Rosella Mamoli Zorzi

«FORESTI» IN VENICE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY: THEIR PASSION FOR PAINTINGS, BROCADES, *AND* GLASS

The «foresti», that is foreign residents and visitors, in Venice in the second half of the 19th century, seem to have shared one passion: «shopping», in the sense of dropping in at antiquarian shops to look for paintings, old brocades, old chairs, porcelain, *and* glass.

Collecting such items was certainly not exclusive to the 19th century – one can think of the great collections of the previous centuries, those of paintings provided to England by Consul Smith[1] or the glass collection studied by William Gudenrath, King Frederick IV's collection of Venetian glass at the Rosenborg Castle (Copenhagen), consisting of gifts by the Venetian Senate but also bought by the King in Murano on 16 February 1709[2] during his visit to Venice, gathered in his extraordinary «Glass Cabinet», a unique pendant to a more common «Porcelain cabinet». Or one can also think of Walpole's Strawberry Hill collection of 24 lattimo

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[1] K. Pomian's analysis of 18th-century collecting in Venice underlines the continuity of collections in the Venetian families up to the fall of the Republic. Also the collection of John Strange, who was in Venice from 1774 to 1790, should be mentioned. In his thorough analysis of collections in the 18th century, there seems to be no reference to glass, maybe because beautiful glass was considered simply part of the family's everyday tools. Pomian 1985: 27 on Strange, in the chapter *Collezionisti d'arte e di curiosità naturali*. 5/II: 1-70.

[2] During this famous visit the king used the name of Count of Oldenburg, and was received by the Venetian nobility with great display of luxury. Vivaldi dedicated to him 12 *Sonate a violino e basso per cembalo* Urban 2007*:* 85-87. See also Boesen 1960. William Gudenrath, of the Corning Museum, has studied this collection, *The Collection of Venetian glass given to King Fredrich IV of Denmark by the Doge during the King's Visit to Venice in 1709*. Co-author Kitty Lameris, in a number of conference communications. Barovier 1982a: 137-138; Barovier 1995, II: 845-905; Urban 2007: 86.

plates with views of Venice, and of his «eight chocolate cups and saucers of lattimo with landscapes in brown», auctioned off in 1842[3].

In the 19th century, the big difference lay in the fact that «things» in Venice could be bought for small amounts of money, due to the poverty of the city, and the enormous quantity of art pouring into the market after the fall of the Republic in 1797 and the French and Austrian occupations. As for glass, guilds had been abolished in 1806, Bohemian glass was increasingly popular, raw materials were costly, and taxes («dazi») were high, as Rosa Barovier Mentasti has documented[4].

Published and unpublished diaries, letters, notebooks provide us with information and insight into 19th-century collecting. An example may be English Marine artist E.W.Cooke's unpublished diary and his collection of glass in Venice (1863-1865), examined, in this volume, by Suzanne Higgott of the Wallace Collection.

My own first example is taken from Zina Hulton's unpublished diary, *Fifty years in Venice.* Zina Mazzini was an Italian lady, married to the British painter William Hulton, a couple who decided to live in Venice. In her diary, Zina Hulton annotated a comment on the house of Mrs. Bronson (Fig. 1), an American lady known above all for having befriended poet Robert Browning, in the 1880s, the last years of his life, during his repeated visits to Venice, with his sister and his son:

Zina Hulton wrote:

> Mrs. Bronson's room was very personal. Its predominant colour was pale blue – merging with grey where the old stuff was faded. The furniture was all small, & there were many cabinets – one made almost entirely of mother of pearl – *filled with her collection of old Venetian glass – mostly small pieces*»[5].

Mrs. Bronson's house was the palazzino Alvisi on the Grand Canal, across from the Salute, where she lived from 1875 (Mamoli Zorzi 1989: 34-38). Mrs. Hulton was remembering the year 1888: we have no way

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[3] Charleston 1959: I, 62-81. For the chocolate cups and saucers, 73. I am grateful to Kennneth L. Burnes, of the Corning Museum, for sending me this and other articles.

[4] Zorzi 1972: II. On the reasons of the early 19th century decadence of Murano glass, see Barovier 1978; Barovier: 2002; Barovier 1982a: 179-220; Barovier 2006: 233-34. See also Dorigato 2002: 172-224; Dorigato 2006: 17-23.

[5] Hulton: 49, my emphasis.

of knowing whether Mrs. Bronson's collection of glass was really of «old Venetian glass», or of newly made copies, but there is no doubt about her passion for collecting glass.

Henry James wrote on the Casa Alvisi and its interior as well. According to James, Mrs. Bronson was not

> fond … of spacious halls and massive treasures, but of compact and familiar rooms, in which her remarkable accumulation of minute and delicate Venetian objects could show. She adored – in the way of the Venetian, to which all her taste addressed itself – the small, the domestic and the exquisite; so that she would have given a Tintoretto or two, I think, without difficulty, for *a cabinet of tiny gilded glasses* or a dinner service of the right old silver[6].

One of Mrs. Bronson's «small gilded glasses» can be seen in Ralph Curtis's painting, *Whistler at a party* (1879-80)[7] (Fig. 2), surely referring to Casa Alvisi, as Mrs. Bronson's generous hospitality helped James McNeill Whistler during the freezing winter of 1879-80, when he was commissioned to produce some Venetian etchings after his ruinous victory in the trial against Ruskin, who had famously written, referring to Whistler's paintings, «I have seen, and heard, much of Cockney impudence before now; but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face»[8].

Big paintings *did* interest other residents, such as the Curtises, from 1885 the owners of most of the Palazzo Barbaro, represented with their son and daughter-in-law, in their salon in a famous painting by John Sargent (Fig. 3). The Curtises owned a Tintoretto and bought[9] a *Portrait of Cavalier Giovanni Grimani* by Bernardo Strozzi[10], on May 21 1894 (the sale lasted from 15 to 22 May 1894) at the famous Morosini-Gatterburg sale[11]. The Curtises did not buy any of the «verrerie», listed from number 283 to number 311. Some of the numbers included: «Environ trois cent quatre-vingt pièces de verrerie ancienne à décor d'or …» (287 à 298);

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[6] James [1902] 1992: 73.

[7] McCauley *et al.* 2004: 90, no.57.

[8] Adelson *et al.* 2006: 172.

[9] Curtis 1894.

[10] The painting can be seen in Sala XI of the Gallerie dell'Accademia, where it was located in 1911.

[11] Zorzi 1972: I, 226-232.

«Centquarante-quatre pièces de verrerie à bords dorés…» (305 à 311)[12]. Verrerie, however, was not listed on the cover of the catalogue (which mentioned «diamants, perles, orfévrerie, tableaux, guipures, dentelles, étoffes», in addition to «objets d'art et d'ameublement»). Fortunately the famous table centre-piece, the Morosini 18th century «Deser» or «Table Triumph», which is now in the Murano Museum, was bought for the Museum[13].

Paintings and brocades also interested Ralph Curtis, a painter, the son of Ariana and Daniel Sargent Curtis. Ralph Curtis was a friendly «agent» offering Isabella Stewart Gardner, the future founder of the Fenway Court Museum in Boston, all sort of antiquarians' objects in his letters. A very interesting painter himself, Ralph met Mrs. Gardner, when «Mrs. Jack» and her husband arrived in Venice from the tour around the world which had taken them from Boston across the USA and across the Pacific, to Japan, China, India, and finally to Egypt and Venice, where they arrived in 1884[14].

Isabella Stewart Gardner bought a painting by Ralph Curtis (*Ritorno dal Lido*, 1884), but, as is well-known, she also bought many other very famous Old Masters, including Titian's *Rape of Europa*, offered to her by Bernard Berenson (1896) (but she did not buy Titian's *Amor sacro e amor profano*, also offered to her by BB in 1899)[15].

For her, Ralph Curtis bought in 1896, two «fire dogs» and a «crimson velvet» «piviale» («cope»), writing to her that he had «beat[en] Satan down to letting you have the fire dogs and this textile gem for *2000* lire»[16]: Satan was Richetti, the antique dealer.

Isabella Stewart Gardner was a compulsory shopper: on 25 July 1892, for instance, she went, with her husband, to «Guggenheim, Besarel, Dalla Torre and Clerlé» in the morning, and to «Carrer and Dalla Torre» in the afternoon[17].

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[12] *Vente* 1894.

[13] Dorigato 2002: 151; Barovier 1982a: 151, 154, nos. 148 and 149.

[14] McCauley *et al.* 2004: 142.

[15] *Letters of Bernard Berenson* 1987: 55-56, passim for the *Rape of Europa*, and 182-88 for *Amor Sacro e Amor Profano*. Mrs. Gardner wrote she had already spent too much.

[16] James 1998: 194.

[17] In 1916 Clerlé was in Palazzo Avogadro, S. Silvestro 1113, as documented in *Catalogo* 1916. James 2009: 188.

Less frequent, but more assiduous, was the shopping of the Curtises, who in August 1894 went to Clerlé (August 4) and to Favenza (August 14) (Curtis 1894), visiting in 1895 Clerlé (January 15), Favenza (February 28, «with a bottle of wine»); they took their friend Warren to «LaTorre's- Blum's-Clerlé's-Naya's» (16 March 1895)[18]. A few years earlier, in 1890, finding they could not see the Giorgione at the Palazzo Giovannelli, the Curtises cheered themselves by resorting to shopping: «So we went to antiquary shops» (25 May 1890), where they saw some «good Scuola-Longhi»[19].

Information on glass is also to be found in another quite famous document, Lady Charlotte Schreiber's *Journals, 1869-1885*. Lady Charlotte Schreiber too was a compulsory shopper: her main passion was collecting pottery and porcelain, a collection which she gave to the South Kensington Museum in 1884 (in 1891 she gave her collection of fans; in 1893 her collection of games; in 1895 her collection of playing cards). In June 1877 Lady Charlotte was in Venice, where she went to Favenza and to Clerli's (sic, June 23), stating that she «took young 'Edwin' [O' Rourke, Castellani's assistant][20]… to look at an old mirror, with Latimo frame, which we had bought of him, and which is very good» (June 27); she called «at the Salviati Establishment, and made acquaintance with the Director, Mr. Castellani», who promised to accompany them to Murano[21], which he did two days later: «At nine Sgr. Castellani with his assistant, young Edwin O' Rourke, came to fetch us, and took us to Murano to see the Glass Works. They showed us the process, and I stood by while they made one or two objects for me. … Our old friend, the Abbé Zanetti, joined our party».

Lady Charlotte also bought some glass during her trips in Europe, for example «a pair of very fine Venetian glass bottles» in Madrid (in

[18] Curtis 1895.

[19] Curtis Ms. 449: 117.

[20] This was Giovanni, the administrator, Barovier 1982a: 217. Alessandro Castellani (1824-1883), jeweller and goldsmith became a «consulente» of the Company in 1878. His brother Augusto (1829-1914), jeweller, gave ancient Roman glass objects to study to the Company, see Barovier 1982a: 211.

[21] Lady Charlotte 1911: 27.

February 1878), looked with interest at mosaics[22] in St. Mark's, thinking mostly of the decoration of her own house, Canford Manor, in Dorset, and at the Paris 1878 exhibition she admired «the display of Venetian glass», and the «wonderful reproductions and copies from the old» (24 February) made by the «Venetian Murano Company».

In fact, in spite of her passion for porcelain, Lady Charlotte had quite a collection of glass; in 1884 she annotated: «Mr. Harding finished cataloguing the Wax and commenced the glass-objects tonight»[23].

It is no wonder that Abbé Zanetti, the founder of the Murano Glass Museum and of the School, was called an «old friend», as in 1833 Lady Charlotte (1812-1895) had married Sir John Josiah Guest, the rich Welsh iron works entrepreneur, and had had ten children with him, one of whom was Enid Guest, later Lady Layard. Charles Schreiber was her second husband, younger by thirteen years, whom she married in 1855, having given up the direction of her dead husband's iron-works to one of her sons[24].

What did all these residents or visitors, all of them «foresti», buy from antiquarians? Even John Ruskin went shopping[25]. First of all they

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[22] «I am more and more convinced that nothing but conventional Mosaics on a gold ground will do for the decoration of the Hall at Canford». II (February 1878: 37). On Lady Charlotte Schreiber there is a rich bibliography, in particular on her collection of ceramics. For a general introduction see Guest 2007.

[23] Lady Charlotte 1911: 439; Rackham 1928.

[24] Lady Charlotte was born Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie, the daughter of the 9th Earl of Bertie, and of Charlotte Layard, therefore she was a cousin of Sir Henry Layard, who used a wing of the Guests' Canford Manor, bought by Sir Josiah John Guest in 1845, for some of his Assyrian antiquities. Sir Henry Austen Layard was buried near the Canford Magna Church, which is decorated with Venetian mosaic.

[25] John Ruskin wrote to his father from Venice, on 11 October 1845: «I have been looking always into the shops as I passed to find something for little Louise Ellis, and I can't find anything that she and I both should like. Their jewellery & knickknackery is all vile – their bead work I hate. I was looking for a little antique cross, and I was recommended to a shop where they sold antiques only. I found it [in] a palace on the grand canal, full of old things… I didn't find any crosses, … & at last I found a whole cupboard full of old Venice glass, the real old defy-Tophana – you know they couldn't cut glass then – it is all blown, & they couldn't make two things alike. She [the French owner] showed me several whole services made of the same pattern & there wer'nt two glasses of the same height, and it is of a totally different stuff from modern glass – half as light again. I bought in the first place, six *little*, little, very little glasses for you …

bought paintings, then they bought such items as «velvet soprarizzo», «tapestries», mother-of-pearl 'etuis'[26], «Nove» cups and saucers, in some cases whole *pietra d'Istria* Gothic windows and balconies (Mrs. Gardner), and «seven glorious chairs» (again Mrs. Gardner, at Carrer's, chairs from the Borghese collection in Rome). The chairs – incidentally – were proudly shown to Henry James in July 1892: James loved them – they were «the loveliest I ever saw» – but underlined that they were not to be taken as «a symbol of Mrs. Gardner's attitude – she never sits down»[27].

And of course these foresti also bought *glass*.

The antiquarians most often referred to in the 1880s and 1890s were, as mentioned above, Clerlé, Favenza, Guggenheim[28] (at Palazzo Balbi[29] from 1879 to 1913, where he installed the «laboratori per le arti industriali»), Moisé Dalla Torre, Besarel, Carrer, Richetti, but we also find indications of less well-known, or less well-advertised shops: for instance there was a man, «Old Zen», «an old shriveled man in a black

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and … a beautiful glass salver to match for Lucy… Then there's a thing of this shape – [drawing] which is particularly odd, for its cover at *a* is all of one piece, and whatever you put into it must be poured in through the *spout*. Then I've two large light glasses for you & my mother to drink hock … and I've a *painted* mug – much of their glass was painted – and another nondescript thing, all for 37 franc[s]s», Shapiro 1972: 222-223. Although in these letters Ruskin harshly criticised the «restorations» or «scrapings» which were being carried out on the Ducal Palace and on the outside of St Mark's, there is no annotation regarding the mosaics. Restoration seems to have begun as early as 1842, but it seems to refer to the outside of the Ducal Palace and the Basilica. In 1867 Salviati & C. «received the exclusive concession for the restoration of the San Marco mosaics», see Demus 1984: vol. 1, 16. See also Bernabei 1986: VI, 418. Glass does not seem to be dealt with in the *Storia della Cultura Veneta. Dall'età napoleonica alla prima guerra mondiale*, neither is Vincenzo Zanetti named at all in vol. VI. On this subject see Liefkes 1984: 283-290.

[26] Lady Charlotte Schreiber, 23 June 1877, at Clerlé's, «near the Pont du Dai.» The door number was 848, Cecutti 2012: 37.

[27] James 1998: 122.

[28] Moronato1988: 205-209. Guggenheim in 1875 offered his own antique glass objects to the Murano glassworks, to copy. The so-called «Coppa Guggenheim» was one of these, see Barovier 1982a: 213.

[29] Before moving to Palazzo Balbi, Guggenhein had a «Gabinetto di oggetti di antichità e di belle arti» in the Gritti palace, 2467 Campo S. Maria del Giglio, see Moronato 1988: 206. According to Cecutti, Guggenheim was in Palazzo Balbi from 1878 to 1910, and had his shop in the Calle dei Fuseri before moving to Palazzo Balbi, Cecutti 2012: 37.

cap», who lived in the Palazzo Tron on the Grand Canal, who sat at his desk «with bottles of samples of paints or something round him», in a palace whose walls were «covered with old canvasses having the history of Joseph», in a sala «immensely long – I sh[oul]d say ab[ou]t 100 feet» – who had apparently given up his trade as *antiquario*, but who still had things to show: «he opened some rooms & showed us a few 2nd rate pictures…»[30]. On another occasion a *custode* of the Manfrin collection offered five pictures and took the visitors to «a most picturesque house near San Cancian where there was a lady with 3 pretty daughters & there was a Madonna & Child in a grand frame»[31].

The dispersal of the Venetian treasures after the fall of the Republic could pass through the hands of famous antiquarians and unknown *custodi* or *sacristani*.

As is well known, Isabella Stewart Gardner bought paintings, furniture, *pietra d'Istria* balconies, *cuori d'oro*, china[32], could she *not* have bought glass? In fact she did, although this part of her collection is still less studied than the rest.

Most of the Gardners' acquisitions of glass seem to have been made in 1897, in Venice, in Florence, and in Naples. Her most important piece seems to be a *Black Glass Madonna*, (or «Black Madonna and Child of old Murano glass») (Fig. 4) which she bought at Michelangelo Guggenheim's on 2 September 1897, for 1200 lire, as a «16th century» object. On the same day she bought at Consiglio Richetti's an *Enameled Glass Bottle*, of the 18th century, for 160 lire (Fig. 5). On 27 September 1897 Mr. Gardner bought two 19th-century vases at Clerlé's for 56 lire. The Gardners had several pairs of candlesticks – two «modern» (early 20th century, unknown provenance) and three 17th-18th century ones, bought in Florence at Emilio Costantini's on 6 October 1897 for 662 lire; an 18th century *Dolphin candlestick* and a *Bottle with stopper* (early

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[30] *Lady Layard's Journals:* 8-28-1880. The antiquarian also said that «there had been an immense ball room besides wh[ich] had been pulled down». He was surely referring to the theatre that faced the back façade of the Tron palace, in the garden, which was indeed torn down. The paintings on the walls of the sala were those, still extant, by Dorigny.

[31] *Lady Layard's Journals*: 9-3-1880.

[32] See Goldfarb 1995. I owe to the kindness of Christopher Richards and Elizabeth Reluga, of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, the list, description and photographs of the glass objects Mrs. Gardner owned, listed below.

20th century) with no provenance. In Naples at Gaetano Pepe's on 26 October 1897 Mrs. Gardner bought a *candlestick* of the 18th century, a *Footed Bowl* of 1525 (for 500 lire), and a *Plate with swan* (tazza) of the 16th century (1525) (Fig. 6), for 200 lire. Mrs. Gardner also had a *Goblet* (Glass with enamel paint), dated 1905-1911, given to her by Mary Curtis, D.S. Curtis's sister, who probably bought the present in the year the new Campanile was inaugurated.

In Isabella Stewart Gardner's collecting – be it of pictures, furniture, or glass – we can see an important principle at work, i.e. the idea that an art collection would benefit America. There were certainly also different reasons for collecting: art works were bought for the decoration of one's own house and surely as status symbols linked to enormous new wealth – all principles that do apply to the great American collectionists of the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, from Henry Clay Frick to Pierpont Morgan, from Louisine Havemeyer to the Cone sisters in Baltimore[33]. But in addition to all these reasons, Americans *did* have a sort of ideal aim in forming their collections, giving them, during their lives or after their deaths, to museums, or creating a new museum, as in the case of Fenway Court. To bring art to America was a common dream, often carried out in reality.

Before we move on to a famous American collector, who shared this «dream», maybe we should mention that gifts to the nation, in particular to the British Museum, were also made by British collectors. An example is Felix Slade (1790-1868), who gave his very well-known collection of glass to the British Museum[34] for an educational purpose. He believed that the Government had failed to promote education in

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[33] On American collectors: Saarinen 1958; Miller 1966; on early museums, Orosz 1990; on American women collectors: Mamoli Zorzi 2001, and Reist and R. Mamoli Zorzi 2011. The works of Francis Haskell and K. Pomian are of course essential.

[34] See the *Catalogue of the Collection of Glass formed by Felix Slade, with notes on the history of glass making by Alexander Nesbitt & an Appendix*, Printed for Private Distribution, 1871: a previous printing in 1869 was the original edition, with black and white reproductions. See Tait, 1996: 71. *La Voce di Murano* of April 30, 1879, anno XIII, no. 8, published a long article by Zanetti, praising the volume (pp. 31-32). If Sir Felix Slade went to Italy as a young man (1817), his glass seems to have been bought in Great Britain, or at International Paris exhibitions (e.g. that of 1867, Tait 1996: 85).

the Arts[35], which was also the reason for his endowing the Slade Chairs of Art, one of which was bestowed on John Ruskin. The Marquis de Cerralbo, Enrique de Aguilera y Gamboa (1845-1922), on whom there is an essay in this volume by Maria Cristina Giménez Raurell, of the Museo Cerralbo, was another important 'donor' who left his collections and his palace to Spain. Interestingly, the Marquis de Cerralbo was a friend and political supporter of Don Carlos of Bourbon, the pretender to the throne of Spain, who lived in the Palazzo Loredan at San Vio, and was a friend of the Curtises[36].

Even if he was not a resident Venetian, we should include in the group of Americans wanting the USA to have art[37] for its citizens, James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888), who vainly tried to sell his collection of early florentine paintings in Boston in 1860[38], finally mortgaging it to Yale, where it was first shown in 1868[39]. Jarves, the son of Deming Jarves, who had founded the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company in Sandwich, Mass.[40], is a very interesting figure: he first went to South

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[35] Tait 1996: 75.

[36] On 10 May 1892, «Don Carlos & suite came to see R[alph].'s Indian sketches in the salon of the Palazzo Barbaro». Curtis 1892.

[37] For Jarves's idea of the usefulness of art see Jarves 1865 and Jarves 1870.

[38] A Pamphlet called *Letters relating to a collection of pictures made by J.J. Jarves*, was printed in 1859 («privatey printed», but Boston, Houghton) to persuade a gallery to purchase Jarves's collection, as Charles Eliot Norton wrote: «The following papers, relating to the collection of pictures formed by Mr. Jarves, are printed in order to present to those interested to obtain such a gallery for Boston the information necessary as a basis for action». Letters by Jarves, C.C. Black, T.A. Trollope of the London Atheneum, and by A.F. Rio followed, together with an article from the *Boston Courier* of 9 February 1858. For the same purpose Jarves published a *Descriptive Catalogue of 'Old Masters' collected by J.J. Jarves,* Houghton, 1860, which also printed several letters attesting to the quality of the collection, including those by Charles Eliot Norton, Rio, Eastlake. As is well-known, nothing came of it. See Steegmuller 1951: 176-177.

[39] Sturgis 1868. The galleries were open 10 to 1 p.m., and from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. from April to November 1, except on Sundays. This catalogue also includes the letters by Rio and Eastlake, which Jarves had published in his *Descriptive Catalogue*.

[40] Deming Jarves published *Reminiscences of Glass Making*, first in a private edition in 1854, then in an enlarged edition printed in Boston and New York by Hurd &Houghton in 1865. He wrote a history of glass, especially in the USA, from 1747. He founded the Boston & Sandwich Glass Company in 1825 in Sandwich. The firm became one of the largest in the USA by 1840, employing 550 workers in the 1850s, producing 5,200,000 pieces of glass

America and Hawai'i as a young man, founding a newspaper there (*The Polynesian*, 1840-48), deciding then to move to Europe in 1851, living in Florence from 1852. In addition to collecting the «primitivi» and «Old Masters» in his great collection of paintings[41], for which he is best known, Jarves collected textiles and Chinese porcelain[42]. He also formed a by now very well-known Murano glass collection ranging from the 16th to the 19th century[43] that grew from 50 to 300 items by the time it was accepted by the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1881. In his article on *Venetian Glass of Murano*, published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (January 1882), Jarves explicitly explained the principles of his gift to the Metropolitan Museum, principles[44] which are very near to those of Isabella Stewart Gardner, Henry Clay Frick, Pierpont Morgan, the Havemeyers, the Cone sisters, the donors to, or founders of, great museums in the USA. Jarves's preoccupation was with the lack of art in America, and with the idea that donors could help to enrich museums:

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per year. It was open 24 hours a day. By the 1880s it declined, due to the growth of new enterprises where oil had been found.

[41] In 1880 Jarves persuaded one of the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum, Cornelius Vanderbilt, to buy some of his paintings and to donate them to the Metropolitan Museum, see Rudoe 2002: 312. On the catalogue of the «Vanderbilt collection of drawings in the Eastern Galleries» of the Metropolitan Museum, on the origin of Jarves's collection in Count Alessandro Maggiori's collection, on Jarves's additions, on the misatttributions, and on James W. Stillman's repeated attacks against Jarves, see Gardner 1947: April, 215.

[42] Hollister 1964: 5. Textiles went to Wellesley College, porcelain to Detroit, Hollister 1964:18.

[43] Rudoe 2002: 305. On Luigi Palma di Cesnola's doubts on accepting Jarves's glass donation or not, seeing it as a "lever to make money", see Dean 2015: 24. See also Steegmuller 1951: 278.

[44] Jarves advocated the necessity of art and museums in America as early as 1861, in his book, *Art Studies: the "Old Masters" of Italy; Painting* (Jarves 1861), a book dedicated to Charles Eliot Norton. Jarves wrote: «The primary mission of art is the instruction and enjoyment of the people. Hence, its first duty is to make our public buildings and palaces as instructive and enjoyable as possible. They should be pleasant places, full of attractive beauty and eloquent teachings» (12). Art must not be the property of few rich people, but must be proffered «freely to the public» (13). He then continues: «The feeling for it [art] being awakened, museums, to illustrate the technical and historical progress, and galleries to exhibit its master-works, become indispensable» (13). Jarves goes on to examine the development of the National Gallery in London. Museums did not really start until the 1870s in the USA, with some exceptions (such as the Rembrandt Peale Museum in Baltimore, which opened in 1815).

> In advocating art museums in America, and pointing out to the public how they might be best formed according to the genius of our popular institutions, I have long urged that individuals of means and knowledge, either directly or by competent agents, would undertake the formation of collections in some special department of art on a systematic plan, which should effectively illustrate it as far as is possible for public benefit, rather than simply to acquire and hoard for private pride or enjoyment[45].

In this article Jarves also explained how he started his glass collection («Chance at first threw in my way a few specimens of the earlier Venetian glass» 177), continuing it with the «idea of attempting to obtain a sufficient number to fairly illustrate the various types which have given celebrity to Venice in this line from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth inclusive» (177), through the flourishing of this art, its decline, and its revival in his own time.

If the beginning of his collection was due to «chance», in his subsequent efforts Jarves was helped by Abate Vincenzo Zanetti, who apparently advised him on the glass he was buying and even sold him some duplicates from the Murano museum[46]. This was possible, according to Jarves, thanks to «Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, who prepared the descriptive catalogues of the glass in the South Kensington Museum, and of the Slade collection in the British Museum»[47].

And of course, for Jarves, the Salviati company was also essential.

As might be expected, in his 1882 article, after sketching the history of glass in Murano, and underlining the decadence of the art, identifying it with the death of Giuseppe Briati in 1772, Jarves referred to the revival of Murano glass effected by Avv. Antonio Salviati:

> The fall of the Republic gave the death blow to the industry, which virtually became a lost art until 1838, when signori Bupolin[48]

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[45] Jarves 1882: 177-190 (digital version).

[46] McNab 1960: 92.

[47] Jarves 1882: 187.

[48] On Domenico Bussolin, Pietro Bigaglia, Lorenzo Radi see Barovier 1978: 8-9; Barovier 1982a: 184. On Bussolin's production and his relationship with the Museo see *La Voce di Murano*, anno XIII, n. 14, 30 luglio 1879, pp. 55-56. In 1838 Bussolin produced filigree glass again. Pietro Bigaglia actually experimented later, in 1845, producing brightly

> [Bussolin], Bigaglia, Toni [Tosi?], Radis [Radi], and others sought to re-establish it, with, however, indifferent success. It was not until 1864 that any serious attempt with sufficient capital was made to revive the artistic manufacture of glass at Murano on its ancient scale. Assisted by several English gentlemen, Dr. Salviati formed his first company for this purpose, which, after becoming successfully established, divided into two – that which now goes by his name, and the Venezia-Murano Company, under the auspices of Sir Henry Layard and Sir William Drake, Signor Castellani being the able director. These companies had in reality to begin anew, and feel their way backward to the old artistic forms and skill»[49].

Jarves's indications may not be quite exact, as Avv. Antonio Salviati (1816-1890) began his mosaic company («Salviati dott. Antonio») in 1859[50], but did not succeed in launching «soffiati ad uso antico, come le filigrane e i vetri decorati», at least until 1866[51], while he had been successful in the production of mosaics when he opened his stabilimento in Campo S. Vio. In 1866 Salviati opened a glass-work in Murano in Palazzo da Mula, with some English capitals («Salviati & C.»), which in 1872 became «The Venice and Murano Glass and Mosaic Company Limited, (Salviati & C.)», employing some of the best glassmakers, such as Antonio Seguso and Giovanni Barovier[52].

Salviati exhibited at the Florence 1861 exhibition, at the London 1862 exhibition, at the Venice Industrial exposition of 1863, at the 1st

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colored filigree glass (9). On Bigaglia's production of colored glass see the laudatory article (by Zanetti) in *La Voce di Murano*, anno XIII, n. 15, 15 agosto 1879, pp. 59-60. Lorenzo Radi's experiments took place in 1856 (ib., p. 9). On Radi see Zanetti's appreciation in *La Voce di Murano*, anno XIV, n. 1, 15 gennaio 1880, pp. 1-2. «Toni» might be (?) a misprint for Antonio Tosi, who exhibited his works at the 1864 «Prima Esposizione Vetraria di Murano», ib., p. 11. Radi produced chalcedony glass (Barovier 1982a: 188). Bussolin was also the author of a *Guida alle fabbriche vetrarie di Murano* (1842), which was also translated into French, Dorigato 2006: 22.

[49] Jarves 1882: 184-185.

[50] The address was Dorsoduro 731, i.e. the San Vio building. See Mariacher in Barovier 1982b: 6. Salviati first opened a showroom at 431 Oxford Street, and in 1868 «a much more extensive gallery was opened at 30 St James's Street», see Liefkes 1994: 286-287.

[51] Liefkes 1994: 286; Barovier 1978: 11.

[52] The project had been conceived by Zanetti and the mayor Colleoni, Barovier 1982a: 203.

Esposizione vetraria muranese (at Murano) in 1864[53], and at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, with great success, after opening a showroom in London in 431 Oxford Street.

It was in 1877 that the break between Salviati and Sir Henry Layard took place, creating different companies.

And here we have come to the most important figure among the *foresti* we have mentioned, that of Austen Henry Layard, the famous discoverer of Niniveh, the Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid (1869-1877), the British ambassador to Constantinople (1877-1880), and finally the great collector of paintings, who exhibited in his Palazzo Cappello (bought in 1874), near Rialto, on an easel in the central drawing room, the wonderful *Mehmet II* by Gentile Bellini, purchased, as the legend goes, by Sir Henry, upon stepping out of a gondola. Layard *was* one of the protagonists in the revival of Murano glass in the 19th century. While the figure of Layard has been studied, the reasons for his seceding from Salviati are perhaps not quite clear. Lady Layard's (Fig. 7) diary unfortunately does not help us very much: the first entry in her diary referring to Salviati is from London, dated 3 April 1869, from Grafton Street:

> At 2 he [Henry] & I went driving first to National Gallery to meet Boxall as H[enr]y had to arrange with him ab[ou]t the re-hanging of his pictures. To Phillips where he bought me an opal ring. To call at the Deanery. We found Lady A. Stanley at home. To Salviati where we chose glass & met Messrs Rate[54] & Drake & to call on Mrs. Rate.

William Drake had contributed British capitals to Salviati's enterprise in 1866[55] («Salviati & Co.»), together with Layard himself. It

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[53] Barovier 1982b: 7-8. On the Museum of Salviati Glass which was housed in the Palazzo Semitecolo see Barovier 2013, with a passionate introduction by Anna Tedeschi (one of the heirs of Salviati-Camerino).

[54] Lachlan Mackintosh Rate had been a school-fellow of Layard and remained a friend, see Layard 1903: I, 42. Mr. Rate too provided capital, together with Layard and Drake, and with William Edward Quentell, Charles Sommers, William Fite, see Barr 2008: 26. Rate was also one of the directors of the Company in the 1880s, Barr 2008: 115, note 104, with Layard and Drake. Sarpellon 1989: 14 also mentions Drake, but no other purveyor of capital.

[55] On 22 December 1866, changing its name from «Società Anonima per Azioni

was just a few months after Lady Layard's 3 April 1869 annotation, on 26 July 1869, that Layard was attacked in Parliament[56] for having chosen Salviati's firm to provide a mosaic in the main hall of Parliament. An M.P., Mr. Raikes, accused him of having given his shares of the Salviati firm to one Mr. Clark, in order not to appear as one of the shareholders, and of having ordered the mosaic without following the standard procedure. Layard defended himself with energy, protesting that his only intention had been to bring good art to Britain, and that everything had been done according to the rules. The result of this political fight was in fact the decision to name Layard Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid, thus cutting short his political career in the British Parliament.

Lady Layard's entries of 1869 do not comment on this political attack, neither do we find there any hint that might help us to understand the future break with Salviati in 1877[57].

The Layards spent several months in Venice in the 1870s, and over this decade Lady Layard's journal seems to register very good relationships with Salviati and the Murano glass-works. The Layards' guests or friends were regularly taken to San Vio and Murano: among these visitors we find Antonio Cortelazzo (1819-1903), the silversmith from Vicenza who worked the Assyrian pieces into a belt for Lady Layard (as can be seen in her portrait by V. Palmaroli) (12 September 1871)[58], the Grant-Duffs (14 September 1871), actress Adelaide Ristori (7 September 1872), beautiful Evelin Millingen Pisani, the daughter of the doctor who assisted Byron at Missolonghi, and the wife of the last of the Pisanis (11 September 1872), Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) (12 and 16

Salviati & C.» to «The Venice and Murano Glass and Mosaic Company Limited (Salviati & Co.)» See Bova 2011: I, 17.

[56] For a transcription of the debate see Hansard 1803-2005, *Official Report of Debates in Parliament*, for July 26 1869, vol.198, cc 708-20, online. For Layard's defense see also Layard 1903: II, 261-264. Layard had ordered the mosaics for the central lobby of the Parliament. See the list of the Salviati mosaics published by Barr 2008: 120-121, and 124, («Pour le palais du parlement à Westminster à Londres; La vôute du grand salon central»). Two out of four were made by Salviati. «St George was designed by Edward Poynter at a cost of 150 £, and manufactured by Salviati for 500 £. It was installed in 1870». The other mosaic was St. David, also by Poynter, finished in 1898. (*The Salviati Architectural Mosaic Data Base*)

[57] On Salviati's retrocession and separation see Bova 2011: I, 17 and Bova 2008: 150.

[58] Mamoli Zorzi 1989: 43, 78.

August 1874), the art critic who helped Sir Henry with his collection of paintings, Sir Moses Montefiore (1 July 1875), a very special guest on his way to Jerusalem, who «insisted on ordering Henry [sic] and my portrait in mosaic»[59], the painter Ricardo Madrazo (1852-1917) (29 July 1875), Blanche Clark (Lady Layard's sister, 6 June 1876), the Edens (13 June 1876), the famous creators of the Giudecca garden, and the Montalba sisters (13 June 1876), all four of them artists. Visitors such as Robert Browning and his sister were taken to see the glass-blowing (25 October 1880).

When the Layards left Venice on 27 July 1876, they went to «take leave of Salviati's», who the next day also saw them off at the station with Castellani. Relationships therefore seem to have been good at that time.

No apparent reason for the break seems to surface in the diary, even if we can find a certain animosity in a much later annotation of Lady Layard, who, at a dinner at Aldermarton Court, on 14 May 1882, persuaded the person sitting next to her at the table, Mr. Price, that: «he must no longer go to Salviati of whom he said he had hitherto bought».

Over this period of time, relationships with Abate Zanetti[60] also seem to have been very good. On 15 September 1871, after a visit to the glassworks with friends, the Layards went to the Museum with Abate Zanetti, and on September 18 they went back to Murano in the afternoon, where they «had some new treats made of saltcellars &c & I then went to another establishment to see the glass beads made. We saw the Abbé Zanetti & took leave of him»[61]. Relationships with Abate Zanetti do not seem to have deteriorated after Salviati's dismissal: on 31 August 1880 Abate Zanetti paid a visit to the Layards and «stayed to breakfast with us – He had come in from Murano to see us & to see a curious glass miniature altar (old) wh[ich] is on sale & Henry thought it w[oul]d be good for the Museo at Murano». In 1881 Layard gave

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[59] On 28 and 29 July 1875 «A man from Salviati came to make a sketch of me for the mosaic portrait».

[60] The Layards were also on good terms with the Venice Prefect Torelli (1810-1887), Prefect of Venice from 5 May 1867 to 28 July 1872.

[61] On that afternoon the Layards were shown Palazzo Spinelli, but found it too dark and did not choose to buy it.

a Roman vase from Hadrianopolis to Zanetti's Museum[62], two more Roman glass objects, and two Spanish ones[63].

On 12 September 1871 they met Signor Torelli in the Piazza, and the next day Torelli took them on a special visit to the Ducal Palace and to the treasure of St Mark's where they saw

> all kinds of beautiful things of silver & crystal & precious stones. Especially an old Greek or Roman glass bowl with an Arabic inscription inside wh[ich] Henry pointed out as very curious. He thought it undoubtedly ancient Roman or Greek & that it had been in the hands of the Arabs who had added the inscription & burnt it in.

No doubt Layard knew a great deal about glass, as he had found some ancient glass in his excavations of Niniveh and Babylon:

> In this chamber were found two entire glass bowls, with fragments of others. The glass, like all others that come from the ruins, is covered with pearly scales, which, on being removed, leave prismatic, opal-like colours of the greatest brilliancy, showing, under different lights, the most varied tints. This is a well-known effect of age arising from the decomposition of certain component parts of the glass. These bowls are probably of the same period as the small bottle found in the ruins of the northwest palace during the previous excavations, and now in the British Museum. On this highly interesting relic is the name of Sargon, with his title of King of Assyria, in cuneiform characters, and the figure of a lion. We are therefore able to fix its date to the latter part of the seventh century B.C. It is consequently the most ancient known specimen of *transparent* glass[64].

During these years some visits to Salviati were very special, such as on 1 August 1874, when the Layards saw:

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[62] As Zanetti gratefully wrote in *La Voce di Murano*, anno XV, n. 23, 30 novembre 1881, describing the object and appreciating its perfect state of conservation, p. 97.

[63] Zanetti in *La Voce di Murano*, anno XV, n. 24, 15 dicembre 1881, p. 103.

[64] The "old Greek or Roman glass bowl" mentioned by Layard, was in fact a medieval imitation of a classic vase, "Constantinople art, XI c.", as indicated in *Il Tesoro di San Marco* 1971, pp. 77-78, cat. n.83, ill. 67-68. The inscription is not arabic but kufic. Apparently Layard was not the only scholar to mistake the vase as classic (Hahnloser: 77). I owe this identification to Rosa Barovier, who also sent me the article regarding this bowl by Whitehouse, Pilosi, and Wypyski 2000: 85-96. The second quotation is in Jarves 1854: 16.

> the great Cartoon just arrived from Berlin painted by Werner, which is to be reproduced in mosaic for the Franco-Prussian war monument to be raised at Berlin. It is very fine & 40 metres long ...

This was the cartoon by painter Anton von Werner (1843-1915)[65], designed for the hall of the Berlin Victory Column for the Franco-Prussian war, originally in the Koenigsplatz, and since 1939 at the Grosser Stern. On 7 June 1882 the Layards were in Berlin and went to see the monument:

> We walked to see the Franco Prussian War monument wh[ich] is a very ugly thing but has V. & Murano Co mosaics on it wh[ich] look very well.

Sometimes the Layards thought of new patterns or objects, as on 20 July 1874, when they «Went to Murano & invented new jelly glasses».

The break with Salviati took place in 1877[66], but unfortunately Lady Layard's diary does not help us: from January 1869 to March 1877 the Layards were in Madrid (as mentioned, he was the Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain), and after being called to London, in April 1877 they were in Constantinople, where Sir Henry was the British ambassador. They stayed either in Therapia or in Constantinople until June 1880, even if they did make at least one visit to Venice in 1879[67].

After the break with Salviati, in the 1880s the Layards continued to be interested in the glassworks and the mosaics, and Lady Layard's diary continues to document the visits to Murano, sometimes with Sir William Drake (September and October, 1880). Layard continued to be interested in «the restorations of the mosaics done by the Venice & Murano Company» in St. Mark's (28 September 1880)[68]:

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[65] For a description of the Column and its mosaics see Barr 2008: 50-53.

[66] Barr quotes a letter by Layard to Lady Easlake where Layard wrote about Salviati: «always conspiring and intriguing – jealous, grasping, unscrupolous, and lying», Barr 2008: 54.

[67] *La Voce di Murano*, anno XIII, n. 8, 30 April 1879, reported Layard's visit to Murano: «S.E. Layard, ministro di Sua Maestà Britannica a Costantinopoli, nella sua breve dimora a Venezia visitò … nei giorni 24 e 29 le officine della Compagnia suddetta [Venezia-Murano], prendendo, come n'è stato sempre nobile ed illuminato sostenitore, il più vivo interesse per i nostri lavori» p. 34.

[68] The Layards went to St Mark's to «examine the restorations of the mosaics done

fortunately the Layards did not meet Ruskin until 11 October 1888[69], even if they knew his books, as Ruskin was a harsh critic of the new mosaics done by Salviati in St Mark's[70]. In 1879 Ruskin wrote:

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by the V. & M. Co.»; the visit was done before the scaffoldings were taken down. A few days before, on September 23, the Layards looked at the mosaics in the Torcello museum: «some of the old mosaics which were renewed by our Glass Company». Two years later, on 24 October 1882: «At 2 we all went out to St Marks to go up in the galleries that we might see the mosaics better and the places that are being restored. Formerly the restorations were done by our stabilimento but the Gov[ernmen]t has now got a man from Rome & he has the mosaic taken down bit by bit & the missing pieces restored wh[ich] perhaps is a good way but it will take centuries to do it all – as 5 men work only. I could not stand as long as the others so I went down & sat in the church till they had seen all the galleries." The change in the restoration policy took place after the publication of Alvise Piero Zorzi's *Osservazioni intorno ai ristauri interni ed esterni della Basilica di San Marco* in 1877, with a preface by John Ruskin, and the international movement against radical restoration which developed after that date. As late as 25 July 1912, the year she died, Mrs. Layard was interested in the mosaics restoration: «Went out again to St Marks where I had to meet Mr Wilson to see the works of restoring the mosaics in St Marks Church. The Westend gallery is all boarded off & the mosaics are being taken down, restored & will be replaced when the roofing which is now 12 cent. out of the perpendicular has been put right. A cast is made of the sections of mosaics with soft paper. This is painted in water colour & a faithful reproduction is thus obtained by which the originals can be repaired & replaced. This work is a slow one & it will be several years before it is finished».

[69] 11 October 1888: «I had never seen him [Ruskin] before; he is a weak looking frail old gentleman with a strong head but very much bent & round shouldered. He expressed himself very much delighted with our pictures – & said that our Cima was the best in Europe & entirely beautiful. He seems in exceptionally good humour, & said that he considered the restorations of the façade of the Ducal Palace were very well done & one could not select which of the capitals were new. He did not even object to the steamers on the Grand Canal fully recognising their utility». Henry A. Layard also described Ruskin's visit in a letter to Sir William Gregory, see Dearden 1999: 164, note 249.

[70] On the destruction of mosaics and replacement with new ones in San Marco (and Torcello) see Treadgold 1999: 467-513. Saccardo, in charge of the restoration of St Marks, wrote: «…l'attento osservatore ed il giusto apprezzatore delle cose si augura di veder scomparire que' prodotti dell'ignavia, della grettezza e dell'ignoranza […]. Il tratto più esteso e più biasimevole sotto ogni rapporto di questo genere di manomissioni … è quello che fu eseguito nel funesto periodo 1867-1880 dalla società che tanti danni cagionò anche ai mosaici della basilica». Quoted in Andreescu 1999: 471. Salviati seems to have been interested in San Marco and its mosaics as early as 1859, but his official work was in the period 1867-1880. The contract was finished fifteen years before it was due, Treadgold 1999: 469. In February 1860 Salviati received a commission for the mosaics to be realized according to the plan of Austrian painter de Blaas, Treadgold 1999: 475, with the support of Meduna. Andreescu

> the mosaics are dashed to powder and Messr. Salviati and Co's put in their place. (Imagine an illuminated missal torn to pieces and burned for the sake of employing lawyer's clerks to rewrite and coachmakers heralds to repaint!)[71].

In some annotations we find a sense of identification with the Murano glassworks as when Lady Layard wrote:

8 May 1883: «We went first to the Vetreria of common glass – & after going over it all – we went on to the Venezia & Murano furnaces & there the party seated themselves all in chairs to watch the working».

After serving tea to their guest of honor, the Crown Princess of Germany, Victoria, the daughter of Queen Victoria, and the future Empress of Germany:

> … the party went to the next furnaces to see the experiment of aventurino taken out. It was a large block in the crucible & was cold. It was taken out & broken before the P[rince]ss & pronounced to be a great success. It appears that the secret was formerly only known to one man in Murano who sold it very dear & now our Pancianello has found it out for our Co[mpany] but the result c[oul]d not be told till the block was broken & examined.

«Our» Pancianello and «our» Company seem to underline the sense of identification I mentioned.

Pancianella (rather than Pancianello) was Vincenzo Moretti, as identified by R. Barovier[72].

In some cases Lady Layard ordered special objects, as on 15 October 1890, when we «Went on to Stab[ilimento] Venezia & Murano to order a glass tazza for our 'still life'». Lady Layard in fact both painted and modeled clay, and that morning she had been painting a "still life" with the help of painter Mr. Dyer (in the morning she had been «to Rietti's & bought a bit of old silver & dark blue glass»).

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also quotes a document of November 1863, by Salviati, where he explains his theory of restoration. Old mosaics should be subtituted with «copie puntuali».

[71] Letter of John Ruskin to F. W. Pullen, Secretary of the Ruskin Society, 24-11-79, quoted in Hewison 2009: 382.

[72] Vincenzo Moretti (1835-1901), a technician of Salviati, see Barovier 1982a: 211. There is his portrait in mosaic, made by himself, see Barovier 1982a: 198, 213. On Vincenzo Moretti see also Barr 2009: 27.

Enid Layard continued to be a major shareholder of the company, even after Sir Henry's death in 1894.

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The revival of Murano glass in the 19th century raises some questions as regards its definition: even if the subtitle of *La Voce di Murano* was «Giornale dell'*industria* vetraria»[73], and the set up of furnaces did share in the benefits of industrial progress, the single, hand-made glass was surely the work of an artisan or artist. Should the glass produced by hand in the Murano furnaces be considered a hand-made product or should it be considered as an industrial product? The actual production of the single glass maker was surely a hand-made object.

The passion for glass objects can in fact be seen within the more general revival of the taste for hand-made artifacts – in contrast with machine-made objects – that was part of the neo-Gothic revival, whose most influential representative was John Ruskin. The cult of the crafts of medieval artisans, who were supposed to enjoy what they were doing, in opposition to the workmen's repetitive industrial work, generated a renewed passion for the decorative arts, which developed into the «Arts and Crafts movement», born in the 1850s in Oxford with William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, who then discovered Ruskin's works and the Pre-Raphaelites.

The passion for glass is to be seen together with that for the decorative arts, and specifically for lace – and in fact the Scuola di merletto di Burano was founded in 1872 by Andriana Marcello, with the support of the Queen of Italy, Queen Margherita, in the same period in which there was the revival of Murano glass[74].

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[73] *La Voce di Murano*, founded by Abate Zanetti, gave news of innovative industrial processes, such as «Tempera del vetro e dei prodotti ceramici a mezzo del vapore» or «L'uso dei forni a gaz nella fabbricazione del vetro per finestra», or «Applicazioni tecniche» (all in various 1877 numbers).

[74] Mrs. Bronson published an article, *The revival of Burano lace*, in *Century Magazine*, XXIII January 1882, with the pen name of Catharine Cornaro. Mrs. Bronson had a house in Asolo, where Queen Caterina Cornaro had been exiled and had kept court with Pietro Bembo, the author of *Gli asolani*, printed by Aldo Manuzio in 1505. The *Century* illustrations were made by the Montalbas and Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne. Lady Layard translated into English G.M. Urbani de Gheltof's treatise on lace, *A Technical History of the Manufacture of Venetian Lace*, Ongania, 1882, see McCauley *et al.* 2004: 219.

It is no wonder then that Ruskin, in the second volume of *The Stones of Venice*, should write about glass when he approached the problem of the «division of labour», or more precisely, of what makes man a slave to labour, rather than a creator:

> 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 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[75].

In giving the three principles that are necessary not to make a man a slave, Ruskin gives glass beads as an example of his first tenet: «1. Never encourage the manufacture of any article not absolutely necessary, in the production of which Invention has no share». Glass-beads are the result of a mechanical cutting of glass rods. But, he adds, «glass cups and vessels may become the subjects of exquisite invention; and if in buying these we pay for the invention, that is to say, for the beautiful forms or colour, or engraving, and not for mere finish of execution, we are doing good to humanity»[76]. Ruskin then goes on to compare the perfect modern glass manufactured in England with the «old Venice glass», explaining how the old Venetian glass was the creation of an artist. The English glass maker only thinks of «accurately matching his patterns», 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 lip without a new fancy to it».

Ruskin again picks up the beauty of glass, its main assets, i.e. ductility and transparency, at the end of vol. II of *The Stones*, in an Appendix on «Modern painting on glass». As the qualities of any material must be respected

> 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.

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[75] Ruskin 1925: II, 163.

[76] Ruskin 1925: II, 164.

One may resent Ruskin's language, but no doubt the writer was celebrating the beauty of hand-made Venetian glass, just as so many travellers and visitors had done before him. Among them the British traveller Coryat, who in his *Coryat's Crudities,* published in 1611, had celebrated glass-blowing:

> I passed in a Gondola to pleasant Murano, distant about a little mile from the citie, where they make their delicate Venice glasses, so famous over al Christendome for the incomparable finenes thereof, and in one of their working houses made a glasse my selfe[77].

Maybe Coryat was only boasting, but his enthusiasm is very real.

* * *

Machine-made and hand-made glass seem to merge in the revival of Murano glass, as, if in the blown glass objects it was man's art that prevailed, in the mosaic preparation some machines were used. Salviati's Stabilimento in San Vio seems to be the place where both techniques met, as we learn from American writer William Dean Howells's very well-known description of his visit. After dwelling at length on the hand-made ornamental gold chain in the Ruga Vecchia at Rialto (again a form of handicraft), Howells proceeds to describe Salviati's place:

> An infinitely more important art, in which Venice was distinguished a thousand years ago, has recently been revived there by Signor Salviati, an enthusiast in mosaic painting. His establishment is on the Grand Canal, not far from the Academy, and you might go by the old palace quite unsuspicious of the ancient art stirring with new life in its breast[78]. «A. Salviati, Avvocato», is the legend of the bell-pull, and you do

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[77] «Most of their principall matter whereof they make their glasses is a kinde of earth which is brought thither by Sea from Drepanum a goodly haven towne of Sicilie, where Aeneas buried his aged father Anchises. This Murano is a very delectable and populous place, having many faire buildings both publique and private. And divers very pleasant gardens: the first that inhabited it were those of the towne Altinum bordering upon the Sea coast, who in the time of the Hunnes invasion of Italy, repaired hither with their wives and children, for the more securitie of their lives, as other borderers also did at the same time to those Islands, where Venice now standeth. Here did I eate the best Oysters that ever I did in all my life. They were indeede but little, something lesse then our Wainflete Oysters about London, but as green as a leeke, and gratissimi saporis & succi». *Coryat's Crudities*: 1, 387.

[78] The mosaic facade was started in 1868, see Barr 2008: 31-34. Therefore the mosaic decoration was not there when Howells was a consul in Venice, 1861-65.

not by any means take this legal style for that of the restorer of a neglected art, and a possessor of forgotten secrets in gilded glass and «smalts», as they term the small delicate rods of vitreous substance, with which the wonders of the art are achieved. But inside of the palace are some two hundred artisans at work, – cutting the smalts and glass into the minute fragments of which the mosaics are made, grinding and smoothing these fragments, polishing the completed works, and reproducing, with incredible patience and skill, the lights and shadows of the pictures to be copied.

You first enter the rooms of those whose talent distinguishes them as artists, and in whose work all the wonderful neatness and finish and long-suffering toil of the Byzantines are visible, as well as original life and inspiration alike impossible and profane to the elder mosaicists. Each artist has at hand a great variety of the slender stems of smalts already mentioned, and breaking these into minute fragments as he proceeds, he inserts them in the bed of cement prepared to receive his picture, and thus counterfeits in enduring mineral the perishable work of the painter.

In other rooms artisans are at work upon various tasks of *marqueterie*, – table-tops, album-covers, paper-weights, brooches, pins and the like, – and in others they are sawing the smalts and glass into strips, and grinding the edges. Passing through yet another room, where the finished mosaic-works – of course not the pictorial mosaics – are polished by machinery, we enter the store-room, where the crowded shelves display blocks of smalts and glass of endless variety of color. By far the greater number of these colors are discoveries or improvements of the venerable mosaicist Lorenzo Radi, who has found again the Byzantine secrets of counterfeiting, in vitreous paste, aventurine (gold stone), onyx, chalcedony, malachite, and other natural stones, and who has been praised by the Academy of Fine Arts in Venice for producing mosaics even more durable in tint and workmanship than those of the Byzantine artists.

In an upper story of the palace a room is set apart for the exhibition of the many beautiful and costly things which the art of the establishment produces. Here, besides pictures in mosaic, there are cunningly inlaid tables and cabinets, caskets, rich vases of chalcedony mounted in silver, and delicately wrought jewelry, while the floor is covered with a mosaic pavement ordered for the Viceroy of Egypt. There are here, moreover, to be seen the designs furnished by the Crown Princess of Prussia for the mosaics of the Queen's Chapel[79] at Windsor. These, like all other pictures

[79] This was the Wolsey Chapel, which became the Albert Memorial Chapel when the

> and decorations in mosaic, are completed in the establishment on the Grand Canal, and are afterward put up as wholes in the places intended for them[80].

In 1883 the Howellses went back to Venice and on trying to go and see the apartment they had lived in in the Palazzo Giustinian dei Vescovi, they found it had become a glass factory[81]. It was probably at the time «Moise Dalla Torre / Antichità»[82] (Fig. 8).

Salviati was – oddly – seen as a sort of Paradise by Daniel Sargent Curtis:

> … Heaven must be a sort of Salviati rooms & storeys lined & hung with gorgeous breakables[83] .

Queen's husband died in 1861. Victoria ordered mosaics for this chapel in 1862, and more in 1864. See Barr 2008: 18.

[80] Howells 1907: 231-233.

[81] Going back to Venice eighteen years after his first stay, Howells went to see his previous homes, i.e. Casa Falier, where he was amiably received by a young Austrian painter and his wife, a couple as young as the Howellses had been when first in Venice; he also went to see Palazzo Giustinian dei Vescovi, where he had spent the last years of his first stay, but in this case he was disappointed as: «We were as readily admitted, but when we stood in our parlor on the Grand Canal we found ourselves in the show-room of a glass and mosaic fabric, where it was no great comfort to buy a paper-weight for a souvenir. We could not be allowed to see our living rooms, either the chamber with the gilded ducal roses in the ceiling, or the stately kitchen with its spectacular coppers about the walls; for these places were now occupied by workmen busy at the craft».

Howells here stops the description and wonders: «But what would have been the use? Neither Giulia nor Piero would have been eating snails from a large bowl, and drinking the inky wine of Conegliano at the kitchen table», where Howells had described his infant daughter sitting in the middle during the servants' snail banquet. Howells 1907: 416. See Mamoli Zorzi 2012: 80-91. On p. 89 the photo of the publicity of the glassworks in the Palazzo Giustinian dei Vescovi on the Grand Canal («Fabrique». «Lustres/Perles/Negres»).

[82] The inscription is still partly legible on the Campo degli Squelini façade of the palace. See also Francesca Bisutti De Riz e Maria Celotti, *Illazioni su una scala: Lady Helen d'Abernon a Palazzo Giustinian dei Vescovi*, in Mamoli Zorzi 2012: 124. In the nearby Palazzo Bernardo on the Grand Canal, Salviati, after the split of 1877, had one of his venues («Verreries artistiques, meubles sculptés, lustres, miroirs, mosaïques»), see Mariacher in Barovier 1982b: 12.

[83] Letter of D.S. Curtis to his sister Mary, from Venice, 7 July 1879. Curtis. Marciana, Rari Tursi 635 1/1.15.

Other authors wrote paeans of various kinds to Venetian glass: one of the most curious is the description of a glass gown made for actress Georgia Cayvan at the Chicago World Fair of 1893. The famous actress's «quick eye was caught by an exhibit of spun and woven glass lamp shades» and asked whether it was possible to have a glass dress: «in a few minutes she exacted … a promise not only to spin her many yards of glass cloth for a white evening costume, but she obtained … the exclusive right to wear glass cloth on the stage». One must add that this did not happen with representatives of Murano glass-works, but at the Chicago Fair pavilion built by The Libbey Glass Co., which was also the firm that asked famous journalist Kate Field to write The Drama of Glass[84], where this episode comes from. However, apparently glass thread was also made in Murano by Jacopo Tommasi, who produced «some very very fine threads to be woven into material». La Voce di Murano (anno XII, n. 18, lunedì 30 settembre 1878) also announced:

«Cappellini in vetro per signora» (this is the title of the short article):

> …nelle vetrine del bel negozio di chincaglierie e di altri oggetti eleganti, alla Città di Nuova York, sotto le Procuratorie nuove, vennero esposti alcuni eleganti cappellini da Signora, in vetro filato. E' un novello tentativo ardito del sig. Jacopo Tommasi, che è il vero fondatore dei lavori in vetro filato … Ora egli ebbe l'ardito concepimento di

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[84] Kate Field, *The Drama of Glass*, published by The Libbey Glass Co., no date (but 1894). The book offers a history of glass, including Venetian glass, up to the development of the Libbey Glass Company. This company was founded by William L. Libbey, a clerk of Deming Jarves's, who sold him his factory in 1855. Libbey filed an application to be the only glass company at the Chicago World Fair, obtained it, and had a building ready by the opening of the fair. The success was immense: «From the opening to the closing of the big front door two million people found their way to this glass house». «With eyes and mouths wide open, thousands stood daily around the circular factory watching a hundred skilled artisans at work. They looked at the big central furnace, in which sand, oxide of lead, potash, saltpetre and nitrate of soda underwent vitrification; they saw it taken out of the pot a plastic mass, which, through long, hollow iron tubes, was blown and rolled and twisted into things of beauty. Here was a champagne glass, there was a flowerbowl; now came a decanter, followed by a jewel basket. A few minutes later jugs and goblets and vases galore passed from the nimble fingers of the artisans to the annealing oven below». At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition there was also a pavilion of the Venice and Murano Glass and Mosaics Company, in the shape of a Venetian Gothic palace with a lion on top, see figure 23, p. 80 in Barr.

> utilizzare il vetro filato a treccie nella confezionatura dei cappellini da signora…[85].

Finally, the taste for applied arts is also documented by the new subjects which painters chose for their Venetian scenes: *impiraperle* (beadstringers)[86] or lace makers became one of the favorite subjects of Italian and foreign painters, most of whom frequented the salons of Mrs. Bronson or of Mrs. Curtis which we mentioned at the beginning.

We find paintings not far from the «veriste» scenes painted by Ettore Tito, in the wake of Giacomo Favretto: Whistler painted *The Impiraperle* (*The beastringers*, 1880, pastel, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington); Robert-Frederick Blum, too, painted *The Impiraperle* (oil on canvas, 1887-88 Cincinnati Art Museum), finishing the painting first in the studio of Charles Frederick Ulrich in Venice and then in New York, with an American model for the girl on the right (Barovier 2006: 236); Charles Frederick Ulrich (Barovier 2006: 242, black and white image) painted *Glass Blowers of Murano* (1886, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gallery 764), and he also painted *Glass Blowers* (Fig. 9) (1883, Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico), *The Glass Engraver* (Fig. 10) (1883, oil on panel, the Crystal Bridge Museum of American Art, Bentoville, Arkansas) and painted a number of glass vases – not the porcelain vases of orientalist origin, like the two famous ones in Sargent's *The Daughters of Edward Boit* – in his *Moment Musical* (Fig. 11) (1883, Fine Arts Musem, San Francisco).

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[85] *La Voce di Murano* was reprinting an article published in the *Gazzetta di Venezia* of September 5, followed by another of September 7, p. 85. The second article mentioned another place where one could find «siffatti cappellini», at Sig. C. Forlani's, in his looking-glass shop at S. Trovaso.

[86] *La voce di Murano*, anno XV, n. 7, 15 aprile 1881, gives the news of a new machine to string beads, but finds its use negative as it would «danneggiare tante povere donne, molte delle quali traggono il loro sostentamento e quello delle rispettive famiglie da questo lavoro» (p. 29). The machine is useful in producing things that are necessary, therefore helping to lower prices, but not in producing things, like beads, that are not necessary. Barovier also offers a detailed analysis of the tools the beadstringers used, some of which can be seen in the paintings: the *sessola* was the wooden tray, the *sedete* the finer linen threads and the *assete* the other threads, which were passed through very thin steel needles, 18 cm. long. The needles were then united into a fan, called *palmeta*, which was filled with the beads in the *sessola*. See Barovier 2006: 236.

Henry Alexander also painted a *Laboratory Scene* (c.1886, Metropolitan Museum), which has to do with glass, and two very interesting still lifes, *Still Life with Phoenician Glass* (Fig. 12) (oil on canvas, priv. coll.) and *Still Life with Cyprus Glass* (oil on canvas, priv. coll.). One wonders if he was inspired by Venetian glass for these canvasses, since he was in Venice more than once.

Blum also painted the *Venetian Lacemakers* (Fig. 13) (1887, oil on canvas, Cincinnati Art Musem); Sargent painted the *Impiraperle* (Fig. 14) (1880-82, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland) and the *Glassworkers* (1880-82, oil on canvas, The Art Institute of Chicago), while Anders Zorn painted *The Lacemakers* (1894, oil on canvas, priv. coll.): paintings which both opposed the 19th century tradition of a Romantic interpretation of Venice – a famous example of which could be William Etty's painting *The Bridge of Sighs* (1833-34, oil on canvas, York Art Gallery) – inspired by Byron – and the celebrative views of "major" monumental places in Venice, such as Otto Bacher's *Palazzo Ducale* (c.1880, oil on panel, priv. coll.), focusing instead on everyday life: such as the i*mpiraresse*, the lacemakers, or the *bigolanti* (water carriers), represented in Sargent's *Venetian Water Carriers* (1880-82, oil on canvas, Worcester Art Museum) and in Duveneck's *Water Carriers* (1884, oil on canvas, Smithsonian American Art Museum), and on the crafts that were being revived in Venice, also documented by photographs (Fig. 15).

The taste for the applied arts generated collections and paintings, and helped to revive interest in the Murano glass making.

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Fig.1 - An., *Mrs. Bronson*, oil on board, 1885. Private collection.

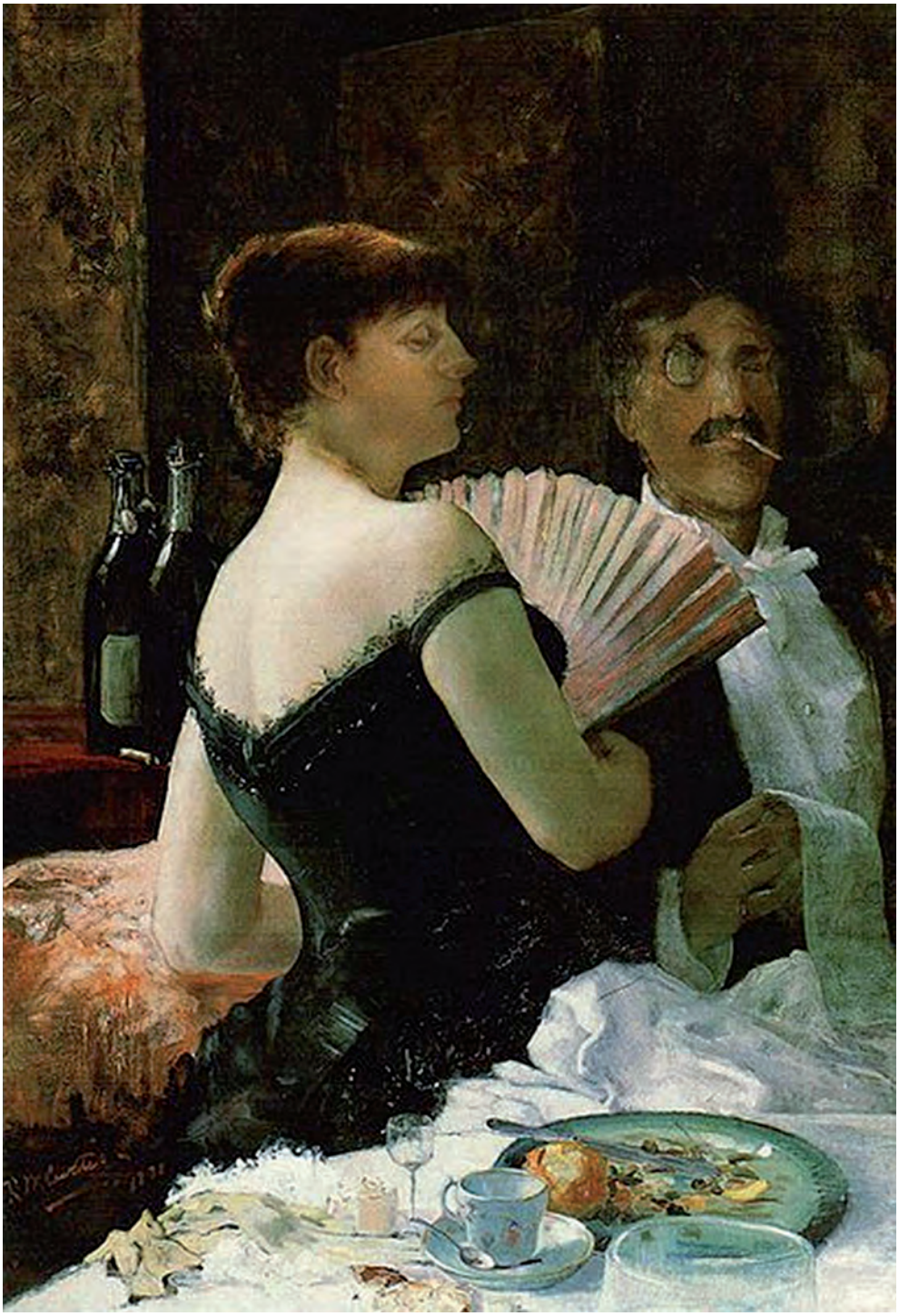

Fig. 2 - Ralph Curtis, *James McNeill Whistler at a party*, oil on canvas, 1879-80. Private collection.

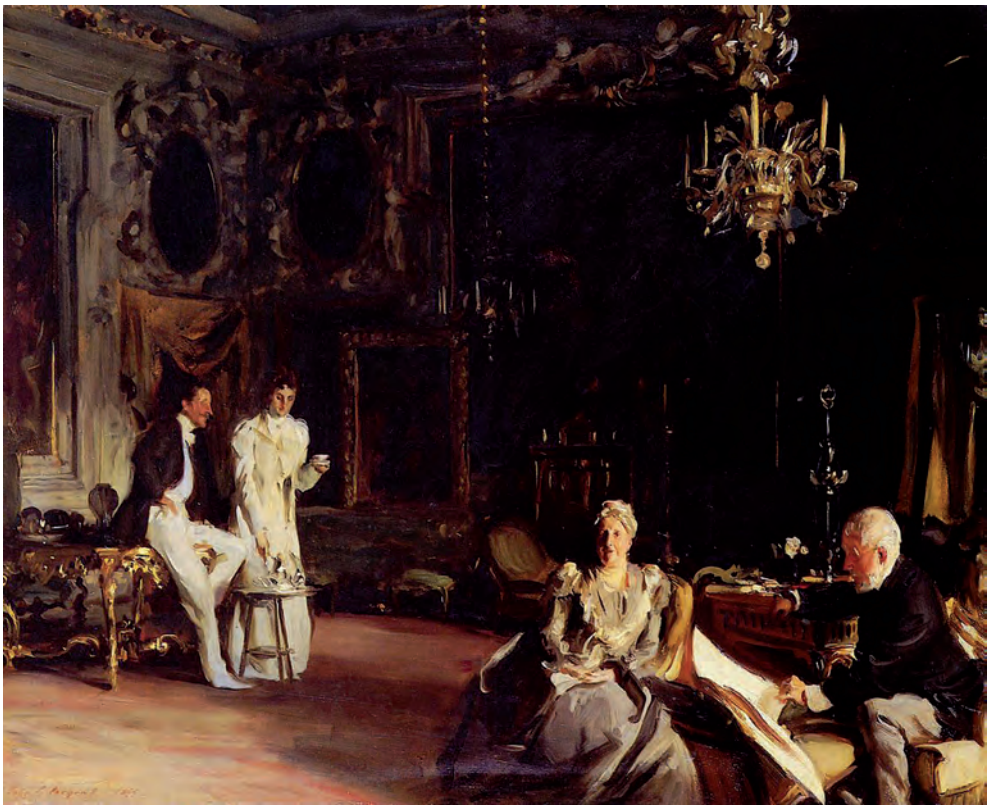

Fig. 3 - John Sargent, *An Interior in Venice*, oil on canvas, 1898. London, Royal Academy of Arts.

Fig. 4 - *Black Glass Madonna* or *Black Madonna and Child of Old Murano Glass.* Boston, The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Fig. 5 - *Enameled Glass Bottle.* Boston, The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.
Fig. 6 - *Plate with Swan* (tazza). Boston, The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Fig. 7 - Vincente Palmaroli y Gonzales, *Lady Layard,* oil on canvas, 1870. London, British Museum Society.

Fig. 8 - Detail of Palazzo Giustinian dei Vescovi: *Fabrique. Lustres, Perles, Negres.*
Fig. 9 - Charles Frederic Ulrich, *The Glass Blowers*, oil on canvas, 1883. Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce.
Fig. 10 - Charles Frederic Ulrich, *The Glass Engraver*, oil on panel, 1883. Bentonville (AR), Crystal Bridge Museum.
Fig. 11 - Charles Frederic Ulrich, *Moment Musical*, oil on panel, 1883. San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco-de Young.

Fig. 12 - Henry Alexander, *Still Life with Phoenician Glass*, oil on canvas, n.d. Private collection.
Fig. 13 - Robert Frederic Blum, *Venetian Lace Makers*, oil on canvas, 1887. Cincinnati Art Museum.

Fig. 14 - John Sargent, *Glass Workers*, oil on canvas, 1880-82. Chicago Art Institute.
Fig. 15 - Carlo Naya, *Working women* (impiraperle) *of Venice.* Venice, Naya Collection.