that the Camera di Collegio, and its antechamber, and the Sala de' Pregadi were full of pictures by Veronese and Tintoret, that made their walls as precious as so many kingdoms; so precious, indeed,³ and so full of majesty, that sometimes when walking at evening on the Lido, whence the great

¹ [For other references to the neglect of the Tintorets in the Scuola di San Rocco, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. pp. 40, 395), *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 87, and *Munera Pulveris*, Preface, § 3.]

² [See in the next volume, Venetian Index, *s.* “Ducal Palace,” and the fuller description of the “Paradise” at the end of *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret*, where it is characterised as “the thoughtfullest and most precious” picture in the world. The picture is now (1903) under “restoration”: see below, p. 466.]

³ [It may be interesting to give the first draft of this closing passage; the words in brackets are those substituted in the author's intermediate revise:—

“. . . so precious, indeed, and so full of majesty, that sometimes when walking at evening on the Lido, whence the great chain of the Alps, loaded with silver clouds, might be seen rising above the glowing walk (front) of the Ducal Palace, diminished by distance into a faint confusion of tracery, I used to feel more awe in gazing on the building as on the hills, and could feel that God had done a greater work in breathing into the dust those mighty spirits which had raised its walls (by whom its haughty walls had been raised), and its burning legends written, than in raising the rocks of granite, higher than the clouds of heaven, and veiling them with their various mantle of purple flower and shadowy pine.”]

chain of the Alps, crested with silver clouds, might be seen rising above the front of the Ducal Palace, I used to feel as much awe in gazing on the building as on the hills, and could believe that God had done a greater work in breathing into the narrowness of dust the mighty spirits by whom its haughty walls had been raised, and its burning legends written, than in lifting the rocks of granite higher than the clouds of heaven, and veiling them with their various mantle of purple flower and shadowy pine.¹

¹ [The first thought of this passage occurs in a letter to his father:—

“*March* 13 [1852].— . . . During these cold March winds I have been looking at some of my old favourite Tintorets. Nothing in the world gives me so great an idea of human power. No writing—neither Homer’s, nor Dante’s, nor Shakespeare’s—seems to be education of so colossal an intellect. Their work is only thought; Tintoret’s is actual creation: it seems one of the Powers of the Divine Spirit granted to a creature. After being long before one of his uninjured, at least untouched, works, I come away feeling very nearly as if I had seen an actual miracle, with the same kind of awe and wonder. None of the changes or phenomena of Nature herself appear to me more marvellous than the production of one of his pictures. I should as soon think of teaching another man to do like it, as of teaching lightning to strike, or flowers to grow.”

For a Note which follows this chapter in the “Travellers’ Edition,” see Appendix 15, p. 463.]

AUTHOR'S APPENDIX

1. [p. 6] THE GONDOLIER'S CRY

MOST persons are now well acquainted with the general aspect of the Venetian gondola, but few have taken the pains to understand the cries of warning uttered by its boatmen, although those cries are peculiarly characteristic, and very impressive to a stranger, and have been even very sweetly introduced in poetry by Mr. Monckton Milnes.¹ It may perhaps be interesting to the traveller in Venice to know the general method of management of the boat to which he owes so many happy hours.

A gondola is in general rowed only by one man, *standing* at the stern; those of the upper classes having two or more boatmen, for greater speed and magnificence. In order to raise the oar sufficiently, it rests, not on the side of the boat, but on a piece of crooked timber like the branch of a tree, rising about a foot from the boat's side, and called a "fórcola." The fórcola is of different forms, according to the size and uses of the boat, and it is always somewhat complicated in its parts and curvature, allowing the oar various kinds of rest and catches on both its sides, but perfectly free play in all cases; as the management of the boat depends on the gondolier's being able in an instant to place his oar in any position. The fórcola is set on the righthand side of the boat, some six feet from the stern: the gondolier stands on a little flat platform or deck behind it, and throws nearly the entire weight of his body upon the forward stroke. The effect of this stroke would be naturally to turn the boat's head round to the left, as well as to send it forward; but this tendency is corrected by keeping the blade of the oar under the water on the return stroke, and raising it gradually, as a full spoon is raised out of any liquid, so that the blade emerges from the water only an instant before it again plunges. A *downward* and lateral pressure upon the fórcola is thus obtained, which entirely counteracts the tendency given by the forward stroke; and the effort, after a little practice, becomes hardly conscious, though, as it adds some labour to the back stroke, rowing a gondola at speed is hard and breathless work, though it appears easy and graceful to the looker-on.

If then the gondola is to be turned to the left, the forward impulse is given without the return stroke; if it is to be turned to the right, the plunged oar is brought forcibly up to the surface; in either case a single strong stroke being enough to turn the light and flat-bottomed boat. But as it has no keel, when the turn is made sharply, as out of one canal into another very narrow one, the impetus of the boat in its former direction gives it an

¹ ["The Venetian Serenade," by Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), in which the cries "Stali," "Premi," and "Sciar" are brought into the refrain.]

enormous lee-way, and it drifts laterally up against the wall of the canal, and that so forcibly, that if it has turned at speed, no gondolier can arrest the motion merely by strength or rapidity of stroke of oar; but it is checked by a strong thrust of the foot against the wall itself, the head of the boat being of course turned for the moment almost completely round to the opposite wall, and greater exertion made to give it, as quickly as possible, impulse in the new direction.

The boat being thus guided, the cry "Premi" is the order from one gondolier to another that he should "press" or thrust forward his oar, without the back stroke, so as to send his boat's head round *to the left*; and the cry "Stali" is the order that he should give the return or upward stroke which sends the boat's head round to the *right*. Hence, if two gondoliers meet under any circumstances which render it a matter of question on which side they should pass each other, the gondolier who has at the moment the least power over his boat cries to the other "Premi," if he wishes the boats to pass with their right-hand sides to each other, and "Stali" if with their left. Now, in turning a corner, there is, of course, risk of collision between boats coming from opposite sides, and warning is always clearly and loudly given on approaching an angle of the canals. It is, of course, presumed that the boat which gives the warning will be nearer the turn than the one which receives and answers it; and, therefore, will not have so much time to check itself or alter its course. Hence the advantage of the turn, that is, the outside, which allows the fullest swing, and greatest room for leeway, is always yielded to the boat which gives warning. Therefore, if the warning boat is going to turn to the right, as it is to have the outside position, it will keep its own right-hand side to the boat which it meets, and the cry of warning is therefore "Premi," twice given; first as soon as it can be heard round the angle, prolonged and loud, with the accent on the e, and another strongly accented e added, a kind of question, "Prémi-é," followed, at the instant of turning, with "Ah Premi," with the accent sharp on the final i. If, on the other hand, the warning boat is going to turn to the left, it will pass with its left-hand side to the one it meets; and the warning cry is, "Stáli—é, Ah Stali." Hence the confused idea in the mind of the traveller that Stali means "to the left," and "Premi" to the right; while they mean, in reality, the direct reverse: the Stali (for instance) being the order to the unseen gondolier (who may be behind the corner),¹ coming from the left-hand side, that he should hold as much as possible *to his own right*; this being the only safe order for him, whether he is going to turn the corner himself, or to go straight on; for as the warning gondola will always swing right across the canal in turning, a collision with it is only to be avoided by keeping well within it, and close up to the corner which it turns.

There are several other cries necessary in the management of the gondola, but less frequently, so that the reader will hardly care for their interpretation; except only the "sciar," which is the order to the opposite gondolier to stop the boat as suddenly as possible by slipping his oar in front of the *fórcola*. The cry is never heard except when the boatmen have got into some unexpected position, involving a risk of collision; but the action is seen constantly, when the gondola is rowed by two or more men (for if

¹ [The two sets of words in brackets are struck out by Ruskin in his copy for revision.]

performed by the single gondolier it only swings the boat's head sharp round to the right), in bringing up at a landing-place, especially when there is any intent of display, the boat being first urged to its full speed and then stopped with as much foam about the oar-blades as possible, the effect being much like that of stopping a horse at speed by pulling him on his haunches.¹

2. [P. 6] OUR LADY OF SALVATION

"Santa Maria Della Salute," Our Lady of Health, or of Safety, would be a more literal translation, yet not perhaps fully expressing the force of the Italian word in this case. The church was built between 1630 and 1680, in acknowledgment of the cessation of the plague;—of course to the Virgin, to whom the modern Italian has recourse in all his principal distresses, and who receives his gratitude for all principal deliverances.

The hasty traveller is usually enthusiastic in his admiration of this building;² but there is a notable lesson to be derived from it, which is not often read. On the opposite side of the broad canal of the Giudecca is a small church, celebrated among Renaissance architects as of Palladian design, but which would hardly attract the notice of the general observer, unless on account of the pictures by John Bellini which it contains, in order to see which the traveller may perhaps remember having been taken across the Giudecca to the church of the "Redentore." But he ought carefully to compare these two buildings with each other, the one built "to the Virgin," the other "to the Redeemer" (also a votive offering after the cessation of the plague of 1576): the one, the most conspicuous church in Venice, its dome, the principal one by which she is first discerned, rising out of the distant sea; the other, small and contemptible, on a suburban island, and only becoming an object of interest because it contains three small pictures! For in the relative magnitude and conspicuousness of these two buildings, we have an accurate index of the relative importance of the ideas of the Madonna and of Christ, in the modern Italian mind.

Some further account of this church is given in the final index to the Venetian buildings at the close of the third volume.

3. [P. 12] TIDES OF VENICE, AND MEASURES AT TORCELLO

The lowest and highest tides take place in Venice at different periods, the lowest during the winter, the highest in the summer and autumn. During the period of the highest tides, the city is exceedingly beautiful; especially if, as is not unfrequently the case, the water rises high enough partially to flood St. Mark's Place. Nothing can be more lovely or fantastic than the scene, when the Campanile and the Golden Church are reflected in the calm water, and the lighter gondolas floating under the very porches of

¹ [Readers who desire further information about the gondola should consult H. F. Brown's *Life on the Lagoons*.]

² [See in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. "Salute."]

the façade.¹ On the other hand, a winter residence in Venice is rendered peculiarly disagreeable by the low tides, which sometimes leave the smaller canals entirely dry, and large banks of mud beneath the houses, along the borders of even the Grand Canal.* The difference between the levels of the highest and lowest tides I saw in Venice was 6 ft. 3 in. The average variation² is from two to three feet.

The measures of Torcello were intended for Appendix 4; but having by a misprint [p. 22] referred the reader to Appendix 3, I give them here. The entire breadth of the church within the walls is 70 feet; of which the square bases of the pillars, 3 feet on each side, occupy 6 feet; and the nave, from base to base, measures 31 ft. 1 in.; the aisles from base to wall, 16 feet odd inches, not accurately ascertainable on account of the modern wainscot fittings. The intervals between the bases of the pillars are 8 feet each, increasing towards the altar to 8 ft. 3 in., in order to allow for a corresponding diminution in the diameter of the bases from 3 ft. to 2 ft. 11 in. or 2 ft. 10 in. This subtle diminution of the bases is in order to prevent the eye from feeling the greater narrowness of the shafts in that part of the nave, their average circumference being 6 ft. 10 in.; and one, the second on the north side, reaching 7 feet, while those at the upper end of the nave vary from 6 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 4 in. It is probable that this diminution in the more distant pillars adds slightly to the perspective effect of length in the body of the church, as it is seen from the great entrance: but whether this was the intention or not, the delicate adaptation of this diminished base to the diminished shaft is a piece of fastidiousness in proportion which I rejoice in having detected; and this the more, because the rude contours of the bases themselves would little induce the spectator to anticipate any such refinement.

4. [P. 20] DATE OF THE DUOMO OF TORCELLO

The first flight to the lagoons for shelter was caused by the invasion of Attila in the fifth century, so that in endeavouring to throw back the thought of the reader to the former solitude of the islands, I spoke of them as they must have appeared “1300 years ago.” Altinum, however, was not finally destroyed till the Lombard invasion in 641,³ when the episcopal seat was removed to Torcello, and the inhabitants of the mainland city, giving up all hope

* All these generalizations are imperfect, and several inaccurate. I perceive now that the tides in Venice are under laws which I might write another three volumes on—or four: The Rise, High-water, the Fall, Low-water; and then not exhaust the subject. They have been just now delightfully into everybody’s front door every morning at eleven o’clock, for two months, and running pleasantly fast down any canal I want to go up, in the afternoon—26th December, 1876. [Note added in Ruskin’s copy for revision.]

¹ [See the account of a high tide given above in the Introduction, p. xxxvi.]

² [Ruskin in his copy for revision corrects “fall rise” (a misreading in all editions) into “variation.”]

³ [The history of this time is obscure, but 568 appears to be the date of the destruction and abandonment of Altinum: see above, note on p. 18.]

of returning to their former homes, built their Duomo there. It is a disputed point among Venetian antiquarians, whether the present church be that which was built in the seventh century, partially restored in 1008, or whether the words of Sagornino,¹ “ecclesiam jam vetustate consumptam recreare,” justify them in assuming an entire rebuilding of the fabric. I quite agree with the Marchese Selvatico in believing the present church to be the earlier building, variously strengthened, refitted, and modified by subsequent care; but, in all its main features, preserving its original aspect, except, perhaps, in the case of the pulpit and chancel screen, which, if the Chevalier Bunsen’s conclusions respecting early pulpits in the Roman basilicas be correct (see the next article of this Appendix), may possibly have been placed in their present position in the tenth century, and the fragmentary character of the workmanship of the latter, noticed in [ch. ii.] §§ 10 and 11, would in that case have been the result of innovation, rather than of haste. The question, however, whether they are of the seventh or eleventh century, does not in the least affect our conclusions, drawn from the design of these portions of the church, respecting pulpits in general.

5. [P. 30] MODERN PULPITS

There is no character of an ordinary modern English church which appears to me more to be regretted than the peculiar pompousness of the furniture of the pulpits, contrasted, as it generally is, with great meagreness and absence of colour in the other portions of the church; a pompousness, besides, altogether without grace or meaning, and dependent merely on certain applications of upholstery; which, curiously enough, are always in worse taste than those even of our drawing-rooms. Nor do I understand how our congregations can endure the aspect of the wooden sounding-board, attached only by one point of its circumference to an upright pillar behind the preacher; and looking as if the weight of its enormous leverage must infallibly, before the sermon is concluded, tear it from its support, and bring it down upon the preacher’s head. These errors in taste and feeling will, however, I believe, be gradually amended as more Gothic churches are built;* but the question of the position of the pulpit presents a more disputable ground of discussion. I can perfectly sympathise with the feeling of those who wish the eastern extremity of the church to form a kind of holy place for the communion table; nor have I often received a more painful impression than on seeing the preacher at the Scotch Church in George Street, Portman Square, taking possession of a perfect apse; and occupying therein, during the course of the service, very nearly the position which the figure of Christ does in that of the Cathedral of Pisa. But I nevertheless believe that the Scotch congregation are perfectly right, and have restored the real arrangement of the primitive churches. The Chevalier Bunsen informed me very lately, that, in all the early basilicas he has examined,² the lateral pulpits are of more recent date than the rest of the building; that he knows of none placed in the position which they now occupy, both in the

* They have been so. The pulpits are now unexceptionable. The difficulty is only to make any use of them. [Note added in Ruskin’s copy for revision.]

¹ [See above, p. 338.]

² [See above, p. 22 *n.*]

basilicas and Gothic cathedrals, before the ninth century; and that there can be no doubt that the bishop always preached or exhorted, in the primitive times, from his throne in the centre of the apse, the altar being always set at the centre of the church, in the crossing of the transepts. His Excellency found by experiment in Santa Maria Maggiore, the largest of the Roman basilicas, that the voice could be heard more plainly from the centre of the apse than from any other spot in the whole church; and, if this be so, it will be another very important reason for the adoption of the Romanesque (or Norman) architecture in our churches, rather than of the Gothic. The reader will find some farther notice of this question in the concluding chapter of the third volume [§ 36].

Before leaving this subject, however, I must be permitted to say one word to those members of the Scotch Church who are severe in their requirement of the nominal or apparent extemporisation of all addresses delivered from the pulpit. Whether they do right in giving those among their ministers who *cannot* preach extempore the additional and useless labour of committing their sermons to memory, may be a disputed question; but it can hardly be so that the now not unfrequent habit of making a desk of the Bible, and reading the sermon stealthily by slipping the sheets of it between the sacred leaves, so that the preacher consults his own notes *on pretence* of consulting the Scriptures, is a very unseemly consequence of their over-strictness.

6. [P. 49] APSE OF MURANO

The following passage succeeded in the original text to § 15 of Chap. III. Finding it not likely to interest the general reader, I have placed it here, as it contains matter of some interest to architects.

“On this plinth, thus carefully studied in relations of magnitude, the shafts are set at the angles, as close to each other as possible as seen in the ground plan. These shafts are founded on pure Roman tradition; their bases have no spurs, and the shaft itself is tapered in a bold curve, according to the classical model. But, in the adjustment of the bases to each other, we have a most curious instance of the first beginning of the Gothic principle of aggregation of shafts. They have a singularly archaic and simple profile. Now when of a single cavetto and roll, which are circular, on a square plinth. Now when these bases are brought close to each other at the angles of the apse, their natural position would be as in fig. 3, Plate 1, leaving an awkward fissure between the two square plinths. This offended the architect’s eye; so he cut part of each of the bases away, and fitted them close to each other, as in fig. 5, Plate 1, which is their actual position. As before this piece of rough harmonisation the circular mouldings reached the sides of the squares, they were necessarily cut partly away in the course of the adjustment, and run into each other as in the figure, so as to give us one of the first Venetian instances of the continuous Gothic base.

“The shafts measure on the average 2 ft. 8½ in. in circumference, at the base, tapering so much that under the lowest fillet of their necks they measure only 2 feet round, though their height is only 5 ft. 6 in., losing thus eight inches of girth in five feet and a half of height. They are delicately curved all the way up; and are 2½ in. apart from each other where they are nearest, and about 5 in. at the necks of their capitals.”

7. [P. 66] EARLY VENETIAN DRESS

Sansovino's account of the changes in the dress of the Venetians is brief, masterly, and full of interest; one or two passages are deserving of careful notice, especially the introductory sentence. "For the Venetians from their first origin, having made it their aim to be peaceful and religious, and to keep on an equality with one another, that equality might induce stability and concord (as disparity produces confusion and ruin), made their dress a matter of conscience. . . and our ancestors, observant lovers of religion, upon which all their acts were founded, and desiring that their young men should direct themselves to virtue, the true soul of all human action, *and above all to peace*, invented a dress conformable to their gravity, such, that in clothing themselves with it, they might clothe themselves also with modesty and honour. And because their mind was bent upon giving no offence to any one, and living quietly as far as might be permitted them, it seemed good to them to show to every one, even by external signs, this their endeavour, by wearing a long dress, which was in nowise convenient for persons of a quick temperament, or of eager and fierce spirits."

Respecting the colour of the women's dress, it is noticeable that blue is called "Venetian colour" by Cassiodorus, translated "turchino" by Filiasi, vol. v. chap. iv. It was a very pale blue, as the place in which the word occurs is the description by Cassiodorus of the darkness which came over the sun's disk at the time of the Belisarian wars and desolation of the Gothic kingdom.¹

8. [P. 66] INSCRIPTIONS AT MURANO

There are two other inscriptions on the border of the concha; but these, being written on the soffit of the face arch, which, as before noticed, is supported by the last two shafts of the chancel, could not be read by the congregation, and only with difficulty by those immediately underneath them. One of them is in black, the other in red letters. The first:

"Mutat quod sumpsit, quod sollat crimina tandit
Et quod sumpsit, vultus vestisq. refulsit."

The second:

"Discipuli testes, prophete certa videntes
Et cernunt purum, sibi credunt ese futurum."

I have found no notice of any of these inscriptions in any Italian account of

¹ [Ruskin refers to turquoise, the Venetian colour, in a letter to his father:—

"24th November [1851].—When you have nothing particular to do, I should be grateful if you would look what the word Turquoise comes from; whether it means Turk's stone, or whether blue was called Turk's colour. I find blue was called *Venetian* colour, but it was a particular kind of blue called *Turchino*. The turquoise is called *Turchina*, and I don't know if the stone was called from the colour, or the colour from the stone."

The finest variety of the stone occurs in Persia, whence it originally reached western Europe by way of Turkey. The Venetians imported it from Turkey, and thus called it *turchina* or *turchesa* (French *turquoise*), the name being thence transferred to the colour of the stone.]

the Church of Murano, and have seldom seen even Monkish Latin less intelligible. There is no mistake in the letters, which are all large and clear; but wrong letters may have been introduced by ignorant restorers, as has often happened in St. Mark's.

9. [P. 117] SHAFTS OF ST. MARK

The principal pillars which carry the nave and transepts, fourteen in number, are of white alabaster, veined with grey and amber; each of a single block 15 ft. high, and 6 ft. 2 in. round at the base. I in vain endeavoured to ascertain their probable value. Every sculptor whom I questioned on this subject told me there were no such pieces of alabaster in the market, and that they were to be considered as without price.

On the façade of the church alone are two great ranges of shafts, seventy-two in the lower range, and seventy-nine in the upper; all of porphyry, alabaster, and verd-antique or fine marble; the lower about 9 ft., the upper about 7 ft. high, and of various circumferences, from 4 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. round.

There are now so many published engravings, and, far better than engravings, calotypes of this façade, that I may point out one or two circumstances for the reader's consideration without giving any plate of it here. And first, we ought to note the relations of the shafts and wall, the latter being first sheeted with alabaster, and then the pillars set within two or three inches of it, forming such a grove of golden marble that the porches open before us as we enter the church like glades in a deep forest. The reader may perhaps at first question the propriety of placing the wall so close behind the shafts that the latter have nearly as little work to do as the statues in a Gothic porch; but the philosophy of this arrangement is briefly deducible from the principles stated in the text. The builder had at his disposal shafts of a certain size only, not fit to sustain the whole weight of the fabric above. He therefore turns just as much of the wall veil into shaft as he has strength of marble at his disposal, and leaves the rest in its massive form. And that there may be no dishonesty in this, nor any appearance in the shafts of doing more work than is really allotted to them, many are left visibly with half their capitals projecting beyond the archivolt they sustain, showing that the wall is very slightly dependent on their co-operation, and that many of them are little more than mere bonds or connecting rods between the foundation and cornices. If any architect ventures to blame such an arrangement, let him look at our much vaunted early English piers in Salisbury Cathedral or Westminster Abbey, where the small satellitic shafts are introduced in the same gratuitous manner, but with far less excuse or reason: for those small shafts have nothing but their delicacy and purely theoretical connection with the archivolt mouldings to recommend them; but the St. Mark's shafts have an intrinsic beauty and value of the highest order, and the object of the whole system of architecture, as above stated, is in great part to set forth the beauty and value of the shaft itself. Now, not only is this accomplished by withdrawing it occasionally from servile work, but the position here given to it, within three or four inches of a wall from which it nevertheless

stands perfectly clear all the way up, is exactly that which must best display its colour and quality. When there is much vacant space left behind a pillar, the shade against which it is relieved is comparatively indefinite, the eye passes by the shaft, and penetrates into the vacancy. But when a broad surface of wall is brought near the shaft, its own shadow is, in almost every effect of sunshine, so sharp and dark as to throw out its colours with the highest possible brilliancy; if there be no sunshine, the wall veil is subdued and varied by the most subtle gradations of delicate half shadow, hardly less advantageous to the shaft which it relieves. And, as far as regards pure effect in open air (all artifice of excessive darkness or mystery being excluded), I do not know anything whatsoever in the whole compass of the European architecture I have seen, which can for a moment be compared with the quaint shade and delicate colour, like that of Rembrandt and Paul Veronese united, which the sun brings out as his rays move from porch to porch along the St. Mark's facade.

And, as if to prove that this was indeed the builder's intention, and that he did not leave his shafts idle merely because he did not know how to set them to work safely, there are two pieces of masonry at the extremities of the facade, which are just as remarkable for their frank trust in the bearing power of the shafts as the rest are for their want to confidence in them. But, before we come to these, we must say a word or two respecting the second point named above, the superimposition¹ of the shafts.

It was assuredly not in the builder's power, even had he been so inclined, to obtain shafts high enough to sustain the whole external gallery, as it is sustained in the nave, on one arcade. He had, as above noticed, [p. 95] a supply of shafts of every sort and size, from which he chose the largest for his nave shafts; the smallest were set aside for windows, jambs, balustrades, supports of pulpits, niches, and such other services, every conceivable size occurring in different portions of the building; and the middle-sized shafts were sorted into two classes, of which on the average one was about two-thirds the length of the other, and out of these the two stories of the facade and sides of the church are composed, the smaller shafts of course uppermost, and more numerous than the lower, according to the ordinary laws of superimposition adopted by all the Romanesque builders, and observed also in a kind of architecture quite as beautiful as any we are likely to invent, that of forest trees.

Nothing is more singular than the way in which this kind of superimposition (the only right one in the case of shafts) will shock a professed architect. He has been accustomed to see, in the Renaissance designs, shaft put on the top of shaft, three or four times over, and he thinks this quite right; but the moment he is shown a properly subdivided superimposition, in which the upper shafts diminish in size and multiply in number, so that the lower pillars would balance them safely even without cement, he exclaims that it is "against law," as if he had never seen a tree in his life.

Not that the idea of the Byzantine superimposition was taken from trees, any more than that of Gothic arches. Both are simple compliances with laws of nature, and, therefore, approximations to the forms of nature.

There is, however, one very essential difference between tree structure and

¹ [This word has been misprinted "superior position" in every previous edition of the book.]

the shaft structure in question; namely, that the marble branches, having no vital connection with the stem, must be provided with a firm tablet or second foundation whereon to stand. This intermediate plinth or tablet runs along the whole façade at one level, is about eighteen inches thick, and left with little decoration, as being meant for hard service. The small porticoes, already spoken of [Vol. IX. p. 245] as the most graceful pieces of composition with which I am acquainted, are sustained on detached clusters of four or five columns, forming the continuation of those of the upper series, and each of these clusters is balanced on one grand detached shaft; as much trust being thus placed in the pillars here, as is withdrawn from them elsewhere. The northern portico has only one detached pillar at its outer angle, which sustains three shafts and a square pilaster; of these shafts the one at the outer angle of the group is the thickest (so as to balance the pilaster on the inner angle), measuring 3 ft. 2 in. round, while the others measure only 2 ft. 10 in. and 2 ft. 11 in.; and in order to make this increase of diameter, and the importance of the shaft, more manifest to the eye, the old builders made the shaft *shorter* as well as thicker, increasing the depth both of its capital and the base, with what is to the thoughtless spectator ridiculous incongruity, and to the observant one a most beautiful expression of constructive science. Nor is this all. Observe: the whole strength of this angle depends on accuracy of *poise*, not on breadth or strength of foundation. It is a *balanced*, not a propped structure; if the balance fails, it must fall instantly; if the balance is maintained, no matter how the lower shaft is fastened into the ground, all will be safe. And to mark this more definitely, the great lower shaft *has a different base from all the others of the façade*, remarkably high in proportion to the shaft, on a circular instead of a square plinth, and *without spurs*, while all the other bases have spurs, without exception.¹ Glance back at what is said of the spurs at ch. vii. §§ 9, 10, of the first volume [Vol. IX. pp. 105–106], and reflect that all expression of *grasp* in the foot of the pillar is here useless, and to be replaced by one of balance merely, and you will feel what the old builder wanted to say to us, and how much he desired us to follow him with our understanding as he laid stone above stone.

And this purpose of his is hinted to us once more, even by the position of this base in the ground plan of the foundation of the portico; for, though itself circular, it sustains a hexagonal plinth *set obliquely to the walls of the church*, as if expressly to mark to us that it did not matter how the base was set, so only that the weights were justly disposed above it.

10. [P. 131] PROPER SENSE OF THE WORD IDOLATRY²

I do not intend, in thus applying the word “Idolatry” to certain ceremonies of Romanist worship, to admit the propriety of the ordinary Protestant manner of regarding those ceremonies as distinctively idolatrous, and as separating the Romanist from the Protestant Church by a gulf across which we must not look to our fellow-Christians but with utter reprobation and

¹ [Its profile is shown in Plate 5 (fig. 22) of the next volume, where see Appendix 10 (i.).]

² [With this Appendix compare *Aratra Pentelici*, ch. ii., “Idolatry,” and ch. iii., “Imagination.”]

disdain. The Church of Rome does indeed distinctively violate the *second* commandment; but the true force and weight of the sin of idolatry are in the violation of the first, of which we are all of us guilty, in probably a very equal degree, considered only as members of this or that communion, and not as Christians or unbelievers. Idolatry is, both literally and verily, not the mere bowing down before sculptures, but the serving or becoming the slave of any images or imaginations which stand between us and God, and it is otherwise expressed in Scripture as “walking after the *Imagination*” of our own hearts.¹ And observe also that while, at least on one occasion, we find in the Bible an indulgence granted to the mere external and literal violation of the second commandment, “When I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing,” we find no indulgence in any instance, or in the slightest degree, granted to “covetousness, which is idolatry” (Col. iii. 5; no casual association of terms, observe, but again energetically repeated in Ephesians v. 5, “No covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ”): nor any to that denial of God, idolatry in one of its most subtle forms, following so often on the possession of that wealth against which Agur prayed so earnestly, “Give me neither poverty nor riches, lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord?”

And in this sense, which of us is not an idolater? Which of us has the right, in the fulness of that better knowledge, in spite of which he nevertheless is not yet separated from the service of this world, to speak scornfully of any of his brethren, because, in a guiltless ignorance, they have been accustomed to bow their knees before a statue? Which of us shall say that there may not be a spiritual worship in their apparent idolatry, or that there is not a spiritual idolatry in our own apparent worship?

For indeed it is utterly impossible for one man to judge of the feeling with which another bows down before an image. From that pure reverence in which Sir Thomas Browne wrote,² “I can dispense with my hat at the sight of a cross, but not with a thought of my Redeemer,” to the worst superstition of the most ignorant Romanist, there is an infinite series of subtle transitions; and the point where simple reverence and the use of the image merely to render conception more vivid, and feeling more intense, change into definite idolatry by the attribution of Power to the image itself, is so difficultly determinable that we cannot be too cautious in asserting that such a change has actually taken place in the case of any individual. Even when it is definite and certain, we shall oftener find it the consequence of dulness of intellect than of real alienation of heart from God; and I have no manner of doubt that half of the poor and untaught Christians who are this day lying prostrate before crucifixes, Bambinos, and Volto Santos,³ are finding more acceptance

¹ [Jeremiah xxiii. 17. The following references are 2 Kings v. 18 and Proverbs xxx. 8.]

² [“At the sight of a cross or crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour” (*Religio Medici*, part i. § 3).]

³ [Ruskin was no doubt thinking more especially of the Volto Santo which is preserved in the Duomo of Lucca and exposed to view three times a year. It was this wooden image of our Lord—reputed to have been begun by Nicodemus and to have been miraculously finished, but really a work of the eleventh century—which furnished William Rufus with his favourite oath—*Per vultum de Lucca*, and it is alluded to by Dante (*Inferno*, xxi. 48).]

with God than many Protestants who idolise nothing but their own opinions or their own interests. I believe that those who have worshipped the thorns of Christ's crown will be found at last to have been holier and wiser than those who worship the thorns of the world's service, and that to adore the nails of the cross is a less sin than to adore the hammer of the workman.

But, on the other hand, though the idolatry of the lower orders in the Romish Church may thus be frequently excusable, the ordinary subterfuges by which it is defended are not so. It may be extenuated, but cannot be denied; and the attribution of power to the image,* in which it consists, is not merely a form of popular feeling, but a tenet of priestly instruction, and may be proved, over and over again, from any book of the Romish Church services. Take, for instance, the following prayer, which occurs continually at the close of the Service of the Holy Cross:

“Sainte vraye Croye aourée,
 Qui du corps Dieu fu aournée,
 Et de sa sueur arrousée,
 Et de son sanc enluminée,
 Par ta vertu, par ta puissance,
 Defent mon corps de meschance,
 Et montrie moy par ton playsir
 Que vray confes puisse mourir.”

“Oh holy, true, and golden Cross, which wast adorned with God's body and watered with His sweat, and illuminated with His blood, by thy healing virtue and thy power, defend my body from mischance; and by thy good pleasure, let me make a good confession when I die.”

There can be no possible defence imagined for the mere terms in which this prayer and other such are couched; yet it is always to be remembered, that in many cases they are rather poetical effusions than serious prayers; the utterances of imaginative enthusiasm, rather than of reasonable conviction; and as such, they are rather to be condemned as illusory and fictitious than as idolatrous, nor even as such condemned altogether, for strong love and faith are often the roots of them, and the errors of affection are better than the accuracies of apathy. But the unhappy results, among all religious sects, of the habit of allowing imaginative and poetical belief to take the place of deliberate, resolute, and prosaic belief, have been fully and admirably traced by the author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm*.¹

* I do not like to hear Protestants speaking with gross and uncharitable contempt even of the worship of relics. Elisha once trusted his own staff too far; nor can I see any reasonable ground for the scorn, or the unkind rebuke, of those who have been taught from their youth upwards that to hope even in the hem of the garment may sometimes be better than to spend the living on physicians.²

¹ [For a further reference to this book, and an extract from it—in a very different sense from that here indicated—see *Practerita*, ii. ch. iii. § 53. The book was published anonymously in 1829, and ran through several editions (6th ed. 1832). The author was Isaac Taylor.]

² [2 Kings iv. 31, 32; Matthew ix. 20.]

11. [p. 145] SITUATIONS OF BYZANTINE PALACES

(1.) THE TERRACED HOUSE¹

The most conspicuous pile in the midmost reach of the Grand Canal is the Casa Grimani, now the Post-Office.² Letting his boat lie by the steps of this great palace, the traveller will see, on the other side of the canal, a building with a small terrace in front of it, and a little court with a door to the water, beside the terrace. Half of the house is visibly modern, and there is a great seam, like the edge of a scar, between it and the ancient remnant, in which the circular bands of the Byzantine arches will be instantly recognised. This building not having, as far as I know, any name except that of its present proprietor, I shall in future distinguish it simply as the Terraced House.

(2.) CASA BUSINELLO

To the left of this edifice (looking from the Post-Office) there is a modern palace, on the other side of which the Byzantine mouldings appear again in the first and second stories of a house lately restored. It might be thought that the shafts and arches had been raised yesterday, the modern walls having been deftly adjusted to them, and all appearance of antiquity, together with the ornamentation and proportions of the fabric, having been entirely destroyed. I cannot, however, speak with unmixed sorrow of these changes since, without his being implicated in the shame of them, they fitted this palace to become the residence of the kindest friend I had in Venice.³ It is generally known as the Casa Businello.⁴

(3.) THE BRAIDED HOUSE

Leaving the steps of the Casa Grimani, and turning the gondola away from the Rialto, we will pass the Casa Businello, and the three houses which succeed it on the right. The fourth is another restored palace, white and conspicuous, but retaining of its ancient structure only the five windows in its second story, and an ornamental moulding above them, which appears to be ancient, though it is inaccessible without scaffolding, and I cannot therefore answer for it. But the five central windows are very valuable; and as their capitals differ from most that we find (except in St. Mark's), in their plaited or braided border and basket-worked sides, I shall call this house, in future, the Braided House.*

* Casa Tiepolo (?) in Lazari's Guide.⁵

¹ [For this house, see above, p. 151.]

² [The Post-Office is now removed to the Fondaco de' Tedeschi; and the Casa Grimani is the Court of Appeal.]

³ [Rawdon Brown: see above, Introduction, p. xxvii.]

⁴ [Now the Casa Sabaite.]

⁵ [Afterwards known successively as the Casa Donà (see in the next volume, Venetian Index, s. "Donà") and the Casa Sicher.]

(4.) THE MADONNETTA HOUSE

On the other side of this palace is the Tragheto called "Della Madonnetta;" and beyond this Tragheto, still facing the Grand Canal, a small palace, of which the front shows mere vestiges of arcades, the old shafts only being visible, with obscure circular seams in the modern plaster which covers the arches. The side of it is a curious agglomeration of pointed and round windows in every possible position, and of nearly every date from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. It is the smallest of the buildings we have to examine, but by no means the least interesting: I shall call it, from the name of its Tragheto, the Madonnetta House.

(5.) THE RIO FOSCARI HOUSE¹

We must now descend the Grand Canal as far as the Palazzo Foscari, and enter the narrower canal called the Rio di Ca' Foscari, at the side of that palace. Almost immediately after passing the great gateway of the Foscari courtyard, we shall see on our left, in the ruinous and time-stricken walls which totter over the water, the white curve of a circular arch covered with sculpture, and fragments of the bases of small pillars, entangled among festoons of the Erba della Madonna. I have already, in the folio plates (*Examples of the Architecture of Venice*) which accompanied the first volume, partly illustrated this building. In what references I have to make to it here, I shall speak of it as the Rio Foscari House.

(6.) CASA FARSETTI²

We have now to reascend the Grand Canal, and approach the Rialto. As soon as we have passed the Casa Grimani, the traveller will recognise, on his right, two rich and extensive masses of building, which form important objects in almost every picturesque view of the noble bridge. Of these, the first, that farthest from the Rialto, retains great part of its ancient materials in a dislocated form. It has been entirely modernised in its upper stories, but the ground floor and first floor have nearly all their original shafts and capitals, only they have been shifted hither and thither to give room for the introduction of various small apartments, and present, in consequence, marvellous anomalies in proportion. This building is known in Venice as the Casa Farsetti.

(7.) CASA LOREDAN³

The one next to it, though not conspicuous, and often passed with neglect, will, I believe, be felt at last, by all who examine it carefully, to be the most beautiful palace in the whole extent of the Grand Canal. It has been restored

¹ [For this house, see above, p. 151, and in the next volume Plates 8, 9, and 10 of the *Examples*.]

² [For this house, see above, p. 150, and Plate C, facing p. xxviii. in Vol. IX.]

³ [For this house, see above, p. 149.]

often, once in the Gothic, once in the Renaissance times,—some writers say even rebuilt; but, if so, rebuilt in its old form. The Gothic additions harmonise exquisitely with its Byzantine work, and it is easy, as we examine its lovely central arcade, to forget the Renaissance additions which encumber it above. It is known as the Casa Loredan.

The eighth palace is the Fondaco de' Turchi, described in the text.¹ A ninth existed, more interesting apparently than any of these, near the Church of San Mois , but it was thrown down in the course of "improvements" a few years ago. A woodcut of it is given in M. Lazari's Guide.

12. [p. 174] MODERN PAINTING ON GLASS

Of all the various principles of art which, in modern days, we have defied or forgotten, none are more indisputable, and few of more practical importance than this, which I shall have occasion again and again to allege in support of many future deductions:

"All art, working with given materials, must propose to itself the objects which, with those materials, are most perfectly attainable; and becomes illegitimate and debased if it propose to itself any other objects better attainable with other materials."²

Thus, great slenderness, lightness, or intricacy of structure,—as in ramifications of trees, detached folds of drapery, or wreaths of hair,—is easily and perfectly expressible in metal-work or in painting, but only with great difficulty and imperfectly expressible in sculpture. All sculpture, therefore, which professes as its chief end the expression of such characters, is debased; and if the suggestion of them be accidentally required of it, that suggestion is only to be given to an extent compatible with perfect ease of execution in the given material,—not to the utmost possible extent. For instance: some of the most delightful drawings of our own water-colour painter, Hunt, have been of birds' nests;³ of which, in painting, it is perfectly possible to represent the intricate fibrous or mossy structure; therefore, the effort is a legitimate one, and the art is well employed. But to carve a bird's nest out of marble would be physically impossible, and to reach any approximate expression of its structure would require prolonged and intolerable labour. Therefore, all sculpture which set itself to carving birds' nests as an end, or which, if a bird's nest were required of it, carved it to the utmost possible point of realisation, would be debased. Nothing but the general form, and as much of the fibrous structure as could be with perfect ease represented, ought to be attempted at all.

But more than this. The workman has not done his duty, and is not working on safe principles, unless he even so far *honours* the materials with which he is working as to set himself to bring out their beauty, and to recommend and exalt, as far as he can, their peculiar qualities. If he is working in marble, he should insist upon and exhibit its transparency and solidity; if in

¹ [See above, p. 146, and the frontispiece.]

² [For illustration of this principle, see especially *The Two Paths*, §§ 160–163, *A Joy for Ever*, § 34, and *Lectures on Art*, § 171.]

³ [See, for instance, Ruskin's note on a drawing of his by Hunt, "Hawthorn and Birds' Nests," No. 155 in the *Notes on Prout and Hunt*.]

iron, its strength and tenacity; if in gold, its ductility; and he will invariably find the material grateful, and that his work is all the nobler for being eulogistic of the substance of which it is made. But of all the arts, the working of glass is that in which we ought to keep these principles most vigorously in mind. For we owe it so much, and the possession of it is so great a blessing, that all our work in it should be completely and forcibly expressive of the peculiar characters which give it so vast a value.

These are two, namely, its DUCTILITY when heated, and TRANSPARENCY when cold, both nearly perfect. In its employment for vessels, we ought always to exhibit its ductility, and in its employment for windows its transparency. All work in glass is bad which does not, with loud voice, proclaim one or other of these great qualities.

Consequently, *all cut glass* is barbarous: for the cutting conceals its ductility, and confuses it with crystal. Also, all very neat, finished, and perfect form in glass is barbarous: for this fails in proclaiming another of its great virtues; namely, the ease with which its light substance can be moulded or blown into any form, so long as perfect accuracy be not required. In metal, which, even when heated enough to be thoroughly malleable, retains yet such weight and consistency as render it susceptible of the firmest¹ handling and retention of the most delicate form, great precision of workmanship is admissible; but in glass, which when once softened must be blown or moulded, not hammered, and which is liable to lose, by contraction or subsidence, the finest of the forms given to it, no delicate outlines are to be attempted, but only such fantastic and fickle grace as the mind of the workman can conceive and execute on the instant. The more wild, extravagant, and grotesque in their gracefulness the forms are, the better. No material is so adapted for giving full play to the imagination, but it must not be wrought with refinement or painfulness, still less with costliness. For as in gratitude we are to proclaim its virtues, so in all honesty we are to confess its imperfections; and while we triumphantly set forth its transparency, we are also frankly to admit its fragility, and therefore not to waste much time upon it, nor put any real art into it when intended for daily use. No workman ought ever to spend more than an hour in the making of any glass vessel.

Next in the case of windows, the points which we have to insist upon are, the transparency of the glass and its susceptibility of the most brilliant colours; and therefore the attempt to turn painted windows into pretty pictures is one of the most gross and ridiculous barbarisms of this preeminently barbarous century. It originated, I suppose, with the Germans, who seem for the present distinguished among European nations by the loss of the sense of colour;² but it appears of late to have considerable chance of establishing itself in England: and it is a two-edged error, striking in two directions; first at the healthy appreciation of painting, and then at the healthy appreciation of glass. Colour, ground with oil, and laid on a solid opaque ground, furnishes to the human hand the most exquisite means of expression which the human sight and invention can find or require.³ By its two

¹ [So in the MS., and this appears the right reading; "finest" in all previous editions.]

² [On the German, as the "muddy school," see Vol. III. p. 351.]

³ [Compare *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret*, where Ruskin describes oil-painting as "the art of arts."]

opposite qualities, each naturally and easily attainable, of transparency in shadow and opacity in light, it complies with the conditions of nature; and by its perfect governableness it permits the utmost possible fulness and subtlety in the harmonies of colour, as well as the utmost perfection in the drawing. Glass, considered as a material for a picture, is exactly as bad as oil paint is good. It sets out by reversing the conditions of nature, by making the lights transparent and the shadows opaque; and the ungovernableness of its colour (changing in the furnace), and its violence (being always on a high key, because produced by actual light), render it so disadvantageous in every way, that the result of working in it for pictorial effect would infallibly be the destruction of all the appreciation of the noble qualities of pictorial colour.

In the second place, this modern barbarism destroys the true appreciation of the qualities of glass. It denies, and endeavours as far as possible to conceal, the transparency, which is not only its great virtue in a merely utilitarian point of view, but its great spiritual character; the character by which in church architecture it becomes most touchingly impressive, as typical of the entrance of the Holy Spirit into the heart of man; a typical expression rendered specific and intense by the purity and brilliancy of its sevenfold hues;* and therefore, in endeavouring to turn the window into a picture, we at once lose the sanctity and power of the noble material, and employ it to an end which it is utterly impossible it should ever worthily attain. The true perfection of a painted window is to be serene, intense, brilliant, like flaming jewellery; full of easily legible and quaint subjects, and exquisitely subtle, yet simple, in its harmonies. In a word, this perfection has been consummated in the designs, never to be surpassed, if ever again to be approached by human art, of the French windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹

* I do not think that there is anything more necessary to the progress of European art in the present day than the complete understanding of this sanctity of Colour.² I had much pleasure in finding it, the other day, fully understood and thus sweetly expressed in a little volume of poems by a Miss Maynard:

“For still in every land, though to Thy name
Arose no temple,—still in every age,
Though heedless man had quite forgot Thy praise,
We praised thee; and at rise and set of sun
Did we assemble duly, and intone
A choral hymn that all the lands might hear.
In heaven, on earth, and on the deep we praised Thee,
Singly, or mingled in sweet sisterhood.
But now, acknowledged ministrants, we come,
Co-worshippers with man in this Thy house,
We, the Seven Daughters of the Light, to praise
Thee, Light of Light! Thee, God of very God!”

—A Dream of Fair Colours.³

These poems seem to be otherwise remarkable for a very unobtrusive and pure religious feeling in subjects connected with art.

¹ [See on the subject of painted glass, in Vol. XII., Ruskin's letters to his friend, Edmund Oldfield, and note on p. 111 above.]

² [See note on p. 172 above.]

³ [One of the pieces (p. 68) in a volume of *Poems* by Mary Maynard, issued by Ruskin's publishers, Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., in 1851.]

[Appendices 13, 14, and 15 are added in this Edition.]

APPENDIX, 13

LETTERS ON "THE STONES OF VENICE"¹

From *The Pall Mall Gazette*, March 16, 1872.

MR. RUSKIN'S INFLUENCE: A DEFENCE

To the Editor of "The Pall Mall Gazette"

SIR,—I receive many letters just now requesting me to take notice of the new theory respecting Turner's work put forward by Dr. Liebreich in his recent lecture at the Royal Institution.² Will you permit me to observe in your columns, once for all, that I have no time for the contradiction of the various foolish opinions and assertions which from time to time are put forward respecting Turner or his pictures? All that is necessary for any person generally interested in the arts to know about Turner was clearly stated in *Modern Painters* twenty years ago, and I do not mean to state it again, nor to contradict any contradictions of it. Dr. Liebreich is an ingenious and zealous scientific person. The public may derive much benefit from consulting him on the subject of spectacles—not on that of art.

As I am under the necessity of writing to you at any rate, may I say further that I wish your critic of Mr. Eastlake's book³ on the Gothic revival

¹ [The first part of the first letter here given deals with another subject, but the rest of it and the whole of the second letter are closely connected with a topic discussed in the Introduction (above, p. lvi.); they are for this reason printed in this place. The letters were reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. i. pp. 229–233. The headings here given are taken from that book. In *The Pall Mall Gazette* they were "Mr. Ruskin's Criticism" and "The Influence of Mr. Ruskin's Criticism."]

² [On Friday, March 8, 1872, entitled "Turner and Mulready—On the Effect of certain Faults of Vision on Painting, with especial reference to their Works." The argument of the lecturer, and distinguished oculist, was that the change of style in the pictures of Turner was due to a change in his eyes which developed itself during the last twenty years of his life. (See *Proceedings of the Royal Institution*, 1872, vol. vi. p. 450.)]

³ [See above, p. liv. The *Pall Mall* reviewer was "disposed to say that Mr. Ruskin's direct and immediate influences had almost always been in the wrong; and his more indirect influences as often in the right." It is upon these words that Ruskin comments here, and to this comment the critic replied in a letter which appeared in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of the 20th inst. The main portion of his reply was as follows: "The direct influences, then, which I had principally in my mind were those which had resulted in a preference for Venetian over English Gothic, in the underrating of expressional character in architecture, and the overrating of sculptured ornament, especially of a naturalistic and imitative character, and more generally in an exclusiveness which limited the due influence of some, as I think, noble styles of architecture. By the indirect influences I meant the habit of looking at questions of architectural art in the light of imaginative ideas; the recognition of the vital importance of such questions even in their least important details; and generally an enthusiasm and activity which could have resulted from no less a force than Mr. Ruskin's wonderously suggestive genius." To this explanation Ruskin replied

would explain what he means by saying that my direct influence on architecture is always wrong, and my indirect influence right; because, if that be so, I will try to exercise only indirect influence on my Oxford pupils. But the fact to my own notion is otherwise. I am proud enough to hope, for instance, that I have had some direct influence on Mr. Street; and I do not doubt but that the public will have more satisfaction from his Law Courts¹ than they have had from anything built within fifty years. But I have had indirect influence on nearly every cheap villa-builder between this² and Bromley; and there is scarcely a public-house near the Crystal Palace but sells its gin and bitters under pseudo-Venetian capitals copied from the Church of the Madonna of Health or of Miracles. And one of my principal notions for leaving my present house is that it is surrounded everywhere by the accursed Frankenstein monsters of, *indirectly*, my own making.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.

March 15.

From *The Pall Mall Gazette*, March 21, 1872.

MR. RUSKIN'S INFLUENCE: A REJOINDER

To the Editor of "The Pall Mall Gazette"

SIR,—I am obliged by your critic's reply to my question, but beg to observe that, meaning what he explains himself to have meant, he should simply have said that my influence on temper was right, and on taste wrong; the influence being in both cases equally "direct." On questions of taste I will not venture into discussion with him, but must be permitted to correct his statement that I have persuaded any one to prefer Venetian to English Gothic. I have stated³ that Italian—chiefly Pisan and Florentine—Gothic is the noblest school of Gothic hitherto existent, which is true; and that one form of Venetian Gothic deserves singular respect for the manner of its development. I gave the mouldings and shaft measurements of that form,⁴ and to so little purpose, that I challenge your critic to find in London, or within twenty miles of it, a single Venetian casement built on the sections

in his second letter on the subject. The *Pall Mall* reviewer may have been Coventry Patmore, who was a contributor to that journal during the editorship of his friend, Mr. Frederick Greenwood, and who had made the point about "underrating of expressional character" in a review elsewhere of *The Stones of Venice*: see Vol. IX. p. xl.]

¹ [Mr. Street's design for the New Law Courts was, after much discussion, selected, May 30, 1868, and approved by commission, August, 1870. The building was not, however, begun till February, 1874, and the hope expressed in this letter is therefore, unfortunately, no expression of opinion on the work itself.]

² [Denmark Hill. Ruskin sold his house there in 1872, and settled permanently at Brantwood, which he had bought, in the autumn of that year.]

³ [See Vol. VIII. p. 13.]

⁴ [See "Arabian Windows in the Campo Santa Maria, Mater Domini," Plate ii. of the *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, reprinted in the next volume; and see, too, in this volume chapter vii., "Gothic Palaces."]

which I gave as normal. For Venetian architecture developed out of British moral consciousness I decline to be answerable. His accusation is that I induced architects to study sculpture more, and what he is pleased to call “expressional character” less. I admit I should be glad if he would tell me what, before my baneful influence began to be felt, the expressional character of our building was; and I will reconsider my principles if he can point out to me, on any modern building either in London or, as aforesaid, within twenty miles round, a single piece of good sculpture of which the architect repents, or the public complains.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. RUSKIN.

March 21.

APPENDIX, 14

PREFACE BY WILLIAM MORRIS TO CHAPTER VI. (“THE NATURE OF GOTHIC”¹)

THE chapter which is here put before the reader can be well considered as a separate piece of work, although it contains here and there references to what has gone before in *The Stones of Venice*. To my mind, and I believe to some others, it is one of the most important things written by the author, and in future days will be considered as one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century. To some of us when we first read it, now many years ago, it seemed to point out a new road on which the world should travel. And in spite of all the disappointments of forty years, and although some of us, John Ruskin amongst others, have since learned what the equipment for that journey must be, and how many things must be changed before we are equipped, yet we can still see no other way out of the folly and degradation of civilisation. For the lesson which Ruskin here teaches us, is that art is the expression of man’s pleasure in labour; that it is possible for man to rejoice in his work, for, strange as it may seem to us to-day, there have been times when he did rejoice in it; and lastly, that unless man’s work once again becomes a pleasure to him, the token of which change will be that beauty is once again a natural and necessary accompaniment of productive labour, all but the worthless must toil in pain, and therefore live in pain. So that the result of the thousands of years of man’s effort on the earth must be general unhappiness and universal degradation—unhappiness and degradation, the conscious burden of which will grow in proportion to the growth of man’s intelligence, knowledge, and power over material nature.

If this be true, as I for one most firmly believe, it follows that the hallowing of labour by art is the one aim for us at the present day. If politics are to be anything else than an empty game, more exciting but less innocent

¹ [For particulars about the separate edition of chapter vi. in which this preface appeared, see above, Introduction, p. lviii., and Bibliographical Note, p. lxxviii.]

than those which are confessedly games of skill or chance, it is toward this goal of the happiness of labour that they must make. Science has in these latter days made such stupendous strides, and is attended by such a crowd of votaries, many of whom are doubtless single-hearted, and worship in her not the purse of riches and power, but the casket of knowledge, that she seems to need no more than a little humility to temper the insolence of her triumph, which has taught us everything except how to be happy. Man has gained mechanical victory over nature, which in time to come he may be able to enjoy, instead of starving amidst of it. In those days science also may be happy; yet not before the second birth of art, accompanied by the happiness of labour, has given her rest from the toil of dragging the car of commerce. Lastly, it may well be that the human race will never cease striving to solve the problem of the reason for its own existence; yet it seems to me that it may do this in a calmer and more satisfactory mood when it has not to ask the question, Why were we born to be so miserable? but rather, Why were we born to be so happy? At least it may be said that there is time enough for us to deal with this problem, and that it need not engross the best energies of mankind, when there is so much to do other-where.

But for this aim of at last gaining happiness through our daily and necessary labour, the time is short enough, the need so urgent, that we may well wonder that those who groan under the burden of unhappiness can think of anything else; and we may well admire and love the man who here called the attention of English-speaking people to this momentous subject, and that with such directness and clearness of insight, that his words could not be disregarded. I know, indeed, that Ruskin is not the first man who has put forward the possibility and the urgent necessity that men should take pleasure in labour, for Robert Owen showed how by companionship and goodwill labour might be made at least endurable; and in France Charles Fourier¹ dealt with the subject at great length, and the whole of his elaborate system for the reconstruction of society is founded on the certain hope of gaining pleasure in labour. But in their times neither Owen nor Fourier could possibly have found the key to the problem with which Ruskin was provided. Fourier depends not on art for the motive power of the realisation of pleasure in labour, but on incitements, which, though they would not be lacking in any decent state of society, are rather incidental than essential parts of pleasureable work; and on reasonable arrangements, which would certainly lighten the burden of labour, but would not procure for it the element of sensuous pleasure, which is the essence of all true art. Nevertheless, it must be said that Fourier and Ruskin were touched by the same instinct, and it is instructive and hopeful to note how they arrived at the same point by such very different roads.

Some readers will perhaps wonder that in this important chapter of Ruskin I have found it necessary to consider the ethical and political, rather

¹ [The social experiments of Robert Owen (1771–1858), included, it will be remembered, an “institution for the formation of character” (1814), and “villages of unity and co-operation” (1817). An essential part of the scheme of “phalansteries” sketched out by Fourier (1772–1837) in his *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements* (1808), was that by the organisation of labour in accordance with individual aptitudes no occupation should become irksome.]

than what would ordinarily be thought the artistic side of it. I must answer that, delightful as is that portion of Ruskin's work which describes, analyses, and criticises art, old and new, yet this is not after all the most characteristic side of his writings. Indeed, from the time at which he wrote this chapter here reprinted, those ethical and political considerations have never been absent from his criticism of art; and, in my opinion, it is just this part of his work, fairly begun in *The Nature of Gothic*, and brought to its culmination in that great book *Unto This Last*, which has had the most enduring and beneficent effect on his contemporaries, and will have through them on succeeding generations. John Ruskin, the critic of art, has not only given the keenest pleasure to thousands of readers by his life-like description, and the ingenuity and delicacy of his analysis of works of art, but he has let a flood of daylight into the cloud of sham-technical twaddle which was once the whole substance of "art-criticism," and is still its staple, and that is much. But it is far more that John Ruskin, the teacher of morals and politics (I do not use this word in the newspaper sense) has done serious and solid work towards that new birth of society, without which genuine art, the expression of man's pleasure in his handiwork, must inevitably cease altogether, and with it the hopes of the happiness of mankind.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

KELMSCOTT HOUSE, HAMMERSMITH,
February 15th, 1892.

APPENDIX, 15

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR TO CHAPTER VIII. ("THE DUCAL PALACE")

[In the "Travellers' Edition," volume i. (1879), the following addition to Chapter viii. was appended:—]

"NOTE

"I have printed the chapter on the Ducal Palace, quite one of the most important pieces of work done in my life, without alteration of its references to the plates of the first edition, because I hope both to republish some of those plates, and, together with them, a few permanent photographs (both from the sculpture of the Palace itself, and from my own drawings of its details), which may be purchased by the possessors of this smaller edition to bind with the book or not, as they please. This separate publication I can now soon get set in hand; and I believe it will cause much less confusion to leave for the present the references to the old plates untouched. The wood-blocks used for the first three figures in this chapter are the original ones; that of the Ducal Palace façade were drawn on the wood by my own hand, and cost me more trouble than it is worth, being merely given for division and proportion. The greater part of the first volume, omitted in this edition after 'The Quarry,' will be republished in the series of my reprinted works, with its original wood-blocks.

"But my mind is mainly set now on getting some worthy illustration of the St. Mark's Mosaics, and of such remains of the old capitals (now for ever removed, in process of the Palace restoration, from their life in sea, wind, and sunlight, and their ancient duty to a museum-grave) as I have useful record of, drawn in their native light. The series, both of these and of the earlier mosaics, of which the sequence is sketched in the preceding volume, and further explained in the third number of *St. Mark's Rest*, become to me every hour of my life more precious, both for their art and their meaning; and if any of my readers care to help me, in my old age, to fulfil my life's work rightly, let them send what pence they can spare for these objects to my publisher, Mr. Allen, Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent.

"Since writing the first part of this note, I have received a letter from Mr. Burne Jones, assuring me of his earnest sympathy in its object, and giving me hope even of his superintendence of the drawings, which I have already desired to be undertaken. But I am no longer able to continue work of this kind at my own cost; and the fulfilment of my purpose must entirely depend on the money-help given me by my readers."

[This note of 1879 touches upon four matters which require some explanation:—(1) Ruskin's schemes for securing and publishing illustrations of details of St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace; and in connection with these (2) the restoration of mosaics in St. Mark's, (3) the restoration of the fabric of that building, and (4) the restoration of the Ducal Palace.

(1) Particulars under this head will be found in a later volume of this edition, containing an account of the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield, where are preserved the pictures, drawings, and casts which were executed for him in later years. The scheme

of publishing separately some of the plates in *The Stones of Venice*, together with additional photographs, was, as already stated, abandoned (Vol. IX. p. 16); and in the later issues of the "Travellers' Edition," a publisher's note was appended to that effect. Nor was *The Stones of Venice* included in the "Works" series; it was republished instead in its original form. Ruskin did, however, have several photographs taken at Venice, copies of which he placed on sale (from the year 1877 onwards) with his agent and former assistant, Mr. William Ward, of 2 Church Terrace, Richmond, Surrey. A list of these is given in the later volume of this edition containing *St. Mark's Rest*; some of them may still be obtained from Mr. Ward. Several of the Venetian drawings, etc., in the Ruskin Museum have also been photographed; copies may be obtained from the Curator. Some casts which were made for Ruskin in 1851–1852 are mentioned below.

(2) and (3) Particulars on these subjects are given in the later volume, just referred to, which includes various fly-leaves and occasional pieces by Ruskin on the subjects in question.

(4) It is desirable, however, to give here some particulars with regard to restorations of the Ducal Palace, because the foregoing chapter contains Ruskin's principal, and a very detailed, account of the capitals, etc. Ruskin says (*Notes on Prout and Hunt*, s. No. 58 n.) that "no man with a heart will ever draw the patched skeleton" of the Palace any more; but the restorers have, as far as possible, aimed at obscuring the distinction between new and old; and readers who use the volume on the spot may, therefore, desire information on this point.

The principal restoration of the Ducal Palace, in modern times, after being in progress for some twenty years, was completed in 1889. The following account of the work, no doubt derived from the architect in charge, appeared in the *Times* of September 16, 1889, and states the case for the restoration. The Palace, it should be explained, is built on piles, but rests on a stratum of stiff sand.

"To appreciate what has been done, it is necessary to know the weaknesses of construction in the old building, due to the carelessness or ignorance of the early builders, or to the lack of those mechanical appliances which modern art has developed. . . . (When the second palace was built) the exterior of the old building was pulled down and the new laid on the old foundations, and at the south-east angle certainly without strengthening the foundations intended for a much lighter building. . . . The consequence of the piling of the enormous weight of the present mass on the slight foundation was that the foundation sank to such an extent that the superstructure on the angle was thrown forward to the distance of twenty-eight centimetres, and, but for shoring, must finally have sent the angle into the canal. The columns of the lower colonnade, at the angles south-east and south-west, were braced by iron bars, which ran through the capitals so as to add the strength of the whole to the corner column which bore the direct push. These bars, increasing in size by oxidation, split the capitals without a single exception, thus weakening the building rather than strengthening it. Where the columns rested on the stylobate the bed was prepared for equalising the pressure by pouring lead between. But this was never equally distributed, and the pressure was not equalised, the consequence of which was that the columns sometimes split, and, as the capitals were similarly arranged and took more directly the pressure, they oftener split, and in some cases were crushed into many pieces, the corner-stone on the south-west angle into thirty or forty fragments. On the second-story colonnade the capitals were tried in a similar manner, but through the entire extent of the colonnade, and every capital was split, and in some cases fractured badly. Then came the fire of 1577, which ruined the angle of the Ponte di Paglia especially, and when the building had escaped the Renaissance restorers, and the commission of architects decided to restore it as much as possible to its original condition, the five arches at that angle were walled up solidly. This prevented any further deterioration on that side, but the south-west angle, that of the Adam and Eve group, was so weakened that, but for the shoring up, it had fallen into the Piazzetta.

"To remedy all these defects and release the building from the disfigurements of the balks of timber, which alone prevented it from falling into the Grand Canal or

Piazzetta, it was necessary to remove every column of both galleries and replace every defective stone. The arches were filled up with solid masses of timber and then wedged up till the column and capital were liberated, and, this being done by sections, the columns, where found fatally injured, were replaced by new ones, the capitals in the same state were copied, the stones of the arches subjected to the same scrutiny and renewal, and the bed was prepared by the interplacing of a sheet of lead, which, yielding to the pressure, adapted itself to the inequalities of the surfaces and gave an equal bearing. The iron braces were replaced by a system consisting of bronze sockets, let into the footstones of the arch, into which the iron braces were screwed, so as to be removable if in time they are weakened by oxidation and require renewal, and at the same time the strain is removed from the capital, which is a sculptured stone, and thrown on the footstone, which is simple masonry.

“On the south-east corner it was necessary to extend the building twenty-eight centimetres to restore the equilibrium, and for this end it was necessary to renew almost the entire stonework of the arches and entablatures; the foundations had to be strengthened and the whole angle rebuilt. All this has been done, and every column and capital has been replaced, or, if possible, repaired; the walls, where weakened by fire, have been rebuilt, and the last brace of timber has been removed, so that the old building now stands as no one of this generation has seen it—on its proper foundations. . . .

“But all this was only good and successful engineering. Something more was necessary to restore to us the palace of the fourteenth century. This, too, has been done. The broken capitals, where beyond mending and service, were cemented together and copied with the most absolute exactitude,¹ the great capitals requiring the work of a competent sculptor two years. Where repairs were possible the pieces were brought together and cemented, and bronze rings were shrunk into circular grooves in the upper and lower surfaces of the stone, being first cushioned with lead; the fragments of the ornamentation replaced if existing, and if not by new work, cemented and held by bronze clamps, and so perfectly imitated that very few people who will walk along the Piazzetta will be able to tell which of the capitals are the new and which are the old. I cannot. The stains, the marks of time and weather, have been so perfectly imitated on the new stone that the closest scrutiny is necessary to see what is weather-worn and what is artificially treated.”

The following particulars with regard to the columns and capitals have been kindly supplied to the editors by Professor Del Piccolo, the present architect in charge, through Dr. Alexander Robertson of Venice:—

DOGE'S PALACE CAPITALS

PONTE DELLA PAGLIA

| No. | | No. | |
|-----|--|-----|--------------------------|
| 1. | Upper part of column and pilaster renewed. | 19. | New Column. New Capital. |
| 2. | New Capital. | 20. | New Column. New Capital. |
| 3. | New Column. New Capital. | 21. | New Column. New Capital. |
| 4. | Moved and put back. | 22. | Moved and put back. |
| 5. | New Column. New Capital. | 23. | New Column. |
| 6. | New Capital. | 24. | New Column. |
| 7. | As it was. | 25. | New Column. New Capital. |
| 8. | " " | 26. | Moved and put back. |
| 9. | " " | 27. | New Column. New Capital. |
| 10. | " " | 28. | Moved and put back. |
| 11. | " " | 29. | " " |
| 12. | " " | 30. | " " |
| 13. | " " | 31. | " " |
| 14. | " " | 32. | " " |
| 15. | New Column. | 33. | " " |
| 16. | New Capital. | 34. | New Column. |
| 17. | New Column. New Capital. | 35. | New Column. |
| 18. | New Column. New Capital. | 36. | New Column. |

¹ [This whole passage must be taken, of course, with reserve, as being an *ex parte* statement on behalf of those responsible for the work. It seems doubtful whether even the inscriptions are always accurate: see note on p. 411 above.]

It was the conviction of the authorities after the restorations above described that the Ducal Palace would “stand in good condition as long as it has stood.” But the fall of the Campanile in 1902 (see Vol. IX. p. 248 *n.*) naturally compelled attention once more to the state of the Palace. Considerable danger was seen to be possible at the south-east corner, where the books of the Bibliotera Mariana were placed. These have now been removed, for “behind the bookcases serious diagonal lesions are visible in the walls, and the spectator feels as though the brickwork were slowly tumbling outwards towards the canaletto crossed by the Bridge of Sighs.” The cause of this movement was soon discovered, and it illustrates the way in which carelessness too often provides the necessity for subsequent restoration. A lift was required to convey books from one floor of the library to another. The builder who had charge of the works “did not scruple to cut through one of the chief internal walls that run parallel to the façade. Not only did he make an aperture fully twenty feet high and nearly three feet wide in this eighteen-inch wall, but he cut through a massive iron bar by which the wall had previously been braced together. Consequently the whole of the semi-detached portion of the wall between the aperture and the *canaletto* tends to topple outwards” (*Times*, October 7, 1902). Signor Boni is devising means to stop this movement. Other lesions were discovered in the wall of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio which sustained Tintoret’s “Paradise.” The canvas has been removed and is itself being restored (1903), and the wall strengthened.

It is interesting to know that Ruskin himself, when writing his description of the Ducal Palace, had doubts of the stability of the building:—

“I don’t think,” he wrote to his father (January 8, 1852), “the Ducal Palace will stand 50 years more; its capitals are so rent and worn. I am having some of its sculpture cast—there is a poor sculptor here whom it is a charity to employ, and for a few shillings I can get the most accurate facsimiles of pieces of sculpture which will soon be lost for ever, and their freight home will be very little.”

These casts were used by Ruskin for reference when completing his book at home:—

“I am packing up to-day,” he writes again to his father (January 16), “21 pieces of Ducal Palace capitals, etc., which are both invaluable in themselves, if I can get them sent safe home, and have saved me for the present some laborious drawing; as I can work out what refinements I want better from these than from the original pieces, which are so high as to be out of convenient sight.”

In a further letter Ruskin encloses a list of a first consignment of the casts, with remarks upon some of them:—

“(March 1.)— . . . Among the pieces sent home I should think you would be interested by the very ancient symbolical Greek sculpture of six sheep under a palm tree—part of a tablet of which I have cast the centre also, which will come in next box. The centre is a throne, with a cross and a lamb, inscribed *o amnox*, ‘the Lamb’; on each side there are six sheep and a palm tree, inscribed *oi agioi apostogoi*, ‘the holy Apostles.’

“The Byzantine cross, with the doves at its feet, is a beautiful example of quaint and early architectural sculpture; so also the peacock in the circle. The three groups of small figures are signs of the Zodiac from Ducal Palace capitals; observe the man holding the ‘Pisces,’ and Sagittarius beside him, small, preparing to draw the bow, which is one another piece of leafage. There are four of the great lions’ heads cut for distant effect, from Ducal Palace; and two pieces of its magnificent flat foliage at the angles, which I cannot enough admire or praise.”

Of the pieces here mentioned, “the Lamb” with the sheep is described in *St. Mark’s Rest*, §§ 43, 44; the Byzantine cross, etc., may have been used in the preparation of Plate 11 (facing p. 166, above); the Zodiac is capital No. 18, described above (pp. 412–415); the lions are on Capitals 13 and 50, see p. 431; and the pieces of foliage were doubtless among those engraved in Plate 20 (facing p. 431, above).

Ruskin's father found his powers of admiration more easily sated, and seems to have acknowledged the arrival of the bulky treasures a little coldly:—

“You say,” rejoins his son (April 30), “that you suppose they are necessary. They are not *necessary*, only great helps and great possessions. Almost every time I look at these things, I get a new idea, but I don't get a new idea every time I look at my own drawings. I have also spared myself a great deal of labour for the present, in making drawings, for which my eyes are all the better. A cast of a piece of detail is better than the best sketch, for information—though the sketch is usually more delightful.”

On arriving home Ruskin determined to share his “great possessions” with the general public, as indeed he had all along intended; he presented to the Architectural Museum (see above, p. lvii.) “forty-five specimens of Venetian Gothic cast from those in his possession.”]

THE CAPITALS OF THE DUCAL PALACE: LIST OF SUBJECTS

[The numbering of the sides in this table follows that adopted in the text (see above, p. 386); that is to say, side 1 is the front, facing either the sea or the Piazzetta, and the others are counted from the spectator's right to left. Generally this way of counting the sides follows the order of subjects; see, for instance, Capitals 22 and 25. In the case, however, of Capital No. 1, the order of subjects is not that of Ruskin's numbering. It seems to begin with the east and goes round from left to right. Thus read, the general subject seems to be the growth or development of man:—Side 1 (2 in the text), babies; side 2 (1), a child; side 3 (6), a youth with comb and scissors, but no beard; side 4 (5), a young man with razor for the beard; side 5 (4), middle age; side 6 (3), old age. The subjects as given in this table are made to correspond with the existing capitals, in accordance with the alterations or restorations noted below the text. Capitals Nos. 1-6 are now open all round, the restoration described in the preceding Appendix having made it possible to remove the brick-work with which, since 1577, these arches had been filled. The first capital, however, has only six sides; the east side embraces what are the east, south-east, and north-east sides on the following capitals; it is a long stretch in line with the east façade of the Palace.]

| No. | Subject. | Side 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Vine Angle 1 | The Growth of Man | Child and bird | Children's heads | An old man | A middle-aged man | Young man with razor | Youth with comb and scissors | (This capital sides) | has only six |
| 2 | Birds | Swan and serpent | Swan and fish | Swan biting its wing | Swan | Swan feeding | Hawk | Eagle | Bird pluming itself |
| 3 | Heads | Female head with jewelled cap | Male head with helmet | Male head with turban | Male head with cap | Male head with cap | Male head bareheaded | Old man with turban | Young man with curly hair |
| 4 | Children | Child with bird and walnut | Child with grapes | Child | Child feeding a bird | Child holding dead bird | Child with apple | Child with cherries | Child with fig |
| 5 | Emperors | Vespasian | Trajan | Priam | Nebuchadnezzar | Alexander | Darius | Julius Cæsar | Augustus |
| 6 | Female Heads | Head | Head | Head | Head | Head | Head | Head | Head |
| 7 | Virtues and Vices | Liberality | Constancy | Discord | Patience | Despair | Obedience | Infidelity | Modesty |
| 8 | Degradation of Human Instincts | Arion on his dolphin | Human figure with bear's legs | Grotesque figure | Grotesque with gourd | Grotesque | Knight | Centaur | Figure with fish's tail |
| 9 | Virtues | Faith | Fortitude | Temperance | Humility | Charity | Justice | Prudence | Hope |
| 10 | Vices | Luxury | Gluttony | Pride | Anger | Avarice | Idleness | Vanity | Envy |
| 11 | Birds | Bird | Bird | Bird | Bird | Bird | Bird | Bird | Bird |
| 12 | Virtues and Vices | Misery | Cheerfulness | Folly | Chastity | Honesty | Falsehood | Injustice | Abstinence |
| 13 | Lions' Heads | Lion | Lion | Lion | Lion | Lion | Lion | Lion | Lion |
| 14 | Animals | Greyhound | Long-haired dog | Short-haired dog | Monkey | Monkey | Boar | Lion | Lioness |
| 15 | Illustrations of Idleness | Woman with distaff | Youth with rose | Woman with dog | Man with parrot | Woman richly dressed | Man with thoughtful face | Crowned lady | Boy with ball |
| 16 | National Types | Latin | Tartar | Turk | Hungarian | Greek | Goth | Egyptian | Persian |
| 17 | The Sciences | Solomon | Priscian (Grammar) | Aristotle (Logic) | Tullius (Cicero) (Rhetoric) | Pythagoras (Mathematics) | Archimedes (Geometry) | Tubal-cain (?) (Music) | Ptolemy (Astronomy) |
| Fig-Tree Angle 18 | The Signs of the Zodiac | Aquarius and Capricorn (Saturn) | Sagittarius and Pisces (Jupiter) | Aries and Scorpio (Mars) | Leo (Sun) | Taurus and Libra (Venus) | Gemini and Virgo (Mercury) | Cancer (Moon) | The Creation |
| 19 | Sculpture and Architecture | St. Simplicius | S. Claudius | Discipulus incredulus | S. Chastorius | Discipulus optimus | Windows of the fifth order | Tartarus discipulus | Simforianus |
| 20 | Animals | Lion | Wolf | Fox | Gryphon | Boar | Dog | Cat and mouse | Bear |
| 21 | The Inferior Professions | Lapidary | Goldsmith | Shoemaker | Carpenter | Cooper | Husbandman | Notary | Smith |
| 22 | The Ages of Man | Infancy | Childhood | Adolescence | Youth | Manhood | Age | Decrepitude | Death |
| 23 | National Types | Latin | Tartar | Turk | Hungarian | Greek | Goth | Egyptian | Persian |
| 24 | Marriage | First sight | Paying addresses | Bringing presents | The kiss | Nuptial union | Birth of a child | Childhood of the boy | Death of the child |
| 25 | The Months | March | April and May | June | July and August | September | October and November | December | January and February |
| 26 | Copied from | No. 15, the succession of the | figures being | changed | | | | | |
| 27 | Fruits | Cherries | Pears | Cucumbers | Peaches | Gourd | Water-melons | Figs | Grapes |

THE CAPITALS OF THE DUCAL PALACE (Continued)

| No. | Subject. | Side 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|-------------------|-------------|---------|-----------|----|-------|--------|---------------------|-------|--------|
| 28 | Copied from | No. 7 | | | | | | | |
| 29 | Copied from | No. 9 | | | | | | | |
| 30 | Copied from | No. 10 | | | | | | | |
| 31 | Copied from | No. 8 | | | | | | | |
| 32 | Fully robed | figures | | | | | | | |
| 33 | Copied from | No. 12 | | | | | | | |
| 34 | Copied from | No. 11 | | | | | | | |
| 35 | Copied from | No. 4 | | | | | | | |
| Judgment Angle | Lawgivers | Justice | Aristotle | ? | Solon | Scipio | Numa Pom- pilius | Moses | Trajan |
| 36 | | | | | | | | | |



Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London.

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LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD
NEW YORK: LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO
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VOLUME XI

THE STONES OF VENICE

VOLUME III

AND

EXAMPLES OF THE ARCHITECTURE

OF VENICE

THE
STONES OF
VENICE

VOLUME III

THE FALL
AND
EXAMPLES OF THE ARCHITECTURE
OF VENICE

BY

JOHN RUSKIN

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS DRAWN BY THE AUTHOR

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1904

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¹ For list of the Plates in the *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, see below, p. 315.

FACSIMILE

A PAGE OF THE MS. OF *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. III. .
(Ch. iv. § 8)

Between pp 204, 205

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

Of the additional illustrations, A and B have appeared before—A in *Verona and its Rivers*, 1894 (Plate III.); B in *Studies in Both Arts*, 1895 (Plate VI.).

The drawing of Plate A was No. 264 in the Ruskin Exhibition at the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, 1901.

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INTRODUCTION TO VOL. XI

THE third volume of *The Stones of Venice* was published very shortly after the second, and much of it was written in Venice during the winter of 1851–1852. We have already described Ruskin’s work there, and discussed the reception and significance of the book.¹ Little, therefore, is necessary here as an introduction to the present volume. The contents of the third volume are, however, somewhat varied, and an explanation of their scope may serve to show their several relations to Ruskin’s scheme.

The volume may be described as containing a conclusion, a résumé, and an appendix. The first three chapters deal with the Third Period of Venetian Architecture, that of the Renaissance. This portion of the subject is treated less fully than either of the former periods, and to a large extent it resolves itself into a discussion of the sepulchral monuments. These were selected by Ruskin as affording the most interesting and striking instance by which to illustrate the contrast between the Gothic and Renaissance spirit. His account of the Tombs of Venice—given in ch. ii. §§ 46–85—was, as originally planned, on a much more extensive scale. Many more tombs were to be included, and each tomb was to be described in detail, as the following memorandum among his MSS. shows:—

“General Plan. Observe: we have in each tomb to examine, first, its plan and feeling; then, its manner of sculpture and mouldings; and in examining these last we shall incidentally compare with them such parallel works of sculpture as bear a date.”

It appears that he intended to take the reader systematically through St. Mark’s, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and the Frari, examining in turn all the important or significant monuments (see below, ch. ii. § 47, p. 83). He intended also to illustrate the chapter or chapters fully, and, as

¹ See Introduction to Vol. X.

appears from a letter to his father, made a beginning, or rather two beginnings, of this work:—

“*January 30 [1852].—* . . . I did the little vignette enclosed for part of the chapter on tombs—there were to have been others beside them. I found the scale a little too small and am doing them larger, so the enclosed is waste paper and may amuse you. The lowest and richest is the tomb of the two Doges Tiepolos, of whom you shall hear.”¹

There are many rough sketches and pictorial memoranda of the tombs, but no finished drawings have been found. Perhaps before he had gone far in the work, Ruskin decided to discuss the tombs in the more general manner adopted in the text; and the labour and expense of so many illustrations may also have induced him to that course. A mass of written material on the subject exists, however, which he preserved together with the MS. of this volume. Some of this was utilised in the text; other portions are unintelligible without the intended illustrations; others, again, are only jottings and memoranda, which he did not work up; but a good deal remains which is in a finished form, and which will be found of interest, either as supplementing passages in the text, or as assisting the visitor to Venice in his examination of the monuments. These additional passages are given in Appendix 11 (p. 289). The account of the Venetian Tombs culminates in the third chapter with the description of some of the latest monuments (pp. 147–150), and this is followed by an analysis of the Grotesque spirit, in order to illustrate further “the various characters of mind which brought about the destruction of the Venetian nation.”² At this point, the story ends; “The Fall” is accomplished.

But the volume contains a conclusion in another sense of the term, and also a résumé. The formal résumé is given, where readers might not expect to find it—in a note prefixed to the Venetian Index (see below, pp. 356–358), and indeed its inclusion there was an afterthought on the author’s part. It occurred to him at the last moment, as the following message to his father shows:—

“(GLENFINLAS), *August 23, 1853.*— . . . After sending away the sheets for press yesterday it struck me that with the indices it might not be inexpedient to add a kind of sketch of the contents of the book; for the Reviewers whose notices I have hitherto read do not in the least seem to apprehend the length and breadth of it, and my friend in the

¹ See below, p. 85.

² See below, p. 357.

Builder says, as if he had just found it out, ‘Why, if Mr. Ruskin is right, *we* are all in the wrong.’ It seems to me then that it would be useful to add the passage which I send herewith, four pages and a bit, to the passage which gives an account of the Index.”

The conclusion of the whole matter is stated also in chapter iv., of which the immediate purpose is to apply the moral of the Renaissance “Fall” to “dangerous tendencies in the modern mind.” In the course of this chapter Ruskin states very clearly what may be said to be the kernel of all his teaching upon art—“that art is valuable or otherwise, only as it expresses the personality, activity, and living perception of a good and great human soul” (p. 201), and again, “all art is great, good, and true only so far as it is distinctively the work of *manhood* in its entire and highest sense.” In architecture, the principle has those social applications which are discussed in the second volume: unless the craftsman be an artist, there can be no vital architecture.¹ In painting, the principle carries us straight to whatever is true in the doctrines of “impressionism.” Art, if it photographs, is not, says Ruskin, art in the highest sense at all; it only becomes so when it gives the artist’s impressions—when the man’s soul “stands forth with its solemn ‘Behold, it is I’ ” (p.203). Yet it is often supposed, by careless readers or by critics who take their knowledge of Ruskin at second-hand, or from isolated snippets, that he regards the function of the painter as that of a merely receptive and reproducing mirror. Ruskin himself was not unprepared for the misrepresentation; not every reader takes the pains to correlate various passages, and sometimes Ruskin emphasised one side of a truth, and sometimes another. Among the MS. sheets relating to *The Stones of Venice* there are some which bear directly on this subject, and which may be given here, as showing how the book connected itself in his mind with other portions of his writings. The sheets seem to have been an alternative draft for a part of the chapter (iv.) now under discussion:—

“I believe it has been acutely felt by all men who have ever devoted themselves to the elucidation of abstract truth, that exactly in proportion to the scope, depth, and importance of any given principle was the difficulty of so expressing it as that it should not be capable of misapprehension, and of guarding it against certain forms of associated error. This is especially the case with the principles of religious faith which are so universally dependent upon two opposite truths (for truths may be and often are *opposite* though they cannot be contradictory), that it is physically impossible so to express them in brief form

¹ See Vol. X.ch. vi.
xl.

as that the adversary may not be able to misrepresent them, nor the simple run any risk of misapprehending them. And this I have long felt to be also the case with every great principle of art which it has been my endeavour in this and my other writings to assert or defend. There is not any one but has, as it were, two natures in it—at least two different colours or sides—according to the things in connexion with which it is viewed; and therefore, exactly in proportion to the breadth and universality which I have endeavoured to give to all my statements, is their liability to appearances of contradiction, and the certainty of their being misunderstood by any person who does not take the pains to examine the connexion.

“This is peculiarly the case with respect to the principle now under consideration,¹ and some additional ambiguity may perhaps arise in the reader’s mind from the difference between the senses in which I am now using the word “modern,” and that which it bore in my first work upon painting. In *Modern Painters* our task was to compare the work of living artists with that of so-called “old” masters of landscape, who flourished for the most part in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but throughout the present volume I use the term “modern” of all work whatsoever subsequent to the period of the Renaissance—that is to say, the middle of the fifteenth century, Claude, Salvator, and Poussin being in the larger view now taken of the history of art as much moderns as Turner and Stanfield. The recent—would that I could still say, living—school of landscape, is healthy and noble just because in many respects it has broken through the Renaissance systems, and returned in its study of external nature to the earnestness with which the great and, in the large sense, early schools studied men. And yet not enough; for in his necessary opposition to the rules of art which were established by the Renaissance formalists, the modern landscape painter has fallen too often into the same kind of error as the modern religious reformer. For though right in receiving the authority of the present truth and living impression upon the soul, rather than that of tradition and ordinance, he has [not] taken care to render such impressions accurate or profound: he does not take pains to increase the Perceptive power of his mind; but is content with first thoughts and outside visions of things; whereas the truly noble perceptive power is only attained by patience and watchfulness, always going on to see more and more, and helped by the Imagination to see rather the heart of things than their surface.

“Now the principle which has just been stated in the preceding paragraph is not only the most important, but it is the head and sum

¹That is, the principle stated in § 6 of ch. iv., that art should express the soul of the artist.

of all others; it is in fact this which, asserted first in the opening chapters of *Modern Painters*, I have been endeavouring in all that I have written subsequently, either in various ways to establish or to show the consequences of, if established; and in bringing to a close that section of my work which has reference to architecture, I am desirous of marking as clearly as possible the prominence of this principle throughout the parts of my plan which up to this time it has been possible to complete, and so to guard, as far as may be, my other statements variously subordinated to it, and perhaps in some cases, apparently contradictory, from misapprehension, until I am able to add the portions necessary to their unity, and therefore also to their strength.

“In the second chapter of the first volume of *Modern Painters* it was generally alleged that all art was great according to the Greatness of the ideas it conveyed—not according to the perfection of the means adopted for conveying them. The essence of the Art was said to be in the thought—not in the language, and the subjects of inquiry laid before the reader were the different kinds of *Ideas* which art could convey.

“It was assumed, therefore, that all great or, as commonly worded, fine art was essentially *Ideal* or of the Soul, as distinguished from the lower art which is principally of the body—that is, of the hands, limbs, and sight—but not of the soul.

“There is not a definite separation between the two kinds—a blacksmith may put soul into the making of a horseshoe, and an architect may put none into the building of a church. Only exactly in proportion as the Soul is thrown into it, the art becomes Fine; and not in proportion to any amount of practice, ingenuity, strength, knowledge, or other calculable and saleable excellence thrown into it. This is the one truth which throughly to understand and act upon will create a school of art in any kind; and which to misunderstand and deny will for ever render great art impossible. This one truth I have throughout had at my heart—variously struggling and endeavouring to illustrate it—according to the end immediately in view. In the part of *Modern Painters* just referred to * the kinds of ideas conveyable by art were resolved into three principal classes—ideas of Truth, Beauty, and Relation; and it was my purpose with respect to all three classes to show, that the Truth of greater art was that which the soul apprehended, not the sight merely; that the Beauty of great art was in like manner that which the soul perceived, not the senses merely; that the Thoughts of great art were those which the soul originated, and not the Understanding merely.

* Third edition, p. 42 [vol. i. pt. i. sec. ii. ch. iii., in this edition Vol. III. p. 130].

But because the volume of *Modern Painters* was written in definite defence of a great artist against whom it was alleged by the commonalty of critics that the only merit of his work—if it had merit at all—was in its imaginative power, and that there was no truth nor resemblance to Nature in his pictures, I met these persons first upon their own ground, and devoted that first volume to the demonstration that not only Turner *did* paint the material and actual truth of Nature, but that the truth had never in landscape been fully painted by any other man. And in doing this I had to meet two distinct classes of opponents, first and principally those who looked for nothing in art but a literal and painstaking imitation of the externals of Nature, as in the works of the Dutch school, against whom I had to prove that the truths thus sought were but a small part of the truth of Nature, and that there were higher and more occult kinds of truth which could not be rendered but by some sacrifice of imitative accuracy, and which Turner had by such sacrifice succeeded in rendering for the first time in the history of art. But in the second place and collaterally I had to meet those men who in their love of system or “composition” disregarded or denied the truth of Nature altogether, and supposed that the Imagination was independent of truth. Against whom I had to assert the dignity and glory of Truth, and its necessity as the foundation of all art whatsoever.

“Now this class of men is a mixed one, influenced in a very singular manner by two opposite elements of mind which yet lead into an identical error. One division of them, the largest, is influenced mainly by that love of *system* which has above been shown¹ to be the second corrupt element of the Renaissance school, and which, inducing men to take pride in laws, ordinances, tradition and formalisms, seals up their spiritual perceptions, prevents them from seeing or loving natural truth, and leads them to place their whole conception of excellence in the observance of an established law. This is the ancient and fatal Pharisee temper which alike in matters small and great will for ever stand as a cloud in the way of all heavenly light. This class is represented, with respect to landscape art, by the group of Formalists once headed by Sir George Beaumont—men whose minds were made up of “principal lights” and “brown trees”²—whose senseless opposition to the enthusiasm and inspiration of the young Turner changed his kindly spirit into darkness, and in no small degree shortened both his powers and his life. The other division of this class is directly opposite to the Pharisaical one; inasmuch as refusing all help as

¹That is, in this volume, ch. ii. §§ 86–92.

²See Vol. III. p. 45 n.

well as all authority, and believing as dangerously in the infallibility of sense as the Formalist in the inviolability of his law, multitudes of our landscape painters have been led into some narrow field of unconnected and imperfect truth, whose limits they cannot overpass, and which they believe to be itself the Universe. Thus, for instance, Constable saw nothing in Nature but coolness; De Wint saw nothing but tone. Both might at first have seen more had they so chosen, but they were content to rest in their own truth, until every other truth was shut out from them, and they became for ever blind to all true form and all refined colour. And the greater number of the second-rate landscape artists of the present day are men of this class, perceiving only small truths, and for ever repeating their proclamations of them, incapable either of discovery or of progress. And this evil has been further complicated by their having proclaimed truth only in one way—that is, by imitation—and forgetting that, as there is an ultimate truth, which only the soul perceives, and there is an ultimate expression, which only the soul employs, very often the most thoughtful and expressive art must be that which is in one sense least like Nature; that is to say, symbolical or comprehensive instead of imitative. To all this kind of expression, in which the true early schools were unrivalled, the modern artist is either utterly dead, or only unconsciously and imperfectly sensitive; and therefore in all I have written it has been necessary for me to meet alternately two forms of opposition just as antagonistic to each other as to truth—one that of the Formalists, who despised Nature, and the other that of the lower and more ignorant Naturalists, who despised symbolism—and therewith the whole range of the magnificent thoughts opened in work of the early ages.”¹

Ruskin’s reason for discarding this passage (which has been put together from various unarranged sheets of MS.) was no doubt that it carried him somewhat far afield from the immediate subject in the fourth chapter of this volume of *The Stones of Venice*. In this complete edition of his works—in which one of the principal objects is to bring the whole body of his writings into orderly relations,² the passage is of importance and interest, as guarding the reader against misapprehension, and as showing how the two principal books of the author’s earlier time—namely, *Modern Painters*, volumes i. and ii., and *The Stones of Venice*—connected

¹The MS. continues: “The nature of the antagonism between the modern Naturalism and the ancient Symbolism will be best understood by carefully examining it in a single instance—,” and then breaks off. The instance in question—that of the treatment of the olive in art—is given in the text (see p. 206).

²See General Preface in Vol. I., p.x.

themselves in his scheme. The connexion, as we have already seen,¹ was often in his thoughts.

Ruskin returned to the principle described above as the kernel of his art-teaching, in the epilogue to *The Stones of Venice*, written a quarter of a century later. "The simple rendering of natural or historical fact" is, he says,² indispensable as training, and is a condition of all great painting; but the essence of the thing resides not in that, but in the expression of the ideas and feelings of the individual artist.

The conclusion, the résumé, the epilogue are followed by an appendix which, in this volume, is of exceptional importance. In previous volumes we have seen how Ruskin threw into appendices his thoughts and observations on collateral and even disconnected subjects.³ And he does the same in this volume;⁴ but in addition to notes of that kind, the pages headed "Appendix" include in this case supplementary matter which is essentially related to the main theme of the book. This remark applies more particularly to Appendix 1 ("Architect of the Ducal Palace") and 10 ("Final Appendix"). Owing to the place in which Ruskin threw this matter, and perhaps also to its somewhat technical character, this supplement to *The Stones of Venice* is not always given by readers the importance which it deserves.⁵ These two appendices, and especially the long one, No. 10, contain much of the detailed evidence on which the author based the conclusions on chronological and technical points which he stated in the principal text. We have already described and illustrated the long and laborious minuteness of his architectural studies;⁶ a perusal of Appendix 10 will show how methodically he marshalled his evidence. His conclusions on vexed questions of Venetian architecture are sometimes spoken of as if he had jumped at them;⁷ the fact is that they were reached after exhaustive examination, and the nature of the evidence, on which they were ultimately based, is indicated in this appendix. Conclusions thus founded are not to be upset except after consideration of the author's whole case, and by examination as thorough and minute as that which he himself devoted to the subject. It should be noted

¹ See Vol. X. pp. xlvi., 207.

² See below, p. 241.

³ See Vol. IX. p. xxxviii.

⁴ As, for instance, Appendix 2 ("Theology of Spenser") and 7 ("Modern Education").

⁵ A good many copies of the volume have passed through my hands. I have observed that in the majority of cases the leaves of Appendix 10 were not cut.

⁶ See Vol. IX. p. xxiv.

⁷ Thus, in the current edition of Murray's *Handbook to Northern Italy*, reference is made to the "dogmas and opinions of *The Stones of Venice*, which the reader may accept or reject." He may; but he has the right to do so, only after considering the evidence on which the opinions are based.

further that this Appendix 10 contains particulars and explanations of several Plates, both in the second and in the third volume, which are not given in the main text. The indices to the illustrations, supplied in this edition, will, among other purposes, serve to call the reader's attention to this point.

Finally, Volume III., as originally published, included the Venetian Index, containing (1) architectural, and (2) pictorial notes. The architectural notes should again be considered as supplementary illustrations of the principal text. The notes on pictures are of special importance as containing—together with *Modern Painters*, vol. ii., and the lecture on "Michael Angelo and Tintoret"—Ruskin's principal notices of Tintoret. They embody the studies which he devoted to the work of that painter in 1845 and 1846, as well as in the still more important years (1849–1850, and 1851–1852) of his Venetian work. Additional matter has been incorporated in this edition from his diaries of the earlier period.

The Venetian Index was intended by Ruskin to serve as a handbook for travellers. It has seemed desirable, therefore—while reprinting, untouched, the original text—to bring the Index in some sort up to date. Ruskin himself began the work of revision during the years 1877–1881 (see below, p. 360), and the notes which he then added are included in the text, being distinguished by brackets, and the addition of the date. The topographical and other alterations caused by the changes and chances of the fifty years which have elapsed since Ruskin wrote, are given in footnotes. This portion of the work has in large part been done by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Robertson of Venice, to whose assistance the editors have already expressed their indebtedness.¹

Besides architectural and pictorial notes, the Venetian Index, as planned by Ruskin, contained references to the volumes and pages of the text where the buildings in question were mentioned or described. In this respect, however, it was not altogether complete. Not all the buildings and monuments mentioned in the text were included in the Index, nor in the case of buildings so included were all the references given. In both these respects the Index has been made more full, and, further, its scope now includes the *Examples*. Entries referring to persons, places (outside Venice), and topics—such as were given by Ruskin in the first three indices of editions 1–3, and afterwards (more fully) in the General Index by Mr. Wedderburn—are

¹ See Vol. X. p. liii.

reserved, in accordance with the main scheme of the present edition, for the Index Volume to the whole edition. But Ruskin's purely Venetian references (in *The Stones of Venice*) of a topographical character are given in this volume. It has been thought that this arrangement will be convenient, as making the three volumes of *The Stones of Venice* complete in themselves as a guide to the principal edifices and monuments of the city.

This completeness is further aimed at by the inclusion in this volume of *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*. That work has hitherto been available only as an unwieldy folio more than 2 feet high and 18 inches wide. The necessary reduction in the scale of the Plates is considerable: the precise measurements will be found in footnotes to the letterpress accompanying the Plates; roughly speaking, the reduction amounts nearly to two-thirds—that is to say, a Plate 17½ inches high in the original is here 6½ inches high. Of course something is lost thereby, for Ruskin's object in the original Plates was in some cases to give the actual scale; but modern processes of reproduction make the loss in other respects less than might appear from a mere consideration of measurements. The gain in accessibility and convenience of reference is also considerable. The high price and the unwieldy size of the *Examples* have hitherto confined the knowledge of them to a comparatively small circle. In this edition, the whole body of Ruskin's published illustrations to *The Stones of Venice* are for the first time brought together. The cross-references supplied in this edition—in the text of *The Stones* to the Plates in the *Examples*, and in that of the *Examples* to the descriptions or discussions in *The Stones*—will help, it is hoped, to increase facility of reference, and to exemplify once more the wealth of illustration and minuteness of study which Ruskin brought to bear upon his subject.

His plans and intentions in the case of the *Examples* are explained in the Preface to the first edition of volume i. (Vol. IX. pp. 8,9). Three parts were issued in 1851, and Ruskin liked the result. "I am much pleased," he wrote to his father (May 7, 1852), "with the three numbers, but I see Lupton and Richmond were right in thinking I made things too black. A fresh eye is a great thing; when one has laboured on a drawing long, one cannot see it as other people see it." The preparation of these three Parts cost him much trouble, and also much money, for they sold very slowly.¹ "I shall certainly keep all my

¹ See Vol. IX. p. xxxix.

illustrations small size," Ruskin wrote to his father (January 16, 1852). "I think the better way with the large ones would be to withdraw them at once from the market and bear the present loss, and keep them in a *heap*, like Mr. Turner, till people would be thankful for them." He did not thus withdraw them, and the copies were gradually disposed of—proving to original purchasers a good investment, as will be seen from the note of prices below, p. xxxiii. But the slow sale caused him to suspend the preparation of the further Parts which he had intended, and to which reference is frequently made in the text of *The Stones*. One additional illustration—of one of the archivolts of St. Mark's—is here reproduced from an unfinished mezzotint by Thomas Lupton. This is given as Plate 16 of the *Examples*.

The reader who studies the three volumes of *The Stones of Venice* as here presented will be in a position to understand the amount of work which Ruskin threw into them. The work was done, as has been said already, with full zest;¹ but not without some disillusionment, so far as the picturesque side of Venice was concerned. We have seen this mood expressed already to Professor Norton—in a letter, however, of later date, and therefore reminiscent only. The same mood appears in a letter of the time, when Ruskin was actually at work in Venice, to Samuel Rogers. As this refers also to various topics touched upon in *The Stones of Venice*, it may fitly be introduced here, by way of conclusion to the introductions to that book. It is one of the letters with which Ruskin took particular pains. Writing to his father from Venice (May 24, 1852), he says: "I have been laying the foundations of a letter to Miss Mitford which I will enclose to you to-morrow, and then forthwith proceed with one for Mr. Rogers. I could not write to him before; I was in so prosaic a humour with Venice. But these letters take up all my spare time." The letter to Rogers did not get itself dispatched, it will be seen, till a month later:²—

"VENICE, 23rd June [1852].

"DEAR MR. ROGERS,—What must you have thought of me, after your kind answer to my request to be permitted to write to you, when I never wrote? . . . I was out of health and out of heart when I first

¹ See Vol. X. p. 26.

² The letter is reprinted as it stands (with the addition of the year) in *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, by P.W. Clayden, 1889, vol. ii. pp. 303–309. It was included in the privately-printed collection of *Ruskiniana*, 1890, Part i. pp. 6–9, being reprinted there from *Igdrasil* (the Journal of the Ruskin Reading Guild), vol. i. pp. 85–87.

got here.* There came much painful news from home,¹ and then such a determined course of bad weather, and every other kind of annoyance, that I never was in a temper fit to write to any one; the worst of it was that I lost all *feeling* of Venice, and this was the reason both of my not writing to you and of my thinking of you so often. For whenever I found myself getting utterly hard and indifferent, I used to read over a little bit of the "Venice" in the *Italy*, and it put me always into the right tone of thought again, and for this I cannot be enough grateful to you. For though I believe that in the summer, when Venice is indeed lovely, when pomegranate blossoms hang over every garden wall, and green sunlight shoots through every wave, custom will not destroy, or even weaken, the impression conveyed at first; it is far otherwise in the length and bitterness of the Venetian winters. Fighting with frosty winds at every turn of the canals takes away all the old feelings of peace and stillness; the protracted cold makes the dash of the water on the walls a sound of simple discomfort, and some wild and dark day in February one starts to find oneself actually balancing in one's mind the relative advantages of land and water carriage, comparing the Canal with Piccadilly, and even hesitating whether for the rest of one's life one would rather have a gondola within call or a hansom. When I used to get into this humour I *always* had recourse to those lines of yours:—

‘The Sea is in the broad, the narrow streets,
Ebbing and flowing, etc.;’

and they did me good service for many a day; but at last a time came when the sea was *not* in the narrow streets, and was always ebbing and not flowing; and one day, when I found just a foot and a half of muddy water left under the Bridge of Sighs, and ran aground in the Grand Canal as I was going home, I was obliged to give the canals up. I have never recovered the feeling of them.

“But St. Mark's Place and St. Mark's have held their own, and this is much to say, for both are grievously destroyed by inconsistent

* September, 1851.

¹ This refers to the death of a friend, thus mentioned in a letter from Ruskin to his father:—

“December 7.—I have just got your letter with the announcement of our poor friend's death. Looking back on my London life—of, I suppose, some eighteen or twenty months altogether—I recollect only ten or twelve pleasant evenings spent in society, and those were with Mr. George, Burlington Street. It is the only street in London with which I had happy associations—now *all* are cut off.”

This news was presently followed by that of the death of Turner (see Vol. X. p. 38).

and painful associations—especially the great square, filled as it is with spiritless loungers, and a degenerate race of caterers for their amusement—the distant successors of the jugglers and tumblers of old times, now consisting chiefly of broken-down violin players and other refuse of the orchestra, ragged children who achieve revolutions upon their heads and hands and beg for broken biscuits among the eaters of ices—the crumbs from the rich man's table—and exhibitors, not of puppet shows, for Venice is too lazy now to enjoy Punch, but of dramatic spectacles composed of figures pricked out in paper, and turned in a procession round a candle. Among which sources of entertainment the Venetians lounge away their evenings all the summer long, helped a little by the Austrian bands which play for them, more or less every night, the music fitted to their taste, Verdi, and sets of waltzes. If Dante had seen these people, he would assuredly have added another scene to the *Inferno*—a Venetian corner, with a central tower of St. Mark's with red-hot stories, up which the indolent Venetians would have been continually driven at full speed, and dropped from the parapet into a lagoon of hot café noir. Nor is the excitement of the lower classes less painful than the indolence of the upper on the days of drawing lottery tickets—days recurring but too often—and, as it seems to me, deeply condemnatory of the financial and educational policy of the Government. These lotteries are, I think, the only thing in which the Austrian Government is inexcusably wrong; they deserve to be embarrassed in their finances when they adopt such means of taxation. I do not know a more melancholy sight than the fevered and yet habitually listless groups of the poorer population gathered in the porches of St. Mark's, and clustered about its pillars, not for any religious service, but to wait for the declaration of the prize tickets from the loggia of Sansovino!

“You will, however, rather wish I had never written to you from Venice at all, than written to give these accounts of it; but there is little else to give, and I fear that now there is but one period of beauty or of honour still remaining for her. Perhaps even this may be denied to her, and she may be gradually changed, by the destruction of old buildings and erection of new, into a modern town—a bad imitation of Paris. But if not, and the present indolence and ruinous dissipation of the people continue, there will come a time when the modern houses will be abandoned and destroyed, St. Mark's Place will again be, what it was in the early ages, a green field, and the front of the Ducal Palace and the marble shafts of St. Mark's will be rooted in wild violets and wreathed with vines. She will be beautiful again then, and I could almost wish that the time might come quickly, were

it not that so many noble pictures must be destroyed first. These are what I fear I shall miss most when I come back to London, for I shall not now be within ten minutes' drive of St. James's Palace, and I shall have no pictures of the great schools near me. Here it is an infinite privilege to be able to walk out in the morning and to pay a visit to Titian, and, whenever the sun is too hot, to rest under a portico with Paul Veronese. I love Venetian pictures more and more, and wonder at them every day with greater wonder; compared with all other paintings they are so easy, so instinctive,¹ so natural, everything that the men of other schools did by rule and called composition, done here by instinct and only called truth.

"I don't know when I have envied anybody more than I did the other day the directors and clerks of the Zecca. There they sit at inky deal desks, counting out rolls of money, and curiously weighing the irregular and battered coinage of which Venice boasts; and just over their heads, occupying the place which in a London countinghouse would be occupied by the commercial almanack, a glorious Bonifazio—Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; and in a less honourable corner three *old* directors of the Zecca, very mercantile-looking men indeed, counting money also, like the living ones, only a little *more* living, painted by Tintoret, not to speak of the scattered Palma Vecchios, and a lovely Benedetto Diana which no one ever looks at.² I wonder when the European mind will again awake to the great fact that a noble picture was not painted to be *hung*, but to be *seen*. I only saw these by accident, having been detained in Venice by some obliging person, who abstracted some [jewelry]³ . . . and brought me thereby into various relations with the respectable body of people who live at the wrong end of the Bridge of Sighs, the police, whom, in spite of traditions of terror, I would very willingly have changed for some of those their predecessors whom you have honoured by a note in the *Italy*. The present police appear to act on exactly contrary principles: yours found the purse and banished the loser; these *don't* find the jewels, and won't let me go away. I am afraid no punishment is appointed in Venetian law for people who steal *time*.

"However, I hope now to be able to leave Venice on Monday next, and I do not intend to pause, except for rests, on my road home. I trust, therefore, to be in England about the 10th of next month, when I shall come to St. James's Place the very first day I can get into London. At first I go home to my present house—close to my father's—beyond Camberwell; I could not live any more in Park Street, with a dead brick wall opposite my windows. But I hope,

¹ This word was misprinted "instructive" in *Igdrasil* and *Ruskiniana*.

² For these pictures, see below, Venetian Index, p. 390.

³ See Vol. X. pp. xli.–xlii.

with a few Turners on the walls, and a few roses in the garden, to be very happy near my father and mother, who will not, I think, after this absence of nearly a whole year, be able very soon to spare me again. So I must travel in Italy with *you*—who never lead me into any spot where I would not be; and when I am overwearied with the lurid gloom of the London atmosphere, will you still let me come sometimes to St. James's Place, to see the sweet colours of the south?

...
 “Ever, dear Mr. Rogers, most affectionately and respectfully yours,

“J. RUSKIN.”

The remarks made in the preceding volume on the *manuscript* and *text* apply also here (see Vol. X. pp. lxi., lxii.). The MS., which is in possession of Mr. George Allen, is written on some four or five hundred leaves of grey foolscap. Together with it are numerous loose sheets of additional matter, discarded drafts, etc. Some of this material has been used for footnotes to the text; other portions are printed as Appendix 11; and some, again, as supplementary notes to the text of volume iii., and of the *Examples*. A *facsimile* of part of an often-quoted passage is given between pp. 204 and 205. The greater part of the Venetian Index is not included among the Allen MSS. The MS. of the “Castel-Franco” chapter is in Mr. Wedderburn's possession. It consists of fifteen folio pages; but the MS. of the extracts from Ruskin's diary and from *Modern Painters* given in the chapter are in the hands of secretaries. There are also three sheets of a rough copy of §§ 1–2, and § 3, down to the words “denies the unexpected truth.”

The notes to the text added by the author in the “Travellers' Edition” are distinguished by the date in square brackets, [1881]; that being the year in which the second volume of the “Travellers' Edition” was published.

The *illustrations* in this volume comprise (1) twenty-eight Plates, being all that appeared in the original editions of *The Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., and of the *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, together with (2) four now published as additional illustrations. The names of the first engravers appear on the plates, which are reproduced from the original ones.

Of the added illustrations, the frontispiece is a drawing of the Scuola di San Marco, one of the edifices which Ruskin selected for mention among the beautiful works of the Early Renaissance in Venice (see below, p. 21). The drawing, made in 1876, is in water-colour; it is at Brantwood.

Plate A is from a drawing in pencil (7 x 6), also at Brantwood, of the equestrian statue which surmounts the Tomb of Can Grande della Scala at Verona, and which is described in this volume (p. 88).

Plate B shows the Tomb of Can Signorio della Scala at Verona, also described in this volume (p. 90). The drawing, which is in sepia and body colour (20 x 14), is at Brantwood.

For a note on the additional Plate in the *Examples*, the reader is referred to p. 350, below.

E. T. C.

Bibliographical Note.—The bibliography of *The Stones of Venice*, volume iii., as part of the complete work, has already been given (Vol. IX. p. liii.). Here it remains to give that of separate editions of the volume, reprints from it, and of *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*, which is now included with it.

SEPARATE EDITIONS OF VOLUME III

Volume III.—*First Edition* (1853).—The title-page (enclosed in a plain ruled frame) is as follows:—

The | Stones of Venice. | Volume the Third. | The Fall. | By John Ruskin, |
Author of “The Seven Lamps of Architecture,” “Modern Painters,” | etc. etc. |
With Illustrations drawn by the Author. | London: | Smith, Elder, and Co., 65
Cornhill. | 1853. [Below, outside the frame:—] [The Author of this work
reserves the right of authorizing a Translation of it.]

Imperial 8vo, pp. iv.+362. The Contents (here p. ix.) occupy p. iii.; List of Plates (here p. xi.), p. iv. The headline on the left-hand pages, 1–197, of the principal text is “Third Period”; on the right-hand pages it is the number and title of the chapter. In chapter ii., pp. 35–111, there are additional side-headings at the top of each page, “I. Pride of Science,” “II. Pride of State,” etc. Appendices 1–10 occupy pp. 199–249. Then follow the Indices: “I. Personal Index; II. Local Index; III. Topical Index; IV. Venetian Index.” The first three of these (pp. 257–282) are not here given, their entries being incorporated in the General Index to the edition. The Venetian Index occupies pp. 283–362 (here 353–436). The Indices are preceded by an “Explanatory Note,” pp. 253–256 (here 355–357), and the Venetian Index by another, pp. 283–284 (here 359, 360). The imprint on the reverse of the title-page and at the foot of the last page is “London: Spottiswoodes and Shaw, New Street Square.” On the reverse of a leaf inserted at the end is a list of “Works in the Press,” to be published by Smith, Elder & Co. The first book on the list is referred to in this volume (see p. 265), and is thus announced: “Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII. Being the despatches of Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador to England; Illustrating the Court Life and Diplomatic Intercourse of the Period, the Character of Cardinal Wolsey, and the Course of Events, A.D. 1515–1619 (*sic*). Translated from the Italian by Rawdon Brown.” The third volume of *The Stones of Venice* was issued on October 2, 1853, in boards similar to those of volumes i. and ii. Price One Guinea and a Half.

A few copies were issued in two parts, the first containing the principal

text (pp. 1–197); the second, the appendices and indices. They were put up in cloth boards similar to those of the ordinary issue, but lettered “The Fall—I,” “The Fall—II,” and the central design (see Vol. IX. p. liv.) appeared upon the front side of the cover only.

Second Edition (1867).—Title-page is the same as before, except for the alteration of date; the addition of the words “Second Edition”; and the transposition of *Modern Painters* and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in the description of the author. The collation is the same, but there is a different imprint: “London. Printed by Spottiswoode and Co. New Street Square.” The binding and price remained the same. Issued on April 1, 1867. The only alteration of any moment in the text is noted below, at p. 79.

These two are the only editions of vol. iii. published separately. For issues of the volume as part of the complete work, and for the “Travellers’ Edition,” see Vol. IX. pp. liv.–lviii.

SEPARATE REPRINT OF A PORTION OF THE VENETIAN INDEX

This is a single demy sheet (measuring 17½ x 22½ inches) issued by the Arundel Society, with the following title at its head:—

Notice | of | the Paintings by Tintoretto, | in the Scuola di San Rocco, | at Venice.
| Extracted from Mr. Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice*, Vol. III. p. 324, &c.

The sheet, which bears no imprint, was issued to accompany photographs of the two following paintings by Tintoretto:—(1) Christ before Pilate (see below, p. 427), and (2) Christ bearing His Cross (pp. 427–428). The price was 10s. to members of the Society, and 15s. to non-members.

“EXAMPLES OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF VENICE”

First Edition (1851).—The title is as follows:—

Examples | of the | Architecture of Venice, | Selected and Drawn to
Measurement | from the Edifices. | By John Ruskin, | Author of the “*Stones of
Venice*,” “*Seven Lamps of Architecture*,” “*Modern Painters*,” etc. | London: |
Published by Smith, Elder, & Co., 65 Cornhill; | and Paul and Dominic
Colnaghi & Co., Pall Mall East. | MDCCCLI.

Atlas folio, pp. ii.+6, consisting of Preface pp. i.–ii. (here pp. 311–313); and then the Text pp. 1–6. There is no title-page; the title, given above, appears on the front wrapper. Issued in three Parts, the First on May 12, 1851; the Second, on November 1, 1851; the Third on November 17, 1851. Part I. contained pp. i.–ii. and 1–2, and Plates 1–5 B; II., pp. 3–4, Plates 6–10;

III., pp. 5–6, Plates 11–15.¹ Other Parts were intended by the author, but no more were published. The Parts were put up in grey paper wrappers, with the above title (printed in ornamental red and black letters) on the front, enclosed in a frame with designs at the corners. Below the frame, is the imprint: “Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver, Gough Square, Fleet Street, London.” Above the frame in the India paper copies are the words: “Subscriber’s Copy”; and below it in all copies. On p. 4 of the wrapper were the contents of each part. Price, One Guinea each Part; fifty India Proofs at Two Guineas each Part. A set of the latter has sold in the auction rooms during recent years for £32.

The names of the original engravers appear on the reproductions in this edition. Plates 9 and 12 were coloured, and Plates 8 and 15 partly coloured, by hand.

Second Edition (1887).—The title-page is as follows:—

Examples | of the | Architecture of Venice | Selected and drawn to measurement
from the edifices. | By | John Ruskin, | Author of “The Stones of Venice,” “The
Seven Lamps of Architecture,” | “Modern Painters,” etc. | George Allen,
Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | MDCCCLXXXVII.

Atlas folio, pp. xi.+16 leaves (descriptions of the Plates, facing them severally). The Original Advice occupies pp. v., vi. (here p. 313 *n.*); Preface to the First Edition, p. viii. (here p. 311); Contents, p. xi. (here p. 315). Issued on March 14, 1887, unbound, in a cloth cover; price Three Guineas. 1000 copies were printed; also 250 copies printed on Whatman’s hand-made paper, with the Plates on India, paper, price Six Guineas. The Proofs were issued in green cloth cases; the ordinary copies in brown cloth.

The Publisher’s Advertisement stated: “The original Plates, engraved by Messrs. Lupton, Reynolds, Armytage, and Cuff, from drawings by Mr. Ruskin, are in good condition, having had comparatively few impressions taken from them for the first and only other edition in 1851. The lithographs have been carefully reproduced.” The reproductions (of Plates 3,4, 9, 12, 14, and 15) were by Mr. G. Rosenthal.

Varia Lectiones.—The following is a list of various readings shown by a collation of all the editions of *The Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., and of the

¹The following letter (reprinted from the privately-printed volume of *Letters upon Subjects of General Interest from John Ruskin to Various Correspondents*, 1892) refers to the arrangement of the letterpress:—

“August 3rd, 1851.—DEAR MR. SMITH,—We at first thought of running these large plate notices straight on; but it seems to me that after saying ‘each number will be complete in itself,’ we can hardly do this, as I have not put in any of Plate II. to fill the gap—but you can if you think it better. The MS. of next number will be with you to-morrow morning. I want a revise of *this*, and of *Pre-Raphaelitism* from the beginning. Ever faithfully yours, J. RUSKIN.”

This, however, appears to have been somewhat inaccurately printed, and should read, “so I have not put in any of Plate 11;” a reference to the original edition showing a blank space or gap at the bottom of page 4 of the letterpress descriptive of Plates 6–10 (issued with Part ii.). The publisher did not fill in this gap, so that the description of Plates 11–15 began on a fresh page (issued with Part iii.).

Examples also. Those of importance are noted under the text, and to those a reference only is here given. The list does not include variations in setting, punctuation, or spelling, nor alterations in references caused by different pagination:—

Ch. i. § 7, line 21, for “nor” 4th and later eds. misread “not”; § 22, six lines from end, the italicising of *must* in this ed. is in accordance with a MS. note of Ruskin’s; § 26, five lines from end, for “lightest” (in eds. 1 and 2, and MS.), 3rd and later eds. read “slightest”; § 34, line 10, for “subject,” 4th and later eds. misread “subjects”; § 38, line 2, the earlier issues of the “Travellers’ Edition” had here a note “see Trevisan in index.”

Ch. ii. (heading in “Travellers’ Edition”) for “scornful” the earlier eds. misread “sorrowful”; (first footnote in “Travellers’ Edition”) the earlier eds. read “Portions of the chapters on the Roman and Grotesque Renaissance . . .; but the text nowhere altered, unless by connecting sentences”; § 21, six lines from end, for “tints,” 5th and later eds. misread “hints”; § 27, line 15, see p. 64; § 34, thirteen lines from end, see p. 72; last line but one, see p. 73; § 44, lines 18, 19, and footnote, see p. 74; § 48, line 17, see p. 84; § 57, line 2, “west end” (in all previous eds.) was a slip for “east end”; § 97, line 14, “that fallacies” printed “the fallacies” in all previous eds.: “that” in the MS.; § 101, line 34, see p. 129.

Ch. iii. § 3, author’s note, the date 1378 (*cf.* § 12) has been misprinted 1738 in all previous eds.; § 16, line 10, for “This spirit,” 5th and later eds. misread “The spirit”; § 18 *n.*, some errors in the transcription of the inscription to Capello have been corrected in this edition; “Aurlæ” (in all previous eds.) is “Auriæ,” and “MDC,” “MD”; § 33, fourth line from end, see p. 158; § 34, line 11, see p. 158; § 45, line 11, for “or feels it,” 4th and later eds. misread “or feel it”; § 47, line 2, for “this” ed. 1 reads “these”; § 52, three lines from end, see p. 173; § 63, eleventh line from end, for “continual,” 5th and later eds. misread “continued.”

Ch. iv. § 8, lines 8 and 9, brackets inserted in this ed. as marked by Ruskin in his copy for revision; § 25, last line but one, ed. 5 misreads “bow” for “bough”; § 26, line 11, see p. 217.

Epilogue, § 4, line 4, see p. 235; § 6, line 18, see p. 240.

Appendix 10 (i.) line 5, all previous eds. have referred to Plate 13 instead of Plate 12.

” 10 (iii.), p. 274, last line, ed. 1 reads correctly “limiting date,” ed. 2 and all later issues misread “limited date.”

” 10 (iv.) p. 280, thirteenth line from bottom, all previous eds. have wrongly referred to “Plate 18, Vol. I.,” instead of Vol. II.

” 10 (vi.) line 15, eds. 1–3 read correctly “shape,” 4th and later eds. misread “shade.”

Examples of the Architecture of Venice.—At the end of the footnote (*) on p. 312, ed. 1 had the following:—“In case it should be thought worth anyone’s while to examine the original drawings, I have placed a few of them at Messrs. Colnaghi’s (14 Pall Mall East). I cannot exhibit the entire series of studies for the present work, as the greater number of them are needed for constant reference in the preparation of the text.”

At the end of the Announcement of the *Examples* (see below, p. 314) was the following intimation:—

Subscribers' names will be received by
Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co., 65 Cornhill,
And by
Messrs. Paul & Dominic Colnaghi & Co., Printers to Her Majesty,
Pall Mall East.

Specimens of the Work may be seen at Both Publishers(?)

THE SECOND VOLUME OF
"THE STONES OF VENICE"
Is in Preparation.

List of Plates, No. 9. The title in eds. 1 and 2 was "Byzantine Ruin. In Rio di Ca' Foscari"; it is altered in this ed. to correspond with the title on the Plate itself (the same in all eds.). Plate 5 B, line 20, for "on each side of the pilaster," ed. 2 reads incorrectly "on each of the pilasters." Plate 6, line 8, for "pillar," ed. 2 reads incorrectly "pillars." Plate 11, heading to the descriptive matter, eds. 1 and 2 read "Margarita," though "Margherita" below.

Venetian Index.—The following entries were omitted in the "Travellers' Edition," and in the 4th and later eds. of the complete work:—Antonino, Apollinare, Balbi, Barnaba, Basso, Battaglia, Benedetto, Canciano, Contarini (St. Luca), Corner Mocenigo, Emo, Fava, Flanging, Geremia, Gesuati, Giovanni Novo, Giuliano, Giustina, Labia, Lazzaro, Lorenzo, Lucia, Maddalena, Mangili, Manin, Martino, Michiel delle Colonne, Morosini (St. Stefano), Nicolo del Lido, Nome di Gesù, Orfani, Pietà, Spirito Santo, Tiepolo, Toma, Tron, Zitelli.

In the "Travellers' Edition" the following entries were also omitted:—Beccherie, Brenta, Businello, Byzantine Palaces, Cancellaria, Cattarina, Cicogna, Clemente (the reference, "See Scalzi" retained; the words "on an island . . . peculiarly beautiful" omitted); Contarini (delle Figure), Contarini dai Scignini, Da Ponte, Dario, Donato, Dona, Erizzo (Arsenal), Erizzo, Europa, Evangelisti, Facanon, Falier, Fantino, Farsetti, Felice, Ferro, Fondaco de' Turchi, Fondaco de' Tedeschi, Formosa, Giustinian Lolia, Grassi, Grimani, Liò, Liò (Salizzada), Loredan, Malipiero, Manfrini, Manzoni, Marcilian, Maria, Marco, Mark, Mark (Square), Pantaleone, Pietro, Pietro di Castello, Porta della Carta, Procuratie Nuove, Querini, Raffaele, Remer, Rezzonico, Rio del Palazzo, Rocco (Campiello), Severo, Stefano (Murano), Strope, Tana, Tolentini, Torcello, Trevisan. The entry "Barnaba, Church of St.," appears by mistake in all issues of the "Travellers' Edition" with no note.

The following variations in the text occur under the headings specified:—*Accademia*, "Arti" misprinted "Arte" in 4th and later eds. of the complete work; *Badoer*, "Bragora" misprinted "Bragola" in all previous eds.; *Cassiano*, misprinted "Cassano" in all previous eds.; *Correr Museum* (see p. 369); *Dona*, printed "Dona" in all previous eds.; *Giacomo dell'*

Orio, misprinted “de Lorio” in all previous eds.; *Giovanni in Bragora*, misprinted “Bragola” in all previous eds.; *Giorgio in Alga*, misprinted “Aiga” in all issues of the “Travellers’ Edition”; *Giudecca*, line 2, “the most northern” was a slip for “southern”; Ruskin had noted it in his revise, but the correction was never made; *Othello*, “Marin Sanuto” printed “Maria” in eds. 1–3, and “Travellers’ Edition” (all issues); *Piazzetta* (see p. 398); *Salute*, Marriage in Cana (see p. 430); *Vitale*, misprinted “Vitali” in all previous eds.

THE STONES OF VENICE

VOLUME III

XI.

A

THIRD, OR RENAISSANCE PERIOD

CHAPTER I

EARLY RENAISSANCE¹

§ 1. I TRUST that the reader has been enabled by the preceding chapters, to form some conception of the magnificence of the streets of Venice during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Yet by all this magnificence she was not supremely distinguished above the other cities of the Middle Ages. Her early edifices have been preserved to our times by the circuit of her waves; while continual recurrences of ruin have defaced the glory of her sister cities. But such fragments as are still left in their lonely squares, and in the corners of their streets, so far from being inferior to the buildings of Venice, are even more rich, more finished, more admirable in invention, more exuberant in beauty.² And although, in the North of Europe, civilisation was less advanced, and the knowledge of the arts was more confined to the ecclesiastical orders, so that, for domestic architecture, the period of perfection must be there placed much later than in Italy, and considered as extending to the middle of the fifteenth century; yet, as each city reached a certain point in civilisation, its streets became decorated with the same magnificence, varied only in style according to the

¹ [This chapter, with the omission of §§ 5–14 inclusive, forms ch. i of vol. ii. of the “Travellers’ Edition.”]

² [Ruskin, it will be remembered, deprecated the idea that he supposed “Venetian architecture the most noble of the schools of Gothic”: see *Seven Lamps*, Preface, 2nd ed. (Vol. VIII. p. 12), where he adds that “the Gothic of Verona is far nobler than that of Venice, and that of Florence nobler than that of Verona.” See also the second letter in Appendix 13, Vol. X.]

materials at hand, and temper of the people. And I am not aware of any town of wealth and importance in the Middle Ages, in which some proof does not exist that, at its period of greatest energy and prosperity, its streets were inwrought with rich sculpture, and even (though in this, as before noticed,¹ Venice always stood supreme) glowing with colour and with gold. Now, therefore, let the reader,—forming for himself as vivid and real a conception as he is able, either of a group of Venetian palaces in the fourteenth century, or, if he likes better, of one of the more fantastic but even richer street scenes of Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne, or Nuremberg, and keeping this gorgeous image before him,—go out into any thoroughfare representative, in a general and characteristic way, of the feeling for domestic architecture in modern times: let him, for instance, if in London, walk once up and down Harley Street, or Baker Street, or Gower Street;² and then, looking upon this picture and on this,³ set himself to consider (for this is to be the subject of our following and final inquiry) what have been the causes which have induced so vast a change in the European mind.

§ 2. Renaissance architecture is the school which has conducted men's inventive and constructive faculties from the Grand Canal to Gower Street; from the marble shaft, and the lancet arch, and the wreathed leafage, and the glowing and melting harmony of gold and azure, to the square cavity in the brick wall. We have now to consider the causes and the steps of this change; and, as we endeavoured above to investigate the nature of Gothic, here to investigate also the nature of Renaissance.

§ 3. Although Renaissance architecture assumes very different forms among different nations, it may be conveniently referred to three heads:—Early Renaissance, consisting of the first corruptions introduced into the Gothic schools;

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. v. § 29 (Vol. X. p. 170).]

² [Gower Street is again selected, as a type of modern ugliness, in *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvi. §§ 12, 13. Tennyson's "long, unlovely street" (*In Memoriam*, vii.) was Wimpole Street.]

³ [*Hamlet*, iii. 4.]

Central or Roman Renaissance, which is the perfectly formed style; and Grotesque Renaissance, which is the corruption of the Renaissance itself.

§ 4. Now, in order to do full justice to the adverse cause, we will consider the abstract *nature* of the school with reference only to its best or Central examples. The forms of building which must be classed generally under the term *Early Renaissance* are, in many cases, only the extravagances and corruptions of the languid Gothic, for whose errors the classical principle is in nowise answerable. It was stated in the second chapter of the *Seven Lamps*,¹ that, unless luxury had enervated and subtlety falsified the Gothic forms, Roman traditions could not have prevailed against them; and, although these enervated and false conditions are almost instantly coloured by the classical influence, it would be utterly unfair to lay to the charge of that influence the first debasement of the earlier schools, which had lost the strength of their system before they could be struck by the plague.

§ 5. The manner, however, of the debasement of all schools of art, so far as it is natural, is in all ages the same; luxuriance of ornament, refinement of execution, and idle subtleties of fancy, taking the place of true thought and firm handling: and I do not intend to delay the reader long by the Gothic sick-bed, for our task is not so much to watch the wasting of fever in the features of the expiring king, as to trace the character of that Hazael who dipped the cloth in water, and laid it upon his face.² Nevertheless, it is necessary to the completeness of our view of the architecture of Venice, as well as to our understanding of the manner in which the Central Renaissance obtained its universal dominion, that we glance briefly at the principal forms into which Venetian Gothic first declined. They are two in number: one the corruption of the Gothic itself; the other a partial return to Byzantine forms: for the Venetian mind having carried the Gothic to a point at which

¹ [See Vol. VIII. p. 98, and author's note there.]

² [2 Kings viii. 15.]

it was dissatisfied, tried to retrace its steps, fell back first upon Byzantine types, and through them passed to the first Roman. But in thus retracing its steps, it does not recover its own lost energy. It revisits the places through which it had passed in the morning light, but it is now with wearied limbs, and under the gloomy shadows of evening.

§ 6. It has just been said that the two principal causes of natural decline in any school are over-luxuriance and overrefinement. The corrupt Gothic of Venice furnishes us with a curious instance of the one, and the corrupt Byzantine of the other. We shall examine them in succession.

Now, observe, first, I do not mean by *luxuriance* of ornament *quantity* of ornament.¹ In the best Gothic in the world there is hardly an inch of stone left unsculptured. But I mean that character of extravagance in the ornament itself which shows that it was addressed to jaded faculties; a violence and coarseness in curvature, a depth of shadow, a lusciousness in arrangement of line, evidently arising out of an incapability of feeling the true beauty of chaste form and restrained power. I do not know any character of design which may be more easily recognised at a glance than this over-lusciousness; and yet it seems to me that at the present day there is nothing so little understood as the essential difference between chasteness and extravagance, whether in colour, shade, or lines. We speak loosely and inaccurately of “overcharged” ornament, with an obscure feeling that there is indeed something in visible Form which is correspondent to Intemperance in moral habits; but without any distinct detection of the character which offends us, far less with any understanding of the most important lesson which there can be no doubt was intended to be conveyed by the universality of this ornamental law.

§ 7. In a word, then, the safeguard of highest beauty, in all visible work, is exactly that which is also the safe-guard of conduct in the soul,—Temperance, in the broadest

¹ [Compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 52.]

sense; the Temperance which we have seen sitting on an equal throne with Justice amidst the Four Cardinal virtues,¹ and, wanting which, there is not any other virtue which may not lead us into desperate error. Now observe: Temperance, in the nobler sense, does not mean a subdued and imperfect energy; it does not mean a stopping short in any good thing, as in Love or in Faith; but it means the power which governs the most intense energy, and prevents its acting in any way but as it ought. And with respect to things in which there may be excess, it does not mean imperfect enjoyment of them; but the regulation of their quantity, so that the enjoyment of them shall be greatest. For instance, in the matter we have at present in hand, temperance in colour does not mean imperfect or dull enjoyment of colour; but it means that government of colour which shall bring the utmost possible enjoyment out of all hues. A bad colourist does not *love* beautiful colour better than the best colourist does, nor half so much. But he indulges in it to excess; he uses it in large masses, and unsubdued; and then it is a law of Nature, a law as universal as that of gravitation, that he shall not be able to enjoy it so much as if he had used it in less quantity. His eye is jaded and satiated, and the blue and red have life in them no more. He tries to paint them bluer and redder, in vain: all the blue has become grey, and gets greyer the more he adds to it: all his crimson has become brown, and gets more sere and autumnal the more he deepens it. But the great painter is sternly temperate in his work; he loves the vivid colour with all his heart; but for a long time he does not allow himself anything like it, nothing but sober browns and dull greys, and colours that have no conceivable beauty in them; but these by his government become lovely: and after bringing out of them all the life and power they possess, and enjoying them to the uttermost,—cautiously, and as the crown of the work, and the consummation of its

¹ [Capital 9 in the Ducal Palace: see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § 78.]

music, he permits the momentary crimson and azure, and the whole canvas is in a flame.

§ 8. Again, in curvature, which is the cause of loveliness in all form;¹ the bad designer does not enjoy it more than the great designer, but he indulges in it till his eye is satiated, and he cannot obtain enough of it to touch his jaded feeling for grace. But the great and temperate designer does not allow himself any violent curves; he works much with lines in which the curvature, though always existing, is long before it is perceived. He dwells on all these subdued curvatures to the uttermost, and opposes them with still severer lines to bring them out in fuller sweetness; and, at last, he allows himself a momentary curve of energy, and all the work is, in an instant, full of life and grace.

The curves drawn in Plate 7, opposite p. 268 of the first volume, were chosen entirely to show this character of dignity and restraint, as it appears in the lines of nature, together with the perpetual changefulness of the degrees of curvature in one and the same line; but although the purpose of that plate was carefully explained in the chapter which it illustrates, as well as in the passages of *Modern Painters* therein referred to,² so little are we now in the habit of considering the character of abstract lines, that it was thought by many persons that this plate only illustrated Hogarth's reversed line of beauty,³ even although the curve of the salvia leaf, which was the one taken from that plate for future use, in architecture, was not a reversed or serpentine curve at all. I shall now, however, I hope, be able to show my meaning better.

§ 9. Fig. 1, in Plate 1, opposite, is a piece of ornamentation from a Norman-French manuscript of the thirteenth

¹ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 87).]

² [The references to the present edition are: Vol. IV. pp. 87, 88.]

³ [In Hogarth's portrait of himself in the National Gallery (No 112), there is a palette with the "Line of Beauty and Grace" marked upon it, and the date 1745. He explained the mystery in 1753 by publishing his *Analysis of Beauty*, in which he propounded the doctrine that "a winding or serpentine line was the source of all that is beautiful in works of art." "No Egyptian hieroglyphic," he there says, "ever amused more than my 'Line of Beauty' did for a time. Painters and sculptors came to me to know the meaning of it, being as much puzzled with it as other people."]



century,¹ and fig. 2 from an Italian one of the fifteenth. Observe in the first its stern moderation in curvature; the gradually united lines *nearly straight*, though none quite straight, used for its main limb, and contrasted with the bold but simple offshoots of its leaves, and the noble spiral from which it shoots, these in their turn opposed by the sharp trefoils and thorny cusps. And see what a reserve of resource there is in the whole; how easy it would have been to make the curves more palpable and the foliage more rich, and how the noble hand has stayed itself, and refused to grant one wave of motion more.

§ 10. Then observe the other example, in which, while the same idea is continually repeated, excitement and interest are sought for by means of violent and continual curvatures wholly unrestrained, and rolling hither and thither in confused wantonness. Compare the character of the separate lines in these two examples carefully, and be assured that wherever this redundant and luxurious curvature shows itself in ornamentation, it is a sign of jaded energy and failing invention. Do not confuse it with fulness or richness. Wealth is not necessarily wantonness: a Gothic moulding may be buried half a foot deep in thorns and leaves, and yet will be chaste in every line; and a late Renaissance moulding may be utterly barren and poverty-stricken, and yet will show the disposition to luxury in every line.

§ 11. Plate 20, in the second volume,² though prepared for the special illustration of the notices of capitals, becomes peculiarly interesting when considered in relation to the points at present under consideration. The four leaves in the upper row are Byzantine; the two middle rows are transitional, all but fig. 11, which is of the formed Gothic; fig. 12 is perfect Gothic of the finest time (Ducal Palace,

¹ [This ornament comes from a Book of Hours, *circa* 1300, formerly in Ruskin's library. Its origin, however, is North-East France, somewhere between Saint Omer and Arras. The spray is part of an initial which comes on folio 84*b*. The Nativity engraved in *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. (Fig. 1), is from the same manuscript, which is there referred to (ch. iv. § 9 *n.*). On the subject of "temperance and intemperance" in curves compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xvii. § 10.]

² [Vol. X., opposite p. 431; for further references to the Plate, see below, p. 276.]

oldest part); fig. 13 is Gothic beginning to decline; fig. 14 is Renaissance Gothic in complete corruption.

Now observe, first, the Gothic naturalism advancing gradually from the Byzantine severity; how from the sharp, hard, formalised conventionality of the upper series the leaves gradually expand into more free and flexible animation, until in fig. 12 we have the perfect living leaf as if just fresh gathered out of the dew. And then, in the last two examples, and partly in fig. 11, observe how the forms which can advance no longer in animation, advance, or rather decline, into luxury and effeminacy as the strength of the school expires.

§ 12. In the second place, note that the Byzantine and Gothic schools, however differing in degree of life, are both alike in *temperance*, though the temperance of the Gothic is the nobler, because it consists with entire animation. Observe how severe and subtle the curvatures are in all the leaves from fig. 1 to fig. 12, except only in fig. 11; and observe especially the firmness and strength obtained by the close approximation to the straight line in the lateral ribs of the leaf, fig. 12. The longer the eye rests on these temperate curvatures the more it will enjoy them, but it will assuredly in the end be wearied by the morbid exaggeration of the last example.

§ 13. Finally, observe—and this is very important—how one and the same character in the work may be a sign of totally different states of mind, and therefore in one case bad, and in the other good. The examples, fig. 3 and fig. 12, are both equally pure in line; but one is subdivided in the extreme, the other broad in the extreme, and both are beautiful. The Byzantine mind delighted in the delicacy of subdivision which nature shows in the fern-leaf or parsley-leaf; and so, also, often the Gothic mind, much enjoying the oak, thorn, and thistle. But the builder of the Ducal Palace used great breadth in his foliage, in order to harmonise with the broad surface of his mighty wall, and delighted in this breadth as nature delights in the sweeping freshness of

the dock-leaf or water-lily. Both breadth and subdivision are thus noble, when they are contemplated or conceived by a mind in health; and both become ignoble, when conceived by a mind jaded and satiated. The subdivision in fig. 13, as compared with the type, fig. 12, which it was intended to improve, is the sign, not of a mind which loved intricacy, but of one which could not relish simplicity, which had not strength enough to enjoy the broad masses of the earlier leaves, and cut them to pieces idly, like a child tearing the book which, in its weariness, it cannot read. And on the other hand, we shall continually find, in other examples of work of the same period, an unwholesome breadth or heaviness, which results from the mind having no longer any care for refinement or precision, nor taking any delight in delicate forms, but making all things blunted, cumbrous, and dead, losing at the same time the sense of the elasticity and spring of natural curves. It is as if the soul of man, itself severed from the root of its health, and about to fall into corruption, lost the perception of life in all things around it; and could no more distinguish the wave of the strong branches, full of muscular strength and sanguine circulation, from the lax bending of a broken cord, nor the sinuousness of the edge of the leaf, crushed into deep folds by the expansion of its living growth, from the wrinkled contraction of its decay.* Thus, in morals, there is a care for trifles which proceeds from love and conscience, and is most holy; and a care for trifles which comes of idleness and frivolity, and is most base. And so, also, there is a gravity proceeding from thought, which is most noble; and a gravity proceeding from dulness and mere incapability of enjoyment, which is most base. Now, in the various forms assumed by the later

* There is a curious instance of this in the modern imitations of the Gothic capitals of the Casa d' Oro, employed in its restorations.¹ The old capitals look like clusters of leaves, the modern ones like kneaded masses of dough with holes in them.

¹ [For this palace, see Vol. X. pp. 283–284, and below, in the Venetian Index, p. 370.]

Gothic of Venice, there are one or two features which, under other circumstances, would not have been signs of decline: but, in the particular manner of their occurrence here, indicate the fatal weariness of decay. Of all these features the most distinctive are its crockets and finials.¹

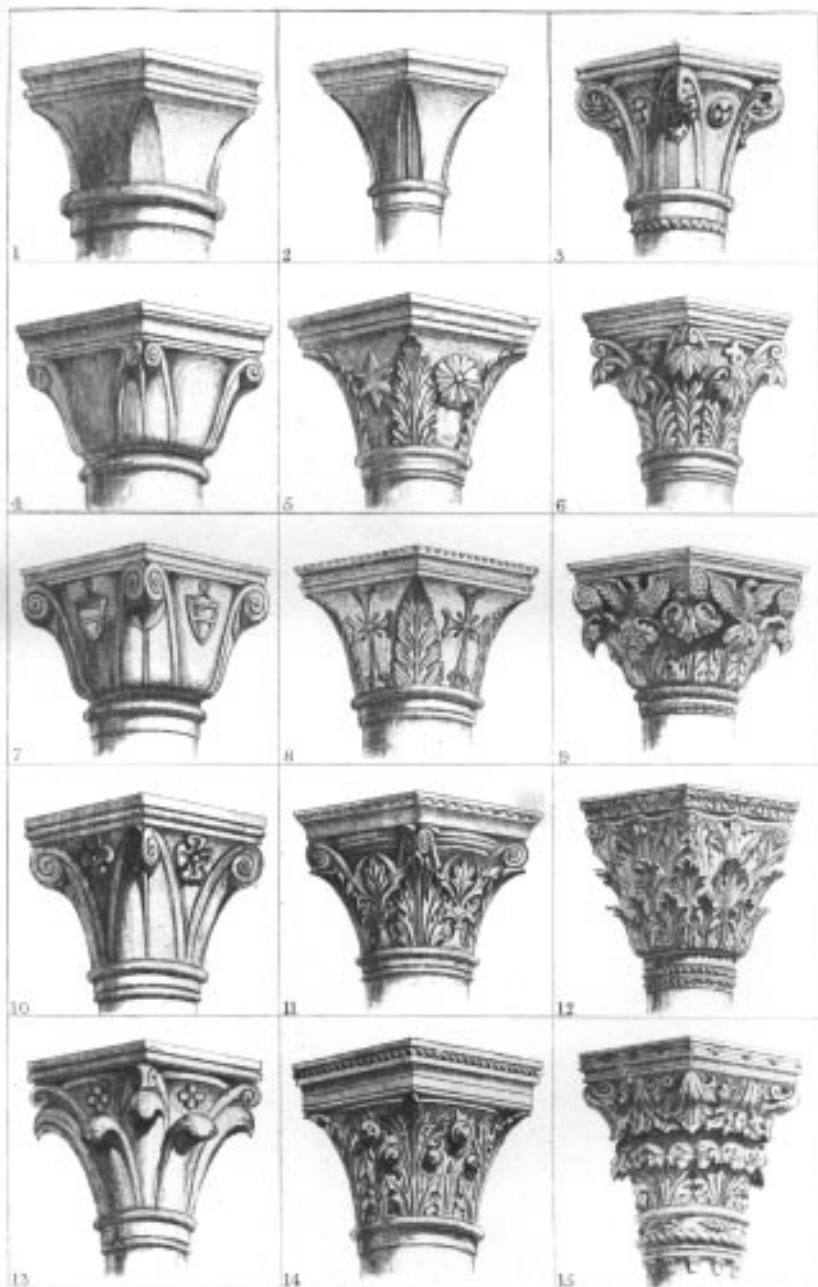
§ 14. There is not to be found a single crocket or finial upon any part of the Ducal Palace built during the fourteenth century; and although they occur on contemporary, and on some much earlier, buildings, they either indicate detached examples of schools not properly Venetian, or are signs of incipient decline.

The reason of this is, that the finial is properly the ornament of gabled architecture; it is the compliance, in the minor features of the building, with the spirit of its towers, ridged roof, and spires. Venetian building is not gabled, but horizontal in its roofs and general masses; therefore the finial is a feature contradictory to its spirit, and adopted only in that search for morbid excitement which is the infallible indication of decline. When it occurs earlier, it is on fragments of true gabled architecture; as, for instance, on the porch of the Carmini.²

In proportion to the unjustifiableness of its introduction was the extravagance of the form it assumed; becoming, sometimes, a tuft at the top of the ogee windows, half as high as the arch itself, and consisting, in the richest examples, of a human figure, half emergent out of a cup of leafage; as, for instance, in the small archway of the Campo San Zaccaria: while the crockets, as being at the side of the arch, and not so strictly connected with its balance and symmetry, appear to consider themselves at greater liberty even than the finials, and fling themselves hither and thither in the wildest contortions. Fig. 4, in Plate 1, is the outline of one, carved in stone, from the later Gothic of St. Mark's; fig. 3 a crocket from the fine Veronese Gothic; in order to

¹ [On this subject, see Vol. IX. p. 404.]

² [For other details of this building, see below, Venetian Index, p. 365.]



J. Rowland.

R. P. Coffey
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Gothic Capitals.

enable the reader to discern the Renaissance character better by comparison with the examples of curvature above them, taken from the manuscripts. And not content with this exuberance in the external ornaments of the arch, the finial interferes with its traceries. The increased intricacy of these, as such, being a natural process in the development of Gothic, would have been no evil; but they are corrupted by the enrichment of the finial at the point of the cusp,—corrupted, that is to say, in Venice: for at Verona the finial, in the form of a fleur-de-lis, appears long previously at the cusp point, with exquisite effect; and in our own best Northern Gothic it is often used beautifully in this place, as in the window from Salisbury, Plate 12 (Vol. II.) fig. 2. But in Venice, such a treatment of it was utterly contrary to the severe spirit of the ancient traceries; and the adoption of a leafy finial at the extremity of the cusps in the door of San Stefano,¹ as opposed to the simple ball which terminates those of the Ducal Palace, is an unmistakable indication of a tendency to decline.

In like manner, the enrichment and complication of the jamb mouldings, which, in other schools, might and did take place in the healthiest periods, are, at Venice, signs of decline, owing to the entire inconsistency of such mouldings with the ancient love of the single square jamb and archivolt. The process of enrichment in them is shown by the successive examples given in Plate 7, below. They are numbered, and explained in the Appendix [p. 270].

§ 15. The date² at which this corrupt form of Gothic first prevailed over the early simplicity of the Venetian types can be determined in an instant on the steps of the choir of the Church of St. John and Paul. On our left hand, as we enter, is the tomb of the Doge Marco Cornaro, who died in 1367.³ It is rich and fully developed Gothic, with crockets

¹ [See again Venetian Index, p. 433.]

² [Here the "Travellers' Edition" resumes from the end of § 4, reading "The date at which corrupt forms of Gothic, etc."]

³ [See below, ch. ii. § 65, p. 97, where this tomb is further described.]

and finials, but not yet attaining any extravagant development. Opposite to it is that of the Doge Michele Morosini,¹ who died in 1382. Its Gothic is voluptuous, and overwrought: the crockets are bold and florid, and the enormous finial represents a statue of St. Michael. There is no excuse for the antiquaries who, having this tomb before them, could have attributed the severe architecture of the Ducal Palace to a later date; for every one of the Renaissance errors is here in complete development, though not so grossly as entirely to destroy the loveliness of the Gothic forms.² In the Porta della Carta, 1423, the vice reaches its climax.³

§ 16. Against this degraded Gothic, then, came up the Renaissance armies; and their first assault was in the requirement of universal perfection.* For the first time since the destruction of Rome, the world had seen, in the work of the greatest artists of the fifteenth century,—in the painting of Ghirlandajo, Masaccio, Francia, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Bellini; in the sculpture of Mino da Fiesole, of Ghiberti, and Verrocchio,—a perfection of execution and fulness of knowledge which cast all previous art into the shade, and which, being in the work of those men united with all that was great in that of former days, did indeed justify the utmost enthusiasm with which their efforts were, or could be, regarded. But when this perfection had once been exhibited in anything, it was required in everything; the world

* I request the reader's earnest attention to the now following analysis. I feel inclined to say of it as Albert Dürer of his engraving, "Sir—it cannot be better done." [1881.]⁴

¹ [In all previous editions "Andrea," an obvious slip for "Michele." There is a reference to the tomb of "Andrea Morosini" (1347) at Vol. IX. p. 375, and it is described below, Appendix 11, § 7, p. 297. The tomb of the Doge Michele Morosini (reigned 1368–1382) is also described more fully in the next chapter (§ 65, p. 98), where the monumental sculptures of Venice and Verona are discussed.]

² [Compare the similar argument from the tomb of Tomaso Mocenigo (1423) in Vol. IX. p. 48 *n.*]

³ [The date here given is a slip; see Vol. X. (ch. viii. § 26), where the building of this door (so called from the official placards which used to be posted on it) is dated 1439–1441. It bears the inscription "Opus Bartholomaei" (Bartolommeo Bon, or Buono).]

⁴ [Ruskin often refers to this saying; see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvi. § 24; vol. iv. ch. x. § 4 (note from *Frondes Agrestes*); *Queen of the Air*, § 135; *Cestus of Aglaia*, §§ 3, 33; and compare *Eagle's Nest*, § 52.]

could no longer be satisfied with less exquisite execution, or less disciplined knowledge. The first thing that it demanded in all work was, that it should be done in a consummate and learned way; and men altogether forgot that it was possible to consummate what was contemptible, and to know what was useless. Imperatively requiring dexterity of touch, they gradually forgot to look for tenderness of feeling; imperatively requiring accuracy of knowledge, they gradually forgot to ask for originality of thought. The thought and the feeling which they despised departed from them, and they were left to felicitate themselves on their small science and their neat fingering. This is the history of the first attack of the Renaissance upon the Gothic schools, and of its rapid results; more fatal and immediate in architecture than in any other art, because there the demand for perfection was less reasonable, and less consistent with the capabilities of the workman; being utterly opposed to that rudeness or savageness on which, as we saw above, the nobility of the elder schools in great part depends.¹ But, inasmuch as the innovations were founded on some of the most beautiful examples of art, and headed by some of the greatest men that the world ever saw, and as the Gothic with which they interfered was corrupt and valueless, the first appearance of the Renaissance feeling had the appearance of a healthy movement. A new energy replaced whatever weariness or dulness had affected the Gothic mind; an exquisite taste and refinement, aided by extended knowledge, furnished the first models of the new school; and over the whole of Italy a style arose, generally now known as cinquecento, which in sculpture and painting, as I just stated, produced the noblest masters whom the world ever saw, headed by Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Leonardo; but which failed of doing the same in architecture, because, as we have seen above,² perfection is therein not possible, and failed more totally than it would otherwise have done,

¹ [See "The Nature of Gothic," Vol. X. pp. 184–204.]

² [See Vol. X. p. 202.]

because the classical enthusiasm had destroyed the best types of architectural form.

§ 17. For, observe here very carefully, the Renaissance principle, as it consisted in a demand for universal perfection, is quite distinct from the Renaissance principle as it consists in a demand for classical and Roman *forms* of perfection. And if I had space to follow out the subject as I should desire, I would first endeavour to ascertain what might have been the course of the art of Europe if no manuscripts of classical authors had been recovered, and no remains of classical architecture left, in the fifteenth century; so that the executive perfection to which the efforts of all great men had tended for five hundred years, and which now at last was reached, might have been allowed to develop itself in its own natural and proper form, in connection with the architectural structure of earlier schools. This refinement and perfection had indeed its own perils, and the history of later Italy, as she sank into pleasure and thence into corruption, would probably have been the same whether she had ever learned again to write pure Latin or not. Still the inquiry into the probable cause of the enervation which might naturally have followed the highest exertion of her energies, is a totally distinct one from that into the particular form given to this enervation by her classical learning; and it is matter of considerable regret to me that I cannot treat these two subjects separately: I must be content with marking them for separation in the mind of the reader.

§ 18. The effect, then, of the sudden enthusiasm for classical literature, which gained strength during every hour of the fifteenth century, was, as far as respected architecture, to do away with the entire system of Gothic science. The pointed arch, the shadowy vault, the clustered shaft, the heaven-pointing spire, were all swept away; and no structure was any longer permitted but that of the plain cross-beam from pillar to pillar, over the round arch, with square or circular shafts, and a low-gabled roof and pediment: two elements of noble form, which had fortunately existed in

Rome, were, however, for that reason, still permitted; the cupola, and, internally, the waggon vault.¹

§ 19. These changes in form were all of them unfortunate; and it is almost impossible to do justice to the occasionally exquisite ornamentation of the fifteenth century, on account of its being placed upon edifices of the cold and meagre Roman outline. There is, as far as I know, only one Gothic building in Europe, the Duomo of Florence, in which, though the ornament be of a much earlier school, it is yet so exquisitely finished as to enable us to imagine what might have been the effect of the perfect workmanship of the Renaissance, coming out of the hands of men like Verrocchio and Ghiberti, had it been employed on the magnificent framework of Gothic structure. This is the question which, as I shall note in the concluding chapter,² we ought to set ourselves practically to solve in modern times.

§ 20. The changes effected in form, however, were the least part of the evil principles of the Renaissance. As I have just said, its main mistake, in its early stages, was the unwholesome demand for *perfection*, at any cost. I hope enough has been advanced, in the chapter on the Nature of Gothic, to show the reader that perfection is *not* to be had from the general workman, but at the cost of everything,—of his whole life, thought, and energy.³ And Renaissance Europe thought this a small price to pay for manipulative perfection. Men like Verrocchio and Ghiberti were not to be had every day, nor in every place; and to require from the common workman execution or knowledge like theirs, was to require him to become their copyist. Their strength was great enough to enable them to join science with invention, method with emotion, finish with fire; but in them the invention and the fire were first, while Europe saw in them only the method and the finish. This was new to the

¹ [i.e. the semi-cylindrical vault; for the primary forms of vaulting, see Fig. 1 in Vol. IX. p. 76.]

² [See below, pp. 226 *seq.*]

³ [See Vol. X. pp. 190 *seq.*]

minds of men, and they pursued it to the neglect of everything else. "This," they cried, "we must have in all our work henceforward:" and they were obeyed. The lower workman secured method and finish, and lost, in exchange for them, his soul.*

§ 21. Now, therefore, do not let me be misunderstood when I speak generally of the evil spirit of the Renaissance. The reader may look through all I have written, from first to last, and he will not find one word but of the most profound reverence for those mighty men who could wear the Renaissance armour of proof, and yet not feel it encumber their living limbs,†—Leonardo and Michael Angelo, Ghirlandajo and Masaccio, Titian and Tintoret.‡ But I speak of the Renaissance as an evil time, because, when it saw those men go burning forth into the battle, it mistook their armour for their strength; and forthwith encumbered with the painful panoply every stripling who ought to have gone forth only with his own choice of three smooth stones out of the brook.¹

§ 22. This, then, the reader must always keep in mind when he is examining for himself any examples of cinquecento work. When it has been done by a truly great man, whose life and strength could not be oppressed, and who

* See the examination in *St. Mark's Rest* of the clever work on the restored porch of St. Mark's.² [1881.]

† Not that even these men were able to wear it altogether without harm, as we shall see in the next chapter.

‡ He will find plenty of words *now*, of extreme irreverence towards Leonardo, Michael Angelo, and Ghirlandajo.³ But I was only breaking my way through old prejudices, in 1851, and was still encumbered with the dust of them. But I think the reader will do me the justice to observe how carefully and temperately the advance was made; so that I have now only to confirm or complete its statements; and nothing of real good was ever denied by me, in the enemy's ranks. See the passage just following of the Colleone statue. [1881.]

¹ [1 Samuel xvii. 40.]

² [So in the earlier editions of the "Travellers' Edition." In later editions, the words "to be given" were inserted after "examination." The examination was not, however, made in *St. Mark's Rest*; there is a passing allusion to the "restoration" of the porches in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 78, and see Vol. X. p. 115 n.]

³ [For Leonardo, see *Queen of the Air*, § 157; for Ghirlandajo, *Mornings in Florence*, §§ 17, 18; for Michael Angelo, the lecture on *The Relation of Michael Angelo to Tintoret*.]

turned to good account the whole science of his day, nothing is more exquisite. I do not believe, for instance, that there is a more glorious work of sculpture existing in the world than that equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Colleone, by Verrocchio, of which, I hope, before these pages are printed, there will be a cast in England.¹ But when the cinquecento work has been done by those meaner men, who, in the Gothic times, though in a rough way, would yet have found some means of speaking out what was in their hearts, it is utterly inanimate,—a base and helpless copy of more accomplished models; or, if not this, a mere accumulation of technical skill, in gaining which the workman had surrendered all other powers that were in him.

There is, therefore, of course, an infinite gradation in the art of the period, from the Sistine Chapel down to modern upholstery; but, for the most part, since in architecture the workman *must* be of an inferior order, it will be found that this cinque-cento painting and higher religious sculpture is noble, while the cinque-cento architecture, with its subordinate sculpture, is universally bad; sometimes, however, assuming forms in which the consummate refinement almost atones for the loss of force.

¹ [For other references to this statue, see Vol. X. p. 8; below, Venetian Index, p. 384; and *Aratra Pentelici*, § 157. See also in a later volume of this edition the account of the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield. Ruskin's first note of the statue is in his 1846 diary:—

“(PADUA, MAY 28.)—His equestrian statue in front of the Church of S. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice is the finest I have ever seen—the set of it is the most living, muscular, and resolute conceivable; the limbs straight so as to come out far from the horse's belly when seen in front; the armour of the foot turned down at the point over the stirrup, so as to give it a grasp and weight; the left shoulder flung forward so that the arm holding the bridle takes something of the action of holding a shield; the right arm drawn back with the truncheon as in Turner's Jason; the consequence of throwing the left shoulder so far forward is necessarily to render that side, when seen too far behind, a little heavy, but the face, which looks over that shoulder forward, is superb, the very type of soldierly resolution; a little verging on fierceness, but in the profile seen from the right side it becomes almost mild; the expression depends mainly on the dark undercutting of the eyes, as in the Lorenzo.”

For Michael Angelo's "Lorenzo," see Vol. IV. p. 282; for Turner's "Jason," Vol. IV. p. 259. Plaster casts of portions of the ornamented saddle-cloth, and the front of the helmet, which Ruskin had taken from the statue of Colleone, are in the Sheffield museum; the full-size cast to which he refers, of the entire statue, is at the Crystal Palace: see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 74 (notes and correspondence).]

§ 23. This is especially the case with that second branch of the Renaissance which, as above noticed,¹ was engrafted at Venice on the Byzantine types. So soon as the classical enthusiasm required the banishment of Gothic forms, it was natural that the Venetian mind should turn back with affection to the Byzantine models in which the round arches and simple shafts, necessitated by recent law, were presented under a form consecrated by the usage of their ancestors. And, accordingly, the first distinct school of architecture* which arose under the new dynasty was one in which the method of inlaying marble, and the general forms of shaft and arch, were adopted from the buildings of the twelfth century, and applied with the utmost possible refinements of modern skill. Both at Verona and Venice the resulting architecture is exceedingly beautiful. At Verona it is, indeed, less Byzantine, but possesses a character of richness and tenderness almost peculiar to that city.† At Venice it is more severe, but yet adorned with sculpture which, for sharpness of touch and delicacy of minute form, cannot be rivalled, and rendered especially brilliant and beautiful by the introduction of those inlaid circles of coloured marble, serpentine, and porphyry, by which Phillippe de Commynes was so much struck on his first entrance into the city.² The two most refined buildings in this style in

* Appendix 4: "Date of Palaces of Byzantine Renaissance" [p. 255].

† Alas, the noblest example of it, Fra Giocondo's exquisite loggia, has been daubed and damned by the modern restorer, into a caricature worse than a Christmas clown's. The exquisite colour of the Renaissance fresco, pure as rose-leaves and dark laurel—the modern Italian decorator thinks "sporco," and replaces by buff-colour oil-cloth and Prussian green—spluttering his gold about wherever the devil prompts him, to enrich the whole. [1881.]³

¹ [See above, pp. 5–6.]

[See Vol. IX. p. 32.]

³ [Compare the *Guide to the Academy at Venice*, where, in relation to Carpaccio's pictures, Ruskin describes the Venetian architecture of the Early Renaissance as "Giocondine," from the name of its greatest designer. He there selects as a typical instance of Giocondine architecture the courtyard of the School of St. John (see below, Venetian Index, p. 388). Fra Giocondo (*circ.* 1445–1525) was eminent alike as scholar (he discovered the letters of Pliny, and produced the first correct edition of Vitruvius), engraver, and architect. His Loggia at Verona, being considered "dirty," was restored and repainted in 1874.]

Venice are, the small Church of the Miracoli, and the Scuola di San Marco beside the Church of St. John and St. Paul.¹ The noblest is the Rio Façade of the Ducal Palace. The Casa Dario, and Casa Manzoni, on the Grand Canal, are exquisite examples of the school,* as applied to domestic architecture; and, in the reach of the Canal between the Casa Foscari and the Rialto, there are several palaces, of which the Casa Contarini (called “delle Figure”) is the principal, belonging to the same group, though somewhat later, and remarkable for the association of the Byzantine principles of colour with the severest lines of the Roman pediment, gradually superseding the round arch. The precision of chiselling and delicacy of proportion in the ornament and general lines of these palaces cannot be too highly praised; and I believe that the traveller in Venice, in general, gives them rather too little attention than too much. But while I would ask him to stay his gondola beside each of them long enough to examine their every line, I must also warn him to observe most carefully the peculiar feebleness and want of soul in the conception of their ornament, which mark them as belonging to a period of decline; as well as the absurd mode of introduction of their pieces of coloured marble: these, instead of being simply and naturally inserted in the masonry, are placed in small circular or oblong frames of sculpture, like mirrors or pictures, and are represented as suspended by ribands against the wall; a pair of wings being generally fastened on to the circular tablets, as if to relieve the ribands and knots from their weight, and

* No: these are not so good. Strangely I have omitted mention here of the palace I knew best of all.² See § 38. The entire school is limited to a period of forty years—1480–1520. [1881.]

¹ [The Scuola di San Marco is the subject of the frontispiece to this volume. For a description of the Church of the Miracoli, see below, Venetian Index, p. 393. For the Rio Façade of the Ducal Palace, see below, § 38; for the Casa Dario, Vol. IX. p. 33, and below, p. 255; its marble disks are illustrated in Plate 1 of Vol. IX.; for the Casa Manzoni, see below, Venetian Index, p. 391.]

² [Namely the Casa Trevisan, for which see Vol. IX. p. 425 and Plate 20, which illustrates its marble decorations; and below, p. 256.]

the whole series tied under the chin of a little cherub at the top, who is nailed against the façade like a hawk on a barn door.

But chiefly let him notice, in the Casa Contarini delle Figure, one most strange incident, seeming to have been permitted, like the choice of the subjects at the three angles of the Ducal Palace, in order to teach us, by a single lesson, the true nature of the style in which it occurs. In the intervals of the windows of the first story, certain shields and torches are attached, in the form of trophies, to the stems of two trees whose boughs have been cut off, and only one or two of their faded leaves left, scarcely observable, but delicately sculptured here and there, beneath the insertions of the severed boughs.

It is as if the workman had intended to leave us an image of the expiring naturalism of the Gothic school. I had not seen this sculpture when I wrote the passage referring to its period, in the first volume of this work (Chap. XX. § 31):—"Autumn came,—the leaves were shed,—and the eye was directed to the extremities of the delicate branches. *The Renaissance frosts came, and all perished!*"

§ 24. And the hues of this autumn of the early Renaissance are the last which appear in architecture. The winter which succeeded was colourless as it was cold; and although the Venetian painters struggled long against its influence, the numbness of the architecture prevailed over them at last, and the exteriors of all the latter palaces were built only in barren stone. As at this point of our inquiry, therefore, we must bid farewell to colour, I have reserved for this place the continuation of the history of chromatic decoration, from the Byzantine period, when we left it in the fifth chapter of the second volume, down to its final close.¹

§ 25. It was above stated,² that the principal difference in general form and treatment between the Byzantine and

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 170.]

² [See Vol. X. pp. 275–276.]

Gothic palaces was the contraction of the marble facing into the narrow spaces between the windows, leaving large fields of brick wall perfectly bare. The reason for this appears to have been, that the Gothic builders were no longer satisfied with the faint and delicate hues of the veined marble; they wished for some more forcible and piquant mode of decoration, corresponding more completely with the gradually advancing splendour of chivalric costume and heraldic device. What I have said above¹ of the simple habits of life of the thirteenth century, in nowise refers either to costumes of state or of military service; and any illumination of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (the great period being, it seems to me, from 1250 to 1350), while it shows a peculiar majesty and simplicity in the fall of the robes (often worn over the chain armour), indicates, at the same time, an exquisite brilliancy of colour and power of design in the hems and borders, as well as in the armorial bearings with which they are charged; and while, as we have seen, a peculiar simplicity is found also in the *forms* of the architecture, corresponding to that of the folds of the robes, its *colours* were constantly increasing in brilliancy and decision, corresponding to those of the quartering of the shield, and of the embroidery of the mantle.

§ 26. Whether, indeed, derived from the quarterings of the knights' shields, or from what other source, I know not; but there is one magnificent attribute of the colouring of the late twelfth, the whole thirteenth, and the early fourteenth century, which I do not find definitely in any previous work, nor afterwards in general art, though constantly, and necessarily, in that of great colourists, namely, the union of one colour with another by reciprocal interference: that is to say, if a mass of red is to be set beside a mass of blue, a piece of the red will be carried into the blue, and a piece of the blue carried into the red; sometimes in nearly equal portions, as in a shield divided into four quarters, of which the uppermost on one side will be of the same colour as

¹ [See Vol. X. pp. 66, 447.]

the lowermost on the other; sometimes in smaller fragments, but, in the periods above named, always definitely and grandly, though in a thousand various ways. And I call it a magnificent principle, for it is an eternal and universal one, not in art only,* but in human life. It is the great principle of Brotherhood, not by equality, nor by likeness, but by giving and receiving;¹ the souls that are unlike, and the nations that are unlike, and the natures that are unlike, being bound into one noble whole by each receiving something from and of the others' gifts and the others' glory. I have not space to follow out this thought,—it is of infinite extent and application,—but I note it for the reader's pursuit, because I have long believed, and the whole second volume of *Modern Painters* was written to prove, that in whatever has been made by the Deity externally delightful to the human sense of beauty, there is some type of God's nature or of God's laws; nor are any of His laws, in one sense, greater than the appointment that the most lovely and perfect unity shall be obtained by the taking of one nature into another. I trespass upon too high ground; and yet I cannot fully show the reader the extent of this law,

* In the various works which Mr. Prout has written on light and shade, no principle will be found insisted on more strongly than this carrying of the dark into the light, and *vice versâ*. It is curious to find the untaught instinct of a merely picturesque artist in the nineteenth century, fixing itself so intensely on a principle which regulated the entire sacred composition of the thirteenth. I say "untaught" instinct, for Mr. Prout was, throughout his life, the discoverer of his own principles; fortunately so, considering what principles were taught in his time, but unfortunately in the abstract, for there were gifts in him, which, had there been any wholesome influences to cherish them, might have made him one of the greatest men of his age. He was great, under all adverse circumstances, but the mere wreck of what he might have been, if, after the rough training noticed in my pamphlet on Pre-Raphaelitism [§ 26], as having fitted him for his great function in the world, he had met with a teacher who could have appreciated his powers, and directed them.²

¹ [So Tennyson in *In Memoriam*, lxxix. (1850):—
 "But he was rich where I was poor,
 And he supplied my want the more
 As his unlikeness fitted mine."]

² [Prout's principal work above referred to is *Hints on Light and Shadow, Composition, etc., as applied to Landscape Painting*, 1838.]

but by leading him thus far. And it is just because it is so vast and so awful a law, that it has rule over the smallest things; and there is not a vein of colour on the lightest leaf which the spring winds are at this moment unfolding in the fields around us, but it is an illustration of an ordainment to which the earth and its creatures owe their continuance and their Redemption.

§ 27. It is perfectly inconceivable, until it has been made a subject of special inquiry, how perpetually Nature employs this principle in the distribution of her light and shade; how by the most extraordinary adaptations, apparently accidental, but always in exactly the right place, she contrives to bring darkness into light, and light into darkness; and that so sharply and decisively, that at the very instant when one object changes from light to dark, the thing relieved upon it will change from dark to light, and yet so subtly that the eye will not detect the transition till it looks for it. The secret of a great part of the grandeur in all the noblest compositions is the doing of this delicately in *degree*, and broadly in *mass*; in colour it may be done much more decisively than in light and shade, and, according to the simplicity of the work, with greater frankness of confession, until, in purely decorative art, as in the illumination, glasspainting, and heraldry of the great periods, we find it reduced to segmental accuracy. Its greatest masters, in high art, are Tintoret, Veronese, and Turner.¹

§ 28. Together with this great principle of quartering is introduced another, also of very high value as far as regards the delight of the eye, though not of so profound meaning. As soon as colour began to be used in broad and opposed fields, it was perceived that the mass of it destroyed its brilliancy, and it was *tempered* by chequering it with some other colour or colours in smaller quantities, mingled with minute portions of pure white. The two moral principles of which this is the type are those of Temperance and Purity; the one requiring the fulness of the colour to be

¹ [Compare *The Two Paths*, Appendix iv. ("Subtlety of Hand").]

subdued, and the other that it shall be subdued without losing either its own purity or that of the colours with which it is associated.

§ 29. Hence arose the universal and admirable system of the diapered or chequered backgrounds of early ornamental art. They are completely developed in the thirteenth century, and extend through the whole of the fourteenth, gradually yielding to landscape and other pictorial backgrounds, as the designers lost perception of the purpose of their art, and of the value of colour. The chromatic decoration of the Gothic palaces of Venice was of course founded on these two great principles, which prevailed constantly wherever the true chivalric and Gothic spirit possessed any influence. The windows, with their intermediate spaces of marble, were considered as the objects to be relieved, and variously quartered with vigorous colour. The whole space of the brick wall was considered as a background; it was covered with stucco, and painted in fresco, with diaper patterns.

§ 30. What? the reader asks in some surprise,—Stucco! and in the great Gothic period? Even so, but *not stucco to imitate stone*.¹ Herein lies all the difference; it is stucco confessed and understood, and laid on the bricks precisely as gesso is laid on canvas, in order to form them into a ground for receiving colour from the human hand,—colour which, if well laid on, might render the brick wall more precious than if it had been built of emeralds. Whenever we wish to paint, we may prepare our paper as we choose; the value of the ground in nowise adds to the value of the picture. A Tintoret on beaten gold would be of no more value than a Tintoret on coarse canvas; the gold would merely be wasted. All that we have to do is to make the ground as good and fit for the colour as possible, by whatever means.

§ 31. I am not sure if I am right in applying the term

¹ [Ruskin had already considered the ethics of stucco in *The Poetry of Architecture*, Vol. I. p. 95. See also *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xv. § 9; and *Two Paths*, § 161.]

“stucco” to the ground of fresco: but this is of no consequence: the reader will understand that it was white, and that the whole wall of the palace was considered as the page of a book to be illuminated: but he will understand also that the sea winds are bad librarians; that, when once the painted stucco began to fade or to fall, the unsightliness of the defaced colour would necessitate its immediate restoration; and that therefore, of all the chromatic decoration of the Gothic palaces, there is hardly a fragment left.

Happily, in the pictures of Gentile Bellini,¹ the fresco colouring of the Gothic palaces is recorded, as it still remained in his time; not with rigid accuracy, but quite distinctly enough to enable us, by comparing it with the existing coloured designs in the manuscripts and glass of the period, to ascertain precisely what it must have been.²

§ 32. The walls were generally covered with chequers of very warm colour, a russet inclining to scarlet more or less relieved with white, black, and grey; as still seen in the only example which, having been executed in marble, has been perfectly preserved, the front of the Ducal Palace. This, however, owing to the nature of its materials, was a peculiarly simple example; the ground is white, crossed with double bars of pale red, and in the centre of each chequer there is a cross, alternately black with a red centre and red with a black centre where the arms cross. In painted work the grounds would be, of course, as varied and complicated as those of manuscripts; but I only know of one example left, on the Casa Sagredo, where, on some fragments of stucco, a very early chequer background is traceable, composed of crimson quatrefoils interlaced, with cherubims stretching their

¹ [See the account of them in the *Guide to the Academy at Venice*, where Ruskin describes the architecture of Venice therein represented as “red and white, like the blossom of a carnation, touched with gold like a peacock’s plumes, and frescoed, even to its chimney-pots, with fairest arabesque.” Compare Ruskin’s word-picture of Venice—“a golden city, paved with emerald”—in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. ix. § 1.]

² [On the frescoes of the Venetian Palaces, see below, p. 378 *n.*]

wings filling the intervals.* A small portion of this ground is seen beside the window taken from the palace, Vol. II. Plate 13, fig. 1.¹

§ 33. It ought to be especially noticed, that, in all chequered patterns employed in the coloured designs of these noble periods, the greatest care is taken to mark that they are *grounds* of design rather than designs themselves. Modern architects, in such minor imitations as they are beginning to attempt, endeavour to dispose the parts of the patterns so as to occupy certain symmetrical positions with respect to the parts of the architecture. A Gothic builder never does this: he cuts his ground into pieces of the shape he requires with utter remorselessness, and places his windows or doors upon it with no regard whatever to the lines in which they cut the pattern: and, in illuminations of manuscripts, the chequer itself is constantly changed in the most subtle and arbitrary way, wherever there is the least chance of its regularity attracting the eye, and making it of importance. So *intentional* is this, that a diaper pattern is often set obliquely † to the vertical lines of the designs, for fear it should appear in any way connected with them.

§ 34. On these russet or crimson backgrounds the entire space of the series of windows was relieved, for the most part, as a subdued white field of alabaster; and on this delicate and veined white were set the circular disks of purple and green. The arms of the family were of course blazoned in their own proper colours, but I think generally on a pure azure ground; the blue colour is still left behind

* All now whitewashed by "Progresso." Progressive Italy performs always two fresco operations in due order. First, blind whitewash, to show that she can do something in Italy.² Then soot, in imitation of England. [1881.]

† *Always*, in the best work. [1881.]

¹ [See also in that volume the added Plate F, p. 299.]

² [See Vol. IV. p. 41 *n.*, for a description by Ruskin of the repair of the Venetian houses in 1845.]

the shields in the Casa Priuli¹ and one or two more of the palaces which are unrestored, and the blue ground was used also to relieve the sculptures of religious subjects. Finally, all the mouldings, capitals, cornices, cusps, and traceries, were either entirely gilded or profusely touched with gold.

The whole front of a Gothic palace in Venice may, therefore, *be simply described as a field of subdued russet, quartered with broad sculptured masses of white and gold; these latter being relieved by smaller inlaid fragments of blue, purple, and deep green.**

§ 35. Now, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, when painting and architecture were thus united, two processes of change went on simultaneously to the beginning of the seventeenth. The merely decorative chequerings on the walls yielded gradually to more elaborate paintings of figure-subject; first small and quaint, and then enlarging into enormous pictures filled by figures generally colossal. As these paintings became of greater merit and importance, the architecture with which they were associated was less studied; and at last a style was introduced in which the framework of the building was little more interesting than that of a Manchester factory, but the whole space of its walls was covered with the most precious fresco paintings. Such edifices are of course no longer to be considered as forming an architectural school; they were merely large preparations of artist's panels; and Titian, Giorgione, and Veronese, no more conferred merit on the later architecture of Venice, as such, by painting on its façades, than Landseer

* See, again and again, Carpaccio's and Bellini's backgrounds. Delicate, instead of broad, in the italicised sentence² would have been a better word; the white and gold lines being often mere threads. [1881.]

¹ [One of Ruskin's numerous sheets of Venetian drawings contains several details from the Casa Priuli, including a tinted sketch of one of the shields. "The blue of the ground of the shield," he notes, "should be of smalt; it is very delicately gradated, like a blue glass." For further particulars about the house, see below, Venetian Index, p. 399.]

² [The italics are here introduced from the "Travellers' Edition."]

or Watts¹ could confer merit on that of London by first white-washing and then painting its brick streets from one end to the other.

§ 36. Contemporarily with this change in the relative values of the colour decoration and the stonework, one equally important was taking place in the opposite direction, but of course in another group of buildings. For in proportion as the architect felt himself thrust aside or forgotten in one edifice, he endeavoured to make himself principal in another; and, in retaliation for the painter's entire usurpation

¹ [For Landseer, see Vol. IV. p. 334. This is the earliest mention in Ruskin's books of G. F. Watts, R.A.; see further, § 39 *n.* Mr. Watts had in 1842 won a prize of £300 in the competition for the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament, and this enabled him to travel in Italy, where he remained for four years, spending a considerable time in Venice. Ruskin may have met him there in 1845. In 1846 he again won a prize in the Westminster competition, but he was only commissioned to paint one fresco—St. George and the Dragon, in the upper Waiting Room. The following undated letter must belong, as the address shows, to 1848–1851:—

“PARK STREET,

“June 9th, Morning.

“DEAR MR. COLERIDGE,—I write to your friend to come to me, if he can, on Wednesday evening, and I will tell him all I know about Venice.

“I seem further than ever from the power of making you a drawing—so I send you a little memorandum from a few knots of outwork Alp, rising over the lowlands of Savoy, which has some character in it—or at least may serve as a token of goodwill!

“Do you know Watts? *The* man who is *not* employed on Houses of Parliament—to my mind the only real painter of history or thought we have in England. A great fellow, or I am much mistaken—great as one of these same Savoy knots of rock—and we suffer the clouds to lie upon him, with thunder and famine at once in the thick of them. If you have time when you come to town, and have not seen it, look at the *Time and Oblivion* in his studio.

“With regards to Mrs. Coleridge and your daughter,

“Ever faithfully yours,

“J. RUSKIN.

“Watts, at 30 Charles St.

“The REV. EDWARD COLERIDGE.”

This letter is No. 1, in a privately-printed volume, *Letters on Art and Literature by John Ruskin*, edited by Thomas J. Wise (1894). Mr. Watts's offer to paint in the hall of Lincoln's Inn was accepted by the Benchers, and his “School of Legislature” may there be seen. His offer to decorate the great hall of Euston Station, with a series of frescoes representing the Progress of Commerce, was declined. His “Time and Oblivion” is at Eastnor. For Ruskin's later references to Mr. Watts, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. viii. § 7; and *The Art of England*, Lecture ii. See also Ruskin's letters to Watts, reprinted in a later volume of this edition from Mrs. Richmond Ritchie's *Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning*, 1892, pp. 136–139. Watts had in 1851 or earlier made two crayon portraits of Ruskin's wife. “Watts's Effie,” he writes (Sept. 21, 1851), “is lent to her father until we come back, and we hear it is much admired by everybody and thought quite perfect.”]

of certain fields of design, succeeded in excluding him totally from those in which his own influence was predominant. Or, more accurately speaking, the architects began to be too proud to receive assistance from the colourists; and these latter sought for ground which the architect had abandoned, for the unrestrained display of their own skill. And thus, while one series of edifices is continually becoming feebler in design and richer in superimposed paintings, another, that of which we have so often spoken as the earliest or Byzantine Renaissance, fragment by fragment rejects the pictorial decoration; supplies its place first with marbles, and then, as the latter are felt by the architect, daily increasing in arrogance and deepening in coldness, to be too bright for his dignity, he casts even these aside one by one: and when the last porphyry circle has vanished from the façade, we find two palaces standing side by side, one built, so far as mere masonry goes, with consummate care and skill, but without the slightest vestige of colour in any part of it; the other utterly without any claim to interest in its architectural form, but covered from top to bottom with paintings by Veronese.* At this period, then, we bid farewell to colour, leaving the painters to their own peculiar field; and only regretting that they waste their noblest work on walls, from which in a couple of centuries, if not before, the greater part of their labour must be effaced. On the other hand, the architecture whose decline we are tracing, has now assumed an entirely new condition, that of the Central or True Renaissance, whose nature we are to examine in the next chapter.

§ 37. But before leaving these last palaces over which the Byzantine influence extended itself, there is one more

* I must really give myself another pat, and say "good dog." How absolutely accurate and true this account is, the reader may see for himself in a moment by going to the Church of St. Sebastian,¹ where he will see literally the last bits of porphyry vanishing from the façade, and the roof "covered with paintings," which were indeed once by Paul Veronese, and are now by the pupils of the Venetian Academy. [1881.]

¹ [For further notice of this church—"the tomb, and of old the monument, of Paul Veronese"—see below, Venetian Index, p. 432.]

lesson to be learned from them of much importance to us. Though in many respects debased in style, they are consummate in workmanship, and unstained in honour; there is no imperfection in them, and no dishonesty. That there is absolutely *no* imperfection, is indeed, as we have seen above,¹ a proof of their being wanting in the highest qualities of architecture; but, as lessons in masonry, they have their value, and may well be studied for the excellence they display in methods of levelling stones, for the precision of their inlaying, and other such qualities, which in them are indeed too principal, yet very instructive in their particular way.

§ 38. For instance, in the inlaid design of the dove with the olive branch, from the Casa Trevisan² (Vol. I. Plate 20, opposite p. 425) it is impossible for anything to go beyond the precision with which the olive leaves are cut out of the white marble; and, in some wreaths of laurel below, the rippled edge of each leaf is as finely and easily drawn, as if by a delicate pencil. No Florentine table is more exquisitely finished than the façade of this entire palace; and as ideals of an executive perfection,³ which, though we must not turn aside from our main path to reach it, may yet with much advantage be kept in our sight and memory, these palaces are most notable amidst the architecture of Europe. The Rio Façade of the Ducal Palace, though very sparing in colour, is yet, as an example of finished masonry in a vast building, one of the finest things, not only in Venice, but in the world.⁴ It differs from other work of the Byzantine

¹ [See Vol. X. p.202.]

² [See above, § 23.]

³ [See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. vii. § 21 *n.*, where Ruskin, citing this passage and § 19 above as instances of his "respect for completion," establishes a harmony of his various passages on "finish" in art.]

⁴ [On some sheets among the MSS. Ruskin gives an elaborate but fragmentary account of the Rio Façade, from which the following passages are extracted:—

"Of all the Renaissance works I have ever seen, I should give the palm to this, for general beauty; nor is it chief among Renaissance works only,—there is hardly a more impressive scene in Venice or in the world than the reach of narrow canal, between the Bridge of Sighs and the Canonica, which laps like an inlet of a lake against the dark and delicate stones of the gigantic wall, that lifts its sculptured precipice so far into the broad light and blue sky. Its majesty, indeed, depends chiefly on this, that it *is* a wall: not a

Renaissance, in being on a very large scale; and it still retains one pure Gothic character, which adds not a little to its nobleness, that of perpetual variety. There is hardly one window of it, or one panel, that is like another; and this continual change so increases its apparent size by confusing

group of regularly designed parts, but one mighty wall, variously pierced and panelled, and its divisions are so irregular, so small and so multitudinous in proportion to its mass, that it is utterly impossible to contemplate it as divided, and very nearly impossible either to analyse or describe the method of its division. The eye is led from one part to another, or rather receives all at once; and it requires considerable effort to fix the mind on any separate part of it, or find the key to anything like an intelligible symmetry among the perpetual varieties of its composition. At last, however, one begins to perceive that it is in reality divided into four stories, each with entablatures, but grouped two and two; the second and fourth having bold projecting bracket cornices; while the water story and third story have only richly moulded cornices without brackets, but the cornice course of the third story is bolder than that of the first, and the bracket cornice of the fourth—the true roof cornice—is still more markedly bolder than the bracket cornice of the second, so that the energy or value of the respective cornices is to the eye in alternating proportion, approximating to some such ratio as this—5:7:: 6:9.

“The frieze of the entablatures is quite plain in the water and third stories, but in the first story it has a course of porphyry medallions.

“The panels . . . [of the lower courses] are *square* . . . the word suggests the idea of them most clearly to the mind of the general reader. But none of them are accurately square. The barred windows are three or four inches higher than they are broad . . .; the plain panels are never three the same, varying from broad oblongs to narrow uprights, with every conceivable difference of intermediate size, and all irregularly disposed, so that it would take two or three days' work to measure and draw them accurately to scale, the crosses in the upper course extending or contracting themselves according to the variable size of the panels of the upper course their crosses where they should come by the apparent rule, but three of these are left plain, as if by accident; neither are all the panels of the lower course pierced with windows where there should be windows by the rule, but three of them are filled up, and have got the crosses which one misses from the course above. I call them crosses, because they have exactly the effect upon the eye of crosses in low relief inserted into the recess of the panel. But the Renaissance architect had no sacred intention, the ornament is formed merely by four smaller panellings, of which the external mouldings are missed by the eye, in the depth of the recess, while the cross bars are clearly seen, and are still farther energized by small flattened bosses like nail heads at the centre and extremities. . . .

“This series of panellings, complex and variable as it is, had been thought too monotonous to be continued along the whole length of the building. The foundation is three times broken by doorways; first . . . [near] its northern extremity, by a single door . . .; then . . . by the four arches which form the principal water entrance of the palace, and finally, [some] feet farther on, by two arches of similar design which give entrance. . . .

“The first small door, above mentioned, is as high in the jambs as the course of chequered pattern, round-arch headed, and flanked by pilasters

the eye, that, though presenting no bold features, or striking masses of any kind, there are few things in Italy more impressive than the vision of it overhead, as the gondola glides from beneath the Bridge of Sighs. And lastly (unless we are to blame these buildings for some pieces of very childish

of which the bases and capitals are formed merely by the continuation of the mouldings below and above that course. Two discs of porphyry occupy its spandrils, and above it, occupying the height of the third course of panelling, is a delicately sculptured tablet bearing the arms of a Doge, three leopards on a cross bar, with six Turk's beards on the shield. There is a great deal of remarkable in this tablet, as an example of Renaissance sculpture. The shield itself is of an affectedly graceful form—an herald's shield, not a soldier's—with a curl at its edges as if it were of paper; and it is supported by two creatures whom I cannot venture—without the reader's concurrence, and after they have been specifically described—to characterize as angels. They appear to be youths of 12 or 15 years old, with flowing hair, wearing very light lines tunics in full folds which are fastened by a girdle at the waist, but thence descend only to their middles, the limbs of both being entirely bare, very well shaped, but rather too muscular, the sculptor having been particularly desirous that it should be seen how well he understood the anatomy of the groin and knee, and not a little vain also of his management of the drapery, which flutters into all manner of small wrinkling folds at its lower edge, as if it had been blown up to the middles of the figures by the Levante. Their arms are also bare from just below the shoulder, and each of the figures, sustaining the shield with one hand, carries a torch with the other, taller than himself, towards the flame of which, putting his head on one side, he looks up in a semi-melancholy manner. They have both of them pigeon's wings, very delicately cut; and the chiselmanship of the whole is excellent, full of spirit, and touched with fine feeling of the ornamental power of the lines.

“The lower portions of this door have suffered much. In time a wooden porch was erected over it, carried on brackets; deep holes were cut in the marble for the supports of these, which are now left, the brackets having been removed; and the junction of the wooden roof with the stone-work is still traceable by an unsightly ledge of plaster—like a piece of swallow's work—running across the red circles of the spandrils, and across the pilasters, as far as the windows on each side of the door. The pilaster heads and angles are all broken and worn away, and the mouldings of the foundation drilled full of holes where there were once rings to fasten the gondolas to.

“This door is therefore indication of two stages of degradation. The first that of the Renaissance, when the loss of all high feeling in design was nevertheless compatible with great artistical refinement and skill in composition. The second that of regardless destruction of art of every kind, for the sake of personal convenience.

“We next come to the four arches of the main entrance. These are four Renaissance arches of the worst kind; that is to say, round arches clumsily decorated with large roses in circles under the soffits, carried on square pillars, divided into panels by bead mouldings, and richly sculptured with arabesque on the sides. The kind of design is that now commonly adopted at Parisian cafés, but it is delicate and rich, and the doorways are not without some value as a contrast to the more manly parts of the design. But even these four arches cannot be described in general terms; the two

perspective), they are magnificently honest, as well as perfect. I do not remember even any gilding upon them; all is pure marble, and of the finest kind.*

And therefore, in finally leaving the Ducal Palace,† let us take with us one more lesson, the last which we shall receive from the Stones of Venice, except in the form of a warning.

§ 39. The school of architecture which we have just been examining is, as we have seen above, redeemed from severe condemnation by its careful and noble use of inlaid marbles as means of colour. From that time forward, this art has

* There may, however, be a kind of dishonesty even in the use of marble, if it is attempted to make the marble look like something else. See the final or Venetian Index, under head "Scalzi" [p. 431].

† Appendix 5: "Renaissance Side of Ducal Palace" [p.256].

towards the north carry the Barberigi shield on the spandril between them, sharply cut and enclosed in a very lovely Raphaellesque wreath of flowers, and these two doors are far more refined both in the design and execution of their arabesques than those to the south, and besides have their ornament down to the base mouldings, while those to the south have the lower panels of their shafts left plain, and in their central spandril have a vulgar and ponderous garland enclosing a circle. . .

"The space between these arches and the two which form the present water entrance is occupied, in the two upper courses of the lower story, with which we are at present concerned, by four plain panels surrounded by simple mouldings, with intervals also entirely undecorated; the panels appear to be square; the southernmost interval is an upright oblong; middle one wider, the third widest—something more than a square. Four smaller openings have been cut, or rather dashed, out in the upper panels, and two in the lower filled with iron bars at different depths and of different sizes, the edges of the openings being left shattered and blanched; while finally, the space between the present water entrance, and the point of the junction of the Renaissance part of the palace with the older work, is occupied in each course by four square panels and one narrow one with the narrowest intervals of any in the whole series—little more than a foot each—the upper ones being pierced with modern square windows, and, at the time being (1851), glazed, and rendered cheerful by flowers and birdcages and other signs of inhabitation of the apartments within. A large water-rat trots as I write, with his tail up, into the greater entrance, and round the value of its door—presently returns to make an exploring tour along the lower step of the great staircase: some one passes, and he disappears behind the door. This entrance is formed by two arches like the four in the centre, having, however, in its spandril the arms of a Doge, three stars over three cross bars. The Bridge of Sighs springs from the cornice of its northern arch, not, as a modern architect would have put it, over the middle of the arch, but over one side; the breadth of the bridge extending over somewhat more than half of the arch, and projecting beyond the pilasters which flank it. . . ."]

been unknown or despised; the frescoes of the swift and daring Venetian painters long contended with the inlaid marbles, outvying them with colour, indeed more glorious than theirs, but fugitive as the hues of woods in autumn; and, at last, as the art itself of painting in this mighty manner failed from among men,* the modern decorative system established itself which united the meaninglessness of the veined marble with the evanescence of the fresco, and completed the harmony by falsehood.

§ 40. Since first, in the second chapter of the *Seven Lamps*,¹ I endeavoured to show the culpableness, as well as the baseness, of our common modes of decoration by painted imitation of various woods or marbles, the subject has been discussed in various architectural works,² and is evidently becoming one of daily increasing interest. When it is considered how many persons there are whose means of livelihood consist altogether in these spurious arts, and how difficult it is, even for the most candid, to admit a conviction contrary both to their interests and to their

* We have, as far as I know, at present among us, only one painter, G.F. Watts, who is capable of design in colour on a large scale. He stands alone among our artists of the old school in his perception of the value of breadth in distant masses, and in the vigour of invention by which such breadth must be sustained; and his power of expression and depth of thought are not less remarkable than his bold conception of colour effect. Very probably some of the Pre-Raphaelites have the gift also; I am nearly certain that Rossetti has it, and I think also Millais; but the experiment has yet to be tried. I wish it could be made in Mr. Hope's church in Margaret Street.³

¹ [Vol. VIII. pp. 38, 72.]

² [An answer to Ruskin's views on this subject was attempted in a brochure already referred to (Vol. IX. p. xliii.)—*something on Ruskinism*, by an Architect, pp. 35 seq.]

³ [To this note Ruskin added in the "Travellers' Edition," "Note written, I believe, in 1852." The building of "Mr. Hope's church"—All Saints', Margaret Street—was an interesting event in the Gothic Revival. The Cambridge Camden Society (whose journal, the *Ecclesiologist*, has been referred to at Vol. VIII. p. xxxix.) conceived the project of a model church, which should realise Gothic principles architecturally, and be the home of high Anglican ritual. Mr. A.J. Beresford Hope and Sir Stephen Glynne were the executive for carrying out the scheme, and a sum of £70,000 was collected. The architect was Butterfield; the foundation-stone was laid by Dr. Pusey in 1849, and the building was completed in 1859. The fresco paintings were executed by W. Dyce, R.A. (for whom see *Academy Notes*, 1855 and 1857).]

inveterate habits of practice and thought, it is rather a matter of wonder that the cause of Truth should have found even a few maintainers, than that it should have encountered a host of adversaries. It has, however, been defended repeatedly by architects themselves, and so successfully, that I believe, so far as the desirableness of this or that method of ornamentation is to be measured by the fact of its simple honesty or dishonesty, there is little need to add anything to what has been already urged upon the subject. But there are some points connected with the practice of imitating marble, which I have been unable to touch upon until now, and by the consideration of which we may be enabled to see something of the *policy* of honesty in this matter, without in the least abandoning the higher ground of principle.

§ 41. Consider, then, first, what marble seems to have been made for. Over the greater part of the surface of the world, we find that a rock has been providentially distributed, in a manner particularly pointing it out as intended for the service of man. Not altogether a common rock, it is yet rare enough to command a certain degree of interest and attention wherever it is found; but not so rare as to preclude its use for any purpose to which it is fitted. It is exactly of the consistence which is best adapted for sculpture; that is to say, neither hard nor brittle, nor flaky nor splintery, but uniformly and delicately, yet not ignobly, soft,—exactly soft enough to allow the sculptor to work it without force, and trace on it the finest lines of finished form; and yet so hard as never to betray the touch or moulder away beneath the steel; and so admirably crystallized, and of such permanent elements, that no rain dissolves it, no time changes it, no atmosphere decomposes it; once shaped, it is shaped for ever, unless subjected to actual violence or attrition. This rock, then, is prepared by Nature for the sculptor and architect, just as paper is prepared by the manufacturer for the artist, with as great—nay, with greater—care, and more perfect adaptation of the material to the requirements. And

of this marble paper, some is white and some coloured; but more is coloured than white, because the white is evidently meant for sculpture, and the coloured for the covering of large surfaces.¹

§ 42. Now, if we would take Nature at her word, and use this precious paper which she has taken so much care to provide for us (it is a long process, the making of that paper: the pulp of it needing the subtlest possible solution, and the pressing of it—for it is all hot-pressed—having to be done under the sea, or under something at least as heavy); if, I say, we use it as Nature would have us, consider what advantages would follow. The colours of marble are mingled for us just as if on a prepared palette. They are of all shades and hues (except bad ones), some being united and even, some broken, mixed, and interrupted, in order to supply, as far as possible, the want of the painter's power of breaking and mingling the colour with the brush. But there is more in the colours than this delicacy of adaptation. There is history in them. By the manner in which they are arranged in every piece of marble, they record the means by which that marble has been produced, and the successive changes through which it has passed. And in all their veins and zones, and flame-like stainings, or broken and disconnected lines, they write various legends, never untrue, of the former political state of the mountain kingdom to which they belonged, of its infirmities and fortitudes, convulsions and consolidations, from the beginning of time.

Now, if we were never in the habit of seeing anything but real marbles, this language of theirs would soon begin to be understood; that is to say, even the least observant of us would recognise such and such stones as forming a peculiar class, and would begin to inquire where they came from, and, at last, take some feeble interest in the main question, Why they were only to be found in that or the other place,

¹ [Compare *Aratra Pentelici*, § 159, where "the providence of Nature" in the distribution of marbles is again discussed, and the characteristics of the schools of Athens and North Italy are referred to the several supplies of material.]

and how they came to make a part of this mountain, and not of that? And in a little while, it would not be possible to stand for a moment at a shop door, leaning against the pillars of it, without remembering or questioning of something well worth the memory or the inquiry, touching the hills of Italy, or Greece, or Africa, or Spain; and we should be led on from knowledge to knowledge, until even the unsculptured walls of our streets became to us volumes as precious as those of our libraries.

§ 43. But the moment we admit imitation of marble, this source of knowledge is destroyed. None of us can be at the pains to go through the work of verification. If we knew that every coloured stone we saw was natural, certain questions, conclusions, interests, would force themselves upon us without any effort of our own; but we have none of us time to stop in the midst of our daily business, to touch, and pore over, and decide with painful minuteness of investigation, whether such and such a pillar be stucco or stone. And the whole field of this knowledge, which Nature intended us to possess when we were children, is hopelessly shut out from us. Worse than shut out, for the mass of coarse imitations confuses our knowledge acquired from other sources; and our memory of the marbles we have perhaps once or twice carefully examined, is disturbed and distorted by the inaccuracy of the imitations which are brought before us continually.

§ 44. But it will be said, that it is too expensive to employ real marbles in ordinary cases. It may be so: yet not always more expensive than the fitting windows with enormous plate glass, and decorating them with elaborate stucco mouldings, and other useless sources of expenditure in modern building;¹ nay, not always in the end more expensive than the frequent repainting of the dingy pillars, which a little water dashed against them would refresh from

¹ [On this subject, compare *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, §§ 34, 35, where it is maintained that it is "architectural ugliness" which is costly.]

day to day, if they were of true stone. But, granting that it be so, in that very costliness, checking their common use in certain localities, is part of the interest of marbles, considered as history. Where they are not found, Nature has supplied other materials, clay for brick, or forest for timber,—in the working of which she intends other characters of the human mind to be developed, and by the proper use of which certain local advantages will assuredly be attained, while the delightfulness and meaning of the precious marbles will be felt more forcibly in the districts where they occur, or on the occasions when they may be procured.

§ 45. It can hardly be necessary to add that, as the imitation of marbles interferes with and checks the knowledge of geography and geology, so the imitation of wood interferes with that of botany; and that our acquaintance with the nature, uses, and manner of growth of the timber trees of our own and of foreign countries, would probably, in the majority of cases, become accurate and extensive, without any labour or sacrifice of time, were not all inquiry checked, and all observation betrayed, by the wretched labours of the “Grainer.”

§ 46. But this is not all. As the practice of imitation retards knowledge, so also it retards art.

There is not a meaner occupation for the human mind than the imitation of the stains and striæ of marble and wood. When engaged in any easy and simple mechanical occupation, there is still some liberty for the mind to leave the literal work; and the clash of the loom or the activity of the fingers will not always prevent the thoughts from some happy expatiation in their own domains. But the grainer must think of what he is doing; and veritable attention and care, and occasionally considerable skill, are consumed in the doing of a more absolute nothing than I can name in any other department of painful idleness. I know not anything so humiliating as to see a human being, with arms and limbs complete, and apparently a head, and assuredly a soul, yet into the hands of which when you

have put a brush and pallet, it cannot do anything with them but imitate a piece of wood. It cannot colour, it has no ideas of colour; it cannot draw, it has no ideas of form; it cannot caricature, it has no ideas of humour. It is incapable of anything beyond knots. All its achievement, the entire result of the daily application of its imagination and immortality, is to be such a piece of texture as the sun and dew are sucking up out of the muddy ground, and weaving together, far more finely, in millions of millions of growing branches over every rood of waste woodland and shady hill.

§ 47. But what is to be done, the reader asks, with men who are capable of nothing else than this? Nay, they may be capable of everything else, for all we know, and what we are to do with them I will try to say in the next chapter; but meanwhile, one word more touching the higher principles of action in this matter, from which we have descended to those of expediency. I trust that some day the language of Types will be more read and understood by us than it has been for centuries; and when this language, a better one than either Greek or Latin, is again recognised amongst us, we shall find, or remember, that as the other visible elements of the universe—its air, its water, and its flame—set forth, in their pure energies, the life-giving, purifying, and sanctifying influences of the Deity upon His creatures, so the earth, in its purity, sets forth His eternity and HIS TRUTH. I have dwelt above on the historical language of stones; let us not forget this, which is their theological language; and, as we would not wantonly pollute the fresh waters when they issue forth in their clear glory from the rock, nor stay the mountain winds into pestilential stagnancy, nor mock the sunbeams with artificial and ineffective light; so let us not, by our own base and barren falsehoods, replace the crystalline strength and burning colour of the earth from which we were born and to which we must return; the earth which, like our own bodies, though dust in its degradation, is full of splendour when

God's hand gathers its atoms; and which was for ever sanctified by Him, as the symbol no less of His love than of His Truth, when He bade the high priest bear the names of the Children of Israel on the clear stones of the Breastplate of Judgment.¹

¹ [Exodus ch. xxviii.]

CHAPTER II

ROMAN RENAISSANCE¹

§ 1. OF all the buildings in Venice, later in date than the final additions to the Ducal Palace, the noblest is, beyond all question, that which, having been condemned by its proprietor, not many years ago, to be pulled down and sold for the value of its materials, was rescued by the Austrian Government, and appropriated — the Government officers having no other use for it—to the business of the Post-Office;² though still known to the gondolier by its ancient name, the Casa Grimani.³ It is composed of three stories of the Corinthian order, at once simple, delicate, and sublime; but on so colossal a scale, that the three-storied palaces on its right and left only reach to the cornice which marks the level of its first floor. Yet it is not at first perceived to be

¹ [Parts of this chapter form in the “Travellers’ Edition” a chapter called “The Spite of the Proud,” and the following verse (Psalms cxxiii. 4, Prayer-Book version) is placed at the top as a motto:—

“Our soul is filled with the scornful rebuke of the wealthy, and with the despitefulness of the proud.”

The verse is quoted below at the end of § 45 (where “reproof” is rightly read, instead of “rebuke”). The following footnote (not quite accurately given in the earlier issues, see “Variæ Lectiones,” p. xxxiv.) is appended to the chapter-heading:—

“Portions (§§ 1–11, 23–40, and 45) of the chapter on the Roman Renaissance of the old edition, here more or less abstracted and recast; but the text nowhere altered.”]

² [Later issues of the “Travellers’ Edition” here add the note: “Now removed elsewhere”—viz. to the Fondaco de’ Tedeschi.]

³ [Seen on the right in the frontispiece to Vol. IX. The Grimani family, for whom the palace was built, were originally Vicentine nobles; two doges were of the family, Antonio (1521–1523), and Marino (1595–1606), for whose father, Girolamo, the palace was built. It is now the Court of Appeal. The architect was Michele Sanmichele of Verona (1484–1559), who, like most enthusiastic students of the time, had gone at an early age to Rome to study classical sculpture and architecture. He was much employed both at Verona and at Venice, and was distinguished also as a military architect, being employed by the Republic to strengthen the fortifications of Corfu, Cyprus, and Candia. He was also the author of a work on classic architecture, *Li Cinque Ordini dell’ Architettura*. For another reference to the palace, see *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 144 n.]

so vast; and it is only when some expedient is employed to hide it from the eye, that by the sudden dwarfing of the whole reach of the Grand Canal, which it commands, we become aware that it is to the majesty of the Casa Grimani that the Rialto itself, and the whole group of neighbouring buildings, owe the greater part of their impressiveness. Nor is the finish of its details less notable than the grandeur of their scale. There is not an erring line, nor a mistaken proportion, throughout its noble front; and the exceeding fineness of the chiselling gives an appearance of lightness to the vast blocks of stone out of whose perfect union that front is composed. The decoration is sparing, but delicate: the first story only simpler than the rest, in that it has pilasters instead of shafts, but all with Corinthian capitals, rich in leafage, and fluted delicately; the rest of the walls flat and smooth, and their mouldings sharp and shallow, so that the bold shafts look like crystals of beryl running through a rock of quartz.

§ 2. This palace is the principal type at Venice, and one of the best in Europe, of the central architecture of the Renaissance schools; that carefully studied and perfectly executed architecture to which those schools owe their principal claims to our respect, and which became the model of most of the important works subsequently produced by civilised nations. I have called it the Roman Renaissance, because it is founded, both in its principles of superimposition, and in the style of its ornament, upon the architecture of classic Rome at its best period. The revival of Latin literature both led to its adoption and directed its form; and the most important example of it which exists is the modern Roman basilica of St. Peter's. It had, at its Renaissance or new birth, no resemblance either to Greek, Gothic, or Byzantine forms, except in retaining the use of the round arch, vault, and dome; in the treatment of all details, it was exclusively Latin; the last links of connexion with mediæval tradition having been broken by its builders in their enthusiasm for classical art, and the forms of true Greek or Athenian

architecture being still unknown to them. The study of these noble Greek forms has induced various modifications of the Renaissance in our own times; but the conditions which are found most applicable to the uses of modern life are still Roman, and the entire style may most fitly be expressed by the term "Roman Renaissance."

§ 3. It is this style, in its purity and fullest form,—represented by such buildings as the Casa Grimani at Venice (built by San Micheli), the Town Hall at Vicenza (by Palladio), St. Peter's at Rome (by Michael Angelo), St. Paul's and Whitehall in London (by Wren and Inigo Jones),—which is the true antagonist of the Gothic school. The intermediate, or corrupt conditions of it, though multiplied over Europe, are no longer admired by architects, or made the subjects of their study; but the finished work of this central school is still, in most cases, the model set before the student of the nineteenth century, as opposed to those Gothic, Romanesque, or Byzantine forms which have long been considered barbarous, and are so still by most of the leading men of the day. That they are, on the contrary, most noble and beautiful, and that the antagonistic Renaissance is, in the main, unworthy and unadmirable, whatever perfection of a certain kind it may possess, it was my principal purpose to show, when first I undertook the labour of this work. It has been attempted already¹ to put before the reader the various elements which unite in the Nature of Gothic, and to enable him thus to judge, not merely of the beauty of the forms which that system has produced already, but of its future applicability to the wants of mankind and endless power over their hearts. I would now endeavour, in like manner, to set before the reader the Nature of Renaissance, and thus to enable him to compare the two styles under the same light, and with the same enlarged view of their relations to the intellect, and capacities for the service, of man.

§ 4. It will not be necessary for me to enter at length into any examination of its external form. It uses, whether

¹ [See ch. vi. in the preceding volume.]

for its roofs of aperture or roofs proper, the low gable or circular arch: but it differs from Romanesque work in attaching great importance to the horizontal lintel or architrave *above* the arch; transferring the energy of the principal shafts to the supporting of this horizontal beam, and thus rendering the arch a subordinate, if not altogether a superfluous, feature. The type of this arrangement has been given already at *c*, Fig. 36, p. 179, Vol. I.: and I might insist at length upon the absurdity of a construction in which the shorter shaft, which has the real weight of wall to carry, is split into two by the taller one, which has nothing to carry at all,—that taller one being strengthened, nevertheless, as if the whole weight of the building bore upon it; and on the ungracefulness, never conquered in any Palladian work, of the two half-capitals glued, as it were, against the slippery round sides of the central shaft. But it is not the form of this architecture against which I would plead. Its defects are shared by many of the noblest forms of earlier building, and might have been entirely atoned for by excellence of spirit. But it is the moral nature of it which is corrupt, and which it must, therefore, be our principal business to examine and expose.

§ 5. The moral, or immoral, elements which unite to form the spirit of Central Renaissance architecture are, I believe, in the main, two,—Pride and Infidelity; but the pride resolves itself into three main branches,—Pride of Science, Pride of State, and Pride of System: and thus we have four separate mental conditions which must be examined successively.¹

§ 6. I. PRIDE OF SCIENCE. It would have been more charitable, but more confusing, to have added another element to our list, namely the *Love* of Science; but the love is included in the pride, and is usually so very subordinate an element, that it does not deserve equality of nomenclature. But, whether pursued in pride or in affection (how far by either we shall see presently), the first notable

¹ [With the following analysis of the Renaissance spirit, compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xx. § 34, where Ruskin cites in illustration of it Browning's "The Bishop orders his tomb in St. Praxed's Church."]

characteristic of the Renaissance central school is its introduction of accurate knowledge into all its work, so far as it possesses such knowledge;¹ and its evident conviction that such science is necessary to the excellence of the work, and is the first thing to be expressed therein. So that all the forms introduced, even in its minor ornament, are studied with the utmost care; the anatomy of all animal structure is thoroughly understood and elaborately expressed, and the whole of the execution skilful and practised in the highest degree. Perspective, linear and aerial, perfect drawing and accurate light and shade in painting, and true anatomy in all representations of the human form, drawn or sculptured, are the first requirements in all the work of this school.

§ 7. Now, first considering all this in the most charitable light, as pursued from a real love of truth, and not from vanity, it would, of course, have been all excellent and admirable, had it been regarded as the aid of art, and not as its essence. But the grand mistake of the Renaissance schools lay in supposing that science and art were the same things, and that to advance in the one was necessarily to perfect the other. Whereas they are, in reality, things not only different, but so opposed that to advance in the one is, in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, to retrograde in the other. This is the point to which I would at present especially bespeak the reader's attention.

§ 8. Science and art are commonly distinguished by the nature of their actions; the one as knowing, the other as changing, producing, or creating. But there is a still more important distinction in the nature of the things they deal with.² Science deals exclusively with things as they are in

¹ [In his copy of this volume Ruskin has here noted at the side a reference to "passage on Knowledge in Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living*, chapter on Humility"—viz. ch. ii. sec. iv.: "Our learning is then best, when it teaches most humility; but to be proud of learning is the greatest ignorance in the world. For our learning is so long in getting, and so very imperfect, that the greatest clerk knows not the thousandth part of what he is ignorant."]

² [Compare the distinction drawn in *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vi. § 44, between "the men of facts" and "the men of design."]

themselves; and art exclusively with things as they affect the human sense and human soul.* Her work is to portray the appearances of things, and to deepen the natural impressions which they produce upon living creatures. The work of science is to substitute facts for appearances, and demonstrations for impressions. Both, observe, are equally concerned with truth; the one with truth of aspect, the other with truth of essence.¹ Art does not represent things falsely, but truly as they appear to mankind. Science studies the relations of things to each other: but art studies only their relations to man: and it requires of everything which is submitted to it imperatively this, and only this,—what that thing is to the human eyes and human heart, what it has to say to men, and what it can become to them: a field of question just as much vaster than that of science, as the soul is larger than the material creation.

§ 9. Take a single instance. Science informs us that the sun is ninety-five millions of miles distant from, and 111 times broader than, the earth: † that we and all the planets revolve round it; and that it revolves on its own axis in 25 days, 14 hours, and 4 minutes. With all this, art has nothing whatsoever to do. It has no care to know anything of this kind. But the things which it does care to know are these: that in the heavens God hath set a tabernacle for the sun, “which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His

* Or, more briefly, science has to do with facts, art with phenomena. To science, phenomena are of use only as they lead to facts; and to art, facts are of use only as they lead to phenomena. I use the word “art” here with reference to the fine arts only; for the lower arts of mechanical production I should reserve the word “manufacture.”

† (Written thirty years ago.—*Note*, 1886.)

¹ [This distinction was to be constantly reinforced in Ruskin’s works. See, for instance, *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvii. § 42, where Turner is spoken of as a “master in the science of *aspect*” as Bacon was in that of essence; and *Ethics of the Dust*, § 107, where the distinction is explained, and illustrated as being between form and force. See also the passages collected at Vol. IV. p. 158, on the relations of art and anatomy, and see generally *The Eagle’s Nest*, being “Lectures on the Relation of Natural Science to Art.”]

going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.”¹

§ 10. This, then, being the kind of truth with which art is exclusively concerned, how is such truth as this to be ascertained and accumulated? Evidently, and only, by perception and feeling. Never either by reasoning or report. Nothing must come between Nature and the artist’s sight; nothing between God and the artist’s soul. Neither calculation nor hearsay,—be it the most subtle of calculations, or the wisest of sayings,—may be allowed to come between the universe, and the witness which art bears to its visible nature. The whole value of that witness depends on its being *eye-witness*; the whole genuineness, acceptableness, and dominion of it depend on the personal assurance of the man who utters it. All its victory depends on the veracity of the one preceding word, “Vidi.”

The whole function of the artist in the world is to be a seeing and feeling creature; to be an instrument of such tenderness and sensitiveness, that no shadow, no hue, no line, no instantaneous and evanescent expression of the visible things around him, nor any of the emotions which they are capable of conveying to the spirit which has been given him, shall either be left unrecorded, or fade from the book of record. It is not his business either to think, to judge, to argue, or to know. His place is neither in the closet, nor on the bench, nor at the bar, nor in the library. They are for other men, and other work. He may think, in a by-way; reason, now and then, when he has nothing better to do; know, such fragments of knowledge as he can gather without stooping, or reach without pains; but none of these things are to be his care. The work of his life is to be two-fold only; to see, to feel.²

§ 11. Nay, but, the reader perhaps pleads with me, one

¹ [Psalm xix. 5, 6.]

² [With this passage, compare the chapter on a painter’s profession, printed as Appendix ii., in Vol. IV. p. 388.]

of the great uses of knowledge is to open the eyes; to make things perceivable which never would have been seen, unless first they had been known.

Not so. This could only be said or believed by those who do not know what the perceptive faculty of a great artist is, in comparison with that of other men. There is no great painter, no great workman in any art, but he sees more with the glance of a moment than he can learn by the labour of a thousand hours.

God has made every man fit for his work; He has given to the man whom He means for a student, the reflective, logical, sequential faculties; and to the man whom He means for an artist, the perceptive, sensitive, retentive faculties. And neither of these men, so far from being able to do the other's work, can even comprehend the way in which it is done. The student has no understanding of the vision, nor the painter of the process; but chiefly, the student has no idea of the colossal grasp of the true painter's vision and sensibility.

The labour of the whole Geological Society, for the last fifty years, has but now arrived at the ascertainment of those truths respecting mountain form which Turner saw and expressed with a few strokes of a camel's hair pencil fifty years ago, when he was a boy.¹ The knowledge of all the laws of the planetary system, and of all the curves of the motion of projectiles, would never enable the man of science to draw a waterfall or a wave; and all the members of Surgeons' Hall helping each other could not at this moment see, or represent, the natural movement of a human body in vigorous action, as a poor dyer's son did two hundred years ago.*²

§ 12. But surely, it is still insisted, granting this peculiar faculty to the painter, he will still see more as he knows more, and the more knowledge he obtains, therefore, the

* Tintoret.

¹ [Compare on this subject, *Modern Painters*, vol. i., Vol. III. p. 429.]

² [At this point the "Travellers' Edition" breaks off, resuming at § 23.]

better. No; not even so. It is indeed true that, here and there, a piece of knowledge will enable the eye to detect a truth which might otherwise have escaped it; as, for instance, in watching a sunrise, the knowledge of the true nature of the orb may lead the painter to feel more profoundly, and express more fully, the distance between the bars of cloud that cross it, and the sphere of flame that lifts itself slowly beyond them into the infinite heaven. But for one visible truth to which knowledge thus opens the eyes, it seals them to a thousand: that is to say, if the knowledge occur to the mind so as to occupy its powers of contemplation at the moment when the sight-work is to be done, the mind retires inward, fixes itself upon the known fact, and forgets the passing visible ones; and a *moment* of such forgetfulness loses more to the painter than a day's thought can gain. This is no new or strange assertion. Every person accustomed to careful reflection of any kind knows that its natural operation is to close his eyes to the external world. While he is thinking deeply, he neither sees nor feels, even though naturally he may possess strong powers of sight and emotion. He who, having journeyed all day beside the Lemman Lake, asked of his companions, at evening, where it was,* probably was not wanting in sensibility; but he was generally a thinker, not a perceiver. And this instance is only an extreme one of the effect which, in all cases, knowledge, becoming a subject of reflection, produces upon the sensitive faculties.¹ It must be but poor and lifeless knowledge, if it has no tendency to force itself

* St. Bernard.²

¹ [Literature abounds in such instances, of which two may here be given. Erasmus amused himself in the passage of the Alps with composing a poem on old age (see Froude's *Erasmus*, p. 90), and Gibbon, though he lived fifteen years in Lausanne, loved only to see nature "framed in a window" (Augustine Birrell's *Res Judicata*, p. 41).]

² ["After having passed a whole day in riding along its shore, in the evening when his companions were asking about the Lake, he enquired, 'What Lake?'" (St. Bern., *Op.*, vol. ii. col. 1118). That St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) was not wanting in sensibility to nature is shown by one of his letters, which might have been written by Wordsworth: "Experto crede; aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te quod a magistris audire non possis" (see *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, by J. C. Morison, p. 23).]

forward, and become ground for reflection, in despite of the succession of external objects. It will not obey their succession. The first that comes gives it food enough for its day's work; it is its habit, its duty, to cast the rest aside, and fasten upon that. The first thing that a thinking and knowing man sees in the course of the day, he will not easily quit. It is not his way to quit anything without getting to the bottom of it, if possible. But the artist is bound to receive all things on the broad, white, lucid field of his soul, not to grasp at one. For instance, as the knowing and thinking man watches the sunrise, he sees something in the colour of a ray, or the change of a cloud, that is new to him; and this he follows our forthwith into a labyrinth of optical and pneumatical laws, perceiving no more clouds nor rays all the morning. But the painter must catch all the rays, all the colours that come, and see them all truly, all in their real relations and succession; therefore, everything that occupies room in his mind he must cast aside for the time as completely as may be. The thoughtful man is gone far away to seek; but the perceiving man must sit still, and open his heart to receive. The thoughtful man is knitting and sharpening himself into a two-edged sword, wherewith to pierce. The perceiving man is stretching himself into a four-cornered sheet, wherewith to catch. And all the breadth to which he can expand himself, and all the white emptiness into which he can blanch himself, will not be enough to receive what God has to give him.

§ 13. What then, it will be indignantly asked, is an utterly ignorant and unthinking man likely to make the best artist? No, not so neither. Knowledge is good for him so long as he can keep it utterly, servilely, subordinate to his own divine work, and trample it under his feet, and out of his way, the moment it is likely to entangle him.

And in this respect, observe, there is an enormous difference between knowledge and education. An artist need not be a *learned* man; in all probability it will be a disadvantage to him to become so; but he ought, if possible,

always to be an *educated* man: that is, one who has understanding of his own uses and duties in the world, and therefore of the general nature of the things done and existing in the world; and who has so trained himself, or been trained, as to turn to the best and most courteous account whatever faculties or knowledge he has. The mind of an educated man is greater than the knowledge it possesses; it is like the vault of heaven, encompassing the earth which lives and flourishes beneath it: but the mind of an uneducated and learned man is like a caoutchouc band, with an everlasting spirit of contraction in it, fastening together papers which it cannot open, and keeps others from opening.

Half our artists are ruined for want of education, and by the possession of knowledge; the best that I have known have been educated, and illiterate. The ideal of an artist, however, is not that he should be illiterate, but well read in the best books, and thoroughly high bred, both in heart and in bearing. In a word, he should be fit for the best society, *and should keep out of it*.*

§ 14. There are, indeed, some kinds of knowledge with which an artist ought to be thoroughly furnished; those, for instance, which enable him to express himself: for this knowledge relieves instead of encumbering his mind, and permits it to attend to its purposes instead of wearying itself about means. The whole mystery of manipulation and manufacture should be familiar to the painter from a child. He should know the chemistry of all colours and materials whatsoever, and should prepare all his colours himself, in a little laboratory of his own. Limiting his chemistry to this one object, the amount of practical science necessary for it, and such accidental discoveries as might fall in his way in the course of his work, of better colours or better methods of preparing

* Society always has a destructive influence upon an artist: first, by its sympathy with his meanest powers; secondly, by its chilling want of understanding of his greatest; and, thirdly, by its vain occupation of his time and thoughts. Of course a painter of men must be *among* men: but it ought to be as a watcher, not as a companion.

them, would be an infinite refreshment to his mind; a minor subject of interest, to which it might turn when jaded with comfortless labour, or exhausted with feverish invention, and yet which would never interfere with its higher functions, when it chose to address itself to them. Even a considerable amount of manual labour, sturdy colour-grinding and canvas-stretching, would be advantageous; though this kind of work ought to be in great part done by pupils. For it is one of the conditions of perfect knowledge in these matters, that every great master should have a certain number of pupils, to whom he is to impart all the knowledge of materials and means which he himself possesses, as soon as possible; so that, at any rate, by the time they are fifteen years old, they may know all that he knows himself in this kind; that is to say, all that the world of artists know, and his own discoveries besides, and so never be troubled about methods any more. Not that the knowledge even of his own particular methods is to be of purpose confined to himself and his pupils, but that necessarily it must be so in some degree; for only those who see him at work daily can understand his small and multitudinous ways of practice. These cannot verbally be explained to everybody, nor is it needful that they should; only let them be concealed from nobody who cares to see them; in which case, of course, his attendant scholars will know them best. But all that can be made public in matters of this kind should be so with all speed, every artist throwing his discovery into the common stock, and the whole body of artists taking such pains in this department of science as that there shall be no unsettled questions about any known material or method: that it shall be an entirely ascertained and indisputable matter which is the best white, and which the best brown; which the strongest canvas, and safest varnish; and which the shortest and most perfect way of doing everything known up to that time; and if any one discovers a better, he is to make it public forthwith. All of them taking care to embarrass themselves with no theories or reasons for anything, but to work empirically only: it

not being in any wise their business to know whether light moves in rays or in waves; or whether the blue rays of the spectrum move slower or faster than the rest; but simply to know how many minutes and seconds such and such a powder must be calcined, to give the brightest blue.

§ 15. Now it is perhaps the most exquisite absurdity of the whole Renaissance system, that while it has encumbered the artist with every species of knowledge that is of no use to him, this one precious and necessary knowledge it has utterly lost. There is not, I believe, at this moment, a single question which could be put respecting pigments and methods, on which the body of living artists would agree in their answers. The lives of artists are passed in fruitless experiments; fruitless, because undirected by experience and uncommunicated in their results. Every man has methods of his own, which he knows to be insufficient, and yet jealously conceals from his fellow-workmen: every colourman has materials of his own, to which it is rare that the artist can trust: and in the very front of the majestic advance of chemical science, the empirical science of the artist has been annihilated, and the days which should have led us to higher perfection are passed in guessing at, or in mourning over, lost processes; while the so-called Dark ages, possessing no more knowledge of chemistry than a village herbalist does now, discovered, established, and put into daily practice such methods of operation as have made their work, at this day, the despair of all who look upon it.¹

§ 16. And yet even this, to the painter, the safest of sciences, and in some degree necessary, has its temptations, and capabilities of abuse. For the simplest means are always enough for a great man; and when once he has obtained a few ordinary colours which he is sure will stand, and a white surface that will not darken, nor moulder, nor rend, he is master of the world, and of his fellow-men. And, indeed, as if in these times we were bent on furnishing examples of

¹ [On this subject, compare in Vol. XII. the Review of Eastlake's *History of Oil-Painting*, §§ 2, 3.]

every species of opposite error, while we have suffered the traditions to escape us of the simple methods of doing simple things, which are enough for all the arts, and to all the ages, we have set ourselves to discover fantastic modes of doing fantastic things,—new mixtures and manipulations of metal, and porcelain, and leather, and paper, and every conceivable condition of false substance and cheap work, to our own infinitely multiplied confusion—blinding ourselves daily more and more to the great, changeless, and inevitable truth, that there is but one goodness in art: and that is one which the chemist cannot prepare, nor the merchant cheapen, for it comes only of a rare human hand, and rare human soul.

§ 17. Within its due limits, however, here is one branch of science which the artist may pursue; and, within limits still more strict, another also, namely, the science of the appearances of things as they have been ascertained and registered by his fellow-men. For no day passes but some visible fact is pointed out to us by others, which, without their help, we should not have noticed; and the accumulation and generalization of visible facts have formed, in the succession of ages, the sciences of light and shade, and perspective, linear and aerial: so that the artist is now at once put in possession of certain truths respecting the appearances of things, which, so pointed out to him, any man may in a few days understand and acknowledge; but which, without aid, he could not probably discover in his lifetime. I say, probably could not, because the time which the history of art shows us to have been actually occupied in the discovery and systematization of such truth is no measure of the time *necessary* for such discovery. The lengthened period which elapsed between the earliest and the perfect development of the science of light (if I may so call it) was not occupied in the actual effort to ascertain its laws, but in *acquiring the disposition to make that effort*. It did not take five centuries to find out the appearance of natural objects; but it took five centuries to make people care about representing them. An artist of the twelfth century did not desire to represent

Nature. His work was symbolical and ornamental. So long as it was intelligible and lovely, he had no care to make it like Nature. As, for instance, when an old painter represented the glory round a saint's head by a burnished plate of pure gold, he had no intention of imitating an effect of light. He meant to tell the spectator that the figure so decorated was saint, and to produce splendour of effect by the golden circle. It was no matter to him what light was like. So soon as it entered into his intention to represent the appearance of light, he was not long in discovering the natural facts necessary for his purpose.

§ 18. But this being fully allowed, it is still true that the accumulation of facts now known respecting visible phenomena is greater than any man could hope to gather for himself, and that it is well for him to be made acquainted with them; provided always, that he receive them only at their true value, and do not suffer himself to be misled by them. I say, at their true value; that is, an exceedingly small one. All the information which men can receive from the accumulated experience of others is of no use but to enable them more quickly and accurately to see for themselves. It will in nowise take the place of this personal sight. Nothing can be done well in art except by vision. Scientific principles and experiences are helps to the eye, as a microscope is; and they are of exactly as much use *without* the eye. No science of perspective, or of anything else, will enable us to draw the simplest natural line accurately, unless we see it and feel it. Science is soon at her wits' end. All the professors of perspective in Europe could not, by perspective, draw the line of curve of a sea-beach; nay, could not outline one pool of the quiet water left among the sand. The eye and hand can do it, nothing else. All the rules of aerial perspective that ever were written, will not tell me how sharply the pines on the hill top are drawn at this moment on the sky. I shall know if I see them, and love them; not till then. I may study the laws of atmospheric gradation for fourscore years and ten, and I shall

not be able to draw so much as a brick-kiln through its own smoke, unless I look at it: and that in an entirely humble and unscientific manner, ready to see all that the smoke, my master, is ready to show me, and expecting to see nothing more.

§ 19. So that all the knowledge a man has must be held cheap, and neither trusted nor respected, the moment he comes face to face with Nature. If it help him, well; if not, but, on the contrary, thrust itself upon him in an impertinent and contradictory temper, and venture to set itself in the slightest degree in opposition to, or comparison with, his sight, let it be disgraced forthwith. And the slave is less likely to take too much upon herself, if she has not been bought for a high price. All the knowledge an artist needs will, in these days, come to him almost without his seeking; if he has far to look for it, he may be sure he does not want it. Prout became Prout without knowing a single rule of perspective to the end of his days; and all the perspective in the Encyclopædia will never produce us another Prout.

§ 20. And observe, also, knowledge is not only very often unnecessary, but it is often *untrustworthy*. It is inaccurate, and betrays us where the eye would have been true to us. Let us take the single instance of the knowledge of aerial perspective,¹ of which the moderns are so proud, and see how it betrays us in various ways. First by the conceit of it, which often prevents our enjoying work in which higher and better things were thought of than effects of mist. The other day I showed a fine impression of Albert Durer's "Sir Hubert" to a modern engraver, who had never seen it nor any other of Albert Durer's works. He looked at it for a minute contemptuously, then turned away: "Ah, I see that man did not know much about aerial perspective!" All the glorious work and thought of the mighty master, all the redundant landscape, the living vegetation, the magnificent truth of line, were dead letters to him, because he

¹ [For a definition of this term, see *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 260).]

happened to have been taught one particular piece of knowledge which Durer despised.

§ 21. But not only in the conceit of it, but in the inaccuracy of it, this science betrays us. Aerial perspective, as given by the modern artist, is, in nine cases out of ten, a gross and ridiculous exaggeration, as is demonstrable in a moment. The effect of air in altering the hue and depth of colour is of course great in the exact proportion of the volume of air between the observer and the object. It is not violent within the first few yards, and then diminished gradually, but it is equal for each foot of interposing air. Now in a clear day, and clear climate, such as that generally presupposed in a work of fine colour, objects are completely visible at a distance of ten miles; visible in light and shade, with gradations between the two. Take, then, the faintest possible hue of shadow, or of any colour, and the most violent and positive possible, and set them side by side. The interval between them is greater than the real difference (for objects may often be seen clearly much farther than ten miles; I have seen Mont Blanc at 120) caused by the ten miles of intervening air between any given hue of the nearest and most distant objects; but let us assume it, in courtesy to the masters of aerial perspective, to be the real difference. Then roughly estimating a mile at less than it really is, also in courtesy to them, or at 5,000 feet, we have this difference between tints produced by 50,000 feet of air. Then, ten feet of air will produce the 5,000th part of this difference. Let the reader take the two extreme tints, and carefully gradate the one into the other. Let him divide this gradated shadow or colour into 5,000 successive parts; and the difference in depth between one of these parts and the next is the exact amount of aerial perspective between one object and another, ten feet behind it, on a clear day.

§ 22. Now, in Millais' "Huguenot,"¹ the figures were standing about three feet from the wall behind them; and

¹ [For other references to the "Huguenot" (exhibited 1852), see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. vii. § 18; *Academy Notes*, 1875, No. 214; and *The Three Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism*, § 21. And compare *Pre-Raphaelitism*, § 19.]

the wise world of critics, which could find no other fault with the picture, professed to have its eyes hurt by the want of an aerial perspective, which, had it been accurately given (as, indeed, I believe it was), would have amounted to the $10^{3/5}$,000th, or less than the 15,000th part of the depth of any given colour. It would be interesting to see a picture painted by the critics upon this scientific principle. The aerial perspective usually represented is entirely conventional and ridiculous; a mere struggle on the part of the pretendedly well-informed, but really ignorant, artist, to express distances by mist which he cannot by drawing.

It is curious that the critical world is just as much offended by the true *presence* of aerial perspective, over distances of fifty miles, and with definite purpose of representing mist, in the works of Turner, as by the true *absence* of aerial perspective, over distances of three feet, and in clear weather, in those of Millais.

§ 23. "Well but," still answers the reader, "this kind of error may here and there be occasioned by too much respect for undigested knowledge;¹ but, on the whole, the gain is greater than the loss, and the fact is, that a picture of the Renaissance period, or by a modern master, does indeed represent Nature more faithfully than one wrought in the ignorance of old times." No, not one whit; for the most part, less faithfully. Indeed, the outside of Nature is more truly drawn; the material commonplace, which can be systematized, catalogued, and taught to all pains-taking mankind,—forms of ribs and scapulæ,* of eyebrows

* I intended in this place to have introduced some special consideration of the science of anatomy, which I believe to have been in great part the cause of the decline of modern art; but I have been anticipated by a writer better able to treat the subject. I have only glanced at his book; and there is something in the spirit of it which I do not like, and some parts of it are assuredly wrong; but, respecting anatomy, it seems to me to settle the question indisputably, more especially as being written by a master of the science. I quote two passages, and must refer the reader to the sequel:

"*The scientific men of forty centuries* have failed to describe so accurately, so

¹ [The "Travellers' Edition" here resumes from the end of § 11, but the words "this kind of error . . . undigested knowledge; but" are omitted.]

and lips, and curls of hair. Whatever can be measured and handled, dissected and demonstrated,—in a word, whatever is of the body only,—that the schools of knowledge do resolutely and courageously possess themselves of, and portray. But whatever is immeasurable, intangible, indivisible, and of the spirit, that the schools of knowledge do as certainly lose, and blot out of their sight: that is to say, all that is worth art's possessing or recording at all; for whatever can be

beautifully, so artistically as Homer did, the organic elements constituting the emblems of youth and beauty, and the waste and decay which these sustain by time and age. All these Homer understood better, and has described more truthfully, than the scientific men of forty centuries. . . .

“Before I approach this question, permit me to make a few remarks on the pre-historic period of Greece; that era which seems to have produced nearly all the great men.

“On looking attentively at the statues within my observation, I cannot find the slightest foundation for the assertion that their sculptors must have dissected the human frame, and been well acquainted with human anatomy. They, like Homer, had discovered Nature's secret, and bestowed their whole attention on the exterior. The exterior they read profoundly, and studied deeply—the *living exterior* and the *dead*. Above all, they avoided displaying the dead and dissected interior, through the exterior. They had discovered that the interior presents hideous shapes but not forms. Men during the philosophic era of Greece saw all this, each reading the antique to the best of his abilities. The man of genius rediscovered the canon of the ancient masters, and wrought on its principles. The greater number, as now, unequal to this step, merely imitated and copied those who preceded them.”—*Great Artists and Great Anatomists*. By R. Knox, M.D. London, Van Voorst, 1852.

Respecting the value of literary knowledge in general as regards art, the reader will also do well to meditate on the following sentences from Hallam's *Literature of Europe*:¹ remembering at the same time what I have above said, that “the root of all great art in Europe is struck in the thirteenth century,” and that the great time is from 1250 to 1350:²

“In Germany, the tenth century, Leibnitz declares, was a golden age of learning compared with the thirteenth.”

“The writers of the thirteenth century display an incredible ignorance, not only of pure idiom, but of common grammatical rules.”

The fourteenth century was “not superior to the thirteenth in learning. . . . We may justly praise Richard of Bury for his zeal in collecting books. But his erudition appears crude, his style indifferent, and his thoughts superficial.”

I doubt the superficialness of the *thoughts*: at all events, this is not a character of the time, though it may be of the writer; for this would affect art more even than literature.

¹ [Part i. ch. i. §§ 86–88.]

² [See above, p. 23.]

arrested, measured, and systematized, we can contemplate as much as we will in Nature herself. But what we want art to do for us is to stay what is fleeting, and to enlighten what is incomprehensible, to incorporate the things that have no measure, and immortalize the things that have no duration. The dimly seen, momentary glance, the flitting shadow of faint emotion, the imperfect lines of fading thought, and all that by and through such things as these is recorded on the features of man, and all that in man's person and actions, and in the great natural world, is infinite and wonderful; having in it that spirit and power which man may witness, but not weigh; conceive, but not comprehend; love, but not limit; and imagine, but not define;—this, the beginning and the end of the aim of all noble art, we have, in the ancient art, by perception; and we have *not*, in the newer art, by knowledge. Giotto gives it us: Orcagna gives it us; Angelico, Memmi, Pisano,—it matters not who,—all simple and unlearned men, in their measure and manner,—give it us; and the learned men that followed them give it us not, and we, in our supreme learning, own ourselves at this day farther from it than ever.

§ 24. “Nay,” but it is still answered, “this is because we have not yet brought our knowledge into right use, but have been seeking to accumulate it, rather than to apply it wisely to the ends of art. Let us now do this, and we may achieve all that was done by that elder ignorant art, and infinitely more.” No, not so; for as soon as we try to put our knowledge to good use, we shall find that we have much more than we can use, and that what more we have is an encumbrance. All our errors in this respect arise from a gross misconception as to the true nature of knowledge itself. We talk of learned and ignorant men, as if there were a certain quantity of knowledge, which to possess was to be learned, and which not to possess was to be ignorant; instead of considering that knowledge is infinite, and that the man most learned in human estimation is just as far from knowing anything as he ought to know it, as the unlettered peasant. Men are merely on a

lower or higher stage of an eminence whose summit is God's throne¹ infinitely above all; and there is just as much reason for the wisest as for the simplest man being discontented with his position, as respects the real quantity of knowledge he possesses. And, for both of them, the only true reasons for contentment with the sum of knowledge they possess are these: that it is the kind of knowledge they need for their duty and happiness in life; that all they have is tested and certain, so far as it is in their power; that all they have is well in order, and within reach when they need it; that it has not cost too much time in the getting; that none of it, once got, has been lost; and that there is not too much to be easily taken care of.

§ 25. Consider these requirements a little, and the evils that result in our education and polity from neglecting them. Knowledge is mental food, and is exactly to the spirit what food is to the body (except that the spirit needs several sorts of food, of which knowledge is only one), and it is liable to the same kind of misuses. It may be mixed and disguised by art, till it becomes unwholesome: it may be refined, sweetened, and made palatable, until it has lost all its power of nourishment; and even of its best kind, it may be eaten to surfeiting, and minister to disease and death.

§ 26. Therefore, with respect to knowledge, we are to reason and act exactly as with respect to food. We no more live to know, than we live to eat. We live to contemplate, enjoy, act, adore; and we may know all that is to be known in this world, and what Satan knows in the other, without being able to do any of these. We are to ask, therefore, first, is the knowledge we would have fit food for us, good and simple, not artificial and decorated? and secondly, how much of it will enable us best for our work; and will leave our hearts light, and our eyes clear? For no more than that is to be eaten without the old Eve-sin.

¹ [Compare *In Memoriam*, Iv.—a passage quoted in one of Ruskin's "Letters to M. G." (Mary Gladstone):—

"Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope through darkness up to God."]

§ 27. Observe, also, the difference between tasting knowledge and hoarding it. In this respect it is also like food; since, in some measure, the knowledge of all men is laid up in granaries, for future use; much of it is at any given moment dormant, not fed upon or enjoyed, but in store. And by all it is to be remembered that knowledge in this form may be kept without air till it rots, or in such unthreshed disorder that it is of no use; and that, however good or orderly, it is still only in being tasted that it becomes of use; and that men may easily starve in their own granaries, men of science, perhaps, most of all, for they are likely to seek accumulation of their store, rather than nourishment from it. Yet let it not be thought that I would under-value them. The good and great among them are like Joseph, from whom all nations sought to buy corn;¹ or like the sower going forth to sow beside all waters, sending forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass: only let us remember that this is not all men's work. We are not intended to be all keepers of granaries, nor all to be measured by the filling of the storehouse; but many, nay, most of us, are to receive day by day our daily bread, and shall be as well nourished and as fit for our labour, and often, also, fit for nobler and more divine labour, in feeding from the barrel of meal that does not waste and from the cruse of oil that does not fail, than if our barns were filled with plenty, and our presses bursting out with new wine.²

§ 28. It is for each man to find his own measure in this

¹ [In all previous eds. "to whom all nations sought to buy corn." Ruskin had at first written "to whom all nations came . . .," and, in altering "came" to "sought," forgot to alter the preposition. In another draft of this passage, he amplifies and illustrates the distinctions drawn in the text between different states of Knowledge. The highest state, he says, is

"Knowledge and Contemplation; that is to say, Knowledge brought fairly forth into the Mind's presence, and set before its Throne, that the King may have pleasure in its beauty. This is the noblest—the final state of all knowledge. Every other state is either inferior to this or preparatory for it. Knowledge in store is dormant; Knowledge in use is menial; Knowledge at usury, doubtful and imperfect; Knowledge under Contemplation is in its royal state invested with all honour and power."]

² [The Bible references in § 27 are Genesis xli. 57; Isaiah xxxii. 20; Luke xi. 3; 1 Kings xvii. 14; Proverbs iii. 10.]

matter; in great part, also, for others to find it for him, while he is yet a youth. And the desperate evil of the whole Renaissance system is, that all idea of measure is therein forgotten, that knowledge is thought the one and the only good, and it is never inquired whether men are vivified by it or paralyzed. Let us leave figures. The reader may not believe the analogy I have been pressing so far; but let him consider the subject in itself, let him examine the effect of knowledge in his own heart, and see whether the trees of knowledge and of life are one now, any more than in Paradise. He must feel that the real animating power of knowledge is only in the moment of its being first received, when it fills us with wonder and joy; a joy for which, observe, the previous ignorance is just as necessary as the present knowledge. That man is always happy who is in the presence of something which he cannot know to the full, which he is always going on to know. This is the necessary condition of a finite creature with divinely rooted and divinely directed intelligence; this, therefore, its happy state,—but observe, a state, not of triumph or joy in what it knows, but of joy rather in the continual discovery, of new ignorance, continual self-abasement, continual astonishment. Once thoroughly our own, the knowledge ceases to give us pleasure. It may be practically useful to us, it may be good for others, or good for usury to obtain more; but, in itself, once let it be thoroughly familiar, and it is dead, the wonder is gone from it, and all the fine colour which it had when first we drew it up out of the infinite sea. And what does it matter how much or how little of it we have laid aside, when our only enjoyment is still in the casting of that deep sea line? What does it matter? Nay, in one respect, it matters much, and not to our advantage. For one effect of knowledge is to deaden the force of the imagination and the original energy of the whole man: under the weight of his knowledge he cannot move so lightly as in the days of his simplicity.¹ The pack-horse is

¹ [Compare Ruskin's projected essay on "The Uses of Ignorance," Vol. IX. p. xxiii., and his letter to C. E. Norton, *ibid.*, pp. xxvii., xxviii.]

furnished for the journey, the war-horse is armed for war; but the freedom of the field and the lightness of the limb are lost for both. Knowledge is, at best, the pilgrim's burden or the soldier's panoply, often a weariness to them both; and the Renaissance knowledge is like the Renaissance armour of plate, binding and cramping the human form; while all good knowledge is like the crusader's chain mail, which throws itself into folds with the body, yet it is rarely so forged as that the clasps and rivets do not gall us. All men feel this, though they do not think of it, nor reason out its consequences. They look back to the days of childhood as of greatest happiness, because those were the days of greatest wonder, greatest simplicity, and most vigorous imagination. And the whole difference between a man of genius and other men, it has been said a thousand times, and most truly, is that the first remains in great part a child,¹ seeing with the large eyes of children, in perpetual wonder, not conscious of much knowledge,—conscious, rather, of infinite ignorance, and yet infinite power; a fountain of eternal admiration, delight, and creative force within him, meeting the ocean of visible and governable things around him.

That is what we have to make men, so far as we may. All are to be men of genius in their degree,—rivulets or rivers, it does not matter, so that the souls be clear and pure; not dead walls encompassing dead heaps of things known and numbered, but running waters in the sweet wilderness of things unnumbered and unknown, conscious only of the living banks, on which they partly refresh and partly reflect the flowers, and so pass on.

§ 29. Let each man answer for himself how far his knowledge has made him this, or how far it is loaded upon him as the pyramid is upon the tomb. Let him consider, also, how much of it has cost him labour and time that

¹ [As, amongst others, by Schopenhauer: "Every child is to a certain extent a genius, and every genius is to a certain extent a child;" and Novalis: "The fresh gaze of a child is richer in significance than the forecasting of the most indubitable seer." Of few men of genius is it more true than of Ruskin that he preserved the freshness of "the eternal child."]

might have been spent in healthy, happy action, beneficial to all mankind; how many living souls may have been left uncomforted and unhelped by him, while his own eyes were failing by the midnight lamp; how many warm sympathies have died within him as he measured lines or counted letters; how many draughts of ocean air, and steps on mountain turf, and openings of the highest heaven he has lost for his knowledge; how much of that knowledge, so dearly bought, is now forgotten or despised, leaving only the capacity of wonder less within him,¹ and, as it happens in a thousand instances, perhaps even also the capacity of devotion. And let him,—if, after thus dealing with his own heart, he can say that his knowledge has indeed been fruitful to him,—yet consider how many there are who have been forced by the inevitable laws of modern education into toil utterly repugnant to their natures, and that in the extreme, until the whole strength of the young soul was sapped away; and then pronounce with fearfulness how far, and in how many senses, it may indeed be true that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.²

§ 30. Now all this possibility of evil, observe, attaches to knowledge pursued for the noblest ends, if it be pursued imprudently. I have assumed, in speaking of its effect both on men generally and on the artist especially, that it was sought in the true love of it, and with all honesty and directness of purpose. But this is granting far too much in its favour. Of knowledge in general, and without qualification, it is said by the Apostle that “it puffeth up;”³ and the father of all modern science, writing directly in its praise, yet asserts this danger even in more absolute terms, calling it a “venomousness” in the very nature of knowledge itself.⁴

¹ [In his copy for revision Ruskin here writes at the side—from Wordsworth’s *Ecclesiastic Sonnets* (pt. iii. 33):—

“I dread the boasted lights
That all too often are but fiery blights.”]

² [1 Corinthians iii. 19.]

³ [1 Corinthians viii. 1.]

⁴ [Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning*, Book i., i. 3: “Knowledge . . . hath in it some nature of venom or malignity.”]

§ 31. There is, indeed, much difference in this respect between the tendencies of different branches of knowledge; it being a sure rule that exactly in proportion as they are inferior, nugatory, or limited in scope, their power of feeding pride is greater. Thus philology, logic, rhetoric, and the other sciences of the schools, being for the most part ridiculous and trifling, have so pestilent an effect upon those who are devoted to them, that their students cannot conceive of any higher sciences than these, but fancy that all education ends in the knowledge of words: but the true and great sciences, more especially natural history, make men gentle and modest in proportion to the largeness of their apprehension, and just perception of the infiniteness of the things they can never know. And this, it seems to me, is the principal lesson we are intended to be taught by the book of Job;¹ for there God has thrown open to us the heart of a man most just and holy, and apparently perfect in all things possible to human nature except humility. For this he is tried: and we are shown that no suffering, no self-examination, however honest, however stern, no searching out of the heart by its own bitterness,² is enough to convince man of his nothingness before God; but that the sight of God's creation will do it. For, when the Deity Himself has willed to end the temptation, and to accomplish in Job that for which it was sent, He does not vouchsafe to reason with him, still less does He overwhelm him with terror, or confound him by laying open before his eyes the book of his iniquities. He opens before him only the arch of the dayspring, and the fountains of the deep; and amidst the covert of the reeds, and on the heaving waves, He bids him watch the kings of the children of pride,—”Behold now Behemoth, which I made with thee.”³ And the work is done.

§ 32. Thus, if, I repeat, there is any one lesson in the

¹ [For other studies made by Ruskin at this time in the Book of Job, see in Vol. XII., *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 79.]

² [Revelation xiv. 10.]

³ [Job xl. 15.]

whole book which stands forth more definitely than another, it is this of the holy and humbling influence of natural science on the human heart. And yet, even here, *it is not the science, but the perception*, to which the good is owing; and the natural sciences may become as harmful as any others, when they lose themselves in classification and catalogue-making.* Still, the principal danger is with the sciences of words and methods; and it was exactly into those sciences that the whole energy of men during the Renaissance period was thrown. They discovered suddenly that the world for ten centuries had been living in an ungrammatical manner, and they made it forthwith the end of human existence to be grammatical. And it mattered thenceforth nothing what was said, or what was done, so only that it was said with scholarship, and done with system. Falsehood in a Ciceronian dialect had no opposers; truth is patois no listeners. A Roman phrase was thought worth any number of Gothic facts. The sciences ceased at once to be anything more than different kinds of grammars,—grammar of language, grammar of logic, grammar of ethics, grammar of art; and the tongue, wit, and invention of the human race were supposed to have found their utmost and most divine mission in syntax and syllogism, perspective and five orders.

Of such knowledge as this, nothing but pride could come; and, therefore, I have called the first mental characteristic of the Renaissance schools the “pride” of science. If they had reached any science worthy the name, they might have loved it; but of the paltry knowledge they possessed they could only be proud. There was not anything in it capable of being loved. Anatomy, indeed, then first made a subject of accurate study, is a true science, but not so attractive as to enlist the affections strongly on its side; and therefore, like its meaner sisters, it became merely

* I had not at this time conceived the possibility of their losing themselves in the contemplation of death instead of life; and becoming the Bigots of Corruption.

I have italicised the pregnant sentence above. [1881.]

a ground of pride; and the one main purpose of the Renaissance artists, in all their work, was to show how much they knew.

§ 33. There were, of course, noble exceptions; but chiefly belonging to the earliest periods of the Renaissance, when its teaching had not yet produced its full effect. Raphael, Leonardo, and Michael Angelo¹ were all trained in the old school; they all had masters who knew the true ends of art, and had reached them; masters nearly as great as they were themselves, but imbued with the old religious and earnest spirit, which their disciples receiving from them, and drinking at the same time deeply from all the fountains of knowledge opened in their day, became the world's wonders. Then the dull wondering world believed that their greatness rose out of their new knowledge, instead of out of that ancient religious root, in which to abide was life, from which to be severed was annihilation. And from that day to this, they have tried to produce Michael Angelos and Leonardos by teaching the barren sciences, and still have mourned and marvelled that no more Michael Angelos came; not perceiving that those great Fathers were only able to receive such nourishment because they were rooted on the rock of all ages, and that our scientific teaching, nowadays, is nothing more nor less than the assiduous watering of trees whose stems are cut through. Nay, I have even granted too much in saying that those great men were able to receive pure nourishment from the sciences; for my own conviction is, and I know it to be shared by most of those who love Raphael truly,—that he painted best when he knew least. Michael Angelo was betrayed, again and again, into such vain and offensive exhibition of his anatomical knowledge as, to this day, renders his higher powers indiscernible by the greater part of men; and Leonardo fretted his life away in engineering, so that there is hardly a picture

¹ [See *The Eagle's Nest*, § 159, where Ruskin “withdraws the statement made in *The Stones of Venice* that anatomical science was helpful to great men, though harmful to mean ones.”]

left to bear his name.¹ But, with respect to all who followed, there can be no question that the science they possessed was utterly harmful; serving merely to draw away the hearts at once from the purposes of art and the power of nature, and to make, out of the canvas and marble, nothing more than materials for the exhibition of petty dexterity and useless knowledge.²

§ 34. It is sometimes amusing to watch the naïve and childish way in which this vanity is shown. For instance, when perspective was first invented, the world thought it a mighty discovery, and the greatest men it had in it were as proud of knowing that retiring lines converge, as if all the wisdom of Solomon had been compressed into a vanishing point.³ And, accordingly, it became nearly impossible for any once to paint a Nativity, but he must turn the stable and manger into a Corinthian arcade, in order to show his knowledge of perspective; and half the best architecture of the time, instead of being adorned with historical sculpture, as of old, was set forth with bas-relief of minor corridors and galleries, thrown into perspective.

Now that perspective can be taught to any school boy in a week,⁴ we can smile at this vanity. But the fact is, that all pride in knowledge is precisely as ridiculous, whatever its kind, or whatever its degree. There is, indeed, nothing of which man has any right to be proud; but the very last

¹ [Compare a similar remark, on Leonardo's dissipation of his energies, in *Queen of the Air*, § 157, and *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. p. 203.)]

² [In his copy for revision Ruskin has written at the side of § 33 "Excellent and exhaustive."]

³ [Vasari's anecdotes of Paolo Uccello (1397–1475) may be instanced: "He employed himself perpetually, and without any intermission whatever, in the consideration of the most difficult questions connected with art, insomuch that he brought the method of preparing the plans and elevation of buildings, by the study of linear perspective, to perfection. . . . And the sculptor Donatello (who was his intimate friend) would say to him, 'Ah, Paolo, with this perspective of thine, thou art leaving the substance for the shadow.' . . . And his wife was wont to relate that Paolo would stand the whole night through beside his writing-table, seeking new terms for the expression of his rules in perspective; and when entreated by herself to take rest and sleep, he would reply, 'Oh, what a delightful thing is this perspective' " (Bohn's edition, 1855, vol. i. pp. 349, 350, 360).]

⁴ [See Ruskin's own *Elements of Perspective Arranged for the Use of Schools* (1859)—a treatise of which he said in the preface that any schoolboy might read it through "in a few days, after he has mastered the first three and the sixth books of Euclid."]

thing of which, with any shadow of reason, he can make his boast is his knowledge, except only that infinitely small portion of it which he has discovered for himself. For what is there to be more proud of in receiving a piece of knowledge from another person, than in receiving a piece of money? Beggars should not be proud, whatever kind of alms they receive. Knowledge is like current coin. A man may have some right to be proud of possessing it, if he has worked for the gold of it, and assayed it, and stamped it, so that it may be received of all men as true; or earned it fairly being already assayed: but if he has done none of these things, but only had it thrown in his face by a passer-by, what cause has he to be proud? And though, in this mendicant fashion, he has heaped together the wealth of Cræsus, would pride any more, for this, become him, as, in some sort, it becomes the man who has laboured for his fortune, however small? So, if a man tells me the sun is larger than the earth, have I any cause for pride in knowing it? or, if any multitude of men tell me any number of things, heaping all their wealth of knowledge upon me, have I any reason to feel proud under the heap? And is not nearly all the knowledge of which we boast in these days cast upon us in this dishonourable way; worked for by other men; proved by them, and then forced upon us, even against our wills, and beaten into us in our youth, before we have the wit even to know if it be good or not?¹ Truly a noble possession to be proud of! Be assured, there is no part of the furniture of a man's mind which he has a right to exult in, but that which he has hewn and fashioned for himself. He who has built himself a hut on a desert heath, and carved his bed, and table, and chair out of the nearest forest, may have some right to take pride in the appliances of his narrow chamber, as assuredly he will have joy in them. But the man who has had a palace built, and adorned, and furnished for him,

¹ [In his copy for revision Ruskin struck out the following words, which appear in all complete editions of the work, but were omitted from the "Travellers' Edition":—

"Mark the distinction between knowledge and thought."

The words, as the MS. shows, were merely a memorandum of the author, and crept into the text by mistake.]

may, indeed, have many advantages above the other, but he has no reason to be proud of his upholsterer's skill; and it is ten to one if he has half the joy in his couch¹ of ivory that the other will have in his pallet of pine.

§ 35. And observe how we feel this, in the kind of respect we pay to such knowledge as we are indeed capable of estimating the value of. When it is our own, and new to us, we cannot judge of it; but let it be another's also, and long familiar to us, and see what value we set on it. Consider how we regard a schoolboy fresh from his term's labour. If he begin to display his newly acquired small knowledge to us, and plume himself thereupon, how soon do we silence him with contempt! But it is not so if the schoolboy begins to feel or see anything. In the strivings of his soul within him he is our equal; in his power of sight and thought he stands separate from us, and may be a greater than we. We are ready to hear him forthwith. "You saw that? you felt that? No matter for your being a child; let us hear."

§ 36. Consider that every generation of men stands in this relation to its successors. It is as the schoolboy: the knowledge of which it is proudest will be as the alphabet to those who follow. It had better make no noise about its knowledge; a time will come when its utmost, in that kind, will be food for scorn. Poor fools! was that all they knew? and behold how proud they were! But what we see and feel will never be mocked at. All men will be thankful to us for telling them that. "Indeed!" they will say, "they felt that in their day? saw that? Would God we may be like them, before we go to the home where sight and thought are not!"

This unhappy and childish pride in knowledge, then, was the first constituent element of the Renaissance mind, and it was enough, of itself, to have cast it into swift decline: but it was aided by another form of pride, which was above called the Pride of State; and which we have next to examine.

§ 37. II. PRIDE OF STATE. It was noticed, in the second volume of *Modern Painters*, p. 187, that the principle which

¹ ["Couches" in all previous editions, but Ruskin altered to "couch" in his copy for revision.]

had most power in retarding the modern school of portraiture was its constant expression of individual vanity and pride. And the reader cannot fail to have observed that one of the readiest and commonest ways in which the painter ministers to this vanity is by introducing the pedestal or shaft of a column, or some fragment, however simple, of Renaissance architecture, in the background of the portrait.¹ And this is not merely because such architecture is bolder or grander than, in general, that of the apartments of a private house. No other architecture would produce the same effect in the same degree. The richest Gothic, the most massive Norman, would not produce the same sense of exaltation as the simple and meagre lines of the Renaissance.

§ 38. And if we think over this matter a little, we shall soon feel that in those meagre lines there is indeed an expression of aristocracy in its worst characters; coldness, perfectness of training, incapability of emotion, want of sympathy with the weakness of lower men, blank, hopeless, haughty self-sufficiency. All these characters are written in the Renaissance architecture as plainly as if they were graven on it in words. For, observe, all other architectures have something in them that common men can enjoy; some concession to the simplicities of humanity, some daily bread for the hunger of the multitude. Quaint fancy, rich ornament, bright colour, something that shows a sympathy with men of ordinary minds and hearts; and this wrought out, at least in the Gothic, with a rudeness showing that the workman did not mind exposing his own ignorance if he could please others. But the Renaissance is exactly the contrary of all this. It is rigid, cold, inhuman; incapable of glowing, of stooping, of conceding for an instant. Whatever excellence it has is refined, high-trained, and deeply erudite; a kind which the architect well knows no common mind can taste. He proclaims it to us aloud. "You cannot feel my work unless you study Vitruvius."² I will give you no gay colour, no

¹ [See, for instance, Moretto's portrait of an Italian Nobleman, No. 1022, in the National Gallery.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 85 *n.*]

pleasant sculpture, nothing to make you happy; for I am a learned man. All the pleasure you can have in anything I do is in its proud breeding, its rigid formalism, its perfect finish, its cold tranquillity. I do not work for the vulgar, only for the men of the academy and the court.”

§ 39. And the instinct of the world felt this in a moment. In the new precision and accurate law of the classical forms, they perceived something peculiarly adapted to the setting forth of state in an appalling manner; princes delighted in it, and courtiers. The Gothic was good for God’s worship, but this was good for man’s worship. The Gothic had fellowship with all hearts, and was universal, like nature: it could frame a temple for the prayer of nations, or shrink into the poor man’s winding stair. But here was an architecture that would not shrink, that had in it no submission, no mercy. The proud princes and lords rejoiced in it. It was full of insult to the poor in its every line. It would not be built of the materials at the poor man’s hand; it would not roof itself with thatch or shingle and black oak beams: it would not wall itself with rough stone or brick; it would not pierce itself with small windows where they were needed; it would not niche itself, wherever there was room for it, in the street corners. It would be of hewn stone; it would have its windows and its doors, and its stairs and its pillars, in lordly order and of stately size; it would have its wings and its corridors, and its halls and its gardens, as if all the earth were its own. And the rugged cottages of the mountaineers, and the fantastic streets of the labouring burgher, were to be thrust out of its way, as of a lower species.

§ 40. It is to be noted, also, that it ministered as much to luxury as to pride. Not to luxury of the eye; that is a holy luxury: Nature ministers to that in her painted meadows, and sculptured forests, and gilded heavens; the Gothic builder ministered to that in his twisted traceries, and deep-wrought foliage, and burning casements. The dead Renaissance drew back into its earthliness, out of all that was warm and heavenly; back into its pride, out of

all that was simple and kind; back into its stateliness, out of all that was impulsive, reverent, and gay. But it understood the luxury of the body; the terraced and scented and grottoed garden, with its trickling fountains and slumbrous shades; the spacious hall and lengthened corridor for the summer heat; the well-closed windows, and perfect fittings and furniture, for defence against the cold: and the soft picture, and frescoed wall and roof, covered with the last lasciviousness of Paganism;—this it understood and possessed to the full, and still possesses. This is the kind of domestic architecture on which we pride ourselves, even to this day, as an infinite and honourable advance from the rough habits of our ancestors; from the time when the king's floor was strewn with rushes, and the tapestries swayed before the searching wind in the baron's hall.

§ 41. Let us hear two stories of those rougher times.

At the debate of King Edwin with his courtiers and priests, whether he ought to receive the Gospel preached to him by Paulinus,¹ one of his nobles spoke as follows:

“The present life, O king! weighed with the time that is unknown, seems to me like this: When you are sitting at a feast with your earls and thanes in winter time, and the fire is lighted, and the hall is warmed, and it rains and snows, and the storm is loud without, there comes a sparrow, and flies through the house. It comes in at one door, and goes out at the other. While it is within, it is not touched by the winter's storm; but it is but for the twinkling of an eye, for from winter it comes and to winter it returns. So also this life of man endureth for a little space; what goes before, or what follows after, we know not. Wherefore, if this new lore bring anything more certain, it is fit that we should follow it.”*

* Churton's *Early English Church*. London, 1840.

¹ [Paulinus was a missionary sent to England by Pope Gregory the Great in 601. He did much for Christianity in Northumbria, and became Bishop of York in 625, and of Rochester in 633. He died in 644. King Edwin, or Eadwine, was King of Northumbria from 617 till his death (aged 48) in the battle of Heathfield in 633.]

That could not have happened in a Renaissance building. The bird could not have dashed in from the cold into the heat, and from the heat back again into the storm. It would have had to come up a flight of marble stairs, and through seven or eight antechambers; and so, if it had ever made its way into the presence-chamber, out again through loggias and corridors innumerable. And the truth which the bird brought with it, fresh from heaven, has, in like manner, to make its way to the Renaissance mind through many antechambers, hardly, and as a despised thing, if at all.

§ 42. Hear another story of those early times.

The king of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, at the siege of Asshur, or Arsur, gave audience to some emirs from Samaria and Naplous.¹ They found him seated on the ground on a sack of straw. They expressing surprise, Godfrey answered them: "May not the earth, out of which we came, and which is to be our dwelling after death, serve us for a seat during life?"²

It is long since such a throne has been set in the reception-chambers of Christendom, or such an answer heard from the lips of a king.

Thus the Renaissance spirit became base both in its abstinence and its indulgence. Base in its abstinence; curtailing the bright and playful wealth of form and thought which filled the architecture of the earlier ages with sources

¹ [Naplouse, the ancient Sichein, re-named "Flavia Neapolis" by Vespasian.]

² [Another story of Godfrey de Bouillon delighted Ruskin, as he relates in a letter to his father:—

"VENICE, *November 17, 1851.*— . . . Effie is reading to me the history of the Crusades, in the evenings. There are many valuable things in it for me; but I was especially delighted with the report given by the servants of Godfrey of Bouillon, when there was scrutiny made into every man's private character in order to choose a King of Jerusalem. Godfrey's servants said he had no fault but one—that whenever he got into a church he would stand looking for hours together, *till they were all tired*, and that he would often, on such occasions, keep the dinner waiting till the dishes were quite spoiled, and that it was a shame."

"We have got a French history—but with a nasty sneering Gibbonish way with it. There is unfortunately enough in the Crusades to provoke into such a temper."

The book was *Histoire des Croisades*, par M. Michaud, 6 vols.; 1838. The story in the text will be found in vol. ii. p. 5 of that work; the story in the letter, in vol. i. p. 458.]

of delight for their hardy spirit, pure, simple, and yet rich as the fretwork of flowers and moss watered by some strong and stainless mountain stream: and base in its indulgence; as it granted to the body what it withdrew from the heart, and exhausted, in smoothing the pavement for the painless feet, and softening the pillow for the sluggish brain, the powers of art which once had hewn rough ladders into the clouds of heaven, and set up the stones by which they rested for houses of God.

§ 43. And just in proportion as this courtly sensuality lowered the real nobleness of the men whom birth or fortune raised above their fellows, rose their estimate of their own dignity, together with the insolence and unkindness of its expression, and the grossness of the flattery with which it was fed. Pride is indeed the first and last among the sins of men, and there is no age of the world in which it has not been unveiled in the power and prosperity of the wicked. But there was never in any form of slavery, or of feudal supremacy, a forgetfulness so total of the common majesty of the human soul, and of the brotherly kindness due from man to man, as in the aristocratic follies of the Renaissance. I have not space to follow out this most interesting and extensive subject; but here is a single and very curious example of the kind of flattery with which architectural teaching was mingled, when addressed to the men of rank of the day.

§ 44. In St. Mark's library there is a very curious Latin manuscript of the twenty-five books of Averulinus, a Florentine architect, upon the principles of his art.¹ The book was written in or about 1460, and translated into Latin, and richly illuminated for Corvinus, King of Hungary, about 1483. I extract from the third book the following passage on the nature of stones:—"As there are three genera of men,—that is to say, nobles, men of the middle classes, and rustics,—so it appears that there are of stones. For the marbles and common stones of which we have

¹ [Referred to also in Vol. X. ch. iv. § 33 *n.*]

spoken above set forth the rustics. The porphyries and alabasters, and the other harder stones of mingled quality, represent the middle classes, if we are to deal in comparisons; and by means of these the ancients adorned their temples with incrustations and ornaments in a magnificent manner. And after these come the chalcedonies and sardonyxes, etc., which are so transparent that no spot can exist in them without its being seen. Thus let men endowed with nobility lead a life in which no spot can be found.”*

Canute or Cœur de Lion (I name not Godfrey or St. Louis)¹ would have dashed their sceptres against the lips of a man who should have dared to utter to them flattery such as this. But in the fifteenth century it was rendered and accepted as a matter of course, and the tempers which delighted in it necessarily took pleasure also in every vulgar or false means of marking worldly superiority. And among such false means, largeness of scale in the dwelling-house was of course one of the easiest and most direct. All persons, however senseless or dull, could appreciate size; it required some exertion of intelligence to enter into the spirit of the quaint carving of the Gothic times, but none to perceive that one heap of stones was higher than another.†

* The advice is good but illogical; for the spots of marbles are, when frequent enough, thought decorative. How often has it happened that men of rank have thought sin also decorative, if only bold and frequent!²

† Observe, however, that the magnitude spoken of here and in the following passages, is the finished and polished magnitude sought for the sake of pomp: not the rough magnitude sought for the sake of sublimity; respecting which see the *Seven Lamps*, chap. iii. §§ 5,6, and 8 [Vol. VIII. pp. 104–108].

¹ [For another reference to Cœur de Lion, see *Queen of the Air*, § 105. To St. Louis—“the holiest of monarchs” (*Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xviii. § 39)—the references are numerous: see General Index.]

² [Ed. 1 is different here, and reads:—
“the chalcedonies and sardonyxes, etc., which are so transparent that there can be no spot in them. Thus men endowed . . .”
And the footnote reads:—
“‘Quibus nulla macula inest quæ non cernatur. Ita viri nobilitate præditi eam vitam peragant cui nulla nota possit inviri [inveniri].’ The first sentence is literally, ‘in which there is no spot that may not be seen.’ But I imagine the writer meant it as I have put it in the text, else his comparison does not hold.”
In revising his translation, Ruskin struck out of course the original footnote, substituting in ed. 2 the one which stands above.]

And therefore, while in the execution and manner of work the Renaissance builders zealously vindicated for themselves the attribute of cold and superior learning, they appealed for such approbation as they needed from the multitude to the lowest possible standard of taste: and while the older workman lavished his labour on the minute niche and narrow casement, on the doorways no higher than the head, and the contracted angles of the turreted chamber, the Renaissance builder spared such cost and toil in his detail, that he might spend it in bringing larger stones from a distance; and restricted himself to rustication and five orders, that he might load the ground with colossal piers, and raise an ambitious barrenness of architecture, as inanimate as it was gigantic, above the feasts and follies of the powerful or the rich. The Titanic insanity extended itself also into ecclesiastical design: the principal church in Italy was built with little idea of any other admirableness than that which was to result from its being huge; and the religious impressions of those who enter it are to this day supposed to be dependent, in a great degree, on their discovering that they cannot span the thumbs of the statues which sustain the vessels for holy water.

§ 45. It is easy to understand how an architecture which thus appealed not less to the lowest instincts of dulness than to the subtlest pride of learning, rapidly found acceptance with a large body of mankind; and how the spacious pomp of the new manner of design came to be eagerly adopted by the luxurious aristocracies, not only of Venice, but of the other countries of Christendom, now gradually gathering themselves into that insolent and festering isolation, against which the cry of the poor sounded hourly in more ominous unison, bursting at last into thunder (mark where,—first among the planted walks and plashing fountains of the palace wherein the Renaissance luxury attained its utmost height in Europe, Versailles;¹) that cry, mingling so much

¹ [See Carlyle's *French Revolution*, Book vii. ch. vi. ("To Versailles"); and compare in Vol. XII. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 75.]

piteousness with its wrath and indignation, "Our soul is filled with the scornful reproof of the wealthy, and with the despitefulness of the proud."¹

§ 46. But of all the evidence bearing upon this subject presented by the various art of the fifteenth century, none is so interesting or so conclusive as that deduced from its tombs.² For, exactly in proportion as the pride of life became more insolent, the fear of death became more servile; and the difference in the manner in which the men of

¹ [See above, p. 43 *n.* Here ch. ii. in vol. ii. of the "Travellers' Edition" ends. §§ 46–85 form Chapter iii., headed "The Street of the Tombs," and with the following note appended:—

"A distinct piece, and the most important piece of the old chapter on Roman Renaissance, with the main subject of which it had nothing to do. The substance of this present chapter will be gradually illustrated by the publications of the Arundel Society on the Tombs of Italy."

The Society began this work in 1867 by commissioning Professor Gnauth of Stuttgart to make drawings of various Italian tombs. These were published in 1872–1876, viz. (1 and 2) the Monuments of the Doge Morosini and the Doge Andrea Vendramin in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (these are described below, §§ 65, 77); (3) Can Grande (§ 53); (4) the Castelbarco Tomb (Vol. IX. p. 176); (5) monument in the church of S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona; (6 and 7) the Monuments of the Pellegrini and Cavalli families, Sta. Anastasia, Verona (for the latter Ruskin wrote a monograph, reprinted in a later volume of this edition). Subsequently the Society issued records of Twenty-six Monuments of the Mediæval and Renaissance periods illustrated by forty-nine photographs, forming a work entitled *Sepulchral Monuments in Italy*, with descriptive notices by S. Thompson.]

² [Ruskin had originally intended to treat this part of his subject differently and more fully. see above, Introduction, p. xv., and for the MS. draft of the introductory remarks upon the tombs of Venice, below, Appendix 11, § 1, p. 289. The following conspectus of the contents of these sections, "The Street of the Tombs," may be convenient:—(1) The early Christian type of Sarcophagus, § 48—*examples*: tombs of the Doges Jacopo and Lorenzo Tiepolo, 1251–1288 (outside SS. Giovanni e Paolo, better known in Venice as San Zanipolo, §§ 49–51; tomb of Doge Marino Morosini, 1232 (St Mark's porch), § 83.

(2) The perfect Gothic type with recumbent figure, § 52—*examples*: monument of St. Simeon, 1327 (S. Simeone Grande), § 52; tomb of a nameless knight, late thirteenth century (Frari), § 57; Duccio degli Alberti, first tomb in Venice with virtues, (Frari), §§ 58, 66; Doge Francesco Dandolo, died 1339 (S. Maria della Salute), §§ 58–60; Doge Andrea Dandolo, first tomb with canopy and curtains, 1354 (St. Mark's), § 61; Doge Giovanni Dolfin, 1360 (Zanipolo), §§ 62, 63; Simon Dandolo, 1360 (Frari), § 64; Doge Marco Cornaro, 1367 (Zanipolo), § 65; Doge Michele Morosini, transitional in style, 1382 (Zanipolo), §§ 65–68; Jacopo Cavalli, 1384 (Zanipolo), § 69; Doge Michele Steno, 1414 (Zanipolo), § 70; Doge Tomaso Mocenigo, 1423 (Zanipolo), § 70—the last of the Gothic period.

(3) Renaissance types and examples:—Doge Francesco Foscari, 1457 (Frari), §§ 71–75; Doge Andrea Vendramin, 1480 (Zanipolo), § 77; Doges Pietro and Giovanni Mocenigo, 1476, 1485 (Zanipolo), §§ 78, 79; Pietro Bernardino, 1568 (Frari), § 78; Bishop James Pesaro, 1547 (Frari), § 80; Doge John Pesaro, 1569 (Frari), § 82; Doge Bertuccio Valier, 1658, Doge Silvester Falier and his wife, 1708 (Zanipolo), § 84.

The tombs of the Scaligers at Verona are described as an interlude—Can Grande, 1335, § 53; Mastino II., died 1351, § 55; Can Signorio della Scala, died 1375, § 56.]

early and later days adorned the sepulchre, confesses a still greater difference in their manner of regarding death. To those he came as the comforter and the friend, rest in his right hand, hope in his left; to these as the humiliator, the spoiler, and the avenger. And, therefore, we find the early tombs at once simple and lovely in adornment, severe and solemn in their expression; confessing the power, and accepting the peace, of death, openly and joyfully; and in all their symbols marking that the hope of resurrection lay only in Christ's righteousness; signed always with this simple utterance of the dead, "I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest; for it is thou, Lord, only that makest me dwell in safety."¹ But the tombs of the later ages are a ghastly struggle of mean pride and miserable terror: the one mustering the statues of the Virtues about the tomb, disguising the sarcophagus with delicate sculpture, polishing the false periods of the elaborate epitaph, and filling with strained animation the features of the portrait statue; and the other summoning underneath, out of the niche or from behind the curtain, the frowning skull, or scythed skeleton, or some other more terrible image of the enemy in whose defiance the whiteness of the sepulcher had been set to shine above the whiteness of the ashes.

§ 47. This change in the feeling with which sepulchral monuments were designed, from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries, has been common to the whole of Europe. But, as Venice is in other respects the centre of the Renaissance system,² so also she exhibits this change in the manner of the sepulchral monument under circumstances peculiarly calculated to teach us its true character. For the severe guard which, in earlier times, she put upon every tendency to personal pomp and ambition, renders the tombs of her ancient monarchs as remarkable for modesty and simplicity as for their religious feeling; so that, in this respect, they are separated by a considerable interval from the more costly monuments erected at the same periods to the kings

¹ [Psalms iv. 8.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 47.]

or nobles of other European states. In later times, on the other hand, as the piety of the Venetians diminished, their pride overleaped all limits, and the tombs which, in recent epochs, were erected for men who had lived only to impoverish or disgrace the state, were as much more magnificent than those contemporaneously erected for the nobles of Europe, as the monuments of the great Doges had been humbler. When, in addition to this, we reflect that the art of sculpture, considered as expressive of emotion, was at a low ebb in Venice in the twelfth century, and that in the seventeenth she took the lead in Italy in luxurious work, we shall at once see that the chain of examples through which the change of feeling is expressed, must present more remarkable extremes here than it can in any other city; extremes so startling that their impressiveness cannot be diminished, while their intelligibility is greatly increased, by the large number of intermediate types which have fortunately been preserved.

It would, however, too much weary the general reader if, without illustrations, I were to endeavour to lead him step by step through the aisles of St. John and Paul;¹ and I shall therefore confine myself to a slight notice of those features in sepulchral architecture generally which are especially illustrative of the matter at present in hand, and point out the order in which, if possible, the traveller should visit the tombs in Venice, so as to be most deeply impressed with the true character of the lessons they convey.

§ 48. I have not such an acquaintance with the modes of entombment or memorial in the earliest ages of Christianity as would justify me in making any general statement respecting them: but it seems to me that the perfect

¹ [For the foundation of this church, see Vol. IX. p. 43. It maybe called, so far as its monuments go, the Westminster Abbey of Venice. "The Mendicant orders possessing the right to bury the dead within the precincts of their buildings were able to grant permission to wealthy and influential families, their supporters, to erect family chapels and sepulchral monuments in their churches. In this Dominican temple lie buried in monumental pomp doges and statesmen, great captains and admirals, side by side with famous painters" (T. Okey's *Venice*, 1903, p. 277). The Frari is similarly the resting-place of illustrious Venetians, the monuments in this case being chiefly to soldiers, admirals, statesmen, and artists.]

type of a Christian tomb was not developed until towards the thirteenth century, sooner or later according to the civilization of each country; that perfect type consisting in the raised and perfectly visible sarcophagus of stone, bearing upon it a recumbent figure, and the whole covered by a canopy. Before that type was entirely developed, and in the more ordinary tombs contemporary with it, we find the simple sarcophagus, often with only a rough block of stone for its lid, sometimes with a low-gabled lid like a cottage roof, derived from Egyptian forms, and bearing, either on the sides or the lid, at least a sculpture of the cross, and sometimes the name of the deceased, and date of erection of the tomb. In more elaborate examples rude¹ figure-sculpture is gradually introduced; and in the perfect period the sarcophagus, even when it does not bear any recumbent figure, has generally a rich sculpture on its sides representing an angel presenting the dead, in person and dress as he lived, to Christ or to the Madonna, with lateral figures, sometimes of saints, sometimes—as in the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy at Dijon—of mourners; but in Venice almost always representing the Annunciation, the angel being placed at one angle of the sarcophagus and the Madonna at the other. The canopy, in a very simple four-square form, or as an arch over a recess, is added above the sarcophagus, long before the life-size recumbent figure appears resting upon it. By the time that the sculptors had acquired skill enough to give much expression to this figure, the canopy attains an exquisite symmetry and richness; and, in the most elaborate examples, is surmounted by a statue, generally small, representing the dead person in the full strength and pride of life, while the recumbent figure shows him as he lay in death. And, at this point, the perfect type of the Gothic tomb is reached.²

¹ [Ruskin wrote “rude” and there can be little doubt that the word was intended: see § 53 below. All previous editions, however, read “rich.”]

² [In the first draft of this chapter Ruskin here continued his general sketch of the rise and fall of the art of sepulchral sculpture, without diverging to give examples of “the perfect type”: see below, Appendix 11, § 2, pp. 289–290.]

§ 49. Of the simple sarcophagus tomb there are many exquisite examples both at Venice and Verona; the most interesting in Venice are those which are set in the recesses of the rude brick front of the Church of St. John and Paul, ornamented only, for the most part, with two crosses set in circles, and the legend with the name of the dead and an "Orate pro anima" in another circle in the centre. And in this we may note one great proof of superiority in Italian over English tombs: the latter being often enriched with quatrefoils, small shafts, and arches, and other ordinary architectural decorations, which destroy their seriousness and solemnity, render them little more than ornamental, and have no religious meaning whatever; while the Italian sarcophagi are kept massive, smooth, and gloomy,—heavy-lidded dungeons of stone, like rock tombs,—but bearing on their surface, sculptured with tender and narrow lines, the emblem of the cross, not presumptuously nor proudly, but dimly graven upon their granite, like the hope which the human heart holds, but hardly perceives, in its heaviness.

§ 50. Among the tombs in front of the Church of St. John and Paul there is one which is peculiarly illustrative of the simplicity of these earlier ages. It is on the left of the entrance, a massy sarcophagus with low horns as of an altar, placed in a rude recess of the outside wall, shattered and worn, and here and there entangled among wild grass and weeds. Yet it is the tomb of two Doges, Jacopo and Lorenzo Tiepolo, by one of whom nearly the whole ground was given for the erection of the noble church in front of which his unprotected tomb is wasting away. The sarcophagus bears an inscription in the centre, describing the acts of the Doges, of which the letters show that it was added a considerable period after the erection of the tomb: the original legend is still left in other letters on its base, to this effect,

"Lord James, died 1251. Lord Laurence, died 1288."

At the two corners of the sarcophagus are two angels

bearing censers; and on its lid two birds, with crosses like crests upon their heads.¹ For the sake of the traveller in Venice the reader will, I think, pardon me the momentary irrelevancy of telling the meaning of these symbols.

§ 51. The foundation of the Church of St. John and Paul was laid by the Dominicans about 1234, under the immediate protection of the Senate and the Doge Giacomo Tiepolo, accorded to them in consequence of a miraculous vision appearing to the Doge; of which the following account is given in popular tradition:

“In the year 1226, the Doge Giacomo Tiepolo dreamed a dream; and in his dream he saw the little oratory of the Dominicans, and, behold, the ground all around it (now occupied by the church) was covered with roses of the colour of vermilion, and the air was filled with their fragrance. And in the midst of the roses, there were seen flying to and fro a crowd of white doves, with golden crosses upon their heads. And while the Doge looked, and wondered, behold, two angels descended from heaven with golden censers, and passing through the oratory, and forth among the flowers, they filled the place with the smoke of their incense. Then the Doge heard suddenly a clear and loud voice which proclaimed, ‘This is the place that I have chosen for my preachers;’ and having heard it, straightway he awoke, and went to the Senate, and declared to them the vision. Then the Senate decreed that forty paces of ground should be given to enlarge the monastery; and the Doge Tiepolo himself made a still larger grant afterwards.”

There is nothing miraculous in the occurrence of such a dream as this to the devout Doge; and the fact, of which there is no doubt, that the greater part of the land on which the church stands was given by him, is partly a confirmation of the story. But whether the sculptures on the tomb were records of the vision, or the vision a monkish invention from the sculptures on the tomb, the reader will not, I believe,

¹ [This monument is engraved, and again described, in *Aratra Pentelici*, §§ 79, 80, where also the inscription is transcribed in full.]

look upon its doves and crosses, or rudely carved angels, any more with disdain; knowing how, in one way or another, they were connected with a point of deep religious belief.

§ 52. Towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, in Venice, the recumbent figure begins to appear on the sarcophagus, the first dated example being also one of the most beautiful; the statue of the prophet Simeon, sculptured upon the tomb which was to receive his relics in the church dedicated to him under the name of San Simeone Grande.¹ So soon as the figure appears, the sarcophagus becomes much more richly sculptured, but always with definite religious purpose. It is usually divided into two panels, which are filled with small bas-reliefs of the acts or martyrdom of the patron saints of the deceased: between them, in the centre, Christ, or the Virgin and Child, are richly enthroned, under a curtained canopy; and the two figures representing the Annunciation are almost always at the angles; the promise of the Birth of Christ being taken as at once the ground and the type of the promise of eternal life to all men.

§ 53. These figures are always in Venice most rudely chiselled; the progress of figure-sculpture being there comparatively tardy. At Verona, where the great Pisan school had strong influence, the monumental sculpture is immeasurably finer; and so early as about the year 1335,* the consummate form of the Gothic tomb occurs in the monument of Can Grande della Scala at Verona.² It is set over the portal of the chapel anciently belonging to the

* Can Grande died in 1329: we can hardly allow more than five years for the erection of his tomb.

¹ [See in the preceding volume, ch. viii. § 38; and below, Venetian Index, p. 433. The date of the statue, by Marco Romano, is 1327.]

² [The tomb, executed by Bonino da Campiglione, stands over the portal of Santa Maria Antica, the parish church and burying-place of the Scaligers before they rose to power. The equestrian statue which surmounts the tomb, as described in the text, is shown in Plate A. For notices of other sketches by Ruskin of various details from this and other tombs of the Scaligers, see, in a later volume of this edition, the catalogue of drawings illustrative of the lecture, *Verona and its Rivers*. Among them is one of the sculpture of Can Grande at the siege of Vicenza. For Ruskin's summary of the career of Francesco (nicknamed Can Grande) della Scala, see that lecture, § 22.]

family. The sarcophagus is sculptured with shallow basreliefs, representing (which is rare in the tombs with which I am acquainted in Italy, unless they are those of saints) the principal achievements of the warrior's life, especially the siege of Vicenza and battle of Placenza; these sculptures, however, form little more than a chased and roughened groundwork for the fully relieved statues representing the Annunciation, projecting boldly from the front of the sarcophagus. Above, the Lord of Verona is laid in his long cophagus. Above, the Lord of Verona is laid in his long robe of civil dignity, wearing the simple bonnet, consisting merely of a fillet bound round the brow, knotted and falling on the shoulder. He is laid as asleep; his arms crossed upon his body, and his sword by his side. Above him, a bold arched canopy is sustained by two projecting shafts. and on the pinnacle of its roof is the statue of the knight on his war-horse; his helmet, dragon-winged and crested with the dog's head, tossed back behind his shoulders, and the broad and blazoned drapery floating back from his horse's breast,—so truly drawn by the old workman from the life, that it seems to wave in the wind, and the knight's spear to shake, and his marble horse to be evermore quickening its pace, and starting into heavier and hastier charge, as the silver clouds float past behind it in the sky.¹

§ 54. Now observe, in this tomb, as much concession is made to the pride of man as may ever consist with honour, discretion, or dignity. I do not enter into any question respecting the character of Can Grande, though there can be little doubt that he was one of the best among the nobles of his time; but that is not to our purpose. It is not the question whether his wars were just, or his greatness honourably achieved; but whether, supposing them to have been so, these facts are well and gracefully told upon his tomb.

¹ [This passage stood first in the MS. as follows:—

“; his helmet, dragon-winged and with its crest of the dog's head, thrown back from his shoulders, and the broad drapery floating back from his horse's breast,—and seeming to wave in the wind and his spear to shake, and the marble charger to be evermore quickening its pace, and starting into heavier and hastier charge, as the silver clouds float past in the space of the sky.”]



J. Ruskin.

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Equestrian Statue on the Tomb
of Can Grande della Scala, Verona.

And I believe there can be no hesitation in the admission of its perfect feeling and truth. Though beautiful, the tomb is so little conspicuous or intrusive, that it serves only to decorate the portal of the little chapel, and is hardly regarded by the traveller as he enters. When it is examined, the history of the acts of the dead is found subdued into dim and minute ornament upon his coffin; and the principal aim of the monument is to direct the thoughts to his image as he lies in death, and to the expression of his hope of resurrection; while, seen as by the memory, far away, diminished in the brightness of the sky, there is set the likeness of his armed youth, stately, as it stood of old in the front of battle, and meet to be thus recorded for us, that we may now be able to remember the dignity of the frame, of which those who once looked upon it hardly remembered that it was dust.¹

§ 55. This, I repeat, is as much as may ever be granted, but this ought always to be granted, to the honour and the affection of men. The tomb which stands beside that of Can Grande, nearest it in the little field of sleep, already shows the traces of erring ambition. It is the tomb of Mastino the Second,² in whose reign began the decline of his family. It is altogether exquisite as a work of art; and the evidence of a less wise or noble feeling in its design is found only in this, that the image of a virtue, Fortitude, as belonging to the dead, is placed on the extremity of the sarcophagus, opposite to the Crucifixion. But for this slight circumstance, of which the significance will only be appreciated as we examine the series of later monuments, the composition of this monument of Can Mastino would have been as perfect as its decoration is refined. It consists, like that of Can Grande, of the raised sarcophagus, bearing the recumbent statue, protected by a noble four-square canopy, sculptured with ancient Scripture history. On one side of

¹ [See Psalms ciii. 14.]

² [Mastino the Second, after losing several of his most important possessions, died in 1351. His tomb was executed by Perino, a Milanese sculptor, in 1380.]

the sarcophagus is Christ enthroned, with Can Mastino kneeling before Him; on the other, Christ is represented in the mystical form, half-rising from the tomb, meant, I believe, to be at once typical of His passion and resurrection. The lateral panels are occupied by statues of saints. At one extremity of the sarcophagus is the Crucifixion; at the other, a noble statue of Fortitude, with a lion's skin thrown over her shoulders, its head forming a shield upon her breast, her flowing hair bound with a narrow fillet, and a three-edged sword in her gauntleted right hand, drawn back sternly behind her thigh, while, in her left, she bears high the shield of the Scalas.

§ 56. Close to this monument is another, the stateliest and most sumptuous of the three; it first arrests the eye of the stranger, and long detains it,—a many pinnacled pile, surrounded by niches with statues of the warrior saints.

It is beautiful, for it still belongs to the noble time, the latter part of the fourteenth century; but its work is coarser than that of the other, and its pride may well prepare us to learn that it was built for himself, in his own lifetime, by the man whose statue crowns it, Can Signorio della Scala.¹ Now observe, for this is infinitely significant. Can Mastino II. was feeble and wicked, and began the ruin of his house; his sarcophagus is the first which bears upon it the image of a Virtue, but he lays claim only to Fortitude. Can Signorio was twice a fratricide, the last time when he lay upon his death-bed: *his* tomb bears upon its gables the images of six Virtues,—Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, and (I believe) Justice and Fortitude.

§ 57. Let us now return to Venice, where, in the second chapel counting from right to left, at the east end of the Church of the Frari, there is a very early fourteenth, or perhaps late thirteenth, century tomb, another exquisite example

¹ [For Ruskin's summary of Can Signorio's career and account of his last illness, see *Verona and its Rivers*, §§ 19–21. The architect and sculptor of his tomb, shown in Plate B, was Bonino da Campiglione. Other drawings of portions of the tomb are given in the later volume of this edition containing the lecture on Verona. The drawing for Plate B was reproduced in *Studies in Both Arts*, 1895, where § 56 (with the first few words slightly altered) is reprinted.]



J. B. B. B.

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The Tomb of Can Signorio
della Scala, Verona.

of the perfect Gothic form. It is a knight's; but there is no inscription upon it, and his name is unknown.¹ It consists of a sarcophagus, supported on bold brackets against the chapel wall, bearing the recumbent figure, protected by a simple canopy in the form of a pointed arch, pinnacled by the knight's crest; beneath which the shadowy space is painted dark blue, and strewn with stars. The statue itself is rudely carved; but its lines, as seen from the intended distance, are both tender and masterly. The knight is laid in his mail, only the hands and face being bare. The hauberk and helmet are of chain-mail, the armour for the limbs of jointed steel; a tunic, fitting close to the breast, and marking the noble swell of it by two narrow embroidered lines, is worn over the mail; his dagger is at his right side; his long cross-belted sword, not seen by the spectator from below, at his left. His feet rest on a hound (the hound being his crest), which looks up towards its master. In general, in tombs of this kind, the face of the statue is slightly turned towards the spectator; in this monument, on the contrary, it is turned away from him, towards the depth of the arch: for there, just above the warrior's breast, is carved a small image of St. Joseph bearing the infant Christ, who looks down upon the resting figure; and to this image its countenance is turned. The appearance of the entire tomb is as if the warrior had seen the vision of Christ in his dying moments, and had fallen back peacefully fully upon his pillow, with his eyes still turned to it, and his hands clasped in prayer.

§ 58. On the opposite side of this chapel is another very lovely tomb, to Duccio degli Alberti, a Florentine ambassador at Venice; noticeable chiefly as being the first in Venice on which any images of the Virtues appear. We shall return to it presently,² but some account must first be given of the more important among the other tombs in Venice belonging to the perfect period. Of these, by far the most interesting, though

¹ [This is the tomb of which a more detailed description is given in Appendix 11, § 4, p. 292, where it is called (on the authority of Selvatico) that of Arnolfo Tentonino.]

² [See below, § 66.]

not the most elaborate, is that of the great Doge Francesco Dandolo, whose ashes, it might have been thought, were honourable enough to have been permitted to rest undisturbed in the chapter-house of the Frari, where they were first laid.¹ But, as if there were not room enough, nor waste houses enough, in the desolate city to receive a few convent papers, the monks, wanting an "archivio," have separated the tomb into three pieces: the canopy, a simple arch sustained on brackets, still remains on the blank walls of the desecrated chamber; the sarcophagus has been transported to a kind of museum of antiquities, established in what was once the cloister of Santa Maria della Salute; and the painting which filled the lunette behind it is hung far out of sight, at one end of the sacristy of the same church. The sarcophagus is completely charged with bas-reliefs; at its two extremities are the types of St. Mark and St. John; in front, a noble sculpture of the death of the Virgin; at the angles, angels holding vases. The whole space is occupied by the sculpture; there are no spiral shafts or panelled divisions; only a basic plinth below, and crowning plinth above, the sculpture being raised from a deep concave field between the two, but, in order to give piquancy and picturesqueness to the mass of figures, two small trees are introduced at the head and foot of the Madonna's couch, an oak and a stone pine.

§ 59. It was said above,* in speaking of the frequent disputes of the Venetians with the Pontifical power, which in their early days they had so strenuously supported, that "the humiliation of Francesco Dandolo blotted out the shame of Barbarossa." It is indeed well that the two events should be remembered together. By the help of the Venetians, Alexander III. was enabled, in the twelfth century, to put his foot upon the neck of the emperor Barbarossa, quoting

* Vol. I. Chap. I.

¹ [For Francesco Dandolo, see Vol. IX. p. 29. For the dispersed pieces of his tomb, see below, Venetian Index, p. 431. On the suppression of the convents the old conventual buildings of the Frari were allocated to the State archives of Venice.]

the words of the Psalm, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder."¹ A hundred and fifty years later, the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Dandolo, unable to obtain even an audience from the Pope, Clement V., to whom he had been sent to pray for a removal of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the republic, concealed himself (according to the common tradition) beneath the Pontiff's dining-table; and thence coming out as he sat down to meat, embraced his feet, and obtained, by tearful entreaties, the removal of the terrible sentence.

I say, "according to the common tradition;" for there are some doubts cast upon the story by its supplement. Most of the Venetian historians assert that Francesco Dandolo's surname of "Dog" was given him first on this occasion, in insult, by the cardinals; and that the Venetians, in remembrance of the grace which his humiliation had won for them, made it a title of honour to him and to his race. It has, however, been proved* that the surname was borne by the ancestors of Francesco Dandolo long before; and the falsity of this seal of the legend renders also its circumstances doubtful. But the main fact of grievous humiliation having been undergone, admits of no dispute; the existence of such a tradition at all is in itself a proof of its truth; it was not one likely to be either invented or received without foundation; and it will be well, therefore, that the reader should remember, in connection with the treatment of Barbarossa at the door of the Church of St. Mark's, that in the Vatican,²

* Sansovino, lib. xiii.

¹ [Psalms xci. 13.]

² [The Papal Court was at this time transferred to Avignon, and it was there that Francesco Dandolo obtained from Pope Clement V. the removal of the interdict (for which see Vol. IX. p. 29 *n.*) The common tradition is told by Daru (book viii. ch. 1). "After having solicited an audience, which was refused, Dandolo presented himself suddenly while the pontiff was at table, and threw himself at the pontiff's feet, asking pardon for the Venetians. It has been recorded that the ambassador, to render his proceedings more touching, wore the garb of a suppliant. It is added that the cardinals who were present so far forgot Christian charity as to treat Dandolo like a dog, and that the ambassador, prostrated before the Vicar of Christ, did not murmur at the indignity." The surname "Cane," though an old name of the family, was associated in popular tradition with this incident.]

one hundred and fifty years later, a Venetian noble, a future Doge, submitted to a degradation, of which the current report among his people was, that he had crept on his hands and knees from beneath the Pontiff's table to his feet, and had been spurned as a "dog" by the cardinals present.

§ 60. There are two principal conclusions to be drawn from this: the obvious one respecting the insolence of the Papal dominion in the thirteenth century;¹ the second, that there were probably most deep piety and humility in the character of the man who could submit to this insolence for the sake of a benefit to his country. Probably no motive would have been strong enough to obtain such a sacrifice from most men, however unselfish; but it was, without doubt, made easier to Dandolo by his profound reverence for the Pontifical office; a reverence which, however *we* may now esteem those who claimed it, could not but have been felt by nearly all good and faithful men at the time of which we are speaking. This is the main point which I wish the reader to remember as we look at his tomb, this, and the result of it,—that, some years afterwards, when he was seated on the throne which his piety had saved, "there were sixty princes' ambassadors in Venice at the same time, requesting the judgment of the Senate on matters of various concernment, *so great was the fame of the uncorrupted justice of the Fathers.*"*

Observe, there are no Virtues on this tomb. Nothing but religious history or symbols; the Death of the Virgin in front, and the types of St. Mark and St. John at the extremities.

§ 61. Of the tomb of the Doge Andrea Dandolo, in St. Mark's, I have spoken before.² It is one of the first in Venice which presents, in the canopy, the Pisan idea of angels withdrawing curtains, as of a couch, to look down upon the dead. The sarcophagus is richly decorated with flower-work: the

* Tentori, vi. 142, i. 157.

¹ [Clement V. was Pope 1305–1314.]

² [Vol. IX. pp. 319, 375; Vol. X. pp. 86, 363.]

usual figures of the Annunciation are at the sides; an enthroned Madonna in the centre; and two bas-reliefs, one of the martyrdom of the Doge's patron saint, St. Andrew, occupy the intermediate spaces. All these tombs have been richly coloured; the hair of the angels has here been gilded, their wings bedropped with silver, and their garments covered with the most exquisite arabesques. This tomb, and that of St. Isidore¹ in another chapel of St. Mark's, which was begun by this very Doge, Andrea Dandolo, and completed after his death in 1354, are both nearly alike in their treatment, and are, on the whole, the best existing examples of Venetian monumental sculpture.

§ 62. Of much ruder workmanship, though still most precious, and singularly interesting, from its quaintness, is a sarcophagus in the northernmost chapel, beside the choir of St. John and Paul, charged with two bas-reliefs and many figures, but which bears no inscription. It has, however, a shield with three dolphins on its brackets; and, as at the feet of the Madonna² in its centre there is a small kneeling figure of a Doge, we know it to be the tomb of the Doge Giovanni Dolfino, who came to the throne in 1356.

He was chosen Doge, while, as provveditore, he was in Treviso, defending the city against the King of Hungary. The Venetians sent to the besiegers, praying that their newly elected Doge might be permitted to pass the Hungarian lines. Their request was refused, the Hungarians exulting that they held the Doge of Venice prisoner in Treviso. But Dolfino, with a body of two hundred horse, cut his way through their lines by night, and reached Mestre (Malghera) in safety, where he was met by the Senate. His bravery could not avert the misfortunes which were accumulating on the republic. The Hungarian war was ignominiously terminated by the surrender of Dalmatia; the Doge's heart was broken, his eye-sight failed him, and he died of the plague four years after he had ascended the throne.

¹ [This tomb is fully described in Appendix 11, § 9, p. 299.]

² [This is a slip of the pen for the Christ: see the next section.]

§ 63. It is perhaps on this account, perhaps in consequence of later injuries, that the tomb has neither effigy nor inscription: that it has been subjected to some violence is evident from the dentil which once crowned its leaf-cornice being now broken away, showing the whole front. But, fortunately, the sculpture of the sarcophagus itself is little injured.

There are two saints, male and female, at its angles, each in a little niche; a Christ, enthroned in the centre, the Doge and Dogressa kneeling at His feet; in the two intermediate panels, on one side the Epiphany, on the other the Death of the Virgin;¹ the whole supported, as well as crowned, by an elaborate leaf-plinth. The figures under the niches are rudely cut, and of little interest. Not so the central group. Instead of a niche, the Christ is seated under a square tent, or tabernacle, formed by curtains running on rods; the idea, of course, as usual, borrowed from the Pisan one, but here ingeniously applied. The curtains are opened in front, showing those at the back of the tent, behind the seated figure; the perspective of the two retiring sides being very tolerably suggested. Two angels, of half the size of the seated figure, thrust back the near curtains, and look up reverently to the Christ: while again, at their feet, about one-third of *their* size, and half-sheltered, as it seems, by their garments, are the two kneeling figures of the Doge and Dogressa, though so small and

¹ [In the additional matter describing the Venetian monuments, Ruskin gives details of this subject:—

“In the sculpture of the death of the Virgin, the roll of the panel moulding is, for this occasion, treated as a rod, and the chains of two huge censers are represented as hung *over* it—one of the exquisite little pieces of transgression, of which I have so often spoken with delight: *vide* vol. i. ch. xxi. § 31 (Vol. IX. p. 304).

“A deathbed is not a good subject for picturesque sculpture, and the figures of the apostles which surround it are sufficiently rude, but the sculptor was evidently one who never missed his main mark. The animation of grief in the living, and the peace of death in the dead, are thoroughly given; and the group, as a piece of ornamental work, is enriched by a figure of Christ above, enthroned and supported by cherubs, receiving the Madonna’s soul, in the form of diminutive and weak figure by no means inducive to Mariolatry. But even thus, though there are some sixteen or twenty cherubs round the throne, the tablet was not enough filled, and the blank spaces are occupied by the two censers above mentioned, the cords by which they are suspended originally cut clear, but now broken away.”]

carefully cut, full of life. The Christ raising one hand as to bless,¹ and holding a book upright and open on the knees, does not look either towards them or to the angels, but forward: and there is a very noticeable effort to represent Divine abstraction in the countenance: the idea of the three magnitudes of spiritual being,—the God, the Angel, and the Man,—is also to be observed, aided as it is by the complete subjection of the angelic power to the Divine; for the angels are in attitudes of the most lowly watchfulness of the face of Christ, and appear unconscious of the presence of the human beings who are nestled in the folds of their garments.

§ 64. With this interesting but modest tomb of one of the kings of Venice, it is desirable to compare that of one of her senators, of exactly the same date, which is raised against the western wall of the Frari, at the end of the north aisle. It bears the following remarkable inscription:

“ANNO MCCCLX. PRIMA DIE JULII SEPULTURA. DOMINI
SIMON. DANDOLO. AMADOR. DE JUSTISIA. E. DESIROSO
DE. ACRESE. EL . BEN . CHOMUM.”

The “Amador de Justisia” has perhaps some reference to Simon Dandolo’s having been one of the Giunta who condemned the Doge Faliero. The sarcophagus is decorated merely by the Annunciation group, and an enthroned Madonna with a curtain behind her throne, sustained by four tiny angels, who look over it as they hold it up; but the workmanship of the figures is more than usually beautiful.²

§ 65. Seven years later, a very noble monument was placed on the north side of the choir of St. John and Paul, to the Doge Marco Cornaro,³ chiefly, with respect to our present subject, noticeable for the absence of religious imagery from the sarcophagus, which is decorated with roses only; three very beautiful statues of the Madonna and two saints are,

¹ [Broken off, when seen some time since by one of the editors.]

² [For a fuller account of this tomb, and translation of the inscription, see the additional matter in Appendix 11, § 10, p. 301.]

³ [For this tomb, see above, p. 13.]

however, set in the canopy above. Opposite this tomb, though about fifteen years later in date, is the richest monument of the Gothic period in Venice; that of the Doge Michele Morosini, who died in 1382.¹ It consists of a highly florid canopy,—an arch crowned by a gable, with pinnacles at the flanks, boldly crocketed, and with a huge finial at the top representing St. Michael,—a medallion of Christ set in the gable; under the arch, a mosaic, representing the Madonna presenting the Doge to Christ upon the cross; beneath, as usual, the sarcophagus, with a most noble recumbent figure of the Doge, his face meagre and severe, and sharp in its lines, but exquisite in the form of its small and princely features. The sarcophagus is adorned with elaborate wrinkled leafage, projecting in front of it into seven brackets, from which the statues are broken away: but by which—for there can be no doubt that these last statues represented the theological and cardinal Virtues—we must for a moment pause.

§ 66. It was noticed above,² that the tomb of the Florentine ambassador, Duccio, was the first in Venice which presented images of the Virtues. Its small lateral statues of Justice and Temperance are exquisitely beautiful, and were, I have no doubt, executed by a Florentine sculptor; the whole range of artistical power and religious feeling being in Florence full half a century in advance of that of Venice. But this³ is the first truly Venetian tomb which has the Virtues; and it becomes of importance, therefore, to know what was the character of Morosini.

The reader must recollect that I dated the commencement of the fall of Venice from the death of Carlo Zeno,⁴ considering that no state could be held as in decline which numbered such a man amongst its citizens. Carlo Zeno was a candidate for the Ducal bonnet together with

¹ [For this tomb see above, p. 14. For the character of the Doge, see below, Appendix 6, p. 257.]

² [§ 58. The tomb is in the Frari, in the 2nd chapel right of the choir. For a fuller account of the tomb, see Appendix 11, § 6, p. 295.]

³ [*i.e.*, the tomb of Michele Morosini.]

⁴ [See Vol. IX. p. 21.]

Michael Morosini; and Morosini was chosen. It might be anticipated, therefore, that there was something more than usually admirable or illustrious in his character. Yet it is difficult to arrive at a just estimate of it, as the reader will at once understand by comparing the following statements:

§ 67. 1. "To him (Andrea Contarini) succeeded Morosini, at the age of seventy-four years; a most learned and prudent man, who also reformed several laws."—*Sansovino, Vite de' Principi*.

2. "It was generally believed that, if his reign had been longer, he would have dignified the state by many noble laws and institutes; but by so much as his reign was full of hope, by as much was it short in duration, for he died when he had been at the head of the republic but four months."—*Sabellico, lib. viii*.

3. "He was allowed but a short time to enjoy this high dignity, which he so well deserved by his rare virtues, for God called him to Himself on the 15th of October."—*Muratori, Annali d' Italia*.

4. "Two candidates presented themselves; one was Zeno, the other that Michael Morosini who, during the war, had tripled his fortune by his speculations. The suffrages of the electors fell upon him, and he was proclaimed Doge on the 10th of June."—*Daru, Histoire de Venise, lib. x*.

5. "The choice of the electors was directed to Michael Morosini, a noble of illustrious birth, derived from a stock which, coeval with the republic itself, had produced the conqueror of Tyre, given a queen to Hungary, and more than one Doge to Venice. The brilliancy of this descent was tarnished in the present chief representative of the family by the most base and grovelling avarice; for at that moment, in the recent war, at which all other Venetians were devoting their whole fortunes to the service of the state, Morosini sought in the distresses of his country an opening for his own private enrichment, and employed his ducats, not in the assistance of the national wants, but in speculating upon houses which were brought to market at a price far beneath their real value, and which, upon the return of peace, insured the purchaser a fourfold profit. 'What matters the fall of Venice to me, so as I fall not together with her?' was his selfish and sordid reply to some one who expressed surprise at the transaction."—*Sketches of Venetian History*. Murray, 1831.

§ 68. The writer of the unpretending little history¹ from which the last quotation is taken has not given his authority for this statement, and I could not find it, but believed, from the general accuracy of the book, that some authority might exist better than Daru's. Under these circumstances,

¹ [The anonymous author of these *Sketches from Venetian History*, forming two volumes in Murray's "Family Library," was the Rev. Edward Smedley.]

wishing if possible to ascertain the truth, and to clear the character of this great Doge from the accusation, if it proved groundless, I wrote to the Count Carlo Morosini, his descendant, and one of the few remaining representatives of the ancient noblesse of Venice; one, also, by whom his great ancestral name is revered, and in whom it is exalted. His answer appears to me altogether conclusive as to the utter fallacy of the reports of Daru and the English history. I have placed his letter in the close of this volume (Appendix 6), in order that the reader may himself be the judge upon this point; and I should not have alluded to Daru's report, except for the purpose of contradicting it, but that it still appears to me impossible that any modern historian should have gratuitously invented the whole story, and that, therefore, there must have been a trace, in the documents which Daru himself possessed, of some scandal of this kind raised by Morosini's enemies, perhaps at the very time of the disputed election with Carlo Zeno. The occurrence of the Virtues upon this tomb, for the first time in Venetian monumental work, and so richly and conspicuously placed, may partly have been in public contradiction of such a floating rumour. But the face of the statue is a more explicit contradiction still; it is resolute, thoughtful, serene, and full of beauty; and we must, therefore, for once, allow the somewhat boastful introduction of the Virtues to have been perfectly just: though the whole tomb is most notable, as furnishing not only the exactly intermediate condition in style between the pure Gothic and its final Renaissance corruption, but, at the same time, the exactly intermediate condition of *feeling* between the pure calmness of Early Christianity, and the boastful pomp of the Renaissance faithlessness; for here we have still the religious humility remaining in the mosaic of the canopy, which shows the Doge kneeling before the cross, while yet this tendency to self-trust is shown in the surrounding of the coffin by the Virtues.

§ 69. The next tomb by the side of which they appear

is that of Jacopo Cavalli,¹ in the same chapel of St. John and Paul which contains the tomb of the Doge Delfin. It is peculiarly rich in religious imagery, adorned by boldly cut types of the four Evangelists, and of two saints, while, on projecting brackets in front of it, stood three statues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, now lost, but drawn in Zanotto's work.² It is all rich in detail, and its sculptor has been proud of it, thus recording his name below the epitaph:

“QST OPERA DINTALGIO E FATTO IN PIERA,
UNVENICIAN LAFE CHANOME POLO,
NATO DI JACHOMEL CHATAIAPIERA.”

This work of sculpture is done in stone;
A Venetian did it, named Paul,
Son of Jachomel the stone-cutter.

Jacopo Cavalli died in 1384. He was a bold and active Veronese soldier, did the state much service, was therefore ennobled by it, and became the founder of the house of the Cavalli;³ but I find no especial reason for the images of the Virtues, especially that of Charity, appearing at his tomb, unless it be this: that at the siege of Feltre, in the war against Leopold of Austria, he refused to assault the city because the Senate would not grant his soldiers the pillage of the town. The feet of the recumbent figure, which is in full armour, rest on a dog, and its head on two lions; and these animals (neither of which form any part of the knight's bearings) are said by Zanotto to be intended to symbolize his bravery and fidelity. If, however, the lions are meant to set forth courage, it is a pity they should have been represented as howling.

§ 70. We must next pause for an instant beside the tomb of Michael Steno, now in the northern aisle of St. John and

¹ [For a fuller account of this tomb, see the additional matter in Appendix 11, § 12, p. 302.]

² [The editors are unable to trace this reference to Zanotto. The tomb in question is not among those drawn in Cicognara's and Zanotto's *Le Fabbriche e i Monumenti cospicui di Venezia* (1838); it is referred to, but not drawn, in the work mentioned below, p. 247.]

³ [See Ruskin's monograph, written for the Arundel Society, on *The Cavalli Monuments in the Church of St. Anastasia, Verona* (1872), reprinted in a later volume.]

Paul, having been removed there from the destroyed church of the Servi;¹ first, to note its remarkable return to the early simplicity, the sarcophagus being decorated only with two crosses in quatrefoils, though it is of the fifteenth century, Steno dying in 1413; and, in the second place, to observe the peculiarity of the epitaph, which eulogizes Steno as having been “amator justitie, pacis, et ubertatis,”—“A lover of justice, peace, and plenty.” In the epitaphs of this period, the virtues which are made most account of in public men are those which were most useful to their country. We have already seen one example in the epitaph on Simon Dandolo [p. 97]; and similar expressions occur constantly in laudatory mentions of their later Doges by the Venetian writers. Thus Sansovino of Marco Cornaro, “Era savio huomo, eloquente, e amava molto la pace el’ abbondanza della citta;” and of Tomaso Mocenigo, “Huomo oltre modo desideroso della pace.”

Of the tomb of this last-named Doge mention has before been made.² Here, as in Morosini’s, the images of the Virtues have no ironical power, although their great conspicuousness marks the increase of the boastful feeling in the treatment of monuments. For the rest, this tomb is the last in Venice which can be considered as belonging to the Gothic period. Its mouldings are already rudely classical, and it has meaningless figures in Roman armour at the angles; but its tabernacle above is still Gothic, and the recumbent figure is very beautiful. It was carved by two Florentine sculptors in 1423.

§ 71. Tomaso Mocenigo was succeeded by the renowned Doge, Francesco Foscari, under whom, it will be remembered,

¹ [In the MS. sheets Ruskin notices,

“As a curious instance of the mischief done by removals, even when the various pieces of the removed sculpture remain unharmed, that the front of this tomb is composed of two separate slabs, each charged with a cross, set as in the earlier types above a group of diminishing steps. The workmen, in refitting it in its present place, have turned one of the slabs upside down, in consequence of which one of the crosses has steps at the bottom, and the other at the top.”]

² [See Vol. IX. pp. 26, 48–49. The tomb is in the northern aisle of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.]

the last additions were made to the Gothic Ducal Palace;¹ additions which in form only, not in spirit, correspond to the older portions; since, during his reign, the transition took place which permits us no longer to consider the Venetian architecture as Gothic at all. He died in 1457, and his tomb is the first important example of Renaissance art.

Not, however, a good characteristic example. It is remarkable chiefly as introducing all the faults of the Renaissance at an early period, when its merits, such as they were, were yet undeveloped. Its claim to be rated as a classical composition is altogether destroyed by the remnants of Gothic feeling which cling to it here and there in their last forms of degradation; and of which, now that we find them thus corrupted, the sooner we are rid the better. Thus the sarcophagus is supported by a species of trefoiled arches; the bases of the shafts have still their spurs; and the whole tomb is covered by a pediment, with crockets and a pinnacle. We shall find that the perfect Renaissance is at least pure in its insipidity, and subtle in its vice; but this monument is remarkable as showing the refuse of one style encumbering the embryo of another, and all principles of life entangled either in the swaddling clothes or the shroud.

§ 72. With respect to our present purpose, however, it is a monument of enormous importance. We have to trace, be it remembered, the pride of state in its gradual intrusion upon the sepulchre; and the consequent and correlative vanishing of the expressions of religious feeling and heavenly hope, together with the more and more arrogant setting forth of the virtues of the dead. Now this tomb is the largest and most costly we have yet seen; but its means of religious expression are limited to a single statue of Christ, small, and used merely as a pinnacle at the top. The rest of the composition is as curious as it is vulgar. The conceit, so often noticed as having been borrowed from the Pisan school, of angels withdrawing the curtains of the couch to look down upon the

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 351, and for the Doge himself, Vol. IX. p. 21. The tomb (by Antonio Rizzo) is in the tribune of the Frari.]

dead, was brought forward with increasing prominence by every succeeding sculptor;¹ but, as we draw nearer to the Renaissance period, we find that the *angels* become of less importance, and the *curtains* of more. With the Pisans, the curtains are introduced as a motive for the angels; with the Renaissance sculptors, the angels are introduced merely as a motive for the curtains, which become every day more huge and elaborate. In the monument of Mocenigo, they have already expanded into a tent, with a pole in the centre of it; and in that of Foscari, for the first time, the *angels are absent altogether*; while the curtains are arranged in the form of an enormous French tent-bed, and are sustained at the flanks by two diminutive figures in Roman armour; substituted for the angels, merely that the sculptor might *show his knowledge* of classical costume. And now observe how often a fault in feeling induces also a fault in style. In the old tombs, the angels used to stand on or by the side of the sarcophagus; but their places are here to be occupied by the Virtues; and therefore, to sustain the diminutive Roman figures at the necessary height, each has a whole Corinthian pillar to himself, a pillar whose shaft is eleven feet high, and some three or four feet round: and because this was not high enough, it is put on a pedestal four feet and a half high; and has a spurred base besides its own, a tall capital, then a huge bracket above the capital, and then another pedestal above the bracket, and on the top of all the diminutive figure who has charge of the curtains.

§ 73. Under the canopy, thus arranged, is placed the sarcophagus with its recumbent figure. The statues of the Virgin and the saints have disappeared from it. In their stead, its panels are filled with half length figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity; while Temperance and Fortitude are at the Doge's feet. Justice and Prudence at his head, figures now the size of life, yet nevertheless recognizable only by their attributes; for, except that Hope raises her eyes, there is

¹ [Among the loose sheets of MS. there is a notice of another tomb with remarks on the development of the curtain motive: see below, Appendix 11, § 11, p. 302.]

no difference in the character or expression of any of their faces,—they are nothing more than handsome Venetian women, in rather full and courtly dresses, and tolerably well thrown into postures for effect from below. Fortitude could not of course be placed in a graceful one without some sacrifice of her character, but that was of no consequence in the eyes of the sculptors of this period, so she leans back languidly, and nearly overthrows her own column; while Temperance, and Justice opposite to her, as neither the left hand of the one nor the right hand of the other could be seen from below, have been *left with one hand each*.¹

§ 74. Still, these figures, coarse and feelingless as they are, have been worked with care, because the principal effect of the tomb depends on them. But the effigy of the Doge, of which nothing but the sign is visible, has been utterly neglected; and the ingenuity of the sculptor is not so great, at the best, as that he can afford to be slovenly. There is, indeed, nothing in the history of Foscari which would lead us to expect anything particularly noble in his face; but I trust, nevertheless, it has been misrepresented by this despicable carver; for no words are strong enough to express the baseness of the portraiture. A huge, gross, bony clown's face, with the peculiar sodden and sensual cunning in it which is seen so often in the countenances of the worst Romanist priests; a face part of iron and part of clay, with the immobility of the one, and the foulness of the other, double-chinned, bluntemouthed, bony-cheeked, with its brows drawn down into meagre lines and wrinkles over the eyelid; the face of a man incapable either of joy or sorrow, unless such as may be caused by the indulgence of passion or the mortification of pride. Even had he been such a one, a noble workman would not have written it so legibly on his tomb; and I believe it to be the image of the carver's own mind that is there hewn in the marble, not that of the Doge Foscari. For the same mind is visible enough throughout, the traces of it mingled with

¹ [On this form of Renaissance "heartlessness," see Vol. IX. pp. 51–52.]

those of the evil taste of the whole time and people. There is not anything so small but it is shown in some portion of its treatment; for instance, in the placing of the shields at the back of the great curtain. In earlier times, the shield, as we have seen, was represented as merely suspended against the tomb by a thong, or if sustained in any other manner; still its form was simple and undisguised. Men in those days used their shields in war, and therefore there was no need to add dignity to their form by external ornament. That which, through day after day of mortal danger, had borne back from them the waves of battle, could neither be degraded by simplicity, nor exalted by decoration. By its rude leathern thong it seemed to be fastened to their tombs, and the shield of the mighty was not cast away, though capable of defending its master no more.

§ 75. It was otherwise in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The changed system of warfare was rapidly doing away with the practical service of the shield; and the chiefs who directed the battle from a distance, or who passed the greater part of their lives in the council chamber, soon came to regard the shield as nothing more than a field for their armorial bearings. It then became a principal object of their Pride of State to increase the conspicuousness of these marks of family distinction by surrounding them with various and fantastic ornament, generally scroll or flower work, which of course deprived the shield of all appearance of being intended for a soldier's use. Thus the shield of the Foscari is introduced in two ways. On the sarcophagus, the bearings are three times repeated, enclosed in circular disks, which are sustained each by a couple of naked infants. Above the canopy, two shields of the usual form are set in the centre of circles filled by a radiating ornament of shell flutings which give them the effect of ventilators; and their circumference is farther adorned by gilt rays, undulating to represent a glory.

§ 76. We now approach that period of the early Renaissance which was noticed in the preceding chapter as being at first a very visible improvement on the corrupted

Gothic.¹ The tombs executed during the period of the Byzantine Renaissance exhibit, in the first place, a consummate skill in handling the chisel, perfect science of drawing and anatomy, high appreciation of good classical models, and a grace of composition and delicacy of ornament derived, I believe, principally from the great Florentine sculptors. But, together with this science, they exhibit also, for a short time, some return to the early religious feeling, forming a school of sculpture which corresponds to that of the school of the Bellini in painting; and the only wonder is that there should not have been more workmen in the fifteenth century doing in marble what Perugino, Francia, and Bellini did on canvas. There are, indeed, some few, as I have just said, in whom the good and pure temper shows itself: but the sculptor was necessarily led sooner than the painter to an exclusive study of classical models utterly adverse to the Christian imagination; and he was also deprived of the great purifying and sacred element of colour, besides having much more of merely mechanical and therefore degrading labour to go through in the realization of his thought. Hence I do not know any example of sculpture at this period, at least in Venice, which has not conspicuous faults (not faults of imperfection, as in early sculpture, but of purpose and sentiment), staining such beauties as it may possess; and the whole school soon falls away, and merges into vain pomp and meagre metaphor.

§ 77. The most celebrated monument of this period is that to the Doge Andrea Vendramin, in the Church of St. John and Paul, sculptured about 1480, and before alluded to in the first chapter of the first volume.² It has attracted public admiration, partly by its costliness, partly by the delicacy and precision of its chiselling; being otherwise a very base and unworthy example of the school, and showing neither invention nor feeling. It has the Virtues,

¹ [See above, p. 20.]

² [See Vol. IX. p. 49. The tomb is on the north side of the choir.]

as usual, dressed like heathen goddesses, and totally devoid of expression, though graceful and well studied merely as female figures. The rest of its sculpture is all of the same kind; perfect in workmanship, and devoid of thought. Its dragons are covered with marvellous scales, but have no terror nor sting in them; its birds are perfect in plumage, but have no song in them; its children lovely of limb, but have no childishness in them.

§ 78. Of far other workmanship are the tombs of Pietro and Giovanni Mocenigo, in St. John and Paul, and of Pietro Bernardo in the Frari;¹ in all which the details are as full of exquisite fancy as they are perfect in execution; and in the two former, and several others of similar feeling, the old religious symbols return; the Madonna is again seen enthroned under the canopy, and the sarcophagus is decorated with legends of the saints. But the fatal errors of sentiment are, nevertheless, always traceable. In the first place, the sculptor is always seen to be intent upon the exhibition of his skill, more than on producing any effect on the spectator's mind; elaborate backgrounds of landscape, with tricks of perspective, imitations of trees, clouds, and water, and various other unnecessary adjuncts, merely to show how marble could be subdued; together with useless undercutting, and over-finish in subordinate parts, continually exhibiting the same cold vanity and unexcited precision of mechanism. In the second place, the figures have all the peculiar tendency to posture-making, which, exhibiting itself first painfully in Perugino, rapidly destroyed the veracity of composition in all art. By posture-making I mean, in general, that action of figures which results from the painter's considering, in the first place, not how, under the circumstances, they would actually have walked, or stood, or looked, but how they may most gracefully and

¹ [The tombs of Pietro and Giovanni Mocenigo are on either side of the west door. Pietro was Doge 1474–1476; Giovanni, 1478–1485. The tomb of Pietro Bernardino (died 1568), by Alessandro Leopardi, is near the monument of Canova in the left aisle. For detailed accounts of the three tombs, see additional matter in Appendix 11 —§ 13 (Pietro Mocenigo), § 14 (Giovanni), § 15 (Bernardo).]

harmoniously walk or stand. In the hands of a great man, posture, like everything else, becomes noble, even when over-studied, as with Michael Angelo, who was perhaps, more than any other, the cause of the mischief; but, with inferior men, this habit of composing attitudes ends necessarily in utter lifelessness and abortion. Giotto was, perhaps, of all painters, the most free from the infection of the poison, always conceiving an incident naturally, and drawing it unaffectedly; and the absence of posture-making in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites, as opposed to the Attitudinarianism of the modern school, has been both one of their principal virtues, and of the principal causes of outcry against them.

§ 79. But the most significant change in the treatment of these tombs, with respect to our immediate object, is in the form of the sarcophagus. It was above noted [§ 46] that, exactly in proportion to the degree of the pride of life expressed in any monument, would be also the fear of death; and therefore, as these tombs increase in splendour, in size, and beauty of workmanship, we perceive a gradual desire to *take away from the definite character of the sarcophagus*. In the earliest times, as we have seen, it was a gloomy mass of stone; gradually it became charged with religious sculpture; but never with the slightest desire to disguise its form, until towards the middle of the fifteenth century. It then becomes enriched with flower-work and hidden by the Virtues: and, finally, losing its four-square form, it is modelled on graceful types of ancient vases, made as little like a coffin as possible, and refined away in various elegances, till it becomes, at last, a mere pedestal or stage for the portrait statue. This statue, in the meantime, has been gradually coming back to life, through a curious series of transitions. The Vendramin monument¹ is one of the last which shows, or pretends to show, the recumbent figure laid in death. A few years later, this idea became disagreeable to polite minds; and, lo! the

¹ [See above, § 77.]

figures, which before had been laid at rest upon the tomb pillow, raised themselves on their elbows, and began to look round them. The soul of the sixteenth century dared not contemplate its body in death.

§ 80. The reader cannot but remember many instances of this form of monument, England being peculiarly rich in examples of them; although, with her, tomb sculpture, after the fourteenth century, is altogether imitative, and in no degree indicative of the temper of the people. It was from Italy that the authority for the change was derived; and in Italy only, therefore, that it is truly correspondent to the change in the national mind. There are many monuments in Venice of this semi-animate type, most of them carefully sculptured, and some very admirable as portraits, and for the casting of the drapery, especially those in the Church of San Salvador:¹ but I shall only direct the reader to one, that of Jacopo Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos, in the Church of the Frari;² notable not only as a very skilful piece of sculpture, but for the epitaph, singularly characteristic of the period, and confirmatory of all that I have alleged against it:

“James Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos, who conquered the Turks in war, himself in peace, transported from a noble family among the Venetians to a nobler among the angels, laid here, expects the noblest crown, which the just Judge shall give to him in that day. He lived the years of Plato. He died 24th March 1547.”*

The mingled classicism and carnal pride of this epitaph surely need no comment. The crown is expected as a right from the justice of the Judge, and the nobility of the Venetian family is only a little lower than that of the angels. The

* “Jacobus Pisaurius Paphi Episcopus, qui Turcos bello, se ipsum pace vincebat, ex nobili inter Venetas, ad nobiliorem inter Angelos familiam delatus, nobilissimam in illa die Coronam justo Judice reddente, hic situs expectat. Vixit annos Platonicos. Obijt MDXLVII. IX Kal. Aprilis.”

¹ [For S. Salvatore, see below, Venetian Index, p. 431.]

² [In the left aisle.]

quaint childishness of the “Vixit annos Platonicos” is also very notable.¹

§ 81. The statue, however, did not long remain in this partially recumbent attitude. Even the expression of peace became painful to the frivolous and thoughtless Italians, and they required the portraiture to be rendered in a manner that should induce no memory of death. The statue rose up, and presented itself in front of the tomb, like an actor upon a stage, surrounded now not merely, or not at all, by the Virtues, but by allegorical figures of Fame and Victory, by genii and muses, by personifications of humbled kingdoms and adoring nations, and by every circumstance of pomp, and symbol of adulation, that flattery could suggest, or insolence could claim.

§ 82. As of the intermediate monumental type, so also of this, the last and most gross, there are unfortunately many examples in our own country; but the most wonderful, by far, are still at Venice. I shall, however, particularise only two; the first, that of the Doge John Pesaro, in the Frari.² It is to be observed that we have passed over a considerable interval of time; we are now in the latter half of the seventeenth century; the progress of corruption has in the meantime been incessant, and sculpture has here lost its taste and learning as well as its feeling. The monument is a huge accumulation of theatrical scenery in marble: four colossal negro caryatides, grinning and horrible, with faces of black marble and white eyes, sustain the first story of it; above this, two monsters, long-necked, half dog and half dragon, sustain an ornamental sarcophagus, on the top of which the full length statue of the Doge in robes of state stands forward with its arms expanded, like an actor courting applause, under a huge canopy of metal, like the roof of a bed, painted crimson and gold; on each side of him are sitting figures of genii, and unintelligible personifications gesticulating in

¹ [The date of Plato's birth, and therefore the length of the years of Plato, is doubtful; B.C. 429 or 427 to B.C. 347.]

² [In the left aisle. The architect was Longhena, the sculptor Barthel.]

Roman armour; below, between the negro caryatides, are two ghastly figures in bronze, half corpse, half skeleton, carrying tablets on which is written the eulogium: but in large letters, graven in gold, the following words are the first and last that strike the eye; the first two phrases, one on each side, on tablets in the lower story, the last under the portrait statue above:

VIXIT ANNOS LXX. DEVIXIT ANNO MDCLIX.
 "HIC REVIXIT ANNO MDCLXIX."

We have here, at last, the horrible images of death in violent contrast with the defiant monument, which pretends to bring the resurrection down to earth, "Hic revixit;" and it seems impossible for false taste and base feeling to sink lower. Yet even this monument is surpassed by one in St. John and Paul.

§ 83. But before we pass to this, the last with which I shall burden the reader's attention, let us for a moment, and that we may feel the contrast more forcibly, return to a tomb of the early times.

In a dark niche in the outer wall of the outer corridor of St. Mark's—not even in the church, observe, but in the atrium or porch of it, and on the north side of the church,—is a solid sarcophagus of white marble, raised only about two feet from the ground on four stunted square pillars. Its lid is a mere slab of stone; on its extremities are sculptured two crosses; in front of it are two rows of rude figures, the uppermost representing Christ with the Apostles; the lower row is of six figures only, alternately male and female, holding up their hands in the usual attitude of benediction: the sixth is smaller than the rest, and the midmost of the other five has a glory round its head. I cannot tell the meaning of these figures, but between them are suspended censers attached to crosses: a most beautiful symbolic expression of Christ's mediatorial function. The whole is surrounded by a rude wreath of vine leaves, proceeding out of the foot of a cross.

On the bar of marble which separates the two rows of figures are inscribed these words:

“Here lies the Lord Marin Morosini, Duke.”

It is the tomb of the Doge Marino Morosini, who reigned from 1249 to 1252.

§ 84. From before this rude and solemn sepulchre let us pass to the southern aisle of the church of St. John and Paul; and there, towering from the pavement to the vaulting of the church, behold a mass of marble, sixty or seventy feet in height, of mingled yellow and white, the yellow carved into the form of an enormous curtain, with ropes, fringes, and tassels, sustained by cherubs; in front of which, in the now usual stage attitudes, advance the statues of the Doge Bertuccio Valier, his son the Doge Silvester Valier, and his son's wife, Elisabeth.¹ The statues of the Doges, though mean and Polonius-like, are partly redeemed by the Ducal robes; but that of the Dogaressa is a consummation of grossness, vanity, and ugliness,—the figure of a large and wrinkled woman, with elaborate curls in stiff projection round her face, covered from her shoulders to her feet with ruffs, furs, lace, jewels, and embroidery. Beneath and around are scattered Virtues, Victories, Fames, genii,—the entire company of the monumental stage assembled, as before a drop scene, executed by various sculptors, and deserving attentive study as exhibiting every condition of false taste and feeble conception. The Victory in the centre is peculiarly interesting; the lion by which she is accompanied, springing on a dragon, has been intended to look terrible, but the incapable sculptor could not conceive any form of dreadfulness, could not even make the lion look angry. It looks only lachrymose; and its lifted forepaws, there being

¹ [Bertucci Valier reigned 1656–1658, during which years the long war with the Turks in defence of Crete was in full progress. His “Hellespontic victory” refers to a successful naval engagement (June 26, 1656) in the Dardanelles fought to prevent the Turkish fleet from reaching the island; Valier was not present (see Daru, vol. v. book 33, c. 17). His son Silvestro Valier reigned 1694–1700, succeeding Francesco Morosini, the last of the great doges.]

no spring nor motion in its body, give it the appearance of a dog begging. The inscriptions under the two principal statues are as follows:

“Bertucius Valier, Duke,
Great in wisdom and eloquence,
Greater in his Hellespontic victory,
Greatest in the Prince his son,
Died in the year 1658.”

“Elisabeth Quirina,
The wife of Silvester,
Distinguished by Roman virtue,
By Venetian piety,
And by the Ducal crown,
Died 1708.”

The writers of this age were generally anxious to make the world aware that they understood the degrees of comparison, and a large number of epitaphs are principally constructed with this object (compare, in the Latin, that of the Bishop of Paphos, given above): but the latter of these epitaphs is also interesting, from its mention, in an age now altogether given up to the pursuit of worldly honour, of that “Venetian piety” which once truly distinguished the city from all others; and of which some form and shadow, remaining still, served to point an epitaph, and to feed more cunningly and speciously the pride which could not be satiated with the sumptuousness of the sepulchre.

§ 85. Thus far, then, of the second element of the Renaissance spirit, the Pride of State; nor need we go farther to learn the reason of the fall of Venice. She was already likened in her thoughts, and was therefore to be likened in her ruin, to the Virgin of Babylon. The Pride of State and the Pride of Knowledge were no new passions: the sentence against them had gone forth from everlasting. “Thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever, so that thou didst not lay these things to thine heart. . . . *Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee*; and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else beside me. Therefore shall evil come upon

thee . . .; thy merchants from thy youth, they shall wander every one to his quarter; none shall save thee.”*¹

§ 86. III. PRIDE OF SYSTEM. I might have illustrated these evil principles from a thousand other sources, but I have not time to pursue the subject farther, and must pass to the third element above named, the Pride of System. It need not detain us so long as either of the others, for it is at once more palpable and less dangerous. The manner in which the pride of the fifteenth century corrupted the sources of knowledge, and diminished the majesty, while it multiplied the trappings, of state, is in general little observed; but the reader is probably already well and sufficiently aware of the curious tendency to formulization and system which, under the name of philosophy, encumbered the minds of the Renaissance schoolmen. As it was above stated [§ 32], grammar became the first of sciences; and whatever subject had to be treated, the first aim of the philosopher was to subject its principles to a code of laws, in the observation of which the merit of the speaker, thinker, or worker, in or on that subject, was thereafter to consist; so that the whole mind of the world was occupied by the exclusive study of Restraints. The sound of the forging of fetters was heard from sea to sea. The doctors of all the arts and sciences set themselves daily to the invention of new varieties of cages and manacles; they themselves wore, instead of gowns, a chain mail, whose purpose was not so much to avert the weapon of the adversary as to restrain the motions of the wearer; and all the acts, thoughts, and workings of mankind,—poetry, painting, architecture, and philosophy,—were reduced by them merely to so many different forms of fetter-dance.

§ 87. Now, I am very sure that no reader who has given any attention to the former portions of this work, or the tendency of what else I have written, more especially the

* Isaiah xlvii. 7, 10, 11, 15.

¹ [Here the chapter in the “Travellers’ Edition” (vol. ii. ch. iii.), entitled “The Street of the Tombs,” ends. The next chapter in that edition begins at § 92 below.]

last chapter of the *Seven Lamps*,¹ will suppose me to underrate the importance, or dispute the authority of law. It has been necessary for me to allege these again and again, nor can they ever be too often or too energetically alleged, against the vast masses of men who now disturb or retard the advance of civilization; heady and high-minded despisers of discipline, and refusers of correction. But law, so far as it can be reduced to form and system, and is not written upon the heart, —as it is, in a Divine loyalty, upon the hearts of the great hierarchies who serve and wait about the throne of the Eternal Lawgiver,—this lower and formally expressible law has, I say, two objects. It is either for the definition and restraint of sin, or the guidance of simplicity; it either explains, forbids, and punishes wickedness, or it guides the movements and actions both of lifeless things and of the more simple and untaught among responsible agents. And so long, therefore, as sin and foolishness are in the world, so long it will be necessary for men to submit themselves painfully to this lower law, in proportion to their need of being corrected, and to the degree of childishness or simplicity by which they approach more nearly to the condition of the unthinking and inanimate things which are governed by law altogether; yet yielding, in the manner of their submission to it, a singular lesson to the pride of man,—being obedient more perfectly in proportion to their greatness.* But, so far as men become good and wise, and rise above the state of children, so far they become emancipated from this written law, and invested with the perfect freedom which consists in the fulness and joyfulness of compliance with a higher and unwritten law; a law so universal, so subtle, so glorious, that nothing but the heart can keep it.

§ 88. Now pride opposes itself to the observance of this Divine law in two opposite ways: either by brute resistance,

* Compare *Seven Lamps*, chap. vii. § 3.

¹ [See Vol. VIII. p. 250.]

which is the way of the rabble and its leaders, denying or defying law altogether; or by formal compliance, which is the way of the Pharisee, exalting himself while he pretends to obedience, and making void the infinite and spiritual commandment by the finite and lettered commandment. And it is easy to know which law we are obeying: for any law which we magnify and keep through pride, is always the law of the letter; but that which we love and keep through humility, is the law of the Spirit: and the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.¹

§ 89. In the appliance of this universal principle to what we have at present in hand, it is to be noted, that all written or writable law respecting the arts is for the childish and ignorant; that, in the beginning of teaching, it is possible to say that this or that must or must not be done; and laws of colour and shade may be taught, as laws of harmony are to the young scholar in music. But the moment a man begins to be anything deserving the name of an artist, all this teachable law has become a matter of course with him, and if, thenceforth, he boast himself anywise in the law, or pretend that he lives and works by it, it is a sure sign that he is merely tithing cummin,² and that there is no true art nor religion in him. For the true artist has that inspiration in him which is above all law, or rather which is continually working out such magnificent and perfect obedience to supreme law, as can in nowise be rendered by line and rule. There are more laws perceived and fulfilled in the single stroke of a great workman, than could be written in a volume. His science is inexpressibly subtle, directly taught him by his Maker, not in any wise communicable or imitable.* Neither can any written or definitely observable laws enable us to do any great thing. It is possible, by measuring and

* See the further remarks on Inspiration in the fourth chapter [p. 221].

¹ [2 Corinthians iii. 6.]

² [Matthew xxiii. 23.]

administering quantities of colour, to paint a room wall so that it shall not hurt the eye; but there are no laws by observing which we can become Titians. It is possible so to measure and administer syllables as to construct harmonious verse; but there are no laws by which we can write Iliads. Out of the poem or the picture, once produced, men may elicit laws by the volume, and study them with advantage, to the better understanding of the existing poem or picture; but no more write or paint another, than by discovering laws of vegetation they can make a tree to grow. And therefore, wheresoever we find the system and formality of rules much dwelt upon, and spoken of as anything else than a help for children, there we may be sure that noble art is not even understood, far less reached. And thus it was with all the common and public mind in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The greater men, indeed, broke through the thorn hedges; and though much time was lost by the learned among them in writing Latin verses and anagrams, and arranging the framework of quaint sonnets and dexterous syllogisms, till they tore their way through the sapless thicket by force of intellect or of piety; for it was not possible that, either in literature or in painting, rules could be received by any strong mind, so as materially to interfere with its originality: and the crabbed discipline and exact scholarship became an advantage to the men who could pass through and despise them; so that in spite of the rules of the drama we had Shakespeare, and in spite of the rules of art we had Tintoret,—both of them, to this day, doing perpetual violence to the vulgar scholarship and dim-eyed proprieties of the multitude.

§ 90. But in architecture it was not so; for that was the art of the multitude, and was affected by all their errors; and the great men who entered its field, like Michael Angelo, found expression for all the best part of their minds in sculpture, and made the architecture merely its shell. So the simpletons and sophists had their way with it: and the reader can have no conception of the inanities and puerilities of the

writers who, with the help of Vitruvius, re-established its “five orders,”¹ determined the proportions of each, and gave the various recipes for sublimity and beauty, which have been thenceforward followed to this day, but which may, I believe, in this age of perfect machinery, be followed out still farther. If, indeed, there are only five perfect forms of columns and architraves, and there be a fixed proportion to each, it is certainly possible, with a little ingenuity, so to regulate a stone-cutting machine as that it shall furnish pillars and friezes, to the size ordered, of any of the five orders, on the most perfect Greek models, in any quantity; an epitome, also, of Vitruvius may be made so simple as to enable any bricklayer to set them up at their proper distances, and we may dispense with our architects altogether.

§ 91. But if this be not so, and there be any truth in the faint persuasion which still lurks in men’s mind that architecture *is* an art, and that it requires some gleam of intellect to practise it, then let the whole system of the orders and their proportions be cast out and trampled down as the most vain, barbarous, and paltry deception that was ever stamped on human prejudice; and let us understand this plain truth, common to all work of man, that, if it be good work, it is not a copy, nor anything done by rule, but a freshly and divinely imagined thing. Five orders! There is not a side chapel in any Gothic cathedral but it has fifty orders, the worst of them better than the best of the Greek ones, and all new; and a single inventive human soul could create a thousand orders in an hour.* And this would have been discovered even in the worst times, but that, as I said, the greatest men of the age found expression for their invention in the other arts, and the

* That is to say, orders separated by such distinctions as the old Greek ones; considered with reference to the bearing power of the capital, all orders may be referred to two, as long ago stated;² just as trees may be referred to the two great classes, monocotyledonous and dicotyledonous.

¹ [See Vol. IX. pp. 35, 426.]

² [See *Ibid.*, p. 34.]

best of those who devoted themselves to architecture were in great part occupied in adapting the construction of buildings to new necessities, such as those developed by the invention of gunpowder (introducing a totally new and most interesting science of fortification, which directed the ingenuity of Sanmicheli and many others from its proper channel¹), and found interest of a meaner kind in the difficulties of reconciling the absolute architectural laws they had consented to revive, and the forms of Roman architecture which they agreed to copy, with the requirements of the daily life of the sixteenth century.

§ 92. These, then,² were the three principal directions in which the Renaissance pride manifested itself, and its impulses were rendered still more fatal by the entrance of another element, inevitably associated with pride. For, as it is written, "He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool," so also it is written, "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God;"³ and the self-adulation which influenced not less the learning of the age than its luxury, led gradually to the forgetfulness of all things but self, and to an infidelity only the more fatal because it still retained the form and language of faith.

§ 93. IV. INFIDELITY. In noticing the more prominent

¹ [See the note on Sanmichele above, p. 43, and compare the reference to Michael Angelo's conversations given at Vol. IX. p. 448 *n.*]

² [§ 92 to the end of the chapter forms chapter iv. in the second volume of the "Travellers' Edition," beginning "Such were the principal directions in which . . ." The side-heading "IV. Infidelity" at the beginning of § 93 was omitted. The chapter is headed "Infidelitas," and the following footnote is appended:—

"The text of my old book begins again here, unaltered. I should rewrite it now, in effect the same, but with much better sense of its close application to ourselves. In the original, the Renaissance Pride was divided into three heads, Pride of State, of Knowledge, and of System; but the last was insufficiently treated, and would lead us into quite other fields of weed, if we followed it now. For Venice in her wig and high-soled shoes thought just as much of herself as an English engineer—o an English banker—or an English Member of Parliament for the borough of Puddlecombe—or the Duke of D—building the profitable port of Barrow, and had set herself to just such profitable business."

The growth of Barrow-in-Furness was greatly increased by the construction in 1867 of the Devonshire and Buccleuch Docks. Ruskin objected to such enterprise on the ground, among others, that the heavy goods traffic on the Furness railway was undermining the ruins of the Abbey (see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 56).]

³ [Proverbs xxviii. 26; Psalms xiv. 1, liii. 1.]

forms in which this faithlessness manifested itself, it is necessary to distinguish justly between that which was the consequence of respect for Paganism, and that which followed from the corruption of Catholicism. For as the Roman architecture is not to be made answerable for the primal corruption of the Gothic,¹ so neither is the Roman philosophy to be made answerable for the primal corruption of Christianity. Year after year, as the history of the life of Christ sank back into the depth of time, and became obscured by the misty atmosphere of the history of the world,—as intermediate actions and incidents multiplied in number, and countless changes in men's modes of life and tones of thought rendered it more difficult for them to imagine the facts of distant time,—it became daily, almost hourly, a greater effort for the faithful heart to apprehend the entire veracity and vitality of the story of its Redeemer; and more easy for the thoughtless and remiss to deceive themselves as to the true character of the belief they had been taught to profess. And this must have been the case, had the pastors of the Church never failed in their watchfulness, and the Church itself never erred in its practice or doctrine. But when every year that removed the truths of the Gospel into deeper distance, added to them also some false or foolish tradition; when wilful distortion was added to natural obscurity, and the dimness of memory was disguised by the fruitfulness of fiction; when, moreover, the enormous temporal power granted to the clergy attracted into their ranks multitudes of men who, but for such temptation, would not have pretended to the Christian name, so that grievous wolves entered in among them, not sparing the flock;² and when, by the machinations of such men, and the remissness of others, the form and administration of Church doctrine and discipline had become little more than a means of aggrandising the power of the priesthood, it was impossible any longer for men of thoughtfulness

¹ [See above, p. 5, and Vol. VIII. p. 98.]

² [Acts xx. 29.]

or piety to remain in an unquestioning serenity of faith. The Church had become so mingled with the world that its witness could no longer be received; and the professing members of it, who were placed in circumstances such as to enable them to become aware of its corruptions, and whom their interest or their simplicity did not bribe or beguile into silence, gradually separated themselves into two vast multitudes of adverse energy, one tending to Reformation, and the other to Infidelity.

§ 94. Of these, the last stood, as it were, apart, to watch the course of the struggle between Romanism and Protestantism; a struggle which, however necessary, was attended with infinite calamity to the Church. For, in the first place, the Protestant movement was, in reality, not *reformation* but *reanimation*.* It poured new life into the Church, but it did not form or define her anew. In some sort it rather † broke down her hedges, so that all they who passed by might pluck off her grapes.¹ The reformers speedily found that the enemy was never far behind the sower of good seed; that an evil spirit might enter the ranks of reformation as well as those of resistance: and that though the deadly blight might be checked amidst the wheat,

* I was here still writing as a Protestant, and did not ask myself what sort of "animation," on the whole, was in the English and German Noblesse of the Reforming Party. Carlyle and Froude have together told us whatever was best in them. But the really efficient force in the whole business was—primarily, resolve to have everything their own way; and secondly, resolve to steal the Church lands and moneys. Of course the Church had misused, else it would never have lost them: but the whole question is, to my clearer knowledge of it, one of contention between various manners of temporal misbehaviour: the doctrines of the two parties are little more than their warcries, —and in the applications of them both alike false.

The most true and beautiful analysis of the entire debate that I know in literature is given in three of Scott's novels—if you know how to read them—*The Monastery*, *The Abbot*, and *Old Mortality*. [1881.]

† *Rather* so, certainly! Life had been before a labyrinth; but became then, a desert. See Part IV. of the *Bible of Amiens*, describing the old pavement of the Cathedral. [1881.]

¹ [Psalms lxxx. 12.]

there was no hope of ever ridding the wheat itself from the tares. New temptations were invented by Satan where-with to oppose the revived strength of Christianity: as the Romanist, confiding in his human teachers, had ceased to try whether they were teachers sent from God, so the Protestant, confiding in the teaching of the Spirit, believed every spirit, and did not try the spirits whether they were of God.¹ And a thousand enthusiasms and heresies speedily obscured the faith and divided the force of the Reformation.

§ 95. But the main evils rose out of the antagonism of the two great parties; primarily, in the mere fact of the existence of an antagonism. To the eyes of the unbeliever the Church of Christ, for the first time since its foundation, bore the aspect of a house divided against itself. Not that many forms of schism had not before arisen in it; but either they had been obscure and silent, hidden among the shadows of the Alps and the marshes of the Rhine; or they had been outbreaks of visible and unmistakable error, cast off by the Church, rootless, and speedily withering away, while, with much that was erring and criminal, she still retained within her the pillar and ground of the truth. But here was at last a schism in which truth and authority were at issue. The body that was cast off withered away no longer. It stretched out its boughs to the sea and its branches to the river, and it was the ancient trunk that gave signs of decrepitude. On one side stood the reanimated faith, in its right hand the Book open, and its left hand lifted up to heaven, appealing for its proof to the Word of the Testimony and the power of the Holy Ghost. On the other stood, or seemed to stand, all beloved custom and believed tradition; all that for fifteen hundred years had been closest to the hearts of men, or most precious for their help. Long-trusted legend; long-reverenced power; long-practised discipline; faiths that had ruled the destiny, and sealed the departure, of souls that

¹ [The Bible references in this section are Matthew xiii. and 1 John iv. 1.]

could not be told nor numbered for multitude; prayers, that from the lips of the fathers to those of the children had distilled like sweet waterfalls, sounding through the silence of ages, breaking themselves into heavenly dew to return upon the pastures of the wilderness; hopes, that had set the face as a flint in the torture, and the sword as a flame in the battle, that had pointed the purposes and ministered the strength of life, brightened the last glances and shaped the last syllables of death; charities, that had bound together the brotherhoods of the mountain and the desert, and had woven chains of pitying or aspiring communion between this world and the unfathomable beneath and above; and, more than these, the spirits of all the innumerable, undoubting dead, beckoning to the one way by which they had been content to follow the things that belonged unto their peace;¹—these all stood on the other side: and the choice must have been a bitter one, even at the best; but it was rendered tenfold more bitter by the natural, but most sinful, animosity of the two divisions of the Church against each other.

§ 96. On one side this animosity was, of course, inevitable. The Romanist party, though still including many Christian men, necessarily included, also, all the worst of those who called themselves Christians. In the fact of its refusing correction, it stood confessed as the Church of the unholy; and, while it still counted among its adherents many of the simple and believing,—men unacquainted with the corruption of the body to which they belonged, or incapable of accepting any form of doctrine but that which they had been taught from their youth,—it gathered together with them whatever was carnal and sensual in priesthood or in people, all the lovers of power in the one, and of ease in the other. And the rage of these men was, of course, unlimited against those who either disputed their authority, reprehended their manner of life, or cast suspicion upon the popular methods of lulling the

¹ [Luke xix. 42. The Bible references earlier in this section are Matthew xii. 25, xiii. 6; Psalms lxxx. 11, lxxv. 12.]

conscience in the lifetime, or purchasing salvation on the death-bed.

§ 97. Besides this, the reassertion and defence of various tenets which before had been little more than floating errors in the popular mind, but which, definitely attacked by Protestantism, it became necessary to fasten down with a band of iron and brass, gave a form at once more rigid and less rational to the whole body of Romanist Divinity. Multitudes of minds which in other ages might have brought honour and strength to the Church, preaching the more vital truths which it still retained, were now occupied in pleading for arraigned falsehoods, or magnifying disused frivolities; and it can hardly be doubted by any candid observer, that the nascent or latent errors which God pardoned in times of ignorance, became unpardonable when they were formally defined and defended; that fallacies which were forgiven to the enthusiasm of a multitude, were avenged upon the stubbornness of a Council; that, above all, the great invention of the age, which rendered God's word accessible to every man,* left all sins against its light incapable of excuse or expiation; and that from the moment when Rome set herself in direct opposition to the Bible,† the judgment was pronounced upon her which made her the scorn and the prey of her own

* What a little Edgeworthian gosling I still was, when I wrote this! See *Harry and Lucy*, vol. ii., p. 274, on the subject of the misery of the Dark Ages in only possessing manuscripts. "And then came the Dark Ages," said Lucy, "and in the Dark Ages I suppose people fell asleep and *could not think of glass*, or anything else!" This is the state of the model British-manufactured young lady's mind, in the year 1825. (Compare also the passage on the "Honour of Knighthood conferred on Sir Richard Arkwright"—and its money representation,—vol. i. p. 229.) I hope St. George's Museum at Sheffield has already shown some Yorkshire and Lancashire Protestants what a manuscript of the Bible was once, in Bolton and Furness.¹ [1881.]

† To the popular distribution of the Bible, I meant. But it had nothing whatever to do with the matter. Anybody may write out for themselves in ten minutes more Bible than they will learn to obey in ten years.

For the rest the main meaning of this paragraph is right enough, else I

¹ [See a later volume of this edition for MS. Bibles, etc., presented by Ruskin to the Museum.]

children, and cast her down from the throne where she had magnified herself against heaven, so low, that at last the unimaginable scene of the Bethlehem humiliation was mocked in the temples of Christianity. Judea had seen her God laid in the manger of the beast of burden: it was for Christendom to stable the beast of burden by the altar of her God.

§ 98. Nor, on the other hand, was the opposition of Protestantism to the Papacy less injurious to itself. That opposition was, for the most part, intemperate, undistinguishing, and incautious. It could indeed hardly be otherwise. Fresh bleeding from the sword of Rome, and still trembling at her anathema, the reformed churches were little likely to remember any of her benefits, or to regard any of her teaching. Forced by the Romanist contumely into habits of irreverence, by the Romanist fallacies into habits of disbelief, the self-trusting, rashly-reasoning spirit gained ground among them daily. Sect branched out of sect, presumption rose over presumption; the miracles of the early Church were denied and its martyrs forgotten, though their power and palm were claimed by the members of every persecuted sect; pride, malice, wrath, love of change, masked themselves under the thirst for truth, and mingled with the just resentment of deception, so that it became impossible even for the best and truest men to know the plague of their own hearts; while avarice and impiety openly transformed reformation into robbery, and reproof into sacrilege. Ignorance could as easily lead the foes of the Church, as lull her slumber; men who would once have been the unquestioning recipients, were now the shameless inventors of absurd or perilous superstitions; they who were of the temper that walketh in darkness,¹

had not reprinted it, and the end of it is not strong enough. The most beautiful Norman church in Chartres is a hay-loft, at this moment,²—such the holy zeal of the Catholic world, going pettifogging about in proclamation of its Immaculate Conception, etc. [1881.]

¹ [Ecclesiastes ii. 14.]

² [The church is St. André. Ruskin had been at Chartres in the autumn of 1880. "You look down on the church," writes Mr. Rooke, A. R. W. S., "in descending the steep narrow lane behind the Cathedral."]

gained little by having discovered their guides to be blind; and the simplicity of the faith, ill understood and contumaciously alleged, became an excuse for the rejection of the highest arts and most tried wisdom of mankind: while the learned infidel, standing aloof, drew his own conclusions, both from the rancour of the antagonists, and from their errors; believed each in all that he alleged against the other; and smiled with superior humanity, as he watched the winds of the Alps drift the ashes of Jerome,¹ and the dust of England drink the blood of King Charles.*

§ 99. Now all this evil was, of course, entirely independent of the renewal found the faith of Christendom already weakened and divided; and therefore it was itself productive of an effect tenfold greater than could have been apprehended from it at another time. It acted first, as before noticed, in leading the attention of all men to words instead of things; for it was discovered that the language of the Middle Ages had been corrupt, and the primal object of every scholar became now to purify his style. To this study of words, that of forms being added, both as of matters of the first importance, half the intellect of the age was at once absorbed in the base sciences of grammar, logic, and rhetoric; studies utterly unworthy of the serious labour of men, † and necessarily rendering

* A good concentrated paragraph, but full of literary coxcombry. I was very proud of it when I had got it finished, and am now only woful over the waste of time. There is no use whatever in this history of blunders. We have little time enough, in human life, to watch men who are doing right, and to help them. [1881.]

† The reader had, perhaps, better take breath. But it's all right, or nearly so, with a little expansion. Logic and rhetoric are indeed studies only for fools and hypocrites; all strong heads reason as easily as they walk, and all strong lips speak for truth's sake, and not emotion's. But grammar at a certain time of life is decidedly an expedient study,—and at any time of life an amusing one, if people have a turn for it. It should never be much more than play. Whether we say “two and two makes four,” or “two and

¹ [Jerome of Prague (c. 1365–1416), the friend and disciple of John Huss, and a pioneer of the Reformation, who was burnt at the stake in Constance, his ashes being gathered and thrown into the Rhine or to the winds.]

those employed upon them incapable of high thoughts or noble emotion. Of the debasing tendency of philology, no proof is needed beyond once reading a grammarian's notes on a great poet: logic is unnecessary for men who can reason; and about as useful to those who cannot as a machine for forcing one foot in due succession before the other would be to a man who could not walk: while the study of rhetoric is exclusively one for men who desire to deceive or be deceived; he who has the truth at his heart need never fear the want of persuasion on his tongue, or, if he fear it, it is because the base rhetoric of dishonesty keeps the truth from being heard.

§ 100. The study of these sciences, therefore, naturally made men shallow and dishonest in general; but it had a peculiarly fatal effect with respect to religion, in the view which men took of the Bible. Christ's teaching was discovered not to be rhetorical, St. Paul's preaching not to be logical, and the Greek of the New Testament not to be grammatical. The stern truth, the profound pathos, the impatient period, leaping from point to point and leaving the intervals for the hearer to fill, the comparatively Hebraized and unelaborate idiom, had little in them of attraction for the students of phrase and syllogism; and the chief knowledge of the age became one of the chief stumbling-blocks to its religion.

§ 101. But it was not the grammarian and logician alone who was thus retarded or perverted; in them there had been small loss. The men who could truly appreciate the higher excellences of the classics were carried away by a current of enthusiasm which withdrew them from every other study. Christianity was still professed as a matter of form, but neither the Bible nor the writings of the Fathers had time left for their perusal, still less heart left

two make," is of small consequence; but no accuracy of grammar will make it a safe statement that two and two make five. Of "grammar," in the original grand sense of the word, see *Mornings in Florence*, Part V., "the Strait Gate," § 93. [1881.]

for their acceptance. The human mind is not capable of more than a certain amount of admiration or reverence, and that which was given to Horace was withdrawn from David.* Religion is, of all subjects, that which will least endure a second place in the heart or thoughts, and a languid and occasional study of it was sure to lead to error or infidelity. On the other hand, what was heartily admired and unceasingly contemplated was soon brought high to being believed; and the systems of Pagan mythology began gradually to assume the places in the human mind from which the unwatched Christianity was wasting. Men did not indeed openly sacrifice to Jupiter, or build silver shrines for Diana, but the ideas of Paganism nevertheless became thoroughly vital and present with them at all times; and it did not matter in the least, as far as respected the power of true religion, whether the Pagan image was believed in or not, so long as it entirely occupied the thoughts. The scholar of the sixteenth century, if he saw the lightning shining from the east unto the west, thought forthwith of Jupiter, not of the coming of the Son of Man; if he saw the moon walking in brightness, he thought of Diana, not of the throne which was to be established for ever as a faithful witness in heaven; and though his heart was but secretly enticed, yet thus he denied the God that is above.†

And, truly,¹ this double creed, of Christianity confessed and Paganism beloved, was worse than Paganism itself, inasmuch as it refused effective and practical belief altogether. It would have been better to have worshipped Diana and Jupiter at once, than to have gone on through the whole of life naming one God, imagining another, and dreading none.

* True; but a good deal *ought* to be given to Horace, nevertheless.² [1881.]

† Job xxxi. 26–28. Psalm lxxxix. 37.

¹ [The “Travellers’ Edition” alters “indeed” to “truly.” A visitor who was at Brantwood when Ruskin was revising the chapter called his attention to the jingle “And, indeed, this double *creed*,” and he altered the word accordingly.]

² [For Ruskin’s fondness for Horace, see note at Vol. II. p. 79.]

Better, a thousandfold, to have been “a Pagan suckled in some creed outworn,”¹ than to have stood by the great sea of Eternity, and seen no God walking on its waves, no heavenly world on its horizon.

§ 102. This fatal result of an enthusiasm for classical literature was hastened and heightened by the misdirection of the powers of art. The imagination of the age was actively set to realise these objects of Pagan belief; and all the most exalted faculties of man, which, up to that period, had been employed in the service of Faith, were now transferred to the service of Fiction. The invention which had formerly been both sanctified and strengthened by labouring under the command of settled intention, and on the ground of assured belief, had now the reins laid upon its neck by passion, and all ground of fact cut from beneath its feet; and the imagination which formerly had helped men to apprehend the truth, now tempted them to believe a falsehood. The faculties themselves wasted away in their own treason; one by one they fell in the potter’s field; and the Raphael who seemed sent and inspired from heaven that he might paint Apostles and Prophets, sank at once into powerlessness at the feet of Apollo and the Muses.*

§ 103. But this was not all. The habit of using the greatest gifts of imagination upon fictitious subjects, of course destroyed the honour and value of the same imagination used in the cause of truth. Exactly in the proportion in which Jupiters and Mercuries were embodied and believed, in that proportion Virgins and Angels were disembodied and disbelieved. The images summoned by art began gradually to assume one average value in the spectator’s mind; and incidents from the Iliad and from the

* True, again, in general; yet the Parnassus is the greatest of the Vatican Raphael frescoes.²[1881.]

¹ [Wordsworth’s sonnet, beginning “The world is too much with us.”]

² [For Ruskin’s other references to this fresco, see note in Vol. XII. on *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 125.]

Exodus to come within the same degrees of credibility. And, farther, while the powers of the imagination were becoming daily more and more languid, because unsupported by faith, the manual skill and science of the artist were continually on the increase. When these had reached a certain point, they began to be the principal things considered in the picture, and its story or scene to be thought of only as a theme for their manifestation. Observe the difference. In old times, men used their powers of painting to show the objects of faith; in later times, they used the objects of faith that they might show their powers of painting. The distinction is enormous, the difference incalculable as irreconcilable. And thus, the more skilful the artist, the less his subject was regarded; and the hearts of men hardened as their handling softened, until they reached a point when sacred, profane, or sensual subjects were employed, with absolute indifference, for the display of colour and execution; and gradually the mind of Europe congealed into that state of utter apathy,—inconceivable, unless it had been witnessed, and unpardonable, unless by us, who have been infected by it,—which permits us to place the Madonna and the Aphrodite side by side in our galleries, and to pass, with the same unmoved inquiry into the manner of their handling, from a Bacchanal to a Nativity.

Now all this evil, observe, would have been merely the necessary and natural operation of an enthusiasm for the classics, and of a delight in the mere science of the artist, on the most virtuous mind. But this operation took place upon minds enervated by luxury, and which were tempted, at the very same period, to forgetfulness or denial of all religious principle by their own basest instincts. The faith which had been undermined by the genius of Pagans, was overthrown by the crimes of Christians; and the ruin which was begun by scholarship, was completed by sensuality. The characters of the heathen divinities were as suitable to the manners of the time as their forms were agreeable to its

taste; and Paganism again became, in effect, the religion of Europe. That is to say, the civilised world is at this moment, collectively, just as Pagan as it was in the second century;* a small body of believers being now, as they were then, representative of the Church of Christ in the midst of the faithless: but there is just this difference, and this very fatal one, between the second and nineteenth centuries, that the Pagans are nominally and fashionably Christians, and that there is every conceivable variety and shade of belief between the two; so that not only is it most difficult theoretically to mark the point where hesitating trust and failing practice change into definite infidelity, but it has become a point of politeness not to inquire too deeply into our neighbour's religious opinions; and, so that no one be offended by violent breach of external forms, to waive any close examination into the tenets of faith.

The fact is, we distrust each other and ourselves so much, that we dare not press this matter; we know that if, on any occasion of general intercourse, we turn to our next neighbour, and put to him some searching or testing question, we shall, in nine cases out of ten, discover him to be only a Christian in his own way, and as far as he thinks proper, and that he doubts of many things which we ourselves do not believe strongly enough to hear doubted without danger. What is in reality cowardice and faithlessness, we call charity; and consider it the part of benevolence sometimes to forgive men's evil practice for the sake of their accurate faith, and sometimes to forgive their confessed heresy for the sake of their admirable practice. And under this shelter of charity, humility, and faintheartedness, the world, unquestioned by others or by itself, mingles with and overwhelms the small

* I wish it were! But the worship of Bacteria and Holothuriæ had not been instituted when this was written. [1881.]¹

¹ [It was at about the time of this note that the science of the microscopic vegetable organisms called bacteria had become a separate study under the name of bacteriology. Holothuriæ (or strictly, holothuria, the word being a Latinised plural of the Greek oloqonrion), are a division of Echinoderms, "sea-cucumbers."]

body of Christians, legislates for them, moralises for them, reasons for them; and, though itself of course greatly and beneficently influenced by the association, and held much in check by its pretence to Christianity, yet undermines, in nearly the same degree, the sincerity and practical power of Christianity itself, until at last, in the very institutions of which the administration may be considered as the principal test of the genuineness of national religion—those devoted to education—the Pagan system is completely triumphant; and the entire body of the so-called Christian world has established a system of instruction for its youth, wherein neither the history of Christ's Church, nor the language of God's law, is considered a study of the smallest importance; wherein, of all subjects of human inquiry, his own religion is the one in which a youth's ignorance is most easily forgiven;* and in which it is held a light matter that he should be daily guilty of lying, of debauchery, or of blasphemy, so only that he write Latin verses accurately, and with speed.

I believe that in a few years more† we shall wake from all these errors in astonishment, as from evil dreams; having been preserved, in the midst of their madness, by those hidden roots of active and earnest Christianity which God's grace has bound in the English nation with iron and brass. But in the Venetian those roots themselves had withered; and, from the palace of their ancient religion, their pride cast them forth hopelessly to the pasture of the brute. From pride to infidelity, from infidelity to the unscrupulous

* I shall not forget the impression made upon me at Oxford, when, going up for my degree, and mentioning to one of the authorities that I had not had time enough to read the Epistles properly, I was told, that "the Epistles were separate sciences, and I need not trouble myself about them."

The reader will find some farther notes on this subject in Appendix 7, "Modern Education"¹[p. 258].

† Carlyle allows two hundred or so; I hope, too liberally. [1881.]

¹ [In place of this note, the "Travellers' Edition" has:—

"This paragraph is a very good one; but already superannuated. The enemy is now not Latin Verse, but Cockney Prose."]

"This paragraph," is the passage from "The fact is. . . speed," of which, in the "Travellers' Edition," a separate paragraph was made.]

and insatiable pursuit of pleasure, and from this to irremediable degradation, the transitions were swift, like the falling of a star. The great palaces of the haughtiest nobles of Venice were stayed, before they had risen far above their foundations, by the blast of a penal poverty; and the wild grass, on the unfinished fragments of their mighty shafts, waves at the tide-mark where the power of the godless people first heard the "Hitherto shalt thou come."¹ And the regeneration in which they had so vainly trusted, —the new birth and clear dawning, as they thought it, of all art, all knowledge, and all hope,—became to them as that dawn which Ezekiel saw on the hills of Israel: "Behold the Day; behold, it is come. The rod hath blossomed, pride hath budded, violence is risen up into a rod of wickedness. None of them shall remain, nor of their multitude; let not the buyer rejoice, nor the seller mourn, for wrath is upon all the multitude thereof."²

¹ [Job xxxviii. 11.]

² [Ezekiel vii. 10.]

CHAPTER III

GROTESQUE RENAISSANCE¹

§ 1. IN the close of the last chapter it was noted that the phases of transition in the moral temper of the falling Venetians, during their fall, were from pride to infidelity, and from infidelity to the unscrupulous *pursuit of pleasure*. During the last years of the existence of the state, the minds both of the nobility and the people seem to have been set simply upon the attainment of the means of self-indulgence. There was not strength enough in them to be proud, nor forethought enough to be ambitious. One by one the possessions of the state were abandoned to its enemies; one by one the channels of its trade were forsaken by its own languor, or occupied and closed against it by its more energetic rivals; and the time, the resources, and the thoughts of the nation were exclusively occupied in the invention of such fantastic and costly pleasures as might best amuse their apathy, lull their remorse, or disguise their ruin.

§ 2. The architecture raised at Venice during this period is among the worst and basest ever built by the hands of men, being especially distinguished by a spirit of brutal mockery and insolent jest, which, exhausting itself in deformed and monstrous sculpture, can sometimes be hardly otherwise defined than as the perpetuation in stone of the ribaldries of drunkenness. On such a period, and on such work, it is painful to dwell, and I had not originally intended to do so; but I found that the entire spirit of the Renaissance could not be

¹ [Of this chapter the "Travellers' Edition" reprints (a) §§ 1–22, 39, and 76 as chapter v. of vol. ii., headed "Mene," and beginning "In the course of the last two chapters we have seen that the phases. . ."; (b) §§ 52–67 as Appendix i., headed "Grotesque Renaissance." With the chapter, compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. viii.; and vol. iv. Appendix 1.]

comprehended unless it was followed to its consummation; and that there were many most interesting questions arising out of the study of this particular spirit of jesting, with reference to which I have called it the *Grotesque Renaissance*. For it is not this period alone which is distinguished by such a spirit. There is jest—perpetual, careless, and not unfrequently obscene—in the most noble work of the Gothic periods;¹ and it becomes, therefore, of the greatest possible importance to examine into the nature and essence of the Grotesque itself, and to ascertain in what respect it is that the jesting of art in its highest flight differs from its jesting in its utmost degradation.

§ 3. The place where we may best commence our inquiry is one renowned in the history of Venice, the space of ground before the Church of Santa Maria Formosa; a spot which, after the Rialto and St. Mark's Place, ought to possess a peculiar interest in the mind of the traveller, in consequence of its connexion with the most touching and true legend of the Brides of Venice. That legend is related at length in every Venetian history, and, finally, has been told by the poet Rogers, in a way which renders it impossible for any one to tell it after him. I have only, therefore, to remind the reader that the capture of the brides took place in the cathedral church, St. Pietro di Castello; and that this of Santa Maria Formosa is connected with the tale, only because it was yearly visited with prayers by the Venetian maidens, on the anniversary of their ancestors' deliverance. For that deliverance, their thanks were to be rendered to the Virgin; and there was no church then dedicated to the Virgin in Venice except this.*

Neither of the cathedral church, nor of this dedicated to St. Mary the Beautiful, is one stone left upon another.

* Mutinelli, *Annali Urbani*, lib. i. p. 24; and the Chronicle of 1378, quoted by Gallicioli: "Attrovandosi allora la giesia de Sta. Maria Formosa sola giesia del nome della gloriosa Vergine Maria."

¹ [See Vol. X. ch. vi. p. 72, where a discussion of this subject was promised.]

But from that which has been raised on the site of the latter, we may receive a most important lesson, introductory to our immediate subject, if first we glance back to the traditional history of the church which has been destroyed.

§ 4. No more honourable epithet than “traditional” can be attached to what is recorded concerning it, yet I should grieve to lose the legend of its first erection. The Bishop of Uderzo,* driven by the Lombards from his bishopric, as he was praying beheld in a vision the Virgin Mother, who ordered him to found a church in her honour, in the place where he should see a white cloud rest. And when he went out, the white cloud went before him; and on the place where it rested he built a church, and it was called the Church of St. Mary the Beautiful, from the loveliness of the form in which she appeared in the vision.†

This first church stood only for about two centuries. It was rebuilt in 864, and enriched with various relics some fifty years later; relics belonging principally to St. Nicodemus, and much lamented when they and the church were together destroyed by fire in 1105.

It was then rebuilt in “magnifica forma,” much resembling, according to Corner, the architecture of the chancel of St. Mark;‡ but the information which I find in various writers, as to the period at which it was reduced to its present condition, is both sparing and contradictory.

§ 5. Thus, by Corner, we are told that this church resembling St. Mark’s, “remained untouched for more than four centuries, until, in 1689, it was thrown down by an earthquake,

*Altinum. See clearer statement in *St. Mark’s Rest*. [1881. Ch. vi. (“Red and white clouds”).]

† Or from the brightness of the cloud, according to the Padre who arranged the “*Memorie delle Chiese di Venezia*,” vol. iii. p. 7. Compare Corner, p. 42. This first church was built in 639.

‡ Perhaps both Corner and the Padre founded their diluted information on the short sentence of Sansovino: “Finalmente, l’ anno 1075, fu ridotta a perfezione da Paolo Barbetta, sul modello del corpo di mezzo della chiesa di S. Marco.” Sansovino, however, gives 842, instead of 864, as the date of the first rebuilding.

and restored by the piety of a rich merchant, Turrin Toroni, “in ornatissima forma;” and that, for the greater beauty of the renewed church, it had added to it two façades of marble. With this information that of the Padre dell’ Oratorio agrees, only he gives the date of the earlier rebuilding of the church in 1175, and ascribes it to an architect of the name of Barbetta. But Quadri, in his usually accurate little guide,¹ tells us that this Barbetta rebuilt the church in the fourteenth century; and that of the two façades, so much admired by Corner, one is of the sixteenth century, and its architect unknown; and the rest of the church is of the seventeenth, “in the style of Sansovino.”

§ 6. There is no occasion to examine, or endeavour to reconcile, these conflicting accounts. All that it is necessary for the reader to know is, that every vestige of the church in which the ceremony took place was destroyed *at least* as early as 1689; and that the ceremony itself, having been abolished in the close of the fourteenth century, is only to be conceived as taking place in that more ancient church, resembling St. Mark’s, which, even according to Quadri, existed until that period. I would, therefore, endeavour to fix the reader’s mind, for a moment, on the contrast between the former and latter aspect of this plot of ground; the former, when it had its Byzantine church, and its yearly procession of the Doge and the Brides; and the latter, when it has its Renaissance church “in the style of Sansovino,” and its yearly honouring is done away.

§ 7. And, first, let us consider for a little the significance and nobleness of that early custom of the Venetians, which brought about the attack and the rescue of the year 943: that there should be but one marriage day for the nobles of the whole nation,* so that all might rejoice together; and that

* Or at least for its principal families.² Vide Appendix 8: “Early Venetian Marriages” [p.263].

¹ [*Otto Giorni a Venezia*, by A. Quadri, 1824.]

² [In the “Travellers’ Edition” Ruskin added:
“; but the evidence is in favour of the totality.”]

the sympathy might be full not only of the families who that year beheld the alliance of their children, and prayed for them in one crowd, weeping before the altar, but of all the families of the state, who saw, in the day which brought happiness to others, the anniversary of their own. Imagine the strong bond of brotherhood thus sanctified among them, and consider also the effect on the minds of the youth of the state; the greater deliberation and openness necessarily given to the contemplation of marriage, to which all the people were solemnly to bear testimony; the more lofty and unselfish tone which it would give to all their thoughts. It was the exact contrary of stolen marriage. It was marriage to which God and man were taken for witnesses, and every eye was invoked for its glance, and every tongue for its prayers.*

§ 8. Later historians have delighted themselves in dwelling on the pageantry of the marriage day itself, but I do not find that they have authority for the splendour of their descriptions. I cannot find a word in the older Chronicles about the jewels or dress of the brides, and I believe the ceremony to have been more quiet and homely than is usually supposed. The only sentence which gives colour to the usual accounts of it is one of Sansovino's, in which he says that the magnificent dress of the brides in his day was founded "on ancient custom."† However this may have

* "Nazionale quasi la cerimonia, perciocche per essa nuovi difensori ad acquistar andava la patria, sostegni nuovi le leggi, la libertà."—*Mutinelli*.

† "Vestita, *per antico uso*, di bianco, e con chiome sparse giù per le spalle, conteste con fila d' oro." "Dressed according to ancient usage in white, and with her hair thrown down upon her shoulders, interwoven with threads of gold." This was when she was first brought out of her chamber to be seen by the guests invited to the espousals. "And when the form of the espousal has been gone through, she is led, to the sound of pipes and trumpets, and other musical instruments, round the room, *dancing serenely all the time, and bowing herself before the guests* ("ballando placidamente, e facendo inchini ai convitati"); and so she returns to her chamber: and when other guests have arrived, she again comes forth, and makes the circuit of the chamber. And this is repeated for an hour or somewhat more; and then, accompanied by many ladies who wait for her, she enters a gondola without its felze (canopy), and seated on a somewhat raised seat covered with carpets, with a great number of gondolas following her, she goes to visit the monasteries and convents, wheresoever she has any relations."

been, the circumstances of the rite were otherwise very simple. Each maiden brought her dowry with her in a small "cassetta," or chest; they went first to the cathedral, and waited for the youths, who having come, they heard mass together, and the bishop preached to them and blessed them; and so each bridegroom took his bride and her dowry, and bore her home.

§ 9. It seems that the alarm given by the attack of the pirates put an end to the custom of fixing one day for all marriages: but the main objects of the institution were still attained by the perfect publicity given to the marriages of all the noble families; the bridegroom standing in the court of the Ducal Palace to receive congratulations on his betrothal, and the whole body of the nobility attending the nuptials, and rejoicing, "as at some personal good fortune; since, by the constitution of the state, they are for ever incorporated together, as if of one and the same family."* But the festival of the 2nd of February, after the year 943, seems to have been observed only in memory of the deliverance of the brides, and no longer set apart for public nuptials.

§ 10. There is much difficulty in reconciling the various accounts, or distinguishing the inaccurate ones, of the manner of keeping this memorable¹ festival. I shall first give Sansovino's, which is the popular one, and then note the points of importance in the counter statements. Sansovino says that the success of the pursuit of the pirates was owing to the ready help and hard fighting of the men of the district of Sta. Maria Formosa, for the most part trunkmakers; and that they, having been presented after the victory to the Doge and the Senate, were told to ask some favour for their reward. "The good men then said that they desired the Prince, with his wife and the Signory, to visit every year the church of their district, on the day of its

* Sansovino.

¹ [The MS. reads "memorial."]

feast. And the prince asking them, 'Suppose it should rain?' they answered, 'We will give you hats to cover you; and if you are thirsty, we will give you to drink.' Whence it is that the Vicar, in the name of the people, presents to the Doge, on his visit, two flasks of malvoisie* and two oranges; and presents to him two gilded hats, bearing the arms of the Pope, of the Prince, and of the Vicar. And thus was instituted the Feast of the Maries, which was called noble and famous because the people from all round came together to behold it. And it was celebrated in this manner: . . ." The account which follows is somewhat prolix; but its substance is, briefly, that twelve maidens were elected, two for each division of the city; and that it was decided by lot which contrade, or quarters of the town, should provide them with dresses. This was done at enormous expense, one contrada contending with another, and even the jewels of the treasury of St. Mark being lent for the occasion to the "Maries," as the twelve damsels were called. They, being thus dressed with gold, and silver, and jewels, went in their galley to St. Mark's for the Doge, who joined them with the Signory, and went first to San Pietro di Castello to hear mass on St. Mark's Day, the 31st of January,¹ and to Santa Maria Formosa on the 2nd of February, the intermediate day being spent in passing in procession through the streets of the city; "and sometimes there arose quarrels about the places they should pass through, for every one wanted them to pass by his house."

§ 11. Nearly the same account is given by Corner, who, however, does not say anything about the hats or the malvoisie. These, however, we find again in the *Matricola de' Casseleri*,² which, of course, sets the services of the

* English, "Malmsey." The reader will find a most amusing account of the negotiations between the English and Venetians, touching the supply of London with this wine, in Mr. Brown's translation of the Giustiniani papers. See Appendix 9 [p. 264].

¹ [*i.e.*, the feast of the translation of St. Mark.]

² [The register, or matriculation book, of the Guild of Trunkmakers.]

which the poet ascribes to the bridegrooms alone; an interference quite as inopportune as that of old Le Balafré with the victory of his nephew, in the unsatisfactory conclusion of *Quentin Durward*. I am afraid I cannot get the casketmakers quite out of the way; but it may gratify some of my readers to know that a chronicle of the year 1378, quoted by Gallicciolli,¹ denies the agency of the people of Sta. Maria Formosa altogether, in these terms: "Some say that the people of Sta. M. Formosa were those who recovered the *Spoil*" ("preda;" I may notice, in passing, that most of the old chroniclers appear to consider the recovery of the *caskets* rather more a subject of congratulation than that of the brides), "and that, for their reward, they asked the Doge and Signory to visit Sta. M. Formosa; but *this is false*. The going to Sta. M. Formosa was because the thing had succeeded on that day, and because this was then the only church in Venice in honour of the Virgin." But here is again the mistake about the day itself; and besides, if we get rid altogether of the trunkmakers, how are we to account for the ceremony of the oranges and hats, of which the accounts seem authentic? If, however, the reader likes to substitute "carpenters" or "house-builders" for casket-makers, he may do so with great reason (vide Gallicciolli, lib. ii. § 1758); but I fear that one or the other body of tradesmen must be allowed to have had no small share in the honour of the victory.

§ 13. But whatever doubt attaches to the particular circumstances of its origin, there is none respecting the splendour of the festival itself, as it was celebrated for four centuries afterwards. We find that each *contrada* spent from 800 to 1000 zecchins in the dress of the "Maries" entrusted to it; but I cannot find among how many *contradas* the twelve *Maries* were divided; it is also to be supposed that most of the accounts given refer to the later periods of the celebration of the festival. In the beginning of the eleventh

¹ [For the fuller reference to this author, see Vol. X. ch. iv. § 24.]

century, the good Doge Pietro Orseolo II. left in his will the third of his entire fortune “per la festa delle Marie;” and, in the fourteenth century, so many people came from the rest of Italy to see it, that special police regulations were made for it, and the Council of Ten were twice summoned before it took place.* The expense lavished upon it seems to have increased till the year 1379, when all the resources of the republic were required for the terrible war of Chiozza, and all festivity was for that time put an end to. The issue of the war left the Venetians with neither the power nor the disposition to restore the festival on its ancient scale, and they seem to have been ashamed to exhibit it in reduced splendour. It was entirely abolished.

§ 14. As if to do away even with its memory, every feature of the surrounding scene which was associated with that festival has been in succeeding ages destroyed. With one solitary exception,† there is not a house left in the whole Piazza of Santa Maria Formosa from whose windows the festa of the Maries has ever been seen: of the church in which they worshipped, not a stone is left, even the form of the ground and direction of the neighbouring canals are changed: and there is now but one landmark to guide the steps of the traveller to the place where the white cloud rested, and the shrine was built to St. Mary the Beautiful. Yet the spot is still worth his pilgrimage, for he may receive a lesson upon it, though a painful one. Let him first fill his mind with the fair images of the ancient festival,¹ and then seek that landmark, the tower of the modern church, built upon the place where the daughters of Venice knelt yearly with her noblest

* “XV. diebus et octo diebus ante festum Mariarum omni anno.”—*Galliciolli*. The same precautions were taken before the Feast of the Ascension.

† Casa Vittura.

¹ [In his copy for revision, Ruskin has here again referred to Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, as giving the spirit of such scenes: see part iii. 26.]

lords; and let him look at the head that is carved on the base of the tower,* still dedicated to St. Mary the Beautiful.

§ 15. A head,—huge, inhuman, and monstrous,¹—leering in bestial degradation, too foul to be either pictured or described, or to be beheld for more than an instant: yet let it be endured for that instant; for in that head is embodied the type of the evil spirit to which Venice was abandoned in the fourth period of her decline; and it is well that we should see and feel the full horror of it on this spot, and know what pestilence it was that came and breathed upon her beauty, until it melted away like the white cloud from the ancient field of Santa Maria Formosa.

§ 16. This head is one of many hundreds which disgrace the latest buildings of the city, all more or less agreeing in their expression of sneering mockery, in most cases enhanced by thrusting out the tongue. Most of them occur upon the bridges, which were among the very last works undertaken by the republic, several, for instance, upon the Bridge of Sighs; and they are evidences of a delight in the contemplation of bestial vice, and the expression of low sarcasm, which is, I believe, the most hopeless state into which the human mind can fall. This spirit of idiotic mockery is, as I have said, the most striking characteristic of the last period of the Renaissance, which, in consequence of the character thus imparted to its sculpture, I have called grotesque; but it must be our immediate task, and it will be a most interesting one,² to distinguish between this base grotesqueness, and that magnificent condition of fantastic imagination, which was above noticed as one of the chief elements of the Northern Gothic mind. Nor is this a question of interesting speculation merely: for the distinction between the true and false

* The keystone of the arch on its western side facing the canal.

¹ [A reminiscence of Virgil's description of the Cyclops—"Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens" (*Æn.* iii. 658). For another reference to the head, see below, p. 162.]

² [The "Travellers' Edition" here has a footnote: "See Appendix I.," which in that edition consisted of §§ 52-67, below.]

grotesque is one which the present tendencies of the English mind have rendered it practically important to ascertain; and that in a degree which, until he has made some progress in the consideration of the subject, the reader will hardly anticipate.

§ 17. But, first, I have to note one peculiarity in the late architecture of Venice, which will materially assist us in understanding the true nature of the spirit which is to be the subject of our inquiry; and this peculiarity, singularly enough, is first exemplified in the very facade of Santa Maria Formosa, which is flanked by the grotesque head to which our attention has just been directed. This facade, whose architect is unknown, consists of a pediment, sustained on four Corinthian pilasters, and is, I believe, the earliest in Venice which appears *entirely destitute of every religious symbol, sculpture, or inscription*; unless the cardinal's hat upon the shield in the centre of the pediment be considered a religious symbol. The entire facade is nothing else than a monument to the Admiral Vincenzo Cappello. Two tablets, one between each pair of flanking pillars, record his acts and honours; and, on the corresponding spaces upon the base of the church, are two circular trophies, composed of halberts, arrows, flags, tridents, helmets, and lances: sculptures which are just as valueless in a military as in an ecclesiastical point of view; for being all copied from the forms of Roman arms and armour, they cannot even be referred to for information respecting the costume of the period. Over the door, as the chief ornament of the facade, exactly in the spot which in the "barbarous" St. Mark's is occupied by the figure of Christ, is the statue of Vincenzo Cappello, in Roman armour. He died in 1542; and we have, therefore, the latter part of the sixteenth century fixed as the period when, in Venice, churches were first built to the glory of man, instead of the glory of God.

§ 18. Throughout the whole of Scripture history, nothing is more remarkable than the close connexion of punishment with the sin of vain-glory. Every other sin is occasionally permitted to remain, for lengthened periods, without definite

chastisement; but the forgetfulness of God, and the claim of honour by man, as belonging to himself, are visited at once, whether in Hezekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, or Herod, with the most tremendous punishment. We have already seen¹ that the first reason for the fall of Venice was the manifestation of such a spirit; and it is most singular to observe the definiteness with which it is here marked,—as if so appointed, that it might be impossible for future ages to miss the lesson. For, in the long inscriptions which record the acts of Vincenzo Cappello, it might at least have been anticipated that some expressions would occur indicative of remaining pretence to religious feeling, or formal acknowledgment of Divine power. But there are none whatever. The name of God does not once occur; that of St. Mark is found only in the statement that Cappello was a procurator of the church: there is no word touching either on the faith or hope of the deceased; and the only sentence which alludes to supernatural powers at all, alludes to them under the heathen name of *fates*, in its explanation of what the Admiral Cappello *would* have accomplished, “*nisi fata Christianis adversa vetuissent.*”*

§ 19. Having taken sufficient note of all the baseness of mind which these facts indicate in the people, we shall not be surprised to find immediate signs of dotage in the conception of their architecture. The churches raised throughout this period are so grossly debased, that even the Italian critics

* The inscriptions are as follows:

To the left of the reader—

“VINCENTIUS CAPELLUS MARITIMARUM
RERUM PERITISSIMUS ET ANTIQUORUM
LAUDIBUS PAR, TRIREMIUM ONERARIA
RUM PRÆFECTUS, AB HERRICO VII. BRI
TANNIÆ REGE INSIGNE DONATUS CLAS
SIS LEGATUS V. IMP. DESIG. TER CLAS
SEM DEDUXIT, COLLAPSAM NAVALEM DIS
CIPLINAM RESTITUIT, AD ZACYNTHUM
AURIÆ CÆSARIS LEGATO PRISCAM
VENETAM VIRTUTEM OSTENDIT.”

¹ [See above, ch. ii. §§ 46 *seq.*]

of the present day, who are partially awakened to the true state of art in Italy, though blind, as yet, to its true cause, exhaust their terms of reproach upon these last efforts of the Renaissance builders. The two churches of San Moisè and Santa Maria Zobenigo, which are among the most remarkable in Venice for their manifestation of insolent atheism, are characterised by Lazari, the one as “culmine d’ ogni

To the right of the reader—

“IN AMBRACIO SINU BARBARUSSUM OTTHO
MANICÆ CLASSIS DUCEM INCLUSIT
POSTRIDIE AD INTERNITIONEM DELETU
RUS NISI FATA CHRISTIANIS ADVERSA
VETUISSENT. IN RYZONICO SINU CASTRO NOVO
EXPUGNATO DIVI MARCI PROCUR
UNIVERSO REIP CONSENSU CREATUS
IN PATRIA MORITUR TOTIUS CIVITATIS
MÆRORE, ANNO ÆTATIS LXXIV. MDXLII. XIV. CAL. SEPT.”¹

¹ [The inscriptions may thus be translated:—

“Vincenzo Capello, in maritime affairs exceeding skilful and equal to the praises of men of old time; commander of the merchant fleet; by Henry VII. (?VIII), the illustrious King of Britain, rewarded; after having been five times appointed Legate of the fleet and three times commander-in-chief, again launched the fleet, restored from collapse the discipline of the navy, and at Zante displayed to Doria, the Legate of the Emperor, the ancient valour of Venice.

“In the Ambracian Gulf he shut in Barbarossa, the commander of the Ottoman fleet, and would on the next day have brought him to destruction, had not fortune, adverse to the Christian cause, prevented. In the Ryzonic Gulf he captured Castle Nuovo. By common consent of the Republic he was appointed Procurator of Saint Mark. He died in his own country, to the grief of the whole state, in the 74th year of his age, 1542, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of September (*i.e.*, on August 18).”

The exploits thus recorded refer, for the most part, to the naval war with the Turks, 1537–1540, in which Venice was in alliance with the Pope and the Emperor. The command was given to Capello, in spite of his advanced years, and Venice, as was her fate in other wars, received little support from her allies. The Turkish fleet under Chaireddin Barbarossa was in the Gulf of Arta (the Ambracian Gulf of classical geography), and Cappello succeeded in taking Prevesa at the entrance of the gulf. Doria, the admiral of the Spanish fleet, had joined the Venetians with a part of his force; but “his excessive caution, if it were not downright treachery, prevented the Venetian admiral from carrying out his operations with sufficient *élan* to secure a victory.” This was what the inscription meant by its “fata Christianis adversa.” The issue of the combat was doubtful, and the honours rested with the Turks, for the whole allied fleet withdrew to Corfu. Capello then reluctantly followed Doria’s advice, and sailed away to the coasts of Albania, where he captured and burnt the town of Castel Nuovo, near Cattaro. In 1540 the Republic concluded a disastrous peace with the Turks, Capello being appointed to the post of Procurator of St. Mark’s, one of the most coveted and honourable offices in the Republic. The story of the campaign may be read in Daru’s History, vol. iv. (Book xxvi. §§ 8, 9); at p. 78 a spirited speech of Capello to Doria is reported, which may be what the inscription refers to in the words “Cæsaris legato priscam Venetam virtutem ostendit.” The town of Auria, between Brindisi and Taranto, is said to have given its name to the Doria family. For a short summary of the events in question, see H. F. Brown’s *Venice*, p. 363.]

folia architettonica,” the other as “orrìdo ammasso di pietra d’ Istria,” with added expressions of contempt, as just as it is unmitigated.

§ 20. Now both these churches, which I should like the reader to visit in succession, if possible, after that of Sta. Maria Formosa, agree with that church, and with each other, in being totally destitute of religious symbols, and entirely dedicated to the honour of two Venetian families. In San Moisè,¹ a bust of Vincenzo Fini is set on a tall narrow pyramid above the central door, with this marvellous inscription:

“OMNE FASTIGIVM
VIRTUTE IMPLET
VINCENTIVS FINI.”

It is very difficult to translate this: for “fastigium,” besides its general sense, has a particular one in architecture, and refers to the part of the building occupied by the bust; but the main meaning of it is that “Vincenzo Fini fills all height with his virtue.” The inscription goes on into farther praise, but this example is enough. Over the two lateral doors are two other laudatory inscriptions of younger members of the Fini family, the dates of death of the three heroes being 1660, 1685, and 1726, marking thus the period of consummate degradation.

§ 21. In like manner, the Church of Santa Maria Zobenigo is entirely dedicated to the Barbaro family;² the only religious symbols with which it is invested being statues of angles blowing brazen trumpets, intended to express the spreading of the fame of the Barbaro family in heaven. At

¹ [The church of Santa Maria Zobenigo must have been seen every day by Ruskin, for his house was in its square, while San Moisè was on his way to St. Mark’s. Each church contains a Tintoret: see Venetian Index, below, pp. 394, 436. Vincenzo Fini was a procurator of St. Mark’s.]

² [Ruskin noted the significance of this in a letter to his father:—

“26th *December* [1851].— . . . The enclosed paper is interesting, and worth keeping—the announcement of the death of the last male of the noblest house in Venice. The daughter is old, and has no children; the nephews are by the female side. All are going the same way. One of Effie’s oldest and feeblest friends is the last—even of the female branch—of the Mocenigos; and where we dined yesterday, in the Ca’ Barbaro, five or six stranger families—the English Consul’s one—inhabit the lower floors and state rooms of the

the top of the church is Venice crowned, between Justice and Temperance, Justice holding a pair of grocer's scales, of iron, swinging in the wind. There is a two-necked stone eagle (the Barbaro crest), with a copper crown, in the centre of the pediment. A huge statue of a Barbaro in armour, with a fantastic head-dress, over the central door; and four Barbaros in niches, two on each side of it, strutting statues, in the common stage postures of the period,—Jo. Maria Barbaro, sapiens ordinum; Marinus Barbaro, Senator (reading a speech in a Ciceronian attitude); Franc. Barbaro, legatus in classe (in armour, with high-heeled boots, and looking resolutely fierce); and Carolus Barbaro, sapiens ordinum: the decorations of the façade being completed by two trophies, consisting of drums, trumpets, flags, and cannon; and six plans, sculptured in relief, of the towns of Zara, Candia, Padua, Rome, Corfu, and Spalatro.

§ 22. When the traveller has sufficiently considered the meaning of this facade, he ought to visit the Church of St. Eustachio, remarkable for the dramatic effect of the group of sculpture on its façade, and then the Church of the Ospedaletto (see Index, under head Ospedaletto), noticing, on his way, the heads on the foundations of the Palazzo Corner della Regina, and the Palazzo Pesaro, and any other heads carved on the modern bridges, closing with those on the Bridge of Sighs.

He will then have obtained a perfect idea of the style and feeling of the Grotesque Renaissance.¹ I cannot pollute this volume by any illustration of its worst forms, but the head turned to the front, on the right-hand in the opposite Plate [3], will give the general reader an idea of its most

palace; while its possessors—two old men, brothers, the last of the Barbaros, live in one of the garrets on the fourth story. There is reason enough for all this, as I shall show in my book.

“In the little square at the side of our house there is a church, Sta. Maria Zobenigo, and in front of it, instead of saints or sacred sculptures, there are four large niches, in the most conspicuous divisions of the architecture, filled by *four statues of the Barbaros*, and a fifth over the door.

“So they have been brought to their garrets justly.”]

¹ [Here the “Travellers’ Edition” stops, resuming at § 39, below.]

trunkmakers and the privileges obtained by them in the most brilliant light.¹ The quaintness of the old Venetian is hardly to be rendered into English. “And you must know that the said trunkmakers were the men who were the cause of such victory, and of taking the galley, and of cutting all the Triestines to pieces, because, at that time, they were valiant men and well in order. The which victory was on the 2nd February, on the day of the Madonna of candles.² And at the request and entreaties of the said trunkmakers, it was decreed that the Doge, every year, as long as Venice should endure, should go on the eve of the said feast to vespers in the said church, with the Signory. And be it noted, that the Vicar is obliged to give to the Doge two flasks of malvoisie, with two oranges besides. And so it is observed, and will be observed always.” The reader must observe the continual confusion between St. Mark’s Day the 31st of January, and Candlemas the 2nd of February. The fact appears to be, that the marriage day in the old republic was St. Mark’s Day, and the recovery of the brides was the same day at evening; so that, as we are told by Sansovino, the commemorative festival began on that day, but it was continued to the day of the Purification, that especial thanks might be rendered to the Virgin; and the visit to Sta. Maria Formosa being the most important ceremony of the whole festival, the old chroniclers, and even Sansovino, got confused, and asserted the victory itself to have taken place on the day appointed for that pilgrimage.

§ 12. I doubt not that the reader who is acquainted with the beautiful lines of Rogers is as much grieved as I am at this interference of the “casket-makers” with the achievement

¹ [It will be remembered that when the rape of the brides took place, the Doge hurried to the church of S. Maria Formosa, and called the people to arms. Some vessels belonging to the Trunkmakers’ or Cabinetmakers’ Guild, whose quarter was near the church, were at once offered, and in them the avengers set forth to capture the pirates.]

² [At Candlemas, the festival which commemorates the Purification of the Virgin, the candles which are to be used during the year for ecclesiastical purposes are lighted and consecrated, in emblematical reference to the prophecy of Simeon that the child Jesus should become “a light to lighten the Gentiles.”]



J. Ruskin

Noble and Ignoble Grotesque .

Theo. Lupton
Allen & Co. Sc.

graceful and refined developments.¹ The figure set beside it, on the left, is a piece of noble grotesque, from fourteenth century Gothic; and it must be our present task to ascertain the nature of the difference which exists between the two, by an accurate inquiry into the true essence of the grotesque spirit itself.²

§ 23. First, then, it seems to me that the grotesque is, in almost all cases, composed of two elements, one ludicrous, the other fearful; that, as one or the other of these elements prevails, the grotesque falls into two branches, sportive grotesque and terrible grotesque; but that we cannot legitimately consider it under these two aspects, because there are hardly any examples which do not in some degree combine both elements: there are few grotesques so utterly playful as to be overcast with no shade of fearfulness, and few so fearful as absolutely to exclude all ideas of jest. But although we cannot separate the grotesque itself into two branches, we may easily examine separately the two conditions of mind which it seems to combine; and consider successively what are the kinds of jest, and what the kinds of fearfulness, which may be legitimately expressed in the various walks of art, and how their expressions actually occur in the Gothic and Renaissance schools.

First, then, what are the conditions of playfulness which we may fitly express in noble art, or which (for this is the same thing) are consistent with nobleness in humanity? In other words, what is the proper function of play, with respect not to youth merely, but to all mankind?

§ 24. It is a much more serious question than may be at first supposed; for a healthy manner of play is necessary in order to a healthy manner of work; and because the choice of our recreation is, in most cases, left to ourselves, while the nature of our work is as generally fixed by necessity or authority, it may well be doubted whether

¹ [For further explanation of the Plate, see below, p. 190]

² [In his earliest architectural essay Ruskin had considered this question: see *The Poetry of Architecture*, § 206, Vol. I. p. 155, and compare the other passages there noted.]

more distressful consequences may not have resulted from mistaken choice in play than from mistaken direction in labour.

§ 25. Observe, however, that we are only concerned here with that kind of play which causes laughter or implies recreation, not with that which consists in the excitement of the energies whether of body or mind. Muscular exertion is, indeed, in youth, one of the conditions of recreation; but neither “the violent bodily labour which children of all ages agree to call play,” nor the grave excitement of the mental faculties in games of skill or chance, are in any wise connected with the state of feeling we have here to investigate, namely, that sportiveness which man possesses in common with many inferior creatures, but to which his higher faculties give nobler expression in the various manifestations of wit, humour, and fancy.

With respect to the manner in which this instinct of playfulness is indulged or repressed, mankind are broadly distinguishable into four classes: the men who play wisely; who play necessarily; who play inordinately; and who play not at all.

§ 26. First: Those who play wisely. It is evident that the idea of any kind of play can only be associated with the idea of an imperfect, childish, and fatigable nature. As far as men can raise that nature, so that it shall no longer be interested by trifles, or exhausted by toils, they raise it above play; he whose heart is at once fixed upon heaven, and open to the earth, so as to apprehend the importance of heavenly doctrines, and the compass of human sorrow, will have little disposition for jest; and exactly in proportion to the breadth and depth of his character and intellect will be, in general, the incapability of surprise or exuberant and sudden emotion, which must render play impossible. It is, however, evidently not intended that many men should even reach, far less pass their lives in, that solemn state of thoughtfulness, which brings them into the nearest brotherhood with their Divine Master; and the

highest and healthiest state which is competent to ordinary humanity appears to be that which, accepting the necessity of recreation, and yielding to the impulses of natural delight springing out of health and innocence, does, indeed, condescend often to playfulness, but never without such deep love of God, of truth, and of humanity, as shall make even its lightest words reverent, its idlest fancies profitable, and its keenest satire indulgent. Wordsworth and Plato furnish us with perhaps the finest and highest examples of this playfulness; in the one case, unmixed with satire, the perfectly simple effusion of that spirit

“Which gives to all the self-same bent,
Whose life is wise and innocent;”¹

—in Plato, and, by-the-by, in a very wise book of our own times, not unworthy of being named in such companionship, *Friends in Council*, mingled with an exquisitely tender and loving satire.²

§ 27. Secondly: The men who play necessarily. That highest species of playfulness, which we have just been considering, is evidently the condition of a mind, not only highly cultivated, but so habitually trained to intellectual labour that it can bring a considerable force of accurate thought into its moments even of recreation. This is not possible unless so much repose of mind and heart are enjoyed, even at the periods of greatest exertion, that the rest required by the system is diffused over the whole life. To the majority of mankind, such a state is evidently unattainable. They must,

¹ [Wordsworth; the last lines of a piece of 1803, beginning “Who fancied what a pretty sight.”]

² [Sir Arthur Helps published four series under this title, 1847–1859. Ruskin often refers to the book. Thus in *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. App. 3, he mentions Helps with Carlyle and Wordsworth as the authors to whom he owes most, and praises especially his “beautiful *quiet* English.” In the same volume Helps is cited with Plato and Carlyle as “a true thinker” (ch. xvi. § 28), and *cf.* vol. v. pt. ix. ch. iv. § 18 *n.*; ch. viii. § 15 *n.* Helps became a personal friend of Ruskin, and dedicated to him the second series of *Friends in Council*; see *Eagle’s Nest*, § 208. See also *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 102, *Elements of Drawing*, § 259, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 90, 94.]

perforce, pass a large part of their lives in employments both irksome and toilsome, demanding an expenditure of energy which exhausts the system, and yet consuming that energy upon subjects incapable of interesting the nobler faculties. When such employments are intermitted, those noble instincts, fancy, imagination, and curiosity, are all hungry for the food which the labour of the day has denied to them, while yet the weariness of the body, in a great degree, forbids their application to any serious subject. They therefore exert themselves without any determined purpose, and under no vigorous restraint, but gather, as best they may, such various nourishment, and put themselves to such fantastic exercise, as may soonest indemnify them for their past imprisonment, and prepare them to endure its recurrence. This stretching of the mental limbs as their fetters fall away,—this leaping and dancing of the heart and intellect, when they are restored to the fresh air of heaven, yet half paralyzed by their captivity, and unable to turn themselves to any earnest purpose,—I call necessary play. It is impossible to exaggerate its importance, whether in polity, or in art.

§ 28. Thirdly: The men who play inordinately. The most perfect state of society which, consistently with due understanding of man's nature, it may be permitted us to conceive, would be one in which the whole human race were divided, more or less distinctly, into workers and thinkers; that is to say, into the two classes who only play wisely, or play necessarily. But the number and the toil of the working class are enormously increased, probably more than doubled, by the vices of the men who neither play wisely nor necessarily, but are enabled by circumstances, and permitted by their want of principle, to make amusement the object of their existence. There is not any moment of the lives of such men which is not injurious to others; both because they leave the work undone which was appointed for them, and because they necessarily think wrongly, whenever it becomes compulsory upon them to think at all. The greater portion of the misery of this world arises from the false opinions of

men whose idleness has physically incapacitated them from forming true ones. Every duty which we omit obscures some truth which we should have known; and the guilt of a life spent in the pursuit of pleasure is twofold, partly consisting in the perversion of action, and partly in the dissemination of falsehood.

§ 29. There is, however, a less criminal, though hardly less dangerous, condition of mind; which, though not failing in its more urgent duties, fails in the finer conscientiousness which regulates the degree, and directs the choice, of amusement, at those times when amusement is allowable. The most frequent error in this respect is the want of reverence in approaching subjects of importance or sacredness, and of caution in the expression of thoughts which may encourage like irreverence in others: and these faults are apt to gain upon the mind until it becomes habitually more sensible to what is ludicrous and accidental, than to what is grave and essential, in any subject that is brought before it; or even, at last, desires to perceive or to know nothing but what may end in jest. Very generally minds of this character are active and able; and many of them are so far conscientious, that they believe their jesting forwards their work. But it is difficult to calculate the harm they do by destroying the reverence which is our best guide into all truth; for weakness and evil are easily visible, but greatness and goodness are often latent; and we do infinite mischief by exposing weakness to eyes which cannot comprehend greatness. This error, however, is more connected with abuses of the satirical than of the playful instinct; and I shall have more to say of it presently.¹

§ 30. Lastly: The men who do not play at all: those who are so dull or so morose as to be incapable of inventing or enjoying jest, and in whom care, guilt, or pride represses all healthy exhilaration of the fancy; or else men utterly oppressed with labour, and driven too hard by the necessities of the world to be capable of any species of happy relaxation.

¹ [See below, §§ 54, 55.]

§ 31. We have now to consider the way in which the presence or absence of joyfulness, in these several classes, is expressed in art.

(1.) Wise play. The first and noblest class hardly ever speak through art, except seriously; they feel its nobleness too profoundly, and value the time necessary for its production too highly, to employ it in the rendering of trivial thoughts. The playful fancy of a moment may innocently be expressed by the passing word; but he can hardly have learned the preciousness of life who passes days in the elaboration of a jest. And as to what regards the delineation of human character, the nature of all noble art is to epitomize and embrace so much at once, that its subject can never be altogether ludicrous; it must possess all the solemnities of the whole, not the brightness of the partial, truth. For all truth that makes us smile is partial. The novelist amuses us by his relation of a particular incident; but the painter cannot set any one of his characters before us without giving some glimpse of its whole career. That of which the historian informs us in successive pages, it is the task of the painter to inform us of at once, writing upon the countenance not merely the expression of the moment, but the history of the life: and the history of a life can never be a jest.

Whatever part, therefore, of the sportive energy of these men of the highest class would be expressed in verbal wit or humour finds small utterance through their art, and will assuredly be confined, if it occur there at all, to scattered and trivial incidents. But so far as their minds can recreate themselves by the imagination of strange, yet not laughable, forms, which, either in costume, in landscape, or in any other accessories, may be combined with those necessary for their more earnest purposes, we find them delighting in such inventions, and a species of grotesqueness thence arising in all their work, which is indeed one of its most valuable characteristics, but which is so intimately connected with the sublime or terrible form of the grotesque, that it will be better to notice it under that head.

§ 32. (2.) Necessary play. I have dwelt much, in a former portion of this work, on the justice and desirableness of employing the minds of inferior workmen, and of the lower orders in general, in the production of objects of art of one kind or another.¹ So far as men of this class are compelled to hard manual labour for their daily bread, so far forth their artistical efforts must be rough and ignorant, and their artistical perceptions comparatively dull. Now it is not possible, with blunt perceptions and rude hands, to produce works which shall be pleasing by their beauty; but it is perfectly possible to produce such as shall be interesting by their character or amusing by their satire. For one hard-working man who possesses the finer instincts which decide on perfection of lines and harmonies of colour, twenty possess dry humour or quaint fancy; not because these faculties were originally given to the human race, or to any section of it, in greater degree than the sense of beauty, but because these are exercised in our daily intercourse with each other, and developed by the interest which we take in the affairs of life, while the others are not. And because, therefore, a certain degree of success will probably attend the effort to express this humour or fancy, while comparative failure will assuredly result from an ignorant struggle to reach the forms of solemn beauty, the working man who turns his attention partially to art will probably, and wisely, choose to do that which he can do best, and indulge the pride of an effective satire rather than subject himself to assured mortification in the pursuit of beauty; and this the more, because we have seen that his application to art is to be playful and recreative, and it is not in recreation that the conditions of perfection can be fulfilled.

§ 33. Now all the forms of art which result from the comparatively recreative exertion of minds more or less blunted or encumbered by other cares and toils, the art which we may call generally art of the wayside, as opposed to that which is the business of men's lives, is, in the best sense of the word,

¹ [See Vol. X. pp. 191–196.]

Grotesque. And it is noble or inferior, first according to the tone of the minds which have produced it, and in proportion to their knowledge, wit, love of truth, and kindness; secondly, according to the degree of strength they have been able to give forth; but yet, however much we may find in it needing to be forgiven, always delightful so long as it is the work of good and ordinarily intelligent men. And its delightfulness ought mainly to consist *in those very imperfections* which mark it for work done in times of rest. It is not its own merit so much as the enjoyment of him who produced it, which is to be the source of the spectator's pleasure; it is to the strength of his sympathy, not to the accuracy of his criticism, that it makes appeal; and no man can indeed be a lover of what is best in the higher walks of art who has not feeling and charity enough to join in¹ the rude sportiveness of hearts that have escaped out of prison, and to be thankful for the flowers which men have laid their burdens down to sow by the wayside.

§ 34. And consider what a vast amount of human work this right understanding of its meaning will make fruitful and admirable to us, which otherwise we could only have passed by with contempt. There is very little architecture in the world which is, in the full sense of the words, good and noble. A few pieces of Italian Gothic and Romanesque, a few scattered fragments of Gothic cathedrals, and perhaps two or three of Greek temples, are all that we possess approaching to an ideal of perfection. All the rest—Egyptian, Norman, Arabian, and most Gothic, and, which is very noticeable, for the most part all the mightiest²—depend for their power on some development of the grotesque spirit; but much more the inferior domestic architecture of the Middle Ages, and what similar conditions remain to this day in countries from which the life of art had not yet been banished

¹ [In his copy for revision, Ruskin substituted the words "join in" for the "rejoice with" of all editions hitherto.]

² [In the same copy Ruskin struck out the words "strongest and," which appear in all editions hitherto before "mightiest."]

by its laws. The fantastic gables, built up in scroll-work and steps, of the Flemish street; the pinnacled roofs set with their small humourist double windows, as if with so many ears and eyes, of Northern France; the blackened timbers, crossed and carved into every conceivable waywardness of imagination, of Normandy and old England; the rude hewing of the pine timbers of the Swiss cottage;¹ the projecting turrets and bracketed oriels of the German street; these, and a thousand other forms, not in themselves reaching any high degree of excellence, are yet admirable, and most precious, as the fruits of a rejoicing energy in uncultivated minds. It is easier to take away the energy than to add the cultivation; and the only effect of the better knowledge which civilised nations now possess has been, as we have seen in a former chapter,² to forbid their being happy, without enabling them to be great.

§ 35. It is very necessary, however, with respect to this provincial or rustic architecture, that we should carefully distinguish its truly grotesque from its picturesque elements. In the *Seven Lamps* I defined the picturesque to be “parasitical sublimity,”³ or sublimity belonging to the external or accidental characters of a thing, not to the thing itself. For instance, when a highland cottage roof is covered with fragments of shale instead of slates, it becomes picturesque, because the irregularity and rude fractures of the rocks, and their grey and gloomy colour, give to it something of the savageness, and much of the general aspect, of the slope of a mountain side. But as a mere cottage roof, it cannot be sublime, and whatever sublimity it derives from the wildness or sternness which the mountains have given it in its covering, is, so far forth, parasitical. The mountain itself would have been grand, which is much more than picturesque; but the

¹ [In the MS. this passage was different: “the rude ornaments which the mountaineer carves in the winter night, while the snow lies deep against his door, upon the pine rafters of the Swiss cottage.”]

² [See above, ch. ii., pp. 65–67.]

³ [Vol. VIII. p. 236, and with what follows compare *The Poetry of Architecture*, Vol. I. p. 44.]

cottage cannot be grand as such, and the parasitical grandeur which it may possess by accidental qualities, is the character for which men have long agreed to use the inaccurate word "Picturesque."

§ 36. On the other hand, beauty cannot be parasitical. There is nothing so small or so contemptible, but it may be beautiful in its own right. The cottage may be beautiful, and the smallest moss that grows on its roof, and the minutest fibre of that moss which the microscope can raise into visible form, and all of them in their own right, not less than the mountains and the sky; so that we use no peculiar term to express their beauty, however diminutive, but only when the sublime element enters, without sufficient worthiness in the nature of the thing to which it is attached.

§ 37. Now this picturesque element, which is always given, if by nothing else, merely by ruggedness, adds usually very largely to the pleasurable of grotesque work, especially to that of its inferior kinds; but it is not for this reason to be confounded with the grotesqueness itself. The knots and rents of the timbers, the irregular lying of the shingles on the roofs, the vigorous light and shadow, the fractures and weather-stains of the old stones, which were so deeply loved and so admirably rendered by our lost Prout,¹ are the picturesque elements of architecture; the grotesque ones are those which are not produced by the working of nature and of time, but exclusively by the fancy of man; and, as also for the most part by his indolent and uncultivated fancy, they are always, in some degree, wanting in grandeur, unless the picturesque element be united with them.

§ 38. (3.) Inordinate play. The reader will have some difficulty, I fear, in keeping clearly in his mind the various divisions of our subject; but, when he has once read the chapter through, he will see their places and coherence. We have next to consider the expression throughout of the minds of men who indulge themselves in unnecessary play. It is evident that a large number of these men will be more

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 301 n.]

refined and more highly educated than those who only play necessarily; their power of pleasure-seeking implies, in general, fortunate circumstances of life. It is evident also that their play will not be so hearty, so simple, or so joyful; and this deficiency of brightness will affect it in proportion to its unnecessary and unlawful continuance, until at last it becomes a restless and dissatisfied indulgence in excitement, or a painful delving after exhausted springs of pleasure.

The art through which this temper is expressed will, in all probability, be refined and sensual,—therefore, also assuredly feeble; and because, in the failure of the joyful energy of the mind, there will fail, also, its perceptions and its sympathies, it will be entirely deficient in expression of character and acuteness of thought, but will be peculiarly restless, manifesting its desire for excitement in idle changes of subject and purpose. Incapable of true imagination, it will seek to supply its place by exaggerations, incoherences, and monstrosities; and the form of the grotesque to which it gives rise will be an incongruous chain of hackneyed graces, idly thrown together,—prettinesses or sublimities, not of its own invention, associated in forms which will be absurd without being fantastic, and monstrous without being terrible. And because, in the continual pursuit of pleasure, men lose both cheerfulness and charity, there will be small hilarity, but much malice, in this grotesque; yet a weak malice, incapable of expressing its own bitterness, not having grasp enough of truth to become forcible, and exhausting itself in impotent or disgusting caricature.

§ 39. Of course, there are infinite ranks and kinds of this grotesque, according to the natural power of the minds which originate it, and to the degree in which they have lost themselves. Its highest condition¹ is that which first developed

¹ [Here the "Travellers' Edition" begins again, from the point where it left off in § 22, above ("He will then have obtained a perfect idea of the style and feeling of the Grotesque Renaissance"), the following paragraph being inserted to connect:—

"We are again (1881) so fast sinking to the level of it ourselves that the English connoisseur will perhaps admire both. But he may be assured of the historical fact that it is a constant sign of national decrepitude. Its highest condition is . . ."]

itself among the enervated Romans, and which was brought to the highest perfection of which it was capable by Raphael in the arabesques of the Vatican. It may be generally described as an elaborate and luscious form of nonsense. Its lower conditions are found in the common upholstery and decorations which, over the whole of civilised Europe, have sprung from this poisonous root; an artistical pottage, composed of nymphs, cupids, and satyrs, with shreadings of heads and paws of meek wild beasts, and nondescript vegetables. And the lowest of all are those which have not even graceful models to recommend them, but arise out of the corruption of the higher schools, mingled with clownish or bestial satire, as is the case in the later Renaissance of Venice, which we were above examining. It is almost impossible to believe the depth to which the human mind can be debased in following this species of grotesque. In a recent Italian garden, the favourite ornaments frequently consist of stucco images, representing, in dwarfish caricature, the most disgusting types of manhood and womanhood which can be found amidst the dissipation of the modern drawing-room; yet without either veracity or humour, and dependent, for whatever interest they possess, upon simple grossness of expression and absurdity of costume. Grossness, of one kind or another, is, indeed, an unfailing characteristic of the style; either latent, as in the refined sensuality of the more graceful arabesques, or, in the worst examples, manifested in every species of obscene conception and abominable detail. In the head, described in the opening of this chapter, at Santa Maria Formosa, the *teeth* are represented as *decayed*.¹

§ 40. (4.) The minds of the fourth class of men, who do not play at all, are little likely to find expression in any trivial form of art, except in bitterness of mockery; and this character at once stamps the work in which it appears as belonging to the class of terrible, rather than of playful, grotesque. We have, therefore, now to examine the state of

¹ [Here the "Travellers' Edition" stops again, concluding its Chapter V., "Mene," with § 76 below. For the head in question, see above, p. 145.]

mind which gave rise to this second and more interesting branch of imaginative work.

§ 41. Two great and principal passions are evidently appointed by the Deity to rule the life of man; namely, the love of God, and the fear of sin, and of its companion—Death. How many motives we have for Love, how much there is in the universe to kindle our admiration and to claim our gratitude, there are, happily, multitudes among us who both feel and teach. But it has not, I think, been sufficiently considered how evident, throughout the system of creation, is the purpose of God that we should often be affected by Fear; not the sudden, selfish, and contemptible fear of immediate danger, but the fear which arises out of the contemplation of great powers in destructive operation, and generally from the perception of the presence of death.¹ Nothing appears to me more remarkable than the array of scenic magnificence by which the imagination is appalled, in myriads of instances, when the actual danger is comparatively small; so that the utmost possible impression of awe shall be produced upon the minds of all, though direct suffering is inflicted upon few. Consider, for instance, the moral effect of a single thunder-storm.² Perhaps two or three persons may be struck dead within a space of a hundred square miles; and their death, unaccompanied by the scenery of the storm, would produce little more than a momentary sadness in the busy hearts of living men. But the preparation for the judgment, by all that mighty gathering of the clouds; by the questioning of the forest leaves, in their terrified stillness, which way the winds shall go forth; by the murmuring to each other, deep in the distance, of the destroying angels before they draw forth their swords of fire; by the march of the funeral darkness in the midst of the noon-day, and the rattling of the dome of heaven beneath the chariot wheels of death;—on how many

¹ [On this subject compare *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. sec. i. ch. xiv. §§ 26, 27. “Fear distinguished from Awe,” “Holy Fear distinct from Human Terror,” and the additional passages on Awe now printed in that volume: Vol. IV. pp. 199, 371–381.]

² [See *The Eagle's Nest*, § 7.]

minds do not these produce an impression almost as great as the actual witnessing of the fatal issue! and how strangely are the expressions of the threatening elements fitted to the apprehension of the human soul! The lurid colour, the long, irregular, convulsive sound, the ghastly shapes of flaming and heaving cloud, are all as true and faithful in their appeal to our instinct of danger, as the moaning or wailing of the human voice itself is to our instinct of pity. It is not a reasonable calculating terror which they awake in us; it is no matter that we count distance by seconds, and measure probability by averages. That shadow of the thunder-cloud will still do its work upon our hearts, and we shall watch it passing away as if we stood upon the threshing-floor of Araunah.¹

§ 42. And this is equally the case with respect to all the other destructive phenomena of the universe. From the mightiest of them to the gentlest, from the earthquake to the summer shower, it will be found that they are attended by certain aspects of threatening, which strike terror into the hearts of multitudes more numerous a thousandfold than those who actually suffer from the ministries of judgment; and that, besides the fearfulness of these immediately dangerous phenomena, there is an occult and subtle horror belonging to many aspects of the creation around us, calculated often to fill us with serious thought, even in our times of quietness and peace. I understand not the most dangerous, because most attractive form of modern infidelity, which, pretending to exalt the beneficence of the Deity, degrades it into a reckless infinitude of mercy, and blind obliteration of the work of sin: and which does this chiefly by dwelling on the manifold appearances of God's kindness on the face of creation. Such kindness is indeed everywhere and always visible; but not alone. Wrath and threatening are invariably mingled with the love; and in the utmost solitudes of nature, the existence of Hell seems to me as legibly declared by a thousand spiritual utterances, as that of Heaven. It is well for us to dwell with

¹ [2 Samuel xxiv.]

thankfulness on the unfolding of the flower, and the falling of the dew, and the sleep of the green fields in the sunshine; but the blasted trunk, the barren rock, the moaning of the bleak winds, the roar of the black, perilous, merciless whirlpools of the mountain streams, the solemn solitudes of moors and seas, the continual fading of all beauty into darkness, and of all strength into dust, have these no language for us? We may seek to escape their teaching by reasonings touching the good which is wrought out of all evil; but it is vain sophistry. The good succeeds to the evil as day succeeds the night, but so also the evil to the good. Gerizim and Ebal,¹ birth and death, light and darkness, heaven and hell, divide the existence of man, and his Futurity.*

§ 43. And because the thoughts of the choice we have to make between these two ought to rule us continually, not so much in our own actions (for these should, for the most part, be governed by settled habit and principle) as in our manner of regarding the lives of other men, and our own responsibilities with respect to them; therefore, it seems to me that the healthiest state into which the human mind can be brought is that which is capable of the greatest love and the greatest awe: and this we are taught even in our times of rest; for when our minds are rightly in tone, the merely pleasurable excitement which they seek with most avidity is that which rises out of the contemplation of beauty or of terribleness. We thirst for both, and according to the height and tone of our feeling desire to see them in noble or inferior forms. Thus there is a Divine beauty, and a terribleness of sublimity coequal with it in rank,

* The Love of God is, however, always shown by the predominance, or greater sum, of good in the end; but never by the annihilation of evil. The modern doubts of eternal punishment are not so much the consequence of benevolence as of feeble powers of reasoning. Every one admits that God brings finite good out of finite evil. Why not, therefore, infinite good out of infinite evil?²

¹ [Deuteronomy xi. 29.]

² [On the subjects touched on in this note see *Time and Tide*, §§ 49, 50, 58, and *Ethics of the Dust*, §§ 80, 81.]

which are the subjects of the highest art; and there is an inferior or ornamental beauty, and an inferior terribleness coequal with it in rank, which are the subjects of grotesque art. And the state of mind in which the terrible form of the grotesque is developed is that which, in some irregular manner, dwells upon certain conditions of terribleness, into the complete depth of which it does not enter for the time.

§ 44. Now the things which are the proper subjects of human fear are twofold: those which have the power of Death, and those which have the nature of Sin. Of which there are many ranks, greater or less in power and vice, from the evil angels themselves down to the serpent which is their type, and which, though of a low and contemptible class, appears to unite the deathful and sinful natures in the most clearly visible and intelligible form; for there is nothing else which we know of so small strength and occupying so unimportant a place in the economy of creation, which yet is so mortal and so malignant.¹ It is, then, on these two classes of objects that the mind fixes for its excitement, in that mood which gives rise to the terrible grotesque; and its subject will be found always to unite some expression of vice and danger, but regarded in a peculiar temper; sometimes (A) of predetermined or involuntary apathy, sometimes (B) of mockery, sometimes (C) of diseased and ungoverned imaginativeness.

§ 45. For observe, the difficulty which, as I above stated, exists in distinguishing the playful from the terrible grotesque arises out of this cause: that the mind, under certain phases of excitement, *plays* with *terror*, and summons images which, if it were in another temper, would be awful, but of which, either in weariness or in irony, it refrains for the time to acknowledge the true terribleness. And the mode in which this refusal takes place distinguishes the noble from the ignoble grotesque. For the master of the noble

¹ [For Ruskin's later study of snakes, see the chapter, "Living Waves," in *Deucalion*.]

grotesque knows the depth of all at which he seems to mock, and would feel it at another time, or feels it in a certain undercurrent of thought even while he jests with it; but the workman of the ignoble grotesque can feel and understand nothing, and mocks at all things with the laughter of the idiot and the cretin.

To work out this distinction completely is the chief difficulty in our present inquiry; and, in order to do so, let us consider the above-named three conditions of mind in succession, with relation to objects of terror.

§ 46. (A) Involuntary or predetermined apathy. We saw above that the grotesque was produced, chiefly in subordinate or ornamental art, by rude, and in some degree uneducated men, and in their times of rest. At such times, and in such subordinate work, it is impossible that they should represent any solemn or terrible subject with a full and serious entrance into its feeling. It is not in the languor of a leisure hour that a man will set his whole soul to conceive the means of representing some important truth, nor to the projecting angle of a timber bracket that he would trust its representation, if conceived. And yet, in this languor, and in this trivial work, he must find some expression of the serious part of his soul, of what there is within him capable of awe, as well as of love. The more noble the man is, the more impossible it will be for him to confine his thoughts to mere loveliness, and that of a low order. Were his powers and his time unlimited, so that, like Fra^a Angelico, he could paint the Seraphim, in that order of beauty he could find contentment, bringing down heaven to earth. But by the conditions of his being, by his hard-worked life, by his feeble powers of execution, by the meanness of his employment and the languor of his heart, he is bound down to earth. It is the world's work that he is doing, and world's work is not to be done without fear. And whatever there is of deep and eternal consciousness within him, thrilling his mind with the sense of the presence of sin and death around him, must be expressed in that slight work, and feeble way, come of it

what will. He cannot forget it, among all that he sees of beautiful in nature; he may not bury himself among the leaves of the violet on the rocks, and of the lily in the glen, and twine out of them garlands of perpetual gladness. He sees more in the earth than these,—misery and wrath, and discordance and danger, and all the work of the dragon and his angels; this he sees with too deep feeling ever to forget. And though, when he returns to his idle work,—it may be to gild the letters upon the page, or to carve the timbers of the chamber, or the stones of the pinnacle,—he cannot give his strength of thought any more to the woe or to the danger, there is a shadow of them still present with him: and as the bright colours mingle beneath his touch, and the fair leaves and flowers grow at his bidding, strange horrors and phantasms rise by their side; grisly beasts and venomous serpents, and spectral fiends and nameless inconsistencies of ghastly life, rising out of things most beautiful, and fading back into them again, as the harm and the horror of life do out of its happiness. He has seen these things; he wars with them daily; he cannot but give them their part in his work, though in a state of comparative apathy to them at the time. He is but carving and gilding, and must not turn aside to weep; but he knows that hell is burning on, for all that, and the smoke of it withers his oak-leaves.

§ 47. Now, the feelings which give rise to the false or ignoble grotesque, are exactly the reverse of this. In the true grotesque, a man of naturally strong feeling is accidentally or resolutely apathetic; in the false grotesque, a man naturally apathetic is forcing himself into temporary excitement. The horror which is expressed by the one comes upon him whether he will or not; that which is expressed by the other is sought out by him, and elaborated by his art. And therefore, also, because the fear of the one is true, and of true things, however fantastic its expression may be, there will be reality in it, and force. It is not a manufactured terribleness, whose author, when he had finished it, knew not if it would terrify any one else or not: but it is a

terribleness taken from the life; a spectre which the workman indeed saw, and which, as it appalled him, will appeal us also. But the other workman never felt any Divine fear; he never shuddered when he heard the cry from the burning towers of the earth,

“Venga Medusa; sì lo farem di smalto.”

He is stone already, and needs no gentle hand laid upon his eyes to save him.¹

§ 48. I do not mean what I say in this place to apply to the creations of the imagination. It is not as the creating, but as the *seeing* man, that we are here contemplating the master of the true grotesque. It is because the dreadfulness of the universe around him weighs upon his heart that his work is wild; and therefore through the whole of it we shall find the evidence of deep insight into nature. His beasts and birds, however monstrous, will have profound relations with the true. He may be an ignorant man, and little acquainted with the laws of nature; he is certainly a busy man, and has not much time to watch nature; but he never saw a serpent cross his path, nor a bird flit across the sky, nor a lizard bask upon a stone, without learning so much of the sublimity and inner nature of each as will not suffer him thenceforth to conceive them coldly. He may not be able to carve plumes or scales well; but his creatures will bite and fly, for all that. The ignoble workman is the very reverse of this. He never felt, never looked at nature; and if he endeavour to imitate the work of the other, all his touches will be made at random, and all his extravagances will be ineffective; he may knit brows, and twist lips, and lengthen beaks, and sharpen teeth,

¹ [The quotation is from the *Inferno*, ix. 53: “Hasten Medusa, so shall we change him to adamant,” and the subsequent reference is to the following lines:—

“ Turn thyself round, and keep
Thy countenance hid; for if the Gorgon dire
Be shown and thou shouldst view it, thy return
Upwards would be for ever lost.’ This said,
Himself my gentle master, turn’d me round;
Nor trusted he my hand, but with his own
He also hid me.”]

but it will all be in vain. He may make his creatures disgusting, but never fearful.

§ 49. There is, however, often another cause of difference than this. The true grotesque being the expression of the *repose* or play of a *serious* mind, there is a false grotesque opposed to it, which is the result of the *full exertion* of a *frivolous* one. There is much grotesque which is wrought out with exquisite care and pains, and as much labour given to it as if it were of the noblest subject; so that the workman is evidently no longer apathetic, and has no excuse for unconnectedness of thought, or sudden unreasonable fear. If he awakens horror now, it ought to be in some truly sublime form. His strength is in his work; and he must not give way to sudden humour, and fits of erratic fancy. If he does so, it must be because his mind is naturally frivolous, or is for the time degraded into the deliberate pursuit of frivolity. And herein lies the real distinction between the base grotesque of Raphael and the Renaissance, above alluded to,¹ and the true Gothic grotesque. Those grotesques or arabesques of the Vatican, and other such work, which have become the patterns of ornamentation in modern times, are the fruit of great minds degraded to base objects. The care, skill, and science, applied to the distribution of the leaves, and the drawing of the figures, are intense, admirable, and accurate; therefore, they ought to have produced a grand and serious work, not a tissue of nonsense. If we can draw the human head perfectly, and are masters of its expression and its beauty, we have no business to cut it off, and hang it up by the hair at the end of a garland. If we can draw the human body in the perfection of its grace and movement, we have no business to take away its limbs, and terminate it with a bunch of leaves. Or rather, our doing so will imply that there is something wrong with us; that, if we can consent to use our best powers for such base and vain trifling, there must be something wanting in the powers

¹ [See above, p. 162.]

themselves; and that, however skilful we may be, or however learned, we are wanting both in the earnestness which can apprehend a noble truth, and in the thoughtfulness which can feel a noble fear. No Divine terror will ever be found in the work of the man who wastes a colossal strength in elaborating toys; for the first lesson which that terror is sent to teach us is the value of the human soul, and the shortness of mortal time.

§ 50. And are we never, then, it will be asked, to possess a refined or perfect ornamentation? Must all decoration be the work of the ignorant and the rude? Not so; but exactly in proportion as the ignorance and rudeness diminish, must the ornamentation become rational and the grotesqueness disappear. The noblest lessons may be taught in ornamentation, the most solemn truths compressed into it. The Book of Genesis, in all the fulness of its incidents, in all the depth of its meaning, is bound within the leaf-borders of the gates of Ghiberti.¹ But Raphael's arabesque is mere elaborate idleness. It has neither meaning nor heart in it; it is an unnatural and monstrous abortion.

§ 51. Now, this passing of the grotesque into higher art, as the mind of the workman becomes informed with better knowledge, and capable of more earnest exertion, takes place in two ways. Either, as his power increases, he devotes himself more and more to the beauty which he now feels himself able to express, and so the grotesque expands, and softens into the beautiful, as in the above-named instance of the gates of Ghiberti; or else, if the mind of the workman be naturally inclined to gloomy contemplation, the imperfection or apathy of his work rises into nobler terribleness, until we reach the point of the grotesque of Albert Durer, where, every now and then, the playfulness or apathy of the painter passes into perfect sublime. Take the Adam and Eve, for instance. When he gave Adam a bough to hold, with a parrot on it, and a tablet hung to it, with

¹ [See Vol. IX. p. 260 *n.*, and for Raphael's arabesques in the Vatican, Vol. III. pp. 92, 198.]

“Albertus Durer Noricus faciebat, 1504,” thereupon, his mind was not in Paradise. He was half in play, half apathetic with respect to his subject, thinking how to do his work well, as a wise master-graver, and how to receive his just reward of fame. But he rose into the true sublime in the head of Adam, and in the profound truthfulness of every creature that fills the forest. So again, in that magnificent coat of arms, with the lady and the satyr, as he cast the fluttering drapery hither and thither round the helmet, and wove the delicate crown upon the woman’s forehead, he was in a kind of play; but there is none in the dreadful skull upon the shield. And in the “Knight and Death,” and in the dragons of the illustrations to the Apocalypse, there is neither play nor apathy;¹ but their grotesque is of the ghastly kind which best illustrates the nature of death and sin. And this leads us to the consideration of the second state of mind out of which the noble grotesque is developed; that is to say, the temper of mockery.

§ 52. (B) Mockery, or Satire. In the former part of this chapter,² when I spoke of the kinds of art which were produced in the recreation of the lower orders, I only spoke of forms of ornament, not of the expression of satire or humour. But it seems probable that nothing is so refreshing to the vulgar mind as some exercise of this faculty, more especially on the failings of their superiors; and that, wherever the lower orders are allowed to express themselves freely, we shall find humour, more or less caustic, becoming a principal feature in their work. The classical

¹ [An example of the “Adam and Eve” was placed by Ruskin in his “Standard Series” at Oxford (No. 10); in his catalogue he calls it the master’s “best plate in point of execution, and in that respect unrivalled.” He refers to the tablet in *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 149. Of the “Coat of Arms with Skull,” an impression is in the “Rudimentary Series” (No. 65); the engraving is further described in *The Eagle’s Nest*, § 155. For the “Knight and Death,” see “Standard Series,” No. 9; for the Dragons in the illustrations to the Apocalypse, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xv. § 25.]

² [The “Travellers’ Edition” prints from here “When I spoke . . .” down to nearly the end of § 67 (see below, p. 187), as Appendix i. in its second volume, the following note being given:—

“Part of the chapter on Grotesque Renaissance—not necessary to its conclusions, but of value enough in itself to be here retained.”]

and Renaissance manufactures of modern times having silenced the independent language of the operative, his humour and satire pass away in the word-wit which has of late become the especial study of the group of authors headed by Charles Dickens;¹ all this power was formerly thrown into noble art, and became permanently expressed in the sculptures of the cathedral. It was never thought that there was anything discordant or improper in such a position: for the builders evidently felt very deeply a truth of which, in modern times, we are less cognizant; that folly and sin are, to a certain extent, synonymous, and that it would be well for mankind in general if all could be made to feel that wickedness is as contemptible as it is hateful. So that the vices were permitted to be represented under the most ridiculous forms, and² the coarsest wit of the workman to be exhausted in completing the degradation of the creatures supposed to be subjected to them.

§ 53. Nor were even the supernatural powers of evil exempt from this species of satire. For with whatever hatred or horror the evil angels were regarded, it was one of the conditions of Christianity that they should also be looked upon as vanquished; and this not merely in their great combat with the King of Saints, but in daily and hourly combats with the weakest of His servants. In proportion to the narrowness of the powers of abstract conception in the workman, the nobleness of the idea of spiritual nature diminished, and the traditions of the encounters of men with fiends in daily temptations were imagined with less terrific circumstances, until the agencies which in such warfare were almost always represented as vanquished with

¹ [Ruskin, as we have seen (Vol. I. p. xlix., vol. IX. pp. 200, 429), was a regular reader of Dickens; and, as a glance at the General Index will show, referred constantly to his books. The opinion here expressed of Dickens as the head of the modern school of wit and satire is repeated in *Modern Painters*, vol. iii., App. iii.; "the essential value and truth" of his writings in their general drift and purpose is affirmed in *Unto This Last*, § 14 n.; his close observation of natural phenomena, love of beautiful scenery, and power of description are noted in *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. pp. 347, 570 n.), vol. iii. ch. xvi. § 20, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 19.]

² [In his copy for revision Ruskin struck out the word "all," which appears in all editions hitherto, before "the coarsest wit."]

disgrace, became, at last, as much the objects of contempt as of terror.

The superstitions which represented the devil as assuming various contemptible forms or disguises in order to accomplish his purposes aided this gradual degradation of conception, and directed the study of the workman to the most strange and ugly conditions of animal form, until at last, even in the most serious subjects, the fiends are oftener ludicrous than terrible. Nor, indeed, is this altogether avoidable, for it is not possible to express intense wickedness without some condition of degradation. Malice, subtlety, and pride, in their extreme, cannot be written upon noble forms; and I am aware of no effort to represent the Satanic mind in the angelic form which has succeeded in painting.¹ Milton succeeds only because he separately describes the movements of the mind, and therefore leaves himself at liberty to make the form heroic; but that form is never distinct enough to be painted. Dante, who will not leave even external forms obscure, degrades them before he can feel them to be demoniacal; so also John Bunyan: both of them, I think, having firmer faith than Milton's in their own creations, and deeper insight into the nature of sin. Milton makes his fiends too noble, and misses the foulness, inconstancy, and fury of wickedness. His Satan possesses some virtues, not the less virtues for being applied to evil purpose. Courage, resolution, patience, deliberation in counsel, this latter being eminently a wise and holy character, as opposed to the "Insania" of excessive sin: and all this, if not a shallow and false, is a smoothed and artistical, conception. On the other hand, I have always felt that there was a peculiar grandeur in the indescribable ungovernable fury of Dante's fiends, ever shortening its own powers, and disappointing its own purposes; the deaf, blind, speechless, unspeakable range, fierce as the lightning, but erring from its mark or turning senselessly against itself, and still further

¹ [See, however, *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. pp. 318-319 n.).]

debased by foulness of form and action. Something is indeed to be allowed for the rude feelings of the time, but I believe all such men as Dante are sent into the world at the time when they can do their work best; and that, it being appointed for him to give to mankind the most vigorous realisation possible both of Hell and Heaven, he was born both in the country and at the time which furnished the most stern opposition of Horror and Beauty, and permitted it to be written in the clearest terms. And, therefore, though there are passages in the *Inferno* which it would be impossible for any poet now to write, I look upon it as all the more perfect for them. For there can be no question but that one characteristic of excessive vice is indecency, a general baseness in its thoughts and acts concerning the body,* and that the full portraiture of it cannot be given without marking, and that in the strongest lines, this tendency to corporeal degradation; which, in the time of Dante, could be done frankly, but cannot now. And, therefore, I think the twenty-first and twenty-second books of the *Inferno* the most perfect portraitures of fiendish nature which we possess; and, at the same time, in their mingling of the extreme of horror (for it seems to me that the silent swiftness of the first demon, “con l’ ali aperte e sopra i pie leggiero,” cannot be surpassed in dreadfulness¹) with ludicrous actions and images, they present the most perfect instances with which I am acquainted of the terrible grotesque. But the whole of the *Inferno* is full of this grotesque, as well as the *Faërie Queen*; and these two poems, together with the works of Albert Durer, will enable the reader to study it in its noblest forms, without reference to Gothic cathedrals.

§ 54. Now, just as there are base and noble conditions of the apathetic grotesque, so also are there of this satirical grotesque. The condition which might be mistaken for it

* Let the reader examine, with especial reference to this subject, the general character of the language of Iago.

¹ [*Inferno*, xxi. 33: “With wings outstretched, and feet of nimblest tread.”]

is that above described as resulting from the malice of men given to pleasure, and in which the grossness and foulness are in the workman as much as in his subject, so that he chooses to represent vice and disease rather than virtue and beauty, having his chief delight in contemplating them; though he still mocks at them with such dull wit as may be in him, because, as Young has said most truly,

“ ’Tis not in folly not to scorn a fool.”¹

§ 55. Now it is easy to distinguish this grotesque from its noble counterpart, by merely observing whether any forms of beauty or dignity are mingled with it or not; for, of course, the noble grotesque is only employed by its master for good purposes, and to contrast with beauty: but the base workman cannot conceive anything but what is base; and there will be no loveliness in any part of his work, or, at the best, a loveliness measured by line and rule, and dependent on legal shapes of feature. But, without resorting to this test, and merely by examining the ugly grotesque itself, it will be found that, if it belongs to the base school, there will be, first, no Horror in it; secondly, no Nature in it; and, thirdly, no Mercy in it.

§ 56. I say, first, no Horror. For the base soul has no fear of sin, and no hatred of it: and however it may strive to make its work terrible, there will be no genuineness in the fear; the utmost it can do will be to make its work disgusting.

Secondly, there will be no Nature in it. It appears to be one of the ends proposed by Providence in the appointment of the forms of the brute creation, that the various vices to which mankind are liable should be severally expressed in them so distinctly and clearly as that men could not but understand the lesson; while yet these conditions of vice might, in the inferior animal, be observed without the disgust and hatred which the same vices would excite, if seen

¹ [*Night Thoughts*, i. line 416.]

in men, and might be associated with features of interest which would otherwise attract and reward contemplation. Thus, ferocity, cunning, sloth, discontent, gluttony, uncleanness, and cruelty are seen, each in its extreme, in various animals; and are so vigorously expressed, that, when men desire to indicate the same vices in connexion with human forms, they can do it no better than by borrowing here and there the features of animals. And when the workman is thus led to the contemplation of the animal kingdom, finding therein the expressions of vice which he needs, associated with power, and nobleness, and freedom from disease, if his mind be of right tone, he becomes interested in this new study; and all noble grotesque is, therefore, full of the most admirable rendering of animal character. But the ignoble workman is capable of no interest of this kind; and, being too dull to appreciate, and too idle to execute, the subtle and wonderful lines on which the expression of the lower animal depends, he contents himself with vulgar exaggeration, and leaves his work as false as it is monstrous, a mass of blunt malice and obscene ignorance.

§ 57. Lastly, there will be no Mercy in it. Wherever the satire of the noble grotesque fixes upon human nature, it does so with much sorrow mingled amidst its indignation: in its highest forms there is an infinite tenderness, like that of the fool in *Lear*; and even in its more heedless or bitter sarcasm, it never loses sight altogether of the better nature of what it attacks, nor refuses to acknowledge its redeeming or pardonable features. But the ignoble grotesque has no pity: it rejoices in iniquity,¹ and exists only to slander.

§ 58. I have not space to follow out the various forms of transition which exist between the two extremes of great and base in the satirical and grotesque. The reader must always remember, that although there is an infinite distance between the best and worst, in this kind the interval is filled by endless conditions more or less inclining to the evil or the good;

¹ [See 1 Corinthians xiii.6.]

impurity and malice stealing gradually into the nobler forms, and invention and wit elevating the lower, according to the countless minglings of the elements of the human soul.

§ 59. (c) Ungovernableness of the imagination. The reader is always to keep in mind¹ that if the objects of horror in which the terrible grotesque finds its materials were contemplated in their true light, and with the entire energy of the soul, they would cease to be grotesque, and become altogether sublime; and that therefore it is some shortening of the power, or the will, of contemplation, and some consequent distortion of the terrible image in which the grotesqueness consists. Now this distortion takes place, it was above asserted, in three ways; either through apathy, satire, or ungovernableness of imagination. It is this last cause of the grotesque which we have finally to consider; namely, the error and wildness of the mental impressions, caused by fear operating upon strong powers of imagination, or by the failure of the human faculties in the endeavour to grasp the highest truths.

§ 60. The grotesque which comes to all men in a disturbed dream is the most intelligible example of this kind, but also the most ignoble; the imagination, in this instance, being entirely deprived of all aid from reason, and incapable of self-government. I believe, however, that the noblest forms of imaginative power are also in some sort ungovernable, and have in them something of the character of dreams;² so that the vision, of whatever kind, comes uncalled, and will not submit itself to the seer, but conquers him, and forces him to speak as a prophet, having no power over his words or thoughts.* Only, if the whole man be trained perfectly, and

* This opposition of art to inspiration is long and gracefully dwelt upon by Plato in his *Phædrus*; using, in the course of his argument, almost the words of St. Paul: *kallion martnrnsin oi palaioi manian swfrosunhV, thn ek qeon ths par anqrwpwn gignomenhs* : "It is the testimony of the ancients, that *the*

¹ [The "Travellers' Edition" omits "(c) Ungovernableness of the imagination," and reads "And he must also keep in mind . . ."]

² [See Vol. IV. p. 222 *n.*, and the General Index, s. "Dreams."]

his mind calm, consistent, and powerful, the vision which comes to him is seen as in a perfect mirror, serenely, and in consistence with the rational powers; but if the mind be imperfect and ill trained, the vision is seen as in a broken mirror, with strange distortions and discrepancies, all the passions of the heart breathing upon it in cross ripples, till hardly a trace of it remains unbroken. So that, strictly

madness which is of God is a nobler thing than the wisdom which is of men;” and again, “He who sets himself to any work with which the Muses have to do” (*i.e.*, to any of the fine arts) “without madness, thinking that by art alone he can do his work sufficiently, will be found vain and incapable, and the work of temperance and rationalism will be thrust aside and obscured by that of inspiration.”¹ The passages to the same effect, relating especially to poetry, are innumerable in nearly all ancient writers; but in this of Plato, the entire compass of the fine arts is intended to be embraced.

No one acquainted with other parts of my writings will suppose me to be an advocate of idle trust in the imagination. But it is in these days just as necessary to allege the supremacy of genius as the necessity of labour; for there never was, perhaps, a period in which the peculiar gift of the painter was so little discerned, in which so many and so vain efforts have been made to replace it by study and toil. This has been peculiarly the case with the German school; and there are few exhibitions of human error more pitiable than the manner in which the inferior members of it, men originally and for ever destitute of the painting faculty, force themselves into an unnatural, encumbered, learned fructification of tasteless fruit, and pass laborious lives in setting obscurely and weakly upon canvas the philosophy, if such it be, which then minutes’ work of a strong man would have put into healthy practice or plain words. I know not anything more melancholy than the sight of the huge German cartoon, with its objective side, and its subjective side;² and mythological division, and symbolical division, and human and Divine division; its allegorical sense, and literal sense; and ideal point of view, and intellectual point of view; its heroism of well-made armour and knitted brows; its heroism of graceful attitude and braided hair; its inwoven web of sentiment, and piety, and philosophy, and anatomy, and history, all profound; and twenty innocent dashes of the hand of one God-made painter, poor old Bassano or Bonifazio,³ were worth it all, and worth it ten thousand times over.

Not that the sentiment or the philosophy is base in itself. They will make a good man, but they will not make a good painter—no, nor the millionth

¹ [The passages here quoted are in pp. 244 and 245 (Steph.) of the *Phædrus*; compare 1 Corinthians i. 25, ii. 14.]

² [Compare Vol. IV. p. 57 *n.*, on Ruskin’s attitude to German philosophy.]

³ [Ruskin, it will be seen, purposely chooses two painters, whom he did not consider first-rate. For Bassano, see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. vi. § 23, and compare *ibid.*, ch. xi. § 8 *n.*, and vol. ii. sec. ii. ch. iv. § 10. For Bonifazio, whom Ruskin rated higher, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xviii. § 22 and App. iii.; vol. iv. ch. xviii. § 9; and *Guide to the Venetian Academy*.]

speaking, the imagination is never governed; it is always the ruling and Divine power: and the rest of the man is to it only as an instrument which it sounds, or a tablet on which it writes; clearly and sublimely if the wax be smooth and the strings true, grotesquely and wildly if they are strained and broken. And thus the *Iliad*, the *Inferno*, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Faërie Queen*, are all of them true dreams;¹ only the sleep of the men to whom they came was the deep, living sleep which God sends, with a sacredness in it as of death, the revealer of secrets.

§ 61. Now, observe in this matter, carefully, the difference between a dim mirror and a distorted one; and do not blame me for pressing the analogy too far, for it will enable me to explain my meaning every way more clearly. Most men's minds are dim mirrors, in which all truth is seen, as St. Paul tells us, darkly;² this is the fault most common and most fatal; dulness of the heart and mistiness of sight, increasing to utter hardness and blindness; Satan breathing upon the glass, so that if we do not sweep the mist laboriously away, it will take no image. But, even so far as we are able to do this, we have still the distortion to

part of a painter. They would have been good in the work and words of daily life; but they are good for nothing in the cartoon, if they are there alone. And the worst result of the system is the intense conceit into which it cultivates a weak mind. Nothing is so hopeless, so intolerable, as the pride of a foolish man who has passed through a process of thinking, so as actually to have found something out. He believes there is nothing else to be found out in the universe. Whereas the truly great man, on whom the Revelations rain till they bear him to the earth with their weight, lays his head in the dust, and speaks thence—often in broken syllables. Vanity is indeed a very equally divided inheritance among mankind; but I think that among the first persons, no emphasis is altogether so strong as that on the German *Ich*. I was once introduced to a German philosopher-painter before Tintoret's "Massacre of the Innocents."³ He looked at it superciliously, and said it "wanted to be restored." He had been himself several years employed in painting a "Faust" in a red jerkin and blue fire; which made Tintoret appear somewhat dull to him.

¹ [So in *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xx. § 24, Ruskin says that great art is the "art of dreaming."]

² [1 Corinthians xiii. 12.]

³ [For this picture, see below, Venetian Index, p. 407.]

fear, yet not to the same extent, for we can in some sort allow for the distortion of an image, if only we can see it clearly. And the fallen human soul, at its best, must be as a diminishing glass, and that a broken one, to the mighty truths of the universe round it;¹ and the wider the scope of its glance, and the vaster the truths into which it obtains an insight, the more fantastic their distortion is likely to be, as the winds and vapours trouble the field of the telescope most when it reaches farthest.

§ 62. Now, so far as the truth is seen by the imagination* in its wholeness and quietness, the vision is sublime; but so far as it is narrowed and broken by the inconsistencies of the human capacity, it becomes grotesque; and it would seem to be rare that any very exalted truth should be impressed on the imagination without some grotesqueness; in its aspect, proportioned to the degree of *diminution of breadth* in the grasp which is given of it. Nearly all the dreams recorded in the Bible,—Jacob's, Joseph's, Pharaoh's Nebuchadnezzar's,—are grotesques; and nearly the whole of the accessory scenery in the books of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse. Thus, Jacob's dream revealed to him the ministry of angels; but because this ministry could not be seen or understood by him in its fulness, it was narrowed to him into a ladder between heaven and earth, which was a grotesque. Joseph's two dreams were evidently intended to be signs of the steadfastness of the Divine purpose towards him, by possessing the clearness of special prophecy; yet were couched in such imagery, as not to inform him prematurely of his destiny, and only to be understood after their fulfilment. The sun, and moon, and stars were at the period, and are indeed throughout the Bible, the symbols

* I have before stated (*Modern Painters*, vol. ii. sec. ii. ch. iii. §§ 28, 29) that the first function of the imagination is the apprehension of ultimate truth.

¹ [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 137), where it is said that the artist's mind must not be "like a badly blown glass that distorts what we see through it;" see also Vol. IX. pp. 409–410.]

of high authority. It was not revealed to Joseph that he should be lord over all Egypt; but the representation of his family by symbols of the most magnificent dominion, and yet as subject to him, must have been afterwards felt by him as a distinctly prophetic indication of his own supreme power. It was not revealed to him that the occasion of his brethren's special humiliation before him should be their coming to buy corn; but when the event took place, must he not have felt that there was prophetic purpose in the form of the sheaves of wheat which first imaged forth their subjection to him?¹ And these two images of the sun doing obeisance, and the sheaves bowing down,—narrowed and imperfect intimations of great truth which yet could not be otherwise conveyed,—are both grotesques. The kine of Pharaoh eating each other, the gold and clay of Nebuchadnezzar's image, the four beasts full of eyes, and other imagery of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, are grotesques of the same kind, on which I need not farther insist.

§ 63. Such forms, however, ought perhaps to have been arranged under a separate head, as Symbolical Grotesque; but the element of awe enters into them so strongly, as to justify, for all our present purposes, their being classed with the other varieties of terrible grotesque. For even if the symbolic vision itself be not terrible, the scene of what may be veiled behind it becomes all the more awful in proportion to the insignificance or strangeness of the sign itself; and, I believe, this thrill of mingled doubt, fear, and curiosity lies at the very root of the delight which mankind take in symbolism. It was not an accidental necessity for the conveyance of truth by pictures instead of words, which led to its universal adoption wherever art was on the advance; but the Divine fear which necessarily follows on the understanding that a thing is other and greater than it seems; and which, it appears probable, has been

¹ [The Bible references to Joseph are Genesis xxxvii. 5,7,9; xli. 41; xlii. 5, 6; and the following references are Genesis xli. 4; Daniel ii. 32, 33; Ezekiel i. 18; Revelation iv. 6.]

rendered peculiarly attractive to the human heart, because God would have us understand that this is true not of invented symbols merely, but of all things amidst which we live; that there is a deeper meaning within them than eye hath seen, or ear hath heard;¹ and that the whole visible creation is a mere perishable symbol of things eternal and true. It cannot but have been sometimes a subject of wonder with thoughtful men, how fondly, age after age, the Church has cherished the belief that the four living creatures which surrounded the Apocalyptic throne were symbols of the four Evangelists, and rejoiced to use those forms in its picture-teaching; that a calf, a lion, an eagle, and a beast with a man's face, should in all ages have been preferred by the Christian world, as expressive of Evangelistic power and inspiration, to the majesty of human form;² and that quaint grotesques, awkward and often ludicrous caricatures even of the animals represented, should have been regarded by all men, not only with contentment, but with awe, and have superseded all endeavours to represent the characters and persons of the Evangelistic writers themselves (except in a few instances, confined principally to works undertaken without a definite religious purpose);—this, I say, might appear more than strange to us, were it

¹ [1 Corinthians ii. 9.]

² [Ruskin had further light thrown on this subject, shortly after the present volume had been published, by Mr. Beveridge, an Edinburgh doctor, whom he consulted for a relaxed throat. In a letter to his father (which is of further value as illustrating Ruskin's interest at this time in Biblical types), he says:—

“Nov. 11 [1853].— . . . I think he has done my throat good already; at all events he has given me two such lectures on Divinity as I never yet heard in my life. He at once relieved me from all the doubt that has troubled me so long as to the meaning of the four beast types in Revelations iv. by merely referring me to Genesis ii. 20 and ix. 9, 10, which, compared with the anthem in Revel. iv. 9, 10, 11, at once makes the whole thing as clear as crystal—the four beasts being types of the whole creation. He settled another point for me in the parable of the prodigal son, pointing out that the younger son, usually called the *Gentile* church, is in reality the Jewish church, for the Jewish church was called in Abraham, the *son of Noah*, long after Noah; that the Jewish church is now in its state of banishment, filling its belly with husks; that on its recall and triumph, the Gentile churches will feel some envy, like the elder brother. This makes the whole parable, in its typical sense, clear at once. And he told me multitudes of things more, but I have no room for them to-day.”]

not that we ourselves share the awe, and are still satisfied with the symbol, and that justly. For, whether we are conscious of it or not, there is in our hearts, as we gaze upon the brutal forms that have so holy a signification, an acknowledgment that it was not Matthew, nor Mark, nor Luke, nor John, in whom the Gospel of Christ was unsealed; but that the invisible things of Him from the beginning of the creation are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; that the whole world, and all that is therein, be it low or high, great or small, is a continual Gospel; and that as the heathen, in their alienation from God, changed His glory into an image made like unto corruptible man,¹ and to birds, and four-footed beasts, the Christian, in his approach to God, is to undo this work, and to change the corruptible things into the image of His glory; believing that there is nothing so base in creation, but that our faith may give it wings which shall raise us into companionship with heaven; and that, on the other hand, there is nothing so great or so goodly in creation, but that it is a mean symbol of the Gospel of Christ, and of the things He has prepared for them that love Him.²

§ 64. And it is easy to understand, if we follow out this thought, how, when once the symbolic language was familiarized to the mind, and its solemnity felt in all its fulness, there was no likelihood of offence being taken at any repulsive or feeble characters in execution or conception. There was no form so mean, no incident so commonplace, but, if regarded in this light, it might become sublime; the more vigorous the fancy and the more faithful the enthusiasm, the greater would be the likelihood of their delighting in the contemplation of symbols whose mystery was enhanced by apparent insignificance, or in which the sanctity and majesty of meaning were contrasted with the utmost uncouthness of external form: nor with uncouthness merely, but even with every appearance of malignity or

¹ [Romans i. 20, 23.]

² [1 Corinthians ii. 9.]

baseness; the beholder not being revolted even by this, but comprehending that, as the seeming evil in the framework of creation did not invalidate its Divine authorship, so neither did the evil or imperfection in the symbol invalidate its Divine message. And thus, sometimes, the designer at last became wanton in his appeal to the piety of his interpreter, and recklessly poured out the impurity and the savageness of his own heart, for the mere pleasure of seeing them overlaid with the fine gold of the sanctuary by the religion of their beholder.

§ 65. It is not, however, in every symbolical subject that the fearful grotesque becomes embodied to the full. The element of distortion which affects the intellect when dealing with subjects above its proper capacity, is as nothing compared with that which it sustains from the direct impressions of terror. It is the trembling of the human soul in the presence of death which most of all disturbs the images on the intellectual mirror, and invests them with the fitfulness and ghastliness of dreams. And from the contemplation of death, and of the pangs which follow his footsteps, arise in men's hearts the troop of strange and irresistible superstitions which, more or less melancholy or majestic according to the dignity of the mind they impress, are yet never without a certain grotesqueness, following on the paralysis of the reason and over-excitement of the fancy. I do not mean to deny the actual existence of spiritual manifestation; I have never weighed the evidence upon the subject;¹ but with these, if such exist, we are not here concerned. The grotesque which we are examining arises out of that condition of mind which appears to follow naturally upon the contemplation of death, and in which the fancy is brought into morbid action by terror, accompanied by the belief in spiritual presence, and in the possibility of spiritual apparition. Hence are developed its most sublime,

¹ [For Ruskin's subsequent interest in it, see *D. D. Home: His Life and Mission*, 1888, pp. 213–215. The Ruskin letters there given are reprinted in a later volume of this edition.]

because its least voluntary, creations, aided by the fearfulness of the phenomena of nature which are in any wise the ministers of death, and primarily directed by the peculiar ghastliness of expression in the skeleton, itself a species of terrible grotesque in its relation to the perfect human frame.

§ 66. Thus, first born from the dusty and dreadful whiteness of the charnel-house, but softened in their forms by the holiest of human affections, went forth the troop of wild and wonderful images, seen through tears, that had the mastery over our Northern hearts for so many ages.¹ The powers of sudden destruction lurking in the woods and waters, in the rocks and clouds;—kelpie and gnome, Lurlei and Hartz spirits; the wraith and foreboding phantom; the spectra of second sight; the various conceptions of avenging or tormented ghost, haunting the perpetrator of crime, or expiating its commission; and the half fictitious and contemplative, half visionary and believed images of the presence of death itself, doing its daily work in the chambers of sickness and sin, and waiting for its hour in the fortalices of strength and the high places of pleasure;—these, partly degrading us by the instinctive and paralyzing terror with which they are attended, and partly ennobling us by leading our thoughts to dwell in the eternal world, fill the last and the most important circle in that great kingdom of dark and distorted power, of which we all must be in some sort the subjects until mortality shall be swallowed up of life; until the waters of the last fordless river cease to roll their untransparent volume between us and the light of heaven, and neither death stand between us and our brethren, nor symbols between us and our God.

§ 67. We have now, I believe, obtained a view approaching to completeness of the various branches of human feeling which are concerned in the development of this peculiar form of art. It remains for us only to note, as briefly as possible, what facts in the actual history of the grotesque bear upon our immediate subject.

¹ [See Ruskin's early poem, "The Emigration of the Sprites," Vol. II. p. 10.]

From what we have seen to be its nature, we must, I think, be led to one most important conclusion; that wherever the human mind is healthy and vigorous in all its proportions, great in imagination and emotion no less than in intellect, and not overborne by an undue or hardened pre-eminence of the mere reasoning faculties, there the grotesque will exist in full energy. And, accordingly, I believe that there is no test of greatness in periods, nations, or men, more sure than the development, among them or in them, of a noble grotesque; and no test of comparative smallness or limitation, of one kind or another, more sure than the absence of grotesque invention, or incapability of understanding it. I think that the central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest, is Dante; and in him the grotesque reaches at once the most distinct and the most noble development to which it was ever brought in the human mind. The two other greatest men whom Italy has produced, Michael Angelo and Tintoret,* show the same element in no less original strength, but oppressed in the one by his science, and in both by the spirit of the age in which they lived; never, however, absent even in Michael Angelo, but stealing forth continually in a strange and spectral way, lurking in folds of raiment and knots of wild hair, and mountainous confusions of crabby limb and cloudy drapery; and in Tintoret, ruling the entire conceptions of his greatest works to such a degree that they are an enigma or an offence, even to this day, to all the petty disciples of a formal criticism.¹ Of the grotesque in our own Shakespeare I need hardly speak, nor of its intolerableness to his French critics; nor of that of Æschylus and Homer, as opposed to the lower Greek writers; and so I believe it will be found, at all periods, in all minds of the first order.

* I had not at this time extricated myself from the false reverence for Michael Angelo in which I had been brought up. It held me longer than any other youthful formalism. The real relations between Michael Angelo and Tintoret are given in my Oxford lecture before referred to. [1881.]

¹ [Here Appendix i. in the "Travellers' Edition" ends.]

§ 68. As an index of the greatness of nations, it is a less certain test, or rather, we are not so well agreed on the meaning of the term “greatness” respecting them. A nation may produce a great effect, and take up a high place in the world’s history, by the temporary enthusiasm or fury of its multitudes, without being truly great; or, on the other hand, the discipline of morality and common sense may extend its physical power or exalt its well-being, while yet its creative and imaginative powers are continually diminishing. And again: a people may take so definite a lead over all the rest of the world in one direction, as to obtain a respect which is not justly due to them if judged on universal grounds. Thus the Greeks perfected the sculpture of the human body; threw their literature into a disciplined form, which has given it a peculiar power over certain conditions of modern mind; and were the most carefully educated race that the world has seen; but a few years hence, I believe, we shall no longer think them a greater people than either the Egyptians or Assyrians.

§ 69. If, then, ridding ourselves as far as possible of prejudices owing merely to the school-teaching which remains from the system of the Renaissance, we set ourselves to discover in what races the human soul, taken all in all, reached its highest magnificence, we shall find, I believe, two great families of men, one of the East and South, the other of the West and North: the one including the Egyptians, Jews, Arabians, Assyrians, and Persians; the other, I know not whence derived, but seeming to flow forth from Scandinavia, and filling the whole of Europe with its Norman and Gothic energy. And in both these families, wherever they are seen in their utmost nobleness, there the grotesque is developed in its utmost energy; and I hardly know whether most to admire the winged bulls of Nineveh, or the winged dragons of Verona.¹

§ 70. The reader who has not before turned his attention to this subject may, however, at first have some difficulty in

¹ [For the former, compare Vol. IX. p. 281.]

distinguishing between the noble grotesque of these great nations, and the barbarous grotesque of mere savageness, as seen in the work of the Hindoo and other Indian nations; or, more grossly still, in that of the complete savage of the Pacific islands; or if, as is to be hoped, he instinctively feel the difference, he may yet find difficulty in determining wherein that difference consists. But he will discover, on consideration, that the noble grotesque *involves the true appreciation of beauty*, though the mind may wilfully turn to other images, or the hand resolutely stop short of the perfection, which it must fail, if it endeavoured, to reach; while the grotesque of the Sandwich islander involves no perception or imagination of anything above itself. He will find that in the exact proportion in which the grotesque results from an incapability of perceiving beauty, it becomes savage or barbarous; and that there are many stages of progress to be found in it, even in its best times, much truly savage grotesque occurring in the fine Gothic periods, mingled with the other forms of the ignoble grotesque resulting from vicious inclinations or base sportiveness. Nothing is more mysterious in the history of the human mind than the manner in which gross and ludicrous images are mingled with the most solemn subjects in the work of the Middle Ages, whether of sculpture or illumination; and although, in great part, such incongruities are to be accounted for on the various principles which I have above endeavoured to define, in many instances they are clearly the result of vice and sensuality. The general greatness or seriousness of an age does not effect the restoration of human nature; and it would be strange, if, in the midst of the art even of the best periods, when that art was entrusted to myriads of workmen, we found no manifestations of impiety, folly, or impurity.

§ 71. It needs only to be added, that in the noble grotesque, as it is partly the result of a morbid state of the imaginative power, that power itself will be always seen in a high degree; and that therefore our power of judging of

the rank of a grotesque work will depend on the degree in which we are in general sensible of the presence of invention. The reader may partly test this power in himself by referring to the Plate (3) given in the opening of this chapter, in which, on the left, is a piece of noble and inventive grotesque, a head of the lion-symbol of St. Mark from the Veronese Gothic;¹ the other is a head introduced as a boss on the foundation of the Palazzo Corner della Regina at Venice, utterly devoid of invention, made merely monstrous by exaggerations of the eyeballs and cheeks, and generally characteristic of that late Renaissance grotesque of Venice with which we are at present more immediately concerned.*

§ 72. The development of that grotesque took place under different laws from those which regulate it in any other European city. For, great as we have seen the Byzantine mind show itself to be in other directions, it was marked as that of a declining nation by the absence of the grotesque element,² and, owing to its influence, the early Venetian Gothic remained inferior to all other schools in this particular character. Nothing can well be more wonderful than its instant failure in any attempt at the representation of ludicrous or fearful images, more especially when it is compared with the magnificent grotesque of the neighbouring city of Verona, in which the Lombard influence had full sway. Nor was it until the last links of connexion with

* Note especially, in connexion with what was advanced in Vol. II. ch. vi. § 13, respecting our English neatness of execution, how the base workman has cut the lines of the architecture neatly and precisely round the abominable head; but the noble workman has used his chisel like a painter's pencil, and sketched the glory with a few irregular lines, anything rather than circular; and struck out the whole head in the same frank and fearless way, leaving the sharp edges of the stone as they first broke, and flinging back the crest of hair from the forehead with half a dozen hammer strokes, while the poor wretch who did the other was half a day in smoothing its vapid and vermicular curls.

¹ [The lion is sculptured on one of the four small panels at the angles of the sarcophagus in the Castelbarco Tomb at Verona; see the *Catalogue of Drawings and Photographs* exhibited to illustrate Ruskin's lecture on *Verona and its Rivers*, No. 19.]

² [See Vol. X. ch. v. § 28 n.]

Constantinople had been dissolved, that the strength of the Venetian mind could manifest itself in this direction. But it had then a new enemy to encounter. The Renaissance laws altogether checked its imagination in architecture; and it could only obtain permission to express itself by starting forth in the work of the Venetian painters, filling them with monkeys and dwarfs, even amidst the most serious subjects¹, and leading Veronese and Tintoret to the most unexpected and wild fantasies of form and colour.

§ 73. We may be deeply thankful for this peculiar reserve of the Gothic grotesque character to the last days of Venice. All over the rest of Europe it had been strongest in the days of imperfect art; magnificently powerful throughout the whole of the thirteenth century, tamed gradually in the fourteenth and fifteenth, and expiring in the sixteenth amidst anatomy and laws of art. But at Venice, it had not been received when it was elsewhere in triumph, and it fled to the lagoons for shelter when elsewhere it was oppressed. And it was arrayed by the Venetian painters in robes of state, and advanced by them to such honour as it had never received in its days of widest dominion; while, in return, it bestowed upon their pictures that fulness, piquancy, decision of parts, and mosaic-like intermingling of fancies, alternately brilliant and sublime, which were exactly what was most needed for the development of their unapproachable colour-power.

§ 74. Yet, observe, it by no means follows that because the grotesque does not appear in the art of a nation, the sense of it does not exist in the national mind. Except in the form of caricature, it is hardly traceable in the English work of the present day; but the minds of our workmen are full of it, if we would only allow them to give it shape. They express it daily in gesture and gibe, but are not allowed to do so where it would be useful. In like manner, though

¹ [On this subject, in the appendix to Ruskin's *Guide to the Venetian Academy*, see the examination of Paolo Veronese by the Inquisition in 1573, and the painter's defence of his introduction of grotesques into sacred pictures.]

the Byzantine influence repressed it in the early Venetian architecture, it was always present in the Venetian mind, and showed itself in various forms of national custom and festival; *acted* grotesques, full of wit, feeling, and goodhumour. The ceremony of the hat and the orange, described in the beginning of this chapter,¹ is one instance out of multitudes. Another, more rude, and exceedingly characteristic, was that instituted in the twelfth century in memorial of the submission of Woldaric, the patriarch of Aquileia, who, having taken up arms against the patriarch of Grado, and being defeated and taken prisoner by the Venetians, was sentenced, not to death, but to send every year on "Fat Thursday" sixty-two large loaves, twelve fat pigs, and a bull, to the Doge; the bull being understood to represent the patriarch, and the twelve pigs his clergy: and the ceremonies of the day consisting in the decapitation of these representatives, and a distribution of their joints among the senators; together with a symbolic record of the attack upon Aquileia, by the erection of a wooden castle in the rooms of the Ducal Palace, which the *Doge and the Senate* attacked and demolished with clubs. As long as the Doge and the Senate were truly kingly and noble, they were content to let this ceremony be continued; but when they became proud and selfish, and were destroying both themselves and the state by their luxury, they found it inconsistent with their dignity, and it was abolished, as far as the Senate was concerned, in 1549.*

§ 75. By these and other similar manifestations, the grotesque spirit is traceable through all the strength of the Venetian people. But again: it is necessary that we should carefully distinguish between it and the spirit of mere levity. I said, in the fifth chapter,² that the Venetians were

* The decree is quoted by Mutinelli, lib. i. p. 46.

¹ [See above, p. 141. With what is here said of Venetian grotesque, compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. Appendix 1, § 3.]

² [*i.e.* of the preceding volume: see § 30.]

distinctively a serious people; serious, that is to say, in the sense in which the English are a more serious people than the French; though the habitual intercourse of our lower classes in London has a tone of humour in it which I believe is untraceable in that of the Parisian populace. It is one thing to indulge in playful rest, and another to be devoted to the pursuit of pleasure: and gaiety of heart during the reaction after hard labour, and quickened by satisfaction in the accomplished duty or perfected result, is altogether compatible with, nay, even in some sort arises naturally out of, a deep internal seriousness of disposition; this latter being exactly the condition of mind which, as we have seen, leads to the richest developments of the playful grotesque; while, on the contrary, the continual pursuit of pleasure deprives the soul of all alacrity and elasticity, and leaves it incapable of happy jesting, capable only of that which is bitter, base, and foolish. Thus, throughout the whole of the early career of the Venetians, though there is much jesting, there is no levity; on the contrary, there is an intense earnestness both in their pursuit of commercial and political successes, and in their devotion to religion,* which led gradually to the formation of that highly wrought mingling of immovable resolution with secret thoughtfulness, which so strangely, sometimes so darkly, distinguishes the Venetian character at the time of their highest power, when the seriousness was left, but the conscientiousness destroyed. And if there be any one sign by which the Venetian countenance, as it is recorded for us, to the very life, by a school of portraiture which has never been equalled (chiefly because no portraiture ever had subjects so noble),—I say, if there be one thing more notable than another in the Venetian features, it is this deep pensiveness and solemnity.¹ In other districts of Italy, the dignity of the heads which

* See Appendix 9 [p. 264].

¹ [Compare the description, in *Modern Painters*, Vol. V. pt. ix. ch. ix. § 1, of the Venetian senators—"fearless, faithful, patient, impenetrable, implacable—every word a fate."]

occur in the most celebrated compositions is clearly owing to the feeling of the painter. He has visibly raised or idealized his models, and appears always to be veiling the faults or failings of the human nature around him, so that the best of his work is that which has most perfectly taken the colour of his own mind; and the least impressive, if not the least valuable, that which appears to have been unaffected and unmodified portraiture. But at Venice, all is exactly the reverse of this. The tone of mind in the painter appears often in some degree frivolous or sensual; delighting in costume, in domestic and grotesque incident, and in studies of the naked form. But the moment he gives himself definitely to portraiture, all is noble and grave; the more literally true his work, the more majestic; and the same artist who will produce little beyond what is commonplace in painting a Madonna or an apostle, will rise into unapproachable sublimity when his subject is a member of the Forty, or a Master of the Mint.

Such, then, were the general tone and progress of the Venetian mind, up to the close of the seventeenth century. First, serious, religious, and sincere; then, though serious still, comparatively deprived of conscientiousness, and apt to decline into stern and subtle policy: in the first case, the spirit of the noble grotesque not showing itself in art at all, but only in speech and action; in the second case, developing itself in painting, through accessories and vivacities of composition, while perfect dignity was always preserved in portraiture. A third phase rapidly developed itself.

§ 76. Once more, and for the last time,¹ let me refer the reader to the important epoch of the death of the Doge Tomaso Mocenigo in 1423, long ago indicated as the commencement of the decline of the Venetian power. That commencement is marked not merely by the words of the dying Prince, but by a great and clearly legible sign. It is recorded, that on the accession of his successor, Foscari, to

¹ [See Vol. IX. pp. 21, 53, Vol. X. pp. 346–347 *n.*, 352 *n.*, and in this volume, p. 102.]

the throne, “SIFESTEGGIO DALLA CITTA UNO ANNO INTERO.” “The city kept festival for a whole year.”¹ Venice had in her childhood sown, in tears, the harvest she was to reap in rejoicing. She now sowed in laughter the seeds of death.

Thenceforward, year after year, the nation drank with deeper thirst from the fountains of forbidden pleasure, and dug for springs, hitherto unknown, in the dark places of the earth. In the ingenuity of indulgence, in the varieties of vanity, Venice surpassed the cities of Christendom, as of old she had surpassed them in fortitude and devotion; and as once the powers of Europe stood before her judgment-seat, to receive the decisions of her justice, so now the youth of Europe assembled in the halls of her luxury, to learn from her the arts of delight.

It is as needless as it is painful to trace the steps of her final ruin. That ancient curse was upon her, the curse of the Cities of the Plain, “Pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness.” By the inner burning of her own passions, as fatal as the fiery rain of Gomorrah,² she was consumed from her place among the nations; and her ashes are choking the channels of the dead, salt sea.

¹ [For a further account of the festivities and ceremonial pomp, which marked the accession of this doge and with it the dawn of a new era, see H. F. Brown's *Venice*, pp. 280–283.]

² [Ezekiel xvi. 19; Genesis xix. 24.]

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

§ 1. I FEAR this chapter will be a rambling one, for it must be a kind of supplement to the preceding pages, and a general recapitulation of the things I have too imperfectly and feebly said.

The grotesques of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nature of which we examined in the last chapter, close the career of the architecture of Europe. They were the last evidences of any feeling consistent with itself, and capable of directing the efforts of the builder to the formation of anything worthy the name of a style or school. From that time to this, no resuscitation of energy has taken place, nor does any for the present appear possible. How long this impossibility may last, and in what direction with regard to art in general, as well as to our lifeless architecture, our immediate efforts may most profitably be directed, are the questions I would endeavour briefly to consider in the present chapter.

§ 2. That modern science, with all its additions to the comforts of life, and to the fields of rational contemplation, has placed the existing races of mankind on a higher platform than any that preceded them, none can doubt for an instant; and I believe the position in which we find ourselves is somewhat analogous to that of thoughtful and laborious youth succeeding a restless and heedless infancy. Not long ago, it was said to me by one of the masters of modern science: "When men invented the locomotive, the child was learning to go; when they invented the telegraph, it was learning to speak." He looked forward to the manhood of mankind as assuredly the nobler in proportion to the slowness of its

development. What might not be expected from the prime and middle strength of the order of existence whose infancy had lasted six thousand years? And indeed, I think this the truest, as well as the most cheering, view that we can take of the world's history. Little progress has been made as yet. Base war, lying policy, thoughtless cruelty, senseless improvidence,—all things which, in nations, are analogous to the petulance, cunning, impatience, and carelessness of infancy,—have been, up to this hour, as characteristic of mankind as they were in the earliest periods; so that we must either be driven to doubt of human progress at all, or look upon it as in its very earliest stage. Whether the opportunity is to be permitted us to redeem the hours that we have lost; whether He, in whose sight a thousand years are as one day,¹ has appointed us to be tried by the continued possession of the strange powers with which He has lately endowed us; or whether the periods of childhood and of probation are to cease together, and the youth of mankind is to be one which shall prevail over death, and bloom for ever in the midst of a new heaven and a new earth,² are questions with which we have no concern. It is indeed right that we should look for, and hasten, so far as in us lies, the coming of the Day of God;³ but not that we should check any human efforts by anticipations of its approach. We shall hasten it best by endeavouring to work out the tasks that are appointed for us here; and, therefore, reasoning as if the world were to continue under its existing dispensation, and the powers which have just been granted to us were to be continued through myriads of future ages.

§ 3. It seems to me, then, that the whole human race, so far as their own reason can be trusted, may at present be regarded as just emergent from childhood; and beginning for the first time to feel their strength, to stretch their limbs, and explore the creation around them. If we consider that,

¹ [Psalms xc. 4.]

² [Revelation xxi. 1.]

³ [2 Peter iii. 12.]

till within the last fifty years, the nature of the ground we tread on, of the air we breathe, and of the light by which we see, were not so much as conjecturally conceived by us; that the duration of the globe, and the races of animal life by which it was inhabited, are just beginning to be apprehended; and that the scope of the magnificent science which has revealed them is as yet so little received by the public mind, that presumption and ignorance are still permitted to raise their voices against it unrebuked; that perfect veracity in the representation of general nature by art has never been attempted until the present day, and has in the present day been resisted with all the energy of the popular voice; * that the simplest problems of social science are yet so little understood, as that doctrines of liberty and equality can be openly preached,¹ and so successfully as to affect² the whole body of the civilised world with apparently incurable disease; that the first principles of commerce were acknowledged by the English Parliament only a few months ago, in its free trade measures,³ and are still so little understood by the million, that no nation dares to abolish its custom-houses; † that the simplest principles of policy are still not so much as stated, far less received, and that civilised nations persist in the belief that the subtlety and dishonesty which they know to be

* In the works of Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites.

† Observe, I speak of these various principles as self-evident, only under the present circumstances of the world, not as if they had always been so; and I call them now self-evident, not merely because they seem so to myself, but because they are felt to be so likewise by all the men in whom I place most trust. But granting that they are not so, then their very disputability proves the state of infancy above alleged, as characteristic of the world. For I do not suppose that any Christian reader will doubt the first great truth, that whatever facts or laws are important to mankind, God has made ascertainable by mankind; and that as the decision of all these questions is of vital importance to the race, that decision must have been long ago arrived at, unless they were still in a state of childhood.

¹ [Compare Vol. VIII. p. 248.]

² ["Affect" in all editions; but the MS. has "infect."]

³ [This was written in 1852–1853, the Repeal of the Corn Laws enacted in 1846 having come into force in 1849. In *Unto this Last*, § 53, Ruskin refers to this passage and confirms it, adding, "I do not admit even the idea of reciprocity."]

ruinous in dealings between man and man, are serviceable in dealings between multitude and multitude;¹ finally, that the scope of the Christian religion, which we have been taught for two thousand years, is still so little conceived by us, that we suppose the laws of charity and of self-sacrifice bear upon individuals in all their social relations, and yet do not bear upon nations in any of their political relations;—when, I say, we thus review the depth of simplicity in which the human race are still plunged with respect to all that it most profoundly concerns them to know, and which might, by them, with most ease have been ascertained, we can hardly determine how far back on the narrow path of human progress we ought to place the generation to which we belong, how far the swaddling clothes are unwound from us, and childish things beginning to be put away.

On the other hand, a power of obtaining veracity in the representation of material and tangible things, which, within certain limits and conditions, is unimpeachable, has now been placed in the hands of all men,* almost without labour. The foundation of every natural science is now at last firmly laid, not a day passing without some addition of buttress and pinnacle to their already magnificent fabric. Social theorems, if fiercely agitated, are therefore the more likely to be at last determined, so that they never can be matters of question more. Human life has been in some sense prolonged by the

* I intended to have given a sketch in this place (above referred to²) of the probable results of the daguerreotype and calotype within the next few years, in modifying the application of the engraver's art, but I have not had time to complete the experiments necessary to enable me to speak with certainty. Of one thing, however, I have little doubt, that an infinite service will soon be done to a large body of our engravers; namely, the making them draughtsmen (in black and white) on paper instead of steel.

¹ [Ruskin often enforced the argument that the same laws applied to individuals and states; see, for instance, p. 261 below, where he looks forward to kingdoms becoming "well-governed households," and similarly, *A Joy for Ever*, §§ 12, 13.]

² [See in the preceding volume, p. 356. For Ruskin's interest in the daguerreotype and calotype processes, see Vol. III. pp. 169 *n.*, 210 *n.* Ruskin's prediction, it need hardly be said, has been abundantly fulfilled. On the subject of pen-drawing in connexion with photo-engraving, Mr. Joseph Pennell's *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*, 1889, may be consulted.]

increased powers of locomotion, and an almost limitless power of converse. Finally, there is hardly any serious mind in Europe but is occupied, more or less, in the investigation of the questions which have so long paralyzed the strength of religious feeling, and shortened the dominion of religious faith. And we may therefore at least look upon ourselves as so far in a definite state of progress, as to justify our caution in guarding against the dangers incident to every period of change, and especially to that from childhood into youth.

§ 4. Those dangers appear, in the main, to be twofold; consisting partly in the pride of vain knowledge, partly in the pursuit of vain pleasure. A few points are still to be noticed with respect to each of these heads.

Enough, it might be thought, had been said already touching the pride of knowledge;¹ but I have not yet applied the principles at which we arrived in the third chapter to the practical questions of modern art. And I think those principles, together with what were deduced from the consideration of the nature of Gothic in the second volume, so necessary and vital, not only with respect to the progress of art, but even to the happiness of society, that I will rather run the risk of tediousness than of deficiency in their illustration and enforcement.

In examining the nature of Gothic, we concluded that one of the chief elements of power in that, and in *all good* architecture, was the acceptance of uncultivated and rude energy in the workman.² In examining the nature of Renaissance, we concluded that its chief element of weakness was that pride of knowledge which not only prevented all rudeness in expression, but gradually quenched all energy which could only be rudely expressed; nor only so, but, for the motive and matter of the work itself, preferred science to emotion, and experience to perception.

§ 5. The modern mind differs from the Renaissance mind

¹ [See above, ch. ii. pp. 46–73.]

² [See Vol. X. pp. 184–204.]

in that its learning is more substantial and extended, and its temper more humble; but its errors, with respect to the cultivation of art, are precisely the same,—nay, as far as regards execution, even more aggravated. We require, at present, from our general workmen, more perfect finish than was demanded in the most skilful Renaissance periods, except in their very finest productions; and our leading principles in teaching, and in the patronage which necessarily gives tone to teaching, are, that the goodness of work consists primarily in firmness of handling and accuracy of science, that is to say, in hand-work and head-work; whereas heart-work, which is the *one* work we want, is not only independent of both, but often, in great degree, inconsistent with either.

§ 6. Here, therefore, let me finally and firmly enunciate the great principle to which all that has hitherto been stated is subservient:—that art is valuable or otherwise, only as it expresses the personality, activity, and living perception of a good and great human soul;¹ that it may express and contain this with little help from execution, and less from science; and that if it have not this, if it show not the vigour, perception, and invention of a mighty human spirit, it is worthless. Worthless, I mean, as *art*; it may be precious in some other way, but, as art, it is nugatory. Once let this be well understood among us, and magnificent consequences will soon follow. Let me repeat it in other terms, so that I may not be misunderstood. All art is great, and good, and true, only so far as it is distinctively the work of *manhood* in its entire and highest sense; that is to say, not the work of limbs and fingers, but of the soul, aided, according to her necessities, by the inferior powers; and therefore distinguished in essence from all products of those inferior powers unhelped by the soul.² For as a photograph is not a work of art,

¹ [So in *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. x. § 22, “greatness in art is . . . the expression of a mind of a God-made great man;” in *Two Paths*, § 45, “great art is nothing else than the type of strong and noble life;” and in the lecture on *The Flamboyant Architecture of the Valley of the Somme* (1869), Ruskin says, “Great art is the expression in form of the mind of a great man.”]

² [Compare the aphorism in *Two Paths*, § 53: “Fine art is that in which the hand and head and the heart of man go together.”]

though it requires certain delicate manipulations of paper and acid, and subtle calculations of time, in order to bring out a good result; so, neither would a drawing *like* a photograph, made directly from nature, be a work of art, although it would imply many delicate manipulations of the pencil and subtle calculations of effects of colour and shade. It is no more art * to manipulate a camel's-hair pencil, than to manipulate a china tray and a glass vial. It is no more art to lay on colour delicately, than to lay on acid delicately. It is no more art to use the cornea and retina for the reception of an image, than to use a lens and a piece of silvered paper. But the moment that inner part of the man, or rather that entire and only being of the man, of which cornea and retina, fingers and hands, pencils and colours, are all the mere servants and instruments; † that manhood which has light in itself,

* I mean art in its highest sense. All that men do ingeniously is art, in one sense. In fact, we want a definition of the word "art" much more accurate than any in our minds at present. For, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as "fine" or "high" art. All *art* is a low and common thing, and what we indeed respect is not art at all, but *instinct* or *inspiration* expressed by the help of art.

† "Socrates. This, then, was what I asked you; whether that which puts anything else to service, and the thing which is put to service by it, are always two different things?"

Alcibiades. I think so.

Socrates. What shall we then say of the leather-cutter? Does he cut his leather with his instruments only, or with his hands also?

Alcibiades. With his hands also.

Socrates. Does he not use his eyes as well as his hands?

Alcibiades. Yes.

Socrates. And we agreed that the thing which uses and the thing which is used were different things?

Alcibiades. Yes.

Socrates. Then the leather-cutter is not the same thing as his eyes or hands?

Alcibiades. So it appears.

Socrates. Does not, then, man make use of his whole body?

Alcibiades. Assuredly.

Socrates. Then the man is not the same thing as his body?

Alcibiades. It seems so.

Socrates. What, then, *is* the man?

Alcibiades. I know not."

Plato, Alcibiades I. [p. 129].

though the eyeball be sightless, and can gain in strength when the hand and the foot are hewn off and cast into the fire; the moment this part of the man stands forth with its solemn "Behold, it is I," then the work becomes art indeed, perfect in honour, priceless in value, boundless in power.

§ 7. Yet observe, I do not mean to speak of the body and soul as separable. The man is made up of both: they are to be raised and glorified together, and all art is an expression of the one by and through the other. All that I would insist upon is, the necessity of the whole man being in his work; the body *must* be in it. Hands and habits must be in it, whether we will or not: but the nobler part of the man may often not be in it. And that nobler part acts principally in love, reverence, and admiration,¹ together with those conditions of thought which arise out of them. For we usually fall into much error by considering the intellectual powers as having dignity in themselves, and separable from the heart; whereas the truth is, that the intellect becomes noble or ignoble according to the food we give it, and the kind of subjects with which it is conversant. It is not the reasoning power which, of itself, is noble, but the reasoning power occupied with its proper objects. Half of the mistakes of metaphysicians have arisen from their not observing this; namely, that the intellect, going through the same processes, is yet mean or noble according to the matter it deals with, and wastes itself away in mere rotatory motion, if it be set to grind straws and dust. If we reason only respecting words, or lines, or any trifling and finite things, the reason becomes a contemptible faculty; but reason employed on holy and infinite things, becomes herself holy and infinite. So that, by work of the soul, I mean the reader always to understand the work of the entire immortal creature, proceeding from a quick, perceptive, and eager heart, perfected by the

¹ [In one of his copies of the volume Ruskin has marked much of these sections (6, 7) as if in special approval, but he notes in the margin, "Hope missed here."]

intellect, and finally dealt with by the hands, under the direct guidance of these higher powers.¹

§ 8. And now observe, the first important consequence of our fully understanding this pre-eminence of the soul, will be the due understanding of that subordination of knowledge respecting which so much has already been said. For it must be felt at once, that the increase of knowledge, merely as such, does not make the soul larger or smaller; that in the sight of God, all the knowledge man can gain is as nothing: but that the soul, for which the great scheme of redemption was laid, be it ignorant or be it wise, is all in all; and in the activity, strength, health, and well-being of this soul, lies the main difference, in His sight, between one man and another. And that which is all in all in God's estimate is also, be assured, all in all in man's labour; and to have the heart open, and the eyes clear, and the emotions and thoughts warm and quick, and not the knowing of this or the other fact, is the state needed for all mighty doing in this world. And therefore, finally, for this, the weightiest of all reasons, let us take no pride in our knowledge. We may, in a certain sense, be proud of being immortal; we may be proud of being God's children; we may be proud of loving, thinking, seeing, and of all that we are by no human teaching: but not of what we have been taught by rote; not of the ballast and freight of the ship of the spirit, but only of its pilotage, without which all the freight will only sink it faster, and strew the sea more richly with its ruin. There is not at this moment a youth of twenty, having received what we moderns ridiculously call education,² but he knows more of everything, except the soul, than Plato or St. Paul did; but he is not for that reason a greater man, or fitter for his work, or more fit to be heard by others, than Plato or St. Paul. There is

¹ [For remarks on the significance of § 7, and passages from Ruskin's MSS. connected with it, see above, Introduction, p. xvii. Compare also *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. iii. § 24.]

² [Ruskin's reiterated assertion was that true education is an ethical process, not one of mental gymnastic; see, for instance, the letter on "True Education" in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, ii. 177, and *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 144; and compare Appendix 7 below, p. 261.]

between one man & another: And that which is of all in all
in God's estimate, is also - to us - all in all in our own
- and that to have the heart open - & the eyes clear - and the
instincts & thoughts warm and quick - and not to know ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{this} ~~thing~~
~~thing~~ - ~~the other~~ ^{part}; is the ~~one~~ ^{only} state needed for all mighty
doing in the world ~~And~~ ~~what~~ ~~therefore~~ ~~finds~~ - for this
the weightiest of all reasons. Let us ~~be~~ ~~wise~~ ~~and~~ ~~take~~ ~~no~~
pride in our knowledge. We may ^{- a certain sense} be proud of being immortal -
we may be proud of being God's children - we may be proud
of Loving Thinking - Seeing - ^{of} of all that we are by
a human teaching. But not of what we have been taught

by rote - not of the ~~travels~~ ^{ballast} and freight of the ^{ship} ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ^{ship} ~~of~~ ~~the~~
spirit ^{only} ~~but~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~freights~~, ^{without which all the freight will but sink it faster. & then} ~~There is not at this moment~~
~~the sea~~ ~~was~~ ~~with~~ ~~its~~ ~~mind~~.
- ~~child~~ ~~of~~ ~~two~~ ~~years~~ ~~old~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~well~~ ~~run~~ ~~school~~, ~~but~~ ~~knows~~
- ~~more~~ ~~than~~ ~~any~~ ~~other~~ ~~child~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~age~~ ~~who~~ ~~has~~ ~~received~~ ~~what~~ ~~we~~ ~~moderns~~ ~~understand~~ ~~of~~ ~~everything~~ ~~except~~ ~~the~~ ~~soul~~
call education; but he knows more ^{of everything except the soul} than Plato or St Paul
did: - but he is not for that reason a greater man. a fitter

for his work - or more fit to be heard by others. ~~There~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~at~~ ~~this~~ ~~moment~~ ~~a~~ ~~single~~ ~~student~~
Plato or St Paul ^{a genuine} ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~men~~ ~~There~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~at~~ ~~this~~ ~~moment~~ ~~a~~ ~~single~~ ~~student~~
in our schools of painting who does not know fifty times as much
about the art as Giotto did - but he is not for that reason greater
than Giotto - no - nor his work better nor fitter for our beholding.
And let him go on to know all that the human intellect can

discover & contain, in the term of long life - and he will not be
one inch - one line - nearer to Giotto's feet: But let
leave his reading benches, ^{& involuntarily & knowing nothing} ~~to~~ ~~go~~ ~~out~~ ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~high~~ ~~ways~~ ~~&~~ ~~hedges~~ - and there rejoice
with them that do rejoice & weep with them that weep - and
in the vast world - among the companies of the great & good -
Giotto will give his hand to him - to lead him into their white
circle - & say - This ^{is} ~~is~~ ~~our~~ ~~brother~~.

not at this moment a junior student in our schools of painting, who does not know fifty times as much about the art as Giotto did; but he is not for that reason greater than Giotto; no, nor his work better, nor fitter for our beholding.¹ Let him go on to know all that the human intellect can discover and contain in the term of a long life, and he will not be one inch, one line, nearer to Giotto's feet. But let him leave his academy benches, and, innocently, as one knowing nothing, go out into the highways and hedges, and there rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep;² and in the next world, among the companies of the great and good, Giotto will give his hand to him, and lead him into their white circle, and say, "This is our brother."

§ 9. And the second important consequence of our feeling the soul's pre-eminence will be our understanding the soul's language, however broken, or low, or feeble, or obscure in its words; and chiefly that great symbolic language of past ages, which has now so long been unspoken. It is strange that the same cold and formal spirit which the Renaissance teaching has raised amongst us, should be equally dead to the languages of imitation and of symbolism; and should at once disdain the faithful rendering of real nature by the modern school of the Pre-Raphaelites, and the symbolic rendering of imagined nature in the work of the thirteenth century. But so it is; and we find the same body of modern artists rejecting Pre-Raphaelitism because it is not ideal ! and thirteenth century work, because it is not real!—their own practice being at once false and unideal, and therefore equally opposed to both.

§ 10. It is therefore, at this juncture, of much importance to mark for the reader the exact relation of healthy symbolism and of healthy imitation; and, in order to do so, let us return to one of our Venetian examples of symbolic

¹ [On the comparative rank of Giotto, and Ruskin's later views on the subject, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 76.]

² [Luke xiv. 23; Romans xii. 15.]

art, to the central cupola of St. Mark's. On that cupola, as has been already stated,¹ there is a mosaic representing the apostles on the Mount of Olives, with an olive-tree separating each from the other; and we shall easily arrive at our purpose, by comparing the means which would have been adopted by a modern artist bred in the Renaissance schools,—that is to say, under the influence of Claude and Poussin, and of the common teaching of the present day,—with those adopted by the Byzantine mosaicist to express the nature of these trees.

§ 11. The reader is doubtless aware that the olive is one of the most characteristic and beautiful features of all Southern scenery. On the slopes of the northern Apennines, olives are the usual forest timber; the whole of the Val d' Arno is wooded with them, every one of its gardens is filled with them, and they grow in orchard-like ranks out of its fields of maize, or corn, or vine; so that it is physically impossible, in most parts of the neighbourhood of Florence, Pistoja, Lucca, or Pisa, to choose any site of landscape which shall not owe its leading character to the foliage of these trees. What the elm and oak are to England, the olive is to Italy; nay, more than this, its presence is so constant, that, in the case of at least four-fifths of the drawings made by any artist in North Italy, he must have been somewhat impeded by branches of olive coming between him and the landscape. Its classical associations double its importance in Greece;² and in the Holy Land the remembrances connected with it are of course more touching than can ever belong to any other tree of the field. Now, for many years back, at least one-third out of all the landscapes painted by English artists have been chosen from Italian scenery; sketches in Greece and in the Holy Land have become as common as sketches on

¹ [See in the preceding volume, pp. 136, 137, and compare *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 107, 126–131.]

² [Ruskin cherished the association in the title of his book, *The Crown of Wild Olive*; and, in connexion with his reference below (§ 12) to the association of the olive with the helmeted wisdom of Athena, see *The Queen of the Air*, § 38.]

Hampstead Heath; our galleries also are full of sacred subjects, in which, if any background be introduced at all, the foliage of the olive ought to have been a prominent feature.

And here I challenge the untravelled English reader to tell me what an olive-tree is like.

§ 12. I know he cannot answer my challenge. He has no more idea of an olive-tree than if olives grew only in the fixed stars. Let him meditate a little on this one fact, and consider its strangeness, and what a wilful and constant closing of the eyes to the most important truths it indicates on the part of the modern artist. Observe, a want of perception, not of science. I do not want painters to tell me any scientific facts about olive-trees. But it had been well for them to have felt and seen the olive-tree; to have loved it for Christ's sake, partly also for the helmed Wisdom's sake which was to the heathen in some sort as that nobler Wisdom which stood at God's right hand, when He founded the earth and established the heavens. To have loved it, even to the hoary dimness of its delicate foliage, subdued and faint of hue, as if the ashes of the Gethsemane agony had been cast upon it for ever;¹ and to have traced, line by line, the gnarled writhing of its intricate branches, and the pointed fretwork of its light and narrow leaves, inlaid on the blue field of the sky,² and the small rosy-white stars of its spring blossoming, and the beads of sable fruit scattered by autumn along its topmost boughs—the right, in Israel, of the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,³—and, more than all, the softness of the mantle,

¹ [Luke xxii. 39, 44; Matthew xxvi. 36.]

² [With this passage, "To have loved it . . . blue field of the sky," Ruskin took particular pains, correcting and correcting it again. First, he wrote "To have loved it and watched patiently the fretwork of its pointed grey leaves on the blue field of the quiet sky." This was next corrected to "To have loved it, even to the utmost fretwork . . . quiet sky;" and he then continued, "to have loved it, even to the gnarled and writhing trunk—even to the hoary dimness of its entangled (corrected to "delicate") foliage, subdued even to the colour of the dust (corrected to "subdued and faint of hue"), as if the ashes of the Gethsemane agony had been cast upon it for ever; to have loved it and to have traced line by line . . ." Then the previous portion was altered, and the final form in the text arrived at.]

³ [See Deuteronomy xxiv. 20].

silver grey, and tender like the down on a bird's breast, with which, far away, it veils the undulation of the mountains;—these it had been well for them to have seen and drawn, whatever they had left unstudied in the gallery.

§ 13. And if the reader would know the reason why this has not been done (it is one instance only out of the myriads which might be given of sightlessness in modern art), and will ask the artists themselves, he will be informed of another of the marvellous contradictions and inconsistencies in the base Renaissance art; for it will be answered him, that it is not right, nor according to law, to draw trees so that one should be known from another, but that trees ought to be generalized into a universal idea of a tree: that is to say, that the very school which carries its science in the representation of man down to the dissection of the most minute muscle, refuses so much science to the drawing of a tree as shall distinguish one species from another; and also, while it attends to logic, and rhetoric, and perspective, and atmosphere, and every other circumstance which is trivial, verbal, external, or accidental, in what it either says or sees, it will *not* attend to what is essential and substantial,—being intensely solicitous, for instance, if it draws two trees, one behind the other, that the farthest off shall be as much smaller as mathematics show that it should be, but totally unsolicitous to show, what to the spectator is a far more important matter, whether it is an apple or an orange-tree.¹

§ 14. This, however, is not to our immediate purpose. Let it be granted that an idea of an olive-tree is indeed to be given us in a special manner; how, and by what language, this idea is to be conveyed, are questions on which we shall find the world of artists again divided; and it was this division which I wished especially to illustrate by reference to the mosaics of St. Mark's.

¹ [The MS. here continues:-

“And thus while to the modern figure-painter we ought to be saying continually, ‘Knowledge is bad for you; it makes you see skeletons where you should see men,’ to the modern landscape-painter we have often to say, ‘Knowledge is good for you—or at least as much as the knowing an oak from an apple.’ “]

Now the main characteristics of an olive-tree are these. It has sharp and slender leaves of a greyish green, nearly grey on the under surface, and resembling, but somewhat smaller than, those of our common willow. Its fruit, when ripe, is black and lustrous; but of course so small, that, unless in great quantity, it is not conspicuous upon the tree. Its trunk and branches are peculiarly fantastic in their twisting, showing their fibres at every turn; and the trunk is often hollow, and even rent into many divisions like separate stems, but the extremities are exquisitely graceful, especially in the setting on of the leaves; and the notable and characteristic effect of the tree in the distance is of a rounded and soft mass or ball of downy foliage.

§ 15. Supposing a modern artist to address himself to the rendering of this tree with his best skill: he will probably draw accurately the twisting of the branches, but yet this will hardly distinguish the tree from an oak: he will also render the colour and intricacy of the foliage, but this will only confuse the idea of an oak with that of a willow. The fruit, and the peculiar grace of the leaves at the extremities, and the fibrous structure of the stems, will all be too minute to be rendered consistently with his artistical feeling of breadth, or with the amount of labour which he considers it dexterous and legitimate to bestow upon the work: but, above all, the rounded and monotonous form of the head of the tree will be at variance with his ideas of “composition;” he will assuredly disguise or break it, and the main points of the olive-tree will all at last remain untold.

§ 16. Now observe, the old Byzantine mosaicist begins his work at enormous disadvantage. It is to be some one hundred and fifty feet above the eye, in a dark cupola; executed not with free touches of the pencil, but with square pieces of glass; not by his own hand, but by various workmen under his superintendence; finally, not with a principal purpose of drawing olive-trees, but mainly as a decoration of the cupola. There is to be an olive-tree beside each apostle, and their stems are to be the chief

lines which divide the dome. He therefore at once gives up the irregular twisting of the boughs hither and thither, but he will not give up their fibres. Other trees have irregular and fantastic branches, but the knitted cordage of fibres is the olive's own. Again, were he to draw the leaves of their natural size, they would be so small that their forms would be invisible in the darkness; and were he to draw them so large as that their shape might be seen, they would look like laurel instead of olive. So he arranges them in small clusters of five each, nearly of the shape which the Byzantines give to the petals of the lily, but elongated so as to give the idea of leafage upon a spray; and these clusters,—his object always, be it remembered, being *decoration* not less than *representation*,—he arranges symmetrically on each side of his branches, laying the whole on a dark ground most truly suggestive of the heavy rounded mass of the tree, which, in its turn, is relieved against the gold of the cupola. Lastly, comes the question respecting the fruit. The whole power and honour of the olive is in its fruit; and, unless that be represented, nothing is represented. But if the berries were coloured black or green, they would be totally invisible; if of any other colour, utterly unnatural, and violence would be done to the whole conception. There is but one conceivable means of showing them, namely, to represent them as golden. For the idea of golden fruit of various kinds was already familiar to the mind, as in the apples of the Hesperides,¹ without any violence to the distinctive conception of the fruit itself.* So the mosaicist introduced small round golden berries into the dark ground between each leaf, and his work was done.

* Thus the grapes pressed by Excesse are partly golden (Spenser, book ii. cant. 12):

“Which did themselves amongst the leaves enfold,
As lurking from the vew of covetous guest,
That the weake boughes, with so rich load opprest,
Did bow adowne as overburdened.”

¹[For Ruskin's interpretation of the myth of the garden of the Hesperides and its golden apples, see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. x.].

§ 17. On the opposite plate the uppermost figure on the left is a tolerably faithful representation of the general effect of one of these decorative olive-trees; the figure on the right is the head of the tree alone, showing the leaf clusters, berries, and *interlacing* of the boughs as they leave the stem. Each bough is connected with a separate line of fibre in the trunk, and the junctions of the arms and stem are indicated, down to the very root of the tree, with a truth in structure which may well put to shame the tree anatomy of modern times.

§ 18. The white branching figures upon the serpentine band below are two of the clusters of the flowers which form the foreground of a mosaic in the atrium. I have printed the whole plate in blue, because that colour approaches more nearly than black to the distant effect of the mosaics, of which the darker portions are generally composed of blue, in greater quantity than any other colour. But the waved background, in this instance, is of various shades of blue and green alternately, with one narrow black band to give it force; the whole being intended to represent the distant effect and colour of deep grass, and the wavy line to *express its bending motion*, just as the same symbol is used to represent the waves of water. Then the two white clusters are representative of the distinctly visible herbage close to the spectator, having buds and flowers of two kinds, springing in one case out of the midst of twisted grass, and in the other out of their own proper leaves; the clusters being kept each so distinctly symmetrical, as to form, when set side by side, an ornamental border of perfect architectural severity; and yet each cluster different from the next, and every flower, and bud, and knot of grass, varied in form and thought. The way the mosaic tesserae are arranged, so as to give the writhing of the grass blades round the stalks of the flowers, is exceedingly fine.

The three circles below are examples of still more severely conventional forms, adopted, on principle, when the decoration is to be in white and gold, instead of colour; these ornaments



being cut in white marble on the outside of the church, and the ground laid in with gold, though necessarily here represented, like the rest of the plate, in blue. And it is exceedingly interesting to see how the noble workman, the moment he is restricted to more conventional materials, retires into more conventional forms, and reduces his various leafage into symmetry, now nearly perfect; yet observe, in the central figure, where the symbolic meaning of the vegetation beside the cross required it to be more distinctly indicated, he has given it life and growth by throwing it into unequal curves on the opposite sides.

§ 19. I believe the reader will now see, that in these mosaics, which the careless traveller is in the habit of passing by with contempt,¹ there is a depth of feeling and of meaning greater than in most of the best sketches from nature of modern times; and, without entering into any question whether these conventional representations are as good as, under the required limitations, it was possible to render them, they are at all events good enough completely to illustrate that mode of symbolical expression which appeals altogether to thought, and in no wise trusts to realization. And little as, in the present state of our schools, such an assertion is likely to be believed, the fact is that this kind of expression is the *only one allowable in noble art*.

§ 20. I pray the reader to have patience with me for a few moments. I do not mean that no art is noble but Byzantine mosaic; but that no art is noble which in any wise depends upon direct imitation for its effect upon the mind. This was asserted in the opening chapters of *Modern Painters*, but not upon the highest grounds;² the results at which we have now arrived in our investigation of early art will enable me to place it on a loftier and firmer foundation.

§ 21. We have just seen [§ 6] that all great art is the work of the whole living creature, body and soul, and chiefly of the

¹ [Nor the careless traveller only; even Lord Lindsay, from whom Ruskin learnt so much, had no good words to say of these mosaics: see his *Sketches of Christian Art*, 1847, i. 118.]

² [See Vol. III. pp. 99–108.]

soul. But it is not only *the work* of the whole creature, it likewise *addresses* the whole creature. That in which the perfect being speaks must also have the perfect being to listen. I am not to spend my utmost spirit, and give all my strength and life to my work, while you, spectator or hearer, will give me only the attention of half your soul. You must be all mine, as I am all yours; it is the only condition on which we can meet each other. All your faculties, all that is in you of greatest and best, must be awake in you, or I have no reward. The painter is not to cast the entire treasure of his human nature into his labour merely to please a part of the beholder: not merely to delight his senses, not merely to amuse his fancy, not merely to beguile him into emotion, not merely to lead him into thought; but to do *all* this. Senses, fancy, feeling, reason, the whole of the beholding spirit, must be stilled in attention or stirred with delight; else the labouring spirit has not done its work well. For observe, it is not merely its *right* to be thus met, face to face, heart to heart; but it is its *duty* to evoke this answering of the other soul: its trumpet call must be so clear, that though the challenge may by dulness or indolence be unanswered, there shall be no error as to the meaning of the appeal; there must be a summons in the work, which it shall be our own fault if we do not obey. We require this of it, we beseech this of it. Most men do not know what is in them till they receive this summons from their fellows: their hearts die within them, sleep settles upon them, the lethargy of the world's miasmata; there is nothing for which they are so thankful as that cry, "Awake, thou that sleepest."¹ And this cry must be most loudly uttered to their noblest faculties; first of all, to the imagination, for that is the most tender, and the soonest struck into numbness by the poisoned air; so that one of the main functions of art, in its service to man, is to rouse the imagination from its palsy, like the angel troubling the Bethesda pool; and the art which does not do this is false to its duty, and degraded in its nature. It is not enough that it be well imagined, it must

¹ [Ephesians v. 14; the next Bible reference is John v. 4.]

task the beholder also to imagine well; and this so imperatively, that if he does not choose to rouse himself to meet the work, he shall not taste it, nor enjoy it in any wise. Once that he is well awake, the guidance which the artist gives him should be full and authoritative: the beholder's imagination should not be suffered to take its own way, or wander hither and thither; but neither must it be left at rest; and the right point of realization, for any given work of art, is that which will enable the spectator to complete it for himself, in the exact way the artist would have him, but not that which will save him the trouble of effecting the completion. So soon as the idea is entirely conveyed, the artist's labour should cease; and every touch which he adds beyond the point when, with the help of the beholder's imagination, the story ought to have been told, is a degradation to his work. So that the art is wrong which either realizes its subject completely, or fails in giving such definite aid as shall enable it to be realized by the beholding imagination.¹

§ 22. It follows, therefore, that the quantity of finish or detail which may rightly be bestowed upon any work, depends on the number and kind of ideas which the artist wishes to convey, much more than on the amount of realization necessary to enable the imagination to grasp them. It is true that the differences of judgment formed by one or another observer are in great degree dependent on their unequal imaginative powers, as well as their unequal efforts in following the artist's intention; and it constantly happens that the drawing which appears clear to the painter in whose mind the thought is formed, is slightly inadequate to suggest it to the spectator. These causes of false judgment or imperfect achievement must always exist, but they are of no importance. For, in nearly every mind, the imaginative power, however unable to act independently, is so easily helped and so brightly animated by the most obscure suggestion, that there is no form of artistical language which will not readily be seized by it, if once it set itself intelligently

¹ [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. x. § 18.]

to the task; and even without such effort there are few hieroglyphics of which, once understanding that it is to take them as hieroglyphics, it cannot make itself a pleasant picture.

§ 23. Thus, in the case of all sketches, etchings, unfinished engravings, etc., no one ever supposes them to be imitations.¹ Black outlines on white paper cannot produce a deceptive resemblance of anything; and the mind, understanding at once that it is to depend on its own powers for great part of its pleasure, sets itself so actively to the task that it can completely enjoy the rudest outline in which meaning exists. Now, when it is once in this temper, the artist is infinitely to be blamed who insults it by putting anything into his work which is not suggestive: having summoned the imaginative power, he must turn it to account and keep it employed, or it will turn against him in indignation. Whatever he does merely to realize and substantiate an idea is impertinent; he is like a dull story-teller, dwelling on points which the hearer anticipates or disregards. The imagination will say to him: "I knew all that before; I don't want to be told that. Go on; or be silent, and let me go on in my own way. I can tell the story better than you."

Observe, then, whenever finish is given for the sake of realization, it is wrong; whenever it is given for the sake of adding ideas, it is right. All true finish consists in the addition of ideas, that is to say, in giving the imagination more food; for once well awakened, it is ravenous for food: but the painter who finishes in order to substantiate takes the food out of its mouth, and it will turn and rend him.

§ 24. Let us go back, for instance, to our olive grove,—or, lest the reader should be tired of olives, let it be an oak copse,—and consider the difference between the substantiating and the imaginative methods of finish in such a subject. A few strokes of the pencil, or dashes of colour, will be enough to enable the imagination to conceive a tree; and in those dashes of colour Sir Joshua Reynolds would have rested, and would have suffered the imagination to paint

¹ [Compare Vol. III. pp. 119, 120.]

what more it liked for itself, and grow oaks, or olives, or apples, out of the few dashes of colour at its leisure. On the other hand, Hobbima, one of the worst of the realists,¹ smites the imagination on the mouth, and bids it be silent, while he sets to work to paint his oak of the right green, and fill up its foliage laboriously with jagged touches, and furrow the bark all over its branches, so as, if possible, to deceive us into supposing that we are looking at a real oak; which, indeed, we had much better do at once, without giving any one the trouble to deceive us in the matter.

§ 25. Now, the truly great artist neither leaves the imagination to itself, like Sir Joshua, nor insults it by realization, like Hobbima, but finds its continual employment of the happiest kind. Having summoned it by his vigorous first touches, he says to it: "Here is a tree for you, and it is to be an oak. Now I know that you can make it green and intricate for yourself, but that is not enough: an oak is not only green and intricate, but its leaves have most beautiful and fantastic forms, which I am very sure you are not quite able to complete without help; so I will draw a cluster or two perfectly for you, and then you can go on and do all the other clusters. So far so good: but the leaves are not enough; the oak is to be full of acorns, and you may not be quite able to imagine the way they grow, nor the pretty contrast of their glossy almond-shaped nuts with the chasing of their cups; so I will draw a bunch or two of acorns for you, and you can fill up the oak with others like them. Good: but that is not enough; it is to be a bright day in summer, and all the outside leaves are to be glittering in the sunshine as if their edges were of gold: I cannot paint this, but you can; so I will really gild some of the edges nearest you,* and you can turn

* The reader must not suppose that the use of gold, in this manner, is confined to early art. Tintoret, the greatest master of pictorial effect that ever existed, has gilded the ribs of the fig-leaves in his "Resurrection," in the Scuola di San Rocco.²

¹ [For list of references to Hobbima in *Modern Painters*, see Vol. III. p. 592 n.]

² [See again below, Venetian Index, p. 414.]

the gold into sunshine, and cover the tree with it. Well done: but still this is not enough; the tree is so full foliaged and so old that the wood birds come in crowds to build there; they are singing, two or three under the shadow of every bough. I cannot show you them all; but here is a large one on the outside spray, and you can fancy the others inside.”

§ 26. In this way the calls upon the imagination are multiplied as a great painter finishes; and from these larger incidents he may proceed into the most minute particulars, and lead the companion imagination to the veins in the leaves and the mosses on the trunk, and the shadows of the dead leaves upon the grass, but always multiplying thoughts, or subjects of thought, never working for the sake of realization; the amount of realization actually reached depending on his space, his materials, and the nature of the thoughts he wishes to suggest. In the sculpture of an oak-tree, introduced above an Adoration of the Magi on the tomb of the Doge Giovanni¹ Dolfino (fourteenth century), the sculptor has been content with a few leaves, a single acorn, and a bird; while, on the other hand, Millais’ willow-tree with the robin, in the background of his “Ophelia,” or the foreground of Hunt’s “Two Gentlemen of Verona,” carries the appeal to the imagination into particulars so multiplied and minute, that the work nearly reaches realization. But it does not matter how near realization the work may approach in its fulness, or how far off it may remain in its slightness, so long as realization is not the end proposed, but the informing one spirit of the thoughts of another. And in this greatness and simplicity of purpose all noble art is alike, however slight its means, or however perfect, from the rudest mosaics of St. Mark’s to the most tender finishing of the “Huguenot” or the “Ophelia.”²

§ 27. Only observe, in this matter, that a greater degree of realization is often allowed for the sake of colour than

¹ [Ruskin had by a slip of the pen written “Marco,” and so the word stood in all previous editions; the tomb is that referred to above, ch. ii. § 62, p. 95.]

² [Millais’s “Ophelia” is No. 1506 in the National Gallery collection (hung in the Tate Gallery); it was exhibited at the Academy in 1852. For other references by Ruskin to the picture, see *Academy Notes*, 1857, s. No. 283; 1859, s. No. 15;

would be right without it. For there is not any distinction between the artists of the inferior and the nobler schools more definite than this; that the first *colour for the sake of realization*, and the second *realize for the sake of colour*. I hope that, in the fifth chapter,¹ enough has been said to show the nobility of colour, though it is a subject on which I would fain enlarge whenever I approach it; for there is none that needs more to be insisted upon, chiefly on account of the opposition of the persons who have no eye for colour, and who, being therefore unable to understand that it is just as divine and distinct in its power as music (only infinitely more varied in its harmonies), talk of it as if it were inferior and servile with respect to the other powers of art:* whereas it is so far from being this, that wherever it enters it must take the mastery, and whatever else is sacrificed for its sake, *it*, at least, must be right. This is partly the case even with music: it is at our choice whether we will accompany a poem with music or not; but, if we do, the music *must* be right, and neither discordant nor inexpressive. The goodness

* Nothing is more wonderful to me than to hear the pleasure of the eye, in colour, spoken of with disdain as “sensual,” while people exalt that of the ear in music.² Do they really suppose the eye is a less noble bodily organ than the ear,—that the organ by which nearly all our knowledge of the external universe is communicated to us, and through which we learn to wonder and to love, can be less exalted in its own peculiar delight than the ear, which is only for the communication of the ideas which owe to the eye their very existence? I do not mean to depreciate music: let it be loved and revered as is just; only let the delight of the eye be revered more. The great power of music over the multitude is owing, not to its being less but *more* sensual than colour; it is so distinctly and so richly sensual, that it can be idly enjoyed; it is exactly at the point where the lower and higher pleasures of the senses and imagination are balanced; so that pure and great minds love it for its invention and emotion, and lower minds for its sensual power.

Lectures on Architecture and Painting, § 138 (Vol. XII.); and *The Three Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism*, § 21. To Holman Hunt’s “Two Gentlemen of Verona” (1851) he called attention in his letter to the *Times* on May 30, 1851 (reprinted in Vol. XII.), and see *Academy Notes*, 1859, s. No. 329. For the “Huguenot,” see above, p. 59.]

¹ [i.e. of Vol. X. See p. 173.]

² [On the general relations of painting and music, see Ruskin’s early essay, Vol. I. pp. 267–285.]

and sweetness of the poem cannot save it, if the music be harsh or false: but if the music be right, the poem may be insipid or inharmonious, and still saved by the notes to which it is wedded. But this is far more true of colour. If that be wrong, all is wrong. No amount of expression or invention can redeem an ill-coloured picture; while, on the other hand, if the colour be right, there is nothing it will not raise or redeem; and, therefore, wherever colour enters at all, anything *may* be sacrificed to it, and, rather than it should be false or feeble, everything *must* be sacrificed to it: so that, when an artist touches colour, it is the same thing as when a poet takes up a musical instrument; he implies, in so doing, that he is a master, up to a certain point, of that instrument, and can produce sweet sound from it, and is able to fit the course and measure of his words to its tones, which, if he be not able to do, he had better not have touched it. In like manner, to add colour to a drawing is to undertake for the perfection of a visible music, which, if it be false, will utterly and assuredly mar the whole work; if true, proportionately elevate it, according to its power and sweetness. But, in no case ought the colour to be added in order to increase the realization. The drawing or engraving is all that the imagination needs. To “paint” the subject merely to make it more real, is only to insult the imaginative power, and to vulgarize the whole. Hence the common, though little understood feeling, among men of ordinary cultivation, that an inferior sketch is always better than a bad painting; although, in the latter, there may verily be more skill than in the former. For the painter who has presumed to touch colour without perfectly understanding it, not for the colour’s sake, nor because he loves it, but for the sake of completion merely, has committed two sins against us; he has dulled the imagination by not trusting it far enough, and then, in this languid state, he oppresses it with base and false colour; for all colour that is not lovely is discordant; there is no mediate condition. So, therefore, when it is permitted to enter at all, it must be

with the predetermination that, cost what it will, the colour shall be right and lovely: and I only wish that, in general, it were better understood that a *painter's* business is to *paint*, primarily; and that all expression, and grouping, and conceiving, and what else goes to constitute design, *are of less importance than colour in a coloured work*. And so they were always considered in the noble periods; and sometimes all resemblance to nature whatever (as in painted windows, illuminated manuscripts, and such other work) is sacrificed to the brilliancy of colour; sometimes distinctness of form to its richness, as by Titian, Turner, and Reynolds; and, which is the point on which we are at present insisting, sometimes, in the pursuit of its utmost refinements on the surfaces of objects, an amount of realization becomes consistent with noble art, which would otherwise be altogether inadmissible, that is to say, which no great mind could otherwise have either produced or enjoyed. The extreme finish given by the Pre-Raphaelites is rendered noble chiefly by their love of colour.

§ 28. So then, whatever may be the means, or whatever the more immediate end of any kind of art, all of it that is good agrees in this, that it is the expression of one soul talking to another, and is precious according to the greatness of the soul that utters it. And consider what mighty consequences follows from our acceptance of this truth! what a key we have herein given us for the interpretation of the art of all time! For, as long as we held art to consist in any high manual skill, or a successful imitation of natural objects, or any scientific and legalized manner of performance whatever, it was necessary for us to limit our admiration to narrow periods and to few men. According to our own knowledge and sympathies, the period chosen might be different, and our rest might be in Greek statues, or Dutch landscapes, or Italian Madonnas; but, whatever our choice, we were therein captive, barred from all reverence but of our favourite masters, and habitually using the language of contempt towards the whole of the human race

to whom it had not pleased Heaven to reveal the arcana of the particular craftsmanship we admired, and who, it might be, had lived their term of seventy years upon the earth, and fitted themselves therein for the eternal world, without any clear understanding, sometimes even with an insolent disregard, of the laws of perspective and chiaroscuro.

But let us once comprehend the holier nature of the art of man, and begin to look for the meaning of the spirit, however syllabled, and the scene is changed; and we are changed also. Those small and dexterous creatures whom once we worshipped, those fur-capped divinities with sceptres of camel's hair, peering and poring in their one-windowed chambers over the minute preciousness of the laboured canvas; how are they swept away and crushed into unnoticeable darkness! And in their stead, as the walls of the dismal rooms that enclosed them, and us, are struck by the four winds of Heaven, and rent away, and as the world opens to our sight, lo! far back into all the depths of time, and forth from all the fields that have been sown with human life, how the harvest of the dragon's teeth is springing!¹ how the companies of the gods are ascending out of the earth! The dark stones that have so long been the sepulchres of the thoughts of nations, and the forgotten ruins wherein their faith lay charnelled, give up the dead that were in them; and beneath the Egyptian ranks of sultry and silent rock, and amidst the dim golden lights of the Byzantine dome, and out of the confused and cold shadows of the Northern cloister, behold, the multitudinous souls come forth with singing, gazing on us with the soft eyes of newly comprehended sympathy, and stretching their white arms to us across the grave, in the solemn gladness of everlasting brotherhood.

§ 29. The other danger to which, it was above said, we were primarily exposed under our present circumstances of life, is the pursuit of vain pleasure, that is to say, false pleasure; delight, which is not indeed delight; as knowledge

¹ [Compare *The Tortoise of Aegina*, § 17, and *Aratra Pentelici*, § 180.]

vainly accumulated is not indeed knowledge. And this we are exposed to chiefly in the fact of our ceasing to be children. For the child does not seek false pleasure; its pleasures are true, simple, and instinctive: but the youth is apt to abandon his early and true delight for vanities,—seeking to be like men, and sacrificing his natural and pure enjoyments to his pride. In like manner, it seems to me that modern civilisation sacrifices much pure and true pleasure to various forms of ostentation from which it can receive no fruit. Consider, for a moment, what kind of pleasures are open to human nature, undiseased. Passing by the consideration of the pleasures of the higher affections, which lie at the root of everything, and considering the definite and practical pleasures of daily life, there is, first, the pleasure of doing good; the greatest of all, only apt to be despised from not being often enough tasted: and then, I know not in what order to put them, nor does it matter,—the pleasure of gaining knowledge; the pleasure of the excitement of imagination and emotion (or poetry and passion); and, lastly, the gratification of the senses, first of the eye, then of the ear, and then of the others in their order.

§ 30. All these we are apt to make subservient to the desire of praise; nor unwisely, when the praise sought is God's and the conscience's: but if the sacrifice is made for man's admiration, and knowledge is only sought for praise, passion repressed or affected for praise, and the arts practised for praise, we are feeding on the bitterest apples of Sodom, suffering always ten mortifications for one delight. And it seems to me, that in the modern civilised world we make such sacrifice doubly: first, by labouring for merely ambitious purposes; and secondly, which is the main point in question, by being ashamed of simple pleasures, more especially of the pleasure in sweet colour and form, a pleasure evidently so necessary to man's perfectness and virtue, that the beauty of colour and form has been given lavishly throughout the whole of creation, so that it may become

the food of all, and with such intricacy and subtlety that it may deeply employ the thoughts of all. If we refuse to accept the natural delight which the Deity has thus provided for us, we must either become ascetics, or we must seek for some base and guilty pleasures to replace those of Paradise, which we have denied ourselves.

Some years ago, in passing through some of the cells of the Grande Chartreuse, nothing that the window of each apartment looked across the little garden of its inhabitant to the wall of the cell opposite, and commanded no other view, I asked the monk beside me why the window was not rather made on the side of the cell whence it would open to the solemn fields of the Alpine valley. "We do not come here," he replied, "to look at the mountains."¹

§ 31. The same answer is given, practically, by the men of this century, to every such question; only the walls with which they enclose themselves are those of Pride, not of Prayer. But in the Middle Ages it was otherwise. Not, indeed, in landscape itself, but in the art which can take the place of it, in the noble colour and form with which they illumined, and into which they wrought, every object around them that was in any wise subjected to their power, they obeyed the laws of their inner nature, and found its proper food. The splendour and fantasy even of dress, which in these days we pretend to despise, or in which, if we even indulge, it is only for the sake of vanity, and therefore to our infinite harm, were in those early days studied for love of their true beauty and honourableness, and became one of the main helps to dignity of character and courtesy of bearing.² Look back to what we have been told of the dress of the early Venetians, that it was so invented "that in

¹ [This was in 1849. Ruskin recalls the incident again in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. xi. § 17, and in *Praeterita*, iii., ch. i. § 2.]

² [The importance of costume alike in national life and in art was to be a frequent theme with Ruskin. See, for instance, *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. ch. xi. § 22 n., where he says that "every effort should be made to induce the adoption of a national costume;" and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 15, where he again connects the wearing of a distinctive dress with noble habits of life (cf. *Praeterita*, i., ch. x. § 214). See, too, *Inaugural Address at the Cambridge School of Art*, § 10, where the delight of great

clothing themselves with it, they might clothe themselves also with modesty and honour;”* consider what nobleness of expression there is in the dress of any of the portrait figures of the great times; nay, what perfect beauty, and more than beauty, there is in the folding of the robe round the imagined form even of the saint or of the angel; and then consider whether the grace of vesture be indeed a thing to be despised. We cannot despise it if we would; and in all our highest poetry and happiest thought we cling to the magnificence which in daily life we disregard. The essence of modern romance is simply the return of the heart and fancy to the things in which they naturally take pleasure; and half the influence of the best romances, of *Ivanhoe*, or *Marmion*, or the *Crusaders*, or the *Lady of the Lake*, is completely dependent upon the accessories of armour and costume. Nay, more than this, deprive the *Iliad* itself of its costume, and consider how much of its power would be lost. And that delight and reverence which we feel in, and by means of, the mere imagination of these accessories, the Middle Ages had in the vision of them; the nobleness of dress exercising, as I have said, a perpetual influence upon character, tending in a thousand ways to increase dignity and self-respect, and, together with grace of gesture, to induce serenity of thought.

§ 32. I do not mean merely in its magnificence; the most splendid time was not the best time. It was still in the thirteenth century,—when, as we have seen, simplicity and gorgeousness were justly mingled, and the “leathern girdle and the clasp of bone”¹ were worn, as well as the embroidered mantle,—that the manner of dress seems to have been noblest. The chain mail of the knight, flowing and falling over his

* Vol. II. Appendix 7 [Vol. X. p. 447].

painters in dress patterns is noted; and *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 189); and *A Joy for Ever*, § 54, in which passages the importance of beautiful dress is insisted upon from the point of view of portraiture and historical painting. See also the letters on dress collected in *Arrows of the Chace*, at vol. ii. pp. 226 *seq.* of the 1880 edition.]

¹ [Dante: for the full passage, see Vol. X. p. 307.]

form in lapping waves of gloomy strength, was worn under full robes of one colour in the ground, his crest quartered on them, and their borders enriched with subtle illumination. The women wore first a dress close to the form in like manner, and then long and flowing robes, veiling them up to the neck, and delicately embroidered around the hem, the sleeves, and the girdle. The use of plate armour gradually introduced more fantastic types; the nobleness of the form was lost beneath the steel; the gradually increasing luxury and vanity of the age strove for continual excitement in more quaint and extravagant devices; and in the fifteenth century, dress reached its point of utmost splendour and fancy, being in many cases still exquisitely graceful, but now, in its morbid magnificence, devoid of all wholesome influence on manners. From this point, like architecture, it was rapidly degraded, and sank through the buff coat, and lace collar, and jack boot, to the bag-wig, tailed coat, and high-heeled shoe; and so to what it is now.¹

§ 33. Precisely analogous to this destruction of beauty in dress has been that of beauty in architecture; its colour, and grace, and fancy, being gradually sacrificed to the base forms of the Renaissance, exactly as the splendour of chivalry has faded into the paltriness of fashion. And observe the form in which the necessary reaction has taken place; necessary, for it was not possible that one of the strongest instincts of the human race could be deprived altogether of its natural food. Exactly in the degree that the architect withdrew from his buildings the sources of delight which in early days they had so richly possessed, demanding, in accordance with the new principles of taste, the banishment of all happy colour and healthy invention, in that degree the minds of men began to turn to landscape as their only resource. The picturesque school of art rose up to address those capacities of enjoyment for which, in sculpture, architecture, or

¹ [In one of his copies for revise, Ruskin here notes in the margin: "Coats. *Biglow Papers*"—referring presumably to Parson Wilbur's description, in No. iii., of "th' Apostles rigged out in their swaller-tail coats."]

the higher walks of painting, there was employment no more; and the shadows of Rembrandt, and savageness of Salvator, arrested the admiration which was no longer permitted to be rendered to the gloom or the grotesqueness of the Gothic aisle. And thus the English school of landscape, culminating in Turner, is in reality nothing else than a healthy effort to fill the void which the destruction of Gothic architecture has left.¹

§ 34. But the void cannot thus be completely filled; no, nor filled in any considerable degree. The art of landscape-painting will never become thoroughly interesting or sufficing to the minds of men engaged in active life, or concerned principally with practical subjects. The sentiment and imagination necessary to enter fully into the romantic forms of art are chiefly the characteristics of youth; so that nearly all men as they advance in years, and some even from their childhood upwards, must be appealed to, if at all, by the direct and substantial art, brought before their daily observation and connected with their daily interests. No form of art answers these conditions so well as architecture,² which, as it can receive help from every character of mind in the workman, can address every character of mind in the spectator; forcing itself into notice even in his most languid moments, and possessing this chief and peculiar advantage, that it is the property of all men. Pictures and statues may be jealously withdrawn by their possessors from the public gaze, and to a certain degree their safety requires them to be so withdrawn; but the outsides of our houses belong not so much to us as to the passer-by, and whatever cost and pains we bestow upon them, though too often arising out of ostentation, have at least the effect of benevolence.

§ 35. If, then, considering these things, any of my readers should determine, according to their means, to set themselves to the revival of a healthy school of architecture in England,

¹ [See note at Vol. X. pp. 207–208, and compare *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvi. § 13.]

² [Compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 246.]

and wish to know in a few words how this may be done, the answer is clear and simple. First, let us cast out utterly whatever is connected with the Greek, Roman, or Renaissance architecture, in principle or in form. We have seen above, that the whole mass of the architecture, founded on Greek and Roman models, which we have been in the habit of building for the last three centuries, is utterly devoid of all life, virtue, honourableness, or power of doing good. It is base, unnatural, unfruitful, unenjoyable, and impious. Pagan in its origin, proud and unholy in its revival, paralyzed in its old age, yet making prey in its dotage of all the good and living things that were springing around it in their youth, as the dying and desperate king, who had long fenced himself so strongly with the towers of it, is said to have filled his failing veins with the blood of children;* an architecture invented, as it seems, to make plagiarists of its architects, slaves of its workmen, and sybarites of its inhabitants; an architecture in which intellect is idle, invention impossible, but in which all luxury is gratified, and all insolence fortified;—the first thing we have to do is to cast it out, and shake the dust of it from our feet for ever. Whatever has any connexion with the five orders,¹ or with any one of the orders,—whatever is Doric, or Ionic, or Tuscan, or Corinthian, or Composite, or in any wise Grecized or Romanized; whatever betrays the smallest respect for Vitruvian laws, or conformity with Palladian work,—that we are to endure no more. To cleanse ourselves of these “cast clouts and rotten rags”² is the first thing to be done in the court of our prison.

* Louis the Eleventh. “In the month of March, 1481, Louis was seized with a fit of apoplexy at *St. Benoît-du-lac-mort*, near Chinon. He remained speechless and bereft of reason three days; and then, but very imperfectly restored, he languished in a miserable state. . . . To cure him,” says a contemporary historian, “wonderful and terrible medicines were compounded. It was reported among the people that his physicians opened the veins of little children, and made him drink their blood, to correct the poorness of his own.”—Bussey’s *History of France*. London, 1850.

¹ [See Vol. IX. pp. 35, 426.]

² [Jeremiah xxxviii. 11.]

§ 36. Then, to turn our prison into a palace is an easy thing. We have seen above, that exactly in the degree in which Greek and Roman architecture is lifeless, unprofitable, and unchristian, in that same degree our own ancient Gothic is animated, serviceable, and faithful. We have seen that it is flexible to all duty, enduring to all time, instructive to all hearts, honourable and holy in all offices. It is capable alike of all lowliness and all dignity, fit alike for cottage porch or castle gateway; in domestic service familiar, in religious, sublime; simple, and playful, so that childhood may read it, yet clothed with a power that can awe the mightiest, and exalt the loftiest of human spirits: an architecture that kindles every faculty in its workman, and addresses every emotion in its beholder; which, with every stone that is laid on its solemn walls, raises some human heart a step nearer heaven, and which from its birth has been incorporated with the existence, and in all its form is symbolical of the faith, of Christianity. In this architecture let us hence-forward build alike the church, the palace, and the cottage; but chiefly let us use it for our civil and domestic buildings. These once ennobled, our ecclesiastical work will be exalted together with them: but churches are not the proper scenes for experiments in untried architecture, nor for exhibitions of unaccustomed beauty. It is certain that we must often fail before we can again build a natural and noble Gothic: let not our temples be the scenes of our failures. It is certain that we must offend many deep-rooted prejudices, before ancient Christian architecture* can be again received by all of us: let not religion be the first source of such offence. We shall meet with difficulties in applying Gothic architecture to churches, which would in no-wise affect the designs of civil buildings, for the most beautiful forms of Gothic

* Observe, I call Gothic "Christian" architecture, not "ecclesiastical." There is a wide difference. I believe it is the only architecture which Christian men should build, but not at all an architecture necessarily connected with the services of their church.¹

¹ [For the uses of Gothic churches, see Vol. X. p. 445; for the universality of Gothic, compare, in Vol. XII., *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 55.]

chapels are not those which are best fitted for Protestant worship. As it was noticed in the second volume,¹ when speaking of the Cathedral of Torcello, it seems not unlikely, that as we study either the science of sound, or the practice of the early Christians, we may see reason to place the pulpit generally at the extremity of the apse or chancel; an arrangement entirely destructive of the beauty of a Gothic church, as seen in existing examples, and requiring modifications of its design in other parts with which we should be unwise at present to embarrass ourselves; besides, that the effort to introduce the style exclusively for ecclesiastical purposes, excites against it the strong prejudices of many persons who might otherwise be easily enlisted among its most ardent advocates. I am quite sure, for instance, that if such noble architecture as has been employed for the interior of the church just built in Margaret Street* had been seen in a civil building, it would have decided the question with many men at once; whereas, at present, it will be looked upon with fear and suspicion, as the expression of the ecclesiastical principles of a particular party. But, whether thus regarded or not, this church assuredly decides one question conclusively, that of our present capability of Gothic design. It is the first piece of architecture I have seen, built in modern days, which is free from all signs of timidity or incapacity. In general proportion of parts, in refinement and piquancy of mouldings, above all, in force, vitality, and grace of floral ornament, worked in a broad and masculine manner, it challenges fearless comparison with the noblest work of any time. Having done this, we may do anything; there need

* Mr. Hope's church, in Margaret Street, Portland Place.² I do not altogether like the arrangements of colour in the brickwork; but these will hardly attract the eye, where so much has been already done with precious and beautiful marble, and is yet to be done in fresco. Much will depend, however, upon the colouring of this latter portion. I wish that either Holman Hunt or Millais could be prevailed upon to do at least some of these smaller frescoes.

¹ [Vol. X. p. 445.]

² [See above, p. 36 n.]

be no limits to our hope or our confidence; and I believe it to be possible for us, not only to equal, but far to surpass, in some respects, any Gothic yet seen in Northern countries. In the introduction of figure-sculpture, we must, indeed, for the present, remain utterly inferior, for we have no figures to study from. No architectural sculpture was ever good for anything which did not represent the dress and persons of the people living at the time; and our modern dress will *not* form decorations for spandrils and niches. But in floral sculpture we may go far beyond what has yet been done, as well as in refinement of inlaid work and general execution. For although the glory of Gothic architecture is to receive the rudest work, it refuses not the best; and, when once we have been content to admit the handling of the simplest workman, we shall soon be rewarded by finding many of our simple workmen become cunning ones: and, with the help of modern wealth and science, we may do things like Giotto's campanile, instead of like our own rude cathedrals; but better than Giotto's campanile, insomuch as we may adopt the pure and perfect forms of the Northern Gothic, and work them out with the Italian refinement. It is hardly possible at present to imagine what may be the splendour of buildings designed in the forms of English and French thirteenth century *surface* Gothic,¹ and wrought out with the refinement of Italian art in the details, and with a deliberate resolution, since we cannot have figure-sculpture, to display in them the beauty of every flower and herb of the English fields, each by each; doing as much for every tree that roots itself in our rocks, and every blossom that drinks our summer rains, as our ancestors did for the oak, the ivy, and the rose. Let this be the object of our ambition, and let us begin to approach it, not ambitiously, but in all humility, accepting help from the feeblest hands; and the London of the nineteenth century may yet become as Venice without her despotism, and as Florence without her dispeace.

¹ [For the distinction between "surface" and "linear" Gothic, see in the preceding volume, p. 265.]

EPILOGUE¹

[1881]

CASTEL-FRANCO

§ 1. WITH the words which closed the last chapter² virtually ended the book which I called *The Stones of Venice*,—meaning, the history of Venice so far as it was written in her ruins: the city itself being even then, in my eyes, dead, in the sense of the death of Jerusalem, when yet her people could love her, dead, and say, “Thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust.”³

And her history, so far as it was thus in her desolation graven, is indeed in this book,⁴ told truly, and, I find on re-reading it, so clearly, that it greatly amazes me at this date to reflect how no one has ever believed a word I said, though the public have from the first done me the honour to praise my manner of saying it; and, as far as they found the things I spoke of amusing to themselves, they have deigned for a couple of days or so to look at them,—helped always through the tedium of the business by due quantity of ices at Florian’s, music by moonlight on the Grand Canal, paper lamps, and the English papers and magazines at

¹ [With ch. iv. *The Stones of Venice* in its original form ended. In the “Travellers’ Edition,” vol. ii., issued in 1881, an additional chapter appeared: “Castel-Franco.” In “complete editions” of the whole work, since published, this has appeared as ch. v.; it is, however, rather an epilogue than a continuation of the original book.]

² [*i.e.* “the last chapter” in the “Travellers’ Edition,” namely, ch. iii. in this volume.]

³ [Psalms cii. 14, Prayer-Book version. On the meaning of the title “Stones of Venice,” see further, Vol. IX. p. xxii.]

⁴ [The “Travellers’ Edition” here adds “(as now put into the traveller’s hand, free of the encumbrance of minor detail).”]

M. Ongania's,¹ with such illumination as those New Lamps contain—Lunar or Gaseous, enabling porsy Britannia to compare, at her ease, her own culminating and co-operate Prosperity and Virtue with the past wickedness and present out-of-pocketness of the umquhile Queen of the Sea.

§ 2. Allowing to the full for the extreme unpleasantness of the facts recorded in this book to the mind of a people set wholly on the pursuit of the same pleasures which ruined Venice, only in ways as witless as hers were witty, I think I can now see a further reason for their non-acceptance of the book's teaching, namely, the entire concealment of my own personal feelings throughout, which gives a continual look of insincerity to my best passages. Everybody praised their "style," partly because they saw it was stippled and laboured, and partly because for that stippling and labouring I had my reward, and got the sentences often into pleasantly sounding tune. But nobody praised the substance, which indeed they never took the trouble to get at; but, occasionally tasting its roughness here and there, as of a bitter almond put by mistake into a sugarplum, spat it out, and said, "What a pity it had got in."

If, on the contrary, I had written quite naturally, and told, as a more egoistic person would, my own impressions, as thinking *those*, forsooth, and not the history of Venice, the most important business to the world in general, a large number of equally egoistic persons would have instantly felt the sincerity of the selfishness, clapped it, and stroked it, and said, "That's me."

To take an instance in what seemed to me then a little matter, but has become since an important one. In the article of the index,² "Ponte de' Sospiri," the reader will find the influence of that building on the public mind ascribed chiefly to the "ignorant sentimentalism of Byron."

Now, these words are precisely true; and I knew them

¹ [For M. Ongania as publisher, see Vol. X., Introduction, p. lii. Florian's café on the south side of the Piazza is well known to every visitor to Venice.]

² [See below, Venetian Index, p. 433.]

to be true when I wrote them, and thought it good for the reader to be informed of that truth, namely, that Byron did not know the date of the Bridge of Sighs, nor of the Colleone statue;¹ and that his feelings about Venice had been founded on an extremely narrow acquaintance with her history. I did not think it at all necessary for the public to know that, in spite of all my carefully collected knowledge, I still felt exactly as Byron did, in every particular; or that I had formed my own precious “style” by perpetual reading of him, and imitation of him in various alliterative and despairing poems, of which the best, the beginning of a Venetian tragedy written when I was sixteen, has by good luck never seen the light;² but another, a doggerel in imitation of the Giaour, got me favour in the eyes of Mr. Smith, the publisher of *Friendship’s Offering*, and made my unwise friends radiantly happy in the thought that I should certainly be a poet, and as exquisitely miserable at the first praises of then clear-dawning Tennyson.

§ 3. Nor, again, did I think it would at all advance the acquaintance of my readers with the principles of Venetian Gothic or Venetian policy, to be told that for the love of Byron, I had run the risk of a fever in drawing the undercanal vaults, and the desolate and mud-buried portico of the ruined Casa Foscari.³

Whether it would have been more becoming in me to tell them this, or to taunt the ignorance of one who had taught me so much in points which for his own work were useless to him, and at the time he wrote, unregarded by anybody else, may be extremely questioned; but I did not at that time consult, nor have I much since consulted, becomingness; vanity, always much,—love, more,—and the truth of the matter in hand, beyond all things. Which has brought about the consequences aforesaid; namely, that vain

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 8.]

² [“Marcolini”: see now Vol. II. p. 474. The “doggerel in imitation of the Giaour” is “Leoni”; see Vol. I. p. 289.]

³ [Ruskin meant rather the Rio de Ca’ Foscari house, drawn in the *Examples*, Plates 8, 9, 10.]

people recognise the vanity, decorous people the indecorum, and loving people, I hope, sometimes the love; but that everybody detests and denies the unexpected truth. And that being so, while every important fact respecting the art of the Renaissance was calmly ascertained and inexorably stated in the *Stones of Venice*, there has nevertheless been a perpetually increasing gabble ever since, among upholsterers, crockery-mongers, and the *demi-monde* of Paris and London, proving at last to everybody's (present) satisfaction that the Sistine Madonna was meant to decorate snuff-boxes, the Georgics to promote the manufacture of Dresden shepherdesses, and the powers of Godhead and Kinghood together to be represented by the contents of the Green Chamber and the reign of August the Strong.¹

The upholsterers and chinamen, however, could never have got the *Times* newspaper into full cry with them, without the help of modern science and Apothecaries' Hall; nor could the Æsthetic, Phthisic, and otherwise variously sick hospitals and Hôtels Dieu of the great capitals have produced their Doré painters and their Eliot novelists,² unless the palace or College of Surgeons had been at one end of their Ponte de' Sospiri, and the prisons of Iron at the other. So that when I was last in Venice, while I could not go up the Grand Canal to call on my dear old friend Rawdon Brown,³ but in passing some dozen of brushed-up palaces full of Shylock's properties got up for the mobs of Piccadilly and the Palais-Royal, I was finally driven out of my tiny lodgings on the Giudecca⁴ by the rattling and screaming, night and day, of the cranes and whistles of the

¹ [The Grünes Gewölbe (Green Vault) in the Royal Palace at Dresden. The Palace was founded in 1530, and enlarged by Augustus the Strong after a fire in 1701. The Green Vault contains the finest existing collection of curiosities, trinkets, and small works of art belonging to the late Renaissance and rococo periods.]

² [For Doré's work—"not fit for a dunghill"—see (among other passages) *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 29, 34; *Time and Tide*, §§ 30, 31, 40, 102. For Ruskin's dislike of George Eliot's novels, see *Hortus Inclusus*, 1st ed., i. 122; *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 29; and *Fiction, Fair and Foul*, § 108.]

³ [See Vol. IX. p. 420, and X. p. xxvi.]

⁴ [On the occasion referred to, the winter of 1876, Ruskin stayed in lodgings attached to the little Albergo della Calcina on the Zattere, opposite to the Giudecca—a well-known haunt of artists and students.]

steamers which came to unload coals on the quay. The effort made to do thoughtful work in spite of their noise was, I doubt not, in great part the cause of my first illness;¹ and if the reader cares indeed to see a little of my true personality, let him buy the numbers of *Fors* written in Venice in the winter of 1876.* Which for several more serious reasons he had better do.

I will not encumber his travelling trunk with reprint of more than a single sentence of them here; but these contain quite final statements respecting the history of Venice, and particulars in the legends of St. Ursula and St. Theodore, which will be found of material use in the examination of Carpaccio's paintings, and their contemporary sculpture. These earlier and perfectly finished works will be found of much more interest and use by the general visitor if intelligent and attentive, than the pictures of the more renowned Venetian masters, always impetuous and often slight, to which attention is principally directed in the casual notices of this book, and in its terminal index.

§ 4. If, however, in my later books, I have spoken less of the acknowledged heads of the Venetian school, it is not because I love or reverence them less; but only that I have learned also to estimate more humble labourers,² and have seen that it was useless to insist, for the ordinary traveller, on the technical merits of the highest examples in an art he had never practised, and on the most imaginative and majestic renderings of legends he had never read.

When you yourself, good reader, first show a natural history book to a child, you must tell it primarily, "That's a goose," "That's a duck," "That's a tomtit," etc.

Well, suppose I take you up to Tintoret's Paradise, and tell you in the same instructive manner,—That's a Saint, that's a Father, that's a Potestas. But you never saw a

* Letters 71 to 77.

¹ [By "my first illness" Ruskin refers not to that at Matlock in 1871, but to his first attack of inflammation of the brain in the early part of 1878.]

² [So in the MS. Previous editions have misread "Labours."]

Saint! you never read a line of a Father! you never heard of such a thing as a Potestas! How can you possibly expect to know whether they are ill done or well, or to get an inch farther forward anyhow? The whole canvas must remain for you, to the end of days, a mere big rag all over dirty streaks and blotches, as if Venice had wiped her last palette clean for ever with it. Which indeed she effectually did.

“But if I’m really good, and mean to try to see it, what’s to be done?”

Well, you’ve got to read Homer all through, first, very carefully; then with increasing care, the Prophet Ezekiel; then, also with always increasing care, the Gospel of St. John, and then—I’ll tell you what to do next.

“But have *you*?”

I should rather think so! I knew the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and most of the Apocalypse more or less by heart before I was twelve years old: and have worked under them as my tutors ever since. The Gospel of St. John, everybody, in my young days, knew at least something about, and I’ve read it myself some thousand times, syllable by syllable. That’s all mere alphabetical work, the knowing it; but, after knowing it, you’ve got to believe some of it, and hope to believe more; and then, as I told you, I will tell you what next to do, for then you will begin to understand some of the things I’ve been saying for this last twenty years, and they will lead you as far as, I will not say Tintoret, for you would have to spend another college-residence in actual painter’s work before you could make much of *him*; but as far as Gentile Bellini and Giorgione; and the rest is according to the time and faculty you can dispose of.

§ 5. When I wrote the passages about Tintoret reprinted in the following index, I had myself only got far enough to understand his chiaroscuro, and his mysticism in the direction in which it resembled Turner’s; his properly Venetian mysticism,—the language of signs and personages, (Iconographie

Chrétienne,¹) which runs down from Egypt through the Byzantines to Venice in one unbroken and ever clearer stream,—a sacred language just as accurately spoken and easily read by its scholars as old Greek itself,—was at that time wholly unknown to me; but guessed at here and there, or hit upon by chance nearly enough for use: what farther speciality of imagination there was in this painter connected with clouds, and seas, and mountains, I understood beyond any one else, but did not much hope for sympathy in that perception, any more than with my love for the Alps; but told what was there as well and as clearly as I could, just as I took the angles of the Matterhorn and weighed the minute-burden of sand in the streams of Chamouni.² The chiaroscuro and other such artistic qualities were seldom much insisted on to the public, only noted in my private diaries; and indeed the mere technique of what may be called upholsterer's composition, (colour and shade without significance, and addressed to the eye only,) had been well mastered and got past by me as early as the third volume of *Modern Painters*. The reader may perhaps care to see the sort of work done for this part of my business only: so here is a piece of my diary for the year 1845, which begins at Genoa, and is not irrelevant to the matters treated of in this chapter, though I give it only as a "pièce justificative."

PALAZZO DURAZZO.³

The Magdalen given to Titian, coarse and vulgar in highest degree, but well painted.

CAPUCINO (Bernard Strozzi), a grand and Velasquez-like portrait of a Bishop. GUIDO.—Three very valuable heads. 1st, one called la Vestale. She is raising a purple veil, under which she shows a face grand in contour, but flushed and sensual, the under dress rich, fastened by a large ruby at the throat. It is a fine instance of great dignity of feature, obtained while only the lower part of the forehead is shown. 2nd, Portia, all black and stage-like, drawing-room costume, but fine. 3rd, The Roman daughter, more pale and luminous, rays of light falling

¹ [Ruskin refers to a book on this subject in Vol. X. p. 128 *n.*]

² [For the angles of the Matterhorn, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. xiv.; for Ruskin's weighing of the sand in the streams of Chamouni, *ibid*, ch. xii. § 2.]

³ [The Palazzo Marcello Durazzo, in the Via Balba.]

across picture. A fourth, their companion, is a copy, but these three are fine, and the Vestal I think the finest I have ever seen.¹

DOMENICHINO.—Christ appearing to the Magdalen. I don't believe the picture. Abominable in every way, but chiefly in the action and the colour. A fine instance of exaggerated action on both sides, destroying all appearance of intense feeling.

TITIAN.—St. Catherine of Genoa. The genuine edition of this is in the Louvre. This looks like good, but uncompleted work.

GUERCINO.—Andromeda, very poor, but interesting as being an example of the same treatment as the Cleopatra, next noticed, *purple drapery heightening flesh colour*.

PALAZZO BRIGNOLE.²

On the right hand in the Strada Nuova. The effect, to me, imperfect, from its being stucco over bricks. Only doors and balconies of stone.

GUERCINO.—Cleopatra. A singular melody of two colours only, with warm white. The figure lying under curtains of pure purple or lilac, the flesh almost the same tint as the curtains, but paler, and the bed white. Very fine.

RUBENS.—Himself and his wife, a figure of Envy behind with a torch, and a Bacchus, apparently typical of the felicity which excited the former. The whole picture is in warm greys,³ yellow hinted in the golden brown dress of the woman, all brought into full value by a little piece of pure blue, which appears at the knee through the crimson slashed doublet.

VALERIO CASTELLO.—(Genoese) Rape of Sabines. Very wild and fine, but colours faded; probably never very good. The shades brown and heavy, as if worked on a dark ground.

PAUL VERONESE.—Judith. A very grand picture. The group would be pyramidal, but it is carried to the top of the picture by an enormous mass of dark green curtain, which comes against a bright lilac and blue sky. The figure of the negress who stoops and holds the bag to receive the head, is grand and broad in the highest degree, generally dark, but relieved by white high lights on crimson dress, and by a white fillet round the arm; the headdress, russet and green, connects the warm tones of the figure with the green curtain above.

VANDYKE.—Tribute money. Very bad in colour. Strained and vulgar in expression.

PALAZZO PALLAVICINI.⁴

RAFFAELLE.—Madonna della Colonna. Colour faded and picture hung too high to be seen, but seems very fine. Two green mountains in the

¹ [The diary here continues:—

“In another palace near this Durazzo, whose name I could not catch, there was a beautiful little picture given to A. Mantegna; Madonna, Child, and Angel, the latter ill-drawn but most tender and deep in feeling, and the Christ very lovely. The colours peculiarly brilliant; I suspect repainted.”]

² [This palace with its pictures was presented to the city in 1874.]

³ [The diary continues “heightened into red and black.”]

⁴ [The pictures formerly in this palace are now dispersed.]

distance, close to the head, seem injurious to the picture. Note, with respect to the value of them, the exceeding importance of the distant light in the Bellini of the Louvre.

And so on, for two or three pages more, concluding the study of the collections at Genoa, and, as it came to pass, also concluding my studies in this direction for ever. From Genoa I went on in that spring of 1845, to Lucca, where the tomb of Ilaria di Caretto at once altered the course of my life for me (see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 45)¹ and from that day I left the upholsterer's business in art to those who trade in it, and have guided my work, and limited my teaching, only by the sacred laws of truth and devotion which created the perfect schools of Christian art in Florence and Venice.

§ 6. The almost total cessation of reference, in my subsequent writings, to the merely artistic qualities of painting, has naturally enough made its practical students doubt my familiarity with them; and the occasionally dogmatic statement of the technical excellence of such and such pieces of work, which was indeed founded on an extent of technical study in all the galleries of Europe, except those of Vienna and Madrid,² absolutely impossible to painters who must work for their living, seemed to their narrower experience directed only by my humours. Whereas the only humour by which I have allowed myself to be unduly influenced has been that of carrying on my knowledge of the laws of nature and art to the utmost point which the years of active life would allow me to reach, without calculating how far my impaired strength and failing heart might in old age permit me to make the gained knowledge serviceable to others.

¹ [See also Epilogue to *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 347, and *ibid.*, p. 122).

² [And except, also, St. Petersburg. To the towns and galleries of North Italy Ruskin paid many visits. He was at Naples in 1840–1841; at Rome in 1840–1841, 1872, 1874; to Sicily he went in 1874. He visited the German galleries (Berlin, Dresden, and Munich) in 1859. He was at Cologne and Brussels in 1833, and at Antwerp in 1842; while he studied in the Louvre on nearly all his continental journeys between 1825 and 1888. His notes on the collection, written in 1844 and 1849, are given in Vol. XII.]

Recognizing this error, I hope, not yet wholly too late, and desiring,¹ in what may be left to me of time, only to render past work more available, I am deeply thankful to find a rapidly increasing and concentrating energy of help in my scholars; and at the same time, increase of excellent materials for use or reference in works of illustration produced of late years in London and Paris. Among these, the publications of the Arundel Society hold the first rank in purpose and principle, having been from the beginning conducted by a council of gentlemen in the purest endeavour for public utility, and absolutely without taint of self-interest, or encumbrance of operation by personal or national jealousy.² Failing often, as could not but be the case when their task was one of supreme difficulty, and before unattempted, they have yet on the whole been successful in producing the most instructive and historically valuable set of engravings that have ever been put within reach of the public; and I am content to close this abstract of my history in Venice, by directing the attention alike of traveller and home student to the plate which this Society has given from the altar-piece by Giorgione in his native hamlet of Castel-Franco.

Content in this instance, and henceforward perhaps always, to be myself also a home student,³ for I have never seen the picture, I can recognize it by this print as one which unites every artistic quality for which the painting of Venice has become renowned, with a depth of symbolism and nobleness of manner exemplary of all that in any age of art has characterized its highest masters.⁴

¹ [So in the MS. Previous editions have misread "devising."]

² [For note on the Arundel Society, see Vol. IV. p. xlv., and see also above, p. 81.]

³ [Ruskin went abroad, however, again in 1882 (to Venice), and in 1888.]

⁴ [This picture—one of the few certainly authentic works of Giorgione—is in the Duomo of Castelfranco, and was painted before 1504, when the artist was only twenty-seven years. Ruskin elsewhere calls it "one of the two most perfect pictures in the world . . . an imaginative representation of Christianity, with a monk and a soldier on either side" (*The Pleasures of England*, Lecture iv.). In the centre is the Madonna enthroned with the Child. It was a votive piece, ordered by a certain Tuzio Costanzi, whose arms appear on the canvas, in memory of his son Matteo, a young *condottiere*, who died in the service of the Venetian Republic at Ravenna in 1504, and was brought back to his home for burial. The saint is St. Francis; the warrior is sometimes called

§ 7. Primarily observe, it announces itself clearly to you as a work of art, not a mere photograph or colour-stain from nature. I have again and again throughout my books dwelt upon the virtue and even necessity to the intellectual training of men, of effort for the simple rendering of natural or historical fact.¹ Only, I have always said also, that the highest art is *not* this, but something far different from this, and pronouncing itself as such at a glance; as a statue, not a human body—as a picture, not a natural scene. Preeminently, Venetian art does so; and Giorgione in no wise intends you to suppose that the Madonna ever sat thus on a pedestal with a coat of arms upon it, or that St. George and St. Francis ever stood, or do now stand, in that manner beside her; but that a living Venetian may, in such vision, most deeply and rightly conceive of her, and of them.

Secondly, observe that the ideas which the picture conveys to you, are of noble, beautiful, and constant things. Not of disease, vice,—thrilling action, or fatal accident.

And that is also one of the chief lessons which in the sum of my work I have given;² that, though in many derivative and subordinate ways the action and interest of pictures may be admirable, the greatest pictures represent men and women in peace, clouds and mountains in peace; men and women noble, clouds and mountains beautiful. Never in the moral or the material universe does the great art of man acknowledge guilt, grief, change, or fear.

St. George (as by Ruskin here)—the patron saint of the Costanzo chapel, but more usually S. Liberale—the patron saint of the Cathedral. The saint in armour, however he may be called, refers to the profession of arms which Matteo followed. A study for the figure is in the National Gallery (No. 269). Some have imagined that the model for the knight was Giorgione himself; others, with more probability, suggest that it is a portrait of Matteo Costanzo himself (see *Giorgione da Castelfranco e La Sua Madonna nel duomo della Sua Patria, per L. Ab. Camavitto*: Castelfranco, 1889). The armour in the study is a faithful reproduction of that in a stone effigy of Matteo which still exists in the cemetery of Castelfranco.]

¹ [See *Modern Painters* and *Stones of Venice, passim*; and *Ariadne Florentina*, § 112: “Understand clearly and finally this simple principle of all art, that the best is that which realises absolutely, if possible.” And for the following limitation to that statement, see (among numerous passages to the like effect) *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. x. (“Of the Use of Pictures”).]

² [See, for instance, *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. pp. 113 *seq.*); and *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret.*]

Thirdly, and for the present lastly. What the natural or divine facts of the universe *are*; what God is, or what His work has been, or shall be, no man has ever yet known, nor has any wise man ever attempted, but as a child, to discover. But the utmost reach both towards the reality and the love of all things yet granted to human intellect, has been granted to the thinkers and the workmen who have trusted in the teaching of Christ, and in the spiritual help of the mortals who have tried to serve Him. And the strength, and joy, and height of achievement, of any group or race of mankind has, from the day of Christ's nativity to this hour, been in exact proportion to their power of apprehending, and honesty in obeying the truth of His Gospel.

Which rarely now seen historical fact, it having been permitted me in consistent labour of life to ascertain, I trust in conclusive gathering of that labour enough to prove; ending this book, contentedly, with three pieces of former statement, made in three different books, respecting the life and power of ancient Venice.

The first shall be the passage in *St. Mark's Rest*, describing the election of a Venetian Doge in the eleventh century.

The second, the extract given in *Fors Clavigera*, from the oath of the Venetian brotherhood of St. Theodore in the thirteenth.

And the third, the passage in the last volume of *Modern Painters*, describing the state of Venice in the days of Giorgione.*

(1.) "When the Doge Contarini died, the entire multitude of the people of Venice came in armed boats to the Lido, and the Bishop of Venice, and the monks of the new abbey of St. Nicholas, joined with them in prayer,—the monks in their church, and the people on the shore and in their boats,—that God would avert all dangers from their country, and grant to them such a king as should be worthy to reign over it.

* See *St. Mark's Rest*, Chap. vii., p. 81; *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 75; *Modern Painters*, Vol. V., Part ix., Chap. ix., § 1.

And as they prayed, with one accord, suddenly there rose up among the multitude the cry, 'Domenico Selvo, we will, and we approve,' whom a crowd of the nobles brought instantly forward thereupon, and raised him on their own shoulders and carried him to his own boat; into which when he had entered, he put off his shoes from his feet, that he might in all humility approach the church of St. Mark. And while the boats began to row from the islands towards Venice, the monk who saw this, and tells us of it, himself began to sing the *Te Deum*. All around the voices of the people took up the hymn, following it with Kyrie Eleison, with such litany keeping time to their oars in the bright noonday, and rejoicing on their native sea; all the towers of the city answering with triumph peals as they grew nearer. They brought their Doge to the Field of St. Mark, and carried him again on their shoulders to the porch of the church; there, entering barefoot, with songs of praise to God round him—'such that it seemed as if the vaults must fall,'—he prostrated himself on the earth and gave thanks to God and St. Mark, and uttered such vow as was in his heart to utter before them. Rising, he received at the altar the Venetian sceptre, and thence entering the Ducal Palace, received there the oath of fealty from the people."*

(2.) "At which time (1258) we all, with a joyful mind, with a perfect will, and with a single spirit, to the honour of the Most Holy Saviour and Lord sir Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin Madonna Saint Mary His Mother, and of the happy and blessed sir Saint Theodore, martyr and cavalier of God,—('martir et cavalier de Dio')—and of all the other saints and saintesses of God" (have set our names,—understood), "to the end that the above sir, sir Saint Theodore, who stands continually before the throne of God, with the other saints, may pray to our Lord Jesus Christ that we

* This account of the election of the Doge Selvo is given by Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. xi. 40: Venice, 1663, p. 477)—saying at the close of it simply,—"Thus writes Domenico Rino, who was his chaplain, and who was present at what I have related."—Part of Note to *St. Mark's Rest*.

all, brothers and sisters, whose names are under-written, may have, by His most sacred pity and mercy, remission of our minds, and pardon of our sins.”

(3.) “Born half-way between the mountains and the sea—that young George of Castelfranco—of the Brave Castle: stout George they called him, George of Georges, so goodly a boy he was—Giorgione.

“Have you ever thought what a world his eyes opened on—fair, searching eyes of youth? What a world of mighty life, from those mountain rocks to the shore; of loveliest life, when he went down, yet so young, to the marble city—and became himself as a fiery heart to it?

“A city of marble, did I say? nay, rather a golden city, paved with emeralds. For truly, every pinnacle and turret glanced or glowed, overlaid with gold, or bossed with jasper. Beneath, the unsullied sea drew in deep breathing, to and fro, its eddies of green wave. Deep-hearted, majestic, terrible as the sea,—the men of Venice moved in sway of power and war; pure as her pillars of alabaster stood her mothers and maidens; from foot to brow, all noble, walked her knights; the low bronzed gleaming of sea-rusted armour shot angrily under their blood-red mantle-folds. Fearless, faithful, patient, impenetrable, implacable,—every word a fate—sate her senate. In hope and honour, lulled by flowing of wave around their isles of sacred sand, each with his name written, and the cross graved at his side, lay her dead. A wonderful piece of world. Rather, itself a world. It lay along the face of the waters, no larger, as its captains saw it from their masts at evening, than a bar of sunset that could not pass away; but for its power, it must have seemed to them as if they were sailing in the expanse of heaven, and this a great planet, whose orient edge widened through ether, a world from which all ignoble care and petty thoughts were banished, with all the common and poor elements of life. No foulness, nor tumult, in those tremulous streets, that filled or

fell beneath the moon; but rippled music of majestic change or thrilling silence. No weak walls could rise above them; no low-roofed cottage, nor straw-built shed. Only the strength as of rock, and the finished setting of stones most precious. And around them, far as the eye could reach, still the soft moving of stainless waters, proudly pure; as not the flower, so neither the thorn nor the thistle could grow in the glancing fields. Ethereal strength of Alps, dream-like, vanishing in high procession beyond the Torcellan shore; blue islands of Paduan hills, poised in the golden west. Above, free winds and fiery clouds ranging at their will;—brightness out of the north, and balm from the south, and the stars of the evening and morning clear in the limitless light of arched heaven and circling sea.”

AUTHOR'S APPENDIX

1. [VOL. X. P. 345.] ARCHITECT OF THE DUCAL PALACE

POPULAR tradition, and a large number of the chroniclers, ascribe the building of the Ducal Palace to that Filippo Calendario¹ who suffered death for his share in the conspiracy of Faliero. He was certainly one of the leading architects of the time, and had for several years the superintendence of the works of the Palace; but it appears, from the documents collected by the Abbé Cadorin, that the first designer of the Palace, the man to whom we owe the adaptation of the Frari traceries to civil architecture, was Pietro Baseggio, who is spoken of expressly as "formerly the Chief Master of our New Palace,"* in the decree of 1361, quoted by Cadorin, and who, at his death, left Calendario his executor. Other documents collected by Zanotto,² in his work on *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, show that Calendario was for a long time at sea, under the commands of the Signory, returning to Venice only three or four years before his death; and that therefore the entire management of the works of the Palace, in the most important period, must have been entrusted to Baseggio.

It is quite impossible, however, in the present state of the Palace, to distinguish one architect's work from another in the older parts; and I have not in the text embarrassed the reader by any attempt at close definition of epochs before the great junction of the Piazzetta Façade with the older palace in the fifteenth century. Here, however, it is necessary that I should briefly state the observations I was able to make on the relative dates of the earlier portions.

In the description of the Fig-tree angle, given in the eighth chapter of Vol. II., I said that it seemed to me somewhat earlier than that of the Vine,³ and the reader might be surprised at the apparent opposition of this

* "Olim *magistri* prothi palatii nostri novi."—*Cadorin*, p. 127.

¹ [See further on this subject letterpress to Plate 12 in the *Examples*, below, p. 342. Filippo Calendario was a relation of the Doge Marin Faliero, and he appears as a conspirator in Byron's tragedy. A person of that name did unquestionably take an active share in the plot, and was hanged with a gag in his mouth from the red pillars (referred to by Ruskin below) of the balcony of the palace from which the Doge was wont to view the shows in the Piazzetta. His identity with the architect is, however, very doubtful; it appears that Filippo, the architect, died in the year preceding the other Filippo's execution, whilst peaceably employed upon his work.]

² [The work here mentioned was published at Venice in 1847 by a committee of which Count Giovanni Correr was President, Zanotto being one of several contributors. The reference is to vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 343.]

³ [See Vol. X. p. 360.]

statement to my supposition that the Palace was built gradually round from the Rio Façade to the Piazzetta. But in the two great open arcades there is no succession of work traceable; from the Vine angle to the junction with the fifteenth century work, above and below, all seems nearly of the same date, the only question being of the accidental precedence of workmanship of one capital or another; and I think, from its style, that the Fig-tree angle must have been first completed. But in the upper stories of the Palace there are enormous differences of style. On the Rio Façade, in the upper story, are several series of massive windows of the third order,¹ corresponding exactly in mouldings and manner of workmanship to those of the chapter-house of the Frari, and consequently carrying us back to a very early date in the fourteenth century: several of the capitals of these windows, and two richly sculptured string-courses in the wall below, are of Byzantine workmanship, and in all probability fragments of the Ziani Palace. The traceried windows on the Rio Façade, and the two eastern windows on the Sea Façade, are all of the finest early fourteenth century work, masculine and noble in their capitals and bases to the highest degree, and evidently contemporary with the very earliest portions of the lower arcades. But the moment we come to the windows of the Great Council Chamber the style is debased. The mouldings are the same, but they are coarsely worked, and the heads set amidst the leafage of the capitals quite valueless and vile.

I have not the least doubt that these window-jambes and traceries were restored after the great fire;* and various other restorations have taken place since, beginning with the removal of the traceries from all the windows except the northern one of the Sala del Scrutinio, behind the Porta della Carta, where they are still left. I made out four periods of restoration among these windows, each baser than the preceding. It is not worth troubling the reader about them, but the traveller who is interested in the subject may compare two of them in the same window; the one nearer the sea of the two belonging to the little room at the top of the Palace on the Piazzetta Façade, between the Sala del Gran Consiglio and that of the Scrutinio. The seaward jamb of that window is of the first, and the opposite jamb of the second, period of these restorations. These are all the points of separation in date which I could discover by internal evidence. But much more might be made out by any Venetian antiquary whose time permitted him thoroughly to examine any existing documents which allude to or describe the parts of the Palace spoken of in the important decrees of 1340, 1342, and 1344; for the first of these decrees speaks of certain "columns looking towards the Canal,"† or sea, as then existing, and I presume these columns to have been part of the Ziani Palace, corresponding to the part of that palace on the Piazzetta where were the

* A print, dated 1585, barbarously inaccurate, as all prints were at that time, but still in some respects to be depended upon, represents all the windows on the façade full of traceries, and the circles above, between them, occupied by quatrefoils.

† "Lata tanto, quantum est ambulum existens super columnis versus canale respicientibus."

¹ [See Vol. X. ch. viii. § 133, p. 433.]

“red columns” between which Calendario was executed; and a great deal more might be determined by any one who would thoroughly unravel the obscure language of those decrees.

Meantime, in order to complete the evidence respecting the main dates stated in the text, I have collected here such notices of the building of the Ducal Palace as appeared to me of most importance in the various chronicles I examined. I could not give them all in the text, as they repeat each other, and would have been tedious; but they will be interesting to the antiquary, and it is to be especially noted in all of them how the Palazzo *Vecchio* is invariably distinguished, either directly or by implication, from the Palazzo Nuovo. I shall first translate the piece of the Zancarol Chronicle¹ given by Cadorin, which has chiefly misled the Venetian antiquaries. I wish I could put the rich old Italian into old English, but must be content to lose its raciness, as it is necessary that the reader should be fully acquainted with its facts.

“It was decreed that none should dare to propose to the Signory of Venice to ruin the *old* palace and rebuild it new and more richly, and there was a penalty of one thousand ducats against any one who should break it. Then the Doge, wishing to set forward the public good, said to the Signory, . . . that they ought to rebuild the façades of the *old* palace, and that it ought to be restored to do honour to the nation; and so soon as he had done speaking, the Avogadori demanded the penalty from the Doge, for having disobeyed the law; and the Doge with ready mind paid it, remaining in his opinion that the said fabric ought to be built. And so, in the year 1422, on the 20th day of September, it was passed in the Council of the Pregadi that the said new palace should be begun, and the expense should be borne by the Signori del Sal; and so, on the 24th day of March, 1424, it was begun to throw down the *old* palace, and to build it anew.”—*Cadorin*, p. 129.

The day of the month, and the council in which the decree was passed, are erroneously given by this Chronicle. Cadorin has printed the words of the decree itself, which passed in the Great Council on the 27th September: and these words are, fortunately, much to our present purpose. For, as more than one façade is spoken of in the above extract, the Marchese Selvatico was induced to believe that both the front to the sea and that to the Piazzetta had been destroyed; whereas, the “façades” spoken of, are evidently those of the Ziani Palace. For the words of the decree (which are much more trustworthy than those of the Chronicle, even if there were any inconsistency between them) ran thus: “*Palatium nostrum fabricetur et fiat in forma decora et convenienti, quod respondeat solemnissimo principio palatii nostri novi.*” Thus the new Council Chamber and façade to the sea are called the “most venerable beginning of our *new* Palace;” and the rest was ordered to be designed in accordance with these, as was actually the case as far as the Porta della Carta. But the Renaissance architects who thenceforward proceeded with the fabric, broke through the design, and built everything else according to their own humours.

The question may be considered as set at rest by these words of the decree, even without any internal or any farther documentary evidence. But rather for the sake of impressing the facts thoroughly on the reader’s mind,

¹ [See Vol. IX. p. 417 *n.*]

than of any additional proof, I shall quote a few more of the best accredited Chronicles.

The passage given by Bettio from the Sivos Chronicle, is a very important parallel with that from the Zancarol above:

“Essendo molto vecchio, e quasi rovinoso el Palazzo sopra la piazza, fo deliberato di far quella parte tutta da novo, et continuarla com’ è quella della Sala grande, et cosi il Lunedì 27 Marzo 1424 fu dato principio a ruinare detto Palazzo vecchio dalla parte ch’ è verso panateria, cioè della Giustizia, ch’ è nelli occhi di sopra le colonne fino alla Chiesa, et fo fatto anco la porta grande, com’ è al presente, con la sala che si addimanda la Libreria.”*

We have here all the facts told us in so many words: the “old palace” is definitely stated to have been “on the piazza,” and it is to be rebuilt “like the part of the great saloon.” The very point from which the newer buildings commenced is told us; but here the chronicler has carried his attempt at accuracy too far. The point of junction is, as stated above, at the third pillar beyond the medallion of Venice; and I am much at a loss to understand what could have been the disposition of these three pillars where they joined the Ziani Palace, and how they were connected with the arcade of the inner cortile. But with these difficulties, as they do not bear on the immediate question, it is of no use to trouble the reader.

The next passage I shall give is from a chronicle in the Marcian Library, bearing title, “Supposta di Zancaruol;” but in which I could not find the passage given by Cadorin from, I believe, a manuscript of this chronicle at Vienna. There occurs instead of it the following, thus headed:

“Come *la parte nova* del Palazzo fuo hedificata *novamente*.

“El Palazzo novo de Venesia quella parte che xe verso la Chiesa de S. Marcho fuo prexo chel se fesse del 1422 e fosse pagado la spexa per li officiali del sal. E fuo fatto per sovastante G. Nicolo Barberigo cum provision de ducati X doro al mexe e fuo fabricado e fatto nobelissimo. Come fin ancho di el sta e fuo grande honor a la Signori a de Venesia e a la sua Citta.”

This entry, which itself bears no date, but comes between others dated 22nd July and 27th December, is interesting, because it shows the first transition of the idea of *newness*, from the Grand Council Chamber to the part built under Foscari. For when Mocenigo’s wishes had been fulfilled, and the old palace of Ziani had been destroyed, and another built in its stead, the Great Council Chamber, which was “the new palace” compared with Ziani’s, became “the old palace” compared with Foscari’s; and thus we have, in the body of the above extract, the whole building called “the new palace of Venice;” but in the heading of it we have “the new *part* of the palace” applied to the part built by Foscari, in contradistinction to the Council Chamber.

The next entry I give is important, because the writing of the MS. in which it occurs, No. 53 in the Correr Museum, shows it to be probably not later than the end of the fifteenth century:

“El palazo nuovo de Venixia zoe quella parte che se sora la piazza verso la giesia di Miss. San Marcho del 1422 fo principiado, el qual fo fato e finito molto belo, chome al presente se vede nobilissimo, et a la fabricha de quello fo deputado Miss. Nicolo Barberigo, soprastante con ducati dieci doro al mexe.”

* Bettio, p. 28.

We have here the part built by Foscari distinctly called the Palazzo Nuovo, as opposed to the Great Council Chamber, which had now completely taken the position of the Palazzo Vecchio, and is actually so called by Sansovino. In the copy of the chronicle of Paolo Morosini, and in the MSS. numbered respectively 57, 59, 74, and 76 in the Correr Museum, the passage above given from No. 53 is variously repeated with slight modifications and curtailments; the entry in the Morosini Chronicle being headed, "Come fu principiato il palazzo che guarda sopra la piazza grande di S. Marco," and proceeding in the words, "El Palazzo Nuovo di Venetia, cioe quella partechee sopra la piazza," etc.; the writers being cautious, in all these instances, to *limit their statement* to the part facing the Piazza, that no reader might suppose the Council Chamber to have been built or begun at the same time; though, as long as to the end of the sixteenth century, we find the Council Chamber still included in the expression "Palazzo Nuovo." Thus, in the MSS. No. 75 in the Correr Museum, which is about that date, we have "Del 1422, a di 20, Settembre fu preso nel consegio grandio de dover *compir* el Palazzo Novo e dovesen fare la spessa li officiali del Sal (61, M. 2, B)." And so long as this is the case, the "Palazzo Vecchio" always means the Ziani Palace. Thus, in the next page of the same MS. we have "a di 27 Marzo (1424 by context) fo pncipia a butar zosso, el *Palazzo Vecchio* per refarlo da novo, e poi se he" (and so it is done); and in the MS. No. 81, "Del 1424, fo gittado zoso el *Palazzo Vecchio* per refarlo de nuovo, a di 27 Marzo." But in the time of Sansovino the Ziani Palace was quite forgotten; the Council Chamber was then the *old* palace, and Foscari's part was the new. His account of the "Palazzo Publico" will now be perfectly intelligible; but, as the work itself is easily accessible,¹ I shall not burden the reader with any farther extracts, only noticing that the chequering of the façade with red and white marbles, which he ascribes to Foscari, may or may not be of so late a date, as there is nothing in the style of the work which can be produced as evidence.

2. [VOL. X. P. 383 *n.*] THEOLOGY OF SPENSER

The following analysis of the first book of the *Faërie Queene* may be interesting to readers who have been in the habit of reading the noble poem too hastily to connect its parts completely together, and may perhaps induce them to more careful study of the rest of the poem.

The Redcrosse Knight is Holiness,—the "Pietas" of St. Mark's, the "Devotio" of Orcagna,²—meaning, I think, in general, Reverence and Godly Fear.

This Virtue, in the opening of the book, has Truth (or Una) at its side, but presently enters the Wandering Wood, and encounters the serpent Error; that is to say, Error in her universal form, the first enemy of Reverence and Holiness; and more especially Error as founded on learning; for when Holiness strangles her,

"Her vomit *full of books and papers* was,
With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke."

¹ [For its title, see Vol. IX. p. 20 *n.*]

² [See Vol. X. p. 385.]

Having vanquished this first open and palpable form of Error, as Reverence and Religion must always vanquish it, the Knight encounters Hypocrisy, or Archimagus: Holiness cannot detect Hypocrisy, but believes him, and goes home with him; whereupon, Hypocrisy succeeds in separating Holiness from Truth; and the Knight (Holiness) and Lady (Truth) go forth separately from the house of Archimagus.

Now observe; the moment Godly Fear, or Holiness, is separated from Truth, he meets Infidelity, or the Knight Sans Foy; Infidelity having Falsehood, or Duessa, riding behind him. The instant the Redcrosse Knight is aware of the attack of Infidelity, he

“Gan fairly couch his speare, and towards ride.”

He vanquishes and slays Infidelity; but is deceived by his companion, Falsehood, and takes her for his lady: thus showing the condition of Religion, when, after being attacked by Doubt, and remaining victorious, it is nevertheless seduced, by any form of Falsehood, to pay reverence where it ought not. This, then, is the first fortune of Godly Fear separated from Truth. The poet then returns to Truth, separated from Godly Fear. She is immediately attended by a lion, or Violence, which makes her dreaded wherever she comes; and when she enters the mart of superstition, this Lion tears Kirkrapine in pieces: showing how Truth, separated from Godliness, does indeed put an end to the abuses of superstition, but does so violently and desperately. She then meets again with Hypocrisy, whom she mistakes for her own lord, or Godly Fear, and travels a little way under his guardianship (Hypocrisy thus not unfrequently appearing to defend the Truth), until they are both met' by Lawlessness, or the Knight Sans Loy, whom Hypocrisy cannot resist. Lawlessness overthrows Hypocrisy, and seizes upon Truth, first slaying her lion attendant: showing that the first aim of licence is to destroy the force and authority of Truth. Sans Loy then takes Truth captive, and bears her away. Now this Lawlessness is the “unrighteousness,” or “adikia,” of St. Paul; and his bearing Truth away captive is a type of those “who hold the truth in unrighteousness,”¹—that is to say, generally, of men who, knowing what is true, make the truth give way to their own purposes, or use it only to forward them, as is the case with so many of the popular leaders of the present day. Una is then delivered from Sans Loy by the satyrs, to show that Nature, in the end, must work out the deliverance of the truth, although, where it has been captive to Lawlessness, that deliverance can only be obtained through Savageness, and a return to barbarism. Una is then taken from among the satyrs by Satyrane, the son of a satyr and a “lady myld, fair Thyamis” (typifying the early steps of renewed civilization, and its rough and hardy character, “noused up in life and manners wilde”), who meeting again with Sans Loy, enters instantly into rough and prolonged combat with him: showing how the early organization of a hardy nation must be wrought out through much discouragement from Lawlessness. This contest the poet leaving for the time undecided, returns to trace the adventures of the Redcrosse Knight, or Godly Fear, who, having vanquished Infidelity, presently is led by Falsehood to the house of Pride: thus showing how religion, separated from truth, is first tempted by doubts of God, and

¹ [Romans i. 18.]

then by the pride of life. The description of this house of Pride is one of the most elaborate and noble pieces in the poem; and here we begin to get at the proposed system of Virtues and Vices. For Pride, as Queen, has six other vices yoked in her chariot; namely, first, Idleness, then Gluttony, Lust, Avarice, Envy, and Anger, all driven on by "Sathan, with a smarting whip in hand." From these lower vices and their company, Godly Fear, though lodging in the house of Pride, holds aloof; but he is challenged, and has a hard battle to fight with Sans Joy, the brother of Sans Foy: showing, that though he has conquered Infidelity, and does not give himself up to the allurements of Pride, he is yet exposed, so long as he dwells in her house, to distress of mind and loss of his accustomed rejoicing before God. He, however, having partly conquered Despondency, or Sans Joy, Falsehood goes down to Hades, in order to obtain drugs to maintain the power or life of Despondency; but, meantime, the Knight leaves the house of Pride: Falsehood pursues and overtakes him, and finds him by a fountain side, of which the waters are

"Dull and slow,
And all that drinke thereof do faint and feeble grow."

Of which the meaning is, that Godly Fear, after passing through the house of Pride, is exposed to drowsiness and feebleness of watch; as, after Peter's boast, came Peter's sleeping, from weakness of the flesh, and then, last of all, Peter's fall. And so it follows, for the Redcrosse Knight, being overcome with faintness by drinking of the fountain, is thereupon attacked by the giant Orgoglio, overcome, and thrown by him into a dungeon. This Orgoglio is Orgueil, or Carnal Pride; not the pride of life, spiritual and subtle, but the common and vulgar pride in the power of this world: and his throwing the Redcrosse Knight into a dungeon is a type of the captivity of true religion under the temporal power of corrupt churches, more especially of the Church of Rome; and of its gradually wasting away in unknown places, while Carnal Pride has the pre-eminence over all things. That Spenser means especially the pride of the Papacy, is shown by the 16th stanza of the book; for there the giant Orgoglio is said to have taken Duessa, or Falsehood, for his "deare," and to have set upon her head a triple crown, and endowed her with royal majesty, and made her to ride upon a seven-headed beast.

In the meantime, the dwarf, the attendant of the Redcrosse Knight, takes his arms, and finding Una, tells her of the captivity of her lord. Una, in the midst of her mourning, meets Prince Arthur, in whom, as Spenser himself tells us, is set forth generally Magnificence; but who, as is shown by the choice of the hero's name, is more especially the magnificence, or literally, "great doing," of the kingdom of England. This power of England, going forth with Truth, attacks Orgoglio, or the Pride of Papacy, slays him; strips Duessa, or Falsehood, naked; and liberates the Redcrosse Knight. The magnificent and well-known description of Despair¹ follows, by whom the Redcrosse Knight is hard bested, on account of his past errors and captivity, and is only saved by Truth, who, perceiving him to be still feeble, brings him to the house of Cœlia, called, in the argument of the canto, Holiness, but properly, Heavenly Grace, the mother of the Virtues. Her "three daughters, well upbrought," are Faith, Hope, and Charity. Her porter is Humility;

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 391.]

because Humility opens the door of Heavenly Grace. Zeal and Reverence are her chamberlains, introducing the new-comers to her presence; her groom, or servant, is Obedience; and her physician, Patience. Under the commands of Charity, the matron Mercy rules over her hospital, under whose care the Knight is healed of his sickness; and it is to be especially noticed how much importance Spenser, though never ceasing to chastise all hypocrisies and mere observances of form, attaches to true and faithful *penance* in effecting this cure. Having his strength restored to him, the Knight is trusted to the guidance of Mercy, who, leading him forth by a narrow and thorny way, first instructs him in the seven works of Mercy, and then leads him to the hill of Heavenly Contemplation; whence, having a sight of the New Jerusalem, as Christian of the Delectable Mountains, he goes forth to the final victory over Satan, the old serpent, with which the book closes.

3. [VOL. X. PP. 82, 84, 306 *n.*] AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT IN ITALY

I cannot close these volumes without expressing my astonishment and regret at the facility with which the English allow themselves to be misled by any representations, however openly groundless or ridiculous, proceeding from the Italian Liberal party, respecting the present administration of the Austrian Government. I do not choose here to enter into any political discussion, or express any political opinion; but it is due to justice to state the simple facts which came under my notice during my residence in Italy. I was living at Venice through two entire winters, and in the habit of familiar association both with Italians and Austrians, my own antiquarian vocations rendering such association possible without exciting the distrust of either party. During this whole period, I never once was able to ascertain, from any liberal Italian, that he had a single *definite* ground of complaint against the Government. There was much general grumbling and vague discontent: but I never was able to bring one of them to the point, or to discover what it was that they wanted, or in what way they felt themselves injured; nor did I ever myself witness an instance of oppression on the part of the Government, though several of much kindness and consideration. The indignation of those of my own countrymen and countrywomen whom I happened to see during their sojourn in Venice was always vivid, but by no means large in its grounds. English ladies on their first arrival invariably began the conversation with the same remark: "What a dreadful thing it was to be ground under the iron heel of despotism!" Upon closer inquiries it always appeared that being "ground under the heel of despotism" was a poetical expression for being asked for one's passport at San Juliano, and required to fetch it from San Lorenzo, full a mile and a quarter distant. In like manner, travellers, after two or three days' residence in the city, used to return with pitiful lamentations over "the misery of the Italian people." Upon inquiring what instances they had met with of this misery, it invariably turned out that their gondoliers, after being paid three times their proper fare, had asked for something to drink, and had attributed the fact of their being thirsty to the Austrian Government. The misery of the Italians consists in having three festa days a week, and doing in their days of exertion about one-fourth as much work as an English labourer.

There is, indeed, much true distress occasioned by the measures which the Government is sometimes compelled to take in order to repress sedition; but the blame of this lies with those whose occupation is the excitement of sedition. So also there is much grievous harm done to works of art by the occupation of the country by so large an army; but for the mode in which that army is quartered, the Italian municipalities are answerable, not the Austrians. Whenever I was shocked by finding, as above-mentioned at Milan,¹ a cloister, or a palace, occupied by soldiery, I always discovered, on investigation, that the place had been given by the municipality; and that, beyond requiring that lodging for a certain number of men should be found in such and such a quarter of the town, the Austrians had nothing to do with the matter. This does not, however, make the mischief less: and it is strange, if we think of it, to see Italy, with all her precious works of art, made a continual battle-field; as if no other place for settling their disputes could be found by the European powers, than where every random shot may destroy what a king's ransom cannot restore.* It is exactly as if the tumults in Paris could be settled no otherwise than by fighting them out in the Gallery of the Louvre.

4. [P. 20.] DATE OF THE PALACES OF THE BYZANTINE RENAISSANCE

In the sixth article of the Appendix to the first volume,² the question of the date of the Casa Dario and Casa Trevisan was deferred until I could obtain from my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, to whom the former palace once belonged, some more distinct data respecting this subject than I possessed myself.

Speaking first of the Casa Dario, he says: "Fontana dates it from about the year 1450, and considers it the earliest specimen of the architecture founded by Pietro Lombardo, and followed by his sons, Tullio and Antonio. In a Sanuto autograph miscellany, purchased by me long ago, and which I gave to St. Mark's Library, are two letters from Giovanni Dario, dated 10th and 11th July, 1485, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; where the Turkish camp found itself, and Bajazet II. received presents from the Soldan of Egypt, from the Schah of the Indies (query Grand Mogul), and from the King of Hungary: of these matters, Dario's letters give many curious details. Then, in the *printed* Malipiero Annals, page 136 (which err, I think, by a year), the Secretary Dario's negotiations at the Porte are alluded to; and in

* In the bombardment of Venice in 1848, hardly a single palace escaped without three or four balls through its roof: three came into the Scuola di San Rocco, tearing their way through the pictures of Tintoret, of which the ragged fragments were still hanging from the ceiling in 1851; and the shells had reached to within a hundred yards of St. Mark's Church itself, at the time of the capitulation.³

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 306 *n.*]

² [Vol. IX. p. 425.]

³ [*i.e.* the capitulation of August 1849, to Radetsky, after a siege of fifteen months, when the Republic under Daniele Manin came to an end. For references to other passages describing the neglect or ill-usage of the Tintorets, see Vol. IV. pp. 40, 395; Vol. X. p. 437.]

date of 1484 he is stated to have returned to Venice, having quarrelled with the Venetian bailiff at Constantinople: the annalist adds, that 'Giovanni Dario was a native of Candia, and that the Republic was so well satisfied with him for having concluded peace with Bajazet, that he received, as a gift from his country, an estate at Noventa, in the Paduan territory, worth 1500 ducats, and 600 ducats in cash for the dower of one of his daughters.' These largesses probably enabled him to build his house about the year 1486, and are doubtless hinted at in the inscription, which I restored A.D. 1837; *it had no date*, and ran thus, URBIS. GENIO. JOANNES. DARIVS. In the Venetian history of Paolo Morosini, page 594, it is also mentioned that Giovanni Dario was, moreover, the Secretary who concluded the peace between Mahomet, the conqueror of Constantinople, and Venice, A.D. 1478: but, unless he built his house by proxy, that date has nothing to do with it; and, in my mind, the fact of the present, and the inscription, warrant one's dating it 1486, and not 1450.

"The Trevisan-Cappello House, in Canonica, was once the property (A.D. 1578) of a Venetian dame fond of cray-fish, according to a letter of hers in the archives, whereby she thanks one of her lovers for some which he had sent her from Treviso to Florence, of which she was then Grand Duchess. Her name has perhaps found its way into the English annuals. Did you ever hear of Bianca Cappello?¹ She bought that house of the Trevisana family, by whom Selva (in Cicognara) and Fontana (following Selva) say it was ordered of the Lombardi, at the commencement of the sixteenth century: but the inscription on its façade, thus,

SOLI || || HONOR. ET
DEO || || GLORIA,

reminding one both of the Dario House, and of the words NON NOBIS DOMINE inscribed on the façade of the Loredano Vendramin Palace at S. Marcuola (now the property of the Duchess of Berri²), of which Selva found proof in the Vendramin archives that it was commenced by Sante Lombardo, A.D. 1481, is in favour of its being classed among the works of the fifteenth century."

5. [P. 35.] RENAISSANCE SIDE OF DUCAL PALACE

In passing along the Rio del Palazzo the traveller ought especially to observe the base of the Renaissance building, formed by alternately depressed and raised pyramids, the depressed portions being *casts* of the projecting ones, which are truncated on the summits. The work cannot be called rustication, for it is cut as sharply and delicately as a piece of ivory, but it thoroughly answers the end which rustication proposes, and misses: it gives the base of the building a look of crystalline hardness, actually resembling, and that very closely, the appearance presented by the fracture of a piece of cap quartz; while yet the light and shade of its alternate recesses and projections are so varied as to produce the utmost possible degree of delight to the eye

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 295, and below, Venetian Index, p. 365.]

² [See Vol. X. p. 144.]

attainable by a geometrical pattern so simple. Yet, with all this high merit, it is not a base which could be brought into general use. Its brilliancy and piquancy are here set off with exquisite skill by its opposition to mouldings, in the upper part of the building, of an almost effeminate delicacy, and its complexity is rendered delightful by its contrast with the ruder bases of the other buildings of the city; but it would look meagre if it were employed to sustain bolder masses above, and would become wearisome if the eye were once thoroughly familiarised with it by repetition.

6. [p. 100.] CHARACTER OF THE DOGE MICHELE MOROSINI

The following extracts from the letter of Count Charles Morosini, above mentioned, appear to set the question at rest.

“It is our unhappy destiny that, during the glory of the Venetian republic, no one took the care to leave us a faithful and conscientious history: but I hardly know whether this misfortune should be laid to the charge of the historians themselves, or of those commentators who have destroyed their trustworthiness by new accounts of things, invented by themselves. As for the poor Morosini, we may perhaps save his honour by assembling a conclave of our historians, in order to receive their united sentence; for, in this case, he would have the absolute majority on his side, nearly all the authors bearing testimony to his love for his country and to the magnanimity of his heart. I must tell you that the history of Daru is not looked upon with esteem by well-informed men; and it is said that he seems to have no other object in view than to obscure the glory of all actions. I know not on what authority the English writer depends; but he has, perhaps, merely copied the statement of Daru. . . . I have consulted an ancient and authentic MS. belonging to the Venieri family, a MS. well known, and certainly better worthy of confidence than Daru’s History, and it says nothing of M. Morosini but that he was elected Doge to the delight and joy of all men. Neither do the Savina or Dolfin Chronicles say a word of the shameful speculation; and our best informed men say that the reproach cast by some historians against the Doge perhaps arose from a mistaken interpretation of the words pronounced by him, and reported by Marin Sanuto, that ‘the speculation would sooner or later have been advantageous to the country.’ But this single consideration is enough to induce us to form a favourable conclusion respecting the honour of this man, namely, that he was not elected Doge until after he had been entrusted with many honourable embassies to the Genoese and Carrarese, as well as to the King of Hungary and Amadeus of Savoy; and if in these embassies he had not shown himself a true lover of his country, the Republic not only would not again have entrusted him with offices so honourable, but would never have rewarded him with the dignity of Doge, therein to succeed such a man as Andrea Contarini; and the war of Chioggia, during which it is said that he tripled his fortune by speculations, took place during the reign of Contarini, 1379, 1380, while Morosini was absent on foreign embassies.”

The following fragmentary notes on this subject have been set down at different times. I have been accidentally prevented from arranging them properly for publication, but there are one or two truths in them which it is better to express insufficiently than not at all.

By a large body of the people of England and of Europe a man is called educated if he can write Latin verses and construe a Greek chorus. By some few more enlightened persons it is confessed that the construction of hexameters is not in itself an important end of human existence; but they say, that the general discipline which a course of classical reading gives to the intellectual powers is the final object of our scholastical institutions.

But it seems to me there is no small error even in this last and more philosophical theory. I believe that what it is most honourable to know, it is also most profitable to learn; and that the science which it is the highest power to possess, it is also the best exercise to acquire.

And if this be so, the question as to what should be the material of education, becomes singularly simplified. It might be a matter of dispute what processes have the greatest effect in developing the intellect; but it can hardly be disputed what facts it is most advisable that a man entering into life should accurately know.

I believe, in brief, that he ought to know three things:

First, Where he is.

Secondly, Where he is going.

Thirdly, What he had best do under those circumstances.

First, Where he is.—That is to say, what sort of a world he has got into; how large it is; what kind of creatures live in it, and how; what it is made of, and what may be made of it.

Secondly, Where he is going.—That is to say, what chances or reports there are of any other world besides this; what seems to be the nature of that other world; and whether, for information respecting, it, he had better consult the Bible, Koran, or Council of Trent.

Thirdly, What he had best do under those circumstances.—That is to say, what kind of faculties he possesses; what are the present state and wants of mankind; what is his place in society; and what are the readiest means in his power of attaining happiness and diffusing it. The man who knows these things, and who has had his will so subdued in the learning them, that he is ready to do what he knows he ought, I should call educated; and the man who knows them not,—uneducated, though he could talk all the tongues of Babel.

Our present European system of so-called education ignores, or despises, not one, nor the other, but all the three, of these great branches of human knowledge.

First, It despises Natural History.—Until within the last year or two, the instruction in the physical sciences given at Oxford² consisted of a course of

¹ [Portions, at least, of this appendix were probably written by Ruskin for a letter intended for the *Times* in 1852: see Vol X., Introduction, p. xli.]

² [On this subject, compare in the first volume of *The Stones*, Appendix 13, Vol. IX. p. 442.]

twelve or fourteen lectures on the Elements of Mechanics or Pneumatics, and permission to ride out to Shotover with the Professor of Geology. I do not know the specialties of the system pursued in the academies of the Continent; but their practical result is, that unless a man's natural instincts urge him to the pursuit of the physical sciences too strongly to be resisted, he enters into life utterly ignorant of them. I cannot, within my present limits, even so much as count the various directions in which this ignorance does evil. But the main mischief of it is, that it leaves the greater number of men without the natural food which God intended for their intellects. For one man who is fitted for the study of words, fifty are fitted for the study of things, and were intended to have a perpetual, simple, and religious delight in watching the processes, or admiring the creatures, of the natural universe. Deprived of this source of pleasure, nothing is left to them but ambition or dissipation; and the vices of the upper classes of Europe are, I believe, chiefly to be attributed to this single cause.

Secondly, It despises Religion.—I do not say it despises "Theology," that is to say, *Talk* about God. But it despises "Religion;" that is to say, the "binding" or training to God's service. There is much talk and much teaching in all our academies, of which the effect is not to bind, but to loosen, the elements of religious faith. Of the ten or twelve young men who, at Oxford, were my especial friends, who sat with me under the same lectures on Divinity, or were punished with me for missing lecture by being sent to evening prayers,* four are now zealous Romanists,—a large average out of twelve;¹ and while thus our own universities profess to teach Protestantism, and do not, the universities on the Continent profess to teach Romanism, and do not,—sending forth only rebels and infidels. During long residence on the Continent, I do not remember meeting with above two or three young men who either believed in revelation, or had the grace to hesitate in the assertion of their infidelity.²

Whence, it seems to me, we may gather one of two things: either that there is nothing in any European form of religion so reasonable or ascertained, as that it can be taught securely to our youth, or fastened in their minds by any rivets of proof which they shall not be able to loosen the moment they begin to think; or else, that no means are taken to train them in such demonstrable creeds.

It seems to me the duty of a rational nation to ascertain (and to be at some pains in the matter) which of these suppositions is true; and, if indeed no proof can be given of any supernatural fact, or Divine doctrine, stronger than a youth just out of his teens can overthrow in the first stirrings of serious

* A Mohammedan youth is punished, I believe, for such misdemeanours, by being *kept away* from prayers.

¹ [Another case came under Ruskin's notice at Venice when he was writing this book. He went to call, in response to an invitation, upon a Christ Church man who was wintering in that city. "I thought he was far away in England at his rectory," he wrote to his father (Nov. 1, 1851). He found he had become a Roman Catholic. "You ask," he writes again (Nov. 19), "if—is an Oxford-made Roman. No; only 'prepared' at Oxford. The finishing touches given after he had taken duty at some English rectory."]

² [See Ruskin's report of a conversation in a café at Amiens, Vol. VIII. p. 262 *n.*]

thought, to confess this boldly; to get rid of the expense of an Establishment, and the hypocrisy of a Liturgy; to exhibit its cathedrals as curious memorials of a bygone superstition, and abandoning all thoughts of the next world, to set itself to make the best it can of this.

But if, on the other hand, there *does* exist any evidence by which the probability of certain religious facts may be shown, as clearly, even, as the probabilities of things not absolutely ascertained in astronomical or geological science, let this evidence be set before all our youth so distinctly, and the facts for which it appears inculcated upon them so steadily, that although it may be possible for the evil conduct of after life to efface, or for its earnest and protracted meditation to modify, the impressions of early years, it may not be possible for our young men, the instant they emerge from their academies, to scatter themselves like a flock of wildfowl risen out of a marsh, and drift away on every irregular wind of heresy and apostacy.

Lastly, Our system of European education despises Politics.—That is to say, the science of the relations and duties of men to each other. One would imagine, indeed, by a glance at the state of the world, that there was no such science. And, indeed, it is one still in its infancy.¹

It implies, in its full sense, the knowledge of the operations of the virtues and vices of men upon themselves and society; the understanding of the ranks and offices of their intellectual and bodily powers in their various adaptations to art, science, and industry; the understanding of the proper offices of art, science, and labour themselves, as well as of the foundations of jurisprudence, and broad principles of commerce; all this being coupled with practical knowledge of the present state and wants of mankind.

What, it will be said, and is all this to be taught to schoolboys? No; but the first elements of it, all that are necessary to be known by an individual in order to his acting wisely in any station of life, might be taught, not only to every schoolboy, but to every peasant. The impossibility of equality among men;² the good which arises from their inequality; the compensating circumstances in different states and fortunes; the honourableness of every man who is worthily filling his appointed place in society, however humble; the proper relations of poor and rich, governor and governed; the nature of wealth, and mode of its circulation; the difference between productive and unproductive labour; the relation of the products of the mind and hand; the true value of works of the higher arts, and the possible amount of their production; the meaning of “Civilization,” its advantages and dangers; the meaning of the term “Refinement;” the possibilities of possessing refinement in a low station, and of losing it in a high one; and, above all, the significance of almost every act of a man’s daily life, in its ultimate operation upon himself and others;—all this might be, and ought to be, taught to every boy in the kingdom, so completely, that it should be just as impossible to introduce an absurd or licentious doctrine among our adult population, as a new version of the multiplication table. Nor am I altogether without hope that some day it may enter

¹ [See above, ch. iv. § 3, p. 197.]

² [A constant theme with Ruskin; see, for instance, *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. x. § 22 (“everlasting difference is set between one man’s capacity and another’s”); vol. v. pt. vi. ch. viii. § 18 (equality a source “of all evil”); *Unto this Last*, § 54 (“the impossibility of equality”); *Munera Pulveris*, § 121 (“talk of equality . . . fog in the brains”); *Time and Tide*, §§ 141, 169, 170; and *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 9, 14, 61.]

into the heads of the tutors of our schools to try whether it is not as easy to make an Eton boy's mind as sensitive to falseness in policy, as his ear is at present to falseness in prosody.

I know that this is much to hope. That English ministers of religion should ever come to desire rather to make a youth acquainted with the powers of Nature and of God, than with the powers of Greek particles; that they should ever think it more useful to show him how the great universe rolls upon its course in heaven, than how the syllables are fitted in a tragic metre; that they should hold it more advisable for him to be fixed in the principles of religion than in those of syntax; or, finally, that they should ever come to apprehend that a youth likely to go straight out of college into parliament, might not unadvisably know as much of the Peninsular War as of the Peloponnesian War, and be as well acquainted with the state of modern Italy as of old Etruria;—all this, however unreasonably, I *do* hope, and mean to work for. For though I have not yet abandoned all expectation of a better world than this, I believe this in which we live is not so good as it might be. I know there are many people who suppose French revolutions, Italian insurrections, Caffre wars,¹ and such other scenic effects of modern policy, to be among the normal conditions of humanity. I know there are many who think the atmosphere of rapine, rebellion, and misery which wraps the lower orders of Europe more closely every day, is as natural a phenomenon as a hot summer. But God forbid! There are ills which flesh is heir to, and troubles to which man is born; but the troubles which he is born to are as sparks which fly *upward*, not as flames burning to the nethermost Hell. The Poor we must have with us always, and sorrow is inseparable from any hour of life; but we may make their poverty such as shall inherit the earth, and the sorrow such as shall be hallowed by the hand of the Comforter with everlasting comfort.² We *can*, if we will but shake off this lethargy and dreaming that is upon us, and take the pains to think and act like men, we can, I say, make kingdoms to be like well-governed households, in which, indeed, while no care or kindness can prevent occasional heart-burnings, nor any foresight or piety anticipate all the vicissitudes of fortune, or avert every stroke of calamity, yet the unity of their affection and fellowship remains unbroken, and their distress is neither embittered by division, prolonged by imprudence, nor darkened by dishonour.

• • • • •

The great leading error of modern times is the mistaking erudition for education.³ I call it the leading error, for I believe that, with little difficulty, nearly every other might be shown to have root in it; and, most assuredly, the worst that are fallen into on the subject of art.

Education then, briefly, is the leading human souls to what is best, and making what is best out of them; and these two objects are always attainable together, and by the same means; the training which makes men happiest

¹ [With the French revolution of 1848 and the Italian war of liberation Ruskin had himself, in a way, come in contact; Caffre wars were almost constant during the years 1850–1853.]

² [The references in the above sentences are *Hamlet*, act iii. sc. 1; Job v. 7; Matthew xxvi. 11; and see Isaiah lx. 21 and Luke vi. 20.]

³ [See above, p. 204.]

in themselves also makes them most serviceable to others. True education, then, has respect, first to the ends which are proposable to the man, or attainable by him; and, secondly, to the material of which the man is made. So far as it is able, it chooses the end according to the material: but it cannot always choose the end, for the position of many persons in life is fixed by necessity; still less can it choose the material; and, therefore, all it can do is to fit the one to the other as wisely as may be.

But the first point to be understood is that the material is as various as the ends; that not only one man is unlike another, but *every* man is essentially different from *every* other, so that no training, no forming, nor informing, will ever make two persons alike in thought or in power. Among all men, whether of the upper or lower orders, the differences are eternal and irreconcilable, between one individual and another, born under absolutely the same circumstances. One man is made of agate, another of oak; one of slate, another of clay. The education of the first is polishing; of the second, seasoning; of the third, rending; of the fourth moulding. It is of no use to season the agate; it is vain to try to polish the slate; but both are fitted, by the qualities they possess, for services in which they may be honoured.

Now the cry for the education of the lower classes, which is heard every day more widely and loudly, is a wise and a sacred cry, provided it be extended into one for the education of *all* classes, with definite respect to the work each man has to do, and the substance of which he is made. But it is a foolish and vain cry, if it be understood, as in the plurality of cases it is meant to be, for the expression of mere craving after knowledge, irrespective of the simple purposes of the life that now is, and blessings of that which is to come.

One great fallacy into which men are apt to fall when they are reasoning on this subject is: that light, as such, is always good; and darkness, as such, always evil. Far from it. Light untempered would be annihilation. It is good to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death; but, to those that faint in the wilderness, so also is the shadow of the great rock in a weary land. If the sunshine is good, so also the cloud of the latter rain. Light is only beautiful, only available for life, when it is tempered with shadow;¹ pure light is fearful, and unendurable by humanity. And it is not less ridiculous to say that the light, as such, is good in itself, than to say that the darkness is good in itself. Both are rendered safe, healthy, and useful by the other; the night by the day, the day by the night; and we could just as easily live without the dawn as without the sunset, so long as we are human. Of the celestial city we are told there shall be “no night there,” and then we shall know even as also we are known: but the night and the mystery have both their service here; and our business is not to strive to turn the night into day, but to be sure that we are as they that watch for the morning.²

Therefore, in the education either of lower or upper classes, it matters not the least how much or how little they know, provided they know just what will fit them to do their work, and to be happy in it. What the sum or the

¹ [Ruskin in one of his copies for revision here refers back to the quotation from Wordsworth which he had already noted; see above, p. 67 *n.*]

² [The Bible references here are Psalms cvii. 10; Isaiah xxxii. 2; Proverbs xvi. 15; Revelation xxi. 25; Psalms cxxx. 6.]

nature of their knowledge ought to be at a given time or in a given case, is a totally different question; the main thing to be understood is, that a man is not educated, in any sense whatsoever, because he can read Latin, or write English, or can behave well in a drawing-room; but that he is only educated if he is happy, busy, beneficent, and effective in the world; that millions of peasants are therefore at this moment better educated than most of those who call themselves gentlemen; and that the means taken to "educate" the lower classes in any other sense may very often be productive of a precisely opposite result.

Observe, I do not say, nor do I believe, that the lower classes ought not to be better educated, in millions of ways, than they are. I believe *every man in a Christian kingdom ought to be equally well educated*. But I would have it education to purpose; stern, practical, irresistible, in moral habits, in bodily strength and beauty, in all faculties of mind capable of being developed under the circumstances of the individual, and especially in the technical knowledge of his own business; but yet, infinitely various in its effort, directed to make one youth humble, and another confident; to tranquillize this mind, to put some spark of ambition into that; now to urge, and now to restrain: and in the doing of all this, considering knowledge as one only out of myriads of means in his hands, or myriads of gifts at its disposal; and giving it or withholding it as a good husbandman waters his garden, giving the full shower only to the thirsty plants, and at times when they are thirsty; whereas at present we pour it upon the heads of our youth as the snow falls on the Alps, on one and another alike, till they can bear no more, and then take honour to ourselves because here and there a river descends from their crests into the valleys, not observing that we have made the loaded hills themselves barren for ever.

Finally, I hold it for indisputable, that the first duty of a state is to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed, and educated, till it attain years of discretion. But in order to the effecting this, the government must have an authority over the people of which we now do not so much as dream; and I cannot in this place pursue the subject farther.¹

8. [p. 138.] EARLY VENETIAN MARRIAGES

Gallicioli, lib. ii. § 1757, insinuates a doubt of the general custom, saying, "It would be more reasonable to suppose that only twelve maidens were married in public on St. Mark's Day;" and Sandi also speaks of twelve only. All evidence, however, is clearly in favour of the popular tradition; the most curious fact connected with the subject being the mention, by Herodotus, of the mode of marriage practised among the Illyrian "Veneti" of his time,² who

¹ [The train of thought here foreshadowed was afterwards developed in *Unto this Last* and *Time and Tide*; see especially § 70 of the latter work, where the words above are quoted and confirmed.]

² [The reference is to the passage (i. 196) in which Herodotus describes the marriage customs of the Babylonians, "the wisest being this which I am informed that the Enetoi in Illyria also have." The custom is described and discussed by Ruskin in a *critique* of Edwin Long's picture, "The Babylonian Marriage Market" (*Academy Notes*, 1875, No. 482).]

presented their maidens for marriage on one day in each year; and, with the price paid for those who were beautiful, gave dowries to those who had no personal attractions.

It is very curious to find the traces of this custom existing, though in a softened form, in Christian times. Still, I admit that there is little confidence to be placed in the mere concurrence of the Venetian Chroniclers, who, for the most part, copied from each other: but the best and most complete account I have read is that quoted by Gallicioli from the "Matricola de' Casseleri," written in 1449; and, in that account, the words are quite unmistakable. "It was anciently the custom of Venice, that *all the brides* (novizze) of Venice, when they married, should be married by the bishop, in the Church of S. Pietro di Castello, on St. Mark's Day, which is the 31st of January." Rogers¹ quotes Navagiero to the same effect; and Sansovino is more explicit still. "It was the custom to contract marriages openly; and when the deliberations were completed, the damsels assembled themselves in S. Pietro di Castello, for the feast of St. Mary, in February."

9. [pp. 141, 193.] CHARACTER OF THE VENETIAN ARISTOCRACY

The following noble answer of a Venetian ambassador, Giustiniani, on the occasion of an insult offered him at the court of Henry the Eighth, is as illustrative of the dignity which there yet remained in the character and thoughts of the Venetian noble, as descriptive, in few words, of the early faith and deeds of his nation. He writes thus to the Doge, from London, on the 15th of April, 1516:

"By my last, in date of the 30th ult., I informed you that the countenances of some of these lords evinced neither friendship nor good-will, and that much language had been used to me of a nature bordering not merely on arrogance, but even on outrage; and not having specified this in the foregoing letters, I think fit now to mention it in detail. Finding myself at the court, and talking familiarly about other matters, two lay lords, great personages in this kingdom, inquired of me 'whence it came that your Excellency was of such slippery faith, now favouring one party and then the other?' Although these words ought to have irritated me, I answered them with all discretion, 'that you did keep, and ever had kept, your faith; the maintenance of which has placed you in great trouble, and subjected you to wars of longer duration than you would otherwise have experienced; descending to particulars in justification of your Sublimity.' Whereupon one of them replied, '*Isti Veneti sunt piscatores.*'¹* Marvellous was the command I then had over myself in not giving vent to expressions which might have proved injurious to your Signory; and with extreme moderation I rejoined, 'that had he been at Venice, and seen our Senate, and the Venetian nobility, he perhaps would not speak thus; and moreover, were he well read in our history, both concerning the origin of our city, and the grandeur of your

* "Those Venetians are fishermen."

¹ [In a note to his verses on "The Brides of Venice" in *Italy*.]

Excellency's feats, neither the one nor the other would seem to him those of fishermen; yet,' said I, 'did fishermen found the Christian faith, and we have been those fishermen who defended it against the forces of the Infidel, our fishing-boats being galleys and ships, our hooks the treasure of St. Mark, and our bait the life-blood of our citizens, who died for the Christian faith.' "

I take this most interesting passage from a volume of despatches addressed from London to the Signory of Venice, by the ambassador Giustiniani, during the years 1516–1519; despatches not only full of matters of historical interest, but of the most delightful everyday description of all that went on at the English court. They were translated by Mr. Brown from the original letters, and will, I believe, soon be published,¹ and I hope also, read and enjoyed: for I cannot close these volumes without expressing a conviction, which has long been forcing itself upon my mind, that *restored* history is of little more value than restored painting or architecture; that the only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen, heard out of the mouths of the men who did and saw. One fresh draught of such history is worth more than a thousand volumes of abstracts, and reasonings, and suppositions, and theories; and I believe that, as we get wiser, we shall take little trouble about the history of nations who have left no distinct records of themselves, but spend our time only in the examination of the faithful documents which, in any period of the world, have been left, either in the form of art or literature, portraying the scenes, or recording the events, which in those days were actually passing before the eyes of men.

10. FINAL APPENDIX²

The statements respecting the dates of Venetian buildings, made throughout the preceding pages, are founded, as above stated, on careful and personal examination of all the mouldings, or other features available as evidence, of every palace of importance in the city. Three parts, at least, of the time occupied in the completion of the work have been necessarily devoted to the collection of these evidences, of which it would be quite useless to lay the mass before the reader; but of which the leading points must be succinctly stated, in order to show the nature of my authority for any of the conclusions expressed in the text.

I have therefore collected in the plates which illustrate this article of the Appendix, for the examination of any reader who may be interested by them, as many examples of the evidence-bearing details as are sufficient for the proof required, especially including all the exceptional forms; so that the reader may rest assured that if I had been able to lay before him all the evidence in my possession, it would have been still more conclusive than the portion now submitted to him.

We must examine in succession the Bases, Doorways and Jambs, Capitals, Archivolts, Cornices, and Tracery Bars, of Venetian architecture.

¹ [The publication took place in the following year, 1854: see Vol. X. p. 353 *n.*]

² [For previous references to this Appendix, see Vol. X. pp. 297, 323, 327; see also the Introduction above, p. xxii.]

(i.)BASES

The principal points we have to notice are the similarity and simplicity of the Byzantine bases in general, and the distinction between those of Torcello and Murano, and of St. Mark's, as tending to prove the earlier dates attributed in the text to the island churches. I have sufficiently illustrated the forms of the Gothic bases in Plates 10, 11, and 12 of the first volume, so that I here note chiefly the Byzantine or Romanesque ones, adding two Gothic forms for the sake of comparison.

The most characteristic examples, then, are collected in Plate 5 opposite; namely:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| | 1, 2, 3, 4. In the upper gallery of apse of Murano. |
| | 5. Lower shafts of apse. Murano. |
| | 6. Casa Falier. |
| | 7. Small shafts of panels. Casa Farsetti. |
| | 8. Great shafts and plinth. Casa Farsetti. |
| | 9. Great lower shafts. Fondaco de' Turchi. |
| | 10. Ducal Palace, upper arcade. |
| | 11. General late Gothic form. |
| PLATE 5, | 12. Tomb of Dogressa Vital Michele, in St. Mark's atrium. |
| Vol.III. | 13. Upper arcade of Madonnetta House. |
| | 14. Rio Foscari House. |
| | 15. Upper arcade. Terraced House. |
| | 16, 17, 18. Nave. Torcello. |
| | 19, 20. Transepts. St. Mark's. |
| | 21. Nave. St. Mark's. |
| | 22. External pillars of northern portico. St. Mark's. |
| | 23, 24. Clustered pillars of northern portico. St. Mark's. |
| | 25, 26. Clustered pillars of southern portico. St. Mark's. |

Now, observe, first, the enormous difference in style between the bases 1 to 5, and the rest in the upper row, that is to say, between the bases of Murano and the twelfth and thirteenth century bases of Venice; and, secondly, the difference between the bases 16 to 20 and the rest in the lower row, that is to say, between the bases of Torcello (with those of St. Mark's which belong to the nave, and which may therefore be supposed to be part of the earlier church) and the later ones of the St. Mark's façade.

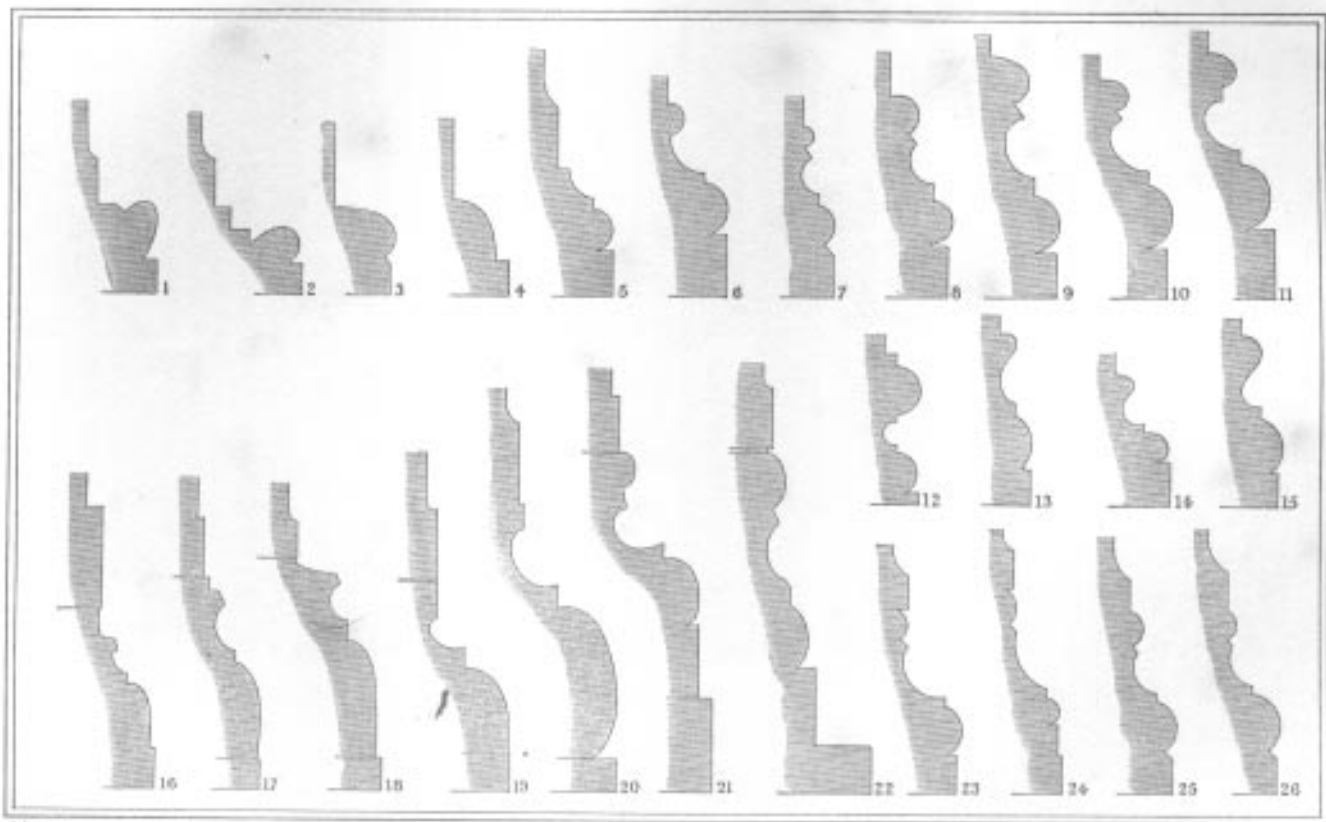
Secondly, Note the fellowship between 5 and 6, one of the evidences of the early date of the Casa Falier.¹

Thirdly, Observe the slurring of the upper roll into the cavetto, in 13, 14, and 15, and the consequent relationship established between three most important buildings, the Rio Foscari House, Terraced House, and Madonnetta House.²

Fourthly, Byzantine bases, if they have an incision between the upper roll and cavetto, are very apt to approach the form of fig. 23, in which the upper roll is cut out of the flat block, and the ledge beneath it is sloping. Compare Nos. 7, 8, 9, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. On the other hand, the later Gothic base,

¹ [For this house, see in the preceding volume, ch. vii. § 30 and Plate 15.]

² [For these houses, as also for the Casa Farsetti and Fondaco de' Turchi, see in the preceding volume, ch. v., and appendix 11, pp. 453-454.]



11, has always its upper roll well developed, and, generally, the fillet between it and the cavetto vertical. The sloping fillet is indeed found down to late periods; and the vertical fillet, as in No. 12, in Byzantine ones, but still, when a base has such a sloping fillet and peculiarly graceful sweeping cavetto as those No. 10, looking as if they would run into one line with each other, it is strong presumptive evidence of its belonging to an early, rather than a late period.

The base 12 is the boldest example I could find of the exceptional form in early times; but observe in this, that the upper roll is larger than the lower. This is *never* the case in late Gothic, where the proportion is always as in fig. 11. Observe that in Nos. 8 and 9 the upper rolls are at least as large as the lower, an important evidence of the dates of the Casa Farsetti and Fondaco de' Turchi.

Lastly, Note the peculiarly steep profile of No. 22, with reference to what is said of this base in Vol. II., Appendix 9 [p. 450].

(ii.) DOORWAYS AND JAMBS

The entrances to St. Mark's consist, as above mentioned, of great circular or ogee porches; underneath which the real open entrances, in which the valves of the bronze doors play, are square-headed.

The mouldings of the jambs of these doors are highly curious, and the most characteristic are therefore represented in one view [on the next page]. The outsides of the jambs are lowest.

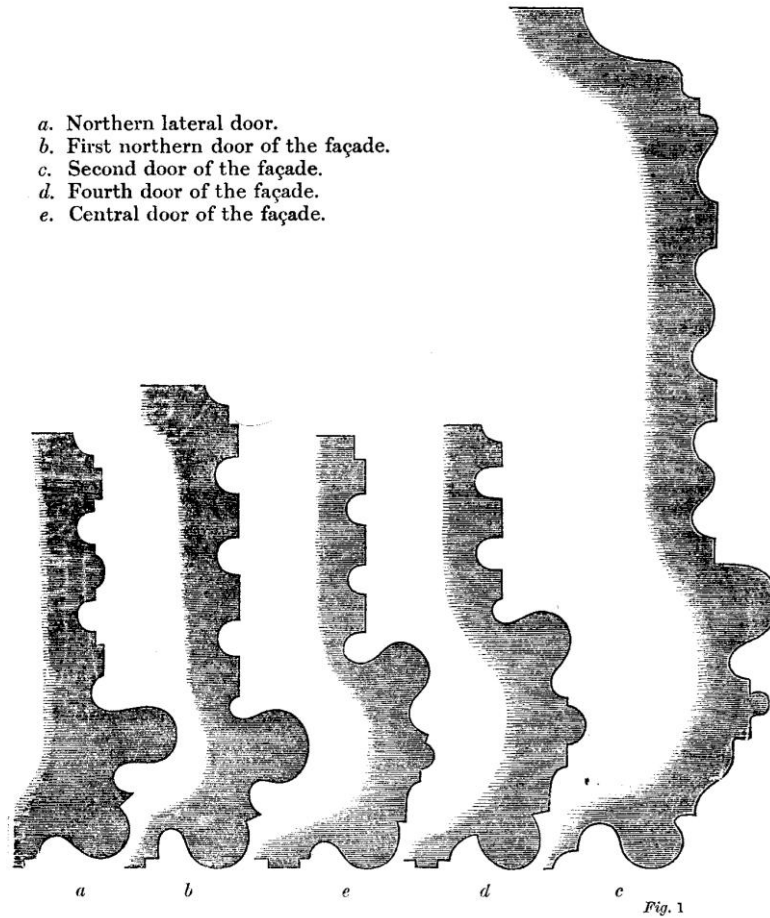
I wish the reader especially to note the arbitrary character of the curves and incisions; all evidently being drawn by hand, none being segments of circles, none like another, none influenced by any visible law. I do not give these mouldings as beautiful; they are, for the most part, very poor in effect, but they are singularly characteristic of the free work of the time.

The kind of door to which these mouldings belong, is shown with the other groups of doors, in Plate 14, Vol. II., fig. 6 *a*. Then 6 *b*, 6 *c*, 6 *d* represent the groups of doors in which the Byzantine influence remained energetic, admitting slowly the forms of the pointed Gothic; 7 *a*, with the gable above, is the intermediate group between the Byzantine and Gothic schools; 7 *b*, 7 *c*, 7 *d*, 7 *e* are the advanced guards of the Gothic and Lombardic invasions, representative of a large number of thirteenth century arcades and doors. Observe that 6 *d* is shown to be of a late school by its finial, and 6 *e* of the latest school by its final, complete ogee rich (instead of round or pointed), and abandonment of the lintel.

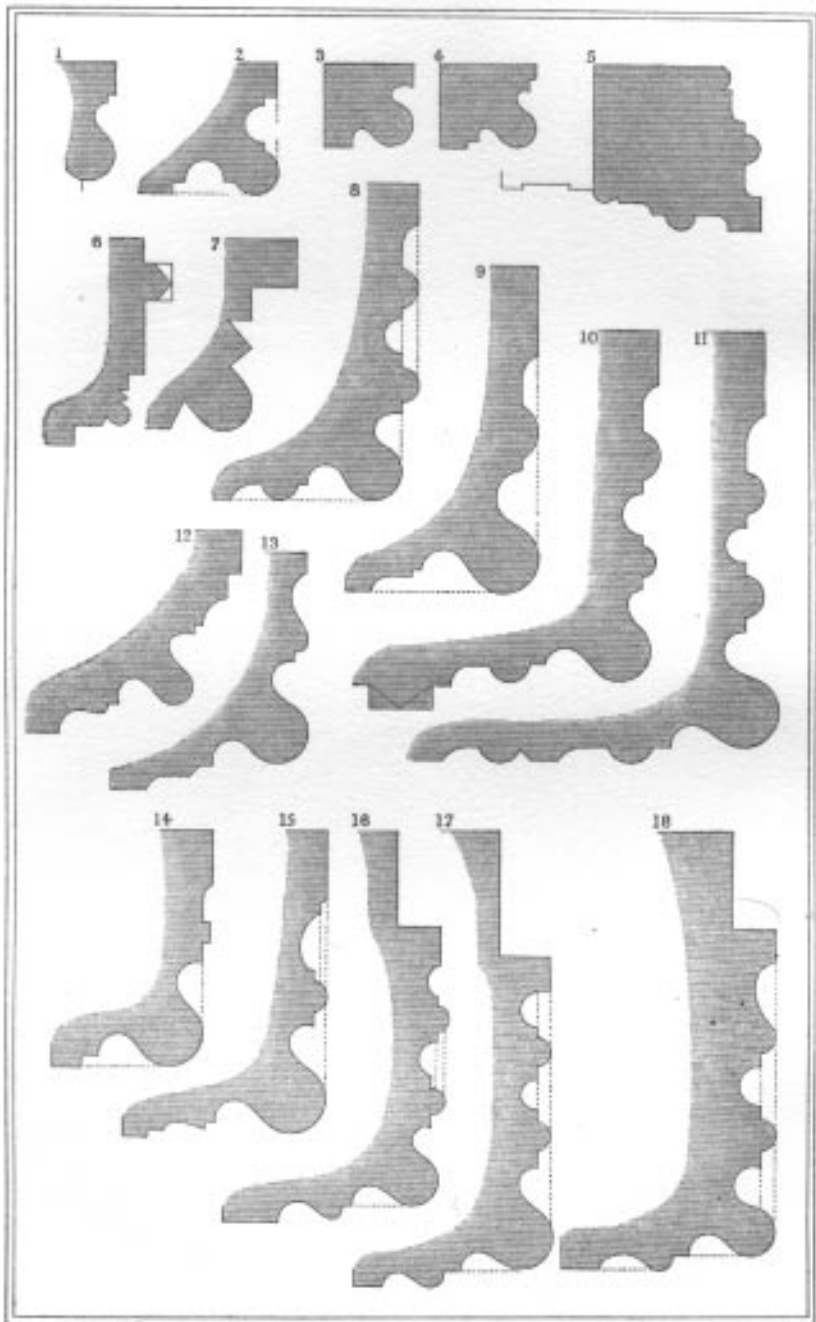
These examples, with the exception of 6 *a*, which is a general form, are all actually existing doors; namely:

- 6 *b*. In the Fondamenta Venier, near St. Maria della Salute.
- 6 *c*. In the Calle delle Botteri, between the Rialto and San Cassan.
- 6 *d*. Main door of San Gregorio.
- 6 *e*. Door of a palace in Rio San Paternian.
- 7 *a*. Door of a small courtyard near house of Marco Polo.
- 7 *b*. Arcade in narrow canal, at the side of Casa Barbaro.
- 7 *c*. At the turn of the canal, close to the Ponte dell' Angelo.
- 7 *d*. In Rio San Paternian (a ruinous house).
- 7 *e*. At the turn of the canal on which the Sotto Portico della Stua opens, near San Zaccaria.

If the reader will take a magnifying glass to the figure 6 *d*, he will see that its square ornaments, of which, in the real door, each contains a rose, diminish to the apex of the arch; a very interesting and characteristic circumstance,



showing the subtle feeling of the Gothic builders. They must needs diminish the ornamentation, in order to sympathise with the delicacy of the point of the arch. The magnifying glass will also show the Bondumieri shield in No. 7 *d*, and the Leze shield in No. 7 *e*, both introduced on the keystones in



the grand early manner. The mouldings of these various doors will be noticed under the head "Archivolt."

Now, throughout the city we find a number of doors resembling the square doors of St. Mark, and occurring with rare exceptions either in buildings of the Byzantine period, or imbedded in restored houses; never in a single instance forming a connected portion of any late building; and they therefore furnish a most important piece of evidence, wherever they are part of the original structure of a *Gothic* building, that such building is one of the advanced guards of the Gothic school, and belongs to its earliest period.

On Plate 6, opposite, are assembled all the important examples I could find in Venice of these mouldings. The reader will see at a glance their peculiar character, and unmistakable likeness to each other. The following are the references:

1. Door in Calle Mocenigo.
2. Angle of tomb of Dogaressa Vital Michele.
3. Door in Sotto Portico, St. Apollonia (near Ponte di Canonica).
4. Door in Calle della Verona (another like it is close by).
5. Angle of Tomb of Doge Marino Morosini.
- 6, 7. Door in Calle Mocenigo.
8. Door in Campo S. Margherita.
9. Door at Traghetto San Samuele, on south side of Grand Canal.
10. Door at Ponte St. Toma.
11. Great door of Church of Servi.
12. In Calle della Chiesa, Campo San Filippo e Giacomo.
13. Door of house in Calle di Rimedio (page 295, Vol. II.)
14. Door in Fonaco de' Turchi.
15. Door in Fondamenta Malcanton, near Campo S. Margherita.
16. Door in south side of Canna Reggio.
- 17, 18. Doors in Sotto Portico dei Squellini.

PLATE 6
Vol. III.

The principal points to be noted in these mouldings are their curious differences of level, as marked by the dotted lines, more especially in 14, 15, 16, and the systematic projection of the outer or lower mouldings in 16, 17, 18. Then, as points of evidence, observe that 1 is the jamb and 6 the archivolt (7 the angle on a larger scale) of the brick door given in my folio work from Ramo di rimpetto Mocenigo, one of the evidences of the early date of that door; 8 is the jamb of the door in Campo Santa Margherita (also given in my folio work),¹ fixing the early date of that also; 10 is from a Gothic door opening off the Ponte St. Toma; and 11 is also from a Gothic building. All the rest are from Byzantine work, or from ruins. The angle of the tomb of Marino Morosini (5) is given for comparison only.

The doors with the mouldings 17, 18, are from the two ends of a small dark passage, called the Sotto Portico dei Squellini, opening near Ponte Cappello, on the Rio Marin: 14 is the outside one, arranged as usual, and at *a*, in the rough stone, are places for the staples of the door valve; 15, at the other end of the passage, opening into the little Corte dei Squellini, is set with the part *a* outwards, it also having places for hinges; but it is curious that the rich moulding should be set in towards the dark passage, though natural that the doors should both open one way.

¹ [See below, Plates 11 and 12 of the *Examples*.]

The next plate, 7, will show the principal characters of the Gothic jambs, and the total difference between them and the Byzantine ones. Two more Byzantine forms, 1 and 2, are given here for the sake of comparison; then 3, 4, and 5 are the common profiles of simple jambs of doors in the Gothic period; 6 is one of the jambs of the Frari windows, continuous into the archivolt, and meeting the traceries, where the line is set upon it at the extremity of its main slope; 7 and 8 are jambs of the Ducal Palace windows, in which the great semicircle is the half shaft which sustains the traceries, and the rest of the profile is continuous in the archivolt; 17, 18, and 19 are the principal piers of the Ducal Palace; and 20, from St. Fermo of Verona, is put with them in order to show the step of transition from the Byzantine form 2 to the Gothic chamfer, which is hardly represented at Venice. The other profiles on the plate are all late Gothic, given to show the gradual increase of complexity without any gain of power. The open lines in 12, 14, 16, etc., are the parts of the profile cut into flowers or cable mouldings; and so much incised as to show the constant outline of the cavetto or curve beneath them. The following are the references:

1. Door in house of Marco Polo.
 2. Old door in a restored church of St. Cassan.
 - 3, 4, 5. Common jambs of Gothic doors.
 6. Frari windows.
 - 7, 8. Ducal Palace windows.
 9. Casa Priuli, great entrance.
- PLATE 7, Vol. III.
10. San Stefano, great door.
 11. San Gregorio, door opening to the water.
 12. Lateral door, Frari.
 13. Door of Campo San Zaccaria.
 14. Madonna dell' Orto.
 15. San Gregorio, door in the façade.
 16. Great lateral door, Frari.
 17. Pilaster at Vine angle, Ducal Palace.
 18. Pier, inner cortile, Ducal Palace.
 19. Pier under the medallion of Venice, on the Piazzetta facade of the Ducal Palace.

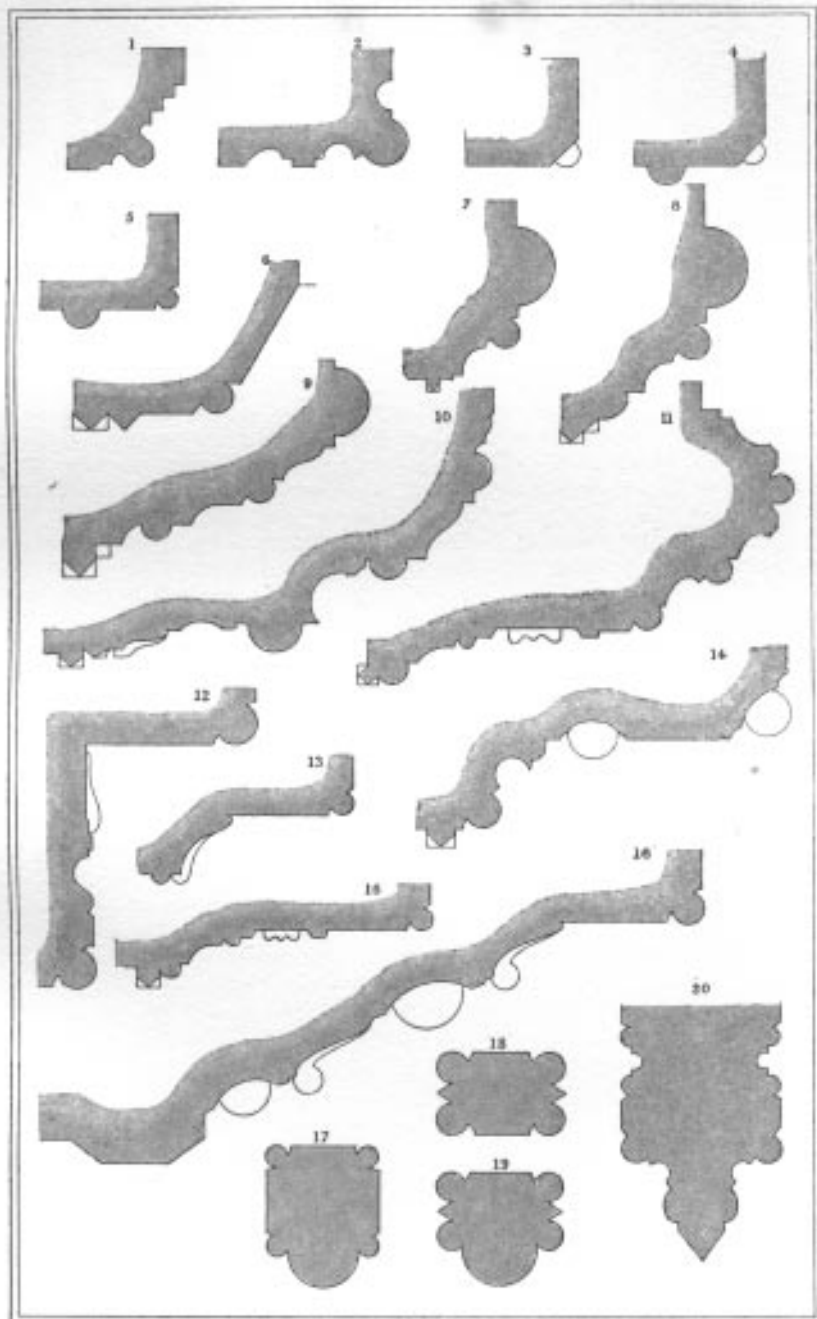
(iii.) CAPITALS¹

I shall here notice the various facts I have omitted in the text of the work.

First, with respect to the Byzantine capitals represented in Plate 7, Vol. II. (facing P. 158), I omitted to notice that figs. 6 and 7 represent two sides of the same capital at Murano (though one is necessarily drawn on a smaller scale than the other). Fig. 7 is the side turned to the light, and fig. 6 to the shade, the inner part, which is quite concealed, not being touched at all.

We have here a conclusive proof that these capitals were cut for their place in the apse; therefore I have always considered them as tests of Venetian workmanship, and, on the strength of that proof, have occasionally

¹ [For previous references to this section of the appendix, see in the preceding volume, pp. 297, 303.]



spoken of capitals as of true Venetian work, which M. Lazari supposes to be of the Lower Empire. No. 11, from St. Mark's, was not above noticed. The way in which the cross is gradually left in deeper relief as the sides slope inwards, and away from it, is highly picturesque and curious.

No. 9 has been reduced from a larger drawing, and some of the life and character of the curves lost in consequence. It is chiefly given to show the irregular and fearless freedom of the Byzantine designers, no two parts of the foliage being correspondent; in the original it is of white marble, the ground being coloured blue.

Plate 10, Vol. II. (facing p. 164), represents the four principal orders of Venetian capitals in their greatest simplicity, and the profiles of the most interesting examples of each. The figures 1 and 4 are the two great concave and convex groups; and 2 and 3 the transitional. Above each type of form I have put also an example of the group of flowers which represent it in nature: fig. 1 has a lily; fig. 2 a variety of the *Tulipa sylvestris*; figs. 3 and 4 forms of the magnolia. I prepared this plate in the early spring, when I could not get any other examples, * or I would rather have had two different species for figs. 3 and 4; but the half-open magnolia will answer the purpose, showing the beauty of the triple curvature in the sides.

I do not say that the forms of the capitals are actually taken from flowers, though assuredly so in some instances, and partially so in the decoration of nearly all. But they were designed by men of pure and natural feeling for beauty, who therefore instinctively adopted the forms represented, which are afterwards proved to be beautiful by their frequent occurrence in common flowers.

The convex forms, 3 and 4, are put lowest in the plate only because they are heaviest; they are the earliest in date, and have already been enough examined.

I have added a plate to this volume¹ (Plate 12), which should have appeared in illustration of the fifth chapter of Vol. II., but was not finished in time. It represents the central capital and two of the lateral ones of the Fondaco de' Turchi, the central one drawn very large in order to show the excessive simplicity of its chiselling, together with the care and sharpness of it, each leaf being expressed by a series of sharp furrows and ridges. Some slight errors in the large tracings from which the engraving was made have, however, occasioned a loss of spring in the curves, and the little fig. 4 of Plate 10, Vol. II., gives a truer idea of the distant effect of the capital.

The profiles given in Plate 10, Vol. II., are the following:

- | | | |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 1. | <i>a.</i> Main capitals, upper arcade, Madonnetta House. |
| PLATE 10, | | <i>b.</i> Main capitals, upper arcade, Casa Falier. |
| VOL. II. | | <i>c.</i> Lateral capitals, upper arcade, Fondaco de' Turchi. |
| | | <i>d.</i> Small pillars of St. Mark's, pulpit. |

* I am afraid that the kind friend, Lady Trevelyan, who helped me to finish this plate, will not like to be thanked here; but I cannot let her send into Devonshire for magnolias, and draw them for me, *without* thanking her.²

¹ [See below, opposite p. 378.]

² [For Pauline, Lady Trevelyan, see Introduction to Vol. XII., and *Præterita*, ii. ch. xii. §§ 226, 227. One of Sir Walter Trevelyan's seats was in Devonshire—Nettlecombe Court, Taunton.]

- e.* Casa Farsetti.
- f.* Inner capitals of arcade of Ducal Palace.
- g.* Plinth of the house* at Apostoli.
- h.* Main capitals of house at Apostoli.
- i.* Main capitals, upper arcade, Fondaco de' Turchi.
- 2. *a.* Lower arcade, Fondaco de' Turchi.
- b, c.* Lower pillars, house at Apostoli.
- d.* San Simeon Grande.
- e.* Restored house on Grand Canal. Three of the old arches left.
- PLATE 10, *f.* Upper arcade, Ducal Palace.
- Vol. II. *g.* Windows of thirds order, central shaft, Ducal Palace.
- h.* Windows of thirds order, lateral shaft, Ducal Palace.
- i.* Ducal Palace, main shafts.
- k.* Piazzetta shafts.
- 3. *a.* St. Mark's nave.
- b, c.* Lily capitals, St. Mark's.
- 4. *a.* Fondaco de' Turchi, central shaft, upper arcade.
- b.* Murano, upper arcade.
- c.* Murano, lower arcade.
- d.* Tomb of St. Isidore.
- e.* General late Gothic profile.

The last two sections are convex in effect, though not in reality; the bulging lines being carved into bold flower-work.

The capitals belonging to the groups 1 and 2, in the Byzantine times, have already been illustrated in Plate 8, Vol. II.; we have yet to trace their succession in the Gothic times. This is done in Plate 2 of this volume, which we will now examine carefully. The following are the capitals represented in that plate:

- 1. Small shafts of St. Mark's pulpit.
- 2. From the transitional house in the Calle di Rimedio (conf. p. 302, Vol. II.).
- 3. General simplest form of the middle Gothic capital.
- 4. Nave of San Giacomo de Lorio.
- 5. Casa Falier.
- 6. Early Gothic house in Campo Sta. M^a. Mater Domini.
- PLATE 2, 7. House at the Apostoli.
- Vol. III. 8. Piazzetta shafts.
- 9. Ducal Palace, upper arcade.
- 10. Palace of Marco Querini.
- 11. Fondaco de' Turchi.
- 12. Gothic palaces in Campo San Polo.
- 13. Windows of fourth order, Plate 16, Vol. II.
- 14. Nave of Church of San Stefano.
- 15. Late Gothic palace at the Miracoli.

The two lateral columns form a consecutive series: the central column is a group of exceptional character, running parallel with both. We will take the

* That is, the house in the parish of the Apostoli, on the Grand Canal, noticed in page 295, Vol. II.; and see also Venetian Index, under head "Apostoli" [p. 362.]

lateral ones first. 1. Capital of pulpit of St. Mark's (representative of the simplest concave forms of the Byzantine period). Look back to Plate 8, Vol. II., and observe that while all the forms in that plate are contemporaneous, we are now going to follow a series *consecutive* in time, which begins from figure 1, either in that plate or in this; that is to say, with the simplest possible condition to be found at the time; and which proceeds to develop itself into gradually increasing richness, while the *already rich* capitals of the old school die at its side. In the forms 14 and 15 (Plate 8) the Byzantine school expired; but from the Byzantine simple capital (1, Plate 2 above) which was co-existent with them, sprang another hardy race of capitals, whose succession we have now to trace.

The form 1, Plate 2, is evidently the simplest conceivable condition of the truncated capital, long ago represented generally at p. 139, Vol. I., being only rounded a little on its side to fit it to the shaft. The next step was to place a leaf beneath each of the truncations (fig. 4, Plate 2, San Giacomo de Lorio), the end of the leaf curling over at the top in a somewhat formal spiral, partly connected with the traditional volute of the Corinthian capital. The sides are then enriched by the addition of some ornament, as a shield (fig. 7) or rose (fig. 10), and we have the formed capital of the early Gothic. Fig. 10, being from the palace of Marco Querini, is certainly not later than the middle of the thirteenth century (see Vol. II., p. 298), and fig. 7 is, I believe, of the same date; it is one of the bearing capitals of the lower story of the palace at the Apostoli, and is remarkably fine in the treatment of its angle leaves, which are not deeply under-cut, but show their magnificent sweeping under surface all the way down, not as a leaf surface, but treated like the gorget of a helmet, with a curved line across it like that where the gorget meets the mail. I never saw anything finer in simple design. Fig. 10 is given chiefly as a certification of date, and to show the treatment of the capitals of this school on a small scale. Observe the more expansive head in proportion to the diameter of the shaft, the leaves being drawn from the angles, as if gathered in the hand, till their edges meet; and compare the rule given in Vol. I., Chap. IX., § 14. The capitals of the remarkable house, of which a portion is represented in Fig. 31, p. 298, Vol. II., are most curious and pure examples of this condition; with experimental trefoils, roses, and leaves introduced between their volutes. When compared with those of the Querini Palace, they form one of the most important evidences of the date of the building.

Fig. 13. One of the bearing capitals, already drawn on a small scale in the windows represented in Plate 16, Vol. II.

Now, observe, the capital of the form of fig. 10 appeared sufficient to the Venetians for all ordinary purposes; and they used it in common windows to the latest Gothic periods, but yet with certain differences which at once show the lateness of work. In the first place the rose, which at first was flat and quatrefoiled, becomes, after some experiments, a round ball dividing into three leaves, closely resembling our English ball-flower, and probably derived from it; and, in other cases, forming a bold projecting bud in various degrees of contraction or expansion. In the second place, the extremities of the angle leaves are wrought into rich flowing lobes, and bent back so as to lap against their own breasts; showing lateness of date in exact proportion to the looseness of curvature. Fig. 3 represents the general aspect of these later capitals, which may be conveniently called the rose capitals of Venice;

two are seen on service, in Plate 8, Vol. I., showing comparatively early date by the experimental form of the six-foiled rose. But for elaborate edifices this form was not sufficiently rich; and there was felt to be something awkward in the junction of the leaves at the bottom. Therefore, four other shorter leaves were added at the sides, as in fig. 13, Plate 2, and as generally represented in Plate 10, Vol. II., fig. 1. This was a good and noble step, taken very early in the thirteenth century; and all the best Venetian capitals were thenceforth of this form. Those which followed, and rested in the common rose type, were languid and unfortunate: I do not know a single good example of them after the first half of the thirteenth century.

But the form reached in fig. 13 was quickly felt to be of great value and power. One would have thought it might have been taken straight from the Corinthian type; but it is clearly the work of men who were making experiments for themselves. For instance, in the central capital of Fig. 31, p. 298, Vol. II., there is a trial condition of it, with the intermediate leaf set behind those at the angles (the reader had better take a magnifying glass to this woodcut; it will show the character of the capitals better). Two other experimental forms occur in the Casa Cicogna (p. 309, Vol. II.), and supply one of the evidences which fix the date of that palace. But the form soon was determined as in fig. 13, and then means were sought of recommending it by farther decoration.

The leaves which are used in fig. 13, it will be observed, have lost the Corinthian volute, and are now pure and plain leaves, such as were used in the Lombardic Gothic of the early thirteenth century all over Italy. Now in a round-arched gateway at Verona, certainly not later than 1300, the pointed leaves of this pure form are used in one portion of the mouldings, and in another are enriched by having their surfaces carved each into a beautiful ribbed and pointed leaf. The capital, fig. 6, Plate 2, is nothing more than fig. 13 so enriched; and the two conditions are quite contemporary, fig. 13 being from a beautiful series of fourth-order windows in Campo Sta. Ma. Mater Domini, already drawn in my folio work.¹

Fig. 13 is representative of the richest conditions of Gothic capital which existed at the close of the thirteenth century. The builder of the Ducal Palace amplified them into the form of fig. 9, but varying the leafage in disposition and division of lobes in every capital; and the workmen trained under him executed many noble capitals for the Gothic palaces of the early fourteenth century, of which fig. 12, from a palace in the Campo St. Polo, is one of the most beautiful examples. In figs. 9 and 12 the reader sees the Venetian Gothic capital in its noblest development. The next step was to such forms as fig. 15, which is generally characteristic of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Gothic, and of which I hope the reader will at once perceive the exaggeration and corruption.

This capital is from a palace near the Miracoli, and is remarkable for the delicate, though corrupt, ornament on its abacus, which is precisely the same as that on the pillars of the screen of St. Mark's. That screen is a monument of very great value, for it shows the entire corruption of the Gothic power, and the style of the later palaces accurately and completely defined in all its parts, and is dated 1380; thus at once furnishing us with a limiting date, which

¹ [See below, Plate 2 in the *Examples*, p. 320.]

throws all the noble work of the Early Ducal Palace, and all that is like it in Venice, thoroughly back into the middle of the fourteenth century at the latest.

Fig. 2 is the simplest condition of the capital universally employed in the windows of the second order, noticed above, Vol. II., pp. 294, 295, as belonging to a style of great importance in the transitional architecture of Venice. Observe, that in all the capitals given in the lateral columns in Plate 2, the points of the leaves *turn over*. But in this central group they lie *flat* against the angle of the capital, and form a peculiarly light and lovely succession of forms, occurring only in their purity in the windows of the second order, and in some important monuments connected with them.

In fig. 2 the leaf at the angle is cut, exactly in the manner of an Egyptian bas-relief, *into* the stone, with a raised edge round it, and a raised rib up the centre; and this mode of execution, seen also in figs. 4 and 7, is one of the collateral evidences of early date. But in figs. 5 and 8, where more elaborate effect was required, the leaf is thrown out boldly with an even edge from the surface of the capital, and enriched on its own surface: and as the treatment of fig. 2 corresponds with that of fig. 4, so that of fig. 5 corresponds with that of fig. 6; 2 and 5 having the upright leaf, 4 and 6 the bending leaves; but all contemporary.

Fig. 5 is the central capital of the windows of Casa Falier, drawn in Plate 15, Vol. II.; and one of the leaves set on its angles is drawn larger at fig. 7, Plate 20, Vol. II. It has no rib, but a sharp raised ridge down its centre; and its lobes, of which the reader will observe the curious form,—round in the middle one, truncated in the sides,—are wrought with a precision and care which I have hardly ever seen equalled: but of this more presently.

The next figure (8, Plate 2) is the most important capital of the whole transitional period, that employed on the two columns of the Piazzetta. These pillars are said to have been *raised* in the close of the twelfth century, but I cannot find even the most meagre account of their bases, capitals, or, which seems to me most wonderful, of that noble winged lion, one of the grandest things produced by mediæval art, which all men admire, and none can draw. I have never yet seen a faithful representation of his firm, fierce, and fiery strength. I believe that both he and the capital which bears him are late thirteenth century work. I have not been up to the lion, and cannot answer for it; but if it be not thirteenth century work, it is as good; and respecting the capitals, there can be small question.¹ They are of exactly the date of the oldest tombs, bearing crosses, outside of St. John and Paul;² and are associated with all the other work of the transitional period, from 1250 to 1300 (the bases of these pillars, representing the trades of Venice, ought, by-the-by, to have been mentioned as among the best early efforts of Venetian grotesque); and, besides, their abaci are formed by four reduplications of the dentilled mouldings of St. Mark's, which never occur after the year 1300.

¹ [Ruskin afterwards came to date the capitals earlier; see *St. Mark's Rest*, § 18, where they are called "twelfth century capitals, as fresh as when they came from the chisel." In the same chapter, §§ 19, 20, the cutting of the capitals is described. For the Bronze Lion, see *ibid.*, § 22. In 1891 it was taken down for repairs; and much that is curious was found out both about it and about the capital—as is noted in the later volume of this edition containing *St. Mark's Rest*.]

² [See above, p. 85.]

Nothing can be more beautiful or original than the adaptation of these broad bearing abaci; but as they have nothing to do with the capital itself, and could not easily be brought into the space, they are omitted in Plate 2, where fig. 8 shows the bell of the capital only. Its profile is curiously subtle,—apparently concave everywhere, but in reality concave (all the way down) only on the angles, and slightly convex at the sides (the profile through the side being 2 *k*, Plate 10, Vol. II.); in this subtlety of curvature, as well as in the simple cross, showing the influence of early times.

The leaf on the angle, of which more presently, is fig. 5, Plate 20, Vol. II.

Connected with this school of transitional capitals we find a form in the later Gothic, such as fig. 14, from the Church of San Stefano; but which appears in part derived from an old and rich Byzantine type, of which fig. 11, from the Fondaco de' Turchi, is a characteristic example.

I must now take the reader one step farther, and ask him to examine, finally, the treatment of the leaves, down to the cutting of their most minute lobes, in the series of capitals of which we have hitherto only sketched the general forms.

In all capitals with nodding leaves, such as 6 and 9 in Plate 2, the real form of the leaf is not to be seen, except in perspective; but, in order to render the comparison more easy, I have in Plate 20, Vol. II., opened all the leaves out, as if they were to be dried in a herbarium, only leaving the furrows and sinuosities of surface, but laying the outside contour nearly flat upon the page, except for a particular reason in figs. 2, 10, 11, and 15.

I shall first, as usual, give the references, and then note the points of interest.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| | 1, 2, 3. Fondaco de' Turchi, upper arcade. |
| | 4. Greek pillars brought from St. Jean d'Acre. |
| | 5. Piazzetta shafts. |
| | 6. Madonnetta House. |
| PLATE 20, | 7. Casa Falier. |
| Vol. II | 8. Palace near St. Eustachio. |
| | 9. Tombs, outside of St. John and Paul. |
| | 10. Tomb of Giovanni Soranzo. |
| | 11. Tomb of Andrea Dandolo. |
| | 12, 13, 14. Ducal Palace. |

N. B.—The upper row, 1 to 4, is Byzantine, the next transitional, the last two Gothic.

Fig. 1. The leaf of the capital No. 6, Plate 8, Vol. II. Each lobe of the leaf has a sharp furrow up to its point, from its root.

Fig. 2. The leaf of the capital on the right hand, at the top of Plate 12 in this volume. The lobes worked in the same manner, with deep black drill holes between their points.

Fig. 3. One of the leaves of fig. 14, Plate 8, Vol. II., fully unfolded. The lobes worked in the same manner, but left shallow, so as not to destroy the breadth of light; the central line being drawn by drill holes, and the interstices between the lobes cut black and deep.

Fig. 4. Leaf with flower; pure Byzantine work, showing whence the treatment of all the other leaves has been derived.

Fig. 6. For the sake of symmetry, this is put in the centre: it is the

earliest of the three in this row; taken from the Madonnetta House, where the capitals have leaves both at their sides and angles. The tall angle leaf, with its two lateral ones, is given in the plate; and there is a remarkable distinction in the mode of workmanship of these leaves, which, though found in a palace of the Byzantine period, is indicative of a tendency to transition; namely, that the sharp furrow is now drawn *only to the central lobe* of each division of the leaf, and the rest of the surface of the leaf is left nearly flat, a slight concavity only marking the division of the extremities. At the base of these leaves they are perfectly flat, only cut by the sharp and narrow furrow, as an elevated tableland is by ravines.

Fig. 5. A more advanced condition; the fold at the recess, between each division of the leaf, carefully expressed, and the concave or depressed portions of the extremities marked more deeply, as well as the central furrow, and the rib added in the centre.

Fig. 7. A contemporary, but more finished form; the sharp furrows becoming softer, and the whole leaf more flexible.

Fig. 8. An exquisite form of the same period, but showing still more advanced naturalism, from a very early group of third-order windows, near the Church of St. Eustachio on the Grand Canal.

Fig. 9. Of the same time, from a small capital of an angle shaft of the sarcophagi at the *side* of St. John and Paul, in the little square which is adorned by the Colleone statue. this leaf is very quaint and pretty in giving its midmost lateral divisions only two lobes each, instead of the usual three or four.

Fig. 10. Leaf employed in the cornice of the tomb of the Doge Giovanni Soranzo,¹ who died in 1312. It nods over, and has three ribs on its upper surface; thus giving us the completed ideal form of the leaf, but its execution is still very archaic and severe.

Now the next example, fig. 11, is from the tomb of the Doge Andrea Dandolo, and therefore executed between 1354 and 1360;² and this leaf shows the Gothic naturalism and refinement of curvature fully developed. In this forty years' interval, then, the principal advance of Gothic sculpture is to be placed.

I had prepared a complete series of examples, showing this advance, and the various ways in which the separations of the ribs, a most characteristic feature, are more and more delicately and scientifically treated, from the beginning to the middle of the fourteenth century; but I feared that no general reader would care to follow me into these minutiae, and have cancelled this portion of the work, at least for the present,³ the main point being that the reader should feel the full extent of the change, which he can hardly fail to do in looking from fig. 10 to figs. 11 and 12. I believe that fig. 12 is the earlier of the two; and it is assuredly the finer, having all the elasticity and simplicity of the earliest forms, with perfect flexibility added. In fig. 11 there is a perilous element beginning to develop itself in one feature, namely, the extremities of the leaves, which, instead of merely nodding over, now curl completely round into a kind of ball. This occurs early, and in the

¹ [See below, Appendix 11, § 5, p. 294.]

² [See above, p. 94 *n.*]

³ [The material here referred to was never published.]

finest Gothic work, especially in cornices and other running mouldings: but it is a fatal symptom, a beginning of the intemperance of the later Gothic, and it was followed out with singular avidity; the ball of coiled leafage increasing in size and complexity, and at last becoming the principal feature of the work; the light striking on its vigorous projection, as in fig. 14. Nearly all the Renaissance Gothic of Venice depends upon these balls for effect, a late capital being generally composed merely of an upper and lower range of leaves terminating in this manner.

It is very singular and notable how, in this loss of *temperance*,¹ there is loss of *life*. For truly healthy and living leaves do not bind themselves into knots at the extremities. They bend, and wave, and nod, but never curl. It is in disease, or in death, by blight, or frost, or poison only, that leaves in general assume this ingathered form. It is the flame of autumn that has shrivelled them, or the web of the caterpillar that has bound them: and thus the last forms of the Venetian leafage set forth the fate of the Venetian pride; and, in their utmost luxuriance and abandonment, perish as if eaten of worms.

And now, by glancing back to Plate 10, Vol. II., the reader will see in a moment the kind of evidence which is found of the date of capitals in their profiles merely. Observe, we have seen that the treatment of the leaves in the Madonnetta House seemed "indicative of a tendency to transition."² Note their profile, 1 *a*, and its close correspondence with 1 *h*, which is actually of a transitional capital from the upper arcade of second-order windows in the Apostoli Palace; yet both shown to be very close to the Byzantine Period, if not belonging to it, by their fellowship with the profile *i*, from the Fondaco de' Turchi. Then note the close correspondence of all the other profiles in that line, which belong to the concave capitals or plinths of the Byzantine palaces, and note their composition, the abacus being, in idea, merely an echo or reduplication of the capital itself; as seen in perfect simplicity in the profile *f*, which is a roll under a *tall* concave curve forming the bell of the capital, with a roll and *short* concave curve for its abacus. This peculiar abacus is an unfailing test of early date; and our finding this simple profile used for the Ducal Palace, (*f*), is strongly confirmatory of all our former conclusions.

Then the next row, 2, are the Byzantine and early Gothic semi-convex curves, in their pure forms, having no roll below; but often with a roll added, as at *f*, and in certain early Gothic conditions curiously fused into it, with a cavetto between, as *b*, *c*, *d*. But the more archaic form is at *f* and *k*; and as these two profiles are from the Ducal Palace and Piazzetta shafts, they join again with the rest of the evidence of their early date. The profiles *i* and *k* are both most beautiful; *i* is that of the great capitals of the Ducal Palace, and the small profiles between it and *k* are the varieties used on the fillet at its base. The profile *i* should have had leaves springing from it, as 1 *h* has, only more boldly, but there was no room for them.

The reader cannot fail to discern at a glance the fellowship of the whole series of profiles, 2 *a* to *k*, nor can he but with equal ease observe a marked difference in 4 *d* and 4 *e* from any others in the plate; the bulging outlines of leafage being indicative of the luxuriant and flowing masses, no longer expressible with a simple line, but to be considered only as confined within it,

¹ [See above, pp. 6–7, and Plate 1.]

² [See above, p. 277.]

of the later Gothic. Now *d* is a dated profile from the tomb of St. Isidore,¹ 1355, which by its dog-tooth abacus and heavy leafage distinguishes itself from all the other profiles, and therefore throws them back into the first half of the century. But, observe, it still retains the noble swelling root. This character soon after vanishes; and, in 1380, the profile *e*, at once heavy, feeble, and ungraceful, with a meagre and valueless abacus hardly discernible, is characteristic of all the capitals of Venice.

Note, finally, this contraction of the abacus. Compare 4 *c*, which is the earliest form in the plate, from Murano, with 4 *e*, which is the latest. The other profiles show the gradual process of change; only observe, in 3 *a* the abacus is not drawn; it is so bold that it would not come into the plate without reducing the bell curve to too small a scale.

So much for the evidence derivable from the capitals; we have next to examine that of the archivolts or arch mouldings.

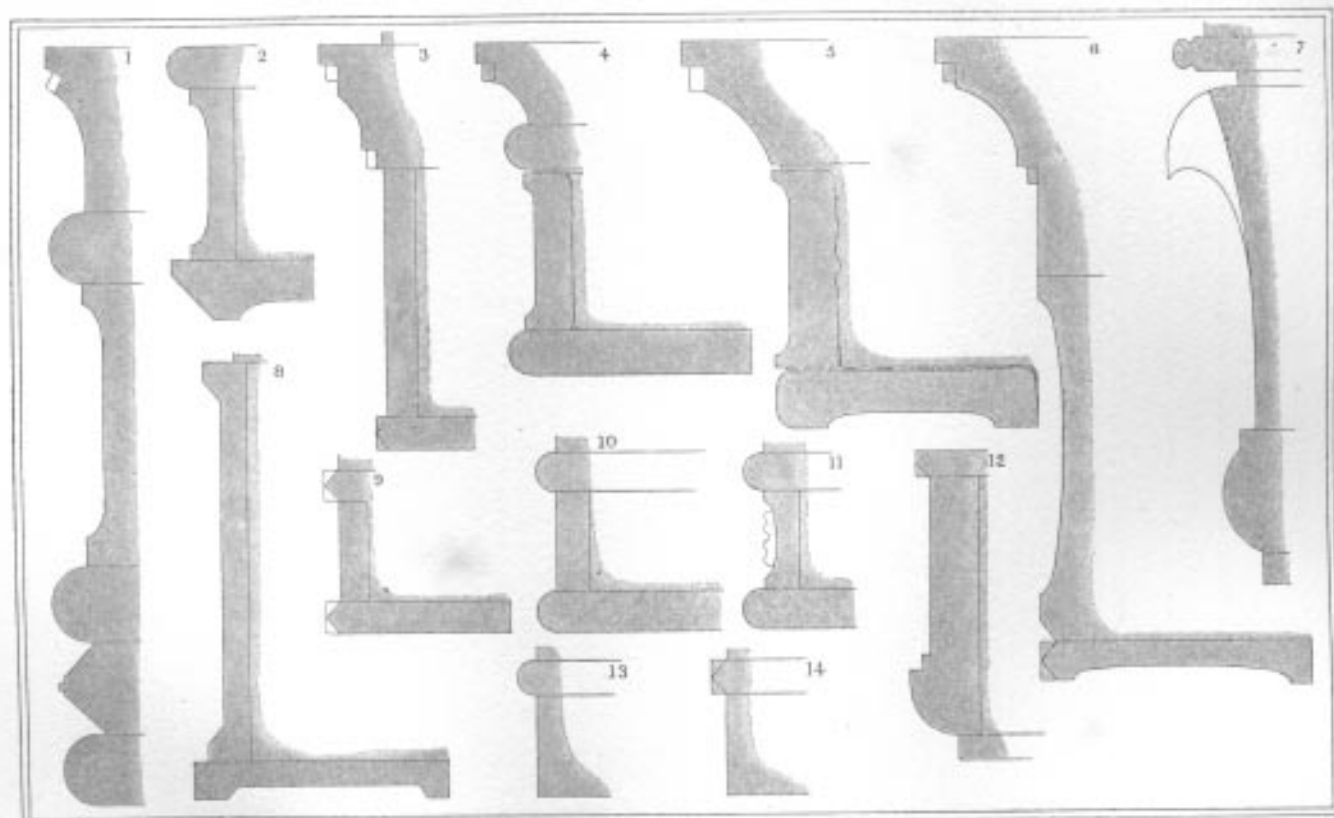
(iv.) ARCHIVOLTS²

In Plate 8, opposite, are arranged in one view all the conditions of Byzantine archivolt employed in Venice, on a large scale. It will be seen in an instant that there can be no mistaking the manner of their masonry. The soffit of the arch is the horizontal line at the bottom of all these profiles, and each of them (except 13, 14) is composed of two slabs of marble, one for the soffit, another for the face of the arch; the one on the soffit is worked on the edge into a roll (fig. 10) or dentil (fig. 9), and the one on the face is bordered on the other side by another piece let edgeways into the wall, and also worked into a roll or dentil: in the richer archivolts a cornice is added to this roll, as in figs. 1 and 4, or takes its place, as in figs. 1, 3, 5, and 6; and in such richer examples the facestone, and often the soffit, are sculptured, the sculpture being cut into their surfaces, as indicated in fig. 11. The concavities cut in the facestones of 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, are all indicative of sculpture in effect like that of Fig. 26, p. 293, Vol. II., of which archivolt fig. 5 here is the actual profile. The following are the references to the whole:

1. Rio Foscari House.
2. Terraced House, entrance door.
3. Small porticos of St. Mark's, external arches.
4. Arch on the canal at Ponte St. Toma.
5. Arch of Corte del Remer.
- PLATE 8, 6. Great outermost archivolt of central door, St. Mark's.
- Vol. III. 7. Inner archivolt of southern porch of St. Mark's facade.
8. Inner archivolt of central entrance, St. Mark's.
9. Fondaco de' Turchi, main arcade.
10. Byzantine restored house on Grand Canal, lower arcade.
11. Terraced House, upper arcade.
12. Inner archivolt of northern porch of facade, St. Mark's
- 13 and 14. Transitional forms.

¹ [See below, Appendix 11, § 9, pp. 299, 300.]

² [For a previous reference to this section of the appendix, see in the preceding volume, p. 303.]



There is little to be noted respecting these forms, except that, in fig. 1, the two lower rolls, with the angular projections between, represent the fall of the mouldings of two proximate arches on the abacus of the bearing shaft; their two cornices meeting each other, and being gradually narrowed into the little angular intermediate piece, their sculptures being slurred into the contracted space, a curious proof of the earliness of the work. The real archivolt moulding is the same as fig. 4 *c c*, including only the midmost of the three rolls in fig. 1.

It will be noticed that 2, 5, 6, and 8 are sculptured on the soffits as well as the faces; 9 is the common profile of arches decorated only with coloured marble, the facestone being coloured, the soffit white. The effect of such a moulding is seen in the small windows at the right hand of Fig. 26, p. 293, Vol. II.

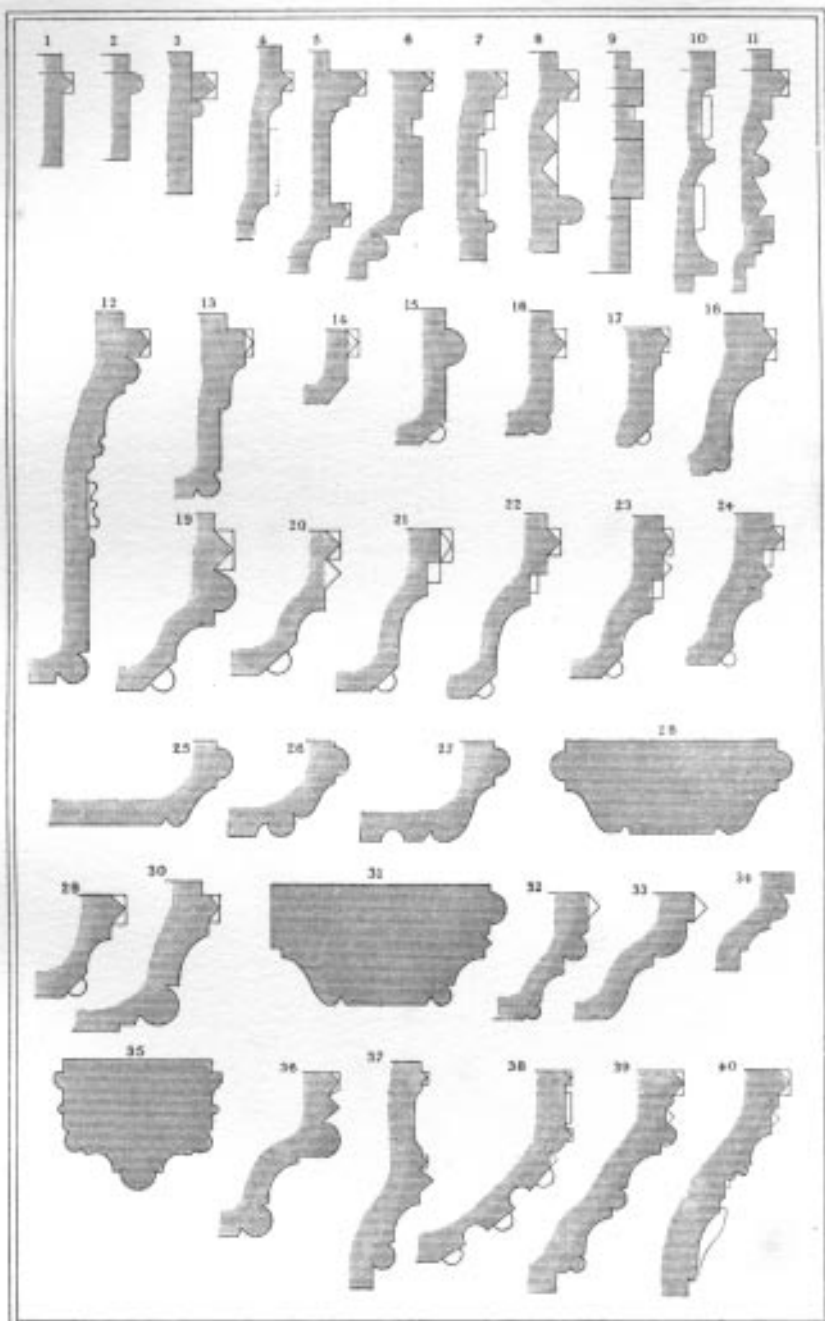
The reader will now see that there is but little difficulty in identifying Byzantine work, the archivolt mouldings being so similar among themselves, and so unlike any others. We have next to examine the Gothic forms.

Figs. 13 and 14 in Plate 8 represent the first brick mouldings of the transitional period, occurring in such instances as Fig. 23 or Fig. 33, Vol. II. (the soffit stone of the Byzantine mouldings being taken away), and this profile, translated into solid stone, forms the almost universal moulding of the windows of the second order. These two brick mouldings are repeated, for the sake of comparison, at the top of Plate 9 opposite; and the upper range of mouldings which they commence, in that plate, are the brick mouldings of Venice in the early Gothic period. All the forms below are in stone; and the moulding 2, translated into stone, forms the universal archivolt of the early pointed arches of Venice, and windows of second and third orders. The moulding 1 is much rarer, and used for the most part in doors only.

The reader will see at once the resemblance of character in the various flat brick mouldings, 3 to 11. They belong to such arches as 1 and 2 in Plate 17, Vol. II.; or 6 *b*, 6 *c*, in Plate 14, Vol. II., 7 and 8 being actually the mouldings of those two doors; the whole group being perfectly defined, and separate from all the other Gothic work in Venice, and clearly the result of an effort to imitate, in brickwork, the effect of the flat sculptured archivolts of the Byzantine times. (See Vol. II. Chap. VII. § 37.)

Then comes the group 14 to 18 in stone, derived from the mouldings 1 and 2; first by truncation, 14; then by beading the truncated angle, 15, 16. The occurrence of the profile 16 in the three beautiful windows represented in the uppermost figure of Plate 18, Vol. II., renders that group of peculiar interest, and is strong evidence of its antiquity. Then a cavetto is added, 17; first shallow and then deeper, 18, which is the common archivolt moulding of the central Gothic door and window; but, in the windows of the early fourth order, this moulding is complicated by various additions of dog-tooth mouldings under the dentil, as in 20; or the *gabled* dentil (see fig. 20, Plate 9, opposite p. 319, Vol. I.), as fig. 21; or both, as figs. 23, 24. All these varieties expire in the advanced period, and the established moulding for windows is 29. The intermediate group, 25 to 28, I found only in the high windows of the third order in the Ducal Palace, or in the Chapter-house of the Frari, or in the arcades of the Ducal Palace; the great outside lower arcade of the Ducal Palace has the profile 31, the left-hand side being the innermost.

Now, observe, all these archivolts, without exception, assume that the



spectator looks from the outside only: none are complete on both sides; they are essentially *window* mouldings, and have no resemblance to those of our perfect Gothic arches prepared for traceries. If they were all completely drawn in the plate, they should be as fig. 25, having a great depth of wall behind the mouldings, but it was useless to represent this in every case. The Ducal Palace begins to show mouldings on both sides, 28, 31; and 35 is a *complete* arch moulding from the apse of the Frari. That moulding, though so perfectly developed, is earlier than the Ducal Palace, and, with other features of the building, indicates the completeness of the Gothic system, which made the architect of the Ducal Palace found his work principally upon that church.¹

The other examples in this plate show the various modes of combination employed in richer archivolts. The triple change of slope in 38 is very curious. The references are as follows:

1. Transitional to the second order.
2. Common second order.
3. Brick, at Corte del Forno, round arch.
4. Door at San Giovanni Grisostomo.
5. Door at Sotto Portico della Stua.
6. Door in Campo St. Luca, of rich brickwork.
7. Round door at Fondamenta Venier.
8. Pointed door. Fig. 6 c, Plate 14, Vol. II.
9. Great pointed arch, Salizzada San Lio.
10. Round door near Fondaco de' Turchi.
11. Door with Lion, at Ponte della Corona.
12. San Gregorio, facade.
13. St. John and Paul, nave.
14. Rare early fourth order, at San Cassan.
15. General early Gothic archivolt.
16. Same from door in Rio San G. Grisostomo.
17. Casa Vittura.
18. Casa Sagredo, unique thirds. Page 299, Vol. II.
19. Murano Palace, unique fourths.*
20. Pointed door of Four-Evangelist House.†
21. Keystone door in Campo St. M. Formosa.
22. Rare fourths, at St. Pantaleon.
23. Rare fourths, Casa Papadopoli.
24. Rare fourths, Chess house.‡
25. Thirds of Frari Cloister.

PLATE 9
Vol. III.

* Close to the bridge over the main channel through Murano is a massive foursquare Gothic palace, containing some curious traceries, and many *unique* transitional forms of window, among which these windows of the fourth order occur, with a roll within their dentil band.

† Thus, for the sake of convenience, we may generally call the palace with the emblems of the Evangelists on its spandrils, p. 309, Vol. II.

‡ The house with chequers like a chess-board on its spandrils, given in my folio work.²

¹ [See Vol. X. pp. liii., 272, 299.]

² [A house in the Campo Santa Margherita: see Plate 11 in the *Examples*, p. 341.]

- PLATE 9,
Vol. III.
26. Great pointed arch of Frari Cloister.
 27. Unique thirds, Ducal Palace.
 28. Inner cortile, pointed arches, Ducal Palace.
 29. Common fourth and fifth order archivolt.
 30. Unique thirds, Ducal Palace.
 31. Ducal Palace, lower arcade.
 32. Casa Priuli, arches in the inner court.
 33. Circle above the central window, Ducal Palace.
 34. Murano apse.
 35. Acute-pointed arch, Frari.
 36. Door of Accademia delle belle Arti.
 37. Door in Calle Tiozzi, near Four-Evangelist House.
 38. Door in Campo San Polo.
 39. Door of palace at Ponte Marcello.
 40. Door of a palace close to the Church of the Miracoli.

(v.) CORNICES

Plate 10 represents, in one view, the cornices or string-courses of Venice, and the abaci of its capitals, early and late; these two features being inseparably connected, as explained at p. 147, Vol. I.

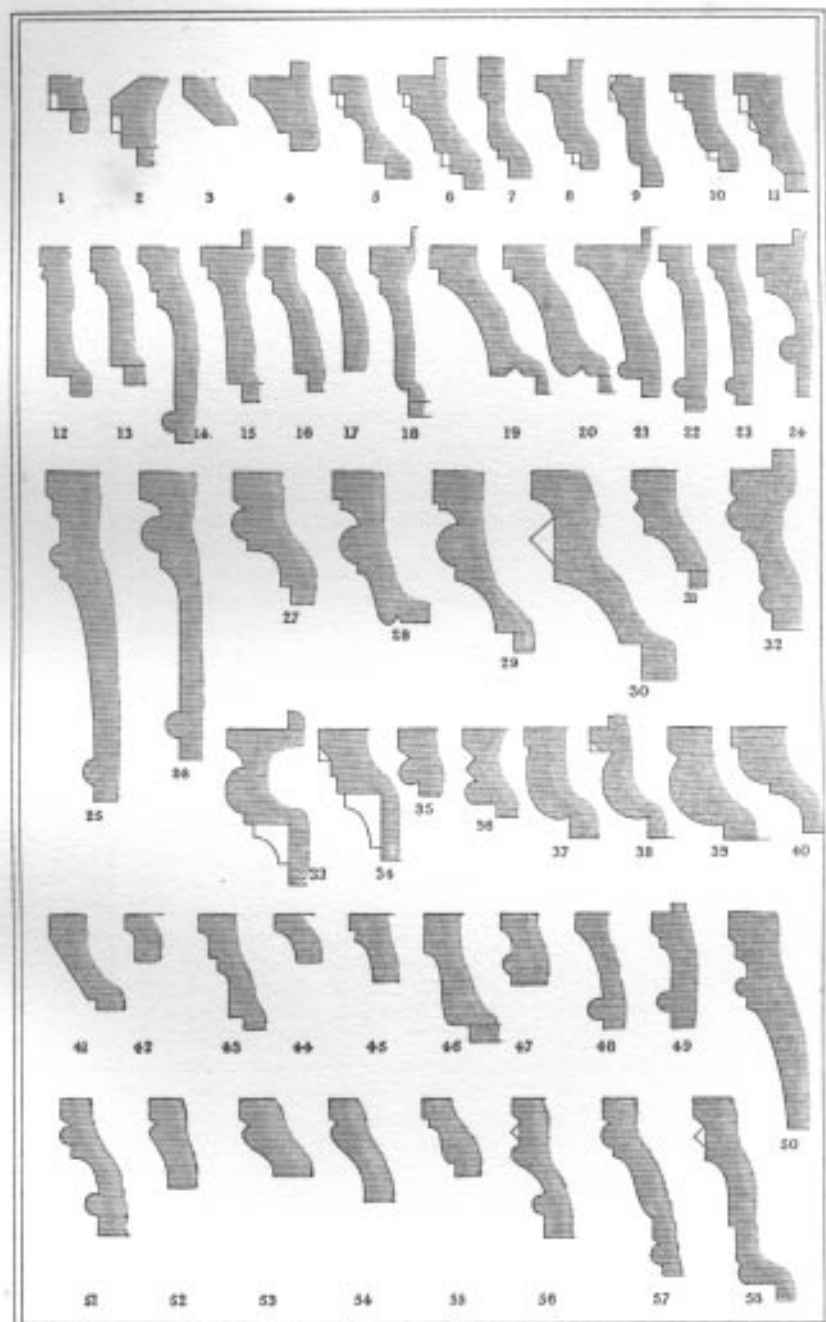
The evidence given by these mouldings is exceedingly clear. The two upper lines in the Plate, 1–11, 12–24, are all plinths from Byzantine buildings. The reader will at once observe their unmistakable resemblances. The row 41 to 50 are contemporary abaci of capitals; 52, 53, 54, 56, are examples of late Gothic abaci; and observe, especially, these are all rounded at the *top* of the cavetto, but the Byzantine abaci are rounded, if at all, at the *bottom* of the cavetto (see 7, 8, 9, 10, 20, 28, 46). Consider what a valuable test of date this is, in any disputable building.

Again, compare 28, 29, one from St. Mark's, the other from the Ducal Palace, and observe the close resemblance, giving further evidence of early date in the palace.

25 and 50 are drawn to the same scale. The former is the wall-cornice, the latter the abacus of the great shafts, in the Casa Loredan; the one passing into the other, as seen in Fig. 28, p. 149, Vol. I. It is curious to watch the change in proportion, while the moulding, all but the lower roll, remains the same.

The following are the references:

- PLATE 10,
Vol. III.
1. Common plinth of St. Mark's.
 2. Plinth above lily capitals, St. Mark's.
 - 3, 4. Plinths in early surface Gothic.
 5. Plinth of door in Campo St. Luca.
 6. Plinth of treasury door, St. Mark's.
 7. Archivolts of nave, St. Mark's.
 8. Archivolts of treasury door, St. Mark's.
 9. Moulding of circular window in St. John and Paul.
 10. Chief decorated narrow plinth, St. Mark's.
 11. Plinth of door, Campo St. Margherita.
 12. Plinth of tomb of Doge Vital Falier.
 13. Lower plinth, Fondaco de' Turchi, and Terraced House.



14. Running plinth of Corte del Remer.
15. Highest plinth at top of Fondaco de' Turchi.
16. Common Byzantine plinth.
17. Running plinth of Casa Falier.
18. Plinth of arch at Ponte St. Toma.
- 19, 20, 21. Plinths of tomb of Doge Vital Falier.
22. Plinth of window in Calle del Pistor.
23. Plinth of tomb of Dogaressa Vital Michele.
24. Archivolt in the Frari.
25. Running plinth, Casa Loredan.
26. Running plinth, under pointed arch, in Salizzada San Lio
27. Running plinth, Casa Erizzo.
28. Circles in portico of St. Mark's.
29. Ducal Palace cornice, lower arcade.
30. Ducal Palace cornice, upper arcade.
31. Central Gothic plinth.
32. Late Gothic plinth.
33. Late Gothic plinth, Casa degli Ambasciatori.
34. Later Gothic plinth, palace near the Jesuiti.
- 35, 36. Central balcony cornice.
- PLATE Vol. III. 10,37. Plinth of St. Mark's balustrade.
38. Cornice of the Frari, in brick, cabled.
39. Central balcony plinth.
40. Uppermost cornice, Ducal Palace.
41. Abacus of lily capitals, St. Mark's.
42. Abacus, Fondaco de' Turchi.
43. Abacus, large capital of Terraced House.
44. Abacus, Fondaco de' Turchi.
45. Abacus, Ducal Palace, upper arcade.
46. Abacus, Corte del Remer.
47. Abacus, small pillars, St. Mark's pulpit.
48. Abacus, Murano and Torcello.
49. Abacus, Casa Farsetti.
50. Abacus, Casa Loredan, lower story.
51. Abacus, Capitals of Frari.
52. Abacus, Casa Cavalli (plain).
53. Abacus, casa Priuli (flowered).
54. Abacus, Casa Foscari (plain).
55. Abacus, Casa Priuli (flowered).
56. Abacus, Plate 2, fig. 15.
57. Abacus, St. John and Paul.
58. Abacus, St. Stefano.

It is only farther to be noted, that these mouldings are used, in various proportions, for all kinds of purposes: sometimes for true cornices; sometimes for window-sills; sometimes, 3 and 4 (in the Gothic time) especially, for dripstones of gables: 11 and such others form little plinths or abaci at the spring of arches, such as those shown at *a*, Fig. 23, p. 282, Vol. II. Finally, a large number of superb Byzantine cornices occur, of the form shown at the top of the arch in Plate 5, Vol. II., having a profile like 16 or 19 here; with nodding leaves of acanthus thrown out from it, being, in fact, merely one

range of the leaves of a Byzantine capital unwrapped, and formed into a continuous line. I had prepared a large mass of materials for the illustration of these cornices, and the Gothic ones connected with them; but found the subject would take up another volume, and was forced, for the present, to abandon it.¹ The lower series of profiles, 7 to 12 in Plate 15, Vol. I., shows how the leaf-ornament is laid on the simple early cornices.

(vi.) TRACERIES

We have only one subject more to examine, the character of the early and late tracery bars.

The reader may perhaps have been surprised at the small attention given to traceries in the course of the preceding volumes: but the reason is, that there are no *complicated* traceries at Venice belonging to the good Gothic time, with the single exception of those of the Casa Cicogna;² and the magnificent arcades of the Ducal Palace Gothic are so simple as to require little explanation.

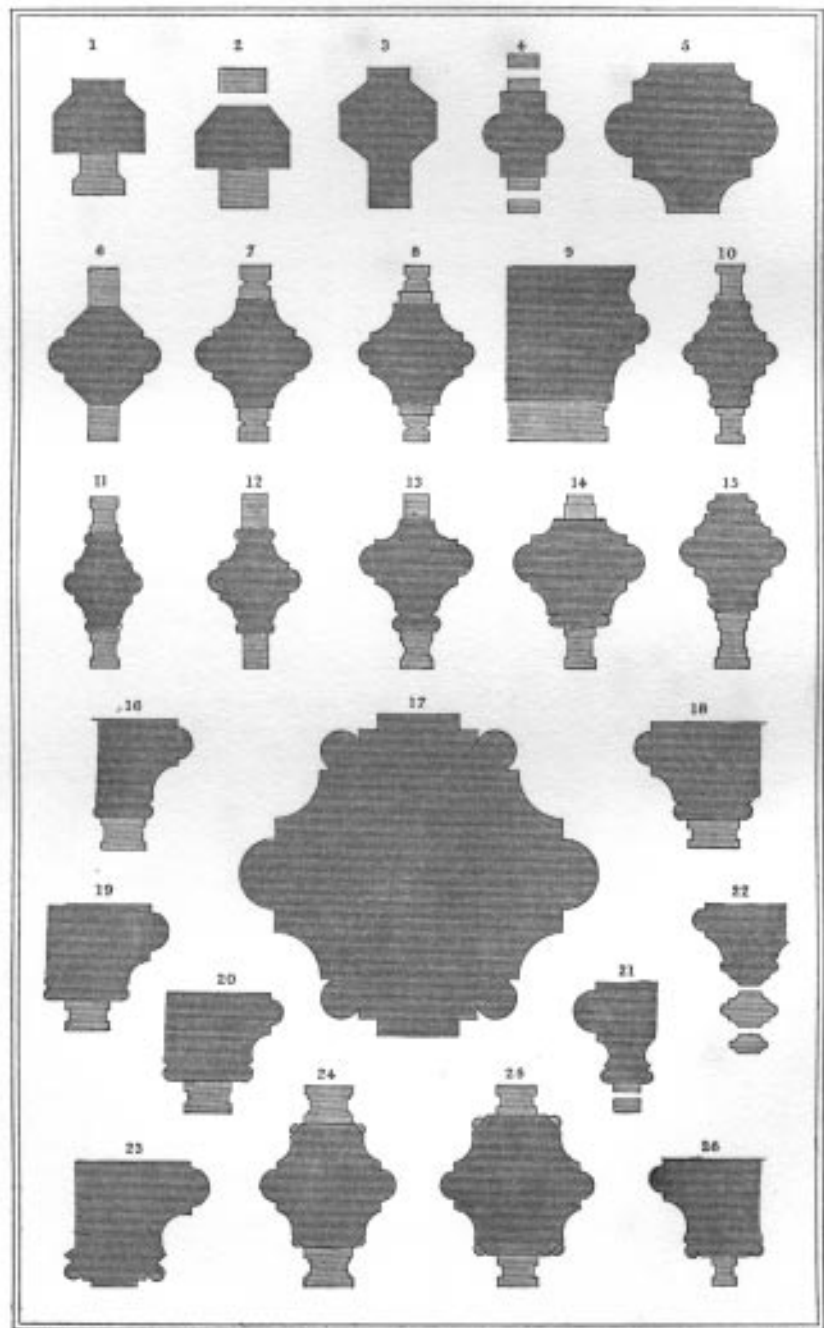
There are, however, two curious circumstances in the later traceries; the first, that they are universally considered by the builder (as the old Byzantines considered sculptured surfaces of stone) as material out of which a certain portion is *to be cut*, to fill his window. A fine Northern Gothic tracery is a complete and systematic arrangement of arches and foliation, *adjusted* to the form of the window; but a Venetian tracery is a piece of a larger composition, cut to the shape of the window. In the Porta della Carta, in the Church of the Madonna dell' Orto, in the Casa Bernardo on the Grand Canal, in the old Church of the Misericordia, and wherever else there are rich traceries in Venice, it will always be found that a certain arrangement of quatrefoils and other figures has been planned as if it were to extend indefinitely into miles of arcade; and out of this colossal piece of marble lace, a piece in the shape of a window is cut, mercilessly and fearlessly; whatever fragments and odd shapes of interstice, remnants of this or that figure of the divided foliation, may occur at the edge of the window, it matters not; all are cut across, and shut in by the great outer archivolt.

It is very curious to find the Venetians treating what in other countries became of so great individual importance, merely as a kind of diaper ground, like that of their chequered colours on the walls. There is great grandeur in the idea, though the system of their traceries was spoiled by it: but they always treated their buildings as masses of colour rather than of line; and the great traceries of the Ducal Palace itself are not spared any more than those of the minor palaces. They are cut off at the flanks in the middle of their quatrefoils, and the terminal mouldings take up part of the breadth of the poor half of a quatrefoil at the extremity.

One other circumstance is notable also. In good Northern Gothic the tracery bars are of a constant profile, the same on both sides; and if the plan of the tracery leaves any interstices so small that there is not room for the full profile of the tracery bar all round them, those interstices are entirely closed, the tracery bars being supposed to have met each other. But in Venice, if an

¹ [This further material, again, was never published.]

² [See Vol. X. p. 309.]



interstice becomes anywhere inconveniently small, the tracery bar is sacrificed, cut away, or in some way altered in profile, in order to afford more room for the light, especially in the early traceries, so that one side of a tracery bar is often quite different from the other. For instance, in the bars 1 and 2, Plate 11, from the Frari and St. John and Paul, the uppermost side is towards a great opening, and there was room for the bevel or slope to the cusp; but in the other side the opening was too small, and the bar falls vertically to the cusp. In 5 the uppermost side is to the narrow aperture, and the lower to the small one; and in fig. 9, from the Casa Cicogna, the uppermost side is to the apertures of the tracery, the lowermost to the arches beneath, the great roll following the design of the tracery; while 13 and 14 are left without the roll at the base of their cavettos on the uppermost sides, which are turned to narrow apertures. The earliness of the Casa Cicogna tracery is seen in a moment by its being moulded on the face only. It is in fact nothing more than a series of quatrefoiled apertures in the solid wall of the house, with mouldings on their faces, and magnificent arches of pure pointed fifth order sustaining them below.

The following are the references to the figures in the plate:

1. Frari.
2. Apse, St. John and Paul.
3. Frari.
4. Ducal Palace, inner court, upper window.
5. Madonna dell' Orto.
6. St. John and Paul.
7. Casa Bernardo.
8. Casa Contarini Fasan.
9. Casa Cicogna.
- 10, 11. Frari.
12. Murano Palace (see note, p. 281).
- PLATE 11, 13. Misericordia.
- Vol. III. 14. Palace of the younger Foscari.*
15. Casa d' Oro; great single windows.
16. Hotel Danieli.
17. Ducal Palace.
18. Casa Erizzo, on Grand Canal.
19. Main story, Casa Cavalli.
20. Younger Foscari.
21. Ducal Palace, traceried windows.
22. Porta della Carta.
23. Casa d' Oro.
24. Casa d' Oro, upper story.
25. Casa Facanon.
26. Casa Cavalli, near Post-Office.

It will be seen at a glance that, except in the very early fillet traceries of the Frari and St. John and Paul, Venetian work consists of roll traceries of one general pattern. It will be seen also, that 10 and 11 from the Frari,

* The palace next the Casa Foscari, on the Grand Canal, sometimes said to have belonged to the son of the Doge.

furnish the first examples of the form afterwards completely developed in 17, the tracery bar of the Ducal Palace; but that this bar differs from them in greater strength and squareness, and in adding a recess between its smaller roll and the cusp. Observe, that this is done for strength chiefly; as in the contemporary tracery (21) of the upper windows, no such additional thickness is used.

Figure 17 is slightly inaccurate. The little curved recesses behind the smaller roll are not equal on each side; that next the cusp is smallest, being about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch, while that next the cavetto is about $\frac{7}{8}$; to such an extent of subtlety did the old builders carry their love of change.

The return of the cavetto in 21, 23, and 26 is comparatively rare, and is generally as sign of later date.

The reader must observe that the great sturdiness of the form of the bars, 5, 9, 17, 24, 25, is a consequence of the peculiar office of Venetian traceries in supporting the mass of the buildings above, already noticed at p. 279 of Vol. II.; and indeed the forms of the Venetian Gothic are, in many other ways, influenced by the difficulty of obtaining stability on sandy foundations. One thing is especially noticeable in all their arrangements of traceries; namely, the endeavour to obtain equal and horizontal pressure along the whole breadth of the building, not the divided and local pressures of Northern Gothic.

This object is considerably aided by the structure of the balconies, which are of great service in knitting the shafts together, forming complete tie-beams of marble, as well as a kind of rivets, at their bases. For instance, at *b*, Fig. 2, is represented the masonry of the base of the upper arcade of the Ducal Palace, showing the root of one of its main shafts, with the binding balconies.

The solid stones which form the foundation are much broader than the balcony shafts, so

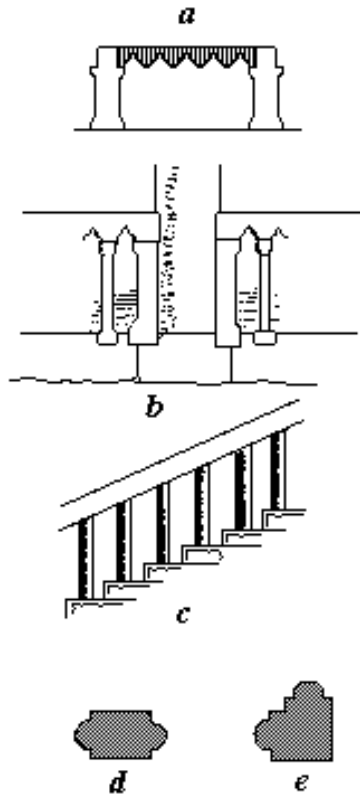


Fig. 2

that the socketed arrangement is not seen: it is shown as it would appear in a longitudinal section. The balconies are not let into the circular shafts, but fitted to their circular curves, so as to grasp them, and riveted with metal; and the bars of stone which form the tops of the balconies are of great strength and depth, the small trefoiled arches being cut out of them as in Fig. 3, so as hardly to diminish their binding power. In the lighter independent balconies they are often cut deeper; but in all cases the bar of stone is nearly independent of the small shafts placed beneath it, and would stand firm though these were removed, as at *a*, Fig. 2, supported either by the main shafts of the traceries, or by its own small pilasters with semi-shafts at their sides, of the plan *d*, Fig. 2, in a continuous balcony, and *e* at the angle of one.

There is one more very curious circumstance illustrative of the Venetian

desire to obtain horizontal pressure. In all the Gothic staircases with which I am acquainted, out of Venice, in which vertical shafts are used to support an inclined line, those shafts are connected by arches rising each above the other, with a little bracket above the capitals, on the side where it is necessary to raise the arch; or else, though less gracefully, with a longer curve to the lowest side of the arch.

But the Venetians seem to have had a morbid horror of arches which were not on a level. They could not endure the appearance of the roof of one arch bearing against the side of another; and rather than introduce the idea of obliquity into bearing curves, they abandoned the arch principle altogether: so that even in their richest Gothic staircases, where trefoiled arches, exquisitely decorated, are used on the landings, they ran the shafts on the sloping stair simply into the bar of stone above them, and used the excessively ugly and valueless arrangement *c*, Fig. 2, rather than sacrifice the sacred horizontality of their arch system.

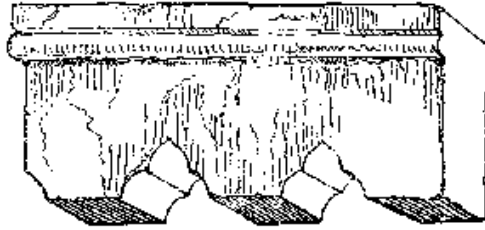


Fig. 3

It will be noted, in Plate 11, that the form and character of the tracery bars themselves are independent of the position or projection of the cusps on their flat sides. In this respect, also, Venetian traceries are peculiar, the example 22 of the Porta della Carta being the only one in the plate which is subordinated according to the Northern system. In every other case the form of the aperture is determined, either by a flat and solid cusp as in 6, or

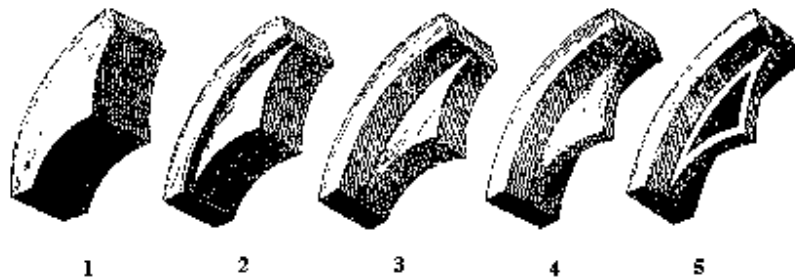


Fig. 4

by a pierced cusp as in 4. The effect of the pierced cusp is seen in Plate 18, Vol. II.; and its derivation from the solid cusp will be understood, at once, from the woodcut above, Fig. 4, which represents a series of the flanking stones of any arch of the fifth order, such as *f* in Plate 3, Vol. I.

The first on the left shows the condition of cusp in a perfectly simple and early Gothic arch, 2 and 3 are those of common arches of the fifth order, 4 is the condition in more studied examples of the Gothic advanced guard, and 5 connects them all with the system of traceries. Introducing the common

archivolt mouldings on the projecting edge of 2 and 3, we obtain the bold and deep fifth-order window, used down to the close of the fourteenth century or even later, and always grand in its depth of cusp, and consequently of shadow; but the narrow cusp 4 occurs also in very early work, and is piquant when set beneath a bold flat archivolt, as in Fig. 5, from the Corte del Forno at Santa Marina. The pierced cusp gives a peculiar lightness and brilliancy to the window, but is not so sublime. In the richer buildings the surface of the flat and solid cusp is decorated with shallow trefoil (see Plate 8, Vol. I.), or, when the cusp is small, with a triangular incision only, as seen in figs. 7 and 8, Plate 11. The recesses on the sides of the other cusps indicate their single or double lines of foliation. The cusp of the Ducal Palace has a fillet only round its edge, and a



Fig. 5

ball of red marble on its truncated point, and is perfect in its grand simplicity; but in general the cusps of Venice are far inferior to those of Verona and of the other cities of Italy, chiefly because there was always some confusion in the mind of the designer between true cusps and the mere bending inwards of the arch of the fourth order. The two series, 4 *a* to 4 *e*, and 5 *a* to 5 *e*, in Plate 14, Vol. II., are arranged so as to show this connection, as well as the varieties of curvature in the trefoiled arches of the fourth and fifth orders, which, though apparently slight on so small a scale, are of enormous importance in distant effect; a house in which the joints of the cusps project as much as in 5 *c*, being quite piquant and grotesque when compared with one in which the cusps are subdued to the form 5 *b*. 4 *d* and 4 *e* are Veronese forms, wonderfully effective and spirited; the latter occurs at Verona only, but the former at Venice also. 5 *d* occurs in Venice, but is very rare; and 5 *e* I found only once, on the narrow canal close to the entrance door of the Hotel Danieli. It was partly walled up, but I obtained leave to take down the brickwork and lay open one side of the arch, which may still be seen.

The above particulars are enough to enable the reader to judge of the distinctness of evidence which the details of Venetian architecture bear to its dates. Farther explanation of the plates would be vainly tedious: but the architect who uses these volumes in Venice will find them of value, in enabling him instantly to class the mouldings which may interest him; and for this reason I have given a larger number of examples than would otherwise have been sufficient for my purpose.

11. THE TOMBS OF VENICE

[Additional passages from the author's MSS.: see above, Introduction, pp. xv.—xvi.]

§ 1. *General Introduction*¹

THE most important and connected evidence which we possess is that furnished by the tombs of the great Venetians; and I have less hesitation in asking the reader to examine this evidence carefully, because the task of collecting it is not one of dull antiquarianism. The lessons which we may derive from a consecutive review of the series of monuments existing in the churches of St. Mark's, St. Paul, and the Frari are perhaps the most valuable—certainly the most impressive—of all that we shall find graven in *The Stones of Venice*.

These monuments have long been the objects of the curiosity of the passing traveller, but the way in which he is compelled to examine them causes him in general to forgo all useful reflection. As he passes along the aisles of the churches, monuments of every age are alternately forced upon his attention: the rude sarcophagus and simple gravestone of the warrior of the twelfth century is half hidden by the accumulated piles of fantastic sculpture which modern wealth and pride have heaped on their ignoble dead; the vision of the dark and severe Madonna of the early sepulchre passes quickly from before his eyes as the sacristan drags him to the weeping nymphs of Canova, and rolling sea-horses of Lombardi. Amidst all these confused forms he is distracted also by the call upon his admiration made in favour of pictures of every school, painted glass, and wood-work, and altars of inlaid marble—calls which it is heresy to disobey; and it is little marvel that he comes in the end to be of the sacristan's opinion, that the largest piece of sculpture is the finest, nor that he finally leaves the church with a vague impression that the dignity of a sepulchral monument depends on the number of negro servants that sustain its sarcophagus, or nondescript cetacea that plunge about its frieze.

§ 2.

I shall in the outset sketch briefly the character and course of the changes which took place in the principal features of the tombs of Venice from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, and then examine some of the more important examples in detail.

In the early periods the tombs are simple sarcophagi—very commonly set in niches of the walls of the church outside—supported on rude brackets, and bearing on their sides or covers, crosses and other symbols, or very coarse stunted figures of the Madonna, saints, or angels. Sometimes these sarcophagi have rude canopies over them, but this is more commonly the case in the other cities of Italy than in Venice. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the figures carved on the sarcophagus became more important; in Venice the effigy of the deceased does not appear on the lid of it, as far as I know, till the fourteenth century. As soon as this effigy appears a canopy is added to the tomb, consisting generally of a pointed arch under a gable,

¹ [Compare ch. ii. § 46, p. 81 above.]

projecting from the wall of the church and sustained by brackets, the figures of the Madonna and saints, sometimes of Christ, retaining their former positions round the sarcophagus, and being now associated with much rich ornamental work. The effigies, which at first are painfully stiff, become very noble portraiture about the middle of the fourteenth century, but are always laid in the postures of death, the hands sometimes lifted back on the heart, as if the last act had been one of prayer, but more commonly falling simply across each other on the body. In proportion to the skill of the sculptor the ornamentation of the sarcophagus becomes more elaborate, small niches with shafts and shell vaults being gradually constructed for its saints; the canopies are also enriched and enlarged, and pinnacles are added at the flanks. This is the perfect period, uniting the most modest and pious feeling with the richest architectural decoration. From this point the decadence is continual. The first false step seems to have resulted from a reluctance to allow the portraiture of the dead, which had now become so beautiful, to be laid on the coffin or sarcophagus itself; or else, in the mere desire to obtain greater richness of effect, another support, a tablet or large bracket, is introduced for the recumbent figure, and the sarcophagus is pent lower down. The moment this is done the deathfulness of the statue is felt to be painful or unnecessary, and a likeness of the man in life is desired rather than one in death. The effigy sits up, mounts on horseback, or wears its robes of state with perennial grace; the sarcophagus, as a disagreeable object, is first covered with ornament, and at last thrust out of sight; the canopy, from a plain gable roof, expands into a classical pediment supported by mighty pillars; the Virgin and saints disappear, and are replaced by allegorical figures of Fame, the Virtues, or by Genii and the Muses—this change, observe, being at bottom not so much a transition from Gothic to Classic architecture, as from the expression of trust in God to the expression of the pride of man. Exactly in proportion to the increase of this pride, the idea of death becomes dreadful; at last it is banished altogether, and the monument becomes a colossal piece of fantastic portrait painting, in which the deceased is represented as in life, surrounded by every circumstance that can be suggested by flattery or arrogated by insolence.

§ 3. *The Doge Vitale Falier* (A.D. 1096: St. Mark's)

Let us then first enter the Atrium of St. Mark's by the central porch, and turning round when we have entered, so as to look out towards St. Mark's Place, we shall see in the dark spaces of wall, on the right and left of the doorway, two rude but rich shrines built in recesses so as to recall to the mind some images of the rock tombs of Petra.¹ These are the two earliest mediæval

¹ [The capital city of the Nabatæns, on the site of the modern Wády Músá in the mountains which form the eastern wall of the great valley between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba. Its ruins, hewn out of the rose-coloured limestone, are described in Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* and in Dean Burgon's poem:—

“The hues of youth upon a brow of woe,
Which man deemed old two thousand years ago,
Match me such marvel save in Eastern clime,
A rose-red city half as old as Time.”]

tombs in Venice, different in their treatment from all others; their architecture belongs entirely to the first or Byzantine period. Had any other similar ones existed, it might have been better to have undertaken the consideration of them earlier; but as these are the only two examples belonging to this period, I have thought it best to embrace the entire sepulchral architecture of Venice in one view.

In the sketch of the history of St. Mark's the reader has already been made acquainted¹ with the singular tradition of the recovery of the lost remains of the titular saint by the Doge Vital Faliero. They are the tombs of that doge and of his dogressa before which we are now standing, but in order that we may regard them with interest it is necessary that we should know something more authentic concerning him than what is reported of the efficacy of his prayers in cleaving alabaster.

Filiasi closes his careful investigation of the history of the *Primi e Secondi Veneti* at the period of this doge's death (1096) as being exactly the point at which Venetian history, losing its contradictory and doubtful character, requires his accuracy of research no longer. But assuredly, up to this point the seamist rests obstinately upon the forms of things far away. The Greek and Norman accounts of the war which preceded the reign of Vital Faliero are widely at variance; and the mode in which that doge achieved the throne, as well as the prevailing policy of his reign and character of the man himself, are equally the subjects of contradictory statements and beliefs. But this much is certain, that in the close of the preceding reign of the Doge Selvo the Venetians, allied with the Byzantines, had sustained a terrible defeat from the Norman navy, and that the indignation of the people against their doge rose to such a height as to compel him to abdicate and retire to a monastery. It is said by some that the popular anger was in great part stirred up by the machinations of Vital Faliero, who had hopes of the throne. But the feelings of a mob are not so rational or so connected as to permit any one to trace clearly the sources of their excitement.* The Doge Selvo had not commanded the fleet, and was therefore guiltless of its defeat; and we may hope that Faliero had as little share in the increase, as Selvo in the cause, of the popular clamour.² Be this as it may, Selvo was deposed and Faliero elected, who, quickly fitting out another fleet, larger than that which had been lost, attacked the Normans, under Robert Guiscard, on the coast of Corfu and entirely defeated them.† Robert soon after died in besieging Cephalonia, and the Norman power in the East was entirely broken. I bring these circumstances before the reader, because it is necessary that he should remember what strict friendship there was at this period between the Greeks and Byzantines, as he examines the tomb of Faliero. It is reported by Anna Commena that Guiscard tortured many of his prisoners, but offered immunity to others if they would enter into his service, and that they replied, "Though the Norman duke were to slay

* The accusation against Faliero is brought by Andrea Dandolo—otherwise it would not deserve mention.

† Filiasi, vol. vi. ch. xxix., following the account of Anna Commena.

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 75.]

² [For the history of the Doge Domenico Selvo (reigned 1071–1085) and his campaign against the Normans under Robert Guiscard, see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 79 seq.]

their sons and their wives before their eyes, they would not, to save them, break their faith with the Greek emperor." The story may or may not be true, but its relation by the Princess proves the tone of feeling which characterized the intercourse between the two nations.

Many privileges were granted by the Greek emperor to the Venetians after this victory, especially the immunity in all towns in his dominions from customs and taxes of whatever kind; so that we may date a vast increase in the extent of Venetian commerce from this victory of Faliero's. A scarcely less important favour, and one still more gratifying to the Venetian pride, was the command that all the citizens of Amalfi,* who occupied any magazines, warehouses, or shops in any city of the Greek dominions, should pay each man three "iperperi"¹ to the church of St. Mark at Venice every year. To these and other substantial advantages the emperor added some vain Greek title of honour, to be borne by the doge and the patriarch of Grado.²

[An incomplete passage follows, giving further historical notes on the Doge's reign.]

Both the tombs are formed [reference to intended plate] of six panels between three pillars; but in the dogaressa's tomb (on the right of the door, looking out) the shafts have all the convex, flattish, richly-carved Byzantine capitals in white marble, carried—the two midmost ones—by circular shafts of gray marble with *red* bases of the profile [another similar reference] highly curious and rude.³

§ 4. *Arnoldo Tentonino* (A.D. 1300: Frari)⁴

We must now surrender the time necessary for the somewhat long trajet to the church of the Frari. Resolutely resisting the temptations which nearly every object in that church holds out to us, we will go straight to the south transept, and into the middle chapel of the three small ones which face us, on the right of the choir. † Some twenty feet above our heads, on each side of us, a Gothic tomb is attached to the walls; set so high indeed that the hasty visitor hardly raises his head to look at either of them, and in the ordinary Venetian guide-books they are not even so much as named. They are, nevertheless, of all the tombs in the church, those which best deserve our regard.

That on our left as we enter in, on the northern wall, is the earliest, and

* For riches of Amalfi at this time, *vide* Filiasi, i. 381, 382.

† The entire east end of the church is formed by seven chapels, counting the choir as one. We enter the second of these, counting from right to left (or from south to north).

¹ [The hyperperum is defined in the documents as equal to "trees solidos argenteos."]

² [The title was "Imperial Protosebastos." Particulars of the Golden Bull of the Emperor Alexius, whereby these privileges and dignities were conferred on the Venetians, may be read in ch. iii. of F. C. Hodgson's *Early History of Venice* (1901).]

³ [Some details from these tombs are given in Plate 10; see above, pp. 282, 283.]

⁴ [This is the tomb already more briefly described, as that of a nameless knight, in ch. ii. § 57: see above, p. 91.]

must be first examined. It is said by the Marchese Selvatico—on the authority, I believe, of an inscription which, as usual in Venice, is to be seen no more—to be that of a knight named Arnolfo Tentonino, who died in 1300. The general effect of this tomb, as it is seen by looking up at it steeply from below (the only possible way of seeing it in general), is given in Plate—[reference to intended illustration]. The reader will see in a moment that it is the *simplest possible* type of the Perfect Tomb, described above as composed of the sarcophagus, statue, and canopy. The sarcophagus is a plain oblong, not even divided into the double panel, but charged with eight shields, and surrounded by a dentiled moulding. Two shafts, one on each side of it, sustain its canopy—a low pointed arch, surmounted by the knight's crest. There are no crockets, no pinnacles, no brackets even, beneath the sarcophagus; nothing but the members absolutely necessary, and those in their broadest and simplest form. But the way in which the few and bold divisions of the design are relieved and enriched by their decoration is in the highest degree instructive.

But before coming to these let the reader observe for a moment how the generalizations at which we arrived in the first volume include, as it was promised they should, all good architecture of all time. The type of aperture protection given in fig. 49¹ presupposed the apprehension of rain, and therefore the sharp gable is used above the pointed arch; but as in the sepulchral monument within the church we are under no fear of rain, we remove the unnecessary gable and foliations, leaving only the pointed arch, which is at once the strongest and simplest form in which we can build our canopy; and for the short bracket, which would not completely shelter the sides of the sarcophagus, we substitute the bracket *d*, fig. 39, p. 196, and we have our Arnolfo tomb. I wish it were possible, in as few words as are necessary to explain the construction of this monument, to give the reader an idea of its beautiful feeling.

I do not know any other tomb in Venice of which the conception is so beautiful; of its execution I find it exceedingly difficult to arrive at a just estimate. Examined close, the sculpture, both of the knight's countenance and of the St. Joseph, is utterly hard and cold; and it appears rash to assume that the perfect effect which, in spite of this, the monument possesses, when seen at the right distance, was calculated upon with absolute precision by its sculptor. Something is to be allowed for the obscurity of the chapel, and for the mystery with which the fading colours which once illuminated, have now veiled, the arch of the tomb itself. But I never yet saw a design, essentially poor or mean, rendered impressive or sublime by distance; and the outlines of the breast and body are so thoroughly fine, lines which in monuments of this early date nearly always show failure of power, that I believe we should be unjust in attributing the harshness of the features altogether to the sculptor's incapability. Even if it were so, the skill of the treatment, both of the larger lines and of the flower mouldings, alone renders this monument an example of sculptural execution not a little extraordinary at the period, and of which our estimate will increase continually as we examine the working of the several parts more closely. [A description of various architectural details follows, not intelligible without the intended illustrations.] The ornament, as above

¹ [Vol. IX. p. 236, of this edition.]

noticed, is terminated at the apex of the arch by a lion's head, out of the mouth of which the branches spring, and the whole is crowned by the shield, helmet, and dog crest of the knight.

It was before mentioned that some of the charm of this tomb was owing to the sadness of its faded colours. The shields have all had their bearings painted; exclusively painted, in every case, except that of the large one in the shadow at the knight's feet, where the bearings are also traced lightly with the chisel; the background of the arch has been deep blue, covered with stars; the soffit of the archivolt has had a rich-coloured chain of medallions. All this is now feebly traceable, and we may perhaps regret its loss; but when we examine the St. Joseph and the Infant Christ, and find that the eyes have been painted with large round irises, and the flowing drapery barred across with energetic black and white patterns, we may perhaps feel our confidence in the old artist's judgment somewhat shaken. The question of *right* is not to our present purpose, but the fact is important, that there never was a monument of a good school left without colour. Secondly, as an example of the early love of the Venetians for energetic colour effect, enforcing the law given in Chap. [iv.]¹ of the *Seven Lamps* that colour, when used, was not to follow the sculptural lines. The draperies of the St. Joseph and the Infant Son are flowing; the coloured patterns are, in the one case, sharp black diamonds on a white ground; in the other, black and white stripes crossing the folds; and the vigour with which these cross patterns have been used is as great as in any of the most piquant effects of colour of Veronese or Tintoret.

§ 5. *Giovanni Soranzo* (A.D. 1329: St. Mark's)

In the recess under the mosaic of the baptism of Christ, in the Baptistery of St. Mark's, is another plain sarcophagus, containing the ashes of a doge, Giovanni Soranzo.² The brief notice of him by Sansovino is worth translating: "A tall man, thin in the face, prudent, and exceeding crafty; and although by the showing of his external appearance he might have been thought of an indiscreet and irregular* character, yet was he, nevertheless, gentle and courteous, and much esteemed by the city. In those times there was so great plenty in the city, that with a ducat a household might be provisioned for a week." In spite of this abundance no wealth was lavished on the tomb of the doge. It has no effigy, and only three small figures on its sides—one in the centre of John the Baptist, holding the Lamb, within a circle; on each angle a bishop holding a book—all very stiff and cheaply cut, but the expression of the faces good and grave. The panel moulding [reference to intended illustration] has the simple dentil, not the gabled, but the roll at its inner angle is in a more advanced form than that of the Arnolfo or Duccio tombs; the basic plinth also [another reference]

* "Incomposta," an excellent word, not translatable.

¹ [See Vol. VIII. p. 177.]

² [Reigned 1312-1329. For the commercial prosperity of the Republic under this doge, see H. F. Brown's *Venice*, p. 187.]

is of a curiously bold and late-looking profile. The leaf plinth, on the contrary, is of a remarkably early type, occurring, I believe, for the last time in 1361, on the tomb of Peter Corner. The moulding on the Soranzo sarcophagus, differing very little from it—in the cutting of the lower lobes it is the same, and in the heavy round roses—but the Soranzo leaves are somewhat more bold in projection and sharp in the outer edge. The dentils have been gilded, the ground between them painted blue. The leaf plinth has all its flowers and leaves gilded, and the ground red; a bar of blue seems to have been struck across beneath the roots of its leaves.

§ 6. *Duccio degli Alberti* (A.D. 1336: Frari)¹

We must now return to the church of the Frari; and in the same little chapel, south of the choir which contains the beautiful tomb of Arnolfo [§ 4], but on its opposite side, we shall find a monument of little inferior interest, thus inscribed along the edge of its sarcophagus: “Hic jacet Ducius de Albertis, honorabilis civis civitatis Florentie, Ambassador in Venetiis, qui obiit anno Dⁿⁱ. MCCCXXXVI. die xxx O . . . bris”

. . . It affords considerable room for criticism. The first and most serious complaint which the spectator will be disposed to make against it is, that he cannot see the recumbent figure with any distinctness; the second, that the sarcophagus seems awkwardly fitted into the space between the pillars of its canopy; and the third, that the flower mouldings look coarse and heavy to the last degree. These deficiencies, justly complained of, have all arisen from the same cause. The sarcophagus and canopy are by different sculptors, and the one has worked with little reference to the intentions of the others. The sarcophagus and effigy are by the same hand, and that a most skilful one. But the foresight of their sculptor has not been equal to his skill. He has never calculated on the position of the tomb; and the recumbent figure, which is most carefully worked, appears from below a mere mass of confusion; while two small statues of Justice and Temperance, the latter worthy of the best Pisan masters, which stand at the angles of the sarcophagus will be thought stunted and vulgar by every spectator who has it not in his power to ascend to them. On the other hand, the workmanship of the canopy is altogether coarse and feelingless, so that the value of the monument as an example of the sculpture of the middle of the fourteenth century, depending as it does on details invisible from below, has been nearly as much overlooked as the rude merit of the tomb of Arnolfo.

I have, indeed, some reluctance in making in assertion, which the casual spectator can by no means verify, that the draperies of the effigy itself, and of the figure of Temperance on the left side of the sarcophagus, are worthy of any period of art whatsoever, and that there is nothing on the facade of the Ducal Palace which in any wise equals them in style or execution. Those of the figures of Justice and Temperance are formed on perhaps the loveliest type which can be chosen by the sculptor for female dress. A type exquisitely pure and modest, and yet showing every grace

[This tomb has already been briefly referred to: see ch. ii. §§ 58, 66, pp. 92, 98.]

of the form which can be shown without loss of dignity. Their robes are “without seam, woven from the top throughout.”¹ Drawn close at the neck, and following the lines of the body, simply and almost without folds, to a little below the waist, then expanding, and involving the limbs in delicate but deep and noble foldings. The recumbent statue, of course, wears the dress of the Florentine noble in a civil capacity, the loose birretta or cap, and flowing robe disposed with exquisite care over the limbs, and wrought out into every edge and recess of its folds with a tenderness and love, not vain, though unseen and forgotten for these five hundred years. He who worked with such faithfulness has long had his reward, and a time may yet come when his work may have influence over men.

The face of the figure, as is almost always the case with these neglected tombs, has been much injured, but it has never been equal in execution to the drapery, nor is it itself of an agreeable type. It is hard, stern, and plain featured, but, as was to be beforehand expected, much more highly finished than that of the figure of Arnolfo. The hardness of the former is that of marble, and there is no muscular marking in it of any kind; the hardness of the Duccio countenance is that of the natural features; and the outlines of the brow and cheek are well drawn, the *hair* of the eyebrow being distinctly marked—a character to be especially noticed for future comparison with the Ducal Palace sculpture.

The sarcophagus has, as in the earlier tombs, the cross between two shields; the cross enclosed in a quatrefoil of pure Gothic moulding; the shields those of the Alberti bearing a cross of chains . . . [references to intended illustrations]. The arch moulding is decorated with leaves and roses most vilely cut; one of the worst for coarseness of taste that I have ever seen, not only in Venice, but in mediæval work at all; yet in the conception of it there is evidence that the carver had seen good work, and that of an advanced type, for the leaves are represented as swelling, full and flowing; their great fault being not rigidity but clumsiness. The gable moulding is no better, but it has acorns mixed with its leaves instead of roses; and here let us pause for a moment to observe how the non-naturalism of the Southern Gothic, which began with the Greeks and descended through the Romans to the Byzantines, still appears in the Gothic of Italy in contradistinction to that of the North.

We have seen² how the acanthus leaf has gradually softened its lobe, and become a soft and somewhat flowing nondescript, easily flexible into any form which may be desired. Now in the tomb opposite us³ the leaf in a peculiarly luxuriant scroll is associated alternately with a rose and a fir cone, and in this tomb of Duccio it has in one moulding a rose, in another an acorn, introduced without the slightest intention of imitating either a wreath of rose-tree or oak, but merely for the sake of variety in the ornamental lines. [Then follow further references to intended illustrations of details, and the MS. continues:—]

In the pediment of the canopy the two shields have the bearings of Venice and Florence, the lion and lily; the circle above all has the Lamb,

¹ [John xix. 23.]

² [See above, ch. i. § 11, p. 10.]

³ [i.e. the tomb of Arnolfo, opposite to that of Duccio.]

the emblem of Christ. Now observe in what an interesting position this tomb stands as a sign of the gradual change which was about to manifest itself in religious feeling. In the earlier tombs we have had no figures introduced but those of Christ or the saints. There might be eulogy in the epitaph, but all that was expressed in the figures was trust either in Christ [or in the saints]. For the first time in this tomb we find trust expressed also in the *virtue* of the deceased, and for the Baptist and Madonna we have at the angles of the sarcophagus Justice and Temperance. These figures are still, however, altogether subordinate, and the features which attract the eye are the central cross on the sarcophagus, and the circlet with the Lamb above. We are still in a time of noble feeling, but it is interesting to note the subtle and invidious approaches of evil.

[In a note on the tomb, in his diary (1850), Ruskin remarks on the beauty of the hands, "the smallest and loveliest in veining I have seen; the countenance, as usual, death-like, but pure and fine."]

§ 7. *Andrea Morosini*¹ (A.D. 1347: SS. Giovanni e Paolo)

In the chapel next the choir, but on its northern side, in St. John and Paul, are two tombs, consisting each of a sarcophagus only, opposite each other. That on the north or left-hand side of the chapel seems to have been intended to be richer than it is now, for two large brackets are placed at its side, as if a preparation for a canopy; beneath it there is a tablet on which the name of Andrea Morosini may be traced and little more, as a confessional has been so set in front of it that hardly any light can reach it; and from below it is altogether invisible, such care have the modern Venetians for the memorials of their great ancestors. If the traveller ask the sacristan to whom this tomb belongs, he will be told, "non si sa"; and I am myself obliged to trust for the date 1347 to Selvatico, as it is indistinguishable on the stone.

In the centre of the sarcophagus is a Madonna enthroned; between two small shafts, at its angles, the Annunciation group, the angel holding a scroll, both raising the hands in the attitude of blessing, and with glories round the heads. The Madonna is one of the curious forms which has been the object of so much idolatry throughout Italy; she is giving suck to the infant Christ, who *stands* upon her knee; in form more like a boy or youth than a young child. All the figures are cut with extreme rudeness, but they are evidently formed on good models; and if the spectator will examine the angel at the angle and the figure of the infant, I believe he will come to the conclusion that their sculptor must have seen the angels at the angle of the Ducal Palace and the small figure at their feet; the correspondence in outline and gestures is so marked that it is impossible not to conclude the derivation of one from the other. It is, of course, absurd to suppose that the noble work of the Ducal Palace could have been borrowed from the rude sculpture of this unimportant tomb.

The leaf moulding of this tomb is very effective and sharp, though coarsely cut . . . [references to intended plates]. It is one of the best

¹ [Details from this tomb are given in Vol. IX. p. 375.]

dispositions of the transitional leaf, in which the swells of the lobes are polygonal, flat on the upper surface—the sculptor not yet taking the pains to round them, or perhaps thinking the edgy contours more effective in the obscurity of the under parts of the moulding, for the rounding of the upper lobes, where they curl over, is quite perfect.

The panel moulding [another reference] is like that of the Soranzo tomb, but has the gabled instead of the plain dentil—the basic plinth is [illustration] somewhat too heavy: the best parts of the sarcophagus are the two small shafts on each side of the Madonna . . . [further references to intended illustrations]. The reader will instantly appreciate the difference of style between the capitals and the severe capital of the Arnolfo tomb. The shields of this tomb are among the simplest of the Morosini bearings—the oblique bar behind the cross.

§ 8. *Marco Giustiniani* (A.D. 1347: SS. Giovanni e Paolo)

For the date of this tomb [that of Andrea Morosini] I trusted to Selvatico. One very nearly similar in design and workmanship has fortunately the date clearly inscribed. We must cross the church, to the chapel on the other side of the choir; corresponding to that which contains the Morosini tomb, and attached to its northern wall, we shall find a sarcophagus, supported by brackets, composed each of two monstrous heads. Monstrous is a gentle word to describe their intense deformity of the worst class, because without either terror or humour. They are interesting as examples of Italian effort at the grotesque, an effort which almost invariably fails except when made by the great painters. The mediæval sculptors, as compared with those of the north, are all devoid of invention, except of beauty; and the sculptor of this tomb has been incapable of conceiving the latter also. His failure is, however, greatest when he has worked on the largest scale and given his feeble fancy the hardest work; the heads are made monstrous merely by expanding noses and lips, putting on asses' ears; filling the mouths with large conical teeth and other devices, such as might occur to any idle schoolboy, but arranged with less humour or power than most schoolboys would show in a listless scrawl on a fly-leaf.

The sarcophagus has five figures; two male saints at its angles where it touches the wall, a female saint and angel placed exactly as in the Morosini tomb at the outer angles, and a Madonna in the centre. The work of these figures is worse even than that of the Morosini; the faces utterly base and lifeless; but a glance at the disposition of the draperies at the angles will show the spectator the same idea filling the sculptor's mind, of the angles at the Ducal Palace angles. And as he examines the sarcophagus farther, he will be struck by more remarkable correspondence in the floral ornamentations. He will find that all this latter is exceedingly fine; and when he compares it with that of the Morosini tomb, also, it will be remembered, excellent, he will perhaps be disposed to think both the work of men who had been employed in architectural and decorative carrying, and were just beginning to try their hand at figures; while, in portions of the ornamentation of this latter tomb, he will recognise arrangements with which he is already familiar on the

shafts of the Ducal Palace. It is most fortunate, therefore, that along the centre of its basic plinth runs the inscription in deep and bold letters:—

“M.C.C.CXLVII. DI XIV MARCII SEPULTURA D^NI. MARCI
JUSTINIANO. S. JOANNIS BRAGULE ET EO EREDUM.”

The Venetian Latin of the fourteenth century appears to have been liable to as great an occasional decadence as its sculptures, but the meaning of the legend is not ambiguous:—

“14th March, 1347. The tomb of Master Mark Justinian (Messer Marco Giustiniani would be the Italian translation), of St. John Bragola, and of his heirs.”

It is therefore worth our pains to examine the details of this tomb carefully. The inscription just quoted runs along the flat central fillet of the basic plinth, whose profile [reference to intended illustration] is remarkable for the flat extension of its upper and lower ogee curves—otherwise closely resembling the Morosini one. The panel moulding is precisely the same as that of the Morosini, having also the gabled dentil, but the panels are filled with slabs of a coarsely crystallized red granite. The leaf moulding has already been given, being valuable as a dated example, at Plate xvi. vol. i.;¹ but that drawing being worked up in London from an outline sketch is a little too finished in effect. The real moulding looks harder and simpler, and is very rigid in its polygonal folds of leaf. But the genius of the sculptor seems to have been reserved for the decoration of the lateral figures. The Madonna, curiously enough, is as simple in dress as coarse in feature, but still remarkable as answering to that of the Morosini tomb in being the adoption of a popular type. The Christ stands upon her lap; and holds in His hand two roses. A curtain is hung behind the group, which two cherubs peep over in a sufficiently ludicrous manner, another pair being introduced at the side of the throne.

The lateral figures, being destitute of such accessories, and much dependent on their dress for their interest, have had it enriched with chequering bead patterns very beautifully, and even their glories worked as they are in the illuminations of Fra Angelico; besides this, they each stand upon a little independent basic plinth, which is worked with a flat leaf ornament exactly resembling the fillets round the Ducal Palace capitals, and they have spiral shafts behind them, whose capitals are half hidden by their glories, which are richer in workmanship than any we have yet met with.

. . . [Further details follow, not intelligible without the illustrations.]

§ 9. *The Tomb of St. Isidore* (A.D. 1355: St. Mark's)²

We come now³ to the exquisite tomb of St. Isidore. The sarcophagus itself is laid under a round arched recess behind the altar, and is of workmanship so superior both to that of the ornaments of the recess itself in which it lies, and to that of all the other sepulchral monuments in Venice, that it might at first be supposed to be by the hand of a foreign master. Close examination

¹ [Vol. IX., opposite p. 365; the moulding from this tomb is figure *f* in the plate.]

² [Briefly referred to above, ch. ii. § 61, p. 95. For St. Isidore, and the bringing of his body to Venice, see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 11, 148.]

³ [*i.e.* after the tomb of Andrea Dandolo, referred to in ch. ii. § 61, pp. 94–95.]

of its ornaments has however induced me to believe that it is an extraordinary effort by the best Venetian master of the period, and that it owes its superiority to the affection and zeal with which it has been worked, not to the skill of foreign hands. One of its most remarkable features is the superiority of the flower ornamentation to the recumbent statue, the latter, though highly finished, being hard and ungraceful, in some places unnatural, in its lines. The sculptor had just arrived at the point when he could thoroughly master the disposition of the lines of vegetation, but not the more difficult contours of the human form. This circumstance is alone sufficient to distinguish it from the works of the Pisan and Florentine schools; and as the flower mouldings themselves, refined though they be, are yet entirely modelled on Venetian types, I believe we may safely consider this monument as a kind of high water-mark for Venetian sculpture in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The plan of the sarcophagus is shown [reference to an intended figure]. Being placed in a recess, it was useless to panel the sides; indeed the darkness of the chapel is so great that it is almost impossible to see even the front.

The three projecting portions are each wrought into a square-headed niche, with a shell lightly traced on the back of it behind the horizontal lintel, this lintel being sustained by two spiral shafts, whose length is eked out by pedestals below, and short pilasters above—a most ungraceful arrangement, but redeemed by the loveliness of the carving with which it is charged, and evidently adopted with the intention of keeping the sarcophagus square and quiet in its main lines (note about absence of Gothic feeling in Sarcophagus).

These niches are filled by three saints, of whom the one on the left, with a scroll, is the Baptist; the other two, bearing books, have no marks whereby they may be distinguished. Their drapery is well and freely cast (the emergence of the foot of the figure on the right hand bears a close resemblance to a piece of design hereafter to be examined on the Ducal Palace), but there is an unmeaning smile in the faces, the lips being a little open, marking some inability in the sculptor to express his intention. In the panels between these niches are two most interesting bas-reliefs. In that on the left, St. Isidore, bound, is being dragged behind a horseman who scourges his horse at the gallop, over rocks and briers, in a wild country, these facts being expressed in sculptural language by a row of five bushes below the horse, and three trees in the distance, the ground being broken up into the usual formal upright fragments like pieces of starch, by which the mediæval sculptors represent rocks. The galloping horse is wonderfully spirited for the period. Two warriors appear in the distance with small round shields, not larger than their helmets, the latter being conical and without crests—and the rest of the armour evidently meant to represent Roman costume. This is still more markedly the case in the other bas-relief, where the executioner who beheads St. Isidore is in rich Roman mail. Christ appears to receive the martyr's soul, in the centre of an effulgence of rays which issues from a conical (cloud?) in the corner of the bas-relief, closely resembling that figured in the [second] plate of the *Seven Lamps*,¹ when it was conjectured to represent a burst of light of the same kind.

¹ [See Vol. VIII. p. 211.]

§ 10. *Simon Dandolo* (A.D. 1360: Frari)¹

High up—some thirty feet above the head—on the western wall of the Frari, at the end of the north aisle, is a sarcophagus removed from its place in one of the chapels in order to make room for the “monument to Titian.”

It can just be seen, at its present distance, that the two statues at the angles are beautiful, and that it bears an inscription on its basic plinth. As access to it cannot be had without considerable trouble, the reader will be glad to have an account of it. It is sustained by two bold brackets (having the gabled dentil moulding in front) bearing the Dandolo shield—six fleur-de-lis. The profile of its basic plinth [reference to an intended plate] is highly curious—two archivolt mouldings chasing each other like the traceries of a flamboyant window. But the inscription, which is engraved on the flat front of the plinth, is still more curious; perhaps it was some doctor, jealous of the honour of Venetian Latinity, who contrived the placing of the sarcophagus where the legend could not be read. We may be thankful it was not effaced [the inscription as in the text above, p. 97].* A notable writing, both in its manner of expression, and as the earliest (to my knowledge) eulogistic epitaph in Venice. I presume we may consider its meaning to be as follows:—

“The tomb of Simon Dandolo, a lover of justice, and desirous of promoting the public good”

The sarcophagus has a Madonna in the centre, and the two Annunciation figures at the sides, the panels between being square, and of plain porphyry; but the panel moulding is of a new form [reference to intended plate], having a sharp long dogtooth above the cavetto, and its roll very shallow. The flower plinth at the top of the sarcophagus [similar reference] is very unusual in the arrangement of its upper fillet, perhaps it was once surmounted by a dentil. Its leafage and roses are as nearly as possible the same as those of Marco Giustiniani, fine in their flow, but broad and coarsely cut.

The great interest of the tomb is in its figures. Even from below the spectator can see that those of the Annunciation group are exceedingly beautiful; and in some respects they do not gain by being seen close, having been probably, as well as the leaf plinth, calculated for an elevation of seven or eight feet above the eye, and all the features left coarse in consequence. But the drapery of the Annunziata cannot be judged of at thirty feet distances, for it is singular in having the light edges of various folds of the drapery traced one above another so as almost to chequer the front of the figure, and to give an exquisite delicacy to masses otherwise sufficiently simple. The drapery of the enthroned Madonna in the centre is so far inferior, and her face—as well as that of the child—utterly hard and lifeless

* It is curious that in extant works on Venice it is actually impossible to find, I do not say a moulding or ornament, but even so much as an inscription, copied with perfect accuracy. Zanotto, for instance, who has given this legend, has taken away half its roundness by spelling the *Justisia* with a “t” (*Justitia*), and *Chomum* with an “n” (*Chomun*), and in his drawing of the tomb puts two angels instead of four.

¹ [For a brief notice of this tomb, and the text of the Latin inscription, see above, ch. ii. § 64, p. 97.]

(it is curious how often this is the case in Venetian tombs). She holds a book open, on which the infant lays its hand, as it sits stiffly upon her knee. Her throne has a circular back, behind which four tiny angels—heads and shoulders only—hold up a curtain which they peep over. The throne is a very cumbrous piece of upholstery, but very valuable as a piece of evidence; its arms are ornamented by a series of square panels separated by the running mouldings [again reference to an intended plate] crowned by [a finial], exactly the same as that which crowns the Ducal Palace; these panels being filled with roses, also worked like those of the Ducal Palace.

§ 11. *A Nameless Tomb* (about A.D. 1380: Frari)

It is worth while, before we leave the Frari for the present, to glance at the tomb on the south wall of the third chapel counting from the left, on that next the choir, on the north. It is a plain sarcophagus, with a Madonna and Christ in the centre, and two angels at the angles.

At first the spectator, from the excessive hardness of the draperies and heaviness of features in the figures—the infant looking like a small Henry VIII., ill cut—might suppose this an early tomb, but a glance at the luxuriantly contorted leaves of its bracket will undeceive him. I have only brought [him to it], so that he may see a piece of cheap and hurried mediæval work, a species which, I am grieved to say, occurs oftener in Venice than elsewhere. The precise date of the monument is of little consequence, it being evidently one of the latest of the fourteenth century; neither considering its commonness, need we inquire anxiously to whom it was erected; it has no inscription, and as the shield on its brackets, now colourless, may belong to any one of the three families, Ghigi, Lioni, or Riva, any curiosity we may feel about it is little likely to be gratified. But it is worth noticing as an example of the way in which the idea of the marble curtains,¹ invented by the Pisan sculptors, had taken the fancy of the Italians, just as the veiled vestal did that of Londoners in 1851. There was in this tomb no proper opportunity of introducing it, as it has neither recumbent statue nor canopy; but its vulgar sculptor, thinking the curtains and rod the main things, and their use of very little consequence, has hung them up at the back of the Madonna's chair, and put two diminutive angels peeping at her from behind them . . . [Here follows a notice of various details, not intelligible without the intended illustrations.] Every part of the monument bears witness alike to the sculptor's plagiarism of thought and idleness in execution.

§ 12. *Jacopo Cavalli* (A.D. 1384: SS. Giovanni e Paolo)²

It is a tomb of a very different type from any we have yet met with, and had it escaped injury, one of the most important in Venice; but its three principal statues have been broken away, or rather removed, for there are no

¹ [See above, ch. ii. § 72, pp. 103–104, for remarks on the development of this motive in the monumental sculpture of Venice.]

² [See also above, ch. ii. § 69, p. 101.]

signs of violence, except that the knight's sword is broken. He died in 1384, and the tomb is remarkable at once for the curious severity and rudeness of the principal figure, and for the richness of ornamental detail which was gradually corrupting the simplicity of Gothic design. . . .

[Ruskin then gives the inscriptions—"one is in curious Italian, the other in still more curious Latin." The sculptor's inscription has already been given in the text (p. 101); the epitaph is as follows:—]

"MILITIE SPLEDOR LATEQ. TREMEDUS IN ARMIS
HIC DE CAVALLIS JACOBUS FUT. ALTAQ. GESSIT
PRO VENETIS CAPUT ARMIGERU DU FULMINAT HOSTES
UNIO QUE TANTU CAPIT HEC DOMUS ARTA SEPULCRI
DECESSIT MCCCLXXXIII DIE XXIII JANUARII."

The contraction over the "e" in "splendor" has been curiously missed in the upper inscription, and the rest of its broken Latin cannot be mended, but its meaning appears to be:—

"This was James Cavalli, the light of soldiership, and far dreaded in arms.
He fell illustriously while he headed the Venetians and crushed their enemies,
whom only this narrow house of the tomb now receives. He died 1384, on the
24th day of January."*

There was some reason also for assuring us that the work was done in stone, for every part of it is thickly painted, and in a manner more resembling the colour usually given to wood than to marble.

It is a sarcophagus, sustained on brackets, formed by the spandrels of a flat trefoiled arch, whose cusps are cut clear. It is this character which gives the tomb its great importance as a piece of evidence. On these brackets rests a cabled base plinth which has spread into a semicircular projection in the centre, and into long almond-shaped tablets at the angles of the sarcophagus, in order to receive the three principal statues, now lost. They are drawn, however, in the work of Zanotto, already so often referred to,¹ and appear to have been fine. They represented Faith, Hope, and Charity. There are besides . . . [Passage missing in the MS. which continues:—]

There has doubtless been a Madonna with male and female saint on each side, as usual, but besides these, there are in six elliptical panels on the front of the sarcophagus richly cut figures of the animal types of the Evangelists, and two saints bearing scrolls, while beneath the trefoiled arch which supports the tomb, an angel is carved, expanding its wings over the inscription. The richness of religious imagery is partly accounted for by the occurrence both on the tomb and the knight's armour of the crimson scallop,

* His services are recounted at some length by Zanotto. He commanded the Venetian land forces in the war against Leopold of Austria, and was afterwards appointed by Pisani to posts of trust at Malamocco and St. Nicolo di Lido. He appears to have been a bold and successful soldier, but no light is otherwise thrown upon his character, except a somewhat unfavourable one, where we find him refusing to assault Feltre because the senate would not grant his soldiers the pillage of the town. His wife was Constance, daughter of Guglielmo della Scala.

¹ [For Zanotto, see above, pp. 101, 247.]

showing he had been to the Holy Land.* His armour is a peaked crestless helmet, fastened by clasps to the gorget, all of compact steel, the gorget descending low on the breast and fringed at the edge. At the shoulders there is a piece of chain mail, which opens in front to admit the arm pieces, and fastened over their joint. The body armour is all compact steel, but the edge of a shirt of chain mail appears under it at the middle. The armour for the limbs is of course all solid. The gorget is bestrewn with crimson scallop-shells; there is a delicate trefoil (ogee in the upper foil) on the sheath of the sword. . . .¹

The face of the figure has the mouth slightly open, and is rigid and hard, but the ornamental work is full of picturesque power, and very like that of the Four Evangelists' house.² The features of all the human faces are hard and lifeless, but the animals' heads, the armour, feathers, and hair, are all worked excellently, but more especially the armour, one of the sharpest and best-cut pieces of costume in Venice. The face may perhaps be meant to represent that of a man slain in battle—the open mouth gives it a ghastliness very unusual in effigies on tombs—but it is also ill cut, and seen to disadvantage through the small opening of the helmet.

The mouldings of the trefoil arches which support this tomb . . . [reference to intended Plate] will be seen to resemble closely those of the Bernardo tomb [§ 15.] The basic plinth has its central roll cabled with leaves at the angles. The draperies of this tomb are, however, more loose and far less severely designed than those of the Bernardo, showing considerably more Renaissance character; the upper leaf plinth of this tomb is just as heavy, confused, and ineffective as that of the Bernardo tomb is beautiful, and the leafage which fills the spandrils is also valueless. It is curious that so much picturesque power should be shown in the animal figures, and so little in the easier leafage decoration. It is possible they may be by different hands.

§ 13. *The Doge Pietro Mocenigo* (A.D. 1476: Frari)³

A great arch, flanked by six round-headed niches, carrying statues in Roman armour. On the pedestal, Hercules destroying the Nemean Lion and Hydra, and trophies of Roman armour. These male figures in Roman armour, one with drapery thrown over it, carry the sarcophagus, on the top of which stands the Doge in an attitude of triumph; two youths on each side in Roman dresses. Above the whole arch, a bas-relief which I cannot make out; it may be Christ and the Woman of Samaria (it is, according to Selvatico,

* That an angel should be found spreading its wings over a tombstone would by no means imply richness of religious imagery in our days, when angelic character is supposed to consist in a child's face with fat cheeks between bird's wings, cherubs of this species being generally furnished by the brace, like game. But in the olden time it was not so; and the angel is in the present case a carefully wrought and fully draped figure, its wings formed of sharp sword-like plumes, and far expanded.

¹ [The passage here omitted is almost identical with the last seven lines of § 69 on p. 101, above.]

² [For this house, see Vol. X. p. 309.]

[For a general reference to the style of this tomb, see above, ch. ii. § 78, p. 108.]

the Maries with the Angel at the Sepulchre). A figure at the top of all may be a saint (or Christ, according to Selvatico): I cannot tell. No mortal can tell what any of the other figures are meant for. On the sarcophagus, two bas-reliefs—very delicate and quite invisible from below, but sweetly composed in the best *cinquecento* manner—of a Turk giving keys, and a woman receiving them with train. Expressionless, but very graceful, and full of curious landscape with cypresses and trees like this [reference to a sketch], all double, and architectural background with beautiful little figures in windows.

All is finely *cut*, and the anatomy good and gesture graceful; the flower work exceedingly fine and lovely (explain character of all Renaissance flower work *in toto*, dividing into *classical* as in all their tombs, and *naturalas* in cloister of Carmini).¹ But in this tomb study the attitude of Hercules in the two bas-reliefs—the calibre of the man is given by it; he turns his back to the Hydra while he hits at it.

§ 14. *The Doge Giovanni Mocenigo* (A.D. 1485: Frari)²

It is a series of flat architraves, piled one above another on composite shafts, with round-headed concha niches, and one on each side, containing two finely draped female figures, without any meaning that I can discover. Under the level roof of the architrave is placed a plain square sarcophagus, intensely simple, the whole monument affecting the greatest purity. This sarcophagus bears the curious symbol of the Lion of St. Mark on one, two, and three towers—thus [reference to a sketch]. It bears a second pseudo-sarco-phagus, and on this a recumbent figure very well cut; the hands there both, and face complete, but the figures are blunt, even square at the ends, and vulgarly laid, and the face heavy, yet intellectual, like Whewell,³ but swelled, and without his bright eyes.

Above the sarcophagus, under this architrave, is a semicircular lunette containing a bas-relief representing St. John Baptist interceding with the Madonna and Christ for the Doge, who kneels at their feet. The face is evidently a careful portrait in both sculptures, for the recumbent figure and small kneeling Doge tally exactly. The figure of St. John is very beseeching and expressive, but he beseeches in the style of a suppliant at the Opera, while the infant instead of looking kind, as it is intended to do, has the grin of excessive cunning. The Madonna's feet are excessively awkward, perhaps with some view to being seen from below. On the other side of her throne an (attendant?) in Roman armour seems giving the Doge's cap to an angel! or putting it aside with an expression of sorrow. Not so bad, neither, in idea.

The basement is occupied in the centre by two angles, in the usual attitudes, one leg up behind, holding the inscription; on each side of this is a bas-relief—of baptism—that of Christ on the left—all very finely cut, but the figures long and meagre—odd that in degenerate days it seems that

¹ [For the flower-work in the cloister of the Carmini, see below, Venetian Index, p. 366.]

² [See, again, p. 108 above.]

³ [For Ruskin's acquaintance with Whewell, see Vol. VIII. p. xl.]

sculptured men become meagre, real men obese. The landscape is highly wrought, with grass, trees, and architecture, all delicate, but utterly without invention—water of Jordan comes out of a cave and runs *under* the bank on which Baptist stands, entirely undermining it. Three naked children with wings stand on the opposite shore—a pretty group of admiring Cupids. On the other side, another baptism of some infidel; there is a Turk in background—and a naked woman: the person baptizing is an old man fully draped. The baptized person bows over an altar with Roman rams' heads at angles—query, is this unction instead of baptism?

Take care to explain the thin, sharp-edged character on which all Renaissance sculpture depends for its piquancy, especially in these small pictures, which are generally capital. The more Renaissance sculpture resembles painting the better it always is. Consider this: Why had they such great painters and in Venice no great sculptors at this period?¹

§ 15. *Pietro Bernardo* (Frari)²

In the last, or seventh chapel counting from left to right in the Frari, is a tomb composed merely of a sarcophagus sustained on brackets, under which is a tablet with this inscription:—

“Hieronymo. patri. Laurentio. patruo viris illustris et optimis patrie benemeritis. Petrus Bernardus pietatis cultor suorum memor hoc consecravit. Ob. M.D. Mensis Apr.”

The monument is, however, evidently a work far anterior to the sixteenth century, but having been left uninscribed, and only bearing on its brackets the Bernardo shield, seems to have been taken possession of in the name of his father and uncle by this Peter Bernardo in a manner more remarkable for filial piety than common honesty. We cannot therefore use this monument in positive evidence, but a glance at its delicate chiselling will show it to be at all events *late* fourteenth century work, perhaps even of the beginning of the fifteenth, and it is therefore remarkable as one of the latest occurrences of simple form of sarcophagus, as well as of the sweet religious feeling of the earlier ages. In its centre the Madonna and Christ are seated under a shell canopy, the Christ holding a bird in His hand. Saint Joseph, and a female figure with a book, are at the sides of the throne, and two very noble male figures (one the Baptist) are at the angles. The draperies are well cast, though not fine in *feeling* (explain difference between a well cast and a feeling drapery). Those over the knees of the Madonna are remarkably elaborate and well worth careful study, and the leaf plinth which crowns the sarcophagus is one of the most exquisitely turned in Venice, but slightly thin and meagre in effort from below. Its profile [reference to intended illustration] is remarkable chiefly for the sharp angle at the base on which the furrows of the leafage falling cut it into a somewhat ungraceful serrated edge, one of the chief reasons of the meagreness of the moulding. The heads of the leaves at the top are exquisitely touched, and when they meet each other cut through, in the manner of the Isidore tomb, but the breadth and beauty of the Isidore

¹ [Ruskin partly worked out this subject in ch. ii. §§ 90–91, pp. 118–119 above.]

² [See, once more, p. 108 above; see also p. 379 below.]

moulding is lost; the sculptor has crumpled the leaves too much, and they look thin and frost-bitten in distant effect.

The panel moulding [a similar reference] is quite plain, but wrought with great finish. Its substitution of the roll for the dentil marks the later date of the monument; and keeping this in mind, the spectator ought most carefully to observe the utter coarseness and rudeness of the features of the Madonna and Christ. The nearer they are seen the more disagreeable they will be found; and there is another mark of failing sentiment in the action of the bird in the infant's hand, which, for the sake of the ornamental effect, is carved with a hawk's head, and appears to be biting the hand which holds it. All these circumstances are of importance as collective evidences of the turns which the artistical mind was taking—but more especially the coarseness of feature in the Madonna and Christ—significative of a want of love for holiness or purity which was rapidly to make Venice the centre of the vices of Europe. It is the more curious and significative, because the faces of the aged male saints are very beautiful in expression, the senatorial character still preserving the types of nobility in the features of aged manhood, which the young female countenance had entirely lost.

§ 16. *The Doge Nicolaus Marcellus* (A.D. 1474: SS. Giovanni e Paolo)¹

In St. John and Paul on left, a sarcophagus with its double urn above completely developed recumbent figure heavy faced, one side of face only executed, but both hands are there and of finer model than usual. Entire figure utterly slovenly, drapery thrown any way, merely to look like a figure in the distance.

It lies under an arch supported by entablatures, etc., and two shafts, themselves sustained first by a shallow projecting plinth, and then by two small brackets; caryatid figures about two feet high on *three* legs, one coming from the middle of body, monstrous and inequivalent to weight. The four female figures (Virtues?) on the planks are very finely *carved*, as fine as any cinque cento work I know, and sweet in expression, feeble in *design*.

Under the arch, a bas-relief of I know not what saint presenting Doge to Madonna, as usual: an attendant in Roman armour on the other side carrying a flag. The Madonna exceedingly beautiful—very pure and Peruginesque—the whole bas-relief most careful and beautiful in its way. The thin drapery of the Madonna exquisite. It is all quite invisible from below.

A small figure of Christ put on top of entablature, where no one would find it out.

[The study of this tomb suggested to Ruskin the following points to work out in sketch of Renaissance:—"Effect of knowledge in general on art.

Design: How different from imitative sculpture. To carve a man, or carve a tree, no art. Botany or anatomy.

Pretty figures gracefully felt—not design.

Renaissance generally loses sight of design for *execution*, and always of *sentiment* in *design*."]]

¹ [This monument is shown in Plate 155 of the work by Cicognara and Zanotto referred to above, p. 101 *n.*].

EXAMPLES

OF THE

ARCHITECTURE OF VENICE

SELECTED AND DRAWN TO MEASUREMENT FROM
THE EDIFICES

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

(1851)

THE purpose of this work has already been stated in the Introduction to the First Volume of the text.¹ A few words are still necessary respecting the manner of its execution.

Had I supposed myself to possess the power of becoming a painter, I should have devoted every available hour of my life to its cultivation, and never have written a line. But the power of drawing, with useful accuracy, objects which will remain quiet to be drawn, is within every one's reach who will pay the price of care, time, and exertion. This price I have paid; and I trust, therefore, that the drawings which either now, or at any future period, I may lay before the public, will not be found deficient in such ordinary draughtsmanship as may be necessary to the fulfilment of their purposes; while, on the other hand, they will never lay claim to any higher merit than that of faithful studies.²

I never draw architecture in outline, nor unless I can make perfect notes of the forms of its shadows, and foci of its lights. In completing studies of this kind, it has always seemed to me, that the most expressive and truthful effects were to be obtained (at least when the subject presented little variation of distances) by bold Rembrandtism; that is to say, by the sacrifice of details in the shadowed parts, in order that greater depth of tone might be afforded on

¹ [See Vol. IX. p. 8, and advertisement below, p. 313.]

² [For other passages in which Ruskin refers to his own drawing, see Vol. VIII. pp. 4, 276, and *Modern Painters*, vol. iii., preface, §§ 5,6.]

the lights. Studies made on such a system, if successful, resemble daguerreotypes; and those which I have hitherto published, both in the *Seven Lamps*, and in the text of the present work, have been mistaken by several persons for copies of them. Had they been so, I should certainly not have stated them to be copies of my own drawings;* but I have used the help of the daguerreotype without scruple in completing many of the mezzotinted subjects for the present series; and I much regret that artists in general do not think it worth their while to perpetuate some of the beautiful effects which the daguerreotype alone can seize.

When the subject is either dependent on colour, or of too little importance absolutely to require elaboration of effect, it will generally be expressed by tinted lithography; but even of such less important subjects there are several which I should be glad to mezzotint, if possible; and the number of mezzotints which I can give must, in great part, depend on the number of subscribers to the work: there will, at any rate, be one in each number; there are two in the present one, and there will be two on the last. It was stated in the prospectus that there would be five plates in each number; when, however, there are several connected with the same subject, and of slight details, they will be considered as one plate, and marked with one number, distinguished only by letters; as in Plate 5 and 5B. of the present number.

As I cannot be certain of the order in which the subjects may be ready for publication, the number of each will be marked, for reference merely, in small Arabic figures at the bottom of the plate on the left-hand side; as the series advances, it may, perhaps, be thought convenient to arrange them in a different order.¹

But for the time of the appearance of the numbers I

* With two exceptions, as stated in the preface to the *Seven Lamps* [Vol. VIII.] p. 4, and also another exception as stated in *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. X. p. 310 n.]

¹ [The number were omitted in ed. 2, and are not here shown.]

cannot answer; and my health and avocations may, in many unforeseen ways, interfere with the progress of the work. Each number, however, will, as far as regards the subjects contained in it, be complete in itself; and subscribers are not considered as pledged to continue to receive the work any longer than they may desire to do so.

My best thanks are finally due to Mr. Lupton, Mr. Boys, and the other engravers of the various Plates,¹ for their careful execution of the portions of the work entrusted to each.²

¹ [For notes on Ruskin's engravers, see Vol. IX. pp. xlix., 1.]

² [The following is the original Announcement of the work, reprinted from the end of the first edition of the first volume of *The Stones of Venice*:—

MR. RUSKIN'S
ILLUSTRATIONS OF "THE STONES OF VENICE."

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

In Twelve Parts, Folio Imperial size. Price One Guinea each.

EXAMPLES

OF THE

ARCHITECTURE OF VENICE.

SELECTED AND DRAWN TO MEASUREMENT FROM THE EDIFICES.

BY JOHN RUSKIN,

AUTHOR OF "THE SEVEN LAMPS OF ARCHITECTURE," "MODERN PAINTERS," ETC.

PROSPECTUS.

MR. RUSKIN has found it impossible to reduce to the size of an octavo volume all the sketches made to illustrate his intended Essay on Venetian Architecture; at least, without loss of accuracy in detail: he has thought it better to separate some of the plates from the text, than either to throw the latter into a folio form, or diminish the fidelity of the drawings. The subjects which are absolutely necessary to the understanding of the Essay will alone therefore be reduced, and published with the text; the rest will be engraved in the size of the drawings, and will form a separate work, which, though referred to in the text, will not be essential to the reading of it. The Essay will thus be made accessible in a form involving the least possible expense to the general reader, and those who may be more deeply interested in the subject may possess the book of illustrations executed on a scale large enough for the expression of all details.

A short explanatory text will be given with each number of the large plates, so as to save the trouble of reference to erratic notices in the Essay.

In order to prevent future disappointment, MR. RUSKIN wishes it especially to be observed that very few of the drawings will be of entire buildings. Nearly all the subjects are *portions* of buildings, drawn with the single purpose of giving perfect

examples of their architecture, but not pictorial arrangements. Many of the subjects will, however, be found to possess much picturesque value, especially those mezzotinted; but others will be separate details—capitals, cornices, or other ornaments—which can possess interest only for those who desire to enter earnestly into the subject of Venetian Architecture. The chief value of the plates will be their almost servile veracity—a merit which will be appreciated when the buildings themselves are no more; and they perish daily.

Each Part will contain Five Plates, engraved by the first artists; and as nearly as possible facsimiles of Mr. Ruskin's original drawings, but of mixed character; some will be finished mezzotints, some tinted lithographs, and some mere woodcuts, or lineengravings, like Plates x. and xi. of the octavo volume. There will be at least one mezzotint in each number.

The First Part will shortly appear, and the work will be completed as rapidly as possible; but the author cannot pledge himself to any stated time for the appearance of the Parts.

Fifty India Proofs only will be taken on Atlas Folio, price Two Guineas each part; and only a limited number of plain impressions will be printed in the first instance, which will be appropriated to subscribers.]

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[Added in this Edition]

16. ARCHIVOLT IN ST. MARK'S (*Photogravure from mezzotint*), p. 350.

[*Note*—Some of Ruskin's outlines for mezzotint, prepared for the *Examples*, have been exhibited. That for Plate 6 was No. 134 in the Ruskin Exhibition at the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, 1901 (also exhibited at Coniston, 1900); that for Plate 11 (upper subject) was No. 135; and the drawing for Plate 16 was No. 239.]

EXAMPLES, ETC.,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE STONES OF VENICE

BY JOHN RUSKIN

Descriptions of the Plates

PLATE 1
THE DUCAL PALACE

Twentieth Capital

THIS capital belongs to the twentieth shaft of the lower arcade (the method of numbering the shafts having been already stated at p. 54 of the First Volume of the text). I have chosen it for the subject of the first Plate, because it is representative of the general characters of the sculpture in the central Venetian Gothic; that Gothic which is peculiar to the city, and whose rise and degradation are coincident with those of her fortunes.

It is drawn on a large scale¹ that its details may be fully visible; even down to the bees which cluster on the honeycomb in the bear's mouth.² The shaft is seven feet in circumference at the base, and the capital octagonal, having leaves set on the angles, and heads of animals on the sides, each with its peculiar prey in its mouth, and its name inscribed on the tore above; while a leaf or flower is set beneath each head, of different design on every side. The order of the animals, with the sections of mouldings and other details, will be given hereafter.³

¹ [Here reduced from 18 in. x 11½ to 6¾ x 4¼.]

² [For other references to this capital, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 307 n.); and *Stones of Venice*, Vol. IX. p. 277, Vol. X. p. 418.]

³ [The publication of *The Examples* was, however, suspended before this was done.]



J. P. Jones.

44 feet. 7 days.

S. Reynolds

Allen & Co. St.

The Ducal Palace,
Twentieth Capital.

PLATE 2

ARABIAN WINDOWS

In Campo Santa Maria Mater Domini

THIS group of windows is the only remnant of a small palace, modernized in all its other parts: but it is one of the richest fragments in the city: and a beautiful example of the fantastic arches which I believe to have been borrowed from the Arabs. I defer my special account of it,¹ noting at present only what might otherwise have been supposed errors in the drawing, that two of the circular ornaments at the points of the arches are larger than the rest; that the lateral windows are broader than the three intermediate ones; and that, of the lateral windows themselves, the one on the right is broader than that on the left.

In nearly every group of windows in Venice, belonging to this transitional or Arabic period, the same thing takes place,—one of the lateral openings is larger than all the rest; and I have not as yet been able to discover the reason for such an arrangement, as these groups of windows appear to have always lighted one room only.

The tessellated and fragmentary incrustations are of marble, the capitals and shafts (I think) of Istrian stone, the walls of brick, whether formerly incrustated or not cannot now be discovered; the piece of balcony, seen at the top of the plate, is of course modern.

¹ [This plate was published in Part I. of the *Examples* in May 1851, *i.e.* shortly after the appearance of *Stones of Venice*, vol. i., and Ruskin no doubt intended to give a “special account” of this small palace in a later volume of the main work. This, however, was not done, though there is a brief reference to these windows—which are of his “Fourth Order” (see Vol. X. p. 300, and Plate 16)—in the Venetian Index: see below, p. 392. The plate is here reduced from 18 x 12¹/₄ to 6³/₈ x 4³/₈.]



J. Ruskin.

Ag. fort. 2 Boys.

Theo. Inpton.
Allen & Co. N.Y.

Arabian Windows
In Campo S^{ta} Maria Mater-Domini.

PLATE 3
BYZANTINE CAPITALS

From Torcello and St. Mark's

BOTH are evidently founded on the antique Corinthian, but infinitely more picturesque, and worked with leaves which, instead of being pointed, are forked at the extremities; a character which I believe to be peculiar to Byzantine work. In the one from St. Mark's, these leaves are represented as drifted round the capital by the wind, and the idea is several times repeated, both in the porch and in other parts of the church. But no one capital at Torcello is like another, the one given here as an example being distinguished from the rest by the two curled leaves in the shape of nautilus shells, applied to the root of its bell on the side towards the nave of the church.¹ Both capitals are worked in white marble; the abacus of that at Torcello is of red marble; and the shaft of that of St. Mark's is of dark porphyry, in each case giving brilliancy to the crystalline whiteness which is to serve for ground to the sharp dark touches of the Byzantine chisel.

¹ [For the capitals of Torcello, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. p. 22), where (in Plate 2, Fig. 1) another of the capitals is shown on a small scale; but "I could not," says Ruskin, "except by an elaborate drawing, given any idea of the sharp, dark, deep penetrations of the chisel into their snowy marble." There is a reference to this plate in *St. Mark's Rest*, § 101 n. The plate is here reduced from 19½ x 12 to 7 x 4¼].



J. Baskin.

Torcello.
Capital of Nave Pillar.



T. S. Bayne lith.
Allan & Co. Sc.

St. Mark's.
Capital of Shaft of Central Porch.

PLATE 4
CORNICE MOULDING

From a Tomb in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo

THE tomb from which this moulding is taken stands opposite that of Marco Giustiniani, in a small chapel on the south side of the choir. It bears the recumbent statue of a knight in chain armour, rudely cut, but fine in expression; it has no inscription, but the Loredano shield is sculptured on the brackets which support it. It is evidently work of the early part of the fourteenth century, and the moulding is given as an example of one of the earliest and purest forms of the Venetian Gothic cornice. The reader will recognise, beneath it, the "Gabled Dentil," already described in Chap. 23 of the text¹, and figured generically in Plate IX., Fig. 20. It is found on nearly all the tombs of this period.

The moulding is here given of its actual size;² and though the drawing looks coarse when seen close, yet if placed at the distance of fifteen or twenty feet, it will give very nearly the true effect of the sculpture itself, which was intended to be seen at that distance. The irregularities in the disposition of the leaves are faithfully copied; and the profile of the moulding will be given in its proper place.³ It belongs to the group represented by Fig. 9, Plate XV. (text).⁴

¹ [*i.e.*, vol. i. of *Stones of Venice*: see Vol. IX. p. 318.]

² [Here reduced from 18½ x 11 to 7 x 4¼.]

³ [The publication of the *Examples* was suspended before this was given.]

⁴ [See Vol. IX. p. 360.]



L. Prater.

T. S. Brown, lith.
Allen & Co. Sc.

Cornice Moulding,
From a Tomb in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

PLATE 5

THE DUCAL PALACE

Compartments of the Southern Balcony

THE two balconies on which the large central windows open, in the façades of the Ducal Palace, are interesting examples of the degradation of the Venetian Gothic by the Renaissance infection.¹ That to the sea is peculiarly fine in workmanship; and both deserve study, as belonging to a very limited group of *ridge* traceries, of which I recollect only one other example in Venice,—the balustrade of the passage into the small chapel on the south side of the choir, in St. Mark's. For this reason, as well as on account of the importance of the southern balcony in the general effect of the Ducal Palace, I have here given the details of that balcony with care. Fig. 1 represents the inside, Fig. 2 the outside of one of the compartments, of which six form the entire length of the parapet. These figures are one-seventh of the real size;² the complete mouldings are only represented in the upper divisions; both the upper and lower being exactly the same. The inside view (Fig. 1) is given, both because there is a difference in the mouldings, and to show the joints of the masonry, the two quatrefoils, below and above, being cut out of one piece of red marble; the other pieces are of the purest white Carrara. Fig. 3 is one of the quatrefoils, drawn of the actual size, in order to show the peculiar elliptical character of the curvatures in the foils. This curve I traced on the stonework itself, in order to make sure of its accuracy. The sections are given in the following Plate.

¹ [See on this subject Vol. X. p. 286, and Fig. 25; and for further notices of the Ducal Palace balconies, *ibid.*, pp. 335, 346.]

² [The scale is in this edition reduced from $17\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ to $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$.]

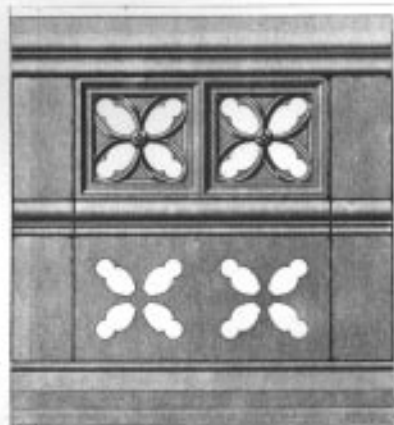


Fig. 1.

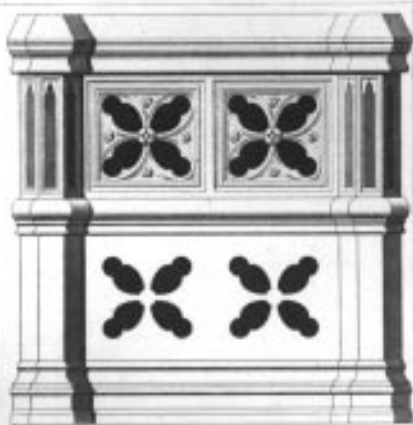


Fig. 2.

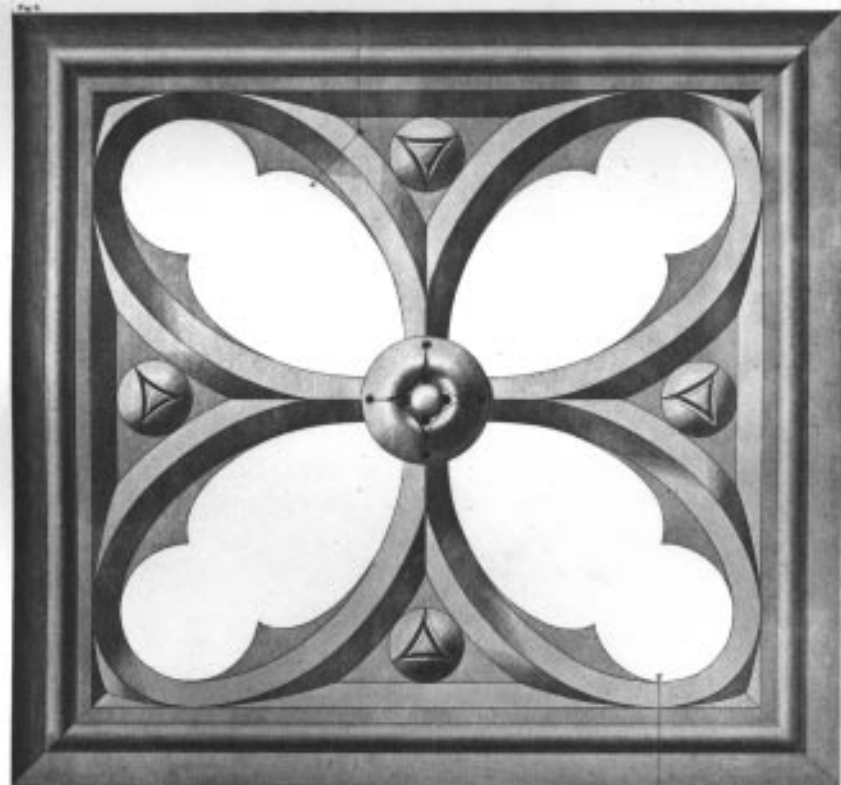


Fig. 3.

H. P. Cuff
Allen & Co. B.

The Ducal Palace,
Compartments of the Southern Balcony.

PLATE 5 B
THE DUCAL PALACE

Sections of the Southern Balcony

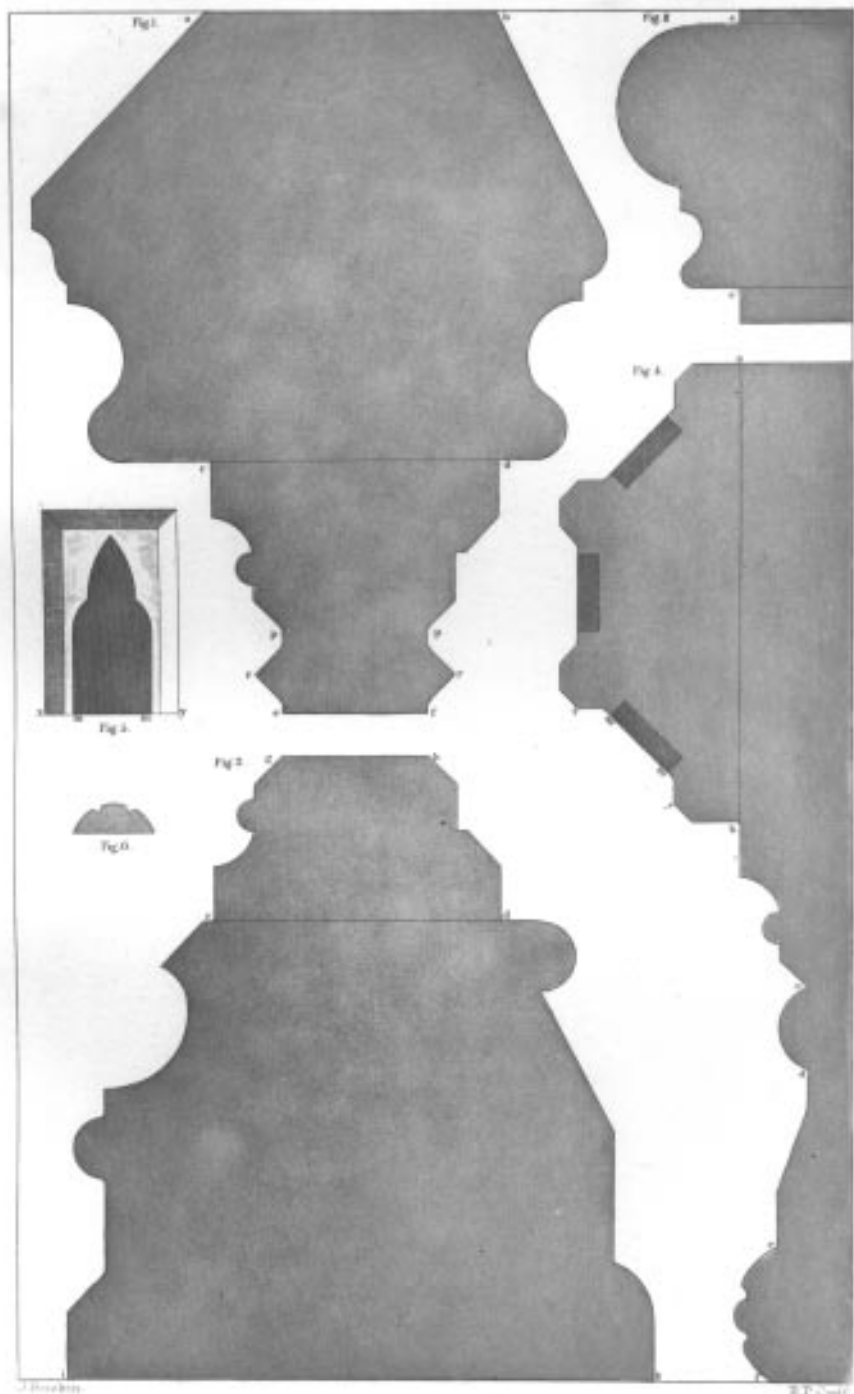
FIG. 1 is that of the uppermost horizontal moulding; Fig. 2 of the central moulding; and Fig. 3 of the basic plinth: *a b*, Fig. 1, is the exact breadth of the top of the parapet, *a c* being its outside and *b d* its inside profile; *a b* equals *c d*; and there is a joint at *c d*. The section is continued through the cusp of the quatrefoil; changing its direction at *p*, which is the point *p* in Fig. 3 of Plate 5; *r r* are the ridges of the tracery, and *e f* is the exact breadth of the cusp, as at *e* in Fig. 3, Plate 5.

Fig. 2, the central moulding, is the same outside and inside. The points *c c* will of course fall beneath *c* of Fig. 1. In Fig. 3, *i c* is in like manner the outside and *k d* the inside profile, and the section *c g h d* is continued through the point *g* in Fig. 3 of Plate 5.

Fig. 4 is the horizontal section through the pilaster on the outside, which is a separate piece of marble (the joint] being at *a b*), across to the central rose of the quatrefoil, *e f*: *c d* is the smaller rose in the cusping spaces; and *m m*, an inlaid piece of black marble, which forms the small arch on each side of the pilaster. Fig. 5 is the elevation of the head of one of the compartments, *x y* and *m m* corresponding to the same letters in Fig. 4; and Fig. 6 shows the incisions on the smaller roses, which form their rude triangular ornament.

There is little to praise, and much to blame, in the manner of this design; but it is one of singular importance in the architectural system of Venice, and therefore could not be overlooked. I wish I could have given the brackets which support the balcony; but they were inaccessible.¹

¹ [The plate is here reduced from 18¼ x 11¼ to 7¹/₈ x 4³/₈.]



The Ducal Palace,
Sections of the Southern Balcony

PLATE 6¹

ST. MARK'S

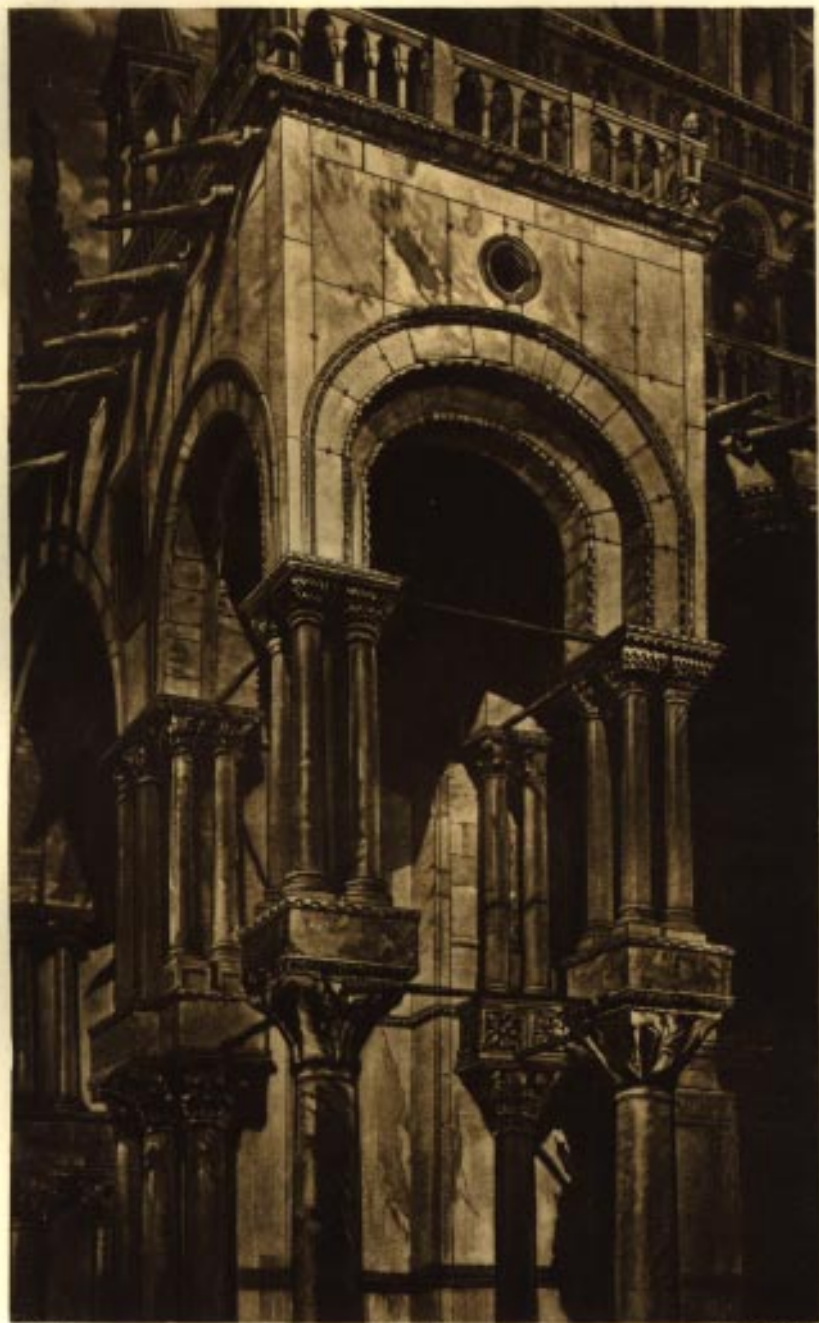
*Southern Portico*²

THE western façade of St. Mark's is flanked, both on the north and south, by a small porch or portico; that towards the north being open on two sides, and supported by a single detached pillar, and that towards the south open on three sides, and supported by two detached pillars.

The upper part of the southern one is given in Plate 6, as it is seen from a distance of about twenty-five feet from the base of the westernmost pillar; part of the principal façade being seen on the left. At a greater distance than this the sculpture of the capitals would become indistinct to the eyesight of most people; and the spectator is apt, therefore, to pause within this distance, in order to look at the decoration of the upper arches. The ornament of almost all good architecture is calculated for this kind of observation, and yet, strictly speaking, the resultant effect is incapable of being represented in a drawing, as the spectator's head is thrown back and the angle of sight considerably elevated. I have long felt the difficulty of conveying a true impression of richly decorated buildings, in consequence of this; but I believe the best way is to venture the steep perspective, and calculate the arrangements of the forms of the building, on the supposition of the horizontal

¹ [Plates 6–10 were Part II. of the *Examples*, issued on November 1, 1851; *i.e.*, soon after the appearance of *Stones of Venice*, vol. i., and before the second volume, dealing with St. Mark's, had appeared.]

² [For other references to this portico see *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. (Vol. IX. p. 245), where it is cited as a peculiarly beautiful example of superimposition, and Vol. IX. p. 383, and Plate 18, where the zigzagged capital is again shown. See also Vol. IX. p. 132 *n*. The other (N.) portico is shown in Plate D of Vol. X. The "lily capitals" of St. Mark's are described in Vol. IX. p. 387, and Vol. X. p. 164.]



J. Ruskin.

Ag. del. T. Doye.

Thos. Agnew
& Sons, London.

St. Mark's.
Southern Portico.

line being considerably below the bottom of the picture. I have done so in this Plate, and shall be obliged to do the same with many others.¹

The shafts are of solid marble, and the entire building is cased with sheets of it. The zigzag capitals of the upper shafts are curious: one of them has been already given on a larger scale in Plate XVIII. of the text. The capitals of the lower shafts are, however, far more elaborate, and on the whole the most interesting pieces of Byzantine work in Venice. They are very nearly of similar design on the three detached shafts of the porticoes; having a flower somewhat resembling a lily on each of their four sides, I shall always speak of them as the "lily capitals of St. Mark's," and they, as well as the shafts which they crown, will be severally distinguished as the capitals or shafts A, B and C; the shaft A being that of the northern portico; B, that seen in Plate 6, on the left; and C, that seen in Plate 6, on the right.

[The plate is here reduced from 17 x 10½ to 6¾ x 4¼.]

PLATE 7

ST. MARK'S

Details of the Lily Capitals

THESE lily capitals are of so great importance that I think it necessary to give their most important features on their actual scale.¹ Fig. 1 in this Plate represents the angle of the abacus of the capital B, the nearest to the spectator in the preceding Plate. The cornice moulding which forms this abacus has already been given, *d*, in Plate XVI. of the text;² but the reader will be far better able to judge of its effect by having it given of the real size. Beneath it, the space *a b* is a rough joint, and then comes the mass of the capital; the basket-work which originally crowned it and covered its angles is in great part broken away, but some of the remaining fragments are seen on the left. The extent of the injury, however, is so great, that it is nearly impossible to obtain the original contours of this capital with perfect accuracy; that of the northern portico is somewhat better preserved, and from it was taken the section of the bell through the centre of its side, Fig. 2 in this Plate. This section is carefully drawn to scale: the portions more darkly shaded represent the pieces of stone which form the basket-work; the inner line is the limit of the incisions within the basket-work, and the outer line is the face of the lily on the front of the capital. This entire capital will be given in a future Plate,³ and will serve as an example of all the three, differing from them in very few points; the chief distinction being the straight, instead of convex, slope of the abacus.

¹ [Here reduced from 18½ x 11¼ to 7 x 4³/8.]

² [*i.e.* *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. (Vol. IX. p. 365).]

³ [Plate 9, p. 163, in Vol. X. (the second volume of *The Stones*).]

Fig. 1.

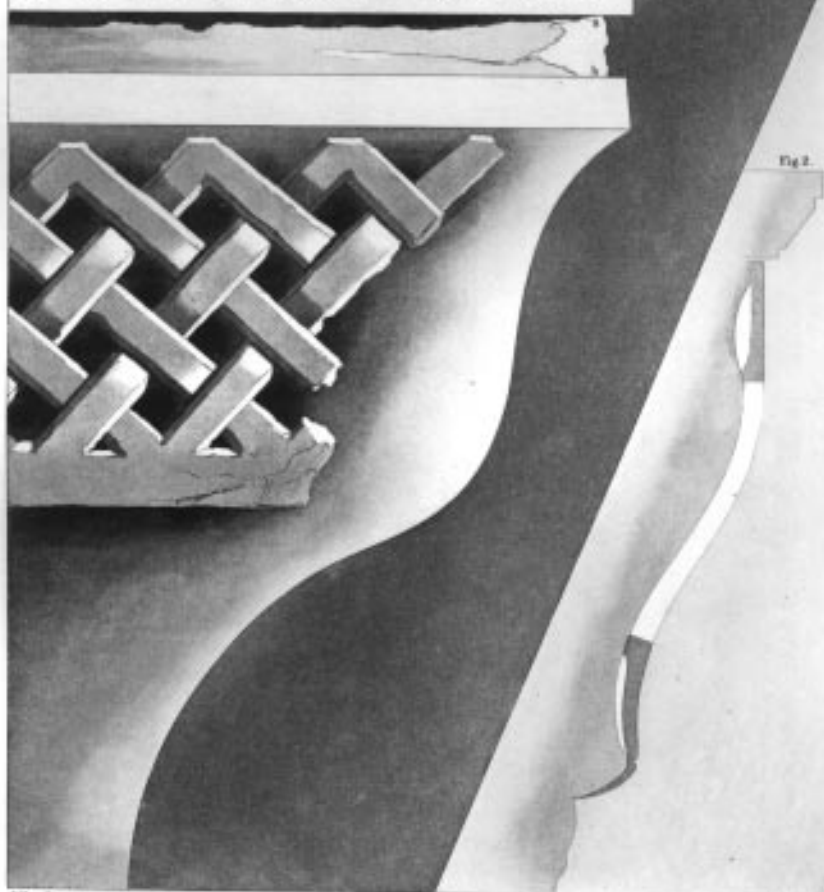


Fig. 2.

J. Ruskin.

R.P. Coffe
Allen & Co. St.

S^t Mark's,
Details of the Lily Capitals.

PLATE 8
BYZANTINE RUIN

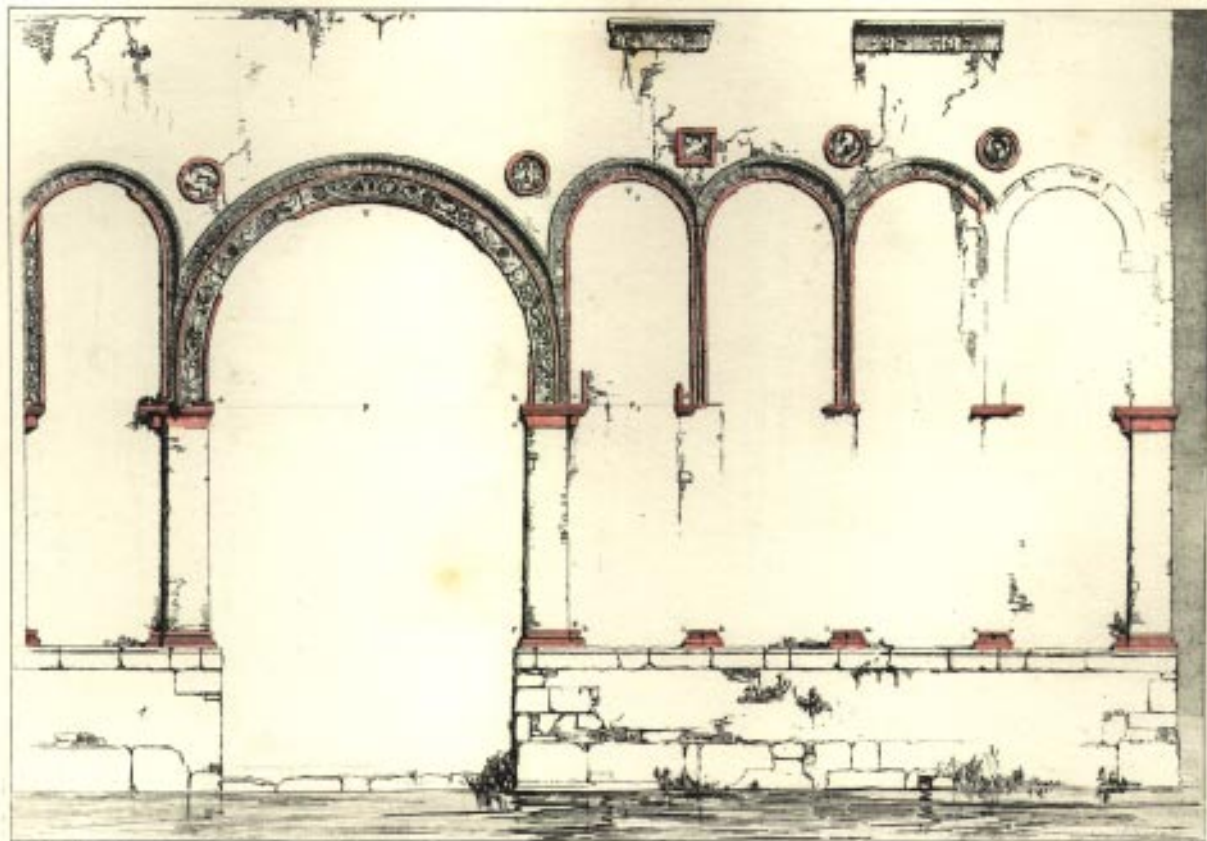
*In Rio di Ca' Foscari*¹

THE wreck of the one of the most ancient and interesting palaces in Venice has been abandoned to utter neglect, and hitherto unnoticed even by the native antiquary, much more by the careless traveller. Fortunately, enough of the ruins remained in the year 1849 to enable me to reconstruct the ground-, or, as I shall always call it, in Venice, the waterstory², with very slight chance of error. The *existing* fragments are given in this Plate; the intermediate spaces being filled up with modern wall, and various windows opened in different places, which I have not drawn, in order that the reader may at once apprehend the relations of the ancient portions. The whole are drawn carefully to scale³, and there are some remarkable points about the dimensions, noticed in the explanation of Plate 10.

¹ [See *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. v. § 10 (Vol. X. p. 151) for the dimensions of the arches of this house, and *ibid.*, Appendix 11 (5), p. 454, for some general remarks on it.]

² [See Vol. X. p. xliv.]

³ [The plate is here reduced from 17½ x 12¼ to 6¼ x 4³/8.]



Byzantine Ruin.
In Rio di Ca' Foscari.

PLATE 9
STILTED ARCHIVOLTS

From a Ruin in the Rio di Ca' Foscari

IN the last Plate the ancient portions of this ruin were given in their relative positions, but without the modern features connecting them. That the reader may have some idea of these, I have drawn the central arch on a larger scale in this Plate¹, exactly as it appeared in 1849. It was a beautifully picturesque fragment; the archivolt sculptures being executed in marble, which seemed, in some parts, rather to have gained than lost in whiteness by its age, and set off by the dark and delicate leaves of the Erba della Madonna², the only pure piece of modern addition to the old design, all else being foul plaster and withering wood³. There is a curious instance, however, in

¹ [Here reduced from 19½ x 10 to 7½ x 3¾; as to the title, see above, p. xxxiv.]

² [For this plant (*Linaria Cymbalaria*), the “ivy-leaved toadflax” of English gardens, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. ix. § 18, and *Queen of the Air*, § 87.]

³ [Among the loose sheets of MS. there is a fuller description of the ruin:—

“Entering the Rio di Ca’ Foscari from the Grand Canal we should in general run the risk of passing without notice a building on the left-hand side, a few hundred yards beyond the entrance to the cortile of the Casa Foscari. It is now a ruin, barely habitable by the lowest classes, but the masonry which is built into the broken walls is of the highest interest—a fossil palace of the twelfth century, of which the greatest part has indeed been entirely swept away, and what is left grievously injured and overwhelmed in the modern brickwork; but, with a few exceptional cases of dislocation, the limbs retain their primitive position and enable us to understand the plan of the first story of the original edifice.”

Then follow various detailed observations which need not be given, as the result of them is shown in Ruskin’s reconstruction (Plate 10). “I look upon this building,” he continues, “as one of the most genuine fragments of the twelfth century in Venice;” and then, with regard to the arch shown in Plate 9, he adds:—

“What treatment it has been subjected to by the Venetians may be seen in the 9th Plate, which represents the central arch exactly as it appeared in the winter of 1849. There is a rude door of plank below, through which entrance is gained to a dark stair and labyrinth of miserable rooms: one of these is feebly lighted by the window seen in the centre of the Plate; and while I was taking the measurements of the archivolts from this window, an old woman was supping yellow rice and water out of an iron saucepan, and muttering fitful complaints of the destitution in which the poor were left in Venice.”]



J. Ruskin

M. Lloyd & Co. Engrs.

Stilted Archivolts.

From a Ruin in the Rio di Ca' Foscari.

this drawing, of the difficulty of being absolutely faithful, however earnestly we may desire it. There was no way of drawing this arch but out of a gondola immediately underneath, in a position from which it was quite impossible to see the upper portion of the archivolt distinctly. I made the sketch before I fully appreciated the importance of the building, chiefly for the sake of its picturesqueness; and coming to the piece of archivolt which I could not clearly discern, drew it carelessly, with what appeared to me to be an upright leaf in its centre. Afterwards, discovering the great importance of these remains, I went up to examine every piece of them, and found the supposed upright leaf to be the Byzantine symbol—a hand, between the Sun and Moon, in the attitude of benediction¹. This sign is almost always used in the centres of Byzantine arches and crosses: it is properly inserted in the previous Plate, and will be found also in the upper subject of Plate 11.

¹ [See Vol. X. pp. 57–58, 166–167.]

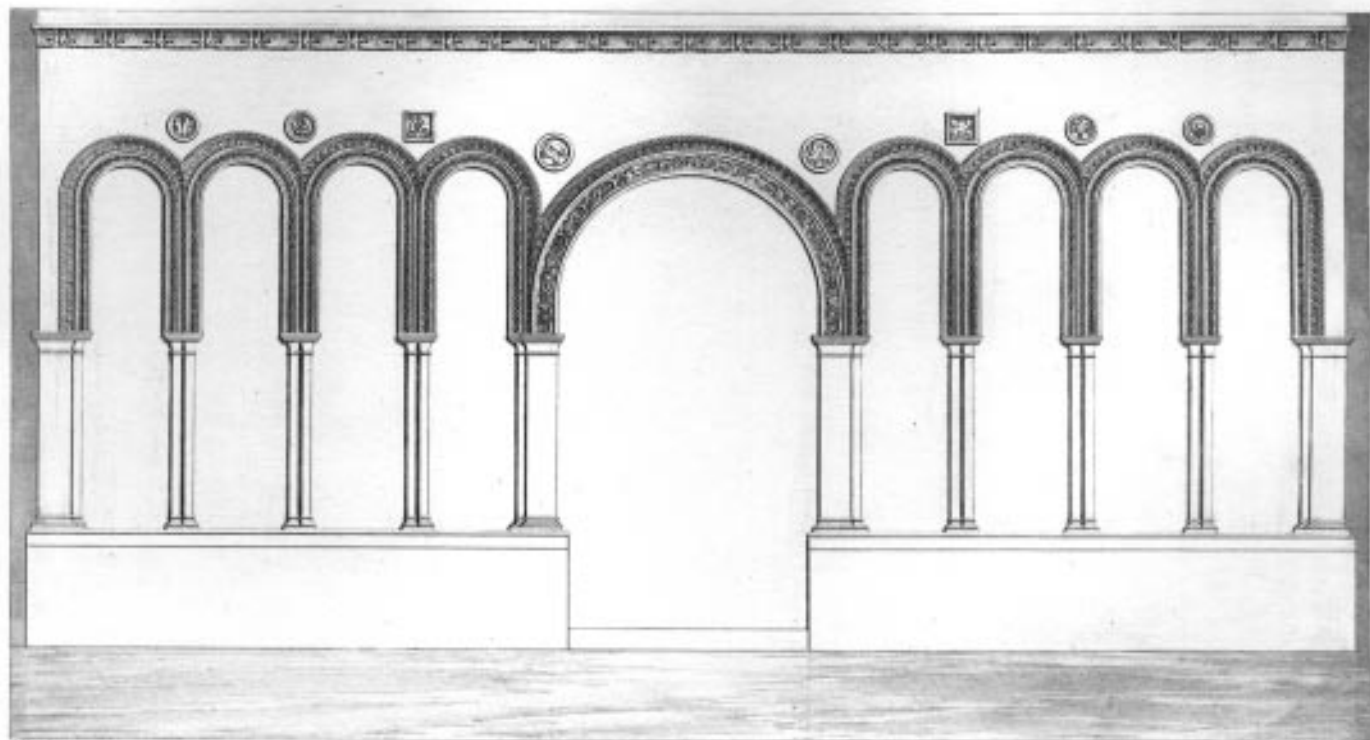
PLATE 10

PALACE IN RIO DI CA' FOSCARI

Conjectural Restoration

BY referring to Plate 8 the reader may partly see what authority I have for this restoration, though the full evidence can only be given in the second volume of the text, with the sections and minor details of the mouldings.¹ It will at once, however, be seen in Plate 8 that the bases of the shafts are left all along the foundation, and that two of their capitals are left above (compare Plate 9), and a fragment of the inner moulding of the archivolt remains also in the arch seen on the left in Plate 9. This is enough to establish the original condition of at least one wing of the building; and from the arrangements of other and more perfect palaces of the same period, it may be assumed almost with certainty that the great archivolt was originally in its centre, and that the entire water-story was composed of nine arches, arranged as in Plate 10. The shafts were in all probability of white marble, the archivolts richly gilded, perhaps in the hollows of the carving touched with blue; the bands of red marble intended to relieve the whole yet remain, and are seen in Plate 8. The whole is evidently of the twelfth century; and in the arrangement of the arches there is one of those subtle and half-concealed varieties in proportion which I showed, both in the *Seven Lamps* and elsewhere, to be highly characteristic of

¹ [The references to the second volume (Vol. X.) have already been given (p.334). Probably Ruskin intended at this time that his notice of the house should be more detailed (see note 3 on p. 336). For the masonry of the archivolt, see figure 1 in Plate 8 of *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. above, p. 279.]



Palace in Rio di Ca' Foscari.
Conjectural Restoration.

these early edifices.¹ At the first glance, the building might be supposed to consist of one large and eight smaller arches; but it will be noticed on closer examination that the two midmost of the minor arches on each side are wider than the others. From base to base of their shafts they measure 3 feet 10 inches, the lateral and intermediate arches only 3 feet 8 inches. The height of the stilted archivolt is also not a little remarkable, even the broad central one being much higher than a semi-circle. It is 9 feet 9 inches wide, and 6 feet 8½ inches high under the soffit.²

¹ [See Vol. VIII. p. 208. In the second volume of *Stones of Venice* Ruskin entered into the subject more fully: see Vol. X. pp. 48, 152–153.]

² [The plate is here reduced from 18 x 9¾ to 7⅛ x 3⅞.]

PLATE 11¹
DOOR-HEADS

From Ca' Contarini Porta di Ferro; and in Campo S. Margherita

THE doorways of Venice are almost always constructed on the principle explained in the text,² chap. xvii. sect. 2; that is to say, formed by an arch or gable above a horizontal lintel, the enclosed space or tympanum being sometimes left open, and merely defended by iron bars; sometimes filled with masonry, and charged with ornament. . .³

The Plate represents two characteristic headings of doors above the lintels. The upper one is from a palace once belonging to a branch of the Contarini family, behind the church of St. Francesco.⁴ It has the hand of blessing, and the presiding angel unfolds a scroll with the inscription, "Peace be to this House." The bearings on the shield have been effaced, and the modern Venetians, who have no particular desire of peace, and therefore not much regard for the old inscription, have thought the lintel of the door would be put to better purpose by bearing the information highly useful to the general public, that it was in the "Salizzada di San Francesco."

¹ [Plates 11–15 formed Part III. of the *Examples*, issued on November 17, 1851. No more were published. Plate 11 is here reduced from 18½ x 11 to 7¼ x 4¼.]

² [i.e. *Stones of Venice*, vol. i.: see Vol. IX. p. 221.]

³ [Here in the original edition followed the words, "The methods of doing this are various and beautiful; but in the earlier ages. . .," continuing down to "retained" as in *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. vii. § 56 (Vol. X. pp. 323–324), to which place Ruskin transferred the account of Venetian door-heads given in this part of the *Examples*, published, as we have seen, before the second volume of the main work had been written. Writing to his father from Venice (December 7, 1852), he says with regard to this Plate: "I am very glad indeed you like the Contarini mezzotint. You will also find, I believe, what I thought rather a nice bit in the text about it."]

⁴ [For further particulars of this palace, see below, Venetian Index, p. 368.]



J. Ruskin

At Fort. T. Boys

T. Lepton
Black & Co. So.

Door Heads.

From C^a Contarini Porta di Ferro, and in Campo S. Margarita.

The lower compartment of the Plate represents a door-head belonging to a small house of the thirteenth century Gothic, in the Campo Santa Margherita. The central shield, with its hovering angel and supporters, is cut out of one piece of stone; the rest of the tympanum is formed by small squares of cast brick, enclosed by narrow bars also of brick. There are seven patterns used for the squares, which I shall give on a larger scale in the second volume;¹ and they are so arranged by the builder, that whichever way the courses of them are read—laterally or upwards—two similar patterns shall never be in juxtaposition; and that no regular arrangement or recurrence of pattern in any definable disposition shall be traceable. At least I can myself discover none—the reader may try—every pattern in the drawing being in its proper place. The lintel and jambs of the door are of marble, and have Byzantine mouldings, correspondent to those of the doors of St. Mark's. It is very possible they may be older than the brickwork. Their sections will be given in the proper place.²

¹ [These, however, were not given.]

² [See figure 24 in Plate 9 and figure 11 in Plate 10 of *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. above, p. 281, where the house is called "the Chess house."]

PLATE 12
DOOR-HEADS

1. *In Ramo Dirimpetto Mocenigo*

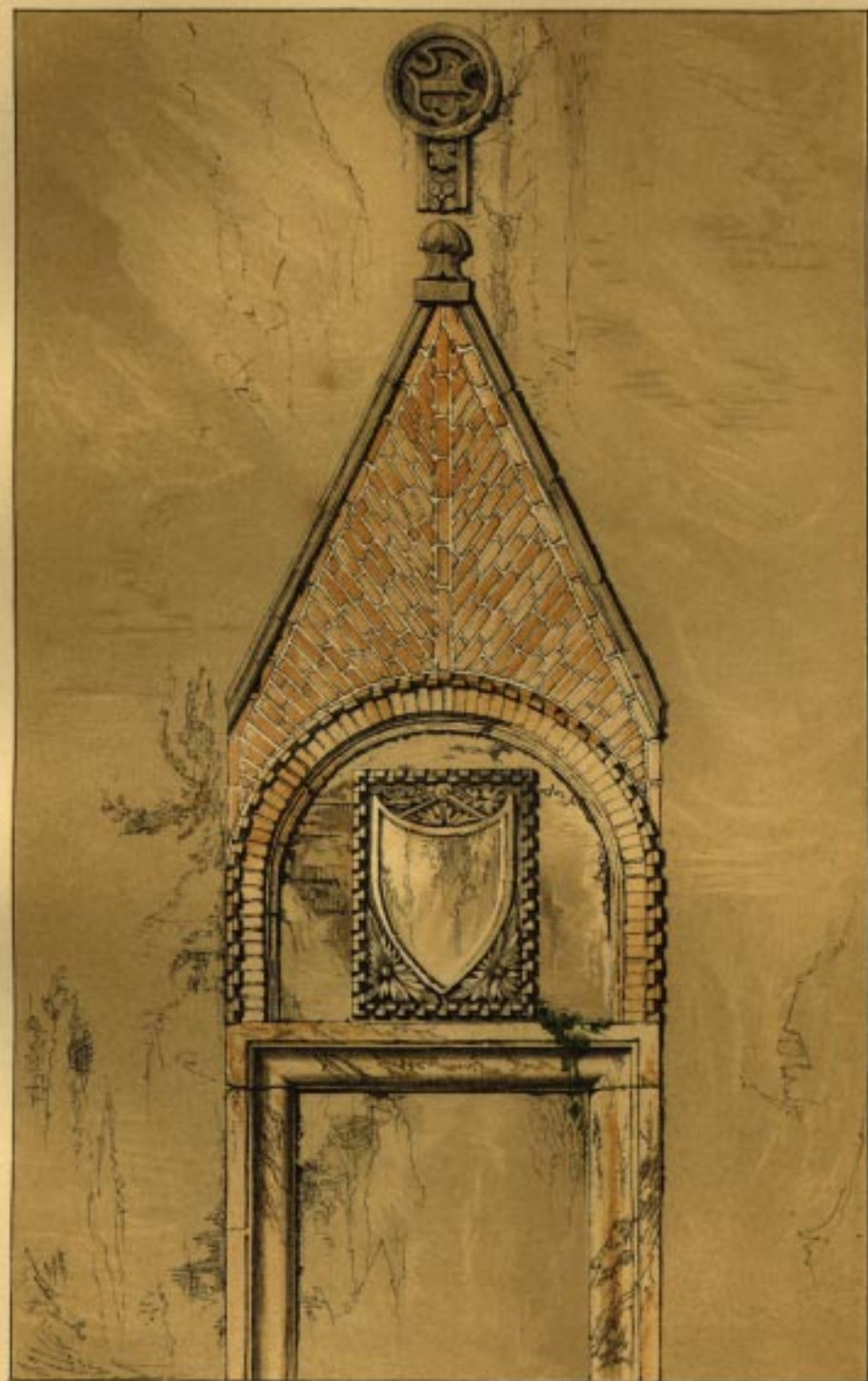
I HAVE numbered this door-head 1, because it is the simplest type of a perfect construction, which I found in Venice—having the lintel arch—and superimposed gabled dripstone. It is the only remnant of the house to which it once belonged, and is now built up, and merely forms the termination of a small passage near the Fondaco de' Turchi.¹

It affords us, in the first place, an example of the simple shield—pendent by its rude thong (as a mere heraldic device, how far more manly than our beast-borne escutcheons),—and the piece of sculpture, with the two small rosettes above the gable, is the easily recognisable fragment of a Greek Cross (of which I shall give many other examples),² which has been cut away to insert a shield of the Renaissance period.

Every little fact of this kind becomes of importance when it is regarded in its proper connection with others; and all such facts may be rendered meaningless by a sufficient degree of what is called “general information” in the examiner. Thus, in some review of the first volume of this work (I forget which, and it is not worth research) the writer tried to destroy the meaning of one of the most important facts stated in the opening chapter,—namely, the transportation for forgery of the sculptor of the Vendramin tomb,—by quoting the execution of Calendario in the loggia

¹ [For another reference to the door-head, see above, Appendix 10, p. 269. The plate is here reduced from 17½ x 11 to 7½ x 4⁵/₈.]

² [In *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii.; see Vol. X. p. 166, and Plate 11.]



J. Ruskin

M. Ligon & Company, Edin'

Door Heads.

1. In Ramo dirimpetto Mocenigo.

of the palace of which he was the reputed architect. If, however, the reviewer had read Venetian history in anything but guide-books, he would hardly have committed so gross a blunder as ascribing the architecture of the Ducal Palace to Calendario at all; and if he had had common honesty, he would have stated for what crime Calendario suffered—namely, for his share in the conspiracy of the Doge Faliero; so that there is exactly the same kind of difference between the death of Calendario and the punishment of Leopardo, as between the execution of Montrose and the transportation of a pickpocket. But thus I have the trouble of gathering facts and putting them in their true light—merely that English reviewers may run their pens through them, and blot them back into unintelligibility.¹

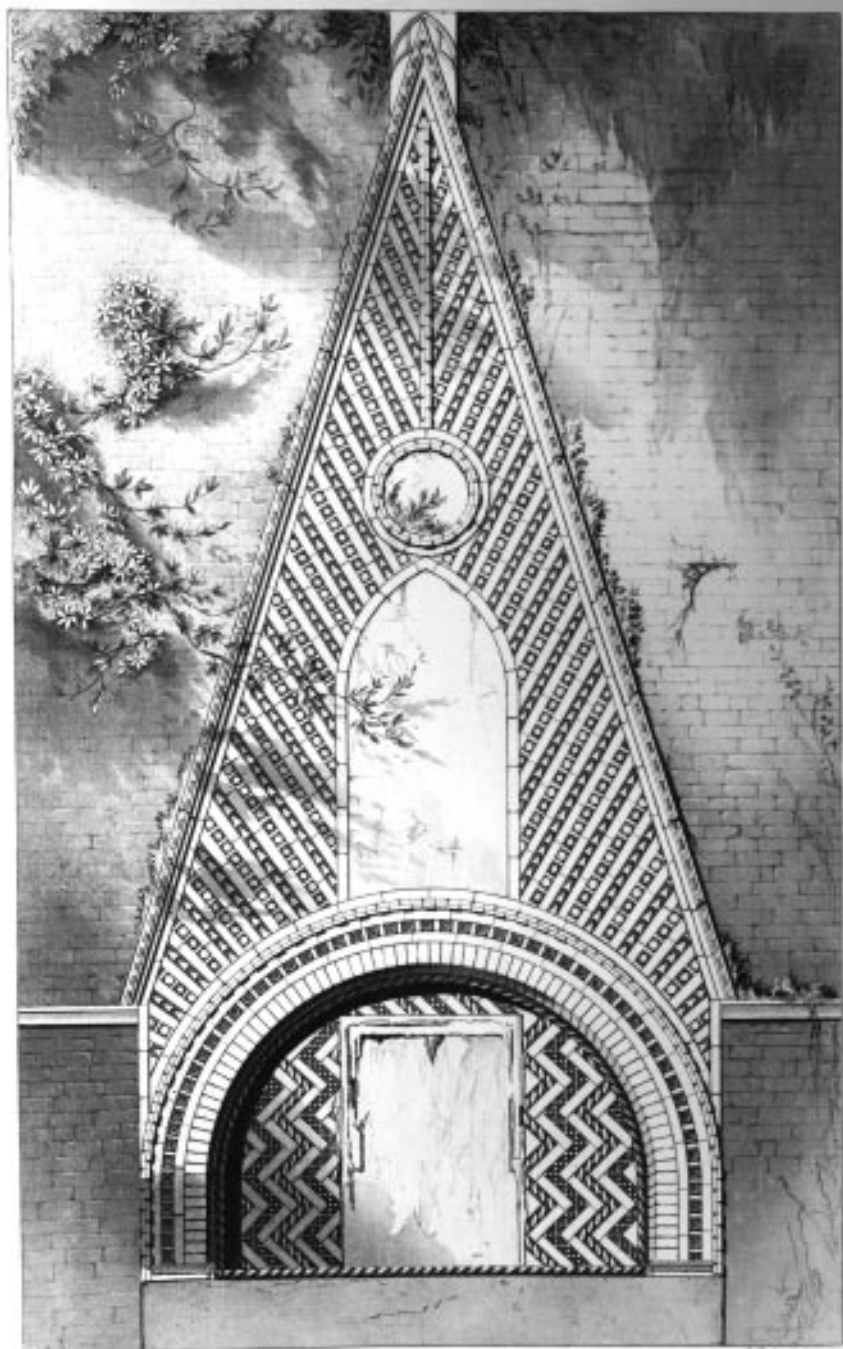
¹ [See above, p. 247.]

PLATE 13

DOOR-HEADS

2. In Campiello della Chiesa, San Luca

THIS remarkable tympanum, evidently of the same school and date (thirteenth century) as that figured in the last Plate, is one of the most elaborate pieces of brickwork in Venice, next to the door of Campo S. Margherita. It is an entrance to a courtyard; and must have been singularly beautiful before the sculpture on the pieces of inlaid stone was defaced. Neither the bearings nor design in the pointed arch, or circle above, are any more decipherable; but the brickwork remains entirely uninjured. It is composed of five kinds of bricks, all in regular lengths of about 10 inches: one quite plain, but either straight or curved according to the requirements of the design: another with a pattern of raised triangles on it; another with one of raised squares and circles alternately; another with a chain of small squares, and another with little oblique rhombs. Their mode of arrangement is visible enough in the Plate, which is carefully drawn to scale: but one thing is to be especially noticed in the treatment of the gabled space both here and in Plate 12th. The sloping courses of bricks are gradually set at a less and less angle; so that the whole system radiates like the branches of a fir tree, becoming less and less inclined as it nears the ground. In order to be sure of my fact, I counted the courses of bricks, and measured their angles with the dripstone at five separate points from top to bottom: and the Plate may, therefore, be entirely



J. H. W. L.

J. C. Arpente
Allen & Co. B.

Door Heads,
2, In Campiello della chiesa, San Luca.

depended upon. Observe, especially, in Plate 12, how valuable mere joints filled with mortar may become, when they are used by a man who knows what he is about.

The dripstone and terminal ornament at the apex of the gable in Plate 13 are of stone.¹

¹ [The plate is here reduced from 19½ x 12 to 7 x 4³/8.]

PLATE 14

CA' BERNARDO MOCENIGO

Capital of Window Shafts

BEFORE the Venetian Gothic was corrupted by the Renaissance, it assumed, for a period of about fifty years, a fixed form, perfect in many respects; but in others showing the kind of weakness which would naturally expose it to dangerous innovation. At this period, a kind of capital is used for ordinary service in places not especially conspicuous, of which, from its frequency, it is necessary the reader should be able to form a perfect idea. I have, therefore, drawn the angle leaf of one of them, in this Plate, of the real size.¹ It is from the inner cortile of the Ca' Bernardo Mocenigo, now well known as the Hotel Danieli.² A form of the common English ball flower is used on the bell between the angle leaves: and occurs also in all capitals of this group, in variously modified conditions, sometimes becoming a conical bud, and sometimes a flat quatrefoil. The general effect of the capital will be seen in many other Plates:³ here I only wish to give a thorough idea of the workmanship and conception of the leaves.

¹ [Here reduced from 18½ x 11½ to 7 x 4¼.]

² [For further particulars of the palace, see below, Venetian Index, p. 395. Ruskin stayed at the Hotel Danieli in the winter of 1849–1850.]

³ [See, for instance, fig. 3 in Plate 2 of *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii, opposite p. 12 above.]



J. P. ...

T. B. ...
Allen & Co. ...

Ca' Bernardo Mocenigo.
Capital of Window Shafts.

PLATE 15

THE DUCAL PALACE

Renaissance Capitals of the Loggia

THE Capitals seen in this Plate will give a general idea of the workmanship of the fifteenth century Gothic of the Ducal Palace:¹ the Capital given in Plate 1 shows that of the previous century. The reader may perhaps at first like those in Plate 15 the best; let him give them both time; remembering that the entire *design* and proportion of the loggia in Plate 15, is of the earlier period, but executed in continuation of the older part of the palace, with, as it was thought, improved Capitals, after the year 1424.

The two nearest shafts are of red marble, as well as the portion of balustrade between them. They are the ninth and tenth from the judgment angle (I shall usually thus call the angle of the palace on which is the sculpture of the Judgment of Solomon); and the red marble was substituted for the Istrian stone in order to commemorate the showing of the head of Faliero to the people from between those shafts.² When the substitution took place I know not, but the capitals are unquestionably of the date I have assigned to them.³

¹ [See further on this subject, Vol. IX. p. 292 n.; and above, Appendix 1, p. 248.]

² [See above, p. 248.]

³ [The plate is here reduced from 19½ x 12½ to 7½ x 4⁷/₈.]



J. B. Smith

M. Legu & Company, Eds.

The Ducal Palace.
Renaissance Capitals of the Loggia.

[Added in this Edition]

PLATE 16

ARCHIVOLT IN ST. MARK'S

THIS plate is reproduced from an unfinished mezzotint intended for a later part of *The Examples*. There is also a drawing of the subject by Ruskin in the collection of Mrs. Cunliffe. It is in pen, colour, and gold, 12 x 17¾. A note on the back says: "From a daguerreotype with added study of detail."]

The archivolt is that of the southernmost lateral porch of St. Mark's; that is, the porch to the extreme right of the spectator as he fronts the façade. Next to it, on the spectator's left (*i.e.* between this porch and the great central one), is the porch of whose archivolt a piece is shown in Plate 6 of the second volume of *The Stones of Venice*. The doorway has been converted into a window. On the keystone of the arch is the Child Jesus in His mother's arms. It should be observed that Christ is similarly the keystone of every arch of every door of the building.¹]

¹Compare what Ruskin similarly says of the mosaics of the interior, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. pp. 134, 139).



J. Ruskin

T. Lupton.
Allen & Co. So

"St. Mark's Vault."

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VENETIAN INDEX¹

EXPLANATORY NOTE

IN the Venetian Index, I have named every building of importance in the city of Venice itself, or near it; supplying, for the convenience of the traveller, short notices of those to which I had no occasion to allude in the text of the work; and making the whole as complete a guide as I could, with such added directions as I should have given to any private friend visiting the city. As, however, in many cases, the opinions I have expressed differ widely from those usually received; and, in other instances, subjects which may be of much interest to the traveller, have not come within the scope of my inquiry; the reader had better take Lazari's small Guide² in his hand also, as he will find in it both the information I have been unable to furnish, and the expression of most of the received opinions upon any subject of art.

Various inconsistencies will be noticed in the manner of indicating the buildings, some being named in Italian, some in English, and some half in one, and half in the other. But these inconsistencies are permitted in order to save trouble, and make the Index more practically useful. For instance, I believe the traveller will generally look for "Mark," rather than for "Marco," when he wishes to find the reference to St. Mark's Church; but I think he will look for Rocco, rather than for Roch, when he is seeking for the account of the Scuola di San Rocco. So also I have altered the character in which the titles of the plates are printed, from the black letter in the first volume, to the plain Roman in the second and third;³ finding

¹ [In eds. 1-3 (*i.e.* in all those which preceded the publication in 1886 of the new index by Mr. Wedderburn, see Vol. IX. pp. liv., lviii.), the heading and first few introductory lines were different, thus:—

“Indices.

I. Personal Index. III. Topical Index.
II. Local Index. IV. Venetian Index.

The first of the following Indices contains the names of persons; the second those of places (not in Venice) alluded to in the body of the work. The third Index consists of references to the subjects touched upon. In the fourth, called the Venetian Index, I have named . . .”]

² [See Vol. X. p. 59 *n.*; the book has long been out of print and is now scarce.]

³ [The “black letter” in the first volume was retained in all the editions (1-4) of the original size in which the original Plates were used. A specimen of it is preserved in this edition in Plate XX. of vol. i. (Vol. IX. p. 425), which also is printed from the original Plate.]

experimentally that the former character was not easily legible, and conceiving that the book would be none the worse for this practical illustration of its own principles, in a daring sacrifice of symmetry to convenience.

Alphabetical Indices¹ will, however, be of little use, unless another, and a very different kind of Index, be arranged in the mind of the reader; an Index explanatory of the principal purposes and contents of the various parts of this essay.² It is difficult to analyze the nature of the reluctance with which either a writer or painter takes it upon him to explain the meaning of his own work, even in cases where, without such explanation, it must in a measure remain always disputable: but I am persuaded that this reluctance is, in most instances, carried too far; and that, wherever there really is a serious purpose in a book or a picture, the author does wrong who, either in modesty or vanity (both feelings have their share in producing the dislike of personal interpretation), trusts entirely to the patience and intelligence of the readers or spectators to penetrate into their significance. At all events, I will, as far as possible, spare such trouble with respect to these volumes, by stating here, finally and clearly, both what they intend and what they contain; and this the rather because I have lately noticed, with some surprise, certain reviewers announcing as a discovery, what I thought I had lain palpably on the surface of the book, namely, that “if Mr. Ruskin be right, all the architects, and all the architectural teaching of the last three hundred years, must have been wrong.”³ That is indeed precisely the fact; and the very thing I meant to say, which indeed I thought I had said over and over again. I believe the architects of the last three centuries to have been wrong; wrong without exception; wrong totally, and from the foundation. This is exactly the point I have been endeavouring to prove, from the beginning of this work to the end of it. But as it seems not yet to have been stated clearly enough, I will here try to put my entire theorem into an unmistakable form.

The various nations who attained eminence in the arts before the time of Christ, each of them, produced forms of architecture which in their various degrees of merit were almost exactly indicative of the degrees of intellectual and moral energy of the nations which originated them; and each reached its greatest perfection at the time when the true energy and prosperity of the people who had invented it were at their culminating point. Many of these various styles of architecture were good, considered in relation to the times and races which gave birth to them; but none were absolutely good or perfect, or fitted for the practice of all future time.

The advent of Christianity for the first time rendered possible the full development of the soul of man, and therefore the full development of the arts of man.

Christianity gave birth to a new architecture, not only immeasurably superior to all that had preceded it, but demonstrably the best architecture that *can* exist; perfect in construction and decoration, and fit for the practice of all time.

¹ [In eds. 1–3, “These alphabetical Indices.”]

² [For the circumstances in which this Explanatory Note was inserted, see above, Introduction, p. xvi.]

³ [*The Builder*, August 13, 1853; see Vol. X. p. xlv. n.]

This architecture, commonly called "Gothic," though in conception perfect, like the theory of a Christian character, never reached an actual perfection, having been retarded and corrupted by various adverse influences; but it reached its highest perfection, hitherto manifested, about the close of the thirteenth century, being then indicative of a peculiar energy in the Christian mind of Europe.

In the course of the fifteenth century, owing to various causes which I have endeavoured to trace in the preceding pages, the Christianity of Europe was undermined; and a Pagan architecture was introduced, in imitation of that of the Greeks and Romans.

The architecture of the Greeks and Romans themselves was not good, but it was natural, and, as I said before,¹ good in some respects, and for a particular time.

But the imitative architecture introduced first in the fifteenth century, and practised ever since, was neither good nor natural. It was good in no respect, and for no time. All the architects who have built in that style have built what was worthless; and therefore the greater part of the architecture which has been built for the last three hundred years, and which we are now building, is worthless. We must give up this style totally, despise it and forget it, and build henceforward only in that perfect and Christian style hitherto called Gothic, which is everlastingly the best.

This is the theorem of these volumes.

In support of this theorem, the first volume contains, in its first chapter, a sketch of the actual history of Christian architecture, up to the period of the Reformation; and, in the subsequent chapters, an analysis of the entire system of the laws of architectural construction and decoration, deducing from those laws positive conclusions as to the best forms and manners of building for all time.

The second volume contains, in its first five chapters, an account of one of the most important and least known forms of Christian architecture, as exhibited in Venice, together with an analysis of its nature in the fourth chapter; and, which is a peculiarly important part of this section, an account of the power of colour over the human mind.

The sixth chapter of the second volume contains an analysis of the nature of Gothic architecture, properly so called, and shows that in its external form it complies precisely with the abstract laws of structure and beauty, investigated in the first volume. The seventh and eighth chapters of the second volume illustrate the nature of Gothic architecture by various Venetian examples. The third volume investigates, in its first chapter, the causes and manner of the corruption of Gothic architecture; in its second chapter, defines the nature of the Pagan architecture which superseded it; in the third chapter, shows the connection of that Pagan architecture with the various characters of mind which brought about the destruction of the Venetian nation; and, in the fourth chapter, points out the dangerous tendencies in the modern mind which the practice of such an architecture indicates.

Such is the intention of the preceding pages, which I hope will no more be doubted or mistaken. As far as regards the manner of its fulfilment,

¹ [See preceding page.]

though I hope, in the course of other inquiries, to add much to the elucidation of the points in dispute, I cannot feel it necessary to apologise for the imperfect handling of a subject which the labour of a long life, had I been able to bestow it, must still have left imperfectly treated.¹

¹ [Here in eds. 1–3, the Personal, Local, and Topical Indices followed; while the further introductory remarks, now given on pp. 359, 360, came under the head “IV. Venetian Index.”]

INDEX¹

I HAVE endeavoured to make the following index as useful as possible to the traveller by indicating only the objects which are really worth his study. A traveller's interest, stimulated as it is into strange vigour by the freshness of every impression, and deepened by the sacredness of the charm of association which long familiarity with any scene too fatally wears away,* is too precious a thing to be heedlessly wasted; and as it is physically impossible to see and to understand more than a certain quantity of art in a given time, the attention bestowed on second-rate works, in such a city as Venice, is not merely lost, but actually harmful,—deadening the interest and confusing the memory with respect to those which it is a duty to enjoy, and a disgrace to forget. The reader need not fear being misled by any omissions; for I have conscientiously pointed out every characteristic example, even of the styles which I dislike, and have referred to Lazari in all instances in which my own information failed: but if he is in anywise willing to trust me, I should recommend him to devote his principal attention, if he is fond of paintings, to the works of Tintoret, Paul Veronese, and John Bellini; not of course neglecting Titian, yet remembering that Titian can be well and thoroughly studied in almost any great European gallery, while Tintoret and Bellini can be judged of *only* in Venice, and Paul Veronese, though gloriously represented by the two great pictures in the Louvre,² and many others throughout Europe, is yet not to be

* “Am I in Italy? Is this the Mincius?
Are those the distant turrets of Verona?
And shall I sup where Juliet at the masque
Saw her loved Montague, and now sleeps by him?
Such questions hourly do I ask myself;
And not a stone in a crossway inscribed
'To Mantua,' 'To Ferrara,' but excites
Surprise, and doubt, and self-congratulation.”

Alas! after a few short months, spent even in the scenes dearest to history, we can feel thus no more.³

¹ [In the following Index the author's additions made for the “Travellers' Edition” of 1881 are enclosed in round brackets; the editors' additions—with regard to which see above, Introduction, p. xxiii.—in square brackets. In following Ruskin's topographical directions in this and the preceding volumes, the reader should remember that the *canale* is the broader, and the *rio* the narrower waterway. A *fondamenta* is a pathway alongside a canale or a rio; a *calle*, a street with houses on either side; a *campo*, a paved open place; a *campiello*, a smaller campo; a *corte*, a court; a *salizzata* is a paved street; for *sacca* see Vol. X. p. 37 n.]

² [At the time Ruskin wrote, “The Family of Darius,” now No. 294 in the National Gallery, had not been brought to London; it was purchased in 1857. Ruskin described it as “the most precious Paul Veronese in the world.” The “two great pictures in the Louvre” are “The Wedding Feast of Cana” and “The Dinner at Simon, the Pharisee's”: see Ruskin's “Notes on the Louvre” in Vol. XII.]

³ [See the letter to Rogers in the Introduction, above, p. xxvi.]

fully estimated until he is seen at play among the fantastic chequers of the Venetian ceilings.

I have supplied somewhat copious notices of the pictures of Tintoret, because they are much injured, difficult to read, and entirely neglected by other writers on art. I cannot express the astonishment and indignation I felt on finding, in Kugler's handbook, a paltry cenacolo, painted probably in a couple of hours for a couple of zecchins, for the monks of St. Trovaso, quoted as characteristic of this master;¹ just as foolish readers quote separate stanzas of Peter Bell or the Idiot Boy, as characteristic of Wordsworth. Finally, the reader is requested to observe, that the dates assigned to the various buildings named in the following index, are almost without exception conjectural; that is to say, founded exclusively on the internal evidence of which a portion has been given in the Final Appendix. It is likely, therefore, that here and there, in particular instances, farther inquiry may prove me to have been deceived; but such occasional errors are not of the smallest importance with respect to the general conclusions of the preceding pages, which will be found to rest on too broad a basis to be disturbed.

(1881. The delay in the publication of the second volume of the "Travellers' Edition" was caused by my wish to complete this index into some more generally serviceable form. But I find that now-a-days, as soon as I begin to speak of anything anywhere, it is sure to be moved somewhere else; and now, at last, in desperation, I print the old index almost as it was, cutting out of it only the often-repeated statements that such and such churches or pictures were of "no importance."² The modern traveller is but too likely to say so for himself. In my last edition of *Murray's Guide to Northern Italy*, I find the visitor advised how to see all the remarkable objects in Venice in a single day.³

¹ [See the edition of 1851, vol. ii. pp. 460–461. In subsequent editions the passage was omitted; in still later editions an apologetic note was inserted, referring to the better understanding of Tintoret's works which Ruskin had brought about: this note has already been cited, see Vol. IV. p. xlvi. For Ruskin's notice of the picture referred to, see below, s. "Trovaso," p. 435.]

² [The index is in this edition reprinted as it stood in the original and uncurtailed form; for the variations in the "Travellers' Edition," see above, Bibliographical Note, p. xxxiv.]

³ [So also in the current edition; but the less hurried visitor is given a week. Baedeker's plan allows him "3–4 days."]

Ruskin originally intended to revise the index further by adding fresh notices of painters. This appears from the first MS. version of the note here:—

"1877. All the important works of Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio are now also noticed in this index, and I have revised it throughout; so that, with this in his hand, the traveller will sufficiently know what I esteem best worth his attention. For detailed criticism he must consult my recent Guides."

"My recent Guides" are the *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy at Venice* (1877) and the first supplement to *St. Mark's Rest* (describing Carpaccio's pictures) issued separately in the same year.]

A

ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTE¹. Notice above the door the two bas-reliefs of St. Leonard and St. Christopher, chiefly remarkable for their rude cutting at so late a date, 1377; but the niches under which they stand are unusual in their bent gables, and in the little crosses within circles which fill their cusps. The traveller is generally too much struck by Titian's great picture of the "Assumption," to be able to pay proper attention to the other works in this gallery. Let him, however, ask himself candidly, how much of his admiration is dependent merely upon the picture being larger than any other in the room, and having bright masses of red and blue in it; let him be assured, that the picture is in reality not one whit the better for being either large, or gaudy in colour; and he will then be better disposed to give the pains necessary to discover the merit of the more profound and solemn works of Bellini and Tintoret. One of the most wonderful works in the whole gallery is Tintoret's "Death of Abel," on the left of the "Assumption;" the "Adam and Eve," on the right of it, is hardly inferior; and both are more characteristic examples of the master, and in many respects better pictures, than the much vaunted "Miracle of St. Mark." All the works of Bellini in this room are of great beauty and interest. In the great room, that which contains Titian's "Presentation of the Virgin," the traveller should examine carefully all the pictures by Vittor Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini, which represent scenes in ancient Venice; they are full of interesting architecture and costume. Marco Basaiti's "Agony in the Garden" is a lovely example of the religious school. The Tintorets in this room² are all second rate, but most of the Veroneses are good, and the large ones are magnificent.

(1877. I leave this article as originally written; 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.)

ALGA. See GIORGIO.

ALVISE, CHURCH OF ST. I have never been in this church, but Lazari dates its interior, with decision, as of the year 1388, and it may be worth a glance, if the traveller has time.³

¹ [On the Grand Canal, in a group of buildings belonging to the church, monastery, and guild of S. Maria della Carità, which were appropriated by the French Government, after the fall of the Republic, for a picture gallery. For Ruskin's account of the building and description of the pictures, see his *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice*, first issued in 1877. In this separate publication, instead of in the sixth chapter of *St. Mark's Rest*, as he first intended (see his note of 1877, above), is contained his "notice of as many pictures as travellers are likely to have time to look at."]

² [The rooms have been re-arranged since Ruskin wrote; see notes to his *Guide*, where also other references (besides those in the *Guide* itself) to the pictures here mentioned will be found. For the "Miracle of St. Mark" see also Vol. IX. p. 348.]

³ [The church, as Ruskin afterwards pointed out, contains ceiling paintings—characteristic of the Renaissance "passion for perspective"—and "celebrated pieces by Tiepolo . . . the beginner of Modernism" (*St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 189–191); also eight

ANDREA, CHURCH OF ST. Well worth visiting for the sake of the peculiarly sweet and melancholy effect of its little grass-grown campo, opening to the lagoon and the Alps. The sculpture over the door, "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes,"¹ is a quaint piece of Renaissance work. Note the distant rocky landscape, and the oar of the existing gondola floating by St. Andrew's boat. The church is of the later Gothic period, much defaced, but still picturesque. The lateral windows are bluntly trefoiled, and good of their time.

(1877. All now defaced and defiled by factory and railroad bridges. A mere woe and desolation.)

ANGELI, CHURCH DEGLI, at Murano. The sculpture of the "Annunciation" over the entrance-gate is graceful. In exploring Murano, it is worth while to row up the great canal thus far for the sake of the opening to the lagoon.

[ANGELO, PONTE DELL', X. 295.]

ANTONINO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

A POLLINARE, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance [IX. p. 237].

APOSTOLI, CHURCH OF THE. The exterior is nothing. There is said to be a picture by Veronese in the interior, "The Fall of the Manna." I have not seen it; but if it be of importance, the traveller should compare it carefully with Tintoret's, in the Scuola di San Rocco, and in San Giorgio Maggiore.

(1877. It is an imitation of that in San Giorgio, almost invisible, and not worth losing time upon.²)

APOSTOLI, PALACE AT, X. 296, on the Grand Canal, near the Rialto, opposite the fruit-market. A most important transitional palace. Its sculpture in the first story is peculiarly rich and curious; I think Venetian, in imitation of Byzantine. The sea story and first floor are of the first half of the thirteenth century, the rest modern. Observe that only one wing of the sea story is left, the other half having been modernized. The traveller should land to look at the capital drawn in Plate 2 of Vol. XI., fig. 7 [above, opposite p. 12].

ARSENAL. Its gateway is a curiously picturesque example of Renaissance workmanship, admirably sharp and expressive in its ornamental sculpture; it is in many parts like some of the best Byzantine work. The Greek lions in front of it appear to me to deserve more praise than they have received; though they are awkwardly balanced between conventional and imitative representation, having neither the severity proper to the one, nor the veracity necessary for the other.³

(1877. No, there's no good in them; they are stupid work of the

panels, "to me among the most interesting pieces of art in North Italy," being, according to Ruskin's attribution, youthful pieces by Carpaccio—"Solomon and the Queen of Sheba," etc.—(*ibid.*, §§ 191–193).]

¹ [Eds. 1–3 read, "St. Peter Walking on the Water," instead of "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes."]

² [In a MS. note Ruskin says:—

"It is an imitation of Tintoret's at San Giorgio, and seems to have had some qualities unusual in Paolo; but nothing can be seen of it in its present place. To me, the tombs in the Cornaro chapel are invisible also to any purpose. It is waste of time to go to the church."]

³ [For some windows near the Arsenal, see X. 303.]

Greek decadence,—mere cumber of ground: but at least decently quiet, not strutting or sprawling or mouthing like lions of modern notion. Pacific at least—not insolent lumber. The traveller who cares for Turner should look with remembering attention at the internal angle of the Arsenal canal. Turner made its brick walls one flame of spiritual fire, in his mystic drawing of them, now in our National Gallery.¹)

B

BADOER, PALAZZO, in the Campo San Giovanni in Bragora [IX. 289–290 and Plate 8].

A magnificent example of the fourteenth century Gothic, circa 1310–1320, anterior to the Ducal Palace, and showing beautiful ranges of the fifth-order window, with fragments of the original balconies, and the usual lateral window larger than any of the rest. In the centre of its arcade on the first floor is the inlaid ornament drawn in Plate 8, Vol. IX. The fresco painting on the walls is of later date; and I believe the heads which form the finials have been inserted afterwards also, the original windows having been pure fifth order.

The building is now a ruin, inhabited by the lowest orders; the first floor, when I was last in Venice, by a laundress.

(1877. Restored and destroyed.)

BAFFO, PALAZZO, in the Campo St. Maurizio. The commonest late Renaissance. A few olive-leaves and vestiges of two figures still remain upon it, of the frescoes by Paul Veronese with which it was once adorned.

(1877. All but gone now; nor were they Paul's—only some clever imitations.)

[BAGATIN, Calle del, X. 281.]

BALBI, PALAZZO, in Volta di Canal. Of no importance.

BARBARIGO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, next the Casa Pisani [X. 325]. Late Renaissance; noticeable only as a house in which some of the best pictures of Titian were allowed to be ruined by damp, and out of which they were then sold to the Emperor of Russia.²

BARBARO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, next the Palazzo Cavalli. These two buildings form the principal objects in the foreground of the view which almost every artist seizes on his first traverse of the Grand Canal, the Church of the Salute forming a most graceful distance. Neither is, however, of much value, except in general effect; but the Barbaro is the best, and the pointed arcade in its side wall, seen from the narrow canal between it and the Cavalli, is good Gothic of the earliest fourteenth century type.

BARNABA, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

BARTOLOMEO, CHURCH OF ST. I did not go to look at the works of Sebastian del Piombo which it contains, fully crediting M. Lazari's statement,

¹ [No. 173 in the Water Colour Collection; referred to by Ruskin in the Preface to his *Notes on the Turner Gallery*, 1856, as “an excellent instance of Turner's later manner.”]

² [This was in 1850. The pictures by Titian—a penitent “Magdalen” (by his son Pompino), “Venus with the Mirror,” “Portrait of Paul III.,” and five others—are now in the gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.]

that they have been “Barbaramente sfigurati da mani imperite che pretendevano ristaurarli.” Otherwise the church is of no importance.¹

BASSO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

BATTAGLIA, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Of no importance.

BECCHERIE. See QUERINI

BEMBO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, next the Casa Manin. A noble Gothic pile, circa 1400,² which, before it was painted by the modern Venetians with the two most valuable colours of Tintoret, Bianco e Nero,³ by being whitewashed above, and turned into a coal warehouse below, must have been among the most noble in effect on the whole Grand Canal. It still forms a beautiful group with the Rialto, some large shipping being generally anchored at its quay. Its sea story and entresol are of earlier date, I believe, than the rest; the doors of the former are Byzantine (see above, Final Appendix, under head “Jambs” [p. 270]); and above the entresol is a beautiful Byzantine cornice, built into the wall, and harmonising well with the Gothic work.

BEMBO, PALAZZO, in the Calle Magno, at the Campo de’ due Pozzi, close to the Arsenal. Noticed by Lazari and Selvatico as having a very interesting staircase. It is early Gothic, circa 1330, but not a whit more interesting than many others of similar date and design. See “Contarini Porta de Ferro,” “Morosini,” “Sanudo,” and “Minelli.”

BENEDETTO, CAMPO OF ST. Do not fail to see the superb, though partially ruinous, Gothic palace fronting this little square. It is very late Gothic, just passing into Renaissance; unique in Venice, in masculine character, united with the delicacy of the incipient style. Observe especially the brackets of the balconies, the flower-work on the cornices, and the arabesques on the angles of the balconies themselves.

BENEDETTO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

BERNARDO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. A very noble pile of early fifteenth century Gothic, founded on the Ducal Palace. The traceries in its lateral windows are both rich and unusual.

BERNARDO, PALAZZO, at St. Polo. A glorious palace, on a narrow canal, in a part of Venice now inhabited by the lower orders only. It is rather late central Gothic, circa 1380–1400, but of the finest kind, and superb in its effect of colour when seen from the side. A capital in the interior court is much praised by Selvatico and Lazari, because its “foglie d’ acanto” (anything, by the bye, *but* acanthus), “quasi agitate da vento si attorcigliano d’ intorno alla campana, *concetto non indegno della bell’ epoca greca!*” Does this mean “epoca Bisantina”? The capital is simply a translation into Gothic sculpture of the Byzantine ones of St. Mark’s and the Fondaco de’ Turchi (see Plate 8, Vol. IX., fig. 14), and is far inferior to either. But, taken as a whole, I think that, after the Ducal Palace, this is the noblest in effect of all in Venice.

BRENTA, Banks of the, IX. 412. Villas on the, IX. 413.

BUSINELLO, CASA, X. 453.

¹ [This sentence is omitted in the “Travellers’ Edition.”]

² [The date “1400” was substituted in the “Travellers’ Edition” for “1350–1380” in the editions of the complete work.]

³ [See, for other references to this saying of Tintoret’s, Vol. X. p. xxxv., and *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xvi. § 42.]

BYZANTINE PALACES generally, X. 143.¹
 ["BRAIDED HOUSE," X. 146 *n.*, 159 *n.*, 453.]
 [BIAGIO, FONDAMENTA S., X. 303 *n.*]

C

CAMERLENGHI, PALACE OF THE, beside the Rialto [X. 6]. A graceful work of the early Renaissance (1525) passing into Roman Renaissance. Its details are inferior to most of the work of the school. The "Camerlenghi," properly "Camerlenghi di Comune," were the three officers or ministers who had care of the administration of public expenses.

CANCELLARIA, X. 342.

CANCIANO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

CAPPELLO, PALAZZO, at St. Aponal. Of no interest. Some say that Bianca Cappello fled from it; but the tradition seems to fluctuate between the various houses belonging to her family.²

CARITÀ, CHURCH OF THE. Once an interesting Gothic church of the fourteenth century, lately defaced, and applied to some of the usual important purposes of the modern Italians.³ The effect of its ancient façade may partly be guessed at from the pictures of Canaletto, but only guessed at; Canaletto being less to be trusted for renderings of details, than the rudest and most ignorant painter of the thirteenth century.⁴

CARMINI, CHURCH OF THE [XI. 12]. A most interesting church, of late thirteenth century work, but much altered and defaced. Its nave, in which the early shafts and capitals of the pure truncate form are unaltered, is very fine in effect; its lateral porch is quaint and beautiful, decorated with Byzantine circular sculptures (of which the central one is given in Vol. X., Plate 11, fig. 5), and supported on two shafts whose capitals are the most archaic examples of the pure Rose form that I know in Venice.

There is a glorious Tintoret over the first altar on the right in entering; the "Circumcision of Christ." I do not know an aged head either more beautiful or more picturesque than that of the high priest. The

¹ [The last three entries under B. were omitted in the "Travellers' Edition," but retained in later issues of the complete work.]

² [See Vol. X. p. 295. The memory of the infamous Bianca (1542–1587) is associated also with the Ca' Trevisan, which she bought in 1577, and gave to her brother, Vittore Cappello (see above, Appendix 4, p. 256). She was a rich heiress who, at the age of fifteen, fled from Venice to Florence, to marry a poor bookkeeper. She became the mistress, and then the wife, of Francesco de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany, who had procured the assassination of her first husband. "Notwithstanding her condemnation by the laws of Venice, the Signory, on her second marriage, took her under their protection for political reasons, and proclaimed her 'the true and particular daughter of the Republic.'" The story of her subsequent adventures, and of the mysterious death of herself and the Duke, may be read in Symonds' *Renaissance*, vi., pp. 296–297 (ed. 1898). Some have thought that hers is the face, of cruel and sensual beauty, which looks at us from Paris Bordone's "Portrait of a Lady" in the National Gallery (No. 674).]

³ [The church forms part of the Accademia delle Belle Arti (see above, p. 361).]

⁴ [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. pp. 255, 337).]

cloister is full of notable tombs, nearly all dated; one, of the fifteenth century, to the left on entering, is interesting from the colour still left on the leaves and flowers of its sculptured roses.

CASSIANO, CHURCH OF ST. This church must on no account be missed, as it contains three Tintorets, of which one, the "Crucifixion," is among the finest in Europe.¹ There is nothing worth notice in the building itself, except the jamb of an ancient door (left in the Renaissance buildings, facing the canal), which has been given among the examples of Byzantine jambs;² and the traveller may therefore devote his entire attention to the three pictures in the chancel.

1. *The Crucifixion.* (On the left of the high altar.) It is refreshing to find a picture taken care of, and in a bright, though not a good light, so that such parts of it as are seen at all are seen well. It is also in a better state than most pictures in galleries, and most remarkable for its new and strange treatment of the subject. It seems to have been painted more for the artist's own delight, than with any laboured attempt at composition; the horizon is so low, that the spectator must fancy himself lying at full length on the grass, or rather among the brambles and luxuriant weeds, of which the foreground is entirely composed. Among these, the seamless robe of Christ has fallen at the foot of the cross; the rambling briars and wild grasses thrown here and there over its folds of rich, but pale, crimson. Behind them, and seen through them, the heads of a troop of Roman soldiers are raised against the sky; and, above them, their spears and halberds form a thin forest against the horizontal clouds. The three crosses are put on the extreme right of the picture, and its centre is occupied by the executioners, one of whom, standing on a ladder, receives from the other at once the sponge and the tablet with the letters INRI. The Madonna and St. John are on the extreme left, superbly painted, like all the rest, but quite subordinate. In fact, the whole mind of the painter seems to have been set upon making the principals accessory, and the accessories principal. We look first at the grass, and then at the scarlet robe; and then at the clump of distant spears, and then at the sky, and last of all at the cross. As a piece of colour, the picture is notable for its extreme modesty. There is not a single very full or bright tint in any part, and yet the colour is delighted in throughout; not the slightest touch of it but is delicious. It is worth notice also, and especially, because this picture being in a fresh state, we are sure of one fact, that, like nearly all other great colourists, Tintoret was afraid of light greens in his vegetation. He often uses dark blue greens in his shadowed trees, but here where the grass is in full light, it is all painted with various hues of solber brown, more especially where it crosses the crimson robe. The handling of the whole is in his noblest manner; and I consider the picture generally quite beyond all price. It was cleaned, I believe, some years ago, but not injured, or at least as

¹ [Not to be confused with the "Crucifixion" in the Scuola di San Rocco (see below, p. 428), which Ruskin considered yet finer. A photograph of the Cassiano "Crucifixion" is reproduced at p. 46 of J. B. Stoughton Holborn's *Tintoretto*, 1903. It is one of two pictures by Tintoret which Ruskin in 1852 hoped to secure for the National Gallery: see Introduction to Vol. XII.]

² [See above, p. 270.]

little injured as it is possible for a picture to be which has undergone any cleaning process whatsoever.

2. *The Resurrection*. (Over the high altar.) The lower part of this picture is entirely concealed by a miniature temple, about five feet high, on the top of the altar; certainly an insult little expected by Tintoret, as, by getting on steps, and looking over the said temple, one may see that the lower figures of the picture are the most laboured. It is strange that the painter never seemed able to conceive this subject with any power, and in the present work he is marvellously hampered by various types and conventionalities. It is not a painting of the Resurrection, but of Roman Catholic saints, *thinking* about the Resurrection. On one side of the tomb is a bishop in full robes, on the other a female saint, I know not who; beneath it, an angel playing on an organ, and a cherub blowing it; and other cherubs flying about the sky, with flowers; the whole conception being a mass of Renaissance absurdities. It is, moreover, heavily painted, over-done, and over-finished; and the forms of the cherubs utterly heavy and vulgar. I cannot help fancying the picture has been restored in some way or another, but there is still great power in parts of it. If it be a really untouched Tintoret, it is a highly curious example of failure from over-labour on a subject into which his mind was not thrown; the colour is hot and harsh, and felt to be so more painfully, from its opposition to the grand coolness and chastity of the "Crucifixion." The face of the angel playing the organ is highly elaborated; so, also, the flying cherubs.

3. *The Descent into Hades*. (On the right-hand side of the high altar.) Much injured and little to be regretted. I never was more puzzled by any picture, the painting being throughout careless, and in some places utterly bad, and yet not like modern work; the principal figure, however, of Eve, has either been re-done, or is scholar's work altogether, as, I suspect, most of the rest of the picture. It looks as if Tintoret had sketched it when he was ill, left it to a bad scholar to work on with, and then finished it in a hurry: but he has assuredly had something to do with it; it is not likely that anybody else would have refused all aid from the usual spectral company with which common painters fill the scene. Bronzino,¹ for instance, covers his canvas with every form of monster that his sluggish imagination could coin. Tintoret admits only a somewhat haggard Adam, a graceful Eve, two or three Venetians in court dress, seen amongst the smoke, and a Satan represented as a handsome youth, recognisable only by the claws on his feet. The picture is dark and spoiled, but I am pretty sure there are no demons or spectres in it. This is quite in accordance with the master's caprice, but it considerably diminishes the interest of a work in other ways unsatisfactory. There may once have been something impressive in the shooting in of the rays at the top of the cavern, as well as in the strange grass that grows in the bottom, whose infernal character is indicated by its all being knotted together; but so little of these parts can be seen, that it is not worth spending time on a work

¹ [Bronzino's picture of the subject is in the Uffizi at Florence; it is referred to in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 101).]

- certainly unworthy of the master, and in great part probably never seen by him.¹
- CATTARINA, CHURCH OF ST., said to contain a *chef-d'œuvre* of Paul Veronese, the "Marriage of St. Catherine."² I have not seen it.
- CAVALLI, PALAZZO, opposite the Academy of Arts. An imposing pile, on the Grand Canal, of Renaissance Gothic, but of little merit in the details; and the effect of its traceries has been of late destroyed by the fittings of modern external blinds. Its balconies are good, of the later Gothic type.³ See "BARBARO."
- CAVALLI, PALAZZO, next the Casa Grimani (or Post-Office),⁴ but on the other side of the narrow canal. Good Gothic, founded on the Ducal Palace, circa 1380. The capitals of the first story are remarkably rich in the deep fillets at the necks. The crests, heads of sea-horses, inserted between the windows, appear to be later, but are very fine of their kind.
- CICOGLIA, PALAZZO, at San Sebastiano, X. 309, XI. Appendix 10 (6).
- CLEMENTE, CHURCH OF ST. On an island to the south of Venice, from which the view of the city is peculiarly beautiful.⁵ See "SCALZI."
- CONTARINI, PORTA DI FERRO, PALAZZO, near the Church of St. John and Paul, so called from the beautiful ironwork on a door, which was some time ago taken down by the proprietor and sold. Mr. Rawdon Brown rescued some of the ornaments from the hands of the blacksmith who had bought them for old iron. The head of the door is a very interesting stone arch of the early thirteenth century, already drawn in my folio work.⁶ In the interior court is a beautiful remnant of staircase, with a piece of balcony at the top, circa 1350, and one of the most richly and carefully wrought in Venice. The palace, judging by these remanants (all that are now left of it, except a single traceried window of the same date at the turn of the stair), must once have been among the most magnificent in Venice.
- CONTARINI (DELLE FIGURE), PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, XI. 21.
- CONTARINI DAI SCRIGNI, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. A Gothic building, founded on the Ducal Palace. Two Renaissance statues in niches at the sides give it its name.
- CONTARINI FASAN, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, X. 286. The richest work of the fifteenth century domestic Gothic in Venice, but notable more for riches than excellence of design. In one respect, however, it deserves

¹ [Above, on the right, in this picture, there is the figure of an angel flying upwards, which has been compared with the "Ganymede" in the National Gallery (No. 32), by an unknown artist: see the reproductions of the two figures in J. B.S. Holborn's *Tintoretto*, between pp. 34, 35.]

² ["One of his most enchanting works" (Kugler's *Italian Schools of Painting*, edited by Layard, ii. 620).]

³ [This palace has recently been restored by its owner, Baron Franchetti.]

⁴ [Now the Court of Appeal.]

⁵ [The view is that described by Shelley in *Julian and Maddalo*:—

"I leaned, and saw the city, and could mark
How from their many isles in evening's gleam
Its temples and its palaces did seem
Like fabrics of enchantment piled to Heaven."

The church is now part of the Lunatic Asylum, described in the same poem.]

⁶ [Plate 11 in the *Examples*; see above, p. 340.]

to be regarded with attention, as showing how much beauty and dignity may be bestowed on a very small and unimportant dwelling-house by Gothic sculpture. Foolish criticisms upon it have appeared in English accounts of foreign buildings, objecting to it on the ground of its being “ill-proportioned;” the simple fact being, that there was no room in this part of the canal for a wider house, and that its builder made its rooms as comfortable as he could, and its windows and balconies of a convenient size for those who were to see through them, and stand on them, and left the “proportions” outside to take care of themselves; which indeed they have very sufficiently done; for though the house thus honestly confesses its diminutiveness, it is nevertheless one of the principal ornaments of the very noblest reach of the Grand Canal, and would be nearly as great a loss, if it were destroyed, as the Church of La Salute itself.¹

CONTARINI, PALAZZO, at St. Lucca.² Of no importance.

CORNER DELLA CA' GRANDE, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. One of the worst and coldest buildings of the central Renaissance. It is on a grand scale, and is a conspicuous object, rising over the roofs of the neighbouring houses in the various aspects of the entrance of the Grand Canal, and in the general view of Venice from San Clemente.³

CORNER DELLA REGINA, PALAZZO [XI. 150, 190]. A late Renaissance building of no merit or interest.

CORNER MOCENIGO, PALAZZO, at St. Polo. Of no interest.

CORNER SPINELLI, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. A graceful and interesting example of the early Renaissance, remarkable for its pretty circular balconies.

CORRER MUSEUM. (Carpaccio's portrait-study of the two ladies with their pets is the most interesting piece of his finished execution existing in Venice. The Visitation, slight but lovely. The Mantegna? or John Bellini? (the Transfiguration), of the most pathetic interest. And there are many other curious and some beautiful minor pictures. 1877.⁴)†

[CRISTOFORO, DELLA PACE, ST., X. 37.]

¹ [See Ruskin's drawing of the house, Plate 2, opposite p. 212, in Vol. III.]

² [The reader will have noticed the large number of palaces named after the once great Contarini family. “The last of the race died in 1902 in lodgings” (Okey's *Venice*, p. 265); compare Ruskin's remarks above, p. 149 *n.*]

³ [This palace is now the Prefectura; and the next one in the index is the Monte di Pietà.]

⁴ [The above note was substituted in the “Travellers' Edition” (and later issues of the complete work) for the following in eds. 1–3:—

“CORRER, RACCOLTA.—I must refer to M. Lazari's Guide for an account of this collection, which, however, ought only to be visited if the traveller is not pressed for time.”

For Ruskin's account of the Carpaccio in this collection, which he rated extraordinarily high, see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 199–201; for reference to Dürer's woodcuts of Venice, *ibid.*, § 22 *n.*, and *Guide to the Academy at Venice*. The Correr Museum now forms part of the Museo Civico in the Fondaco de' Turchi.]

D

DANDOLO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Between the Casa Loredan and Casa Bembo is a range of modern buildings, some of which occupy, I believe, the site of the palace once inhabited by the Doge Henry Dandolo. Fragments of early architecture of the Byzantine school may still be traced in many places among their foundations, and two doors in the foundation of the Casa Bembo itself belong to the same group. There is only one existing palace, however, of any value, on this spot, a very small but rich Gothic one of about 1300, with two groups of fourth-order windows in its second and third stories, and some Byzantine circular mouldings built into it above. This is still reported to have belonged to the family of Dandolo, and ought to be carefully preserved, as it is one of the most interesting and ancient Gothic palaces which yet remain.

DANIELI, ALBERGO. See NANI.

DA PONTE, PALAZZO. Of no interest.

DARIO, PALAZZO, IX. 33 (Plate 1), 425, XI. 21, 255.

DOGANA DI MARE, at the separation of the Grand Canal from the Giudecca. A barbarous building of the time of the Grottesque Renaissance (1676), rendered interesting only by its position. The statue of Fortune forming the weathercock, standing on the world, is alike characteristic of the conceits of the time, and of the hopes and principles of the last days at Venice.

DONATO, CHURCH OF ST., at Murano, X. 41.

DONÀ, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. I believe the palace described under this name as of the twelfth century, by M. Lazari, is that which I have called the Braided House, X. 453.

D'ORO, CASA [X. 284, XI. 11 *n.*]. A noble pile of very quaint Gothic, once superb in general effect, but now destroyed by restorations. I saw the beautiful slabs of red marble, which formed the bases of its balconies, and were carved into noble spiral mouldings of strange sections, half a foot deep, dashed to pieces when I was last in Venice;¹ its glorious interior staircase,

¹ [*i.e.* in 1851–1852. Previously, in 1845, he had also seen the “restorers” at work there; see the letters quoted in notes to Vol. III. p. 214, and Vol. VIII. p. 243. This famous house was built (1424–1430) for Marino Contarini (Procurator of St. Mark’s) by John Bon, the architect of the Porta della Carta, and other of the early Renaissance work on the Ducal Palace. The contract, with minute specifications, has been unearthed from the State Archives, since Ruskin wrote (see a paper by Signor Boni, communicated to the Royal Institute of British Architects, and summarised in the *Times* of December 7, 1886). Being richly gilded, it was known as the Golden House (Ca’ d’Oro). The painter employed was Maestro Zuan di Franza, and the contract stipulated that some of the stonework was to be painted with white lead, and then veined, in imitation of marble. A speaker in the discussion which followed the reading of Signor Boni’s paper said that “Mr. Ruskin, had he been present, would probably have been aghast” at this documentary evidence. More probably he would have seen in it, with some satisfaction, a sign of the incipient decadence of Venetian architecture, and a confirmation of conclusions arrived at by him on other evidence—the date of the contract being precisely that which he had fixed as the beginning of “The Fall” (see Vol. X. p. 352). Signor Boni’s paper in other respects illustrates Ruskin’s conclusions. “The battlements (referred

by far the most interesting Gothic monument of the kind in Venice, had been carried away, piece by piece, and sold for waste marble, two years before. Of what remains, the most beautiful portions are, or were, when I last saw them, the capitals of the windows in the upper story, most glorious sculpture of the fourteenth century. The fantastic window traceries are, I think, later; but the rest of the architecture of this palace is anomalous, and I cannot venture to give any decided opinion respecting it. Parts of its mouldings are quite Byzantine in character, but look somewhat like imitations.

DUCAL PALACE, IX. 52; history of, X. 328, etc., XI. 247; plan and section of, X. 330, 333; description of, X. 358, etc.; series of its capitals, X. 386, etc.; spandrils of, IX. 352 (and Plate 14), 459; shafts of, IX. 458; traceries of, derived from those of the Frari, X. liii., 273; angles of, X. 280; main balcony of, X. 287; base of, XI. 256; Rio Façade of, XI. 32; paintings in, X. 43.¹ [Plates illustrative of, IX. 14; X. H, I, 19; XI. *Examples*, 1, 5, 5B, 15.]

The multitude of works by various masters which cover the walls of this palace is so great that the traveller is in general merely wearied and confused by them. He had better refuse all attention except to the following works.*

1. *Paradise*, by Tintoret; at the extremity of the Great Council-chamber [X. 355, 438; XI. 235]. I found it impossible to count the number of figures in this picture, of which the grouping is so intricate, that at the upper part it is not easy to distinguish one figure from another; but I counted 150 important figures in one half of it alone; so that, as there are nearly as many in subordinate positions, the total number cannot be under 500. I believe this is, on the whole, Tintoret's *chef-d'œuvre*; though it is so vast that no one takes the trouble to read it, and therefore less wonderful pictures are preferred to it. I have not myself been able to study except a few fragments of it, all executed in his finest manner; but it may assist a hurried observer to point out to him that the whole composition is divided into concentric zones, represented one above another like the stories of a cupola, round the figures of Christ and the Madonna, at the central and highest point: both these figures are exceedingly dignified and beautiful. Between each zone

* I leave this notice of the Ducal Palace as originally written. Everything is changed or confused, now, I believe: and the text will only be useful to travellers who have time to correct it for themselves to present need. For fuller account of Tintoret's *Paradise*, see my pamphlet on Michael Angelo and Tintoret.² 1877.

to in Vol. X. p. 284) are original, and a cornice originally existed along the whole front." Though the palace was erected in 1424–1430, "older work was built into the front." With regard to the "restorations," those spoken of by Ruskin were mostly carried out when the house fell into the hands of the ballet dancer, Taglioni, in 1847. A beautiful well-head was at that time sold to a dealer. More recently, Baron Franchetti has restored the house to something of its original form, and the well-head has been recovered (*Venezia: Nuovi Studi*, by P. Molmenti, p. 37). For Ruskin's notice of the difference between the original and the "restored" capitals, see above, ch. i. p. 11 *n.*]

¹ [For other references than Ruskin here gives, see General Index to the edition.]

² [See the note on that lecture for a summary of other references to the picture.]

or belt of the nearer figures, the white distances of heaven are seen filled with floating spirits. The picture is on the whole wonderfully preserved, and the most precious thing that Venice possesses. She will not possess it long; for the Venetian academicians, finding it exceedingly unlike their own works, declare it to want harmony, and are going to retouch it to their own ideas of perfection.¹

¹ [See also Vol. X. pp. 436 *n.*, 466. The "Paradise" is described in detail at the end of the lecture on *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret*. It was only gradually that the grandeur of the picture unfolded itself to Ruskin, as we may see by comparing with that description or the one here, his first notes upon it (now among the MSS.), which seem to have formed part of his Diary of 1845:—

"There is nothing now to be *felt* in the Doge's palace except simply disgust; there is not a corner undesecrated or in peace; its decaying pictures are all that can tempt one to enter, and of these there is but one of great value and importance—the Paradise of Tintoret. Noble as it is, had I seen this picture only, I should have left Venice with my feelings respecting the master little changed. Tintoret was of all men perhaps the least capable of fully rendering the feeling of a scene whose prevailing spirit was to be peace; the most energetic and fiery of all painters, he is completely defeated when he has to paint rest; neither was his own mind of the quality to understand even the lowest of the joys of heaven. Deprived of human passion and circumstance, he cannot rise to beatific expression, or vary the character and manifestation of Love, and he falls necessarily into the repetition of an unmeaning countenance, variously softened, wrinkled, bronzed or beautified, into the various ages and orders of angelic life, but in itself the same. And at last from the repetition of it in a thousand figures, becoming unmanageable in his wearied hands, and passing into mannerism and coarseness. Of all the faces in this vast picture, and they are *literally* countless, I saw not one of elevated cast or marked expression—not one that would in any way have rewarded the pains of a separate study. The countenance of the two principal figures ought perhaps to be excepted, for the contour and gesture of these are exceedingly fine; but the faces are too high to be seen.

"Of the composition of the picture it is difficult to judge, unless one were to analyse the groups, and give the whole work a month's quiet digestion. At first, and for as long a time as I could spare, it must necessarily appear confused, for no composition however good, unless eminently symmetrical, could appear orderly at once, while it contains so vast a number of figures and represents not a part of heaven merely, but the filled infinity. As it is, the disposition in concentric circles, which is hardly seen except from the further end of the vast hall, is marvellously kept among the confused groups, and is, I think, all that the mind requires. It *ought* to be bewildered, and the fault of the picture is not so much looseness of arrangement as want of interest in the parts. The colour and chiaroscuro are both magnificent; both are grievously injured, but even yet the grey and golden qualities of its miraculous distances, seen through the gaps of the whirling circles, which send them back by their solid dark masses of crimson and blue, are as fine an exertion of his artistical power as I have seen. Tintoret, like Turner, invariably makes mystery one of the chief qualities of his distance, but he is not so careful as Turner in the refinement and finish of that mystery. Generally his distances are comparatively sketchy, even to mannerism, and when in high light he does not allow the shadows to assume their proper relative darkness, so that if the distances of this Paradiso, of the St. Mark miracle, of the Moses striking the rock, or of the Massacre of the Innocents, were cut out from the rest of the picture, they would not look like distances, but like sketches for larger pictures, sketches exceedingly unfinished but of stupendous power."]

2. *Siege of Zara*; the first picture on the right on entering the Sala del Scrutinio. It is a mere battle piece, in which the figures, like the arrows, are put in by the score. There are high merits in the thing, and so much invention that it is possible Tintoret may have made the sketch for it; but, if executed by him at all, he has done it merely in the temper in which a sign-painter meets the wishes of an ambitious landlord. He seems to have been ordered to represent all the events of the battle at once; and to have felt that, provided he gave men, arrows, and ships enough, his employers would be perfectly satisfied. The picture is a vast one, some thirty feet by fifteen.

Various other pictures will be pointed out by the custode, in these two rooms, as worthy of attention, but they are only historically, not artistically, interesting. The works of Paul Veronese on the ceiling have been repainted; and the rest of the pictures on the walls are by second-rate men. The traveller must, once for all, be warned against mistaking the works of Domenico Robusti (Domenico Tintoretto¹), a very miserable painter, for those of his illustrious father, Jacopo.

3. *The Doge Grimani kneeling before Faith*, by Titian; in the Sala delle quattro Porte. To be observed with care, as one of the most striking examples of Titian's want of feeling and coarseness of conception.² (See above, Vol. IX. p. 32.) As a work of mere art, it is, however, of great value. The traveller who has been accustomed to deride Turner's indistinctness of touch, ought to examine carefully the mode of painting the Venice in the distance at the bottom of this picture.

4. *Frescoes on the roof of the Sala delle quattro Porte*, by Tintoret. Once magnificent beyond description, now mere wrecks (the plaster crumbling away in large flakes), but yet deserving of the most earnest study.³

5. *Christ taken down from the Cross*, by Tintoret; at the upper end of

¹ [For another reference to him, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. vii. § 18.]

² [This was also Ruskin's first impression of the picture. In the above-mentioned notes of 1845 he writes:—

“There is a semblance of dignity given by the simplicity of the figure, but it is simplicity of the vulgarest kind; the drapery is pocket-handkerchief-like, and would be just as agreeable, or just as disagreeable, if it were thrown any other way. The faces are utterly meaningless, though not without a certain grandeur of feature, resulting, as I conceive, from Titian's society and subjects, not from his own mind. . . . As regards the artistical part of this picture, it is a bad specimen of Titian, and the little good there is in it is destroyed by two vile figures, on side scenes, put on by the modern Italians. The landscape and the lion below are equally slovenly, the former especially nearly unintelligible, and without a straight line in it. The looseness of Tintoret without his power—the obscurity of Turner without his knowledge.”

So again, in his 1846 diary, he writes:—

“In Titian's picture of Faith in the Doge's Palace at Venice, there are all kinds of most painful deficiencies. The St. Mark on the left is a vulgar, ugly, grinning beggar; the lion wags his tail in an unlionly way, as if to keep the flies off; the clouds are without the slightest invention or composition; the armour of the kneeling figure is much too far elaborated, and too bright, and attracts the eye from the face.”

For another reference to the picture, see *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 211.)

³ [The subjects are emblematical of the Venetian Empire—Zeus giving Venice the Empire of the Sea; Padua; Treviso; Friuli, etc.]

the Sala dei Pregadi. One of the most interesting mythic pictures of Venice, two Doges being represented beside the body of Christ, and a most noble painting; executed, however, for distant effect, and seen best from the end of the room.

6. *Venice, Queen of the Sea*, by Tintoret. Central compartment of the ceiling, in the Sala dei Pregadi. Notable for the sweep of its vast green surges, and for the daring character of its entire conception, though it is wild and careless, and in many respects unworthy of the master. Note the way in which he has used the fantastic forms of the sea-weeds, with respect to what was above stated (XI. 187), as to his love of the grotesque.

7. *The Doge Loredano in prayer to the Virgin*, by Tintoret; in the same room.¹ Sickly and pale in colour, yet a grand work; to be studied, however, more for the sake of seeing what a great man does "to order," when he is wearied of what is required from him, than for its own merit.

8. *St. George and the Princess*. There are, besides the "Paradise," only six pictures in the Ducal Palace, as far as I know, which Tintoret painted carefully, and these are all exceedingly fine: the most finished of those are in the Anti-Collegio; but those that are most majestic and characteristic of the master are two oblong ones, made to fill the panels of the walls in the Anti-Chiesetta; these two, each, I suppose, about eight feet by six, are in his most quiet and noble manner. There is excessively little colour in them, their prevalent tone being a greyish brown opposed with grey, black, and a very warm russet. They are thinly painted, perfect in tone, and quite untouched. The first of them is "St. George and the Dragon," the subject being treated in a new and curious way. The principal figure is the princess, who sits astride on the dragon's neck, holding him by a bridle of silken riband; St. George stands above and behind her, holding his hands over her head as if to bless her, or to keep the dragon quiet by heavenly power; and a monk stands by on the right, looking gravely on. There is no expression or life in the dragon, though the white flashes in its eye are very ghastly: but the whole thing is entirely typical; and the princess is not so much represented riding on the dragon, as supposed to be placed by St. George in an attitude of perfect victory over her chief enemy. She has a full rich dress of dull red, but her figure is somewhat ungraceful. St. George is in grey armour and grey drapery, and has a beautiful face; his figure entirely dark against the distant sky. There is a study for this picture in the Manfrini Palace.²

9. *St. Andrew and St. Jerome*. This, the companion picture, has even less colour than its opposite. It is nearly all brown and grey; the fig-leaves and olive-leaves brown, the faces brown, the dresses brown, and St. Andrew holding a great brown cross. There is nothing that can be called colour, except the grey of the sky, which approaches in some places a little to blue, and a single piece of dirty brick-red in St. Jerome's

¹ [Now in the "Collegio" room. See for further notices of this picture, *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 304 and *n.*.)]

² [This collection of pictures has now for the most part been dispersed: see below, p. 391.]

dress; and yet Tintoret's greatness hardly ever shows more than in the management of such sober tints. I would rather have these two small brown pictures, and two others in the Academy perfectly brown also in their general tone—the "Cain and Abel" and the "Adam and Eve,"¹—than all the other small pictures in Venice put together which he painted in bright colours for altar pieces; but I never saw two pictures which so nearly approached grisailles as these, and yet were delicious pieces of colour. I do not know if I am right in calling one of the saints St. Andrew. He stands holding a great upright wooden cross against the sky. St. Jerome reclines at his feet, against a rock over which some glorious fig-leaves and olive branches are shooting; every line of them studied with the most exquisite care, and yet cast with perfect freedom.

10. *Bacchus and Ariadne*. The most beautiful of the four careful pictures by Tintoret, which occupy the angles of the Anti-Collegio. Once one of the noblest pictures in the world, but now miserably faded, the sun being allowed to fall on it all day long. The design of the forms of the leafage round the head of the Bacchus, and the floating grace of the female figure above, will, however, always give interest to this picture, unless it be repainted.

The other three Tintorets in this room are careful and fine, but far inferior to the "Bacchus;" and the "Vulcan and the Cyclops" is a singularly meagre and vulgar study of common models.²

11. *Europa*, by Paul Veronese; in the same room. One of the very few pictures which both possess, and deserve, a high reputation.

12. *Venice enthroned*, by Paul Veronese; on the roof of the same room. One of the grandest pieces of frank colour in the Ducal Palace.

13. *Venice and the Doge Sebastian Venier*; at the upper end of the Sala del Collegio. An unrivalled Paul Veronese, far finer even than the "Europa."

14. *Marriage of St. Catherine*, by Tintoret; in the same room. An inferior picture, but the figure of St. Catherine is quite exquisite. Note how her veil falls over her form, showing the sky through it, as an alpine cascade falls over a marble rock.

There are three other Tintorets on the walls of this room, but all inferior, though full of power. Note especially the painting of the lion's wings, and of the coloured carpet, in the one nearest the throne, the Doge Alvisè Mocenigo adoring the Redeemer.*

* I was happy enough to obtain the original sketch for this picture, in Venice (it had been long in the possession of Signor Nerly): and after being the most honoured of all pictures at Denmark Hill, until my father's death, it is now given to my school in Oxford.³

¹ [For other references to these pictures, see *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 173 n.).]

² [One of the other famous pictures in this room—the "Mercury and the Graces"—was selected by Ruskin for representation in his Standard Series at Oxford, as "consummate in unostentatious power," though showing also "fatal signs of the love of liberty and pleasure which ruined the Venetian State" (see *Catalogue of Examples*, 1870).]

³ [The above note was added in the "Travellers' Edition." For the picture, see in the volume containing Ruskin's Oxford Catalogues, *Instructions in the Preliminary*

The roof is entirely by Paul Veronese, and the traveller who really loves painting ought to get leave to come to this room whenever he chooses; and should pass the summer sunny mornings there again and again, wandering now and then into the Anti-Collegio, and Sala dei Pregadi, and coming back to rest under the wings of the couched lion at the feet of the "Mocenigo." He will no otherwise enter so deeply into the heart of Venice.

Exercises arranged for the Lower Drawing School, 1873. The sketch was, however, removed by Ruskin from the school when he finally resigned the Professorship, and it is now at Brantwood. Ruskin's letters to his father from Venice in 1852 describe the purchase of this and another Tintoret:—

"Feb. 13.—. . . I saw here yesterday the only genuine bit of Paul Veronese that ever I have seen for sale—a sketch of a woman with two dogs—life size—50 Napoleons. I name it to you, in case you yourself would like to have a bit of the great fellow, and because I never yet saw an unquestionable thing at a price that would admit of one's thinking of it. Of course it is very slight, and a *mere* sketch, or it would fetch more money, but a grand thing—about a quarter of an hour of the man's handling, altogether, but the suggestion of a complete picture. There is with it a sketch of Tintoret's which once belonged to Rumohr, and which I believe also to be the right thing; but, as you know, Tintoret on a *small scale* is never so thoroughly determinable as other men. I am going to look at it again. They both belong to the painter Nerly—Rumohr made him a present of the Tintoret. I believe he would take 80 Napoleons for both, but I should not like to beat him down, as he lost all his money with that bank which failed two years ago, and I particularly wish you to understand that there is no fear of my taking to buy old pictures—nor do I care about these, but I never saw a bit of good and untouched work for sale before, and so thought I might as well name them to you. The Tintoret is a sketch for a picture in Ducal Palace—the Doge Grimani kneeling before Christ."

"Grimani" is of course a slip of the pen for "Mocenigo." Ruskin did not at the time buy either of the pictures. Subsequently he bought the reputed Veronese:—

"May 6.—. . . I was on the point of writing to you for another credit, and should have done so several days ago, but I was afraid the begging letter might arrive on your birthday; and I should not have liked that, for it must be accompanied by a sad confession,—that I gave thirty pounds the other day for the—*not* Paul Veronese—but Tintoret, as I afterwards discovered it to be by accident. It was put into a frame too small for it; in talking over it one day, moving it into a light, it slipped and came out, and behold, behind the frame, a piece of foliage and landscape which only one man's hand in the world could have painted. I wrote most truly to you that I did not care about the 'Paul Veronese,' but a genuine sketch of Tintoret's was another matter—not a thing likely to be offered me twice in my life—more especially a sketch containing a careful piece of foliage. I thought over it a good while, and then determined to offer thirty pounds for it,—believing that you would not be alarmed at the price of a common water-colour drawing for a piece of canvas which had been touched by the one man of old time at whose feet I should have longed to sit. I was almost surprised when—after a week's consideration—the offer was accepted, about a fortnight ago."

This picture, known as "Diana and her Dogs," is at Brantwood; the "foliage and landscape" are on the extreme side of it. The "Doge" was acquired later:—

"[GLENFINLAS] July 19 [1853].—. . . I want 50 Napoleons sent to Venice to pay for a sketch of Tintoret's which I wrote for last autumn, before I had any idea of buying missals, but I am very glad I have got it, as I think it thoroughly magnificent, now I see it again . . . It is the Doge Mocenigo

E

- EMO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Of no interest.
- ERIZZO, PALAZZO, near the Arsenal, X. 305.
- ERIZZO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, nearly opposite the Fondaco de' Turchi. A Gothic palace, with a single range of windows founded on the Ducal traceries, and bold capitals. It has been above referred to in the notice of tracery bars.
- EUFEMIA, CHURCH OF ST. A small and defaced, but very curious, early Gothic church on the Giudecca. Not worth visiting, unless the traveller is seriously interested in architecture.
- EUROPA, ALBERGO ALL'. Once a Giustiniani palace. Good Gothic, circa 1400, but much altered.
- [EUSTACHIO, ST., XI. 150, and below, p. 397, s. "Ospedaletto."]
- EVANGELISTI, CASA DEGLI, X. 309, XI. 281.

F

- FACANON, PALAZZO (ALLA FAVA). A fair example of the fifteenth century Gothic, founded on Ducal Palace.
- FALIER, PALAZZO, at the Apostoli, IX. 336, 341, X. 296 (and Plate 15), XI. 272, 276. [FALIER, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, X. (Plate G).]
- FANTINO, CHURCH OF ST. Said to contain a John Bellini,¹ otherwise of no importance.
- FARSETTI, PALAZZO,² on the Grand Canal, X. 146, 150, 157, 159, *n.*, 454 [and see Vol. IX. Plate C].
- FAVA, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.
- FELICE, CHURCH OF ST. Said to contain a Tintoret, which, if untouched, I should conjecture, from Lazari's statement of its subject, St. Demetrius

on his knees before Christ, with the Ducal Palace and sea in the distance, and I thought considering all I had done about the Ducal Palace and Tintoret that it was well worth the 50 Napoleons to me."

"*July 24.*— . . . I hope you will like the Tintoret in spite of its wretched state. It is interesting as being a sketch for a well-known picture in the Ducal Palace, and full of variations; that is to say, the picture is not the least like the sketch, and the genuineness of the study is so far proved by this, as any forger of old pictures would assuredly have followed the figures of the larger work. I think you will like the way the dress of the Doge is done with those white strokes, and the portrait itself, which though small is highly elaborated."

The "wretched state" of the sketch referred to its dirt and unlined condition. Ruskin wrote later (Aug. 14):—

"I am so delighted that you like the Tintoret; if you do so in its present state, you will indeed be struck by it when it is cleaned, or rather varnished, for I shall bar cleaning, but I had not time before leaving London to examine it thoroughly, so as to be able to say positively to the cleaner that I should know if he touched a quarter of an inch of the colour."

¹ [On the right wall of the choir; a small Holy Family, school of Bellini.]

² [Now part of the Municipal Offices.]

armed, with one of the Ghisi family in prayer, must be very fine.¹ Otherwise the church is of no importance.

FERRO, PALAZZO,² on the Grand Canal. Fifteenth century Gothic, very hard and bad.

FLANGINI, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Of no importance.

FONDACO DE' TEDESCHI. A huge and ugly building near the Rialto, rendered, however, peculiarly interesting by remnants of the frescoes by Giorgione with which it was once covered. See Vol. X. 98, and XI. 29.³

FONDACO DE' TURCHI, IX. 384, X. 144–148, 277 [and frontispiece]. The opposite Plate, representing three of its capitals, has been several times referred to [pp. 271, 276].

FORMOSA, CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA, XI. 136, 146. [Square of, X. 166, 309.]

[FORNO SANTA MARINA, CORTE DEL, X. 303.]

FOSCA, CHURCH OF ST. Notable for its exceedingly picturesque campanile, of late Gothic, but uninjured by restorations, and peculiarly Venetian in being crowned by the cupola instead of the pyramid, which would have been employed at the same period in any other Italian city.

[FOSCA, CHURCH OF ST., at Torcello, IX. 41, 148 (and Fig. 28), 336; X. 20.]

[FOSCARI, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal.⁴ The noblest example in Venice of the fifteenth century Gothic, founded on the Ducal Palace, but lately restored and spoiled, all but the stonework of the main windows. The restoration was necessary, however: for, when I was in Venice in 1845, this palace was a foul ruin; its great hall a mass of mud, used as the back receptacle of a stonemason's yard; and its rooms whitewashed, and scribbled over with indecent caricatures. It has since been partially strengthened and put in order; but as the Venetian municipality have now given it to the Austrians to be used as barracks, it will probably soon be reduced to its former condition. The lower palaces at the side of this building are said by some to have belonged to the younger Foscari. See "GIUSTINIANI."

FRANCESCO DELLA VIGNA, CHURCH OF ST. Base Renaissance, but must be

¹ [A large picture, about 6 ft. x 2½ ft.]

² [Part of the Grand Hotel.]

³ [On a sheet of the MS. there is a fuller description:—

“When we have passed under the Rialto, ascending the Grand Canal, the first building on the right is that called the Fondaco de' Tedeschi. A huge, blank, five-storied pile, on whose walls the first glance detects nothing but the signs of poverty and ruin. They have been covered with stucco which for the most part is now peeled away from the brick beneath, and stains of rusty red, and sickly grey and black, hang down in dark streams from the cornices, or spread in mossy patches hither and thither between its casements. Among this grisly painting where the stucco is still left, the eye may here and there discern other lines,—faint shades of that noble grey which nothing can give but the pencil of a great colourist, and subdued fragments of purple and scarlet, dying into rusty wash from the iron bolts that holds the walls together. This is all that is left of the work of Titian and Giorgione.”

For other references to these remains of fresco, see *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 212 and *n.*). The one figure that still remains may be seen high up between two of the top-floor windows. The building is now the General Post Office.]

⁴ [The palace is now the School of Commerce. For another reference to it, see Vol. VIII. 131 *n.* and Plate 8.]



J. Russett.

J. B. Le Roux.
Allen & Co. So.

Capitals of Fondaco de' Turchi.

visited in order to see the John Bellini in the Cappella Santa. The late sculpture, in the Cappella Giustiniani, appears from Lazari's statement to be deserving of careful study. This Church is said also to contain two pictures by Paul Veronese.¹ FRARI, CHURCH OF THE [IX. 43, 124, 169, 322, and Plate A]. Founded in 1250, and continued at various subsequent periods. The apse and adjoining chapels are the earliest portions, and their traceries have been above noticed (X. liii., 272), as the origin of those of the Ducal Palace. The best view of the apse, which is a very noble example of Italian Gothic, is from the door of the Scuola di San Rocco.* The doors of the church are all later than any other portion of it, very elaborate Renaissance Gothic. The interior is good Gothic, but not interesting, except in its monuments. Of these, the following are noticed in the text of this volume:

That of Duccio degli Alberti, XI. 91, 98, 295; of the unknown knight, opposite that of Duccio, XI. 91, 292; of Francesco Foscari, XI. 103; of Giovanni Pesaro, XI. 111; of Jacopo Pesaro, XI. 110.²

Besides these tombs, the traveller ought to notice carefully that of Pietro Bernardo, a first-rate example of Renaissance work; nothing can be more detestable or mindless in general design, or more beautiful in execution. Examine especially the griffins, fixed in admiration of bouquets at the bottom. The fruit and flowers which arrest the attention of the griffins may well arrest the traveller's also; nothing can be finer of their kind. The tomb of Canova, *by* Canova, cannot be missed; consummate in science, intolerable in affectation, ridiculous in conception, null and void to the uttermost in invention and feeling. The equestrian statue of Paolo Savelli is spirited; the monument of the Beato Pacifico, a curious example of Renaissance Gothic with wild crockets (all in terra cotta). There are several good Vivarinis in the church,³ but its chief pictorial treasure is the John Bellini in the sacristy, the most finished and delicate example of the master in Venice.⁴

(1877. The Pesaro Titian was forgotten, I suppose, in this article, because I thought it as well known as the Assumption. I hold it now

* Now destroyed by restoration. [1877.]

¹ [The Bellini (painted 1507) is the Madonna and Child with SS. John Baptist, Anthony the Hermit, Bernardino, and Sebastian. One of the Veroneses—a Resurrection—is in the fourth chapel on the right; the other—a Holy Family, with SS. Catherine and Anthony the Hermit—is in the chapel next to the pulpit.]

² [Also the following, now noticed in Appendix 11:—That of Simon Dandolo, p. 301; a nameless tomb, p. 302; Pietro Mocenigo, p. 304; Giovanni Mocenigo, p. 305; Pietro Bernardo, p. 306, also referred to briefly in the text here, and at p. 108.]

³ [Two altar-pieces by Bartolomeo Vivarini, dated 1474 and 1478, and a "St. Ambrose Enthroned" by Alvise, finished after his death in 1502 by his pupil Basarti. For Ruskin's notes on the Vivarini, see his *Guide to the Academy at Venice*.]

⁴ [At a later date Ruskin mentioned not only as the best Bellini's in Venice, but as "the two best pictures in the world," this Madonna of the Frari, and the Madonna at San Zaccharia (see below, where he gives the first place to the St. Jerome of S. Giovanni Grisostomo). Next to the Frari and Zaccharia pictures, he ranked that in the Accademia (see *Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret, St. Mark's Rest*, § 200, and *Guide to the Academy at Venice*). The Bellini has now been removed from the sacristy to the choir.]

the best Titian in Venice; the powers of portraiture and disciplined composition, shown in it, placing it far above the showy masses of commonplace cherubs and merely picturesque men, in the Assumption.¹⁾

G

GEREMIA, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

GESUATI, CHURCH OF THE. Of no importance.

GIACOMO DELL' ORIO, CHURCH OF ST. A most interesting church, of the early thirteenth century, but grievously restored. Its capitals have been already noticed as characteristic of the earliest Gothic [IX. 43]; and it is said to contain four works of Paul Veronese, but I have not examined them.² The pulpit is admired by the Italians, but is utterly worthless. The verd-antique pillar in the south transept is a very noble example of the "Jewel Shaft." See the note at p. 101, Vol. X.

GIACOMO DI RIALTO, CHURCH OF ST. [IX. 41]. A picturesque little church, on the Piazza di Rialto. It has been grievously restored, but the pillars and capitals of its nave are certainly of the eleventh century; those of its portico are of good central Gothic; and it will surely not be left unvisited, on this ground, if on no other, that it stands on the site, and still retains the name, of the first church ever built on that Rialto which formed the nucleus of future Venice, and became afterwards the mart of her merchants.³

GIOBBE, CHURCH OF ST., near the Canna Reggio. Its principal entrance is a very fine example of early Renaissance sculpture. Note in it, especially, its beautiful use of the flower of the convolvulus. There are said to be still more beautiful examples of the same period, in the interior. The cloister, though much defaced, is of the Gothic period, and worth a glance.

GIORGIO DE' CHURCH OF ST. The Greek Church. It contains no valuable objects of art, but its service is worth attending by those who have never seen the Greek ritual.

GIORGIO DE' SCHIAVONI, CHURCH OF ST. Said to contain a very precious

¹ [The "Pesaro Titian" is the votive picture over the altar of the Pesaro family. Titian in 1519 received 102 golden ducats for the picture, which represents the Madonna and Child, with St. Francis, St. Peter, and St. George; on the standard borne by the latter saint are emblazoned the Pesaro arms. Ruskin refers to the picture in the *Guide to the Academy at Venice* (as "the portrait group of the Pesaro family"), and in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. viii. ch. ii. § 12. The picture was also a favourite of Sir Joshua Reynolds (see his *Journey to Flanders and Holland*, vol. ii. p. 174 of *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1852 ed.). See the same *Guide* for the "Assumption," and compare the earlier notices of it in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. ix. chapters iii., vi., and x.]

² [The pictures by Veronese are (1) Faith, Hope, and Charity, with the four Fathers of the Church detached; these have been transferred from the ceiling to the wall of the north aisle; (2) in the chapel to the right of the high altar, "St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist"; (3) beside this is another picture, also ascribed to Veronese but badly restored, of "St. Gregory, St. Lorenzo, and St. Augustine."]

³ [In the course of his later work at Venice (1876–1877), Ruskin discovered an inscription on its gable facing the Rialto bridge, which caused him to attach peculiar importance to this church; see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 30, 35, 131.]

series of paintings by Vittor Carpaccio. (1877. See *St. Mark's Rest*. First Supplement, "The Shrine of the Slaves."¹)

GIORGIO IN ALGA (St. George in the seaweed), CHURCH OF ST. Unimportant in itself, but the most beautiful view of Venice at sunset is from a point at about two-thirds of the distance from the city to the island.²

(1877. From the island itself, now, the nearer view is spoiled by loath-some mud-castings and machines. But all is spoiled from what it was. The Campanile, good early Gothic, had its top knocked off to get space for an observatory in the siege.)

GIORGIO MAGGIORE, CHURCH OF ST. A building which owes its interesting effect chiefly to its isolated position, being seen over a great space of lagoon. The traveller should especially notice in its façade the manner in which the central Renaissance architects (of whose style this church is a renowned example) endeavoured to fit the laws they had established to the requirements of their age. Churches were required with aisles and clerestories, that is to say, with a high central nave and lower wings; and the question was, how to face this form with pillars of one proportion. The noble Romanesque architects built story above story, as at Pisa and Lucca; but the base Palladian architects dared not do this. They must needs retain some image of the Greek temple, but the Greek temple was all of one height, a low gable roof being borne on ranges of equal pillars. So the Palladian builders raised first a Greek temple with pilasters for shafts; and, *through the middle of its roof, or horizontal beam*, that is to say, of the cornice which externally represented this beam, they lifted another temple on pedestals, adding these barbarous appendages to the shafts, which otherwise would not have been high enough; fragments of the divided cornice or tie-beam being left between the shafts, and the great door of the church thrust in between the pedestals. It is impossible to conceive a design more gross, more barbarous, more childish in conception, more servile in plagiarism, more insipid in result, more contemptible under every point of rational regard.³

Observe, also, that when Palladio had got his pediment at the top of the church, he did not know what to do with it: he had no idea of decorating it except by a round hole in the middle. (The traveller should compare, both in construction and decoration, the Church of the Redentore with this of San Giorgio.) Now, a dark penetration is often a most precious assistance to a building dependent upon colour for its effect; for a cavity is the only means in the architect's power of obtaining certain and vigorous shadow; and for this purpose, a circular penetration, surrounded by a deep russet marble moulding, is beautifully used in the centre of the white field on the side of the Portico of St. Mark's. But Palladio had given up colour, and pierced his pediment with a circular cavity, merely because he had not wit enough to fill it with

¹ [Carpaccio, as already noted (Vol. IV. p. 356 *n*), was a comparatively late discovery of Ruskin's. The note of 1877 above displaced the words "Otherwise of no interest" in eds. 1-3.]

² [See Vol. X. p. 4, and Plate A.]

³ [See also on this subject generally Vol. IX. ch. xii. § 4, and ch. xix.]

sculpture. The interior of the church is like a large assembly room, and would have been undeserving of a moment's attention, but that it contains some most precious pictures, namely:¹

1. *Gathering the Manna*. (On the left hand of the high altar.) One of Tintoret's most remarkable landscapes. A brook flowing through a mountainous country, studded with thickets and palm-trees: the congregation have been long in the Wilderness, and are employed in various manufactures much more than in gathering the manna. One group is forging, another grinding manna in a mill, another making shoes, one woman making a piece of dress, some washing; the main purpose of Tintoret being evidently to indicate the *continuity* of the supply of heavenly food. Another painter would have made the congregation hurrying to gather it, and wondering at it. Tintoret at once makes us remember that they have been fed with it "by the space of forty years."² It is a large picture, full of interest and power, but scattered in effect, and not striking except from its elaborate landscape.

2. *The Last Supper*. (Opposite the former.) These two pictures have been painted for their places, the subjects being illustrative of the sacrifice of the mass. This latter is remarkable for its entire homeliness in the general treatment of the subject; the entertainment being represented like any large supper in a second-rate Italian inn, the figures being all comparatively uninteresting; but we are reminded that the subject is a sacred one, not only by the strong light shining from the head of Christ, but because the smoke of the lamp which hangs over the table turns, as it rises, into a multitude of angels, all painted in grey, the colour of the smoke; and so writhed and twisted together that the eye hardly at first distinguishes them from the vapour out of which they are formed, ghosts of countenances and filmy wings filling up the intervals between the completed heads. The idea is highly characteristic of the master. The picture has been grievously injured, but still shows

¹ [Ruskin's first note of these pictures is in his diary of 1846:—

"In this church there are six Tintorets, but four almost extinguished. Two are still most wonderful—one of The Last Supper, Christ giving the sop to Judas: an awful grey light cast on the cloth from the swinging lantern—chandelier rather—whose lamps wave and writhe into volumes of lurid smoke, which, as it passes into the shade, takes the forms of wings and countenances, and fills the chamber with grey spectral angels—a piece of grand fancy which no one but Tintoret could have dared. The whole picture is one of the most striking pieces of light and shade—or rather of light, for it is all light of some kind—which exist of the master, though a little dramatic and forced.

"The other, The Gathering of Manna, is a composition which it would take a year to examine properly, so full is it of point and various material. The stooping figure with the shoulder bare is most lovely, and the piece of retiring landscape on the left."

In the same place Ruskin notices the carving of the choir-stalls, which are the work of Albert de Brule, a Fleming (1599):—

"The woodwork round the choir is the life of St. Benedict, often very clever in its story-telling and landscape distances—wonderful pieces of defective-effective perspective—everything dared and done, nothing very great or touching anywhere."

² [A recollection of Exodus xvi. 35 and (in the phrasing) Acts vii. 42, etc.]

miracles of skill in the expression of candlelight mixed with twilight; variously reflected rays, and half tones of the dimly lighted chamber, mingled with the beams of the lantern and those from the head of Christ, flashing along the metal and glass upon the table, and under it along the floor, and dying away into the recesses of the room.¹

3. *Martyrdom of various Saints.* (Altar piece of the third altar in the south aisle.) A moderately sized picture, and now a very disagreeable one, owing to the violent red into which the colour that formed the glory of the angel at the top is changed. It has been hastily painted, and only shows the artist's power in the energy of the figure of an executioner drawing a bow, and in the magnificent ease with which the other figures are thrown together in all manner of wild groups and defiances of probability. Stones and arrows are flying about in the air at random.

4. *Coronation of the Virgin.* (Fourth altar in the same aisle.) Painted more for the sake of the portraits at the bottom,² than of the Virgin at the top. A good picture, but somewhat tame for Tintoret, and much injured. The principal figure, in black, is still, however, very fine.

5. *Resurrection of Christ.* (At the end of the north aisle, in the chapel beside the choir.) Another picture painted chiefly for the sake of the included portraits,³ and remarkably cold in general conception; its colour has, however, been gay and delicate, lilac, yellow, and blue being largely used in it. The flag which our Saviour bears in His hand has been once as bright as the sail of a Venetian fishing-boat, but the colours are now all chilled, and the picture is rather crude than brilliant; a mere wreck of what it was, and all covered with droppings of wax at the bottom.

6. *Martyrdom of St. Stephen.* (Altar piece in the north transept.) The saint is in a rich prelate's dress, looking as if he had just been saying mass, kneeling in the foreground, and perfectly serene. The stones are flying about him like hail, and the ground is covered with them as thickly as if it were a river bed. But in the midst of them, at the saint's right hand, there is a book lying, crushed, but open, two or three stones which have torn one of its leaves lying upon it. The freedom and ease with which the leaf is crumpled is just as characteristic of the master as any of the grander features; no one but Tintoret could have so crushed a leaf; but the idea is still more characteristic of him, for the book is evidently meant for the Mosaic History which Stephen had just been expounding, and its being crushed by the stones shows how the blind rage of the Jews was violating their own law in the murder of Stephen. In the upper part of the picture are three figures,—Christ, the Father, and St. Michael. Christ of course at the right hand of the Father, as Stephen saw Him standing; but there is little dignity in this part of the conception. In the middle of the picture, which is also the middle distance, are three or four men throwing stones, with Tintoret's usual vigour of gesture, and behind them an immense and confused crowd; so

¹ [For another reference to the lighting of this picture, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. iv. § 2 *n.* A photograph of the picture is reproduced in J. B. S. Holborn's *Tintoretto*, between pp. 88 and 89.]

² [Including St. Benedict and Pope Gregory.]

³ [Of the Morosini family.]

that, at first, we wonder where St. Paul is; but presently we observe that, in the front of this crowd, and *almost exactly in the centre of the picture*, there is a figure seated on the ground, very noble and quiet, and with some loose garments thrown across its knees. It is dressed in vigorous black and red. The figure of the Father in the sky above is dressed in black and red also, and these two figures are the centres of colour to the whole design. It is almost impossible to praise too highly the refinement of conception which withdrew the unconverted St. Paul into the distance, so as entirely to separate him from the immediate interest of the scene, and yet marked the dignity to which he was afterwards to be raised, by investing him with the colours which occurred nowhere else in the picture except in the dress which veils the form of the Godhead. It is also to be noted as an interesting example of the value which the painter put upon colour only; another composer would have thought it necessary to exalt the future apostle by some peculiar dignity of action or expression. The posture of the figure is indeed grand, but inconspicuous; Tintoret does not depend upon it, and thinks that the figure is quite ennobled enough by being made a keynote of colour.

It is also worth observing how boldly imaginative is the treatment which covers the ground with piles of stones, and yet leaves the martyr apparently unwounded. Another painter would have covered him with blood, and elaborated the expression of pain upon his countenance. Tintoret leaves us under no doubt as to what manner of death he is dying; he makes the air hurtle with the stones, but he does not choose to make his picture disgusting, or even painful. The face of the martyr is serene, and exulting; and we leave the picture, remembering only how "he fell asleep."¹

GIOVANELLI, PALAZZO, at the Ponte di Noale. A fine example of fifteenth century Gothic, founded on the Ducal Palace.²

GIOVANNI E PAOLO, CHURCH OF ST.* Foundation of, XI. 86 [base in, IX. 341; string courses, IX. 148; representative of Venetian Gothic, IX. 43; less popular than St. Mark, X. 90]. An impressive church, though none of its Gothic is comparable with that of the North, or with that of Verona. The western door is interesting as one of the last conditions of Gothic design passing into Renaissance, very rich and beautiful of its kind, especially the wreath of fruit and flowers which forms its principal moulding. The statue of Bartolomeo Colleone, in the little square beside the church, is certainly one of the noblest works in Italy. I have never seen anything approaching it in animation, in vigour of portraiture, or nobleness of line.³ The reader will need Lazari's Guide

* I have always called this church, in the text, simply "St. John and Paul," not Sts. John and Paul; just as the Venetians say San Giovanni e Paolo, and not SantiG., etc.

¹ [In the Sala del Conclave is a fine Carpaccio—"St. George and the Dragon."]

² [This palace contains, among other good pictures, the "Adrastus and Hypsipyle" (otherwise known as the "Giovanelli Figures," or "The Stormy Landscape, with the Soldier and the Gipsy," which is one of the few works universally admitted to be by Giorgione. It was formerly in the Manfrini Collection (see below, p. 391). The palace also contains a battle-piece and several portraits by Tintoret.]

³ [For this statue, see Vol. X. p. 8 n.]

in making the circuit of the church, which is full of interesting monuments: but I wish especially to direct his attention to two pictures, besides the celebrated Peter Martyr:¹ namely,

1. *The Crucifixion*, by Tintoret; on the wall of the left-hand aisle, just before turning into the transept.² A picture fifteen feet long by eleven or twelve high. I do not believe that either the "Miracle of St. Mark," or the great "Crucifixion," in the Scuola di San Rocco, cost Tintoret more pains than this comparatively small work, which is now utterly neglected, covered with filth and cobwebs, and fearfully injured. As a piece of colour, and light and shade, it is altogether marvellous. Of all the fifty figures which the picture contains, there is not one which in any way injures or contends with another; nay, there is not a single fold of garment or touch of the pencil which could be spared; every virtue of Tintoret, as a painter, is there in its highest degree,—colour at once the most intense and the most delicate, the utmost decision in the arrangement of masses of light, and yet half tones and modulations of endless variety; and all executed with a magnificence of handling which no words are energetic enough to describe. I have hardly ever seen a picture in which there was so much decision, and so little impetuosity, and in which so little was conceded to haste, to accident, or to weakness. It is too infinite a work to be describable; but among its minor passages of extreme beauty, should especially be noticed the manner in which the accumulated forms of the human body, which fill the picture from end to end, are prevented from being felt heavy, by the grace and the elasticity of two or three sprays of leafage which spring from a broken root in the foreground, and rise conspicuous in shadow against an interstice filled by the pale blue, grey, and golden light in which the distant crowd is invested, the office of this foliage being, in an artistical point of view, correspondent to that of the trees set by the sculptors of the Ducal Palace on its angles. But they have a far more important meaning in the picture than any artistical one. If the spectator will look carefully at the root which I have called broken, he will find that, in reality, it is not broken, but cut: the other branches of the young tree having *lately been cut away*. When we remember that one of the principal incidents in the great San Rocco Crucifixion is the ass feeding on withered palm-leaves,³ we shall be at no loss to understand the great painter's purpose in lifting the branch of this mutilated olive against the dim light of the distant sky; while, close beside it, St. Joseph of Arimathea drags along the dust a white garment,—observe, the principal light of the picture,—stained with the blood of that King before whom, five days before, His crucifiers had strewn their own garments in the way.

2. *Our Lady with the Camerlengi*. (In the centre chapel of the three on the right of the choir.⁴) A remarkable instance of the theoretical

¹ [Since destroyed by fire: see Vol. III. p. 28 *n.*]

² [This picture was subsequently removed to the Accademia; it is now No. 213 in that collection.]

³ [See Vol. IV. p. xxxviii.]

⁴ [This picture also is now in the Accademia, No. 210. It is inscribed "Unanimis concordiaë Symbolus, 1566." The third saint in attendance on the Virgin is now called not St. Carlo but St. Mark.]

manner of representing scriptural facts, which, at this time, as noted in the second chapter of this volume,¹ was undermining the belief of the facts themselves. Three Venetian chamberlains desired to have their portraits painted, and at the same time to express their devotion to the Madonna; to that end they are painted kneeling before her, and in order to account for their all three being together, and to give a thread or clue to the story of the picture, they are represented as the Three Magi; but lest the spectator should think it strange that the Magi should be in the dress of Venetian chamberlains, the scene is marked as a mere ideality, by surrounding the person of the Virgin with saints who lived five hundred years after her. She has for attendants St. Theodore, St. Sebastian, and St. Carlo (query St. Joseph). One hardly knows whether most to regret the spirit which was losing sight of the verities of religious history in imaginative abstractions, or to praise the modesty and piety which desired rather to be represented as kneeling before the Virgin than in the discharge or among the insignia of important offices of state.

As an "Adoration of the Magi," the picture is, of course, sufficiently absurd; the St. Sebastian leans back in the corner to be out of the way; the three Magi kneel, without the slightest appearance of emotion, to a Madonna seated in a Venetian loggia of the fifteenth century, and three Venetian servants behind bear their offerings in a very homely sack, tied up at the mouth. As a piece of portraiture and artistical composition, the work is altogether perfect, perhaps the best piece of Tintoret's portrait-painting in existence. It is very carefully and steadily wrought, and arranged with consummate skill on a difficult plan. The canvas is a long oblong, I think about eighteen or twenty feet long, by about seven high; one might almost fancy the painter had been puzzled to bring the piece into use, the figures being all thrown into positions which a little diminish their height. The nearest chamberlain is kneeling, the two behind him bowing themselves slightly, the attendants behind bowing lower, the Madonna sitting, the St. Theodore sitting still lower on the steps at her feet, and the St. Sebastian leaning back, so that all the lines of the picture incline more or less from right to left as they ascend. This slope, which gives unity to the detached groups, is carefully exhibited by what a mathematician would call co-ordinates,—the upright pillars of the loggia and the horizontal clouds of the beautiful sky. The colour is very quiet, but rich and deep, the local tones being brought out with intense force, and the cast shadows subdued, the manner being much more that of Titian than of Tintoret. The sky appears full of light, though it is as dark as the flesh of the faces; and the forms of its floating clouds, as well as of the hills over which they rise, are drawn with a deep remembrance of reality. There are hundreds of pictures of Tintoret's more amazing than this, but I hardly know one that I more love.

The reader ought especially to study the sculpture round the altar of the Cappella del Rosario, as an example of the abuse of the sculptor's art; every accessory being laboured out with much ingenuity and intense effort to turn sculpture into painting, the grass, trees, and landscape being as far realized as possible, and in alto-relievo. These bas-reliefs

¹ [See above, pp. 120–134.]

are by various artists, and therefore exhibit the folly of the age, not the error of an individual.

The following alphabetical list of the tombs in this church which are alluded to or described in the text, with references to the pages where they are mentioned, will save some trouble:¹—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Cavalli, Jacopo, XI. 101, 302. | Mocenigo, Pietro, XI. 108. |
| Cornaro, Marco, XI. 13 | Mocenigo, Tomaso, IX. 48, XI. 102. |
| Dolfin, Giovanni, XI. 95 | Morosini, Michele, XI. 100. |
| Giustiniani, Marco, IX. 370, XI. 298. | Steno, Michele, XI. 101. |
| Mocenigo, Giovanni, XI. 108. | Vendramin, Andrea, IX. 49, XI. 107. |

GIOVANNI GRISOSTOMO, CHURCH OF ST. One of the most important in Venice. It is early Renaissance, containing some good sculpture, but chiefly notable as containing a noble Sebastian del Piombo,² and a John Bellini, which a few years hence, unless it be “restored,” will be esteemed one of the most precious pictures in Italy, and among the most perfect in the world.³ John Bellini is the only artist who appears to me to have united, in equal and magnificent measures, justness of drawing, nobleness of colouring, and perfect manliness of treatment, with the purest religious feeling. He did, as far as it is possible to do it, instinctively and unaffectedly, what the Caracci only pretended to do. Titian colours better, but has not his piety. Leonardo draws better, but has not his colour. Angelico is more heavenly, but has not his manliness, far less his powers of art.

GIOVANNI ELEMOSINARIO, CHURCH OF ST. Said to contain a Titian and a Bonifazio. Of no other interest.

(1877. 1398–1410, Selvatico. Its campanile is the most interesting piece of central Gothic remaining comparatively intact in Venice.⁴ It stands on four detached piers; a greengrocer’s shop in the space between them; the stable tower for its roof. There are three lovely bits of heraldry, carved on three square stones, on its side towards the Rialto. Selvatico gives no ground for his date; I believe 1298–1310 more probable. The Titian, only visible to me by the sacristan’s single candle, seems languid and affected.)

GIOVANNI IN BRAGORA, CHURCH OF ST. A Gothic church of the fourteenth century, small but interesting, and said to contain some precious works by Cima da coneigliano, and one by John Bellini.⁵

GIOVANNI, NOVO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

¹ [The following additions to the list refer to Appendix 11:— Andrea Morosini, XI. 297; Nicolaus Marcellus, XI. 307.]

² [Over the High Altar—St. Chrysostom, with SS. Catharine, Mary Magdalen, Lucia, Paul, John Baptist, and Liberale. The Bellini is “St. Jerome,” Christopher and Augustine—dated 1513, three years before the painter’s death.]

³ [See above, p. 379 *n.*, and compare, for Ruskin’s general estimate of Bellini, *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret.*]

⁴ [For another mention of the campanile, see *St. Mark’s Rest*, § 35. The Titian over the high altar is a picture of the saint; the Bonifazio, over the first altar to the left on entering, is “St. Mark, St. Peter and St. Paul before the Madonna.”]

⁵ [The pictures by Cima are “St. Helena and Constantine at the Cross” (restored, 1903) and a “Baptism” (1491)—the latter much restored. The Bellini is a “Virgin and Child” in the second chapel on the right, by some attributed to Alvise Vivarini.]

GIOVANNI, S., SCUOLA DI. A fine example of the Byzantine Renaissance, mixed with remnants of good late Gothic. The little exterior cortile is sweet in feeling, and Lazari praises highly the work of the interior staircase.¹

GIUDECCA. The crescent-shaped island (or series of islands) which forms the southern extremity of the city of Venice, though separated by a broad channel from the main city. Commonly said to derive its name from the number of Jews who lived upon it; but Lazari derives it from the word "judicato" in Venetian dialect "Zudegà," it having been in old time "adjudged" as a kind of prison territory to the more dangerous and turbulent citizens. It is now inhabited only by the poor, and covered by desolate groups of miserable dwellings, divided by stagnant canals.²

Its two principal churches, the Redentore and St. Eufemia, are named in their alphabetical order.

GIULIANO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

GIUSEPPE DI CASTELLO, CHURCH OF ST. Said to contain a Paul Veronese: otherwise of no importance.

GIUSTINI, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

GIUSTINIANI PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, now Albergo all' Europa. Good late fourteenth century Gothic, but much altered.

GIUSTINIANI, PALAZZO, next the Casa Foscari, on the Grand Canal. Lazari, I know not on what authority, says that this palace was built by the Giustiniani family before 1428. It is one of those founded directly on the Ducal Palace, together with the Casa Foscari at its side: and there could have been no doubt of their date on this ground; but it would be interesting, after what we have seen of the progress of the Ducal Palace, to ascertain the exact year of the erection of any of these imitations.

This palace contains some unusually rich detached windows, full of tracery, of which the profiles are given in the Appendix [p. 285], under the title of the Palace of the Younger Foscari, it being popularly reported to have belonged to the son of the Doge.

GIUSTINIAN LOLIN, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Of no importance.

GRASSI, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, now Albergo all' Imperator d' Austria. Of no importance.³

GREGORIO, CHURCH OF ST., on the Grand Canal. An important church of the fourteenth century, now desecrated, but still interesting. Its apse is on the little canal crossing from the Grand Canal to the Giudecca, beside the Church of the Salute, and is very characteristic of the rude ecclesiastical Gothic contemporary with the Ducal Palace. The entrance to its cloisters, from the Grand Canal, is somewhat later; a noble square door, with two windows on each side of it, the grandest examples in Venice of the late window of the fourth order.

¹ [For the style of the Byzantine Renaissance, see above, pp. 20, 21; for the Scuola itself, see *Guide to the Academy at Venice*, where it is described. It is still the seat of the Guild of Sculptors.]

² [Now a busy manufacturing centre.]

³ [No longer an hotel; a private house.]

The cloister, to which this door gives entrance, is exactly contemporary with the finest work of the Ducal Palace, circa 1350. It is the loveliest cortile I know in Venice; its capitals consummate in design and execution; and the low wall on which they stand showing remnants of sculpture unique, as far as I know, in such application. (1877. I guessed this date (circa 1350), and am proud of myself; the actual year being 1342.)

GRIMANI, PALAZZO,¹ on the Grand Canal, XI. 43.

There are several other palaces in Venice belonging to this family, but none of any architectural interest.

J

JESUITI, CHURCH OF THE [IX. 257]. The basest Renaissance; but worth a visit in order to examine the imitations of curtains in white marble inlaid with green.

It contains a Tintoret, "The Assumption," which I have not examined;² and a Titian, "The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence," originally, it seems to me, of little value, and now, having been restored, of none.

L

LABIA, PALAZZO, on the Cana Reggio. Of no importance.

LAZZARO DE' MENDICANTI, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

LIBRERIA VECCHIA.³ A graceful building of the central Renaissance, designed by Sansovino, 1536, and much admired by all architects of the school. It was continued by Scamozzi, down the whole side of St. Mark's Place, adding another story above it, which modern critics blame as destroying the "eurhythmia;" never considering that had the two low stories of the Library been continued along the entire length of the Piazza, they would have looked so low that the entire dignity of the square would have been lost. As it is, the Library is left in its originally good proportions, and the larger mass of the Procuratie Nuove forms a more majestic, though less graceful, side for the great square.

But the real faults of the building are not in its number of stories, but in the design of the parts. It is one of the grossest examples of the base Renaissance habit of turning *keystones* into *brackets*, throwing them out in bold projection (not less than a foot and a half) beyond the mouldings of the arch; a practice utterly barbarous, inasmuch as it evidently tends to dislocate the entire arch, if any real weight were laid on the extremity of the keystone; and it is also a very characteristic example of the vulgar and painful mode of filling spandrils by naked figures in alto-relievo, leaning against the arch on each side, and appearing as if

¹ [Now the Court of Appeal.]

² [And, in the Refectory of the same church, a "Presentation of Christ" also by Tintoret (reproduced in J.B.S. Holborn's *Tintoretto*, between pp. 60 and 61.)]

³ [This building has now been re-arranged internally, to receive the Marciana Library, transferred there from the Ducal Palace: see Vol. X. p. 466.]

they were continually in danger of slipping off. Many of these figures have, however, some merit in themselves; and the whole building is graceful and effective of its kind. The continuation of the Procuratie Nuove, at the western extremity of St. Mark's Place (together with various apartments in the great line of the Procuratie Nuove), forms the "Royal Palace," the residence of the Emperor when at Venice. This building is entirely modern, built in 1810, in imitation of the Procuratie Nuove, and on the site of Sansovino's Church of San Geminiano.

In this range of buildings, including the Royal Palace, the Procuratie Nuove, the old Library, and the "Zecca" which is connected with them (the latter being an ugly building of very modern date, not worth notice architecturally), there are many most valuable pictures,¹ among which I would especially direct attention, first to those in the Zecca, namely, a beautiful and strange Madonna, by Benedetto Diana; two noble Bonifazios; and two groups, by Tintoret, of the Provveditori della Zecca, by no means to be missed, whatever may be sacrificed to see them, on account of the quietness and veracity of their unaffected portraiture, and the absolute freedom from all vanity either in the painter or in his subjects.

Next, in the "Antisala" of the old Library, observe the "Sapienza" of Titian, in the centre of the ceiling; a most interesting work in the light brilliancy of its colour, and the resemblance to Paul Veronese. Then, in the great hall of the old Library, examine the two large Tintorets, "St. Mark saving a Saracen from Drowning," and the "Stealing his Body from Constantinople," both rude, but great (note in the latter the dashing of the rain on the pavement, and running of the water about the feet of the figures): then, in the narrow spaces between the windows, there are some magnificent single figures by Tintoret, among the finest things of the kind in Italy, or in Europe. Finally, in the gallery of pictures in the Palazzo Reale, among other good works of various kinds, are two of the most interesting Bonifazios in Venice,² the "Children of Israel in their Journeyings," in one of which, if I recollect right, the quails are coming in flights across a sunset sky, forming one of the earliest instances I know of a thoroughly natural and Turner-esque effect being felt and rendered by the old masters. The picture struck me chiefly from this circumstance; but, the notebook in which I had described it and its companion having been lost on my way home, I cannot now give a more special account of them, except that they are long, full of crowded figures, and peculiarly light in colour and handling as compared with Bonifazio's work in general.

LIO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance, but said to contain a spoiled Titian.

LIO, SALIZZADA DI ST., windows in, X. 294, 300.

LOREDAN, PALAZZO,³ on the Grand Canal near the Rialto, X. 149, 454. Another palace of this name, on the Campo St. Stefano, is of no importance.

LORENZO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

LUCA, CHURCH OF ST. Its campanile is of very interesting and quaint early Gothic, and it is said to contain a Paul Veronese, "St. Luke and the

¹ [See above, Introduction, p. xxviii.]

² [See *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. xviii. § 22.]

³ [Now part of the Municipal Offices.]

Virgin.” In the little Campiello St. Luca, close by, is a very precious Gothic door, rich in brickwork of the thirteenth century;¹ and in the foundations of the houses on the same side of the square, but at the other end of it, are traceable some shafts and arches closely resembling the work of the Cathedral of Murano, and evidently having once belonged to some most interesting building.

LUCIA, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

M

MADDALENA, CHURCH OF STA. MARIA. Of no importance.

[“MADONETTA HOUSE,” X. 146, 454, XI. 277.]

MALIPIERO, PALAZZO, on the Campo St. M. Formosa, facing the canal at its extremity.

A very beautiful example of the Byzantine Renaissance. Note the management of colour in its inlaid balconies.

MANFRINI, PALAZZO. The architecture is of no interest; and as it is in contemplation to allow the collection of pictures to be sold, I shall take no note of them.² But, even if they should remain, there are few of the churches in Venice where the traveller had not better spend his time than in this gallery; as, with the exception of Titian’s “Entombment,” one or two Giorgiones, and the little John Bellini (St. Jerome), the pictures are all of a kind which may be seen elsewhere.

MANGILI, VARMARANA, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Of no importance.

MANIN, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Of no importance.

MANZONI, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, near the Church of the Carità [XI. 21]. A perfect and very rich example of Byzantine Renaissance; its warm yellow marbles are magnificent.

MARCILIAN, CURCH OF ST.³ Said to contain a Titian “Tobit and the Angel:” otherwise of no importance.

MARCO, SCUOLA, DI SAN, XI. 21. [See *Frontispiece*.]

[MARGHERITA, CAMPO SANTA, house in, XI. *Examples*, 11.]

MARIA, CHURCHES OF STA. See FORMOSA, MATER DOMINI, MIRACOLI, ORTO, SALUTE, and ZOBENIGO.

MARK, CHURCH OF ST., history of, X. 71; approach to, X. 80; general teaching of, X. 134, 141; measures of facade of, X. 152; balustrades of, X. 285, 288; cornices of, IX. 365; horseshoe arches of, X. 291; entrances of, X. 315, XI. App. 10(2); shafts of, X. 448; base in baptistry of, IX. 343; mosaics in atrium of, X. 134; mosaics in cupola of, X. 135, XI. 205; lily capitals of, X. 164 [and XI. *Examples*, 7]; Plates illustrative of (Vol. X.), 6, 7 (figs. 9, 10, 11); 8 (figs. 8, 9, 12, 13, 15); 9, 10 (fig. 1), [also Plates C, D, E]; and Plate 4, Vol. XI.⁴ [and *Examples*, 3, 6, 7.]

¹ [See above, *Examples*, 13.]

² [The collection for the most part was dispersed in 1856. It was first offered for sale to the National Gallery (see *Report of the Select Committee of 1853*). The celebrated Giorgione, now in the Palazzo Giovanelli (p. 384 n.), was formerly in the Manfrini. The Titian’s “Entombment” is a repetition with some alterations of the picture in the Louvre.]

³ [Known in Venice as the “Marziale,” on the Rio della Misericordia. The Titian is over the first altar on the left.]

⁴ [For other references than Ruskin here gives, see General Index.]

MARK, SQUARE OF ST. (Piazza di San Marco), anciently a garden, X. 71; general effect of, X. 82, 141; plan of, X. 330. [Floods in, X. xxxvi.; pavement of, X. 62 *n.*, 116 *n.*]

MARTINO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

MATER DOMINI, CHURCH OF STA. MARIA. It contains two important pictures: one over the second altar on the right, "St. Christina," by Vincenzo Catena, a very lovely example of the Venetian religious school; and, over the north transept door, the "Finding of the Cross," by Tintoret, a carefully painted and attractive picture, but by no means a good specimen of the master, as far as regards power of conception. He does not seem to have entered into his subject. There is no wonder, no rapture, no entire devotion in any of the figures. They are only interested and pleased in a mild way; and the kneeling woman who hands the nails to a man stooping forward to receive them on the right hand, does so with the air of a person saying, "You had better take care of them; they may be wanted another time." This general coldness in expression is much increased by the presence of several figures on the right and left, introduced for the sake of portraiture merely: and the reality, as well as the feeling, of the scene is destroyed by our seeing one of the youngest and weakest of the women with a huge cross lying across her knees, the whole weight of it resting upon her. As might have been expected, where the conception is so languid, the execution is little delighted in: it is throughout steady and powerful, but in no place affectionate, and in no place impetuous. If Tintoret had always painted in this way, he would have sunk into a mere mechanist. It is, however, a genuine and tolerably well-preserved specimen, and its female figures are exceedingly graceful; that of St. Helena very queenly, though by no means agreeable in feature. Among the male portraits on the left there is one different from the usual types which occur either in Venetian paintings or Venetian populace; it is carefully painted, and more like a Scotch Presbyterian minister than a Greek. The background is chiefly composed of architecture, white, remarkably uninteresting in colour, and still more so in form. This is to be noticed as one of the unfortunate results of the Renaissance teaching at this period. Had Tintoret backed his Empress Helena with Byzantine architecture, the picture might have been one of the most gorgeous he ever painted.

MATER DOMINI, CAMPO DI STA. MARIA, X. 304. A most interesting little piazza, surrounded by early Gothic houses, once of singular beauty; the arcade at its extremity, of fourth-order windows, drawn in my folio work¹ is one of the earliest and loveliest of its kind in Venice, and in the houses at the side is a group of second-order windows with their intermediate crosses, all complete, and well worth careful examination.

[MERCERIA, X. 304.]

MICHELE IN ISOLA, CHURCH OF ST. On the island between Venice and Murano. The little Cappella Emiliana at the side of it has been much admired, but it would be difficult to find a building more feelingless or ridiculous.

¹ [See above, Plate 2, of the *Examples*, p. 320.]

It is more like a German summer-house, or angle turret, than a chapel, and may be briefly described as a bee-hive set on a low hexagonal tower, with dashes of stonework about its windows like the flourishes of an idle penman.

The cloister of this church is pretty; and the attached cemetery is worth entering, for the sake of feeling the strangeness of the quiet sleeping ground in the midst of the sea.¹

MICHIEL DALLE COLONNE, PALAZZO. Of no importance.

MINELLI PALAZZO.² In the Corte del Maltese, at St. Paternian. It has a spiral external staircase, very picturesque, but of the fifteenth century, and without merit.

MIRACOLI, CHURCH OF STA. MARIA DEI. The most interesting and finished example in Venice of the Byzantine Renaissance, and one of the most important in Italy of the cinque-cento style. All its sculptures should be examined with great care, as the best possible examples of a bad style. Observe, for instance, that in spite of the beautiful work on the square pillars which support the gallery at the west end, they have no more architectural effect than two wooden posts. The same kind of failure in boldness of purpose exists throughout; and the building is, in fact, rather a small museum of unmeaning, though refined sculpture, than a piece of architecture.

Its grotesques are admirable examples of the base Raphaelesque design examined above, XI. 162. Note especially the children's heads tied up by the hair, in the lateral sculptures at the top of the altar steps. A rude workman who could hardly have carved the head at all, might have been allowed this or any other mode of expressing discontent with his own doings; but the man who could carve a child's head so perfectly must have been wanting in all human feeling, to cut it off, and tie it by the hair to a vine leaf. Observe, in the Ducal Palace, though far ruder in skill, the heads always *emerge* from the leaves, they are never *tied* to them.

MISERICORDIA, CHURCH OF. The church itself is nothing, and contains nothing worth the traveller's time; but the Albergo de' Confratelli della Misericordia³ at its side is a very interesting and beautiful relic of the Gothic Renaissance. Lazari says, "del secolo xiv.;" but I believe it to be later. Its traceries are very curious and rich, and the sculpture of its capitals very fine for the late time. Close to it, on the righthand side of the canal, which is crossed by the wooden bridge, is one of the richest Gothic doors in Venice, remarkable for the appearance of antiquity in the general design and stiffness of its figures, though it bears its date, 1505. Its extravagant crockets are almost the only features which, but for this written date, would at first have confessed its lateness; but, on examination, the figures will be found as bad and spiritless as they are apparently archaic, and completely exhibiting the Renaissance palsy of imagination.

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 38.]

² [Now known as the "Palazzo Contarini della Scala," the Minelli family being extinct.]

³ [Now a large tenement of dwelling-houses.]

The general effect is, however, excellent, the whole arrangement having been borrowed from earlier work.

The action of the statue of the Madonna, who extends her robe to shelter a group of diminutive figures, representative of the Society for whose house the sculpture was executed, may be also seen in most of the later Venetian figures of the Virgin which occupy similar situations. The image of Christ is placed in a medallion on her breast, thus fully, though conventionally, expressing the idea of self-support which is so often partially indicated by the great religious painters in their representations of the infant Jesus.

MOISÈ, CHURCH OF ST., X. 80, XI. 148. Notable as one of the basest examples of the basest school of the Renaissance. It contains one important picture, namely, "Christ Washing the Disciples' feet," by Tintoret; on the left side of the chapel, north of the choir. This picture has been originally dark, is now much faded,—in parts, I believe, altogether destroyed,—and is hung in the worst light of a chapel, where, on a sunny day at noon, one could not easily read without a candle. I cannot, therefore, give much information respecting it; but it is certainly one of the least successful of the painter's works, and both careless and unsatisfactory in its composition as well as its colour. One circumstance is noticeable as in a considerable degree detracting from the interest of most of Tintoret's representations of our Saviour with His disciples. He never loses sight of the fact that all were poor, and the latter ignorant; and while he never paints a senator or a saint, once thoroughly canonized, except as a gentleman, he is very careful to paint the Apostles, in their living intercourse with the Saviour, in such a manner that the spectator may see in an instant, as the Pharisee did of old, that they were unlearned and ignorant men; and, whenever we find them in a room, it is always such a one as would be inhabited by the lower classes. There seems some violation of this practice in the dais, or flight of steps, at the top of which the Saviour is placed in the present picture; but we are quickly reminded that the guests' chamber or upper room ready prepared was not likely to have been in a palace, by the humble furniture upon the floor, consisting of a tub with a copper saucepan in it, a coffee-pot, and a pair of bellows, curiously associated with a symbolic cup with a wafer, which, however, is in an injured part of the canvas, and may have been added by the priests. I am totally unable to state what the background of the picture is or has been; and the only point farther to be noted about it is the solemnity, which, in spite of the familiar and homely circumstances above noticed, the painter has given to the scene, by placing the Saviour, in the act of washing the feet of Peter, at the top of a circle of steps, on which the other Apostles kneel in adoration and astonishment.

MORO, PALAZZO. See OTHELLO.

MOROSINI, PALAZZO, near the Ponte dell' Ospedaletto, at San Giovanni e Paolo. Outside it is not interesting, though the gateway shows remains of brickwork of the thirteenth century. Its interior court is singularly beautiful; the staircase of early fourteenth century Gothic has originally been superb, and the window in the angle above is the most perfect that

I know in Venice of the kind; the lightly sculptured coronet is exquisitely introduced at the top of its spiral shaft.

This palace still belongs to the Morosini family, to whose present representative, the Count Carlo Morosini, the reader is indebted for the note on the character of his ancestors, above, p. 257.

MOROSINI, PALAZZO, AT ST. Stefano. Of no importance.

N

NANI-MOCENIGO, PALAZZO.¹ (Now Hotel Danieli.) A glorious example of the central Gothic, nearly contemporary with the finest parts of the Ducal Palace. Though less impressive in effect than the Casa Foscari or Casa Bernardo, it is of purer architecture than either; and quite unique in the delicacy of the form of the cusps in the central group of windows, which are shaped like broad scimitars, the upper foil of the windows being very small. If the traveller will compare these windows with the neighbouring traceries of the Ducal Palace, he will easily perceive the peculiarity.

NICOLO DEL LIDO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

NOME DI GESU, CHURCH OF THE. Of no importance.

O

ORFANI, CHURCH OF THE. Of no importance.

ORTO, CHURCH OF STA. MARIA DELL'. An interesting example of Renaissance Gothic, the traceries of the windows being very rich and quaint.

It contains four most important Tintorets: "The Last Judgment," "The Worship of the Golden Calf,"² "The Presentation of the Virgin," and "Martyrdom of St. Agnes." The first two are among his largest and mightiest works, but grievously injured by damp and neglect; and unless the traveller is accustomed to decipher the thoughts in a picture patiently, he need not hope to derive any pleasure from them. But no pictures will better reward a resolute study. The following account of the "Last judgment," given in the second volume of *Modern Painters*, will be useful in enabling the traveller to enter into the meaning of the picture, but its real power is only to be felt by patient examination of it.

"By Tintoret only has this unimaginable event (the Last Judgment)

¹ [Originally the Palazzo Dandolo—built to receive the distinguished guests of the Republic. For one of the capitals of its window shafts see Plate 14 in the *Examples*, above, p. 346.]

² [On this picture see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 308), where Ruskin calls attention to the beauty of the landscape; and *ibid.*, vol. iv. ch. iv. § 2 *n.*, where he notes the clouds around Mount Sinai. See also Vol. IV. pp. xxxvi.—xxxvii., where a passage is given from his diary of 1845 describing these pictures, more especially "The Last Judgment."]

been grappled with in its Verity; not typically nor symbolically, but as they may see it who shall not sleep, but be changed. Only one traditional circumstance he has received, with Dante and Michael Angelo, the Boat of the Condemned; but the impetuosity of his mind bursts out even in the adoption of this image; he has not stopped at the scowling ferryman of the one, nor at the sweeping blow and demon dragging of the other, but, seized Hylas-like by the limbs and tearing up the earth in his agony, the victim is dashed into his destruction; nor is it the sluggish Lethe, nor the fiery lake, that bears the cursed vessel, but the oceans of the earth and the waters of the firmament gathered into one white, ghastly cataract; the river of the wrath of God, roaring down into the gulf where the world has melted with its fervent heat, choked with the ruins of nations, and the limbs of its corpses tossed out of its whirling, like water-wheels. Bat-like, out of the holes and caverns and shadows of the earth, the bones gather, and the clay heaps heave, rattling and adhering into half-kneaded anatomies, that crawl, and startle, and struggle up among the putrid weeds, with the clay clinging to their clotted hair, and their heavy eyes sealed by the earth darkness yet, like his of old who went his way unseeing to the Siloam Pool; shaking off one by one the dreams of the prison-house, hardly hearing the clangour of the trumpets of the armies of God, blinded yet more, as they awake, by the white light of the new Heaven, until the great vortex of the four winds bears up their bodies to the judgment-seat; the Firmament is all full of them, a very dust of human souls, that drifts, and floats, and falls into the interminable, inevitable light; the bright clouds are darkened with them as with thick snow, currents of atom life in the arteries of heaven, now soaring up slowly, and higher and higher still, till the eye and the thought can follow no farther, borne up, wingless, by their inward faith and by the angel powers invisible, now hurled in countless drifts of horror before the breath of their condemnation.”

Note in the opposite picture the way the clouds are wrapped about the distant Sinai.

The figure of the little Madonna in the “Presentation” should be compared with Titian’s in his picture of the same subject in the Academy.¹ I prefer Tintoret’s infinitely; and note how much finer is

¹ [In his 1846 diary Ruskin works out the contrasts in detail:—

“Tintoret’s is grey, grand and useful, no picturesqueness admitted; Titian’s is brown and mean, and with all the evil of picturesqueness, without its nature; it is awkwardly chipped and stained. Tintoret puts an arabesque on the steps in gold, actual gilding with a brown touch of paint beside it; these sweeping steps are rich and delicious (perhaps suggested by the beautiful decoration of those of the Giant’s Staircase). Titian’s are meagre, square, and cold; his old woman with her basket of eggs is altogether vulgar, singularly inferior to Tintoret’s grand sitting figure looking down on the child, though this latter even is a little hurtful as absolutely uninterested in the chief action; the profile of the upright ascending figure on the right [i.e. in Tintoret’s picture] is about the most beautiful Venetian face of a certain order that I know. In Tintoret’s architecture the projecting balcony above, p. 27 [i.e. in Ruskin’s notebook], on the perspective side of the house, is curious for its severe and not very tasteful simplicity. I think the interstices

the feeling with which Tintoret has relieved the glory round her head against the pure sky, than that which influenced Titian in encumbering his distance with architecture.

(1877. The whole picture has now been daubed over,—chiefly this lovely bit of sky, and is a ghastly ruin and eternal disgrace to modern Venice.)

The “Martyrdom of St. Agnes” was a lovely picture. It has been “restored” since I saw it.¹

OSPEDALETTO, CHURCH OF THE. The most monstrous example of the Grotesque Renaissance which there is in Venice; the sculptures on its façade representing masses of diseased figures and swollen fruit.

It is almost worth devoting an hour to the successive examination of five buildings, as illustrative of the last degradation of the Renaissance. San Moisè is the most clumsy, Santa Maria Zobenigo the most impious, St. Eustachio the most ridiculous, the Ospedaletto the most monstrous, and the head at Santa Maria Formosa the most foul.

OTHELLO, HOUSE OF, at the CARMINI. The researches of Mr. Brown into the origin of the play of *Othello* have, I think, determined that Shakespeare wrote on definite historical grounds; and that Othello may be in many points identified with Christopher Moro, the lieutenant of the republic at Cyprus in 1508. See *Ragguagli su Marin Sanuto*, i. 226.²

His palace was standing till very lately, a Gothic building of the fourteenth century, of which Mr. Brown possesses a drawing. It is now destroyed, and a modern square-windowed house built on its site. A statue, said to be a portrait of Moro, but a most paltry work, is set in a niche in the modern wall.

P

PANTALEONE, CHURCH OF ST. Said to contain a Paul Veronese; otherwise of no importance.³

PATERNIAN, CHURCH OF ST. Its little leaning tower⁴ forms an interesting

are too crowded above, and should be arranged as in the figure a below, where also the lie of the drapery is given. It casts no shadow, and is altogether poor and ineffective; yet the picture on the whole is grand and spacious; in the figures the blacks and reds are excessively violent in quantity, the former exceedingly cold. The little Madonna has a sphere or glory of light all about her; in Tintoret’s it is only about her head; but tenfold more expressive and heavenly from its being brought against the light of the sky in the most daring manner.”]

¹ [In the same church (first altar on the right) is the picture of “St. John the Baptist” by Cima da Conegliano, which Ruskin selected for the first example in his Educational Series at Oxford: see *Catalogue* of that series (where its lovely detail is dwelt upon); and *Lectures on Art*, § 150 (“the whole picture full of peace and intense faith and hope”).]

² [See Vol. X. p. 353 n.]

³ [The Veronese is in the second chapel on the right, “St. Pantaleone leading a Child;” for the painting of the roof, see *St. Mark’s Rest*, §§ 189–191.]

⁴ [Since pulled down; now the Savings Bank.]

- object, as the traveller sees it from the narrow canal which passes beneath the Porte San Paternian. The two arched lights of the belfry appear of very early workmanship, probably of the beginning of the thirteenth century.
- PESARO, PALAZZO, on the grand Canal [XI. 150]. The most powerful and impressive in effect of all the palaces of the Grotesque Renaissance. The heads upon its foundation are very characteristic of the period, but there is more genius in them than usual. Some of the mingled expressions of faces and grinning casques are very clever.
- [PIAZZETTA, IX. 52, X. 359.]
- PIAZZETTA, pillars of, see Final Appendix, under head "Capitals."¹ The two magnificent blocks of marble, brought from St. Jean d'Acre, which form one of the principal ornaments of the Piazzetta, are Greek sculpture of the sixth century, and will be described in my folio work.
- PIETA, CHURCH OF THE. Of no importance.²
- PIETRO, CHURCH OF ST., at Murano [X. 41]. Its pictures, once valuable, are now hardly worth examination, having been spoiled by neglect.³
- PIETRO DI CASTELLO, CHURCH OF ST., IX. 26, 419. It is said to contain a Paul Veronese, and I suppose the so-called "Chair of St. Peter" must be worth examining.⁴
- PISANI, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. The latest Venetian Gothic, just passing into Renaissance. The capitals of the first-floor windows are, however, singularly spirited and graceful, very daringly undercut, and worth careful examination. The Paul Veronese, once the glory of this palace, is, I believe, not likely to remain in Venice.⁵ The other picture in the same room, the "Death of Darius," is of no value.
- PISANI, PALAZZO, at St. Stefano. Late Renaissance, and of no merit, but grand in its colossal proportions, especially when seen from the narrow canal at its side, which, terminated by the apse of the Church of San Stefano, is one of the most picturesque and impressive little pieces of water scenery in Venice.
- [PISTOR, CALLE DEL, X. 294.]
- POLO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance, except as an example of the advantages accruing from restoration. M. Lazari says of it, "Before this church was modernized, its principal chapel was adorned with mosaics, and possessed a pala of silver gilt, of Byzantine workmanship, which is now lost."
- ¹ [Above, p. 275. In the "Travellers' Edition" the reference was altered to "See *St. Mark's Rest*"—§§ 14 *seq.* For the Jean d'Acre pillars, see Vol. IX. p. 105 *n.* The intended Plates in the *Examples* were not published.]
- ² [In a gallery over the entrance, there is a fine work of Moretto, "Supper in the House of the Pharisee."]
- ³ [They include one by Giovanni Bellini.]
- ⁴ [The Veronese, on the west wall to the left on entering, is "The Agony in the Garden." The so-called "Chair of St. Peter" is an ancient episcopal seat, given by the Emperor Michael III. to the Doge of Venice in the middle of the ninth century; the back of it, inscribed with Arabic characters, seems to have been a gravestone.]
- ⁵ ["The family of Darius at the feet of Alexander after the battle of Issus." It was purchased in 1857 by the English Government, and now hangs in London in the National Gallery, No. 294: see above, p. 359 *n.*]

- POLO, SQUARE OF ST. (Campo San Polo) [IX. 321]. A large and important square, rendered interesting chiefly by three palaces on the side of it opposite the church, of central Gothic (1360), and fine of their time, though small. One of their capitals has been given in Plate 2 of this volume, fig. 12. They are remarkable as being decorated with sculptures of the Gothic time, in imitation of the Byzantine ones; the period being marked by the dog-tooth, and cable being used instead of the dentil round the circles.
- POLO, PALAZZO, at San G. Grisostomo (the House of Marco Polo), X. 166. Its interior court is full of interest, showing fragments of the old building in every direction, cornices, windows, and doors, of almost every period, mingled among modern rebuilding and restoration of all degrees of dignity.
- PORTA DELLA CARTA, X. 353.
- PRIULI, PALAZZO [X. 310, XI. 29]. A most important and beautiful early Gothic palace, at San Severo; the main entrance is from the Fondamento San Severo, but the principal façade is on the other side, towards the canal. The entrance has been grievously defaced, having had winged lions filling the spandrils of its pointed arch, of which only feeble traces are now left; the facade has very early fourth-order windows in the lower story, and, above, the beautiful range of fifth-order windows drawn in Plate 18, Vol. X., where the heads of the fourth-order range are also seen (note their inequality, the larger one at the flank). This palace has two most interesting traceried angle windows also, which, however, I believe are later than those on the facade; and, finally, a rich and bold interior staircase.
- PROCURATIE NUOVE, see "LIBRERIA." VECCHIE: A graceful series of buildings, of late fifteenth century design, forming the northern side of St. Mark's Place, but of no particular interest.

Q

- QUERINI, PALAZZO, now the Beccherie, X. 298, XI. 273.

R

- RAFFAELLE, CHIESA DELL' ANGELO. Said to contain a Bonifazio:¹ otherwise of no importance.
- [RAMO DIRIMPETTO MOCENIGO, door-head in, XI. *Examples*, 12.]
- REDENTORE, CHURCH OF THE, X. 443. It contains three interesting John Bellinis,² and also, in the sacristy, a most beautiful Paul Veronese.
- REMER, CORTE DEL, house in, IX. 305, X. 292, XI. 279.

¹ [Seven panels round the organ loft; the story of Tobit and the Angel.]

² [Compare Vol. X. p. 443. The beautiful "Virgin and Child with two Angels" is now attributed by some to Alvise Vivarini.]

REZZONICO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal.¹ Of the Grotesque Renaissance time, but less extravagant than usual.

RIALTO, BRIDGE OF THE. The best building raised in the time of the Grotesque Renaissance; very noble in its simplicity, in its proportions, and in its masonry. Note especially the grand way in which the oblique archstones rest on the buttments of the bridge, safe, palpably both to the sense and eye: note also the sculpture of the Annunciation on the southern side of it; how beautifully arranged, so as to give more lightness and grace to the arch—*the dove, flying towards the Madonna, forming the keystone*,—and thus the whole action of the figures being parallel to the curve of the arch, while all the masonry is at right angles to it. Note, finally, one circumstance which gives peculiar firmness to the figure of the angel, and associates itself with the general expression of strength in the whole building; namely, that the sole of the advanced foot is set perfectly level, as if placed on the ground, instead of being thrown back behind like a heron's, as in most modern figures of this kind.

The sculptures themselves are not good; but these pieces of feeling in them are very admirable. The two figures on the other side, St. Mark and St. Theodore, are inferior, though all by the same sculptor, Girolamo Campagna.

The bridge was built by Antonio da Ponte, in 1588. It was anciently of wood, with a drawbridge in the centre, a representation of which may be seen in one of Carpaccio's pictures at the Accademia delle Belle Arti: and the traveller should observe that the interesting effect, both of this and the Bridge of Sighs, depends in great part on their both being *more* than bridges; the one a covered passage, the other a row of shops, sustained on an arch. No such effect can be produced merely by the masonry of the roadway itself.

[RIMEDIO, CALLE DI, X. 295.]

RIO DEL PALAZZO, X. 330, XI. 32 *n*.

[RIO DI CA' FOSCARI, Byzantine house in, X. 146,151,155,454,XI. *Examples*, 8,9, and 10.]

ROCCO, CAMPIELLO DI SAN, windows in, X. 303.

ROCCO, CHURCH OF ST. Notable only for the most interesting pictures by Tintoret which it contains, namely:

1. *San Rocco before the Pope*. (On the left of the door as we enter.) A delightful picture in his best manner, but not much laboured; and, like several other pictures in this church, it seems to me to have been executed at some period of the painter's life when he was either in ill-health, or else had got into a mechanical way of painting, from having made too little reference to nature for a long time. There is something stiff and forced in the white draperies on both sides, and a general character about the whole which I can feel better than I can describe; but which, if I had been the painter's physician, would have immediately caused me to order him to shut up his painting-room, and take a voyage to the Levant and back again. The figure of the Pope is, however, extremely beautiful, and

¹ [Robert Browning died in this palace in 1889, which now bears an inscription recording the fact.]

is not unworthy, in its jewelled magnificence, here dark against the sky, of comparison with the figure of the high priest in the "Presentation," in the Scuola di San Rocco.

2. *Annunciation.* (On the other side of door, on entering.) A most disagreeable and dead picture, having all the faults of the age, and none of the merits of the painter. It must be a matter of future investigation to me, what could cause the fall of his mind from a conception so great and so fiery as that of the "Annunciation" in the Scuola di San Rocco, to this miserable reprint of an idea worn out centuries before. One of the most inconceivable things in it, considered as the work of Tintoret, is that where the angel's robe drifts away behind his limb; one cannot tell by the character of the outline, or by the tones of the colour, whether the cloud comes in before the robe, or whether the robe cuts upon the cloud. The Virgin is uglier than that of the Scuola, and not half so real; and the draperies are crumpled in the most common-place and ignoble folds. It is a picture well worth study, as an example of the extent to which the greatest mind may be betrayed by the abuse of its powers, and the neglect of its proper food in the study of nature.

3. *Pool of Bethesda.* (On the right side of the church, in its centre, the lowest of the two pictures which occupy the wall.) A noble work, but eminently disagreeable, as must be all pictures of this subject; and with the same character in it of undefinable want, which I have noticed in the two preceding works. The main figure in it is the cripple, who has taken up his bed; but the whole effect of this action is lost by his not turning to Christ, but flinging it on his shoulder like a triumphant porter with a huge load; and the corrupt Renaissance architecture, among which the figures are crowded, is both ugly in itself and much too small for them. It is worth noticing, for the benefit of persons who find fault with the perspective of the Pre-Raphaelites, that the perspective of the brackets beneath these pillars is utterly absurd; and that, in fine, the presence or absence of perspective has nothing to do with the merits of a great picture; not that the perspective of the Pre-Raphaelites *is* false in any case that I have examined, the objection being just as untenable as it is ridiculous.¹

4. *San Rocco in the Desert.* (Above the last-named picture.) A single recumbent figure in a not very interesting landscape, deserving less attention than a picture of St. Martin just opposite to it,—a noble and knightly figure on horseback by Pordenone, to which I cannot pay a greater compliment than by saying that I was a considerable time in doubt whether or not it was another Tintoret.

5. *San Rocco in the Hospital.* (On the right-hand side of the altar.) There are four vast pictures by Tintoret in the dark choir of this church, not only important by their size (each being some twenty-five feet long by ten feet high), but also elaborate compositions; and remarkable, one for its extraordinary landscape, and the other as the most studied picture in which the painter has introduced horses in violent action. In order

¹ [For current criticism at the time to this effect, and Ruskin's reply to it, see his letter to the *Times*, May 13, 1851 (reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, i. 90, and in Vol. XII. of this edition).]

to show what waste of human mind there is in these dark churches of Venice, it is worth recording that, as I was examining these pictures, there came in a party of eighteen German tourists, not hurried, nor jesting among themselves, as large parties often do, but patiently submitting to their cicerone, and evidently desirous of doing their duty as intelligent travellers. They sat down for a long time on the benches of the nave, looked a little at the "Pool of Bethesda," walked up into the choir, and there heard a lecture of considerable length from their *valet-de-place* upon some subject connected with the altar itself, which, being in German, I did not understand; they then turned and went slowly out of the church, not one of the whole eighteen ever giving a single glance to any of the four Tintorets, and only one of them, as far as I saw, even raising his eyes to the walls on which they hung, and immediately withdrawing them, with a jaded and *nonchalant* expression, easily interpretable into "Nothing but old black pictures." The two Tintorets above noticed, at the end of the church, were passed also without a glance; and this neglect is not because the pictures have nothing in them capable of arresting the popular mind, but simply because they are totally in the dark, or confused among easier and more prominent objects of attention. This picture, which I have called "St. Rocco in the Hospital," shows him, I suppose, in his general ministrations at such places, and is one of the usual representations of disgusting subjects from which neither Orcagna¹ nor Tintoret seems ever to have shrunk. It is a very noble picture, carefully composed and highly wrought; but to me gives no pleasure, first, on account of its subject, secondly, on account of its dull brown tone all over,—it being impossible, or nearly so, in such a scene, and at all events inconsistent with its feeling, to introduce vivid colour of any kind. So it is a brown study of diseased limbs in a close room.

6. *Cattle Piece*. (Above the picture last described.) I can give no other name to this picture, whose subject I can neither guess nor discover, the picture being in the dark, and the guide-books leaving me in the same position. All I can make out of it is, that there is a noble landscape, with cattle and figures. It seems to me the best landscape of Tintoret's in Venice, except the "Flight into Egypt;" and is even still more interesting from its savage character, the principal trees being pines, something like Titian's in his "St. Francis receiving the Stigmata," and chestnuts on the slopes and in the hollows of the hills: the animals also seem first-rate. But it is too high, too much faded, and too much in the dark to be made out. It seems never to have been rich in colour, rather cool and grey, and very full of light.

7. *Finding of Body of San Rocco*. (On the left-hand side of the altar.) An elaborate, but somewhat confused picture, with a flying angel in a blue drapery; but it seemed to me altogether uninteresting, or, perhaps, requiring more study than I was able to give it.²

8. *San Rocco in Campo d' Armata*. So this picture is called by the sacristan. I could see no San Rocco in it; nothing but a wild group of

¹ [See in Vol. XII., *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 123.]

² [The picture is called by Ridolfi "S. Rocco struck by death and visited by an angel."]

horses and warriors in the most magnificent confusion of fall and flight ever painted by man. They seem all dashed different ways as if by a whirlwind; and a whirlwind there must be, or a thunder-bolt, behind them, for a huge tree is torn up and hurled into the air beyond the central figure as if it were a shivered lance. Two of the horses meet in the midst, as if in a tournament; but in madness or fear, not in hostility: on the horse to the right is a standard-bearer, who stoops as from some foe behind him, with the lance laid across his saddlebow level, and the flag stretched out behind him as he flies, like the sail of a ship drifting from its mast; the central horseman, who meets the shock, of storm, or enemy, whatever it be, is hurled backwards from his seat, like a stone from a sling; and this figure, with the shattered tree trunk behind it, is the most noble part of the picture. There is another grand horse on the right, however, also in full action. Two gigantic figures on foot, on the left, meant to be nearer than the others, would, it seems to me, have injured the picture, had they been clearly visible; but time has reduced them to perfect subordination.

ROCCO, SCUOLA DI SAN, bases of, IX. 344, 471; soffit ornaments of, IX. 392. An interesting building of the early Renaissance (1517), passing into Roman Renaissance. The wreaths of leafage about its shafts are wonderfully delicate and fine, though misplaced.

As regards the pictures which it contains, it is one of the three most precious buildings in Italy; buildings, I mean, consistently decorated with a series of paintings at the time of their erection, and still exhibiting that series in its original order. I suppose there can be little question but that the three most important edifices of this kind in Italy are the Sistine Chapel, the Campo Santo of Pisa, and the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice: the first painted by Michael Angelo; the second by Orcagna, Benozzo Gozzoli, Pietro Laurati, and several other men whose works are as rare as they are precious;¹ and the third by Tintoret.

Whatever the traveller may miss in Venice, he should, therefore, give unembarrassed attention and unbroken time to the Scuola di San Rocco; and I shall, accordingly, number the pictures, and note in them, one by one, what seemed to me most worthy of observation.²

They are sixty-two in all, but eight of these are merely of children or children's heads, and two of unimportant figures. The number of valuable pictures is fifty-two; arranged on the walls and ceilings of three rooms, so badly lighted, in consequence of the admirable arrangements of the Renaissance architect, that it is only in the early morning that some of the pictures can be seen at all, nor can they ever be seen but imperfectly. They were all painted, however, for their places in the dark, and, as compared with Tintoret's other works, are therefore, for the most part, nothing more than vast sketches, made to produce, under a certain degree of shadow, the effect of finished pictures. Their treatment is thus to be considered as a kind of scene-painting; differing from ordinary scene-painting only in this, that the effect aimed at is

¹ [See Vol. IV. pp. xxx., 84.]

² [For Ruskin's first impressions of the Scuola di San Rocco, see Vol. IV. pp. xxxvii., 354.]

not *that of a natural scene*, but *of a perfect picture*. They differ in this respect from all other existing works; for there is not, as far as I know, any other instance in which a great master has consented to work for a room plunged into almost total obscurity. It is probable that none but Tintoret would have undertaken the task, and most fortunate that he was forced to it. For in this magnificent scene-painting we have, of course, more wonderful examples, both of his handling and knowledge of effect, than could ever have been exhibited in finished pictures; while the necessity of doing much with few strokes keeps his mind so completely on the stretch throughout the work (while yet the velocity of production prevented his being wearied), that no other series of his works exhibits powers so exalted. On the other hand, owing to the velocity¹ and coarseness of the painting, it is more liable to injury through drought or damp; and as the walls have been for years continually running down with rain, and what little sun gets into the place contrives to fall all day right on one or other of the pictures, they are nothing but wrecks of what they were;² and the ruins of paintings originally coarse are not likely ever to be attractive to the public mind. Twenty or thirty years ago they were taken down to be retouched; but the man to whom the task was committed providentially died, and only one of them was spoiled. I have found traces of his work upon another, but not to an extent very seriously destructive. The rest of the sixty-two, or, at any rate, all that are in the upper room, appear entirely intact.

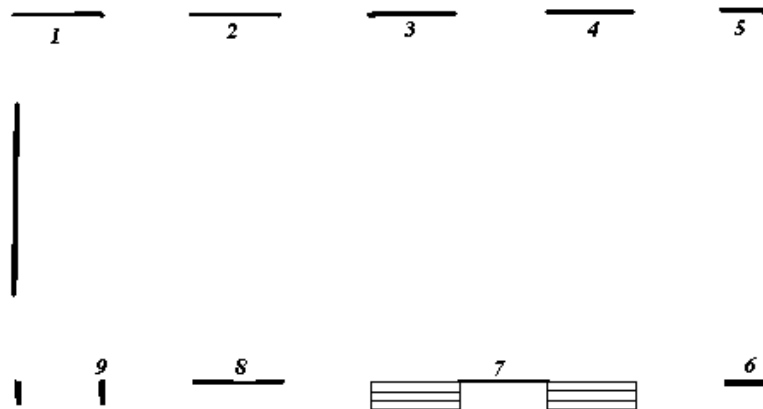
Although, as compared with his other works, they are all very scenic in execution, there are great differences in their degrees of finish; and, curiously enough, some on the ceilings and others in the darkest places in the lower room are very nearly finished pictures, while the "Agony in the Garden," which is in one of the best lights in the upper room, appears to have been painted in a couple of hours with a broom for a brush.

For the traveller's greater convenience I shall give a rude plan of the arrangement, and list of the subjects, of each group of pictures before examining them in detail.

¹ [Ridolfi's story of Tintoret's connexion with the Brotherhood of S. Rocco illustrates the speed at which the painter worked. The picture referred to is No. 40 in Ruskin's list: "S. Rocco in Heaven." "About 1560 the members of the brotherhood resolved to have a great picture painted in the Refectory." The best artists of the day were invited to submit designs. "When, on the appointed day, Paolo Veronese, Andrea Schiavone, Giuseppe Salviati, and Federigo Zuccaro came to show their designs, and Tintoretto was asked to exhibit his, he uncovered his canvas, which he had cleverly hidden with a cartoon, and said that they could make no mistake about the design which he had drawn; and if his readiness displeased them, he would make a gift of it to S. Rocco, who had already given him so much." The artists, who had made only designs, while Tintoret had made a picture, withdrew from the competition. "So they received Tintoretto into the brotherhood, and gave him the charge of what paintings should be needful for the rooms of the Scuola. In addition they granted him an annuity of 100 ducats for life, on condition that he should provide one complete picture each year."]

² [On the neglect of the pictures in the Scuola, compare Vol. IV. pp. 40, 395.]

First group. *On the walls of the room on the ground floor.*



- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Annunciation. | 5. The Magdalen. |
| 2. Adoration of Magi. | 6. St. Mary of Egypt. |
| 3. Flight into Egypt. | 7. Circumcision. |
| 4. Massacre of Innocents. | 8. Assumption of Virgin. |

At the turn of the stairs leading to the upper room:

9. Visitation.

1. *The Annunciation*. This, which first strikes the eye, is a very just representative of the whole group, the execution being carried to the utmost limits of boldness consistent with completion. It is a well-known picture, and need not therefore be specially described, but one or two points in it require notice.¹ The face of the Virgin is very disagreeable to the spectator from below, giving the idea of a woman about thirty, who had never been handsome. If the face is untouched, it is the only instance I have ever seen of Tintoret's failing in an intended effect, for, when seen near, the face is comely and youthful, and expresses only surprise, instead of the pain and fear of which it bears the aspect in the distance. I could not get near enough to see whether it had been retouched. It looks like Tintoret's work, though rather hard; but, as there are unquestionable marks of the retouching of this picture, it is possible that some slight restoration of lines supposed to be faded, entirely alters the distant expression of the face. One of the evident pieces of repainting is the scarlet of the Madonna's lap, which is heavy and lifeless. A far more injurious one is the strip of sky seen through the doorway by which the angel enters, which has originally been of the deep golden colour of the distance on the left, and which the blundering

¹ [The picture had already been described, and its imaginative powers discussed, in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii.: see Vol. IV. pp. 263–265.]

restorer has daubed over with whitish blue, so that it looks like a bit of the wall; luckily he has not touched the outlines of the angel's black wings, on which the whole expression of the picture depends. This angel and the group of small cherubs above form a great swinging chain, of which the dove representing the Holy Spirit forms the bend. The angels in their flight seem to be attached to this as the train of fire is to a rocket; all of them appearing to have swooped down with the swiftness of a falling star.

2. *Adoration of the Magi*. The most finished picture in the Scuola except the "Crucifixion," and perhaps the most delightful of the whole.¹ It unites every source of pleasure that a picture can possess; the highest elevation of principal subject, mixed with the lowest detail of picturesque incident; the dignity of the highest ranks of men, opposed to the simplicity of the lowest; the quietness and serenity of an incident in cottage life, contrasted with the turbulence of troops of horsemen and the spiritual power of angels. The placing of the two doves as principal points of light in the front of the picture, in order to remind the spectator of the poverty of the mother whose child is receiving the offerings and adoration of three monarchs, is one of Tintoret's master touches; the whole scene, indeed, is conceived in his happiest manner. Nothing can be at once more humble or more dignified than the bearing of the kings: and there is a sweet reality given to the whole incident by the Madonna's stooping forward and lifting her hand in admiration of the vase of gold which has been set before the Christ, though she does so with such gentleness and quietness that her dignity is not in the least injured by the simplicity of the action. As if to illustrate the means by which the Wise Men were brought from the East, the whole picture is nothing but a large star, of which the Christ is the centre; all the figures, even the timbers of the roof, radiate from the small bright figure on which the countenances of the flying angels are bent, the star itself, gleaming through the timbers above, being quite subordinate. The composition would almost be too artificial were it not broken by the luminous distance, where the troop of horsemen are waiting for the kings. These, with a dog running at full speed, at once interrupt the symmetry of the lines, and form a point of relief from the over-concentration of all the rest of the action.

3. *Flight into Egypt*. One of the principal figures here is the donkey.² I have never seen any of the nobler animals—lion, or leopard, or dragon—made so sublime as this quiet head of the domestic ass, chiefly owing to the grand motion in the nostril and writhing in the ears. The space of the picture is chiefly occupied by a lovely landscape, and the Madonna and St. Joseph are pacing their way along a shady path upon the banks of a river at the side of the picture. I had not

¹ [Ruskin noticed other points in this picture in later volumes—*Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. vii. §§ 2, 3, where it is instanced for "general ideal treatment of the human form"; ch. ix. § 18, for the painting of "the black bark on the birch trunks"; and *ibid.*, vol. iv. ch. iv. § 15, where he speaks of the awe with which the picture filled him. For Ruskin's studies from it, see Plates 6, 7, and 11 in Vol. IV.]

² [This picture is also described in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 274), and again, with special reference to the donkey, in a letter cited at Vol. IV. p. xxxix.]

any conception, until I got near, how much pains had been taken with the Virgin's head; its expression is as sweet and as intense as that of any of Raffaello's, its reality far greater.¹ The painter seems to have intended that everything should be subordinate to the beauty of this single head; and the work is a wonderful proof of the way in which a vast field of canvas may be made conducive to the interest of a single figure. This is partly accomplished by slightness of painting, so that on close examination, while there is everything to astonish in the masterly handling and purpose, there is not much perfect or very delightful painting; in fact, the two figures are treated like the living figures in a scene at the theatre, and finished to perfection, while the landscape is painted as hastily as the scenes, and with the same kind of opaque size colour. It has, however, suffered as much as any of the series, and it is hardly fair to judge of its tones and colours in its present state.

4. *Massacre of the Innocents*. The following account of this picture, given in *Modern Painters*, may be useful to the traveller, and is therefore here repeated. "I have before alluded to the painfulness of Raffaello's treatment of the Massacre of the Innocents. Fuseli affirms of it, that, 'in dramatic gradation he disclosed all the mother through every image of pity and of terror.' If this be so, I think the philosophical spirit has prevailed over the imaginative. The imagination never errs; it sees all that is, and all the relations and bearings of it: but it would not have confused the mortal frenzy of maternal terror with various development of maternal character. Fear, rage, and agony, at their utmost pitch, sweep away all character: humanity itself would be lost in maternity, the woman would become the mere personification of animal fury or fear. For this reason all the ordinary representations of this subject are, I think, false and cold: the artist has not heard the shrieks, nor mingled with the fugitives; he has sat down in his study to convulse features methodically, and philosophize over insanity. Not so Tintoret. Knowing, or feeling, that the expression of the human face was, in such circumstances, not to be rendered, and that the effort could only end in an ugly falsehood, he denies himself all aid from the features, he feels that if he is to place himself or us in the midst of that maddened multitude, there can be no time allowed for watching expression. Still less does he depend on details of murder or ghastliness of death; there

¹ [In an earlier and shorter draft of this description Ruskin wrote:—

"The Madonna is full of sweetness, but a little English—Reynolds-like—owing perhaps in some measure to her hair being curled in vertical ringlets over the brow."

In letters to his father from Venice (March 19, April 9, 1852) he writes:—

"I am getting a good study of Tintoret, and am going to-day to the Scuola di San Rocco to try if I can get the feeblest likeness of the most noble piece of animal painting ever produced by man—the donkey's head in the Flight into Egypt. I like the Madonna there better than any of Raphael's, and I like the donkey *all but* as well as the Madonna.

"Tintoret seems never to have liked horses. The Ass in the Flight into Egypt is painted with as much respect as if he had been a Senator; but the horses are always neglected and, as far as it is possible for Tintoret to draw ill, even ill-drawn."]

is no blood, no stabbing or cutting, but there is an awful substitute for these in the chiaroscuro. The scene is the outer vestibule of a palace, the slippery marble floor is fearfully barred across by sanguine shadows, so that our eyes seem to become bloodshot and strained with strange horror and deadly vision; a lake of life before them, like the burning seen of the doomed Moabite on the water that came by the way of Edom: a huge flight of stairs, without parapet, descends on the left; down this rush a crowd of women mixed with the murderers; the child in the arms of one has been seized by the limbs; *she hurls herself over the edge, and falls head downmost, dragging the child out of the grasp by her weight*;—she will be dashed dead in a second:—close to us is the great struggle; a heap of the mothers, entangled in one mortal writhe with each other and the swords; one of the murderers dashed down and crushed beneath them, the sword of another caught by the blade and dragged at by a woman's naked hand; the youngest and fairest of the women, her child just torn away from a death grasp, and clasped to her breast with the grip of a steel vice, falls backwards, helplessly over the heap, right on the sword points; all knit together and hurled down in one hopeless, frenzied, furious abandonment of body and soul in the effort to save. Far back, at the bottom of the stairs, there is something in the shadow like a heap of clothes. It is a woman, sitting quiet,—quiet quiet,—still as any stone; she looks down steadfastly on her dead child, laid along on the floor before her, and her hand is pressed softly upon her brow."¹

I have nothing to add to the above description of this picture, except that I believe there may have been some change in the colour of the shadow that crosses the pavement. The chequers of the pavement are, in the light, golden white and pale grey; in the shadow, red and dark grey, the white in the sunshine becoming red in the shadow. I formerly supposed that this was meant to give greater horror to the scene,² and it is very like Tintoret if it be so; but there is a strangeness and discordance in it which make me suspect the colours may have changed.

5. *The Magdalen*. This and the picture opposite to it, "St. Mary of Egypt," have been painted to fill up narrow spaces between the windows which were not large enough to receive compositions, and yet in which single figures would have looked awkwardly thrust into the corner. Tintoret has made these spaces as large as possible by filling them with landscapes, which are rendered interesting by the introduction of single figures of very small size. He has not, however, considered his task of making a small piece of wainscot look like a large one, worth the stretch of his powers, and has painted these two landscapes just as carelessly and as fast as an upholsterer's journeyman finishing a room at a railway hotel. The colour is for the most part opaque, and dashed or scrawled

¹ [*Modern Painters*, vol. ii. sec. ii. ch. iii. § 21 (Vol. IV. pp. 272–273). The MS. version of the description, though to the same effect as this from *Modern Painters*, is differently worded and arranged. One detailed criticism is added: "One figure in the picture hurts it excessively—the executioner on the right, whose action is entirely theatrical and false."]

² [*Ibid.*, § 25 (Vol. IV. p. 278).]

on in the manner of a scene-painter; and as during the whole morning the sun shines upon the one picture, and during the afternoon upon the other, hues, which were originally thin and imperfect, are now dried in many places into mere dirt upon the canvas. With all these drawbacks the pictures are of very high interest, for although, as I said, hastily and carelessly, they are not languidly painted; on the contrary, he has been in his hottest and grandest temper; and in this first one (Magdalen) the laurel-tree, with its leaves driven hither and thither among flakes of fiery cloud, has been probably one of the greatest achievements that his hand performed in landscape: its roots are entangled in underwood, of which every leaf seems to be articulated, yet all is as wild as if it had grown there instead of having been painted; there has been a mountain distance, too, and a sky of stormy light, of which I infinitely regret the loss, for though its masses of light are still discernible, its variety of hue is all sunk into a withered brown. There is a curious piece of execution in the striking of the light upon a brook which runs under the roots of the laurel in the foreground: these roots are traced in shadow against the bright surface of the water: another painter would have drawn the light first, and drawn the dark roots over it. Tintoret has laid in a brown ground which he has left for the roots, and painted the water through their interstices with a few mighty rolls of his brush laden with white.

6. *St. Mary of Egypt*. This picture differs but little, in the plan, from the one opposite, except that St. Mary has her back towards us, and the Magdalen her face, and that the tree on the other side of the brook is a palm instead of a laurel. The brook (Jordan?) is, however, here much more important; and the water painting is exceedingly fine. Of all painters that I know, in old times, Tintoret is the fondest of running water; there was a sort of sympathy between it and his own impetuous spirit. The rest of the landscape is not of much interest, except so far as it is pleasant to see trunks of trees drawn by single strokes of the brush.¹

7. *The Circumcision of Christ*. The custode has some story about this picture having been painted in imitation of Paul Veronese. I much doubt if Tintoret ever imitated anybody; but this picture is the expression of his perception of what Veronese delighted in, the nobility that there may be in mere golden tissue and coloured drapery. It is, in fact, a picture of the moral power of gold and colour; and the chief use of the attendant priest is to support upon his shoulders the crimson robe, with its square tablets of black and gold; and yet nothing is withdrawn from the interest or dignity of the scene. Tintoret has taken immense pains with the head of the high priest. I know not any existing old man's head so exquisitely tender, or so noble in its lines. He receives the infant Christ in his arms kneeling, and looking down upon the child with infinite veneration and love; and the flashing of golden rays from its head is made the centre of light and all interest. The whole picture is like a golden charger to receive the Child; the priest's dress is held

¹ [For another reference to the two landscapes, 5 and 6, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 285).]

up behind him, that it may occupy larger space; the tables and floor are covered with chequer work; the shadows of the temple are filled with brazen lamps; and above all are hung masses of curtains, whose crimson folds are strewn over with golden flakes. Next to the "Adoration of the Magi" this picture is the most laboriously finished of the Scuola di San Rocco, and it is unquestionably the highest existing type of the Sublimity which may be thrown into the treatment of accessories of dress and decoration.

8. *Assumption of the Virgin*. On the tablet or panel of stone which forms the side of the tomb out of which the Madonna rises, is this inscription, in large letters, REST. ANTONIUS FLORIAN, 1834. Exactly in proportion to a man's idiocy is always the size of the letters in which he writes his name on the picture that he spoils. The old mosaicists in St. Mark's have not, in a single instance, as far as I know, signed their names; but the spectator who wishes to know who destroyed the effect of the nave, may see his name inscribed twice over, in letters half a foot high, BARTOLOMEO BOZZA.¹ I have never seen Tintoret's name signed, except in the great "Crucifixion"; but this Antony Florian, I have no doubt, repainted the whole side of the tomb that he might put his name on it. The picture is, of course, ruined wherever he touched it, that is to say, half over: the circle of cherubs in the sky is still pure; and the design of the great painter is palpable enough yet in the grand flight of the horizontal angel, on whom the Madonna half leans as she ascends. It has been a noble picture, and is a grievous loss; but, happily, there are so many pure ones, that we need not spend time in gleaning treasures out of the ruins of this.

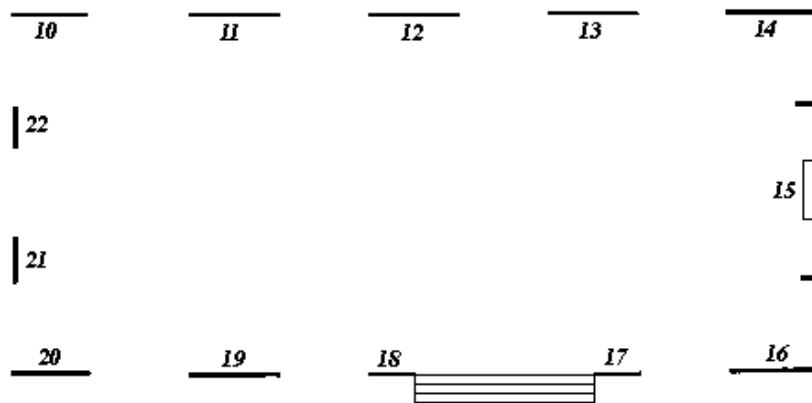
9. *Visitation*. A small picture, painted in his very best manner; exquisite in its simplicity, unrivalled in vigour, well preserved, and, as a piece of painting, certainly one of the most precious in Venice. Of course, it does not show any of his high inventive powers: nor can a picture of four middle-sized figures be made a proper subject of comparison with large canvases containing forty or fifty; but it is, for this very reason, painted with such perfect ease, and yet with no slackness either of affection or power, that there is no picture that I covet so much. It is, besides, altogether free from the Renaissance taint of dramatic effect. The gestures are as simple and natural as Giotto's, only expressed by grander lines, such as none but Tintoret ever reached. The draperies are dark, relieved against a light sky, the horizon being excessively low, and the outlines of the drapery so severe that the intervals between the figures look like ravines between great rocks, and have all the sublimity of an alpine valley at twilight. This precious picture is hung about thirty feet above the eye, but by looking at it in a strong light, it is discoverable that the St. Elizabeth is dressed in green and crimson, the Virgin in the peculiar red which all great colourists delight in,—a sort of glowing brick colour or brownish scarlet, opposed to a rich golden brownish black; and both have white kerchiefs, or drapery, thrown over their shoulders. Zacharias leans on his staff behind them in a black dress with white sleeves. The stroke of brilliant white light, which outlines

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 139 n.]

the knee of St. Elizabeth, is a curious instance of the habit of the painter to relieve his dark forms by a sort of halo of more vivid light which, until lately, one would have been apt to suppose a somewhat artificial and unjustifiable means of effect. The daguerreotype has shown—what the naked eye never could—that the instinct of the great painter was true, and that there is actually such a sudden and sharp line of light round the edges of dark objects relieved by luminous space.

Opposite this picture is a most precious Titian, the “Annunciation,” full of grace and beauty. I think the Madonna one of the sweetest figures he ever painted. But if the traveller has entered at all into the spirit of Tintoret, he will immediately feel the comparative feebleness and conventionality of the Titian. Note especially the mean and petty folds of the angels’ drapery, and compare them with the draperies of the opposite picture. The larger pictures at the sides of the stairs by Zanchi and Negri are utterly worthless.

Second group. *On the walls of the upper room.*



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|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 10. Adoration of Shepherds. | 17. Resurrection of Lazarus. |
| 11. Baptism. | 18. Ascension. |
| 12. Resurrection. | 19. Pool of Bethesda. |
| 13. Agony in Garden. | 20. Temptation. |
| 14. Last Supper. | 21. St. Rocco. |
| 15. Altar Piece: St. Rocco. | 22. St. Sebastian. |
| 16. Miracle of Loaves. | |

10. *The Adoration of the Shepherds.*¹ This picture commences the series of the upper room, which, as already noticed, is painted with far less care than that of the lower. It is one of the painter’s inconceivable caprices that the only canvases that are in good light should be covered in this hasty manner, while those in the dungeon below, and on the

¹ [A photograph of this picture is reproduced at p. 52 of J. B. S. Holborn’s *Tintoretto*.]

ceiling above, are all highly laboured. It is, however, just possible that the covering of these walls may have been an afterthought, when he had got tired of his work. They are also, for the most part, illustrative of a principle of which I am more and more convinced every day, that historical and figure pieces ought not to be made vehicles for effects of light. The light which is fit for a historical picture is that tempered semi-sunshine of which, in general, the works of Titian are the best examples, and of which the picture we have just passed, "The Visitation," is a perfect example from the hand of one greater than Titian; so also the three "Crucifixions," of San Rocco, San Cassano, and St. John and Paul; the "Adoration of the Magi" here; and, in general, the finest works of the master; but Tintoret was not a man to work in any formal or systematic manner; and, exactly like Turner, we find him recording every effect which Nature herself displays. Still, he seems to regard the pictures which deviate from the great general principle of colourists rather as "tours de force" than as sources of pleasure; and I do not think there is any instance of his having worked out one of these tricky pictures with thorough affection, except only in the case of the "Marriage of Cana." By tricky pictures, I mean those which display light entering in different directions, and attract the eye to the effects rather than to the figure which displays them. Of this treatment, we have already had a marvellous instance in the candlelight picture of the "Last Supper" in San Giorgio Maggiore. This "Adoration of the Shepherds" has probably been nearly as wonderful when first painted; the Madonna is seated on a kind of hammock floor, made of rope netting, covered with straw; it divides the picture into two stories, of which the uppermost contains the Virgin, with two women who are adoring Christ, and shows light entering from above through the loose timbers of the roof of the stable, as well as through the bars of a square window; the lower division shows this light falling behind the netting upon the stable floor, occupied by a cock and a cow, and against this light are relieved the figures of the shepherds, for the most part in demi-tint, but with flakes of more vigorous sunshine falling here and there upon them from above. The optical illusion has originally been as perfect as in one of Hunt's best interiors: but it is most curious that no part of the work seems to have been taken any pleasure in by the painter; it is all by his hand, but it looks as if he had been bent only on getting over the ground. It is literally a piece of scene-painting, and is exactly what we might fancy Tintoret to have done, had he been forced to paint scenes at a small theatre at a shilling a day. I cannot think that the whole canvas, though fourteen feet high and ten wide, or thereabouts, could have taken him more than a couple of days to finish: and it is very noticeable that exactly in proportion to the brilliant effects of light is the coarseness of the execution, for the figures of the Madonna, and of the women above, which are not in any strong effect, are painted with some care, while the shepherds and the cow are alike slovenly; and the latter, which is in full sunshine, is recognizable for a cow more by its size and that of its horns, than by any care given to its form. It is interesting to contrast this slovenly and mean sketch with the ass's head in the "Flight into Egypt," on which the painter exerted his full power; as an effect of light, however, the work

is, of course, most interesting. One point in the treatment is especially noticeable: there is a peacock in the rack beyond the cow; and, under other circumstances, one cannot doubt that Tintoret would have liked a peacock in full colour, and would have painted it green and blue with great satisfaction.¹ It is sacrificed to the light, however, and is painted in warm grey, with a dim eye or two in the tail: this process is exactly analogous to Turner's taking the colours out of the flags of his ships in the "Gosport." Another striking point is the litter with which the whole picture is filled in order more to confuse the eye: there is straw sticking from the roof, straw all over the hammock floor, and straw struggling hither and thither all over the floor itself; and, to add to the confusion, the glory round the head of the infant, instead of being united and serene, is broken into little bits, and is like a glory of chopped straw. But the most curious thing, after all, is the want of delight in any of the principal figures, and the comparative meanness and commonplaceness of even the folds of the drapery. It seems as if Tintoret had determined to make the shepherds as uninteresting as possible; but one does not see why their very clothes should be ill painted, and their disposition unpicturesque. I believe, however, though it never struck me until I had examined this picture, that this is one of the painter's fixed principles: he does not, with German sentimentality, make shepherds and peasants graceful or sublime, but he purposely vulgarizes them, not by making their actions or their faces boorish or disagreeable, but rather by painting them ill, and composing their draperies tamely. As far as I recollect at present, the principle is universal with him; exactly in proportion to the dignity of character is the beauty of the painting. He will not put out his strength upon any man belonging to the lower classes; and, in order to know what the painter is, one must see him at work on a king, a senator, or a saint. The curious connexion of this with the aristocratic tendencies of the Venetian nation, when we remember that Tintoret was the greatest man whom that nation produced, may become very interesting, if followed out. I forgot to note that, though the peacock is painted with great regardlessness of colour, there is a feature in it which no common painter would have observed,—the peculiar flatness of the back and undulation of the shoulders: the bird's body is all there, though its feathers are a good deal neglected; and the same thing is noticeable in a cock who is pecking among the straw near the spectator, though in other respects a shabby cock enough. The fact is, I believe he had made his shepherds so commonplace that he dared not paint his animals well, otherwise one would have looked at nothing in the picture but the peacock, cock, and cow. I cannot tell what the shepherds are offering; they look like milk-bowls, but they are awkwardly held up, with such twistings of body as would have certainly spilt the milk. A woman in front has a basket of eggs; but this I imagine to be merely to keep up the rustic character of the scene, and not part of the shepherds' offerings.

¹ [For another reference to this "peacock without any colour in it," see *Lectures on Landscape*, § 50; and for "Gosport," Ruskin's *Notes on his Drawings by Turner*, No. 37.]

11. *Baptism*. There is more of the true picture quality in this work than in the former one, but still very little appearance of enjoyment or care. The colour is for the most part grey and uninteresting, and the figures are thin and meagre in form, and slightly painted; so much so, that, of the nineteen figures in the distance, about a dozen are hardly worth calling figures, and the rest are so sketched and flourished in that one can hardly tell which is which. There is one point about it very interesting to a landscape painter: the river is seen far into the distance, with a piece of cove bordering it: the sky beyond is dark, but the water nevertheless receives a brilliant reflection from some unseen rent in the clouds, so brilliant, that when I was first at Venice, not being accustomed to Tintoret's slight execution, or to see pictures so much injured, I took this piece of water for a piece of sky.¹ The effect, as Tintoret has arranged it, is indeed somewhat unnatural, but it is valuable as showing his recognition of a principle unknown to half the historical painters of the present day,—that the reflection seen in water is totally different from the object seen above it, and that it is very possible to have a bright light in reflection where there appears nothing but darkness to be reflected. The clouds in the sky itself are round, heavy, and lightless; and in a great degree spoil what would otherwise be a fine landscape distance. Behind the rocks on the right a single head is seen, with a collar on the shoulders: it seems to be intended for a portrait of some person connected with the picture.

12. *Resurrection*. Another of the "effect of light" pictures, and not a very striking one, the best part of it being the two distant figures of the Maries seen in the dawn of the morning. The conception of the Resurrection itself is characteristic of the worst points of Tintoret. His impetuosity is here in the wrong place; Christ bursts out of the rock like a thunderbolt, and the angels themselves seem likely to be crushed under the rent stones of the tomb. Had the figure of Christ been sublime, this conception might have been accepted; but, on the contrary, it is weak, mean, and painful; and the whole picture is languidly or roughly painted, except only the fig-tree at the top of the rock, which, by a curious caprice, is not only drawn in the painter's best manner, but has golden ribs to all its leaves, making it look like one of the beautiful crossed or chequered patterns, of which he is so fond in his dresses: the leaves themselves being a dark olive brown.

13. *The Agony in the Garden*. I cannot at present understand the order of these subjects; but they may have been misplaced. This, of all the San Rocco pictures, is the most hastily painted, but it is not, like those we have been passing, *cloddy*² painted; it seems to have been executed altogether with a hearth-broom, and in a few hours. It is another of the "effects," and a very curious one; the angel who bears the cup to Christ is surrounded by a red halo; yet the light which falls

¹ [The reference is to the description of the picture in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (first edition, 1846); in the second edition (1848), Ruskin noted that further examination had "made him doubt his interpretation of some portions of it." See on this subject the editors' note at Vol. IV. p. 268.]

² [A coinage of Ruskin's, italicised by him; no other use of the word is recorded in Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*.]

upon the shoulders of the sleeping disciples, and upon the leaves of the olive-trees, is cool and silvery, while the troop coming up to seize Christ are seen by torchlight. Judas, who is the second figure, points to Christ, but turns his head away as he does so, as unable to look at Him. That is a noble touch; the foliage is also exceedingly fine, though what kind of olive-tree bears such leaves I know not, each of them being about the size of a man's hand. If there be any which bear such foliage, their olives must be of the size of cocoa-nuts. This, however, is true only of the underwood, which is, perhaps, not meant for olive. There are some taller trees at the top of the picture, whose leaves are of a more natural size. On closely examining the figures of the troop on the left, I find that the distant ones are concealed, all but the limbs, by a sort of arch of dark colour, which is now so injured, that I cannot tell whether it was foliage or ground; I suppose it to have been a mass of close foliage, through which the troop is breaking its way; Judas rather showing them the path, than actually pointing to Christ, as it is written, "Judas, who betrayed Him, knew the place." St. Peter, as the most zealous of the three disciples, the only one who was to endeavour to defend his Master, is represented as waking and turning his head towards the troop, while James and John are buried in profound slumber, laid in magnificent languor among the leaves. The picture is singularly impressive, when seen far enough off, as an image of thick forest gloom amidst the rich and tender foliage of the South: the leaves, however, tossing as in disturbed night air, and the flickering of the torches, and of the branches, contrasted with the steady flame which from the angel's presence is spread over the robes of the disciples. The strangest feature in the whole is that the Christ also is represented as sleeping. The angel seems to appear to Him in a dream.¹

14. *The Last Supper*. A most unsatisfactory picture; I think about the worst I know of Tintoret's, where there is no appearance of retouching. He always makes the disciples in this scene too vulgar; they are here not only vulgar, but diminutive, and Christ is at the end of the table, the smallest figure of them all. The principal figures are two mendicants sitting on steps in front, a kind of supporters, but I suppose intended to be waiting for the fragments: a dog, in still more earnest expectation, is watching the movements of the disciples, who are talking together, Judas having but just gone out. Christ is represented as giving what one at first supposes is the sop to Judas, but as the disciple who receives it has a glory, and there are only eleven at table, it is evidently the sacramental bread. The room in which they are assembled is a sort of large kitchen, and the host is seen employed at a dresser in the background. This picture has not only been originally poor, but is one of those exposed all day to the sun, and is dried into mere dirty canvas; where there was once blue, there is now nothing.²

15. *St. Rocco in Glory*. One of the worst order of Tintorets, with

¹ [There are references to this picture also in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii.: see Vol. IV. pp. 245, 274.]

² [The picture is incidentally interesting as being one of those which Velazquez copied for the King of Spain; the "Crucifixion" was another: see Justi's *Velazquez and his Times*, p. 153.]

apparent smoothness and finish, yet languidly painted, as if in illness or fatigue; very dark and heavy in tone also; its figures, for the most part, of an awkward middle size, about five feet high, and very uninteresting. St. Rocco ascends to Heaven, looking down upon a crowd of poor and sick persons who are blessing and adoring him. One of these, kneeling at the bottom, is very nearly a repetition, though a careless and indolent one, of that of St. Stephen, in St. Giorgio Maggiore, and of the central figure in the "Paradise" of the Ducal Palace. It is a kind of lay figure of which he seems to have been fond; its clasped hands are here shockingly painted,—I should think unfinished. It forms the only important light at the bottom, relieved on a dark ground. At the top of the picture, the figure of St. Rocco is seen in shadow against the light of the sky, and all the rest is in confused shadow. The commonplaceness of this composition is curiously connected with the languor of thought and touch throughout the work.

16. *Miracle of the Loaves*. Hardly anything but a fine piece of landscape is here left; it is more exposed to the sun than any other picture in the room, and its draperies having been, in great part, painted in blue, are now mere patches of the colour of starch; the scene is also very imperfectly conceived. The twenty-one figures, including Christ and His disciples, very ill represent a crowd of seven thousand; still less is the marvel of the miracle expressed by the perfect ease and rest of the reclining figures in the foreground, who do not so much as look surprised: considered merely as reclining figures, and as pieces of effect in half light, they have once been fine. The landscape, which represents the slope of a woody hill, has a very grand and far-away look. Behind it is a great space of streaky sky, almost prismatic in colour, rosy and golden clouds covering up its blue, and some fine vigorous trees thrown against it; painted in about ten minutes each, however, by curly touches of the brush, and looking rather more like seaweed than foliage.

17. *Resurrection of Lazarus*. Very strangely, and not impressively conceived. Christ is half reclining, half sitting, at the bottom of the picture, while Lazarus is disencumbered of his grave-clothes at the top of it; the scene being the side of a rocky hill, and the mouth of the tomb probably once visible in the shadow on the left; but all that is now discernible is a man having his limbs unbound, as if Christ were merely ordering a prisoner to be loosed. There appears neither awe nor agitation, nor even much astonishment, in any of the figures of the group: but the picture is more vigorous than any of the three last mentioned, and the upper part of it is quite worthy of the master, especially its noble fig-tree and laurel, which he has painted, in one of his usual fits of caprice, as carefully as that in the "Resurrection of Christ," opposite. Perhaps he has some meaning in this; he may have been thinking of the verse, "Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees; when they now shoot forth,"¹ etc. In the present instance, the leaves are dark only, and have no golden veins. The uppermost figures also come dark against the sky, and would form a precipitous mass, like a

¹ [Luke xxi. 29.]

piece of the rock itself, but that they are broken in upon by one of the limbs of Lazarus, bandaged and in full light, which, to my feeling, sadly injures the picture, both as a disagreeable object, and a light in the wrong place. The grass and weeds are, throughout, carefully painted, but the lower figures are of little interest, and the face of the Christ a grievous failure.

18. *The Ascension*. I have always admired this picture, though it is very slight and thin in execution, and cold in colour; but it is remarkable for its thorough effect of open air, and for the sense of motion and clashing in the wings of the angels which sustain the Christ: they owe this effect a good deal to the manner in which they are set, edge on; all seem like sword-blades cutting the air. It is the most curious in conception of all the pictures in the Scuola, for it represents, beneath the Ascension, a kind of epitome of what took place before the Ascension. In the distance are two apostles walking, meant, I suppose, for the two going to Emmaus; nearer are a group round a table, to remind us of Christ appearing to them as they sat at meat: and in the foreground is a single reclining figure of, I suppose, St. Peter, because we are told that "He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve:"¹ but this interpretation is doubtful; for why should not the vision by the Lake of Tiberias be expressed also? And the strange thing of all is the scene, for Christ ascended from the Mount of Olives; but the disciples are walking, and the table is set, in a little marshy and grassy valley, like some of the bits near Maison Neuve on the Jura, with a brook running through it, so capitally expressed, that I believe it is this which makes me so fond of the picture. The reflections are as scientific in the diminution, in the image, of large masses of bank above, as any of Turner's, and the marshy and reedy ground looks as if one would sink into it; but what all this has to do with the Ascension I cannot see. The figure of Christ is not undignified, but by no means either interesting or sublime.

19. *Pool of Bethesda*. I have no doubt the principal figures have been repainted; but as the colours are faded, and the subject disgusting, I have not paid this picture sufficient attention to say how far the injury extends; nor need any one spend time upon it, unless after having first examined all the other Tintorets in Venice. All the great Italian painters appear insensible to the feeling of disgust at disease;² but this study of the population of an hospital is without any points of contrast, and I wish Tintoret had not condescended to paint it. This and the six preceding paintings have all been uninteresting, —I believe chiefly owing to the observance in them of Sir Joshua's rule for the heroic, "that drapery is to be mere drapery, and not silk, nor satin, nor brocade."³ However wise such a rule may be when

¹ [1 Corinthians xv. 5.]

² [See above, p. 402.]

³ [A quotation from memory; see the *Discourses*, iv.: "In the same manner as the historical painter never enters into the detail of colour, so neither does he debase his conceptions with minute attention to the discriminations of drapery. It is the inferior style that marks the variety of stuffs. With him, the clothing is neither woollen, nor linen, nor silk, stain, or velvet; it is drapery; it is nothing more."]

applied to works of the purest religious art, it is anything but wise as respects works of colour. Tintoret is never quite himself unless he has fur or velvet, or rich stuff of one sort or the other, or jewels, or armour, or something that he can put play of colour into, among his figures, and not dead folds of linsey-wolsey; and I believe that even the best pictures of Raffaele and Angelico are not a little helped by their hems of robes, jewelled crowns, priests' copes, and so on; and the pictures that have nothing of this kind in them, as for instance the "Transfiguration,"¹ are to my mind not a little dull.

20. *Temptation*. This picture singularly illustrates what has just been observed; it owes great part of its effect to the lustre of the jewels in the armlet of the evil angel, and to the beautiful colours of his wings. These are slight accessories apparently, but they enhance the value of all the rest, and they have evidently been enjoyed by the painter. The armlet is seen by reflected light, its stones shining by inward lustre; this occult fire being the only hint given of the real character of the Tempter, who is otherways represented in the form of a beautiful angel, though the face is sensual; we can hardly tell how far it was intended to be therefore expressive of evil; for Tintoret's good angels have not always the purest features; but there is a peculiar subtlety in this telling of the story by so slight a circumstance as the glare of the jewels in the darkness. It is curious to compare this imagination with that of the mosaics in St. Mark's, in which Satan is a black monster, with horns, and head, and tail, complete. The whole of the picture is powerfully and carefully painted, though very broadly; it is a strong effect of light, and therefore, as usual, subdued in colour. The painting of the stones in the foreground I have always thought, and still think, the best piece of rock drawing before Turner, and the most amazing instance of Tintoret's perceptiveness afforded by any of his pictures.²

21. *St. Rocco*. Three figures occupy the spandrils of the windows above this and the following picture, painted merely in light and shade, two larger than life, one rather smaller. I believe these to be by Tintoret; but as they are quite in the dark, so that the execution cannot be seen, and very good designs of the kind have been furnished by other masters, I cannot answer for them. The figure of St. Rocco, as well as its companion, St. Sebastian, is coloured; they occupy the narrow intervals between the windows, and are of course invisible under ordinary circumstances. By a great deal of straining of the eyes, and sheltering them with the hand from the light, some little idea of the design may be obtained. The "St. Rocco" is a fine

¹ [By Raphael in the Picture Gallery of the Vatican: see a similar reference in *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. ch. iii. § 23.]

² [For another reference to the figure of Satan in this picture, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 319); and for notices of the rock drawing, *ibid.* (pp. 244, 285), and "Review of Eastlake's *History of Oil-Painting*" (*On the Old Road*, 1899, i. § 133, reprinted in Vol. XII.). J. A. Symonds, in the *critique* already referred to (see note in Vol. IV. p. 268), upon Ruskin's account of these pictures, makes him say "background" instead of "foreground," adds on his own account "Now there are *no* stones in the background," and founds on this misquotation certain "painful" conclusions!]

figure, though rather coarse, but at all events, worth as much light as would enable us to see it.

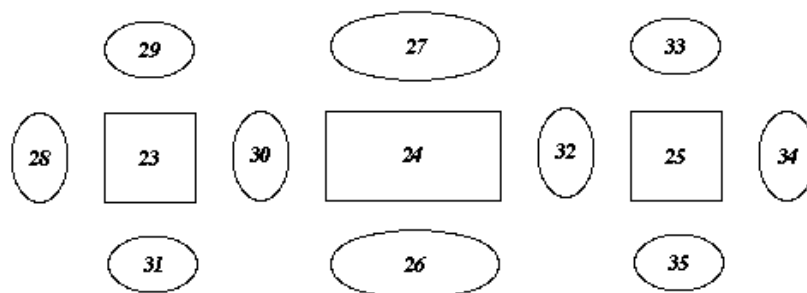
22. *St. Sebastian*. This, the companion figure, is one of the finest things in the whole room, and assuredly the most majestic St. Sebastian in existence, as far as mere humanity can be majestic, for there is no effort at any expression of angelic or saintly resignation; the effort is simply to realise the fact of the martyrdom, and it seems to me that this is done to an extent not even attempted by any other painter. I never saw a man die a violent death, and therefore cannot say whether this figure be true or not, but it gives the grandest and most intense impression of truth. The figure is dead, and well it may be, for there is one arrow through the forehead and another through the heart; but the eyes are open, though glazed, and the body is rigid in the position in which it last stood, the left arm raised and the left limb advanced, something in the attitude of a soldier sustaining an attack under his shield, while the dead eyes are still turned in the direction from which the arrows came: but the most characteristic feature is the way these arrows are fixed. In the common martyrdoms of St. Sebastian they are stuck into him here and there like pins, as if they had been shot from a great distance and had come faltering down, entering the flesh but a little way, and rather bleeding the saint to death than mortally wounding him; but Tintoret had no such ideas about archery. He must have seen bows drawn in battle, like that of Jehu when he smote Jehoram between the harness:¹ all the arrows in the saint's body lie straight in the same direction, broadfeathered and strong-shafted, and sent apparently with the force of thunderbolts; every one of them has gone through him like a lance, two through the limbs, one through the arm, one through the heart, and the last has crashed through the forehead, nailing the head to the tree behind, as if it had been dashed in by a sledge-hammer. The face, in spite of its ghastliness, is beautiful, and has been serene; and the light which enters first and glistens on the plumes of the arrows, dies softly away upon the curling hair, and mixes with the glory upon the forehead. There is not a more remarkable picture in Venice, and yet I do not suppose that one in a thousand of the travellers who pass through the Scuola so much as perceive there is a picture in the place which it occupies.

23. *Moses Striking the Rock*. We now come to the series of pictures upon which the painter concentrated the strength he had reserved for the upper room; and in some sort wisely, for, though it is not pleasant to examine pictures on a ceiling, they are at least distinctly visible without straining the eyes against the light. They are carefully conceived, and thoroughly well painted in proportion to their distance from the eye. This carefulness of thought is apparent at a glance: the "Moses Striking the Rock" embraces the whole of the seventeenth chapter of Exodus, and even something more, for it is not from that chapter, but from parallel passages, that we gather the facts of the impatience of Moses and the wrath of God at the waters of Meribah; both which facts are shown by the leaping of the stream out of the rock half-a-dozen

¹ [1 Kings xxii. 34.]

ways at once, forming a great arch over the head of Moses, and by the partial veiling of the countenance of the Supreme Being. This latter is the most painful part of the whole picture, at least as it is seen from below; and I believe that in some repairs of the roof this head must have been destroyed and repainted. It is one of Tintoret's usual fine thoughts that the lower part of the figure is veiled, not merely by clouds, but in a kind of watery sphere, showing the Deity coming to the Israelites at that particular moment as the Lord of the Rivers and of the Fountain of the Waters. The whole figure, as well as that of

Third group. *On the roof of the upper room.*



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|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 23. Moses Striking the Rock. | 27. Ezekiel's Vision. | 32. Sacrifice of Isaac. |
| 24. Plague of Serpents. | 28. Fall of Man. | 33. Elijah at the Brook. |
| 25. Fall of Manna. | 29. Elijah. | 34. Paschal Feast. |
| 26. Jacob's Dream. | 30. Jonah. | 35. Elisha Feeding the People. |
| | 31. Joshua. | |

Moses, and the greater number of those in the foreground, is at once dark and warm, black and red being the prevailing colours, while the distance is bright gold touched with blue, and seems to open into the picture like a break of blue sky after rain. How exquisite is this expression, by mere colour, of the main force of the fact represented! that is to say, joy and refreshment after sorrow and scorching heat. But, when we examine of what this distance consists, we shall find still more cause for admiration. The blue in it is not the blue of sky, it is obtained by blue stripes upon white tents glowing in the sunshine; and in front of these tents is seen that great battle with Amalek of which the account is given in the remainder of the chapter, and for which the Israelites received strength in the streams which ran out of the rock in Horeb. Considered merely as a picture, the opposition of cool light to warm shadow is one of the most remarkable pieces of colour in the Scuola, and the great mass of foliage which waves over the rocks on the left appears to have been elaborated with his highest power and his most sublime invention. But this noble passage is much injured, and now hardly visible.

24. *Plague of Serpents.* The figures in the distance are remarkably

important in this picture, Moses himself being among them; in fact, the whole scene is filled chiefly with middle-size figures, in order to increase the impression of space. It is interesting to observe the difference in the treatment of this subject by the three great painters, Michael Angelo, Rubens, and Tintoret.¹ The first two, equal to the latter in energy, had less love of liberty: they were fond of binding their compositions into knots, Tintoret of scattering his far and wide; they all alike preserve the unity of composition, but the unity in the first two is obtained by binding, and that of the last by springing from one source; and, together with this feeling, comes his love of space, which makes him less regard the rounding and form of objects themselves than their relations of light and shade and distance. Therefore Rubens and Michael Angelo made the fiery serpents huge boa-constrictors and knotted the sufferers together with them. Tintoret does not like to be so bound; so he makes the serpents little flying and fluttering monsters, like lampreys with wings; and the children of Israel, instead of being thrown into convulsed and writhing groups, are scattered, fainting in the fields, far away in the distance. As usual, Tintoret's conception, while thoroughly characteristic of himself, is also truer to the words of Scripture. We are told that "the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they *bit* the people;"² we are not told that they crushed the people to death. And, while thus the truest, it is also the most terrific conception. M. Angelo's would be terrific if one could believe in it: but our instinct tells us that boa-constrictors do not come in armies; and we look upon the picture with as little emotion as upon the handle of a vase, or any other form worked out of serpents, where there is no probability of serpents actually occurring. But there is a probability in Tintoret's conception. We feel that it is not impossible that there should come up a swarm of these small winged reptiles; and their horror is not diminished by their smallness: not that they have any of the grotesque terribleness of German invention; they might have been made infinitely uglier with small pains, but it is their *veritableness* which makes them awful. They have triangular heads with sharp beaks or muzzles; and short, rather thick bodies, with bony processes down the back like those of sturgeons; and small wings spotted with orange and black; and round glaring eyes, not very large, but very ghastly, with an intense delight in biting expressed in them. (It is observable that the Venetian painter has got his main idea of them from the sea-horses and small reptiles of the Lagoons.)³ These monsters are fluttering and writhing about everywhere, fixing on whatever they come near with their sharp venomous heads; and they are coiling about on the ground, and all the shadows and thickets are full of them, so that there is no escape anywhere: and, in order to give the idea of greater extent to the plague, Tintoret has not been content

¹ [Michael Angelo's painting of the subject, on one of the corner spandrils of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, is discussed in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 120 n.) Rubens's picture is in the National Gallery (No. 59). Tintoret's is again referred to in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 278).]

² [Numbers xxi. 6.]

³ [See Vol. X. p. xxxv., and Plate 5 in Vol. IV.]

with one horizon; I have before mentioned¹ the excessive strangeness of this composition, in having a cavern open in the right of the foreground, through which is seen another sky and another horizon. At the top of the picture, the Divine Being is seen borne by angels, apparently passing over the congregation in wrath, involved in masses of dark clouds; while, behind, an angel of mercy is descending towards Moses, surrounded by a globe of white light. This globe is hardly seen from below; it is not a common glory, but a transparent sphere, like a bubble, which not only envelops the angel, but crosses the figure of Moses, throwing the upper part of it into a subdued pale colour, as if it were crossed by a sunbeam. Tintoret is the only painter who plays these tricks with transparents light, the only man who seems to have perceived the effects of sunbeams, mists, and clouds in the far-away atmosphere, and to have used what he saw on towers, clouds, or mountains, to enhance the sublimity of his figures. The whole upper part of this picture is magnificent, less with respect to individual figures, than for the drift of its clouds, and originality and complication of its light and shade; it is something like Raffaello's "Vision of Ezekiel,"² but far finer. It is difficult to understand how any painter, who could represent floating clouds so nobly as he has done here, could ever paint the odd, round, pillowy masses, which so often occur in his more carelessly designed sacred subjects. The lower figures are not so interesting, and the whole is painted with a view to effect from below, and gains little by close examination.

25. *Fall of Manna*. In none of these three large compositions has the painter made the slightest effort at expression in the human countenance; everything is done by gesture, and the faces of the people who are drinking from the rock, dying from the serpent-bites, and eating the manna, are all alike as calm as if nothing was happening; in addition to this, as they are painted for distant effect, the heads are unsatisfactory and coarse when seen near, and perhaps in this last picture the more so, and yet the story is exquisitely told. We have seen in the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore another example of his treatment of it,³ where, however, the gathering of manna is a subordinate employment, but here it is principal. Now, observe, we are told of the manna, that it was found in the morning; that then there lay round about the camp a small round thing like the hoar-frost, and that "when the sun waxed hot it melted."⁴ Tintoret has endeavoured, therefore, first of all, to give the idea of coolness; the congregation are reposing in a soft green meadow, surrounded by blue hills, and there are rich trees above them, to the branches of one of which is attached a great grey drapery to catch the manna as it comes down. In any other picture such a mass of drapery would assuredly have had some vivid colour, but here it is grey; the fields are cool frosty green, the mountains cold blue, and, to complete the expression and meaning of all this, there is a most important point to be noted in the form of the Deity

¹ [In *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 278).]

² [In the Pitti at Florence; painted about 1510.]

³ [Above, p. 382.]

⁴ [Exodus xvi. 21.]

seen above, through an opening in the clouds. There are at least ten or twelve other pictures in which the form of the Supreme Being occurs, to be found in the Scuola di San Rocco alone; and in every one of these instances it is richly coloured, the garments being generally red and blue, but in this picture of the manna the figure is *snow white*. Thus the painter endeavours to show the Deity as the Giver of Bread, just as in the "Striking of the Rock" we saw that he represented Him as the Lord of the Rivers, the Fountains, and the Waters. There is one other very sweet incident at the bottom of the picture; four or five sheep, instead of pasturing, turn their heads aside to catch the manna as it comes down, or seem to be licking it off each other's fleeces. The tree above, to which the drapery is tied, is the most delicate and delightful piece of leafage in all the Scuola; it has a large sharp leaf, something like that of a willow, but five times the size.

26. *Jacob's Dream*. A picture which has good effect from below, but gains little when seen near. It is an embarrassing one for any painter, because angels always look awkward going up and down stairs; one does not see the use of their wings. Tintoret has thrown them into buoyant and various attitudes, but has evidently not treated the subject with delight; and it is seen to all the more disadvantage because just above the painting of the "Ascension," in which the full fresh power of the painter is developed. One would think this latter picture had been done just after a walk among hills, for it is full of the most delicate effects of transparent cloud, more or less veiling the faces and forms of the angels, and covering with white light the silvery sprays of the palms, while the clouds in the "Jacob's Dream" are the ordinary rotundities of the studio.

27. *Ezekiel's Vision*. I suspect this has been repainted, it is so heavy and dead in colour; a fault, however, observable in many of the smaller pictures on the ceiling, and perhaps the natural result of the fatigue of such a mind as Tintoret's. A painter who threw such intense energy into some of his works can hardly but have been languid in others in a degree never experienced by the more tranquil minds of less powerful workmen; and when this languor overtook him whilst he was at work on pictures where a certain space had to be covered by mere force of arm, this heaviness of colour could hardly but have been the consequence: it shows itself chiefly in reads and other hot hues, many of the pictures in the Ducal Palace also displaying it in a painful degree. This "Ezekiel's Vision" is, however, in some measure worthy of the master, in the wild and horrible energy with which the skeletons are leaping up about the prophet; but it might have been less horrible and more sublime, no attempt being made to represent the space of the Valley of Dry Bones, and the whole canvas being occupied only by eight figures, of which five are half skeletons. It is strange that, in such a subject, the prevailing hues should be red and brown.

28. *Fall of Man*. The two canvases last named are the most considerable in size upon the roof, after the centre pieces. We now come to the smaller subjects which surround the "Striking the Rock"; of these, this "Fall of Man" is the best, and I should think it very fine anywhere but in the Scuola di San Rocco: there is a grand light on

the body of Eve, and the vegetation is remarkably rich, but the faces are coarse, and the composition uninteresting. I could not get near enough to see what the grey object is upon which Eve appears to be sitting, nor could I see any serpent. It is made prominent in the picture of the Academy of this same subject,¹ so that I suppose it is hidden in the darkness, together with much detail which it would be necessary to discover in order to judge the work justly.

29. *Elijah* (?). A prophet holding down his face, which is covered with his hand. God is talking with him, apparently in rebuke. The clothes on his breast are rent, and the action of the figures might suggest the idea of the scene between the Deity and Elijah at Horeb: but there is no suggestion of the past magnificent scenery,—of the wind, the earthquake, or the fire; so that the conjecture is good for very little. The painting is of small interest; the faces are vulgar, and the draperies have too much vapid historical dignity to be delightful.

30. *Jonah*. The whale here occupies fully one half of the canvas; being correspondent in value with a landscape background. His mouth is as large as a cavern, and yet, unless the mass of red colour in the foreground be a piece of drapery, his tongue is too large for it. He seems to have lifted Jonah out upon it, and not yet drawn it back, so that it forms a kind of crimson cushion for him to kneel upon in his submission to the Deity. The head to which this vast tongue belongs is sketched in somewhat loosely, and there is little remarkable about it except its size, nor much in the figures, though the submissiveness of Jonah is well given. The great thought of Michael Angelo renders one little charitable to any less imaginative treatment of this subject.²

31. *Joshua* (?). This is a most interesting picture, and it is a shame that its subject is not made out, for it is not a common one. The figure has a sword in its hand, and looks up to a sky full of fire, out of which the form of the Deity is stooping, represented as white and colourless. On the other side of the picture there is seen among the clouds a pillar apparently falling, and there is a crowd at the feet of the principal figure, carrying spears. Unless this be Joshua at the fall of Jericho, I cannot tell what it means; it is painted with great vigour, and worthy of a better place.

32. *Sacrifice of Isaac*. In conception, it is one of the least worthy of the master in the whole room, the three figures being thrown into violent attitudes, as inexpressive as they are strained and artificial. It appears to have been vigorously painted, but vulgarly; that is to say, the light is concentrated upon the white beard and upturned countenance of Abraham, as it would have been in one of the dramatic effects of the French school, the result being that the head is very bright and very conspicuous, and perhaps, in some of the late operations upon the roof, recently washed and touched. In consequence, every one who comes into the room is first invited to observe the “bella testa di Abramo.” The only thing characteristic of Tintoret is the way in which

¹ [For which picture, see *Modern Painters*, vol. i. (Vol. III. p. 173).]

² [For Michael Angelo's “Jonah” in the Sistine Chapel, see *Modern Painters*, volumes i. and ii. (Vol. III. p. 117 *n.*, Vol. IV. p. 303.)]

the pieces of ragged wood are tossed hither and thither in the pile upon which Isaac is bound, although this scattering of the wood is inconsistent with the scriptural account of Abraham's deliberate procedure, for we are told of him that "he set the wood in order." But Tintoret had probably not noticed this, and thought the tossing of the timber into the disordered heap more like the act of the father in his agony.

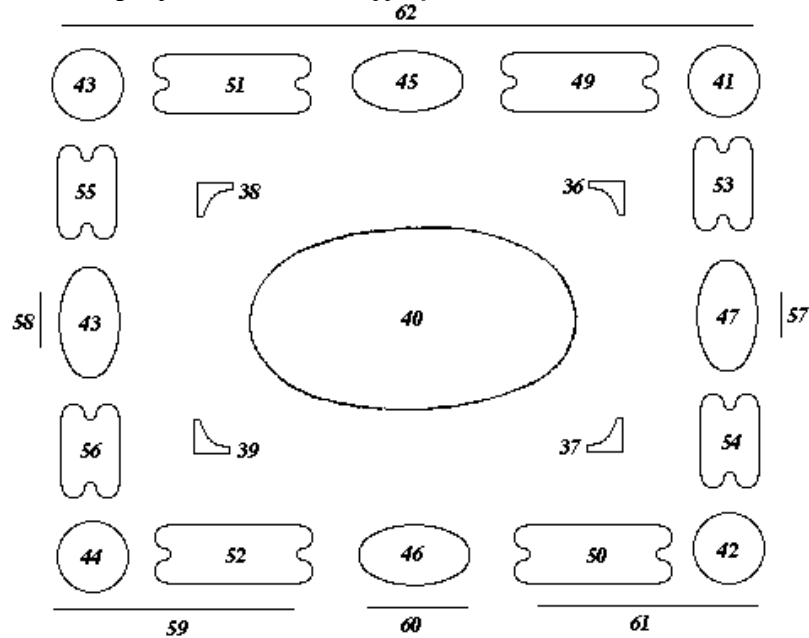
33. *Elijah at the Brook Cherith (?)*. I cannot tell if I have rightly interpreted the meaning of this picture, which merely represents a noble figure couched upon the ground, and an angel appearing to him; but I think that between the dark tree on the left, and the recumbent figure, there is some appearance of a running stream; at all events, there is of a mountainous and stony place. The longer I study this master, the more I feel the strange likeness between him and Turner, in our never knowing what subject it is that will stir him to exertion. We have lately had him treating Jacob's Dream, Ezekiel's Vision, Abraham's Sacrifice, and Jonah's Prayer (all of them subjects on which the greatest painters have delighted to expend their strength), with coldness, carelessness, and evident absence of delight; and here, on a sudden, in a subject so indistinct that one cannot be sure of its meaning and embracing only two figures, a man and an angel, forth he starts in his full strength. I believe he must somewhere or another, the day before, have seen a kingfisher; for this picture seems entirely painted for the sake of the glorious downy wings of the angel,—white clouded with blue as the bird's head and wings are with green,—the softest and most elaborate in plumage that I have seen in any of his works: but observe also the general sublimity obtained by the mountainous lines of the drapery of the recumbent figure, dependent for its dignity upon these forms alone, as the face is more than half hidden, and what is seen of it expressionless.

34. *The Paschal Feast*. I name this picture by the title given in the guide-books; it represents merely five persons watching the increase of a small fire lighted on a table or altar in the midst of them. It is only because they have all staves in their hands that one may conjecture this fire to be that kindled to consume the Paschal offering. The effect is of a course a firelight; and, like all mere firelights that I have ever seen, totally devoid of interest.

35. *Elisha Feeding the People*. I again guess at the subject; the picture only represents a figure casting down a number of loaves before a multitude; but, as Elisha has not elsewhere occurred, I suppose that these must be the barley-loaves brought from Baal-shalisha. In conception and manner of painting, this picture and the last, together with the others above mentioned, in comparison with the "Elijah at Cherith," may be generally described as "dregs of Tintoret": they are tired, dead, dragged out upon the canvas apparently in the heavyhearted state which a man falls into when he is both jaded with toil and sick of the work he is employed upon. They are not hastily painted, on the contrary, finished with considerably more care than several of the works upon the walls; but those, as, for instance, the "Agony in the Garden," are hurried sketches with the man's whole

heart in them, while these pictures are exhausted fulfilments of an appointed task. Whether they were really amongst the last painted, or whether the painter had fallen ill at some intermediate time, I cannot say; but we shall find him again in his utmost strength in the room which we last enter.

Fourth group. *Inner room on the upper floor.*



36 to 39. Children's Heads.

41 to 44. Children.

40. St. Rocco in Heaven.

45 to 56. Allegorical Figures.

On the Walls.

57. Figure in Niche.

60. Ecce Homo.

58. Figure in Niche.

61. Christ Bearing His Cross.

59. Christ before Pilate.

62. CRUCIFIXION.

36 to 39. *Four Children's Heads*, which it is much to be regretted should be thus lost in filling small vacuities of the ceiling.

40. *St. Rocco in Heaven*. The central picture of the roof, in the inner room.¹ From the well-known anecdote respecting the production of this picture, whether in all its details true or not, we may at least

¹ [The Refectory. For the story of the painting of this picture, see above, p. 404 n.]

gather that, having been painted in competition with Paul Veronese and other powerful painters of the day, it was probably Tintoret's endeavour to make it as popular and showy as possible. It is quite different from his common works; bright in all its tints and tones; the faces carefully drawn, and of an agreeable type; the outlines firm, and the shadows few; the whole resembling Correggio more than any Venetian painter. It is, however, an example of the danger, even to the greatest artist, of leaving his own style; for it lacks all the great virtues of Tintoret, without obtaining the lusciousness of Correggio. One thing, at all events, is remarkable in it,—that, though painted while the competitors were making their sketches, it shows no sign of haste or inattention.

41 to 44. *Figures of Children*, merely decorative.

45 to 56. *Allegorical Figures on the Roof*. If these were not in the same room with the "Crucifixion," they would attract more public attention than any works in the Scuola, as there are here no black shadows, nor extravagances of invention, but very beautiful figures richly and delicately coloured, a good deal resembling some of the best works of Andrea del Sarto. There is nothing in them, however, requiring detailed examination. The two figures between the windows are very slovenly, if they are his at all; and there are bits of marbling and fruit filling the cornices, which may or may not be his: if they are, they are tired work, and of small importance.

59. *Christ before Pilate*. A most interesting picture, but, which is unusual, best seen on a dark day, when the white figure of Christ alone draws the eye, looking almost like a spirit; the painting of the rest of the picture being both somewhat thin and imperfect. There is a certain meagreness about all the minor figures, less grandeur and largeness in the limbs and draperies, and less solidity, it seems, even in the colour, although its arrangements are richer than in many of the compositions above described. I hardly know whether it is owing to this thinness of colour, or on purpose, that the horizontal clouds shine through the crimson flag in the distance; though I should think the latter, for the effect is most beautiful. The passionate action of the Scribe in lifting his hand to dip the pen into the ink-horn is, however, affected and overstrained, and the Pilate is very mean; perhaps intentionally, that no reverence might be withdrawn from the person of Christ. In work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the figures of Pilate and Herod are always intentionally made contemptible.¹

60. *Ecce Homo*. As usual, Tintoret's own peculiar view of the subject. Christ is laid fainting on the ground, with a soldier standing on one side of Him; while Pilate, on the other, withdraws the robe from the scourged and wounded body, and points it out to the Jews. Both this and the picture last mentioned resemble Titian more than Tintoret in the style of their treatment.

61. *Christ Bearing His Cross*. Tintoret is here recognisable again in undiminished strength. He has represented the troops and attendants

¹ [For another description of this picture, see *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 274). This and No. 61 were published by the Arundel Society: see above, p. xxxii.]

climbing Calvary by a winding path of which two turns are seen, the figures on the uppermost ledge, and Christ in the centre of them, being relieved against the sky; but instead of the usual simple expedient of the bright horizon to relieve the dark masses, there is here introduced, on the left, the head of a white horse, which blends itself with the sky in one broad mass of light. The power of the picture is chiefly in effect, the figure of Christ being too far off to be very interesting, and only the malefactors being seen on the nearer path; but for this very reason it seems to me more impressive, as if one had been truly present at the scene, though not exactly in the right place for seeing it.

62. *The Crucifixion*. I must leave this picture to work its will on the spectator; for it is beyond all analysis, and above all praise.¹

S

SAGREDO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal, X. 299 [and Plate F], XI. 27. Much defaced, but full of interest. Its sea story is restored: its first floor has a most interesting arcade of the early thirteenth century thirddorder windows; its upper windows are the finest fourth and fifth orders of early fourteenth century: the group of fourth orders in the centre being brought into some resemblance to the late Gothic traceries by the subsequent introduction of the quatrefoils above them.

SALUTE, CHURCH OF STA. MARIA DELLA, on the Grand Canal, [X. 6, 7, 443; XI. 92, 363.] One of the earliest buildings of the Grotesque Renaissance, rendered impressive by its position, size, and general proportions. These latter are exceedingly good; the grace of the whole building being chiefly dependent on the inequality of size in its cupolas, and pretty grouping of the two campaniles behind them. It is to be generally observed that the proportions of buildings have nothing whatever to do with the style or general merits of their architecture. An architect trained in the worst schools, and utterly devoid of all meaning or purpose in his work, may yet have such a natural gift of massing and grouping as will render all his structures effective when seen from a distance: such a gift is very general with the late Italian builders, so that many of the most contemptible edifices in the country have good stage effect so long as we do not approach them. The Church of the Salute is farther assisted by the beautiful flight of steps in front of it down to the canal; and its facade is rich and beautiful of its kind, and was chosen by Turner for the principal object in his well-known view of the Grand Canal.² The principal faults of the building are the meagre windows in the sides of the cupola, and the ridiculous disguise of the buttresses under the form of colossal scrolls; the buttresses themselves being originally a hypocrisy, for the cupola is stated by Lazari to be of timber, and therefore needs none. The sacristy contains several precious pictures: the three on its roof by Titian,

¹ [The picture is described at length in *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. (Vol. IV. p. 270); in the note to that passage, other references are collected.]

² ["Venice," exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1834.]

much vaunted, are indeed as feeble as they are monstrous;¹ but the small Titian, “St. Mark, with Sts. Cosmo and Damian,” was, when I first saw it, to my judgment, by far the first work of Titian’s in Venice. It has since been restored by the Academy, and it seemed to me entirely destroyed, but I had not time to examine it carefully.

At the end of the larger sacristy is the lunette which once decorated the tomb of the Doge Francesco Dandolo (see above, page 92); and, at the side of it, one of the most highly finished Tintorets in Venice,² namely:

The Marriage in Cana. An immense picture, some twenty-five feet long by fifteen high, and said by Lazari to be one of the few which Tintoret signed with his name. I am not surprised at his having done so in this case. Evidently the work has been a favourite with him, and he has taken as much pains as it was ever necessary for his colossal strength to take with anything. The subject is not one which admits of much singularity or energy in composition. It was always a favourite one with Veronese, because it gave dramatic interest to figures in gay costumes and of cheerful countenances; but one is surprised to find Tintoret, whose tone of mind was always grave, and who did not like to make a picture out of brocades and diadems, throwing his whole strength into the conception of a marriage feast; but so it is, and there are assuredly no female heads in any of his pictures in Venice elaborated so far as those which here form the central light. Neither is it often that the works of this mighty master conform themselves to any of the rules acted upon by ordinary painters; but in this instance the popular laws have been observed, and an Academy student would be delighted to see with what severity the principal light is arranged in a central mass, which is divided and made more brilliant by a vigorous piece of shadow thrust into the midst of it, and which dies away in lesser fragments and sparkling towards the extremities of the picture. This mass of light is as interesting by its composition as by its intensity. The cicerone, who escorts the stranger round the sacristy in the course of five minutes, and allows him some forty seconds for the contemplation of a picture which the study of six months would not entirely fathom, directs him attention very carefully to the “bell” *effetto di prospettivo*,” the whole merit of the picture being, in the eyes of the intelligent public, that there is a long table in it, one end of which looks farther off than the other; but there is more in the “bell” *effetto di prospettivo*” than the observance of the common laws of optics. The table is set in a spacious chamber, of which the windows at the end let in the light from the horizon, and

¹ [“Death of Abel,” “Sacrifice of Isaac,” and “David and Goliath:” see, however, *Guide to the Academy at Venice*, for another and more favourable reference to Titian’s work on the roof of the sacristy here. The picture by Titian—an early work of his “Giorgionesque” period—was painted about 1512, to commemorate the steadfastness of the Republic when confronted by the League of Cambrai. On one side, below St. Mark, stand St. Sebastian and St. Roch; on the other, SS. Cosmos and Damianus. A photograph of the picture is reproduced at p. 48 of *The Earlier Work of Titian*, by Claude Phillips.]

² [This is one of two pictures by Tintoret which Ruskin hoped to secure for the National Gallery: see above, p. 366 *n.*]

those in the side wall the intense blue of an eastern sky. The spectator looks all along the table, at the farther end of which are seated Christ and the Madonna, the marriage guests on each side of it, on one side men, on the other women; the men are set with their backs to the light, which, passing over their heads and glancing slightly on the tablecloth, falls in full length along the line of young Venetian women, who thus fill the whole centre of the picture with one broad sunbeam, made up of fair faces and golden hair. Close to the spectator a woman has risen in amazement, and stretches across the table to show the wine in her cup to those opposite; her dark red dress intercepts and enhances the mass of gathered light. It is rather curious, considering the subject of the picture, that one cannot distinguish either the bride or the bridegroom; but the third¹ figure from the Madonna in the line of women, who wears a white head-dress of lace and rich chains of pearls in her hair, may well be accepted for the former, and I think that between her and the woman on the Madonna's left hand the unity of the line of women is intercepted by a male figure:* be this as it may, this fourth female face is the most beautiful, as far as I recollect, that occurs in the works of the painter, with the exception only of the Madonna in the "Flight into Egypt." It is an ideal which occurs indeed elsewhere in many of his works, a face at once dark and delicate, the Italian cast of feature moulded with the softness and childishness of English beauty some half a century ago; but I have never seen the ideal so completely worked out by the master. The face may best be described as one of the purest and softest of Stothard's conceptions, executed with all the strength of Tintoret. The other women, are all made inferior to this one, but there are beautiful profiles and bendings of breasts and necks along the whole line. The men are all subordinate, though there are interesting portraits among them; perhaps the only fault of the picture being that the faces are a little too conspicuous, seen like balls of light among the crowd of minor figures which fill the background of the picture. The tone of the whole is sober and majestic in the highest degree; the dresses are all broad masses of colour, and the only parts of the picture which lay claim to the expression of wealth or splendour are the head-dresses of the women. In this respect the conception of the scene differs widely from that of Veronese, and approaches more nearly to the probable truth. Still the marriage is not an unimportant one; an immense crowd, filling the background, forming superbly rich mosaic of colour against the distant sky. Taken as a whole, the picture is perhaps the most perfect example which human art has produced of the utmost possible force and sharpness of shadow united with richness of local colour. In all the other works of Tintoret, and much more of other colourists, either the light and shade or the local colour is predominant; in the one case the picture has a tendency to look as if painted by

* A correspondent writes that, with a good glass, a beard is discernible on the face of this figure. [Note added in the edition of 1884.]

¹ ["Third" was a correction for "fourth" in the "Travellers' Edition" for 1984.]

candlelight, in the other it becomes daringly conventional, and approaches the conditions of glass-painting. This picture unites colour as rich as Titian's with light and shade as forcible as Rembrandt's, and far more decisive.

There are one or two other interesting pictures of the early Venetian schools in this sacristy, and several important tombs in the adjoining cloister; among which that of Francesco Dandolo, transported here from the Church of the Frari, deserves especial attention. See above, p. 92.

SALVATORE, CHURCH OF ST. Base Renaissance, occupying the place of the ancient church, under the porch of which the Pope Alexander III. is said to have passed the night. M. Lazari states it to have been richly decorated with mosaics; now, all is gone.

In the interior of the church are some of the best examples of Renaissance sculptural monuments in Venice. (See above, Chap. ii. § 80, p. 110.) It is said to possess an important pala of silver, of the thirteenth century, one of the objects in Venice which I much regret having forgotten to examine; besides two Titians, a Bonifazio, and a John Bellini. The latter ("The Super at Emmaus") must, I think, have been entirely repainted: it is not only unworthy of the master, but unlike him;¹ as far, at least, as I could see from below, for it is hung high.

[SALVIATI, CORTE, windows in, X. 295.]

SANUDO, PALAZZO. At the Miracoli. A noble Gothic palace of the fourteenth century, with Byzantine fragments and cornices built into its walls, especially round the interior court, in which the staircase is very noble. Its door, opening on the quay, is the only one in Venice entirely uninjured; retaining its wooden valve richly sculptured, its wicket for examination of the stranger demanding admittance, and its quaint knocker in the form of a fish.

SCALZI, CHURCH OF THE. It possesses a fine John Bellini, and is renowned through Venice for its precious marbles. I omitted to notice above,² in speaking of the buildings of the Grottesque Renaissance, that many of them are remarkable for a kind of dishonesty, even in the use of *true* marbles, resulting not from motives of economy, but from mere love of juggling and falsehood for their own sake. I hardly know which condition of mind is meanest, that which has pride in plaster made to look like marble, or that which takes delight in marble made to look like silk. Several of the later churches in Venice, more especially those of the Jesuiti, of San Clemente, and this of the Scalzi, rest their chief claims to admiration on their having curtains and cushions cut out of rock. The most ridiculous example is in San Clemente, and the most curious and costly are in the Scalzi; which latter church is a perfect type of the vulgar abuse of marble in every possible way, by men who had no eye for colour, and no understanding of any merit in a work of

¹ [By some critics it is attributed to Carpaccio; by others, to Benedetto Diana. The two Titians are an "Annunciation" (one of his latest works) and a "Transfiguration" (over the high altar). The Pala of embossed silver was executed at Venice in 1290.]

² [See above, ch. i. § 38 *n.*, p. 35.]

art but that which arises from costliness of material, and such powers of imitation as are devoted in England to the manufacture of peaches and eggs out of Derbyshire spar.

SEBASTIAN, CHURCH OF ST. [XI. 31] *n.*. The tomb, and of old the monument, of Paul Veronese. It is full of his noblest pictures, or of what once were such; but they seemed to me for the most part destroyed by repainting. I had not time to examine them justly, but I would especially direct the traveller's attention to the small Madonna over the second altar on the right of the nave, still a perfect and priceless treasure.¹

SERVI, CHURCH OF THE.² Only two of its gates and some ruined walls are left, in one of the foulest districts of the city. It was one of the most interesting monuments of the early fourteenth century Gothic; and there is much beauty in the fragments yet remaining. How long they may stand I know not, the whole building having been offered me for sale, ground and all, or stone by stone, as I chose, by its present proprietor, when I was last in Venice.³ More real good might at present be effected by any wealthy person who would devote his resources to the preservation of such monuments wherever they exist, by freehold purchase of the the entire ruin, and afterwards by taking proper charge of it, and forming a garden round it, than by any other mode of protecting or encouraging art. There is no school, no lecturer, like a ruin of the early ages.

SEVERO, FONDAMENTA SAN, palace at, X. 308.

SILVESTRO, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance in itself, but it contains two very interesting pictures: the first, a "St. Thomas of Canterbury with the Baptist and St. Francis," by Girolamo Santa Croce, a superb example of the Venetian religious school; the second by Tintoret, namely:

The Baptism of Christ. (Over the first altar on the right of the nave.)

¹ [Ruskin's first note of the pictures by Veronese in this church is in his 1846 diary:—

"VENICE, *May 23*,— . . . The altar-piece of the church of San Sebastinano is, or has been, one of the richest and most studied works of Veronese, and I think the Madonna there is more sacredly felt, and the tone of the picture more solemn, than in any other of his works. She looks down calmly as she sits to receive the soul of St. Sebastian, who is fastened to a column, the colour of the body in shade immensely fine. The Esther before Ahasuerus on the roof is remarkable for the light concentrated in the sky in spite of the brilliancy of colour in the figures; it is not merely a white sky, but a beautifully graduated burst of light from behind the canopy of the throne."]

² [Now the "Istituto Canal," a Reformatory for Girls.]

³ [Ruskin mentioned this offer in a letter to his father:—

"*March 24* [1852].— . . . I was rather disgusted yesterday by a man's coming up to me as I was going to my work, to ask if I would buy any of the sculptured stones of the church of the Servi. It is a ruin of the year 1318, and would be exquisitely beautiful, were it not in one of the vilest suburbs of Venice. . . . The man says he wants the ground, and must throw it down some day soon, but is waiting to see if he can find anybody to buy the sculptures. I told him I would much rather pay to keep it up, than to throw it down. So it is. Our wise Europe has not yet discovered that a relic of past centuries, which millions on millions cannot recover, is worth, at any rate, the ground it stands upon, nor that a fine picture is worth as much space as is necessary to show it."]

An upright picture, some ten feet wide by fifteen high; the top of it is arched, representing the Father supported by angels. It requires little knowledge of Tintoret to see that these figures are not by his hand. By returning to the opposite side of the nave, the join in the canvas may be plainly seen, the upper part of the picture having been entirely added on: whether it had this upper part before it was repainted, or whether originally square, cannot now be told, but I believe it had an upper part which has been destroyed. I am not sure if even the dove and the two angels which are at the top of the older part of the picture are quite genuine. The rest of it is magnificent, though both the figures of the Saviour and the Baptist show some concession on the part of the painter to the imperative requirement of his age, that nothing should be done except in an attitude; neither are there any of his usual fantastic imaginations. There is simply the Christ in the water and the St. John on the shore, without attendants, disciples, or witnesses of any kind; but the power of the light and shade, and the splendour of the landscape, which on the whole is well preserved, render it a most interesting example. The Jordan is represented as a mountain brook, receiving a tributary stream in a cascade from the rocks, in which St. John stands: there is a rounded stone in the centre of the current; and the parting of the water at this, as well as its rippling among the roots of some dark trees on the left, are among the most accurate remembrances of nature to be found in any of the works of the great masters. I hardly know whether most to wonder at the power of the man who thus broke through the neglect of nature which was universal at his time; or at the evidences, visible throughout the whole of the conception, that he was still content to paint from slight memories of what he had seen in hill countries, instead of following out to its full depth the fountain which he had opened. There is not a stream among the hills of Priuli which in any quarter of a mile of its course would not have suggested to him finer forms of cascade than those which he has idly painted at Venice.

SIMEONE, PROFET, CHURCH OF ST. very important, though small, possessing the precious statue of St. Simeon, above noticed, X. 361, XI. 87. The rare early Gothic capitals of the nave are only interesting to the architect; but in the little passage by the side of the church, leading out of the Campo, there is a curious Gothic monument built into the wall, very beautiful in the placing of the angels in the spandrils, and rich in the vine-leaf moulding above.

SIMEONE, PICCOLO, CHURCH OF ST. One of the ugliest churches in Venice or elsewhere. Its black dome, like an unusual species of gasometer, is the admiration of modern Italian architects.

SOSPITI, PONTE DE'. The well-known "Bridge of Sighs," a work of no merit, and of a late period (see Vol. X. 355), owing the interest it possesses chiefly to its pretty name, and to the ignorant sentimentalism of Byron.¹

SPIRITO SANTO, CHURCH OF THE. Of no importance.

STEFANO, CHURCH OF ST. [IX. 315, 337, 341, 342, XI. 13.] An interesting building of central Gothic, the best ecclesiastical example of it in

¹ [See Vol. X. p. 8; XI. pp. 232, 234.]

Venice.¹ The west entrance is much later than any of the rest, and is of the richest Renaissance Gothic, a little anterior to the Porta della Carta, and first-rate of its kind. The manner of the introduction of the figure of the angel at the top of the arch is full of beauty. Note the extravagant crockets and cusp finials as signs of decline.

STEFANO, CHURCH OF ST., at Murano (pugnacity of its abbot), X. 44. The church no longer exists.

STROPE, CAMPIELLO DELLA, house in, X. 310.

T

TANA [RIO DELLA,] windows at, X. 303 *n.*

[“TERRACED HOUSE,” X. 151, 453.]

TEPFOLO, PALAZZO, on the Grand Canal. Of no importance.

TOLENTINI, CHURCH OF THE. One of the basest and coldest works of the late Renaissance. It is said to contain two Bonifazios.

TOMA, CHURCH OF ST. Of no importance.

TOMA, PONTE SAN. There is an interesting ancient doorway opening on the canal close to this bridge, probably of the twelfth century, and a good early Gothic door, opening upon the bridge itself.

TORCELLO, general aspect of, X. 17; Santa Fosca at, IX. 148, X. 20; duomo, X. 20; mosaics of X. 232; measures of, X. 444; date of, X. 444; [capital at, XI. *Examples*, 3.]

TREVISAN, PALAZZO, IX. 425 (and Plate 20), XI. 256.

TRON, PALAZZO. Of no importance.

TROVASO, CHURCH OF ST.² Itself of no importance, but containing two pictures by Tintoret, namely:

1. *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. (Altar-piece in the chapel on the left of the choir.) A small and very carefully finished picture, but marvellously temperate and quite in treatment, especially considering the subject, which one would have imagined likely to inspire the painter with one of his most fantastic visions. As if on purpose to disappoint us, both the effect and the conception of the figures are perfectly quiet, and appear the result much more of careful study than of vigorous imagination. The effect is one of plain daylight; there are a few clouds drifting in the distance, but with no wildness in them, nor is there any energy or heat in the flames which mantle about the waist of one of the figures. But for the noble workmanship, we might almost fancy it the production of a modern academy: yet, as we begin to read the picture, the painter's mind becomes felt. St. Anthony is surrounded by four figures, one of which only has the form of a demon, and he is in the background, engaged in no more terrific act of violence towards St. Anthony, than endeavouring to pull off his mantle;

¹ [This church and its campanile have recently been restored. Frescoes—decorative diaper work—have been discovered round the clerestory walls, and the whitewash which concealed them is now removed.]

² [A corruption of SS. Gervasio e Protasio.]

he has, however, a scourge over his shoulder, but this is probably intended for St. Anthony's weapon of self-discipline, which the fiend, with a very Protestant turn of mind, is carrying off. A broken staff, with a bell hanging to it, at the saint's feet, also expresses his interrupted devotion. The three other figures beside him are bent on more cunning mischief: the woman on the left is one of Tintoret's best portraits of a young and bright-eyed Venetian beauty. It is curious that he has given so attractive a countenance to a type apparently of the temptation to violate the vow of poverty, for this woman places one hand in a vase full of coins, and shakes golden chains with the other. On the opposite side of the saint, another woman, admirably painted, but of a far less attractive countenance, is a type of the lusts of the flesh, yet there is nothing gross or immodest in her dress or gesture. She appears to have been baffled, and for the present to have given up addressing the saint: she lays one hand upon her breast, and might be taken for a very respectable person, but that there are flames playing about her loins. A recumbent figure on the ground is of less intelligible character, but may perhaps be meant for Indolence; at all events, he has torn the saint's book to pieces. I forgot to note, that, under the figure representing Avarice, there is a creature like a pig;¹ whether actual pig or not is unascertainable, for the church is dark, the little light that comes on the picture falls on it the wrong way, and one-third of the lower part of it is hidden by a white case, containing a modern daub, lately painted by way of an altarpiece; the meaning, as well as the merit, of the grand old picture being now far beyond the comprehension both of priests and people.

2. *The Last Supper*. (On the left-hand side of the Chapel of the Sacrament.) A picture which has been through the hands of the Academy, and is therefore now hardly worth notice. Its conception seems always to have been vulgar, and far below Tintoret's usual standard. There is singular baseness in the circumstance that one of the near Apostles, while all the others are, as usual, intent upon Christ's words, "One of you shall betray me," is going to help himself to wine out of a bottle which stands behind him. In so doing he stoops towards the table, the flask being on the floor. If intended for the action of Judas at this moment, there is the painter's usual originality in the thought; but it seems to me rather done to obtain variation of posture, in bringing the red dress into strong contrast with the table-cloth. The colour has once been fine, and there are fragments of good painting still left; but the light does not permit these to be seen, and there is too much perfect work of the master's in Venice to permit us to spend time on retouched remnants. The picture is only worth mentioning, because it is ignorantly and ridiculously referred to by Kugler as characteristic of Tintoret.²

¹ [The pig, one of the regular attributes of St. Anthony, symbolises the evils of sensuality and gluttony which he vanquished; the crutch (marking his age) and the bell (for purposes of exorcising evil spirits) are also regular attributes.]

² [See above, p. 360.]

V

VITALE, CHURCH OF ST. Said to contain a picture by Vittor Carpaccio, over the high altar:¹ otherwise of no importance.

[VITTURA, CASA, XI. 144 *n.*, 281.]

VOLTO SANTO, CHURCH OF THE. An interesting but desecrated ruin of the fourteenth century; fine in style. Its roof retains some fresco colouring, but, as far as I recollect, of later date than the architecture.

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ZACCARIA, CHURCH OF ST. Early Renaissance, and fine of its kind; a Gothic chapel attached to it is of great beauty. It contains the best John Bellini in Venice, after that of San G. Grisostomo, "The Virgin, with Four Saints;"² and is said to contain another John Bellini and a Tintoret, neither of which I have seen.

[ZACCARIA, ST. CAMPO, XI. 12.]

ZITELLE, CHURCH OF THE. Of no importance.

ZOBENIGO, CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA, XI. 149. It contains one valuable Tintoret, namely:

Christ with Sta. Justina and St. Augustin. (Over the third altar on the south side of the nave.) A picture of small size, and upright, about ten feet by eight. Christ appears to be descending out of the clouds between the two saints, who are both kneeling on the sea-shore. It is a Venetian sea, breaking on a flat beach, like the Lido, with a scarlet galley in the middle distance, of which the chief use is to unite the two figures by a point of colour. Both the saints are respectable Venetians of the lower class, in homely dresses and with homely faces. The whole picture is quietly painted, and somewhat slightly; free from all extravagance, and displaying little power except in the general truth or harmony of colours so easily laid on. It is better preserved than usual, and worth dwelling upon as an instance of the style of the master when *at rest*.

[ZORZI, PALAZZO, X. 308.]

¹ ["St. Vitale on horseback, with his mother Valeria, his sons Gervasius and Protasius, St. George and other saints." This fine picture is signed, and dated 1514. It has been published by the Arundel Society.]

² [For the Bellini, see above, p. 379. The other reputed Bellini—a Circumcision—is a school picture; the Tintoret is the "Birth of St. John the Baptist."]



Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London.