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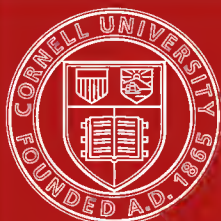
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The life and works of Giorgio Giulio Clo



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GIORGIO GIULIO CLOVIO.

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MEDAL OF CLOVIO.

*(From a cast in the British Museum
never before published).*

THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF
GIORGIO GIULIO CLOVIO,

MINIATURIST,

WITH NOTICES OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES,

AND OF THE

ART OF BOOK DECORATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

JOHN W. BRADLEY, B.A.,

Author of "A Dictionary of Miniaturists,"

ETC., ETC.

WITH EIGHTEEN PLATES.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE been told—for my possible consolation—by a long-established bookseller of the class formerly more common than at present, and of whom the Alduses, Stephenses, and Plantins are the elder examples, that he has often been astounded at the extent of popular ignorance respecting Cellini and his autobiography. If this be so, what can be expected with regard to his now obscure, but once at least equally celebrated, contemporary Giulio Clovio? Nevertheless the subject is one which, if not well known, ought to become so. The importance of Miniature Art to the proper understanding of the general question of artistic culture and the progress of the Arts of Painting and of Book illustration is no longer a matter of special knowledge. For many years past it has been steadily growing, and it only requires that the Lives of its professors in various ages shall be studiously set forth wherever materials can be found, to put the Miniaturists on their true ground and so give them that relative importance to which they are entitled by virtue of their labours, and by right of the inestimable services

which in their somewhat humbler way they have rendered to the great jurisdiction of human culture, known comprehensively by the brief but most significant name of Art.

We have book after book placed upon our shelves dealing with the well-known themes of Schools of Painting. We have Lives without number of the well-known masters of those schools. It is time that a new track should be cut and some of the yet unknown or less known ones brought beneath our purview. In the following Life, as will be seen, I have chiefly made use of foreign authorities ; and especially, though not by any means blindly, of Sackiniski. I have ventured to make a beginning in a new line, and for its admitted imperfections and errors I must, as in the case of my Dictionary, or as it should be called, Materials towards a Dictionary, of Miniaturists, throw myself upon the indulgence and candour of my readers. I have other candidates for notice behind, but until this coryphæus of his art has found his place, the rest must remain in their present obscurity, among the long-forgotten tenants of the under-world.

JOHN W. BRADLEY.

BIRMINGHAM,

Christmas, 1890.

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E R R A T A .

- Page 30, line 3 (note), *for* 1575 *read* 1515.
,, 192, ,, 18, *for* sometimes *read* sometime.
,, 194, ,, 6, ,, were *read* was.
,, 201, ,, 4, ,, Monserchi *read* Monterchi.
,, 202, ,, 15, ,, degna *read* degno.
,, 206, ,, 11, ,, guache *read* gouache.
,, 207, ,, 7, ,, not only means *read* means not only.
,, 262, ,, 5, ,, Zeus *read* Zeno.

The reader is requested kindly to correct other errors which have escaped notice during printing.

The following note was accidentally omitted from p. 135 :—

“Le Musée de Bréra à Milan possède une Miniature représentant la scène de la femme adultère, que fit Clovio d'après un tableau de Palma le Vieux.”
—Labarte, J. : *Hist. des Arts Industriels au Moyen Age, &c.*, II. 276. (Paris, 1872-5.) This is probably the miniature or picture supposed, by Sakcinski and others, to be a copy of Titian. It should have appeared in the list on p. 350.

A CHRONOLOGY
OF THE
PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CLOVIO.

1498 *Clovio born at Grizane, in Croatia.* Domenico Grimani (Cardinal in 1493), now residing in Rome, is made Patriarch of Aquileia, in his thirty-eighth year.

This year is the twenty-fifth of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the thirteenth of Henry VII. of England, the seventh of Pope Alexander VI., the sixth of Maximilian I. Emperor of Germany, the fourth of Manuel of Portugal, and the first of Louis XII. of France. Cæsar Borgia created Duke of Valentinois. *Attavante, miniaturist of Florence, forty-three years of age.* Savonarola burnt in Florence. Sandro Botticelli and Lorenzo di Credi are among his disciples.

Michelangelo in Rome, whither he came in 1496, in his twenty-first year. *Amico Aspertini, painter and miniaturist of Bologna, twenty-three years of age.* "*Amico da due penelle.*"

1499 The Turks ravage Friuli in the Venetian States, and (1) Antonio Grimani, father of Cardinal Domenico, is general of the Christian army. Amerigo Vespucci and Ojeda, employed by Manuel of Portugal in exploring the New World, discover Brazil. Expulsion of Moors from Spain. Marsilio Ficino, the Platonist, dies. *Jakob von Olmütz completes the large Gradual in 2 vols., now in the Ambras Museum, Vienna.*

- 1500 The year of Jubilee. Birth of Charles V.
(2)
- 1501 Cæsar Borgia, made Duke of Romagna, becomes Master
(3) of Urbino. *Monte di Giovanni illuminates an Epistolarium for the "Opera" of the Cathedral of Florence.*
Frederic III. of Naples dethroned by Ferdinand the Catholic. End of the Aragonese dynasty in Naples. Death of Gentile Bellini, aged eighty.
- 1502 Lucrezia Borgia marries her fourth husband, Alfonso of
(4) Este, afterwards Duke of Ferrara. Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster begun (1502-19). Pius III. is Pope for twenty-two days. *Fra Eustachio working at Siena.*
- 1503 Julius II., Pope (1503-13), deprives Cæsar Borgia of
(5) Urbino and imprisons him. All Naples becomes subject to Spain by the victory of Gonsalvo di Cordova over the French at the Garigliano. *Godinho works at Torre do Tombo on the Book of Armoriuls.*
- 1504 Death of Isabella of Castile; she is succeeded by Philip
(6) the Fair and Joanna. Columbus returns from his fourth (last) voyage. Death of Cæsar Borgia in Spain. Raffaello at Florence.
- 1505 Naples ceded to Ferdinand of Aragon: the Two Sicilies
(7) become Spanish until 1760. Louis XII. lays claim to Milan. *Michelangelo makes a design for the tomb of Julio II. (a pen drawing now in the Uffizi), with forty statues, the chief of which was the celebrated Moses. Monte di Giovanni adjudged to execute the mosaic head of San Zenobio at Florence. Fra Eustachio working there. Albert Altdorfer at Ratisbon.*

- 1506 Death of Philip the Fair, aged twenty-eight, at Burgos ;
 (8) insanity of his widow. *Two devotional books formerly belonging to her are preserved in the British Museum.* Their son Charles, aged six, is declared heir of Spain and the Netherlands, and Ferdinand, aged three, of Austria. Bramante, of Urbino, begins St. Peter's at Rome, and Julius II. lays the first stone, April 18th.
- 1507 Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, made Cardinal. Albert
 (9) Dürer at Bologna. Michelangelo in Rome, now working as a painter on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, without assistance. (It was begun on May 10th, 1507, and finished in 1512.)
- 1508 Luther, professor of Philosophy at Wittemberg. Bologna
 (10) in the hands of the Bentivogli, besieged by the Pope. *Monte di Giovanni executed a Manuale for the Cathedral of Florence.* *Simon Bynnyck working at Bruges.*
- 1509 Erasmus at Oxford: is made Greek professor at Cam-
 (11) bridge. Henry VIII. of England (1509-1547), aged eighteen.
- 1510 Ximenes founds the University of Alcalà de Henarez,
 (12) the birthplace of Catherine of Aragon (Latin Complutum); and of Santiago di Compostella. Raffaele painting the "Stanze" of the Vatican. Luther visits Rome, "built over hell." *Monte di Giovanni begins a Missal for the Church of San Giovanni at Florence.* *Ostendorffer working at Munich on the "Turnier-Buch," now at Munich,* is made Court Painter to William IV., Duke of Bavaria. Cardinal Georges d'Amboise rebuilds the Chateau de Gaillon, and employs several illuminators and copyists for his library.

1511 Nicolo Macchiavelli Secretary of State at Florence.

- (13) Raffaello finishes the frescoes in the Stanze della Segnatura. Death of Giorgione at Venice. *Boccardini working at Florence.*

Flourishing period of Italian and German schools of painting.

1512 Gaston de Foix, aged twenty-four, killed at Ravenna.

- (14) Raffaello finishes the Galatea, &c. in the Farnesina. *Fray Constancio de Monte Olivas executes a missal for the Cathedral of Toledo, now in the Museum at Madrid.* Giovanni Fregoso Doge of Genoa. Albert of Brandenburg, Teutonic Grand Master, swears allegiance to the Emperor. Raffaello designs "Arazzi" for the Vatican.

1513 Battle of the Spurs and of Flodden. Death of Julius II.

- (15) Leo X. elected Pope. (Giovanni de' Medici, 1513-1522, Cardinal Pietro Bembo, and Jacopo Sadoleti, secretaries.) Palermo made seat of Spanish Viceroy. *George Glockendon, working at Nuremberg for Albert of Brandenburg, dies this year.*

1514 Death of Anne of Brittany. The Portuguese Ambassadors

- (16) present to Leo X. an elephant, a panther, and other animals and products of their newly-acquired territory in the East. *These animals figure in some of the illuminated books of the time.* Death of Bramante. Raffaello, aged thirty-one, continues the building of St. Peter's. *Fray Felipe, miniaturist at Toledo. B. Canderroa and Alonzo Vasquez work on the Missal of Cardinal Cisneros. Clovio still at home; learns drawing.*

1515 Francis I. becomes King of France (1515-47). Leo X.

- (7) confers Urbino on his nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici. Francis I. defeats the Italians, Swiss, and others at Marignano, gaining thereby the Milanese and Genoa. *Scipione Cavaletti works at Bologna. Birth of Hans Mielich at Augsburg, and of Francisco de Holanda at Lisbon.*

1516 Death of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours (*author*

- (18) *of the curious device "Glovis" occurring in his books, mistaken by Bandini for the name of Clovio*).¹ *Springinklee makes designs for the Hortulus Animæ. Simon Bynnyneck works at Bruges. Luis Sanchez, miniaturist, works at Seville.*

Clovio comes to Italy for the first time; and is employed by the Grimani family. Domenico Grimani resides in Rome, and is now fifty-five years old.

1517 Rome again the chief seat of the Arts and Learning,

- (19) which are munificently supported by Leo X. and other Italian princes. Charles I. now becomes King of Spain and the Netherlands, aged sixteen (1516-1555). The Reformation in Germany begins. Thirty new Cardinals created at once. This creation brought 200,000 golden ducats into the Papal Treasury. Death of Cardinal Ximenes, who had printed the "Complutensian Polyglott Bible" at his own cost, aged eighty years. The library of the Duke of Urbino transferred to Mantua. Birth of the Cardinal de Granvelle. *Jacques Plastel works at Amiens. Hans Schüpfellein works on the "Tewrdannckh" at Nüremberg.*

1518 Birth of Palladio. *Clovio makes drawings from medals,*

- (20) *&c. for Cardinal Grimani from 1518 to 1520.*

- 1519 Death of the Emperor Maximilian, aged sixty. Competition for the Imperial Crown between the Kings of England, France, and Spain. Charles I. of Spain is elected, becoming Charles V. of Germany, at the age of nineteen (1519-58). Birth of Katharine de' Medici at Urbino. The Genevan Reformers form an "Eidgenossen" (oath-knot or bond), which the French transform into Huguenots. Death of Leonardo da Vinci in the arms of Francis I., aged 75. *Boccardino works at Florence. Matteo da Terranova works on the service books at Monte Cassino (1519-24). Monte di Giovanni completes the last of five Antiphonaries for the Cathedral of Florence. Finishes also the missals for the Church of San Giovanni. Godefroi executes a "Caesar's Commentaries" for Francis I.*
- 1520 Henry VIII. and Francis I. meet on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." Soliman the Magnificent Sultan (1520-66). Death of Raffaello at Rome, aged thirty-seven. Michelangelo at Florence. *Geoffrey Tory works at Paris; executes the famous "Diodorus." The "Complutensian Polyglott" published. Wolsey builds Hampton Court. Francisco de Villadiego works at Toledo. His miniatures "exact in drawing and brilliant in colour." Clovio, at the persuasion of Giulio Romano, his senior by six years, decides on following miniature painting as a profession.*
- 1521 War between France and the Empire (1521-6). Title of "Defender of the Faith" given to Henry VIII. for his tract, "De septem sacramentis," against Luther. Diet of Worms. Luther, under the ban of the Empire, is concealed at the Wartburg. *Hans Sebald Beham illuminates the Brandenburg Missal, now at Aschaffenburg. Hans Imhoff and Albert Aldegraver execute a MS., now at Nuremberg. Death of Leo X. Adrian VI. elected Pope (1522-8). Death of Emanuel, King of Portugal, aged fifty two. John III.*

1522 The Duke of Urbino recovers his States.

(24)

1523 Death of Adrian VI. Clement VII. Pope (1523-34).

(25) Death of Cardinal Grimani, aged sixty-two. Marino Grimani (afterwards Cardinal) becomes Clovio's patron. The Constable de Bourbon enters the service of the Emperor, and succeeds to Prospero Colonna's command in Italy.

Clovio invited by Louis II. of Hungary to Buda, and executes for him a "Judgment of Paris," "Death of Lucretia, &c."

1524 Death of Bayard: "Sans peur et sans reproche." The

(26) Milanese again French. Death of P. Perugino. Card. Campeggio influential in Germany. Order of Theatines sanctioned by the Pope. *The Hours of Francis de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre (now in British Museum). Callisto da Lodi works on Antiphonaries, &c. for the Church of the Incoronata at Lodi.*

1525 Pavia defended by Antonio de Leyra. Bourbon, Pescara,

(27) and Lannoy all attempt its relief. Battle of Pavia and capture of Francis I.: "Tout est perdu fors l'honneur." Death of Bonnivet. The Milanese become Spanish. Order of Capuchins founded.

Antonio da Girolamo works at Florence. Boccardino still there.

1526 Francis I. prisoner at Madrid. Cedes Burgundy, Flanders,

(28) and Milan to the Emperor, and is released. Constable de Bourbon made Duke of Milan and Imperial Vicar. Battle of Mohacz and death of Louis II. of Hungary, aged twenty. *Dispersion of the Corvina Library.*

Clovio escapes from Buda and goes home into Croatia, thence returns to Rome, and employs himself in copying Michelangelo at the Sistine Chapel. Enters the service of Cardinal L. Campeggio.

- 1527 Rome stormed and sacked by the Germans and Spanish.
 (29) Bourbon killed. Cellini employed by the Pope to direct the artillery at St. Angelo. *Matteo da Terranova works at Perugia. The Medici expelled from Florence and their museum and library ransacked. Alvarez works at Lisbon. Francisco de Holanda employed by John III. of Portugal. Clovio with difficulty escapes from Rome to Mantua.*
- 1528 The Venetians under the Duke of Urbino retake Pavia,
 (30) and the Genoese under Andrea Doria expel the French from Genoa. *Death of Albert Dürer, aged fifty-seven. Birth of Federigo Baroccio at Urbino. Monte di Giovanni finishes the second of two Antiphonaries for Cathedral of Florence. This is the last of his recorded works. Jean B. Guéty employed as miniaturist and decorator at the French Court.*
- Clovio, whilst at the monastery of S. Ruffino, near Mantua, becomes a Scopetine monk, calling himself Brother Julius, in gratitude to Giulio Romano, whom he knew in Rome, and now again met at Mantua. The apocryphal portrait at Vienna inscribed "Julius Clovius Croatus, sui ipsius officiator an. ætat. 30, salut. 1528." Before leaving Rome he appears to have been engaged upon the Missal for Cardinal Grimani, "with most masterly miniatures." Once in the collection of the Duchess of Portland. A similar MS., or rather a Papal Lectionary, came into the possession of Mr. Webbe, and afterwards of Mr. Towneley, and hence called "the Towneley Clovio." It contains six large illuminations. (See Appendix.)*
- 1529 Diet of Speyers. Reformers protest against its decrees.
 (31) Solyman besieges Vienna in September, but returns in October. Clement V. and the Emperor meet at Bologna. Great festivities, and artists employed on the decorations, triumphal arches, &c.
- Clovio still at Mantua. Geoffrey Tory works at Paris.*

- 1530 Charles V. crowned at Bologna—the last Imperial Coronation in Italy. Restores the Medici. Confession of Augsburg.

Renaissance of the arts in France. Louvre begun. Death of Andrea del Sarto, aged forty-two, and of the poet Sannazzaro. *Simon Bynnyneck executes the famous "Portuguese Genealogies" for the Infant of Spain. Perino di Perugia, "Perusinus" (Pietro Cesarei). Albert Glockendon born at Nuremberg. The beautiful Hours of Granvelle, now in British Museum, executed for the minister of Charles V., Nicolas Perrenot. Francisco de Holanda goes to Italy about this time.*

- 1531 League of Protestant princes at Schmalkald. Death of
(33) Louise of Savoye, mother of Francis I. *Clovio goes to Candiana, near Padua, and receives instructions from Girolamo dai Libri.*

Cardinal Grimani, Papal legate at Perugia, obtains a papal dispensation for Clovio and invites him to Perugia.

- 1532 Alessandro de' Medici, Podestà of Florence, made Grand
(34) Duke by Charles V.

Clovio busily engaged at Perugia for Cardinal Marino Grimani. Don Ambrogio da Cremona works at Ferrara and Bart. Neroni at Genoa.

- 1533 Death of Ludov. Ariosto, aged fifty-nine. Katharine de'
(35) Medici becomes Duchess of Orleans. Marguerite of Navarre publishes her Heptameron and Rabelais his Gargantua. *Clovio still at Perugia.*

- 1534 Death of Clement VII. Cardinal Aless. Farnese the elder
(36) made Pope as Paul III. (1534-1550). Luther's German Bible published by Hans Lufft, of Wittemberg. Ercole II. Duke of Ferrara (1508-59). Aless. Farnese the younger made Cardinal, aged fourteen (1520-1589). Death of Correggio, aged forty. Barbarossa captures Tunis. *The Portuguese genealogies left unfinished owing to the death of Prince Ferdinand. Clovio still at Perugia.*

- 1535 Charles V. and Andrea Doria retake Tunis. Twenty
(37) thousand captives released. Antonio de Leyva holds Milan for the Emperor—it is claimed by Francis I.

Clovio illuminates the poem of Eurialo d'Ascoli on the subject of the capture of Tunis. The MS. is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Sigismunda Fiessa ceases to work on choral books at Ferrara. Albert Glockendon the Elder illuminates the Book of Hours now at Vienna.

- 1536 Papal Bull "In Cæna Domini." War between Francis I.
(38) and Charles V. Death of Erasmus and of Garcilasso de la Vega. Execution of John of Leyden. J. Sadoleto, Reginald de la Pole and P. Caraffa created cardinals. *Francis de Buytrago works at Toledo. Death of Liberale da Verona, aged eighty-five. Clovio still at Perugia.*

- 1537 Aless. de' Medici assassinated.

- (39) Cosimo I. succeeds as Grand Duke (1537-74).
Eleanora of Este born (died 1581).

Jean van Battel works on the MS. of the Toison d'Or at Malines. Splendid Carnival at Rome in honour of Marguerite of Austria. Marriage of Ottavio Farnese to Marguerite of Austria, widow of Aless. de' Medici (died 1586). Francisco de Holanda describes the festivities, and tells us that it was on this Sunday night that he first went to Vittoria Colonna's with Clovio and met Michelangelo. Vittoria Colonna's poems published. Clovio and Holanda, with Michelangelo, visit Vittoria Colonna.

- 1538 Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) made Cardinal.
(40)

- 1539 Revolt at Ghent. *Clovio still working for Cardinal*
(41) *Grimani.*

- 1540 Death of Guicciardini, aged fifty-eight. *Clovio leaves*
 (42) *Cardinal Grimani who very unwillingly parts with him, and goes to live with Cardinal Farnese, then twenty years of age, in Rome. A young German lady, named Clavio, comes to Rome to learn miniature painting under Clovio. Bernardo de Orta, miniaturist at Seville, father of Diego di Orta. Albert Glockendon works at Nuremberg.*
- 1541 Solyman, master of Hungary, makes Bnda a pashalik.
 (43) *Aless. Cartara works at Padua. Vittoria Colonna goes to Viterbo to visit Cardinal de la Pole.*
- 1542 Portugal at the zenith of prosperity. Fourth war
 (44) between Francis I. and Charles V. Christopher di Madruccio made Cardinal of Trent. *Clovio executes a Latin Psalter for Pope Paul III. which combines the styles of his two great models, Raffaele and Michelangelo.* Vincenzo Raimondi works on choir-books of the Vatican chapel till 1552. Vittoria Colonna and Cardinal Pole under surveillance of the Inquisition, by order of Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV.). Vittoria corresponds with Michelangelo—letter in British Museum.*
- 1543 Vesalius of Brussels published his "Anatomy," with plates
 (45) by Titian. Campaign of Charles V. against *the Duke of Cleves* (see the Heemskerck victories of Charles V.). Philip, son of Charles V., and Duke of Milan, marries Maria of Portugal. Federigo Zuccaro born at Urbino. Death of Hans Holbein in London, aged forty-six.
- 1544 French vacate Italy. Peace with Germany. Birth of
 (46) Tasso. Jean Cousin works at Paris.

* Now in the National Library, Paris.

- 1545 Council of Trent formally opened in December. Birth
(47) of the ill-fated Don Carlos, son of Philip of Spain, and of Lucrezia de' Medici, afterwards Duchess of Ferrara (1558-61). Death of Albert of Brandenburg, patron of Dürer and the Glockendons. *Georg Hoefnagel born at Antwerp.*
- 1546 Charles V. and Maurice of Saxony defeat the Protestant
(48) princes at Mühlberg (*one of the Heemskerck victories*). Death of Francis I., aged fifty-three, succeeded by Henry II., husband of Katharine de' Medici. Death of Cardinal Marino Grimani, Clovio's former patron. Pier Luigi Farnese made Duke of Parma and Piacenza. *Clovio illuminates a Latin Missal for Cardinal Farnese, dated, once in the Royal Library at Naples, and a choir-book, said to be at Capo di Monte. Sakcinski thinks the latter very doubtful (p. 40), but see Voyage d'un Amateur, III. 36.*
- 1547 Death of Henry VIII. Pier Luigi of Parma assassinated.
(49) Ottavio Farnese Duke of Parma (1547-86). About these years since 1542 *Clovio executes certain miniatures for the Cardinal of Trent. Battista Castello and Nicolas Hilliard born.*
- 1548 Jeanne d'Albret marries Anthoine de Bourbon. Diet of
(50) Angsburg and second "Interim." *Clovio paints a Pietà with five figures and another Madonna for Aless. Farnese as a present to his grandfather, Paul III. It is now at Florence. Alfonso of Este married to Giulia della Rovere (she died 1563). Baroccio studies in Rome. Jean Hubert works at Paris.*
- 1549 Death of Paul III., aged eighty-two. Julius III. succeeds
(51) after three months (1550-5). *Gerard Horenbout still working at Ghent. The MS. of Francisco de Holanda dates from this year.*

- 1550 Vasari publishes his "Lives of the Painters." *Clovio*
 (52) *paints a Madonna for Julius III. with the pope's portrait kneeling at her feet.* F. Zuccaro goes to study at Rome. Baroccio returns to Urbino. Anna Seghers works at Antwerp. F. di Castello works probably at Paris.*
- 1551 Ottavio Farnese seeks the aid of Henry II. of France
 (53) *against his father-in-law about Piacenza. Clovio remains at Rome. Diego de Arroyo works at Toledo and Madrid. Godfrey Lugel works at Wittenburg.*
- 1552 Landgrave of Hesse liberated and the "Interim" revoked.
 (54) *Death of Paolo Jovio and of Francis Xavier. Eapleta works at Saragossa.*
- 1553 Death of Edward VI. and accession of Mary I. (1553-8).
 (55) *Death of Maurice of Saxony and of Rabelais, also of Georg Glockendon the younger. Clovio is invited to Florence and works there for Cosimo I. painting a Stabat Mater inscribed "Julius Macedo fec. a. 1553." On his return to Rome he receives a request from Philip of Spain to execute a series of miniatures, supposed by some authors to be the scenes from the victories of his father, already engraved by Heemskerck. (Sakcinski, p. 26.) Birth of Henry of Navarre (afterwards Henry IV.) and of Edmund Spenser.*
- 1554 Philip of Spain marries Mary of England and becomes
 (56) *King of Naples and Sicily, but not of England. About this time, if at all, Clovio paints the additional miniatures to the Vatican Dante (Sakcinski, p. 33) and executes those of the Lives of the Dukes of Urbino, also in the Vatican. Also an alleged copy of the Stanze di Eurialo d'Ascoli, probably that other poem now in the Industrial Museum at Munich.*

* If only painted at this time, this cannot be the picture, as stated by Sakcinski, which was sent by Paul III. (1534-49) as a present to the Emperor Charles V. on his return from Tunis. (Sakcinski, p. 22.)

- 1555 Philip leaves England and by Charles's abdication receives the Netherlands. The Duke of Savoy appointed viceroy. The Diet of Augsburg confirms religious freedom of Protestants. Death of Julius III. Marcellus II. succeeds, and after a brief space Paul IV. (Giov. Pietro Caraffa, an ascetic, founder of the Theatines, aged eighty). The Colonna Family despoiled by the Pope, for his own relations. (1555-9.)

Clovio paints a choir-book for S. Salvatore, Rome (Lecomte II. 1.) Fra Eustachio dies at Florence, aged eighty-three, and Girolamo dai Libri at Verona, aged eighty-one (Bernasconi). Andres Ramirez and Padilla work at Seville.

- 1556 Truce for five years between France and Germany. (58) Charles V. abdicates Spain, &c., to his son, and the Imperial dignity to his brother Ferdinand. He retires to the Monastery of St. Yuste, near Placencia, in Spain. Paul IV. interferes. Philip II. cedes Piacenza to the Duke of Parma. Death of Ignatius Loyola, aged sixty-five, and of Joh. Sleidan the historian of the Reformation. *Clovio paints another choir-book, or completes the one begun in 1546; also several others said to be at Seville, probably mainly the work of his assistants. ("Conca: Viaggio di Spagna, III. 234.") Mercator publishes his chart of the world. Albert Glockendon works at Nüremberg. Isaac Oliver born (d. 1617).*

- 1557 Battle of St. Quentin. Philip vows the Monastery of (59) S. Lorenzo of the *Escorial* in honour of the Saint on whose festival the battle was fought. Valetta, in Malta, founded by the Grand Master Jean de Valette.

** Clovio paints a choir-book once in church of St. Salvatore at Venice; also a small book of Prayers for*

* Sakcinski, p. 41, note. Biblioteca degli Uom. Illustri della Congregaz. dei Canonici Regolari del S.S. Salvatore Lateranense, &c., da Prospero Cavaliere, ed arricchita da D. Vincenzo Garofali. Velletri, 1836, I. 14-22, nota. 2.

Cardinal Farnese, called the "Flora," and now at Naples. (This MS. is rather doubtful, its character being decidedly more Netherlandish than Italian. See, however, *Giustiniani: Guida pel Reale Museo Borbonico. Nap. 1824, 338.*) Also a lovely MS. kept in the Monastery of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, and seen by Richardson in the possession of Marc Antonio Sabatini (*Appendix*). Birth of Bernardo Castello, the illustrator of Tasso's "Gerusalemme Liberata." Death of Vincenzo Raimondi.

1558 Death of Charles V. at St. Yuste, aged fifty-nine.
(60) Ferdinand Emperor (1558-64). Hungary and Bohemia added to the Empire. *Clovio at Piacenza with bad eyes.*

1559 Death of Ercole, Duke of Ferrara. Spanish Inquisition.
(61) Reign of terror at Toledo. End of French wars in Italy. *Hans Mielich completes the magnificent Penitential Psalms and Motets at Munich.*

Francis II., husband of Mary Queen of Scots, becomes King of France, aged sixteen (1559-60). *Clovio cured of his blindness.*

Pius IV. (Giovanni Angelo Medici) Pope (1559-6).

Clovio said to have painted a Psalter for John III. of Portugal.

Bonde:—see Appendix. He goes to Correggio.

1560 Death of Andrea Doria, aged ninety-four; also of
(62) Melanchthon, aged sixty-three, and of Francis II., who is succeeded by Charles IX., another son of Katharine de' Medici, aged ten (1560-74).

Clovio finishes the little Book of Prayers which Vasari says took nine years to paint (Sakc. 43). He works for Cardinal della Rovere perhaps on one of the MSS. now kept at Ravenna. He remains at Correggio until June at least. Begins to fail through broken health and tries the baths at Lucca.

- 1561 Antonio Perrenot becomes Cardinal Archbp. of Malines.
 (63) Great prosperity of England under Elizabeth. Ascendancy of the House of Guise in France. Birth of Annib. Carracci. *Clovio paints a "Judith" for Marguerite of Parma. He returns to Rome, writes to Duke Cosimo thanking him for the invitation to Florence and alludes to Vasari.*
- 1562 Maximilian, son of Ferdinand and cousin of Philip II.,
 (64) made King of the Romans. Birth of Lopez de Vega. Paulus Manutius, printer at Rome. *Caspar Hürтели paints the Antiphonary now at St. Gall (Exhibited in London in 1885.)*
- 1563 Assassination of Duke of Guise. Death of Giulia, Duchess
 (65) of Ferrara. *Francisco de Holanda, the Portuguese architect and miniaturist, works in Castille.*
- 1564 Maximilian II. becomes Emperor of Germany (1564-76).
 (66) Intolerance of Granvelle in the Netherlands, which is protested against by Marguerite of Parma, the Regent. Death of *Michelangelo, aged ninety.* Birth of Shakespeare. *Pedro de Obregon works at Toledo. Clovio's health begins to fail seriously.*
- 1565 Philip II. marries Maria of Portugal, and Alfonso II.
 (67) of Este marries Barbara of Austria (d. 1572). *Petrucio Ubaldini works in England.*
- 1566 Pius V. Pope (Ghislieri, 1566-1572). Persecution in the
 (68) Netherlands continues. The compromise of Breda presented by three hundred nobles, obtains for them the name of "Gueux"—beggars—from the Regent. Greatest splendour of Turkish Empire. *Cristobal Ramirez of Valencia works at the Escorial till 1572. Clovio complains that he cannot work as usual because of the excessive heat and of weakness in his head.*

- 1567 Alva appointed to the Netherlands. Counts Egmont and
(69) Hoorn arrested. Marguerite of Parma resigns the
Regency.
- 1568 Escape of Mary Queen of Scots from Lochleven Castle
(70) and defeat at Langside. Imprisoned in England.
Death of Don Carlos. Flemings migrate to England
by thousands. *Ferrante Pasta works at Verona.*
- 1569 Assassination of Condé. His nephew, Henry of Navarre,
(71) becomes leader of the Catholics. Defeat of Coligny at
Montcontour. The Pope crowns Cosimo de' Medici
Grand Duke of Tuscany, and offends the Emperor,
the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy.
- 1570 Philip II. marries his fourth queen, Anne, daughter of
(72) the Emperor Maximilian. At the same time Charles IX.
of France marries her sister Isabella. Death of Cellini,
aged seventy. *Nicholas Hilliard works in London.*
Paris Nogari at Rome.
- 1571 Battle of Lepanto gained by John of Austria. *Berretta*
(73) *works on the Pavia Graduals, now at Milan.*
- 1572 Henry of Navarre marries Marguerite of Valois, a week
(74) before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Accession
of Pope Gregory XIII., 1572. Rejoicings in Rome
and Madrid over the Massacre of the Huguenots.
Death of Hans Mielich at Munich. Fray Martino de
Palencia works at the Escorial. Clovio invited to the
Escorial but declines.
- 1573 Don John of Austria captures Tunis. Alva's cruelty at
(75) Haarlem. He is recalled. *Cristobal Ramirez of Valencia*
works at the Escorial.
- 1574 Death of Charles IX. Henry III. (who had been elected
(76) King of Poland) succeeds. Siege of Leyden.
F. Zuccaro comes to England. Hans Lenker, of
Munich, probably paints the beautiful Book of Hours,
attributed to Clovio, for Albert V.

- 1575 Henry of Navarre leaves the Court and puts himself at
 (77) the head of the Protestants. Jubilee at Rome. Tasso, at Ferrara, publishes his "Gerusalemme Liberata." Francesco de' Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany. *Fray Martino de Palencia, Nicolas de la Torre de Dalinacia, work on the choir-books of San Lorenzo of the Escorial. These volumes, 216 in number, occupy seventeen years to complete (1572-1589). Fray Diego de Orta and Fray Diego del Salto, Agustiniano, work on the choir-books at Seville. Bernard Castello, in Italy, designs engravings for Tasso's "Gerusalemme."*
- 1576 The troops of Don John of Austria, who is made Govern-
 (78) nor of the Netherlands, not getting their pay, plunder Antwerp. *Hoefnagel, the goldsmith, robbed and ruined. Pacification of Ghent.*
 Sudden death of Maximilian II. at Ratisbon, aged thirty-nine.
Fray D. del Salto works at the Cathedral of Seville. Titian dies of plague at Venice, age ninety-nine. Seventy thousand persons perish during the epidemic. Death of Hans Sachs, the "cobbler poet" of Nuremberg. Death of Sir Antonio More. The portrait of a lady in fur at Vienna, said to be by Clovio.
- 1577 Great fire at Venice, many of Titian's paintings destroyed.
 (79) The church of the Redentore built to commemorate the staying of the plague.
Francisco Hernandez works at the Escorial. Clovio very infirm and incapable of work.
- 1578 Death of Don John of Austria. The Duke of Parma
 (80) becomes Regent. *G. Hoefnagel visits Clovio at Rome, and is so attracted by his work that he resolves to imitate his manner. Claudio Massarelli and Apollonio Buonfratelli, miniaturists at Rome, also follow Clovio's style, but with marked inferiority. Death of Clovio, aged eighty.*

LIFE OF GIORGIO GIULIO CLOVIO,

MINIATURE PAINTER.

INTRODUCTION.



T may seem curious in the present age of literary activity of every kind, that so little reliable material for biography has accompanied the marvellous handiwork of Mediæval Illuminators, and the earlier practitioners of the art of Miniature Painting whose admirable productions have reached us, or whose names have been handed down with repeated echoes of astonishment and praise. Though well known to their contemporaries, and indeed often so famous as to be spoken of in all cultivated society, it has mostly been their fate to be finally chronicled in the well-worn words of the poet :

Pulvis et umbra sumus.

Of those who lived in præ-Christian times, only a bare record of names—so few that they can be counted on the fingers—has found its way into

literature. Pliny seems to be really the only Latin author extant, who has made any mention of the art or told us the least fragment respecting those who practised it. From Lala of Cyzicus to Godeschalk, from Augustus to Charlemagne, their biography is all but an absolute blank. And until the middle of the sixteenth century the biography of art of any kind is chiefly confined to brief and inflated eulogies, in which the writer paid infinitely greater attention to the balance of his periods, or the jingling barbarism of his own rhythms, than to truthful criticism of the artist, or the facts concerning his performances. In the age when a man of letters and one possessed of no small literary culture, who could discourse so learnedly on music as to be almost incomprehensible to the modern musician, could devote his energies to the composition of a poem in praise of baldness, the supreme embellishment of which consisted in using no word that did not begin with the letter C, because written in honour of Carolus Calvus, what possible shadow of veracity could be expected, had this representative *littérateur* happened to think of conferring immortality on the painter of the Golden Gospels of Epternach or the Sacramentary of Metz? If Hucbald be considered, however, as really not the sort of man for our purpose, let us select a greater. Let us ask Rhabanus Maurus, and we

might be fortunate enough to possess a treatise in which the Gospel book of Charlemagne would figure in twenty or thirty wonderfully constructed anagrams like those of the famous composition "In laudem crucis," compared with which the atrocities of modern society journals are simply amusement for uncropped babes. Yet, with all this marvellous ingenuity, mediæval biographies are mostly dry and windy wastes. Artists are, indeed, recognized and praised, but the story of their lives is often vexatiously thin and evasive. Of many but a little earlier than Vasari we know next to nothing. Even of those whom he personally knew, and with whom he, a professed biographer, had conversed, he says but provokingly little, and that little mostly from hearsay. It was not because he thought them beneath his notice, for what he has recorded is unstinted in terms of honest admiration. But it seems to have been a case which Nature felt to be appropriate, that they whose works are hidden from the public eyes, should themselves be dropped out of public recollection. Notwithstanding that the same kind of unmeasured panegyric has been lavished on the art and on those who have engaged in it, from immemorial time, and during every period of its existence, it has been the fate of almost everything beyond the names of these accomplished persons, constantly to be forgotten.

In every age there has been some name that has transcended the horizon of contemporary renown, and has been transcribed into the roll of the immortals. Extraordinary manual skill, which to our modern and saturated criticism is simply the outcome of patient and persevering assiduity, was to the eyes of our remote ancestors a something marvellous if not miraculous, and was accepted with an easy credulity as the præternatural or supernatural result of angelic collaboration. The faultless penmanship of the *Book of Kells* and the Gospels of Maiel Brigid, the magnificent initials drawn by Sintramn of the Wondrous Hand, the masterly designs of the monk Silvestro, and a score of other equally famous achievements, have resulted down to the present moment in the empty shadow of a name and the mere echo of a reputation. To this reputation belongs scarcely a single throb of true human sympathy, there is no living utterance that brings us a hair's-breadth nearer to the actual lives of these wan toilers of the past, unless it be, here and there, the plaint of the copyist himself who, wearied in his work, speaks sometimes sadly of his palsied fingers or the failing keenness of his tired eyes. Usually it is not a man or woman that we know, but merely *a hand*. Rich it may be, with sacred or historic allusion, but calm as the hoary hieroglyphs on the syenite tablets of Gizeh, or the

tantalizing *graffiti* of Abu Simbel. And the pity of it is that the neglect and oblivion which have overtaken these famous draughtsmen has been brought upon them partly, it is true, by their own unselfish modesty, but chiefly by the nature and circumstances of the art itself. It was never produced in a manner calculated to catch the eye of the passing crowd, or to advertise the artist's name or kindred to an admiring and grateful posterity. Their most precious work was always intended to be enclosed in books. It was always practically inaccessible to the multitude.*

The generations to whom the contents of some of these volumes were known or not yet obsolete, at length passed away, and with them the knowledge which at one time was too common to require a record, and authentic enough to demand no documentary attestation. Occasionally the pious routine of a monastic register has placed the performance of the *scriptor* or *miniator* among the virtuous deeds

* Il n'en est pas des MSS. comme des tableaux, la curiosité légitime du public n'a pour se satisfaire, que la complaisance des conservateurs; sans doute un grand nombre d'entr'eux comprennent leur mission et donnent aux gens sérieux toutes les facilités désirables, mais elles sont loin d'avoir le caractère général des exhibitions qui se font dans les musées. Le nombre est immense des voyageurs qui ont passé dans les capitales *sans pouvoir contempler* les merveilles de l'art des miniaturistes et des calligraphes.—*Les Evangiles des Dimanches, &c.* Ptie. III. *Notices du Bréviaire du Cardinal Grimani*, I.

of a fraternity. Hence it sometimes happens that the notices which have descended from these far-off centuries are either, on the one hand, the partial laudations of loyal friendship, or, on the other, the flatulent memoranda of ordinary conventual annals. The works, then, of the master-miniaturists, unlike those of the master-painters, are not reached by the general public. It cannot be expected that an artist whose noblest efforts are hidden away between the bossy and ponderous covers of a choir-book, or kept jealously protected under lock and key, should enjoy the popularity of one whose masterly achievements are accessible to every visitor, over the high altar of a cathedral, or on the inviting wall-screens of a public gallery.

For this very reason, whilst all varieties and forms of art, savage or polite, when every scrap of a sketch-book and every fragment of a legend is greedily picked up concerning artists who are already known, it seems only reasonable that some effort should at length be made to bring into more general notice the labours of the less known, or it may be unknown artists who, earlier in the long career of art, were nevertheless co-workers with their later and perhaps abler brethren, and, in their humbler way, have contributed to its advancement and perfection. But as to their inferiority as artists, in point of fact the best miniaturists were seldom

far behind the best painters of their own time, and in certain definite localities and periods were distinctly in advance of them. The time has been when the miniaturist was the only artist who practised painting. He is therefore for such a time an invaluable link in its chain of history. At no time very far behind the best of painters, even in the golden age of the Italian Renaissance, the best miniaturist has always been notably ahead of the *maestri dozzinali* with whom Italy has abounded at every epoch. Not a few great and well-known painters have also practised miniature, but, as a rule, the professions have remained distinct. If by occasion Raffaello, or Da Vinci, or Tiziano accepted an influential commission for a Royal service-book, or a ducal biography or diploma, the fact is usually visible in the document itself. It is sure to be masterly, but it may fail in the qualities for which miniature art is famous. Indeed, it may be a little picture; but it will not strictly be a miniature. For the miniaturist possesses a code of rules and precepts quite peculiar to himself, and which the ordinary painter must study and observe as carefully as he observes those suited to his larger work, or he must take a secondary place. The stroke of his brush will betray him. His very skill will render him impatient. His impetuosity will demolish his claims to delicate and exquisite polish. The rapid execution

of his larger manner, will impede his progress, and the masterly sweep of the pencil with which a Paolo Veronese or a Tintoretto would complete at once and for ever a tress of hair, would probably sweep the whole miniature into irrecoverable limbo. Hence the painter has usually kept to his easel, the miniaturist to his pad, or his folio.

Miniature art was the only form of Art permitted to survive the wasting inroads of barbarism, and to hand down the pictorial traditions of antiquity to the epoch of the Revival. But it not only survived, it grew and strengthened, and even when Painting was again at its climax, Miniature was a valued, and in a certain sense, popular profession. Valued inasmuch as it was held in the highest esteem by the wealthiest patrons, and popular among those whose means enabled them to encourage it by their purchases.

With regard to the growing interest of the public in this class of work, we need only point to the trouble which is now taken in all our museums and public collections to render examples accessible, and even to make the study of them educational. Within the last few years show-cases have been provided, in which are placed carefully-selected examples of illuminated books, arranged in geographical or chronological order. Ordinary sight-seers are thus enabled easily to make the acquaintance of

the illuminators, and an opportunity is afforded for the historic study of an important section of Early Christian Art—not the least among the advantages offered by the display. The facilities, too, of improved methods of reproduction are constantly bringing forward examples of ancient documents, and, as in the case of the Palæographical Society, laying accurate and excellent facsimiles on the tables of those who can afford the luxury. To the earnest student of Art the great museums in every city here and on the continent are practically free of access, and knowledge on the subject is becoming every day easier of acquisition. The sales of great Collections of MSS. have not only contributed to the spread of this kind of knowledge, but in so doing have awakened an interest in the works of these long-forgotten workmen. Then, to strengthen this interest, writers on art have repeatedly called attention to the important place occupied by Miniature art in the general history of Painting. In the *History of the Formative Arts*, by Schnaase,* a work which

* *Schnaase (C. J. F.) Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, 2nd Ed. Düsseldorf, 1866, &c. 8 vols. 8vo. *Lecoy de la Marche (A.) Les Manuscrits et la Miniature (Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts)*. *Woltmann & Woermann: History of Painting*, Engl. Translation. Edited by S. Colvin, and translated by A. H. Keane and Clara Bell. But the list is inexhaustible. The reader must search the Indexes of French, German, and Italian periodical literature to find how extensive it really is. Among

it would be superfluous to praise notwithstanding its defects, for its philosophic spirit and masterly grasp of general truths, a passage of considerable length is devoted to this very discussion, while monographs and magazine articles crowd the pages of foreign bibliography, expressly dealing with the rich stores of material hoarded within the splendid folios of Mediæval books. Not to go very far afield, an excellent and popular art history by Woltmann and Woermann is now accessible to English readers, and presents a full and very accurate *résumé* of the means by which a knowledge of the subject may be acquired. Many large and costly publications have aimed at facsimile reproduction, and magnificent examples are to be found in our great Public Libraries.

ART is proverbially a wide subject, for the practical working out of scientific knowledge into material form takes a long time. But it is only when we get beyond the range and reach of our ordinary guides that we seriously realize the truth of the old adage of the physician, *Ars longa, vita brevis*, in the bound-

English examples may be named *Humphreys : The Books of the Middle Ages*, and *Westwood : Palæographia Sacra Pictoria and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated MSS.* But the reader of the first named of these splendid works should be warned not to place too much reliance upon the printed text, for it is inaccurate in the extreme. He will have also to beware of the attributions in Dr. Waagen's interesting *Art Treasures in England*.

less prospect before us. One palpable evidence of the existence even yet of unexplored territory is the fact that, notwithstanding the unwearied diligence of many generations of writers, there still remain in civilized Europe outlying nooks possessing curious lists of native artists, whose very names are unknown beyond their own contracted frontier. One such locality, for the most part unexplored, is that narrow strip of sea-board which lies along the North-Eastern shore of the Adriatic. In its wider ancient and mediæval history, and under the illustrious name of Illyria, the territory of which it formed a part was the home of art-culture as it was of heroism. In the sixteenth century South Slavonia could boast a succession of sculptors, painters, and architects, some of whom were sufficiently famous to find employment in the embellishment of Italian cities.* Others found their way to the courts of Prague, Budapest, Vienna and Rome. Several acquired a European reputation. Of those employed in Italy, as their works consist usually of architecture or decoration, the English reader seldom learns more than the names—a poor and barren satisfaction, and

* The architect of the Palace of Urbino was Luca Schiavone (the Slavonian) of Lowrana. Matthias of Spalatro, George of Sebenico, Matthias Gojkovic, Nicolaus Tverdoj, Wenceslaus Bojaar, were architects whose works were known in Italy. Among painters we find Bernard of Parenzo, Benedict and Victor Carpaccio of Capo D'Istria, and many others.

one for which, considering their uncouthness, he has but little gratitude. The habit of calling them by their baptismal rather than by their gentile names, with perhaps the general appellation of Schiavone, is moreover a constant source of mystification; and unless the reader possesses not only a fair knowledge of Italian nomenclature, but also some idea of Illyrian, he will encounter the risk of many a fruitless chase.*

The present biographical sketch is founded on materials never before presented in English. It confines itself to such facts as are confirmed either by original documents still extant, or by the testimony of reliable contemporaries. It does not pretend to discuss all the wild and improbable and ill-founded traditions that are in existence with regard to the illustrious miniaturist. With regard, however, to one or two important questions which are still matters of dispute, an attempt is made to ascertain the truth, as nearly as may be possible, in the absence of direct evidence. For such as may be termed the critical and descriptive portion, reliance

* Among the scholars and miniaturists employed by the great Matthias Corvinus, of Hungary, was Felix of Ragusa (Felice Ragusino). In the *Lexicon of South Slavonic artists*, by Sakcinski, he is given as Felix Dubrovchanin. Naturally, at first glance, we should suppose that we had found the real family name of the Ragusan. But it is no such thing. Dubrovchanin is simply "native of Dubrova," and Dubrova is Ragusa.

has been placed only upon the opinions of the best and most competent eye-witnesses ; or, where it has been possible, upon the writer's own personal knowledge obtained from the frequent examination of well-authenticated examples in various European libraries. The writer, therefore, has refrained from repeating many random and unauthenticated statements which have hitherto passed current as biographical facts. Nor has he thought it necessary merely to re-echo uncritical and sometimes undeserved eulogiums. With such material as he has been able to collect, he has endeavoured to make out at least a truthful story, and to place his subject in such a light that his readers may gain a fair understanding of it without exaggeration and without romance. The memoir takes up the period and career of an artist of undoubted ability, if not genius, heretofore for the most part erroneously dealt with, and concerns itself with an art usually passed over as not quite worth the trouble of accuracy.*

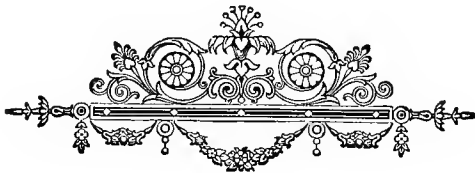
We shall have to follow neglected or forgotten byways, and shall ramble at leisure along paths now

* I regret to say that even in so beautiful and conscientious a work as that of Dr. Profert, many of the old exploded doctrines with regard to certain miniatures and miniaturists remain uncontradicted. On the later portrait-miniaturists his authority is excellent ; on the subject-miniaturists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries he has been misled more than once.

quite forsaken, but once busy with the tread of many feet. Our road will not be the beaten highway of Art History. Had it been so probably it need not have been followed. The guide at least would have found the landmarks more reliable. But what can a traveller learn about a country which he visits only at the same familiar points, and traverses by the same familiar routes? They may be entirely worth his attention, but they have been seen and celebrated by a well-known succession of visitors such as himself. What can he know of the secluded valleys—of the lonely uplands—of the swarming villages? He has passed them by. The necessity for following the regulation route forbids byways and discourages individual exploration. It is sufficiently uncomfortable for the ordinary tourist to find himself where roads are few and rugged and hostelries unknown. It is uncomfortable for a writer to find himself, after considerable progress, committed to a subject where recorded facts are few and indistinct, and where almost all chance of finding the way depends on the persevering determination to pry into every literary corner, overturn every stone of document, and prowl about every mouldering ruin of a memorandum. But as the circumstances of travel are changing, and a new and vigorous curiosity seizes the public mind for scenes about which the ordinary traveller

has nothing to relate, so there is a corresponding curiosity setting in towards the exploration and unearthing of even the humblest creation that has served as a way-mark in the history of by-gone art. Here, then, is offered a glimpse into a scene, that in its far-off perspective now seems only a sequestered vale in the Art world of the sixteenth century. Yet it is a scene full of life and activity—of just such human interest and movement and passion as exist in our very midst. It presents men whose names in the cultured days of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, of the Medici Princes, of the Farnese and Della Rovere Popes, and during the exciting time of the great Tridentine Council, rang throughout artistic Europe. As to Clovio himself, if we omit the five foremost masters of the Renaissance, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raffaello, Correggio, Tiziano, no one in his own time stood higher in reputation. The lavish epithets of eulogy employed by every writer who has mentioned his name may be taken for what they are worth—mostly echoes. Yet they imply an importance and character which is worth examination. To those who have not seen with their own eyes the productions of the artist's hand, and who do not care simply to pass on the parrot-like phraseology of mere compilation, there seems nothing but gross and ignorant panegyric. Vasari as the mouthpiece of contemporary opinion

calls him: "il meraviglioso," "il piccolo Michelagnolo," "il principe dei miniatori;" and this is the tone of all after-comers. Lomazzo speaks of him as "il mirabile," "l'unico." Lanzi, even: "il restauratore delle arti." Zani: "il Raffaello dei Miniatori." Rosini: "insuperato miraculoso." And so on. Nagler referring to his productions says, "Alles hat ein rafaelisches gepräge." In short the universal testimony is that he was the most famous miniaturist of his own time, and his time was that of the most famous artists of the modern world.



CHAPTER I.

Introductory notes on Clovio's family and birthplace—Clovio born 1498—State of affairs in Croatia—His first tutors and work—At eighteen years of age is invited to Rome—Precocity of Italian artists—Clovio's earliest patrons—The Grimani family.

GIORGIO CLOVIO, in his native language Juraj Glovichsich (Glovichic), was by birth a Croatian. He was a native of Grizane,* a village near the Adriatic Sea, and within the territory of the town of Modrush.† The town is not easy to find in modern maps; but in the careful atlas of Ortelius it is given near the extremity of the little river Mrenitza—a confluent of the Save—as Modrusch. It was only a small town lying among the hills which skirted this rugged coast, but as the

* The "z" is pronounced like the French "j." Grizane is in the diocese of Modrush, as before stated. In documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is called Krizane, and lies in the district of Vinodol, between Bakarac and Bribir. Formerly it had appertained to the family of the Frangipani, but in 1474 Count Martino Frangipani made it over by will to the Franciscan monastery of Tersat which he had founded. In this will he states that he bought the village of his niece Margaretha, sister of Count Bartolommeo Frangipani. In a Glagolitic document of 1596 there comes under the seal a signature of one Bernac Glovichic of Grizane. The name occurs repeatedly on similar documents.

† *Or* Modrus.

chief place of the district, gave its name to the lordship, once in possession of a branch of the great Illyrian family of Frangipani.* At the close of the fifteenth century, the Ban or ruler of Croatia was John Corvinus, son of the Great Matthias of Hungary.† He held his viceroyalty under Ladislas, and administered the province with prudence and ability. After a brief resignation in 1499, he resumed it until 1504, when he died. His illegitimacy, though it may have deprived him of his father's crown, did not deny him the compensation of a marked share of his father's genius, nor of his natural capacity as a ruler of men. His infant son

* In dissentione illa quæ erat inter Fridericum Imperatorem et Regem Matthiam plurimi Croatiae procerum Friderico adhærebant, cum primis vero Frangepani, ut ideo a Mathia Rege privati ecutique castris plurimis fuerint. Anno 1464, Martinus Frangepanus gratiam meruit, at cessa Regi Castro Krupa, quod a Teutonicis redemerat castra Regia Kostanicza, Sztenichniak. Lipovch cum horum pertinentibus lege ea accepit ut a morte sua continuo ad Regem devolvantur.—*Balthasar Adam Kereselich de Corbavia; de Regnis Dalmatiæ Croatiae Sclavoniæ. Notitiæ Præliminaries*, 290. *Fol. Zagrab. n. d.* And for other services of the said Martin, other properties were bestowed on him, which were held by successive counts Frangipani, especially the Castle of Bachar.—*Ib.* 291.

† Croatiam, si non totam, majorem profectò ejus partem, Matthias Rex, ob bella cum Turcis aliisque habita, militaris jurisdictionis jurisque tenuit et gubernavit. 1496. Mandat Vladislaus Joanne Corvino Sclavoniæ, Dalmatiæ et Croatiae Bano, ut, &c.—*Ib.* 301.

Christopher died the following year, and thus the race of the magnificent King Matthias became extinct within seven years of his own death.

In the early days of the sixteenth century the territory was claimed by Venice, but it was soon fated to relapse into a debatable land. GIORGIO was born in the year 1498. The exact name of his family is difficult to make out; but as a fellow-countryman seems to have the best right to an opinion on this point, I have followed the statement of Sakcinski, the learned compiler of the *Lexicon of South Slavonic Artists*, who decides on the one I have already given. To the rest of Europe the artist has always been known by his Italianized name of CLOVIO. The name Giulio or Julius signed to many of his pictures, and by which in later life he was universally known, was not baptismal, as assumed by Vasari, but was taken up under peculiar circumstances out of respect and gratitude to one of his earliest and sincerest friends. It is almost needless to say that the supposed family name of Grovato or Grovata is simply a misreading of his customary signature Crovato or Crovata,* a term applied to him according to sixteenth century usage, and adopted by himself as a native of Croatia. Nothing in those days was commoner than this

* As to the "o" or "a" of the termination, that is according to its Italian or Croatian spelling.

usage. Pietro Vanucci was Pietro Perugino. Paolo Cagliari was Paolo Veronese. Antonio Allegri was always better known as Correggio. The custom was universal, and accordingly Giulio Clovio became known as Julio Crovato.

With regard to his childhood, we have no precise information. It is most probable that until about his eighteenth year he lived with his parents at Grizane. The family seemed to have been tolerably well-to-do, for a Macedonian ancestry is alluded to as denoting a position of some consideration, possibly as nobles—at least as substantial cultivators of the soil. “Macedo” is one of the names by which Clovio’s signature is frequently accompanied, and there is a certain Captain Guido Clovio related to our artist, who is assumed to be a man of respectable social position in those military times. According to the custom of the age, Giorgio would receive the rudiments of education from some neighbouring monastic school; and whilst thus engaged was doubtless encouraged to follow his natural gift for drawing, since almost all the cloisters of Southern Slavonia could then boast their calligraphers and illuminators of books.*

When about eighteen years of age he is mentioned or the first time by his contemporary, Giorgio Vasari, as being already in the employment of one

* *Sakcinski. Leben, &c.* German translation.

of the most distinguished families in Venice. How one so young should come to be favoured with any important commission may be the more easily accounted for if we pay attention for a moment to the political history of the time. For even in those days of artistic precocity, and in that supremely favoured land of artistic culture, it was not every promising youth of eighteen who slipped easily into a valuable appointment. At the same time, youthfulness was no drawback to the chance of very important commissions. The miniaturist Liberale, when invited to illuminate the choir books of Monte Oliveto Maggiore of Siena, was only sixteen.* Pierino del Vaga, who painted the Old Testament subjects in the Loggie of the Vatican—known as Raffael's Bible—was no older when he executed the frescoes from his master's sketches.† Raffaello himself was eighteen when he went to assist Pinturicchio at Siena. When he painted the "Sposalizio," he was twenty-one. As to Clovio, it is not difficult to imagine how he became known to the great family of Grimani. About the time of his birth it happened that the renowned Venetian Admiral, Antonio Grimani, was employed by the

* *Vasari: Vite, &c. Ed. Lemonnier, Firenze. Vol. ix. p. 170, note 4. Bernasconi: Studiij sopra la Storia della Pittura Italiana dei Secoli XIV. ed XV. &c. Verona, 1865. 8vo. p. 244, &c.*

† *Wilson (C. H.) Life of Michelangelo, p. 9.*

Italian League as captain-general of the combined forces of Christendom against the Turks, who were then striving to force their way across Europe. They had already obtained a footing in Croatia, whose last monarch, to save his country, had made over his rights to the kings of Hungary. The Magyar claims, however, were vigorously disputed both by the Turks and Venetians, and in the last decade of the fifteenth century, each power had seized various districts, and by sheer force exercised a variable and precarious military authority in them. The natural result was an incessant petty warfare, in the course of which Grimani was drawn towards the neighbourhood of Modrush. At such a time it is impossible that Clovio's family could have escaped their share of requisitioning and other incidental discomforts inseparable from a theatre of war, and the more substantial the homestead, the more likely it was to come under the notice of the noble and honourable Commander. From the respectful way in which the young artist was afterwards treated by every member of the Grimani family it seems natural to believe that valuable service had been rendered to the admiral during the campaign of 1499. It is equally natural to conclude that as the boy grew in skill beneath the fostering care of the good fathers of the monastery he would be brought by them, according to a

common practice, under the notice of the territorial nobles of the district. Not long before his birth the immediate lords of Grizane had been the Frangipani, and their influence as patrons was still powerful in the neighbourhood. They then—by a courteous usage frequent among the cultivated nobility of Italy, and of which we meet with numerous instances in the familiar letters of Cardinal Farnese*—would pass the artist's name with their recommendation to those of their correspondents whom they knew to be interested in such matters. In this manner without any departure from the ordinary course of events the Clovios might have been brought back to the recollection of the Grimani, and the youth introduced to the service in which we find him when first he comes personally beneath our notice. But whatever may have been the actual course of his education or experience, or of his introduction to his earliest patron, it is asserted as a fact that within twenty years of the time when the now aged admiral visited his birth-place, Clovio was established in the employment of one of the admiral's sons. Vasari, as already mentioned, says that at the age of eighteen he came into Italy and placed himself in the service of Marino, Cardinal Grimani, with whom in the space of three years he attained such skill in drawing, as

* *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*

far as to exceed what was expected of him, as might be seen in several drawings of medals which he made for that nobleman. They are, indeed, most minutely executed with the pen, and with extreme and, so to speak, incredible diligence.* It is well to bear in mind that Vasari is the father of Art-biography, so as to make due allowance for the pioneer in a new field. The labour of producing a work of the magnitude of his "Lives" must have been enormous, and the difficulty of obtaining accurate information on every point, at times very great indeed. I have, myself, no sympathy with the growing practice of decrying this most useful and interesting writer. Everybody knows his inaccuracy in points of detail. If, therefore, I venture to correct any little error that falls in my way, I do so with a most sincere respect on the whole for his invaluable work. It is devoutly to be wished that we had more of it, and that the volume of letters, the contents of which are on record, might still be found, together with those portfolios and books of drawings to which he occasionally refers.† In his mention of Clovio's, just quoted, there is a slight confusion. Marino Grimani was not created cardinal till 1526, while Clovio's introduction must have occurred in 1516. The fact that Marino

* *Vite, &c. Ed. Sansoni.*

† These to some extent are certainly dispersed.

Grimani was afterwards, for many years, the patron and sincere friend of Clovio, was well known, hence Vasari's mistake. But in 1516 it was Cardinal Domenico Grimani who was the great art-patron and book-collector of the family. It was he who bought of one Antonio, of Sicily—a dealer in MSS., not an artist, as the *anonimo* of Morelli mistakenly imagined—the celebrated Franciscan Breviary which bears the Grimani name, and is still jealously preserved as the greatest treasure in the Marcian Library at Venice.*

At the time of Clovio's engagement, Domenico was residing in Rome, where he possessed one of the best libraries in Europe, a library afterwards transferred to Venice, and spoken of by Erasmus with unqualified enthusiasm.† With him, under the character of an exile, resided his venerable father, the once popular admiral, consigned to per-

* Speaking of inaccuracies, in a notice of Clovio by A. Ronchini, in *Atti e Memorie*, &c. iii. 259-270, several very needless errors are committed. For example, Ronchini calls Clovio's birthplace *Grifone*. This is a misprint copied from Baglione. Then "S'acconcio a servizio del Veneto patrizio Marino Grimani poi Cardinale" copied without examination from Vasari. Vasari indeed, by a simple error, says Cardinal Marino: Ronchini emphasizes the error itself by adding "poi," whereas Marino, as stated in the text, was not made a cardinal until 1526.

† It was to Cardinal Domenico Marini that Erasmus dedicated his Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans.

petual banishment for having, whilst in command of the fleet in 1499, been guilty of permitting the Turks to capture Lepanto. Antonio's original sentence had been one of imprisonment for life, but the dread of a punishment so severe and so undeserved had brought Domenico to Venice with a petition that his father might be permitted to retire from Cherso to Rome, and thus it came to pass that when the young Croatian artist was brought to work for the cardinal, it was to Rome, and not to Venice, or Mantua, or Aquileia, the other cities in which Cardinal Grimani had resided. It was in Rome that he first made the acquaintance of Giulio Romano. Rome was the artistic starting-point of his career, and always looked forward to as the goal. Rome was the place in which, notwithstanding many enforced and painful wanderings, he laboured longest, and achieved his greatest successes, in which he formed his life-long friendships, and in which he finished his exceedingly long and laborious career. Soon after his arrival in Rome, the turn of events in Venice led to the recall of the aged father of his patron. Antonio Grimani was restored to all his forfeited honours, and, although in his ninety-seventh year, elected to the Dogeship. His election took place in 1521. In 1523 he died. Domenico died in the same year, but the death of the noble-hearted cardinal did not compel Clovio to seek a

new employment. He passed, bequeathed, as it were, by his master's will, into the service of Marino Grimani. This distinguished churchman was at that time patriarch of Aquileia, and had become the fortunate inheritor of the priceless treasures of literature and art collected by his uncle Domenico.



CHAPTER II.

Clovio's first visit to Italy, 1516—Probable character of his earliest commissions—Meets Giulio Romano—Advised to keep to miniature—Studies in the Thermæ of Titus—Raffaello and his drawings from the grottesche—Position of Raffaello as commissioner for ancient buildings—Clovio's first coloured miniature—A copy from Dürer—Other works—Goes to Buda—His acquaintance with Francisco de Holanda and Michelangelo—Conversations.

THE pen-drawings which formed Clovio's introduction to Italian patronage were of a very small size, worked, says Vasari, "con extrema e quasi incredibile diligenza." It is not impossible that the long attention which he gave to this work in reality developed out of his general ability as an artist—that special turn for minute finish which so powerfully attracted the admiration of his contemporaries. We may form some idea of the performance, in looking at the beautiful but far less famous pen-drawings of Enea Vico and Ottavio Strada, several volumes of which, precisely similar in character, are preserved in the British Museum.*

* XII. *Cæsarum, manu Æneæ Vici. Squ. 8°. Harl. MSS. 5381. Octavius de Strada, Simbola Romanor. Imperatorum, &c., sm. fol. 1597. Addl. MSS. 30065.*

Di vostra Eccellenza humilissimo
seruadore,
Enea da Parma

fedel seruo Julio romano

Jul. Ro.


Al signor lo de bonarrom
Sumoni iohannese i roma

Humilissimo seruadore
Don Giulio Clovio

AUTOGRAPHS OF ARTISTS.

ENEAS VICO. JULIO ROMANO. MICHELANGELO. CLOVIO.

From existing documents.

These very neat and clever drawings also represent medals, or devices intended for them, and it is scarcely likely that the work of a mere boy, however promising, would surpass very greatly that of a veteran artist and engraver like Vico, or a practised draughtsman like Strada.* The decided success of the young artist in the little drawings executed for Domenico Grimani, led his friend and adviser Giulio Romano to urge his entire devotion to miniature. Every one who saw them gave him the same advice. Indeed, when with the love of change incident to youth, being inspired by the sight of Romano's own work, he thought of dropping his present occupation and applying himself to fresco or oil-painting, Giulio, who seems ever to have been his sincere and faithful friend, earnestly begged him by all means not to think of relinquishing what was so manifestly his true vocation, and the one in which he would by-and-by inevitably acquire distinction. Romano himself, moreover, taught the youthful draughtsman his own method of mixing and applying colours, together with the use of gum-water in place of the older vehicles as a medium for water-colours. To this extent Clovio may be said to have been the pupil of

* Vico was one of the best penmen as well as engravers of his time. A letter reproduced by Milanese shows him to have been quite the equal of such professional copyists as Verrazano or Vespasiano Amfiareo.

Giulio Romano. It will be remembered that Giulio Pippi, called "Il Romano," was one of, if not *the* ablest of that skilful band of artists whom Raffaello chose to assist him in the decorations of the Vatican "Loggie," or open galleries of the Papal Palace in Rome. Three years before that which brought Clovio to Rome, Raffaello had been appointed inspector of public edifices and antiquities in Rome and its neighbourhood, an office which involved the duty of examining ruins, and all discoveries of stones and marbles within a radius of ten miles. It also gave him a commission to collect sculptures, inscriptions, and any other relics he might meet with, to be preserved for the advancement of letters, and for the elegance of the Latin tongue.* Hence his official

* The Brief of Leo X. appointing Raffaello to the post of Superintendent of Antiquities is dated:—Rome, 27th August, 1575. As the document is interesting I translate it from *Gruyer: Raphaël et l'Antiquité, I. 435*:—

To RAFFAELLO OF URBINO.

"It is of the greatest importance, for the works of the Roman Temple of the Prince of Apostles, that the stone and marbles, of which a great quantity is of necessity required, should be readily obtained in the localities brought together by us. And since we know that Roman remains should furnish an abundance of them, that almost everybody takes the marbles of all kinds for building purposes in and about Rome, and that it is the same with the materials found in turning up the soil, we name you, seeing that you have received from us the superintendence of the works, Inspector-in-Chief of all the marbles and stones which shall be exhumed from this day forth, in Rome, and within a

position gave him the right to be among the first to examine the newly-discovered paintings in the Baths of Titus, then being exhumed on the Esquiline, an opportunity which he seized for the purpose of making careful and detailed copies of those eminently beautiful examples of ancient art. Some of the drawings he made with his own hand. Others he entrusted to his assistants, and there can be no doubt that Clovio acquired some of his earliest and most permanent characteristics and principles of colouring from these very studies, if not indeed from

distance of ten miles therefrom, that you may purchase them should they prove of service for the construction of the Temple. We, therefore, admonish all persons, of whatever condition, whether of noble family and high in dignity, or of lower, or even of the lowest rank, that before all, they shall assist you in your quality of Superintendent, with all the marbles and stones, of all kinds, which shall be discovered within the circumference which we have indicated. Whoever shall not obey this admonition, after a delay of three days, shall be subject to a fine of 100 to 300 ducats of gold, according to your will. Besides, inasmuch as it has been reported that persons have inconsiderately possessed themselves (or made use) of antique fragments of marble, on which are found inscriptions which often contain memorable things, and which ought to be preserved for the advancement of letters and for the elegance of the Latin tongue, but which in such wise are lost, we enjoin upon all such as carry on the profession of stone-cutters in Rome, not to break nor chip stones bearing inscriptions, without your consent, under pain of the same fine, should they disobey our commands.

“Given at ROME, this 27th day of August, in the Third Year of our Pontificate ” (*i.e.* 1515).

working with the rest among the actual frescoes of the Thermæ. We know that from this time even Raffaello himself somewhat modified his system of colouring, and that the decorations executed under his direction and from his designs in the Loggie of the Vatican and elsewhere, are the direct outcome of the enthusiasm created by the *grottesche* as they were called, of the old Imperial Baths. The most striking peculiarity of this ancient colouring, apart from its somewhat singular gamut, consists in the delicate and dainty introduction of colour into the folds and recesses only of the draperies, and the shaded sides of the figure, and its almost entire exclusion from the highest lights, except that, at times, the latter are tinted with a faint and tender *nuance* of the complimentary hue. This system of colouring, more or less pronounced, is observable in all the decorations carried out by the artists who made the aforesaid studies. Of this character are the so-called arabesques or *grottesche* of the Farnesina,* of the Villa di Madama near

* The villa called the Farnesina, or "little Farnese," to distinguish it from the Palace begun by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese the elder, afterwards Pope Paul III., is situate on the right bank of the Tiber, near the end of the long narrow street called the Lungara. It was built by Baldassare Peruzzi at the expense of the great Roman Banker Agostino Chigi, to rival the palace of the Riarii (now called the Corsini), which stood on the other side of the same street. The decorations

Rome,* and of the Palazzo del "T." at Mantua,† and in short of every piece of decoration from the sixteenth century to the present time over which these masters in ornament have had any influence,

were executed partly from the designs of Raffaello, by Giulio Romano [this has been recently disputed, and the decoration designs accorded to Peruzzi, while the plan of the whole is given to Raffaello], Francesco Penni, and Giovanni da Udine—the three greatest decorators of the age. There were also important paintings by Sebastiano del Piombo. But its great attraction is the series of twelve pictures containing the story of Psyche from Apuleius, after the designs of Raffaello.

* The Villa Madama (which must not be confounded with the Palazzo di Madama in the city) is a mansion built by G. Romano from Raffaello's plans, for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. Like the Palazzo, it obtained its name from having been, when in the possession of the Farnese family, the residence of Margaret the celebrated daughter of Charles V., who, first married to Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, became, after his assassination, the wife of Ottavio Farnese Duke of Parma, then some years her junior. It was built on a spur of Monte Mario, on the road to the Ponte Molle. Its decorations were executed by G. Romano and Giovanni da Udine. Like the rest of the Farnese possessions, it became eventually the property of the Bourbon Kings of Naples.

† The celebrated Palazzo del T., so called, it is said, from the resemblance of its plan to the letter T, was designed by G. Romano, for the Duke of Mantua. The original intention of the Duke had been to alter certain stables into a residence of very modest proportions, but Giulio's plans were so beautiful, and displayed such manifest ability, that the Duke was induced to have them put into tangible shape. The decorations have been repeatedly described.

or in which the principles of ancient Roman painting have survived.* It is indeed so decidedly a Cloviesca peculiarity, and one so slavishly imitated by his copyists, that many works have been hastily attributed to him simply on the strength of it alone.

It does not seem unlikely that Clovio, on his engagement by Cardinal Grimani, had already found his way to Venice. In fact, coming by the usual route from the Istrian side of the gulf, he could scarcely avoid making Venice his first important resting place. Besides, it was the home of his patron's family. At that time, too, the fame of Albrecht Dürer, who had recently visited the island-city, was in everybody's mouth. Quite a *furor* of admiration had set in, and Italian artists, engravers especially, were already busy copying the quaint but vigorous productions of the great Nuremberg draughtsman.

Vasari relates that the first piece of miniature painting in which Clovio attempted colour, was a Madonna, from an engraving by Albrecht Dürer. Clearly the young Croatian stranger was smitten with the prevalent momentary frenzy, but whether at Venice or Rome is of no consequence. The engraving in question forms the frontispiece of one

* The ceilings and pilasters of the Pamfili-Doria Palace in Rome, painted by Gennazini, are, as to colouring, executed precisely in the same manner.

of Dürer's largest books of engravings, called "Epitome in Divæ parthenices Mariæ historiam,"* which had been published at Nuremberg in 1511, and was already, doubtless, in Domenico Grimani's library in Rome. It is a large folio—the largest and most important of the three "great books"—and had only appeared in a complete form in the above-named year, the beautiful frontispiece being then issued for the first time. The three books were the "Apocalypse," the "Great Passion," and this "Marienleben," or life of the Virgin. They consisted respectively of sixteen, twelve, and twenty sheets of wood-engravings, of the finest and most elaborate work perhaps ever produced on wood. Of course, in 1519 the woodcuts of the great German masters were not merely a novelty, but a marvel of technical skill. They took the school of Raffaello by storm. Among those who strove to imitate both the wood and copper plates, Marc Antonio Raimondi even went so far as to copy, not only Dürer's designs, but also his well-known monogram upon them, and to sell the copies as Dürer's own work. This was carrying the flattery of

* A very fine copy of the volume is to be seen in the British Museum Library. It is one of the first edition, and the impressions exceedingly choice and brilliant. There is also a reproduction of its beautiful title-page, in *L'Art pratique*, 1879. No. 77. *Leipzig: G. Hirth.*

imitation beyond all reasonable bounds, and Dürer was put to considerable trouble and expense, including one or two journeys into Italy, before the fraud was effectually exposed, and his own rights vindicated.

The great title-page copied by Clovio and turned by his skill into a charming miniature painting, was one truly worthy of all the loving labour he bestowed upon it. The Virgin mother is represented as holding the infant Christ to her bosom. She is seated on a rich cushion placed on a crescent moon—a starry crown hangs over her head while a dense and powerful radiance flashes from her person on every side. Dürer probably never designed a nobler or more graceful figure.

Besides this Madonna, Clovio now began to paint many other miniatures, in some of which he attempted original composition, and being astonishingly successful, obtained so widespread a reputation that within a very few years he was invited to one of the most splendid Courts in Europe. In 1524, at the request of the celebrated Alberto Pio da Carpi, he accompanied that nobleman to Buda, the famous royal city of Hungary, and was introduced to the young King, Louis II., the luxurious, chivalrous, ill-starred successor of great Matthias Corvinus, who had been the most magnificent of book-collectors. No more congenial field for the exercise of Clovio's special talents could have been imagined. The

Corvina Library still existed in almost its original completeness and splendour, containing the masterpieces in book decoration of all Clovio's greatest predecessors and contemporaries. What a banquet for the enthusiastic illuminator! Those truly regal presses, so gorgeously described by Schier* after Naldi's panegyric, held the finest works of Gherardo, Monte di Giovanni, Fra Eustachio, and Attavante; and numerous other masterpieces of the miniaturists of Verona, Siena, Milan, Florence, and Rome. To these fascinating volumes there can be no doubt Clovio would at once have ready access, for he obtained an immediate commission from the King to add to the collection something from his own excellent though still quite youthful hand. Unhappily for himself, his stay in this artistic paradise was but of short duration. He reached Buda, as stated above, in 1524. In 1526 was fought the rash and disastrous battle of Mohacz, in fleeing from which the over-hasty Louis lost his life, and the issue of which threw the royal city with all its treasures into the hands of the Turkish soldiery. There is no need to enlarge upon the excesses of that terrible capture. City and fortress were sacked, and most of the contents of the royal palace and library stolen, or mutilated, or reduced

* *Xystus Schier: De Regia Budensi Bibl. Matthiæ Corvini.*
Naldus Naldius: De Laudib. augustæ bibliothecæ.

to ashes. The mischief was not so complete as has often been asserted, but quite sufficient to destroy its prestige, for the vast hoards of the Corvina were speedily dispersed. It is nevertheless sadly true that rich bindings were ruthlessly torn to pieces for the sake of the gems, or precious metals with which they were adorned, and priceless miniatures cut roughly from the once cherished volumes and bartered for draughts of wine or trifling sums of money among other loot of the hapless city. The copyists and illuminators, of whom Corvinus had maintained a regular well-organized staff, and who, in part, had been retained by Louis, fled for their lives. Clovio did not return direct to Italy, but made his way hurriedly to his native village. Here he was still pursued by misfortune, for the town of Modrush was immediately captured and destroyed by the merciless conquerors of Mohacz.

During his brief stay at Buda, Clovio painted for the King a "chiaroscuro"—as the Italians call a monochrome modelled in brown or grey—of the Judgment of Paris; and for the Queen Maria (several extracts from whose memorandum books have recently been brought to light), a classical composition relating to the story of the Roman Lucretia, together with a number of other subjects, many of which are no doubt still in existence and carefully preserved, though possibly not identified

as the work of Clovio. Later in the same year in which he and his fellow-artists fled from Buda, we find him again in Rome, only, however, to fall into still deeper and more overwhelming misfortunes. At this time he is mentioned as being, though only for a brief period, in the service of the well-known diplomatist, Cardinal Campeggio. During this engagement he painted a Madonna and other important miniatures, and was already recognized as an experienced and most accomplished artist. But being anxious to acquire a nobler and more masterly style, as he thought—having fallen evidently under the irresistible influence of Michelangelo—he diligently applied himself to copy the works of that great master. The task he performed most slavishly. Michelangelo had completed the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in 1512, and for fourteen years that marvellous *tour de force* of the painter's art had been the admiration of every visitor. Not obscure and honeycombed then as it is now, but in all the vigour and freshness of perfect finish and unrivalled chiaroscuro; no wonder that Clovio, coming again to it fresh from far-off scenes and other styles, should feel anew all the masterfulness of its force—all the learning and nobility of its design, and so yield to a desire for a more dignified and masterly style himself. In 1526 Raffaello had been dead six years, and Michelangelo for the last seven years living in Florence,

nor did the stern old man return to Rome until 1534, when he began his Last Judgment. But from this time till his death in 1564, Michelangelo became the personal friend and sage counsellor of his illustrious imitator, who eventually so mastered his characteristics in another manner of painting as to win the *soubriquet* of the "Michelangelo in little." The habit of copying or imitating that energetic and most sculpturesque of painters was by no means a transient fancy, for if in 1526, or soon after, we find Clovio studying and copying the Sistine ceiling, twenty years afterwards we again find him executing a Last Judgment which seemed to differ only in dimensions from the colossal fresco of the Sistine Chapel.

A singularly interesting memento of these studies occurs in a little book of offices belonging to the British Museum Library.* At the foot of fol. 91 *b*, beneath the miniature of David's penitence, and forming the centre of the lower border, is a David and Goliath, frankly and directly copied from the same subject in the corner of the Sistine ceiling between Zacharias and the Erythræan Sibyl. The only alteration made by the miniaturist has been to adapt a background. As yet Clovio may not have been personally acquainted with the sensitive

* *Addit. MSS. No. 20927.*

and taciturn Florentine, who was still and had been for many years a wilful absentee from Rome. But we learn from the curious—if genuine—memoirs of Francesco de Holanda, the Portuguese miniaturist and architect, that in their later years the two quiet and religious-minded artists lived in sincere mutual respect and affection, and that they were accustomed to meet from time to time, either in the little convent of San Silvestro on the Quirinale, as the guests of the grave and learned Vittoria Colonna, or in her palace down by the Piazza of the SS. Apostoli, where overlooking, or it may be strolling in the garden which is now a wilderness, amid a select circle of artists, scholars, and distinguished visitors, they would hold friendly converse and lengthy argument on questions of art, literature, or theology. On these occasions it would be the object of listeners to draw the usually silent Michelangelo into some impassioned explanation or defence, or to engage Clovio or Valerio Bello, or Francisco de Holanda, or it might be the passing visitor, in some warm yet friendly discussion of the painter's art.



CHAPTER III.

Francisco de Holanda and his Recollections—Their somewhat mythical character—Francisco's object in Rome—Interviews with Michelangelo—The Marchesa Vittoria Colonna—Opinions of Michelangelo on painters and styles of painting—Visit to Clovio—The invention of working in points—Dispute.

As the MS. of Francisco de Holanda, according to the statement of a recent traveller in Portugal, has disappeared from the place where it was formerly preserved, and therefore the only accessible notice of it is to be found in the pages of Count Racsynski's *Letters from Portugal*, the reader will perhaps pardon a digression—relating as much to Michelangelo almost as to Clovio. Not finding it possible to meet with the original text for the reason just given, I have made extracts from the French version published by Racsynski, and which seems to be sufficiently reliable,* on matters relating to the

* The translation from Holanda's MS. into French was made in 1843 by M. Roquemont, portrait painter. The MS. was found by Racsynski in the Library of Jésus at Lisbon, and published by him in his "Letters" addressed to the Artistic and Scientific Society of Berlin. Mr. Charles Clement has noted the person-

present topic.' The thoroughly garrulous and gossiping character of the memoranda made by the worthy Portuguese will be seen at once from the way in which he introduces himself and his object in visiting Rome.

"My intention," he says, "in going into Italy, whither I had been sent by my King, was not to seek any greater honour or emolument than the fulfilment of my duty. I had no ambition to get near the Pope and the Cardinals. The Almighty and the city of Rome itself are my witnesses of this truth. If I had wanted to establish myself in that city, perhaps it would not have been difficult, either by the means at my own disposal or by favour of the distinguished personages belonging to the Papal Court, for me to have done so; but this thought was far from me. . . . The constant object of my preoccupations was to seek how I might be able by my art to make myself useful to the King my master who had sent me into Italy. . . . Thus I never find any object of painting, sculpture, or architecture, ancient or modern, without at least taking some souvenir of what is most curious about it. . . . Such were my aspirations, my actions, and my duties. No one saw me run after the great

ality of F. de Holanda; and the late Librarian of the Sorbonne, who died in 1882, at the age of thirty, had intended to publish Holanda's Album, now in the Library of the Escorial.

Cardinal Farnese, or curry favour with any other powerful *datario*. My sole care was to call one day upon Don Julio Clovio, another upon Messer Michelangelo; now upon Baccio Bandinelli, the noble sculptor; now upon Messer Perino del Vaga, or Sebastiano del Piombo, the Venetian; or upon Valerio Vicentino, the medallist; Jacopo Mellequino, the architect; Lattanzio Tolomei—all men whose acquaintance and friendship I am proud of, and esteem above anyone else of loftier rank or greater distinction—if, indeed, it be possible to find such in the world. And Rome herself holds them in the same estimation that I do. In cultivating their society I gathered for my art some fruit and some teaching from their works. I recreated my mind whilst conversing on illustrious and noble things of ancient and modern times. Messer Michelangelo especially inspired me with such an esteem that if I met him in the Pope's Palace or in the street, I always had to drag myself away only when the stars compelled me to withdraw; and Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, the ambassador, could bear witness of the importance and difficulty of this, just as he could say how one evening on going to vespers Messer Michel rallied me on certain profit I was making drawing the notable works of Rome, and Italy generally, for the Cardinal S. Quattro, and for himself Michelangelo. My palace, my tribunal

della rota, was the grave temple of the Pantheon ; around which I prowled, taking note of every member of its architecture and of each of its venerable columns. The mausoleum of Adrian also, and that of Augustus ; the Coliseum, the Thermæ of Antonius and of Dioclesian ; the Arch of Titus, and that of Severus ; the Capitol ; the Theatre of Marcellus, and all the rest of the wonders of this city—the names of which will never be effaced from my memory. And if at times I happened to penetrate within the magnificent chambers of the Pope, I was only led there by my admiration for Raffaello of Urbino, who has decorated them with his noble hand ;* for I used to prefer much those ancient masters, those men of marble, immovable on the arches and columns of the ancient edifices, to the more fluctuating people who surrounded us. I found in their grave silence quite loftier lessons than in the useless talk with which the living wearied us. Among the number of days which I thus spent in this capital, was one—it was a Sunday—when I went to see, as usual, my friend Messer Lattanzio Tolomeo who had procured me the friendship of Michelangelo, by the intervention of Messer

* If these Memoirs are genuine, and not a clever concoction in the manner of Mill's *Travels of Theodore Ducas*, Holanda's visit is roughly dated by remarks like the above. Raffaello's "Stanze" were finished in 1520.

Blosio, the Pope's Secretary. This Messer Lattanzio was a grave personage, respectable as well from the nobility of his lineage (for he was nephew to the Cardinal of Siena), as from his sentiments, age, and manners.* I was told at his house that he had left orders to inform me that I should find him at Monte Cavallo, in the Church of San Silvestro, with Madame the Marchesa di Pescara, to hear a lecture on St. Paul's Epistles.

“Away therefore I went to Monte Cavallo and to San Silvestro. Now Madame Vittoria Colonna, the Marchesa and the sister of Signor Ascanio Colonna, is one of the most illustrious and celebrated ladies living either in Italy or indeed in Europe; that is, in the world. Chaste and beautiful, learned in Latinity and brilliant in wit; possessing moreover every virtue and quality that is praised in woman. Since the death of her illustrious husband she leads a modest and retired life, more than contented with the glory and splendour of her past years; she now cherishes only Jesus Christ and pious studies, and in her charity to the poor of her own sex sets

* Grimm thinks that Francisco's memory was somewhat treacherous as to names, especially as he wrote this account twelve years after, and suggests that he meant Claudio, not Lattanzio. But Lattanzio was then in Rome, as appears from other evidence.—*Grimm: Life of Michelangelo*, II. 262. (Bunnett's translation.)

an example of true Catholic piety. I was also indebted for my acquaintance with the lady to the friendship of Messer Lattanzio, her most intimate friend. Having caused me to be seated and the lecture and so forth being concluded, she turned to us and said: 'If I am not mistaken I believe that Francisco de Holanda would rather hear Messire Michelangelo discourse on painting than listen to this lecture of Fra Ambrogio.*' With which, somewhat piqued, I replied, 'Madame, it seems then to your Excellency, that I understand and know nothing except about painting. To be sure it would always be agreeable to me to listen to Michelangelo, but I would rather hear Brother Ambrose when he deals with the Epistles of St. Paul.' 'Do not trouble yourself, Messer Francisco,' then said Messer Lattanzio; 'Madame la Marchesa never imagines that the person capable of painting is not capable of everything; we have in Italy a very lofty idea of painting. But perhaps we should see in the words of M. la Marchesa that she intends

* Fra Ambrogio is supposed to be another slip of memory, but as the exact record of Vittoria Colonna's "at homes" has not been kept, it is hopeless to think of tracing every casual visitor. It has been suggested that this distinguished preacher was perhaps mistaken for Fra Bernardino, called Ochino, the celebrated Franciscan, whose portrait with his symbol, the tablet of I. H. S., occurs so often in devotional works. Ochino afterwards adopted the Reformed Faith.

to add to the pleasure you have just received, that of hearing Michelangelo.' I replied, 'In that case her Excellency will do for me nothing fresh or unusual—viz. the bestowal, purely of her own accord, of much more than any one would venture to ask of her.' The Marchesa, preceiving my inclination, called one of her servants and said, smiling: 'One should know how to give to those who can be grateful, and all the more readily since I should have as great a share left after having given, and Messer Francisco de Holanda after having received.' Then turning to an attendant: 'Hi! you there, get away at once to the house of Michelangelo. Tell him that Messer Lattanzio and I are in this chapel quite fresh, and that the church is closed and pleasant, and ask him if he will come and lose part of the day with us, so that we may gain it with him; but don't tell him that Francisco de Holanda, the Spaniard, is here.' As I was whispering to Lattanzio about the circumspection and delicacy which the Marchesa threw into the smallest trifles she asked us what our whispering was about.

“‘He was saying to me,’ replied Lattanzio, ‘how well your Excellency knew the use of prudence in everything, even in sending a message, for Messer Michel being already more to him than to me before his meeting with Messer Francisco, he will

do his utmost to avoid him, for when once they come together they know not how to separate.’

“‘It is because I know Messer Michelangelo,’ says the Marchesa, ‘that I am aware of that. Meantime, I hardly know how to get him to talk about painting.’”

After a little more talk in which Messer Francisco shows something of the honourable variety of genius so conspicuous in the Memoirs of Cellini, and a few moments of silence, there comes a knock at the door. “Everybody feared they would not see Michelangelo who lived at the foot of Monte Cavallo, but to my great satisfaction, as luck would have it, the messenger met him close by San Silvestro, going towards the Baths. He was coming along the Via Esquilina chatting with his colour-grinder Orbino; he therefore* found himself so properly caught that he could not escape, and it was in fact himself who now knocked at the door.”

The Portuguese painter goes on to relate with great liveliness the manner in which Michelangelo was at length drawn into a discussion on art, the conversation being full of sparkle, and good-

* This (says Grimm: *Life of Michelangelo*, II. 266. Note liii. 457) could not be the case, as it would have been in the neighbourhood of San Silvestro. M. Angelo lived at the foot of the Capitoline, on the Macello de’ Corvi. Possibly Francisco wrote Capitolino—the contraction of which the transcriber mistook for Cavallo.

humoured badinage. After some remarks on the character of the painter as a member of society, the Marchesa, smiling, continued :—

“Since we are on this subject, I wish very much to know what you think of Flemish painting, for it seems to me more devout than the Italian manner.”

“Flemish painting,” replied Michelangelo slowly, “generally pleases the devout better than that of Italy. The latter never caused such a one to shed a tear : that of Flanders always causes them to flow abundantly, and this result must be due, not to the vigour and merit of the painting, but altogether to the sensibility of the devotee.

“Flemish painting always seems beautiful to women, especially to the elderly sort, or indeed, to the very young, as also to monks and nuns, and to certain nobles, who are deaf to true harmony. In Flanders, they prefer to paint so as to deceive the external sight, either objects which charm the spectator, or such as you cannot object to, as saints and prophets. Ordinarily they are rubbish—tumbledown houses, fields extremely green, shadowed with trees, traversed by streams and hedges, the like of which are called landscapes, with multitudes of figures scattered about. Now although this makes a good effect to many eyes, in reality there is neither truth nor art in it : no symmetry, no proportions, no care of selection, no grandeur. Lastly, this painting is

without body and without vigour, and yet, for all this, they paint much worse elsewhere than in Flanders. If I speak so unfavourably of Flemish painting, it is not that it is altogether bad, but it aims at rendering with perfection so many things, a single one of which would be sufficient, that it does not accomplish any one thing in a satisfactory manner. It is only to works executed in Italy that we can give the name of true painting. And it is for this reason that good painting is called Italian. If they did it thus in any other country it would take the name of that country. Good painting is noble and devout in itself, for, among the wise, nothing elevates the soul more, nor carries it more towards devotion, than the difficulty of that perfection which approaches God and unites with Him. Now good painting is only a copy of His perfections—a shadow of His pencil; in fine, a music, a melody. It is only a most vivid intelligence which can perceive its great difficulty, hence it is so rare that few people obtain or know how to produce it. I will add further (which you will find very important), that of all climates or regions which the sun and moon shine upon, it is only in that of Italy that any one can paint well, and it will be next to impossible to do it anywhere else, even when other places produce geniuses equally great, if this be possible.”

He goes on to show that no foreign artist could quite perfectly imitate the Italian manner, which, he says, is that of ancient Greece. "That is so true," he continues, "that if even Albert Dürer, a man delicate and skilful in his manner wishing to deceive me or Francisco de Holanda, essayed to counterfeit a work of Italy, I should recognize at once that the work had not been done in Italy nor by an Italian."

If these can be looked upon as the genuine utterances of the great Italian to whom they are attributed, they show, at least, that he was not exempt from the national pride with which the Italian painters regarded their art, knowing that Italy was looked up to by the rest of Europe as the very home of true artistic genius, and the Holy Land to which all who desired to gain genuine inspiration must bend their steps.

But we must pass on to the portions of this remarkable diary which more particularly relate to our special subject.

In commencing the next division of his work Francisco says:—"I passed the night trying to recall the day which had just passed, and to prepare myself for the one about to follow." But it so happened—he is very circumstantial in his story—that he did not see Michelangelo again for another week. "These eight days seemed to me very long,

but Sunday came at length, and the time seemed too short, for I had wanted to be better armed with argument to speak in this noble company. When I arrived at San Silvestro, already had Fra Ambrogio finished his lecture on the Epistles, and had retired, and they were beginning to murmur at my delay. After acknowledging my indolence and receiving their forgiveness, and after the Marchesa had rallied me a little, and I had similarly rallied Michelangelo, we had permission to resume our discourse, and so I began."

What follows is a rapid but tolerably complete account of the various works scattered throughout Italy which Holanda represents Michelangelo as considering masterpieces.

Michelangelo, in these pages, exhibits an acquaintance with what had been done throughout the length and breadth of Italy, and especially in Rome itself, at which we cannot but wonder, considering the absorbing nature of his own artistic labours.

He shows an amount also of literary culture as regards ancient art which at once explains and accounts for his position as the greatest and most learned of the great masters in art in his own day. He speaks as a scholar, an antiquary, and a poet, and yet remains no less the master of technical detail of every kind in the matter of painting. The second part of Holanda's manuscript possesses the

very greatest interest for all those who admire Michelangelo, or care for even a doubtfully authenticated transcript of his conversation. But the part which concerns us in this place is Holanda's meeting with Clovio. The latter it appears had made a drawing for Holanda which introduces the following passage from the diary :

“ As I found it was still early when I arrived at the mansion of Cardinal Grimaldi,* I was anxious to see Don Julio di Macedonia, his gentleman, and the most famous of illuminators, about a work he was doing for me. Don Julio was delighted with my visit, for it was a good while since we had seen one another. After looking at our work (I say *our* work, because I had given him the drawing for it and he only added the colours), I wanted to bid him farewell. He wanted to know what I had got to do to rush off so suddenly. I told him I was going to the church of San Silvestro to meet Michelangelo, Donna Vittoria Colonna, and Messer Lattanzio Tolommei, a gentleman of Siena. Don Julio then said to me, ‘ Oh, Messer Francisco, what can I give you to get for me the favour of a share in so noble a society, so that Signor Michelangelo

* Qu. Grimani? There is constant uncertainty in this matter of personal names in this alleged diary. Cardinal Domenico Grimani died, as we have seen, in 1523. Marino Grimani was elected cardinal in 1527, the year after the disastrous sack of Rome.

will consent by your intercession to count me among the number of his servants?’

“‘Is it possible,’ said I, laughing, ‘that you would do me, a stranger, so great an honour—I who am only in this city one year whilst you are a Patrician of Rome and one of the most distinguished artists here! Speak yourself to Michelangelo; he will be delighted to know you, for really he is a most honourable and prudent man apart, from his skill. You don’t find him, when you come to know him, the bad character that you suppose him to be. However, as I owe to the favour of Madama la Marchesa the permission to enter this society, and as Michelangelo might feel a little put out, as not yet knowing you, pardon me for not taking the liberty of taking you with me without having first mentioned you. I will speak of you to them, Don Julio, and I am quite certain that from the information they will have about you, they will esteem you well worthy of their acquaintance. Allow me then to hasten away, for it is high time I was there.” I was about to leave Don Julio, but fate intended otherwise. I saw enter the room, Valerio di Vicenza* with three Roman gentlemen,

* Valerio Bello (or Belli) was a native of Vicenza, and one of the most famous medallists of the Renaissance. (Born about 1468. Died 1546.) He was celebrated for his cameos in rock-crystal, the most famous one being the *cavetta* given by

one of whom went away immediately. Valerio clasped me in his arms, making a great fuss of me, for he had not seen me since his return from Venice. He was a man of middle-age, still robust, and a gentleman of very pleasant bearing, and besides, one of those who in these latter times most nearly approached the ancients in the art of engraving medals in low relief—whether in gold, crystal, or steel. He had a great friendship for me, which I owed to his own excellent disposition and to Don Julio of Macedonia in whose house we now met. After our mutual salutations were over and he had learned from Don Julio how anxious I was to be gone, Valerio said :—

“‘Talk about something else, Messer Francisco di Holanda, for I shall not let you go out of this door until “the star of Hesperus shuts in the night!” I ask pardon very much of Madama la Marchesa and of Messer Michelangelo for the violence that I use—the motive will be a sufficient excuse. Stay here. I hope these gentlemen will not deprive us of their society.’ The gentlemen at once said they could not wish for anything more agreeable, and together with Don Julio begged me to remain. I was vexed not to be able to resume

P. Clement VII. to Francis I. on the marriage of Cath. de' Medici in 1533. See *Les Medailleurs Italiens des XV. et XVI. siècles*, par Alf. Armand. 2nd Edit. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1883.

my journey, but it seemed to me that I could not possibly do otherwise than stay where I was, besides I had not absolutely promised that I would accept the invitation of the Marchesa. I had only said that I would do my best to obey her Excellency, which indeed I had done up to that moment, having even set aside matters which were important to me. So I replied : ‘ I swear to you, by Father Tiber, Signor Valerio, that I would not have changed the destination of my journey for any interest in the world, other than the great pleasure which you desire to afford me, but since God has granted me the favour of meeting you, and as if I lose much on the one hand I gain more on the other, I am at your service and at the service of these gentlemen.’

“ Everybody seemed glad for me to stay. Then Valerio, to let me see that I should not want for subjects as interesting as those I should have had elsewhere, pulled out of the pocket of his velvet jerkin about fifty golden medals, executed by his own hand, looking like antiques, so admirably engraved and so perfectly struck that they made me lose much of the opinion which I had of antiquity. Among these medals, he showed me one of Artemisia, in the Greek manner, with the mausoleum on the reverse ; then one of Virgil in the Roman style, having on the reverse some pastoral

subject. These two medals pleased me beyond everything, and since then I have considered Messer Valerio as a greater artist than ever I did before.

“ ‘Well then,’ said he, ‘Messer Francisco, what did you talk about at the party with Signora Vittoria and Michelangelo?’

“ ‘The noblest subject of our conversation was painting.’ ‘You could not find a nobler or grander topic,’ said Valerio; ‘for it takes its origin in the sovereign painter of all who created, after having painted us,—us as well as all the world besides, and she leads us all back to Him. This is the summit of all wisdom and all grandeur.’ ‘But,’ asked Don Julio, ‘what did they say about painting?’

“ ‘You would do better, Don Julio,’ I replied, ‘to show me and these gentlemen the excellent productions of your pencil, than to make us waste our time talking about the art.’ ‘What!’ interrupted Don Julio, ‘do you find it less agreeable to talk about our art, which is so admirable, than to look at pictures? I don’t think, Messer Francisco, that you attach less value to talking of these beauties than to looking at them.’ However, yielding to my solicitations, Don Julio showed us a ‘Ganymede,’ illuminated by him after a design by Michelangelo.

“It was painted with extreme sweetness,* and

* A drawing of this subject is named among those left at

was the first thing that brought him into repute at Rome. Afterwards came a 'Venus' very finely executed. But in the last place he showed us two grand leaves of a book, on the first of which was painted St. Paul giving sight to a blind man before the Roman Consul; on the other were depicted Charity and other figures in the midst of Corinthian columns and buildings.

"This was in my opinion the most superb work in illumination that could possibly be met with, and to which the illuminators of Flanders could not be compared, not even the best I had seen, and I think I have seen a good many. I have noticed in the works of Don Julio a manner of working with certain points or dots, which I call 'atoms,' like the tissue of a veil, and which cover the painting like a light mist. I venture to affirm *pace* Solomon, who pretends that everything has been already said and done, that until our own days this manner has not been known,* except by Don Julio of Macedonia;

Clovio's death (see *Inventario* in Appendix), and there noted as being a copy after Michelangelo. The original design is in the Uffizi at Florence. *Harford: Life, &c.* 220.

* Yet miniatures exist in which the mode of finishing alluded to (called by English painters "stippling") has been employed, executed probably in Flanders before the time of Clovio. It is most likely that it was discovered separately by different miniaturists, as a means of producing at the same time both brilliancy, softness, and the utmost delicacy of finish. A

nor have I known this manner to have been used by anybody either in Italy or Flanders, although there are some who pretend to imitate it. Perhaps in this place I may be allowed a digression in favour of the truth. When I was still young, before the King my master sent me into Italy, happening to be at Evora, busy painting two pictures in black and white—the one of the Salutation, the other of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, for a very beautiful Breviary belonging to his Holiness—I found out by myself this manner of miniature painting by means of dots, and this mistiness, as Don Julio does it at Rome. My father found it very good; he had himself used this kind of working. When I came to Rome, as I say, I only met Don Julio who worked in the manner which I had found out in Portugal; and what surprised me above all was, that this happened at a distance of five hundred leagues apart, he being at Rome, I at Evora, and exactly at the same period we had discovered this method of finish in the use of these points or atoms of colour. It should be known that this method of working is difficult to understand, and still more difficult to execute, so I accord the palm to

fifteenth century MS. in the Brit. Mus. (Harl. 2897), shows decidedly that the French miniaturists of that time were acquainted with the method of shading by means of points or dots.

Don Julio over all the illuminators of Europe, but after him it would perhaps be myself who deserved it.

“After a little further conversation with those present on the appreciation of art by various nations, ‘I like to see,’ said I, ‘that . . . you show yourself a defender of painting, yet do not say any ill of Spain because we may have room to repent of having done so. For the rest I have nothing to say about Spain. But in Portugal I know that there are princes who value the arts and who pay for them. However, since this gentleman accuses the Spanish of paying badly for the works, I shall profit by this opportunity, and you will permit me, Don Julio, to pay for the colours of the picture which you have illuminated for me, for I am not in a condition to do more, and I have need of the good offices of Signor Valerio and of these gentlemen to make you accept a sum proportionate to the merit of the work. I came out this morning without a very great sum, and I am going to give you I don’t know how many vintini, before somebody robs me of them.’ Saying this, I drew forth the twenty cruzados of gold which I carried in my pocket, and placed them before Don Julio; but you should have seen the great illuminator shrink, as if he had seen a serpent, and swear that he would not take them. It seemed to me that I acted like a gentleman in

offering these twenty cruzados for a quarter sheet of vellum, which I had designed myself and to which he had only added the labour of the illumination ; so I said, ‘Signor Don Julio, I do not pay you for the merit, which is worth more than a hundred crowns ; I know that better than anybody else ; but you are rich ; accept this feeble tribute from a man who is far from being so. Besides, these gentlemen, and Messer Valerio, who are here present, shall judge if I act honourably, seeing the nature of the work. Perhaps he may think ill of me for showing such liberality towards you ; at the same time, if you will come to my house you shall have five cruzados more, and if you press me I will make it thirty for nothing but the resistance which you have offered me.’ ‘Twenty-five cruzados,’ said the Romans and Signor Valerio, ‘that is very liberal ; Messer Francisco acts like a Roman gentleman, and acquits himself towards you, Signor Don Julio ; do not demand more of him, we beseech you ; and we agree at the same time that we should have been delighted had he given you the five cruzados which he speaks of.”

“I pulled out of my pocket a golden cruzado, and gave it for an earnest, with which Don Julio had to content himself. ‘Messer Francisco,’ then said Don Julio, ‘the recompense is feeble, as I promise you that to-day there will be no question of any-

thing but the price the ancients put upon painting.' 'Give me,' said I, 'the riches of your Roman L. Crassus, and if I don't make you think the ancients have returned from Portugal to Rome, I will lose both the cruzados and the work. But at this moment one must go with the times, and you must recollect that in paying twenty-five cruzados for the pleasure of carrying to the nuns of Barcelona a work which I might have completed like you, I make, for me, a greater effort than did Attalus when he gave one hundred talents as the price of a single picture. For Attalus was a powerful king, and the work he bought might have been ten or twelve palms, whilst I am poor, and what I pay you consists of a palm of work, of which I myself made the design. Pardon me, Don Julio, for replying thus to you, for I am sure that nobody in Italy holds higher than I, a Portuguese, do the value of painting. Now you may tell me what prices the ancients paid, and I shall be glad to listen to you.' I ceased speaking, and Signor Valerio, of Vicenza, added, 'It is time to stop this pretty question between these gentlemen and change the subject.'

"One of the Roman gentlemen replied, 'No conversation and no good understanding is so interesting as this quarrel: let us haggle about it.'" On this he called a page, and ordered him to fetch

Pliny's Natural History. And then the conversation turns on the well-known chapters of that 'History' which relate to ancient art. In a note subjoined by Holanda to this part of the MS. he says: 'I finished this writing to-day, being the day of St. Luke the Evangelist, at Lisbon, 1548.'"*

To revert for a moment to the characteristics of manner alluded to in the preceding remarks, and which conferred on Clovio the byname of "Michelangelo in little," it would be difficult to point to a more characteristic example than the great Ponti-

* In the *Life of Michelangelo*, by Hermann Grimm, translated by Mrs. Fanny Elizabeth Bunnett, Vol. II., ch. xiv., p. 261 (second ed., 1865), and previously referred to, frequent mention is made of Francisco de Holanda and his journey to Italy. "The little church of San Silvestro on Monte Cavallo, opposite the Quirinal Palace, where they met, still stands, no longer, indeed, as at that time, for it is full of ornaments of a later date; the small comfortable sacristy behind the altar is painted with Domenichino's frescoes, the carved choir stools are no longer the old ones; at that time the monastery to which the church belonged was a nunnery, at the present day it is tenanted by monks, but the small dim space is as it was then; the convent yard, which I found filled with flourishing lemon-trees; and behind it the Colonna gardens, rising from the palace standing at the foot of the hill up the Quirinal and along the paths of which Vittoria ascended to the convent, not situated then as now on a square surrounded by palaces, but lying alone on the height, amid gardens and small houses."

[From Gage.]

Sebastiano pictor in Romæ

[1519.]

[From a miniature by Girolamo dai Libri.]

Jeromino

[From Gage.]

Jo hieronimo dai Libri

[From Dennistaun.]

Pietro Bembo

[1522.]

Albrecht Dürer

michielagnolo
buonarroti Roma

fical Lectionary, so long known as the Towneley Clovio.*

Very nearly approaching it in excellence are the Soane *Commentary of Marino Grimani on the Epistle to the Romans*,† and the so-called *Psalter of Paul III.*‡ in the Nat. Libr at Paris—though in the latter MS. he attempted to combine what he had learned of the styles both of Michelangelo and Raffaello. But whatever Clovio might have retained or remembered of his early studies in the Baths of Titus, or among the decorative designs of Raffaello and his able assistants in the Vatican corridors, it is manifest from such works as those mentioned above, that his principal studio was the Sistine Chapel.

The miniature of the Last Judgment in the Pontifical Lectionary is a real masterpiece not only of vigorous drawing, but of the utmost delicacy of colouring and finish—the former characteristic was undoubtedly derived from Michelangelo, the latter is all his own, the distinguishing mark of his supremacy as a miniaturist and the one which called forth so loudly the admiration of his contemporaries

* This magnificent MS., of which a description will be found in Appendix, was sold with the Towneley Library at Sotheby's in 1884, and purchased by Mr. Bernard Quaritch of Piccadilly for £2050. It has since found its way to America.

† Described in Appendix.

‡ *Ib.*

—among whom were not only connoisseurs and patrons like Marino Grimani and Alessandro Farnese, but such excellent judges of the higher qualities of art as Giorgio Vasari, Francisco de Holanda, and Georg Hoefnagel—the latter two, at least, themselves no mean practitioners in the very same style of painting. As to the objections of those who have decided these masterpieces as probably, after all, not the work of the miniaturist himself, they have but little if any force, as against the experience of those who have carefully examined every example in every possible way. And it may easily be understood that it was not the custom, nor was it indeed possible, for the busy miniaturist himself to paint, or even to finish, every picture contained in each MS. which may contain his work.

It is seldom, in fact, that he puts in more than one or two pictures entirely finished by his own hand. And we know from multitudes of instances that this has always been a practice with all the most famous illuminators. Hence we find, that in the Towneley MS. several of the miniatures, whilst following the master's style and manner, are very unmistakably the work of mere imitators or assistants.

These inferior performances may indeed have been the work of Bernardo Buontalenti or Claudio

Massarolo, or even of Francesco Salviati, who all worked for Clovio in Rome—Massarolo being actually in his service at the time of his death. Some writers have hastily asserted that he had many pupils, calling all such who seem to have imitated his manner; but Salviati and Massarolo are the only names that I find in documents bearing the stamp of Clovio's personal authority. Partly, then, because of the extreme labour and consequent great consumption of time required for his own actual handwork, partly from the necessity of attending to and executing the numerous commissions with which he was constantly overwhelmed, very few even of his acknowledged works can be pointed out as consisting entirely, in the pictorial part, of his own work. The Soane MS. is entirely his own, but then it is only a fragment, consisting of two pictures with their borders and an ornamental bracket. The little book of Devotions in the British Museum* is not. On the other hand, the little volume of poems in the Imperial Library at Vienna† which contains only three illuminated pages is apparently all his own work, being executed as a tribute of personal regard and friendship for the author. It belongs to the same style and period as the little book in the British

* *Additional MSS. No. 20927.*

† *Imp. Libr. Vienna. No. 2660. Poems of Eurialo d'Ascoli.*

Museum. The flesh tints are strengthened with brown shading, and the features and expressions of the two examples point clearly to the same hand. As to the Munich and Naples MSS. the "manner" and mode of execution are very different indeed. The tones of the flesh are warmer and more delicate and the colouring generally much softer, and more in the glowing and lucid style of Rubens or some of the later Urbinese or Genoese painters than of Clovio. But granting that they are the productions of Clovio at all, the execution is not so uniform as to justify the belief that they were entirely the master's work. I carefully examined the Munich MS. in October, 1884, and was strongly tempted notwithstanding its exquisite beauty of execution to deny its genuineness as the work of Clovio. But this temptation arose, I think, from a momentary forgetfulness of the fact that Clovio was instinctively a copyist, and as such, the reflector for the time being of what he might have placed before him. This is where most persons mistake in respect of his work generally. They look for more originality than he was capable of. His works all show influence. Now it is that of Raffaello—now that of Michelangelo. But between these comes the period when he studied the works and received the instructions of Girolamo dei Libri. And there is nothing to disprove that when in Florence or

Venice he did not similarly and as strikingly fall under the influence of the Flemish school which shows so plainly in the Naples "Hours" and in the Prayer Book of Albert of Bavaria. Among his various other gifts we must not forget his extraordinary versatility.

The Naples MS. has disappeared. It was Bourbon property, of priceless value, and therefore probably retained by the family on their retirement from Naples.* It is perhaps on the whole the most famous of all the smaller works through the description of it left by Vasari. And if one may judge of it from the similar volume preserved at Munich,† it fully deserved the encomiums bestowed upon it. But while the manifest distance between his own power of execution and that of most of his imitators, in work of which the pedigree is ascertained, proves at times a source of perplexity; with regard to others in which the skill is very little if at all inferior, the difficulty is increased. Thus the so-called Grenville Clovio in the British Museum has produced a schism among the *cognoscenti* as

* It was seen at Naples by Labarte (*Hist. des Arts Industriels, &c.*, 2nd Ed. II. 276) and is described by Sakcinski, *Lexicon of S. Slavonic Artists, &c. Art. Klovio*, p. 172, after the description by Quaranta in his *Mystagogue* to the Naples Museum. See Appendix.

† Description in Appendix.

sharp as that between Itacists and Etacists in the Hellenism of the Renaissance.

By-and-by I intend to devote a chapter to this controversy on the Victories of Charles the Fifth. At present it will be desirable to enter a little more fully into the subject of the miniature art of the sixteenth century, so far at least as concerns those contemporaries or immediate followers of Clovio, among whom might be found the possible producers of work that has passed for his own.

Among the scraps of book-ornament in a choice volume of cuttings in the British Museum known as the "Rogers" Book* are several pages in the style usually attributed to Clovio. They are, however, by a contrivance which has doubtless convinced many who have seen them, assigned to Apollonio de Bonfratelli, who, in the seemingly contemporary signature, is styled "Miniaturist to the Apostolic Sacristy." But these signatures are in fact forgeries. For while purporting to be of the same date as the rest of the work, and possibly intended to be taken as put in by the hand of the miniaturist himself, they are really modern imitations neatly let into the spaces they occupy and apparently forming part of the design. It may be and probably is true that the borders in question were the work of Apollonio, but these inserted

* *Additional MSS.* 21412.

tablets do not prove the fact. Let it be assumed that they are so, as their execution is in places unmistakably inferior to that of the master, yet I am strongly of opinion that some of the pages hitherto indiscriminately assigned, for want of a name, to the same artist, are either really the work of Clovio himself or of an abler contemporary than Apollonio.*

My reasons cannot easily be set forth, but they are grounded on many comparisons that I have made of the borders to which I refer with others in different MSS., some of which are known to be Clovio's work, others not yet so determined, but possessing features which should entitle them to unqualified recognition.

* I have since found the signature S. L. upon one of them, but whether this means Sebastiano Luciani (del Piombo) or not I cannot affirm. He was Keeper of the Papal Seal at the time of their execution, and they would probably pass through his hands for authentication, and so as to be registered for payment. See his letter to Michelangelo on his appointment to this office. Appendix. It is given also by Grimm: *Life of Michelangelo*, ii. 452. The original, from which I quote, is in the British Museum.



CHAPTER IV.

The state of Miniature Art in Italy.—The immediate predecessors and contemporaries of Clovio.—The art in other parts of Europe.—Distinguished miniaturists in the Netherlands, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy.

IN the earlier years of Clovio's life, and whilst he was still practising as a boy in his native village or in the monastic school of Modrush, most of the famous Italian cities, such as Florence, Siena, Mantua, Bologna, Ferrara, Verona, and Naples, possessed well-defined schools of manuscript decoration; and various transalpine cities from Bruges to Seville could boast of miniaturists universally acknowledged to belong to the highest rank of their art. Crowds of names attach themselves to Bologna, Florence, and Verona; while Paris and Bruges, Dijon, and Nuremberg, Toledo, Madrid, Saragossa, and Seville, can also show distinguished lists, sometimes including whole families of artists, thus attesting the popularity of their craft, and in many cases proving their title to the praise which has been lavished on the more fortunate few whose names happen to be found in the pages of Vasari.

The Dei Libri, of Verona, are by no means singular in their family connection with the art.

Bruges, Gand, Maestricht, Nuremberg, and Genoa, could show similar family groups. The Glockendons of Nuremberg, and the Castelli of Genoa, to mention only two, are entitled to quite as much of our attention as the Dei Libri of Verona, or the Boccardini, or the Favelle of Florence. But the latter are better known. And besides all these there are the many who still remain anonymous, but whose works exist in the choir-books of a hundred different libraries. One artist only is recorded for the colossal graduals of Pavia now kept in the Brera. But the different styles attest four or five at least. Some half-dozen names account for all the vast collection of the Escorial, and so we find here and there a name perhaps traditionally attached to other important collections. Of course the expense of works so large and costly would be carefully put down somewhere; and it is not assuming too much to believe that many of these valuable documentary records are still in existence, and will some day be brought to light. But research is needed, and research requires endowment. Many of the illuminators who laboured in Spain and Italy, during and even previous to the lifetime of Clovio, have been seriously considered to rival him in the perfection and delicacy of their work. Foremost among these, in the opinion of some, stands Hieronymo or

Girolamo dei Libri. There can be no question that he was entitled to his celebrity; but it is not an easy matter to fix upon his work, or to distinguish it without his signature from that of his brother Callisto, or his father Francesco. He was born in 1474, twenty-four years before Clovio. The Census of 1492, now in the Municipal Archives of Verona, thus records his family: "Franciscus, Miniator, fil. Stephani à Libris, 40: Groma uxor, 40: Laurentia, 20: Hieronimus, 18: Bartholomea, 14: Jacobus, 12: Calistus, 9: Pelegrinus, 4." Another in 1529: "Hieronimo dai Libri, depentor, 54: Maestro Calisto suo fradello, 46: Cecilia Dona de Hieron. 36: Bartolomea s. sorella, 51: Chiara, 22: Francesco, 29: Zuan Paolo, 9: Agnese, 3."

As nothing is known of the work of Callisto, it is probable that he assisted his elder brother, and that as usual the better known man has obtained the credit of all. Numerous collections claim to possess examples of Girolamo dai Libri, but very few can show any adequate attestation. Neither the "Hours" in the Soane collection in London, nor those in the Douce collection in the Bodley Library at Oxford, can offer any proof whatever, notwithstanding the confidence of the attributions which are simply guesses. There is a fine initial M. formerly belonging to Mr. J. T. Payne, and now in the possession of Mr. Quaritch, which is verified by

the artist's signature "Hieronymus f." on the base of the central pillar in the composition. The subject of the miniature is the trial of St. Catherine before the doctors of Alexandria, a subject frequently occurring in illuminated books, and very notably in the Grimani Breviary. The scene takes place within a hall supported by richly decorated pillars, and before a crowd of persons. Other spectators are seen in a sort of loft or gallery at the farther end of the building, the whole forming a vivid picture of Italian life and costume in the fifteenth century. Under the chapter entitled "Fra Giocondo e Liberale ed altri Veronesi" in Vasari, we learn that he illuminated many books for the monks of Montescaglioso in Naples; some for those of Sta. Justina of Padua, others for the Abbey of Praia "sul Padoano," and others again for that of Candiana, a rich foundation belonging to the Canons Regular of S. Salvatore. He was working on the choir-books at Candiana, when Clovio came there to be admitted as a frate of the order. This was their first meeting, and at this time Clovio was already known as an able master of his art. It accounts, however, for the possibility, in some respects, of confounding Clovio with his predecessor, who, on the strength of this meeting, is claimed as his master. It is quite credible that, as Vasari says, he learned from Girolamo all that the latter could teach him, and

we know from examples that he could work in Girolamo's manner as regards technic so excellently that the same description which applies to the one, will exactly fit the other. But there the likeness ends. Girolamo was a skilful artist, but he lacked Clovio's astonishing versatility. Hence while certain parts of Clovio's work may be mistaken for that of Girolamo, the work of the Veronese master is too peculiarly local in treatment to be reasonably assigned to any other school than his own. Nevertheless, within its narrower limits it is unsurpassed for delicacy and truth. The miniature of the Expulsion described by Vasari was a typical example of his manner. It was painted for the Prior of San Giorgio in Verona, and afterwards given to "a cardinal protector of that order" residing in Rome and shown to many of the cardinal's friends who all, as usual, declared it to be the finest piece of miniature painting that had ever been seen. What became of it is now quite unknown. A signed example of Girolamo's work is indeed of the utmost rarity, and is really quite as precious in its way as anything from the hand of Clovio. Girolamo excelled not only in ornament and figures, but also in flowers; painting them with such diligence, and so true to Nature, that they appear to the spectator to be absolutely real. He also imitated cameos and other jewels "that no one ever saw anything like

them for perfection and delicacy." Perhaps Vasari himself might think so, but not only did Clovio rival him in this particular, but several Lombard, Florentine, Netherlandish, and even Spanish miniaturists could be mentioned whose painting of jewels and cameos is quite equal, and even superior. But society in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century perhaps had not seen much of Florentine work, as the best of it was then at Buda, and as to Flemish, which had given an impulse to both Florentine and Venetian, if other connoisseurs were as prejudiced against it as Michelangelo, they would not think of placing it in rivalry with that of Italy. It would afford a curious, not to say startling case of criticism if we could collect the opinions of artists, even of the highest rank, about each other. Of Albert Dürer's *Book of Proportion*, Michelangelo observed that it was "poca e debole cosa, questo libro." Da Vinci's estimate of Angelo's own work both in sculpture and painting was, that it was extravagant and grossly exaggerated, for the muscles of his children were as numerous and strongly marked as those of his adults. It is true that a jealousy existed, if not more, between these great masters, but their mutual criticisms are not without truth. So Girolamo's work must have been remarkable, for his celebrity was such that curators of libraries are still found anxious to attribute some

of their richest masterpieces to his hand. The argument is this: these miniatures are extremely fine, they are like life, they are of the most miraculous minuteness: therefore they are the work of Girolamo dai Libri. It generally happens when probed to the bottom that the attribution of an unsigned work does not rest even on congruity of place or time or style of technic similarity of pencilling, or choice of peculiar colour or medium, or any other reasonable evidence; but simply on the detailed description of Vasari, which, most likely, was gathered by him from the ante-chamber gossip of Roman and other palaces, or from garrulous old *padroni*, who might have had a momentary glimpse of some wondrous piece of work over somebody's shoulder at a *levée*. Or, if more precise, the good-natured biographer probably got it from the pocket-book of an artist friend on whose taste and judgment, and of course veracity, he could entirely rely, and did so.

If we set aside the fact that Vasari's descriptions would usually fit any really good piece of miniature painting of the time, and accept them as both well-chosen and appropriate to some capital work, we are met by a further difficulty, perhaps still more damaging, that, as in the case of the MS. presented by Cellini to the Emperor, they do not apply to the object in question: or if the description applies, that

the work is not by the artist to whom he assigns it, as when he describes the Silius Italicus in the Marcian Library at Venice.* This ought to satisfy us that in case of serious doubt or difficulty, Vasari is not the authority to help us. It is shown by Pacheco in his elaborate treatise on Painting†, that there are two quite distinct styles of Illumination, both used by the best masters, which he calls the first and the second methods. They differ in the manner of painting the flesh-tints, and draperies. The former makes use of the tint of the vellum itself for the lights, and with middle tints, *convenientes y suaves*, touches in the shading or modelling sweetly, deepening and strengthening by means of fine points until the artist has obtained the requisite force. Such is the method followed by Clovio and those of his Spanish imitators mentioned hereafter. "Others," continues Pacheco, "following the method of ancient tempera, lay in the carnations, and in their natural colours, and vary their tones as is done in good oil-painting, covering the vellum, although with colours possessing but little body, and do not strengthen by means

* See this very elaborate description in Le Monnier's Vasari, with the note upon it, and compare Morelli, Notizie, &c.

† *Pacheco Fr. Arte de la Pintura.* Ed. by G. C. Villa-amil, Madrid, 1866. 8vo. Pacheco was the master and father-in-law of Velasquez, and a celebrated writer on art.

of points, but by washes or layers of colour. The former mode of working, by making use of the colour of the vellum, claims great and frequent authority from those who have employed it, and from the evidence of some very important illuminations. Those, for example, of Fray Andres de Leon and Fray Julian his scholar, both brothers of the order of San Gerónimo, who enriched the choir-books of San Lorenzo of the Escorial with this kind of painting.* If Fray Julian's power of drawing had been equal to his skill in colour, in Sigüenza's opinion, he would have been one of the foremost illuminators in the world. The writer adds that he had seen four of Clovio's illuminations in the Escorial, so that he does not speak from hearsay.†

Fray Diego del Salto, of the Order of S. Augustine, followed also the same method with better drawing, but fell short in respect of colour, as might be seen in a "Descent from the Cross," then in possession of the Duke of Alcalá. As to the comparison of these Spaniards with Clovio, it probably originated in the observation of Sigüenza, "Nuestro fray

* Pacheco here quotes from Fray Josef de Sigüenza, the historian of the Order of San Geronimo, where he describes the choir-books of the Escorial (Bk. iv. discurso xiii.). Sigüenza's Spanish is quaint and rugged, but graphic. Pacheco, or his editor, modernizes at times without improving.

† *J. de Sigüenza : Historia de la Orden de S. Gerónimo.* Madrid, 1605. Fol. iii. bk. iv. disc. xiii. p. 796, &c.

Andrés de Leon, que fu otro don Julio en el arte." A word like this easily grows; and thus we meet with unqualified assertions that some of the Spanish miniaturists were quite the equals of Clovio. Most of the work really worth putting alongside that of the Italian Master is to be found in the Escorial choir-books, or in those of Thomar, and these are still accessible to the tourist. Those at Thomar were the work of Clovio's friend, Francisco de Holanda, and are therefore interesting in themselves. But alas! travel means money, and as the poet says:—

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

They who can afford care little about these things, they who care and know, and could compare, have to stay at home. The two hundred and sixteen or eighteen choir-books still preserved in the choir of the Monastery of San Lorenzo in the Escorial, were projected by Philip II., who, whatever he may have been from other points of view, was undoubtedly a zealous and most liberal patron of the arts. In order to carry out his gigantic scheme of producing the largest and most magnificent collection of Music-books in the world, he sent his royal mandate or at least a gracious invitation to every artist of repute in Europe, but especially in Italy. It was no doubt from some such command that the story

of Clovio's working for him arose, and became attached to the commission for colouring the engraved victories of Charles the Fifth. Among the distinguished foreigners who did accept the King's flattering and well-paid commissions were the Castelli and Scorzas of Genoa, Luca Cambiasi, Francisco de Holanda of Lisbon, and others of whom we shall speak by-and-by.

The peculiar distinction between the two methods described by Pacheco as employed in illumination is mainly the distinction between the work of Clovio and that of Girolamo dai Libri. It is true that Clovio did gain new ideas from his intercourse with Girolamo. But, as a rule, his method was that of thin delicate washes of colour heightened by stippling, as the working in dots or points is now called, while Girolamo preferred body-colour and the older method of *gouache* or *tempera*, with rich and brilliant arrangements of colour quite distinct from the early Roman manner adopted by his younger rival. A comparison of any authentic work of Clovio—such, for example, as the Soane "Conversion of St. Paul,"—with a similarly authentic work of Girolamo as may be found in the Astle-Esdaile Missal so minutely described by Dibdin, would show the distinction at once. Twenty of the miniatures of this Missal are by Girolamo, the remainder by his father. They were probably executed for the nephew of Sixtus

IV., Giuliano della Rovere, who is better known as Pope Julius II., and the patron of Michelangelo.* The work which, according to Vasari, most advanced Girolamo's reputation, was the already mentioned miniature of the Terrestrial Paradise, with the Expulsion of Adam and Eve, painted for the Prior of San Giorgio in Verona. In this work, which possibly Vasari may have seen in Rome, is shown the miraculous minute perfection of trees, fruits, flowers, birds and animals, in which Girolamo excelled. Thinking of this work, Vasari goes on to speak generally of the marvellous way in which the Veronese master painted such things, and imitated gems and jewels, and drew figures in cameos, "che non sono più grande che una piccola formica, e si vede nondimeno in loro tutte le membra e tutti i muscoli tanto bene, che appena si può credee da chi gli vede." Girolamo lived until 1555.†

Among other artists whose celebrity was more than local was Naldo or Rinaldo Piramo of Naples, the painter of the richly ornamented but quaint and intensely realistic miniatures of the Ethics of Aristotle, now at Vienna. From the character of this work, which, though exceedingly elaborate and skilful, is antiquated in style, it cannot have been begun much later than 1490. It may, however,

* Dibdin: *Bibliographical Decameron*, I. cxlii.-cliv.

† Vasari: *Le Vite*, &c., ix. 212-14.

have been carried out in this antique spirit even as late as 1525, for the ancient methods are often found prevailing, especially in the remoter districts or in solitary monasteries, beside much more modern work elsewhere. This MS. was probably executed in Naples, or by the artist, who was a Neapolitan, at the residence of the distinguished Andrea Matteo Aquaviva, Duke of Atri, at Conversano. With the work of the Veronese and Bolognese masters, this splendid manuscript may form a sort of older limit to the style of architectural decoration, which is on the whole the prevailing taste in Italian illumination during the whole period of the Renascence. Foliages of acanthus treated sculpturesquely as on the friezes and pillars of Vitruvian or Palladian edifices, but executed in modelled gold or colours, and flowers of exquisite beauty at first architectural, and then simply as in nature, form, after the human figure, the chief features of Italian miniature ornament. These of course are combined with forms of men and women, winged children, and grotesque compositions of imaginary animals in the prevailing taste of the period. This taste was the natural outcome of the classical studies which formed the chief basis of the Revival of Learning, and of the researches among ancient remains which were so actively carried on under several of the Popes of the XVIth century. In architecture, examples are endless. Not a city

in Italy but still bears some token of that art-laden time. The most striking examples scarcely need pointing out. The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and the Banqueting Hall of the Farnese Palace in Rome are prominent among them ; but Venice, Florence, Naples, Genoa, Milan, and many other cities can show their rich historic treasures of the same kind. The addition in book-work, of coins and medallions, cameos, jewels and bronzes is also a reflection from the collector's zeal. The Museums in the course of formation were ransacked for their most curious or beautiful relics, faithful representations of which were transferred to the margins of the books intended to enrich the patron's library. The fashion begun by Sixtus IV. or Nicholas V. of selecting from the Museum objects to decorate the Library, zealously imitated by Cosimo de' Medici and his successors, and by the magnificent King Matthias of Hungary, soon overwhelmed the preceding taste for twisting vine stems and enamelled backgrounds, and rendered it distinctly old and bygone. Perhaps if we were to trace rigorously this passion for the antique in its bearing upon artistic studies, we should go back to the early years of the fourteenth century and to the studio of Francesco Squarcione at Padua. Through his pupils, dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the land, the culture derived from marbles,

bronzes and cameos became the taste of the best society. But the special promoter of it in the North was undoubtedly Andrea Mantegna, Squarcione's greatest scholar. The "scuola Mantegnesca" is the very soul of the miniature art of Milan under the Sforzas, though then perfected through the influence of that marvel of versatility, Leonardo da Vinci. To see the earliest impress of this new spirit of classicism, the student should consult the great Antiphonary kept in the church of the Misericordia at Padua, long attributed to Mantegna, but now considered to be the work of the numerous pupils of Squarcione.

But undoubtedly the principal school of miniature before 1500, and after the rise of the Medici, was that of Florence. From the time when Palla Strozzi and Cosimo di Medici founded the chair of Greek and the Museum of Archæology in Florence, that city took the lead in every branch of human culture, and among the rest of the production of books. Its copyists and illuminators were sought from all the rest of Italy and of Europe, and its productions were the models for those of every other centre where similar work was carried on. In the famous studio of Domenico Ghirlandaio the lessons of Squarcione were combined with those of Masaccio. Antiquity and Nature were harmonized, and a system of decoration evolved which most keenly gratified

the most cultivated judges. Hence those of its scholars who devoted themselves to miniature were employed by the noblest princes of the time. Their productions are now among the most precious treasures that period has bequeathed to us. Just as cleverly, as it seemed, but really because of their enthusiastic devotion to study, these patrons and these artists produced the best of their treasures. The best art in Greek portrait coinage and engraved gems dates about the time from Alexander to Ptolemy Soter. The best Roman coins are those from Augustus to the Antonines. Accordingly, the magnificent heads of Alexander, Lysimachus, Augustus, Nero, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, the Faustinas, are selected favourites with Corvinus. The emblems which occupy the reverses of the finest medals reappear in the MSS. And thus we find that the middle of the fifteenth century becomes the climax—the golden age of Italian miniature art. Some of the MSS. which contain these reproductions bear dates and devices, and especially arms, showing them to have been executed during the lifetime of Cosimo, the addition of the lilies of France only appearing in the shield for the first time in 1465, a year after Cosimo's death, and when his grandson Lorenzo was seventeen years of age.

Two or three of the Medici gems are often reproduced in the manuscripts. The favourite seems to

have been the Apollo and Marsyas, of Lorenzo's seal. It had been the seal of the Emperor Nero, and when Piero II., Lorenzo's son, fled from his native city, leaving his vast collections to be plundered by the mob, it was one of three cameos which he took with him. It is curious that this, the car of Phœbus and the Diomed carrying off the Palladium—thus considered to be the most precious of the whole collection of gems—should happen to be the very gems which reappear most frequently in Florentine miniature work.

Such was the condition of things when Clovio turned his attention to the copying of medals for the Cardinal Grimani, by which his almost unrecognized versatility was stimulated and nourished. He naturally became to miniature what the Carracci became to painting. His predecessors belonged to schools or to local usages. He came when the new taste was at its zenith, and its immense range made him capable of producing work differing in some respects from any of his models. While he adhered to the minute fidelity of Girolamo, he could adopt the freedom in design of Gherardo and the classic elegance of Fra Eustachio; he could take hints from the Thermæ of Titus and lessons from the Sistine Chapel and the Loggie of the Vatican. He could follow the rich colouring of Giulio Romano, while he did not forget the vigorous drawing of Michel-

angelo ; and he could appreciate and imitate the fine sweet tenderness of the Venetian colourists, so as to lead men to doubt not the excellence but the authorship of his work. This versatility is, in fact, the cause of much of the dispute about his still existing productions. Let those which are doubtful be compared with those that are known, and we soon see what ground there may be for doubt.

We have seen what to some extent were the elements of Clovio's artistic training, let us now see what was the influence of the same elements upon his contemporaries. Of those quite outside the pale who still continued apart from the great classical or, as they considered it, pagan Revival, we have not to speak. The old-fashioned Gothic workers, still Mediæval in everything, were by no means extinct, but their influence seemed dying out, they did not belong to the prevailing taste. In France, Germany, Spain, and even the Netherlands, the Renaissance was universally felt and acknowledged. Of course, therefore, it can only be the Renaissance miniaturists who can be put into comparison with Clovio. The painters of Nuremberg or Bruges, however excellent, belong to another and quite different order. It is no question of comparing Clovio with the Glockendons or Bennyncks, and only in some points of detail with Hans Mielich of Munich, and Geoffrey Tory of Paris. But with Francisco de Holanda, Georg

Hoefnagel, Baroccio, Zuccaro, the Scorzas, and Castelli of Genoa, and their imitators, the Spanish miniaturists of Seville, Toledo, and the Escorial, there is a question of comparison as there is a likeness of method, taste, manner, and effect.

Of Francisco de Holanda, much has already been said. He was seventeen years younger than Clovio, and made his acquaintance some time about 1540 when he was residing in Rome. He was a good draughtsman, an architect, and a skilful miniature painter. Indeed he claimed to be able to work pretty nearly as well as Clovio himself, and declared that his father had invented the method which Clovio followed. The proof of Francisco's ability is to be found in the choir and other books illuminated by him for the Royal Monastery of Thomar. He also executed those for the Monastery of Belem, afterwards lost or destroyed.

Other work said to be comparable with that of Clovio is, the ornamentation of the 216 magnificent choir-books, executed by order of Philip II., during the seventeen years between 1572 and 1589.* They are bound in wood covered with leather, enriched with fine gilt brass ornaments. 5500 lbs. of bronze and forty lbs. of pure gold were used to make these ornaments. The books measure one metre fifteen centimetres by eighty-four centimetres. Each

* *Riño*: *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, 137.

volume consists of seventy leaves, every one of which is splendidly illuminated, thus giving over 30,000 pages full of ornamented letters, miniatures, and borders. The artists and scribes who wrote and illuminated these volumes were Cristobal Ramirez, Fray Andrés de Leon, Fray Julian de Fuente de el Saz, Ambrosio Salazar, Fray Martin de Palencia, Francisco Hernandez, Pedro Salavarte, and Pedro Gomez. Cristobal Ramirez worked at the Escorial from 1566 to 1572. He planned the work, fixed the size and order of the volumes, and decided the character of the writing. Having presented the king with several specimens of his skill, he was appointed, in 1566, to execute a choir-book, projected for the Chapel Royal of San Lorenzo, of the Escorial, at an annual salary of fifty ducats. In 1572 he presented a musical Breviary to the king, and was charged with the superintendence of the work. Andrés Cristobal was also an illuminator of celebrity at Seville, where he was working from 1555 to 1559. Andrés de Leon worked at the Escorial in 1568, and is especially spoken of by Los Santos in his description of the monastery of San Lorenzo. He was famous for his skill in the manner of Clovio. "Son de gran numero y excelencia las iluminaciones que tienen de mano nuestro Fray Andrés de Leon, que fue otro Don Julio en el Arte."* Fray Julian

* *Fray Fr. de los Santos: Descripcion breve del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, 24.*

shared in the commendation, especially as regards a Capitulario for the principal festivals of the year, much esteemed for the size of the illuminations, the like of which, the good monk declares, had never been seen, either in Spain or Italy. Andrés de Leon died at the Escorial in 1580. Ambrosio de Salazar, after working at San Lorenzo until the choir-books were finished, went in 1590 to execute a pair of missals for the Cathedral of Toledo, which had been begun by Juan Martinez de los Corrales. He continued working on the remaining volumes until his death in 1604. He was noted for the accuracy of his drawing, and the beauty and clearness of his colouring, and for his excellent taste in ornament. Estéban de Salazar was also employed on the Escorial choir-books in 1585, and Juan de Salazar about the same time. Fray Martin de Palencia was able, like Ramirez, to assist in the copying, but for some reason he left in 1574. Bermudez mentions a volume executed by him for the monastery of Saso, written in a fine hand, and adorned with elegant miniatures.* F. Hernandez of Segovia was so much esteemed by the king for his work, that in 1578, when he fell sick, Philip ordered an addition of fifty ducats to his salary. Pedro Gomez de Cuença was employed in 1584 as an occasional assistant.

It was not until 1583 that Giovanni Battista

* *Bermudez : Diccion.*, iv. 24.

Scorza of Genoa, the clever pupil of Luca Cambiaso, was set to work on the Escorial books. He was especially skilful in depicting animals and insects. His brother, Sinibaldo Scorza, was even still more noted for similar performances, and for small scenes from history. His skill in pen-drawing was wonderful—and, like Giovanni, he figured prominently in the Galleria of the then popular Cavaliero Marini. He died in 1631. Giovanni survived him until 1637, when he died at the extreme age of ninety. Both were compared with Clovio as his successful rivals. The similarity of their tastes may be accounted for from the circumstances of their education. Clovio had studied among the scholars of Raffaello at the Thermæ of Titus, and had made drawings from the designs of the master. One of the most distinguished of his fellow-students was an old pupil of Ghirlandaio, and now the ablest among those who assisted Raffaello. This was Perino del Vaga. He was two years younger than Clovio, and was chiefly engaged on the decorations in the Loggie of the Vatican. Perino, after Raffaello's death, or rather after the sack of Rome in 1527, fled to Genoa. Here he instructed Luca Cambiaso and Giov. Battista Castelli in the style acquired at Rome. When, therefore, these artists and their pupil Scorza went to Madrid and applied themselves to miniature, their work naturally betrayed a strong resemblance to that of

Clovio, who had been taught in the same school. Pierino died in 1547.

A later imitator of Clovio is found in Georg Hoefnagel of Antwerp, who in company with Abraham Oertel or Ortelius, the cartographer, happened to visit Rome in 1579 or 1580, when Clovio was quite old and nearly worn out. On the occasion of his presentation to Cardinal Farnese he made the acquaintance of the great miniaturist, and became so much attracted by his work that he resolved to devote himself to the same style. He speedily acquired a similar delicacy of touch and extreme neatness of finish, but he never attained Clovio's power in colouring. His great work, the Missal, executed for the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, and now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, is an example of his best qualities, and of his very evident defects. Nevertheless, he is justly considered a close imitator of Clovio, and worthy of a certain comparison with him. A contemporary of Hoefnagel, and also a close imitator of the manner of Clovio, was, during Clovio's last years, and for many years afterwards, diligently acquiring a distinguished reputation at Friuli. This was Giovanni Maria Boduino, of Friuli. He is vaguely stated to have been born about 1503, and died at a great age, apparently about 1600. The account of him says that he "excelled all the ancients in painting

and invention and design, in power of drawing even Paolo Veronese and Tiziano." Assuredly the world at large is by no means persuaded that so notable a superior to those well-known artists was actually their contemporary. "He was the inventor of *miniatura granita* (already twice invented by Antonio de Holanda and Clovio), that is, *pointed* with a small pencil which, while it reached a degree of execution truly exquisite, delicate, and, as it were, divine, yet required a long time and great patience, and may be called the quintessence of painting. People came from all parts to see his works, and were astonished. His miniatures are to be seen in the library of St. Mark in a breviary bound in pigskin, executed for the patriarch Grimani, who afterwards gave it to the library as a jewel of priceless value. Boduino had one pupil called Valerio Mariani, of Urbino, whose works are in the hands of the greatest princes in the world. These artists possessed the secret of employing gold in the Persian manner both for miniatures and writings, a secret which, not being communicated to anyone, is now lost. I must not omit to say that the said Giovanni Maria having no son, left two thousand crowns' worth of miniatures to the Fraternity of the Poveri governed by the Venetian Senate. He was a learned and pious man."*

* Zani: Enciclopedia delle B. Arti, IV. 283. 8vo. Parma,

Another miniaturist, sometimes ignorantly compared with Clovio, is Benedetto Bordone of Padua, of whose work executed for the Benedictine monastery Sta. Justina, at Padua, two examples are in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 15813, 15815), and another, signed, in possession of Mr. Holford. Bordone was a man of genius and a marvel of versatility. Indeed it is difficult to say in what particular line his abilities were most conspicuous. As a cosmographer, as an astrologer, as a miniaturist, he has almost equal claims. In his own day he was chiefly distinguished as a Jurisconsult and a writer on geography. The grand Missal which is thought to be a sample of his work, cannot be accepted as fairly meriting the eulogy expended upon his performances. Written about 1525—five years before his death—by a monk of Monte Cassino, it is nevertheless a very fine example of mature Renaissance design. Bordone's manner of painting is that of the second type mentioned by Pacheco. It is a kind of *gouache* or tempera, somewhat heavy, and quite Venetian in character, although the artist is generally assigned to the school of Padua. His ornament varies, from fanciful but

1820. Lancellotti: L'hoggidi, ovvero gl' ingegni non inferiori a passati; Disinganno xv. 242 (Ed. 1646, ii. 369). Venezia, 1662. Maniago: Delle Arti Friulane. Venezia, 1819, 266. Bradley: Dict. of Miniaturists, I. 141.

correct and vigorous arabesque, to natural flowers and foliages on coloured or darkened grounds, including gold and even black. He paints with a full pencil and a bold touch as if accustomed to larger work. His figures are only of secondary excellence either in drawing or finish, but are nevertheless far from being feeble or amateurish. It has been suggested that he was, however, only an amateur painter, his designation being "Jurisconsultus et cosmographus insignis." The initial letters of the Missal contain several excellent miniatures, but so entirely different in manner, feeling, colour, and treatment from those of Clovio that one would think there could not in any respect be any comparison between them. Yet the historian of the monastery says under date 1523, "Comendantur apud pictores maximæ diligentia opera Julii Clovii, quorum multa a nobis hactenus inspecta sunt, neque tamen præstantiora operibus Bordoni."*

As for the miniatures of Federigo Zuccaro or Valeriano Mariano of Urbino, or those of Baroccio, their *maniera* can be accounted for without recourse to any particular study of that of Clovio, notwithstanding a certain degree of similarity. Zuccaro was Hilliard's tutor, so far as Hilliard adopted the

* D. Jacobus Cavaccius : *Historia Cœnobii D. Justinæ Patav.* Lib. VI. 267—*Atti dell' Imp. Reg. Accad. di Belle Arti in Ven.* 1857, 142. Morelli, *Notizie*, &c. 195, 6.

Roman method of miniature, but while Zuccaro had studied in Rome, and must have seen Clovio's work, his own method is less forcible in design, and feebler in colouring. Baroccio is still weaker in colour, or perhaps seems so, compared with the earliest master, because he sought rather to imitate the gradation of Correggio, which gives his work the appearance of being stippled or granulated to excess. This quality becomes painfully prominent in later work as in the miniatures of Estevam Gonçales de Neto, the Portuguese, who was taught by a pupil of Carlo Maratti. In later work generally the method seems to have quite run away with the picture, and to have been employed by the artist in utter forgetfulness of its original and legitimate purpose. The result, especially in the colouring, is a wretched effeminacy and want of vigour, utterly unworthy of serious notice.

When Philip II. was organizing his scheme for the San Lorenzo choir-books he sent a pressing invitation to Clovio to undertake a portion of the work. But this, for various reasons, Clovio could not accept. It has been said, perhaps in order to enhance the value of the famous Escorial miniatures of the victories of Charles V., that as an alternative commission he should paint a series of pictures in commemoration of the chief events in the life of the German Emperor, and that this commission he accepted. The question will be more fully discussed

in another chapter, but it is by no means certain that he did not accept an order of some form for the zealous, and in this case liberal, Spanish King. The bulk of the Escorial work, however, was done by the Spanish miniaturists themselves, assisted later by the Scorzas and Castelli of Genoa. Giovanni Battista Castello had made a great reputation in Upper Italy for his cabinet pictures and miniatures, "with which were enriched the galleries and cabinets of various prelates and princes in Rome and other cities." Soprani says that he began life as a goldsmith, but with little progress or profit, and as soon as he was free to do as he pleased he devoted himself to miniature.* Using his skill as a goldsmith he made little reliquaries, which he not only adorned with goldsmith work but also enriched with miniature paintings of sacred subjects, all finished with the greatest delicacy. He then studied under Luca Cambiasi, who also was afterwards employed by Philip on the frescoes of the choir of San Lorenzo. After or during his studies with Cambiasi, Castello invented the most elegant designs in miniature, excellent in colour, and of the most exquisite finish, and obtained great praise from his contemporaries, especially from the Cavaliere Marino. Probably the praise meant very little more than the hope of a

* *Soprani, R. : Vite di Pittori Genovesi.* Edit. C. G. Ratti, Genoa, 1768, 4to. I. 105.

present for the poet's private gallery; but it helped to make the artist's fortune. In the prolific collection of sonnets which the then fashionable versifier calls his "galleria," Marino praises "la pecchia, la formica, il segno, la zanzanza, la mosca, la farfalla, animali expressi tutti con vivissime miniature del nostro Castello." Similarly, Soranzo, at the sight of a Madonna, painted with rare delicacy by Castello, wrote the noble canzone, beginning :

"L' altera Immago di colei che Dio
Destina Madre del unico Figliuolo."

At length his fame reached the ears of the most importunate and irresistible patron of the day, and Castello found himself installed at San Lorenzo of the Escorial, and busy on the choir-books so often referred to. Here he finished everything with such exactness and success as to give his royal employer complete satisfaction. He does not appear to have remained very long, but having finished his commission and received suitable recompense he returned home to Genoa. Somehow or other the biographers have got hopelessly confused with regard to Gian Battista Castello, several of them confounding him with Gian Battista Scorza, and even with Sinibaldo, in the most circumstantial manner. Soprani accuses Orlandi of making this confusion, but the *Abecedario Pittorico* affirms that

its author got his notice from Baldinucci, whom one would have expected to know better. Baldinucci certainly repeats the story of Castello, word for word, in his account of Gian Battista Scorza. The story really seems to belong to Scorza, and, if not strictly true, it is at least sufficiently *ben trovato*.*

Sinibaldo Scorza, another of these Genoese miniaturists, having been noticed by Gian Battista Paggi, who was employed on the Escorial frescoes, was introduced to the king as one who, from a boy, had been a skilled painter of animals and flowers. Like Clovio, he had assiduously applied himself, whilst very young, to the copying of Albert Dürer's engravings. The general story seems to be a kind of solar myth in which Clovio and Castello and the Scorzas become successively the heroes. After the engravings, Sinibaldo betook himself to the painting of *Vascelli*, after the manner of Serrani, a Milanese painter, and eventually to landscape and miniature, and in all attained a great reputation. In consequence of the laudation of the Cavalier Marini he was invited to the Court of Savoy. According to the dates, however, we find this occurring as late as 1619. After some years of wandering in various parts of Italy, he returned to Genoa, and practised engraving, dying of fever in 1631. He had a

* Baldinucci: Vol. IV. 453 (Ed. Firenze, 1846, 8 vols. 8vo.).

brother called Gian Battista, who, says Baldinucci, practised a long time as a goldsmith, and so forth, the story merging into that of Castello, even to the incident of being invited in 1599 by the Princess Margherita of Austria to copy the picture of the "Sudarium." This great subject was apparently a familiar one to his contemporaries, being in the church of S. Bartolommeo degli Armeni belonging to the "padri Bernabiti." Baldinucci did not know where this church was, but Soprani continuing the story of Castello from this point, gives the impression that it was the one in Genoa, "formerly that of the Basilian monks called Armeni, and now of the padri Bernabiti." The painting was given to the aforesaid monks in 1384 by Leonardo Montaldo, Duke of Genoa, who had received it as a reward of valour from the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus.*

To return for a moment to Gian Battista Castello, Soprani cites a public document in which he is recognized as the most distinguished of living artists: "eundem Johannem Baptistam, a capitulis, ordinibus, ac legibus artis pictorum eorumque observantia exemptum, ac solutum declaramus." It is dated July 7th, 1606, and is signed by the Doge Luca Grimaldi, twelve senators, and twelve procurators.

* Soprani *Vite de' Pittori &c. Genovesi* I. 105, &c.

There are other Castelli, famous, though in a lesser degree, as miniaturists, and the endeavour to avoid confounding this Gian Battista with his namesake, also a resident in Genoa, and called "il Bergamasco," endangers a further confusion with the Spanish miniaturists of the same name.

There is, however, one Castello who cannot be passed over here. This is Bernardo, though his fame mainly belongs to the last few years of the sixteenth century. He was born at Albaro, a suburb of Genoa, in 1557, and, as a child, amused himself with painting *animali e paesetti*. His parents, proud of this skill, after giving him some instruction in Latin, put him under good masters, such as Luca Cambiasi. By-and-by he travelled, and, whilst at Ferrara, made the acquaintance of Torquato Tasso and other literary men, including Don Angelo Grillo, Ansaldi Ceba, Lorenzo Cattaneo, Gabriello Chiabrera, and the ubiquitous Cavaliere Marino. He painted much both in oil and fresco. But the work by which he is best known to posterity is the superb edition of the "Gerusalemme Liberata," published in 1586-90 by Girolamo Bartoli, of Genoa, which Castello illustrated with copperplate engravings, and republished with another set of plates in 1617. Soprani mentions a letter in his own possession which had been written by the poet to the artist on the occasion of

this important publication. To several editions of the work are prefixed a number of sonnets and *canzoni* in praise of the Apollo who wrote and the Apelles who adorned the sumptuous volume. To that of 1617, printed by the Genoese printer Pavoni, Castello himself prefixes an address to Carlo Emanuele, Duke of Savoy, whose portrait he gives in the title-page. In this address he says: "and I seeing that so many musicians sing it, and so many literati comment upon it, have taken pains to depict the incidents represented in the text, so that, placing before the eyes what the poet lays before the ears, men of gentle culture might have a double pleasure in its perusal." Then follows a sonnet by Tasso himself, which, for epigrammatic tinsel, is quite characteristic both of the age and of the writer :

Fiumi, e mari, e montagne, e piaggie apriche,
 E vele, e navi, e Cavalieri, et armi
 Fingi BERNARDO in carte, e i bianchi marini
 Han minor pregio da le Muse amiche.
 Però che Livia d'Arianna e Psiche
 Legger men brama, e può beato farmi,
 Se l' imagini tue co' nostri carmi
 Impresse mira, e le memorie antiche
 E mentre pasce le serene luci
 Di quel lume, desian farsi più belle,
 E l' orse, e le corone, e 'l Cigno, e 'l Toro.
 Ma le riuolgi à gloriosi Duci,
 Et à miei versi tu da l' auree stelle,
 Muto Poeta di Pittor canoro.

As a specimen of the sort of immortality conferred on the Castelli and Scorzas by the popular writer of society verses—an immortality which Albano declared he could not endure, and therefore declined to oblige the prolific versifier with an example of his own pencil—I quote the accompanying sonnet by Marini. *Concetti*, flattery and tinsel, here reach their climax :

Movon qui duo gran fabri Arte contr' Arte
Emule à lite oue l' un l' altro agguaglia
Si, che di lor qual perda, ò qual più vaglia
Pende incerto il giudicio in doppia parte.
L' un cantando d'Amor l' armi, e di Marte,
Gl'orrecchi appaga, e gl' intelletti abbaglia :
L' altro, mentre del canto i sensi intaglia,
Fà stupir gl' occhi, e fa spirar le carte.
Scerner non ben si può, qual più viuace
Esprima, imprima illustri forme, e belle
O la muta pittura, ò la loquace.
Intente à queste merauiglia, e quelle
Dubbioso arbitro il mondo, ammira, e tace
La le glorie d'Apollo, e quì d'Apelle.

Several of the other writers catch at Tasso's idea "Muto poeta di pittor canoro;" others are taken with Marini's Apollo and Apelles. One speaks of the Ligurian Apelles and the Tuscan Homer, who "give food to the senses, nourishment to thought," and applaud each as equally deserving of immortality. "Mirabil opra," says another,

"Ecco il gran Tasso pingè :
E'l gran Castello finge."

And

“Onde grande Pittor pingendo cante
 Ciò, che cantando ha pinto,
 Poeta altier, ch’ ogni Poeta ha vinto.”

Lastly let us add a couplet which condenses all the preceding.

“Tassius hæc canit, effigiat Castellus, uterque
 Tam doctè, ut canere et pingere utrumque putes.”

These extracts may not convince us of the poetic genius of their authors, nor, perhaps, leave any very distinct impression of anything but a straining after epigram and smartness, yet they show very clearly that Bernardo Castello must have been a man of some consequence to stand in such a parallel as he does in this famous book.

The very manifest influence which these Genoese artists exerted over the character of Spanish miniature and decorative art, gives them an importance which their being simply contemporaries of Clovio would not have given. Most of them worked in his manner. The later Spanish miniaturists, indeed, have puzzled some writers on art as differing so decidedly from their Netherlandish predecessors, to whom the position of founders or preceptors, had been summarily assigned, and who were looked upon as the legitimate authors of a style which suddenly began to differ in many important charac-

teristics, and apparently with no sufficient cause. But the cause really was not far to seek. The appointment of a band of artists selected from the foremost studios of Italy, to work in concert on an undertaking so important as the formation of two hundred folio volumes, to be filled with the richest productions of their art, was the founding of a school which would necessarily influence all after comers. Whatever, then, may have been the individual tastes or proclivities of the handful of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese artists who worked on these choir-books, their united effort, executed under mutual influence, and as the result of freely interchanged opinion, did, in fact, produce the school of the Escorial. This school, as we have seen, owes its chief inspiration to Genoa, which in turn was an outcome of that of Raffaello in Rome. What wonder that later Spanish art should remind us rather of Italy than of Flanders. What more natural than this constant claim of similarity to the style and manner of Clovio. In fact, it may be recognized in the numerous *Cartas de Hidalguia*, *Exemptions*, *Grants of Arms*, and *Patents of Nobility* executed during the reigns of Philip II. and III.* Whoever will take the trouble to compare a good example of these *Cartas* with the

* As for example Claud. B. X., &c. British Museum.

engravings of the *Castello Tasso* of the edition of 1617, will be convinced that it was less the influence of Clovio than of a system of working necessarily similar to his, but followed independently by the Spanish miniaturists of the Escorial.

Perino del Vaga, Raffaello's chief assistant at the Vatican, carried the principles of the old Roman or antique school from the Baths of Titus to the Palazzo Doria at Genoa. Clovio studied the same principles, under Raffaello, in Rome. It might well happen, consequently, that intelligent judges of art would speak of the similarity of the Castilian and other miniaturists of Spain to the great Italian master. But that persons with any claim to discernment could see any such rivalry in the masters of Tours or Bruges, or Munich or Nüremberg, is incredible. Yet even Fouquet, Simon Bynnynek, and the Glockendons have not escaped the foolish and derogatory flattery of comparison with the well-known Italian.

It has been mentioned that Clovio began his career with making a careful copy of one of Dürer's best engravings. The fervent "Evangelist of Art" seems to have strongly fascinated the attention of Germans and Italians alike. Even those who eventually became enamoured of the softer graces of the Italian schools made their earliest efforts, either actually in his own house or under his immediate

teaching. Hans Sebald Beham, the miniaturist of the charming Prayer Book at Aschaffenburg*—better known as one of the “Little Masters” of the graver—passed from Nüremberg to Rome. Albert Altdorfer followed his example. Altdorfer was the boy-apprentice whom Dürer took as servant in his shop and household when he began his married life at three-and-twenty with the beautiful Agnes Frey, not yet sixteen. Altdorfer was the inventor of the style of work which gave the now familiar name to the seven satellites of Dürer of the “Little Masters.” Georg Pencz left Dürer and Nüremberg for Italy. Virgil Solis and Jacob Binck did the same. All these men were “illuminists” as well as engravers. Indeed, the limning of engravings formed a usual part of their occupation. Printed books thus illuminated are common in continental libraries, and the practice was continued in Germany and the Netherlands down to the times of the Plantins. The Antwerp, Frankfort, and Nüremberg presses were rich in the production of books thus enriched. The Nüremberg Bible of Hanns Lufft, with its splendid portrait of August, Duke of Saxony, and its richly coloured miniatures, may be taken as a fair specimen of the work of such practised

* Merkel, Jos.: *Die Miniaturen und Manuscripte der Königl. Bayerischen Hofbibl. in Aschaffenburg*, 4^o, 1836 : 10.

illuminists as Georg and Albert Glockendon, Hans Springinklee, and Jakob Elszner—all scholars of Dürer and famous for their skill in this spiritless kind of trade-work. But however secondary might be the performances of men who merely worked for the publishers, when they did so, sometimes they rose into quite another class. The Aschaffenburg Missal, by the hand of Nicolas Glockendon, son of Georg, was painted for one of the most fastidious patrons of the age—the Elector Prelate Albert of Brandenburg. It is a masterpiece of Nüremberg art. Its counterpart may be seen in another MS. by Albert Glockendon, now at Vienna. These works, if they bore the least resemblance to that of Clovio, might fairly be entitled to comparison, as they are unquestionably deserving of first-class honours in many respects. But there is no question of rivalry. No one with the slightest pretension to criticism could put Nicolas Glockendon into comparison with any Italian artist whatever, unless, perhaps, one of those who worked on the Grimani Breviary, if, indeed, any of them were Italian, much less with Clovio. The Vienna MS. attests the marvellous dexterity and delicacy of Albert Glockendon's pencil, and of his fine faculty for rich colouring and tasteful ornament. But here, again, even in the midst of Renaissance designs, is no question of resemblance to Clovio. Both are fond

of colour, but the German feeling for it and the Italian feeling for it are utterly distinct. Many who truly appreciate rich colour, would consider this German art too gaudy. Again, the Italian schools themselves differ so widely that no standard can be safely set up for comparison. The school of Rome differs more from the Venetian than the latter does from the Flemish. As a rule, the German miniaturists fail somewhat in figure drawing. They are greater in ornament, in scroll-work and flowers, and all manner of fanciful conceits and unexpected symbolisms. As figure painters the earlier masters lack softness and grace of outline. They lack not merely freedom but correctness in the comparative dimensions of the head and limbs. Though laboured, they are inaccurate and squat; and, like those of the old Siennese masters, as if looked on from above. The later, on the other hand, have all the apparent dash and facility, together with the attenuated disproportion, of the school of Fontainebleau. To this class belongs Hans Mielich of Munich, whose colossal MSS of the Penitential Psalms, crowded with illustration and ornament, now lie in the Cimeliensaal of the Royal Library. To the inexperienced eye, the miniatures and ornaments of these gorgeous volumes—especially the larger one—are full of magnificence and charm, of which a closer inspection and judg-

ment by the stricter rules of criticism will reluctantly dispossess them. Their *coup-d'œil* is certainly effective and even powerful. The softness and sweet harmony of the colouring is often truly delicious. But the high finish and more patient qualities of detail, in which miniaturists generally are most proficient, are here totally wanting. Of course, it is no explanation to say that the painter was not really a miniaturist, and only worked as a painter is able to work. The work is miniature, and must be judged as such. That Mielich could put in patient detail and microscopic finish when he thought fit to do so, is amply shown in the exquisite designs for jewellery preserved in the same library. In the Psalms, on the other hand, he is more like a learned, prolific, and dexterous fan-painter, comparable, it may be, with the fan-painters of Francis I. or Louis XIV., but not with Petitot or Clovio.

There is, however, one contemporary of Clovio's who may be said to have possessed all the patience and minute, polished elaboration of detail calculated to put even Clovio himself into the shade. But unfortunately in this case, the artist is too learned, too full of pedantic conceits to be a painter of the highest type. This is Hoefnagel. Both his name and his greatest work have been already mentioned earlier in this chapter, and perhaps enough has been said to show his character as an artist. The story

of his life is full of interest and shows him to have been a man entirely worthy of the friendship of those who employed him, whether Archdukes or Emperors. His Missal, too, is worth careful and loving examination. It is a volume of extraordinary bulk. Its scale may be imagined from the fact that the text is copied in a large hand from that published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp in 1570. This adoption of Plantin's text was undoubtedly a compliment both to the artist and to the printer; for until 1568 the Pope's printer, Paolo Aldo Manuzio, of Rome, had the sole right to publish the Breviary and Missal authorized by the Council of Trent. In that year Plantin made a contract with him by which he was to cede to the Italian the tenth copy of all Breviaries, &c., printed by him in order to enjoy in the Netherlands the privilege enjoyed by Manuzio in Italy. In 1570, Philip I. charged Plantin with the printing of liturgical books for Spain, and thus discharged him from the necessity of paying the tithe due to Manuzio. Philip had already spent 21,200 florins towards the enormous expenses of the great Polyglott Bible edited by Arias Montanus, and on which that scholar was working from 1568 to 1572. And this order for the 1570 Missal laid the foundation of the future prosperity of the Plantin-Moretus

family. After 1572, Missals, Breviaries, Diurnals, Psalters, Antiphonaries, and Offices, in every form, issued in hundreds from the famous Antwerp printing-office. The text, then, of this Vienna MS. is comparatively rare. It is composed of bold Roman lettering, never less than a quarter of an inch in height, and every page is more or less richly embellished with drawings of human figures, animals, scenes from Scripture, and scrolls of elaborate ornament, all completed with the most microscopic elaboration.

The unwieldy volume measures 16 inches by 11, and is at least 7 inches in thickness.

The first word of the title is in large red letters dotted with gold; the next line is blue, somewhat smaller. Then follow three lines of gold dotted with red and in Roman minuscules about a quarter of an inch. The colours alternate to the end, the last word being in red capitals. It runs thus: "Missale. Romanum ex decreto. sacrosancti Concilii. Tridentini resti. tutum: Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum. Cum privilegio. Oenoponti." The ornaments consist of a scroll-work of a mixed kind, with some suggestions of architectural effect. In a gold frame at top are the words "Potentia patris." The beginning of the Preface is surrounded by very fanciful but not

artistic borders, executed in a somewhat amateurish manner. The whole conception, indeed, is destitute of any idea of unity. The motive is chiefly Pompeian, freely mingled with modern conceits and paraphernalia, such as fishing-nets and lines with fishes hanging to them, the fishes evidently painted from life; lambs frisking on perilous Pompeian cornices, and money-bags, or hunting-pouches, gracing the wonderful trophies of which the borders are composed. At top is the papal tiara within a wreath of laurel, very finely drawn and carefully finished. The tiara is admirably executed, but the colouring of the design is, on the whole, timid and unsatisfactory. Keys and other insignia hang about amid vine leaves, palm branches, pandean pipes and other emblems of pagan and papal Rome, with the sublimest disregard of congruity and the most liberal conception of the function of symbolic ornament. As page after page of the book is turned over, we find Hoefnagel to improve vastly, both in taste and skill, but we are bound to say that his sense of ornamental design or his power as a colourist never reaches that of Clovio. The decorations are often very pretty and extremely delicate in finish, but so utterly incongruous that sympathy is frequently rendered impossible. On the whole, perhaps, the

ornaments may be best described as based on Pompeian but composed of all kinds of objects belonging to modern life, cups, platters, books, lamps, censers, musical instruments, banners, smoke or incense, arms, branches of laurel, jewels, bunches of vegetables and dishes of meats, or groups of birds and game, guns, traps, in short every conceivable implement or object that life in an Alpine castle in the sixteenth century could present to the unwearied and uncritical acceptance of the complaisant artist. Hoefnagel's boyish taste for painting familiar objects is encouraged to the full. Thus the work grows and improves at every step. The fruits are exquisitely finished, and every object calling for delicate mechanical drawing is finely and perfectly executed. Ovals are made accurate in line and contour, and are smooth and neat in every touch. Lettering and inks are good, clear, and masterly. With the rubrics begin groups of insects and animals, literally studies in natural history. To the calendar are pendants and festoons of various seasonable delicacies, interspersed with culinary implements. In one place is a fowl trussed and bound for roasting, and a bunch of really lovely onions tied with a knot of violet silk. The pink and green of the onions, pale and tender, are succeeded by the more brilliant colouring of a

glittering jewel. Then comes a cosy domestic cat with her back to us, but looking round over her shoulder; then toys and tennis, and, of a surprisingly polished execution, a bright steel gridiron with golden handle. The next border has a backgammon board, a string of beads, a violin, and a dancing monkey in the costume of punchinello. Passing by the close and patient fidelity of likeness Hoefnagel's master-quality as to mere manipulation is neatness, but his greatest gift is in symbolism. Now and then his classical acquirements are seen in the Latin couplets, or in the turn of the allegory. Among other objects decorating the calendar for March is a most beautiful peacock, finished with marvellous skill. Indeed in work like this Hoefnagel is a perfect contrast to Mielich—the latter being as rapid and sketchy as the former is scrupulous and minute. It is true that his primary qualification is neatness. But in addition as the work proceeds, the colouring becomes sweeter and richer. Around the title of the *Proprium de Tempore* are painted large insects and various fruits. The first miniature occurs at the *Dominica de Adventu*, on an oval within an oblong black frame. Here the draperies are weak, but the colouring tolerably good and the hints gained on the visit to Clovio, noticeably put into practice in the stippling

of the depths and shadows. On fol. 213 is the "Lion of the tribe of Judah," and two figures—a man and a woman—very sweetly painted. Fol. 329 presents one of the finest pages in the volume. It has a pendant formed of a jewelled cross and cameos, violet grey in black and gold frames. On each side is a peacock, one standing on a castle, from the windows of which issues smoke. On a banner which floats above is the word "vanitas." On the other is a beautiful woman with a quiver containing fruits, and inscribed "vanitatum." She proceeds, from the waist upwards, out of a shell painted to represent the world. The wings of the peacock are curiously eyed at the tips. All kinds of vanities,—masks, jewels, necklaces, bubbles, pearls,—are tumbling out of the two worlds. Fol. 538 v. is occupied by a large miniature of the Crucifixion, below which is this inscription :

"Aspice cœlorum Dominum et crucis aspice formam
 Et die jam meus est hic homo et ille deus.
 Crimina persolvit patiens mea fecit et alta.
 Verus homo atque Deus, rursus ad astra viam."

Texts of Scripture on oval tablets with black grounds and gold frames, are placed on each side the miniature, such as "Foderunt manus meas, et pedes meos" (Ps. xxi.). Over the picture is a blue tablet with the words: "Sic

Deus dilexit mundum." The picture itself seems to have been inspired by Clovio. It is not merely conceived in his style, but is executed in his manner. In expression it is even superior. One catches the blood from the Saviour's side in a golden cup (the Saint Graal, sang real, or whatever it was, of the Mediæval romances); another prays. An angel floating in the air, on each side, ministers comfort to the sufferer. St. John supports the fainting mother, while Mary Magdalene behind, with right hand on her bosom, clasps the cross with the left. Draperies are finely stippled, and here the folds are good.

To the "Missa contra paganos," fol. 136 v., is a fine marble statuette of Apollo with lyre in left hand, and other of Diana with arrow in right, faultlessly perfect and graceful. In mental gifts Hoefnagel is superior to Clovio; in the tasteful use of architecture he is inferior, and inferior to Mielich in design, but as I have said, surpasses him in careful manipulation. Occasionally a grotesqueness or sensuality of conception makes the subject repulsive, as in the symbol of St. Agatha, where the careful execution and the horrible realism of the breasts and knife betray the Netherlander. So in the St. Agnes—the refined purity of the ideal sainted maiden is outraged to the spectator by the gross unhesitating fidelity of the

representation. On fol. 27 of the fourth part is a design of a slain lamb. At foot, in rather small ornamental capitals, "Georgius Hoefnaglius Antwerpian. Libri huius exornat p̄ncipio sine principio Hieroglyphicus, favēt opus inceptū. Inventōr et factor. Ann. XXCII fine sine fine. Genio magistro iuvant. felic. absolvit. Ann. XC." Like most of Hoefnagel's inscriptions, this contains a certain amount of enigma. On the front of the slab is a couplet, apparently of his own composition :

"Ex nostris aliquid spirat vocale sepulchris,
Præstita perpetuo quod benefacta canat."

This date of 1590 occurs a little later in the volume, showing that the work, which is progressively dated in several other places, really occupied the eight years from 1582 to 1590. It now forms one of the many precious treasures of the Imperial Library at Vienna. On its completion, besides the annual salary of eight hundred florins, the Archduke gave him two thousand golden crowns, and presented him with a golden chain worth a hundred more. Seldom did Clovio receive such substantial marks of satisfaction from any of the Farnese. Hoefnagel was next employed by the Emperor Rodolph II., who, like himself, was a zealous student of natural history, and few occupations could be imagined more congenial than that of

the now skilful artist to whom technical manipulation had become a second nature, than the one upon which he was engaged. It was to form a systematic collection of drawings of all kinds of animals, birds, insects, &c., in every department of natural history. This was accomplished in four large volumes, which are now preserved in the public library at Prag. The very liberal remuneration received by Hoefnagel for this work enabled him to buy a property in or near Vienna, to which he retired, and where it appears he spent the remainder of his life in the cultivation of Latin poetry. He died in 1600. As a rival of Clovio he cannot hold more than a momentary position. He is too fanciful, too full of allegorical conceits, too much bent on the spiritual significance of his designs. His imperfect knowledge of classic architecture is marred by importations in the worst possible taste of the Renaissance. His scrolls are often less endurable than the impossible structures of Pompeian grotesque, and the third-rate designs of Cinquecento modellers. But, as far as possible, all is redeemed by the patient, faithful, faultless sweep of the pencil, and the tender delicacy and scrupulous neatness of his colouring. It is not always sweet, but it is never slovenly. Hoefnagel can rest very well on his own merits without being drawn into needless and unprofitable rivalry with any other miniaturist.

Claudio Massarelli or Massarolo—Clovio's assistant—died the same year as his master. His will is dated October 26th, 1578. From this document it appears that he was a native of Caravaggio, and, like Clovio, became *miniator* to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. He had two scholars—Maximilien de Monceau, a Fleming, and Alessandro di Como—and to them he bequeathed his drawings.

Of the later miniaturists of Italy may be mentioned Cesare Pollini, and Pietro Cesarei of Perugia. Pollini is often referred to by writers on Art. Orlando says he made most beautiful miniatures on vellum, and designed boldly in the manner of Michelangelo. Pascoli tells us that he was born about 1560, and designed, painted, and illuminated *a maraviglia*. He goes on to say that some of his miniatures were (1732) to be seen in the Congregation de' Nobili, in the Jesuits' College at Perugia, that others may be found in Rome, and that he worked for many princes and cardinals, and for several popes, who treated him with distinction; lastly, that he left many beautiful miniatures to his heirs on his death in 1630 at Perugia. He is sometimes spoken of as Cesare del Francia. Nagler calls him a scholar of Federigo Baroccio, and follows Pascoli in the date of his death.*

* Orlandi: Abeced. Pittor. s. v.—Leoni Pascoli: Vite de Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Perugini.—Nagler, *Kunstler lex.*

Pascoli also gives an account of Cesarei. Born about 1530, of unknown parents, but supposed to be the son of a gentleman, he became an imitator of Stefano of Verona, the famous illuminator, copying most of his works. He soon became known as an able miniaturist, all over Italy. He was also a painter in fresco. To his works he usually puts the signature *Perinus Perusinus pinxit*, or *pingebat*. Many works still in the library of the Piccolomini at Siena were painted by him. Nagler, probably on this authority, says the "choir-books," but Pascoli only says "moltissimi libri." Cesarei also worked in Spoleto, and good judges were often deceived by the similarity of his work to that of Pietro Perugino, the master of Raffaello, and have mistaken one for the other. But as Cesarei's work dates as late as 1595, while that of Pietro never reaches later than 1524, there is plenty of room for discrimination. Besides, Perugino's signature is "Petrus Peruginus," and Pascoli himself declares that anyone who knows Cesarei's manner could easily recognize his work. Others have mistaken him for Perino (del Vaga). He died at Spoleto in 1602.

In Venice, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, worked several miniaturists of repute, the most noted being Giorgio Colonna, who, in 1576-8, painted the *Mariegola* or *Matricola* of the *Arte dei Calafati* on vellum, in large quarto, with margins

of arabesques and miniatures. The volume was bound in rich silver-gilt covers and is still to be seen, preserved with great care, in the Library of the Arsenal.*

* Atti dell' Imp. Reg. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia, &c. Ven. 1857, 98.



CHAPTER V.

Clovio's various styles—His qualities as an artist—The Sack of Rome—Sufferings of artists—Clovio at Mantua—San Ruffino, and Candiana—Works at this time—The House of Farnese—Works executed for them—Romantic Episode—Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici and Giulia di Gonzaga—The Devices of Ippolito—Clovio at Florence—Works executed for the Grand Duke, and for Margaret of Parma—The Devices of the Farnese princes—Clovio's declining health—His troubles—His last works—His death and public funeral.

LEAVING now the subject of Clovio's contemporaries and perhaps rivals, let us return to Clovio himself. We were discussing the question of his style. In point of fact, like most human affairs this matter is somewhat complicated, for he had two or even three styles, quite distinguishable and, what is more important, apparently incompatible. We must remember his natural versatility and the vast variety of his commissions. Down to the time of his second visit to Rome, before the awful calamities of 1526-7, his practice had been almost entirely in the school of Raffaello and much under the guidance of his friend Giulio Romano. This is why he is sometimes called the Raffaello of Miniature. It was

an influence that, except when he attempted monochrome or simple chiaroscuro, as in imitating medals and statuary, never quite lost its hold of him. It is seen in his most usual principles of colouring, and in the technic of his processes, in working delicately from the shades and folds of the draperies and in what is now called stippling, then painting in points. The stippling was known to painters much earlier than himself, and was probably hit upon independently in many different localities, as we have found the discovery claimed by Antonio de Holanda in Lisbon, by Clovio in Rome, and by Boduino in Venice. I have seen it myself in Netherlandish and French work of the fifteenth century. After 1526 Clovio began to aim at greater energy. It is easy to trace in this change the influence of Michelangelo. The example of Raffaello and of the old *grottesche* in the days of the excavations at the Thermæ, was giving way to that of a new acquaintance of no ordinary type. He now becomes careful of the anatomical distinctness and even exaggeration displayed in the designs of the great Florentine; for the latter in his lesser occupation of painting never ceased from thinking and designing as a sculptor, so that his Sistine ceiling, in perfect harmony with the statued corridors of the Vatican, is even more sculpturesque than the painted walls of the Farnese Gallery, of which it was the immediate antitype.

The irresistible personality of Michelangelo forced its way through all gentler natures, and Clovio, though rugged and ascetic from religious motives, was one of these. His less creative faculties found congenial succour in the example of his friend and master, and the severer taste and greater experience of his riper years inclined him towards a style which seemed to him the perfection of design. As a youth he had thoroughly admired the graceful contours and softer execution of the Roman School; and being a true artist, and amazingly skilful with his pencil, had succeeded in an extraordinary degree in acquiring the manner of Raffaello. Now he devoted himself to the study of the Sistine Chapel, and with such masterly effect that he seemed fairly to have combined the spiritual elegance of one master with the physical energy of the other. To have succeeded in any degree in this combination, when we consider the dimensions of his work, is sufficient praise, and goes far to justify the lavish epithets of eulogy bestowed upon him by his contemporaries.

The impression which his best work—such as the Last Judgment of the Towneley Lectionary—leaves upon the mind of the spectator is not merely one of incredibly patient execution. This is felt, but it gives way to a sense of grandeur in the conception in which the dimensions of the picture are entirely overlooked. The work is less remarkable for the

qualities so loudly praised by Vasari in his famous passage about the size of ants, re-echoed by innumerable copyists, than for those spoken of by Bonde, the unexpected qualities of grandeur of design and fertility of imagination. Yet we must not forget that Clovio was chiefly, if not essentially, a copyist, so that these qualities as forming part of his own artistic character are indeed unexpected and amazing. That they are really original, and not transferred as part and parcel of his copies from confessedly abler contemporaries, shows itself in the very selection of his models. For unless he had in himself the perception, the taste, the longing for these characteristics, he would have been content to copy slavishly, and might or might not have caught the indications of the noblest elements of the artist's mind. It is true that at times, and in insignificant situations, he does not scruple to transfer, almost bodily, figures and even scenes from known works into the cameo-like pictures in his exquisite pages, as for instance in that scene of the death of Goliath, of the Stuart-Rothesay MS. in the British Museum. The great argument for the fact of his originality as an artist, is that he succeeded in retaining his best patrons, who had ample means of comparing him with all his ablest contemporaries. His choice of the highest and noblest in his art made him prized by Emperor and Pope, by Prince and Cardinal, and

eventually brought him to be the guest of his great patron and the table companion of scholars like Pietro Bembo and Claudio Tolomei.

The sack of Rome, of which we have so vivid a picture in the autobiography of Cellini, who, together with several of the most famous artists of the time, was an eye-witness of and an actor in its ghastly scenes, is familiar to all readers of Italian history. The details are horrible in the extreme. As might be expected when a rich and splendid city was captured by a vindictive, greedy, and hereditary enemy, the loot was enormous. Churches, palaces, whole streets even of private houses were pillaged, and their beautiful and costly decorations and magnificent furniture defaced or burnt. But the worst did not end there. Every form of cruelty and lust was exhausted on the unhappy people. Old men and children of every rank were recklessly butchered unless promptly ransomed from the rapacity of the German and Spanish thieves. The fate of women was still more terrible. Neither rank nor refinement saved them from ill-usage; and beauty, for which the city was famous, was only a too certain signal for the most indecent and repeated violence, that not content with the last insult to feminine honour, left its torn and bleeding victims to perish in lingering agony amid the reeking filth upon which their poor

tortured bodies were flung. Some of the wealthiest citizens were stripped of all their possessions and themselves, if spared, driven naked and helpless from the city. Others only saved themselves by the most cruel sacrifices. Of property, the most valuable books, pictures and sculptures were ruthlessly destroyed, and their unhappy owners subjected to atrocities frightful to imagine, but then considered as usual occurrences on the capture of a populous city. "Already during 1522 to 1524," says A. von Reumont, "it had suffered greatly through sickness, and the constant *émeutes* of 1526 brought with them surfeit of riot and disorder. Its measure of suffering was now filled to the brim. The destruction of all prosperity, and the fearful impression of acute suffering of every kind, the forcible privation of goods from men, and of honour from women, the wholesale loss of human life put it for years to come out of the possibility of anyone to resume any occupation except what was forced upon him by sheer necessity. Many artists were involved in this terrible distress. The school of Raffaello," himself happily dead before this calamity occurred, "was completely broken up and dispersed." Its head and director Giulio Romano, Clovio's closest friend, had been since 1524 engaged in his native city of Mantua, and destined for the next twenty years of his life to remain there, developing

a successful and many-sided career, and combining the ideas of his gifted master with those of the decorators of Upper Italy. Perino del Vaga whilst wandering destitute in the streets, with his wife and child, was captured by the soldiery, and only liberated after the greatest difficulty. Half distracted with suffering and anxiety, he must have sorely envied his former workman Baviera, who now as a dealer in Marc Antonio's engravings, employed him as a journeyman to colour drawings for sale. These drawings were afterwards engraved by Gian Jacopo Caragli, a clever imitator of Raimondi. Truly glad was Perino when the opportunity arrived to get away to the great work at Genoa, the decoration of the Doria Palace: there to remain busily and creditably employed. Vincenzo da San Gemignano fled with all speed to his sleepy little native town among the hills. But he never recovered the merry disposition for which, when in Rome, he had gained so pleasant a reputation, and what he now painted was so little akin to his former work, that Vasari was led to moralize on what he considered the influence of locality on artistic production, and to think that there was something in the air of Rome that favoured the development of important works.* Giovanni

* Vasari : *Vita di Vincenzo Tamagni*, viii. 147. Le Monnier, ed.

da Udine amid the general wreck quitted Rome for Friuli, nor did he see the city in which he had laboured so happily, for more than twenty years. Marc Antonio Raimondi, captured by the Spaniards and plundered of all he possessed, managed to escape and never saw Rome again. Francesco Mazzuoli, il Parmegianino, who was said to have inherited the spirit-mantle of Raffaello, alone of all the artists in Rome, escaped without loss or injury; for the *lanz-knechts* finding him heedless of the uproar of voices and the thunder of the guns, absorbed in putting the last touches to a figure of the Madonna, were so struck with the gentle loveliness of the picture, that at the cost of a few drawings they unanimously left him unmolested. Afterwards he retired to Bologna.* Polidoro fled first to Naples, then to Messina, where he laboured for many years. "I can imagine," he writes from the latter city, "without your telling me, how you are going on. In such universal misfortunes I can be no other than sad." The letter was written two years after the calamity to Giovanni Antonio Milesi, whose mansion he had decorated with the Niobe scenes. Much worse befel Polidoro's friend, Maturino, who, weakened by want and misery, fell an easy victim to the plague which followed the storming of the city. Such was the disastrous end of the famous school of Raffaello.

* Nagler: *Kunstler*, lex. viii. 511.

Nor had other artists any better luck. Baldassare Peruzzi, the decorator if not the designer of the Palace of Agostino Chigi, afterwards called the Farnesina, fell into the merciless clutches of the Spaniards, and, because he disappointed them in the amount of ransom he could afford, was barbarously ill-treated. They had mistaken him for a wealthy gentleman, and were disgusted to find that he was only an artist. Eventually he obtained his liberty by painting the portrait of one of his captors, and at once made off into Tuscany. But he had the further misfortune to be so villainously robbed on his way to Siena, that when he reached his native city he had nothing on but his shirt.*

Giorgio Clovio was taken whilst in the house of his employer, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio. One would have thought that a quiet and inoffensive young man of no particular distinction would have escaped unnoticed. But not so. He was beaten, starved almost to death, and rendered so completely miserable that he solemnly vowed, if ever he recovered his liberty, to devote himself to a religious life. This vow he afterwards faithfully kept, though obliged to modify the form of its fulfilment. The Florentine painter Il Rosso, and his friend Lappoli of Arezzo, were taken and put to the torture—only escaping with their bare lives, and fleeing from the

* Nagler vii. 309.

city literally naked. Jacopo Sansavino, sick and destitute, escaped painfully to Venice. Cellini and Montelupo managed to get into the Castle of St. Angelo, and were there impressed to serve the guns. The lively goldsmith gives a stirring account of this extraordinary episode in his career, boldly affirming that his own hand deliberately directed the fatal shot which terminated the eventful life of the great Constable de Bourbon.*

After such a turmoil of war, terror and misery, it was long before anyone felt really secure. Clovio was by nature a man of a peaceable temperament, and of an eminently religious spirit. Accordingly he seems to have borne his suffering with much greater equanimity than Cellini. After long and bitter imprisonment, with a broken and still unhealed limb, he was carried off to the monastery of San Ruffino at Mantua, where he met once more with his old friend Pippi. The curing of his broken leg was a tedious business, owing to the neglect from which he had suffered during his imprisonment. Meantime, in fulfilment of his vow, he assumed the garb of a Scopetine monk, and out of respect to his friend, adopted the monastic name of brother Julio. This name was

* A counterpart to Cellini's narrative is that published under the *nom-de-plume* of Jacopo Buonaparte, but generally attributed to Guicciardini, who was then in Rome.

destined almost to supplant his own, for he always kept it, and when in after years he rose to the highest distinction in the service of the Grimani and the Farnese, he is always spoken of as Don Julio Clovio.

After 1527 his works are almost always signed Don Giulio Crovato, or Julius Crovatus. As has been explained, Crovato or Croatian is the customary designation of his time, like Perugino, Veneziano and Veronese.* During his residence at San Ruffino, he completed a choir-book for the House, "adorned with the most skilful miniatures and noble ornaments," and painted a "Christ appearing to the Magdalene in the Garden," a work prized by all who saw it, as of the most extraordinary merit. He also painted, but on a much larger scale, the story of the Woman taken in Adultery, after a drawing by Titian. It would be interesting to know what became of that "portfolio of drawings, not by his own hand," mentioned in the inventory left at his death, as probably this drawing of Titian's was among them.

After a short stay at San Ruffino Clovio passed on to the monastery of Candiana, near Padua, beside the little River Berbegara in the Padovan

* The portrait of Clovio at Vienna, which is that of a young man in a snit of black, is inscribed: "Julius Clovius Crovatus, sui ipsius effigiator. Ao. Etat 30—salut. 1528."

marshes, and situate on one of the eyots formed by the many mouths of the Po. On his way he seems to have again hurt his broken leg, or as it is asserted, got a fresh fracture from a fall. So, again he was laid up, and this time with a still more serious illness, through unskilful treatment. Through this weary time his favourite occupation had to be laid aside, and his desire to devote himself entirely to a religious life, was greatly strengthened by his sufferings. But as he regained his health he could not forego the earnest longing of his heart after his own innocent and fascinating occupation, nor withstand the equally earnest solicitations of his friends. He found, residing at Candiana, and busy with work for the brethren of the monastery, another votary of his charming art. This was no other than the celebrated Girolamo dei Libri of Verona, whose reputation was then second to no other in Italy. Once more, therefore, he was induced to apply himself assiduously to his profession, learning of Girolamo all that the veteran illuminator was able to teach him. This may, in a measure, account for the ordinary story of his being the pupil of Girolamo, as it may account also for so much similarity as did exist between the works of the two masters. But it scarcely explains why the work of the younger man should be so frequently confounded with that of the elder. It may have

been that Italian writers and painters, being accustomed to the larger and broader effects of fresco, were more struck by the delicacy and minuteness of the miniature than by any other quality, and hence their notion of special similarity, a characteristic which in fact does not exist. But this mode of assigning work which happens to be exceedingly clever to a famous name, is particularly valueless and unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it always suggests a temptation to give the preference to that excellent miniaturist whose name the critic happens to know. No reliance, therefore, can be placed on mere tradition. It must always be taken in connection with other evidence, and especially in the case of local attributions, where usually there exists a prejudice in favour of some well-known name. The choir-books at Ferrara have been for ages, and probably are still exhibited as the work of Cosimo Tura, and praised as fine examples of his skill. But it has been proved that they are all the work of other men whose names have only transpired through documentary evidence.*

The "Raffaello" Missal in the Corsini Library is an example of an anonymous MS. of great beauty, assigned, in consequence, to a great name.

* Gualandi: *Memorie Originali Italiane risguardanti le Belle arti. Documenti risg. i Libri Corali del Duomo de Ferrara. Serie vi. 153. (Bologna, 1845, 8vo.)*

It is attributed to Raffaello because it shows evidence of his manner or his taste. But it is known that Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine were the actual executors of the works commonly called the decorations of Raffaello in the Loggie of the Vatican; and in ornament merely Perino considerably surpassed his master. But to return to Clovio. Profiting by his acquaintance with the skilful Veronese master, he speedily reached what were considered his characteristic excellencies, including his excessive and laborious finish, while he surpassed him in the grander qualities of design and power of drawing. The purpose which he had formed of remaining permanently at Candiana was soon broken through. His former patron, Marino Grimani, whom he had left to go into Hungary, having discovered his retreat would take no refusal, but insisted on his return to Rome. His plea of wanting to shut himself from the world in this obscure and inaccessible corner was of no avail. Such abilities as his were not to be wasted on the choir-books of a country monastery. Marino, now a Cardinal, wrote a most urgent and authoritative letter to the would-be recluse, pointing out that it was the duty of every man to employ the gifts bestowed by Providence in the best and fullest manner for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, and this he

could not do amid the occupations and observances of a monastic life. The argument, if specious, was forcible enough to the simple nature of the artist, and convinced him that he had really no alternative but to do the bidding of his spiritual superior. As to his vows, the wealthy Cardinal promised whatever dispensation was needful, from the Pope himself. And so it came about that in 1531 Clovio became an inmate of the Grimani Palace, at Perugia, where the Cardinal was residing as Papal Legate. He appears to have been engaged, before or during his employment under Cardinal Campeggio, on a Missal for Grimani, who was occupied probably with provincial duties which took him away from the capital. This he was now able to resume, and he completed it "with most masterly miniatures."* Another MS., assigned by Rosini to the first period of his service with Cardinal Marino Grimani, is the Trivulzi Petrarch. In 1850 it was in the library of the Casa Trivulzi at Milan. The diligence and minuteness of the work apart from tradition leave no doubt that it was executed in the prime of the artist's youth. But it was during this second period of his service of

* This beautiful manuscript is said to have found its way to England and to have passed through the hands of several distinguished collectors. The common statement that it is in the library of Mr. Holford is not true.

Cardinal Grimani that the grand MS. of the Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was executed and obtained the reputation which reached the youthful Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. His works at Perugia include a Prayer Book or Office of the Virgin with four miniatures; a Pietà; a Crucifixion; the above-named Commentary on the Romans; a second copy of the same; and perhaps, Rosini's statement notwithstanding, the Trivulzi Petrarch, as it is apparently the same MS. seen by Cicogna in the library of Apostolo Zeno and named in the Catalogue of the Zeniani MSS. in the Marcian Library at Venice,* and the exquisite little volume containing the Poem of Eurialo d'Ascoli on the capture of Tunis, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. During his residence in the Apennine city many stirring events were configuring the history of the outer world. Catharine de' Medici became Duchess of Orleans in 1533, and in the same year Marguerite of Navarre published her "Heptameron," Rabelais his "Gargantua" and the Earl of Surrey, then sixteen years of age, his first sonnets. In the same year Ariosto died and the Princess Elizabeth of England, daughter of Henry VIII., was born.

* Cicogna, E. A.: *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane* I. 173.
Sakcinski: *Leben*. 17.

In 1534 Alessandro Farnese, grandfather of the Cardinal who afterwards became Clovio's staunchest supporter, became Pope Paul III., and the boy-churchman at fourteen years of age was created Cardinal. In this year Luther published his German Bible at Wittemberg, in three folio volumes. The year following the German Emperor and the great Genoese admiral, Andrea Doria, took Tunis and released twenty thousand Christian captives, and Milan, to which claim was laid by Francis I., was held by the celebrated Antonio de Leyva for the Emperor. A busy year, too, was 1536. It saw the issuing of the bull "In Coena Domini," the death of Erasmus, who had been in his time a *protégé* of Domenico Grimani, and the execution of John of Leyden; while the accomplished poet and humanist Sadolet, the amiable Reginald de la Pole, and the ascetic Pietro Caraffa were created Cardinals. In 1537 among other notable events, including in England the Pilgrimage of Grace, occurred that well-merited though treacherous and unlawful assassination of Alessandro de' Medici at Florence. The following year his widow was married to Ottavio Farnese, the younger brother of the Cardinal. She afterwards, as Duchess of Parma, became one of Clovio's, as she was one of Cellini's, most appreciative patrons.

Daughter of Charles V. by his first mistress, and possessed of considerable personal attractions, she had been made at twelve years of age Duchess of Florence by a political *mariage de convénance*, and now by a similar movement, in which the somewhat easy-tempered youth of thirteen, six years her junior, is perhaps, rather than herself, to be considered the victim, she becomes Duchess of Parma and Piacenza. As the family of Farnese shortly became the permanent patrons of Clovio it will be interesting to enter a little more closely into their history.

The House of Farnese traced its origin to the tenth century, and to a castle and estate called Farneto in the neighbourhood of Orvieto. Several members of it had attained considerable military distinction under the Popes and other princes of Italy, and a number had been successive Consuls of Orvieto, but the individual who raised it to the highest point of its greatness was an ecclesiastic, Alessandro, who from being a soldier became a Cardinal and eventually attained the Papacy as Paul III. This Alessandro, whom we may call the elder to distinguish him from his grandson, was the second son of Pier Luigi or Pietro Aloysio, for the names are synonymous, Lord of Montalto; and of Gianella, daughter of Jacopo, Lord of Simoneta. In 1500, when he had reached

his thirty-second year, the family was branching widely, by intermarriages, over various lordships of Italy. A sister Julia wedded the Lord of Bracciano, another sister Hieronyma the Count of Anguillara, while his two brothers were both distinguished generals, and his cousins Ranuzio and Pietro both men of renown—the former as Captain-General of the army of Siena and the latter as papal secretary. When he became Cardinal in 1493 he was already the father of four children, three sons and a daughter. In 1528 his eldest son Pier Luigi had been created Duke of Castro and Count of Ronciglione. On his becoming Pope in 1534, he first gave this son the lordships of Nepi and Frascati for eleven years, and afterwards exchanged them for the towns of Parma and Piacenza which he erected into duchies, the former possessions of Castro and Ronciglione reverting, like Nepi and Frascati, to the Roman Church. Thus in 1545 Pier Luigi received the investiture of the states of Parma and Piacenza in perpetuity. But unhappily the young Duke could not obtain a similar and necessary investiture from the Emperor Charles V. who, as Sovereign of the Milanese, possessed the feudal right of investiture over these ancient dependencies. Notwithstanding this, all might have been well had he acted with ordinary prudence or even decency.

But his licentious conduct speedily became unbearable, and excesses of every kind outraged the fidelity of the best and noblest of his subjects. For to gratify his unmeasured lusts he spared neither rank nor virtue, but, as if his aim were nothing less than to exterminate or degrade every noble family submitted to his authority, had recourse to the most reckless cruelty and perfidy. A conspiracy secretly encouraged, if not fomented, by the Emperor was the natural result of this state of things, and at length the infamous profligate perished by the daggers of four nobles whose families had suffered his intolerable violence. His widow, Hieronyma Orsini, was left with three sons and a daughter. Of his brothers, Ranuzio was General to the Venetians, Alessandro the Pope's Chancellor. His sister Constantia was Princess of Palestrina. Alessandro, the eldest son of Pier Luigi, seems to have been his grandfather's favourite from early childhood, and to have been of a courteous and affectionate nature. He certainly was a very great contrast to his father, and is constantly spoken of by those who experienced his assistance as kind and considerate in his behaviour to his inferiors, and conciliatory in matters of religious or political dispute. From a child he was dedicated to the Church, and his grave and gentle manners made his admission to the dignity of Cardinal, at the

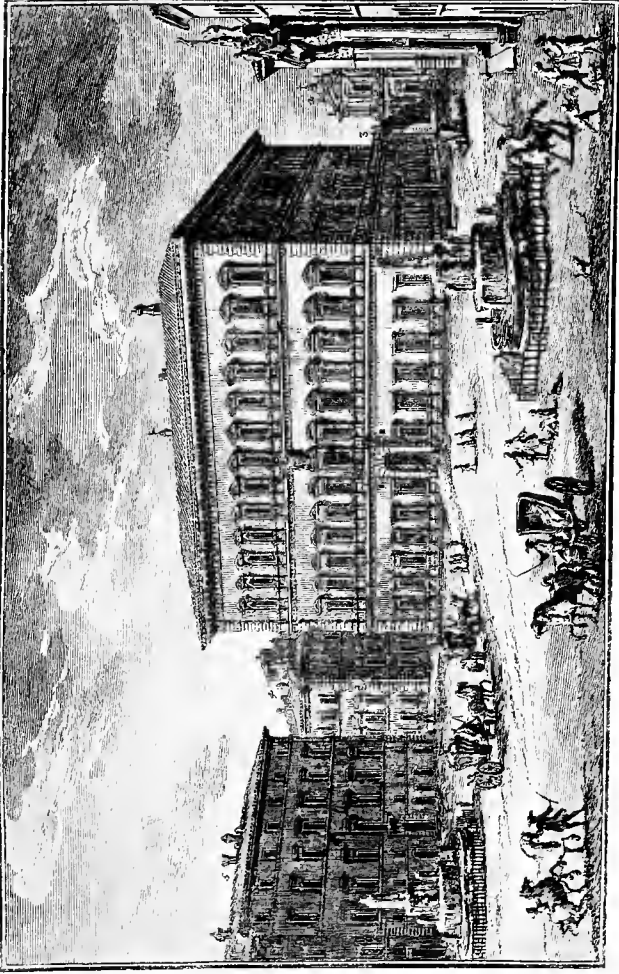
surprisingly early age of fourteen, less objectionable than otherwise it might have been. He was born in 1520, so that when Clovio returned to the service of Cardinal Marino Grimani at Perugia, he was barely eleven years of age. Nevertheless he was already noted for his love of literature and the arts. And when the beautiful little Petrarch, which Clovio finished soon after his return to Grimani, came to the hands of the Pope, it was the means not only of introducing the artist to the notice and patronage of the Holy Father himself, who was a passionate admirer of works of art, but also to the enthusiastic admiration of the young Cardinal, who besought his grandfather that the artist might be sent for at once to the Papal Court; and even wrote to him earnestly inviting him to Rome on his own account. Clovio was not fond of change, and he certainly at that moment had no just reason for desiring it, nor had he perhaps quite recovered from the horror of his last experience of the capital; so for a time, at least, he declined the proffered honour. But he did not forget it. And as work after work, or the fame of them, reached the enthusiastic young prince, invitations still more urgent were pressed upon him. Among the works executed by him during the nine years of his sojourn at Perugia, the most notable was the illuminated copy of the Commentary of

Grimani on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans. This grand work originally contained at least three large miniatures, besides other ornaments, but one of them was sent into Spain. It is said to have been afterwards returned to the Cardinal, and the work to have passed out of his library into the Grimani collection at Venice. There it remained until 1738, when it was bequeathed by Victor Calergi to Vincenzo Grimani, son of Giovanni Carlo. Shortly after this transfer, it was shown during a visit to the Duke of Buckingham, and was purchased by him, together with two MSS., for a thousand guineas, and was brought to England. On the Duke's death it came into the possession of Sir John Soane, the architect, and still remains one of the principal treasures of the Soane Museum. It has been said that Marino Grimani, who was named Patriarch of Aquileia in the year of the sack of Rome, was made a Cardinal in 1528. He was appointed by Clement VII. Papal Legate at Perugia, where he chiefly resided from 1531 to his death in 1546. During most of this latter time, Clovio was in his service, and of course mainly occupied with his commissions. Nevertheless, as we have seen, he occasionally illuminated something for other patrons, as the poem of Eurialo d'Ascoli on the capture of Tunis to be presented to the Emperor. In 1537 we find

him engaged on another large Missal. In 1540 Cardinal Alessandro Farnese gained his point of getting the artist to Rome. There is a hint that either owing to the constant moving about of the Legate or inattention to the due administration of his exchequer, Clovio's salary was not always promptly forthcoming, and hence he began to think of the possible improvement to be gained by acceding to the oft-repeated requests of the wealthy grandson of the Pope. Clearly it was under some extraordinary pressure, for Grimani strenuously objected to the transfer, and yet Clovio, apparently forgetting all his earlier benefits, decided to return once more to Rome, and to enter the service of Cardinal Farnese. The young prince-prelate received him with open arms, and at once set him to work on a Lectionary, or Psalter, which he intended presenting to his grandfather. If, as was probably the fact, the Psalter now in the National Library at Paris* be the work in question, he was engaged upon it, though not continuously, for about two years, as it bears the date of 1542. Unfortunately, no such date appears upon the more famous Towneley-Kennedy Lectionary, but it may very well have formed part of the Cardinal's original intention of having a

* *Anc. fds. lat. No. 702 (Reserve 8880, fds. lat.). The MS. is described in Appendix.*

complete set of Liturgical books executed as a present to his beloved and indulgent relative. The removal was an epoch in Clovio's life. It introduced him to the best artistic and literary society of the time. In a very short time he gained the rare distinction of intimacy with the proud and reserved Michelangelo Buonarroti, and admission to the select *conversazioni* of the Marchesa Vittoria Colonna, widow of the great general Pescara, which we have spoken of in a former chapter. Again he was fortunate, as he had been in his visits to Buda and Florence, in having access to rich collections of coins, bronzes, and marbles, both in the palace of his immediate patron and in the galleries of the Capitol and the Vatican. In the beautiful volumes executed for Cardinal Farnese, he makes masterly use of these exceptional opportunities, combining their wealth of symbolism and classic elegance of form with most skilful and effective design and perfection of colouring. The improvement upon his Grimani Commentaries is manifest. If in his previous works the counsels and example of Giulio Romano and Girolamo dai Libri are more observable, in these we cannot fail to trace the renewed influence of Michelangelo. In the Paris Psalter the miniatures worked in several styles, but chiefly in *tempera*, were thought by Waagen to combine the



THE FARNESE PALACE, ROME,
WHERE CLOVIO DIED.

(From a print in the British Museum).

characteristics both of Michelangelo and Raffaello. Neither of these masters was specially remarkable as a colourist, nor is this faculty very specially exhibited by Clovio. But there is both a vigour and a grace in his drawing shown in his later works which might very well claim inheritance from both his models. The style of colouring adopted by Raffaello in some of his paintings from the *Thermæ of Titus*, and therefore from Roman classic art, and afterwards disseminated throughout Italy by the dispersion of his school in 1527, is the style mostly chosen by the miniaturist. But not exclusively. We shall have more to say about this choice of methods later on. Here the question is that of motive or theme in decoration. Clovio avails himself of every resource now made popular by the Roman, Milanese, and Florentine decorators and by the sculptors and architects of Genoa, Vicenza, and Venice. In the *Psalter of Paul III.* he makes use of ancient Egyptian symbolism, of genii, termini, masks, cameos, medallions, bronzes, and especially of Imperial Roman coins. Of the last of these embellishments, most of the great sixteenth-century amateurs seem to have been especially proud. They form striking features in the ornamentation of the *Attavante* and other MSS., executed for Matthias Corvinus; for Piero "Il Gottoso" de' Medici; for Leo X.; for Clement

VII. ; for the Elector of Bavaria ; and for several German Emperors, particularly Rodolph II. But all manner of utensils and *anticagli* gathered from the treasuries of antiquity—all manner of symbols, even down to the hieroglyphic cartels of the Pharaohs and the statues of Egyptian deities, are found among the ornaments invented by Clovio for the decoration of the Farnese volumes.

Four years later than the Paris Psalter, he is just completing another Latin Service Book for this series. “Here,” says a German traveller of the last century,* “he has given pictures in such profusion that you would think he had spent all his life on this one book, nor could you ever see anything more beautiful. The drawing is correct—the colouring lovely. The artist has not stippled these miniatures but executed them with strokes of the brush, in consequence of which they now appear somewhat faded.” Richardson, in his Italian journey, met with this same MS. in the Ducal Gallery at Parma. He says in one place : “it is much finer than that in the Vatican (*i.e.* the Dante). It is well designed, masterly drawn, and beautifully coloured. Indeed, the figures have the style of Michelangelo, without his hardness and eccentricity. At the end of the volume, on an altar, occurs the inscription : ‘IVLVIS

* Volkmann, Dr. J. J. : *Historische, Kritische Nachrichten von Italien*, iii. 64. Leipzig, 1771.

CLOVIVS MONVMENTA HAEC ALEXANDRO FARNESIO DOMINO
SVO FACIEBAT. MDXLVI.'”

When the Farnese properties became Bourbon by the accession, in 1736, of Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V. of Spain and Elisabetta Farnese, to the crown of the Two Sicilies, the collection of coins, books, &c., which had been seen by Richardson at Parma, were removed to Naples, and for some time this Clovio gem was kept there, but since the departure of the last Bourbon king it has not been seen. The rest of the Farnese collection is still at Capo di Monte. It might be well if some competent person would examine the MSS. now in the Public Library at Ferrara for traces of authentic work. There is one which Rosini attributes to some *ignoto* Ferrarese, but which, from the outlines given by him, certainly was the work of some artist too clever to be quite unknown.* The jewels, broken flowers, birds, &c., are quite in the manner of the painter of the Berlin Missal of Clement VII.; a leaf of which, or like which, is among the cuttings in the Rogers MS. Additional, 21412, in the British Museum. It is also the counterpart of another Clement VII. Service Book in the Chigi Library at Rome.† In other words, it is more or less in the

* Rosini: *Storia*, &c. Suppl. pl. ccvi.

† Sebastiano del Piombo in a *New Light*: Acad. xxviii. 295, 329, 362, 433.

manner of the Naples Flora. It would be interesting to compare these examples by means of photography, which will at least record faithfully the artist's touch, if not his colour. Some may possibly turn out to be the work of Clovio. Rosini's example, just referred to, contains the armorials of Alfonso III. Duke of Ferrara, in the lower border. It does not seem to be the work of Clovio, but it is the work of a contemporary. In the same year that this MS. was finished, or according to one account in 1540, a young German lady of good family, and bearing a similar name to the artist, came to Rome to study miniature painting under his guidance. From the correspondence which ensued between them, and a brief notice in a letter written by Annibale Caro, the Cardinal's Secretary, it is probably her portrait which appears beside Clovio's in the frame which formerly hung in the Ambras Gallery at Vienna. The date there given to the head of Clovio is 1528, but no mention of a wife, or any hint of such a relationship, is made in any account of this period of his residence at San Ruffino. It is incredible that the fact of his becoming a monk should not have suggested some allusion to his marriage if the event had already taken place, and during his first residence in Rome he is always spoken of as living with his patron. This visit, and the interchange of portraits which

took place when they parted, seems to be the only foundation of the guess making the Ambras portrait to be that of his wife. She was a native of Bamberg, and the daughter, it would appear, of the musical writer and composer Clavio who resided there. Writing to her during her stay in Rome, he says: "I have felt for many days a wish to speak of your virtue and beauty, and was much impressed by the fame of both, when your portrait, painted by yourself, was shown to me by M., and in such a way, that I noticed in it the grace of your countenance, the liveliness of your disposition, and your excellence in that art of which I am a professor. Now think you, if first I loved you through having heard your commendations, how I love and honour you since I have seen, as it were yourself, and known you to be such a woman, that besides being so beautiful and so young, you are also so excellent in an art that is rare even among men, not to speak of women. Love and admiration together have made me keep your portrait near me, and I count it every hour more precious, and by far the most admirable thing I have to look at. In return, I have ventured to send you my own, painted by my own hand, more in order that you may know what I am like, who love you, than for its intrinsic value, or because I think it worthy of you." The letter finishes by requesting that she will send him some-

thing else of her own doing, and he will send her something in return. "And for the rest. . . I kiss your delicate and skilful hands. Farewell!"* If this were not a real love-letter and intended to lead to a closer relationship, it is at least a very warm sample of polite and complimentary correspondence. It is only fair to add that the letter to her was written by Annibale Caro, who may have added some of the embellishments from his own imagination. We have no direct proof of any marriage, and possibly the Ambras portraits may have been forgeries or copies of separate miniatures. Yet it is not absolutely certain that Clovio, although forty-eight years of age, living, as he did, in the midst of the most brilliant and least prudish society in Rome, was in reality the recluse he is usually supposed to be. He was, it is true, nominally a monk, and is represented in several of his portraits as wearing the monk's frock, yet so was Sebastiano del Piombo, whose wife resided with him in Rome. Clovio was now known not only to every artist of eminence in Rome, but also by repute to all the artistic world of Europe. Every foreigner of distinction gratified or worried him with a call, and by his fellow-residents he is always spoken of with profound respect. He did not form

* For original see Appendix.



Julio Klovio

Julio Klovio

PORTRAIT OF CLOVIO.

(From Sakcinski's *S. Slavonic Lexicon of Biography*).

a school, but just kept one or two assistants to forward the rougher portion of his work and occasionally to assist him by working on miniatures which he designed and completed, or by putting in such as were of minor importance in the works he undertook. In this way probably his name got attached, at least traditionally, to much that he had little or nothing to do with. We do not find mention of more than three actual scholars or permanent assistants, but he is said to have had a numerous band of imitators, who were glad of his patronage and help in their work.* By the aid of one or other of these he was enabled to undertake many commissions that otherwise would have been impossible. This practice accounts for the fact that scarcely a single work which goes under his name was altogether executed by his own hand. His usual custom was first to make the design or to adopt such as he approved from those handed to him by other artists, and to finish one or two miniatures as patterns, then to hand over the work to his assistants who did the rest, to which, perhaps, he would add a few finishing touches. Even his most finished performances and his most noted works betray unquestionable proofs of collaboration—as, for example, the Towneley Lectionary, where

* *Zani: Enciclopedia Metodica. Art. Clovio.*

it has been thought that not more than one of the six miniatures—namely, the Last Judgment—was purely and entirely the work of his own pencil.* So in other well-known so-called Clovios, even with the best authentication, we have probably a good deal of the work of Claudio Massarelli, or of Buonfratelli, Bartolommeo Torre, Bernardo Buontalenti, Francesco Salviati, or even of Sebastiano del Piombo.

The Pietà, containing five figures, so frequently repeated by the engraver,† and a Madonna, now in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, are assigned to the year 1548; and two miniatures, a Madonna, and another subject containing many figures belonging to the same year or a little earlier, were executed for Cristoforo Madruzzo, or Madruccio, Cardinal of Trento (b. 1512, d. 1578). In 1548, the Urbinese artist, Federigo Baroccio, whose miniatures have sometimes been mistaken for those of Clovio, visited Rome, and acquainted himself with the methods of the now famous master. Two years afterwards, Paul III., who had become suspicious of his own family, quarrelled with his favourite grandson, the Cardinal, and, it is said, died in a fit of anger

* See the description of this magnificent MS. in the Appendix.

† Rosini: v. 112 (Ed. 1851). There is a copy of the print by Cort in the Print Room of the British Museum and a variation of it in the Grenville copy of Bonde.

whilst charging him with treason. He was succeeded by Cardinal Giovanni Maria de' Monti, who assumed the title of Julius III. For him Clovio is said by Vasari to have painted the Madonna surrounded by angels, with the figure of the Pope, according to the fashion of the time, kneeling before her. This picture, it is said, was the one which, being afterwards presented to the Emperor Charles V., was the occasion of much flattery to the artist and of further commissions. The polite and smooth-tongued monarch had always a good word for artists. When his portrait in miniature was painted for him by Antonio de Holanda, the Emperor declared it to be not only the most beautiful he had ever seen, but not to be surpassed by Titian himself, whose equestrian portrait of the august flatterer was then considered the finest in his collection, and is still one of the gems of the Royal Gallery.

Another Madonna, referred to by Vasari as a separate work, may have formed part of the precious little Prayer Book executed for the young Ippolito de' Medici during Clovio's residence at Perugia sometime about 1530. The Prayer Book, which cost Ippolito two thousand crowns, was intended as a present to Giulia Colonna, with whom he had fallen deeply in love, notwithstanding her widowhood, for young as she then was, she had been the wife of the Duke of Trajetto, and

was living in great state at her castle of Fondi. But the wilful lady, whose firmness of character was equal to her personal beauty, refused the gift. The name of Giulia di Gonzaga is a celebrated one in the social and religious history of the sixteenth century. She was the daughter of Luigi Count or Duke of Sabionetta, and was born about 1510, one of a numerous and gifted family. As a child she fascinated all hearts, and the graces of her budding womanhood are sung by all the famous poets of her time. Bernardo Tasso, Ariosto, Molza, Claudio Tolomei, and others vie with each other in celebrating her charms. She was beautiful, highly accomplished, and unspoiled by praise. More majestic in her dark beauty than even her cousin and intimate friend Vittoria, whose blue eyes and fair tresses betokened a character of a far softer if still stately type, she had never been moved to the intensity of passion which made the brief wifehood of Vittoria such a glorious romance, and gave such terrible and tragic force to the seriousness of her after life. Whilst still a mere girl Giulia had been wedded to Vespasiano Colonna, Duke of Trajetto, an amiable and learned man, but crippled with rheumatism and forty years of age. She married him to oblige her parents, and found him kind, good-tempered, and as indulgent to his little bride as if he had been her grandfather. She soon learned

to like his conversation, and before long to love him with a true wifely love. His daughter by a former marriage was almost her own age, but though also a handsome girl, Isabella Colonna possessed much of the family *ritrosia* and reticence. According to the custom of the age she was destined to be the wife of the young nephew of Clement VII., the Ippolito de' Medici above mentioned, when the poor infirm Duke of Trajetto died, leaving his widow immensely rich, and guardian to his daughter. A serious lawsuit, however, interfered with her immediate possession of her rights, and it was some time before matters were safely adjusted on her behalf. Both Pope and Emperor took her side of the suit, and commissioned her younger brother Don Luigi Rodomonte, as the poets call him, to look after her affairs. When he arrived—a young, gay, and good-looking soldier—he more than accomplished his mission, for Isabella, who knew nothing of the Medici, and cared less, fell straightway in love with him and he with her. It is a curious story. By-and-by the duly appointed lover appeared upon the scene, being sent by his uncle the Pope to woo the fair Isabella. He was young, handsome, accomplished, and a man of a princely carriage, but Isabella had no eyes for him. Nor had he for her; for as soon as he was introduced to her stepmother he cared for no other suit. Giulia took his heart by storm, and

notwithstanding her anger at his confession and the trouble she imagined it would cause, he persisted in his open admiration. But she was, and continued to be, obdurate. In due time Luigi and Isabella were married. Within two years he lost his life in battle, and his little son and still girlish widow became the charge of his prudent and practical sister. This child also grew up to distinguish himself like his father and the great Marchese del Vasto, in the wars, being known as Vespasiano Gonzaga, Duke of Sabionetta. Ruscelli in his "Imprese" commemorates his virtues and his singular devise. It is worthy of remark that several of the great soldiers of this time were as children left to the care of accomplished and beautiful widows; and it is notable how thoroughly the young savages were metamorphosed into polished and chivalrous gentlemen. Vittoria Colonna had the bringing up of the young Marchese del Vasto—a beautiful child, but a very Turk when he came to her. He too married a beautiful woman, the fairest of her time in Italy, and he too came to an untimely end. The little Prayer Book was not the only gift which the unfortunate Cardinal de' Medici endeavoured to press upon the woman he loved. Nor was she, although unyielding on the principal and vital question, altogether careless of his devotion. That she liked him, especially after his becoming a

Cardinal released her from the fear of his repeating any offer of marriage, is evident from the fact that she permitted Sebastiano del Piombo to paint her portrait for him. It was given in token of her gratitude for a singularly important service. Whilst Sebastiano was painting it she obtained a promise from the artist that he would give her his own likeness—a promise which he more than fulfilled, for when Ippolito looked upon the portrait which she sent him and the painter was relating to him how pleasantly the month had passed, he observed sadly how he wished he could have exchanged places with him : and as Sebastiano went on to say that she had asked him for his own portrait, the Cardinal begged to be included in the canvass, so that he might share the happiness of thus being occasionally brought to her recollection. And so it happens that in the well-known picture the Cardinal is not the principal figure.* How the Prayer Book afterwards came into the hands of Paul III. is not recorded, but one may easily imagine that, with all its beauty, it became hateful to the Cardinal. He died, whilst still young, in 1535, as it is said, by poison, at Giulia's castle of Itri, on his way to visit her at Fondi. The secret instigator of the act was alleged to have been Alessandro Duke of Florence, who

* It is now, together with Sebastiano's portrait of Giulia, in our own National Gallery.

had obtained the dignity which rightfully belonged to the Cardinal; and who thus characteristically anticipated the treachery which he perhaps justly feared from his kinsman. A similar fate, however, awaited him. He was assassinated under circumstances of more than ordinary barbarity, by another member of the family of Medici.

The devotion of Ippolito for Giulia Colonna is attested by his devises. The blazing star, called by Ruscelli and Giovio the Star of Venus, with its brief motto, "Inter omnes," taken from the words of Horace, *Inter omnes micat Julium sidus*, "the Julian star," in allusion to her name, is commemorated as having been suggested by the poet, Molza, to accompany his various presents, and probably appeared in the pages of the little volume so often referred to. The book itself is now lost or destroyed. But it was said by Vasari to have been the identical one for which the Pope commissioned Cellini to make the rich silver covers, in which to present it to the Emperor on his return from Tunis in the year of Ippolito's death. The goldsmith, unhappily, had not finished them when he received the order for their presentation. Doubtless the Pope was annoyed at this circumstance, and when afterwards Cellini requested permission to carry it again to Charles V., he was told that his part of the business was over, and his Holiness would see to the

rest. Whether the present ever reached the Emperor after all is doubtful. Cellini gives an account of its first presentation, but in his description of the gift he differs from Vasari; and M. Plon, in his monograph on Cellini, denies the identity of the cover traditionally assigned to this famous volume; but thinks it possible that the true cover may be the one now kept in the Friedenstein Collection at Gotha. But what has become of the book? Can the story of its being offered to Giulia Gonzaga be untrue? It seems the most probable explanation that the work was actually in progress at the time of Ippolito's untimely death, and that, although paid for, was never actually presented, but obtained from the artist by Paul III. Every consideration has its difficulties. The supposition that by Paul, Vasari meant Julius, is no advantage, for it is certain that it could not have been Julius who presented the MS. to the Emperor in 1535.

For the magnificent Cardinal of Trent, Cristoforo Madruzzo, the intimate friend of Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese and a viceroy of Milan, Clovio painted a portrait of Philip II. of Spain, which was sent through the Flemish envoy, Ruy Gomez, as a present to the King. But we must guard against the repetition of these Madonnas and Pietàs, there has been such confusion of different accounts of the same transaction that it is now

quite impossible to verify the statements or to ascertain the facts.

By this time, so great was Clovio's reputation that his time became crowded with occupations of the most varied character, necessitating more than ever the aid of his scholars, and giving rise to the host of traditions which has so beset his name as to make even his greatest admirers doubtful of the authenticity of pieces said to be his work. Even his signature is not always a guarantee, as it is by no means difficult to imitate. The only reliable evidence after the work itself, is the undoubted testimony of documentary record, as otherwise even the best of judges may be deceived. It is more than doubtful whether, by mere inspection, Mr. Ottley was "able to trace his hand" in work done as late as 1573, when he was seventy-five years of age.

During the many years of labour which the much-sought and industrious miniaturist was bestowing on his admirable works, the fortunes of the princely house to which he had last attached himself were subject to much painful fluctuation. Family feuds and political jealousies rendered intercourse between the Medici, the Farnese, the Monti and the Caraffas, not to speak of the deeper rivalries of Colonna, Orsini, Malatesta, and Montefeltri, or of the Visconti and Venice, often extremely constrained and difficult.

The parties and factions always hoping for a turn in the papal elections, kept intrigue always alive, and selfishness always on the alert. Simulation, dissimulation, diplomacy, deceit, conspiracy, secret assassination were in constant exercise, and now it was one family, now another that became *fuorusciti*. Cellini, we know, was not an admirer of the Farnese, even before he owed to them the two most painful passages of his life. But the outspoken and choleric goldsmith was of another mould entirely from the quiet, peace-loving miniaturist. Those whom Cellini brands as intolerably deceitful, greedy and cruel, Clovio may have known to be pleasant, courteous, and even generous patrons. Liberal in its best sense, they seldom were, and Clovio was often in want of ready money. Alessandro, it is true, like Ippolito de' Medici, could at times be liberal enough, with the revenues of the Church. They could gain for themselves a resounding name as patrons of literature and art. But it was out of funds that came easily when prosperity smiled and ceased entirely when things went ill. Probably Paul III. and Pier Luigi of Parma, felt the force of these conditions, and Cellini's talk about the avarice of the Farnese may have been one reason why he suffered so smartly at their hands. After the death of Paul III., his successor Julius III. (1550-1555), otherwise Cardinal Giovanni da Monte, immediately

betrayed the usual sentiment of rivalry by proposing the re-incorporation of the Duchy of Parma with the temporal domains of the Popedom. An offer of compensation was politely tendered to the young Duke Ottavio, who, however, stedfastly refused to relinquish his possessions until absolutely compelled. With all his easy temper and general mildness of disposition, on this point he was inflexible. After vainly appealing to his Imperial father-in-law, from whom he got vague promises but no real help, he turned to the French, with the natural result of finding his little patrimony the bone of contention between three armies. For years the revenues and even the titles of his territories were lost to him; and in 1550 his family had to leave Rome. The Cardinal retired to Florence, and was accompanied or followed by Clovio, for Cosmo I., the Grand Duke, had invited him to that artistic city. Nor was Clovio loth to avail himself of the opportunity, as Florence was rich in the works of some of the greatest masters of miniature art. During his stay he painted, or rather copied, a head of Christ from an ancient panel reputed to have once been the property of Godfrey of Bouillon, King of Jerusalem; also a "Stabat Mater," or Crucifixion, and other works. The Crucifixion is signed "IVLIVS MACEDO, A. 1553." In the Inventory of all the "figure quadri et altri cose della Tribuna," made in 1589, and now pre-



PORTRAIT OF CLOVIO.
(From Bottaris Vasari).

served in the Archives of the Florentine Gallery, are registered the following paintings by Clovio, A.C. fol. 4, "quadro" of the Rape of Ganymede in miniature; 5, Pietà with many figures, in miniature; 9, St. John in the Wilderness with many animals; 9, Portrait of the Grand Duchess Elionora di Toledo, wife of the Grand Duke Cosimo I.; 9, Head of a woman; 10, A Pietà; 12, "Salvator Mundi"; 13, "Stabat Mater"; 28, A portrait of Julio Clovio himself in a frame. Across the shoulders is written in golden Roman capitals: D. GIULIO MINIATORE. This is the portrait used in all Italian Editions of Vasari, after the Giunta.* To complete these works Clovio was still remaining in Florence in 1553, although the Cardinal had returned to Rome. Rosini says that during this visit he instructed Bernardo Buontalenti in miniature.† In 1556 the friendly relations with Philip II. were renewed, while those between the Empire and the Court of Rome were again broken off. This circumstance arising out of the jealousy between the Caraffas and the Farnese compelled the Cardinal again to consult his personal safety by flight, this time to Parma, and Clovio again was among his retinue. Whilst there he painted the Madonna that went as a present to Ruy Gomez da Silva, and afterwards to

* Vasari, G. Vite &c. (Sansoni), vii. 567.

† V. 112.

the Catholic King. The miniature was intrusted for transmission to the Cavalier Giuliano Ardinghelli, resident ambassador from the Duke of Parma, at the vice-regal Court of Brussels. A letter is still extant written by Ardinghelli to Cardinal Farnese—that is to Cardinal Alessandro; for now his younger brother Ranuccio was also a Cardinal—in which the writer informs the Cardinal that he has presented the little picture to Senor Ruy Gomez, who had expressed great admiration of it. The date of the letter is December 4th, 1556.*

The concluding words seem to imply that the count would be glad of some further example of the artist's skill. Then come other important commissions from other members of the Imperial or of the Ducal family.

At this time Ottavio Farnese, though nominally Duke of Parma, was in the midst of difficulty and peril. From 1550 to 1553 he was in almost equal danger from friends and foes, for to prevent his capital from falling into the hands of the Pope or being surreptitiously got hold of by his father-in-law, it was occupied by a French garrison. And in 1553 his half-brother Orazio, who had entered the service of Henry II. of France, and married

* *Delle Lettere del Caro* II. 327-336, Letter 194. 3 vols. Padova, 1734, 12mo.

this French King's daughter, was accidentally killed, and Ottavio's interests at the Court of Fontainebleau no longer kept in view. It therefore became the object of the ill-used Duke of Parma once more to cultivate the good-will of the Emperor, which he had been obliged to incur the risk of losing, and hence the embassy to Brussels and the timely present to the favourite minister. But he was not successful. The Emperor died without restoring his independence, nor did he obtain possession of Piacenza until thirty years afterwards. Soon after the death of Charles, Philip II. appointed his sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, to the government of the Low Countries, where everything had become thrown into confusion through the civil and religious tyranny that Philip and his ministers had been endeavouring to introduce. As a further pledge of mutual good understanding and confidence Ottavio placed in Philip's hands his son and heir, Alessandro, to be brought up at the Spanish Court. This Alessandro afterwards became a celebrated general and governor of the Netherlands.

Margaret of Parma forms a sort of link between the Medici, the Farnese, and the Court of Spain. Clovio executes several commissions for her that only recently have been verified from her papers. From a document brought to light at Piacenza

relating to the year 1557, it appears that Margaret of Parma had desired Clovio to colour certain *impreses* relating to her above-mentioned son Alessandro. From the document it does not appear what these *impreses* were, but they are named in a letter which I shall here make use of, because it speaks authoritatively concerning the devises of the various members of the Farnese family. It was written by Annibal Caro, one of the three Secretaries,—the other two were Filarete and Monterchi,—of Pier Luigi Farnese, afterwards of Cardinal Alessandro. It is addressed to the Duchess of Urbino, the Cardinal's sister, and is written from Rome, January 15th, 1543.

“ With this you will find those *impreses* of the House that I have been able to discover down to the present time. 1. The Virgin with the Unicorn seems to me to be the most ancient. The motto with it is *VIRTUS SECVRITATEM PARIT*. My translation of this is that Innocence or Modesty secures the maiden from the ferocity of that beast, as purity and sincerity of life secures the bearer of this *impresa* from every adversity. The Duke Pier Luigi bore this without the Virgin, using the Unicorn alone, who buries his horn in a bank

* The arms of Farnese are *or*, six fleur-de-lis azure, 3, 2, and 1.

from which issue serpents, and of this *impresa* Cardinal Crispo still makes use." The emblem of the Virgin and Unicorn is very ancient. An old tradition, of which the origin must be sought in the antique religion of Persia, makes the unicorn the emblem of purity, as contrasted with the martichoras or serpent, a type of the demon. When this animal is pursued, he goes to take refuge in the lap of a virgin. In ancient paintings the Annunciation and the Conception are figured allegorically by the Unicorn throwing itself into the lap of the Virgin Mary. The Stag and the Unicorn have served from time immemorial as the emblems of purity.* In the sculptures which may be called the Strasburg Bestiary, there occurs the scene of the Unicorn taking refuge in the lap of a Virgin from a hunter who pierces it with his spear. This alludes to another form of the legend common in the Middle Ages. But the scene is common enough. It is given sometimes in Books of Hours, for the illustration of the zodiacal sign of the Virgin. What Pier Luigi Farnese could claim in common with this character in his devise of the Unicorn and the serpents is not very clear. But perhaps he may not in his own esteem at least have been as black as

* Maury, L. F.: *Essai sur les légendes pieuses du Moyen Age*, 177.

he is painted. Caro resumes: "Pope Paul III. bore two *impresa*—1. That of a Lily, which is the armorial of the House, and of an *arco baleno*, or rainbow which stands over it, with the motto, ΔΙΚΗΣ ΗΠΙΟΝ meaning the lily of justice, but I do not know what mystery may be concealed under it."* Here it may be remarked that the fashionable folly of the sixteenth century of pressing the most frivolous conceits and *jeux de mot*, led sometimes to very extraordinary results, so that even contemporaries, as Caro in this instance, were at a loss for an explanation. Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere, for example, had a ceiling ornamented with "galee otto"—eight galleys—as a play upon his own name. At first he had had eight large helmets—*otto celatoni*—of gilded stucco, suspended from branches of oak, the oak *Rovere* being the family bearings. But this being considered too obscure was altered to the eight galleys. In a similar taste a Messer Agostino Forco, of Pavia, being enamoured of Madonna Bianca Patiniera, to show himself her faithful servant, wore a small candle of white wax, *candela di cera bianca* inserted in the front of his scarlet berretta to signify *can* (dog, *i.e.* faithful servant;) *de la Bianca* (of the fair, *i.e.* of Bianca).

* ΗΠΙΟΝ is evidently a mistake for ΔΕΙΠΙΟΝ, but it is usually given ΚΡΙΝΟΝ.

Some were even still more vulgar in their literalness. The fiery soldier, or ruffian, as Giovio calls him—*Bastiano del Mancino*—used to wear on his berretta a small shoe-sole with the letter T on the middle of it, and a pearl on the point of the sole, wishing to imply that he loved a lady named *Margarette Margherita sola di cor amo*. The play on *cuore* and *cuojo*, in popular pronunciation made nearly alike, shows the exquisite pinguidity of the bravo's sense of delicacy, not to speak of the *suola* and *sola*. The pearl and margarita are of course quite legitimate and graceful. But the masterpiece of such vulgarity, not to say profanity, was the devise of Mastro Giovanni da Castel Bolognese, of the descent of the Sacred Dove over the twelve Apostles. One day Pope Clement VII. with whom this gentleman was on most intimate terms, asked him why he wore this emblem of the Holy Dove and the burning tongues on the heads of the Apostles. Giovio says he was present and heard the reply. "Not as a mark of devotion, Holy Father, but to express my conceit of Love. I had been for a long time enamoured of and very ungratefully treated by a lady, and forced to give her up as I could not stand the banter, the putting off, and the cost of the presents I used to make her. So I figured the Feast of the *Pentecoste* to show that I *repented* of the affair because it was

too costly." "On which exposition," adds Giovio, "the Pope laughed so immoderately that he had to leave the supper table before the meal was half over."

To go back to Caro and the Farnese. The explanation of the ΔΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΝΟΝ is not far to seek. It alludes to the myth of Iris and the substitution of the word "iris," which meant both "rainbow" and "lily." Hence the bow of justice or rainbow, the pledge of God's justice, became the lily of justice. The real mystery concealed under it is what it had to do with the character or conduct of Paul III. "But so," continues Caro, "this blue lily (λείριον is a white lily, by the way), like the storm bow, is called Iris. This conjunction of one with the other I can only suppose to signify justice." 2. The next device of the Pope was that of a Dolphin conjoined with a Chameleon. It is taken from one borne by the Emperor Augustus, who placed a Dolphin round an anchor, wishing to infer that he was swift to execute, but slow to decide, the one by the swiftness of the dolphin, the other by the tenacity of the anchor.

The Pope took the chameleon, a most slowly moving animal, in exchange for the anchor, but did not add the motto. But he meant it to express the same as that of Augustus, which in Greek was ΣΠΕΤΔΕ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ and in Latin

Festina lente, meaning that he was anxious to do rightly.*

This devise of the Lightning was borne by the Cardinal whilst still a youth. I do not know what the motto was that went with it. It appears as a devise on some Roman medals, especially on those of Augustus. It may signify many things, but meant, when his Excellency bore it, the power conferred on him by the Pope as having the thunderbolts of Jove.

Another Farnese *impresa* is the Pegasus, who appears to issue from the sun as feigned to be borne of Aurora, and is striking Mount Parnassus with his hoof, whence issues the fountain of Helicon. This winged horse signifies Eloquence and Poetry, and I think it is meant to represent the protection and aid which the Cardinal gave to learning and the learned. The motto with it says: ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΔΩΡΟΝ, *i.e.* the gift of Day. It was the invention of the poet Molza (a Modenese gentleman, who was invited by Vittoria Farnese to become the tutor of her son, Francesco Maria della Rovere, afterwards Duke of Urbino).

The third devise was the invention of the Cardinal himself—not, as Caro thought, of Molza.

* “On slow” or “hasten slowly.” “Festina lente” is a common motto in modern heraldry. It is borne by several noble families in England.

Giovio also attributes it to Molza, but Caro probably got his opinion from Giovio. Ruscelli is at some pains to contradict this idea. It is that of an arrow sticking in a target or butt, with the words from Homer, ΒΑΛΛ' ΟΥΤΩΣ, *i.e.* shoot thus, *viz.* at the bull's-eye.*

“The last *impresa* of Cardinal Farnese was made by myself in the time when Pope Julius III. was making war on Parma. The figure is the ship of Jason, and the Argonauts who went to Colchis to seek the Golden Fleece. The two rocks (*monti*) are the famous Symplegades which threatened, by clashing together, to destroy the ship. Applied to the Cardinal, the Argo signified the House of Farnese, the two rocks the House of Monti (the family of Julius III.), who were trying to oppress the former. The motto says ΠΑΡΑ ΠΛΩΣΟΜΕΝ ‘we shall sail past,’ ‘gli passeremo una volta questi monti,’ as indeed they have done safely. The Cardinal of St. Angelo (Ranuccio Farnese) at first

* The words occur at line 282 of the Eighth Book, where Atreides is giving advice to the young Teucer.

Τεῦκρε, φίλη κεφαλῇ, Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,
Βάλλ' οὕτως, αἶκεν τε φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι.

Teucer, my hero beloved, my Telamon, lord of the people,
Keep on shooting like this, if joy thou wouldst bear to the
Hellenes.

Or more literally, perhaps:—

Shoot (ever) thus, so shalt thou bring glory to the Greeks.

bore this *impresa*: Two temples—one of Honour, the other of Virtue, which the ancient Romans built attached to each other, thereby meaning that whoever would be honoured must be virtuous. It was the invention of M. Claudio Tolomei. But I do not find any motto with it. The Duchess, your mother, had another made from it, by me, for the same Cardinal, but I don't think he ever wore it, so I need not send it. One of Duke Ottavio, which I made and which his Excellency bore in Flanders in a joust with many Burgundian Barons against the Count of Agamonte. It was the club, the rope, and the pellets of pitch by means of which Theseus vanquished the Minotaur and escaped out of the Labyrinth; wishing to imply that with these same things which signify strength, prudence, astuteness, and other military arts, he also would conquer his adversary and issue honourably from this danger.

“Of this same Duke Ottavio, is one also made by me and borne by his Excellency at the same time in a tournament which followed the joust: it is a fire on which blow two winds to blow it out, but only inflame it the more. The motto is from Virgil—*vivida bella virtus*—signifying that the more they try to ruin him the stronger they make him. Duke Ottavio bore also this other devise in the war against the Duke of Ferrara. The invention was

his Excellency's own—the motto he asked me to find. It arose out of a passion he had at that time for a lady named Olympia; and as Mount Olympus surpasses the clouds, so the motto says, *Nubes excedit*. He wished to imply that her exaltation was such that he lost all hope of reaching it. On which occasion I also wrote a sonnet, a copy of which I enclose.

“This one (the drawing of which accompanied the description) I made at the request of Duke Orazio,* and he bore it when, as a youth, he was sent for a holiday into France. The centaur is intended for Chiron, the tutor of Achilles, and to represent King Francis I. of France, under whose care he was placed. Hence, he wears a crown, and has in one hand a bow, in the other a lyre, which the poets say Chiron taught Achilles, to signify the military arts and civil sciences. The motto ΧΕΙΡΩΝΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥ — Chirone Magistro—meant that under such a master he hoped to become as famous as Achilles became under Chiron. The last two—of the little horse going to take wing, and of the egg and two stars—Madama† ordered me to make

* Orazio, natural son of Pier Luigi, called by courtesy Duke of Castro. He was deeply attached to his brother Ottavio, and always anxious for the welfare of his family. In 1552, he married Diana, natural daughter of Henry II. of France.

† Margaret of Parma.

for the Prince of Parma,* and the interpretation of the letter which I wrote over it when the *imprese* were sent to Court. And I know of no other *imprese* belonging to the House, either ancient or modern." The letter finishes with a request that the Duchess will grant him a favour, namely, to send for the "Credenza" now completed by a painter in Rome:—"Il Signor Duca suo consorte fece fare qui molti disegni di varie storiette per dipingere una credenza, di majoliche in Urbino. La quale e stata finita, e gli disegni sono testati in mano di quei maestri i quali ordinariamente non gli hanno ad avere." Dated Roma, xv. Jan. 1563.

As Annibale Caro was resident in the Palace of Cardinal Farnese in Rome, when he wrote this letter, it is improbable that any devise used by the family would be unknown to him. But the devise borne by Alessandro Prince of Parma, in his campaign against the Protestant Princes of Germany—namely, the thunderbolt with the motto, *Hoc uno Jupiter ultor*—was naturally not mentioned in a letter written twenty years before. There were, however, other members of the family whose *imprese* are omitted by Caro. For example, Bertaldo Farnese in 1554 fitted out at his private expense a galley for the Imperial service. Both himself and

* These were the two executed by Clovio for Prince Alessandro.

his galley were captured, and he only regained his personal liberty by paying a ruinously heavy ransom. To show that he was unshaken by this calamity, he adopted the device of a tower with the motto, *Nomen Domini*, alluding to Proverbs xviii. 10.

We have traced hitherto the personal career of Clovio as definitely as our materials would allow. We must now glance rapidly over the final years of anxiety and suffering in which his labours are necessarily few and often interrupted, to gather what hints we may of such work as he was still able to produce.

In the midst of his work at Piacenza, there happened to him another unexpected and more than ordinarily severe misfortune. His health was probably permanently injured by his sufferings thirty years before in Rome. Now his left eye became so seriously diseased as to threaten loss of sight. In January, 1558, he was compelled to undergo an operation which fortunately proved successful. Possibly with a view to the complete restoration of his strength he seems to have accepted an invitation to Correggio, the lord of which signiory—Hieronimo—was a personal friend of Cardinal Farnese. In a letter still extant, written from Piacenza to the Cardinal who was then at Parma, he mentions this misfortune as to his sight, saying that it has increased so seriously that he can scarcely see at all. He names

a certain clever surgeon-oculist who had cured a Count Antonio Scoti in a fortnight, and he wishes to know if his Excellency will allow him to try the remedy, as it is attended with no risks, and he is anxious to regain his ability to continue his labours for his patron. He hopes that in a week he will be all right and able to go about as he pleases; though it cannot be done without an operation, which somewhat frightens him. The next letter tells us that this Maestro Batisto, the Florentine oculist, had skilfully performed the operation which he minutely describes, and he is thankful to say that his sight is quite restored. The next letter is from Correggio and is dated July, 1559. In it he speaks of his anxieties and troubles, and how he has been obliged to stay at Correggio, but seems to want help of some kind from the Cardinal. In 1560 he is still at Correggio, apparently residing with his old friend Julio Bernieri, whose brother Antonio was one of the pupils of Antonio Allegri, better known as Correggio. Julio Bernieri was a miniature painter and had visited Rome, carrying with him Clovio's letter to the Cardinal. During this year a Bull of Pius IV. was issued to moderate the severity of a regulation made by his predecessor, towards such persons, as having joined a religious body or regular order, had left their place of residence and gone forth again into the world. The Bull was intended

to absolve from the threatened penalties those who formerly had had the privilege of the Holy See itself to leave the Cloister (as we know was the case with Don Julio), only enjoining upon them that they should present themselves within six months to the Ordinaries and Priors of the Houses where they had professed in order to obtain due recognition of their title to the dispensation. Clovio's next letter refers to this requirement, in order to fulfil which he had to proceed to Candiana, and in order to accomplish this journey he was obliged to have recourse to the Cardinal. One month of the six, he says, has already passed, and he begs the Cardinal to write for him a letter of introduction either to the Bishop of Padua, in whose diocese lay the monastery of Candiana, or to any other person to whom the Cardinal might think it better to apply, and give orders for the supply of the necessary funds for the journey, after which he hopes to be able to return direct to his patron's service for the rest of his life. The letter is addressed to Rome, the Cardinal having returned thither on the death of Paul IV. The next letter shows some depression and uncertainty about the future; the result, no doubt, of fresh sickness and perhaps disappointment. He says that when he was a younger man and in better health he never despaired of the favour and kindness of his Excellency, but now, growing old and infirm, he



CARDINAL ALESSANDRO FARNESE.

*From Zuccaro's Picture
at Caprarola.*



MEDAL IN HONOUR OF
CARDINAL FARNESE, FOUNDER
OF THE CHURCH OF THE JESUITS, ROME.

trusted in him more firmly than ever, feeling sure that he would never forsake him now that he needed rest, and help to pay for his restoration to health. He has been taking the Baths at Lucca, whither he had gone at the expense of "Signor Hieronimo." He has heard of a clever doctor in Venice that he thinks would cure him, and he intends to put himself in that doctor's hands for a month in order to try, and again begs the favour of a letter of introduction to the Governor of San Giovanni di Furlani, to obtain the accommodation of being lodged for that time. The Bull of Pius IV. was published on the 3rd of April.* On the 29th he wrote for his introduction to the Bishop of Padua. On the 13th June he writes as above about Lucca and the Venetian physician, and he goes on to express his gratitude to the Lord of Correggio—"Il Sr. Hieronimo che per certo non mi lasciar mancar"—as regards his living, but still he requires a little cash for medicines and other small expenditures, and begs the Cardinal will send him some to be going on with. How like our own times is this sixteenth-century story of domestic worries and constant struggle with bad health and want of funds. The wonder is that with such feeble health all his life almost, he should have been able to produce so much of the highest class of work and

* *Coquetines: Bullarum Romanor. Pontiff. amplissima Collectio IV. par. 2, pp. 10-12.*

of a kind calculated above every other to be most trying to his injured sight and broken constitution—moreover, that he should have survived to such an unusual age. He now says that he hopes to be in Rome during the following month of July. He is rather anxious about the money he writes about, as he has not, he says, received a soldo of the sum granted by his Excellency, for five months.* Not so much the major-domo of the Palazzo Farnese as the Cardinal's own ill-fortune was probably answerable for this falling off of Clovio's salary. July, however, was passed in Venice. In August he is moving towards Rome. By the 23rd of that month he has reached Caprarola. Here Taddeo Zuccaro and his brothers had been long engaged in the grand series of paintings and decorations which were and are the great glory and attraction of this magnificent palace. A letter from Annibal Caro proves Clovio's presence at this time. But neither the care he had received in Venice nor such as he obtained in Rome on his return proved of much permanent good. He is compelled to relinquish his occupation for many days together, and to decline one commission after another, for want of health to apply himself as he ought. Then, added to this, his advancing age tells powerfully against complete recovery. It is, therefore, not likely that many

* Appendix, Letter IV.

works can be assigned to this period of his life. Nevertheless, amid his weakness he forces himself to complete the picture ordered by Madama* representing "Judith and Holofernes." On the 11th of September the miniature is despatched to the princess with a letter from Caro. Six years afterwards, on September 5th, we have a letter from Clovio in Rome to the Cardinal at Caprarola, mentioning the death of Zuccaro and his own grief for this loss of a dear friend, and also speaking of the abilities of Taddeo's brother and his fitness to succeed him. He also names a *quadretta*, which, he says, would have been finished but the heat in Rome had been too great to permit him to work as he was accustomed, besides he had suffered from headache. The Curzon portrait shows this tired look in the eyes which indicates a habit of suffering. The weary six years to the poor invalid is without other record.

Three years later comes a letter to the Duke of Parma, who wished for a portrait of himself, and Clovio is anxious to do it. The letter shows that he has other work in hand, which he immediately throws aside in order to devote all his powers to this portrait, which he copies from a figure of the Duke that he had preserved in a little book. The Cardinal's major-domo, Count Lodovico Tedeschi,

* Margaret of Parma.

brings him the order ; he at once begins the work, and speedily finishes it. In sending it to the Duke he begs him to excuse his age and the weakness of his eyes and hands, adding that he has laid aside the Cardinal's work in order to complete this. The letter is dated October, 1569.* Two or three more letters are given by Ronchini, the last referring to the price to be asked for a picture of St. Francis and others. Its date is 1573. As I have said above, it is extremely unlikely that, considering his infirmities, any work can be found which can, on internal evidence alone, be traced to his hand. The probability is that everything now, and until his death in 1578, was actually executed by his pupil Massarelli, or the rest. If the work of Apollonio Buonfratelli and of Baroccio can be mistaken for Clovio's we need feel no surprise that his resident scholars—themselves styled miniaturists to the Cardinal—should so catch his manner as to deceive a modern observer. The story of the artist's life is now told. He died, as already mentioned, on January 5th, 1578, and had the honour of a public funeral. He was buried in the tribune of S. Pietro, in Vincoli. At the back of the grand altar is the choir, and above the choir the wall between the windows is decorated with frescoes by G. Coppi, of Florence, from the life of St. Peter. On the pillar of the arch to our

* Appendix, Letter VI.



GIORGIO GIULIO CLOVIO.
The "Curzon" Portrait.

right are fixed the marble profile and monumental inscription put up in 1632. The words are :—

D. O. M.

URBANO VIII PONTIFICE MAXIMO

LAVDIVIO CARDINALI ZACCHIA TITVLARI

DOMINO JVLIO CLOVIO DE CROATIA

EX CANONICIS REGVLARIBVS S. PETRI AD VINCVLA

PICTORI EXIMIO.

PRINCIPIBVS VIRIS CARO.

IN QVO DILIGENTIA IN MINIMIS MAXIMA

CONSPICVA GRATIA IMMORTALIS GLORIA

VIXIT AD VLTIMAM SENECTVTEM OPERANDO

ET ROMÆ MORTVVS IN HAC BASILICA TVMVLATVS

CANONICI REGVLARES SOCIO OLIM SVO PP. MDCXXXII.



CHAPTER VI.

Clovio's work under Farnese patronage.—The supposed commissions for Philip II.—The Bonde Psalter, and the copy of it at Naples.—The Vatican MSS.—Dante.—Lives of the Dukes of Urbino, Muzio, Tullia d'Aragona, Monterchi.—The Stuart de Rothesay Hours.—Stanze di Eurialo d'Ascoli.—The Gonzaga Hours.—Other works.

IN the year 1572 Cardinal Buoncampagni became Gregory XIII., succeeding, with a far more liberal disposition, to the narrow and bigoted policy of Pius V., and inheriting the infamy, in Protestant minds, of the measures which pressed with such horrible cruelty upon the Reforming section of the Church. In this same year, which witnessed public thanksgivings for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Rome and Madrid, Philip II. initiated his scheme for the embellishment of the Choir of San Lorenzo of the Escorial with a set of Service-books magnificent enough to perpetuate the profound intensity of his gratitude. The scheme was in every way worthy of its author's well-known liberality in matters pertaining to art. Invitations, not to say commands, were sent to all the most distinguished miniaturists in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. Clovio was above all the man whom Philip had

long marked for his service, and whose assistance he was now especially anxious to secure. But at seventy-four years of age Clovio was reluctant, indeed unable, to comply with an invitation which other artists found it impossible to decline. His advanced age and feeble health combined to form a plausible excuse for his want of compliance, even had there been no additional reasons. A sort of polite and external cordiality had, it is true, arisen between Ottavio Farnese and his Imperial relatives, but it was only by accident, if it went any further than suited the convenience of either party. Since the death of Paul III. the little duchy of Parma found itself in the midst of enemies of all degrees. Its twin dependency of Piacenza had long been a mere political phrase, the State itself yielding its substantial revenue to the Imperial coffers, notwithstanding all the efforts of Ottavio and Orazio and the young Alessandro. Margaret seems to have been consoled for her husband's enforced resignation to this indignity, by the Governorship of the Netherlands, in which she speedily won a reputation that gained her universal praise. But the policy of her father towards her husband was perpetuated by her brother, and hitherto, notwithstanding the most courteous professions on the part of Philip, the Duke of Parma had no substantial ground for any reliance upon his august brother-in-law. He might

send him miniatures and other trifles, which put no one to very serious inconvenience. But what might be the result of permitting an almost intimate dependent of his house to go and reside in the household of the King of Spain, needed some consideration. Besides, the Cardinal would not give up his valued *protégé*. All things considered, therefore, Clovio's age and infirmities were accepted as a sufficient reason for his remaining where he was. Philip was proud, we know, and sometimes implacable. But so were the Farnese. From Cardinal Alessandro the elder to Elisabetta, wife of King Philip V. of Spain, the pride and imperiousness of the family were never disputed even by their friends. It is, however, asserted by some writers, on what authority is not clear, that certain commissions were undertaken for the Spanish King as a sort of compensation for his disappointment about the choir-books. It is even attempted to name the very works themselves. They were, it is boldly stated, those twelve paintings now preserved in the Grenville Library, and known as the "Victories of Charles V."

The question as regards Clovio is not without interest, and cannot properly be disposed of in a few hasty remarks. We must therefore reserve its fuller consideration to a later chapter, taking note here only of the broad and general outline

of the alleged story. The legendary account of this precious volume is that until 1814 it had been kept at Madrid, but in that year was carried off by Joseph Bonaparte to Paris, where a short time afterwards it was purchased by Mr. Woodburn, the proprietor and exhibitor of the Lawrence drawings. Woodburn having a vivid imagination, some experience in the qualities of the better class of pictures, and a keen appreciation of the value of a good advertisement, connected the story of the commission given to Clovio with these clever miniatures. There is no intrinsic improbability in such a connection, for some of the technical work and minor details are not out of keeping with work of the same level in the miniatures of acknowledged authenticity; but neither is there a scrap of evidence in its favour outside what various critics may have advanced on their personal judgment. No documentary proof is forthcoming older than the date of Woodburn's purchase. It was then alleged that Philip selected the Heemskerck engravings which were published in 1556, as the basis of the work to be done by Clovio, because the late Emperor had frequently expressed his admiration of them. This explanation of course was needed to account for the extraordinary circumstance that the miniatures were not required to be original designs, although entrusted to the greatest living master of

his art. For it certainly could not be considered a compliment to Clovio, that he should be asked merely to undertake the office of a German illuminist, common as it was, when he was acknowledged to be capable of such a work as the Grimani Commentary and the Farnese Psalter. Neither is it likely that Philip would have been satisfied with so secondary a kind of performance. It would have been unworthy of his rank as the first prince in Christendom. And from what we know of the character of Clovio, there is every probability that he would have declined such a commission. On the other hand, to please the King's whim about the engravings he may have consented to direct his pupils to undertake the work, and even to assist them with occasional touches of his own pencil. These, however, are merely suggestions. We now pass on to other work. Sometimes during his residence with Cardinal Farnese and previous to 1557, Clovio painted the famous Psalter commemorated by Bonde. This Psalter, so called, was a commission from the gloomy yet magnificent John III. of Portugal, the patron of Francisco de Holanda. The latter, as we have seen, was intimately acquainted with Clovio, and through him perhaps the commission was obtained. Though called a Psalter, it was really a Book of Offices. Its splendour was such as to be considered worthy of an

elaborate Latin dissertation, unrivalled for its bombastic and inflated language, by an English physician, who, sometime in the reign of John V., discovered the MS. which had been lost, and wrote partly to express his unbounded admiration of it, and partly with a view to promote its sale.

The immediate object indeed of the eulogy was to induce the King to redeem the precious volume and restore it to its place in the Royal Library. No evidence is given of the success of the appeal. Its gorgeous diction may have fallen on deaf or inattentive ears, for John V. was paralytic and imbecile for several years before his death, and his ministers had more absorbing business on their hands than the purchase of a high-priced religious picture-book. But the dissertation itself is a curiosity. It is printed in tall quarto, and on one side only of the paper. As a work of literary merit, it ranks not so much with books as with those funeral orations which in the sixteenth century were delivered over the biers of distinguished scholars and heroes. But as a piece of special pleading it is unsurpassed, and may be taken as the most prodigal example of descriptive writing ever penned. Its ornate phraseology is much more redolent of the flowery oratory of the Renaissance than mindful of the force and perspicuity of Tully. Possibly in the doctor's opinion it was more suitable to the comprehension of royalty.

In the mind of a suspicious minister of finance, it may have lacked veracity. The precious volume was somewhere not in Portugal, and to be had for a sum the precise statement of which is beneath the dignity of the writer's style to mention, but which no doubt were given in the invoice which would accompany the volume. The author entitles his book: "Gulielmi Bonde Thesaurus Artis Pictoriæ ex unius Julii Clovii clari admodum pictoris operibus depromptus. Libri sive Sermones tres: Idea: Index; Deliberationes. 1733." This volume is now so rare that the German translator of Sackinski's *Life of Clovio*, written originally in Illyrian, could find only two copies in England.* A note by Mr. Hamilton, inserted in the Grenville copy (No. 5860. G. L. Brit. Museum), states without naming any authority: "Emanuel King of Portugal had given a commission, and John III. had paid the sum of two thousand aurei for a Psalter illustrated by Julio Clovio. Another copy of it was in the Vatican, and another in the possession of the Grand Duke of Florence. My brother saw one at Naples." Mr. Grenville in a further note adds that this copy of Bonde had belonged to Mr. Towneley. The only other copy he had traced

* There are two copies in the British Museum, one of them belonging to the Grenville Library and containing Mr. Grenville's notes in MS.

belonged to Mr. Jennings, from whom it was bought by Triphook. At that time the above two gentlemen were the only proprietors in England of any work of Julio Clovio. This note is probably the source of the statement made by Sackinski's translator.* It should not be difficult to any one living or travelling in Portugal to ascertain whether this MS. of Clovio is still existing in any Royal or other collection. But, if not, from Bonde's description and Mr. Hamilton's note about two other copies, it may be possible that after all it was a Netherlandish production and not a Clovio. For certainly the Gothic character of the borders, and, as far as can be made out, the peculiar features of the landscapes, point rather to a MS. like the Grimani Breviary—the Isabella Missal (Brit. Museum), or the Hours of Albert of Brandenburg—than to any authentic work of Clovio. The Naples Flora, which might be cited in its favour, as probably one of the copies of it referred to by Mr. Hamilton, is itself of questionable authenticity.

It must have been about 1554-5 that Clovio painted the miniatures of the lives of the Dukes of Urbino, and of several other MSS. in the Vatican. Among the probably correct attributions are several miniatures in a copy of the *Divina Commedia*,

* A full account of Bonde's book and copious extracts from its description are given in the Appendix.

which is the more interesting as containing miniatures from three artists of different periods. The first belongs to the time of Giotto, the second was a monk of the fifteenth century. The last, according to a tradition which is fully confirmed by the miniatures themselves, is said to have been Clovio. His name alone occurs in the last volume, though several miniatures by the same hand are found towards the end of the second. These allegorical pictures possess the usual excellence and delicacy of his finest work. In the grouping and composition are seen the grace of Raffaello. Certain German writers have affected to observe in the earlier miniatures a higher devotional feeling than is found in those of Clovio, but there is really little to find fault with either in feeling or design. The one where Beatrice appears to the poet in the circle of the sun has been reproduced by Silvestre. On a faintly bright disk, and in a tender sky-blue air, stands the sainted figure of Beatrice wearing a radiant crown, and surrounded by other holy women, Dante himself in a blue robe, and a lady beside him in draperies of rose and green. Outside the sun are borders rich with lovely arabesques, and at foot is the title to the *Paradiso*. The same delicacy of handling and exquisite finish is characteristic of the other miniatures, which, if not the actual work of Clovio, have every mark of his

influence and supervision. In the Life of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, are five paintings by Clovio; but the notable feature of the volume is a portrait at the beginning of Book III., of Clovio himself by his own hand. It represents him as an elderly man—he would be about fifty-seven years of age—wearing spectacles, and in a sort of cassock, as seen in the accompanying engraving.

In the Life of Federigo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, the miniatures are not so distinctly in the artist's style as to escape criticism, and even doubt. The two works were the composition of the poet Girolamo Muzio, one of the poetical admirers of the celebrated Tullia d'Aragona. He was a native of Capo d'Istria, and wrote the Lives for Guidobaldo II., the last Duke, about 1554-7.*

* Girolamo Muzio, of Capo d'Istria, called it *Duellista*, *il Battiglione*, and *il Martello degli Eretici* was a celebrated poet, theologian, controversialist, moralist and courtier, and one of the most laborious authors of his time. This is Tiraboschi's description of him, which is very remarkable, considering that most of Muzio's life was taken up in moving from place to place. He was born on March 12th, 1496. In 1550 he married Adriana, a maid of honour to the Duchess of Urbino, Vittoria Farnese. His wife died in Rome in 1568. In 1583 Muzio was invited to the court of Urbino by Duke Guidobaldo II., husband of Vittoria, and became tutor to the youthful Francesco Maria (II.) for whom he wrote the treatise called "*Principe Giovanetto*." During this service he resided chiefly at Pesaro, and gave his leisure to the writings of theological tracts, and to the two Biographies called the "*Lives of the Dukes of Urbino*," now

The penmanship was the work of Monterchi,* the copyist of the poems of Eurialo d'Ascoli and of the Office of the Virgin, illuminated by Clovio for which Cellini made the famous covers. Some very acute critic of this Life of Federigo, affirms its miniatures to be the work of Clovio's pupils, but it is now difficult to determine what they originally were, as they were restored in the seventeenth century by the well-known miniaturist, Padre Ramelli. The Stanzas of Eurialo d'Ascoli, another work executed about this time, and now in the Imperial Library at Vienna (No. 2660), must unquestionably be assigned to Clovio himself. Its

in the Vatican Library. One of these was published after his death, but in a very mutilated form. In the notice of his works given in "Biografia degli uomini distinti dell' Istria, del canonico Pietro Stanesvich II. 131, &c. (Trieste, 1829), the biography referred to is called "Historia di Gironimo Mutio giustinopolitano, de' Fatti di Federigo di Montefeltro, duca di Urbino II.," 2 vols. In the same volume are given a portrait and memoir of Muzio. The splendid quarto volumes, bound with golden clasps, which are kept in the Vatican, and have been several times referred to, are among the most perfect examples of MSS. with miniatures. They are adorned with the Ducal Arms and portrait of the Duke Frederic and nine miniature-scenes most elaborately painted by a miniaturist of the highest rank, but unfortunately not named. They have, however, been almost universally attributed to Clovio. Five of these pictures are contained in one volume and four in the other.

* Francesco Monterchi was secretary to Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma. *Atti e Documenti*, &c. III. 264.



PHOTOGRAPHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. OF THE 'STANZE D'EVRIALO
D'ASCOLI,' IN THE IMPERIAL LIB., VIENNA.

(Painted by Clouio).



PHOTOGRAPHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. OF THE 'STANZE D'EVRIALO

D'ASCOLI,' IN THE IMPERIAL LIB., VIENNA.

(Painted by Clodio).

miniatures in treatment and effect are the exact counterpart of those in the little Stuart de Rothesay Offices now in the British Museum. The author of this poem on the exploits of Charles V. was a contemporary of the artist, and the friend of Claudio Tolomei and Pietro Aretino. The transcriber was, as already stated, the most noted copyist of his time. In this charming little volume the first miniature contains a representation of Dido on the funeral pyre which stamps the authenticity of the work. On her body sits a grey Imperial eagle with extended wings, while round the pile stand several men and women gazing on the scene with astonishment. At the head of the group stands a warrior apparently explaining the mode of cremating the body. In the foreground lies an elderly woman with two lovely children, one held to her bosom. Not far from these kneel two other children. In the distance are the towers of a city before the gate of which stands a woman, and over it in the air are three eagles fighting. The picture is surrounded by most exquisite foliages and figures, quite in the manner of the Offices in the British Museum.* The work has suffered from too much handling, which has rubbed off some portions, especially of the gilding. Still, the master's hand is everywhere visible in what is left. Opposite this

* 20927 Add. MSS.

miniature is the title-page, also surrounded with a beautiful border of a similar character to the other. In the upper portion is placed a tiny vignette containing a church and two female figures and a child running. The first stanza of the poem then follows:—

“ *Gia ministrai l’alte saete a Giove
 E ’n ciel portai uolando—Ganimede
 Feci le altre cose inuitate e nuove
 Di cui resta nel mondo eterno fede
 Ma fei di mia virtù l’ultima prove
 Sol per costei che qui meco si vede
 Et morir uolli nel medesimo ardore
 Che bel fin fa, chi bene amando more.*”

In the middle of the MS. begins the second poem, under the title of “*Stanze d’Evrialo d’Ascoli. Al invitiss. Carlo Quinto sempre Aug.*” Then follows, on the next page, “*Al gran Marchese d’Anghillara*” (the Emperor’s ambassador in Florence). Arabesque borders surround these pages, though somewhat inferior in colouring to the former. The verses are written on fine vellum, mostly in black but occasionally in golden ink. The binding is of stamped and gilded leather, and the device of the Emperor is placed on the middle of the first cover. It is not unlikely that the precious little volume was presented to the ambassador by the author himself, and afterwards (for both Charles and Maximilian were exceedingly fond of pocket

volumes) found its way into the Imperial Library. Inside the first cover is written, "Le miniature di Don Giulio Clovio. Li carateri sono scritti di Lettera formata del Monserchi, che como dice Vasari, fol. 261, nella vita di Giu. Clovio, è d' un genere raro et meraviglioso."

There is an exquisite little Book of Hours, executed for Francesco Maria of Urbino, or rather for his second wife, the Duchess Leonora, in the Douce Collection of the Bodley Library at Oxford, usually attributed to Girolamo dai Libri, but which seems in every particular to belong to a somewhat later manner, and to contain some of the same ornaments as the Berlin Missal of Clement VII.; the Corsini Missal executed for the same Pope; the Albani or Ashburnham Missal; and two or three pages in MS., No. 21412, in the British Museum. All these, if any, should be assigned to Clovio.* The Gonzaga Offices, as this beautiful volume may be called, certainly answers to the catalogue as to its being written on vellum, belonging to the sixteenth century, and containing 136 folios, &c., but it cannot be assigned to Girolamo dai Libri. There is nothing to show that it was a wedding gift, as suggested by Dr. Waagen;† certainly nothing to prove it the work of Girolamo, who died at the age

* The Bodley MS. is described in the Appendix.

† The date he found in it of 1510, is in reality the word *isto*.

of eighty-one, in 1555. The major part of it is of a later manner than that in which the Veronese artist is known to have worked down to the end of his long life. Nor is there any touch in it usually attributed to him which might not with equal or greater propriety be attributed to his younger rival; besides the fact already alluded to, that the motives and ideas in the ornaments are repeated again and again in works that can only have been the work of Clovio. Baglione mentions a Farnese Missal, or rather Lectionary, which had two miniatures like two of the six in the Towneley Lectionary, and states it to be in the Vatican. "Messale oltre ogni maraviglia bello sì, che hora per la sua incomparabile esquisitezza con degna riguardo ha meritato da esser riposto nella sagrestia de' Sommi Pontefici."* But it is not impossible that this is no other than the Towneley Lectionary itself, as it is not likely that any other Last Judgment by Clovio exists of sufficient beauty or importance to call forth the words of Vasari: "Tanto bello anzi ammirabile e stupendo, ch' mi confondo a pensarlo, e tengo per fermo che non si possa non dico fare, ma vedere, nè immaginarsi, per minio, cosa più bella." Indeed, the Lectionary miniature holds the same unique position among works of its class that its great prototype in

* Baglione, *Giov. (Vasari, G.), Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti*, 15. Roma, 1642.

the Sistine Chapel holds beside all other representations of the subject.

The choir-book said to belong to S. Salvatore, in Rome, is assigned to 1555, or thereabout. Several choir-books seen by Conca in the Cathedral at Seville, and attributed to Clovio, are possibly the actual work of Ramirez or Padilla,* who were working at Seville at this time.†

A choir-book with many fine paintings, said to have once been in the Monastery of San Salvatore, Venice.‡ To about 1557, perhaps, may be assigned the small quarto Prayers or Offices executed for Cardinal Farnese, and now known as the "Flora" of the Reale Biblioteca Borbonica at Naples. About 1558, Clovio painted a beautiful little MS., recently kept in the Monastery of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, described by Richardson, who saw it in the possession of Marc Antonio Sabatini. In 1560 were undertaken certain works for the Cardinal della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II.; and in the same year was completed the marvellous little

* Conca: *Viaggio de Spagna*, III. 234.

† Fra Eustachio, the able rival of Attavanti and the brothers Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni, died at Florence, aged eighty-eight, in the same year that Girolamo dai Libri died at Verona.

‡ Saksinski, Ivan Kukuljevich: *Leben des G. J. Clovio*, 41. "Biblioteca degli uomini illustri della Congregazioni dei Canonici Regolari del S. S. Salvatore Lateranense, &c. Scritta da Prospero Cavaliere ed arricchita da D. Vincenzo Garofali, I. 14-22; note 2. Velletri, 1836.

volume considered by Vasari and others to be the richest of all the artist's works. It was a Book of Offices of the Virgin, executed by Clovio as a special thank-offering to his patron. Rosini speaks of it* as "uno dei più preziosi monumenti delle Arti che si ammirino in Europa." The wonderful performance is selected by Vasari for a detailed description,† as being, perhaps, the most remarkable example of the painter's skill. Its miniatures, of which it contains twenty-six pairs, set opposite to each other, as the type and antitype, "figura e figurato," are set in the most profusely decorated borders, composed of little angels, genii, birds, beasts, flowers, gems, cameos and other conceits, exactly corresponding in character to those of the Bodley Offices of the Virgin, presented (perhaps by Cardinal Farnese) to Leonora Gonzaga.

Whilst Clovio was busy with these memorable examples of his charming art, Spain, France, the Netherlands, England and Germany, and indeed other parts of Italy, were not without distinguished professors of the same, and, if his biographer had known it, very little his inferiors. But to return to the "Flora."

If we may judge from the similarity of Bonde's description of the Psalter of John III. of Portugal to this exquisite MS., and may assume the truth of

* *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, &c., V. cap. vii. 113. Pisa, 1839-47.

† *Appendix. Vasari: Vite*, &c., XIII. 132.

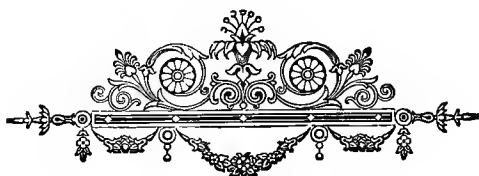
Mr. Hamilton's statement about there being two copies of it extant—one at Florence and the other at Naples—we shall not find it difficult to conclude the "Flora" to be the latter copy. When I saw the book myself, I at once set it down as extremely fine Netherlandish work, somewhat later in date than the Grimani Breviary. I then knew nothing about the Bonde Psalter. If the Bonde Psalter be authentic, as Bonde firmly assumes it to be, and if the "Flora" be a copy of it, quite possibly it may contain occasional touches of the master's pencil. The extreme likeness of the Naples flower-paintings to those of the Munich Prayer Book of Albert V. will very well excuse the attribution of that lovely MS. to Clovio. It is much more likely that neither of them is his work. No one could examine the pages of either, as I have done, and not feel differences more palpable than any rare touches of resemblance. The prevailing and final impression would be that both are masterpieces, not of Italian but of Teutonic art. The only evidence that would induce me now to accept them as Italian, and particularly of Clovio, would be his own word for it, or the word of some reliable contemporary who knew it for a fact.*

* A description of the "Flora" is given in a little book by Giustiniani, called "Guida del Reale Museo Borbonico," 238. Napoli, 1824.

The Paris Psalter of Paul III. has a better show of authenticity. It is dated in 1542, when Clovio was living in Rome, and actually engaged in the service of Cardinal Farnese. It is the date usually assigned, there or thereabouts, to the Bonde Psalter, but it is quite a different kind of book. Its style of ornament is in Clovio's usual taste. It has trophies and cameos, termes, birds, children, masks, and such like ornaments well known to be characteristic of true Clovio work. But many parts of it are executed in *guache*, whereas Clovio mostly worked in aquarelle and stipple. It is also plainly stated in the book itself to be the work of Federicus Perusinus. These are two difficulties it is true, and a sceptical person might make much of them. But they are not insurmountable. We know from the Spanish monk who wrote on illumination, that Clovio had two modes of working, and that some of his *gouache* existed in Spain. And as nothing further is known of Federicus Perusinus as a painter or miniaturist—and yet he is spoken of as eminent in his art—we may set him down as the copyist or transcriber—the penman, not the painter, of the manuscript. Had Federicus Urbinus stood instead of Federicus Perusinus he might unwarily have been assumed to be Baroccio, who in somewhat later years actually did such work, and was especially famous as the decorator of the Farnese

Palace at Caprarolo. But Baroccio, in 1542, was but fourteen years of age, and only reached Rome when he was twenty. There need, however, be no hesitation about the meaning of “*dextera*” in the inscription. Universal experience of such a reference from the twelfth century downwards is to penmanship, and “*autor*” in late Latin not only means author, but one who actually executes the writing of the work.* The Psalter was finished by this Federigo da Perugia in the eighth year of Paul III., further explicitly given as 1542, when Clovio was in the zenith of his powers and full of work.

* See Appendix. Descriptions of MSS.



CHAPTER VII.

The Disputed Works—The Grenville Victories—The Strawberry Hill Psalter—The Ravenna MSS.—The Munich Offices—The Naples Flora—The Paris Psalter.

THE prices reached by examples of Clovio's work at recent sales is very practical evidence of the value attached to these precious relics, and of the real interest taken in the question of their authenticity by those who can afford to buy them. But this is not all. Many who can never hope to contest their possession at auction take a genuine interest in their study as works of art, and as the productions of one who has been usually held forward as the greatest artist in this kind of work who ever lived. That this idea of his supremacy is erroneous has been already shown, but that he was unquestionably a great master and his works possessed of the highest merit can always be accepted as true. The business before us now is to inquire into the grounds of those opinions which are held by some respecting the authenticity of certain works alleged to be his. In the preceding part of this volume, the extent to which authenticity may be affirmed of his work at all has been pointed out. In reality it seldom extended to the whole of any MS. whatever, unless

very small or very special. Two or three of these special examples are known, but the majority of the so-called Clovios are mainly or largely the work of his assistants. Far too much importance has been given by librarians, *custodes*, and others to the miniatures under their charge. Usually they have no further guaranty than either some vague tradition, or the general excellence of the work, or the opinion of some amateur as to the touch or the style or the colouring, formed on the recollection of other works possessing a similar degree of authenticity. It is almost always a shiftily and unreliable tissue of alternative guesses. Now the only safe way of ascertaining the truth is to take for study some work about the authenticity of which documentary evidence leaves no room for dispute, and when a fresh piece arises, to examine it first as to its external history and the probabilities or possibilities of its being what it pretends to be; and then when these are shown to be satisfactory, to examine the evidence afforded by the work itself. A mere signature is only of value when all the other evidence is satisfactory, as it is obvious that such an addition could give no trouble whatever to an intentional forger, or to one who was so convinced of the evidence that only a signature was wanting to render it complete, and who accordingly could not refuse to add so slight a proof of his conviction.

Many miniatures have been thus attributed without at first any evil intention. But it is a serious wrong all the same when it becomes likely to be mistaken for the painter's autograph. Few persons are so conversant with the penmanship of the sixteenth century as to say with certainty that the printing initials formed by the pen of one scribe were not formed by another. The handwriting of Eneas Vico is precisely like that of a professional copyist. But to a certain extent an engraver is a copyist. The handwritings of Raffaello, of Michelangelo, of Sebastiano, of Clovio, and of course of most other people of their time, were sufficiently distinctive and characteristic. But not so the mere capital initials or printing texts employed to denote their works. These could easily be imitated. In fact the copyist of the manuscript did usually insert them himself as part of his work. So it is with the "Attavantes pinsit" of the Brussels, the Paris, the Florence and the Venice MSS. So with the Glockendon Offices at Vienna, and many others. Frequently the artist's name is prominent in the title or dedication, just as frequently in the colophon. But they were not put there by the artist himself, or, if they were, it was after a copy or model afforded by the penman for the artist's guidance. It was not what we understand by his autograph, for the proof that he actually wrote it lies in the work

itself, which follows or precedes ; and the proof of the right connection of the two with the artist himself lies in the account books of the palace, or the chapter, or the monastery, for which the work was done. The Soane "Clovio" is an instance of this practice, verified, however, by Vasari. Under the title of the "Chief Victories of Charles V." the late Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell printed a very exhaustive account of a set of engravings designed by Martin Heemskerck. The work, though now well known, was not published, but privately distributed among the author's friends and the great libraries. It was got up with his usual fondness for lavish ornament and profuse illustration, and is characterized by his fastidiously exact taste and exceptional learning. In July of the same year 1870, in which this curious work saw the light, an article also appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* dealing chiefly with the artist, Martin Heemskerck. The review article fails to do justice to Heemskerck, as if the writer's entire knowledge of the artist's work had been confined to the rough and even wretched reproductions to be found in Stirling-Maxwell's volume, which are too black and coarse to convey any really correct idea of the tenderness and delicacy of the original engravings. The finest set known to myself happens to be the one in my own possession. I have examined others, including those in the British

Museum, but fine as they are in some respects, they are, as a whole, wanting in brilliancy. The designs in question represent the chief military events in the life of the Emperor of Germany, the contemporary and rival of Francis I. The title-page of the first edition bears the date of 1556. But as some of the plates bear the date of 1555, it is possible that they were intended for publication in the October of that year when Charles resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands. They seem to have been a speculation of the prolific print-publisher, Hieronymus Cock, or Cook, of Antwerp. He and his brother Matthias were natives and citizens of Antwerp, and began life as artists, the latter obtaining some distinction in landscape painting. Hieronymus or Jerome also practised the same art, but carried on with it the further arts of copperplate engraving and etching, and reproduced on metal various of his brother's pictures. His few spare moments were employed in instructing pupils. Among these was a skilful engraver and a man of original genius named Cornelis Cort. Cock, however, soon abandoned both pencil and graver for the less toilsome and more lucrative occupation of a dealer in works of art and a publisher of books and prints. In this pursuit he eventually realized a very considerable fortune, which he prudently invested in the purchase of house property, and

thus became a person of substance and importance in his native city. Being fond of a jest he placed over his door as his devise: "Let the Cook cook for the public good." The words *H. Cock excudebat* are usually found upon the engravings which he offered for sale, especially upon those which were expressly executed to his order. It is necessary to notice this fact or it might be concluded that he engraved them himself. As to Martin Heemskerck, he was both painter and engraver. He was born at the village of Heemskerck, near Haarlem, in North Holland, in 1498, his family name being Van Veen. After a boyhood of hardship on his father's farm he obtained elementary instruction in drawing, and when Jan Schoreel returned from Italy he went to Haarlem and put himself under the then celebrated master of the Italian style. But his application was such that he soon became skilful enough to imitate Schoreel more closely than was agreeable, and they parted company in consequence. Heemskerck then set up a studio of his own, and rapidly acquired an extensive practice. About two years after leaving Schoreel he found the means to gratify a wish he had long entertained of visiting Italy, and accordingly, after bestowing upon the Guild of St. Luke a painting of the Madonna and St. Luke, he set out for Rome. The painting, bearing the date May 23rd,

1532, is now one of the treasures of the Haarlem Town Hall Museum. In Italy he remained three years, "not spending his time," says Van Mander, "in drinking with his fellow-countrymen in Rome, but in copying the works of Michelangelo and the old masters." He also made sketches of the ruins. In 1536 the Emperor Charles V. made a triumphal progress through Italy in honour of the capture of Tunis. And as was then the fashion certain distinguished artists were employed in constructing triumphal arches and inventing devices. It fell to the lot of Heemskerck to paint the ornaments of San Gallo's Arch in the Square of St. Mark, to which he added ten paintings of scenes in the African expedition.* He was then personally acquainted with Vasari. His biographers tell us he was industrious, penurious, and timid. He was twice married—the first time to a young and pretty girl of Haarlem, who died within two years of their marriage; the next to a foolish and even dishonest old spinster, whose only recommendation was her wealth. She irritated his nervous temperament, and so wasted their means, that he was obliged to work hard every day. He thus "managed to execute a vast number of beautiful pictures." Of these numerous pictures very few are now known. One in the Dusseldorf Gallery shows his Italian

* Vasari, xiii. 149.

manner to perfection. There is also a fine Crucifixion at St. Petersburg, and a small mythological subject in the Berlin Museum. A votive altar-piece exists in the Moritz-Kapelle at Nuremberg, and one or two others in public galleries. The majority, however, remain as altar-pieces, but far from the vast number spoken of by Van Mander and Michiels. Prints after his works are very much more common. Sometimes his drawings were made on purpose to be engraved. Van Mander thought he never actually used the graver himself; but more recent writers think otherwise.

During his later years at Haarlem he executed a considerable number of subjects, sometimes in sets called Triumphs—as the Triumph of Christianity, the Eight Triumphs of Patience, the Six Triumphs of Petrarch, the Vicissitudes of Human Affairs. These Triumphs were much more significant in the days of *Alva* and *Requescens* than they are now. They are very remarkable engravings, notable for elaborate detail and minute repletion of incident. But the Vicissitudes are still more remarkable, possessing at times a realism quite shocking to behold, and a stern directness of symbolism verging on indecency. But as Kerrick says,* the number

* A Catalogue of the Prints which have been engraved after Martin Heemskerck, 12.

of prints after Heemskerck is almost infinite. Most of them seem to have been the work of Dietrich Volkertsz Cuerehert, though many others are due to Hermann Müller, Jerome Cock, and Philip Galle. A small number bear the names of Cristoffel van Sichein and Theodore de Bry. After the Triumphs and a crowd of scriptural subjects, comes a series of elaborate, and mostly equestrian, figures of the Nine Worthies. There need be no hesitation in saying that the exaggerations of drawing, in all these examples where the artist is fairly represented, are mainly due to Heemskerck's studies in Rome. They are not simply Dutch or Flemish exaggerations like those of Martin de Vos, or mannerisms like those of Theodore de Bry. And it is only natural to conclude that this diligent student of Michelangelo was personally acquainted with other artists then resident in Rome. The capture of Tunis and the pageants in honour of it were in 1536 the special subject of talk in the recently restored city. Scarcely ten years before, the troops of this very Charles the Fifth, now being lauded to the skies for his Christian courage, had sacked and ravaged beyond credibility this sacred capital of Christendom. Artists especially were talking about the decorations and the subjects of them. Heemskerck, as we have seen, obtained a share in their execution. And Clovio was at the same time engaged on the illumination of the charm-

ing little copy of verses on the great event of the time by Eurialo d'Ascoli. Clovio must have seen the paintings of Heemskerck and the rest; and Heemskerck would doubtless be among the privileged few admitted to the *conversazioni* of the distinguished miniaturist, and would be shown the precious little volume now kept in the Imperial Library at Vienna. A conversation on the subject of the "Victories" would naturally arise, and it is highly probable that the suggestion to produce such a set of subjects as Heemskerck afterwards did produce, would then form itself in his mind. At any rate he would be prepared, supposing he afterwards received an order for such a work.

Knowing that no one then living was better able to assist in making the designs truly fit to be a royal present, there is no reason why Heemskerck should not, like Francisco de Holanda and others, have requested or commissioned Clovio to have made copies of, or coloured, his outline drawings. Clovio was accustomed to do this very thing. And if anyone can show that any of these twelve drawings contain work similar to his and worthy of him, there is a good *prima facie* case of circumstantial possibility. But is there such work in them? In one or two it can be truly said there is. As to the portraiture in any of them—the likenesses for example of Duke John Frederic of Saxony, the

Duke of Cleves, and others, and the elaboration of detail—several other miniaturists could do all this quite as well as Clovio, so that these circumstances do not materially affect the question. Very good critics and experienced students of miniatures have considered them to be the work of Clovio. Mr. Ottley, a man of wide and careful study in such matters; Mr. Douce, who always maintained the right and duty of thinking for himself; and Mr. Payne Knight, a man accustomed to critical research—all held this series to be among the most eminent of Clovio's productions. Mr. Knight, indeed, asserted its superiority to the Vatican Dante which he had seen and examined. I have seen the Vatican Dante, and I can easily concede this opinion to be correct, for the retouching of the Dante miniatures puts them *hors de concours*. The precious volume containing these so-called Victories or Triumphs of Charles V., now preserved in the Grenville Library, consists of thirteen leaves 8 in. high by about 11 in. wide (more exactly 8 in. by 11·3). The drawings themselves are each 7·1 by 10·3 inclusive of a gold frame identical throughout. This frame is ·7 of an inch broad on the back of the first leaf. As there is no evidence that the drawings are subsequent to the engravings, but in point of fact differ considerably from them in matters of detail, we are at liberty to suppose that the vellum drawings were really copies of the pen-

and-ink designs made by Heemskerck for the engraver. We assume that such careful and highly finished work would not be submitted to the risk of injury by being used as working copies for the engraver. We can see that they are not themselves printed copies, but really drawings. To the more detailed notice of some of them we shall return when we have briefly explained what the engravings themselves consist of. They are a set of twelve subjects, illustrating, as has been already mentioned, certain incidents in the military career of Charles V., and were first published by Jerome Cock in 1556, just twenty years after Heemskerck had been employed to decorate the triumphal arch of San Gallo in Rome. They went through five editions and it is said were admired, according to one account, by Charles V. himself—according to another by Philip, who ordered the vellum copies to be made because his father had admired the engravings, and who furthermore had them copied and worked in tapestry. The engraving of the “Victories” was the work of Cuerenhert, the master of Goltzius and Philip Galle. Of Cuerenhert, who is deserving of a biography entirely to himself, we can only say that he was not only an excellent engraver, but also a very remarkable man—one of the most original spirits of his time.

The Second Edition of the *Victories* is dated

1558. Its title begins thus: "Divi Caroli V. imp. Opt. Max. Victoriæ. ex multis præcipuæ," &c. In this title Hieronymus Cock calls himself typographus, and pictor, with royal privilege for six years. The edition is dedicated to Philip II. In the three later editions of uncertain date the publisher's name was altered, the publishers of these editions being Philip Galle, Charles de Mallery, and Joan or Jan Boll. Galle was a printseller and publisher like Cock, but did not usually engrave the prints which he sold. His edition of these plates, which were perhaps bought from Cuerenhert, is probably the third. The rest are irreclaimably bad.*

The first subject is the Imperial Sovereignty of Charles V. The Emperor, seated on a high marble seat placed on a pedestal flanked by the two columns as in his device, holds a sword in his right hand, an orb surmounted by a cross. He wears a cuirass of leather with epaulettes and a plate helmet in the fashion of the figures in some of the Petrarch Triumphs, intended to be Roman. The figure of Julius Cæsar in the Triumph of Fame wears a

* Ph. Galle was a Haarlem man, born 1537, died (probably at Antwerp) 1612. Ch. de Mallery was a printseller at Antwerp, 1576-1630. Boel, or Boll, is not known, unless he were the Hans Bol of Antwerp who practised painting, and was the master of G. Hoefnagel. Some of the name were engravers.

similar suit, not quite so simple. Between the Emperor's feet is the Imperial Eagle holding in his beak a ring to which is attached a cord that passes round the figures of five out of six persons who stand on either side. In the engraving there is no attempt at portraiture, even in the figure of the Emperor. On his immediate right stands Francis I., as proved by the lilies on his shields and pennon, wearing a plumed helmet and a Roman suit of armour or leather body-piece, close-fitting, and bearing over his left shoulder a military cloak.

In the engraving the hose are plain. Next to him stands the Pope, Clement VII., with a shield bearing the Medici arms and an archiepiscopal cross. Next again is the Sultan Solyman, who turns away with what seems a haughty gesture, but is meant to exhibit fear. On the other side are three other vanquished personages,—one a young man bare-headed and in an attitude of submission; then a tall stout warrior in German plate armour carrying a broken lance over his right shoulder and resting his left hand on a short mace or war-hammer. Lastly, an elderly man in ducal robes in a somewhat crouching attitude. A sword and shield lie on the floor beside him.

In front of the pedestal are the words *Cock excud.* 1556, on either side of an armorial enclosed within a wreath. Before this, three flat shallow steps.

Beneath the engraving are the following verses :—

HIC PAPA, ET GALLUS. SAXO, HESSUS, CLIVIUS, AERI
 CONCEDVNT AQVILÆ, SELYMUS DAT TERGA PAVORE.

These are in Roman capitals ; below in Italics :—

*L'Aguila muy triumphante y no vencida
 De Carlos Quinto Emperador Romano,
 Nos muestra que esta gente fue rendida
 Y como huyó sus uñas Solimano.*

Alongside these four lines are four others in Roman type :—

Cy fut le Pape, aussy le Roy de France,
 Le Duc de Saxe, et du Cleuois la suyte,
 Aussy d'Hessen, vaincuz par la puissance
 Du hault Cesar, dont le Turcq print la fuyte.

In the lower margin, *Heemskerck Inuētor*, and the numeral I., and near the upper left corner, D. V. C. 55, as a monogram.

2. The second engraving represents the capture of Francis I. at Pavia. His horse and himself are both heavily laden with armour of a most elaborate kind, but quite fanciful ; for instance, there is a small spade-shaped shield on his gorget containing the three lilies, a lion's head on his breastplate, and a scorpion or lobster on his bodyplate, beneath which he wears a briganture of mail. Mask-formed epaulettes and knee-pieces, and skirt covered with thongs in the Roman fashion, and embroidered or rather embossed greaves, complete his lower outfit.

His helm, open at the visor, is surrounded by a rayed crown, and surmounted by a salamander crest and a horse-hair plume. The caparison of his charger is correspondingly rich. His captors are clad in heavy German, mostly plate, armour. A dead warrior pierced with the broken end of a lance lies beneath the horse's feet. On the brim of a morion are the words *M Heemskerck. invent.*, the M and H forming a monogram, and near the left corner the numeral II. Beneath is the date 1525 and the lines—

VRBIS TICINI VALLATA AD MOENIA CAPTVS

REX GALLVS, PROCVL HISPANAS DVCTATVR AD ORAS.

*Claramente se muestra aqui pintado
Como en Paui presco por hazaña
Francisco Rey de Francia fué llevado
Alas mas hondas partes de la España.*

Cy clerement (amy) tu aperçois
Que du puissant Empereur en campagne
Fut conuaincu & prins le Roy François
Qui puis apres fut mené en Espagne.

3. The third scene is the death of the Constable de Bourbon. He is falling off a ladder placed beside a tall tower overlooking the Tiber. In the distance two parties of soldiers are charging at each other on the bridge of St. Angelo, and great wreathing clouds of smoke and flame are springing from various buildings. On the right are crowds of men with spears and scaling ladders. It is dated 1527, and has the words *M Heemsker Invē.* on a stone, and

the numerals iij in left corner. Verses below as before relating to the scene, and similarly below all the rest.

4. The summons to the Pope in the Castle of St. Angelo. The herald on horseback on the bridge is delivering his message. The Pope and two cardinals appear at a balcony. Two statues—one of Peter, the other of Paul—stand on pedestals on either side the bridge. Two light field-pieces are pointed to the castle, and soldiers stand about. *M Heemskerck. Inventor.* appears near the lower edge, and *Cock cum privilegio* in the upper left corner, the numeral iij below. The date is 1527.

5. Next is Raising the Siege of Vienna in 1529, and the Emperor in armour on a war-horse, as usual heavily caparisoned. The dead and wounded lying under foot. *M H Inventor. DVC. Sc.* The *dvc* combined into a monogram. Numbered V.

6. The Spaniards in America, natives cutting up and cooking the bodies and limbs of the Spanish prisoners. This plate seems to have been considered specially important. It is marked *Heemsk. Inventor. DV Cuerenhert, fecit 1555. Cock cum privilegio.* It is numbered VI.

7. The capture of Tunis in 1535 The scene represents the Emperor and Andrea Doria of Genoa, and another horseman who has just unhorsed an enemy, all standing under a gateway of the city,

from which is seen a long line of cavalry galloping into the city. It bears the names of Heemskerck and Cuerenhert given as before, initials in monogram.

8. The eighth picture is one of the most elaborate of the series, and among the paintings one of the most carefully painted. The Emperor is seated on a raised seat under a tent. Behind him stands an officer bearing his Imperial crown. He is himself bareheaded but wearing armour, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and resting his right on a great two-handed sword. His helmet rests between his feet. In the left corner is a tall warrior in full armour of the Roman fanciful type, very highly elaborated. Another, resting a mace on his right thigh, stands on the Emperor's left. All are looking at a kneeling figure in the right corner of the picture who, from the small shield he bears in his hands, bearing the arms of Gueldres, appears to be the Duke of Cleves. It is in fact William II., the brother of the Anne of Cleves who became wife to Henry VIII. of England. He wears his Ducal robes and coronet. Warriors and tents cover the background as in a battle-field. It is the camp before Ruremond. The words *M Heemskerck. Inven.* appear on the carpet. The date is 1543.

9. The Imperial Camp at Ingoldstadt, and the arrival of the Count von Buren with auxiliaries. A tented field full of armed men. The Emperor on

horseback on right of picture is talking to his troops and pointing to a tent before the door of which a soldier has dismounted, and is making his obeisance to another, intended for the Emperor again. *M Heemskerck, Inventor.* Date 1546. Hanging over the horse's breast is a cloth embroidered with the two-headed Imperial (Austrian) Eagle. Numbered ix.

10. Surrender of the Duke of Saxony. This is another most elaborate picture. Under a tree on the left stand three horsemen gorgeously apparelled, the centre figure being that of the Emperor. On the right, as coming from the battle-field behind, a bulky figure, bare-headed, with a sword-cut across his face, and bearing his helmet in his hand. It is the Duke John Frederic. This scene is sometimes called the Battle of Muhlberg, 1547. It bears the names of Heemskerck and H. Cock, and the numeral x.

11. The Magistrates and Deputies of various cities surrender their keys to the Emperor, who is seated on a raised seat on the right of the picture, wearing armour, a crowned helmet, and an Imperial ermine robe. Five suppliants offer their keys as they kneel before him. Heemskerck's name is given with the numeral xi and the date 1547. Probably the picture represents various events in one.

12. The last of the set. The Landgrave of Hesse offers his entire submission to the Emperor,

who is seated on a throne beneath a canopy. Two bishops and a cardinal stand on his right; four crowned personages on his left. This also appears to be an allegorical picture, for De Thou, who describes the scene and names the personages present, enumerates many others.* The name of Heemskerck appears with the numeral XII at foot.

Such are the engravings themselves. The edition by Jerome Cock is the best. The rest by Ph. Galle, Charles de Mallery, and Joan Boel are later and inferior. Good impressions are rarely met with, even of the best edition; all being somewhat pale and many of them very imperfectly printed. The best impressions have the inscriptions and dates added beneath in letterpress, with sometimes copies of verses in Spanish and French. Afterwards the inscription and date were engraved upon the plates themselves. It seems certain that Cock's edition was engraved by Cuerehert and not by Heemskerck himself, as asserted by Descamps, who must have mistaken Van Mander's meaning. But the question is not so much what these engravings may be, as whether their subjects ever formed the groundwork of Clovio's work.

The attribution of the Grenville miniatures to him has been denied on such irrelevant grounds that it is necessary to show to what extent the

* *Hist. Universelle*, I. 264-5.

ground for such attribution is possible, and also whether, being quite possible, it is in any degree reliable. The objection that it would have been beneath the dignity of a man in Clovio's position to undertake the colouring of another man's designs is of no value whatever, for it is known that he did this very thing and that it was quite a usual thing for artists to be employed in this way. And why not? If one man could draw well and another could paint well what in the world should prevent co-operation? Especially when the facility and the preference went together, and the time of each artist was precious. Again the objection that the work itself is unlike and inferior is equally untenable, for it is not true. The work is like, and in two of the miniatures so very like, that Ottley and Douce, who had his work in their own possession and could study it and analyze it at their leisure, declared these miniatures to be not only his work, but some of the best of it. That it is not inferior may be tested by comparing it with the little Prayer Book Additl. 20967, which is unquestionably a Clovio, or with the large MS. in the Soane Museum, which is even better authenticated. Surely the submission of the Duke of Cleves in this Grenville MS. is as well painted as the by no means astoundingly clever copy of Raffaello's Vatican tapestry of the Conversion of

St. Paul which serves as a frontispiece to the Soane fragment. The first of the Grenville "Triumphs" is a most masterly painting whoever did it—and it was certainly not Heemskerck himself; as any, even the shallowest of judges, could see who had ever seen a Heemskerck. If the rest are not equal to these two, that is nothing unusual, for as we see constantly in Clovio's works, it is really the exception for him to have done the whole himself. And where he has done so some inequality may be detected. It has been objected that the ornaments are Flemish—that they are specially indicative of the Antwerp school. So they are in design, but it need not occupy a moment to show that this again can form no objection since it may have been part of Heemskerck's own share of the work. And yet its treatment is very similar to that of the Towneley Lectionary—the colour-gamut is identical. Taking all these things into consideration we can truly say that whatever objections may be brought against the authenticity of these miniatures, none are intrinsic; the great objection of all is want of evidence. No proof lies either way. The only means of proving that they are not the work of Clovio would be to prove that they are by somebody else. And the only absolute proof that they are his, would be a reliable contemporary statement to that effect,

until the appearance of which the case must remain *in statu quo ante erat*.*

Another of the controverted volumes is the one called at one time the Strawberry Hill Clovio. This is an example of the finest miniature art possible. It could not be disputed on the ground of inferior work, for it is undeniably and entirely excellent. The book is a Psalter and Canticles with Antiphons, for the use of Sta. Maria delle Virgine at Venice. An inscription on a pedestal in one of the miniatures reads S. C. principi And. G. MDXXXVII., and on the first illuminated page are the arms of the Canale family, showing it to have been probably executed for the Abbess Pellegrina de' Canali. Whether afterwards presented to the famous art-lover, the Doge Andrea Gritti, we cannot affirm. We can only say that it came to this country in the possession of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and from him it passed to Henry Earl of Stafford, and after that to Lord Harley, the donor of the Harleian Collection of the British Museum, and was bequeathed to his daughter Margaret, Duchess of Portland, at the sale of whose library in 1786 it

* A very elaborate description of the Grenville MS. is given by Dibdin in the first volume of the Bibliographical Decameron, of which further notice will be taken in the Appendix.

was bought by Horace Walpole. It is recorded that he gave £169 for it, and at the Strawberry Hill sale it was bought by Earl Waldegrave for £441. It was among the treasures of the South Kensington Loan Collection in 1862, and in 1886 came into the hands of Mr. Ellis, of New Bond Street, for whom Mr. Weale wrote an appreciative notice. Mr. Ellis kindly permitted me to examine the volume, alongside Mr. Weale's description. The MS. measures 132 millimetres in height by ninety-six in breadth, and consists of 294 leaves, exceedingly fine vellum. It is written in a fine Bolognese-Gothic hand, fifteen lines to the page. In the Psalms and other portions where similar divisions are necessary, every verse begins with a small gold initial on a coloured panel. The initial of each Psalm is larger and sometimes gold on a coloured panel, sometimes coloured and on gold. The larger sections begin with grander initials, elaborately drawn and painted. The volume contains miniatures, each of them placed in a rich border, and accompanied by a beautiful initial. The first miniature represents David in a delightful landscape, playing an instrument like a guitar, but with a bow. The costume and style of colouring are entirely foreign to Clovio, while the landscape is like those of the Grimani Breviary,

full of aerial perspective, and quite different from the dry artificial manner of most Italian miniaturists. In the border are foliages and flowers, winged children, and vases of fruit-trees, mask and birds executed in tender grey heightened with gold, on a rich blue ground. The opposite page begins the first Psalm. It consists, in the Venetian manner, of a fine blue tablet or panel on the middle of which is placed a gold-brown label or smaller panel containing the beginning of the Psalm in golden capitals. Over this is a golden eagle displayed seated on a garland of fruits, hanging from the usual profile—rams' heads—so common in Florentine and Roman illumination of the Renaissance. Underneath the tablet is a medallion containing a bearded half-length figure, and beside this two festoons of flowers and two storks treading on serpents all in a similar grey to that of the opposite border. Surrounding this is a border of deep crimson with a rich jewel at each corner as in the Grimani Breviary and other contemporary work. In the middle of each side is a sphynx resting on a pedestal, and carrying a vase of fruits. In the centre of the lower border is a circlet containing the Pisani or Canali arms, *arg. a chevron az.* Initial of Psalm xxi: with crimson letter on blue ground. The border has foliages, flowers,

birds, one of them an owl, in gold on green ground. In centre of foot is a jewel made up of a ruby surrounded by eight pearls.

The second miniature is the coronation of the Virgin. Border : at sides vases of fruits with leaves, at foot two dolphins and a basket of fruit, at top a jewel between branches of foliage and fruit, all on a bright blue ground. Again, the work altogether is of the Venetian school. Next comes the large initial of Psalm xxvi., *Dominus illuminatio mea*, pink on deep blue. Then the third miniature, and so on. This miniature contains the prophet Daniel with a scroll on which is written IN TE SPERANTES NON DESERIS. The border is of the kind so often seen in the work of Boccardino il Vecchio and other Florentine illuminators. In the centre at foot is a beautiful white and black cameo of a young man seated beneath a tree. Three wheat-ears in a vase in front and a goat behind show that it is intended for Triptolemus. The circlet is upheld by two graceful Tritons. At top and sides are garlands of fruit and flowers, cornucopias, &c., in gold on crimson, with children and pearls in grey. The fourth initial is a fine D to *Dixi custodiam*, in bright blue on crimson ground, within a blue border with figures, &c., in brown-gold. The fifth should be D, but is put A by mistake, for *Dixit insipiens in corde suo*. It is a

purplish crimson letter on deep blue, within a crimson border bearing golden ornaments. The sixth initial belongs to Psalm lxviii., being the first Psalm for Matins on Thursday, *Salvum me fac Deus*, bright blue on gold, with a border of light blue ornaments, pearly grey and gold. The fourth miniature, representing St. Andrew, contains the inscription written on the pedestal of a pillar. This may have been added after the completion of the book. It seems to say, *Sumptu communi principi Andreae Gritti*—that the book was executed at the common expense of the convent for presentation to the Doge, Andrea Gritti, in 1537. Of several conjectural interpretations none seems to suit the form of the inscription so well as this. But, of course, it is merely a guess. A beautiful landscape completes the picture, surrounded by a similar border to the rest. The seventh initial is that of Psalm lxxx., *Exultate Deo adiutori nostro*: the Psalm for Matins on Friday. The letter and portion of text is enclosed in a border. The fifth miniature represents Christ standing, in the act of blessing, within a border on a blue ground opposite to the eighth initial, which begins the ninety-seventh Psalm—*Cantate Domino canticum novum*: the first Psalm for Matins on Saturday. This is followed by the sixth miniature representing St. Jerome with the lion, within a

S. C.
PRINCI
AND
C
M. D XXXVII.

crimson border containing the usual sort of ornaments. There are six more initials, one for each of the first Vesper Psalms for the week, but no more miniatures. The most striking pages are those containing the sixth initial, and the miniatures of St. Andrew, Christ, and St. Jerome. The sweet aerial perspective points to a Netherlandish rather than to an Italian artist, but one probably resident in Venice, and who had been trained in the practice of the artists of the Grimani Breviary, which most likely he had had the opportunity of studying. There are, however, certain individual differences which prove him to have been an artist of the highest rank. He may, perhaps, have been that famous Boduino of Friuli, one of the most noted of Clovio's contemporaries, but certainly not Clovio.

We now have to notice a supposed discovery related by M. Ch. Diehl, in *L'Art* for 1883. The article speaks of three inedited miniatures which, on seemingly good historical grounds, he assigns to Clovio. The evidence as to the patronage of the Missal or Canon which contains them is perfectly satisfactory and conclusive. It was clearly executed for Cardinal Giulio della Rovere. Its date fixes it to the time when Clovio was in the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Vittoria Farnese, the cardinal's sister, as we already know, was married to Guidobaldo II., fifth Duke of Urbino, in

1548. Guidobaldo was the elder brother of Giulio della Rovere, Archbishop of Ravenna. The connection, therefore, between the families is sufficient to make the employment of Clovio upon the manuscript a possible occurrence. But the same argument would apply to the beautiful Este MSS. at Ferrara, the artists of which are still unknown; for in 1548 also Giulia della Rovere, the Duke of Urbino's sister, was married to the youthful Alfonso of Este, Marquis of Montechio, son of the Duke of Ferrara. But an examination of the miniatures themselves shows that two out of three are precisely like the leaves of the Missal of Clement VII. among the Rogers cuttings in Addl. 21412, Brit. Mus., like two pages in the Albani Missal, now at Berlin, and the Clement VII. Missal also at Berlin. That is, the office headings are surrounded by borders composed of groups of pansies and other flowers interspersed among gems and jewels, and having medallions in the corners or centres of the frames containing either cameos or texts of Scripture. At foot of each page in the Ravenna MS. are the arms of Cardinal della Rovere. Somewhere in the Rogers' examples are those of Clement VII. Elsewhere I have offered a suggestion that the initials S. L. found on one of the medallions might be those of the painter: and that Sebastiano (Luciani) del Piombo, at that time

Keeper of the Papal Seal, might have been thus employed during those years of which we have no record of other work. The two illuminated pages may then have been the work of Clovio, as the work shows great similarity to his authentic productions; but the third page, with its antiques and Florentine foliages, is distinctly in the manner of Boccardino and his collaborateurs in the studio of Gherardo at Florence. But all this is reasoning somewhat in a circle. If the work were done in Rome, there is no reason why Florentine miniaturists should not have worked there. If in Florence, the usual emporium for such work, it would be commissioned to various artists; if not in Florence at the time, then wherever they might be. But we cannot get any further in this instance than the probability derived from the name of the patron and the similarity of the work to other work about which there is a similar probability, as in the case of the Missals of Clement VII., and the Offices of Leonora, Duchess of Urbino, the mother of the Giulio and Giulia della Rovere who have just been mentioned. Of course, although Giulio did not become Archbishop of Ravenna until 1565, seventeen years after his brother's and sister's marriages, the MS. might have been executed before and afterwards bequeathed to the cathedral of his favourite diocess. Besides, as the work seems to

be not at all inferior in firmness and finish to the Urbino Offices executed early in the sixteenth century, it could hardly have been done after 1565, for in 1565 Clovio was sixty-seven years of age and in very bad health, which gradually got worse until his death in 1578. He is noted as working for Cardinal della Rovere in 1560, about the time that he finished the Prayer Book described by Vasari, which had taken him nine years. After this date we know of little that can with certainty be attributed to his hand. Of the three miniatures assigned by M. Diehl, the one containing the Descent of the Holy Ghost is precisely paralleled by those of a MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, No. 1849, erroneously conjectured by Dr. Waagen to be a Spanish MS., because at the end it contains a note in Spanish respecting its safe arrival and approval. But apart from the fact that it is most conspicuously Florentine work of the Gherardo school, and especially of the Boccardino type, it is also a known fact that towards the end of the fifteenth, and for some years of the sixteenth, it was a common practice for MSS. to be ordered in Florence by commission from Spain, Hungary, and France, as for example the MSS. executed by Attavante. In comparing, however, these miniatures with those of the Vatican, and finding them different in quality, our wonder is, not that they

were so, but that it did not strike M. Diehl as an evidence of their being the work of different masters.

Another MS. often confidently affirmed to be a "Clovio" is the Munich MS. entitled "Officium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis," and which begins with the "Officium Defunctor. Psalmi Graduales & Penitentiales." The miniatures are indeed of a type which might, by a free use of the imagination, be attributed to Clovio, but scarcely by anyone who carried with him a very vivid recollection of Clovio's authentic work. Nevertheless as we have said, Clovio had many styles and was excellent in them all. These miniatures are more German or Netherlandish in their colour-gamut than the usual work of the Italian master: In point of execution they are equal to anything in miniature art. The borders are adorned with flowers—cut flowers in the Flemish taste, scattered upon a golden ground together with mice, birds, insects, &c., like the Naples "Flora." The miniatures are 1. The Annunciation, 2. The Visitation, 3. The Circumcision, 4. The Repose, in the Flight to Egypt, 5. The Assumption, 6. The Christ-child with the cross, standing on the world—angels above, and men below. This picture is suggestive rather of Rubens than of Raphael. The angel-figures and draperies are most exquisitely lovely, the figure of Christ supremely beautiful,

the lights very pale and the tints most delicately pencilled and stippled. 7. The Resurrection, 8. A Priest blessing a girl, 9. The Prodigal Son,—a most perfect and charming design. Musicians sit on a gallery or terrace behind, the mother stands with her hands raised in thankfulness, the valet with a robe, a dog, an open landscape. All is most lovely and perfectly finished even to the veins on the father's hand, though the hand is not the eighth of an inch in length. The initial letters are placed in panels usually about one and a quarter inches square, with a neat gold rim, on various grounds of colour worked over with gold embroidery of ornament or foliages. The text is an upright Roman minuscule by an Italian copyist or one practised in Italian penmanship. The smaller capitals are in plain gold. Among the flowers in the borders are convolvulus, rose, clove-pink, fox-glove, snap-dragon, canterbury-bell, violet, pimpernel, primrose, and forget-me-not. Among the insects are butterflies, moths, bees, dragon-flies, caterpillars, red and yellow ladybirds, house-flies, locusts, and beetles. Among the fruits are white and red currants, nuts, acorns, and various kinds of berries. These are placed somewhat as in the Hours of Anne of Brittany. The title is placed on a finely stippled blue panel in gold letters like those of the Bartoli facsimile Virgil in the British

Museum. Below are two lovely children supporting the Electoral arms of Bavaria, quarterly 1 and 4 lozengy *α.* and *αz.*, 2 and 3 *σα.*, a lion rampant *or*, crowned *gu.* On the centre is placed an inescutcheon, a mound *or*, surmounted by a cross *gu.* The shield is surmounted by an Electoral cap *erminé*, thus showing that these arms were inserted after the change from the Ducal to the Electoral dignity, which took place in 1596. The children stand on a stone step and the shield is placed on a cartel of gold shaded with brown and surrounded by the chain or collar and devise of the golden fleece. The blue panel has a brown gold frame with a pendant of flowers at either side. If this be a Clovio, we should not hesitate to call either the Strawberry Hill MS. or the Naples Flora genuine Clovios. There is reason to believe, however, that the person named as the binder, or at least as the jeweller who adorned the covers, was also the miniaturist and even the penman of the volume. Such was the reputation of Hans Lenker who in 1574 wrote this lovely MS. It is of a fresh roseate kind of miniature painting quite distinct from the brownish flesh tints of Clovio and the firmer workings of his muscular forms. Besides, Clovio in 1574 was already too infirm to do any painting so perfect as this.

From the long lists of works given in the inventories left by Clovio at his death, it is certain that

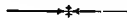
many are, if existing, still without identification, and possibly some so-called Clovios may thus be fully entitled to the name. But to identify them simply on their intrinsic qualities and features would require much care and a very extensive acquaintance with his authentic works. On the other hand to accept them on the mere dictum of a *custode*, or on the vague authority of a tradition, is most absurd. We constantly see in museums miniatures attributed to Clovio, of the most unlikely kind both from the character of the work and from the date or other circumstance attaching to it. Yet from time to time his true works are being restored to their rightful place. The latter is especially the case with his drawings; many were mere chalk sketches, others finished works in pen and ink, others still more highly finished miniature paintings.

That he was a most accomplished miniaturist is allowed by everyone, but that he was what Vasari and others have echoed and re-echoed from his own time to the present—the greatest miniaturist, who ever lived—is far from the truth. In masterly vigour of colouring he is inferior to Monte di Giovanni, and in decorative skill to Fra Eustachio and other artists of the Florentine school. In minuteness of finish he was not superior to Girolamo dai Libri, Rinaldo Piramo, or Albert Glockendon. In variety of realistic portraiture he is at least equalled by

Gerard David, and in atmosphere and aerial perspective by the other painters of the Grimani Breviary. In art-knowledge he is no greater than Geoffrey Tory, while in book-learning and knowledge of symbolism he is surpassed by Georg Hoefnagel. Nevertheless, taking altogether his vast range of work, his versatility, his patient and persevering execution and his occasional grandeur of conception, the works of Clovio are deservedly estimated at a very high price. Whoever possesses a page of his execution possesses a masterpiece of art, and, when every fault has been found and criticized, there remains a work that must always have a reputation of the highest class wherever good art is appreciated, or the name of the artist remembered.



APPENDIX.



I.

At Perugia Clovio painted—

1. *An office of the Virgin, with many illuminations.*

Perhaps the Stuart de Rothesay MS.
now in the British Museum.

2. *A Pietà.*
3. *A Crucifixion.*

On the death of Cardinal Grimani in 1546, 2 and 3 came into the possession of the papal notary, Giovanni Gaddi, who was himself an illuminator and calligrapher of some reputation. He seems to be identical with the Gaddi, who though a great friend of Cellini's, used to annoy him considerably whilst he lay ill, by calling to see what he could pick up. A Giovanni Gaddi is also mentioned as a patron of Annibale Caro, but this seems to have been another personage of greater importance.

4. *A finely written copy of the Commentary of Marino Grimani on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Now in the Soane Museum.*

The following is a detailed description of this precious volume :—

The Soane MSS.

This splendid fragment consists of about 130 leaves of vellum, now inlaid in smooth paper, and contains the Commentary of Cardinal Marino Grimani on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. With two large miniatures enclosed in rich borders of ornament, and one border surrounding the beginning of the text. The size of each leaf is 17 by 13 inches.

Fol. 1. Blank.

Fol. 2 (inlaid) contains on a panel the title :
Marini Grimani Veneti S.R.E. Cardinalis ac patriarchæ
Aquileiæ. Epistola in commentarios epistolarum
pauli.

The text begins with an initial "I" in gold chiaroscuro, composed of a standing figure of a man in old Roman costume. "Inter omnia liberalium artium," &c. The borders to this page are based on the decorations of the Baths of Titus, and are like those of certain pages in the little book of Offices in the British Museum. Among the ornaments here is a cameo of Minerva copied from the one given by Maffei, and entitled "Minerva col tritone, e Serpenté sull' elmo." No. 65. From an agate. Clovio has replaced the triton with a centaur, added colour according to his own fancy,

and considerably altered the expression of the face. The rest of the ornaments, being derived from the same source, are of course very like some of the pilasters in the Loggie of the Vatican, or the wall paintings of the houses at Pompeii. The mask in centre of upper border is precisely in the manner of those already alluded to in the British Museum Hours. The doves, fowls, &c. on the left narrow border recall those of the Hoefnagel Missal at Vienna. Hoefnagel was a close copyist of Clovio. The panel in which the next title is placed is of grey veined marble, with a gold frame and Roman capital letters. It reads as follows:—*Marini Grimani Veneti | S R E Cardinalis | et Patriarchæ Aquileiæ | in Epistolam Pauli | Ad Romanos Commen | tariorum cap. primum.* The ordinary text is a good half-Italic character, as if placed on a leaf of vellum, the corners of which are represented as curling over at top—the ground behind being black. This is a common device at the time of its execution, occurring both in the Attavante MSS. and elsewhere, as in the splendid Missal of Cardinal Cornaro attributed to Raffaello in the Minerva Library in Rome. Then a bead frame of gold forms a finishing edge to the work.

A figure of an elderly woman with a distaff in the lower left side, who is perhaps intended for Ceres, or simply a spinster. A cusped panel

in centre contains the three Graces from a cameo. A well-painted barn-door cock stands immediately below and a dove immediately above the woman.

The other upright border, on the right hand, begins at top with a lion's head and ring of the door-knocker sort, in brown and gold: then ribbons and the circular cameo head in colours, already referred to, of Minerva. Then a pair of small swans as supporters standing on brackets on either side a mask; and another cusped cameo in a gold frame containing a white figure, on black ground, of a woman with a vase. On each side are small golden lamps and pendant ornaments. A semi-circular landscape stands below, then termini, &c., resting on a polished marble pillar having cupids and vases beside in the usual Pompeian taste.

Fol. 2 v. Plain text continued.

Fol. 3 v. Has a half or bracket border of golden renascence foliages and another cusped cameo in black and white. Title, *Eiusdem in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos Præfatio*. In Roman capitals as before.

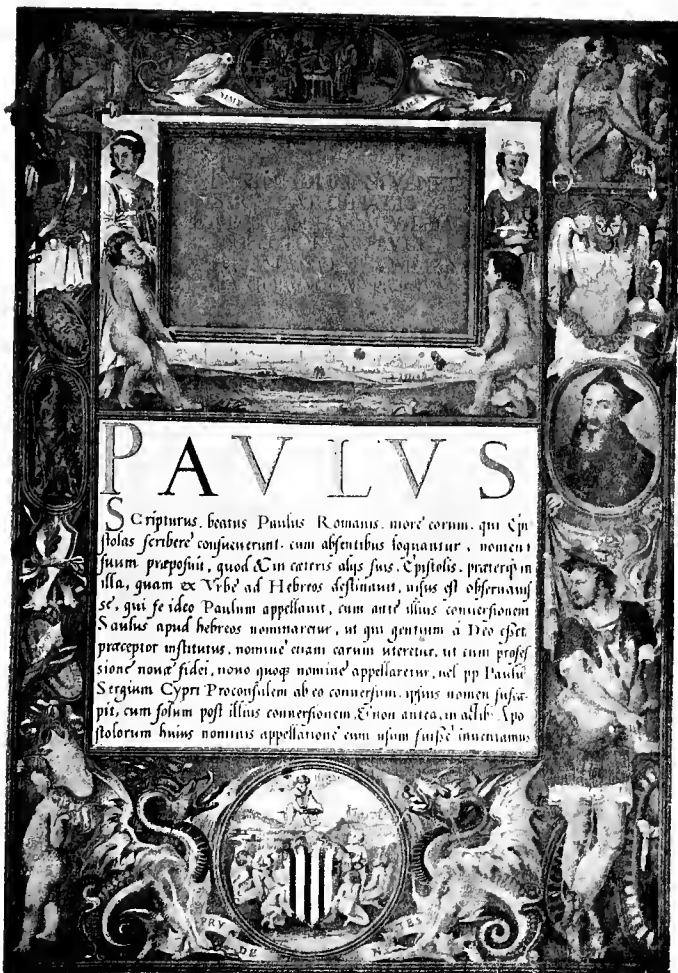
Text begins *Cum varias nationes*, with initial C, formed of two Michelangelesca figures wreathed about the slender letter, all in gold, and an interior scroll of foliages. The foliages are partly outlined in black, which makes them distinct and forcible.

Fol. 4. Text continued.

Fol. 8 is blank.

Fol. 8 v. The first large illumination or miniature with borders.

Fol. 9. The second large illuminated borders. The first represents the Conversion of St. Paul, the idea of which is taken from the tapestry of the same subject by Raffaello, now in the Vatican, the cartoon of which formerly belonged to the Hampton Court series. And the idea is ill, for both the composition is altered for the worse, crowded out of due shape, and the figures themselves are exaggerated in their proportions, distorted in form, and far from pleasant in colour. Indeed it is a picture that, except for technical skill, might have been done by any copyist. In fact, it is utterly spoilt by being drawn in the exaggerated manner of Michelangelo, on a Raffaellesca design, and coloured without the chiaroscuro or force of either master. It is really a very feeble work, and by no means to be compared with the powerful Last Judgment of the Towneley Lectionary. The figure of St. Paul is much beneath the reputation of the artist and very much below that of Raffaello. The two lads with the runaway horse are almost literally copied from the tapestry, the attendant soldiers maintain almost the same attitudes; the distance only is Clovio's own invention, but in this instance is a questionable improvement on the nearer city walls and towers of



CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

(Page from "Soane" Cloutier).



CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

(Page from "Soane" Clivio).

the tapestry. The figure of the heavenly vision which in Raffaello's picture is placed in the centre is here made much smaller and pushed aside to the right-hand corner. The closer imitations of that picture published by Vaccaro and others from 1576 to 1589 are far superior to this feeble production.

Having pointed out the defects of this splendid page, it is only due to it to say that the borders in point of decoration are as rich and exquisitely finished as anything in miniature art. It would be useless to attempt a verbal description. The delicacy of the pencilling, the sweetness of the colour, the grace, brilliancy and appropriateness of the design, are beyond the reach of words. The only drawback is a little overcrowding, as if the fertility of the artist's imagination were too much for his space, and exceeded his own power of restraint. On the whole, and especially in the naked athletes at top, it is decidedly under the influence of Michelangelo and the Sistine ceilings, which Clovio seemed unable sufficiently to admire and imitate. I have already mentioned the David and Goliath copied immediately from the same subject on the ceiling, into the little Book of Offices in the British Museum. The Towneley Lectionary still more emphatically makes use of the same materials, and the Paris Psalter almost equally so. The contorted athletes of the Sistine, or the muscular

women of the San Lorenzo chapel, are Clovio's grand ideals.

But when this is said we must add that he did not confine himself to these agonized *tours de force* of draughtmanship. He can at times, as in this very border in the Soane Commentaries, condescend to extreme feminine grace. An almost nude figure of Venus as Peace, with an inverted torch in her hand, is as beautifully drawn and as delicately coloured as anything the spectator could wish to see. In the centre of each border is a cameo; that at top, a mystic representation of the Trinity surrounded by angel trumpeters, in brown-gold chiaroscuro. That in the narrow border on the left contains the upright figure of St. Paul, also in gold chiaroscuro. The one in the outer border is a coloured miniature of St. Paul preaching at Athens, with the circular temple very conspicuous. At foot the large circlet contains a coloured miniature of the stoning of St. Stephen, full of action and composed so as to bring the figures of the martyr and of the youthful apostle prominently to the front. The rest of the border is filled with armour, weapons and accoutrements, and at foot are several chubby children variously engaged.

On a bronze tablet placed somewhat obliquely in the lower right corner, beside the charming figure—a fair-haired child—is the inscription in thin Roman

capitals in gold: MARINO | GRIMA | NO CAR | ET LEGA |
TO PERV | SINO PA | TRONO | SVOIVLIVS | CROVATA |
PINGEBA | T.

The opposite page contains the title and commencement of the Commentary, surrounded by a similar border to that of the miniature. Four cameos as before occupy the central points of the four sides. At top, an oblong oval containing a consultation between a legal personage seated at a desk and two gentlemen who stand before him. On a form or bench which extends along two sides of the room is seated an attendant in a most natural attitude of rest, and two others stand beside a table piled with books. On either side of this cameo is a white dove—over one a branch of olive, over the other a palm—and winding about a green artificial scroll of foliage is a label bearing the word SIMPLICES. In the left narrow side border an upright oval corresponding with the one containing the figure of St. Paul, like the upper one, in gold-chiaroscuro. It contains a figure somewhat like the initial I of the Dedicatory Epistle. He holds in his left hand a vase, a staff in the right. Over his head are the words PASTORIS MVNVS. At foot, in a large circlet like the corresponding one on the other page, is a group of naked children supporting a shield bearing the Grimani arms. A winged child hovering above holds over it a cardinal's hat. The background consists of an open landscape, showing a

castle on an eminence, and a town on the plain built on the banks of a winding river. This circlet is supported by two dragons of most elaborate construction and finish among whose feet winds the label with : PRV | DE | N | TES. This of course with the label at top is the direction given for a becoming Christian life. "Wise as serpents (or clear-sighted as dragons), harmless (simple) as doves." The *draco* of the ancients was so called for his keenness of sight, and the word "prudent" comes very near its literal meaning in this text. The text from Matt. x. 16 was used as a motto by Cardinals Domenico and Marino Grimani. In the part of the outer border answering to the position of Peace in the opposite page, stands the figure of Mars as War, accoutred as a Roman Legionary officer, in helm, cuirass and buskins. A large oval portrait of the Cardinal Patron occupies the centre of the side border painted with extreme care and evident fidelity to nature. The rest of the border is filled to excess with shields, corslets and other warlike paraphernalia. It must be understood that the naked athletes who support the suspended ornaments which fill the borders, occupy the upper corners of each page. As to the interior of this one the upper half is occupied by an open landscape in the foreground of which stand two tastefully draped women and two naked children, the women to represent Faith and Piety. The boys hold up a comparatively

immense tablet in a heavy gold frame containing the title in golden capitals : MARINI GRIMANI VENETI | SRE CARDINALIS | ET PATRIARCHAE AQVILEIAE | IN EPISTOLAM PAVLI | AD ROMANOS COMMEN | TARIORVM CAP PRIMVM.

Under this picture, in large Roman capitals almost an inch high, the word PAVLVVS. Of this word the letters are alternately gold and lake ; gold and blue. Then comes the ordinary text : *Scripturus* with a golden initial, *beatus Paulus Romanis*, &c., in a kind of engrossing hand, and so on to the end of the book through its hundred and thirty-one or two folios.

On fol. 131, near the top, the text ends, and just beneath the words in the handwriting of a revisor : *Librum hunc post eius primam scriptiones castigatione reddidimus.* The last words are *cum laude, totis viribus referamus.*

Of the same work Clovio executed another copy with four large paintings, in which he made the principal picture, the Conversion of St. Paul, a closer imitation of Raffaello's. After this miniature, in 1576, C. Cort produced a copper-plate engraving which bears the name of Lorenzo Vaccaro,* and it may possibly be the one afterwards brought to England, and purchased by Mr. Strange at Nowell Jennings's sale. (Strange Sale Catal. No. 735.)

* See Appendix : List of Engravings.

II.

The Towneley Lectionary.

Fol. 1. Heading: "Initium sancti Evang. secundum Johannem" in a rich frame of brown-gold. The inscription in gold capitals on a blue ground. The frame has natural figures at each end, and heads at top and bottom. Pendants of fruit and a jewel at side. Little spaces of inner grounds in frame picked out with pink and green, finely shaded in stipple. The upper head has pink drapery shaded with violet and heightened with fine touches of pencil gold. The lower head has the drapery pink shaded with blue. Then a figure of St. John standing ready to write on a rock in Patmos; with rich brown-gold frame and foliages, festoons and figures. The text is a very large, bold and elegant Roman character, three-eighths of an inch high, with plain gold and blue capitals.

Fol. 2, text. Fol. 3. A most magnificent border, "Sequentiæ Scti. Evang. secund. Lucam." Large figures at sides on black ground, finely modelled in style of Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling. They are painted to represent marble statues. The heading is placed on a panel of which the upper frame is pink, shaded with violet, the ground on right has scroll-work like the Urbino "Lives," but larger, consisting of richly coloured and much varied leafages of

Roman acanthus, &c., the interspaces picked out with pink, green, and nasturtium. Ornaments varicoloured and gold. Two lionesses modelled in grey. A large miniature of the Nativity—Mary kneeling beside the babe, and Joseph seated behind her. Behind him again are the cattle, and around are numerous figures of spectators. Shepherds enter from the open country on the right. Mary's drapery is crimson and blue as usual; Joseph's, orange. The subject is full of life and action—some of the figures in the air. The border, a fine architectural Bramantesca design in brown-gold, with an outer panel of smooth green. Miniature medallions in the architecture at foot in chiaroscuro brown-gold with festoons of fruits, &c. The subjects are the Circumcision; Adoration of the Magi; and the Presentation in the Temple. The painting is good—the Head of Christ in particular. At top, a similar treatment. The figure of a child finished to extreme fineness, in the style of Michelangelo. The borders are $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. In the centre of the lower one are the arms of Cardinal Farnese, rather rubbed.

2. The next large picture is the Calling of the Apostles, in a brown-gold chiaroscuro border with colossal caryatids in coloured draperies, and natural flesh, on blue ground. They hold lilies. In the picture Christ is seated somewhat to the spectator's left in the foreground. In front of him are Andrew

and Peter, then Jude, James and John. The rest are behind. It is apparently not Clovio's own work.

On the opposite page are the next sequences, "Dominus vobiscum Sequentiæ Matth." with a panel title. A large figure of the Evangelist in brown-gold frame with border of fair sculpture. Caryatids and figures of children leaning upon a sort of altar at foot.

3. The third large miniature is Christ's Charge to Peter. A coarse and gaudy composition—certainly not by Clovio, and in a very unfinished state. To the extreme right is Christ standing in the midst. Peter kneels in front—his head bearing a very clearly defined tonsure, the keys hanging from one of his clasped hands. The rest stand behind. Seen under Peter's upraised hands is a flock of sheep to which Christ is pointing. The border is unfinished—not having received all the gold or final shading. A deep brown architectural design of a doorway in brown-gold with sculptured terminals at side and miniatures at bottom. The next page has the words "In illo tempore" in a very handsome title-panel, with figures of prophets below—the colouring of which is very attractive.

4. The fourth miniature represents the Resurrection, and is a magnificent piece of work. In the

centre is an open tomb, around which soldiers are grouped in various attitudes of surprise and terror. The expression and the draperies are well rendered, but the figures of the soldiers are especially to be noted for the direct manner in which their attitudes and attention point the spectator to the figure of Christ floating upwards with a white flowing drapery falling from the body. Around him are angels, above him a perfect sea of cherubs' heads. The face and figure of Christ are grandly executed. The attitude gives an instantaneous conviction of its upward movement. The border is in brown-gold including the sculptures. Below are two medallions—one containing the three Mariæ at the Sepulchre,—the other, Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene in the garden.

The next title has a blue panel with gold frame supported at each end by the graceful, almost nude figure of a girl. The ornamental scrollwork is immensely varied in colour, and numerous elegant pendants add to the richness of the design, recalling somewhat the cartel-work of the school of Antwerp, conspicuous in the Grenville "Victories of Charles V."

The accompanying sequences are those of St. Mark. In technic the girl-figures are painted in the earlier Raffaellesca manner, as in the *Thermæ of Titus*—and as in the *Soane Clovio*. That is, the colour is added only tenderly and delicately in the

shades and depths—the lights left almost untouched—and with a fine brown stipple. The pendants are similarly treated in sweetly varied colours. A brown hatching outside the frame and ornaments serves to throw up the work and give it force.

5. The fifth large picture gives the Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. It is not by Clovio—either having been originally placed here, and like several others, the work of assistants, or substituted since for the original. In the centre below is Mary in blue robe and white linen head dress, with upraised face and clasped hands; grouped around her are the apostles—John somewhat in front. Upon all rest the symbolical tongues of fire. Above them is the Dove, descending in a radiant nimbus—innumerable cherubs fluttering around it. The face and attitude of Mary differ considerably from the usual type, being less idealized. The picture is accompanied by a magnificent pilaster frame of rich ornament—partly blue relieved with gold. A profile of architectural and sculptured figures, foliages and pendants, adorns the sides, accompanying a handsome prophet-like figure, draped in yellow and violet, with a blue head dress. The next title is most gorgeous and elaborate. A gold chiaroscuro frame, with panels containing blue grounds within gold rims, and gold letters.

6. The last miniature is the celebrated Last Judgment, considered by most judges to be not only the finest miniature in this volume, but Clovio's Masterpiece,—the most remarkable and by far the most masterly of all his extant works. In all the higher qualities of design and beauty of workmanship I know of nothing to compare with it. For, notwithstanding its limited dimensions, it contains all the materials of a colossal wall-painting, and gives rather the impression of a great work diminished artificially than of a miniature of its actual size. Remembering that it is merely a page in a book, we begin to comprehend the language of Vasari in his descriptions of other examples of Clovio's work; we understand the praises lavished during three centuries upon this very picture.

High up in the centre is the Saviour himself, seated as Judge and clothed in Imperial robes. In one hand he holds not a sceptre but a cross, in the other the mound or orb of sovereignty. Around him are crowded countless hosts of cherubs, rendered technically by a few masterly touches of the pencil dipped in gold, but all varying in individual expression. Below are summoning angels in varied attitudes, giving the trumpet calls to the dead, who are rising to the awful *reveillé* like soldiers to the battle-call, with only one thought, of prompt and instantaneous obedience. Before them stand an

innumerable company of saints, martyrs, and confessors, in attitudes of happy thankfulness or peaceful expectation, their gaze fixed upon the Judge. The moment chosen by the artist is that solemn description of the Apocalypse, "And I saw the dead, small and great, standing before God. And books were opened . . . And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and Death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them" (Rev. xx. 12, 13). Below this multitude is a division occupied with angels, and on the ground of the picture the sinners. Being nearer, these are on a larger scale, and the expression more vivid. Here is every aspect of doubt, fear, or despair, or of shrinking and unmingled terror. This portion of the picture demands and deserves deep and careful examination. In the borders are the figures of Adam and Eve in attitudes of remorse and shame. Such is a vague and imperfect verbal outline of this marvellous composition, but no mere description could convey the complicated variety of expression, pose, colour, and incident with which it abounds. The frame is of a golden ochre tone, richly relieved with gold. Sculpturesque figures of different sizes are placed upon it, and in finish and care it is worthy of the miniature which it encloses. The ground of the outer portion is dull blue carrying a pencilled ornament in gold.

III.

The Trivulzio Petrarch.

This MS., though stated by Rosini* to be the work of Clovio, certainly does not seem proved from the specimen he gives. Rosini says, "The diligence and delicacy of the work (apart from the tradition) leave no doubt that this was one of the works executed by him in early youth." The mistake of assuming fineness or minute labour to be sufficient proof of authenticity is the common mistake of almost every writer who has not carefully compared various examples. There is no doubt that this work is executed in the earlier Italian manner—a better argument than either its diligence or its delicacy.

The volume in question is a small octavo, like most of its contemporary books of poetry, and rather narrow for the length. Further description is not given by Rosini, but the outline added by him presents a picture, about 4 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., of a panelled chamber with an open window at the end. In front sits the poet at a desk, in an attitude of deep cogitation, his head resting on his left hand. His right holding a book rests on the desk. On the further end of the desk is an armillary sphere. Nearer are several books and an inkstand. Reared

* Ed. Pisa. V. iii.

in the corner of the foreground is a lute, and beside Petrarch's feet sits a cat. Blue mountains are seen through the window.

It was this little volume, or one exactly like it, that Apostolo Zeus gave to the Marciana at Venice, as mentioned by Cigogna. Sakecinski* gives its number as Cod. DXVI., but he adds, "Kako je kasnije dospio isti rukopis u sbirku Trivulza u Milan nîje poznato." "Whether indeed this be the same MS. now long remaining in the Trivulzio Collection in Milan I do not know."

IV.

The Psalter of Paul III.

This splendid but hitherto somewhat neglected MS. was superficially examined and described by Dr. Waagen in his "Kunstwerke und Künstler," in Paris, published at Berlin in 1839. To the description given by him I have now to add the substance of an analysis of its contents most courteously furnished to me by M. Léopold Delisle, the Chief Librarian of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

Waagen says, p. 394:—"In the arabesques of its borders we may recognize the influence of the Loggie of the Vatican; in the historical

* Dictionary of S. Slavonian Biography, Art. II. 161.

pictures a mistaken imitation of Michelangelo. In the softness, delicacy and finish in *gouache*, the miniatures are truly wonderful, and fully justify the European reputation which Clovio enjoyed in his own time. A graceful golden foliage, picked out with colours, and enriched with garlands, birds, &c., in the style of Giovanni da Udine, surrounds the title-page, while in the lower border is an oblong medallion supported by two angels containing a profile portrait of Paul III. and the legend and date PAULUS III. PONT. M. MD.XLII. The MS. which was formerly numbered *Supplem. Lat.* 702 is now "*MS. Latin 8880 Bibl. Nationale.*" M. Delisle gives the following account of folio 1, *Rubric*: "I n nomine dñi | nostri Jesu Christi | Amen. | Ordo psalterii secundum morem | et consuetudinez | Romanæ curiæ | fœliciter Incipit. Invitatoria sub | scripta dicuntur | singula singulis | dominicis diebus | a secunda dñica post Epiphantias | usq. ad septuages | imam et a Kalē | dis Octobris us | 9 : ad Adventum. || Invitatorum I. | Venite exul | temus . . . The last folio contains the following colophon cexiiv :—

Silvester ad Lectorem

Octavum explerat jam PAULUS tertius annum

Hoc Federicus cum Perusinus opus

Ne merita autoris fraudetur dextera laude

Et patria et nomen sint tibi nota . VALE .

M.D.XLII.II.OCTOB."

The volume has 213 folios, 374 millim. high by 260 broad. It is written in two columns, in a large Roman hand, exactly similar to the handsome characters of the XVI. Century printers. The volume was presented to Pope Paul III. by Antonius S. R. E. Cardinalis Casalius. The arms of Pius VI. (Braschi, 1774-1799) are embroidered on the covering, a pretty clear evidence, by the way, that the volume was part of the Bonaparte plunder from that unfortunate pontiff after the Bologna decree of 1796. The Psalter properly so called occupies ff. i-clxxxii. The Hymns ff. clxxxiii-ccvii. The Litany ff. cc8 (*sic*)-ccx. Prayers ccx.

The ornamentation comprises :—

I. The first page with a frame-border of rich ornaments, architectural motives and garlands of flowers and fruits, interspersed with birds, &c., as already mentioned.

II. Fol. clxxxii, v. A grand full-page picture in *gouache* representing the Almighty floating in the air above the world. The border of the kind already described, consisting of cameos, terminals, and garlands. At the top is a cameo containing the bust of the Pope with the legend PAVLVS III. PONT. MAX. At foot the arms of this Pope: six *fleurs-de-lis* on an *azure field*. The miniature precedes the office of the First Sunday in Advent. Waagen thus describes it: "Before the First Sunday in Advent,

on a picture which occupies the whole of the page, is God the Father represented in the act of creating the sun and moon. The deep yellow with purple shadows of his under garment has too glaring an effect, and the muscles of the limbs, as seen, are much exaggerated through the drapery. The head too is spiritless, though the technical execution is most masterly and highly finished. On the other hand, the borders are extremely beautiful, especially those of the opposite page, including twelve angels and four genii placed in symmetrical arabesques, the flesh tones of which are as it were breathed on them, and give them an infinite charm. At the same time the heads are meaningless and the forms occasionally too attenuated. But incomparable imitations of onyx, cameos, masks, termini, and precious stones intensify the impression of the general loveliness of the work. On the lower border are the arms of Paul III."

III. The first page of the Hymns (fol. clxxxiii) surrounded by an appropriate frame-border, like that one opposite (fol. clxxxii v.). At foot, a medallion in which are painted a violet flower (in fact a lily), a sort of rainbow, and the devise on a ribbon, ΔΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΝΟΝ. This emblematic devise is the *impresa* of Paul III. as has been explained already.

IV. Eleven large painted initials, 7 centimetres in height, on gold grounds, on which are sometimes

placed small compartments, at times in the form of cameos, on which are depicted little subjects in chiaroscuro.

V. Thirty-three painted initials, 4 centim. high, in the interior of which are depicted small subjects, similarly to the larger ones. All these initials are of a fine Roman type, and in a very pure taste. Besides these, there is at the beginning of every psalm, a large capital in gold on a ground half red, half blue. The initials of the verses are smaller capitals in gold on grounds of red or blue hatching.

Details as to the situation of initials, &c. :—

Initials of 7 centimetres (about $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.) on gold grounds, with flowers, fruits, insects, pearls, emeralds or rubies on them.

Fol. ii, v. The subject in this initial is a king kneeling, his arms extended in prayer, his crown on the ground. Text, *Beatus vir qui . . .* (in colours). Ps. i. (Vulgate.) This is the usual picture in this place.

f. xl, v. Same subject, a blue cameo. Text, “*Dominus illuminatio mea.*” Ps. xxvi.

f. lx. A king standing and playing a psaltery. “*Dixi custodiam vias meas . . .*” Ps. xxxviii. A white cameo on deep purple.

f. lxxv. A king standing and touching a keyboard with two plectra. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo . . .* Ps. lii.

f. lxxxviii. Two subjects painted in the initial, *Salvum me fac Deus . . . Ps. lxviii.*

1. A man on his knees before an altar on which is a chalice: green cameo. 2. King on his knees in prayer, his arms extended, his crown on the ground. Purple cameo.

f. cvii, v. King kneeling between two trees. Purple cameo. *Exultate Deo. Ps. lxxx.*

f. cxxiii. King standing, playing a long flute, red ground. *Cantate Domino. Ps. xvii.*

f. cxliii. King kneeling in prayer. Green cameo. *Legem pone mihi . . . Ps. cxviii. 33.*

f. cliii. King playing the harp. Green cameo. *Dixit Dominus domino meo . . . Ps. cix.*

f. clxxiii. The Last Judgment.

f. cxcvi. The Conversion of St. Paul. Gold-bronze. Sky blue. Our Lord in a red drapery. A miniature, 60 millim. by 77 (rather more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 3).

Initials of 4 centimetres (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) high.

f. xix. A figure standing and bearing a column.

f. xxv. Jesus Christ bearing His cross.

f. lx, v. A man kneeling in prayer.

f. cl. A figure standing.

f. clvii. Death with his scythe. A black cameo.

f. clix, v. A king standing. Green cameo.

f. clxii. Two figures: one in the air, the other praying. *Nisi Dominus ædificaverit . . . Ps. cxxvi.*

f. clxiii. Small figure standing, and holding a violin and bow. Green cameo. Memento Domine David . . . Ps. cxxxi.

f. clxviii. Christ risen holding the cross with an air of triumph. Purple cameo. Confitebor tibi Domine . . . Ps. cxxxvii.

f. clxxii. Two subjects. In the upper compartment Christ triumphant—in the lower, the open tomb, surrounded by sleeping guards. Benedictus Dominus Deus meus . . . Ps. cxliii.

f. clxxxiii. The Nativity.

f. clxxxv. Two small cameos. 1. The Adoration of the Magi. 2. The Magi on their journey.

f. clxxxv, v. A figure praying.

f. clxxxvii. The instruments of the Passion.

f. clxxxix. Figure kneeling.

f. xcxi. Two female figures standing, one of whom holds a sword and scales (Justice), the other a serpent.

f. xcxi, v. The Holy Spirit.

f. xciii. Two small compartments on red grounds.

1. Figure of a Pope in prayer, in white detached from the grounds—above the words: PAVLVS III.
2. The figure of the Trinity.

f. xciiii, v. The Eucharist, figured by a chalice and a "hostia."

f. xcvi. St. Peter holding the keys and a book.

- f. cxevi, v. St. John Baptist.
- f. cxcviii. SS. Peter and Paul.
- f. do. The Magdalene.
- f. cxcviii, v. The Transfiguration.
- f. cc. The Annunciation.
- f. cc, v. St. Michael.
- f. cci, v. All Saints.
- f. ccii, v. SS. Peter and Paul (or SS. Cosma and Damian).
- f. cciii. A martyr.
- f. cciii, v. Martyrs.
- f. ccv. Confessors (figures of Popes and bishops).
- f. ccvii. A Temple (In dedicatione templi).

As I have not myself seen this MS. I cannot affirm it to be the work of Clovio. From its manner of execution in some parts, the evidence seems rather negative—*i.e.* in the *gouaches*. The cameos and borders, on the other hand, seem quite in Clovio's manner.

There is a very remote possibility that it is altogether the work of the Federicus Perusinus named in the colophon. It is almost certain that he was the Federicus Marius Perusinus who was attached to the pontifical chapel about 1549, as "scriptor." Twenty years before, he was working for the convent of S. Agostino in Rome, where there still exists an antiphonary, dated 1541, which is described by *Mmgr. Barbier de Montault: des*

Livres de Chœur des Eglises de Rome, 9. arras, 1874. Under April 1542, Müntz quotes the following entry: "A Federico Perosino scrittore della capella del papa per scrittura et notatura del sopraditto libro, duc. 41. bai. 25. Item per miniatura del sopra detto libro, per mano del detto Federigo, duc. 3. bai. 25." The price is against the supposition that the *miniature* here means more than rubrication. And there is certainly more than a month's labour in the Psalter of Paul III, while the scriptor's salary was 4 ducats 50 b. per month. See my *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, II, 262, and Müntz: *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVIIe siècle*, 100. Paris, 1886.

V.

The Naples "Offices."

Translated from Bernard Quaranta. Le Mystagogue: Guide Général du Musée Roy. Bourbon. Naples, 1844.

"Officium B. M. Virginis; painted by Julio Clovio for the use of the Farnese Princes.

This office is one of the most unique in the world, and therefore we shall devote to it a detailed description.

The Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, protector of

letters and the arts, had it painted in miniature by Julio Clovio, a distinguished artist in this kind of work, as we are told by George Vasari in his "Lives of Painters."

Clovio, on being honoured with this order, wished to show how divine his art can become when it is encouraged and protected.

It is impossible to believe that any pencil could have traced what the eye can scarcely perceive.

The artist has divided the work into twenty-six little stories—one opposite another, *i.e.* on one side the history, on the other the figure of this same history, taken from Holy Scripture. Each story or miniature has smaller border pictures and *figures bizarres* which relate to the subject of the history represented by the painter.

He begins with Matins :

The story is the Annunciation by the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary, with a vignette (border) of little loves of unequalled beauty.

Facing this is Isaiah before Ahab.

At Lauds. The Visitation ; and opposite Peace and Justice embracing each other, with border and ornaments in gold (*chiaroscuro*).

At Prime. The Nativity of our Saviour ; and opposite the terrestrial Paradise with Adam and Eve eating the apple, the borders contain men and women naked, with animals of different species.

At Tierce. The appearance of the Angel to the Shepherds. Opposite, the Tiburtine Sibyl showing to Augustus the Virgin and her son in the sky. The border with tiny miniatures in colours and a portrait of Alessandro Farnese.

At Sexts. The Circumcision. In Simeon we have a portrait of Pope Paul III. On the other side are the portraits of Marciana and Septimia, two Roman ladies of extraordinary beauty. In the borders are miniatures of the Baptism of Christ, with other naked figures.

At Nones. The Adoration of the Magi. Opposite is Solomon adored by the Queen of Sheba. The lower border miniature, of which the entire figures are not greater than ants, represents the Fête of the Monte Testaccio.

It is marvellous to see how, with the mere point of the pencil, he has traced such wonders. He represents all the liveries worn by the servants of the Cardinal.*

At Vespers. The Flight into Egypt. *Vis-à-vis*, Pharaoh submerged in the Red Sea. With other "vignettes."

At Complines. The Coronation of the Virgin. In the sky an infinite multitude of angels. On the other side is the Coronation of Queen Esther by King Ahasuerus, with corresponding borders.

* See Vasari's description of this MS.

The Mass. The painter first of all in the border here has a cameo representing the Annunciation. The two histories are The Holy Virgin and child, and The Almighty creating Heaven and Earth.

Before the "Penitential Psalms" is the battle in which David commands the death of Uriah. An infinity of horses, of armed men, of wounded, dead, are the miracle and marvel of this picture. On the other side is David in penitence, and in the borders are grotesque and other superb ornaments. But what was never seen before and what one cannot even imagine, is given in the *Litanies of the Saints*. In the margin there are, first, the Holy Trinity, the Angels, Apostles, and other saints, then the Virgin Mary and all the virgin saints: at foot the procession of the Holy Sacrament borne by the Pope, as it takes place at Rome; the Fête-Dieu in which all the Officers, Bishops, Cardinals, the guards of lancers, with tapers in their hands, appear together with the rest of the papal court, and in the distance the Castle of St. Angelo firing a salute. All these figures are painted with such grace, precision, and art, that this MS. is the wonder of all who see it. Permission for its inspection can only be had expressly from the Minister of the Interior.

The office of the Dead begins with two pictures: Death triumphant over grandees and potentates, as well as over the poor and feeble. On the other side the

resurrection of Lazarus, and behind—the same Power, who fights against the horsemen. Jesus crucified forms one side, for the Office of the Cross; on the other is Moses and the miracle of the serpents. The Descent of the Holy Ghost precedes the Office, and opposite is the Tower of Babel surrounded with walls by Nimrod.

All this prodigy—for it is truly a rare one—was completed by Clovio within a space of nine years. Invaluable monument! Where could one find greater profusion of ornaments. The multiplicity of the accessories, the elegance of the pose of the naked figures, the correctness of the perspective, the beauty of the trees, everything that drawing requires or colouring demands, serves to render this MS. a monument unique in the world.

The cover of this Office is worthy of the work, for it is of wrought silver, in bas-relief. On one side is the Holy Virgin in a full-length figure, and on the other the Angel Gabriel bearing in his hand a lily. These principal figures, together with four other smaller ones and other ornaments, are gilt. All about are engraved the armorials of Cardinal Alexander and of Edward Farnese. The cover is attributed to B. Cellini. Two missals belonging to the Farnese family are found in this museum, besides another Office of the Virgin called the Flora, executed by order, and for the use, of the same family, and which is not less precious than the first.”

VI.

*The Grenville "Victories of Charles V.," called
"L'Aguila Triumphante."*

Dibdin's description of these famous paintings was taken chiefly from the notes appended to them by Mr. Grenville. I have gone over all those notes, which are rendered faithfully by Dibdin, but his quotation from De Thou is neither complete nor accurate. In the following account, therefore, I give the result of an entirely fresh and independent examination of the series.

In one of the notes Mr. Grenville says that the drawings were bought by Mr. Woodburn of M. Trochon, of Paris, who had bought them of a French officer who got them from the Escorial. He adds: "There had been a written note in the first leaf of the book, which has been since erased; that note purported that it belonged to the Escorial." It is a great pity that such a memorandum should have been destroyed, and that no documentary evidence appears to exist in confirmation of the story, and of the commission alleged to have been given to Clovio concerning the Heemskerck drawings; as evidence of this kind might go far in confirming the opinion of their genuineness derived from their manner of execution.

The volume is a thin oblong folio, bound in blue-

violet velvet, and kept in a dark blue leather case ; but the drawings themselves are much smaller than the book itself, inserted between sheets of stout paper.

Fol. 1. Contains the Title in later Roman capitals, half an inch high: GIULIO CLOVIO | L'AGUILA TRIUMPHANTE | DE CARLOS QUINTO.

These letters are in gold, on the plain vellum.

Fol. 2. The notes of Mr. Grenville, mounted on the guard-paper.

Fol. 2 v. Table of Contents (MS.).

Fol. 3. Twelve slips pasted on the leaf, containing brief descriptions of the subjects of the drawings. These are copied or used by Dibdin in his account.

Fol. 4. The first sheet of vellum, containing on the back the first quatrain referred to in chapter VII :

“L'Aguila muy triumphante y no vencida,” &c.

These lines, which are written in black ink, now faded to brown, and in a poor, non-professional Roman character, are enclosed in a handsome *cartouche* or cartel, which Dibdin calls “an arabesque border of consummate taste.” It is, in fact, a really tasteful frame of the Antwerp school of ornament, such as may be seen in the works of Crispin de Passe the elder, the *Imprese* of Pittoni and Battini, or among the engravings of the younger Hoefnagel.

Its being of a Flemish character has been brought to bear against the genuineness of the drawings as works of Clovio. But the same argument might be brought against the Italians named above, and against the Towneley Lectionary itself. It might with equal force be objected to many of the borders which are known to be the genuine work of Clovio, that they cannot be so, because they are precisely in the manner of certain ornamental panels designed by Androuet de Cerceau. One page in the Stuart de Rothesay Offices, painted in the finest and most characteristic Cloviesca manner, is similar *à merveille* to some of the Renaissance ornament of the great French architect. The colouring is somewhat gaudy, but not gaudier than similar work in the Lectionary. The masks introduced are finished with the utmost care, and, it must be admitted, are painted after the same method as those of Clovio. That is: the first hatching or shade is of a brown tone, and the finishing of tender local colour. This method is different from that of Buonfratelli and Baroccio, whose hatching is less vigorous and more iridescent. Those who have made a study of the various methods employed by the great miniaturists, will bear me out in these remarks.

Fol. 5. The first picture within a frame painted to imitate an ordinary gold picture-frame, in red ochre heightened with gold. This first subject

represents Charles V. seated between two pillars—the symbols used in his devises, of stability, and suggestive of his rule beyond the Pillars of Hercules, over Transatlantic regions ; round them winding the two labels with his well-known motto, “ plus ultra.” In his right hand he holds the sword—the mound and cross in his left. He wears a steel-grey helmet without plume, but surrounded by a rayed crown of gold. Beneath him crouches the black Imperial Austrian Eagle, as if about to strike, holding in his beak a ring to which is attached a golden cord that passes round five of the six personages who stand around. This is significant of their having been subjected to Imperial authority. The Emperor wears a corslet of fine blue, modelled and shaded with great delicacy. His cloak or robe, which hangs across his breast from shoulder to shoulder, and, passing behind him, hangs over his arms and across his lap, is of a deep pink or crimson. His knees are bare and of a warm healthy tint. His greaves, the top of the left one having lappels of orange yellow, are fine violet enriched with gold embroidery. The lofty throne on which he is seated is of grey marble. On the front of it is a green wreath encircling the arms of the Duchy of Austria emblazoned *gu. a fesse arg.* The pillars on each side on the arms of the throne are of gold.

The figures standing beside represent the Sultan,

the Pope, the King of France, the Duke of Cleves, the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse.

The Sultan, Soliman the Magnificent, stands in the left of the immediate foreground, outside the cord, and looks round significantly at the Emperor—the verse says in fear, but, both in the engraving and the painting, the expression is one of haughty defiance. He wears a turban consisting of white band and scarlet cap, surrounded by the golden rayed crown. His tunic or corslet is of blue damask, and his cloak, cloth-of-gold lined with ermine. Hose of greenish yellow and soft buff leather boots complete his costume. Clement VII., who stands next, in an attitude of sorrowful dignity, is clothed in full pontificals, with lofty tiara, rich with gems, upon his head, and the archiepiscopal staff in his left hand. His right rests upon a large shield decorated with the insignia of the Medici. His robe is of stiff brocade, with figures of saints upon the hem, here quite different from the engraving. He wears scarlet gloves having a gem on the back of the hand. Francis I. has a helmet of steel bearing a rayed crown of gold, and a plume of yellow and blue ostrich feathers. Over the right shoulder chiefly, he wears a rich blue cloak. His corslet is violet. For *cuisse*s he carries two small grey shields charged with the golden lilies of France. His knee-

caps, instead of the simple drapery of the engraving, are covered with golden masks.* His hose, or greaves, are blue-grey with golden embroidery. In his right hand he holds a pennon bearing the lilies. His left hand rests upon his large shield. On the other side of the picture nearest the throne stands the youthful Duke of Cleves with crossed hands. He is bareheaded, but wears steel armour. Next comes the tall and burly figure of John Frederic Duke of Saxony in complete armour. The plume of his helmet, with its ostrich feathers of black and yellow, slightly relieves the heavy appearance of the steel plates, which, however, are rendered in a masterly and perfect manner. Lastly, the rather crouching figure of the Landgrave of Hesse in a black furred cloak. The orange sleeves and yellow hose afford the proper contrast to the sombre tints above, and save the picture from losing its balance as to colour. In accordance with the custom of the time, every personage bears his family insignia on a shield. That of the Sultan is black inlaid with a filigree of gold. The Pope's is violet, on which are mounted the bearings of the well-known *palle* on a golden plate.

Francis I. bears *azure, three fleurs-de-lis, or.*

The shield of the Duke of Cleves, which is plain

* "With libbard's head on knee."—*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. sc. 3.

in the engraving, here bears *or*, two *lions rampant, accosted, sa*, which are the arms of Guelderland, a part of his patrimony.

That of John Frederic is as usually given, and that of the Landgrave lies on the ground without due blazon.

The background of the miniature is green, hatched or stippled to a full rich tone, which admirably supports the colouring of the figures.

Fol. 5 v. The cartel on the back of Fol. 5 contains the verses referring to the second drawing, "Claramente, &c." It is very carefully painted, the masks being quite as good as in the Towneley MS., and the work, allowing for difference of dimensions, precisely in the manner of the Stuart de Rothesay Offices.

Fol. 6. The second picture: Pavia. The plate-armour of Francis I. of excellent and exquisite finish, and the draperies rich and finely executed. The corslet is violet, with scales upon it drawn in gold. The knee-masks of gold, and the greaves steel-grey and gold. His saddle-cloth is cloth-of-gold with blue bordering, relieved with pink and gold. The soldiers who capture the king are in complete armour, bright colour appearing in the housings of the horses.

Fol. 6 v. The cartel here is comparatively plain, but still partaking of the character of similar work

in the Lectionary. It contains the verses referring to the death of the Constable de Bourbon.

Fol. 7. The third picture, of the death of Bourbon, who is depicted in a blue corslet with yellow-orange thongs and pink skirt. A scarlet cloak falls from his shoulders. The city behind the tower has the houses on the left drawn in brown, on the right in violet. The river is pale blue—almost white. The man who is running to the Constable's assistance is also very carefully painted, especially in the flesh tones.

Fol. 7 v. The verses for next picture in a frame, carefully painted, but not remarkable.

Fol. 8. The fourth miniature, the herald before St. Angelo. The statues of SS. Peter and Paul remarkably good, in a cool grey, carefully manipulated. The costumes of the soldiers are glaring and gaudy. The sky is, to say the least, portentous in the violence of its tints.

Fol. 8 v. A rather handsome frame to the verses of the next miniature.

Fol. 9. The fifth scene, representing the Raising of the Siege of Vienna. The striking feature of this picture is the rich caparison of the Emperor's horse, chiefly violet and cloth-of-gold. The rest of the picture, though laboured, is not masterly either in tone or design, but this is chiefly due to the Flemish artist. The sky, again, is fiery and

threatening, and the city treated in the conventional manner of the miniaturists in violet, with delicate hatchings of the same tint.

Fol. 9 v. A rather elegant cartel, containing verses "Los indios," &c. For what it is, its execution is fine. The two faces or masks in it quite as good as the master's work, either in the Soane or the Towneley MS.

Fol. 10. A horrible scene, finished with more care than it deserves, with much stippling on the figures, in Clovio's manner.

Fol. 10 v. Cartel, with verses, not remarkable, but thoroughly Flemish in style.

Fol. 11. Tunis. The seventh miniature. The Imperial saddle-clothes scarlet and gold, the armour steel and gold. On the left a fine horse-cloth of greenish hue, enriched with borders and embroideries of gold and rose-pink. Distance tenderly wrought.

Fol. 11 v. Frame to verses "De Cleues es el Duque," &c.

Fol. 12. The eighth scene, representing the Submission of the Duke of Cleves. This is a beautiful miniature, and most carefully executed. Indeed it is only surpassed by one other of the pictures, and is not unworthy of comparison with Clovio's acknowledged work. The Emperor is seated under a green canopy. Over his head hangs

a golden ball, with scarlet tassel. A wreath of laurel encircles his brown hair, and the likeness is fairly good. Like those in the first and tenth scenes the portraits here are manifestly copied from authentic sources. As to costume, the corslet is blue, the cloak pale crimson, the enrichments orange, crimson, and gold. The carpet is rich Flemish cloth of gold, elaborately overwrought with a pattern, which does not appear in the engraving. The tall figure on the left is also rich in colour. He wears a steel helmet enriched with gold. His near arm is fine green. His corslet orange, over which and behind hangs a robe of blue, very rich and full in tone. A green skirt and crimson hose, differing in depth of colour, and orange furnishings complete the splendour of his equipment. The other soldier who looks down upon the kneeling suppliant, is another triumph of military costume, in scarlet, blue, green, and gold. The Duke of Cleves—a young man with light brown hair and fair complexion—is beautifully painted. A golden diadem surrounds his head, and he wears a black cloak lined with ermine, his sleeves and hose violet. The shield, as before, gold, bearing black lions. Pale green and violet are the principal tints on the subordinate figures behind.

Fol. 12 v. A cartel for the verses of the next picture.

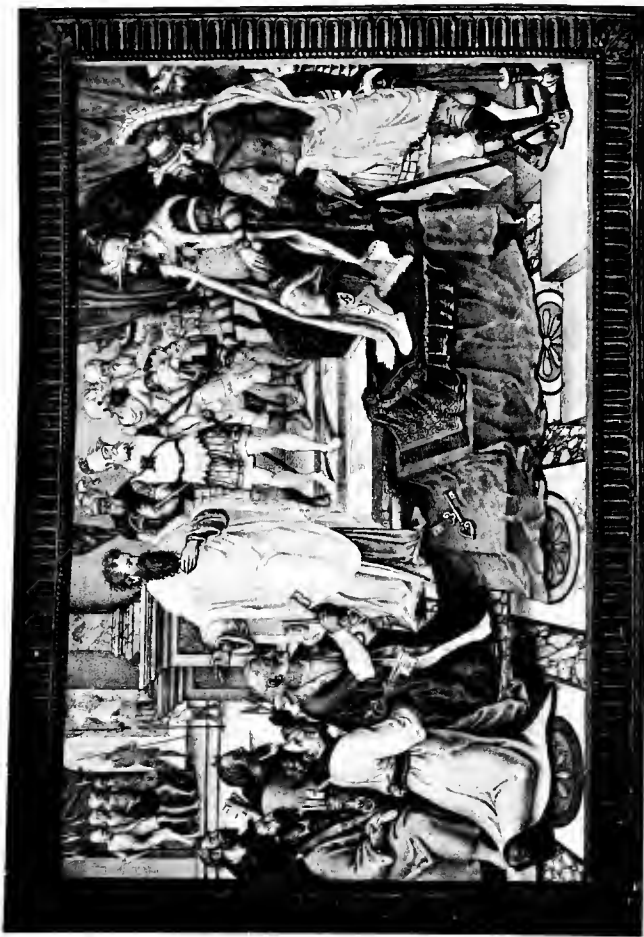
Fol. 13. The arrival of the Count van Buren. The accoutrements of the Emperor as usual are the striking part of the picture, being rich in colouring and full of finely wrought detail. Distance, pale green, and city delicate violet, with pale blue hills beyond.

Fol. 13 v. Here the cartel is finer than usual in execution, elegant in form, and containing minutely finished masks.

Fol. 15. The tenth miniature representing the Field of Muhlberg and the Surrender of John Frederic. The portraits are faithfully rendered, entirely differing in this respect from the engraving. The caparisons and costumes, as usual, are rich and elaborate, producing altogether a fine picture, by no means *dozzinale*, and certainly not vulgar either in taste or execution. The heavy figure of the Duke, with the bleeding scar across the face, is full of force and originality. Opposite to this miniature is inserted a pen drawing (Fol. 14 v.) of the same subject, but reversed. It is signed in the left corner "Martinus van Heemskerck Inventor 1554." Here the expression of the faces is very far inferior to the miniature. It appears to be a replica of one of the original drawings for the engravings.

Fol. 15 v. A fine cartel with lion's head in centre of upper part of frame, and grotesque masks at the corners, highly finished and clever.

Fol. 16. The surrender of certain cities. This eleventh miniature is in many respects the finest of the series, and if any direct evidence could be found to attach it to the name of Clovio, I should not hesitate to accept it as a genuine production of his pencil. No one will accuse me of over credulity as to either his or any other works in miniature, and therefore I can the more freely admit the excellent internal evidence of this picture. I have subjected it to microscopic inspection side by side with some of Clovio's work, and I must confess that I find no difference sufficient to exclude it from his hand. The heads are not inferior to some in the famous Last Judgment in the Towneley MS. They are full of individual character. The draperies are good, and the execution throughout not in the least inferior to anything from the master's hand; and it accords in technic with his accustomed method of working. In short, my belief is that it really is his work. It can only be superficially described. The colours of the draperies of the kneeling figures as they occur in order are crimson, violet, black, blue, and violet. The especially delicate execution of the figure of the Emperor is beyond praise. The prevailing colours in the costume are violet, black, yellow, tender blue and gold. The cushion and rug beneath his feet, scarlet and gold, and the carpet fine yellow-green. The



MINIATURE FROM THE "VICTORIES OF CHARLES V."

floor or pavement is a masterly imitation of veined marbles, or varied scagliolas, with inlaid circlets of blue, violet and yellow.*

The tall soldier in the right corner displays mainly orange, green, and violet. The curtain hanging over the Emperor's head is green. The step in the right corner is of cool grey marble.

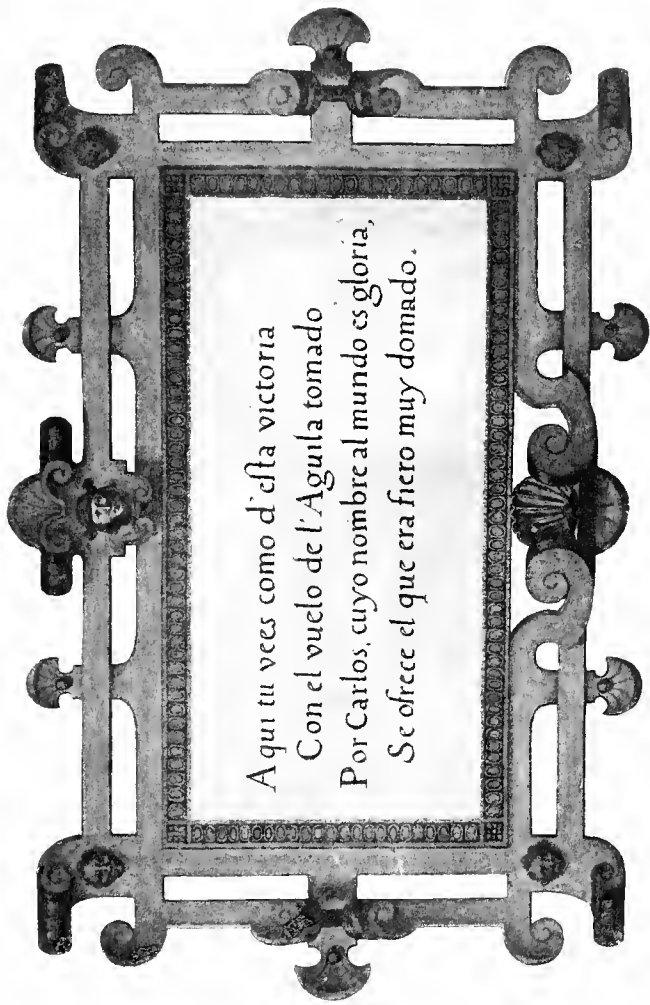
Fol. 16 v. The last cartel of verses, "Aqui tu vées," &c., contains fine lions' heads and other decorative details, but is on the whole rather common-place.

Fol. 17. The last miniature, an allegorical representation of the scene described in detail by *De Thou: Histoire Universelle, I. 264-5.*

Here the Emperor is clothed in rich cloth-of-gold, with violet under-drapery. Over his head is a crimson canopy, and across behind, a green curtain. The ecclesiastics in stiff brocades. The Landgrave is in black, with brown fur collar. The prince nearest to the throne wears a golden crown and a gold-brown cloak with golden heads for clasps, violet hose and black shoes. The next has a cool violet cloak, lined and collared ermine, hose and shoes black, a brown

* Artificial scagliolas could scarcely be known to Clovio, their invention being attributed to Guido Sassi of Carpi, after 1600. But Sebastiano del Piombo discovered a method of painting on slabs of marble various ornamental designs and portraits. Marble pavements are often depicted in French and Italian miniatures.

fur and scarlet cap surmounted by a diadem of gold and pearls. All, however, are richly clothed, and the effect suggestive of sovereign grandeur and dignity. No doubt here again the faces are all portraits, and perhaps by reference to the vast collection in the Ambras Museum at Vienna they might be recognized. De Thou's words are : " Il fut donc conduit sur les cinq heures du soir, par le duc Maurice et l'Electeur de Brandebourg à l'Empereur devant lequel il se mit à genoux. Alors le Chancelier Gunterot lut une requête dressée, comme on en était convenu, par laquelle le Landgrave supplioit l'Empereur de lui pardonner sa faute, et de lui remettre la peine que méritoit son crime. L'Empereur suivant la réponse qui avoit été déjà concertée, lui fit dire par George Selde que puisqu'il reconnoissoit humblement sa faute, et qu'il en demandoit pardon, il lui accordoit volontiers sa grace, et lui pardonnoit tout le passé ; de sorte qu'il n'avoit à craindre ni le supplice que sa trahison avoit mérité, ni la prison perpetuelle, ni la confiscation de ses biens, ni d'autres peines enfin que celles qui étoient comprises dans le traité auquel il avoit souscrit. L'Archiduc Maximilien, fils du roi Ferdinand, le duc de Savoye, le duc d'Albe, le Grand Maître de Prusse, les évêques d'Arras, de Naumbourg, et d'Hildesheim, Henri, Charle Victor, et Philippe de Brunsvic, le legat du Pape, les Ambassadors des



Aqui tu vees como d' esta victoria
Con el vuelo de l' Aguila tomado
Por Carlos, cuyo nombre al mundo es gloria,
Se ofrece el que era fiero muy domado.

CARTEL FROM THE "VICTORIES OF CHARLES V."

rois de Bohême et de Dannemarc, du duc de Cleves, et des villes Anséatiques, et un grand nombre d'autres seigneurs se trouverent présens a cette action."

Fol. 17 v. A vacant cartel, which ends the work.

Fol. 18. FINIS, in Roman capitals.

Such are these famous twelve drawings. Though personally inclined to admit that, from the evidence of some of the work, they actually were undertaken by Clovio on the conditions before mentioned, yet I do not affirm that they are, *in toto*, the work of his hand. They need not have been more than partly so to come quite within the range of his commissions. He might have been largely assisted by his pupils and their assistants, as, for example, by Max. de Monceau, who was a Fleming. But the taste for Flemish and German engravings, and for ultramontane work generally, prevailed in Italy at the time when these drawings were executed, so that no argument can be brought against the accessories on this ground. Nor does it seem particularly logical to select the cartels for objection as being Flemish when it is admitted that the designs themselves were so, and that the drawings though quite original in many of the details, and notably in the portraiture, do not otherwise differ materially from them.

VII.

*Bonde's account of the MS. executed for John III.
King of Portugal.*

The work is addressed "ad Sereniss. D. Joannem V. Portugalliæ Regem de Julii Clovii clari admodum Pictoris operibus."

It consists of "Libri sive Sermones tres": 1. Idea. 2. Index. 3. Deliberatus.

"Humiliter consecrati a Gulielmo Bonde, armigero," . . . "nepote præhonorabilis viri Thomæ Bonde Equitis Aurati & Baronetti," . . . "Anno 1733."

The style of the Latinity is most inflated and wearisome. After a very urgent, though high-flown dedicatory address, comes the Title :

"Thesaurus Artis Pictoriæ, ex unius Julii Clovii clari admodum pictoris operibus depromptus. . . sive liber primus."

In this dedicatory epistle* the writer tells us that the book formerly belonged to John III. of

* Preface: Hic liber, hic thesaurus totius artis pictoriæ fato nescio quo sed aliqua certe illaque nimis iniqua rerum tempestate abreptus (quippe quem ejus su necnon impendio perliberali Joannis olim Portugalliæ Regis P. Julium Clovium et exarasse et delineasse, et suscepisse & perfecisse constat) patria sua caruit Portugalliæ exul nimis longinquus et multos annos in aliena terra inconditus delituit. Hujus thesauri dudum amissi et jam nuper a me referti. . . (So Bonde claims its discovery.)

Portugal, and was executed for him by Clovio. At the beginning of it are painted the armorials of all the kings of Portugal, and it is clearly and elegantly written on two hundred leaves of the most beautiful vellum. The initial letter of every page of writing—a curious fact, and one that attests the luxury of ornament with which the book was executed, if indeed that be the meaning of Bonde's circumlocution: "*Prima illa literarum elementa a quibus pagina quæque initium sumit, sunt accurate satis ornata, referta sunt curiosis;*" . . . "*argenti et auri ornamentis,*" &c.—are carefully adorned, and crowded with ornaments in silver and gold; "and," he goes on to say, "with the richest and most beautiful colours that either art or imagination can possibly conceive." He informs us that the book has come down to the time in which he writes, "absolutely perfect, clean, and entire." It is reported, he says, that the MS. originated in a command of King Manuel the Great, whose glories he enlarges upon. "About that time lived the great artist Julio Clovio, who easily excelled every contemporary artificer, and who drew forth from his art of miniature painting certain novel and, so to speak, unheard-of miracles."

Then follows a general account of his work, mostly founded on Vasari and the old inaccurate authorities usually quoted, mentioning especially Alessandro Farnese and the great King of Hungary

among his patrons. He also names two artists as his pupils, Bernardo Buontalenti and Francesco Salviati.

Part II. begins with another address to John V., and then passes on to the description of the MS. Here is a fair sample—*et ex pede Herculem*—of the wordiness that one has to push through in trying to get at the pith of what he says: “Descriptum atque ornatiss^o descriptum bene junctis tum penicilli tum calami viribus, hic de quo nunc loquimur Julii Clovii liber continet accuratiss^{im} Ephemeriden. Sic enim vocant nonnulli, alii autem vocant calendarium, in quo quippe singulæ calendæ et eorum dies annotantur.” All that he really means is that “this book begins with an illuminated calendar,” which was quite a usual beginning for such a book when complete.

I. January. The miniature represents a nobleman seated alone at a banquet, and surrounded by a host of servants, some of whom are bringing dishes. At the master's back is a fire-place, and somewhere about the picture are the insignia and portrait of King John. Surrounding the miniature is a border *in Gothic taste*, containing figures and other ornaments.

This is a very common picture in this place of the calendar, and the description exactly fits the miniature for January in the Grimani Breviary.

On the opposite page, which is surrounded by another Gothic border full of appropriate figures and rich ornaments, in circlet at top is depicted the Zodiacal signs, in this case two, Capricorn and Aquarius. The Dominical letter is A, which, except in leap year, is the same throughout the calendar.

II. February. A scene of ice and snow. The painter, in fact, has here presented what the poet describes :

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte.

The rustic cottages—the cocks and hens—are so life-like, that, upon my word, they seem absolutely real. Various Gothic figures adorn the margin, which are meagre, indeed, but by no means feebly executed, and are, moreover, heightened with gilding. Nor is the opposite page of the calendar wanting in ornaments, which are, indeed, most delightful to behold. The sign of this month, which has in this instance twenty-eight days only, is also Aquarius.

III. March. Here we see the figures of oxen under the yoke of the plough, toiling and as it were perspiring and snorting, in a most life-like manner. We see, too, not less life-like, rustic labourers of fine robust build, cultivating the soil, with such laborious gravity and such ludicrous gestures as to be most

amusing. The borders of this page are ornamented with very many and varied objects appropriate to the subject. The signs are Pisces and Aries.

IV. April. A youthful lord and lady are seen enjoying a walk in the sunshine. On every side the meadows smile with sweet vernal beauty.

O rus! quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit,
Nunc veterum libris, &c., &c.

Like many last-century physicians, Dr. Bonde seems to have been a devout admirer of Horace. Unfortunately for us, the verses of that elegant and well-thumbed poet do not excite all the enthusiasm which our degenerate bosoms ought to feel in connection with the gushing utterances and flatulent sentimentality of our medical friend. Beside the rhetorical geysers of this modern Latinist, the "O rus! quando te aspiciam" of the city-tied, pavement-parched Augustan, full as it may be of futile sighs, has only a very secondary sort of efflatus. But to proceed. The signs are Aries and Taurus.

V. May. A man of high rank accompanied by a noble dame and a crowd of attendants rides out into the country. How these painted horses seem to prance and curvet like very living things! A most artistic and truly consummate work. The ornaments along the margins of the page are most profuse and elegant.

The opposite page contains the calendar of the month. What the signs are, Bonde omits to say.

VI. June. A sheep-shearing, &c. Here I think Dr. Bonde has made a mistake, as usually this is the subject for July which he does not describe. Spectacles and games of various kinds occupy the rest of the picture.

The remaining months of the calendar it is needless to particularize. Suffice it to say that they are delineated with the same fidelity and the same *curiosa felicitas*, ability and anxiety, as those that have preceded.

VII. The work then begins with the Gospel of St. John, opening with a grand illumination, in which is represented an assembly of elders or apostles, and a crowd of listeners receiving the preaching of the Word of God.

Around the borders are many graceful figures. Christ, sitting on an ass, enters the city of Jerusalem, while the people strew the streets with their garments.

Then begins the text of the Gospel with similar marginal decorations, the initial letter being most exquisitely painted.

VIII. The next illumination presents a figure of St. Mark seated at a desk writing. At his feet reposes the Lion. This is a lovely picture. The initial of this Gospel and the border of the page,

together with the border of the opposite page, in which is represented the life and death of the Evangelist, are excellently adorned.

IX. The next page which comes under inspection stands in front of the Prayer of St. Gregory, and is replete with the richest variety of colours. Here we have the great Doctor of the Western Church kneeling before the altar, wearing a purple robe and all the paraphernalia of the pontifical office except the tiara, which an attendant bishop carries in his arms. Here, too, is presented the sacred and holy body of Christ, which, astounding to mortal eyes, appears revealed in the sacrament. A vast number of ecclesiastics are also kneeling round about the Saint. No words can possibly express how wonderfully, how admirably these various figures, which are all but innumerable, are painted.

In the border of this miniature is represented St. Peter, holding in his hand the Keys of Heaven. On the corresponding border of the opposite page St. Paul is depicted with his symbol, the sword.

X. Next comes the Adoration of the Magi, the Divine child resting on the bosom of his Mother, while at her feet kneel prostrate the Kings of the East, led hither by the star, to present to the infant their pious gifts. What grandeur—says our author—in all these figures! How ashamed am I

to write about a painter so great and so divine, when my writing falls so far short of his merits! This man's excellence, indeed, all must admire, but not one can imitate. Surely this work is divine and inimitable:—

ut sibi quivis

Speret idem, sudet multum, frustra que labores

Ausus idem.

In the initial letter of this Prayer is a figure of Christ standing and holding in his hand the terrestrial globe.

XI. Here is represented the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, which Bonde describes in his usual tiresome and redundant phraseology.

On the opposite page begin the Prayers for Indulgence, composed by Sixtus the Fourth, surrounded by a border containing foliages and flowers painted with a bold and masterly hand. So manifestly real are they—but here I must give our author's very words:—"Non exiguum suavitatis odorem habere oportere sentimus, *et profectò tantum non odoramus.*"

The initial letter of this Prayer is also ornamented with a profusion of similar flowers.

XII. Prayer of the Virgin. The miniature represents the Virgin Mother in a kneeling attitude and fervently deploring the death of her dear son. Before her face are depicted the cruel instruments of his passion. In the border of the page are

miniatures of the various sufferings of the Saviour, while in the Initial is placed a figure of the Virgin radiant with a great glory.

XIII. The Salutation of St. Elizabeth. Both figures are what are called half-lengths, but more exquisite than Bonde can find words to describe. The illuminated borders here are beautiful in the extreme, and finely finished with gold.

XIV. St. Michael the Archangel, together with a vast multitude of the heavenly host, expelling the rebel angels out of Heaven. Here Bonde grows right eloquent, yet justly despairs of being able to express in words what this wonderful miniature is like. “*Tantum lectorem admonebo huic imagini tremenda angelorum prælia representante figuram inesse nullam nisi quæ gestit, movit, vivit, agit, pugnat, atque ita facit hæc omnia animose et graviter ut horum cœlitum ita præliantium mero vel aspectu animi hominum etiam spectantium incendantur ac inflammentur. . . . Aspicimus debellatorum, dæmonum lamenta, luctus, iracundiam, malitiam furorem. . . . Et triumphatos et triumphantes exercitus, mille formis, et miris mille modis, hic nobis ante oculos, pro infinita inexhaustæ suæ indolis facultate, pictor constituit.*” Such and much more is Bonde’s rhapsody over this truly indescribable scene. And it is really one of the best passages in the book.

XV. St. Michael alone. The colouring of this figure most beautiful. "Homo adolescens pulchrior esse non posset, nisi ipse Deus!"

XVI. St. Sebastian. Naked and bound to a column, and suffering flagellation. In the extreme distance is another figure of the martyr pierced with arrows.

On the opposite page is a border filled with figures, and an Initial containing another effigy of the saint in armour.

XVII. Christ crucified between the two thieves. At the foot of the cross stand the Mother and St. John. The border to this miniature is full of ornaments.

XVIII. The Sacrament of the Mass. Containing a vast multitude of figures and choristers chanting the Psalms. Bonde goes almost to the length of declaring that a proficient in music could make out from the various expressions of the choristers' faces what the notes were which they were singing. This is rather too much to expect even of Clovio. He did not, nor probably did Bonde, know of Balthasar Denner, the painter of those marvellous portraits in the Belvedere at Vienna, who, it was said, was so conscientious in his finish as actually to depict the landscape reflected in the light on the iris of a person's eye, including in it the sheep grazing in a neighbouring meadow. The meaning is that it was

a surprisingly perfect example of Clovio's patience, skill, and taste. The margin is fully, not to say profusely, occupied with congruent additional embellishments.

XIX. Scene in the interior of a church, with its rich architectural details completed with the most incredible perfection. The roof is brilliant with gold and silver.

XX. Bonde contrives to condense into his remarks on this miniature all his usual—indeed more than his usual display of learning: “Neither did Apelles ever paint, nor Attalus ever pay for, a more exquisite picture than this,” alluding to a well-known passage in Pliny, discussed by Clovio, Michelangelo, and the rest, at one of Vittoria Colonna's *conversazioni*. Judging from the words—“Nescio quomodo mihi facile sit hanc imaginem describere, nisi fas sit dicere quod in hac una facie sit *pulchra mortis imago* quod sit visa, ut ita dicam, morientis effigies, sed fortiter morientis”—there is a head in an initial of the Hours of the Virgin in the British Museum, No. 20927, which would give a very good idea of what Bonde means. Its expression is indeed indescribable. A bishop is offering a prayer beside the bed of a dying person, while domestics and ecclesiastics are standing by. On the opposite page are the prayers appropriated for use at funerals.

XXI. A funeral procession in the choir of a

cathedral, around which hang the insignia of the illustrious dead, which indeed are those of the Royal House of Portugal.

XXII. Represents a grave personage wearing Papal vestments and holding in his hand a triple cross. In the margins are supplementary scenes illustrative of the subject of this portion of the work.

XXIII. The Supreme Pontiff seated on a throne, with an air of the greatest majesty. Before him stands a bishop with pastoral insignia. "Perhaps the figure of St. Athanasius explaining his work on the Creed."

XXIV. St. John before the Lateran Gate, undergoing the *supplicium vasis ferventis olei*.

XXV. The Annunciation. Here the archangel entrusted with the wondrous message from the Almighty to Mary, is by his dignity, strength, and beauty, indeed worthy of his high legation. The holy and lovely Virgin listens with a sort of half-incredulous dread and gladness mingled with the light of a supernatural glory that seems to irradiate from her sweetly perturbed spirit. A beautiful view of the Temple is seen in the background. Surrounding the initial which commences the text on the opposite page is a picture of the Assumption.

XXVI. St. Matthew seated at a desk writing, an angel standing at his elbow. "Nature itself rather than a picture."

Round the margins are ships most beautifully painted, loaded with various merchandise.

XXVII. Clovio's royal patron, kneeling before a crucifix. In the borders are exquisite scenes of the palace, the guards, watchmen, garrison, *custodes*, &c.

XXVIII. The same prince is awakened from sleep at dawn. Servants and attendants—garments laid about the room. Sweet in colour.

XXIX. The bright and admirable colouring of this miniature, which represents the Creation, and the immense variety of forms, render it such as surely never was seen before. In the sky, brighter than the sun, is an infinite host of angels and cherubim. In the margins we have a multitude of terrestrial animals and fishes and of birds, as it were the whole world of created things. "Verba nulla non modo non ornare sed ne enumerare quidem possunt omnes hujus picturæ perfectiones." The air and landscape, to judge from the description, are such as we admire so much in the Grimani Breviary. Indeed, from many of Bonde's remarks, it seems much more like a Netherlandish MS. than he is describing than a work of Clovio's. In the initial or surrounding it is a picture of the formation of Eve, superior in conception to Ovid and to Titian in design.

XXX. John the Baptist in the Desert with his

disciples. In the border is Christ being baptized, and St. John preaching.

In the initial to the opposite page is a picture of the Decollation of the Saint.

XXXI. St. James habited as a poor pilgrim with a book in one hand and a staff in the other. The scene presents a rugged road, rocky cliff, and forest.

XXXII. St. Vincent in the dress of a deacon and with a book in his hand. Curious and exquisite work. In the margin are representations of the martyr suffering various torments.

XXXIII. St. Jerome praying in a desert place alone. Beside him lies the lion, and behind is a beautiful landscape. The initial of the opposite page contains another portrait of the saint.

XXXIV. St. Antony seated with a book on his lap. He seems to be praying or reading with great fervour. Beside him are reposing the pig and lion and two other animals. The surrounding country is incredibly beautiful.

XXXV. This is the last picture in the volume, and contains St. Francis kneeling, and surrounded by a heavenly host. He is on the summit of a rising ground, at the foot of which are various famous brothers of the Order.

The third part—*deliberatus* or comments—consists of a life and character of Clovio, which, however, contains nothing either new or remarkable.

Bonde says—again urging its purchase—that the book is in private hands, and both for the honour of the artist and of the king's own ancestor, ought to be restored to the royal collection.

VIII.

THE STUART DE ROTHESAY MS. *Now in the British Museum, Add. 20927.*

This is unquestionably the work of Clovio. It is a small book of Offices, written on vellum, ff. 172, and measures about 6 in. by 4 in. as the size of the page. It contains four miniatures with borders, and several very beautiful illuminated initials.

Ff. 1, 12 v, contain the Calendar, written in an ordinary black and red italic, common at the time of its execution ; not fine but fairly good.

The two illuminated pages which form the first opening, ff. 13 v, 14, consist of—(a) a miniature of the Annunciation within a border, (b) the following words : Beatissime | virginis ma | rie Officium | ad matutinum | versus. Domine la | bia me a aperies | B Et os meum, also within a border. The ornaments of these borders, although much diversified, are, on the whole, symmetrically arranged : a is on a yellow ground, b on a pale blue, both stippled finely with gold. In the centre of the narrow upper

border is, in each, a mask or face most elaborately finished, but with entirely different features and expression. At top of the outer wide border, a golden basket, filled in one case with flowers, in the other with fruits. The basket is upheld by a half-length of a naked child, the lower part of whose body changes into coloured foliages, scrolls of which, terminating in flowers or tendrils, curl upwards on either side.

Beneath these figures are cameos, (*a*) being white on a black ground, (*b*) all in brown-gold chiaro-scuro. The subject of the former is the Presentation in the Temple, of the latter the Adoration of the Magi.

Beneath the cameos the ornaments differ entirely, those in *a* being a Terminus pointing to the miniature of the Annunciation and resting his arms on a sort of milestone, on which is inscribed in gold capitals: *Ecce virgo concipiet*. Beneath this are two naked children seated on a tiger, and supporting the golden frame of the cameo, which occupies the middle of the lower, and widest, border. The boy at the other side of it is seated on a hart. The subject of this cameo, which is in colours, is the Nativity, or Adoration of the Shepherds, by an inferior hand, or much hurried and imperfect.* The inner, narrow,

* The drawings, or miniatures generally, are much worn and rubbed—some very badly indeed.

border is occupied with a variety of things—a golden cornucopia, a white harpy, a golden lyre, and a satyr-like figure forming a Terminus. At the top of *b* the mask is flanked by two elegant but quite fanciful flamingo-like birds. Beneath the centre cameo, which contains the Wise Men's Offerings, is a head combining the characters of the ibex and the lion, surrounded by most minutely finished foliage, two smaller lion-like heads attached to branches of ornament depend from the larger one, and a naked child seated on a lioness, at the foot of the border, seizes one of these heads with one hand, while with the other he points it out to his companion. In this page (*b*), which commences the Office of the B. V. Mary, the letters are, line by line, blue or lake and gold. The D of Domine forms a large initial, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. square, on a gold flat panel, containing a miniature in colours of the Madonna and Child. The letter is made up of ornamental white foliage, with a mask in front of the curve at side. There is just room for the letters "omine" to run down the side of this initial between it and the side border. A narrow bead of gold forms a frame to each border. In the lower border of (*b*), within a wreath of fruits supported by naked children, is a Venetian armorial shield, containing the arms of Cardinal Grimani, on a gold background.

Then follow about a dozen folios of plain text, with simple gold capitals.

fol. 27 v. *Ad laudes. ver. Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, in coloured or gold capitals, and an initial D on a green panel. Inside is a half-length portrait of a person speaking, with hand raised. He wears a red tunic, blue over-garment and blue cap, on a crimson ground. The letter is brown-gold.

Then more plain pages.

fol. 41. *Ad primam. ver. Same introit as before*, a brown-gold letter on gold ground, containing a figure in attitude of prayer, wearing a blue tunic, red upper garment and cap.

fol. 50. *Ad sextam. ver., in green capitals. Same introit, and an initial D in elegant brown-gold on plain vellum. The interior ornament is a simple scroll of foliage and tendrils, also in brown-gold.*

fol. 90. In coloured and gold letters: *Explicit officium Beate | Marie Virginis secundum | consuetudinem | Romane | curie | .*

ff. 91 v, 92. The second pair of illuminated pages most clearly indicating the close study of the Sistine ceiling, for at foot is a direct copy, differing only in the background, of the David and Goliath in one of the corners. The borders consist of trophies of arms and armour, corslets, shields, axes, spears, &c., and figures of children; cameos in brown-

gold, and masks supported by figures in the upper borders. The lower border in each consists of a fine miniature scene, (*a*) being the David and Goliath, (*b*) a cavalry skirmish, exquisitely painted. In (*a*) there is a miniature of David praying, having laid aside his crown, sceptre, harp, and most of his dress. In (*b*) are the words: Incipiunt sep | tem psalmi pe | nitentiales an | tiphona Ne re | miniscaris—Psalmus | Domine ne | in furore tuo | arguas me, neq.]. The borders are on green and violet grounds. As before, the letters are gold, blue, lake, and green capitals, line by line. The initial D a fine gold and lake letter on a pale blue ground, within a golden bead frame. Inside, a head of an old man as if speaking, with an open book in his hands. This head is very nobly painted. The cameo in border (*a*) represents Esther before Ahasuerus—that in (*b*) the anointing of David, various trophies at side. To describe the beauty of the colouring, the delicacy of the work, or the elegance and variety of the design in these two pages would be utterly impossible.

fol. 118. Expliciunt septem psalmi Penitentiales.

ff. 119 v, 120. A splendid instance of the use of gold as a background in the borders. The ornaments are all taken from classical motives—the figures are Pompeian and highly finished. A coloured cameo occupies the centre of each side



PHOTOGRAPHED FROM THE
STUART DE ROTHESAY "CLOVIO."

(Add. MS. 20927 Brit. Mus.)



PHOTOGRAPHEO FROM THE
STUART DE ROTHESAY "CLOVIO."
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border, each containing a lion worrying a stag. Two tall satyrs stand at the foot of the borders, each supporting something on his head, from which birds are feeding. In (*a*) a pheasant, in (*b*) an ape stands beside on the framework, and in both a youthful satyr on the ground.

The lower border in each consists of an oblong miniature in colours. In (*a*) the combat between three horsemen and three skeletons—one of the horsemen being unhorsed. The skeletons are on foot. In (*b*) a body is laid out on a bier, surrounded by persons weeping—a delicately painted landscape is visible outside the building, with the walls and towers of a city.

The miniature in (*a*) is a crowded scene, a woman kneeling before Christ, another woman in a Cistercian dress, or at least in white robes, also kneels as joining in asking a favour. They represent Mary and Martha near the tomb of Lazarus. Behind are crowds of people, among whom is seen, several times over, the round felt hat in which Francisco de Holanda represents Michelangelo in his portrait of that artist.

The words in (*b*) are: Incipit officium | mortuorum | ad vespervas | antiphona pla | cebo domino psalmu. | Dilexi | quoniam exau | diet Dominus, || as before in gold and colours.

Initial D in violet on a golden panel, with a

violet bead rim. Inside the letter a head. This head is most remarkable. It is that of a man just escaping from the icy grasp of death, the eyes still glazed, yet kindling with an intense eagerness for returning life. It is the head of Lazarus, just as he hears the Redeemer's voice, nor could it ever be surpassed for power, expression, and miraculous delicacy of finish. To paint such a head the size of life, might be the work of a really master hand. To paint it as it is cannot be otherwise than the very highest effort of a hand possessing perfect skill, and a mind capable of the highest conceptions in art. The figure of Christ in the opposite scene is most natural and graceful, and his expression most benignant and tender, but this head possesses an expression far beyond that of the Lazarus of Sebastiano del Piombo in the large painting at the National Gallery, and it is just half-an-inch across!

fol. 164 v. Explicit officium mortuorum.

ff. 165 v, 166. The crucifixion, or rather the Stabat Mater, within a somewhat faded arabesque border, on violet and brown grounds, with central lozengy (*a*), cameos, and brown-gold chiaroscuro scene at foot. This latter is the way to Calvary—Christ supporting his cross—many figures about.

(*b*) The words Incipit—officiū | sancte crucis | ad matutinum | versiculus | Domine labia mea ape-

ries. R et os meum annū | ciabit laudem tuā. v. Deus. |
The last two lines are in small black text. Init. D. gold and green letter finely drawn, on a grey-black variegated and veined slab of marble, with a gold inner rim. This marble slab is a reminiscence of the invention of Sebastiano, who gave much of his time to the execution of such portraits as this on marble and metals. The head within this letter, though most exquisitely finished, is as feeble in expression as the Lazarus is powerful. It is nevertheless a perfect gem as regards manual skill.* The two lozenge cameos are (a) Christ at Gethsemane, and (b) the Resurrection. The under cameo contains Christ visiting and releasing the souls in Hades. Both these oblong miniatures are most elaborately finished with gold pencilling on a warm brown design. Two sculpturesque Michelangelo-sort of figures support the frames of the pages above at either end of these cameos.

fol. 172 v. Explicit officium sancti crucis. Opposite to this fol. 172 is a painting of a guardian angel leading a child, on a slab of variegated marble on which is placed a framework of gold.

fol. 172 is the last except a fly-leaf.

* The portraits on the initial D's are exquisitely finished; but the one in the Office of the Dead is marvellous.

IX.

STANZE OF EURIALO D'ASCOLI. No. 2660, *Imperial Library, Vienna.*

This beautiful little volume is certainly a Clovio. It still remains in the original stamped, or rather figured, binding of two leathers, as executed for the Emperor Charles V., exhibiting his device of the two columns and the motto, *ne plus ultra*, on ribbon across. Size of volume, 7 in. by 4 in.

The first illumination occurs on Fol. 1 v., and consists of a gold-brown ornament on pink ground, with little corners here and there picked out with green, and the coils at the ends of the foliages blue. In the miniature, the soldier wears a green corslet, scarlet hose, and blue boots, enriched with gold, while the drapery behind him is blue. The woman with the child has pale blue drapery. The children in front are placed on pink. The funeral pyre is painted with great care, and the graceful figure upon it is most delicately finished. So also are the accessories. On the opposite page, which has a similar border of trophies and foliage ornaments, the panel containing the gold letters of the title is a fine rich ultramarine.

Pp. 19, 20. Here are two more illuminated pages. Title or dedication: *Al gran marchese D'Aghillare.* On p. 20, *Al invittissimo Carlo*

Quinto sempre Aug. Stanze D'Eurialo d'Ascoli. The left border is of the Raffaellesca kind, with a small cherub at top—purple winged; then slender sprays of fine Venetian renaissance foliage and small figurines. Next comes an oval panel containing a gold-brown figure of a dancing girl draped, on a violet ground. Then more foliages, and a fine black and white cameo of a man in armour bearing sword and shield. More foliages, and at foot two lovely children holding a basket of leaves. Along the lower border, amid graceful foliages, is a figure of Pan or some other sylvan Deity in a forest. This is certainly Clovio's own work, as evidenced by its close resemblance in method and manner of execution to the Stuart Rothesay MS. in the British Museum. A beautiful boy in the corner leads to more foliages, and another oval containing a sweet figure of a nymph prepared for the bath. Then ascending foliages of ornament again, leading to another cupid at top, corresponding in symmetrical arrangement with the opposite page.

The next page has a similar design, the ornaments containing the following colours delicately intermingled: pink, green, blue, crimson, yellow, scarlet, and gold. An oval contains the figure of Hercules in gold on fine blue. The lower border is filled with double coils of ornament, and a cameo of a naked youth (Apollo?) performing on a viol, as he

sits on a violet-pink robe. Amid further foliages are two boys holding a basket, above these is a black and white cameo of a soldier; and in the centre cameo a draped female figure in gold on a fine ultramarine oval. After more graceful coils of exquisitely painted foliages, comes a shield-shaped cameo of the Dioscuri riding at high-speed, rich Venetian foliage finishing the border to the "sweet little cherub" at top. On his left is a seated monster and a pretty little panel containing two tiny children blowing horns. On the right page, in lieu of the monster, are two gold masks foliated. The ground of the left borders is a pale yellow, streaked with gold; that of the right pale violet, also hatched with gold. The gold hatching is a feature both in the Paris Psalter of Paul III. and the Bodley Offices.

The "Stanze" are three on a page, in a good black small Roman hand, with golden capitals to each line. There are no painted initials.

The Title of the second part of the "Stanze" is placed on a very peculiarly formed sort of cartel or shield. AL INVITTISSIMO CARLO, &c. STANZE D'EURIALO D'ASCOLI. The letters are gold on a green ground. A note on a slip of paper in the case says: "Ascoli (Eurialo d') Poeta Volgare del secol. XVI. assai stimato al tempo di Leone X. che molto lo favori. Amicissimo, specialmente de Caro, del Tolomei, e

del Molza. Composa in Greco, Latino, e Toscano." The note is from *Mazuchelli*: I., 1157.

Whilst looking at this volume, the Counsellor Dr. Ernst Ritter von Birk, brought me Sakcinski's "Life of Clovio," illustrated with photogravures. "Jure Glovic prozvan Julijo Klovio Hrvatski sitnoslikar, napisao ivan Kukuljevic Sakcinski, sa tri slike."

The three pictures are his portrait, the Orosius Sibyl (from the doubtful Paris MS), and the Repose on the Way to Egypt (from the Munich Hours of Albert V.). The last MS. has been attributed to Lenker—who was a miniaturist of the highest class, as well as a skilful goldsmith. It is impossible, if the date assigned to its execution be correct, that Clovio, almost in the last stage of feebleness, which lingeringly preceded his death, could have painted the firmly and exquisitely finished miniatures which it contains. It is more probable that Lenker copied Clovio's designs, this being really after a drawing of his in the Florence Gallery. The portrait is an oval of an old man—the head only—with a turn-down collar, and "D. Giulio, miniatore," on the shoulder. This "Life of Clovio" is a large octavo, or quarto: Zagreb (Agram), 1878. Naklada "Matiu Hrvatske." Tisak Karla Albrechta. 66 pp., and an appendix of letters. One of these is from Albert, Duke of Bavaria, asking for a *picture* painted by Clovio, but makes no mention of a book.

X.

THE GONZAGA OR BODLEY OFFICES. (*Douce MSS.*
No. 29.)

This MS. is also called the Prayer Book of Eleonora Ippolita Gonzaga, second wife of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. It is 12mo., and contains 136 leaves written in a very elegant text and one of the best specimens of miniature painting of the best period of the cinquecento. It was bought in Italy by Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret. It has been attributed to Girolamo dai Libri, and to Girolamo Genga; but much of the work in it completely corresponds with work in other MSS. that were painted by Clovio, and hence I place it among the MSS. to be described here. At the back of fol. 1 are painted the splendid arms of Gonzaga and Della Rovere. In the centre of the opposite page on a silver ground is written Leonore Gonzage Urbini duce. The borders of both pages are upon a gold ground, ornamented with trophies of arms and armour.

fol. 2 v. is Moses receiving the Tables of the Law. In the borders upon crimson, blue, and green grounds, covered with fine gold dots, are most beautiful scenes treated as cameos, connected in historical sequence with the subject of the larger miniature, or having some symbolical connection

with it. Below, in the corners, are vases of graceful antique forms, giving rise to delicate arabesques. These are executed with the utmost precision and grace.

The initials are of gold in compartments of beautiful colours, enriched with delicate golden arabesques. They are small, but very numerous.

fol. 14 v. Anna and Joachim meeting at the Golden Gate.

fol. 15. The Visitation.

The borders are gracefully ornamented in the Netherlandish manner, with single flowers. Instead of cameos are eight silver shields on which are delineated the four cardinal virtues in chiaroscuro, then Faith, Hope, and Charity, and on the eighth shield "Major harum caritas."

fol. 23 v. Zacharias, writing.

fol. 24. The Adoration of the Shepherds.

The border of 23 v. is brown-gold. On medallions are the four fathers of the Church. In the corners are antique masks, as if executed in marble. One represents Pan. The borders of 24 are not so well designed as others, being too irregularly distributed. They contain medallions of the four Evangelists in brown-gold, and two antique masks of great elegance. On the narrow side are two sphynxes.

fol. 27 v. Joseph's dream.

fol. 28. The Angels appearing to the Shepherds.

The borders of 27 v. in four compartments of a delicate white on crimson ground, to four smaller miniatures, the subjects of which are the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of Magi, and Resurrection. They are finely composed and admirable in execution. The ground of the borders is silver, covered with a delicate white arabesque. On azure panels are appropriate inscriptions in gold. The borders of 28 are similar, and contain three angels.

fol. 31 v. Visit of Queen of Sheba to Solomon.

fol. 32. Adoration of Magi.

On each border are beautiful angels bearing curtains.

fol. 35 v. Presentation in the Temple of the Virgin Mary.

fol. 36. Presentation of Christ.

Dr. Waagen says that on fol. 35 is a date, but he is not certain whether 1510 or 1540, as the third figure is very indistinct. It is really no date at all, but simply the word "isto." However, he goes on to remark, that from the date of Leonora's marriage in 1509, and the opinion that a year would be too short a time to allow for the execution of the volume, also judging from the style of work, he is inclined to decide for the date 1540. The borders display a happy combination of the architectural taste of the Italian school, with the more arbitrary

yet beautiful and truthful work of the Netherlandish, from which the birds and insects are borrowed. The question is, what well-known Italian artist, for he was evidently an Italian, was capable of this perfect imitation of the Netherlandish work? After the execution of the Grimani Breviary several Florentine and Venetian miniaturists caught the fancy for this style, but the peculiar tenderness and delicacy of this work, while it points to Clovio, is utterly out of the way of its commonly attributed author, Girolamo dai Libri. It may seem rather wayward to admit the possibility of this MS. being the work of Clovio, and to doubt the "Flora." But I go entirely upon the evidence. This MS. has other marks by which it seems possible to identify it. The other has not, at least I have not seen them.

fol. 39 v. Overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea.

fol. 40. The Flight into Egypt.

In the former the Almighty is unfortunately and almost ludicrously represented as a pillar of cloud. The latter is in the manner of Raffaello. The borders to each are of peculiar elegance, containing graceful angels who bear up rich garlands of fruit with golden bands on a black ground.

fol. 45 v. The Vision of Solomon.

fol. 46. Christ teaching in the Temple.

The inscription to the Vision explains the subject. "Ecce dedi tibi cor sapiens et intelligens." In

the borders are eight masterly little black cameo subjects, among which the best are the Judgment of Solomon and the Massacre of the Innocents.

Border to fol. 46 consists of rich brown-gold flowers and gold stems, on varied gold, green, and lake grounds.

fol. 55 v. The Israelites collecting Manna.

fol. 56. The Last Supper.

The borders, chiefly in the Netherlandish taste, contains eight cameos of admirable skill.

fol. 60 v. The Destruction of Sodom.

fol. 61. The Repentance of David.

The Almighty, as an aged man, is represented hurling thunderbolts, showing the influence of the revival of classical studies, and intimating the growing custom of referring to God under the name of Jupiter or Jove.

This is the commencement of the Penitential Psalms. In the border are eight appropriate cameos—the lowest one represents the Last Judgment.

fol. 76 v. The Expulsion from Paradise.

fol. 77. The Entombment of Christ.

Of these the latter is the better composition. The borders contain cameos—the subjects of which are the Creation of Eve, the Fall, the Almighty speaking to Adam, Adam and Eve working after Expulsion, &c. The second border has four other subjects and four sphynxes.

fol. 110 v. Christ bearing his Cross.

fol. 111. Isaac bearing the wood, &c., for sacrifice.

The former is inscribed "Ad matutinam sacratiss. passionis D. Nrē Jesu Chr." The old typical meaning of the latter is given in the words "Per signum sancti crucis." The borders of these miniatures surpass all the rest in richness. Besides the usual eight subjects contained in medallions in the borders, and here consisting of scenes from the Passion, there are four others in the corners, and four others of an allegorical character. Those in the corners are blue cameos. Between all these subjects there are at the sides eight fishes, at foot two serpents and two tortoises, and at top four snails—all exquisitely finished. This is the part of the book which it was thought specially determined it to be the work of Girolamo dai Libri; but it is just the kind of work which Vasari attributes to Clovio. This, however, is not the reason that I would assign the manuscript to this artist.

fol. 131 v. A grand sacrifice offered by a king. Fire coming down from heaven to consume it.

fol. 132. The Descent of the Holy Ghost.

The sacrifice is, perhaps, that made by Ahab under the direction of Elijah. In eight blue cameos on the border of the scene of Pentecost are the chief events succeeding the Crucifixion. Among them,

the Descent of the Holy Ghost is incomparably better than the larger representation of the same subject. Among these cameos are eight fishes and eight birds, upon a finely shaded silver ground. It is by means of the birds on this and other borders that I find an intimate connection with several other manuscripts executed in Rome, either by Clovio or his assistants. The identical two birds which occur in one of the upper borders are given on a border in the Missal of Clement VII. at Berlin, while similar ones occur in the cuttings known as the Rogers' Book, Add. MS. 21412, British Museum. One page in the Albani Missal has quite a repetition of the same motives, apparently by the same hand as the cuttings, and precisely similar work occurs in a Lectionary written for Gregory XIII. soon after 1573. These later imitations I take to be the work of Claudio Massarelli—the earlier work to be that of Clovio. I have a strong conviction that after Sebastiano del Piombo became keeper of the Papal seal, and during the eleven years in which he is usually credited with indolent enjoyment of his office, he busied himself with miniature painting, and is really the painter of several pages both of the Albani Missal and others attributed to Buonfratelli and even to Clovio. But this may be so or not—I am not required to discuss it here. The Bodley MS. shows points of such decided similarity

to Clovio, and such decided indications of an advance beyond the fifteenth-century notions of Girolamo dai Libri, that, whether allowed to be an example of Clovio or not, it can never again be assigned to his skilful but old-fashioned predecessor. The Esdaile Missal of Sixtus IV., by Girolamo and his father, at once decides the matter; and it is strange that either Douce or anyone else who had ever seen Dibdin's description of that MS. could imagine that this one was the work of the same miniaturist.

XI.

THE SILIUS ITALICUS OF THE MARCIAN LIBRARY,
VENICE.

Vasari, when describing this MS., which I do not think to be a Clovio, attributes it to Attavante, but all its features are so distinctively *not* in the manner of that artist, that Morelli, in his "Notizie d' Opere di Disegno 171," detects the mistake, and truthfully remarks, "All is good in this description, except that the author of the beautiful miniatures was not Attavante," and goes on to speak of the "Martianus Capella," which was executed by Attavante, and is still preserved in the Marciana. I have not seen the Italicus, but give Vasari's description for the use of those who may care to seek for it, as it is

among those attributed to Clovio, and in order to compare with the other descriptions here given of Cloviesca miniatures. "In this book the figure of Silius has on his head a helmet crested with gold and bearing a *corona* of laurel; he wears a blue cuirass furnished with gold in the antique manner; in his right hand is a book, his left rests on a short sword. Over the cuirass he wears a red chlamys, buckled in front, and hanging from his shoulders fringed with gold. The lining of this chlamys appears changeful in colour and is embroidered with rosettes of gold. He has yellow buskins, and poses on his right foot within a niche. The figure representing Scipio Africanus wears a yellow cuirass, the shoulder-pieces and sword-belt blue worked with gold. On his head is a helmet with two little wings and a fish for crest. The figure of the youth is beautiful and blonde, and he lifts menacingly a naked sword in his right hand. In the left he holds the sheath, which is red and embroidered with gold. His boots are green and plain, and his cloak or chlamys, which is blue, has a red lining and a gold edging or border; it fastens at the throat, leaving the front quite open, and then falls gracefully back. He wears blue boots embroidered with gold. This youth stands in a niche of green and variegated marbles, frowning with unspeakable ferocity upon Annibal, who is depicted on the opposite page.

“The figure of Annibal is that of a man about thirty years of age. His eyebrows are contracted as in great anger, and he gazes fixedly at Scipio. He has on his head a yellow helmet, with a dragon crest of green and yellow, and for chaplet or garland, a snake. He rests on the left foot, and holds in his right hand, which is raised, the shaft of a javelin, or rather, partizan. He wears a blue corslet and a sword-belt and pendants partly blue and partly yellow, with sleeves changeful azure and red, and small yellow boots. The cloak is changeful, like the sleeves, but of red and yellow, gathered over the right shoulder. The lining is green. He rests his left hand on his sword, and stands in a niche of variegated yellow-white and iridescent marble. On the other page is the figure of Pope Nicholas V. drawn from life, with a changeful robe of purple and red, and embroidered with gold. He is without beard and taken in profile, looking towards the commencement of the work which is opposite, and pointing to it with his right hand as if in wonder. The niche is green and red. In the border or margin are certain small half figures, within oval and round medallions and similar things, with a multitude of little birds and children, so well done that one could not wish for better. Besides these figures there are given in similar manner those of Anno the Carthaginian,

Asdrubal, Lelius, Massinissa, C. Salinator, Nero Sempronius, M. Marcellus, Qu. Fabius, Scipio the younger, and Vibius. At the end is a figure of Mars on a chariot drawn by two chestnut horses. He wears a red helmet, with gold ornaments and two winglets. On his left arm an antique shield which he holds forward, and in the right a naked sword. He rests on his left foot, holding the other in the air. He has an antique cuirass, red and gold, and his boots and hose are similar. His cloak is blue outside and green within, embroidered with gold. The chariot is covered with red drapery, with gold embroidery, and has a border of ermine around it. It is placed in a meadow-land, covered with grass and flowers; but among crags and rocks. In the distance are seen cities, and a landscape, in a beautiful clear blue air. On the opposite page is a youthful Neptune, clad in a long garment, all embroidered with terra-verde. The carnation is very pale. In the right hand he holds a small trident, and with the left lifts up his drapery. He stands with both feet on the chariot, which is draped in red, wrought with gold, and edged with ermine. This chariot has four wheels like that of Mars, but is drawn by four dolphins, accompanied by three sea-nymphs, two children, and a shoal of fishes painted in a greenish tint. The atmosphere is most beautiful. Beyond them is seen Carthage

in despair, represented by a woman standing upright with her hair dishevelled, with green garments above, and from the waist open downwards, and lined with red embroidered with gold, and displaying through the opening another garment of a thin, delicate texture, and changeful colours of violet and white. The sleeves are red and gold, with certain pendants and flutterings of the robe above. She stretches forth her left hand towards the figure of Rome, which is opposite, as if saying, 'What wouldst thou? I will answer thee.' And in her right hand she brandishes a naked sword, as if in a fury. Her buskins are blue, and she stands on a rock in the midst of the sea, surrounded by a most beautiful atmosphere. Rome is represented as a young girl, as beautiful as one can possibly imagine, her head adorned with a *chevelure* of lovely tresses, and clothed outwardly in red drapery, with a border of embroidery round the lower edge only. The lining of the robe is yellow, and the under-garment visible through the opening is changeful violet and white. Her boots are green. In her right hand she wields a sceptre, in the left an orb or world—emblem of sovereignty. She also rests upon a rock—in the midst of an atmosphere which could not be more beautiful." From what Vasari says of these miniatures, and his own knowledge of Clovio, I should at once

decide they were not by the latter, but belong to the end of the fifteenth century. Their treatment and the stress laid upon the airs or aerial perspective seems to class them with the Grimani Breviary. The design, too, of placing the figures in niches rivals the Roman de la Rose of the British Museum, and, with a very different style—though perfect in its way—the Ethics of Aristotle in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Indeed, the latter MS. painted by Rinaldo, or Naldo Piramo, for the Duke of Atri, seems to be quite in the manner described by Vasari. Piramo worked about the commencement of the sixteenth century, probably at Atri.

XII.

A MISSAL IN THE MUSEO BORBONICO AT NAPLES.

Vell. Quarto, 352 ff. (*Translated from Sakcinski: Slovník umjetnikah Jugo-Slavenskih: u Zagrebu, 1858. Dict. of S. Slav. Biogr.*)

On the first folio is a large picture representing a priest engaged in the service of the Mass before the altar. On the steps are men praying. Above is a coat of arms and a cardinal's hat. Beside the arms are children blowing trumpets. The picture recalls that in the Missal at Agram.

On fol. 10, immediately following the Calendar, is a picture of the Nativity.

fol. 17. The Adoration of the Magi.

fol. 137. The Almighty, most exquisitely finished and surrounded by arabesques.

fol. 163. The Resurrection.

fol. 175. The Ascension, surrounded with the usual Cloviesca arabesques.

fol. 179. The Epiphany, with beautiful borders.

fol. 186. The Holy Trinity.

fol. 187. The Pope celebrating the Eucharist.

fol. 220. St. Paul with a white beard, most beautifully painted and finished, with great spirit and firmness of expression.

fol. 223. The Circumcision.

fol. 228. The Annunciation.

fol. 230. St. Philip and James, in a lovely landscape. In the distance appear blue and green valleys, with nearer hills and a church and green gardens. Around are arabesques containing wonderful monsters and monkeys.

fol. 237. The birth of John the Baptist.

fol. 240. An angel conducts St. Peter from prison whilst the keeper sleeps.

fol. 241. Conversion of St. Paul. The apostle, on a white horse, gazes up towards heaven in which appears the Almighty. Arabesque borders.

fol. 245. St. James the Apostle.

fol. 249. St. Lawrence.

fol. 253. Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, whom angels are carrying on clouds, whilst below are apostles gazing upward.

fol. 256. St. Bartholomew.

fol. 258. Decollation of St. John.

fol. 258. Birth of the Virgin.

fol. 260. St. Salmio? bishop.

fol. 263. St. Matthew, apostle.

fol. 265. St. Michael, archangel.

fol. 266. St. Francis.

fol. 268. St. Luke.

fol. 269. SS. Simon and Jude.

fol. 270. All Saints, among whom is seen St. John Baptist with lamb.

fol. 272. St. Martin.

fol. 273. Presentation in the Temple. On the right is the martyrdom of St. Cecilia. After this, no more miniatures, until

fol. 325. Office of the Dead. A priest officiates at the Mass; on the right are deacons. Beautiful arabesques in the borders.

fol. 335. Pope St. Gregory before an altar—two deacons kneeling.

On fol. 339 begins another handwriting without miniatures.

A SMALL BOOK OF HOURS. *Naples Museum.*

Small octavo. Bound in silver-gilt covers of goldsmith's work, attributed to Cellini. The insides of these covers are beautifully engraved. The handwriting is Italian, and on the last page is the following legend in white letters on a gold ground.

The book is ornamented on most of its pages with marginal illuminations representing arabesques and cameos. Besides these, there are about thirty pairs of miniatures or stories, always two together and opposite to each other as you open the book. They are each about 4 in. high and 2½ wide, surrounded with architectural frames containing figurines, vases, and other orna-

JVLIVS CLOVI
VS MACEDO
MONVMENTA
HAEC ALEXAN
DRO FARNESIO
CARDINALI
DOMINO SVO
FACIEBAT
MDXLVI.

ments in gold and colours, mostly hatched with gold. The ornament is very much in the taste of Michelangelo, while the arabesques on the other pages resemble those of Raffaello in the Vatican Loggie. The beauty of the figures is not to be described in words. Among the best are:—one at the beginning of the volume like Marc Antonio's print of Raffaello's Adam and Eve; and one near the end, of Death seated on a throne. In one

instance two pages are entirely covered by a landscape, with the text written upon it. Every leaf shows great [skill and even] genius in the design and delicacy of execution. The book is perfect in every respect inside and out. It measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width, and one in thickness. (*Hon. Rob. Curzon: A Short Account of some of the most celebrated Libraries of Italy. Philobiblon Soc. Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies*, I. 9-11. 1854.)

VARIOUS WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO CLOVIO.

1. Missale. No. 18, Barberini Lib., Rome.

Folio. Illuminated by Julio Clovio. Contains two large miniatures. Another has been cut out, but preserved in another book (18 B). This illustrious volume was executed for Cardinal Ximenes, and is full of small illuminations [and ornaments]. *Idem. Ibid.*

Murray's Guide to Rome (1881) says: "A Missal with fine illuminations by Giulio Clovio, executed for Cardinal Ximenes, is in this Library." I have seen the several fragments attributed by the Prefect of the Library to Clovio. For what I saw there was really no better ground than tradition and probability; but still, from the evidence of the work

itself, this was of the highest kind. This Missal is really a fragment—one of the miniatures once belonging to it being now kept in another volume.

2. Labarte, "Hist. des Arts Industriels," II. 272, says that the Arsenal Orosius (Paris: Ars. Lib. H. R. 71) was executed in 1480, mainly by Attavante, whereas the keeper of MSS. was persuaded it was the work of Clovio. No documentary evidence, and not even the evidence of the work itself, in this case.

3. At the Royal Picture Gallery in Turin is shown a miniature, 45 c. by 52, of the sudarium held by three angels beneath a deposition from the cross. This miniature is attributed to Clovio.

4. Valentinelli: Bibliotheca MSSta. ad S. Marci Venetiarum, &c. Codd. Lat. I. 312; has: "Officium Marie Virginis cum additis psalmis pœnitentialibus, officiis mortuorum, setæ crucis, et seti sptus. Cod. 51. Numb. sæc. XV. a 90l. 63 (L. I. XCII) D. In eleganti codicillo foliorum 267 singulorum officiorum paginas initiales quasdam ornamentis et figuris, spatiis cæruleo colore illitis, pinxit Julius Clovius quod et ex artis magisterio et ex nota sub fine:— 'Del pre Clovio.'"

This I have not seen.

5. In Waagen's supplement to "Art and Artists in England," p. 330, the author says, that in the library of Sir Thomas Sebright is a MS. in Sir

Thomas's opinion attributed to Julio Clovio and executed for Leo X., or as Waagen thought, for Clement VII., and on this ground denied the authorship. He may have had other reasons, but this was certainly insufficient.

6. A miniature of the Entombment of Christ, in the possession of J. Rutson, Esq., of Newby Wiske, Yorkshire, signed, and apparently having once formed part of a Missal.

7. In the Brera, at Milan, is a miniature of the Woman taken in Adultery, from a picture by Palma Vecchio. Attributed to Clovio. This, or another copy of the same subject, is said by Saksinski to be after Titian.—See also *Labarte*, II. 276.

8. Extract from an Inventory of things belonging to Margaret of Parma, dated 1586. Now in the Archivio Governativo of Parma. fol. 16. “Una lunetta con le cornice d'ebano—con l'Effigie della Madonna, di mano di Don Giulio, con sa sua borsa di cremesino cremesi e con un anello in cima d'argento.” fol. 81. “Un quadro con un Crocifisso con sua cornice, di mano di Don Giulio.”—“Un altro quadro con uno Pietà con sua cornice, di mano di Don Giulio.”

9. The Inventory of the Picture Gallery at Parma—called the Pinacoteca Farnesina—compiled in 1708 by Stefano Lolli, describes two other pictures: fol. 6. “Quadro senza cornice, alto braccio uno

oncie due e mezza, largo oncie undici. Una Notte, con mezza figura d'un giovine che col soffie accende una picciola candela, di Giulio Clovio. No. 161."

fol. 18. "Quadro con cornice d'orata, alto braccio uno oncie due, largo braccio uno, oncie otto. Retratto di Don Giulio Clovio—con barba bianca, che con la destra accentia un libro aperto miniato, qual tiene nella sinistra, di Giulio Clovio. No. 154."

This appears to be the portrait known as the Curzon portrait, an engraving of which is given on p. 182.

10. Sackiniski : (Dictionary of S. Slavonian Artists, &c. Art. Klovio, p. 172.) Besides the Flora, by some attributed to Clovio, but denied by this author, he mentions a Breviary of Cardinal Farnese, in the Biblioteca Borbonica, with the Farnese arms, adorned with portraits of evangelists, popes, and various saints—every page crowded with pictures of scenes from the Old and New Testament. But he asks—may not this Breviary have been one not designed but only coloured by Clovio? The drawings are much worn. It is known that Clovio, indeed, carefully and regularly designed, and was accustomed often to colour the designs of others. An inscription with the Farnese arms in this volume stands thus : A. L. C. D. F.

11. *Ibid.* In the Galleria Borghese, Rome, are two miniatures, a Madonna and a Head of Christ,

without doubt by Clovio. On them, very much rubbed, are the letters *Giulio Clodi (sic)*.

12. *Ibid.* In the collection of the Russian Embassy at Naples are two pictures—1. Mary in the Temple. 2. A Boar Hunt, with numerous figures. Both miniatures in the style of Raffaello, and executed on small pieces of paper (?) in water-colours.

13. *Ibid.* (p. 173). A Book of Offices, now in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Agram, containing the arms of Bishop Thomas or Simon Erdoda. Executed by Clovio in his youth, yet very delicately. The MS. contains 280 folios, and thirty-three rather large pictures.

14. *In Mr. Mayor's Collection, London, 1871.* A design for one of the compartments of the Palazzo del T, at Mantua, representing the Loves of Cupid and Psyche, painted by Giulio Romano. In bistre, heightened with gold, on buff ground.

15. In the Library of the Cathedral of Ravenna. Part of a Missal, described by M. Ch. Diehl in *L'Art* for 1883, pp. 224-230.

16. Several drawings in the British Museum and elsewhere.

XIII.

RICHARDSON'S NOTES.

EXTRACTS from "An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy and France, &c." With remarks. By Mr. RICHARDSON. (*Lond.* 1754. Small octavo.)

p. 59. Here also (namely at Florence) are a great many miniatures of Fra Gio. Batt. di Monte (a Monastery about five miles from Florence), amongst which is the Correggio—Madonna kneeling and adoring Christ on the ground, her hands a little asunder; and St. John of Raffaello—a single figure holding out his right hand, &c., above-mentioned. He has also done the Adoration of the Shepherds, by Titian, and the Andrea del Sarto in the apartment of the Grand Prince. The miniatures of this monk are finer, more correct, and better coloured than those of Don Giulio Clovio that the Duke has. He wrought about fifty years ago (*i.e.* about 1700), and always after pictures of other Masters; never did any of his own invention, but imitated the several manners perfectly well.

p. 60. The Chamber of the Great Princess Dowager. *Camera di Madonna.* The Pietà of Michelangelo 'tis written upon by himself *Julius Clovius Macedo faciebat*, as he has writ upon most of his things. This is not comparable to those

miniatures said to be of him, of the Life of the Duke of Urbin, in the Vatican. 'Tis hard and flat, and the colours not gentle. The colouring is languid. There are five figures, 'tis described by Vasari. A Holy Family of the same character entirely.

p. 61. Two Crucifixes: one has a vast number of little figures at a distance; the other a woman embraces the Cross, and this is all the difference—they are else the same. Both have fine neat landscapes, but hard. A Portrait of a Woman, resembling Raffaello's mistress. A Picture of Dante in oil, the same size, resembling the same as my father's drawing, but the attitude different. This is in the common portrait way, a three-quarter face. The taste, too, is the same.

By Fra Giovanni. A miniature of a picture by Paolo Veronese, which is in the Prince's apartment. This has none of the faults just remarked in those of Don Julio Clovio: the subject is the Madonna and St. Catharine.

The Grand Duke's drawings in a room belonging to the Gallery.

p. 64. A beautiful woman's head (by L. da Vinci) inserted in an ornament of Don Julio Clovio grotesque,* coloured upon a gold ground.

* Richardson means what is now often called arabesque, but

p. 75. In a cabinet in the Pitti Palace. The Rape of Ganymede, after Michelangelo. See Gior. Vasari and Borghini. This is of the same character as the others of Don Julio in the apartment of Madonna.

p. 177. Marc Antonio Sabatini. Has a book in twelvemo, with miniatures of Don Julio Clovio, at least it is the same hand with those of the famous MS. of Dante in the Vatican, but to me they seem more modern than Don Julio, as these do also.* He has another very fine book of miniatures in the taste of Pinturicchio or Perugino.

p. 264. An Officio, by an unknown miniaturist, with several histories of the Madonna in miniature done before the time of Raffaele. Carlo Maratt particularly admired the airs of the Virgin throughout, and studied much after them, having a certain simplicity and Divine beauty superior to any other even Raffaele himself. The work in other respects is well, only hard and stiff. Virgil retouched. P. Sancta Bartoli has taken greater liberties here than in his other things.

p. 265. There are two books of this part of the Library (the Vatican) that were of the Duke of

which really consists of Renaissance foliage and small figures, with groups of armour, musical instruments, &c.

* For the reason, perhaps, mentioned in the text.

Urbino. One of the Life of *Franc. Maria di Montefeltro della Rovere VIII. D. of Urbino*. The other of *Geronimo Mutio Giustinopolitano de' fatti di Fed. di Montefeltro D. d'Urbino*. Each of these has three histories in miniature of *Don Giulio Clovio* finely drawn, and of a most beautiful colouring, but upon a Tinct pretty gaudy, and wanting simplicity. They are all said to have been retouched by *Padre Ramelli*.* Certainly they are of a quite different colouring and manner from those (with frames and glasses) at *Florence* in the cabinet of *Madonna*, and in the *Studiolo*; and one in *Parma*, in the cabinet by the Gallery, all which have never been retouched. But the Missal of the same cabinet is infinitely above them all for drawing, colouring, and ornaments, and p. 266 was made by him for the Cardinal Farnese, as appears by the inscription at the end of his own writings, and has continued in the family ever since.†

In these two books of the Dukes of *Urbino* there are their portraits often repeated and always exactly the same likeness and fine airs. The Dante of the D. of Urbino (which is the most beautiful

* Don Felice P. Ramelli, b. 1666, d. 1740, resided at Rome, in the service of Clement XI.

† This is the Office of the Virgin described by Vasari and Quaranta, afterwards in the Royal Library at Naples, and which disappeared when the Bourbons were expelled.

MS. I ever saw upon vellum, large folio), has an infinite number of miniatures by different hands, and all fine. There are many of Don Giulio Clovio, or at least of the same as did those in the two Lives. But there are others that pleased me better, particularly those by *Pietro Perugino* as they say, and very probably, if he ever did anything in miniature. They are of a fine Raffaele-like taste, and perfectly agree with the best things of Perugino. In this Library are two or three Missals said to be of Don Giulio Clovio, but apparently very different from any of him that I have met withal elsewhere.

p. 291. The Palace at Caprarola is thus called from the suckling of Jupiter by a goat, which they say was in the mountains surrounding this place, as also that he was born here.*

It was built by Vignola for the Cardinal Farnese, and is an entire study of architecture, recommended

* Of course the story of the goat Amalthea and the child Jupiter is the subject really referred to, localized according to a not uncommon practice. According to the ancient Mythographers "*Parmenicus autem ait,*" says Hyginus, "*Melissea quendam fuisse Cretæ regem : ad ejus filias Jovem nutriendum esse de latum : quæ quod non lac habuerint (quia virgines essent), capram ei admisisse. Amaltheam nomine, quæ eum dicitur educasse.*" Others vary the story, but all agree that the original locality was the island of Crete, not the Mons Ciminius, on which the palace of Caprarola is built.

as such by Bernino. It is now (1754) uninhabited, and has been so for a long time (since 1713?). The paintings are on the ceilings and sides of the rooms, and some by *Taddeo Zuccaro*, assisted by his brother *Frederico*. The design for one room (the Cardinal's bedchamber) was given by Annibal Caro by the Cardinal's order.

The Palace, or Castello, of Caprarola is considered to be Vignola's masterpiece. It was begun in 1559.

p. 291. In the Great Hall, and four other rooms, are various representations of the seasons, enriched with ornaments and grotesques *all'antica* as beautiful as those of Pierino, and altogether as fine as any in the Vatican, and in the same manner. In the saloon are [represented] the actions of the House of Farnese.

p. 333. In the Cabinet of the Ducal Gallery at Parma, A fine Missal by D. Julio Clovio, bound in silver plate, a little above the size of a French twelvemo. At the end of it, on an altar, is written : "Julius Clovius Monumenta hæc Alexandro Farnesio Domino suo faciebat MDXL.VI.* This Missal is vastly beyond whatever in the Vatican is ascribed to this Master. Those indeed have been retouched by Padre Ramelli (of the same order as Don Julio) and now alive : but this is perfectly

* See p. 331.

well preserved, and is admirably well drawn and coloured, equal to any master. The taste in general is chaste and gentle in some of the figures, more especially there is an inclination towards the style of M. Angelo, but without his extravagance. All the pictures have grotesque ornaments about them: the colouring of which humours the general Tinct of the picture with much beauty and harmony. A single picture, with a frame and glass, it is a St. John, but in a style different from that of the Missal, and like those of this Master in Florence.

XIV.

A LIST OF CLOVIO'S WORKS, GIVEN BY VASARI.

1. *Madonna*, after Albert Dürer's wood engraving.
2. *Judgment of Paris*, in chiaroscuro, *i.e.* a sepia drawing. (Executed for Louis King of Hungary.)
3. *Lucrezia killing herself* (perhaps after Titian), and other things.
4. *Madonna*, for Cardinal Campeggio the elder, and other small works.
5. Works of miniature for Scopetines, at San Ruffino.
6. Large Choral Book, with most delicate miniatures and beautiful borders, containing a miniature of Christ appearing to Mary in the Garden (singularly beautiful).

7. Woman taken in Adultery, with many figures, after Titian (the original appears to be the one at the Brera, usually attributed to Palma Vecchio).

8. Various works at Candiana.

9. At Perugia. An Office of Our Lady, with four beautiful miniatures.

10. An Epistolary. Three large stories from Life of St. Paul, one of which was afterwards sent into Spain.

11. A Pietà.

12. A Crucifixion (afterwards belonged to Gio. Gaddo, Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber.

13. Works for Cardinal Farnese—for whom he executed a vast number of most beautiful illustrations and miniatures. To name all would be impossible.

14. Small Madonna and Child, and Paul III. kneeling before her. Sent by the Emperor Charles V. to Spain.

15. Office of Madonna, written by Monterchi. In a series of twenty-six miniatures, arranged in pairs of type and antitype, each surrounded by a border of figures and fancies in harmony with the subject.

1. Office for Matins. (a) The Annunciation, with border containing children of miraculous beauty. (b) Isaiah speaking to the King of Israel.

2. At Lauds. (a) The Visitation; the border imitates metal. (b) Righteousness and Peace kissing each other.

3. At Prime. (a) The Birth of Christ. (b) Adam and Eve eating the Apple.

The frames both filled with figures, nude and draped, human and animal.

4. At Tierce. (a) The Angels appearing to the Shepherds. (b) The Tiburtine Sibyl and the Emperor Augustus, with borders of figures and coloured ornaments, among which are the heads of Alexander the Great and Cardinal Alexander Farnese.

5. At Sexts. (a) The Circumcision. The figure of Simeon is a likeness of Pope Paul III., and in the story are portraits of Mancina and Septimia, Roman ladies of great beauty. (b) St. John baptizing Christ.

Both with borders containing many nude figures.

6. At Nones. (a) Adoration of the Magi. (b) The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. At the foot of one border is the Festival of the Testaccio, with figures not so big as ants. All the colours or liveries given by the Cardinal Farnese to his people are clearly distinguishable.

(This miniature was in possession of the ex-queen of Naples in 1864.)

7. At Vespers. (a) The Flight into Egypt. (b) The Submersion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea. Much and varied beauty of ornament in the framework.

8. At Complines. (a) Coronation of the Virgin. (b) The Story of Esther crowned by Ahasuerus. Borders of appropriate decoration.

9. At Mass of the Madonna. (a) The Madonna and Child. (b) God the Father creating the World. With rich border of cameos, one containing The Annunciation.

10. At Penitential Psalms. (a) The Battle in which Uriah is killed—*melée* of combatants and dead, miraculous. (b) David's Repentance. Border containing little grotesques and other ornaments.

(The miniature is a copy or duplicate of that in the Grimani Breviary at Venice.)

11. Litanies. In these the artist has minutely interwoven the names of the Saints. In the upper border is the Holy Trinity, with angels, apostles, &c. (b) The Madonna in Heaven, with the holy virgins. In the lower border the procession of the Corpus Christi; various officials bearing torches, with the bishops and cardinals, and the Holy Sacrament carried by the Pope, who is followed by the remainder of the Court and the Guard of the Lanzknechts; lastly, the Castle of St. Angelo, whence they are firing salutes, "the whole being a work," says Vasari, "calculated to astound the acutest intellect."

12. At the Offices for the Dead. (a) Death himself triumphing over Kingdoms and the Mighty ones of the Earth, &c. (b) The Resurrection of Lazarus, with figure of Death in combat with figures on horseback.

13. At the Office of the Crucifixion. (a) Christ on the Cross. (b) Moses lifting up the Serpent in the Wilderness.

14. At the Office of the Holy Ghost. (a) The Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. (b) The building of the Tower of Babel by Nimrod.

Nine years did Giorgio Clovio spend over this work.

16. A small picture, with minute figures, for Cardinal of Trent, so beautiful that he sent it as a present to Charles V.

17. A Madonna for same Cardinal, in which was also a portrait of Philip II.; presented to the latter.

18. For Cardinal Farnese: Madonna and Child, with St. Elizabeth and St. John in same picture. For Ruy Gomez; sent to Philip II.

19. St. John in Desert for Cardinal Farnese—and Landscape with animals.

20. Copy of same; sent to Philip II.

21. Pietà for Cardinal Farnese; given to Paul IV.

22. David cutting off Goliath's head. From Cardinal Farnese to his sister-in-law, Mary of Parma; she sent it to Philip II.

23. Judith, painted for Margaret of Parma as a companion. (Della Valle gives Clovio's letter sent with the miniature.) See Lemonnier's Vasari.

24. Several works executed for Duke Cosimo during Clovio's visit to Florence.

25. Small head of Christ from an antique that belonged to Godfrey of Bouillon. Crucifixion with Magdalen at foot of cross (now in the Uffizi Collection), "Julius Macedo fe." 1553.

26. A Pietà, copy of which Vasari possessed.

27. Madonna and Child in Choir of Angels.

28. Ganymede, after Michelangelo, in possession of Tommaso de' Cavalieri. St. John Baptist seated on a stone, and some portraits.

29. Pietà with the Maries, &c. for Vittoria Colonna.

30. Ditto, for Cardinal Farnese, who sent it to the Empress—Sister of Philip II. and wife of Maximilian.

31. St. George and Dragon and landscape, which Cardinal Farnese sent to Maximilian.

32. The Emperor Trajan, large but copied from a medal with "Judea capta" on reverse—sent to Emperor Maximilian (painted for a Spanish gentleman).

33. Christ and his Cross.

34. Christ with Cross on shoulder, and crowd, going to Calvary, followed by the Maries.

35. Two miniatures for a Missal—

(a) Christ instructing the Apostles;

(b) Last Judgment;

—of marvellous beauty. (These seem to be two of the drawings belonging to the Towneley Lectionary.) Vasari compares these works to those of Titian or Bronzino—those in the Cameos have all the effect of colossal figures, although so excessively minute. (See the notice in Lemonnier's Vasari, V. 443-452.)

Milanese in his last edition of Vasari—Firenze, 1881-8—says, vii. 569, “ Among the works painted by Clovio but not recorded by Vasari, I have noted the following which I have seen in Rome: Two Missals in the Vatican, nos. 3805 and 3807, splendidly illuminated for Cardinal Francesco di Toledo; and in the MS. of the Deeds of Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, written by Girolamo Muzio, there are five miniatures, and in the second volume, containing the life of Francesca Maria I., Duke of Urbino. But they show a falling off, suggesting the work of his old age. Likewise, in the same Library, are some miniatures in a MS. of Dante which are not by him, but belong certainly to one of his pupils, or an inferior imitator. They begin with Canto XXVIII. of the Purgatorio, and con-

tinue all through the Paradiso except the sixth canto, where they are by a different hand. Lastly, I may mention that the Cathedral of Ravenna possesses a Missal illuminated by Clovio for Cardinal Fulvio della Cornia.

In the Inventory of the goods of Margaret of Austria (Parma), made in 1586, are mentioned the following works by Clovio :—

1. A Lunette with a Madonna and Child.
2. A Quadro with a Crucifix.
3. „ „ Pietà.

In the Inventory of the Library of the Farnese Palace at Parma, drawn up in 1768, is a small painting, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 11 in., containing a *Notte* or Nativity, and a portrait of Clovio with a white beard, his right hand pointing to an open book which he holds in his left (now known as the Curzon portrait), also the half-length of a young man lighting a small candle.

A LIST OF WORKS ATTRIBUTED BY VARIOUS AUTHORS
TO CLOVIO.

DATE OF EXECUTION.	NAME OF WORK AND LOCALITY.	AUTHORITY.
1516	A pen drawing or miniature copy of Dürer's Madonna	Vasari
1518	Pen drawings of coins and other works for Cardinal Dominico Grimani	Vasari
1523-6	Judgment of Paris; Death of Lucretia; for Louis, King of Hungary	Vasari
1526-8	Service Books at S. Ruffino; Christ appearing to Mary; Woman taken in adultery; Office of our Lady, with four illuminations. At Perugia	Vasari, &c.
1528	Portrait of Clovio, Vienna, Ambras Collection	Sakcinski
1528	A Missal "with masterly miniatures," usually called the Holford Missal, but not in Mr. H.'s collection	Sakcinski
About 1535	The Grimani Commentary, known as "Soane" Clovio, London	Vasari
1535	Stanze di Eurialo d'Ascoli, Imp. Library, Vienna	Internal evidence and date
Before 1540	Madonna for Card. Campeggio	Vasari
1540 or after	Madonna and Paul III. kneeling; sent as a present to Charles V.	Sakcinski
1542	Psalter of Paul III., Paris	Evidence of dedication and dates.

DATE OF EXECUTION.	NAME OF WORK AND LOCALITY.	AUTHORITY.
Completed about 1546	Office of Virgin written by Monterchi, "Miracle of Art." Took Clovio nine years, and contains twenty-six small stories in pairs, each in fine border.	Vasari, &c.
1546	S. Elizabeth for Cardinal Farnese	Vasari
1546-49	Office of Madonna for Cardinal Farnese, with six miniatures, viz. Offices for Dead (2); Death triumphing over kingdoms of Earth; Resurrection of Lazarus Offices of Holy Cross (2); Christ on Cross; Moses lifting up serpent in Wilderness Offices of Holy Ghost (2); Descent of Holy Ghost; the Building of Babel	Vasari
About 1546	Towneley Lectionary, now in the Lenox Library, New York	Vasari
About 1546	The Stuart de Rothesay Offices, Addl. 20927	Proved from internal evidence
About 1546	Missal of Cardinal Farnese, Royal Library, Naples	Vasari
	Breviary of Cardinal Farnese, Royal Library, Naples	Vasari
1546	Farnese choir-book at Capo di Monte, Naples	Vasari
	Large oil painting portrait in Museo Borbonico, Naples. Galler. VII.	Vasari

DATE OF EXECUTION.	NAME OF WORK AND LOCALITY.	AUTHORITY.
1553	Pietà in Pitti, Florence. Camera di Madama	Vasari
1553	Pietà (small) in 8th chamber of Jupiter, No. 241 (one like it, Print Room, British Museum)	Vasari
1553	Christ on Cross and Magdalen, for Cosimo di Med., Florence	Sakcinski
	Portrait of Clovio in oil, small medallion	Sakcinski
	A Holy Family, in camera di Madama	Sakcinski
	Crucifixion, crowd in distance	Sakcinski
After 1554 (<i>if at all</i>).	Dante, Paradiso, &c. Vatican, Rome	Richardson, Dennistoun, &c.
1554-7	Lives of Dukes of Urbino, Vatican, Rome	Richardson, Dennistoun, &c.
	Several missals in Vatican	Richardson, Milanesi
	MS. containing paintings by Clovio in Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, formerly belonging to Padre Sabatini	Richardson
	A choir-book in Church of S. Salvatore, Rome	Richardson, Sakcinski
	Prayer Book or Office of Virgin, Royal Library, Naples	Richardson, Sakcinski
About 1554 (<i>if at all</i>).	Grenville Victories. British Museum	Doubtful. See Appendix, Descriptions
1556	"Flora" Offices of Virgin, Naples	Vasari

DATE OF EXECUTION.	NAME OF WORK AND LOCALITY.	AUTHORITY.
1556	Several choir-books at Seville	Conca, &c.
1561	Judith and Holofernes for Marg. of Parma	Vasari, &c.
1562	MS. of Cardinal della Rovere at Ravenna	Milanesi's Vasari, vii. 569; Diehl
1562	MS. of Cardinal Fulvio della Cornia, at Ravenna	Milanesi
After 1564	St. George and Dragon for Cardinal Farnese as present to Emperor Maximilian, and a Missal containing Christ instructing Apostles, and a Last Judgment (See Towneley Lectionary.)	Sakcinski
	Painting, John Baptist in Galleria Borbonico, Naples. Came from Parma	Richardson, Sakcinski
Undated but very early	Trivulzio Petrarch, once at Milan	Vasari, Rosini
Undated	Deposition in the Ambrosian Library, Milan	
Undated	Battle-piece, once belonging to Gonzala Family, now at Venice	Sakcinski, S. Slav. Lex.
Undated	Adoration of Magi, Royal Collection, Windsor. A pen drawing	Attributed
	Deposition from Cross. Print Room, British Museum. In red chalk	Attributed
Undated	Cupid complaining to Venus of sting of bee at Sibenico (Hermannstadt)	Sakcinski

DATE OF EXECUTION.	NAME OF WORK AND LOCALITY.	AUTHORITY.
Undated	A miniature belonging to Baron Bruckenthals at Siebenburgen	Sakcinski, Life, and S. S. Lex.
Undated	Figure of woman in mantle at Agram.	Sakcinski
Undated	Unbelief of St. Thomas, and another in Breviary in Cathedral at Agram	Sakcinski
Undated	Deposition in possession of J. Rutson, Esq., Thirsk	The owner
Undated	Fontaine "Clovio"	Tradition. Probably not a Clovio
Undated	Missal in Barberini Library, Rome (Ximenes)	Murray's Guide, <i>i.e.</i> local tradition
Undated	Fragments in Barberini Library, Rome (Ximenes)	Murray's Guide
Undated	A drawing in Municipal Library, Genoa	Sakcinski, S. Slav. Lex.
Undated	David and Goliath for Margaret of Parma	Vasari, Sakcinski, &c.
Undated	St. John in desert for Cardinal Farnese	Vasari, &c.
Undated	Madonna for the Cardinal of Trent	Sakcinski (from Vasari)
Undated	Design for Palazzo del T. Mantua, in Mr. Mayor's Collection, London	The owner

INVENTORY.

- Mars and Venus unfinished.
A Pietà, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.
Mardocheo, copied by Clovio.
Hist. della Serpente, by Clovio, pen drawing after Michelangelo.
Judith (a group), by Clovio.
Another Mars and Venus, after Michelangelo, finished.
Charon and group, by Clovio.
Phaeton, by Clovio.
Three Resurrections, by Giulio Clovio, after Michelangelo.
Deposition by Clovio.
A Resurrection, with 8 figures, by Clovio.
A Christ on Cross, by Clovio.
A Christ on Cross, by Clovio.
A Christ on Cross, by Clovio.
A Christ on Cross with two thieves, original.
Outline of a Madonna, by Giulio Clovio.
Bacchus, by Clovio.
Another, by Clovio.
Antiochus chased from the temple by Angelo, after Raffaello, copied by Giulio Clovio.
Figure by Michelangelo, pen drawing by Giulio Clovio.
Pope Alexander III., fugitive to Venice, by Giulio Clovio, after Giambilino (Gian Bellini).
Christ on Cross, after Michelangelo, by Giulio Clovio.
Sheet of children, after Michelangelo, by Giulio Clovio.*
Two other figures, by Clovio.
Madonna and five other figures, by Clovio.
Picture with ten figures, after a water-colour by Michelangelo;
Judith, after Michelangelo, both copied by Clovio.
The Night of Michelangelo, copied by Clovio.
* Outline of four figures, after Michelangelo, by Giulio Clovio.
All the above are in a bundle, signed by letter A.

* A drawing answering to this description is in the British Museum Print Room.

Christ on Cross, after Michelangelo, by Giulio Clovio.

Group of little figures, by Clovio.

Two legs, by Clovio.

A Pietà, by Clovio.

A head of Raffaello, by Giulio Clovio.

Anatomical drawing, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

A little figure, by Clovio.

Christ on Cross, after Michelangelo, copied by Clovio.

All these in a bundle or packet marked B.

A Pietà, by Giulio Clovio, of his own invention.

Madonna with two children, and another figure, after Raffaello,
by Clovio.

Two outlines of two figures, by Clovio.

“Testone” pen drawing, by Clovio. (A large head?)

A Goddess of Nature, by Clovio.

Five children, outlines, after Michelangelo, by Giulio Clovio.

Sketch of four figures and three horses, by Clovio.

Four figures in outline, by Clovio.

Christ and Madonna, by Clovio.

Three sketches of nude little figures, by Clovio, after
Michelangelo.

Feet pen drawing, by Clovio.

Drawing of Troy, by Clovio, his own invention.

Two figures, by Michelangelo and Clovio.

The Ganymede, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

The “Sogno” (Dream) of Michelangelo, by Clovio, with a
little sketch.

A Madonna and three figures, after Michelangelo, copied by
Clovio.

The Archer, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

A sheet of nude figures, after Raffaello, by Clovio.

A head in pen and ink, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

Two wrestlers, by Clovio.

A Pietà, after Michelangelo, with three figures, by Clovio.

Prudence and two children, a pen drawing, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

Anatomical outline with two figures, by Michelangelo, copied by Clovio.

Flagellation in red chalk, with three figures, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

Anatomical drawing, with all the measurements, by Clovio.

A figure with measurements, by Clovio.

An outline with measurements, by Clovio.

Three little figures with an animal, with measurements, by Clovio.

A young lady (design of Clovio).

On oval, after Perino, by Clovio.

Head in pen and ink, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

Outline of figure designed by Clovio.

Madonna with two children, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

Madonna with one child, in *lapisrosso*, by Clovio.

Sketch of many figures and a horse, original, by Clovio.

All these are in a parcel marked C.

Annunciation in water-colour, invented and drawn by Clovio.

Vision of Elizabeth ; also an aquarelle, by Clovio.

Isaiah, ditto.

The Three Kings, ditto.

Death of the Virgin, ditto.

A nude, ditto.

Circumcision, ditto.

A small drawing, ditto.

A small drawing, ditto.

Madonna, pen drawing, original.

Figure sketch, pen drawing, original.

Sketch after Correggio, by Clovio.

Two small figures, after Michelangelo, by Clovio.

One figure, by Clovio.

All these drawings are in the packet signed with

letter D, and tied up with two other bundles not by Clovio.

A bundle of drawings sealed with the seal of S. Sia. Illma. (Cardinal Farnese?), about 129 pieces more or less.

Another bundle of drawings of sixty-seven pieces.

Another of sixty-nine drawings by Donato and others.

Another of designs all by Clovio (seventy-eight).

A book of engravings of Albert (Durer), with some by Michelangelo, some of which have been taken out.

A bundle of drawings, sealed with the usual seal, of twenty-nine pieces, all by the hand of Clovio, containing among other the following :—

The Advent of the Saviour. The Resurrection of the Evangelistarium (?).

The Nativity of the Evangelistarium (?).

The ornament of the Holy Spirit.

The ornament of the Advent.

Christ preaching.

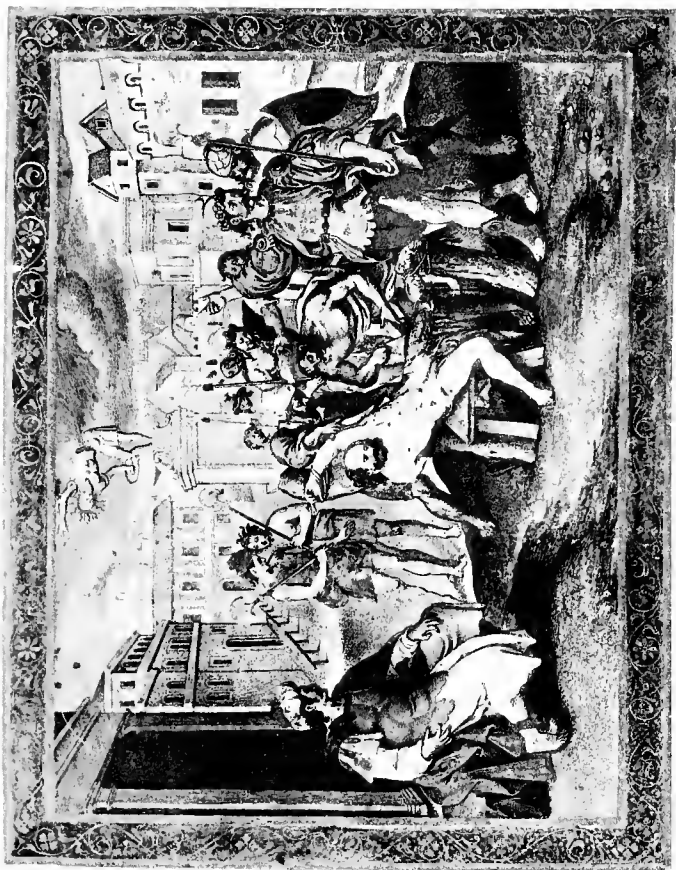
The Madonna with King Philip (four figures).

A large Pietà.

A Madonna with St. Elizabeth (three figures), and St. John, in aquarelle.

A bundle of drawings, seventy-seven pieces, containing the following :—

A Pietà, with five figures, in aquarelle.



DEATH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

*(Photographed from the original drawing attributed to Clouio
in the British Museum).*

A Madonna with her son in her arms, with King Philip at her feet, and nine figures.

A Madonna with King Philip.

A bundle of different drawings *not* by his hand.

Another.

A, B, and C are tied up together.

“Ego Vettorius Petrutius predicta omnia de voluntate Rm. Di. Giulii scripsi et interfeci [*sic*] manu propria.”

XV.

ENGRAVINGS ON COPPER FROM PICTURES BY CLOVIO.

(*Sakcinski*, pp. 59-61.)

1. *Christ on Cross.* Magdalene kneeling at the foot, clasping the Cross. On the right stands the Mother weeping; behind, Joseph of Arimathea. On the left is St. John, and behind him a Roman soldier with shield and lance. In the background are high hills, and beneath them the city of Jerusalem. In the right corner, “Don Julio Clovio de Cronatia inventor.” Beneath the picture “All. Illmo. et eccmo. Signior. H. Signor Giov. Constantius Duca di Wisniovec. Gio. Pietro Pedrizani dedica.” On the left “Agostino Caratio Pitor. Ecc. F.”

Now in the collection of Archduke Charles at Vienna; vol. xxiv. of Roman School, No. 3549.

2. *Same subject.* Most probably engraved by Cornelis Cort. Inscribed, "Don Julio Clovio de Crouatia inuentor 1568." Below the picture are six elegiac verses, beginning "Quid mundo si nulla," &c. At foot, "Romæ Ant. Lafrerij."

In Sakcinski's collection.

3. *Same subject.* Engraved by J. Sadeler (Zani).

4. *St. Agatha bound to a tree*, two men tearing her breasts. Inscribed, "G. B. Mazza, Romæ. Lucæ Bertelli for S. Agatha."

In the Imperial collection at Vienna, among engravings by Corn. Cort, No. 33. Another copy in the collection of Archduke Charles.

5. *Judith with head of Holofernes*, with a bloody sword in her left hand. Inscribed, "Hæc est Hæbræa mulier qui confusionem fecit in domo Nabuchodonosar Regis. Ind. cap. XIII. Don Julio Clovio de Crouatia inuenit."

In the Imperial collection at Vienna, among the engravings by C. Cort, I. 12. Another copy is in the collection of Archduke Charles.

6. *Same subject.* Engraved by Philip Soye. Below is the name of Ant. Lafrerij (Zani).

7. *Resurrection.* Dated 1569, with the name of Ant. Lafrerij. Probably engraved by C. Cort.

In Saccinski's collection.

8. *Same subject.* Inscribed with four verses. En agit æternus victor, &c. Beneath the picture, "Nicolai Nilli formis Venetiis. 1569."

In the collection of Archduke Charles.

9. *A Half-length of the Virgin Mary.* In the Print Room of the British Museum.

10. *Half-length of Christ.* Engraved by Philip Thomasin (Heinecken).

11. *St. George and the Dragon,* with many figures.

Inscribed, "Julius Corvatinus Inv. Enea Vicco Parm. Sc. Ant. Salamanca Exc." Dated 1542. An important engraving.

Vasari says of Vico, and referring to this picture :—"Fece ancora per Don Giulio Clovio rarissimo miniatore, in una carta S. Giorgio a cavallo che ammazza il serpente, nella quale ancorche fasse si può dire delle prime cose, che intagliasse, si portò molto bene."

A copy of this engraving, slightly damaged, is in Saccinski's collection. A good one in the Print Room of the British Museum.

12. *Same subject,* but with certain differences.

In the lower left corner, "Cum privilegio Summi Pont. Don Julius Clovius Inv. Cor. Cort fecit. 1577." Beneath the picture, "Romæ Paulus Palumbus Novarensis curabat anno 1578."

In the Imperial collection at Vienna, among the engravings by C. Cort, II. 19. Also in British Museum.

13. *Same subject.* Engraved by Alex. Vate, Nancy, 1592 (Heinecken).

14. *The Conversion of St. Paul.* A large and masterly picture. It is the subject made use of, and altered for the worse, in the "Soane" MS.

In the lower left corner, "Don Julius Clovius Iliricus Inv. Romæ Laur. Vacar formis, 1576." In right, "C. Cort fe." Then follows twelve elegiac verses, beginning, "Dum patrios ritus," ending, "Quod mediteris habes."

In the Imperial collection at Vienna. Cort engr. II. 7 and 8. Also a fine copy in British Museum.

15. *Same subject.* Engraved by Domenico Vitta. Inscribed, "Dominicus Vitus Vallis umbrosæ monachus ab alia excudeb. 1577. Don Jul. Clovio Iliricus inv. Romæ Antonj Lafrerj formis" (Zani).

17. *Same subject.* Inscribed, "Apud hæredes Claudii Duchetj formis. Romæ, 1586." Later copies have "Johannis Orlandi formis, 1602" (Zani).

18. *Same subject.* Inscribed, "Don Julius Clovius Iliricus inv. Romæ, Antonj Lafrerj formis a Paulo Gratiano questta" (Zani).

19. *Same subject.* Inscribed, "Don Julius Clovius inv. Battista Parme. for. Romæ, 1589."

20. *Same subject.* Inscribed, "Don Julius Clovius Iliricus inv. Jo. Papistæ de Cavaleris formis."

21. *St. Peter with keys in left hand, and a book in right; surrounded by kings, priests, &c. In the sky is the Trinity.* Inscribed, "G. C. I." (Giulio Clovio invenit), and "C. C. f." (Cor. Cort fecit).

In collection of Archduke Charles.

22. *John placing the dead body of Christ on a stone. Mary Magdalene kneeling and other figures. In the distance the ruins of a town.* Inscribed on left, "Don Julio Clovio inv." Underneath, "Hujus livore sanatissimus." The engraver is not named, but the same picture was also engraved by J. Sadeler.

23. *The Entombment.* Four figures behind. In the background Calvary and Jerusalem. Dated 1568. "C. Cort f." "Omnis creatura," &c. Beneath the picture, in the middle: Don Julio Clovio de Crovattia inv. On right side: "Joannis Orlandij formis rome 1602." On left: "Romæ Ant. Lafreerij."

Also engraved by D. Tibaldi, H. Olgiati, Jac. Franco, 1571. Jac. Valegi, 1572.

24. *Same subject.* Engraved by an unknown hand, in smaller size. Dated 1580. Inscribed, "Atra domus mortis subiit, &c. . . . cohibere fines." Several copies in British Museum.

25. *Jesus at twelve years of age among the Doctors.* Dated 1567. Engraved by C. Cort.

In the collection of Archduke Charles.

26. *Same subject.* Inscribed, "Julius quidem, &c. Gratosio V. Gasparis Alberti, successor Palumbi formis" (Zani).

27. *Mary's Return Home.* Dated 1567. Inscribed also, "Jo. Orlandij, Romæ, 1602. Ant. Lafreerij."

In Imperial collection at Vienna.

28. *The Magdalene on a rock in the Desert,* praying to a crucifix hung on a tree. Inscribed—

"Non aurum aut gemmæ, aut perfusus odore capillus
Me lacrymæ et luctus, et loca sola juvent
Sic culpas luat, et sensus domat ille procaces
Æterno Carus qui cupit esse Deo."

Engraved by C. Cort.

In Imperial collection at Vienna.

29. *The Annunciation.* Engraved by C. Cort.

In the same collection.

30. *The Adoration of the Magi.* A busy scene. Inscribed, "Don Julio Clovio de Crovacia inv. T. P. F." (perhaps for Tibaldi' Pellegrino fecit—otherwise the engraver is unknown). The subject has a beautiful arabesque border of genii, angels, &c.; underneath; "Aurum, tus, myrrham," &c. There is a good copy of this in the Print Room of the British Museum.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
AFTER CLOVIO.
(From a print in the British Museum).

31. *Same subject*, without the border, 1567.

32. *Same subject*. Inscribed, "Don Julio Clovio de Crovacia invenit. C. Cort fecit, 1567. Romæ ex typis Ant. D. Salamanca."

In the Imperial collection at Vienna.

33. *Same subject*, with variations. Inscribed, Sidereo, &c.

In the same collection.

34. *A Holy Trinity*, small size.

In the same collection.

35. *Christ appearing to Holy Women*. One is kneeling. In the background is a town, with towers, ruins, &c. ; behind are hills.

In the same collection.

36. *Same subject*, dated 1567. Ant. Lafrerij.

37. *Madonna and Child*. Engraved by C. Cort (Heineken).

38. *The Baptism of Christ*. Engraved by C. Cort. Dedicated to Piero Aldobrandini by Giov. di Parma (Heineken).

39. *A Pietà*. Three crosses in background. Inscribed, "Horrescent et humi," &c. (Heineken).

40. *Half-length of the Virgin Mary holding a figure of Christ*, Engraved by C. Cort. Fol. (Huber).

41. *Christ as a Child preaching in Temple*. 1567. Engraved by C. Cort. Fol. (Huber).

43. *Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene in the*

Garden. Engraved by C. Cort. Fol. In the British Museum.

44. *Copies of several illustrations* (I only know of one) from the works of Petrarch, given in Rosini's "Storia della pittura Italiana."

45. *The illustrations* of the Comment on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in the Soane collection, London. In facsimile by Owen Jones, in Humphreys's "Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages."

Among those who copied Clovio in copper, were Cornelis Cort, Phil. Soye, J. Janson, J. Sadeler, Agostino Caracci, Enea Vico, Domenico Tibaldi Pellegrini, G. B. Mazza, Hieron. Obligati (Sacc. S. S. Lex. Olgiati), Nic. Velli, Domenico Vito, Aliprando Capriolo, Giovanni Cavaleris, Giov. Orlandi, Jacopo Franco, Jac. Valegio, Lasinio, St. Laune, Philippe Thomasin, Alexandre Vallé, Silvester de Sacy, Humphreys, Johann Büssmucher, and the famous Sibenican artist, Martin Rota (Kolunich).

Through his great skill and deeply learned painting* he became known to all the noted artists and scholars of his time, and among the rest, no doubt,

* Gio. Paolo Lomazzo—himself a painter—in his "Idea of the Temple of Paintings," says of Clovio, that he learned much of the cultivated men with whom he associated, and produced work so elegant "per la cognizione delle lettere ch' egli hebbe profondissima."—P. 111, Ed. Milan, 1590.

to many South Slavonians, who were engaged in various Italian cities in works of art or letters. There can be no doubt he worked for the Croat families of Frangepani and Zrini, who had large art-collections in the coast-lands of Dalmatia.

XVI.

PUPILS OF CLOVIO.

1. Giovanna Clavio.

2. Francesco (Rossi) di Salviati of Florence (1510-1563, Rome), and recommended by Clovio to Cardinal Farnese to execute certain frescoes in the chapel of the Chancery, in which he was assisted by Clovio. Was a pupil of Andrea del Sarto and *protégé* of Cardinal Salviati.

3. Bartolommeo Torre of Arezzo. Especially clever in anatomy. He died from blood-poisoning in his twenty-fifth year.

4. Bernardo Buontalenti of Florence (1536-1608), who afterwards attained great fame as an engineer, architect, and sculptor.*

* Spoken of by Italian writers as "ingegno universale nell'arti." For his life see Baldinucci II. (Dec. VII. del Sec. IV), p. 490, &c. He was called "Delle girandole," and was painter, miniaturist, sculptor, and architect. His *soubriquet* of Delle girandole was given him when a boy for his skill in making paper lanterns to turn in the smoke. He was introduced to Clovio at Florence when Clovio was working there.

5. Marco du Val, a Frenchman, afterwards Court painter to Charles IX.

6. Claudio Massarelli, who resided with him at his death, and to whom he left his collection of drawings and materials. Massarelli also had two assistants named Maximilian de Monceau, and Alessandro da Como.

7. Among the copyists may be placed Baroccio, F. Zuccaro, Apollonio Buonfratelli, and Bartholomew Spranger, who, after studying under Marco du Val at Paris, went to Rome and met with Clovio. Clovio kindly introduced him to the Cardinal, for whom he and his young friend Michiel Gionequoi worked at St. Oreste for four months.*

PORTRAITS OF CLOVIO.

1. A rather rough engraving of an elderly man of quiet aspect, in a plain coat buttoned, and with a turn-over collar, hair brushed back from forehead, well-trimmed beard, large but not aquiline nose. It forms the frontispiece to the German translation of Sackinski's *Life*, octavo. Agram, 1852. The title below in both Italian and Croatian : Juraj Julio Klovio, slikar hrvatski. (G. Giulio Clovio, miniatore Croato.)

* *Het leven der . . . schilders . door Karel van Mander*, ed. by Jac. de Jongh. Amst., 1764, 2 vols. oct. II. 20-51.

A similar head occurs in the Croatian edition of 1878. Zagreb, thin quarto.

2. A young and handsome man, with regular features, a slight moustache, and neatly trimmed beard, rather intense expression of eyes and lips. Wears a silken cap with rim all round, a close-fitting coat and cloak, hand holding it together. A lithograph of good execution in "Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih od Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga," *i.e.* "Lexicon of South-Slavonic Biography, by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski." Art. Klovio, p. 160. Under the portrait is Julio Klovio, sitnoslikar. (Julio Clovio, miniature-painter.)

3. Two gouache portraits in a rich and tasteful Renaissance frame: 1. (90) A young man in a black coat, beside him a dog. In gold letters on a blue ground are the words: "Julius Clovius Croatus sui ipsius effigiator ao. ætat . . salut. 1528." If this be authentic the missing age would be thirty. 2. (91) A young lady in fur and black, and a rose in her hand. It also bears a Latin motto and the date 1576, but shows a later or younger hand than Clovio. It may be the portrait of Giovanna Clavio, by herself, mentioned in Caro's letter.

4. The original engraving of which (1) is a copy, is given in "Serie di Ritratti degli Uomini i più Illustri nella pittura, scultura," &c. V. Firenze, 1771, large quarto. He is called "Don Giulio Clovio, Miniatore Croato."

5. The Curzon portrait. An elderly man holding a book, at which he points.

6. A medallion, of which a cast has been most courteously furnished for me by Mr. H. O. Grueber of the British Museum.

The following is Mr. Grueber's note on the Medal. "There is nothing in the Clovio medal to show why or when it was made. The larger number of Italian medals are merely commemorative, referring in a general manner to the character of the person portrayed. The medal of Clovio was made rather late in his life, circ. 1560, and judging from its style of work, I would give it to the hand of Pietro Paolo Galeotto, called Romano. The Museum specimen is a poor cast; but I think its original must have been of very good work. The portrait, I should say, is quite authentic, and the piece is unknown, *i.e.* unpublished, so if you illustrate it, it will be for the first time. P.S. I ought to have said that the original was a *cast* medal made from moulds, not struck from dies. This is quite characteristic of Romano's work. Argelati 'De Monetis Italiæ Milan, 1750, iii. 36,' describes one as being in the 'Braydensis' collection. The obverse is the same as the B. M. cast, IVLIVS CLOVIVS PICT. EXC., but the inscription ends EXCEL. and on the reverse is a female seated between trees: before her Fame blowing a trumpet, *leg.* FAMA VIRTVTIS TVBICINA."

In a later communication, Mr. Grueber suggests

that the "Braydensis" can hardly mean Breda in Holland, as it would seem to, but of course he could not say what it means, as he had not seen the medal itself. Neither have I, but it seems to me that Argelati had not either, or that he made some mistake. As I have seen somewhere a note that a medal of Clovio exists in the Brera Museum at Milan, I should think this to be the locality meant. I regret that when in Milan I had not seen the note I refer to, so cannot affirm this to be the true explanation.

XVII.

CLOVIO'S WILL.

[*Atti e memorie delle R.R. deput. di storia patria per le Provincie dell' Emilia. Nuov. ser. VII., pt. ii. Moden. 1881, pp. 259, 260.*]

In the above serial A. Bertolotti has given some interesting particulars respecting Clovio, and especially refers to the discovery of his will. Attached to it was an inventory of pictures, &c., still in his possession. The document was not executed by the hand of a notary, ignorant of the things spoken of, but under the immediate direction of Clovio himself. When, on December 27th, 1577, he made this will, he was already extremely infirm, and almost blind. It bears date 1578, because in Rome the year began with the Nativity. Clovio informs the

writer that his father was of Macedonia and his mother a native of Illyria; also, that he came to Italy himself when quite young and studied under Italian masters. Thus he claims nationality with Raffaello, Michelangelo, and Romano his masters. Being modest and mindful of his religious vows, he ordains that he shall be buried in the garb of his order. He further prescribes that on his tomb shall be inscribed these words—

“Hic jacet Don Julius Clovius”

—in the church of San Pietro *ad Vincula*. And so we find on a pilaster in the choir a medallion with his portrait in white marble, and the following inscription:—

JVLIVS CLOVIVS PICTOR NVLLI SECVNDVS
 D . . O . . M .
 VRBANO VIII. PONTIFICE . MAXIMO
 LAVDIVIO . CARDINALI ZACCHIA TITVLARI
 DOMINO IVLIO CLOVIO DE CROATIA
 CANONICIS REGVLARIBVS S . PETRI AD VINCvla
 PICTORI . EXIMIO
 PRINCIPVIS VIRIS CARO—IN QVO DILIGENTIA IN
 MINIMIS MAXIMO CONSPICVA GRATIA IMMORTALIS
 GLORIA . VIXIT AD ULTIMAM SENECTVTEM OPER-
 ANDO . ET ROMÆ MORTVVS IN HAC BASILICA
 TUMVLATVS CANONICI REGVL . SOCIO . OLIM . SVO .
 PP . MDCXXXII .

After his legacies as Scopetine, we come to those as artist.

He leaves half his money to the Church of S. Luca, to which belonged the guild of artists of

which he was a principal supporter. After artists in general he passes to his trusty assistant, Claudio Massarelli da Caravaggio, "whom," says Bertolotti, "I am very glad to rescue from an unmerited oblivion." To him he leaves all his *attrezzi* for the practice of miniature, the drawings by Luca Cambiasa of Genoa, and those of Mazzola, called Parmegianino, which were among those acquired whilst residing with Cardinal Grimani; and all the rest of the drawings not by his own hand, except a San Lorenzo and other drawings copied by him from life from the famous Offices made for and bestowed on Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and his other drawings, specially copied from Raffaello, Michelangelo, and Peter Breugel, also made under the same patron.

The inheritance of his furniture, &c., fell to the monastery attached to San Pietro in Vincoli, with prohibition to that body from selling the paintings, which were to remain as an ornament for their church.

After religion and art comes his own family.

All his property in Dalmatia he left to a nephew named Guido Clovio, together with the ring of gold and jewels which had been given him in Rome. This nephew was a captain in the Venetian army. Clovio's confessor and servant are not forgotten. He leaves them clothes.

The executors of the will are the Cardinal Farnese and his agent.

Fearing that owing to their smallness his miniatures might get lost or dispersed, a few days after making his will he made an inventory of the drawings, &c., still in his hand. By means of this we are enabled to triple the lists given us by Vasari. They appear to be all studies by Clovio after Michelangelo and Raffaello. He was a personal friend of Peter Breughel. In this collection is one miniature partly by Clovio and partly by Breughel.

The inventions or original designs by Clovio are :

A drawing of Mars and Venus ; a prophet ; a head of Raffaello ; Troy ; a small figure with a baby in arms ; a naked girl ; outline of a study of the nude ; a sketch containing many figures and a horse ; an annunciation ; the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth ; Isaiah ; the three magi ; the circumcision ; the death of the Virgin ; and others.

By Michelangelo :—

A chandelier ; the history of the serpent ; a pen drawing ; a window ; two prophets ; a gate ; a madonna and child ; a head in pen and ink ; Prudence, in pen and ink ; a chest ; a Flagellation, in red chalk ; a madonna and child, in red chalk ; two figures after Giotto.

On January 3rd he again confirms the principal provisions of the will through his confidant Petruccio, enumerating the benefits received from Cardinal Farnese. That he died on the following

day, January 4th, 1578, follows clearly from the Inventory made on that day. And this is precious as it includes many works not mentioned in the former one, with the objects which adorned his apartment and such other valuables as, being most precious, he kept in a private cabinet. Among these are paintings by Titian and Correggio, copies of Raffaele and an *impronta* of Don Giulio and of St. Ursula from the hand of the celebrated Sofonisba Anguisciola, the Cremonese portrait miniaturist. A San Lorenzo by Clovio himself and an illuminated "Offices," together with a few books mostly upon medals and engravings, and two *gravicembali*.* In one *scatolino* he kept the portrait of Lavinia Terlincks—*i.e.* Lavinia, daughter of Simon Bynnynek of Bruges, miniaturist to Queen Elizabeth. It is singular that in this second inventory we find mentioned a large painting by the hand of Raffaele without specification of the subject. Bertolotti then goes on to say, "I found too the will of his sole assistant. Like his master he thought first of his soul and his burial in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, then passes on to artistic matters. Massarelli left his drawings to his two assistants—Maximilian Monceau, a Fleming, and Alessandro da Como, whom he specially names his *allievo*. Monceau is a miniaturist hitherto unknown."

* A kind of spinet or pianoforte.

XVIII.

DOCUMENTS.

THE WILL OF GIULIO CLOVIO.

Die 27 'Xbris 1578 a nativitate.

IN nomine Dni. Amen, &c. Quoniam mors et vita in manibus Dei sunt et nihil certius morte et incertius illius hora unumquemque prudentem decet dum est in sua bona memoria mentisque et intellectus ratione constitutus animæ rebusque suis taliter providere ne inter posteros suos aliqua lis uel controversia contentio siue differentia oriri possit ea propter in mei presentia presens et principaliter constitutus magnificus et reverendus d. Don Julius Clovius patre macedonico et matre illirica miniator celeberrimus sanus Dei gr. mente sensu & intellectu et in suo bono proposito sanoque et recto iudicio existens, corpore tamen infirmus timens iudicium diuinum nolens intestatus decedere sed rebus et bonis suis prospicere ac de illis disponere presens suum nuncupativum quod de iure civili sine scriptis appellatur fecit et condidit testamenta in modum sequente uidelicet Imprimis quia anima est nobilior corpore illam omnipotenti Deo Beateque Marie semper Virgini ac toti curie celesti humiliter et devote comendauit Corpori uero sepulturam elegit in ecclesia Diui Petri ad Vincula postquam ab eo eius anima segregari contigerit inibique humari uoluit absque pompa in habitu eiusdem religionis

cum ceremonia tamen quam fratres ejusdem religionis solent suis confratribus adhibere hoc adjecto quod super eius cadauer ponatur lapis cum sequente iscriptione, videlicet: HIC JACET DON JULIUS CLOVIUS.

Mandavitque quod statim sequuta eius morte celebritur misse S^{ti}. Gregorii in ecclesia S^{ti}. Gregorii et S^{ti}. Laurentii in ecclesia extra muros ad altaria privilegiata dici solite pro defunctis. Legavit et jure legati reliquit ecclesie Beate Marie consolationis de urbe unum offitium paruulum antiquum Dive Marie in parte miniatum quod modo penes se habere dixit.

Pecuniæ autem quæ reperientur tempore ipsius obitus eas solutis soluendis diuidi uoluit et mandavit inter monasterium dictæ ecclesiæ S^{ti}. petri ad vincula et ecclesiam diui Luce apud ecclesiam Beate Mar. [*i.e.* Majoris.]

Legavit etiam et jure legati reliquit D. Claudio Massarolo de Carauaggio eius alumno omnia dissignia q. d. Luce Cambiasii et Parmesanini et aliaque non sunt eiusdem testatoris manus, omnesque formas rilieui jessi, et cere ac cuiusuis alie qualitatis una cum omnibus utensilibus lignaminis et aliis massaritiis et coloribus ad usum artis miniature et picture aptis ac etiam unum dessignum S^{ti}. Laurentii et designa extracta per ipsum naturaliter ex

officio donato Ill^{mo}. d. Cardinali Farnesio necnon cum lecto seruitorum una cum duabus linteaminibus et duabus tobaliis.

In delineationibus uero omnibus qui uulgo desegni appellantur (demptis sup^{is}.) manu ipsius et presertim extractis ex delineationibus q. d. Michelis Angeli bonarotti (*sic*) cum quadro babilonie et tribus aliis quadrettis Petri Brugal et quadretto miniato manu ipsius Testatoris suum heredem universalem instituit ac ore proprio nominauit Ill^m. et Rev^{num}. D. D. Cardinalem Alexandrum Farnesium S. R. E. presbiterum Cardinalem eius unicum dominum et patronem.

In reliquis autem aliis suis bonis mobilibus et utensilibus masseritiis domus (infrascriptis tamen demptis) cum quadris magnis et parvis et hic in urbe existentibus suum heredem instituit ac ore proprio nominauit Monasterium et fratres dicte ecclesie S^{ti}. Petri ad Vincula, prohibuit tamen dictis fratribus, dictorum quadrorum alienationem sed uoluit eos semper remanere ad ornamentum ecclesie et predictæ sacristie illius.

In omnibus autem aliis suis bonis mobilibus et imobilibus presentibus et futuris in partibus Dalmatiæ siue Schiauoniæ existentibus et consistentibus nec non in anulis aureis et omnibus lapidibus pretiosi quos hic in urbe habet, suum heredem instituit fecit ac ore proprio nominauit D. Guidum Clouium

ex que fratre suo nepotem itaque nil aliud ex bonis ipsius testatoris petere possit. Item legavit D. Marco Antonio Giorgio de Montelupo eius confessori unam sottannam rascie florentine nove. Legavit insuper Filippo pucetti de Cingulo eius famulo eius sottannam rascie veteri cum breuiario suo.

Exequutores uero presentes sui testamenti ordinavit et deputavit predictum Ill^{lum}. et Reu^m. D. Cardinalem et magnificum D. Jo. Baptistam de auximo agente ipsius Ill^m. Card^{lis}. absentes quibus dedit potestatem et omnimodum autoritatem omnia et singula in presente suo testamento contenta exequenda et sue debite exequutioni demandandi et hoc etc. cassavit etc. et uoluit presens suum testamentum omnibus aliis preferri super quibus, etc.

Actum Rome in Palatio predicti Ill^{mo}. D. Card^{lis}. et in camera cubiculari predicta d. Testatoris presentibus ibidem.

Magnifico d. Jacobo Curtio salutiarum dioc.

D. Antonio Galattero Montis regalensis.

M^{co}. d. Joanne Finali clerico Lunen.-sarzanen.

M^{co}. d. Marco Toccolo clerico parmense.

D. Curtio Ricciono de Cellis D. Baptista Angeli Frattoni de Caprerola, etc.

D. Philiberto Canet Sabaudien. testibus, etc.
(Notarius Livius Prata 1577-8, fol. 353 to 405.)

LETTERS OF GIULIO CLOVIO.

There are said to be letters from Giulio Clovio among those of the Buonarroti collection in Florence, and among those of Vasari now dispersed.

Original Text.

Given by A. Ronchini in *Atti e Memoriali*, Ser. III. 262, &c.

About his
threatened
blindness.

1. Al Cardinale Farnese a Parma. Ill^{mo}. Sig^{re}. Parone mio. Io sum sempre esposito di servir et obedire a la Ill^{ma}. Signória V. Pero non mi sento ancora a modo mio, maxime che mi è sopraggiunto tanto male appresso lo occhio manco. Quella infiagione, la quale era prima, mi è ingrossata tanto sinistramente che mi impedisce a vedere, malamenti. Non facendo qualche remedio, non sarò bono per la Ill^{ma}. S. V. ne per me. E qui e uno Ciruico valente il quale a guarito conte Antonio Scoti di uno simile male in quindici dì Et cusì prego la Ill^{ma}. S. V. che la si contenti che io provi uscire di questo affanno, a poterla servire come io desidero. Il me dico dice che non è cura periculosamenti di offendere lo occhio, et che spera che in otto dì potrò andare dove voglio. Subito risoluto qualche poco negnierò via: però senza taglia non si pò fare questa cura; dove mi da un poco di paura. Et cusì prego Iddio che conservi

la Ill^{ma}. Sig^{ra}. V. in tutto quello che la desidera, et la guardi ad ogni male. Et mi li ricomando umilissimamente. Di Piacenza alli 14 di genaro 1558. Di V. S. Ill^{ma}. et Rev^{ma}. umilissimo seruitore Don Julio Clovio.

2. Allo stesso. Ill^{mo}. Sig^{re}. Oggi che è sabato ho fatto fare la iustitia del mio occhio et cusì per gratia di Dio, et per la opera di Maestro Batisto fiorentino medico e ciroico, il quale tanto destramente mi la tagliato la materia, tanto ingrossato che mi aveva quasi serrato lo occhio. Fatto il taglio, subito e saltata una materia come una pallotta, et non so che aqua gialla fuora; et mancata o calata tutta la grossezza, che mi occupava lo occhio, subito. Sia ringratiato Dio che mi la fatto questa gratia di potere servire la Ill^{ma}. S. V. la quale adoro, con miglior lume, il quale dubitava di perdere. Et cusì spero in breve di venire.

About the operation

Its success.

3. Allo stesso . . . a Piacenza. Ill^{mo}. signor et Patron mio oss^{mo}. De la necessità grande che io sono astretto mando a fla Ill^{ma}. S. V. Messer Julio Berneri, il quale abita qui in Correggio, et ancora avendosi mosso da lui per avérmi compassione a li mei affanni Et cusì supplico che la Ill^{ma}. S. V. Si degni di auscultarlo de li travagli mi sono accascati quà in Correggio, et tuttavia seguitano; et e persona secretissima. Et cusì prego Dio che prosperi la Ill^{ma}. S. V. et la guardi di ogni male.

About his necessities.

Di Correggio a li 9 di lujo, 1559,

Di V. S. Ill^{ma}. & Rev^{ma}. umilissimo Servitore.

Don Julio Clovio.

About going
to Candiana.

4. Allo Stesso a Roma. Ill^{mo}. & Rev^{mo}. Sr. mio osser^{mo}. Come V. S. Ill^{mo}. può sapere la Bolla di S. Sta. per la quale si assolvono gli traslati, è talmente conditionata, che è necessario comparire davanti agli Ordinarii et Priori di quelli luoghi dove si fa la professione : onde a me in particolare convien presentarmi e Candiana luoco della Diocese di Padova ; e cio nel termine di sei mese, de' quali uno è già quasi passato. Supplico pertanto V. S.

Wants let-
ter of recom-
mendation.

Ill^{mo}. che si degni accompagnarmi col fauor suo, scrivendo o al Vescovo di Padova, o a chi meglio parrà a Lei, et dando ordine appresso di questo, a soi ministri che mi proveggan delle cose necessarie per questo viaggio. Dal qual tornato, spero poi venir colla presenza a servirla, come sempre ho desiderato, questo tanto di vita che mi resta. Et intanto Le bascio le mani, et nella sua buona gratia humilimente, mi raccomando.

Di Correggio il 29 di Aprile, 1560. Di V. S. Illmo. & Revmo. Devotissimo. et obligatissimo. Servitor. Don Julio Clovio. [Ronchini.]

About his
necessities
and his reli-
ance on the
Cardinal's
generosity,
in his present
sickness.

5. Allo stesso . . a Roma. Ill^{mo}. et Rev^{mo}. Sr. mio osser^{mo}. Io non ho mai desperato de la gratia et bontà di V. S. Ill^{mo}. mentre che sono stato giovane e più sano. Hora, estendo invecchiato et

infermo, ne spero più che mai, promettendomi al sicuro che Ella non potrà supportare ch' io perisca per necessità di quanto fa bisogna a la recuperatione de la sanita. Io gravamente patisco all' orinare, et ho a questi giorni fattomi curare, et ho pressa l'acqua di bagni di Lucca, che fa portata qui per il Signor Hieronimo; et mi pare star peggio assai che prima. In Venetia e un valente homo, come dicono, e l'animo mio sarebbe di trasferirmi fin colà per un mese; et mettermi in mano di lui. Però, in questo caso, ^{He wants to go to a doctor in Venice.} supplico V. S. Ill^{mo}. a farmi favore che sia scritta una lettere al Governatore di San Gio. di Furlani, che mi accomodi di una stanza per detto tempo. Appresso ricordo a V. S. Ill^{mo}. che sono hormai cinque mesi che non ho havuto un soldo de la provisione che la bontà e nobiltà sua mi dona, e che non mi basta la cortesia che mi fa il Sr. Hieronimo, che ^{Cannot get his salary paid.} per certo non mi lascia mancar, par conto del viver mio, di quelle cosi che si trovano qui. Ma a me bisogna qual che denari si per medici e medicine. Come anche fra ì altre cose occorrenti al viver mio. Dunque finiendo, mi inchino a' piedi di V. S. Ill^{ma}. pregandola a degnarsi di provvedere alquanto a le mie necessitate. Et le bacio humilmente le mani. Di Correggio a dì 13 giugno 1560. Di V. S. Ill^{ma}. & Rev^{ma}. Devotiss^o. et obligatiss^o. ser^{re}.

Don Julio Clovio. [Ronchini.]

7. Allo stesso a Caprarola. Ill^{mo}. S^{or}. Patron ^{About the}

death of
Taddeo
Zuccaro.

mio oss^{mo}. M. Tadeo pittore [Taddeo Zuccaro] passo di questa vita martedì notti non con poco dolor mio, maxime essendo cusì gran valentomo come era, oltra che ira pieno di ogni bontà talmente che qui non si trova eguale a lui, fora del suo fratello, il quale a me pare di maggior espettatione assai; et acora lui è simile oltra la virtù, è da bene quanto sia possibile. So che V. S. ha di bisogno di tal persona e cusì non ve lassate scappare da le mani, perche mi pare che molto è stato ricercato dal Cardinale di Ferrara. Se V. S. Ill^{ma} andarà in Lombardia verso Parma io prego nostro Signore Jesu Christo che conduca et reduca V. S. Ill^{ma} con tutte le satisfationi che desidera. Il Quadretto è a bon termine, e sarìa finito; ma li caldi di Roma non mi hanno lassate lavorare a modo mio, oltra la debilezza, de la mia testa. Et cusì a V. S. Ill^{ma}. S. recomando humilissamente. Di Roma a li 5 di Settembre, 1566, Di V. S. Ill^{ma}. & Res^{ma}. Servitore humil^{mo}. Don Julio Clovio. [Ronchini.]

Complains
of the heat
and pain in
his head.

6. A letter which ought to stand next in this collection, though not given by Ronchini, is photographed by Milanese in *Scritture di Artisti* III. 1.

To Duke
Cosimo about
going to
Florence.

18 di Marzo, '61. Ill^{mo}. et Ecc^{mo}. Sig^{re}. Prin' mio Oss^{mo}. Julio Clovio. Io mi riputo a gran fauore che l' E'. v. si sia degnata comandarmi, ma me lo reputerei molto maggiore se conforme alla mia natural diuotione verso di lei et della Ill^{ma}. sua

Casa io havessi libertà et comodità di poterla servire come io desidero percioche hauendo io come Ella sa Princ. et essendo occupato per suo seruitio quanto ha potuto uedere il suo m' Giorgino aggiunta la mia uechaja ni lo posso promettere dell' opera mia. Se non poco et lontanamente. Tuttavia mi andrò inuolando alcuna uolta a tutte l' altre mie facende, accioche l'e' v. resti appagata affatto della mia pronta volontà, et in parte anchora della fatica et di quel poco che le possono promettere i molt' ani et le poche forze mie pel resto rimettendomi a m' Giorgino le bascio humilissamente la mano et priego ogni felicità. Di Roma a xvij d' Marzo, 1561. [Archivio di stato in Firenze, Carteggio del Duca Cosimo de' Medici. Filza 196, Carta 726 (Inedita).]

With mention of his friend Giorgio Vasari.

In a firmer hand lower down:—

Studiarmi seruire a u e' cetia con tute le mie forze e' diligentia ho sapro e' quanto ho ragionato con m giorgio il quale refferira a bocha a v ecc^{tia}. quanto li sono affezionatissimo ser^{tore}.

Humilissimo se^{tore}.

Don Julio Clovio.

8. Al Duca di Parma e Piacenza. Ill^{mo}. el Excell^{mo}. mio P'rone. Da por che'l Conte Lodouico [Conte Lod. Tedeschi maggiordomo del Cardinal Farnese] me ha ditto da parte di V. Excelltia. che io gli facessi il ritratto, ho lassato da banda le altre cose, e mi son sforzato di servirla; et nonne havendo

About a portrait which he has painted of the Duke of Parma.

Apologizes
for his failing
health and
skill.

altro migliore essemplio lo ho cavato da un mio libretto, et lo mando alla Excellentia vostra, alla quale desidero che satisfaccia si come io lo ho fatto volontieri e di core. Et la prego che excusi la età mia, li ochj deboli et le manj; promittendogli che come io potrò rubbar un poco di tempo dalle opere del Card^{le}. mi sforzaiò di fare altro a satisfattione della Exc. Va. alla quale humilmente me recomando sempre. Di Roma alli 22. d' Ottobre, 1569. Di vostra excellentia humiliss^o. seruitore,

Don Julio Clovio.

Recom-
mending a
young Can-
diote painter,
a pupil of
Titian.

9. Al Card. Farnese an Viterbo. A di 16 di bre, 1570. E capitato in Roma un giouane Candioto discepolo di Titiano che a mio giuditio parmi raro nella pittura, et fra laltre cose e gli ha fatto un ritratto da se stesso che fa stupire tutti questi Pittori di Roma. Io vorrei trattenerlo sotto l'ombra di V. S. Ill^{ma}. et Rev^{ma}. senza spesa altra del vivere ma solo de venghi ad accomodare meglio. Però La prego et supplico sia contenta di scriuere al Co. Lud^{co}. suo maiord^o. che lo provegghi ne' detto Palazzo di qual che stanza ad alto, chè V. S. Ill^{ma}. farà un' opera virtuosa degna di Lei et io gliene teniò obligo. Et Le bacio con reuerenza le mani. Di V. S. Ill^{mo}. & Rev^{ma}. humiliss^o. ser'tore,

Don Julio Clovio.

About the
price of a
picture.

10. Allo stesso a Caprarola. Ill^{mo}. & Rev^{mo}. Sig^{re}. & Patron mio osserv^{mo}. Per la prima

V. S. Ill^{ma}. mi ha dato da fare con uno più discortese e più ostinato che sia al mondo. Volendo quel quadro solo di San Francescho, non si vergogna domandare cinquanta scudi d'oro, et non ho mai potuto aver altra risoluzione di lui, dicendo che quello li guastaria il prezzo de li altri. Ma volendosi pigliare tutti tre. San Jerolimo et la charità li darà per cento scudi d'oro insieme con S. Francescho. Di questa sua ostinatione sono stati li pictori di Roma, Muciano et Jacopino et Jeromo Sermoneta [Gerolamo Muziano, Jacopo Stella, et Gerolamo Siciolante de' Sermoneta] che hanno messo in tanto gran prezzo le opere di queste pitture, e certo non si può dire non e bene perche sono fatte con gran leggiadria. Di quell' altro S. Francescho, che V. S. Ill^{ma}. mi ordinò non ho haúto altro auiso. Gia aueua trouato il pittore e questo si potrià fare a questa mede'ma attitudine como è quello del Genuese. Però volendosi fare questo convenia mi fussi mandata la misura de la altezza et de la larghezza. E cusì humilissimamente a V. S. Ill^{mo}. mi ricomando, pregando Dio ha conservi sana et in gratia sua et quello che hai desidera. Di Roma a li 7 di luglio, 1573. Di V. S. Ill^{ma}. et Rev^{ma}. humilissimo servitore,

Don Julio Clovio.

11. Letter to Madama d'Austria, written by Caro in Clovio's name.

“Mando a V. A. il quadro della Giuditta finito

About the

Judith and
Holofernes
painted for
Margaret of
Austria,
Duchess of
Parma,
apologizing
for delays.

pur una volta, quando è piacuto a Dio Dico così, perche quanto a la vonontà e a la sollecitudine mia sarebbe già da molti mesi compito; ma sono stato impedito da tanti mali, e da tanti sinistri, così de la vita come de la fortuna, che se non fosse stato l'ardore e la divotione con che vi ho lavorato credo che non ne sarei mai venuto a capo. Havrei voluto andar più oltre con dargli forza et moto el spirito di vita et verità, se avessi potuto, per empire il giuditio degli occhi suoi col concetto mio stesso . . di quà è stata veduta non senza lode mia et maraviglia di ognuno. Resta che io mi raccomandandi ecgiacchè gli anni le infermità et la mala fortuna ec. Roma a li 11 di Settembre, 1561."

Given in the Milano edition of Vasari, in *Classici Italiani*, 1811, Vol. 15, pp. 132-3, note 2.

12. Letter from Giuliano Ardinghelli, Ambassador of the Duke of Parma at the Court of Brussels, to Cardinal Farnese. Now kept in the Archivio Governativo, Parma.

" 4 Dec.

" Ho presentato al Sigr. Ruy Gomez il quadretto di Don Julio, con quel modo che mi parve più conveniente, mostrando che l'animo di V. S. III^{ma}. era d'honorarlo con cosa di maggior momento, e che si riserbara a farlo con altra commodità. S.S. III^{ma}. l'accettò con allegrissima cera, e mostro d'haverlo carissimo: et in præsentia mia chiamò

About the
miniature
presented to
Ruy Gomez.

The am-
bassador's
pleasure on
receiving it.

molti signori della camera del Re dove si fece grandisso. romore e fa lodato in estremo. Alla fine si raccomandò a tutti, per che non fusse detto niente al Re, dicendo che lo voleva mandare alla S^{re}. Contessa sua moglie. Io lo pregai che mi dicesse se desiderava nessuna altra coso di quella mano per chè V. S. Ill^{ma}. harebbe hauto gran piacere di saper l'animo suo per ordinare che la fassi servita, e gli soggiunsi che V. S. Ill^{ma}. haueua ordinato che se ne facessi uno per l'Imperatore in quella forma che sua Altà. haveva detto che desiderava. A che mi rispose, che io pregassi V. S. Ill^{ma}. a non lo mandare a S. Altà. se non per la via di quà, per che il Re pigliarà gran piacere vederlo ; et in ultimo disse che scriverria a V. S. Ill^{ma}. ringraziandola, &c. Però V. S. Ill^{ma}. pensi a far che Don Julio lavori, por che le cose sue sono stimate quà in estremo."—*Atti e Memorie, &c.*, III. 262.

The Em-
peror would
like one.

The King
would like
another.

Don Julio's
work most
highly valued.

13. In "Le Lettere familiare del Commendatore Annibal Caro" (3 vols. 12mo. Padova, 1734, II. 395) occurs one "al Sig^{re}. Vicino Orsino" about certain loggie at Caprarola to be decorated with scenes from the story of the Giants. Speaking of the effect of mere smallness of dimension not lessening the sense of grandeur, he says: "E se 'l vostro sarà tale, supplira in questo al dubbio di V. S. che se bene ha considerato le cose di D. Giulio conoscerà ch' ancora la miniatura con piccolissime figure

rappresenta i Giganti.” It is a long letter, entering into the matter very minutely, as the other letter to M. Tadeo Zuccaro Pittore, where he is dealing with the subjects and decorations to be painted in the same palace (II. 303, No. 188).

14. The letter written for Clovio by Caro to Signora Giovanna Clavio (Sakcinski: *Life, &c.*, 21):—

“Io ho sentito molti giorni innanti celebrare la virtù et bellezza vostra, et de l’una et de l’altra per

Praising her beauty, her youth and her marvelous skill in miniature art, and thanking her for her portrait.

fama era molto affectionato, quando da M . . . mi è stata mostrata la vostra effigie da voi medesima depinta, et in tal sorte che in un medesimo tempo, ho scorto in voi la grazia del vostro volto, la vivezza del vostro spirito et l’eccellenza di quell’ arte de la quale io fo professione. Hor pensate se prima v’amava, per avervi udita commendare quanto io v’ami et vi honori di poi che v’ho, si può dir veduta et conosciuta et per donna tale che oltre a l’esser sì bella e sì giovine, siete ancora sì eccellente in un’ arte tanto rara ne gli uomini, non che nele donne. L’amore et la maraviglia insieme hanno fatto che io ritenghi il vostro ritratto appresso di me, et lo vagheggio a tutte l’hore per la più mirabile

Promises his own portrait in return.

che si vegga ; et per ricompensa. M’è parso di mandarvi il mio par di mio propria mano più perche ancor voi consciate l’effigie di che v’ama, che ’l valór di che io faccio non lo giudico degno di

voi. Pure perche gli artefici sogliono hauer caro veder diverse maniere di quelli che operano, ho giudicato che non sia per dispiacervi di poter considerare quella di noi altri d'Italia, et vi harei mandato un saggio d'istorie o di qualche figurettà ben finita, perche ne poteste far meglio giudicio, ma per brevità di tempo mi riserbo a farlo un'altra volta et voglio che questo vi riserva solamente, come io detto, per darvi conoscenza di me, e per un segno che io vi dono di me stesso. So che siete così cortese come vi mostrate ne l'aspetto, et per questo non dubito che non siate per accettarmi per vostro. Hora vi prego che mi faciate fauor di farmi intendere che mi abbiate per tale, et di comandarmi come a vostra cosa, facendomi gratia di qual che altra cosa di vostra mano, che io farò il medesimo con voi. E del resto rimettendomi a la relatione del Gentil'huomò apportator di questa, mi vi offero et mi vi dono per sempre, et vi bacio le delicate et artificiose mani. Stata sana.”

Friend or
lover?

In the last Florentine edition of Vasari (Sansoni) —Firenze, 1882, Vol. VIII. 229— is the following note:—

“Esista nella Riccardiana di Firenze, un codice cartaceo in 8o. di carte 96 delle quale 84 scritte segnato di No. 2354 che contiene 54 lettere, di Giorgio Vasari copiate certamente dalla mano del Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari suo nipote verso la fine

del secolo XVI. e tratte dalle bozze stesse del suo zio." It is entitled, "Varie lettere di M. Giorgio Vasari aretino pittore et architetto scritte in diversi tempi a diversi amici suoi sopra inventione di varie cose da lui dipinte o da dipignersi, raccolte dal Cav. Giorgio Vasari suo nipote da certi suoi scritti." Of these fifty-four letters, nineteen were copied and sent to Rome to Bottari, who inserted them among the *lettere pittoriche*. But the first to print the whole in the order they bear in the MS. was Audin in his Edition of the "Opere Vasariane." Milanese prints them re-arranged in the order of time as nearly as can be made out. Those hitherto inedited are distinguished by an asterisk. On fol. 91 of this Codex Riccardiana is a list of correspondents which, now that the precious collection of letters to Vasari has been dispersed and many lost (pp. 230-1), appears to be of some importance. Among the persons named in the list are: Clemente VII., Paolo III., Giulio III., Gregorio XIII., and other Popes; Cardinals Aless. Farnese, Salviati, Bembo, and Sadoletto; and Don Giulio Clovio.



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