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## **[Die Combinations of] Unrelated Obverses and Reverses of Ancient Coins in Jacopo Strada's Numismatic Works**

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# [Die Combinations of] Unrelated Obverses and Reverses of Ancient Coins in Jacopo Strada's Numismatic Works\*

Volker Heenes

**Zusammenfassung:** Jacopo Strada beschreibt in seinen hinterlassenen numismatischen Manuskripten (i.e. *Magnum ac Novum Opus*, *Diaskeué*, *Series Imperatorum Romanorum*) Münzaversen und -reverse als zusammengehörig, die aber in Wirklichkeit mit jeweils anderen Vorder- und Rückseiten kombiniert sind. In einigen Bänden des *MaNO* und der *Diaskeué* ist die Anzahl solcher Münzen signifikant hoch (i.e. Augustus, Antoninus Pius, Mark Aurel). Durch die Besitzerangabe in der *Diaskeué* verleiht er ihnen eine vermeintlich sichere Authentizität.

In dem Beitrag werden einige dieser Stempelkombinationen vorgestellt und es wird der Frage nachgegangen, was Strada zu diesen Zusammenstellungen veranlasst haben könnte. Hat er diese Münzen wirklich gesehen, d. h. existierten sie zu seiner Zeit und sind nicht auf uns gekommen oder hat er sie komplett ›erfunden‹? Dazu sollen auch die Werke seiner Zeitgenossen herangezogen werden (Pirro Ligorio, Sebastiano Erizzo, Antonio Agustín), um zu überprüfen, ob sich diese möglicherweise erfundenen Stempelkombinationen auch in deren Werken wiederfinden. Dadurch ergeben sich neue Einblicke in die Arbeits- und Vorgehensweise renaissancezeitlicher Antiquare.

**Schlagwörter:** Jacopo Strada <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118834320>, Geschichte der Numismatik, Münzaversen und -reverse, Stempelkombinationen, Antiquare der Renaissance, Pirro Ligorio <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118779966>, Enea Vico <http://d-nb.info/gnd/119099950>, Antonio Agustín (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118647385>), Hubertus Goltzius <http://d-nb.info/gnd/138826153>, Sebastiano Erizzo <http://d-nb.info/gnd/139904328>

**Abstract:** In his surviving numismatic manuscripts (i.e. *Magnum ac Novum Opus*, *Diaskeué*, *Series Imperatorum Romanorum*) Jacopo Strada describes coin obverses and reverses as belonging together, when in reality they had originally been part of coins displaying other obverses and reverses. In some volumes of the *MaNO* and *Diaskeué*, the occurrence of such coins is very high (e.g. coins of Augustus, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius). By naming their sixteenth-century owners in the *Diaskeué*, Strada gave them a supposedly secure authenticity.

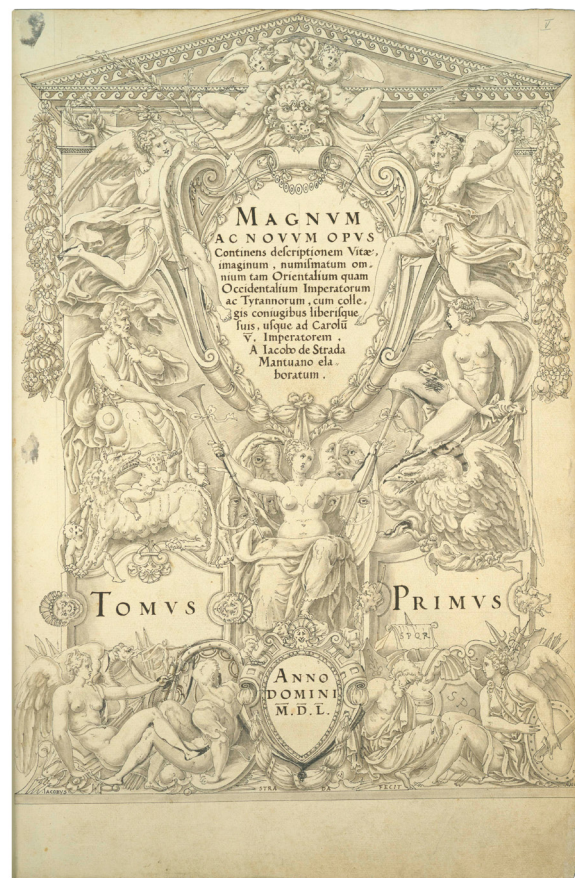
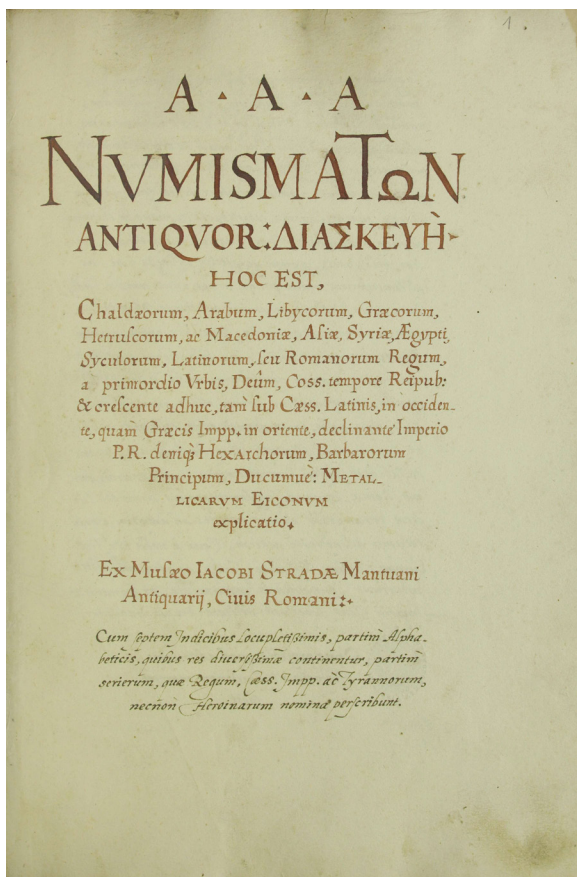
My contribution presents some of these ›combinations‹ and examines what may have prompted Strada to create them. Did he really see these coins, i.e. did they exist in his time but have not been preserved, or did he completely ›invent‹ them? This investigation will also involve the works of his contemporaries (Pirro Ligorio, Sebastiano Erizzo, Antonio Agustín) to check whether such potentially invented ›combinations‹ can also be found in the works of other antiquarians. This investigation will also provide new insights into the work and approach of renaissance antiquarians.

**Key words:** Jacopo Strada, history of numismatics, coin obverses and reverses, die combinations, renaissance antiquarians, Pirro Ligorio, Enea Vico, Antonio Agustín, Hubertus Goltzius, Sebastiano Erizzo.

Jacopo Strada (b. 1505–1515, d. 1588), an antiquarian from Mantua, was the author of a considerable number of manuscripts and books dealing with Greek coins, coins of the Roman Republic and the Roman emperors to the mid-sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>. According to his own state-

\* On 21 April 2021, my contribution was presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America (RSA Virtual 2021) as part of the session ›Renaissance Numismatics, Medals and Exonumia‹.

<sup>1</sup> For a survey of these works: Heenes 2019, pp. 17–34.



Figs 1a: Frontispiece of the *Diaskeué* 1 (UB Wien); 1b: Frontispiece of the *MaNO* 1 (FB Gotha)

ment, the *Diaskeué* should provide the complementary coin descriptions to his corpus of drawings of the coins of Roman emperors<sup>2</sup>.

## I.

In the *Diaskeué* (fig. 1a), the eleven-volume work with descriptions of coins from antiquity to his own time, Strada presented coin obverses and reverses as if they belong together, when in reality they had actually been combined with other obverses and reverses<sup>3</sup>. Illustrations of these fictitious combinations can also be found in the *MaNO* (fig. 1b), a corpus of coin drawings from antiquity to the days of Charles V, which includes over 8,500 examples<sup>4</sup>.

I limited the selection to the coins of Augustus, since in this case the comparative material was the largest: Coins illustrated in the works of Enea Vico, Antonio Agustín, Sebastiano Erizzo, Hubertus Goltzius and Pirro Ligorio may be

compared. Moreover, in his *Discorsi* of 1592, Antonio Agustín listed the above-mentioned

<sup>2</sup> Also see Heenes 2020, pp. 75–76.

<sup>3</sup> A.A.A. NVMISMATON ANTIQVOR: ΔΙΑΣΚΕΥΗ. HOC EST, Chaldaeorum, Arabum, Libycorum, Graecorum, Hetruscorum, ac Macedoniae, Asæ, Syriae, Ægypti, Syculorum, Latinorum, seu Romanorum Regum, a primordio Urbis, Deum, Coss. tempore Reipub: & crescente adhuc, tam sub Cæss. Latinis, in occidente, quam Græcis Imp. in oriente, declinante Imperio P.R. denique Hexarchorum, Barbarorum Principum, Ducumue: METALLICARVM EICONVM explicatio. Ex Musæo IACOBI STRADÆ Mantuani Antiquarij, Ciuis Romani: Cum septem Indicibus Locupletissimis, partim Alphabeticis, quibus res diuersissimæ continentur, partim serierum, quæ Regum, Cæss. Imp. ac Tyrannorum, necnon Heroinarum nomina perscribunt.

<sup>4</sup> MAGNUM AC NOVVM OPVS Continens descriptionem Vitæ imaginum, numismatum omnium tam Orientalium quam Occidentalium Imperatorum ac Tyrannorum, cum collegis coniugibus liberisque suis, usque ad Carolu(m) V. Imperatorem. A Iacobo de Strada Mantuano elaboratum. TOMVS PRIMVS. ANNO DOMINI MDL.



antiquarians, as well as Strada. These scholars and collectors seem to have formed some kind of numismatic circle and exchanged information and coin drawings among them<sup>5</sup>. The work of Sebastiano Erizzo – who played an important role during this sixteenth-century ›boom‹ of numismatic antiquarian literature – has also been included in this study, even though Agustín never mentioned him<sup>6</sup>. Strada also names the above-mentioned antiquarians and coin collectors in the *Diaskeu *.

## II.

The descriptions of unrelated coin obverses and reverses from the reign of Augustus can be found in the second volume of the *Diaskeu *<sup>7</sup>. The illustrations in the *MaNO* are however presented in several volumes: e.g. the coins of Caesar (vol. 1), of Octavian and Lepidus (vol. 2) and of Augustus (vols. 4–6). As a rule, in the *MaNO* obverses and reverses are always shown together. Unfortunately, this original order seems to have been somewhat disturbed by the rebinding initiated by Duke Albrecht in 1571. In total, the material under consideration concerns 16 out of 208 descriptions.

## III.

They can be classified as follows:

1. Coin descriptions with incorrect die combinations included in the *Diaskeu * which are presented in exactly the same way in the *MaNO*.
2. Coin descriptions with incorrect die combinations included in the *Diaskeu *, the illustrations of which (usually of the reverse) are also included in the *MaNO*, even though they are located in different places as well as in different volumes.
3. Coin descriptions with non-existent die combinations included in the *Diaskeu *, the obverses and reverses of which are however shown in the correct combination in the *MaNO*.

## IV.

In what follows, I shall briefly present these coins and document whether they can be found in the above-mentioned antiquarian works and in which way they are depicted or described therein.

### 1.1

Coins of the first group include fols. 196r (**fig. 2a**: male head, legend: M DVRMIVS IIIVIR HONORI)<sup>8</sup> and 197r (**fig. 2b**: Augustus in elephant biga, legend: AVGVSTVS CAESAR)<sup>9</sup> in the fourth volume of the *MaNO*. The description can be found in the second volume of the *Diaskeu * fol. 156r no. 57. According to Strada the owner was Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco I de Medici. This coin is only listed by Strada. Neither Vico, Goltzius, Erizzo, Agostin nor Ligorio illustrate it.

### 1.2

The second coin is to be found on fols. 188 (**fig. 3a**: Augustus laureate, legend: S P Q R CAESA-

<sup>5</sup> *Dialoghi*, p. 117: »My friend Pirro Ligorio from Naples, a great antiquarian and painter, has written over forty books [i.e. manuscripts] about coins, buildings and other things [...] without really mastering Latin, as did Hubertus Goltzius, Enea Vico, Jacopo Strada and others. Those who read their books might think that they have read all the Latin and Greek books ever written. They took what they needed from others and they drew exactly with the pencil what others described«. See chapter 7 on »Strada's Numismatic Method« in the forthcoming publication of our research results: *Jacopo Strada's Magnum ac Novum Opus: A Sixteenth-Century Numismatic Corpus* (CYRIACUS. Studien zur Rezeption der Antike 16); in what follows the title is abbreviated to Heenes – Jansen (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> See Dekesel 1995, pp. 210–222. Cunnally 2016, p. 6, even speaks of a »Renaissance nummomania« current at the time. In my essay I cite Erizzo's edition of 1585–1590 (Varisco – Paganini), in what follows abbreviated as *Discorso 1585–1590*, since it is the most comprehensive. I would like to thank Ginette Vagenheim for making me aware of the differences between the individual editions of Erizzo's works. On the single Erizzo editions, see: Peter 2013, pp. 159–177.

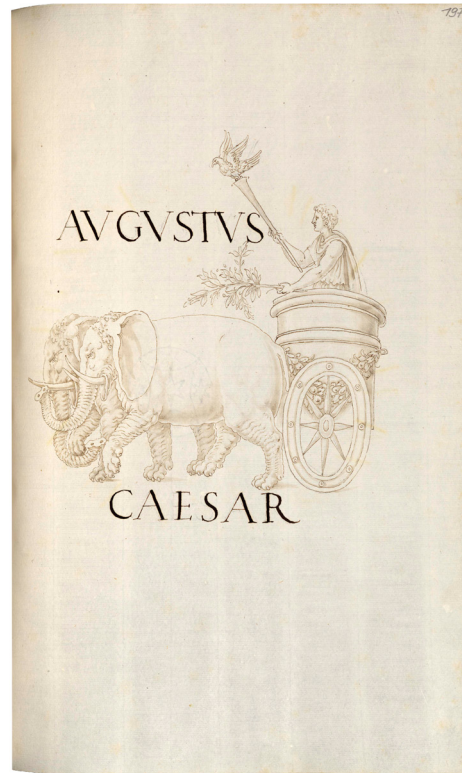
<sup>7</sup> Vienna University Library, [Sig. III-160.898/2](#).

<sup>8</sup> After the figure numbers, Strada's interpretation and the coin legends in the *Diaskeu * are briefly mentioned.

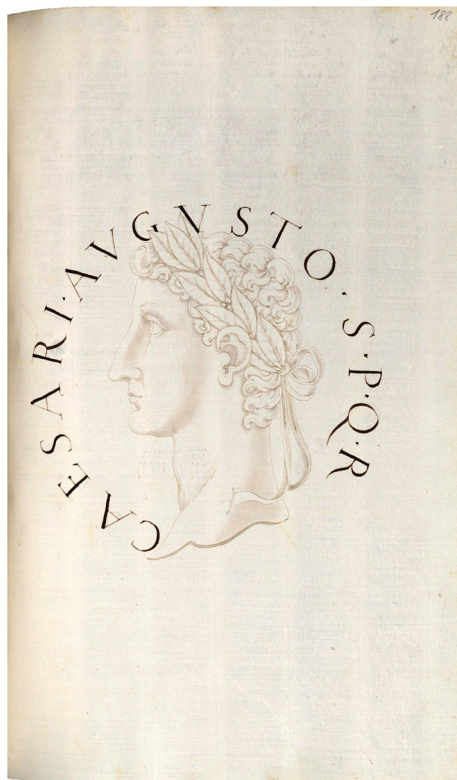
<sup>9</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 196r ([CensusID 10174940](#)); fol. 197r ([CensusID 10174944](#)).





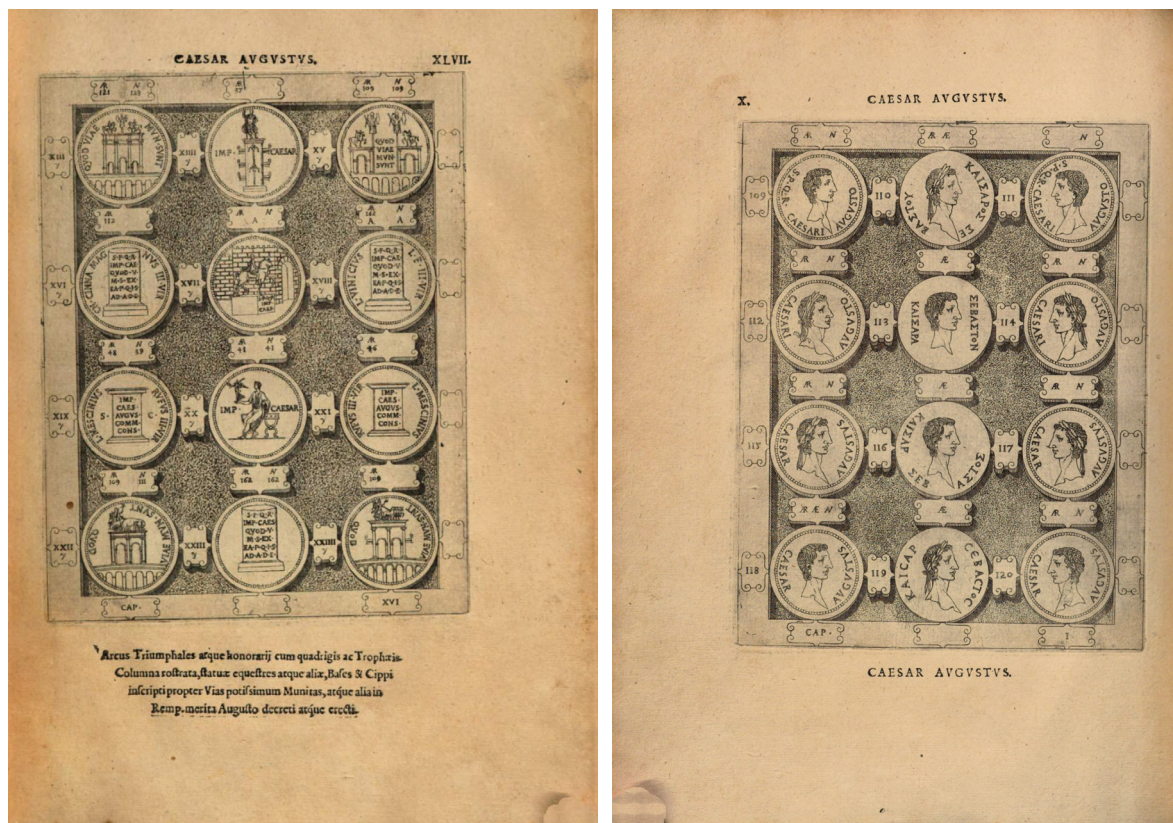


Figs 2a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 196r; 2b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 197r (FB Gotha)



Figs 3a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 188r; 3b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 189r (FB Gotha)





Figs 4a: *Caesar Augustus* pl. XLVII; 4b: pl. X (BSB München)

RI AVGVSTO) and 189 (**fig. 3b**: two arches with two equestrians, legend: QVOD VIAE MVN SVNT)<sup>10</sup> in the fourth volume of the *MaNO*. It is described in the second volume of the *Diaskeuè* (fol. 159v no. 74). Strada states that the Doge of Venice (1554–1556), Francesco Venerio, was the owner. Of the contemporary antiquarians, Hubertus Goltzius (**figs 4a and b**: *Caesar Augustus* pl. XLVII, b: pl. X)<sup>11</sup> and Sebastiano Erizzo depict this coin, while Strada describes and depicts it – Erizzo only the reverse, but from the matching description it is evident that he described the same coin as Strada<sup>12</sup>. Vico only included a description of this coin but provided the matching obverse in his *Discorsi*<sup>13</sup>.

### 1.3

Of the third coin, both obverse and reverse are included in the fourth volume of *MaNO* on fols. 258r (**fig. 5a**: Augustus looking right,

legend: CAESAR AVGVST) and 259r (**fig. 5b**: Emperor on platform, in front three officers presenting a child, legend: IMP XIII)<sup>14</sup>. The description can be found in volume 2 of the *Diaskeuè* on fol. 164r no. 96. Strada mentions as owner his mentor in antiquarian-numismatic

<sup>10</sup> *MaNO*, 4 fol. 188r ([CensusID 10175427](#)); fol. 189r ([CensusID 10175431](#)).

<sup>11</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, Taf. XLVII Nr. XV ([CensusID 10155427](#), no individual identifications), there linked to pl. X no. 109, correct, Augustus is however turned to the right.

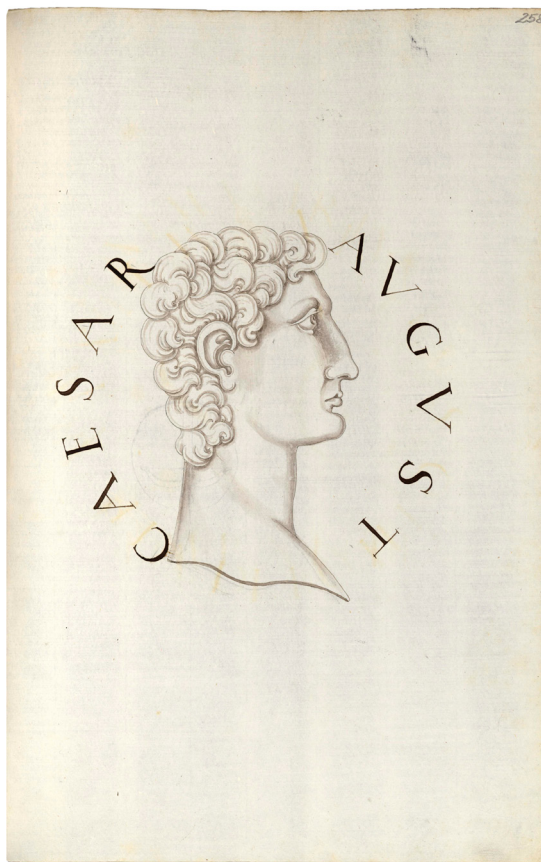
<sup>12</sup> Erizzo, *Discorso 1585–1590*, p. 41. This illustration is not found in the first edition of the work but only in the edition published by Varisco – Paganini in the years 1585–1590, which appeared after Erizzo's death. It is therefore very likely that it was added by Varisco – Paganini without the author's knowledge. It is possible that their source had been Strada.

<sup>13</sup> *Discorsi*, p. 55 ([CensusID 10068763](#)). It can be found in the edition of 1555.

<sup>14</sup> *MaNO 4*, fol. 258r; *MaNO 4*, fol. 259r ([CensusID 10175892](#)).







Figs 5a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 258r; 5b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 259r (FB Gotha)

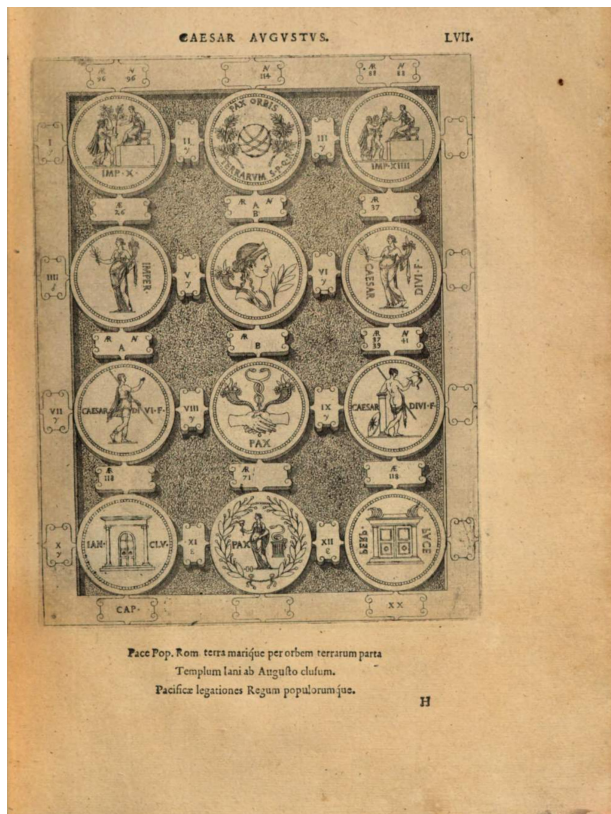
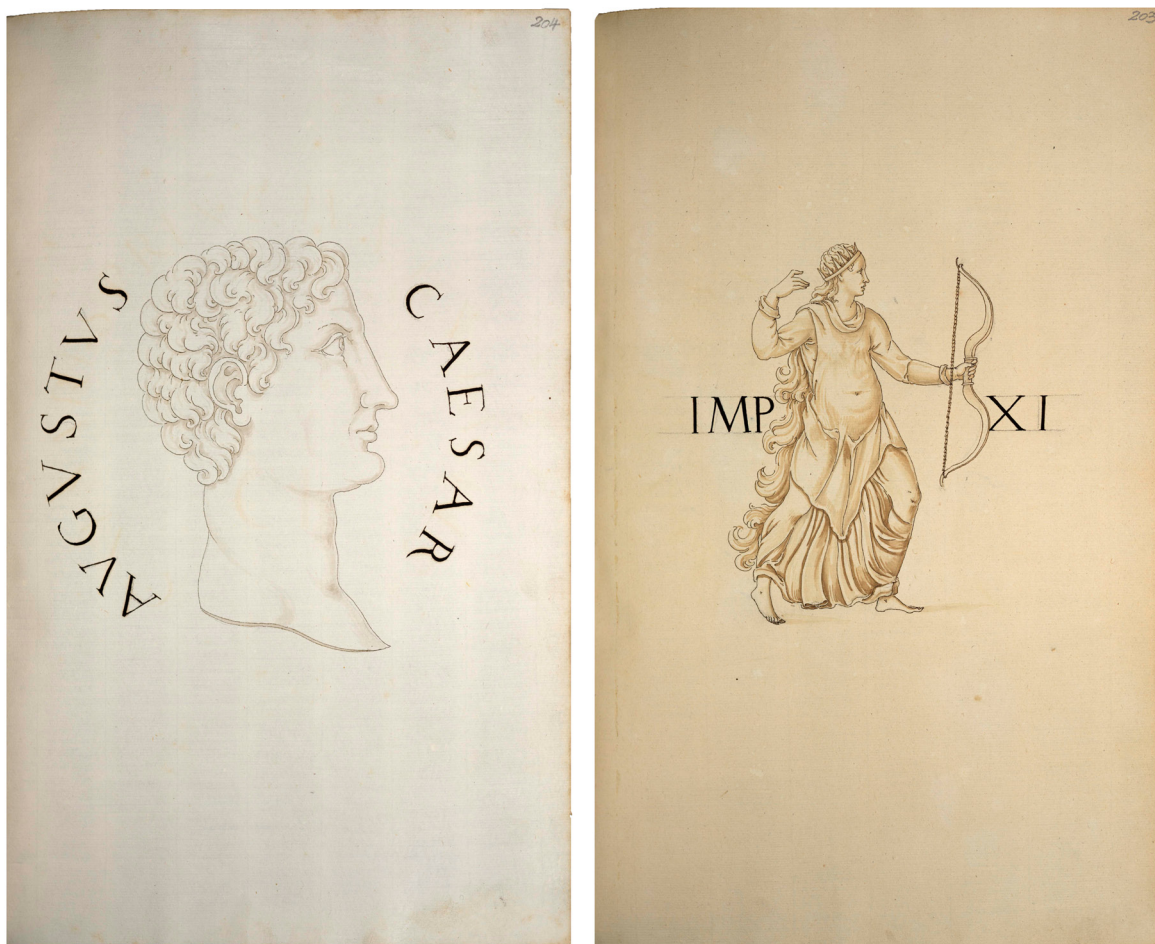


Fig. 6a: *Caesar Augustus* pl. LVII (BSB München);  
 fig. 6b: Denarius of Augustus ([Münzkabinett Berlin](#)  
[Object no. 18207645](#) = [RIC I\(2\) no. 201A](#)),  
 enlargement and original size





Figs 7a: *MaNO* 5, fol. 204r; 7b: *MaNO* 5, fol. 203r (FB Gotha)

scholarship, the Lyon antiquarian Guillaume du Choul (1496–1560), advisor to the French king and bailiff of the Dauphiné<sup>15</sup>. With the exception of Goltzius, no other antiquarian illustrates this coin. Goltzius depicts the reverse as it is in Strada, i.e. with three officers standing before the emperor rather than one officer as can be seen on the coin, on which the drawing is based (figs 6a and b)<sup>16</sup>.

#### 1.4

The fourth and last coin is illustrated on fols. 204r (**fig. 7a**: Augustus looking right, legend: CAESAR AVGVSTVS) and 203r (**fig. 7b**: Diana Venetrix, legend: IMP XI)<sup>17</sup> in the fifth volume of the *MaNO*, with obverse and reverse exchanged. The description can be found in the

second volume of the *Diaskeuè*, fol. 169v no. 122, where the Bishop of Tarragona and member of the Rota, Antonio Agustín, is named as owner. Except for Vico (reverse only), no other antiquarian includes it in his work<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. chapter 5 »Strada's Numismatic Works« in Heenes – Jansen (forthcoming).

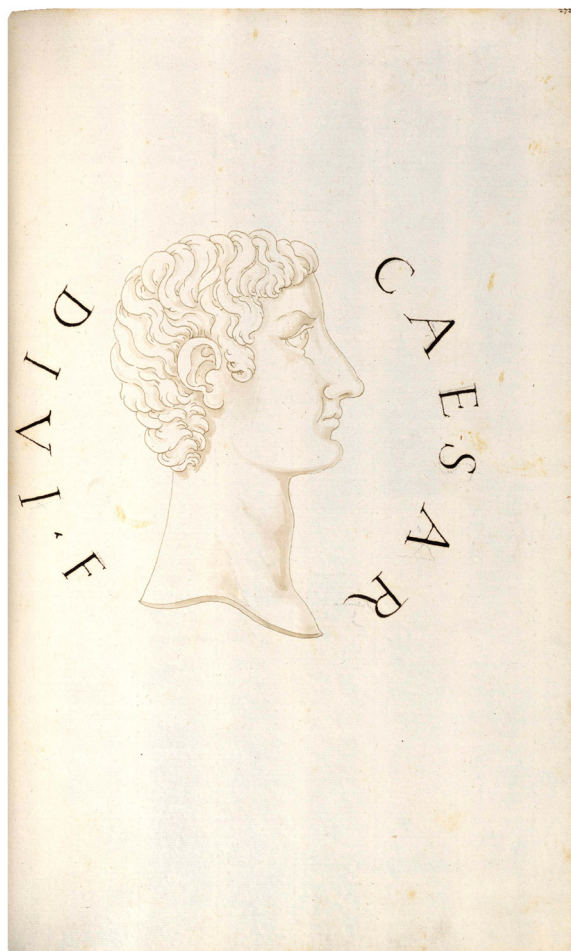
<sup>16</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. LVII no. III ([CensusID 10155538](#), no individual identifications) is paired with the correct obverse: Taf. VIII Nr. 88 ([CensusID 10153859](#), no individual identification).

<sup>17</sup> *MaNO* 5, fol. 204r ([CensusID 10174588](#)); fol. 203r ([CensusID 10176387](#)).

<sup>18</sup> *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBVII no. 78 ([CensusID 10024666](#)).







Figs 8a: *MaNO* 1, fol. 272r; 8b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 213r (FB Gotha)

The second group includes six coin descriptions:

### 2.1

The first can be found on folio 272r (**fig. 8a**: Augustus looking right, legend: CAESAR DIVI F)<sup>19</sup> in the first volume of the *MaNO* and on folio 213r (**fig. 8b**: quadriga with palm branch, legend: C MARIVS C F PRO III VIR)<sup>20</sup> in the fourth volume. The description is included in the second volume of the *Diaskeué* on fol. 148r no. 15. Strada names Antonio Agustín as the owner. Enea Vico<sup>21</sup> and Hubertus Goltzius<sup>22</sup> obviously used the same source as Strada, which is confirmed by a similar error in the coin legend, i.e. C MARIVS C F PRQ III VIR instead of C MARIVS C F TRO III VIR on the original coin, Goltzius with the matching obverse<sup>23</sup>. Agustín

and Erizzo do not present this coin; Ligorio however illustrates the coin with the correct obverse and reverse<sup>24</sup>.

### 2.2

The second coin from this group is to be found on fol. 128r (**fig. 9a**: Augustus looking right, legend: IMP CAESAR) in the fourth volume and fol. 77r (**fig. 9b**: albigalerus between two

<sup>19</sup> [MaNO 1, fol. 272r.](#)

<sup>20</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 213r ([CensusID 10174114](#)).

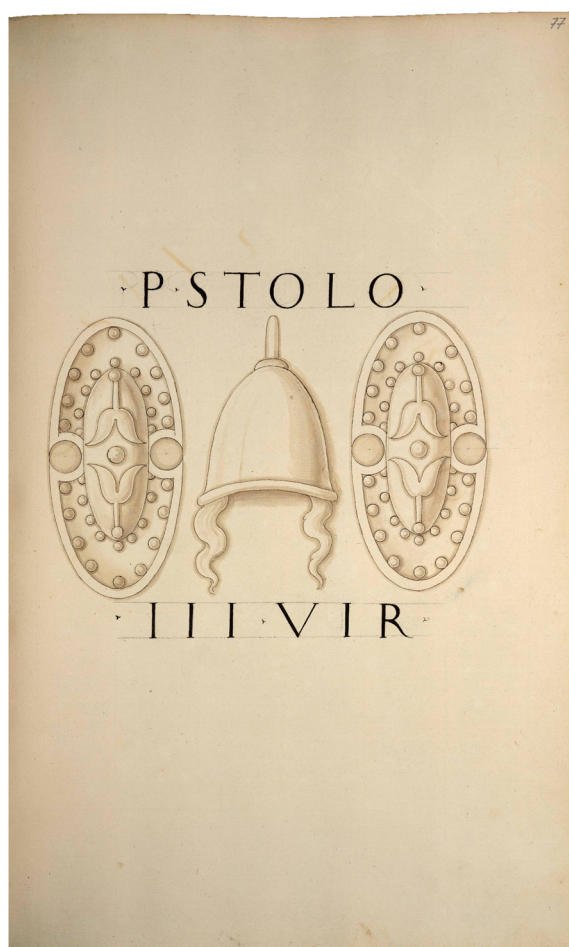
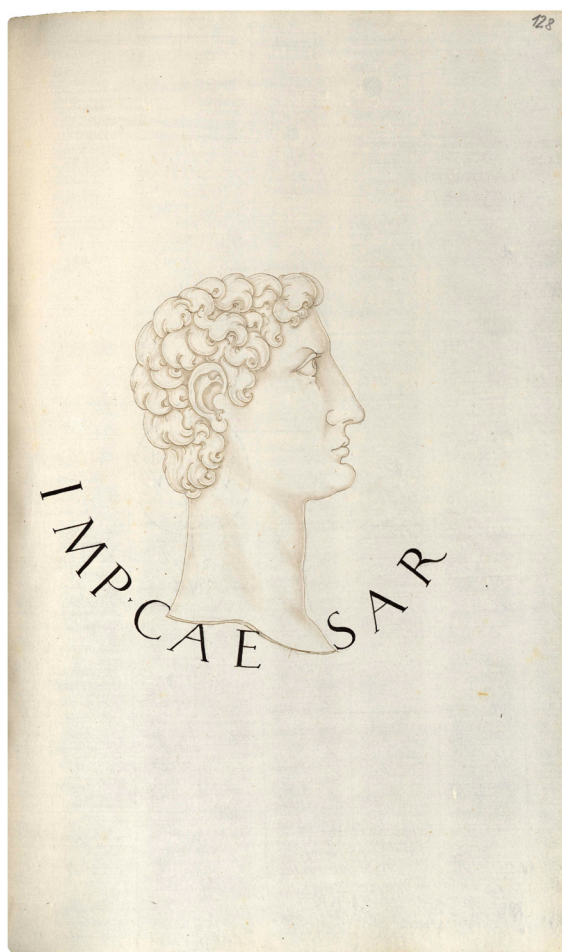
<sup>21</sup> [Omnium Caesarum, pl. BBVI no. 88.](#)

<sup>22</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. XXXVI no. XIII ([CensusID 10158136](#)).

<sup>23</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. IX no. 114 ([CensusID 10158132](#)).

<sup>24</sup> *AST* 21, p. 100, fol. 73r nos. 740 & 741.





Figs 9a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 128r; 9b: *MaNO* 5, fol. 77r (FB Gotha)

shields, legend: P STOLO IIIVIR)<sup>25</sup> in the fifth volume of the *MaNO*. The description may be found in the second volume of the *Diaskeué* fol. 157r, no. 60. Achille Maffei, a Roman collector and antiquarian, is said to be the owner. Apart from Enea Vico (illustration of the reverse only)<sup>26</sup>, Goltzius and Agustín depict it with the corresponding correct obverse<sup>27</sup>.

### 2.3

Of the third coin, only the reverse is shown on fol. 82r (**fig. 10**: two togati, one resting on a shield, placing a star on the other statue, which is holding a Victoria and spear, legend: L LENTVLVS FLAMEN MARTIALIS)<sup>28</sup> in the second volume of the *MaNO*. The description of the entire coin is found in the *Diaskeué* 2, fol. 154v no. 48. Allegedly, this coin was in Strada's own collection. Enea

Vico depicts only the reverse<sup>29</sup>. Goltzius and Ligorio reproduce it with the correct obverse in their works<sup>30</sup>, Agustín and Erizzo omit it.

<sup>25</sup> *MaNO* 4 fol. 128r ([CensusID 10173645](#)); *MaNO* 5 fol. 77r ([CensusID 10174982](#)).

<sup>26</sup> *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBI no. 9, *Le imagini*, pl. 14r I ([CensusID 10028315](#)).

<sup>27</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. LXXIII no. XXI (reverse [CensusID 10157765](#)), correctly linked to pl. XIII no. 153 (obverse [CensusID 10157761](#)); in Agostin's *Dialoghi*, p. 153, it is paired with another, potentially correct obverse ([CensusID 10031255](#)).

<sup>28</sup> *MaNO* 2, fol. 82r ([CensusID 10171672](#)).

<sup>29</sup> *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBVI no. 67 [CensusID 10024694](#); *Le imagini*, fol. 16v G ([CensusID 10029707](#)).

<sup>30</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. IX no. 101, pl. LXXII no. XI ([CensusID's 10157598 + 10157602](#)); AST 21, p. 100 fol. 73r nos. 742 & 743.





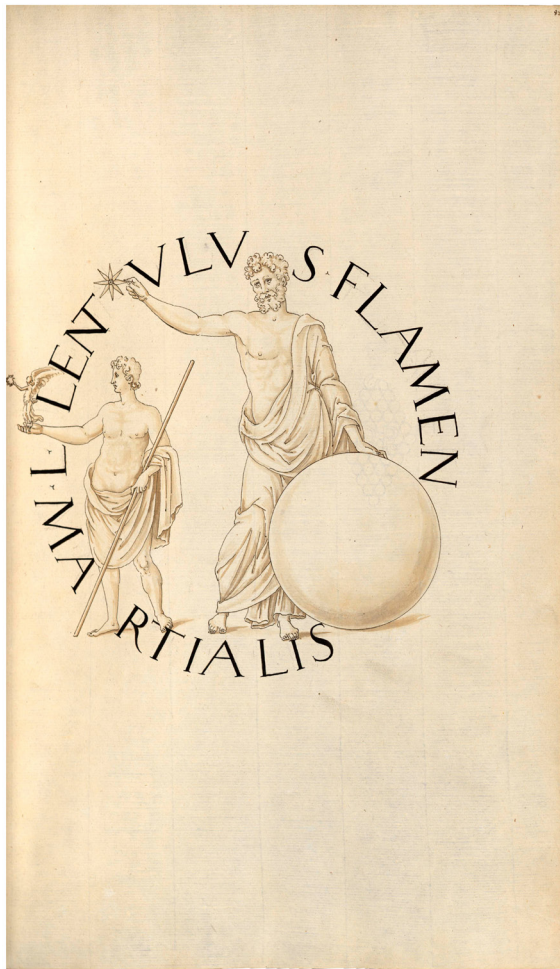
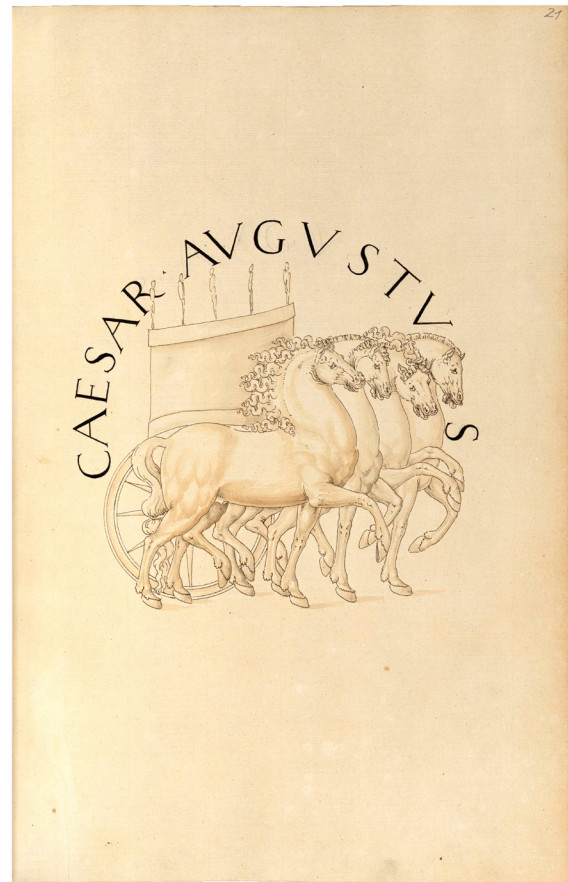


Fig. 10: *MaNO* 2, fol. 82r (FB Gotha)

## 2.4

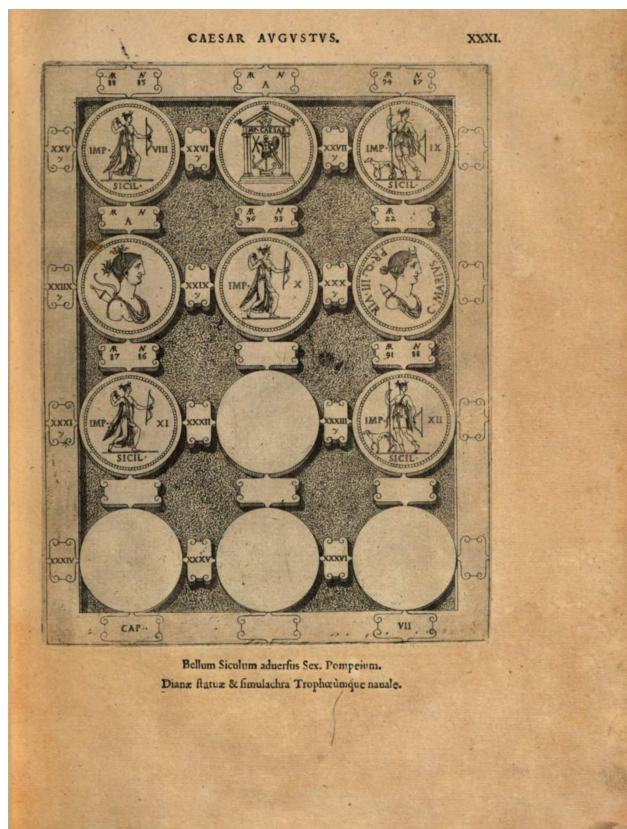
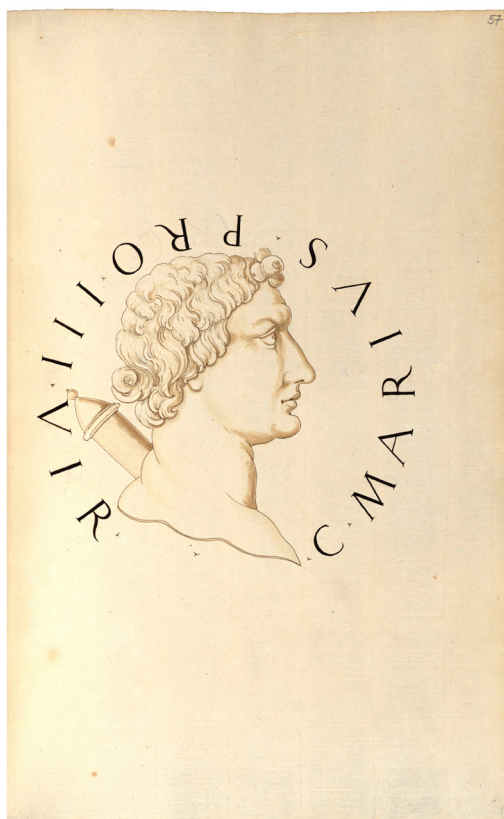
The fourth coin image – also merely depicting the reverse – is to be found on fol. 21r (**fig. 11a**: quadriga with statuettes, legend: CAESAR AVGVSTVS; **11b**: denarius of Augustus)<sup>31</sup> in the fourth volume of the *MaNO*. The coin is described in the second volume of the *Diaskeué*, fol. 154v no. 49. The description of the obverse says: Augustus looking right, no legend is given. Again, Strada is named as the owner. Vico also reproduces it with the missing abbreviation S C in the legend<sup>32</sup>; i.e. he obviously copied the coin from Strada. None of the above-mentioned antiquarians reproduced it.



Figs 11a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 21r (FB Gotha); 11b: Denarius of Augustus (© Trustees of the British Museum, [BM 1904,0204.34](#) = [RIC I\(2\) no. 303](#)), enlargement (reverse) and original size

<sup>31</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 21r ([CensusID 10174767](#)).

<sup>32</sup> *Le imagini*, fol 17 A ([CensusID 10029756](#)); *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBVII no. 73 ([CensusID 10024655](#)).



Figs 12a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 57r (FB Gotha); 12b: *Caesar Augustus* pl. XXXI (BSB München)

## 2.5

The fifth coin reverse – actually it is the obverse – can be seen on fol. 57r in volume four of the *MaNO* (fig. 12a: Apollo with diadem and quiver, legend: C MARIVS PRO IIIIVIR)<sup>33</sup>. The description is in the second volume of the *Diaskeuê*, fol. 155r no. 50. The obverse is described as follows: Augustus looking right, legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS. This piece also came from Strada's own collection. It was reproduced as a reverse by Vico<sup>34</sup>. The only other antiquarian to depict this coin is Goltzius (fig. 12b: Caesar Augustus pl. XXXI). He, as well, conceived it as a reverse and combined it with another obverse<sup>35</sup>. The portrait is correctly recognized as that of Diana.

## 2.6

The reverse of the last coin in this category is reproduced on fol. 71r (fig. 13: clypeus with

gems, legend: IMP CAESAR DIVI F)<sup>36</sup> in the second volume of *MaNO*. The matching description is listed in the second volume of the *Diaskeuê*, fol. 168r no. 115. The obverse is described as follows: Augustus with helmet, looking right, without legend. Strada is mentioned as the coin's owner. In Vico only the reverse of the coin can be found<sup>37</sup>. Erizzo reproduces

<sup>33</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 57 ([CensusID 10174779](#)).

<sup>34</sup> *Le imagini*, fol. 16v H ([CensusID 10029710](#)); *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBVI no. 68 ([CensusID 10024696](#)).

<sup>35</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. XXXI no. XXX ([CensusID 10153994](#), no individual identification). The obverse pl. II no. 22 is not correct ([CensusID 10153824](#), also without individual identification). The correct reverse is depicted on pl. IX no. 104 ([CensusID 10158132](#)).

<sup>36</sup> *MaNO* 5, fol. 115r ([CensusID 10176610](#)).

<sup>37</sup> *Le imagini*, fol. 14v A ([CensusID 10028377](#)), *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBII no. 13.





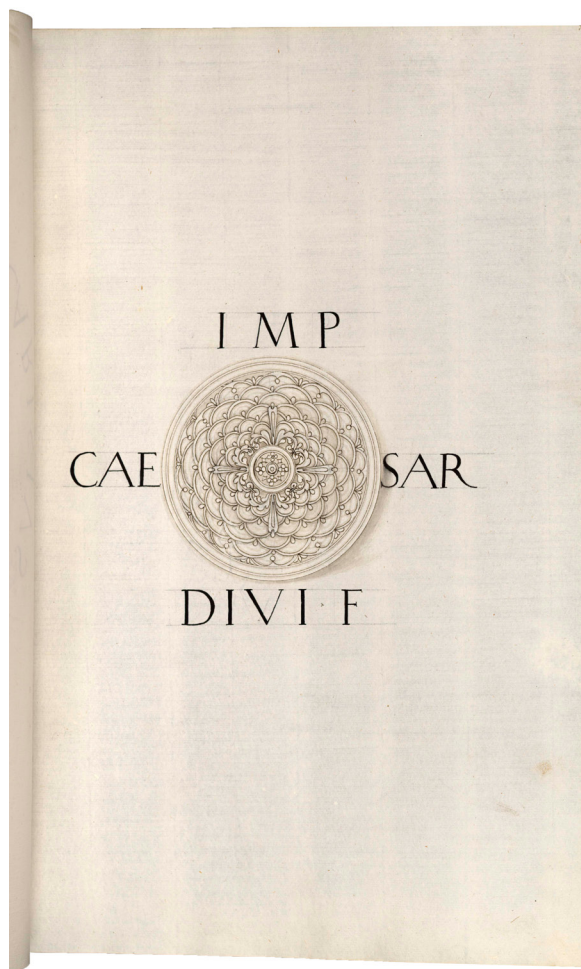


Fig. 13: *MaNO* 2, fol. 71r (FB Gotha)

it with the correct obverse<sup>38</sup>; so do Goltzius<sup>39</sup> and Ligorio<sup>40</sup>. It is not included in Agustín.

The third group includes four coins:

### 3.1

The first piece is included in the fifth volume of the *MaNO* on fol. 4r (**fig. 14a**: Augustus looking right, legend: CAESAR AVGVSTVS)<sup>41</sup> and illustrated in the fourth volume of *MaNO* on fol. 174r (**fig. 14b**: bust of Diana, legend: P PETRON TVRPILIANVS IIIVIR)<sup>42</sup>. The description is found in volume two of the *Diaskeuè* on fol. 152 no. 34. It is presented as being in Strada's collection. In the *MaNO* fols. 174r and 175r (**fig. 15a**: bust of Diana, legend: P PETRON TVRPILIANVS IIIVIR; **15b**: Augustus in elephant biga, legend: AVGVSTVS CAESAR)<sup>43</sup> are correctly combined,

i.e. fol. 174r is here correctly presented as obverse and fol. 175r as reverse. This coin is illustrated in Vico in the edition of 1554 i.e. *Omnium Caesarum*; he mistook the obverse with the image of Diana for the reverse, exactly as happened in Strada<sup>44</sup>. Goltzius, however, understood both sides of the coin described by Strada as reverses<sup>45</sup>. Agustín and Erizzo did not

<sup>38</sup> *Discorso* 1585–1590, p. 24 ([CensusID 10013376](#)).

<sup>39</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. LXXIII no. XV ([CensusID 10157620](#)) with the correct obverse pl. IIII no. 39 ([CensusID 10157613](#)).

<sup>40</sup> AST 21, p. 92 fol. 67v nos. 669 & 670.

<sup>41</sup> *MaNO* 5, fol. 4r ([CensusID 10174368](#)).

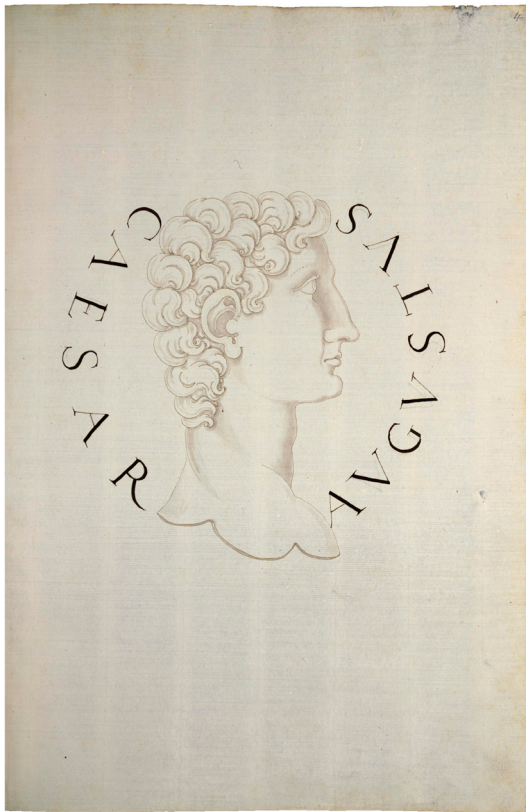
<sup>42</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 174r ([CensusID 10174374](#)).

<sup>43</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 175r ([CensusID 10176979](#)).

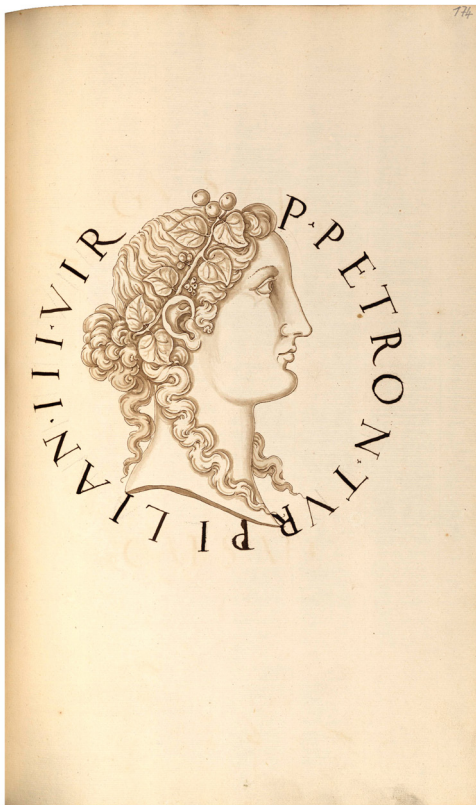
<sup>44</sup> *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBVIII no. 88 ([CensusID 10018390](#)).

<sup>45</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. XXXVII no. XXXII ([CensusID 10224548](#)) and no. XXXIII ([CensusID 10158706](#)).





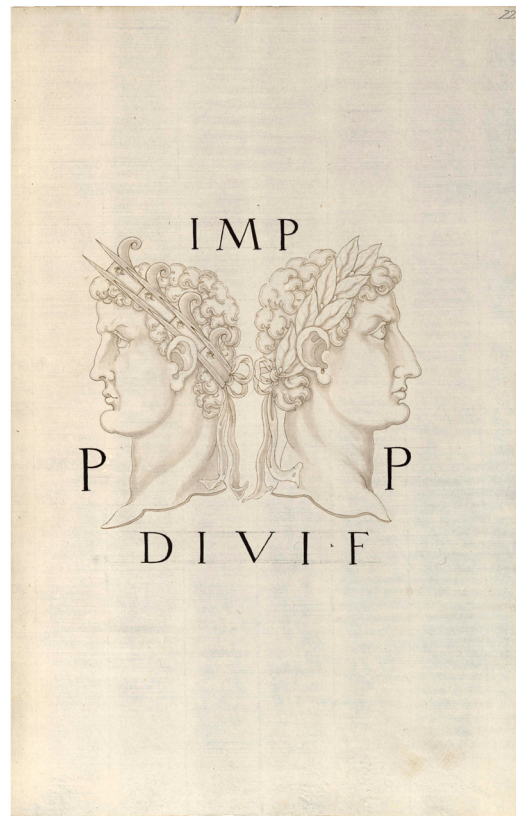
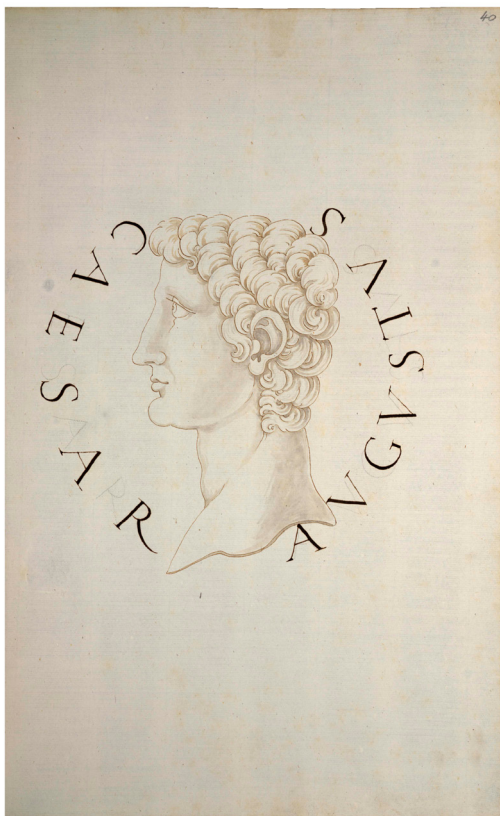
Figs 14a: *MaNO* 5, fol. 4r; 14b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 174r (FB Gotha)



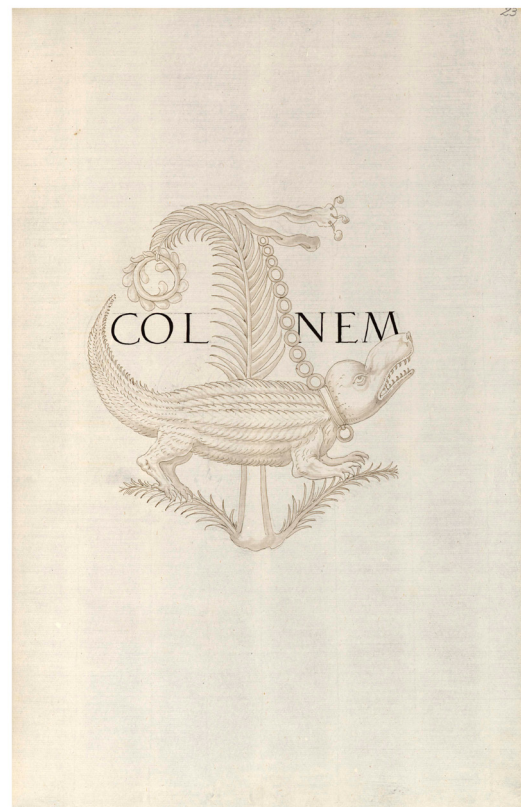
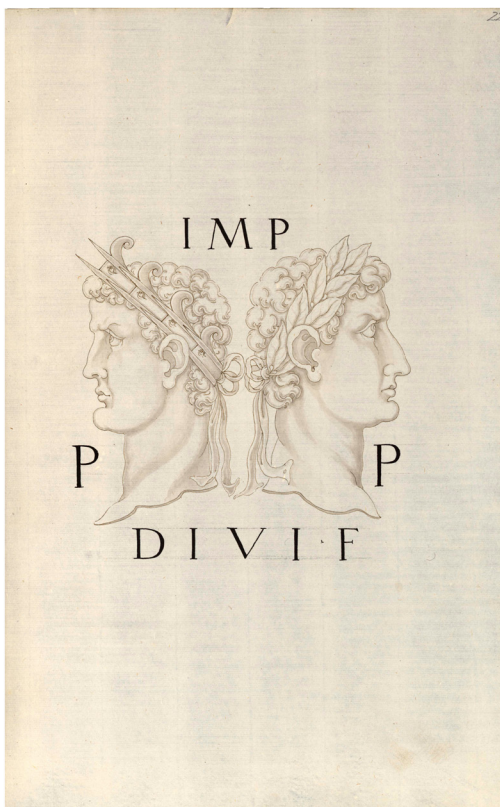
Figs 15a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 174r; 15b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 175r (FB Gotha)







Figs 16a: *MaNO* 5, fol. 40r; 16b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 22r (FB Gotha)

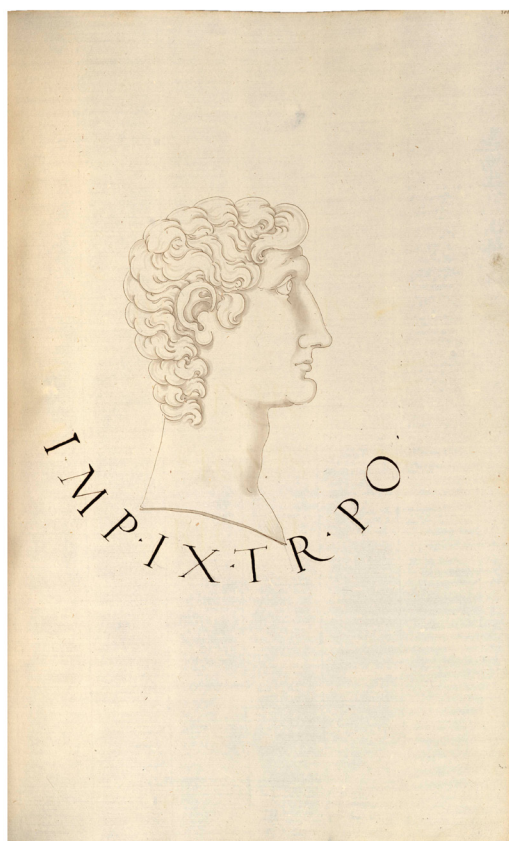


Figs 17a: *MaNO* 4, fol. 22r; 17b: *MaNO* 4, fol. 23r (FB Gotha)





Figs 18a (above): *MaNO* 2, fol. 106r;  
18b (below): *MaNO* 2, fol. 105r (FB Gotha)



reproduce this coin. Ligorio depicted it correctly, as it was presented in the *MaNO*<sup>46</sup>.

### 3.2

Strada confused the reverse with the obverse in the case of the second coin – also included in the fifth volume of the *MaNO* on fol. 40r (**fig. 16a**: Augustus looking left, legend: CAESAR AVGVSTVS)<sup>47</sup> and in the fourth volume on fol. 22r (**fig. 16b**: Antonius and Lepidus, legend: IMP ...)<sup>48</sup>. It is described in the second volume of the *Diaskeu *, fol. 152r no. 35. Strada was the owner of this coin. In the *Diaskeu *, the coin on fol. 22r is described as reverse but correctly linked in the *MaNO* as obverse to the following coin illustration on fol. 23r (**fig. 17a**: Antonius and Lepidus, legend on drawing: IMP P P DIVI F; **fig. 17b**: Crocodile in front of palm tree, legend: COL NEM)<sup>49</sup>. Vico depicts this reverse only in the 1554 edition of his book<sup>50</sup>. Sebastiano Erizzo, Hubertus Goltzius, Antonio Agust n and Pirro Ligorio reproduce this coin with obverse and reverse correctly linked as in the *MaNO*<sup>51</sup>.

### 3.3

Of the third, non-existent coin, only the reverse is shown in the *MaNO* in the second volume on fol. 106r (**fig. 18a**: arch of Augustus with quadriga, legend: IMP IX TR POT V S P Q R SIGNIS RECEPTIS)<sup>52</sup>. The description can also be found in the second volume of the *Diaskeu * on fol. 155r no. 51. The obverse is described but not reproduced in the *MaNO*: Augustus looking right, no legend is given. Again, Strada names Antonio Agust n as the owner. The cor-

<sup>46</sup> AST 21, p. 63 fol. 47r no. 410 and 411.

<sup>47</sup> *MaNO* 5, fol. 40r ([CensusID 10174606](#)).

<sup>48</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 22r ([CensusID 10174609](#)).

<sup>49</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 23r ([CensusID 10224478](#)).

<sup>50</sup> *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BIII no. 43.

<sup>51</sup> [Discorso 1585-1590, p. 6](#); *Caesar Augustus*, pl. XLIX no. II and pl. III no. 45 ([CensusID 10155450](#); no individual identification); *Dialoghi*, p. 191 ([CensusID 10018368](#)); AST 21, p. 68 fol. 50r no. 457 and 458.

<sup>52</sup> *MaNO* 2, fol. 106r ([CensusID 10173659](#)).







Figs 19a: *MaNO* 6, fol. 41r; 19b: *MaNO* 6, fol. 42r (FB Gotha)

rect obverse can be found in the *MaNO* on fol. 105r (**fig. 18b**: Augustus looking right, legend on drawing: IMP IX TR PO)<sup>53</sup>. Vico also reproduces the arch<sup>54</sup>. It is not found in the works of Erizzo and Agustín. Goltzius links it to an incorrect obverse<sup>55</sup>. Ligorio depicts the coin in the correct combination of obverse and reverse<sup>56</sup>.

### 3.4

Of the fourth and last, unidentified coin, the obverse is visible in the sixth volume of the *MaNO* on fol. 41r (**fig. 19a**: Augustus looking right, legend: DIVVS AVGVSTVS)<sup>57</sup>, while the reverse is depicted on fol. 42r (**fig. 19b**: Augustus and Livia facing each other, legend: M ACILIVS GLABRIO PRO)<sup>58</sup>. The coin is described in the second volume of the *Diaskeuè* on fol. 161r no. 81. It is said to have been in the collection

of Enea Vico. The correct obverse is found in volume four on fol. 46r (**fig. 20**: Augustus looking right crowned by Victoria on a column, legend on drawing: CAESAR DIVI AVGVST F)<sup>59</sup>. No other antiquarian reproduces this coin.

<sup>53</sup> *MaNO* 2, fol. 105r ([CensusID 10173661](#)).

<sup>54</sup> *Le imagini*, fol. 15v H ([CensusID 10029437](#)), *Omnium Caesarum*, pl. BBIII no. 44.

<sup>55</sup> *Caesar Augustus*, pl. XXXIX no. XIII is not paired with the correct obverse, i.e. pl. XIII no. 149. The correct obverse can be found in *Caesar Augustus* pl. XIII no. 160 ([CensusID 10153770](#)).

<sup>56</sup> AST 21, p. 84 fol. 60r nos. 556 & 557.

<sup>57</sup> [MaNO 6, fol. 41r](#).

<sup>58</sup> *MaNO* 6, fol. 42r ([CensusID 10178086](#)).

<sup>59</sup> *MaNO* 4, fol. 46r ([CensusID 10224588](#)).





Figs 20: *MaNO* 4, fol. 47r

## V.

The following conclusions can be drawn from this presentation:

Firstly, most of the unidentifiable coins can be found in the collection of Jacopo Strada, i.e. in the case of six coins out of 14. Whether these coins were really in his collection, as claimed by Strada, can unfortunately no longer be ascertained, since nothing is known about the present whereabouts of his collections<sup>60</sup>.

The three coins from Antonio Agustín's collection as well can no longer be identified, since his collection was looted by Napoleon's troops. The illustrations in his 1587 *Dialogos* probably reproduce coins from Agustín's own collection. The coins described by Strada are however not among them<sup>61</sup>. Therefore, Strada's information cannot be verified.

The coins from other collections mentioned by Strada (Medici, Du Choul, Enea Vico, Achille Maffei) can only be identified with difficulty<sup>62</sup>.

Enea Vico adopted nearly all the coins presented by Strada, i.e. ten out of 14. Nonetheless, he depicted only the reverses, so that it cannot be determined with certainty whether he used models from Strada. Only in cases of inaccuracies in the reproductions in both Strada and Vico, for example errors in the texts of legends (here nos. 2.1 and 2.4), can we be sure that Strada was used as model by Vico. Strada seems to have entertained a lively exchange with him<sup>63</sup>. Nevertheless, he also regarded him as a great competitor, as he stated in the preface to his *Epitome*<sup>64</sup>.

Goltzius also was happy to use Strada's coin drawings as his source. Therefore, he depicted

<sup>60</sup> The projected sale of his collection to Wilhelm von Rosenberg and Elector August of Saxony did not come off. After Strada's death, the collection was »scattered to the winds»; Lietzmann 1997, pp. 384–385; 387–388; 394. Dirk Jacob Jansen provided this information on 5 March 2021.

<sup>61</sup> Agustín bequeathed his coin collection to the Spanish King. It included 130 gold coins, 1,400 coins in silver and 3,871 in bronze. The bronze coins were taken to the coin cabinet at the monastery San Lorenzo de El Escorial. From there, they were stolen by Napoleon's troops; their present location is unknown. In the original edition (*Dialogos*) only 292 coins are depicted on 52 plates. These probably come from Agustín's collection (information provided by Paloma Otero, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid and Mariano Carbonell, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).

<sup>62</sup> My request for information about the coin from the Medici collection could not be answered, since during the past three years no new curator has been appointed for the department of ancient coins at the Archaeological Museum, Florence; information provided by Mario Iozzo on 5 March 2021. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of the collections of Achille Maffei, Francesco Venier and Enea Vico; information provided by Federica Missere Fontana on 6 March 2021. On sixteenth-century coin collectors, cf. Missere Fontana 1994, pp. 343–383; on Francesco de Medici, see pp. 350–351; Achille Maffei pp. 358–359; Francesco Venier pp. 367–368; Enea Vico pp. 368–370. There also seems to be no information on the present whereabouts of the collection of Du Chouls. Unfortunately, my two inquiries addressed to Jean Guillemain remained without answer.

<sup>63</sup> Missere Fontana 1994, p. 364.

<sup>64</sup> Colophon of the *Epitome*, p. A 4r.



three coins in his work as Strada had described them (here nos. 1.2, 1.3, 2.5). His presentation of the coins' illustrations is clearly oriented on Vico's model; he was the first numismatist to adopt it<sup>65</sup>.

Erizzo, however, only adopted one coin from Strada (no. 1.2). Neither Vico nor Goltzius or Erizzo specify where they saw the depicted coins.

Agustín and Ligorio did not reproduce any of Strada's coins with incorrect die combinations. All of them owned collections, of which Ligorio's was considered the most important at the time, according to Goltzius<sup>66</sup>. Agustín's was probably one of the largest, containing about 5,500 pieces<sup>67</sup>.

Ligorio also visited a great many coin collections in person. Therefore, in his manuscripts he provides owner indications that are different from those given in Strada's works (e.g. in the case of no. 3.1). Here, Ligorio states a »cavalier Caro« as the owner of a correctly reproduced coin, while Strada names his own collection as repository of his invented coin.

Two of Strada's inventions were never accepted by other antiquarians (nos. 1.1 and 3.4). The first coin is said to have been in the Medici collection, the other in the possession of Enea Vico. It is therefore quite surprising that Vico did not illustrate a coin from his own collection in his works. This fact could be another indication that Strada's information about the ownership of coins is not necessarily accurate: As a consequence, for his most imaginative coin inventions, such as the exemplars depicting the assassination of Cicero, the depiction of the temple of Janus with a four-headed Janus on the roof and a ship with elephant prora in his works – in these cases in the *Epitome* and *Diaskeué* – he named diverse owners (assassination of Cicero) or referred to his own collection as repository (temple of Janus and elephant prora)<sup>68</sup>. By stating the owner, he provided his inventions with a »confirmed« authenticity. He hardly needed to fear verification and exposure by his contemporaries, since at the time communication channels were very slow and

unreliable. Moreover, only a few antiquarians other than himself undertook extended journeys to visit foreign coin collections, as did Hubertus Goltzius, for example<sup>69</sup>.

Strada justifies his inventions in the preface of the series with a statement that »suitable coins have not yet been found for all inscriptions – they have not yet been discovered – although they were minted«<sup>70</sup>. Now he had »found« them. His extensive iconographic knowledge of ancient coins and of their legends enabled him to do so. As a rule, he used really existing coin dies and combined them with each other for the coins presented in his works; as a result, they appeared all the more credible to his contemporaries. Nonetheless, there were some, such as Adolph Occo, who expressed doubts about the authenticity of many coins presented by Strada, even though he adopted several of Strada's inventions<sup>71</sup>. Further in-depth investigations on volumes 9 (Nero), 11 (Vespasian) 16 (Antoninus Pius) and 17 (Marcus Aurelius) are still to be undertaken. In these volumes, several combinations of non-related obverses and reverses can be found. Many of his inventions are included in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century numismatic works and encyclopaedia, even in Occo's work<sup>72</sup>. A complete and detailed investigation

<sup>65</sup> Lemburg-Ruppelt 1988, p. 167.

<sup>66</sup> Peter 2009, p. 123.

<sup>67</sup> See note. 66.

<sup>68</sup> Also see Heenes 2020, pp. 59–65 (<https://doi.org/10.17879/ozean-2020-2914>).

<sup>69</sup> On Strada's travels, see my chapter »Strada's Numismatic Works« in the publication of our project. Hubertus Goltzius undertook two long journeys, during the first of which he visited 799 Münzsammlungen; see Dekesel 1988, p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> *Series*, fol. 1r.

<sup>71</sup> See the following note. *Introductio*, p. 188 cites Charles Patin Adolph Occo's statement about the volumes at Gotha: »... ibidem miraberis sane et nummorum varietatem et sumptuum gravitatem: sed omnio puto multos esse appictos qui non sunt in reum natura. Thesaurus est pretiosus et Principe dignus«; von Busch 1973, p. 348, note 141.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. *Diaskeué* 4, fol. 15r, p. 667, no. 7 for [MaNO 14, fol. 24r](#) (palace of Nerva) in: *Imperatorum*, p. 146; *Diaskeué* 4,





of the complete set of coin inventions depicted in the *MaNO* would be very helpful and important for the history of numismatics; unfortunately, due to constraints of time, this further investigation was impossible to achieve as part of our project<sup>73</sup>.

In conclusion, Strada's coin inventions as described in the *Diaskeuè* provide important further evidence that these coin descriptions were not complementary to the illustrations in the *MaNO*, as he had stated in the preface of his *Commentary on Caesar*<sup>74</sup> and in the *Index sive catalogus librorum, quos composuit aut componi et scribi curavit aut denique alio modo comparavit*<sup>75</sup>, but that these two works constituted two independent pieces of writing.

Translation: Andrea M. Gáldy

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Diaskeuè (Jacopo Strada)

A<ureorum> A<rgenteorum> A<ereorum> NumismatΩn Antiquorum: ΔΙΑΣΚΕΥΗ. Hoc est, Chaldaeorum, Arabum, Libycorum, Græcorum, Hetruscorum, ac Macedoniæ, Asiæ, Syriæ, Ægypti, Syculorum, Latinorum, seu Romanorum Regum, a primordio Urbis, Deūm, Coss. tempore Reipub: & crescente adhuc, tam sub Cæss. Latinis, in occidente, quam Græcis Imp. in oriente, declinante Imperio P.R. denique Hexarchorum, Barbarorum Principum, Ducumuè: METALLICARVM EICONVM explicatio. Ex Musæo IACOBI STRADÆ Mantuani Antiquarj, Civis Romani: Cum septem Indicibus Locupletissimis, partim Alphabeticis, quibus res diuersissimæ continentur, partim serierum, quæ Regum, Cæss. Imp. ac Tyrannorum, necnon Heroinarum nomina perscribunt.

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fol. 33r, p. 703, no. 51 for [MaNO 14, fol. 112r](#) (Imperator on horseback, in the foreground the river god Nile with hippopotamus) in: [Diccionario, vol. 5, p. 261](#); *Diaskeuè* 4, fol. 46v, p. 730, no. 86 for [MaNO 14, fol. 158r](#) (city walls of Selinunt) in: [Lexicon universae, vol. 4, 1, col. 1581](#); *Diaskeuè* 4, fol. 72r, p. 781, no. 180 with [MaNO 14, fol. 172r](#) (cityscape of Babylon) in: [Lexicon universae, vol. 5, 1, col. 1486](#). Most recently Woytek – Williams 2020, p. 296 on two inventions of coin types that are also to be found in Occo's edition *Imperatorum*.

<sup>73</sup> DFG-Projekt [Jacopo Strada's Magnum ac Novum Opus: A Sixteenth-Century Numismatic Corpus](#).

<sup>74</sup> C. Iulii Caesaris, Dedicatoria.

<sup>75</sup> Index, fol. 1v. This is a list of books that Strada had yet to publish; for the complete list, see Jansen 2019, pp. 902–914.





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MAGNUM AC NOVVM OPVS Continens descriptionem Vitae imaginum, numismatum omnium tam Orientalium quam Occidentalium Imperatorum ac Tyrannorum, cum collegis coniugibus liberisque suis, usque ad Carolu(m) V. Imperatorem. A Iacobo de Strada Mantuano elaboratum. TOMVS PRIMVS. ANNO DOMINI MDL; Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (Research Library Gotha), shelfmark Chart A 2175. Digitally accessible through [Digitale Historische Bibliothek Erfurt/Gotha](#) ([CensusID 10163382](#)). All coin drawings of the *MaNO*, for which an original could be identified, will be entered into the database of the »Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance« (<http://www.census.de>)

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SERIES Imp. Roman. ac Graecorum et Germanorum omnium a.C. Iulio.C.F.C.N. Caesare usque ad Maximilianvm II. Caes. P. F. Aug. una cum liberis patrimis atque matrimis ex a.a.a. numismatibus quam fidelissime delineatis: inservimus etiam iuxta tempora hexarchos et longobardor reges omnesque cum ipsorum elogiis breviter descripsimus. Tomus primus continet XII Caes. a C.IVI.C.F.C.N. Caes. usq. ad Nervam Imp. Ex Musaeo. Iacobi de Stradae Mantuani Caess. Antiquarii Civis Romani; Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (Research Library Gotha), shelfmark Chart. A 1243a. Link: [Digitale Historische Bibliothek Erfurt/Gotha \(CensusID 10082563\)](#)

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