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## ***Patrona and Servitor* – New Insights into the Patron/Artist Relationship between Duchess Margaret of Parma and Giulio Clovio**

Preliminary communication – *Prethodno priopćenje*

Received – *Primljeno* 29. 6. 2017.

UDK 7.078:75.056Klović, J.

### *Summary*

*This paper presents an unpublished letter written by Giulio Clovio to one of his most prominent patrons, Duchess Margaret of Parma, in 1574. As a continuation of their previous correspondence, it provides some new information on the network of persons involved in the com-*

*munication and distribution of Clovio's artworks. Additionally, the author proposes a connection between Clovio's last known painting of Madonna and Child with St Simeon and The Holy Family painting, previously not described and evaluated in literature.*

**Keywords:** *Giulio Clovio, Duchess Margaret of Parma, Renaissance, cabinet painting, Madonna and Child, St Simeon, Holy Family*

Throughout the fifty years of his artistic activity, Croatian illuminator and miniaturist Giulio Clovio (Grizane, 1498 – Rome, 1578) was a *familiare* of the Venetian and Roman households of several cardinals – Domenico (1461–1523) and Marino (1489–1546) Grimani, Lorenzo Campeggio (1474–1539) and, for the most part of his career, one of the most respected artists and a member of the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589). As a young man, he stayed at the Hungarian royal court at Buda, while during the 1550s he was welcomed to the Medici court in Florence and the Farnese court in Parma and Piacenza, continuously doing commissions for the papal court, nobility, and royals over the years.<sup>1</sup> A rich insight into his life and work is provided by the preserved correspondence with the European rulers and members of intellectual and political elites, which contains valuable information on the patron/artist relationships during the High Renaissance period.<sup>2</sup>

One of Clovio's powerful patrons was Duchess Margaret of Austria or Parma (1522–1586), also known as Madama, an illegitimate daughter of Emperor Charles V, related to the Farnese family through her marriage to Ottavio Farnese (1524–1586).<sup>3</sup>

### **Encounters between Clovio and Madama**

After the death of Margaret's first husband, Duke Alessandro de' Medici, in 1537 in Florence,<sup>4</sup> her second marriage into the Farnese family the following year was politically arranged by an agreement between her father, Emperor Charles V, and Pope Paul III, grandfather of Ottavio and Alessandro Farnese, and Clovio's patron.<sup>5</sup> Clovio and Margaret most probably met in Rome soon after her arrival late in 1538. At that time, Clovio was still in the service of Cardinal Marino Grimani, but already working for Alessandro Farnese on the famous *Farnese Hours*.<sup>6</sup>

When Ottavio Farnese inherited the duchies of Parma and Piacenza from his father Pier Luigi in 1545, Margaret moved to Parma in 1550. Within a few years, the two cities "became symbols of the newly acquired power and prestige of the Farnese family"<sup>7</sup> and many artists from Cardinal Alessandro's Roman court came to work for Ottavio and Margaret.<sup>8</sup> Most probably, Clovio came to Parma in 1556 together with Cardinal Farnese and his court.<sup>9</sup>

A closer examination of Clovio's places of residence during the following few years reveals his connection to Madama's

court.<sup>10</sup> After she moved from Parma to Piacenza at the end of August 1557,<sup>11</sup> Clovio is mentioned there as early as October<sup>12</sup> and he was still in Piacenza at the beginning of the following year.<sup>13</sup> In June 1559, Madama left Piacenza for Netherlands to take over the regency, so Clovio is documented in the city of Correggio at the beginning of July.<sup>14</sup> However, during the 1560s and the early 1570s, he continued doing commissions for the ducal couple Farnese, either for their own collections or as gifts to others.<sup>15</sup> After Madama's death in 1586, Clovio's works were noted in a detailed inventory of her possessions, with a noteworthy fact that he was the only artist whose name appeared on the list of numerous precious art objects.<sup>16</sup> Three miniatures listed in the inventory with the attribution to *don Giulio* are *una conetta con le cornici d'ebano, con l'effigie della Madonna* (fol. 16v), *un quadretto con un Crocifisso*, and *un altro quadretto con una Pietà* (both on fol. 81v).<sup>17</sup>

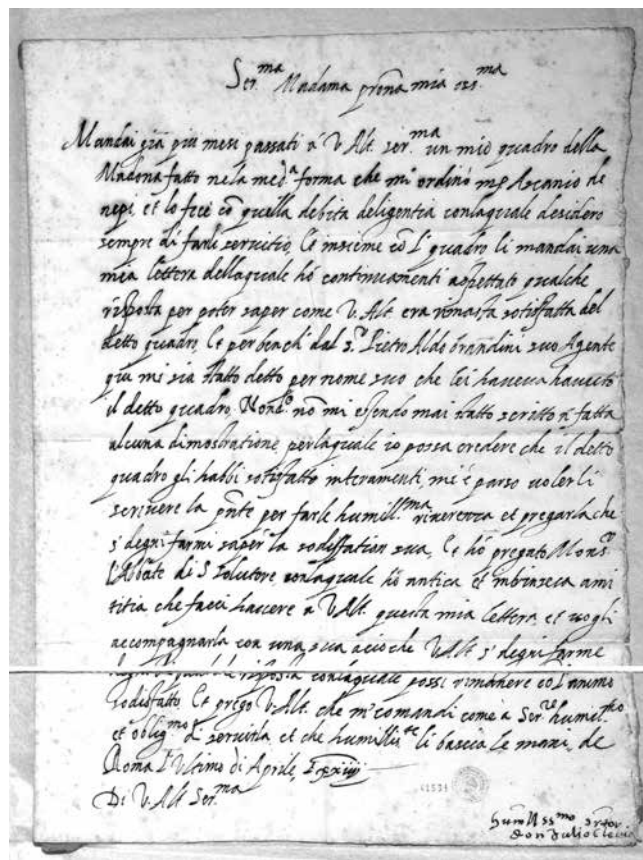
### Clovio's and Madama's correspondence – An unpublished letter from Biblioteca del Museo nazionale di S. Martino in Naples, Archivio Storico

So far, there were only two known and published letters written by Clovio to Margaret of Parma. The third, presented here for the first time, remained unrecognised by scholars due to the incorrect dating in the inventory of the archival holdings, especially in the context of Clovio's relationship with Margaret of Parma.

The first known letter, sent from Rome on September 11, 1561,<sup>18</sup> was written in his name by Annibal Caro (Civitanova Marche, 1507 – Rome, 1566), a poet and one of the most important art advisers and iconographers of Cardinal Farnese.<sup>19</sup> In this letter, Clovio informs Madama that he was sending her the painting of Judith (*il quadro della Giuditta*) that she had commissioned.<sup>20</sup> Later on, Margaret sent this miniature to her brother, King Philip II (Valladolid, 1527 – El Escorial, 1598), together with another miniature of David and Goliath by Clovio, given to her by Cardinal Farnese.<sup>21</sup>

The second letter to Madama, written in Rome on July 15, 1573,<sup>22</sup> contains information of another painting, commissioned by Madama according to her own concept (*secondo l'ordine de la inventione di V. Altezza*). Most probably, this was Clovio's last artwork, since after this document there is no further information about any other.<sup>23</sup>

The third, unpublished letter signed by Giulio Clovio (Fig. 1) is preserved at the Archivio Storico of the Biblioteca del Museo nazionale di S. Martino in Naples.<sup>24</sup> The year at the end of the letter, written in Roman numerals (LXXVIII), has been wrongly interpreted and rendered as 1524 in the archival holdings inventory. While the sender, Don Giulio Clovio, is positively identified by the signature, its recipient is not specified and, due to the incorrect dating, it was presumed to have been Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy (Brussels, 1480 – Mechelen, 1530), Madama's aunt.<sup>25</sup> The handwriting is most likely not Clovio's, except for the signature at the bottom of the letter, which is not unusual, since many of his



1. Letter written by Giulio Clovio to Margaret of Parma in Rome, April 30, 1574, Biblioteca del Museo nazionale di S. Martino in Naples, Arch. St. Stipo 9 cass\_III fasc. 2 (photo: Courtesy of Fototeca della Soprintendenza Speciale Per il P.S.A.E. e per il Polo Museale della Città di Napoli)

Pismo Julija Klovica Margareti od Parme, Rim, 30. travnja 1574. Biblioteca del Museo nazionale di S. Martino u Napulju, Arch. St. Stipo 9 cass\_III fasc. 2

known letters were written by a notary or, on a few earlier occasions, by his friend Annibal Caro.<sup>26</sup>

Having in mind the content of the letter from Naples' archives, it can be argued that it represents a continuation of correspondence regarding the Madonna painting, that is, a letter sent to Madama a few months earlier, in July 1573. The letter is a form of reminder to respond with an opinion on the sent work, as it had been the case in their previous correspondence, when Madama wrote back to him regarding the Judith miniature,<sup>27</sup> expressing admiration for his work and commissioning two more miniatures.<sup>28</sup> Hence, the correct dating is actually 1574 and not 1524, as stated in the Archivio Storico.

Three names that occur in the said letter establish a connection between the artist and the patron, providing additional data towards completing the picture of the network of persons involved in the distribution of information and artworks across contemporary Italy.

The name *Ms. Ascanio de nepi*, who commissioned the painting of Madonna, refers to the nobleman Ascanio Celsi, a conlavist and agent of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, as

well as the superintendent of the construction of Cardinal's villa in Caprarola. In his hometown Nepi, Ascanio had built a richly decorated palazzo, attributed to Farnese's architect Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.<sup>29</sup> His name appears in two other documents related to Clovio's work – a receipt of ten ducats paid to Clovio for his work in 1556 and a letter to Ottavio Farnese mentioning one of Clovio's miniatures, made for Cosimo de' Medici in 1570.<sup>30</sup>

Another person named in the letter is Florentine Pietro di Francesco Aldobrandini, Madama's secretary and confidant for years, nephew of Cardinal Farnese's agent Giuliano Ardinghelli. After her death in 1586 in Ortona, he was entrusted with arranging the transportation of her remains to Parma and the funeral ceremonies in Piacenza.<sup>31</sup>

The third name, *Mons.<sup>r</sup> l'Abbate di S. Solutore*, most probably refers to Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of S. Solutore in Turin and one of the leading figures of Counter-Reformation, secretary to the English archbishop Pole and a Piedmontese ambassador in Rome.<sup>32</sup> Up to now, Parpaglia has not been mentioned in the context of Clovio's life. However, in the letter, Clovio describes their friendship as old and genuine, bringing such an important name up as a form of additional pressure to obtain Madama's response. The question remains whether Clovio was aware of Madama's aversion to Parpaglia since her half-brother Philip, the Spanish king, had accused him of being a French spy.<sup>33</sup> In 1560 in Brussels, she played an important role in obstructing Parpaglia's diplomatic mission to England, stopping him from travelling to visit the English queen Elizabeth.<sup>34</sup>

### ***La Nostra Dona chon il putino e S. Simione***

During his lifetime, Clovio produced a number of small-scale paintings, starting from as early as the 1520s in Hungary.<sup>35</sup> As J.M. Bauman points out,<sup>36</sup> he was among the first miniature painters to promote the shift from book illuminations to small individual works of art, thus making his mastery more widely known. Those highly appreciated works circulated as presents throughout Europe, many of them intended for the mighty Habsburg family, particularly its Spanish and Imperial branches.<sup>37</sup> One of these individual paintings is *Madonna and Child with St Simeon*, Clovio's last documented work, delivered to Madama in 1573 and known only through the above-mentioned letters. The letter from 1573, sent along with the painting, contains information on its composition and technique, a basis for possible identification of the actual work of art.

According to Clovio's description, the composition consists of a central group featuring Madonna and Child with St Simeon, surrounded by other figures with a merely decorative purpose (*per il hornamento del quadro*<sup>38</sup>). As E. Calvillo has indicated,<sup>39</sup> Clovio often used this kind of compositional hierarchy with primary and secondary groups of figures, especially in his cabinet miniatures. Several of his other miniatures with a similar Holy Family theme have been preserved, such as the two miniatures at Musée Marmottan



2. Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with a Man in Armour*, ca. 1553, tempera on vellum, 17.5 × 9.13 cm, Musée Marmottan, Paris, Inv. No. M 6119 (photo: Courtesy of Bridgeman Art Library)

*Julije Klović, Sveta obitelj s muškarcem u oklopu, oko 1553., tempera na pergamentu, 17,5 × 9,13 cm, Musée Marmottan u Parizu, Inv. No. M 6119*

in Paris (Fig. 2 and 3),<sup>40</sup> or the one at Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, Colección Miniaturas (Fig. 4).<sup>41</sup>

The painting is made in oil to be more durable, as Clovio explains in the first of the two letters, along with some instructions for its maintenance: it doesn't need a glass cover because oils are less sensitive than tempera, but one should be careful not to wet it or cover it with dust.<sup>42</sup> There is only one other miniature attributed to Clovio, *The Deposition* painted for the Medici court in Florence between 1551 and 1553.<sup>43</sup> At that time, the court painter Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572) was producing a series of miniature portraits in oil on copper, ordered by Cosimo I for his collection of cabinet paintings,<sup>44</sup> and thus Clovio was incited to try the oil technique himself. His second and last known work painted in oil in 1573 was possibly also inspired by his contact with an artist who used the same technique. In the late 1560s, Clovio met Flemish painter Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611) in Rome and recommended him to Cardinal Farnese for decorating the latter's Villa Caprarola in 1569. The old master became a "key figure in Spranger's life," greatly influencing the young artist's style.<sup>45</sup> The two of them worked together on *The Conversion of St Paul* around 1572, but certainly before October 1573,



3. Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with St Elisabeth, St John the Baptist, and Three Noble Ladies*, second half of the 1550s, tempera on vellum, Musée Marmottan, Paris, Inv. No. M 6121 (photo: Courtesy of Bridgeman Art Library)

Julije Klović, Sveta obitelj sa sv. Elizabetom, sv. Ivanom Krstiteljem i trima plemkinjama, druga polovica 1550-ih, tempera na pergamentu, Musée Marmottan u Parizu, Inv. No. M 6121



4. Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with St Elisabeth and St John the Baptist*, 1556/57, tempera and gold on vellum, 24 × 17.3 cm, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, Inv. No. 540 (photo: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giulio\\_Clovio\\_-\\_Holy\\_Family\\_with\\_Santa\\_Isabel\\_and\\_San\\_Juanito\\_-\\_Google\\_Art\\_Project.jpg#file](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giulio_Clovio_-_Holy_Family_with_Santa_Isabel_and_San_Juanito_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg#file))

Julije Klović, Sveta obitelj sa sv. Elizabetom i sv. Ivanom Krstiteljem, 1556./57., tempera i pozlata na pergamentu, 24 × 17,3 cm, Museo Lázaro Galdiano u Madridu, Inv. No. 540

when Clovio sent it to Ottavio Farnese.<sup>46</sup> The painting is made in oil on copper, the same technique Bronzino used in Florence for his miniature portraits twenty years before, and according to the inscription, Spranger painted it after Clovio's design. This collaboration most probably took place simultaneously with Clovio's work on *Madonna and Child with St Simeon* for Madama.

J.W. Bradley has argued that in his advanced age Clovio had a lot of help from his associates, such as Claudio Massarelli, Apollonio de Bonfratelli, or Baroccio, and that is "extremely unlikely that (...) any work can be found which can (...) be traced to his hand."<sup>47</sup> From the beginning of the 1560s, Clovio often complained in his letters to the patrons about poor health, bad eyesight, headaches, and other troubles,<sup>48</sup> so it is only logical that he had to reach out for some help to fulfil the commissions. Thus, there is a high possibility that his last painting for Madama was also painted by another artist, but still according to Clovio's design. This may be the answer to Madama's silence, of which Clovio reproached her – if the painting was not according to her satisfaction, she could not write a letter of praise and gratitude to the master.

#### ***The Holy Family with Saints* – Clovio's last work?**

A painting named *The Holy Family with Saints*, attributed to Giulio Clovio, was sold at Sotheby's London auction from a private European collection in 2001<sup>49</sup> and hasn't been researched so far (Fig. 5). To this point, it could be analysed only through a low-resolution digital image, which has provided only basic information,<sup>50</sup> but even with this limited data more than a few elements clearly point to the connection with the previously discussed *Madonna and Child with St Simeon*.

As a typical Clovio's Holy Family composition, it consists of a central group featuring Madonna, the child Jesus, and a saint standing to their left with a subordinated group of three male figures, including an older man to Madonna's right and two young men in the back. The iconographic representation of the saint refers to St Simeon the God-receiver – dressed in liturgical vestment, he holds the hand of the child, who leans toward the mother and turns its head to him. The background with a massive wall and draping suggests a public building, so the scene most probably depicts the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple.<sup>51</sup>



5. Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with Saints*, undated, gouache on ivory, 19.6 × 14.3 cm, unknown location (photo: [http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting\\_334319/Giorgio-Giulio-Clovio/The-Holy-Family-With-Saints](http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_334319/Giorgio-Giulio-Clovio/The-Holy-Family-With-Saints))

Julije Klović, Sveta obitelj sa svecima, nedatirano, gvaš na slonovači, 19,6 × 14,3 cm, nepoznata lokacija



6. Raphael, *The Canigiani Family*, 1507, oil on panel, 131 × 107 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. No. 476 (photo: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Raffael\\_050.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Raffael_050.jpg))

Rafael, Obitelj Canigiani, 1507., ulje na dasci, 131 × 107 cm, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. No. 476

Some of the depicted figures are near-quotations, either from other artists or from Clovio's own works of art.<sup>52</sup> St Joseph's posture of leaning against a cane indicates a connection to Raphael's model, present in compositions such as *The Canigiani Family* (Fig. 6) or *The Holy Family with a Lamb*.<sup>53</sup> Previously, Clovio depicted Joseph in a similar pose on the *Holy Family* miniature inside the *Farnese Hours*.<sup>54</sup> In the painting sold at Sotheby's, Joseph's unusually short robe and a youthfully risen leg are perhaps the input of an inexperienced assistant of Clovio's, with an obvious resemblance to the figure of a soldier from Clovio's *Holy Family with a Man in Armour* (Fig. 2).<sup>55</sup> Similarly, Madonna is presented in the same pose as in *The Holy Family with St Elisabeth and St John the Baptist* (Fig. 4),<sup>56</sup> with her face outlines and her headgear closely resembling those of a woman behind St Peter in the upper right corner of Clovio's *Lamentation* (Fig. 7).<sup>57</sup> Finally, the figure of a young man, positioned in the background between Joseph and Mary, bears a close resemblance to Raphael's portrait of the young Roman banker *Bindo Altoviti* (Fig. 8),<sup>58</sup> frequently copied by many artists over centuries.<sup>59</sup> It is known that Clovio, as Raphael's great

admirer, also made a copy, as it is listed in the Inventory of his remaining possessions made immediately after his death,<sup>60</sup> so this item was obviously present in the master's studio at the time of working on Sotheby's *Holy Family*.

A final remark on Sotheby's painting refers to the technique of gouache on ivory, listed in Sotheby's available data set. The existing literature on the history of this technique dates the beginning of its use to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Venetian painter Rosalba Carriera "originated the idea of painting miniatures in tempera on ivory, removing them from the realm of snuff-box decoration and placing the practice solidly in the realm of 'fine' art."<sup>61</sup> However, one of her teachers, the miniature painter Giovanni Felice Ramelli (1666-1740), made numerous copies of Old Masters' paintings on ivory, thus greatly influencing Carriera's artistic development.<sup>62</sup> *The Holy Family with Saints* may also be such a case, that is, a later copy of a now lost work by Clovio, but without any further information this question will for now have to remain open.

The letter from Naples and its relation to Sotheby's painting, proposed herein, present a contribution to the research of the



7. Giulio Clovio, *The Lamentation*, ca. 1550, gouache enhanced with gold on vellum, 21.6 × 14.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Patrons' Permanent Fund, Inv. No. 2006.111.1 (photo: Courtesy of National Gallery of Art | NGA Images)

*Julije Klović, Oplakivanje, oko 1550., gvaš oplemenjen pozlatom na pergamentu, 21,6 × 14,5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Patrons' Permanent Fund, Inv. No. 2006.111.1*



8. Raphael, *Bindo Altoviti*, ca. 1515, oil on panel, 59.7 × 43.8 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. No. 1943.4.33 (photo: Courtesy of National Gallery of Art | NGA Images)

*Rafael, Bindo Altoviti, oko 1515., ulje na dasci, 59,7 × 43,8 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. No. 1943.4.33*

last part of Clovio's life and work, providing new biographical data as well as an insight into his late manner. However, our knowledge on the final chapter of his life during the 1570s will probably stay mostly in the realm of written documents. The possible presence of another artist's hand in Clovio's works poses a difficulty in recognizing and attributing artworks from that period without an exact date or signature.

**Transcription<sup>63</sup> of the letter written by Giulio Clovio to Margaret of Parma in Rome, April 30, 1574 (Biblioteca del Museo nazionale di S. Martino in Naples, Arch. St. Stipo 9 cass\_III fasc. 2, not foliated)**

*Ser.<sup>ma</sup> Madama p.rona mia oss.<sup>ma</sup>*

*Mandai già piú mesi passati á V. Alt. ser.<sup>ma</sup> un mio quadro della Madona fatto nela med.<sup>a</sup> forma che mi ordinò ms. Ascanio de nepi. Et lo feci con quella debita deligentia con la quale desidero sempre di farli servitio. Et insieme con il quadro li mandai una mia lettera dellaquale hó continuamenti aspettato qualche*

*risposta per poter saper come V. Alt. era rimasta soddisfatta del detto quadro. Et per benché dal s.<sup>r</sup> Pietro Aldobrandini suo Agente giú mi sia statto detto per nome suo che Lei haveva havuto il detto quadro. et nondimeno non mi essendo mai statto scritto di fatta alcuna dimostratione perlaquale io possa credere che il detto quadro gli habbi soddisfatto interamenti, mi é parso volerli scrivere la presente per farle humill.<sup>ma</sup> riverenza et pregarla che s'degni farmi saper la sodisfation sua. Et hó pregato Mons.<sup>r</sup> l'Abbate di S. Solutore con la quale hó antica et intrinseca amititia che facci havere a V. Alt. questa mia lettera et vogli accompagnarla con una sua acioche V. Alt. s'degni farme degno di qualche risposta con la quale possi rimanere con l'animo sodisfatto. Et prego V. Alt. che m' comandi come à Ser.<sup>re</sup> humil.<sup>mo</sup> et oblig.<sup>mo</sup> di servirla et che humillis.<sup>te</sup> li bascia le mani, de*

*Roma l'ultimo di Aprile LXXIII*

*Di V. Alt. Ser.<sup>ma</sup>*

*Humilliss.mo servitor*

*Don Julio Clovio*

## Notes

\* The research presented in this paper was supported by The Foundation of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, as part of the project “Giulio Clovio and the Bird of Paradise” in collaboration with Jasmina Mužinić, Ph.D.

1  
Clovio’s first, short biography was included in Vasari’s *Vite* – GIORGIO VASARI, *Le vite de più eccellenti architetti, pittori et scultori italiani*, Florence, 1550. A more detailed one was published inside the second edition (*Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architettori*, Florence, 1568). For the purpose of this paper, the English edition from 1996 was used – GIORGIO VASARI, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. 2, New York – Toronto, 1996. Numerous accounts of Clovio’s life were produced during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, but from the 19<sup>th</sup> century on, biographical studies followed: IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Jure Glović, prozvan Julijo Klovio hrvatski sitnoslikar [Jure Glović, also known as Julio Clovio, a Croatian miniaturist], Zagreb, 1878; JOHN W. BRADLEY, *The Life and Works of Giorgio Giulio Clovio, Miniaturist, with Notices of His Contemporaries, and of the Art of Book Decoration in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1891; MARIA CIONINI-VISANI, Julije Klović, Zagreb, 1993; VALERIJA MACAN, *Giorgio Giulio Clovio, ovvero l’ultima grande stagione dell’arte della miniatura*, PhD thesis, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Rome, 2009/2010; and others; The most extensive edition of documents and correspondence regarding Clovio’s life and work was published in: MILAN PELC, *Fontes Clovinianae – Julije Klović u dokumentima svoga doba* [Fontes Clovinianae – Julije Klović in contemporary documents], Zagreb, 1998.

2  
Correspondence regarding Clovio has been published in various studies: ANNIBALE CARO, *Delle Lettere Familiari*, Padua, 1742; IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI (note 1); JOHN W. BRADLEY (note 1); KARL FREY, *Der literarische Nachlaß Giorgio Vasaris*, Munich, 1923 (1) and 1930 (2); the most complete collection of Clovio’s correspondence was published in: MILAN PELC (note 1).

3  
Studies of Madama’s biography include: RENATO LEFEVRE, “Madama” Margarita d’Austria, Rome, 1986; *Margherita d’Austria (1522–1586): Costruzioni politiche e diplomazia, tra corte Farnese e Monarchia spagnola*, (ed.) Silvia Mantini, Rome, 2003; CHARLES R. STEEN, *Margaret of Parma: A Life*, Leiden, 2013. In this paper, the name Margaret of Parma will be used in order to avoid confusion with her aunt, Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy (1480–1530), aunt of Emperor Charles V. As the regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria helped consolidate the Habsburg dominion there (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Margaret-of-Austria>). In 1559, her great-niece Margaret of Parma, i.e. Madama, was appointed to the same position.

4  
MANUELA BELARDINI, Margherita d’Austria, sposa e vedova del duca Alessandro de’ Medici, in: *Margherita d’Austria* (note 3), 25–54.

5  
DANIELA MORSIA, Da una corte all’altra: il matrimonio con Ottavio Farnese, in: *Margherita d’Austria* (note 3), 55–64.

6  
The exact date of Clovio’s entering A. Farnese’s service is not known. Most authors agree that it happened between 1539 or

1541: MARIA CIONINI-VISANI (note 1), 51; VALERIJA MACAN (note 1), 43–46.

7  
GIUSEPPE BERTINI, Center and Periphery: Art Patronage in Renaissance Piacenza and Parma, in: *The Court Cities of Northern Italy*, (ed.) Charles M. Rosenberg, Cambridge, 2010, 106.

8  
GIUSEPPE BERTINI (note 7), 112.

9  
“(…) Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and his court, which included artists and writers, came to reside in the two Emilian cities from 1556 to 1557, during the pontificate of Paul IV, pontiff hostile to the Farnese family.” GIUSEPPE BERTINI (note 7), 106.

10  
This part of Clovio’s biography has been exhaustively presented in: ALMUDENA PEREZ DE TUDELA, Documenti inediti su Giulio Clovio ad servizio della famiglia Farnese, in: *Aurea Parma* 84/2 (2000), 281–307.

11  
RENATO LEFEVRE (note 3), 207.

12  
Annibal Caro wrote a letter to Madama from Parma on October 24, 1557, suggesting that Clovio should colour some *imprese* that he had sent. Published in MILAN PELC (note 1), 191.

13  
Clovio’s letter to Cardinal Farnese, Piacenza, January 14, 1558, published in: MILAN PELC (note 1), 192.

14  
Clovio’s letter to Cardinal Farnese, Correggio, July 9, 1559, published in: MILAN PELC (note 1), 193.

15  
ALMUDENA PEREZ DE TUDELA (note 10).

16  
GIUSEPPE BERTINI, *L’inventario di Margherita d’Austria*, Turin, 2012, 15.

17  
*Ibid.*, 36 and 63.

18  
Clovio’s letter to Madama (Rome, September 11, 1561) is kept at the Vatican Library, Codice cartaceo Pontificio. Cf. MILAN PELC (note 1), 195–196.

19  
More on Caro’s role at the Farnese court in: CLARE ROBERTSON, *Il gran cardinale* Alessandro Farnese – Patron of the Arts, New Haven and London, 1992, 215–219.

20  
This miniature is not known today, but Clovio’s drawing of the same subject is kept at the Department of Prints and Drawings, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb – MILAN PELC, cat. no. 33, “Judith and Holofernes,” in: *Julije Klović – najveći minijaturist renesanse*, (ed.) Jasminka Poklečki Stošić, Zagreb, 2012, 200–202. An engraving made by Philippe de Soye was made according to the Zagreb drawing; for a detailed bibliography and description, see: MILAN PELC, cat. no. 29, in: *Juraj Julije Klović u grafici*, (ed.) Slavica Marković, Zagreb, 1998, 102–103.

21  
GIORGIO VASARI (note 1), 855.

- 22  
Clovio's letter to Madama from Rome, July 15, 1573, was in the Santarelli collection, according to E. Müntz, *Lettre de don Giulio Clovio à la duchesse de Parme*, in: *Archives des Arts* 1 (1890), 71–72, published in: MILAN PELC (note 1), 209.
- 23  
MILAN PELC (note 1), 209.
- 24  
Biblioteca del Museo nazionale di S. Martino in Naples, Arch. St. Stipo 9 cass\_III fasc. 2, not foliated. According to the archival inventory, the letter was sent by Giulio Clovio to Margaret of Austria on April 30, 1524.
- 25  
See note 3.
- 26  
Caro wrote in Clovio's name a letter to miniaturist Lievine Teerlink, dated around 1543, cf. MILAN PELC (note 1), 185–186, and the previously mentioned letter to Margaret of Parma from 1561 (see note 18).
- 27  
ALMUDENA PEREZ DE TUDELA (note 10), 293, n. 41. Madama sent the letter to Clovio from Brussels on November 2, 1561 answering his letter sent in September (see note 18).
- 28  
One of the commissioned paintings, *Christ on the Cross*, is most probably the one listed in Margaret's inventory made after her death. See: GIUSEPPE BERTINI (note 16), 63.
- 29  
SARA NELLI, *Il palazzo Ascanio Celsi a Nepi*, Vetralla, 2013.
- 30  
Both documents are mentioned in ALMUDENA PEREZ DE TUDELA (note 10), 282 and 299.
- 31  
More on Pietro di Francesco Aldobrandini in: RENATO LEFEVRE (note 3) and MANUELA BELARDINI (note 4).
- 32  
THOMAS M. McCOOG, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588, "Our Way of Proceeding?"*, Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1996, 50.
- 33  
FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND, *The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation*, in: *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 2, (ed.) Adolfus William Ward, Cambridge, 1907, 579.
- 34  
See notes 32 and 33.
- 35  
GIORGIO VASARI (note 1), 850.
- 36  
JENNIFER MARIE BAUMAN, *Giulio Clovio and the Revitalization of Miniature Painting at the Medici Court in Florence*, in: *Klovičev zbornik*, (ed.) Milan Pelc, Zagreb, 2001, 66.
- 37  
ELENA CALVILLO, *Inventive Translation, Portraiture and Spanish Habsburg Taste in the Sixteenth Century*, in: *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy – Images of Iberia*, (ed.) Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden, New York, 2016, 175–197.
- 38  
See note 22.
- 39  
ELENA CALVILLO, *Authoritative Copies and Divine Originals: Lucretian Metaphor, Painting on Stone, and the Problem of Originality in Michelangelo's Rome*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013), 474–475.
- 40  
Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with a Man in Armour*, ca. 1553, tempera on vellum, 17.5 × 9.1 cm, Musée Marmottan, Paris, Inv. No. M 6119; Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with St Elisabeth, St John the Baptist, and Three Noble Ladies*, second half of the 1550s, tempera on vellum, 22 × 15 cm, Musée Marmottan, Paris, Inv. No. M 6121. The miniatures previously belonged to the Wildenstein Collection in New York. Cf. MARIA CIONINI-VISANI (note 1), 94–95; JONATHAN J.G. ALEXANDER, *Giulio Clovio, 'pictor nulli secvndvs'*, in: *Il Lezionario Farnese*, Modena, 2008, 28 and 30.
- 41  
Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with St Elisabeth and St John the Baptist*, 1556/57, tempera and gold on vellum, 24 × 17.3 cm, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, Inv. No. 540. Cf. ELENA DE LAURENTIIS, *Miniaturas devocionales, entre el Manierismo y la Contrarreforma, en el Museo Lázaro Galdiano*, in: *Goya* 263 (1998), 88–98.
- 42  
See note 22.
- 43  
*The Deposition*, 1551–1553?, oil on papier-mâché, 36.9 × 25.7 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Inventory 1890, Inv. No. 8765, in: VALERIJA MACAN (note 1), 273.
- 44  
ANGELA CERASUOLO, *Literature and Artistic Practice in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Leiden, 2017, 272–273.
- 45  
SALLY METZLER, *Bartholomeus Spranger: Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague*, New York, 2014, 30–32.
- 46  
Bartholomeus Spranger, Giulio Clovio, *The Conversion of St Paul*, 1572–1573, oil on copper, 40 × 55 cm, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Pinacoteca, Milan, Inv. No. 942. For a detailed bibliography and description, see: SALLY METZLER (note 45), 80–81.
- 47  
JOHN W. BRADLEY (note 1), 186.
- 48  
See Clovio's correspondence in: MILAN PELC (note 1).
- 49  
Giulio Clovio, *The Holy Family with Saints*, undated, gouache on ivory, 19.6 × 14.3 cm, unknown location: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2001/old-master-paintings-part-ii-l01122/lot.334.html> (accessed on October 25, 2017).
- 50  
Sotheby's could not provide any additional information, so its provenance, present location, and ownership remain unknown.
- 51  
Lk 2:22–35.
- 52  
The author's gratitude for valuable discussions goes to Cecilia Treves, Senior Cataloguer and Researcher at the Sotheby's Old Master Paintings Department; Andreja Der-Hazarijan Vukić, Senior Associate at the Fine Arts Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts; and Ana Šitina, Assistant at the Department of Art History, University of Zadar.



- 53  
Raphael, *The Canigiani Family*, 1507, oil on panel, 131 × 107 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. No. 476; Raphael, *The Holy Family with a Lamb*, 1507, oil on panel, 215 × 80 mm, Museo del Prado, Madrid, Inv. No. P00296.
- 54  
Giulio Clovio, *The Farnese Hours*, 1537–1546, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Inv. No. M. 69, fol. 60r.
- 55  
See note 40.
- 56  
See note 41.
- 57  
Giulio Clovio, *The Lamentation*, ca. 1550, gouache enhanced with gold on vellum, 21.6 × 14.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Patron's Permanent Fund, Inv. No. 2006.111.1.
- 58  
Raphael, *Bindo Altoviti*, ca. 1515, oil on panel, 59.7 × 43.8 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. No. 1943.4.33.
- 59  
DAVID ALAN BROWN – JANE VAN NIMMEN, Raphael and the Beautiful Banker: The Story of Bindo Altoviti Portrait, New Haven and London, 2005, 3.
- 60  
*Una testa de bino altovite inuentione di Rafaele*, in: MILAN PELC (note 1), 225.
- 61  
CHRISTOPHER M.S. JONES, 'An Ornament of Italy and the Premier Female Painter of Europe': Rosalba Carriera and the Roman Academy, in: *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, (ed.) Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York, 2016, 22.
- 62  
CHRISTOPHER M.S. JONES (note 61), 23.
- 63  
The letter has been transcribed by Prof. Josip Balabanić, Ph.D.

## Sažetak

Jasenka Ferber Bogdan

### ***Patrona i servitor* – Nove spoznaje o odnosu mecene i umjetnika: Vojvotkinja Margareta od Parme i Julije Klović**

Tijekom svoje pedesetogodišnje umjetničke aktivnosti hrvatski minijaturist Julije Klović (1498.–1578.) bio je *familiare* na dvorovima nekoliko venecijanskih i rimskih kardinala te veći dio karijere jedan od najvažnijih umjetnika i dvorjanina rimskog kardinala Alessandra Farnesea (1520.–1589.). Bio je i gost ugarskoga kraljevskog dvora u Budimu, a tijekom 1550-ih boravio je na dvoru Medicija u Firenci i dvorovima obitelji Farnese u Parmi i Piacenzi, kontinuirano izvodeći umjetnička djela po narudžbama papinskog dvora, europskog plemstva te kraljevskih i carskih kuća. Sačuvana Klovićeva korespondencija s europskim vladarima i mnogobrojnim članovima intelektualne i političke elite sadrži vrijedne podatke za istraživanje odnosa mecene i umjetnika tijekom razdoblja visoke renesanse. Među Klovićevim pokroviteljima i naručiteljima ističe se vojvotkinja Margareta od Parme (1522.–1586.), poznata i kao *Madama*, nezakonita kći cara Karla V., rodbinski povezana s obitelji Farnese udajom za Ottavija (1524.–1586.), brata Klovićeva mecene, kardinala Alessandra.

U radu se analiziraju susreti Klovića i Margarete tijekom njihova dugogodišnjeg poznanstva koje započinje u Rimu, nakon njezine udaje u obitelj Farnese 1538. godine. U razdoblju od 1556. do 1559. godine Klović je boravio na dvorovima obitelji Farnese, isprva u Parmi, a poslije, slijedeći Margaretu, u Piacenzi. Klović će prema njezinim narudžbama izvesti niz

radova, pa i svoje posljednje dokumentirano djelo *Bogorodica s Djetetom i sv. Šimunom* iz 1573. godine.

Do sada poznata i u literaturi analizirana dva Klovićeva pisma Margareti sadrže vrijedne podatke o narudžbama za djelo *Judita i Holoferno* i već spomenutu sliku *Bogorodice*. U radu se donosi treće, do sada neobjavljeno pismo Julija Klovića, pronađeno u arhivu Nacionalnog muzeja Sv. Martina u Napulju (Stipo 9 cass\_III fasc. 2), koje predstavlja nastavak njihove korespondencije vezane uz sliku *Bogorodice s Djetetom i sv. Šimunom*. Pismo, datirano u 1574. godinu, donosi i imena osoba uključenih u distribuciju informacija, ali i samih umjetničkih djela – Ascanija Celsija, Pietra di Francesca Aldobrandinija i Vincenza Pargaglie, koji se do sada nije spominjao u kontekstu Klovićeve biografije.

U završnom dijelu rada donosi se prikaz slike *Sveta Obitelji sa svecima*, do sada neobjavljene u literaturi. Ta slika, atribuirana Kloviću i prodana na aukciji u kući Sotheby's u Londonu 2003. godine, sadrži reference na druga Klovićeva djela, kao i na djela Raffaella Sanzija, jednoga od Klovićevih najvećih uzora u slikarstvu. Pojedini ikonografski elementi ukazuju na blisku povezanost *Svete Obitelji sa svecima* sa u pismu opisanom slikom *Bogorodice s Djetetom i sv. Šimunom*, no zbog oskudnih dostupnih informacija ne može se provesti iscrpna analiza samoga djela. S obzirom na to da je Klović

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*Cljučne riječi:* Julije Klović, vojvotkinja Margareta od Parme, renesansa, kabinetsko slikarstvo, Madona s Djetetom, Sveti Šimun, Sveta Obitelj