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THE FARNES HOURS:
A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MIRROR

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Sister Mary Jeanette Cerney, O.S.F.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1984

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INTRODUCTION

My dissertation concerns an illuminated manuscript, The Hours of the Virgin of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese,¹ by the noted Sixteenth Century miniaturist, Giulio Clovio. This highly illuminated book of prayers was a work commissioned c. 1537 by Clovio's patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the grandson of Pope Paul III.² The twenty-eight full-page illuminations and the thirty-six pages of marginal decorations are extremely varied and rich both in artistic conception and in execution. These richly illuminated pages offer an opportunity for a unique study of the history and religion of this time for they reflect the prevalent thought and the spiritual climate of the day.

To date, only one scholar, Webster Smith,³ has attempted to unravel the multitude of problems confronting the discerning viewer of this manuscript. Some of these issues were explored by Smith in his Master's Thesis, A Study of the Book of Hours for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M.69).⁴ As excellent as is this work by Webster Smith, he does not answer all the innumerable questions raised by this manuscript nor does he explore the religious and historical issues that deeply influenced this work executed during the period of the Counter Reformation of the church. My study will attempt not only to answer some of the many questions that still remain to be explored regarding The Farnese Hours, but also to look at these highly intricate illuminations in a new light so as to see them for

¹

²

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⁴
what they truly are—a small but important reflection or a mirroring of the artistic, religious and historical milieu of Sixteenth Century Italy.

Also, in this dissertation, it is my aim to bring out of his current undeserved obscurity an artist who was "one of the most renowned artists of Rome in the Sixteenth Century." As with so many other gifted artists of illuminated manuscripts whose uniquely beautiful art works lie quietly hidden between the covers of a book and stored away on some museum shelf, his renown, too, has been hidden and forgotten with the passing of time. In his day, Giulio Clovio was highly respected and was a friend of Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, and Perino del Vaga, to mention only a few of the major artists of that day.

During 1982, the El Greco Exhibit toured the United States. Those who had the privilege of seeing it and of reading the catalogue, will recall that he was referred to as the "friend and mentor of El Greco," the great Spanish artist of the Mannerist Period, and will recollect two paintings by El Greco in which he singularly honored Giulio Clovio. In the one painting from the Minneapolis Institute of Fine Arts, The Purification of the Temple, El Greco honored the four artists, Titian, Michelangelo, Clovio and Raphael, whom he considered to be the "giants of the Renaissance." The other painting was a portrait of Giulio Clovio from the Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples. In this portrait, El Greco had painted Giulio Clovio who holds in his one hand the open book of The Farnese Hours, his masterpiece, which was described as being a "breathtaking example of
Maniera style" and "one of the most celebrated contemporary works of art in Rome." Truly, such an artist as Clovio was deserves to once again share the limelight with other noted Sixteenth Century artists and to receive the recognition that he truly deserves.

Over the years, scholars such as John W. Bradley, Mgr. Fourier Bonnard, A. Bertolotti and, more recently, Maria Cionini-Visani, have each treated the life of Clovio and have taken a survey approach in discussing the various works by his hand. While a thorough study of the writings of these scholars is essential for a true understanding of Clovio, his style, and his times, no individual work by Clovio is treated by these scholars in any great detail.

As noted previously, only one scholar, Webster Smith, has seriously undertaken to explore The Farnese Hours and this, in his Thesis for his Master's Degree from New York University. Towards the conclusion of his Thesis, Smith writes that this manuscript, The Farnese Hours, deserves a more complete and thorough study than that which he has given in his work. It is this more complete and thorough study of The Farnese Hours with which this dissertation is concerned. While this study cannot give an answer to all the innumerable artistic, historical and religious problems posed by this manuscript, it will attempt to explore many of these issues and to arrive at solutions that are most probable in light of our knowledge of the Sixteenth Century.

To accomplish this type of study adequately one must approach this manuscript by answering certain specifically formulated questions, such as what works of art were available to Clovio in Italy and in the different places where he visited and resided? Who were the artists
with whom he came into contact? Who were his close friends? Who were his patrons? How much did artists, friends and patrons influence his work? In what ways and to what degree is The Farnese Hours a historical document of its time? What were the effects, if any, of the Counter Reformation upon The Farnese Hours?

As the following pages unfold, the answers to the questions posed above and to other similar inquiries will indicate whether The Farnese Hours is truly a reflection of Sixteenth Century Italy and whether or not Giulio Clovio is, in fact, the excellent artist so highly praised by Giorgio Vasari in his noted biography of artists, The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects and by other Sixteenth Century contemporaries.
NOTES

Introduction

1 This manuscript is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. Its catalogue number is M. 69.

2 Conte Pompeo Litta, Famiglie Celebri Italiane, Vol. 9 (Milano: Tipografia delle Famiglie Celebri Italiane, 1868); Giovanna R. Solari, The House of Farnese, Trans. by Simona Morini and Federic Tuten (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968, pp. 13-58; Hans Kühner, Encyclopedia of the Papacy, Trans. by Kenneth J. Northcott (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958), pp. 155-160; Eric John, ed., The Popes, A Concise Biographical History (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1964), p. 335. (Before he had reached his twenty-fifth year, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who later became Pope Paul III, was known to have had four children, three sons and one daughter, all of whom were acknowledged and legitimized. One of his sons, Pier Luigi, who became the first Duke of Parma and Piacenza, married Gerolama Orsini. Cardinal Alessandro, for whom this Book of Hours was commissioned, was the son of this union and thus, the grandson of Pope Paul III. See Appendix A.)

3 This is not to say that other scholars have not written on The Farnese Hours and the artistic problems involved in this manuscript—they have. However, Webster Smith is the only scholar who has researched this manuscript extensively.


5 Jonathan Brown, William B. Jordan, Richard L. Kagan and Alfonso E. Perez Sanchez, El Greco of Toledo (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), p. 258; Giorgio Vasari, Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors & Architects, Vol. 9 (London: Philip Lee Warner, Publisher, 1912-15), p. 245. (Regarding Clovio, Vasari writes: "There has never been, nor perhaps will there ever be for many centuries, a more rare or more excellent miniaturist, or we would rather say painter of little things, than Don Giulio Clovio, in that he has surpassed by a great measure all others who have ever been engaged in that kind of painting.

6 Brown, et al., El Greco, p. 258.

7 Ibid., p. 227.

8 Ibid., p. 258.
9Ibid.


14For the facsimile of this manuscript, Webster Smith has also written the Introduction and a Commentary on each illuminated folio.

15Smith, *Study*, p. 117.
CHAPTER ONE

The Historical Perspective

Rome, in the Sixteenth Century, was the undisputed artistic and intellectual capitol of the Western World. Dominated by such men of power and genius as the fiery Pope Julius II (Della Rovere, 1503-13), the learned Pope Leo X (De Medici, 1513-21), and the astute Pope Paul III (Farnese, 1534-49), artists were drawn to Rome as if by a magnet. Here, commissions of great magnitude could be found not only at the papal court, but also with many of the cardinals who resided in Rome. Some of these princes of the Church maintained palaces of grandeur and had princely retinues that rivaled in splendour the papal court at Rome. They were most eager to have in their service noted artists to beautify their palaces and villas with works of art of superior quality that would reflect the latest style then current in artistic circles. Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael and Bramante, those giants of the Renaissance, all worked in Rome, and artists eagerly came seeking to learn from them and from their works and to take advantage of the plethora of commissions, desirous of achieving like greatness and, hopefully, undying fame.

Rome, at this point in history, was also in the midst of an unsuccessful attempt to keep a balance of power between the papacy and Francis I of France (1515-47), Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56), and Henry VIII of England (1509-47). Each ruler was anxious
to increase his territorial possessions, to swell the coffers of his treasury and to become supremely powerful so as to hold an advantage over the other contending parties. To this end, secret treaties were signed and broken, dukedoms were established and conquered, diplomatic assassinations were common and intrigue prevailed in every court.¹

Notwithstanding a deep involvement in the aforementioned temporal affairs, the Popes, as spiritual leaders of the Church, were concerned also with the spiritual welfare of the Church, although many times the interests of God were made second to the interests of power and political ambition. This concern for temporal advantage, first, and spiritual good, second, placed the Popes, and the Church which they represented, frequently in a very precarious and oftentimes scandalous position. Reform in the Church was desperately needed and often proposed during the pontificates of many of the Popes. In the Sixteenth Century, conditions were slowly reaching that point where a step of major importance towards Church reform would become imperative.²

It was into this atmosphere of artistic magnificence and spiritual and political turmoil that Giulio Clovio arrived in Rome in 1516 from Croatia, via Venice, in the service of the powerful Grimani family to seek his fortunes and to further his artistic career.³

Juraj Glogovica (Glovichic),⁴ Giorgio Clovio, was born in Croatia in the southern part of Slavonia in the year 1498.⁵ He was reared in the little village of Grizane near the Adriatic Sea and, in all probability, received his education in one of the neighboring monastic schools.⁶ At this time in history, the Cloisters of Southern Slavonia were renowned for their calligraphers and illuminators of fine
books, and Clovio was probably encouraged to develop his natural gift for drawing and painting during his formative years at one of these monastic schools. His talent must have been extremely noteworthy, for Vasari writes that at the age of eighteen he was already in the service of Cardinal Grimani of Venice. Later, sometime around the year 1537, Clovio entered the service of the then papal family, the Farnese of Rome and Parma. It was at this time that he was commissioned to illuminate a Book of Hours for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the grandson of Pope Paul III. This Book of Hours, which is one of the great treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, is known today under its abbreviated title, The Farnese Hours.

Clovio brings to The Farnese Hours a wealth of artistic expertise most diligently and painstakingly acquired up to this period in his life, for the years between his arrival in Italy in 1516 while in the service of the illustrious Grimani family, and the year 1546, the completion date of The Farnese Hours, were eventful and fruitful ones in the life of Clovio. First of all, one must take into consideration the training in drawing and painting from his early years at one of the monastic schools of Southern Slavonia, as mentioned above. Then one must consider the many travels (See Appendix B and Appendix C) which gave him unlimited opportunities to study innumerable works of art and to meet famous artists.

He visited Venice in 1516, in 1523, and in all probability, again in 1526. He was in Rome from 1516/17 to 1523. In 1524, he was in Buda at the palace of King Louis II of Hungary, who commissioned him to work at his court. In 1526/27, Clovio was again in Rome, where,
after his escape following its devastating Sack, he went to Mantua. Then, in 1530/31, he went to Candiana near Padua and thereafter to Perugia and stayed until 1537, after which time he again returned to Rome. It is interesting to note that nowhere, during these thirty years of travel, is there any mention that Clovio visited Florence. Yet, it is difficult to imagine that Clovio, during one of the many trips that took him to within its vicinity, did not stop over in Florence to view and to study, at least briefly, the numerous artistic marvels that had been created there.

During these years of travel, Clovio studied and copied many of the works of the various artists in each of the places where he stayed. He made the acquaintance of important artists such as Michelangelo, Raphael, Giulio Romano, Francisco Salviati, Perino del Vaga, and Girolamo dai Libri, to mention only a few—all who greatly influenced his art as can be seen by an examination of his works and, most especially, of The Farnese Hours, his masterpiece.

As one examines the development of Clovio's artistic career in greater detail, one discovers that it is Vasari who informs us that Clovio, during the first three years of his service in the Grimani household, diligently applied himself to pen drawings of medals and coins and the copying of engravings. These early drawings were "drawn with the pen most minutely with extreme and almost incredible diligence." The success that Clovio had in these little drawings executed for Cardinal Domenico Grimani prompted his friend, Giulio Romano, one of Raphael's most able assistants, to encourage Clovio to devote his time and skill to miniature work—to the painting of small
compositions, or, as Cianini-Visani phrases it so perfectly, to paint "big compositions on a small scale."12

It is thought that one of the first miniatures that Clovio attempted in color was a copy of a Madonna from the *Epitome in Divae-partenices Mariæ Historiarum* by Albrecht Durer.13 This work by Durer was edited in Nuremberg in 1511, and, most likely, by this time it was in the library of Cardinal Domenico Grimani in Rome.14 Cardinal Grimani was known to have in his possession one of the finest libraries in Europe, and one must bear in mind that it was also a library to which Clovio had complete access.

The Madonna, drawn by Clovio, was based on an engraving by Durer that served as the frontispiece or title-page for the largest of Durer's three books of engravings (Fig. 1).15 Clovio's painted miniature pictured the Virgin Mother holding the Infant Christ to her maternal bosom. She was depicted seated on a rich cushion that had been placed on a crescent moon. A starry crown hung over her head, while a brilliant light seemed to radiate all around her person.16 While this painting by Clovio is not extant today, it must have been a truly impressive work for both Vasari and Bradley to single it out by mentioning it and describing it in their writings.

Bradley writes that Rome was the artistic starting point of Clovio's career.17 Maria Cionini-Visani echoes Bradley's thoughts on the early formation of Clovio's artistic career, for she looks upon these early years spent by Clovio in the Grimani household in Rome as a time of apprenticeship and training for our artist. It was this training, based on the study of Durer's prints, Cionini-Visani feels, that
helped to develop the "agile and robust quality" that one finds in Clovio's drawings.\textsuperscript{18} However, the early formation of Clovio's artistic strengths was indebted to more than the study of the works of Durer. Clovio spent hours copying and studying the works of Michelangelo, Raphael, Giulio Romano and the numerous works of other artists including the works of the ancients.\textsuperscript{19}

One of the earliest extant works to come down to us from the pen of Giulio Clovio from this early period in the Grimani household is a drawing, \textit{The Conversion of Saint Paul} (Fig. 2).\textsuperscript{20} It is an ink and brown watercolor drawing that has been heightened with white lead on paper. The composition, which is divided into two distinct groups, is unified by the figure of a soldier who runs to assist Saul, who, dazed from a fall from his horse, raises his left hand to his head and gazes heavenward. The twisted figure of Saul is supported by an athletic nude who bends to assist the stricken Saul. The entire scene vibrates with dramatic action as men and horses twist and turn in confusion and wonder. In this drawing, Clovio has captured the intense feeling of that one supremely charged moment when Saul was confronted by God.

When in Rome, Clovio began a careful study of the works by Raphael and Michelangelo, and in this scene we see his attempt to imitate them in his figures and in his choice of subject matter. It would appear that this work is partially based on a study of a Cartoon of the same subject by Raphael which was drawn between 1515 and 1516 for a tapestry for the Sistine Chapel (Fig. 3). Later this Cartoon became a part of the Grimani collection and Clovio could have seen it while working in the Grimani household.\textsuperscript{21} Also, the rearing type of
horse seen in Clovio's drawing can be found in paintings in the Vatican such as The Expulsion of Heliodorus (Fig. 4) and The Repulse of Attila (Fig. 5). The rather heavily muscled nude athletic figure that bends over to support Saul is probably due more to the influence of Michelangelo's works upon Clovio than to that of the works by Raphael.

In 1523, Cardinal Domenico Grimani died and with his death Clovio passed, "bequeathed, as it were, by his master's will, into the service of Marino Grimani," who also happened to be the fortunate inheritor of many of the priceless treasures of literature and art that had been collected by his uncle, Domenico. Thus, Clovio's valued services in the Grimani household were allowed to continue without interruption.

It would appear that, from the time that Clovio had first entered the Grimani household in 1516 until the time of his great benefactor's death in 1523, his reputation, like his artistic skill, had grown and had become quite impressive for, in 1523, he was invited to Hungary by Alberto Pio da Carpi, a nobleman from Buda. While in Buda he obtained a royal commission from King Louis II who requested him to add "something from his own excellent though still quite youthful hand" to the fabulous art collection which the King had inherited from Mathias Corvinus. Vasari informs us that Clovio executed a Judgment of Paris for King Louis, and that for his wife, Queen Maria, the sister of Charles V, Clovio painted "the Roman Lucretia killing herself, with some other things, which were held to be very beautiful."  

There is evidence that, while in Buda, Clovio also worked for Simon Erdődy, the Bishop of Zagreb. According to Berkovitz, scholars in Zagreb identify as his, on the basis of a monogram, some landscape
scenes in medallions that had been left blank and unadorned in many of the border decorations in the famous Zagreb Missal (Zagreb, Archepiscopal Library, MR 354). Since these spaces were later filled in by an "excellent master with magnificent, realistic representations of landscapes," scholars conclude that this is the work of Giulio Clovio who visited Buda when he was a young man.

Clovio's stay in Hungary was cut short by the Turks who, in 1526 at the Battle of Mohacs, defeated the Hungarians and captured the royal city of Buda with all its treasures. Clovio fought in this disastrous battle but later fled to his native village, only to once again be forced to flee from the marauding Turkish forces.

It is recorded that later in that same year, 1526, Clovio was once again in Rome, this time in the service of Cardinal Laurenzio Campeggio, for whom he painted a Madonna di Minio (Madonna in Miniature). While in Rome, Clovio devoted himself "with all his power to imitate the works of Michelangelo," especially his paintings on the Sistine Ceiling. But Michelangelo was not his only master. Clovio drew inspiration from the works of many artists, copying their styles, studying their techniques and experimenting with innovative uses of color.

Clovio was also an artist of his own time, completely immersed in the Renaissance and Mannerist styles of the day and, like the great artists of the Renaissance and Mannerist eras, intrigued and fascinated with antique art. Evidence of this is clearly seen in the extant works of Clovio, of which The Farnese Hours can be considered as a prime example.
It would appear that war, with all its accompanying disasters and horrors, dogged the heels of Clovio. After having escaped with his life from the Turks in the battles at both Buda and his native village of Grizane, Clovio was once again embroiled in the conflict of war—this time the setting was Rome.

In 1523, Giulio De Medici became the new Pope of Rome, taking the name of Clement VII (1523-1534). His election was not so much the fruit of prayerful deliberation by a conclave of cardinals as it appears to have been the decisive choice of the three most powerful rulers of Europe—Charles V of Spain and the Empire, Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England. While basically a good and learned man, Clement VII was not the strong militant administrator and diplomat that the Church had found in Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere, 1503-1513). Clement VII was, by nature, a timid man and in moments of crisis unable to make a decision. Unfortunately, during his reign as Pope there were many momentous occasions of crisis, and important decisions had to be made. But Clement constantly vacillated, swerving in his decisions from one side to the other.

Shortly after the election of Clement VII, Francis I of France and Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, enemies of long standing, engaged in serious combat and made northern Italy their battleground. During this confrontation, Clement VII was officially on friendly terms with Charles V. However, secretly, the Pope desired that the power of Charles V be curbed, for not only was Charles V the nominal ruler of Germany, but also of Spain, the Netherlands, and important areas of Italy and Southern Germany as well. If Charles V were to win the
battle, all of Italy would fall under his domination and there was a
genuine fear that the Pope would become merely an imperial chaplain.
On two different occasions the Pope sided with Francis I. As a result,
Charles V retaliated through intrigue with the powerful Colonna family
of Rome, a family in strong opposition to Clement, the Medici Pope.
The Vatican Palace was attacked in 1526, and then, on May 6, 1527,
Charles V's German troops, led by Charles of Bourbon, sacked the city
of Rome with great brutality. All the unspeakable horrors that one
associates with war were unleashed by the German mercenaries on Rome.
"No social condition or economic class or political faction was spared
from the horrors of the Sack."^^

The catastrophic effect of the Sack upon the artistic world in
Rome was terrible. Some of the artists escaped. Some died of the
plague, while others, like Clovio, were tortured, robbed of all they
possessed and imprisoned.38

While in prison, Clovio suffered greatly and finally, in despera-
tion, he made a vow to God that if he survived the unspeakable horrors
and misery of imprisonment, "he would renounce the worldly life and
pass the rest of his days in a monastery."39 After months of cruel
imprisonment, Clovio finally managed to escape from Rome and made his
way painfully to the Monastery of San Ruffino in Mantua. Here his
broken leg, which had suffered from neglect in prison, slowly began to
heal. Clovio, in fulfillment of the vow he had made while in prison,
adopted the religious habit of a Scopetine monk and resolved to spend
the rest of his days in religion. Out of respect for his friend,
Giulio Romano, with whom he was reunited in Mantua, he took as his new
name in religion that of Giulio. From this time onward, Giorgio Clovio was known to all as Don Giulio Clovio.40

Clovio resided at the Monastery of San Ruffino for three years. During this time, besides the fulfilling of his religious duties, he devoted himself to painting miniatures and to the illumination of sacred books. One of the books that he decorated was "a great choir-book with delicate illuminations and most beautiful borders."41 Another work, a miniature that dates from this same period, is a Christ Appearing to Magdalene in the Garden. According to Bradley, it was "a work prized by all who saw it, as of the most extraordinary merit."42 Besides these works, Clovio also drew and painted many others, including that of the story of the adulterous woman based on a drawing by Titian. However, the whereabouts of these, as well as the painting of the Magdalene, are now unknown.43

Don Giulio Clovio, sometime around 1530, was transferred from the Monastery of San Ruffino at Mantua to the Monastery of Candiana near Padua. (See Appendix B and Appendix C.) It seems that while en route to his new religious house, Clovio either again broke his leg or injured the leg that had previously been fractured. As a result, a period of enforced illness followed that was both painful and trying. During this time, Clovio devoted himself entirely to matters pertaining to religious life. However, upon regaining his health he once again occupied himself with painting and drawing.44

It was at Candiana that Clovio had the good fortune to meet the celebrated Veronese miniaturist, Girolama dai Libri, who, according to Bradley, possessed a reputation that was "second to no other in
Italy." While it is true that Clovio cannot be described as a pupil of Girolamo, it only stands to reason that this acquaintance was a learning one for Clovio. In fact, Bradley states unequivocally that Clovio profited greatly from this acquaintance, for he speedily reached what were considered the characteristic excellencies of Girolamo, including his excessive and laborious finish. At the same time, Clovio was seen to surpass Girolamo in the grander qualities of design and power of drawing. Regarding Clovio's indebtedness to Girolamo, Cionini-Visani writes that "it is certain that he gained greater ability and technical ease from his studies with the Veronese master." It was at this time, Cionini-Visani says—debatably—that "Clovio chose the miniature as his medium."

While Clovio was in residence at Candiana, Cardinal Marino Grimani, his friend and former patron, encouraged him to leave the monastery. In a letter to Clovio, Cardinal Grimani exhorted him to use his God-given talents "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." He also promised to secure whatever permissions were necessary, even from the Pope himself, if need be, to secure a dispensation for Clovio from his religious vows. After much soul-searching, Clovio allowed himself to be convinced by these arguments and acceded to the wishes of the Cardinal. In 1531, he left the monastery and entered the Grimani Palace at Perugia.
One of the many works that Clovio did while in the Grimani household at Perugia was the *Grimani Evangelistary*, Venice, Marciana Library, Ms. Lat. I, 103 [11925] (Figs. 6, 7). This manuscript, which exhibits a rich combination of Venetian and Roman styles, reflects Clovio's indebtedness to his travels and studies in the different regions of Italy and to his contacts with the works of various Northern artists.

A codex, *(Miracles of the Virgin, Treviso, Italy, City Library, Ms. 646)*, which tells of the miracles of the Virgin that took place in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Treviso, is dated to 1533. This is another work done during Clovio's stay in the Grimani Palace at Perugia (Fig. 8). It is thought that Clovio both wrote and illuminated this codex, probably in thanksgiving for his recovery from the afflictions he had suffered with his leg.52

Another work dating from Clovio's years in Perugia, 1531-1536/37, is a small and precious Book of Hours, an Office of Our Lady, done for Cardinal Marino Grimani. Today this work is known as *The Stuart de Rothesay Book of Hours*, London, British Library, Ms. Add. 20927 (Fig. 9).53 Cionini-Visani sees this little Book of Hours as the link between the *Grimani Evangelistary* and another of Clovio's works, *The Commentary on the Epistle of Saint Paul*, London, Soane Museum, Ms. 11 (Fig. 10), done for Cardinal Marino Grimani either during Clovio's stay in Perugia or shortly after his return to Rome in 1537.54 Through a careful study of the illuminations in these works one can see the gradual development and maturing of Clovio's style. From miniatures done in the traditional format of miniature painting as seen in the
Grimani Evangelistary, to a combination of miniatures and full-page illuminations in The Stuart de Rothesay Book of Hours, to, finally, the full-page painting compositions on large pieces of parchment that one sees in The Commentary on the Epistle of Saint Paul, or the Soane Commentary as it is known today, we find Clovio gradually coming to a full artistic maturing of style. This style springs from all the many and varied influences to which he had been exposed over the years and which slowly coalesced and resulted in a distinctive Clovian style—one that is rich, complicated, and impressive, and which rightfully earned for him a reputation like no other miniaturist of that day.55

Another work, also thought to come from Clovio's stay in Perugia, is the illustration of the Stanzas on the Venture of Aquila by Euralio d'Ascoli, Vienna, Albertian Library, Ms. 2660 (Fig. 11). Upon close examination, one sees that this work owes much to the influence of the Emilian painter, Parmigianino.56

From the writings of Francisco de Holanda (1517–1584), the Portuguese painter and writer, we learn that Francisco visited Clovio in Rome in 1538–1539.57 In his work, Holanda recounts various paintings and drawings by the hand of Clovio which were shown to him by the artist. One of these works was a Ganymede illustrated by Clovio's hand and based on a drawing by Michelangelo (Fig. 12). Another work, also based on a drawing by Michelangelo, was a black charcoal drawing of Tityus (Fig. 13).58 Holanda also recounts seeing "two large sheets of a book, on the first of which was illuminated the scene of St. Paul giving sight to a blind man in presence of the Roman proconsul, and on the other side Charity, with other figures, among Corinthian columns
and buildings. Cionini-Visani is of the opinion that these large sheets, *Saint Paul Blinding Elisha* (Fig. 14) and *The three Theological Virtues* (Fig. 15), are works that can be considered as tributes to the strong and steady influence of Raphael and Michelangelo upon the works of Clovio.

There are various other works, recorded by Vasari and by other authors, that Clovio is reported to have done prior to his completion of *The Farnese Hours*. These drawings and paintings demonstrate the technical skill and virtuosity of Clovio and show the dual development of his style from the time he arrived in Venice in 1516 until the time when he began work on *The Farnese Hours* in 1537. All of these works helped to lay the groundwork for this Book of Hours, Clovio's most magnificent work, and having seen the standard of excellence that Clovio is capable of achieving we are given some idea of the high quality of work that we can expect to find in his masterpiece, *The Hours of the Virgin of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*.

Before embarking on a detailed analysis of *The Farnese Hours*, let us first take a brief look at the man who became Clovio's patron in 1537, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the grandson of Pope Paul III. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was born on October 7, 1520, to Pier Luigi Farnese, who was the Duke of Parma and the son of Pope Paul III. His mother was Gerolama of Orsini, a most noble lady distinguished for her piety and goodness. From his early youth, Cardinal Alessandro showed great piety and virtue and because of these outstanding qualities he was appointed the administrator of the Diocese of Parma by Clement VII. Later, in that same year, when his grandfather ascended the papal
throne as Pope Paul III, he was raised to the cardinalate on December 18, 1534. With the investiture of the cardinalate numerous offices and benefices were conferred upon him. Two years later, in 1536, he was made Bishop of Monreale, Sicily, and then, in 1538, he was appointed as Bishop of Massa in Tuscany.  

Besides being a member of a princely court and the beloved grandson of a reigning Pontiff, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was an extremely intelligent man. He was very astute both in business and in administrative affairs and, as a result, he was "employed by the popes on various legations and embassies." From 1539-1546, he was sent on four different occasions by Pope Paul III as a Papal Legate to Charles V and to Francis I on matters concerning peace and the arranging of a General Council of the Church in order to counteract the disastrous effects of Protestantism and to promote the serious matter of Church reform. These rulers found the youthful Cardinal to be wise beyond his years and he was as well liked as he was eminent. Charles V is reported to have said of him, "If the Sacred College were composed of men such as Alessandro Farnese, it would be the most illustrious assembly in the world."  

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was "a typical man of the Renaissance, a lavish patron of learning, of the arts and perhaps more especially of letters"—in other words, he was a man of his age. Navenne refers to him as "Un Meccene au XVIe Siecle" (A Maecenas of the Sixteenth Century), and Solari, in her book on the Farnese family, writes that he was "An aesthete and an intellectual, educated in the polished and ornate sixteenth-century taste, an amateur in the best
humanistic sense,"69 who received the approbation of the most illustrious men in Italy. His residence, the Palazzo della Cancelleria, 70 was open to scholars, politicians and artists, alike. He possessed an immense library which contained numerous incunabula, Greek codices and rare manuscripts. Cardinal Farnese favored scholars with his friendship and protection, and they, in return, did their utmost "to find rare editions and other literary and artistic treasures for him."71 In his immense art collection could be found not only rare and valuable books and manuscripts but also armors, statues, antiques, medals, precious stones and paintings, which, all together, revealed his great love and appreciation for literature, history and art. 72

Clovio first came to the attention of Cardinal Farnese when one of Clovio's works, a little Petrarch, came into the hands of Pope Paul III. According to Bradley, the young Cardinal expressed enthusiastic admiration for the work and "besought his grandfather that the artist might be sent for at once to the Papal Court." 73 Cardinal Farnese, himself, even wrote to Clovio, "earnestly inviting him to Rome" 74 to work for him. While Clovio, who was working in the household of Cardinal Marino Grimani at Perugia, did not accept this offer at this time, Bradley writes that "he did not forget it." 75 From time to time, other invitations to enter the Farnese household were urgently pressed upon Clovio. Finally, in 1537, 76 Clovio entered the service of Cardinal Farnese and it was a change of patronage that Clovio never regretted. 77

Bradley writes that Clovio's presence in the Farnese household was "an epoch in Clovio's life. It introduced him to the best artistic
and literary society of the time... and... 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. As Clovio had been fortunate in his visits to Buda, to Venice, to Mantua, to Perugia, and to all the other places to which he had travelled, so he was fortunate now "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 Farnese Hours, the Book of Hours Clovio made for his new patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, we will see how he makes use of his prior learning and achievements and how the exceptional opportunities opened to him in the service of the powerful Farnese family affect this little artistic masterpiece so highly praised by Vasari. Let us now open the book and slowly begin to turn its pages to see what artistic marvels will unfold before our eyes.
NOTES

Chapter One:


3John W. Bradley, A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Vol. 1, s.v. "Grimani, Domenico, Cardinal." (Bradley writes: "Domenico was the first member of the Grimani family to whom Clovio was recommended by the Frangipani of Modrusch, and the patron for whom the youthful Dalmatian made his first attempts in miniature-painting.")

4Bradley, Life, pp. 17-20. (These are the spellings given for the name of Giorgio Clovio in his native Croatian language. Clovio is the Italized version of his surname. Giulio, as he is known today, was not his baptismal name. He took the name of Giulio out of respect and gratitude for his close friend, Giulio Romano, when, in 1528 Clovio entered the Monastery of S. Ruffino near Mantua. One of the various ways in which Clovio signed his works was that of "Julio Crovato" or "Crovata." This was nothing more than an observance of a practice common to most artists of the day indicating their place of birth—in this instance, "Julio Crovato" or "Crovata" means "Giulio of Croatia." Sometimes "Macedo" was added to Giulio's name. Bradley explains this addition to his signature as Clovio's reference to his Macedonian ancestry.); Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, p. 1; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 27, Note: 21. (See this footnote for further information regarding the name of Clovio and Clovio's place of birth.); Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 245. (Vasari informs us that Clovio received the name of Giorgio Giulio at his baptism. However, as we learn from Brad-
ley, Vasari's information is incorrect.)

\[5^{\text{ Bradley, Life, p. 19.}}\]

\[6^{\text{ Ibid., pp. 19-23. (For information regarding the early life of Clovio, Bradley, like other authors on Clovio, relies heavily on that given by Sakcinski in his learned compilation, the Lexicon of South Slavonic Artists); Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, p. 2; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, pp. 27-28.}}\]

\[7^{\text{ Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 245; Bradley, Life, pp. 23-2. (Vasari writes that when Clovio was eighteen, he placed himself in the service of Cardinal Marino Grimani. However, Bradley states that at this time it was Cardinal Domenico Grimani "who was the great art-patron and book-collector of the family." Also, according to Bradley, the celebrated Franciscan Breviary, that bears the Grimani name and which was a primary source of inspiration for Clovio, was obtained from Antonio of Sicily who was a noted dealer in manuscripts. It was actually obtained by Cardinal Domenico Grimani and not by Cardinal Marino Grimani. Marino Grimani was not created a cardinal until 1527. As Bradley notes, this is an understandable mistake on the part of Vasari as, during his day it was common knowledge that the great patron and good friend of Clovio was Cardinal Marino Grimani.)}}\]

\[8^{\text{ Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, p. 23; Bradley, Life, pp. xxi, 146; Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 258. (It is difficult to pinpoint an exact date for Clovio's entrance into the Farnese household. Both Bradley and Bonnard write that Clovio probably entered the service of Cardinal Farnese around the year 1540. However, the colophon in The Farnese Hours dates the completion of this manuscript to 1546 and Vasari writes that it took Clovio nine years to complete this work. If this is so, then Clovio must have entered the service of the Farnese family sometime around 1537.); Smith, Study, p. 8. (Smith also takes into consideration Vasari's mention of nine years for the completion of this work and so, writes that "the patronage of Alessandro Farnese may have started at the very latest in 1537."); Brown et al., El Greco, p. 258. (The authors of this book maintain that Clovio worked on this manuscript for some twenty years. There is no evidence to support this statement.)}}\]

\[9^{\text{ Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 28. (Clovio was in Venice in 1523 while on his way to Buda to take up service with a patron in Hungary. After the Turks attacked Buda in 1526, Clovio fled to Grizane, his hometown. It is reasonable to suppose that on his return trip to Rome, he again stopped over in Venice.)}}\]

\[10^{\text{ Bradley, Life, pp. 36, 148. (Clovio did visit Florence, but Bradley dates this visit as occurring in 1553 when he was invited by Cosimo I to paint a Stabat Mater. However, on page 148, Bradley does mention a visit to Florence in connection with Clovio's}}\]
visit to Buda, a visit which took place before 1537. The impression that Bradley gives is that a visit to Florence, a visit from which Clovio derived much benefit, predated his entrance into the Farnese household. Cionini-Visani, Smith and Bonnard make no mention of any visit to Florence before 1537.)

11 Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 245.
12 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 29.
13 Vasari, Lives, 9, pp. 245-246.
14 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 27; Bradley, Life, p. 35.
15 Bradley, Life, p. 35; Erwin Panofsky, The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 95-105, 135-139. (These are actually woodcuts although Bradley speaks of them as engravings, wood-engravings); Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 27.
16 Bradley, Life, pp. 35-36.
18 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 28.
20 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 90. (Cionini-Visani sees in this drawing a possible study for a Conversion of Saint Paul which predated that found in the Soane Codex, f. 8v. According to Cionini-Visani, the Soane Codex dates from 1534-1537/38.)
21 Richard Cocke and Pierluigi de Vecchi, The Complete Paintings of Raphael (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1966), p. 113. (In 1519, on the Feast of St. Stephen, seven of Raphael's Tapestries were on display in the Sistine Chapel. These seven Tapestries were: The Miraculous Draught of Fishes, The Charge to St. Peter, The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, The Conversion of Saul, The Healing of the Lame Man, The Blinding of Elymas and The Sacrifice of Lystra;); John Shearman, Raphael's Cartoons and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel (New York: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 139; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 88. (These authors inform us that in 1521 Raphael's Cartoon of The Conversion of Saul was in the house of Cardinal Domenico Grimani. So, Clovio, who was in Rome during these years, would have had the opportunity to see and study these works by Raphael.;) Cocke and De Vecchi, Raphael, p. 114. (According to De Vecchi, sometime after 1528, Raphael's Cartoon of The Conversion of Saul was lost.)
Marilyn Perry, "Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 41 (1978): 215-217. (According to this article, Cardinal Marino Grimani inherited "the cardinal's collection of ancient coins and gems, some of his furniture, three cases of books from his extensive library . . . and lifetime possession of the celebrated breviary." The bulk of Cardinal Domenico's paintings and sculptures were bequeathed to the Serene Republic of Venice.)

Bradley, Life, pp. xviii, 36; Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 246; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 28; Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, p. 5. (These authors differ on the year that Clovio was invited to Buda and by whom Clovio was invited. However, they all agree that Clovio was in Buda in 1524.)

Bradley, Life, p. 37.

Ibid., pp. 36-37; Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, pp. 5-8. (During the reign of King Louis II, most of the treasures of this famous library were still intact in the royal palace, and thus, Clovio had ample opportunity to diligently study and to copy many of the works for which the Corvinus Library was so very famous.)

Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 246; Bradley, Life, p. 38; Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, p. 8; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 28. (It would appear that Cionini-Visani is in error as she writes, citing Vasari as her source, that the Judgment of Paris and the Death of Lucretia were done by Clovio for Da Carpi and not for the King and Queen of Hungary. Vasari, however, informs us that the works were executed for King Louis and Queen Maria of Hungary.)

Ilona Berkovits, Illuminated Manuscripts in Hungary, Trans. by Zsuzsanna Horn, Revised by Alick West (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 92. (Berkovits does not mention any Zagreb scholar by name. She merely writes that "Zagreb scholars" conclude that landscapes in the Zagreb Missal are the work of Giulio Clovio.)

Ibid.

Ibid.; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 80, Note: 25. (In this rather lengthy footnote, Cionini-Visani sees the Zagreb paintings, if they can truly be proven to be by the hand of Clovio, as filling the "void that exists regarding Clovio's beginning." She continues by stating, "We have no work that can be placed in the years from his arrival in Italy, in 1516, to his flight from Rome, in 1527." This is a rather confusing statement by this author as, on page 91 of her book, she gives us a drawing by Clovio that she ascribes to the years c. 1523. Perhaps what this author is implying is that the Zagreb paintings would give us an idea of a finished work by Clovio from these early years, whereas
The Conversion of Saint Paul is only a drawing, and even though it is heightened with color, it still remains only a drawing.

31 Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 246; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 29; Bradley, Life, p. 39; T. B. Scannell, "Campeggio, Lorenzo" The Catholic Encyclopedia 3 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), pp. 223-224. (Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, a Bolognese by birth, was an eminent canonist, ecclesiastical diplomat and a tireless worker for reform within the Church in the Sixteenth Century. From 1512, when Julius II made him auditor of the Rota, the supreme court of justice in the Church and the universal court of appeal, until his death in Rome in 1539, he played a leading role as a papal representative in some of the greatest events of the Reformation, especially in Southern Germany and in England. Cardinal Campeggio was also a member of the Segnatura, a post of the highest dignity and power within the Church government. For Clovio, who was already recognized as an experienced and accomplished artist, to be singled out as an artist in the service of such a powerful and influential cardinal, was a very high honor and also a public recognition of the artistic abilities of Clovio.)

32 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 29.

33 Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 246; Bradley, Life, pp. 39-40, 126-127. (The paintings on the Sistine Ceiling were for Clovio a primary source of inspiration. The nobility of the designs and the forcefulness of the style of Michelangelo inspired in Clovio a desire to strive for a more dignified and masterly style in his own works. In fact, so successful did he become in mastering the characteristics of Michelangelo in his work that he earned for himself, according to Vasari and Bradley, the sobriquet of "Michelangelo in little.")


35 John, Popes, p. 332; Jedid and Dolan, History of the Church, 5, p. 237.

for himself from friend and foe alike a reputation for unreliability." Chamberlin quotes a poem written by a Sixteenth Century poet who pinpoints Clement's irresolution in a vicious little sonnet:

"A papacy made up of respects
Of considerations and of talk
Of yets, and then, of buts and ifs and maybe's
Of words without end that have no effect at all."


38 Pastor, History of the Popes, 10, p. 350. (Pastor lists various artists and the misfortunes which befell them as a result of the Sack of Rome); Bradley, Life, pp. 129-134; Partner, Renaissance Rome, pp. 32-33; Mitchell, Rome, pp. 139-140.

39 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 29; Bradley, Life, p. 133; Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, p. 15.

40 Bradley, Life, p. 135. (Bradley writes that the name of "Giulio" slowly supplanted the name of "Giorgio," and that during his years of service with the Grimani and Farnese families, he was always spoken of as Don Giulio Clovio. See also Note: 4 of this Chapter.)

41 Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 246; Bradley, Life, p. 135; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, pp. 30, 101. (It appears that the choirbook mentioned by Vasari and Bradley either fell apart because of age or misuse or was deliberately cut apart and the illuminated pages sold. This information is given us by Cionini-Visani, who sees in an illuminated fragment from Windsor Castle either a page from the choirbook mentioned by Vasari or a page from a choirbook possibly illuminated during Clovio's stay at the monastery at Candiana.)

42 Bradley, Life, p. 135.

43 Ibid., Vasari, Lives, 9, pp. 246-247; Henry Shaw, A handbook of the Art of Illumination as Practised during the Middle Ages (London: Bell and Daldy, 1866), p. 44.

44 Bradley, Life, p. 136.

45 Ibid.

46 John W. Bradley, A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Vol. 2, s.v., "Libri, Girolamo Dai"; Vasari, Lives, 6, p. 51. (Vasari writes that Clovio "learned the first rudiments of illumination" from Girolamo. We know this isn't true because Clovio was illuminating books before he met Girolamo. Perhaps what Vasari means by this statement is that what Girolamo knew about the art of illumination, he taught to Clovio because this meeting between Clovio and Girolamo was certainly an enriching experience for Clovio.)
Bradley, Life, p. 138; Bradley, Dictionary, 2, s.v., "Libri, Girolamo Dai." (Bradley gives us the distinctive characteristics of Girolamo Dai Libri and Clovio. He writes, "their methods differ considerably . . . for, whilst Clovio worked chiefly by thin tender washes and fine stipple, Girolamo preferred body colours, and the method called gouache, with rich and brilliant arrangements, quite distinct from the Raffaelesca manner derived from the early study of the Thermae of Titus, usually conspicuous in the work of Clovio." Bradley concludes the comparison of the two artists by saying, "How they could ever be confounded seems mysterious.")

Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 32.

Ibid. (This statement by Cionini-Visani could be debated. However, I feel that what this author is saying is that from this time on, the emphasis of Clovio's artistic ventures was placed mostly upon illumination.; Bradley, Life, p. xvi. (According to Bradley, it was in 1520 that Clovio, having been persuaded by Giulio Romano, decided on following miniature painting as a profession.); Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 245. (While Vasari does not give us a definite date for Clovio's adoption of miniature painting as his lifetime work, he does indicate that this happening occurred during Clovio's first sojourn in Rome, 1516-1523.)

Bradley, Life, pp. 138-139.

Ibid., p. 139; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, pp. 33-34, 36. (Cionini-Visani writes that Clovio went to Perugia sometime between 1532 to 1534.)

Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 36.

Ibid., p. 87; Bradley, Life, p. 140; Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 247.

Cionini-Visani, Clovio, pp. 38-42; Bradley, Life, p. 145. (Bradley writes that this work was done while the artist was in Perugia.); Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 247.

Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 245. (Vasari writes, "There has never been, nor perhaps will there ever be for many centuries, a more rare or more excellent miniaturist . . . than Don Giulio Clovio."); Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 25. (Concerning Clovio as a miniaturist, Visani writes, "The art of the miniature reached its climax in the sixteenth century, in the work of Don Giulio Clovio. . . . The greatest of miniaturists was also the last."); Bradley, Life, pp. 15-16. (Of Clovio, Bradley writes, "no one in his own time stood higher in reputation" and "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."); Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Illuminations by Clovio Lost and Found,"
Gazette des Beaux-Arts (Juillet-Septembre, 1950): 72. (While D'Ancona is of the opinion that Clovio's merits have been somewhat exaggerated by his contemporaries, she does agree that "he is the most important Italian illuminator of the sixteenth century.")

56 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 47. (Clovio met Parmigianino in Rome in 1527 and his familiarity with Emilian Mannerism dates from this time.)

57 Holanda, Dialogues, p. 75; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 48; Bradley, Life, p. 54; M. L'Abbé Migne, Dictionnaire des Cardinaux, s.v. "Grimaldi, Jerome." (According to Cionini-Visani, when Holanda met Clovio in Rome, Clovio was a guest in the house of Cardinal Grimani. Holanda writes that Clovio was in the household of Cardinal Grimaldi. Bradley admits that there appears to be a confusion here regarding the names. According to the Dictionnaire des Cardinaux there was a Cardinal Jerome Grimaldi in Rome at this time.)

58 Holanda, Dialogues, p. 79.

59 Ibid.

60 Cionini-Visani, Clovio, p. 49.

61 Bradley, Life, pp. 244-267; Cionini-Visani, Clovio, pp. 85-107; Vasari, Lives, 9, pp. 245-247; Bonnard, Don Giulio Clovio, pp. 3-23.


64 U. Benigni, "Farnese, Alessandro," The Catholic Encyclopedia 5, p. 788; Solari, House of Farnese, pp. 56-57; Pastor, History of the Popes, 11, p. 139.

65 U. Benigni, "Farnese, Alessandro," The Catholic Encyclopedia 5, p. 788; Pastor, History of the Popes, 11, pp. 139-140.


Solari, House of Farnese, p. 56.

Ibid.; John Rupert Martin, The Farnese Gallery (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 3-4. (Cardinal Farnese resided at the Palazzo della Cancelleria because the Farnese Palace, begun in 1517 under Pope Paul III, who at that time was still Cardinal Farnese, was not completed.)

Solari, House of Farnese, p. 56.

Ibid., p. 57; Martin, Farnese Gallery p. 4.

Bradley, Life, p. 145.

Bradley, Life, p. 145.

Ibid.

Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler, a.v., "Clovio, Giulio." (The information given here states that Clovio was in Rome and under the protection of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the year 1538. See also, Note: 8 of this Chapter.)

Bradley, Life, p. 147. (On this page Bradley suggests some possible reasons for Clovio leaving the Grimani household: "... 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." Bradley does mention that Cardinal Marino Grimani strongly objected to Clovio transferring to the Farnese household.)

Ibid., p. 148.

Ibid.
CHAPTER TWO

The Farnese Book of Hours

The Farnese Hours is a comparatively small book measuring only 6 3/4 x 4 3/8 inches. It was intended for the personal and private use of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and, therefore, was made so that it could be handled easily as were many of the Books of Hours, private prayerbooks, of the Medieval and Renaissance Periods.1

When one views The Farnese Hours, today, the manuscript is seen to be encased in an ornate heavy silver-gilt binding (Figs. 16, 17). The two hinged clasps made for this binding are missing. Originally, this Book of Hours had a pliable vellum covering which was tied with two red silk ribbons.2 This soft binding is visible in El Greco's painting of Clovio in which the artist is pictured holding and pointing to The Farnese Hours.

After the death of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1589, the manuscript became the property of his grand nephew, Odoardo Farnese (1567-1626),3 who, at this time, was the Cardinal Deacon of San Eustachio at Rome.4 Meta Harren is of the opinion that the present silver-gilt binding was probably placed on the manuscript while it was in the possession of Odoardo as his name is engraved on the lower doublure of the present binding.5 From research in the Archivio di Stato of Parma, it has been revealed that a goldsmith, Antonio Gentili, known as Il Faenza, made a gold cover for an Office of the Madonna.
which had been made by the hand of Don Giulio Clovio. As this same Antonio Gentili (1519-1609) had been employed by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Meta Harrsen concludes that, when the manuscript passed into the hands of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, he commissioned this leading goldsmith of Rome to execute a binding for the Book of Hours which had been made by Clovio.

The binding of The Farnese Hours is composed of heavy silver gilt plaques hinged to a curved back. Meta Harrsen describes it as follows:

The outside covers are each made up of 13 molded, embossed pieces and when opened flat depict the Annunciation, with the Virgin in low relief in an oval frame on the left and the Angel in a corresponding oval on the right. These ovals are surrounded by a frame composed of four corner pieces of half-figures ending in foliage, which in turn, are framed by acanthus ornament divided by heads of putti and female mascarons. The fleurs-de-lis of the Farnese are in the outer corners. The doublures have corresponding central ovals chiseled with the arms of the Farnese upon cartouches surmounted by a cardinal's hat. Surrounding these arms on the upper doublure are the name and title of Cardinal Alexander Farnese while the lower doublure is engraved with those of his grand-nephew Cardinal Odoardo Farnese. The four corner pieces are decorated with engraved foliage, repeated in the outer border, in the four corners of which are the Farnese fleurs-de-lis.

Within this magnificent cover lies the manuscript itself. It is comprised of 114 fine vellum folios that have been gilded at the edges. The folios are "numbered in a modern hand from 2 through 114." They have been brought together into Eighteen Gatherings as the diagrams in Appendix D clearly demonstrate. Examining the first and the last diagram, we see that Gatherings 1 and 18 are not sewn to the binding and that f. 2 is attached to f. 3 by means of a hinge. The same is true for ff. 112 and 113. A hinge, attached to f. 1r, encompasses the entire back of the folios and is then attached to f. 114v. This hinge
is concealed by the pinkish-red silk material that is attached to f. 1r
and which covers the entire back of the manuscript, concealing the
hinge of f. 114v and then, in the same manner as seen previously with
f. 1r, is attached to this last folio page, f. 114v.

Originally, the other Gatherings were sewn with vellum but now
they are sewn with a yellowish-gold like cord or silken string. This
sewing is indicated in the diagrams with a wavy, string-like mark .

The prayers in this little Book of Hours were lettered by Fran­
cesco Monterchi, who was the secretary to Pier Luigi and Ottavio
Farnese. Monterchi, who excelled in beautiful calligraphy, used a
humanistic script known as cancellaresca formata. This italic type of
script made its appearance in Italy around the year 1540 in the works
of Palatino and is identified by its reduced ascenders and descenders
and its bracheted serifs. The cancellaresca formata is a smooth
flowing script which is ideally suited for the writing of small books
such as Books of Hours (Fig. 18).

Clovio decorated this little prayerbook with many beautiful illu­
minations, some clearly religious and others obviously not religious in
nature, so that it would be both aesthetically pleasing to the eye and
truly inspirational from a religious point of view. The Farnese Hours
contains the following main divisions of devotional prayers, most of
which were preceded by facing full-page illuminations.

1. Hours of the Virgin......................... f. 4v
2. Common of the Virgin...................... f. 59v
3. Penitential Psalms......................... f. 63v
4. Litany of All Saints...................... f. 72v
5. Office of the Dead

6. Hours of the Cross

7. Hours of the Holy Spirit

8. Athanasian Creed

The contents of this Book of Hours compares in most respects with other Books of Hours from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries. Abbé Leroquais, who has written quite extensively on illuminated manuscripts, has listed the contents of eight different Books of Hours with which we can compare the contents of The Farnese Hours. (See Appendix E) While it is true that most of these books contain more devotional prayers than one finds in The Farnese Hours, one needs to remember that what was included in these prayerbooks was strictly the patron's choice. Cardinal Farnese led a very active life. Besides fulfilling the many duties of his various important offices in the Church, he was also a papal legate for Pope Paul III—a position that entailed much travelling. In addition, as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, he was obliged to pray the Breviary daily. If Cardinal Farnese intended also to pray the devotions in this little book with any degree of regularity, it is unlikely that he would have burdened himself with a lengthy number of prayers.

Historically, the Book of Hours, first introduced during the Medieval Period to honor the Blessed Virgin, was a book of prayers usually commissioned from some noted artist for a particular individual, usually a member of the royal family, of the nobility, or for the clergy. These books were hand-produced and, as such, each one was a unique work—unique not only because of the artist, but unique,
as mentioned above, in that the prayers and devotions included in the prayerbook were the ones specially requested by the person for whom the book was being made.

Abbé Leroquais sees three main elements that are distinguishable in Books of Hours—elements that will help us to better understand what we find in The Farnese Hours. These elements are the various texts found in these prayerbooks. They can best be described as essential, secondary and accessory texts. Essential texts, according to Leroquais, are those that have been extracted from the Breviary:

1. The Calendar
2. The Little Office or Hours of the Virgin
3. The Penitential Psalms
4. The Litany of All Saints
5. The Office of the Dead
6. The Suffrages of the Saints

Secondary texts are those which comprise:

1. The Sequences (passages from the four Gospels in which the Coming of Christ is described by the Evangelists)
2. The Passion from the Gospel of St. John
3. Two popular prayers to the Blessed Virgin:
   a. "Obsecro Te"—"I implore thee"
   b. "O Intemerata"—"O matchless one"
4. Several shorter alternative Offices, such as:
   a. The Hours of the Cross
   b. The Hours of the Holy Spirit
   c. The Hours of the Trinity
5. The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin
6. Seven Requests to the Saviour

The third element, as observed by Leroquais, is to be found in the accessory texts:

1. Extracts from the Psalter
2. Miscellaneous Prayers of Devotion

Leroquais also notes that as one views the innumerable Books of Hours from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries, while admitting that no two manuscripts are identical in any way, one does see the emergence of what can be classified as a "typical" Book of Hours. Including only the essential and the secondary texts, Leroquais sees a "typical" Books of Hours similar to the following outline:

1. Calendar
2. Sequences of the Gospels
3. The prayer "Obsecro Te"
4. The prayer "O Intemerata"
5. Hours of the Virgin
6. Hours of the Cross
7. Hours of the Holy Spirit
8. Penitential Psalms
9. Litany of All Saints
10. Office of the Dead
11. Suffrages of the Saints

A side-by-side comparison of The Farnese Hours with a "typical" Book of Hours gives us the following:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Farnese Hours</th>
<th>&quot;Typical&quot; Book of Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hours of the Virgin</td>
<td>5. Hours of the Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Common of the Virgin</td>
<td>6. Hour of the Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Litany of All Saints</td>
<td>8. Penitential Psalms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Office of the Dead</td>
<td>9. Litany of All Saints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Hours of the Cross</td>
<td>10. Office of the Dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Athanasian Creed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When comparing The Farnese Hours with a "typical" Book of Hours, one notes that The Farnese Hours does not have a Calendar. Upon close examination of this prayerbook in the Pierpont Morgan Library, one finds that indeed it never had a Calendar nor were pages left blank to include a Calendar at a later date, even though one feature common to most Books of Hours was the Calendar. However, the fact that The Farnese Hours does not include a Calendar should not really surprise one.

One of the reasons for including a Calendar in a Book of Hours was to acquaint the reader with the special feast or event of the Church Year that was being observed. This particular Book of Hours was made for Cardinal Farnese who was a priest of the Roman Catholic Rite. An obligation incumbent upon Roman Catholic priests was the
daily recitation of the Breviary. The manuscripts used by the clergy in fulfilling this spiritual obligation usually contained Calendars to facilitate them in praying the Divine Office. Thus, a Calendar in a Book of Hours to acquaint Cardinal Farnese with that part of the Temporal Cycle of the Church or the feast of that special saint being observed that day, would really not be necessary.

As stated previously, a Book of Hours is a collection of devotional prayers. These devotional prayers were prayed by the faithful at their convenience and not necessarily every day although many of the lay people did observe the Hours of prayer for each day. The Calendar in these Books of Hours would usually have been there mostly for the benefit of the laity, who would not have been as knowledgeable of the Feasts and Seasons of the Church as would one of the clergy.

Also, in comparing the above Books of Hours, we note that Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 11, listed under a "typical" Book of Hours, have not been included in The Farnese Hours, while the latter does include the Common of the Virgin, a Votive Mass in Honor of Our lady, and the Athanasian Creed—two inclusions which Abbe Leroquais would probably list under miscellaneous prayers of devotion. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are texts taken from the list of secondary texts, while No. 11 is from the list of essential texts given by Leroquais.

It is easy to understand, from a practical point of view, why the Sequences of the Gospels, No. 2 of a "typical" Book of Hours, were omitted. These Sequences were simply readings taken from the four different Gospels for the purpose of recalling a specific incident in the life of Christ and His Mother to the mind of the reader so that he
or she could meditate for a time upon it. In the Breviary, Cardinal Farnese was obliged to pray from three to nine lessons or readings daily—readings which were drawn from Scripture, patristic sermons and homilies of the Fathers of the Church. A Breviary, dating from the year 1521, lists nine lessons to be read on Sundays and feast days, while ferias required the reading of three lessons.25 Cardinal Farnese did not need to include more "daily readings" in his Book of Hours.

As for Nos. 3 and 4, the prayers in honor of Our Lady, it would appear that Cardinal Alessandro had substituted a Votive Mass in honor of Our Lady in place of these specified prayers of devotion to her. In the eyes of the Church, the celebration of a Mass is a liturgical prayer, therefore, possessing far greater spiritual value than that of traditional devotional prayers no matter how old and revered or how pious these prayers might be.26 While it is difficult to truly know the mind and heart of anyone, much less one who lived almost five hundred years ago, it would appear that Cardinal Farnese, who enjoyed the priestly privilege of celebrating Holy Mass, is here manifesting his preference for the prayers of a special Mass in order to show his love and honor for the Virgin over ordinary devotional prayers to her.

The last group of prayers, listed under a "typical" Book of Hours and not included in The Farnese Hours, was The Suffrages of the Saints. This group of prayers was based on an integral part of the prayers in the Breviary. For Cardinal Farnese to include these prayers in his prayerbook would simply mean a duplication of prayers similar to what he would already be praying in the Breviary.
The Farnese Hours concludes with the Athanasian Creed or the "Quicunque vult," as it is sometimes called from its beginning words. This is truly a fitting prayer with which to conclude a private prayer-book for a priest. This prayer, one of the three main Creeds of the Roman Catholic Faith, deals mainly with two fundamental Church truths—the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of the Incarnation, with passing references to other dogmas and beliefs of the Church. The Athanasian Creed is a lengthy prayer that concludes with the words: "This is the Catholic Faith, which except a man believe faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved." A priest is one who not only believes in the Church and in all of her teachings, but one who has given his life into her service as a living proof of his belief. This concluding prayer of The Farnese Hours has that deep spiritual impact of the renewal of one's wedding vows or the renewal of one's deepest loyalties to one's country. However, in this instance, the renewal is of the highest order, as it is not made to another creature or to a country but to God. Just as his life as a priest was to be a living witness, so too, the praying of the Creed was for Cardinal Farnese a renewal of his belief in God and his belief in all the teachings of his Holy Mother, the Church.

In summary, one can conclude that The Farnese Hours can be said to possess a little over half of the prayers found in a "typical" Book of Hours. At the same time, one cannot help but note its personal aspect. While, to date, no written correspondence between Cardinal Farnese and Clovio has come to light which would reveal that Cardinal Farnese selected the individual prayers to be included in his Book of
Hours, it seems only logical to conclude that, since this was a private prayerbook, one intended for his personal use, he would have indicated the specific prayers he wished to have in his own prayerbook.

As mentioned previously, Clovio prefaced most of the main divisions of devotional prayers in The Farnese Hours with facing full-page illuminations. Turning to Leroquais once again, we find that over the years a definite tradition had been formed with regard to what illustrations preceded different parts of the Book of Hours. Leroquais gives us as customary the following selections:

**Hours of the Virgin**

Matins - The Annunciation
Lauds - The Visitation
Prime - The Nativity
Terce - The Annunciation to the Shepherds
Sext - The Adoration of the Magi
None - The Presentation in the Temple
Vespers - The Flight into Egypt, or
The Massacre of the Innocents
Compline - The Coronation of the Virgin

**Penitential Psalms**

Kneeling King David, or
David Watching Bathsheba at Bath, or
any incident from the life of King David
Litany of All Saints

Few books illustrate this prayer. A rare instance would be, from the Très Riches Heures (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 1284)—Procession of St. Gregory through the streets of Rome imploring heaven for release from the plague.

Office of the Dead

Last Judgment, or Vigil of the Dead, or Procession to the Cemetery, or Dives and Lazarus, or Raising of Lazarus, or Job on a Dunghill, or Three Living and Three Dead

Hours of the Cross

(only) Matins—Crucifixion, or Finding of the True Cross

Hours of the Holy Spirit

(only) Matins—Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost

In The Farnese Hours, Clovio did something quite different from the common practice of other illuminators. Where most artists painted a half-page or a full-page illumination before the beginning of a
special hour of prayer, he painted two full-page illuminations, one facing the other. Thus, throughout the book, besides finding the special painting for that Hour of prayer, we also find a painting showing a prefiguration from the Old Testament of the subject of the first painting, or one which stands in some type of allegorical relation to it. The following gives an outline of how Clovio adhered to the traditional format for his illustrations in *The Farnese Hours* and in what ways he deviated from the established norm:

**Hours of the Virgin**

Matins

f.4v Annunciation  
f.5r Prophecy of the Birth of Christ to King Ahaz

Lauds

f.17v Visitation  
f.18v Justice and Peace Embracing Prime

f.26v Adoration of the Shepherds  
f.27r Temptation Terce

f.30v Annunciation to the Shepherds  
f.31r Prophecy of the Birth of Christ to the Emperor Augustus Sext

f.34v Circumcision  
f.35r Baptism of Christ None

f.38v Adoration of the Kings  
f.39r Meeting between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba
Vespers
f.42v Flight into Egypt
f.43r Crossing of the Red Sea

Compline
f.48v Coronation of the Virgin
f.49r Esther Crowned by King Ahasuerus

Common of the Virgin
f.59v God as Creator with the Virgin Mary
f.60r The Holy Family

Penitential Psalms
f.63v Death of Uriah the Hittite
f.64r David in Penitence

Litany of All Saints
ff.72v and 73r. Procession in Honor of Corpus Christi

Office of the Dead
f.79v The Triumph of Death
f.80r The Resurrection of Lazarus

Hours of the Cross
f.102v The Crucifixion
f.103r The Brazen Serpent

Hours of the Holy Spirit
f.106v Pentecost
f.107r Building of the Tower of Eable

Athanasian Creed
ff.110v and 111r Marginal Figures
Comparing the illustration selections cited by Leroquais with those employed by Clovio, we find that in the Hours of the Virgin Clovio adheres closely to tradition with only a few minor changes. He interchanges the illustrations for Sext and None: whereas Leroquais presents as typical "The Adoration of the Magi" for Sext and the "Presentation in the Temple" for None, Clovio gives us the "Presentation in the Temple" combined with the "Circumcision" for the Hour of Sext and "The Adoration of the Kings" for the Hour of None.

The Common of the Virgin was not always included in Books of Hours. Here Clovio chooses as its illustration a very fitting painting, "God as Creator with the Virgin Mary." This scene depicts the opening lines of the Epistle from this Votive Mass in honor of Our Lady: "Before all eyes, in the beginning, he created me."^33

The devotion of the Penitential Psalms shows Clovio choosing, for this illustration, the penitent form of the kneeling King David, one of the subjects cited by Leroquais.

For the Litany, Clovio uses both pages to depict the joyous occasion of the annual procession in honor of Corpus Christi. The Feast of Corpus Christi was one of those festive occasions of the Church Year when the Litany of the Saints could be sung in choir, during which time the priests, the altar boys and the entire congregation of the faithful joined in procession to honor the Body of Christ.^[34

For the remaining devotional prayers, the Office of the Dead, the Hours of the Cross, and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, Clovio is quite traditional in his selection of subject matter. With the Office of the
Dead, we find "the Resurrection of Lazarus"; "The Crucifixion" scene announces the Hours of the Cross; and, the feast of the birthday of the Church, "Pentecost," heralds the beginning of the Hours of the Holy Spirit.

The Athanasian Creed, the concluding prayer in The Farnese Hours, does not have a double-faced, full-page miniature. Instead, Clovio paints attractive marginal decorations that mingle the sacred with the profane.

Whether Cardinal Farnese had any voice in the choosing of the specific illustrations for his Book of Hours is, at present, not known. However, since he commissioned the work, it is only reasonable to conclude that he probably had a hand not only in choosing his prayers, but, to some extent and without limiting the creativity of the artist, in deciding with Clovio what types of illustrations were to be included in his prayerbook. After all, this was to be his personal prayerbook and it is only natural that he would want something that would not only inspire him deeply, but also something that would delight him and be a joy for years to come.35
Chapter Two:

1. John Harthan, The Book of Hours (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), pp. 31-37. (This author writes that "the main purpose of Books of Hours was to provide every class of the laity from kings and royal dukes down to prosperous burgheirs and their wives with personal prayerbooks." Later on he adds that these books were oftentimes "laid open on a priedieu or held in the hands for reading." A personal prayerbook, in order to be easily handled, of necessity required that it be of a size that one could hold it in one's hands. Prayerbooks, the size of Missals, Gospels or Lectionaries, would be too unwieldy and hence, would not have been used as frequently as we know from records that Books of Hours were used by their owners.)

2. Meta Harrsen, Hours of the Virgin (unpublished manuscript notes from The Pierpont Morgan Library describing The Farnese Hours.), p. 11.

3. M. L'Abbe Migne, Dictionnaire Des Cardinaux, s.v. "Farnese, Odoardo"; Harrsen, Hours of the Virgin, pp. 9-10; Solari, House of Farnese (inside cover--Genealogical Table of House of Farnese); Jifi Louda and Michael Maclagan, Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe, (New York: Clarkson N. Porter, Inc./Publishers, 1981), Table 130. (Meta Harrsen gives the dates for Odoardo as 1565-1612 while Migne gives 1567-1626. Solari and Louda and Maclagan give the death of Odoardo as 1626. I have chosen the dates given by Migne because three of the authors consulted agree on the same day of Odoardo's death.)


5. Harrsen, Hours of the Virgin, p. 11; The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, p. 166. (Regarding the inscriptions found on the inner faces of both covers, Webster Smith gives the following: "ALEXANDER CARD. FARNESIVS EP OSTIEN S R E VICECAN (front), ODOARDVS FARNESIVS S R E DIACON CARD S EVSTACHII (back)."

6. Harrsen, Hours of the Virgin, p. 11. (The entry in the Archivio di Stato, as given by Meta Harrsen, reads: "Un Officio della Madonna manuscrito in carta bergamina con diverse historie, e figure di mano di Don Gulio Clovio legato in oro dal Faenza tutto intagliato con due stecche d'ebanno e borsa di vellutto paomasso.")

7. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
This information was given to me by Mr. William Voelkle, the Assistant Curator of The Pierpont Morgan Library, while we were examining the binding and collation of the manuscript.


Wardrop, *Signature* 5, p. 6. (James Wardrop discusses the works of four men whose works qualify to the description of cancellaresca formata: Vicentino, 1522; Tagliente, 1530; Palatino, 1545; and, Ruano, 1554. To these names, he adds a fourth, that of Monterchi); James Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

Alfred Fairbank, *A Handwriting Manual* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1975); Wardrop, *Signature* 5, p. 6, n. 1. (According to Wardrop, another fine example of cancellaresca formata is British Library, Ms. Harley 3541. An example of the script in this manuscript, along with that of *The Farnese Hours* is provided in Fig. 18b.)


*Harthan, Book of Hours*, pp. 12, 14; Leroquais, *Supplement*, XXIX. (Both of these authors speak of the individuality of Books of Hours as manifested in the personal and private prayers found in these prayerbooks.)

Benigni, "Farnese, Alessandro," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 5 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), p. 788; Litta, *Famiglie*, 9, Tavola, XIII; Chacon, "Cardinal Alessandro Farnese," *Vitae*, pp. 558-559; M. L'Abbe' Migne, *Dictionnaire des Cardinaux*, s.v. "Farnese, Alessandre." (Summarizing the material found in the works of these authors, Cardinal Farnese, while he was still a student at Bologna, in 1534, was appointed by Clement VII to be the administrator of the Diocese of Parma. On December 18, 1534, shortly after his grandfather, Paul III became Pope, he was created Cardinal-Deacon of the Title of Sant'Angelo and numerous offices and benefices were conferred upon him. He became Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Governor of Tivoli, Archpriest of St. Mary Major's, Archpriest of St. Peter's, Administrator of Jaen, Spain, of Vizeu, Portugal, of Wurzburg, Germany, and of Avignon, France. Also, in 1536 he was made Bishop of Monreale, Sicily. Many other offices were conferred upon Cardinal Farnese but the ones listed above are those that pre-date or coincide with the creation of *The Farnese Hours*. )
52

16Pastor, History of the Popes, 11, pp. 365 ff. (In 1539, Cardinal Farnese was appointed Legate to Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, and to Francis I, King of France. This is only one of the several occasions when he was sent on a diplomatic mission for the pursuance of peace and the welfare of the Church.)

17Dom Pierre Salmon, The Breviary through the Centuries (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1962), pp. 11-20. (Don Pierre Salmon on these pages uses the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and the statutes and Councils of the Church to stress the fact that anyone ordained to Holy Orders is obliged to pray the canonical hours.)


19Harthan, Book of Hours, p. 31.

20Leroquais, Les Livres D'Heures, 1, pp. XIV-XL.

21Ibid.; Harthan, Book of Hours, p. 15.

22Leroquais, Les Livres D'Heures, I, pp. XV-XVII; Harthan, Book of Hours, pp. 15-16. (Both of these authors go into great detail to explain just what could be found in the Calendars of Books of Hours. Its main purpose was to indicate the feasts of the Church and of the saints and it followed the pattern established in Missals, Psalters, Breviaries and other liturgical books. Also, one might find in these Calendars, the feasts of local saints, anniversary of the consecration of a church, baptisms and other noteworthy events of a particular family in a particular parish in a particular diocese. According to Harthan, the value of a Calendar lies in the fact that it "conveys to the trained eye a synopsis of the history of a region and suggests where the book in which it appears originated or was intended to be used.")

23See Note: 17 of this Chapter.

24Harthan, Book of Hours, pp. 32-33.

25Salmon, Breviary, p. 77.

26Dom Jean LeClercq, Dom Francois Vandenbroucke and Louis Bouyer, The Spirituality of the Middle Ages (New York: Desclée Company, Inc., 1968, p. 498. (These authors, in addressing themselves to the characteristics of the spirituality of the laity during the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries, write: "The religion of the laity, in short, came to consist more and more in their personal relations with God. A private prayer which seemed more effect­ively to bring the individual into conscious contact with God was more esteemed than communal prayer, whose psychological
efficacy was less obvious. The faithful no longer understood
that liturgical prayer comes first, as the prayer of the whole
body of the Church united to Christ, nor did they see that the
Church's intentions, in which every Christian should share, are
there expressed."

); Walter M. Abbot, S. J., ed.; Walter M.
Abbott, S. J., ed., The Documents of Vatican II (New York: Amer­
ica Press, 1966), pp. 137-173. (In the Chapter dealing with the
Liturgy in the Church, the Vatican Council, 1962-1965, declared
that "Popular devotions of the Christian people are warmly com­
mended, provided they accord with the laws and norms of the
Church. . . . Nevertheless these devotions should be so drawn up
that they harmonize with the liturgical seasons, accord with the
sacred liturgy, are in some fashion derived from it, and lead the
people to it, since the liturgy by its very nature far surpasses
any of them." The author, in commenting on this statement by the
Council, writes that "While liturgy is not the whole of the
Christian life and does not supplant personal prayer, all devo­
tions must harmonize with its spirit."

27Most Reverend Louis Laravoire Morrow, S. T. D., My Catholic Faith
three main Creeds of the Catholic Church are: the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed.)


29Ibid., p. 34.

30At present, my research has not uncovered any correspondence between
Cardinal Farnese and Clovio regarding this matter.

31Leroquais, Les Livres D'Heures, I, pp. XL-L; Harthan, Book of Hours,
pp. 28-29.

32This is not to say that other artists did not paint double page
illuminations—they did. However, according to the research so
far to date, it would appear that no other artist painted these
illuminations with the conceptual grandeur and in the manner that
Clovio did.

33Dom Caspar LeFebvre, O. S. B., Saint Andrew Daily Missal (Saint Paul,
Minnesota; E. M. Lohmann Co., 1943), p. 1591. (This Epistle is
taken from the Votive Mass in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary
recited from Pentecost to Advent. The Mass goes by the title of
"Salve Sancta Parens," the first three words of the Introit
of the Mass.)

34Reverend P. Pourrat, Christian Spirituality in the Middle Ages (New
York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1924), pp. 322-324. (The Feast of
Corpus Christi came into existence as a result of revelations to
a nun, St. Juliana de Retine who, according to the Acta
Sanctorum, was Prioress of the Monastery of Mont-Cornillon, near Liege. This feast was first observed in the diocese of Liege in 1246, and in 1264, Pope Urban IV instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi for the entire church. St. Thomas Aquinas was commissioned to write a fitting Office for the Feast. Early in the Fourteenth Century, in order to add greater solemnity to the Feast, the Blessed Sacrament began to be carried triumphantly in a monstrance through the streets of towns.)

35 Harthan, Book of Hours, p. 12. (Harthan writes that "Much of the charm of Books of Hours comes from the realization that each example was personally commissioned or bought, and decorated with greater or lesser elaboration according to the taste, status and wealth of the owner." One needs to keep this thought in mind when analyzing this particular Book of Hours. Some may argue that The Farnese Hours is just a showpiece, a work of art, that had no intimate connection with Cardinal Farnese and was not intended for his daily use. Even if Cardinal Farnese never used this prayerbook, although fingermarks on the pages indicate that it was used, the book, since it was made for him, reflects him and his spiritual and his aesthetic tastes.)
CHAPTER THREE

The Full-Page Illuminations and Marginal Decorations

As noted in the previous chapter, The Farnese Hours has twenty-eight full-page illuminations which appear at the beginning of many of the various Hours of the different Offices in this little Book of Hours. These full-page illuminations are presented as double-page miniatures, that is, one illuminated page faces the other illuminated page. The manuscript also presents a magnificent array of marginal decorations on thirty-six other pages including the last page, the colophon. These marginal decorations oftentimes continue the theme of an individual Hour of prayer or reflect the thought of the prayers found on a particular page of a specific Office. Sometimes, too, these marginal decorations pertain to the history, real or allegorical, of the Farnese family and, occasionally, they represent local events in Italian life.

As one slowly turns the pages of this little manuscript, one is deeply impressed with the splendid paintings found here, especially with the large double-page illuminations— their singular beauty, the richness of their colors and their spiritual and historical significance. Upon a closer examination of these miniatures, questions begin to arise in one's mind such as: Are these double-page illuminations an invention of Clovio's? Are they unique to The Farnese Hours?
While in one sense these double-page representations are truly unique to *The Farnese Hours*, in another sense, they are not. If we turn back the pages of history we find that illuminators of manuscripts have frequently employed the use of double-page illuminations. *The Lewis Psalter*, Ms. Lewis 185, a psalter from around 1260 that is presently in the Free Public Library in Philadelphia, contains a double-page miniature illustrating scenes from the Life of Christ and that of Our Lady (Fig. 19). As this is a psalter from France, it is quite unlikely that Clovio ever saw it, but it demonstrates that already in the first half of the Thirteenth Century artists were painting double-page illuminations. Another manuscript, *The Gotha Missal*, illuminated by Jean Bondol and his atelier around 1375, also has a double-page illumination. This illumination is a frontispiece to the Canon of the Mass (Fig. 20). Again, it is highly unlikely that Clovio would have seen this specific manuscript as it was a Parisian manuscript and, to all appearances, a manuscript that was destined for use in a court chapel. *Les Très Belles Heures of Brussels*, Brussels, Royal Library, Ms. 11060-61, a manuscript dating from the Fifteenth Century, also presents a facing full-page illumination (Fig. 21). Once again, it is unlikely that Clovio had access to this manuscript. Still another manuscript, a *Roman Missal*, Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Barb. Lat. 610, dating to the early Sixteenth Century, contains a magnificent double-page illumination (Fig. 22). While this manuscript, sadly, has been dismembered and most of its pages are either lost or scattered throughout the world (in different museums and art galleries), we can conclude from a study of the illuminations of these two pages that, in all probability, they
preceded the Canon of the Mass. Clovio could have been aware of the existence of this manuscript, as it is of Italian origin and made for the Church of St. John in Florence. It is also conceivable that he could have seen it or, if there were sketches of the illuminations, that he could have studied them. A manuscript that dates from c. 1530-38 and which Clovio undoubtedly saw and studied was The Gonzaga Hours, Ms. Douce 29, now in the Bodleian Library (Fig. 23). Bradley, in his book on the life of Clovio, attributes The Gonzaga Hours, although somewhat dubiously, to Clovio because he found much in this Book of Hours that corresponded to work known to have been done by Clovio. However, research has revealed that The Gonzaga Hours was a work by Vincenzo Raimondi, a French artist originally from Languedoc, who was miniaturist to the Sistine Chapel and Sacristy from 1535-49. As Clovio was in Rome in the service of Cardinal Farnese during the years of 1537-49, he could very easily have been familiar with this work by Raimondi. The Gonzaga Hours possesses twenty-four facing full-page illuminations which are executed in a very impressive fashion. According to Bradley, these illuminations show a unique blending of Italian and Netherlandish styles— one of his reasons for attributing this manuscript to Clovio.

The Grimani Breviary (Venice, Marciana Library, Ms. Lat. XI 67 [7531]) was, without doubt, a manuscript that had great influence on Clovio. As mentioned previously, this manuscript, which originated in Flanders, was in the Grimani Library, and Clovio, while he was in the service of Cardinals Domenico and Marino Grimani, had complete access to the artistic treasures in the Grimani household. The Grimani
Breviary has over a hundred illuminations, many of which are facing full-page paintings whose overall decorative harmony "expresses the aesthetic outlook of Flanders" — an outlook that had developed in the various centers of Flemish art in the late Fifteenth Century.

However, whether or not Clovio saw the specific manuscripts here described is not really important. What is important is that double-page illuminations did exist in manuscripts from different countries prior to the time that Clovio began work on The Farnese Hours. So, double-page illuminations were really not unknown to the manuscript world of the Sixteenth Century. Knowing this, and also realizing the vast number of manuscripts that have been destroyed down through the centuries and concerning whose illumination we are in complete ignorance, it seems only logical to surmise that not only was Clovio aware of double-page illuminations but he had seen them and studied them.

However, what does appear to be decidedly unique about these illuminations in this manuscript is the fact that all the full-page illuminations have been arranged as double-pages, that is, one illumination facing the other, and that they have been painted in such an elaborate and ornate manner. In this regard, Clovio was truly creative and this is one aspect of the greatness of The Farnese Hours. It also gives us an insight into the artistic mind of Clovio. Clovio, it would seem, was not content with the ordinary and though painting on a miniature scale, to phrase it colloquially, he thought "BIG!" In this respect, he can be likened to his friend, Michelangelo. The paintings of Clovio might not be as large, as grand, or as awe-inspiring as those of Michelangelo, especially the latter's paintings
on the Sistine Ceiling, but Clovio and Michelangelo did have this in common: they both conceived and visualized their work on a grand scale.

Glancing over the titles of these double-page illuminations as outlined in the previous chapter and looking at the illuminations themselves, it appears that the scene depicted on the one page, usually the recto page, is a prefiguration, a symbolic representation or an allegorical presentation of the scene depicted on the opposite page. Now, is this idea of a scene with its facing allegorical, symbolic or prefigural representation original with Clovio? No, for as Webster Smith writes in his doctoral dissertation—"Several of the parallels had wide currency in Clovio's time, and long before, familiar as they were to the many who knew the illuminations for the Speculum Humanae Salvationis and the Biblia Pauperum."

Also, the double-page illuminations of the Roman Missal, Ms. Barb. Lat. 610, mentioned previously, were conceived with this same thought in mind. The miniature of the Last Supper on the recto page (Fig. 22b) gives us the scene of the first Mass, where "Christ offered Himself for the impending immolation" upon the Cross. The painting on the opposite page (Fig. 22a) is that of the Crucifixion, where "Christ offered Himself up by accepting a cruel death out of obedience to the heavenly Father and for our redemption." The painting of the Last Supper (the first Mass) and the painting of the Crucifixion are paintings of actual historical events that are here shown depicting different scenes of the same sacrifice, for, at the Last Supper and on Calvary, the Victim was the same, and the principal Priest was the same, Jesus Christ. These paintings are placed here at the beginning
of one of the principal parts of the Mass,\(^{16}\) the Canon, because the Mass is the same sacrifice as the sacrifice of the Cross.\(^{17}\) This is the message the artist is attempting to get across to the viewers of this manuscript. The idea of symbolism, prefiguration and allegory are all, albeit somewhat loosely, indicated in these two miniatures. Clovio takes these very same ideas and, in The Farnese Hours, elaborates upon them in great detail.\(^{18}\)

As one begins to study and analyze the illuminations in The Farnese Hours, one needs to keep in mind that this little Book of Hours is more than a prayerbook made for an important Cardinal of a distinguished family of the Sixteenth Century. It is also much more than a manuscript noteworthy for its exceptional array of outstandingly beautiful, hand-painted miniatures. For the art historian, much of its importance lies in the fact that between its gilt covers the art world of the Sixteenth Century is mirrored in its astonishing diversity and richness—the world of Michelangelo, of Raphael, of Titian, of Durer, and of the many other artists who made this era so great in the history of art. Clovio associated with a great variety of artists and diligently studied and copied their works. And Clovio, to his great credit, was not niggardly in his choices or narrow in his range of appreciation. His illuminations reflect and transmute works in many styles and media—the ornately frescoed and stuccoed walls of palaces and villas and churches, the elaborate funerary monuments of the day, and many other works of architecture, sculpture and painting. His work, small as it is, reveals that much larger visible world of art of the Sixteenth Century.
While some might look upon Clovio as a direct copyist in that one sees in some of his works an almost strict adherence to the work of another artist, faithfully copying a work—but almost always making changes in detail; others, and Clovio's works bear this out, view him in a different light. For them, Clovio was more than a copyist. Most of the works, that he drew with such great diligence and exactness, were drawn for the purposes of study. From these studies, his inventive and fertile imagination discovered infinite possibilities—possibilities which later took shape and resulted in the clever manipulation of figures, designs and objects thereby creating new compositions—compositions whose seed had been sown originally in the genius of another.\(^{19}\)

Turning the pages of The Farnese Hours, one is immediately struck with the thought—"I've seen this before--this looks so familiar, but where have I seen it?" On the outreaches of our imagination a fleeting remembrance lingers and we struggle to recapture the image of a painting, a drawing, a piece of sculpture, or even an entire painted wall that we have seen before and whose faint image continues to haunt us—"But where??" This is one of the fascinating features of The Farnese Hours. This little manuscript brings much of the Sixteenth Century art world before the eyes of the viewer, but in a way that teases our memory because it has been changed ever so subtly by Clovio, who presents these familiar works to us in his own inimitable and interpretative fashion.

The Sixteenth Century art world also witnessed the development of two major art styles, the High Renaissance and Mannerism. Just as The
Farnese Hours reflects the art works of this period in its illuminations, so, it also manifests, to a certain degree and in a specific manner, these two prevailing art styles. As mentioned above, Clovio copied the works of other artists and, using them for his basic underlying structure, produced his own original compositions. When one looks at the artistic style of The Farnese Hours, one sees him, again, acting in a unique manner. Clovio gives us paintings that possess both High Renaissance and Mannerist qualities. He takes the characteristics of these two styles and blends them in an astonishingly aesthetic fashion so that, page after page of The Farnese Hours presents us with what only can be termed as Renaissance/Mannerist creations.

Let us now begin to turn the pages of The Farnese Hours and, with Clovio, step back through the years to catch a glimpse of the Sixteenth Century art world as viewed and interpreted by our artist.

I. HOURS OF THE VIRGIN

Matins

F.4v Annunciation

F.5r Prophecy of the Birth of Christ to King Ahaz

The Invitatory for the Hour of Matins of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin begins with the words of the Archangel Gabriel to the Virgin, "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee." With this in mind, Clovio begins his paintings for The Farnese Hours with the traditional scene of the Annunciation (Fig. 24a). His painting includes the three essential elements for this scene—the angel, the Virgin and the dove. Here, beside a richly canopied bed, Mary is seen
kneeling in prayer or meditation for we see an open book which rests upon the ornate, classical, over-sized prie-dieu upon which she kneels. The scene shows the Angel Gabriel hurriedly entering the Virgin's chamber while the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, is pictured at the center of a bright light which radiates out and over the head of the Virgin. This appears to take place within the open, yet slightly compressed area of the Virgin's sleeping chamber, while outside, a landscape can be seen through the open window. In this landscape is a circular temple and in the background other buildings can be seen but only faintly. In the clouds of the sky a rather indistinct figure, presumably that of God the Father, is visible. The central scene of the Annunciation is surrounded with a lavish Renaissance/Mannerist decorative border filled with figures, ornament and foliage. At the center of the bottom section of this elaborate frame can be seen the coat of arms of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese—blue lilies on a field of gold—while above the shield is depicted a cardinal's hat.

The facing full-page miniature to the Annunciation gives us a scene depicting the Prophet Isaiah and King Ahaz (Fig. 24b). From biblical history we know that King Ahaz was the twelfth king of Judah to ascend the throne after the split of the monarchy which occurred in 922 B.C., after the death of King Solomon. King Ahaz reigned from 736-716 B.C. and under his rule, Judah declined rapidly. The king, contrary to the wishes of God and Isaiah, made Judah a vassal state of Assyria. Isaiah spoke out against the policies of Ahaz and counseled him to have faith and to trust in God—a faith and trust which Isaiah offered to strengthen by a sign. In the scene pictured here, we see...
Ahaz refusing the sign offered by Isaiah because he believed the might of Assyria was greater than the power of God. However, Isaiah, inspired by God, gives another sign to King Ahaz. This sign was the promise of the Messiah—the one who was to be born of a Virgin and who would be of the line of David.

The seated Isaiah holds in his hands a tablet upon which are the words "Ecce Virgo C(o)ncipi(et)" while an Angel behind Isaiah points heavenward to indicate the sign from God pictured in the sky. The scene appears to be taking place on the open portico of a Doric-columned building from which one can see other buildings and ships in the background. According to the Bible, when Isaiah and Ahaz met, the king was on an inspection tour in preparation for an attack by the Syro-Ephraimites. Thus, in the background Clovio depicts Jewish battle preparations according to Sixteenth Century Italian thought. The lavish figural border surrounding this miniature complements, almost like a mirror image, the border of the facing page that surrounds the scene of the Annunciation with one exception—the central section of the bottom border here is blank. Above this blank area, as if carved in stone, are the beginning words of the Hour of Matins—"Domine labia mea aperies Et os meu(m) an(m)untiabit laudem tuam."

Looking at the two scenes conjunctively, our first impression is one of supreme aesthetic pleasure and this is certainly one of the main attractions of this little book taken as a whole. The intricate relationships of pleasing colors, the grandiose compositions on a small scale and enhanced with surrounding delightful ornamental creations give us a sense of richness and a sense of a highly refined opulent
taste—a trademark of Sixteenth-Century Italy and of the court circle with which Cardinal Farnese was surrounded. 32

The composition of this Annunciation is not new. This type of scene, picturing the Angel Gabriel arriving with his garments fluttering as if he has just flown down from heaven to greet a surprised maiden at prayer, has a long history in Italian painting (and is dear to the heart of artists and to devotees of the Virgin, alike). The concept here is Clovio's own; yet, looking carefully at the picture, we can see elements that have been derived from other sources.

First of all, a kinship can be seen between Clovio's miniature and Titian's Annunciation, completed in 1522 for Treviso Cathedral (Fig. 25). This painting could have been seen by our artist for he travelled to Venice in 1523 or 1526. 33 Treviso is slightly north of Venice and works by an artist with Titian's reputation would have been of great interest to a young artist like Clovio. As in Clovio's work, we see the Angel hurriedly entering the presence of the Virgin, who kneels with her one hand to her breast, while the heavens literally open, sending down shining rays of light from the Godhead. The scene in the work by Titian takes place on an outside portico, and we see the walls of an architectural structure in the background. Although they differ in size and in almost every detail, the feeling of the two paintings is similar.

Three other works in which we can see points of similarity with the work of Clovio can be found in three different drawings of the Annunciation by Clovio's friend, Giulio Romano (Figs. 26, 27, 28). 34 Each of the pictures shows the Virgin kneeling at a prie-dieu with the
characteristic (for Giulio) twist of her body indicating her surprise at the heavenly visitor. Upon her prie-dieu one can see the open book depicted in each of the three scenes. In the first two pictures, the angel is similar in pose to Clovio's, and in the second and third works we see the figure of God the Father hovering in the clouds above the scene below. The second drawing by Giulio Romano includes the Virgin's canopied bed.

Still another work that undoubtedly had an influence upon Clovio was an Annunciation painted by Francisco Salviati while he was in Rome around 1533-35 (Fig. 29).35 Salviati was a Florentine artist of great genius whose artistic style was based to a great extent on the post-Raphaelian development and upon the works of Perino del Vaga and representative of the Florentine/Roman high Maniera style.36 His painting expresses the same feeling of deep humility and surprise on the part of the Virgin as we see expressed in Clovio's work though the pose differs. In the upper left corner of Salviati's painting is an image of God the Father who stretches out his one arm in a pose similar to that employed by Clovio in his figure lightly painted in the distant sky. A hanging draped canopy can be seen in the shadows behind the Virgin. The prie-dieu at which the Virgin kneels closely resembles in type, in detail, and in placement the heavy classical prie-dieu in the illumination by Clovio.

Another artist, who seems to have had a great influence on Clovio and on many other artists of the day, was Correggio. Correggio was an Emilian artist who, while spending most of his creative life in Parma, also had close connections with Ferrara and with the Gonzagas of
So, it is highly probable that Clovio was quite familiar with Correggio's work. In Parma, Correggio painted an Annunciation for the Church of the Annunziata sometime around 1523-24 (Fig. 30). His painting presents a dramatic scene of the Angel speaking to a kneeling maiden who, previous to the entrance of the Angel, had been engaged in meditation or prayer for we see an open book upon a draped prie-dieu. The pose of the Virgin, with her slightly bowed head, the left hand raised to the breast and the characteristic twist to her body, is close to that of Clovio's Virgin, though the latter kneels more upright.

Still another work perhaps seen and studied by Clovio is the impressive sculptured Annunciation from the Holy House of Loreto (Figs. 31, 32). It was carved by Andrea Sansovino between the years of 1518-1524. This scene gives us God the Father, the Annunciatory Angel and the surprised Virgin. Behind the Virgin can be seen a canopied overhanging similar to that depicted by Clovio in his work.

All the works mentioned above are works probably seen and studied by Clovio, who incorporated what he saw into his own uniquely small composition. An understandable difference between these works and the illumination by Clovio is that there is a greater feeling of space in the former (but for Correggio's). However, one needs to remember that Clovio only had so much space to deal with and no more. While he might be drawing from and paralleling the effect of frescoed walls, large oil paintings, and/or sculptural works, he still had to consider the smallness of his page. For him to achieve the effect of space in his Annunciation equal to that found in most of the works mentioned, he would have been forced to reduce the size of his figures so far as to
greatly lessen the impact of his painting. As a result, space, usually in the foreground and middleground of most of the large illuminations in this book, as here in the Annunciation, is limited and compressed.

Another source is suggested by the facial type of the Virgin. When one examines the head of the Virgin in Giulio Romano's Madonna della Perla (Figs. 33, 34)\textsuperscript{39} and in several of his other works, one notices that the expression on the face and the treatment of the hair and veil are quite similar to that in the Annunciation by Clovio, documenting Clovio's familiarity with the works of Giulio Romano, his great friend.

In the illumination on the opposite page, the figure of the seated Isaiah is definitely patterned upon Michelangelo's Isaiah on the Sistine Ceiling, as the bulky drapery, the crossed legs and the half-turned body indicate (Fig. 35). Smith, in his work on The Farnese Hours, also sees the strong influence of Raphael's frescoed Isaiah upon Clovio's seated Prophet (Fig. 36).\textsuperscript{40}

The figure of King Ahaz appears, in part, to be based on the figure of the soldier with his back turned towards the viewer in Giulio Romano's painting of the Vision of Constantine, while the crown on his head is exactly like that of the Emperor Constantine in this same picture (Fig. 37). The angel, behind the Prophet Isaiah, has been patterned perhaps upon the figures gesturing heavenward in Raphael's Disputà (Fig. 38), and Madonna di Foligno (Fig. 39), conflated with Leonardo's St. John the Baptist (Fig. 40).

One of the major Sixteenth Century works of art that had the most profound effect upon Clovio was the Sistine Ceiling by Michelangelo
(Fig. 41). The Sistine Ceiling was completed in 1512 and when Clovio arrived in Rome in 1516, he immediately fell under the influence of Michelangelo.\textsuperscript{41} Then, and again in later years when Clovio was in Rome, he diligently copied this magnificent work and many of the other works of this great artist.\textsuperscript{42}

Looking at the two illuminated pages before us we find that many of the figures and poses characteristic of the works of Michelangelo and especially those which we find in the paintings on the Sistine Ceiling, have found their way onto the borders of these pages. A pair of standing nudes facing the viewer in the upper left corner of f. 4v and a pair of nudes with their backs to the viewer in the upper right corner of f. 5r ultimately had their conception in the many pairs of twisting, turning nudes by Michelangelo on the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 42). Clovio has smoothed the robust athletic figures of Michelangelo to the softer, more slender type of figure that one observes here and which is more characteristic of the Mannerist type of art then in vogue in Italy.

The paired, reclining nude figures on either side of the large golden urn at the top of each page also, ultimately, had their origin in the reclining painted figures on the Sistine Ceiling. However, Clovio could also have observed variations on these reclining figures from the painted exterior facades of buildings and monuments such as the reclining River Gods on the Arch of Septimus Severus (Fig. 43) or Polidoro da Caravaggio's reclining figures on the Palazzo Ricci at Rome (Fig. 44).\textsuperscript{43} Towards the end of the Fifteenth Century, it became fashionable to paint the exteriors of buildings in fresco or sgraffito.
This type of painted decoration, mostly of mythological subjects, was especially popular in Rome in the early years of the Sixteenth Century. Clovio could also have seen this type of reclining figures in Renaissance and Mannerist artistic programs of fresco decorated rooms which could be found in the Vatican and in other palaces and villas throughout Rome. The reclining nude figures that one observes in the Sala Regia of the Vatican are more slender and have the decided elegance and grace of the Mannerist Period (Fig. 45). We see this same fluid grace in the reclining nudes by Clovio.

The plump, playful cherubs seen at the bottom of ff. 4 and 5 reflect the deep spirituality of the Italian people. From earliest times, the Italians possessed a deep abiding devotion to the holy angels and they coupled this devotion with their love for children and the family. Thus, Italian paintings are often seen peopled with these angelic beings in the guise of adorable little children—children so deeply loved by the Italian people, and Clovio perpetuates this Italian tradition in his paintings.

The plump, playful cherubs seen at the bottom of ff. 4 and 5 were probably influenced by the works of Raphael, whose many paintings abound with these cuddly and delightful babes. However, many artists of this period enhanced their works with these playful cherubs, and another example of a work of one of these artists that might have influenced Clovio is Sodoma's Marriage of Alexander and Roxanne, where these little plump babes fly, play and cavort around quite freely and happily (Fig. 46).
In the side borders of these illuminations, the figure in the niche to the left of the scene of the Annunciation appears to be patterned upon a nude male figure in the background to the right of the Holy Family in the Doni Tondo by Michelangelo (Fig. 47). Here, however, Clovio transforms the gesturing male figure into a female figure. This figure's counterpart, found on the right side of the scene of the Prophecy of Isaiah to King Ahaz, appears to be based on an Antique Pudicitia type of figure (Fig. 48). A figure close to that depicted here by Clovio, and one which he could have observed, is that which stood in front of the House of the Vestal Virgins in Rome (Fig. 49).

Immediately beneath each niche and also at the corresponding locations in the other three margins is a winged putto head, and beneath this a garland of leaves having pink flowers interspersed with the blue Farnese lilies. Directly below the central swing of the garland is a depiction of jewels and pearls that could have been taken directly from a page of the Grimani Breviary—a Breviary that Clovio, evidently, had studied quite thoroughly (Fig. 50). At the bottom of the border we see putti with baskets of flowers and again the Farnese lily is seen interspersed with the other flowers in the baskets.

A careful analysis of the two full-page illuminations reveals that, compositionally, Clovio connects the two central illuminations by means of the gestures of the hands and the turning poses of the figures. The positioning of buildings and landscape scenery completes the pictorial coordination and balance.
Turning now to f. 6v, we find a Hymn of praise to God and to Our Lady entitled "Quem terra pontus aethera" (Fig. 51). To the side of this prayer, Clovio has painted a gold relief-like plaque over which he has superimposed figures, anima... and flowers.

Beneath a head encircled with flowers stands a winged cherub between two storks—birds symbolic of filial piety.47 These birds stand on a blue flower tinted with white, possibly the Farnese lily. Beneath this is a green vine under which one sees a winged head of a cherub and an ornate rectangular relief upon which are carvings of ivy-like leaves. In the center of this relief is a circular roundel with what appears to be a scene of sacrifice. Beneath the ornate relief is a winged female followed by arabesques of flowers and ivy. At the base of the gold relief-like plaque is a mask-like face. Below the face are two jewels, similar to those found in the margins of the Grimani Breviary (Fig. 52), and a cluster of grapes, leaves and fruit gracefully tied together with a ribbon.

The bas-de-page landscape scene, which stretches over the bottom of ff. 6v and 7r, is a slightly fantasticated portrayal of Sixteenth-Century Rome. To the far left of the painting can be seen a depiction of the Pantheon which in 609 was dedicated by Pope Boniface IV to the Madonna and all the Martyrs.48 In the center of the scene of f. 6v can be seen a depiction of a pyramid, possibly that of Caius Cestius (Fig. 53).49 In the center of the scene on f. 7r can be seen a small circular pagan temple, perhaps based on the Temple of Vesta at the Boario Forum (Fig. 54).50 Throughout the entire landscape scene winds the Tiber River. Beautifully colored Birds of Paradise can be seen flying
in the sky.

The long golden relief-like panel on f. 7r is similar to that seen on the preceding page. Here, however, instead of storks we see cranes standing on one leg on some type of flower, while the other leg is in the act of dropping a stone. These cranes symbolize vigilance, a virtue especially required of those in public life. The stork and the crane could be seen as representing virtues possessed by Cardinal Farnese or as admonitions to him. The central roundel on f. 7r, seemingly inspired by a painting by Raphael's assistants in the Vatican Loggia, depicts God the Father creating the animals (Fig. 55). This scene would reflect several of the lines of Psalm VIII found on this page—"Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra . . ." The fruit and the flowers, seen in the bottom corners of each of the pages, could symbolize the fruitfulness of a good life, again possibly with reference to Cardinal Farnese.

Turning the page to f. 7v (Fig. 56), we see a purple ornamental rectangular section decorated with gold palmette arabesques similar to those found on the ceiling of the Loggia of Giovanni da Udine in the Villa Madama (Fig. 57). In the center is an oval depicting the Son of God holding in his arms the world which is surmounted by a cross. Golden rays surround the head of Christ. Depictions such as this representing Christ as the Salvator Mundi, beardless, have a history dating back to Early Christian time (Fig. 58). Here Christ is posed like a Greek god in the typical contrapposto stance and with flaring garments. With its grace and beauty, this figure resembles an early 4th Century statue of the Good Shepherd (Fig. 59) or he could have
stepped out of one of Raphael's works, for instance, the figure of the angel leading Peter out of prison in The Liberation of Peter in the Stanza di Eliodoro in the Vatican (Fig. 60).

The marginal decorations of ff. 9v-10r reflect the influence of the discovery of antique Roman painting on Sixteenth Century Italian art (Fig. 61). In the first part of the Sixteenth Century, a section of the Domus Aurea of Nero was discovered^53 and Raphael and Giovanni da Udine were two of the artists who viewed the paintings in its subterranean chambers.54 According to Vasari, the chambers "were full of little grotesques, small figures, and scenes with other ornaments of stucco in low-relief"55 (Fig. 62). Vasari continues by saying that these Renaissance artists were impressed with the "freshness, beauty, and excellence"56 of these works. What appears to have impressed these Renaissance artists was "the richness of naturalistic vocabulary used so casually, and the fantastic play of imagination in which masks are at once decorative and real, plants are ornament and vegetable, and truth and fancy are boldly and inextricably mixed."57 Raphael was so impressed with the paintings found here that he and Giovanni da Udine incorporated their style into the decorations of the Vatican "Loggie" or open galleries of the Papal Palace in Rome (Figs. 63, 64, 65).

The Loggia painted by Giovanni da Udine appears to be at least in part the source for the antique style marginal decorations by Clovio that are found here on ff. 9v-10r. They may, as well, be the result of Clovio's own experience of the Domus Aurea's paintings. Bradley hints that perhaps Clovio, who was a good friend of Giulio Romano, might have worked with the other artists studying and making careful and detailed
copies of these examples of ancient art. \(^{58}\)

The marginal decorations of ff. 11v and 12r show Clovio's imaginative and creative abilities as he wove together various aspects of ancient art blending them into a paean of praise to the Lord (Fig. 66). A winged putto head tops the margins with a stole, a symbol of authority \(^{59}\) hanging from behind each outspread wing. Below the head of each putto are, successively, a leaf, a pearl, and an open-petaled flower whose stem is a caduceus, symbolic of eloquence and reason but also an attribute of peace. \(^{60}\) On either side of the caduceus are two storks or cranes with curved bent heads who appear to be pecking at a bright yellow flower. Beneath the flower another winged putto head rests on a roundel which is in the center of each marginal decoration. The scene in the roundel on f. 11v reflects the first line of Psalm 86 found on this page: "Fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis." \(^{61}\) The delightful landscape scene in the roundel on f. 12r alludes to its textual neighbor, the first lines of Psalm 95: "Cantate Domino canticum movum, cantate Domino omnis terra." \(^{62}\) Beneath these two roundels are seated Pan figures who rest on the shoulders of a Nereid while they blow large horns in praise of the Lord. \(^{63}\)

Lauds

F.17v Visitation

F.18r Justice and Peace Embracing

Clovio begins the second Hour of the Little Office of the Virgin, the Hour of Lauds, with a painting of the Visitation—a traditional scene for this Hour (Fig. 68a). The illumination seen here recounts
the occasion when Mary went into the hill country of Juda to be with her cousin, Elizabeth, who, as related to Mary by the Angel Gabriel, was with child.  

We see the joyful meeting between the two women as Elizabeth puts out her two hands and clasps the hand of the Virgin, greeting her with the words: "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb."  Behind Elizabeth stand her husband, Zachary, and three others. Accompanying the Virgin, a young lady, apparently running, carries bundles under her arm and another atop her head. Behind her are an elderly man and woman.  

Behind the two groups of standing figures are buildings in the style of classical but fantastic architecture and farther in the distance are clusters of buildings which give the impression of a village nestled in the hills. Farther yet one can see a delicately painted landscape where the division between hills and clouds becomes almost indistinguishable.  

In the black and white cameos in the borders that surround this main painting, we see Biblical scenes that relate symbolically, allegorically and historically to the Visitation. The rectangular black and white scene at the top of the illuminated page shows, probably, Zachary praying in the sanctuary of the Temple. Prior to Mary's visit, Zachary had been chosen for the privilege of entering the sanctuary to burn incense to the Lord. There the Angel Gabriel, whom we see behind the kneeling Zachary, appeared and told him that his wife, Elizabeth, would conceive and bear a son. Since Elizabeth was past her childbearing years, Zachary did not believe the angel's words
and as a result, according to Luke, temporarily, he was struck dumb.  

The large oval cameo at the bottom of the page depicts an event from the early years of Our Lady's life as related in the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*: "And when three years were expired . . . they brought the Virgin to the temple of the Lord with offerings." Anna and Joachim, accompanied by friends, stand at the base of the fifteen steps leading up to the Temple while their three-year old daughter, Mary, ascends the steps to the priest who awaits her at the top.

Since the events portrayed on this page are all concerned with events leading up to the Birth of Christ, it seems likely that the other two cameos probably depict four of the seven Messianic Prophets from the Old Testament. (The other three are on the facing page.) The cameo to the left of the large central painting shows three prophets, but somewhat elongated in the Mannerist fashion of the day. Only two prophets are clearly seen while the third appears as a wraith-like figure behind the second. No doubt Clovio presented these three figures in this manner, two prophets clearly seen and the third barely visible to the naked eye, so that this cameo scene would balance with the corresponding cameo on the page facing this one. In the cameo to the right of the painting of the Visitation, Clovio depicts one Messianic Prophet which balances with the one Messianic Prophet on the facing page.

The full-page miniature, on the page opposite to that of the Visitation, is a painting of *Justice and Peace Embracing* (Fig. 68b). This scene is taken directly from a verse of one of the Psalms of David—"Kindness and truth shall meet; justice and peace shall kiss."
This Psalm can be considered as Messianic in its theme: the soul petitioning God for assistance and God's promise of peace and salvation for his people. Thus, the depiction or personification of a section of this Psalm on this page completes the Messianic theme which unites these two pages.  

The large scene on this page portrays the personification of Justice and Peace. Here Justice is seen as a young man in military attire embracing and kissing Peace who is personified as a young woman. Behind Justice, standing in an exaggerated Praxitelean pose, is a semi-nude child who holds in his right hand the war helmet of Justice. Directly behind this standing figure is a draped standing figure who raises on high the sword of Justice while in her bent left arm she holds to her person the scales of Justice. Behind and to the right of the personification of Peace are two little nude cherubs or children holding a cornucopia symbolizing the fruitfulness that comes about through peace. In the hand of the green-robed female figure, standing gracefully behind the two cherub-like figures, is an olive branch and on her head are two white doves, all symbols of Peace.

To the right and behind the figures is a building with a Doric portico of great simplicity. Situated behind this classical building is a circular temple with a statue placed at its top. This circular building could have been placed here to symbolize a pagan temple dedicated to the god of war, Mars, and is similar in design to the Temple of Romulus on the Sacred Way in Rome and which would have been known to Clovio (Fig. 69). Another source for this circular building could have come from Raphael's Cartoon, Paul Preaching at Athens (Fig.
70), a work where we see the artist placing the god of war, Mars, in front of the temple rather than at the top as Clovio does. Other buildings, also dating from early Roman history, can be seen in the distance including a pyramid no doubt patterned on the Pyramid of Caius Cestius (Fig. 53).

Taking into consideration this entire scene as a whole, one can conclude that it is probably meant to represent the ancient world as it was thought to be around the time of the birth of Christ. We do know from history that at this time there was a period of peace throughout the Roman Empire. One of the symbolic aspects being stressed in this illumination appears to be that of the Peace of Augustus from this early period in Roman history.77

Both scenes, the Visitation and Justice and Peace Embracing, have huge mountains in the background. Readings from Isaiah during Advent, the Season of the Church Year which commemorates the period of waiting by the Jewish people for the Promised Messiah to which these paintings refer, speak of God as dwelling in the holy mountains.78 Clovio could have painted these mountains in these two pictures in order to further elaborate upon the Messianic theme of these illuminations—indicating the nearness of God to His people and stressing that the time of waiting for the long-awaited Messiah was soon to be over.

The black and white cameos in the border surrounding the central painting of Justice and Peace Embracing continue the Messianic theme and balance those of the border surrounding the Visitation on the opposite page. At the top a figure kneels before an altar, extending one arm in a dramatic gesture, almost as if pleading with the Lord.
This figure could be Joseph, the betrothed of the Virgin, praying before the Lord for guidance. This scene would complement the corresponding scene on the opposite page in that, unlike Zachary who did not believe the message of the Angel Gabriel, Joseph did believe the angel when he appeared to Joseph in a dream.

The large cameo at the bottom of the page depicts the scene of the Marriage of the Virgin—a scene which, compositionally, appears to be based partially on a woodcut by Durer of this subject (Fig. 71). In both works, the central figure is the High Priest and in front of him Joseph and Mary join hands. The analogy between the scene at the bottom of the Visitation, The Presentation of the Virgin which is partially based on Peruzzi’s Presentation of the Virgin (Fig. 72), and this scene of the Marriage is that in the Presentation Mary vowed to remain a virgin and dedicate her life to the service of God. From early times, virgins who dedicated their lives to the service of God were often referred to as the spouses of Christ. In the scene of the Marriage, Mary, in the eyes of the world, became the spouse of Joseph. According to Christian belief, God the Father had chosen Joseph to be the husband of Mary so that His Son, Jesus, would have an earthly protector, a foster father, and Mary would have a protector husband. Thus, Mary, while remaining a virgin and a spouse of Christ, also became the spouse of Joseph. These two scenes complement each other—one an espousal on the spiritual level and the other on the temporal level.

The cameos that we see in the side borders depict the remaining three Messianic prophets of the Old Testament and complement those on
Salviati's painting of The Visitation (Fig. 73) seems to have had the strongest influence on Clovio's in regard to the poses of Mary and Elizabeth and also the running figure, a direct quotation with an ultimate ancestor in the maid with the jug upon her head in Raphael's The Fire in the Borgo (Fig. 74). The building out of which Zachary and his family have just emerged is similar to the Pantheon as seen from the back (Fig. 75).

The illumination on the opposite page, Justice and Peace Embracing, closely echoes Clovio's Visitation—hands reaching out to one another, figures on either side of the main figures, architecture framing one side of the scene and landscape gradually fading out into the distant horizon.

The frames surrounding the two scenes are almost identical. They give the appearance of metal carved in high relief—bronze reliefs being, of course, in an art form with which Clovio was familiar in innumerable examples from his own day and earlier. Perhaps one of Clovio's sources for simulated bronze reliefs was the Grimani Breviary, where the monochrome frames often appear to take this form (Fig. 76). The borders surrounding Clovio's two scenes are also patterned upon those which often surround or abut large wall fresco paintings such as those from the Raphael Stanze; cf those seen previously in the Sala del Costantino (Fig. 45). Another room treated in a similar fashion to the Raphael Stanze, and being a possible source for Clovio, is the Sala Paolina (Fig. 77).
As in ff. 4v and 5r, we see the familiar Italian putti playfully scampering throughout the frame. In the upper corners, Clovio again alludes to the Farnese family for we find large urns containing Farnese lilies. A long piece of drapery is gracefully interwoven among the objects and figures of the upper and side areas of the frame so as to connect the two. Large figures stand, one facing the viewer and one with her back to the viewer, on either side of the framing border of each page. Under these figures can be seen a carved winged mask from whose sides emerge serpent tails and wings.

The pose of the figure to the left of the Visitation has precedents in works found in Rome at this time. Basically, this same pose can be found in Jacopino del Conte's fresco painting of The Preaching of St. John the Baptist from S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome (Fig. 78) or the standing figures on pedestals that frame the paintings of The Baptism of Constantine (Fig. 79) and The Vision of Constantine (Fig. 37)—two works based on drawings by Raphael but completed after his death by his assistants. Clovio has very cleverly raised the figure's one hand so that it appears to be supporting the frame of the cameo which is directly above its head. The female figure with its back to the viewer seen in the frame to the right of the Visitation is probably based on one of Michelangelo's many nude drawings or paintings in which the rear view of the figure is shown.

The bottom of the frame continues the double theme of Our Lady and of the Farnese family. Once again Clovio gives us the Farnese symbol, the Farnese lilies. Here we see them placed at the mouths of the large vases tucked into the lower corners of the frame. The vases
are very ornate and are encircled with carvings done in high relief. There is still another symbol of Our Lady and of the Farnese family present here, namely, the Unicorn. The *impresa* of the Farnese family was that of a unicorn resting in the lap of a virgin. The unicorn symbolizes the Virgin Mary and her virtue of purity. Allegorically, the unicorn refers to the Annunciation and the Incarnation of Christ. This same theme is also depicted by Perino del Vaga in the bedchamber of Paul III in Castel Sant'Angelo—a possible source for Clovio. (Fig. 80). Seated beside the unicorn and holding the ribbon-like leash that hangs from around the animal's neck is a female figure. On the other side of the central cameo is another seated female figure who puts her arm around the neck of the unicorn. Their poses go back eventually to the *Seated Ignudi* of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling (Figs. 81, 82), but were transmitted via the more feminine forms that one finds in the work of Perino del Vaga and other Mannerists. Putti can be seen behind each of the seated female figures.

The border surrounding the illumination of *Justice and Peace Embracing* is similar but in reverse to that surrounding the scene of *Visitation*.

As one glances over these two illuminated pages, one sees the unifying effect that Clovio has achieved through the repeated gesture of upraised arms and hands that reach out to another being. Elizabeth and Mary clasp hands, as do Justice and Peace. While hands are not joined in the cameo beneath the *Visitation*, the two figures are united by the straight lines of the steps behind them and, thus, this same feeling of "reaching out" and linkage is achieved. In the cameo
depicting the *Marriage of the Virgin*, the hands of Mary and Joseph are united in front of the High Priest. The upraised arms of the figures in the main scenes are repeated in the upraised arms of the border figures. This movement, in turn, is repeated in the curved drapery in the upper corners of the frame.

In his Thesis, Webster Smith discusses the views of Samuel Chew with regard to the allegory of the "reconciliation of the Heavenly Virtues"—Truth, Mercy, Justice and Peace—and its development "in poems, sermons, meditations and mysteries during the Middle Ages." According to Dr. Chew, this is an allegory where, within the Mind of God, a high argument is conducted concerning the ultimate destiny of sinful man, with Justice and Truth demanding satisfaction and Mercy and Peace urging forgiveness. The conclusion reached within the Mind of God is that the "reconciliation of these opposing principles is accomplished when the Son of God offers Himself as a redeeming Sacrifice."  

Webster Smith further states that the "Visitation . . . has no place in the story, and the reconciliation of the Virtues cannot be seen as a prefiguration of the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth." Basing his theories on Dr. Chew's, he concludes that "Clovio . . . drew an analogy between the two subjects on the basis of the similarity in posture between the embracing and kissing Virtues on the one hand and the meeting and greeting protagonists of the Visitation on the other hand."  

If we attempt to examine these two illuminations with the mind of the Medieval man, we see that, in reality, there is a symbolic relation
that can be discerned. On the one hand we have Elizabeth, with John the Baptist in her womb, greeting Mary, with Jesus, the Promised Messiah, in hers. On the other hand, we have a meeting of Justice and Peace.

John the Baptist, according to the Gospels, preached repentance for sin and urged people to be baptized and to reform their lives.\(^{90}\) The rationale behind repentance for one's sins is to satisfy the Almighty Justice of God who is, Himself, sinless. "Only justice before God and among men is the foundation of peace; for it is justice which eliminates sin, the source of all division."\(^{91}\) Isaiah also writes: "Justice will bring about peace."\(^{92}\)

Christ, on the other hand, is the Prince of Peace.\(^{93}\) He came into the world with a message of peace and love and to reconcile all men to God. At the Sermon on the Mount, one of the Beatitudes taught by Christ was: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God."\(^{94}\)

So, as Justice and Peace meet in the one illumination so do they meet, in the persons of John and Jesus in the scene of the Visitation. The meeting of John and Jesus within their mothers' wombs at the occasion of the Visitation was a meeting of the one who would, by his preaching, stand for the Justice of God, while Christ was and is the Prince of Peace.

Turning now to the margins of ff. 20v and 21r, they are truly a delight to behold and a tribute to the fertile imagination of Clovio (Fig. 83). His starting point for decorating these margins was grotesques from ancient Roman art. Here, we see that he has combined the
idea of Roman grotesques with a military theme. The history of the Farnese family reveals that for generations "the men in the family had shown an inclination for soldiery, and they distinguished themselves in military ventures." Thus, on these pages, we see the inclusion of military trappings as a reference to this aspect of the Farnese family tradition. In his rendition of this theme, Clovio, once again, seems to have been inspired by works of other artists. An example of this is the painting done by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga in The Raphael Loggetta (Fig. 84) where we find expanded and diffused many of the motifs that Clovio has painted in the upper half of the margins on ff. 20v and 21r.

The bas-de-page landscape painting on ff. 20v and 21r is described by Webster Smith as a "panoramic landscape reminiscent of Naples." While the scene might be considered "reminiscent" of Naples, Clovio up until 1546, is not known to have travelled south of Rome. There is an old painting of Naples that dates back to the second half of the Fifteenth Century which shows the city and its famous Bay as it was in 1464 after the "liberation of Ischia from Giovanni Torella, an Angevin supporter" (Fig. 85). It is possible that Clovio had knowledge of this painting or that he had seen sketches of this work for many of the features of this painting are included in Clovio's bas-de-page seascape scene.

Down through the years, artists have often been employed in the service of both Church and State for special events such as church processions, civic festivals, court spectacles, entries of Popes, Emperors, Kings and other important personages into cities, and other
ecclesiastical and political happenings. These festive occasions were usually accompanied with colorful banners, elaborate costumes and other numerous and varied artistic embellishments. Clovio, it seems, was "pressed into service as a fancy-costume designer for the entertainment at a party given by Cardinal Farnese during Carnival in 1541. Looking at the brightly colored costumed figures on ff. 20v and 21r, one in each of the lower border corners flanking the seascape scene, it is easy to visualize them as being creations of an earlier period for some spectacular court or civic event.

The special prayer on these two pages is the Canticle of the Three Young Men, a paean of praise to the Lord—"Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino: laudate et superexaltate in saecula." Clovio, through his artistic depictions, appears, like the text, to invite all of the different elements of Creation—"heavens, waters above the heavens, heavenly bodies, heat, cold and everything on earth"—to praise the Lord.

Prime

F.26v Adoration of the Shepherds

F.27r Temptation

A scene of the shepherds adoring the new born Saviour announces the Hour of Prime, the third Hour of the Little Office of the Virgin (Fig. 86a). With this painting of the first Christmas, we have before our eyes the divine fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies which were so strongly emphasized in the preceding illuminations—"And it came to pass while they were there, that . . . she brought forth her firstborn
son, and wrapped him in swaddling cloths, and laid him in a manger.\textsuperscript{102}

Clovio paints for us a night scene to illustrate this holy event. This night scene heightens the effect of the Christmas Story and gives a more accurate pictorial interpretation of the biblical event—"And there were shepherds in the same district . . . keeping watch over their flock by night. And behold, an angel of the Lord stood by them and the glory of God shone round about them."\textsuperscript{103}

In the lighting of the scene, Clovio seems to have been inspired by Correggio's night painting of the Nativity (Fig. 87) or by other nocturnal Nativity scenes, such as Lotto's, now in Siena (Fig. 88). This type of scene, which embraces the quiet of the night, seems to impart a feeling of peace and holiness to this holy event which an ordinary daylight depiction would not be able to satisfactorily impress upon the viewer.

In this scene, we see Mary lifting a veil from the Infant so that the shepherds might view the Divine Infant more clearly. The shepherds appear to gaze in deep wonderment and awe as they gather around the tiny babe lying on a rock-like manger. Behind the Child, Joseph reaches out to accept a lamb which is being offered to him by a shepherd. Behind the shepherd we see a pink robed woman who appears to be hurrying either to or from the scene. On her head she carries what appears to be a container with sheet-like material. No doubt, Clovio inserted this figure to represent that of the typical midwife who was usually present at the birth in order to help with the delivery of the baby.
Behind the figure of Joseph one can see an ox and an ass, animals traditionally present in the Christmas scene. Instead of the stable implied in the biblical account of the birth of Christ, Clovio places this scene among classical ruins. A classical column, some pillars and a deep apse with niches in its sides can be seen in the background.

Above the group surrounding the Infant are three Raphaelesque cherubs who fly about symbolizing the heavenly rejoicing over the birth of the Saviour. In the distance we see the dark of the night broken by a bright light that surrounds an angel who appears to be talking to a young shepherd who holds a lamb in his arms. Here, Clovio is letting us know, by means of a second smaller scene within the main scene, about the apparition of the angel who announced the glad tidings of the Birth of the Saviour of the world to the shepherds who were watching their flocks in the fields.

In the foreground of the painting we see slabs of rock and scattered stones which have broken off from the classical structure. On the ground lies a bound sheep as if ready for sacrifice, a symbol of Christ who would later be bound and led like a sheep to the slaughter.

It would appear that Clovio took Raphael's Madonna from the painting of The Madonna of the Diadem (Fig. 89) as his model for the Virgin here. Even though Raphael's Virgin is turned in the opposite direction, the same fluid gesture of her hand is unmistakable in Clovio's scene. Again we see a running female figure carrying a bundle on her head—a figure like that in the Visitation scene, but less close
to Salviati's prototype. The cherubs hovering above the Nativity are seen in numerous Renaissance paintings of this subject, and for the sake of illustration one can mention Perino del Vaga's Nativity (Fig. 90) and that by Correggio cited previously. A Nativity scene, having a second scene of an angel appearing to the shepherds in the background, can be seen, for example, in a work by Giulio Romano for the Church of Saint Andrea in Mantua, a painting which dates from around 1534, and with which Clovio was no doubt quite familiar (Fig. 91).

The cameo scenes in the border surrounding the main painting give us scenes from the Infancy of Christ. The picture at the top shows the angelic host adoring the Infant in the manger and, in part, appears to be influenced by Peruzzi's painting for the Loggia in the Villa Madama (Fig. 92). The scene at the bottom of the border depicts Christ confounding the doctors in the Temple. The placement of Christ has some relation to the seated figure in Raphael's tapestry cartoon of the Blinding of Elymas (Fig. 93). There are also two scenes depicted on the sides of the two pedestals seen in the bottom border—pedestals upon which cherubs or putti are standing. The scene on the pedestal to the left shows the Israelites adoring the golden calf. The scene on the right could be a depiction of the Israelites worshipping a pagan god. Raphaelesque-like putti that playfully twist and turn delightfully grace the border while two large female figures at the top of the border sit and appear to be discussing the joyful event taking place in the central painting. Four faun or satyr figures, two on either side of the central painting, can be seen. The two creatures to the right appear to be carved in high relief and decorate the side of a pillar,
while the two creatures to the left of the central painting are pictured, one on either side of a niche in which we see a partially draped Prophet figure. This Prophet figure, no doubt, is meant to represent Isaiah who had foretold the Birth of the Messiah so eloquently and forcefully. Analyzing the figure, it appears to be similar to the Hymen painted by Giulio Clovio in his Casa at Mantua (Fig. 94a). This figure is also quite similar to one in a drawing by Raphael which was a Study for the Sacrifice at Lystra (Fig. 94b). In the little rectangular black and white scene found beneath the feet of the Prophet figure, Clovio has depicted a type of classical sea scene.

The miniature on the opposite page facing the scene of the Nativity is that of the Temptation in the Garden (Plate 86b). The Bible tells us that God created Adam and Eve with the plants and animals on the Sixth Day of Creation. Clovio, in his interpretation of this biblical event, gives us a scene of rich foliage populated with numerous and varied animals while a river runs through the garden from which the animals slake their thirst. The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is pictured as an apple tree with Satan in the form of a serpent entwined around the trunk of the tree. The artist has given the serpent the head of a woman which here appears to be talking to Eve, encouraging her to eat of the fruit. Eve stretches forth her hand, in which we see an apple, to Adam, who reaches out for the forbidden fruit. We are presented with a scene showing the Renaissance emphasis on the portrayal of the human form with all its suppleness and beauty.
It would appear that Clovio uses Raphael, Parmigianino and Durer as his starting points for this scene and then casts it into his own particular mold (Figs. 95, 96, 97). Looking closely at the figures of Adam and Eve by Clovio, we see that the figure of Adam appears to be based on the Adam in Raphael's fresco of Adam and Eve on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura and on the twisting figure of St. Jerome in Parmigianino's Vision of St. Jerome. The figure of Eve appears to be patterned on the figure of Eve in Durer's engraving of the same subject. The serpent curled around the tree with the head of a woman and positioned close to the head of Eve is also similar to what we see in the work by Raphael. The parrot and several of the other animals are taken from Durer's work although Clovio changes their forms and positions and places them in a deeper, more open and airy landscape setting than that observed in Durer's engraving.

The smaller scenes, in the border surrounding the central painting, tie in with the Genesis theme of Creation, Fall and Redemption depicted on these two facing pages. The central cameo at the top of the page shows the Creation of Eve. Clovio based this painting on works by Perino del Vaga and Michelangelo (Figs. 98, 99). The central cameo in the bottom border shows the angel casting Adam and Eve out of the Garden—a scene quite familiar in Italian Art and in part based on the painting of Michelangelo (Fig. 100). The scenes on the sides of the pedestals, topped by cherubs in the lower sections of the border, appear to be tied to the scenes on the previous page: The Adoration of the Golden Calf, with the scene here of Moses Receiving the Ten Commandments, and the scene of the Adoration of a False God with the scene
of the Three Maries at the Tomb where two angels inform the women that Christ has risen from the dead. The little rectangular black and white scene beneath the feet of the Prophet gives us a depiction of a seahorse—another familiar classical motif. The fauns and Prophet figure are the reverse of that seen on the previous page.

One very striking observation that one quickly makes regarding these two borders is the sharp contrast that one sees between the figures in the borders on the one page with those on its facing page. The border figures, surrounding the scene of the Annunciation, appear overjoyed and extremely happy over the marvelous event taking place in the central painting. They give the impression of discussing the joyful happening in great detail. There is an air of great jubilation common to all the figures. In contrast, the border figures that surround the scene of the Temptation of Adam and Eve appear, for the most part, to be turning their backs on the dreadful happening occurring in the central painting. While it is true that Clovio is giving us the reverse of the figural composition in the border of the preceding page and thereby revealing Clovio's dexterity and ability in portraying the human figure, it would seem that Clovio had more in mind than that which is obvious to the viewer at first glance. The feeling which pervades this entire border is one of great sadness and revulsion—what is occurring in the central painting is so terrible that all are turning away from the scene. The figures turn their heads, they turn their backs or they look fearfully at the awful scene unfolding before their eyes—the scene of man's fall from grace.
Turning to the next two pages, ff. 28v-29r (Fig. 101), we observe that Clovio presents yet another aspect of ancient Roman painting—the decorative ivy. The marginal areas at the sides of the pages and the bas-de-page area are gracefully covered with a vinelike ornamental motif that slowly entwines throughout each of the four sections of the two pages. In the center of each section is a large oval with a realistic painting of an exotic animal—two monkeys, each with an apple in its paw, a cheetah and a leopard. The animals are very realistically painted and show that Clovio had first-hand knowledge of these creatures. Webster Smith, in his commentary on The Farnese Hours, writes that "Menageries were assembled in the Vatican in the sixteenth century." Also, we know, both from written accounts and from paintings of earlier artists such as Gentile da Fabriano's Adoration of the Magi, that some of the important families of Italy collected these exotic creatures. So, these animals were not unknown to Clovio.

The Psalms and the Little Chapter on these pages would suggest that Clovio, through his depiction of these particular animals, wished to stress the Fall of Man and the effect of the Incarnation upon mankind. During the Renaissance, the monkey was used to symbolize vice in general and this animal was often included in art to show that Christ has conquered sin. On both of these pages, we see that Clovio has painted a picture of a monkey with an apple in its paw symbolizing the Fall of Man, the scene depicted by Clovio on f. 27r. The leopard and, related to it, the cheetah, depicted in the bas-de-page area, symbolize sin in the world and that, through the coming of Christ, sin and Satan have been conquered.
With the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, we continue
with Clovio's interpretation of scenes taken from the life of Mary and
that of Her Son (Fig. 102a). This scene precedes the Hour of Terce of
the Little Office of the Virgin. Here we see the Angel of the Lord
hovering in the sky above four startled, nude and semi-nude male
figures who look up in amazement. With the shepherds can be seen a
sleeping dog and, in the distance, a flock of sheep with a goat and an
ox. Beside the one shepherd lie a rod and a pipe. The entire scene is
set in a pastoral-type landscape with rocks and a tree stump in the
foreground and lush, green vegetation in the background. The border is
framed largely with nude figures, putti and winged masks. Putti freely
swing on garlands which are draped across the top of the border and
which encircle a large, winged, fierce-looking mask. In the bottom
border, a garland is draped across the shoulders of a little putto who
stands on a dais in the central part of the border. He supports a
plaque behind his head and shoulders—a plaque upon which are the
beginning words for this Hour of Prayer.

Two Ignudi frame the upper corners of the outside borders, while
in the left corner of the border at the bottom, we see a partially
draped female figure who kneels on one knee while upon the other knee
rests a vase containing an iris, the flower of the Virgin—a flower
often used in place of the lily. In the opposite corner of the
bottom border a youthful faun holds a basket upon his shoulders. The
faun, or Pan as he is called in Greek Mythology, was the "god of wood and field, flocks and herds." As the protector of flocks he is pictured here allegorically with the scene of the shepherds. Also in the bottom border, on either side of the central standing putto, can be seen helmets and other articles of military dress.

On either side of the central painting of the Annunciation to the Shepherds Clovio has painted nude and partially nude female figures that twist and turn in shallow niches under which gilded winged masks can be seen.

The illumination facing the Annunciation to the Shepherds portrays the Prophecy of the Birth of Christ to the Emperor Augustus (Fig. 102b). According to Christian legend, after the Roman Senate had decreed apotheosis for the Emperor Augustus, he consulted the Tiburtine Sibyl seeking guidance as to what he should do. She foretold to the Emperor the coming of a child who would be greater than all the Roman gods. While she was speaking, the heavens opened and the Emperor saw a vision of a Woman with a Child in her arms. It is this legend that Clovio illustrates here—a legend that is also commemorated by an ancient altar in the Church of S. Maria d'Aracoeli in Rome (Fig. 103).

Looking at the scene, we see the Emperor Augustus who kneels before the Tiburtine Subyl. She points heavenward to a vision of the Virgin and Child. Behind the Emperor Augustus are pictured soldiers, two of whom hold a bundle of wooden rods enclosing an axe and bound with a red strap in their arms. This symbol of Roman authority was called a fasces and was carried by the lictors, the attendants of a
Roman magistrate, here, seen attending the Roman Emperor. Behind the soldiers is a temple or an imperial building from which a garland can be seen hanging between its columns. In the distant background are some of the ruins of Ancient Rome. In the foreground steps lead downwards out of the picture.

The border framing the central scene is almost identical to that which surrounds the scene on the opposite page, the Annunciation to the Shepherds. However, here it has been reversed as a complement to that of the opposite page.

Looking at the illuminations in greater detail, we see that in the scene depicting the Annunciation to the Shepherds the nude figure closest to the front plane of the picture paraphrases the pose of Michelangelo's Libyan Sibyl from the Sistine Ceiling except for the position of the arms and head which Clovio changes to suit his specific purpose here (Fig. 104). The figure with his arm raised who faces the viewer seems to be based on Raphael's Heliodorus in the Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Stanza di Eliodoro (Fig. 105), though Clovio's figure sits more upright and is partially nude. The angel hovering in the sky similarly adopts the running figure also found in Raphael's Expulsion of Heliodorus to fit the scene.

The animals in this illumination can be viewed in a symbolic manner. In the foreground a large brown dog lies sleeping by the shepherds. During the Renaissance period, a dog often represented fidelity. In this scene, it could symbolize the fidelity of God in keeping his promise to send a Saviour to his people.
From Early Christian times, the faithful and righteous of the Church were looked upon as the sheep of the flock of Christ, while sinners were represented as goats in their midst. Here, we see a goat among several sheep and an ox, who represents Christ, and who is shown in the midst of both the sinner and the faithful.

To give this scene a pastoral effect, Clovio places it in a lush, green landscape which slowly fades into distant bluish-grey mountains in the background.

The large figures in the upper corners of the border are based on Michelangelo's Ignudi that surround the central biblical scenes on the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 106). Here we see that in his figures, Clovio has smoothed out the extreme musculature that Michelangelo gave to his figures. Clovio took these models, changed their poses slightly and presents them in his own unique style.

In the center of the side borders the nude female figures who pirouette with upraised arms on a shallow pedestal could refer to any number of Venus-type figures that abounded during the time of the Renaissance. However, immediate models appear to have been the attending female nudes flanking St. Peter with Ecclesia and Aeternitas in the Sala di Costantino by Giulio Romano (Fig. 107). Another possible source of inspiration for Clovio could have come from Parmigianino's Maidens on the north and south walls of the Church of Santa Maria della Steccata in Parma (Fig. 108).

The subject of Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl is depicted in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis and in the Grimani Breviary, both manuscripts well known to Clovio, but it is another rendering of
Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl, a sketch by Peruzzi now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 109), which served as the basis for Clovio's illumination. Clovio has re-structured Peruzzi's scene extensively, eliminating figures and buildings and changing poses and details. However, basically the scenes are alike.

A figural pose similar to that of the Sibyl in Clovio's painting is the armoured saint in Titian's Averoldo Altarpiece, which Clovio probably saw in Brescia (Fig. 110). In the kneeling St. Peter in Raphael's tapestry cartoon for The Miraculous Draught of Fishes, one can see a possible model for the kneeling Augustus (Fig. 111). The three soldiers who stand behind the altar are typical of groups, recalling several in works by Parmigianino and by Raphael's pupils.

While this scene of Augustus and the Sibyl was usually viewed as a prefiguration of the Coming of the Magi, here it parallels the Annunciation to the Shepherds both literally and figuratively: both the Shepherds and Augustus were granted heavenly visions regarding the same wonderful event—the Birth of Christ.

In the side margins of ff. 32v-33r (Fig. 112) Clovio continues his theme relating to the military aspect of the Farnese family. Helmets, shields, armour, swords—all the different accouterments associated with ancient military combat—accompany the figures in these areas. This same type of decoration can be seen in the works by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga in the wall frescoes of the Raphael Loggetta (Fig. 84) and in the basement area beneath Raphael's School of Athens in the Stanza della Segnatura of the Vatican (Fig. 113). Clovio was familiar with all these works.
Above the central oval in both side margins, putti can be seen engaged in mock battle. The idea for these engaging little scenes in all probability also came from the painted walls of the Raphael Loggetta where putti are depicted actively engaged in various types of encounters.

At the same time that Clovio was painting *The Farnese Hours*, Perino del Vaga was occupied with decorating the Pauline Apartments in the Castel San Angelo. In the Sala del Consiglio, he and his assistants were engaged in painting the history of Alexander the Great, the namesake of Pope Paul III (Figs. 77, 114). (Before he accepted the papal tiara, Pope Paul III was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.)

It is certain that Clovio was influenced by what he saw in these rooms and that he incorporated many ideas gleaned here into his own work. The emphasis placed on Alexander the Great in the Pauline Apartments recurs in the side margins of these pages, for Alexander the Great was also the namesake of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the grandson of Pope Paul III. Thus, in the oval of the left margin, Clovio has painted a portrait of Alexander the Great (as Vasari tells us) in military attire which resembles a drawing by Clovio of Minerva, the goddess of Wisdom (Fig. 115). Across from the picture of Alexander, in the central oval on the opposite page, is a portrait of Cardinal Alessandro also in military attire (Fig. 116). As Webster Smith points out in his commentary on these two pages, Clovio seems to stress the differences between the two men: Alexander, blond and beardless and Alessandro, dark and bearded. However, the differences between the two men are more than just visual—they symbolize evil vs.
good, paganism vs. Christianity and sin vs. grace. In fact, this symbolism can be seen to permeate both pages. Whereas Alexander's warrior helmet has a relief depicting a scene of a Lapith battling a centaur, a battle of good vs. evil, and is topped with a red plume having the head of a snake, the symbol par excellence of Satan and evil in the world, Alessandro's helmet shows a scene of a Virgin with a unicorn, a symbol of purity and innocence, and is topped with a white plume, the color of innocence. The armour of Alexander has a breastplate depicting the head of Medusa, the aegis of Minerva, the war goddess, which here symbolizes the profession of Alexander—the warrior king of a pagan world. Alessandro, in place of a breastplate, has a red scarf draped over his chest and secured behind his neck. Since red is the color of the cardinal's office, no doubt this red scarf symbolizes his cardinalate and his title as a prince of the Church of Rome. Beneath Alexander stands a nude figure surrounded by military paraphernalia, one of which is a helmet in the form of a snail symbolizing the sinner in the world. On the opposite page, a young woman clothed in white, possibly symbolizing the Church, Ecclesia, holds a torch in one hand and a crucifix, symbolizing the manner in which Christ conquered sin, in the other. She is surrounded with the trappings of the liturgy and the various ecclesiastical offices: mitre, tiara, missals and other church-related effects.

The bas-de-page scene presents us with another beautiful and delicately painted landscape. An elderly man, nude, and posed like the ancient river gods, point into the darkness of a cave at the bottom left of the page. Above the cave is a black, threatening sky and to its
right a fleeing figure in the distance. A high rocky formation covers the lower part of the nude man's body. What this scene was originally supposed to represent is not exactly clear. However, continuing the themes of the Birth of Christ and good vs. evil, it would appear that Clovio is stressing the fact that in pagan times the world was in darkness and sin. However, with the coming of Christ, symbolized here by the Church, light and salvation has come into the world. As the left section of the bas-de-page scene depicts a world in the darkness of sin, so the serene right side depicts the glorious light that has come into the world with Christ—through His birth, life, death and resurrection from the dead.

Sext

F.34v Circumcision

F.35r Baptism of Christ

The scene of the Circumcision at the beginning of the Hour of Sext is not a scene that one usually associates with the Hours of the Virgin (Fig. 117a). Here, one would more usually find a scene of the Purification of the Virgin or of the Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple. However, in this instance, emphasis is placed on the act of circumcision which was commanded by God under the Law of Moses. Circumcision was for the Old Law what Baptism is for the new Law—the scene which Clovio illustrates on the opposite page (Fig. 117b). In the scene depicting the act of circumcision, Christ, in obedience, submits Himself to the "Old Law and the Prophets."
The event of Christ's circumcision actually happened eight days after the birth of Christ, at which time he received the name of Jesus, the name foretold by the angel at the Annunciation.\textsuperscript{132} This occasion of the first shedding of Our Lord's Most Precious Blood would not have taken place in the Temple at Jerusalem, as indicated by Clovio as well as by other artists, for example, by Parmigianino in a painting of the Circumcision which he presented to Clement VII as a gift (Fig. 118),\textsuperscript{133} but rather at His place of birth, and with the act performed by His foster father, Joseph.\textsuperscript{134}

This scene shows the cutting being performed by a venerable old man clothed in garments signifying a person of high priestly rank and whose features are those of Pope Paul III (Fig. 119). Simeon, who, according to the events as related by Luke,\textsuperscript{135} received Christ into his arms when the little baby was brought to the Temple at the time of Mary's Purification, holds the Child, while Mary and Joseph look on. Immediately behind Simeon and Mary stand two women, who, according to Vasari, are in the likeness of Mancina and Settima, two outstanding Roman gentlewomen of that day known for their unsurpassing beauty.\textsuperscript{136} A throng of people are also gathered around to witness the holy event. This first shedding of Our Lord's blood takes place on what appears to be an ornate little altar with marble slabs inserted in its top and side sections. The scene occurs in a classical building having Ionic columns running along both sides of the interior and ending at a back wall where there is a niche in which is a seated statue of Moses who holds in his arms two tablets of stone on which are engraved the Ten Commandments.
The entire central scene is framed by an imposing architectural tabernacle. The top of this edifice recalls fresco and stucco wall decorations of the day, while the base is similar to that of many Renaissance funerary monuments (Figs. 120, 121, 122). Its jambs are caryatids which resemble those employed by Rosso and Primaticcio in the decorations at Fontainbleau and also, these figures are similar to those in the side frames which border the Raphael Tapestries made for the Duke of Urbino (Fig. 123). Little putti cavort playfully around the top of the edifice while two putti at the bottom of the frame appear to support an ornamental plaque containing the beginning words of this Hour of the Office of the Virgin. A garland of greenery interspersed with golden apples and blue ribbons is draped at the top of the scene and held in place by a putto perched at each corner of the pediment. In the middle of the draped garland hangs a cameo of some unknown figural scene. A ram-headed ornament, similar to that found in Salviati's work in the Oratory of Saint John the Baptist (Fig. 124), is to the side of each caryatid while a large jewel hangs from a blue ribbon suspended from a large circular form held in the hands of the caryatid figure. The base of the tabernacle has a prophet figure carved at each end while to the front, on either side, are figural reliefs carved into oval gems or colored stones. Two putti frame a central oblong cameo showing an Adoration of the Infant, with the Infant holding an orb in His one hand while the other is raised in blessing.

The scene of the Circumcision is balanced by that of the Baptism of Christ on the opposite page. Here, in a delightful landscape
setting, John the Baptist pours water from the River Jordan over the head of the partially nude Christ. Jesus and St. John are surrounded by figures that appear to have just stepped out of Michelangelo's cartoon for the Battle of Cascina (Fig. 125). The surrounding frame is almost identical to that found on the previous page except that, for symmetry, Clovio places a dove, symbolizing the Holy Spirit, below the apex of the swaying garland, to balance the circular cameo on the previous page. Here, the garland hanging from the upper structure has both flowers and apples.

The central oblong figural composition at the bottom of the border depicts a scene of the Epiphany, an important feast of the Christmas Liturgical Cycle. In the Liturgy for the Feast of the Epiphany, three events are commemorated—the Epiphany, the Baptism of Christ and the Wedding Feast at Cana; the association of the first two here is therefore logical.

The Feast of the Circumcision, with its special emphasis upon the Holy Name of Jesus, was very special to the newly formed Order of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuit Order). This Religious Order of men was founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola, a Spaniard, in 1534. Six years later, his Order received papal approbation by Pope Paul III in his Bull, Regimini militantis ecclesiae.

The members of this Order became very important as leaders in the spiritual battle of the Church during the Counter Reformation and, therefore, important to Pope Paul III in helping to correct and eradicate the many abuses and evils that, over the centuries, had insidiously made their way into the Church.
Clovio might have portrayed this scene of the Circumcision in preference to the more traditional one of the Presentation in the Temple, not only because it symbolized Baptism but also because the Society of Jesus was an Order recently approved by Pope Paul III. This Society held the Saviour's name in special veneration and laid emphasis on the Feast of the Circumcision because of the association of the rite with the naming of the Infant. And, in general, this event in the life of Our Lord began to be stressed in the Church during the Sixteenth Century.

In tracing the artistic sources for the scene of the Circumcision, we find that the figure of the High Priest has basically the same pose as that found in a cartoon by Raphael, Paul Preaching at Athens (Fig. 69). The foremost figure in the foreground of this cartoon and its High Priest in Clovio's illumination, are similarly composed as we see them both reaching out with their two hands. The general composition of the background figures are also in the style of Raphael. In his St. Cecilia Altarpiece (Fig. 126), the cartoons, Pase oves (Fig. 127), Healing at the Golden Gate (Fig. 128), and Death of Ananias (Fig. 129), we notice Raphael's tendency to have all the heads on the same level in the picture. In this scene of the Circumcision, Clovio treats his group of figures in the same manner. The figure referred to by Vasari, as Settima, has a hairdo and veil similar to Magdalen of the St. Cecilia Altarpiece (Fig. 130), while the woman who has her back turned to the viewer at the far left of the illumination by Clovio conflates the Magdalen with the St. Paul of this same altarpiece. She also resembles the similarly placed figure in
Raphael's tapestry cartoon *Healing at the Golden Gate* (Fig. 128), and indeed this pose recurs frequently in Renaissance and Mannerist paintings. The figure in the background of the illumination that has his arm around one of the columns is also reminiscent of Raphael's style. In the *Expulsion of Heliodorus* (Fig. 4), Raphael shows us such a figure from the back; Clovio gives us the front view of the youth.

Previously, we discussed some of the different influences upon various features of the frame surrounding the *Circumcision*. As we continue with our analysis, we notice that beside the caryatid figure on each side of the border is the head of a ram or a goat. In antiquity, this same type of decoration was often placed at the ends of Roman altars, and here it could be used symbolically in connection with this first sacrificial shedding of Our Lord's Blood which we see occurring on the altar depicted in this miniature.

Jewels are a sign of richness and wealth. If this jewel is being used symbolically then it could mean that even this first tiny shedding of Our Lord's Blood was of inestimable worth like that of a priceless jewel. The jewel could also be there simply as an ornament to enrich the decoration of the page.

The central cameo in the bottom border depicts a scene of the *Adoration of the Infant*. As we see, the infant holds an orb in one hand while His other hand is raised in blessing. I have found no models for this scene; perhaps it is an original creation by Clovio.

As for the two oval gems or colored stones to the side of each putto at the bottom of the framing border, Webster Smith sees the oval to the left as *Abraham and Isaac* and the opposite oval as either *Sarah*
or Hagar. I believe he is correct regarding Abraham and Isaac because this scene, with its emphasis on a sacrificial shedding of blood, ties in with the theme of the central painting of the Circumcision. The female figure to the right could be Sarah, the wife of Abraham and the mother of Isaac.

The Baptism of Christ is suitable as the parallel picture for the Circumcision, for, as was stated before, Baptism is for the new Law what circumcision was for the Old Law. This is truly a very beautiful painting, in which Clovio has blended all his different borrowings in a masterful fashion. The figure of Christ is based in part on Michelangelo's Christ from a Modello for the Flagellation (Fig. 131) used for Sebastiano del Piombo's Flagellation in the Capella Borgherini of S. Pietro in Montorio (Fig. 132).

St. John the Baptist's pose is slightly varied from Perino del Vaga's St. John in the Baptism of Christ in the Loggie of the Vatican (Fig. 133). As mentioned previously, the surrounding nude male figures are taken from Michelangelo's cartoon of the Battle of Cascina (Fig. 125). The landscape is treated in Clovio's uniquely beautiful style.

The central cameo at the base of the border, an Adoration of the Magi, is largely based on an Adoration of the Kings by Perino del Vaga for the Vatican Loggie (Fig. 134). Clovio adds more background figures and places Joseph behind Our Lady in his scene.

The ovals at either side could possibly depict the youthful Tobias and the Archangel Raphael (at the right) and the elderly Tobias (at the left). Just as Baptism removes the darkness of Original Sin from the soul and fills it with the brilliant light of God's grace, so
the Archangel Raphael assisted the youthful Tobias in removing the dark night of blindness from the elderly Tobias and opening his eyes to the light of this world.

The marginal decorations for ff. 36v–37 (Fig. 135) consist of four ovals with different pictorial representations. The ovals in the side margins each depict a bird and a flower painted on a gold ground. The oval to the left shows a brown bird on the stem of a flower, which could possibly be a rose with a partially opened bud, and a dried-up strawberry. In the oval in the margin to the right on f. 37r, a blue bird stands on the ground underneath a flower (again, possibly a rose) from which hangs a ripe strawberry. Psalm 123, the Psalm prayed during this Hour of Sext and which is partially inscribed on this page, speaks about our souls being like sparrows who are freed from the snare of the fowler.144

The use of a bird to represent the soul dates back to the art of the ancient Egyptians.145 Here, Clovio could be using the bird to symbolize both the soul in general and, specifically, the soul of Mary. The oval to the left with the brown bird could depict the soul of a person before receiving the waters of Baptism. The color brown symbolizes spiritual death146 and so this bird could represent the soul without Baptism and unable, as the dried-up strawberry shows, to produce good works.147 In contrast, the blue bird to the right could represent the baptized soul who is able to produce good works as here the ripe strawberry would indicate.

The representation to the right could also refer specifically to Mary since the color blue is used both on the bird and on the leaves
underneath and surrounding the rose petals. As there are no thorns on the stem of the rose, this could allude to Mary who was conceived without Original Sin and, thus, never really in need of Baptism. Mary, symbolized by the blue color, was a righteous person whose fruits were good works, as represented by the ripe strawberry.

The two equestrian scenes in the bas-de-page area seem to continue Clovio's constant return to the military aspect of the Farnese family. The oval to the left, in all probability, depicts Alexander, who sits on a lion skin for a saddle, astride his horse, Bucephalus, a spirited white charger. Alexander is attired in ancient military costume with a spear in his raised right hand.

The oval in the bas-de-page area on f. 37 depicts a caparisoned horse and rider costumed in the mode of the Sixteenth Century. The costumed figure holds a torch in his raised right hand. These two ovals could depict the theme of the pagan soul, one without Baptism, and the Christian soul, which has been baptized. However, these two ovals could also be exactly what Webster Smith says when he writes—"The caparisoned horses and riders may reflect the interest of Clovio's patron, Cardinal Farnese, in devising costume and insignia."

None

F.38v Adoration of the Kings

F.39r Meeting Between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba

The Hour of None, of the Office of the Virgin, is ushered in with the spectacular scene of the Adoration of the Kings, or Magi, as they are often called (Fig. 136a). We see one of the three Wise Men
kneeling before the seated Virgin while he holds out his gift to the Divine Infant. The Child, in her arms, reaches out to the Wise Man, while the other two Magi, engaged in conversation, hold their gifts in their hands. An attendant figure stands by a waiting horse while the rest of the princely retinue can be seen in the background. Part of the entourage, still on its way to the scene, can be seen in the distance slowly winding their way down from the hills. Joseph, leaning on a wall of the ruined building which houses the Holy Family, stands behind the Virgin while the heads of the ox and the ass are visible above the head of Joseph.

This scene is surrounded by a tabernacle similar to that of the two preceding illuminations but still more ornate and grand. Little putti scamper around its top, playfully pulling the noses of the two masks situated towards the end of the painted marble scrollwork. Another putto appears to be pulling out green leaves from a vase at the center of the top frame where the scrolls of the pediment meet. Two bronze-like brooding putti sit at the ends of the pediment. Below the scroll at the upper corners, two more putti play in the cascading flow of fruit and greenery at the sides of the frame. At the base two more putti are playfully pulling the mustache of a laughing mask or face. Above its head are written the words for the beginning prayers of the Hour of None. Between and behind the putti are relieflike putti in frames set into the base. At its corners are hybrid creatures, part lion and part bird, a sphinx-like creature. At either side of the frame a twisting athletic nude holds a drapery above his head which falls as a backdrop to these well-drawn muscular bodies and throws them
into relief through contrast of color. Each figure stands on a pedestal beneath which is another masklike face. Throughout the entire tabernacle a purple ribbon is gracefully interwoven between the framing figures and the ornamental decorations. The entire scene, central painting and architectural border, is set against a rich gold background with deep purple niches at the top and sides which accentuates the figures in these areas.

Facing the Adoration of the Kings is the Meeting Between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Fig. 136b). From the time of the Early Fathers of the Church, the story of the Queen of Sheba was used for Christian purposes. During the Middle Ages, the story began to be a part of the visual arts and scenes depicting Solomon and Sheba can be found in stained glass (Fig. 137) and carved in stone in the walls and porches of Cathedrals (Fig. 138). The Queen of Sheba was seen as representative of the Church and her journey to the court of King Solomon was interpreted as a prefiguration of the Magi.  

Clavio has made use of this symbolism by placing this scene opposite that of the Magi. It shows King Solomon seated on a regal throne, the sides of which are partially formed by figures of kneeling female nudes in exaggerated poses. The King stretches out his hand to the kneeling Queen of Sheba who extends to him a gift—a gift identical to the gift in the hand of the kneeling King in the opposite scene. An attendant handmaiden kneels beside her while others stand behind. In front of the throne, but to the side of the King, a dwarf gazes out at us. Behind the King other members of his court occupy a crowded columned hall.
The frame for this scene of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is similar to that found on the opposite page. Some of the posed figures in this architectural frame are in a reverse position to those in the opposite picture, while other figures take up a wholly new stance as they glance out at the viewer.

The subject of the Adoration of the Kings is one treated by numerous artists and without a doubt Clovio was exposed to numerous paintings of this event. In the Ponzetti Chapel of the Church of S. Maria della Pace in Rome are some frescoes painted by Peruzzi (Fig. 139). The main scene of the vault depicts an Adoration of the Kings which might have influenced Clovio. It has a certain feeling that is similar to the painting by Clovio in The Farnese Hours. The figure of Our Lady could possibly be based upon the seated figure of Mary who holds the Divine Child in her lap in Puligo's Adoration of the Kings (Fig. 140). While Clovio's painting shows the Virgin in a more forward leaning position than we observe in Puligo's work, both figures show a strong relationship. The kneeling Peter in Raphael's tapestry cartoon, Pasce Oves (Fig. 127), could have served as a model for the kneeling King. Once again we are aware of a stronger forward movement in Clovio's figure than in the apparent model, but from the waist upward both figures are similar, including the manner in which the mantle folds are draped and fall over the right shoulder of Peter and the King.

Other works that probably had an influence upon Clovio's Adoration of the Kings are Gentile da Fabriano's Strozzi Altarpiece and Andrea Mantegna's triptych painted in 1464 for the Gonzaga Palace Chapel (Fig. 141). The central painting of this triptych depicts an
Adoration of the Magi. Both of these works feature the long winding caravan accompanying the Three Kings which Clovio includes in his work. However, the scene by Mantegna is closer to that depicted by Clovio than is that which we find in The Strozzi Altarpiece.

The nude male figures, to the side of the elaborate frame, are modelled upon Michelangelo's Dying Slave (Fig. 142). Here, Clovio shows his ability at drawing the nude male figure by creating different poses based upon this sculpture by Michelangelo.

The extremely elaborate and ornate frame, while partially based on architectural embellishments from this time, was probably conceived with the thought of royalty in mind for it is rich in its depiction of simulated materials and in its use of specific colors usually associated with kingship. The rectangular frame immediately surrounding the central painting is painted gold while the scrollwork at the top is painted to imitate marble. The nude male figures stand on marble pedestals and the base of the structure is ornately curved and decorated with two rectangular bronze reliefs of putti inlaid into the marble base, one to each side of the winged cupids who pull the long white mustache of a laughing face or mask.

The figures at the frame's bottom corners, of hybrid creatures with the head and paws of a lion and the wings and body of a bird, are a type of sphinx or griffin and, as such, perhaps meant to represent or symbolize the royal dignity of Christ. The dual aspect of the animal could be seen as representing the dual nature of Christ—the divine nature by the representation of the bird and the human nature by that of the animal, the lion.
Purple, the color of royalty, is the color of the ribbon that is interwoven over the top, sides and bottom of the structural frame. Clovio also makes use of the colors of purple and gold for the background of this illumination—the colors of royalty.

Turning now to the illumination of the Meeting Between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, one can see a likeness in the pose of King Solomon to that of Michelangelo's Libyan Sibyl from the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 104). Both figures appear to carry the same twist to their bodies but whereas Michelangelo raises the arms of the Sibyl, Clovio lowers the arms on King Solomon and creates a new figure. The kneeling figures of the Queen of Sheba and her maid-in-waiting could be partially based on poses of kneeling figures situated on the right side of Raphael's painting of the Miraculous Masa of Bolsena (Fig. 143). The poses of the upper parts of the two courtiers closest to the window in Raphael's painting seem to be reflected in the bodies of these two women (Fig. 144). An engraving of this subject by Raimondi (Fig. 145) or Peruzzi's painting of the Meeting of Solomon and Sheba (Fig. 146), found in the Cancelleria, could have served as the model for some of the background figures in Clovio's illumination. However, one could observe many of the large wall frescoes done by Raphael and his assistants and find this same type of group interaction as seen here in Clovio's painting.

Looking at another work by Raphael, the tapestry cartoon entitled Healing at the Golden Gate (Fig. 128), we see twisted columns which are based on the famous twisted columns from Old St. Peter's (Fig. 147). Clovio, in forming his columned hall in this illumination, also made
use of this same type of column. No doubt he modelled his columns on those seen in Raphael's tapestry cartoon or, what is even more likely, on the twisted columns in the Basilica of Old St. Peter's.

The border that surrounds this illumination is similar to that found on the opposite page. With regard to the standing nudes, they are only approximate counterparts to the nudes on either side of the Adoration of the Kings.

Turning now to Folios 40v-41r (Fig. 148), we see Clovio revealing yet another aspect of his creative abilities. Here he treats the marginal areas in the manner of sculptural relief, painting them in grisaille to give the impression of carved marble. Clovio then surrounds these rectangular sections of relief with a gold framing band. This type of quasi-sculptural relief border can be found in illuminated manuscript pages such as the frontispiece of the Didymus Alexandrinus which Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni made for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, in 1488 and a manuscript to which Clovio had access during his stay in Hungary (Fig. 149). We also find this type of simulated sculptural relief in the frescoes of palaces and villas e.g., the basements in the Stanze of the Vatican.

The central area between the two sections of sculptural relief of each margin depicts a costumed rider on a charging horse. The horse and rider in the margin of f. 40v appear to be based on the horse and rider in Raphael's Expulsion of Heliodorus (Fig. 4). The horse and rider in the margin of the opposite page, f. 41r, is similar to that seen at the far right in the fresco of the Repulse of Attila (Fig. 5).
The bas-de-page scene depicts a very fascinating facet of Roman life in the Sixteenth Century. Here Clovio paints for us the games that took place in Rome on Monte Testaccio. These games were a part of the Roman Carnival which was celebrated every year before the beginning of Lent. They were originally celebrated on Monte Testaccio during the Middle Ages as "a symbolic display of the political domination of the Roman Commune over the subject towns and villages of the Roman District." Since these games lasted until 1545, in which year the last ones took place on Monte Testaccio, Clovio, without a doubt, often witnessed these yearly festivities.

Peter Partner, in his book Renaissance Rome 1500-1559, gives a photograph of an engraving of the games that took place on Monte Testaccio in 1545 (Fig. 150). Comparing this photograph with the scene painted here by Clovio, we can see how accurately Clovio depicted this event while, at the same time, making use of that license peculiar to the artist whereby he enhances his work and makes it pictorially and compositionally a work of art.

Vasari, in commenting on the decorations found on these two pages, writes that "the whole Feast of Testaccio executed with figures smaller than ants, which is a marvellous thing to see, that a work so small should have been executed to perfection with the point of a brush; this is one of the greatest things that mortal hand could do or mortal eye could behold, and in it are all the liveries that Cardinal Farnese devised at that time." With the last few words of his sentence, Vasari lets us know that the highly colorful costumes, in which the riders and their horses on these pages are bedecked, were created by
Cardinal Farnese, himself.

Vespers

F.42v Flight into Egypt

F.43r Crossing of the Red Sea

At Vespers of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, Clovio gives us the scene of the Flight into Egypt (Fig. 151a). After the Birth of Christ, following the visit of the Magi, an Angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph and said to him, "Arise, and take the child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and remain there until I tell thee. For Herod will seek the child to destroy him. So he arose and took the child and his mother by night, and withdrew into Egypt."159

In this scene we see the Holy family heeding the warning of the Angel and fleeing from the wrath of Herod. Mary, seated on a donkey, clasps the Child Jesus tightly in her arms while Jesus wraps His arm around that of His Mother and clings to her in apparent fright. Joseph, who turns and gazes back at Jesus and Mary with great concern, leads the donkey away from Bethlehem and on the path to Egypt. Behind the Holy Family, two angels, carrying supplies and deeply engrossed in conversation, complete the entourage.

Outside of the evident anxiety mirrored on the faces of the holy pair, this picture is in reality a scene that is both pleasant and peaceful in appearance. It is set in an open verdant landscape with a date palm tree situated to the far left of the painting, from which ripe dates are hanging in great profusion. In the background, behind
the trees and shrubbery, one can distinguish the faint outlines of a town, most likely that from which Mary and Joseph have just fled, Bethlehem. Beyond the town, blue and pink tinted mountains appear to blend together and gradually fade away into the distance.

The main scene of the Flight into Egypt is surrounded by an extremely ornate and richly decorated architectural frame upon which strings of pearls are gracefully draped. Precious jewels appear to be emblazoned on the structure, while putti, with extremely unhappy expressions on their faces, twist, turn, and, with childlike abandon, seemingly clamber over the structure. Two square cameo scenes with Prophet figures are depicted immediately beneath a seated putto and can be seen on either side of the upper part of the frame. On the left side of the architectural structure are two other putti seated on a large ornamental vase that is decorated with carvings in high relief. These carvings show a fleur-de-lys, the flower of the Farnese family, set above a mask situated in the center of the vase. On the opposite side of the frame, we see a nude male caryatid figure who holds, in the raised arm above his head, golden colored drapery that gracefully falls behind him as he bends forward ever so slightly. In each corner, at the very bottom of this ornate frame, two masks are set into a recessed area, the frame of which is cornered with pearls. In the center of the bottom section of the frame is a large bright pink jewel which balances the blue jewel set at the top of the ornate frame. Both are surrounded by other jewels and pearls and flanked by two sad-faced putti. The manner in which Clovio has draped strings of pearls over different areas of the architectural structure in conjunction with numerous
brightly colored jewels, gives the entire illumination an extremely rich and luxurious effect. Also, the colors of the jewels repeat the pinks and blues seen in the central painting and serve to unify the entire illuminated page.

The illumination on the opposite page shows the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 151b). Clovio, in this scene, depicts that precise moment when Moses raised his rod, and the Red Sea, which had been miraculously separated so that the Israelites could pass through in safety to its opposite shore, once again comes together and engulfs the Egyptian soldiers with their chariots and horses. Clovio paints a column of twirling vapor that divides the scene diagonally, thus giving us a picture of Moses and the Israelites on dry land, with a scene of the Holy Family in the background on the one side of the column and a scene of the Egyptian soldiers and their horses floundering in the Red Sea on the other side of the column of vapor.

The frame surrounding this scene, the Crossing of the Red Sea, balances that of the Flight into Egypt on the opposite page. Here, however, Clovio has simply painted it in reverse.

Clovio's source for his Flight into Egypt is in part based on a woodcut by Dürer of the same subject (Fig. 152). Comparing Clovio's work with Dürer's, we see that the donkey pictured here is similar to Dürer's even to such details as the position of its head and the raising of its front leg. The manner in which Joseph turns and looks back at the seated pair is alike in both scenes, as is the general pose of Our Lady. Both scenes show the date palm at left of the picture, though Durer's is in the foreground of his scene while Clovio's is in
Looking at the two conversing angels it would appear that the idea for the depiction of two such figures, walking together and conversing, could have been obtained from Botticelli's Judith (Fig. 153). In Botticelli's work, we note how the head of Judith is turned back towards her maid as if in conversation, a pose similar to that observed here in Clovio's painting.

A painting by Peruzzi of The Flight into Egypt depicts this event with the town of Bethlehem in the background (Fig. 154). Behind the town, Peruzzi has painted a vast panoramic view ending with mountains in the far distance somewhat like Clovio's. This painting by Peruzzi is a work with which Clovio was undoubtedly familiar, as it could be seen in the Church of S. Onofrio in Rome.

Clovio's draping of pearls over architecture here can be found also in a painting by Butinone (Fig. 155). In both works we see a similar pattern in the crossing of strings of pearls and then draping them over architectural structures. In the depiction of individual jewels surrounded by pearls, we note a similar treatment given to jewels in The Grimani Breviary, a manuscript well-known to Clovio (Fig. 156).

Michelangelo was undoubtedly the source for Clovio's nude male caryatid figure in the side frames of the two illuminations. Michelangelo's unfinished Slave figures, especially The Young Slave, was probably the model upon which Clovio based his two figures seen here (Fig. 157).
Turning to the opposite illumination, the Crossing of the Red Sea, we find a scene that has a most intriguing composition. We see a diagonally placed spiraling column of water that divides the composition into two distinct scenes. Whether this spiraling column of water vapor is a creation original with Clovio is difficult to determine. Between 1530 and 1538, Vincenzo Raimondi illuminated a Book of Hours known as The Gonzaga Hours. In this manuscript, on f. 37v, he has a painted a Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 158). He also puts a spiraling column of water vapor into his scene, but here it is placed vertically in the painting and appears to rise more like thick white smoke than with the swirling effect seen in Clovio's painting. As in the illumination by Clovio, Raimondi also makes use of the column of water to divide the composition into two separate scenes.

If the dates 1530-38, given by Pächt and Alexander, are correct, The Gonzaga Hours was probably completed prior to The Farnese Hours which was only begun c. 1537. Since we have a spiraling column of water dividing a composition into two scenes in both illuminations it seems logical to conclude that Clovio could have had knowledge of this painting and in The Farnese Hours gives us his interpretation of Raimondi's work.

Other works seen and studied by Clovio and incorporated in The Crossing of the Red Sea are Titian's woodcut of The Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea (Fig. 159) and Giulio Romano's painting of the Crossing of the Red Sea in the Vatican Logge (Fig. 160). Clovio's Moses is a rather unsuccessful combination of Titian's and Giulio Romano's. Clovio draws Titian's turning figure of Moses, who
holds a rod in his raised hand, and also the turning figure of Moses with his raised arm as observed in Giulio Romano's painting. The depiction of soldiers and horses engulfed by the waters, as seen in Clovio's illumination, is also based on both of these sources.

In the background, behind Moses and the Israelites, is a representation of the Holy Family apparently resting while on their way to Egypt. This depiction by Clovio is almost a mirror reproduction of Correggio's Madonna and Child from his painting Rest during the Flight into Egypt (Fig. 161).

Looking at the two facing illuminations we see that they complement one another in various ways. Both paintings rely heavily on a similar use of color—pinks, blues and greens which are repeated several times in each central painting and in the jewels on the architectural frames. Also, the directional flow of each picture is toward the opposite picture, thus holding the two illuminations together.

Viewing the pictures symbolically, we see that they complement each other in several ways. In both paintings we see God's providential intervention on behalf of His chosen ones and their deliverance from the hands of the enemy. The Flight into Egypt shows the Holy Family fleeing from the soldiers of King Herod and from Israel into Egypt. In contrast, the Crossing of the Red Sea depicts the Israelites fleeing from Egyptian soldiers and from Egypt into Israel. The feelings of fear and sadness that are an integral part of each painting are further stressed in the sad-faced putti seen in the frames which serve to unite these two paintings on still another level—the emotional one.

On ff. 46v and 47r (Fig. 165) we witness yet another instance of
Clovio's great skill in presenting delicately colored marginal decorations that harmoniously blend pagan and Christian artistic traditions. A large oval in the margin of f. 46v depicts Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, dressed in red cardinal robe and white surplice, praying to the Virgin with folded hands.

The corresponding oval on the opposite page, f. 47r, contains a representation of the Virgin, with hands folded in prayer and with eyes upraised to Heaven. The twist of her head and the contrasting turn to her body suggests a pose reminiscent of that observed in Raphael's St. Catherine of Alexandria (Fig. 163) and Titian's Flora (Fig. 164). The side margins of each page comprise linear grotesques influenced by such works as Polidoro's Grotesque Decorations from the Stanza dell'Incendio of the Vatican (Fig. 165) and Giovanni da Udine's Grotesques from the Loggetta (Figs. 64, 65). Intermingled with these quasi-antique decorations are various Christian symbols that relate to the themes of the prayers on these two pages.

On f. 46v, we find the "Ave Maris Stella," a hymn in honor of the Blessed Virgin. The hymn speaks of Our Lady, who, by her purity, humility and willingness to do the Will of God, allowed the Son of God to become Incarnate within her, thus preparing the way for the Gates of Heaven, that had been closed by Original Sin, to be opened once again to all mankind by Christ, Her Son.

On the opposite page is the beautiful Canticle of the Blessed Virgin, the "Magnificat," which Luke places on the lips of Our Lady on the occasion of the Visitation. In this Canticle, Mary speaks of the goodness of God to her, His humble handmaiden, and, through her, to
all mankind. Understanding these two beautiful prayers in honor of Our Lady and, through her, in honor of Christ, we are better able to understand the symbolism on these two pages.

First, there is the pearl which is considered to be the most precious of all jewels and symbolic of salvation, as the Evangelist writes in Matthew 13:48. Beneath the pearl are pictured two birds, pelicans, surrounded by their young offspring. According to legend, the pelican would pierce its own breast to feed its young with its own blood. There is an allusion here to Christ, Who, by the sacrifice of His life and the shedding of His Most Precious Blood, would win salvation for all mankind. Glancing over these two pages, we see the color yellow being used frequently throughout the side margins. This color symbolizes the sun, which, here could stand for Christ and possibly allude to His Incarnation which brought the healing and the warmth of God's love into our lives.

At the bottom of each page is a rectangular area with a flower and a butterfly placed against a golden background. This type of decoration is a variation of that found in The Grimani Breviary where it is employed rather profusely (Fig. 166). The flower of f. 46v is the anemone, a flower symbolic of sorrow and death. The butterfly that rests upon its leaves is colored brown, the color of spiritual death. This little scene symbolizes the condition of the world and mankind before the Incarnation and the Scarificial Death of Christ, when mankind was spiritually dead through sin.

The rectangular area at the bottom of f. 47r depicts a red rose upon which a white butterfly has alighted. Here, the rose symbolizes
the Virgin Mary who, through her great love for God, allowed Him to use her for His divine purpose—to bring salvation to the world. The white butterfly symbolizes the purity of the soul of Mary. Here, the white butterfly also stands for eternal life in Christ—that wonderful gift which was restored to all mankind because of the deep love and the wondrous humility of Mary, the "handmaid of the Lord."

Compline

F.48v Coronation of the Virgin

F.49r Esther Crowned by King Ahasuerus

The final Hour of the Little Office of the Virgin, Compline, is introduced by double-faced paintings depicting the scenes of the Coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 167a) and Esther Crowned by King Ahasuerus (Fig. 167b). In the first scene, that of the Coronation, Clovio depicts Mary kneeling on a cloud and, in the background, we see a shadowy Heavenly Host, while the Blessed Trinity acts to crown her Queen of Heaven and Earth. We see God the Father and God the Son simultaneously placing a crown upon the head of Our Lady while God the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, hovers above. The entire scene takes place on a cloud platform similar to that painted by Raphael in his Disputà (Fig. 38). Beneath this heavenly vision, one can see a lovely tranquil landscape, with a village scene barely visible in the far distant background.

As in Raphael's Disputà, Clovio uses two opposing curves, here, the curve of the cloud above and that of the little knoll below, in composing this scene of the Virgin's Coronation. As for the figures,
it would appear that Clovio's Christ is drawn from a scene of the Coronation painted by Correggio in Parma—a fresco Clovio had no doubt seen (Fig. 168). In the work by Clovio, Christ has the same pose and holds a scepter in His one hand in like manner. Clovio even clothes his figure of Christ similarly (Fig. 169). The figure of God the Father appears in the placement of his feet to be patterned on Michelangelo's Prophet Ezekiel on the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 170) or Moses or on the figure of Herod in the Capture of St. John by Andrea del Sarto (Fig. 171) which may have taken Michelangelo's pose as its model.

Looking at the Blessed Mother, the manner in which she crosses her arms over her breast is reminiscent of Durer's woodcut, the Coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 172). However, her pose is more like that found in a Holy Family by Fra Bartolomeo (Fig. 173) and even more so, as observed in a predella panel of the Apollonia Altarpiece (Fig. 174), a work by Francesco Granacci, who was strongly influenced in his works by both Michelangelo and Fra Bartolomeo. While the Virgin's arms are not crossed over her breast in this painting, the curve of her body is similar to that observed in Clovio's Virgin. Another source could be Titian's Annunciation (now lost) in which we see a kneeling Virgin with arms crossed but her pose is different as she leans somewhat to one side attentive to the words of the Angel (Fig. 175).

The frame surrounding the illumination is entirely different from those which precede this page in The Farnese Hours. Here Clovio gives us the visual impression of inlaid marble of various colors into which either figural or ornamental designs have been carved. The ornamental designs have also been highlighted with gold, which further emphasizes
their three-dimensional aspect. Both sides of the frame have Prophet figures which appear to be in deep contemplation as if pondering the wondrous event taking place in the central painting. These Prophet figures with their meditative pose and enveloped in a mantle which partially covers the head and then falls over the shoulder to the waist, appear to be inspired by the Prophet-type figure found in the lower section, the area under the large paintings, in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican, works which have been assigned to Raphael's assistants (Fig. 113). Carved marble scenes are set in ovals at the top and at the bottom of the frame. The top scene is one that presents figures gathered around an altar, while the scene in the bottom oval is that of the Death of the Virgin. In a painting of the same subject by Liberale da Verona, we see a similarity between the dying Virgin and a kneeling figure to the right of the bed and these same figures in the bottom oval of this page (Fig. 176). In fact, as one studies the work by Liberale da Verona in greater detail, one becomes conscious that Clovio seems to have captured not only the pose and the placement of various figures seen here but the spirit of the painting as well. Prophets and Sibyls are carved in the odd-shaped green colored marble inserts placed above and below the Prophet figures found at the sides of the frames.

The painting on the page opposite to the Coronation of the Virgin gives us the scene of the crowning of Esther as Queen of Persia by her husband, King Ahasuerus, who ruled Persia from 485-465 B.C. King Ahasuerus, dressed here as a Roman Emperor, places a crown upon the head of his queen—a crown that appears to be identical to that which
is being placed upon the head of the Virgin on the preceding page. It
is also identical to numerous other crowns pictured in Renaissance
paintings such as the crown on the head of Constantine in the painting
by Raphael and his assistants, The Vision of Constantine in the Sala di
Costantino in the Vatican (Fig. 37). The king is seated on a throne,
the arms and sides of which are shaped in the figure of a lion. Behind
him are members of the royal court, while behind the kneeling queen a
group of her ladies-in-waiting stand conversing with one another. The
queen kneels before Ahasuerus on the bottom step of the raised throne
dais. A figure in Renaissance garb stands to the side of the throne
gazing out at the viewer.

In the analysis of possible sources for these paintings, we note
that Clovio was inspired by Michelangelo for his figure of King
Ahasuerus. Looking at the pose of the Libyan Sibyl from the Sistine
Ceiling (Fig. 104), the forward, twisting movement of the upper part of
the body is similar to that seen here in the figure of King Ahasuerus;
however, the position of the legs and arms has been changed. A figure
with a pose even more like that of the Persian King can be found in a
predella panel from the Apollonia Altarpiece in Florence by Granacci
(Fig. 177). The figure of the judge or governor, who is sentencing St.
Apollonia, has basically the same pose as King Ahasuerus, except that
Clovio bends his figure forward more than Granacci does.

Looking at the kneeling figure of Queen Esther, her pose appears
to be based on the kneeling figure of the Virgin in the painting of The
Holy Family of Francis I by Raphael and Giulio Romano (Fig. 178). The
twist given to the Virgin's body and her slightly bent knee, as seen in
this painting, are copied by Clovio in his work. He changes the figure by turning the head into near-profile and crossing the arms of Queen Esther over her breast. A similar pose can be found in the Virgin in Perino del Vaga's *Adoration of the Child* (Fig. 179). In this painting, the drapery, too, as it falls over the left leg of the Virgin, closely resembles that which we see in the work by Clovio. As for the young courtier in Sixteenth Century attire, this type of foreground figure gazing out at the viewer as if to invite him into the picture, can be found in innumerable paintings from the Renaissance and Mannerist Periods. The one that probably influenced Clovio the most was Giulio Romano's *Donation of Constantine* (Fig. 180). The young man who looks out at us from the right hand side of this painting is pictured in the garb of a Sixteenth Century man. He appears as if he were a visitor at the Papal Court of Pope Sylvester—a court of the Fourth Century. Clovio uses this same contrast in costume for his courtier figure who gazes out at the viewer.

The structural frame surrounding this scene of the *Coronation of Queen Esther* is a repetition of that observed on the previous page. The scene in the oval at the top of the frame is one of sacrifice, while at the bottom we see a scene of the Apostles gathered around the empty sarcophagus of Our Lady. Some of the Apostles look at each other while others look heavenward, gesturing upwards with their arms. A possible source for the thought behind this scene could be a marble relief of the *Assumption* by Tribolo (Fig. 181) which, in turn, was influenced by Raphael's *Transfiguration* (Fig. 182).
The relationship between these two paintings, that of the Coronation of the Virgin and Esther Crowned by King Ahasuerus, is quite evident—both are scenes of crowning: in the one, Mary is being crowned Queen of Heaven and Earth and in the other, Esther is being crowned Queen of Persia. However, the analogy between these two works goes much deeper than that. Esther, from the time of the Early Fathers of the Church, was regarded as a prefigural type of the Virgin. The Church looked at Esther and saw in her intercession with Ahasuerus on behalf of her people, the Jews, a symbolic representation of Mary and her work in the Church. Just as Esther interceded for her people so the Church sees Mary as interceding on behalf of God's people who turn to her for help during their earthly life and then again interceding for mankind especially on that great and final day, the Day of Judgment.

Clovio's knowledge of antique statuary is in evidence on ff. 50v-51r (Fig. 183). Not only were there many remains of antique sculpture to be seen throughout Italy, but the Statue Court of the Vatican, with which Clovio would have been familiar, was famous for its Greek and Roman originals. Among the noteworthy statues to be seen in this Court, at this time, were the Apollo Belvedere, the Belvedere Torso, and the Laocoon. Also, both of Clovio's patrons, Cardinal Domenico Grimani and Cardinal Farnese, had large private collections in which were numerous antique sculptures.

Looking at the margins on these two pages, we are given the impression of sculpture on display—a display that, while rather compressed here, was perhaps based, to a certain extent, on actual displays that Clovio had observed in the palaces of his patrons and of
their friends (Fig. 184).

Portrait busts, like those at the top of each margin, would have been known to Clovio. Two works with which he was familiar are the Brutus by Michelangelo (Fig. 185a) and an antique bust of Geta,\(^{186}\) dating from the Third Century, which was in the collection of Domenico Grimani (Fig. 185b).\(^{187}\) The busts by Clovio share characteristics (details of drapery, the turn of the head) with both of these works.

Beneath the portrait busts, in the marginal areas of both pages, stand characters from mythology, possibly the armoured figures of Achilles, one of the heroes of the Trojan War, and Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons. One can find a model for the bodily poses of these figures in the pose of Alexander in Sodoma's Marriage of Alexander and Roxanne (Fig. 46), who embodies the same exaggerated contrapposto stance that Clovio employs in both of his figures. If we look at the upper right niche of Raphael's The School of Athens (Fig. 186), we see the statue of Minerva, who holds her staff in one hand and with her other, holds her shield upright as it rests at her feet. In Clovio's work we see that he places the staff and the shield of Achilles similarly. Looking at Penthesilea, we see that she raises her hand to her shoulders in a pose that is like that seen in the partially nude female figure standing on the left in Sodoma's painting of the Meeting of Alexander with Darius' Family (Fig. 187).

Beneath the figures of Achilles and Penthesilea are two sculptural works in niches—one is Apollo with his cithara or lyre\(^{188}\) and, on f. 51r, the figure is either Marsyas or a backview figure of Apollo, holding reed pipes in his hand.\(^{189}\) Clovio has based the pose of
Apollo, on f. 50v, on that of the nymph Galatea in Raphael's *Galatea* (Fig. 188). Another work, *The School of Athena* (Fig. 186), shows Apollo standing in a wall niche and holding his lyre in his arm while drapery gracefully falls from his arm behind his figure. Clovio's idea for Apollo undoubtedly had its source in these works by Raphael.

Looking at the Marsyas or Apollo figure on the opposite page, the treatment Clovio gives to the curls of hair that gracefully fall over his shoulders is somewhat like that which Sodoma gives to Roxanne in his painting of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxanne* (Fig. 46). As for the softly rounded back view of this nude figure, if one looks at the Farnesina fresco, *Cupid Speaks to the Graces* (Fig. 189), one sees a similar handling of the nude form in the back view of the partially seated nude female figure. Another figural pose that probably also served as a partial model for this Apollo or Marsyas figure is the turned female figure placed in the upper right hand corner of the painting, *Leo X as Clement I with Moderato and Comias* (Fig. 190). This back view pose, especially in the treatment of the legs, has certain similarities with the figure painted by Clovio.

Clovio is especially known for his delicately painted landscape scenes and in the bas-de-page areas on these pages we see further evidence of his great skill in this genre. Webster Smith tells us that these are scenes of "a view of the Island in the Tiber with the Fabrician and Cestian bridges."\(^{190}\)

At first glance, one wonders what possible symbolic significance the juxtaposition of figures and landscape on these two pages can possibly have either in connection with each other or with the prayers
from this Hour of our Lady's Office. The Hour of Compline is the Night Prayer of the Latin Church. As such, it is concerned with "sleep and waking, life and death, sin and grace." With these thoughts in mind, we see "life" or "grace" depicted in the figures of Achilles and Apollo on f. 51r.

Greek mythology credits Achilles with the slaying of Penthesilea and Apollo with the death of Marsyas. In the slaying of Penthesilea by Achilles we have a reference to ancient mythology and ancient symbolism or personification with an allusion to the Battle of the Greeks and the Amazons which personified the triumph of good over evil, or which, in Catholic theology, would be interpreted as grace triumphant over sin. Here Clovio takes a figure from pagan mythology to depict this Christian belief.

A similar trend of thought can be seen in the figures of Apollo and Marsyas. Apollo, one of the ancient Greek gods, challenged Marsyas, who had become extremely proud of his skill on the flute or pipes, to a contest. Apollo was declared the victor and Marsyas had to forfeit his life. In Greek thought, pride (hybris), of which Marsyas was guilty, was a grave fault and one that merited severe punishment by the gods. In this instance, Clovio uses this pagan legend to illustrate the triumph of divine justice over the sin of pride. We find in Psalm CXXX, one of the Psalms prayed at Compline, the Church praying for a humble heart with the words: "Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum; neque elati sunt oculi mei."

The prayers throughout this Hour of Compline stress man's humbling himself before God and praying to be ready for that moment
when God shall call him to Himself in death. This readiness for death the Church especially emphasizes as she places on the lips of all as they pray with Simeon\textsuperscript{196} his beautiful Canticle, the \textit{Nunc Dimittis}.\textsuperscript{197} With these thoughts in mind, as we look at the peaceful compositional arrangement in the bas-de-page areas, we notice that Clovio has given us two different scenes in one landscape setting. On f. 50v, there is a man seated on some rocks at the edge of the river engaged in fishing. The scene on f. 51r depicts a boat in the river heading for the opposite shore. In this little craft are two figures, one seated and one rowing. Could the symbolism intended here be that the man, seated on a rock and patiently fishing, possibly represents the soul waiting in readiness for death? And, in the scene on f. 51r, could Clovio have been employing a reference to Greek mythology, in which the dead are ferried by Charon across the River Styx to the other world,\textsuperscript{194} to symbolize the journey of the soul to God after death?

A Seasonal Hymn to Mary, followed by its appropriate prayer, concludes the ordinary prayers of the Little Office of the Virgin. Following this, Monterchi letters those special antiphons and other prayers which are recited in the Office of the Virgin during the Season of Advent, those four weeks in the Church Year prior to the Feast of Christ.

On ff. 54v–55r the First Reading at Matins for Advent narrates the story of the Annunciation (Fig. 191). On these two pages, amidst a decorative golden filigree and palmette border design, Clovio depicts the Annunciation, but he places it in separate ovals a little above the center of the margin on each page. He paints his figures in grisaille
and then highlights these figures by placing them against a striking black background. On f. 54v, the Angel Gabriel is seen moving swiftly to bring the heavenly news to Our Lady. On the opposite page, Mary is pictured turning to listen to the words of the Angel—words spoken to her across these two pages of this First Reading at Matins.

There are several sources to which Clovio could have turned for inspiration for his figures in these two scenes. Pontormo's Noli Me Tangere, based on a cartoon by Michelangelo, sets a figure in swift movement in conjunction with a turning figure, as Clovio does (Fig. 192). Or, perhaps Clovio, who was often influenced by works of Peruzzi, could have been inspired by the running Muse pictured at the far left in Peruzzi's painting, Apollo and the Muses (Fig. 193).

Turning to the Virgin, there are numerous sources that could have influenced Clovio in drafting the pose of our Lady seen here. One possible source could be Pontormo's Virgin from his Annunciation in the Capponi Chapel in the Church of Santa Felicita in Florence (Fig. 194). As in Clovio's depiction, we see a Virgin who turns to look over her shoulder in surprise upon hearing the words of the Angel. Another possible source is the beautiful limestone Annunciation by Donatello done for the Church of S. Croce in Florence (Fig. 195). The turn of the head, the twist of the body and the one arm that crosses in front of the Virgin are like Clovio's, though the upper body is more frontally seen. Still another figure that could have served as a partial model for Clovio's Virgin is Giulio Romano's St. Margaret (Fig. 196). Looking at the twist to the body and the position of the legs, we can see a strong likeness between Giulio's St. Margaret and Clovio's Virgin.
Again, however, regardless of what sources served as Clovio's starting point, the central figures of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary and their relationship to each other are Clovio's own creations. As mentioned previously, while Clovio was quite adept at borrowing what was good from other artists' works, he also was very adept in turning these borrowings into his own uniquely individual compositions.

II. Common of the Virgin

F.59v The Creation F.60r The Holy Family

At the beginning of the Common of the Virgin, a Votive Mass in honor of Our lady celebrated during that Season of the Church Year known as the Time after Pentecost,\textsuperscript{199} we are given a scene of God the Father creating Light and separating it from the Darkness below (Fig. 197a), as related in the Book of Genesis.\textsuperscript{200}

The magnificent figure of God the Father which Clovio gives us here, and his double gesture, is based on Michelangelo's \textit{The Creation of the Sun, Moon and Planets} from the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 198). While Clovio's depiction of God the Father does not retain the full impact of Michelangelo's awesome figure of the Creator, Clovio's figure does have a certain grandeur uniquely its own with its swirling garments and vivid coloring. Clovio's God appears to be more a kind but powerful patriarch whereas Michelangelo's figure possesses a fierce, almighty majesty that seems to thunder from off the ceiling.

It would appear that Clovio obtained his idea for including Mary in an event of creation from Michelangelo's painting of \textit{God Creating}
Adam, a painting also seen on the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 199). However, instead of placing Mary within the protective left arm of God the Father as Michelangelo does in his painting, Clovio places her in a kneeling position behind the commanding figure of God. Another possible source for the inclusion of the kneeling Virgin could have come from Raphael's St. George and the Dragon (Fig. 200), where the artist places the kneeling princess in the background of his painting in a manner similar to Clovio. Our artist could also have obtained his inspiration for including Mary in a scene depicting the beginnings of Creation, from the Epistle of the Mass of the Common of the Virgin—the Mass in honor of Our Lady which Monterchi has included on these pages of The Farnese Hours. According to Christian belief, Mary was destined from all eternity to be the Mother of the Incarnate Word. The Epistle of this Mass praises Wisdom which the Church identifies with the Word, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. Our Lady's place was foreseen from all eternity, not that she would be Wisdom, herself, but Wisdom's Mother\textsuperscript{201}—"From the beginning, and before the world was I created and unto the world to come I shall not cease to be."\textsuperscript{202}

The picture is set within what appears to be a large beautifully carved and decorated frame, possibly wooden. This type of frame one would expect to find surrounding a large oil painting that would have hung on a wall of a Renaissance palace or villa or perhaps a stuccoed frame fashioned in this manner for a fresco painting (Fig. 114).

The painting on the page opposite to The Creation is a simple painting of the Holy Family at Nazareth (Fig. 197b). Mary is depicted
seated on a straight-backed, round-topped chair while the Divine Child partially sits on a cushion on His Mother's lap. Clovio paints the Child so that He places His left arm lovingly around the neck of His Mother. A pensive St. Joseph leans on a shepherd's crook behind the Holy pair, seemingly in deep contemplation. Clovio places the Holy Group in an open architectural structure backed by a high wall, above which trees and other types of greenery can be seen. A wooden roof covers part of the architectural structure which is supported by an Ionic marble column that is pictured behind the seated figure of Mary and the Child. Against the far wall is an ornate table with a large vase or krater. As in the Prophecy of the Birth of Christ to the Emperor Augustus, f. 31r, steps are shown leading down to another level in the foreground—a clever technique of Mannerist artists (Fig. 24b).

Looking a little more closely at the scene on this page, we notice that the figure of the Child Jesus in the arms of His Mother could be based on either of two paintings by Perino del Vaga in which we find the Child Jesus with His arms around His Mother (Figs. 201a, b). In both paintings of The Holy Family by Perino del Vaga, the Child Jesus has a similar pose to that seen in Clovio's illumination. The figure of the Blessed Mother, however, in the manner in which she gazes out at the viewer, appears to be more like that seen in Puligo's Madonna with St. John Approaching in a Landscape (Fig. 202). The representation of Mary seated with her garments billowing out around her is due not so much to the patterning of his figure on another model as to Clovio's desire to balance the composition of this scene with that of the one on the opposite page. The width of the clouds beneath
the feet of God the Father balances with the outspread garments of Mary in this painting of The Holy Family. The outflung red mantle of God the Father, in the central area of the Creation scene, that almost touches the left border of the painting and which forms a slight diagonal line upwards to the head of the kneeling Virgin balances the diagonal direction of the split level wall as it extends across the back of the painting of The Holy Family. The sharper diagonal formed by the outstretched arms of God the Father balances the slanted roof seen in the painting on the opposite page. Clovio even attempts to balance the steps, as seen in the scene of The Holy Family, with patches of light in the darkness beneath the cloud at the feet of God the Father.

Looking at the figure of Joseph leaning on his staff, we see a type of figure that has its precedent in paintings of the Holy Family by Raphael, Giulio Romano and other artists in which St. Joseph is often seen leaning on his staff or resting his chin upon his upraised hand (Figs. 203, 204).

The frame surrounding the illumination of The Holy Family is identical to that of the painting on the opposite page.

The complementary symbolism between these two paintings of The Creation and The Holy Family is not, at first glance, very much in evidence. What Clovio could have had in mind in presenting these two paintings together, is the idea that, with the scene of The Creation, which includes God the Father and the Virgin Mary, we have presented here a heavenly scene. In the opposite painting, we see Mary and the Child on earth and in a domestic complex with a column situated
directly behind them. We know from religious history that a column in a painting may connote the divine. Here, then, Mary is pictured once again with God, but here with the Eternal Son of God the Father, Jesus Christ, rather than with God the Father.

III. Penitential Psalms

F.63v The Death of Uriah    F.64r David in Prayer

The Penitential Psalms are ushered in with scenes from the life of King David (Fig. 205). In the large, central painting on the left we have a depiction of the battle in which Uriah, the Hittite, had been placed at the head of the Israelite army at the express command of David so that he would be certain to be killed. Here we see the lifeless body of Uriah and that of his horse as they lie on the ground at the very front of the picture. Behind the fallen figures a fierce fight rages in which figures of men and horses furiously engage in mortal combat. Above the conflict colorful military banners sway with the forward and backward movement of the battle in juxtaposition with the thrusting spears of soldiers.

The scene is framed with an elaborate architectural structure. The pediment swarms with flesh- and gilt-colored putti, two of which peek around warrior helmets. On the sides of the frame, in open quasi-niches, can be seen figures of the youthful David. On the left side, David is clad in military attire and holds the decapitated head of Goliath. On the right, David, semi-nude but partially draped with a cloak, holds a sling, the weapon he used to slay Goliath, in his left hand. Both figures stand on elaborate partly figural pedestals. The
upper part of the pedestal doubles as the headdress of an Oriental potentate or pagan god whose features below are contorted in a fierce scowl. At the tip of his beard is the head of a ram or goat whose body forms the lower part of the scrollwork of the frame. Across the bottom of the architectural border two seated female figures face each other leaning on military armour and wearing helmets. In the central oval, between the seated figures, is a scene of David with arms upraised and holding a sword over the bent head of the Philistine giant, Goliath.

The painting on the page opposite to that of The Death of Uriah is that which portrays the penitent King David, David in Prayer (Fig. 205b). Overcome with grief at the realization of the terrible deed that he has done and having been severely rebuked by God for his sin through the Prophet Nathan, David kneels in supplication, begging the forgiveness of God. He has removed his kingly robes, his crown and his scepter and has placed them beside him on the floor. To his right, on the floor in the foreground, lies his harp. In the background we see his draped throne and a partially opened door through which we glimpse a balcony and beyond that, trees.

The frame surrounding this scene of David in Prayer is identical to that on the opposite page except that, instead of figures of the youthful David in the open type niches, here the artist gives us the nearly nude and rather curvaceous back views of two women, both of whom are in all probability the beautiful Bathsheba who brought both joy and sorrow into the life of David.

The central scene in the oval at the bottom of the frame is a depiction of Samuel anointing David as king.
In considering possible sources for the painting of The Death of Uriah, the work that undoubtedly influenced Clovio the most was the painting by Giulio Romano and his assistants in the Sala di Costantino, The Battle of Constantine (Fig. 206). In this painting we find all the essential features that basically comprise the work by Clovio: men on horses charging into the ranks of the enemy, rearing horses, men and horses that have fallen in battle and upraised spears and waving banners. Another work that Clovio saw and drew upon was Titian's mural painting, The Battle of Cadore (Fig. 207), in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Piazza Ducale in Venice. As in the work by Giulio Romano, here, too, we see men and horses engaged in furious conflict, while overhead colorful banners wave back and forth in the heat of battle. Titian's drawing of a Horseman for the Battle of Cadore (Fig. 208) has strong affinity with a similar horse and rider seen in the left front ranks of Clovio's painting. The rearing horse in Raphael's St. George and the Dragon (Fig. 200) could have served as a model for a similar horse seen in the front ranks, to the right, in Clovio's painting. Another famous work with which Clovio would have been familiar is Leonardo's great painting of the Battle of Anghiari. While today it is difficult for us to visualize this work in its intended grandeur, during Clovio's time the painting was still in partial existence and well known throughout Italy. However, we are fortunate to have a drawing of Leonardo of this famous battle (Fig. 209) and also a drawing by Rubens which is a copy of Leonardo's work (Fig. 210). The two central figures engaged in conflict in Clovio's work adapt those in Leonardo's Battle of the Standard. Another artist whose works had a
great influence on Clovio was Perino del Vaga. Looking at his *Joshua Stays the Sun* in the Vatican Logge (Fig. 211) we notice that the compactness of the struggling figures and the diagonal thrusts of the spears of the soldiers seem to be echoed in the work by Clovio.

Turning our attention now to the border figures of David on either side of the central painting we see that each has the opposite pose of the other figure and both seem to look toward the scene depicting the death of Uriah with expressions of horror. Clovio appears to pattern his David upon Michelangelo's unfinished *David-Apollo* (Fig. 212), though Michelangelo's *Apollo* raises his one arm and does not have his legs crossed. However, the crossed-leg pose of Clovio's David is a variant of that seen in an antique sculptural work, a *Mercury* (Fig. 213), which, at this time was in the Statue Court of the Belvedere. 210

The idea for the depiction of *David Slaying Goliath*, seen in the central oval of the bottom border, could have come from Michelangelo's painting of *David and Goliath* (Fig. 214) from the Sistine Ceiling, or from Perino del Vaga's *David and Goliath* from the Vatican Logge (fig. 215). However, both of these paintings possess an intense energy that is lacking in Clovio's work. Clovio pictures his Goliath bending his head forward and meekly awaiting the crushing blow of the sword, whereas Michelangelo and Perino give the impression that Goliath has been momentarily stunned and before he can recover David swiftly raises his sword taking advantage of Goliath's helpless condition.

The penitent David on the opposite page recalls, in the pose of the upper half of his body, Leonardo's *St. Jerome* (Fig. 216). However,
whereas Leonardo's figure appears emaciated, Clovio's has the heavy musculature of a work by Michelangelo. The lower half of Clovio's David and his right hand may have been patterned upon Lorenzo Lotto's St. Jerome in the Wilderness (Figs. 217, 218). Both Clovio and Lotto employ a closed position for the legs of their kneeling figures.

It would appear that Clovio was influenced by still another feature of one of Lotto's paintings of St. Jerome in the Wilderness (Fig. 218), that now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. In this painting, Lotto places the objects with which St. Jerome afflicted his body in order to bring in into subjection in the same place that we see Clovio placing the harp of David.

The two figures of Bathsheba, which bracket the central painting are reversed counterparts or mirror images, still more exactly so than the two depictions of David that surround The Death of Uriah. However, whereas Clovio depicted David facing the viewer and glancing toward the central painting, Bathsheba has her back turned towards the viewer and her head turned away from the scene of David in penance. Possible models are many, given the many depictions of nude and nearly nude female figures that peopled the walls and ceilings of palaces and villas of the wealthy from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. A Sketch of a Venus (Fig. 219) by Michelangelo and which De Tolnay compares to a back view of the Capitoline Venus (Fig. 220), could have influenced Clovio, whose Bathsheba displays a generous quantity of fleshy curves distributed like those seen in this drawing by Michelangelo and also in the back view of the Capitoline Venus. A print after Rosso, a Juno (Fig. 221), which is one of a set of twenty Antique
Deities designed by this artist,\textsuperscript{212} also presents us with a nude female figure viewed from the back whose pose is similar to Clovio's Bathsheba.

The depiction of Samuel Anointing David in the oval in the center of the bottom border had its origin in The Grimani Breviary (Fig. 222). While the figures are both drawn and positioned differently in each painting, they are definitely related. We see this relationship between the two works in the slightly bent figure of Samuel as he anoints the kneeling shepherd boy, David, as king with oil from a curved flask,\textsuperscript{213} but whereas The Grimani Breviary pictures David with his shepherd's staff on the ground, Clovio makes an interesting composition by placing the staff on a diagonal line in the hands of David.

A careful study of the framing borders on these two pages reveals to us that, most likely, Clovio, at the outset, started with a basic design such as that of a funerary monument, a stucco decoration surrounding a wall painting, a window, or a niche. From this basic design, Clovio then let his imagination take over, and the result is what we see on these two pages. An example of a decoration similar to what we see here is that which surrounds a niche on the outside wall of St. Peter's at Rome (Fig. 223). The top section of this niche shows a close resemblance to Clovio's work here.

Throughout the border, Clovio has incorporated a military theme with different aspects of the life of David. Especially noticeable are the antique masks and the harps woven into the sides of the elaborate pedestals on which David and Bathsheba stand. Before he was crowned king, David was a shepherd, and beneath the figural pedestals Clovio paints the head of a ram or a sheep whose body turns into a scroll
forming the outside of the bottom border. This type of border, with an animal head can be seen in a decoration by Salviati which is beneath a window in the Oratory of St. John the Baptist in Rome (Fig. 124).

Compositionally, Clovio unites these two illuminated pages with a diagonal thrust that runs in opposite directions from the lower and inmost corner in both works. In The Death of Uriah, the diagonal thrust moves upward from the outstretched back legs of the white horse, up a soldier's spear and then upwards to the painting of the mask with a white ribbon tied around its jaw and up around its head. The movement is picked up by the arms of the putti in the upper border, carried rightwards across the top of the frame, and is then carried down the figure of the partially nude David. On the opposite page, the diagonal thrust begins with David's harp, runs up the outstretched arm of David, and continues up his shoulder and head to the drapery behind the throne and to a mask with a white ribbon, as in the opposite painting. The movement turns leftward with the putti in the upper frame and then flows down the figure of Bathsheba.

Symbolically, these two paintings reflect the purpose of praying the Penitential Psalms—an admission of guilt and a cry to God for mercy. In The Death of Uriah, we see the crime committed by David which so greatly angered God, and in David in Prayer we witness the penitent David laying aside his kingly robes, acknowledging his guilt, and crying out to God for mercy and forgiveness.

Turning the page to ff. 66v and 65r (Fig. 224), we are presented with still more evidence of Clovio's superb artistic skill in the "antique manner." The outer vertical margins on both of these pages,
which are treated as individual panels, are filled with delicate pastel colors and drawings that have a flowing linear quality reflecting our artist's thorough knowledge of antique art and his ability to interpret this style of painting to suit his purpose.

The bas-de-page area on both folios depicts a beautifully painted landscape scene where the greens of the land area and the blues of the sea, mountains and sky fuse together giving an impression of great tranquility and peace. It is as if the soul, having acknowledged its great sorrow for sins committed, now feels secure in God's cleansing and redeeming grace and is at rest within itself.

IV Litany of All Saints

FF. 72v-73r Procession in Honor of Corpus Christi

Towards the bottom of f. 71v, Monterchi begins the Litany of All Saints, a prayer made up of "petitions addressed to various saints of different classes—apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, as well as to Mary, the Queen of Saints." 215 This prayer was one that was much loved, especially by the people of the Middle Ages who had great devotion to Christ, His Mother and the saints. 216 Because it was so loved, the Litany of All Saints was included in most Books of Hours.

Turning the page to ff. 72v and 73r, we see that, over two pages of gold-lettered invocations to the saints, Clovio has illustrated one of the occasions217 on which this Litany of All Saints could be prayed or sung in choir, the Feast of Corpus Christi (Fig. 225). 218 Because of the importance and dignity of the special feast, it was usually celebrated with the greatest reverence and ceremony possible as the
Church, in its Liturgy, honored the greatest of all the seven sacraments, the Holy Eucharist. A principal part of the service, on this great occasion, was the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, in which the Sacred Host was placed in a monstrance to be seen and adored by all the faithful. Later, the monstrance, with the Sacred Host, was carried in solemn procession throughout the church and oftentimes through the streets of the city by the officiating celebrant and his ministers while all the faithful joined in singing hymns in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. What Clovio has painted on these two pages is the procession that took place in Rome on this great feast in which he has pictured the Blessed in Heaven uniting with the faithful on earth in adoration of the Godhead.

As mentioned previously, the Litany of All Saints was usually not illustrated in Books of Hours. One exception, however, is the Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry (Musée Condé, Chantilly). On ff. 71v-72r of this manuscript (Fig. 226), we see an illustration by the Limbourg Brothers depicting a religious procession. The event illustrated here occurred during the pontificate of Pope St. Gregory the Great (590-604) when, in 590, he mandated a procession and prescribed the Litany of All Saints, to be prayed beseeching the Heavenly Host to intercede before God, begging Him to be merciful and to bring an end to the plague that was devastating Rome. The Limbourg Brothers have pictured this actual procession and placed it across the bas-de-page areas of ff. 71v and 72r, while the area above on both pages is given over to views of some of the buildings of Rome and of the outside walls of the Eternal City. The text of the concluding prayers of the
Penitential Psalms on f. 71v and the beginning of the Litany of All Saints on f. 72r appear to be superimposed, to hang as if on banners upon these painted pages, whereas, in comparison, the lettering on ff. 72v–73r, in The Farnese Hours, gives the impression of being suspended in the air that encompasses the painted scene which is spread over the entire area of the two folios. In this instance, we see how closely Monterchi and Clovio must have worked together in order to achieve such perfect harmony between the lettering and the painted scene, wherein, on these two uniquely illustrated pages, all elements work together as a unified whole.

In the area at the top of ff. 72v and 73r, Clovio gives us a vision of heaven in which we see the Elect adoring and praising the Godhead. On f. 72v, God the Father and God the Son sit on a curved surface, with God the Holy Spirit, in the shape of a dove, hovering between Them. All three are surrounded with a warm golden glow, while around Them can be seen the Elect of heaven. In a semi-circle, in front of the Blessed Trinity, are seated the Apostles, Bishops, Cardinals and other members of the Heavenly Host who are engaged in adoring God and in gazing at the happenings taking place on earth below. The scene here is similar in design to the composition employed by Raphael in the upper part of his painting, the Disputa (Fig. 38). While both God the Father (left) and God the Son (right) are clothed in a similar manner to Raphael's depiction of Christ in this painting in the Stanza della Segnatura, the pose Clovio uses for God the Father appears to be adapted from that which Michelangelo has given to the Prophet Joel from the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 227). The pose given to
God the Son appears to be based on the figure of Poetry (Fig. 228), a fresco on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura. The painting of the Coronation of Charlemagne by Raphael and Penni (Fig. 229) no doubt served as an inspiration for the backviews of the seated Bishops.

At the top of the opposite page, the scene of Heaven continues with more of the Angelic Host and the Elect kneeling and praising God with the Virgin in their midst. The gesturing arms of Our Lady are posed similarly to those of the Queen of Sheba in Marcantonio's engraving of Raphael's Solomon and Sheba (Fig. 145).

Beneath the fluffy, white clouds which frame the Heavenly Scene, angels can be seen flying between earth and heaven. Most of the angels have laurel wreaths or baskets of laurel leaves—the symbol of triumph and eternity, while others carry bunches of the green foliage in their hands. Their various poses could have been inspired by any number of paintings dating from this period. However, no doubt, one of Clovio's primary sources for the poses of these angelic beings was the ceiling of the Loggia di Psiche in the Villa Farnesina at Rome, where we see Cupid depicted in a variety of different positions in the compartment (Fig. 230) and spandrel areas (Fig. 231).

The procession honoring the Body of Christ is spread over the entire bas-de-page area of both folios. Clovio depicts it entering the courtyard and then slowly winding itself up the steps of Old St. Peter's. Our artist balances Old St. Peter's with its bell tower, depicted in the left marginal area of f. 72v, with Castel Sant' Angelo seen in the right margin of folio 73r.
As one searches for further words to describe adequately the magnificent scene painted here by Clovio, one concludes that no better description of these pages can be found than that which Vasari gives us in his Lives:

But he who would sate himself with marveling, let him look at the Litanies, where Don Giulio has woven a maze with the letters of the names of the Saints; and there in the margin above is a Heaven filled with Angels around the most holy Trinity, and one by one the Apostles and the other Saints; and on the other side the Heaven continues with Our Lady and all the Virgin Saints. On the margin below he has depicted with the most minute figures the procession that Rome holds for the solemn office of the Corpus Christi, thronged with officers with their torches, Bishops, and Cardinals, and the most Holy Sacrament borne by the Pope, with the rest of the Court and the Guard of Halberdiers, and finally Castel S. Angelo firing artillery; all such as to cause every acutest wit to marvel with amazement.228

V. Office of the Dead

F.79v The Triumph of Death

F.80r The Resurrection of Lazarus

The theme of Death and Resurrection, that pervades every line of every Antiphon, Psalm and Prayer of the Office of the Dead, is given visual expression in these two illuminated pages, ff. 79v and 80r (Fig. 232), which Clovio paints at the beginning of the Hour of Vespers of the Office of the Dead. The central painting on the left shows the Grim Reaper as a skeleton, partially clothed, sitting on a niche-like throne and reigning supreme over his subjects—the dead. Beside him, on either side of the throne, two hooded figures cover their faces and turn away from the awfulness of the sight before their eyes. In front of the throne lie the prone, lifeless bodies of the dead. They are
depicted nude, while behind them lie their clothes, identifying them and their station in life—popes, kings, soldiers, statesmen, people from all walks of life for death knows no barriers of race, creed or station in life.

The frame of this central painting is in the form of a tabernacle which is peopled with sorrowing figures. At each corner of the upper part of this architectural border is a mask-like face which appears to be crying out, bewailing the terrible pain caused by death. Four grieving putti surround a large skull which clovio places in the center at the top of the frame. On pedestals on either side of the central painting are two hooded figures who cover their faces in sorrow.

At the bottom of the frame is a small sarcophagus on which lies an effigy of a sleeping child, while around it are two putti, or thanatos figures, who rub at the tears flowing from their eyes. The torches in their hands are turned downwards, a symbol from ancient times indicating death. Between the legs of the sarcophagus we see a winged skull and two bones. At the bottom corners of the frame are two winged hybrid creatures whose faces appear contorted in grief. Between their legs rests the head of a goat or ram.

The hooded, grieving figures to the side of the frame are clothed in purple, the color of deep mourning and sorrow in the church. Also, we see that clovio has intertwined a purple ribbon throughout the sides of the framing structure thus binding together all parts of this illumination encompassed in grief.

The scene to the right on f. 80r depicts the resurrection of Lazarus, a historical event of great spiritual importance for the
Church. While Lazarus, as related in the Bible, was raised from death to life, the reference to Lazarus in the prayers of the Church for the Dead implies, not that our bodies will escape death but rather, that both body and soul will be brought to life, eternal life with Christ in Heaven.

In the painting, Christ is seen gesturing with His right hand while men lift the swathed figure of Lazarus from the open grave. Figures behind Christ, most likely the Apostles, have a look of amazement on their faces, while those standing behind Lazarus depict different emotions—joy, incredulity, shock and one woman is seen raising her veil to cover her nose from the stench of decaying flesh. In the background is a classical building.

In the distance, the landscape stretches out to include a small town, probably Bethany, the dwelling place of Lazarus and his sisters, Martha and Mary. Behind the little town can be seen purple hills that seemingly stretch out and then faintly disappear, blending with the colors in the sky.

The frame surrounding this painting is identical to that seen on the preceding page.

In considering possible sources for the royally poised seated Grim Reaper in The Triumph of Death, one discovers similar frontal, seated figures with one hand raised from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century. Giovanni Bellini's S. Giobbe Madonna (Fig. 233), for instance, takes this same regal pose. Also, if we look at Giulio Romano's St. Peter with Ecclesia and Aeternitas (Fig. 107) and his Leo X as Clement I with Moderatio and Comitas (Fig. 190), we again discover
a like posture. In fact, Clement I, the seated Pontiff in the second of Giulio Romano's paintings, even raises his left arm in a manner similar to that of the Grim Reaper as he holds aloft his curved scythe. As for the jumbled confusion of clothing and bodies spread out on the floor in front of the throne, one finds a possible source for this type of depiction in Salviati's painting of Peace (Fig. 234). Here, we see Peace sitting amidst a similar array of material objects and bodily forms. The actual depiction of prone, lifeless bodies, however, is based on fallen figures found in various battle scenes which were so popular at this time. One of these paintings is Michelangelo's Battle of Cascina (Fig. 125), in which we find a nude figure lying in a like position to a nude body, the second from the left, pictured in the central painting by Clovio. It lies immediately in front of the array of clothing, helmets, shields, crowns and the like, depicted here.

Other works which surely influenced this scene by Clovio are Rosso's Moses and the Daughters of Jethro (Fig. 235) and Perino del Vaga's The Fall of the Giants (Fig. 236). Both paintings, while portraying greater action than we see in Clovio's work, do depict figures in various prone positions as does Clovio.

The putti that we find on this page are not the usual cheerful happy creatures seen on most of the previous illuminated pages in this manuscript. Here, their sad faces serve to add a special poignancy to the grief that appears to reach out and to touch every person, whether young or old, affected by the reality of death.

The inspiration for the sarcophagus at the bottom of the border came from funerary monuments to which Clovio had easy access. A single
instance of these architecturally designed tombs that Clovio could
easily have seen and studied was the The Sforza Monument by Andrea San
sovino in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo in Rome (Fig. 237). In
the central section of this monument, beneath the framing arch, we see a
sarcophagus on which an effigy of Cardinal Sforza reclines. This idea
of a recumbent figure on the lid of a sarcophagus is a well-known motif
that is picked up by Clovio and transformed into that which we see here
on f. 79v.

Turning now to the figures, standing on pedestals, in the open
niches at the sides of the architectural framing border, we notice that
they are similar in function and design to other border figures seen
previously in this manuscript, such as those on ff. 63v–64r (Fig. 205)
or ff. 48v–49r (Fig. 167). The hooded, grieving figures depicted here
are probably based on similarly clad figures found in the Grimani
Breviary. On f. 450r of this Flemish manuscript (Fig. 238), the artist
depicts monks, with their cowls drawn down low over their heads,
engaged in prayer around a catafalque. Clovio takes the idea of these
monks in their habits, especially the first monk to the right on f.
450r whose pose is more interestingly designed than those of the other
monks, and composes this type of figure according to the artistic style
of the Sixteenth Century.

Looking at The Raising of Lazarus on the opposite page, a good
source for the figure of Christ can be found in a fresco by Giulio
Romano in the Sala di Costantino, Constantine Presenting a Plan of Old
St. Peter's to Pope Sylvester (Fig. 239). Clovio's figure of Christ
appears to be like that of Pope Sylvester, both in pose and in the
gestures of the hands. If one looks carefully at the hand of Pope Sylvester, which clutches his clerical robe at his side, we see that Clovio has Christ gathering his mantle together in a like fashion. Also, a likeness can be seen in a comparison between the outstretched hands of both Christ and Pope Sylvester.

No doubt Clovio was familiar with Garofalo's *Raising of Lazarus* (Fig. 240), for the winding sheet that is wrapped around Lazarus is relatively alike in both works. Also, if one examines the manner in which the two groups of figures are composed in both paintings, those behind Lazarus and those behind Christ, we find that the groups are treated similarly. The second Apostle behind Christ in Garofalo's *Raising of Lazarus*, has a full head of curly hair and a short-cropped beard. Clovio paints an almost identical Apostle behind Christ in his miniature. In his painting, Garofalo depicts a tomb set into a hillside with a town in the distant background and beyond that, hills. Clovio reverses this background treatment in his painting and instead of a hillside tomb, he paints a classical building. Otherwise, the backgrounds in both works are treated in a relatively like manner.

One possible source for the man, in the group on the left, who stands with upraised arms praising God for the miracle that has occurred, can be found in the painting by Raphael and Giulio Romano, *The Fire in the Borgo* (Fig. 241). While in this painting from the Vatican the lady with the upraised arms is pictured with her back to the viewer, Clovio gives us a frontal view of his figure. Another work that surely influenced Clovio was Giulio Romano's *Stoning of St. Stephen* (Fig. 242). In this painting, St Stephen, with arms out-
stretched, raises his head and gazes upwards to Heaven. In Clovio's illumination, the young man, standing behind the group immediately surrounding Lazarus, is posed in a similar manner.

Compositionally, Clovio unites these two facing illuminated pages by means of the identical architectural borders surrounding the central illumination, the composition of each page as a whole and the opposing directional thrusts stressed in each of the central paintings. The verticality, in the background of both paintings, is quite obvious. The horizontal and compact effect of the clothing, shields, armour, helmets and the like, scattered before the throne of Death, is balanced in *The Raising of Lazarus* by that of the groups behind Lazarus and Christ who are positioned closely together and who maintain almost the same height across the page. The diagonal positions of most of the dead point towards the painting on the opposite page while the body of Lazarus, the gesturing right hand of Christ and the cover of the sarcophagus are in the direction of *The Triumph of Death*. Also, in the painting on the left, there is a diagonal line or a directional thrust from the buttocks of the second nude body from the left that runs up a magenta and white colored cuirass and the blue and white shield, past the bronze-like cuirass and then up the red-pink banner to the golden frame. This diagonal thrust is counterbalanced in *The Raising of Lazarus* by that which begins at the bottom of the blue mantle of Christ and is picked up by the positioning of the body of Lazarus, especially his upraised arm, the man who supports Lazarus, the standing lady clothed in pink and red and the man standing behind these figures whose outstretched right arm almost touches the golden frame of the central
painting. The diagonal or directional thrust in each picture is toward
the opposite picture.

Symbolically, while both paintings are united in the theme of
death, they are also united in portraying opposites and this is wherein
lies the true significance of these two illuminations. Whereas Death
is triumphant in the painting on the left and we are engulfed in a
feeling of dark despair, Christ, in the painting on the right, triumphs
over Death and by so doing gives hope to all mankind. The real message
here is not that of the certainty of death, nor even the wonder of
Christ bringing a dead person back to life, but rather that Christ, Who
is God, has power over life and death and that, one day, both the body
and the soul of the just man will be united and will live again in
eternal happiness.234

On ff. 86v and 87r (Fig. 243), Clovio continues his theme of
death. The Readings from Job,235 on these two pages, are the First and
Second Lessons of Matins of the Office of the Dead. The message that
comes in these Readings is one of almost abject despair as the soul is
tried again and again by God. Clovio picks up on this theme of
apparent despair and death and treats it visually.

In the marginal areas of both pages, Clovio paints an ornamental
bronze-like relief plaque into which he places a roundel with the
portrait of an elderly man. Webster Smith is of the opinion that the
"faces in the dark roundels in the side margins may represent Job (on
the left) and Lazarus (on the right)."236 These identifications,
considering the subject matter on these pages, seems accurate.
The bas-de-page area is given over to a scene that is based upon a theme popular in Northern art, the Three Living and the Three Dead. At the bottom corner of each page stands a draped figure leaning on a staff and contemplating death and the scene taking place in the bas-de-page area.

The attack of the dead on the living depicted by Clovio on f. 86v is almost a direct copy of a similar scene found on f. 449v of the Grimani Breviary (Fig. 244). Clovio changes the clothing of the men on horseback, eliminates the barking dogs and adds another man lying on the ground thus presenting us with his version of this scene, one that blends with the style of the painted pages of The Farnese Hours. He then extends the scene of the Encounter of Living and Dead on f. 86v over onto f. 87r. In continuing the theme of death on this page, Clovio draws inspiration for the poses and positioning of men and animals from various paintings of battle scenes from the Sixteenth Century.

Just as the Readings on ff. 86v and 87r present the soul crying out to God from the depths of despair, so the prayers on ff. 90v and 91r (Fig. 245) give us a completely different picture—one of hope and trust in the Lord.

On these two pages, Monterchi gives us Psalm 26 and its Antiphon from Matins of the Office of the Dead. The Introductory Antiphon reads: "Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium." It is an affirmation of the soul's renewal of trust in God and in His promises. Psalm 26 continues this same theme of love and trust as we see in reading its first two verses:
Domine illuminatio mea, et salus mea: quem timebo?
Domine protector vitae meae: a quo trepidabo?

In spite of misfortune, sickness, persecution by enemies, even death itself, the soul vows to persevere in its trust in Him Who is All-Wise, All-Powerful and All-Good.

Clovio appears to attempt to translate this feeling of reliance upon God into margins filled with symbolic references to Christianity and ancient mythology enhanced by colors exhibiting a feeling of confidence and joy. And, across the bas-de-page area of both pages, he paints a peaceful and restful landscape scene. It is as if the soul, having passed through the terrible nightmare of darkness and despair, is now at peace with God and with itself and so it turns to God with renewed trust and hope.

VI. Hours of the Cross

F.102v The Crucifixion  F.103r The Brazen Serpent

A grief laden scene of the death of Christ, The Crucifixion (Fig. 246a), announces the beginning of the Hours of the Cross. A large figure of Christ hanging on the cross is placed in the immediate foreground of the central painting on f. 102v. In this painting, on the left, stands the Virgin with her head bowed and arms across her breast while St. John, the Beloved Disciple, stands behind her gazing sorrowfully up at his Master and Lord. Behind the cross, to the right, stands the Centurion, clad in antique military attire, while beside him, we see the standing figure of Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea. The scene is overcast and dark with menacing clouds in the sky and beyond the trees in the background, is a city, Jerusalem.
The frame surrounding The Crucifixion is an especially complicated architectural structure, the base of which is designed like numerous funerary monuments one could see in Rome and elsewhere at this time. In the center of the edifice, at the top, is a square black and white scene, the identity of which is difficult to determine. However, the kneeling figure at the right in this small scene is definitely based on the kneeling female figure in the foreground of Raphael's Transfiguration (Fig. 182). On either side of the little square scene are two flanking winged figures and beyond them, rectangular carved reliefs depicting bronze-colored putti. In front of each carved relief is a flesh-and-blood putto who reaches down to wrap a white ribbon around the second of three spiralling large rings which Clovio designs over the head of a large Michelangelesque Prophet figure (quasi-caryatid) standing on a pedestal bordering edifice. These three large rings, in all probability, refer to the Blessed Trinity with the central ring standing for Christ, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. The white ribbon around the second ring is probably meant to symbolize Christ Who was wrapped in white linen cloths and placed in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. These three rings could also symbolize the three days that Christ spent in the tomb.

The Prophet to the left of the central illumination is possibly the Prophet Daniel, who escaped unharmed from the lion's den and who is here pictured standing on an animal's head. The Prophet to the right of the frame is Jonah who is seen emerging from the mouth of a whale. Both of these Prophet figures have often been used in a symbolic manner in Christian art and religion as prefigurations of
Christ. Just as Daniel escaped unharmed from the lions' den and Jonah was delivered safe from the belly of the whale, so Christ, whose dead body was placed in the tomb, arose glorious and immortal, the third day after His death. 245

The Prophet Daniel and the Prophet Jonah stand upon a square pedestal, under which can be seen a ram's head. 246 Two swags hang from the mouth of the ram.

The bottom or base of the structure, at each corner and around a small black and white scene, has paired putti closely based on Michelangelo's on the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 42). Two other putti are seen riding an animal that appears to be part horse and part sea creature. 247 The central square gold-framed black and white scene, which balances the scene at the top of the architectural structure, depicts the Harrowing of Hell, a scene based on a composition sketch by Giulio Romano of a Christ in Limbo (Fig. 247).

The painting on the page facing The Crucifixion is that of The Brazen Serpent (Fig. 246b). This scene is taken from an event that is narrated in the Book of Numbers in the Old Testament. 248 The Israelites had complained against God and Moses because of the terrible hardships that they were forced to endure in the desert. In punishment for their constant complaining, God sent serpents, among the Israelites, who bit and killed them. In panic, the Israelites turned to Moses and begged him to pray to God to remove the scourge of the deadly serpents from them. In answer to the prayers of Moses, God told him to take a serpent and to mount it on a pole. Anyone who had been bitten by a serpent was to gaze at the upraised serpent and he would be cured.
instantly. The Church, from the time of its infancy, took this incident from the Old Testament and used it as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion and death of Christ.\textsuperscript{249}

In the foreground of the painting, one can see figures around whose bodies serpents are entwined. Some of the figures are dead or are slowly dying while still others are struggling to look up at the serpent raised upon the pole. To the left of the scene, behind the writhing figures can be seen other Israelites who have looked upon the raised serpent and who have been saved from death. They raise their arms and heads heavenward in thanksgiving to God for His mercy.

The architectural frame for \textit{The Brazen Serpent} reverses that surrounding the illumination of \textit{The Crucifixion}. However, the central square black and white scenes at the top and at the bottom of the frame depict different events. The scene at the top of the frame is one of sacrifice, while the scene at the bottom depicts the Resurrection of Christ. The figure of Christ Victorious, with His outstretched arms, swirling drapery and waving banner recalls the Triumphant Christ in Titian's \textit{Averoldo Altarpiece} (Fig. 110).

Turning back to f. 102v. the scene of \textit{The Crucifixion}, we find that Clovio's source for his depiction of Christ on the cross is a drawing of the dead Christ by Michelangelo (Fig. 248)\textsuperscript{250}—one of the many drawings that this great artist made of this particular subject. The Blessed Mother, as seen in another of Michelangelo's drawings (Fig. 249),\textsuperscript{251} has basically the same pose as Clovio gives to his Mary in this illumination. The two figures, standing behind the cross, could have come from any one of a number of different paintings. If one
looks at Raphael's Angel with St. Peter from the *Liberation of Peter* (Fig. 60), one can see that the figure of the Centurion in Clovio's work has the same pose as the Angel in the painting by Raphael. However, we can also find this type of stance in work by Sodoma, such as that of Alexander in *The Marriage of Alexander and Roxanne* (Fig. 46).252

Looking at the border figure of the Prophet Daniel to the left of the central painting, this type of pose goes back to works by Michelangelo. Chief among these works is the *Judging Christ* (Fig. 250) from Michelangelo's famous *Last Judgment*, painted on the wall of the Sistine Chapel. Clovio reverses the position of the hips and the left arm of the Prophet Daniel from that depicted by Michelangelo in his Christ, but basically the pose remains the same. The figure of the Prophet Jonah, seen here on the right of the scene of *The Crucifixion*, is the reverse of the Prophet Daniel pictured to the right of *The Brazen Serpent* on the opposite page, while the pose of the Prophet Jonah, on the left of *The Brazen Serpent*, is the reverse of the Prophet Daniel pictured to the left of *The Crucifixion*.

The central painting of *The Brazen Serpent* is completely dependent upon Michelangelo's treatment of this same subject in one of the pendentive areas of the Sistine Ceiling (Fig. 251). In Clovio's painting we find that extra figures and more foreground and background area have been added in order to fill out a rectangular space. This illumination is an instance where Clovio uses just one source for an entire central painting.
As mentioned above, the Church, from its earliest days, used the image of the Brazen Serpent as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion of Christ. Just as the Israelites who had been bitten by the serpents were instantly cured upon gazing at the upraised serpent, so the soul is to "look upon Him who was pierced" and see in "the crucified one, and the cross" the living sign of salvation. Clovio was aware of the symbolic nature of these two incidents from the Old and New Testament. He illustrates them here in order to prepare the reader for praying the beautiful Hours of the Cross. It is through contemplating the sacred mysteries of the past that one awakens within one's self a deep remorse and sorrow for sin and a greater realization of one's immense debt of gratitude to God who so loved mankind that He permitted His only begotten Son to suffer and to die a most ignominious death that mankind could be saved.

As we turn to ff. 104v and 105r (Fig. 252), we see that Clovio once again fills the marginal areas with paintings based on the grotesques of antique art. In the bas-de-page areas Clovio paints a different landscape scene on each page.

The theme in the decorations on these two folios seems to be that of "subdued rejoicing." On these pages, the devout soul prays: "Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi. Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum." It is through the Cross that we are saved, and the soul rejoices in this knowledge. To illustrate the joy of the Faithful, Clovio, in the midst of all the other ornamental decorations in the marginal areas, paints angels, standing on circular representations of the world surrounded by lions symbolizing the kingship of
Christ, blowing trumpets. In the bottom corners of each margin, angels dance.

We use the term "subdued rejoicing" to describe what we see here because there is grief combined with this joy, and Clovio emphasizes this mood through color—a great emphasis on blues and purples. While the soul rejoices that it has been redeemed, at the same time, it is conscious of the terrible price that Christ paid for that salvation.

The subject matter and the meaning of the landscape scenes in the bas-de-page areas are somewhat puzzling and difficult to determine. Here, Clovio might be presenting symbolic scenes that are in opposition. The landscape scene on f. 104v seems to include a ziggurat, the site of ancient sacrifices to pagan gods. The scene on f. 105r shows a tree stump on a lonely hill. This could represent the tree that was cut down and used as the cross on which Christ was crucified and, we know, that Christ died on the hill of Golgotha. What Clovio could be attempting to portray is, on the one hand, a site where ancient sacrifice was offered to pagan gods and, on the other, the desolate hill, the site where the Son of God made the supreme sacrifice to satisfy the infinite Justice of God the Father.

In these landscapes, Clovio continues his strong use of blues and purples. Through his choice of color, he unites the paintings in the marginal and bas-de-page areas both visually and emotionally.
VII. Hours of the Holy Spirit

F.106v Pentecost

F.107r Building of the Tower of Babel

The last set of double-page illuminations in The Farnese Hours is that which precedes the Hour of Matins of the Office or Hours of the Holy Spirit. These two illuminations are Pentecost (Fig. 253a) and the Building of the Tower of Babel (Fig. 253b). The scene of Pentecost, as depicted here by Clovio, takes place in the Upper Room, where we see Mary, the Mother of Jesus, and the Apostles gathered in prayer—a scene related by St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles. The eyes of the group are turned upwards in reverential awe as the sacred presence of the Holy Spirit makes itself known to all present. We see one of the Apostles, probably St. John, who, apparently overcome by the moment, arises and moves toward the foreground of the picture.

Looking at the border that surrounds this painting of Pentecost we see an overly-populated frame that is painted so as to give the impression of a gilded metal plaque that has been carved in high relief. As we recall, we saw this same type of treatment applied to the borders, on ff. 17v and 18r, surrounding the paintings of the Visitation (Fig. 68a) and Justice and Peace Embracing (Fig. 68b). However, here on ff. 106v and 107r Clovio appears to fill every possible space with some type of figure or object, thus producing an extremely crowded effect to the entire border area. At the top of the border putti can be seen gathered around large urns and engaged in various activities. At either upper corner are large Michelangesque figures which could have stepped straight out of the Last Judgment or
from off the Sistine Ceiling. Below these large Ignudi are still more putti leaning on large highly carved vases. In niches, to either side of the large central painting, are two figures. The one to the left appears to be a type of Prophet figure. In reality, this could be the Apostle, St. Luke, who wrote about the Pentecost event. It could also be the Prophet Joel, whose vision of an outpouring of God's spirit on His people is understood to have been fulfilled in the Pentecostal experience. On the opposite side of the central painting is the carved form of a woman, possibly a Sibyl. If this figure is meant to represent a Sibyl then it would have to be the Phrygian Sibyl who was the Sibyl of the Resurrection. Underneath these niches is a mask and beneath that, two twisting female figures sit on a circular base holding up a cloth under the jaw of the mask above them. In each corner of the bottom border are large female figures based on Michelangelo's Ignudi on the Sistine Ceiling, but here Clovio has smoothed out some of the heavy musculality given them by Michelangelo. The central area of the lower section of the frame is filled with putti who appear to be engaged in some type of revelry as we see two putti sitting on a goat while a third putto pulls the goat's tail.

The scene opposite to that of Pentecost is a scene from an event taken from the Old Testament, the Building of the Tower of Babel. This illumination is almost a perfect copy of that found in The Grimani Breviary (Fig. 254). Clovio makes a few minor changes to the illustration taken from the Breviary so that the scene he presents has the atmosphere of Renaissance Italy rather than that of a Flemish community. Where the illumination from The Grimani Breviary shows
people in the Flemish costume of the day, Clovio dresses his people in
the garb of Renaissance Italy and includes, also, trappings of ancient
Rome.

The frame surrounding this central painting is identical to that
of the preceding page. However, the Prophet figure, on the right of
the Building of the Tower of Babel, might be that of Moses who is
thought to have written the Pentateuch of which, Genesis, in which we
find the account of the building of the tower of Babel, is the first
book. Again, the other female figure could be that of a Sibyl because
of the turban on the back of her head.

A possible source for the inspiration of the painting of Pentecost
could have come from Titian's Descent of the Holy Spirit (Fig.
255). 263 This painting, that we now have by Titian of this subject,
dates to c. 1560. However, his first painting was done in 1541 as an
altarpiece for the Church of Santo Spirito in Venice. Because of a
bitter dispute over the condition of the altarpiece with the brethren
for whom this work was painted, Titian had to repaint it. 264 While we
have no record of any trip that Clovio made to Venice at this time, he
could have been familiar with Titian's painting from sketches or
engravings. Vasari is an artist known to have made a sketch of
Titian's work, and since he and Clovio were on friendly terms, Clovio
could easily have known of this work from him. In comparing the two
works, we see that the Holy Spirit and the rays emanating from Him are
similarly treated in each painting. Also, the seated group gathered
around Our Lady look heavenward in Titian's painting as they do in
Clovio's work. The seated group is placed on a raised platform in both
paintings. While one can almost draw a straight line over most of the heads in Clovio's painting, Titian gives his heads a little more variety and character. The standing figure to the left of the painting in each work is changed by Clovio in his illumination. Clovio's figure, possibly St. John, has been given a pose somewhat similar to that of St. Stephen in Raphael's tapestry, The Stoning of Stephen (Fig. 256). The pose of the upper body of St. John and of St. Stephen is treated in a like manner. Both artists place the holy group in a barrel vaulted room. However, Titian paints a flat wall in the background of his painting while Clovio's back wall appears to be in the shape of an apse.

Looking at the standing figures in the niches of the surrounding border, the Prophet Joel, or St. Luke, appears to be patterned on the figure of St. Peter that stands to the far left in Raphael's Madonna of the Baldacchino (Fig. 257). While Clovio's Prophet figure appears to be in the act of walking and Raphael's St. Peter is in a contrapposto stance, the pose of the upper part of the body of each figure is alike.

The symbolism between the paintings on these two pages is easily understood. In the painting of Pentecost, we have before us the occasion when, with the descent of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles were granted the gift of the ability "to speak in foreign tongues." This means that the Apostles were able to speak foreign languages and were able to communicate with the multitude of people from various countries who were gathered in Jerusalem at this time. The scene of the Building of the Tower of Babel is a painting of a Chanaanite story that the sacred writer of Genesis used in order to explain different
languages among different people. 

In an attempt to explain these paintings according to the religious belief and thought of the Sixteenth Century man, it would seem that he would look on these paintings by placing an emphasis on why that group of people in each painting were given the ability to speak these foreign languages. In the painting of the Building of the Tower of Babel, we have the occasion when God punished His people for their pride, their arrogance and their over concern with material possessions by confusing their language so that they were unable to understand each other. To the Christian, reading his Bible and viewing pictorial representations of this event, this beginning of foreign languages was looked upon as a punishment by God.

In the opposite painting, Pentecost, we have the Blessed Mother and the Apostles gathered together in prayer. When the Holy Spirit descended upon them and gave them the gift of foreign tongues, it was not a punishment but, in this instance, a gift from God to enable the Apostles to preach the Good News of Jesus Christ to all men. In both paintings we have God causing people to speak with different languages—in one work, it is looked upon as a punishment while in the opposite work, it is a gift.

On ff. 108v and 109r, (Fig. 258) Clovio paints figural and landscape scenes in ovals set into marginal and bas-de-page areas that have been treated like gilded metal plaques in raised relief. These plaques surround the Hours of Sext, None and Vespers as we continue with prayers from the Hours of the Holy Spirit.
Looking closely at the ornamental relief on the plaques in these marginal areas, we see still another of Clovio's variation on and imitation of ancient Roman grotesques—Roman grotesques such as the stucco decoration in the Tomb of the Valerii on the Via Latina in Rome (Fig. 259). The oval, set into the gilded plaque on f. 108v, depicts a Prophet figure that is similar to that seen in the border niches on ff. 106v and 107r. However, this Prophet figure, which is probably meant to represent St. Peter, is more true to the pose of St. Peter in Raphael's Madonna of the Baldacchino (Fig. 257) than are the Prophet figures on ff. 106v and 107r who were mentioned in connection with this painting by Raphael.

In the oval on f. 109r, Webster Smith sees a figure that he concludes is a representation of a Sibyl. This Sibyl is depicted differently from those seen in the niches in the double-page illuminations which precede the Hours of the Holy Spirit. In all probability, this Sibyl is meant to represent Tiburtina, who "proclaimed the Lord's coming in Tivoli," which is near Rome. Her pose appears to be based on the striding figure seen at the left in the foreground of Raphael's Disputa (Fig. 38). Here, however, Clovio has placed his Sibyl in a reverse position to that of the figure depicted by Raphael.

The landscape scenes, set in ovals in the framed bas-de-page areas, depict on the left, representations of Old St. Peter's, with many of the additions of the new St. Peter's which was in the process of construction at this time and, on the right, a scene of ancient Roman ruins. Martin van Heemskerk, a Flemish painter and engraver who was on a three-year visit to Rome during the years of 1533-35, has
given us some sketches of the old Constantinian basilica and the new
construction that, at this time, was still based mostly on the design
laid down by Bramante. By studying these sketches by Van Heemskerk
(Fig. 260, 261) and another drawing showing the condition of both
churches in 1575 (Fig. 262), and then comparing them with the painting
by Clovio on f. 108v, we have some idea of what Clovio is attempting to
depict in this oval. While his painting of both of these basilicas is
based more on an artist's free interpretation than on absolute
accuracy, what he has painted is sufficient for us to recognize the
facade of the old Constantinian basilica and, behind the partly demol-
ished building, the newer sections begun with Bramante and continued
under different architects.

In the oval on the opposite page, f. 109r, Clovio paints a scene
of Roman ruins. His drawing of the obelisk indicates that these Roman
ruins are on the same site of Vatican Hill as is St. Peter's. Turning
back the pages of history, we find that in ancient times Vatican Hill
was the place where the pagan goddess Cybele was worshipped. 277 Here,
fertility rites were performed in honor of her and her youthful lover,
Attis. These Roman ruins, which are somewhat on the order of the ruins
of the Temple of Minerva Medica in Rome (Fig. 263), 278 are probably
placed here to indicate that this was a site of early pagan worship.
Over the ruins can be seen what could be interpreted as Clovio's ver-
sion of pine trees. In reading about Cybele and Attis and the rites
surrounding their worship, we learn that the pine tree was important
because it was the phallic symbol of Attis. Clovio, in placing this
special tree here, could simply be further emphasizing that Vatican
Hill was once a site of pagan worship.

Looking at both illuminated pages, we see that Clovio has a unifying theme which brings together Christ's command to the Apostles: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature" and the feast of Pentecost when the Holy Spirit filled the Apostles with His sevenfold gifts to enable them to go out and fulfill God's command. Here we have St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and Christ's first Vicar on earth, who came to Rome, was instrumental in planting the first seeds of Christianity in this city, was martyred in the Circus of Caligula (Fig. 264), and in whose honor the Mother Church of the Christian Faith is dedicated. We have the Sibyl who proclaimed the Lord's coming, but the "coming" stressed here is that of the Good News of Jesus Christ.

Further symbolism on this same theme can be seen between the two scenes in the bas-de-page areas. In these paintings, we have, obviously, a comparison between the Christian religion and pagan religion. Here, on Vatican Hill, where once pagan gods were worshipped, Christianity, through the power of the Holy Spirit, has now become the Mother religion. Also, in these scenes, Clovio could be stressing the fact that what was once the site of the shedding of blood, which was a part of the rites of the Cybele cult, is now the site for the mystic shedding of Christ's Blood in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the chief liturgical worship of the Christian religion.
VIII. Athanasian Creed

The concluding prayer in The Farnese Hours is the Athanasian Creed—a prayer which was discussed at some length in Chapter Two. Here we see Monterchi's exquisite lettering of a section of this prayer on ff. 111v and 112r (Fig. 265). The Creed is surrounded by marginal decorations that, as seen on previous folios of this manuscript, combine easily recognizable designs and figures from the vast repertoire of Ancient Roman art, such as graceful arabesques, ancient vases, mythological figures and masks, all of which are intricately woven together in Clovio's uniquely masterful style.

These marginal and bas-de-page decorations are set in bronze plaques with raised relief that is delicately gilded to emphasize its beauty of line and detail. In the center of the side plaques we see a large oval in which is a figure that is rendered in "camaieu gris." The manner in which one figure looks at the opposite figure across the words of the lettered pages, recalls to mind ff. 54v and 55r, where we saw the Virgin Mary looking over her shoulder to the Annunciatory Angel on the opposite page.

The identification of these two figures appears to be that of St. Athanasius, f. 111v, and Arius, f. 112r. In the Sixteenth Century, St. Athanasius was thought to have been the author of the Athanasian Creed—a Creed which deals primarily with the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Since a Book of Hours is essentially a devotional prayerbook in honor of Our Lady, it is fitting that St. Athanasius be represented here at the conclusion of the decorations of The Farnese Hours. St. Athanasius was the "greatest champion of
Catholic belief on the subject of the Incarnation that the Church has ever known.\textsuperscript{289} The Book of Hours honors Mary because she is the Mother of God. Her greatness rests in the fact that this humble Virgin said "Yes" to God when He asked her to be the Mother of His Son. It was through her consent to God's Will that the Son of God became Incarnate in her, and it is this basic Christian belief that is so staunchly defended in the \textit{Athanasian Creed}.

Just as it is fitting to have St. Athanasius, the Church's most able defender of the Incarnation, pictured on f. 111v, so it is right to depict Arius on f. 112r. In his teachings and in his writings, Arius denied the Divinity of Christ and thus founded one of the most devastating heresies of the Early Church—\textit{Arianism}.\textsuperscript{290} This period in the history of the Church was one of bitter controversy with St. Athanasius fiercely attacking the teachings of Arius which were finally condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D.\textsuperscript{291}

Clovio depicts Arius in, what appears to be, some type of traveller's garb. By this representation, our artist could be referring to the many travels undertaken by Arius who, because of his heretical teachings, was forced to flee from place to place. Clovio, also, could be referring to the numerous songs that Arius composed for travellers—songs in which his beliefs were ably expressed and, by this means, were widely disseminated.\textsuperscript{292}

The figure of St. Athanasius in the oval on f. 111v appears to be a combination of Raphael's Plato in \textit{The School of Athens} (Fig. 266) and Michelangelo's Christ in the \textit{Last Judgment} (Fig. 250). The arm pointing upward and the turn of the head that we see in St. Athanasius, are
like those of Raphael's *Plato*, while the arm placed across the body and the pronounced twist to the body is more like that seen in Michelangelo's *Christ*.

The figure of Arius on f. 112r also seems to be based on works by two different artists. Basically, the pose is like Raphael's *Aristotle* from the *School of Athens* (Fig. 266). It is also like Giulio Romano's *Philip of Macedon* from the ceiling of the Sala di Cesare in the Palazzo del Te (Fig. 267), where we see the same pose in the arm crossed over the chest and in the other arm placed by the side of the body.

The two ovals, set in gilded frames in the bas-de-page area of both folios, depict mythological marine scenes of "embracing Tritons and Nereids." This type of vignette, relating some scene from mythology, was very popular during the Sixteenth Century, and it is to be found frequently in stucco decorations such as those on the ceiling in the Sala di Galatea (Fig. 268), in Renaissance jewelry such as a cornelian intaglio ring depicting *Neptune and Amphrite* (Fig. 269), and in many other stuccoed and painted scenes on the walls and ceilings of Roman villas and palaces.

IX. Colophon

Clovio brings this illuminated manuscript to a conclusion with f. 112v—the Colophon (Fig. 270). Here, on a gold plaque, he paints letters that give the impression of being incised in stone. The plaque bears his name, that of his patron, and the date of completion of this manuscript, 1546. Beneath the simple plaque, gold beads are gracefully draped with other ornaments. In the center of these beads hangs
a circular cameo in which a rearing Centaur is seen holding a shield on high. Webster Smith explains this mythological figure as that of Chiron, who was the wise tutor of Achilles.\textsuperscript{296}

Beneath the circular cameo is a painting of a ram's head—a familiar figure dating back to ancient art and reproduced often during the Renaissance Period (Fig. 271). The ram's head, painted here by Clovio, could symbolize Christ, the Leader. It could also symbolize Christ, the Protector, who guards His faithful followers as a ram protects its sheep.\textsuperscript{297} This figure of a ram's head could perhaps refer to Cardinal Alessandro who, in his day, was a person of considerable influence, one who shouldered great responsibilities and who was a leader of men. As a bishop, he was, like Christ, a shepherd or protector of the flock (the faithful) entrusted to his care.

With the Colophon we complete our examination of the illuminated pages of The Farnese Hours. During the course of this work, we quoted from Vasari's Lives\textsuperscript{298} wherein he stated that "there has never been, nor perhaps will there ever be for many centuries, a more rare or more excellent miniaturist . . . than Don Giulio Clovio."\textsuperscript{299} Now that we have seen and studied the illuminations in The Farnese Hours and have witnessed the originality and the virtuosity of this Croatian artist, we can agree with Vasari that Clovio is truly an "excellent miniaturist."

However, before we can state unequivocally that Clovio is the greatest miniaturist, as Vasari testifies, or one of the greatest
miniaturists of the Sixteenth Century, or even one of the greatest
Italian miniaturists of the Sixteenth Century, we need to examine other
manuscripts that were executed immediately prior to and those that were
contemporary with Clovio's and view the manner in which the artists of
these works treated the illuminated page. To accomplish this task, we
will glance briefly at several decorated folios from various manu-
scripts of Flemish, French and Italian origin covering a time span of
approximately sixty years, from c. 1480 to c. 1540. This type of short
survey should give us some idea of the artistic style prevalent in
these countries and thus enable us to compare the creations of these
artists with the excellent work by Clovio.

A very richly illuminated Flemish Book of Hours that dates from
the late 1480's is The Huth Hours (British Library, Add. Ms. 38126).
This manuscript is attributed to the workshop of Simon Marmion (d.
1489), who was a painter and illuminator of considerable fame from
Valenciennes. According to Thomas Kren, The Huth Hours "reflects
the latest trends in Flemish illumination" with its "brightly
colored, illusionistic borders on solid-colored grounds."

An example of this late Flemish style can be seen on ff. 227v-228
of The Huth Hours (Fig. 272). On these two pages we see the folio to
the left given over entirely to a painting entitled St. Jerome in
Penitence. The illuminator treats his subject very realistically,
placing St. Jerome in a dense forested landscape and kneeling before
the Crucified Christ. Except for a thin gold band surrounding the
painting, the artist does not introduce any type of decorative border.
Its facing page presents a section of prayers that appear as a "sheet
of vellum lying on a decorative brocade which serves a dual role as both border and background. On this folio the artist uses strong rich colors balancing them against the more subdued greens and browns of the facing page. This illumination, like the St. Jerome in Penitence, is surrounded by a thin gold band. A serene simplicity seems to emanate from both pages.

Another example of a Flemish manuscript (The Isabella Book), datable to a few years before 1497, is the Breviary of Queen Isabella of Castile (British Library, Add. Ms. 18851). Along with the Grimani Breviary and the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary, this manuscript is considered to be "one of the most important illuminated breviaries of the late Flemish period."304

The Breviary of Queen Isabella of Castile contains more than 150 miniatures and, according to scholars, was decorated by various artists. One of the most beautiful illuminations of this Breviary is f. 309, St. John on Patmos, done by an unknown Flemish artist or artists (Fig. 273). A part of the page is devoted to a scene depicting the seated Apostle John writing and gazing upward at a heavenly vision. The scene is realistically treated in the Flemish manner of painting and according to Thomas Kren, possesses all the characteristics of the advanced style of Flemish art. The border, surrounding the painting of St. John and the two short columns of lettering, consists of a solid gold background upon which we see birds, insects and flowers painted with great realism and charm. Here the refined nuances of light and color blend together producing a pleasing harmony of richness and brilliance.
A third illuminated manuscript from c. 1490-1500 is the "immensely popular allegorical poem of chivalric love,"\(^\text{307}\) the *Roman de la Rose* (British Library, Harley Ms. 4425). This copy in the British Library is illuminated quite extensively and many of the miniatures reflect "the lavish taste of the Burgundian court under Philip the Good and Charles the Bold."\(^\text{308}\) The illumination of f. 14v, entitled *Dance of Mirth*, pictures for us the young men and women of the princely court dressed in the brightly colored fashionable costumes of the day (Fig. 274). They are seen dancing in a garden area of one of the Duke's castles for we see that they are out of doors in a section surrounded by a crenellated wall. Immediately surrounding this scene and the two short columns of lettering beneath it is a dull golden-colored ground upon which are strewn flowers, birds, insects, marine animals and some strawberries. This gold ground peopled with various objects serves both as a background and as a border much in the same manner as we saw with *St. John on Patmos* (Fig. 273) from the *Breviary of Queen Isabella of Castile*. The realism, bright jewel-tone colors and the unique blending of color and light seen on this page are the special characteristics of the Flemish workshop of the day.

A manuscript to which we have often referred in this work because of its influence on Clovio is *The Grimani Breviary* (Venice, Marciana Library, Ms. Lat. XI 67 [7531]). This work is considered one of the great works of the Franco-Flemish world\(^\text{309}\) and according to the latest scholarship is datable to the decade of 1510-1520.\(^\text{310}\) While many different hands were employed in its numerous illuminations, the style of three main artists has been detected: Gerard Horenbout, Alexander
In the course of this work we have looked at several of the folios from this Breviary: Figs. 50, 52, 75, 156, 166, 222, 238, 244 and 254, and while each folio was studied in relation to its effect upon the work of Covio, the reader could not help but be impressed with the illuminations themselves. For, as Mario Salmi writes, it is in The Grimani Breviary that we find the "summit of early sixteenth-century Flemish miniature-painting." The style of this manuscript embodies all that we have seen in the previous Flemish manuscripts besides embracing characteristics uniquely its own.

Jean Bourdichon, who can be considered the last great French illuminator, is the artist of the Hours of Henry VII (British Library, Add. Ms. 3524) and the Hours of Anne of Brittany (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 9474). The first manuscript, the Hours of Henry VII, is a large-scale, richly decorated Book of Hours dating from c. 1500 and traditionally associated with Henry VII of England. Folio 5 of this manuscript, The Virgin Mary Receiving the Annunciation (Fig. 275), presents us with an example of the style of Bourdichon who, like the famous French illuminator of the mid-Fifteenth Century, Jean Fouquet, was a native of Tours and possibly Fouquet's pupil. The emphasis in this illumination is placed on the Virgin as she sits listening to the message of the Angel. A simple frame surrounds the scene and we are given the impression that we are looking at a panel painting that has been adapted to a Book of Hours.
Bourdichon's most famous work is the *Hours of Anne of Brittany*.\(^{315}\) Most of the illuminations in this manuscript are of very high quality as can be seen in f. 76v, *the Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 276) and f. 127, *Queen Anne with Patron Saints* (Fig. 277). In these illuminations we see that Bourdichon defines his figures solidly in space while composing them within a landscape setting. He gives added brilliance to these paintings by enhancing figures, clothing, hair and other facets of his paintings with brushwork strokes of gold, "a stylistic feature derived from Fouquet."\(^{316}\) According to Harthan, the "stately, poised individuals display sweetness, serenity, grace, suavity of expression and occasional amplitude of form . . . their dignified presence . . . induce a state of preparation for devotional exercises"\(^{317}\) which, in reality, was one of the main reasons for illuminations in Books of Hours and other devotional books.

Another page from the *Hours of Anne of Brittany*, f. 68v, presents us with a nocturnal scene of *The Angel's Announcement to the Shepherds* (Fig. 278), while its facing page, f. 69, gives us the beginning prayers of the Hour of Prime of the Little Office of the Virgin (Fig. 279). The importance of f. 69 is that it presents us with an example of the kind of border that Bourdichon employs on many of the pages of this manuscript and one of the reasons for its great interest to scholars in many fields of study. Harthan explains the importance of Bourdichon's borders when he writes:

Bourdichon was much influenced by the trompe-l'oeil "strewn borders" made fashionable by the Ghent-Bruges school of illuminators. But he achieved a new effect by greatly increasing the number of plants represented and by painting them as if for a florilegium or herbal. Unlike the Flemish illuminators he often showed whole plants,
complete with roots or bulbs, and labelled each with its Latin and French name. The flowers and fruits are accompanied by insects, snails and small mammals which crawl over and around them, in an intimate relationship as if neither could live without the other.318

Our third French manuscript, The Tilliot Hours (British Library, Yates Thompson, Ms. 5), dates from c. 1500. Janet Backhouse ranks the illuminator, whom she calls the Loire Master, with Colombe and Bourdichon. Two examples from this manuscript are The Circumcision (Fig. 280) and The Parable of Dives and Lazarus (Fig. 281). Each illumination is divided into two registers which, in turn, are surrounded by a rather simple frame. The scenes show that the Loire Master was familiar with the Italian use of perspective to depict deep space and the technique of aerial or atmospheric perspective as depicted in Flemish paintings. The scene in the lower register of each illumination often presents a "more human and homely" subject than the main scene and often generates greater interest as the artist allows his imagination to run freely.

An Italian manuscript, dating from c. 1480, is The Hours of Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Collection, Ms. No. 1224). This manuscript is a part of the renowned collection from the Aragonese Library in Naples. It is a large book "containing not only the customary Hours but also a number of additional Offices and quasi-liturgical prayers."319 The large miniatures in this manuscript have been attributed to Matteo Felice. The miniature of The Annunciation (Fig. 282) begins the Hour of Matins of the Little Office of the Virgin. Here, Matteo Felice has painted a typical Italian version of this scene as he places the Virgin and the
Angel in a colonnade or loggia setting. The receding columns seem to emphasize the artist's interest in perspective. The scene of The Annunciation and the opening prayers of Matins are surrounded by a triple border which is quite impressive. The border is composed of a white vine interlace on a colored ground. Throughout the interlace putti can be seen playing with rabbits and other types of animals. The coat of arms of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, appears in a laurel wreath at the bottom of the page.

Another manuscript of Italian origin is The Serristori Hours (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. L. 1722-1921). It was commissioned by the Serristori Family, a leading patrician family of Florence who had made their fortune in the wool and silk trade. The miniatures in this Book of Hours have been attributed to the School of Boccardino with the exception of a miniature of St. Jerome which is thought to be by the hand of Monte de Giovanni.

The full-page illumination of David with the Head of Goliath (Fig. 283) introduces the Penitential Psalms. The figure of David is set within a large circle. One can see influences of Donatello's and Verrocchio's bronze figures of David upon this artist's version of the Florentine hero. Beneath this large circular painting is a smaller medallion bearing the Serristori coat of arms. Other medallions, containing mottoes and emblems of the Serristori Family, surround the large circular painting. The bordering ornamentation on this page has decorative pink and blue foliage sprays flowing from each corner and forming a wreath around the large circular miniature.
A third Italian manuscript, The Hours of Bonaparte Ghislieri (British Library, Yates Thompson, Ms. 29), also datable to c. 1500, was commissioned by the Ghislieri, an ancient patrician family from Bologna.\textsuperscript{323} As one glances at the different miniatures in this work, it is evident that several artists worked on the manuscript. One of these artists was Matteo da Milano who was also the principal artist of this Book of Hours. The hallmark of his style is his distinctive type of decorated borders, an example of which surrounds f. 74v, The Annunciation (Fig. 284). It is evident that Matteo da Milano was influenced by Flemish manuscripts possessing similar border displays. The border we see here surrounding The Annunciation consists of a "gold ground upon which are painted naturalistic flowers and insects."\textsuperscript{324} Our artist also includes grotesque animals in his border—animals which are not usually employed in this manner by the Northern illuminators.

Another artist who worked on this manuscript is Amico Aspertini who was active principally in Bologna from c. 1504 until his death in 1552.\textsuperscript{325} His style of painting can be seen in f. 15v, Adoration of the Shepherds (Fig. 285). His rather crowded painting of this subject is surrounded by a decorative border that reveals his deep interest in the art of antiquity. His border is embellished with "trophies copied directly from antique reliefs and architectural motifs appropriated from recently discovered frescoes in the Golden House of Nero."\textsuperscript{326}

A manuscript discussed in Chapter Three of this work was Monte di Giovanni's Roman Missal (Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Barb. Lat. 610). Fig. 22a depicts an illumination of The Crucifixion while Fig. 22b gives us a scene of The Last Supper. Both illuminations are surrounded
by decorative borders that include scenes and symbols relating to the main scene.

Another Italian manuscript, mentioned previously, was The Gonzaga Hours (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 29). Folios 31v-32r depict facing full-page miniatures: Solomon and Sheba and The Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 23). These scenes are surrounded by an unusual type of border in which putti are seen lifting up drapery that surrounds the central painting of each illumination. Folios 39v and 40r show Raimondi's interpretation of The Crossing of the Red Sea and The Flight into Egypt (Fig. 158). The borders around these scenes depict putti in the four corners of each page holding up swags having greenery intermingled with fruit and flowers.

One Italian manuscript from the Sixteenth Century, which we cannot ignore, is the Psalter of Paul III (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8880). It was decorated by the French artist Vincenzo Raimondi, the same artist who is credited with The Gonzaga Hours. The Psalter of Paul III dates to 1542 and is known for its sumptuous decorations. Like Clovio, Raimondi was influenced by Michelangelo and by ancient art via the paintings of Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga in the Vatican Logge. We see the influence of Michelangelo's God the Father from the Sistine Ceiling in f. 182v (Fig. 286), an illuminated page which represents God in the act of Creation. The border surrounding this central painting and that surrounding f. 183r (Fig. 287), its facing page, show the influence of the grotesques painted in the Vatican Logge. Like Clovio, Raimondi peoples his borders with depictions of happy, carefree putti. These delightful
little babes, painted in the upper and lower section of each border, give a feeling of life and joy to the page. Still another resemblance to Clovio can be found in the manner in which Raimondi treats these borders—each is a mirror image of the border opposite it.330

After glancing over the various illuminated manuscripts from Flanders, France and Italy, first of all, one is deeply impressed with the variety, beauty and originality revealed in these works. Each manuscript reflects the spirit and art of a country at a particular time in history and at a unique moment in that country's artistic development. To compare manuscripts of one country with those of another country in order to determine which is the best is somewhat like attempting to compare apples, oranges and pears. Who can say which is best? Just as each fruit is distinctively different yet complete in itself, so do the manuscripts of each country possess special qualities that are exclusively its own. It is these qualities that make the manuscripts from a particular country truly individual. Even though artistic trends and art styles from one territorial region enter the ateliers of another, still the spirit and characteristics, predominant in a country, will continue to prevail in its artistic work.

It is only by establishing definite criteria, and taking into consideration elements which are common to all manuscripts, that one can attempt to arrive at any kind of value judgment. To do this type of evaluation would be a long and lengthy process—one that is not feasible in this work. Let us, instead, consider briefly only one aspect of the illuminated page.
One trait that is characteristic of most illuminated folios is the border that surrounds the central or important painting on a page. As we look at the illuminated pages of The Farnese Hours and, again, at those of the various manuscripts from the different countries discussed here, it would appear that Clovio's manuscript does excel in one particular area—the border. In most of Clovio's full-page illuminations, the border is an integral part of the illuminated page—the border and the central painting work together as a whole. If one looks at most of the borders of the illuminated pages of many of the other manuscripts, they are, for the most part, purely decorative. These borders could surround almost any painted scene in that particular manuscript, e.g., f. 278 of The Huth Hours (Fig. 272); f. 69, A Floral Border from The Hours of Anne of Brittany (Fig. 279); and, f. 74v, The Annunciation from the Hours of Bonaparte Ghislieri (Fig. 284). Some of the border illuminations in The Grimani Breviary, e.g., Fig. 75 and Fig. 222, do work with the central painting but, the figures and the scenes appear to be somewhat compartmentalized in the gabled Gothic framing structure. The border and the central painting of the illuminated pages of The Roman Missal by Monte di Giovanni are, indeed, more unified but even here this unity is restricted by the squares and rectangles that divide the side borders (Fig. 22). In comparison, the borders in Clovio's work are truly unique and creatively distinctive.

Another aspect in which Clovio excels in The Farnese Hours is that in most of his illuminations he gives us paintings that are reflections of the ornately frescoed and stuccoed walls of palaces and villas and churches of the Sixteenth Century and of the elaborate
funerary monuments of the day. Even though Clovio presents his work in the style of miniature painting, his subject matter is conceived on that grand scale of painting that is characteristic of the monumental art projects of the Sixteenth Century. Clovio not only attempts to portray this grand scale of painting in his little Book of Hours—he succeeds.

One cannot say that Clovio is the greatest miniaturist of all time—each century has its own great manuscripts and its own outstanding illuminators. It is even questionable whether one can say that Clovio is the greatest miniaturist of the Sixteenth Century—we need a more detailed and a more objective study of the manuscripts from the different countries of this period before one can reach this type of conclusion. However, until some greater manuscript by some outstanding Italian artist is brought to light, it can be said with certainty that Clovio, as evidenced in The Farnese Hours, is the greatest Italian miniaturist of the Sixteenth Century.
Chapter Three


2. Gothic Art 1360-1440 (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963), pp. 162, 166.

3. Ibid., p. 161.

4. L. M. J. DeLaisse, H. Liebaers and F. Massai, Medieval Miniatures (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1965), pp. 90-95. (While this is a double-page illumination, it differs from those found in The Farnese Hours in that these two illuminations depict a single subject on two pages while the double-page illuminations in The Farnese Hours present an entirely different subject on each of the facing pages and which are united by allegory, symbolism or prefiguration.)


6. Ibid.; David Diringer, The Illuminated Book (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1967), p. 330. (This manuscript is considered a masterpiece and dates from 1509-1510. It was written in Gothic book-hand minuscules by Zenobio Moschino and was illuminated by Monte di Giovanni for the Florentine Church of St. John.)

7. Smith, Study, p. 67; Bradley, Life, pp. 316-323. (According to Bradley, this manuscript was formerly attributed to Girolamo dai Libri, and in his opinion, even if Clovio did not illuminate The Gonzaga Hours, the style is too advanced "beyond the fifteenth-century notions of Girolamo dai Libri" to be attributed to him.)

8. Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 2, (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). (This Book of Hours was made for Eleonora Ippolita Gonzaga, wife of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (d. 1538) and possesses their coat of arms.)


11Smith, Study, p. 67. (Smith writes that "This method of illustration, by which two scenes are paired together as pendants, is found in only one other Book of Hours . . . a Book of Hours for Eleonora Gonzaga." While this book has twelve pairs of full-page miniatures which are very fine they are not as ornate nor as decorative as those miniatures found in The Farnese Hours.)

12Bradley, Life, p. 40. (Bradley informs us that Michelangelo, from the time that he returned to Rome in 1534 until his death in 1564, "became the personal friend and sage counsellor of his illustrious imitator," Giulio Clovio.)

13Smith, Study, p. 66; Émile Mâle, Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1949), pp. 189-192. (In point of fact, the Speculum and the Biblia Pauperum, along with the Golden Legend and the Apocryphal Gospels, continued to exert their influence upon artists throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. These artists continued to find inspiration in the legends, the symbols and the wealth of poetic imagery that had been developed during the Middle Ages and handed down to succeeding generations. Mâle writes that "No doubt the old legends were somewhat less fecund than they had once been, and artists made use of them less frequently, since they were no longer accepted with the unanimous faith of earlier times. . . . The Church, however, with her habitual moderation, judged them less severely, and did not wish to deprive simple hearts of the spiritual sustenance they found in the ancient tales.")

14Morrow, My Catholic Faith, p. 286.

15Ibid.


17Morrow, My Catholic Faith, p. 286. (Bishop Morrow explains the theology of the Mass in these simple words: "The Mass is the very same sacrifice which was offered up at the Last Supper and on Calvary; it is the living presence of the sacrifice of the Cross. On Calvary, Christ offered Himself up by accepting a cruel death out of obedience to the heavenly Father and for our redemption. At the Last Supper, He offered Himself for the impending immolation: 'This is my body. . . . This is my blood of the new covenant, which is being (or will be) shed for many.' He added:
'Do this in remembrance of me.' At Mass, the Victim immolated on Calvary is offered anew, by the priest repeating the same words with which Christ offered Himself at the Last Supper. The Mass does not, strictly speaking, renew the sacrifice of the Cross. Christ has been immolated once for all. The Church, by the symbolic separation of body and blood (in the double consecration), represents the historic sacrifice and offers it anew to the heavenly Father.

18 Smith, Study, p. 67.

19 Dudley Heath, Miniatures (London: Methuen and Co., [n.d.], p. 48 (Heath summarizes Clovio's amazing ability to incorporate aspects of other artists' works into his own compositions when he writes that Clovio "had the receptive genius of absorbing the finest qualities in most of his predecessors and contemporaries.")

20 While the primary concern of this study is not a detailed analysis of the artistic style of Clovio as seen in The Farnese Hours, one cannot speak of an art work without mentioning, at least in passing, a few observations regarding its style. Please see Chapter Four of this present work for further remarks on The Farnese Hours and the artistic style of Clovio.

21 Donald Attwater, ed., A Catholic Dictionary, s.v. "Invitatory." (The Invitatory consists of Psalm 94 and an Antiphon which is recited six times in its entirety and half of the Antiphon is recited three more times. It is recited at the beginning of Matins and serves as an introduction to the whole office of the day. The Antiphon varies according to the day and the season of the Church Year.)


23 Male, Religious Art, pp. 23-24, 101-103. (Italian artists, influenced by the Meditations on the Life of Jesus Christ, a work by an unknown Franciscan of the Thirteenth Century, were the first to picture the Virgin kneeling while listening to the words of the Archangel Gabriel. Previous to this time the iconography of the Annunciation consisted in depicting the Virgin either in a standing or a seated position.); Mrs. Jameson, Legends of the Madonna (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1972), pp. 180-182. (Mrs. Jameson, in her discussion on the early iconography of the Annunciation as a historical event, informs her readers that standing was the "antique attitude of prayer.")

24 Louda and Maclagan, Heraldry, p. 260. (The author describes the original Farnese arms as having a gold field upon which were strewn blue fleurs-de-lys, but with time the number was reduced
to six.); Litta, Famiglie, 9, Tavola I; Chacon, "Cardinal Alessandro Farnese," Vitae, p. 558.

Smith, Study, p. 69. (Smith, in his research for a possible source for this scene and its implied analogy, discovers a "half-figure of Isaiah making a gesture of prophecy ... in conjunction with a picture of the Annunciation," in the Biblia Pauperum.)

Ignatius Hunt, O. S. B., Understanding the Bible (New York: Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1962), p. 114. (The split of the monarchy divided Israel into two kingdoms. The kingdom of the North was called Israel and it included ten tribes with its capital at various sites, but especially at Samaria. The kingdom of the South was called Judah. It included the two remaining tribes of the original twelve tribes of David. Its capital was at Jerusalem.); Arvid S. Kapelrud, Israel, Trans. by J. M. N. M. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Mott, Ltd., 1966), p. 146; John L. McKenzie, S. J., Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. "Judah."

McKenzie, Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. "Solomon." (King Solomon ruled from about 961-922 B.C.)


The English translation of this verse read: "Behold a Virgin shall conceive."

Old Testament, Com. by Grispino, pp. 1263-1264. (The Syro-Ephraimites was a coalition formed by Syria and Ephraim against Juda because Juda had refused to join an anti-Assyrian alliance.)

The English translation for this Versicle and Response reads: "O Lord open my lips, And my mouth shall declare your praise."

Solari, House of Farnese, p. 56. (In describing Cardinal Farnese, Solari writes; "He was rich and loved to display his opulence; his court numbered more than three hundred people and he lived sumptuously, as had his grandfather, Pope Paul, who had instilled a sense of family grandeur in all his sons, nephews and grandsons since their childhood. An aesthete and an intellectual, educated in the polished and ornate sixteenth-century taste, an amateur in the best humanistic sense, Cardinal Alessandro received the approbation of the most illustrious men in Italy. His guests were scholars, politicians, artists."); Martin, The Farnese Gallery, p. 4. (In his discussion of Cardinal Farnese, Martin writes that the Cardinal "in his day was acknowledged to be without peer as a Maecenas" and that he "loved to surround himself with artists, scholars, and men of letters."); Ramsden, The Letters of Michelangelo, 2, p. 260. (In his attempt to uncover the identity of the prelate to whom Michelangelo had written a letter, designated as Letter No. 227, Ramsden, believing that Cardinal Alessandro
Farnese might be the possible recipient of the letter, recalls his character, tastes and interests. He writes that he was "a typical man of the Renaissance, a lavish patron of learning, of the arts and perhaps more especially of letters."

33See Appendix B and Appendix C.

34Frederick Hartt, Giulio Romano, Vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), pp. 207–208. (Hartt dates these three Annunciation drawings in wash to the early 1530's. These drawings, he believes, were preliminary works possibly intended for the Duomo di Verona--"the first drawing with the shape of the lunette, and the relation of the three drawings to each other."

35Smith, Study, pp. 70–71.


37Cecil Gould, The Paintings of Correggio (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), pp. 23–27. (According to Cecil Gould, Mantua was less than thirty miles to the north of the town of Correggio and Correggio, the artist, is thought to have been the pupil of Mantegna and Costa, who were court painters to the Gonzagas at Mantua. Correggio is also believed to have produced various art works in Mantua, including works commissioned by Federigo Gonzaga and his mother, Isabella d'Este.); Ernest T. DeWald, Italian Painting 1200–1600 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 548.

38John Pope–Hennessy, Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture, Vol 3, Part 1 (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1963), pp. 65–67. (The casing of the Holy House in the basilica at Loreto in Rome was considered to be the greatest relief commission of the High Renaissance. It was designed by Bramante around the year 1510 and after his death, Andrea Sansovino was one of the artists employed on the sculptural reliefs.)

39Cocke and De Vecchi, Raphael, p. 124, No. 155. (While the Madonna della Perla is a work that is attributed to Raphael, many scholars see it as being executed by Giulio Romano.); Hartt, Giulio Romano, 1, pp. 53–54. (Hartt credits the Madonna della Perla to Giulio Romano, a work undertaken after Raphael's death sometime between 1522–23.)

40Smith, Study, p. 69.

41Bradley, Life, p. 39.

42Ibid.; Brown, et al, El Greco, p. 86. (These authors write that the workshop of Giulio Clovio was typical of the workshop of "almost every artist of the day" in that it "contained dozens of copies
after the master's compositions." Also, Clovio "owned a priceless original drawing by Michelangelo, the Resurrection."); Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 246. (Vasari informs us that Clovio "set himself to draw, and to seek with every effort to imitate the works of Michelagnolo.")


45 Rev. P. Pcurrat, Christian Spirituality: From the Renaissance to Jansenism, Trans. by W. H. Mitchell (New York; P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1927), p. 244. (In his analysis of the spiritual tenor of the Renaissance period, the Reverend Pourrat sees the devotion to the angels as a special characteristic of Italian spirituality.)

46 The English translation for the first line of this Hymn reads: "The Lord, Whom earth, and air, and sea."

47 Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art, s.v. "stork." (Renaissance artists took the belief, that the stork fed its parents when they were no longer able to care for themselves, from Classical writings and from medieval bestiaries. Thus, they employed the stork to symbolize filial piety in their works.)


49 Eugenio Pucci, All Rome, Trans. by Nancy Wolfers Mazzoni (Firenze: Bonechi—Ediz. "Il Turismo," 1967), p. 40; Elio Fox, Rome, Trans. by Angelo Marin (Verona: Arti Grafiche Bellomi Inc., 1977), p. 21. (The Pyramid of Caius Cestius was constructed in 12 B.C. and is considered one of the most remarkable and best preserved monuments of Roman antiquity. It is the tomb of Caius Cestius who was a magistrate and a tribune.)

50 Pucci, All Rome, p. 37. (This temple was originally dedicated to Portunnum, divinity of the river gate, or to the Sun God. It was erected in the first century of the Empire. Over the years it assumed the name of the Temple of Vesta because its circular form was similar to that of the Temple of Vesta in The Roman Forum.)
During the Middle Ages, this pagan temple was dedicated to Santa Maria del Sole.

51 Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "crane," "vigilance."

52 The English translation for this first verse of Psalm VIII reads: "O Lord our Lord, how admirable is Thy name in the whole earth. . . ."


56 Ibid.

57 Hanfmann, Roman Art, p. 230.

58 Bradley, Life, pp. 31-32.

59 Morrow, My Catholic Faith, p. 297. (Bishop Morrow writes that the stole "is the symbol of authority in the Church" and "of all vestments most blessed."); Sullivan, Externals of the Catholic Church, pp. 235-236. (Monsignor Sullivan delves into the history of the stole and writes that it came into use in the Church around the 4th Century and that, originally, it was a sort of robe or cloak. Gradually, its form was modified until it became a "narrow strip of cloth." According to the opinions of other learned men, the stole is thought "to have been the court uniform of Roman judges, and to have been adopted by the Church to denote the authority of her ministers.")

60 Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "caduceus."

61 The English translation for the first line of Psalm 86 reads: "His foundations are in the holy mountains."

62 The English translation for the first lines of Psalm 95 reads: "Sing to the Lord a new song: sing to the Lord all the earth."

Bernard Miall, Ed. by W. F. H. Blandford (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1965), pp. 69, 105-106. (The Medieval and Renaissance trumpet was made of brass and could be anywhere from six feet to two or three feet in length. The instrument ended in a large flared bell. We see this type of trumpet [the shorter version] in the hands of the Pan figures in the marginal decorations on ff. 11v-12r. Two paintings from the Fifteenth (Fig. 67a) and Sixteenth Centuries (Fig. 67b) give us some idea of the appearances of musical instruments from these periods.)

Luke 1:39-45; Male, Religious Art, pp. 25-26. (The scene of the Visitation is represented in Hellenistic art from the Fifth Century onwards and is to be found in illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, painted fresco programs and other art forms. A well-known rendition of this scene from the Thirteenth Century is the famous sculptural group from the central west portal of Reims Cathedral.)

Luke 1:42.

Adolphe Napoleon Didron, Christian Iconography, Vol 2, Trans. by E. J. Millington (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1965), p. 299. (According to Byzantine tradition of iconography, Joseph is usually depicted in the Visitation scene.; Mrs. Jameson, Legends, p. 188. (While many artists include St. Joseph in their painting, Mrs. Jameson writes that whether "Joseph accompanied her, is doubtful."); Protoevangelion 9: 23. (According to the reading in this ancient book, Mary was about fourteen years old when she conceived Jesus. Because of her extreme youth, Clovio could have pictured her parents, Anna and Joachim, in this scene with the Virgin.)


Ibid.

The Gospel of the Birth of Mary 4:1. (This Gospel is attributed to St. Matthew. The version of the Gospel consulted here, is the one found among the works of St. Jerome.)

Old Testament, Com. by Grispino, pp. 1265-1267. (Father Grispino lists the following seven Prophets as the chief Messianic Prophets of the Old Testament: Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiele, Micah, Aggai and Zachariah.)

Smith, Study, p. 80. (Webster Smith writes that there is "no other instance known . . . of representing the Visitation and the Virtues Reconciled as pictorial counterparts.")

Psalms 84 (85):11.
LeFebvre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, p. 84. (In her liturgy, for the first Sunday of Advent, the Church uses a verse from this Psalm at the Communion of the Mass.)

Smith, Study, p. 28; Samuel C. Chew, The Virtues Reconciled (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1947), pp. 63-64. (Dr. Samuel Chew gives a different interpretation to the figures on this page of The Farnese Hours. He interprets the two figures in the traditional act of kissing as being Truth, the "woman in armour" and Mercy, the "woman in flimsy garments." Justice, he sees as pictured "brandishing her sword" and Peace is the figure "pointing heavenward.")

Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "Peace."

Coarelli and Nervi, Rome, p. 165; Beny and Gunn, Churches of Rome, p. 77. (This so-called Temple of Romulus is a small octagonal structure which was built at the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Today it serves as the circular vestibule of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano.)

M. Rostovtzeff, Rome, Trans, by J. D. Duff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 162-192; Mac Kendrick, Mute Stones Speak, p. 150. (That period of peace and prosperity in the Mediterranean world known as the Pax Roman— the peace of Rome—began with the ending of the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. when Octavian defeated Mark Antony;); Hanfmann, Roman Art, pp. 105-107; Coarelli and Nervi, Rome, pp. 93-95. (One of the most outstanding monuments erected to the peace that Augustus brought to the Roman Empire is the Ara Pacis Augustae. It was decreed by the Senate in 13 B.C. and dedicated on January 30, 9 B.C. It stood in the Campus Martius, west of the Via Flaminia.)

Isaiah 2:2-5; LeFebvre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, p. 100. (These verses from Isaiah constitute the first Reading on Ember Wednesday in the Third Week of Advent.)

Matthew 1:18-21; The Gospel of the Birth of Mary 8:1-12. (Both Gospels detail the happenings that occurred when Joseph became aware that his betrothed was with child. In both accounts, Joseph is portrayed as troubled over Mary's condition and that an angel was sent from God to advise and comfort him.)

Benedictines of Solesmes, eds., The Liber Usualis (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée & Co., 1934), p. 1209. (The Antiphon, which is prayed or sung before the Magnificat at First Vespers on the feast of a Virgin, reads: "Veni sponsa Christi, accipe coronam, quam tibi Dominus praeparavit in aeternum." Translating the Antiphon into English, it reads: "Come spouse of Christ, accept the crown which the Lord has prepared for you from all eternity.")
S^LeFevre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, p. 976. (The Preface of the Mass on the Feast of St. Joseph reads: "It is truly meet and just, right and availing unto salvation, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O holy Lord, Father almighty and everlasting God; and magnify Thee with due praise, bless and proclaim Thee on the feast of Blessed Joseph; who, as a just man, was given by Thee to be the spouse of the Virgin Mother of God, and as a faithful and prudent servant, was set over Thy family, that with fatherly care he might guard Thine only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, conceived by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost.")

The Grimani Breviary, Intro. by Mario Salmi, p. 10. (Many of the illuminations in The Grimani Breviary are bordered with an "ornamental surround." As Mario Salmi writes in the Introduction of this facsimile, "These surrounds, still Gothic in appearance, are executed in brown monochrome . . . and lit with gold highlights which stress the plastic effect.")

Cocke and DeVecchi, Raphael, pp. 123-124. (DeVecchi attributes The Baptism of Constantine to Penni with some collaboration by Romano. With regard to The Vision of Constantine, he quotes both Vasari and Hartt. Vasari attributes this painting to Romano while Hartt considers the execution of inferior quality and proposes extensive collaboration by Raffaelino del Colle.)

George Ferguson, Signs & Symbols in Christian Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 26; Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "unicorn." (Hall quotes from a medieval bestiary, based on the Greek Physiologus from about the Fifth Century, writing: "Sic et dominus noster Jesus Christus, spiritualis unicornis, descendens in uterum virginis." Translating this sentence into English it reads, "and thus did our Lord Jesus Christ, who is a unicorn spiritually, descend into the womb of the Virgin." According to legend, the unicorn had, in its horn, the power to purify whatever it touched and since the unicorn could only be captured by a virgin, it was quickly adopted as a Christian allegory; T. H. White, ed., The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts, Translated from a Twelfth Century Latin Bestiary (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980), pp. 20-21.

Smith, Study, p. 81.

Chew, Virtues, p. 35.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Smith, Study, p. 81.

Leon-Dufour, Dictionary of Biblical Theology, s.v. "Peace."

Isaiah 32:17.

Isaiah 9:5; LeFebvre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, p. 139. (The Church incorporates this passage from Isaiah in her Liturgy of the Second Mass on Christmas Day, the "Mass at Dawn," as she prays: "Lux fulgebìt hodie super nos: quia natus est nobis Dominus: et vocabitur Admirabilis, Deus, Princeps pacis. . . ." The English translation for these verses is as follows: "A light shall shine upon us this day: for the Lord is born to us: and He shall be called Wonderful, God, the Prince of Peace. . . .")

Matthew 5:9.

Solari, House of Farnese, p. 15.


Pope-Hennessy, Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture, Vol. 3, Part 3, p. 51. (As an example of an artist participating in a special civic event, Jacopo Sansovino, in 1515, participated in the decorations for the entry of Pope Leo X into the city of Florence.; Roy Strong, Splendour at Court (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), pp. 94-95. (Antonio di Sangallo and Francesco Salviati were engaged to assist in the decorations for a Roman imperial triumph bestowed by Pope Paul III upon Emperor Charles V for his entry into Rome in 1536.)

The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, p. 27.

The English translation for this versicle reads: "Bless the Lord, all ye works of the Lord, praise and exalt Him above all forever."

The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 20v-21.


Mrs. Jameson, Legends, p. 206. (Mrs. Jameson relates that the earliest extant painting depicting the ox and the ass dates back to the Sixth Century.)
Hartt, Giuli Romano, 1, pp. 238-240. (Hartt is of the opinion that the frescoes and the facade of the house of Giulio Romano were completed prior to Vasari's visit to Mantua in 1544. Thus, it is possible that Clovio either saw the finished fresco or the drawings for the figure of Hymen.)

Genesis 1:24-31.

It is difficult to say with complete certainty that the monkey pictured in the margin on f. 28v has an apple in its paw or whether the lighter color used by the artist beneath this paw is there simply for the sake of contrast in color. However, the monkey on f. 29r is shown with his paw encircling a golden apple.

Bradley, Life, p. xiv. (Bradley informs us that in 1514, the Portuguese Ambassadors presented to Leo X an elephant, a panther, and many other animals and products from the territory which they had newly acquired in the East.); J. H. Plumb, The Italian Renaissance (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1965), p. 43. (These exotic animals had come to Italy and Sicily prior to 1514. We read that, at the splendid court of Frederick II in Sicily, he possessed "a menagerie of rare animals" and this was in the first half of the Thirteenth Century.); (In the Stuart de Rothesay Book of Hours, a manuscript completed prior to The Farnese Hours, we find that Clovio has painted some exotic animals on ff. 119v-120r.)

The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 28v-29.

Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "ape."


Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "iris."

Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "Pan."

Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "Sibyl."

Speculum Humanae Salvationis, Com. by M. R. James and Bernhard Berenson (Oxford: University Press, 1926), pp. 19-20. (According to the presentation given in this book, when Augustus saw the vision of the Virgin with a Child in her arms, a voice was heard to say, "'This is the altar of the Son of God.'" It is written that all of this took place in the chamber of Augustus where now is situated the Church of "St. Mary in the Capitol. Hence the church was called St. Mary of the Altar of heaven.")
Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "fasces."

Ferguson, Signs & Symbols (1954), pp. 9-10; Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "dog."


Ferguson, Signs & Symbols (1954), p. 22. (For the Jews, the ox was a sacrificial animal. In the writings of the Early Fathers of the Church, the ox is used as a symbol of Christ who was the true sacrifice.)

Cocke and De Vecchi, Raphael, p. 123. (From the biographies of Raphael and Giulio Romano we learn that Raphael prepared the cartoon for this work and that Giulio Romano and the other apprentices of Raphael completed the painting.)

speculum Humanae Salvationis, Com. by James and Berenson, p. 10. (When this book was published in 1926, only three copies of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, of Italian origin, were known to be in existence. It appears that the Speculum had "no great vogue" in Italy.)

This type of "pointing figure" as observed in this illumination and in The Averoldo Altarpiece, can be found in numerous paintings throughout the Renaissance and Mannerist Periods.

Freedberg, Painting in Italy 1500-1600, p. 259. (The paintings in the Sala del Consiglio were begun in 1545 and completed in 1547.)

Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 248.

Hans Tietze, Titian: Paintings and Drawings (Vienna: Phaidon Press, 1937), Plate 143. (This Plate is offered here as a study for the facial features of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese so that they may be used as a comparison with the portrait of Cardinal Farnese painted by Giulio Clovio.)

The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 32r-32.

DeLasséset al., Medieval Miniatures, p. 86.

Morrow, My Catholic Faith, p. 414. (According to the Law of Moses, all male children were commanded to be circumcised on the eighth day after their birth to distinguish them from their Gentile neighbors.)

Ibid.; Sullivan, Externals of the Catholic Church, p. 189.


137LeFebvre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, pp. 121-262. (Prior to Vatican II, the Christmas Liturgical Cycle consisted of: Advent—First Sunday of Advent to Dec. 24; Christmastide—Dec. 24 to Jan. 13; and the time after Epiphany—Jan. 14 to Septuagesima. The Feast of the Epiphany took place on January 6th and was a Double of the First Class, one of the highest ranking feasts of the Church Year.)

138Ibid., pp. 190-196. (The Antiphon chanted or sung at Second Vespers on this great feast reads: "This day a star led the Wise Men to the manger; this day water was turned into wine at the marriage feast; this day Christ chose to be baptised by John in the Jordan for our salvation." On these three occasions Christ manifested His Divinity. Also, prior to Vatican II, the Feast of the Baptism of Christ was celebrated on the Octave of the Epiphany.)

139William V. Bangert, S. J., A History of the Society of Jesus (St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1972), pp. 20-22; 40; Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., The Jesuits 1534-1921, Vol. 1 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1921), p. 31. (Both of these authors, in discussing the beginnings of the Society of Jesus, give the date of September 27, 1540 as the day on which Pope Paul III gave his approval of the Jesuit Order through the issuing of this particular Bull.)

140LeFebvre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, p. 181. (Father LeFebvre writes that "Among the Jews a child received his name at the rite of Circumcision.")

141Ibid.; Sullivan, Externals of the Church, p. 189. (While greater stress began to be placed upon the Holy Name of Jesus in the Church during the Sixteenth Century, it was St. Francis of Assisi, who, already in the early part of the Thirteenth Century, wrote a letter to the different Superiors in his Order urging them to foster reverence for the Holy Name of Jesus among all they encountered.); Marion A. Habig, ed., St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973), pp. 112-114.

142The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 34v-35.

143Ibid. (Webster Smith sees a sibyl and a prophet in these
Psalm 123 reads: "Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est: de laqueo venantium. Laqueus contritus est: et nos liberati sumus." The English translation for this reads: "Our soul hath been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowlers. The snare is broken, and we are delivered.


Tbid., p. 272.

Tbid., p. 48.

Benedictine Monks of Solesmes, eds., Papal Teachings: Our Lady, Trans. by The Daughters of St. Paul (Boston, Massachusetts: St. Paul Editions, 1961), pp. 61-82; LeFebvre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, p. 1039. (While the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was not defined as such until December 8, 1854, by Pope Pius IX, belief that Our Lady was conceived free from the taint of original Sin was already held in the East from the Eighth Century and in the West from the Ninth Century.)

The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 36v-37.


Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v., "sphinx";
Irmgard Woldering, The Art of Egypt, Trans. by Ann E. Keep (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1963), pp. 60, 112-114. (The ancient Egyptians made use of the sphinx to represent their pharaohs, the god-kings of Egypt. The sphinx is a composite whole formed by the body of a lion, the majestic king of the desert, and above this body is placed a human head, that of the ruler of Egypt. Through the years, artists continued to make use of the sphinx to represent royalty.)

Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v., "griffin."

James Lees-Milne, Saint Peter's (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p. 79. (These columns, referred to as "vine-clad columns" in the Liber Pontificalis, "formed part of a new screen across the apse and the canopy over the shrine" of St. Peter in Constantine's Basilica of St. Peter. These strange "barley sugar columns of translucent white marble, wreathed with vine tendrils, which still remain in the present St. Peter's" are thought to have come from Greece and carved in the year 200.)

155 Karl Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1909), p. 328. (According to Baedeker, Monte Testaccio was "an isolated mound, 115 ft. in height and about 100 paces in circumference, rising above the Tiber." It consisted entirely of broken pottery, as its name "testa-potsherd" indicates. Baedeker gives us the early history of this site of Ancient Rome, for he writes that it was "formed of fragments of the large earthenware jars (dolia), in which wine, oil, etc. were imported from Spain, Africa, and other countries on the Mediterranean, and which were unpacked at the neighboring Emporium.")


157 Ibid., p. 194. (One aspect of the games was the spectacle of live pigs that were packed into carts and then released from the top of Monte Testaccio. At the bottom of the hill, the populace fought over the remains. Peter Partner writes that these games were "too disorderly and too rustic for the polished Farnese circle" and were discontinued in 1545. Another reason for the discontinuance of these games was the "barbarous displays of civic independence" which "were not really acceptable to the cultivated despotism of Paul III.")


159 Matthew 2:13-14.

160 Smith, *Study*, p. 92.

161 The idea for two conversing figures in this painting by Clovio also could have come from works by other artists such as Giotto's *Flight into Egypt* in the Arena Chapel at Padua or from one of the many paintings of this subject by Jacopo Bassano. However, Botticelli's work was chosen because the splendid interaction between the two figures seemed to best reflect that depicted by Clovio in his illumination.

162 Ibid., p. 94. (Regarding this spiraling column of water vapor, Smith writes that "this is unique among compositions of the Red Sea which show the pillar of the cloud.")

163 See Note: 8 of this Chapter.

164 Smith, *Study*, p. 93.

165 While the position of the head, of each of these two possible models for Clovio's Blessed Mother, is different, with that of Raphael's St. Catherine of Alexandria being the most like Clovio's work, the pose of the body from the shoulder area to the waist is similar in each work. Both paintings are works with which Clovio would have been familiar.
Henry, "Ave Maris Stella" The Catholic Encyclopedia 2 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), p. 149. (This hymn in honor of Our Lady dates back to a St. Gall manuscript of the Ninth Century. This hymn was especially popular during the Middle Ages.)


Matthew 13:45. (This line in Matthew reads: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a merchant in search of fine pearls.")


Ibid., p. 275.

Ibid., p. 31.

Ibid., p. 272.

Ibid., p. 48.

Ibid., p. 274.


Freedberg, Painting in Italy 1500-1600, p. 100. (Granacci, who was a friend of Michelangelo from their days of apprenticeship in the studio of Ghirlandaio, drew inspiration from the works of many Renaissance artists, especially those of Michelangelo and Fra Bartolommeo. It was Michelangelo who provided Granacci with a design for the central panel of the Apollonia Altarpiece.)

The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 48v-49. (In his Commentary on Folio 48v, Webster Smith sees this scene as one depicting a pagan sacrifice.)

McKenzie, Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. "Ahasuerus."


The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 48v-49. (Webster Smith identifies this scene also as being one of pagan sacrifice.)


Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 6-15. (From the time of the reign of Pope Sixtus IV, 1471-1484, onwards, succeeding
Pontiffs added to the original bronze and marble sculptures in the Statue Court.)

183Ibid., pp. 148-151; 243-247; 311-314.

184Perry, "Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice," JWCI, 41 (1978). (In this article, Marilyn Perry explains in great detail the private art collection of Cardinal Domenico Grimani.)

185Martin, Farnese Gallery, p. 4. (In referring to the fabulous Farnese Collection, Martin writes that his "collection of antiquities was one of the largest in Rome.")

186Rostovtzeff, Rome, p. 267. (Geta was the brother of Caracalla and the son of Septimus Severus.)


188The cithara or lyre held by Apollo is similar to that depicted by De Vos in his painting Apollo and the Muses (Fig. 67b).

189The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 50v-51. (Webster Smith identifies this figure as Apollo holding the pipes of Pan or Marsyas.)

190Ibid.

191Attwater, A Catholic Dictionary, s.v. "Compline." (Compline is the last Hour of the Divine Office and also that of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.)

192Ibid.

193F. Guirand, "Greek Mythology," New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology (New York: Prometheus Press, 1974), p. 122. (According to mythology, it was during the Trojan War that Penthesilea, the Queen of the Amazons, was killed by Achilles.)

194Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "Apollo and Marsyas."

195The English translation for this verse reads: "O Lord, my heart is not lifted up; nor are my eyes lofty."

196Comay and Brownrigg, Who's Who in the Bible, p. 412. (Simeon was a good and devout Jew who had been assured that he would not see death before first seeing his Lord.)

197Ibid. (This Canticle has been a part of the Church's Evening Prayers for over 1500 years. The English translation for this beautiful
prayer reads:
Now Thou dost dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, according
to Thy word, in peace:
Because my eyes have seen Thy salvation,
Which Thou hast prepared before the face of all
peoples:
A light to the revelation of the Gentiles and the
glory of Thy people Israel.)

198Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "Pluto."

199LeFebvre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, pp. 1591-1593. (The
Time after Pentecost, in the Church Year, extends from
Trinity Sunday, which is the First Sunday after Pentecost,
to the First Sunday of Advent. This Votive Mass of the
Virgin, Salve Sancte Parens, is celebrated during this
period.)

200Genesis 1:14-19.

201Old Testament, Com. by Grispino, p. 1213. (In his commentary on
Sirach 24: 1-31, Grispino states that this is the most
beautiful chapter of the entire book "both for its doctrine and
poetic beauty." Because of these special characteristics, the
Church takes Wisdom, here "poetically personified," and accommodates it to the Blessed Virgin,); Benedictine Monks of Solesmes,
eds., Papal Teachings: Our Lady, p. 151; Thierry Maertens, OSB,
et al, eds., Saint Andrew Bible Missal (New York: DDB Publishers,


203Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v. "Pillar."

204Kings 11:14-17.


206The harp, depicted here by Clovio, differs somewhat in design from
the Fifteenth (Fig. 67a) and Sixteenth Century (Fig. 67b) harps painted by Memling and De Vos, respectively.

207The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 63v-64.
(Smith is also of the opinion that these two nude female figures are representations "presumably of Bathsheba.")

18-19. (This was a work begun by Titan towards the end of 1514
to replace a decaying fresco dating from the Fourteenth Century.
Titan's painting was originally known as The Battle of Spoleto
which was the Twelfth Century subject of this early Fourteenth
Century fresco that he was replacing. Titian's painting later
came to be known as *The Battle of Cadore* after an event of 1508. This work by Titian was destroyed by fire in 1577 and is now known to us only through copies and some preparatory drawings.)

Frederick Hartt, *Italian Renaissance Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1979), pp. 462-463. (While only the central section of *The Battle of Anghiari* was ever painted, Hartt writes that the unfinished section and Leonardo's cartoons "were seen by thousands and exerted a fundamental change on the whole idea of battle painting" that influenced artists for centuries.)

Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, p. 266. (In 1536, this marble statue, *Mercury*, is recorded as being in the Statue Court of the Belvedere.)

Ibid., p. 318. (According to these authors, whether the *Capitoline Venus* was known or seen in Sixteenth Century Rome, is highly debatable. There is a theory that the statue was seen and later "walled up in response to ecclesiastical hostility." However, according to the antiquarian, Pietro Santi Bartoli, the Venus is recorded as being found in the gardens belonging to the Stazi near S. Vitale during the pontificate of Pope Clement X, 1670-6.)

John Shearman, *Mannerism* (New York: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 67. (These twenty *Antique Deities* were designed by Rosso for the engraver, Caraglio.)

Kings 16:13.

Old Testament, Com. by Grispino, p. 945. (According to Christian tradition, it was around the Sixth Century that Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142 were labeled Penitential Psalms "because they arouse sorrow for sin").


Sullivan, *Externals of the Catholic Church*, pp. 312-313: 360-361. (Whether the Feast of Corpus Christi was a day on which the Litany of All Saints was prescribed by the *Pontificale* or the *Sacerdotal* in the Sixteenth Century is not known because, at that time, "nearly every diocese had its own ritual and its own list of authorized blessings." However, in order to promote uniformity, the Council of Trent recommended a new and complete *Roman Ritual* to be used in all churches of the Latin Rite. Prior to Vatican II, three versions of the Litany of All Saints was in use and prescribed for different occasions as outlined in the *Roman Ritual* and the *Pontifical*. In neither of these books is the use of the Litany of All Saints prescribed for the procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi.; Francis Mershman, "Litany of All Saints" *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 9 (New York: The
Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 2, pp. 323-324. (In 1246, the Feast of Corpus Christi was first observed in France in the Diocese of Liege. Later, this great feast was instituted for the entire Church by Pope Urban IV in 1264. Then, in the Fourteenth Century, in order to add greater solemnity to the feast, the Blessed Sacrament was placed in a monstrance and carried triumphantly through the streets of the towns. This was the origin of processions in honor of the Blessed Sacrament.; Morrow, *My Catholic Faith*, p. 405; Sullivan, *Externals of the Catholic Church*, pp. 360-361.

Morrow, *My Catholic Faith*, p. 416. (Since the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Eucharist, takes place on Holy Thursday when the Church is in the midst of the tragic events of Holy Week and the proper solemnity and pomp cannot be accorded this great sacrament, the Church sets aside this special day, the Feast of Corpus Christi, to give the Holy Eucharist the solemnity and honor that is its due.)

Sullivan, *Externals of the Catholic Church*, p. 316. (With regard to the observance of processions in the Catholic Church, Monsignor Sullivan quotes the following from the *Roman Ritual*: "The sacred public processions and solemn rites of petition used in the Catholic Church have their origin in the very ancient institution by our holy forefathers. Their purpose is to arouse the faithful's devotion, to commemorate God's benefactions and render Him thanksgiving, or to implore the divine assistance; hence they ought to be solemnized with due attention and fervor. For they are the bearers of sublime and divine mysteries, and all who devoutly participate in them receive from God the salutary fruit of Christian piety.")

See Chapter Two, page 45.

Sullivan, *Externals of the Catholic Church*, p. 360. (The Litany of All Saints prayed on this occasion was somewhat different and much shorter than that found in this Book of Hours.)

Roger Hudleston, "Gregory I," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 6 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), p. 782. (The memory of this event is preserved in Rome to this very day by the name which was given to the mausoleum of Hadrian, "Sant 'Angelo." This name came as a result of the legend that, during the procession, the Archangel Michael was seen at its summit in the act of sheathing his sword—a sign that the plague was over.)

The *Farnese Hours*, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 72v-73.

It could be argued that the poses of God the Father and God the Son are simply poses in reverse with slight variations.
Pritchard, Solomon & Sheba, p. 128. (This author writes that this engraving is "probably based on drawings by Raphael himself" and is usually dated "a year or so before the loggia frescoes."


Maxime Collignon, Manual of Mythology in Relation to Greek Art, Trans. by Jane E. Harrison (New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas Brothers, Publishers, 1982), pp. 265-270. (On Roman sarcophagi, the author notes, "The spirit of Death [Thanatos] was... represented as a winged boy seeming to sleep, or leaning upon an overturned torch." An excellent representation of this type of Thanatos figure is to be found on a Roman sarcophagus in the Roman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.)


St. John 11:38-44.

Maertens, et al, Saint Andrew Bible Missal, p. 1148. (Part of the Commentary on this event from the Bible, reads: "The resurrection of Lazarus was a great miracle. Although he died again, his temporary resurrection was a showing of the Lord's power, and a pledge of our own resurrection.")

Pope-Hennessy, Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture, 3, Part 3, p. 47. (This monument in memory of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was completed by June 3, 1509.)


The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 86v-87.

Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v., "Death." (The Three Living and the Three Dead is based on a legend of Eastern origin in which three princes returning carefree from a hunt met, on the road, three dead who said to them, "That which you are, we were; that which we are, you will be." Artists have depicted this meeting between the two groups in diverse ways.)

The Grimani Breviary, Com. by Gian Lorenzo Mellini, Plate 37. (The Commentary on this Plate refers to this battle scene as a danse macabre "in which death attacks horses and riders taken by surprise in the course of a hunt." This definition of the danse macabre does not coincide with the definition given by Hall in
The English translation reads: "I believe that I will see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living."

The English translation for these two verses of Psalm 26 is as follows:

"The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life: of whom shall I be afraid?"

(Webster Smith is of the opinion that the decorations on these two folios are difficult to explain. There does not appear to be any connection between the text and the art work. He writes that "the significance of the marginal decoration is mainly if not entirely ornamental." However, it would seem that Clovio has gone out of his way to emphasize that it is Artemis of Ephesus that he is depicting in the margins. The type of figure of Artemis that Clovio illustrates is the one symbolizing fertility. He stresses the dogs and the stags which usually accompany her. He points out her virginity by means of the unicorn. To confuse the viewer even more, at the top of each marginal decoration, he places what could possibly be interpreted as a cardinal's hat. Here one is forced to conclude that the mind of the Sixteenth Century man, with its rich heritage of symbolism and allegory from the ancient and medieval world and its application to the Christian religion, appears to be unfathomable.)

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(While the Prophet Daniel is usually pictured with several lions, he is also sometimes shown with a ram having four horns. The animal pictured under Daniel's feet in this illumination is difficult to identify.)

(Because the Renaissance artists were unfamiliar with the appearance and habits of the whale, according to Ferguson they often painted them "in the way of a dragon, a great shaggy fish, or a dolphin.")

(While the ram is often used imitating ancient art, here it is most likely used as a reference to Christ as leader and victor.)
Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v., "Hippocampus." (A seahorse, or hippocampus as it is also called, is often used in Christian symbolism to refer either to Christ or to the Prophet Jonah. On f. 102v the seahorses refer to Christ.)

Numbers 21:4-9.

John 3:14-15. (The Church's authority in using the Brazen Serpent as a prefiguration of Christ comes from the words that John puts on the lips of Christ: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that those who believe in him may not perish, but may have life everlasting.")

Ludwig Goldscheider, Michelangelo Drawings 2nd ed. (Greenwich, Connecticut: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1966), p. 65 and Plate 124. (Goldscheider dates this drawing to 1553-56. Clovio completed The Farnese Hours in 1546. If the dating of this drawing by Michelangelo is accurate and Clovio did not have access to it, then he certainly did see some other work by this Master because the treatment of the musculature of Christ by Clovio is patterned upon that found in the work of Michelangelo.) Charles de Tolnay, Michelangelo (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 273. (De Tolnay dates this drawing to 1545-1550. If these dates are accurate, then Clovio, since he was a good friend of Michelangelo, in all probability saw the drawing.)

Goldscheider, Michelangelo Drawings, p. 66. (Goldscheider dates this drawing by Michelangelo later than does the above discussion. De Tolnay does not speak of this work nor does he illustrate it. Regardless of the dating, however, the same argument for the above work holds true for this work—the Blessed Mother by Clovio is based on a work by Michelangelo.)

Smith, Study, p. 74. (Smith finds a similarity between Clovio's two figures standing behind the cross and "a pair of figures seen in a panel from Perino del Vaga's ceiling decorations for the Loggia of the Doria Palace in Genoa.")

John 19:37.

Léon-Dufour, Dictionary of Biblical Theology, s.v. "Cross."

John 3:16-17.

The English translation for these verses reads: "We adore You, O Christ, and we bless You. Because through Your holy cross you have redeemed the world."


Joel 3:1-5.

Webber, Church Symbolism, p. 38. (The name of this sibyl is Phrygiana.); Le Febre, Saint Andrew Daily Missal, pp. 692-737. (It is possible to use Phrygians, the Sibyl of the Resurrection, as the Sibyl for Pentecost because, in the Church Calendar, the Feast of the Resurrection and the Feast of Pentecost both fall within that Season of the Church Year known as Paschaltide.)

Genesis 11:9.

The Farnese Hours. Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 106v-107.


Tietze, Titian, p. 346. (Regarding this early painting, Tietze writes that Titian, in a letter to Cardinal Farnese in 1544, referred to this early work and to his quarrel with the brethren.)


The New Testament of the Holy Bible, Com. by Reverend Joseph A. Grispino, (New York: Guild Press, 1941), p. 419. (It appears that there is a difference in the scholarly interpretation of "to speak in foreign tongues" and "to speak in foreign languages" as used in the Bible. Most scholars, including Grispino, interpret the former as someone speaking in ecstasy, which is the gift of tongues. Grispino writes that "the more common opinion is that at Pentecost the apostles spoke in foreign languages and not in ecstasy."; Morrow, My Catholic Faith, p. 85. (Morrow is also of the opinion that the Apostles spoke in foreign languages. However, he disagrees with Grispino on another aspect of the Apostles' ability to speak in foreign languages. He writes that "they spoke in one language, but those of different races who listened heard what was said in their own different languages." Grispino disagrees with this theory and he offers the opinion that "each apostle, apparently, spoke only the one foreign language which those gathered around him understood.")

New Testament, Com. by Grispino, p. 419. (These people were gathered in Jerusalem because Pentecost was the Jewish thanksgiving day for the wheat harvest mentioned in Exodus 23:16, a day which, over the years, had developed into an anniversary celebration "of the reception of the Law by Moses on Mount Sinai." Pentecost was one of the three days prescribed by the Law for visiting the Temple at Jerusalem.)

Old Testament, Com. by Grispino, p. 27.
269 Ibid.

270 Genesis 11:7.

271 Richard Brilliant, Roman Art (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1974), pp. 29-31; Lees-Hilne, Saint Peter's, pp. 69-70. (While both of these authors mention the Tomb of the Valerii, neither one gives any date when it was excavated.)

272 The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 108v-109.

273 Webber, Church Symbolism, p. 37.

274 Ibid. (With Tivoli so near to Rome, this Sibyl can easily be identified with the city of Rome and its environs.)

275 Lees-Hilne, Saint Peter's, pp. 137-165.

276 Ibid., p. 159.

277 Ibid., p. 64: Barry Cunliffe, Rome and her Empire (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978), p. 113. (One of the first Asiatic deities to come to Rome, in the later years of the Republic, was Cybele, who was known as the "Great Mother." She and her oriental priests were "housed in the Temple of Victory in response to the Sibylline oracle who required that the Romans welcome the goddess if they were to be saved from Hannibal.")

278 The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 108v-109. (Webster Smith writes that this scene may refer "to a particular monument, such as the mausoleum of Helena." I was unable to find any depiction of this monument for comparison.)

279 Mark 16:15.

280 John 14:26. ("But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you.")

281 Lees-Hilne, Saint Peter's, p. 67. (It is this author's belief, after much research, that "until archaeological or literary evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, that St. Peter met his death by crucifixion in the field of blood, Caligula's Circus.")

282 Ibid., p. 64. (A day of special observance in the cult of Cybele was the Day of Blood. On this occasion, events were held commemorating the self-castration of Attis, the lover of Cybele. The act was performed at the insistence of Cybele in order to prevent Attis from marrying another.)
The Figure of Arius was identified for me by Sister Mary Roberta McKinnon, OSF.

James J. Sullivan, "Athanasiian Creed," The Catholic Encyclopedia 2 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc. 1913), pp. 33-34. (Until the Seventeenth Century, the Athanasian Creed, or the 'Quicunque vult,' as it is sometimes known from its opening words, "was thought to be composition of the great Archbishop of Alexandria whose name it bears.")

Ibid., p. 33. (The author, in referring to the Athanasian Creed, in which these two doctrines are emphasized so strongly, writes that "it states and restates in terse and varied forms so as to bring out unmistakably the trinity of Persons in God, and the twofold nature in the one Divine Person of Jesus Christ.")

Cornelius Clifford, "Athanasiian" The Catholic Encyclopedia 2 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913, pp. 35-40; The Farnese Hours, Intro. and Com. by Webster Smith, Folios 111v-112; John J. Delaney, Pocket Dictionary of Saints (abridged edition), s.v. "Athanasiian." (St. Athanasiian, who was appointed bishop of Alexandria in 327, was born c. 297 and died in 373. He lived during the time of the Arian controversy and was a staunch defender of orthodoxy. Because of his strict adherence to the beliefs of the Church, for a period of seventeen years he was denounced by his enemies often, expelled from his see several times, driven into exile by heretics and politicians five times and was only allowed to return to his see seven years before his death. St. Athanasiian is one of the four great Greek Doctors of the Church, and because of his valiant defense of her truths, he earned for himself the title, "Father of Orthodoxy." Attwater writes of him that he had a "humorous wit that was not always gentle" which he used in support of the Catholic faith. He is the author of many treatises in defense of Catholic doctrine.)


Attwater, A Catholic Dictionary, s.v. "Arianism."
Ann Garside, ed., Jewelry: Ancient to Modern (New York: The Viking Press in cooperation with the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1979), pp. 177-215. (Jewelry during the Renaissance "reached new levels of opulence and artistry." During this period, popes, kings, and other members of the noble ruling class commissioned all types of personal adornment from the different masters of this craft. Diana Scarisbrick, in writing about jewelry from this period, states that "Just as the leadership in architecture, painting and sculpture came from Italy, so did fashions in jewelry." The decorative gem-set jewel with Christian and Classical motifs was especially popular. The grotesques from Nero's Golden house on the Esquiline and which Raphael, Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine and their assistants "applied to the decoration of one of the great Vatican loggias...has ever since provided the most comprehensive array of classical ornament for generations of designers." However, it was the engraved gem, such as cameos and intaglios, with settings of enameled gold that was the most sought after type of jewelry. It was used for pendants, rings, links for necklaces, bracelets and belts. Some of these cameos and intaglios were ancient, for, at this time, gems could be picked up daily in the ruins of Rome. These gems, which could not be melted down, provided a link with antiquity, and they were avidly sought not only as collector's items by such men as Pope Paul II and Lorenzo de Medici, but they were also worn as jewels. Ancient engraved gems and the engraved gems of the Sixteenth Century became "closely linked with the style and iconography of monumental sculpture and painting" of this period. In The Farnese Hours, we have seen page after page where Clovio has incorporated the use of these cameos and other engraved gems as an integral part of the decorations of that folio page.)

A free translation of the Colophon reads: "Giulio Clovio, the Macedonian, finished these monuments (the illuminations in The Farnese Hours) for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1546."

Hall, Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art, s.v., "Achilles."


See Chapter I, Note: 55.

Vasari, Lives, 9, p. 245.


Kren, Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, p. 31.
220

302Ibid.
303Ibid.
304Ibid., p. 40.
305Ibid., pp. 40-47; Diringer, Illuminated Book, p. 453.
306Kren, Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, p. 46.
307Ibid., p. 49. (Kren notes that the popularity of this poem is evidenced in that there are approximately 250 copies of this poem in existence.)
308Ibid.
309J. A. Herbert, Illuminated Manuscripts (New York: Burt Franklin, 1911), p. 320. (Herbert states that the Grimani Breviary's "pre-eminence in fame above all its contemporaries is due to the extent of its decorations rather than to their intrinsic superiority in point of beauty."); Diringer, Illuminated Book, p. 455. (This author writes that the main interest of this work lies in its unique bulk.)
310The Grimani Breviary, Intro. by Mario Salmi, p. 29.
311Ibid., pp. 29-35.
312Ibid., p. 36.
313Diringer, Illuminated Book, p. 418.
314Ibid.; Kren, Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, p. 166.
316Harthan, Book of Hours, p. 132.
317Ibid., p. 133.
318Ibid.
319Ibid., p. 157.
320Ibid. (This author informs us that the "white-vine interlace borders came into fashion in the early fifteenth century as a decorative auxiliary to the newly developed humanistic script.")
321Ibid., p. 156.
221

322Ibid.

323Kren, Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, p. 123.

324Ibid.

325Ibid.

326Ibid., p. 130.

327Psautier de Paul III, Précedée d'un Essai par Léon Dorez (Paris: Imprimerie Berthaud Frères, [n.d.]), p. 15; Dix Siècles D'Enluminure Italienne: VIe-XVIe Siècles (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984), p. 169. (Léon Dorez is the scholar who is credited with identifying Vincenzo Raimondi as the artist of this manuscript.)

328Dix Siècles D'Enluminure Italienne, p. 169.

329Ibid., pp. 169-170.

330Bradley, Life, pp. 262-270. (Bradley includes this manuscript in his list of works by the hand of Clovio although he does not attribute it to Clovio. He thinks this manuscript might be the work of Federicus Perusinus, who is named in the colophon. However, he does find the cameos and borders to be in the manner of Clovio.)
CHAPTER FOUR

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this work is to demonstrate in what manner and to what degree The Farnese Hours reflects the Sixteenth Century—its history, its religion and its art. While this study is not concerned specifically with a detailed study of Clovio, the artist, a few words about his artistic style as may be seen in this little manuscript will not be amiss.

Clovio was an artist of his time. He was in Rome when the style of the High Renaissance was at the peak of its glory. His travels and his years in religious life exposed him to various other artistic trends and to the individual styles of numerous artists. When he returned to Rome in 1537, Mannerism, that style that flourished from c. 1520 to c. 1600 and which has led art historians to publish one treatise after another in an attempt to define and explain its complex and erratic relationship to the style of the High Renaissance, had already made great inroads in the artistic endeavors of the time. Clovio had been exposed to all these various styles and, as a result, his work is a composite of all that he had seen and experienced. It is his ability to take all that he has encountered and to incorporate it into a uniquely unified whole that is Clovio's strength as an artist and which makes The Farnese Hours such a jewel of incomparable beauty and richness.
Clovio is especially noteworthy for his ability as a colorist. When one opens The Farnese Hours today, one is struck with the freshness and brilliance of its colors. If one can experience this wondrous impression today after almost four and a half centuries since the completion of this manuscript, how much more breathtakingly beautiful must The Farnese Hours have appeared when it was first seen in the Sixteenth Century!

Bradley, in discussing Clovio as a colorist, speaks of the delicacy of coloring and finish that was a characteristic of his works. He writes that this quality of Clovio in his painting is the "distinguishing mark of his supremacy as a miniaturist and the one which called forth so loudly the admiration of his contemporaries." A method of painting employed by Clovio was the application of "thin delicate washes of colour heightened by stippling," a working in dots or points.

While it is not always easy to discern this technique of stippling by Clovio in a facsimile of The Farnese Hours, due to the fact that the colors are not always as true as those seen in the original and sometimes lines have a tendency to become blurred in a copy of a work, if one looks carefully at ff. 17v-18r, the scenes of the Visitation and Justice and Peace Embracing (Figs. 68a, 68b), the landscape backgrounds in both of the central illuminations can be seen to display this stippling treatment of color. This same stippling technique can be observed in f. 30v, the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 102a), where the trees in the background have been treated in this manner.
Clovio's choice of colors in his illuminations is especially pleasing and harmonious. It is difficult to choose one illuminated page over another to illustrate this point, for each page is a delight to the eye. However, for the sake of demonstration, if one looks at ff. 34v and 35r, the Circumcision and the Baptism of Christ (Figs. 117a, 117b), one can see on these pages how skillfully Clovio plays off one color, with its various tints and shades, against another color and ends with a paean of sheer beauty and elegance.

Our artist seems to have had an inborn feeling for the sensitivity of the eye's relationship of one color to another. As a result, he blends various hues, tints and shades of colors together, with the end product being like unto a perfectly composed musical score that enchants the ear and stirs the soul. The single most pleasing quality of The Farnese Hours is the eye's enchantment with the brilliant and beautiful colors that it beholds as page after page is turned revealing one masterpiece of harmonious color after another.

To categorize The Farnese Hours under one specific style is a little difficult, as Clovio exhibits different trends and styles in his work. It is a Renaissance/Mannerist production. However, if one feels the need to classify this manuscript under a general heading, then William Jordan's description of it as "a breathtaking example of Maniera style," is perhaps the most appropriate. If one accepts the characteristics of a Mannerist painting as being those in which we find space that is undefined and sometimes exhibiting a claustrophobic feeling, figures (Fig. 286) that are tensely posed or in extreme contrapposto with no possibility of moving to new situations, composi-
tions that are acentral or which seek the frame, and a narrative that is elaborate and involved, then many of Clovio's illuminations contain these properties. Using the above as criteria, an example of a Mannerist styled page from The Farnese Hours would be f. 79r, the Meeting Between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Fig. 136b). In this illumination, space, in which the viewer can enter the picture and move around, is almost non-existent. One sees an extremely crowded scene, with closely drawn twisted columns crossing the far background of the painting and in front of which is a solid row of figures. In the very foreground of the illumination are the central characters of the scene, Solomon, the Queen of Sheba and one of her handmaidens. There is no possible entry into the painting by the viewer. The pose of King Solomon is extremely exaggerated; how he can logically hold his particular position is a mystery that defies gravity but is possible in a style of art that defies logic. The narrative unfolding in this picture, however, like those unfoldings in High Renaissance and earlier paintings, is easily recognizable.

However, Clovio also has High Renaissance style illuminations in this little manuscript. An example of this style can be found on f. 35r, the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 117b). The first thing one notices about this painting is the feeling of tranquillity that it evokes. Also, there is a sense of orderliness in this work. It possesses symmetry, and there is a harmonious relationship between all its individual parts. The figures are shaped in the form of a triangle whose apex is the Holy Spirit. In spite of the out-flung elbow of the bather in the left foreground of the painting, the viewer can easily enter the
picture and move around, even travelling out into distant space. One does get the feeling that the frame has cut off part of the scene, this being a trait of Mannerist painting. Another characteristic of this style is the indifference shown by the two bathers in the foreground to what is occurring in this scene. In spite of these Mannerist features, this is basically a painting in the style of the High Renaissance.

Still another aspect of Clovio's work is the inclusion of antique art, a feature found in both High Renaissance and Mannerist painting. Throughout The Farnese Hours we have seen page after page upon which Clovio has included some aspect of antique art. Two examples of Clovio's adaptation of the art of the ancient world to his own work can be found on ff. 9v-10r (Figs. 61a, 61b) and ff. 66v-67r (Figs. 224a, 224b), both of which could easily be scenes taken directly from the Raphael Loggetta in the Vatican or from Clovio's own sketches of antique art either from the Domus Aurea or other antique monuments.

From the above demonstrations and after having examined all the paintings in this manuscript at some length, we are cognizant of the fact that Clovio incorporates the many and varied styles and trends of his time and gathers them together here in this Book of Hours, revealing to us what he has seen and learned. This manuscript is a work of the Sixteenth Century, and as this century gave us both the High Renaissance and the Mannerist styles of art, so, The Farnese Hours depicts for us the styles of Renaissance and Mannerist Italy.
In the long history of illuminated manuscripts, each century has produced outstanding masterpieces: the *Utrecht Psalter* from the Ninth Century, the *Bury Bible* from the Twelfth Century, the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* from the Fourteenth Century and the *Tres Riches Heures* from the Fifteenth Century. Along with these notable works stands the manuscript which we have just finished examining, *The Hours of the Virgin of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*. While this little Book of Hours is not the only masterpiece of manuscript illumination to come from the Sixteenth Century, it is one of the greatest, and Clovio is considered the "most important Italian illuminator of the sixteenth century." His greatness as an illuminator rests upon his amazing artistic creativity and his original depiction of subject matter as found in the Book of Hours for Cardinal Farnese as this present work has attempted to demonstrate.

In *The Farnese Hours* we have seen that Clovio has painted the real world of the Sixteenth Century as viewed through the eyes of a Renaissance/Mannerist artist—a real world composed of real people in real life situations—people who fought in wars (Fig. 205a) and who joined in yearly city celebrations and festivals (Figs. 148a, 148b; 225a, 225b); people like Pope Paul III, who, in his concern for the Reform of the Church, approved a new Order of Religious, the Jesuits (Fig. 117a), and people like his patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese who, besides being a cardinal and a bishop (Fig. 162b), and an extremely polished diplomat to the courts of Francis I and Charles V, was also a humanist who surrounded himself with learned men having similar interests and tastes, especially an interest in the ancient
past (Figs. 61a, 61b; 224a, 224b, 245a, 245b).\textsuperscript{17}

An integral and important part of Sixteenth Century life was the Catholic Church, who, with almost sixteen centuries of doctrinal wisdom, affected the lives of almost every man, woman and child. As we have seen illustrated in this manuscript, Clovio has painted, with great reverence and love, a Sixteenth Century artist's interpretation of scenes taken from the Lives of Christ, His Mother, the Prophets and Saints. In conjunction with these holy scenes, he has interwoven themes of symbolism and allegorical and prefigural representations—an established mode for presenting doctrinal truths in the Church from the time of Christ.

During these years when Clovio was working on The Farnese Hours, c. 1537-1546, the Church, under the able leadership of Pope Paul III, was in the process of reform\textsuperscript{18} and setting the stage for the Council of Trent.\textsuperscript{19} Besides working on internal reform within herself, the Church also sought to battle Protestantism and other new beliefs that had arisen since the revolt of Luther in 1517. In those countries where the Catholic Faith had been abandoned, unbelievers had desecrated sacred places, profaned and destroyed relics and other sacred articles, derided the Mass, denied the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist and defamed the Virgin.\textsuperscript{20}

During this period of the Counter-Reformation,\textsuperscript{21} one could say that Clovio employed his brush in defense of the doctrines of the Church, for most of the large illuminations and many of the marginal decorations in The Farnese Hours present, in pictorial form, some doctrine upheld by the Church and which was now under attack by
unbelievers. Clovio's beautiful and inspiring painting, on ff. 72v-73r, depicting the Procession for the Feast of Corpus Christi, can be viewed as the Church's reaffirmation of her belief in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The figures of St. Athanasius and Arius can be viewed as symbolizing the Church's fierce determination to defend her beliefs against the new religious movements inaugurated by the revolt of Martin Luther in 1517. This entire Book of Hours honors Mary, whom the unbelievers defamed, and expresses the Church's most cherished beliefs regarding Our lady—her Immaculate Conception, her Virginity and her Divine Motherhood.

On many pages of this manuscript we have witnessed Clovio using various pagan motifs, sometimes to illustrate a truth of faith (Figs. 112a, 112b; 183a, 183b), or often, simply for the sake of pure decoration (Figs. 224a, 224b). He brings the beauty and the vast and varied wealth of pagan art and employs it in praise of God.

Throughout the entire manuscript we have been delighted with Clovio's highly creative framing borders for the central paintings of his full-page illuminations. These borders, as discussed at the conclusion of Chapter Three, are not really borders of a page in the usual sense, but they are "framing elements to a scene." They not only frame the painting but oftentimes interact with the figures in the central scene or serve as their symbolic, allegorical or prefigural characters.

In conclusion, in this little Book of Hours, Clovio has taken all of creation, both its pagan and its Christian elements, and has used it as a means of praising God. This manuscript is truly a precious jewel
in the history of art, but it is more than a wondrous work of art--
first and foremost, it is a prayerbook. The Farnese Hours, with its
specially chosen prayers and illuminations, speaks to all the world of
Sixteenth Century man's deep and abiding love and reverence for God,
for Our lady, and for all that He, in His Infinite Goodness and Wisdom,
has created.
Chapter Four

1Charles de Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Miniatures by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," The Burlington Magazine 107 (March, 1965): 110-114; Charles de Tolnay, "A New Miniature by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," The Burlington Magazine 120 (June, 1978): 393-397; Charles de Tolnay, "Further Miniatures by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," The Burlington Magazine 122 (September, 1980): 616-623. (In these articles De Tolnay attributes, among others, paintings in The Townley Lectionary and The Farnese Hours to Pieter Bruegel the Elder. This writer does not disagree with De Tolnay regarding the fact of collaboration between Clovio and Bruegel. As this present work does not include information on The Townley Lectionary, she will refrain from comment on this work by Clovio. However, De Tolnay writes that Bruegel, when he was in Rome in 1552-53, worked with Clovio on The Farnese Hours. In spite of De Tolnay's brilliant arguments in favor of such a collaboration, this writer does not agree with De Tolnay for several reasons. First of all, the colophon of f. 112v of The Farnese Hours states that this Book of Hours was completed in 1546. This would imply that the paintings were finished at that time. There is no evidence, with the exception of f. 5r where a definite framed area was left blank for some type of coat of arms, that pages or sections of pages were left undone for the hand of some other artist to complete. Secondly, Clovio was known for his excellent landscape paintings—he did not need, even out of friendship, to have someone else "fill in" those areas in The Farnese Hours designated for landscape scenes. Lastly, Clovio and Vasari were good friends. Clovio was still living when Vasari viewed The Farnese Hours. No doubt, this work and its merits were discussed between them. If Bruegel had had a hand in the paintings, Clovio would have mentioned it to Vasari and, in turn, Vasari would have related this information to us in his Lives. For these reasons, this writer finds it difficult to accept the conclusions arrived at by De Tolnay.)

2Bradley, Life, p. 65.

3Ibid., p. 82.

Penguin Books, 1979). (Each of these authors, in his own unique fashion, brilliantly examines, defines and illustrates that eclectic style of art known as Mannerism, that existed from c. 1520 to c. 1600. They describe in great detail its different stages and list the artists that painted in these various stages of its development. This writer feels that each of the authors consulted above would probably agree that Mannerism is a most unfortunate title for this period in the history of art—a period that is so extremely rich in artistic variety and individual style. After reading the work of Craig Hugh Smyth, this writer agrees with him that a far better appellation for all the arts produced from c. 1520 to c. 1600 is that of Late Renaissance. The term "Late Renaissance" has the added benefit of not connoting anything derogatory, as the term Mannerism does, and it implies a normal continuation, experimentation and transition in art style. Craig Hugh Smyth writes: "I should say the more noncommittal the name the better at this juncture, so that we can grasp the range and intricacies of Cinquecento painting as clearly as possible, unswayed by a term. Our view of the period 1515/20 to 1585/90 ought not to be subject to any distortion by the potent implications attached to Mannerism since the Seicento." [p. 30] The term "Mannerism" is also unfortunate because not every artist who painted during this controversial era can be said to be a Mannerist artist. Here we can quote, again, from Smyth, who writes: "Maniera is not equally in evidence in all works, even by the same master. The less so, the less appropriate the term Mannerism seems to be." [p. 30] Clovio is an artist who fails into this category.)

Brown, et al., El Greco, p. 258. (I am not really happy nor at ease with William Jordan's description of The Farnese Hours even though much of the work could be described as Mannerist. The decorations in this Book of Hours, I feel, are too diversified to label the entire work under one general heading. I believe the most accurate description of the art in this manuscript is that of being one which reflects the Renaissance/Mannerist traditions of the day.)

Craig Hugh Smyth, Mannerism and Maniera (Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1962), p. 11. (Regarding the Mannerist treatment of figures as represented in this Plate, Smyth writes: "Figures persistently take characteristic forms, which can be recorded in a diagrammatic shorthand of straight lines... and carry in themselves the agitated, broken, and unstable rhythms of maniera composition.")

These characteristics, as listed here, are an oversimplification of the many and varied features of the Mannerist style of art.

Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Illuminations by Clovio Lost and Found," Gazette des Beaux-Arts (Juillet-Septembre, 1950): 72. (D'Ancona sees most of the scenes in The Farnese Hours as being in the High
Renaissance style. She feels that only in his later illuminations does he begin to exhibit Mannerist elements.)

9. The *Utrecht Psalter* (Utrecht, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. 32) dates from c. 820-830.

10. The *Bury Bible* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 2) dates from c. 1135.

11. The *Winchester Bible* (Winchester, Winchester Cathedral Library) dates from c. 1150-1180.

12. The *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* by Jean Pucelle (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Ms. 54.1.2) dates from 1325-1328.

13. The *Trés Riches Heures of John, Duke of Berry* by the Limbourg Brothers and completed by Jean Colombe (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 1284) dates from c. 1411-16 and 1485-90.

14. Each century listed here can boast of many other famous manuscripts; however, these works are the ones I chose to represent that particular century.


16. As mentioned in Chapter One, Clovio had experienced war in Buda, in Grizane and in Rome. While here he is painting a war scene from Biblical times and looking at Renaissance works of battle scenes as models for his work, his own knowledge of war with all its blood and horror was firsthand. War was also firsthand knowledge for many people in Italy.

17. I have listed only these few Plates to represent ancient art in *The Farnese Hours*. However, some aspect of ancient art is woven into most of the illuminations in this manuscript.


19. Hughes, *History*, p. 175. (The Council of Trent, after many delays, was finally convened in December, 1545); Philip Hughes, *The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils 325-1870*

21. H. Pollen, "Counter-Reformation," The Catholic Encyclopedia 4 (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), pp. 437-445. (According to Church History, the Counter-Reformation "denotes the period of Catholic revival from the pontificate of Pope Pius IV in 1560 to the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648." However, the term "Counter-Reformation" is often used loosely to refer to the Church's earnest effort at reform that began with Martin Luther's revolt in 1517.)

## APPENDIX A

### GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE HOUSE OF FARNESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicolo</td>
<td>Gov. of Bologna d.1339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piero d.1363</td>
<td>Ranuccio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piero</td>
<td>L. of Montalto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranuccio</td>
<td>C. of Pitigliano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier Luigi</td>
<td>L. of Montalto d.1487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartolomeo</td>
<td>Pope Paul III (Alessandro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. of Montalto</td>
<td>(1468-1549)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costanza</td>
<td>Pier Luigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7-1545)</td>
<td>1st D. of Parma &amp; Piacenza (1504-1529) (1505-1527?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married Gerolama Orsini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Additional Details

- Vittoria Alessandro Ottavio Ranuccio
  - (1519-1602) Cardinal (1520-1589) married (1530-1565)
  - married

- Guidobaldo della Rovere Margherita d'Austria
  - married

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The House of Farnese

The Farnese family was an illustrious Italian family known for its soldiers, statesmen and ecclesiastics. According to documentation, the origins of this family can be traced back to the late Eleventh, early Twelfth Centuries when they were lords of a small fief, Castello Farnese, situated between Orvieto and Viterbo and near Lake Bolsena. From this castle, Castello Farnese, the family, around the year 1100, took its name.

The members of this family were very clever and quite ingenious in their methods for developing their holdings and the prominence of their status. In the volatile society in which they lived, the men of the Farnese family knew how to profit from the conflicts that were constantly breaking out among the various rulers of Central Italy and to turn them to their own advantage thus furthering their own personal ambition and the prestige of the family name. The Farnese men excelled in the profession of arms and they became noted military captains and astute political leaders. They were especially militant and energetic when it came to rendering service to the Church and were known for their unswerving loyalty to the papacy.

In the Fifteenth Century, the Farnese family came into even greater prominence with Ranuccio il Vecchio, the grandfather of Pope Paul III. He moved his family to Rome, where, in 1417, he was made a Roman senator by Pope Martin V. From this time onward the fortunes
of the Farnese family increased and they became ranked among the leading families of Rome. Ranuccio's son, Pier Luigi, married into the Gaetani family and of their three children, Bartolomeo founded the ducal line of Latera, Alessandro became Pope Paul III, and Giulia, who was known for her great beauty, married Orsino Orsini.

One of the most outstanding men of the Farnese family was Alessandro, the son of Pier Luigi and the grandson of Ranuccio il Vecchio. He was raised to the highest office in the Church and history proclaims him as one of the greatest Popes of the Roman Catholic Church. In his youth, before he became a priest and before the papal tiara was bestowed upon him, Alessandro fathered four children, Costanza, Pier Luigi, Ranuccio and Paolo. Later, after his accession to the papacy, Alessandro, now Pope Paul III, in the Farnese tradition of family aggrandizement, raised Parma and Piacenza into a duchy and bestowed it upon his eldest son, Pier Luigi, who was the father of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for whom Clovio painted The Farnese Hours.

The dynasty of the Farnese family lasted until 1731 at which time the male line became extinct.

Sources for Genealogical Chart and Historical Background of the House of Farnese:

Conte Pompeo Litta, Famiglie Celebri Italiane 9 (Milano: Tipografia delle Famiglie Celebri Italiane, 1868).


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APPENDIX B

Chronology of the Life of Clovio until 1546

1498-1516 - Clovio born in Grizane in Croatia. Studies art in a monastic school in Southern Slavonia.

1516-1523 - Clovio goes to Italy and is employed by the Grimani Family of Venice. He goes to Rome with Cardinal Domenico Grimani. While in Rome, Clovio - Applies himself to pen drawings of medals and coins and the copying of engravings. Paints a copy of the frontispiece of Durer's Epitome in Divaepartenices Mariae Historiarum - a Madonna seated on a crescent moon. Studies and copies works by Michelangelo, Raphael, Giulio Romano and other artists in Rome. Does an ink and watercolor drawing of The Conversion of Saint Paul. Copies drawings of ancient grotesques found in Golden House of Nero.

1523 - Clovio invited to Hungary by Alberto Pio da Carpi. He goes to Venice.


1526 - Clovio flees Buda as Turks capture city. Clovio goes to Grizane. Once again, flees from Turks. Goes to Venice and then to Rome. Enters the service of Cardinal Laurenzio Campeggio. Paints a Madonna di Minjo for Cardinal Campeggio. Clovio continues his studying and copying of works by Michelangelo and other artists. Continues studying and drawing works of ancient art.

1527 - Sack of Rome. Clovio captured and imprisoned. Clovio escapes from prison and flees to Monastery of San Ruffino in Mantua where he enters religion in fulfillment of a vow made while in prison. Takes the name of "Giulio" out of respect for his friend, Giulio Romano. From this
time until his death, Clovio is known as Don Giulio Clovio. While at the monastery, Clovio—
Illuminates sacred books.
Does many paintings including one based on a drawing by Titian of the adulterous woman and a miniature, Christ Appearing to Magdalene in the Garden.

1530/31 - Clovio goes to the Monastery of Candiana near Padua. Meets the celebrated Veronese miniaturist, Girolamo dai Libri.

1531-1537 - Cardinal Marino Grimani persuades Clovio to leave religious life in order to better use the artistic talents given him by God. Clovio goes to Perugia and enters the service of Cardinal Marino Grimani. While at Perugia, Clovio—
Illustrates the Grimani Evangelistary.

1537-1546 - Clovio goes to Rome and enters the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Begins work on The Farnese Hours. Does a Ganymede and a Titus based on drawings by Michelangelo. Paints Saint Paul Blinding Elima and The Three Theological Virtues. Does many other paintings and drawings during these years while working on The Farnese Hours.

1546 - Clovio completes The Farnese Hours for his patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.
APPENDIX C

Glorio's Travels:

1516  Grizane to Venice
1516-17  Venice to Rome
1523  Rome to Venice
1524-1526  Venice to Buda
1526  Buda to Grizane
1526/27  Grizane to Rome
1527-1531  Rome to the Monastery of S. Ruffino near Mantua
1531  Monastery of S. Ruffino to Monastery at Candiana near Padua
1531-1537  Monastery at Candiana to Perugia
1537-1546  Perugia to Rome

Italy in the Sixteenth Century
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APPENDIX D

Binding and Collation of Folios

in

The Farnese Hours
Marginal Plaque with Oval of Christ as Salvator Mundi
Marginal Decorations with Bas-de-Page Landscape Scene
Prophecy of the Birth of Christ to King Ahaz
Annunciation
Blank Pages
Blank Page
Hinge Attaching f. 2 to f. 3
Blank Page
Blank Page with Pierpont Morgan Library Seal
Hinge Attached to f. 1r and Encompassing Entire Ms.
Pinkish-Red Silk Material Attached to f. 1 and Encompassing Entire Ms.
Silver-gilt Cover Decorated with Reliefs
Marginal Decorations with Bare-Face Scene of the
Bay of Naples

Hours of the Virgin

Justice and Peace Embracing

Gathering 4a
Adoration of the Kings

Flowers and Birds Set in Ovals in Margins; Equestrian Scenes Set in Ovals in Bas-de-Page Area

Baptism of Christ

Circumcision

Marginal Decorations with Ovals of Alexander the Great and Cardinal Farnese; Bas-de-Page Landscape Scene

Prophecy of the Birth of Christ to the Emperor Augustus
Marginal Decorations with Oval of the Virgin; Rectangular Scene of a Flower and a Butterfly in Bas-de-Page Area

Esther Crowned by King Ahasuerus

Coronation of the Virgin

Marginal Decorations with Antique Statuary and Figures of Achilles and Penthesilea; Landscape View of Rome and Tiber River in Bas-de-Page Area

Marginal Decorations with Oval of the Angel Gabriel
250
Gathering 106
Litany of All Saints — Office of the Dead —

The Resurrection of Lazarus

Gathering 126
Marginal Relief-like Plaque with Central Portrait Roundel; Back of Page Scene of Three Living and Three Dead.

Office of the Dead

Gathering 13b
Antique Marginal Decorations with Bas-de-Page Landscape Scene

Marginal Relief-like Plaque with Central Portrait Roundel; Bas-de-Page Scene of Three Living and Three Dead
Office of the Dead

Gathering 154
Pentecost

Antique Marginal Decorations and Rectangular Scenes in Bas-de-Page Area

The Brazen Serpent

The Crucifixion
Silver-gilt Cover Decorated with Reliefs

Pinkish-Red Silk Material Attached to f. 114 and Encompassing Entire Ms.

Hinge Attached to f. 114v and Encompassing Entire Ms.

Blank Page

Hinge Attaching f. 112 to f. 113

Colophon

Marginal Decorations and Rectangular Scenes of Tritons and Nereids in Bas-de-Page Area

Marginal Decorations and Rectangular Scenes of the Site of Old St. Peter's in Bas-de-Page Area

Building of the Tower of Babel
**APPENDIX E**

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Fig. 1. Durer, The Virgin on the Crescent, Frontispiece, Life of the Virgin, c. 1510.
Fig. 2. Clovio, Conversion of Saint Paul, c. 1523. London, British Library, Print Room, No. 1946-7-13-322.
Fig. 3. Pieter van Aelst after Raphael, The Conversion of Saul, 1519. Rome, Vatican Museum.
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necest qui se abscendat a calore eius
L. ex domini immaculata, conuer- 
tement animas; testimonium domini fi-
delegat, sapientiam prestans paruulis.
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corâ; praecipium domini lucidum, 
illuminam oculos. ü imor domini 
sanctus permanet in seculum sech 
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semperpsa. D esyderabilia super 
nauem e-lapidem pretiosum mul-
tum. ü dulcerta super mei et fa-
uum. ü tenum seruis suis cultu-
date ea. in custodiens illis retri-
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quit: ab occultis meus mundus me 
ab alium potere servo tuo: si mei 
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ulatus ero et emundabor a delicto.

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Psalmus

Raccoltus est munus verbum
bonum: doneoque opera mea
recta. L inops mea cadens seruo urae
libenter servirent. S perspexit forma.
pro filius hominum, diffusa est gracia
mea in labis suis. Propter benea
en te Deus in aeternum. Ac singono
gladio tua super semen tuum potens
et timore. S prae tua est pulchritudini
 tua intende presentia provida est
regna. 1 reperere ururam, et man
sustitent, et suppliantur, eredunt
et merhabent dextra tua. S agitam
tua acuta: populus fac te cadere in
sermo munerum rege. S edes tua
deus in sermonem serui, usurpare
dominas, usurp ar regum tu. 1 solvisti

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S. Maria d'Aracoeli

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2. Monument to Cardinal Ludovico d'Albert (d. 1465) by A. Bregno and, removed to wall, tombstone of Giovanni Crivelli (d. 1432) by Donatello.
3. Nave divided from aisles by twenty-two columns of mixed origin. Cosmatesque paving (thirteenth century) and ceiling with naval symbols commemorating the battle of Lepanto (1571).
4. Bufalini Chapel or Chapel of S. Bernardino with frescoes (c. 1486) by Pinturicchio.
5. Passage leading to the Piazza del Campidoglio; mosaic (eighth century) over the exterior of the door.
6 and 7. Two pulpits (reconstructed) by Lorenzo di Cosma and his son Giacomo (c. 1200).
8. Tomb of Pope Honorius IV (d. 1287).
9. Tomb of Luca Savelli (c. 1287) in Roman sarcophagus.
10. Santa Rosa Chapel with mosaics (thirteenth century).
11. High altar with Madonna (tenth century) and, to the left, monument to Cardinal G. B. Savelli (d. 1498) attributed to the school of A. Bregno.
12. Circular monument to St Helena with porphyry urn, resting on an ancient altar said to have been erected by the Emperor Augustus after a prophecy from a Sybil.
13. Entrance to room containing the Santo Bambino.
14. Monument to Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta (d. 1302) attributed to Giovanni di Cosma, with fresco by P. Cavallini.
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Fig. 283. School of Boccardino, David with the Head of Goliath, f. 108v, The Serristori Hours, c. 1500, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. L. 1722-1921.
Fig. 284. Matteo da Milano, The Annunciation, f. 74v, The Hours of Bonaparte Ghislieri, c. 1500, London, British Library, Yates Thompson, Ms. 29.
Fig. 285. Amico Aspertini, Adoration of the Shepherds, f. 15v, The Hours of Bonaparte Ghislieri, c. 1500, London, British Library, Yates Thompson, Ms. 29.
Fig. 286. Vincenzo Raimondi, The Creation, f. 182v, The Psalter of Paul III, 1542, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8880.
Fig. 287. Vincenzo Raimondi, Marginal Decorations, f. 183r, The Psalter of Paul III, 1542, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8880.
Fig. 288. *Poses and Gestures Characteristic of Maniera.*