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Death and Rebirth in Photography: *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* by the Fratelli Alinari

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The development of photography in the nineteenth century changed the world. Early photographers were likened to magicians. Their method of revealing a facsimile of the natural world through a chemical process was received with enthusiasm and intrigue. Writers wrote about its phenomenological characteristics, artists utilized its assisting qualities in the studio, and entrepreneurs capitalized on its commoditization. As a novel item that provided a fast, cheap, and detailed rendering of the natural world, the photograph changed how societies viewed themselves, as well as how they understood different peoples with different cultures.

In studying nineteenth-century photographs and placing them in historical and political contexts, questions of one's relationship to the world inevitably arise. Such ontological questions were debated and fought over in the post-Enlightenment setting of nineteenth-century Europe that led to numerous political rebellions and revolutions. These political movements, many of which were national unification movements, happened just before, during, and immediately after the development of photography. Thus, the earliest photographs produced are beholden to proper historical and political contextualization that is the consequence of an era of geopolitical and cultural change in the nineteenth century.

In the Italian peninsula, questions of being and identity were argued in the *Risorgimento* and were included in the new visual culture that photography created. Photographs of Italy from the nineteenth century depicted unique customs, cultures, and histories from different cities and regions. But when grouped together, these photographs became the medium in which an amalgamated Italian nation could be propagated. Photograph albums that included images from Rome, Florence, and Venice were labeled as 'Italian,' while simultaneously preserving some aspects of local culture. The most common subject matter of these photographic compilations were genre images of everyday life, cityscapes showing large city squares, and art and architecture unique to schools associated with the different regions and cities.

Of the different photographic subject matters from the nineteenth century, this article will focus on photographs of architecture, specifically, the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph by the Fratelli Alinari. [Fig. 1]

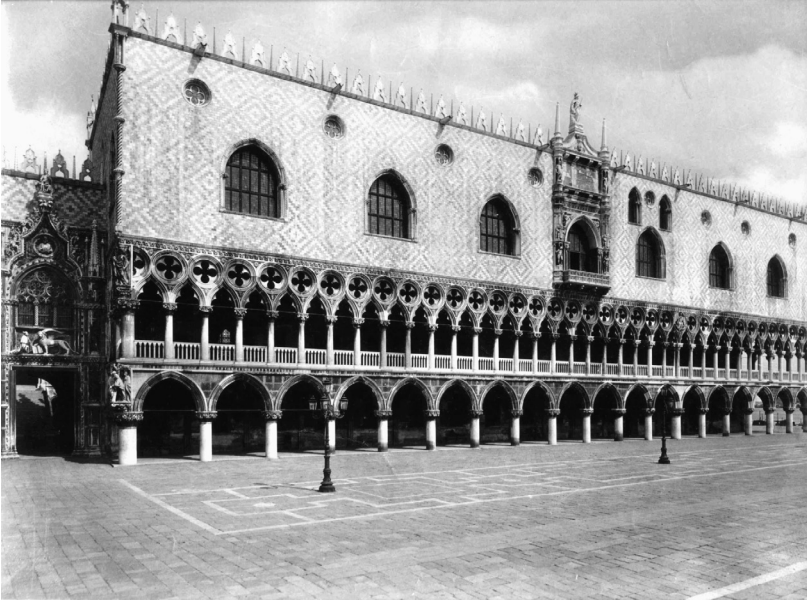


Figure 1: Fratelli Alinari, *Palazzo Ducale, Venice*, Albumen print, c. 1865–1885, Nelson Gallery Collection

In this photograph, the Palazzo Ducale is captured in isolation and is undisturbed by any life forms. Such photographs of architecture excluding figures can often be very revealing of the societies they depict. When this photograph was produced c. 1865–1885, there were two main groups found in Venice, the Venetians and the visiting tourists—middle- to upper-class Europeans and Americans who traveled to Venice as part of a developing mass tourism industry. The meaning behind *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* differed between these two groups. By engaging in an examination of the formal qualities of the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph, and by applying twentieth-century theoretical and semiotic studies of photography, my intention is to investigate the different meanings and influences this photograph had at the time it was produced. I do not endeavor to historicize the entire influence of photography on Italy during the nineteenth century. Rather, my focus is the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph, in which I use to argue that such images of architecture captured without figures embodied the death of the Republic of Venice, while simultaneously promoting an economic and cultural rebirth of Venice into the modern era. This rebirth was a direct result of the development of mass tourism, which was assisted by photography's qualities as an economic, reproducible, and easily distributable visual commodity. These "life and death" qualities of photography helped Venetians preserve aspects of their local heritage and identity while also helping them to integrate with the rest of the Italian peninsula in establishing a newly formed Italian national identity.

The preservation of Venice's culture and identity was in jeopardy in the nineteenth century. The city had been plagued by poverty and foreign occupation after Napoleon invaded in 1797 and dissolved the Republic of Venice that existed for over a millennium. For many centuries prior to Napoleon's arrival, Venice dominated the northeast corner of the Italian peninsula with a government and a military that secured the city-state's success—economically, culturally, and politically. However, leading up to Napoleon's invasion, Venice was already falling into economic recession. Expensive wars with the nearby Turks and a life of luxury and decadence pursued by Venice's noble families—who held the high government positions in the Republic—brought a rising public debt and a depletion of commerce. Lavish parties, gambling, fine dress, and expensive jewelry were being purchased while investments into industry and municipality were avoided. Through a lifestyle of excess and the inability—or the unwillingness—to solve their economic situation, Venice's eighteenth-century decline made them vulnerable to the rising power of nearby France, putting their government, economy, and culture at risk.¹

What followed Napoleon's arrival in 1797 were several exchanges of Venice between French and Austrian control until 1815, when the Congress of Vienna decreed Venice to the Austrians. The Austrians held control over Venice until 1866 when the city was annexed into the Kingdom of Italy. In this period of foreign occupation during the first half of the nineteenth century, Venice could not ameliorate its poor economic state. High taxes and the continued depletion of industry lead to growing poverty and a diminishing population, which contributed to urban and cultural decay. Despite such difficult economic times and foreign occupation, there was a brief moment of Venetian independence. In 1848, the charismatic Daniele Manin led the Venetian mob to expel the Austrians and establish the Republic of St. Mark.² Although enthusiastic with Venetian localism, the new government was filled with middle-aged to elderly men who had limited experience in governance. Little more than a year after the Republic of St. Mark was proclaimed, the Austrians retook control of Venice until the city and surrounding region of Venetia were added to the Kingdom of Italy.

The Kingdom of Italy was officially proclaimed in 1861, but it took until 1866 for Venice to be annexed, and 1870 for Rome to be captured. By this time, the Italian nation was developing a formal political and cultural identity, despite the reality being that Italians in the nineteenth century were an amalgamation of different peoples with diverse languages, customs, and histories. For Venice, Italian national political unification, paired with technological advancements, and the simultaneous development of photography and the mass tourism industry, presented the opportunity to recapture the city's celebrated historic past while at the same time adapt to the modern era in order to ameliorate its economic and cultural condition.

When Italian unification was achieved in 1861, photography had already arrived in Italy and was a thriving force. Photography's origin dates to January 7, 1839 when French physicist and artist Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre revealed a realistic reproduction of the natural world on a silver-plated sheet of copper to members of the French Academy of Sciences in Paris. What would come to be called the daguerreotype, the image had a magical aura about it, as it was the first mechanically reproduced image comparable to what the human eye could see. Walter Benjamin wrote that at the advent of photography, daguerreotypes revealed "for the first time the optical unconscious."³ The optical unconscious stores most of the flashes of life that are fleeting and dodge the embrace of long-term memory. What Daguerre managed to do with the invention of the daguerreotype was effectively freeze a moment in time and prevent it from falling into the depths of the unconscious.

As soon as the daguerreotype was introduced in 1839, those captured by its novelty began experimenting with its process. The main disadvantage of the daguerreotype was its inability to be reproduced. This issue was resolved with the development of the calotype by Henry Fox Talbot in 1841. The calotype allowed photographers to use a negative to create countless positive prints, but the quality of the image diminished with each new print. Ten years later in 1851, the collodium process was introduced by Frederick Scott Archer and was the dividing line. The collodium process provided a high amount of detail similar to the daguerreotype and was reproducible like the calotype. In addition, the collodium process reduced exposure times from several minutes to only a few seconds. Such developments in the photographic process and the simplification of cameras and lenses lead to a rise in amateur photography in Europe during the 1850s.

The Fratelli Alinari was one group of many in the 1850s that capitalized on the development of photography when its process became simplified and more economic. Based in Florence, the *fratelli* were made up of three brothers—Leopold, Romauldo, and Giuseppe. Leopoldo Alinari first opened a small photographic studio in Florence in 1852 and two years later, his brothers Romauldo and Giuseppe joined his business, effectively creating the company *Fratelli Alinari, Fotografi Editori*.⁴ Their popularity and reputation grew quickly as they opened shops and studios in all the major Italian cities.

Photographs by the Fratelli Alinari were diverse, but images of Italy's architecture were a popular subject matter. In *Palazzo Ducale, Venice*—which shows the building from where the *doge* (duke) and other government officials ruled Venice—the Alinari composed the building in complete isolation. The gaze of the observer is focused on one thing, the building's façade. Standing out are the pointed arches employed on the ground floor arcade and again in the third story windows, distinctive to gothic architecture. On the second story, gothic style columns and capitals fill the loggia and bisect the pointed arches from the ground floor. In its Venetian gothic architectural style, the Palazzo Ducale's rhythmic façade denoted a sense of order, rhythm,

and sound structure, words appropriately used to describe the power the Republic of Venice, especially at its zenith in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Palazzo Ducale's function as the center of power for the Republic of Venice had been retired when the Alinari photographed the building c. 1865–1885. Instead, it was transitioning into a historical object to be venerated and admired like a museum piece. Writing about historic buildings at the turn of the twentieth century, Austrian historian and critic Alois Riegl analyzed the transition of buildings from functional to monumental. Riegl argued that buildings worth preserving that lost their use-value must have it replaced either by historic-value, which “arises from the particular, individual stage it represents in the development of human activity,” or art-value, the appreciation of art of “former generations as evidence. . . of man's creative struggle with nature.”⁵ The Palazzo Ducale in the late nineteenth century carried both historic- and art-value, thus constituting it as a building to be persevered, venerated as a monument, and worthy of being photographed. Its historical-value is connected to the historic grandeur of the Republic of Venice, and its art-value is drawn from its impressive gothic architectural design.

The monumentality that the Palazzo Ducale embodied was enhanced in the way in which the Alinari composed the photograph. The composition of *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* is comparable to the work of Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto, who utilized optical devices before the advent of photography in order to create highly detailed paintings and etchings. Part of the popular *vedutismo* tradition, Canaletto created wonderful views of Venice and other major Italian cities and sites that were favorites of wealthy foreign patrons. In an etching dated c. 1735/1746, Canaletto depicted a bustling St. Mark's Square in the foreground and the Palazzo Ducale in the background. [Fig. 2]

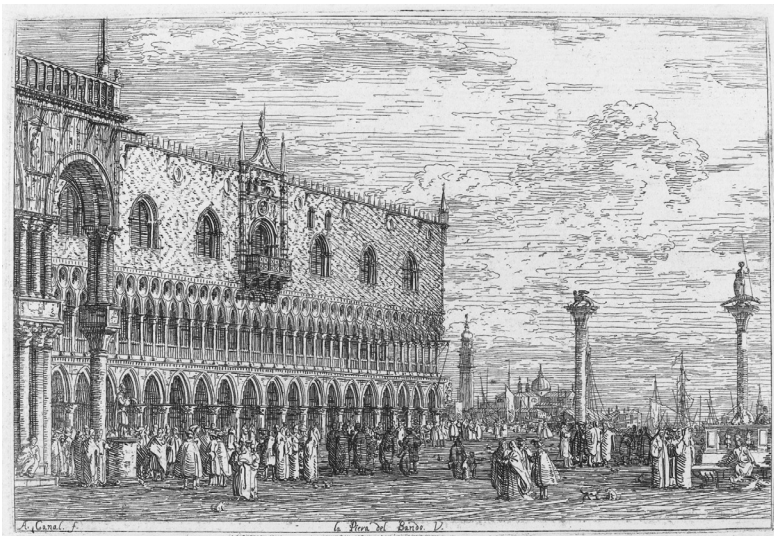


Figure 2: Canaletto, *La Piazza del Bando V.*, c. 1735/1746, etching, Gift of Addie Burr Clark, Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

Canaletto's etching included an extensive amount of detail of the Palazzo Ducale's façade, and captured the rhythmic order of the arches and columns by placing the building in perspective. This dynamic composition bolstered the monumentality of the building's architecture and signified the political power of the Republic. The ability for Canaletto to create these "photographic drawings" was done with the assistance of the *camera obscura*—an optical device that used mirrors to project an image of the natural world onto a screen.⁶ For the Alinari, copying the *vedutismo* compositions of monumentalizing works of architecture in their photographs meant utilizing a composition with an established popularity but seen in a novel visual commodity.

Where the Alinari photograph differed from the Canaletto etching was in the exclusion of figures surrounding the Palazzo Ducale. In choosing to compose the Palazzo Ducale in isolation without figures, Alinari's composition enticed a feeling of melancholy. The emptiness of life in *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* created an almost surreal or ghostly landscape, where Venice—a city reputed as a center of bustling trade and commerce—seemed dead. Semiotician Roland Barthes wrote that a photograph is a "living image of the dead thing."⁷ Thus, reality itself is never produced in a photograph; rather, a photograph only represents a brief moment of reality that has past. Even though the building from which Venice and its territories were governed still existed at the time *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* was taken (as it still does today), the Republic of Venice that the building embodied died when Napoleon dissolved the Republic in 1797. Instead of creating the experience of visiting the Palazzo Ducale in actual time and space, the photograph produces a present reality that memorializes a passed time. Death in the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph is not the death of an object, but the death of "a reality one can no longer touch."⁸ By depicting the Palazzo Ducale in a dynamic angle, but excluding figures, the Fratelli Alinari created a photograph that produced the simultaneous but paradoxical affect of monumentality and melancholy.

Walter Benjamin also wrote about photographs that excluded figures and their relation to a cult of death. Since there are no figures to attract the gaze of the observer, the focus is solely placed on the Palazzo Ducale as it fills nearly the entire photographic frame. Benjamin wrote that photographs without people "become standard evidence for historical occurrences, and acquire a hidden political significance."⁹ Capturing the Palazzo Ducale without any sign of life not only historicized the building as evidence of a time that had past, but it also transformed it from a living subject into a memorialized object linked to the Republic of Venice. Like a framed museum object, the unanimated image of the Palazzo Ducale transitioned from a living subject that was the strong symbol of the Republic of Venice, into a memorialized object reduced only to a memory of the now dead Republic of Venice.

Transforming subjects into objects to be memorialized is part of the modern phenomenon of photography that invites us to package the world. Susan Sontag

wrote about the literal packaging of photographs that occurs, often placing them in “albums, framed and set on tables, tacked on walls, projected as slides.”¹⁰ But within the visual frame of the photograph itself, the reality that the photograph represents also becomes packaged per the subjectivity of the photographer. In a photograph, observers are presented with a specific view of a subject that signifies a specific meaning. As discussed earlier, the packaging in the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* constructs an object that signifies the death of the Republic of Venice, but retains some sense of monumentality and celebration of the glory of the old Republic and the building itself as an impressive piece of architecture. But the photograph also becomes a medium for packaging the world by creating an object for consumption. Therefore, not only did the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph represent the death of the old Venice, it also helped to create a new Venice by being a desirable commodity for visiting tourists.

With the development of photography also came the rise of the mass tourism industry. Venice by the late nineteenth century was no longer a central hub for maritime trade and local industry; instead, its economy was transforming to one where the primary export was the experience of old Venice sold to tourists. Photographs like the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* assisted in this transformation. They replaced the costly *vedute* paintings of Canaletto to become a more affordable and distributable visual commodity. The dissemination of photographs throughout Europe and North America assisted Venice’s transition out of the destitution that had burdened the city and its people in the first half of the nineteenth century. When photographs of Venice were mass-produced and distributed widely, they helped foster a period of economic and cultural rebirth by advertising the city’s picturesque views and its highly-regarded art and architecture.

Seeing foreign visitors in Venice was not a novel sighting in the late nineteenth century. Travel to Venice as part of cultural and artistic enlightenment had its origins in the Grand Tour tradition of the seventeenth century. The Grand Tour began as a customary journey for young and prevalent Elizabethan English gentleman to partake in a tour throughout Europe in which Venice became a particularly important stop for those interested in commerce and trade. In the eighteenth century, the tradition of the Grand Tour grew beyond England to the rest of Europe and North America, although the high cost of travel by sea and accommodation expenses still left the trip to the more affluent. It was not until the nineteenth century, when the tourism industry became democratized by way of technological innovation that permitted cheaper and faster travel. In 1839—the same year that the daguerreotype was revealed in Paris—the first segment of railroad was laid in Italy and connected Naples to Portici. By 1846, train travel reached Venice and a railway bridge connecting the island to the mainland was built. Also, sea travel was made more accessible as the first propeller was attached to a yacht in 1840.¹¹ This rise in foreign visitors to Venice in the nineteenth century provided the market for the increased consumption and dissemination

of photographs that helped revive the Venetian economy based on tourism, and subsequently transform Venice into the modern era.

By borrowing compositions from the *vedute* artists for their photographs, the Fratelli Alinari were confident in the success of selling photographs of architecture to tourists visiting Venice. What was the value of photographs like *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* that made them a popular purchase for tourists? Borrowing from what Walter Benjamin wrote in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, photographs that were popular with tourists were part of “the desire of contemporary masses to bring things ‘closer’ spatially and humanly.”¹² Tourists purchased photographs like *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* because it packaged their real experience in Venice into a pseudo-real experience of Venice. As a consequence of the proliferation and commoditization of photographs that tourism engendered, images of buildings like the Palazzo Ducale lost their aura by having their uniqueness depreciated to an abundantly reproduced object of consumption.

The memory that is retained in possessing a photograph related to one’s travels or experiences also became a method of conferring upon that event a sense of immortality and importance.¹³ In *Palazzo Ducale, Venice*, the event immortalized for the tourist visiting Venice on holiday probably included a walk through St. Mark’s Square or a gondola ride through Venice’s narrow canals. But if a Venetian purchased the same photograph in the late nineteenth century, the event immortalized would be different. Instead of preserving a brief moment in time for the tourist, the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph represented a larger event for the local Venetian—the thousand-year span of the once independent and prosperous Republic of Venice. In both instances, the photograph remained an object of consumption for its observer, but the immortalization of the subject or experience differed. Where the tourist tried to be less removed from Venice by preserving his own experience to the city, the local Venetian tried to hold on to something bigger, the preservation of centuries’ worth of a city’s heritage.

Photographs of architecture like the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* were able to preserve a memory and draw out emotional attention, but in the end, they were not equally exchangeable with the *in situ* experience of visiting the building itself in Venice. A photograph only represents reality, it can never fully recreate it. Because of their realistic formal qualities, photographs make it easier to believe that subjects and sites exist in real life as they do in the images we see. But of course, photographs are juxtaposed and cropped to reveal certain elements while concealing others. In *Palazzo Ducale, Venice*, what was revealed was the splendor of old Venice, and what was concealed was the city’s poverty and decay of the late nineteenth century. With the influx of tourists who wanted to experience old Venice after seeing a postcard photograph of the city, the physical preservation of Venice had to be undertaken in tandem with the photographic recording of it, in order to accommodate the expectations of tourists.

The physical preservation of buildings as well as the development of infrastructure would become an important element to Venice's nineteenth-century economic recovery. Preserving old buildings for economic reasons also meant preserving Venetian heritage and identity. For example, many *palazzi* were turned into museums or hotels, such as the Palazzo Nani-Mocenigo that became the Hotel Danieli. Located next the Palazzo Ducale, the Hotel Danieli has been the hallmark of old Venetian luxury and the residence of choice for wealthy Europeans.¹⁴ Also, with the number of tourist visitors rising, Venice needed a cheaper and faster form of transportation to navigate around the lagoon and on the Grand Canal. Thus, the *vaporetti* waterbuses were introduced to Venice in 1874 and were providing regular service to Venetians and tourists by 1881. This turned the iconic Venetian gondola into the preferred method of transportation for wealthy tourists who wanted to navigate through the small canals where the *vaporetti* could not go.¹⁵ Numerous bridges were also created to link the city together, many streets were widened and canals filled, and certain buildings had to be destroyed in order to make space for more modern needs. For example, the Church of Santa Lucia on the northern end of the Venice island was sacrificed in order to make space available for a new train station that brought visitors right to the doorstep of Venice. Even though the destruction of the church was unpopular at the time, it symbolized a willingness to adapt and meet the demands of the new modern era. In short, the infrastructural changes to Venice in the late nineteenth century were a compromise between preserving heritage and adapting to the modern age. Certain Venetian cultural elements were maintained, while others were lost or altered in order to ensure that the broader history and heritage were preserved for the longer term.

The marriage between the development of photography, tourism, and the preservation of Venice's architecture is best exemplified in the life and work of John Ruskin from the mid-nineteenth century. Part of Britain's cultural elite, Ruskin and his wife Effie visited Venice in 1849.¹⁶ Ruskin—an important academic figure in the history of art—had a deep love for Venice and a passion for preserving its gothic architecture. With his assistant John Hobbes, Ruskin created a collection of daguerreotypes from 1845–1852 as part of an effort, or rather a duty as he saw it, to help preserve Venice in its proper gothic form. Ruskin's numerous daguerreotypes did not provide the most appealing views of Venice's buildings as did *Palazzo Ducale, Venice*; rather, they were close-ups of buildings and artworks that were used later for detailed drawings. In his famous treatise *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* from 1849, Ruskin advocated that buildings of architectural importance should be carefully taken care of, but left alone and never restored. Ruskin wrote, "it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture."¹⁷ Thus, Ruskin's daguerreotypes helped become a record of Venice's architecture, as well as being of assistance to Ruskin in creating his finely detailed drawings for his

influential book, *The Stones of Venice*. Ruskin's academic interests augmented with the aid of photography become a method of preserving Venice's architecture. His daguerreotype collection preserved a visual record of Venice's many great buildings, while his books advocated for the care of these buildings and prompted greater interests for foreigners to visit Venice.

The less academic books that included photographs in the nineteenth century were actually photograph albums that represented the new Italian nation-state. These photograph albums were equally popular to single postcard photographs, as they combined images of all the major sites and cities of Italy essential to any Grand Tour participant. Not only did these albums provide a must-have souvenir for tourists—a sort of museum of Italy manageable in the palm of your hand—but they also contributed to the perception of the Italian nation's united identity. The cultural differences among the Florentines, the Venetians, and the Romans were being combined in these albums to represent a uniquely Italian identity, even if that identity was not fully engrained in the Italians themselves by the late nineteenth century. If Ruskin's books and collection of daguerreotypes were a recording of history, then the photographs of Italy collected into albums acted as an invention, or re-invention, of the Italians' heritage and identity.

As a result of the combination of Italian Unification, an improving economy based on tourism, and the advertisement that photography provided, art and culture returned to Venice in the late nineteenth century after stalling during the period of French and Austrian occupation. The old Venice of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was known for producing great local artistic talent such as Titian and Tintoretto. Nineteenth-century Venice and its transition into the twentieth century would instead become known for attracting the best foreign artists to write about and paint the splendors of Venice. Painters such as James Abbott McNeill Whistler and John Singer Sargent both made their respective trips to Venice in the late nineteenth century in order to capture the sublimity of the Venetian light. Maurice Prendergast also made several trips to Venice near the turn of the twentieth century, in order to create realistic watercolor paintings that depicted the overwhelming influx of tourists into Venice's major squares and promenades. Literary writers also write about the allure of Venice and the rest of Italy, notably Henry James in *Italian Hours* and Mark Twain in *The Innocents Abroad*. These foreign artists represented a return of art and culture to Venice in the nineteenth century, and in a similar way to photographs of Venice's architecture, they helped preserve Venice's glorious past by restoring the city's heartbeat through a cultural revival.

Photography, like other forms of visual art, is historical. Its influence changes over time and its meanings adapt to different observers. In this short article I have attempted to show that the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph had paradoxical effects at the time it was produced c. 1865–1885. It represented both

life and death. To a Venetian audience in the late nineteenth century, this image represented the past, and induced a sentiment of death relative to the end of the Republic of Venice. At the same time, the Palazzo Ducale—carefully composed in perspective and isolation—summoned a sense of monumental pride of Venetian history and heritage that had existed for a millennium. The preservation of Venice's history and heritage helped cultivate a new economy in Venice based on the tourism industry. Because of the technological advances, travel was made easier and cheaper and tourists increased their number of visits to Venice in the late nineteenth century. To this end, the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* photograph represented the future of Venice. Even though they memorialized a period of the past, photographs of Venetian architecture helped initiate a new life for Venice by stimulating an economy based on tourism that sold experience—the experience of old Venice from its grandeur days in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In addition to being an affordable visual commodity purchased and taken home by tourists while on the Grand Tour, nineteenth century photographs of Venice and other Italian cities helped propagate the formally united Italian nation following unification in 1861. When grouped with other photographs of different Italian cities and sites, the *Palazzo Ducale, Venice* represented a local history that was perceived to be part of a puzzle of different micro-cultures in the Italian peninsula. When Italian Unification was achieved, the Republic of Venice had been dissolved for almost a century. In its place was Venice's union with the Italian nation in 1866 that marked the beginning of a new life for Venice leading into the modern age.

Notes

1. For more on Venice's eighteenth-century "Luxurious Decline" see Chapter XV in Philip Longworth, *The Rise and Fall of Venice* (London: Constable, 1974).

2. Christopher Hibbert, *Venice: the Biography of a City* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), 219, 226–233. Daniele Manin came from a middle class family, was a bright student of philosophy and law, and was well versed in both ancient and modern European languages. In 1831, Manin made his first attempt at inspiring revolt against Austrian occupation but ultimately failed.

3. Walter Benjamin, "A short history of photography," *Screen* (1972) 13 (1): 7.

4. Filippo Zevi, *Alinari, Photographers of Florence, 1852-1920* (Firenze: Alinari Edizioni & Idea Editions in association with the Scottish Arts Council; London: Distributed by Idea Books, 1978), 11–12.

5. Alos Riegl, "Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, seine Entstehung," translated into English as "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origin," {(trans K. Forster and D. Ghirardo) *Oppositions* 25 (Fall 1982): 21–50. [orig. Vienna, 1903]}: 34, 47.

6. Italo Zannier, *Veneto: Fotografie Tra '800 e '900 Nelle Collezioni Alinari = Photographs: Mid 19th to Early 20th Century* (Firenze: Alinari 24 ore, 2010), 9.
7. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang; Reprint edition, 2010), 79.
8. *Ibid.*, 87.
9. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (United States?: Prism Key Press, 2010), 23.
10. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1977), 4.
11. Italo Zannier, *Le Grand Tour: In the Photographs of Travelers of 19th Century = Dans Les Photographies Des Voyageurs Du Xixe Siècle = Nelle Fotografie Dei Viaggiatori Del XIX Secolo* (Venezia: Canal & Stamperia; Paris: Canal Editions, 1997), 15-18. For a more detailed account of photography's role on the Grand Tour, see Zannier's essay "Photographers in the places of the sun."
12. Benjamin, *Mechanical Reproduction*, 17-18.
13. Sontag, *On Photography*, 9, 11.
14. Longworth, *Rise and Fall of Venice*, 297.
15. Dorothea Ritter, *Venice in Old Photographs, 1841-1920* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1994), 63.
16. For more on John Ruskin's visits to Venice, see Chapter 16: The Venice of the Ruskins: 1849-71 in Christopher Hibbert, *Venice: the Biography of a City* (London: Grafton Books, 1988).
17. John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture (Classic Reprint)* (Forgotten Books, 2012), 195.