CHAPTER 3

In Hans Jakob Fuggers’s Service

3.1 Hans Jakob Fugger

Strada’s first contacts with Hans Jakob Fugger, his chief patron for well over a decade, certainly took place before the middle of the 1540s. As suggested earlier, the possibility remains that Strada had already met this gifted scion of the most illustrious German banking dynasty, his exact contemporary, in Italy. Fugger [Fig. 3.1], born at Augsburg on 23 December 1516, was the eldest surviving son of Raymund Fugger and Catharina Thurzo von Bethlenfalva. He had already followed part of the studious curriculum which was de rigueur in his family even before arriving in Bologna: this included travel and study at foreign, rather than German universities.¹

Hans Jakob, accompanied on his trip by his preceptor Christoph Hager, first studied in Bourges, where he heard the courses of Andrea Alciati, and then followed Alciati to Bologna [Fig. 1.12]. Doubtless partly because of the exceptional standing of his family—the gold of Hans Jakob’s great-uncle, Jakob ‘der Reiche’, had obtained the Empire for Charles V—but certainly also because of his personal talents, Fugger met and befriended a host of people of particular political, ecclesiastical or cultural eminence—such as Viglius van Aytta van Zwichem, whom he met in Bourges and again in Bologna—or later would ascend to high civil or ecclesiastical rank. His friends included both Germans, such as the companion of his travels and studies, Georg Sigmund Seld, afterwards Reichsvizekanzler, his compatriot Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, afterwards Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Augsburg [Fig. 1.14], and Wigulaeus Hund, later Chancellor of the Duke of Bavaria. Among the Italians he met we find the young Alessandro Farnese, the future Cardinal [Fig. 1.15], and Cristoforo Madruzzo, afterwards Prince-Bishop of Trent; another fellow student was Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, afterwards Bishop of Arras, Cardinal, secretary of state of Emperor Charles V and King Philip II of Spain and Viceroy of Naples [Fig. 1.13].²


² On Alciati and on the circle of students Fugger later met in Bologna, cf. Ch. 1.3. It should be noted that the Fuggers of Hans Jakob’s generation were considered as nobles (if not as
The young Hans Jakob was a very assiduous student, who showed a great in-

members of the Augsburg patriciate, certainly as Counts of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, fiefs they held since 1507); this is corroborated by Hans Jakob’s apparently extended stay at the court of Ferdinand I in his youth, his subsequent marriage to a daughter of an Austrian baronial family, and by the habitual participation of various Fuggers in tournaments at the Imperial court and elsewhere.

Figure 3.1 Christoph Amberger, Hans Jakob Fugger, 1541; present location unknown.
terest in classical studies; and his interest included the material remains of Antiquity as much as its literary monuments. In this he followed the example of his father, who had brought together a small collection of antiquities and had funded the publication of the first corpus of inscriptions ever printed.\(^3\) A parallel—though less intense—interest in and understanding of the arts of his own time was only to be expected from someone whose father and uncles had commissioned Giulio Romano to execute the altarpiece of their family chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome [Fig. 3.2] and had received Titian in their own house.\(^4\) Fugger retained such fond memories of his studies in Bologna that when, more than thirty years later, he revisited the town as preceptor and *Maggiordomo* of the young Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, the first thing he showed his pupil was the *Archiginnasio*, ‘die Schuel oder das Collegium, darin man list’: ‘the School or College, where the lectures are given’.

Fugger’s nostalgia may have been particularly poignant because, in consequence of his father’s sudden death, he had been obliged to break off his studies prematurely. Although Hans Jakob should have taken his father’s place in the company, his uncle Anton [Fig. 3.3] thought him, probably rightly, still too young for this: so, again according to the family tradition, he was sent to gain some practical experience, first in the Antwerp branch of the firm, and then in several others. During this period he perfected his extraordinary command of foreign languages: according to the *Fuggerchronik*, he fluently spoke Italian, French, Dutch, Latin and Greek, and he also appears to have been well-versed in Czech and Polish and to have known some Hungarian, which was his mother’s native tongue.

Fugger’s unusual command of the modern languages may have been one of the talents that recommended him to Ferdinand I, and it appears that Fugger spent some time at Ferdinand’s court in Innsbruck and in Vienna, where a number of young nobleman were educated together with the young Archdukes. Fugger would always remain on excellent terms with the young Archdukes and their sisters, and in particular with the eldest, Maximilian, who shared so

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\(^3\) Cf. below; an incident in Bourges both demonstrates Fugger’s interest in classical, particular historical studies, as well as the advantage of being rich and having the international network of a great firm at one’s disposal: Fugger had lent Alciati his copy of the new, 1531, edition of *Livy’s Histories*—the first which contained the recently rediscovered books of the Fifth Decade—which he had just received. It so fascinated Alciati that he forgot to turn up for his course (Maasen 1922, p. 6). On Raymund Fugger’s collection, see Von Busch 1973, pp. 85–90. He funded the publication of Apianus/Amantius 1534, which included the inscriptions from his own collection.

\(^4\) On the *Sacra Conversazione* commissioned for the Fugger Chapel, see Sylvia Ferino Pagden in *Giulio Romano* 1989, p. 77, 262.
many of his interests. It was here that Hans Jakob met his first wife, Ursula von Harrach, whom he married in 1540; the splendid ceremony, to which Charles V delegated his Lord High Steward, took place in Rohrau an der Leitha in Lower Austria, the bride’s home. The young couple settled in Augsburg, and though by this time Hans Jakob had been made a member of the family firm, initially he appears not to have spent much of his time in business, partly because of a lack of interest, partly because his uncle Anton did everything to discourage any actual participation of his nephews in the enterprise.

In view of Hans Jakob’s lively interest in politics it is not surprising that he soon came to take part in the administration of his native city. Paradoxically Fugger’s tolerant but determined Catholicism and his family’s traditional adherence to the imperial party were an advantage to him in the city which in 1537 had expelled its Roman-Catholic clergy and had adhered to the Schmalkaldic League. Among Fugger’s first important tasks were embassies to the powerful Imperial minister, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, and to Charles V himself [Fig. 3.3]. As an imperial partisan his intercession was of some use in the conflicts of Augsburg with Charles V, and in 1548 he was appointed to a position in the government of the town. In 1549 he became a member of the
Imperial Council, and in 1551 he was given an honorary position in Ferdinand’s household. In the next decade he appears to have determined the foreign policy of Augsburg almost single-handedly, a task for which he was particularly suited because of his wide and influential acquaintance. Only after his uncle Anton’s death in 1560, when he had to take over the management of the firm, he began to loose interest in the daily routine of politics, and in 1565 his cousin Marx Fugger took his place in the City Council.

Already in the preceding decade Hans Jakob had been engaged in the direction of the firm. Since 1550 he had been chiefly occupied with the management of its Spanish interests, which had immeasurably increased in the preceding quarter of a century: one only needs to think of the monopoly in mercury which the firm obtained from Charles v, its lease on the possessions of the ‘Maestrazgos’—the Spanish knightly orders of Santiago, Alcántara and Calatrava—and of its branches in Chile and Peru. Such expansion had only been possible because the firm had continually agreed to finance Charles v’s policies, and therefore the bankruptcy of the Spanish Crown following Charles’ abdication and the consequent financial crisis profoundly shook the foundations of the firm. It would have been difficult even for a man of much greater commercial interest and talent than Hans Jakob to recoup the immense losses incurred: the Fugger remained creditors of the Spanish crown for close to three million ducats. Hans Jakob’s princely style of life and his generous patronage of learning and of the arts did not contribute to redress the balance, and he soon found himself even in private financial difficulties. In 1561 and 1562 he could not pay his taxes, and his debts in Augsburg alone came to over two hundred thousand Gulden; in June 1564 his lack of solvency had become so pressing that he was constrained to announce his personal bankruptcy, with a total amount of debts of over a million Gulden. This seemed worse than it was: Fugger possessed very extensive landed property in Alsace, Swabia and Bavaria, and in fact he was helped out by the Augsburg City Council itself, who saw to an agreement with his local creditors—these were in fact paid off even earlier than was stipulated—and by Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria [Fig. 3.4], who first lent him a large sum of cash, and afterwards agreed to take over part of Fugger’s debts in return for his splendid library and his collection of antiquities. The Duke moreover successfully mediated in Hans Jakob’s difficulties with his cousins, which were caused by his bankruptcy and by a dispute about his share in the assets of the firm after Anton’s death. The conflict was finally resolved in early October 1565, when a final division was made, and Hans Jakob completely withdrew from the firm.5

5 On the consequent litigation of Hans Jakob and his heirs with the other branches of the family, see Schneider 2016.
The Duke’s intervention on Fugger’s behalf is only one expression of the intimate friendship that had developed from about 1547 onward between the young Bavarian Prince and the slightly older Augsburg patrician, ‘dem Fürsten von Bayern vertraut wie ein Bruder’.\(^6\) Already in the middle of the 1550’s Fugger appears to have become indispensable to the Duke, whose political opinions and cultural interests he shared and probably strongly influenced. Soon he was entrusted with important diplomatic missions, and he kept the Duke abreast of the latest news by means of the *Fuggerzeitungen*, regular bulletins drafted by Fugger correspondents and employees all over Europe.\(^7\) Following Fugger’s withdrawal from the firm and from political activities in his native Augsburg, his connection with Munich strengthened and assumed a more formal character: at Easter 1565 he was appointed *Musikintendant*. This in fact involved the supervision of all Italian correspondence, which not only included letters dealing with the acquisition of musical instruments and the recruiting of musicians and singers—doubtless in close consultation with Albrecht V’s celebrated *Kapellmeister* Orlando di Lasso—but also with the purchase of books, antiquities, and works of art for the Bavarian court. In the autumn of the same year Fugger was asked to lead the retinue of the young Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, who was sent to Florence to represent his father at the wedding of his sister-in-law, the Archduchess Johanna, to Francesco de’ Medici. In 1570 Fugger was appointed a Privy Councillor, and he was given a quite exceptional salary. In 1573, finally, the notorious bankrupt was appointed to the newly created function of *Hofkammerpräsident*, chairman of the duchy’s financial authority: proof that though his bankruptcy had damaged Fugger’s financial position, it had in no way detracted from the general respect his merits entitled him to.

Duke Albrecht’s own esteem and affection for Fugger is clearly expressed in his will of 1573, in which he determined that Fugger should continue to receive his salary even if he resigned his functions at court, and that his still outstanding debts should be remitted. Fugger, whose health had never been strong, would not profit from these generous legacies, since he predeceased his patron by some four years in July 1575. He was buried at the side of his first wife in the Dominican Church at Augsburg; and since 1857 his memory is kept alive not only by the epitaph he composed himself, but also by a bronze statue at Augsburg—by that time a Bavarian town—which was erected in his honour by the distant descendant of his friend and patron, King Ludwig I of Bavaria [Fig. 3-5].

\(^6\) Letter of Ambrosius Blaurer to Heinrich Bullinger, June 1563, quoted in Hartig 1917, p. 31, note 7.

\(^7\) Zwierlein 2010.
FIGURE 3.4  Hans Mielich, Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria; Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

FIGURE 3.5  Friedrich Brugger, Hans Jakob Fugger: Beförderer der Wissenschaft, Statue commissioned in 1857 by King Ludwig I of Bavaria; Augsburg, Fuggerplatz.

FIGURES 3.6–3.7  The coat of arms of Hans Jakob Fugger and the portraits of Hans Jakob and his first wife, Ursula von Harrach, in the Ehrenbuch des Fuggerischen Geschlechts; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
3.2 Fugger as a Patron and Collector

This statue, however, does not commemorate Fugger’s commercial success or his political achievements, but is dedicated to the memory of the ‘Beförderer der Wissenschaft’, that is to Fugger’s extraordinary importance as a patron of learning. Learning in which Fugger himself was very far from deficient, and in which he doubtless would have played a much more important active role, had his position and pressing responsibilities not prevented him. This is most clear from Fugger’s short treatise on the history of the Schmalkaldic Wars: written by an engaged observer who himself had to some extent participated in the conflict, and based on the many sources to which he had exclusive access, it remains a most informative and illuminating document for the political and religious history of the years preceding the Augsburg Interim.8

Fugger’s particular interest in history is further borne out by two other works that for centuries have been erroneously attributed to his pen. The first of these is the Gehaim Eernbuch Mans Stammens und Namens des Eerlichen und altloblichen Fuggerischen Geschlechts, a history and genealogy of his family that he commissioned from the Augsburg archivist Clemens Jäger and the draughtsman Jörg Breu the Younger; it was written in 1545–1547 in collaboration with and under close supervision of Fugger himself [Figs. 3.6–3.7].9

Fugger’s immediate contribution to the actual contents of a much more splendid commission, the famous Wahrhaftige Beschreibung zwaier<...>der alleredlesten<...>Geschlechter der Christenheit, des habspurgischen unnd österreichischen Gebluets<...>bis auf Carolum den fünfften und Ferdinandum den ersten, commonly known as the Ehrenspiegel Österreichs, was limited to its conception and general supervision. The text of this voluminous compilation of the genealogy and history of the Habsburg dynasty was likewise written by Clemens Jäger, and is of little moment: ‘kein Mensch wird jemals mehr aus diesen Ungetümen sein Wissen zur bereichern suchen’, says Otto Hartig. But the profusion and splendour of its illustrations is truly exceptional, and it comes as no surprise that—some twenty years later—the Ehrenspiegel was copied on behalf of the Austrian Archdukes themselves.10

8 Autograph and clean copy preserved in BHStA, K. schw. 500/8 and A.K. schw. 543/4; cf. Maasen 1922, pp. 70–73.
10 München, bsb-hs Cgm 895 and 896. Jacob Schrenk von Notzing made a copy for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, for which purpose the Munich original was sent to Innsbruck;
The Ehrenspiegel cannot compete with, say, the Grimani Breviary or the Farnese Hours in artistic quality: in fact, as Hartig points out, all superfluous and distracting decoration is studiously avoided. But it is exceptional in that its illustrations—an extraordinary collection of portraits, views of towns and villages, battles, emblems and coats of arms—are the fruit of a conscious and sustained attempt at historical and topographical accuracy: some of the miniatures document in detail monuments and inscriptions that had already been destroyed at the time [Figs. 3.8 and 3.9].

This interest in drawings and engravings not as works of art, but as documents, as more or less reliable sources of information, is, as we shall see, typical for Fugger and his circle; and Strada soon demonstrated that he fully shared this attitude.

More than as a historiographer—the treatise on the Schmalkaldic Wars had no influence, since it was never published!—or as ‘Fundator’ of the Ehrenspiegel, Fugger is of importance for his extraordinary patronage of learning.

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FiguReS 3.8–3.9 A page from the Vienna version of the Ehrenspiegel ÖsterreicHs, and a detail showing the silver shrine for the relics of Margrave Leopold 111 of Austria, commissioned on the occasion of his canonization by Emperor Maximilian 1; Vienna, ÖsterreicHsche Nationalbibliothek.


Hartig 1917, p. 198: ‘Die Vorlagen des Künstlers nachzuweisen brächte hier grösseren wissenschaftliche Gewinn als die Ermittlung der Quellen des Schriftstellers.’
Already in the 1540s he had amply practiced the noble virtue of *liberalitas*, not only by acquiring on an unprecedented scale the works of contemporary scholars and scientists, but also by enabling many of them to compose and to publish their works. He did this either by employing them in some capacity in the firm or, more often, his household—the best example is his librarian, the famous Greek scholar Hieronymus Wolf—but also by awarding them stipends to study and to travel. This had already been a practice in his family, who often maintained promising young students without means for years; though not always without expecting some concrete return for their benevolence.\(^{12}\) Hans Jakob’s father, Raymund, had set the example of a more disinterested patronage: he had enabled Petrus Apianus [Fig. 3.14] and Bartholomäus Amantius to compose and to publish in 1534 their splendid *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis <...> totius fere orbis*, which was in part based on Raymund’s own collection [Figs. 3.15–3.17].

The extent of Hans Jakob’s patronage, however, greatly surpassed those of his relatives. It is best demonstrated by the extensive list of books that his protégées presented or dedicated to him. This list gives over forty names, and opens with Syrianus’ comments on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, in a translation by Girolamo Bagolino, which was published in 1558 by the *Accademia Veneta* with a very flattering dedication to Fugger. The *Accademia della Fama*, as it was also called, had been founded in that year by the Venetian nobleman Federico Badoer, after consultations with intellectuals and princes from all over Europe, among which Fugger was the most important German representative. Among the other Italians we find Anton Francesco Doni—not surprisingly the copy of the first book of his *Le Ville* which he presented to Hans Jakob includes an additional manuscript text ‘La Villa Fucchara’—the antiquary Ortensio Landi, the ecclesiastical historian Onofrio Panvinio, and Jacopo Strada himself. Among the learned Germans we find Sigmund Gelenius, the bibliographer and naturalist Conrad Gesner, Johann Ludwig Briscianus, Nikolaus Mameranus, Abraham Loescher, Johann Heinrich Münzinger, Johannes Pedioneus, the printer Johannes Oporinus, and Hieronymus Wolf, to mention only a few.\(^{13}\)

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\(^{12}\) Hartig 1917, pp. 201–223. The Augsburg student Hieronymus Fröschl was, for instance, maintained by Anton and Hans Jakob Fugger for over twelve years in his studies, which culminated in his doctorate at Ferrara in 1556. He had obliged himself to serve the firm in his capacity as a lawyer for a few years, yet this hardly detracts from the merit of such patronage: doubtlessly the Fugger could easily have found competent lawyers without financing their entire education! Hans Jakob also financed the travels (1548–1550) and gave detailed instructions about the curriculum of the young medical student Lorenz Grill, who was appointed professor at Ingolstadt immediately upon his return (*ibidem*, pp. 203–204).

\(^{13}\) This is an arbitrary selection! see Maasen 1922, pp. 81–91; Hartig 1917, pp. 193–223; in his dedication to Fugger of his *Epitome du thrésor <...>* (Strada 1553<\text{a}> and <\text{b}>), Strada
Of course such dedications or gifts were not always tokens of gratitude for immediate financial support. Sometimes the various authors referred to other benefits received from Hans Jakob, who might have used his influence in helping them find a job, could have been their host in Augsburg, or had helped them to find or to gain access to some important but rare source necessary for their work. It is to Fugger’s credit that, though his staunch adherence to the established religion is without question, he never let religious difference prevent him from helping those whose intellectual gifts clearly deserved his support: and such tolerance included his day-to-day life and his own house, as is demonstrated by his appointment of the strict Protestant Hieronymus Wolf as his librarian [Fig. 3.12].

But not all authors who presented their works had received such concrete support from Fugger: sometimes they merely acknowledged the helpful exchange of opinions with the learned colleague, or dedicated the fruit of their labours to Fugger purely for his wide renown as a patron of learning and the fame of his extraordinary library. This library, which for some years was the largest and most complete in Germany, laid the foundations of the Munich Hofbibliothek—now the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—and of all Fugger’s endeavours has doubtless conferred the most lasting benefits on posterity. Already as a young student Fugger had used his ample means to acquire many books, such as a new edition of Livy which, when a student at Bourges, he lent to his teacher Alciati.\textsuperscript{14} By the time he returned from Italy in 1535, his collection had already grown sufficiently to be specifically referred to in one of Viglius’ letters. Fugger’s just pride in his library, which was the fruit of a conscious and systematic programme of collecting, is expressed in the opening paragraph of the Ehrenspiegel, in which he relates his efforts to the example of Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, who had included an opened book in his armorial bearings.\textsuperscript{15} The great naturalist and bibliographer, Conrad Gesner devotes a passage to Fugger’s patronage: ‘Considerant donques que ie n’ay iamais veu homme à qui la cognoiissance des antiquitez ayt esté plus plaisante qu’à vous [<…>] qu’à bien bon droit les gens vertueux et doctes que vous aves eslevez et soutenuz par vos bienfaits, et qui sont parvenuz à dignitez et honneurs, à l’adveu de vostre nom, en sont assez suffisante preuve’.

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. above, note 3.

\textsuperscript{15} Quoted in Hartig 1917, p. 193: ‘Dieweil dann der hochloblich vnd weiss Alphonsus Kinig zu Arragonia, Neaples vnd Sicilien, sich aller Historien zu lesen, hoch beflissen, auch als ein hertzweiser Kinig ein herrlichen Schatz von allerlay Buechern, mit grosser antzal versamlen lassen, auch sein höchste freud vnd wollust in den Buechern, welche Er der todten Rate genant, gehabt, Ja ein aufgethon Buch in seiner Maiestat Haupt Insigel vnd wappen, für ein Librey gefiert. Vnd aber Got der Allmechtig mir souil Gnaden verlihen, das Ich aus warer angeborner natur vnd liebe, zu aller lobwürdigen guten kunsten aller faculteten, vor andern meines Eerlichenn Geschlechts, ein solche herrliche Bibliothecam
[Fig. 3.10], did not hesitate to compare Fugger’s library with the most exalted foundations of modern times, such as the Vatican Library and the Bibliotheca Marciana at Venice, which had been founded by Cardinal Bessarion; the library of King Matthias Corvinus at Budapest; the Laurenziana in Florence, and the library of Francis I at Fontainebleau. This was no mere flattery: Fugger had in fact used his great wealth and the facilities that the firm put at his disposal, to realize a library that far exceeded any private library, both for its size and for its comprehensive, almost encyclopaedic character; excepting the Heidelberg Bibliotheca Palatina, it was at that date (1556) unrivalled even by the princely institutions of Germany.

Fugger sought to acquire a possibly complete collection of texts in the three ancient languages, that is including Greek and Hebrew, the study of both of which was still very recent; in particular that of Hebrew, which was only coming into its own with the advent of the Reformation, and the consequent increase in interest in the Old Testament. To Fugger, completeness meant that if no printed edition of a given text was available, he would strive to acquire a manuscript copy: and in fact the editio princeps of some texts was prepared on the basis of manuscripts from his own library. He often employed the agents of the Fugger firm in the various capitals of Europe to provide him with new editions, to discover the manuscripts of important, unpublished texts and, if these could not be acquired, to have them copied by expert scribes. Moreover he occasionally employed more specialist agents, who were scholars themselves, such as the Flemish neo-Latin poet Niccolò Stopio—acting director of Bomberg’s printing house in Venice, which specialized in Hebrew editions— who kept him informed of the Venetian book market; Stopio’s compatriot Arnoldus Arlenius, a learned student and merchant of ancient manuscripts and curator of the important collection belonging to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Charles V’s ambassador to the Serenissima; and, some years later, the brilliant young antiquary Onofrio Panvinio. Though Fugger provided his
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books with sturdy and well-designed bindings, he was chiefly interested in the texts themselves, in the information his books contained, rather than in their rarity or splendour: this explains why he was often satisfied with good modern transcripts, provided that they were written in a good hand and by a learned scribe, and why he acquired a proportionately large number of Greek manuscripts: so many Latin texts were, after all, already available in good printed versions.

Though the collection of classical and biblical texts in the three ancient languages must be considered as the backbone of Fugger’s library, and he himself was particularly interested in classical and modern historiography and its auxiliary sciences (such as numismatics and epigraphy), Fugger’s conscious aim was to build up an extensive but balanced body of documentation covering all branches of science and the humanities. Such encyclopaedic passion clearly reflects the spirit of the age, a spirit which is evident in the proliferation of dictionaries—or ‘Theatres’, ‘Promptuaria’ etc.—that attempted to codify human knowledge, such as the Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium, published in 1548 by Fugger’s protégé Conrad Gesner [Fig. 3.10]. This bulky volume, containing no less than thirty thousand subject entries, cross-references, and bibliographical data, was itself merely the companion volume of Gesner’s Bibliotheca Universalis, a four-volume bibliography of all books in Latin, Greek and Hebrew ever printed. Its first edition was published in 1545 [Fig. 3.11], soon followed by a supplement volume, as well as by some cheaper, abridged editions. It is clear that the Bibliotheca Universalis strongly stimulated Fugger’s ideas: in the very year that it came out he unsuccessfully invited Gesner to become his first librarian. Gesner’s work probably first made Fugger think of his library as an independent instrument of research, as an institution rather than as a private library: the Bibliotheca Universalis became the ideal model for his library, rather than just a convenient guide for future acquisitions.

Fugger’s thirst for universal knowledge and his interest in a systematically accessible arrangement of such knowledge are confirmed by his connections with the Antwerp doctor Samuel Quiccheberg, whom he appointed as his librarian in about 1559, and who appears also to have been charged with

19 Gesner 1545 and 1555 (and facsimile reprint with introduction: Gesner/Widmann 1966); Gesner 1548; on Gesner as abibliographer, see Hartig 1917, passim; Besterman 1936, pp. 33–41; Fischer 1966; Eisenstein 1979, pp. 97–100; Braun 1990.

20 Gesner proposed that the systematic part of his catalogue could be used as the catalogue of any library, if one marked in it the books owned; and the margins offered some space for adding new publications. A copy belonging to Hans Jakob’s nephew, Philip Eduard Fugger, demonstrates that this was in fact occasionally done (see Gesner/ Widmann 1966).
the supervision of Fugger’s collections [Fig. 3.13]. Later Quiccheberg followed these collections to Munich, where he appears to have been closely involved in their arrangement, and it was in Munich that he published in 1565 his Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi<...>. This is a short treatise expounding the raison d’être of the Kunst- und Wunderkammer, and providing detailed practical instructions as to its classification and arrangement; not unreasonably, it has been hailed as the first museological treatise of modern times.21 In it Quiccheberg also stressed the importance of the library, which he considered an indispensable sister-institution of his ideal museum, and he suggests a method of systematic classification for its contents. This classification shows great affinity with the system actually in use in the arrangement of Fugger’s books. This is not surprising, since Quiccheberg, as Fugger’s librarian, had been responsible for its elaboration. Yet it is rather likely that this classification, which owns a lot to Gesner’s Bibliotheca universalis, was the result of close consultation with Gesner, Quiccheberg’s predecessor Hieronymus Wolf—who remained in Augsburg—and Fugger himself. In 1571, when Fugger’s library was ceded to Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, the system was extended to the whole of the Duke’s library almost without modifications.22

21 Quiccheberg 1565; Quiccheberg/Roth 2000 (text edition and German translation); Quiccheberg/Meadow/Robertson 2013 (English translation); on Quiccheberg (the name is also spelt Quickelberg), see Hartig 1917, pp. 33–34, 70, 93–96, 227–229 and passim; Berliner 1928; Hartig 1933; Bernheimer 1956; Hajas 1958; Scheicher 1979, pp. 68–71; Seelig 1985, pp. 86–87; Falguières 1992; Jansen 1993.<b>

22 Hartig 1917, pp. 223–240; the signatures written in the hands of Fugger’s librarians—Hieronymus Wolf and Samuel Quiccheberg and the assistants Carolus Stephanus and
The Munich Hofbibliothek, which at that time was being moved into new premises designed and built for the purpose, was thus enriched with a collection of several times its own size: Fugger’s library had already swallowed whole the entire library that had once belonged to the Nuremberg humanist Hartmann Schedel. Fugger had acquired this collection en bloc in 1552, and he had maintained it as a separate entity. Fugger’s success in his attempt at completeness can be deduced from the present holdings of the Munich Staatsbibliothek, as described by Hartig: though he gives no estimate of the number of printed books in Fugger’s library, this must have exceeded rather than have fallen short of 10,000 volumes; and together with Schedel’s codices the library contained about a thousand volumes of manuscripts. Hartig’s survey is doubtless a more reliable guide than Jacopo Strada’s panegyric on the library to which he himself had contributed some of his proudest achievements; yet it is surely no coincidence that Strada, who had been involved in its expansion since about 1544, chose to demonstrate its excellence by means of a comparison with Gesner’s Bibliotheca Universalis.

3.3 Fugger’s Employment of Strada

Strada’s acquaintance with Hans Jakob Fugger dates from the middle of the 1540s at the latest. Though it is quite possible that Strada had first met Fugger in Italy, it is not very likely that Strada came to Germany in response to Fugger’s explicit request: in that case he would have settled in Augsburg, rather than in Nuremberg. But though we do not know exactly when and how their contact was established, their meeting was inevitable in view of their common interests, if only because Strada must have been eager to study the well-known collection of antiquities that had belonged to Fugger’s father, Raymund the Elder, as well Hans Jakob’s own collection. It appears that Fugger considered Strada ab initio as a scholar, an antiquary, rather than as an artist: we have no concrete indications that he commissioned or acquired any original works of art, such as paintings or objects of goldsmith’s work, from him or that he employed him

Wolfgang Prommer—can still be noted in many books and manuscripts in the Munich Staatsbibliothek.

23 Hartig 1917, pp. 135–137.
as an architect or decorative designer, though the possibility obviously cannot be excluded.

Fugger's almost exclusive interest in Strada's scholarly potential is not surprising, because Fugger was much more a patron of learning than a patron of the arts—very little is known of his activities in that field, in which he was rather overshadowed by his younger cousin Hans.\(^{26}\) As we have seen, Fugger had many contacts with scholars from Germany and the Netherlands, many of whom were resident in Southern Germany: in Augsburg, Nuremberg, at the Bavarian court in Munich or at the University of Ingolstadt. Though he also maintained close contacts with several scholars in Italy—among which the poet Ortesio Landi and the historian and antiquary Onofrio Panvinio—there were few Italian intellectuals actually present in his immediate circle, and few scholars who knew Italy from thorough first-hand experience. The linguist Fugger may have greatly enjoyed the possibility of regularly practising his Italian—in which he was remarkably proficient, to judge from his letters to Panvinio—yet Strada's first-hand knowledge of the tangible remains of Antiquity preserved on Italian soil must have been his principal attraction: whereas the northern scholars in Fugger's circle by this time may have admired these during their visits to Italy, they had not yet studied them in detail.\(^{27}\)

It was this study—the study of the history of the ancient world not only from its literary sources but also from its tangible remains, such as inscriptions, coins, and even from the remnants of its works of art, architecture and technique—that was Fugger's private passion. This passion he had inherited from his father, Raymund Fugger (1489–1535), whose modest, but quite choice collection of antiquities had been one of the sources for Petrus Apianus' and Bartholomäus Amantius' *Opus inscriptionum sacrosanctae vetustatis totius fere orbis* of 1534, which work was dedicated to and financed by Raymund himself [Figs. 3.14–3.17]. Raymund's collection, known only through a description by the humanist Beatus Rhenanus and a document relating to the division of Raymund's estate among his heirs, was housed in two rooms on the upper floor.

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\(^{26}\) On Hans Fugger, see *LilL* 1908; s.v. ‘Fugger, Johannes’ in *NDB* 5, 1961; Burkhardt/ Karg 2007.

\(^{27}\) Excerpts from Fugger's correspondence with Panvinio (preserved in the Vatican Library, cod. Vat. Lat. 6412) are given in the appendix to Maasen 1922, pp. 96–126. When he accompanied Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria to the wedding of Johanna of Austria, Ferdinand's cousin, to Francesco de' Medici, Fugger's conversation greatly pleased Cosimo I, with whom he had ‘welsch referirt, darauf replicirt, duplicirt und driplicirt worden’ (*ibidem*, p. 48).
Figures 3.14–3.17  Petrus Apianus, engraving; the title page from Apianus and Amantius’ Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis (1534), in part based on the collections of antiquities brought together by Hans Jakob Fugger’s father, Raymund; and two of its illustrations: the Column of Trajan in Rome, and some inscriptions found in and near Augsburg.
of his house in the Kleesattlergasse.\textsuperscript{28} The disposition of the antiquities was determined by their material: the bronze statuettes, a bronze relief and the coin-collection where housed in the first room, the sculpture in marble and stone in the second. Though these rooms also contained paintings and curiosities and must be regarded as a \textit{studiolo} or a modest \textit{Kunstkammer}, the antiquities were its most important component; when the collection was sold to the Duke of Bavaria in 1566, they represented three quarters of the total value. By virtue of the vaunted ‘Greek’ and ‘Sicilian’ provenance of the statues described by Beatus Rhenanus, it appears that Raymund had made his acquisitions in Italy, probably chiefly in Venice, through the branches of his firm. Its quality cannot be determined: only two of the statues as described by Rhenanus can be related to objects preserved in Munich—both, it should be said, Renaissance imitations from Northern Italy.\textsuperscript{29}

At the final division of Raymund’s estate between his heirs in 1548, the collection of antiques was not assigned to Hans Jakob, as one would have expected, but to his brother Raymund the Younger; though in the reshuffling of Fugger property connected with Hans Jakob’s bankruptcy in 1566 the two collections were united and ceded, as we have seen, to Duke Albrecht in partial refunding of Hans Jakob’s debts.\textsuperscript{30} Unfortunately, even less is known about Hans Jakob’s own collection than about that of his father, and it was obviously subordinate to the library.\textsuperscript{31} Library and collection filled several rooms of his Augsburg house, and apart from books and manuscripts their contents included coins and medals, full length antique statuary, and a series of marble busts of Roman Emperors and Empresses. There also appear to have been contemporary works of art, such as casts in bronze and/or gesso, paintings and drawings, as is indicated in the brief passage devoted to Hans Jakob’s library in the \textit{Fuggerchronik}:

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{28}] On Raymund’s collection, see Bursian 1874, and Busch 1973, pp. 85–90, who cites Beatus Rhenanus’ \textit{Rerum Germanicarum libri tres}, Basel 1531 (p. 194) and the deed of division of 1548 in Dillingen, Fugger Archiv, FA 5,6.
\item[\textsuperscript{29}] Von Busch 1973, pp. 88–90, refers to the lively industry of copies of famous antique statues and the popularity of imitations of antique art in general. If the identification of the two statues in Munich is correct, they must be regarded as deliberate forgeries; but Von Busch rightly points out: ‘da sie aber das ganze Jahrhundert hindurch als wertvolle Originale galten, kann die heutige Einschätzung ihre Bedeutung für das Museum des 16. Jahrhunderts nicht mindern’.
\item[\textsuperscript{30}] Von Busch 1973, p. 115.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}] Described in Von Busch 1973, p. 111–113.
\end{itemize}
Next to this quantity of beautiful books [in his house] will not only be seen common and badly painted portraits, as can generally be seen with other people, but instead a huge number of old Roman portraits, all manner of consuls, dictators and other leader of the Romans, as well as the Italian and German Kings of the Romans and the [Holy Roman] Emperors, in drawings, in painting, or casts.\textsuperscript{32}

The emphasis on portraits in various forms corresponds to Fugger's own historical and genealogical interest as well as to Strada's research, which may well have been stimulated by Fugger, who in any case intended to reap some of its fruits. Fugger employed Strada chiefly in connection with his collection of antiquities and its appurtenances, initially particularly in the field of numismatics. When Strada met Fugger he had already acquired some expertise in this field, owing to his study of Giulio's medals and his travels in Italy. In the preface to the French version of his 1553 \textit{Epitome thesauri antiquitatum} he even claims that he came to Germany partly ‘pour recouvrer desdites Medailles, à l’accroissement et perfection de mon livre’.\textsuperscript{33} Hans Jakob now generously provided him with the means necessary to continue his studies, very likely in the form of a stipend similar to those he had given other erudites:

\textit{<...>} while I was in Germany, this good lord has been so good and kind to me, as to provide me liberally and wholeheartedly all that was convenient and necessary to me, so that it would be a perpetual shame and everlasting infamy, if I would disdain to present this my labour, for as much as it is worth, to him who is my lord and sovereign master \textit{<...>}.\textsuperscript{34}
This implies that Strada for some years received a stipend or pension sufficient to live on together with his travel expenses while he visited and studied in detail the numismatic collections of Germany. Meanwhile he elaborated and arranged the numismatic documentation (descriptions, drawings, casts in wax or other copies) that he had already collected in Italy. This material was intended to be published in a voluminous, fully illustrated numismatic Corpus, which would never be realized because of the excessive expense its printing...

Figures 3.18–3.21 Jacopo Strada, Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, Lyon 1553: title page; coat of arms of the dedicatee, Hans Jakob Fugger; woodcut medallic portraits on pages 20 (dependents of Claudius) and 21 (Caligula).

In his ms. A.A.A. Numismatum Διασκευέ—in which he always notes the owners of the coins he describes—Strada mentions the collections of Willibald Imhof, of Johann and Georg Kändler, of Georg Römer and of Johann Starck in Nuremberg, of Hieronymus Aeginus in Frankfurt, and of Hans Jakob Fugger and Samuel Quiccheberg in Augsburg; all of these collections were also visited—or at least described—by Hubert Goltzius in his 1563 edition of Caesar [see Dekesel 1981], and also mentioned by Quiccheberg, p. H i r.; it is not known when Strada visited these collections, probably both before and after his sojourn in Lyon and Rome (1552–1555). On the Διασκευέ, see Jansen 1993<sup>a</sup>.
demanded. But Strada did succeed in publishing a resume of this *Corpus*, his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. This attractive treatise, illustrated by hundreds of woodcuts, was printed in Lyon in 1553 in a Latin and a French edition, both of which were dedicated to Strada's patron, who doubtless had helped finance the printing [Figs. 3.18–3.21].

But Fugger's library would profit in a more substantial way from Strada's numismatic studies: the numismatic material that Strada collected was also drawn upon to produce an immense series of pen-and-ink drawings for Fugger, in fact a manuscript version of the planned *Corpus*, the *Magnum ac Novum Opus Continens descriptionem Vitae, Imaginum, numismatum omnium tam Orientalium quam Occidentalium Imperatorum ac Tyrrannorum* [...] [Figs. 3.22–3.23]. The obverse and reverse of every single coin were represented each on a large sheet of beautiful paper ('carta reale'), and in a size very much larger than life (in the drawings the average diameter of the coins is 25 cm) [Figs. 3.26–3.33]. Initially these drawings were made by Strada himself, later he had them executed—always under his close supervision and probably on the basis of his own sketches—by several draughtsmen he employed in his studio.

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The drawings were very highly valued: a fellow antiquary and collector, Adolf Occo, wrote that Fugger had paid a ducat for each of them, and this price is confirmed by the compensation Strada asked for similar drawings he offered to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1574.\textsuperscript{37}

Strada continued to work on this project for over twenty years: the last volumes were sent in 1571 to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, who had acquired the series together with Fugger’s library and collection. Since the thirty-odd volumes of this Magnum opus—they are now split up between the Forschungsbibliothek at Gotha in Thuringia and the British Museum—contain in total over nine thousand drawings, their manufacture must have contributed greatly to his prosperity.\textsuperscript{38}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figures322-323.png}
\caption{Jacopo Strada and workshop, title page and dedication of his Magnum ac novum opus, begun for Hans Jakob Fugger in 1550 and continued for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria; now in Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{37} Adolf Occo in a letter to Bonifazius Amerbach, quoted in Patin 1683, p. 187; Doc. 1574-09-09, Strada to Jacopo Dani: ‘<…> da Sua Altezza non voglio altro che un tallero del pezzo sotto sopra, cioè un tallero la testa et un tallero il roverso, et similmente del suo ellogio. Venne sonno poi dell’altrre, con molto più manifestura, che non le faria per un par di ducati il pezzo <…>’.

\textsuperscript{38} Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, mss. A 2175, 1–14 and 16–30; cf. Cyprian 1714, nrs. 239–268; the four volumes that were given as lost by Hartig 1917, pp. 214–215, and Von Busch 1973.
Why did Fugger so highly value these drawings? Hardly for their merit as works of art—in any case rather modest—for in that case Fugger, though an important patron of learning, but no great patron of the visual arts, would have been as advanced in his tastes and insights as those very few Italian collectors of drawings of which Giorgio Vasari is the best known. But Fugger was very much aware of the value of such visual material as a vehicle of exact information, information which could not be conveyed by words alone. This awareness he shared with many of his contemporaries, as is shown by the remarkable development in those years of the quantity and quality of the illustrations of scientific books or practical and theoretical manuals: the beautiful engravings from Titian’s studio in Vesalius’ *De Fabrica Corporis Humana*, and the first well-illustrated architectural treatises (Serlio, Vignola) come to mind. Such illustration, however, was extremely expensive, and therefore only feasible when large

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**Figures 3.24–3.25** Jacopo Strada, pages from the *Magnum ac novum opus*: Chapter title and abbreviated biography of Julius Caesar preceding the drawings of his coinage.

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p. 331, n. 13, are in the British Museum, mss. *Arundel* 65, i–iv. A resume of the contents made when part of the volumes were sent to Munich in 1566 gives a total of 6171 drawings (Hartig 1917), *Beilage* XI, 7 (pp. 324–328). Their description opened the inventory of the Munich *Kunstkammer* by Johann Baptist Fickler of 1598, published in Diemer 2004, nrs. 1–34 and 36–37, pp. 41–43; its commentary volumes provide further information: Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 1, pp. 1–6, and they were illustrated and briefly described in an exhibition catalogue on the history of the Munich Staatsbibliothek, *Kulturkosmos der Renaissance* 2008, cat. nr. 93 and 94, pp. 260–263.
Figures 3.26–3.27  Jacopo Strada, pages from the *Magnum ac novum opus*: the obverses of coins of Caesar and of Eunoë, wife of King Bogud of Mauritania, and reputedly one of Caesar's mistresses.

Figures 3.28–3.33  Jacopo Strada, pages from the *Magnum ac novum opus*: Various drawings of reverses, not all of them based on authentic ancient coins. The architectural reverses can be considered as reconstructions of the buildings depicted, rather than as documentation of the individual coin. The drawing of Charlemagne's monogram is based on existing Carolingian coin types.
editions could be printed; and even then only a limited selection of illustrations could be realized. Just as Fugger had to employ learned scribes to obtain transcripts of Hebrew or Arab texts not yet in print, he had to rely on able draughtsmen to obtain illustration of those objects of interest of which as yet no good prints had been published. And just as he had been stimulated to institutionalize his library by his contacts with Conrad Gesner, his contacts with Strada, who combined a lively intellectual curiosity with a thorough artistic training, had opened his eyes to the value of such visual documentation.

Strada’s preoccupation with the collecting and diffusion of information in visual form became a *Leitmotiv* in his later career, and was fully shared by his patron. This is demonstrated not only by the numismatic corpus and other comparable material that Fugger acquired from Strada himself, such as the splendid illuminated volumes documenting the coats of arms of Popes and Cardinals, of Italian states and cities, and their noble and patrician families [Figs. 3.34–3.36], but also by, for instance, a (lost) manuscript version of Jean-Jacques Boissard’s book on costume, and the series of portraits and arms of the Popes commissioned from Onofrio Panvinio.39

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39 Strada’s so-called ‘Italienische Wappenbücher’ (Munich, bsb-HS, *Cod. icon* 266–280) are described in Kulturkosmos der Renaissance, cat. nr. 57, pp. 164–165. They are integrally accessible through www.muenchener-digitalisierungszentrum.de. Boissard’s ms. was dedicated to Fugger and dated 1559 (Hartig 1917, p. 120, nr. 93) and is discussed in great detail in Thimann 2005. Panvinio, with whom Fugger corresponded extensively in 1562–1567 [extracts published in Maasen 1922, *Beilagen* nrs. 6–51, pp. 97–126] also provided
For both Fugger and Strada, such material was an indispensable complement of the books preserved in the library, and it is presented as a completely integral part of the ‘Theatre’ or ideal museum sketched in Samuel Quiccheberg’s *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*. Quiccheberg, who from the late 1550s onward was responsible for Fugger’s library and collection, already had links with Fugger in the late 1540s, and he may well have participated in discussions about this aspect of the collection. He certainly singled out this aspect of Fugger’s library for special praise, and explicitly mentions Strada’s *Magnum opus* in his description:

Raymund has indeed with this same brother [= Hans Jakob] and advised by Jacopo Strada acquired antique statues, and books in which countless coins are separately painted, in so many volumes that if they had to be transported they would burden many pack-mules.  

Nonetheless his argument in favour of the inclusion of such material in his *Theatre*, for instance in a section exclusively devoted to copper-engravings, was neither profound nor particularly original:

So in time such albums and other materials are increased by diligent patrons to such an extent, that solely from these images it appears possible to acquire knowledge of many subjects, for the observation of a single image makes a greater impression in the mind than the daily reading of many pages [of text].

Apart from providing his patron’s library or *Kunstkammer* with these fruits of his erudition and diligence, Strada probably also acquired various antiquities for Fugger’s cabinet, in particular ancient coins and medals. Strada was very much at home in the shops of the goldsmiths and jewellers, which had become

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40 Quiccheberg 1565, p. G iii-v.: ‘Raimundus vero cum eodem fratre, antiquarum statuarum, librorumque in quibus innumera numismata privatim depinguntur, tanta volumina adhibito Iacobo a Strada conquisivit, ut si asportandi sunt, eis aliquot citellarii muli debant oneri; cuius argumenti exemplari solum in Caesareis museis apud Maximilianum Imperatorum conservantur augenturque’.

41 Quiccheberg 1565, p. E iv-v.: ‘Subinde ergo huius instituti fasciculi et materiae a diligenti-oribus patronis adeo augentur, ut quam plurimarum disciplinarum ex his solum imaginibus cognitio acquiri posse videatur, plus enim quandoque praestat memoriae inspectio solum alicuis picturae quam diuturna lectio multarum paginarum’.
the natural repositories of the smaller antiques, such as small bronzes, gems and coins. This was especially true for the Nuremberg goldsmiths, several of whom appear themselves to have owned cabinets of curiosities that stimulated similar activities on the part of their social superiors.\(^4\) Soon, however, Strada did not need to limit his acquisitions to the shops of his Nuremberg neighbours, since Fugger anticipated the advice that Quiccheberg gave in the second part of the *Inscriptiones vel tituli*:

> It is suitable that great lords have talented men at their disposal to send to various countries, in order to look for marvellous things <...>\(^4\)

When Strada dedicated his edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* of 1575 to Albrecht v—the epistle as a whole is one long paean on the Munich *Hofbibliotek* and Fugger's fundamental role in its creation—he relates how he had been sent to Italy with the specific purpose of purchasing such 'marvellous things' for his patron's cabinet.\(^4\) Though Strada's travels probably were primarily intended as learned peregrinations, and the results of his study would find their way into the numismatic albums prepared for his patron, it may be assumed that Fugger expected some more immediate and concrete results in return for his capital outlay. That such results did indeed include the acquisition of antiques—in particular of antique sculpture—is indicated by Fugger's comment, in a letter to Niccolò Stopio of 1567 referring to Strada's purchases:

> '<...> di quelle [= ‘anticaglie’] ne comprò in Roma già parecchi anni fa, me resto sattisfatto'.\(^4\)

The wide range of Strada's tasks can be best demonstrated by an account of the documented travels he made while in Fugger's service, that is his trip to Lyon in about 1550, and his subsequent trip first to Lyon, and then to Rome in 1553–1555. These are of sufficient importance, also in view of Strada's later career, to have a paragraph of their own.

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\(^4\) In his *A.A.A. Numismatan Antiquorum Διασκεδασμὸν* Strada refers repeatedly to various goldsmiths owning prize specimens of coin-types he described; see Jansen 1993a, pp. 219–220 and annex 1b, pp. 231–232.

\(^4\) Quiccheberg 1565, p. D ii r.: ‘Optimates in his colligendis decebit habere homines ingeniosos quos ad diversas regiones mittant, inquirendarum rerum miraculosarum gratia <...>’.

\(^4\) Caesar 1575, p. * 4-r.: ‘Missus sum ab hinc annis 20. in Italian, Romam, Venetias ac aliò ad numismata auro, argento, ac aere afformata, vetustateque insignia marmorae comparanda, quae ego magna vi pecuniarum expensa Augustam, nobilissimis spoliis excuta Italia, advexi. Sunt inter ea quàm pluries Imperatorum ac Imperatricum capita, multae insuper integrae marmorae statuae, aliæque opera non minimi precii et pervertuta’.

\(^4\) ‘I am still quite satisfied with those [= antiquities] he bought for me in Rome several years ago’: Fugger to Stopio, 6 December 1567, BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 103v, as quoted in Von Busch 1973, p. 112; cf. below, Ch. 12.3.
3.4 Architectural Patronage for the Fuggers: The Donauwörth Studiolo

Fugger’s documented patronage of Strada is restricted to antiquarian and heraldic materials. But Fugger’s commission of numismatic drawings can also be considered as artistic patronage: they are works of art in their own right. Because of his patronage Fugger was well placed to judge Strada’s competence in the field of design, of which his numismatic drawings provided excellent examples. Strada’s detailed reconstructions of the architectural reverses show that this included architectural and ornamental design. It would not be surprising if his patron sought to profit from this competence: thus Strada may have contributed to the refurbishment of the castle at Taufkirchen an der Vils, which soon after its acquisition in 1554 became Hans Jakob’s preferred country residence [Fig. 3.37].46

Because of Strada’s artistic background and his profound first-hand knowledge of avant-garde Italian architecture he would in all probability be consulted when his patron or members of his family and his immediate circle planned some artistic enterprise. One of these was the total reconstruction of the Pflegehaus at Donauwörth, acquired by Hans Jakob’s uncle and guardian Anton Fugger in 1536 and rebuilt and decorated in the following decade [Fig. 3.38].

The various decorative elements of the building, such as chimneypieces and wooden portals, all are in a consciously classical, architectonic manner; most of them appear to have been executed only in the mid-1540s [Figs. 3.40–3.45]. The most spectacular element among these is the wooden Stübchen, a small chamber or study constructed in wood, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich [Figs. 3.43–3.45]. Both the architectural conception and the

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46 Too little appears to remain at Taufkirchen from Hans Jakob’s period to corroborate this supposition. On Taufkirchen, see Gsedl / Heilmaier / Kemper 2008.
sophisticated ornamental detail of this masterwork are entirely Italian in spirit and, as Henry-Russell Hitchcock has it, presuppose that the artist was an Italian or, ‘if a Northerner, he certainly had a more thorough training in Italy than any of the native artists whose work in Germany of this years is recognizable’.47

Some of the elements in the *Stübchen* and two of the wooden portals [Figs. 3.41–3.42] appear to derive from Serlio, some of whose designs were already printed (in particular in the *Quarto Libro*, first published in 1540). But these printed designs are not sufficiently close to the Donauwörth portals to have served as immediate examples; they could only have served as a source of inspiration to artists already thoroughly conversant with their underlying principles of design. Strada was trained in Italy exactly in the environment—Mantua, Rome—which appears to have inspired the style of the *Stübchen*, and he and his patron certainly had immediate access to Serlio’s printed volumes.48 By 1546, the date of these two portals and the *Stübchen*, Strada had already been working for the Fugger for some years, reason why I think it is warranted to propose a tentative attribution of the design of these to him. Such


48 It cannot be excluded that Strada, whose close relationship to Serlio is documented for Lyon in the 1550s, had already met the master earlier in Italy or even in France and had had access to his work long before he acquired it for his own collection and publishing programme.
Figures 3.41–3.42  Three wooden portals from the Fugger house at Donauwörth; Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

Figures 3.43–3.45  The exterior and details of the interior of the Donauwörth Stübchen, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

an attribution does not quarrel with Strada’s own, much later design for the Munich Antiquarium, nor with the designs for some of the other works that can be associated with him, and which will be discussed in the second part of this book. It is moreover supported by a later letter to Strada in which Hans
Jakob Fugger refers to his first-hand experience of, and his full confidence in Strada's competence in the field of architectural design.\textsuperscript{49}

### 3.5 Strada's Trips to Lyon

Strada's first visit to Lyon took place in 1550, according to the preface to his edition of Serlio's \textit{Settimo Libro}. The primary motive of his trip was presumably his desire to make the first arrangements for the publication of his \textit{Epitome thesauri antiquitatum}, and probably during this first sojourn he found a partner—the Netherlandish bookseller Thomas Guérin—to finance the printing, and came to some provisional agreement with the printer, Jean de Tournes; with the wood-engraver, probably Bernard Salomon; and with Jean Louveau, the author of the French translation [Figs. 3.20–3.22].\textsuperscript{50}

At first sight it seems odd that Strada should have decided to print his book in Lyon, where Fugger—who probably bore part of the expense—had no commercial contacts, instead of other centres of printing such as Frankfurt, Nuremberg, or Venice. The reputation of its printers cannot have been the sole motive of Strada's choice: though it might have been difficult to find a wood-engraver of a sufficiently advanced style in Germany, in Venice he certainly would have. Perhaps just because the Fugger, unlike other German bankers, were not represented in Lyon—they were too closely tied to the Habsburg interest to maintain branches in France—Hans Jakob was glad to create an opportunity to establish or renew contacts with a major intellectual centre in Europe, and to obtain the material for his library and collection (books, manuscripts, medals, perhaps other antiquities) that Strada could select for him.

#### 3.5.1 The Humanist Circle in Lyon

Through his Italian connections, Strada must have been aware of the wealth and intellectual life of the town, which boasted a veritable colony of merchants and bankers from Florence, Lucca, Lombardy and Genoa, with some of whom he may have had contacts. Like many other Nuremberg merchants, Strada's acquaintance Willibald Imhoff did maintain very close ties with Lyon, and may

\textsuperscript{49} Doc. 1568-11-13: Hans Jakob Fugger to Strada, Taufkirchen, 13 November 1568. If the Donauwörth Stübchen and portals were designed by Strada, than so were at least some of the ceilings in the Fugger castle at Babenhausen, which are stylistically very close (LIEB 1958, Figs. 209–210).

\textsuperscript{50} For more detailed information on Strada's activities as a publisher, see Jansen 2004; and below, Ch. 14.
well have provided Strada with further introductions to local society.\textsuperscript{51} Doubtless Strada himself was attracted to Lyon by the antiquities of this old Roman colony as much as by the fame of the local printers.

Strada planned his second sojourn in Lyon to be longer than the first: he left Nuremberg early in August 1552, after having obtained permission to live up to three years in Lyon without losing his Nuremberg citizenship, and having sold his household effects.\textsuperscript{52} He would remain in Lyon at least until the actual printing of the treatise, which was completed on 6 November 1553.\textsuperscript{53} This visit therefore afforded him ample opportunity to establish contacts with the lively humanist circle flourishing in this centre of the \textit{Pléiade}. A good impression of the brilliance and cosmopolitanism of this circle in the years preceding Strada’s arrival is given in Jean-Claude Margolin’s article on Jean Visagier’s \textit{Epigrammata}, a volume of poems recording the names of and dedicated to the members of what Visagier considered a \textit{sodalitium}, an informal academy which included Rabelais, Etienne Dolet, the German scholar-printer Sebastien Gryphius, Maurice and Guillaume Scève and Louise Labé, to name only a few.\textsuperscript{54} Strada will have felt particularly at home because of Lyon’s traditional connections with Italy: the city counted a considerable number of Italian families among its patriciate, such as the Gondi and the Guadagni, and at the time its archbishop was Cardinal Ippolito d’Este. Moreover various individual Italian expatriates had made their home temporarily or permanently in Lyon. One of these was Fugger’s old acquaintance Ortensio Landi († 1560), a friend of Dolet who had worked as an editor in Gryphius’ workshop in 1534–1535, and who had visited Hans Jakob in Augsburg in 1544–45. So Strada must have known him personally, and through him could establish contacts with other Italians in Lyon, such as the humanist Gabriele Symeoni, the lawyer Giulio Calestano and, perhaps most illustrious, the architectural theorist Sebastiano Serlio.\textsuperscript{55} The intellectual life of the city was strongly stimulated by the presence of an impressive

\textsuperscript{51} On the Italian presence in Lyon, see \textit{Lyon et L’Italie} 1958; \textit{Lyon 16e} 1993, p. 207 (bibliography). Willibald Imhoff was often in Lyon himself; his visit from 3 September until 23 December 1550 possibly overlapped with Strada’s presence, that lasting from mid September 1552 until 7 January 1553 certainly did [Jante 1985, p. 21].

\textsuperscript{52} Docs. 1552-07-26 and 1552-07-30.

\textsuperscript{53} As indicated in the colophon of the book.

\textsuperscript{54} Margolin 1974, using the second edition of Visagier’s collection: \textit{Ioannis Vulteii Remensis Epigrammatum libri iv}, Lyon (Michel Parmentier) 1537. The existence of such a group of friends is documented elsewhere, as in Nicolas Bourbon \textit{De amicis lugdunensisibus} (1533).

\textsuperscript{55} On Lyon’s cosmopolitan society, see Renucci 1943; Romier 1949; \textit{Humanisme Lyonnais} 1973; \textit{Rinascimento a Lione} 1988; \textit{Lyon 16e} 1993 (with extensive bibliography by Maria Teresa Arizzoli Clementel on pp. 203–217); and \textit{Sebastiano Serlio a Lyon} 2004. On Landi, see: Hartig 1917\textit{a}, p. 217; Maesen 1922, p. 84; Grendler 1969, pp. 21–38; Costanzo Landi, conte
number of renowned printers and publishers, themselves often humanists: such as Gryphius, the poet Etienne Dolet, Jean de Tournes, Luxembourg de Gabiano, the De la Porte family, specializing in jurisprudence, and the very productive marchand-libraire Guillaume Rouillé, himself the author of antiquarian works. The printing industry, flourishing thanks to the four international trade fairs that took place every year, traditionally offered employment to many artists, among them Geoffroy Thory, Georges Reverdy, Pierre Eskrich, Corneille de Lyon and the best known of all, Bernard Salomon.56

3.5.2 Strada’s Contacts in Lyon: Engravers, Printers and Humanists Booksellers

Strada’s first contacts in Lyon of necessity will have been with this circle: for the execution of his Epitome he needed to find a printer and an engraver who would be capable and willing to produce the book according to his wishes. He probably dealt with several printers and artists before settling with De Tournes and Bernard Salomon: a choice dictated by a desire for the highest possible quality rather than the lowest possible expense. Likewise it may well have been one of the Lyon publishers who provided him with the names of potential translators of the book, a job which was finally given to a humanist from Orléans, Jean Louveau. Possibly inspired by the success of the enterprise of the marchand-libraire Guillaume Rouillé Strada decided to publish the book at his own expense, instead of placing it with a professional publisher. It was a quite expensive project: a quarto volume of over four hundred pages, including close to five hundred woodcut images of medals, and published simultaneously in Latin and in a French translation. Doubtless this expense was partly borne by Hans Jakob Fugger, to whom Strada dedicated the book.

Strada was of course aware of at least some of the ins and outs of the book trade; yet apart from financial considerations, his relative inexperience in publishing will have contributed to his decision to enter a partnership with the marchand-libraire Thomas Guérin. There is no doubt, however, that Strada was the senior partner, since it is his printer’s device [Figs. 3.18 and 3.46–3.47] that figures on the title-page, rather than Guérin’s [Figs. 3.48–3.49].57

56 di Compiano—a member of one of the leading families of Piacenza, he was no relation of Ortensio—would publish a learned numismatic treatise in Lyon in 1560 (Landi 1560).
57 For a general review of printing at Lyon in the sixteenth century, see Davis 1983 and Sebastiano Serlio a Lyon 2004.
58 The device is habitually considered as Guérin’s mark; but though Guérin did occasionally use a similar device of a smaller size in other books, he generally used another device with a palm tree, whereas in the books Strada published in Rome in 1557 (Panvinio 1557<a> and Panvinio 1557<b>) and in Frankfurt in 1575 (Serlio 1575; Caesar 1575) he used both
Strada must have spent quite some time in adding the final touches to his manuscript, putting the illustrations together, organizing and supervising the printing, and obtaining a copyright privilege from King Francis I, which was granted on the 11th of July 1553. Yet in between he had sufficient time on his hands to engage in other activities. Part of the time he will have scouted the bookshops in search of items suitable both for the library of his patron, Fugger, and for his own growing collection. But he obviously also continued his antiquarian research. Lyon afforded him ample opportunity to establish contacts with local scholars who shared his antiquarian enthusiasm. Proudly indicated by the poet Jean Lemaire de Belges as ‘le second oeil de la France’, its foundation antedated—according to Charles Fontaine’s *Ode de l’Antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon*—not only that of Paris, but even that of Rome itself. Objects testifying to this honourable past were collected at least since Pierre Sala (1457-ca. 1530), a ‘varlet de chambre’ in the household of Louis XII, brought together a small collection of local finds in his country seat, which he appropriately named *l’Anticaille* [Fig. 3.50]. In addition to a version of the Tristan legend, he wrote a manuscript treatise on *Les antiquitez de Lyon*, the first of an ample series of texts devoted to the subject written—but not often published—in the sixteenth century.

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58 Doc 1553-07-11; it was included at the back of the volume (Strada 1553).
59 Bruyère 1993, pp. 100–102, 115; Cooper 1988, p. 161; on antiquarian studies at Lyon in the sixteenth century in general, see Varille 1923; Cooper 1988; Cooper 1990; Bruyère 1993; Guillemain 1993.
60 On Sala, see Renucci 1943; Sala 1958, pp. 9–10; Grünberg Dröge 1993; on antiquarian studies at Lyon in the sixteenth century in general, see Varille 1923; Cooper 1988; Cooper 1990; Bruyère 1993; Guillemain 1993.
Antiquarian studies in Lyon were not limited to local finds—such as the Table Claudienne, found in 1528 and first published by Symphorien Champier in 1537 [Fig. 3.51]—or even to local topics: thus the poet François Rabelais interested himself in Roman topography.\textsuperscript{61} In 1553 the marchand-libraire Guillaume Rouillé even published a chronicle of the world organized around a series of woodcut portraits of its protagonists that, he claimed, were taken from ancient coins. This cannot always have been the case, considering that these portraits include Adam and Eve, Noah, Osiris, Agamemnon and other personalities for whom such authentic sources would not have been available. This did not prevent this Promptuaire des médailles des plus renommées personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde to become a success: first printed in 1553, it ran through no less than eleven editions—in French, Latin, Italian and Spanish—before the end of the century [Figs. 3.52–3.54].\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{61} Bruyère 1993, p. 100; Cooper 1988, pp. 168–169; Rabelais published an edition of Marliani’s Topographia antiquae Romae, printed by Gryphius in Lyon in 1534.

\textsuperscript{62} On Rouillé’s Promptuaire des médailles des plus renommées personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde, Lyon 1553, see Dimier 1924–1926, 1, pp. 84 ff.; Clain-Stefanelli 1965, p. 17; Rave 1959; Haskell 1993, pp. 30–32 and passim; its text was compiled by the Lyon humanist Charles Fontaine and its illustrations provided by Georges Reverdy. On Rouillé as a publisher, see Davis 1978–b>. On his numismatic work, see Haskell 1993, pp. 30–32; Cunnally 1999, pp. 96–104, 206.
3.5.3 Strada's Contacts in Lyon: Collectors of Antiquities

There is a superficial resemblance between Rouillé's *Promptuaire* and Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, which appeared in the same year. Yet Strada obviously cherished more scholarly ambitions: he limited himself to the Roman Emperors, who certainly had issued coins which could actually be found. He explicitly stated that he only included images of those rulers of which he had in fact seen an original coin (however spurious to our more critical judgment). Though he probably met many members of Lyon's intellectual milieu, we only know about those he had met in the course of his numismatic researches, the collectors of antiquities, for whom coins and medals were the most informative, affordable and easily available items. From the provenances given with the descriptions of coins in Strada's manuscript *A.A.A. Numismatwn Διασκευέ* we can identify some of the collectors Strada visited.

Chief among these was the antiquary Guillaume du Choul, *conseiller du roi* and *bailli* of the Dauphiné. In his house La Madeleine, which was situated in the Montée du Gourguillon in the old part of the city, on the right bank of the Saône, he had brought together a celebrated collection of antiquities, and he published a number of learned studies of various aspects of Roman civilization. Strada describes his contacts with Du Choul in the preface of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*:

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63 For a good account of numismatic studies and collections of coins and medals in Lyon, see Guillemain 1993.

64 On Du Choul, see: Copley Christie 1880, pp. 25–30; Cooper 1988, pp. 170–173; Bruyère 1993, pp. 91 and 109–110; Guillemain 2003; Guillemain 2008; Margolin 1974, p. 182, gives a
coming to France, I have met and frequented the company of Monsieur Guillaume Choul, born in that city, highly experienced in history and in the explanation of the reverses of coins and figured medals; a man moreover of such rare and ample judgment that one may easily count him among the first experts in this field, and not without reason, both for his excellent memory and his good and refined judgment. In his magnificent house (as I don't think it necessary to hide) I have seen a great quantity of all sorts of antique medals, among which some are of gold, others of silver, and the rest of copper, which he has lent to me to copy those that I needed for my book of coin-reverses.\footnote{Strada 1553, p. bbv.}

Both Strada and Du Choul refer to each other in their printed works, and appear to have mutually exchanged information and studied each other's coins: whereas in his *A.A.A. Numismatron Antiquorum Διασκευέ* Strada only described some individual pieces from other Lyon collections, he describes scores of those he had seen in Du Choul's cabinet, which implies that these not only were of a better quality, but also that Strada had had much greater opportunity to study them in detail. At the time Strada was already sufficiently interested and expert in architecture—probably stimulated by his contacts with Serlio—to be able to provide Du Choul with his own reconstructions (after the reverse of medals) of the temples of Janus Quadrifrons and of Jove Capitolinus: woodcuts of these were included in Du Choul's *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains*, first published in Lyon in 1556 [Figs. 3.56–3.58]. It is quite possible

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translation of Visagier's Latin epigram on Du Choul, which well illustrates the range of his interests and the renown of his works: 'Toi qui, au prix d’un immense labeur, ne laisses pas mourir la Rome antique ni les monuments anciens, révélant à nos yeux théatres, jeux et statues, images ciselées, forums, portiques et colonnes, monnaies et triomphes des Césars, les diverses factions politiques, les rites des pontifes, les honneurs sacrés de la Cité, ses charges, ses liberalités, ses dépenses, ses délices, ses ressources, les palestres, ses splendeurs, les généalogies et les faisceaux de puissants consuls, autels de dieux et de déesses, spectacles, superbes demeures, peintures, sculptures, effigies, urnes, cendres, trophées et cirques, collèges et confréries, thermes et bains publics, actions de grâces; bref, toi qui désires préserver de la mort tout ce qui est antique et qui veux que renaisse la Rome ancienne, tout ce qui est exposé à la ruine, tu le perpétues pour l'éternité, Duchoul. Pour un tel labeur, quelle récompense obtiendras-tu?’ [from *Ioannis Vulteii Remensis Epigrammatum libri iv*, Lyon 1537, iv, p. 248]. Du Choul's most important books are his *De la religion des anciens Romains* (Lyon 1547) and his *Discours sur la Castramétation et discipline militaire des Romains* (Lyon 1555), both of which were quickly and repeatedly reprinted in several languages. A splendid illustrated presentation manuscript *Des antiquités romaines premier livre*, with beautiful drawings, dedicated to Francis I and preserved in the Biblioteca Reale in Turin, can be considered as the first volume of a lost twelve-volume encyclopedia of the history of the Roman Empire, *Antiquitez de Rome*, that Du Choul was preparing. Strada 1553<\textit{b}>, p. bbv.
that Strada himself drew the outlines directly onto the woodblocks for Du Choul’s book, just as Serlio appears to have done with the new designs for the 
Settimo Libro Strada had commissioned.\textsuperscript{66} Strada also described a coin in the collection of Guillaume’s son Jean du Choul, who was a natural historian and a friend of Conrad Gesner, to whom Strada may have owned his introduction to the family.\textsuperscript{67}

Among the provenances of coins given in the Διασκευέ Rouillé does not figure: judging from the Promptuaire Strada will hardly have considered him a serious numismatist. He may have better appreciated his new Italian acquaintance, Giulio Calestano, a lawyer from Parma who had provided Du Choul with some of his coins; fifteen years later Strada would attempt to acquire Calestano’s numismatic collection on behalf of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{66} Strada’s reconstructions were included in Du Choul 1556, pp. 20–21 and 40–41; on Serlio’s drawings, see Jansen 1989 and Jansen 2004; Serlio 1994, p. 5, n. 3.

\textsuperscript{67} See Guillemain 1993, pp. 46–48. Guillemain gives a detailed account of the collectors of coins in Lyon in the sixteenth century, and discusses the names of the collectors given in Hubertus Goltzius’ edition of Caesar (Bruges 1563) (pp. 41 ff.). Goltzius had stayed in Lyon for ten days in August 1560, but had updated his information.

\textsuperscript{68} Strada described actually only a few coins from Calestano’s cabinet which he had seen at Lyon, where Calestano lived for some time in the 1550s. He later settled in Milan, and in 1567 Strada attempted to acquire an inventory of his studio, the acquisition of which he proposed to Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria.
other collectors mentioned in the Διασκευή include Carolo à Porta, indicated by both Strada and Goltzius as ‘Germanus’, but probably the second son (ca 1532–1558) of the marchand-libraire Hugues de la Porte (ca 1500–1572) who himself owned a collection of classical sculpture. The ‘Abbot of St. Irenaeus’ mentioned by Strada can be identified with François Laurencin († after 1584), prior of the monastery dedicated to Lyon’s local saint: in his house Beauregard on the Montée du Gourgillon he kept ‘two thousand [ancient coins] both in bronze and in gold and silver, with infinite curiosities of statues, engraved stones and other antiquities, so that one could value his cabinet as a treasure-house of Antiquity’. Later Laurencin would acquire the house of Du Choul, near his own, together with the inscriptions it contained. Finally Strada mentions some Italian collectors: ‘Tomasso Sartinum Florentinum’ and ‘Annibale da Verona’, and some others who cannot be identified. On the other hand, if Strada ever actually met one of the brightest stars of the Pléiade, Joachim du Bellay, as is suggested by his possession of a manuscript by the latter’s uncle Guillaume, this probably happened in Rome a year later, where the poet acted as intendant of the household of his uncle Cardinal Jean du Bellay.

Contacts with Gabriele Symeoni are not documented, but very likely, in view of their sharing both antiquarian and technological interests. Symeoni’s antiquarian interest is apparent in the epitaph he devised for himself [Fig. 3.58]. His expertise in the field appears in his many publications, such as Illustratione de gli epitaffi et medaglie antiche, printed by de Jean de Tournes, Strada’s printer, in Lyon in 1558, or his detailed description of the Auvergne, the Description de la Limagne d’Auvergne en forme de dialogue, which was published by Guillaume Rouillé in 1561. An indication of their possible contact is the extremely complex allegory of the printer’s mark that Strada chose for himself for his book printed in Lyon [Fig. 3.61]: one of its motifs, the butterfly kept in the claws of a crab with the device Festina Lente was derived from a coin of Augustus,

69 Bruyère 1993, p. 110.
70 ‘... deux mille [monnaies antiques] tant de cuivre que d’or et d’argent, avec infinies singularitez de statues, graveures et autres antiquitez qu’on pouvoit estimer son cabinet un trésor pour une antiquité’, anonymus notes in a copy of Guillaume Paradin, Mémoires de l’histoire de Lyon (Lyon 1573) in the Bibliothèque municipale at Lyon, quoted in Bruyère 1993, p. 112.
71 On sixteenth century collectors of antiquities in Lyon, see now Bruyère 1993 and Guillemain 1993. Sartino probably was a member of a Florentine merchant family whose presence in Lyon (under the names of Sertini or Seratini) goes back at least to 1502 (Gascon 1971, pp. 846 and 907). On Strada’s possible contact with Du Bellay, see below.
and would be illustrated and discussed by Symeoni himself in his Devises ou emblèmes héroïques et morales of 1559 [Fig. 3.59–3.60].

72 On p. 219. The book was reprinted in 1561; an Italian translation, Le sententiose imprese, was published likewise in Lyon in 1560 (p. 11). On this motif, see Deonna 1954 and
One would expect Strada to have wished to profit from his sojourn in Lyon by visiting Paris and to the principal centre of visual culture of the French Renaissance, Fontainebleau. The style of the title pages he drew for his manuscript numismatic works [Figs. 3.22–3.23, 3.62 and below, Fig. 4.04] reminds one of the courtly Mannerism of the School of Fontainebleau rather than the work of his contemporaries in Italy itself. Yet the only indication that he may have done so is a reference to the royal treasurer Jean Grolier (1479–1565) in the preface to the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. Nowadays Grolier is best known as the owner of a splendid library: because of their superb bindings, books from his library count among the principal treasures of libraries and collectors lucky enough to possess them. But he also had a great interest in classical Antiquity; he was in touch with the informal academy of scholars and artists around Cardinal Marcello Cervini in Rome which attempted to reconstruct Roman civilisation by studying both classical texts and the physical relics unearthed in the city and elsewhere: coins, inscriptions, sculptures and other antique artefacts, and the ruins of ancient edifices.

Grolier was particularly interested in coins, to the extent of financing the publication, at the Aldine press in Venice, of the second edition of Budé’s fundamental treatise *De asse et partibus eius*, which appeared in 1522. Grolier’s expertise in the field gained him a place in a royal commission supervising the minting of French coin. In his house in the Rue de la Juiverie in Lyon he had brought together a collection of antique coins and statuary, which he had acquired by means of agents he employed to this purpose, and which was highly esteemed by Du Choul: ‘Monsieur le tresorier Grolier, un exceptional lover of Antiquity, in whose hands can be found the most beautiful medallions that can be found in our France at present’. An example of the beautiful small boxes in which he kept his medals, like his book bindings covered in gold-stamped morocco, is still preserved in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.

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Juřen 1988, p. 21 and fig. 3. Symeoni was a close associate of Du Choul, whose works he translated into Italian. Strada used two well-known images connected to the device _Festina lente_ device (which he quotes in Greek, rather than in Latin), combining the crab-and-butterfly with the dolphin-and-anchor familiar from Aldus Manutius’ printer's mark.


Austin 1971, pp. 31–32. Grolier’s interest in classical coins helps explain his pioneering use of stamps based on antique coins in the bindings made for some of his books.
FIGURE 3.62 Title page of Strada’s ms. *Imagines omnium numismatum*, 1554; Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal.
When Strada wrote the preface to his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* he knew this collection, which Grolier had taken with him when he moved to Paris in 1530, only by reputation. He expressed the hope to be able to visit it in the future, for he considered it as ‘tout ce que je pense me rester touchant la perfection de mon livre’. It appears, however, that this visit never took place, because he had been shown the very few coins from Grolier’s collection that he mentions in his *Διασκευέ* either in Lyon or in Rome. It is easy to suggest some possible explanations for this fact: he may have met Grolier himself in either place (Grolier still possessed a house in Lyon), or may have seen coins destined for the collection in the hands of one of Grolier’s agents, while it is also possible that he only knew them by means of drawings or casts. Strada never refers to a visit to the French court—not even in his preface to Serlio’s *Settimo libro*, where one would expect it—and in his *Διασκευέ* he mentions no Parisian collectors apart from Grolier. This indicates that if Strada visited Paris or Fontainebleau at all, he cannot have remained there for any considerable time.

3.6 Strada’s Contacts in Lyon: Sebastiano Serlio

Most of the learned men mentioned above were humanists chiefly interested in antiquarian material, such as coins and inscriptions, which provided fixed and reliable data that could be used to interpret the literary sources, and thus could help to reconstruct the political history and aspects of the civilization of the Roman Empire. This was done, for instance, in Guillaume Du Choul’s *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains*, printed by Rouillé in 1556. Du Choul was one of the few scholars who paid particular attention to the architecture of the ancients, including in his treatise, as we have seen, reconstructions of some of the temples of Rome that Strada had provided him with [Figs. 3.56–3.57]. Du Choul’s interest in such practical aspects of Roman civilization is confirmed by two other treatises, the *Discours sur la castramétation et discipline militaire des Romains* and *Des bains et antiques exercitations Grèces et Romaines*, printed together in 1555, likewise by Rouillé, and often reprinted. Such interest in classical architecture was not completely new in Lyon: several of its scholars and poets referred to the remains of the Roman city that could still be observed.

75 Strada 1553<*>b>, p. bb-v.
at Fourvière, and some sketches and more or less fanciful reconstructions of some of these have been preserved.\footnote{Bruyère 1993, fig. 1 (reconstruction of a ‘Palatium de Lugdunum’, engraving; fig. 7: drawing by Gabriele Symeoni of the ‘Reliquie del Palagio maggiore <…> sotto la vigna del Sagrestano di Forviera; and see Philibert De l’Orme Lyonnais 1993, pp. 31–32.}

Already in 1533 the young and gifted architect Philibert de l’Orme (ca 1515–1570) \footnote{Philibert De l’Orme Lyonnais 1993, pp. 32–33. On the Vitruvian Accademia della Virtù, see below. It is likely that Strada, who was De l’Orme’s exact contemporary and lived in Rome for a considerable time in the 1530s and shared his interests, had known him well.} [Fig. 3.64] had travelled to Rome, where he not only moved in the circle of the Sangallo cousins, but soon engaged in measuring and even excavating ancient ruins, employing a team of masons to such effect that his work drew the attention of Marcello Cervini, the librarian of the Vatican, who was closely involved in the study of Vitruvius and the remains of classical architecture that took shape in Rome in these years.\footnote{Bruyère 1993, fig. 1 (reconstruction of a ‘Palatium de Lugdunum’, engraving; fig. 7: drawing by Gabriele Symeoni of the ‘Reliquie del Palagio maggiore <…> sotto la vigna del Sagrestano di Forviera; and see Philibert De l’Orme Lyonnais 1993, pp. 31–32.} On his return De l’Orme introduced a more pure form of classicist architecture in Lyon, designing in 1536 the famous Ionic gallery in the Hôtel Bullioud [Fig. 3.63].

De l’Orme left Lyon for good shortly after completing the Galerie Bullioud and it is improbable that Strada ever met him elsewhere in France. But he did meet another architect-antiquary whose published works, because of their wide dissemination, already were and would remain even more influential than De l’Orme’s. This was the Bolognese architect and theorist Sebastiano Serlio (1575–1555), who had retired from the French court in 1548, and had settled in Lyon where he hoped to publish the remaining books of his architectural
treatise. In this he was not successful: though the first five books which had already been published before Serlio came to Lyon [Figs. 3.65–3.68] continued to be reprinted in several languages—in the Netherlands, in Venice, in Spain—the Sixth and Seventh Books and the book on military architecture did not see the light within his lifetime [Figs. 3.73–3.80].

Serlio did, however, succeed to persuade Jean de Tournes to publish the so-called Extraordinario Libro, a set of designs of ornamental door-surrounds. This was probably considered a potential bestseller, and it was indeed reprinted no less than fifteen times within the next twenty years, both in French and Italian [cf. Figs. 3.69–3.72].

Doubtless Strada knew Serlio’s published works and was aware of his reputation: he sought him out already during his first visit to Lyon in 1550. Notwithstanding the considerable difference in age, they had much in common: both were Italian, both were artists with a particular and profound interest in architecture, both were passionate students of classical Antiquity and, last but not least, they both appear to have been suspected of Protestant leanings. Obviously they discussed Serlio’s projects, and already during his first visit Strada proposed to print the unpublished part of the treatise. Serlio was by now seventy-five years old, and not having found a publisher in Lyon ready to undertake such an expensive project, he may well have despaired of seeing his works into print. So he was happy to let Strada have his manuscripts, which

78 On the editions of Serlio’s works, see Dinsmoor 1942; Fontaine Verwey 1976; Bury 1989; Sebastiano Serlio a Lyon 2004.
79 On Serlio’s religious views, see Tafuri 1989; Carpo 1993b, and below, Ch. 11.4.
Figures 3.69–3.72 Sebastiano Serlio, Livre extraordinaire de architecture: title page and three designs for portals from the bilingual edition printed by Jean de Tournes (Strada’s printer) in Lyon in 1551.
he reedited probably at least in part according to Strada's suggestions. He also redrew the drawings at least of the *Seveto Libro* [Figs. 3.74], and probably also those of the *Sesto Libro* and the book on Polybius' *Castrametatio* [Figs. 3.73 and 3.75–3.76]. It is likely that he drew the designs for these directly onto the wood-blocks used to prepare the illustrations.

Apart from the material Strada needed to publish the remaining books of the treatise, Serlio also entrusted him with all the manuscript material and the drawings he owed, part of which apparently was likewise intended for publication, as appears from Strada's preface to the *Settimo Libro*:

Now the said author, finding himself old, and suffering from the gout more than usual for his age, and also being tired of his labour, reasoned that he would rather sell to me also the remnant of the drawings that in the course of his life he had made in his own hand, as well as those by others that he had brought together. A good part of which he had moreover provided with his descriptions, planning one day to have them printed, and had ordered them in many volumes. But getting older, and also not very abundantly endowed by Fortune, he decided to make me the owner of all of this material, so that after his death it would not be lost or get into the
hands of professors of his art, who as the raven would dress themselves in
the feathers of the peacock. And for that reason he wanted to see the end
of it, and know with whom his drawings would remain after his death,
and it seemed to him he would be the most content and happy man in
the world, if they remained in my possession, thinking it certain that I
would do them ample justice, by publishing them in print.  

Serlio’s confidence was not misplaced: Strada definitely planned to publish
both remaining books of the treatise and the *Book on military architecture*,
though in the end he only managed to print the *Settimo Libro*. Though this
took him over twenty years, he took great care and laid out a great sum of
money to realize a splendid edition, providing it with a Latin translation, hav-
ing the woodcuts executed by expert engravers in Venice, and finally select-
ing one of the best printers working in Germany at the time, Andreas Wechel
[cf. Figs. 3.77–3.80].

Serlio spent part of his time during Strada’s second stay in putting in or-
der his material, with which he was not quite finished by the time of Strada’s
departure for Rome:

But while he thus to his great satisfaction was putting the material in
order, and revising the texts which went with the figures of the drawings,
so that I could the easier serve myself of them, an occasion arose for me
to leave France and to return to Rome for some affairs of mine. And so I

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80 Serlio 1575, fol. a iii–v–a iv–r.
81 On Strada’s acquisitions from Serlio and his edition of the *Settimo libro d’architettura*,
Figures 3.77–3.80  Title page and illustrations from Jacopo Strada's edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, Frankfurt 1575.
paid him with a goodly sum of money for everything that he had, both
drawn in own hand, and drawn by others <...>. Now when I left, it was not
without great sadness on both sides that we said goodbye to one another.
After my departure he himself hardly stayed any longer before returning
to Fontainebleau, and there the good old man ended his life, leaving a
great name behind him there, just as he had done in other parts of the
world. For one can well say that he has restored Architecture, and has
made it easy to everyone; and has pleased more with his books, than ever
did Vitruvius before him: because the latter, for being a difficult author,
was not that easily understood by everyone.82

This sympathetic and perceptive tribute shows that Strada even twenty years
later still greatly valued what had been—together with his contacts with Guil-
laume du Choul and the printing of his Epitome thesauri antiquitatum—the
most memorable event of his very profitable visit to France.

3.7 Civis Romanus: Strada’s Sojourn in Rome

Strada cannot have left Lyon before the end of 1553, since he obviously would
have been eager to carry a sufficient number of copies of his treatise, the print-
ing of which was finished on the 6th of November 1553. So he would have ar-
rived in Rome about Christmas of that year at the earliest. He decided to leave,
according to the preface of his edition of Serlio’s Settimo Libro, shortly after the
unexpected death of Pope Marcellus II in the spring of 1555; probably in fact
only after the election of his successor, Paul IV Carafa, shattered any hopes for
further papal employment. It is not known exactly when he left; by December
1556 he appears to have been back in Nuremberg already for some time. So his
sojourn in Rome probably lasted a year and a half at least, about two and a half
years at most; in any case sufficiently long to refresh his memories of his earlier
visit in the mid- or late 1530s, to get thoroughly acquainted with the latest de-
velopments in antiquarian learning, and to examine the artistic achievements
of the last years of the reign of Paul III as well as the considerable enterprises
realized during the relatively brief pontificate of Julius III [Fig. 3.82].

3.7.1 The Roman milieu
What did he find? The long pontificate of the Farnese Pope (1534–1549), Paul
III, had helped to repair much of the damage done by the Sacco di Roma in 1527.

82 Serlio 1575, fol. a iv-r.
Doubtless the flight from Rome of many patrons and artists and the temporary stop in commissions did interrupt artistic production for some time and limited the *quantity* of art produced. But Paul III was as forceful a personality and as active a patron as Julius II and Leo X. Already in the early thirties construction of St. Peters was continuing again and many new palaces and churches were rising all over town. Important commissions completed in the period immediately preceding Strada’s arrival or still under way during his stay included the Palazzo Farnese, the Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine and the Farnese castle at Caprarola, and the Villa d’Este in Tivoli. Construction of Vignola’s Villa Giulia—which as the principal project of the reigning Pontiff, Julius III, was probably the most influential example—had just begun [Fig. 3.83]. Decoration schemes included Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment* and the *Sala Paolina* in the Vatican, the decorations executed by Perino del Vaga and his crew in Castel Sant’Angelo [Fig. 3.81], Francesco Salviati’s decorations in the Palazzo Farnese and the Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti and the fresco’s Vasari had painted in a mere hundred days in the Cancelleria.

So the change in *quality* of artistic achievement in Rome in the 1530s is not a result of the Sack only: the development in style away from the ideals of High Renaissance art, already discernible in the 1520s, was an independent and inevitable movement. If Raphael had lived, if Giulio would have remained in Rome, Roman art of the 1520s and 1530s might well have been of a somewhat higher quality and of a greater degree of originality, but it is unlikely that it

Figure 3.81 Perino del Vaga, Luzio Romano and Livio Agresti: Decoration of the Sala Paolina of Castel St Angelo, Rome, commissioned by Pope Paul III and executed 1542–1547.

Figure 3.82 Vincenzo Danti, Pope Julius III, bronze in front of Perugia Cathedral, 1555.

Figure 3.83 Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola et al., the Nymphaeum of the Villa Giulia, Rome, commissioned by Pope Julius III and executed 1553–57.
would have been fundamentally different in character. The Rome of Paul III and Julius III was to all standards a very fertile and lively artistic milieu, thanks to the patronage of the Farnese and that of their partisans and rivals. Thanks also to the presence of Michelangelo and many other gifted artists who had either finally returned to the capital after their flight of 1527—such as Perino del Vaga—or who had come to study both the *exempla* of classical Rome and the achievements of their justly celebrated contemporaries: next to Michelangelo and Perino one thinks of Antonio da Sangallo, Daniele da Volterra, Pirro Ligorio, Francesco Salviati, Prospero Fontana, Guglielmo della Porta, Bartolommeo Ammanati and Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola.

But Rome was also a very lively intellectual milieu, though of a new seriousness caused not so much by the trauma of the Sack, as by the need to find an effective response to Luther and the German Reformation. Classical, historical and antiquarian studies occupied a central place in the preoccupations of this milieu. Considering philological and historical studies as indispensable tools in interpreting Scripture and patristic literature, it warmly welcomed any endeavour that shed more light on the history of the Roman Empire, and implicitly on that of the Early Church. Several other reasons can be adduced why the interest in Classical studies was particularly strong in Rome. The chief single factor was the presence in Rome of so many of the physical remains of Roman civilisation, often of quite outstanding quality and beauty, and of a grandeur that flattered the *campanilismo* surviving in the cosmopolitan culture of Papal Rome. Moreover such interest was continuously kept awake by new spectacular discoveries, often of great interest both for artistic and erudite reasons: the find in 1546 of the *Fasti Capitolini* easily excited as much enthusiasm among scholars as that of the *Laocoön* had done among artists and *dilettanti*.

Contacts between scholars and artists were unusually close at this time, as is evident in the erudite Vitruvianism of the informal *Accademia Romana*. Re-founded in 1542 by members of the circle of Cardinal Marcello Cervini [Fig. 3.89], it included artists such as Pirro Ligorio. Its method largely parallels the philological procedure of the humanists. Its researches can be interpreted as the quest for an absolute, classical authority: just like correct Latin should be based on the study of canonical classical texts, all serious artistic endeavour was to be guided by a correct edition of Vitruvius, supported and elucidated by careful study of the remnants of architecture from the best periods of Antiquity, in particular of certain canonical buildings such as the Pantheon,
the Colosseum, the Arch of Constantine, and so on. The study of such monuments was a tradition that went back at least to the earlier Accademia Romana founded by Pomponio Leto. The need to confront its results with Vitruvius had already been felt by Leto’s pupil Andrea Fulvio. Fabio Calvo, another of Leto’s pupils, prepared an Italian translation of Vitruvius for Raphael, Fulvio’s associate in antiquarian studies. This was to serve as an aid in Raphael’s project aimed at reconstructing the topography of Ancient Rome, an erudite project which Baldassare Castiglione explained on Raphael’s behalf to Pope Clement VII.

The re-founded Accademia Romana or Accademia della Virtù probably based its research on what had been preserved of Raphael’s project. It should be noted that its programme was not limited to narrowly artistic concerns, but explicitly strived to collect all available evidence helpful to reconstruct in the mind both the physical environment of Ancient Rome and the civilisation of which that environment was the backdrop. Information was to be collected by measuring ruins, by copying, studying and interpreting coins, medals, inscriptions, reliefs and sculptures, bronzes, vases, etc. The column of Trajan was studied not only, and not even in the first place, for its aesthetic value, but for the information it provided about Trajan’s campaigns, and in general about the manner in which the Romans used to combat and defeat their enemies. For the identification and interpretation of deities, persons, personifications, constructions, objects depicted in coins or sculpture it was essential to utilize the literary sources of Antiquity that in ever greater quantity were made available by humanist philologists. This was an essentially historical or antiquarian approach, and it certainly merits to be taken seriously as a precursor of modern archaeological method. Among much other material it produced, for instance,

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85 "BSB-HS, Cod. Ital. 37; a critical edition in Fontana/Morachiello 1975; contrary to these editors’ assumption, Calvo’s translation was not among the books acquired by King Ludwig I from the heirs of Piero Vettori: not only does it lack the mark of ownership that identifies the Vettori codices in Munich, but it is in fact mentioned in the Inventory of the Munich Kunstкамmer drawn up by Johann Baptist Fickler in 1598 (fol. 8v, nr. 109: ‘Vitruvius de Architectura, in welsche sprach transferiert, und von der hand geschrieben, in ein alt copert eingebunden’) and in another, even earlier list of architectural books in Munich. The most obvious explanation is that it was included in the material from Raphael’s estate acquired by Strada from Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano; cf. Diemer/Diemer/Sauерländer 2008, vol. 1, pt. 1, cat.nr. 112, pp. 39–40, and vol. 3, pp. 230, 241, 252 and 491."
the Codex Coburgensis, a volume of detailed, carefully drawn reproductions of ancient monument that has been hailed as ‘das erste wissenschaftliche Bildkompendium zur antiken Mythologie’, or as the first archaeological handbook of the Renaissance.86

There were also a number of socio-political reasons why the humanists resident in Rome were especially drawn to the study of Antiquity. In the first place, such study was considered an erudite, virtuous pastime that was particularly suitable for the learned and celibate clerics that made up the greater part of the Papal court. Antiquarian studies were explicitly recommended in Paolo Cortesi’s treatise De cardinalatu of 1510, in which Cortesi argued that in dispensing patronage, his ideal cardinal should ‘select for special consideration men who engaged in humanistic studies, and especially those who investigated the more recondite aspects of Antiquity and the Latin language. He also expected that the cardinal would be able to appreciate such erudition’.87

When Cortesi wrote his treatise, another important motive for turning to antiquarian studies had not yet manifested itself. This was the advent of the Reformation, which based its doctrines consistently on Holy Scripture and the authority of the early Church. Attempts to reconstruct the early history of the Church—either to prove where it had gone off the track, as the Protestants tried to do, or to demonstrate that the Roman Catholic Church was the true and uncorrupted successor of the Church of the Apostles, as the Counter-Reformation attempted—often had to rely on antiquarian data (inscriptions in catacombs, Early-Christian sarcophagi, the mosaics in the Christian basilicas dating from the later Empire). The chief attempt from the Protestant side was the history of the Church known as the Magdeburg Centuries: edited by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, its first instalment appeared in 1559.88

It is no coincidence, I think, that the people involved in preparing the Roman Catholic response to the Centuries were often the same who are studied nowadays for their contribution to the development of classical studies. The best example is Onofrio Panvinio [Fig. 3.90], a young and very industrious scholar who both prepared an edition of the Fasti Capitolini and a new augmented edition of Platina’s history of the Popes. His interest in the physical remainders of both pagan and Christian Rome is borne out by his correspondence

86 On the Codex Coburgensis, see Wrede/Harprath 1986 and Harprath/Wrede 1989.
87 D’amico 1983, p. 52. I am grateful to Gigliola Fragnito-Margiotta Broglio for having first drawn my attention to Cortesi (and for many suggestions and fruitful discussions).
88 The first volume of the Annales ecclesiasticae, the Catholic refutation of the Magdeburg Centuries edited by Cesare Baronio, appeared in 1588; some of the greatest classical scholars of the time, such as Onofrio Panvinio, Carlo Sigonio, Roberto Bellarmino and Alonso Chacón, were, with St Peter Canisius, engaged in its preparation. See Orella y Unzue 1976; Cochrane 1981, pp. 457–463.
with Antonio Agustín and by his project of having all mosaics of Old St. Peters documented before they were destroyed. The Spanish prelate Antonio Agustín, consecutively auditor of the Rota, bishop of Lerida and Archbishop of Tarragona, was himself both a consummate classical scholar and a canon lawyer who played an important role in the Council of Trent [Fig. 3.89]. Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, prince-bishop of Augsburg, likewise combined an interest and expertise in classical remains, with great zeal in the re-catholization of his diocese.

As said, I do not think this is a coincidence, but the nature of the connection is not self-evident; the response to the Reformation can hardly be considered as a cause of the boom of antiquarian studies around the middle of the sixteenth century. But it is possible that it provided scholars interested in antiquarian subjects with an excuse to indulge their hobby. Moreover, Reformation and Counter-Reformation also provided a negative motivation to study classical Antiquity: reading Agustín's letters one recognizes his profound and passionate interest in antiquarian studies, but one also realizes that such research provided him with a rare possibility occasionally to escape from the stress of contemporary business and dispute, in particular theological dispute.

The interest in the remains of Antiquity, initially practiced mostly in clerical circles in Rome, soon migrated to a secular context: it is merely implied in Il libro del Cortigiano of Baldassare Castiglione, himself close to the Curia environment, but re-emerges more explicitly in some other tracts on courtesy and gentlemanly behaviour, such as Tomasso Garzoni’s La piazza universale. Interest in Antiquity was considered a suitable hobby for princes and high-placed officials also because it provided them with a decent means of showing off their wealth as well as their erudition. The proliferation of collections of antiquities documented by Maarten van Heemskerck’s drawings and Aldrovandi’s Delle statue di Roma should be considered from this point of view. These were brought together by competing prelates or by local patricians, who were stimulated by Roman patriotism or the pride connected with true or assumed descent from ancient Roman gentes.

89 Waetzold 1964.
90 On Agustín, see Crawford 1993; on the Cardinal of Augsburg, see Overbeeke 1994; Wüst 1999.
91 Agustín’s correspondence published in Agustín 1980.
93 On these collections, see below. The Massimi family traced their lineage from Quintus Fabius Maximus; I am told that even today the Pio da Carpi family, whose ancestor Rodolfo Pio Cardinal da Carpi brought together one of the most important collections of
During Strada’s stay in Rome, which coincided with the last two years of Julius III’s pontificate, interconfessional strife was still held in check by the faint hope that the Council of Trent might lead to some form of consensus between the Church of Rome and the Protestants. Julius III himself, often characterized as the last Pope of the Italian Renaissance, was no religious fanatic, and was more interested in a good administration of the Papal State than in burning heretics. A typical representative of the curial ‘bourgeoisie,’ he was a friend of humanist erudition and a sensitive patron of the arts, as is demonstrated in Alessandro Nova’s monograph on Julius’ commissions. The Villa Giulia as planned by Vasari and Vignola would have been perhaps the most convincing example of the integration of a splendid collection of antique sculpture in a setting of contemporary classicizing architecture; an integration so perfect that it is difficult to decide whether the Villa was conceived to house the antiquities, or whether the antiquities were collected to decorate the Villa.

The Villa Giulia must already have been one of the principal attractions in the emerging tourist-industry, of which the existence is documented by the publications of various types of guide books, such as Lucio Mauro’s Le antichità della Città di Roma, printed together with Ulisse Aldrovandi’s Delle antiche statue che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono. Such industry is moreover attested by the success of several publishers of prints illustrating the principal monuments of ancient and contemporary Rome, such as Antonio Salamanca and Hieronymus Cock, and in particular Antonio Lafreri. The popularity of such material is indicated by the fact that Giovanni Battista Cavallieri’s Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae Liber, a sort of visual complement of Aldrovandi’s guidebook first printed probably in the 1550s, was thereafter continually reprinted in editions of ever increasing bulk.

Collections such as those in the Belvedere in the Vatican, the Capitol, and in the courtyards or gardens of the palaces of the Roman nobility and the various cardinals resident in Rome would be normally of easy access to the interested visitor—many of whom were connected to the household of one of these prelates or magnates in one way or the other. Apart from the Vatican, probably the grandest collection was those of the Farnese, which incorporated several earlier collections acquired by purchase—such as that of Raphael’s friend and patron Agostino Chigi, and that of the Sassi family—or by inheritance: in particular those housed in the Palazzo Medici-Madama acquired through

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95 Venice 1558; Mauro’s book had already appeared in an earlier edition (Venice 1556).
the marriage of Margaret of Austria, widow of Alessandro de’ Medici, to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. It also incorporated the results of the excavations of the Baths of Caracalla in the 1540s. Other important family collections were those of the Della Valle, the Cesi, the Del Bufalo, the Galli, the Maffei, the Mattei, the Massimi and the Savelli, while a number of cardinals in Rome also brought together important collections [Figs 3.84–3.85]. Chief among these were those established by two cardinals from ruling families: that of Rodolfo Pio, Cardinal of Carpi, was housed in his palace in the Campo Marzio and his vigna on Monte Cavallo, while Ippolito d’Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, used his to adorn the splendid villa at Tivoli he had designed by Pirro Ligorio in the 1550s. But even foreign prelates residing for longer or shorter periods in Rome, such as Jean du Bellay, Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, and Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal Granvelle, brought together considerable collections.

These grander collections were complemented by the smaller cabinets, often consisting chiefly of coins, small bronzes, some gems, some inscriptions that were popular among the less wealthy members of the Curia. The presence of such a considerable number of collectors, coupled to short-term visitors to Rome who were desirous of bringing home at least one or two souvenirs, provided a brisk market for all sort of antiquities, chiefly centring around the Campo de’ Fiori, but about which not much is known as yet. Demand was sufficiently ample to encourage even an industry in copies and, probably, outright fakes, though it is not always easy to decide in which category the many Renaissance imitations that have been preserved should be classified.98

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Such collections often were the setting, or at least the subject of learned conversations among the humanists, conversations of which one can get some idea from Antonio Agustín’s *Dialoghi intorno alle medaglie*. An even better impression is provided in Stephanus Vinandus Pighius’ *Themis Dea* printed in Antwerp in 1578 [Figs. 3.86–3.87]. This short dialogue pretends to report a discussion that had taken place in about 1550 in the garden of Cardinal Carpi on the Monte Cavallo. Apart from the author himself, a Dutch antiquary who was at the time a member of the household of Marcello Cervini, the participants included Antonio Agustín, Jean Matal or Metellus, Agustín’s secretary and assistant, and Antoine Morillon, who was in the service of Cardinal Granvelle. Subject of the discussion is a female herm that Cardinal Carpi had recently added to his collection, which is interpreted in detail with the help of classical literary sources.  

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99 *Themis Dea seu de lege divina*, printed by Plantin in Antwerp in 1568, with a dedication to Cardinal Granvelle; reprinted in J. Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum*, 1x,
Discussions such as that described by Pighius appear to have regularly taken place, and they often included not only erudite humanists, but also erudite artists, whose opinion was valued especially for the practical expertise they could contribute. This often concerned architectural questions, especially in the more or less informal sessions of the Vitruvian Academy as reported by the learned bishop Girolamo Garimberti, who mentions the painter Sebastiano del Piombo and the architects Jacopo Meleghino and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger among the discussants. Artists were prized as exact draughtsmen who could document the ancient relics in precise drawings, which greatly facilitated comparative research, and whose measured drawings of the ancient ruins were indispensable for any interpretations of their original appearance and function. Already about 1537 three leading members of the Academy, Marcello Cervini [Fig. 3.88], Bernardino Maffei and Alessandro Manzuoli, had, according to Vasari, commissioned the young Vignola ‘di misurar interamente tutte l’anticaglie di Roma’. Such studies, moreover, were of great importance for a better understanding of Vitruvius’ text, many passages of which were quite obscure, as Strada himself would underline in the preface of his edition of Serlio’s Settimo libro. Of course those artists whose education and interest enabled them to understand this scholarly function of the drawings they prepared were particularly prized. Such learned artists certainly were not discouraged to express their opinion on other antiquarian subjects: the best example is Pirro Ligorio, to whose impressive compilation of antiquarian material humanist scholars such as Agustín continuously had recourse, and whose help and suggestions were often gratefully acknowledged.

3.7.2 Strada’s Contacts in Rome
It is not known whether Strada had kept up with any friends and professional connections he had made during his earlier sojourns in Rome. But even if he had not, his reception was guaranteed partly by his connection with Hans Jakob Fugger and partly by his own achievements. The Fugger firm had always maintained an important branch in Rome, and their participation in the cultural life of the Urbs is demonstrated by the chapel they dedicated in Santa Maria dell’ Anima, for which Hans Jakob’s grandfather Jakob had commissioned an altarpiece from Giulio Romano, and by the inclusion of a description of

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100 In his De regimienti publici de la città, Venice 1554, quoted by Daly Davis 1989, p. 189.
101 Vasari/ Milanesi 1878–1885, 7, p. 106.
the Fugger *vigna* in Anton Francesco Doni’s treatise *Le Ville* of 1559. The effect of Hans Jakob’s importance as a politician close to the Emperor, and as an intellectual and patron in his own right, was enhanced by his personal acquaintance with various eminent personalities, such as Cardinals Farnese and Granvelle. His recommendation alone would have opened almost any door in Rome, but Strada had taken care to be able to present some evidence of his own virtù: as we have seen, he probably carried with him the first copies of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. Perhaps on the strength of this Strada obtained the title of *Civis Romanus*, which was granted to him by the Roman Senate in April 1555, though the decision is motivated merely by the statement that Strada and thirteen other ‘signori nobili forestieri <…> con instantia desiderano esser creati cittadini Romani’: rather a contrast with the explicit praise for his numismatic labour that motivated the decision to grant the citizenship to Hubertus Goltzius some years later. Nonetheless Strada prized the title so much that he not only used it on the title pages of the books he printed, but hardly ever omitted it even when signing his correspondence.

Unfortunately it is not known what sponsors had supported Strada’s request, if any were deemed necessary. But from other sources we can gather some information about the people with whom Strada established and maintained contact during his residence in Rome. In some rather literary passages in the prefaces of the books he published Strada sung the praise of the Papal court as a centre or academy of scholarship and erudition, passages sufficiently interesting to paraphrase here. In his preface to Onofrio Panvinio’s *Epitome pontificum* Strada says, for instance:

> In those days there were in Rome many noblemen, members of the *Curia Romana* and the Papal Household, and others, who were greatly interested in the history of the Popes, and to them Panvinio habitually referred any doubtful points or tricky questions he met with in his research. Chief

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103 A manuscript illustrated version of the first book of Doni’s treatise, dated 1559 and entitled *La villa Fucchara* is preserved in the bSB-HS, Cod. Ital. 36; cf. Bauer-Eberhardt 2007, pp. 97–115

104 Doc. 1555-03-18. On the honorary citizenship of Rome, see Gregorovius 1877; Goltzius was created a Roman citizen on 7 May 1567, with explicit reference to his merits for the Roman ‘res publica’ [Rome, Archivio Capitolino, *Camera Capitolina*, credenza 1a, tomo 10, fol. 91v.]. Pirro Ligorio, himself a Neapolitan nobleman, doubtless far better known in Rome and better respected as an antiquary, who could easily have found the necessary sponsors, was accorded the citizenship only in 1560 (Gregorovius 1877, p. 29). The grant to Strada probably reflects his financial means and the stature of his patron (Fugger) as much, or more, than his own prestige as an antiquary.
among these was that illustrious prelate, Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, whose splendid court cultivated outstanding talent in any field, and welcomed and stimulated outstanding votaries of all the fine arts and sciences. Apart from many noblemen of the oldest and purest lineage, one would also meet there theologians, philosophers, astronomers, mathematicians, historians, poets, doctors, lawyers, philologists, architects, engravers ['sculptores'], painters, sculptors ['statuarios'], antiquaries, gem-cutters, goldsmiths, and soldiers: in short, people proficient in all the useful and fine arts. Even I, unworthy, was desired by their common patron to join these remarkable men, which obviously did not displease me; for apart from his liberality towards me, he introduced me into this erudite academy, from which, besides great enjoyment, I derived no little profit.\(^{105}\)

Elsewhere Strada specifically names Alessandro Farnese his *patronus*, but it is unlikely that Strada actually was in the Cardinal’s service. More probably he was made welcome to his collections, and was occasionally invited to participate in the discussions of the more or less informal academy meeting in the Palazzo Farnese.\(^{106}\) The latter option appears more likely also because Strada had brought his young family and had established an independent household which, apart from his personal servants, included at least one of the artists he employed.\(^{107}\) Strada was particularly interested in the history and customs of Ancient Rome, in so far as these could be reconstructed from its wreckage still floating about by the historians and antiquaries he met there: ‘Though these monuments be mute, they can instruct those who are well versed in Roman history’, he says in the preface to his edition of Panvinio’s *Fasti et Triumphi*, and then went on to heap laurels on the heads of a number of scholars he had met in the Palazzo Farnese:

> There we find live oracles, who by both discussing the things that have come down to us, and by restoring in their learned commentaries what has been lost through the injuries of time, can give an exact interpretation of what once was, as anyone can witness who has heard discourse Antonio Agustín, Padre Ottavio [= Pantagato], Gentile Delfini, Achille

\(^{105}\) Strada’s Preface to Panvinio 1557<\textit{b}>.

\(^{106}\) Strada’s Preface to Panvinio 1557<\textit{a}>. On Alessandro Farnese’s patronage, see Nolhac 1887; specifically on artistic patronage see Robertson 1992.

\(^{107}\) Armenini 1587, p. 65: ‘<...> un mercante Mantovano, che fù l’anno 1556. con il quale io dimorava allhora <...>’.
Maffei, Benedetto Egio, Gabriele Faerno and numerous others on many different subjects. All students of Antiquity have recourse to them, as to the temple of the Delphic Apollo, and hear them with great enthusiasm and attention, not dispersing without having obtained great profit from their conversation. Of incredible perfection is such wisdom and eloquence, when it is found in persons of sensitivity and refinement, and of spotless personal integrity.¹⁰⁸

There are sufficient indications to show that Strada did indeed maintain personal contacts with a number of the members of this circle. He claims to have met Onufrio Panvinio [Fig. 3.90] in the Palazzo Farnese ‘where, to my great pleasure, I daily enjoyed the conversation of Onofrio Panvinio, whose great assiduity and precision in his research of past times I have always greatly admired’. These contacts are confirmed by the fact that Panvinio allowed Strada to publish a first version of his treatise on the Fasti Capitolini and also made available to him a copy of his manuscript history of the Popes. Strada’s edition of these two works, the Fasti et Triumphi and the Epitome Pontificum, would appear in 1557 with dedications to the Emperor Ferdinand I and his eldest son, Maximilian King of Bohemia, respectively.¹⁰⁹ It appears, however, that Strada owned his good contacts with the rather shy and withdrawn Panvinio in particular to Antonio Agustín [Fig. 3.89] From Agustín’s correspondence with Panvinio it appears that it was the former who had drafted some sort of a contract between author and publisher: so if the suggestion that Strada print the book was not actually his, at least he strongly supported it.¹¹⁰

Strada’s contacts with Antonio Agustín appear to have been particularly close, and their intimacy was the obvious consequence of the interest in ancient numismatics they shared. By the middle of the sixteenth century the collecting of ancient coins had become so fashionable as to generate a lively community of dealers and peddlers, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Campo de’ Fiori, and several collectors possessed quite impressive cabinets, though by the 1550’s none of these was as yet organized in a very systematic way: that was first to be realized by the splendid collection brought together by Fulvio Orsini, librarian of Alessandro Farnese.¹¹¹ Strada spent a great deal of his time in inspecting these various coin-cabinets, whose contents he studied often in

¹⁰⁸ Strada’s preface to Panvinio 1557<a>. ¹⁰⁹ For the publishing history of these books, see below, Part 2, chapter 3. ¹¹⁰ Letters dated Roma, 27 November 1557 and 8 January 1558: ‘io vi mando <…> la fede del contratto con Strada <…>’ in Agustín 1980, pp. 281, 286. ¹¹¹ On Fulvio Orsini, see Nolhac 1887.
detail, and of which he must have copied the best pieces in quick sketches, raw material for the drawings to be included in his numismatic *Corpus*. In his *Antiquorum numismatum Διασκευέ*, the eleven-volume manuscript containing descriptions of the coins Strada had studied that was intended as the scholarly complement of the drawings of the *Corpus*, Strada always mentioned the collection in which he had seen the best-preserved exemplar of each particular coin-type.\(^\text{112}\) This information not only allows us to largely reconstruct his own not inconsiderable *medagliere*, but also provides a lot of information about those of a number of Roman collectors. The resulting list of owner’s names and the number of coins each of them possessed should be used with some caution, because it represents no absolute and complete survey, but merely a selection from those cabinets Strada was allowed to visit. So a large number of descriptions given for any particular collection may possibly reflect some superiority in quality or size, but probably chiefly indicates that there Strada was made welcome repeatedly and was given better facilities of study than elsewhere.\(^\text{113}\)

From the people of whom Strada makes such honourable mention in his preface to Panvinio’ *Fasti*, Antonio Agustín, Gentile Delfini, Achille Maffeì and Gabriele Faerno also turn up in this list, while only Benedetto Egio and Ottavio

\(^\text{112}\) On the Διασκευέ, see Jansen 1993<\textit{b}>.

\(^\text{113}\) It is for instance revealing that the Papal collections are not mentioned at all, and only a few incidental items from the holdings of the Farnese. A list based on an examination of the first five volumes included in Jansen 1993<\textit{a}>, pp. 231–232.
Pantagato had not allowed Strada to study their coins or, more likely, did not possess any of particular merit: after all not every humanist felt it necessary to spend his money on such tokens of erudition. While Strada describes only a few coins from the collection of Alessandro Farnese, the fact that he mentions about fifty from the cabinet of Annibale Caro, an important man of letters who was particularly closely connected to Farnese, indicates that he did indeed have regular contacts with the circle of the Cardinal, whom he describes as his patron. Strada also visited the collections of a number of Roman patricians, such as Stefano del Bufalo, Alessandro Corvino and the enigmatic, unidentified Pyrro Aloysio (Alvise?) Manilio (Manilio?). Chief among these was Achille Maffei, whose family had collected antiquities already since the end of the fifteenth century, and whose numismatic collection appears to have been of outstanding size and quality: Strada included the description of hundreds of Maffei’s coins in the Διασκευέ. Several entries confirm that Strada actively hunted for antique coins; he regularly frequented the shops of famous antique dealers, though he rarely mentioned them by name: ‘in Romano suburbio apud quendam antiquarium’, ‘apud antiquarium in Foro Panthei’ and so on. Exceptions are the most renowned of Roman antique-dealers, Antonietto ‘delle Medaglie’ and a certain ‘Dominicus’, probably the gem-cutter, medalist and dealer Domenico Compagni, also known as Domenico de’ Cammei. It is not clear whether he is identical with a Venetian dealer ‘Domenico antiquario’ whose shop Strada visited on another occasion. But Strada also found antique medals among the stock of goldsmiths, money-changers and junk-dealers: ‘apud quendam aurifabrum’, ‘apud mensarium quendam Romae in suburbano vico’, ‘apud scrutarium Romae prope Pacis’, ‘apud scrutarium Romae in Campo Florae’, and ‘è regione D[ivi] Marcelli’, and so on. Oddly enough Strada apparently was not allowed to study Pirro Ligorio’s collection, which is never referred to, though he later did cite Ligorio’s opinion on a given coin in support of his own, and must have met him repeatedly. He did, however, consult the

114 Most of the collections visited by Strada are listed in the survey of Roman collections of antiquities of the sixteenth century given in Bober-Rubinstein 1986, pp. 471–480; for the Maffei collection, see p. 476, which also illustrates Maarten van Heemskerck’s drawing of the cortile of the Maffei house in the Via della Pigna; see now also the survey of owners mentioned by Enea Vico in Missere Fontana 1994.

115 Little is known about these various shops; see McCrory 1987. Strada does not mention two other well-known dealers, Vincenzo and Gian Antonio Stampa, who purveyed antiquities to the Florentine court.

medagliere of his other famous colleague, Enea Vico, but it appears that this visit took place in Venice.\footnote{Strada referred to Ligorio in his letter to Maximilian II, \textit{ibidem}.}

The most important collection Strada studied, however, was that belonging to Antonio Agustín, which appears to have been Strada's primary source, of even greater importance than his own collection. In the five volumes I have been able to study Strada mentions about sixty to seventy serious collectors, but Agustín's medagliere alone is responsible for over a fifth of the coins described. Though it is well known that Agustín was one of the principal experts in the field, whose \textit{Dialogos de medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades} of 1587 remains an important source for the history of numismatics in the Renaissance, very little is known about his collection.\footnote{Agustín 1587; Italian translations by Dionigi Ottaviano Sada and by Ascanio Donangeli, both published in Rome in 1592: Agustín 1592\text{a}; Agustín 1592\text{b}.} Strada's descriptions are of signal importance in an attempt at reconstruction, a reconstruction that should be based on the holdings of the Royal Collection in Madrid, because King Philip II inherited most of Agustín's library and collections. Certainly it was of outstanding quality, if Strada so often preferred Agustín's exemplar of a given type to those preserved elsewhere. Yet it should be kept in mind that Strada's exceptional dependence on Agustín's collection does not necessarily mean that at the time of Strada's visit it was unrivalled in Rome for quality and quantity of its contents. It rather indicates that Strada was accorded exceptional opportunity to repeatedly study and copy Agustín's medals, and this suggests that the intimacy between auditor and antiquary was more intense than is suggested by the few references to Strada in Agustín's published correspondence.

It is difficult to recreate their relationship exactly. Strada's labour in Agustín's cabinet will rarely have been accomplished in the actual presence of his host, whose responsibilities allowed him little time for his erudite pursuits. But Strada was not the only student to occupy himself with Agustín's coins, and imperceptibly he must have learned a great deal from comparing notes and exchanging opinions with his fellow-guests. In Agustín's few moments of leisure more formal discussions must have taken place, either in his own house or elsewhere, in which many of the learned men Strada claimed to have known in Rome habitually took part. Decades later the venerable Archbishop of Tarragona still cherished the memories of such evenings, which he attempted to recreate in the moments when he could relax from his ecclesiastical duties: the \textit{Dialoghi intorno alle medaglie} describes the aged prelate instructing his young friends in the importance of ancient coins as historical sources, and teaching
them the rudiments of a method that had developed in Rome in the 1550s. It has been assumed that Agustín did not value Strada’s erudition very highly, on the basis of an often-quoted passage in the *Dialoghi*: ‘But how can that be’, his questioner asks:

<...> that without understanding Latin he [= Pirro Ligorio] could have written well about such things? A[gustín]: 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.¹¹⁹

This passage, however, has not always been interpreted or translated correctly, and in any case should be taken with some grains of salt. However sceptical he may or may not have been, Agustín’s judgement did allow the quality and utility of the works of Ligorio, Vico, Goltzius and Strada: is it a coincidence that these can still be considered the four greatest of mid-Cinquecento antiquaries? Agustín obviously appreciated Strada’s drawings and his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, if only for the high quality of its printing. As a most astute man of the world, he must have been impressed with the energy with which Strada attempted to get things done, and the ample means which—at least partly thanks to Fugger—he had at his disposal to realize his ambitions. These, rather than Strada’s erudition, must have been the motives which made him advise Panvinio to entrust the manuscripts of his books to Strada to have them printed, and it appears that he himself was instrumental in drawing up the contract. Even when Strada’s publications of these books resulted in a fiasco, Agustín did not intend to break off his relations with Strada merely to please Panvinio: when he visited the Imperial court in 1558 he sided with Strada in his controversy with the Imperial Historiographer Wolfgang Lazius, realizing that though the latter was a good and learned historian, he had an insufficient command of the intricacies of numismatics as a discipline.¹²⁰

It cannot be doubted that Strada greatly profited from his contacts with Agustín, and though the project of his numismatic *Corpus* for Hans Jakob

¹¹⁹ Authors translation of Agustín 1587, pp. 131–132. A freer translation in Mandowsky/ Mitchell 1963, pp. 31–32, which has more negative connotations: ‘From their works you might imagine they had read all the Latin and Greek books ever written, whereas all they did was to utilize the learning of others. The value of their work lies not in what they wrote but in the excellence of their drawings’. The full passage is discussed below, Ch. 15.1.

Fugger antedates his arrival in Rome, Agustín’s influence is probably responsible for some of the more scholarly aspects of Strada’s practice. Strada’s very precise, almost dry descriptions of the coins and his consequently noting the provenance of the model in his Λ.Α.Α. Νυμισματων Αντικων Διασκευή, the separation of the coins struck in Greece and the East from the Latin ones in his Series presented to Emperor Maximilian II—and perhaps also his providing the former with a title in Greek—as well as the addition of several exhaustive indices, may be instances of such influence. At the same time he must have been stimulated by the very lively milieu of scholars and amateurs regularly discussing points of history in the light of the information extracted from the coins and inscriptions that were so assiduously collected, though this stimulus proved more ephemeral. Learned discussions of individual coins, such as those scattered through Agustín’s correspondence with Panvinio, or included in Costanzo Landi’s In veterum numismatum romanorum miscellanea explicationes (printed in Lyon in 1550) are rare in Strada’s work: only occasionally he attempted more detailed interpretations of an individual reverse, for instance in the letter to Maximilian II when King of Bohemia, in which he defended himself against the attack upon his scholarly accomplishments launched by his rival, the Imperial Historiographer Wolfgang Lazius. But such discourses show that he was at least well aware of the most recent developments in antiquarian scholarship, and this is borne out by one of his letters to Fugger, in which he demonstrates detailed knowledge of the origins of an important epigraphic manuscript recently acquired by his patron: a ‘libro de’ pili in dissegno’ compiled in Rome at the instance of Granvelle, and commented upon by Morillon; it is just possible that this volume can be identified with the so-called Codex Coburgensis.121

The Codex Coburgensis has been plausibly interpreted as more or less coinciding with one of the items included in the programme of publication envisaged by the Vitruvian Academy in Rome, strongly supported by Marcello Cervini, which has been briefly outlined above. Though no direct contacts between Strada and this Accademia del Virtù are documented, Strada was in touch with many of its individual members. It is difficult to imagine, however, that a former pupil of Giulio Romano, who arrived in Rome carrying all of Sebastiano Serlio’s drawings and manuscripts—including those by Peruzzi and others that Serlio had brought together in the course of his long life, apart from much graphic material recently published in France—and who himself was an enthusiastic student of architecture and of Antiquity, would not have

been welcomed by the members of the academy resident in Rome at that time. Certainly the ambitious programme of publications that Strada first began to develop about this time rather closely echoes that formulated by Claudio Tolomei in his letter quoted above, a letter Strada would have known, since it was printed already in 1547.\textsuperscript{122} It is striking that many of the activities Strada engaged in during his stay in Rome seem to fit into the objectives of the Academy, though many of them must have been primarily connected to the commissions Fugger had given him.

3.8 Commissions and Purchases: The Genesis of Strada’s Musaeum

3.8.1 Acquisition of Antiques

With his erudite research and his other enterprises, Strada was very strenuously occupied during the two years of his residence in Rome. Unfortunately it is difficult to establish in how far Strada’s activities were related to specific commissions from Fugger, and in how far he acted on his own initiative and in his own immediate interest. It is clear that no exclusive relationship to any patron in Rome was established, and it is rather likely that Strada maintained himself, his family and the other members of his retinue at least in part from the income deriving from Fugger’s commissions. In the preface to his 1575 edition of Caesar he described his trip to Rome as an explicit initiative of his patron, who had charged him to ‘to acquire gold, silver and bronze coins and marbles of remarkable antiquity, which I at great expense had brought to Augsburg.’\textsuperscript{123} This suggests that Strada’s principal object was the acquisition of antiquities for Fugger’s growing collection: when Strada frequented the shops of various antiquarians and peddlers he doubtless did not limit himself to studying their coins in order to complete his numismatic \textit{Corpus}, but also selected those objects with which he thought best to enrich Fugger’s \textit{studio}. He also purchased antique statuary on Fugger’s behalf, of which very little is known: Strada emphasises the busts of Emperor’s and Empresses, which accords well with his patron’s historical interest, and such busts were a most suitable type of decoration of the library in which Fugger’s collection was collocated. But Strada’s


\textsuperscript{123} Strada’s preface to his edition of Caesar 1575; cf. below, Ch. 12.3.
purchases also included life-size statues; unfortunately too little information is available to allow us to identify any individual pieces among the holdings of the Antiquarium and the Glyptothek at Munich, where Fugger's collection ended up.\footnote{Von Busch, pp. 111–113. At least two statues in the Antiquarium are documented in Strada's ms. Antiquarum Statuarum in Vienna, but these were among the acquisitions Strada made for Albrecht v in Venice in 1567–1568.} It can be assumed that Strada also acquired, probably even on a large scale, books and manuscripts—or copies of these, if the original was not to be had for love or money—for Fugger's library, which was in the end the latter's principal interest; but we have no concrete indications of this.

3.8.2 Commissions of Visual Documentation

We do know, however, much more about another aspect of Fugger's commission: the acquisition of visual documentation of the relics of Antiquity, as well as of the most splendid achievements of the art of the Renaissance. Strada's numismatic corpus, the Magnum ac novum opus preserved in Gotha, is the principal relic of his work for Fugger in this field; it has been discussed and illustrated above [Figs. 3.22–3.33]. This project was begun before Strada's departure from Nuremberg—its title-page bears the date 1550—but Strada continued working on it for many years. Possibly Strada still added to it on behalf of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, who acquired the series together with the rest of Fugger's library and collection in 1566. While in Rome he continued working on the project, probably immediately having converted the sketches of the coins he had studied during the day into the fair drawings to be included in the Corpus. Possibly he was occasionally allowed to send his draughtsmen into the collections he frequented, or to carry home some of their holdings for a few days. One of these draughtsmen, Giovanni Battista Armenini, years later recorded his work for Strada, in whose house he lived for some time:

<...> and I copied for him [says Armenini] certain antique bronze and golden medaillons, in watercolours, the size of a palmo each; which portraits, with [images of] their reverses, he then sent to the Fuggers, very rich merchants of Antwerp, a most powerful city of Flanders, after he had bound them into most beautiful books.\footnote{Armenini 1587, p. 65. Armenini mixes up Anversa (Antwerp) and Augusta (Augsburg): though the Fugger firm did have a branch at Antwerp, there is no reason to doubt that the books of drawings were sent immediately to Hans Jakob in Augsburg.}
This description perfectly fits the corpus of drawings in Gotha already discussed and illustrated above. But Strada employed draughtsman such as Armenini also in other projects: from another passage in Armenini’s *De’ veri precetti della pittura* [Fig. 3.91] we know that, though Armenini possibly was the only artist lodging with Strada, he certainly was not the only one to be employed by him. The execution of the numismatic drawings for Hans Jakob Fugger was, moreover, only one of the tasks allotted to them. Following an admiring description of Raphael’s Vatican Loggia, Armenini reports how

<...> every part of this ensemble, including its tiled floor, was drawn on paper and coloured in the miniature technique, in the proper way, by the hand of the most talented young artists in Rome in my time, and of which I myself was one; once thus coloured it was then sent by the man who had commissioned it, and paid royally for it, to Antwerp, to a great lord of the Fugger family, who, it was said, took great delight in it. And for that agent I mean, another copy was made which, after not much time,
he himself took to Spain to the great court of King Philip, with an infinite number of other drawings which he bought all the time, and were commissioned from us to draw for him plans, temples, medals [= coins], arches, columns, statues and other ancient objects that have been found throughout that city in the course of time, and those however that were among the most notable, and were of greater quality than the others.126

In view of Armenini’s inaccuracies, and the provenance from Ambras of the series of drawings of the Vatican Loggia which has been preserved in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, one cannot be sure that all these ‘disegni infiniti’ were in fact among Fugger’s commissions. In any case Strada kept a set of the Loggia

drawings, or a copy of it, for himself, as well as of much of the other material he acquired, and he would later include it in the ambitious programme of publications he failed to realize.\textsuperscript{127} This material consisted of the measured drawings of the principal antique monuments of Rome—such as the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius—executed in part by the artists Strada employed, and in part, he claims, prepared by himself; and of similar documentation of the most important achievements of the architecture of his own century—such as Raphael’s Loggia [Figs. 3.92–3.93 and below, Figs. 13.1019–13.107]. In addition to the Loggia drawings, a beautiful large drawing in pen and wash documenting Polidoro da Caravaggio’s frescoes decorating the facade of the Palazzo Gaddi in Rome can be connected with Strada’s commission, and provides a good idea of what such documentation must have looked like [below, Fig. 13.108].\textsuperscript{128}

Apart from Armenini, only one of the ‘più valenti giovani’ mentioned by Armenini can be identified with some degree of certainty. This is Giovanni Antonio Dosio, who noted in an album of drawings of antique cinerary urns which ones he had copied out on behalf of Strada.\textsuperscript{129} Strada’s compatriot

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\textbf{Figures 3.94–3.95} Unidentified draughtsman, mid sixteenth century, an image from the \textit{Codex Coburgensis} (Veste Coburg, Cod. HZ ii), compared to a detail from the title page of Strada’s \textit{Series Imper\[eratorum\] Ro\[manorum\]} (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. A 1243a), shows both the correspondence in approach in mid-sixteenth-century antiquarian drawings, and the difference in manner between individual draughtsmen.

\textsuperscript{127} ÖNB-HS, Cod. min. 33.

\textsuperscript{128} Vienna, Albertina, invnr. 15.462; Birke/Kertész 1992–1997, 4, pp. 2104–2105. In view of its close resemblance to the Loggia drawings—note for instance the realistic detail of the tears in the waxed paper filling the window frames—and its present location, it may have been among Strada’s commissions; the topic is discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 13.8.1.

\textsuperscript{129} Giovanni Antonio Dosio’s sketchbook preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin; fol. 8v contains a note ‘tutti quegli che avran\[n\]o u\[na +\] per contrasegno so fatti [per
Giovanni Battista Scultori had executed similar documentation on behalf of Granvelle already in 1547—in this case of the decoration of the Sistine Chapel and of Giulio Romano’s Sala de’ Giganti in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua—and doubtless now also contributed to Strada’s collection, since after Scultori’s death Strada would praise the work he had done for him.130

The anonymous draughtsmen of the Codex Coburgensis likewise may have been among the artists Strada employed at this time: his manner suggested a Mantuan origin to Richard Harprath; his use of clearly distinguished parallel hatchings is reflected in the title-pages of some of Strada’s later manuscripts [Figs. 3.94–3.95, cf. Figs. 3.22–3.23].131 The preparation of such material for Strada and for other visitors to what in fact was a burgeoning tourist attraction must have been quite a welcome source of income for young artists embarking on their career by studying Roman antiquities and the canonical works of the great masters of Renaissance Rome.

3.8.3 Acquisition of the Drawings Left by Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano

Strada’s acquisitions doubtless also included many drawings (probably also prints) which he could buy ready-made from draughtsmen, engravers and booksellers specializing in this trade, or which he found occasion to purchase from other collectors tempted by the generous prices Strada appears to have offered.132 Chief among such occasional purchases was his acquisition of all the

130 Greppi 1977, pp. 45–52, especially letters nrs 1–3; but it should be noted that Scultori prepared these in Mantua from copies—by Marcello Venusti—he had at his disposal; cf. Lincoln 1997. The series is kept at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; Giovan Battista’s son Adamo engraved a series of Ignudi of the Sistine ceiling which was published around 1550; cf. Bellini/Salzi 1991, pp. 64–104; Strada refers to Scultori and the work he had done in a letter to the Duke of Mantua of 1577 (Doc 1577.10–04 A).

131 Series Imp<eratorum> Ro<manorum>, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. A 1243a and Series Romanorum ac Graecorum ac Germanorum imperatorum, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9413–9518. Though the approach is comparable to some extent, the hands of the draughtsmen differ (i.e. use of hatching for the background of the relief is similar, but the manner in which this is done—horizontal vs vertical—differs). On the draughtsman of the Codex Coburgensis (Veste Coburg, Cod. HZ 11), see Richard Harprath, ‘Zeichentechnik und künstlerische Persönlichkeit des Meister des Codex Coburgensis’, in Harprath/Wrede 1989, pp. 127–140.

132 According to Armenini Strada paid royally (‘realmente’) for the documentation of the Vatican Loggia. When acquiring antiquities in Venice in the 1560s Strada was likewise reputed to have paid high prices (below, Ch. 12).
graphic material from the estate of Perino del Vaga, who had died in 1547. In the preface to his 1575 edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro* Strada related how he went and visit the widow of his old friend, as Strada called Perino, Caterina Penni, the sister and heir of Giovan Francesco Penni, another of Raphael's pupils:

<...> before I left [Rome], I went to visit Madonna Catharina, who had been the wife of Perino del Vaga, court painter of the Pope, in his time the foremost artist in Rome and when alive a great friend of mine. Discussing with her the materials of her late husband, I found that she was disposed to sell all his drawings rather to me, than to whomsoever else she knew, not wishing that such [splendid] efforts would remain in Rome, and that others would abuse them to increase their own glory. Thus I could buy from her two chests [full] of drawings all by hand, among which were all the works he himself ever made, and also many by Raffaello d’Urbino, who had been his master. Among these drawings I found a very great quantity of architecture, both [of projects] in Rome, and [of projects] in France and in other places in Italy. **133**

Obviously proud of his *Musaeum*—as such he indicated the collection housed in his splendid mansion in Vienna—Strada might easily have overestimated the importance of his acquisitions. Therefore it is fortunate that his enthusiastic account is again corroborated by a passage in Giovanni Battista Armenini’s *De veri precetti della pittura*. He relates that when he was living in Strada’s house as one of the young draughtsmen employed in his projects, he had been able to study the drawings from Perino’s estate at leisure:

Among so many others [I have seen] I well remember the many drawings left by Perino at his death, which, when I was in Rome, were all bought, and by one of his daughters sold, for a price of fifty gold *scudi*, which were paid out in my presence, in the year 1556, by a merchant from Mantua with whom I was living at the time <...> and for that reason, apart from

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**133** Serlio 1575, fol. a iii i-r. Since Caterina Penni probably had earlier been pressed to sell or give away some of the drawings in her possession, in particular as regards Raphael’s drawings, Strada’s acquisition may not really have included all the effects left at Perino’s death almost ten years earlier; Armenini’s reference to ‘all’ the drawings purchased by Strada could refer to all those left at Perino’s death, or to all those left in Caterina’s possession by 1556. The fact that Strada paid well and in cash may have been an additional motivation for Caterina to sell the drawings to him, rather than to someone else.
that first time, I have seen them many times, because he gladly gave me that opportunity <...>.\textsuperscript{134}

At first sight Strada's purchase of Perino's drawings might appear to have been motivated by his making use of a chance opportunity, or by sentimental considerations—Strada had known Perino when he was young, and calls him his old friend—or even merely by the wish of helping out Perino's widow. But in view of Strada's similar acquisition of Serlio's Nachlass at Lyon a year earlier it seems to fit into a more deliberate programme of acquisition. This supposition is strengthened by Strada's acquisition, in his hometown Mantua, which he visited on his way back to Germany, of all the graphic material left by his former master, Giulio Romano. Again he relates this affair in the preface to his edition of Serlio's Settimo Libro:

Now departing from Rome to return to Germany, I passed through Mantua, and went to renew my acquaintance with Raffaello, the son of Giulio Romano; who having been left richly provided by his father, little delighted in the visual arts, but was rather inclined toward amorous relationships and having a good time. And for that reason, apart from what his father had left him, he had little that was worthwhile, because he was not able to exercise the art of design and lacked judgment in architecture, nor was he able to avail himself of the designs of the other things his father had left him; whereas had he remained poor, necessity would have forced him to follow the profession of such a great man as was his father. So it was not difficult for me to get hold of all the drawings that had belonged to his father, that had been left to him; wherein were found together the most beautiful designs of Raffael d’Urbino, who had been his master; and moreover those in his own hand; and in particular in the field of architecture, both ancient and modern. And when we had agreed on the price, I paid him <...>.\textsuperscript{135}

Both Perino's and Giulio's collections incorporated, apart from their own work, sets of designs by or after other masters with whom they had worked in their career, in particular by Raphael, whose star pupils and heirs they had been, together with Giovan Francesco Penni, whose portion also had ended up in Perino's hand through his wife, Penni's sister Caterina. Armenini relates that

\textsuperscript{134} Armenini 1587, pp. 64–65.
\textsuperscript{135} Serlio 1575, fol. a iiii–r.
Perino’s drawings included many inventions of other artists which had not so much been copied, as reinvented by Perino himself:

I saw in his own hand a large part of the works painted by Raphael, who had been his master, which were drawn in black chalk, as were some of the nude figures from [Michelangelo’s Last] Judgment, which drawings were in such a manner reduced to his [Perino’s] own sweet manner, that you could say that they were rather born from, or invented by him, rather than copied after the works of others <…> here were moreover many sketches taken from prints, which were designed by Italians and by Germans, just as there were an infinite number of [drawings after] funerary steles, wall coverings, statues, grotesque ornaments, all derived from the Antique, with other similar things which are scattered and often hidden throughout Rome, but which we were aware of [and therefore did recognize in Perino’s drawings]; and he in copying these, he nevertheless would change now one thing, then another, and those that were damaged or not very attractive, he would add, or remove, or enrich them, in short, he would change them to such an extent, with his graceful manner, that it was difficult even for experienced observers to see where he had unearthed them [= found his examples].

Vasari described Giulio Romano’s collection of drawings, which included not only a huge cupboard containing

<…> all the plans of all the buildings that had been made after his designs and instruction, not only in Mantua and in Rome, but everywhere in Lombardy <…>

but also

<…> all the plans of antique buildings of Rome, of Naples, of Pozzuoli, of Campania, and of all the other principal remains of Antiquity that are known, drawn in part by himself, in part by others.

So in both cases these collections not merely represented the work of a few individual artists and their workshops, but documented the work and the interests of an entire artistic milieu—basically that of Rome in the first half of

136 Armenini 1587, p. 65.
137 Vasari/ Milanesi 1878–1885, 5, pp. 552–553.
the sixteenth century—as well as the monuments from classical Antiquity that so strongly inspired the creations of that period. Thus their purchase by Strada can be regarded as part of a conscious programme of acquisition directed at building up a collection of first-hand documentation not only of the material relics of Antiquity, but also of the art and architecture of Raphael and his school, that is of the art and architecture that by Vasari’s time already had achieved a canonical status.

This programme may have been inspired and partly financed by Hans Jakob Fugger: such material provided the visual complement to the written documentation present in his library. Yet it is likely that Strada also collected material for himself. Whereas at least part of the documentation he specially commissioned, such as the drawings of the Vatican Loggia, was destined for his patron, there is evidence that he kept the original material acquired respectively from Serlio, Perino’s widow, and Giulio Romano’s son, for himself. And it seems likely that he kept copies for himself even of the documentation he commissioned for Fugger or for other patrons. In this way his travels allowed him to lay the foundations for the collection he proudly indicated with the term Musaeum, and which can be considered to anticipate on a more modest scale the famous Musaeum chartaceum brought together in the first half of the seventeenth century by Cassiano dal Pozzo. An attempt to identify at least some of the contents of Strada’s graphic collection will be made in Chapter 13; its function in relation to Strada’s professional activities will be a recurrent theme in the rest of this book.

3.9 Departure from Rome

Though Strada’s acquisition of these materials accorded with Fugger’s ideas, it is not likely that all of them were made on his account. It is clear that Strada did not regard himself as indissolubly bound to Fugger, because he also offered his numismatic drawings to other patrons. The Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris owns a beautiful manuscript presenting pre-imperial coinage in a make-up identical to the volumes commissioned by Fugger; its elegant titlepage indicates that it was made in Rome in 1554, though its intended recipient remains

138 Such material was used in the Libri di disegni produced in Strada’s workshop; some of his acquisitions figure in the list of illustrated publications Strada intended to publish (below, Ch. 14).
unknown. It appears that Strada in any case was attempting to find some more exalted patron during his residence in Rome: he may well have cultivated his connection with Cardinal Farnese in the hope that he might thus obtain some profitable appointment in the Church or at the court of the Cardinal’s brother, Duke Ottavio of Parma. Armenini relates that a copy of the Loggia drawings was made for Philip II, which Strada would have carried to his court in person. Though Armenini, recording his memories thirty years after the fact, is often unreliable, and there is no indication that Strada ever did in person visit either Spain or the Netherlands, it is just possible that Strada had considered Philip II as a potential patron. Certainly Antonio Agústín advised his friend Panvinio to dedicate his books to Philip II, rather than to his cousin Maximilian, future Emperor, but at the time mere titular King of Bohemia, and Strada himself had at one time thought of presenting one of his numismatic manuscripts to Philip’s father, the Emperor Charles V, though he thought better of this at the latter’s abdication. Connections with the Spanish court might have been easily established through the intervention of Fugger or the recommendation of Granvelle or Agústín. We have already seen that Granvelle was interested in the type of material that Strada collected and that was produced in his workshop, and in later years Philip II would not have been averse to obtaining such material for the library of the Escorial.

All the same it appears very unlikely that Strada ever acted on such considerations. But he did claim that he succeeded in obtaining the patronage of Pope Julius III himself:

<...> when I found myself in Rome, not many months passed, before I was called into the service of Pope Julius III Monti, who lived at that time. But it lasted only a few months, because His Holiness died. But Marcello

139 Imagines omnium numismatum antiquorum, quae ex auro, argento et aere à Romulo usque ad C. Iulium Caes. Romae signata sunt. Summa diligentia cum uniusquicuiusque notis à Iacobo Strada Mantuano depictae, Romae ex Musaeo Iacobi Stradae Mantuani M.D.L.III., Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 1019. In view of Armenini’s testimony, the claim that these drawings all are autographs should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt. The volume may not have been made in response to a specific commission, but kept to be offered to a promising patron, when a separate dedication could have been easily added.

140 Agústín to Panvinio, Roma 2 october 1557: ‘<...> quanto alle dedicationi di libri. tra quelli duei principi pigliaria quel che hora è piu sublime, et piu amico di uostro patron, idest il Re di Spagna. ben che l’altro sia piu propinquo al imperio, ma sara un Re di scachi senza l’aguito del suo nepote’, printed in Agústín 1980, nr. 191, p. 277. The illuminated titlepage of Strada’s De consularibus numismata [ÖNB, ms 941] depicted Charles V’s device, the Pillars of Hercules, which was pasted over with a strip of marbled paper before Strada presented it to Ferdinand I.
Cervini succeeding him, and hearing that I intended to return to Germany, made me reaffirm my service. But he as well passing into a better world in a short time, I decided to leave <...> 141

I have found no confirmation of these claims, and we have no inkling what kind of service Strada would have been expected to render Julius III. Cervini’s close involvement in the antiquarian scholarship of the Vitruvian Academy promised opportunities of employment, but his death after a pontificate of hardly three weeks, and the consecutive election of the puritan Gian Pietro Carafa, as Pope Paul IV, shattered any illusions Strada may have had about a career in Rome.

So he decided to pack up his trunks again and to move back to Nuremberg with his household, which by now consisted of himself, his wife and at least two young children, perhaps one or more assistants and doubtless one or two servants. Apart from personal luggage he carried with him his acquisitions on behalf of Fugger—which included a quantity of antique marbles—and the accretions to his own collection, including the work he and his assistants had done in Rome. The road to Germany, across the Brenner, brought him to Mantua, and he must have been quite happy to have the opportunity to visit his native city, to meet his family perhaps for the first time in many years, to present his wife to them, and to show her and his children the splendour of what was, after all, their fatherland. Doubtless he went to pay his respects to the young Duke, Guglielmo Gonzaga, and his guardian and at the time regent of the Duchy, Cardinal Ercole. His documented visit to Raffaello Pippi, son and heir of Giulio Romano, from whom he acquired his father’s drawings, has already been discussed. But probably Strada also renewed contacts with many old friends and colleagues. These included his exact contemporary, Giovanni Battista Bertani, who had succeeded Giulio Romano as first architect to the Gonzaga, and who shared Strada’s antiquarian enthusiasm; and the engraver Giovan Battista Scultori, who appears to have been interested in ancient coins, since in the Διασκέδασμα Strada described a few coins that he had seen in Scultori’s collection. These contacts would be useful later in his career: both Bertani and Scultori were employed by Strada in the late 1560s.

It is not known when exactly Strada left Rome, when he arrived in Mantua, and when he finally arrived back in Nuremberg: winding up his affairs in Rome after the sudden death of Marcellus II in May 1555 must have taken some time, and the trip to Mantua may have been a leisurely one: unless travelling by sea as far as Genoa, it can be assumed that the company travelled via Florence and

141 Strada’s preface to Serlio 1575.
Bologna before arriving in Mantua.\textsuperscript{142} Moreover it is possible that Strada also took the occasion to (re)visit Venice. Next to Rome and Florence, Venice was the principal artistic centre of the peninsula, the great emporium of objects from the near and further East—including Greek antiquities, and the principal centre of high-quality book production: all three subjects that were of paramount importance for Strada and for his patron. In fact Strada’s publication of the two books he had just acquired from Panvinio—both came out in 1557—presupposes an earlier visit in order to find a suitable printer and to commission the carving of the woodcuts illustrating the arms of the respective Popes from some of Venice’s famous engravers [below, Figs. 14.15–14.17].\textsuperscript{143} Whether he did visit Venice on this occasion, or did not, Strada was back in Nuremberg at the very latest somewhere in the late summer or early autumn of 1556: by December of that year he was already contemplating new activities, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Strada’s departure from Rome can be considered as a turning point in his career. His reference to his hopes of employment by the Pope indicates that he had not yet definitely decided what his career was to be, and where he hoped to realize his ambitions. But he had finally completed the foundation upon which it could be built: after his early education in Mantua, he had enriched his formal knowledge by his contacts with humanists in Italy, Germany and France and by means of his studies in the cabinets of many learned collectors had acquired a specialized competence in ancient numismatics, one of the principal branches of antiquarian studies. His contacts with Hans Jakob Fugger had been of particular significance: Fugger had provided him with the

\textsuperscript{142} If Strada did visit Florence on this occasion, he remained too briefly to study the Medici medagliere and other collections: in the \textit{Διασκευέ} no Florentine provenances are given, except for one or two coins from the Medici collection, which he may well have known from correspondence or copies. Though Strada personally knew Jacopo Dani, a secretary of Cosimo I with whom he would correspond later in his career, he probably first met him only when Dani acted as secretary to the Tuscan embassy at the Imperial court.

\textsuperscript{143} Panvinio 1557:<a>: \textit{Fasti et triumphi Romanorum a Romulo Rege usque ad Carolum V <...>, sive epitome regum, consulum, dictatorum, magistratorum <...> ex antiquitatum monumentis maxima cum fide ac diligentia desumpta}, Venezia 1557 and Panvinio 1557:<b>: \textit{Epitome pontificum romanorum a S. Petro usque ad Paulum III gestorum <...>}, Venezia 1557. The engraving would take less time than one would think: the \textit{Epitome pontificum} was illustrated only by the coats of arms of the Popes and the principal cardinals they had created. The frames of the shield could and were printed from a limited number of blocks; the arms of families such the Orsini who provided many Popes and cardinals could be used repeatedly; and the arms of many Popes were not known, the framed shield remaining empty. The \textit{Fasti et Triumphi} were illustrated by medal portraits for which the blocks of Strada’s Lyon \textit{Epitome thesauri antiquitatum} were reused. See below, Ch. 14.4.
necessary means to accomplish his studies, and the ideas current in his circle had provided him with an intellectual frame of reference which would determine a significant proportion of his later activities. He had brought his antiquarian expertise up to date by his trip to Lyon, where he had published it to the world in his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, and in Rome. In Rome he had mingled in the most advanced humanist and antiquarian milieu of Europe: his contacts with this circle, and with both the papal court and the households of the princes of the church, in particular that of Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, provided him with the learned urbanity that made him eligible to the place he would shortly afterwards occupy at the principal secular court of Christianity.

Strada’s travels had also equipped him with an up to date expertise in the visual arts of Italy, at the time the trendsetter in Europe, and he had built up an extraordinary collection of visual documentation both of ancient and contemporary art that would enable him to pass on this expertise to both patrons and artists that visited his studio. His collection or ‘Musaeum’ would moreover serve as a stock of inventions drawn upon for the materials that were produced in his workshop on behalf of his patrons: chiefly Hans Jakob Fugger, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. Probably the network of personal acquaintances and correspondents he had created included many others—fellow merchants, booksellers, bankers—that would come in useful for the commercial aspects of his activities.