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JACOPO STRADA AND CULTURAL PATRONAGE AT THE IMPERIAL COURT

THE ANTIQUE AS INNOVATION

DIRK JACOB JANSEN

BRILL

Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court

Volume 2

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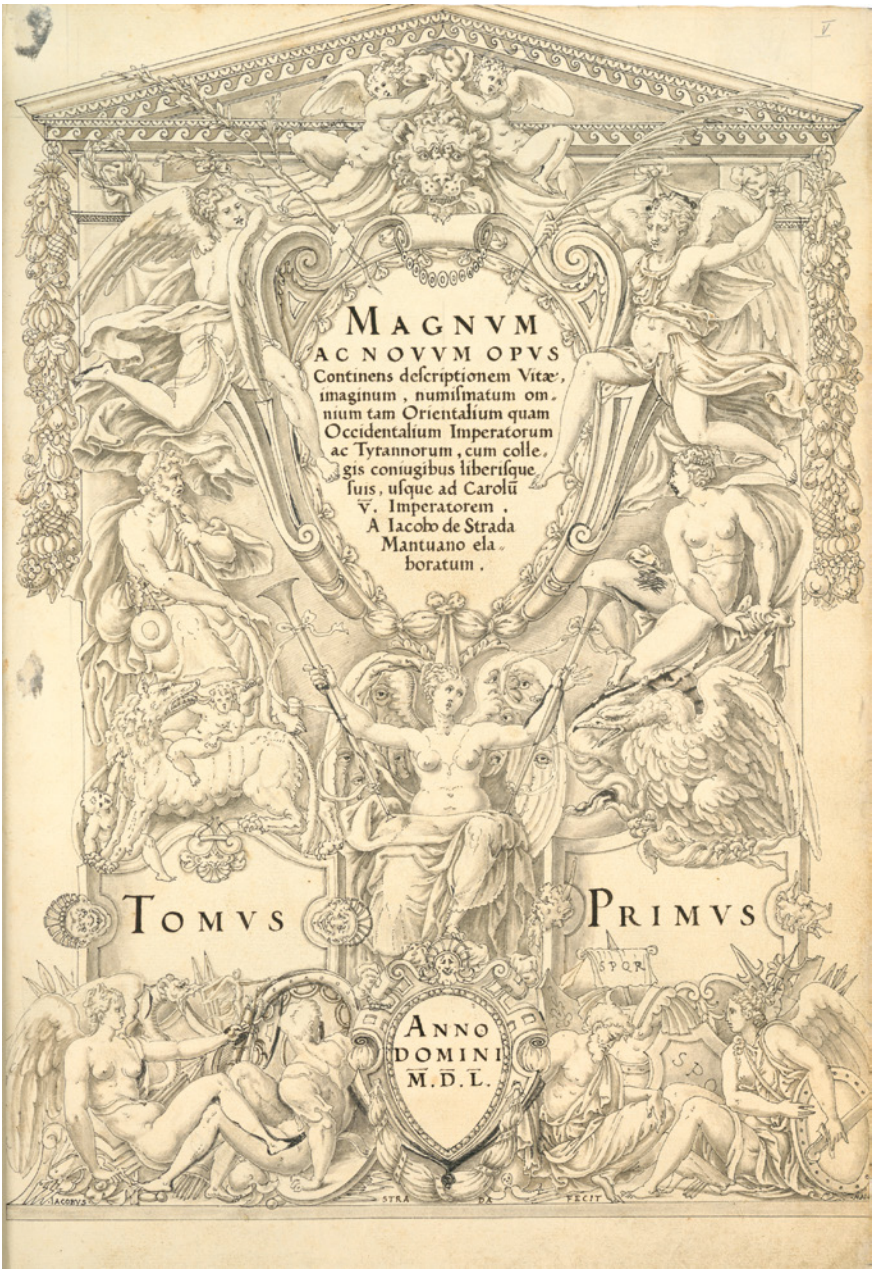

Jacopo Strada, frontispiece of the first volume of his *Magnum ac novum opus*, the numismatic corpus commissioned by Hans Jakob Fugger, 1550 (see Ch. 3.3, Fig. 3.22); Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek.

Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court

The Antique as Innovation

VOLUME 2

The Musaeum

The Antiquary and the Agent of Change

Apparatus

By

Dirk Jacob Jansen

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Memoriae Optimorum Parentum

Joannis Jansen
et
Mariae Elizabethae van Breen

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PART 3

The Musaeum

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CHAPTER 11

The *Musaeum*: Strada's Circle

11.1 Strada's House

The second part of this study contains a survey of the activities of Strada as an architect, attempting to show that his expertise cannot have failed to influence projects developed by his patrons and members of their immediate circle. For that reason alone it can be supposed that his presence contributed to the development of fashion and taste and had some effect on the artistic developments in the Habsburg lands. Such influence was exerted by example: not just by the example of Strada's own activities as a patron, a collector and a designer, but much more by the examples of the most splendid and authoritative works dating from classical Antiquity, or the fruits of the genius of the most famous contemporary masters, which all were documented in what Strada proudly called his 'Musaeum'.

In Chapter 7 an excursus was dedicated to the splendid house Strada built in Vienna, close to the Imperial residence, the Hofburg, and designed as an object lesson in the newest style. An excursus, because this was a private commission, not a commission from his imperial patrons. There is ample evidence that the resulting *Musaeum*—the word Strada liked to use as a blanket term for his house, his library and collections, and his workshop—did in fact fulfil a representative function within the wider orbit of the court. A partial reconstruction of the circle of patrons, friends and acquaintances Strada received there, helps to get some impression of this function.

FIGURES 11.1–11.4 Princely visitors to Strada's house in Vienna: Alfonso II d' Este, Duke of Ferrara; Francesco de' Medici, prince of Florence; Elector August of Saxony and Johann-Wilhelm, Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

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As described above, Strada's house [above, figs. 7.9–7.13] consisted of two wings each of two principal storeys above a *rustica* ground floor, which were set at a right angle along the Vordere Schenkengasse and the small piazza in front of the Löwelbastei. It held twelve principal rooms heated by traditional tiled stoves, at least one of which was a reception room or hall sufficiently large for the informal banquet, masque and dance organized in 1579 for Maximilian's youngest sons, the Archdukes Matthias and Wenzel. At that time its top floor was sufficiently ample and well-appointed both to lodge Juraj (György) Drašković, Archbishop of Kalocsa, *Ban* of Croatia and Chancellor of Hungary, and to house the offices of the Hungarian chancery.

Even before that, the house had occasionally provided lodgings for important visitors to court, such as Hans Jakob Fugger—Strada's patron and a personal friend—and Count Palatine Georg Johann I of Veldenz-Lützelstein. To thank the Duke of Mantua for the benefice conferred on his son Paolo, Strada courteously offered him the use of his house 'which, once it is finished, will be suitable to lodge a prince'. When Strada's financial needs became pressing he more seriously offered it as a possible residence to Vilém z Rožmberk, principal magnate of Bohemia—who knew it well because, like Fugger, he habitually lodged there when at court—and to the Duke of Bavaria for his son, Prince Ferdinand. This all leads one to expect that the house was suitably and stylishly furnished, and in fact Hubert Languet, who repeatedly visited it, could not name another house in Vienna 'of similar elegance and provided with so many features conducive to commodious living'. According to Hans Jakob Fugger it was built and decorated 'all' Italiana' which—in view of Strada's interests—implies that its architecture and furnishing adhered to the strict classicism of the High Renaissance as developed in Rome, in Mantua and in Venice.[1]

11.2 High-ranking Visitors: Strada's Guest Book and Ottavio's *Stammbuch*

Strada's house and its contents were sufficiently interesting to draw illustrious visitors even at a quite early date: in August 1565, when large parts of the house must still have been under construction, it was visited several times by Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, on a state visit to his prospective brother-in-law [Fig. 11.1]. Accompanied by his young kinsman, Francesco Gonzaga, Count of Novellara, he came to see 'le medaglie et l'altre anticaglie del Strada mantovano', but also took note of the quality of its Italianate architecture. Strada proudly

1 Cf. above, Chapter 7.

reported that the Duke had considered it the finest house in Vienna, and had persuaded the Emperor himself to pay it a visit.[2] It is quite understandable that Strada was proud of such visits by ruling princes: they both strengthened his professional prestige and furthered his ambitions for himself and his family. That is why—perhaps incited by the *Stammbuch* of his neighbour, Christoph von Teuffenbach—he decided to make up a sort of guestbook to record the names of such illustrious visitors. He described it in a letter of June 1573 to his old acquaintance Jacopo Dani, secretary of Duke Cosimo of Florence:

> Some years ago I prepared a little book, as a memorial of my house, on the first page of which His Imperial Majesty [= Maximilian II] wrote his rime or device; then follows the King [= Rudolf II], with his brother [= Archduke Ernest]; and then the other Dukes, but not in their order [of precedence], but according to when they have been in my studio. All have written in it, the Duke of Bavaria is among the recent ones, and of Saxony, Duke Wilhelm and the Elector [= August] follow, I mean to say that there is no precedence, other than that occasioned by time [Figs. 11.3–11.4].[3]

Then Jacopo asked Dani to persuade Duke Cosimo and his son Francesco to write their devices on the enclosed clean sheet of paper, and send him their coats of arms, so that he could add their entries to this album. Though Francesco de' Medici [Fig. 11.2] visited Vienna in 1565, like his future brother-in-law Alfonso d'Este, and probably visited Strada's house, Cosimo never came to Vienna. This implies that Strada's book was not so much an exact register, as an exalted type of *album amicorum*, documenting Strada's connections with his princely patrons.[4] So it is probable that the entries of other princes Strada had met or visited in the course of his travels—such as Landgrave Wilhelm IV

2 Doc. 1565-08-26; Niccolò Stopio to Hans Jakob Fugger, Venice 7 sept. 1567: '<…>non li [= Strada] mancha modo di riuscirne con bon utile, et certo bisogna bene che così sia, volendo fabricare palazzi de 7 o 8 mila taleri, come dice che lui fa, et che dal duca di Ferrara fu giudicata il più bello di Vienna, onde Sua Maesta Cesarea l'andò anche a vederlo, havendo ciò inteso dal Duca<…>', BHStA-*LA* 4852, f. 64/58; and cf. above, Ch. 7. Note the tone of this passage, which demonstrates Stopio's envy of Strada's success. The presence at this visit of Francesco Gonzaga da Novellara, who acted as envoy or agent of his cousin, the Duke of Mantua, is mentioned in a letter by Strada to the Duke of Mantua (Doc. 1568-12-28).

3 Doc 1573-06-17; on Teuffenbach and his possible influence in this, cf. Ch. 10.5. When Strada says that he intends the described the book 'per una memoria di casa mia' he can refer either to his house, the actual building, or to his 'house', i.e. his family or dynasty; possibly he meant to imply both.

4 Strada probably met Cosimo on an earlier occasion, and Dani had probably renewed his contacts with Strada in consultation with the Duke, who needed useful contacts at the Imperial

of Hessen—who entertained Strada and his elder son Paolo sometime in the mid-1570s—would likewise have been added to the album [Fig. 11.13].[5]

As a source Strada's description of his 'Memoria di casa mia' is supplemented by his son Ottavio's more conventional *Stammbuch*. In his copy of a set of beautiful wood engravings by Virgil Solis illustrating Aesop's fables, printed posthumously in 1566 by Strada's later printer, Sigmund Feyerabend, Ottavio had the highest-ranking members of his acquaintance write their name and motto or device [Figs. 11.5–11.9]. The entries date from 1572 until 1598 and include many leading members of the aristocracy of the Habsburg dominions, of the Imperial government and of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as well as some visiting princes and diplomats, among whom the English poet Sir Philip Sidney [Figs. 11.9–11.10].[6]

Ottavio Strada was quite ambitious, as is evident from the portrait print he commissioned from Martino Rota [Fig. 11.11].[7] Nonetheless before the accession of Rudolf II in 1576 Ottavio had hardly an independent position. The

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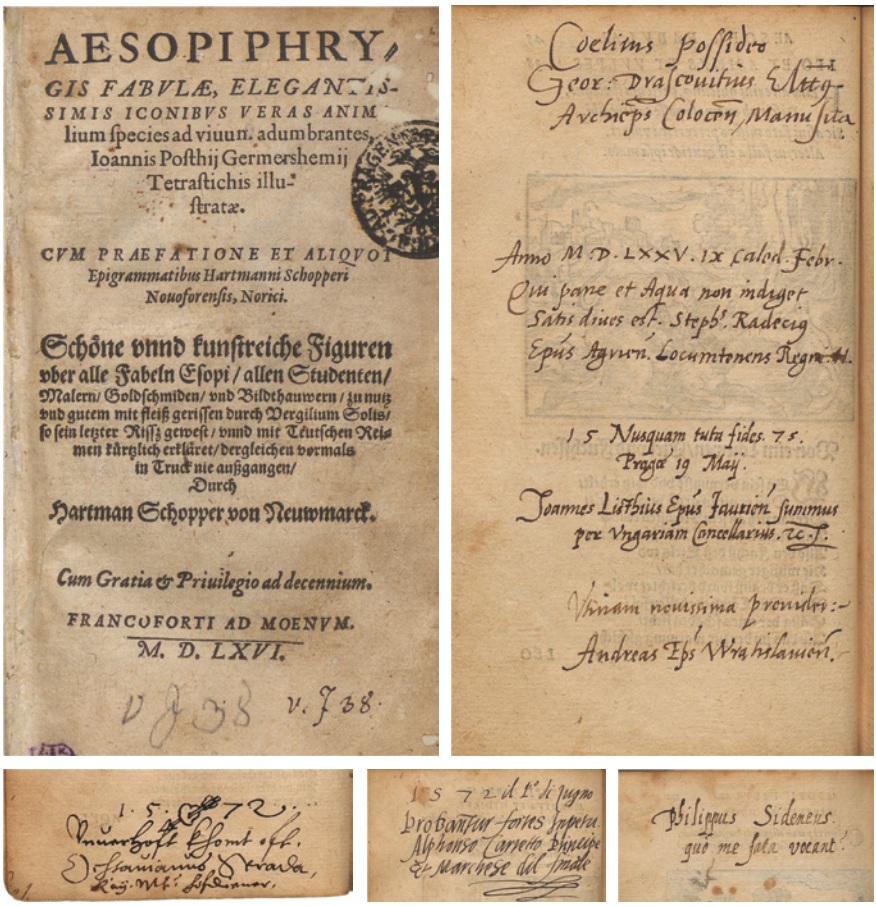
court in the wake of his assumption, against the Emperor's wishes, of the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany.

5 Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Bestand 4n, Nr. 265, Paolo Strada to Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel, Vienna 23 December 1594: 'Genedigister Fürst und Herr, mit was grossen Gnaden und für: wolthaten weillend der auch durchleuchtigist und hochgeborne Fürst, Eur: Für: Gn: Geliebter Herr Vatter hochlöblichister Gedechtnus, noch vor verschien 20 Jarn, mein lieben Vatter Jacobo Strada Röm: Kaij: Mt: Hofdiener und Antiquario seligen, in Iren fürstlichen Schloss und Burchth zu Cassel begegnet, dessen wais ich mich noch, als der der hochgedachter Ir. Für: Gn: hochlobigister Gedechtnus, gnedigister Tractation, zuglaich meinem lieben Vatter seligen Genossen, in underthenigister schuldigister Danckbarkeit, wol zu entsinnen<…>'.

6 Prague, National Library, Ms. 5 J 38; the basis of the *Stammbuch* is a copy of *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae, elegantissimis iconibus verus animalium species ad vivum adumbrantes Ioannis Posthij Germershemij Tetrastichis illustrata*, Frankfurt am Main 1566. It was printed by Sigmund Feyerabend, who in 1575 would print Strada's editions of Caesar's *Commentaries* and Serlio's *Settimo Libro*. Some examples: four bishops from the Habsburg lands entered their names opposite p. 39, fable 46 'Leo et Ursus'; three leading courtiers (Hans Trautson, Leonhard von Harrach, Iohann Baptist Weber) opposite p. 47, fable 40 'Vates'; the Marquis of Finale (opp. p. 51, emblem 44); Philip Sidney ('Philippus Sideneus', with his motto 'Quo me fata vocant') and two other Englishmen, both friends of Sidney's, Ricardus Scelleius (Richard Shelley, nephew and assistant to the prior of St John of Jerusalem in England) and the diplomat Robert Corbett (opp. p. 101, fable 94, 'Fures'). It should be noted, however, that they may not all be autograph: perhaps Ottavio occasionally documented a visit after the fact, or one visitor wrote the names of himself and his friends (I have my doubt about Sidney's).

7 This in contrast to his father: though portrayed by Titian, no other effigies of him are known, though a portrait engraving by one of the many wood-engravers he employed in his publishing projects could have been expected; and for a numismatist of Strada's fame it is surprising that the court-medalist, Antonio Abondio, who portrayed so many other learned members of Maximilian's entourage, does not seem to have produced a portrait medal of Strada.



FIGURES 11.5–11.9 Ottavio Strada's Stammbuch: title page; his own autograph entry; those of Juraj Drašković, Archbishop of Kalocsa; István Radéczy, Bishop of Eger; János Liszthi, Bishop of Győr, and Andreas von Jerin, Prince-Bishop of Wrocław/Breslau, all on the same page; of Alfonso II del Carretto, Marquis of Finale; and of the English diplomat and poet Sir Philip Sidney.

willingness of such high-ranking and often powerful members of the Imperial court to oblige a young minor courtier was due to their respect for his father, in whose house or company they would have met him.[8] That at least some of these signatures reflected some concrete personal relationship is documented

8 In 1572 Jean de Viçose d'Alfeyran, a secretary of the Duke of Anjou, entered his name in Ottavio's *Stammbuch,* adding that he had 'visited and admired the Museum of the most learned man I. Strada' (opp. p. 153, fable 142).

FIGURE 11.10 Anonymous, Sir Philip Sidney, 1576; London, National Portrait Gallery, London.
FIGURE 11.11 Martino Rota, portrait of Ottavio Strada, 1574, engraving.

in Ottavio's letter to his father from Nuremberg in December 1574, in which he reassures him that he will go and pay his respect to Vilém z Rožmberk, as instructed. Then he asks his father to convey his greetings to '<…>'l Messer Martin, et 'l Signor Marchese del Vinal', that is Maximilian's Lord Chamberlain Martín de Guzmán, and Alfonso del Carretto, Marquis of Finale in Liguria, at court involved in a process to regain possession of this fief. The passages provide concrete evidence of the care with which the Strada's cultivated their patronage network and their business relations.[9]

Strada would of course meet these colleague-courtiers when he occasionally attended the Emperor in person, 'in camera' as he calls it himself; but he also had to work together with at least some of them when fulfilling his master's commissions. Moreover he would meet them socially, for instance as neighbours: many of the higher ranking courtiers had houses built along the Herrengasse, the Minoritenplatz and the Schenkengasse. Situated between

9 Doc. 1574-12-05: Ottavio was overseeing the printing of several books, including Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, which was to be dedicated to Rožmberk: 'Quando vederò 'l Rosenberg lo visitarò, segondo mi ordinasti. <…>Non altro, solum il Francesco Nieri Vi saluti, et sarebe bene che li scrivesti una leterina di raccomandatione. Salutate 'l Messer Martin, et 'l Signor Marchese del Vinal [= Finale], et io megli raccomando, et manteneteVi sano.' On the Finale question, see Edelmayer 1988.

FIGURE 11.12 Juraj Drašković, Archbishop of Kalocsa and Chancellor of Hungary, lived in Strada's house.

FIGURE 11.13 Wilhelm IV, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel, received Strada in Kassel.

FIGURE 11.14 Lazarus von Schwendi, a famous general serving Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, shared some of Strada's interests.

Hofburg and the Landhaus, the proud new building erected for the Estates of Lower Austria, this quarter soon became the most exclusive residential quarter of town. One of the earliest of the new aristocratic dwellings, in a situation that made it quite conspicuous to anyone walking along the top of the city wall, and built in an exclusive, avant-garde style, Strada's own house must have excited his neighbours' interest. Even had Strada not been as eager to show off his prized possessions as Titian's portrait suggest, he would never have refused hospitality to the higher-ranking courtiers, who could so easily influence his own position at court. That some of these high functionaries indeed shared Strada's interests and patronised his work is documented in the cases of the *Hofkammerpräsident* Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau and the Imperial General Lazarus von Schwendi, both intellectuals and erudite authors as well as men of action [Figs. 10.33 and 11.14].[10] The same would be true for some of the visitors to the court—an example is the Milanese nobleman Prospero Visconti, himself a learned and assiduous collector, and active as agent and advisor on artistic matters of the Bavarian court. He visited Strada's house when he came to Vienna in attendance on Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria during the wedding

10 In 1573 Strein promoted Strada's attempt to obtain funding for some of his publications [Doc. 1573-00-00]; in 1577 Strada offered the Grand Duke of Tuscany coloured images from a book with imperial portraits commissioned by Schwendi, to which he was granted access—probably because he had himself produced it, which he may have found politic not to tell the Grand Duke [Docs. 1577-10-04/C and 1577-10-04/D].

festivities of Archduke Charles and princess Maria of Bavaria in 1570.[11] Another example is the German nobleman Franz von Domsdorf, whose extensive travels are documented in his *Stammbuch*, in which both Strada himself and his son Paolo inscribed their names on the occasion of Domsdorf's visit to Vienna in September 1579.[12]

11.3 'Urbanissime Strada': Accessibility of and Hospitality in the *Musaeum*

That Titian's insight was right, and that Strada's house was in fact an open house, is suggested by a letter Strada wrote to his old friend, Jacopo Dani, secretary of Francesco de' Medici, now Grand Duke of Tuscany, in November 1581. He reacts to a (lost) letter of recommendation Dani had written to introduce Riccardo Riccardi, who was visiting Vienna at about this time. Strada reassures Dani of his friendship, and tells him that immediately on reception of the letter he had sent his son Paolo to Riccardi to invite him to come and visit the studio. To Strada's great disappointment Riccardi had excused himself. That the later founder of the still existent Biblioteca Riccardiana did not think a visit to Strada's house worthwhile is perhaps an indication that Strada's star had dimmed after Rudolf II moved his court to Prague:

> I had already organized everything to offer him a banquet, and to invite the Archbishop of Kalocsa, who is now Bishop of Györ, and Supreme

11 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 827, fol. 318, Ottavio Strada to Prospero Visconti, Prague 1 November 1590: 'Riccordandomi della S[ignori]a V[ostr]a Ill[ustrissim]a quando la fu in Vienna con la altezza del Alberto Duca di Baviera, alle nozze del Ser[enissim]o Archiduca Carlo, et della amorevolezza che V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissima] ha dimostrato a mio padre, bona memoria, nel venir in el nostro studio, et nel mandar di poi un inventario delle sue medaglie<…>'; on Visconti and his connections with Munich, see Simonsfeld 1902; he has moreover the distinction to be a possible model for Prospero, Duke of Milan, the protagonist of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, cf. Gombrich 1990.

12 Israel 1989, nr. 60, pp. 46–47, 'A good example of an 'Album Amicorum". I am grateful to Mr Israel to have allowed me to consult the volume. Strada's entry is on f. 111 v.: '1579 – Festina Lente – Jacobus Strada'; Paolo's on f. 112 r.: '1579 – Nobilitate et virtute praestanti viro Dno Francisco à Dumstorff amicitiae ergo scribebat haec Paulo Strada Serenissimi Archiducis Ernesti aulicus, Vienna Austriae Anno MDLXXIX die vii me<n>sis VIIbris'. The connection is interesting because of Domsdorf's antiquarian interests: his *Stammbuch* also includes the signatures of Pirro Ligorio, Carlo Sigonio, Janus Sambucus, Jean Matal, Hubert Languet, Adolph Occo and Marco Mantova Benavides, and somewhat later he would contribute to Joanes Rosinus' *Romanarum antiquitatum libri decem*, printed at Basle by the heirs of Pietro Perna in 1583.

> Chancellor of the Kingdom of Hungary. This Lord is Juraj Drašković, who was Legate at the Council of Trent. He lodges in my house, in the rooms on the upper floor, and also in my house is the Chancery of the Kingdom of Hungary. I also wanted to invite two friars of the Dominican convent, the Lecturer of the University, and the preacher Cittardo, which are all most learned men, in order that the gentleman would have conversation with most learned men, which, besides speaking Italian, are most consummate in all sciences and branches of study. I believe he would have been most satisfied [with his visit], and that he would have well spent that day.[13]

We have already met Drašković above [Fig. 11.12; cf. Ch. 7]; the others are more difficult to identify, because it is not clear whether Strada invited two Dominican friars in addition to the 'Lettor del Studio' and the 'Predicator Cittardo' or, more likely, that he adds these functions and names merely to specify the two Dominicans. In either case the second certainly was not Ferdinand's and Maximilian's sympathetic court preacher, Matthias Cithardus, who had died in 1566, but probably the Dominican Konrad Zittardus, who died in 1606 as Provincial superior of his order in South Germany and Austria.[14]

This is a rare documented instance of the type of entertainment Strada offered his educated upper class visitors. Though it records a visit that had not actually taken place, it is valuable in sketching Strada's own aspirations of his house as a haven of educated discourse, learning, and erudite entertainment, and a place where people from different walks of life could meet for a pleasant and fruitful exchange of ideas. Strada probably cast himself as their generous host, whose urbanity served to put his guests at their ease, and whose wide range of knowledge and interests enabled him to set fruitful topics of conversation, which could moreover be enlivened and illustrated by the inspection of the various materials in his *Musaeum*. In this he must have been successful, if the letter in which Hubert Languet recommended him to the Elector August of Saxony is to be believed.[15]

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13 Doc. 1581-11-02 (transcription in Appendix A).

14 On Matthias Cithardus, *ADB,* 34, 1892, pp. 423–424, *s.v.* 'Sittard, Matthias'; on Konrad, *ibidem*, 45, 1900, pp. 368–369, *s.v.* 'Zittardus, Konrad'. It is interesting that Strada, in trouble with the Inquisition led by Dominicans during his visit to Mantua in 1567 (his image and that of his son Paolo had been burnt *in effigie* in Mantua, 'come eretici confirmati' just a few months before the date of this letter), should in Vienna consort with members of the same order.

15 Doc. 1576-09-07: 'Est iudicio omnium praeclare versatus in iis artibus quas profitetur, ad quod accedit, quod potest sua manu elegantissime exprimere quicquid libet, cuius rei poterit V.C.^{do} facere periculum.'

That this attitude was not merely the polish acquired after twenty years of court-life is evident from a letter to Strada by the learned prelate Antun Vrančić (Antonius Verantius), Bishop of Eger and Imperial Legate to the Council of Trent, in December 1558, when Strada had only recently arrived at court. This long and elegant epistle deals with the attempt of a common acquaintance, Girolamo Donzellini, to come to terms with the Inquisition, in order to be able to return safely to Venice, which provided Vrančić with the occasion for a philosophical disquisition on the love of one's homeland and the sufferings of the exile. He peppers this letter not only with classical allusions, but also with flattering epithets, addressing his correspondent as 'amantissime Strada', 'suavissime Strada', 'urbanissime Strada' and 'humanissime Strada'.[16] If such a prominent member of the ecclesiastical and political establishment of the Habsburg dominions and of the Republic of Letters so generously accepted Strada as an equal, there can be little doubt that he was taken seriously also by other members of these groups. Some of them would at least have been curious to see what Strada's *Musaeum*, of which he was so proud, had to offer.

11.4 Intellectual Associates

Informal neighbourly visits of course are rarely documented, but occasionally hints of visits are found in Strada's correspondence. Thus Jacopo Dani had first got to know Strada in 1558 when he arrived in Vienna—more or less at the same time as Strada himself—as secretary of the Tuscan ambassador, remaining until 1562. He returned in 1564 to work out the agreements for the wedding of Archduchess Johanna with Francesco de' Medici. It is not impossible that Strada was involved in the preparations for this wedding: he may have provided the models for the depictions of favourite Habsburg residences included in the still existing festive decoration of the *cortile* of the Palazzo Vecchio, and he may have contributed information on Imperial and Habsburg iconography.

16 Doc 1558-12-04. Strada's letter to which Vrančić replies is lost: it probably involved a request for intercession on behalf of Donzellini, perhaps with Ferdinand I, whose intervention with the *Serenissima* ultimately allowed Donzellini to return home (cf. Jacobson Schutte 1992). It is not surprising that Strada took to Vrančić, who supported him in the Lazius affair; Strada heartily recommended him to Hans Jakob Fugger: 'Questa settimana di qui si parte il Reverendissimo Veschovo de Agria per venir costì; certo mi si parte il più caro et il più famigliare signore che io habbia, levandone li miei signori et padroni. La Signoria Vostra conossera un signore adornato di tutte le virtù che puol haver un altro signore; egli me a comesso ch'io faccia una raccomandatione alla Signoria Vostra da sua parte, et grandemente dessidera conosserLa per il gran nome Suo, del quale non solum da me gli è stato predicato, ma anchora da tutti quelli che Vostra Signoria hanno conosciuta.' (Doc. 1559-06-09). On Vrančić, see Stoy 1981.

During this visit Dani must at least have heard and probably have seen something of Strada's plans for his grand new house, the plot of which he had just acquired. In any case it can be assumed that Dani visited Strada at home during both his visits, since the letters they later exchanged explicitly underline their friendship. This is not surprising because Dani shared Strada's antiquarian interests, possessing a manuscript with finished drawings of antique altars, sarcophaguses and their inscriptions copied after designs by Giovanni Antonio Dosio [Fig. 11.15].[17] This volume provides another link to Strada: in an album of Dosio's drawings in Berlin, which provided some of the models for Dani's collection, an annotation tells the reader that 'all the objects marked with little crosses had been copied on behalf of M[esse]r Jacopo Strada'. And in fact several drawings are found copied both in Dani's album and in Strada's *Statuarum antiquarum* in Vienna [Figs. 11.15 and 11.16].[18]

Jacopo Dani also possessed a copy of Strada's own *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum*, doubtless directly acquired from its author [Fig. 11.17].[19] So it is not surprising that he was happy to hear from a compatriot returning to Florence in 1573 that Strada was doing well, 'having finished your beautiful building, and accommodated your children and your affairs'. If he could provide such detailed information, Dani's informer, Antonio Girolami, a Florentine merchant resident in Vienna, must have been an acquaintance of Strada himself.[20]

Another learned diplomat among Strada's early acquaintance in Vienna was Bernardin Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, who was sent to the Imperial court in 1562 as French Ambassador to negotiate a possible marriage between the Dauphin Charles and one of Maximilian's young daughters. Bochetel had been

17 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, N.A. 1159, discussed in Rubinstein 1989 and integrally published in Casamassima/ Rubinstein 1993; the drawings possibly by Battista Naldini (*ivi*, p. xxii).

18 Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D 1, fol. 8v., quoted in Hülsen 1933, p.7,: 'Tutti quegli ch(e) avran(n)o u[na + / p(er) contrassegno so(n) fatti [per mr.] / Jac(omo) Strada. Lo fo a causa [che non si / pigl(i) errore.' Cf. Tedeschi Grisanti 1983, p. 70; Amadio 1988, p. 39; Casamassima/Rubinstein 1993, p. xii; this shows that Strada himself had acquired such drawings from Dosio when in Rome in the 1550s, and suggests that Dani may have obtained his album through Strada's mediation. Five of the drawings in his own ms album *Statuarum antiquarum* (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. min 21,2) correspond to drawings in Dani's album (*ibidem*, pp. 155–156).

19 The copy of the *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum* carrying Dani's owner's mark on its title page was offered for sale by Antiquariat Wolfgang Braecklein, Berlin, in the Autumn of 2011, a description was found on the internet: http://www.zvab.com/displayBookDetails.do?itemId=141548677&b=1 (8 October 2011). I am grateful to Mr Braecklein for sending me a photograph. For a brief biography of Dani, see Vivoli 1986.

20 Doc. 1573-05-27. The website of the Medici Archive Project, bia.medici.org (consulted 01–08–2017), provides extracts of some documents referring to Antonio Girolami, who died indebted in the late summer of 1591.

FIGURE 11.15 Antique Roman female statue, now in Palazzo Pitti in Florence, as copied after Dosio by Battista Naldini (?), in an album that belonged to Jacopo Dani; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.

FIGURE 11.16 The same statue as copied in Strada's workshop; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

FIGURE 11.17 The owner's mark in Jacopo Dani's copy of Strada's *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum*, Lyon 1553.

educated by the noted humanists Jacques Amyot, Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and the Scotsman Henry Scrimgeour. He cherished humanist interests himself, in particular in Greek poetry, and left a huge library at his death in 1570. So, like Dani, he would both have been interested in and interesting to Jacopo Strada.[21] We do not know how close their contacts were: Strada's letter that documents it is devoted to an urgent business matter—Strada marked its outside 'Cito Cito Cito'. In it he informs Bochetel that the Nieri, merchants from Lucca at Nuremberg, had informed him that they had received a letter of exchange from Antwerp for a huge sum of money destined for the ambassador, which he could have sent at his convenience. But then Strada continues conversationally 'I myself and my family are all well, and I have become quite philosophical, and always remain at home and attend to the building of my little house'.[22]

21 On Bochetel, see *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 6, 1954, p. 750.

22 Doc. 1562-10-21.

This suggests a cordial relationship between the two men and may imply that the Bishop even had visited Strada at home. At this time this was not yet the huge house in the Vordere Schenkengasse, but a smaller one Strada must have acquired when he first arrived in Vienna, probably identical with the house in the suburb of St Ulrich he possessed and lived in when he drafted his last will in 1584.[23]

On the other hand it is not likely that such relations with a prelate and ambassador can have been quite as intimate as those with Jacopo Dani, whose status as secretary to the ambassador was probably closer to Strada's own. The letter does suggest a patronage relationship, since Strada rather ambiguously offers to continue his services to Bochetel, provided that the latter were satisfied with them.[24] But it is not clear whether these services were rendered in his capacity as a learned antiquary, as a bookseller and purveyor of antiquities and works of art, or purely as a merchant and commercial agent, assisting the ambassador in arranging the financial details of his mission. That the latter option is not impossible is indicated by the fact that Strada at one time was approached for a huge loan by the Papal Nuncio, Zaccaria Dolfin, which he decided to refuse. Strada himself later suspected that this refusal had prompted Dolfin to denounce him to the Inquisition, thus causing the big trouble he was in during his visit to Mantua in the summer of 1567.[25]

In fact it may well be that both types of services intermingled. The Nieri or Neri mentioned in Strada's letter to Bochetel of 1562, resident in Nuremberg, were succesful merchants from Lucca resident in Nuremberg. Francesco Nieri is mentioned in Ottavio Strada's letter to his father from Nuremberg in December 1574, and Strada's last will mentions 'Paulinuss Nijeri von Lucca' as 'meiner Gefährte', who seems to have functioned as banker for Strada and his 'Genossen': both words are translations of the Italian 'compagno', which suggests that they were regular business associates.[26] Doubtless Strada was not a merchant

23 Cf. above, Ch. 7.

24 Doc 1562-10-21: 'Dessidero che la Signoria Vostra Reverendissima mi faccia favore di farmi avisare se avera riceputo li detti danari et se crede di ritornare più in queste nostre bande come sua Maestà Cesarea viene; che per la parte mia La voria pur ancor servire qual che anno, ma che fosse con Sua sadiffatione <sic>'.

25 Doc. 1568-00-00, Strada's undated draft for a letter to an unnamed fellow refugee from the Mantuan Inquisition: 'Ma poi che voi cominciate a cantare, dite tutto l'historia, e dite come il Delfino Cardinale [patriarca *crossed out, corrected into*: essendo Vescovo], non gli volendo prestar mille <duca>ti, ne tampoco farla sigurtà, esso à fatto questo ufitio; ma ancora lui è conossiuto.' Dolfin was created a cardinal after his return from the Imperial court in 1565, where he spent four years.

26 Docs. 1562-10-21, 1574-12-05, 1584-07-01. I have not been able to find anything concrete about the Frankfurt branch of the Nieri; like many expatriate Lucchese merchants elsewhere in Europe, they may well have been Protestants.

and banker such as Fugger, but through his connections with Fugger and associates such as the Nieri and because of his own experience as a merchant and book dealer he was sufficiently aware of international commerce and financial dealing occasionally to advise or assist some of his patrons in this field.

There are many other instances of people who visited Strada's house or at least were in contact with him when in Vienna—they cannot all be discussed in detail. Thus when Strada tried to persuade Vilém z Rožmberk to buy his house and collections, he refers to his patron's personal knowledge of both. When he makes the same offer to the Elector of Saxony, he refers him to his own 'Kammersekretär' Hans Jeniß or Jenitz, 'who had seen it the time that Your Electoral Grace has been here at Vienna' (in February 1573). In a letter of recommendation for Strada to the Elector of Saxony in this same affair, Hubert Languet [Fig. 11.18] amply praises Strada's house, which presupposes that he saw it during his visits to the Imperial court, as did his pupil and dearest friend, the English diplomat, soldier, poet and national hero, Sir Philip Sidney. As we saw, Sidney's name and family device, 'Quo fata me vocant', is inscribed in Ottavio Strada's *Stammbuch* [Fig. 11.9].[27]

The Flemish humanist Nicasius Ellebodius, who had settled in Hungary as a canon of Esztergom cathedral, visited Strada's house to buy copies of Lodovico Castelvetro's brand new Italian translation of Aristotle's poetics for his Milanese colleague, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli. Pinelli had told Ellebodius that the book could be had at Strada's house, and thus must at least have heard of Strada's activities—perhaps his source was Ellebodius himself, who elsewhere mentions Strada as a friend.[28] The fact that the book was sold at Strada's house strongly suggests that he had been instrumental in its printing, with Maximilian

27 Doc. 1576-09-28: 'Eur C.F.G. Secretari, der H[err] Jeniß, der khan Eur C.F.G. einen bericht darvon geben, der hatt sie das mal gesehen, wie eur C.F.G. alhie zu Wien gewesen sendt'; cf. Lietzmann 1997, p. 397. Languet's letter Doc. 1576-09-07.

28 Lodovico Castelvetro, *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata, et sposta*, Vienna (per Gaspar Stainhofer), 1570. It was soon reprinted (Basle, Perna, 1576). Pinelli had at first written to Janus Sambucus to go and buy two copies of the book, which Ellebodius could pick up when he arrived in Vienna. Ellebodius first visited Strada, whom he elsewhere calls his friend, and found him ill. When it turned out that Sambucus had not yet picked up the books, Ellebodius bought the two copies for Pinelli and one for himself from Strada directly. A few months later Pinelli asked Ellebodius to get another copy for a friend, 'il gentilissimo Monsignor del Bene'. By now back in Pressburg Ellebodius wrote to the young Hugo Blotius, who had just arrived in Vienna, telling him that either Sambucus or (the sculptor Mathias) Manmacher could tell him where to find Strada's house ('aedes'), and asking him to greet him in his name; cf. Docs. 1571-05-14; 1571-07-04; 1571-09-27a, b and c.; on the sympathetic Ellebodius (also: Ellebaudt, Van Ellebode), see Sivirsky 1976; Almási 2009, pp. 72–73, 202 and *passim*.

II's support, by the Viennese printer Gaspar Stainhofer, and at least it implies his personal acquaintance with its author, who lived in Vienna from 1569 until shortly before his death in 1571. That was to be expected: many an Italian of some rank visiting the Imperial court would seek the acquaintance of compatriots employed by the Emperor. Strada himself would be eager to meet a man of letters as erudite, as well connected and as famous as Castelvetro. In view of his own knowledge of the book trade he would be eager to help him print what he realized was going to be a bestseller [Fig. 11.20].[29]

Perhaps because of his own persecution by the Inquisition in Mantua in 1567, Strada appears to have felt some sympathy for Italian Evangelical exiles, such as Castelvetro. But even before that he had had business deals with the famous Calvinist printer Pietro Perna from Lucca, who had settled in Basle, though these were not very satisfactory, because Perna did not pay his dues.[30] Perhaps it was through Perna that Strada came in contact with the Lombard

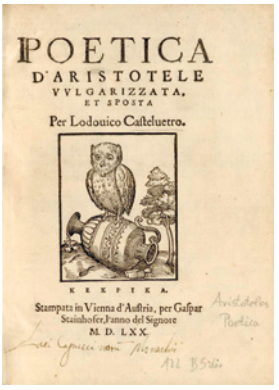

FIGURE 11.18 Pieter Pourbus, Portrait of Hubert Languet; Manchester Art Gallery.
FIGURE 11.19 Giovan Bernardino Bonifacio, Marquis of Oria, on his deathbed; Gdansk, Polish Academy of Sciences.
FIGURE 11.20 Lodovico Castelvetro's Italian translation of Aristotle's *Poetica*, Viena 1570, titlepage.

29 That Strada's name is not mentioned in the book does not rule out his participation: in view of Castelvetro's heretical reputation, and his own first-hand experience of the rigors of the Inquisition, he may not have wished to publish their connection.

30 Doc. 1564-00-00: Strada's request to Maximilian II for a permit to travel to Germany. Strada had sold Perna, printer and bookseller, the remaining copies of his editions of Panvinio's *Fasti et triumphi* and *Epitome pontificum* in commission, against payments at each Frankfurt book fair. Strada request a letter of recommendation to the Frankfurt authorities to help him regain this debt, and offers to obtain books from his creditor for Maximilian's library. Perna would also print the second edition of Castelvetro's *Poetica* (Basle, 1576).

physician Girolamo Donzellini, whose contacts with supposed heretics had forced him to flee Venice in the mid-1550s. At the relatively safe haven of Ferdinand's court he was helped by, among many others, Antun Vrančić, and by Strada himself. A few years after his contacts with Castelvetro Strada employed two other famous, learned and noble exiles, the Sienese reformer Mino Celsi and the vagrant prince, Bernardino Bonifacio, Marquis of Oria, in his editions of Serlio's manuscripts. In his youth Celsi had commissioned Baldassare Peruzzi to build a villa and a beautiful circular chapel at Sovicille, near his hometown Siena. So he was sufficiently conversant with architectural terminology to edit Serlio's Italian of the *Settimo Libro*. The prodigiously learned Bonifacio [Fig. 11.19] likewise had some architectural experience as the patron of the restructuring of the castle and fortress of Francavilla Fontana (1547), his principal residence before his flight from Italy; he provided the Latin translation of Serlio's text.[31] Such services were doubtless rendered not only out of mutual sympathy, but also because—apart from a possible financial remuneration—Strada had offered help, advice or hospitality, and had used his own formal and informal contacts on behalf of such friends.

Strada's circle was not limited to his compatriots. Thus he had contact and employed scholars elsewhere, such as the Italians Fulvio Orsini and Aldo Manuzio the Younger, the Swiss Henricus Glareanus, and the French François Hotman [Fig. 11.29], all humanists who contributed to Strada's edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*.[32] In the summer of 1578 he wrote a letter to the famous Flemish botanist Rembertus Dodonaeus, who had been appointed Imperial physician at the end of 1574, but had recently returned to the Netherlands [Fig. 11.21]. Earlier he had advised Strada to contact the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin, whom he thought might be persuaded to print some of Strada's projected publications, and he was willing to serve as an intermediary. Strada took him up on this offer, and his letter, though addressed to Dodonaeus, was really directed at Plantin [Fig. 11.23].[33] Dodonaeus' offer was made after inspecting or even studying the materials relating to Strada's projects in his *Musaeum*. Another Netherlandish friend was the Imperial librarian, the Dutchman Hugo Blotius, who had been appointed early in 1575, and had briefly visited Vienna some years previously: Strada trusted him sufficiently to serve as reference for Plantin as to the quality of the books Strada proposed to have

31 On Celsi: Bietenholz 1979; on Bonifacio and his incredible travelling library, see Caccamo 1970; Welti 1970; Welti 1976; Welti 1983; Welti 1985(a).

32 Below, Ch. 14.5.3.

33 Doc. 1578-08-13. It was Plantin, rather than Dodonaeus who answered him (Doc. 1578-10-10); on Strada's publishing projects, see below, Ch. 14.

FIGURE 11.21 Rembertus Dodonaeus, woodcut from his *Cruijdeboeck*, 1554.
FIGURE 11.22 Hugo Blotius, anonymous portrait medal, ca 1593.
FIGURE 11.23 Christophe Plantin, engraving by Hendrick Goltzius.

printed [Fig. 11.22]. Here again the advice and recommendations such scholars were willing to give him doubtless reflect the services he had rendered them earlier.

Some years later, in 1581, a young polyglot scholar from Saxony, Elias Hutter, when passing through Vienna not only appears to have visited Strada, but also offered himself to convey another request for subvention for Strada's publishing projects to his patron, the Elector August of Saxony. It is not known what was the result of his intervention, but his presence shows that Strada's efforts were taken seriously also by a younger generation.[34]

Even when there is no concrete written evidence, it can be assumed that Strada was also in contact with the scholars and artists more or less permanently employed at Maximilian's court and thus often resident in Vienna, whom he must have regularly met when discharging his duties at court, such as the Imperial physicians Pier Andrea Mattioli and Joannes Crato, the botanist Carolus Clusius, the physician, historian and emblematist Iohannes Sambucus, and the composer and *Kapellmeister* Philips de Monte [Figs. 11.24–11.27]. Strada was very much aware of the lustre the presence such luminaries afforded the Imperial court, and was proud to be associated with them, as he had expressed to Ferdinand I in his very first bid for Imperial patronage: 'Hora se la Maestà Vostra li piace di acetarmi nel numero de li suoi virtuosi, del canto mio farò

34 Doc. 1581-01-04. Hutter was born in 1553; his interest in Strada's linguistic materials, in particular the polyglot dictionary, is not surprising in view of his own project to produce a polyglot bible, a first instalment of which, a New Testament in no less than twelve languages, was published in Nuremberg in 1599.

ogni debito per farmi honore'. Unfortunately Strada is rarely, if ever, mentioned in the correspondence of these well-known personalities. Nevertheless one of his associates, the German neo-Latin poet Paul Schede, also known as Paulus Melissus, who spent several years at Maximilian's court and served him as an ambassador, was sufficiently impressed to give Strada a highly laudatory entry in his *Schediasmata poetica*, a fat book of Latin poems in praise of the men of letters and learning of his time [Fig. 11.30 and 11.31–11.32].[35]

FIGURES 11.24–11.29 Some luminaries employed at Maximilian's court that Strada regularly rubbed shoulders with: the physician, natural historian and poet Pier Andrea Mattioli; the physician and humanist Joannes Crato; the botanist Carolus Clusius, the historian and emblematist Johannnes Sambucus and the court composer Philips de Monte; only François Hotman Strada probably met elsewehere. All engravings by Theodor de Bry from Jean Jacques Boissard's *Icones Quinquaginta Virorum illustrium doctrina et eruditione praestantium ad vivum effictae, cum eorum vitis descriptis* (1597–1599).

35 Melissus 1586, p. 283; on Melissus, see Fechner/Dehnhard 1994.

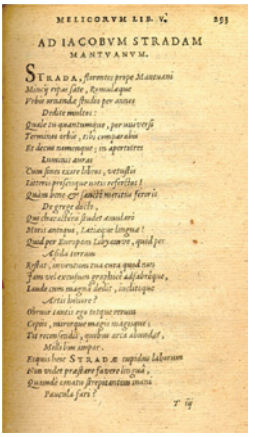

FIGURE 11.30 The neo-Latin poet and Imperial diplomat Paulus Melissus, engraving from Boissard's *Icones Quinquaginta Virorum illustrium.*

FIGURES 11.31–11.32 Paulus Melissus, *Schediasmata poetica*, Paris 1586: title page and encomium on Jacopo Strada.

This survey of people with whom Strada was in contact and who visited his house is an arbitrary survey, its entries randomly selected by the vicissitudes of time: it should be handled with caution. But given the fact that it is only a minimal selection, the tip of the proverbial iceberg, it provides sufficient evidence to conclude that at least during Maximilian's reign Strada's house and *Musaeum* functioned as a meeting point for members of and visitors to the Imperial court who shared some of Strada's manifold intellectual and artistic interests. Next to the court itself, it provided one of the places suitable to the informal exchange of information and opinions and the occasional relaxation necessary to the efficient dispatch of affairs.

To some extent Strada's ambiguous status must have facilitated this function of his *Musaeum*: he cannot be easily allocated to any one group of courtiers, diplomats, noblemen, officials, clerics, scholars or artists, though he belonged to most of these to some extent. He was Italian, but also at the same time fully rooted in Germany, through long experience, through his marriage and his contacts. Because of his considerable wealth he was relatively independent. Though he does occasionally intercede for his contacts, he did not represent any outside interest (except perhaps Hans Jakob Fugger's) and his faithful service to his Imperial patrons, in particular for Maximilian II, cannot be doubted. It was his rigorous impartiality and careful treading in the political and confessional fields that made him fit so well into court life during the reigns of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II.

11.5 Strada's Confessional Position

About Strada's position in the religious troubles of his time little is known, and though this information does not allow certain conclusions about his real opinions, it is of some interest in view of the important role of the confessional situation at Maximilian's court. It is not for nothing that—together with the Imperial physician Johannes Crato, the librarian Hugo Blotius and the general Lazarus von Schwendi—Strada was chosen as one of four key figures in Howard Louthan's treatment of a complex of opinions at the Imperial court adding up to what he considers an irenic *via media*, reflecting ideals of religious compromise and moderation followed by Maximilian and, to a lesser extent, by Rudolf II.[36] Key document for Strada's attitude is a letter of September 1576 to his old friend Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany, in which he defends himself against accusations of heterodoxy Dani had reported back to him. Proclaiming himself an assiduous Catholic, he nevertheless refused to boycott those of other persuasions:

> You should know<…>that from the day I was born I have never changed my religion, nor will I ever do so until I die. At great expense I have kept my sons in the house of the Jesuits, together with other noblemen, and these Jesuits are regular guests in my home, as are Monsignor the Nuncio and the Spanish Ambassador as well as many other lords whom it would be too much to mention all. My house is a house for all sorts of people, and if it was known for otherwise, there would not be so many gentlemen who come and visit me, and the world can judge that very well because lately when my wife died, God bless her soul, I had her buried according to our custom; and the funeral cost me over 300 *Thaler*, and His Imperial Majesty and His Majesty the King [of the Romans, Rudolf II], sent their gentlemen of the Chamber to accompany her, and there were a host of noblemen present; and in contrast, if I would have been of the other religion, I would have sent her out of town to their church, and would have buried her for ten pounds, as they do with the gentlewomen of their religion.[37]

36 Louthan 1997; a summary of Strada's position on pp. 124–125.

37 Doc. 1576-09-28: 'Sappiate, Signor Secretario, che dal giorno che nacque non ò mai mutato religione, ne sono per mutarla, insino alla morte tampoco. In casa delli Jesuiti ò tenuto in donzina alle spese in compagnia d'altri gentilhuomini gli miei figliuoli; et essi Jesuiti praticano in casa mia domesticamente, et Mon Signor Nuncio et l'Ambassador di Spagna, et altri Signori che sarebbe troppo a volervi qui tutti nominare. La mia casa e casa per hogni sorte d'huomini, et quando fossi cognosciuto per altro, non verebbono tanti Signori

It is difficult to judge the sincerity of this protestation: even if he were a sincere and devout Catholic, Strada would not have obtruded his convictions in his dealing with the Austrian and Bohemian nobility, considering that the majority were Protestant at the time. But his outward Catholicism may have had more pragmatic causes: it is obvious that he did not wish to lose the possibility of ecclesiastical preferment for his sons. Thus he managed through Duke Guglielmo of Mantua to have his son Paolo elected to a benefice in Mantua cathedral, thanks to the insistent recommendation of Maximilian II; Rudolf II would later recommend his second son Ottavio to a benefice in a cathedral chapter in Germany.

But Strada's outward Catholicism was not particularly convincing to the Holy Office. Ironically, at the very moment when Duke Guglielmo conceded the benefice to Paolo Strada, Jacopo was in Mantua and was caught up in the clamorous persecution of heretics in that town launched in 1567 by the Dominican friar Camillo Campeggi. It involved many high officials of the Gonzaga administration and even some members of minor branches of the dynasty. There is evidence that Strada was in contact with Mantuan evangelicals, including Lucretia Manfrona Gonzaga and Vittoria Gonzaga Martinengo, who 'privately abjured' in the presence of, among other gentlemen, one 'dottor Strada', who appears to have been Jacopo.[38] Strada's colleagues, the Duke's *prefetto delle fabbricche*, Giovanni Battista Bertani, and the engraver Giovanni Battista Scultori, with both of whom he was collaborating at that time, were also among the accused.[39] Strada himself attributed his persecution to the ill-will of the Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court, Zaccaria Dolfin, whom he had once refused a substantial loan.[40] Strada appealed for protection for himself and the people he employed to Duke Guglielmo, who notwithstanding the Emperor's express recommendation appears not to have dared to give him a safe-conduct,

a visitarmi; et di questo il mondo ne puol far giudicio perchè ultimamente morse mia moglie (Iddio habbi l'anima sua) io la feci interrare al modo nostro; et mi costò piu di 300 talleri il mortorio, et Sua Maestà Cesarea con la Maestà del Re vi mandorno accompagnarla gli gentilhuomini della Camera, et vi era un monte di signori. Et pel contrario, s'io fosse stato de altra religione, la mandavo fuori della terra alla loro chiesa; con x L. la sotteravo, si come fanno le gentildonne loro della loro religione.'

38 Docs. 1567-06-1 and 1567-06-30; Davari 1879, pp. 34 and 68–69; Pagano 1991; Berzaghi 2011, p. 10.

39 On Campeggi, see Marchetti 1974; on his mission in Mantua, see Pagano 1991.

40 Docs. 1568-00-00: Strada's undated draft for a letter to an unnamed collaborator in Mantua, who had likewise been forced to flee the Inquisition: 'Ma poi che voi cominciate a cantare, dite tutto l'historia, e dite come il Delfino Cardinale ['patriarca' crossed out, corrected into: 'essendo Vescovo'], non gli volendo prestar mille <duca>ti, ne tampoco farla sigurtà, esso à fatto questo ufitio; ma ancora lui è conossiuto'.

so Strada escaped to Verona, in Venetian territory, where the Inquisition was less powerful.[41] By June 1568 the Holy Office had been sent a detailed personal description of Strada which perfectly fits Titian's portrait, for which he was sitting at the time, and it even employed spies in Venice to figure out where Strada was.[42] A later attempt by Maximilian II to obtain a more permanent safe-conduct on his behalf from Duke Guglielmo appears to have been equally unsuccessful.[43]

It is not clear in how far Strada's persecution was justified by actual evidence in the hands of the Holy Office; from another document its appears that

41 *Ibidem*, 'Vi sete voi scordato la benevolenza ch' io vi portò di quel atto ch' io feci di volervi pagar il cocchio e darvi danari per mandarvi a Verona; ma di già avevate fatto vella e tanto miseramente essendovi fugito a piedi da Mantova a Verona [inserted above the line: a digiuno], avendo lassato la tavola parechiata per desinare. Ma la mia fuga è stata da da gentiluomo, perchè prima mi volsi valere del grado mio, e come servidor del primo signore del mondo andai a parla<r> al Ducha, che mi assicurasse me e li mei huomini, che per me lavoravano; e voi eravate il primo posto sulla lista, tanto era l'amor ch'io vi portò. Infine vedendo le scuse di non potere, me ne vene a Vinetia.'; Niccolò Stopio to Hans Jakob Fugger, Venice, 5 October 1567, HStA-LA 4852, fol. 169–70: 'essendo esso Strada p<ar>tito per Verona, per paura della Inquisitione, che li frati di San Domenico l'havevano cercato una volta ò 2 in casa sua, et andando lui dal Duca a dolersene, il Duca li rispose che con loro non se n'impacciarò, se bene era huomo dell'Imperatore, che 'l guardasse lui il fatto suo, dovendo lui medes<imo> saper meglio come stava che nessun altro; per il che se ne andò subito via per Verona, lassando il suo puto [= Ottavio Strada] in Mantua<…> et non fidandosi ne anche ivi [= Verona] venne poi a Ven<eti>a, ove per rispetto de l'Imperatorenon li haveriano lasciato dare molestia; benchè non ho inteso che'l sia contrario alle cose Romane, se non che'l è molto libero di ragionare, et intrando in colera non ha respetto alcuna sia di chi essere si voglia<…>'.

42 Pagano 1991, cites various documents preserved in the Archivio del Sant'Offizio/ Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Città del Vaticano; p. 197, n. 15, Camillo Campeggi to Scipione Rebiba, Mantua 18 June 1568: 'Mandarò li contrassegni di Giacobo Strada e vi porrò anche delle spie dietro per saper ove sarà'; id. p. 199, n. 22, Campeggi to Rebibba, Mantua 25 June 1568: 'Mando la descrittione che ho potuta havere di quel Giacobo Strada antiquario dell'Imperatore, accioché si possi procurar di haverlo nelle mani'; in the attached 'identikit' Strada is described as 'mantovano antiquario; è di pelo rosso che tiro al nero overo al scuro, comincia a far la barba canuta, può havere cinquanta anni, di statura mezzana, et è prosperoso. Habita in Vienna et ha una moglie alemana; era questa Assensa passata in Venetia et allogiava a mezzo la marzaria in casa di uno che dà il lustro alli specchi, apresso di una chiesiola che qual credo si dimandi San Giuliano. Egli in Venetia facea lavorare delle teste di marmore per lo imperatore, e forse vi sarà anchora al presente'. Pagano reads 'Assensa' as the name of Strada's wife, which is obviously mistaken; I take it to refer to the feast of the Ascension at which time Strada had been spotted in Venice.

43 Docs. 1568-10-01 and 1568-10-11. From Strada's phrasing thanking Duke Guglielmo for his decision as to the safe-conduct Maximilian II had requested on his behalf it is not clear whether the request had been accorded or refused; if so, Strada did not trust it sufficiently to make use of it, and he appears never to have returned to his native city.

two brothers, 'Thomas et Rubertus Auserstulfer' from Tirol had been found prepared to testify against him.[44] Strada appears not to have hidden his opinions to his contemporaries, so it may merely be a coincidence that we are not better informed about them. Already in October 1567 Niccolò Stopio—himself a suspect, as results from an anonymous report to Philip II—had responded to a query from Hans Jakob Fugger about Strada's trouble with the Inquisition:

> <…>though I have never heard from his talking that he is against Rome, except that he is very free in his reasoning, and once he gets angry he respects no one, whomsoever it may be.[45]

Strada's 'free' verbal criticism probably included the Pope himself, Pius V: he did not hesitate to write it down in a letter to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua.[46] After the death of Emperor Maximilian II, Strada's protector, the Duke had even less reason to interfere, and in 1581 Strada was burnt in effigy, together with his son Paolo, canon of Mantua cathedral. Even though Rudolf II had withdrawn his support of Strada already by 1578, it remains a moot point whether Duke Guglielmo would have allowed the two Strada's to be burnt in the flesh, had they been so careless as to let themselves be caught.[47] It is quite ironical that at about the same time that he was burned in effigy, Strada planned the entertainment for Riccardo Riccardi already described, including among the guests not only the Archbishop of Kalocsa, the later Cardinal Juraj Drašković, but also two Dominican friars, belonging to the order intensively involved in the eradication of heresy.[48] There can be no doubt that Strada maintained at least the pretence to have remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church until the end of his life, indicating in his will of 1584 that he wished to be interred in the Minoritenkirche, the Franciscan church near to his house.[49]

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44 Pagano 1991, p. 200, n. 23.

45 Niccolò Stopio to Hans Jakob Fugger, Venice, 5 October 1567, quoted above. Niccolò Stopio was himself suspect, as results from an anonymous report to Philip II preserved at Simancas (Archivo General, *Papeles de Estado*, Venecia, *legaja* 1548, nr. 52, fol. 248).

46 Doc. 1568-10-11, cited above: Strada tells the Duke that he will not for the moment make use of a safe-conduct to come to Mantua, 'si per non haver io di presente da negotiar costà, come anche di non voler L'Excellenza Vostra importunare, e tanto più in questi tempi di questo Pont[efice], il quale non à rispetto a niun Principe dove si puole attacare (quantunque dal canto mio la mia consienza sia netta)'.

47 Doc. 1578-07-16: Already in 1578 Rudolf had indicated he did not care if 'Giacomo Strada antiquario' were to be deprived of [his son Paolo's] benefice in Mantua, 'perchè non lo tiene per buon cristiano, anzì per heretico<…>'.

48 Above, Ch. 11.3.

49 Doc. 1584-07-01; Appendix B.

On the other hand Strada may have had some sympathy for the Reformation: as we have seen, he maintained contacts with many Protestants, and in particular with Italian Evangelical exiles, such as Mino Celsi and Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese di Oria—both of whom collaborated on his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*—the printer Pietro Perna in Basel and the humanist Lodovico Castelvetro, whose translation of Aristotle Strada sold and may have been instrumental in publishing. The extent of such sympathy is indicated by his attempt to enlist Antun Vrančić to provide counsel and support to Girolamo Donzellini, in order to help Donzellini to return to Italy and clear himself with the Holy Office.[50]

Summing up, a preliminary conclusion could be that Strada participated to some extent in the confessional debate of his time. He had both lived in a largely Protestant environment in Germany and moved in the circle of prelates who represented or at least tried to formulate the Catholic response to the Reformation, in Rome in the 1550s. In contrast to Hans Jakob Fugger, whose orthodoxy was never doubted notwithstanding his ample patronage of Protestant scholars, Strada must have expressed his doubts about 'le cose Romane' sufficiently often and openly to have attracted the attention of the Inquisition. Taken altogether, it seems likely that Strada may have shared a certain confessional leniency with his patron, Maximilian II.

11.6 Contacts with Members of the Dynasty

Together with Strada's erudition, his curiosity and his enthusiasm, it was perhaps also his moderation in the confessional field that gained him Maximilian's sympathy: a sympathy which was expressed in the Emperor's enduring patronage, and which is reflected in Strada's own letters.[51] There is little or no evidence of a direct contact with Empress Maria and the members of her own immediate circle, but other members of the dynasty did frequent his house—or at least wrote their motto in his 'memoria di casa mia'.[52] Chief among

50 On these contacts, see above, Ch. 11.4; on Donzellini, see Jacobson Schutte 1992.

51 Maximilian's intervention with the Duke of Mantua in the affair of Paolo Strada's benefice in Mantua Cathedral is a case in point, involving an explicit *motu proprio* to Duke Guglielmo, impressed by an accompanying letter by no less a personage as Vratislav z Pernštejn, the Bohemian Chancellor, and presented to the Duke in person by Paolo Emilio Bardelone, the Mantuan envoy at the Imperial court (Docs. 1565-05-12 and 1565-05-15).

52 It is difficult to say whether the rumour of Strada's alleged heresy as reported back to him by Dani in 1576 circulated widely. In Mantua it remained alive, given the fact that in 1583 both Strada and his son Paolo, as canon of San Pietro, were burned *in effigie* as

them was Maximilian himself, who first visited it in 1565 at the instigation of Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara. Apparently the Emperor was pleasantly surprised, because he would occasionally or regularly return, at least according to Strada himself:

> His late Majesty, of blessed memory, often used to come in my studio, and would remain from after lunch until dinner-time; and His Imperial Majesty called it the delight and museum of Strada, because he saw there so many rare and various things as ever struck the eye.[53]

Maybe Maximilian came now and then to inspect Strada's collections, probably incited by Strada himself, who could have let drop a hint of new acquisitions when he was in attendance on the Emperor.[54] It is difficult to guess what material would have appealed most to the Emperor: the little we know about his intellectual interests suggests an orientation towards natural history and technical topics. Natural history seems to have had little attraction for Strada, though he did possess a book of drawings of 'four-footed animals'. Technique, however, as a branch of architecture, was well represented in Strada's library and even among his own works. Maximilian's interest in the Lazius controversy suggests that he would also have been particularly interested in Strada's

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'eretici confirmati'. This probably merely implies that they had not taken the risk to go and defend their case in person: it is very doubtful whether the Duke would have allowed them to be burnt in the flesh. Of course at the Imperial court, where there was much more direct contact between the various confessions, such accusations would have been taken with a grain of salt. There is no indication that Strada's career at court was hampered by his religious position, and it should be noted that the Spanish ambassador, *ex officio* chief of the Catholic party, did add his name to Ottavio's *Stammbuch*.

53 Doc. 1581-11-02: Jacopo Strada to Jacopo Dani: 'Nel mio studio Sua Maestà morta, pia memoria, sovente vi veneva, et vi stava dal doppo dessinare per insino all'hora della cena; et lo chiamavo Sua Maestà Cesarea le dellitie et museo del Strada, perchè Sua Maestà vedeva tante cose rare et varie che mai si straccava l'hocchio'.

54 Strada's attendance upon the Emperor is documented in his letter thanking the Duke of Mantua for the benefice accorded to his son Paolo (Doc. 1568-12-28): 'E la prima volta ch'io mi truovo con Sua Maestà me ne voglio rallegrare di questa cortesia di Vostra Excellenza Illustrissima'; and in his answer to Jacopo Dani's letter reporting the gossip about Strada's alleged heresy (Doc. 1576-09-28): 'Et io un giorno con commodità la monstrai la lettera a Sua Maestà Cesarea in Camera, et Sua Maestà si misse a ridere, et poi mi disse alcune parole di lui, ch'io non vorebbe già, che Sua Maestà dicesse di me.' The latter passage makes it clear that such attendance was sufficiently relaxed to allow Strada to obtrude his own affairs on Maximilian. The willingness to favour Strada on the part of princes such as the Dukes of Florence and Mantua likewise indicates that he was perceived to have some influence with the Emperor.

'small but choice' collection of ancient medals. His ambition as a patron of the arts as indicated by his Prater *Lusthaus*, the Stallburg and the Neugebäude suggests that he would have been interested in documentation of the projects of other patrons, such as the documentary drawings of Raphael's Vatican *Loggia* and Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Te.

Another fascinating passage in a letter by Strada explicitly states that Maximilian II highly esteemed the exercise of the arts, in particular draughtsmanship or design. The letter was written in November 1566 to Adam von Dietrichstein, one of Maximilian's most trusted courtiers, whom he had appointed to oversee the education of his two eldest sons, Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest. When these were sent to Madrid in 1563 to receive part of their education at their uncle's court, Dietrichstein was appointed to head their household, and doubled as Imperial ambassador in Spain [Figs. 11.33–11.35]. Strada wrote to thank him for having presented in his name a numismatic manuscript to Philip II and to ask him to further his attempt to obtain a benefice or pension from the king for one of his sons. The tone of the letter suggests that he had got to know Dietrichstein quite well. As an afterthought he continues:

> I don't know if your lordship after his departure has continued the study ['delettatio'] of medals, and of drawing ['dissegno']; for certainly it would be good not to abandon that, the more so because you made such a good start; and also their Serene Highnesses the princes, it would be well if they would be reminded of that practice ['deletatione']; for in truth, dear Sir, by drawing one obtains knowledge of an infinite number of things, and one's judgment becomes much more excellent in all subjects, and it far surpasses that [obtained by] other studies, the more so when practiced by a learned gentleman such as you are. Now if your lordship reassures me of that, I will always send you something by my hand to draw ['ritrarre' = to copy], begging you not to abandon a practice highly esteemed by many ancient emperors, as well as by our present Emperor and patron.[55]

55 Doc. 1566-03-01: 'Non so se Vostra Signoria Illustrissima doppo la Sua partita abbia continuato la delettatio dele medaglie, et il dissegno, che certo sarebe bene a non lo abandonare, e tanto più che avea un bonissimo principio; et anche le Maestà deli Serenissimi Principi, saria bene che tal deletatione li fosse raccordata, che invero, Signore, per il dissegno si viene in cognitione di infinite cose, et il giuditio è molto più eccelente in tutte le cose, e sopravanza tutti gli altri di gran longa; e tanto più quanto è in un Signore litterato come Lei. Ora Vostra Signoria me ne farrà certo, et io li manderò sempre qualche cosa di mia mano da rittrare, suplicandoLa a non voller abollire quello che molti imperadori antichi, et il nostro presente e padrone fa gran stima.'

FIGURES 11.33–11.34 Alonso Sanchéz-Coello, Portraits of Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest, ca 1568; British Royal Collections.

FIGURE 11.35 Adam von Dietrichstein, preceptor of the two Archdukes and Imperial ambassador at the Spanish court; anonymous eighteenth-century engraving from F.C. Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandei*, Leipzig 1721–1726.

From this passage it can be deduced that Dietrichstein had had drawing lessons from Strada, and that the Archdukes also had been having drawing lessons. It is not impossible that these lessons were likewise given by Strada, who may have received the two princes with their preceptor in his own studio. It moreover explains that these lessons consisted of the careful copying of two-dimensional examples. These drawings were provided by Strada himself, and the link with the 'delettatio dele medaglie' suggests that Strada's numismatic drawings often were used to this purpose.

This supposition is strengthened by the presence in the library of the Escorial of a sixteenth-century numismatic album, consisting of about hundred and forty rather primitive drawings of numismatic images sketched in pencil or chalk and finished in pen and ink on large-size sheets of good quality paper [Figs. 11.36–11.39]. In its lay-out and its topic it is vaguely similar to Strada's numismatic albums, one of which Dietrichstein had presented to Philip II in his name. This volume includes not only Roman emperors, but also some Popes, some men of letters, and a number of contemporary Italian princes. Notwithstanding their less than adequate quality, the drawings deserve a special investigation: it is tempting to see them as the results of a didactic practice similar to that suggested in Strada's letter to Dietrichstein. Since the title page is taken up by a coat of arms—drawn equally awkwardly—that is neither that of Dietrichstein nor that of one of the Archdukes, it is unlikely that the volume is connected with them. But the moustache drawn onto the face of the angel

FIGURES 11.36–11.39 Anonymous, frontispiece and drawings from a sixteenth-century numismatic album, possibly after drawings by Jacopo Strada (Real Biblioteca de El Escorial).

supporting the escutcheon does suppose its later use in a similar—apparently rather boring—didactic context [Fig. 11.36].[56]

There can be no doubt that the materials collected in Strada's *Musaeum*, illustrated by their owner's explications and comments, interested Maximilian II greatly and perhaps helped him develop his critical judgment or even provided some inspiration for the projects he undertook. So it is time to attempt at least to get an impression of what he may have seen there.

56 Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, *Códices Latinos* h.I.4. l; cf. Antolin 1911, pp. 301–303. The volume contains an ex-libris of Philip II; a later note in pencil identifies the coat of arms as that of the Spanish family Lanuza. At first sight the drawings seem to be in different hands, one of which is more experienced and sophisticated than the other(s). The added moustache looks as if it was added in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER 12

The *Musaeum*: Its Contents

12.1 Introduction

When Strada in 1568 thanked Duke Guglielmo of Mantua for the benefice conferred on his elder son Paolo, he offered the use of his house to the Duke, providing a brief description of its contents and adding that 'most of these things have been seen by all those gentlemen of the court of Your Excellency that have been here [in Vienna]'.[1] This confirms the accessibility of Strada's *Musaeum* and the representative function it fulfilled. To have any idea of the impact the *Musaeum* had on such visitors, it is useful to provide a quick sketch of its contents.

A sketch, an impression: not a reconstruction. There are a number of sources which give a very elementary impression of what Strada's *studiolo* may have looked like, and there are some other sources which give slightly more concrete information on which specific objects, or type of objects, passed through his hands. Some of these—in particular the large-scale acquisitions of antique sculpture for the Duke of Bavaria in 1566–1569—were certainly not intended for Strada's own collection, and they did never even come to Vienna. In most cases the information is too scanty to identify objects mentioned with any certainty, or to determine what their destination was. We just do not know whether Strada bought them on behalf of the Emperor, whether he bought them on commission from other patrons, whether he bought them on speculation—that is as a true art-dealer, hoping to sell them to the visitors of his house or dispose of them advantageously in some other way—or whether he bought them after all just for his own collection.

For this reason, except for Strada's acquisitions for the Duke of Bavaria, in the following no distinction will be made between the objects that may have belonged to Strada's private collection, and those that he bought or commissioned for a patron or intended as stock-in-trade. After all, in each of these cases the presence of these objects, their availability in Vienna, could influence those who—in the case of antiquities and works of art—saw and admired them, and those who—in the case of the manuscripts, the printed books and the graphic documentation—consulted or even studied them. The works of art incited the patron's appetite for these or similar works; they modified the taste

1 Doc. 1568-12-28, quoted more fully below.

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of the individual patron more or less incisively and changed the fashion generally current at court. Moreover they stimulated the artists working at or in the orbit of the Imperial court by providing authoritative examples of up-to-date styles and artistic techniques and a storehouse of compositional 'inventions'.

12.2 Strada's Own Descriptions of His *Musaeum*

In Strada's letter to Jacopo Dani describing the entertainment he had planned to offer Riccardo Riccardi, had he come to visit Strada's house, he not only mentioned the company, but also briefly enumerates the many objects of interest that Riccardi had missed seeing:

> I also wished to show him my house, which can stand comparison with any of those beautiful houses of Italy, and which cost me over twelve thousand *Thaler*. I also wanted to show him my medals, which, though they are not many, they are nevertheless most exquisite; and then with these also my collection ['studio'] of most excellent antiquities and paintings; then my most ample and complete library, full of books in all the sciences and in all languages. So you will see that he would not have ill spent that day.[2]

Much earlier Strada had advertised his collection in a letter thanking Duke Guglielmo of Mantua for having conferred a benefice in Mantua Cathedral on his eldest son, Paolo Strada.[3] Almost as a counter present he offered the Duke the use of his house in exchange, 'at any occasion that you might have need of it, which, once finished, is suitable to lodge a prince'. He then continues with a slightly more detailed description of part of its contents:

> There is also something in [my house] to pass the time: I have a library that exceeds three thousand volumes, among which there are a great number in Hebrew (I can say all the principal ones that have been printed). In manuscript there are a good number in several languages. I don't want to pass over that there are more than fifty written in Arabic, which I prize most highly for having unearthed them from Turkey with great difficulty and at great expense; and every day I continue to enrich my library with all sorts of books.

2 Doc. 1581-11-02.

3 Doc. 1568-12-28.

> I also possess a beautiful choice of antique medals, together with a book of drawings of them, which begins at the reign of Nerva and ends at that of Alexander Severus, the son of Julia Mammea. This book was judged by Pope Julius del Monte [Pope Julius III], my patron, and by all the Cardinals that saw it at that time, the most beautiful and made with the greatest judgment they had ever seen. The same was thought in France and in Germany; the most excellent Lord Duke of Ferrara, when he found himself in my house together with Count Francesco da Novellara likewise confirmed the opinion of the other Princes mentioned here.
>
> In my library there are thirteen big volumes of descriptions of medals that have been seen by me wherever I have been in the world: they count over twelve thousand descriptions.
>
> There are also seven big volumes of antique inscriptions that I have collected, and lately I have added to them those [found] in Turkey, in Egypt and in Hungary, and in all the lands [now] occupied by the Turks.
>
> At present in my house is written a Dictionary of eleven languages, which is a task at which I have laboured for eighteen years, during which I always have maintained people at work at it. These are the languages: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Spanish, French, German and Italian; and at the appropriate places I insert [images of] the medals, marble statues, epitaphs, and whatever else it is possible to show in pictures.
>
> Many other things I have here, which in great part have been seen by those gentlemen from the court of Your Excellency that have passed by here; which, in order not to take up any more of your time, I do not want to mention all here. All these things I offer to Your Excellency; should you wish to avail yourself of this, I am at your command; and when my books will be finished Your Excellency will have his part of them.

A few years later Strada offered to present his collections, which he indicated as his 'khunstkamer' to the Elector August of Saxony, as a gift in exchange for a pension for himself and his children. For this he gave two reasons: on the one hand because, at his advanced age, he was often subject to diseases and he was afraid that after his death his collection might end up in the wrong hands; on the other hand because he hoped that work on the immense illustrated dictionary he was preparing could thus continue under the *aegis* of the Elector.[4] He gave a brief description which is worth quoting:

4 The letter only survives in a German translation made at the Dresden court: Doc. 1575-09-28, published and first commented in Lietzmann 1997 (Dokument 2), pp. 396–397.

> Illustrious Prince! For over twenty years and more I have brought together a cabinet of curiosities ['khunstkamer'] together with a library, and know for certain that at present no lord in Germany has its equal, except for his Highness [the Duke] of Bavaria. Therefore his Roman Imperial Majesty has often come to me with other princes to inspect it. I have saved no expense: whenever I saw something delightful, be it manuscript or printed books, be it antiquities, medals and beautiful paintings, I have bought them to add to the collection<…>Such paintings and the casts of the portrait heads of Emperors and Empresses, which I have brought together from all over Italy, together with wonderful books written by hand in the Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Greek and Latin languages, cannot be found anywhere but in my [collection]. And it also includes all the books in Hebrew that have ever been printed, and a great number of Latin and Greek books, many thousands of volumes. Your Electoral Graces's secretary, Herr Jeniss, can give Your Electoral Grace a report of it, for he has seen it all at the time Your Electoral Grace was here in Vienna. Since that time I have augmented it for at least three thousand *Thaler*, both with new books and antiquities and beautiful medals. Your Electoral Grace will find it a beautiful treasure.

Strada's letter was presented by his son-in-law, probably the Ferdinand Lützelburger or Luzenburger who is mentioned in his will as the husband of his daughter Lavina, and it was accompanied by what Strada described as a 'small gift', but which in fact was rather splendid, for it also served to thank the Elector for the subvention he had earlier accorded Strada for his multilingual Dictionary. It consisted of the twelve copies of the portraits of the first twelve Emperors painted by Titian for the *Camerino dei Cesari* in the Ducal palace at Mantua, which Strada had commissioned from Giorgio Molinarolo in 1567, and which appears to have been originally intended for his own studio, rather than for one of his patrons.[5]

The Elector appears not to have accepted this present—it may have come too expensive in view of the counter-gift to which this would have obliged him—for in the next years we see Strada make various other attempts to sell

5 *Ibidem*; on these paintings, see below; Dorothea Diemer, 'Mantua in Bayern? Eine Planungsepisode der Münchner Kunstkammer', in Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 3, pp. 320–329. Lietzmann 1997, who published the letter and relating documents, suggests that Strada's 'glane presenz' consisted of drawings after these paintings, but that is not warranted by the text, which explicitly speaks of works 'painted in oils'. Moreover 'Il Cerragagno', Stopio's correspondent, explicitly relates that Strada had had copied (by Giorgio Molinarolo) both Giulio's scenes and Titian's portraits themselves; but the latter cannot have been intended for Munich, where a set of copies of Titian's emperors by Campi was already available.

his house and collection in order to obtain the funds to finish his Dictionary and other publishing projects, going even so far as to try and make a lottery of it. All these efforts were wasted, for in his last will of 1583 he again determines that after his death the collection should be presented to some unspecified patron, and part of the proceeds used to finance the printing of his books.[6]

Though slightly varying according to their addressee, these three letters basically conform in their description of Strada's collection. This consisted of three principal components: a collection of antiquities, a collection of contemporary works of art, and a library. Neither the inventories Strada appears to have made in his lifetime, for his own use and that of his patrons, nor the settlement agreed among his heirs after his death have been preserved.[7] To get a hint of the contents of the various sections we have to rely on the sparse concrete data provided by disparate contemporary and slightly later sources—chief among these the documents preserved in Munich relating to Strada's acquisitions for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. These will be the subject of the following paragraph.

12.3 Strada's Acquisitions for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria

Whereas Strada's role as an architect has been referred to only very casually in earlier literature, reason why it was treated more extensively in the preceding chapters, his role as an agent or merchant of works of art in general, and of classical antiquities in particular, has always been considered a central element in his career. There can be no doubt that Strada himself considered it as such, witness the great pride with which, in the dedication to Duke Albrecht V of his edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* (Frankfurt 1575), he described his acquisition—on behalf of Hans Jakob Fugger and the Duke himself—of the huge collection of classical statuary that filled the Munich Antiquarium:

6 'Doc 1584-07-01; discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 14.9. I have found no indication to which patron Strada referred with the term 'Bewissten Ort'.

7 Strada refers to an inventory in his letter to Vilém z Rožmberka (Doc. 1573-12-18): 'Euer Gnaden weren ein Inventari haben von meiner Liberay unndt Kunstkhamer, die ich Dero geben hab, wie Sie in meinem Haus gebesen sent, damals Euer Gnaden on mich begertt hatt; unndt Sich darinnen wol wissen zu erinnern, in was Gelt ichs Euer Gnaden ongeslagen hab'. But when he offered his *Kunstkammer* to August of Saxony (Doc. 1575-09-28) he had no up-to-date inventory available: 'Ich hett darneben Eur C.F.G. gern ein Inventari der picher als wol der antiquitethen ges[c]higt, so ist es des dings so fil, das mir die zeitt zu kurz ist worden'. The copy of Strada's testament preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek carries an annotation 'die Vergleichung der Bruedern und Schwestern vide in S'—unfortunately that document has not been preserved. The testament was opened only on September 28, 1590, a year and a half after Strada's death.

> Over twenty years ago I was sent to Italy, to Rome and Venice and elsewhere, to buy gold, silver and bronze coins, as well as old and important marbles, which with great effort and expense of money I brought to Augsburg, divesting Italy of its most noble spoils. Among these are several heads of Emperors and Empresses, moreover many intact marble statues, and other works of no less prize and antiquity.<…>In the same way I have bought up, during two trips I made into Italy, to Venice, the most famous Musaeum of the Venetian nobleman Andrea Loredan, in which can be seen the most beautiful heads in marble as well as in bronze, intact marble statues, and ancient coins of all sorts, which he had brought together as occasion served for over fifty years and at great expense. These, together with many other most noble works of the same kind, which would be too long to mention here, I had brought to Munich, at the cost of many thousands of ducats<…>.[8]

Strada's employment by Hans Jakob Fugger has already been discussed in chapter 3. The sources relating to the activities he now deployed, at Fugger's recommendation, on behalf of the collections of Duke Albrecht V, confirm the important place such traffic in works of art and antiquities had among Strada's occupations.[9]

12.3.1 *Sources: The* Libri Antiquitatum *and the Letters of Niccolò Stopio*

The most important source documenting the formation of these collections consists of a number of files preserved in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Munich. These *Libri Antiquitatum*, containing correspondence, accounts, some inventories and miscellaneous material, have been known and consulted since at least the end of the eighteenth century, and some extensive extracts have been published, though not always with great precision.[10] The material directly relating to Strada's commissions is to be found in the first three volumes, which contain some of his letters to the Duke and to Fugger, drafts of their answers, some accounts, lists of available objects and other miscellanea. Moreover, the second volume contains the letters from Venice written by another agent employed by Fugger on behalf of the Duke, the Italianate

8 Caesar 1575, fol. *4.

9 The following paragraph is a slightly expanded and updated version of my article 'Jacopo Strada et le Commerce d'Art', in *Revue de l'Art* (Jansen 1987).

10 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kurbayern, Äusseres Archiv 4851–4856; here after referred to as BHStA-*LA* 4851–4856); extracts published in Stockbauer 1874 (*passim*) and used extensively throughout Von Busch 1973; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987 and Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008.

Flemish poet and erudite Niccolò Stopio.[11] Stopio's regular reports provide a lively, though rather one-sided impression of Strada's occupations during his sojourns in Venice, and it will therefore be useful briefly to sketch the context of this correspondence.

Though a native of Aalst, in the Southern Netherlands, Stopio had been resident in Venice for at least twenty years.[12] He provided Hans Jakob Fugger with weekly news bulletins, in the spirit of the *Fuggerzeitungen*, and forwarded Fugger's correspondence to Bologna, Florence and Rome. He also purveyed books and manuscripts—in particular manuscripts from Greece, relatively easy to come by in Venice—and various luxury goods, such as gloves, soaps, and even medicines made after his own recipes. His real speciality seems to have been music: he not only sent instruments, but also contracted musicians and instrument makers for the Bavarian court.[13] And as a neo-Latin poet, he wrote texts for Orlando di Lasso—such as the motet *Gratia Sola Dei* sung at the wedding, in 1568, of Prince Wilhelm of Bavaria to Renée of Lorraine—and for other composers at the Bavarian court. Thus he provided a laudatory poem on Duchess Anna that was set to five voices for the same occasion by Caterina, the gifted daughter of Adriaen Willaert.[14] Though obviously neither wealthy nor particularly illustrious, he appears to have been respected as a man of letters, and to have been at least acquainted with most of Venice's leading artists and literati. Yet it is clear that he strongly resented the contrast between his position and that of Strada, whom he claimed to have known in different circumstances many years earlier.

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11 BHStA-*LA* 4851, 4852 (Stopio's correspondence) and 4853.

12 On Stopio, see Von Busch 1973, pp. 116, n. 48. The Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan preserves some of his poems in manuscript (*Iter Italicum* I, 1965, pp. 287, 302, 307). He provided all manner of services and goods, such as books, but also cosmetics and medicines, cf. BHStA-*LA* 4852, ff. 58, 49, 245 and 215: 'Mando con quella un libro delle cose di Carolo V, et un libretto del viaggio di Terra Santa, et doi pezzetti di sapone, biancho et verdetto<…>'.

13 These musicians were not always eager to remain in Germany: '<…>ma sopratutto comprendo che quel paese non fa per questi musici d'Italia, che sono tutti teste leggiere, et sono usi di stare con le loro compagne et putane, che è il loro Paradiso, a tal che partendo d'Italia pare che vadino al Purgatorio<…>et così quando uno vi è, cerca di persuadere al compagno chel ci venghi, poi concludono a non volervi stare ne l'uno ne l'altro<…>', *ibid*., ff. 71–72; on musical instruments, *ibid*. f. 64.

14 'Gratia sola Dei pie in omnibus in omnia adimplet', in: Peter Bergquist [ed.], Orlando Di Lasso: *The Complete Motets*, 7, Madison (WI) 1998, p. xvii and p. xxvii (its text and an English translation). On Caterina Willaert's madrigal, see Massimo Troiano, *Dialoghi<…> ne' quali si narrano le cose piu notabili fatte nelle nozze dello illustriss. et eccell. prencipe Guglielmo VI., conte palatino del Reno, e duca di Baviera; e dell' illustriss. et eccell. madama Renata di Loreno*, Venice 1569, fols. 123v–124v.

Though not in the first place considered as a man of letters, as was Stopio, Strada was a nobleman, was quite wealthy, held an officially recognized position in the first secular court of Christianity, and was reputedly considered to be among the finest antiquaries of Europe.[15] He was, moreover, charged with a very lucrative commission which Stopio had had some illusions of securing for himself. As Strada appears also to have been rather overbearing, if not at times outright arrogant in manner, it is not really surprising that Stopio did not greatly take to him. But his dislike soon developed into a vicious envy of Strada's accomplishments and successes, and in his almost weekly reports to Fugger he left nothing unsaid which he thought might discredit Strada in the eyes of their common patron, and thus indirectly in those of Albrecht V. He accused Strada of paying exorbitant prices for the antiquities he acquired on behalf of the Duke; of a tactless highhandedness with the Venetian noblemen from whom he often made his purchases; and of a lack of professional judgment and general erudition. He even went to the childish extreme of reproving Strada for a supposed spelling mistake in one of his letters, and rubbed that in even in successive reports to Fugger.[16] Finally he dwelt on the low esteem which, he claimed, was accorded to Strada by the Venetians, and he contrasted this with Strada's high reputation on the other side of the Alps: being more reliable and more honourable—'reali di natura' is Stopio's term—than the Italians, he explained, the Germans were more easily taken in.[17]

Stopio's negative judgment of Strada's character is known only from the few published excerpts from his correspondence, chiefly relating to Strada's dealings with Titian which have already been cited in my introduction. This may well be the reason why it has so often been taken at face value. This confidence

15 BHStA-*LA* 4852, f.15; *ibid*., f. 32: '<…>et tutto questo dico solo perchè Vostra Signoria [= Hans Jakob Fugger] mi scrisse già, chel è tenuto per uno de' primi antiquari intelligenti di Europa<…>'.

16 BHStA-*LA* 4852, ff. 32, 62, 231, 280. That it was properly the word with which Strada declared himself Stopio's affectionate friend says something about the latter's character: '<…>et certo mi stupisco come un simil grossolone [= Strada] ha acquistato tanto credito in Alemagna, fra tali huomini dotti e giudiciosi; Vostra Signoria [= Hans Jakob Fugger] puo considerare la sua scientia in questa lettera ch'l m'a scritto di Mantua, dove in loco di affett.^{mo} scrive efitionatiss.^{mo}; chi vide mai simil ignorantia in persona chi fa professione di sapere, a non haver fin in questa sua età mai misso a mente il significato ne ortografia di tanto comune vocabolo<…>'. It is true that Strada's usage is very unusual—it cannot be found in the *Vocabolario della Crusca*—yet in general Strada's Italian, including his spelling, is polished, clear, elegant and self-assured: certainly not that of a 'grossolone'. Of course Fugger, a consummate speaker of Italian himself, was very well aware of that, and paid no attention to Stopio's ravings.

17 BHStA-*LA* 4852, ff. 114, 125, 136.

is misplaced, as is clear not only from the vindictive tone of Stopio's correspondence as a whole, but also from the fact that Fugger, one of the most intelligent and discriminating patrons of the sixteenth century, almost completely ignored his insinuations.[18] In the following an attempt will be made to cull from the correspondence the facts about Strada's activities in Venice, discarding Stopio's subjective interpretations of these, and to place them as much as possible within the context afforded by other sources.

12.3.2 *Acquisitions of Antiquities for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria*

Strongly influenced by the ideas and the example of his *Hofkammerpräsident*, Hans Jakob Fugger, who by this time had become the Duke's primary advisor in all artistic and intellectual matters, Albrecht V was bringing together at Munich a complex of collections expressly aimed to further the interests of the state as well as to serve the instruction and entertainment of the Prince and his immediate circle. This complex consisted of an encyclopaedic *Kunstkammer*, a large library, and a collection of antiquities of a scale and quality unique north of the Alps. For the *Kunstkammer* an accommodation had just been completed, while the library and the Antiquarium were to be housed in a second, specially designed building, the conception of which is, as we have seen in chapter 8, largely due to Strada.

Strada's employment by the Duke was the direct and logical consequence of his earlier activities for Fugger. Strada had maintained his connection with Fugger after his appointment at the Imperial court, and it is likely that he continued to scout and buy antiquities for him. It can hardly be a coincidence that Fugger had been in Venice in 1560 and accompanied Strada when he first negotiated with the Venetian nobleman, Andrea Loredan, about the acquisition of part or all of his huge and very famous collection of antiquities for Emperor Ferdinand I, a deal which never materialized.[19] Strada had been in Venice again in March 1562, when he provided and annotated an inventory of the smaller collection of Vincenzo del Gallo Bussoni, a list which is preserved in Munich with a German translation, doubtless provided by Fugger on the Duke's behalf.[20] When Fugger ceded his own collections to the Duke, he persuaded him to employ Strada in the acquisition of additional antiquities in Italy.

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18 In a letter dated Vienna 30 March 1569 (BHStA–*LA* 4852, fols. 228 ff.) Fugger, at the time staying in Strada's house, refutes Stopio's accusations and sternly takes him to task for his own mistakes and omissions in his services to Fugger and Duke Albrecht, and stops responding to Stopio letters until the latter's sudden death a few months later.

19 Von Busch 1973, pp. 117–118.

20 BHStA-*LA* 4851, fol. 29; printed in Stockbauer 1874, pp. 44–48.

Strada's first trip in the Duke's service, in 1566, was to Rome, the obvious source of Roman antiquities. Here he purchased a considerable quantity of antique sculpture, which arrived in Munich only in the summer of 1567. A list Strada had made when he was packing the crates, which in Munich was translated by Fugger himself, lists no less than twenty-five full-length statues, about thirty portrait heads, and a number of fragments and miscellaneous objects.[21] Doubtless incited by Fugger and by Strada himself, in the following year the Duke sent Strada to Venice to attempt the purchase of the huge and famous collection of antiques brought together by Andrea Loredan. After complicated negotiations, involving a lawsuit and the intervention of the *Signoria* on behalf of the Duke, Strada was able to conclude the transaction during a second trip to Venice in 1568.[22]

The purchase included ninety-one portrait heads, forty-three statues and torsos, thirty-three reliefs, forty-four miscellaneous fragments of statuary, about hundred and twenty small bronzes and a quantity of other objects of archaeological interest, and finally a medal cabinet containing about 2500 gold, silver and bronze Greek and Roman coins.[23] The original estimate of the collection amounted to about 8400 ducats, which the Duke was allowed to pay in yearly instalments. It can thus be regarded as the most important single transaction of Strada's career known to us.[24]

Apart from the Loredan collection Strada also vainly attempted to acquire part of the equally celebrated collection left by another Venetian nobleman, Gabriele Vendramin. He did, however, succeed in purchasing on behalf of the Duke a number of antiquities from the collection of Simone Zeno: twenty-two portrait heads, six small full-length statues or statuettes, seven torsos, fifteen

21 Von Busch 1973, pp. 116–17 and 139–141 ff.; BHStA-*LA* 4851, fols. 235, 248–249, 282–285; excerpts printed in Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, *Quellenanhang* pp. 457–459, nrs. 38–47. The Roman sources on the exportation of antiques from Rome published in Jestaz 1963 do not refer to these acquisitions.

22 Strada is documented in Venice from February until the end of August 1567; from February until July 1568 (part of which time he spent in Mantua) and again briefly in July 1569; cf. Von Busch 1973, pp. 203–207.

23 Von Busch 1973, pp. 119–122 (on Strada's negotiations with Andrea Loredan) and pp. 142–143 (on the contents of these collections).

24 Von Busch 1973, pp. 120–121. In financial terms, the transaction can only be compared in scope to the corpus of numismatic drawings Strada purveyed to Fugger and later to Duke Albrecht V: this included ca 8.000 drawings for which Strada was paid a ducat each (cf. above, Ch. 3.3). But this transaction stretched over at least two decades; cf. above, Ch. 3; and Von Busch 1973, pp. 194–195. The genesis of the collection of the Antiquarium has received ample attention in Von Busch 1973 and Weski/ Frosien-Leinz 1987, so need not be discussed here.

bronzes and some miscellaneous objects. At 390 ducats for the lot, this was a relatively modest acquisition, as was, at 100 ducats, the lot of two statues, a bust and a sarcophagus he could buy from the heirs of Cardinal Pietro Bembo. While still in Venice Strada had one of Zeno's torsos completed with a head and an arm.[25] His third trip to Venice, in 1569, was made in order to negotiate the purchase of two numismatic collections, respectively belonging to Giulio Calestano of Milan and to Marco Mantova Benavides of Padua, and of a collection of cameos and antique intaglios.[26] At the same time Strada remained on the alert for further items of potential interest to Albrecht V, whom he provided with annotated inventories of available collections, and to whom he signalled individual pieces, such as the antique sculptures he saw in the house of Giulio Romano in Mantua and in the studio of the sculptor Alessandro Vittoria, in Venice.[27]

Two statues still in the Antiquarium that can be identified with items Strada had bought in Rome can serve as examples of his acquisitions. One is a *Diana of Ephesus*, described in a list of the statues sent to Munich in the summer of 1567 as:

> A statue of Diane of the Ephesians, all intact and the figure decorated with histories, its head and hands are of black stone called 'paragona', and the statue is in white marble. This is as good as any of the best things found in Rome.[28] [Fig. 12.1]

It was famous in its time, being drawn by Etienne du Pérac and Stephanus Vinandus Pighius as well as by Strada himself, who included it in his *Statuarum antiquarum*, an album of drawings from his workshop illustrating antique

25 On the Vendramin collection: BHStA-*LA* 4851, fols. 195 and 316; cf. Anderson 1979; on the collection Zeno: BHStA-*LA* 4853, fol. 132–15v. The works Strada acquired from the Zeno and Bembo collections are listed in the final account he presented to the Duke, BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 11–21, published in Stockbauer 1874, pp. 32–36; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 464, nr. 109. On Pietro Cardinal Bembo's collection, see Eiche 1982, pp. 352–359.

26 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fol. 11. On the collection of Marco Mantova Benavides, see Favaretto 1972 and Candida 1967; Dacos 1969.

27 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 11 and 27; Stockbauer 1874, p. 31.

28 BHStA-*LA* 4851, fol. 283 r/v (nr. 09): 'Una statua di Diana Efesia, tutta integra e tutta historiata la figura, la sua testa le mani e li piedi son di pietra negra cioe di paragone, e la statua sie di marmor bianco, questa sta al pari delle piu belle cose che sia in roma'. It is now interpreted as an *Aphrodite of Aphrodisias*; otherwise than Strada thought (or wished to communicate?) its face, hands (lost) and feet in black marble were contemporary restorations; cf. Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, pp. 312–313, cat. nr. 192 and pp. 428, cat. nr. 341.

FIGURES 12.1–12.4 The Diana of Ephesus and the Cybele, among the statues acquired by Strada for the Munich Antiquarium that are still in situ; he included drawings of both in his ms. *Statuarum antiquarum*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,2.

full-length statues that is preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Fig. 12.2].[29] Another one is a relatively intact female statue restored in the mid-sixteenth century or earlier as a *Cybele* or—according to Strada—as an *Asia* [Fig. 12.3]. In Strada's list it is described as 'A small statue of Asia in full relief, slightly smaller than life size, with a lion under her feet', and he likewise included it in his *Statuarum antiquarum* [Fig. 12.4].[30] Probably its restoration—the missing head was replaced—predates Strada's acquisition, though it remains possible that he had commissioned it himself, as he had done with the torso from the Zeno collection.

Strada did employ some local sculptors to execute some small restorations, among whom the best sculptor active in Venice, Alessandro Vittoria, from whom he also commissioned a *Cupido all' antica*.[31] A year later he proposed the Duke to have some of the sculptures sent to Vienna, to have them restored under his direct supervision in his own house. As in his drawings of coins, such restorations doubtless would have included the replacement of missing parts, as was in any case the general practice in the sixteenth century.[32] Though in his *Statuarum antiquarum* Strada does show statues with heads, hands or arms lacking, the general impression is that he preferred to represent his statues in a sufficiently intact—that is, restored—state, to convey their artistic intention.

This is certainly the case in the set of drawings of Roman portrait busts likewise preserved in Vienna, which are probably in Strada's own hand: it is unlikely that the originals still were all in the pristine condition in which Strada represents them [Fig. 12.5].[33] In particular the portrait heads, often found severed from their bodies, were intended to be complemented by a suitable bust made to measure by sculptors in Strada's pay. It is just possible that a rather flattened bust among the *spolia* of the fake Roman ruin in the park of Schönbrunn—it was probably intended to present a portrait head destined for

29 *Antiquarum statuarum tam deorum, quam dearum heroum et eorum coniugum, tum etiam imperatorum et eorundem uxorum formae et effigies ex antiquis marmoreis et aeneis statuis, quae et Romae et aliis in locis inveniuntur ad vivum depictae atque fidelissime repraesentatae,* Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 21,1, fol. 139; it is not mentioned in Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, who illustrate Du Pérac's and Pighius' drawings (*Textband* pp. 429; p. 112–113, Abb. 99 (Du Pérac) and 100 (*Codex Pighianus*).

30 BHStA-*LA* 4851, fol. 283 r/v (nr. 22): 'Una statuetta di Asia di tutto tondo alquanto minore dell naturale con un lione sotto agli piedi'; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, pp. 313–314, cat. nr. 193 and pp. 442, cat. nr. 364. The present head is a nineteenth-century replacement of an earlier (Renaissance?) restoration. Strada's drawing in his *Antiquarum statuarum* (*cit.*), fol. 34.

31 Cf. below, Ch. 12.5.3.

32 Von Busch 1973, p. 131 and 146, 148–149; cf. below, Ch. 12.4.

33 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. Min.* 21,3, fols. 344/61r–362/70r.

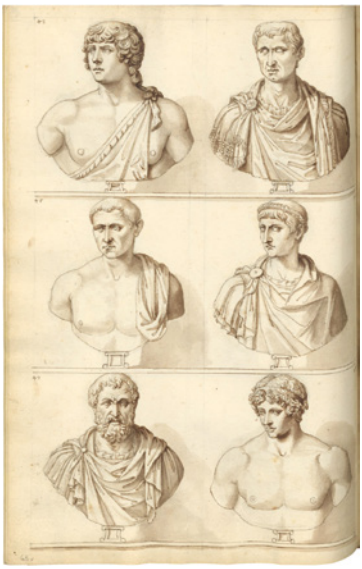


FIGURE 12.5 Jacopo Strada, drawings of (restored) antique portrait heads; Vienna, österreichsiche Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,3.

FIGURES 12.6–12.7 A marble bust originally made to present an antique portrait head and similar in type and function to those commissioned by Strada for the Antiquarium, as reused in the Römische Ruine at Schönbrunn.

a shallow niche—may be a relic of Strada's project to provide the Duke's portrait heads with busts made in his own workshop in Vienna [Figs. 12.6–12.7].[34]

From the remaining correspondence it appears that in general Strada did not make purchases for the Duke until he received an explicit commission; yet these commissions were given in response to Strada's own proposals, based on his inspection of the various collections available in Rome and Venice. So at least in his dealings with the Bavarian court Strada acted as a scout and an agent, rather than as an independent dealer or merchant. Backed by the credit of both the Duke of Bavaria and Fugger, he was able to offer very high prices: too high, according to Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Prince-Bishop of Augsburg. But Truchsess wrote to Duke Albrecht from Rome, so his information was at second hand and probably based on the gossip started by Stopio.[35]

34 Von Busch 1973, pp. 146–148. In the end the busts for the portrait heads in the Antiquarium were made only some years later, and in Munich, not in Vienna: cf. Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, pp.39–42 and Figs. 111–17.

35 Von Busch 1973, p. 297, n. 82.

For such big acquisitions Strada relied upon the assistance of certain middlemen or 'Unterkäufer' (literally 'under-buyers') to assist him in his negotiations. Of the *sensali*, officially authorized valuers and brokers who were involved in the estimate of the Loredan collection, the knowledgeable Giovanni Battista Mondella seems to have been his most trusted adviser. Strada had got to know him during his visit of 1560, when Mondella had acted as an intermediary when he acquired three statues from the Loredan collection.[36]

On the other hand it should be noted that Strada appears to have advanced part of the capital needed to pay for the acquisitions (excluding the Loredan collection, which was paid for directly through the Duke's commercial agent) and to cover various incidental expenses, as is clear from the account he later handed in. He did moreover occasionally buy antiquities on his own account: perhaps for some other, unidentified patrons, perhaps for his own collection. But it is not clear whether—apart from his own, private *studio*—he deliberately collected a large stock of ancient sculpture and other relics of Antiquity explicitly intended to supply potential customers such as Albrecht V at will; that is, whether he set up as a merchant of art on a grand scale.

Apart from the acquisitions themselves, Strada also occupied himself with other necessary activities in connection with the Duke's collection of antiquities. While still in Venice he already looked after the restoration of some of the sculptures, and he proposed that part of the Loredan marbles should be sent to Munich by way of Vienna, a considerable detour, where he intended to have them restored in his own studio and under his own direct supervision, as had been done with some of the statues from Rome.[37] In Venice he ordered tablets in black marble or 'pietra di paragone' to be used for the inscriptions that were intended to be placed in the pedestals of the various statues. This was very critical work because the customary abbreviations in the Latin inscriptions could easily be garbled by unlettered stonecutters. Strada later insisted that it was necessary to have them made under his direct supervision, because even the few test examples he had had made in Venice by a first class master

36 Von Busch 1973, p. 118 and p. 291, n. 60 and 292, n. 64. Strada made use of Mondella also on other occasions, and employed him as his agent when he was absent from Venice. At Strada's request Duke Albrecht provided Mondella with a 'fede', a formal letter of recommendation, see BHStA, Kurbayern, A.A. 4853 [= LA 3], fols. 13, 83, 122 and 185. Foreign merchants in Venice were more or less obliged to uses such brokers in their dealings (cf. Welch 2005, pp. 33 ff.).

37 Von Busch 1973, p. 207; BHStA, Kurbayern, A.A. 4851 [= LA 2], fols. 309, 310 and 314. Some of the restorations were done in Venice by Alessandro Vittoria. The Duke declined Strada's offer, because he did not trust the statues to go to Vienna, considering Maximilian II a serious rival in the collecting of antique statuary.

had not come out according to his instructions.[38] He also ordered several little chests, cabinets and cases on behalf of the Duke, which were intended to hold the coins and medals and perhaps also the cameos and intaglios. They were provided with very many drawers covered in red, green and blue morocco and lined with satin in the same colours—possibly so that the different types of objects could be easily distinguished, but more probably to systematically separate the gold, silver and bronze coins.[39] Since Strada himself bought the materials and paid the craftsmen—two or three cabinet makers, a book binder and, probably, a woodcarver who prepared the ebony decoration of (most of) the drawers—it is likely that he not merely ordered these containers, but also provided the designs for them.[40]

Finally, as we have seen above, Strada was closely involved in the planning of the arrangement of the statues, first advising on the planned room for the antiquities in the Munich *Kunstkammer*, then being closely involved in the conception of the separate building that was planned to house both the Duke's antiques and his library, the Antiquarium of the Munich Residenz, for which Strada furnished an attractive Italianate design. It is clear that he was also

38 The work on the marble tablets is listed in Strada's final account, BHStA, Kurbayern, A.A. 4853 [= LA 3], fols. 11r–21v, printed in Stockbauer 1874, p. 32–36: 'Item zu Mantua um 28 Tafeln schwarze stein zu f 18 thut v 85 f 3 st 8. <…>Um die Schrift in einen schwarzen stein zu hauen v 3 f 1 st 8.<…>Die Buchstaben zu vergolden v 1 f 1 st 2'. Fugger's notes for his meeting with Duke Albrecht after his consultation with Strada in Vienna in the summer of 1567 refers to the inscriptions: 'Also begert er [= Strada] im auch die schwarzen Stain hinab zue ordnen, damit er die Schrifften recht darein laß machen, dabei mieß er selb sein, dan unangesechen er drinnen ein guetten Maister gehabt, und er im die sachen under hand selb geben, hab er ain Stain dreimal verkhern miessen, das erst mal hab er im die Außthailung übl gmacht und ain ganze Zail ausgelassen, unangesehen er es ims auf Papir fürgemalt, das hab er im 2 Buechstaben ausgelassen, also daß er im auff den Stain hab miessen alles fürreissen, und hett im dannocht schier umb ain ganzen Buechstaben gefhelet, da er nit dabei gwest und gleich darzue kommen wer; dann dise Leut haben kain Juditium noch Verstand, man mieß alle Stund bei inen sein<…>', BHStA, Kurbayern, A.A. 4852 [= LA 2], fols. 119r–121v, printed in Weski/Frosien Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 461, doc. 80.

39 This corresponds with the use of colours for different sections of a collection proposed by Quiccheberg, and practised for instance in Archduke Ferdinand's *Kunstkammer* at Ambras.

40 Strada's final account begins with an item 'Unkosten so über die Trühelein zu den Medaglien ergangen'(BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 11r; Stockbauer 1874, p. 32). The drawers of the medal chest were lined in green, red or blue silk or morocco, gilt, and in some cases decorated with ebony carved profiles; a small quantity of ivory mentioned may have been used for the small turned knobs to open the drawers. p. 32; cf. Von Busch 1973, pp.146–147. They are mentioned in Strada's letter from Mantua to Duke Albrecht: 'La casetta delle medaglie, l'una portaro con esso meco, le altre due si finiranno in mia absenza perchè e digià finito tutte le casettini dove vanno le medaglie dentro'. (Doc. 1567-07-12).

expected to provide the master plan underlying the eventual collocation of Albrecht's acquisitions within the Antiquarium.[41]

Summing up it appears that, though he certainly was well paid for his endeavours, when antiquities were involved Strada's activities in Venice cannot really be compared with those of a modern art dealer. They have much more in common with the tasks of the professional curator of a large museum.

12.4 Strada's Own Cabinet of Antiquities

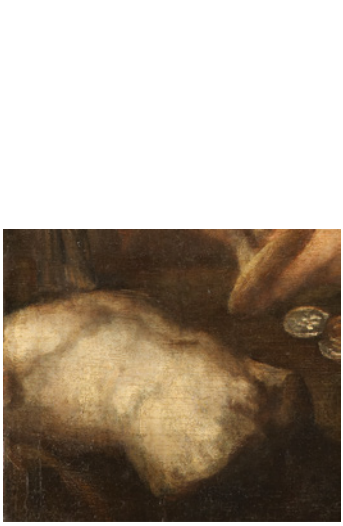
12.4.1 *The Cabinet as Shown in the Portrait*

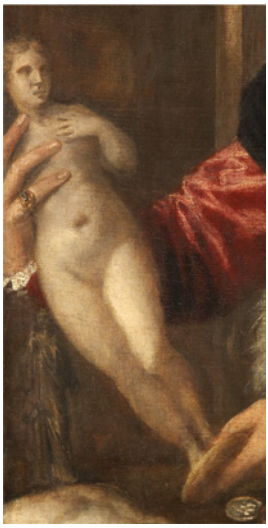
The Italian collections that provided the antiquities Strada acquired first for Fugger and then for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria also provided him with the objects he brought together in his own cabinet or *Musaeum*, though he probably had begun collecting these much earlier, perhaps as early as in Rome in the 1530s, and he must have made use of opportunities he encountered on his travels, for instance in Lyon. Except for his collection of ancient coins, which he always mentions separately, and which can be partially reconstructed on the basis of his own descriptions in his manuscript *Διαςκευέ*, we have hardly any positive evidence about the antiquarian contents of his *Musaeum*, except that it existed. Doubtless it included at least some marbles, some small antique bronzes and other objects, such as the antiquities Strada is showing off so enthusiastically in his portrait by Titian. Though these may be chiefly intended to refer to the acquisitions for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria in which Strada was engaged at that time, they are representative for the type of objects he was particularly interested in and must have bought for himself, and which were intended either for his own collection or in order to sell to some of his other patrons, or both.

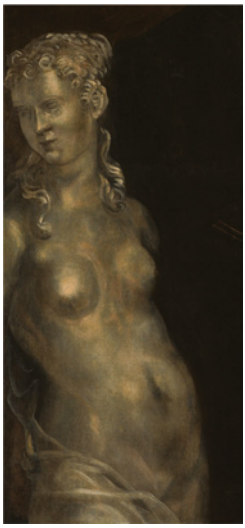
The principal object represented is the small marble version of a Venus which Strada extends to the viewer [Fig. 12.9]. It is reminiscent of a type traditionally associated with the *Aphrodite Pselioumene* mentioned by Pliny among the works of Praxiteles, but represents either a probably contemporary variation of that statue or—more likely—a fruit of Titian's fertile imagination.[42] A small male torso in white marble and a small female draped figure in bronze

41 Discussed above, Ch. 8.

42 Panofsky 1969, p. 81, following Klein 1899, pp. 60–62, who duly notes the divergence from the type; cf. Heenes 2010, p. 286, n. 4. Krahn 2008 suggests that the statuette is a version of a lost antique torso, one among the antiquities bought for Duke Albrecht which Strada had restored by Alessandro Vittoria.







FIGURES 12.8–12.9 Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada [Fig. 0.1], details showing the marble statuette of Venus and a male torso.

FIGURE 12.10 Tintoretto, Portrait of Ottavio Strada [Fig. 0.2], detail showing the life size Venus in white marble.

are placed on the table[Figs. 12.8 and 12.12] and a slightly larger sized Hercules of the Farnese type in bronze, placed on the shelf above Strada's head, is cut off by the upper edge of the painting [Fig. 12.11]. In Tintoretto's portrait of Ottavio Strada, painted at the same time, the subject is clutching a small fragmentary metal statuette in one hand[Fig. 12.13], while leaning on a life size, nude Goddess—doubtless a *Venus*—of white marble [Fig. 12.10].
One should beware of trying to identify these exact objects: the odds are that they are figments of the artist's imagination, as is the case with Tintoretto's *Venus*, which has much more in common with Alessandro Vittoria's style than with that of Greek or Roman sculpture. But they do represent the type of material Strada would have collected in his *Musaeum*.

The only individual items we know to have been in Strada's collection are the probably small-sized antiques incorporated in a *Kunstschrank* described in the inventory of paintings and some other works of art that Strada offered at some point in time to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, which will be discussed in greater detail below. Principal items were the portrait heads of Philip of Macedon, of his son Alexander the Great and of Hannibal; a female head identified as 'Capuana'; and the heads of two children, 'one laughing, the other crying', all in marble. The cabinet moreover contained a number of other small antiquities: a bust of Faustina in marble, and one of Minerva in 'metal', prob-

FIGURES 12.11–12.12 Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada [Fig. 0.1], details showing the bronze statuettes of a Hercules and a draped female figure.

FIGURE 12.13 Tintoretto, Portrait of Ottavio Strada [Fig. 0.2], detail showing the fragmentary statuette.

ably bronze, as were the statuettes of Apollo, a male and a female Satyr and two horses. Two 'Piramiden von Marmor' were probably marble obelisks topping the cabinet.[43] But Strada must have possessed antique sculptures besides these, if his house even included a workshop where antique statuary could be restored. An example of this is found in a letter of the Mantuan envoy about the presentation of an antique sculpture of a Satyr which the Duke had sent as a gift to Maximilian II in 1572. Unfortunately it had broken in two during transport, and the envoy applied to Strada to have the parts reunited, which was done in too much of a hurry, because it broke again in the same spot while being carried to the Hofburg.[44]

12.4.2 *Casts of Imperial Portrait Busts*

The only other concrete information we have is that Strada owned a collection of busts of Roman emperors and empresses. These, however, were not originals: they were casts which Strada had commissioned after the best exemplars he had seen in various collections, such as those owned by Cesare Gonzaga,

43 Cf. Appendix C, 'Pleasant paintings'.

44 Docs. 1572-05-28; 1572-06-12.

FIGURE 12.14 Friedrich Sustris and Carlo Pallago, Decoration of a room in the Fuggerhaus, Augsburg (1569–1573).

FIGURE 12.15 Bust of Marcus Aurelius, Imperial Chamber, Bučovice castle (ca 1583).

Signore of Guastalla and Duke of Amalfi.[45] We know from Stopio's correspondence with Hans Jakob Fugger that Strada had these made to be placed 'over the doors and in niches' in his own house, which was 'being built in the Italian manner'. This strongly suggests that Strada planned to decorate one or more rooms of his *studio* or *Musaeum* in a manner reminiscent of the room in the Fugger house in Augsburg that was commissioned at about this time by Hans Fugger, Hans Jakob's nephew, and executed after designs by Friedrich Sustris and Carlo Pallago [Fig. 12.14]. A similar use was made of stucco busts in the Imperial Chamber at Bučovice, which can be attributed to Strada, as argued in chapter 10.4, and can be considered as a—probably more sumptuous—reflection of his own *studiolo* [Figs. 12.15 and above, Figs. 10.17–10.20].

Though not originals, in being high quality casts of the best available Roman portrait sculpture, these busts made a strong impression on Strada's guests and served as inspiration for the artists employed in his projects. They were quite well-known and were coveted by several other collectors: thus at one time Hans Jakob Fugger had expressed his wish to acquire them, and in 1574 his nephew Hans Fugger would make an attempt to buy them, in order to have them cast in bronze to fit inside the niches of his splendid new room. By that time Strada was ready to sell them to Duke Albrecht, who earlier had expressed his interest in them, and Strada thought they could well serve to

45 On Cesare Gonzaga (1536–1575) and his exquisite collection of antiquities, described in Vasari/Milanesi, 6, pp. 489–490, see Brown/Lorenzoni 1984 and Brown/Lorenzoni 1993.

provide models ('padroni') for the busts still to be made for the portrait heads acquired for the Munich Antiquarium.[46]

It is possible that a set of careful drawings of intact Roman portraits busts preserved among Strada's materials in the Austrian National Library at Vienna documents these gesso sculptures—or rather the originals from which they had been cast [Fig. 12.15 and 12.16–12.17; and below, Figs. 13.74–13.77]. Recent research has revealed that several of them reproduce statues in the collection of Don Cesare Gonzaga at Mantua, which have been preserved in various locations.[47] It is not clear how large the set of casts was: Strada's elder son Paolo still could offer twenty of them for sale after his father's death.[48] They provided part of the models for a book containing a series of designs of imperial portraits based on antique sculpture, two manuscript versions of which of are preserved in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden [Fig. 12.18 and below, Figs. 13.78 and 13.79–13.81]. Ottavio Strada's codex depicting imperial portrait busts presented

46 Stopio to Fugger, 5 October 1567 (BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 75/69): 'Ho inteso che il Strada ha fatto gettare di gesso alcune teste in Mantua che ha il S[ign]or don Cesare Gonzaga, non so se quelle havera mandato a Vienna, o Monacho'; Stopio used this as an excuse for himself having sent plaster casts instead of the real thing to the Duke, to which Fugger indignantly repplied (23 December 1567, *ibid.*, fol. 111/104): '<…> et vi ingannate di larga che'l Strada habbi fatto gettare q[ue]lle cose di Mantua p[e]r l'Imperato[re] o il Duca, anzi l'ha fatto far p[er] se med[esim]o per adornamento di casa sua p[er] le porte et nichi di q[ue] lla essendo fabrichata alla italiana<…>'; Strada to Fugger, 1 March 1574 (Doc. 1574-03-01): 'Già Vostra Signoria mi disse che sua Excellenza averia voluntieri auto le mie teste delli Imperadori et Imperatrice di gesso, le quali sonno le più belle che siano in tutto Italia, et le ò fatte formare con grande mia spesa; le quali sarianno buone per padroni per far li busti a quella di marmoro di Sua Excellenza. Se Vostra Signoria ce ne vole dire una parola sta a Lei; Gli darò ancora le pitture et medaglie, et se non vorrà li libri li terrò per me. Anche le dette teste si potranno far ancora gittar di bronzo con il tempo. Mi è stato a trovar un cittadino di Augusta, et quelle teste me ne a dimandato un inventario, con le pitture, et mi disse volerle mandare in Augusta a donare a un gentilhuomo; ma non mi volse dire il nome. O poi saputo sottomane che le voria per il Signor Giovan Fochero, et le voriano far gettar di bronzo per metter in un sala che fa fare molto suntuosissima. Io non ne farò altro insino alla rissolutione di Vostra Signoria, aspetandone però la risposta dala ordata di questa un mese'. Some of the copies were possibly made by the sculptor Giovanni Battista della Porta, who was sent to Cesare Gonzaga with a letter of introduction by Strada in June 1568 (Doc. 1568-06-16).

47 Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Cod.min.* 21,3, fols. 61r–70r.; at least five of these busts have been identified among the relics of Cesare Gonzaga's collection now in Turin Racconigi and Casale Monferrato; cf. Riccomini 2014 <a> and Riccomini 2014<b>. Dr. Riccomini kindly informed me that further busts can be identified among the relics of Cesare Gonzaga's collection preserved in Parma.

48 Doc. 1592-03-18: Hugo Blotius to Wolfgang Rumpff, Vienna, 18 March 1592: 'Habet idem Paulus venalia viginta Caesarum antiquorum capita pectoribus ex gypso affabre factis imposita'.

FIGURES 12.16–12.17 Jacopo Strada or workshop, drawings of Roman portrait busts; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

FIGURE 12.18 Jacopo Strada, Bust of the Emperor Hadrian, a drawing from the manuscript Strada lent to Elector August of Saxony in 1574; Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett.

to Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany in 1600 may well be a copy of the version his father had intended for the press.[49]

12.4.3 *Coins and Medals*

Titian's and Tintoretto's portraits of Jacopo Strada and his son both include antique coins, which constituted a separate section of Jacopo's *Musaeum* [Figs. 12.19–12.20]. In his brief descriptions Strada generally distinguishes between his medals and his other antiquities. It is natural that, as one of the foremost numismatists of his generation, he would have owned a coin-collection of some note: a collection that was not large, he claims, but of exquisite quality. In the pursuit of his numismatic studies Strada had visited many cabinets of collectors in Italy, Germany and in France, and had carefully documented the best exemplars of individual issues he had seen. This documentation was the

49 Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett Ca 74 and Ca .75,76 and 77, see below, Ch. 13.7.1; the version Strada intended to have printed is described in the *Index sive catalogus* (Appendix D), nr. 6. The Florence manuscript is in Ottavio's hand; it was accompanied by letters of presentation to Ferdinando I of Tuscany and his secretary Belisario Vinta, dated Prague 28 November and 16 December 1600 (ASF, *Medici del Principato* 900, f. 218 and 311). Its two volumes are now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, *Med. Palat.* 235a–b. It is illustrated, but not discussed, in Marx 2007, pp. 213–214, figs. 52–53.

FIGURE 12.19 Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada [Fig. 01], detail showing antique coins.
FIGURE 12.20 Tintoretto, Portrait of Ottavio Strada [Fig. 0.2], detail showing a cornucopia showering a profusion of antique coins.

basis for the sets of splendid numismatic drawings he made for Hans Jakob Fugger and his other patrons.

That these were serious studies is borne out by the verbal descriptions with which Strada intended to accompany them, preserved in two bulky sets of manuscript volumes in Vienna and in Prague, the *A*(*ureum*) *A*(*rgentum*) *A*(*eneum*) *NumismatΩn Διαςκευέ*, i.e. a 'Description of gold, silver and bronze antique coins'. Because in these entries he always mentioned the collection where he had seen the best exemplar, it is possible to reconstruct at least part—and probably the best part—of his own collection, and to compare it with those of some of his contemporaries. From this it results that, at least as to its size, Strada's description of his own coin cabinet is overly modest: except for those possessed by Antonio Agustín, Strada's own medals are most often used as the source for his descriptions. Even taking into account that Strada would have had a bias for his own coins, or that he may have possessed relatively many rare issues of which he had seen no other exemplars, one can conclude that his collection must have consisted of at the very least about two thousand coins, and probably many, many more.[50]

50 *A*[*ureorum*] *A*[*rgenteorum*] *A*[*ereorum*] *Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ*, Vienna, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms III—160898 (old shelf mark III 483); Prague, University library, ms. VII A 1. It is discussed in Jansen 1993, pp. 215–220; some examples of the descriptions and the breakdown of the provenance of the coins listed in the first five volumes, *ibidem*, annex 1a, pp. 227–230 and 1b, pp. 231–232. These five volumes (out of eleven) describe a total of 4430 coins, owned by about 50 different collectors: Agustín (942 entries) and Strada (883 entries) each correspond to about a fifth of this total. This does not necessarily imply the other collections were smaller or of lesser quality, but it does imply that Strada had studied these two collections in greater depth. All the same it is clear that Strada possessed a huge collection of coins; so his note in his letter to Jacopo Dani of 1581 'le mie medaglie, le quali, se ben non son molte, sonno però exquisitissime' (Doc. 1581-11-02) probably indicates that by that time he had already sold a large part of them to one or more of his patrons, but had kept the best ones for himself. The *Διασκευέ* would make it

12.5 Acquisitions of Other Materials in Venice

12.5.1 *Miscellanea*

Apart from the antiques from the Zeno and Bembo collections, a quantity of coins of undefined provenance and his incidental expenses, the final account that Strada presented to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria mentions a further quantity of miscellaneous, non-antique items that he had provided.[51] Most of these objects were of relatively minor importance, as can be inferred from their prices, and they are never mentioned in the correspondence. It is possible that Strada had been given *carte blanche* for acquisitions of this type, but it is more probable that—well aware of the Duke's and Fugger's taste and preferences—he bought this type of items on his own account: when his patrons had made their choice after his return to Munich, he would not have found it too difficult to dispose of the remainder elsewhere.

Few of these objects are of interest in themselves, but their variety gives an indication of the range of Strada's competence. They included a number of independent works of art, which we would class among the fine, rather than among the decorative arts: four metal statuettes—probably small bronzes—representing a *Victoria*, a *Jupiter*, an unidentified female figure and a rearing horse, and some paintings of little value: a *Hercules* and the portraits of 'Pope Julius' and of 'a Greek woman'. Moreover Strada listed an enigmatic item of no less than three hundred and sixty ducats which he had paid to a merchant in Mantua, Guidoto Garotto. This consisted partly of fifty ducats worth of 'other stones'—perhaps *pietre dure* or rather antique gems or sculpture fragments—and partly of 'several paintings': though unspecified, at three hundred and ten ducats these must have been of some importance, and I will come back to them below.[52]

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possible to reconstitute it to a large extent, which would allow a more precise analysis of Strada's collecting habits and his numismatic practice, and compare them to those of his contemporaries.

51 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 11–21. The incidental expenses included restoration, packing, storage and transport of the objects, some clothing for Strada and his son Ottavio, who functioned as his assistant, and even one ducat '<…> den Saal im Palast und zu St. Marco und das Arsenal zu sehen', i.e. to see (the state rooms of) the Palazzo Ducale, San Marco and the Arsenal (Stockbauer 1874, p. 35).

52 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 11–21; Stockbauer 1874, p. 33: '1 Gemälde mit einem Hercules v.2'. <…> '1 Bild Victoria' <…> '1 Bild Jovis' <…> '1 Frauenbild' <…> '1 springendes Pferd' (all in metal and together priced at 30 ducats); p. 34.: '1 Papst Julii Contrefait v 7 f 3 st 10'. <…> '1 Gemälde einer griechischen Frau v 5'. <…> 'So habe ich zu Mantua dem Guidoto Garoto, einem Kaufmanne allda, die übrigen Steine bis zu 50 und etliche Gemälde zu bezahlen v 360'.

Fine craftsmanship was represented by a silver crucifix, a looking glass in a richly decorated gilt frame and a black marble basin.[53] Of special interest is a tabletop—which came provided with a finely wrought base—executed in the technique often indicated as *commesso di pietre dure*, a term that was literally translated into German in the account: '1 Tisch mit zusammengesetzten Steinen'.

Apart from these finished specimens of the technique, Strada also bought a quite considerable quantity of semiprecious stones.[54] These may have been intended merely as raw material for the manufacture of similar objects by the Duke's own artists, but it is also thinkable that at least the larger plaques were meant to be used in interior decoration, in particular of the Munich Antiquarium itself. Such a display of rare and precious sorts of marble, many of which came from Greece and Asia Minor, had been realized in those rooms of his palace at Santa Maria Formosa in Venice where Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, housed his collection of antiquities. This was very famous at the time and well known both to Stopio and to Strada himself.[55] [Fig. 12.21] Finally part of the stones may have been acquired for the Duke's *Kunstkammer* by virtue of their mineralogical interest, such as the fossilized piece of wood and the thirty-four balls ('Kugeln') of 'all sorts of rare and oriental stones'.[56]

Certainly intended for the *Kunstkammer* were the various items of archaeological, historical or ethnological interest that Strada provided: in the first place the numerous ancient coins and medals, including those from the Loredan collection, but also two cameos or intaglios, either antique or at least 'all'

53 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 11–21; Stockbauer 1874, p. 33: '1 silbernes Crucifix v 30. <…> 1 runde länglichte Schale von schwartzen Stein sammt 2 anderen Steinen v 30 f 4 st 10'; p. 34: '1 Spiegel mit vergoldeten Angesichtern v 6'.

54 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 11–21; Stockbauer 1874, p. 33: '1 Tisch mit zusammengesetzten Steinen und feinem ausgearbeiteten Fuss v. 80'; the pieces of semiprecious stones listed pp. 33–34.

55 BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 150; Stopio to Fugger, 22 February 1568: 'Io haveva invitato il Strada <…>ma l'ha mandato ad scusare, che ha tanto da fare tutto il dì con il patriarca che a pena ha tempo da mangiare<…>'. Stopio also knew the Palazzo Grimani and its collections, and sent a design of its 'tribuna' to Munich, cf. above, Ch. 8; on the Palazzo Grimani, see Perry 1981; Tafuri 1985, pp. 15–17 and figs. 7–10; Bristot 2008. The palace and its restoration were the subject of a colloquium, *Il Palazzo e le collezioni Grimani a S. Maria Formosa*, Venice, 4–5 October 1985; on its marble decorations a communication was made by L. Lazzarini, 'I marmi di Palazzo Grimani'. It is now a museum.

56 Strada also ordered stone slabs for the inscriptions for (the bases of) the statues, as reported in his letter from Mantua to Duke Albrecht: 'De li tavole di paragone ne ordinaro a la suma di cento, computando le prime, le quali in mia absenza si metranno a la fine, e lassaro buon ordine che si mandaranno'. (Doc. 1567-07-12); they cannot be the stones mentioned in Strada's account, for these were all coloured, whereas 'pietra di paragone' is a black marble.

FIGURE 12.21 The use of plaques of rare marbles in the decoration of the Palazzo Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa, realized around the time of Strada's visits to Venice.

antica' and also the painted portraits of 'Pope Julius' and the 'Greek woman'; a damascened inkwell, and finally a 'wooden' book written in Egyptian hieroglyphics. A large quantity of Hebrew and Arabic books, probably manuscripts, shows that Strada did not forget the Duke's library.[57]

12.5.2 *Strada's Acquisitions of Paintings*

Strada had bought the 'etliche Gemälde' included in his account to the Duke (and which were therefore certainly acquired on his behalf) from a certain Guidoto Garotto, a merchant resident in Mantua, about whom nothing further is known. The status of this acquisition is unclear: though three hundred sixty ducats is no paltry sum, apparently the paintings were not highly considered by Strada, if he does not list them individually, like most of the other objects acquired. Or perhaps their purchase was considered as a separate deal, which was only added to his account at the last moment for purely administrative reasons.[58]

57 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 16–20; Stockbauer 1874, pp. 34–35.

58 Garotto cannot have been very important, as his name (Garoto, Garottto, Caroto, Carotto etc.) does not occur in Rebecchini's survey of private collections in Mantua in the sixteenth century (Rebecchini 2002), nor in Venturini's publication of the voluminous correspondence between Mantua and the Imperial court (Venturini 2002).

In addition to this purchase there are other concrete indications that Strada was at least occasionally involved in the trade in paintings. According to Stopio in May 1567, soon after his arrival in Venice, Strada acquired a quantity of fifty-three paintings, which—Stopio claimed—had earlier been offered to himself for thirty ducats less than Strada had paid for them. Later in the year Strada bought on two separate occasions, but perhaps from the same source, a total of thirty-eight paintings 'di quelli quadri tutti moderni', though having earlier rejected two similar ones from this same collection that Stopio had shown him as a teaser. The provenance of these paintings remains mysterious: because of the large quantity it is unlikely that Strada bought them directly from the artists involved. They may have been purchased from a Venetian collector, but it is more probable that they were supplied by a professional dealer: possibly again by Guidotto Garotto in Mantua, but more likely by someone in Venice. That Strada bought these paintings after having disparaged them to Stopio may have been be due to his wish to oust competition and acquire them on the cheap, as Stopio had it, but it may just as well have been because their general quality was higher than the two that Stopio had first shown him.[59]

It is not clear which patron Strada had in mind when making this purchase, for which he held no commission from Munich. There is no evidence either that they were intended for the Emperor, though that certainly cannot be excluded. It seems rather unlikely that Strada would have bought such a large quantity of paintings—ninety-one items!—all at once merely for his own collection. Yet the possibility cannot be excluded, as Strada himself fourteen years later ranked his paintings with his antiquities, speaking of his 'studio delle antiquità et pitture excellentissime'.[60] But it is most likely that he bought them partly on speculation, hoping to sell them off one by one to various patrons.

59 Stopio to Fugger, 9 May 1567 (BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 15): 'Io non so se'l compra per Sua Eccellenza, ma lui ha comprato fin a 53 de quelli quadri tutti moderni, li quali mi sono stati prima offerti per più di 30 scudi mancho di quelli lui le ha hauti<…>'; id., 10 October 1567 (*ibid*, fol. 77): 'Il Strada come scrissi ha pure comprato anc(or)a lui in 2 volte 38 de q(ue)lli quadri moderni; non so se li haveria mandato a S. Ecc.<…>'; *id*., 12 October 1567 (*ibid*., fol. 74): '<…>non so anche se havera mandato costí li 38 quadri ch'l comprò modernissimi, li quali dispregiò nel principio quando io le ne mostrai dua, et essendoli poi dimandato da uno al quale lui disse che ne haveva veduta in man mia et dispregiati, perche lui le havera poi comprato, li rispose che le dispregio a me, perche vedendo ch'io dissi che s'offerrano a bon merchato, le voleva comprare lui<…>';. BHStA-*LA* 4852, fols. 77, 103–107.

60 Strada to Jacopo Dani, Vienna, 2 November 1581 (Doc 1581-11-02).

12.5.3 *Contacts with Living Artists in Venice*

Though Strada appears to have bought the batches of paintings discussed above from one or more merchants, it is perfectly possible, even likely, that he also acquired works of art directly from their makers. Strada's contacts with the artists living in Venice were very extensive, and they are much better documented than his contacts with the local dealers. In June 1567 Stopio reported to Fugger that 'il Strada non prattica qui con scultori, se non con orefici e desegnatori di stampe in rame, o miniatori, che è il suo mestiere'.[61] Strada was acquainted with many of these artists since his earlier visits to Venice: with the goldsmiths because they were to some extent his colleagues, and also because their shops were the natural repositories of the smaller *anticaglie*, such as coins and medals, cameos and intaglios, and small bronzes.[62] His interest in the book trade and in any type of material visually documenting a great variety of subjects brought him into contact with the miniaturists and the engravers; and he would employ the latter to execute the illustrations for his edition of the *Settimo Libro* of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise, though the book itself eventually was printed in Frankfurt.[63]

In asserting Strada's lack of contacts with Venice's sculptors Stopio deliberately deluded Fugger, because he hoped to induce Fugger to employ a sculptor of his acquaintance to execute the necessary restorations of the Duke's newly acquired antiquities. But he almost immediately contradicted himself when he related to Fugger how Strada had declined an invitation to lunch with him because he already had an appointment with Alessandro Vittoria that day. Strada commissioned Vittoria to restore some of the Duke's antiques, but he also ordered an independent sculpture, representing *Cupid*, for which he paid seventy-five ducats. When this arrived in Vienna he appears to have shown it to the Emperor and communicated his high opinion of Vittoria's qualities, for about a year later, when Maximilian began planning the Neugebäude, he asked Veit von Dornberg, his envoy in Venice, for further information about the sculptor.[64]

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61 BHStA-*LA* 4852, fols. 35–36

62 BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 157

63 On Strada's activities as a publisher, see Ch. 14; Jansen 1989; Jansen 2004.

64 BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 42, Stopio to Fugger, 3 August 1567: 'Circa il suo Cupido, quando che sarà finito, sapera bene il tutto, et ne darò aviso a Vostra Signoria'; *ibid*., fol. 49: Stopio to Fugger, 10 August 1567: 'mi maraviglia molto che non le habbia inviati inanti, ma penso che vorà aspettare il Cupido che si fa'; *ibid*., fol. 60: Stopio to Fugger, 24 August 1567: 'Il Cupido sara finito fra 15 dì, et sara conza la donna, alla quale ha fatto metter una testa et un brazo<…>Io volevo che quella matina fusse venuto meco a desinare il Strada, ma mi disse hiersera suo figliuolo<…>che'l va a desinare con Alessandro Vittorio scultore che

Though no mention is made in Stopio's correspondence of Strada's contacts with Jacopo Tintoretto, these are testified by the portrait which this master made of Ottavio, Strada's second son. Ottavio shared the interests of his father, and had accompanied him to Venice as his assistant, as part of his professional training. The portrait, which is now in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, shows the eighteen-year old Ottavio in the fashionable attitude of a young, melancholic virtuoso of noble birth. It was obviously intended as a pendant for Titian's more famous portrait of his father [Figs. 0.1 and 12.22 and 0.2 and 12.24].[65] Strada's connection with the Robusti family is attested moreover by the statement in Raffaele Borghini's *Il Riposo* of 1584 that Jacopo's talented daughter Marietta had also painted a portrait of Jacopo Strada, which, together with her own self-portrait, had been acquired by Maximilian II. As 'rare things' the Emperor kept both of these in his own chamber, and he made every effort to have Marietta come to his court.[66]

FIGURES 12.22–12.24 The painting recently attributed to Marietta Tintoretto, as Portrait of Jacopo Strada and self-portrait, dressed as a boy (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, centre), compared to Titian's portrait of Jacopo (Vienna, left) and Tintoretto's portrait of Ottavio Strada (Amsterdam, right).

fa le queste sue cose<…>'; *ibid.*, fol. 66: Stopio to Fugger, 9 September 1567, speaking of a Paris in Parian marble that Stopio wished to acquire on behalf of Duke Albrecht: 'un amico che ha veduto il Cupido del Strada che li costa scudi 75, dice che questo Paris vale per il dopio, si come è anche più grande di un bon palmo che non è quel suo Cupido' (and the *Paris* was as large as 'un putto de 7 o 9 anni'). The restoration of the female statue is mentioned in Strada's account (BHStA-*LA* 4852, fols. 16–20; Stockbauer 1874, p. 32). Maximilian's request for information (Linz 18 December 1568) printed in JdKS 13, Reg. 8807, and discussed in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 163; Podewils 1992, pp. 47–48.

65 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nr. SK-A-3902; cf. most recently Duncan Bull's entry in the catalogue of the Louvre exhibition *Titien, Tintoret, Véronèse: Rivalités à Venise* (Bull 2009<a>). The dimensions of the painting (1,28 x 1,01 m.) are quite close to Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada (1,25 x 0,95 m.).

66 Borghini 1584, p. 558: '[Marietta Tintoretta] dipigne benissimo, et ha fatto molte bell'opere, e fra l'altre il ritratto di Iacopo Strada Antiquario dell'Imperador Massimiliano secondo, et

Duncan Bull has recently argued the hypothesis that a double portrait now in Dresden, but with a Prague provenance, is the portrait acquired by Maximilian, in which the young servant or pupil would not be the young Ottavio—who would be the wrong age and whose portrait by Marietta's father shows little resemblance—but the self-portrait of Marietta, who was reputed to dress as a boy and go everywhere with her adoring father.[67] [Fig. 12.23] This identification remains a hypothesis, but the fact that these portraits were painted does suggest a conscious effort at self-advertisement of Tintoretto and his daughter: sending a prospective patron—Maximilian II—splendid portraits of people he knew personally—the Stradas—would convince him of the quality of their authors—Jacopo and Marietta Tintoretto—and might tempt him to place commissions with them. There can be little doubt that it was Strada who served as the channel through which both Marietta's works and her reputation as a girl-prodigy reached Maximilian II.

Strada's relationship with Titian is better documented and certainly it has been more often discussed. Strada's portrait is first mentioned in Stopio's correspondence in February 1568, when he wrote to Fugger:

> Titiano and he [= Strada] are like two gluttons eating from the same dish: Strada has him paint his portrait, but he will still work at it for at least a year, and if by that time Strada doesn't render him the services he wishes, he will never finish it.[68]

Apart from a fur-lined mantle—similar to the one Strada himself is wearing in the portrait?—Titian's wishes probably included Strada's intervention on his behalf, with the aim of enabling him to sell paintings from his studio to such exalted and prestigious patrons as the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria. And in fact Strada did recommend a number of Titian's *favole*, mythological scenes that were at least in part variations of earlier inventions executed for the Emperor's cousin, Philip II of Spain, as being of sufficient importance to be acquired for the Imperial collections. Strada also exerted his influence at the

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il ritratto di lei stessa, i quali, come cosa rara, sua Maestà gli tenne in camera sua, e fece ogni opera di havere appresso di se questa donna excellente, la quale fu ancora mandata à chiedere al padre da Re Filippo e dall'arciduca Ferdinando'.

67 Bull 2009<b>.

68 LA 4852, fol. 153–154: 'Titiano e lui [= Strada] son doi giotti a un tagliero: Strada li fa fare il suo ritratto, ma vi stara sopra ben ancora un anno, et se in questo mezzo il Strada non li fara li servicii che desidera, non l'havera mai compito'.

Bavarian court, as is indicated by the fact that an identical copy of the list sent to Vienna is found among the Munich correspondence.[69]

Titian appears to have had rather sanguine expectations from Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria: later in the same year he had Strada convey two paintings, intended as gifts for the Duke and for Fugger, to their destinations.[70] It was not unusual for Titian thus to donate examples of his work as a bait to secure some important commission, or in lieu of payment for services rendered.[71] It seems likely that the painting he thus presented to Duke Albrecht is identical with the *Venus and Cupid with Bacchus and Ceres* in the Bavarian State Collections, which is already mentioned in the 1598 inventory of the Munich *Kunstkammer*. The 'Donna Persiana' he intended for Fugger may well be the presumed portrait of Roxelane, *La Sultana Rossa*, in the Ringling Museum in Sarasota [Fig. 12.26].[72]

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69 The list sent to Vienna is published in JdKS 13, 1892, II. *Teil*, p. XLVII, *Regest* nr. 8804; apart from some spelling variants, it is identical to the list sent to Munich (BHStA-*LA* 4853, fol. 31). Maximilian responded with a request for further information, fearing that Titian's ages had impaired his eyesight (*ibid*., p. XLVIII, *Regest* nr. 8806).

70 BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 110, Stopio to Fugger, 12 December 1567: 'Messer Titiano manda salutare a Vostra Signoria, et ancora lui spera domane havere riposta alle sue, et m'ha detto di havere alcune pitture in ordine per mandare poi a Vostra Signoria, et al Signor Duca'; BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 153, Stopio to Fugger, 19 February 1568; BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 169, Stopio to Fugger, 14 November 1568; BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 209, Stopio to Fugger, 29 January 1569: 'Essendo Vostra Signoria in Viena, sara buona che la vede il ritratto del Strada che ha fatto Signor Titiano, et anche una Dea Pomona, che è una bellissima donna, ritratta con varij frutti; et le vengono presentati; et Vostra Signoria ha da sapere che Signor Titiano, sopra le parole del Strada, che li haveva promesso cose grande, haveva parechiato tre quadri: uno per il signor Duca, una per Vostra Signoria, et una per il Strada, accompagnandoli con lettere a Vostra Signoria; ma il bello è che quando il Strada vidde quello che era stato designato per Vostra Signoria, cioè quella Dea Pomona, disse lui di voler quello per lui, et che'l desse l'altro a Vostra Signoria, che è una Donna Persiana, che penso Vostra Signoria havera hauto; impero vedendo quella Pomona, conoscera se il Strada ha tolto il più bello per se. Il bon Titiano per contentarlo fece a suo modo, et stracciò quella lettera et ne scrisse un altra; hora si duole che non ha haute aviso alcuno da nissuno, ne sa se li quadri siano stati presentati a suo nome o non; imperò mi ha pregato di scrivere a Vostra Signoria di volerne dare qualche aviso'.

71 It should be noted that a 'present' made to a Prince—here Albrecht V—was generally expected to be compensated by a favour which would be more or less equivalent in value: it offered him an occasion to display the royal virtues of liberality and magnanimity.

72 Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 3, nr. 3208, pp. 986–987; Munich, Bayerische Staatliche Gemäldesammlungen, inv. nr. 484 (not on show); this painting, now attributed to Titian's workshop, is one of several variants of the *Allegory of Marriage* in the Louvre. In addition to its provenance from the Wittelsbach collections, the bigger size and greater monumentality of this painting suggests that this was the painting intended for, and delivered to Duke Albrecht, whereas Fugger and Strada would have been given images perhaps equally splendid, but more modest in size and of simpler composition (below, note 74).

Titian quite often used this means to induce his more influential friends to assist him selling his works or to foster his interests in other ways: 'Messer Titian', wrote Giovanni della Casa in 1544 to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, 'has given me a portrait of our Sovereign Lord [= Pope Paul III] by his own hand, and thus corrupted me to such an extent that its suits me to become his solicitor', whereupon he begged the Cardinal to grant Titian a much desired benefice. It is common knowledge that Titian's relationship with Pietro Aretino was partly based on a similar exchange of goods and services.[73] Strada was quite fortunate in this respect: apart from painting his portrait, Titian presented him with another painting by his hand, or at least from his studio: a 'Dea Pomona, ch'è una bellissima donna ritratta con vari frutti', probably the *Lavinia holding a bowl of fruit* now in Berlin [Fig. 12.25].[74]

FIGURE 12.25 Titian, Lavinia holding a bowl of fruit: probably the 'Dea Pomona' Titian gave to Jacopo Strada; Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

FIGURE 12.26 Titian, La Sultana Rossa, ca. 1550–1560; perhaps the Persian woman Titian gave to Hans Jakob Fugger? Sarasota, The John and Mabel Ringling Museum of Art.

73 Quoted in Hope 1977, p. 189: 'Messer Titian mi ha donato un ritratto di nostro Signore di sua mano, et corrottomi di maniera, che mi convien essere suo procuratore'.

74 Stopio (cited above, note 70) claimed that Titian had prepared three paintings, one for Duke Albrecht, of which he does not mention the subject, and one each for Fugger and for Strada; he claims that Titian originally intended a 'Dea Pomona' for Fugger, 'ch'è una bellissima donna ritratta con varij frutti che le vengono presentati', and a 'Donna Persiana' for Strada, but that Strada, himself preferring the 'Pomona', had him change their intended recipients. Diemer/Diemer/ Sauerländer 2008, 3, nr. 3208, pp. 986–987, connect the 'Dea Pomona' mentioned by Stopio with the Munich *Venus and Cupid*, but this seems

This indicates that Titian did expect quite solid benefits from Strada's exertions on his behalf. Stopio asserted that Titian had been taken in by Strada's persuasive eloquence, implying that he had never derived any concrete advantage in return for the favours he had done him.[75] It is difficult to determine to what extent Titian's expectations were realized, but it is rather likely that Stopio's estimate is too negative: there is, for instance, no reason not to suppose that Maximilian II did acquire at least some of the *favole* he had been offered around this time.[76] Finally, several paintings by Titian are included in an undated list of paintings Strada offered to the Bavarian court, which will be discussed in greater detail below. Some of these were described as 'old', and were probably bought from collectors or dealers, but most of the others must have been bought directly from the painter: the 'four portraits made by the widely renowned [painter] Titian's own hand' are the most likely candidates.[77] It is after all unlikely that, in addition to Strada's portrait, Titian would have donated three major paintings without any immediate benefit; it is even quite possible that Strada had actually bought the *favole* he recommended to Maximilian II

unlikely: it stands to reason that Duke Albrecht would have received the more monumental of the three paintings, and the continued presence of the *Venus and Cupid* in the Wittelsbach collections since 1598 strongly suggest that this is in fact the painting Titian sent to the Duke. It is not surprising that Stopio's description confused the bowl of fruit carried by the *Pomona* and the basket of fruit and flowers offered to Venus in the larger painting, since it was over a year ago that he had seen the three paintings (if he had seen them at all). The reason for the exchange may have been quite different from that given by Stopio: perhaps Strada preferred a portrait of Titian's daughter Lavinia because he himself had a daughter of that name? As usual, Stopio's representation of the facts would be strongly biased against Strada: in his correspondence with Fugger he left nothing unsaid which could harm his rival with their common patron. Fugger saw through this, and shortly afterwards took Stopio sternly to task for this slander (BHStA-LA 4852, fols. 228 ff., Fugger to Stopio, Vienna, 30 March 1569; cf. above, Ch. 12.3.1).

75 BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 230, Stopio to Fugger, 9 April 1569, responding to Fugger's letter of 30 March cited above (note 18) '<…>a proposito del Strada, che Signor Titiano disse che era un venerabile presuntuoso, et ignorante, più tosto che intelligente, ma che cacciava tante carrotte con questo suo simulato procedere alli Alemanni quanto si può imaginare; li rispose alhora quel amico che di ciò non si maravegliava, ma bene di questo, che esso Signor Titiano, tanto accorto, se l'haveva così lasciato cacciare, di farli un ritratto et donare ancora una pittura in un quadro, che a qualunque suo amico non haveria fatto per 50 scudi<…>'.

76 This is almost certainly the case for the *Diana and Callisto* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (inv. nr. GG-71; Wethey 1969–1975, III, pp. 142–143).

77 Appendix C: '4 retrati vom weitberuembten Tiziano aigner hand gemacht' (only three are specified); cf. below, Ch. 12.6.

and Albrecht V on his own account, taking the responsibility for and the risk involved in their further sale on his own shoulders.

Unfortunately there is only one other transaction involving both Strada and Titian that is securely documented. This had nothing to do with any of Titian's own works, but instead concerned a small but very valuable casket in rock crystal set in a silver gilt mount and decorated with precious stones. This casket belonged to Carlo della Serpa, who had been First Chamberlain to Pope Julius III. Della Serpa, who wished to sell it together with a variety of other precious objects in his possession, had given the casket to Titian in security for a loan that the artist—'la stessa avaritia et diffidentia', according to Stopio—had made him. Titian showed it to Strada, who thought it might be a suitable present for Prince Wilhelm of Bavaria, Albrecht's son and heir, to give to his bride. Through Strada's mediation Titian finally did succeed in selling the casket to the Duke, placating its owner, who had hardly been consulted, by arguing that this transaction would open up opportunities to dispose advantageously also of his other 'galanterie'.[78] In this way Titian was enabled to demonstrate his goodwill towards the Duke and doubtless also to make a considerable profit on the transaction: so at least on this occasion Strada's interference was to his immediate advantage. Strada himself will likewise have gained financially from the deal; yet it must be kept in mind that—just as in the acquisition of the Loredan collection—he did not act as a merchant—who would have bought the casket on his own account, to sell it at a possibly large profit—but merely as an agent for Albrecht V.[79]

78 On this transaction, see BHStA-*LA* 4851, fols. 325–326; 348–349; and BHStA-*LA* 4852, fols. 56, 83, 91, 97–98, 100–102, 111–112; 119; 131 and 142. Among the other objects owned by Della Serpa was found 'la sua tavola', possibly identical with the table top in *pietre dure* mentioned in Strada's account (BHStA-*LA* 4853, fol. 16–20; Stockbauer 1874, p. 33). The casket does not figure in the inventory of the Munich *Schatzkammer*, but it may perhaps have looked somewhat like the beautiful casket consisting of rock-crystal panels by Annibale Fontana depicting biblical scenes bought by Duke Albrecht for 6.000 *scudi* (Brunner 1970, pp. 158–159, cat. nr. 321).

79 Whatever Stopio in his envy of Strada may have insinuated, Titian must have had good reasons for painting Strada's portrait and presenting him with the *Pomona*. Apart from whatever services in profitable transactions he expected Strada to perform, he may well have appreciated the acuteness, energy and enthusiasm that he caught so well in his portrait. Moreover, in view of Strada's affluence at the time, it remains perfectly possible that he actually paid for them.

12.6 Commissions in Mantua

12.6.1 *Paintings*

When visiting Venice, Strada habitually also spent some weeks in his native town, Mantua. Apart from acquiring some antiques there, and having casts made of some busts from the collection of Cesare Gonzaga, *Signore* of Guastalla, which he intended to use in the decoration of his own house in Vienna, he employed various young artists to execute copies of works of art in the Duke of Mantua's collection, and to prepare detailed documentation of some of the chief artistic monuments of that town. In this again he apparently acted on commission from Fugger; if not, his patron was at least well aware of these activities, the results of which he was eager to acquire for the Duke's *Kunstkammer*. This is clear from the letter in which Fugger asked Stopio to gather detailed information on Strada's affairs in Mantua, and in particular about the prices he paid for the various items he commissioned. Stopio was eager to oblige, and his reply, enclosing a report sent him by some acquaintance in Mantua, well supplements the evidence of Strada's own letters.[80]

From these sources it appears that Strada employed a local painter, called il Molinarolo, to paint copies of a number of paintings kept in the Duke of Mantua's own apartment in the Palazzo Ducale or found elsewhere in Mantua. These included a 'Dea della Natura'—presumably the 'Madre Natura' by Giulio Romano that in 1627 was hung in the *Camerino delle Muse*—and two paintings

80 BHStA-*LA* 4852: Fugger to Stopio, 6 December 1567 (fols. 97–101); Stopio's reply, 23 January 1568 (fol. 126) enclosed a report (fol. 130) by his informer in Mantua, an otherwise unknown person called Il Cerragagno (fol. 138): 'Strada è stato qui, et ha fatto far uno modello del Palazzo del T. dal architetto del Signor Cesare Gonzaga, et poi l'ha fatto anco dissegnar in foglij da un giovane qui nostro amico; il qual gli ha appresso dissegnato tutte le camere et sale di detto palazzo, et di più fa anco dissegnar da questo giovane le stanze del Castello dove sta il Signor Duca nostro; et fa ritrar in avolio duodeci Imperatori con le historie, che sono in una camera in Castello; fa anco rittrar due Venere, una in piedi, et l'altro distesa, et di più ha detto che vuol far dissegnar molte altre belle cose che sono qui. Quel giovane che dissegna si chiama Messer Hippolito de Andriasi, et gli dà poi, quanto ho inteso, dui scudi d'oro la settimana, et egli si è obbligato a dargli tanti foglij di dissegno la settimana. Quel altro che fa quei ritratti si chiama il Molinarolo, et gli da per quanto ho anco inteso quindeci scudi d'oro del pezzo'. Strada seems to have maintained regular contacts with Cesare Gonzaga, Lord of Guastalla and of Amalfi, a noted collector and connoisseur of antiquities; cf. Brown/Lorenzoni 1984. In 1568 Strada recommended a sculptor, Giovanni Battista della Porta, to Cesare Gonzaga (Doc. 1568-06-16), probably also in order to have him execute copies and/or casts from items in Cesare's collection, among which (part of) the busts Strada acquired for the decoration of his own house discussed above (Ch. 12.4.2); on the documentary drawings of Cesare Gonzaga's 'studiolo', a sumptuous cabinet for collectibles, see below, Ch. 12.7.4.

by Correggio, the *School of Love* (now in the National Gallery in London, and the *Venus, Cupid and Satyr* (now in the Louvre), that at the time were still in the collection of Count Federico Maffei [Figs. 12.27 and 12.28].[81]

Most important, however, were the copies of a number of paintings from the *Camerino dei Cesari*. Here Strada had copied for the Duke *not* the famous portraits of the eleven first Roman Emperors painted by Titian, as has been assumed, but instead the scenes from their lives, one 'Historia' for each, that Giulio Romano and his assistants had painted to go under the portraits themselves [Figs. 12.29–12.30]; and likewise the smaller paintings, depicting the

FIGURES 12.27–12.28 Antonio del Correggio, The School of Love (London, National Gallery) and Venus, Cupid and Satyr (Paris, Musée du Louvre).

81 Cf. the letter of 'Il Cerragagno, Stopio's Mantuan informer and Strada's autograph note 'Pitture che fo fare imitare', included in BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 176 and printed in Verheyen 1967, p. 64, n.31. Giulio's 'Dea della natura' is mentioned in the 1627 inventory of the Gonzaga collections (Luzio 1913/1974, p. 115). Guido Rebecchini has discovered that the Correggio paintings are listed in a 1589 inventory of the collection of Count Federico Maffei, who had died in 1586 (Rebecchini 1997, pp. 274–275); this implies that they had not been commissioned by Isabella d'Este or her son Duke Federico, as has generally been assumed; cf. Verheyen 1967, p. 64; Gould 1976, pp. 213–216 and 238–239.

Roman soldiers on horseback, that filled the spaces between the *Historie* [Figs. 12.31–12.32].[82] Finally Strada had also copied the portrait of the twelfth Emperor, Domitian, which Titian himself had never painted for lack of space, but with which Bernardino Campi had completed the series shortly before, when he prepared his first set of copies, commissioned in 1562 by the Marquis of Pescara. The Duke of Bavaria apparently already possessed copies of Titian's originals of the other eleven, since a complete series of twelve is still preserved in the Munich Residenz: apart from the Domitian, these are probably identical with the set painted by Campi for the Emperor Ferdinand I: they may have come to Munich as a gift on some festive occasion, or as part of Duchess Anna's inheritance.[83]

FIGURES 12.29–12.32 (Workshop of) Giulio Romano, paintings from the Camerino dei Cesari in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua: the scenes Nero playing the fiddle while Rome is burning and The Omen of Claudius; two Roman warriors on horseback; all Hampton Court, British Royal Collections.

82 Stopio's Mantuan informer and Strada's autograph note 'Pitture che fo fare imitare' (as in the preceding notes). On the *Camerino dei Cesari*, see Verheyen 1967, n. 31; Verheyen 1966, pp. 170–172, pl. 40–42; Wethey 1969–1975, III, pp. 43–27 and 235–240; Splendours of the Gonzaga 1981, pp. 190–192; Harprath 1984, pp. 18–19; Giulio Romano 1989, pp. 400–405, and below.

83 On the many sets of copies after Titian's Mantuan Emperors, see Wethey 1969–1975, III, pp. 235–240; figs. 31–50. The Munich copies were later integrated as *dessus-de-porte* in the eighteenth-century *boiseries* of the so-called *Reichen Zimmer* of the Munich Residenz. Strada did in fact have copies made of the Titian Emperors' portraits themselves, but not for Duke Albrecht (who already owned Campi's series), for they are not mentioned in Strada's account. They were probably intended for his own studio; as noted above (note 5), he presented them in 1575 to the Elector August of Saxony: 'die ersten zwelf Römische kha[i]ser vom Julio Cesare bis auf den Domitianum, von elfarben gemalt, durch den besten maler, der heindtichs tag im Welzlandt ist'. [Doc 1575-09-28; printed in Lietzmann 1997, p. 396–397].

At first sight it seems therefore that Albrecht V intended to recreate in some way the entire *Camerino dei Cesari* within the walls of his own residence. This is not quite as surprising as it may seem: the Bavarian branch of the Wittelsbach had already much earlier demonstrated their interest in the artistic achievements of their Gonzaga relatives. As discussed in chapter 2.3, after a visit to Mantua in 1536 Albrecht's uncle, Duke Ludwig X, had had built his town palace in Landshut after designs by Giulio Romano, by artists and craftsmen from Mantua specially engaged for the purpose. Albrecht knew this complex very well, since he resided at Landshut until his accession to the Duchy in 1550. That his own interest in Mantua's secular architecture extended beyond the *Camerino dei Cesari*—which after all might have appealed to him merely for its iconography and the great name of the principal artist involved—is demonstrated by his acquiring the additional documentary material that Strada brought from Mantua. Among these was a model of the Palazzo del Te Strada had commissioned from 'the architect of Don Cesare Gonzaga', probably Francesco Capriani da Volterra.[84]

12.6.2 *Documentary Drawings*

Moreover Strada commissioned the young Mantuan painter Ippolito Andreasi to prepare detailed measured drawings of the exterior as well as of the interior decoration of all the principal rooms of the Palazzo del Te and of some of the rooms in the Palazzo Ducale, among which the *Camerino dei Cesari* and the *Sala di Troia*. The model has been lost, but the drawings ended up in the print room of the Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, where they were first signalled by Egon Verheyen in 1966. In 1984 Richard Harprath correctly identified their draughtsman, and included them in his *catalogue raisonné* of Andreasi's drawings. They were quite extensively used in the research preparing the ground-breaking exhibition on Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Te in 1987. A selection of them was shown there in conjunction with the room by room description of the Palazzo del Te with which Strada had complemented the set of drawings, thus deliberately constituting a body of documentation that remains of considerable importance for a good understanding of the monument.[85]

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84 The material mentioned in Strada's final account, BHStA-LA 4853, fols. 11–21, printed in Stockbauer 1874, p. 32–36, the drawings p. 34.

85 On these drawings, see Verheyen 1967 and Verheyen 1977, *passim*; they are catalogued in Harprath 1984, pp. 3–28 and in part illustrated, plates 4–13. Strada's description of the Palazzo del Te is in Vienna, ONB-HS, Cod. 9039, fols. 57–58; its text published in Verheyen 1967, pp. 68–69. Both description and drawings are included and discussed in Amedeo Belluzzi's monumental monograph on the Palazzo del Te (Belluzzi 1998, *Saggi,* pp. 30–36 and *passim*).

Linking these drawings with the plan for the construction of the Munich Antiquarium that at the time were being developed, Verheyen suggests that Duke Albrecht intended to have a more or less exact replica built of the Palazzo del Te, pointing out that otherwise there would have been no need to have noted the measurements so precisely in the drawings.[86] Such an assumption may have been plausible in the case of the *Camerino dei Cesari*: after all here copies of all its constituent parts—except for the ceiling fresco—were in the Duke's possession, and to realize a replica of this one room would have required little further expense and even less space. It is also true that Strada himself shortly afterwards suggested that the octagonal ceiling panels from the *Sala di Psiche* in the Palazzo del Te should be copied, so as to incorporate these copies within the ceiling of the large rectangular room or hall above the Antiquarium that was to house Albrecht's library. But because of the completely different proportions of the two spaces, it is clear in this case that a strict imitation of the *Sala di Psiche* was never intended.[87] And whatever the intended destination of the copies after the paintings in the *Camerino dei Cesari*, these ended up an integral part of a numerous collection of portraits of rulers and prelates housed in a quite large room of the Munich *Kunstkammer*.[88] If the reconstruction of such a small room as the *Camerino dei Cesari* was deemed impracticable, it can safely be excluded that the idea of imitating a complete palace or even only part of it ever crossed the mind of Albrecht V or his advisers. The credit for the precision of the drawings, and the inclusion of its exact measurements, should rather be given to Strada's perfectionism and to his intention to have them published one day; this interest ties this commission immediately to his own collection of graphic documentation, which will be discussed in greater detail below. As splendid objects providing detailed information on a monument of international renown, they fitted seamlessly into the concept of the complex of collections being realized at Munich, the *raison d'être* of which had been so carefully set out in Samuel Quiccheberg's treatise on collecting published two years earlier: no further justification for their acquisition by Duke Albrecht is necessary.

86 Verheyen 1967, pp. 64–66.

87 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 27 and 60; Von Busch 1973, pp. 127–128.

88 As described in Johan Baptist Fickler's inventory dating from 1598, publishd in Diemer 2004 and exhaustively commented in Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 2, nrs 2599, 2617, 2625, 2631, 2638, 2645, 2652, 2659, 2666, 2675, 2682 (portraits), 2600, 2610, 2618, 2626, 2632, 2639, 2646, 2653, 2660, 2667, 2676, 2683 (scenes); comment on pp. 749–753, and in the separate article by Dorothea Diemer, 'Mantua in Bayern? Eine Planungsepisode der Münchner Kunstkammer', *ibidem*, 3, pp. 320–329; they had been earlier discussed in Hartig 1933a, pp. 207–211 and Jansen 1987, pp. 14–15.

12.7 'Gemalte Lustigen Tiecher': Contemporary Painting in Strada's *Musaeum*

The antiquities and the visual documentation, such as the drawings of the Palazzo del Te, to be admired in Strada's house mostly appealed to the more learned among his visitors. Less sophisticated visitors of the *Musaeum* may have been more impressed by the display of contemporary works of art it offered, be it permanently as a fixed private collection, be it in continuous exchange as the stock of a high-class art dealer.

Some of the works presented had a particular significance for Strada and his family or were highly esteemed for other reasons. The former category included the two portraits of himself and his son Ottavio painted by Titian and Tintoretto [Figs. 0.1 and 0.2], the latter probably included the *Dea Pomona* Titian had presented to him as personal gift [Fig. 12.25].[89] These will have been more or less permanent fixtures, not for sale, whereas other works, though acquired both for their quality and particular appeal, would have been available to patrons if they made a serious offer. This is a situation which is not so different from that of many art-dealers of today, where the distinction between private collecting and buying to sell is not always very clearly defined. Thus the set of copies in oils of Titian's portraits of the first twelve Roman Emperors must have been intended to decorate a specific space in Strada's house, perhaps the very *studiolo* where Strada practiced his researches into their history and (numismatic) iconography. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to offer them to the Elector August of Saxony when this served his purpose. Probably most of the other paintings in Strada's studio would be available to a patron making a serious offer. Stopio gives no indication about the ninety-one paintings Strada bought in Venice in 1567, except that they were all 'modern'. Fortunately another document preserved in Munich allows a more detailed impression of the character of Strada's collection of paintings.

12.7.1 *'Pleasant Painted Canvases' Offered to Strada's Patrons: The Document*

In view of Strada's documented patronage relationship with three of the best and best-known artists active in Venice at the time—the sculptor Alessandro

89 The *Pomona* was a gift is documented in Stopio's correspondence, cf. above, Ch. 12.5.3. It has often been interpreted as a portrait of Titian's daughter Lavinia. This may have been an additional reason for Strada to exchange it with the painting of 'a Persian lady' originally intended for him, for his youngest daughter also was called Lavinia or Lavina. It is not certain which of the versions of this composition was the one given to Strada.

Vittoria and the painters Tintoretto and Titian—it is very unlikely that he would not also have had some contact with the third member of Venice painterly triumvirate, Paolo Veronese.

Though a direct connection between Strada and Veronese is not documented, a list of works of art that Strada at some point in time offered to the Bavarian court included a set of two huge allegories with an Imperial theme attributed to that master. Their inscriptions, mentioned in the text, allow the identification of these two paintings with Veronese's *Wisdom and Strength* and *The Choice between Virtue and Vice*, both now in the Frick Collection in New York, which suggests that these two paintings may have been commissioned by Strada, either for himself, or on behalf of some more exalted patron [Figs. 12.33 and 12.34].[90]

To date this list, preserved in the Munich *Libri Antiquitatum*, has been chiefly discussed by scholars studying Veronese's two Frick allegories.[91] It is not in Strada's hand, but since it appears to be written in the hand of a secretary also

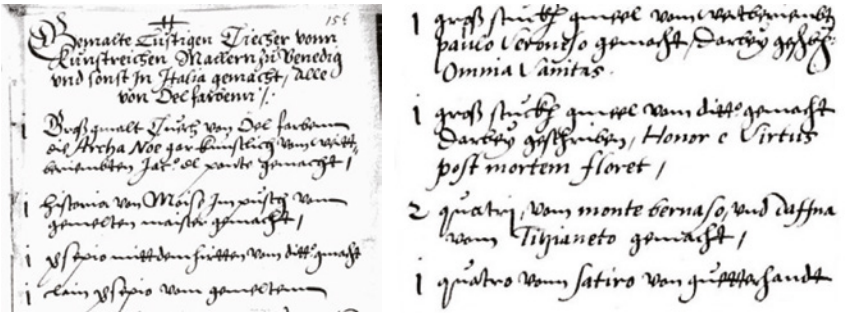
FIGURES 12.33–12.34 Paolo Veronese, Wisdom and Strength and The Choice between Virtue and Vice; New York, Frick Collection.

90 I am very grateful to Duncan Bull to have drawn my attention to this and to have provided me with the relevant documentation, as well as made me profit from his expertise in the field. Bull has treated the issue in his recent catalogue entry of the Titian portrait (Bull 2009a, pp. 211–213).

91 Conveniently summarized in Salomon 2006, pp. 20–24; in particular notes 85–89.

responsible for other Strada documents and is filed among the documents relating to Strada's acquisitions in Venice and Mantua in 1567–1569, it has been generally related to these, and dated to this period. But this is not an inevitable conclusion: the *Libri Antiquitatum* were put together only at a later date, and the file was meant to include all material relating to Strada's dealings with the Munich court. This context therefore does not contradict the arguments that can be proposed to date the document somewhat later. A brief discussion of its contents and its probable function will help to understand the context of Strada's role as a collector and/or a purveyor of works of art produced by his contemporaries.

The list, in German, is headed 'Pleasant painted canvases from the hand of skilful painters in Venice and elsewhere in Italy, all in oils' [Figs. 12.35–12.36]; a transcription is given in Appendix C.[92] The many Italian terms in the text ('ditto', 'quadro', 'retrati') indicate that the German text was derived from an Italian source, was dictated, translated or edited by a German who himself was used to think in Italian—or the other way round. Perhaps this was Strada himself, more likely it was Paolo or Ottavio Strada. It is not clear what its function may have been: since it gives no estimates or prices, it cannot have been part of a formal offer of sale to Fugger or the Duke, much less an account of objects actually delivered in Munich. The rather general tenor of the heading and of the descriptions of the individual items suggest that it was drafted in order to interest various patrons in the collection, rather than that it was specifically addressed to Duke Albrecht and Hans Jakob Fugger, the latter of whom would not have needed a version in German and certainly would not need to be told that



FIGURES 12.35–12.36 Heading and a detail of the list of 'Lustigen Tiecher' which Strada sent to Munich, probably in the early or mid-1570s.

92 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 15–16: 'Gemalte Lustigen Tiecher vonn Kunstreichen Mallern zu Venedig und sonst in Italia gemacht, alle von Oel Farbenn'. It was printed in Stockbauer 1864, pp. 43–44, for a more precise transcription, see Appendix C.

masters such as Titian and Veronese were 'weitberuembt', 'widely renowned'. Its presence in Munich does, however, indicate that Strada did hope that he might interest his Bavarian patrons in the acquisition of the entire collection or of some of its individual components.

The list gives no indication at all of the provenance of the collection or of the individual works. Since Strada could offer it to the Duke, it was either a collection in his own possession or a collection to which he had privileged access. It lists forty-two paintings, mostly full-sized canvases, but also a few smaller items, and then continues with a not inconsiderable quantity of other materials, including some fat volumes of drawings and prints, some illustrated books, some coins and medals, some sculpture—mostly small bronzes—and some miscellaneous *Kunstkammer* items. What is perhaps the most fascinating object in the list, a 'Kunstschrank' or cabinet of inlaid wood filled or decorated with antique marbles, allows to link the list more definitely to Strada. Its contents included two small antique marble heads of '2 khinder eins lacht / das andre waintt'. This relates the list to the earlier inventory of the Bussoni collection, which included 'Capita duorum puerorum unus eorum qui ridet et alter qui ploret': 'the heads of two children, one of whom laughs, the other cries'. As we have seen above, that inventory, dated March 1562, is in Latin and commented in German; it is likewise preserved in Munich and can be associated with Strada. The later presence of these sculptures in such a monumental cabinet—which would have taken some considerable time to have designed and made—is an argument that the document may be later in date than has been assumed on the basis of its presence among documents relating to Strada's acquisitions for Duke Albrecht mostly dating from 1568–1570. An additional argument for a later dating is the adjective 'weitberuembt' or 'widely famous, applied to the painter Niccolò Frangipane, one of Titian's lesser pupils known to have been active only from 1563 onward. This suggests a date at the earliest in the early or mid-1570s.

Most of the material included in the list—the antiquities, the coins and medals, the volumes of prints and drawings and the books on architecture and fortification—corresponds closely to what we know from other sources to have been in Strada's collection. In his recent catalogue entry on the portraits of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada Duncan Bull has accepted Klara Garas' and—following Garas—Xavier Salomon's suggestion that the list is in fact an inventory of (part of) Strada's own collection doubling as dealer's stock'.[93] This is indeed a most plausible explanation: the Munich list is one of several copies of

93 Garas 1990, p. 18; Campenhausen 2003, pp. 12 and 16–21; Salomon 2006, p. 22; Bull 2009a, p. 212.

a survey Strada edited once he began, in the mid-1570s, to try and sell his house and collections in order to finance his publishing projects. So the list represents a choice of those objects Strada could miss, and which he thought might most appeal to his prospective patrons. He would have circulated it among his patrons, hoping that one of them might be interested in acquiring the collection as a whole, but ready to name a price for any individual object they might fancy.[94]

This implies that paintings mentioned in this document are not necessarily identical with those in either of the two separate collections of contemporary paintings Strada is reported by Stopio of having bought in the summer of 1567. Doubtless some of the paintings acquired on those occasions are included, but we cannot be certain even of that: Strada may have acquired paintings on other occasions and in other locations Stopio knew nothing about, and there is no reason to suppose that he stopped buying pictures after he left Venice, or that he had never done so earlier. Yet since most of the paintings listed here are by Venetian artists, such as Giorgione, Titian and his son or nephew, Veronese, Bassano, Tintoretto and Frangipane, or by artists active in Venice, such as Salviati, it is likely that in fact Strada bought or even commissioned most of them during his visits to the *Serenissima*.

12.7.2 *The Frick Allegories: A Strada Commission?*

That these paintings cannot be demonstrated all to have been part of Strada's wholesale acquisitions in the summer of 1567 removes an obstacle to Duncan Bull's hypothesis that the two Veronese allegories in the Frick collection were in fact commissioned by Strada directly from the artist. It is in any case rather implausible that such monumental paintings would have been made without a specific patron in mind. Bull suggests that they were made to complement the portraits of Jacopo himself by Titian, now in Vienna, and of his son Ottavio by Tintoretto, now in Amsterdam. *Wisdom and Strength* would then serve as an allegorical pendant to Titian's portrait of the father, and *The Choice between Virtue and Vice* to Tintoretto's portrait of the son.[95] If so, the project was not

94 The earliest instance of this is his offer of both house and collections to Vilém z Rožmberk in the autumn of 1573. (Doc. 1573-12-18); his attempts discussed below, Ch.14,6. As argued above, the reference to the *Kunstschrank* and to Frangipane as a famous painter suggests a date for the list in the 1570s; the date does not need to correspond to the other documents in the relative volume of the *Libri Antiquitatum*, because Strada remained in contact with Duke Albrecht and Hans Jakob Fugger long after having concluded his acquisitions for the Antiquarium, and it is plausible that the Munich archivists, when putting the *Libri Antiquitatum* together, included material Strada sent later in this same file.

95 Bull 2009a, pp. 211–213.

thought out in detail beforehand to fit into one of the rooms of Strada's new house, since in that case the compositions, the backgrounds and the lighting would probably have been coordinated more carefully.

Moreover the two allegories, though of the same size, are painted on a different type of canvas, which suggests that they were not commissioned simultaneously. Yet that does not exclude a connection with the two portraits, which most likely were also commissioned consecutively: once the first allegory had turned out well and Strada had persuaded Tintoretto to paint a portrait of Ottavio, he may have asked Veronese for a second allegory to accompany it, which would neatly explain the difference in canvas used for the two allegories. Whether intended as an ensemble or not, the presence of these four paintings in Strada's house must have made quite an impression in Vienna, and it is likely that this was what Strada intended. Possibly he merely wished to underline his prestige as a cultured intellectual and noble courtier, but it seems more likely that he also hoped to stimulate his patrons to emulate his example, and to buy or commission similar works of art—preferably through his mediation—with the artists themselves or with collectors and dealers in Venice.

In this Strada or his heirs must ultimately have been successful, because the two Veronese allegories and two other similar allegories by the same master eventually ended up in the collection of the Emperor Rudolf II.[96] The hypothesis that they were actually commissioned by Rudolf II is contradicted by Strada's offering them to Duke Albrecht in the late 1560s or, if my hypothesis of the intention and date of the document is correct, in the mid-1570s at the latest. This should, however, not mean that the allegories may not have been originally intended for Rudolf II. Duncan Bull links the themes of the two allegories to the persons of the two Strada's, showing how it underlined the relationship between the father and the son and potential successor. But such a connection might just as easily be postulated in regard to Maximilian II and his eldest son and heir. The complicated iconography of Wenzel Jamnitzer's *Schöner Brunnen* indicates that such allegorical references would have been understood at the Imperial court. It seems perfectly possible that Strada commissioned these paintings hoping that he could persuade Maximilian, or perhaps his consort, the Empress Maria, to acquire them, for instance as a gift for their son on the occasion of his coronation as King of Hungary (1572) or as King of Bohemia (1575). The education of Hercules is a perfectly fitting theme to remind a young prince of the duties and responsibilities of his position. The presence at the

96 They are included in the inventory of Rudolf II's collection of 1621, together with the *Mars and Venus United by Love* (New York, Metropolitan Museum) and *Hermes, Herse and Aglauro* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum), cf. Zimmermann 1905, p. XLV.

feet of the personification of Wisdom of what is quite obviously an Imperial crown only strengthens this supposition.[97] Though unlikely, it cannot be completely excluded that the paintings were commissioned—through Strada's mediation—by Maximilian II himself, perhaps for the Neugebäude, but were somehow left on Strada's hands.[98]

12.7.3 *An Impression of the Cabinet of Paintings*

In addition to the two Veronese allegories the inventory mentions forty paintings. These were mostly full-sized canvases, but there were also a few described as '4 claine retrati' (four small portraits) or '1 clain Taffellin' ('one small panel'), as well as a number of other miscellaneous objects. Like those in Strada's acquisitions mentioned by Stopio, the paintings in this list are 'modernissimi' ('quite new'), recent works of major artists working in Venice, except for two paintings by Giorgione and (the young?) Titian, which are explicitly described as 'old'. Unfortunately the descriptions are too summary to identify the paintings mentioned with existing individual works with any certainty. But since artist, technique and subject matter are always indicated in the list, it is possible to illustrate it by means of images of corresponding pictures that are still in existence. It should be noted that—with the exception of two Veronese allegories now in the Frick Collection—as yet none of these paintings can with certainty be identified as the actual objects in Strada's possession. Popular themes were often repeated by their author, replicas and variant versions of various sizes were prepared in his own workshop; very popular ones were copied by other painters. So the paintings illustrated here are not intended to present a hypothetical reconstruction of Strada's collection of paintings, but merely aim to provide an approximation of its size, its character and its quality, and so to help visualize the impact it had on his patrons, his fellow artists and his other guests.[99]

The first paintings mentioned, and therefore probably highly esteemed, are five paintings by Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano. Three of these are huge

97 This possibility has been suggested by Salomon 2006, p. 20.

98 The list may even date from after Maximilian's sudden death in the autumn of 1576: in that case perhaps Strada was asked to try and sell them in order to meet some of the Emperor's staggering debts. This would explain why nothing is said about the provenance of the paintings. It is quite probable that Strada, as the resident expert at court, would have made such an inventory.

99 Since most painters often provided variant readings of the same subject matter, and even produced several versions of the same pictorial invention, a concrete reconstruction is impossible; detailed investigation of the provenances of potential candidates might make it possible to identify a few of these with objects mentioned in the list.

scenes from the Old Testament, stories of Noah—perhaps a version of *The Animals entering the Ark* in the Prado [Fig. 12.37]—and of Moses—perhaps *The Israelites drinking the miraculous waters*, likewise in the Prado, though of somewhat smaller size [Fig. 12.38]. The two others are a larger and a smaller version of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*.

The next items, probably also highly regarded, are Jacopo Tintoretto's *Susanna and the Elders*, probably the one now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna [Fig. 12.39] and a *Venus and Adonis* by Salviati (probably Giuseppe Porta, rather than his teacher Francesco Salviati). The latter is complemented by a smaller 'Quadro' (a panel?) of *Venus and Cupid* of the same master's hand. As we have seen, the reported inscriptions of the following two paintings by Paolo Veronese allow us to identify them with certainty with Veronese's two huge and splendid allegories, *The Choice between Virtue and Vice* and *Wisdom and Strength*, that have always remained together [Figs. 12.33 and 12.34].

All these paintings were of large size, they were all indicated as 'grosses Tuch' ('large canvas') , 'grosses Stück' ('large piece') or 'grosses Quadro' ('large painting'—here, in contrast to 'Tuch', possibly indicating a panel?). Most of the following items lack that appellation, and were probably of middling size, except for the few cabinet pieces which were described as 'kleine Ritratti' (small portraits) or 'klein Tafelein' (small panel). They include a number of works by Titian or perhaps from his workshop: two history pieces representing *Mount Parnassus* and *Apollo and Daphne*, which are difficult to identify, since this specific theme is not found in Titian's existing oeuvre, and a number of probably half-length human figures ('ritratti'), representing a *Turkish prince*, a *St Sebastian holding arrows*—perhaps a painting similar to the small head now attributed to Giorgione in Vienna? [Fig. 12.42]—and a personification of *Vanitas*, the latter perhaps to be related to the female figures with mirrors in Paris and in Munich [Fig. 12.40].

FIGURES 12.37–12.38 Jacopo da Ponte (Bassano): The animals entering Noah's Ark and The Israelites drinking the miraculous water; both Madrid, Museo del Prado.

FIGURE 12.39 Jacopo Tintoretto, Susanna and the Elders; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

FIGURE 12.40 Titian, Vanitas; Munich, Alte Pinakothek.
FIGURE 12.41 Salome with the head of St John the Baptist; Rome, Gallerie Doria-Pamphilj.
FIGURE 12.42 Attributed to Giorgione, St Sebastian with an arrow; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

The list includes several other of such 'portraits', four of women from classical mythology and history by a painter called 'Giulio Fiammingo' and four unidentified ones by 'Polidoro' (the Venetian Polidoro da Lanciano rather than Polidoro da Caravaggio), 'Rosso Veneziano' (perhaps Giovanni Rossi, known as Giovanni da Mel, † 1549?) and by Titian. Very interesting are four small

anonymous portraits depicting contemporary artists, Michelangelo, Bandinelli, Andrea del Sarto and Titian, which implies Strada's conscious admiration for these great masters of the Italian Renaissance. A portrait of Virgil, Mantua's most illustrious son, by 'Licinio', reflects Strada's patriot pride as well as his love for classical poetry and learning: most likely it was an explicit commission from Strada's Vienna colleague, Giulio Licinio, rather than an existing painting by Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone or Bernardino Licinio he had chanced to pick up.

Most interesting is a painting attributed to Titian that is explicitly indicated as 'old'. It was a 'Tafel', a panel instead of a canvas, was set in a gilt frame and represented *Judith and Holofernes*. Possibly it was (a version of?) the *Salome with the head of St John the Baptist* now in the Galleria Doria-Pamphilj in Rome [Fig. 12.41]. The term 'old' here implies that it was no recent work, that it looked 'old-fashioned', so it must have been an early work of Titian, from the same period as the one other painting in the list that is described as old, 'an old picture made by Giorgio da Castelfranco, with two figures'. It is very tempting to identify the latter painting with Giorgione's *Two figures in a Landscape* in the National Gallery in London, also known as *Il tramonto* [Fig. 12.43].[100]

In contrast to these 'old' paintings are two paintings that must have been quite new, since they were by Niccolò Frangipane, one of the lesser gifted pupils of Titian: a small picture of the *Judgment of Paris* and a picture of 'einer Musica'. The latter was a specialism of Frangipane, and it is tempting to identify this particular one with the large *Satire on the performance of a madrigal*, in a private collection in Belgium or with one of various other versions which have appeared in the market recently.[101] [Fig. 12.44] The madrigal in question, *Bella guerriera mia*, on a text from Pietro Bembo's *Rime*, set to music by Orlando di Lasso, is completely readable in the painting. Of course Lasso was the musical superstar of his generation, and his work was constantly reprinted; nevertheless, as Duke Albrecht's court composer he was a personal acquaintance of both Strada and Stopio (who provided the text for one of his motets) and repeatedly visited Venice himself. A painting such as this may well have been inspired by these Bavarian connections, even if it was not explicitly commissioned for a Bavarian patron.

100 Inv. nr. NG 6307. The figures have been interpreted as St Roch having his leg bound by St Gothardus; the St George fighting the dragon in the middle ground of this painting is a nineteenth-century addition.

101 It was the subject of a fascinating article by Bert Meijer (Meijer 1972–193), who also reconstructed Frangipane's biography (Meijer 1972). Other versions of this painting were included in the catalogues of sales at Munich (Hampel, 2009-06-26), London (Christie's, 2015-04-30) and Vienna (Dorotheum, 2916-10-18).

FIGURE 12.43 *Giorgione*, Il tramonto; *London, National Gallery.*
FIGURE 12.44 *Niccolò Frangipane*, Satire on the performance of a madrigal, *private collection.*

12.7.4 *The 'Kunstkasten' and Other Kunstkammer Items*

Though the heading of the list refers to paintings only, in fact it continues with a quantity of miscellaneous items of antiquarian and artistic character and a few typical *Kunstkammer* objects. The first object mentioned is the 'schöner kasten von einglegten holz', mentioned earlier: this was an intarsia cabinet or *Kunstschrank*, decorated and filled with small antique sculptures or fragments. Principal items were the portrait heads of Philip of Macedon, of his son Alexander the Great and of Hannibal; a female head identified as 'Capuana'; and the small heads of 'two children, one of whom laughs, the other cries', all in marble. The cabinet moreover contained a number of other small antiquities: a bust of Faustina in marble, and one of Minerva in 'metal', probably bronze, as were the statuettes of Apollo, a male and a female Satyr and two horses. Two 'Piramiden von Marmor' were probably marble obelisks topping the cabinet. It has been noted above that the presence in this *Kunstschrank* of the heads of the crying and laughing children relates this list to the earlier inventory of the Bussoni collection, which is likewise preserved in Munich and can be associated with Strada. This strongly suggests that it was Strada himself who had bought these sculptures and then commissioned this sumptuous piece of furniture to house some of the smaller antiques he had acquired.

This 'Kasten' must have been similar in intention—though not quite in size and splendour—to the *Stipo Farnese*, constructed in 1578–1579 to house the smaller antiquities collected by Strada's old patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, after a concept of Strada's colleague, the learned antiquary and historian Fulvio Orsini [Fig. 12.45].[102] Another example was the splendid cabinet designed by Francesco Capriani da Volterra in which Cesare Gonzaga housed

102 Ecouen, Musée National de la Renaissance; cf. Fornari Schianchi/Spinosa 1995, pp. 56–57.

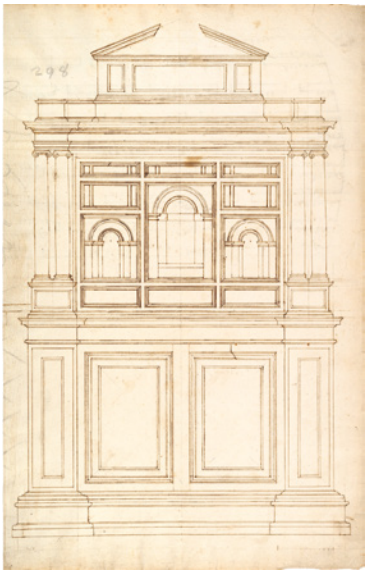


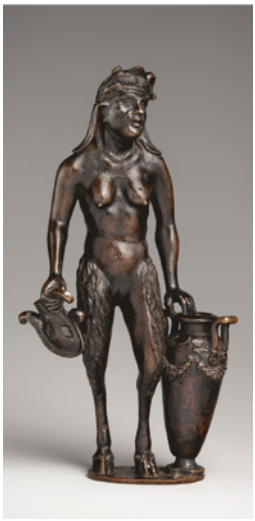
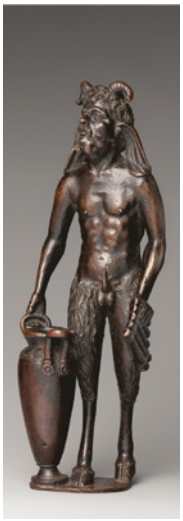
FIGURE 12.45 Flaminio Boulanger, the Stipo Farnese, conceived by Fulvio Orsini to house part of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's antiquities, 1578–1579; Ecouen, Musée de la Renaissance.

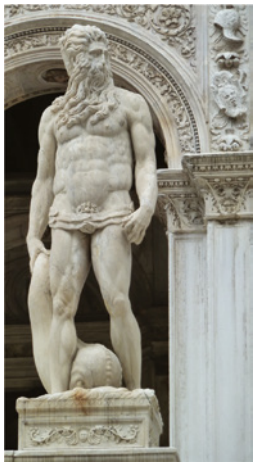
FIGURE 12.46 Anonymous, drawing of a monumental cabinet, ca. 1560–1570; New York, Metropolitan Museum.

part of his celebrated collection of antiquities. From the account Strada presented to Duke Albrecht we know that he commissioned a set of drawings of what in the German translation of his account is called the 'Schreibtisch' of Cesare Gonzaga.[103] The term *Schreibtisch*, literally 'writing desk', was probably the translation of Strada's 'scrittoio' or even 'studiolo'. Both of these terms could refer to a piece of furniture having a more ample function than purely administrative and literary pursuits, often providing space for coins, gems, small antiques, naturalistic objects and other interesting or valuable collectibles. In this case the object in question doubtless was the sumptuous coin cabinet described by Vasari as the 'studiolo fatto per le medaglie, il quale ha ottimamente d'ebano e d'avorio lavorato un Francesco da Volterra'.[104] The fact that this object was made by a craftsman who was also a gifted architect suggests that it was closely akin to the later *Stipo Farnese*. It must have looked somewhat like the one documented in two drawings in the so-called Scholz Scrapbook in the Metropolitan Museum datable to the 1560s. These drawings

103 BHStA-*LA* 4853, fols. 16–20, published in Stockbauer 1874, pp. 34: 'Um den abriss des Don Caesars Schreibtisch v 8'.

104 The description of Cesare Gonzaga's *stipo* in Vasari-Milanesi 1906, VI, pp. 489–490.



FIGURES 12.47–12.48 Andrea Briosco, detto il Riccio, bronze statuettes of a satyr and a satyress; New York, Metropolitan Museum.

FIGURE 12.49 Michelangelo, wax study for the young slave for the tomb of Pope Julius ii, London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

FIGURE 12.50 Jacopo Sansovino, Statue of Neptune; Venice, Palazzo Ducale.

show the architectural splendour of such cabinets and demonstrate that they were more often documented in such measured drawings [Fig. 12.46].[105]

Doubtless Cesare Gonzaga's cabinet was the immediate source of inspiration for Strada's 'schöner Kasten'. Its inclusion in the list suggests a considerable time span between this document and the inventory of the Bussoni collection. Strada needed to bring together a quantity of suitable small antiquities to include in his 'Kasten'. Then he needed to order or, more likely, himself prepare a design for the cabinet, and find a cabinetmaker capable of meeting his doubtless ambitious demands. Of course this all might have been done during Strada's succeeding visits to Venice between 1566 and 1569, in conjunction with the small coins cabinets he ordered for Duke Albrecht, but it is equally possible that he had it made at leisure when back home in Vienna.

In addition to the marble sculptures included in the *Kunstschrank*, the list mentions a gesso head of Pythagoras, perhaps a cast after the Antique, and a few statuettes. Three bronze statuettes of a Hercules and of two satyrs may

105 New York, Metropolitan Museum, *Scholz Scrapbook* fol. 298a-r., acc. nr. 49.19.39, and 298b-r., acc. nr. 49.19.40, showing an elevation and a detail of the cabinet; published in D'Orgeix 2001, p. 187 and p. 192, Fig. 47. In view of the apparent fame of Cesare Gonzaga's cabinet, it is not impossible that this drawing may document it. According to Stopio's Mantuan correspondent Strada also commissioned a three-dimensional model of the Palazzo del Te from Capriani himself (BHStA-LA 4852, f. 130; cf. above, n. 82).

have been either antique or modern: one thinks of something like the couple of satyrs from the workshop of Andrea Riccio in the Metropolitan Museum [Figs. 12.47–12.48]. A small bronze of a man laying his hand on his head was indicated as being by 'Buonarota', but probably was after Michelangelo rather than in his own hand. It may have been the cast of a study similar to the wax model preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum [Fig. 12.49], but more likely was a small bronze replica of one of the slaves for Michelangelo's tomb for Pope Julius II. The most interesting objects are four 'figures' in clay or terracotta made by one 'Antonella da Mantua' and a clay or terracotta figure of *Neptune* by Jacopo Sansovino, perhaps a study for the *Neptune* on top of the *Scala dei Giganti* in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice [Figs. 12.50].

Apart from these sculptures the list mentions some curiosities, typical *Kunstkammer* objects, such as a mirror in a richly wrought frame decorated with alabaster plaques and gilt medallions, an Arabic 'Rauchgeschirr' ('smoking appliance')' (perhaps an early example of a hookah?), 'a round mirror with which the Egyptians used to blind their enemy' and two 'maritimo Ainkirn', narwhal's tusks interpreted as the horns of a unicorn. A quantity of coins and medals mentioned probably consisted of doubles of Strada's own collection—it can hardly refer to his huge collection of ancient coins, which he probably would not have offered for sale. It is interesting that these were mounted in lead or ebony rings; perhaps they were at least in part modern portrait medals, rather than ancient coins.

12.8 Conclusion

In view of the relative rarity in Vienna of classical antiquities, the monumental *Kunstschrank* or collector's cabinet and the quantity and the interest of the ancient coins that were probably housed in its various compartments would have appealed at least to the educated among Strada's visitors. Though perhaps not very large, the collection of paintings on display was quite prestigious, including a number of large and splendid paintings by the greatest names of contemporary Venetian painting. If the two Veronese paintings now in the Frick Collection can be considered representative for Strada's cabinet of pictures, it must have made a big impression on his visitors. That such material was proposed to German patrons, the assumption that they would be interested in it, demonstrates the cosmopolitan attitude and the awareness of recent artistic developments in Italy prevalent both at Munich and at the Imperial court. Even without taking his own collection in account, Strada's expertise and his personal connections with several of these artists must have been an important factor in creating that awareness.

CHAPTER 13

Books, Prints and Drawings: The *Musaeum* as a Centre of Visual Documentation

13.1 Introduction

It should be noted that in Strada's own descriptions of his *Musaeum* quoted at the beginning of the last chapter, contemporary works of art—paintings—are mentioned only twice and only in passing. Either they seem to have been of less importance to Strada than his medals, his antiquities, his books and his rare manuscripts, or they did not fit his perception of the preferences of the particular patrons addressed. In these descriptions he never refers to the prints and drawings in his collection, though from other sources we know that those in fact constituted a very substantial part of his holdings. Moreover they constituted the part which appears to have been of the greatest immediate practical use—many examples of this have been advanced in Part II of this study—and which was most explicitly exploited in Strada's own projects, such as the *libri di disegni* he prepared for his patrons and his projected publications. In view of the size and importance of his holdings an analysis of the available information is useful, not only for the light it throws on Strada's preferences and procedures, but also for the history of the collecting of drawings in general. After his death his collection must have been one of the major sources tapped by the better documented collectors of the seventeenth century—apart from Rudolf II one thinks of Paul von Praun, Lord Arundel, Cassiano dal Pozzo and so on.

The list of 'Pleasant canvases' and other objects Strada offered to the Duke of Bavaria sometime in the 1570s includes a few works on paper which have not yet been mentioned in the preceding chapter. They are described as follows:

> 5 books of various sorts of good engraved works of art
> 1 small chest, in it many large and small works of art engraved in copper by many masters and made by hand:
> 1 big book, Cosmographia and many fortresses
> 1 book about architecture.[1]

1 Cf. Appendix C; cf. Stockbauer 1874, p. 44. Note that the latter two items may possibly have been albums of prints (and drawings), instead of illustrated publications.

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The first two items comprise woodcuts and engravings partly bound together or organized in albums of blank sheets, partly preserved unbound in a wooden box. The 'big book', is probably a copy of the 1550 edition of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*; the 'fortresses' refer either to the town-views—such as that of Vienna—included in it [Figs. 13.1–13.2], or to a set of additional images collected elsewhere that had been inserted into it. The book about architecture can be any recent architectural treatise, most likely one of the many editions of Serlio.

These items represent what must be a small supernumerary section of perhaps the most important and influential part of Strada's *Musaeum*, his collection of visual documentation. In contrast to the collection of paintings, of which he appears to have been ready to sell a substantial, if not the major part, from his collection of graphic material he only offered prints and illustrated printed books: such non-exclusive material probably consisted of doubles from his own collection or were even part of his regular stock as a bookseller. They do, however, represent themes that we know to have been close to his heart and which were well represented in his *Musaeum*: contemporary graphic art, topography and architecture. In the following I will recapitulate the genesis of Strada's collection of graphic material, and attempt a partial characterization on the basis of the scanty documents that are relevant. This survey will consist of two parts: one devoted to Strada's acquisition of quantities of existing drawings by some of the principal artists and architects of the Italian Renaissance, and one to his purposeful commission of documentary drawings of both ancient and contemporary monuments.

13.2 Strada's Acquisition of Drawings

As has been related in Chapter 3.8, on his travels in the mid-1550s Strada could acquire a vast quantity of drawings of some of the most esteemed masters of

FIGURES 13.1–13.2 Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae universalis Libri* VI, title page of the Latin edition, Basle 1550 and View of Vienna, woodcut from from the German edition.

the High Renaissance. During his stay in Lyon he could buy both the manuscripts of the architectural treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, and the collection of drawings he had brought together during his long life. When he subsequently arrived in Rome he likewise purchased the entire paper inheritance of his old friend Perino del Vaga, which included both Perino's own drawings and many of other artists, including Raphael, who had been his teacher. On his way back to Germany Strada visited his hometown, Mantua, and persuaded Giulio Romano's feckless son Raffaello—named after Perino's and Giulio's common master—to part with all the drawings he had inherited from his father. In the preface to his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro* Strada provides a glowing account of these acquisitions, of which he was very proud. Strada makes clear that these artists had collected not only their own works, but also that of their masters and of other artists, and also of other regions. For instance both Serlio's collection—where one would expect it—and Perino's—where it would be less obvious—included architectural drawings from France.[2]

Strada, in his pride of his *Musaeum*, might easily have overestimated the importance of his acquisitions. Therefore it is fortunate that his enthusiastic account is partly corroborated by a passage in Giovanni Battista Armenini's *De veri precetti della pittura*. As a young painter, just arrived in Rome from his native Ravenna, Armenini was employed by Strada as a draughtsman. Living in the latter's house in Rome, he was allowed to study the drawings from Perino's estate at leisure. He also makes clear that Strada was quite open handed and paid high prices for the things he valued, and stresses that Strada paid 'realmente' for his commissions.[3] Strada's strong financial position, coupled with his obstinacy and perfectionism, suggest that he did not greatly exaggerate when he claimed to have acquired not only Serlio's entire collection, but also all of Perino's and Giulio Romano's graphic material that remained in the possession of their heirs—to the effect that

> <…>those expert in the arts can well judge how many beautiful things I have, having obtained the labours of three such great men.[4]

2 Serlio 1575, preface, fol. a iiii-r.: 'Fra questi disegni [= Perino's drawings] ne trovai una grandissima quantità d'Architettura, tanto di quegli di Roma, quanto di Francia, et altri luochi della Italia'.

3 Armenini 1587, p. 180; *ibid*., pp. 64–65, states that Strada paid Catarina Penni fifty *scudi* for her husband's drawings. Is this the first sale of master drawings of which the price has come down to us? It seems a rather modest sum in view of what the purchase included; but Armenini may have witnessed the payment of one instalment of a cumulatively much larger sum.

4 Serlio 1575, preface, fol. a iiii-r.: '<…>a tale, che quelli de l'arte possono far giudicio quante belle cose mi truovo: havendo di tre tanto grand' huomini havuto le fatiche'.

If Strada was prepared to invest so much money in these huge acquisitions of drawings, it can be assumed that he also regularly bought smaller quantities of drawings and even individual sheets by other masters. He must, for instance, have been particularly eager to acquire some works by Polidoro da Caravaggio, the artist who most perfectly matched the Antique, and by the master who most widely surpassed it, Michelangelo.[5] Since Strada appears rarely to have annotated his drawings, it is well-nigh impossible to decide which individual sheets once may have belonged to his collection. But at least it is possible to list the various components of the collection as far as these can be inferred from these sources.

It is not surprising that in his preface to Serlio's treatise on architecture Strada particularly stressed the architectural designs included in his purchases; this does not, however, indicate that other types of drawings were less well represented, as has been suggested by Beket Bukovinská and Eliška Fučíková.[6] Of course the architectural drawings predominated among the material he acquired from Serlio. According to Strada his acquisitions consisted not only of drawings by Serlio himself, but also of those by other masters that Serlio had collected during his long career both in Italy and in France. It is very likely that they included in particular those that he had inherited or copied from his friend and teacher, Baldassare Peruzzi. This material probably also included earlier Sienese material on architecture, such as drawings and texts by Peruzzi's compatriot, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, whose treatise was one of Serlio's sources of inspiration, and upon whose technical designs Strada drew for his treatise on watermills, fountains and other technical inventions.[7] And it included the various designs (or copies of these) from the circle of Bramante, Raphael and the Sangallo circle that were used by Serlio in the preparation of his treatise. Perhaps it was Serlio that had acquired the military treatise by

5 Polidoro da Caravaggio is not mentioned in the sources documenting Strada's acquisitions and possessions; but the facade of the Palazzo Gaddi in Rome, decorated by Polidoro, was probably among the monuments he had documented in the 1550s. Drawings by or after Michelangelo are mentioned among works offered from his collection by Ottavio Strada after his father's death, as are some attributed to Parmigianino. Strada often took advantage of opportunities of acquiring works of art, as is borne out by the ample collection of Dürer prints he acquired, probably during his residence at Nuremberg (all discussed below).

6 Bukovinská/Fučíková/Konečný 1984, p. 65. I cannot agree that Strada in the context of his preface to Serlio would necessarily have singled out Giulio's goldsmith work designs, when he had already stated explicitly that he acquired *all* of the material ('tutti li disegni') that had remained in Raffaello Pippi's hands. The stress on architecture is natural in the preface to an architectural treatise, and in any case the relevant passage is very brief.

7 On this treatise, see Marchis/Dolza 2002 (also including papers by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Dirk Jansen) and Dolza 2003.

Guillaume du Bellay which Strada intended to add to his planned edition of Serlio's *Castrametatio*.[8] Likewise I suspect that some of the material by Serlio's French colleague and rival, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, which is preserved in the Munich Staatsbibliothek, was supplied by Strada to his patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, together with the Munich versions of the *Sesto Libro* and the *Castrametatio*. Strada could have obtained these together with Serlio's effects, or have acquired them independently during his stay in France.[9]

Among the drawings Strada acquired from the heirs of Perino and Giulio the proportion between figure-drawings and architectural and decorative designs will have been more even. Strada claimed that, in addition to their own work, the collections of both Perino and Giulio included many drawings by Raphael, whose pupils and assistants they had been. The tale of Raphael's drawings after his death has been summarized by Konrad Oberhuber in his preface to the ninth volume of the *Corpus* of Raphael's drawings of 1972.[10] Vasari states that the drawings left at Raphael's death were divided between two of his collaborators, Giulio Romano and Giovan Francesco Penni. It is not known what happened to Penni's share when he died, but it is likely that part or all of it ended up with his one-time partner Perino, who had married his sister Catharina. This implies that by means of his purchases from Perino's and Giulio's heirs Strada reunited the greater portion of the drawings of Raphael's later period, the years 1511–1520 covered by Oberhuber's volume of the *Corpus*. At a later date Strada in fact made special mention both of Raphael's original drawings for the Vatican *Stanze*, and of Giulio's designs for the double frieze in the *Camera degli Stucchi* in the Palazzo del Te that were among his possessions.[11] The presence in Munich of the manuscript translation of Vitruvius, made on behalf of Raphael by his humanist friend Fabio Calvo, is likewise best explained by the supposition that Strada supplied it to Fugger or to Duke Albrecht, having acquired it with Perino's or Giulio's *Nachlass*.[12] The mere fact

8 According to the copyright privilege Strada obtained from Maximilian II in May 1574 [Doc. 1574-05-30].

9 Various volumes including drawings and prints in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich are now accessible through the website of Codicon, such as *Cod. Icon*. 191, attributed to Du Cerceau, and *Cod. Icon*. 195, attributed to Jean de Chenevières; these give an impression of the type of material Strada acquired.

10 Oberhuber 1972, pp. 18–20.

11 *Index sive catalogus*, Appendix D, nrs. 43 and 14. Many of Giulio's original designs are now in the Louvre; the complete set in the Albertina doubtless is the copy Strada prepared or commissioned for the engraver (cf. below, Ch. 13.7.3).

12 BSB-HS, *Cod. ital.* 37. The supposition by the modern editors of Calvo's manuscript that it had been acquired in 1770 by Elector Carl Theodor with Piero Vettori's library (Fontana/Morachiello 1975, pp. 15 ff.) is contradicted by its presence among the architectural

that relatively few of Raphael's drawings from this period appear to have survived suggests that they shared a common, probably cruel fate; and the suspicion that this fate might be identical with that of other sections of Strada's collection is only reinforced by the fact that of Giulio's architectural drawings and of many other essential components of Strada's *Musaeum*—including his own manuscripts—very little has come to light.[13]

Perhaps a detailed examination of the available sources might allow a partial reconstruction of Strada's graphic collection, or at least a tentative characterization of its contents. Here I must limit myself to suggest the sources that could be used, and give a few examples of the sort of information these might yield. These sources include the graphic materials still preserved in a context which directly connects them to Strada's collection; the few individual drawings that can be shown by internal evidence to have been in his possession; the *libri di disegni* prepared in his workshop, the sheets of which were based on original material in his own collection; and finally the archival sources relating to the fate of his *Musaeum* after his death.

13.3 'Owls to Athens': Some Documents Relating to Strada's Graphic Collection

The latter sources do provide some concrete information which helps to visualize fragments of Strada's collection of drawings. After Strada's death his *Nachlass* was left under seal until his two eldest sons had settled the dispute that had arisen. Once the estate had been divided both sons attempted to sell sections of the library and the *Kunstkammer*. Thus in 1594 Paolo Strada approached Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel offering him a choice from 'die bei ernanndten lieben Vatter nach Imo gelassen Antiquiteten und kunstlichen Abrissen', including twenty-one gesso imperial portrait busts, a number of printed books, a 'Model' or set of plans for a palace drawn by Paolo himself, three albums of numismatic designs and one containing hundred and thirty designs for costumes for courtly entertainments. These festival drawings were

treatises listed in the inventory of the Munich Kunstkammer by Johann Baptist Fickler (1598) and in another, even earlier list of architectural books in Munich; cf. above, Ch. 3.7, note 85.

13 One might for instance think of the storm in 1792 wrecking the ship that carried a large part of the collection of Duke Albert von Sachsen-Teschen, the founder of the Vienna Albertina.

all products of Strada's workshop, rather than remnants from his collection.[14] Ottavio, on the other hand, did on various occasions attempt to sell what he presented as remnants from his father's collection of prints and drawings. Here I will limit myself to listing these attempts and provide his descriptions, which give at least some idea of size and quality of this section of his father's *Musaeum*.

Ottavio's first attempts date from shortly after Jacopo's decease, which implies that they are concerned with material from his father's collection he had already brought into his possession long before Strada made his will in 1584. In this will Ottavio was almost totally disinherited, for reasons the stating of which took three of the eight pages of the document, and of which the rape and attempted murder of his father's 'concubine' is only the most shocking. One of the crimes with which Strada taxed his undutiful son is the alienation of part of his collection of drawings:

> Seventh, he has outright stolen, and scandalously squandered my best antique coins, called medals; and other medals, my best, that belong to the series of the Emperors; moreover my dearest, and most beautiful designs ['*Contrafectur*'], drawn by hand, which I have brought together since my youngest years, and which have cost me a lot of money; as well as other things.[15]

It is natural that this will gave rise to litigation between Ottavio and his brothers and sister, which continued long after the formal opening of the will, which itself took place only on 28 September 1590, that is almost two years after Strada's death. Meanwhile Strada's studio, in Vienna, was under seal, and thus not accessible to Ottavio, who in any case was living in Prague and did not come to Vienna until the summer of 1589.[16] But already on 6 December 1588 he wrote to

14 Doc. 1594-12-23. Some of these festival drawings were made by Paolo Strada himself; on Strada's festival designs, see above, Ch. 4.3.5.

15 Doc. 1584-07-01; Appendix B. The will is discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 14.10.

16 Doc. 1584-07-01: the original of Strada's will bears a note that it had been opened by the *Landesmarschall* of Lower Austria, in the presence of Ottavio and of Paolo, also as representative of his young half-brother Tobia, on 28 September 1590. In a letter to Belisario Vinta of 10 April 1590 Ottavio refers to three illustrated manuscript books in which his own patron, Emperor Rudolf II, was interested, but which Ottavio preferred to sell to the Grand Duke (doubtless in view of Rudolf's notorious procrastination in paying) so he had put off the Emperor by telling him that they were still in Vienna under seal ('e molte volte S.M.C. mi da domandare de questi libri, dove sempre trovo scusa che sonno in Vienna nel studio seratij)'; in a subsequent letter of 17 June 1590 Ottavio refers to the litigation with his brother (ASF, *Medici del Principato* 814, fol. 343; 817, fol. 72). In the end the litigation

Belisario Vinta, secretary of Ferdinando I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, informing him of his father's decease a few weeks earlier, and then offering to present some of the effects he had left to the Grand Duke: a numismatic manuscript, dozens of 'belissime Medaglioni' and other objects, and he also promises a gift to Vinta himself. Almost as an afterthought, he then continues:

> We also still have beautiful drawings by the hands of Michel Angelo, Rafael Urbino, Pirin del Vaga, Francesco Parmesano, Julio Romano etc., that my father considered his [greatest] treasure; and to us they are useless, whereas over there [in Tuscany] they would be prized; and my father had the opportunity to buy them, being in Italy at that time, when these excellent men ['valenthuomini'] were living.[17]

There was no immediate response to this offer, and Ottavio did not pursue the matter. But by August 1589, when he had come to Vienna, he claimed to have obtained access to his father's studio, one item of which he now offers to the Grand Duke:

> Some months ago Signor Curtio da Picchena asked me to help him find designs by Alberto Durero, for which he had a commission from Duke Virginio [= Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, nephew of the Grand Duke]; for His Excellency wished to bring together a book of such designs.<…> Now if I knew that His Highness [= the Grand Duke] would be interested to have a similar book, I now possess one, which I inherited from the studio of my father, who considered it a jewel and has never wanted to part with it, and in the said book there are the most beautiful and best printed designs that the said Alberto Durero ever made.[18]

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was resolved in some sort of settlement, referred to in a note on the copy of Strada's will in the Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

17 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 810, fol. 129: 'ce ne ritroviamo ancora de belissimi disegni fatti a mano d' Michel Angelo, Rafael Urbino, Pirin del Vaga, Francesco Parmesano, Julio Romano etc., che mio padre [ebbe?] per il suo Thesoro; et a noi non serve niente, et costì sarebbano in stimatione; et mio padre hebbe commodità a comprarli, trovandosi in quelli tempi in Italia, quando vivevano tali valenthuomini'.

18 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 807, fol. 275, Ottavio Strada to Belisario Vinta, Vienna,28 August 1589: 'essendo alcuni mesi, che'l S[igno]r Curtio da Picchena mi pregò che volessi aiutar di cercare disegni del Alberto Durero, che sua sig[noria] haveva commissione di del S[igno]re Duca Virginio, che Sua Ex[cellen]za voleva meterci un libro insieme di tali disegni<…> Hora se io sapessi che Sua Al[tez]za suo padrone havesse desiderio di haver un simil libro, io me ne ritrovo hora uno, che hereditai del studio di mio padre, el qual teneva per un gioia e mai senel ha volsuto privarsene, et sonno gli piu belli et ben stampati disegni in

There is no evidence that the Grand Duke reacted to this proposal, but he did remember Ottavio's earlier offer of the drawings by Italian masters, as is clear from a letter to Vinta from Niccolò Gaddi, dated 'in Villa' the 13th October following. Gaddi was himself a noted collector and connoisseur with a particular interest in drawings, as his acquisition of Vasari's 'Libro di disegni' indicates. He was one of the principal artistic consultants of the Florentine court, and in this capacity he had been asked to give an appraisal of the manuscripts that Ottavio had sent. After responding to this request, he continues:

> The most Serene Grand Duke some days ago told me that he [= Ottavio Strada] also had a quantity of drawings by the hand of excellent painters and sculptors, and that he was willing to send these; if one let them come, and be told the price, having seen what they were, one could give him an answer.[19]

This advice was taken, so in January following (1590) Ottavio sent a parcel of two hundred and forty drawings of various sizes to Florence. These were the drawings he had with him in Prague: the greater part of the collection, '<…>fra li quali sono molti belle Historiae et inventione<…>' was still in Vienna, where he hoped to go the coming summer. In case this might please the Grand Duke, he would also send 'qualche cosa de bella' from there. In his covering letter to the Grand Duke himself Ottavio courteously refused to mention a price for the drawings he sent: 'tutto quello che me darà, accetarò in gratia, et cusì gli fo un presente'; but in his letter to Vinta of the same date he was more business-like, and valued them at one hundred gold *scudi* at least. He further offered to send a series of drawings by Giulio Romano, bound in an album

> <…>in which there is nothing else but extravagant inventions to grace the sideboard of a great Prince, a thing quite wonderful to see.[20]

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esso libro, che detto Alberto Durero ha fatto'. A day later Ottavio wrote a letter to Duke Virginio himself proposing the Dürer album to him in almost the same terms, adding 'io so che in tutta Italia non sene trovara un simil libro, che è ben conservato et gli disegni tanto politi che ben stampati che è una gioia a vedere<…>' (Rome, Archivio Capitolino, *Archivio Orsini*, serie I, vol. 124, nr. 198); I am grateful to Robert Lindell who found this letter and communicated it to me.

19 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 822, II, fol. 876: 'Il Serenissimo Granduca più giorni fa mi dette che [Ottavio Strada] haveva ancora una quantità di disegni a mano di valenthomini pittori e scultori, et che li voleva mandare; quando si facessino venire, et si intendesse il prezzo, visti che fussino, se li potrebbe rispondere'.

20 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 813, f. 110: Ottavio Strada to Ferdinando, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Prague 15 January 1590: 'Mi ritrovo un libro di mano di Julio Romano, dove in esso non c'

The drawings soon arrived in Florence, and seem to have been eagerly expected, since already on 11 February Vinta could communicate the reactions to Ottavio. Though this letter has not been preserved, from Ottavio's reply it is clear that its contents rather upset him. And this is not surprising, since he was told that in Florence all the drawings he had sent were held to be mere copies. Ottavio was offended, and said so; though he admitted that there might well be one or two copies among them, 'sia come si voglia', he strongly asserted his good faith:

> I swear on my honour as a gentleman that my father valued them so highly that he would not have given them for 300 gold *scudi*, and he has lived at the time when these excellent masters were alive and he bought [the drawings] from them. Here [in Prague], before I sent them over there [to Florence] a Frenchman has offered me hundred *Thaler*, and I did not want to give them to him [for that price].[21]

Therefore in case his drawings did not please the Grand Duke, they should be sent back well wrapped: in Prague there were people eager to have them, and prepared to pay a good price. This suggestion was accepted in Florence, and less than a month later the secretary of the Tuscan envoy in Prague had handed over a sealed parcel of drawings to Ottavio.[22]

After this disappointing experience, Ottavio did not attempt to interest the Grand Duke in the remainder of his father's drawings, that is, those that had remained in Vienna. By a curious coincidence, however, the Florentine State Archive contains one more letter of Ottavio's that gives further information of what at that time was still left of Strada's graphic collection. This letter, dated Prague, November 1st of the same year (1590), was addressed to Prospero Visconti, a Milanese nobleman whom we have already met in the last chapter. As an expert and agent in antiquities and works of art Visconti had been a colleague and acquaintance of the elder Strada and had visited his studio when in

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è altro, solum inventioni stravaganti per far una credenza di un gran Principe, cosa molto bella da vedere<…>'; *Medici del Principato* 814, f. 40, Ottavio Strada to Belisario Vinta, 15 January 1590.

21 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 814, f. 343, Ottavio Strada to Belisario Vinta, Prague 10 April 1590, 'gli giuro da gentilhuomo che mio padre non haveria dati per 300 [scudi] d'oro, in tanto reputatione le tenevi, et gli'è stato vivo nelli tempi di quei valenthuomini che gli hanno fatti, et da loro comprati. Qui, avanti che gli mandai costì, un francese me offerse cento tallerij, non gli volse dargli<…>'

22 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 817, fol. 72, Ottavio Strada to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Vienna 17 June 1590.

Vienna attending the wedding festivities of Archduke Charles in 1570. Ottavio obviously was well aware of Visconti's close relationship with Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, for whom he arranged extensive acquisitions of antiquities and contemporary works of art from Italy.[23] Besides some examples of his own industry, Ottavio offered to Visconti several volumes of drawings and prints, which he described as follows:

> Two large books bound with gold, on paper of medium size; in the one are the greater part of the printed designs of that great master Alberto Durero, both the copper engravings, and the woodcuts, and they are 216 pieces; and these are all early impressions.
>
> In the other book are 300 pieces of designs of those ancient masters such as Michel Angelo, Raphael Urbino, Francisco Parmesano [= Parmigianino], Julio Romano, Luca d'Holanda [= Lucas van Leyden], and other great masters, things of a kind which these days can no more be found for sale.
>
> Then there is also the Porton of Albert Durero [= Dürer's *Ehrenpforte*], in which are engraved the exploits of the Emperor Maximilian I.
>
> Another book made by hand, in which there are 300 pieces of designs of these great masters that are mentioned above, in their own hand.[24]

It can be assumed that the album of Dürer prints is identical with the one Ottavio earlier had offered to the Grand Duke and to Duke Virginio. From the context it is clear that the first group of three hundred 'disegni' by Italian masters, which was bound as a companion piece to the Dürer engravings and woodcuts, likewise consisted of prints, which Strada will have collected both during his stay in Rome in the 1550s and afterwards. The second group, consisting of three hundred autograph drawings of these same masters which were bound in a similar album, I think must have been part of the drawings that had remained in Vienna, and to which Ottavio had referred in his earlier letters to the Grand

23 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 825, fol. 318; on Visconti, see Simonsfeld 1902.

24 'Dui libri grandi ligati con ori [sic], in carta mediana; in el uno sonno li maggior parte delli disegni stampati di quel valenthuomo Alberto Durero, cusì quelli in rame, come quelli in legno, et sonno da 216 pezzi; et tutti sonno delle prime stampe. Nel altro libro sonno da 300 pezzi di disegni di quelli maestri antichi come di Michel Angelo, Raphael Urbino, Francisco Parmesano, Julio Romano, Luca d'Holanda, et altri gran Valenthuomini, non trovandoli per questi tempi più di comprare simil cose. Ciè ancora il Porton di Alberto Durero, dove sciso sonno i fatti di Maximiliano I Imperatore. Un altro libro fatto a mano, in el qual sonno da 300 pezzi di disegni di quelli Valenthuomini et loro proprio mani, come di sopra sonno nominati'.

Duke. It was obviously not identical with the parcel of two hundred and forty unbound drawings actually sent to, and returned from Tuscany, which perhaps Ottavio did not risk to expose a second time to the judgment of an Italian connoisseur. In this he was not ill-advised, in view of Visconti's quite sceptical reaction to the material Ottavio did propose to him. The Count did not wish to retain any of this for himself, but he did send Ottavio's letter to Florence: the Grand Duke might find something to his taste, though Visconti did not really expect that, noting in his covering letter that:

> <…>benchè quanto a me, io credo che a portare tali cose a Fiorenza sia portare a Samo vasi, nottole a Attene, e cocodrilli a Egitto.
> <…>As far as I am concerned, I believe bringing such things to Florence is like bringing vases to Samos, owls to Athens, and crocodiles to Egypt.[25]

In view of his disappointment at the earlier consignment of Ottavio's drawings it is perhaps not surprising that the Grand Duke did not show any interest, and Ottavio had to look elsewhere for buyers.

Ottavio's correspondence as found in Florence contains no further references to his father's drawings, and it will be convenient once more to sum up what the written sources list as items from Jacopo's *Musaeum*. The list of paintings and other works of art probably sent to the Munich court by Strada himself includes two items:

1. Five books or albums of various sorts of 'good engraved works of art', and
2. One small chest containing many large and small copper engravings

These may or may not have been in part identical with two of the items mentioned in Ottavio's correspondence with the Tuscan court, with the Duke of Bracciano, and with Prospero Visconti:

3. A volume containing two hundred and sixteen prints by Albrecht Dürer. This was offered by Ottavio to Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany and to Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, and later to Prospero Visconti.
4. A copy of Dürer's *Ehrenpforte* (if complete that would be hundred and ninety two sheets in all).
5. A set of three hundred prints by (mostly) Italian Renaissance masters. This was bound as a companion volume to the Dürer prints, and included works by or after Michelangelo, Raphael, Parmigianino, and Giulio Romano, but also by Lucas van Leyden, and was bound as a companion volume

25 ASF, *Medici del Principato* 825, fol. 317, Prospero Visconti to Marcello Accolti, secretary to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Milan 6 February 1591.

to the volume of Dürer prints. Ottavio offered it to the Grand Duke and to Prospero Visconti.

6. A set of two hundred and forty unbound drawings of various sizes by Italian masters of the Renaissance. Ottavio claims that these were autographs of Michelangelo, Raphael, Perino del Vaga, Parmigianino, Giulio Romano and others. It appears that Ottavio had removed these drawings from his father's studio already before 1584, the date of Jacopo's will, and had later sent them to Florence, where they were considered to be copies.
7. An album of three hundred autograph drawings attributed to these same 'valenthuomini'. Ottavio proposed this album to Prospero Visconti.
8. A collection of 'inventioni stravaganti' for a prince's sideboard, attributed to Giulio Romano: designs for vases 'all'antica' and for other types of goldsmith work, likewise collected in a bound volume. Ottavio offered it to the Grand Duke.

13.4 The Contents of Strada's Collection of Prints and Drawings

13.4.1 *The Prints*

As in the case of the paintings, these documents do not allow to identify individual sheets from Strada's print room, but it does give sufficient information to evoke some notion of what it may have contained, and consequently what impression it made on its visitors. That is the easiest in the case of the prints, in particular those of Dürer. With two hundred and sixteen sheets the Dürer album represented a substantial part of that master's *oeuvre*, and probably included his most famous images, such as *Knight, Death and the Devil* and *Melencolia I* [Figs. 13.3–13.4]. That Strada's estate also included a set of the *Ehrenpforte*—its hundred and ninety two separate sheets doubtless loosely gathered in an album—testifies to his great respect for the works of the Nuremberg master [Figs. 13.5–13.6].

It moreover correlates to his interest in the biographies of the Roman emperors, including their medieval and modern successors. In the 1540s Strada had lived only a few doors away from Dürer's house, so he could know his reputation at first hand from his neighbours' reports, and must have had access to his works through his connection with Nuremberg artists and with the circle of patricians who had commissioned or collected his works, such as Willibald Imhoff. These connections stimulated his interest in Dürer's work and may have facilitated his acquisition of a copy of the *Ehrenpforte* and a quantity of the master's prints that was exceptional even at the time.

FIGURES 13.3–13.4 Examples of the type of material present in Strada's print collection: Albrecht Dürer, Melencolia I and Knight, Death and Devil, engravings.

FIGURES 13.5–13.6 Albrecht Dürer, *The Triumphal Arch,* a woodcut series commissioned by Emperor Maximilian I, showing the whole *Ehrenpforte* mounted as intended, and one of its 192 individual prints, depicting the double marriage arrangement contracted by the Emperor for his grandchildren Ferdinand and Maria with Anna and Louis II, children of Vladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia.

FIGURES 13.7–13.10 Examples of the type of material in Strada's print collection: Enea Vico, Lamentation, engraving after a design by Raphael; Marcantonio Raimondi, Nude soldiers, after a detail of Michelangelo's Battle of Cascina, engraving; Parmigianino, Entombment, etching; Lucas van Leyden, Virgil suspended in a basket, 1525, engraving.

The volume of prints mostly by and after Italian masters, but also including prints by Lucas van Leyden, functioned as a pendant volume to the Dürer album both in its make-up and in its contents. Figures 13.7–13.10 give an impression of the type of material it will have included: prints after the most famous works by Raphael, Michelangelo and other great masters by engravers such as Marcantonio Raimondi, as well as some original etchings by Parmigianino and the famous woodcuts by Lucas van Leyden. Together the two albums provided a splendid survey not only of the graphic arts as such, but also of the pictorial inventions of both the Italian and the Northern Renaissance. Strada must have brought these prints together during his many travels, but in particular during his sojourn in Rome in the 1550s and his trips to Venice in the 1550 and the 1560s.

We have no concrete information on other prints in Strada's collection, but it is clear that these two volumes represent only a small—though perhaps the most prestigious—part of his graphic possessions. Through his trips and his regular contacts with the international book trade he could easily obtain the products of famous publishing houses such as those of Salamanca in Rome and Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp. Just like his old acquaintance Samuel Quiccheberg, who explicitly stressed the importance of prints in his 1565 treatise, *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissmi*, which provides a blueprint for the ideal, universal museum, Strada valued them not only for their artistic qualities, but also—and perhaps more—for their function as bearers of information.[26]

13.4.2 *The Drawings*

It is clear that the volumes of drawings mentioned in Ottavio's correspondence likewise comprised only a part—though possibly the most prestigious—of Jacopo's collection of drawings: the architectural drawings, for instance, to which Strada explicitly refers in his preface to Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, are not included. Presumably these were kept in separate volumes, such as that containing Giulio's vase designs offered to the Grand Duke. At present it is not possible to determine of what separate sections Strada's collection was constituted, but a closer examination of the problem of the 'copies' Ottavio sent to Florence, provides some additional information relative to the actual contents of some of these sections.

At first sight this problem appears to defy solution. Should one accept that the drawings sent to Florence had been in fact, as Ottavio Strada claimed, the autographs of some of the most famous artists of the Renaissance, one would have to admit that such Florentine connoisseurs as Niccolò Gaddi would not have recognized them as such, which is a rather unlikely supposition. Supposing on the other hand that the drawings had been copies or even forgeries of original autograph drawings, one would have to suppose either that Strada himself was fooled when he acquired the drawings, or that he or his son had executed these copies or forgeries himself. In view of Strada's artistic training and general erudition, and of the fact that he bought most of the material immediately from the heirs of Perino and Giulio, both of whom he had well known personally, the first proposition is extremely improbable. Though the second proposition may seem less unlikely—autograph drawings of the most famous masters already were coveted collector's items, and occasionally very deceptive copies or interpretations are found, such as the famous Pseudo-Leonardo at the Albertina [Fig. 13.11]—it is questionable whether deliberate

26 On Quiccheberg, see Quiccheberg/Roth, 2000; and earlier Belsiger 1971; Falguières 1992; Jansen 1993.

forgery on such a large scale, involving hundreds of drawings, was practiced in the sixteenth century.[27] It is equally improbable that Ottavio, whose dismay at the reaction from Florence sounds rather sincere, would have mistaken studio-copies from his father's workshop, which were intended to be bound in the *libri di disegni* the Stradas purveyed to their patrons, for the real thing. Even had he not known that such copies of his father's autographs had been made, he still would have easily recognized them, since they were never made to reproduce in detail the personal 'handwriting' of an individual artist, but merely served to record a given pictorial 'invention', for instance the copies of Giulio Romano's drawings discussed and illustrated below [Ch. 13.6.4].

Fortunately an attentive reading of Armenini allows us to formulate a hypothesis that neatly solves this apparent paradox, and explains how Ottavio could rightly insist on the provenance of the drawings he sent to Florence, while at the same time Gaddi and his colleagues were not mistaken in considering them to be copies. Discussing Perino del Vaga's technique, Armenini described that when he lived in Strada's house in Rome he was allowed to study the many copies, or rather reinterpretations, that Perino had produced of great part of the work of Raphael and of some of the *ignudi* of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, together with a quantity of sketches '<…> adapted from many print designs which were inventions of Italian and of German [artists]', and drawings after the Antique. In these chalk drawings Perino had his models '<…>with such art reduced to his own sweet manner<…>' that it was difficult even for the expert to see where he had found his inspiration.[28] A beautiful

27 Albertina, inv. nr 6or.; Wickhof 1892, SR 72; Birke/Kertész 1992–1997, p. 33. On the basis of an inscription on the back, this particular copy of a Leonardo original which presumably was in Rudolf II's collection is attributed to Jacob Hoefnagel: Th. Wilberg-Vignau: *Jacob Hoefnagel: Ungleiches Paar in einer Landschaftsumrahmung*, inv.nr. 6or. (Albertina On-Line, http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/#fa6fdee7-786f-4730-a7d3-9d7c57706b00, consulted 07-01-2013).

28 Armenini 1587, p. 64–65, speaking of Perino's drawings Strada allowed him to study: '<…> dove che fra l'altre cose belle, io vidi di sua man propria una gran parte dell'opera ch'havea dipinte Raffaello, già suo maestro; le quali erano dissegnate di lapis nero et alcuni ignudi del giuditio, i quali dissegni si vedevano essere con tal' arte ridotti alla sua dolce maniera, che si potea dir più tosto quelli esser da lui nati, e trovati, che ritratti da altrui; e non era solamente questi ch'io dico, ma vi erano ancora di molti schizzi cavati da più dissegni di stampe, ch'erano inventione d'Italiani, et di Tedeschi, sì come ci era ancora un numero infinito di pilli, di partimenti, di statue, di grottesche, pur cavate dalle antiche, con altre cose tali, che sono sparse, et occulte per Roma, et non ignote à noi, dove che esso nel ritrarle, le veniva tuttavia mutando quando una cosa, et quando un'altra, et a quelle ch'erano rotte, ò non molto gagliarde, gli aggiungeva, li levava, et le arrichiva, et in somma le riduceva in modo tale, con quella sua leggiadra maniera, ch'era cosa difficile da' ben prattichi à conoscere di dove egli cavate le havesse …'.

FIGURE 13.11 Attributed to Jacob Hoefnagel, after Leonardo da Vinci, Unequal affection; the frame by an anonymous draughtsman; Vienna, Albertina.

FIGURE 13.12 Perino del Vaga(?), Entombment, after Raphael's Pala Baglione. Vienna, Albertina.

anonymous drawing in red-chalk in the Albertina, which copies Raphael's *Entombment* now in the Galleria Borghese, was attributed to Perino in the past, and well illustrates the quality and refinement that such copies could attain to [Fig. 13.12].[29]

The consignment of drawings that Ottavio sent to the Grand Duke must have largely consisted of similar drawings after well-known works of art in Rome and after prints. Though Strada himself of course had been perfectly aware of the origin of this part of his collection, Ottavio seems never to have visited Rome or Florence, and in consequence he was apparently unable to distinguish between these reinterpretations and the original work.[30] Niccolò Gaddi was much better versed in the art of his century than Ottavio, and immediately recognized the sources of the drawings. Though he presumably would have appreciated an autograph study for the *School of Athens* or the *Creation of Adam*, to give some random examples, he obviously had little interest in another set of copies after these well-known 'inventions'. After all he did not

29 Albertina, inv. nr. 14205; cf. Wickhof 1892, pp. SR 521; Birke/ Kertész 19952–1997, 3, p. 1851 (http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[14205]&showtype=record). The drawing is now not attributed. Of course the possibility remains that Perino's *Nachlass* as acquired by Strada from his widow, also included drawings by Perino's assistants and pupils, whom he may have trained by having them make similar copies themselves.

30 Ottavio had lived in Rome as a child, and had accompanied his father to Venice, Verona and Mantua in the late 1560s, but there is no evidence that he ever visited Italy later in life.

know that, though Ottavio's drawings obviously were not autograph Raphael or Michelangelo, they were at least autograph Perino del Vaga.[31]

If this interpretation of the available data is correct, it is possible to conclude that Jacopo Strada had kept Perino's copies—or 'Contrafactur', according to Strada's will—together as a separate entity until they were carried off by Ottavio, and he will have ordered the rest of his collection in similar coherent groups. The album of three hundred drawings which Ottavio offered to Prospero Visconti thus must have made part of the section of autograph figure drawings, while the architectural and ornamental designs constituted further sections, the latter including Giulio's designs for goldsmith's work and probably also for costume, armour and ephemeral decoration for jousts, masques and other courtly festivities. The few identifiable remains from Jacopo Strada's *Musaeum* that have remained intact consist of rather more heterogeneous material, and their contents suggest that relative quality also played some role in the ordering of the drawings.[32]

Unfortunately the data do not permit to decide whether those groups that Ottavio offered in bound albums—that is the prints, the Italian autograph drawings, and Giulio's 'invenzioni stravaganti'—represented selections made by himself, concerned to split up the material in easily negotiable items, or that they already had been put together in this form by his father. This latter option is not improbable in view of the manner in which Giorgio Vasari had ordered one of the few contemporary collections of drawings of comparable dimensions, his famous *Libro de' disegni*. This *Libro* in fact consisted of several volumes, and the drawings contained in each of these had been mounted in splendidly decorated passe-partouts. It remains unclear whether these mounted sheets were actually fixed in the bindings, or could be shuffled around at will. That this second technique was not unusual is suggested by the wording of the descriptions of similar volumes of drawings in the inventory of a slightly later collection, that of the Emperor Rudolf II, and of the presence in his *Kunstkammer* of 'a big book [bound] in parchment [consisting] purely of blank paper of *folio reale* size, in which it is possible to keep all sorts of Disegni'.[33] On the other hand the relics from Strada's *Musaeum* show that at

31 On Niccolò Gaddi, see Arrighi 1998.

32 Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Cod. Min.* 21,3 includes, apart from copies from Strada's workshop, some individual items; the codex preserved in the library of the Strahov Monastery in Prague, ms. DL III 3, contains miscellaneous decorative designs and sketches mostly by and after Giulio Romano, and including some copies made in Strada's workshop; cf. below, pp. Ch. 13.6.

33 Bauer/Haupt 1976, p. 139, nr 2799: 'ein gross Buch in pergamen von lautter Ledigen regalpapir darein man allerhand Disegni legen kan'.

least occasionally he had pasted certain drawings onto sheets belonging to or intended for a bound album.[34]

13.5 Later Fate of Strada's Prints and Drawings

Ottavio Strada's attempts to sell prints and drawings from his father's collection to the Grand Duke of Tuscany were unsuccessful; perhaps archival research in future may unearth further evidence of comparable transactions. What is striking is Ottavio's reluctance to sell to his own patron, the noted amateur, connoisseur and passionate collector of art, Emperor Rudolf II. Perhaps because of Ottavio's position as Rudolf's trusted antiquary—and moreover as the father of Anna Maria, his illegitimate daughter who was the Emperor's mistress and the mother of some of his children—he was too well aware of the difficulties he would have actually to collect payment for the objects he provided. Nevertheless it may not always have been quite so easy to find suitable buyers for the drawings as Ottavio suggests in one of his letters to the Grand Duke, and in any case his position as a Gentleman of the Household and official Antiquary to the Emperor would not allow him to thwart Rudolf's express desires. In fact his contributions to the Imperial collections have not been inconsiderable, as the inventory of 1607 makes clear. This inventory includes a list of the illustrated books and manuscripts and of the volumes of prints and drawings that constituted a special section of the *Kunstkammer*. Besides at least eight examples of *libri di disegni* that were the fruit of Ottavio's own industry, this list includes a number of items the description of which corresponds to objects known to have been in Jacopo's *Musaeum*.[35]

Unfortunately, though the remains of Strada's collection constituted the obvious source for graphic material of Italian origin in Prague, and consequently a considerable portion of it must have found its way into Rudolf's collection, the groups of Italian drawings listed in the Inventory are so concisely described that even a merely tentative identification with items mentioned in Ottavio's correspondence is possible only in very few cases. Apart from an album of prints by Dürer and a similar volume of prints by various Italian masters, which may or may not have been identical with the book of prints Ottavio had offered to Prospero Visconti, two items are of special interest in this context. These volumes are described as follows:

34 Such as the Strahov codex (cf. below).

35 The inventory is published in Bauer/Haupt 1976.

> 2686. Another big book of *folio reale* size paper, bound in old, reused ['verschriben'] parchment [i.e. the parchment used consisted of old letters or pages from an abandoned manuscript], in it mostly things and drawings in red and black chalk, after Michael Angelo Bonar: and other excellent men ['valent homini']
>
> 2694. A big and fat book bound in parchment in folio *reale* size, in it only hand drawings by the most important Italian masters.[36]

Item 2686 can with some confidence be identified with either the whole, or with a portion—in that case the larger sheets—of the consignment of drawings that Ottavio had sent to Florence in 1590, this both because of its contents—copies after Michelangelo and other masters, rather than drawings by their own hand—and because of the use of the term 'valent homini', echoing Ottavio's description, in the *German* text of the inventory. Possibly this term was derived from a label or title page added when the material—which can perhaps be attributed to Perino del Vaga, as we have seen—was put together in a cheap binding of re-used vellum, either before or shortly after Ottavio ceded it to the Emperor. Item 2694, a large-size and bulky volume of drawings by important Italian artists, may well have been identical with the volume containing three hundred autograph drawings that Ottavio had offered to Prospero Visconti in November 1590.

Finally it is rather probable that the 'Inventioni stravaganti per fare una credenza di un gran Principe' attributed to Giulio Romano, which Ottavio offered, but never actually sent to the Grand Duke, was identical with any one of the volumes containing drawings of 'vasi in penna' that are listed in the inventory.[37] This may have been the codex that is still preserved intact in the library of the Strahov Monastery at Prague, as has been suggested by Beket Bukovinská, Eliška Fučíková and Lubomír Konečný in their integral publication of the album. The Strahov Codex contains a number of autograph designs for goldsmith work by Giulio and his school, but it also includes a number of copies of similar inventions executed in Strada's own workshop, and a quantity of miscellaneous odds and ends: it constitutes an interesting and rare relic of Strada's *Musaeum*, and will be discussed below. It is, however, more likely that Ottavio offered a more splendid volume to the Grand Duke, consisting exclusively of

36 Bauer/Haupt 1976, p. 134: '2686. Ein ander gross buch von regalbogen in schlecht verschriben pergamen copert gebunden, darin mehrerteils sachen und zaichnus mit rot und schwartzer kreiden, nach Michael Angelo Bonar: und anderer valent homini' and p. 135: '2694. Ein gross dickh in pergamen gebunden buch in regalgröss, darin lautter von den fürnembsten italienischen maistern handriss'.

37 Bauer/Haupt 1976, p. 131, nrs 2582 and 2587.

Giulio's own designs for elaborate goldsmith work that since have been dispersed, and have found their way to half a dozen print rooms across Europe and the United States.[38]

13.6 Drawings Preserved in a Context Linking Them with Strada

By the early seventeenth century collectors and perhaps dealers in drawings began to use collector's marks, written initials or symbols, or little stamps placed on each sheet. Unfortunately in Strada's day this admirable custom had not yet been thought of, and since he did only rarely scribble any attributions, explanations or remarks onto the sheets in his possession, it is possible to identify individual sheets that passed through his hands in only a few cases. Strada's collection of drawings was almost entirely dispersed in the decades after his death, and may have furnished material for the cabinets of many famous collectors of the seventeenth century, such as Paul von Praun, the Earl of Arundel and Everard Jabach.[39] In the process most of the albums containing his collection of original drawings were cut up, but fortunately two volumes survived more or less in their original form, both in Prague, and provide at least some concrete information about the contents of the *Musaeum*.

13.6.1 *The Strahov Album*

The codex preserved in the library of the Strahov Monastery is the most important of these. A cut-out engraving of Ottavio Strada's coat-of-arms pasted onto its title-page functions as an ex-libris, and demonstrates its provenance from Strada's *Musaeum*.[40] The binding in white leather is decorated with impressed portraits of Charles V and the Elector of Saxony, and appears to date from the 1570s. The codex itself consists of about eighty-five sheets of a paper produced in Prague. Since these sheets where unmarked when they were bound,

38 Cf. Ugo Bazzotti in Giulio Romano 1989, pp. 454–457.

39 Later references in archival sources provide tantalizing hints about the possible later fate both of the volumes in Rudolf's collection and of other graphic material from Strada's *Musaeum*.

40 Prague, Strahov Monastery, Library, DL III 3, *Selectarum inventionum collectanum ex diversis auctoribus*; a cut-out of Ottavio Strada's coat of arms pasted onto the title page confirms its provenance from the Stradas' workshop. This discussion is based on the splendid, integral edition of the codex by Beket Bukovinská, Eliška Fučíková and Lubomír Konečný (Bukovinská/ Fučíková/ Konečný 1984). Apart from this fundamental work, their personal interest, their hospitality and counsel during several visits to Prague have been invaluable for my research.

the volume's initial function must have been akin to those found in Rudolf's *Kunstkammer*, as cited above: 'ein gross Buch in pergamen von lautter Ledigen regalpapir darein man allerhand Disegni legen kan'. In this case, however, the 'disegni' were pasted onto the sheets of the album, and this content is specified on the rather carelessly executed title-page as '*Selectarum inventionum ex diversis auctoribus*'.

The album is filled with cut-out designs of which a considerable part can be attributed to Giulio himself, and a number of related designs are attributable to Giulio's circle [Figs. 13.13–13.19]. These are complemented with pen-and-ink copies of Giulio's designs—some of them actually copied from autographs contained in the volume itself—that were produced in Strada's workshop, and with some miscellaneous material of various origins (including some architectural drawings, none of which appear to be linked with Mantua). Many of the autograph drawings can moreover be linked to similar copies preserved in *libri di disegni* produced by the Stradas, while some of the copies in the Strahov codex appear reproduced from autograph designs by Giulio preserved elsewhere.[41]

From the copies of Giulio's designs for goldsmith work included in the volume and in several other *libri di disegni* produced in Strada's workshop, it is evident that he possessed many more of Giulio's designs besides those pasted into the Strahov codex. This suggests that the Strahov volume represent a selection—or rather a de-selection—from the material he had available; its miscellaneous contents suggests that the album should be considered as part of the *rebut*, remnants that either were duplicates—of many of Giulio's several

FIGURE 13.13 Strahov codex, fol. 28/36: Giulio Romano, autograph design for a ewer.
FIGURE 13.14 Strahov codex, fol. 17/22: Giulio Romano or workshop, design for a salt cellar.

41 Valerie Taylor is at present undertaking a careful comparison of the several albums of such drawings, mostly executed by Ottavio Strada, and attempting an identification of the sources of the individual designs—besides Giulio these includes similar designs by Francesco Salviati.

FIGURE 13.15 Strahov codex, fol. 1/1: Giulo Romano or workshop, design for a saltcellar.
FIGURE 13.16 Strahov codex, fol. 29/38: Workshop of Giulio Romano, design for a chimneypiece.
FIGURE 13.17 Strahov codex, fol. 2/2: Giulio Romano, design for a princely cradle.

autographs variant versions and/or workshop copies exist—or were deemed of insufficient quality to be included in the better organized volumes consisting exclusively of first-rate sheets that made up Strada's *Musaeum*, and that for that very reason have since been cut up and dispersed.

Nonetheless the Strahov codex contains the largest body of autograph drawings by Giulio Romano we possess; it is of the utmost importance for our understanding of his style as a designer of decorative objects, in the first place of vases and other objects of goldsmith work, but also of several chimneypieces [Fig. 13.16], a princely cradle [Fig. 13.17] and two beds (fols. 49 and 52), and a wall tomb or monument [Fig. 13.18]. In view of Strada's involvement with the tombs of the Emperor Maximilian I in Innsbruck and of Ferdinand I in Prague, a beautiful design for the tomb of Francesco II Gonzaga is particularly interesting [Fig. 13.19], though its attribution to Giulio is problematical.[42] Over all

42 The tomb Federico Gonzaga planned to erect for his father was an important project initiated in 1519 by a design by Raphael; a later, simplified version was probably designed by Giulio; its execution was entrusted to Alfonso Lombardi Cittadella, at whose death the project had hardly been begun; in the end it was never realized. The Strahov codex includes two further copies of variant designs for this tomb (fol. 142/250 and 152/260), the former a copy of the drawing in the Louvre (Cabinet des Dessins inv.nr. 3576). Another variant is preserved in Munich (Staatliche Gaphische Sammlung, inv.nr. 5006); Bukovinská c.s. attribute none of these designs to Giulio, whereas Amedeo Belluzi, 'Il progetto per il monumento a Francesco II Gonzaga', in *Giulio Romano* 1989, pp. 558–560, does give them to Giulio.

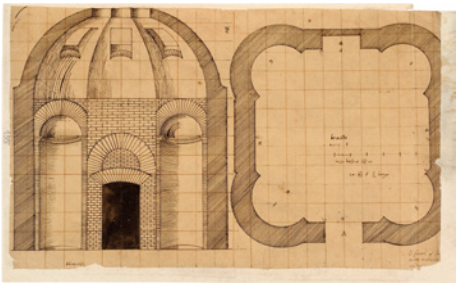
FIGURE 13.18 Strahov codex, fol. 30/39: Giulio Romano, design for a wall tomb.
FIGURE 13.19 Strahov codex, fol. 25/30: after Giulio Romano?, design for the tomb of Francesco II Gonzaga.

the Strahov codex well demonstrates the interest that Giulio's works aroused among his own contemporaries.

At the end of the volume some material is included that had nothing do with Giulio: a number of ground plans of Italian churches, the plan of a palace and a plan and section of what is probably (a reconstruction of) an ancient Roman building [fol. 157/266; Fig. 13.20]. Its carefully executed hatchings show it to be a design prepared for the (wood)engraver—the sheet is squared for transfer—which relates this latter drawing to the Serlio treatise, perhaps even to that master himself. On the other hand the partly lost annotation in the right corner seems a later addition: the handwriting suggest that it is Strada himself who noted how much of this reconstructed Roman ruin was still actually standing: 'from the outside<…>all ruined'.[43]

The other four architectural drawings seem all later, and appear to be drawn in the same hand. They represent the plans of a Renaissance palace [fol. 159/268; Fig. 13.21] and of three churches, the cathedrals of Pisa [fol. 155/264; Fig. 13.22] and of Florence [fol. 158/267; Fig. 13.23], and Brunelleschi's church of San Lorenzo in the latter city [fol. 156/265; Fig. 13.24]. These plans are simple

43 Bukovinská/Fučíková/Konečný 1984, p. 182, cat. nr. 157/266 (as 'Querschnitt und Grundriß einer Kirche'): 'di fuori si fà [word cut off] / tutto ruinato'. It is conceivable that during his 1554–55 visit to Rome Strada would have compared his newly acquired documentation of Roman monuments with their remains. I have not yet identified the building; which looks like a section of a thermal complex or a residential palace, rather than a temple. Its image is not included in the published Serlio volumes.



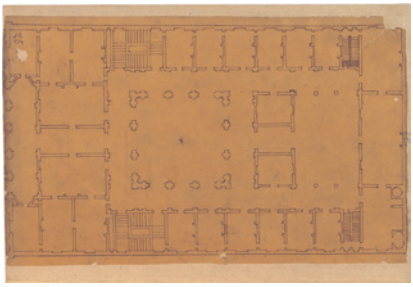
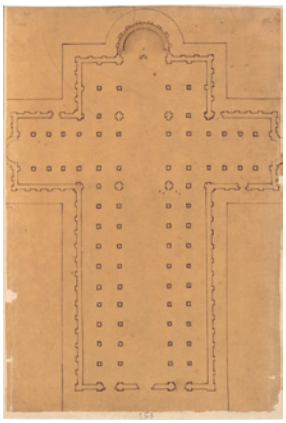
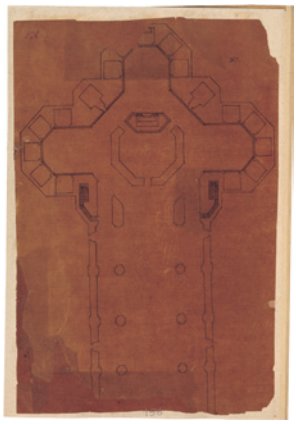
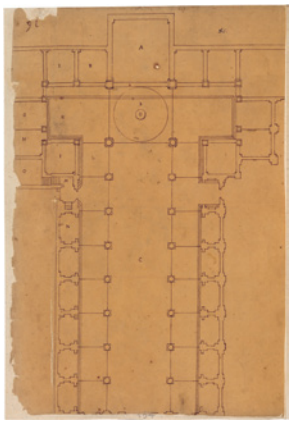


FIGURE 13.20 Strahov codex, fol. 157/266: section and plan of (part of) a Roman bathhouse.
FIGURE 13.21 Strahov codex, fol. 159/268: plan of an Italian palace.







FIGURES 13.22–13.24 Strahov Codex, fol. 155/264: plan of Pisa Cathedral; fol. 158/267: plan of Florence Cathedral; fol. 156/265: plan of San Lorenzo, Florence.

and not very detailed, but they are carefully drawn, and provide documentation that is quite clear and easily readable even for a layman.[44]

13.6.2 *The Codex Chlumczansky*

It is very likely that another codex preserved in Prague, ms. XVII A6 of the library of the National Museum in Prague, made part of Strada's purchase from Raffaello Pippi. It has been catalogued in detail by Vladimír Juřen, who baptized it the Codex Chlumczansky, after a later owner, Václav Leopold Chlumčanský

44 Bukovinská/Fučíková/Konečný 1984 do not identify these plans: p. 182, cat. nrs. 155/264 (Pisa, Duomo); 155/265 (Florence, San Lorenzo); 158/266 'Grundriss einer Kirche', cf. the preceding note; 155/ 267 (Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore); 155/268 (contemporary palace design which I have not as yet succeeded to identify).

FIGURE 13.25 Strahov codex, fol. 28/37: anonymous design for a ewer, after Giulio Romano,with autograph corrections.

FIGURE 13.26 Codex Chlumczansky, inside of front board: copy of design for a ewer by Giulio Romano.

FIGURE 13.27 Strahov codex, fol. 28/37: copy of a design for a double-handled vase, after Giulio Romano.

FIGURE 13.28 Codex Chlumczansky, fol. 4v., copy of a design for a double-handled vase, after Giulio Romano.

z Přestavlk a Chlumčan, Archbishop of Prague since 1815 (1749–1830).[45] The provenance of this album from Mantua is borne out by Federigo Gonzaga's *impresa* impressed on its binding, by some entries (such as a variant reading of the epitaphs of Baldassare Castiglione and his wife, and that of the Mantuan nobleman Giovanni Cattaneo († 1541), as well as by the Mantuan origins of many of the drawings later added to the album.

Though its provenance from Strada's *Musaeum* cannot be established beyond all doubt, it is a virtual certainty not only because of its Mantuan antecedents, but also in view of the copy of a design for a vase by Giulio Romano pasted onto the title page, which is similar to one found in the codex from Strahov, and which is accompanied by a title referring the volume to Sebastiano Serlio: 'di Sebastiano Serlio di Architectura liber manupictus et scriptus'. Such an unusual combination would hardly have been found anywhere else but in Strada's *Musaeum*, and the title was probably added by someone who was well aware of the various components of Strada's collection, but was not

45 Prague, National Museum, Library, ms. XVII A 6; Album, 44 x 29 cm, containing 97 sheets, a number of later additions mostly pasted unto blank pages; sixteenth-century Italian binding bearing the *imprese* [*Fides* and Olympos] of Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua; interior front cover carries a ms. title: 'di Sebastiano Serlio di Architectura liber manupictus et scriptus'. The album is integrally published in Juřen 1986, which is summarized in the following description; a brief description in *Giulio Romano* 1989, p.332 and Figs. on pp. 47, 320.

able to distinguish between them.[46] Certainly the material it contained seems very close to the type of material we know Strada to have collected and to have used as raw material for his own projects.

The original nucleus of the album consists of over 350 antique inscriptions, mostly Latin and some Greek, from Rome and other regions of Italy, from Nîmes, from Vienna and from Spain and Portugal, most of which were copied from other similar collections [Fig. 13.29 and 13.40, top], and of some 150 architectural drawings. These drawings were copied for the greater part from models not antedating the end of the fifteenth century [Fig. 13.30], and they include some that can be linked to the circle of Giuliano da Sangallo [fols. 70v–71, Fig. 13.31: idealized views of the Pantheon and its interior; fol. 85, Fig. 13.32, top left: elevation and plan of the Basilica Aemilia]. The paper of this section of the album suggests that its first owner came from Northern Italy, probably the Veneto.

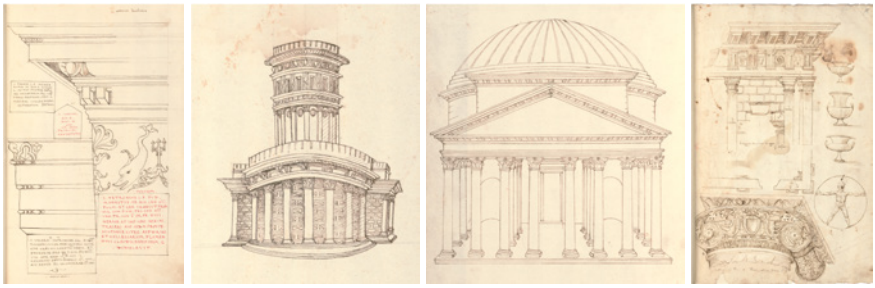
Only the later additions, which are either pasted unto or directly entered onto the pages that had remained unused, unequivocally link the album to Giulio Romano's Mantuan circle. The following elements are of particular interest:

Drawings:

– A group of twelve plans of ten modern buildings [fols. 1–2, Figs. 13.33–13.34; fols. 5, 93, 9597, Z; two repeats]; most of these are identical to drawings in the so-called 'Mantuan Sketchbook' in Maarten van Heemskerck's Berlin albums: these latter are regarded to have been copied from Giulio Romano's projects by the so-called 'Anonymous A', a presumably Northern draughtsman who visited Mantua sometime between 1540–1550 and has been tentatively identified with the Dutch painter Hermannus Posthumus.[47]

46 The hand is late sixteenth century; it appears not to be Ottavio Strada's, but might be Paolo's. A provenance of the album and/or part of its contents from Serlio's collection should not be totally excluded—Serlio seems to have known Giulio personally (cf. Frommel 2002, p. 66 and 80, notes 150–152) and he might have received it as gift from Giulio, or even from Federico Gonzaga himself; but this stretches the available evidence further than the assumption that Strada had acquired the album sometime in Mantua, and had later used its empty pages to archive other materials from his collection. The arguments against a provenance from Strada's studio advanced in Juřen 1986 (pp. 118–119) are not very forceful: that it is not included in the *Index sive catalogus* is perfectly understandable, because that is not an inventory of Strada's collection, but a list of manuscripts Strada considered ready for the press; and that the Spanish inscriptions included in it were not used as a source for those he added to his 1575 edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* can be explained by the fact that he must have possessed many other *syllogae* of Spanish epigraphic material, in part perhaps obtained though his connection with Antonio Agustín, which he may have considered more reliable.

47 The foliation of the codex are given as in Juřen 1986, whose attributions are generally followed; on the Anonymous A, cf. Hülsen/Egger 1900, II, ff. 13, 13v, 29v, 58, 73v; Dacos 1989.



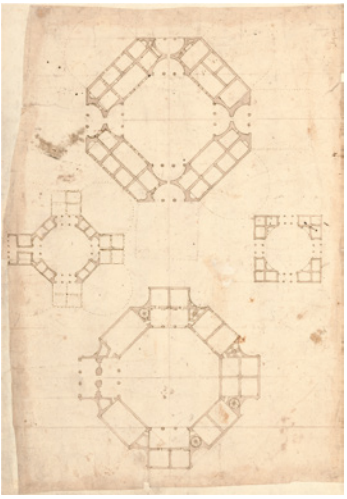
FIGURES 13.29–13.31 Codex Chlumczansky, fols. 26r., 70v., and 85r.: examples of the original contents of the album: inscriptions, architectural elements and copies of reconstructions of ancient Roman monuments, including the Pantheon.

FIGURE 13.32 Codex Chlumczansky, fol. 85r.: a study of plan and elevation of the Basilica Aemilia in the Forum Romanum, surrounded by later additions (vase designs after Giulio Romano, a representation of the Vitruvian figure and a study of a Ionic capital).

– A view of a cupola and a plan and of a worked out variant of a centralizing chapel very similar to the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in Mantua Cathedral, reconstruction of which was planned by Giulio in 1545 [fol. 62v.; Figs. 13.35–13.36].
– A view of the elevation of the east façade of the courtyard of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua [fol. 2v; Fig. 13.37]. The slight differences between the drawing and the façade as executed indicate that the Prague drawing is based on one of Giulio's preparatory designs, which had likewise been the source for a similar drawing by the 'Anonymous A'.[48]
– Two drawings [fols. Ad and 4v], copying Giulio's designs for vases, copies of which can be found also in the Strahov codex [Figs. 13.25–13.26 and 13 27–13.28].
– An anonymous, unfinished design for a fountain, a variant of type dating back to the fifteenth century [fol. 3v.; Fig. 13.38]
– An anonymous drawing and a careful transcription of the inscriptions of the tomb of Petrarch at Arquà Petrarca, probably antedating 1547, when a bust and a commemorative plaque were added to it. It is interesting in being the earliest known image of Petrarch's tomb [fol. 5r.; Fig. 13.39].

One of the drawings (fol 2r.) is thought to be by Giulio Romano, cf. Paul Davis and David Hemsoll, 'Ville e corti', in Giulio Romano 1989, pp. 517–519.

48 Hülsen/Egger 1916, II, fol. 30v.



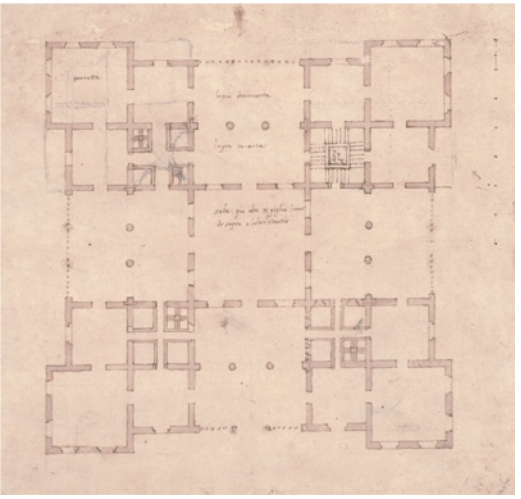
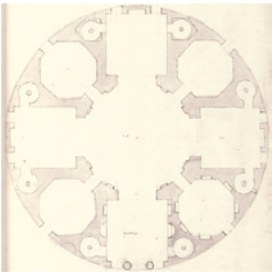
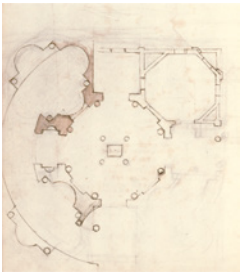
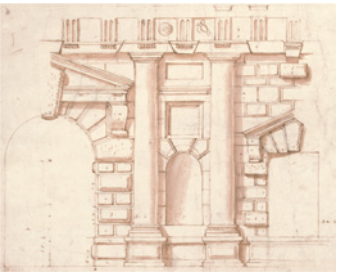


FIGURE 13.33 Codex Chlumczansky, fol. 1v.: several plans of centralized buildings.

FIGURE 13.34 Codex Chlumczansky, fol. 2r.: a plan for a villa of the Poggio Reale type.





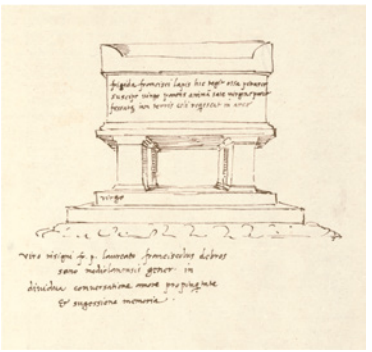
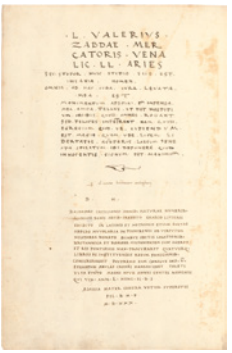


FIGURES 13.35–13.36 Codex Chlumczansky, fols. 96r. and 62v.: two versions of a plan of a centralized church, possibly copies after studies by Giulio Romano for the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in Mantua Cathedral.

FIGURE 13.37 Codex Chlumczansky, fol. 2v.: (after?) Giulio Romano, study for the east façade of the courtyard of the Palazzo del Te.

Texts:

– Alternative versions of the epitaphs originally composed by Pietro Bembo for Baldassare Castiglione and his wife, Ippolita Torelli [Fig. 15.39, bottom]. This tomb was erected in the sanctuary of Santa Maria delle Grazie in the Mantuan suburb of Curtatone in the late 1520s; it was designed by Giulio

FIGURES 13.38–13.40 Codex Chlumczansky, fol. 3v.: anonymous design for a fountain; fol. 5r.: anonymous, documentary drawing of the tomb of Petrarch at Arquà Petrarca and its inscriptions; fol. 12v., top: transcription of a classical inscription (original album); bottom: addition, transcription of the epitaph for the tomb of Baldassare Castiglione in Santa Maria delle Grazie near Mantua.

Romano, in accordance with Castiglione's will of 1523. It should be noted that the same church housed the tomb of Jacopo Strada's granduncle.[49]

– An inscription which was not realized or has disappeared, intended as an epitaph for the funerary chapel of some 'Benefactor of the Holy Blood', and which in the codex is attributed to the Mantuan court poet Benedetto Lampridio [fol. 25v]. It can be linked to the chapel of Isabella Boschetto in Sant'Andrea, in which were buried the remains of Saint Longinus: the drops of Christ's blood caught up by this Roman soldier at the Crucifixion constituted Mantua's most precious relic. The decoration of the chapel was commissioned by Federigo Gonzaga in 1531 and executed by Giulio Romano in about 1532–1534.[50]
– An Italian summary of Appianus' description of the triumph of Scipio [fol. 97], probably drafted in connection with Giulio's designs of the cartoons of a cycle of tapestries of that subject, a commission from Francis I of France, work on which probably began in about 1533. It closely corresponds to Giulio's *modelli* for the series now in the Louvre.[51]

49 Above, Chapter 1; on Castiglione's tomb, see Cian 1942; Laskin 1967;Howard Burns and Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'La Capella Castiglioni', in *Giulio Romano* 1989, pp. 532–534.

50 Bacou/Béguin 1983, cat. nr. P3, pp. 123–126; Hartt 1958, I, pp. 208–211; Juřen, 1986, p. 136; Giuseppe Pecorari, 'Le commissioni artistiche della famiglia Boschetti', in *Giulio Romano* 1989, pp. 442–445.

51 Hartt 1958, I, p. 227–231; Jestaz/ Bacou 1974; Juřen 1986, pp. 112–117 and 176–177; Nello Forti Grazzini, 'Arazzi', in *Giulio Romano* 1989, pp. 466–479.

– The inscription, likewise disappeared or never realized, which was intended to comment the stucco double frieze in the *Camera degli Stucchi*, a text of capital importance for the dating and the disputed interpretation of this most archaeological of Giulio's creations [fol. 42v].[52]

13.6.3 *Copies as Source for Strada's Collection of Drawings: Vienna, Cod. min. 21,1 and 21,2*

The two volumes in Prague both contain much original material, and can be considered as the principal more or less intact relics of Strada's graphic collection. The Strahov codex also included copies of some of these and of other drawings, copies that were produced in Strada's own workshop. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna owns another miscellaneous item that consists almost entirely of similar workshop copies. This item, *Codex miniatus* 21, consists of three huge separate folio volumes, the first two of which are finished albums in themselves, each provided with a title page stating their subject and their provenance from Strada's *Musaeum*.[53] These two are both *libri di disegni*, similar in make up to Strada's numismatic albums.

The first album, *Codex miniatus* 21,1, is dedicated to helmets and other headdresses in the 'antique' style, but actually copied from designs by contemporary mannerist artists and intended to be used in costume designs for contemporary festivals. Though its title, *Ancient helmets and crests such as once were used by the Greeks and the Romans, and also by other peoples, both in spectacles and public games, and in war* <…>, suggests that it presents reliable images of real antique Roman helmets and other headgear, in fact it contained almost exclusively decorative headdresses intended as costume accessories for courtly festivals such as tournaments, masques and theatre performances. Careful comparison of these designs with those preserved elsewhere might throw some light on Strada's sources. Here I will merely show one helmet, perhaps part of a costume for an actor impersonating a Greek hero, based on an invention known from an as yet anonymous drawing in a private collection.[54] [Figs. 13.41–13.42]

52 Hartt 1958, I, p. 58; Verheyen 1977, p. 124; Juřen 1986, p. 148.

53 ONB-HS, *Codex miniatus* 21, 1–3. The last drawing (fol. 460/190) bears an annotation 'Seindt in disen Buch gerissen Pletter und Khunstuckh [sic] Pey Hand 230 Stuckh. 1629. Jars / JS [?? or abbreviation for: Christoph?]. Ranfft d. Elter von Wiessendal', which suggests that it had remained in the possession of Ottavio Strada's illegitimate daughter Anna Maria, Rudolf II's mistress, who had married Rudolf's chamberlain Christoph Ranfft, ennobled as Freiherr von Wiesenthal, and died in 1629. Still in the 1640s contacts between Ranfft and his brother-in-law Ottavio II, already long resident in France, are documented.

54 ÖNB-HS, *Codex miniatus* 21,1: *Galearum antiquarum cristatarum quibus olim Graeci et Romani, atque alii etiam populi, tam in spectaculis et ludis publicis, quam in bellis usi sunt,*

FIGURES 13.41–13.42 Workshop of Jacopo Strada: helmet in the Greek manner, from his *Galearum antiquarum* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,1, fol. 35/33r) compared to an anonymous design for a helmet in the Greek manner, drawing in pen and ink, private collection.

The second album, *Codex miniatus 21,2,* is a more serious antiquarian work, providing circa hundred and fifty drawings of Roman full-length statues. Just like Strada's numismatic albums these volumes were intended for his patrons, and the drawings in them are all uniformly drawn copies produced in Strada's workshop. These copies were based on the examples—the drawings and perhaps to some extent the prints—in his own collection. They thus provide some indication of the type, the quality and the quantity of the material Strada had collected. Only occasionally the material examples can be identified with some certainty: a good example is a sheet in the Cabinet des Dessins of the Louvre depicting three classical female statues [Fig. 13.47], which shows these antiques—they are identified with objects present in Rome in the sixteenth century—all from exactly the same angle as the relative drawings in Strada's *Statuarum antiquarum* [Figs. 13.43–13.45]. This makes it very likely that it has been Strada's model.

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formae atque imagines ex aeneis atque marmoreis statuis, tum etiam ex aeneis, argenteis, aureisque numismatibus desumptae et elegantissimae aptissimeque delineatae, fol. 35r. Strada's model is in a private collection; I am grateful to Monroe Warshaw for having drawn my attention to this drawing and having provided me with a photograph.

FIGURES 13.43–13.46 Drawings from Strada's *Antiquarum Statuarum*, Codex miniatus 21,2, fols. 204/97r., 207/100r., 250/142r. and 192/86r; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

The Louvre owns a few more, closely related drawings in the same hand—at present all improbably attributed to Francesco Primaticcio—which are also copied in the Vienna codex.[55] The verso of one of these sheets [Fig. 13.48;

55 Strada's studio copy preserved in his *Antiquarum statuarum tam deorum quam dearum, heroum et eorum coniugum, tum etiam imperatorum et eorundem uxorum formae, et effigies ex antiquis marmoreis et aeneis statuis quae et Romae et aliis in locis inveniuntur ad vivum depictae atque quam fidelissime repraesentatae*, ÖNB-HS, *Codex miniatus* 21,2; the relative drawings in Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. nr. 22.633 [Strada fol. 22], 22.634 [Strada fol. 86], 22.646 [not copied in Strada's album], 22.647 [not in the album], 22.649 [Strada fol. 17], 22.650 [not in the album], 22.651 [not in the album], 22.652 [Strada fols. 97, 100, 142]; cf. Jansen 1991, pp. 59–76. Frits Lugt included them in his catalogue of the Netherlandish drawings in the Louvre, and saw a connection with the so-called Anonymous A, one of the draughtsmen of the Berlin Heemskerck sketchbooks (Lugt 1968, cat. nrs. 240–247) who has been tentatively identified with Hermannus Posthumus (Dacos 1989). Strada and Posthumus probably crossed paths during their partly parallel careers, in Mantua, in Rome and/or in Germany, and that Strada may have acquired or even commissioned antiquarian drawings from him and from other Netherlandish masters working in Italy is perfectly plausible. In his *Index sive catalogus* [nr. 16] he refers to a large oil painting, a bird's eye view of ancient Rome showing the different types of sports and entertainments, which he had commissioned from 'quodam exellenti pictore belga': a painting which was similar to, though not identical with Posthumus' romantic view of Rome in the Liechtenstein collection (Rubinstein 1985; Dacos 1985). In his catalogue of the exhibition *Primatice: Maître de Fontainebleau* of 2004, however, Dominique Cordellier has reattributed these Louvre drawings to Francesco Primaticcio (*PRIMATICE: Maître De Fontainebleau* 2004, pp. 138–139 e 146–148, cat. nrs. 35–37), an attribution which is far from convincing also with respect to style and quality of the drawings. The valuable essay by Bernadette Py, 'Histoire des dessins de Primatice du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle' (*ivi*, pp. 54–59)

FIGURES 13.47–13.48 Attributed to Francesco Primaticcio (?), drawings of antique statues in Rome that served as models for Strada's Antiquarum Statuarum; Paris, Louvre.

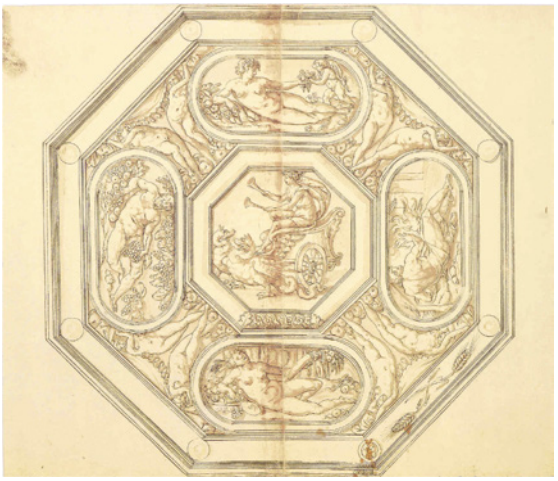
cf. Fig. 13.46] is actually blackened in charcoal in order to trace the outline of the invention on a clean sheet, a copying technique with which Strada had familiarized himself in Giulio's studio, and which was the standard technique used in the production of the numismatic volumes and other *libri di disegni* from his workshop.[56]

13.6.4 *Copies as Source for Reconstructing Strada's Collection of Drawings: Vienna, Codex miniatus 21,3*

The third volume of *Codex miniatus* 21 is of particular importance, since it contains miscellaneous material which provides some indication of the range of Strada's interest. Its principal component is a further hundred and fifty copies of designs for goldsmith work by Giulio Romano, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Francesco Salviati and others, very similar to those in the *libri di disegni* at Cambridge and Berlin studied by John Hayward and to the similar copies included in the Strahov codex. Some of them reproduce inventions the originals of which are included in the Strahov codex, but it must be assumed that in addition to these Strada also owned the originals, workshop copies or, in the

unfortunately provides no elements that could help solve the earliest provenance of these sheets.

56 The practice is described in Armenini 1587, I, pp. 76–77 and many drawings from Strada's workshop bear witness of it.



FIGURES 13.49–13.50 Circle or ?workshop of Jacopo Strada, design for an octagonal platter or perhaps a ceiling; drawings in pen and wash from the Sorokko Album.

case of Polidoro, sets of prints of the other inventions which he included in his *libri di disegni*.

These drawings are related to the Sorokko album, a collection of thirty-seven drawings of inventions for tableware that are very similar, and in a number of cases identical to those in the various Strada albums. For that reason they have been attributed to Jacopo Strada, but they are certainly not in his own hand, nor in that of his son Ottavio [Figs. 13.49–13.50.].[57] In fact they are of a far higher degree of finish and sophistication than most of the drawings/copies in Jacopo's and Ottavio's albums. The use of identical sources nevertheless suggests a connection: it is perfectly possible that they were commissioned by Strada for himself or for one of his patrons from an as yet unidentified, Italian draughtsman, for instance when he was in Venice in the late 1550s or in the late 1560s.[58]

57 On the Sorokko Album, see Lawrence 2007; a selection of the drawings were offered for sale at Sotheby's in 2010, as Jacopo Strada and workshop (Old Master Drawings 2010, pp. 50–74, cat. nrs. 40–61. I am grateful to Cristiana Romalli of Sotheby's for providing me with photographs and discussing these drawings with me. I have discussed them more in detail elsewhere (Jansen 2014, pp. 164–168).

58 BSB-HS, Cod. Icon. 199, attributed to Strada in a Munich library inventory of 1582. This scenario justified Sotheby's attribution of the Sorokko drawings to 'Jacopo Strada and workshop'.

This was standard practice: a volume of similar goldsmith's drawings Strada provided to the *Kunstkammer* of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria contains (copies of?) similar designs by or after a German artist, traditionally identified with Erasmus Hornick. On the basis of these a large group of drawings in various albums all over Europe and the United States have traditionally been attributed to this master, an Antwerp goldsmith who had settled in Augsburg in 1555, moved to Nuremberg in 1559, then back to Augsburg in about 1566, and in 1582 ended up at the Imperial Court in Prague, where Rudolf II appointed him 'Kammergoldschmied', a function he held only a few months before he died early in October 1583.[59] This group of drawings has been studied exhaustively in an ample monograph by Silke Reiter, who concludes that in fact even a tentative attribution of most of the drawings to Hornick's hand is warranted only in a few cases, whereas the close connection with material from the Strada workshop strongly suggests that in fact most of it was acquired at some time, or even commissioned by the Stradas—including those that can be attributed to Hornick himself. As Reiter suggests, it is perfectly possible that Strada, recognizing Hornick's talent and creativity, had commissioned him to supply him with such inventions, in order to include them in the *libri di disegni* he provided his patrons.[60] And he may have used them as models to show to patrons wishing to order sumptuous tableware—he may have acted as an 'agent' for Hornick, in a similar way as is documented earlier in his connection with Wenzel Jamnitzer.[61]

The copies in such *libri di disegni* were commissioned and paid for by Strada. But he probably allowed the various draughtsmen he employed—for instance in his projects in Rome in the mid-1550s, such as Giovanni Battista Armenini—to copy his originals for their own use. In either case one may suppose that Strada owned either the original designs or at least careful copies of the original inventions. This holds also for the first twenty six sheets of *Codex miniatus* 21,3, which reproduce several figurative designs by Giulio Romano, chiefly for elements of the decoration of the Palazzo del Te. Many of these designs can be

59 The attribution to Hornick first advanced in Hawyard 1968; for Hornick's biography. see in Reiter 2012, Ch. 3, pp. 31–60.

60 Reiter is doubtless right in doubting that a young but successful goldsmith and engraver as Hornick would just have gone to work in the 'copy shop' of the Strada's to reproduce inventions of others (*ibidem*, p. 242).

61 In her paragraph, 'Jacopo and Ottavio da Strada—die Agenten Erasmus Hornick's?' (*ibidem*, pp. 241–242), Reiter does not actually suggest this, but the hypothesis is warranted that the expertise Strada offered his patrons at court included mediation with his old and newer Nuremberg associates, in particular Jamnitzer, for whom he may have acted as a local agent. On Strada's connection with Jamnitzer, cf. above, Ch. 2.5.

FIGURE 13.51 Francesco Primaticcio, after Giulio Romano, Detail of the battle order of Caesar, double frieze in the Camera degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

FIGURE 13.52 Giulio Romano, design for a section of the double frieze in the Camera degli Stucchi, Paris, Louvre.

related to the reliefs in the coffers of the barrel-vault in the *Camera degli Stucchi* of the Palazzo del Te [fols. 1–26; Figs. 13.53–13.58]. Since a number of these drawings differ in detail from the stuccoes as executed, Strada's copies were certainly derived from Giulio's original *modelli*, or based on workshop copies of these that were in Strada's possession.[62] The former option is more likely: from the *Index sive catalogus* we know that Strada also owned—and intended to publish—the complete set of Giulio's designs for the double frieze, representing Caesar's battle-order, in this same room:

> A picture of the order in which Caesar the dictator was wont to set out with his legions, infantry and cavalry as well as his auxiliary troops; drawn after the pictures made by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Te outside Mantua: a most perfect and wonderful thing, and worth seeing; the originals of which I bought from Raphael, Giulio's son.

This entry helps solve the problem of the iconography of the frieze in the *Camera degli Stucchi*, and it is of some significance that an inscription explaining

62 The following drawings represent inventions used in the ceiling of the *Camera degli Stucchi*: fols. 1,2,3,6,7,9, 10, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24 and 26. In view of the fact that many of these inventions were copied already in Giulio's own workshop, and various versions have been preserved of many of them, an attempt to identify the individual sheets actually in Strada's possession—if at all feasible—would involve detailed material and provenance research that far transcends the limits of this study; the items illustrated here serve merely as examples.

FIGURE 13.53 Francesco Primaticcio, after Giulio Romano, The baptism of the Early Christians, central panel of the coffered ceiling of the Camera degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

FIGURE 13.54 Codex minatus 21,3, fol. 6v.: workshop of Jacopo Strada, copy of Giulio's design for The baptism of the Early Christians.

this frieze is recorded in the Codex Chlumczansky.[63] A conspicuous number of Giulio's designs for the frieze have remained together in the Cabinet des Dessins of the Louvre [Figs. 13.51 and 13.52], and it is likely that Strada would likewise have kept them in a separate album or file together with the *modelli* for the ceiling panels. The complete set of copies preserved in the Albertina may well be the set Strada prepared or commissioned for the engraver.[64]

Perhaps the most interesting of Strada's copies of the decorations of the *Camera degli Stucchi* is his rendering of the baptism of converts, the only Christian theme represented in this very pagan room [fol. 6; Fig. 13.54]. Strada's

63 Strada explicitly states that he had acquired Giulio's original drawings of the frieze from Raffaele Pippi: *Index sive catalogus* (Appendix D), nr. 14. Many of these have been preserved in the Cabinet des Dessins of the Louvre. The lost inscription—or perhaps its concept that was never executed—is transcribed on fol. 42v of the Codex Chlumczansky, again linking this volume with Strada's collection. The codex Chlumczansky also includes a resume of Appianus' description of the *Triumph of Scipio*, subject of a tapestry cycle commissioned by the Gonzaga that is among Giulio Romano's most monumental compositions. It is tempting to think that Strada also owned some of Giulio's original design for these, but if so, he does not appear to have thought of publishing these—probably because they would already have been too familiar.

64 Albertina, inv. nrs. 15442 and 15445 (strip of 22 sections pasted together; cf. Birke/Kertész 1992–1997, IV). I have not seen the originals; a further investigation will show whether these drawings reproduce the frieze as executed—in that case they probably were commissioned by Strada during his stay in Mantua in 1567, perhaps from Ippolito Andreasi—or from the autograph designs, as his entry in the *Index sive catalogus* suggests.

FIGURE 13.55 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, Apollo and Pan, copy of a design by Giulio Romano for a compartment of the ceiling of the Camera degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min 21,3, fol. 8r.

FIGURE 13.56 Giulio Romano or workshop, Apollo and Pan, design for a compartment of the ceiling of the Camera degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te; Royal Collections Trust.

copy of Giulio's lost design includes an iconoclastic motif which Primaticcio, or whoever executed the panel [Fig. 13.53], declined to include, presumably afraid of overburdening the composition. Other themes from this ceiling include *Mercury teaches Bacchus to read, Apollo and Pan* [Figs. 13.55–13.56], and *Caritas Romana* [Figs. 13.57–13.58].

Apart from drawings related to the ceiling-panels of the *Camera degli Stucchi*, we find similar copies after the designs for the *Camera dei Venti* and the *Camera delle Aquile*. Of particular interest is a design [Fig. 13.59] for a stucco relief incorporating the antique crouching Venus 'Lely', at the time in the Gonzaga collection, that was inserted in the west end-wall of the *Galleria dei Marmi* in the Palazzo Ducale, as is documented in Andreasi's drawing [fol. 22; Fig. 13.60–13.61].[65]

One of the copies is derived from a lost drawing by Giulio otherwise only known through a print by Adamo Scultori.[66] Some scenes that I have not been able to identify possibly document projects that were never realized, or have

65 Fols. 307/24, *Departure of a ship*; 308/ 25, *Diana with two hounds*; cf. Belluzzi 1998, *Saggi,* p. 396, cat. nr. 524; fol. 295/12, *Amorino on Jove's Throne*, cf. Belluzzi 1998, pp. 414, cat. nr. 662.

66 Fol. 287/4, *Cupid Playing with the Arms of Mars*, not executed element of the design for the stucco relief of Mars resting in one of the Lunettes in the *Camera degli Stucchi*.

FIGURE 13.57 Codex miniatus 21,3, fol. 285/2r.: workshop of Jacopo Strada, Caritas Romana, copy of a design by Giulio Romano for a compartment of the ceiling of the Camera degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te.

FIGURE 13.58 Giulio Romano or workshop, design for a compartment of the ceiling of the Camera degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te (Chantilly, Musée Condé).

been lost since (such as the decoration of the *Palazzina della Paleologa* or of the Gonzaga villa at Marmirolo).

Almost all of these copies in *Codex miniatus* 21,3 reproduce inventions by Giulio Romano, but for lack of material it is unclear whether this is due to any particular *penchant* for the work of his former master on Strada's part, or whether it is merely the result of the arbitrary selection of time and chance. The *Codex miniatus* 21,3 also includes a number of rather unattractive reproductions of Perino del Vaga's *sopraporte* in the Sala Paolina of the Castel Sant'Angelo [fols. 71–76; Fig. 13.62 and 13.63]; but it is difficult to decide whether these reproduce Perino autographs, or are simply sketches after the executed frescoes.

Strada was particularly proud of having acquired 'le più belle cose que havesse Raffael d'Urbino' with his purchase of Giulio's estate. In view of the almost divine status of Raphael at the time—and ever since—it would be of particular interest to know exactly what drawings these may have included. Unfortunately we know no more than that they included some of Raphael's autograph designs for the Vatican *Stanze*:

> Moreover I have with me in drawing all those works, that in the Pope's rooms or chambers have been painted and made by the aforesaid Raphael of Urbino, and also some of their originals are in my possession.[67]

67 *Index sive catalogus* (Appendix D), nr. 43. The drawings of Raphael's *Loggia* are those commissioned by Strada from Giovan Battista Armenini c.s. ca 1554–1555, and still preserved in the Austrian National Library (cf. below).

FIGURE 13.59 Codex Miniatus 21,3, fol. 305/22: Workshop of Jacopo Strada, Copy after a drawing by Giulio Romano or his circle for a stucco relief incorporating an antique marble Venus in the Galleria dei Marmi in the Palazzo Ducale.

FIGURES 13.60–13.61 Ippolito Andreasi, documentary drawing of the west wall of the Galleria dei Marmi, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, and detail showing the same relief still in situ.

FIGURE 13.62 Perino del Vaga, sopraporte in the Sala Paolina, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome, ca. 1533.

FIGURE 13.63 Codex Miniatus 21,3, fol. 376/75: copy of a design for, or a drawing after Perino del Vaga's sopraporte in the Sala Paolina.

The context implies that Strada owned both a set of documentary drawings of the *Stanze* similar to those of the Vatican *Loggia* he had himself commissioned from Giovan Battista Armenini, and some of Raphael's autograph designs for these—it is tempting to think that at least some of them may have been worked out *modelli* of the entire compositions. These have not been preserved and the few autograph studies for the *Stanze* that have survived have since been dispersed all over Europe, unfortunately without any indications which of them may once have been in Strada's collection—perhaps those from the Albertina illustrated here as randomly chosen examples? [Figs. 13.64–13.65]. The only concrete object from Raphael's *Nachlass* that can reasonably be assumed to have passed through Strada's hands is the manuscript of Fabio Calvo's translation of

FIGURES 13.64–13.65 Raphael, compositional study for the Disputà, Stanza della Signatura, 1509, and a figure study for The Battle of Ostia, Stanza dell'Incendio, 1515. At least some of such studies were in Strada's possession, though these cannot be identified.

Vitruvius, the presence of which in Munich can be best explained in terms of the Strada-Fugger connection.[68]

13.6.5 *The Christ Church Lion*

It was standard practice for apprentices and assistants in an artist's workshop to copy designs: thus they could build up a personal stock of inventions to draw upon for future inspiration. Strada's collecting habits may well have originated in a similar manner in Giulio's studio. But that makes it difficult to identify the exact exemplar of a given invention that Strada may have owned. So here again the objects mentioned and illustrated are merely intended to provide an impression of size, character and quality of his *Musaeum*. In the case of individual drawings the lack of collector's marks and of autograph annotations makes it almost impossible to establish their provenance from Strada's *Musaeum* with any certainty.

At present there are only two drawings, now in Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford, which can securely be demonstrated to have been among Strada's possessions. These are actually two halves of the same sheet bearing related inventions for a mural decoration, which were separated at a later date. One of them is still provided with an explanation in Strada's hand, jotted onto a narrow strip of paper attached to its bottom [Figs. 13.67–13.68]:

68 Cf. above, Chapter 3.6.1 note 85.

FIGURES 13.66–13.68 Giulio Romano or workshop, designs for a mural decoration in the Palazzo del Te, and detail of Strada's inscription. Oxford, Christ Church Picture Gallery.

> These friezes are painted in the chambers where Theodoro lives in the Palazzo del Te; and these are the true originals in the hand of Giulio Romano, but I think only the one above has been executed.

Both sheets are rather beautiful ornamental drawings from Giulio Romano's immediate circle, if not—as Strada insists—by his hand [Figs. 13.66–13.68]. They are sketches for the painted friezes to be executed by one of Giulio's assistants in some of the rooms of the Palazzo del Te.[69] They entered the collection of Christ Church with the legacy left to the college by General John Guise (1682–1765). It is unlikely that these were the only items from Strada's *Musaeum* that had ended up, perhaps by way of Lord Arundel's collection, in the hands of this connoisseur soldier. We can fairly assume that those of Giulio Romano's designs for vases and candelabra *all' antica* in Oxford which were

69 Oxford, Christ Church, inv. nrs. 938 and 939. They are designs for painted or perhaps stucco decorations in the *Appartamento delle Metamorfosi* in the Palazzo del Te (ca 1527–1530). The drawings were not considered autograph by Oberhuber and Ferino Pagden (verbal communication); cf. Byam-Shaw, 1976, I, pp. 134–135, cat. nrs. 451–452; II, pls. 233–234; Jansen, 1988, pp. 138–139; cat. *Giulio Romano*, 1989, pp. 378–379. The inscription reads: 'Questi fresi stanno dipinti in quelle camere d[ove?]e sta Teodoro nel Palazzo del Thi; et questi sonno gli veri originali di man di Giulio Romano, ma creddo che solamente quel di sopra sia stata messa in opera'; 'Theodoro' probably indicates Teodoro Ghisi, the caretaker of the palace.

FIGURES 13.69–13.70 Giulio Romano or workshop, designs for a ewer in the form of dolphin (Oxford, Christ Church) and the copy from Strada's workshop, Vienna; önb-hs, Cod. min. 21,3, f. 438/148r).

FIGURE 13.71 Giulio Romano, design for a candlestick, Oxford, Christ Church.

copied in Strada's *libri di disegni*—an example is the ewer in the form of a dolphin [Figs. 13.69 and 13.70]—were acquired by General Guise from the same source. This is a virtual certainty for a design for a candlestick of which the (truncated) inscription seems to be in Strada's hand as well [Fig. 71].[70] In the same way Giulio's autograph designs for similar inventions found elsewhere and of which copies are included in Strada's albums must once have made part of Strada's holdings.[71]

Apart from the Strahov codex the Oxford drawing provides the only material evidence of the way Strada organized his material. It suggests that he kept the drawings he most valued in albums which were probably thematically arranged—thus he probably kept all the original designs for the Palazzo del Te together in a separate volume—and shows that at least occasionally he identified the invention and recorded its original purpose. Whether all his drawings were so carefully stored and annotated must remain an open question: after all this one instance may have been exceptional, since it concerns a drawing by the master whose work and example had profoundly influenced his artistic education and which related to a building he had known and admired even as a youngster.

70 The Dolphin ewer: Byam Shaw 1976, I, p. 131, cat. nr. 429, pl. 236; a very primitive copy from Strada's workhop in ÖN-HS-21,3, fol. 432/148; the candlestick Byam-Shaw, 1976, I, p. 131, cat. nr. 424; II, pl. 232; a related version in the Strahov Codex, cf. Bukovinská/Fučíková/Konečný, 1984, pp. 81 and84, cat. 7/10.

71 Even then it is difficult to be certain, since many of these inventions had already been copied in Giulio's own workshop, and many versions of them may have circulated at the time; in future Valerie Taylor's research will throw light on this issue.

13.7 Strada's Commissions of Visual Documentation: Antiquity

13.7.1 *Acquisitions in Rome: Drawings of Coins and Sculpture*

Apart from the autograph drawings by celebrated Italian masters of his time and from their workshops which Strada had been able to acquire by favour of certain chance opportunities, the graphic section of Strada's *Musaeum* also included series of drawings and illustrated manuscripts that he had commissioned himself. These drawings were not considered as works of art as such, but functioned to document both the principal monuments of Antiquity and the most outstanding achievements of the art of his own time. Such documentation was the fruit of a deliberate programme of acquisition, a programme which itself probably resulted from Strada's conversations with his patron, Hans Jakob Fugger. Fugger had commissioned Strada to set up and organize a *Corpus* of drawings of ancient Roman coinage, a project which continued into the 1560s and resulted in literally thousands of numismatic drawings. During Strada's travels to Lyon and Rome he remained constantly engaged in the perfection of this *Magnum ac novum opus*, both providing drawings himself, and having them drawn under his own supervision by the various draughtsmen he employed to this end. As we have seen earlier, one of these draughtsmen was the young Giovan Battista Armenini. In his account of Strada's purchase of Perino's drawings, Armenini explains that he could study these at leisure, because at the time he was living in Strada's house, employed in drawing:

> …certain antique medals of bronze, and of gold, in watercolours, in the size of a *palmo*; which copies with their reverses, he then sent to the Fuggers, wealthy merchants of Antwerp, a powerful city of Flanders, first having collected them into most beautiful books…[72]

Armenini was only one among many of the young artists that had flocked to Rome in those years who were employed by Strada in these labours, and the execution of the numismatic drawings was only one of the tasks he set them. Armenini relates how Strada had them produce a set of drawings documenting the decoration of the Vatican *Loggia*—to be discussed below—a set of which he himself took 'to Spain to the great court of King Philip', together with:

> …countless other drawings, which he bought everywhere or which he commissioned us to draw for him: plans [probably both city maps and ground

72 Armenini 1587, pp. 64–65. Armenini's testimony should be handled with some care: it was published and probably written thirty years after the fact, and his memory was not quite accurate: witness his locating the Fuggers in Antwerp instead of in Augsburg; and there is no other indication that Strada visited Spain after his stay in Rome in the mid-1550s.

> plans of individual buildings], temples, medals, [triumphal] arches, columns, statues and other very ancient things from various periods that were found in that City, but in particular those that were the most remarkable and the most perfect of all…[73]

'Cose assai antiche': a large part of the material Strada collected referred to relics of the civilization of ancient Rome. The finished drawings of Greek and Roman coins produced on behalf of Fugger or included in Strada's other numismatic albums were copied after Strada's own sketches, the fruit of his study of the coins he had been able to examine on his travels in Germany, France and Italy. At least in part these sketches were taken directly from the original material preserved in the cabinets of Strada's erudite patrons, colleagues and friends resident in Rome at the time [above, Ch. 3.3, Figs. 3.26–3.33].[74] In addition to the numismatic drawings Strada also copied inscriptions, or rather had them copied from the *syllogae* or the albums of drawings in the collections of local humanists or his fellow antiquaries and artists.

One of the artists concerned was Giovanni Antonio Dosio, who had brought together an ample documentation of the classical remains of the *Urbs*, preserved in several volumes of drawings and transcriptions. From these albums Strada selected those altars, epitaphs etc. of which he did not yet possess an illustration, and Dosio provided him with copies of these [Figs. 11.14–11.15].[75] Such material was drawn upon for the huge lost corpus of inscriptions Strada intended to publish. According to its description in the *Index sive catalogus*, the list of those manuscripts prepared in his studio which Strada planned to have printed, this epigraphic corpus consisted of six volumes, presenting in all 5718 inscriptions, from Europe, Asia Minor and Egypt, and an additional volume of miscellaneous inscriptions. Most of these inscriptions—not only the 'Asian' and 'Egyptian' ones—Strada had copied from earlier drawings or transcriptions he had found in the collections he studied, rather than from the originals.[76]

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73 *Ibid.*, pp. 180, talking about the documentation of Raphael's Vatican *Loggia* Strada had commissioned: 'Et a questo agente ch'io dico, se ne fece un'altra copia, la quale dopo non molto tempo egli medesimo la portò in Spagna alla gran Corte del Re Filippo, con altri dissegni, che tuttavia comperava, et ch'era in commissione a noi per esso a dissegnar piante, tempii, medaglie, archi, colonne, statue, et altre cose assai antiche, che si sono ritrovate per quella Città in diversi tempi, che però erano delle più notabili, et più perfette dell'altre'.

74 Jansen 1993(a).

75 Above, Ch. 11.1.

76 *Index sive catalogus*, nr. 3; the relevant entry printed in Jansen 1993(a), pp. 238, where Strada's activity as an epigrapher is briefly discussed (pp. 221–226).

Though some of the classical sculptures preserved in the Vatican, in the collections of the local patricians and the prelates resident at the Papal court probably were recorded on the spot, in many cases even such items were reproduced from extant earlier drawings (of which a great many were circulating), and occasionally even from prints. This is evident from Strada's Vienna album *Antiquarum statuarum* (= *Codex miniatus* 21,2, already described above). As its title implies, it documents antique full-length statues. It is composed of some hundred and seventy rather uninspired copies, executed in Strada's own workshop, after examples from the files of images Strada had acquired and commissioned during his stay in Rome, and gives some impression of the quantity and the character of the material he had brought together [above, Figs. 13.43–13.46]. Many of these copies were derived from graphic prototypes which were copied also in the albums of other antiquaries and artists, and often finally found their way into print.[77] Drawings directly sketched after the object itself were presumably only commissioned when no acceptable design of a given object was readily available.[78] Two rather more elegant sheets preserved in the miscellaneous selection of relics from Strada's *Musaeum*, also in Vienna, show a few male statues in their unrestored state: these likewise were the results—or were based on the results—of Strada's acquisition campaign of 1554–55.[79] [Fig. 13.72–13.73]

The same album also includes a series of pages of precise drawings of antique portrait busts [Figs. 12.5, 12.16–12.17 and 13.74–13.77]. Like most—though not all—of the items included in the *Antiquarum statuarum*, these busts are all shown in a restored state.[80] This implies that they represent a subsequent stage of reception of the antique originals: applying both antiquarian and artistic criteria, Strada provided a reconstruction of the original which made it both more readable and—doubtless of great importance—suitable as a model or example for its reproduction and subsequent use in contemporary decorative schemes. Examples are his own house and the *studioli* of Hans Fugger and Jan Šembera Černohorský z Boskovic discussed and illustrated in Chapter 12.4.2 [Figs. 12.14–12.15].

These drawings provided part of the raw material used for the production of the two sets of drawings of Roman portrait busts from Strada's workshop that have recently been identified in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden. One of these, K.-K. Ca 74, is a single volume containing hundred and ninety drawings

77 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 21,2; cf. above, Ch. 13.6.3.

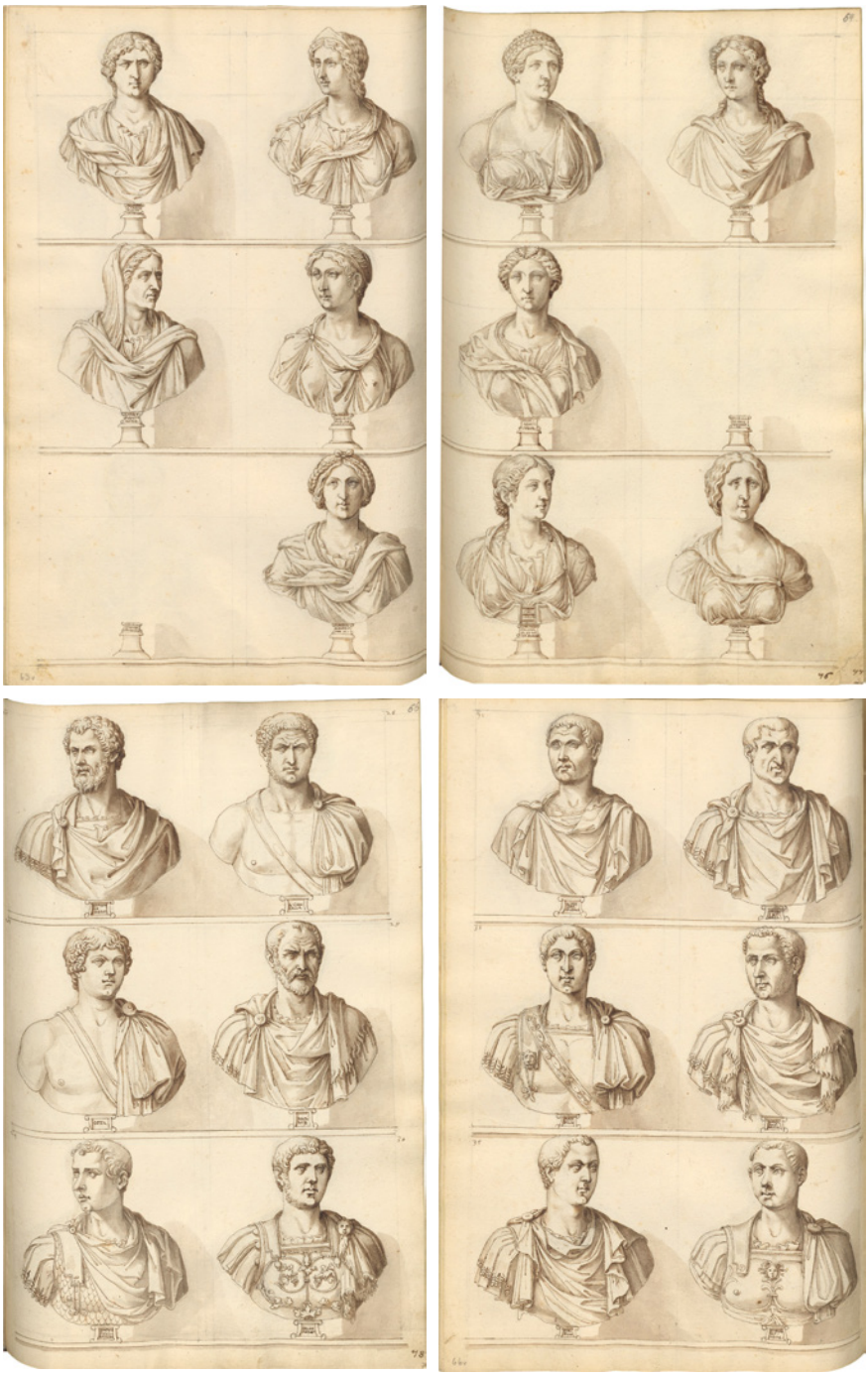
78 Thus the drawings of the statues Strada supplied to the Munich Antiquarium (above, Ch. 12.2.2, Figs. 12.01–12.04) presumably were based on sketches Strada himself had made on the spot.

79 ÖNB, *Cod. min.* 21,3, fols. 55–56.

80 ÖNB, *Cod. min.* 21,3, fols. 61–70.

FIGURES 13.72–13.73 Codex miniatus 21,3, fols. 338/55r. and 339/56r.: workshop of Jacopo Strada, documentary drawings of antique male statues.

of portrait busts of Roman Emperors and usurpers and their dependants [Fig. 13.78], as well as some herms of literary figures and some miscellaneous objects, the most interesting of which is a herm in Egyptianizing style. Strada had left the album behind after a visit to the Elector August of Saxony at Annaburg Castle at Torgau, in order for the Elector to have it copied. Though the copy was made, the book was never returned to Strada, and it is mentioned in an



FIGURES 13.74–13.77 Codex miniatus 21,3, fols. 63v., 64r., 66r. and 66v.: Jacopo Strada or workshop, documentary drawings of female and male Roman portrait busts, restored versions, pen and wash.

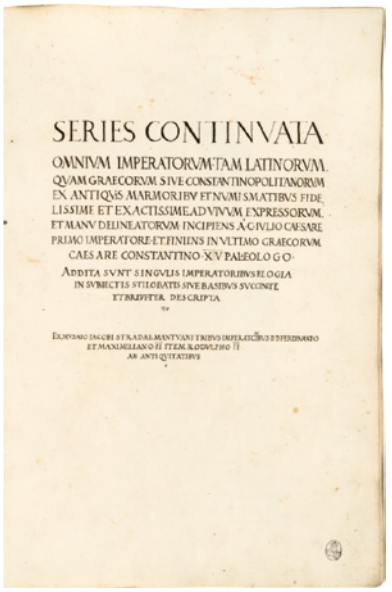


FIGURE 13.78 Jacopo Strada,drawing of a portrait bust of Nero; Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett.

FIGURES 13.79–13.81 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, title page of a series of drawings of imperial portrait busts and drawings of busts of Victoria Augusta, consort of Tetricus, and of Constantine VIII Porphyrogenitus; Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett.

inventory of 1587.[81] The draughtsmanship of this seems of somewhat higher quality as that of the other item, K.-K. Ca 75–77, which consists of three volumes in red satin bindings. It appears to have been presented to Elector Christian I by Ottavio Strada, shortly after his father's death.[82] [Figs. 13.79–13.81] This presents a complete series, similar to Strada's numismatic albums, of Roman imperial portraits from Julius Caesar up to the last Byzantine Emperor, here derived—or pretending to be derived—from Roman portrait busts. Each bust is placed on a pedestal on which an 'elogio' or brief life is inscribed in the guise of an antique inscription.

These volumes, especially the three-volume series, allow us to form an impression for a planned publication Strada described in his *Index sive catalogus* and in his letter outlining his programme to the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin: this likewise is a series of portraits of Roman Emperors and Empresses, showing their portrait busts engraved in a copper plate, above a standard pedestal which could be a woodcut, in which a space would be left open for an 'Ellogio' or brief summary of their lives composed in Roman capitals in lead type. Ottavio Strada's manuscript volume in Florence gives some idea of what the finished product was intended to look like.[83]

The *Index sive catalogus* makes clear that Strada had not limited his acquisition of drawings of classical sculpture to those documenting full-length statues and portrait busts. It also mentions a 'book in which are drawn all sort of figures [statues in the round], tables [reliefs] and old, well-wrought and sculpted

81 I am grateful to Gudula Metze and Thomas daCosta Kaufmann to have drawn my attention to the material in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett. The material has been first published in Melzer 2010, pp. 130–138; a concise survey in Jansen/ Metze 2018. SKD-KK, inv. nr. Ca 74: I*mperatorum Romanorum ac eorum coniugum, liberorum et affinium, tum etiam virorum illustrium, poetarum et philosophorum, praecipue qui in Graecia universa floruerunt, Imagines ad vivam expressae, quae Romae ac diversis in locis Europae inveniuntur, è marmoribus desumptae una cum eorum Elogiis expressis. Tomus Primus*. Though Strada's name is not mentioned in the volume, in view of its make-up and its draughtsmanship there can be no doubt of its provenance from Strada's workshop. The copy is preserved in Dresden, Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Mscr. Dresd. App.187 [= KA 210] (formerly Kupferstich-Kabinett Ca 73).

82 SKD-KK, inv. nr. Ca 76 (vol. I), Ca 77 (vol. II) and Ca 75 (vol. III): *Series continuata omnium Imperatorum, tam Latinorum, quam Graecorum sive Constantinopolitanorum, ex antiquis marmoribus et numismatibus fidelissime et exactissime ad vivum expressorum, et manu delineatorum; incipiens a C. Iulio Caesare primo Imperatore, et finiens in ultimo Graecorum Caesare Constantino XV Palaeologo. Addita sunt singulis Imperatoribus elogia in subiectis stilobatis sive basibus succincte et breviter descripta. Ex Musaeo Iacobi Stradae Mantuani, tribus Imperatoribus, D.D. Ferdinando et Maximiliano II, item Rodulpho II. ab antiquitatibus*. Cf. Melzer 2010, pp. 133–136.

83 *Index sive catalogus* (Appendix D), nr. 6; Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, *Med. Palat.* 235a–b; illustrated, but not discussed, in Marx 2007, pp. 213–214, figs. 52–53.

graves [sarcophagi] and monuments in Rome, Florence, Venice, Mantua and elsewhere in Italy'. One imagines this to have been a careful selection of the best examples of Roman classical sculpture available, based on the drawings Strada had acquired during his travels.[84]

13.7.2 *Drawings of Architecture*

In addition to the seven volumes of inscriptions the *Index sive catalogus* lists several items that Strada acquired or commissioned in a similar manner, either during his sojourn in Rome in the 1550s, or later, during his trips to Venice in the 1560s. Some of these relate to ancient monuments and architecture. Though with Serlio's 'literary remains' and the drawings from Giulio and Perino's estates Strada had already acquired an imposing fund of documentation of ancient architecture, he remained eager to supplement this with drawings of even greater precision, and of course with designs documenting the latest discoveries. It is interesting to note that it were these, the architectural drawings, which he explicitly claimed to have made himself:

> Also several books, drawn by hand, of buildings and architecture, in which I took particular delight, and which I myself drew after most ancient buildings, and which I reduced to the same scale as much as possible; each [annotated] with the measurements of their parts.[85]

During his stay in Rome in 1553–1556 Strada doubtless occasionally drew and measured some ruins himself, but he was too strenuously occupied to have done this on a grand scale: presumably he left the collecting of evidence on the spot and the execution of preliminary sketches to the 'valenti giovani' he employed.[86] When he talks about having made these drawings himself, I think this means that he translated the information provided by these rough sketches and the noted measurements into finished, precise drawings fit to be

84 *Index sive catalogus*, (Appendix D), nr. 36; cf. Doc. 1578-08-13.

85 *Index sive catalogus* (Appendix D), nr. 34.

86 The execution of precise measured drawings of triumphal arches, temples, theatres, baths and other relics of Antiquity posed complex logistic problems, as is illustrated in a passage from the introduction to Philibert de l'Orme's *Architecture* (Rouen 1648, fol. 131r). From the account of the difficulties he encountered while engaged on his survey of some of the Roman ruins in the 1540s, it is clear that its success was dependent on the availability not only of the necessary instruments, but also of the necessary assistance: '<…> ce que ie ne pouvois faire sans quelque nombre de d'hommes qui me suyvoient, les uns pour gagner deux Iules ou Carlins le jour, les autres pour apprendre, comme estoient Ouvriers, Menuisiers, Scarpelins, ou Sculpteurs et semblables, qui desiroient cognoitre comme ie faisois, et participer du fruit de ce que ie mesuroi <…>' (Orme 1567, livre V, Chap. 1, quoted and discussed in Nesselrath 1984–1986, p. 137).

FIGURE 13.82 The Arch of the Sergii at Pula.
FIGURE 13.83 Sebastiano Serlio, The Arch of the Sergii at Pula, woodcut from his Terzo libro, Venice, 1544.

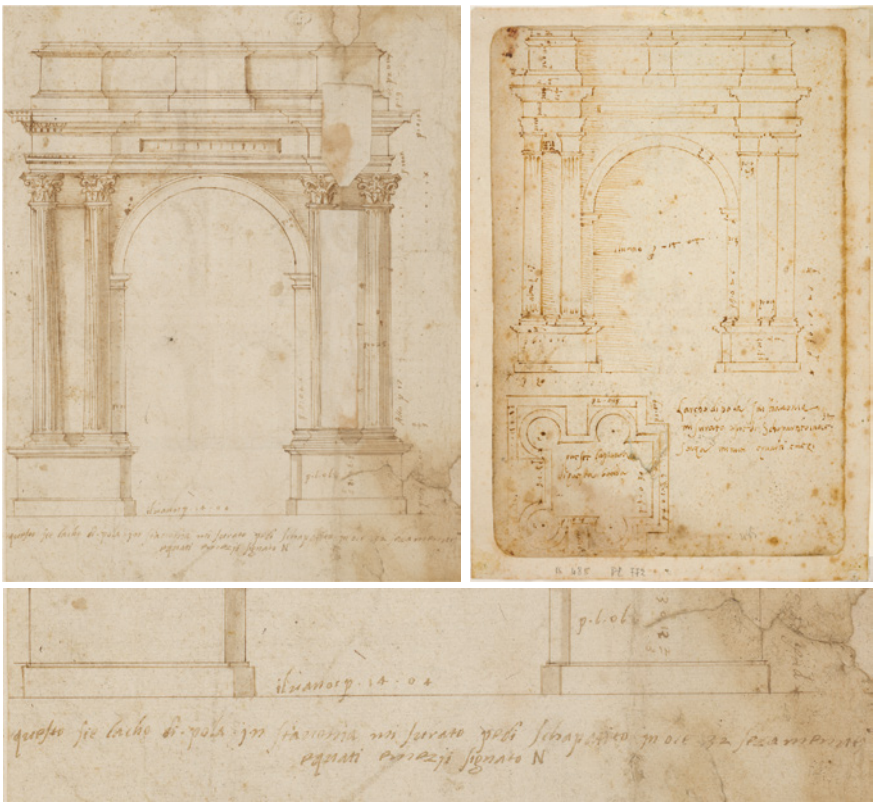
incorporated into his *libri di disegni* or to be engraved and published, as he indicates in his description of these volumes in his letter to Christophe Plantin just mentioned.[87]

A single drawing in a codex in the Vatican Library published by Hubertus Günther helps to illustrate Strada's procedure [Figs. 13.84–13.85]. This drawing is based on a measured sketch of the Arch of the Sergii in Pula in Dalmatia [Fig. 13.82] included in the so-called sketchbook of Michelangelo in the Musée Wicar in Lille, which is nowadays attributed to Raffaele da Montelupo and itself goes back to earlier sketches from the circle of Antonio and Giovanni Battista da Sangallo [Fig. 13.86].[88] The Vatican version can be attributed to Strada on the basis of the comment in his hand, and of the resemblance of its style to Strada's autograph design for the Munich *Antiquarium* [above, Fig. 8.15]. Strada not only uses the same measure, the *piede antico* divided in 32 *once*, but also almost literally transcribes the legend of the Lille drawing.[89]

87 Doc. 1578-08-13: 'Poi varii libri di dissegni per intaliare in ramè. Prima di cose di Architetura (della quale sempre mi son delettato e deletto), cose messe insieme e ritratte dal Anticho, che veramente che le stampasse sariano di grande Utilita al mondo'.

88 Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Rossi, 618, f. 42r; cf. Günther 1988, Fig. VI/10, pp. 208–211.

89 The drawing is itself a copy after Antonio or Giovanni Battista da Sangallo: Günther 1988, pp. 208–211. The Lille sketchbook is attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo, with additions by Aristotile da Sangallo (Nesselrath 1983).



FIGURES 13.84–13.85 Here attributed to Jacopo Strada, the Arch of the Sergii at Pula, pen and wash, Rome,Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Rossi 618, fol. 42r; and detail of the inscription; © 2018 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

FIGURE 13.86 Attributed to Raffaele da Montelupo, Arch of the Sergii at Pula, Lille, Musée Wicar, so-called Michelangelo Sketchbook, nr. 772.

But whereas the latter is a quickly executed sketch, Strada worked out sketch and the measurements given into a finished architectural design drawn with ruler and compasses and enlivened by a light wash. Architectural details such as the capitals and the fluting of the Corinthian columns—not shown in the existent sketches—are carefully rendered, possibly inspired either by Serlio's woodcut of the arch included in the *Terzo Libro* [Fig. 13.83] or directly by its example among Serlio's papers. Moreover the examples used are adapted to the author's own architectural convictions: thus the central pedestal in the *attica* is made much wider than in the example, and the cornice, not worked out in the example, is interpreted with an egg-and dart moulding, rather than with the consoles present in the actual building and shown in Serlio's woodcut. Probably most of the drawings in the volumes Strada wished to publish had

been prepared in a similar manner: as far as possible Strada would have reduced the drawings to the same scale, and have recalculated the measurements annotated in his models to one common unit. This may well have been the same *piede antico* used in the Lille sketchbook, and taken over in Strada's drawing: Strada's pretension to archaeological erudition would have made him prefer the *piede antico* in any case, and he was most familiar with the ancient foot as used in Serlio's circle, where it was divided into thirty-two *once*—as in the Lille drawing itself.[90]

Often Strada compared several drawings documenting the same monument in order to come up with as correct a version as was possible. At least that is what he implies in his preface to his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, where he described the great quantity of architectural drawings he had been able to bring together:

> It is certainly true that I possess many doubles, and that gives me great satisfaction, being able to compare them with respect to their measurements—to such an extent that, for those things I will give you, there is no need to go and measure them again in Rome or elsewhere, because they will be excellent in every respect, and conforming exactly to the originals.[91]

The drawing in the Vatican codex probably made part of Strada's own files, rather than of a finished manuscript intended for publication: while its verso shows the *Amphitheatrum castrense*, its recto gives—apart from the Arch of the Sergii—the elevation of the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese. Yet it gives an impression of what such a manuscript might have looked like, and of the degree of precision that a printed version might have attained to. It may also be of some help in identifying other sheets from Strada's studio. Had some of these volumes been preserved in their entirety in a public collection, their provenance, and hence their authorship, probably would have been known, so it must be assumed that they either were lost, like most of Giulio's architectural drawings, or that they have been cut up and dispersed in later times.[92]

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90 Günther 1988, pp. 225–231.

91 Serlio 1575, fol. A iiii-r.: 'E ben vero che più d'una cosa doppia mi truovo, e questo mi è di una grandissima sodisfatione, per conferirle insieme per rispetto delle misure: A tale, che le cosa ch'io vi darò, non accadera ch' le andiate à rimisurare à Roma, ò altrove: che saranno di tutto punto eccellenti, e giusto alle originali'.

92 Some of the originals—or volumes presenting copies taken from among these—may have been provided to Strada's patrons. Thus the *Ficklersche Inventar* of the Munich *Kunstkammer* mentions two books of drawings of ancient architecture which probably were acquired from Strada: nr. 105 (102): 'Etliche stuck alt Römischer Gebew, thails in grundt

13.7.3 *'Magnifica colonna coclida istoriata'*

Thanks to Strada's acquisitions of Serlio's, Giulio's and Perino's materials and his acquisitions and commissions in Rome, Strada's documentation must have included drawings and prints of most or all of the principal ancient remains of the Urbs, including famous monuments such as the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the Basilica of Maxentius, the Arches of Titus, Septimius Severus and Constantine, the Septizonium, the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the Castra Pretoria and the Mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian. But the only antique monuments of Rome which are individually mentioned in Strada's papers are three monumental columns the shafts of which were decorated with figurative spiral friezes in low relief, dedicated in honour of the Emperors Trajan and Antoninus (Marcus Aurelius), both in Rome, and Theodosius (Arcadius) in Constantinople. According to his descriptions in the *Index sive catalogus* and his letter to Christophe Plantin Strada possessed series of drawings of the spiral relief friezes of these three columns, each set of which was, as he phrased it, 'ridotta in un libro', 'bound as a book'.[93]

The reception of Trajan's Column in the Renaissance has been the subject of detailed research.[94] The production of a survey of a 'colonna coclide istoriata' such as the Trajanic column, in particular of its upper part, obviously was no easy task; yet this is what was done some time before 1506 by Jacopo Ripanda, who slowly descended along its shaft in a basket suspended from its top.[95] There are some indications that this feat was repeated by Giulio Romano

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gelegt, thails wie die gewesen, und thails noch sein, in Regal, und weiß Copert' and (less likely) nr. 106 (103): 'Architectur buech etlicher Gebew, Triumphpögen, Portiken, und anderer Römischer gebew in kupffer gestochen, thails von freyer handt gerißen'. München, BSB-HS, Cgm 2133 fol. 8v–9r / 2134 f. 8r; transcribed in Diemer 2004, p. 47; Diemer/Diemer 2008, pp. 34–36.

93 *Index sive catalogus* (Appendix D), nrs 37, 40 and 41; paraphrased in Strada's letter to Plantin, Doc. 1578-08-13): [37] 'Un libro dove sta ritratta tutta la colonna Trajana ch'è in Roma p[er] tutta la forma della colonna di fuori et di dentro et poi le historie in un libro, sonno foli. 150. In questo libro sonno tutte li vestimenti Civili et milittari si de Romani corne anche di altre natione Barbari dove Traiano Imperadore combatette. ...; [40] La colonna di Theodosio Imperadore che sta in Constantinopoli ridotta in un libro passa 100 fol. Reali aperti; questa l'o fatta dessignare à spesa mia in Constantinopoli]'; [41] 'La Colonna Antonina di Roma ridotta in un libro simile alla Traiana sunominata; questa fu dessignata ad instanzia mia in Roma'.

94 Becatti 1960; Agosti/ Farinella 1984, in particular part 1, 'Un monumento: La Colonna Trajana, per esempio', pp. 390–427; Arasse 1984; Agosti/ Farinella 1985; Settis/ La Regina/ Agosti/ Farinella 1988; Heenes 2017.

95 As told by Raffello Maffei (Volterrano), *Rerum urbanorum commentarii*, 1506: 'Floruit item nunc Romae, Jacobus Bononiensis, qui Trajani Columnae picturas omnes ordine delineavit, magna omnium admiratione, magnoque periculo circum machinis scandendo'; cited in Arasse 1984, p. 15 and note; quoted in Agosti/Farinelli 1984, p. 400.

FIGURES 13.87–13.88 Strada purveyed this or a similar rotulus illustrating the entire frieze of Trajan's Column to Vilém z Rožmberk; private collection.

and his assistants: at least such is implied in the preface of the first complete series of prints after the frieze, engraved under the supervision of the painter Girolamo Muziano and published in 1576 with a scholarly commentary composed by the Spanish priest and antiquary Alfonso Chacón [Ciacconius]; a series which itself, however, was based on Ripanda's survey.[96] In view of Giulio's strong affinity with classical art, and his use of elements from the Trajanic column in his own works, this is not impossible, though it is equally likely that he too contented himself with reinterpretations of Ripanda's drawings. In either case Strada may have possessed and used a set of copies immediately derived from Giulio's version; it is unlikely that Strada would have thought it worth the trouble and expense of producing a new series drawn directly from the monument (the length of the frieze is about 200 meters!) when such drawings were readily available, as is indicated by the number of series dating from the sixteenth century that have survived.[97]

96 *Historia utriusque belli Dacici, a Trajano Caesare gesti, ex simulachris quae in columna eiusdem Romae visuntur collecta. Auctore F. Alfonso Ciaconio*, Roma 1576; cf. Arasse 1984, pp. 15–16, n. 23: 'Dans l'introduction de l'édition de 1576, Chacon fait une référence assez vague aux copies de la colonne faites par Raphaël et ses disciples, Giulio Romano et Polidoro da Caravaggio. La réédition de 1616 est plus précise dans la mention de Giulio: 'Descripserat olim Julius Romanus, pictor egregius, quem Raphaelis aequalem fuisse scimus. Quam descriptione secutus Mutianus, Alfonso Ciaconio eruditissimo viro, viam aperit ad ea esponenda latine".

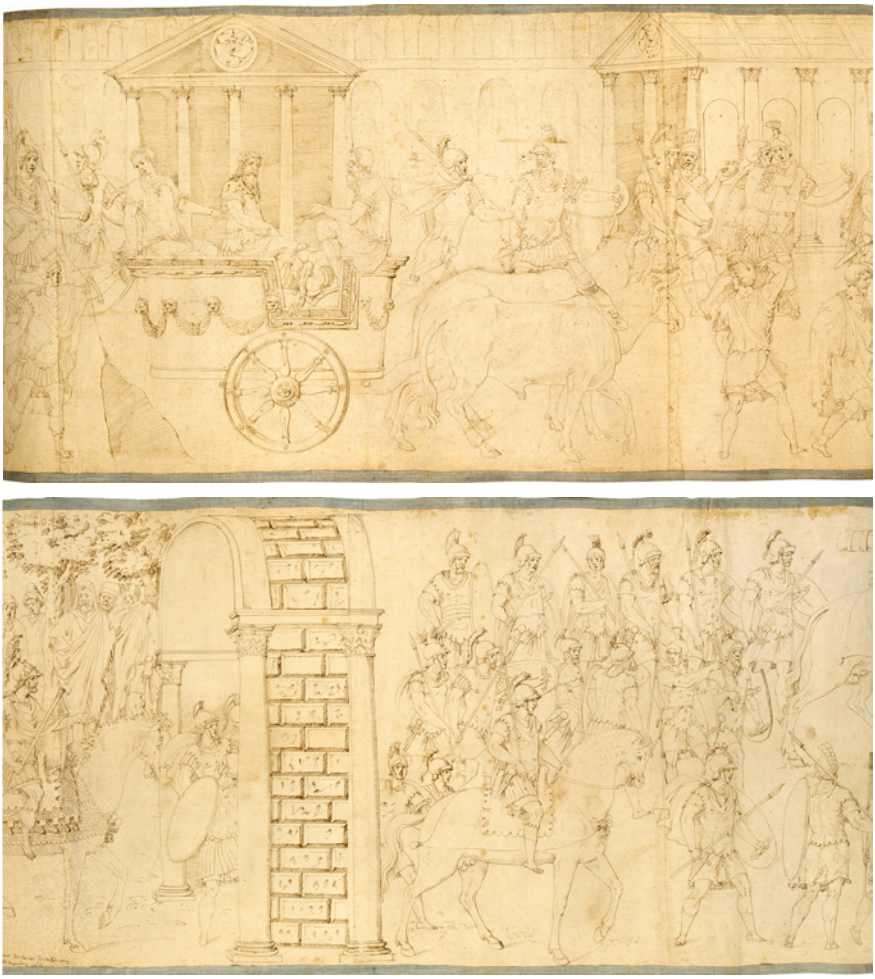
97 The earliest extant version, by or after Ripanda, is preserved in Rome, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, inv. nr 7459. It is significant that even Muziano's edition was based not on new original drawings, but directly or indirectly derived from Ripanda's series. In fact some of Ripanda's inaccuracies still show up in Reinach's famous repertory of Greek and Roman reliefs (Reinach 1909–1912, cited in Agosti/Farinelli 1985, p. 1117). Other sets of copies dating from the sixteenth century in Rome, *ibid*., inv. nr. 61283; and in Modena, Galleria Estense (all as *rotuli*).

Such sets of drawings of Trajan's Column were quite popular, and not least with Strada's patrons: a copy in the form of a book, now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, but originally at Ambras, may well have been the copy Strada mentions in his *Index sive catalogus*, acquired by Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol after Strada's death—if not before [Fig. 13.89–13.90]. A similar copy, this time in four volumes, is mentioned in an inventory of the Munich *Kunstkammer* of 1598, together with a set of drawings after the frieze of the column of Marcus Aurelius. Perhaps these had been commissioned by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria from Strada together with a similar set of drawings of the Column of Theodosius in Constantinople, but it is more likely that the drawings of the Theodosian column (in fact it was the column dedicated to Arcadius) were intended to complement the sets of drawings of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius which Strada earlier may have purveyed to Fugger.[98] Finally Strada supplied a copy to Vilém z Rožmberk, the Czech magnate to whom he had dedicated his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*. In this case the sheets had been pasted together so as to form a continuous scroll, rather than a codex: '<…> die Columna Trajana, die ich E.G. vorlengst presentiertt hab, nemlich des kästla mit den vieren rollen<…>'.[99] This *rotulus* must have been very similar to the scroll from a private collection which was exhibited at the Institut Français at Florence in 1984 [Fig. 13.87–13.88]: technique and style of drawing of this set is so close to Strada's numismatic drawings that a tentative attribution to his

FIGURES 13.89–13.90 The Column of Trajan in images from the Ambras manuscript, probably purveyed by Jacopo Strada; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

98 ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9410. In the older catalogues this volume precedes the description of the numismatic volumes by Jacopo and Ottavio Strada. The Munich copies are mentioned in Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 1, p. 58, nr. 153 (Marcus Aurelius) and p. 66, nr. 183 (Trajan); on the drawings of the Column of Theodosius, not included in the inventory, see below.

99 Doc. 1573-12-18; Strada wished to borrow Rožmberk's copy to consult it for his polyglot dictionary, which indicate that at that time he did not possess a copy of his own; perhaps he took this opportunity of preparing the copy in the form of a book mentioned in the *Index sive catalogus*.



FIGURES 13.91–13.92 Attributed to Battista Franco, section of a set of drawings documenting the Column of Theodosius in Constantinople; Paris, Musée du Louvre.

workshop is warranted. Two other sets have been preserved in Rome and in Modena.[100]

It is very unlikely that Strada would have thought it worth the trouble and expense of producing a new series drawn directly from the Column of Trajan, if

100 Exhibited in Florence in 1984, with a valuable catalogue [Arasse 1984], including pp. 13–24 a careful description by Cathérine Monbeig Goguel, 'Du marbre au papier: de la spirale verticale à la bande horizontale: A propos d'un dessin du seizième siècle d'après les bas-reliefs de la Colonne Trajane'. The *rotulus* consists of two sections of ca 7,50 m. each. Further sets are in Rome, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, inv.nr. 61283 (three *rotuli*), and in Modena, Galleria Estense.

drawings were readily available in Rome: Strada's drawings of this monument doubtless were derived from such earlier sources. But the Column of Marcus Aurelius was much less well documented and Strada may well have needed to organize the preparation of a complete survey of the frieze himself. In his entry on this column he explicitly stated that these drawings, like those of the Column of Theodosius (in fact that of Arcadius) were made at his initiative and expense (a claim he omits when describing the drawings of Trajan's Column). If such a complicated operation indeed took place on Strada's instigation, this would only have been possible thanks to Fugger's strong financial backing: after all this required a well-managed team of draughtsmen and assistants as well as some considerable investment in scaffolding and/or machinery. Unfortunately the early reception of the Column of Marcus Aurelius has been less studied than that of Trajan's Column.[101]

Apart from the two Roman columns Strada also took pains to document the similar column erected in Constantinople by Arcadius, but finished and dedicated only after his death (408 AD) by his son, Theodosius II.[102] This latter fact may help to explain the regular confusion of this column with the one erected by Theodosius the Great in about 386, but destroyed in an earthquake in 1517: Strada and his contemporaries referred to the columns of Antoninus and Theodosius, rather than to those of Marcus Aurelius and Arcadius. Under its incorrect appellation the column of Arcadius, which remained standing until hit by an earthquake in the early eighteenth century, was well known to travellers. Strada had commissioned a set consisting of about hundred sheets of this column on behalf of Duke Albrecht V during his 1567 visit to Venice and Mantua, which was delivered in instalments between 1567 and early 1569.[103] This implies either that Strada had gained access to a complete set of drawings of this frieze—perhaps in the possession of collectors such Giovanni Grimani or Cesare Gonzaga—or that he had these commissioned himself through his contacts in Constantinople, such as the Imperial diplomats at the Ottoman court with whom he had good contacts, or through trade connections in

101 The *Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance* refers only one print of a scene of the shaft, a *Sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius*, by León Davent printed by Lafreri in the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, and no drawings at all (http://census.bbaw.de; consultation 5 August 2017); I have never found references to sets of drawings of the frieze from the 16th century; but many scenes—such as the Victory inscribing Marcus' Triumph on an oval shield, halfway up—must have been very familiar to Renaissance artists.

102 Grigg 1977.

103 The sources mention instalments of 50 sheets and a later consignment of 45 sheets. Cf. Stockbauer 1865, p. 34: 'Um die Colonna Theodosii, sind 50 Bogen jeden zu v 1 1/2 = v 75,-'; Busch 1973, pp 204,. 340–341, n. 85.

Venice. In the relevant entry in the *Index sive catalogus* Strada claims that the drawings and an accompanying description were his explicit commission:

> Also the famous column of the Emperor Theodosius of Constantinople which exists in Byzantium, which I also had drawn and described in Constantinople, at my expense, in a book of hundred folii; with all the figures and histories that are sculpted and engraved in it.[104]

At the time he doubtless had made a second copy of the set for himself which he could afterwards offer for publication to Christophe Plantin. It has been suggested that the set offered to Plantin was executed, or its production supervised, by Strada's elder son Paolo, who had been sent to Constantinople with an Imperial Embassy in 1569. It seems more likely that Strada had commissioned his own copy at the same time, from the same draughtsman, and after the same model as that destined for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. It can be assumed that Strada would have had contacts in Constantinople before sending his son there.[105] Like those of Trajan's column, the set of the Constantinople column was probably copied from an existing set, such as the one traditionally attributed to Battista Franco which is preserved in the Louvre as a *rotulus* mounted in a specially constructed table [Figs. 13.91–13.92]. That would not necessarily contradict Strada's statement that he had commissioned his version in Constantinople.[106]

104 *Index sive catalogus*, Appendix D, nr. 40; and Doc. 1578-12-15.

105 Strada's earlier contacts with Imperial diplomats in Constantinople included Vrančić, Rijm and Busbequius, from the latter of whom he obtained manuscript material, and can be assumed in the case of his neighbour in Vienna, Christoph von Teuffenbach (cf. above, Chapter 10.5). He sent his son Paolo to accompany Karel Rijm's embassy with the explicit purpose to learn Turkish and Arabic, to acquire antiquities—particularly Greek manuscripts—and to collect documentation of the various monuments of that ancient capital. On Rijm, see Stichel 1990. Paolo Strada's stay is documented in Strada's letters, for instance to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua (Vienna, 5 November 1569, published in *JdKS*, XVI (1895), 2ter Teil, Reg. nr. 13998), and in requests to the Emperor on his son's behalf (HHStA, *Staatenabteilung Türkei*, I, 28, ff. 132r.–133v.) to which my attention was kindly drawn by Zweder von Martels.

106 A set of drawings could have remained in Constantinople. The set attributed to Battista Franco is in Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, *Fonds des dessins et miniatures*, inv. nr. 4951; cf. Müntz 1881; Becatti 1960, pp. 111–150; Lauder 2009, pp. 301–303. These drawings appear to have been mounted as a *rotulus* only in the seventeenth century; the present table probably dates from the eighteenth century. I am very grateful to Cathérine Goguel to have drawn my attention to these drawings, and to have arranged for me to see them and discuss them with me. Arnold Nesselrath and, following him, Goguel, have proposed an alternative attribution to Giulio Romano, in which case it is likely that Strada's copies would have been based directly on Giulio's model.

FIGURES 13.93–13.97 Drawings of the Column of Arcadius in Constantinople, 1570s, possibly commissioned or executed by Paolo Strada on behalf of his father; Cambridge, Trinity College Library.

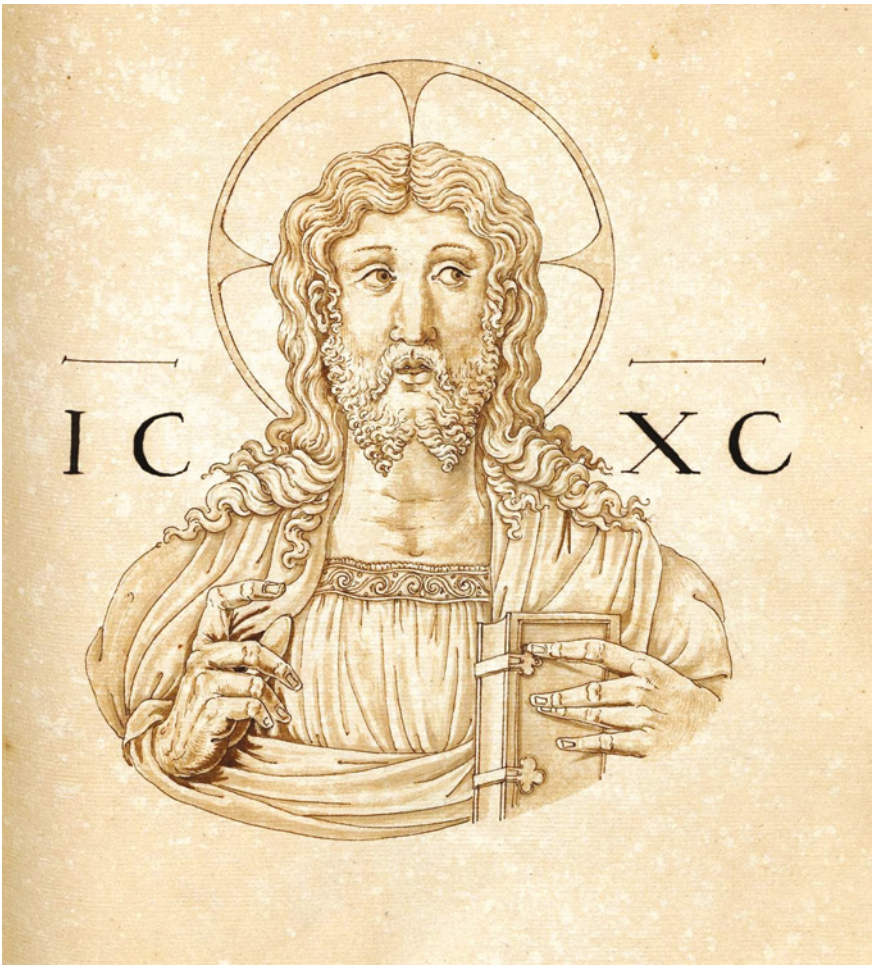


FIGURE 13.98 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, documentary drawing of an unidentified mosaic or mural of Christ Pantocrator, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

The series of the three rather precise drawings of this monument preserved in the so-called 'Freshfield Album', containing drawings of ancient and modern monuments in Constantinople now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, may very well have been executed by Paolo Strada, or under his supervision [Figs. 13.93–13.97].[107] The style and precision of the drawings, which

107 Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms. 0.17.2; see Freshfield 1922 and Kurt Weitzmann in *Age of Spirituality* 1977, pp. 79–81, nr. 68. The drawings appear to have been in the possession of David Ungnad von Sonnegg, Imperial Ambassador at the Ottoman court in 1572 (when Paolo was still there) and from 1574–1578. It would have been exactly the type of commission Paolo, who was a draughtsman himself, would have executed. I am very grateful to Richard Tuttle for having drawn my attention to these drawings.

include views of three sides of the Column of Arcadius in its entirety, is similar in elegance and precision to those Strada commissioned at Mantua from Ippolito Andreasi. The only anomaly is that the draughtsman of the Freshfield album was aware of the true identity of the column of Arcadius, whereas Strada himself apparently was not.[108]

Strada's particular interest in the 'colonna coclida istoriata' is quite evident: a type of monument which combined architecture with figurative sculpture providing a lot of factual archaeological information and an imperial iconography was bound to appeal to an Imperial Antiquary who was also a practising architect. He shared this interest with many of his contemporaries, to begin with his master Giulio Romano, who had not only repeatedly used individual figures and scenes from the frieze of Trajan's column as sources of inspiration, but had actually emulated it in the splendid stucco double frieze, representing the battle-order of Julius Caesar, of the *Camera degli Stucchi* of the Palazzo del Te.[109] That Strada included Giulio's drawings of this frieze among the antiquarian material he intended to publish—and on an equal footing with Giulio's antique examples—testifies both to his admiration for Giulio's archaeological erudition and his conviction of the utility of the information such material could provide. Several of the original designs from Giulio's studio are now in the Louvre; the complete set of copies preserved in the Albertina may well be the set Strada prepared or commissioned for the engraver on the basis of the original drawings in his possession.[110]

13.8 Strada's Commissions of Visual Documentation: Contemporary Architecture and Decoration

13.8.1 *Rome*

Armenini's description of Strada's activities in Rome appear to stress his interest in classical Antiquity, but in fact he says that Strada acquired material documenting 'cose assai antiche, che si sono ritrovate per quella Città in diversi tempi, che però erano delle più notabili, et più perfette dell'altre', that is: 'quite ancient things found in that City dating from various periods, especially those that were more noteworthy and more perfect than others'. The plans of Florence and Pisa Cathedrals in the Strahov Codex witness that these could

108 But it is also possible that Strada consciously preferred to indicate Arcadius' column with the name under which it was perhaps more generally known.

109 Agosti/Farinella 1984, pp. 415–416; on the *Camera degli Stucchi*, see Verheyen 1977, pp. 123–127; Konrad Oberhuber, 'L'appartamento dei Giganti e l'ala meridionale', in *Giulio Romano* 1989, pp. 364–374.

110 *Index sive catalogus*, Appendix D, nr. 14; discussed above, Ch. 13.6.3.

include the 'most perfect' achievements even of the Middle Ages, as does the singular image of a *Christ Pantocrator* in the Vienna *Codex miniatus* 21,3 [Figs. 13.22–13.23 and 13.98].[111]

But as a true follower of Giulio and an admirer of the divine Raphael, Strada chiefly collected material documenting the art of his own time, which heavily drew upon the art of classical Rome. In his *I veri precetti della pittura* Armenini gives an eloquent description of Raphael's *Loggia* in the Vatican, which he considered as the archetypal example to be followed by anyone intending to decorate a loggia [Figs. 13.99–13.101]. He then relates how:

> ...every part of this ensemble, including the floor, was drawn on paper and illuminated, in the most suitable manner, by the hand of the most talented young men that were in Rome in my time, among whom I myself took part; and thus coloured it was then sent by whom had commissioned it, and who paid royally for it, to Antwerp to a great lord of the Fuggers who, it is said, took the greatest delight in it. And that agent whom I mentioned had another copy made, which, soon afterwards, he himself took to Spain to the great Court of King Philip, with other drawings which he bought everywhere or which he commissioned us to draw for him.[112]

The documentation of Raphael's *Loggia* mentioned here has been preserved in a splendid illuminated codex of the *Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna, which has been discussed by Bernice Davidson.[113] The sumptuousness of the codex, illuminated in many colours including lapis lazuli and gold leaf, bears witness to Fugger's high ambitions, its precision to Strada's unbound admiration for this greatest example of Renaissance decoration [Figs. 13.102–13.107]. It is also perhaps the best testimony of Strada's perfectionism, and as such can be compared with the less sumptuous, but equally precise set of drawings of the architecture and decoration of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua that Strada commissioned from the young local painter Ippolito Andreasi in 1567.[114] Though Armenini's contention that Strada provided a second copy to Philip II is not corroborated by other sources, it is nonetheless clear that the precision and magnificence of such drawings strongly appealed to other collectors besides

111 Vienna, ÖNB, *Cod. min.* 21,3, fol. 29; I have not been able to identify the original—since it is preserved in the context of a set of numismatic drawings, it may be Strada's own interpretation of a medieval or spurious coin, instead of the copy of a mural or mosaic.

112 Armenini 1587, pp. 180.

113 The drawings of the Vatican *Loggia* are now in ÖNB, *Cod. min.* 33; see Davidson 1979; Davidson 1983; Davidson 1984; Jansen 1987, p.15.

114 Dïsseldorf, Kunstbibliothek; catalogued and discussed in Harprath 1984 (with further bibliography).

FIGURES 13.99–13.101 Raphael and workshop: the Loggia in the Vatican *Palace*.

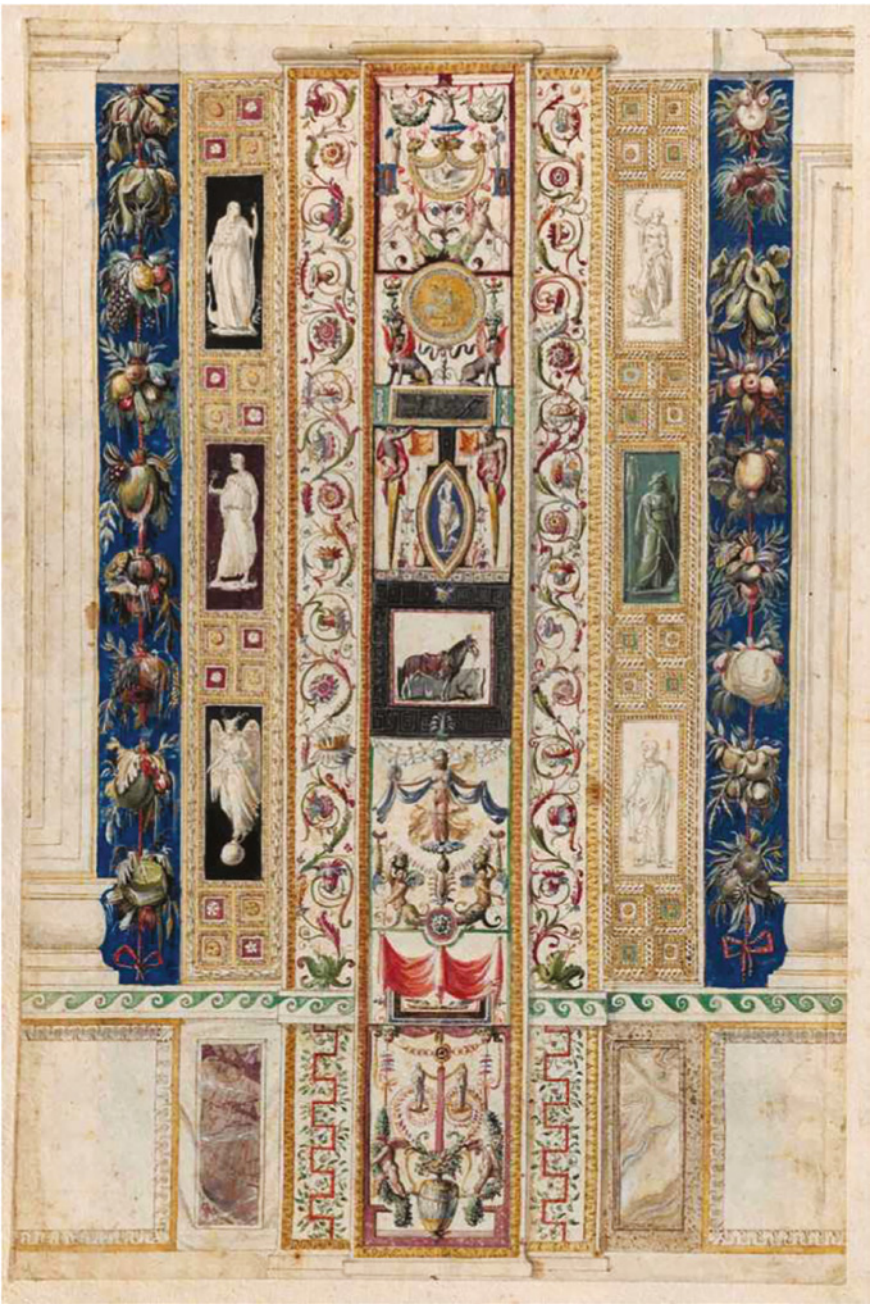
Fugger. Already in 1548, for example, Granvelle, the learned Bishop of Arras, had acquired similar sets of drawings documenting the Sistine Chapel ceiling and the *Sala dei Giganti* in the Palazzo del Te, which were executed by the Mantuan engraver Giovanni Battista Scultori.[115]

Whoever had been the patron of the Vienna version, it is obvious that either Strada retained access to it, or—more likely—that he had made a second copy for himself, though that may have been less expensively illuminated. He could use such a copy as the model for the engravings of an ambitious publication on the sights of Rome, of which the *Loggia* was to be the principal component.[116] From this same description it results that he also owned a set of comparable drawings of Raphael's Vatican *Stanze*, most likely a version of the same set Giovanni Battista Scultori had made for Granvelle: from a later source we know that Scultori was among the artists employed by Strada in his projects.[117]

In conjunction with Armenini's description of Strada's activities in Rome this suggests that he commissioned similar documentation of other contemporary projects. Certainly such drawings were made of other objects: a good example is a beautifully detailed measured drawing in the Albertina documenting the decoration of the entire facade of the Palazzo Gaddi, decorated with Polidoro da Caravaggio's celebrated friezes *all'antica*, painted in grisaille [Fig. 13.108].[118] This drawing is very close to the *Loggia* drawings: note for

115 Greppi 1977, p. 434.
116 *Index sive catalogus*, Appendix D, nr. 43.
117 Strada himself refers to his having at one time employed Scultori in a letter to the Duke of Mantua (Doc. 1577-10-04).
118 Vienna, Albertina, inv. nr. 15462.

FIGURES 13.102–13.106 Giovanni Battista Armenini and others, some of the set of illuminated drawings documenting the entire Vatican Loggia, commissioned by Jacopo Strada from Giovanni Battista Armenini and others; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.



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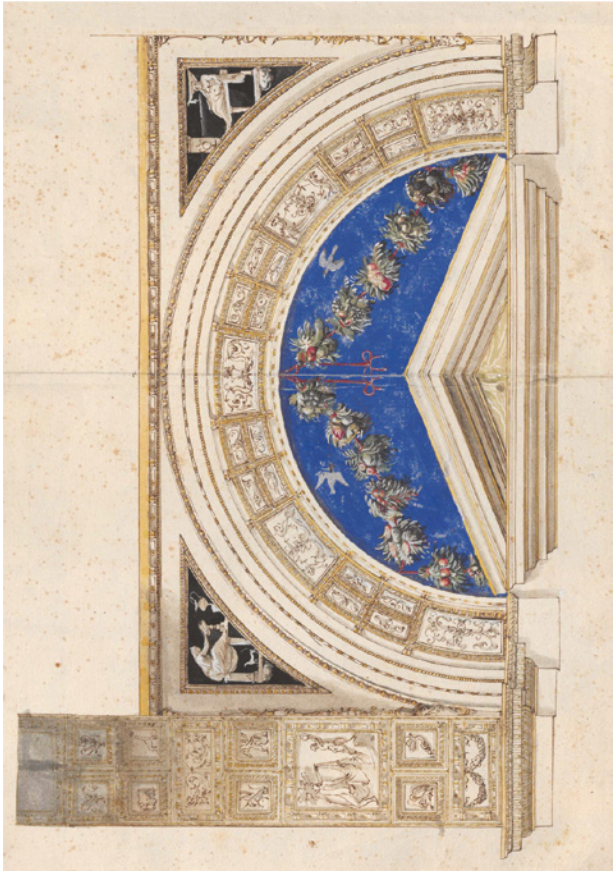


instance the tear in the waxed paper filling the window frames of the Palazzo Gaddi, which is also found on fol. 50 of the *Loggia* volume [Fig. 13.104]. That the paper filling the windows is shown at all in both drawings in itself may be an indication of their mutual relation, and I strongly suspect that the Albertina drawing is one of the results of Strada's commission.

But unfortunately we do not have any further indication of what other monuments Strada may have had documented. Certainly he would have been interested in the patriarchal basilicas, including Old St. Peter's, as well as in the works of Bramante, Michelangelo and Raphael, such as New St. Peter's, the Belvedere, Palazzo Farnese, the Capitol, Villa Madama, the palaces designed by Raphael, Sangallo, Peruzzi and Giulio Romano and so on. He will have been equally eager to acquire documentation on the projects that had more recently been completed, such as the *Orti Farnesiani*, or were under construction while

FIGURE 13.107 Giovanni Battista Armenini (?), naar Raphael, The Animals leave the Ark of Noah, detail of Fig. 13.106.

he was in Rome, in particular the Villa Giulia, of importance also as an exemplary *Antikengarten*. Perhaps he also had access to the plans at the time being developed for the Villas of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola, by Vignola, and of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este at Tivoli, by Pirro Ligorio.

Apart from architectural designs Strada must have been eager to acquire documentation of the most important decorative schemes in Rome, in addition to that of the Vatican *Loggia* and *Stanze*. Some of this he may have found among the material included in his purchases from the heirs of Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano: as we have seen Strada claimed to possess some of Raphael's autograph designs for the *Stanze*. It is likely that in addition he also obtained a series of drawings of the Sistine Chapel, similar to those Giovan Battista Scultori had made for Cardinal Granvelle. Among Perino's drawings he would have found sufficient material to document the decoration of Paul III's appartment at the Castel Sant'Angelo: as we have seen, copies of drawings of the *sopraporte* of the Sala Paolina are in fact preserved among Strada's material in Vienna [above, Fig. 13.63].

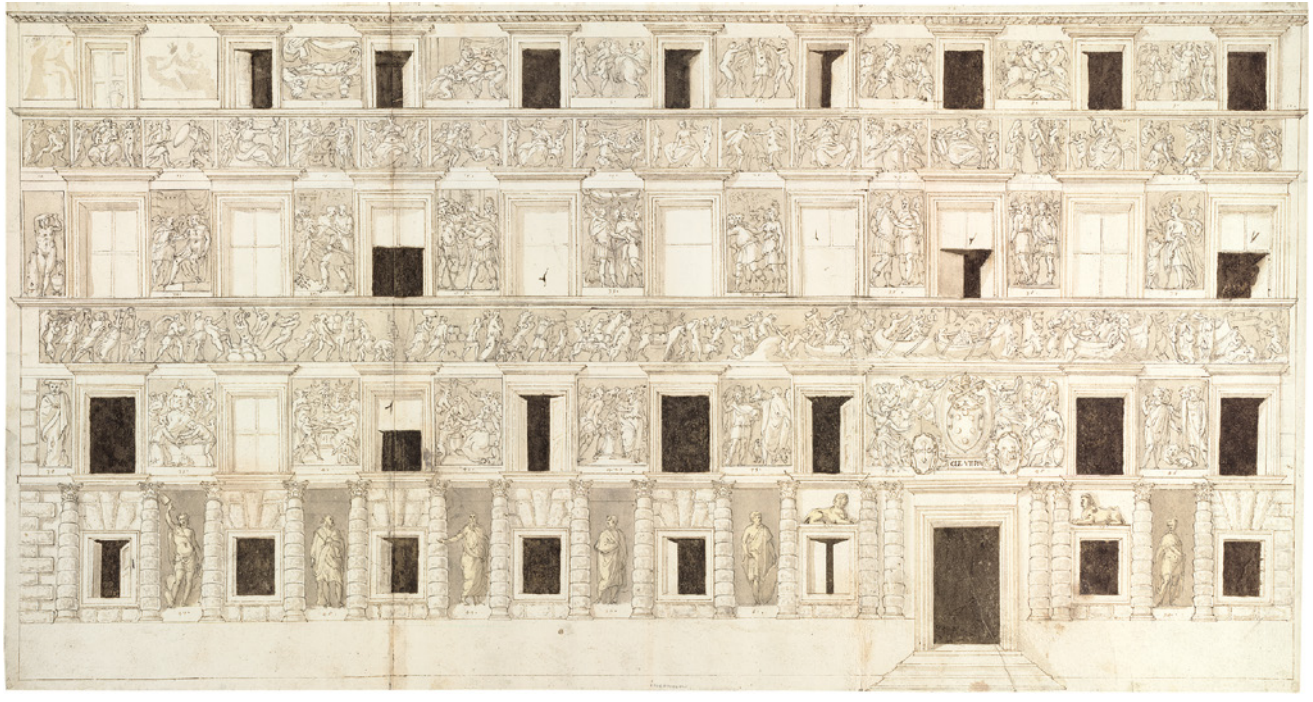


FIGURE 13.108 Giovanni Battista Armenini and others, the facade of the Palazzo Gaddi in Rome, documenting Polidoro da Caravaggio's celebrated fresco decoration; Vienna, Albertina.

13.8.2 *Mantua*

Armenini's description suggests that Strada's acquisitions in Rome in the mid-1550s were part of an ambitious and carefully considered project to document the best examples of both ancient and contemporary art in Rome. That this was indeed Strada's intention is corroborated by his similar activities in the 1560s and in the 1570s, which are somewhat better documented. In the summer of 1567, when he visited Mantua from Venice, he commissioned the young but gifted draughtsman Ippolito Andreasi to execute extremely detailed documentation of the Palazzo del Te and of the apartments in the Palazzo Ducale Giulio Romano had designed for Duke Federico.

This project is well documented because Niccolò Stopio expressly wrote to Mantua for information on his rival's activities, which he then reported to their common patron, Hans Jakob Fugger.[119] Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria paid for (a set of) the drawings of the Palazzo del Te, but it can be assumed that Strada, as in the case of the drawings after Raphael's *Loggia* and after the friezes of Trajan's and Theodosius' columns, kept a copy for himself: the copy which he would use to produce the prints of a planned detailed illustrated publication of the Palazzo del Te. This can be considered as a companion volume to the planned publication of the *Loggia*, which it precedes in the *Index sive catalogus*:

> A book in which is depicted the most beautiful and famous palace in the whole world (in the Italian language called Palazzo del Te). This is situated at a bowshot's distance from Mantua, and is perfectly built according to the precepts and laws of architecture and decorated with most beautiful and pleasant pictures. I had this palace drawn at my expense: first the measured drawings of its foundations, both inside and out, were made, then the gardens and parks with the habitations in them. Then the measured drawings of all the chambers, with all their annexes, [sculpted] figures and paintings: all and every one of which have been executed with exquisite study and care. And from this it was possible to put together a book which could be enriched in the appropriate places with a description, and thus the book was both written and drawn'.[120]

In this case we know more about Strada's intended publication, because its essential components have all been preserved: these include a detailed ground plan provided with Strada's annotations [Figs. 13.110–13.111], a set of about forty very detailed elevation drawings of the facades [Fig. 13.109] and of the

119 Above, Ch. 12.5.2

120 *Index sive catalogus*, Appendix D, nr. 42.

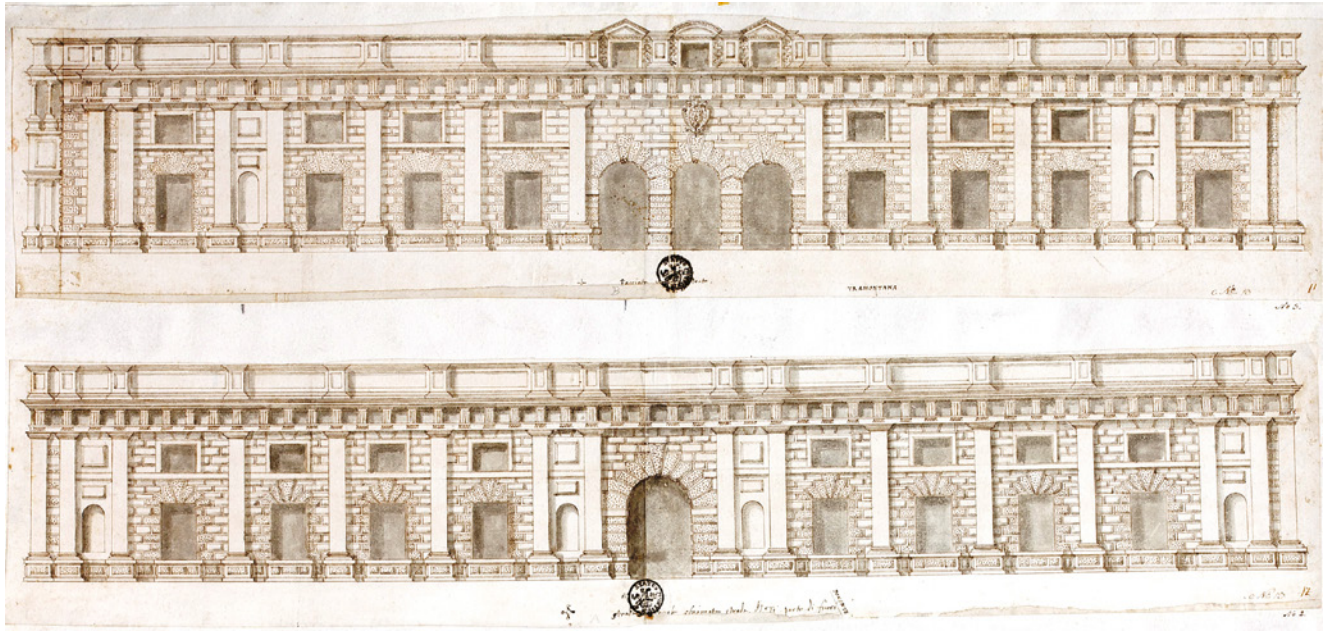


FIGURE 13.109 Ippolito Andreasi, documentation of of the Palazzo del Te: the two exterior facades; Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast.

inner walls and ceilings of each separate chamber, documenting every detail of the painted and stucco decoration [Figs. 13.112–13.113], and finally Strada's own room-by-room description of the palace, making the Palazzo de Te probably the best documented Renaissance building in existence.[121] Strada's enthusiasm for this building—'the most beautiful and resplendent palace in the world'—was based on a complex amalgam of juvenile memories—he had seen it being built and decorated, and may himself have contributed—coupled to a taste schooled on the premises of the style of Raphael and his pupils, in particular Giulio, and to Strada's patriot pride as a Mantuan citizen and Gonzaga vassal, as he styled himself.[122]

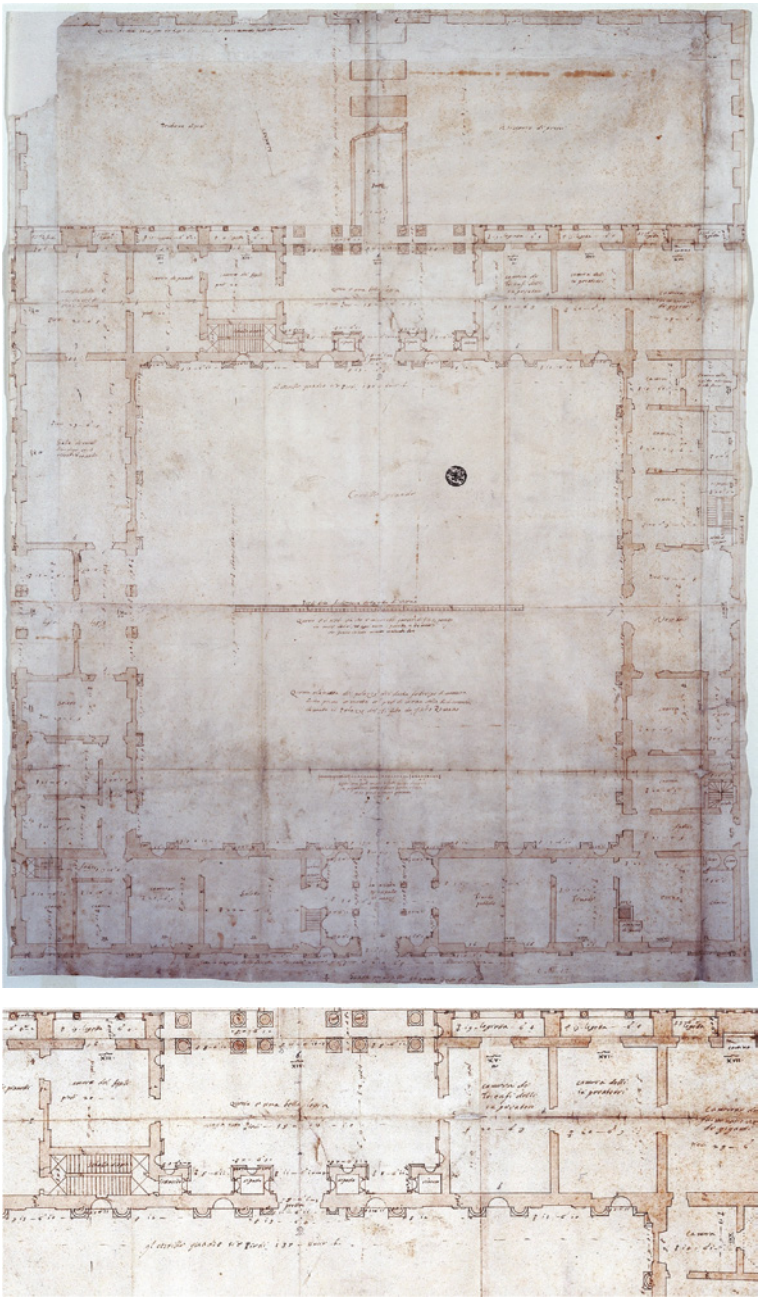
In any case Strada was very closely involved in the production of the material, which he could not have realized without the tacit or explicit support of Duke Guglielmo, and the help of his *Prefetto dell fabbriche*, Strada's exact contemporary and old friend Giovanni Battista Bertani, who probably made available some of the original drawings and designs kept in the Gonzaga office of works. That these drawings were at the basis of the documentation rather than the finished building is evident from the anomalies between Andreasi's drawings and the building as executed, and from Strada's annotations and his descriptions. Yet drawings and executed building were carefully confronted, as is evident from Strada's annotations and from the report that he had men at work both 'in Castello'—the Palazzo Ducale—and in the Palazzo del Te, at the other end of town. Running around to supervise their work had even caused him an attack of the gout.[123]

In this project he was well served by Bertani, whose help he gratefully acknowledged in a much later letter to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga. From this

121 The drawings in Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum (ca 40 sheets documenting the Palazzo del Te, ca 35 sheets documenting some interiors in the Palazzo Ducale); the plan of the Palazzo del Te, *ibid*., Fp 10937; the description: Jacopo Strada, *Ordine come vanno li dissegni del Palazzo del Ti fuori di Mantua*, ms. Vienna, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9039, ff. 154–155. The drawings are catalogued in Harprath 1984, and discussed in Giulio Romano 1989, pp. 333–334 and *passim*; and in Belluzzi 1998, *Saggi*, pp. 31–36 and *passim*; Strada's description printed in Davari 1889; Verheyen 1967, pp. 68–69. The plan and perhaps the outlines of the elevations may have been prepared by Bertani, whose help in Strada's project was gratefully acknowledged in a later letter of Strada to Duke Guglielmo.

122 In his letters to Duke Guglielmo, and only to him, Strada habitually referred to himself as his 'vasallo', f. i.: 'E questo favore lo serbaro a miglior tempo a commodità di Vostra Excellenza Illustrissima, perchè dal canto mio, essendogli Suo vasallo, non posso dessiderar se non cosa che li agradi e torni a utile; suplicandoLa si degni a comandarmi e servirsi di me dove vaglio e posso'. (Doc. 1568-10-11; other examples: Docs. 1568-12-28; 1571-11-20; 1577-10-04).

123 Von Busch 1973, pp. 204–205 and pp. 340–3421, notes 84–92.



FIGURES 13.110–13.111 Ippolito Andreasi (?) and Jacopo Strada, after Giulio Romano, plan of the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, and detail: the garden wing with the Loggia di Davide and adjacent chambers; Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast.

FIGURES 13.112–13.113 Ippolito Andreasi, documentation of the Palazzo del Te, Mantova: the Camera di Psiche, ceiling; and the Camera degli Stucchi, end wall; Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast.

it results that in his time Bertani had provided Strada with plans and elevations of Duke Guglielmo's principal commission, the Palatine Basilica of Santa Barbara, which Bertani had designed himself, the architecture of which Strada considered 'the most beautiful in its type he had seen anywhere in Italy'. In addition Bertani had provided him with the plans and elevations of the two Alberti churches in Mantua, Sant'Andrea and San Sebastiano, and of Mantua Cathedral (doubtless as modernized by Giulio Romano in 1545). Strada's formulation suggests that Bertani had also been responsible for the measured drawings of the Palazzo del Te which served as the basis for Andreasi's drawings of its decoration. The Mantuan engraver Giovanni Battista Scultori also had been of assistance to Strada. Doubtless Strada had applied to Bertani and

Scultori to find a draughtsman to execute his commissions: the performance of the draughtsman he found, Ippolito Andreasi, was so satisfactory that a decade later Strada again wished to employ him in a similar project.[124] The number of artists involved—as we have seen, at the same time Strada also employed the local painter Giorgio Molinarolo to execute copies of several paintings in Mantua collections—indicates the scale of Strada's operations at the time.

Not all the commissions mentioned in this letter need to have been executed during Strada's short stay in Mantua in the summer of 1567, which was

124 Doc. 1574-10-04(a). Strada's praise of Santa Barbara doubtless was also intended to flatter its patron, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua, to whom the letter was addressed.

FIGURES 13.114 Ippolito Andreasi, documentation of the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua: the Sala di Troia, west wall; Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast.

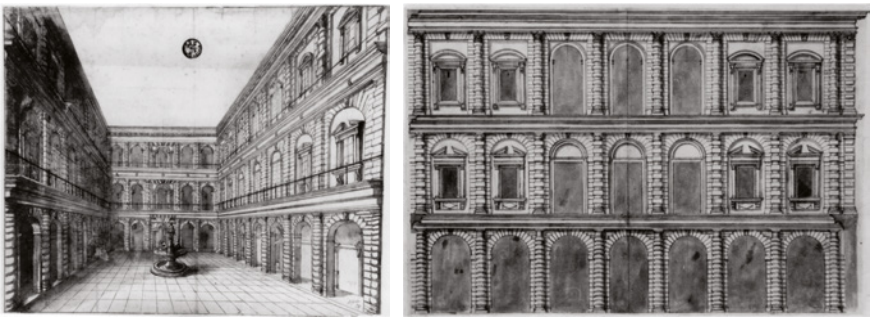
FIGURES 13.115–13.117 Ippolito Andreasi, documentation of the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua: various elements of the Camerino dei Cesari; Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast.

interrupted by his precipitate flight from the Inquisition. Once he had found colleagues he could trust, such as Bertani and Andreasi, his personal presence was not necessary, and commissions could be transmitted by correspondence or the mediation of travellers between Mantua and Vienna. But when a decade later Strada again took up his collecting of documentation, both Scultori and Bertani had died and he had lost contact with Andreasi, which is the reason why he wrote directly to Duke Guglielmo, asking him to help him arrange the commission of the desired material: in the first place similarly detailed drawings of the architecture and decorations of the Ducal palace at Mantua and of the important Gonzaga residence at Marmirolo, likewise designed by Giulio Romano and his pupils. It seems hardly credible, but it appears that the Duke indeed took the trouble to help Strada have his commissions executed, because Andreasi's drawings of several rooms in the Palazzo Ducale have been preserved intact together with his earlier drawings of the Palazzo del Te [Figs. 13.114–13.117].

13.8.3 Illustrations for Leandro Alberti's *Description of Italy*

The letter cited here, dated 4 October 1577, gives some additional information on what type of material Strada had collected, and also mentions an explicit purpose: the publication of a very amply enriched, profusely illustrated edition of *La Descrittione di tutta Italia* by the Dominican historian Leandro Alberti.[125] This popular first complete survey of the historical geography of Italy had first

125 Doc. 1577-10-04(a). On the same date Strada wrote a similar request to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, and another letter to Grand Duke Francesco of Tuscany, asking him to arrange for the book to be printed in Florence, cf. Docs. 1577-10-04(b), (c) and (d). His project is also described in the *Index sive catalogus* (Appendix D), nr. 44, and in his letter to Christophe Plantin Doc. 1578-08-13).



FIGURES 13.118–13.119 Anonymous draftsman, working for Jacopo Strada: perspective view and elevation of Ammannati's cortile of the Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

been published in 1550, had been reprinted many times in expanded versions, and for the first time in Latin in 1567; it continued to be regularly reprinted for another century.[126] So Strada's initiative to bring out another edition is not original as such. What distinguished him from other editors of the book is his ambition to hugely increase the amount of information it contained. To the descriptions of each single region and city he planned to add records of its learned men, accompanied with a list of their published and unpublished works. Moreover he intended to include careful transcriptions of ancient epigraphs present, 'portrayed exactly as they are in those marbles, with the figures and other ornaments surrounding them', and illustrations of the coats of arms of its princes and its principal noble families. And these were by no means the only images he planned to add: he also wished to include geographical maps of each region, and detailed profiles of each single town. For this reason he begged the Duke

> ...to have documented for me in drawing Your Highness' cities, that is Mantua, Casale, Aich, Alba and the others Your Highness has in the Monferrato; and also Your Highness' principal fortresses: in the Mantovano Your Highness has fortresses that seem cities, such as Viadana, Cannedo, Gazolo and others I don't remember: those I would like to have as well, but that the view should be taken from a point where they show well, and that it should be drawn on a sheet of *folio reale* size, or slightly smaller...[127]

126 On the book, its author and its sources, see now Petrella 2004.

127 Doc 1577-10-04(a).

Finally he intended to include carefully drawn documentation of its ancient monuments and its principal modern buildings, 'with well-measured plans and elevations and the measurements written in the appropriate places', assuring the Duke that it was his intention 'not to leave out anything that is remarkable in my fatherland<…>and particularly [its] buildings'.[128] It is clear that Strada intended to drawn upon the documentation he had already collected to provide the bulk of the illustrations; but his new project now stimulated him to fill lacunae and to update his holdings.

Nevertheless it is unlikely that Strada would have included Andreasi's documentation of the Palazzo del Te and the Palazzo Ducale in its entirety in his illustrated edition of Alberti's *Descrittione*. When he described the extraordinary sets of drawings of Raphael's *Loggia* and Giulio's Palazzo del Te in his *Index sive catalogus* it is clear that Strada esteemed these exceptional complexes so highly that he wished to publish them integrally in separate illustrated monographs or print-series. His 1575 edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro* gives a good impression of the level of precision and the graphic quality of the illustrations he envisaged.

For the *Descrittione*, on the other hand, he would have contented himself with one or two general views of these monuments. With Andreasi's drawings in Düsseldorf two drawings are preserved which seem more representative for the material Strada had collected documenting Italian architecture of his own time, and which are more plausible examples of the type of image Strada would have included in the *Descrittione*. They are a perspective view and an elevation of one of the facades of the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, built in 1560 for Cosimo I's consort, Eleonora di Toledo, after designs by Bartolommeo Ammanati [Fig. 13.118–13.119]. These drawings appear very suitable for the illustrated topographical survey Strada had in mind: in his more ample description of the work in his *Index sive catalogus* he explains that a large part of the woodcut illustrations—all reduced to a uniform size and format similar to the illustrations in his 1575 edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*—had already been executed, or at least drawn unto the woodblocks ready for the engraver. The importance Strada attached to the *Descrittione* is clear from the fact that among the many works in his publishing programme it was this that he described first and in greatest detail in his letter to Christoph Plantin, whom he hoped would consider printing it.[129]

128 *Ibidem.*

129 Doc. 1578-08-13, pp. 3–5. Plantin was interested, but was not sanguine as to its financial feasibility, and certainly was not ready to undertake the project on Strada's conditions; see below, Ch. 14.8.

Strada appears to have collected similar material from other cities, since the *Index sive catalogus* also mentions a 'book of the most beautiful and famous palaces that can be seen in Rome and in other Italian cities such as Florence, Mantua and Venice'[130] The plans of an unidentified palace and of Pisa Cathedral, and the Duomo and San Lorenzo in Florence preserved in the Strahov codex are probably remnants of this material, and would have served Strada's stated purpose to perfection [Figs. 13.21–13.24].

13.9 Images as a Source of Knowledge

As in other aspects of Strada's affairs, the scarcity of surviving sources documenting Strada's collection of drawings and prints allows few definitive conclusions as to its precise scope, size and quality. The preceding account nevertheless demonstrates Strada's vast ambition in this field. The documents we have chiefly relate to Strada's purchases in the 1550s from Serlio and the heirs of Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano and his commissions of documentary drawings of the mid-1550s in Rome, in Mantua in the late 1560s and in Mantua and perhaps Ferrara in the 1570s. Doubtless it is no coincidence that it were these spectacular acquisitions which left some traces in the sources, and there is a good chance that they constituted the most spectacular components of Strada's graphic collection. Yet it is also clear that they must be considered as the tip of the iceberg, and that they represent only a small part of Strada's holdings.

Strada's documented acquisitions formed part of a conscious and focused programme to collect visual documentation. This programme was already under way in the late 1540s, when Strada had begun collecting the numismatic material he used for the manuscripts he presented to Hans Jakob Fugger and to Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, for his own *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum* of 1553, and to help out Guillaume du Choul with the illustrations of his *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains* printed at Lyon in 1556 [above, Figs. 3.55–3.57]. It was a sustained programme, continuing at least until the late 1570s, and there can be no doubt that he was constantly alert to opportunities to enrich his holdings.

It is likely that Strada's preoccupation had originated in his early experience in Giulio Romano's studio. It was common practice for young artists to collect drawings or to copy them, in order to lay in a stock of suitable motifs and compositional 'inventions' for later reference: the practice is described in

130 *Index sive catalogus*, Appendix D, nr. 35.

Armenini's treatise. But Giulio himself had collected drawings and architectural designs on a much grander scale, in particular materials documenting the vestiges of classical art and architecture, which were particularly admired by Vasari.[131] It was this example that stimulated Strada to collect material on a larger scale than was habitual for young artists and which, coupled to his own antiquarian interest, led him to include material that had no immediate artistic interest, but was a bearer of historical or philological information, such as inscriptions.

13.9.1 *Fugger, Quiccheberg and the Kunstkammer*

Thanks to his subsequent contacts with Hans Jakob Fugger, who was more interested in scholarship and science than in exclusively artistic matters and who, in his huge library, attempted to build up a comprehensive survey of all available learning, Strada became aware of the value of the visual material as a source of knowledge, an alternative or complement to the available textual sources. In his turn Strada influenced Fugger's interest in the careful graphic documentation of objects that were of historic, dynastic or artistic interest, as evinced in the *Gehaim Eernbuch*—the genealogy of his own family—and in the *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreichs*—a history of Austria celebrating the Habsburg dynasty—which were both written under his supervision by the Augsburg 'Stadtschreiber' Clemens Jäger.[132] A case can be made that the stress on visual documentation in Samuel Quiccheberg's museological *treatise, Inscriptionis vel tituli Theatri amplissimi* of 1565, is the immediate consequence of Fugger and Strada's fruitful exchange of ideas: the treatise was written more or less under Fugger's supervision, and it refers repeatedly to Strada's works, in particular his corpus of numismatic drawings commissioned by Fugger.[133] Quiccheberg underlines the value of a well-ordered collection of images:

> With time assiduous patrons augment the quantity of albums and [loose] materials [in such a collection] to such an extent, that it becomes possible to master many disciplines solely from these images; for the

131 Vasari-Milanesi 1906, V, pp. 552–553.

132 Cf. above, Ch. 3.2.

133 Quiccheberg stresses Strada's role in the genesis of this section of the Fuggers' collections: 'Raimundus [the Younger] vero cum eodem fratre [= Hans Jakob], antiquarum statuarum librorumque in quibus innumera numismata privatim depingitur, tanta volumina adhibito Iacob à Strada conquisivit, ut si asportandi sunt, eis aliquot clitellarii muli debeant onerari, cuius argumenti exemplaria solum in Caesareis museis apud Maximilianum imperatorem conservantur augenturque'. (Quiccheberg/Roth 2000, p. 192); cf. above, Ch. 3.

> contemplation of one single image often more enriches the memory than several days reading of many pages [of text].[134]

This passage is echoed in Strada's admonition to Adam von Dietrichstein to continue the practice of drawing after examples, and to ensure that his young charges, the Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest, likewise continued this practice, which shows how seriously he took the didactic and scientific aspect of the image, and more in general of visual stimuli:

> <…>for in truth, dear Sir, by drawing one obtains knowledge of an infinite number of things, and one's judgment becomes much more excellent in all subjects, and far surpasses that [obtained by] other studies, the more so when practiced by a learned gentleman such as you are.[135]

These ideas were shared or taken up by other collectors of the time, and it is surely no coincidence that the three princely collections most closely connected to Fugger and Strada, those of the Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, his brother-in-law Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol and their nephew the Emperor Rudolf II each included huge collections of documentary images: illustrated books and manuscripts, atlases, albums of heraldry, portraits, technical inventions, in short every conceivable subject which could profitably be illustrated by drawn or engraved images.[136]

13.9.2 *The Material: Intended for Publication*

Strada's interest in images as sources of information is one of the recurring themes in his ambitious publishing programme, which will be surveyed in the next chapter. All the books that Strada published in his lifetime were illustrated, as were Ottavio Strada's *Series of Lives of the Roman Emperors*, based on Strada's own manuscript version, and Jacopo's technical designs which were published by his grandson, Ottavio Strada the Younger, in 1617.[137] Next to Serlio's *Settimo libro d'architettura* the most striking is doubtless Strada's edition

134 Quiccheberg/Roth 2000, p. 138: 'Subinde ergo huius instituti fasciculi et materiae à diligentioribus patronis adeo augentur, ut quam plurimam disciplinarum ex his solum imaginibus cognitio acquiri posse videatur, plus enim quandoque praestat memoriae inspectio solum alicuis picturae quam diuturna lectio multarum paginarum'.

135 Doc. 1566-03-01, quoted above, Ch. 11.6.

136 Fickler's inventory published in Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008; Archduke Ferdinand's 1596 inventory in Boeheim 1888, pp. CCLXXXVIII–CCXCIII, *Regest* 5556, fols. 382–401; Rudolf's 1607 inventory: Bauer-Haupt 1976, pp. 130–139

137 Cf. Bibliography, s.v. Strada, Jacopo; Strada, Ottavio [I] and Strada, Ottavio [II].

of Caesar's *Commentaries*, which was published in the same year. It was accompanied by exhaustive annotation and comments by four different scholars, some additional texts and the transcriptions of hundreds of inscriptions from Spain. Its most distinguishing feature, however, are the careful images of Caesar's battles and sieges, derived from a study of the text and other literature on ancient Roman warfare [below, Figs. 14.23–14.27]. As Ottavio Strada pointed out in a letter to his father shortly before publication, these images are very different from those supplied by Andrea Palladio in his edition of Caesar that was to come out in the same year.[138] Strada had obtained the originals or copies of these images from his patron Cesare Gonzaga, lord of Guastalla, whose father Ferrante had commissioned an 'outstanding architect', seconded by a 'most learned mathematician', to record and reconstruct the battle locations on the spot.[139]

In addition to the books Strada succeeded in printing, most of the works described in his *Index sive catalogus* were also intended to be illustrated, sometimes profusely. Though it also included objects which were proposed for immediate purchase, this *Index* is basically an outline of Strada's publication programme. He sent it to possible sponsors and paraphrased it in his letter to the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin.[140] Obviously the numismatic material takes pride of place, and several other archaeological and artistic projects have been referred to earlier in this chapter. But the index also describes illustrated treatises or series of images on other themes. Doubtless reflecting his Imperial patrons' interests, these include no less than five works on various aspects of Ottoman warfare [nrs 8, 9, 10, 11 and 39] as well as some compilations of Habsburg and Ottoman genealogy; but also a documentation of ancient (in this case medieval) weapons and war instruments preserved in Berne in Switzerland, which Strada had drawn himself (nr 15).

Strada's ideas about the value of illustration are best deduced from the very first item of the *Index*. This is a huge polyglot dictionary in eleven languages, on which he had had learned men working for over twenty-five years.[141] Strada's excessive encyclopaedic ambition transpires from the fact that after

138 Doc. 1574-12-5, full transcription in Appendix A; cf. Jansen 2004, pp. 188–191.

139 Caesar 1575 (verso of title page): 'Adiunctae sunt hisce quadraginta Figurarum tabulae, antehac nusquam visae<…>Hae tabulae quondam maximo labore et studio, sumptibusq; ingentibus comparatae sunt per Illustriss. D. Ferdinandum Gonzagam Proregem Siciliae<…> qui omnia praedicta loca tabulis Geographicis ad vivum delineari curavit opera et studio Architecti cuiusdam insignis: adiuncto illi simul Philosopho Mathematico viros doctissimo, istorumq; locorum omnium cum maritimorum, tùm terrestrium peritissimo<…>'.

140 The *Index sive catalogus* is given in its entirety in Appendix D.

141 *Index sive catalogus*, Appendix D, nr. 1.

this quarter of a century the work had progressed no further than the letter B. The letter A consisted of sixteen volumes, in all covering 2500 ample double folii 'written on both sides in very small letters'. These pages must have seemed black, impenetrable jungles, were it not for the thousands of images with which they were most literally illuminated. Again Strada first mentions his numismatic images, including images taken from gems and intaglios, but then continues with inscriptions 'and other figure of that sort, both painted panels and stones of precious marbles, and ancient tombs and monuments in which histories have been sculpted'. Apart from such by now traditional antiquarian material he moreover included designs ['delineationes'] of many other things which he had found or seen (and copied), 'of which an immense and infinite number is included in this dictionary'. Perhaps most important, he stresses twice that these images were inserted 'in their convenient order and place' or 'in their proper places': that is immediately adjacent to the subjects which they were intended to illustrate. A more immediate application of Quiccheberg's and his own convictions cited above can hardly be imagined.[142]

Likewise the use of images as a source of information is evident in the case of the *libri di disegni* produced in Strada's workshop, such as the *Magnum ac novum opus*, the voluminous numismatic compilation commissioned by Fugger and continued for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria: this consisted of about ten thousand very detailed numismatic drawings and is singled out for particular praise by Quiccheberg.[143] The style of the drawings included in these volumes bears this out: though carefully drawn, they can hardly qualify as works of art. They are standardized copies mostly after drawings or sketches Strada collected on his travels, blown up to the ample size required for the volumes, and in many cases probably based on an intermediary 'restored' version in Strada's own hand. This was certainly the case with the architectural reverses, which are careful reconstruction drawings of the monuments depicted, rather than faithful reproductions of the image as stamped on the coin: in this case the drawings pointedly serve as essays in antiquarian scholarship and in the advancement of knowledge, rather than as reproductions of works of art.

142 The description of the Dictionary proper is immediately followed by the description of the index to the whole dictionary (*Index sive catalogus*, nr. 2), which by itself also took up sixteen volumes, covering 3506 folii: it explicitly referred not only to the finding 'places' of the texts, but also those of the various objects illustrated. Strada did not propose his dictionary itself to Plantin, but proposed this index as a work of reference to be printed in three columns, and compared it to the concordance of Plantin's own famous polyglot Bible.

143 Cf. above, Ch. 3.3 and Figs. 3.23–3.34.

The same holds also for the *libri di disegni* and most of the single drawings from Strada's studio that document contemporary works of art: in these copies Strada never attempted to imitate exactly the 'handwriting' of the individual artist as observed in the model: the clear outline of these copies served in the first place to document a given figurative or ornamental 'invention'. This holds both for the hundreds of drawings after designs for goldsmith work and festival trappings based on models by Giulio Romano, Francesco Salviati and others and for the drawings after classical sculpture and contemporary figurative decoration. This approach provides a clue to Strada's attitude as a collector of drawings: in analogy to the albums of such copies compiled for his patrons, his own collection of autograph drawings functioned as an overflowing repertory of motifs and inventions, inventions which could not only serve in general as a source of inspiration for the many artists present at the Imperial court and for their patrons, but could also be adapted to practical use when the need arose.

13.9.3 *Strada's Attitude to his Drawings*

Strada's interest in practical use partly explains why the concept of originality or *Eigenhändigkeit* was of less importance to Strada than to Giorgio Vasari or Niccolò Gaddi. These Florentine art-theorists and connoisseurs had developed an approach which attempted to understand a given work of art and the development of an individual artist in terms of a more generally formulated history of art, and this approach manifested itself in the organization of their graphic collections. Vasari had selected the drawings for his celebrated *Libro de' disegni*, later in Gaddi's possession, in order to create some visual complement to his *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, and he only included outstanding and characteristic examples of the best artists from the several Italian schools since Cimabue. He considered the autograph drawing as the key to a given artistic personality, and 'modern' art-historical criteria such as authenticity and spontaneity are of importance. Consequently Vasari ordered his drawings according to artist, and the artists were grouped in local or regional schools.[144]

Strada's collection of drawings appears to have had a different purpose. His acquisitions concentrated on the work of Raphael and his most renowned pupils: that is on the school that was considered at the time—and for the next three centuries—as the ultimate model of perfection and elegance. Strada purchased Perino's and Giulio's collections *en bloc*, and apart from their autograph drawings these inevitably included many copies or studies drawn by their assistants and pupils. It is clear from Strada's descriptions in the *Index*

144 On Vasari's *Libro*, see Ragghianti Collobi 1974.

sive catalogus that he distinguished between the sketches, studies and *modelli* in Raphael 's, Perino's and Giulio's own hand, and the documentary drawings of their works he had commissioned from others, and Ottavio Strada's correspondence cited above show that he counted the former among his greatest treasures. But though Strada recognized the quality of the autograph drawings, he did not lose himself in Neoplatonic speculations about the divine genius of the artists who had created them: to him authenticity of the drawings appears to have been of less moment than the pictorial or architectural invention documented in the design. This suggests that for him the practical use of a given drawing, which could function as model, or at least as a source of inspiration for the artist who studied it, was of greater value than its status as an independent work of art. His is a rather pragmatic attitude, which concerns itself with the results of the artistic creation, rather than with the spiritual life which is its moving power. A *modello* for a fresco in the *Camera di Psiche* that had been worked out in detail, under Giulio's supervision, by one of his assistants, would therefore have been hardly less prized than Giulio's autograph sketch; after all the invention, and therefore the credit, was Giulio's in both cases.[145] For that reason Strada had ordered his drawings according to iconographic or functional criteria, that is according to subject, type of drawing, and potential use. As we have seen above, the misunderstanding that arose after his death between Ottavio Strada and Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany and his artistic advisers, including Niccolò Gaddi, was probably caused by this fundamental difference in attitude.

13.10 Conclusion

Strada's large scale commissions of documentary drawings, in addition to the original materials he had acquired from other artists, had a threefold purpose. On the one hand they were intended to serve as a source of knowledge and learning for all subjects that could not be sufficiently documented in written text alone, along the lines set out in Quiccheberg's treatise. On the other hand they were intended to serve as sources of inspiration for his patrons, their advisors and the artists and artisans they employed in their projects. Finally they provided the raw material for an ambitious publishing programme, which may have been partly motivated by commercial considerations, but which certainly

145 Perhaps Strada was influenced by Giulio's own practice; in contrast to Raphael, Giulio preferred to have his ideas executed by masters of the second or even third rank, rather than tolerate assistants whose quality might expose him to serious competition.

also was intended to promote the reception of the formal language common to the most admired art of Strada's own time and fatherland, and that of the Ancient world, in particular of the Roman Empire.

Altogether it appears that Strada's collection of graphic material was of quite extraordinary interest: exactly contemporary with Vasari's *Libro de' disegni*, it was one of the first and largest collections of autograph master drawings as such and was complemented by a huge quantity of specially commissioned documentary drawings, at least a part of which—one thinks of the illuminated drawings of Raphael's Vatican *Loggia*—was of the very highest quality imaginable. Covering a great many artistic and antiquarian subjects, it parallels and to some extent functioned as a model for the similar sections in the *Kunstkammer* of his patrons. In view of its contents, its aims, and the term *Musaeum* which Strada explicitly and proudly used to indicate his library and collection, it can moreover be considered as a precursor of Cassiano del Pozzo's famous *Musaeum chartacaeum*, though the dispersal of Strada's collection and the relatively scanty archival documentation make it difficult to decide to what extent these two paper museums overlapped in purpose, in method, perhaps even in actual contents.

CHAPTER 14

'Ex Musaeo et Impensis Jacobi Stradae, S.C.M. Antiquarius, Civis Romani': Strada's Frustrated Ambitions as a Publisher

14.1 Is There Life Beyond the Court?

One of the principal purposes of this study is better to understand the nature of Strada's function at court, as an indispensable condition to appreciate the significance of his presence for Imperial intellectual and artistic patronage and, more in general, for the cultural history in the Habsburg territories and Southern Germany. For that reason the greater part of the preceding chapters has been devoted to Strada's coming to the Vienna court and his subsequent employment in Imperial service. Even within the context of his career as a whole, such ample attention is warranted by the length of Strada's employment, the importance of his patrons, and the value he himself attached to his status as an Imperial servant and courtier. Nevertheless neither Strada's usefulness for Ferdinand I and Maximilian II and the character of the return they expected from his presence at court, nor Strada's view of his chosen profession can be explained without reference to the activities he engaged in independently from his work at court. His occupations before he came to Vienna have been described in my earlier chapters. Before discussing the activities he undertook simultaneously but quite separately from his tasks at court and after his resignation, it is useful briefly to sketch his private circumstances, with a view of the role his family played in his professional life.

14.2 Strada's Family

Shortly after his first contacts with Ferdinand I Strada came to Vienna, apparently ready to settle at court, because he had brought his wife and household.[1] By that time his family consisted of his wife, Ottilie Schenk von Rossberg, his sons Paolo (Nuremberg 1548) and Ottavio (Nuremberg 1550) and doubtless also at least the daughter on the occasion of whose wedding in 1569 Maximilian II accorded Strada a gift of 50 *Gulden*. Apart from her name we know hardly

1 Doc 1558-06-11, cited in Ch. 4.2.2.

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anything about Strada's wife, but she must have had certain talents, if Strada could leave his house and affairs in her hands during his frequent and long absences.[2] Strada's consciously stoic report to his old friend Jacopo Dani of her death in September 1574 suggests a basically happy marriage:

> Last week I had a most welcome letter from Your Honour, to which I have not responded at once as was my intention, because my wife suffered from such a grave illness of the chest, that in the five days that she was in bed the doctors have never been able to help her; and thus she has passed to a better life. May the Lord have her soul. We have been together for thirty years; there has never been a quarrel between us, nor even an impatient word.[3]

From Strada's letter to Adam von Dietrichstein of March 1566 we know that by that time the couple had seven children living.[4] Strada's will of July 1584 shows that four of these reached maturity, the two sons Paolo and Ottavio mentioned, and two daughters, Anna and Lavina. Anna had married Steffan Präussen and had had two daughters, but she herself had died by the time Strada dictated his will, and her two girls both had already taken monastic vows. Doubtless she had been given a dowry of 400 *Gulden*, as had her sister Lavina (or Lavia), who in 1584 was the widow of Ferdinand Luzenburger or Lützelburger.[5] The existence of a daughter Katharina who would have been Rudolf II's

2 On Ottilie Schenk von Rossberg's family, see above, Ch. 2.4.

3 Doc 1574-09-09: 'La settimana passata hebbi una della Signoria Vostra gratissima, et non gli rispose al'hora come era l'animo mio, per causa di una gravissima infirmità della punta che travagliava mia moglie, che in cinque giorni ch'è stata nel letto mai li medici l'anno potuto aiutare, et cossì è passata a meglior vitta. Il Signor Iddio habbi l'anima sua. Siamo stati 30 anni insieme, mai ci fu querella fra di noi, ne una mala parola hor patienza'. Both Maximilian and Rudolf sent their gentlemen of the chamber to attend her funeral, 'et vi era un monte di signori', confirming both her own status and that of her husband (Doc 1576-09-28).

4 Doc 1566-03-01: 'Vostra Signoria Illustrissima sappia che adesso son più povero che mai sia per lo avanti stato, e più carico di spesa che prima, perchè mi truovo vii figlioli vivi…'.

5 Doc 1584-07-01. The Lützelburger were probably close associates of the Stradas: it seems likely that the 'Barbara von Luxemburg', widow of one 'dr Adam', whom Ottavio married in 1583, was a relative of Ferdinand Lützelburger, perhaps his sister. In the eighteenth century this name made their French descendants boast of two Imperial Bohemian connections: not only with Rudolf, but also with the house of Luxemburg. Possibly the Lützelburger were Nuremberg patricians, business relations of the elder Strada with whom he had remained in contact; perhaps they were descendants of the Basle wood engraver Hans (Franck) Lützelburger († 1526), responsible for the blocks of Holbein's *Dance of Death*. On the other hand it cannot be excluded that they were members of the noble family resident in Saxony and Lusatia, which furnished officials to several Austrian Archdukes (Kneschke 1865, pp. 52–53).

mistress is a misapprehension of Svátek which needs to be corrected again and again.[6]

Some years after his wife's death, perhaps on his trip to the Elector August of Saxony in the autumn of 1576, Strada began a liaison with Margaretha Hummer or Himmer, from Marienberg in the Margraviate of Meissen, whom he describes in his will both as his 'Dienerin'—his servant—and his 'concubine'. In 1582 Rudolf II had legitimized the two sons she gave him, Tobia, born in 1578, and Martino, born in 1580. Martino appears to have died soon after, since he is not mentioned in Strada's will, but his sister Sicilia survived and was promised a legacy of hundred *Gulden*. Whereas their mother had to be content with her outstanding wages, a third of the revenue of Strada's various houses and gardens was assigned to Tobia's maintenance and education, and he was allotted a decent share in his father's inheritance. Moreover his father appointed curators expected to manage his patrimony until his majority and 'to raise him to diligent study, gravity and the fear of God'.[7]

Strada doubtless had taken equal care of the education of his legitimate male offspring, who were taught in the Vienna Jesuit College, founded by Peter Canisius in 1552 in response to Ferdinand I's request to Ignatius of Loyola.[8]

6 Svatek 1883; Svatek 1891–1892; cf. Ch. 0.1. In fact Rudolf II's mistress was Anna Maria Strada (1579–1629), the natural daughter of Ottavio Strada and one Mariana Hofmaisterin, according to his testament of 26 February 1606 [HHStA, *Obersthofmarschallamt*, *Karton* 624, *Konvolut* 1606/1]. She was the mother of two of Rudolf's illegitimate but recognized sons, Mathias and Carolus Faustus (but not of his favourite son Julius, who would become insane and is the subject of many legends and romantic tales). This is clear from the documents relating to Don Mathias of Austria in the Vienna Hofkammerarchiv, *Hoffinanz*, r., nr. 185, '1622, Jan. 18' ('*Konvolut* Don Mathias'). I am grateful to Hofrat Dr Christian Sapper who discovered and shared these documents with me at the time; see now his exhaustive study on Rudolf's children, which includes brief essays on the Strada family and Anna Maria's husband, Christoph Ranfft von Wiesenthal (Sapper 1999, pp. 30–44). They are corroborated by Ottavio Strada himself in the entry of Rudolf II in his ms. *Chronica thesauri antiquitatum* (Prague, University Library, cod. XI.D.20), p. lviii), which gives a survey of Rudolf's children from various mothers, of whom only Anna Maria Strada is mentioned by name. Her marriage to Christoph Ranfft is evident both from the 'Konvolut Don Mathias' and from Ottavio's will (cf. Jansen 1988, p. 132 and 143, n. 5). Much later, when already resident in France for many years, Ottavio Strada the Younger still kept in touch with his half-sister and her family, witness a letter by Ranfft to his brother-in-law of 1629 (Vienna, HHStA, RHR, *Privilegia Varii Generis* 1/10, fol. 80–87).

7 Doc 1584-07-01; Lietzmann 1997, pp. 391–392 suggests that Strada met Margaretha in Meissen on his way back to Vienna from Dresden; Doc 1582-00-00. Tobia was perhaps still alive when his brother Ottavio made his testament on 25 February 1605, though he had not kept in touch: 'Meinem unehlichen Bruder Tobiam verschaf ich 30 L. wan er noch lebt'. [HHStA, *Obersthofmarschallamt*, Karton 624, Konvolut 1606/1].

8 'In casa delli Jesuiti ò tenuto in donzina alle spese in compagnia d'altri gentilhuomini gli miei figliuoli'. (Strada to Jacopo Dani, Doc 1576-09-28).

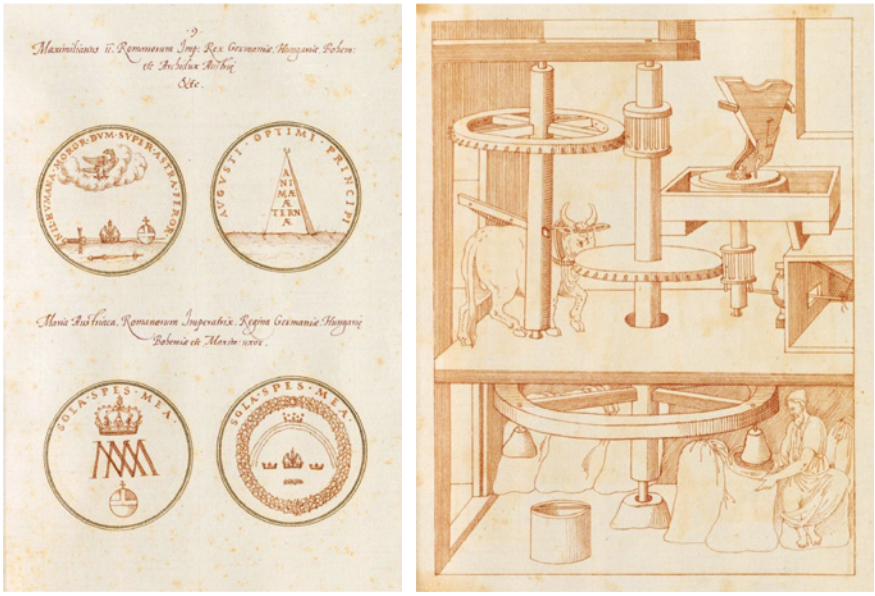

FIGURE 14.1 Ottavio Strada, Emblems of Emperor Maximilian II and Empress Maria, drawings in pen and coloured inks in his ms. Simbola Romanorum imperatorum, Cambridge (Mass.), Houghton Library.

FIGURE 14.2 Ottavio Strada, Design for a treadmill for grinding corn, drawing in pen and ink in his ms. Variae ac faciles molendina construendi inventiones; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

By the time they were adolescents their father took great pains to obtain some secure basic income for them, in the form of an ecclesiastical benefice or a secular sinecure. Thanks to Maximilian's explicit recommendation to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, the eldest, Paolo, was elected a canon of Mantua Cathedral.[9] When their education was complete both Paolo and Ottavio served as gentlemen of the chamber to Archduke Ernest and to King Rudolf respectively.[10] But both sons were also trained by their father himself, who

9 The success of Strada's attempt to obtain a benefice in Mantua cathedral for his son Paolo was doubtless due to Maximilian II's strong support (Docs. 1565-05-12, 1565-05-15; 1565-10-15; 1565-10-23; 1567-03-19; 1567-03-24; 1567-03-25; 1567-06-11; 1568-12-05; 1568-12-28). About the same time Strada attempted to obtain a benefice in Antwerp for one of his sons from Philip II, probably in return for the numismatic manuscript he had presented to the king; but when this turned out to be impossible he opted for a 'pensione' in Milan, and showing a quite pragmatic attitude: 'Io non domando più cosa di chiesa, ma una pensione; io non desidero già cosa grande, perchè domandandola mi fosse negata, ne anche tanto basso che non meritasse la spesa di averla domandata'. (Strada to Dietrichstein, Doc. 1566-03-01).

10 'Et alla Signoria Vostra io con li mei figliuoli salutiamo Vostra Signoria per sempre. Ottavio sta con Sua Maestà Cesarea et Pauolo con l'Arciducha Hernest, si che tutti doi sono

coached them in developing the humanist handwriting so important in his profession. True to the convictions he had expressed in his letter to Adam von Dietrichstein discussed in the preceding chapter, he also carefully taught them to draw: in Ottavio's case with conspicuous success, witness the many elegant illustrated manuscripts he later presented to his many patrons [Figs. 14.1–14.2].[11]

Having obtained his benefice in Mantua cathedral Paolo Strada appears to have taken holy orders, and to have led a simple, withdrawn life in Vienna. To finish his education and to extend his accomplishments his father sent him with the Imperial embassy led by Karel Rijm to Constantinople, where he was expected to learn Turkish and Arabic, as well as to obtain materials relating to his father's various projects.[12] On his return in 1573 Strada applied to Maximilian II to have him employed at court, giving a succinct account of his character and accomplishments:

> He is inclined to travel, and particularly in Turkey, of which he has some beginning of the language, and in practising it in the future he could completely master it. He is a spirited young man, who will go to the end of the earth if Your Majesty would order him to; he is twenty-five years old, born of a German mother at Nuremberg. He speaks Italian and

ancora servidori della Signoria Vostra, et io insieme'. (Strada to Jacopo Dani, Doc. 1577-10-04); 'Hora, Signor mio Carissimo, il gentilhuomo, il Signor Riccardo Riccardi io non l'ò visto, ma bene io ne feci cercare per Pauolo mio figliuolo (che hora egli serve qui l'Altezza del Arciducha Hernest con doi cavalli per gentill' huomo), et lui in mio nome lo invitò a vedere il mio studio'. (Strada to Jacopo Dani, Doc. 1582-11-02).

11 Drawings certainly attributable to Paolo Strada have not (yet) been identified.

12 Doc. 1569-11-05, Strada to Guglielmo, Duke of Mantua, Vienna, 5 November 1569: 'Il mio figliolo maggiore mando in Turchia con il Signor ambassador di Sua Maestà, dove starà qualche anno. Se in detto loco potra servire Vostra Excellenzia, lo faro con tutto il cuore et a me sarra summo favore che li comandi. Sua Maestà lo à pigliato in protetione, che come suo creado li sia raccomandato.'; Doc. 1571-11-20, Strada to Guglielmo, Duke of Mantua, Vienna, 20 November 1571: 'Mio figliolo il Canonico Sua Maestà Cesarea lo mantiene in Constantinopoli a imparare la lingua turca et araba; et quelli che vengono di là fanno fede a Sua Maestà Cesarea che fara bonissima riesita, e di già parla turcho comodamente. A mandato di qua la prima parte di Terentio scritto di sua mane—che à studiato in lingua turcha—scritto; et per quest'altra posta mandara il resto; io lo voglio poi presentare a Sua Maestà Cesarea. Esso mi scrive che dessidera servire in detto loco l'Excellenza Vostra Illustrissima in qualche cosa se gli'è buono. Me à anche mandato tutti gl'inventarii del libri graeci che sonno in tutte quelle librarie graeche di Constantinopoli; delli quali credo se ne averia bonissima conditione quando si volessero comprare, e quando fossero in queste bande saria un thesoro.'; Doc. 1573-06-17, Strada to Jacopo Dani, Vienna, 17 June 1573: 'In Constantinopoli da Pauolo mio figliuolo me ò fatto portare tutti gli Imperatori orientali, o in medaglie o in pittura che à pottuti trovare; et in spatio di 3 anni che vi è stato ne à fatto buona diligenza'.

> Latin; he is a youth ready to bear fatigue and will readily exert himself, if he is asked to.[13]

The latter phrase seems to indicate some lack of initiative on Paolo's part, something of which Ottavio certainly cannot be accused. It is clear that Strada's younger surviving son was a most promising youngster, who shared his father's interests, and like him was endowed with both intellectual and artistic talents. It was Ottavio who was carefully trained by his father as his successor and who at an early age accompanied him as his assistant. Swelling his father's suite of personal servants and local brokers and appraisers, his presence in Venice attracted the invidious attention of Strada's rival, Niccolò Stopio:

> [Strada] went around here in Venice<…>with scarlet hose, with his son as a page and three or four of these brokers as followers so that he seemed a great lord, but I assure your Lordship that people here don't appreciate such conduct …[14]

Stopio also refers to what must have been an important function of both Paolo and Ottavio, that is to translate and write their father's letters in German: born of a German mother and bred in Nuremberg and Vienna, their command of the written language was obviously far superior to that of their father and, once old enough, one or both of them habitually functioned as their father's German secretary.[15]

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13 Doc. 1573-00-00: Strada to Maximilian II, without place and date: 'Mi trovo mio figliuolo Pauolo Strada, il quale è sta[to] in Turchia tre anni, nel qual luogo à patito del male assai, come è noto a molti. Io con esso lui suplichiamo la Maestà Vostra Cesarea che li voglia esser raccomandato di un picciol servicio da gentilhuomo, o apresso alla Maestà Vostra, o vero a le Maestà delli Serenissimi suoi figliuoli. Esso è inclinato a far viaggi e massime in Turchia, dove à qualche principio della lingua, et nel praticarvi per lo avenire la potria finire de imparare. E giovine animoso, andara in capo del mondo se la Maestà Vostra cello comandara; è di eta di venticinque anni e di madre tedescha, nato a Nurimbergo. Parla italiano e latino; è giovine da durar fattica, et si affaticara voluntieri, ma che li sia comandato'.

14 Stopio to Fugger, 16 January 1568: '[Strada] <…>andava qui per la terra<…>con le calze di scarlato, col figliuolo per paggio et 3. o 4 di questi suoi sanzali appresso che pareva un conte et cavalliere, ma prometto a V.S. che questa terra non vuol tal procedere<…>' (BHStS, Kurbayern, *Äusseres Archiv* 4852, fol. 122).

15 *Ibidem*, 31 August 1567, fol. 56: 'Et così si pratica di longo, come penso haveria scritto a Sua Eccellenza, per la lettera che hora mando, la sop[ra]scrittion è di man sua, secondo la sua grammatica 'obsserv.mo', con 'b' et 'ss', non so se per di dentro havera anche detto secondo la sua rara dottrina 'efitt.mo', ò che l'havera fatto scrivere Thodesco dal figliuolo'. Various documents and letters preserved among Strada's files are in Ottavio or Paolo's hands.

14.3 Ottavio Strada's Role

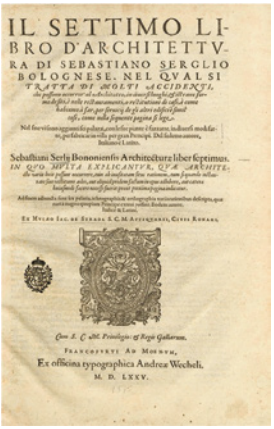
Stopio's letters to Fugger afford other occasional vignettes of Ottavio's role: for instance when in the late summer of 1567 Strada had to flee Mantua in fear of the Inquisition, Ottavio was to remain in the lodgings they had rented to oversee the execution of Strada's commissions, among which the manufacture of an ebony chest. At seventeen Ottavio in his innocence was no match for the dishonest joiner who made it, who sent him out of the house on some errand, and then broke open Strada's treasure chest and decamped with the considerable sum of three hundred *scudi*.[16] In later life Ottavio would be regularly employed as an agent in his father's business affairs, concluding deals, collecting payments, and supervising commissions. Thus in March 1574 Strada told Hans Jakob Fugger that he intended to send Ottavio to Venice 'for some business affairs of mine', offering to have him act on Fugger's behalf in the acquisition of some collections of antiquities, and from a letter to Jacopo Dani of the same year it transpires that Ottavio had recently travelled to the Southern Netherlands, from which he had brought numismatic materials—doubtless among other things.[17] When a year earlier Ottavio had visited Augsburg, he had shown Hans Fugger, Hans Jakob's cousin, several books of drawings. One of these particularly interested Fugger, a volume containing only 'Citata oder

16 BHStA, Kurbayern, *Äusseres Archiv* 4852, fol. 69, Stopio to Fugger, Venice 5 October 1567: 'Il Strada era per comprare qui assai medaglie da uno che me le ha gia offerte, ma li furono robbati da 300 [scu]di in Mantua, da uno che li faceva una cassetta d'Ebano in casa, essendo esso Strada partito per Verona, per paura della Inquisitione<…>per il che se ne andò subito via, per Verona, lasciando il suo puto in Mantua, con collui che fece la cassetta, il quale mandò poi fuori il figlio in un servizio, et in quel mezzo ruppe la serratura ad una cassetta ove erano li danari, et scampo via, et il puto andò poi con quello haveva trovato avanzare in casa a trovare il padre a Verona, et non fidandosi ne anche ivi venne poi di longo a Ven[eti]a, over per rispetto de l'Imp[erato]re non li haveriano lasciato dare molestia<…>'.

17 Strada to Hans Jakob Fugger (Doc. 1574-03-01): 'a Dio piacendo voglio mandar Ottavio mio figliolo a Vinetia per alcuni mei negotij, e se pole servire la Signoria Vostra in qualche cosa lo farà voluntieri. Anche se Sua Excellenza vole che faccia praticha con li Vendramini di quel suo studio delle antiquità, o vero con quello del Cavaliero Mozenigo, qual sia il più bello che ora in Vinetia si trovi, del quale intendo se ne vole desfare, io farò che ne cavarà li inventarij, e si mandaranno a Sua Excellenza, si che Vostra Signoria me potrà avisar del tutto quello vorà che si faccia.'; Strada to Jacopo Dani (Doc. 1574-07-11): 'Del favore che Vostra Signoria mi dice che Sua Altezza mi farra per la mia Series, ritrovandosene ne molte doppie, la ringratio con tutto il cuore, et gliene basio le mani; ma creddo che poche or mai me ne manchi, et poche se ne truovi che io non l'habbi; perchè in tanti anni ch'io vi sonno a torno, et in tante parti dove son stato, et doppo Ottavio mio figliuolo che ultimamente è stato in Fiandra, creddo che habbiamo ragunato tutto quello che si truova'.

hirnhauben'—ornamented helmets—which was doubtless similar or identical to the album *Galearum antiquarum* discussed above [Ch. 4.3.5, Figs. 4.26–4.31]. The commercial nature of such contacts is clear: Fugger subsequently wrote to an agent in Vienna to enquire, but cautioned him to dissimulate his interest, fearing that 'should he know that I would like to have it, he would make me pay dearly for it'.[18]

By that time the affairs in which Jacopo employed Ottavio were mostly related to his publishing project, as is evident from a long report Ottavio wrote in the late autumn of 1574, in response to a lost letter from his father, detailing his activities in Frankfurt and Nuremberg. This interesting document provides some information about Ottavio's character, showing him in a not very favourable light, for instance in his description of the treatment he meted out to a drunken servant and in his comment on the engraver Martino Rota's waywardness.[19] But it also provides some more general idea of the Stradas' business interests, and of Ottavio's role in his father's concerns.



FIGURES 14.3–14.4 Titlepage and dedication to Vilém z Rožmberka of Strada's edition of Sebastiano Serlio, Settimo libro d'Architettura, Frankfurt 1575.

FIGURE 14.5 Martino Rota, portrait of Ottavio Strada at the time he was overseeing the printing of the Settimo Libro, engraving, 1574; Windsor, Royal Library.

18 Hans Fugger to Hans Gärtner in Vienna, 29 April 1573: 'Unnder ander gemalten büechern, so obgemelter Octavian Strada mir gezaigt, ist ainer, darin lautter Citata oder hirnhauben gemacht. Da ichs khündt umb ain billiges bekhummen, wollt ich mich mit im einlassen, ir müget mit geschicklichkhait solliches bei im anbringen. Er ist gar ein heelkonz, und da er merckhen solte, das ich das buech gern hett, wuerd er mirs theuer salzen'; quoted in Lehmann 1956–1960, I, pp. 264–265.

19 'Del mio servidor, lo caciarò al bordello, perchè non val nulla; io li ò basimato pareche volte, ma non iova niente. Io ne scrissi in Augusta per un ragazo fidato; costui non lasserebe se l'Imperatore lo vietasse di imbriecarsi, et quando lo imbriaco, vole bravar; in Francoforte ero sforzato di rumperli la testa in 3 lochi. Quando mi partirò de qui lo cac-

Ottavio's principal task was overseeing the printing of Sebastiano Serlio's *Settimo libro d'Architettura*. This implied preparing the definitive manuscript of the text for the typesetters, and included dealing with an anonymous 'Dotor Mantuano'—according to Ottavio the only learned Italian present in Frankfurt—who was to correct the Italian text, and with the printer-publisher, Andreas Wechel, who had agreed to print the book. It also implied the acquisition of the paper, which involved him in negotiations with the other notable Frankfurt printer, Sigmund Feyerabend, who reassured him about the quality of the paper he had acquired. Feyerabend also was instrumental in finding a translator for a planned German edition of the book. For the *Settimo Libro* Ottavio did not need to commission the illustrations, which the elder Strada had had engraved in Venice, though a part of the woodblocks unfortunately had been damaged in the transport to Frankfurt.[20] Ottavio did, however, commission a new woodcut with the coat of arms of Vilém z Rožmberk, to whom his father had decided to dedicate the edition. Moreover he was engaged in the preparation of several other projects, likewise trying to find a translator for the texts and commissioning the designs and overseeing the execution of the woodcuts or engravings for these. He also bought a quantity of books from Feyerabend, a few of which he thought to retain for the *Musaeum*, but most of which he intended to use to pay the engravers in kind, or which he suggests his father could use to barter against other books. At the same time he was expected to maintain the network his father had built up

ciarò via' and 'Del Martino non è pacato, se ben è povero homo e superbo; Voi vedrete che Dio lo castigar Et se lui non vi vole render quelli danari che li prestai bisogno far conto che li abbia per 'l mio ritratto. Quando havera fame 'l vera a lavorare, et fate lavorare in la Series se'l vora lavorar; più presto ci daria di più quache [sic] coseta per rame, acciò che andasi inanti'. His profiting from Sigmund Feyeraend's discomfiture by acquiring at half its value a fur-lined chamber cloak, which the printer was not allowed to wear because of the Frankfurt sumptuary laws, shows that he knew how to drive a hard bargain: 'Io comprai una veste di notte di lui per 20 Fl.; sapiate che li è costato a lui più che 40, quella di tomascho fodrata davanti con mar[tora?] largo un palmo, et l`è bella nova; lui non la pole portare perchè li signori li anno vietato, et lui non à portato 3 volte. S'avesse fatto far una solum di Mochardo [? a type of fabric?] me havera costato quel danaro, et li pago in due Fiera, hogni Fiera 10 Fl., et se non havesse trovato questa ventura, saria stato sforzato di farmene una. Perchè la notte mi levo et lavoro, et la stufa è freda, mi bisogno provedere d'una, se non havessi havuta questa<…>' (Doc. 1574-12-05, Appendix A); the letter is discussed in detail in Jansen 2004, pp. 192–193).

20 In the published book the defects in the illustrations Strada signalled ('per conto che sonno mal stampate, et che non venghino ben negri' are not really noticeable; though the black fields filling the window frames are not always black through and through, I find it difficult to imagine how this could have been the result of the damage caused by faulty packing mentioned by Ottavio. Perhaps Strada had the damaged ones recut?

over the years, visiting or corresponding with business relations, patrons and potential collaborators.[21]

For many of these activities Ottavio needed ready money to pay his various contributors, and his letter includes much information about his expenses and a repeated request to send further funds as soon as possible: 'Try hard, father, to send me as much money as you can, for when I can do little here, my staying is not worth the expense'.[22] Ottavio was sufficiently in his father's confidence to counsel him about the feasibility of various projects, and to be entrusted with these negotiations and with large amounts of money. Nevertheless Jacopo followed Ottavio's activities quite closely and critically: thus he appears to have objected to his departure from Frankfurt to Nuremberg, which Ottavio justified by an outbreak of the plague. Referring to testimony of his father's business associate Paolino Nieri, Paolo stressed that it claimed over two hundred victims a week, and that Feyerabend himself had decided to flee to Nuremberg in Ottavio's company. Yet Ottavio's letter, business-like but at the same time chatty and intimate, as yet gives no inkling of the clamorous breach in the relations between father and son which took place a few years later, which led to Strada largely disinheriting his once favourite son, citing no less than sixteen alleged 'crimes'. At least some of these related to a less than honest stewardship in the printing business, an allegation to which I will return later in this chapter.

14.4 The Publishing Project: Strada Ambitions as a Publisher

14.4.1 The *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum*

Ottavio's letter is a fascinating introduction to Strada's ambitions as a publisher. These were probably at least in part the result of his intimacy with the great book-lover and collector Hans Jakob Fugger and the many scholars in his

21 Ottavio mentions contacts with Paolino and Francesco Nieri or Neri, merchants from Lucca, his father's business partners, and with the Werdeman, bankers in Nuremberg; Mino Celsi and Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, marquis of Oria, the two famous evangelical exiles from Italy who were involved in establishing the texts of the Serlio volumes; and the humanist Giovanni Battista Fonteo, employed to provide texts for another project; he promises to visit Vilém z Rožmberk in his father's name. The level of Ottavio's contacts at the Imperial court are indicated by his request that his father greet 'Messer Martin', doubtless Strada's old acquaintance, Maximilian's chamberlain Martín de Guzmán, and Alfonso II del Carretto, marquis of Finale, at the time at court to plead the restitution of his territories.

22 DOC 1574-12-05: 'Circate, Signor Padre, di mandarmi più denari che potiate<…>, perchè facendo poco qui non merita la spesa'.

FIGURES 14.6–14.9 Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, Lyon 1553: pages 4–5 (coins and vitae of women related to Julius Caesar) and 328–329: coins and vitae of Rupert, Elector Palatine and King of the Romans, and Emperor Sigismund iv. Note that when no 'authentic' image was available, an empty ring afforded space for a later manuscript addition.

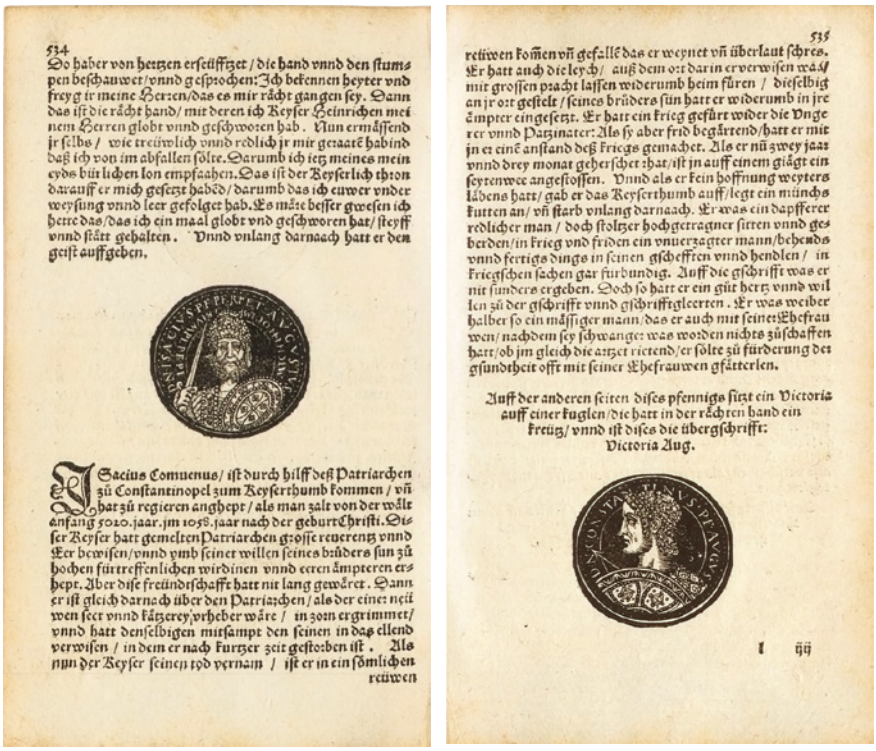
circle, including one of the first systematic bibliographers, the famous natural historian Conrad Gesner. Practical experience of the printing house Strada obtained at the latest in 1553, when he supervised the printing of the Latin and French editions of his numismatic treatise in Lyon, but it seems likely that through his sojourn in Germany he had a long-standing acquaintance with the trade as practiced in Nuremberg, where he had settled in the early 1540s, and in Frankfurt and Augsburg.

That Strada intended to set up as a publisher himself, rather than just as an author, is already evident on the title page of his Lyon *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*: though the colophon gives the name of the printer, Jean de Tournes, the title page gives as publisher's address 'Lugduni: Apud Jacobum de Strada et Thomam Guerinum', and shows a printer's mark which is Strada's own [cf. above, Fig. 3.18]. The book, the printing of which was finished on the sixth of November 1553, was provided with a copyright privilege conceded by the French King Henry II to 'nos bien aymez Iacques de Strada Mantouan et Thomas Guerin Marchand Libraire demourant à Lyon'.

That Guerin is mentioned as a *marchand-libraire* suggests that he was the partner who contributed the practical know-how and contacts; yet in view of the use of Strada's device on the title page there can be little doubt that he must be considered the senior partner, who not only contributed the content of the book, but also provided the major investment for its production. That he could do so doubtless was due to financial support accorded by Hans Jakob Fugger, to whom both editions of the book were dedicated [cf. above, Fig. 3.19]. In the following a chronological review will be given of Strada's largely unsuccessful attempts to set up as a publisher on a grand scale.

That this was a serious ambition and that Strada had prepared it well is already clear from his first production. The *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* was a beautiful book, printed with large margins on high-quality paper and illustrated by a huge number of specially prepared woodcut illustrations of which Strada, according to his preface, was quite proud [Figs. 14.6–14.9]. Even more significantly, the book was simultaneously printed in a Latin and a French edition: Strada must have gone to some lengths to find and to remunerate a sufficiently learned translator. He spotted the talent of the Orléans humanist Jean Louveau, who after having translated the *Epitome du Thrésor*, would build up a modest reputation as a translator of various Greek (Eustathius), Latin (Apuleius, Erasmus) and Italian texts published by Lyon printers such as De Tournes, Granjon and Rouillé.[23] The book was a success, doubtless

23 Rigoley de Juvigny, *Les Bibliothèques françoises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier, sieur de Vauprivas, Nouvelle édition*, IV, Paris 1773, p. 453.



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So haber von heretzen erselifftzet / die hand vnnd den stumpen beschauwet / vnnd gesprochen: Ich bekennen heyter vnd frey ir meine Herren / das es mir rächt gangen sey. Dann das ist die rächt hand / mit deren ich Keyser Heinrichen meinem Herren globt vnnd geschworen hab. Nun ermässend jr selbs / wie treüwlich vnnd redlich jr mir geraaté habind daß ich von im abfallen sölte. Darumb ich ietz meines meins eyds bürlichen lon empfaahen. Das ist der Keyserlich thron darauff er mich gesetzt habēd / darumb das ich euwer vnderweysung vnnd leer gefolget hab. Es mäte besser gewesen ich hette das / das ich ein maal globt vnd geschworen hat / steyff vnnd stätt gehalten. Vnnd vnlang darnach hatt er den geist auffgeben.

Isacius Comnenus / ist durch hilff deß Patriarchen zů Constantinopel zum Keyserthumb kommen / vñ hat zů regieren anghept / als man zalt von der wält anfang 5020. jaar. jm 1058. jaar nach der geburt Christi. Dieser Keyser hatt gemelten Patriarchen gr:osse reverentz vnnd Er bewisen / vnnd vmb seiner willen seines brüders sun zů hochen fürtreffenlichen wirdinen vnnd eren ämpteren erhept. Aber diese freündschafft hatt nit lang gewäret. Dann er ist gleich darnach über den Patriarchen / als der einer neüwen secr vnnd kätzerey / vrheber wäre / in 3orn ergrimmet / vnnd hatt denselbigen mitsampt den seinen in das ellend verwisen / in dem er nach kurtzer zeit gestorben ist. Als nun der Keyser seinen tod vernam / ist er in ein sömlichen

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reüwen komen vñ gefallē das er weynet vñ überlaut schreyt. Er hatt auch die leych / auß dem ort darin er verwisen was / mit grossen pracht lassen widerumb heim füren / dieselbigē an jr ort gestelt / seines brüders sün hatt er widerumb in jre ämpter eingesetzt. Er hatt ein krieg gefürt wider die Ungerer vnnd Patzinater: Als sy aber frid begärtend / hatt er mit jn er einē anstand deß kriegs gemachet. Als er nů zwey jaar vnnd drey monat geherschet hat / ist jn auff einem giägt ein seyrenwee angestossen. Vnnd als er kein hoffnung weyters läbens hatt / gab er das Keyserthumb auff / legt ein münchs kutten an / vñ starb vnlang darnach. Er was ein dapfferer redlicher man / doch stoltzer hochgetragner sitten vnnd geberden / in krieg vnd friden ein vnuerzagter mann / behendes vnnd fertigs dings in seinen gschefften vnnd handlen / in kriegschen sachen gar fürbündig. Auff die gschrifft was er nit sunders ergeben. Doch so hatt er ein gůt hertz vnnd wil len zů der gschrifft vnnd gschrifftgleerten. Er was weiber halber so ein mässiger mann / das er auch mit seiner Ehefrawen / nachdem sey schwanger was worden nichts zůschaffen hatt / ob jm gleich die ärtzet rietend / er sölte zů förderung der gsundtheit offt mit seiner Ehefrawen gfätterlen.

Auff der anderen seiten dises pfennigs sitzt ein Victoria auff einer kuglen / die hatt in der rächten hand ein kreütz / vnnd ist dises die übergschrifft:
Victoria Aug.

FIGURES 14.10–14.11 Copies after Jacopo Strada, images of Isaac I Komnenus and Constantine X Doukas in Diethelm Keller, Kunstliche und aigendtliche Bildtnussen der rhomischen Keyseren, ihrer Weybern und Kindern, Zürich 1558, which is a reworking of Strada's 1553 Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, for which new woodcuts were made, copied from Strada's illustrations.

partly thanks to the large quantity of woodcut illustrations, attributed to Bernard Salomon, that Strada had commissioned for it. It filled a niche in the demand for easily digestible information about the history of Imperial Rome, and about its coins: because of their relative accessibility, their (often) relatively low cost, and their small bulk, these had become the most widely coveted collector's items both among scholars and aristocratic and bourgeois amateurs.[24]

24 The *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* is one of the earliest of a host of similar illustrated numismatic treatises published in the mid-sixteenth century: cf. Cartier 1937, pp. 357–359; Rave 1959; Jansen 1991, pp. 59 and 66; Haskell 1993, 'The Early Numismatists', pp. 11–25;

FIGURES 14.12–14.13 Portrait of The Emperor Caligula, from Jacopo Strada, Imperatorum Romanorum omnium orientalium et occidentalium verissimae imagines, Zürich 1559; this reuses a selection of Strada's texts to accompany a reissue of a set of earlier woodcuts woodcuts by Rudolf Wyssenbach (the portraits), Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch the Younger (ornamental frames) and Peter Flötner (ornamental vignettes).

It was even such a success that the volume was reprinted repeatedly within the next five years, both in a Latin and a German edition illustrated by exact copies of Strada's woodcut illustrations—the expense this involved indicates that its publisher, Andreas Gessner at Zürich, expected quite substantial sales [Figs. 14.10–14.11]. Gessner also published a splendid folio edition in which Strada's biographies were used as textual complement to a series of rather splendid Imperial portrait heads, earlier woodcuts by Rudolf Wyssenbach dating back to 1547, which were set in full-page decorative frames newly-cut by Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch the Younger [Fig. 14.12–14.13]. That these editions do not reuse Strada's original woodblocks indicate that they were pirated editions, in which Strada himself had not been involved: a supposition strengthened by

Jansen 1993, pp. 212–213; Dekesel 1997, pp. 871–875; Cunnally 1999, pp. 26–33, 208–209; Pelc 2002, cat. nrs. 96 (pp. 207–208) and 142, 143, 144 (pp. 253–255); Heenes 2003, pp. 18–20.

Ottavio's advice in his 1574 letter to his father not to publish a German edition of the *Epitome*, because a German edition already existed, 'with the same medals as ours'.[25]

14.4.2 *The Copyright Privilege of January 1556*

The many copies preserved are another indication that the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* was a success. Certainly it also will have increased Strada's prestige, so it is not surprising that he intended to continue the experiment. So once returned to Nuremberg in late 1555, he prepared a request to the Emperor Charles V for a copyright privilege pertaining to a number of books he was preparing and intended to publish at short notice. The privilege was granted on 8 January 1556. It describes five quite substantial encyclopaedic historical works. The first of these is a complete edition of the *Fasti consulari et triumphali*, a huge inscription listing the names of the annually elected magistrates of the Roman Republic.[26] As mentioned in Chapter 3.6, the fragments of this had been found in the Forum Romanum in 1546, and on the initiative of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had been collected and set up in a room in Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol. Known since then as the *Fasti capitolini*, this serial inscription was of great value in establishing the chronology of the Roman Republic and the Empire, and had already given rise to several publications and controversies. It had been transcribed and edited by Onofrio

25 Doc. 1574-12-05: 'Della Epitome l'è ben vero che sarebe un bella cosa se fusse stampato in totesco, ma 'l de già vi è stampato in todesco, con le medeme medaglie come le nostre; però se volesse far quella spesa bisognerei far le roversi apresso, et costarebe troppo'. Strada 1557 was an exact copy of Strada's own edition, printed by Andreas Gessner in Zürich. Diethelm Keller's *Kunstliche und aigendtliche Bildtnussen der rhomischen Keyseren, ihrer Weybern und Kindern*, Zürich 1558, is a reworking of Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* and Guillaume Rouillé's *Promptuaire des médailles*, using woodcuts carefully copied from Strada's book; *Imperatorum Romanorum omnium orientalium et occidentalium verissimae imagines*, Zürich 1559, uses a selection of Strada's biographies to explain Rudolf Wyssenbach's earlier series of woodcuts. Both books were again published by Andreas Gessner in Zürich. Surveys of all editions in Dekesel 1997, pp. 871–875, cat. nr 5/ S70–S74 (Cat. 5), and Pelc 2002, cat. nrs. 96 (pp. 207–208) and 142, 143, 144 (pp. 253–255).

26 Doc 1556-01-08: 'Fasti in Romana historia ab urbe condita, hoc est regum, consulum, dictatorum, magistrorum equitum, tribunorum militum consularis potestatis, censorum, imperatorum et aliorum quorundam magistratuum Romanorum, una cum ovationibus eorum et triumphis, a Romulo rege primo usque ad imperatorum Carolum Quintum augustum, tum ex Capitolio tum reliquis antiquissimis monumentis desumptos Onophrio Panvinio, Veronensi, auctore, tomus primus, ex museo Jacobi de Strada, Mantuani antiquarii'.

Panvinio, a prodigiously learned young Dominican working in the orbit of Cardinal Farnese and a good friend and protégé of Antonio Agustín. Doubtless it was through Agustín that Panvinio and Strada met; in any case he was involved in drawing up the contract which gave Strada the right to publish Panvinio's efforts.[27]

Since the copyright privilege indicates Panvinio's *Fasti* as '*Tomus Primus*', Strada appears to have conceived it as a companion volume of his own numismatic compendium of the Roman Empire, which follows it in the copyright privilege and is indicated as *Tomus Secundus*. This was a 'universal description' of all the coins issued by the Roman Emperors and their successors from Julius Caesar up to the ruling Emperor, Charles V.[28] It is in fact the numismatic *corpus* announced in the preface to the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, which, as its title indicates, is a resumé of this more ambitious work. It was based on the collections of sketches, casts, descriptions of Roman coins Strada had brought together: the same material on which he drew for the *Magnum ac novum opus*, the corpus of numismatic drawings commissioned by Hans Jakob Fugger, and the accompanying volumes of detailed descriptions of obverses and reverses of each individual coin-type.[29] In the following years it would grow in ambition and size, but it would never be printed, though it doubtless provided the basis for Ottavio Strada's *De vitis imperatorum et caesarum Romanorum*, posthumously published in three volumes in Frankfurt in 1615–1618 [below, Figs. 14.47–14.48].[30] That Strada conceived Panvinio's *Fasti et triumphi* and his own numismatic corpus as complementary volumes is not illogical: the huge epigraphic state calendar, listing all the magistrates of the Roman Republic and the Empire, and the coins issued by the Emperors, together provide the principal authentic, contemporary sources on the chronology and the political history of the Roman Empire.

The ecclesiastical history of the Empire was to be served by the publication of another work that Strada had obtained from Onofrio Panvinio, a 'brief description' of the Popes from St Peter up to the ruling pontiff, Paul IV Carafa, giving a summary survey of the election, the principal acts and death of each Pope, and a list of the cardinals they created. It is a work of reference

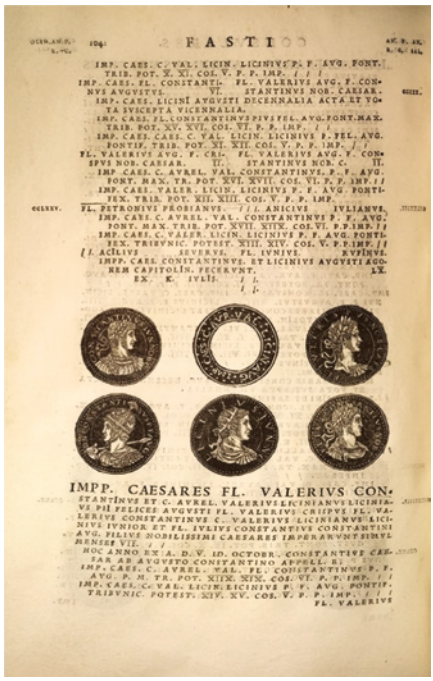
27 Doc. 1557-11-27; cf. above, chs. 3.6.2 and 4.2.

28 Doc 1556-01-08: 'Universalis descriptio numismatum omnium imperatorum ex aere, argento et auro a Julio Caesare usque ad Carolum Quintum imperatorem augustum, que quidem hodie in Italia, Gallia, Germania variisque hinc inde locis inveniri potuerunt, Jacobo de Strada, Mantuano antiquario, aucthore, tomus secundus'.

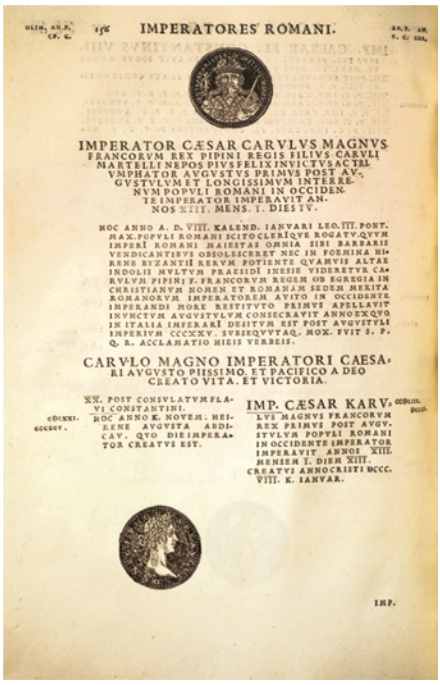
29 Described above, Ch. 3.3.

30 Cf. below, Ch. 14.5.4.

FASTI
ET TRIVMPHI ROM.
A ROMVLO REGE VSQVE
ad Carolum V. Cæs. Aug.
SIVE EPITOME
Regum, Consulum, Dictatorum, Magistror. equitum, Tribunorum militum consulari potestate, Censorum, Impp. & aliorum Magistratuum Roman. cum orientalium tum occidentalium, ex antiquitatem monumentis maxima cum fide ac diligentia desumpta.)
ONVPHRIO PANVINIO VERONENSI F.
AVGVSTINIANO AVTHORE.
Addita sunt suis locis Impp. & orientalium, & occidentalium omnium Icones, ex vetustissimis numismatis quàm fidelissimè delineatæ.
Ex Musæo Iacobi Stradæ Mantuani, civis Romani, Antiquarij.
Cum Cæs. Ma.ᵗᵉ Sac.ᵐᵉ Rom. Regis, ac Ill.ᵐᵉ Senatus Venet. gratia, & Privilegijs.
VENETIIS, Impensis Iacobi Strade Mantuani.
M. D. LVII.


FASTI
IMPP. CAESARES FL. VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS ET C. AVREL. VALERIVS LICINIANVS LICINIVS PII FELICES AVGVSTI FL. VALERIVS CRISPVS FL. VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS C. VALERIVS LICINIANVS LICINIVS IVNIOR ET FL. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS CONSTANTINI AVG. FILIVS NOBILISSIMI CAESARES IMPERARVNT SIMVL MENSES VII.

CONSVLARES.
IMP. CAESAR C. AVRELIVS VALERIVS FLAVIVS CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR AC TRIVMPHATOR PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AVGVSTVS GERMANIC. SARMATICVS FRANCICVS GOTHICVS VVANDALICVS L. POP. ROMANI IMPERATOR. ET FL. VALERIVS CRISPVS FL. VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR. C. VALERIVS LICINIANVS LICINIVS IVNIOR. ET FL. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS IVNIOR NOBILISSIMI CAESARES IMPERAR. TER. ANN. II.
IMP. CAES. C. VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. P. M. TRIB. POT. XIX. XX. COS. VI. DES. VII. P. P. IMP.
IMP. CAES. CONSTANTINI AVG. VICENNALIA NICOMEDIAE ACTA VOTA SVSCEPTA TRICENNALIA.
IMP. CAES. C. AVRELIVS CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. P. M. TRIB. POT. XX. XXI. COS. VII. P. P. IMP.
IMP. CAES. C. AVRELIVS CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. VII.
FL. IVLIVS AVG. F. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. VII.
IMP.


IMPERATORES ROMANI.
IMPERATOR CÆSAR CARVLVS MAGNVS FRANCORVM REX PIPINI REGIS FILIVS CAROLI MARTELLI NEPOS PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AC TRIVMPHATOR AVGVSTVS PRIMVS POST AVGVSTVLVM ET LONGISSIMVM INTERREGNVM POPVLI ROMANI IN OCCIDENTE IMPERATOR IMPERAVIT ANNOS XLIII. MENS. I. DIES IV.
CARVLO MAGNO IMPERATORI CAESARI AVGVSTO PIISSIMO, ET PACIFICO A DEO CREATO VITA, ET VICTORIA.
XX. POST CONSVLATVM FLAVI CONSTANTINI.
IMP. CÆSAR KARVLVS MAGNVS FRANCORVM REX PRIMVS POST AVGVSTVLVM POPVLI ROMANI IN OCCIDENTE IMPERATOR IMPERAVIT ANNOS XIIII. MENSEM I. DIEM XIII. CREATVS ANNO CHRISTI DCCC. VIII. K. IANVAR.
IMP.

FIGURES 14.14–14.17 Title page and pages 104–105 of Strada's edition of Onofrio Panvinio's Fasti et triumphi Rom. a Romulo Rege usque ad Carolum v. Caes. Aug., Venice 1557: coins of the successors of Constantine II and of Charlemagne.

that mirrors and complements Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, which presented similar abridged lives of the Emperors.[31] So it is doubtless no coincidence that Strada published Panvinio's book under the title *Epitome pontificum romanorum*.

The copyright privilege mentions two other works which were never published, but which in future would loom ever larger in Strada's publishing projects. In fact it was Strada's increasing ambition for these projects and the megalomaniac size they assumed over the course of the years that prevented their realization. The first is a 'universal' dictionary in the three classical languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, explaining all words and concepts, both ancient and contemporary, in these three languages.[32] This was something which had been attempted before. What was exceptional was Strada's intention to illustrate the entries not only with text passages, but also with 'figures' (here: tables and schemes) and 'images' drawn from his collection of ancient and modern sources. The use of appropriate images to illustrate the argument was also intended in the last book mentioned in the privilege, a corrected Latin translation of Leandro Alberti's 1550 *Descrittione di tutta Italia*.[33]

14.4.3 The Two Books Actually Published: The *Fasti et Triumphi* and *Epitome Pontificum*

Of the five titles mentioned in the copyright privilege of January 1556 only two, the books compiled by Onofrio Panvinio, were ever published. These were printed in Venice at Strada's expense, as is explicitly stated on the title pages and confirmed by the bookplate, which is a variant of that used for the Lyon *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* [Figs. 14.14 and 14.18]. Perhaps Strada may have been aware that the Lyon *Epitome* was being pirated by a Swiss printer at this very time, which may have been the reason why he took the trouble to obtain additional copyright privileges from Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, and from Lorenzo Priuli, Doge of Venice, included with that obtained from Charles

31 Doc. 1556-01-08: 'Brevis pontificum Romanorum descriptio a sancto Petro apostolo usque ad Paulum IIII. Caraffa Neapolitanum, cum singulorum conclavi et electione, item cardinalium creationes, tituli, legationes, patria, insignia et obitus, Onophrio Panvino, Veronense, Augustiniano authore, ex museo Jacobi de Strada, Mantuani antiquarii'.

32 Doc. 1556-01-08: 'Ingens thesaurus seu universale dictionarium rerum et verborum omniumque tam antiquitatum quam novitatum, non solum Latine, Grece et Hebraice explicatis, verum etiam figuris et imaginibus tam ex vetustis monumentis quam novis excerptis expressarum ex museo Jacobi de Strada, Mantuani antiquarii'.

33 Doc. 1556-01-08: 'Descriptio totius Italiae, antehac a F. Leandro Alberto, Bononiense, in Italo sermone scripta, nunc vero in Latinum sermonem conversa et a multis erroribus vindicata, preterea iconibus aliisque rebus scitu dignis expolita, ex museo ut supra<...>'.

v in the book itself.[34] The Venetian privilege, dated 27 April 1557, is a *terminus post quem* for the actual printing of the book, the first sheets of which came off the press in October or November of that year.[35]

Strada paid much attention to the appearance of the books: both are set in beautiful type; the *Fasti et triumphi* is printed in two colours and was illustrated with imperial portraits, for which the woodblocks of the Lyon *Epitome* were reused [Figs. 14.15–14.17]; the *Epitome pontificum* was illustrated with woodcuts representing the coats of arms of each Pope and of the principal cardinals created during their reign [Figs. 14.19–14.20]. Unfortunately Strada paid less attention to the actual typesetting of the *Fasti et triumphi*, which resulted in an ill-corrected volume with typographical errors which made the book unreliable as a work of chronological reference.[36] Understandably this infuriated Panvinio, who was in Venice at the time and decided to disavow

EPITOME
PONTIFICVM ROMANORVM
A S. Petro usque ad Paulum IIII.

CARDINALES

FIGURES 14.18–14.20 Strada's edition of Onofrio Panvinio's Epitome pontificum Romanorum, Venice 1557: title page; page 374: beginning of the entry of Leo X de' Medici, and p.379, part of the list and relevant illustrations of the fifth creation of cardinals during Leo's pontificate.

34 Docs. 1556-09-18 and 1557-04-27.

35 Doc. 1557-11-27.

36 Since Panvinio's chronological tables were based on the *Fasti Capitolini*, it would have been logical to number the Capitoline years on the left hand side, as they actually appear on the marbles, and the years according to the Varronian system on the right; yet in Strada's edition the headings to the columns on the first page indicate the opposite, and initially the years are in fact numbered as indicated in these headings. It appears, however, that this inconsistency was discovered after a few pages had been printed, and on page 5 the columns are tacitly shifted about: that is, from the year 250 *ab urbe condita* the Capitoline and Varronian calendars appear as they were presumably intended by Panvinio. But Strada, or his printer, neglected to correct the first five pages, which ought

Strada's editions of his works: he almost immediately brought out his own, more correct editions of both: *Romani pontifices et cardinales S.R.E. ab eisdam a Leone IX ad Paulum papam IV per quingentos annos posteriores a Christi natali annos creati* (Venice, M. Tremezzino, 1557) and *Fastorum libri V a Romulo rege usque ad Imp. Caes. Carolum V Austrium* (Venice, V. Valgrisi, 1558).

As on his own *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum,* on the title page of his editions of Panvinio's works Strada proudly marks their provenance 'Ex Musaeo Jacobi Stradae, Mantuanae, Civis Romani, Antiquarij'. This probably implies that he had acquired the manuscript copies, but it is clear that his purchase had been made with the express intent to publish them. This is clear from Agustín's advising Panvinio that he was allowed to have his own versions printed if he wished, but that he ought to wait with actually selling copies of the titles he had sold to Strada until a decent time span had passed, say three to four years.[37] So Panvinio had actually been paid for his work, which then as now was not always the case with authors of scholarly works. Moreover Strada had attempted to do Panvinio proud: the splendid execution of the *Fasti et triumphi* must have required a quite considerable investment. Panvinio understandably was more concerned with scholarly correctness than with splendid type and unnecessary imperial portraits, and certainly Strada's carelessness in not correcting the mistake in the *Fasti* cannot be condoned. Yet Panvinio's subsequent discrediting of Strada's editions—he actually accused Strada of having printed the *Epitome pontificum* without his consent—probably caused Strada the loss of almost the whole of his investment. Strada sold his volumes of both titles to Pietro Perna, the well-known Italian printer and bookseller from Basle, who was to market them, and would pay Strada in instalments, but even in 1564 Strada had not yet received anything at all.[38] So it is not surprising

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of course to have been reprinted entirely; even worse, he did not indicate what had happened, so that unsuspecting users would never notice the discrepancy. I am grateful to William McCuaig for having explained the nature of the mistake to me, published in his discussion of the *Fasti* editions (McCuaig 1991, pp. 153–154).

37 Doc. 1557-11-27, Agustín to Panvinio: 'Quanto alle cose del Strada mi rincresce assai che la sua stampa riesca così male come ditte; et essendo tanto differenza, potrete stampar il Vostro libro senza pericolo, presertim con tante altre cose che fanno non esser il medesimo libro; et fatte prima sopra questo diligenza con quelli che costì se ne intendono, perchè mi par cosa chiara poter Voi provar non esser quel libro suo questo Vostro. Quanto al patto farò io fede di quanto mi ricordo; di privilegi non potro farla, ma si bene che Vi fossi lecito stampar Voi i Vostri libri, ma non vender quello che vendesti a lui infra un certo tempo, mi par di tre o quatro anni. Poi che ogni sabbato mi potete scriver, et io rispondervi avisateme di quanto accade et occorre'.

38 In 1564 Strada asked Maximilian II for a letter of recommendation to the City Council of Frankfurt, to help him obtain his outstanding dues from Perna. One suspects that Perna's unwillingness to pay may have been partly or wholly due to a failure to actually sell the volumes (Doc 1564-00-00). On Perna, see Perini 2002, who does not mention Strada.

that in April 1558 Agustín reported to Panvinio: 'In Frankfurt I spoke to Strada, who appeared not to be very friendly disposed towards you'.[39]

14.5 The *Musaeum* as an Editorial Office?

14.5.1 *The Copyright Privileges*

As we have seen in Chapter 4.2, Strada used the dedications of the Panvinio volumes as a ploy to gain access to the Imperial court, dedicating the *Epitome pontificum* to Emperor Ferdinand I, and the *Fasti et triumphi* to his son and heir presumptive, Maximilian, King of Bohemia. This strategy was successful, leading to Strada's appointment as architect and later also as antiquary to Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. One assumes that his new tasks left him less time to spend on his editorial ambitions. And it is true that the first concrete bit of evidence relating to a planned publication dates only from December of 1572, when Strada obtained a copyright privilege from King Charles IX of France for an edition of Julius Caesar's *Commentaries*.[40] Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that Strada had shelved his plans for the time being: there are several indications that even during the second half of the 1560s, when he was strenuously occupied with his commissions from the Duke of Bavaria and—presumably—Maximilian II, while at the same time building his own house in Vienna, he regularly paid attention to his editorial projects. Certainly

39 Doc. 1558-04-11: 'In Francafort parlai col Strada, mostra non vi esser tropo amico …'. Probably with some good will on both sides the problem might have been solved in a more elegant way, perhaps with a separately printed erratum; but Panvinio appears to have been as much a hothead as Strada himself, managing even to exasperate Agustín, the most sympathetic and friendly of men, and Panvinio' s most assiduous friend and patron: cf. Doc. 1558-07-09, Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio, Rome, 9 juli 1558: 'Non so qual furia vi faccia dir quel tanto male di quel amico, ne manco per qual demerito mio ditte di me due cose ladre et peggio!, che io habbia dato al Strada le arme di Cardinali, et che voglia scoprir a Mr. Paolo [= Manuzio] tutti i vostri secreti di iure Latii <…> La Cosa del Strada sta come sempre vi ho detto; che non vide, ne hebbe da me quelle arme, et che me importava, ne importa confessarlo?' There is no substance to Panvinio's suspicion that Strada was plagiarizing his collection of ecclesiastical coats of arms, since Strada had been collecting these himself for many years on behalf of Fugger, for whom he prepared no less than fifteen huge folio volumes with splendidly illuminated coats of arms of the Popes and of the princes, prelates and noble families of Italy; cf. above, Ch. 3.3. Though after the *Fasti et triumphi* debacle Strada was not 'very friendly' with Panvinio, he seems not to have discredited him with Fugger, who employed Panvinio in the 1560 as an informant in Rome and commissioned various manuscript works from him; cf. Hartig 1917(b); Maasen 1922, pp. 75, 76, 77; a selection of Fugger's letters to Panvinio published *ibidem*, pp. vi–viii and appendices 4 and 6–51, pp. 96–126.

40 Doc. 1572-12-25, printed in Strada's edition, Frankfurt 1575, discussed below.

he remained involved in the book trade, as is clear from his trip to Frankfurt to collect his dues from Pietro Perna, and from the fact that in 1570 his was the address in Vienna where to buy copies of Castelvetro's translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, published by the Vienna printer Kaspar Stainhofer, which suggest that Strada may have been instrumental in organizing and perhaps also financing the edition.[41]

Another indication is Niccolò Stopio's remark in his letter to Hans Jakob Fugger of 15 June 1567, reporting on Strada's activities in Venice: 'Strada does not consort with sculptors here, but only with goldsmiths or engravers, or miniaturists, which is his business ('mestiere')'.[42] Clearly Strada profited from his trips to Venice to commission the desired woodcuts and engravings for the voluminous illustrated books he projected. The quantity and quality of the illustrations he envisaged presuppose a considerable time for their realization, both because good engravers may have been rare, and because Strada would not have the capital to pay for all of them at once. We know that the illustrations for Serlio's *Settimo Libro Book* were engraved in Venice, as were those for the *Sesto Libro*, which would never be actually published. It is conceivable that images for some of his other projects were likewise commissioned during his visits to Venice.

Such commissions of course involved a lot of preparation. Strada had to provide a carefully drawn exemplar of each illustration for the engravers. This he cannot all have done himself during his short and busy sojourns in Venice, so these were probably prepared beforehand, both by himself and by assistants he employed in his studio, among whom his two elder sons Paolo and Ottavio. Since he presented these illustrations as scientific documents, such assistants must have worked from Strada's own sketches, and in any case under his close supervision.

The same holds for the texts of the various books. These were not all written or even edited by Strada himself, but of course a definitive reading of the texts needed to be provided: Ottavio's 1574 letter, discussed above, documents the care taken with the texts and the translations of the Serlio volumes. For

41 Lodovico Castelvetro, *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata, et sposta per Lodouico Casteluetro*, in Vienna d'Austria, per Gaspar Stainhofer, 1570. Reputedly Maximilian II himself had supported its publication (Marchetti/ Patrizi 1979), and he may have appointed Strada to help Castelvetro realize it (even if only as an interpreter between author and printer). It is quite possible that Strada himself may have invested in the edition, which proved to be a bestseller, but in view of Castelvetro's heretical reputation he would not have wished that fact to be advertised. A subsequent, posthumous treatise by Castelvetro, the presentation of which by Castelvetro's brother Giovanni Maria is dated Vienna 15 January 1572, was printed by Strada's old associate Pietro Perna, as was the second edition of the *Poetica* itself (both under Perna's pseudonym Pietro de Sedabonis).

42 BHStA-*LA* 4852, fols. 35–36f.: 'Il Strada non pratica qui con scultori, se non con orefici o disegnatori di stampe in rame, o miniatori, che è il suo mestiere'.

his other projects he likewise must have employed learned men to provide and correct the content for each book, and professional scribes to provide the fair copy for the typesetters. Strada's request to the *Reichsvizekanzler*, Johann Baptist Weber, for Imperial letters of recommendation for his printing projects includes an offer to have the book titles in each letter inserted by his own servant, which confirms his employment of at least one professional scribe.[43] It is further corroborated by a request to Hans Jakob Fugger from Carolus Stephanus, one of his librarians, for a rise or, failing that, for some help or a recommendation to find a better job. Fugger was quite prepared to help him, and asked his other librarian, Wolfgang Prommer, for his comment and suggestions. Prommer explained that Stephanus hoped that Fugger would recommend him for a place as a clerk in the chancery of the Augsburg City Council; but if that was no option, at least 'to be recommended to Jacobo de Strada, where he intends to maintain himself with his wife and child by assiduous writing'.[44] Stephanus should not be confused with the well-known French physician Charles Estienne, though he may likewise have been a relative of the famous French printers Henri and Robert Estienne, who maintained contacts with the Fuggers. Certainly he was a learned man, who wrote good Latin. It is not known whether he did any work for Strada, but his request again confirms that Strada did indeed employ professional scribes and scholars such as Stephanus, and that these were sufficiently well paid to make such employment desirable.[45]

14.5.2 *The Polyglot Dictionary*

Strada himself explicitly speaks of the people he employed in at least one of his projects, the polyglot dictionary, in his letter of 28 December 1568 thanking Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua for the patronage extended to his son Paolo. From this it appears that from a simple polyglot dictionary in the three classical languages it had developed into something much bigger:

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43 Doc. 1573-06-00 (shortly before 6 June 1573): 'Se'l paresse alla Signoria Vostra che a cadauna lettera vi si metesse dentro questi titoli di questi libri, io li faria coppiare dal mio huomo, per non dar tanta fattica a quello che scrivera le lettere'.

44 'Mit einer Condition, vermaint er durch E.G. furbitt bey dem Herrn Stattpfleger Relingen zu promovirt werden, ob er mitterzeit In der Herren von Augspurg Canntzelley mechte gebraucht werden. Wa er dort nit vnder mechte Khumen, begert er auf das wenigist durch E.G. hülff bey dem Jacobo de Strada zu Commendirt werden, daselbs vermaint er sich mit stetigem schreiben kinde mit sampt seim weib vnd Kindt aufenthallten'. Hartig 1917(a), pp. 317–318 (Stephanus' request to Fugger, in Latin, undated, 1566); 318–319: Fugger's request for more information to Prommer); 319–320 (Prommer's point by point reply).

45 *Ibid*., pp. 229–230; doubtless thanks to Fugger's support Stephanus later was appointed an official notary, who was occasionally employed by the Fugger: thus he drafted the inventory of the library and collection of Raymund Fugger the Younger in 1576; *ibid*. p. 38, n. 1.

> At present in my house is being written a Dictionary of 11 languages; that is an effort of mine that I have begun eighteen years ago, and for which I have always kept people in my service to write it. The languages are these: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Spanish, French, German, and Italian; in which at the appropriate places I will insert the medals, marble statues, tombs, in short everything which can be shown in images.[46]

Already two years earlier he had described the project in detail to Adam von Dietrichstein, hoping that he would use his influence as Imperial ambassador in Spain to move Philip II to provide some financial support:

> Since your departure here from Vienna, I have put together all the indices of this Dictionary, which take up eighteen volumes, similar to that of the letter A which Your Honour once saw in my studio. Now the first volume, the letter A, is being written; it is certainly quite delightful to see, both because of the many languages presented together, which are all written in their own characters, and for the images of the coins, the ancient statues, the funerary monuments in sculptured marble, the antique inscriptions and tablets, and everything whatever which can be shown by figures, and other things that I have brought together from all over the world, not without great expense. Every individual thing will have its explanation, which will be written in all of the languages mentioned<…>'.[47]

Apart from demonstrating one of the uses to which Strada intended to put the material he had brought together in his *Musaeum*, these passages also show that he functioned as the editor-in-chief or the publisher, rather than as the author, of the *Dictionary*: he had worked out its concept, and had taken care to bring together in his library the sources necessary for the work, and the images that were to illustrate it, and now was carefully coordinating the production of the texts. Some of these he may have written himself, but most of the actual work was probably done by scholars and scribes he employed to this end. Some of these may actually have worked on a daily basis in Strada's *Musaeum*, but there is a good chance that many of the texts were requested and delivered by mail, especially when more recondite expertise was demanded. The work was actively supported by Maximilian II, who in the 1570s would recommend Strada's efforts to raise funds for the completion of the project, and facilitated

46 Doc. 1568-12-28.

47 Doc. 1566-03-01.

Strada's work in other ways. When Strada requested the Emperor sometime in 1571 to instruct the ambassador in Constantinople to have a bundle of his texts translated into Turkish, Arabic and Persian, he was confident that this would be granted.[48] In a similar way Strada may have sent around the texts of his entries to various scholars contracted to provide correct translations.

14.5.3 *Caesar's Complete Works, Annotated and Illustrated*

It may be assumed that Strada occasionally or regularly employed scholars and artists in a similar way for his many other projects, for instance in translating Leandro Alberti's *Description of Italy* into Latin and in providing the supplements he planned to add to it. As we shall see below, the number and the character of the encyclopaedic compilations which Strada had available for publication by the mid-1570s indicate that work on these had steadily continued during the 1560s. The first concrete piece of evidence of these is a copyright privilege from the French King Charles IX, which was granted to Strada on Christmas Day of 1572. This apparently extended to a list of several planned publications, but it is known only through the text as included in Strada's 1575 edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*, and therefore only gives title and description of that one book.[49]

From this document it appears that the work as planned differed from the one eventually printed [Fig. 14.21–14.27]. In the first place, Strada intended the book to be bilingual, presenting the complete Latin text next to an Italian translation: the exact reverse of what he planned for Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, where Serlio's Italian was complemented by a Latin translation. That he thus wished to cover a European, rather than a local market is evidence for

48 Doc. 1571-00-00.

49 Caesar 1575: 'Iaques de Strada Mantuan, antiquaire de l'Empereur nostre tres cher et tres amé beaupere et cousin, nous a fait entendrè qu'il desireroit volontiers faire mettre en lumiere les livres contenus en une feuille de papier à nous praesentee, et attachee sous le contreseel de nostre chancellerie. Desquels le premier est, un livre en langue italienne, ensemble avec la version Latine, intitulé en Italien, C. Iulij Caesaris rerum gestarum Commentarij XIV. Nempe: C. Iul. Ces. De Bello Gallico, Comm. VII. A. Hirtij. De eodem, Liber I.C. Iul. Caes. De Bello Civili Pompeiano, Comm. III. A. Hirtij De Bello Alexandrino, Liber I. De Bello Africano, Liber I. De Bello Hispanico, Liber I. Omnia collatis antiquis manuscriptis exemplaribus, quae passim in Italia, Gallia, et Germania invenir potuimus, doctè, accuratè, et emendatè restituta. Eutropij Epitome Belli Gallici, ex Suetonij Tranquilli monumentis, quae desiderantur. Cum doctiss. Annotationibus Henrici Glareani, Fulvij Ursini Romani, Francisci Hotomani, I.C. Aldi Manutij, P.F. <…>Donné à Paris le xxv. iour de Decembre, l'an de grace 1572 et en notre regne le xiii'. A cursory investigation of the relevant indices of the Archives Nationales in Paris suggests that both Strada's request and the original of the privilege were probably destroyed. I am grateful to Odile Bordaz to have guided me in this quick search.

the scope of his aspirations as a publisher, and it indicates a wish to render his material accessible to as wide an audience as possible, or in any case to extend its audience beyond the humanist scholar to the educated reader whose Latin was weak or nonexistent. In the second place the published book, though lacking the Italian translation, was enriched by a set of woodcut illustrations and by a quantity of transcriptions of Spanish inscriptions not mentioned in the French privilege.

What is particularly interesting is that Strada's copyright privilege closely conforms to a book that was in fact published in Lyon a year before his own edition: this was likewise a complete edition of all of Caesar's *Commentaries*, supplemented by Hirtius' continuations and by comments by the contemporary scholars François Hotman, Fulvio Orsini and Aldo Manuzio the Younger, and lacking only the *scholia* to the *Bellum Gallicum* and the *Bellum Civile* by Henricus Glareanus. This volume does include a copyright privilege which is dated earlier than Strada's, but this only refers to Hotman's *Scholia in*

C. IVLII CAESARIS
RERVM GESTARVM
COMMENTARII XIV.
NEMPE:
C. Ivlii Caes. de bello Gallico, Comm. VII.
A. Hirtii de eodem, Liber I.
C. Ivl. Caes. de bel. civ. Pompeiano, Comm. III.
A. Hirtii de bel. Alexandrino, Liber I.
De bello Africano, Liber I.
De bello Hispanico, Liber I.
OMNIA COLLATIS ANTIQVIS MANVSCRIPTIS
Exemplaribus, quæpassim in Italia, Gallia, & Germania inuenire potuimus, doctè, accuratè, & emendatè restituta: prout proxima pagina indicatur.
Eutropii *Epitome belli Gallici ex* Svetonii Tranqvilli *monumentis, qua desiderantur.*
Cum doctiß. Annotationibus
Henrici glareani, Fvlvii vrsini romani,
Francisci hotomani, i.c. Aldi manvtii, p. f.
Ex Musæo & impensa Iacobi Stradæ *Mantuani, I. C. M. Antiquarij, & ciuis Romani.*
Cum S. C. M. Priuilegio: & Regis Galliarum.
FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENVM.
M. D. LXXV.

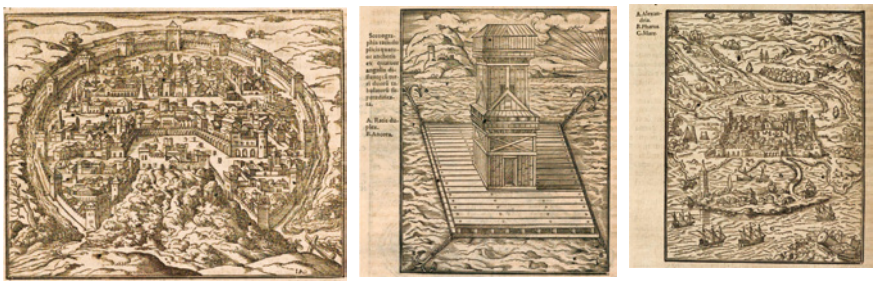
ILLVSTRISSIMO PRINCIPI AC DOMINO, D. ALBERTO COMITI PALATINO RHENI, AC DVCI VTRIVSQVE BAVARIAE, ET ILLVSTRISSIMIS PRINCIPIbus eius filijs Guilielmo, Ferdinando, & Ernesto Episcopo Frisingensi, Dominis ac Patronis meis semper obseruandissimis,
Iacobvs Strada Mantuanus, S. C. M. Antiquarius, ciuis Romanus, S.
VT IN lucem ad vtilitatem publicam opus aliquod suum sunt edituri, diligenter secum inter scribendum cogitare solent, cuinam potissimum labores suos dedicare debeant; nimirum ei cui cordi ac curæ sit quod tractatur argumentum. In eam certè cogitationem necesse est aurorem admodum esse intentum, alioqui frustrandũ labore suo ac sumptu, quippe quum cõemptui sit, immò molestiam pariat ma-
* 2 tutia

FIGURES 14.21–14.22 Strada's edition of Caesar's Commentaries, printed by Georg Rab in Frankfurt in 1575: titlepage and dedication to Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria.

FIGURES 14.23–14.24 Woodcut illustrations from Strada's 1575 edition of Caesar's Commentaries: pitched battle between the armies of Caesar and Ambiorix (p. 60) and a double page bird's eye view of Caesar's siege of Alesia, defended by Vercingetorix (p. 100).

Commentarii Caesaris, that is to only one of the supplements of the actual volume. It is clear that Strada did not pirate this edition, since he already disposed of the supplements when he obtained the French privilege for his book long before the French edition was ever published.

It is difficult to understand exactly what happened. Maybe Strada obtained or even commissioned the supplements through one of his contacts—perhaps



FIGURES 14.25–14.27 Bird's eye view of Vesontio (Besançon; p.14), a raft carrying a tower (p. 134) and a view of Alexandria (p. 200), woodcut illustrations from Strada's 1575 edition of Caesar's Commentaries.

Reichart Strein von Schwarzenau, who had been a student of both Glareanus and Hotman—and later came to some agreement to divide the market with the printer Barthélémy Vincent, whom he may well have known personally since his sojourn in Lyon.[50] If so, the book was nevertheless no co-production: though both included woodcut illustrations, of which no mention is made in the respective privileges, these are of different subjects. Whereas Vincent added some naturalistic and technical illustrations to the general alphabetical index of the volume, Strada added some thirty reconstructions of Caesar's battles and sieges at the apposite places in the text itself. These had at one time been commissioned, from an unnamed architect, by Ferrante Gonzaga, *Signore* of Guastalla, Viceroy of Sicily and a general of Charles V. Strada probably had acquired them from Ferrante's son, Cesare, with whom he was in contact in the 1560s [Figs. 14.23–14.27].[51]

14.5.4 *The Copyright Privilege of 1574*

As could be expected, Strada's book as published more closely conforms to its description in the Imperial copyright he was accorded by Maximilian II on 30 May 1574 [Figs. 14.21–14.27]. This privilege is an important milestone in the development of Strada's editorial project: apart from the Caesar (nr III.) and

50 Vincent also was the publisher of Jacques Besson's *Theatrum instrumentorum et machinarum* of 1578, which owns much to the same sources on which Strada's own *Desseins artificiaulx* [Strada 1617–1618], was based, and the style of its illustrations (though not their subjects) are very similar; though published in two volumes only by Strada's grandson Ottavio 1617–18, a manuscript version of Strada's treatise probably antedates Besson's publication by some two decades; cf. Marchis/ Dolza 2002.

51 Cf. above, Ch. 12.5.1.

Serlio's *Settimo Libro* (nr I.), both of which would actually be printed in 1575, the privilege mentions five other works.[52] Nr II. is Serlio's reconstruction of the Roman *Castra* as described by Polybius and an adaptation 'ridotta in una cittadella murata', and complemented by a treatise on warfare by the French general Guillaume du Bellay.[53] Nr IV. is a *corpus* of ancient inscriptions 'collected from all over the world, in Latin, Etruscan, Greek, Arabic, Chaldean' reproduced and explained in seven volumes.[54] Nr V. is a book which masks as an album of ancient Roman equestrian statues, 'both male and female'.[55] This might indeed have included images directly derived from the Marcus Aurelius on Capitol Hill and from Roman relief sculpture, but the description rather suggests that it consisted largely of prints after contemporary designs for festival costumes in the antique manner, such as designed by Strada and his colleagues at the Imperial court. That this was indeed the case is confirmed by the recent identification of a volume of festival designs from Strada's workshop in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden, the title of which is identical to this item.[56]

52 Doc. 1574-04-30. The Serlio and Caesar volumes are described as follows: 'I. II settimo libro d'architectura di Sebastiano Serglio Bolognese, nel qual si tratta di molti accidenti, che possono occorrer al architetto in diversi luoghi et istrane forme de siti e nelli restauramenti o restitutioni di case, e come habbiamo a far per servirci degli altri edifici e simili cose, come nella sequente pagina si lege. Nel fine vi sonno agiunti sei palazzi con le sue piante et fazzate in diversi modi fatte per fabricar in villa per gran prencipi del sudetto authore, italiano et latino'; 'III. Cai Julii Caesaris commentariorum libri VIII, quibus adiecimus loca precipua delineata, in quibus ipse Caesar castrametatus est adversus varias gentes, ex antiquissimo codice manuscripto, quos nunc primum in lucem damus cum doctissimis Henrici Glareani annotationibus, tam latino quam italice'.

53 *Ibid.*: 'II. Castrametatione dei Romani prima nel modo, che essi accampavano per tende et padiglioni, dimostrata et dipoi ridotta in una cittadella murata per Sebastiano Serglio Bolognese, designata fuora del sexto libro di Polybio historico, italiana et latina, nel cui fine ne habbiamo gionto l'instrutione sopra Ii fatti della guerra, descritta dal signor Gulielmo de Bellai, signor de Lange, francese e latina'.

54 *Ibid.*: 'IV. Antiquarum inscriptionum, quae toto fere orbe Latinae, Hetruscae, Graecae, Arabicae, Caldeae in marmoribus aut aereis monumentis sculptae caelateve fuerint et Hieroglyphicis notis signatae, tomi Septem'.

55 *Ibid.*: 'V. Equestrium statuarum tam virorum quam mulierum formae elegantissimae una cum vestimentis ipsorum ac artificiosissime pictis et arte Phrygionica ingeniöse elaboratis, quibus olim induebantur, item cataphractorum equorum cum eorum phaleris ornatissimis, quemadmodum olim Romani et Graeci in bellis atque etiam pompis publicis et ludis curulibus circensibusque usi sunt, iuxtaque ipsos satellitum precedentium quoque eiusmodi vestibus indutorum formae; his quoque larvarum atque vestimentorum histrionicorum, quibus antiquitus in tripudiis et saltationibus noctu utebantur, varia genera adiuncta sunt'.

56 Discussed above, Ch. 4.3.5.

In his letter to his father of November 1574 Ottavio Strada repeatedly refers to such a book of 'mascare', which he thought would sell well, but the book was never published in the form envisaged, though a number of woodcuts by Jost Amman for its illustrations were in fact executed and printed, some of which at least based on Jacopo's own designs [above, Figs. 4.23–4.25].[57]

The last two works mentioned in the privilege were dedicated to numismatics: nr VI. presented a series of coins of all Roman, Byzantine and German Emperors and their various family members, and to which Strada added those of the Ravenna Exarchs and the Lombard kings of Italy. It was basically intended as a conventional though relatively complete 'Bildnisvitenbuch', a picture book in which the images of each personage were accompanied by only the briefest potted biographies or 'elogii'.[58]

Nr VII., on the other hand, was a much more ambitious work: probably an evolution of the numismatic corpus described in Strada's 1556 privilege, it provided full biographies of all these same Emperors, their relatives, usurping tyrants, exarchs and so on, each of which was to be followed by a complete survey of the coins struck during their reigns.[59] These illustrations were based on the numismatic material Strada had collected during his travels, which he had had carefully engraved in copperplate, rather than in woodcuts as in his

57 Cf. above, Ch. 4.3.5.

58 Doc. 1574-04-30: 'VI. Series imperatorum Romanorum ac Graecorum et Germanorum a Caio Julio, Cai filio, Cai ne pote, caesare usque ad Maximilianum II. caesarem pium felicem augustum una cum liberis patrinis atque matrinis ex aureis, argenteis, aereis numismatibus quam fidelissime delineatis; inservimus etiam iuxta tempora exarchos et Longhobardorum reges omnesque cum ipsorum elogiis breviter descripsimus'.

59 *Ibid.*: 'VII. Vitae imperatorum Romanorum, item Contantinopolitanorum et Germanorum omnium, qui fuerunt a Caio Julio, Cai filio, Cai nepote, Caesare usque ad Maximilianum II. Imperatorem, Caesarem Pium Felicem Augustum, cum omnibus eorundem uxorum, filiorum et consanguineorum historiis. Attulimus quoque vitas universorum eorum tyrannorum, qui diversis in mundi partibus Romanum imperium vi vel fraudibus sibipsis subiicere conati fuere. Insuper ad illustrationem horum omnium vitas etiam eorum exarcharum posuimus, qui sedes atque habitationes suas Ravennae, urbe nobilissima Italiae, habuerunt. Tomi VIII. Posuimus in cuiuslibet imperatoris vitae fine numismata ea, quae de illo passim per hunc orbem terrarum nos videre atque invenire potuerimus quaeque vel in Italia vel in aliis similibus provinciis tum etiam in Graecia ex auro, argento, aere excussae fuere, ita nimirum, ut ea primo quidem summa fidelitate, imitatione et diligentia ad unguem et ad similitudinem verorum antiquorum delineanda, deinde autem in tabulis aereis pulchre excidenda typoque demandanda curaverimus, item in fine harum tabularum cuiuslibet etiam numismatis descriptionem anneximus. Tandem finitis hisce omnibus habes quoque fastos et annales consulatuum cuiuslibet imperatoris, ut nimirum sie, quid quilibet imperator, quolibet anno et tempore patraverit, tanto rectius cognoscere queas, ubi tamen maioris doctrinae et testimoninii gratia similiter et inscriptiones antiquas, quae in marmoribus et tabulis aeneis incisae et sub nominibus eorundem imperatorum appositae fuerunt, diligenter adiunximus etc'.

1553 *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* [above, Figs. 14.6–14.9]. It is likely that at least a part of the engraved images included in Ottavio Strada's posthumously published *De Vitis Imperatorum* printed in Frankfurt in 1615, which is similar but less ambitious in concept as his father's project, were printed from plates commissioned by Jacopo in the 1560s and 1570s [cf. Figs. 14.6–14.9]. Unlike Ottavio's volume, Jacopo's corpus moreover was intended to include detailed descriptions of each coin, as well as the other material sources for the *gestae* of each prince as documented in the *Fasti capitolini* and other documented inscriptions.

Strada's 1574 copyright privilege gives some indication of the direction and the scope of his ambition as a publisher. All works listed are related to the history or the arts of classical Antiquity, though some of these, such as the Serlio volumes, are geared towards contemporary use of the antique example or precept. Most of them are exhaustive, of an encyclopaedic character; all of them are directed towards a literate, but not necessarily a purely academic audience. Certainly they were directed at a prosperous audience, since none of them can have been cheap: they are all huge volumes, folios or ample quartos, some of them in many volumes. Perhaps their most important common characteristic is that each and all of them were to be provided with ample illustrations. This would have made them more expensive, but also more attractive to the wealthy clientele envisaged, yet only the Serlio volumes, the *Equestrium Statuarum* and the *Series Imperatorum* can be imagined to some extent as Renaissance equivalents of the coffee-table book. Strada's insistence on including such visuals aids rather reflects his conviction of the value of the image—and therefore of drawing and design, the art of making images—as a source of information and expertise, of knowledge. This conviction he had shared with or even contributed to Hans Jakob Fugger and his circle; Fugger's former librarian, Samuel Quiccheberg, codified it in his treatise on the science of collecting, the *Inscriptiones vel tituli Theatrum* of 1565, and a year later Strada himself expressed it in his 1566 letter to Adam von Dietrichstein cited earlier: 'for truly, your lordship, by drawing one comes to know an infinite variety of things, and one's judgment becomes more excellent on all subjects'.[60]

14.5.5 *Printing in Frankfurt*

Some time before requesting the copyright privilege, in March 1574, Strada told Hans Jakob Fugger that he planned to send his son Ottavio Strada to Venice 'per alcuni miei negotij', offering to have him execute any commissions for Fugger. Possibly Strada's private business was connected with the acquisition of further antiquities and works of art: he offered to have Ottavio collect information

60 Quiccheberg 1565; Doc. 1566-03-01. The theme is treated above, Chs. 11.6 and 13.9.

for Duke Albrecht about the Vendramin and Mocenigo collections that were on the market. But since at the beginning of this same letter Strada told Fugger that he had decided to try and sell both his house and his studio, with everything in it, this seems unlikely.[61] It is much more probable that Ottavio was sent to Venice to start negotiations with the Venetian printers and to commission illustrations for the several planned books from some of the famous Venetian woodcutters and engravers. There seems little doubt that Strada originally planned to have his books printed in Venice, for shortly after having obtained the copyright privilege he not only requested and obtained a further, general privilege for all the books and images he had collected and wished to publish in future, but also asked for permission to travel to Venice 'in order to have his books printed', as well as a passport and letters of recommendation to the Doge and the *Signoria*.[62] Strada opted for Venice probably both because of the stature of Venetian humanist printing and the quality of its engravers, but his wish to print some of his books in Italian must have been an additional motif. Ottavio's troubles in Frankfurt with the text editing and proofreading of Serlio's *Settimo Libro* show that printing serious works in Italian was not as yet common in Germany, and far from simple:

> It is quite something that in Germany, where there are no Italians, someone is printing Italian [books]; if Wechel had not accepted to print, you wouldn't have found any opportunity here, and certainly would have wasted your time in wanting to print Italian in Germany, where there is no one [to assist in that]: you would not believe how few learned men there are in Frankfurt.[63]

So there must have been serious reasons for Strada to abandon his project to print his books in Venice and to choose Frankfurt instead: perhaps German printers were cheaper, or perhaps he thought he would have less competition for his type of books in Germany; certainly the Frankfurt book fair must have provided a strong attraction. The suddenness of his decision in favour of Frankfurt, however, suggests that it may have had to do with a failure to obtain a safe-conduct from the *Signoria* that would protect him against the Papal Inquisition.[64]

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61 Doc. 1574-02-01.

62 Doc. 1574-00-00.

63 Doc. 1574-12-05 (transcribed in Appendix A).

64 When Strada returned to Venice in 1568, after his precipitate flight from the Papal Inquisition in Mantua the summer before, he took great trouble to obtain an Imperial safe-conduct, and through Maximilian's intervention, a similar guarantee from Duke Guglielmo

Whatever may have been the reason, it is clear that when Strada in August prepared to send Ottavio to Frankfurt, it was explicitly to occupy himself with the printing project.[65] As we have seen, Ottavio's report to his father of the end of the year bears this out: it gives a good impression of the many different negotiations the complexity of his father's ambitions involved him in. The letter, which appears to reflect point by point his father's lost letter, indicates that Ottavio was fully in his father's confidence, had discussed the many aspects of the various projects with him in detail, and had contributed his own ideas and opinions. It appears that, whereas his father supplied the intellectual concept and the idealistic drive for the project, Ottavio contributed a more level-headed, more business-like and realistic approach, and had an open eye for the potential market. Thus he was well aware of competing projects, advising against reprinting the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* in a German edition because that had already been done by others, but also noting that the edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* that Andrea Palladio was preparing posed no threat, because that would be of a different character than the edition planned by Strada, with different images, and he believed their own book would be more beautiful than Palladio's and could be offered at a lower price.[66] Apart from books soon to be published—Serlio's *Settimo Libro* and the Caesar edition—and other works mentioned in the copyright privilege, another two projects are discussed, a book on the history of the Popes, which was to be illustrated by coats of arms and was probably intended as a pendant to the *Lives of the Emperors* mentioned in the copyright privilege. Strada had asked the help of Giovanni Battista Fonteo, an Italian humanist active at the Imperial court, to complete the histories and to obtain drawings of the coats of arms.[67]

Another interesting project mentioned is an illustrated Bible, the images for which were to be designed by one 'Jan Baptista', probably Strada's Mantuan associate Giovanni Battista Scultori, though Ottavio cautioned his father

Gonzaga of Mantua to protect him from interference by the Holy Office. It is not clear whether this was actually given, and Strada appears in fact to have abandoned a planned trip to his hometown [Docs. 1568-01-29; 1568-01-30; and 1568-10-11]. Though Strada did request a passport and Imperial letters of recommendation to Venice in 1574, it is not clear whether he actually travelled there.

65 Strada asked Maximilian for a passport for Ottavio for Frankfort, and that he was (nominally?) appointed a servant of the Emperor; the passport was conceded, the appointment apparently not [Docs. 1574-08-00; 1574-08-09].

66 Doc. 1574-12-05, transcribed in Appendix A.

67 *Ibidem*; Giovanni Battista Fonteo is chiefly known because he wrote the cartels for Imperial jousts designed by Arcimboldo and some texts explaining Arcimboldo's composite portraits; but he also wrote a history of the Cesi family of Bologna; see Kaufmann 1978(a), p. 276.

to limit the commission to simple sketches, which then could be engraved by Jost Amman in Nuremberg, 'because for small images there is no one better than Jost Amen.[68] Ottavio employed Amman also to carve the woodcut illustrations for the book of 'mascare' already mentioned, images of figures in costumes *all'antica* designed for court entertainments such as masques and tournaments.[69]

14.6 Financing the Programme

14.6.1 *Princely Support*

Ottavio explicitly related the programme of books to print to the annual calendar of the world of the book, the Frankfurt book fair:

> And God willing after the present fair we should have the book of festival costumes printed, and the German version of Serlio's book; and while these are in press I will have the *Castrametatio* translated into Latin, and will try to have the arms of the Popes ready. And we need to try to bring out at least a couple of books at every fair, and we must have patience for at least two fairs before we will gain something from these; after which we will have greater ease to do other things.[70]

This makes clear that Strada's publishing ambitions were not a mere side-line: as well as an attempt to divulge information which Strada thought of importance, it must be considered as an ambitious business enterprise. Possibly he was inspired by the example of the Lyon *marchand-libraires*, the Venice printing house of Aldus Manutius and the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin, examples which must have made him think it possible both to publish his books and to make a solid profit on them. However mistaken he may have been in

68 Doc. 1574-12-05, in Appendix A. It would be worthwhile to investigate how this project ties in with the many other illustrated Bibles produced both in France and in Germany around this time, with illustrations by, among others, Bernard Salomon and Jost Amman, who were both employed by Strada himself at various times.

69 On the book of festival designs see above, Ch. 4.3.5.

70 Doc. 1574-12-05, Appendix A: 'Et a Dio piacendo dopo questa Fiera stampando questo libro delle mascare, et il libro del Serlio in dotesco. Et mentre che si stampino questi dui libri farò tradur la Castrametation in Latino, et cercarò di far le arme delli Papi. Et bisognara cercar de meter al manco hogni Fiera un par di libri in luce. Bisogna che noi habiamo pacientia per due Fiere avanti che si caverà qualche cosa; dopo se haverà meglior commodità di far altre cose'.

this, his conviction was such that from about this time onward a great part of his energy was invested, not only in finishing the works he intended to include in his programme, but also to bring together the funds needed to cover the necessary initial investments.

In this he first of all reckoned on his most important patron, Emperor Maximilian II. The first instance of this is Strada's request presented to Maximilian sometime before 30 June 1573. In this he described his corpus of inscriptions in seven volumes, and the first volume, the letter A, of his polyglot dictionary.[71] He then explained that he wishes to print these books, but that he lacks the necessary funds, so he asks the Emperor for 'un buon aiuto di costa', a subvention to enable him to bring out his books with dedications to Maximilian and his sons. Strada was realistic enough to realize that the Emperor could or would not cover such expense all by himself, so in one breath he asked for letters recommending his project to other potential sponsors: the councils of the free Imperial cities and the most prominent Princes of the Empire.[72] To speed up his request, which was supported by Reichart Strein von Schwarzenau, Strada added his own concept of the letter of recommendation, the titles of the books involved carefully copied out. The requested letters were duly made

71 Doc. 1573-06-00: 'Mi trovo sette gran volumi scritti di lettere maiuscule, parte latine e parte greche, dove sonno tutte le inscriptioni antiche, che in varie parte del mondo si trovano; e perchè sonno molti anni che io le ò messo insieme, imperò con hanimo di publicarle sotto il nome della Sacra Cesarea Maestà Vostra alla stampa a commune utilità di ciascheduno. Son anche al fine della lettera A del mio Dictionario delle xi lingue, le quali sonno queste: Latina, graeca, hebraea, chaldaea, spagnuola, francese, tedescha, bohema, hyllira, cioè chiavona [*sic*], et italiana. Vi sonno in questo libro d'hogni sorte di medaglie et antiquità in dissegno, si come la Sacra Cesarea Maestà Vostra à visto nel mio studio ultimamente, le quali vanno poste ciascheduna al suo luogho'. It is interesting to note that the eleven languages of the dictionary are not always the same, those of the Slavic territories under Maximilian's rule for this occasion supplanting the Arabic and Persian mentioned elsewhere (cf. below). Doubtless Turkish would have been the eleventh language, omitted apparently by mistake.

72 Doc. 1573-06-00: 'Sacra Maestà, io voria far stampar questi libri in Francoforte, ma la mia bursa è troppo picolina alla grande spesa che vi andara. Suplisco la Maestà Vostra che non mi voglia abandonare di un buona aiuto di costa, acciò si possino publicare questi libri sotto al felicissimo nome Suo, et delli Serenissimi Suoi figliuoli. Overo, se la Maestà Vostra non mi vol dar aiuto di danari, suplisco quella mi voglia dar aiuto con lettere, scritte di buono inchiostro, alle città libere e franche che qui sonno sotto nominate, cioè una lettera per cadauna città: Ratisbona, Nurimberga, Augusta, Ulma, Francoforte, Spira, Argentina, Wormatia. E perchè l'aiuto di queste sudette città non bastaranno, suplisco Vostra Maestà Cesarea apresso una lettera a cadauno di questi Principi qui sotto nominati, cioè l'Altezza del Principe Ferdinando et il Principe Carlo, et l' Excellenza del Ducha di Baviera, et delli sei Elettori, con questi tre Vescovi apresso: Passa, Wirzpurg, et Pamberg'. [*added in margin:* Salzburg].

out on 30 June.[73] In September of the same year Strada followed this up by a request for similar letters of recommendation to several Italian princes and city states which again were duly conceded.[74]

It is not clear whether this exercise did bring in any serious money. There was at least some response: thus Ottavio could receive a subvention of 40 *Gulden* in aid of his father's planned book granted by the Nuremberg City Council.[75] It appears that Ottavio was sent to travel around to follow up Maximilian's request, and to receive any bounty conceded. The initiative seems to have yielded few concrete results: Strada's only known thank-you letter dates only from September 1575, though this relates to a quite substantial amount of 500 *Thaler*, granted by the Elector August of Saxony.[76] But Strada himself may not have known which Princes and Imperial cities had responded favourably to Maximilian's recommendation, because Ottavio appears to have kept back for himself the moneys he was delegated to receive on behalf of his father. That, at least, is the first of his alleged crimes listed in Strada's will of 1584, which excluded Ottavio almost entirely from his father's succession. If true, this would explain why Strada thanked the Elector August for his bounty only in 1575, when he may have heard of his gift through other channels (perhaps Hubert Languet or the Saxon representative at the Imperial court).[77] But these allegations, to which

73 Doc. 1573-06-00; Strada also offered to send his own scribe to insert the titles of the publications into the letters, or to provide many copies of a separate enclosure as were required. But in a post-script he also asked the Vice Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, Johann Baptist Weber, that the letters should be written with a carefully adjusted pen and in good ink. The recipients were to be all the Electors, the Archdukes Ferdinand and Karl, the Prince-Bishops of Salzburg, Würzburg, Bamberg and Passau and the Duke of Bavaria; and the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Regensburg, Frankfurt, Strassburg, Speyer and Worms. In the definitive version [Doc. 1573-06-30] the list of recipients as given in Strada's request was extended to the Prince-Bishop of Freising, the Duke of Jülich, Duke Julius of Braunschweig, Margrave Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg, and Duke Johann Friedrich of Pomerania.

74 Doc. 1573-09-00 and 1573-09-30; recipients were the Dukes of Savoy, Ferrara, Mantua, Florence, Parma and Urbino, and the Senates of the city-states Venice, Lucca, Genoa and Milan.

75 Doc. 1573-11-07; it may well be that Strada's personal connection with Nuremberg's patrician families—suchs as Willibal Imhoff—counted as much as Maximilian's recommendation in obtaining this subvention, which was granted and paid out to Ottavio Strada only 'uf sein vaters weiter schreiben', i.e. after Strada had provided some additional information.

76 Doc 1575-09-28: 'Gnedigster Churfurst, ich hab mit groser danksagung die 500 dhaler emphangen, die mir Eur C.F.G. gepresentiert hatt, auf Ir Röm. Kay. May. schreiben zu hulf meines Dichsionarium'.

77 Doc. 1584-07-01 (Appendix B); Strada claimed that Ottavio had kept the moneys he received for himself: 'Erstlichen, demnach mier durch genedigiste Bewilligung des Römisch Khaijserlichen Majestäts Maximiliani Secunti ein Anzall commendatorij Briefe, zu Hülff

I will come back below, must be taken with a grain of salt. It is far more likely that among these patrons there was in fact little concrete ambition to further Strada's projects, the scope of which carried a big risk of failure with it. Strada's later correspondence with his Italian patrons, though dealing with several of his projects, never refers to his 1573 request for funds, much less to any subventions actually received. Surely it is significant that Maximilian II himself appears not to have provided any concrete financial support.[78]

14.6.2 *Attempts to Sell House and Collection*

While visiting Prague sometime in the summer or early autumn of 1573, Strada communicated the disappointing results of his initiative to his patron, Vilém z Rožmberk. Coming back to this in a letter written shortly before Christmas, he announced that he now had decided to sell his collection and his library, as well as his house, in order to be able to finance the printing of his books. Strada first offered it all to Rožmberk, both because of 'der alte Kundschaft' , his longstanding and continuing patronage, and because at an earlier time Rožmberk had expressed interest in the house. Strada offered it to him for eight thousand *Thaler* 'though it has cost me more than nine thousand'. For the 'Kunstkammer' and the 'Liberey' he referred to the inventory and pricelist he had given Rožmberk on the occasion of an earlier visit to his house; and he was rather sanguine as to his reaction, because he expressed the hope that his patron would accept the offer before the end of January, so that Strada could take the cash with him on his planned trip to Venice in February 1574.[79]

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meiner Buechdruckhereij, an die Chur und Fürstten, auch andere Stände des Heiligen Römischen Reichs, verferdiget; dieselben ich durch in Octavium lassen praesentiern, hat er alles Gellt sovil ime verehrt für sich behalten, mier oder der meinen Heller werdt nicht davon folgen lassen; da doch der Churfürstten von Sachsen mier allein fünffhundert Thaller verehrt, daher leichtlich zu schliessen und zu vermuedten, was ime von zwaintzig Briefen zuverehren von andern möge erfolgt sein'. It seems odd that the Elector should have waited for almost two years to respond to Maximilian's recommendation.

78 The accounts of the *Hofkammer* make no mention of any 'aiuto di costa' Strada may have received for this purpose.

79 Doc. 1573-12-18: 'Weyder so wert sie Euer Gnaden wol haben zu erinern, wie ich bey Euer Gnaden zu Prach bin gebesen, unndt ich Dero angezagt hab von den vir Schreyben, die mir Ir[?] Röm[isch] K[ayserliches] May[estät] geben hat on die Corfirsten mit samt den Reysstetten von wegen meiner Biecher, unndt ich nicht underlassen hab kinnen Euer Gnaden anzuzagen, wie das dieselbige Schreyben wenig Nutz gebracht haben unndt [ich] nichts ausgericht hab und von allen Leytten verlassen bin. So bin ich bezwungen, meine Kunstkamer mit der Liberey, wies Euer Gnaden gesehen haben, unndt mit samt dem Haus, zu verkaufen, unndt mit dem selbigen Gelt meine Piecher druken lassen. So hab ich nit underlassen kinnen Euer Gnaden, als meinem gnedichen Herrn, zum ersten die Sach zu offerieren, und zu wissen thuen, wo Sie ein Lust hetten zu meiner Kunstkamer

Strada's optimism was misplaced: considered as an investment in real estate his house turned out to be a failure, and he would continue his unsuccessful attempts to convert it into ready money for the rest of his life. Rožmberk appears not to have risen to the bait, for in a letter to Hans Jakob Fugger of 1 March of the same year Strada proposed the house as a suitable residence for Prince Ferdinand of Bayern, Duke Albrecht's second son, who was rumoured to come and spend a few years at the Imperial court; but this offer again yielded no positive response.[80] In November 1575 Strada approached Elector August of Saxony. After thanking him for the subvention he had been given for the polyglot Dictionary, and presenting him with a set of copies of Titian's portraits of the first twelve Roman Emperors in return, Strada continues with a glowing description of his *Kunstkammer* and his library. He then presents its key to the Elector, thus symbolically presenting its contents, and begging him to accept it in exchange for a modest annual pension to maintain himself and his children, which would enable him to continue the Dictionary in Saxony. Again, there is no evidence that August seriously considered this proposal.[81]

An explicit refusal of Strada's offer, if any, must have been couched in friendly terms, if Strada a year later seriously expected August might employ him as an architect. That was the reason why early in September 1576, at the Imperial Diet at Regensburg, Strada presented a request to Maximilian, asking him for letters of recommendation and a passport to Saxony. But in the same request he also asked the Emperor to instruct his son Rudolf, King of the Romans, of Hungary and of Bohemia, to suggest to the Bohemian Estates that they present him with Strada's library, to serve as a royal library in Prague castle. He moreover begged Maximilian to ask Vilém z Rožmberk to intercede with the Estates to pay Strada a decent sum for it. In the letter he does not mention his printing ambitions as his motive, but refers to the load of debts he had accumulated both in Vienna and in Frankfurt, the latter of which must have been largely due

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mit samt dem Haus, so wolt ichs Euer Gnaden vil lieber verginnen, unndt auch wolfalar geben von Wegen der alten Kundschaft unndt deglige Dienst die mir Euer Gnaden thuen, der kainem Firsten, er sey gleych wer er wel; unndt ichs wol Euer Gnaden verginnen mecht, die weyl Euer Gnaden vormals mirs angebotten hatt, wo ichs verkhaufen wolt Eyer Genaden'.

80 Doc. 1574-03-01: '… non posso mancare di avisarLa qualmente io mi son risoluto di voler vender tutto il mio studio, con hogni qualunque cosa che n'è dentro; voglio anche vender la mia casa, et perchè già fu detto qui che Sua Excellenza voleva mandar il Ducha Ferdinando a star qualche anni apresso Sua Maestà, creddo che non potria trovar allogiamento il più commodo della mia casa, perchè in essa vi sonno xii stufe con tutte le altre commodità che si puole immaginare'.

81 Doc 1575-09-28; Strada's connection with the Elector of Saxony discussed in Lietzmann 1997.

FIGURES 14.28–14.30 Strada's three different printer's marks, on the title page and the colophon of his editions of Caesar's Commentaries, printed by Georg Rab (Corvinus) in Frankfurt in 1575, and on the title page of Serlio's Settimo Libro, printed by Andreas Wechel, Frankfurt 1575.

to investments in his publishing projects, such as those described in Ottavio's letter.[82]

This creative solution was not very realistic; in any case Maximilian's Privy Council decided not to discuss it, though Strada was granted the requested letters of recommendation to August of Saxony.[83] Strada must have reckoned with a refusal to his proposal, for in the same request he also proposed an alternative: he asked to be allowed to institute a lottery, in which his house and his collection, which together he valued at a total of seventeen thousand *Thaler*, would be the prizes. By selling lottery tickets he hoped thus to realize a sufficient sum to be able to pay his debts and to continue printing his books.[84] He

82 Doc. 1576-09-00: 'Suplisco Vostra Maestà Cesarea che mi voglia concedere una lettera alla Maestà del Serenissimo Re di Romani, che Sua Maestà domandi in dono la mia libraria con hogni cosa che vi è dentro, a li Signori Bohemi, et sia messo nel Castello per dellettatione di Sua Maestà. Anche una lettera al Signore di Rosenberg, che ne voglia trattare con essi Signori che mella paghino, et io cenne farro buon mercato, perchè mi bisogna far danari della mia robba, per qualche verso per pagare li mei gran debiti ch'io ò a Francoforte et Vienna, che né in l'uno, né in l'altro posso più tornare se non porto denari'.

83 Doc. 1576-09-03. Strada also obtained recommendations to August from Hubert Languet and Vilém z Rožmberk (Docs. 1567-09-07 and 1576-10-31; cf. Lietzmann 1997, p. 398).

84 Doc. 1576-09-00: 'Et in casu che Vostra Maestà Cesarea non mi voglia concedere queste lettere su nominate, La suplisco almeno che mi concedi una licenza di fare un lot, cioè metter alla ventura tutta la mia robba, casa, et il mio studio, con hogni cosa che vi è dentro. Et la casa mia sia fatta buona diecimilia taleri per il manco, perchè mi costa più a me et ora volendola fabricare, molto più costaria; et il studio sette milia, che tutta la summa

had premeditated this idea, for already in June he had, through his old friend Jacopo Dani, achieved that Grand Duke Francesco of Tuscany addressed a letter to Maximilian II supporting this initiative.[85] The proposal was in fact not unusual: to make a 'Glückshafen' of (part of) one's possessions, to entrust them to Fortune or 'mettere a la ventura', was a not uncommon form of doing business.[86] A later letter to Dani explains that opposition in Vienna frustrated Strada's plans; nevertheless in 1578 Strada repeated his request directly to the Estates of Lower Austria, who, after having passed it on for consultation to Archduke Ernest, answered again with a firm refusal a year later.[87]

14.6.3 *Ex Musaeo et Impensis Jacobi Stradae*

When Strada realized that his attempts to obtain direct subventions from patrons would not be sufficiently successful to continue printing after he had realized his first two projects, Serlio's *Settimo Libro* and Caesar's *Commentaries*,

montaria dicesette milia talleri, et oltre ad hogni spesa; et la lettera della licenza sia scritta di modo che nel regimento né quelli di Vienna, né altri mi possino impedire questo mio negotio'.

85 Doc. 1576-06-16: 'Ora, Signor Secretario, creddo che Vostra Signoria si riccordi et abbia alla memoria il mio Dictionario delle lingue, che già sonno xxv anni ch'io vi lavoro atorno, con molti huomini che scrivino in varie parte le lingue che vi entrano. Signor, per la grande spesa et per esser quattro anni ch'io non posso avere li mei avanzi dalla Corte, tanta mia fattica et spesa rimane in pendente, et hoggi o dimane ch'io mi moia li mei figliuoli non sonno abili a farlo finire. Io per non intralassare tal opera et non potendo esser pagato dalla Corte, me ò volsuto valere del mio, et ò volsuto vender la mia casa, la quale mi costa oltre x milia talleri, et Sua Maestà Cesarea la lauda per la più bella che sia in Vienna, ma non ò trovato compradore. Solum mi rimane una speranza sicura di farne danari con farne un Lot, cioè metterla alla ventura con tutta la mia robba al prezzo che farra stimata. La causa che mi move a chiedere la lettera a Sua Altezza si è perchè saro presto ispedito, et s'io la chiedessi a Sua Maestà saria mandata per via d'un consiglio a un altro, et forse mi si lassaria adietro o per malignità o nigligenza di qualche secretario. Vostra Signoria sa 'l costume della nostra Corte, e tanto più ch'io non sono tedesco, si che Vostra Signoria la intende; et la lettera di Sua Altezza sarra subito mandata al Singor Cancelliere, et ne faro spedito imediato'. Strada added a model for the Grandduke's letter, explaining the procedure: 'Egli dessidera da Vostra Maestà Cesarea una licenza di pottere far un lot, cioè metter alla ventura tutta la sua robba, case, studio, et hogni sua facoltà a quel prezzo che sarra stimato dalli architetti et servidori di Vostra Maestà Cesarea'. A note in Dani's hand in the margin, 'Si manda la lettera in bona forma' indicates that the letter was written.

86 Welch 2008.

87 Doc. 1577-10-04(c), Strada to Jacopo Dani: 'La lettera di Sua Altezza che mi mandò Vostra Signoria non fece frutto niuno, perchè subito quelli del paese non volsero aconsentire a Sua Maestà Cesarea, dicendo non volere aprir tal strada, si che patienza. Si che Vostra Signoria vede la morte del mio padrone à fatto si che tutte le mie fattiche anch'elle son morte; et staranno morte per insino che qualche Principe le farra resussitare et stampare…'; on the later request, see Docs. 1578-03-17 and 1579-04-07.

both published in 1575, he began to look for other means. Doubtless he had tried to interest professional publishers and printing houses to go shares in the investment needed, but it is not clear whether he was successful in this. The Caesar edition, printed by Sigmund Feyerabend's business partner Georg Rab (Corvinus), mentions the latter's name only in the colophon, which may indicate that he was not financially involved: its title page and its colophon present Strada's two printer's marks and both state that he had borne the printing costs: 'Ex Musaeo et impensis Jacobi Stradae Mantuanae, S[acrae]. C[aesareae]. M[aiestatis]. Antiquarij, et civis Romani' [Fig. 14.28–14.29].

On the other hand the printer of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, Andreas Wechel, probably invested in it, since it is his name that is given in the impressum, though again title page and colophon are decorated with two versions of Strada's printer's mark [Fig. 14.30].[88]

It can be concluded that Strada's projects were not commercially viable and could not be printed without subventions from wealthy patrons. Though there is no evidence that Maximilian contributed, Strada later claimed that he had intended to do so and had actually commanded Strada to discuss his project with the *Hofkammer*, but that his sudden death in October 1576 interrupted these negotiations. Be that as it may, it is certain that Maximilian's protection and his recommendation were of great value and that his death was a huge setback for Strada's projects.[89] In consequence Strada attempted to interest other Princes to take his projects under their wing, more often implicitly, but sometimes explicitly, such as when he offered Grand Duke Francesco of Tuscany some of his works to be printed at a press he had heard the Grand Duke intended to set up. Dani's notes indicated that the formal reply informed Strada that there was at the time no press operated on behalf of the Medici Grand Dukes, but that he was free to have his books printed at his own expense by one of the printers active in Florence, such as the Giunti or 'Maestro Giorgio

88 On Corvinus, who had come to Frankfurt recently and worked in partnership with the Frankfurt printers Sigmund Feyerabend and Weygand Han, see Klöss 1960; on Wechel, see Evans 1975.

89 Doc. 1577-10-04(c), Strada to Jacopo Dani: 'Si che Vostra Signoria vede la morte del mio padrone à fatto si che tutte le mie fattiche anch'elle son morte; et staranno morte per insino che qualche Principe le farra resussitare et stampare'; Doc 1581-01-04, Strada to August, Elector of Saxony: 'La M.C. mio padrone, che in Gloria, Max[imilia]no ne provisse più volte, che quando io volevo cominciar a far stampare, che S.M.C. mi voleva provedere alla spesa di quello facevo di bisogno, et di questo io ne dovvevo trattare con la camera, che di tutto ne haveria provisto al bisogno. Hora, Exc. Sign., quand'io volsi<…>cominciare a mettere ad esecutione questo negotio per stampare; io in stesso andai a Ratisbona a trovare S.M.C. la quale M. mi comandò che dovesse de l'tutto dar informatione alla Camera; et mentre si trattava questo negotio, S.M.C. morse'.

francese', that is Georges Marescot, who had taken over the printing house of the heirs of Lorenzo Torrentino in 1564. Strada made a similar, though less concrete suggestion in a letter of the same date to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara.[90]

14.7 The *Index Sive Catalogus*

14.7.1 *The Document*

Some years later, in a letter to Jacopo Dani of November 1581, Strada sent a list of works he intended to have printed in Frankfurt and offered to dedicate one or more of these to the Grand Duke. In the beginning of the same year Strada had made a similar, but more concrete proposal to the Elector August, to whom he had sent a copy of the same list of works.[91] The list sent to Florence

90 Doc. 1577-10-04(d), Strada to Grand Duke Francesco: 'Serenissimo Signor, ho inteso come Vostra Altezza vole che si rimetti in piedi la Sua belissima stamparia, et dar opera che si stampino libri non più stati visti. A questo io ne posso far offerta delli mei, li quali qui sotto nominaro; che per la morte del mio padrone son rimasto anch'essi morti per insino a tanto che'l Signor Iddio li provede<…> [sums up a number of titles] <…>Molte altre cose mi truovo che saria troppo lungo a volerle tutte nominare. Il mio Padrone ne havea già pigliato la protetione, che si cominciassino a stampare; et a me havea fatto carico ch'io facessi venire lettere et stampatori da Parisi. Ma la morte à guasto hogni cosa, si che se Vostra Serenissima Altezza volesse far questo benefitio al mondo, et lassar immortal nome et gloria di Lei con il fargli stampare, tutto sta in quella'. Dani's note jotted in the margin of Strada's letter to himself (cited in the preceding note): 'Et quanto alli suoi libri, [the Grand Duke] non ha di presente stamperia propria, ma vi sono in Fiorenza quella de' Giunti et di M[aest]ro Giorgio francese a quali li potra far stampare da se'. On Marescot, see Franco Pignatti, 'Marescotti, Giorgio', s.v. in *DBI* 70, 2007; Doc. 1577-10-04(b), Strada to Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara: 'Ma la morte del mio Padrone a causato che li mei libri con tutta la speranza a presso è anchor lei morta, patienza; et cossì staranno per fino a tanto che qualche Principe gli farra ressusitare, et finire per lei [?]. Suplisco Vostra Altezza che ci voglia far sopra qualche pensiero, et qui fargli vedere da Signor Suo Ambassador, che si potriano esser più presto di Vostra Altezza che di altro Principe che viva; ma La suplisco bene che questo rimanghi apresso di Lei<…>'.

91 Doc. 1581-11-02, Strada to Jacopo Dani: 'Io voglio in Fran[cofor]te far stampare le vite di tutti li Imperatori latini, graechi et germani, in lingua latina, li quali saranno parecchi volumi; et a cadauno Imperatore vi voglio nel fine della sua vita porvi tutte le sue medaglie; et di già se intagliano in rame qui in casa mia. Voria pregar la Signoria Vostra che con qualche occasione Vostra Signoria mostrasse Lei questo inventario di questi libri a Sua Altezza (li quali tutti se anno da stampare), et fargli offerta, se quella havesse accaro che qualche d'uno gli fosse dedicato, ch'io lo faria molto voluntieri, et mi saria summo favore'; Doc. 1581-01-04, Strada to August, Elector of Saxony: 'Mando a V. Alt un catalogo di libri scritti a mano, li quali son tutti in casa mia, et la maggior parte sonno in punto per metter alla stampa, et no[n] è coppia fuori in luocho alcuno<…>quellla [= Elector August] puol

has been preserved, the one sent to Dresden doubtless was a copy of the same list, the heading of which clearly states its character and function:

> Index or catalogue of the books that I, Jacopo Strada, in part composed myself at my own initiative, in part had composed and written [by others] at my commission and expense, and finally in part acquired and purchased by other means.

This *Index* exists in several copies, of which the versions sent to Florence and Dresden are the earliest that can be dated by their context [see Appendix D]. But it was drafted much earlier, perhaps already as early as 1576, when Strada discussed his projects with Maximilian II, certainly before August 1578, when Strada paraphrased a substantial part of its contents in his proposal to the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin. It has been preserved in several, almost identical copies. After the first forty-nine items listed in all of these, what appears to be the earliest copy continues with a list of hundred and fifty-one miscellaneous volumes of manuscripts, including over five hundred individual titles. For that reason the *Index sive catalogus* has been often interpreted as a 'catalogue' of Strada's library. Considering that it is a list of books in his collection, that view is not completely without foundation. But if so, it would only represent a fraction of Strada's library, which, according to himself, counted over three thousand printed books in addition to his manuscripts. It seems more likely that this second part of the *Index* represents manuscripts that Strada offered for sale to potential patrons.

The first part of the document, listing forty-nine items, certainly was offered to Strada's patrons: apart from the Elector of Saxony and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Elector Palatine was probably one of its recipients.[92] But Strada offered the titles listed in it not for purchase, but explicitly as works which he intended to have printed, soliciting financial support from his patrons in exchange for the dedication of the relevant item. This may seem odd in the case of one or two of the treasures described, such as the huge bird's eye view of Rome—'a thing, by Hercules! worth contemplating'—which Strada had commissioned from 'that excellent Netherlandish painter' (item 16) or a similar image of Cairo, which Strada had copied from an old painting preserved in the

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vedere questo mio Indice (o Catalogo) di sudetti libri, li quali M[ae]s[tr]o Elias Hutter, su nominato, a visti in buona parte, et egli ne potra dare a V. Alt. piena informat[ion]e<…>'.

92 The full text given in Appendix D. Complete copies preserved in Vienna, ÖNB, *CV* 10101; *ibid.*, *CV*. 10117; SLA, *Magistratstestamente* nr. 104; Firenze, ASF, *Carte e spoglie Strozziane*, I, f. 308, c. 64–69 (the copy sent to Jacopo Dani in 1581); Rome/Città del Vaticano, Vatican Library, *Cod. pal.* 1919 (copy probably sent to the Elector Palatine Friedrich III or Ludwig VI).

Gonzaga palace of San Sebastiano at Mantua (item 17).[93] It is equally odd in a case such as the Koran written in golden script and splendidly illuminated that had reputedly belonged to Mustafa, Suleiman the Magnificent's eldest son who was strangled as a result of his stepmother Roxelana's palace intrigue (item 26). Such splendid objects may well have been included mostly because of Strada's pride in having obtained them, and perhaps partly in the hope that one of his patrons would make a substantial offer for one of them. Yet in view of the high quality he envisaged for some of the other items he certainly did intend to have printed, it cannot be excluded that even for Prince Mustafa's Koran he had some sort of luxury printed reproduction in mind, something akin to a modern facsimile edition: after all he knew 'of no book that for elegance can be compared with this, such is its beauty and excellence, so that it equals precious stones'.

Moreover almost all the other items included in the list were intended to be printed, as is clear from their descriptions, which give information on their contents, but sometimes also on their status of completion, and in how far the illustrations had already been finished and engraved. This latter fact is of importance, because the common characteristic of almost all of the items included in the *Index* is that Strada intended to illustrate them profusely. In many cases the images were in fact the *raison d'être* of the work, as is the case for the various 'tabulae' listed in the *Index*. Doubtless these were intended to be printed on separate sheets which the buyer could at will have bound in a book, have pasted together on a linen support, as was the custom for geographical maps (a good solution for the bird's eye's views of Rome and Cairo and for the view of the *Castrametatio* of Suleiman the Magnificent at his siege of Vienna (items 11, 12 and 8), or formed into a *rotulus*: a good solution for sets of images of the Columns of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and Theodosius, the frieze of the *Camera degli Stucchi* in the Palazzo del Te (items 37, 40, 41 and 42), and the various images documenting how the Sultan, his suite and his army set out for his campaigns (items 10 and 11).

93 It has been suggested above (Ch. 2.3) that Strada may have known Hermannus Posthumus and perhaps Maarten van Heemskerck in Rome in the 1530s; Posthumus afterwards came to Mantua, and later worked in Landshut, an itinerary close to that of Strada himself. Manuscript material from Strada's collection to some extent relates to the Heemskerck and Posthumus material (the Berlin sketchbooks). Posthumus' well-known painting *Tempus edax rerum* now in the Liechtenstein collection provides some inkling of what Strada's commission may have looked like. On the Cairo painting, see Brown 1984; Bourne 2001, p. 108. Strada may have been inspired by the earlier huge woodcut image of Cairo engraved by Giovan Domenico Zorzi and published with an accompanying description by Matteo Pagano in Venice in 1549, the whole edited with a full-size facsimile reproduction in Warner 2006.

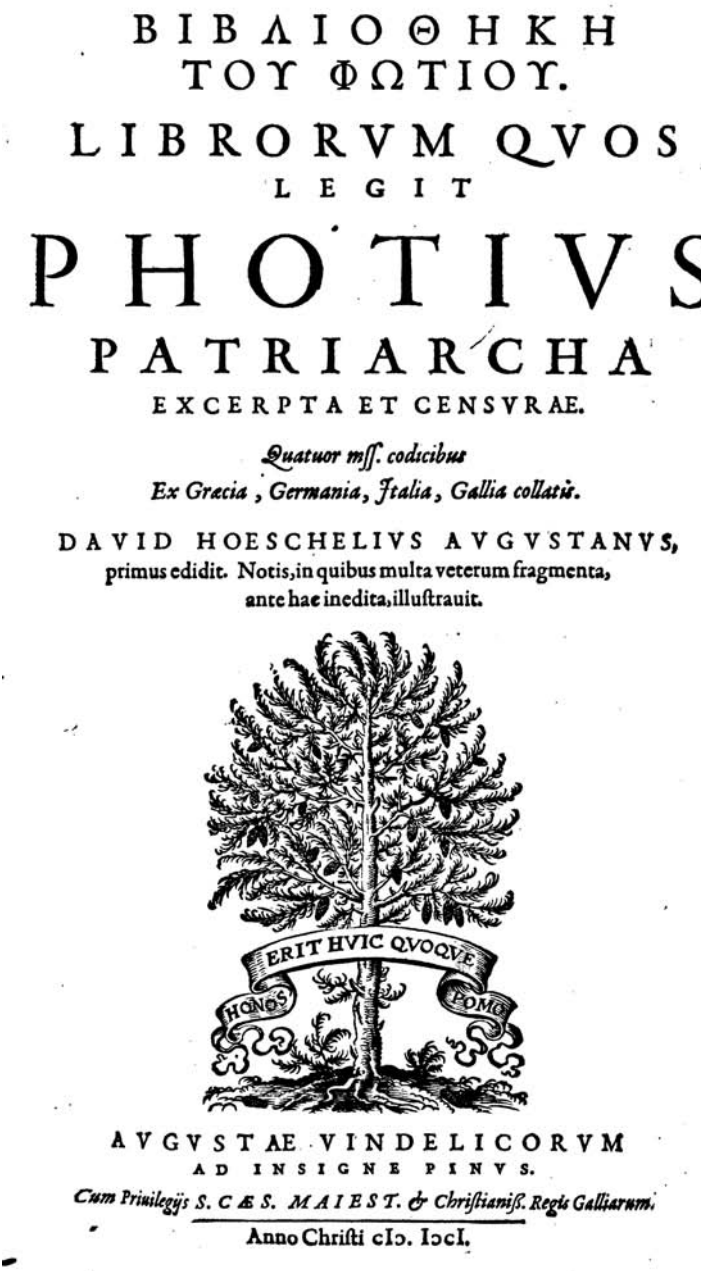


FIGURE 14.31 The first edition of the Bibliotheca of Photius I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Augsburg 1601, edited by David Höschel. This is a collection of resumés and reviews of 278 mostly Greek books, many of which have been lost since. Strada intended to publish an edition of this text.

The *Index sive catalogus* is a very important document, not only for its information on the holdings of Strada's *Musaeum*, as discussed in Chapter 13, but also because it provides the complete and final summary of Strada's publishing project. It was this document he sent to potential sponsors, it was this document he paraphrased in his letter to Plantin, and most significantly, it was this document that he appended unchanged to his will, charging his heirs and his executors to realize this specific programme. It took him about fifteen years since his first publications to establish this final programme, so it was well-considered, and must reflect both his own tastes and convictions, and his perception of what was feasible, considering the patronage available and the demand in the marketplace. The results of his efforts demonstrate that this perception was overly optimistic; yet a brief survey of the programme will be useful in providing a more clear idea of Strada's tastes, convictions and ideals.

The contents of the *Index sive catalogus* corresponds closely with Strada's interest as we have seen them in discussing his earlier career and his collections: its principal components are antiquarian, artistic and historical materials, to which are added a number of projected publications on similar aspects of the Ottoman Empire. Strada's library was very large and covered all faculties and disciplines, and doubtless he provided his patrons with literature in all these fields. But in the *Index* popular subjects such as theology, medicine, jurisprudence, even classical literature are conspicuously absent. It is clear that Strada did not intend to set up a sort of general publishing house, but explicitly specialized in the few fields of his own expertise. In the following the document, the text of which is annexed in Appendix D, can only be briefly surveyed.

14.7.2 The *Dictionarium XI Linguarum*

The principal works listed, and with which the *Index* opens, are huge compilations of antiquarian material: inscriptions, coins and other remains from the ancient world. Though no classical texts are included as such, nevertheless the philological aspect is present in the most ambitious work in the whole list, the *Dictionarium XI linguarum*, a profusely illustrated polyglot encyclopaedia that has already been discussed above (Ch. 14.5.2). In its description in the *Index sive catalogus* Strada explicitly points out that its entries are all based on the phrases provided by the 'best received authors' of classical Antiquity or, as he wrote to Grand Duke Francesco I: 'all these languages are presented according to the phrases of [= as found in the works of] Cicero and other learned men'.[94] Such interest in language and correct usage was only natural, since it

94 Doc. 1577-10-04(d): 'Tutte queste lingue si parlano secondo le frases di Cicerone et altri huomini dotti'.

immediately reflected the practice of the humanist scholars with whom Strada rubbed shoulders at least since his intimacy with Hans Jakob Fugger and his circle, and some of whom he employed in the actual writing of these entries. The continuous labour on this huge project is directly reflected by item nr. 27 in the *Index sive catalogus*: a set of Arabic, Turkish and Persian dictionaries in manuscript.[95]

The encyclopaedic, comprehensive character of the *Dictionarium XI linguarum* and of several other works mentioned in the *Index* reflects the ideas of Fugger and his circle, as does the one bibliographical work included. This is a planned edition in two volumes of the *Bibliotheca* or *Myrobiblion* of the Byzantine scholar St. Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (ca 810–893 AD), a compilation of summaries and critical reviews of Greek Classical and Patristic texts that is of the greatest importance, because many of the works treated in it have since been irrevocably lost. Strada's project (item 21) antedates the *editio princeps* [Fig. 14.31] of this important text by about a quarter of a century.[96] The complicated history of this edition (Augsburg 1601) and of the manuscripts on which it was based, is exhaustively treated in a five hundred-page study by Luciano Canfora. It was the fruit of a subversive collaboration between David Hoeschel, a Protestant humanist from Augsburg, and Andreas Schott, a highly learned Flemish Jesuit, who a few years later also published the first Latin edition.[97] Though Canfora does refer to the transcript of the Venetian manuscript in Fugger's possession—possibly provided by Strada—he makes no reference to Strada's project. This was at least partly based on Fugger's transcript, which Strada borrowed shortly before Fugger's library was transferred to Munich. Strada's project may have been a collaboration with his Vienna colleague,

95 Since these are of different sizes, Strada describes the objects as he had acquired them, rather than a hypothetical manuscript readily edited for the printer, and they will not have been among his priorities.

96 Strada's letter to Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany shows that he was well aware of the importance of this text: 'Poi mi truovo una Bibliotheca Greca scritta anticha, che sonno dui gran volumi, dove qui vi si trovano infiniti nomi di authori che da noi son mai stati uditi né nominati, et a libro per libro parla molto distinto quello che cadaunno di loro anno scritto' (Doc. 1577-10-04(d)).

97 *Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Φωτίου: Librorum quos legit Photius Patriarcha excerpta et censurae*, ed. David Hoeschel (Augs-burg: 1601); *Photii Bibliotheca. Sive Lectorum à Photio librorum Recensio, Censura atque Excerpta, Philologorum, Oratorum, Historicorum, Philosophorum, Medicorum, Theologorum* / è Graeco Latine reddita, Scholiisque illustrata, ed. Andreas Schott (Augsburg: 1606); both books were printed at the same press, and dedicated to the same patron, Marcus Welser; cf. Reynolds/Wilson 1991 p. 321; Canfora 2001; Dickey 2007, pp. 103–104; Völkel 2010, pp. 298–299; Ferber 2010, pp. 412–416.

Johannes Sambucus, whose work on an edition of Photius' *Bibliotheca* at this same time is discussed by Canfora.[98]

Heading the *Index sive catalogus*, the *Dictionarium XI Linguarum* is obviously the work by which Strada set most store, and in the composition of which he had heavily invested. Basically it should be considered as an illustrated encyclopaedia of the ancient world, comparable to similar antiquarian projects such as those planned by the Academia Vitruviana in Rome in the 1540s and 1550s, and Pirro Ligorio's manuscripts. Like those it illustrated the individual entries by relevant texts and images of coins, inscriptions, monuments and so on. In covering eleven languages its scope was even larger than these other projects, which likewise were never completed, let alone published. When Strada described his project in the index, about a quarter of a century after he had begun it, he had just about reached the letter B. The complete letter A took up 'sixteen huge folio volumes containing 2,500 folii, written on both sides in

FIGURE 14.32 Julius Caesar, woodcut by Hans Rudolf Manuel Deutsch the Younger (ornamental frame) and Rudolf Wyssenbach (the portraits), from Jacopo Strada, Imperatorum Romanorum omnium orientalium et occidentalium verissimae imagines, Zürich (Andreas Gessner) 1559, a pirated edition of Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, Lyon 1553.

FIGURES 14.33–14.34 The Emperor Diocletian and the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, chiaroscuro woodcuts from Hubertus Goltzius' Les images presque de tous les empereurs depuis C. Julius Caesar jusques a Charles.v. et Ferdinandus son frere, pourtraites au vif, prinses des medailles anciennes <…>, Antwerp 1557.

98 Canfora 2001, Ch. XI, 'Zsamboky', pp. 85–90; a note in a catalogue by the Munich librarian Wolfgang Prommer documents Strada having borrowed the transcript from Fugger's library: cf. Hartig 1917, p. 116, n.1.

a very small letter'. In his letter to Plantin Strada concedes that it would be difficult to have this actually printed, but he suggests that an edition of his *Index* to the entire *Dictionarium* might be feasible. This *Index* is the second item listed in the *Index sive catalogus*, and by itself took up sixteen folio volumes of 3,506 sheets in all, again written on both sides, in two columns, in a small letter. Referring to a book of which only a minimal part was as yet existent, this *Index*, on which Strada and his assistants had laboured for eleven years, probably should be considered as his plan for the *Dictionarium* as a whole, an inventory of the terms which were to be included and of the relevant materials available.[99]

Since the material, if still existent, has not as yet been identified, it is difficult to judge its character and its quality. Perhaps one should consider the *Dictionarium XI linguarum* as a huge illustrated encyclopaedia, giving full excerpts of source texts and editorial comments, whereas its *Index* would have been limited to the terms, their translations, and brief source references (both to texts and images). In his letter to Plantin Strada compares it to the concordances of Plantin's polyglot *Biblia Regia*. Probably it looked like—and could be used as—a 'normal' dictionary.[100]

14.7.3 *Other Antiquarian Works*

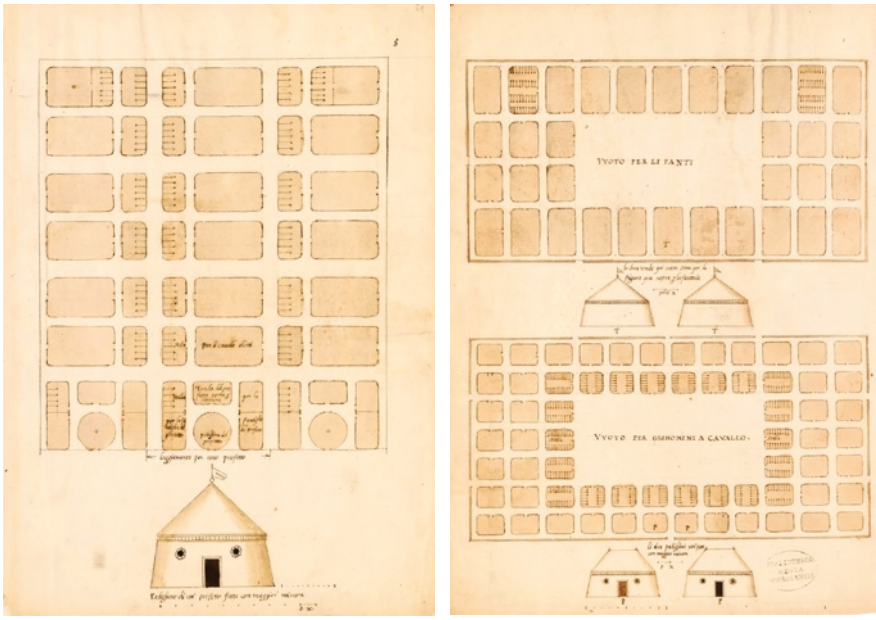
Basis for the content of the *Dictionarium XI Linguarum* was the antiquarian information Strada had brought together in the course of his career, and which he had codified in two *corpora* which in the *Index sive catalogus* immediately follow the *Dictionarium* and its indices. Item 3 consists of seven volumes of inscriptions, carefully reproduced, including the surrounding ornament 'exactly as they are in the marbles, stones and tablets themselves'. Strada precisely

99 According to Strada's letter to Adam von Dietrichstein of March 1566 he had finished this *Index* already by that time; but there he mentions that it took up eighteen volumes, rather than the sixteen mentioned in the *Index sive catalogus*. (Doc. 1566-03-01). Perhaps this indicates that he had had prepared a fair copy for the typesetter at some point. On the other hand the letter to the Grand Duke Francesco of October 1577 also mentions eighteen volumes (Doc. 1577-10-04(d)).

100 Doc. 1577-10-04: 'Li Indici del mio Dictionario qualli sonno XVI. volumi, nelli quali contengano tutto quelle che si truova nelli buoni authori Latini Greci et Hebrei et Caldei, con tutto quello che si truova nei marmi antichi di figura et de Inscriptioni et di Medaglie, et di hogni qualunque cosa che si puole mostrare à viva ò in dissegno; questi Indici che li stampasse di lettera minuta in tre colonne giudico saria come son le concordantia della Biblia del Plantino. Questi Indici è cosa maravigliosa à creddere che non li vede; perche tutto quello ch' l'huomo si puote immaginare è qui anottato et cittato il luogo dove si lege ò vero si vede; da tutti gli huomini dotti che l'hanno visto è stato giudicato ch' se mai si stampasse saria il piu util libro che si potesse desiderare'.

sums up the number of inscription included in each volume: the first six volumes reproduced a total of 5,718 inscription found in Europe, Asia minor (e.g. Turkey and the Eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean) and Egypt, whereas the seventh volume was a miscellaneous volume dedicated to the *Urbs*, the city of Rome itself.[101]

Item 4 complements the epigraphic corpus with a numismatic corpus, consisting of eleven volumes describing nine thousand antique coins: this can be identified with Strada's *A*(*ureum*) *A*(*rgentum*) *A*(*eneum*) *Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ*: complete manuscript copies of this are preserved in the



FIGURES 14.35–14.36 Sebastiano Serlio, Castrametatio after Polybius, drawings in pen and wash showing his reconstructions of elements of the Roman military camp; Munich, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek.

101 This detailed summary shows that Strada described an existing manuscript which unfortunately must have been lost afterwards; Theodor Mommsen and his colleagues of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* were aware of Strada's description and made an unsuccessful search for the volumes. Only the Spanish inscriptions printed in Strada's 1575 edition of Caesar are included in the CIL, which also gives a succinct account of his antiquarian career (Hübner 1869, pp. IX–X).

University Libraries of Vienna and Prague.[102] Though Strada refers to the coins which he possessed either in the original or in the drawings he made of them in the cabinets of other collectors, it appears that this volume was not intended to be illustrated.

Iitem 7 was conceived as the visual component of this textual numismatic corpus: this was a book drawn in Strada's own hand on folio sheets each showing images of twelve coins and their reverses. These were chronologically ordered, beginning at Julius Caesar and ending with the ruling Emperor, Rudolf II. Compared to this, item 5, which showed just one coin and its reverse preceding a brief life of each Emperor, should be considered as a luxury item directed at a more general public. As to its contents it can be compared to Strada's own *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, as to its appearance Strada probably envisaged something close to the beautifully executed volumes of Hubert Goltzius' *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, with their splendid chiaroscuro woodcuts [Figs. 14.33–14.34], rather than to Andreas Gessner's pirated folio edition of Strada's *Epitome* [Figs. 14.32 and above, Figs. 14.12–14.13].

Complementing these series of imperial effigies based on their coinage was a book illustrating their portraits from portrait busts preserved in Rome and elsewhere (item 6). This item can be related to the separate sets of drawings recently rediscovered in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett [above, Ch. 13.7.1; Figs. 13.78 and 13.79–13.81]: though not identical, they give a good impression what it would have looked like.[103] Classical sculpture was further represented in the sets of drawings of the friezes of the columns of Trajan (item 37) and of Marcus Aurelius (item 41) in Rome and of Theodosius in Constantinople (item 40), and possibly in item 36, drawings of 'all sorts of figures, reliefs, and ancient worked and carved sarcophagi and monuments [found] among the Roman, Neapolitan, Florentine, Venetian, Mantuan and other Italian peoples'. But since the phrasing of the latter description suggests the contemporary political situation rather than that of the Roman Empire, the chance is that these drawings represented or at least included medieval and contemporary funerary monuments, rather than ancient ones.

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102 Vienna, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. IIII-160898 [old shelfmark III 483]; Prague, University Library, Ms VII A 1. Two volumes of an unfinished version are preserved in Munich, BSB-HS, Clm 163 and 164; cf. Jansen 1993(a), pp. 215–217 and 227–232.

103 SKD-KK, inv. nr. Ca 75: *Imperatorum Romanorum ac eorum coniugum*<…>; SKD-KK, inv. nr. Ca 76 (vol. I), Ca 77 (vol. II) and Ca 75 (vol. III): *Series continuata omnium Imperatorum*<…>; full titles given Ch. 13.7.1, notes 81–82; cf. Melzer 2010, pp. 130–138; Jansen / Metze 2018. Strada described his ideas for the illustrations of this item in his letter to Christophe Plantin, cf. below, Ch. 14.8.

FIGURES 14.37–14.39 Lambert de Vos, Images from his Kostümbuch, showing costumes and scenes from life in Ottoman Turkey; drawings in pen and ink and watercolours, 1574; Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.

Item 34, on the other hand, 'some books, drawn by hand, of buildings and architecture<…>which I myself have drawn after most ancient buildings, and have reduced as much as was possible to the same scale' probably was dedicated chiefly to (reconstructions of) ancient Roman monuments, though it may have included later buildings—such as Pisa Cathedral [above, Fig. 13.22] or the Florentine Baptistery—that at the time were considered antique or equivalent to the Antique.

Among the antiquarian works there are several with a military theme. The friezes of the three Columns of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and Theodosius already mentioned are the principal examples, since these show military campaigns conducted by each of these Emperors: that of Trajan in particular is a mine of detailed information about the art of warfare as practised by the Romans. In this respect it is interesting that Strada intended to publish Giulio Romano's double frieze from the *Camera degli Stucchi* in the Palazzo del Te (item 14) not as a contemporary work of art, but as a complement to these three authentic friezes: he trusted Giulio's archaeological acumen sufficiently to consider it as an authoritative reconstruction of the manner in which Julius Caesar set out on his campaigns.

The same seems true of Sebastiano Serlio's reconstruction of the *Castrametatio*, the lay-out of the Roman military camp as described by Polybius and later writers. According to Strada, at the request of King Francis I Serlio had designed a huge plan (*tabula*) or reconstruction of this (item 12), and a companion piece in which Polybius' plan was adapted for the lay-out of a walled garrison

town, which Francis intended to use for the construction of two fortified places on the borders with Piedmont and Flanders (item 13). These were really huge objects of nine feet square, indicating that both lay-out and individual sections—tents or army barracks—were shown in great detail. Some idea of its appearance can be had from the manuscript of Serlio's so-called 'Ottavo libro' in Munich [Figs. 14.35–14.36].[104] For Strada this still was not enough, since he explicitly commissioned Serlio to write a new book, which possibly may have been similar to the Munich manuscript (i.e. a description and illustration of a 'cittadella murata'), but more likely was meant to be a more scholarly reconstruction of Polybius' description (item 33). Strada stated that he had the woodblocks for this publication ready, in the same size—and doubtless commissioned at the same time and from the same artisans—as those used for his 1575 edition of the *Settimo Libro.*[105]

14.7.4 *The Ottoman Army*

Strada shared an interest in the military strategy and technique of the Ottoman Empire with many of his contemporaries. It seems a conscious parallel that next to the images documenting the battle order of the Roman Emperors as depicted in the Column of Trajan, Strada intended to print similar documentation of the manner in which the Sultan and his armies set out on their campaigns. He possessed two sets of documentation of this, both 'tabulae', the first of which had been reduced to a book format: this had been copied from a set of drawings which Antoine Escalin des Aimars, baron de la Garde, the legendary Capitaine Paulin or Polin, ambassador and admiral of the French king's galleys, had brought back from Constantinople as a gift for his sovereign (item 10).[106]

104 BSB-HS, *Cod icon.* 190; described by Marianne Reuter, 'Beschreibung der Handschrift *Cod. icon.* 190 Tresorhandschrift', in: BSB-*CodIcon Online* (Tue Jul 24 22:24:34 Cest 2012). It was published together with the Munich manuscript of the *Sesto Libro* and the Vienna manuscript of the *Settimo Libro* by Francesco Paolo Fiore and Tancredi Carrunchio (Serlio 1994).

105 Strada's manuscripts of these items are lost, as are the woodcuts he had made for item 33. Strada had also commissioned a set of woodcuts for the *Sesto Libro*, a set of proofs of which has been preserved in Vienna, which was published as an appendix to Rosenfeld's facsimile edition of the Avery manuscript. The *Sesto Libro* remained unpublished until Rosci's and Rosenfeld's facsimile editions of the two preserved manuscripts (Serlio/Rosci 1966; Serlio/Rosenfeld 1978). It is not mentioned in Strada's preserved correspondence and copyright privileges. Perhaps he abandoned its printing because of the damage to the woodblocks described in Ottavio's letter, perhaps he thought it not sufficiently diverse, and less practical than the *Settimo Libro.*

106 Antoine Escalin des Aimars, baron de la Garde-Adhémar, Marquis de Brégançon (1498?–1578), was a *général des galères* generally known as 'le Capitaine Poulain' (or Polin or

The second 'tabula' (item 11) was much more splendid, better drawn and showing more human figures and 'other things' than Escalin's version. It had been brought back to Vienna from Constantinople by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, Ferdinand and Maximilian's learned ambassador to the Sultan, who allowed Strada to copy it (as well as presenting him with countless ancient coins). Its style may have been similar to the famous *Kostümbuch* drawn in Constantinople by Lambert de Vos a few years later for Busbecq's successor, Karel Rijm [Fig. 14.37–14.39].[107]

Just as these drawings provided an Ottoman, contemporary parallel to those of the friezes of the Roman column monuments, Strada's documentation of the Roman *castrametatio* was mirrored by no less than three different *tabulae* documenting the manner in which the Turkish army encamped. The first of these (item 8) was based on a huge map of Suleiman's 1527 siege of Vienna in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua, which Strada had borrowed from the Duke in order to have it copied in 1571.[108] The original was painted by an unnamed Flemish artist in gouache on canvas shortly after the event. It depicted the siege in great detail, paying particular attention to the various tents housing the Sultan himself, his Pashas and the captains of his Janissaries as well as to the actual topography of Vienna and its surrounding countryside. The second one (item 9) was not quite as magnificent as the first: it showed Suleiman's *castrametatio* in his wars against the Persians. This had been painted by 'some Frenchman who in Turkey had abjured the Christian faith', and it had been brought back from Constantinople by Strada's friend and patron, Bishop Antonius Verantius (Antun Vrančić), Busbecq's fellow ambassador.[109] The third instance (item 39) consisted of two large images, the sheets of which were bound as a book, but its draughtsman and origin are defined no further. Finally item 28, a 'chronicle written in Arabic on [the history and/or the genealogy of] the Ottoman dynasty' is paralleled in item 19, *Liber de familia illustrissimae domus Austriacae*, on the history and the genealogy of the House of Austria.

Paulin); he was a protégé of the French soldier and writer Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey (and the subject of a sonnet by the latter's nephew Joachim du Bellay). He was François I's envoy to Suleiman the Magnificent in 1541. See Anselme De Sainte-Ange/Ange De Sainte-Rosalie 1733, pp. 929–930; Bouvier 2007. Strada also possessed a manuscript military treatise by Guillaume du Bellay, which may have reached him through the same agency (mentioned in his 1574 copyright privilege, Doc. 1574-05-30).

107 Bremen, University Library, Ms. Or 9; for a annotated facsimile edition, see Vos/Koch 1991. On Busbecq, see Von Martels 1989.

108 Cf. above, Ch. 9.7; Docs. 1571-03-19; 1571-11-20; 1577-10-04(a).

109 On Antun Vrančić and his connection with Strada, see above, Ch. 11.3.

14.7.5 *Contemporary Art*

On his travels Strada had collected huge quantities of documentation, by direct purchase as well as by explicit commissions, both of antiquarian material—numismatics, inscriptions, sculptures, the remains of ancient monuments—and of contemporary achievements in the arts. Though the accent in his publishing programme is squarely on the antiquarian material, five items in the *Index sive catalogus* show that Strada did intend to publish some of the contemporary material as well. Two of these are collections of images of palaces and of monumental tombs respectively, found in Rome and in the principal Italian cities (items 35 and 36). We do not know what they looked like, but their description suggests a high-class type of coffee-table book, which could serve both as a souvenir for travellers and as a source of inspiration for patrons and the artists they employed. Their type is similar to the print series published from the mid-sixteenth century onward by Roman and Venetian printer's firms, such as Antonio Lafréry and Hieronymus Cock, mostly documenting the antiquities of Rome. Strada knew these series very well and they may well have served as his example for these two items. His interest in documenting contemporary monuments nevertheless seems a little out of the ordinary.

Two other items, however, are quite out of the ordinary: these are the complete reproduction of the entire decoration of Raphael's *Loggia* in Vatican Palace (item 42) and of the architecture and decoration of Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Te and of the apartments he designed in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua (item 41). The lengthy descriptions in the *Index* indicate the value that Strada attached to these items, both of which were based on the reproduction drawings he had commissioned himself, and which have been discussed in greater

FIGURES 14.40–14.42 Jan I Moretus, here by Rubens, actually wrote the answer by Christophe Plantin (here by Hendrick Goltzius) to the letter Strada had sent him through Rembertus Dodonaeus, here in the portrait included in the first edition of his Cruijdeboeck (1554).

detail above [Figs. 13.102–13.107].[110] The project for the publication of such a detailed survey of a contemporary monument is rather unusual—a parallel is the print series by the Ghisi family of the Sistine Chapel ceiling—and Strada can be considered to be rather in advance of his time: the *Loggia* in its entirety was first reproduced in print only in the later eighteenth century.[111]

Much of the material intended to be used in these various volumes doubtless was likewise drawn upon for item 44: a hugely expanded, illustrated edition of Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, which had first been published in Bologna in 1550. This was a project of long standing, since it had already been included in the copyright privilege Strada had obtained from Charles V. in January 1556; I will come back to it below.[112]

14.7.6 *Miscellaneous Materials*

In addition to the antiquarian material, the contemporary art and the Ottoman themes, the *Index sive catalogus* lists a few books in other fields, mostly rather succinctly described, which suggest that Strada included them for their rarity, their curiosity value, and perhaps for the supposed interest of some of his patrons, rather than out of any specific personal affinity. These include some esoteric works on magic, alchemy and divination: items 22 (*Picatrix*), 23 (*Annulus Salomonis*) and 24 (*De geomantia liber*). Items 29, 30 and 31, concerned with chronology, belonged together and consisted of an Arabic treatise on the fabrication of clocks and calendars, another Arabic calendar and a very carefully executed astrolabe and its tables. Item 32 was another astrolabe, which came from Jerusalem, was therefore 'extremely old' and its inscriptions were all in Chaldean. Finally items 25, 26 and 28 were of a theological nature: item 26 was the Koran written in golden script already referred to, item 25 a Bible written in Arabic which Paolo Strada had brought with him from Constantinople, and item 48 a Greek genealogy of the Holy Virgin. Such miscellaneous items must have been included in the list primarily because of their curiosity value, a conclusion which is corroborated by the closing passage of the *Index* which refers to the many other beautiful and rare things Strada kept in his library and his *Musaeum*.

110 Above, Ch. 13.8.1.

111 In three series of prints engraved by Giovanni Volpato and Giovanni Ottaviani after designs by Giovanni Camporesi, Gaetano Savorelli and Luigio Teseo, published in Rome 1772–1776. On the prints of the Sistine ceiling: Moltedo 1991, pp. 68–79 (*Last Judgment* and *Prophets and Sybils* by Giorgio Ghisi) and pp. 80–97 (series of *Ignudi*, Sybils and Prophets and other figures by Adamo Scultori).

112 Below, Ch. 14.8; Doc. 1556-01-08.

14.8 Strada's Approach of Christophe Plantin

Summarizing, one must conclude that, though Strada may have ultimately intended to publish all of the works listed in the *Index sive catalogus*, some of them were nevertheless closer to his heart than others. Moreover Strada was not completely destitute of a sense of reality, and in his less sanguine moments he realized that not all his projects were feasible. Thus in his letter to Grand Duke Francesco of Tuscany he showed that he knew that the printing even of the letter A only of his *Dictionary* really was a practical impossibility—though he continued to hope to have at least its indices printed. As we have seen, Strada had hoped the Grand Duke would himself undertake to have this and other items from his programme printed at Florence.[113] At the Grand Duke's polite refusal, Strada decided to approach a professional publisher. Characteristically he opted for the biggest professional publisher in Europe: the Antwerp 'Arch-printer' Christophe Plantin [Fig. 14.41].

Through his connection with the book trade Strada was well aware of Plantin's productions: thus when in 1573 he had requested Maximilian II to recommend his fundraising to print the letter A of his *Dictionary*, he had explicitly compared it with the concordances of Plantin's famous Polyglot Bible, which was just coming out at that time.[114] When Rembertus Dodonaeus, the well-known Flemish botanist, came to Vienna in 1574 to serve as Maximilian's physician [Fig. 14.42], he appears to have been sufficiently impressed by Strada's

113 Doc. 1577-10-04/d: 'Il mio Dictionario delle undeci lingue, ci è latina, grecha, hebrea, turcha, araba, persiana, spagnola, francese, tedescha et italiana. Questa si è fattica et spesa incredibile a chi non lo vede. Tutte queste lingue si parlano secondo le frases di Cicerone et altri huomini dotti; alli suoi lochi è posto le medaglie antiche, li marmi scritti, le statue, edifitii, et altre cose che sariano troppo longa matteria a volergli tutti nominare. La lettera A è scritta et sonno volumi 14; gli indici sonno volumi 18. Questi indici si potriano stampare, che secondo il calculo che sopra ne ò fatto sariano dui gran tomi simili a quelli del Thesaurus Linguae Latinae di Roberto Stefano di Paris; in questi indici vi sonno nominate tutte le cose che sonno al mondo di hogni genere. Ma la lettera A su nominata, questo saria impossibile a stamparla, ma si potria scrivere con dessignarvi le figure, et fargli ben legare in varii volumi, et porgli nella Sua libraria de Medici tanto famosa al mondo'.

114 Doc. 1573-00-00: 'Questo Dictionario si trova adessa la lettera A al fine, e perchè, egli volendola far stampare, ci va grandissima spesa negl'intagli delle figure, le quali sonno medaglie antiche di hogni genere, et statue, inscriptioni, sepulture et altre cose, le quali sonno tutte ritratte da le vere antiquità, fedelmente et benissimo immitate, egli non si truova il modo del danaro di metterlo alla stampa. Et questa lettera A come sia stampata saranno parecchi tomi, o volumi, et sarra poco manco della Biblia Complutensi che in questo anno il Plantino à stampata in Anversa, la quale la Maestà del Serenissimo Re Catholico a sue spese et liberalità à fatto stampare'. In 1577 Strada proposed a selection from his programme to Francesco I (Docs. 1577-10-04/a and 1577-10-04/b).

works to suggest him to offer at least some of them to Plantin, and to be willing to recommend them to the printer, a good friend and of course the publisher of his own famed *Cruijdeboeck*, one of Plantin's first, finest and most perennially popular editions.

At the time Strada did not avail himself of this offer, but once Dodonaeus had returned to Antwerp in March 1578, and Strada's other attempts to realize his ambitions had foundered, he wrote to Dodonaeus reminding him of his promise, and included a list of the books he asked Dodonaeus to present to Plantin. This list is an item by item paraphrase in Italian of the *Index sive catalogus*, and thus provided Plantin at one go with the entire publishing programme Strada had in mind, in case anything in it might appeal to his correspondent.[115] But Strada singled out one item in which he thought Plantin might be particularly interested, and with which he himself had been strenuously occupied over the last year. This was an expanded, illustrated Latin edition of Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, which had been first published in Italian in 1550, two years before its author's death. Though as item nr 44 it comes relatively late in Strada's *Index sive catalogus*, it was nevertheless a project with which he had been involved for many years, since a Latin edition of the book is already mentioned in the copyright privilege Strada obtained from Charles V in 1556: that is ten years before the first Latin translation, by the humanist lawyer Wilhelm Kyriander, would actually be printed in Cologne.[116]

Strada appears to have continued collecting material to illustrate it ever since, but in 1577 he undertook a concerted effort to complete the appendices he envisaged. He wrote to the Dukes of Mantua and Ferrara, sketching his plans for the new edition in rosy colours and telling them exactly what materials he intended to add to the original version. For each region he intended to add a precise geographical map, as well as views of its principal cities and fortresses. For every city he also intended to add images of the principal monuments, 'that is, both the ancient buildings, and the modern, with their plans and elevations well measured'; then the ancient inscriptions 'drawn exactly as in they are in the marble, with the figures and ornaments that are found around them'. Moreover he wanted to add appendices with the names of the illustrious men of letters of each city and the works they had written; and finally

115 Doc. 1578-08-13.

116 On Leandro Alberti, cf. Redigonda 1960. The first edition of the *Descrittione di tutta Italia* was published in Bologna in 1550. The Latin translation, *Descriptio totius Italiae*, was first published in Cologne 1566, and immediately reprinted. It might be worthwhile to investigate how much this translation, by the German scholar and lawyer Wilhelm Kyriander, may have or may not have owed to Strada's initiative. Strada intended to use Kyriander's translation in his own edition (cf. Doc 1584-12-05).

the coats of arms of the Prince of each state, and of all its noble families. He asked both Dukes to help him collect this material, in particular the coats of arms of the local families and the profile views of the various cities of their dominions, 'but taking care that the views are taken from a side from which they show well, and that they are drawn upon an open (= double) sheet of *folio reale* format or a little smaller'.[117]

Strada also asked both Dukes for further documentary material: he reminded Alfonso d'Este of an earlier promise to provide him with a copy of Giovanni Battista Pigna's *History of the Este family* of 1570, which he had never received. Strada asked Guglielmo Gonzaga for the loan of any similar information 'on the antiquities of your house' the Duke might have available in manuscript, to which he offered to add materials from his own collection. Moreover he listed

117 Both passages are almost literally the same; I cite the letter to the Duke of Mantua: 'Seremissimo Signor Ducha, sonno parech'anni ch'io pigliai nelle mani la Italia già descritta da Fra Leandro Alberti Bolognese, la quale lessi con hogni cura et diligenza, credendomi trovarvi tutte quelle cose ch'io dessideravo; ma mi trovai inganato. Le cose ch'io volevo che lui havesse messo erano queste: prima erano le cose che apartengono alla cosmographia, cioè che ad hogni regione vi fosse posta la sua mappa avanti alla sua descritione, et poi in quella regione vi fossero anche le figure di tutte le città pertinente ad essa regione, ben ritratte dal naturale. Ancora a cadauna città vi fossero le figure di tutte le cose più principale, come sarebe a dire gli edifitii antichi, et ancor li moderni, con le loro piante et profili ben misurati, con le sue misure scritte alli suoi lochi. Poi le inscriptioni antiche, che nei marmi vi si trovano ritratte a punto come stanno nei detti marmi, con le figure et altri ornamenti che anno d'intorno. Apresso la memoria di tutti gli huomini dotti con li loro nomi, con tutte le opere che loro hanno scritte, stampate e da stampare; ultimo tutte le arme, dico di cadauno Principe per cadauna città, cominciando alla prima della sua casa, et di mano in mano in sino a quella del Principe che hoggi vive; apresso a queste, quelle di tutti li nobili de cadauna città; et cossì havesse finito. Hora questo ordine su detto, che'l Frate a lassato fuori, io lo fo, et di già sonno tanto avanti che di essa prima Italia sudetta è accresciuta più delli doi terzi, et saranno tre gran volumi. A questo negotio son stato favorito et aiutato da molti Principi, con mandarmi dei dissegni che in essa mi bisognano. Dove non posso mancare ancora a Vostra Altezza di suplicarLa che quella si degni di farmi tal favore, cioè che Vostra Altezza sia contenta di farmi rittrare in dissegno le Sue città, cioè Mantova, Casale, Aich, Alba, et altre che à nel Monferato. Et ancora castelli dei più principali: sul Mantovano Vostra Altezza à dei castelli che paiono città, come Viadana, Cannedo, Gazolo et altri ch'io non mi riccordo; ancor questi li dessidraria, ma che sia pigliato la veduta da una qualche parte che si scoprino bene, et siano fatte sopra ad un folio reale aperto, o poco manco in circa. Apresso a esse vorei ancora le arme di esse casate nobile, cominciando prima a quella della città, et poi di mano in mano continouando come sopra ò detto [inserted in margin: dette arme siano collorite et picoline]. Suplisco Vostra Altezza che voglia comandare per la prima commodità che vi ponghi mano; et se in queste nostre parte vi sonno cose ancune che quella dessideri, solamente ne avisi qui al Signor Ambassador Suo che me ne acenni, che io subito gliene provedero; che altro non dessidero che servirLa come Suo buon vasallo et servidore'.

the documentary drawings of the principal monuments of Mantua he had earlier obtained through Giovanni Battista Bertani, Giovanni Battista Scultori and Ippolito Andreasi, and now begged the Duke to help him obtain similar documentation on the decoration of the Palazzo Ducale and the Gonzaga villa at Marmirolo. As we have seen, the Duke appears to have honoured Strada's request, since Andreasi's drawings of the Palazzo Ducale were in fact executed and have been preserved together with those of the Palazzo del Te Strada had commissioned in 1567.[118] Strada assured the Duke that there was nothing remarkable in his homeland ('patria') that he would not include in the book, and in particular as to architecture. But notwithstanding such chauvinism, it is hardly likely that he really intended to reproduce all of Andreasi's drawings in his edition of Alberti's *Descrittione*. For that book the elevations and plans of the principal monuments—similar to those of the Palazzo Pitti [above, Fig. 13.118–13.119] or the Duomo in Florence preserved in the Strahov Codex [above, Fig. 13.23]—would be sufficient, with possibly one or two of the most spectacular interiors (such as the *Camera di Psiche* or the *Camera dei Giganti*). On the other hand he did think that such material could be published as separate publications, as is clear from the descriptions of these sets of drawings and of those of Raphael's Vatican *Loggia* in the *Index sive catalogus* [items 41 and 42].

In his letter to Plantin Strada added some information about the practical aspects of his projected edition of Alberti's *Description of Italy*. Thus most of the views of the various cities were already engraved in wood or, if the blocks had not yet been cut, the designs had already been drawn directly onto the blocks for the engraver, in a uniform size similar to the small landscapes included in Strada's 1575 edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* [above, Fig. 14.23–14.24]. He suggested that the maps of the individual regions, which should be of a larger size, could best be executed in copper engraving. Most of the coats of arms were already engraved, and the rest could be easily done in Antwerp, where there were far more and better engravers than in Vienna. It seems clear that in most cases Strada had drawn the models onto the woodblocks in person: at least that is what he offered to do for all the illustrations that had not yet been engraved, both for the *Descrittione* and for the other works he proposes to Plantin. For one other item, the illustrations of portrait busts of Emperors and their consorts, item 6 of the *Index sive catalogus*, Strada gave a practical suggestion: the portrait heads or busts themselves should be engraved in copper, but the pedestals for all could be printed from one woodblock, in which a space was kept open in which to compose the legends in letterpress; an impression of

118 Above, Ch. 13.8.2.

what may have been his intention can be had from the similar Dresden manuscripts already mentioned [cf. above, Ch. 13.7.1, Figs. 13.78 and 13.79–13.81].

Apart from such practical insights, Strada's letter to Plantin gives a rare inkling of his approach to business. As his part of the deal he proposed to provide Plantin with a carefully edited manuscript of the *Description of Italy* and all the illustrations he had collected for it, both those he already had had engraved, and those he had merely drawn onto the woodblocks. But he expected Plantin to have engraved the remainder of the illustrations as well as to print as many copies of the book as he thought feasible, all entirely at his own expense, while Strada nevertheless laid claim to half of the profit once the books would start selling. He envisaged the same conditions for any of the other works in the list in which Plantin might be interested. In view of the doubtless considerable sums Strada had already invested in his various projects, this is not entirely unreasonable. But though not unreasonable, it is neither very realistic, in view of the huge investment Plantin would need to make should he agree to print such an ambitious book as the *Description of Italy*—for which at least a market can be assumed to have existed—let alone for the Indices to Strada's polyglot *Dictionary*, for which any potential market would have been restricted to the scholarly world.

So it is not surprising that Plantin's response was lukewarm at most. The draft of his reply was actually written by his son-in-law Jan Moretus [Fig. 14.40], who ran the Antwerp branch of the firm while Plantin himself managed the branch in Leiden, where he had been appointed printer to the newly founded University.[119] Recognizing that Strada had brought together the manuscripts he proposed at great expense, Moretus first reacted to Strada's business proposition, stating quite clearly that Plantin was not used to pay for manuscripts of new books: his usual procedure was to let the author have one or two dozen copies of the book as printed. As an alternative the book could be printed entirely at the author's expense, in which case of course all copies and any eventual profit were his, rather than the printer's. Plantin's firm had never wanted to print books 'in compagnia', that is in a co-production between two or more investors sharing the eventual profit, which is basically what Strada proposed. Moretus explains that Strada is unreasonable in expecting the printer to bear all the expenses of the engraving of the illustrations and the printing of the book, and then still only allowing him half of the copies produced, 'which even when printed perhaps are not worth as much as the cost of the illustrations he

119 Doc. 1578-10-00: Jan Moretus' draft for the letter, which itself has not been preserved.

had commissioned for it'.[120] He thinks Strada has not quite realized that the projects he proposed could only be printed by a very rich and 'curious' printer, 'more interested in having his drawers full of splendid typeface, than his cash-box full of money in order to be able to pay his employees'. Moretus does not mince his words, because he knows that Strada has experience with printing. He repeats that he will not acquire manuscripts for publishing against payment, and thinks that should not be done on principle, for if it is an author's ambition to bring his book to the attention of the public, he does not try to sell it for personal gain, 'knowing in advance that [though] his pains will not be paid<…>his book will be a treasure for posterity'.

The general impression is that Moretus did not take Strada's proposal very seriously, though he was prepared to have any illustrations executed or to print any book that Strada wished, if at the latter's expense. And he did like the concept of the *Description of Italy* and was prepared to enter into negotiations about that, provided Strada would send him the text and all available illustrations—'for one can form no judgment, or come to an agreement about a thing one has not seen'—and that he would delegate an agent with full powers to clinch a deal.

It is not known whether this letter actually reached Strada and whether he responded to it: there is no record of any further contact between Strada and Plantin. Strada doubtless did not intend to hand over his materials to Plantin merely in exchange for a few copies of the printed books, which would imply that he would almost entirely lose the considerable investments he had made over the years to compose the books listed in his *Index sive catalogus*, and to bring together the materials necessary to illustrate them in accordance with the high standards he had in mind. On the other hand he would not—probably could not—invest any further in the actual printing of even just a few of these books. With the death of Maximilian II and the consequent loss of Strada's privileged position at the Imperial court, there was moreover little stimulus for other princes or magnates to help Strada's projects by providing financial assistance. So it is not surprising that Strada, besides attempting to interest Plantin in his venture, engaged in the various futile efforts to raise money for his projects which have been described above, such as the lottery of his house and collection.

120 But is should be noted that Strada had not asked for half of the copies printed, but for half of the profit actually realized, that is, after costs, which is something rather different.

14.9 The Rupture with Ottavio

But it was not only Maximilian's death which frustrated Strada's ambitions. Another factor was the rupture, probably about a year later, with his son Ottavio, who, as we have seen, was instrumental both in the actual production of the books, and in the collecting of the subventions Strada obtained from at least some of his patrons. It is not clear when exactly this rupture occurred: it can be assumed that it was preceded by a period of increasing irritation, which doubtless was mutual. Relations were still harmonious when Strada conveyed greetings of both Paolo and Ottavio to Jacopo Dani in June 1576, and informs him of their careers in October 1577. Ottavio is not mentioned, however, in the letter to Plantin—when he would have been the obvious go-between, having earlier travelled to the Southern Netherlands on behalf of his father's projects—and in Strada's letter to Dani of 1581 no mention is made of him either.[121]

By 1584, when Strada drew up his last will, the rupture was definitive and irreversible: Strada almost entirely disinherited his second son, in favour of his elder son Paolo and his young, legitimized son Tobia.[122] The reasons for this take up a huge portion of the document: Strada charges Ottavio with no less than sixteen alleged offenses and crimes, accusations which—even if only half of them were true—indeed provide ample justification for Strada's decision. They range from simple embezzlements, through theft and fraud, to personal aggressions which suggest a pathological, almost oedipal hatred of his father: Ottavio's rape and attempted murder of his father's mistress certainly is extremely shocking.[123] When Archduke Ernest had presented Strada with an excellent palfrey, Ottavio had wilfully ruined the horse and wounded and insulted Strada's faithful servant; and when his father once in Prague had upbraided him for his wayward behaviour, he had became so angry that he began tearing up a book belonging to the Emperor, in which he was prevented only

121 Docs. 1576-06-16: 'Pauolo et Ottavio, mei figliuoli, salutano la Signoria Vostra per centomilia volte'; 1577-10-04(c): 'Et alla Signoria Vostra io con li mei figliuoli salutiamo Vostra Signoria per sempre. Ottavio sta con Sua Maestà Cesarea et Pauolo con l'Arciducha Hernest, si che tutti doi sono ancora servidori della Signoria Vostra, et io insieme'; 1581-11-02: 'Et qui fo fine, salutando la Signoria Vostra con tutto il cuore, alla quali quanto posso io con Pauolo mio figliuolo di cuore vi dessideriamo hogni fellicità et longa vita'. Of course by this time Ottavio probably resided in Prague with Rudolf II, but even then it might have been expected that Strada would have informed his old Florentine friend of his son's career move.

122 Doc.1584-07-01, transcribed in Appendix B.

123 *Ibidem*, point 12.

by the intervention of his sister and brother-in-law; Strada even felt that, had Ottavio had had a dagger at hand, he would have been attacked in person. For these reasons Strada even suspected his son of a plot to have him assassinated together with his mistress and his elder son Paolo.

Obviously something had gone very, very wrong between father and son. On the one hand Ottavio may have reacted unkindly to the low-born servant who replaced his late mother in his father's affections.[124] On his part the elder Strada may not have easily brooked the fact that Ottavio appeared to have taken over his position with Rudolf II, who largely ignored the elder Strada. What at most can be said is that Strada very likely exaggerated Ottavio's crimes, and that his own authoritarian and uncompromising behaviour may have contributed to his son's rebellion. Yet there can be no doubt that Ottavio's behaviour towards his father, if not criminal, at least was reprehensible and possibly inexcusable.

Some of Ottavio's transgressions were in fact criminal in nature, such as when, on two occasions, he forged his father's signature in order to obtain money from his business associates. Even worse, when he pocketed the proceeds of the two books he had had printed in Frankfurt at his father's expense, he not only made out a false document stating that his father had made over these proceeds to him, but also spread the report that his father had died, which caused Strada endless trouble with the local magistrate to have himself acknowledged when arriving in Frankfurt in person. Or such as when Ottavio stole directly from his father's *Musaeum*: not only hundred ducats' worth of high quality Venetian paper, which he sold at his own profit to a local bookbinder, but also a beautiful clock, the masterpiece of the famous engineer Hans Gasteiger which had been a gift from Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, and even part of Strada's famous collection of Roman Imperial coins and some of his best drawings, which Ottavio likewise sold for his own benefit.[125]

Some of Ottavio's 'crimes' were directly related to his acting as his father's agent, and may have been his business decisions with which his father did not agree—perhaps even only in hindsight. When he claims that Ottavio had collected the subventions accorded by Elector August of Saxony and had kept these for himself, we cannot be certain that Ottavio did not invest them at least in part in the projects he was managing for his father.[126] Moreover, when Strada reproached him to have spent money without his father's knowledge

124 *Ibidem*, points 3 and 5: Ottavio's stole thirteen golden rings with precious stones from his mother's chest after her death; cut off the pearls and the golden buttons and other ornaments from his mother's clothes and hats and took some ready money. He had opened the chest by means of a key he had previously stolen from his father's safety box, of which he had obtained a forged key.

125 *Ibidem*, points 2 and 9, point 4, points 6, 7 and 8.

126 *Ibidem*, point 1.

and approval on the woodcuts for a series of 'Mummereij Stuckh', costumes designs for masques, tournaments and other court festivities, and for similar woodcuts for an illustrated Bible, which he planned to sell for his own profit, he is less than straightforward, for both these projects were in fact discussed in Ottavio's letter to his father of December 1574, and in terms which clearly demonstrate that Strada at least initially did not disapprove of them.[127]

From this letter to his father it is clear that Ottavio was very much aware of the commercial side of the enterprise, probably much more than Jacopo himself. Ottavio's antagonism may to some extent be the effect of growing irritation at the unrealistic ambitions and ideals of his father, which threatened to absorb a huge part of the patrimony of his family without much prospect of any immediate profit, and of Strada perhaps not sufficiently acknowledging his son's serious efforts and initiatives to make their business prosper.

We shall never know the real causes of the clash between father and son—but we can easily deduce at least two of its effects on the success of Strada's projects. The first is that Strada now lacked a trusted, competent and energetic assistant and agent to help organize, manage and supervise the production of the books, to negotiate with printers, draughtsmen, engravers and booksellers and to represent him with sponsors and business partners. Strada's faithful elder son, Paolo Strada, who had been ordained a priest, lacked the interest in his father's projects as well as the necessary energy and business acumen, whereas Strada's habitual business partners in Nuremberg and Frankfurt, such as the Nieri, would lack the necessary expertise.

The second effect, probably of equal importance, is that Ottavio's shady dealings—in particular his forging of his father's signature to letters of exchange and his spreading the rumour that his father had died—must have damaged Strada's credit with all but his closest associates. So Strada's failure to bring out any other books after 1575 was due at least in part to Ottavio's defection.

14.10 Strada's Testamentary Disposition

Strada's several attempts to raise money must be considered in the light of his increasing despair of realizing his ambition to realize even only part of his publishing programme. We have already seen how his plan to make a lottery of his

127 *Ibidem*, point 15; compare this with Ottavio's report to his father, Doc. 1574-12-05 (in Appendix A), *passim*, containing many references to his expenditure on behalf of the illustarted Bible, the 'libro delle mascare' and a German translation of the Serlio volume. With his will Strada enclosed and referred to the receipt given by Jost Amman for the advance Ottavio had paid him for the woodcuts of these 'mascare'; cf. above, Ch.4.3.5.; O'Dell 1990.

possessions was frustrated by unwilling authorities in Vienna. He continued to try and find a purchaser for his collections. Thus early in 1581 he negotiated about the sale of a part of his library with Šebestián Freytag z Čepiroh, a former tutor of Rudolf II. Since 1573 the learned Freytag was abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery of Louka (Klosterbruck) near Znojmo in Moravia, where he had instituted a college and established a printing press. He was eager to acquire the books of which Strada had sent him a survey, but it is not known whether they came to an agreement—if so, the abbey acquired only a part of Strada's holdings, because his attempts to sell the remainder would continue almost until his death.[128]

But even if these efforts had concrete results—which we do not know—these were not sufficient to allow Strada to realize his dreams within his lifetime. So he decided to provide for his project in his will or testament. The first version of this he made up in the spring of 1584 in Brno, where he had been carried after he had fallen seriously ill when employed at nearby Bučovice in Moravia by Jan Šembera Černohorsky z Boskovic.[129] Since his property was mostly found in Vienna, he first tried to have the testament registered and guaranteed by the government of Lower Austria as well. In the end, however, he opted for a new version made up on the first of July of the same year: an imposing document held together by a splendid string of parti-coloured silk, and provided with the seals of Strada and the three witnesses.[130]

After the usual preliminaries Strada expressed the wish that, should he die in Vienna, he was to be buried in the Franciscan Church 'ad Sanctam Crucem', that is the Minoritenkirche, the church closest to his own house. Then he began listing the legacies to his mistress, his servant, his young bastard daughter Sicilia and his two legitimate daughters and their children, none of whom got very much. His surviving daughter Lavina got only 100 Gulden, not only because she had already been given her dowry, but also 'because she never shows any loyalty or kindness to me': which indicates that Ottavio was not the only

128 Docs. 1581-01-01 and 1581-02-03. It is not known whether a final agreement was reached. Perhaps the Strada volume in the Library of Premonstratensian monastery of Strahov in Prague arrived there from Louka (which was dissolved in the late eighteenth century).

129 Doc. 1584-04-30: 'wie daß ich itzundt ettliche Monadte lang im Landt zu Mähren, bei dem Wolgebornen herren herren Hansem Schembre fon Tschernahor und Bosskowitz, auf Budtschovitz etc. meiner geschäfte halben gewesen, und nach dem [ingevoegd: ich] zu Budtschovitz mit krankheit uberfallen und beladen, habe ich mich von dan in die stadt Brijn führen lassen<…>'.

130 Doc. 1584-07-01, fully transcribed in Appendix B. The witnesses were Sebastian Hartman, Strada's 'Schwager' (so either the husband of a sister of his wife or the husband of one of his own sisters); Adam Eberman, a civil servant, accountant at the *Kammer* (chamber of accounts) of Lower Austria, and Joseph Lamparter, owner of a 'Hoftaverne' in Vienna.

one of his children who had a bad relationship with their father.[131] Though Ottavio, next mentioned in the document, likewise was given a small legacy of fifty Rhenish *Gulden*, Strada explicitly excluded him from any further share in his inheritance, and then began summing up the list of his crimes which has already been referred above. Then he reiterated his intention to disinherit Ottavio entirely, underlined that Ottavio should have no power to challenge Paolo's and Tobia's legacies, and begged the local authorities to ensure that his children be protected against Ottavio's possible pretensions and that his will be executed to the letter.

After this follows the most astonishing clause in this extraordinary document: Strada stipulated that all the manuscripts from his library that were listed in the attached survey—this is a fair copy of the *Index sive catalogus*—should be handed over to his legitimized son Tobia, 'because my legitimate son Paul has no interest in them'. Tobia—or rather the trustees that were to be appointed for him, for at this time Tobia was at most seven years old—were to have these printed without delay by Strada's printer at Frankfurt. To finance this, Strada had already instructed and authorized Paolo to execute a deed of gift immediately after his death, donating his entire *Musaeum* to a predetermined recipient. This gift should include both the library and the *Kunstkammer*, but of course it excluded the manuscripts listed in the *Index sive catalogus*: together with the illustrations—drawings, woodblocks and engraved plates—belonging to them, these should be placed under seal immediately after Strada's death. Tantalizingly the intended recipient was not identified, but it must have been a rich and powerful prince—such as the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony or the Duke of Bavaria—if Strada thought the gift he expected in return would be amply sufficient to pay for the printing.[132]

It is then only that Strada finally arrived at actually bestowing his remaining property, his 'houses and gardens, together with all moveable goods, and the cash value of all assets due to him, both in writing and otherwise'. After due

131 *Ibidem*. It should be noted that Lavina in fact gets the biggest of these preliminary legacies. Strada's housekeeper and mistress, Margaretha Hummerin, merely gets her wages for the seven years she had lived with him and her clothes, and an extra legacy of only ten *Gulden*. His servant Christoph Sartor from Rosenheim got likewise ten *Gulden*. His young illegitimate daughter Sicilia was to receive a legacy of hundred *Gulden* when she came of age, and until that time was to be dressed from the interest of that sum. The two daughters of his late legitimate daughter Anna, who had both already taken religious orders, got twenty-five *Gulden* each. Strada's testament makes it quite clear that he made a strict distinction between his children born within and out of wedlock (perhaps also in recognition of his legitimate children's rights in respect of their mother's inheritance?)

132 In fact Strada assigns half of these proceeds to Paolo himself, while the other half should be made available to Tobia's trustees to finance the printing.

settlement of his debts, all this was to be divided unequally between Paolo and Tobia: the legitimate elder son Paolo should get two thirds, the legitimized younger son Tobia one-third. He moreover instituted them as each other's heirs in case of their dying without issue and intestate. Strada also reserved the rents of his real estate, or a part of its proceeds if sold, for Tobia's maintenance and education, stipulating however that in case any considerable surplus might remain, this would be used toward the printing of his books. The value he attached to this is moreover attested by his demand that Paolo would use all the donations received in exchange for the dedications of the works already published towards the printing of the remainder.[133]

All this suggests that his printing project was of greater importance to Strada than the future prosperity of his heirs. This is borne out by another odd stipulation in the will: should Tobia die before the proceeds from the presentation of Strada's *Musaeum* would have materialized, his trustees should nevertheless use both Tobia's legacy and his share in any forthcoming presents to undertake the printing programme, 'in order that the labour and industry with which I wrote these books will not be in vain because the books remained unprinted'. Though Strada did envisage that the trustees would be paid for their trouble, it seems likely that it would be difficult to find trustees able and willing to take on that task.[134]

14.11 Conclusion: The Aftermath

The clauses in Strada's will obliging his heirs to finally print his books indicate the immense value he attached to his publication project, an importance far transcending any possible profit he initially may have expected from it. It is clear that by this time he considered this as his life's work, his contribution to posterity, and he devoted the larger part of the last years of his life to it. It is difficult to judge in how far Strada had any confidence that his heirs would want and be able to execute his rather unrealistic last wishes; certainly he never ceased attempting to realize at least part of his programme within his lifetime. Just a few months after he made his will Strada obtained from Emperor Rudolf II a new copyright privilege for a number of the works mentioned in the *Index sive catalogus*:

133 *Ibidem*. Since the last books Strada had published had come out in 1575, this last stipulation must refer to books he was planning to publish at the time he was writing his will.

134 *Ibidem*; no trustees are appointed in the will, perhaps indicating that Strada as yet had found no one willing to shoulder that responsibility.

– a series of the Roman Emperors, their consorts and other relatives illustrated by their coins (*Index sive catalogus,* item 49)
– the seven volumes of inscriptions (item 3)
– Strada's collection of descriptions of all ancient coins he had studied (item 4), accompanied by another voluminous volume of numismatic drawings of all ancient rulers, including those of Rome (item 5)
– the battle order of the Romans and their *castrametatio* according to Polybius (item 12);
– Photius' *Biblioteca* (item 21)
– the expanded Latin edition of Leandro Alberti's *Description of Italy* (item 44)
– an edition of Wolfgang Lazius twelve books of comments on the history of the Provinces of the Roman Empire (item 46)
– and finally the biography of the Emperor Charles V illustrated by a huge number of coins and medals documenting his reign (item 18).[135]

When Strada again offered his house for sale two years later, he explained that it was inconvenient for him to live in Vienna, because he had a task in hand which took up much of his time, for a prolonged period. It seems reasonable to assume that he referred to a planned absence in Nuremberg or Frankfurt to work on his books, to have their illustrations engraved, and to manage their printing, though it is not known whether he did in fact leave Vienna.[136]

To raise the necessary funds for his projects Strada remained eager to convert at least some of his possessions in ready cash. Thus his contacts in early summer of 1585 with Václav Březan, the archivist, librarian and historiographer of the Rožmberk family, indicates that he made a last effort to sell part of his collection to his old patron.[137] When this attempt miscarried, he asked the *Landmarschall* (Lord-lieutenant) of Lower Austria, Hans Wilhelm von Roggendorf, to offer his house and his collections for sale to the members of the local

135 The descriptions do not always match those in the Index exactly. The most interesting item in the privilege is the *A.A.A. numismatωn ΔΙΑΣΚΕΝΗΝ, hoc est Chaldaeorum, Arabum, Lybicorum, Graecorum, Hetruscorum ac Macedoniae, Asiae, Syriae, Aegypti, Syculorum, Latinorum seu Romanroum regum a primordio urbis, dein consulum<…>tam sub caesaribus<…>imperatoribus<…>metallicarum iconum explicationum*, the title and description of which largely corresponds to Strada's manuscripts volumes of coin descriptions, sets of which are preserved in Vienna and Prague.

136 Strada's request of 3 December 1586 to the *Landmarschall* of Lower Austria: 'weillen mir aber andere gelegenhait fürfallen, das ich alhie zue wonnen mir ungelegensamb ist, dann ich ain werckh underhandten, darzue ich vill und lange zeit bedarff' (Doc. 1586-03-12). His departure may have been conditional on the sale of the house, which did not materialize, or another financial windfall.

137 For (the concept of) the letter by Březan, see Doc. 1585-06-02.

nobility who were to attend an impending meeting of the duchy's Estates, but again this appears not to have met with any success.[138] Perhaps for that reason he contemplated selling his smaller house in the suburb of St Ulrich, the house in which he actually lived: that at least seems the most plausible explanation for his request, a few months before his death, to the Chamber of accounts of Lower Austria, to delegate some of the Emperor's 'Pauleute' in Vienna—probably an architect, a master-mason and one or two relevant craftsmen—to provide an estimate of the value of that house.[139] It is clear that most or all of Strada's efforts to obtain funding were in vain, because none of the books mentioned in this last copyright privilege or in the *Index sive catalogus* had been published under his name or imprint by the time he died in the autumn of 1588.[140]

In view of the complicated testament, which was certain to lead to litigation, Strada's studio was put under seal pending the opening of the will.[141] The reading of the will took place in the presence of a representative of the *Landmarschall* only on 28 September 1590: almost two years after Strada's death! The family was represented by Paolo Strada, also representing his half-brother and -sister who were still under age, and by Ottavio. Even before that, Ottavio had already commenced contesting the will, as is evident from his reference in

138 Doc. 1586-03-12, request presented to the *Landmarschall* in person. Members of the Austrian nobility were the most obvious potential buyers of the house: as a *Freihaus* its ownership was nominally restricted to noblemen and to ecclesiastical institutions.

139 Doc. 1588-02-18, request to the *Niederösterreichische Kammer*, which was conceded.

140 Strada died on or around September 6 of 1588, according to a letter from Ottavio Strada to Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, dated from Prague, the 26th of that month: 'Non o anche potuto mancare di avisar V.A.S. come mio padre che era Antiquario di S.M.C. et servidor di V.A. è morto fra 20 giorni, iddio gli dia pace al anima sua'. (Doc 1588-09-26). Contrary to an implication in Straka 1916, p. 21, followed by Lietzmann 1997, p. 394, the letter does not mention the place of Strada's decease and there is no reason to assume that Strada died elsewhere than in Vienna. Lietzmann's hypothesis that Strada would have reconciled himself with Ottavio, moved to Prague and made a new testament is not only unlikely, but expressly contradicted by the fact that the 1584 testament was put into execution, by Ottavio's litigation with his brother Paolo, and by his references to objects kept in his father's studio in Vienna to which he had no access (cf. below). Ottavio announced his father's death in a similar letter to Belisario Vinta, secretary of Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany, Prague 6 December 1588: 'Questa è sola per salutar la S.V. molto ill.re et offerirgli li mei servicij, con avisarla come sonno alcune settimane che morì il mio padre, che stato Antiquario di questa Augustissima Casa, già 38 anni, el quel è stato affectionatissimo servidor di quella, et grand amico' (ASF, *Medici del Principato* 810, f. 129).

141 Ottavio Strada to Belisario Vinta, secretary of Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany, Prague 10 April 1590, writing about some books of drawings of his father's: '…et molte volte S.M.C. mi fa domandare de questi libri, dove sempre trovo scusa che sonno in Vienna nel studio serratij…' (ASF, *Medici del Principato* 814, f. 343).

a letter of June 1590 to 'la mia lite che tengo qui a Vienna contra mio fratello', which had caused him to come to Vienna.[142]

In view of Ottavio's trusted relationship with Emperor Rudolf II, of his daughter Anna Maria's liaison with Rudolf, and doubtless also because of the eccentricity of Strada's testament, it is not surprising that the litigation was resolved in an agreement between Ottavio and his siblings which granted him a much more considerable share than his father had allotted to him.[143] This share even included manuscripts included in the *Index sive catalogus*, since shortly after his return to Prague Ottavio offered two of these, the beautiful Bible in Arabic, and the stupendous Koran written in golden script, to Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany, supplying some additional information on their provenance. Likewise the Series of Roman Emperors and Empresses offered to Ferdinando may well have been the original manuscript of item 49 of the *Index sive catalogus*.[144] To Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara Ottavio offered a manuscript of the Genealogy of the House of Austria, which he claimed had been finished by his father only two months before his death.[145] In January Ottavio presented

142 Ottavio Strada to Ferdinando I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Vienna 17 June 1590 (ASF, *Medici del Principato* 817, f. 72).

143 The copy of the testament preserved in ÖNB-HS, Cod. 8079) carries a note 'die Vergleichung der Bruedern und Schwestern vide in S<eguito?>'. Unfortunately that document has not been preserved.

144 Ottavio Strada to Belisario Vinta, secretary of Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany, Prague 20 October 1590: 'A presso gli do aviso come ho portato meco da Vienna in qua una Bibia Araba in folio scritto a mano et un Alcorano medesimamente scritto d'lettere d'oro in Arabo, che dui simil libri mai siano venuti di simil qualita in questi parti<…>Mio padre bona memoria sempre ha ricercato di haver nel suo studio qualche cosa non comuna, et con gran faticha et spesa a messo insieme simil cose. La Bibia a costato in Constantinopoli 50 ducati; per signale il Exc. Carlo Rim, ambassiador di S.M.C. compro tal libro a nome di mio padre. Del Alcorano non so il pretio; Sua Altezza segli piacevano me dia quello che vuole, saro contento'. (ASF, *Medici del Principato* 822, f. 885). Idem, Prague 6 December 1588 (ASF, Medici del Principato 810, fol. 129:): 'Il mio padre ha lassiato un bellissimo studio, con belissimi libri scritti de Antiquita et Medaglie, et fra la altri ha descritto una Continuata Series de Imperadori, della loro vita et gesti, cominciando da Julio Ces[are] insino al Imperador presente, et posti le loro medaglie a quelli che si poteva trovare, per avanti da niuno mai stato tal faticha, et essendo la ultima opera da lui fatta, et ancora da niuna vista'.

145 Ottavio to the Duke of Ferrara, Doc. 1588-09-26: 'Ha fatto fra le altre opere sue, un arbore della Geonologia [sic] del origine della Casa de Austria, et ridotto in un libro della medesima grandezza come quello che mandai a V.A.S. et ha posti le arme loro in tempo in tempo come solevano portare, con li ritratti loro, et in chi sonni stati maritati, cusí anche delle donne, opera finita da lui dui mesi avanti che morse, et da niuna ancora visto, s' V.A.S. desiderara di vederla, comandi qui al S.or Florio, che io gli consignaro, et V.A. me usara piacendoli l'opera, quella gratia che gli parera<…>'.

Elector Christian I of Saxony with three albums containing drawings of busts of 'the Roman and Greek (= Byzantine) Emperors up to Constantine XV, who lost Constantinople'.[146] He claimed that he had taken them from his late father's *Kunstkammer* in Vienna, and that they 'were my father's last work, that he has made with his own hand', but since Ottavio at that time did not have access to his father's cabinet, he must have brought these drawings in his possession much earlier; they are still preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden in the original red satin bindings.[147]

Also Paolo Strada disposed of some of the material he had inherited in a similar way, offering two volumes of his own continuation of the six books of numismatic drawings his father had earlier provided to Maximilian II to the Imperial librarian Hugo Blotius in 1592, together with the large map of the 1529 Siege of Vienna by the Turks, item nr 8 in the *Index sive catalogus*. In 1594 he offered some architectural models and a list of books from his father's library to Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel.[148]

All this strongly suggests that Strada's wish to have his books printed posthumously was tacitly or explicitly ignored by his heirs. For this one can hardly blame them, since Strada's disposition cannot have been realistic and would have been impossible to carry out in any case. Certainly none of the books listed in the *Index sive catalogus* were printed in that form, and no other books were published indicating their provenance 'ex Musaeo Jacobi de Stradae'.

Nevertheless this does not mean that his material may not have found channels by which it still could be of use, and some of it may actually have been published in other books; since much of it was not actually composed by Strada himself, its provenance would not necessarily have been indicated. It would, for instance, not be surprising if some of Strada's lexicographical materials had ended up with the Hebraist Elias Hutter, who shared Strada's linguistic interests, had visited him in Vienna and had recommended his labours to his own patron, Elector August of Saxony. Thus Hutter's *Dictionarium harmonicum biblicum, ebraeum, graecum, latinum, germanicum*, printed in Nuremberg in 1598, may well owe something to Strada's earlier labours [Fig. 14.43–14.44], as may Hutter's scholarly polyglot Bible editions [Fig. 14.45].

In a similar manner it is unlikely that the woodblocks commissioned by Strada to illustrate his various books would never have been used for other prints. Thus some of the scenes in Sigmund Feyerabend's many illustrated

146 HStAD 10024, Loc. 8543/1, fol. 159r; cf. Melzer 2010, p. 135; Jansen/Metze (forthcoming).

147 SKD-KK, Ca 75–77.

148 Hugo Blotius to Wolfgang Rumpff, Vienna, 18 March 1592, ÖNB-HS, Series Nova 363, ff. 159–160; Paolo Strada to Moritz Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel, Vienna 23 December 1594, Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Bestand 4n, nr. 265.

FIGURES 14.43–14.44 Elias Hutter, Dictionarium harmonicum biblicum, Nuremberg 1598, title page and p. 9.

FIGURE 14.45 Elias Hutter's polyglot edition of the New Testament, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syrian, Italian, Spanish, French, German, Danish, Czech and Polish, printed in Nuremberg in 1599, title page.

Bible editions may derive from those Strada planned to have cut by Jost Amman after Giovanni Battista Scultori's designs; and some of Amman's illustrations for the unfinished book of *Mummereyen*, festival costumes, were in fact printed and sold as separate sheets or series [above, Figs. 4.23–4.25]. Finally Strada's own descendants, his son Ottavio and his grandson, Ottavio Strada the Younger, brought out several publications based on Jacopo's work or on the materials he had collected.

Ironically, it was Ottavio who in his *De Vitis Imperatorum et Caesarum Romanorum* and in his *Genealogia et series Austriae Ducum, Archiducum, Regum et Imperatorum* realized at least part of two of the works listed in Strada's *Index sive catalogus* (items 7 and 19). The first of these, a series of lives of the Roman emperors accompanied by images of their coinage, was posthumously printed in 1615 in Frankfurt at the expense of the publisher Laurentius Francus [Fig. 14.47–14.48], and in 1618 in a German translation by Ottavio's own son Ottavio Strada von Rosberg the Younger [Fig. 14.46]. Both versions were reprinted by Eberhard Kiefer in Frankfurt in 1629, together with the second work, a Latin genealogy of the Habsburg dynasty, which itself many years later was reprinted in Leiden in 1664. It can be assumed that both works given to Ottavio were largely based on his father's manuscripts; yet since Ottavio probably extensively collaborated on these in his youth, he cannot be blamed for wishing to garner some laurels by them.

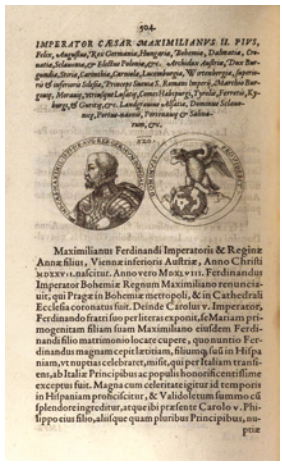


FIGURE 14.46 Ottavio Strada, Aller römischer Kayser Leben und Thaten, Frankfurt a.M. 1618, title page.

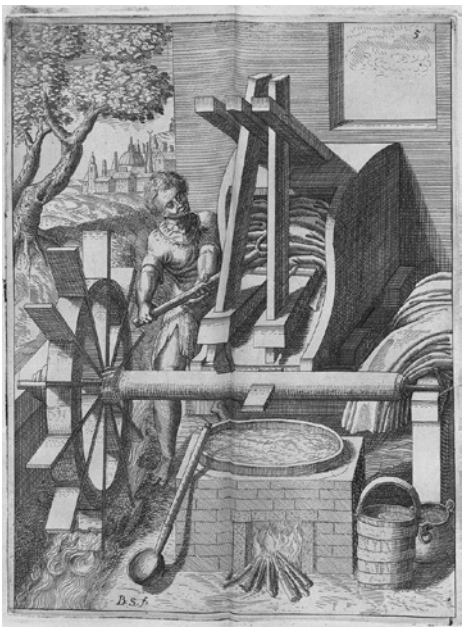
FIGURES 14.47–14.48 Ottavio Strada, De Vitis Imperatorum et Caesarum Romanorum, Frankfurt a.M. 1615, opening page of the chapter on Julius Caesar and the entry on Emperor Maximilian II.

Even more ironically, the only volume that was published under Strada's own name after his death concerned a subject in which he himself apparently was not particularly interested. This was a set of technical drawings for wind-, water- and treadmills, fountains and pumps and other inventions largely derived from the technical tradition stemming from Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Though an autograph manuscript of this in Strada's hand exists [Fig. 14.49], this material—which he doubtless obtained at least in part with Serlio's collection—figures in none of the written sources, and was certainly never included in Strada's publishing programme (though Ottavio the Elder provided manuscript sets to various of his own patrons).[149] Ottavio the Younger published it in a Latin, a German and a French edition [Figs. 14.50–14.51], probably both because of his own personal interest, and as a means to draw the attention of potential patrons to his professional competence as a hydraulic engineer.

Entering into a partnership with the largely Dutch company charged by Henri IV already in 1499 with the draining of the marshes in various regions of France, this competence allowed him to re-establish the fortune of his family, after his forced departure from Bohemia after the Battle of the White Mountain: as Marquis de Strada d'Arosberg his descendants became the biggest

149 On this treatise, see the facsimile edition of one of the copies by Ottavio the Elder, now in the Museo delle Scienze in Florence: Marchis/Dolza 2002.

FIGURE 14.49 Jacopo Strada, design for a contraption automatically turning a spit, drawing in pen, ink and wash in his ms Variae ac faciles molendinae construendi inventiones (Codex Clavreuil), present location unknown.



FIGURES 14.50–14.51 Jacopo Strada, Künstliche Abriß / allerhand Wasser-, Wind-, Roß, und Handt mühlen, Frankfurt a.M. 1617, titlepage and design for a water-driven fulling mill.

landowners in Auvergne [Fig. 14.52].[150] The extraordinary design of a tower of the small castle he had built at Sarlièvе, near Cournon in Auvergne, a former lake which had been drained by his efforts, shows that he at least had profited by the study of whatever materials from his grandfather's *Musaeum* he still may have possessed [Figs. 14.53–14.54].

150 Pascuito 1978, pp. 73–81; 'Strada d'Arosberg' is a manifest misreading of 'Strada da Rosberg'. A recent genealogy (Chabot D'Allier 1990) sketches the ramifications of the Strada family, which include the still surviving male line, as well as a President of the French Republic, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. On the *compagnie* that drained the French marshes, see Comte De Dienne (himself a Strada descendant), *Histoire du dessèchement des lacs et marais en France avant 1789* (Dienne 1891), *passim* and esp. pp. 382–389; and the articles by Thomas daCosta Kaufman and Dirk Jansen in Marchis/Dolza 2002. I am indebted to M. and Mme Yves Chabot de l'Allier for a very pleasant and informative conversation on Strada's descendants.

FIGURE 14.52 Sketch of the Lac de Sarlième as drained under supervision of Ottavio Strada the Younger, made in connection with a lawsuit in the late seventeenth century.

FIGURES 14.53–14.54 The small château built at the domaine of Sarlième, built for (and designed by?) Ottavio Strada the Younger, ca 1640–1650.

PART 4

The Antiquary and the Agent of Change

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CHAPTER 15

Le Cose dell'Antichità: Strada as a Student of Antiquity

15.1 Profession: Antiquarius

The foregoing chapters have attempted to provide an overview of what is known at present about the life and the career of Jacopo Strada. Some aspects which deserve more detailed consideration have only been touched upon in passing. For instance, an inventory and study of the *libri di disegni* on various subjects which Strada and his workshop provided to his patrons, a practice assiduously continued by his son Ottavio, would contribute to a better understanding of these interesting objects themselves, on the practice and functions of drawing, and on the intellectual aspects of encyclopaedic collecting in the later sixteenth century. An investigation of Strada's approach to numismatic method would throw light on the early history of classical scholarship and on the use of visual classical sources in the art of his period.[1] A comparison of his career with that of similar personalities—in particular with other self-styled 'antiquaries', but also with other agents, brokers, dealers and 'expert advisors'—would add to our knowledge of the dynamics of production, dissemination and reception of ideas, fashions and trends as well as of concrete cultural products. Such a comparison, however, can only be fruitful when the results of empirical research into the activities of a sufficient number of such professionals are available. The present study attempts to provide this for at least one such individual, Jacopo Strada.

The question remains whether at the time the varied group of professionals assuming or being indicated by the term 'antiquarius' was generally considered to belong to one single and established 'profession'. As a hypothesis this is doubtful, given that no commonly accepted, unequivocal term exists for representatives of such a profession. In his groundbreaking essay on the role of the antiquary in the study of ancient history, Arnaldo Momigliano complained:

1 This is the object of a research project at the Forschungszentrum Gotha, aimed at the digitization and the examination in context of Strada's numismatic corpus, the *Magnum ac novum opus*, preserved in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (cf. above, Ch. 3.3, and below, *passim*). The project is undertaken by Dr Volker Heenes and the author, with financial support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/DFG.

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'First of all we must ask ourselves who the antiquaries were. I wish I could simply refer to a History of Antiquarian Studies. But none exists'.[2] In Momigliano's day the term antiquary referred to 'a student of the past who was not quite an historian'. The historian provided a chronological narrative interpreting the course of events—often to do with war and politics—and based his account on a selection of sources relevant to his argument. The antiquary collected and presented systematically and synchronically as many data relevant to a certain historical subject as he could find. His aim was erudition, not the writing of history. A second, related but distinct usage of the term contrasts historian and antiquary according to the type of source material they exploited. The historian tended to use mostly written and sometimes oral accounts of events, as well as archival materials; the antiquary concentrated on material remains of the past, such as inscriptions, coins, sculptures, paintings, buildings, arms, utensils and whatever other relics he dug up, sometimes literally, making him the precursor of the modern archaeologist; but he would occasionally also make use of archival material. The antiquary focused on the traditions of the distant past, studying religious and political institutions of earlier phases of a civilisation. He did this in part for their intrinsic interest, but also to stress their 'antique' dignity and value, and to serve as a moral example for posterity. The Renaissance rekindled the interest in such studies, which had never quite died out:

> the notion of the "antiquarius" as a lover, collector and student of ancient traditions and remains—though not an historian—is one of the most typical concepts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanism.[3]

Such passionate interest in remnants of the past could easily lead to severe criticism from sceptical spirits. An example is the lemma Robertus Stephanus' *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* of 1543 devoted to the term 'Antiquarius': here one meaning of the term is someone who is overly fond of ancient or old-fashioned formula's of speech, i.e. habitually uses pretentious, tasteless or obsolete phrases.

2 Momigliano 1950, p. 286. Since Momigliano antiquarianism has developed into a flourishing specialism within the humanities: aspects have been treated by Eric Cochrane's *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*: (Cochrane 1981), in particular Ch. 15; Francis Haskell's *History and its Images* (Haskell 1993), Philip Jacks' *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Jacks 1993), and in various collections of conference papers and collaborative studies, first of all many essays in the three volumes of *Memoria dell'Antico nell'arte Italiano*, edited by Salvatore Settis (*Memoria Dell'Antico* 1984–1986) and further Crawford/Ligota 1995; Miller 2007 and Miller/Louis 2012.

3 Momigliano 1950, p. 290.

But this is a very specific use of the term. The very fact that several individuals such as Strada were proud to consider themselves 'antiquaries', show that such a negative connotation was in fact rare.[4]

The second significance given by Stephanus is much more general: 'Antiquaries are also called those who are assiduous students and experts of Antiquity'. So the word antiquarian, used both as a noun and as an adjective, could very generally indicate someone interested and, or knowledgeable in ancient things, including the writings of the past. In this sense the Renaissance humanists all were 'antiquarians': Stephanus did not distinguish between students of the texts and students of the material remains, and that distinction would have made no sense to a Renaissance antiquary. Though doubtless there were many scholars exclusively devoting themselves to literary testimonials of the past, there were no antiquaries *exclusively* studying its material remains. After all their interest in such objects was kindled by what they had read in the ancient historians; they needed the texts to identify and explain the objects, and used the objects to interpret or even correct the textual traditions. When Antonio Agustín speaks of Lazius as 'Volfango è molto antiquario, et buona persona et dotta', he used it in this general sense—perhaps even implying some of the positive moral qualities the term also could denote, as 'representing the simple virtues of the Ancients'. Yet we will see by the very example of Wolfgang Lazius and Jacopo Strada that in the sixteenth century the study of the material remains did develop into a specialized field of expertise.

In the Renaissance the term 'Antiquity' most often implied 'classical' Antiquity, the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome; but that is not self-evident from Stephanus' lemma. In fact many antiquaries followed the precept of the classical study of 'antiquitates' in also devoting attention to other civilizations and epochs, in particular to the past of their own home towns, fatherlands or peoples. One example is the self-styled *antiquarius* John Leland, who laid the foundations of British historiography under the aegis of Henry VIII. Certainly interest in the one did not exclude a lively interest in the other, witness the various references to Spanish history in Antonio Agustín's correspondence.[5]

That Leland styled himself 'antiquarius' implies that he must have had a clear concept of its meaning and that he expected others to share this—an

4 S.v. in: Robertus Stephanus, *Dictionarium seu latinae linguae thesaurus non singulas modo dictiones continens sed integras quoque latine et loquendi et scribendi formulas* (etc.), Editio secunda, Tomus 1, Parisiis (Robertus Stephanus), 1543. For other examples of the use of the word, see Momigliano 1950, p. 290, n. 1.

5 Cf. his discussion of the origin of the title of grandee of Spain in his letters to Onufrio Panvinio of 14 and 28 August 1557: Agustín 1980, nrs. 185–186.

expectation warranted by the second clause of Stephanus' lemma.[6] In the first half of the sixteenth century the term 'antiquarius' began to be used more often specifically for those who investigated, collected, documented and often published the material relics of the past, be it that of Ancient Rome or of their own local earlier civilization: ruins, tombstones, excavated sculptures, inscriptions, coins, gems, seals, as well as charters, diploma's and other archival documents. Like Leland and Strada, other students of the past, for instance Andrea Fulvio and Bernardo Gamuccio, expressly presented themselves as 'Antiquarius' on the title-pages of their books. Eric Cochrane's chapter 'Antiquities' gives a succinct survey of the many Italians of various background and education who exerted themselves in this field: lawyers, physicians, philologists, historians as well as architects and painters, such as Pirro Ligorio. Like most other disciplines of the period, such antiquaries based their studies always on the available classical sources: their interest in the material remains of Antiquity was partly based on their wish, as humanists, better to understand these written sources, whereas on the other hand these allowed the understanding or at least the interpretation of the material remains.[7]

It is unclear whether self-styled antiquaries such as Leland and Fulvio considered the study of antiquities as (a part of) their 'profession', but if they opted to identify themselves as such that seems not unlikely. If this was the case, they provide an earlier parallel to Strada, who did explicitly consider himself to exercise a 'profession' indicated by the term 'antiquarius'.[8] On the title page of Strada's earliest printed book, the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* of 1553, its provenance 'Ex Musaeo Iacobi de Strada Mantuani Antiquarij' is proudly indicated.[9] When Strada was first employed by Ferdinand I in 1558, he was appointed as a 'Baumeister', that is as an architect, and the second office he obtained after Maximilian II's accession is indicated in very general terms as 'Ein Diener von Haus aus'. Yet already in his own letter to the young King Maximilian of

6 Though Leland styled himself an antiquary in a pamphlet offered to Henry VIII, there is no evidence that this title was attached to his function at court, cf. Momigliano 1950, pp. 313–314.

7 This point is made in Ingo Herklotz, 'Arnaldo Momigliano's "Ancient History and the Antiquarian": A Critical Review', in Miller 2007, pp. 127–153, in particular Section III: 'Literary and Non-Literary Sources'(pp. 136–141).

8 One might ask what Strada can have meant with he term 'profession', which itself has a range of connotations—from simple 'livelihood' or 'means of subsistence', via 'schooled craft or art' and 'vocation', to the explicit public presentation or 'profession' of a given science and/or conviction. All these connotations existed in the sixteenth century, and Strada's use of the term reflects at least some of them. Since he does not specify these, I have not attempted a further interpretation.

9 But Strada does not use the term on the earlier title pages of his albums of numismatic drawings in Gotha (1550, for Hans Jakob Fugger) and Paris (1554).

June 1559, he states to be 'conossiuto per mondo provisionato da la Cesarea et [Vostra Maestà] per Jacomo Strada Antiquario'. Strada indignantly protested against Wolfgang Lazius having referred to him as a mere goldsmith, which Strada calls 'l'arte ch'io ho da putto imparato', and makes a clear distinction between this 'arte'—that is 'craft' or 'trade'—and his 'proffessione', which is devoted to 'le cose dell'antichità'. Strada claims that he could be outstanding in this, his chosen profession, just because he had mastered the trade of the goldsmith, so looked down upon by Lazius. Lazius' libel in fact had shown

> … to Your Majesty and to the world how much I know and can do in my profession, in which I have not limited myself merely to know the names and to recognize the portraits of the ancient personalities [depicted on the coins], but have learnt by long and assiduous study not only to draw them on paper, but also to model them both in gold and other metals and in marble.[10]

Strada's understanding of the antiquary as a profession was not limited to numismatics, his own specialism and the subject of this letter. Besides documenting ancient coins, Strada himself also engaged in measuring Roman ruins and commissioned documentation of ancient sculpture and other figurative antiquities from other artists, implying that all such remains of ancient civilisations were worthy of careful study and were relevant to his 'profession' as an antiquary. Strada asserted that the knowledge of such material remains, and the art of correctly interpreting them, required both practical experience and specialized knowledge. These are professional qualifications: so,

> …if Doctor Lazius, even though he is an erudite and learned historian, would remember that Greek proverb, he would not pretend to judge the profession of others, for it is not right that the cobbler should judge beyond his last.[11]

This implies that Strada thought of the antiquary as someone contributing to the study of Antiquity in particular by a profound appreciation and knowledge of its material remains, which he collected, documented and studied in the

10 Doc. 1559-06-00; Jansen 1993(a), pp. 233–235; cf. above, Ch. 4.2. In an earlier letter to King Ferdinand I [Doc 1558-02-21b] Strada had explained the insufficient result of the coin-catalogue planned by Lazius and the local engraver Hans Sebald Lautensack by their lack of 'professional' experience.

11 Doc. 1559-06-00, Strada to Maximilian II; Jansen 1993(a), pp. 233–235; cf. above, Ch. 4.2.

light of the written sources available. He shared the results of his study with other scholars, but also made it available to a more general public, including artists and their patrons. Both the sharp and critical eye and the ready hand he owed to his artistic training were necessary qualifications for the successful exercise of this specialization. Strada shared these qualifications with the three other artist-antiquaries, his near contemporaries, with whom he was associated in an often-quoted passage from Antonio Agustín's *Dialogo delle Medaglie*:

> A[gustín]: Of the Circus Maximus, and other [circuses] that were in Rome I have seen no medals, but only certain drawings of my friend Pirro Ligorio from Naples, a great antiquarian and painter, who without knowing Latin has written more than forty books of [ancient] medals, and of buildings and of other things.
>
> B.: How can that be, that without understanding Latin he could have written well about such things?
>
> A.: In the same way as do Humberto Golzio, Enea Vico, Iacopo Strada, and others, so that who reads their books would believe that they have seen and read all the Latin and Greek books that ever were written. They make use of the labour of others and being able to draw well with a brush, they wield a pen equally well.[12]

It is actually not easy to understand what Agustín exactly meant with this remark. Considering that elsewhere he had spoken with appreciation of Ligorio's and Vico's efforts, had supported Strada against Lazius, and included all

12 Agustín 1587, pp. 131–132: 'Del circo Maximo, y de otros que hauia en Roma no he visto medallas, solamente he visto ciertos debuxos de Pyrrho Ligori Napolitano, conocido myo gran antiquario, y pintor, el qual sin saber Latin ha escrito mas de quarenta libros de medallas y edificios, y de otras cosas. B. Como puede ser, que sin saber Latin sepa escriuir bien destas cosas? A. Como escriuen Humberto Volcio [*sic*] y Enea Vico y Iacomo Estrada, y otros que quien lee sus libros pensara que han visto, y leido todos los libros Latinos, y Griegos que hai escritos. Ayudanse del trabajo de otros, y con debuxar bien con el pinzel, hazen otro tanto con la pluma. Pero boluamos à las medallas.'; in the Italian translation by Dionisio Ottaviano Sada, Agustín 1592 (a), pp. 117: 'Del Circo Massimo, e d'altri che erano in Roma non n'ho vedute medaglie, ma solamente n'ho veduti certi disegni di Pirro Ligori Napoletano mio conoscente grande antiquario, e pittore, il quale senza saper latino ha scritto più di quaranta libri di medaglie, d'edifitij, e d'altre cose. B. Come può essere che senza sapere latino possi scrivere bene di queste cose? A. Come scriue Humberto Goltzio, et Enea Vico, et Iacomo Strada, et altri che chi legge i loro libri penserà che habbino veduto, e letto tutti i libri Latini, e Greci che sono scritti, aiutonsi delle fatiche d'altri, e con disegnar bene col pennello fanno altro tanto con la penna. Ma torniamo alle medaglie<…>'; another translation published in the same year by Ascanio Donangeli (Agustín 1592(b).

four in the bibliography of his treatise, it cannot have been intended in a derogatory sense.[13] Though Ligorio may have had little Latin and less Greek, the other three easily read and adequately wrote in Latin. Strada's lexicographical enterprise and the description of Greek coins in his manuscript *A.A.A. NumismatΩn Διασκευη*, which were actually written in Greek, demonstrate that he had at least a basic command of that language. Agustín merely implied that these erudite artist-antiquaries drew primarily on modern editions and—in Ligorio's case—translations of ancient texts, and on modern commentaries and secondary literature for the facts and interpretations included in their voluminous compilations. If such was his intention, Strada may well have agreed with him: while attacking Lazius in his letter to Maximilian II, he does give him his due as an 'erudite and learned historian', a 'profession' to which he himself did not pretend, though he respected it just as he expected Lazius to respect his.

It seems no coincidence that Agustín coupled the names of Ligorio, Vico, Goltzius and Strada: though the emphasis differs in each case, their activities largely overlap, and their approach seems very similar [Figs. 15.1–15.4]. Certainly Strada was aware of their existence and their work, and it is very likely that he personally knew them, perhaps already from his stay in Rome in the 1530s and 1540s, if not from his stay in Rome in 1553–1555. In his letter to Maximilian II he cites an opinion of Pirro Ligorio as an authority, and he certainly frequented Enea Vico in Venice in the mid-1550s: Vico cited coins from Strada's collection, just as Strada cited coins from Vico's, and they also copied or exchanged each other's drawings of ancient sculpture. Moreover, at some time Vico was presented with a coin from Fugger's collection through Strada's mediation. But Strada knew Vico by reputation even before that, and seems to have been influenced by Vico's earlier numismatic works.[14] In his exhaustive

13 The English translation as given in Stenhouse 2005, p. 80, is mistaken: Spanish 'otro tanto', in the Italian translation 'altro tanto' (modern: 'altrettanto') means 'just as much', 'equally', not 'otherwise'. The free translation given in Mandowsky/Mitchell 1963, pp. 30–31 implies the same mistaken interpretation. Agustín's esteem of his antiquarian friends was definitely more positive that these translations suggest: 'though they made use of the research done by others, they wrote as well as they drew'.

14 Bodon 1997, pp. 61–67, 172, 176; Jansen 1993(a), pp. 232. Vico's *Le Imagini con tutti i riversi trovati et le vite degli* [XII] *imperatori tratte dalle medaglie et dalle historie degli antichi*<...>, published by Zantani in 1548 (Vico 1548) must have impressed Strada for its elegance and the precison of its images. The idea to include empty circles illustrating emperors of which no authentic coin had (yet) been found, and the addition of elegant frontispieces with an 'elogio' for each emperor are among the aspects Strada practises in his own *Epitome* and/or his manuscript numismatic albums. Vico moved to Ferrara before Strada's visits to Venice in 1566–1569, so he was not among the 'orefici o disegnatori di stampe in rame, o miniatori' with whom Strada associated according to Nicolò Stopio's letter of

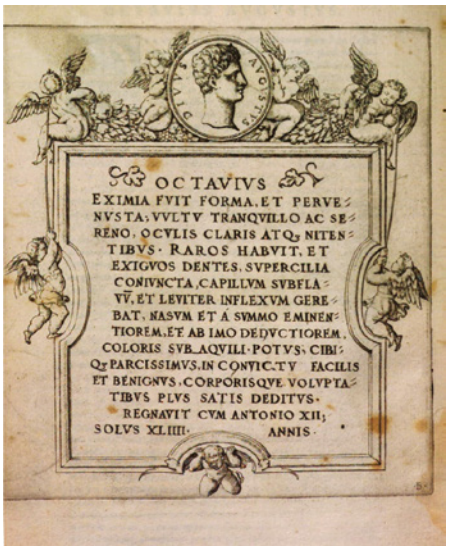
FIGURE 15.1 Pirro Ligorio, the title page of his Libro delle antichità di Roma, nel quale si tratta de' circi, theatri et Anfitheatri, Venice 1553.

FIGURE 15.2 Simon Frisius, after Antonio Moro, portrait of Hubertus Goltzius; engraving from Effigies pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipué Germaniae inferioris, The Hague, 1610.

study on Vico, Giulio Bodon moreover suggests a hypothetical project of collaboration between Strada and Vico, on the basis of their shared interest in the designs of the friezes of the Columns of Trajan.[15] Strada's letter to Maximilian II suggests that, as an antiquary, he would have felt most akin to these three artist-antiquaries, and the passage from Agustín's treatise implies that such a conception of the antiquary as a professional combining erudition and artistic prowess was not unusual.

15 June 1567 [BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 35–36/29–30; cf. above, Ch. 2.5.2]. But they appear to have corresponded, and Strada remained in contact with the Ferrara court also through Giovan Battista Pigna, Alfonso II's secretary and historiographer.

15 Bodon 1997, p. 82.

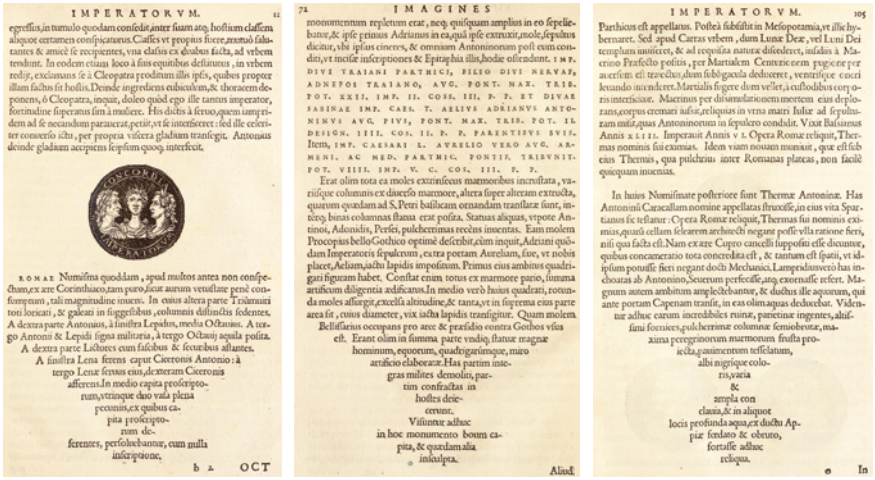


FIGURES 15.3–15.4 Enea Vico, the pages showing the obverse and the reverses of the coins of Augustus, in his Omnium Caesarum verissimae imagines ex antiquis numismatis desumptae, s.l. 1554.

15.2 Strada's Qualities as an Antiquary

The passage in Agustín's *Dialogo delle medaglie* quoted above shows that in his own time Strada enjoyed a wide reputation as a learned antiquary, at least among the general public. As already indicated in the first chapter, this reputation did not survive the seventeenth century, if so long. His publications were not sufficiently reliable and precise to be of any use to later archaeologists. Moreover, it is clear that, though he recognized and emphasized the value of the artefacts he studied for the history of Antiquity, his use of them was rather limited. In the first place he was only really expert in ancient numismatics, and even then considered the ancient coins primarily for the iconographic information they provided, that is, the features of the historical personalities depicted in their obverses, and the symbolic, emblematic images adorning their reverses. He obviously was aware of the value of such visual material to aid the historical imagination, stressing in a letter to Jacopo Dani that for his *Series* he had selected the most beautiful and rare large medals, and 'quelli che portano la historia con essi'.[16]

16 Strada to Jacopo Dani, 17 June 1573 (Doc. 1573-06-17): 'Ora Vostra Signoria sappia che dopo ch'io son vivo, non ò mai fatto altro che accumular medaglie e coppie di esse, et la mia



IMPERATORVM.

egressus,in tumulo quodam conſedit,inter ſuam ato, hoſtium claſſem aliquot certamen conſpicaturus. Claſſes vt propius fuere,mutuò ſalutantes & amicè ſe recipientes, vna claſsis ex deabus facta, ad vrbem tendunt. In eodem etiam loco à ſuis equitibus deſtitutus , in vrbem rediit, exclamans ſe à Cleopatra proditum illis ipſis, quibes propter illam factus ſit hoſtis. Deinde ingrediens cubiculum,& thoracem deponens, ô Cleopatra, inquit, doleo quòd ego ille tantus imperator, fortitudine ſuperatus ſim à mulere. His dictis à ſeruo, quem iampridem ad ſe necandum paraueràt, petiit,vt ſe interficeret : ſed ille celeriter conuerſo ictu , per proprια viſcera gladium tranſegit. Antonius deinde gladium accipiens ſeipſum quoq; interfecit.

ROMAE Numiſma quoddam , apud multos antea non conſpectum,ex aere Corinthiaco,tam puro,ſicut aurum vetuſtate penè conſumptum , tali magnitudine inuenì. In cuius altera parte Triumuiri toti loricati , & galeati in ſuggeſtibus ,columnis diſtinctis ſedentes, A dextra parte Antonius, à ſiniſtra Lepidus, media Octauius. A tergo Antonij & Lepidi ſigna militaria, à tergo Octauij aquila poſita. A dextra parte Lictores cum faſcibus & ſecuribus aſtantes. A ſiniſtra Lena ferens caput Ciceronis Antonio : à tergo Lenæ ſeruus eius,dexteram Ciceronis afferens.In medio capita proſcriptorum,vtrinque duo vaſa plena pecuniis,ex quibus capita proſcriptorum deferentes, perſolebantur, cum nulla inſcriptione.

b 2 OCT

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monumentum reſtetum erat , neq; quiſquam amplius in eo ſepeliebatur,& ipſe primus Adrianus in ea,quà ipſe extruxit,mole,ſepultus dicitur, vbi ipſius cineres, & omnium Antoninorum poſt eum conditi,vt incipe inſcriptiones & Epitaphia illis,hodie oſtendunt. IMP. DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI, FILIO DIVI NERVAE, ADNEPOS TRAIANO, AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. XXII. IMP. II. COS. III. P. P. ET DIVAE SABINAE IMP. CAES. T. AELIVS ADRIANVS ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS, PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. II. DESIGN. IIII. COS. II. P. P. PARENTIVS SVIS. Item, IMP. CAESARI L. AVRELIO VERO AVG. ARMENI. AC MED. PARTHIC. PONTIF. TRIBVNIT. POT. VIIII. IMP. V. C. COS. III. P. P.

Erat olim tota ea moles extrinſecus marmoribus incruſtata , variiſque columnis ex diuerſo marmore, altera ſuper alteram extructa, quarum quædam ad S. Petri baſilicam ornandam tranſlatæ ſunt, intero, binas columnas ſtatuæ erat poſita. Statuas aliquas, vtpote Antinoi, Adonidis, Perſei, pulcherrimas recèns inuentas. Eam molem Procopius bello Gothico optimè deſcribit,cùm inquit,Adriani quòdam Imperatoris ſepulcrum , extra portam Aureliam, fuit, vt nobis placet,Aeliam,ædificatum.In medio verò huius quadrati, rotunda moles aſſurgit,excelſa altitudine,& tanta,vt in ſingrema eius parte area ſit , cuius diameter , vix iacta lapidis tranſigitur. Quam molem Beliſarius occupans pro arce & præſidio contra Gothos vſus eſt. Erant olim in ſumma parte vndiq; ſtatuæ magnæ hominum, equorum, quadrigarúmque, miro artificio elaboratæ. Has partim ingras milites demolìti, partim confractas in hoſtes deiecerunt. Viſuntur adhuc in hoc monumento boum capita, & quædam alia inſculpta.

Aliud

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Parthicus eſt appellatus. Poſtea ſubſultit in Meſopotamia,vt illic hybernaret. Sed apud Carras vrbem , dum Lunæ Deæ, vel Lunæ Dei templum inuiſeret, & ad requiſita nanctæ diſcederet, inſidiis à Maximo Præfecto poſitis , per Martialem Centurionem pugione per aueſum eſt tranſectus,dum ſubſigacula dedueret, ventriſque cincti leuando incideret.Martialis fugere dum vellet,à cuſtodibus corporis interficitur. Macrinus per diſſimulationem mortem eius deplorans,corpus cremari iuſsit,reliquias in vrna matri Iuliæ ad ſepulturam miſit,quas Antoninorum in ſepulcro condidit. Vixit Baſſianus Annis XLIII. Imperauit Annis V I. Opera Romæ reliquit,Thermas nominis ſui eximias. Idem viam nouam muniuit , quæ eſt ſub eius Thermis , qua pulchrius inter Romanas plateas , non facilè quicquam inuenias.

In huius Numiſmate poſteriore ſunt Thermæ Antoninæ. Has Antonini Caracallam nomine appellatas ſtruxiſſe,in eius vita Spartianus ſic teſtatur : Opera Romæ reliquit,Thermas ſui nominis eximias,quarũ cellam ſolearem architecti negant poſſe vlla ratione fieri, niſi qua facta eſt. Nam ex aere Cupro cancelli ſuppoſiti eſſe dicuntur, quibus concameratio tota concredita eſt , & tantum eſt ſpatii, vt idipſum poſſit fieri negant docti Mechanici. Lampridianusveto has incboatas ab Antonino,Seuerum perfeciſſe,atq; exornaſſe refert. Magnum autem ambitum ample lebantur, & ductus ille aquarum, qui ante portam Capenam tranſit, in eas olim aquas deducebat. Videntur adhuc earum incredibiles ruinæ, parietinæ ingentes, altiſſimi fornices,pulcherrimæ columnæ ſemiobrutæ, maxima peregrinorum marmorum fruſta proiecta,grauimentum teſſelatum, albi nigrique coloris,varia & ampla con clauia,& in aliquot locis profunda aqua,ex ductu Appiæ fordato & obruto, fortaſſe adhuc reliqua.

e In

FIGURES 15.5–15.7 Pages from Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, Lyon 1553: image of a coin of the Triumvirs and the description of its reverse (p. 11), and descriptions of the Mausoleum of Hadrian (p. 72) and the Baths of Caracalla (p. 105).

FIGURE 15.8 The Baths of Caracalla in their present state of ruined grandeur.

This suggests that Strada saw his 'medaglioni' primarily as illustrations of ancient history as known from literary sources. Though he probably grasped the significance of the more adventurous investigations of contemporaries such as Pirro Ligorio, which he probably knew about, and Guillaume du Choul, with whom he was intimate and whose research he supported, he hardly used the material he had collected to draw new conclusions on specific aspects of classical civilization himself.

The only exceptions to this were the fields of architecture, warfare and public festivities. Strada's interest in the military strategy and the engineering feats of the Romans is evident in the surveys he collected or commissioned of the friezes of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome and that of Arcadius in Constantinople, of Serlio's illustrations of Polybius, and of the reconstructions of Caesar's battles he published in his 1575 edition of the

Series è tanto coppiosa quanto imaginar si possa; et sempre ò pigliato medaglioni, li più belli e li più rari, et quelli che portano la historia con essi, che io habbia fra di essa.'

FIGURES 15.9–15.11 The image of Vespasian from Strada's Epitome, and an exemplar of the coin type on which he may have based his description of a reverse.

Commentaries. His interest in the architecture of the ancients is evident not only in his measurements of Roman ruins, but also in his descriptions and reconstructions of the buildings depicted on the architectural reverses of the coins he documented. Surely it is no coincidence that of the reverses Strada selected to describe in his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*—one, occasionally two for each Emperor—a very large number depicted a monument dating to the reign of that ruler.

In several instances Strada complemented his description of the reverse with a succinct description of the monument itself, based on the available literary sources, but often also including references to relevant inscriptions. Examples are the Mausoleum of Augustus, the aqueduct of the Aqua Claudia, the Colosseum; his description of the 'Palatium Nervae' is so detailed, and includes an inscription of such a length, that it is evident that he cannot have used an authentic medal or a coin as his (only) source. Other examples are the Circus Maximus and the Pons Aelius, followed by a description of both the bridge and the adjoining mausoleum of Hadrian, now the Castel Sant'Angelo [Fig. 15.6].[17] Occasionally Strada's phrasing suggests his first-hand observation—or rather admiration—of the relics of such monuments, for instance when he comments on the 'Thermae Antoninae', the Baths of Caracalla [Fig. 15.7 and 15.8]:

> … in fact one still sees their incredible ruins, huge walls, most high vaults, most beautiful columns half-standing, large marbles broken and

17 Strada 1553(a), pp. 18–19 (Tiberius); 27–28 (Claudius); 56 (Titus); 62–63 (Nerva); 65–68 (Trajan) and 71–72 (Hadrian). Other coin reverses described as showing public and religious buildings are those of Augustus (Temple of Peace), Didius Julianus (Temple with Ionic columns), Septimius Severus (Septizonium), Heliogabalus (Temple), Alexander Severus (Colosseum and Triumphal Arch of Titus). For a more detailed listing, see Heenes 2003, pp. 18–20.

FIGURES 15.12–15.14 The image of Trajan from Strada's Epitome, and an exemplar of the coin type on which he based his description of a reverse.

> dispersed, floors in mosaic in black and white, various and spacious rooms, and in some spots deep basins full of water conducted by the Appian aqueduct now mostly damaged or ruined.[18]

In view of Strada's later involvement in festivals organised at the Imperial court, it is of some significance that he also paid detailed attention to public festivities in classical Rome. Thus for Vespasian [Fig. 15.9] he selected a reverse illustrating the Emperor's triumph after having subdued the Jewish revolt, using an example close to a type actually struck under Titus, interpreting it as the triumphal curricle carrying the Emperor and his son Titus preceding a procession of the spoils of war [Figs. 15.10–15.11].[19] Strada then added two and a half pages describing the triumph, a passage taken straight from Book VII of Flavius Josephus' *Judean War*.[20] Though he did not mention it, he may well have selected this event because it is so well documented in the beautiful reliefs of the Arch of Titus in the Forum Romanum.

For Trajan [Fig. 15.12] he selected not one of the coins illustrating the famous Column, still standing in the centre of the remains of that Emperor's forum, as might have been expected in view of his later interest in that monument,

18 Strada 1553(a), p. 105.

19 Here, as elsewhere in this chapter, I have presented coin images of which the visual qualities are such that they may have served as Strada's sources; I have not attempted a definitive identifcation of the particular coin types Strada used. Such an identifcation has been undertaken by Volker Heenes, whose findings and critical analysis of Strada's numismatic practice will become available with the results of our collective research project, *Jacopo Strada's Magnum ac Novum Opus: A Sixteenth-Century Numismatic Corpus*, which is financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and based at the Gotha Research Centre of the University of Erfurt (FZG). Not wishing to anticipate his findings, I have not revised this section of my thesis, except as to find better exemplars of the coin-types I discuss.

20 Strada 1553(a), pp. 50–52; the text corresponds to Flavius Josephus's *Jewish War*, Book VIII, 116–155, cf. Josephus/ Thackeray 1961, pp. 538–551.

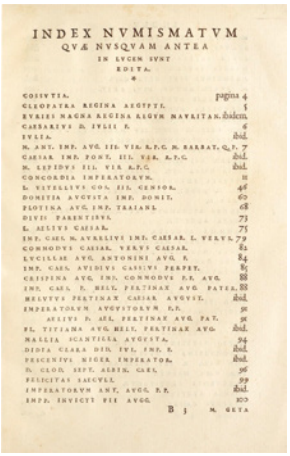
but a coin showing the Circus Maximus, pretext for a similar disquisition on the Circus itself, and in particular of the games and chariots races for which it was used, including a description of the *pompa circensis*, the richly apparelled entry procession [Fig. 15.13–15.14].[21]

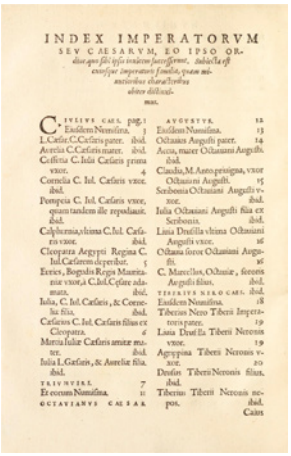
Finally Strada used a coin-type of Domitian for a short explanation of the Secular Games or *Ludi Saeculares*. He described not so much these games themselves as the three days of religious sacrifices and ceremonies that preceded them, doubtless again basing himself on classical texts. It is such dependence on literary sources that Agustín meant when he contended that Strada and his fellow antiquaries 'made use of the labour of others'. Indeed, in his text Strada repeatedly refers to the literary sources he had used for individual passages, and he pays ample tribute to the many friends and colleagues who had contributed to the material he collected and with whom he had critically discussed his finds and their interpretation.

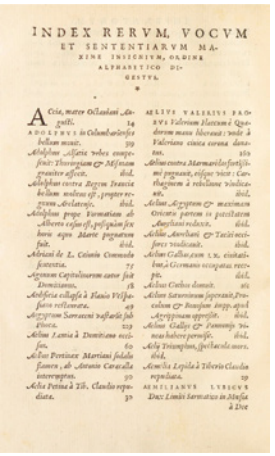
In his preface Strada compares his effort favourably with those of existing and prospective rivals, thinking that none of them could beat him as to the quantity of images included, or the diligence in which he had searched for them. He stresses the importance of critically examining each item in order to select true, ancient exemplars and to avoid modern counterfeits, being perfectly aware that 'nowadays one finds so many excellent and subtle sculptors, that truly they merit to be prized no less than the ancients [themselves]'. For the same reason one should carefully consider the workmanship of each object: Strada claims to have done his utmost to select images of outstanding beauty and elegance.

His selection of the reverses described doubtless reflected Strada's own interests. His preface was probably a sincere statement of his intentions; and his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* did satisfy the very many contemporaries who wished to own a copy. Yet it is not surprising that it did not satisfy later serious numismatists, for the book was in fact not very numismatic in character. Though the ancient coins at first sight appear to be its raison d'être, and in its preface Strada did talk about the ample quantity of coins he had documented, the coins of which he illustrated the obverses are never described as objects—not even the metal is given—and it seems that the reverses described are rarely related to the obverses illustrated [cf. Figs. 15.9–15.14]. The clue to this enigma can be found in the subtitle of the Latin version:

21 Strada 1553(a), pp. 65–68, again based on sources ('ex variae autoribus desumptam'). Strada refers to Dio Cassius and 'Sextus Ruffus', the mysterious author of the treatise *De regionibus Urbis Romae* first published by Onofrio Panvinio (Frankfurt 1558), which Strada quoted either from the manuscript in the library of Monte Cassino or, more likely, from extracts inserted in Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata* (Verona 1482); cf. Jacks 1993, pp. 116, 311.


INDEX NVMISMATVM
QVÆ NVSQVAM ANTEA
IN LVCEM SVNT
EDITA.


INDEX IMPERATORVM
SEV CAESARVM, EO IPSO OR-


INDEX RERVM, VOCVM
ET SENTENTIARVM MA-
XIME INSIGNIVM, ORDINE
ALPHABETICO DI-
GESTVS.

Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum,
hoc est, IMPP. Rom. Orientalium et Occidentalium Iconum,
ex antiquis Numismatibus quam fidelissimè
deliniatarum

Abridgment of the Treasure house of Antiquities,
That is, Images of the Roman Emperors of the East and the West
most faithfully drawn after [their] ancient coins

FIGURES 15.15–15.17 The three indices appended to Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum: a list of coin-inscriptions not published earlier, a chronological register of the individuals included, and an alphabetical index.

This makes clear that the book was not intended primarily as a manual for collectors of ancient coins. The medals merely served as the source for the images, the portraits or effigies of the Emperors, the lives and connections of whom are the true object of the book and of its intended readership. From that point of view the book makes sense: basically it is a relatively careful and precise compilation of historical facts taken from literary sources, aiming to make the history of the Roman Empire, including its Byzantine and German successors up to the present day, easily accessible to a well-educated, but not necessarily scholarly audience. The French edition Strada published simultaneously shows that he aimed at a wide-ranging readership. Thus, the *Epitome* fits squarely into the tradition of *Bildnisvitenbücher* first investigated by Paul Ortwin Rave.[22]

22 Rave 1959; see also Haskell 1993, Chs. A and 2; Cunnally 1999, *passim*.; Heenes 2003, pp. 18–20; Heenes 2010.

Strada did try—or at least pretended—to present historically valid images, based on existing coins or—when these were lacking—on seals or other material sources. This distinguishes both the contents and the readership of his book from those of more fanciful bestsellers such as Guillaume Rouillé's *Promptuarium*. It is useful to compare Strada's *Epitome* also with a more serious competitor such as Enea Vico's *Le immagini con tutti i riversi trovati et le vite de gli imperatori*, printed in Venice in 1558. The latter is more elegant and shows the images of many reverses, but it is limited to the first twelve Emperors. Strada's treatise is far more comprehensive: it provides a repertory of all those individuals who had attained or pretended to the purple and their dependents. Moreover, Strada's compilations of their biographies, though eminently readable, are more serious and far more detailed.

The apparatus which Strada's adds to his volume corroborates its intended function as a work of reference. Only the first of the three indices has a truly numismatic function: this is a list of the inscriptions of all those coins he included which had not been published earlier [Fig. 15.15]. The other two are a chronological index of all personages included and a very comprehensive alphabetical index, including references both to these personages again (printed in capitals) and to events and objects discussed (printed in italics) [Fig. 15.16–15.17]. This section closes with a page listing 'Errata sic corrigito'.[23]

15.3 Strada's Method

In addition to these indices, Strada also included a family tree clarifying the genealogy of the Julio-Claudian dynasty into the *Epitome*. Though it cannot compare in splendour and detail with Enea Vico's huge print of 1555 showing the genealogical ramifications of the first twelve Emperors with surprising precision, Strada's scheme shows that he was well aware of the use of such up-to-date graphical aids to quick comprehension [Fig. 15.18].[24]

Strada owed such systematic rigour to his close connections with Hans Jakob Fugger and the very learned men of his circle, such as the zoologist and bibliographer Conrad Gesner and the Greek scholar Hieronymus Wolf, who served as Fugger's librarian and who developed the intricate and efficient shelving system which was later adapted for use in the library of Duke Albrecht

23 Strada 1553(a), fol. B3r.–C3r.: 'Index numismatum quae nusquam antea in lucem sunt edita'; fol. Cv.–E3r.: 'Index imperatorum seu caesarum, eo ipso ordine, quo sibi ipsis invicem successerunt'; fol. E3v.–L3r.: 'Index rerum, vocum et sententiarum maxime insignium, ordine alphabetico digestus'.

24 I am grateful to Dr Ulrike Peter to have drawn my attention to the Vico print, on which see Peter/Rubach 2011; Strada's genealogy mentioned and illustrated on pp. 90–91.

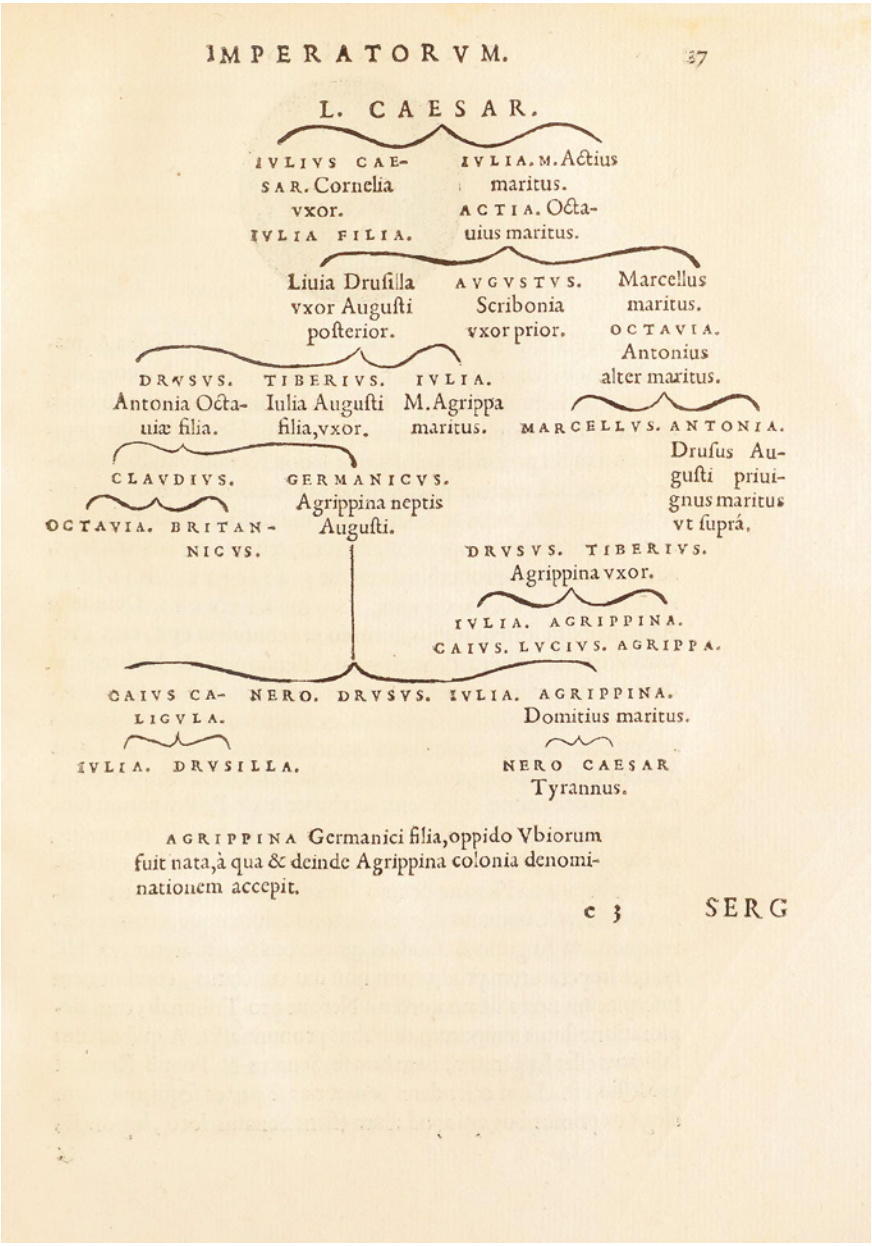


FIGURE 15.18 Family tree of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, inserted into Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum after the chapter of its last Emperor, Nero.

V of Bavaria. This was done by Samuel Quiccheberg, who in his turn used his experience to develop his own treatise on the setting up and ordering of a universal collection, the *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* of 1565. Being so much at home in Fugger's circle, Strada could fall back on such examples to develop some sort of 'content-management' system of his own to classify the vast quantity of documentary images he collected and exploited, in order quickly to find a particular text or image needed. A project such as the lost polyglot dictionary is inconceivable without some such filing system. To organise the more than nine thousand drawings of coins included in Strada's *Magnum ac Novum Opus* preserved in Gotha, he must have kept quite precise records, especially considering that he employed several draughtsmen in the manufacture of this and the various other numismatic manuscripts he offered to his patrons. The originals of the careful, rigorously uniform descriptions of obverse and reverse of each coin that his scribes copied into the versions of the *A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευη*, the textual complement of the *Magnum ac Novum Opus*, must have been kept with the original drawings, or in a parallel, corresponding set of files or card index.

The uniform formula Strada developed for these descriptions likewise probably reflects methodical practice current in Fugger's circle, in particular the uniform entries on individual authors in Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*.[25] Each entry gives a standardised methodical description first of the obverse, than of the reverse of the coin, always concluding with its inscription; the entry always closes with a mention of the specimen on which the description is based, naming the metal, providing an indication of its size and sometimes its quality, and the collection in which Strada had seen it, for instance: 'This most elegant and large coin was shown to us by Julius Romanus in Mantua'.[26]

The contents of these descriptions are as interesting for what they omit as for what they include. Strada must have been aware of the usage as currency of the coins he described, and he did at least distinguish the material of his exemplars. But he did not specify their exact size and weight; consequently the currency value of the coins are not noted. This suggests that his interest in them was primarily iconographical: his aim was to reproduce the images, to identify the portraits on the obverses and the objects on the reverses, and then to interpret their symbolism and to explain their historical significance.

25 On Fugger's circle, see above, Chs. 3.1 and 3.2. Strada's numismatic practice merits a more detailed investigation than is possible here; in addition the empirical, methodological aspects, it might be worthwhile to define the role played by the *ekphrasis*, the verbal description of a work of art (e.g. the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*) that was an element in classical rhetoric, and of which Strada must have been very much aware.

26 A discussion of these descriptions and the drawings to which they relate in Jansen 1993(a), pp. 216–220; some examples are given in its annex 1 (pp. 227–230).

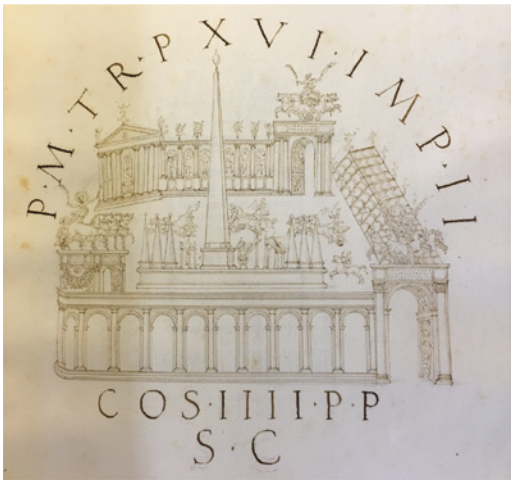
Beginning with the obverse of the coins, he succinctly described the Emperor's profiles, indicating the direction of the face, the dress and (laurel) crown and other attributes, if any, and he transcribed the inscription. But he did not refer to written sources describing the appearance of the emperors, though in many cases these were available, and neither did he comment on the expression of their faces. Both as an artist and as a courtier Strada realized that these images were official representations, designed to project a positive, but not necessarily truthful image of the ruler.

When he turned to the reverses, however, Strada's approach was much less discrete, and he was much quicker prepared to interpret what he saw in the light of his historical knowledge. Though the descriptions have a similar structure as those of the obverses, the objects depicted are often not merely described, but also identified—especially when they represent triumphs or games organized, and public works or monuments realized during the reign of the Emperor depicted on the obverse. In his preface to the *Διασκευη* Strada gives an exhaustive list of the types of military and civil institutions and of the monuments documented in such coins. He moreover claims that he conferred these images with the remains of the original constructions, if still extant. Though he does not cite the relevant sources, it is obvious that his identifications were based both on ancient texts and on the authors of the later antiquarian tradition, such as Flavio Biondo's *Roma Instaurata*. As in the *Epitome,* the images documenting monumental buildings are exhaustively described, in far greater detail than was warranted by the image on the actual coin.

That in these descriptions Strada, instead of documenting an individual coin type, reconstructs the monument depicted on it, is corroborated by the related drawings in his numismatic albums. Thus Strada's drawing of a coin type of Trajan showing the Circus Maximus, roughly five times the size of the actual object, shows many worked-out details which are not found, and could not have been shown in the coin [Figs. 15.19–15.20].

The same holds for Strada's drawing of a reverse of a coin of Trajan which is traditionally interpreted as (a section of) the famous bridge across the Danube built by that Emperor [Fig. 15.21]. Though in his description in the *Διασκευη*, Strada mentions that possibility, he himself interprets it as a 'portus', a harbour, naval arsenal or boathouse. His corresponding drawing [Fig. 15.22] owes much to contemporary representations of the principal element of a theatre for a *Naumachia* or mock sea-battle, such as those included in Pirro Ligorio's *Anteiquae Urbis Imago* [Fig. 15.23]. Strada's suggestion that the object represented on the coin is not a bridge at all is not implausible and in any case demonstrates the ingenuity and creativity of his approach.[27]

27 Cf. Jansen 1993(a), pp. 219, note 22.



FIGURES 15.19–15.20 Reverse of a coin of Trajan, showing the Circus Maximus, compared to Strada's design of a similar type, in his Vienna Series, ÖNB-HS, ms. 9414, fol. 96.

FIGURES 15.21–15.22 Reverse of coin of Trajan, showing a bridge (?) and Strada's drawing of a similar type, in his Vienna Series, önb-hs, ms. 9414, fol. 88, interpreting it as a boathouse or a theatre for staging naval battles or Naumachia.

Strada appears to have derived some elements from a coin type of Nero, depicting a triumphal arch [Fig. 15.24], for his drawing of the reverse of an unidentifed, probably spurious coin he assigned to Vespasian [Fig. 15.25]. But his drawing again shows a wealth of detail which could never have been readable in his model. In fact, such Mannerist detail looks suspiciously similar to that of ephemeral arches designed for festive entries of Strada's own time, to which he occasionaly contributed designs, rather than to the still existing antique

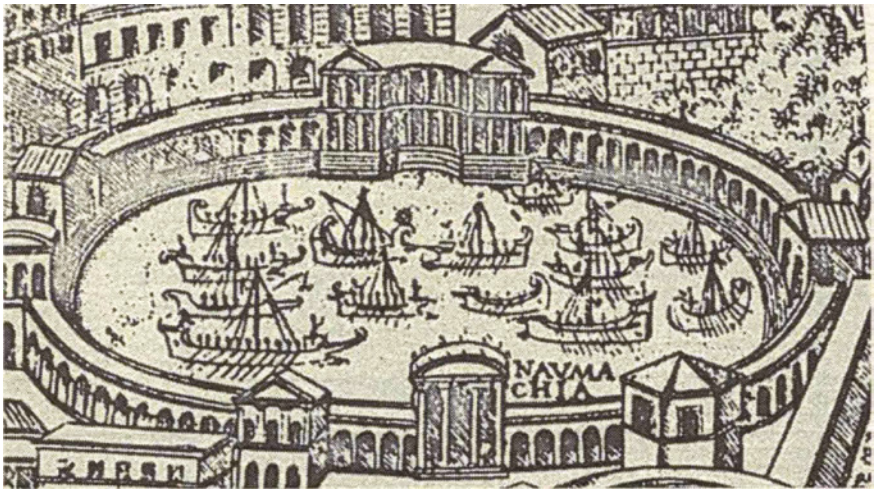


FIGURE 15.23 Pirro Ligorio: reconstruction of a Roman Naumachia, detail of his Anteiquae Urbis Imago (1561).

FIGURES 15.24–15.25 Reverse of a coin of Nero, showing a Triumphal Arch, compared to Strada's design of a similar type, in his Magnum ac novum opus in Gotha, vol. II, fol. 27.

Arches, such as those of Titus or Septimius Severus. Moreover, Strada delved among the graphic examples of his *Musaeum* for inspiration in rendering his details. Thus the two reliefs of an *adlocutio* and a *sacrifice* on either side of the arch are free adaptations of similar scenes preserved in Rome, such as the reliefs of the lost Arch of Marcus Aurelius now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, or the Hadrianic reliefs on the Arch of Constantine.

FIGURES 15.26–15.28 Jacopo Strada, drawings of the reverse of a coin of Vespasian, in his Magnum ac novum opus in Gotha, vol. 11, fol. 17, showing a triumphal arch; and details of its socle zone including free versions of the reliefs on the inside of the the Arch of Titus in the Forum Romanum.

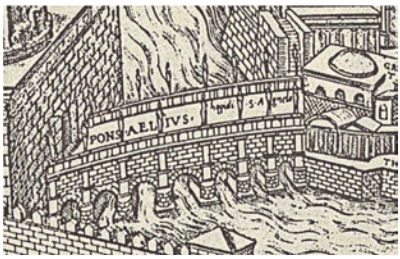
In a similar reconstruction of a triumphal arch [Figs. 15.26–15.28] Strada adapted the decorative scenes of the socle zone directly from the two famous reliefs of the triumph after the Judaean War on the inside of the Arch of Titus. The trophies, the quadriga and the Victories on top of the arch are very similar to

his own drawings of coin reverses elsewhere in the albums; the figures in the niches, however, seem to derive from contemporary example, such as the stucco reliefs designed by Polidoro da Caravaggio.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Strada first learned to document antiquarian material in the immediate circle of Giulio Romano, on the basis not only of Giulio's own splendid numismatic collection, which is cited as the source of many coins described in Strada's *Διασκευη*, but also of Giulio's own reinterpretation of such sources. A good example is Strada's reconstruction of the Pons Aelius in Rome, now known as Ponte Sant'Angelo [Fig. 15.31]. Though ostensibly based on a Hadrianic coin type, which in fact appears to have been a Renaissance invention [Fig. 15.29], Strada's drawing [Fig. 15.30] owed a lot to Giulio's reconstruction of that monument in the background of his *Vision of*

FIGURES 15.29–15.30 A spurious coin of Hadrian, probably a sixteenth- century imitation, showing the Pons Aelius, compared to Strada's drawing of the type in his Vienna Series, önb-hs, ms. 9414, f. 33.

FIGURE 15.31 The Pons Aelius, now Ponte Sant'Angelo, in Rome (second century ad, balustrade and sculptures seventeenth century).



FIGURES 15.32–15.33 Giulio Romano, the Pons Aelius, detail of his fresco The Vision of the Cross, Sala di Costantino, Vatican Palace, compared with Pirro Ligorio's reconstruction in his Anteiquae Urbis Imago.

FIGURES 15.34–15.35 Giulio Romano, garden facade of the Palazzo del Te and the Pescheria or covered fish market, both in Mantua.

the Cross in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican Palace [Fig. 15.32], which was based on the same coin-type and on the bridge as existent at the time.[28]

That Strada followed Giulio's interpretation is borne out by a comparison with the rather different reconstruction in Pirro Ligorio *Anteiquae Urbis Imago* of 1561 [Fig. 15.33]. But Strada was faithful neither to the coin, nor to Giulio's model, nor even to the still existing bridge: he reconstructed its substructure as though executed in *bugnato*, heavy *rustica* masonry.

In this he appears here to have inspired himself on contemporary architecture, such as Giulio's garden facade of the Palazzo del Te or his *Pescheria* in Mantua, rather than directly on classical models [Figs. 15.34–15.35]. This means that he presented the bridge not as it is actually shown in the reverse, but as he thought it originally looked like, or perhaps even as he thought it *ought* to have been depicted on the coin. A parallel to this high esteem for contemporary

28 In view of the close correspondence between the Renaissance imitation and the fresco, it cannot be excluded that the imitation may have been based on Giulio's reconstruction, rather than the other way around.

reinterpretations of the ancient model is found in the *Index sive catalogus*, in which his set of drawings of Giulio Romano's frieze in the *Camera degli Stucchi* in the Palazzo del Te was proposed for publication in the same terms as those of the spiral friezes of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and was presented as similar and equivalent as a source of information on the military prowess of the Roman Empire.[29]

15.4 Strada's Aims

Altogether, it appears that Strada attempted to unite three different, not always easily compatible aims:

– he wished to collect, document and study the remains of the past, and thus to contribute to a better understanding and appreciation of its glories, in particular of the Roman Empire;
– he wished to disseminate the material he collected to a wider interested public, at first through the drawings he made for Hans Jakob Fugger's library, but soon also in print, as has been related in Chapter 14.

  This ambition was not limited to purely historical and antiquarian subjects, but soon became encyclopaedic in character, as is clear from Strada's editorial projects discussed in that chapter:
– in addition to the advancement of learning about the glorious past, it was also Strada's ambition to exploit—and to help his patrons and readers exploit—its greatest achievements: he wished to further the use of Antiquity and of the works of its Italian emulators as examples for contemporary projects.

15.4.1 *The Glories of Antiquity*

There can be no doubt that Strada was deeply interested in the actual, authentic material relics of the past; he went literally out of his way to find rare authentic pieces, as the list of collections he visited makes clear. His practice of including empty circles in his *Epitome*, in lieu of the coins of those rulers of whom he had not (yet) found a reliable numismatic image, indicates his ambition to provide authentic sources. As such he must be taken more seriously as a scholarly antiquary than at least some of his colleagues: he certainly did not invent quantities of images wholesale, as did Guillaume Rouillé in his *Promptuarium*.

29 Above, Ch. 14.7.3.

Nevertheless, from Strada's selection and in his representation of the objects included, it appears that his concept of authenticity was rather different from ours, and even from that of some of his contemporaries. Though he was quite aware of the existence of very deceptive forgeries, and explicitly warns for these, in practice he was rather uncritical. Thus he included many images and descriptions of coins which appear not to have existed in exactly that form, as was noted even by some of his contemporaries. He may occasionally have been taken in by excellent imitations such as Cavino's, or outright fakes, but it is more likely that he sometimes inadvertently or deliberately mixed up his drawings and his notes. Thus he ranged among the gold coins a head or a reverse which probably exists only in bronze; he borrowed an inscription from one coin-type to restore a damaged original of another type; or he combined obverse and reverse of different coins to come up with a convincing ensemble.

It seems that for him true authenticity was to be found in showing the objects as they were in their prime: thus he also restored in pen-and-ink many of the statues included in his manuscript *Statuarum antiquarum*, and was involved in the restorations of the actual marbles he acquired on behalf of the Duke of Bavaria. Moreover, like a humanist philologist intent not only in restoring an ancient text, but also in emending it to make it more comprehensible, Strada thought it quite legitimate to show a coin as it *should* have been designed, rather than as it was, in order better to convey the 'grandeur that was Rome'. As a method this is questionable: Strada forgot that the humanist editor always emended later, defective copies, and in his emendation tried to reconstitute the lost original; whereas Strada's 'emendation' improves on the original itself, at the expense of what we would consider the authenticity of his documentation.

FIGURES 15.36–15.38 Details from the 'Specimen exile' of Wolfgang Lazius' planned catalogue of the Imperial coin collection, compared to Strada's drawing of a reverse of a coin of Vespasian showing a similar round or tetrastyle temple, in his Magnum ac novum opus in Gotha, vol. 5, fol. 41.

Strada's drawings present idealized images of their objects, not merely restoring the damage caused by time and use, but also improving the original design. It provides the observer with an ideal representation or reconstruction of Antiquity. If that was Strada's aim, it is easy to understand his criticism of the way in which Wolfgang Lazius and his engraver, Hans Lautensack, had reproduced the coins in the sample they had had printed to promote their planned illustrated catalogue of the Imperial collection [Figs. 15.36–15.37]:

> Even if a medal is somewhat defective, it does not for that reason loose the perfection of its design. They [Lazius and his engraver] look at nothing but the outside contours, showing the damage to the rim; so that whoever looks at it will conclude that His Majesty has the most unsightly ['goffe'] medals in the world.[30]

There is a world of difference indeed between Lazius' and Lautensack's careful rendering of the actual coins in Ferdinand's collection and Strada's own detailed drawing of a restored reverse, drawn at roughly five times the size of the numismatic model, which allows a careful reconstruction of the monument it illustrates [Fig. 15.38]. In Strada's eyes Ferdinand was not served by Lautensack's 'clumsy' engravings of second-rate and damaged objects, however authentic, but only by beautiful and refined images evoking the splendour of the Emperor's august predecessors, which helped enhance his prestige. When Strada distinguishes his 'profession' or vocation from that of Lazius, he implied two distinct, but equivalent, competences. He prized his capacity to provide such careful reconstructions, visual interpretations or explanations of the objects and their iconography, as highly as his purely antiquarian expertise, which allowed him to accurately transcribe and interpret the inscriptions on the coins, to attribute them correctly, and to place them in the context provided by the relevant literary sources.

In June 1559, Strada referred in a letter to Fugger to the 'interpretatione' his fellow antiquary Antoine Morillon had provided of the ancient stelae, altars and tombs illustrated in an album in the possession of Cardinal Granvelle. He praised Morillon not only for his industry ('fatica') but also for his ingenuity (Morillon was 'capriccioso'), which had enabled him to get right ('indovinare',

30 Lazius 1558; Jacopo Strada to Martín de Guzmán, Doc. 1558-02-21(b), transcribed in Appendix A. It should be noted that Strada also criticized the rendering of the inscriptions on the coins, which were often mistaken, causing many coins to be assigned to the wrong ruler; doubtless it was this, rather than the way they were reproduced, that moved Antonio Agustín to support Strada in the ensuing controversy.

that is: to guess) the significance of most, if not all of the objects depicted.[31] 'Capriccioso': for Strada such caprice represented the ingenuity, the historical and the visual—perhaps even the poetical—imagination he held to be an important, perhaps indispensable adjunct to the scholarly erudition that an antiquary needed to come up with a satisfying—that is, both convincing and pleasing—reconstitution and interpretation of an ancient monument or artefact.

Strada's reconstructions discussed above give some inkling of what he considered convincing and pleasing. That differs very considerably from the norm maintained by some of his contemporaries, such as Lazius, Panvinio and Agustín. But his approach does not differ so very much from that of Guillaume du Choul, who used some of Strada's reconstructions to illustrate his own treatises reconstructing aspects of classical Antiquity [above, Ch. 3.5.3, Figs. 3.55–3.57]. And it is equally close to Serlio's, who exploited his considerable, well-informed imagination in a similar way when representing the ancient monuments of Rome or reconstructing the Roman *Castra* as described by Polybius.

There is a case to be made that both Strada's image of Antiquity and his antiquarian approach ultimately hark back to his earliest Mantuan memories, to even before the advent of Giulio Romano. They are ultimately rooted in his admiration for the works realized in Mantua by Andrea Mantegna and his followers at the end of the Quattrocento, which were as reverent of the Classical past as Giulio's. In his article, 'Archaeology and Romance', Charles Mitchell discussed the archaeological excursion *cum* picnic undertaken by Andrea Mantegna and his friends, the Veronese antiquary Felice Feliciano and the magistrate Samuele da Tradate along the shores of Lake Garda. His conclusion can be applied with equal force to Strada's approach:

> <…>their learning<…>anticipated their objective: they were looking, not so much for novel finds, as for fresh reflections and confirmations of an Antiquity that shone in their imaginations. Antiquity was becoming an ideal of life, rather than an object of inquiry.[32]

15.4.2 *Sharing Knowledge: The Encyclopaedic Ambition*

If Titian's portrait of Strada can be considered an example of that master's psychological penetration, there can be no doubt about the enthusiasm with which Strada shared his possessions and his passions with his patrons,

31 Doc. 1559-06-06, transcribed in Appendix A.

32 Mitchell 1960, p. 478.

his colleagues and other interested individuals. Strada's eagerness to divulge and exploit the knowledge he had obtained and the materials he had brought together can be linked to the emphasis on practical use postulated in Samuel Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*, the first treatise on the constitution of an ideal scientific collection or museum. Both reflect the ideas current in Hans Jakob Fugger's circle, to which Strada and Quiccheberg belonged. Both were influenced by the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, the first comprehensive general bibliography first published between 1545 and 1549 by Fugger's close associate Conrad Gesner. Through his close connections with the book trade Strada probably was also aware of similar enterprises elsewhere, such as Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae*, even before it was first printed in 1565. He must certainly have been influenced by it after publication, even if only negatively, deciding that his own *Dictionarium XI linguarum* should be ordered alphabetically, instead of systematically.

But Strada's ambition owed as much to Italian as to German example. The emphasis on the use of classical sources in Strada's dictionary project corresponds with contemporary humanist preoccupations; in particular it reflects ideas current in the learned circles around the Papal Curia in Rome, with which Fugger himself was in close contact. An emphasis on the material remains—as most reliable sources for ancient history—and therefore on antiquarian examination and documentation of inscriptions, coins, objects and figurative works of art was a component of such studies at least since Raphael's appointment, in 1515, as supervisor of all archaeological finds in Rome. Already in his teens in Mantua, Strada had been initiated in these ideas by Raphael's favourite pupil, Giulio Romano, and he had obtained ample first-hand experience in the field during his prolonged sojourns in Rome in the 1530s and the mid 1550s. The idea to codify the results of such studies in an alphabetically ordered and illustrated dictionary or encyclopaedia was initiated in this Roman circle, and various relics of these efforts are preserved, for instance in the work of Strada's colleague, the architect and antiquary Pirro Ligorio.[33] But Strada's ambition to extend such a work beyond Antiquity and the classical languages appears to have been his own idea. In part it was a logical consequence of his close connection with Fugger, whose interests included the later history of the Holy Roman Empire as well as practical contemporary politics, and in part of Strada's permanence at the multilingual Vienna court, where both ideological and practical reasons created a demand for it. Strada's wish to reach an audience beyond that of the professional intellectuals thus was the consequence of the demand of his patrons, as much as of his own didactic ambitions.

33 Cf. above, Ch. 3.7.1.

15.4.3 *Examples to Emulate: Antiquity in Contemporary Dress*

Strada owed his admiration for the ancients and for the works of art they created directly to his apprenticeship in the studio of Giulio Romano, and indirectly to Giulio's teacher Raphael. Their example showed him not only how to document and interpret the material remains of a venerated Antiquity, but also how to translate that experience towards new, original works of art. Considering the splendour, the elegance, the profound understanding of the classical precept that characterizes the work of these two masters, especially in architecture and decoration, it is not surprising that their practice would become a paradigm of excellence for a young, ambitious artist such as Jacopo Strada. The designs of the buildings with which he himself can be associated, such as the Stallburg, his own house and the Neugebäude in Vienna, and his design for the Munich Antiquarium show that he had taken their example to heart. But Strada did not limit his efforts to propagating their legacy and to tacitly following their example in his own works. As discussed in Chapter 13.8, he also commissioned splendid sets of documentary drawings of their principal works, which he intended to publish.

It is important to realize that this project is closely connected to Strada's efforts to publish authentic antique remains. The manner in which he describes Giulio's frieze in *the Camera degli Stucchi* in the Palazzo del Te, presenting it as the equivalent of the frieze of the Trajanic column, shows that for Strada the emulation of the classical example was not only a possibility but a self-evident artistic necessity. That conviction is reflected not only in his reconstructions of ancient monuments in his numismatic drawings shown above, but also in the mannerist designs for festival costumes and sumptuous gold and silver tableware collected in his *libri de' disegni*, which were explicitly presented as 'in the antique manner'. The title of the Vienna album of helmets and related headdresses stresses its—not exclusively—antique origins:

> Ancient crested helmets such as in the past were used by the Greeks and the Romans and by other peoples both in spectacles and public games, and in the wars; the forms and images whereof have been derived from bronze and marble statues, as well as from bronze, silver and gold coins, and most precisely and exquisitely drawn.[34]

34 Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 21,1: *Galearum antiquarum cristatarum quibus olim Graeci et Romani atque alii etiam populi tam in spectaculis et in ludis publicis, quam in bellis usi sunt, formae atque imagines ex aeneis atque marmoreis statuis tum etiam ex aeneis, argenteis aureis que numismatibus desumptae, et elegantissimae aptissimaeque delineatae.* Ex Musaeo Jacobi de Stradae. Mantvani. Caess. Antiquarii civis Romani. The same holds for the title of the Dresden album of festival designs (above, Ch. 4.3.5.).

FIGURES 15.39–15.40 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, design for a helmet in the 'antique' style and for a turban ; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,1, fols. 14 and 61.

Whereas in fact they are largely derived from designs for fanciful costumes made for contemporary festivities—a supposition borne out not only by the style of the designs, but also by the inclusion of Turkish turbans and medieval helmets, reminding one of the many tournaments based on the tales of Ariosto and Tasso and on *Amadis de Gaule*, for which the originals that Strada copied had been designed [Fig. 15.39–15.40 and above, Figs. 4.26–4.31].

The same holds for the various sets of drawings after ornamental vases that can be attributed to Strada and his workshop, some of which explicitly pose as antiques. Several of these carry inscriptions—not necessarily in Strada's own hand—identifying the alleged finding spots of these vases, or rather more often of 'a similar vase' or 'such a vase'. Instances are 'A vase such as this was found outside of Naples in a vinyeard, it was of silver, and was brought to Rome to Cardinal della Valla" [Fig. 15.41] and 'Such a vase as this was found in the Forum of Trajan, and was of gold; a work never seen again in our time, and it was destroyed during the Sack of Rome' [Fig. 15.42].[35] Notwithstanding such

35 Two drawings from a set of 61 drawings from an album of at least 66 that was at a later date incorporated in an album in the collections of the Princes Waldburg-Wolfegg. They

FIGURES 15.41–15.42 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, two designs of an ornamental ewer and a vase; Wolfegg, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten Waldburg-Wolfegg.

credentials these objects, though in an 'all'antica' style, were all clearly derived from mannerist designs of Giulio Romano and other contemporary masters—the originals or copies of which could be found in Strada's *Musaeum*.

Combining antique precept and models with contemporary examples, and combining both in new creations, was by no means rare in the sixteenth century. Strada shared this practice with many of his fellow artists—one thinks of Pirro Ligorio's *Casino* built for Pope Pius IV in the Vatican gardens. It also appealed to the patrons commissioning building such as the *Casino*, though it appealed perhaps less to Strada's scholarly acquaintances such as Agustín, who more clearly distinguished between a sixteenth-century Christian present and a glorious, but distant, pagan past that was irrevocably lost.

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can be related to several other albums of similar designs from the Stradas' workshop; cf. Hayward 1970; Bukovinská/Fučíková/Konečný 1984; Fuhring 2003; Taylor 2014.

CHAPTER 16

Strada & Co.: By Appointment to His Majesty the Emperor

16.1 Strada as an Imperial Antiquary and Architect

Strada's formal appointment at the court of the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II and the use made of his antiquarian competences by Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria show that these satisfied a need felt by his principal patrons. Strada satisfied this need in the first place by presenting the fruits of his researches, in the form of the *libri di disegni* documenting numismatic and other topics, many of which have been preserved, and the acquisition of which by his patrons is documented in several cases. All the same it is not likely that these volumes—always paid for separately—were the only or even the most important reason for his employment: note that the two earliest volumes still preserved in Vienna were not commissioned by, but were presented at Strada's own initiative to Ferdinand I and Maximilian II respectively. Strada's initial appointment in Vienna as an architect indicates that his patrons intended to make use of his expertise also in other ways, which are summarized in the next paragraphs.

16.1.1 *Architecture*

In the foregoing chapters, I have presented and commented the sparse occasions in which Strada's activities on behalf of his patrons are documented. These all show that he was employed in the architectural projects of his patrons in an advisory role. The available documents show that in two instances he also provided designs, for the Munich Antiquarium and for some undefined aspect of the Vienna Neugebäude. However, the available documentation does not allow definitive conclusions about Strada's personal participation in the execution of such projects. It seems very unlikely that he had any direct and concrete responsibilities in the actual *construction* of the architectural commissions at court and in Munich. It is true that Strada appears to claim that role when he wrote to Archduke Ernest in 1579:

> So I beseech your Most Serene Highness that, should he wish to employ me in whatever project which involves the arts of design, I can serve hem very well. If Your Highness would choose to have built a beautiful palace

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> in the manner of Rome or Naples, in a beautiful style and order of architecture; and would have laid out beautiful gardens, fishponds, fountains and other delights suitable to a great Prince as is Your Highness, I can serve him extremely well, and what I will have had made will be praised by every man of taste.[1]

It is also true that the construction of his own house in Vienna shows that he possessed the necessary competence to realize such a project. Yet even considering the dearth of sources documenting the architectural commissions in Vienna under Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, it seems inconceivable that Strada's direct responsibility for their construction would not have left at least some traces in the archives.

Nevertheless, this does not preclude that Strada functioned as a formal or informal consultant to the architects or master masons who had been charged with their realization, in particular in case of those projects for which he had provided designs. In addition to some general supervision of the transformation of his designs into the construction drawings necessary at the building site, such consultancy would have concerned the correct use of the proportional system and the detailing of the orders, the providing of models for these and for other decorative elements, as well as suggestions as to the materials in which, and the masters by whom these were to be executed. Moreover, Strada's visual-spatial ability, his critical eye and his imagination qualified him to suggest practical considerations related to the intended use of the building, as his design for the Munich Antiquarium makes abundantly clear.

Strada opens his letter to Archduke Ernest with the claim that Maximilian II had kept him continuously at work 'nelle sue fabbriche', that is, in his building projects. This claim cannot have been very much exaggerated, in view of the Archduke's familiarity with the situation in Vienna and his personal acquaintance with Strada, whose son Paolo was a gentleman in his household. This implies that Strada was often involved in the architectural projects at court: apart from the Neugebäude, for which he certainly made a design, the most likely candidates are the Stallburg, the decorative elements of the Hofburg proper, and possibly the earliest plans for what would become the Ernestinische Trakt or Amalienburg. But his principal role would have been in the initial stages of such projects. It consisted of advising the patron about the project in general, suggesting various alternative options and providing models from his own collection and commenting on these: in short helping him to make up his mind what type of architecture to commission. The genesis

1 Doc. 1579-05-00.

FIGURES 16.1–16.2 Jacopo Strada, Diana, design for a costume for a festival at court, compared with the image of Charles V in the decoration of the Imperial Chamber at Bučovice, Moravia.

of the Munich Antiquarium shows clearly that this stage could include not just personal consultation and perhaps some preliminary sketches, but also carefully worked-out designs. Formal responsibility for the negotiations with the architects, master masons or contractors who were to execute the projects remained with other court-officials, such as the *Bausuperintendent*, but it is likely that Strada occasionally advised the patron on their selection, and afterwards coached them as to the aspects of his own expertise. These included the correct use of the orders as well as practical problems: thus for the Antiquarium Strada advised about the form and the technical possibilities (in stone or wood) for the window frames and about the ideal material for the plaques for the inscriptions and where to obtain it. He derived his authority to informally supervise the executive architects and the various artisans employed from his own formal status as Imperial Architect, his specific, unrivalled expertise, and the fact that he acted as a representative or an agent of the patron himself.

16.1.2 *Designs for Festivals and Decorative Ensembles—and Their Production*

The information about the organisation of the execution of decorative ensembles in the Imperial residences, and for the ephemeral decorations and costumes for festivities, pageants and ceremonies, is as scanty as that about the architectural projects. We know that Strada was involved in an unspecified role in the genesis of the tombs of the Emperors Maximilian I in Innsbruck and Ferdinand I in Prague: here he doubtless contributed advice on imperial iconography, his own antiquarian specialism, but he was probably also consulted on the artistic aspects of these important dynastic commissions. In the designs

he made for costumes for court festivals discussed in chapter 4.3.5, a number of which have been preserved, he certainly combined his iconographical expertise and artistic prowess [Fig. 16.1 and above, Figs. 4.13–4.22]. This in turn strongly suggests that he provided similar combined services for the interior decoration of the Imperial residences, for instance the ceiling of the *Goldene Saal* in the Innsbruck Hofburg, where his participation is documented, but also on other locations. Perhaps the richly decorated spaces in the towers of the Neugebäude may have been among these, as is suggested by their connection with the slightly later set of rooms in Bučovice, with which Strada can be linked [Fig. 16.2].

In all these cases it is impossible to say with any certainty what exactly his interventions may have been. These were probably wide-ranging: from a simple comment on the proposal of a fellow artist or the estimate of his finished work, to a careful discussion of a planned commission and its iconography with the patron and members of his entourage, when he would illustrate his oral advice by showing relevant models from his *Musaeum*. Then they would include advice as to the selection of the artists to execute the commission, their coaching and/or the supervising of their work, as well as providing his own sketches or even worked out designs. This is the more probable in view of the fact that Strada basically thought in images, so would naturally have illustrated his points of view with quick sketches. He explicitly stressed the great value he attached to such visual means of communication in his letter to Adam von Dietrichstein discussed in Chapter 11.6. The immense collection of visual documentation he brought together demonstrates that he practised as he preached. The numerous drawings or 'inventions' from Strada's studio that have been preserved confirm his lively visual imagination, and make clear that, though he was no great artist, he was a perfectly competent designer. Taken in all, the evidence linking Strada's direct or indirect involvement in such projects at court is not abundant; but it is certainly amply sufficient not to exclude him without good grounds, when attributing work done at court or in its perifery.

In contrast to the architectural projects, where Strada never was directly responsible for the execution of the projects to which he had contributed designs, at least on occasion he may have been given the responsibility both to organize and to supervise the execution of decorative schemes and of festival costumes and decorations. His own artistic training guaranteed his competence as to its artisanal aspects, whereas the big documentary projects he had had in hand in Rome in the 1550s make clear that he knew how to handle complex projects involving many individual artists. His wide network allowed him quickly to find the right man for each aspect of a given project. This was particularly useful in the manufacture of costumes and

decorations for court festivals, when a huge number of disparate objects had to be produced in a quite brief time-span. Four things were indispensable to make this a success:

– a perfect comprehension of the patron's wishes and intentions
– a close collaboration and mutual understanding between the courtiers, the literati—such as Giovanni Battista Fonteo—, the musicians—such as Philips de Monte—and the senior artists—such as Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Francesco Terzio, Pietro Ferrabosco, Matthias Manmacher, and Strada himself—who had been commissioned to provide the concepts, the texts, the scores, and the designs
– a careful and detailed planning
– and finally a careful coordination and close supervision of the many artists and artisans who were to convert these 'inventions' into reality.

It is probably no coincidence that just these aspects are stressed in Strada's letter to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, in which he offered to undertake the coordination and supervision of the huge silver table fountain representing *Adam and Eve in Paradis*e which the Archduke had commissioned from Strada's friend and colleague Wenzel Jamnitzer:

> And even to make a design for such a work, one needs to know the mind of Your Excellency, and also the size [of the planned work], because it has to be arranged with judgement, and according to Scripture, and all parts [should be] made in due proportion. And even then it would be difficult to show in a drawing, because it will take up so much space. To understand it well, one should rather make a [three-dimensional] model or master plan ['modello ovvero patrone'] as one does when one wants to build a palace, for the use of the masters to be employed in the project.<…> And it would also be necessary to have a superintendent ['sopra capo'] who well understood the work, so that he could guide the masters [in their work], otherwise the expenses of the work would soar, and the chance would be that [the result] might not even please Your Excellency.[2]

Neither is it a coincidence that, as at the beginning of his career at the Imperial court, at its end he should imagine a quite similar role when he offered his service to Archduke Ernest: the relevant passage as quoted earlier continues:

> I can also serve in having made inventions for masques, tourneys and jousts and other beautiful things that may occur to your Highness.[3]

2 Doc. 1556-12-22.

3 Doc. 1579-05-00.

The tell-tall phrases in this letter are 'quello ch'io farò fare'; 'what I will have had made will be praised by every man of taste', and 'far fare': 'I can also serve in having made inventions for masques <…>'. Both passages imply that Strada offered his services not, or not exclusively, in his role as an artist, but that he proposed to direct specific projects on behalf of the patron, acting as an agent realizing the patron's specific ambition. The documented instances suggest that in such projects, according to circumstance, Strada was able to act as the director or the producer of such entertainments. The staging of a court masque, joust or ceremony, the creation of sumptuous, complex decorative schemes or the realisation of ambitious works such as an Imperial tomb, or Jamnitzer's silver fountains for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol and Emperor Maximilian II, involved a similar distribution of tasks, not all of which are necessarily mentioned in the financial records.

Some such division of tasks is implied in a note in a manuscript programme for festivals organized in 1571 to celebrate the wedding of Archduke Charles and Maria of Bavaria, which indicates Giuseppe Arcimboldo as its 'fabricator' and Giovanni Battista Fonteo as its 'coordinator'.[4] Strada's existing festival designs suggest that he sometimes acted as a 'fabricator' or a (co)director, contributing to the iconography of a masque and designing its costumes; while at other times he may have acted as its 'coordinator' or producer: selecting and organizing the artists and artisans who were to realise the actual objects needed, the designs of which were provided by some other 'fabricator', such as Giuseppe Arcimboldo. And occasionally he may have combined both functions: the phrasing of Emilio Stanghellino's remark to the Duke of Mantua about the role of 'nostro Strada Mantovano' in the fabrication of the costumes for the jousts on the occasion of Rudolf II's coronation as king of Hungary strongly suggests that he both designed them and organized their manufacture. Stanghellino even appears to imply that that was a natural function of the 'antiquario'.[5]

Altogether there is sufficient evidence to conclude that Strada at least occasionally was given the charge—as Stanghellino phrased it—to organize and supervise the realization of decorations and costumes for festivals at court, and that this was one of the tasks implied in his function as Imperial Antiquary. However, even when this task may have come natural to the antiquary, given his expertise, it was not his formal or exclusive responsibility: other court

4 Cited by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Arcimboldo 1526–1593, 2007 p. 265, cat. nr. VII.35; the precise significance of these terms as used in this instance remains to be clarified.

5 Doc. 1572-09-03: 'Il Strada nostro mantovano, come antiquario, ha havuto carico di far fare gli habiti, girelli e sopraveste per le giostre delli serenissimi principi, quali vanno fatti all'uso dell'armatura antica, ma riusciranno vaghi et ricchi assai, essendo gli drappi d'oro et argento fini, con pocchissima seta, guarniti di bellissimi riccami et frangie d'oro riportate.'

artists, Arcimboldo in the first place, were likewise commissioned to conceive, design and supervise such festivals.

16.2 Strada's Role as an Agent

16.2.1 *Agent and Broker?*

In such cases the initial commission was probably informally given by the Emperor himself, and Strada can thus be considered to act as an agent of his patron, though in practice he was probably asked to report to the court dignitary ultimately responsible, for instance the Master of the Horse (*Oberststallmeister*). He thus functioned as an intermediary between the patron or his substitute and the artists and craftsmen who were doing the actual work (as well as the courtiers who were expected to figure in the festival, who had some say in what they were going to wear, having to pay for it). In view of the huge amount of work to be done in a very brief time, Strada must have collaborated closely with some or all of the other senior artists at court, such as Arcimboldo, Terzio, Manmacher and Ferrabosco. We know from Van Mander that travelling artists—such as Bartholomeus Spranger, Hans Mont and Van Mander himself—were also recruited. In a similar way, he would have acted as an intermediary between the Emperor and the artists employed in the decoration of spaces in the Hofburg, the Neugebäude, or other Imperial residences. As in the architectural projects, he would derive his authority for such supervision from the Emperor's brief, his official position as Imperial Architect, and his undoubted expertise.

Such supervision came naturally to Strada, because of his familiarity with Giulio Romano's role as general superintendent of all architectural and artistic endeavour at Mantua. To some extent Giulio's example may have furnished Strada with a model for his own career: his construction of a prestigious house, serving as a conscious advertisement of its builder's competence and expertise, is the most evident example. On the other hand, it is equally evident that neither in Vienna nor in Munich Strada ever aspired to anything approaching Giulio's central position in the artistic, architectural and infrastructural policies of the Gonzaga state. This was partly due to the different circumstances: as an Italian Strada was probably more of an outsider in Vienna than Giulio was in Mantua.[6] The functioning of the multinational Imperial court was not comparable to that of a small homogeneous state as Mantua; moreover the

6 In a letter to Jacopo Dani, Strada attributes a lack of collaboration by the local authorities partly to the fact 'ch'io non sono tedesco' (Doc. 1576-06-16).

Emperor was probably less interested in the extreme visual splendour aspired to by Francesco and Federico Gonzaga. But it was also due to Strada's own preferences: Giulio's antiquarian studies, however serious, were basically engaged in to serve his artistic ends; whereas Strada considered the artistic use that he could make of them as a spin-off, perhaps as a justification for his more purely antiquarian pursuits. He engaged in these for their own sake, as the big proportion of his time, energy and patrimony he invested in them make clear.

When Strada represented his patron's interest in supervising such projects in Vienna itself, his function did not fundamentally differ from that of any other court official charged with a particular task. But Strada also represented his patrons' interests abroad, acting as an agent acquiring books, antiquities and works of art. Because this aspect of his services to his patrons involved travel, for which expenses were paid and which gave rise to consultative correspondence, it is much better documented than what he did for them when at home. Even so, this is only true for Strada's trips to Venice in 1567–1569, when he was explicitly commissioned by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria to buy antiquities and works of art: there can be little doubt that his acquisition of the Loredan collection for Munich was the most important transaction of his career.[7] But it is only in the margin of this huge project that we are informed about the wide range of other activities—they are described in chapter 13—that Strada engaged in during these trips, acting both on behalf of his known patrons as well as for himself and perhaps for other, as yet anonymous patrons.

We know that Strada was an indefatigable traveller, and in the 1560s he made at least two other trips to Italy before being sent to Venice by Duke Albrecht; he also regularly travelled in Germany (to Munich, to Augsburg, to the Frankfurt book fair) and to Prague. During such travels he doubtless engaged in similar activities as those documented for his trips to Venice: picking up antiquities, works of art, books and other objects for which his patrons had expressed an interest, or which he thought might appeal to them. In addition, he may have scouted for talent: if he signalled a well-known troupe of Italian *commedia dell'arte* actors to Maximilian II, it is quite likely that he would have done the same when meeting architects and artists whom he thought might be useful in Vienna or Munich. He certainly acted as an intermediary between Titian and Duke Albrecht V and Hans Jakob Fugger. He drew Maximilian II's

7 It is in this context that Strada described himself as an agent of the Duke, in his defence in the Senate of Venice against accusations borught against him by Andrea Loredan: 'Io son gentilhuomo di S. M. e son al presente agente dl S.mo Ducha in questo negotio, come fanno le mie lettere testimonio', 'Risposta ala Callumnia', Doc. 1568-00-00, fol. 36/134v.

attention to Titian's 'poesie' and perhaps to Jacopo and Marietta Tintoretto, as is suggested in Chapter 12.5.3. When Maximilian II requested Veit von Dornberg, his envoy in Venice, to go and find out more about the sculptor Alessandro Vittoria and the architect or master mason Jacometto Tagliapietra, he told Dornberg their exact addresses. Doubtless the Emperor had this detailed information from Strada, who had just returned from Venice, where he had been employing Vittoria in some project of his own.[8] In fact, to provide such information must have been one of Strada's tasks at court, and he may have recommended certain artists, or even have been instrumental in their employment, on other occasions. Therefore, the arrival of some of the artists at court may have been due to their earlier acquaintance with Strada, or a connection through one of his correspondents. A possible example is Giulio Licinio, who left Venice to try his luck among the Augsburg patricians shortly after Strada's stay in Venice in 1556, and then soon followed in his footsteps to the Imperial court.

The role and function—explicitly not the 'profession'—of agents such as Strada have been the subjects of the research project, 'Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe'.[9] Both Strada's activities and his personal characteristics largely conform to the profile of the archetypal agent as formulated by Marika Keblusek: 'To function successfully as an agent depended first and foremost on one's ability to build and maintain two key relationships: with one's employer—or patron—on the one hand, and with one's network(s) on the other'. Such capacity was dependent on the agent's background, his social standing, his education, his geographical roots, his religious persuasion and, not least, his character. Keblusek quotes David Howarth's list of the 'general talents' an agent needed to have: 'stamina, organisational and social skills, and a command of foreign languages. These, precisely, were qualities without which *no* agent could survive<…>'. Other qualifications were a favourable geographical position and/ or easy mobility: many of the agents of the type shared an immigrant background, or at least were accustomed to travel.[10] These were all qualities that Strada possessed. Moreover, he succeeded in obtaining the fullest confidence of his patrons—a confidence expressed in the many favours they granted him—and, at least in the case of Hans Jakob Fugger, a considerable degree of intimacy and even friendship.

8 Maximilian II to Veit von Dornberg, Linz 18 December 1568; JdKS 13, 1892, II, pp. XLVIII–XLIX, *Regest* nr. 8807.

9 It results published in Cools/ Keblusek/ Noldus 2006 and Keblusek/ Noldus 2011.

10 Keblusek 2006, p. 10–12.

16.2.2 *Double Agent... Or Rather Single-minded?*

A further quality such agents shared, was a high degree of versatility or adaptability to sometimes quite divergent tasks: tasks for which they were not necessarily formally qualified, but in which they could be employed all the same. It is in this sense, as well as in the more current one, that such agents often were 'double' agents: thus secretaries, merchants, artists and soldiers doubled as political informers (or even as outright spies), while academics and diplomats chased after books, antiquities, works of arts and doubled as talent spotters as well. Tasks they were expected to shoulder, not necessarily because they were the right man for the job, but rather because they happened to be in the right place at the right time: that is, they were seldom employed because of their proper specialism.[11]

Strada disposed of a wide field of interest and certainly was versatile and adaptable: doubtless, he occasionally will have served his patrons in fields beyond his own expertise. He must have passed on much information he heard on his travels to his patrons in Munich and Vienna, or to the relevant officials at their courts. Occasionally he may have carried confidential dispatches to the rulers of places he was scheduled to visit. However, any trusted courtier departing on, or returning from a voyage would have done as much, so this does not set Strada apart. In any case there are only two documented instances in which Strada was explicitly asked for a service unconnected with his own specialist expertise. In the autumn of 1565 he lobbied with the *Vizereichskanzler* Johann Baptist Weber on behalf of Carlo Maffei, 'maestro di camera' of Guglielmo Gonzaga, presenting a letter of recommendation from the Duke and explaining Maffei's business.[12] In December 1569 he provided Duke Guglielmo of Mantua with information about grain prices in Munich, which he must have obtained from correspondents in that town, probably from Fugger himself.[13] Neither instance is representative, because Strada was not in Duke Guglielmo's employ. He rendered his service both in return for patronage received earlier—the Duke's help in Strada's Mantuan projects and the benefice conferred on his

11 *Ibidem*, p. 11.

12 Docs. 1565-10-15 and 1565-10-23. It is obvious that one hand washed the other, because in return Maffei lobbied with the Duke to concede a benefice in Mantua cathedral to Strada's son Paolo.

13 Doc. 1569-11-05; The Mantuan ambassador had asked for this information, but Strada preferred to communicate it directly to the Duke in person. Unfortunately the published version (*JdKS* 16, 1895, II, *Regest* nr. 13998) leaves out the actual information Strada had obtained; I have not been able to find the original document, which is not included in Venturini 2002. In at least five letters to Duke Guglielmo—and only to him—does Strada indicate himself as the Duke's 'efitionatissimo servidore et vasallo' (cf. above, Ch. 13.8.2, n. 125).

son Paolo—and as a loyal subject or 'vasallo' of his liege lord: as such Strada habitually indicated himself in his letters to Duke Guglielmo. So it must be concluded that, in contrast to most of the 'double agents' studied in the eponymous project, Strada was employed primarily or even exclusively by virtue of his professional accomplishments and his specialist expertise.

Such an appointment for specialized services is not unusual in itself. By its nature, the appointment is similar to that of a court chaplain, a court physician, a musician, an architect or a court-painter: all functionaries expected to exert their particular specialism on behalf of their patron. It is just that Strada's specialism is rather more unusual; but even then his position in Vienna can be compared to that of other scholars or scientists at court, such as Carolus Clusius, appointed for his specialist knowledge of botany, or Joannes Sambucus, appointed for his literary talent and historical knowledge. Just like Strada, Clusius travelled and used his network to collect rarities for his patron, in his case of a botanical nature. Such instances provide the perfect illustration of Samuel Quiccheberg's advice to princes and great noblemen desirous to build up a universal collection: these should employ 'ingenious men which they send to various countries to look for wonderful things [rerum miraculosarum]'. In fact, Strada's activities on behalf of Hans Jakob Fugger, Quiccheberg and Strada's common patron, may have provided the concrete example on which Quiccheberg based this 'admonition'.[14] Both in Munich and in Vienna Strada was employed for his expert knowledge of antiquities, for his competence in translating these into contemporary works of art, as well as for his experience and his network in these two fields, which covered half of Europe.

16.3 Strada as an Independent Agent

16.3.1 *No Full-time Job*

In Munich, Strada's situation was relatively well defined, and it is well documented: he was engaged for a limited time, for a particular job, and with something of a fixed budget. His position in Vienna is less clearly defined: formally, it consisted of two components. The first of these was his job as an architect: as we have seen, this was mostly of a consultative character. Except for the albums of numismatic drawings he provided, this was also the case for Strada's second job as an antiquary. Because he gave such advice in person to his

14 'Optimates in his colligendes decebit habere homines ingeniosos quos ad diversas regionum mittant inquirendarum rerum miraculosarum gratia' (Quiccheberg 1565, D ii, a; Quiccheberg/Roth 2000, p. 92).

patron, the Emperor, to his officials, and to the artists employed, neither the extent nor the exact substance of this task is documented.

Its extent should not be underestimated: there is sufficient reason to assume that it was more ample than the few documented instances would have us believe. As to their substance, the scope of Strada's interventions, it is difficult to determine to what type of projects Strada was expected to contribute: did he have a finger in every pie, or was his advice only asked in connection with a limited, more or less clearly defined group of artistic endeavours? Though this question cannot be answered conclusively, it seems that his advice would have addressed either one or both of two principal aspects. The first aspect directly related to Strada's antiquarian erudition, and involved providing iconographic information: examples are the tomb of Ferdinand I in Prague and the costumes and decoration 'all'antica' for certain court-festivals. The second aspect involved giving more general artistic advice, for which Strada was qualified by his cosmopolitan cultural knowledge and his first-hand experience of the most advanced examples of the new style in Italy. In practice these two aspects often largely overlapped; it was Strada's capacity to integrate these aspects that made him particularly attractive to his employers.

Yet one should be equally wary of overestimating as of underestimating Strada's tasks. There can be no doubt that Strada should not be considered as a minor court-official, earning his daily bread by his modest exertions for his Imperial patron, under the day-to-day supervision of the department of one of the higher ranking courtiers, such as the *Oberstkämmerer*. He certainly was not the 'Aufseher auf die Kunstkammer' that Schlager held him to be, doubtless because of a misconception of Strada's use of the term *Antiquarius*. If such had been the case, Strada would have been inscribed in the *Hofstaat* as a regular member of the Department of the Chamber, which was responsible for the maintenance of the movables in the Imperial residence. Instead, he was mentioned among a few 'Diener von Haus aus', implying that, even though he ranked with the other 'gentiluomini', a day-to-day attendance at court was not part of his duties.

Moreover, Strada's combined remuneration of three hundred *Gulden* annually (which was almost always in arrears) bears no proportion to the expense and splendour of the house he built himself, at a cost he estimated at up to twelve thousand *Gulden*. An aristocratic residence built *ex novo* in the best part of town, it made him the neighbour of those scions of Austria's feudal nobility that filled the higher echelons of the Imperial court. We do not know what Strada, as eldest son, inherited from his father: the fact that he began building his house in Vienna almost immediately after Giovanni Rinaldo's death, suggests that it may have been substantial. Part of his wealth may be explained by the generous patronage of Hans Jakob Fugger and the Duke of Bavaria—if he was paid the extraordinary sum of a ducat for each sheet of his *Magnum ac*

Novum Opus, as appears to have been the case, this alone would have brought him in close to 9,000 ducats. Yet even this would not have sufficed to cover the cost of his aristocratic style of life, and his huge investments in his collection and in his publishing projects. If we had Strada's private accounts, we could draw more certain conclusions. But even the little we do know strongly suggests that—besides being an artist, a scholar and a courtier—Strada was a merchant: a merchant trading on the level of the Nuremberg patricians and the Nuremberg bankers of Italian origin with whom he rubbed shoulders, though of course not on the grand scale of the Fuggers. Nevertheless, his intimacy with Hans Jakob Fugger suggests that they were more than just patron and client: Fugger actually addresses Strada as 'compare mio', which implies a high level of mutual confidence, and their relationship may well have been that of business relations, as well as that of friends sharing many interests.

So Strada's salaries at court should be considered as retainer fees, rather than as the remuneration for a full-time job. This implies that Ferdinand I and Maximilian II were eager to have Strada at their disposal, but that he was left free to earn money in other ways. In fact, as we have seen, he was given ample opportunity to work for other patrons, such as the Duke of Bavaria. Moreover, Ferdinand I and Maximilian II not only allowed him more than enough time to invest in his business-ventures, but also explicitly supported his ambitious editorial projects.[15]

16.3.2 *By Appointment to His Majesty the Emperor, Purveyor of Erudite Counsel…and Luxury Goods?*

This indicates that the retainer fee was also motivated by the Emperor's wish to secure the presence of Strada's collection, his workshop, and his enterprise in the immediate vicinity of the court. Such seems to have been Strada's understanding from the start: when in February 1558 he asked Ferdinand I to be accepted among his 'virtuosi' he tactfully suggested that he would be bringing his collection and workshop with him:

> I believe Your Majesty has appreciated, and also in its effects, my ardent wish to serve the most powerful House of Austria, and in what veneration and honour I hold it, having brought together various beautiful and rare things to serve it, not without great expense, and of this Your Majesty has seen a large part, as has the most illustrious and reverend Lord, the Cardinal of Augsburg.[16]

15 Cf. Chs. 4.4 and 14.6.

16 'Creddo che la Maestà Vostra habbia visto in bona parte, et anche con gli efetti il mio bon volere ch'io tengo di servir la casa potentissima d'Austria, et in quanta veneration et honor

He explicitly promised the King to do his utmost 'per farmi honore', in order to enhance the splendour of Ferdinand's court, an implication that is repeated in Strada's accompanying letter to Ferdinand's first chamberlain, Martín de Guzmán:

> <…>certainly, wherever I will find myself, I will always be the most affectionate [servant] of the House of Austria, and will expend my property and my honour for its sake whenever I can.[17]

It also helps to explain why, when Strada was building his grand new house in order to 'farmi honore', the Emperor allowed him the use of materials from the Imperial building works, recognizing that Strada's enterprise would contribute to the splendour of Vienna and his court. He was not mistaken in this, witness the praise it received from high-placed visitors such as the Duke of Ferrara and the diplomat Hubert Languet.

All this strongly suggests that Strada's independent activities as such were among the reasons the Emperors appreciated his service at their court. They not only expected to make use of Strada's expertise in their own projects, but also recognized that his presence in Vienna and that of the small but splendid cultural centre, his *Musaeum*, would—at little cost to themselves—stimulate erudite and artistic endeavour in general, and thus increase both the 'tone' and the renown of their court.

16.4 'Ex Musaeo Iacobi de Strada': Study, Studio, Workshop, Office, Showroom

16.4.1 *Museum, Studio, Workshop*

Strada's *Musaeum* was essential to his ambition to document, study and exploit the legacy of Antiquity, and to disseminate its best qualities as exemplified in the most outstanding works of contemporary art. The importance he attached to his library and collection is already evident in the title page of the

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la tengo, con aver messo insieme varie cose belle et rare per servirla, non senza spesa, e di questo la Maestà Vostra ne a visto bona parte et ancora lo Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor il Signor Cardinale di Augusta [= Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg]', Jacopo Strada to Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, Nuremberg, 21 Februari 1558, Vienna (Doc. 1558-02-21(a)).

17 'Et certo dov'io sarò et mi trovarò, sempre sarò efitionatissimo a la Casa d'Austria, et spenderò la robba et l'honore per Lei dove potrò', Jacopo Strada to Martín de Guzmán, Nuremberg, 21 February 1558 (Doc. 1558-02-21(b)).

Epitome thesauri antiquitatum of 1553, pointedly presented 'Ex Musaeo Iacobi de Strada', a phrase which he would repeat in each of the books published at his expense, and which he more or less invented.[18] In view of Strada's specific interests, a possible source of inspiration may have been the title page of an edition, printed in Venice in 1546, of Paolo Giovio's lives of the illustrious men whose images were included in the well-known portrait collection housed in Giovio's villa at Como.[19] In view of its function, the term 'Museion' as used in Erasmus' *Colloquia familiaria* for a library annex small but refined collection is an even more likely source. As Renate von Busch has shown, the term was already used in this sense by Johannes Cuspinianus in 1515. In the brief biography of Melanchton published shortly after his death the term 'Musaeum' is used in the same sense.[20] Strada's colleague, the Paduan antiquary Alessandro Maggi (1503–1587) used the term to indicate the library and collection of antiquities in the Paduan residence of Cardinal Pietro Bembo.[21] Strada doubtless was aware of the status such illustrious examples conferred, but he may also have been inspired by the far more practical indication 'Ex officina'—'out of the workshop'—used on their title pages by many printers: Strada's 'Ex musaeo' could then be read as 'out of the study', distinguishing his intellectual effort from the printer's manual craft.

Certainly, for Strada his 'Musaeum' functioned as both storehouse, library, scholar's study and artist's studio. It was here he collected and organized his materials. It was here he elaborated these in new products: the *libri di disegni* he prepared for his patrons, the designs for costumes and apparel he provided for their festivities, and the verbal advice, sketches and designs and iconographical suggestions he contributed to the architecture, decoration and

18 The French edition of Strada's *Epitome* has 'de l'estude de Iaques de Strada'. The only two earlier examples I readily found were both German, a set of sermons: Friedrich Nausea, *De reformanda ecclesia<…>oratio*, Mainz [Schoeffer], 1527 (unnumbered pages, epigraph to the fifth item included: 'ex Musaeo nostro'); and a one-page academic pamphlet: Christophorus Ostvaldus Foropaganus, *Bene hunc disputandi morem, qui multas hodie possidet Academias.:* 'Ex Musaeo nostro Ingolstadij die 5. Idus Augusti Anno<…>1542'. These two examples come from a quick search in Google Books, which resulted in 22 hits, the other 20 of which were references to various editions of Strada's works. This was not complete (Strada's 1575 editions of Caesar and of Serlio's *Settimo Libro* did not appear, though both carry the phrase on their title page as well). After 1553 the phrase becomes slightly more common.

19 Paolo Giovio, *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita: quae in Museo Ioviano<…>spectantur*, Venice [Tramezzini] 1546.

20 Quoted in Liebenwein 1977, p. 231, n. 14; Von Busch 1973, pp. 66 ff.; *Brevis narratio exponens, quo fine vitam in terris suam lauserit reverendus vir D. Philipus Melanthon*, Wittenberg 1560, *passim* (unnumbered pages).

21 Liebenwein 1977, p. 145 and 238, n. 140–141.

furnishing of their residences their gardens, and their funerary monuments. The *Musaeum*—especially the elegant room decorated with twelve Emperor's heads in stucco over the windows—moreover provided a perfect setting for informal consultations among Strada's various patrons or the officials representing them, the scholars requested to contribute to the iconographical programme of festivities or ornamental schemes, and the artists involved in their execution. The decoration of the house, with the antiquities, art treasures and the library it contained, provided both a source of inspiration and concrete examples to imitate or emulate.

Strada's *Musaeum* also functioned as an office and workshop, in which he employed many assistants, to begin with the professional scribes who copied the text pages of the various manuscripts he had prepared. Then there were the young draughtsmen he had chartered in Rome to collaborate in the drawings for his *Magnum ac Novum Opus*, such as Giovanni Battista Armenini; a few engravers, such as Martino Rota, who worked for him in Vienna or elsewhere. His own son Ottavio likewise contributed to the *libri di disegni,* prepared examples for the engraver, and, until his break-up with his father, helped organize and supervise the proceedings. Strada also employed one or two sculptors to restore the antiquities he had acquired for Duke Albrecht and for the Emperor, and perhaps for other projects. These latter tasks required a separate workshop on the ground floor, apparently situated in an annexe to his house. It is perfectly possible that some of the preparatory work for ephemeral decorations was also done here, under Strada's own direct supervision: one could think of the pattern sheets for costumes, the three-dimensional scale models for triumphal arches, and the clay *bozzetti* for plaster figures. The terracotta sculptures used in the decoration of the Imperial Chamber in Bučovice give some impression what these latter may have looked like.

16.4.2 *The Musaeum as an Economic Entity*

The stress Strada placed on his *Musaeum* makes clear that he considered it as an important element of his professional as well as his social identity, and that it was central to his efforts, or rather to his enterprise. That was not only because it was the place of manufacture of the *libri di disegni*, his best-documented source of income, but also because it provided the bases of much wider-ranging commercial operations. There are many indications that Strada operated within the field of international commerce: his international network of relations; the occasional glimpses we have of him providing financial or other economic information; his acting as a go-between in financial matters between the French ambassador and the Nieri, the bankers from Lucca resident in Nuremberg who elsewhere turn out to be his own business partners;

his being approached for (and refusing) a substantial loan to the Papal Nuncio; his confident dealing when acquiring the huge collection of sculpture for the Duke of Bavaria in Rome and Venice in the late 1560s; finally his disposing of his own 'Gewölb', or storeroom *cum* shop at the Frankfurt book fair—all this neatly fits into this supposition.

Yet if Strada was a merchant, he may not have been a very common type. It is clear that presenting himself as a scholar, a nobleman and a courtier, in his self-representation he would not have stressed the commercial side of his activities. In any case it seems that Strada's was a rather specialized trade, specialized both as to the commodities involved, and as to the markets targeted.

16.4.3 *Luxury Goods: Antiquities and Works of Art and Craftsmanship*

As discussed in chapter 12, the actual goods Strada seems to have dealt in were primarily luxury goods, and then mostly restricted to his own fields of expertise: works of art and fine craftsmanship on the one hand, and classical antiquities, probably chiefly coins and medals and sculpture, on the other. He moreover could provide his customers with related materials such as semi-precious stones or the custom-made containers for the wares he had sold them. How much of what he purveyed them was produced in his own workshop, how much he may have sold in commission for artists, master-craftsmen or dealers elsewhere remains an open question. A concrete indication exists only in the case of his old Nuremberg neighbour Wenzel Jamnitzer: their earlier collaboration suggests that Strada may have continued to function as his agent at court. Maximilian II's extensive patronage of Jamnitzer—often in works that required very precise iconographical deliberations, such as the reliquary for the Empress Maria and the famous bronze and silver-gilt fountain—certainly does not contradict this supposition. It might well be that Strada's house also offered more modest, more standardized objects from Jamnitzer's workshop, such as silver drinking cups and plates which graced the aristocratic sideboard and would have been eagerly acquired by competing courtiers. The books of drawings of goldsmith designs produced in Strada's studio could also have functioned as trade catalogues from which patrons could select the type of objects they wished to order. That Strada did not limit his acquisitions for his patrons to antiquities only, is suggested by a passage in a letter Fugger wrote to him in November 1568, instructing him about the 'camei et gioie' Strada was to send to Duke Albrecht, which implies ample confidence in his judgement and probity.[22]

22 Doc. 1568-11-13: in a lost letter of 6 November Strada had asked whether the princes (the Duke and his sons) wished to receive them immediately, or rather wait until he could

16.4.4 *Intellectual Goods: 'Libri di disegni', Manuscripts, Books and Prints*

Even if some of the books of designs kept in Strada's studio were meant as visual catalogues of the goods he could purvey, similar books of drawings themselves were provided to his patrons. Strada mentions the production of such *libri di disegni* as one of the principal activities he engaged in for Maximilian II. Several of them are found in the inventories of the *Kunstkammer* in Munich and that of Rudolf II. The best known of such albums actually produced in Strada's workshop and sold to his patrons are the numismatic albums provided to Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria—now mostly in the Forschungsbibliothek in Gotha—and to the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, preserved in Vienna. Other examples are the set of drawings of the frieze of the Column of Trajan he provided to Vilém z Rožmberka, the albums containing a comprehensive series of beautifully illuminated series of coats of arms of princes, cities and noble families of the various Italian states made for Hans Jakob Fugger, the manuscript of technical inventions now in a private collection, and the various volumes containing images of designs for goldsmith work in an antique style just mentioned. The inventories of the *Kunstkammer* of the Duke of Bavaria, the Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol at Ambras, and later that of Rudolf II in Prague, all list such volumes, either by Jacopo or by his second son Ottavio, who continued this practice after his father's death on an even larger scale.[23]

Apart from such luxury objects produced in Strada's own workshop, he also purveyed manuscripts from other sources, both ancient and contemporary, such as the Greek texts found by his son Paolo in Constantinople, which Strada offered to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, and which he could have provided with Latin supplements (either summaries or translations?).[24] Strada's own activity as a publisher implies that, in addition to manuscripts, he also could offer a choice of printed books, at the very least those he obtained from other booksellers in exchange for his own books or—in the case of the Basle printer Pietro

present them in person: 'Circa li camei et gioie, el stara nella volontà delli pr[incip]i ad mandarli hora, o differirlo a tanto che voi possiate esser presente, il quale si rimette nella vostra commodità'. 'Camei' might refer to antique as well as modern carved stones, but 'gioie' seems to refer to modern jewels.

23 On Ottavio's manuscripts, see Van den Boom 1988; Van den Boom 1996.

24 Doc. 1571-11-20, Strada to Guglielmo, Duke of Mantua, Vienna, 20 November 1571: '[Paolo Strada] me à anche mandato tutti gl'inventarii del[li] libri graeci che sonno in tutte quelle librarie graeche di Constantinopoli; delli quali creddo se ne averia bonissima conditione quando si volessero comprare, e quando fossero in queste bande saria un thesoro<…> A presso a questi libri graeci io la potria far servire del suplimento de Latini, et con bonissimo mercato; a tale faria una sontuosissima libraria con non molta spesa.'

Perna—in lieu of payment for outstanding debts.[25] That Strada intended Maximilian II's library to profit from this occasion is another indication that his *Musaeum* functioned as a high-class bookshop and stationer, 'by appointment to His Majesty the Emperor', but also catering to the needs of his courtiers and the local intelligentsia. Given his own artistic and scholarly interests, Strada would also have traded in prints, maps and other items exclusive for their rarity, their erudition or their sumptuousness. Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's instruction to Nicasius Ellebodius to buy the new Vienna edition of Castelvetro's translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* in Strada's house ('aedes') shows that its reputation as a bookshop transcended the milieu of the Imperial court.[26]

16.4.5 *Strada's Clientèle*

With his exclusive bookshop Strada catered for two sections of Viennese society: the first consisted of the members of the aristocracy connected to the Imperial court and the diplomats visiting it, whose taste would have been for fashionable novelties, easy reading and illustrated materials, and perhaps some serious reading in practical fields such as law, history and warfare. The second consisted of the cosmopolitan intellectuals employed at court, including not only the humanists and lawyers acting as secretaries, auditors, diplomats or translators, and the clerics servicing the Imperial Chapel, but also several professionals expressly employed for their specialism, such as the botanists Dodonaeus and Clusius. This group wished to keep abreast of intellectual developments and required serious scholarly and scientific publications. They moreover rubbed shoulders with local intellectuals, in particular the professors of the university, the chapter of the cathedral, the Jesuit College, and the upper strata of the Vienna bourgeoisie.[27] It is some indication of the intellectual stature of Maximilian's court that these sections overlapped to a considerable degree: Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau and Christoph von Teuffenbach are just two of many high-ranking nobles who were intellectuals in their own right.

Members of each group would moreover be interested to inspect the antiquities, the works of art and other objects of luxury that Strada's *Musaeum* offered. This would incite them to acquire or commission similar objects for themselves, perhaps directly from Strada, perhaps through his mediation from

25 Doc. 1564-00-00; Strada to Maximilian II, without place and date, cf. above, Ch. 11.4.

26 Doc. 1571-09-27, Nicasius Elebodius to Hugo Blotius; cf. above, Ch. 11.4.

27 Several of the court intellectuals, such as Lazius, held professorships at the university; several Vienna patricians, such as Wolfgang Lazius and his father-in-law, the *Bürgermeister* Hermes Schallautzer also held appointments at court.

other artists or dealers of his acquaintance. They would moreover consult his materials and his opinions when preparing their own projects, such as the houses they planned to build in town or on their estates, the decoration of some particularly representative rooms, the commissioning of a family portrait or tomb, and so on. Such consultation increased Strada's goodwill at court, and by exchange may have brought him other, material advantages—think for instance of hospitality extended by his patrons to himself and his companions on his travels to Munich and Prague.[28] Direct financial advantage he gained only when he sold objects from his collection or stock-in-trade, or when he provided concrete services, such as preparing a set of designs and/or eventually organizing and supervising an architectural or decorative project. In Chapter 12 it has been argued that such may have been the case for the design of the house of his Vienna neighbour, Christoph von Teuffenbach, and of the decoration of the suite of state rooms at Bučovice in Moravia.

16.5 Strada's Influence: An Agent of Change

16.5.1 *The Diffusion of Innovations*

In this way Strada's *Museum*, both as an emporium of books, antiquities and works of art, and as a more general clearing-house of information about up-to-date ideas and artistic forms, therefore also as a source of inspiration, supplied the needs of a fashionable, cosmopolitan and intellectual elite. This elite consisted at least in part of an avant-garde of 'early adopters', in the anachronistic terms of modern communication: those who pick up new ideas, develop new tastes, try out new products, embrace new styles in the arts as well as in their way of life. Because of their curiosity, their intellectual flexibility, and their position, members of this group set the trends and exerted a certain influence on the ideas and tastes of their peers in the region. The very existence of such an avant-garde might give rise to a conscious reaction among patrons of a more conservative stamp, expressly opting for a more familiar, conventional style, conforming to national prejudice ('Teutsch', German, as opposed to 'Welsch', Italian). The *Laubenhof* of the Schallaburg in Austria, with its rightly famous terracotta decoration, may be an example of this: it seems to reflect such a conscious rejection of the new, Vitruvian principles as promoted by Strada and exemplified in some of the houses built for members of the cosmopolitan court-elite such as Schwarzenau, Bučovice and Kratochvile.

28 Thus on a trip from Vienna to Prague he could spend the night at Schwarzenau, belonging to Reichart Strein, and at Třeboň or Český Krumlov, seats of Vilém z Rožmberka.

Similar groups can be found elsewhere in Europe: the French patrons of Sebastiano Serlio provide another example. The characteristics of such groups conform rather neatly with those of the group of 'innovators' and 'early adopters' postulated in the paradigm of the diffusion of innovations, as formulated in Everett Rogers' classic study first published in 1962.[29] Based on extensive empirical research in widely diverging disciplines and in widely diverging cultural contexts, this paradigm provides a robust model for the transmission of new ideas, practices and technologies introduced into a social system. At least to some extent, this model can be—though rarely has been—applied to the diffusion of new intellectual and artistic phenomena in a given environment. It is worthwhile to apply some of its postulates and generalizations to Strada's and his patrons' roles in this process.[30]

16.5.2 *The Antique as Innovation*

In order to use Roger's paradigm to better understand Strada's place in the diffusion of innovations in sixteenth-century culture, it is first necessary to define those particular innovations that Strada may have helped introduce or disseminate in Central Europe. For the purpose of my argument, I have defined a complex of four closely related developments:

- the most important innovation is the interest in the material remains of Antiquity, and the use of the results of the study of these in contemporary art and architecture;
- closely related to this is Strada's espousal of the style of the Roman High Renaissance in architecture and decoration, which itself is strongly influenced by this study of the antique example;
- the stress on preparing, collecting and diffusing visual documentation on these subjects is perhaps the most original aspect of Strada's career;
- the development of institutional and systematic collecting in Germany, as pioneered by Hans Jakob Fugger and his circle, was brought into practice in the complex of collections realized in Munich, and was codified in Samuel Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones vel tituli Theatri*.

29 Rogers 1962; I have used the fifth, extended edition of 2003, which includes an ample history of the research paradigm. I have treated the same theme, with a slight shift of emphasis, in Jansen 2015.

30 Rogers 2003 reviews thousands of studies in 'the nine major diffusion research traditions', a quantitative breakdown of which is given in table 2.1, pp. 44–45; history, the arts and culture in the narrower sense are conspicuously absent. An abstract of the following argument was presented at the Colloquium *Prag–Residenz des Habsburgers Ferdinand I, 1526–1564* (Prague, March 2015): Jansen 2015, pp. 205–207.

16.5.3 *Connecting Concepts: The 'imperial theme' and the Encyclopaedic Mentality*

These themes are closely connected: they can be considered as a coherent complex or, as Rogers calls it, a 'cluster' of related ideas or 'innovations'. The first two both relate to the fascination Strada felt for the history and more in general for the accomplishments of the Roman Empire, as evident in his numismatic researches and his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. This included an adherence to the version of the idea of the *Translatio imperii* that held that the Holy Roman Empire and its current ruler were the natural successors of the Roman Empire and its Emperors. As a vassal of the Gonzaga Duke of Mantua—a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire who was closely tied to its ruling dynasty—this would have come natural to Strada, and it would have been stimulated by his contacts with Hans Jakob Fugger, whose fascination with the Roman as well as the Holy Roman Empire did not preclude a very lively interest and active role in the politics of the Empire of his own day. Needless to say, this idea was shared by the Emperor and his court. The Imperial theme can be considered the *Leitmotiv* of Strada's career, as it is the *basso continuo* of much of the intellectual and political endeavour in the Empire.[31]

All these themes are interconnected by Strada's efforts to document and to collect and organise information—especially the information from Antiquity, which was accorded authoritative status. Such encyclopaedic ambition is typical of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and was expressed in the editions of *Opera Omnia* of classical authors, the publication of voluminous, often polyglot dictionaries, universal atlases and natural histories, the compiling of bibliographies, and the creation of collections or *Kunstkammern* with an erudite and scientific purpose. The activities of Hans Jakob Fugger, both before and after he moved to Duke Albrecht V's court at Munich, and of Fugger's circle, provide an important example of this encyclopaedic mentality, to many elements of which Strada, an early and active member of this circle, amply contributed.[32]

16.5.4 *Innovators, External Agents and Early Adopters: Key Roles in the Diffusion of Innovation*

Note that Strada was by no means the first, let alone the only innovator or agent of change in any of the several developments listed above. Their introduction

31 Cf. above, Ch. 9.8.

32 Somewhat later Francis Bacon would include such activities among the opera basilica, 'acts of merit truly fit for a king', he considered conducive to the advancement of learning (Bacon/ Johnston 1974, pp. 70–67); cf. Jansen 1993, pp. 74–75.

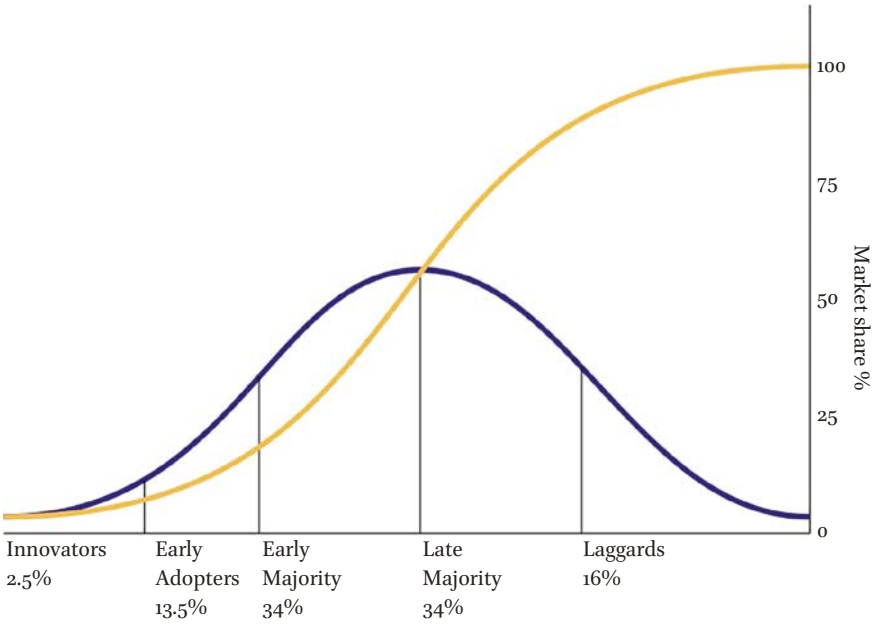

FIGURE 16.3 Graph showing the general rate of adoption of an innovation among various groups of the receiving social system; based on Rogers' *Diffusion of Innovations*, 2003.

should be seen as a long-term, complicated process of influences transmitted through many different means and channels of communication. But Strada did play an important role in this process. Application of the diffusion of innovation paradigm may help better to understand the nature of his particular contribution. This paradigm describes how an innovation—a new idea, technology or practice, which is either invented locally, or first introduced into a given social system by an 'external agent'—tends first to be taken up by a very limited group of 'innovators'. They are followed by a slightly larger and increasing group of 'early adopters', who, as 'opinion leaders', often are instrumental in persuading the later adopter categories—the 'early majority', the 'late majority' and the 'laggards'—to embrace the innovation. The rate of adoption of an innovation tends to follow an S-curve between its first adoption by the innovators and its general acceptance even by the 'laggards' [Fig. 16.3].[33]

Characteristics of the 'innovator' are that he is 'venturesome', that he is interested in new ideas, less prone to prejudices, more disposed to take risks

33 The following paragraph is mostly based on Chapter VII, *Innovativeness and Adopter Categories* in Rogers 2003, in particular pp. 282–285, 'Adopter Categories as Ideal Types', and 287–292, 'Characteristics of Adopter Categories'.

or better able to support possible failure (i.e. that he is richer), and that he has many contacts with the like-minded even when geographically distant (he is 'cosmopolite'). Characteristic of 'early adopters' is that they are better educated, more intelligent, are less prejudiced and less averse to change than later adopters, have a higher socio-economic status and are more ambitious. They are more curious about innovations, know more about them and have more contact with 'change agents'. Moreover they have wider social contacts both within and outside their own social system (they are more 'cosmopolite'). Because of their wide contacts and their higher status they enjoy the respect and the trust of their less advanced peers, and function as 'opinion leaders'.

16.5.5 *Strada's Associates as Innovators or Early Adopters*

Several of Strada's patrons can be described as innovators or early adopters. Hans Jakob Fugger is the most obvious innovator among them all: inspired by his study in France and Italy, supported by the worldwide network of his family firm ('cosmopolite'), extremely intelligent and infinitely curious, already at a young age he was the spider in an international web of scholars and printers. He played a very big role in the development of institutional, systematic collecting and documenting of information, both in his own right and later as the driving force behind the creation of the complex of collections in Munich, and as inspirer of the first theoretical treatise on the subject, Samuel Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones*. As one of his agents Strada contributed objects to Fugger's library and collections and to those of Duke Albrecht, but he also contributed ideas: the stress on visual documentation in Fugger's collection and later in the Munich *Kunstkammer* and in Quiccheberg's treatise was largely due to his influence. The Fugger circle also played a role in the introduction of the High Renaissance style into Germany, witness the Fuggerhaus at Donauwörth, built in the 1540s, in particular its pure, Vitruvian decorative elements such as portals, chimneypieces and the *Stübchen* discussed in chapter 3.4 [Figs. 3.38–3.45]. Considering Strada's close connection with the Fuggers just at that time, he must have been the source of the Mantuan elements in their style, and an attribution to him of their design is perfectly plausible.

Because of his wealth, his very wide contacts—including the Austrian Habsburgs and the Duke of Bavaria—and his political prominence first in Augsburg and later in Munich, Fugger was a natural 'opinion leader', witness the large number of books dedicated to him and the adoption of his ideas by the Duke of Bavaria. A similar natural role as an opinion leader was filled by Strada's princely patrons, the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II,

Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria himself.[34] Several of Strada's aristocratic patrons—Vilém z Rožmberka, Jan Šembera z Boskovic, Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau and Christoph von Teuffenbach—fit the pattern of early adopters: of high social standing, highly educated, intellectual and cosmopolitan, they all adopted one or more of the innovations championed by Strada.

A similar role as an innovator or early adopter of new forms can be assigned to Wenzel Jamnitzer: compared to his colleague goldsmiths in Nuremberg, he is relatively well-to-do, is at ease corresponding even with high-ranking patrons outside his home-town, is venturesome, is curious and has intellectual interests, witness his treatise on perspective. As a neighbour of Strada, he was moreover bound to have relatively more contact with at least this one 'change agent'. From this point of view it comes as no surprise that Jamnitzer is one of the first goldsmiths in Nuremberg to adopt Italianate, classicist ornament, which may be credited at least in part to Strada's influence.

16.5.6 *Strada as a Change Agent*

If considered in his German habitus, Strada himself obviously can be considered as an innovator or early adopter, since he too practiced all the innovations mentioned in his own work and his other activities. But if he is considered first and foremost as an Italian this is less obvious, for in that case these innovations were not quite so new, or not new at all. Therefore his position in the paradigm is closer to that of the external change agent than to that of the innovator. A change agent is 'an individual who influences clients' innovation decisions' by introducing awareness of, and knowledge about a given innovation, and thus developing a need for, and creating an intent to change in the client, and helping him to translate that intent into action. 'One main role of the change agent is to facilitate the flow of innovations from a change agency to an audience of clients.<…>Change agents usually possess a high degree of expertise regarding the innovations that are being diffused<…>As a bridge between two differing systems, the change agent is a marginal figure with one foot in each of two worlds'.[35]

This description seems to fit Strada like a glove. Likewise Rogers' generalizations describing the change agent's contacts with clients can be applied to

34 Ferdinand I can be considered an innovator, or at least an early adopter, because of his quite early interest in architecture and decoration in the antique manner, as described abov, Ch. 5.2.1 and cf. Holzschuh-Hofer 2010.

35 This is a very summary paraphrase of the change agent's roles as defined by Rogers 2003, Ch. 9, in particular pp. 366 and 368–369.

Strada's contact strategy: he tended to target patrons whose characteristics conform to those postulated in Rogers' definition of 'opinion leaders', that is patrons who possessed 'a higher socio-economic status,<…>greater social participation,<…>higher formal education<…>' and a considerable degree of 'cosmopoliteness'.[36]

16.5.7 *Was there a Change Agency?*

According to Rogers' definition already partially cited above, a change agent 'influences clients' innovation-decisions *in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency*' [italics mine], that is an 'agency' employing the agent deliberately to introduce a given desirable innovation.[37] One should not discount the possibility that even in the Early Modern period a government might have developed a conscious policy—albeit in a rudimentary form—to collect information about useful novelties from elsewhere, and to find means to disseminate this among its dependents, in order to increase its prestige, its prosperity and its power. Elsewhere I have argued that the Munich complex of collections, as realized by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and Hans Jakob Fugger, and theoretically justified in Quiccheberg's treatise, was in fact primarily considered as a source of information, of knowledge, and was motivated as much by a conviction of its public utility as by more conventionally accepted incentives, such as the private intellectual and aesthetic pleasure of the prince, the need for formal *representatio* and dynastic propaganda, or the need to express the philosophical correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm.[38]

This is not the place to argue the existence of a more or less rudimentary cultural policy in Munich or Vienna—but assuming that such a conscious intent to foster progress in the arts, sciences and scholarship existed, Strada's employment first by Fugger, and then by Ferdinand I and Albrecht V, suddenly seems very consistent. Fugger certainly was interested to foster scholarship, as is borne out by his massive moral and financial support of a whole crowd of scholars and scientists and the creation of his huge library; as we have seen he fits the profile of the innovator to a large extent. With a small but choice collection of antiquities, Fugger also inherited an interest in that field from his father. Especially numismatics and its application in scholarship was a relatively new discipline, with some of its roots in Augsburg and Nuremberg itself, but being developed at the time in Italy in the learned circles in which Fugger had moved during his all too brief period of study. For that reason he turned to Strada,

36 Rogers 2003, p. 382 and 388.

37 Rogers 2003, p. 366.

38 Jansen 1993(b), especially pp. 64–68; slightly revised reprints Jansen 2005 and Jansen 2013.

whose own interest in the field and qualities as a draughtsman must have been known to him either through earlier acquaintance in Italy or through Strada's activities in Germany. Strada's competences and curriculum perfectly fitted Fugger's purpose. He may well have arrived in Germany in the course of the most spectacular introduction of an Italian novelty in Germany, the construction of the *Italienische Bau* of the Stadtresidenz in Landshut. Already while active in Germany in the 1540s he collaborated with the most advanced or innovating of the local artists, Wenzel Jamnitzer. Fugger's commissions enabled Strada to develop his own numismatic method: though not revolutionary, this was itself innovative in a quiet sort of way, as shown in the preceding chapter, and its results were published in a format which was quite advanced even for Italy. Thus, in supporting Strada's studies, Fugger acted as an innovator. But he also acted as an early adopter when he accepted some ideas—such as the importance of visual documents as sources of information, and the method to pursue these, from Strada in his role as a change agent. When Fugger moved to Munich it was natural that he would continue to employ Strada, by that time an associate of well over a decade, to assist him in giving shape to Duke Albrecht's cultural and intellectual ambitions.

Moreover it was probably Fugger who, as a trusted opinion leader, instigated or at least facilitated Strada's introduction to another patron, Emperor Ferdinand I. Just like Fugger, at an early date Ferdinand had shown himself interested in at least two of the innovations Strada promoted: classical numismatics—Ferdinand had just commissioned a description of his own coin collection—and the use of the classical style in architecture, as shown in his building activities both in Prague and in Vienna. As discussed in Chapter 5.2, both Ferdinand I and his two eldest sons, King Maximilian of Bohemia and Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, had been aware of the new ideas even before Strada arrived at court, mostly through their dynastic and political ties both in Italy—such as Mantua—and in other countries in Europe, in particular the courts of Emperor Charles V and King Francis I of France. Peer pressure, the need to uphold their status in relation to such royal relatives, to the wealthy Princes of the Empire—such as the Elector of Saxony and the Dukes of Bavaria and Jülich—and to the richest magnates in their own territories—such as Rožmberk and Strein von Schwarzenau—stimulated their personal interest and their ambition to introduce suitable innovations in their own domains. As in Munich some consciousness that this fostered progress, that it served the political, military and economic interests of the dynasty, and contributed to the prosperity of their peoples, must have played a role. The appointment at court of learned men who appear to have been employed primarily to do their own work—some of them quite famous in their respective fields, such as

Lazius, Sambucus and Clusius—fit neatly into this view, as does the appointment, a little later, of the first Imperial Librarian, Hugo Blotius.[39]

This supports the contention that Strada likewise was deliberately employed to introduce or at least to promote some of the desired innovations in antiquarian scholarship and the arts. Strada's offer to move to Vienna with his family, his workshop and his collection, and his later investment in building a splendid mansion in an extremely advanced style to house these, must have been very welcome to his patrons. It created a minor but exquisite and advanced centre of arts and scholarship, which contributed to the attraction and prestige of the Vienna court, at relatively little cost to the Emperor. In exchange for their facilitating Strada in setting up shop in Vienna, his august patrons probably implicitly expected him to open his *Musaeum* to, and share his expertise with their courtiers and with the artists, scholars, and other functionaries they employed. Thus Strada's role was to diffuse the innovations he brought with him in their lands. The Emperor himself led the way in this by commissioning Strada to purvey suitable material for his collections and designs for some of his projects, and in using him as a consultant for other ventures. In this sense the Emperor can be considered the 'agency of change' that deliberately employed Strada to function as a 'change agent'.

16.5.8 *'Et io curioso di giovar al mondo': Strada's Promotion of Antiquity and Italian Art*

That a cultural policy, actively, consciously and conscientiously promoting the introduction and diffusion of new ideas and artistic forms in their dominions, was pursued by Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, and that they employed Strada to that purpose, remains a hypothesis. Strada's activities, however, do demonstrate abundantly that he himself did deliberately and expressly promote the study of Antiquity, the dissemination of knowledge both in text and image, the use of the formal language of the Italian High Renaissance—especially its Roman variant—in the arts and in the architecture of his adopted country, and finally the use of the image as a means of serving all of these ends. In part this promotion should be seen as the promotion any craftsman, artist, merchant or scholar would engage in to sell his wares or to obtain commissions or a job. But both the scope and the tone of Strada's efforts transcend such elementary

39 The iconography of Maximilian's famous silver gilt fountain, whose significance must have been closely directed by himself, centres on both the monarch's rights and his duties towards his people (cf. above, Ch. 2.5.4). Blotius' unsuccessful attempt to turn Maximilian's court library into a truly Imperial library, i.e. a sort of central library for the Holy Roman Empire, reflects a similar consciousness of its public function and utility; cf. Brummel 1972, pp. 6–80; Siegert 2004.

marketing, and show that he really thought the new ideas, forms and images he proposed and worked with could, and should benefit his contemporaries, and enrich their mental and artistic world.

Such an ambition to be useful to the world was often expressed in texts published at the time, and Strada was no exception: it was repeatedly referred to both in the prefaces to the books he published and in his correspondence. Thus in the preface to his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* he castigated those contemporary numismatist who 'obstinately keep their labours hidden in their studies, without wishing to share them with anyone', and presented them his book in order 'to show the way to imitate it, or to surpass it, with the help of God, their talent ("nature"), and their learning ("doctrine")'.[40] The very first line of Strada's dedication to Duke Albrecht V of his edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* referred to its public utility. He then added a two-page paean of the Duke's library and collections, not forgetting Fugger's contribution, and ended comparing the Duke with Caesar as *Pater Patriae*, implying the utility to his people of the Duke's new institutions.[41] In his introduction to Serlio's *Settimo Libro* he likewise stressed its use to the public in general, and to the practitioners of building in particular:

> Now examining this book, I judged it to be the most beautiful work, and the most useful that he [Serlio] ever made, and I wished to benefit the world with it, because of the facility he maintains in his writing, and teaching the world how to build. For even though there are many and different methods [to build], he nevertheless teaches these (whatever their difficulty) with such skill, facility, and good order, that any man, however mediocre in his art, is made competent [in it] and can easily serve himself of these [methods].

He motivated his adding a Latin translation by a similar wish, not only to make the work accessible, but also to have its precepts applied in 'all the kingdoms and provinces of the world'.[42] The copyright privileges of Strada's works and

40 Strada 1553(b), fol. Aa 4r.: 'Car par ce qu'ilz detiennent obstinément tels labeurs cachez en leur maisons sans en vouloir faire part à personne, ie leur presente cest Epitome, pour montrer le chemin, pour le suivre, ou surpasser aydant Dieu, nature et doctrine'.

41 'Qui in lucem ad utilitatem publicam opus aliquod suum sunt edituri …'; Caesar 1575, fol. *2r.; fols. *3v.–5r.; partial German translation in Hartig 1917, pp. 286 ff.

42 Serlio 1575, fol. a iii–v.: 'Hor' esaminando bene questo libro giudicai che fosse la più bella fatica, e la più utile, ch'egli havesse già mai fatta, et io curioso di giovar al mondo con essa, per la facilità ch'egli tiene nel suo scrivere, et insegnare il mondo di fabricare, le quali se ben sono intante e varie forme (quantunque sono difficili) egli non dimeno le insegna con

his requests for subventions for these likewise stress their public utility: thus in 1573 he requested a privilege from Maximilian II for his seven books of inscriptions, which he wished to print 'to the common utility of everyone'. In 1577, after Maximilian II' death had 'spoilt all his efforts', he begged Francesco I to revive his labours, hoping the Grand Duke were willing to 'provide this benefit to the world'.[43]

Of course these phrases were commonplaces, but they were not for that reason less sincere: Strada appears to have practiced as he preached. The best indication for that is the huge collection of visual documentation he built up in those fields that most interested him. Partly this collection consisted of the material he gathered on his travels, or could acquire by fortunate chance. Yet his wholesale acquisitions of the complete graphic estates of Serlio, Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano—which might seem just so many lucky opportunities—presuppose his active approach of their possessors: why did he buy just these collections? In addition Strada developed a systematic programme of acquisition of very precise, high quality documentary drawings of selected monuments both of classical Antiquity and of its most illustrious modern reinventions, a project involving many draughtsmen and what must have been a quite substantial investment. Some of these sets—notably the documentation of Raphael's Vatican *Loggia* and of the Palazzo del Te—were commissioned on behalf of his patrons, but it seems rather likely that Strada had himself incited their desire for these, before satisfying it.

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tanta destrezza, facilità, e bell'ordine, che per huomo mediocre nell'arte che egli si sia, lo fà capace, e sene può commodamente servire'; 'Hora vedendo la utilità che questo libro al mondo haverebbe potuto arrecare, se fosse inteso da ogniuno, lo feci tradurre in lingua Latina, come quella che è più intesa di tutte le altre ch'hoggi dì si scrivono, e parlano fra Christiani: accioche fosse da tutti li regni e provincie del mondo inteso, e posto in opera'.

43 Doc. 1573-00-00, Request for copyright privilege for a seven volume compilation of ancient inscriptions: 'Mi trovo sette gran volumi scritti di lettere maiuscule, parte latine e parte greche, dove sonno tutte le inscriptioni antiche, che in varie parte del mondo si trovano; e perchè sonno molti anni che io le ò messo insieme, imperò con hanimo di publicarle sotto il nome della Sacra Cesarea Maestà Vostra alla stampa a commune utilità di ciascheduno.'; Doc. 1577-10-04(d), Strada to Francesco I, Grandduke of Tuscany: 'Ma la morte à guasto hogni cosa, si che se Vostra Serenissima Altezza volesse far questo benefitio al mondo, et lassar immortal nome et gloria di Lei con il fargli stampare, tutto sta in quella.'; Doc. 1581-01-04, Strada to August, Elector of Saxony, request for subvention for his polyglot dictionary: 'Il Pr[esen]te, che V. Alt. Mi fece dei talleri 500 par aiuto del mio Dictionario, che V.Alt. vide, tutti furono spesi con molti altri apresso in far scrivere; hora tutta la mia fattico che io ho fatto, con tanta mia spesa, tutto dorme, et dormira per insino che qualche Principe non si degnara di far le svegliare per publica utilità al Mondo'; there are many other instances.

Whatever the quality of the material Strada brought together or purveyed to his patrons, most of it was collected not for its intrinsic artistic value, but for its potential use as a model. In contrast to Vasari, Strada appreciated even his most wonderful drawings not so much for their status as exemplary autograph works of outstanding individual artists, but rather because they provided a storehouse of models of the treatment of given iconographical themes, of motifs and 'inventions', and more in general as a source of inspiration for new works. That is the reason why he valued even relatively low-quality copies, if nothing better was available. He did not hesitate to offer these also to his patrons: if Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol's copy of the frieze of Column of Trajan was purveyed by Strada—which seems the most likely option—it shows that at least in this case both patron and salesman were more interested in the information the album presented—both as an historical source and for its visual motifs—than in its aesthetic qualities [above, Figs. 13.89–13.90]. As we have seen, it seems to have made little difference to Strada whether the model was genuinely antique—say the Column of Trajan—or an authoritative modern example of the antique manner—say Giulio's comparable double frieze in the *Camera degli Stucchi* of the Palazzo del Te: both provided information on the warfare of the Romans, and both could be used as sources for new works of art. Strada's efforts in collecting such material can thus be linked to the current practice of artists of his time to lay in a private stock of sketches and (copies of) drawings and prints, to be used as a source of inspiration and of motifs to draw upon for their future works. But its extent, and the systematic way he set about it, show that he more or less institutionalized this practice, and that the collection he brought together was intended to inspire patrons as much as the artists they employed.

Strada's house in Vienna was built especially to house and to display this *Musaeum*—his huge library, his collection of graphic documentation, his coin cabinet and other antiquities, his paintings and other works of art. The house itself was designed as an explicit example of the new, correctly Vitruvian architecture as developed in the Rome of the High Renaissance. It was conceived as a model, a demonstration of the application of the 'innovations' Strada wished to propagate. His pride in it, the way he offered its use to his patrons, and shared its amenities with his colleagues at the Imperial court and its foreign guests, show that he made it readily accessible at least to a high-placed, well-to-do, well-educated and cosmopolitan court-elite. These were the 'early adopters' Strada targeted, to whom both his house and its contents provided information, inspiration and concrete models for their own initiatives.

The best and most explicit argument for Strada's enthusiasm to propagate his ideals is his publishing programme, as exemplified in the various copyright

privileges and in the *Index sive catalogus*. The *Index*, in which all the 'innovations' listed above are represented, reflects the breadth of Strada's ambition. Its intensity is indicated by the unrealistic megalomania of his project, by his perseverance in it against all odds, and by the huge portion of his patrimony he appears to have invested in it. The best indication for the sincerity of his ambition, even his passion, is the increasingly despairing tone in his begging letters to potential sponsors of his projects. This despair is echoed in the dispositions of his testament, which shows him willing to largely sacrifice his children's inheritance in order to realize his projects at least posthumously.

16.5.9 *The Effect of Strada's Promotion of Intellectual and Artistic Innovations*

Strada's desire to promote those intellectual and cultural phenomena he so highly prized himself, is sufficiently evident to ask the question in how far he was successful in this ambition. As Chapter 14 has made clear, his success as a publisher was marginal: most of his projects never came to fruition, and consequently his influence, if any, remained limited to a sphere allowing physical access to himself, his works and his collections. The only exceptions are his own *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, which was a bestseller and was soon reprinted in pirated editions, and Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, which was a very useful part of the treatise, and henceforth reprinted continuously together with its other published volumes.

But even if Strada's influence remained limited to those with physical access to his collection and to himself, his influence must have been considerable, in view of his central position at the Imperial court, his continuous travels covering a wide region, his very extensive network, and the status he derived from these. It is obvious that he directly influenced the projects in which he was himself involved as a designer, such as at the Munich Antiquarium and the Vienna Neugebäude, or as an advisor, such as the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I and the ceiling of the *Goldene Saal* in Innsbruck. Given that such advice was rarely documented, and that his material was accessible to his patrons and the artists they employed, it is not unreasonable to assume that other projects were likewise influenced by it. Good examples of such influence are the stucco ceilings in Archduke Ferdinand II's hunting lodge Hvězda in Prague, begun very soon after Strada's personal visit to the Archduke in Prague, and those in the castle at Nelahozeves, commissioned in the mid-1560s by Emperor Ferdinand's counsellor, Florian Griespek von Griespach. Both reflect knowledge of Giulio Romano's decorations, and appear to use iconography derived from antique coin-reverses: information that for Habsburg courtiers at that date was most easily accessible in Strada's collection.

16.5.10 *'Queste cose meglio si danno ad intender a bocca et con l'operare che con lettere'*

Given the accessibility of Strada's *Musaeum*, it can be concluded that its contents schooled the taste of his patrons, their courtiers, the artists they employed, and others having access to it. This included the members of the dynasty themselves, such as the young Rudolf II and his brother Ernest, who appear to have learned to draw in Strada's studio and after his models. The tone of the passage in Strada's letter to Dietrichstein which allows this conclusion, shows how much Strada was convinced of the value of draughtsmanship, and of drawing as a source of knowledge and an aid to understanding. He translated this conviction into practical didactic activity at least in the case of the two Archdukes and of his own sons Paolo and Ottavio—in the latter case with conspicuous success.[44]

Such didactic use, and more in general Strada's own explanations of the materials of his *Musaeum* and his demonstrations of the use to which they could be put, were as important for the effect of his efforts as the presence of these materials in itself. Much of the material would not have been easily comprehensible to those who saw it for the first time: even the vaunted 'simplicity' of Serlio's writings would become more accessible to local patrons and practitioners when the finer points were explained by Strada in person. When in December 1556, at Jamnitzer's suggestion, Strada offered his services to Archduke Ferdinand, he said as much, offering to come to Prague for a personal interview with the Archduke because 'those things are better explained by word of mouth and in demonstration than by correspondence'.[45] In a similar way Strada's comments on the history and iconography of the works of art he owned or had had documented, on the significance of the inscriptions and the images on the ancient coins he could show, on the rules of Vitruvius as applied in Serlio's manuscripts, and on the designs he provided himself for projects at court, enhanced the value of his materials, as did his account of his first-hand experience of their context, his personal acquaintance with the authors and artists of such works, and often even with their patrons. All these contributed to the acceptance of his materials as authoritative models for emulation, as did the high standing of the magnates and princes who had patronized his own activities—the Marquis of Marignano, Hans Jakob Fugger, Vilém z Rožmberka, the Duke of Bavaria and the Emperor himself. Such patronage invested his expertise with a matchless authority—matchless at least among the artists active at court.

44 Cf. Chs. 11.5 and 14.2.

45 Doc. 1556-12-22.

In this study a number of examples have been suggested where Strada's influence and that of the materials in his *Musaeum* can be discerned—the classical and Italianate elements in Jamnitzer's work, the *Stübchen* in the Fuggerhaus at Donauwörth, the stucco at Hvězda and Nelahozeves, the Stallburg in Vienna and the Landhaus at Graz, the Munich Antiquarium, the tombs of Maximilian I in Innsbruck and Ferdinand I in Prague, the interior decoration of the Imperial residences at Vienna, Innsbruck and Pressburg, the Neugebäude and the *Ernestinische Trakt* in Vienna. This influence might be extended with a number of houses and castles in Austria and in Bohemia built for noblemen connected to the Imperial court. The influence of Serlio's treatise, which is so often noticed, can be much better explained by the presence of the bulk of Serlio's manuscripts and beautifully executed drawings in Strada's collection, than by reference to the circulation of the printed volumes of the treatise. In the case of the concept of the type of 'palazzo in fortezza', imitated in the castles of Bučovice, Drnholec, Schwarzenau, and the manorhouse at Kratochvile, this is even a necessity, since their obvious models are included in the *Sesto Libro*, which remained in manuscript until the facsimile editions of the late twentieth century. Likewise the decorations in the chapel of the castle at Pressburg, the painted ceiling at Strechau castle, and the stucco and painted ceilings at Bučovice can best be understood with reference to the splendidly illuminated documentation of Raphael's Vatican Loggia which was in Strada's possession. A fresh look at the architecture and decoration of the later sixteenth century in Austria and Bohemia from this point of view, doubtless could provide some more examples.

The development of Renaissance and Mannerist art and architecture in Central Europe cannot be fully understood without making allowance for the effect of the various agents transmitting the ideas, values and forms of the Italian Renaissance in the region. Among such agents Jacopo Strada played a leading role: because of his privileged position, because of his *Musaeum*, because of the example he set in his own practice; but most of all because he was deliberately and effectively promoting or diffusing the innovations that were the essentials of the new style.

16.6 Conclusion: Strada's Personality

'An elusive, universal personality of great versatility and flexibility, who often changed his residence, range of action and activity'. Thus Fritz Schulz characterizes Strada in his article on Strada in Thieme-Becker.[46] It is true that

46 Schulz 1938: 'Schwer fassbare, universelle Persönlichkeit von grosser Vielseitigkeit und Wandelbarkeit, die Wohnsitz, Wirkungsstätte und Tätigkeit häufig wechselte'.

at first sight Strada appears to fit the prototype of the polyhistor, the proverbial universal 'Renaissance Man'. Certainly he displayed the wide interests, the erudition and the cosmopolitan outlook that were the consequence of his considerable intellectual and artistic gifts, his courtly education in Mantua under the aegis of the Gonzaga dukes and Giulio Romano, and the opportunity he had to travel widely even in his youth. His project for a polyglot encyclopaedia of unprecedented size likewise presupposes a universal interest in all sciences. Yet the survey I have given shows that—however wide his interests may have been—he specialized primarily in the history and the material remains of the classical past, and in the visual arts and the architecture of his own day. In fact many important disciplines, such as theology, law, medicine, most of the natural sciences, and music are conspicuously absent in his professional activities, though they were probably amply represented in his library. And even his polyglot dictionary, based as it appears to have been on the written sources from Antiquity, probably would have resulted in a fictive reconstruction of the erudition of the Ancients, rather than a codification of contemporary science. Strada's merits as a scholarly antiquary are modest: as one of the earliest authors of a more or less systematically ordered, illustrated numismatic treatise, he has a small but not unimportant place in the history of classical scholarship. But the greater part of the results of his numismatic research remained in manuscript, was relatively inaccessible and has hardly been studied. Much of the other antiquarian material he collected has been lost or is not as yet identified.

16.6.1 *Strada's Artistic Personality*

Nevertheless the fact remains that Strada is an unusual example of a person combining a serious and sustained scholarly interest in the history and culture of the ancient world with a passionate love and great understanding of the visual arts. This was an unusual, though not unprecedented combination, which was found earlier in Raphael and his pupils—in particular Giulio Romano—and in Sebastiano Serlio: three shining examples who provided the inspiration for Strada's ambition, and helped him develop his procedures. This combination of interests was also found in other artist-antiquaries who were his more exact contemporaries—such as Pirro Ligorio, Enea Vico and Andrea Palladio—who were steeped in the antiquarian lore as practiced in Rome both before and after the Sack of 1527, as much as Strada himself.

It should be said that—unlike Raphael, Giulio and Serlio or Palladio and Pirro Ligorio—Strada was no great artist. His own taste was what one could expect from a pupil of Giulio Romano and of Serlio: he preferred an elegant,

'learned' style based on a very extensive knowledge of antique monumental architecture, figurative motifs and decorative schemes. It was an ornamental, 'stylish' Mannerism as defined by John Shearman—though perhaps in Strada's case the stylishness comes sometimes close to pedantry.[47] His personal style is best exemplified in his splendid designs for his printer's marks, the ornamental title pages of his numismatic manuscripts and the festival designs which can be attributed to him. On occasion these include designs of which the stylish, architectural simplicity seems to prefigure the severe Neoclassicism of the early nineteenth century [Fig. 16.4].

In architectural design, the field in which he probably was most talented, his efforts were rooted in a sophisticated comprehension of the Vitruvian architecture of the Roman High Renaissance, in particular that of Raphael and Giulio. They resulted in elegant designs which can be richly ornamented—as in his design for the Munich Antiquarium and in many of the reconstructions of ancient monuments based on coin reverses in his numismatic albums—but which are equally, or even more effective when devoid of ornament. This is evident in the designs for his own house and that for the Stallburg in Vienna, which is the next best candidate for an attribution to Strada, both as to its conception, its detailing and the timing of its planning.[48] A typical characteristic of his architecture is the recurrent use of coupled columns or pilasters, a motif which is relatively rare in sixteenth-century architecture, but can be found in both the exterior and the interior articulation of Strada's Antiquarium designs, and in the façade of his own house. Its use in the interior and exterior elevations of the Vienna Neugebäude is the most forceful stylistic argument for his decisive participation in the design process of that extraordinary creation.

16.6.2 *Talent Spotting and Networking*

Though not a great creative artist, Strada appears to have had an exquisite taste, a sensitive eye and an intellectual comprehension of the artistic achievements of his time. He also seems to have had a nose to find out and employ associates and collaborators still recognized today as leading representatives of their respective disciplines in all the places where he was active. Examples include, in Nuremberg: Wenzel Jamnitzer and later Jost Amman; in Lyon: Serlio, Bernard Salomon and Guillaume du Choul; in Rome: Antonio Agustín, Onofrio

47 Shearman 1967/1977, especially Ch. 1.
48 Cf. above, Chs. 7 and 6.5.

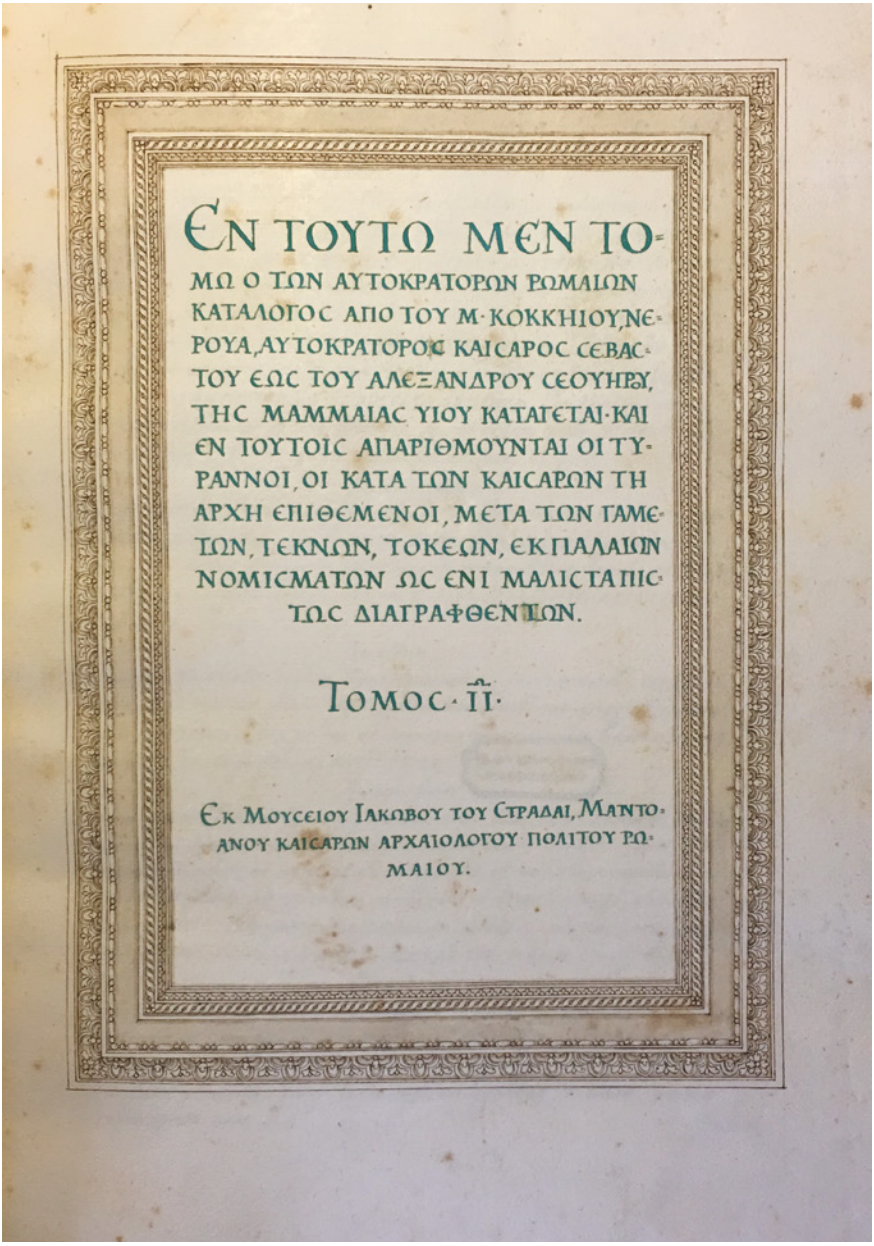

FIGURE 16.4 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, title page of the second volume of his Series of Greek coins commissioned by Emperor Maximilian II; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9417.

Panvinio, Pirro Ligorio and Enea Vico; in Mantua: Giovanni Battista Bertani, Giovanni Battista Scultori and Ippolito Andreasi; in Venice: Titian, Tintoretto and Alessandro Vittoria; in Vienna: Martino Rota; and in Frankfurt Andreas Wechel and Sigmund Feyerabend.

Strada's active talent spotting is mirrored by his extensive network of contacts, described in Chapter 11. His personal status as a nobleman, his recommendations from the Gonzaga Dukes, and at least some financial independence even in his early days, all were necessary conditions to build up this network. But his personal talents, his curiosity, his cosmopolitan attitude and his self-confidence must have played at least as large a role. It was this that obtained him the patronage of such an extraordinary man as Hans Jakob Fugger; it was this that helped him to wed his noble bride; it was this that allowed him not only to attend the 1548 Imperial Diet at Augsburg, but also to land an important commission from one of Charles V's principal supporters. It is clear that Strada sought such contacts actively, for the input they provided—knowledge, ideas, materials and further contacts—as well as for the output they allowed, by providing patrons to pay for the projects he planned, and an audience to insure their reception.

Such active talent spotting and deliberate networking in the places Strada visited or where he settled, best show how consciously and conscientiously Strada attempted to disseminate the knowledge, the ideas and the artistic forms he admired. This is the principal reason why he is of significance for the cultural history of the sixteenth century: because he stimulated the awareness of the connection between classical erudition and the visual arts, and because he carried the paradigm of the pre-eminence of the classical example and of the Vitruvian precept in architecture for contemporary artistic creation across the Alps. Just as Serlio did in France, he propagated this paradigm in Central Europe, and stressed its suitability for local use. Like Serlio, he popularized the concept and the forms in which it was expressed among a select group of patrons, potential 'opinion leaders' and 'early adopters'. He did this by bodily carrying both classical and contemporary examples with him, thus transforming his patrons' collections and his own into centres of diffusion both of the antique example, and of the new style that was inspired by it. He did this by making available his huge collection of documentation of authoritative examples from Antiquity, and of equally canonical contemporary achievements that had been inspired by it; and he did this by the example of his own designs. Last but not least, he did this most of all by his comments and explanations on all of these.

There can be no doubt that some of Strada activities—in particular the 'traffic' in antiquities and works of art—were partly motivated by commercial

considerations. Yet there can be no doubt either that they were motivated at least as much by Strada's sincere enthusiasm for his subject of study, and his conviction that it could be of use to his patrons, and to society in general. A conviction which caused him to invest far more in his projects than was commercially justified, and—in the last decade of his life—to be prepared to sink most of his and his family's patrimony into their realization.

16.7 Epilogue: Back to the Portrait

It is this enthusiasm that is shown in Titian's portrait [Figs. 16.5–16.6]. For my part, biased as I am by my study of Strada's career, I do not see it as the 'particularly unattractive sort of eagerness' that Pope-Hennessy detected in Titian's masterpiece. In fact, his case for the prosecution is sufficiently damning that it demands a plea for the defence, which I will present point-by-point.

Pope-Hennessy contrasts the splendour of the rendering of Strada's fur mantle and satin sleeves with the sitter's features: 'they are petty, and are stamped with guile and a particularly unattractive sort of eagerness'. Members of the jury, please look at the picture and the detail reproduced and ask yourself whether you really would have interpreted the sitter's face in that way if you had not been told to do so by the learned counsel for the prosecution? The

FIGURES 16.5–16.6 Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada and a detail of the face.

modest psychological experiment I have related in my introductory chapter strongly suggests that you would not. An even more forceful argument is that Titian appears to have painted Strada very much as he actually looked like, witness the description of Strada's features circulated at the time by the Holy Office—the counsel for the persecution of heretics—which even included details such as the individual grey hairs in his reddish beard. To conclude that these features are 'petty' is in itself an interpretation: I, for one, do not see it. But to deduce the character traits of their owner from them is an argument reminiscent of Kaspar Lavater's and Cesare Lombroso's long discarded physiognomic theories.

'In the painting Strada is shown bending obsequiously across a table' says Pope-Hennessy, 'holding a marble statuette which he is displaying deferentially to some patron on the right'. Is it a coincidence that he chooses terms with negative connotations, while he might have chosen positive terms such as 'courteous' and 'respectful'? The terms are chosen because they relate to the 'capacity for flattery' which he attributes to Strada. Now doubtless Strada was as capable of saying and writing flattering things to his patrons as any humanist scholar or artist, which was often a dire necessity. However, there is little evidence that Strada was more 'obsequious' than other scholars and artists of his generation. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence that he was not. Strada's own letters to princes, even to the Emperor himself, are courteous and contain the habitual courtesy phrases and *baciamani*; but they are also very assured in tone and never humble, never in fact 'obsequious', not even when he had good reason, for instance in the letter thanking Guglielmo Gonzaga for the benefice conferred on his son Paolo.[49] The assurance with which some years later he asked the Duke himself to arrange for someone to make documentary drawings of Mantua monuments is quite unusual—the more so in that the Duke appears to have actually done so.[50] Such assurance could evolve into obstinacy even with Hans Jakob Fugger, his first patron, to whom he probably owned much of his prosperity, and who remained a close associate. In a letter to Nicolò Stopio Fugger discusses Strada's waywardness:

49 Doc. 1568-12-28. Strada uses the thank-you letter also as an advertisement of his *Musaeum*, his potential services and his position at the Imperial court. It is instructive to compare Strada's letter to Archduke Ferdinand in December 1556 (Doc. 1556-12-22) with those written by Paul Pfinzing in the same affair (Doc. 1557-01-26): the self-abasement of Pfinzing, a Nuremburg patrician and secretary and diplomat in the service of Charles V and Philip II, can only be partially explained by German custom: Wenzel Jamnitzer's letters to the Archduke, again in the same affair (Docs. 1556-12-22 and 1557-01-27), are robust, self-confident and matter-of-fact in tone.

50 Doc. 1577-10-04; cf. above, Ch. 13.8.2.

> <…>as to Strada, is seems he behaves as usual, and if he was not so secretive, and instead showed himself more friendly, he would increase his stature; for in truth, one wonders what he would be if he was not more expert in antiquities than anyone else; for the rest it seems he is rather insufferable to those who do not do exactly as he wants. Enough; he is gone to Vienna, and has left me a note which I wish had been kinder and more friendly; but this is the way he is made, and he loses more than he gains by it<…>.

Fugger continues to tell Stopio that Duke Albrecht intends to use Strada's concept and designs for the new Antiquarium, adding, with a touch of irony, 'if at least he will deign to come here'.[51] 'Obsequious' is not exactly the qualification which I would apply to someone displaying such behaviour. Yet for all his reservations, Fugger squarely chose Strada's side when he became aware of Stopio's own incompetence in antiquarian matters, and realized how viciously he had attempted to blacken Strada's name. He would remain on good terms with Strada until his death in 1575, the same year that Strada published his enthusiast account of Fugger's contribution to the Munich collections—an account which again does not sound 'obsequious', but rather reflects Strada's own happy memories of—and pride in—the share he had been given in the realisation of Fugger's and Duke Albrecht's ambitions.[52]

Stopio himself certainly did not accuse Strada of undue servility towards his patrons: 'in fact his arrogance is insufferable: if he talks about the Emperor or the princes, it seems that they are staying with him, instead of he staying with them'. If his descriptions have any kernel of truth in them, they indicate that Strada took a lot of trouble to present himself as a nobleman and courtier, and as an independent agent, rather than as a servant:

> <…>he went about here<…> in scarlet hose, with his son as a page and accompanied by three or four of these appraisers, so that he looked like a nobleman with his suite<…>.

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51 Copy of Fugger's letter to Stopio, Ingolstadt 25 August 1568, BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 165–166: '<…>Quanto al Strada me pare che luy tenga al solito suo, et se non si simulse tanto, anzi se dimostrasse piu amorevole, si faria maggior assai di quello che è, che in verita si [puo ?] dir quanto se ne vagli esso se non intende circa l'antiquaglie quant' un altro; del resto pare che sia assai insuportabile a chi non fa tutto a modo suo; basta, egli è ito a Vienna et mi ha lassiato una sua che voria fusse piu dolce, et amorevole; ma egli è pur fatto cosí, et con questo perdene p[er]de assai piu che non guadagna.<…>S. Ecc. è deliberata di fabricare una stanza p[er] le sui antiquaglie, et circa l'ordinare vuol usare il disegno et parere d[e]l Strada, se pero si vorra degnare di venir in qua<…>.

52 Caesar 1575, ff. *3v.–5r.

They also confirm Strada's wilful attitude to others:

> Strada is not suitable to negotiate here [in Venice], because he is too presumptuous and choleric, he immediately wants to pronounce a judgment in his own way, and will sustain it [against all others] and then departs in a huff.[53]

When Fugger asks Stopio what he knows about Strada's flight for the Inquisition from Mantua, Stopio replies that out of respect for the Emperor the *Signoria* would not let Strada be molested by the Holy Office in Venice,

> <…>even though from his talk I have not understood that he is an enemy of Rome, except that he is very free in his reasoning, and that when he gets excited he has no respect for anyone whomsoever<…>.[54]

Reading these notes, some of which seem to be true to nature, Strada's later conflict with his son Ottavio becomes more comprehensible. All the same, in his letters to Fugger Stopio was sometimes rather economical with the truth: in fact he does everything he can to discredit his rival. The tone of his letters—the content of which he begs Fugger to keep hidden from Strada—indicates that his criticism was motivated not just by mercantile competition. Stopio is choking in his envy of Strada—whom he had known in less august circumstances fifteen years earlier—because of his position as a nobleman and courtier, and as the wealthy agent of the Emperor as well as of a major prince and of Stopio's own principal patron. And he did not want to believe Fugger's assertion that Strada was reputed to be 'one of the first and most learned antiquaries of Europe':

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53 Stopio to Fugger, Venice 7 March 1568, BHStA-*LA* 4852, f. 157/149: '<…>in effetto la sua arrogantia è insupportabile, che quando parla dell'Imperatore o delli principi, par che loro stanno con lui, et non lui con loro'; idem, Venice, 16 januari 1568: '<…>et certo in general sento da tutti ch'il procedere del Strada non serve per negociare qui con costoro, perchè è troppo presontuoso et colerico, subito vuol fare il giudicio a suo modo, et sustenarlo, et con colera se ne parte<…> Andava qui per la terra<…>con le calze di scarlato, col figliuolo per paggio et 3. o 4 di questi suoi sanzali appresso che pareva un conte et cavalliere, ma prometto a V.S. che questa terra non vuol tal procedere<…>'.

54 Stopio to Fugger, Venice 5 Octobre 1567, BHStA-*LA* 4852, ff. 75/69: '[Strada] venne poi di longo a Ven<eti>a, over per rispetto de l'Imp<erato>re non li haveriano lasciato dare molestia; benche non ho inteso al suo parlare ch'l sia contrario alle cose Romane, se non ch'l è molto libero di ragionare, et intrando in colera non ha respetto alcuna sia di chi essere si voglia<…>'.

> I would be astounded if he would have studied so much in 12 or 15 years; he has well studied how to serve his own interests, and how to deceive in places where he has found good-natured, credulous and sympathetic people, God forgive him<…>[55]

It is this same sentiment—or resentment—which Stopio later ascribed to Titian in an often quoted passage describing Strada's dealings with Titian: 'two gluttons at one plate', as Stopio has it.[56] In view of Strada's occasionally extreme behaviour, it is perfectly possible that Titian had mixed feelings about Strada, and expressed his reservations to some of his friends. But one should note that Stopio only reported this at second hand, and that he only reported what he had wished to hear; he would have ignored anything positive Titian may also have said about Strada. The very fact that Titian conceded to paint Strada's portrait—his very last—and that he presented him with another painting apparently as a gift, and engaged in other business transactions with him, are sufficient indication that he in fact must have respected and trusted Strada.

Pope-Hennessy's discussion of the portrait follows Stopio's suggestion that he deceived his patrons for financial gain, laying it on thickly, using words as 'duplicity' and 'guile'. There can be no doubt that Strada expected to make money by his transactions, as any merchant would have. It is also true that there appears to have been a rumour that he made Duke Albrecht pay prices that were too high. This rumour was probably started by Stopio, who in his letters to Fugger constantly claimed that he could have bought the same or similar things for less money. But the shipments he himself did provide turned out to be very

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55 Stopio to Fugger, Venice 8 June 1567, BHStA-*LA* 4852, f. 32/26: '<…>Tutto questo dico sol perche Vostra Signoria mi scrisse già, che'l e tenuto per uno de primi antiquarii intelligenti di Europa. Mi maravegliaro se in 12 o 15 anni haveva studiato tanto, l'ha ben studiato ch'l ha saputo fare il fatto suo, et cacciare carotte in luoco dove ha trovato le persone di buona natura creduli et amorevoli, Iddio li perdoni<…>'.

56 Stopio to Fugger, Venice 29 February 1568, BHStA-*LA* 4852, f. 153/145: 'Il Titiano et lui sono doi giotti a un tagliero: Strada li fa fare il suo ritratto, ma vi stara sopra ben ancora un anno, et se in questo mezzo il Strada non li farà li servicij che desidera, non l'havera mai compito: già S. Titiano ha affectato per havere ò in dono ò per li suoi dinari una fodra di gibbelini, et per questo vorrebbe mandare non so che a l'Imperatore; il Strada li da speranze per cavarli il ritratto dalle mani, sed surdo narrat fabellam. Ma ben è da ridere che l'laltro giorno dimandando un gentilhuomo molto intrinseco di S. Titiano, et mio amicissimo, che cosa li pareva del Strada; rispose subito il S. Titiano, il Strada è uno delli solenni ignoranti che si possa trovare, lui non sa niente, ma bisogna haver ventura, et sapersi accomodare alle nature delle persone, come ha fatto il Strada in Alemagna, dove caccia tante carotte a quelli Todeschi quanto si può imaginare, et loro come reali di natura non conoscono la dopiezza di questo galant'huomo. Queste furono le parole di S. Titiano, hora V.S. consideri in che conto l'habia ancora lui.'

bad buys, showing Fugger that Stopio possessed neither the necessary expertise, nor any comprehension of the ambitions in Munich.[57] And though Strada did make the Duke pay high prices, those were the prices he had to pay to the owners from whom he bought. As an agent of the Duke of Bavaria he felt it due to exercise by proxy such princely virtues as 'magnificence' and 'liberality': it is no coincidence that in his jubilant description of the Munich collections Strada stressed the 'great pains and expense of money' it had cost to acquire Fugger's coins and other antiquities, and that the Duke had spent 'thousands of ducats' in the acquisition of the Loredan collection.[58] Strada would be the last person to be proud of having bought something at a bargain. About the quality of Strada's acquisitions his patrons never complained: Fugger himself made quite clear to Stopio that he was still quite content with the antiquities Strada had bought for him in Rome in the 1550s, and though few of the objects acquired by Strada for Munich can be identified with certainty, the holdings of the Munich Antiquarium give some impression of its relative quality.

Thus there are no concrete indications that Strada had ever in any way defrauded his patrons: in fact for over two decades Fugger and afterwards the Duke of Bavaria trusted him sufficiently to buy huge quantities of ancient coins, statues and other antiquities, jewels, books, manuscripts and contemporary works art from him or through his mediation. Likewise none of his other patrons ever seem to have doubted his *bona-fides*. In view of Strada's activities, his interests, his ambitions as sketched in this study, I think it is legitimate to conclude that Pope-Hennessy's and—in his wake—Agosto Gentili's negative interpretations of the Titian portrait are unwarranted and do justice neither to its sitter nor to its painter's intentions.

L.D. — Gotha, 5 March 2018

57 Early in 1574 Strada heard from an unnamed gentleman that the Duke had complained about him ('che Sua Excellenza si duolga di me, et che mi tenghi in poca sua gratia'), but without being told what could have caused that, except a suspicion that Strada would have kept objects belonging to the Duke for himself. In a letter to Fugger which sounds sincere (Doc. 1574-03-01) Strada asks him to confirm how carefully and honestly he had negotiated in the Duke's business, which implies that he must have known that some rumours as to his dealing were circulating. Examples of Stopio's bad buys are discussed in Von Busch 1973, pp. 141–142 and 151–152.

58 Caesar 1575, f *4r.–*4v.

PART 5

Apparatus

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Appendices

The appendices present a few of the more interesting of Strada's letters and some other unpublished documents.

- In the transcriptions the orthography has been respected, but abbreviations are tacitly solved, unless problematical.
- Capitalization and punctuation are updated, and used to make the text intelligible; this occasionally involves the breaking up of very long sentences into smaller units.
- Interpolations within brackets in mss. indicated in transcription with round brackets ()
- Interpolations added in the margin or elsewhere are tacitly inserted in the appropriate spot; when problematical or when the afterthought can be important in the interpretation: within square brackets and indication (e.g.: in margin: [...])
- Lacunous letters, words and/or passages (f.i. in case of damaged edges etc.) restored within square brackets [ ]; when problematical marked with ?; when impossible to restore indicated [...].
- Editor's suggestions for missing, unreadable or unintelligible words or lines within square brackets [ ]
- Editorial ommissions indicated <...>.

A Some Unpublished Letters

1558-02-12 Jacopo Strada to Ferdinand I, King of the Romans; Nuremberg, 12 February 1558
Vienna, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 5770, f. 1r.–1v.; autograph (request presented in person)

Serenissimo et potentissimo Re,

Io mi truovo diligentemente haver letto questi doi quaderni et visto le figure de le medaglie che la Maestà Vostra me a comisso, onde vi sonno di molti errori, tanto nelle figure, quanto nella scrittura, non di piccola importanza; et a bocca li mostraro a la Maestà Vostra; et quando la mi cometesse a me il carico pensarei al'uno et al'altro poterli coreggere; et per niun modo la Maestà Vostra non lassi più avanti procedere, ne nelle figure, ne anche nella scrittura, insino a tanto che la Maestà Vostra non intende il mio parere, che con ragione li mostraro, che altrimenti la spesa si gitta via, non senza biasimo di cui le vedrà. Gli è vero che mal voluntieri parlo de le cose de altri, imperò per comandamento di Vostra Maestà so[no] ubligato a farlo.

Creddo che la Maestà Vostra habbia visto in bona parte, et anche con gli efetti il mio bon volere ch'io tengo di servir la casa potentissima d'Austria, et in quanta veneration

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et honor la tengo, con aver messo insieme varie cose belle et rare per servirla, non senza spesa, e di questo la Maestà Vostra ne a visto bona parte et ancora lo Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor il Signor Cardinale di Augusta. Creddo che la Maestà Vostra averà visto una parte del secondo tomo de le Monete Consulare che al pr[esen]te seguito, qual promissi a la Maestà Vostra in Ratisbona, et sarra molto più bella che la prima. A Dio piacendo sarà finito fra dui mesi, et lo portarò a la Maestà Vostra; desidraria ancora seguitar l'altre, quale Vostra Maestà ha visto nel mio studio, per Lei, quando mi facesse dare una provision onesta, acciò potesse mantener la mia piccol famiglia; et vorei spender il mio tempo in servitio de la Maestà Vostra, facendoLi l'opere mie, che potriano star al paragone di quelle di Roma, dove tal scienza ho imparata. Hora se la Maestà Vostra li piace di acetarmi nel numero de li suoi virtuosi, del canto mio farò ogni debito per farmi honore. Questo ho volsuto far assapere a la Maestà Vostra, perchè mi voglio partir di Nurimbergo, et voglio andar a star in Italia; quando però la Maestà Vostra non si volesse di me a Vienna servire. Priego la Maestà Vostra benigna, che mi usi tanta benignità di farmi a sapere la mente sua avanti la partita di domani, acciò possa doppo pensar a la mia risolutione. Non altro; Il Signor Iddio mantenghi felicissima Sua Maestà con la Sua honoratissima prole,

Di Nurimbergo, li xii febraio MDLVIII.
Di Vostra Maestà devotissimo servitor,
Jacopo Strada

1558-02-21 Jacopo Strada to Martín de Guzmán, Nuremberg, 21 February, 1558.
Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 5770, ff. 6r–8v; autograph

[Address:] A lo Illustre Signor, et mio observandissimo Padron, il Signor Martino di Gusman, Primo apresso a la Maestà del Serenissimo Re de Romani, Francoforte

Illustre Signor et mio Signor sempre observandissimo,

Io mando a la Maestà del Serenissimo Re il suo libro de le medaglie, qual ho fatto cusir in un pergameno insieme acciò non se perdi alcun folio, et ho signato nei margini gli erori del quali molto più vene ò trovati che non pensavo. Ancora averia coretto le lettere di esse medaglie, quando havesse pensato far cosa grata a Sua Maestà, ma non già in cossì curto tempo, perchè bisognarà sopra a le mie medaglie coreggerle, et certo sarà cosa laboriosa; ma quando pur Sua Maestà mi rimandi il libro voluntieri farò tal fatica. Certo, Illustre Signore, le lettere che al presente vi sonno son tanto inepte scritte che più non si potria dire, oltre che non si ponno leggere se non da chi è a ben impratica le medaglie; cosa molto brutta da vedere. Io mi tengo certo che'l Dottor Lazio non sappia legerle. Né manco l'artifice che lavora li rami, perchè se le intendessero non metteriano le medaglie de li Re di Roma con quelle de l[i] consuli, né quelle de li

consuli con quelle de li Imperatori, né anche quelle de li Imperatori scambievolmente, con metter quelle che atengono a uno Imperatore mettela sotto a un altro, et non andariano precipitando in tanti errori, con metter una istessa medaglia in opera parechie volte, et in varii lochi, et per lo havenire son per farne di maggiori, perchè la cosa divien sempre più dificile con più si va avanti, si che ne lasso giudicare a la Illustre Signoria Vostra che bella cosa faranno; et se mai verrà a luce, sarà una che hognuno di giuditio se ne faranno beffe, oltre al danno de la spesa che haveranno fatta fare a Sua Maestà. Certo la cosa merita consideratione et non correr a furia. Io ho volsuto far questo poco discorso a la Illustre Signoria Vostra acciò che con il Suo ottimo giuditio ci possa remediare avanti la cosa vaddia più avanti, et che in maggior spesa se entri. Io coregero dette lettere come sopra ho detto, quando Sua Maestà li sia grato; ma questo prima dico, ch'io non voria esser già pedaggogo al Dottor Lazio, et con le mia coretioni si facesse honore. Ma quando la fatica si habbia a riconossere per mia, voluntieri lassarò hogni cosa et ne servirò Sua Maestà, et a lo artefice che fa li rami li insegnarò come debbe levar via tutti gli errori, et aconciarli; et ancora ha di bisogno il maestro che fa li rami, che uno vi sia sopra, et che li faccia meglio, et con più disegno, perchè le fa tanto male che peggio non ponno stare, et sempre li fanno a un modo, et fanno creddere a Sua Maestà che stanno cossie. Ancor che una medaglia sia alquanta frusta, imperò non perde la perfetion del disegno. Loro non osserva altro che li dintorni di fora, con farle guaste: et chi le vedra farà giuditio che Sua Maestà habbia le più goffe medaglie che sia al mondo. La conclusione sia che'l Lazio non le conosse, et l'altro non le sa fare, et che habbino patienza che non hè loro professione. Ancora ch'io son certo che si voranno aiutar et difender con scuse, ma io mi oferisco con la raggione de le medaglie istesse al'un e l'altro provarli tutti gli errori, et con esse confonderli. Et questo farò quando Sua Maestà mello comandi.

Saria di parere che Sua Maestà facesse lassar stare al Dottor Lazio de scriver la materia che atiene a li Imperatori, et far li scrivere le Greche, acciò non stia in tempo, et ancora il pittore non facesse più medaglie, et farli far qualche cosa di minor importanza, che non mancarà che le farà meglio di lui, et non far tanta ingiuria a le belle medaglie, che con tanta spesa et arte sonno state fatte, et loro le fanno tanto male, et anche far gittar via la spesa a Sua Maestà, cosa iniqua e degna di reprensione.

La Illustre Signoria Vostra mi comisse ch'io scrivessi l' historia de una hovero dua medaglie; certo, Signore, io non saprei tener meglior ordine che di quello ho tenuto nella Epitome della Maestà dell' Imperatore, che la Signoria Vostra a letta, et nelli margini signar li numeri che acordassino con le medaglie, et le metteria per ordine come seguita la historia; ma il voler scriver de medaglia in medaglia, la cosa non potrebe andar avanti, quantunque uno fusse il più exercitato homo tanto nelle medaglie, quanto ancor nelle historie, che si trovi al mondo; salvo se non volesse scriverne et inventar materia a sua testa: et anchor la materia non haveria gratia né forma. Ma quando Sua Maestà a me mi asignasse gli Imperatori da far scrivere, et ancora da far intagliar le tavole delle medaglie, agiungendoli ancora le mie, quale sonno in potesta di Sua

Maestà di acomodarsene, mi tengo certo che si farebe la più bel opera che ancor sia stata vista, et di più mi ubligaria ancora quando vi fusse errori, tanto ne le tavole di esse, come ancora nella historia, di remediarli et coregerli a mie spese, et Sua Maestà sarebe sicura di havere un opera che starebe bene, et a la fine de hogni Imperadore scriver l' expositione delle cose più dificile, che in esse vi fossero.

Io mi parerebe questa sarebe la via, e non far un gran libro di pezzi et bocconi, con repetere una cosa centomila volte, cosa fastidiosa al legere et al lettore di poco utile, anzì di biasimo.

Trovo che le Greche sonno non men confusamente poste che le latine, perchè anno mescolato quelle de li Re con quelle de li cità, oltre che ancor ve ne sono de le Romane, cosa degna di reprensione, et che sta malissimo.

Illustre Signor, Io priego la Signoria Vostra umilmente, che mi sia tanto gratioso che mi facci questo honore, che certo mentre che viverò ce ne averò obligo infinito, che aricordi a Sua Maestà la risposta de la mia suplica ch'io presentai, a la quale mi risposi volerci pensar sopra. Dessidreria averne la risposta avanti la partita di Sua Maestà di Francoforte, acciò se'l mio servitio non fosse degno de la Maestà Sua, ch'io non mi perdessi un'altra occasione da la quale son richiesto, et poi a la fine con il longo aspetare non havesse né l'uno né l'altro; perchè io son per partirmi da Nurimbergo et tornarmene in Italia. Et certo dov'io sarò et mi trovarò, sempre sarò efitionatissimo a la Casa d'Austria, et spenderò la robba et l'honore per Lei dove potrò. Et a la Illustre Signoria Vostra sarò ubligatissimo del favore che me havera fatto, quale in vitta mia mai mi scordarò. Haveria ben a caro a sapere se Sua Maestà si trovara a Francoforte al tempo de la Fiera proxima, perchè portaria l'altra parte del libro a Sua Maestà, che al presente metto a fine, qual sarà molto più bello che'l primo; et non vi essendo, quella si degni farmi avisare dove sarà bene ch'io lo porti. Altro non mi occore, se non pregar la Illustre Signoria Vostra che'l mio nome Li sia a memoria, con dignarsi di tenermi per Suo servitor fedele tal qual li sono. Intanto pregarò il Signor Iddio che in sanità con il Suo bel figliolo La mantenga et da mal La guardi.

Di Norimbergo, li xxi Febraro MDLVIII,
Di Vostra Illustrissima Signoria umil servitor,
Jacopo Strada

1559-06-06 Jacopo Strada to Hans Jakob Fugger in Augsburg, Vienna, June 6th 1559
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Monac. Lat. 9216, f. 3–4; autograph

[Address:] Al Molto Magnifico Signor, il Signor Jo[hann] Jacopo Fochero, mio Signor sempre observandissimo, Augusta

Molto Magnifico Signor, et mio sempre observandissimo,

Due de la Signoria gratissime mi truovo, l'una di xvi, l'altra xxiij del pasato, et prima che ora non ho risposto, aspetando al certo volerLa raguagliar de un negotio che fra il Dottor Lazio et me è stato; del qual, doppo l'haver a la Signoria Vostra risposto a quello che mi scrive, gli narrero il tutto.

Prima che mi ralegro che la Signoria Vostra habbia auto le otto Cità de Toschana; come consegnaro questi altri libri al Guldelfinger mene faro contentar, con quel poco di resto del avanzo di dui libri che la Signoria Vostra ha a[uto].

Mi piace che quella habbia auti li dui libri ultimi mandati, et il rim[a]nente si continua tanto del dissegnare, quanto ancora de lo scrivere.

Il mio scriba è molto havanti et fra poche settimane sarra a la fine del libro scritto, et perchè egli si lassa intendere voler passar in Italia come habbia finito l'opera sua del libro di scrivere, mi è pa[r]so avisarne un motto alla Signoria Vostra, acciò se fusse di parere che l'indice che appartiene a questo libro fusse di sua mane coppiato (qual [...???] sette) li cominciaria a bon hora a veder che me ne prometesse, acciò fussero tutti de una mano scritti; che in verità a me non mi da i [...?] di truovar meglio, l'altra puoi egli è acostumato et famigliar a[lla?] lettera, la quale non è comune ad hognuno il leggerla; quanto prezzo, farò di modo che la Signoria Vostra senne contentarà.

Quanto all'Indice delle Mappe de la Signoria Vostra, anchora che siano incollate sopra a la tela, et dipinte, questo non impedisse che non si possano numerare li folii di esse; questo lavoro mello aspetto come la corte sia partita, et con hogni sua commodità.

Il libro de pili in dissegno ch'io vidi in casa della Signoria Vostra non era di Messer Antonio Marillon, ma si ben di Mon Signor d'Arras, et io ho conosciuto à Roma il pittore che'l su detto Mon Signor manteneva per tal negotio, il quale non è stato men diligente in cercargli et dissegnarli che io son stato nella materia delle medaglie; et sarebbe bene se noi potessimo havere la interpretatione del sudetto Marillon, il qual molto fatica sopra vi faceva, et se in tutto non haveva indovinato, al manco in buona parte. Non havera perso il tempo, perchè egli era molto studioso et capriccioso; adonque se la Signoria Vostra ne scriverra al sudetto Mon Signor d'Arras, non dubito punto che non l'ottenghi. Che Sua Signoria non sia molto hoccupata, questo lo credo, imperò se egli lo vorra accomodare non ne intromettera scusa verruna. Son certo che la Signoria Vostra, come sapra et vedra in che materia me ne sarro servito, non li dispiaccera et la Signoria Vostra sarra la prima a vederla.

Il gentilhomo del Re Philippo, et quel altro del su detto Mon Signore, mi par di veddere che non serviranno molto nel negotio a lor comesso, poichè non sonno stato a visitar la Signoria Vostra.

Questa settimana di qui si parte il Reverendissimo Veschovo de Agria per venir costì; certo mi si parte il più caro et il più famigliare signore che io habbia, levandone li miei signori et padroni. La Signoria Vostra conossera un signore adornato di tutte le virtù che puol haver un altro signore; egli me a comesso ch'io faccia una raccomandatione alla Signoria Vostra da sua parte, et grandemente dessidera conosserLa per il gran

nome Suo, del quale non solum da me gli è stato predicato, ma anchora da tutti quelli che Vostra Signoria hanno conosciuta.

Io mando a la Signoria Vostra una coppia de una lettera la quale io presentai a la Maestà del Re di Bohemia, mio Signore, de una ingiuria fattami dal Dottor Lazio (come sul principio di questa ne faccio mentione), la qual ingiuria se gli è rivolta adosso a lui, et pensando volerne aquistar credito, se gli è volta in vergogna, come la Signoria Vostra vedra sulla detta lettera. Et questo è stato perchè il pover homo non à saputo legger le lettere de la detta medaglia, le quale sonno alquanto fruste; non però tanto che chiunque habbia prattica de le Antiquità non possono leggere. Esso si è scusato magramente non haver me ingiuriato, et si è contentato a voler ristampar il suo folio, ma io gli ò fatto dire che lo lassi pur stare nel modo che egli lo ha scritto, per chè io non vella voglio perdonare; non solum in rispondergli a quella medaglia, ma a tutto il resto del libro di Sua Maestà. Mon Signor d'Agria non voleva che io ne parlassi a la Maestà del Re, ma voleva che apertamente contra li scrivesse una apologia, o vero una invectiva, et farla stampare come lui à fatto stampare su quel folio contro di me. Ma io mi bisogna molti rispetti avertire, perchè offenderei parechi in un tratto, e per questo me ne scuso con la Maestà del mio Re. Ma del canto mio vorei che egli publicasse detto folio senza farlo ristampare, acciò havesse qualche giusta raggione verso di lui, perchè in hogni modo non son per perdonarcela o per tardo o per tempo. Sua Maestà a messo di mezzo il Signor Piller per riconciliare insieme. Io gli ò fatto rispondere al Dottor Lazio che atendi a far li fatti suoi et io farò li miei etcetera. Ma quello che più mi da noia si è che esso Lazio me à inganato, perchè sempre che mi rincontrava mi faceva carezze dal' a[l]tra banda, puoi mi dava nelle spalle. Ma Iddio a volsuto che'l suo disegno non gli è venuto ad effetto. Dessidero che tutto questo la Signoria Vostra apresso di Lei lo serve acciò non si sappia f[u]ori, perchè danno menne potrebe a le volte rinsultare. Ma non mancaro mai a la Signoria Vostra di non communicare tutte [le] cose mie. La Maestà del Re lo ha hauto molto per male che'l su detto Lazio me habbia in tal modo tassato, et creddo che puoca gratia ne habbia apresso Sua Maestà guadagnato; et ancora apresso a molti altri homini dotti non si avendo potuto ne saputo difendere, perchè contra alla ragione le scuse non vagliano.

Per adesso altro non li diro; et con questo, acciò Vostra Signoria meglio sia capace della cosa, li mando un folio stampato di esso Lazio, et in mia mano nel margine l'ò signato. Il Signor Iddio concedi a questa ciò che dessidera, et da mal la guardi, et io con tutto il cuore melli aricomando. Vostra Signoria serba tutto questo apresso di Lei, ce ne priego per li rispetti sopradetti

Di Vienna li 6 giugnio 1559
Di Vostra Signoria umilissimo servidor,
Jacopo Strada

1566-03-01 Jacopo Strada to Adam von Dietrichstein, Vienna, 1 March 1566
Brno, Státní Oblastní Archiv, *Rodinný archiv Ditrichštejnů*, K 424, 1898/225; autograph.

[Address:] Al Illustrissimo Signor Dietristan, Signor mio e padrone sempre obsservandissimo.

Illustrissimo Signor, et Padrone mio observandissimo,

Io ò auto risposta del negotio deli libri li quali Vostra Signoria Illustrissima in mio nome presentò a Sua Maestà Catolica, del che per infinite volte La ringratio del buono uficio che per me à fatto. Ora vedendo che la mia domanda del cannonicato di Anversa per mio figliolo non a auto quel fine ch'io mi pensava, e questo è stato per non aver io vera informatione, suplico di novo a Sua Maestà che per contracambio di esso, mi faccia gracia di una pensione in Milano per il mio su detto figliolo. La suplica la mando qui inclusa, la quale se a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima li pare di formarla meglio, con levarne o agiungervi, tutto a Lei rimetto; e La priego Lei istessa a darla in man propria, et agiungervi quelle parole più commode che a la Signoria Vostra piacerà. Sarebe anche bene che avanti Vostra Signoria dia la suplica, aver qualche informatione particulare di quelle cose che Sua Maestà fa gratia in detta cita. Io non domando più cosa di chiesa, ma una pensione; io non dessidero già cosa grande, perchè domandandola mi fosse negata, ne anche tanto bassa che non meritasse la spesa di averla domandata. Di tutto questo me ne rimetto nel Suo giuditio, e quello che parera a la Signoria Vostra lo potrà nominar et agiungere nella suplica. Vostra Signoria Illustrissima sappia che adesso son più povero che mai sia per lo avanti stato, e più carico di spesa che prima, perchè mi truovo vii figlioli vivi; la mia provisione è poca, imperò io mi contento dela gratia che Sua Maestà Cesarea mi fa, e non la voglio importunare che più mi cresca; basta che non è assai per le mie spese. Oltre di questo voria pur continuare il mio Dictionario di xi lingue, il quale passa xiiii anni ch'io vi lavoro a torno, dove che tutta la fattica e spesa fatta per insino adesso son forzata per non aver aiuto abandonare; pur ò speranza che'l Signor Iddio un qualche giorno mi aiutara. Io ò posto grandissima certezza nel favore dela Signoria Vostra, sapendo Lei in quanta stima e riputatione è apresso a Sua Maestà Catolica, oltre puoi che per il passato sempre me a aiutato e favorito, et ò speranza che anche adesso con questa occasione non mi mancara di tenerme per ariccomandato.

Doppoi la Sua partita qui di Vienna, ò messo insieme tutti gl'indici di esso Dictionario, quali sonno xviii tomi, simili a quello dela lettera A che già una volta Vostra Signoria vidi nel mio studio. Adesso si scrive il primo tomo A; certo è fatica molto delettevole da vedere, si per tante lingue insieme, le quali sonno scritte tutte con li loro caratteri proprij; oltre poi le figure dele medaglie, le statue antiche, le sepoltore di marmoro historiate, le inscriptioni e tabule antiche, et hogni qualunque cosa che si puol

mostrare per figura, et altre cose da me state per il mondo raccolte, e non con poca spesa; hogni qualunque cosa avera la sua expositione, e descritta in tutte le lingue su nominate. Altro non mi manca se non aiuto, e son forzato abandonarla per la povertà mia. Apresso a questo la mia libraria doppo la Sua partita è acressiuta totalmente che passa dua milia volumi. Ora ò fatto tutto questo discorso a la Signoria Vostra acciò che quella sappia hogni mio particolare e necessità; in summa altro non mi manca se non che'l favor dela Signoria Vostra sia fatto caldamente apresso a Sua Maestà di qualche buono aiuto, et io seguitarò, e un giorno verrà alla stampa; e la Signoria Vostra averà l'honore di averla aiutata e fatto resussitare.

Mando nella suplica il titolo del Dictionario in lingua latina e spagnola, acciò che vedendoli Sua Maestà Catolica sia più per moversi a darme aiuto, che tanto fatica possa metter a fine. La Signoria Vostra potrà far fede a bocca di averne visto parte; sappia la Signoria Vostra che voglio tutto ricconossere questo favore da Lei, et a Lei mentre ch'io viverò, io con li mei figlioli ve ne averemo obligo infinito.

Non so se Vostra Signoria Illustrissima doppo la Sua partita abbia continuato la delettatio dele medaglie, et il dissegno, che certo sarebe bene a non lo abandonare, e tanto più che avea un bonissimo principio; et anche le Maestà deli Serenissimi Principi, saria bene che tal deletatione li fosse raccordata, che invero, Signore, per il dissegno si viene in cognitione di infinite cose, et il giuditio è molto più eccelente in tutte le cose, e sopravanza tutti gli altri di gran longa; e tanto più quanto è in un Signore litterato come Lei. Ora Vostra Signoria me ne farrà certo, et io li manderò sempre qualche cosa di mia mano da rittrare, suplicandoLa a non voller abollire quello che molti imperadori antichi, et il nostro presente e padrone fa gran stima.

Tornarò a ragionar del mio negotio, perchè son certo che quella è del continuo occupata; io ne scrivo ancora al Signor ambassador di Mantua, che esso Signore ne ariccordi a la Signoria Vostra, acciò che ne abbiamo il più presto quella buona ispeditione che a Dio e a Sua Maestà Catolica piacerà. E qui fo fine, basiando le mani a la Signoria Vostra et alla Illustrissima Signoria Sua Consorte, e a li suoi belissimi figlioli; il Signor Iddio tutti da mal vi guardi.

Di Vienna, il primo di Marzo 1566.
Di Vostra Illustrissima Signoria,
umil servidor Jacopo Strada

1573-05-27 Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany, to Strada, Florence, 27 May 1573
ASF, *Medici del Principato*, *filza* 1317, ff. 636–637; autograph concept from Dani's *carteggio*, 1573

A Messer Jacopo Strada, Antiquario del Imperatore, alli 27 di Maggio.

Se bene è passato molto tempo che non ho scritto a Vostra Signoria non è per questo che io non habbia tenuto continua memoria di Lei, della bona amicitia nostra et di tante cortesie et amorevolezze Sue mentre ch'io stette in cotesta corte; et alla venuta qua di Messer Antonio Girolami domandai particolarmente del esser Suo; il quale me ne raguagliò a pieno, con mio molto piacere; intendendo ch'Ella stessi bene, havessi finita la Sua bella fabrica, et accomodato i figliuoli et le cose Sue [*crossed out:* di che mi ra…], di che sendomi rallegrato più volte da me stesso [crossed out: cercavo] stavo ancora aspettando qualche occasione di potergline [*crossed out:*…] significare per lettere. Si come fo di presente, da poi che il Principe mio Signore mi ha comesso che io scriva a qualcuno costà che ci faccio haver le imagini, in medaglie o monete, delli Imperatori Alemanni [*inserted above the line and in margin:* principali della Casa d'Austria] da Rudolfo insino a Massimiliano Primo, volendo Sua Altezza metter insieme li Imperatori Occidentali da Carlo Magno in qua. Et sapendo io che in Germania et fuora non c'è chi ne habbia [*crossed out:* maggior] meglior et più certa notitia et commodità di Lei, io li proposi Vostra Signoria, [*crossed out:* onde mi comesse] dicendo che Ella le haria [*crossed out:* nel] fra le anticaglie del Suo bellissimo Museo, o [*inserted above the line:* non le havendo] sapra donde si possino havere in cotesta provincia; onde mi comesse che io glie ne scrivessi, come fo; pregandoLa a darmi risposta [*inserted above the line:* a li ministri del medesimo Girolami], con mandarmene qualcuna per principio; che glie ne restero con molto obligo; certificandoLa che ne fara cosa grata a Sua Altezza [*crossed out:* oltre che la Sua fatica non sara senza (*earlier crossed out:* premio) recognitione]. Et quando non ne havessi di metallo, me ne mandi almeno in disegno su le carte. Et possendo servirLa dalle bande di qua La prego mi comandi in tutto quello mi giudico bono, che mi trovera prontissimo sempre. PregoLa a salutar li amici communi in mio nome.

1573-06-17 Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany, Vienna, 17 June 1573
ASF, *Carteggio d'artisti*, I, ff. 126–127

Molto Magnifico Signor mio osservandissimo,

Li giuro che gran tempo fa non ò auto lettera da amico ch'io conoschi più grata di quella della Signoria Vostra, la quale io con Ottavio e tutti di casa nostra senne siamo del tutto rallegrati; et preghiamo il Signor Iddio per Lei che gli concedi hogni Suo dessiderio.

Ora Signor, della richiesta che la Signoria Vostra me à fatta per Sua Altezza, io non ò potuto mancare, si per la longa nostra amicitia, come anche per servirla; alla quale non solamente Sua Altezza gli sonno effitionatissimo, ma anche a tutta la sua casa. Adonque vi mando dui Imperatori, l'uno è Alberto, l'altro Sigismundo, tutte due formati da dui privilegii antichi. E certamento altro che a Lei non gli averi dati: la causa ora vella diro, et da Lei ne lassar far giuditio.

Sonno di già molti anni ch'io cominciai una Series degli Imperatori, cominciando a Caio Julio Caesare; et finisse ne la Maestà del mio padrone. E questa Series a cadauno Imperatore vi è le sue moglie, figliuoli et parenti; cioè a tutti una medaglia con il suo roverso, dessignate grandi su folii reali a questo modo: una testa su una pagina et il roverso su l'altra, et a cadauna medaglia vi è avanti il suo ellogio scritto in un sasso antico con lettere maiuscule. E perchè non si trovano tutte le medaglie di tutti li parenti di uno Imperatore, non di meno ne ò scritto il suo ellogio, acciò che la historia camini di longo, e non resti inutile. Il simile anche fo delle medaglie di essi Imperatori che sonno state battute nella Gretia, et anche queste anno li suoi ellogii greci, scritti similmente et nel medemo modo et ordine delle lattine. Ora Vostra Signoria sappia che doppo ch'io son vivo, non ò mai fatto altro che accumular medaglie e coppie di esse, et la mia Series è tanto coppiosa quanto imaginar si possa; et sempre ò pigliato medaglioni, li più belli e li più rari, et quelli che portano la historia con essi, che io habbia fra di essa. In Constantinopoli da Pauolo mio figliuolo me ò fatto portare tutti gli Imperatori orientali, o in medaglie o in pittura che à pottuti trovare; et in spatio di 3 anni che vi è stato ne à fatto buona diligenza. Poi da Carolo Magno in giù sappia Vostra Signoria che la medema diligenza io instesso ò fatto, et forsi più che esso non à fatto a Constantinopoli; et parte in monete, e parte da privilegii simili a questi ch'io mando, me ne truovo bonissima parte, et hogni giorno ne vado mettendo insieme. Si che Vostra Signoria potra dar questo raguaglio a Sua Altezza, voglio anche che la Signoria Vostra sappia che questi libri sonno mei, et per una mia delettatione li fo, non già che mai habbiano da venir alla stampa.

E qualche anni ch'io fo un libercino, per una memoria di casa mia, dove dentro nella prima carta Sua Maestà Cesarea à scritto la sua rima, o motto; poi seguita il Re, con il fratello; poi gli altri Duchi vi sono, ma non posti per ordine, ma secondo che sonno stati nel mio studio. Tutte ne anno scritto, il Ducha di Baviera si è delli ultimi, et Saxonia, il Ducha Guglielmo et l' Elettore seguono; si che voglio dire che non vi è precedenza, che segondo l'occasione del tempo. Li vadi mettendo insieme; vi priego che mi vogliate far scrivere la rima da Sua Altezza et quella su l'altra fazza del Altezza del Principe; et mandatimi l'arme collorite a parte, et io le faro sotto miniare d'oro simile alle altre. Vi mando qui incluso la cartina dove sopra si scrivera, et avertite nel serar la lettera non la forate, acciò non si guasti detta carta, ma solum sia con il spago sopra legata. Altro non vi diro per ora alla Signoria Vostra, che'l mio nome Li sia a memoria, alla quale noi tutti vi si raccomandiamo.

Mi ero scordato a dirVi che anche Vostra Signoria mi voglia aiutare a locupletare li mei libri delle Inscriptioni antiche, le quali sonno 7 gran tomi, con quelle che costì Vostra Signoria apresso di Lei si trova, et delli suoi amici, e massime del Signor Pietro Vittorio, et delli marmi che costì voi avete; li quali dessidrerei che oltre alle lettere vi fossero anche gli ornamenti d'intorno benissimo dessignati. Et perchè in simil cose vi entra spesa, faro il tutto buono qui al Girolami; et il nome della

Signoria Vostra, con quelli che mi faranno favori in simil matteria, ne serra fatto onoratissima mentione. Questi libri si stamparanno. Mandatemi anche la Chimera con quelle lettere hetrusche, et anche di tale inscriptioni, se costì sene trovano, o vero nel regno delli vostri padroni; ch'io vi prometto ch'io ve ne avero in finito obligo; et se si trovano statua con sotto lettere o pili antichi, o altre cose che abbiano lettera mi si mandino; e sopraltutto, come ò detto, siano ben dessignate, et le lettere ben scritte et immitate a punto come stanno nei marmi, che le righe siano giusta della medema forma de longhezza et il simile la grandezza delle lettere. Il Signor Iddio da mal vi guardi.

Di Vienna li 17 Giugno 1573.
Di Vostra Signoria Magnifica effitionatissimo e per servirla,
Jacopo Strada
Antiquario della Sacra Cesarea Maestà del Imperatore mio Signore

1574-12-05 Ottavio Strada to Jacopo Strada, Nuremberg, 5th December [?] 1574
ÖNB-HS, ms. 9039, ff. 112–113; extract published in ROSENFELD 1974, p. 409 [*note: this letter is dated 5 Settembre, but since Ottavio replies to a letter of his father's dated 13 November, the correct date must be 5 December 1574*]

Magnifico Signor padre mio carissimo!

Mi trovo una delli 13 di Novembre gratissima et intesi il tutto come voi mi scrivete; come l'italiano sia tanto incorreta, sappiate che [*crossed out:* la] secondo 'l Minos Celsi lo corrego, io lo descrivai con diligentia, et 'l dotor Mantuano lo corrego, di maniera che io non posso più che tanto. Secondo la copia lui stampa, et li dissi che tenghi le mie copie perchè un giorno ne possi confrontare. Io so che lui è molto diligente nel stampar, et il più diligente che sia in Francofort; io so che che li copiai justo come la copia del Vecchio [= *Sebastiano Serlio*]; et ringratia Dio che'l Wecchel accetai di stampar il libro, perchè nonnè nisuno che fosse stato buon per stampar Italiano [*unreadable;* tranne?] lui, perchè in tutta Francofort non havete altro Italiano, solum quel dottor Mantuano; et io mi bisogno pregarlo tanto che accetasse di coreger la mia copiia; et seconda la sua corregione le fo stampare. E ben assai che in Alemagna dove non sono Italiani si stampi Italiano; se 'l Wechel non havesse voluto accetar di stampar, non haveria trovato commodità qui, et certo lo tempo perso voler stampar Italiano in Allemagna, dove non si trova gente. Voi non lo credete come poche gente sono in Francoforte d'huomini dotti.

Per conto della stampa io non li posso sforzar più, perchè lui dice questi sonno li sui più belli lettere che ha, et in tutto `l libro si trovara di tutte le sorte che lui à, perchè

secondo le facciate se ci è assai scrittura. Per conto che sonno mal stampate, et che non venghino ben negri, sapiate che in el condurli di Vinetia in quà una casa era tutta fracassata, che quando lo vidi cusì rota et mal concionata, dubitai che tutte le stampe fussero guaste, come ci manca poco; perchè quelli campi negri sonno sul legno guasti; et io feci la prova in altri stamparie se ci fusse ordine di stamparli meglio; ma fui indarno, perchè quando una stampa è ruinato non si puol stampare tanto bene come se fusse fatto di nuovo. Et ancora è difetto del faligname che non li à justato bene, come mi feceron vedere. Trovarete bene di quelle stampe ben stampate, ma quelli ci erano in la segonda casa, che venne ben conciata; ma la prima quando li vidi mi misse paura a vederlo, credo che vi scrisse in le mie altre.

Della carta [*crossed out:* io] Messer Sigismundo mi disse come non si trova altra carta, solum di questa sorte, et lui mai à guardato, ne tampoco misurato, et dice che subito quando tornaremo a Francofort che confrontara con la sua, et se non sara tanto buona lui me provedera alla Fiera d' una altra, et lui terra questa per lui. Io non lo posso sforzar più, perchè lui non pol che tanto; Voi dovete ben pensare che hogni cosa va mancando.

Del Vitruvio dotusco, quando lo vidi, io sputai sopra, perchè non val nulla, et non vorrei che me li donasse. Che facessi stampare l' è stato meglior resolutione quel delle mascare, perchè so che si venderanno bene; et adesso quando havero la mia cassa, li potrò darle il nostro libro, et lui d[…, *unreadable*] a [*unreadable*] quelli li fara bene. Et mi piace che sete risoluto di dedicar il libro al Rosenberg, et vorei che mi mandaste la dedicatione. Et [*crossed out:* la] l'arma del Duca di Saxonia non servira per questa; li faro fare una nova, et me costara un par di scudi, et li faro far li dui ursi che lo tengono l'arma come è in el libercino.

Del libro dedesco feci mercato con lui, che me lo traduci, et l'un prete che a tradotto assai libri, et se laudano assai, li fece mercato con lui che alla Fiera mello mandasse [*unreadable, crossed out*] tutte detesco; et li do 20 Fl. Lui non volse manco di 30 Fl., ma li promisi come fussero de li altri libri, et cusì siamo convenuti insieme.

Per conto che sia venuto qui, se non me lo volete credere che sia cusì gran peste in Francofort, potrete informarVi d'altri, et ancora del Signore Paolino Neri, perchè quando mi partì col Feirabent si moriva da 200 homini e più la settimana, e sempre andava crescendo, che credo quando vera fredo si cessera. Se non me fusse partito mi partiria di nuovo, perchè non mi voglio metere in quel pericolo. Non dubitate che sia fatta a arte, perchè Messer Sigismundo si partì in mia compagnia; et feci bene a partirmi, perchè l'disegnator non mi volse servire in modo alcuno, se non fussi istesso venuto qui, perchè con lettere non si fa nulla.

Del Martino non è pacato, se ben è povero homo e superbo; Voi vedrete che Dio lo castigara. Et se lui non vi vole render quelli danari che li prestai bisogno far conto che li abbia per 'l mio ritratto. Quando havera fame 'l vera a lavorare, et fate lavorare in la Series se 'l vora lavorar; più presto ci daria di più quache [*sic*] coseta per rame, acciò che andasi inanti.

Del Minos Celsi, non ò auto ancor aviso di lui. Ieri hebi una lettera del Marchese Oira, et vedrete quel che lui mi scrive; et spero al anno novo mi partiro di qui, et li scrivero se vora tradure [crossed out: li] la Castrametatione. La vostra lettera scritta a lui lo mandai subito a Basilea. Credo che non sarà ordine di poterlo stampare al altra Fiera, ne tampoco le Commentaria Ceasaris, perchè le figure non li ò ancora, et ci va tempo in disignar et intagliarci. Vorei in prima vedere quello del Palladio, et credo che 'l suo sarà d'un altra maniera che 'l nostro. Non vorei che facessimo qualche spesa indarno; però ne più ne manco voglio far disegnar qualche legno per mostra, perchè se ben el suo havera privilegio, non importa, perchè le nostre figure saran d'un altra maniera; avisatemi quanto prima quel che debio fare.

Delli libri del Feirabent, non fanno per noi, perchè sonno tutti di juristi, et Toteschi. Io li servo quatro o sei li più belli per il nostro studio. Il resto do in pagamento al intagliator che mi intaglia le mascare; et li do per 90 Fl. et piglio per più di 24 Fl libri fora che tengo per noi. Di quelli libri che tengo per noi potremo sempre baretarne in altri se Voi non li vorete, et guadagnaro sempre sopra 40 Fl. di quello che me costano a me, perchè io li paghi a due Fiere quelli 60 taleri. Et so de già 'l costume del Feirabent: quel che dice mal di sua moglie et lauda lui lo senta volentieri, et se 'l potrebbe dar il cor a un homo, l' darebe pur che 'l tenghi della banda sua. Io comprai una veste di notte di lui per 20 Fl.: sapiate che li è costato a lui più che 40, quella di tomascho fodrata davanti con mar[tora? (*lacunous margin*)] largo un palmo, et l' è bella nova; lui non la pole portare perchè li signori li anno vietato, et lui non à portato 3 volte. S'avesse fatto far una solum di Mochardo [? *a type of fabric*?] me havera costato quel danaro, et li pago in due Fiera, hogni Fiera 10 Fl., et se non havesse trovato questa ventura, saria stato sforzato di farmene una. Perchè la notte mi levo et lavori, et la stufa è freda, mi bisogno provedere d'una, se non havessi havuta questa, l' bella nova so che li ma [...(lacunous margin)].

Della Biblia mi piace che vogliate far disegnar al Jan Baptista, ma non accaderebe che fussero fatti tanto diligente, solum li schizzi, perchè in cose piccoline non havete meglio di Jost Amen; non spendete tropo denari intorno, perchè una volta con li nostri disegni ne faremo far una bella Biblia, ma col tempo.

Della Epitome l' è ben vero che sarebe un bella cosa se fusse stampato in totesco, ma 'l degià vi è stampato in todesco, con le medeme medaglie come le nostre; però se volesse far quella spesa bisognerei far le roversi apresso, et costarebe troppo. Sarà meglio che restiamo apresso la nostra Series che habbiamo cominciato, et finir quella so che faremo bene, pur che fusse finita.

Vorei che mi mandasti una donzena di medaglie che vanno in la Series; io farei farli al aqua al mio disegnator, et poi ci è qui un Francese che sarà bono a ritrarli col bolino, [(*crossed out*) vi mando la mostra delle medaglie, scrivetemi come vi avera piaciuta (*added in margin:*) l'aqua à guastato 'l rame].

Me piace che mettete l'descrition della Italia insieme, perchè ancora io son di quel parer di farla stampare; ancora quel delle Pape, et intesi il tutto quel che scrisse il Fonteio mi piace che sia corretto; et credo che sarà un bon libro se si stamparà come inteso

in la Vostra lettera; et circate di haverle quanto prima 'l mancamento delle arme, et la historia di loro.

Et a Dio piacendo dopo questa Fiera stampando questo libro delle mascare, et il libro del Serlio in dotesco. Et mentre che si stampino questi dui libri farò tradur la Castrametation in Latino, et cercarò di far le arme delli Papi. Et bisognara cercar de meter al manco hogni Fiera un par di libri in luce. Bisogna che noi habiamo pacientia per due Fiere avanti che si caverà qualche cosa; dopo se haverà meglior commodità di far altre cose. Vi priego che quando sarà finito 'l tempo del Gudeo con li denari, che mi vogliate far pagar qui per li Werdeman, per adesso al manco Fl. 300, perchè questi denari che ò auti da loro, cioè quelli di Vinetia, è solum per pagar la carta, et mi bisogno haver denari di far intagliar le mascare et di pagar la tradution del Tedesco; detti 50 Fl. a bon conto al disegnator, et 30 al intagliator, a bon conto, et hogni settimana mi promise d'intagliar 8 pezzi; et a bon conto li do 5 Fl. insina che 'l lavor sarà del tutto [*crossed out:* pagato] fato, che non habbia mancamento alcuno. Dopo lo pagarò del tutto 'l restante, et li darò li libri in conto.

Delle Comentaria Caesaris farò quanto prima meterci mano, purchè non mi manchi denari; so che 'l nostro sarà più bello che quello del Palladio; si potrà ancor dar per miglior mercato che 'l suo. Bisogno che abbia al manco da 50 Fl. per il disegnare, et un 200 Fl. per tagliarli, perchè si pagarà 'l manco da 4 Fl. o taleri per intagliar l'una. Basta, vedero di haverli megior mercato che posiamo del designar et intagliar.

Di Fiorenzo non mi haveria spetato questo, basta per una volta.

Mi piace che solecitate Sua Maestà che Vi paghi; se averemo questa ventura che siamo pagati, mandatemi di quelli denari ancora parte, acciò posiamo meglio cominciar a stampar. Se fosse in Voi descriveria le mascare quanto prima, et io farei tradur in latino, o vero fateli tradur Voi al Jo[annes?} et mandatemile. Poi del latin farò tradur in dotesco et francese, et faria stamparli in queste 4 lingue cadaun da sua posta, o dua e dua insieme, come mi consiglierete; so che si venderanno assai.

Mi piace che havete scritto al Fonteio, et a quel gentilhuomo per aver delle arme; avisatemi quel che havera sopra ciò risposto. Io ho finito di copiar tutto 'l libro del Serlio, et darò ordine di far li [*unreadable, crossed out*] legne per le armetti, cioè solum li scudi, et disegnarò di mia mane, pur che li miei occhi me lascero in pace.

Del Martino, se fusse in Voi ci darebe da lavorar in casa sua, perchè ancora qui bisogna che dia di far a casa sua, et da per tutto sarà cusì. Il Jost Amen à finito un rame, et con l'aqua ha guastato, che non vaglia nulla di ma[…?], che bisogni che facci un altro.

Del mio servidor, lo caciarò al bordello, perchè non val nulla; io li ò basimato pareche volte, ma non iova niente. Io ne scrissi in Augusta per un ragazo fidato; costui non lasserebe se l'Imperatore lo vietasse di imbriecarsi, et quando lo imbriaco, vole bravar; in Francoforte ero sforzato di rumperli la testa in 3 lochi. Quando mi partirò de qui lo cacciarò via.

Li danari del Eisler l'ò auto, che sonno 418 Fl.; 'l penso di pagar la carta; ma per stampar et intagliar, et far desegnar non ò denari; mandatemi quanto rpima, acciò non perdi tempo.

Delle nove non mi mandate più, perchè mi vien colera a legerlo, tanto cogli[o]namente è scritto che è da ridere.

Quando vederò 'l Rosenberg lo visitarò, segondo mi ordinasti.

Delle luchetti, costaranno più a mandarli per un pol [?] che potrebe comprar per meglior mercato la da noi.

La mia cassa è comparsa, et per centenaro lo pagai dui taleri, et era 3 1/4, et li dette 8 Fl.; et costarà altri 8 Fl. a condurli a Francofort; et hogni cosa è venuta ben conciata. Circate, Signor padre, di mandarmi più denari che potiate, perchè facendo poco qui non merita la spesa. Voi sapete istesso come va la stamperia: l' è come un molino. Speterò 'l Vostro aiuto.

Non altro, solum il Francesco Nieri Vi saluti, et sarebe bene che li scrivesti una leterina di raccomandatione. Salutate 'l Messer Martin, et 'l Signor Marchese del Vinal [= Finale], et io megli raccomando, et manteneteVi sano. Il Signor Iddio da mal Vi guardi.

Di Norimberga le 5 di Settembre del 74,
Vostra effizionatissimo figliolo,
Ottavio di Strada

1581-11-02: Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany, Vienna, 2 November 1581
ASF, *Carte e spoglie Strozziane*, Ia serie, 308, ff. 63 ff; autograph; enclosure (a copy of the *Index sive catalogus*, see Appendix D)

Molto Magnifico Signor Secretario, mio Signor più che carissimo,

Sonno mill' anni che io non ò hauto una lettera la più cara et la più dolce di quella della Signoria Vostra; la quale non una volta ò letta, ma sovente, et del continovo la tengo sopra la mia tavola; parendomi quand'io la leggo che io favelli vivamente con la Signoria Vostra amorevolissima. Che'l Signor Iddio Vi mantenghi in vita sano mill'anni et a me mi dia occasione di poterLa servire.

Hora, Signor mio Carissimo, il gentilhuomo, il Signor Riccardo Riccardi io non l'ò visto, ma bene io ne feci cercare per Pauolo mio figliuolo (che hora egli serve qui l'Altezza del Arciducha Hernest con doi cavalli per gentill'huomo), et lui in mio nome lo invitò a vedere il mio studio. Ma il Signor si escusò con dire che non havea tempo etcetera. Io havea di già ordinato di volergli far un banchetto, et invittare l'Arciveschovo di Collotia, che ora è Vesco[vo] di Iavarino, et Supremo Cancelliere del Regno d'Ungaria. Questo

Signor si è il Signor Georgio Draschoviz, che fu legato al Concilio Tridento; esso sta in casa mia, nelle stanze di sopra, et anche in casa mia viè la Cancelleria del Regno d'Ungaria. Volevo anche in vitare dui frati di San Dominicho, il Lettore del Studio, et il Predicator Cittardo, quali sonno tutti questi huomini dottissimi, acciò che'l gentilhuomo havesse conversatione di huomini dottissimi, li quali, oltre alla lingua italiana che parlano, sonno poi nelle scienze et facultà consumatissimi. Io creddo che egli saria rimasto sodisfattissimo, et che quel giorno lo haveria ben speso.

Ora patienza; li volevo anche mostrar la mia casa, la quale puol star al pari di una di q[u]elle belle d'Italia, et a me mi costà passa dodicimilia talleri. Gli volevo anche mostrare le mie medaglie, le quali, se ben non son molte, sonno però exquisitissime; poi con esse il mio studio delle antiquità et pitture excellentissime, poi la mia libraria coppiosissima et locupletissima di hogni sorte di libri in tutte le scienze et in tutte le lingue. Sappia Vostra Signoria che Sua Signoria non haveria male impiegato quella giornata. Oltre di poi gli voleva monstrare questi libri scritti, delli quali ne mando con questa l'indice, che in altro luocho che in casa mia Sua Signoria gli haveria visti; et molto dessideravo che egli li vedesse per saperne dare viva relatione di veduta alla Signoria Vostra.

Basta; io creddo che vi sia stato qualche d'uno che habbia fatto qualche ufitio malligno, con vietarli questa veduta, più presto per farmi a me danno, che honore et anche forsi utile et contentezza d'hanimo; perchè Sua Signoria non haveria doppoi lassato di laudare et predicare tante et tale mie fattiche dove egli fosse capitato. Ma la Signoria Vostra sappia che la invidia importa assai, et dove non puole metter il capo, cerca di mettervi la coda. Ma con tutto questo voglio più presto esser io invidiato, che io invidiar altrui tal sia di loro. Nel mio studio Sua Maestà morta, pia memoria, sovente vi veneva, et vi stava dal doppo dessinare per insino all'hora della cena; et lo chiamavo Sua Maestà Cesarea le dellitie et museo del Strada, perchè Sua Maestà vedeva tante cose rare et varie che mai si straccava l'hocchio. Et questo mi aggiongeva maggior invidia adosso.

Questo poco discorso ò volsuto alla Signoria Vostra fare, acciò che quella sia ben informata se sentesse qualche sinistra rellatione et malligna di me; che con la Sua prudenza possa giudicare la verità. Io ringratio il Signor Iddio che apresso alli mei Principi sonno sempre stato, et horo sono in quella buona consideratione come merita un par mio, anzi mi fanno hogni giorno più favori et gratia ch'io non merito, et io son contentissimo.

Magnifico Signor carissimo, hora si è il tempo che la Signoria Vostra mi puol far un signalatissimo servitio, qual si è questo: io voglio in Fran[cofor]te far stampare le vite di tutti li Imperatori latini, graechi et germani, in lingua latina, li quali saranno parecchi volumi; et a cadauno Imperatore vi voglio nel fine della sua vita porvi tutte le sue medaglie; et di già se intagliano in rame qui in casa mia. Voria pregar la Signoria Vostra che con qualche occasione Vostra Signoria mostrasse Lei questo inventario di questi

libri a Sua Altezza (li quali tutti se anno da stampare), et fargli offerta, se quella havesse accaro che qualche d'uno gli fosse dedicato, ch'io lo faria molto voluntieri, et mi saria summo favore*.

Et con tal occasione se potria domandare a Sua Altezza che mi volesse far gratia che le Sue medaglie, che Sua Altezza à doppie, me ne volesse accomodare per presto, et fossero messe in una cassetina et mandate qui a Vienna a Messer Antoni Girolami. Et io ne coppiaria fuori quelle che fossero al mio proposito, et sono certo che molte io ne trovarei che io non ò viste, et con esse inricchirebe il mio libro; et nel Ep[isto] la ne faro honoratissima mentione di tale et tanto favore statomi fatto da Sua Altezza Serenissima.

Vostra Signoria ne potra anche di questo raggionare con il Signor Cuncino, che fu qui ambassadore, et da mia parte basciarli le mani et raccomandarmegli. Sua Signoria è stato nel mio studio et a visto parte delle mie fattiche; Sua Signoria mi dimostrò molte amorevolezze, che forse egli sara al proposito per aiutare a favorirmi in questo negotio. Dette medaglie si terranno poche settimane fuori, et quanto prima si rimandaranno per la medema strada; si che, Signor Dani carissimo, questi servitio io lo mettro sopra a tutti quelli che io ò riceputi da la Signoria Vostra amorevolissima**.

In Francoforte mi offerischo ancora il mio servitio a Sua Altezza Serenissima et forsi in qualche sorte di servitii che Toriggiani, né altri sapriano fare; et similmente a la Signoria Vostra co'l Signor Concino. La Signoria Vostra sarra anche presentata delli mei libri secondo che si stamparanno, et se quella ne vorra havere d'altra sorte anche ve ne provedero.

Hora, Signor Carissimo, vi priego con tutto il cuore che in casu ch'io non possa ottener questa gratia da Sua Altezza Serenissima, avisatemene quanto prima, acciò che non ne habbia più da pensar sopra. Basta che non saranno né visto né mannegiate da niuno altro che da me. Dessidero sapere del ben stare della Signoria Vostra et della Sua casa, se quella à moglie et quanti figliuoli; che veramente ne sentiro grandissima contentezza. Et qui fo fine, salutando la Signoria Vostra con tutto il cuore, alla quali quanto posso io con Pauolo mio figliuolo di cuore vi dessideriamo hogni fellicità et longa vita. Vostra Signoria mi mandi sempre le lettere qui, sotto a quelle di Messer Antonio Girolami, che mi saranno bendate.

Di Vienna li 2 novembre 1581,
Di Vostra Signoria sempre amorevole servidor,
Jacopo Strada
Servitor et Antiquario di Sua Maestà Cesarea

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* [*Dani's note in margin:*] si è mostr[at]o]

** [*Dani's note in margin:*] Sua Altezza li faria mandar le copie, quando sapessi di quali havessi bisogno, ma le originali non manderebbe fuora delli suoi stati.

B Strada's Will

1584-07-01 Jacopo Strada's will, Vienna 1 July 1584

A] Vienna, HHStA, *Niederösterreichisches Landmarschallamt*, *Testamente*, Karton 33, s.v. Strada [= the original]
Three sheets of paper folded together in a gathering of 6 folii or 12 pages, bound by a beautiful cord of loose particoloured silk, secured on the recto of the last folio by the strip of paper carrying the four seals of Strada and the three witnesses; the verso bears the following entry in the hand of clerk of the *Landmarschalamt*: 'Eröffnet von dem Herrn Landundmarschalk amts verwalter Herrn Ferdinanden von [Canem] dem 28 September anno 90 in Beisein Octavien und seines Brueders Paulu[m] Strada auch anstat des ungevogten [? illegible, 'Sohns' or 'Tobias']' and a labeling: 'Jacoben Strada Testament; No 7'

B] Vienna, ÖNB-HS, cod. 8709 [copy]
This copy is not letterperfect, and was probably made on occasion of the settlement of Strada's estate. It carries a note in the copyists hand: 'die Vergleichung der Bruedern und Schwestern vide in S[eguito?]'. Unfortunately this latter document appears not to have been preserved.

A partial transcription is included in the database created by Manfred Staudinger, *Documenta Rudolphina*: http://documenta.rudolphina.org/Regesten/A1584-07-01-00723.xml

The text given here follows the original (A); when necessary variations in the copy (B) and editorial suggestions are given within [square brackets].

In Namen der heilligen unzerthaillten Dreifaltigkait Gottes Vaters, Sohns und heilligen Geistes Amen, hab ich Jacob Strada Röm[ischen] Khaij[serlichen] M[aiestä]ts Diener und Antiquitarius betracht und zu Gemüet gefüert das zerganckhlich Leben der Menschen, das auch nach Ableibung derselben, mer wegen der zaitlichen Verlassung, Irrung und Streit entsteen; zu Füerkhumung dessen, hab ich wie es mit meinem zeitlichen Guet, nach meinem Ableiben, so der almachtig Gott, nach seinem Segen mir ertheillt, gehallten werden soll. Disen endtlichen meinen letzten Willen und Testament, zur Zeit da ich das guten frey [?] und macht gehabt, mit gutem Verstandt, Bedacht, und Vernufft, auss eigner Bewegnuss und ungedrungen, gemacht und geordnet, will auch das also gehalten und volzogen [*copy:* es] werden soll.

– Erstlichen bevelch ich jetzo und zur Zeit meines Abscheidtenss, mein arme Sell in die gnadenreiche Barmhertzigkeit Gottes.

- Dan so beger ich meinen Körper nach Christlicher Ordung zu den Ineren Brüdern At Sanctam Crucem genandt, zum Fall ich zu Wien ableiben wurde, zu bestatten. Döswegen ich ermelten Brüdern zehen Gulden Reinisch legier und verschaff.
- Volgents so verschaff ich den armen Leiten auch auss zuthaillen fünff Pfundt Pfening.
- Der Margaretha Hummerin von Marieperg, meiner Diennerin, schaff und ordne ich anfangs zu geben irr jarlichs Lidlohn per siben Jar, so sich inhalt meines Kallenders angefangen den sechzehenden Maij des 77 Jar; darinen beschriben dass getinget ist worden jedes Jar sechs Gulden reinisch; die sollen ier on allen Endtgelt und Abraitung irrer Leibs Kleider, so sij disse Jar her von mier empfang, mit parem Gelt entricht, und bezallt werden. Sij soll auch allerdings nach meinem Ableiben meinen Khindern, noch jemands, gar kheine Raitung zu thuen schuldig noch verpflicht sein, durchauss gar nichts. Dan auch verschaff ich ier zehen Gulden reinisch, unnd soll immites [?] so lang bis sij ieres Glidlons [?] und Legats vergnueget wiert, iere freij Wohnung im Hauss bey Sankt Ulrich in undtern Zimern behalten.
- Dem Cristofforo Sartor von Rossenheim meinem Diener ordne und verschaff ich zehen Gulden reinisch.
- Meiner Tochter Sicilia so nit legitimiert, und ich mit obgemelter meiner Dienerin erzeigt, legier ich freij ledig hundert Gulden reinisch, dergestalt das ier dieselben zu ieren vogtbaren Jaren zuegesteldt, und entzwischen von der Verzinssung gekhleidet soll werden. Aber zum Fall sij vor ieren vogtbaren Jaren mit Todt abgienge, solen dise ein hundert Gulden auf ieren Brueder Thobiam, so legitimiert ist, fallen.
- Item so schaff ich weiland meiner Tochter Anna beden hinderlassnen Töchterlein, die weill ier Mueter hievor von allem meinem Guet abgefertigt, und disse bede albereidt Profess gethan, meiner dabeij zu gedenckhen, fünffundzwainzig Gulden reinisch.
- Ferner meiner Tochter Lavina [*in copy:* Lavia], so weilandt Ferdinand nachbar [?] Lüzelburger genandt, ehelichen hat, verschaff ich hundert Gulden reinisch; und die weill sij hievor auch vierhundert Gulden Heirat Guet empfangen, also soll sij mit dissem ganzlich abgefertiget, und zu Frieden sein; sonderlich die weill sij mier jemalss khein Träu noch Guetarten erzeiget, hab ich sij merers zu bethäuren, auss sonderlichen [*crossed out here:* -lichen] beweglichen Bedenckhen, auch nit [*should this be:* mit?] Ursach.
- Widerumben meinem Sohn Octaivo [*sic*], demnach er sich in mer Wege gegen mier also verweisslichen Verhalten, das er vermüg der Khaijsserlichen geschribnen Rechten, nicht allein billig Exhaerediert, sondern benebens ernstliche Straff, die ich der merern Obrigkhait in alwegen bevor behalten haben will, legier ich doch zu allem Uberfluss, fünffzig Gulden reinisch; und obwoll seine gegen mier füergenomene

Verbrechen, unzalig, wie er dan all sein Gedanckhen, Sin und Gemüeth dahin gestellt wie er mich täglich, ja augenblicklich beleidiget; hab ich doch damit ein hochlöblichen Magistrat, dessen einstheills mindert [*?*], und benebens darbei Privation gegen ime fürgenomen umbganckhlich verursacht seij, hab ich etliche auss denselben hiebeij zuerkhlären hiemit vermelden sollen.

1) Erstlichen, demnach mier durch genedigiste Bewilligung des Römisch Khaijserlichen Majestäts Maximiliani Secunti ein Anzall commendatorij Briefe, zu Hülff meiner Buechdruckhereij, an die Chur und Fürstten, auch andere Stände des Heiligen Römischen Reichs, verferdiget; dieselben ich durch in Octavium lassen praesentiern, hat er alles Gellt sovil ime verehrt für sich behalten, mier oder der meinen Heller werdt nicht davon folgen lassen; da doch der Churfürstten von Sachsen mier allein fünffhundert Thaller verehrt, daher leichtlich zu schliessen und zu vermuedten, was ime von zwaintzig Briefen zuverehren von andern möge erfolgt sein.
2) Zum andern hat er zu Nürmberg, zu meinem Genossen Schaden beij Paulinuss Nijeri von Lucca meinem Gefartens, heimblich ein hundert Gulden reinisch (die ich bezallen hab müssen) aufbracht, und leichtfertig verthan.
3) Zum tritten hat er einen falschen Schlüssel zu meiner Truhen zu Wien gehabt, darin die Schlüssl zum Verwelb zu Franckhfort, da mein Goldt und Raitung von Franckhfort gelegen; die hat er verwechselt, und andern falsche Schlüssl an die Stell gelegt; die Schlüssel und mein Raitung von Franckhfort darauss gestolen, welich falsche Schlüssel nachmalss beij ime ist befunden worden; danneben in bemelter meiner Truhen ist ein anderer Schlüssel zu meiner Haussfrauen Truhen gelegen, den hat er auch darauss ges[tolen[?] *end of word damaged at margin*].
4) Zum vierten ist er ebenermassen mit den Büechern so ich zu Franckhfort in Truckh lassen aussgehn, dabeij ime nicht geringer Uberschu[ss] verbliben, mit gefahren, und ein Verschreibung darselbsten, als ob ich ime dieselben allein verehrt, und schon gestorben wär; mit Vältin Stoffe [*?*] Bürger daselbsten aufgericht; und da ich der Ordten [*?*] khumen, hat man mich für seinen Vater nicht wöllen erkhennen, vill weniger einige Raitung darumben geben wöllen; daher ich dan, nach langen angewandten Uncosten [*?*] soliche Verschreibung schwerlich durch den Magistrat daselbsten wider treiben müssen.
5) Zum fünfften, so hat er neben anderen meiner Hausfrauen seligen, seiner Muetter, nach ieren Ableiben, ein Truhen eröffnet, darauss von dreijen Widlein die Perle, deren etliche… [Arbeiss?] gross gewesen, herab getrendt; auch draijzehen guldne Ring mit schönen Klainaten versetzt, guldene Rossen und Khnöpff von Hueten und […? Parten, Punten?], mehr alltes Schatzgelt und was er gefunden, endtfrembt.

6) Zum sechsten, so auss meiner Khunst Khamer hat er mir heimblich p[er?] hundert ducaten schönes Venedisch Papier austragen, und einem Buechbindter beij Sandt Steffan verkhaufft.

7) Zum sibenden, hat er mein beste heidnische [*in copy, not in original:* Pfennig], die Medaij genandt, und andere Medaij die besten, so ad Series Imperator gehörig; darzue meine liebste und schönste Contrafectur von Händen gerissen, auch die ich von meiner Jugend bissher zusamen bracht, und vill Gelt cost haben, und ander Dings mehr, hinweckg gestollen, und schandlich verpartiert.

8) Zum achten, hat er ein Uhr, so der Herzig von Baijern mier verehrt, weliche des Gaststeigers Meister Stückh gewessen, und in die Zweijhundert Ducaten werdt, haimblich ausstragen und für sich behalten.

9) Zum neinden, hat er zu Prag anstadt meiner falsche Brieff aufgericht, mein Handtschrift abgemalet, [*in copy, not in original:* und darauf auss dem Hoffzalambt] das erste Mal hundert Gulden, das ander Mal sechzig gulden empfangen.

10) Zum zehenden, da ich einsmals zu Prag seines ubels Verhaltenss väterlich ermanet, hat er sich darob also ergrimmet, das er ein Buech so ier Khaiserlichen Maiestät gehörig, und merckhlich daran gelegen gewessen, vor meiner [*in copy, not in original:* es] wöllen zerreissen, wo es auch vom Herrn Steffan Präussen meinen Aijden, und meiner Tochter micht under khumen, dasselbe vollendt; wie er es dan an meiner Person, deren er damals mit dem Tollichen troelich gewessen, vill lieber ins Werckh gericht hatte.

11) Zum eindlefften [*sic*], alls die Fürstliche Durchlaucht Erzherzog Ernst unser genedigister Herr, mier einen trefflichen Zellter verehret, hat er mier denselben muethwillig verderbt, und meine dräue Diener verwundt und geschmächt.

12) Zum zwelfften, hat er sich zu wider aller menschlichen Vernufft, meine Concubinam zu beschlaffen under fangen, und da er seinen besten Willen mit ier verbracht, sij endtlich in der Khindelbeth, wo es von zwaijen andern Weibern nicht under khumen, endtleibt hatte.

13) Zum dreizehenden, so hat er mich auch in allen seinen schreiben für kheinen Vatter erkhant, sonder mich verleugnet.

14) Zum vierzehenden, so khumbt mier auch glaubwirdig für, das er mir troelichen und sich nit lengst vermerckhen lassen, das er dreij Person zu Nürmberg bestellt, mit welicher er dreij Person in meinem Hauss, nemblich mich, mein Sohn Pauln, und Dienerin, ermördten will.

15) Zum fünffzehenden, so hat er auch von meinem eignen Geldt, so er mier gestollen, one mein Vorwissen zweijhundert Mummereij Stuckh lassen reissen,

und erstlich laut beiligendes Scheins zu reissen geben Fünffzig Gulden, so hat er aufs wenigist von einem Stuckh zu schneiden müssen geben dreij Gulden, bringt ungefärlich so er mier gestollen sechshundert und fünffzig Gulden.

16) Zum sechzehenden, so hab ich zu Franckhfort in meinem Gewelb gefunden, etliche abgerissene Stuckh auss der Bibel, so er auch one mein Vorwissens, auch von meinem Geldt reissen und schneiden, und zu seinem Vortl [sic] unter seinem Namen truckhen lassen wöllen.

Auss dissem und anderen seinen Verbrechen, die unzahlich vill, will ich in, ausser des Legats, allen dings Privirt, und von aller meiner Verlassung enterbt haben; es soll auch genandten Octavius disen meinem Testament, zu wider wöder meinen ehelichen Sohn Pauln, noch legitimierten Sohn Thobiam, hierinen, meines Guets halben, wöder vor zeitlichen noch weltlichen Rechten, zu cetiern, und derwegs kheins Anspruchens zu machen, noch turbiren, khein Macht haben, durchauss gar nichts; auf das auch meiner Khinder vor ime versichert. So bitt ich hiemit ein hochlöblich Magistrat umb Gottes und des Jungsten Gerichts willens, sij wöllen hierinen ernstliche Fürsehung thuen, darmit ob solichen meinem Testament auch vermöcht allerdings handtgehabt, und volzogen werde.

– Dan so will ich das mit meiner Libereij truckhten und geschriben Büechern, auch Medaijen und anderen Antiquiteten, also gehalten soll werden, nämblichen das dieselben, sovil deren Buecher mane scripta laut hierinligender Verzeichnuss alle verhandten sein, das dieselben alle (weill mein ehelicher Sohn Paulum khein Lust darzue hat) meinem legitimiertn Sohn Thobiam dargestellt erfolgen soll, das dieselben alspaldt nach meinem Abgang zu Franckhfort an Maijn beij meinen Buchtruckher getruckht werden sollen. Doch mit dem Anhang, zum Fall mein ehelicher Sohn der Paul gleiche Verlag darauf wenden will, das sij beide auf gleichen Taill Gewin und Verlust tragen sollen. Damit aber nun obgedachter mein legitimierter Sohn Thobia oder desselben nach gesezte Curatores solichen Verlag anstatt des ungevogten Thobia dessto fürdelicher thuen mögen, so hat albereit mein ehelicher Sohn Paul Bevelch und Gewaldt (ausser halb obbemelte Büecher mane scripta sambt der zuegehörigen Figuren, es seij gerissen oder geschniten, die alspalldt nach meinem Abgang sollen verpetschiert werden) die Librey ganz, Kunst Camer nicht bevor behalten, an die bewissten Orth, strackhs nach meinem Abgang durch ein Missiff zuverehren und zuverschenckhen; und was ime von denselben Orts darfür verehrt oder presendiert wierdt, das solls halb den ehelichen Sohn Pauln freij eigen bleiben, und der ubrig Halbthaill zu Handten der verornden [*?*] Curatorn zuverrichtung obgedachter Verlag der Truckhereij zuegesteldt werden.

– Sovil aber Hauss und Hoff sambt aller farenden Hab, auch Parschafft verbrieffte und unverbrieffte Schulden, von dem allen, sollen nach Abrichtung aller meiner Schulden, meinem legitimierten Sohn Thobiam den drite teill, und die ubrigen zweij Teill den ehelichen Pauln erblichen zuegetheilt werden; doch mit dissem Anhang, wo ermelter Thobias vor seinen vogtbaren Jaren mit Todt abgieng, so soll sein des

Thobias Gebürnuss widerumb auf ime Pauln fallen. Dagegen aber gemelter Pauluss auch one einige Leibserben oder Testament abgieng, so soll nichts weniger sein Gebürnuss gleichfalls dem Thobias zuesteen. Jedoch ist hienebens auch mein endtlicher Will und Meinung, da obgemelter Thobias vorgemelter Verehrung so zeitlich mit Todt abgieng, es nichts minder die angeorndten Curatoras von dem empfangen Presenten, und was des Thobias föllige Gebürnuss gewessen ist, sollten die obgedachten Truckhereij, damit mein Müe und Vleiss solcher geschribnen Büecher nicht vergebenss ungetruckht bleiben, wirckhlich ins Werckh richten; und folgens die darüber gewandte Aussgab und Empfang, obgemelten meinen Sohn Pauln gegen Bezallung ierer Bemüehung ehrbarlich verreithen.

– Also auch soll nit weniger obgemelter Paul verpundten und schuldig sein, alle Dedication den jhenigen Persönen so ichs vermeine, dediciern; und was Geschänckhnuss er von inen bekhomen wierdt, soll er auch zu Hilf der Truckhereij auf gleich Gewin anwenden.
– Schliesslich so sollen insonderheit die georndten Curatores gedachten legitimierten Sohn Thobiam zu vleissigen Studiern, Ernst und Forcht Gottes auferziehen; wie ich hiemit insonderheit darzue legier, zu seiner Unterhaltung, den dritten Teill von den Zinssen aller meiner Häuser und Gärtn, doch dargestellt, wan sich begibt das ich nun mehr mit Todt verschiden, daher also am Zinss, oder Verkhauffung der Häusser, farenden Haben und andern, über die Unterhaltung sich ein zimblicher Uberschuss befindet, so solle derselbe alles auf die Truckhereij, und nicht anderst wohin verwend werden.
– Walicher nun dan undter dissen meine Verordung und endlichen letzten Willen wuerde Disputiern, oder Inpungniren, der soll sein Legat, oder was ime daher gebürdt, verloren haben. Will also disen meinen letzten Willen damit beschliessen; doch denselben, zu merern, mindern, oder gar zuverkhären bevor behalten haben, wo auch solichem Testament einige Solennitet mangelte, für ein Codicill, oder jetztlichen letzten Willen, alls ob der dem Rechten gemäss, zum Zierlichisten aufgericht, für khrafftig gehalten; und mich in die Barmhertzigkheit Gottes bevolchen haben.

Zu Bekhrafftigung dises alles hab ich mein eigen Handtschrift und angeborn Insigel hierundter fürgestelt; und [*in copy, not in original:* mit sonderen Vleiss zue Gezeugnuss erbeten] die edlen end vesten Herren Sebastian Hartman meinem freundtlichen lieben Herrn Schwagern, Herren Adamen Eberman, Römisch Khaijserlichen Maiestäts Raitdiener auf der Nieder Österreichische Camer, und Josepph Lamparter zu [<…>Agauer?]; dass sij auch ier Insigel und Handtschrifft vermüg inhanden habenten Petzetl neben mier furgetruckht und undterschriben haben [*added in margin:* zuer Gezeugnus erbeten]; doch inen oder ieren Erben an solicher Fertigung on allen Schaden.

Beschehen Wien nach Christi Gepuert unsers Herrn und Seligmachers in aintaussend fünffhundert fier undt achzigisten Jar, den ersten Juliuss.

[*Follow the seals and the signatures of Jacopo Strada and of the three witnesses*]

C Strada's Musaeum: Pleasant Paintings

Munich, BHStA-LA 4851, fol. 15b

First published in J. Stockbauer, *Die Kunstbestrebungen am Bayerischen Hofe unter Albrecht v.* [= *Quellenschriften zur Kunstgeschichte* 8], Wien, 1874 [facs. edition Osnabrück, 1970], 43–44.

– Phrases and titles written in Latin letters instead of in *Fraktur* are set in Small Capitals in the transcription
– Orthograpy has been maintained, capitalisation and punctuation are normalized.

Gemalte Lustigen Tiecher vonn kunstreichen Mallern zu Venedig und sonst in Italia gemacht, alle von Oel Farbenn

1 Groß gmalt Tuech von Oel Farbenn / die Archa Noe gar kunstlich vom weitt/ beruhmbten Jac.º dl ponte gemacht.

1 Historia von Moise im Pusch vom gemelten Maister gemacht.

1 Presepio mitt den Hirtten, vom dittº gemacht.

1 clain Presepio vom gemelten.

1 großen Quatro, wie Moises den Kindern Israels das Wasser auß dem Felsen springen macht, gar künstlich vom dittº.

1 großen Quatro vonn S[ancta?]Sußanna vom weittberuembten Jac.º Tentoretto von Venedig gemacht.

1 großen Quatro von Adonis und Venere vom weittberuembten Salviati gemacht.

1 groß Stückh Gemeel vom weitberühmten Paulo Veroneso gemacht / darbey gesch[rieben]: Omnia Vanitas.

1 groß Stückh Gemeel vom dittº gemacht, darbey geschriben / Honor et Virtus post mortem floret.

2 Quatri vom Monte Bernaso, und Daffna vom Tizianeto gemacht.

1 Quatro vom Satiro von guetter handt.

4 Retrati vom weitberuembten Tiziano aignerhand gemacht, 1 Weib darbei geschriben Omnia Vanitas / Capson Cairo der Fürst aus Caramania mitt ein Buech inhenden / und S: Sebastiano mitt Pfeil im Henden.

1 eingefasste Taffell mitt vergulten Leistenn, alt / die Judith mitt Holoferni Haubt vom gmelten Titiano gemacht.

[*fol. 15b verso*]

1 Quatreto vom Iudizium Paredis ser fleißig, vom weitberühmten Nic. Frangiopanis gemacht mit Rolwerk eingfast.

3 Retrati von Frauen, vom Polidoro, Roßo Venezian und Tizianeto gmacht.

4 Quatro von der Leda, Lucrezia, Europa und Cleopatra, vom Julio Framengo [*sic*] gmacht.

2 welsch Lanndtschafften.

1 Quatro von ein Satiro und Nimpf vom Julio Fiamengo.

4 clain Retrati vom Tiziano, Mihel Ang.lo Bonarota, Paichio Prandinelo und Andre de Sartho.

1 clain Taffellin vom Haupt S: Gio: in einer Schissel vom Titiano.

1 Lucrezia halb Leibs.

1 alt Quatro von Giorgion de Castel Francho gemacht, mitt 2 figuren.

1 Retrato vom Virgillio, vom Lizinio gmacht.

1 clain Teffellin Adonis mitt vergulten Leisten eingefast.

1 Schlacht zu Waßer.

1 Quatro, Venere e Cupido von Salviati gmacht.

2 Quatreti mitt welscher Landtschafft.

1 Quatro von einer Musica von Frangia Panis gmacht.

1 gar großer Quatro, von einer Schlacht bey Negroponte beschechen.

1 Quadro von einer Juno in einer Tafel von Marmorstein antik.

[*fol 15c*]

Ein schöner Kasten von einglegtem Holz, darinn verfast, Philipus, Alexander, Haniball, Capuana, 2 Khinder, eins lacht, das ander wainett, alls Marmelstainn, antiqui; im Taffellen, mer 1 Faustina vom Marmelstain Brustbildt, item Pallas von Metall Brustbildt, item Apollo, Satirus e Satira, ganze Figuren von Metall, item 2 Piramiti von Marmelstain, und 2 Pferdt Metall.

5 Biecher von merlei guetten gstochnen Kunst Stuckh.

1 Trihlin darinn vill, groß und khlain Kunst Stuckh, in Kupfher Stich, von villn Maistern, und von d[er]Hand gmacht.

1 Groß Buch, Cosmographia unnd viller Festungen.

1 Buch vonn der Arcitetura

Ettlich und vill Modeien von Plei und thails in Euona eingefast.

1 Ainnkhirn maritimo.

1 groß und 1 clain Schalen von Marmelstain.

1 Spiegell von gschnitem Holz mitt allabastrim Bilder, und vergulten Modeien.

1 Neptunus, vom weitberiembten Jac.o Sansovin gemacht von Creda.

4 Figuren vom Antonella de Mantoa von Creda gemacht.

1 claine Figuren von Metall so di Hand auf den Kopfh legt vom Bonarota.

2 clain Satiri, 1 claines Erculles, prunso.

1 runder Spiegel, damit die Egiptier ire Feindt pflogen zueblenden.

Ain arabiß Rauchgeschier.

1 clains maritimo Einkhiren.

Ein Kopfh von Bitagora von gibs.

D Strada's *Musaeum*: The *Index Sive Catalogus*

Several copies of Strada's *Index sive catalogus*, the list of books which he intended to publish, and for which he attempted to obtain funding or other assistance from his various patrons, have been preserved: he moreover paraphrased it in several of his letters. A list of copies and paraphrases is given below. None of the fair copies of the complete *Index* are in Strada's own hand: they were written by one of his sons or by a scribe he employed.

The following transcription is based on the copy preserved in Cod. 10101 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (item A1). This copy concludes with two items that were obviously added as an afterthought, but which are entered nonetheless in all the other complete versions known to me. This indicates that it can probably be considered as the 'master copy' from which later versions were derived. When relevant, variants in other versions have been noted. This copy also adds a long list of other manuscripts in Strada's possession, that probably were not part of Strada's publishing project, but which he may have considered selling to interested parties (not transcribed here).

The item numbers in the transcription are added by the editor.

A Fair copies (i.e. in Latin):

- A.1 Vienna, ÖNB-HS, cod. 10101
  This can be considered the mastercopy, and is probably the earliest version preserved: two items at the end were obviously added as an afterthought, yet these are included in all copies known to me. It is followed by a list of manuscripts in Strada's possession, of which no other version is known to me. The sections on Serlio were published in PROMIS 1871.
- A.2 Vienna, ÖNB-HS, cod. 10117
- A.3 [? lost]
  A version sent to Elector August of Saxony appears to be lost; Strada's accompanying letter, dated Vienna, 4 January 1581 is preserved in Zittau, a copy is included in the Uffenbach-Wolffsche Briefsammlung in Hamburg (cf. DOC. 1581-01-04); it is described as 'un catalogo di libri scritti a mano, li quali sono tutti in casa mia, et la maggior parte sonno in punto per metter alla stampa, et non è copia fuori in luocho alcuno'.
- A.4 Firenze, ASF, *Carte e spoglie Strozziane*, I, *filza* 308, ff. 64–69
  This copy was sent to Jacopo Dani, secretary to Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany, and is preserved next to his accompanying letter, dated Vienna, 2 November 1581, idem, ff. 63–72 (DOC. 1581-11-02), in which it is described as 'questo inventario di questi libri (li quali tutti si anno da stampare)'.
- A.5 Vienna, SLA, *Magistratstestamente* nr 104

A.6 Città del Vaticano, Vatican Library, *Cod. pal.* 1919, ff. 68-70; this is a copy in a fluent hand, apperently made by an interested librarian, rather than by Strada's scribe.

B Complete and partial paraphrases:

B.1 The Index is paraphrased fully (in Italian) in Strada's letter, dated Vienna, 13 August 1578 [DOC. 1578-08-13], which was addressed to Rembertus Dodonaeus, but really intended for the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin, who duly responded through his son-in-law Balthasar Moretus [DOC. 1578-10-00].

Items from the *Index* are mentioned in:

B.2 Strada's letter to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, dated Vienna 4 october 1577 [DOC. 1577-10-04(b)]: it mentions the *Description of Italy* [44] and the polyglot dictionary [1–2].

B.3 Strada's letter to the Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany, dated Vienna 4 october 1577 [DOC. 1577-10-04(d)]: it mentions the *Description of Italy* [*Index* 44], the corpus of inscriptions [3], the polyglot dictionary [1–2], the *Biblioteca Greca* [21], 'altri libri scritti arabi', in particular the *Koran* [26], chronicles [28], libri di astrologia [29–32], various Arabic, Turkish and Persian 'dictionaria' [27], a Bible in Arabic [25], and a *Picatrix*, on necromancy [22].

B.4 Strada's letter to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, dated Vienna 4 october 1577 [DOC. 1577-10-04(a)]: it only mentions the *Description of Italy* [44] (Strada asks the Duke information on and illustrations of his territories).

C Copyright privilege:

C.1 The *Index sive catalogus* is partially paraphrased in a copyright privilege granted by Rudolf II and dated Prague, 5 December 1584 [DOC. 1584-12-05]. It mentions: *Continuatam seriem et historiam omnium Romanorum, Graecorum sive Constantinopolitanorum*, with images based on coins [*Index* 49]; *Tomos septem antiquarum inscriptionum* [3]; A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ: [not described in the *Index*]; similar series of Emperors with images based on coins [5], and based on ancient sculpture [6]; books describing (or depicting?) the battle order of the Roman army [?14] and the *Castrametatio* according to Polybius [?12–13]; Phocas' *Bibliotheca* in Greek Graeca [21]; an expanded and illustrated Latin edition of Leandro Alberti's *Descriptio Italiae* [44]; a new, expanded edition of Wolfgang Lazius twelve books *Commentariorum reipubblicae Romanaein externis provinciis* [46]; and finally a *Vita et res gesta Caroli Vti* illustrated with coin-images [18].

Index sive catalogus librorum quos ego, Jacobus Strada, partim ipsemet meo marte composui, partim meis sumptibus et impensis componi et scribi curavi, partim denique alio modo conquisivi et comparavi.

[1]

Primo dictionarium XI linguarum in quo omnia comprehensa sunt, et continentur quae excogitari aut eloqui, ac latine in medium proferri possunt. Ei etiam insunt omnes phrases eleganter et ornate loquendi, tam in latina, quam in aliis linguis apud probatos et optimos autores receptae, et in usu hactenus observatae. Linguae autem istae sunt videlicet: latina, graeca, hebraica, chaldaica, turcica, arabica, persica, hispanica, gallica, germanica et italica. Et harum linguarum quaelibet suis peculiaribus, receptis et genuinis literarum figuris scripta est, quibus quaevis gens et natio in suo nativo idiomate scribendo uti solet. Praetereae in hoc dictionario suo ordine et loco convenienti habentur omnia antiqua numismata omnis generis ex auro, argento et aere, nec non figura in gemmis et praeciosis antiquis lapillis sculptae. Item antiquae inscriptiones et figurae cuiusvis farinae, tam tabularum pictarum, et lapidum preciosorum marmoreorum, quam sepulchrorum et monumentorum antiquorum, quibus historiae incisae sunt. Item multae aliae variae delineationes, quae inveniri aut videri queunt, quarum immensus et infinitus in hoc dictionario est numerus. Hoc inquam dictionarium scriptum et absolutum est usque ad literam B. Una cum praefatis figuris et numismatibus suo quibusque proprio loco positis. Et litera A continetur XVI partibus sive libris, in quibus sunt arcus maioris folii bis mille et quingenti, in utraque parte minutissimis exarati literis.

[2]

Index istius dictionarii complectitur etiam XVI tomis in folio maiori, duabus columnis in utraque pagina minutis scriptus literis. Et hic index habet folia tria millia et quinquaginta sex. In quo quidem indice compraehensum est et extat omne id, quod saltem ab homine excogitari potest, et quod apud idoneos autores in usu et receptum est. Et hunc indicem componi et conscribi curavi per XI annorum spatium. In quo etiam mentio est et fit antiquorum marmoreorum lapidum cum suis figuris et inscriptionibus, item veterum numismatum. Comparavi enim ista, ut dictum est, summo studio, labore et sumptibus in variis terrarum locis in quibus fui: in primis vero veterum numismata cum aurea, tum argentea, et aerea; et praeter haec etiam multa alia latinorum, graecorum, hetruscorum, arabum et hebraeorum, et his similia, cum variis et inusitatis literis et characteribus, quorum sunt numero ad novem mille: adeo, ut si quis ea prius non viderit, rem impossibilem esse iudicet. Ego tamen ea magno labore at accurata diligentia conquisivi et comparavi.

[3]

Septem libri antiquissimarum inscriptionum.

Hic liber sive libri sunt compositio et copulatio omnium antiquarum inscriptionum in praecipuis mundi partibus, praecipue in Europae, Asiae et Aegypti variis locis et urbibus, quarum numero quingente et quatuordecim sunt, cum suis ornamentis circumcirca, sicuti in ipsis marmoreis lapidibus et tabulis extant. Sunt quoque de litera ad literam decopiatae, quantum fieri potuit; multaeque inter has sunt graecae. Et sunt earum numero quiquies mille septingentae et octodecim, quae etiam in dictionario locis convenientibus annotatae et ascriptae sunt. Iam expositurus et indicaturus sum quod earum in quolibet tomo vel libro inveniantur, secundum ordinem positae sicuti in marmoribus ipsis visuntur, una quidem linea maior, altera quantum commodissimae fieri potuit.

Prima ergo pars in se habet inscriptiones	563
Secunda pars habet	826
Tertia	307
Quarta	1480
Quinta	456
Sexta	2086
Summa omnium facit	5718

Septima pars, sive ultimus tomus, complectitur in se omnes urbis Romae inscriptiones de variis antiquitatibus, statuis, sepulchris et tabulis historicis, et aliis rebus descriptas. In his etiam sunt inscriptiones quae tamen in prioribus sex partibus non nominatae sunt.

[4]

Alius liber de omnis generis etnicis et antiquis numismatibus aureis, argenteis et aereis, quae *passim* in universo mundo inveniuntur, et ego magnis impensis et cura acquisivi, quae latine in XI voluminibus descripta sunt. Et hac numismata partim ipsemet et apud me habeo, sicuti fabrefacta et excusa sunt; partim ipsemet manu mea delineavi ex ipsis numismatibus veris *passim* estantibus apud antiquitatum studiosos et viros primarios. Suntque eorum quae descripta sunt novies mille; et inter haec multa peregrina, utpote latina, graeca, hetrusca, arabica et aphricana variis characteribus et literis insignita, prius apud nos non visa et conspecta.

[5]

Liber latino idiomate summa cum diligentia de novo et integro compositus et conscriptus de romanis imperatoribus, qui nunquam ante in lucem aeditus est. In hoc

ante vitam ipsam uniuscuiusque caesaris videre est numisma eiusdem imperatoris, exprimens et representans ipsius effigiem; et quoque figuram alterius, sive posterioris monetae partis, in magnitudine taleri; quae numismata typis aeneis incisa et excusa sunt. Et quidem haec omnium pulchriora sunt, quae ab uno quoque imperatore habere potuimus. Et incipit hic liber a C. Julio Caesare, et finitur in nostro nunc rerum potiente imperatore Rodulpho huius nominis secundo. Apud et post cuiusque imperatoris vitam sequuntur eiusdem uxores, liberi et cognati, si quos habuit, et nos nomina eorum indagare potuimus; nec non tyranni, qui sub eodem imperatore vixerunt, et imperatoris nomen sibi sumpserunt, una cum eorum numismatibus. Et harum vita quoque succincte descripta est.

[6]
Series sive liber alius de imperatoribus romanis cum ipsorum capitibus et pectoribus, qui partim armati thoracatique sunt, partim nudi, et partim vestibus induti. Hi vero delineati sunt ex veris eorum antiquis marmoreis statuis tum Roma, tum in aliis Italiae urbibus extantibus. Subsunt iis omnibus sua stylobata, in quibus unius cuiusque imperatoris vita, tempus imperii et obitus compendio inscripta est. Simili modo in eo repraesentantur imperatrices et augustae, quarum capita et pectora etiam sustinent stylobata, in quibus etiam vita ipsarum succincte compraehensa est. Et talis figura cum stylobate occupat folium maius chartae regiae, ita ut superius trium digitorum, inferius vero quatuor relinquatur spatium.

[7]
Liber alius manu mea delineatus de numismatibus antiquis, in charta maiori, ubi in quolibet folio numismata XII, cum eorum aversis partibus visuntur. Incipiunt ista in C. Julio Caesare, et desinunt in hoc nostro romano imperatore Rodolpho secundo. Et ad finem istorum numismatum apposita est uniuscuiusque descriptio, una cum vita ipsius, sicuti antea dictum est.

[8]
Tabula seu mappa magna de castrametatione Solimani, turcorum imperatoris, ad civitatem Viennam Austriae cum universis suis copiis: in qua tentoria in medio exercitu cernuntur imperatoria alta oblonga, itemque rotunda; circumdata undique a Janitzaeris, custodibus corporis ipsius, una cum ipsorum vexillis et signis militaribus. Videtur et tentorium in quo ipse commorari solet. Post haec visuntur tentoria ducum exercitus, sive Bassarum, minora imperatoriis, et alterius formae, viliorisque pretii et estimationis. Conspicitur item tentorium capitanei Janitzaerorum, nec non aliorum magnificorum et aulicorum; post etiam tentoria quibus asservantur thesauri imperatorii maximi. Haec autem tabula est transumpta et delineata ex quadam pictura principis

Mantuani, quea eo tempore cum Vienna obsideretur fuit picta. Ac visuntur in ea horti amaenissimi, quorum aliqui habent labyrinthos; item palatia, ac pagi, villaeque extra civitatem. Denique sub montanis cernuntur vici, utpote Berchtoldi pagus, vulgo Petersdorf, Medlinga, Prun, Liechtenstein, et alii quorum quidam muris exiguis tum temporis fuerunt munita. Oculis item cernere datur strages Christianorum quae a Turcis perpetrantur, et quomodo vicissim Christiani tam viri quam mulieres sese fortiter defendunt.

[9]
Altera castrametationis tabula est quoque Solimani imperatori in Asia contra Persas, sed non tamen magnifica sicuti prior. Quia in hac non est tantus diversorum populorum et gentium numerus; nec est idem ordo et convenientia in positione tentoriorum, utpote in locis montanis et collibus. Et hoc castrametationis genus fuit delineatum in tabula magna, quam Antonius Verantius, Quinqueecclesiensium episcopus, romani imperatori apud Byzantium legatus, secum inde rediens asportavit; eam autem pinxerat Gallus quidam qui fidem Christianam apud Turcos eiuraverat.

[10]
Tabula oblonga, quae fuit reducta in librum, ostendens, quomodo acie instructa Turca proficiscatur ad bellum cum universo exercitu. Item continens ordinem profectionis domesticorum sive aulicorum ipsius cum praefectis singulis, ac cum eorum diverso vestitu, armaturaque, omnia iucundissima visu. Et hac delineata sunt ex tabula capitanei Pollini, admiraldis regis christianissimi Galliarum, qui eam Constantinopoli allatam regi suo dono obtulit.

[11]
Eiusdem argumenti tabulam, quomodo Turcarum imperator proficiscatur ad bellum, attulit Viennam ex Constantinopoli magnificus dominus Augerius a Busbeck, legatus imperatori Ferdinandi et Maximiliani II. Sed haec multo melius est designata et delineata; plures gentes aliasque res in se habet, quam illa Pollini capitanei. Et praefatus dominus Augerius, ut ea ex ipso originali delinearem, sicuti et infinita eius antiqua numismata mihi concessit.

[12]
Duae tabulae, novem pedum in quadratura quaelibet. In harum una visuntur, quomodo Romani sua tentoria in campis posuerint ad similitudinem prorsus castrametationis a Polybio descriptae, tam concine et apte ordinata et distincta, ut in ea ex via sive platea castrensi commode quis in aliam possit transgredi, cum aliis castrorum locis. Et hanc fecit in Gallia Sebastianus Serlius bononiensis architectus, ad christianissimi regis instantiam et mandatum.

[13]
In altera etiam habetur castrametatio, eiusdem magnitudinis et formae. Differt tamen a priori, quod haec tota cincta est muro, et in ea fabricata sunt palatia, et alia habitationes. Quae quoque facta est ab ipso Serglio instante dicto Franciae rege, cum vellet duo castra ad eam formam et modum, unum in Pedemontanis, alterum contra Flandros extruere. Has ambas tabulas, ego dum essem in Francia, ab ipso autore emi, nec in ullius alterius manibus nunc similes habentur.

[14]
Pictura quo ordine Caesar dictator cum suo exercitu legionum, peditum et equitum, item auxiliorum, solitus fuit proficisci; delineata ex picturis factis a Julio Romano in Palatio de Thi extra Mantuam. Res profecto mirabilis et digna visu, horum originalia ego a Raphaele, Julio Romani filio, emi.

[15]
Liber continens multa et varia genera armaturarum, armorum ac instrumentorum bellicorum, quorum olim apud Germanos usus fuit. Inter quae cernere licet formas primorum sclopetorum, item tormentorum quorundam ex ligno factorum, quae undique circulis ferreis arctissime invicem compactis circumdata fuit. Cuius forma hodie ad huc multa apud Bernates Helvetios extant, quae vidi, et manibus meis attrectavi.

[16]
Pictura ampla coloribus oleageneis illustrata, continens urbem Romam, quam curavi a quodam exellenti pictore belga depingi. In ea videre est res etiam minutissimas extantes in Urbe. Expressa sunt in ea quoque ludorum genera, quae antiquitus diversis anni temporibus exhibere solebant. Res mehercle contemplatione digna.

[17]
Tabula itidem alia magna, pedes octodecim longa, in qua depicta est Alcairus, urbs Aegypti maxima, delineata e camera, quae extat in Palatio Sancti Sebastiani Mantuae. Et haec fuerat ex Alcairo allata. In ea veniunt plurima contemplanda, ut pugnae crocodilorum in ripa Nili; item profectionis charoanae cum infinita multitudine militum, mercatorum et aliorum peregrinantium per Arabiae deserta ad Montem Sanctae Catharinae et Mecham, ad sepulchrum Mahometi. Extra urbem ipsam depicta visuntur exercitia militaria equestria et pedestria Mamaluchorum, sive militum soldani, qui Christi fide eiurata, Mahometis dogma amplectuntur. Et haec tabula nusquam est delineata a quoquam, utpote qui solus eam per omnia ad vivum designari curavi.

[18]
Liber complectens vitam et res gestas Caroli v invictissimi imperatoris, secundum veterum rationum et formulam compositus, una cum numismatibus, quorum sunt CL numero.

[19]
Liber de familia illustrissimae domus Austriacae, cum ipsorum principum, uxoribus et armis gentiliciis pictis. Estque hic liber omnino alius et diversus ab isto libro, qui alias quoque de hac familia habetur et circumfertur, typis alioquin aeneis et figuris excusus. Huic vero similis hactenus non visus est.

[20]
Descriptio Urbis Romanae, una cum imperatoribus et figuris eiusdem de marmoribus, et armis gentilitiis nobilium familiarum eiusdem Urbis.

[21]
Duo libri, seu tomi Bibliotheca Phoci, Graeca linguae conscripti, et ante hac in lucem non editi.

[22]
Picatrix, de necromantia liber, magica tractans, ex arabico in latinum conversus sermonem; habens varios magorum notas et characteres. Liber satis magnus in folio maiori.

[23]
Annulus Salomonis, liber etiam magicus, cum suis figuris; in membrana, scriptus in folio.

[24]
De geomantia liber, in membrana, scriptus antiquissimus, qui etiam in latinum ex arabico translatus est sermonem.

[25]
Biblia arabica manu conscripta, quorum exemplar raro admodum invenitur. Haec filius meus Paulus Byzantii comparavit, et secum Viennam Austriae attulit.

[26]
Alcoranus, arabica lingua scriptus, qui fuit Turcici imperatoris filii, qui strangulatus fuit; literis aureis et aliorum colorum exornatus, ut nullum librum sciam, quem huic ob elegantiam comparare debeam, adeo pulcher et eximius, ut sit instar lapidis preciosi.

[27]
Dictionaria manu scripta arabice, turcice, persice in folio, in quarto et in octavo.

[28]
Chronica arabica conscripta de domo et familia Ottomanica, apud Turcos celeberrima, in folio.

[29]
Liber arabicus, qui in se continent doctrinam conficiendi horologia et calendaria, una cum figuris zodiaci, et aliorum signorum caelestium, secundum arabum morem et consuetudinem.

[30]
Aliud calendarium arabicum, scriptum, quod ad praecedentem librum pertinet.

[31]
Astrolabium cum suis tabulis, artificiose et ingeniose typis aeneis excusum arabice. Hoc quoque pertinet ad calendarium arabicum, estque pervetustum.

[32]
Astrolabium aliud, eiusdem magnitudinis, in orichalco incisum, chaldaicis literis, cum omnibus suis tabulis, quod Hierosolymis allatum est, quod quidem perantiquum est.

[33]
Liber de castrorum metatione veterum Romanorum, hactenus nondum visus; qui meis impensis in Gallia Lugduni compositus est a Sebastiano Serlio, celebri satis viro et artificioso, regis Galliarum olim inibi architecto. Huius formas typographicas apud me habeo, estque tam magnus ferme, sicuti septimus Serlii de architectura liber, quem ego typis excudi feci Francofurti ad Moenum, meis impensis.

[34]
Item aliquot libri, manu delineati, de aedificiis et architectura, quibus imprimis delector, et quos ipsemet delineavi de antiquissimis aedificiis, et quantum fieri potuit in unum contraxi; una cum partibus dimensuratis.

[35]
Item liber de pulcherrimis aedificiis et praeclarissimis palatiis, quae Roma et in aliis Italiae civitatibus, nempe Florentiae, Mantuae et Venetiis visuntur.

[36]
Liber in quo delineatae sunt omnis generis figurae, tabulae et vetusta elaborata et sculpta sepulchra et monumenta apud Romanos, Neapolitanos, Florentinos, Venetos, Mantuanos et alios Italiae populos.

[37]
Liber qui in se continet Traiani imperatoris columnam celeberrimam, manu delineatam. Et quidem primo ipsa columna Traiani imperatoris intrinsecus et extrinsecus per se delineata est cum suis historiis et rebus gestis, in uno libro paginis CL compraehensa. In hoc libro etiam videre datur omnis generis antiquas vestes et indumenta delineata, quae veteres Romani, tam belli, quam pacis temporibus, et etiam in senatu gestare solebant. Praeterea Barbarorum, cum quibus Traianus varia gessit bella, eosque vicit, ad de illis triumphavit, eius temporis habitum et vestitum cernere licet.

[38]
Liber alius Romanarum antiquarum vestium tam muliebrium quam virilium formas et figuras representans, ita ut vix excogitari possit, quale quod vis sit vestitus genus.

[39]
Duae tabulae delineatae, quibus habetur et videtur quomodo Turci castra sua metari soleant, quod quoque libro comprehendi. Insuper quomodo Turci acie instructa progredi et ad pugnam conserendam incedere soleant.

[40]
Item columnam imperatoris Constantinopolitani Theodosii celeberrimam Byzantii extantem, quam quoque delineari et describi Constantinopoli curavi, meis sumptibus, in libro qui habet centum folia; cum omnibus istius figuris et historiis optimo ordine insculptis et incisis.

[41]
Item Antonini imperatoris columna Romae extans. Hanc etiam meis impensis Romae in librum transferri curavi, sicuti libros Traiani et Theodosii *supra* nominatos.

[42]
Liber in quo pulcherrimum et clarissimum in orbe terrarum palatium (italice vulgo del Thi appellatum), delineatum est. Hoc sclopeti ictu extra urbem Mantuam situm est, et optime secundum praecepta et leges architecturae extructum, atque pulcherrimis et iocondissimis picturis exornatum est. Hoc palatium meis sumptibus delineari feci. Primo dimensio omnium eius fundamentorum intrinsecus et extrinsecus facta est;

deinde ipsos hortos et viridaria cum suis habitationibus. Post haec cubicula dimensus sum, cum omnibus suis cohaerentiis, figuris et picturis; quae quidem omnia et singula facta sunt exquisitissima cura et studio. Ex his quoque egregius posset confici liber, qui descriptione praecipuorum in eo locorum posset exornari, et sic esset liber aeque scriptus et delineatus. Praeterea sunt apud me omnes res et figurae cubiculorum omnium, quae sunt in arce Mantuana, cum suis historiis et dimensuris delineatae, quas etiam architectura in se habet.

[43]
Liber de Roma, continens in se omnes res memoratu dignas delineatas. Item porticum seu deambulatorium summi pontificus romani, vulgo *La loggia delle crotesche* appellatum. Hoc inquam etiam in libro, qui habet centum folia, mea pecunia delineandum curavi. In isto deambulatorio omnes prope Biblicae historiae manu Raphaelis de Urbino, celeberrimi pictoris, sunt depictae. Et sunt certe elegantissima et artificiosissima opera. Nec non statuae variae ex limo argillaceo, cum aliis commixturis, plasmatae et effigiatae; ut eis similes vix in toto mundo inveniantur, et quidem pulchriores antiquissimis insignium artificum operibus. Praeterea ego ista omnia opera, quae in summi pontificis camera, sive cubiculo, a praefato Raphaele Urbinate picat et facta sunt, apud me delineata habeo, nec non quorundam eorum originalia penes me sunt.

[44]
Liber alius, nempe descriptio totius Italiae, latina a fratre Leandro Alberto bononiense composita, et in lucem edita. Hunc librum ego multis in locis exornari et augeri feci variis et utilibus, iucundusque rebus. Nempe curavi in eum in ligneas formas depingi et insculpi omnium praecipuarum civitatum figuras; item insignia nobilium quoque urbe degentium. Post haec curavi penes unam quamlibet urbem ascribi et annotari, apponique res cunctas inibi scitu dignissimas, nempe aedifitia antiqua et inscriptiones, nec non epitaphia cum suis ornamentis et figuris historicis incisa marmoribus. Sic etiam addita sunt primaria templa et palatia, et alia memoratu digna opera, quae in istis civitatibus sunt, et visuntur. Ultimo post descriptionem civitatis cuiuslibet figura, seu tabula, typum et formam, situmque istius continens, una cum ipsius insignibus sive armis. Adiuncti sunt et imperatores romani, si aliqui ex earum territorio prodierunt, cum succincta vitae et mortis, imperiique temporis descriptione, una cum ipsorum armis gentilitiis et numismatibus vivam effigiem repraesentantibus, cumque eorum retrosignaturis. Sic etiam post descriptionem cuiusvis civitatis inserti sunt pontifices romani, cardinales, archiepiscopi et episcopi, nec non principes, duces, marchiones et comites etcetera, qui in ea in lucem editi sunt. Et post horum quemque eius arma gentilitia suis, propriis et competentibus coloribus picta; praeterea quae et qualia dominia et possessiones habuerint. Sic etiam nobilium istam urbem et eius diocesim incolentium arma colorata. Postremo loco additi sunt singuli civitatibus viri doctrina et eruditione excellentes ibi orti, qui aliquid praeclari scripserunt et in lucem ediderant,

addita librorum serie et enumeratione; ac ubi et quando excusi sint. Et istum ordinem observavi in isto integro opere, seu libro. Ad hoc opus seu volumen inprimendum iam plures figurae civitatum incisae et sculptae sunt in ligneis tabulis, seu formis; plurimae vero ad incidendum in ligno iam depictae, suntque omnes ferme eiusdem magnitudinis universales; tamen regionum et provinciarum, Italiae formae reliquis sunt maiores, instar vulgarium cosmographicarum tabularum.

•••

Habeo praeterea ad huc in mea bibliotheca et museo multas alias pulcherrimas res, de numismatibus antiquis ethnicis, et aliis perveteribus operibus, quas omnes et singulas nominare et recensere non solum dificilium et laboriosissimum, sed et per molestum est. Has quoque res maxima cum industria et labore, nullis parcens hac in re sumptibus in diversis terrarum orbis partibus conquisivi et comparavi.

[46]
Sunt praeterea apud me commentariorum reipublicae romanae libri duodecim secundo edendi, quos olim clarissimus vir, dominus VVulfgangus Lazius, medicin[ae] doctor, et Ferdinandi imperatoribus romanis historicus, conscripsit et evulgavit; in quibus limitum imperii romani omnium restitutiones, praetoriae, magistratus, muniae, tam militaria quam civilia, exercitus, militum genera universa, legiones cuncte romanae, cohortes, diversae alae equitum, classes, navaliae, stativae, coloniae, municipiae, ornamentae, signae belli pacisque expressae, vestimenta omnis generis et arma, ritus varii, ludi, sacri et sacrifitia; non solum explicantur, et partim iconibus representantur, verum etiam comparatione utriusque imperii, tam florescentis et crescentis quam declinantis; utriusque etiam urbis: veteris seu aeternae, et novae Romae, et nostra etiam aetatis, quantum eius vestigia supersunt, referuntur. In hac tamen secunda editione plurima a nobis sunt addita et locupletata, in omnibus libris et capitalibus ferme; quae aut a Lazio omissa, aut eidem incognita fuerunt. Adiecimus enim innumeras antiquas inscriptiones, cum latinas, tum graecas et hetruscas; nec praetermisimus locum aliquem in quo non citaverimus aut inscriptiones vetustas, aut monetas, aut figuras de variis antiquis statuis, tabulis historicis, sepulchralibus monumentis; item eadificiis publicis et aliis rebus. Et omnia quidem a nobis diligentissime explicata et exposita sunt, labore maximo et dexteritate summa. Res profecti cunctis, non solum antiquitatum, verum etiam cunctarum aliarum liberalium artium et facultatum studiosis cum maxime necessaria et utilissima, tum etiam laude sempiterna dignissima.

[48]
Habeo itidem penes me genealogiam continuatam Mariae virginis, et salvationis nostri Jesu Christi ab Adamo primo patre deductam; graeci cuiusdam auctoris cuius nomen tamen non expressum est.

[49]

Liber de romanis, graecis et germanis imperatoribus et augustis omnibus, nec non de tyrannis cunctis, qui unquam contra legitimos caesares augustosque imperium romanum, vel vi et armis, vel fraude ac insidiis, occupare et accipere conati sunt. Additis etiam ipsorum imperatorum et caesarum, atque tyrannorum uxoribus, utrusque sexus liberis, et cognatis proximis. Estque hic liber integra et continuata series, historiaque locupletissima a Caio Julio Caesare incipiens, ac in Rodulpho II, Romanorum augusto, nunc rerum potiente, desinens. Insertae sunt ipsorum imperatorum effigies, partim delineatae, partim descriptae exactissima fede ex antiquis marmoribus ac archetypus, tum ex aeneis, argenteis et aureis numismatibus. Insertae sunt res plurimae scitu et cognitione dignissimae, nempe de magistratibus romanis variis, de multis ethnicorum diis, sacris, sacrificiis, templis ac operibus publicis, ludis et spectaculis romanis, ac animalibus peregrinis. Appositi triumphi, ovationes et consulatus caesarum, augustorum ac tyrannorum consulumque, si quae habere potuimus, numismata. Addite convenientibus locis variae antiquae inscriptiones, vel ipsorum imperatorum, vel consulum, vel rerum historiarum mentionem facientes. Insertae praeterea sunt suis locis multae figurae conflictuum et proelionum Romanorum tam contra hostes, quam inter ipsos cives et imperatores ac tyrannos gestorum. Additae item figurae castrorum in vicem oppositorum, [...?]mque munitiones; itemque urbium obsidiones et expugnationes, civitatumque ipsarum situm exprimentes, et oculis subiicientes. Accesserunt item locorum provinciarum regionumque inscriptiones et tabulae cosmographicae iustis locis adhaerentes. Adiecte sunt et leges ac rescripta ab uno quoque imperatore edita et promulgata. Omnia ista a nobis summa fide, industria et diligentia, maxime sudore et labore, ingentibusque sumptibus composita et collecta, sicuti opus ipsum, cuique rem ipsam, satis ostendit et declarat.

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NOTE: The second part of version A [Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 10101] of the *Index sive catalogus* continues with a list of hundred and fifty-three manuscripts, many of them 'Sammelhandschrifte' collecting several separate works, in all several hundred titles.]

Chronological List of Sources

The following list of sources does not pretend to be complete. In particular the documents relating to Strada's trips to Venice to buy antiques for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, which have been extracted and discussed elsewhere, have been included only when used in the tekst. Niccolò Stopio's correspondence has not been included at all: full references to the passages quoted in the text are found in the relevant footnotes. I have not been able to compare all the documents published earlier with the originals.

- Dates indicates in the order year-month-day: 1564-05-23 = 23 May 1564
- Dates given as in the document
- When no precise date is available, the nearest plausible date is given in months, e.g.:
  - 1564-05-00 = probably sometime in May 1564
  - 1565-00-00 = sometime in 1565
- Locations indicated in abbreviated form as given above
- Published sources as given in the bibliography, frequently cited works of references and periodicals abbreviated as above
- Documents indicated with an asterisk* are transcribed in Appendix A

1507-00-00	Birth of Strada according to some secundary sources | SCHULZ 1939
1515-00-00	Birth of Strada according to the inscription on his portrait by Titian (KHM)
1546-11-01	Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 414, nr 2994 and note 1
1546-11-02	Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 414, nr 2995
1547-03-12	Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 417, nr 3012
1549-01-18	Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 434, nr 3149 and p. 414, note 1
1552-07-26	Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 473, nr 3390
1552-07-30	Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 473–474, nr 3392
1552-07-30	Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 474, nr 3394
1552-1555	Guillaume du Choul refers to his meeting with Strada during the latter's stay in Lyon | DU CHOUL 1556, 20, 32, 40.

1553-07-11	Copyright privilege of King Henry II of France | STRADA 1553(a); STRADA 1553(b)
1553-08-30	Jacopo Strada to Hans Jakob Fugger | dedicatory epistle of STRADA 1553(a) and STRADA 1553(b)
1553-11-06	Publication date of the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* | STRADA 1553(a)
1553-12-02	Publication date of the *Epitome du Thresor des Antiquitez*| STRADA 1553(b)
1555-03-18	Roman citizenship conferred on Jacopo Strada | Rome, Archivio Capitolino, *Camera Capitolino*, *Credenza* 1a, *Tomo* 2, f. 59v.
1554–1556	Giovanni Battista Armenini refers to his contacts with Strada during the latter's stay in Rome | ARMENINI 1587, 64–65, 180; ARMENINI 1977, 134–136, 246–248
1556-01-08	Copyright privilege of Emperor Charles V | *JdKS 11*, 1890, II, *Regest* nr 6479
1556-09-18	Copyright privilege of Ferdinand I, King of the Romans | PANVINIO 1557(a)
1556-12-22	Wenzel Jamnitzer to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol | *JdKS* 14, 1893, II, *Regest* 7236
1556-12-22	Jacopo Strada to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol | *JdKS* 14, 1893, II, *Regest* 7237
1557-01-07	Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol to Wenzel Jamnitzer | *JdKS* 14, 1893, II, *Regest* 7244
1557-01-26	Paul Pfinzing to Archduke Ferdinand II ofTirol | *JdKS* 14, 1893, II, *Regest* 7246
1557-01-27	Wenzel Jamnitzer to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol | *JdKS* 14, 1893, II, *Regest* 7247
1557-02-08	Payment *Ehrengeschenk* | *JdKS 7*, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 4943
1557-04-27	Copyright privilege of Lorenzo Priuli, Doge of Venice | PANVINIO 1557(a)
1557-07-31	Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, pp. 278–279; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 183, p. 265
1557-08-28	Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, pp. 287–289; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 186, pp. 270–271
1557-10-02	Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, pp. 294–297; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 191, pp. 277–278
1557-11-27	Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, pp. 299–302; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 195, pp. 281–282
1557-12-11	Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, 302–305; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 196, pp. 283–284

1557-12-25 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, 359–360; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 197, pp. 284–285

1558-01-08 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio |AGUSTÍN 1804, 305–306; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 198, p. 286

1558-01-22 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, 307–311; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 199, pp. 287–289

1558-02-12* Jacopo Strada to Ferdinand I, King of the Romans | Vienna, ÖNB-HS, cod. 5770, f. 1r.–1v.

1558-02-21 (a) Jacopo Strada to Ferdinand I, King of the Romans | Vienna, ÖNB-HS, cod. 5770, f. 3r.–3v.

1558-02-21 (b) Jacopo Strada to Martìn de Guzmán | Vienna, ÖNB-HS, cod. 5770, ff. 6r.–8v.

1558-04-11 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, pp. 313–314; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 201, pp. 290–291.

1558-04-30 Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 1, p. 535, nr 3717

1558-05-02 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | MBA, ms. D 501 Par. inf., f. 122; AGUSTÍN 1804, pp. 314–317; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 202, pp. 291–292

1558-06-11 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, 317–319; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 205, pp. 295–296

1558-06-25 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, 319–324; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 206, pp. 297–299

1558-07-09 Antonio Agustín to Onofrio Panvinio | AGUSTÍN 1804, 334–339; AGUSTÍN 1980, nr 208, pp. 304–307

1558-10-00 Schallautzer, Ferrabosco and Strada, as 'kaiserliche Baumeister', give an expertise of the model for the Kaiserspital in Vienna | KÜHNEL 1959, p. 319

1558-11-00 Reference to Strada in connection with payments | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 232, f. 83

1558-11-24 Payments to Strada | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 230, f. 59

1558-12-04 Antun Vrančić to Jacopo Strada | VERANCSICS/ SZALAY 1865, 276–287

1559-06-00 Jacopo Strada to Maximilian II, King of the Romans | BSB-HS, *Cod. Monac. Lat.* 9216, ff. 1r.–2v.; JANSEN 1993, 233–235; and fig. 1

1559-06-06* Jacopo Strada to Hans Jakob Fugger | BSB-HS, *Cod. Monac. Lat.* 9216, f. 3

1559-06-15 Girolamo Donzellini to Antun Vrančić | VERANCSICS/ SZALAY 1868, pp. 34–40

1559-07-16 Hermes Schallautzer to Emperor Ferdinand I | TLA, KS I 801

1559-12-20 Payment of Strada's annual salary | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 240, f. 278

1560-01-31 Strada appointed as Imperial Architect | HKA, *Gedenkbuch,* L 86, f. 44v.; LIETZMANN 1987, p. 113, n. 73

1560-02-00 Payment of Strada's annual salary | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 244, f. 30

1560-04-27 Strada is given instructions in connection with the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I | SCHÖNHERR 1890, 265–266; LIETZMANN 1987

1560-08-20 Letters of recommendation from Emperor Ferdinand I to the Doge of Venice and a passport for travel into Italy issued by the Imperial Chancery | *JdKS* 19, 1898, II, *Regest* nr 16080

1561-05-31 Payment of Strada's annual salary, Vienna 31 May 1561 | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 252, f. 120v.

1562-00-00 Strada named in a list of architects employed in the reconstruction of the Vienna Hofburg | KÜHNEL 1959, p. 320

1562-00-00 Onofrio Panvinio to Hans Jakob Fugger | Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, *Vat. Lat*. 6277, f. 27

1562-10-21 Jacopo Strada to Bernardin Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, French Ambassador to Emperor Ferdinand I | BNF-MS, *Cinq cents de Colbert*, nr 394, ff. 245r–248v

1563-00-00 Payment of Strada's annual salary as 'Diener und Antiquarius' | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 232, f. 83; idem, L 86, f. 44

1563-09-25 Jacopo Strada to King Philip II of Spain | Simancas, Archivo General, *Papeles de Estado* (Venecia), *legajo* 1325, nr 37, f. 43

1564-00-00 Strada's (step-)mother administrates the heritage of his father Giovanni Rinaldo | ASMn, *Registri notarili*, 1564, f. 757v.

1564-00-00 Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*, request for letters of recommendation to Frankfurt to obtain payment of a debt from the printer Pietro Perna

1564-03-18 Payment of Strada's salary | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 259, f. 22

1564-07-08 Strada is conceded wood for use in the construction of his house | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreichische Kammer*, 62, f. 106

1564-07-11 An instruction about wood conceded to Jacopo Strada for use in the construction of his house | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreichische Kammer*, 62, ff. 110v–111v.

1564-09-08 Letters of recommendation by Emperor Maximilian II to the Augsburg City Council, and passport for travel to Augsburg and Nuremberg | Maximilian II's 'Copeybuch'(register of his correspondence) for 1564, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 14056, ff. 513r. and 514r.; PERGER 1864, 237–238, letters 192–194, f. 513

1565-01-00 Strada twice requests payment of his annual salary HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 262, f. 3; f 9v.

1565-03-10 Payment of Strada's annual salary | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 20 (1565), f. 148; *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 4975

1565-03-28 Payment to Strada for his trip to Prague in connection with the burial of Emperor Ferdinand I | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 20 (1565), f. 548; *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 4979

1565-05-12 Emperor Maximilian II to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 430, f. 281; VENTURINI 2002, nr 27, 187–188

1565-05-15 Vratislav z Pernštejna to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 449

1565-08-26 Luigi Rogna, secretary of the Mantuan Ambassador, to the *Castellano* of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 449; VENTURINI 2002, nr 29, 189–190

1565-10-15 Strada to Carlo Maffei, *Maestro di Camera* of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 449

1565-10-23 Strada aan Carlo Maffei, *Maestro di Camera* of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 449

1565-12-12 Payment to Strada, Vienna, 12 December 1565 | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 20 (1565), f. 618v.; *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 5003

1566-03-01* Jacopo Strada to Adam von Dietrichstein | Brno, Státní Oblastní Archiv, *Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů,* K 424, 1898/225

1566-05-29 Strada requests payment of his annual salary, Vienna 29 May 1566 | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 269, f. 85

1566-08-10 Strada is conceded a supplementary salary of 100 *Gulden* | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 21 (1566), f. 121; published in *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 5046

1566-11-18 Emperor Maximilian II to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria |BIBL 1916-1921, II, p. 50

1566-12-00 Strada requests a three months' advance on his salary in connection with his trip to Munich | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 266 (1566), f. 333v.

1566-12-28 Strada receives expenses for his trip to Munich, Vienna, 28 December 1566 | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 21 (1566) ff. 576v.–577; published in *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 5058

1567-00-00 Description of Strada in a document of the Papal Inquisition | PAGANO 1991, p. 193, n. 12

1567-02-18 Hans Jakob Fugger to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, E.IV. 3, *busta* 524 | letter of recommendation, possibly for Jacopo Strada

1567-03-05 Bernardo Tasso, secretary of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, to the Mantuan secretary Timoteo Crotta | PORTIOLI 1871, p. 192

1567-03-19 Bernardo Tasso, secretary of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, to the *Castellano* of Mantua | PORTIOLI 1871, p. 192

1567-03-24 Strada to Count Francesco II Gonzaga di Novellara | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 2577, f. 845

1567-03-25 Bernardo Tasso, secretary of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, to the *Castellano* of Mantua | PORTIOLI 1871, p. 193

1567-06-10 Carlo Maffei, *Maestro di Camera* of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, to the *Castellano* of Mantua in Casale| ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 2578, ff. 863-864; DAVARI 1879, p. 53

1567-06-11 Strada to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, busta 2577, f. 846

1567-06-30 Carlo Maffei, *Maestro di Camera* of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, to the *Castellano* of Mantua at Casale | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 2578, ff. 865–866

1567-07-12 Strada to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria | BHStA-LA, *Kurbayern, Ausseres Archiv*, 4851, f. 248; extract in WESKI/FROSIEN-LEINZ 1987, *Textband*, 461, nr 81

1567-10-26 Strada receives payment of his annual salary | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 22 (1567) ff. 117v–118; *JdKS* 7, 1888, *Regest* nr 5091

1568-01-01 Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria to Emperor Maximilian II | *JdKS* 19, 1898, II, *Regest* nr 16010

1568-01-29 Jacopo Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HHStA, *Habsburg-lothringisches Hausarchiv*, *Familienakten*, Kart. 97, ff. 104–106; SCHINDLER 2004, p. 312

1568-01-29 Strada requests letters of recommendation and a passport for a trip to Mantua | *JdKS* 19, 1898, II, *Regest* nr 16102

1568-01-30 Strada receives Imperial letters of recommendation and a passport for a trip to Mantua | *JdKS* 19, 1898, II, *Regest* nr 16103; VENTURINI 2002, nr 39, p. 193

1568-00-00 Jacopo Strada, *Risposta alla Callumnia statami data dal M.co Ms. Andrea Loredano*, written defense Strada presented in the lawsuit in the Venice Senate against Andrea Loredan | ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9039, ff. 23 /121–37/135; extracts in WESKI/ FROSIEN-LEINZ 1987, *Textband*, 465–466, nr 131

1568-06-16 Strada to Cesare Gonzaga, Signore di Guastalla | MBE, *Autografoteca Campori*, s.v. Strada; CAMPORI 1866, p. 50, nr LXI

1568-06-18 Camillo Campeggio, Inquisitor in Mantua, to Scipione Rebibba | cited and partially quote in PAGANO 1991, p. 197, n. 13.

1568-06-25 Camillo Campeggio, Inquisitor in Mantua, to Scipione Rebibba | cited and partially quote in PAGANO 1991, p. 199, n. 22.

1568-00-00 Strada to unknown person, without place, without date (ca. 1568?) (fragmentary concept of a letter which may never have been sent) | ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9039

1568-08-17 Strada receives payment of his annual salary | *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 5255

1568-10-01 Guglielmo Malaspina, Mantuan envoy at the Imperial court, to Pier Martire Cornacchia, Vienna | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 450; cited and partially quote in PAGANO 1991, p. 199, n. 22.

1568-10-11 Strada to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 450; cited and partially quote in PAGANO 1991, pp. 199–200, n. 22.

1568-10-19 Strada receives an increase of his annual salary | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 23 (1568), ff. 173v.-174r.; published in *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 5140

1568-10-20 Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria to Strada | Vienna, ÖNB-HS, cod. 9030, f. 43; partially published in VON BUSCH 1973, p. 123; WESKI/FROSIEN-LEINZ 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr 133

1568-11-13 Hans Jakob Fugger to Strada | ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9039, f. 39; WESKI/FROSIEN-LEINZ 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, n. 136

1568-11-28 Veit von Dornberg, Imperial envoy in Venice, to Emperor Maximilian II | *JdKS* 13, 1892, II, *Regest* nr 8804

1568-12-05 Minutes of the Chapter of Mantua Cathedral | Mantua, Archivio Storico Diocesano, *Archivio del Capitolo della Cattedrale*, *Serie registri di Massaria*, reg. anno 1568, 5–6

1568-12-08 Emperor Maximilian II to Veit von Dornberg, Imperial envoy in Venice | HHStA, *Venedig*, *Weisungen*, 2, ff. 59–60; published in: *JdKS* 13, 1892, II, *Regest* nr 8806

1568-09-15 Giovan Battista Mondella to Federigo Vendramin, about Strada's interest in the acquisition, on behalf of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, of the 'Camerino delle anticaglie' of the late Gabriele Vendramin | RAVÀ 1920, p. 180

1568-12-18 Emperor Maximilian II to Veit von Dornberg, Imperial envoy in Venice | HHStA, *Venedig*, *Weisungen*, 2, ff. 59–60; *JdKS* 13, 1892, II, *Regest* nr 8807

1568-12-28 Strada to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 450; published in *JdKS* 16, 1895, II, *Regest* nr 13996; VENTURINI 2002, nr 46, 195–197

1569-01-31 Strada to Emperor Maximilian II, request for a present on the occasion of his daughter's wedding | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11496

1569-02-19 Hans Jakob Fugger to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria | GOETZ 1898, nr 365, 440–441; extracts in HARTIG 1933, 221–222; HUBALA 1958–59, p. 134, WESKI-FROSIEN-LEINZ 1987, *Textband*, p. 446, nr 143

1569-02-00 Negative decision on Strada's request for lime for use in the construction of his house | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 282 (1569), f. 70v.

1569-03-00 Strada is conceded a present on the occasion of his daughter's wedding, Vienna, March 1569 | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 282 (1569), f. 141v.

1569-03-30 Strada requests Imperial letters of recommendation to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua for Francesco Lanzoni | *JdKS* 19, 1898, II, *Regest* nr 16108

1569-04-00 Strada sent to Pressburg to estimate Giulio Licinio's frescoes | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 285 (1569) f. 147r; KÜHNEL 1959, p. 320

1569-08-26 Imperial passport for Strada on occasion of a trip to Italy, concept | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1569-09-17 Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, from Rome, commenting on the prices Strada paid for his acquisitions of antiquities | BHStA-LA 5852, ff. 71–72

1569-11-05 Strada to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | *JdKS* 16, 1895, II, *Regest* nr 13998 (lost? it is not included in VENTURINI 2002)

1569-12-23 Guglielmo Malaspina to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | VENTURINI 2002, nr 54, p. 199

1570-04-08 Giovan Battista Mondella to Federigo Vendramin, about Strada's interest in the acquisition, on behalf of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, of the 'Camerino delle anticaglie' of the late Gabriele Vendramin | RAVÀ 1920, p. 181

1570-05-24 Prospero Visconti to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria | SIMONSFELD 1902, p. 255, nr 25

1570-05-24 Prospero Visconti to Wolfgang [should be: Rudolph ?] Dax | SIMONSFELD 1902, 255–56, nr 26

1571-00-00 Jacopo Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HHStA, *Staatenabteilung, Türkei*, I, 28, ff. 119r–120v

1571-00-00 Jacopo Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HHStA, *Staatenabteilung Türkei*, I, 28, f. 132

1571-03-19 Strada to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 452, *filza* IV, ff. 375–376; VENTURINI 2002, nr 70, 207–208

1571-05-14 Nicasius Ellebodius to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli | MBA, *Codici Pinelliane*, mss. D 196 inf., f. 1a

1571-07-04 Nicasius Ellebodius to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli | MBA, *Codici Pinelliane*, mss. D 196 inf., f. 2

1571-07-17 Strada receives payment of his annual salary | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 25 (1571), ff. 488v–149v; *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* 5255

1571-08-00 Strada receives (or requests?) payment of his annual salary | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 295 (1571), f. 333r; KÜHNEL 1959, p. 320

1571-09-27 (a) Nicasius Ellebodius to Hugo Blotius | ÖNB-HS, ms. 9737 z-14, letter I, 64

1571-09-27 (b) Nicasius Ellebodius to Hugo Blotius | ÖNB-HS, ms. 9737 z-14, letter I, 65

1571-09-27 (c) Nicasius Ellebodius to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli | MBA, *Codici Pinelliane*, mss. D 196 inf.

1571-11-13 Nicasius Ellebodius to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli | MBA, *Codici Pinelliane*, mss. D 196 inf.

1571-11-20 Strada to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 452, *filza* IV, ff. 384–385; VENTURINI 2002, nr 83, 214–215

1572-01-20 Imperial passport for Strada | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1572-05-28 Guglielmo Malaspina to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | VENTURINI 2002, nr 93, p. 218

1572-06-02 Guglielmo Malaspina to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | VENTURINI 2002, nr 95, p. 218

1572-06-12 Guglielmo Malaspina to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | VENTURINI 2002, nr 97, p. 219

1572-06-22 Guglielmo Malaspina to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | VENTURINI 2002, nr 98, p. 219

1572-08-10 Paolo Strada's entry in the travel album of Lambert Wijts, Constantinople | Vienna, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 3325*, f. 152v.

1572-09-03 Emilio Stanghellino to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | VENTURINI 2002, nr 102, p. 221

1572-09-14 Strada receives payment of his salary | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 300 (1572), f. 465v.

1572-11-26 Emperor Maximilian II to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | *JdKS* 16, 1895, II, *Regest* nr 14000; VENTURINI 2002, nr 106, 223–224

1572-12-25 Copyright privilege conceded by King Charles IX of France | CAESAR 1575, colophon

1573-00-00 Strada to Emperor Maximilian II, without place and date [ca. 1573] | HStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1573-01-21 Strada requests payment of his salary and for twelve portrait-heads provided to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 304 (1573), f 35

1573-03-25 Antonio Gracián to Gabriel de Zayas, secretary of King Philip II of Spain | BOUZA 1996, p. 40

1573-05-27* Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany, to Strada | ASF, *Medici del Principato*, *filza* 1317, ff. 636–637; autograph concept from Dani's *carteggio*, 1573

1573-06-17* Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany | ASF, *Carteggio d'artisti*, I, ff. 126–127

1573-06-00 Strada to Emperor Maximilian II, without place and date [Vienna, some time before 30 June 1573] [and enclosure] | HHStA, *Familienakten*, 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1573-06-00 Request sent by Strada to (*Reichsvizekanzler* Johann Baptist Weber?) | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1573-06-00 Request sent by Strada to (*Reichsvizekanzler* Johann Baptist Weber?) | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1573-06-30 Emperor Maximilian II to various Princes and Free Towns of the Empire, 30 June 1573 | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius* (chancery concept)

1573-07-31 Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 2, p. 18, nr 125

1573-08-01 Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 2, p. 18, nr 126

1573-09-00 Strada to *Reichsvizekanzler* Johann Baptist Weber | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1573-09-30 Emperor Maximilian II to the Dukes of Savoy, Ferrara, Mantua, Florence, Parma, Urbino and to the senates of Venice, Lucca and Genova | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1573-11-07 Decision of the Nuremberg Council | HAMPE 1904, 2, p. 19, nr 136

1573-12-18 Jacopo Strada to Vilém z Rožmberka, Vienna, 18 December 1573 | Třeboň, Státní Oblastní Archiv, *Rožmberk Archiv* X, 8-4; RYBIČKA/ZUB 1884, 49–54

1574-03-01 Jacopo Strada to Hans Jakob Fugger | BHStA, *Kurbayern, Äusseres Archiv*, 4579, ff. 69–70; LIETZMANN 1997 (Dokument 1), 395–396

1574-03-23 Prospero Visconti to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria | SIMONSFELD 1902, 326–327, nr 141

1574-05-30 Emperor Maximilian II concedes a privilege for a number of publications planned by Strada | *JdKS* 13, 1892, II, *Regest* nr 8979; extracts in SERLIO 1575 and CAESAR 1575

1574-06-00 Strada requests Imperial letters of recommendation for a trip to Italy, and a general privilege for his publications, Vienna, after 30 May 1574 | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11914

1574-06-00 Emperor Maximilian II concedes a general privilege for Strada's publications, Vienna, after 30 May 1574 | HHStA, *Reichsregesten Maximilian II*, Impressorien; *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11915

1574-06-01 Strada receives payment for twelve portrait heads and a bust | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 28 (1574), ff. 476v–477r

1574-06-08 Strada receives payment for twelve portrait heads and a bust | HKA, *Hofzahlamts- Rechnung* 1574, f. 476; *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 5301

1574-07-11 Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany | ASF, *Carteggio d'artisti*, I, f. 128

1574-08-00 Strada's request to Emperor Maximilian II for a passport to Frankfurt for Ottavio Strada | HStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1574-08-09 Imperial passport for Ottavio Strada, Vienna, 9 August 1574 | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1574-09-05 Ottavio Strada to Strada, Nuremberg [date is probably wrong, see below, 1574-12-05] |

1574-09-09 Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany | ASF, *Carteggio d'artisti*, I, f. 130

1574-11-04 Strada requests payment of his annual salary | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 309 (1574), f. 550

1574-11-11 Jost Amman contracts with Ottavio Strada about the engraving of 200 woodcuts of festival designs | HHStA, Niederösterreichisches Landmarschallamt, *Testamente*, Karton 33, nr 132, f. 14 (kept with Jacopo Strada's will of 1584 (see below); extract in: O'DELL 1990, p. 244

1574-12-05* Ottavio Strada to Jacopo Strada | ÖNB-HS, ms. 9039, ff. 112-113; extract in ROSENFELD 1974, 409 and JANSEN 1989, 212 and 215, n. 28

1574-12-27 Emperor Maximilian II confirms Strada's nobility and improves his coat of arms | HHStA, *Reichsregesten Maximilian II*, Bd 17, f. 346–347; *JdKS*, 13, 1892, II, *Regest* nr 8994

1575-09-28 Jacopo Strada to Elector August of Saxony (contemporary German translation of lost original) | LIETZMANN 1997, *Dokument* 2, 396–397

1575-12-00 Strada requests payment for six manuscripts provided to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 313, f. 270

1576-04-18 Jacobo Destrada to Adam von Dietrichstein | Brno, Státní Oblastní Archiv, *Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů*, K 424, 1898/226 → *Note: this letter written from Madrid in Spanish is probably not by Jacopo Strada himself but by a relative of his* (*a third son or a nephew?*) *who had entered Dietrichstein's service*

1576-05-00 Strada requests payment of his salary and for six manuscripts provided to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 323, f. 179v.

1576-06-16 Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke of Tuscany, and enclosure | ASF, *Carteggio d'Artisti*, I, f. 131

1576-08-00 Instruction of Emperor Maximilian II for the payment of books provided by Strada | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 323 (1576), f. 295

1576-08-31 Payment of Strada's salary | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 30 (1576), f. 154

1576-08-31 Instruction in connection with the payment for six books provided by Strada | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 327 (1576) f. 320

1576-09-00 Strada to Emperor Maximilian II, without place and date | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*: offers to sell his library to the Estates of Bohemia on behalf of King Rudolf II and requests a recommendation to Elector August of Saxony | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*

1576-09-03 Imperial passport for Strada and letter of recommendation to Elector August of Saxony | HHStA, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut Hofantiquarius*; chancery draft concept of both letters

1576-09-03 Emperor Maximilian II to Elector August of Saxony | LIETZMANN 1997, *Dokument* 3, 397–398

1576-09-07 Hubert Languet to August Elector of Saxony | LIETZMANN 1997, *Dokument* 4, p. 398

1576-09-11 Strada offers to sell his house and library, and requests a passport and recommendation to Saxony | *JdKS*, 18, 1897, II, *Regest* nr 16132

1576-09-15 Rudolf II, King of the Romans, recommends Ottavio Strada for a benefice in Bamberg and/or Passau | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11925

1576-09-28 Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of the Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany | ASF, *Carteggio d'artisti*, I, ff. 135–136

1576-10-31 Vilém z Rožmberka to Elector August of Saxony | LIETZMANN 1997 (*Dokument* 5), p. 398

1576-11-24 Jacopo Strada to Count Bernhard Hardegg-Glatz-Marchlande (German translation of lost original)| LIETZMANN 1997 (*Dokument* 6), p. 399

1577-02-13 Strada requests payment of the arrears of his salary, and for the books he had provided to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 331 (1577), f. 31

1577-02-18 Strada is paid rent for lodging *Pfalzgraf* Georg Johann I of Veldenz-Lützelstein in his house | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsrechnung* 1577, fol. 51; *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, *Regest* nr 5363

1577-02-18 Instruction *Hoffinanz* in connection with payment for six books provided by Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 334, f. 42

1577-02-23 Payment of Strada's annual salary | HKA, *Hofzahlamtsbücher*, 31 (1577), ff. 122–123

1577-03-10 Instruction *Hoffinanz* in connection with payment for books provided by Strada to Emperor Maximilian II |HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 336, f. 73

1577-03-18 Instruction *Hoffinanz* in connection with payment for books provided by Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 331 (1577), f. 54

1577-03-00 Strada requests a raise in salary |HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 331 (1577) f. 48

1577-03-00 Instruction *Hoffinanz* in connection with payment for books provided by Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 329 (1577), f. 96v.

1577-08-02 Instruction *Hoffinanz* in connection with payment for books provided by Strada to Emperor Maximilian II | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 331 (1577), f. 184

1577-10-04 (a) Strada to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 458; *JdKS* 16, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 14001; VENTURINI 2002, 252-253, nr 177.

1577-10-04 (b) Strada to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara | MBE, ms. Ital. 835

1577-10-04 (c) Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany | ASF, *Carteggio d'artisti*, I.f. 137

1577-10-04 (d) Strada to Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany, Vienna, 4 October 1577 | ASF, *Carteggio d'artisti*, I, f. 138

1577-11-14 Strada is ceded a sum of money to be drawn on the *Kammer* in Silesia | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, R 334 (1577), f. 324

1577-11-00 Reference to the payment mentioned in the preceding document | HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 333 (1577), f. 319

1578-03-17 The Estates of Lower Austria refer Strada's request to make a lottery of his house and collections to Archduke Ernest, as Lord-lieutenant for Emperor Rudolf II | EHEIM 1963, 124–127, *Beilage* 1

1578-07-16 Giorgio Carretto to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | VENTURINI 2002, p. 254, nr 183

1578-08-13 Strada to Rembertus Dodonaeus and Christophe Plantin | Antwerp, Museum Plantijn-Moretus, *Archives Plantiniennes*, XCIII, ff. 653 ff.; DENUCÉ 1916, nr 804, 1–12

1578-10-00 Christophe Plantin to Strada, Antwerp, after 10 October 1578 | Antwerp, Museum Plantijn-Moretus, *Archives Plantiniennes*, IX, ff. 76v. ff.; DENUCÉ 1916, nr 813, 30–34

1578-10-00 Strada requests payment of the arrears of his salary, and for books delivered to Emperor Maximilian II| HKA, *Hoffinanzprotokolle*, E 340 (1578), f. 482

1578-10-30 Edoardo Provisionali to Anselmo Mondino, secretary of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua | ASMn, Archivio Gonzaga, *busta* 459, *filza* IV, ff. 448–449; VENTURINI 2002, p. 259, nr 199

1579-04-07 The Estates of Lower Austria communicate a negative decision upon Strada's earlier request to make a lottery of his house and collections | EHEIM 1963, *Beilage* 2, 124–127

1579-05-13 Information of the *Hofzahlmeister* and the *Hofkammer* about the arrears of Strada's salary | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11597

1579-05-14 Further information about the arrears of Strada's salary | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11598

1579-05-00 Strada to Emperor Rudolf II, without place and date (after 18 May 1579) | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11599

1579-05-00 Strada to Archduke Ernest, without place and date (after 18 May 1579) | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11600; LIETZMANN 1987, 131–132

1579-05-23 Communication of the *Hofkammer* about the arrears of Strada's salary | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11601

1579-10-15 Reference to the payment of Strada's arrears, 15 October 1579 | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreichische Kammer*, 121, f. 281

1579-10-30 Reference to the payment of Strada's arrears, 30 October 1579 | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreichische Kammer*, 121, ff. 336–337

1579-11-17 Sigmundt von Hochenburg to Archduke Matthias, Vienna, 17 November 1579 | CHMEL 1840–1841, 1, 126-128

1580-04-26 (a) Reference to the payment of Strada's arrears | HKA, *Gedenkbücher*, 139, f. 369v.; JdKS 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11607

1580-04-26 (b) Reference to the payment of Strada's arrears | HKA, *Gedenkbücher*, 139, f. 369r.; *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11608

1580-04-26 (c) Reference to the payment of Strada's arrears | HKA, *Gedenkbücher*, 139, f. 370; *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11609

1580-08-02 Reference to the payment of Strada's arrears, 2 August 1580 [and marginal additions dated 6 September 1580] | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreichischen Kammer*, 125, f. 307

1581-01-01 Šebestián Freytag z Čepiroh to Strada | Brno, Státní Oblastní Archiv, *Fund G 11*, nr 785, f. 16v.; copy from Freytag's correspondence-register.

1581-02-03 Šebestián Freytag z Čepiroh to Strada | Brno, Státní Oblastní Archiv, *Fund G 11*, nr 785, f. 16v.; copy from Freytag's correspondence-register

1581-05-01 Strada to Helfrich (or Hilfreich) Guet | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11616

1581-07-26 Alessandro Rosa to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, Mantua? 26 July 1581 | DAVARI 1879/1973, 68–69, nr 29

1581-11-02* Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany, Vienna, 2 November 1581 | ASF, *Carte e spoglie Strozziane*, Ia serie, 308, ff. 63 ff.

1582-00-00 Strada requests Emperor Rudolf II to legitimize his two youngest sons Tobia and Martino | *JdKS* 15, 1894, II, *Regest* nr 11931

1582-03-28 Reference to Strada's request for payment of his arrears | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreicchische Kammer*, 131, f. 308v

1582-06-19 Reference to Strada's request for payment of his arrears | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreicchische Kammer*, 131, f. 633

1583-01-04 Jacopo Strada to Elector August of Saxony | Zittau, Christian Weise bibliothek, Ms A 69: *Korrespondenz von Friedrich Benedict Carpzov: Epistolarum clarorum virorum fasciculus* II, 003 Jacob Strada (Vienna, 1583) (original); Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Uffenbach-Wolffsche Briefsammlung, *Handschriftenabteilung*, sig. Sup. Ep. (4°) 56, ff. 1v–19r (later copy)

1584-04-29 Jacopo Strada, request to the Town Council of Brno, Brno 29 April 1584 | SLA, *Magistratstestamente*, nr 104 [Documents relating to the attempted registration of Jacopo Strada's will]

1584-04-20 Jacopo Strada to the Government of Lower Austria, Brno, 30 April 1584 | SLA, Ma*gistratstestamente*, nr 104

1584-05-01 The Town Council of Brno to the Government of Lower Austria, Brno 1 May 1584 | SLA, *Magistratstestamente*, nr 104

1584-06-17 Jacopo Strada, request to the Government of Lower Austria [handed in in person, Vienna, on or before 17 June 1584] | SLA, *Magistratstestamente*, nr 104

1584-06-30 *Quittung* (final quittance) for Jacopo Strada, Vienna, 30 June 1584 | SLA, *Magistratstestamente*, nr 104

1584-07-01* Jacopo Strada's will, Vienna 1 July 1584:
A] Vienna, HHStA, *Niederösterreichisches Landmarschallamt*, *Testamente*, *Karton* 33, s.v. Strada [the original]; it carries a note recording it being opened on 28 September 1590.
B] Vienna, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 8709 [copy]; this copy was probably made on occasion of the settlement of Strada's estate. It carries a note in the copyist's hand: 'die Vergleichung der Bruedern und Schwestern vide in S'; this latter document appears not to have been preserved.
A partial transcription in Manfred Staudinger, *Documenta Rudolphina*, http://documenta.rudolphina.org/Regesten/A1584-07-01-00723.xml

1584-12-05 Emperor Rudolf II concedes a privilege for a number of Strada's planned publications | HHStA, *Reichsregesten Rudolf II*, 4, ff. 512–514; *JdKS* 13, 1892, II, *Regest* nr 9360

1585-04-12 Jacques Bongars visits the Neugebäude, extract from his ms. Journal | HAGEN 1874, p. 62; LIETZMANN 1987, p. 43, n. 18

1585-06-02 Strada to Václav Březan, secretary of Vilém z Rožmberka | Litoměřice, Státní Oblastní Archiv (depot at Žitenice), *Lobokovic Archive from Roudnice*, B 208; now in Lobkowiczký Archiv, cf. http://www.lobkowicz.cz/Archiv-164.htm

1586-00-00 Paulus Melissus, panegyric on Jacopo Strada, Paris 1586 | MELISSUS 1586, p. 293

1586-03-12 Strada to the *Landmarschall* of Lower Austria | EHEIM 1963, *Beilage* 3, 124–127

1588-02-18 Strada requests an estimate of his house at St. Ulrich in Vienna, Vienna, 18 February 1588 | HKA, *Protokolle Niederösterreichische Kammer*, 151, f. 143

1588-08-28 Death of Jacopo Strada, according to Ottavio's letter to the Duke of Ferrara of 1588-09-16

1588-09-16 Ottavio Strada to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara | ASMO, *Letterati*, *busta* 62

1588-12-06	Ottavio Strada to Belisario Vinta, secretary of Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany | ASF, *Medici del Principato*, 810, f. 129
1590-05-03	Ottavio Strada versus his brothers, *in re* the succession of Jacopo Strada | Manfred Staudinger, *Documenta Rudolphina*: http://documenta.rudolphina.org/Regesten/A1590-05-03-00910.xml
1590-09-28	[the opening of Jacop Strada's will; cf. DOC. 1584-07-01]
1590-11-27	Bartholomäus Köck and Tobias Strada versus Ottavio Strada *in re* the succession of Jacopo Strada | Manfred Staudinger, *Documenta Rudolphina*: http://documenta.rudolphina.org/Regesten/A1590-11-27-00959.xml
1592-03-18	Hugo Blotius to Wolfgang Rumpff, Vienna, 18 March 1592 | ÖNB-HS, ms. *Series Nova* 363, ff. 159–160
1591-07-23	Ottavio Strada versus his brother Paolo, in re the succession of Jacopo Strada | Manfred Staudinger, *Documenta Rudolphina*: http://documenta.rudolphina.org/Regesten/A1591-07-23-01075.xml
1594-12-23	Paolo Strada to Landgrave Moritz of Kassel | Marburg, Staatsarchiv, *Bestand* 4n, nr 265

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Illustrations

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Albertina	Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina / The Albertina Museum
APM	Munich, Alte Pinakothek
ARM	Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
BAV	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BHStA	Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
BHStA-LA	*BHStA, Libri Antiquitatum* (= *Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv 4851–4856*)
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BnF/Gallica	*BnF, Digital Collections*
BnF-MS	*BnF, Département des Manuscrits*
BN-INHA	Paris, Bibliothèque Numérique de l'Institut Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Art: http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/
bpk | <…>	bpk-Bildagentur, Bildportal der Kultureinrichtungen (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, Berlin); followed by the abbreviation of the holding institution
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BSB-HS	*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung*
BSB-MDZ	*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*
BStGS	Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen
BVS	Munich, Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen / Residenzmuseum
CC	Creative Commons licence, see https://creativecommons.org/
CC-BY-…-…	Attribution: *You must give appropriate credit, provide a link to the license, and indicate if changes were made. You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.*
CC-…-NC-…	NonCommercial: *You may not use the material for commercial purposes.*

CC-...-...-SA	ShareAlike: *If you remix, transform, or build upon the material, you must distribute your contributions under the same license as the original.*
CCPG	Oxford, Christ Church Picture Gallery
DHB-EG	Digitale Historische Bibliothek Erfurt/Gotha: https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/templates/master/template_ufb2/index.xml
DLDAMC	Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture, University of Wisconsin-Madison: http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts
e-rara.ch	e-rara.ch, the platform for digitized rare books from Swiss libraries: https://www.e-rara.ch/
FBG	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek
GRI	Santa Monica ca, Getty Research Institute
HHB-D	Heidelberger Historische Bestände—digital (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg): http://hd-historische-bestaende-digital.uni-hd.de
HUB	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
KHM	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum | KHM-Museumsverband
KIK-IRPA	Brussels, Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium / Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique
MANTIS	New York, American Numismatic Society Collection Database
MdP	Madrid, Museo del Prado
MET	New York, Metropolitan Museum
NAP	Prague, Národní Archiv
nga	Washington DC, National Gallery of Art
NLP	Prague, Národní Knihovna
NMP	Prague, National Museum Library
OCRE	New York, Database *Online Coins of the Roman Empire*
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
ÖNB-BA	*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv*
ÖNB-HS	*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung*
ÖStA/HKA	Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Hofkammerarchiv
pd	public domain
Phaidra	Vienna, repository for the permanent secure storage of digital assets at the University of Vienna: https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/
RCT	London, Royal Collections Trust

RIHA	Paris, International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art
RMN-Grand Palais	Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux et du Grand Palais des Champs-Élysées
SKD	Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden
SKD-GG	*Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie*
SKD-KK	*Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett*
SLP	Prague, Strahovská Knihovna / Library of the Strahov Monastery
slub	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
SLUB-DS	*SLUB, Digitale Sammlungen*
SMBPK	Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz
SMKP	Düsseldorf, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast | Graphische Sammlung | Sammlung Kunstakademie
SPCM	Mantua, Servizio Patrimonio e Tutela Beni Culturali, Comune di Mantova
SuStB	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
SZB	Bučovice, Státní Zámek
Wikimedia	Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository: https://commons.wikimedia.org

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