

The Silver Caesars

A Renaissance
Mystery

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Symposia

The Silver Caesars

A Renaissance Mystery

Edited by Julia Siemon

The twelve monumental silver-gilt standing cups known as the Aldobrandini Tazze constitute perhaps the most enigmatic masterpiece of Renaissance European metalwork. Topped with statuettes of the Twelve Caesars, the tazze are decorated with marvelously detailed scenes illustrating the lives of those ancient Roman rulers. The work's origin is unknown, and the ensemble was divided in the nineteenth century and widely dispersed, greatly hampering study. This volume, inspired by a groundbreaking symposium at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, examines topics ranging from the tazze's representation of the ancient world to their fate in the hands of nineteenth-century collectors, and presents newly discovered archival material and advanced scientific findings. The distinguished essayists propose answers to critical questions that have long surrounded the set and shed light on the stature of Renaissance goldsmiths' work as an art form, establishing a new standard for the study of Renaissance silver.

234 pages; 212 illustrations in full color and a diagram;
appendices; bibliography

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

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The essays in this volume were inspired by a symposium held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, on June 18 and 19, 2014. The symposium was made possible by The Schroder Foundation, Selim K. Zilkha, and an anonymous donor. An exhibition of the same title was organized at the Metropolitan Museum from December 12, 2017, through March 11, 2018, and at Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, from April 18 through July 21, 2018.

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Frontispiece, page ii: Vespasian tazza (detail), anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99 (plate 10)

Frontispiece, page x: Detail of Titus dish, anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99 (page 28, bottom)

Frontispiece, page xvi: Detail of Nero dish, anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99 (page 19, bottom).

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Preface

The Silver Caesars: A Renaissance Mystery investigates one of the most extraordinary yet enigmatic achievements of sixteenth-century goldsmiths' work: the set of twelve silver-gilt standing cups known as the Aldobrandini Tazze. Attempts to identify the origin and purpose of these great objects have been frustrated by the lack of comparable works and by the absence of any records documenting their earliest history. To make matters worse, in the centuries following their creation, the twelve tazze were incorrectly reassembled, misidentified, and then widely dispersed. In early 2014, we were able to bring together the complete set for the first time since the mid-nineteenth century. The tazze's brief reunion at The Metropolitan Museum of Art fueled a wonderful symposium at which a team of specialists developed a plan for future study; this collection of essays emerges directly from that concerted effort. Its pages reflect the highest caliber of interdisciplinary scholarship, spanning topics from the ancient world to the most advanced methods of scientific analysis.

Our work has been made possible by a dedicated group of supporters committed to underwriting this long-term research. They include The Schroder Foundation, Selim K. Zilkha, Marina Kellen French and the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation, Nina von Maltzahn, and an anonymous donor.

The publication itself was made possible by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. We are very grateful to Thomas P. Campbell, who as Director of The Metropolitan Museum championed the project from the start. At the Museum, we are indebted to Ellenor Alcorn for getting the project off the ground; Wolfram Koeppe for his many contributions along the way; and, above all, Julia Siemon, for her drive and her fresh scholarship, which have illuminated every aspect of the mystery that, as a result, has begun yielding its secrets. The exceptional generosity and collegiality of the lenders have also been crucial in facilitating this in-depth study.

Though this volume is not a catalogue, its publication coincides with an exhibition of the same name, the first public display of all twelve Aldobrandini Tazze in more than 150 years. In the exhibition, each tazza is presented in its original configuration, or as close to that arrangement as is possible. In New York, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and in Buckinghamshire, at Waddesdon Manor, audiences may discover the Silver Caesars, penetrating but still enjoying their mystery.

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Acknowledgments

I was introduced to the Silver Caesars in the spring of 2014, when Ellenor Alcorn, Curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, invited me to visit the silver-gilt standing cups then temporarily gathered in the Museum's Department of Objects Conservation. Together, we took turns reading from her copy of Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* and connecting the stories to imagery on the dishes. I was enthralled and accepted her offer to begin work on a research project dedicated to the set. I am deeply grateful to Ellenor, to Wolfram Koeppel, Marina Kellen French Curator, and to Luke Syson, Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Chairman of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, for giving me the opportunity to participate and for their support and encouragement as the project matured into a book and an exhibition.

Research into the Aldobrandini Tazze was already well under way before my involvement began. My coauthors Mary Beard, Xavier F. Salomon, Timothy Schroder, and Stefanie Walker had been thinking and writing about the set for years, and I thank them for welcoming me into the discussion. Important contributions had also been made by J. D. Wille, who graciously shared his insights, and Antonella Fabriani Rojas, whose archival discoveries are reproduced in Appendix A. Ubaldo Vitali and Andrés von Buch, two of the strongest advocates for undertaking a serious scholarly investigation of the set, have kindly served as essential interlocutors and collaborators throughout.

In June 2014, the Aldobrandini Tazze were briefly reunited at the Metropolitan Museum, where they were brought together for the first time in more than 150 years and underwent intensive campaigns of scientific testing, visual analysis, and photography. These endeavors placed heavy demands on Museum colleagues, especially those in the departments of Imaging,

Scientific Research, and Objects Conservation. Their efforts have had a major impact on our knowledge of the tazze and facilitated the beautiful photography that appears in the following pages, carried out by Joseph Coscia Jr. and Juan Trujillo.

These measures were made possible through the generosity of the lenders, who, in a remarkable demonstration of cooperation, agreed to the dismantling and reconfiguration of their tazze, which involved swapping components among many of the objects in the set. For their tremendous goodwill and for agreeing to repeat the entire loan and reassembly process for the exhibition, we extend thanks to the private collectors, curators, and museum directors: Elena Hernando and Carmen Espinosa Martín of the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid; Kaywin Feldman, Eike D. Schmidt, Ghenete Zelleke, and Jennifer Komar Olivarez of the Minneapolis Institute of Art; Caterina Badan and Deborah Lambert of the Schroder Collection, London; Selim K. Zilkha; Teresa Vilaça and Maria Mayer of the Casa-Museu Medeiros e Almeida, Lisbon; Joshua Basseches and Robert Little of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; António Filipe Pimentel and Luísa Penalva of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; Tim Reeve, Kirstin Kennedy, and Tessa Murdoch of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; and anonymous private collectors.

While the tazze were at The Met in 2014, the Museum hosted a symposium dedicated to the set. On June 18 and 19 of that year, an international group of scholars gathered to present papers, discuss what was known, and map out plans for future research. This book has developed from those conversations. In addition to the contributors to this volume (excepting myself), speakers and session chairs included Denise Allen, Ian Campbell, Ashira Loike, Ernst-Ludwig Richter, William Stenhouse, Luke Syson, Pierre Terjanian, and Ubaldo Vitali. They were joined by

nearly all the curators and private collectors listed above, as well as by other specialists, including Alexis Kugel, Peta Motture, Stuart W. Pyhrr, Pamela Smith, Femke Speelberg, Richard E. Stone, and Ginette Vagenheim. Erin Pick and Tamara Schechter made sure the event went off without a hitch.

My coauthors and I have relied on a small army of people willing to aid us in our investigations. We extend thanks especially to Jane Aikin, Prince Camillo Aldobrandini, Francesca Barberini, Karen Bowen, Julius Bryant, Andrés von Buch, Anne-Marie Claessens-Peré, Michael Cole, Joseph Connors, Paola Cordera, Federico Cortese, Thierry Crepin-Leblond, John Culme, Ana Matisse Donefer-Hickie, Prince Jonathan Doria Pamphilj, Jannic Durand, Antonella Fabriani Rojas, Corrado di Giacomo, Christopher Hartop, Dirk Imhoff, Kirstin Kennedy, Alexis Kugel, Giles Mandelbrote, Lia Markey, Raúl Martínez, Alessandra Mercantini, Wim Nys, Daniele Pitrolo, Stephanie Porras, Ivo Raband, Geneviève Rérolle-Pouffier, Diana Scarisbrick, Stephen K. Scher, Lorenz Seelig, Jeanne Sloane, Luke Syson, Laura Testa, Dora Thornton, Aldo Vitali, Ubaldo Vitali, Patricia Waddy, J. D. Wille, Helen Wyld, and Carolyn Yerkes. Special gratitude is owed to Ernst-Ludwig Richter, who facilitated testing of silver samples taken from the tazze.

The production of the book was carried out by Publications and Editorial at the Metropolitan Museum. Mark Polizzotti, Michael Sittenfeld, and Peter Antony saw the value of the endeavor, and Anne Blood and Gwen Roginsky helped to make it possible. Jenn Sherman secured the images, and Christopher Heins created the useful diagram of a disassembled tazza. Paul Booth was the production manager, and Tina Henderson the designer. Philomena Mariani whipped the notes and bibliography into shape. It would be impossible to list the contributions of Sarah

McFadden, our editor. The coherence of the book is a product of Sarah's insight, skill, creative problem-solving, and tireless dedication. I am deeply in her debt.

The Silver Caesars: A Renaissance Mystery accompanies an exhibition of the same name, opening at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in December 2017 before traveling to Waddesdon Manor in Buckinghamshire in April 2018. That facet of the project involves the efforts of many of the same colleagues and collaborators who have been recognized above, and many more whose efforts cannot be done justice here. Still, I note the contributions of Melissa Bell, Linda Borsch, Paul Caro, Meryl Cohen, Martha Deese, Kate Farrell, Scott Geffert, Kristen Hudson, Daniel Kershaw, Jaime Krone, Mortimer Lebigre, Christine McDermott, Rachel Mustalish, Lauren Nemroff, Amber Newman, Frederick Sager, Robin Schwalb, and Katharina Weistroffer. I especially thank Thomas P. Campbell, Director of the Metropolitan Museum during the formative and research phases of this project, Daniel H. Weiss, President and CEO, Quincy Houghton, Deputy Director for Exhibitions at The Met, and Pippa Shirley, Head of Collections and Gardens at Waddesdon Manor.

Finally, I express wholehearted appreciation on behalf of all my collaborators to the benefactors who have made our project a reality. We thank The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for making this publication possible. To The Schroder Foundation, Selim K. Zilkha, Marina Kellen French and the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation, Nina von Maltzahn, and an anonymous donor, we are most grateful.

Julia Siemon



Introduction

The set of twelve silver-gilt standing cups known as the Aldobrandini Tazze is as mysterious as it is magnificent: although widely recognized as one of the greatest surviving monuments of Renaissance European silver, little or nothing is known of its early history.¹ The work's forthright luxury—the sheer quantity of precious metal involved in its making and the scope of its elaborate decoration—bespeaks a commission of major importance and no small expense. The subject matter, a flattering survey of the most famous rulers of ancient Rome, is similarly grandiose and implies association with a patron of the highest order.² These clear indications of prestige have inspired two centuries of speculation, yet no record of the set's origin has been discovered. Lacking, too, are the goldsmiths' marks that often appear on Renaissance silver, identifying the city where and date when an object was made and sometimes even the artist responsible. In the face of these documentary lacunae, the Aldobrandini Tazze must speak for themselves.

Together, the tazze form a work of remarkable narrative ambition, bringing to life the history of the first twelve Caesars as chronicled by the Roman writer Suetonius.³ When correctly assembled, each tazza is composed of a shallow, footed dish surmounted by a figure of one of the Caesars; beneath the statuette, on the concave interior of each dish, four scenes from the life of the relevant ruler are chased in intricate relief. Across the tazze, these forty-eight discrete compositions construct a visual account spanning nearly 150 years of Roman history. The depictions range from sweeping views of ancient monuments to intimate glimpses into imperial life; they encompass raging battles, powerful omens, and glorious triumphs as well as quiet moments unrelated to major historical events. These individual scenes, carriers of the set's narrative content, ostensibly provide a glimpse

into the ancient past. However, the vignettes, though based on Suetonius's *Lives*, have little to do with the Roman author's agenda. Instead, they are most revelatory of the particular Renaissance moment to which the tazze belong.

The vast amount of imagery featured on the tazze's four dozen individual compositions presents a challenge to anyone attempting a systematic study of its content—a task that until very recently was virtually impossible. The dishes were dispersed in the mid-nineteenth century and are currently housed in public and private collections across Europe and the Americas. In 2014, however, all twelve tazze were briefly reunited at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, where they underwent an extensive photographic campaign; the resulting images allow for examination of the narrative scenes in previously unimaginable detail.⁴ These stunning photographs, made available to the public for the first time in this book, played an essential role in the research discussed in its pages and will doubtless inspire many future inquiries.

The bringing together of the Aldobrandini Tazze in 2014 represents a watershed moment in our understanding of the set; besides photography, the reunion made possible scientific testing, visual analysis, and the exchange of ideas. On June 18 and 19 of that year, an international, interdisciplinary team of specialists gathered at the Metropolitan Museum to see the tazze in person, discuss what little was known about them, and lay the groundwork for further investigation. Speakers and session chairs were Ellenor Alcorn, Denise Allen, Mary Beard, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, Linda Borsch, Ian Campbell, Federico Carò, Wolfram Koeppe, Ashira Loike, Ernst-Ludwig Richter, Antonella Fabriani Rojas, Xavier F. Salomon, Timothy Schroder, William Stenhouse, Luke Syson, Pierre Terjanian, Ubaldo Vitali, Stefanie Walker, and Mark T. Wypyski.

They were joined in the symposium by collectors, curators, and other experts, including Kirstin Kennedy, Alexis Kugel, Robert Little, Carmen Espinosa Martín, Maria Mayer, Luisa Penalva, Stuart W. Pyhrr, Eike D. Schmidt, Pamela Smith, Femke Speelberg, Richard E. Stone, and Ginette Vagenheim. Discussions touched on questions of patronage, authorship, manufacture, use and display, iconography, provenance, and the significance of technical analysis. The present collection of essays, while not a compendium of symposium papers, emerges directly from these conversations. The contributors owe a significant debt of gratitude to all participants for their insights and to the lenders for generously facilitating the event.

Among the achievements of the symposium was the final resolution of a notorious case of mistaken identity. Since at least the mid-nineteenth century, scholarship had been hindered by difficulty in determining which dish goes with which emperor. In the following pages, all twelve of the dishes are correctly—and definitively—identified. The Caesar statuettes are impossible to confuse: the name of each appears engraved on its supporting pedestal.⁵ However, the tazze were designed for easy disassembly. Each can be dismantled into multiple constituent elements (see diagram on p. 159), a convenient feature for storage or travel. Once detached from their (labeled) statuettes, the dishes can be difficult to identify with their matching emperors—the process requires a vigilant reading of Suetonius’s *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. Unfortunately, these readily confused components are interchangeable across the set. By the end of the nineteenth century, only the Julius Caesar and Claudius figures and dishes remained correctly paired; all the other Caesar statuettes stood proudly above episodes from another ruler’s history. Most still do.

In this book’s first essay, Mary Beard describes her experience of discovering, during a visit to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, that what was purported to be the Domitian tazza was in fact a hybrid object composed of the Domitian statuette set above

a dish wrought with scenes from the life of Tiberius. This revelation led to a trail of similar misidentifications, which were rectified once and for all when the Aldobrandini Tazze were brought to New York in 2014. At that time, the figures and dishes were temporarily restored to their correct configurations for the purpose of study and photography.

The process of reidentifying the dishes has revealed that their imagery is not merely based on Suetonius’s *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, but that each of the four dozen narrative scenes can be linked to a specific passage in Suetonius’s text. Those passages, newly translated by Mary Beard, are included in the present volume and shed much light on the meaning of the imagery. The need to “read” as well as look at the Aldobrandini Tazze has been acknowledged for centuries: a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century manuscript credited with describing all the scenes once accompanied the set.⁶ This manuscript, lost since 1893, had forty-nine pages, a fact that seems to confirm its function as a guide to the forty-eight Suetonian images chased on the tazze. In her essay, Beard assesses the relationship between the set and its literary source material, drawing from research on Suetonius’s treatment in Renaissance scholarship and visual arts. Unlike other period representations of the historical Twelve Caesars, the Aldobrandini Tazze provide an astutely edited version of Suetonius’s text in order to create an entirely positive representation of imperial power. Once considered inscrutable or inconsequential, the Suetonian images on the Aldobrandini Tazze are now shown to participate in a sophisticated iconographic program and to demonstrate an astonishing level of antiquarian erudition.

The chased scenes on the tazze evoke the ancient world through the discerning deployment of imagery gathered from portable visual sources such as prints, books, and coins. This book’s second essay posits the involvement of a learned antiquarian scholar in the production of the tazze and attempts to understand the role of this collaborator in the planning and design of the narrative scenes.

The choice of references and the skill with which they are integrated connect the Aldobrandini Tazze to the highest echelons of late Renaissance antiquarian discourse. Examination of these borrowings also brings into focus the artistic character of the several goldsmiths who chased the dishes—members of an enormously talented team whose work strongly suggests training in Northern Europe. Each dish seems to have been wrought by a single chaser, but multiple hands are discernible across the set. None of the imagery exhibits evidence of firsthand experience of Rome or even of Italy. Analysis carried out in the second essay suggests that the Aldobrandini Tazze were made north of the Alps no earlier than about 1587–89, with the terminus post quem supplied by one of the visual sources.

The first known documentary reference to the Aldobrandini Tazze dates to approximately ten years later. Antonella Fabriani Rojas recently discovered two letters that place six of the twelve tazze on the market in Milan in the spring of 1599. The letters also reveal that at least one tazza had been in Ferrara at some prior point. Another early reference newly uncovered by Fabriani Rojas appears in a letter written in Rome in 1604. The information it conveys seems to confirm that the tazze were never owned by the Este family, who ruled Ferrara until early 1598, when Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini took control of the duchy in the name of the church. (The three letters are transcribed in Appendix A.) Previously, the earliest records of the tazze were those discovered by Stefanie Walker, which chronicle Cardinal Pietro's purchase of half of the set in Milan in 1602. These documents confirm beyond a doubt that Cardinal Pietro was not the original patron of the Aldobrandini Tazze.

In the third essay, information gathered from these earliest records informs a close study of the tazze's imperial iconography, providing the basis for a hypothesis of the set's origins. The author proposes that the Aldobrandini Tazze were made in the Habsburg Netherlands in the 1590s, a moment when the region's intellectual culture and political emphasis on imperial symbolism seem

especially conducive to the undertaking. Comparison with other Habsburg antiquarian projects suggests that the tazze could have been designed with the Austrian archdukes (Habsburg-installed governors of the Southern Netherlands) in mind, and examination of archival records indicates that the tazze would not have been out of place among the precious gifts traditionally offered to local sovereigns. With support from period documents, it is argued that in the fall of 1598, Archduke Albert of Austria might have brought the tazze with him to Ferrara, where he celebrated his wedding to Isabella Clara Eugenia, the Infanta of Spain, and that he might have presented six of the tazze as a gift of gratitude to his host, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. The particular circumstances of the wedding and the archduke's trip through northern Italy offer a possible explanation for the peculiarities of the earliest records of the tazze and their acquisition by the cardinal.

In the sixteenth century, objects fashioned from silver were often used as tokens to commemorate important occasions and solidify political relationships. In his essay, Wolfram Koeppe examines this tradition in Northern Europe, considering the few well-documented examples that survive. In particular, he relates the Aldobrandini Tazze to a genre of narrative silver gifts—works that, though they take the form of tableware, are in reality commemorative mementos chased in low relief with historical scenes. A proposal arguing for a Netherlandish origin for the tazze is supported by the fact that the three most important extant examples of this genre, which offer the closest stylistic parallels to the chasing on the tazze, were all made in the Netherlands. There is little remaining Northern Renaissance silver with which to compare the Aldobrandini Tazze, but Koeppe demonstrates that the set's highly classicizing features do not in themselves preclude Northern manufacture.

The standing cup was a popular form in the sixteenth century, produced throughout Europe. The shape, derived from ancient drinking vessels, was adapted in the Renaissance for serving food as well. Period images

depict tazze being used as wine glasses and also as dishes for fruit, sweets, and other delicacies. In her essay, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat offers a history of the standing cup, noting how the Aldobrandini Tazze, with the Caesar figures mounted at the center of the dishes, vary from the standard tazza form but are related to the type of extravagant decorations routinely created for important Renaissance feasts. Other tazze, however, seem to have been intended solely for display, whether exhibited on a buffet in a grand dining hall or as one of many luxurious items gathered in a private *Kunstkammer*. Considering sixteenth-century display and dining practices as well as records concerning the use of the Aldobrandini Tazze in the following century, Bimbenet-Privat provides context for understanding the significance and intended function of the set.

The remaining four essays in the book are concerned less with the origin of the Aldobrandini Tazze than with their later history. The first known reference to all twelve tazze occurs in 1603, in the silver inventory of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, where it was first spotted by Stefanie Walker. A transcription of the inventory, painstakingly prepared by Walker, appears in Appendix C. The publication of the inventory is a vital contribution to the study of Renaissance silver, of which only a tiny percentage survives. To date, the Aldobrandini Tazze are the only extant items of goldsmiths' work that have been connected to Cardinal Pietro. However, in her essay, Walker uses the inventory to conjure an idea of the scale and scope of the cardinal's collection and the place the Aldobrandini Tazze would have held within it. Moreover, Pietro's tastes and priorities are illuminated through comparisons of his silver holdings with those of other major Roman collectors of his time.

Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini bequeathed the tazze to his sister. Xavier F. Salomon charts the history of the tazze in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, beginning with Cardinal Pietro's purchase of six tazze in 1602. Salomon examines the role of silver at important events hosted by the Aldobrandini family and explains how, after the cardinal's

death in 1621, the tazze became part of an important family legacy. Upon the death of his sister, the tazze were inherited by her descendants, including members of the Borghese, Pamphilj, and Doria Pamphilj families. The last record of the tazze in Italy is a document issued in 1769 marking the return of their ownership to the Borghese family. It seems most likely, Salomon explains, that the set was sold out of Italy before 1792. In the late eighteenth century, most noble collections of silver in Rome were decimated by papal and Napoleonic campaigns to reclaim precious metal.

There is a gap of more than fifty years between the last record of the Aldobrandini Tazze in Rome and their next appearance, in the shop of a London dealer and silversmith, in 1826. In the penultimate essay, Ellenor Alcorn and Timothy Schroder consider the responses engendered by the tazze in the nineteenth century. The set caused a great stir among artists, dealers, and collectors, and some of its features were modified to suit contemporary tastes. Electrotypes of the dishes were made, and the emperor figures were replicated in bronze. At some point between 1862 and 1872, before the set was dispersed, the tazze were gilded. Several entered the collections of Europe's wealthiest collectors, but six of the tazze—those acquired by the Parisian dealer Frédéric Spitzer—had their fluted feet replaced with more elaborate substitutes of an unknown derivation.

These changes and the way they relate to the original structure of the tazze are addressed by Linda Borsch, Federico Carò, and Mark T. Wypyski in the book's final essay. Borsch and her coauthors consider the current state of the objects and what can be learned about their history through the use of the most advanced scientific research in combination with careful visual analysis. Specialized testing provides important information regarding the composition of the metal, and X-ray radiographs reveal areas of alteration and offer insights into the mode of manufacture. The essay offers a clear explanation of the sophisticated research that

has been done and a careful overview of the objects' condition.

The authors of this volume, never expecting to resolve all of the set's obscurities, have approached the Aldobrandini Tazze as an invitation to challenge conventional assumptions. Informed by new archival research, technical analyses, and stunning photography, each essay explores the tazze from a different scholarly perspective. The result is a collaboration that maps new territory in our understanding of Renaissance metalwork and its reception as well as in our conception of the Renaissance more broadly.

Julia Siemon

- 1 John F. Hayward's assessment is typical: "Of the few services of Renaissance silver that have survived intact until the present day, the most imposing in size, design and quality of execution is [the Aldobrandini Tazze]." Hayward 1970, p. 669.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 674.
- 3 Suetonius 1980.
- 4 We are grateful to Barbara Bridgers, General Manager for Imaging and Photography, for her dedication to this project, and to Joseph Coscia Jr. and Juan Trujillo, who carried out the photography.
- 5 These labels may not be original, but no reason has been found to doubt their accuracy.
- 6 For discussions of this missing manuscript, see Beard, p. 45, and Appendix B, p. 175, in this volume.



Plates

The Aldobrandini Tazze are presented in the sequence of the Suetonian histories represented on the dishes. Owing to the mismatched components on certain of the tazze, their Caesar statuettes appear out of chronological order. (See fig. 1, p. 159 for a diagram of the components.) The plates of the complete tazze are followed by closeups of the dishes and excerpts newly translated by Mary Beard from *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, by C. Suetonius Tranquillus.



I. Julius Caesar figure and dish, replaced foot

Figure and dish: anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99

Foot: anonymous, added after the mid-19th century

Gilt silver, H. 17³/₄ in. (45 cm), weight 2,702.3 g

Marks and inscription: *IULIVS* incised on top of pedestal cap; 19th-century control marks

Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (014530)



2. Nero figure, Augustus dish, fluted foot

Anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99
 Gilt silver, H. 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (39.7 cm), weight 2,843.7 g
 Marks and inscriptions: *NERO* incised on top of pedestal cap; *Augustus* scratched twice on underside of dish; *AUGVSTVS Z* scratched on underside of disk; 19th-century control marks
 Zilkha Collection, Los Angeles



3. Domitian figure, Tiberius dish, replaced foot

Figure and dish: anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99
 Foot: anonymous, added after the mid-19th century
 Gilt silver, H. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (41.4 cm), weight 2,914.5 g
 Marks and inscriptions: *DOMITIANVS* incised on top of pedestal cap (the letter *N* is reversed); *VESPASIANVS* 10 scratched on underside of disk (the *N* is reversed); 19th-century control marks
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London,
 Dr. W. L. Hildburgh Bequest (M.247-1956)



4. Galba figure, Caligula dish, fluted foot

Anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99
 Gilt silver, H. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (43 cm), weight 2,982 g
 Marks and inscriptions: *GALBA* incised on top of pedestal cap; *Domitian* scratched on underside of dish; *GALBA* scratched on underside of disk; 19th-century control marks
 Casa-Museu Medeiros e Almeida, Lisbon (FMA 1183)



5. Claudius figure and dish, fluted foot

Anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99
 Gilt silver, H. 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (40.4 cm), weight 2,701.1 g
 Marks and inscriptions: *CLAUDIVS* incised on top of pedestal cap; *Claudius* scratched on underside of dish; *CLAUDIUS* scratched on underside of disk; 19th-century control marks
 Private collection, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (L.1999.62.1)



6. Tiberius figure, Nero dish, fluted foot

Anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99
 Gilt silver, H. 16½ in. (41.9 cm), weight 2,949.8 g
 Marks and inscriptions: *TIBERIVS* incised on top of pedestal cap; *Nero* and *NERO 6* scratched on underside of dish; *Nero* engraved on underside of dish; *VITELIUS 9* scratched on underside of disk; 19th-century control marks
 Private collection, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (L.1999.62.2)



7. Caligula figure, Galba dish, fluted foot

Anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99
 Gilt silver, H. 17 in. (43.1 cm), weight 2,942.5 g
 Marks and inscriptions: *CALIGVLA* incised on top of pedestal cap; *Galba* scratched on underside of dish; *CALIGVLA* scratched on underside of disk; Aldobrandini coat of arms pricked on underside of dish; 19th-century control marks
 Schroder Collection, London



8. Otho figure and dish, replaced foot

Figure and dish: anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99

Foot: anonymous, added after the mid-19th century
Gilt silver, H. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39.8 cm), weight 2,718.7 g

Marks and inscriptions: *OTHO* incised on top of pedestal cap; *Otho* scratched twice on underside of dish; Aldobrandini coat of arms pricked on underside of dish; 19th-century control marks

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, from the Collection of Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham, given in trust by the Massey Foundation (997.158.151)



9. Vitellius figure and dish, replaced foot

Figure and dish: anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99

Foot: anonymous, added after the mid-19th century
Gilt silver, H. 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (41.1 cm), weight 2,797.6 g

Marks and inscriptions: *VITELLIVS* incised on pedestal cap; star over letter *M* within a shield struck on threaded surface of baluster stem; Aldobrandini coat of arms pricked on underside of dish; 19th-century control marks

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund 1945 (45.60.58a–h)



10. Vespasian figure and dish, replaced foot

Figure and dish: anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99

Foot: anonymous, added after the mid-19th century
Gilt silver, H. 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (38.5 cm), weight 2,816.1 g

Marks and inscriptions: *VESPASIANVS* incised on top of pedestal cap (the letter *N* is reversed); *Caligula* scratched on underside of dish; *TIBERIVS* 3 scratched on underside of dish; Aldobrandini coat of arms pricked on upper surface of dish; 19th-century control marks

Private collection, London



11. Titus dish

Anonymous (Netherlandish?), ca. 1587–99

Gilt silver, Diam. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.6 cm), weight 1,060.7 g

Marks and inscription: Aldobrandini coat of arms engraved on upper surface of dish; *TITVS* scratched on underside of dish

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (1018 Our)



12. Augustus figure, Domitian dish, replaced fluted foot

Figure and dish: anonymous (Netherlandish?),
ca. 1587–99

Foot: anonymous, added after the mid-19th century
Gilt silver, H. 15½ in. (39.5 cm), weight 2,776.6 g
Marks and inscriptions: *AVGVSTVS* incised on top of
pedestal cap; *Vespasian* scratched on underside of
dish; Aldobrandini coat of arms pricked on underside
of dish; 19th-century control marks

Minneapolis Institute of Art, The James Ford Bell
Family Foundation Fund, The M.R. Schweitzer Fund,
and The Christina N. and Swan J. Turnblad Memorial
Fund (75.54)



13. Titus figure, Titus electrotype dish, replaced foot

Figure: anonymous, copy of the Julius Caesar figure,
made after the mid-19th century

Dish: anonymous, electrotype copy of the Titus dish,
made after the mid-19th century

Foot: anonymous, added after the mid-19th century
Gilt silver, H. 16½ in. (41.9 cm), weight 3,313.8 g
Marks and inscriptions: *TITVS* incised on top of
pedestal cap; star over letter *M* within a shield struck
on threaded surface of baluster stem; 19th-century
control marks

Private collection

Julius Caesar dish



I



II

I. "He also attacked the Britons, a people previously unknown, and once he had conquered them, he demanded from them money and hostages. . . . In Britain his fleet was almost destroyed by a violent storm." Suetonius 25

II. "Overtaking his cohorts at the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stopped for a while, and reflecting on what a vast undertaking it was, turning to those next to him, said, 'Even now we can go back; but once we have crossed that little bridge, then everything is up to the sword.' As he hesitated, an omen was produced: a man of extraordinary size and handsomeness suddenly appeared, sitting nearby, playing on a pipe; when not only shepherds rushed to hear him, but also many of the soldiers leaving their posts, including trumpeters, the apparition grabbed a trumpet from one of them and rushed up to the river, and raising the battle cry with a huge blast strode across to the opposite bank. Then Caesar said, 'Let's go where the omens of the gods and the treachery of our enemies beckon. The dice has been thrown.'" Suetonius 31–32



III



IV

III. "Blockading Pompey for almost four months with vast siege works, he finally routed him at the Battle of Pharsalus." Suetonius 35

IV. "On the day of his triumph over Gaul, as he passed through the Velabrum he was nearly tossed out of his chariot when the axle broke, and he went up the Capitoline Hill by torchlight, with forty elephants holding lamps to right and left." Suetonius 37

Augustus dish



I. “He went over to the side of the aristocrats [*optimates*] who he realized hated Antony, especially because he was besieging Decimus Brutus at Mutina . . . he finished off the war which had been entrusted to him within a period of three months in two battles. In the first, Antony writes that he took flight and eventually appeared again after two days minus his cloak and horse. But it is generally agreed that in what followed he took the responsibilities not only of a leader, but also of a soldier, and that in the middle of the fighting, when the standard-bearer had been badly injured, he took the eagle on his own shoulders and for a long time carried it.” Suetonius 10

II. “Not long after he defeated Antony in a naval battle at Actium . . . Cleopatra was believed to have died from the bite of an asp . . . [and] he enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo [on the site of his camp].” Suetonius 17–18



III



IV

III. "The Temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been closed only twice before his time since the foundation of the city, he closed three times in a much shorter period, when peace had been established on land and sea." Suetonius 22

IV. "He held three full triumphs, for victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and at Alexandria, on three successive days." Suetonius 22

Tiberius dish



I. "Leaving [Sparta] by night, he very nearly lost his life when flames suddenly burst out from the woods all along the way and engulfed the whole party, to the extent that part of Livia's clothes and hair was singed." Suetonius 6

II. "Then he waged war against the Raeti and Vindelici . . . and in that war he subdued the Alpine peoples." Suetonius 9



III



IV

III. "Before he turned to drive up onto the Capitoline Hill, he got down from the chariot and dropped to his knees in front of his father [the emperor Augustus], who was presiding over the ceremony." Suetonius 20

IV. "He did not relieve the provinces either with any act of generosity, with the exception of the province of Asia, after its cities had been ruined in an earthquake." Suetonius 48

Caligula dish



I. “How much love and affection he enjoyed among the soldiers, thanks to being brought up in their company, is best seen by what happened when they were on the brink of mutiny after the death of Augustus and rushing headlong into madness. Without a doubt, he alone—just the sight of him—calmed them down. For they didn’t stop until they noticed that he was being evacuated because of the danger of the uprising and taken to the safety of the next town. Then finally, turning to remorse, they held up his carriage and stopped it, and begged to be let off the disgrace that was facing them.”
Suetonius 9

II. “Artabanus, the king of the Parthians, who had always been open about his hatred and contempt for Tiberius, voluntarily sought his [Caligula’s] friendship and came to a conference with the provincial governor; and crossing the Euphrates he paid homage to the eagles and Roman standards and to the statues of the emperors.” Suetonius 14



III



IV

III. "On two occasions he gave the people a handout of three hundred sesterces each." Suetonius 17

IV. "Besides this, he dreamt up a new and unheard-of kind of spectacle. For he bridged the gap between Baiae and the harbor works at Puteoli, a distance of just over three and one-half miles, by bringing in merchants' boats from everywhere and anchoring them in a double row, then piling a mound of earth on top, making a straight line like the Appian Way. He marched over this bridge, from one end to the other, for two whole days, on the first riding a horse in all its battle trappings, conspicuous in his wreath of oak leaves, with a shield and a sword, and a golden breastplate."
Suetonius 19

Claudius dish



I. "He began his political career under Gaius [Caligula] and held the consulship along with him for two months, and it so happened that when he went into the Forum for the first time with the rods of office, an eagle that was flying by came to rest on his right shoulder." Suetonius 7

II. "These men put him in a litter, and because his own servants had fled, they took it in turns to carry him and brought him, frightened and despairing, to the military base." Suetonius 10



III



IV

III. “He built the harbor at Ostia with curved breakwaters to right and left, and with a mole set in deep water at the entrance. In order to give it a stronger foundation, he first of all sank the ship in which the great obelisk had been brought from Alexandria, then using piles to secure it he built a tall tower on top of it, like the Pharos of Alexandria, so that boats could find their way in by the lights that blazed at night.” Suetonius 20

IV. “He celebrated a magnificent triumph. And he allowed not only provincial governors to come to Rome to witness the spectacle, but also some exiles. . . . His wife Messalina followed the chariot in a carriage, and following too were those who had won triumphal decorations in the same war, all of them on foot and wearing purple bordered togas, except for Marcus Crassus Frugi, who rode a horse with ceremonial trappings and a costume decorated with palms, because it was the second time he had received the honor.” Suetonius 17

Nero dish



I



II

I. “I would also reasonably include among the spectacles he gave the entrance of Tiridates into the city. He was the king of Armenia, encouraged to come by generous promises. . . . [Nero] produced him at the first opportunity he could, putting armed cohorts around the temples of the Forum, while he sat on his official chair on the *Rostra*, wearing the costume of a triumphing general, with military standards and symbols all around him. And as Tiridates came up the sloping ramp, Nero let him fall at his knees, then raised him up with his right hand and kissed him. Then in response to the king’s request, he took the turban off his head and put a diadem in its place.” Suetonius 13

II. “Although he had a feeble and husky voice, he was keen to appear on stage . . . and he first appeared at Naples, where—even though the theater was suddenly struck by an earthquake—he did not stop singing until he had finished the tune he had begun. In the same place, he performed frequently and for days on end. . . . When he reckoned it was important to sing at Rome too, he replayed the contest of the Neronia before the appointed day . . . but when the military guard, which was then on duty, supported the pleas of the people, he promised voluntarily that he would appear straightaway.” Suetonius 20–21



III



IV

III. “Through six days and seven nights, there was terrible destruction, while the people were forced to take shelter in monuments and tombs. . . . Looking at this blaze from the tower of Maecenas, he rejoiced, so he said, ‘in the beauty of the fire,’ and he sang ‘The Fall of Troy’ in that stage costume of his.” Suetonius 38

IV. “[Nero rode] in the very chariot that Augustus had once upon a time used to celebrate his triumphs, wearing purple robes, with a cloak decorated with golden stars, carrying the crown from the Olympic Games on his head, and from the Pythian Games in his right hand. A procession went in front of him, carrying placards detailing his other successes: where he had won, against whom, and what the subjects of the winning songs or plays were. Following the chariot came his cheerleaders according to the custom of such celebrations, and they called out that they were the emperor’s men and the soldiers of his triumph. Then going through the arch in the Circus Maximus, which was torn down, and on through the Velabrum and the Forum, he made his way to the Palatine and the Temple of Apollo. Everywhere he went, animals were killed in sacrifice, lots of perfume was sprinkled onto the streets, and he was showered with birds, ribbons, and sweets.” Suetonius 25

Galba dish



I



II

I. "An omen was given to his grandfather when—as he was sacrificing to avert the danger of lightning—an eagle had snatched the entrails from his hands and taken them off to an oak tree loaded with acorns: it meant that supreme power, even if late coming, was predicted for his family." Suetonius 4

II. "And it so happened that, when he was sacrificing within a temple precinct after arriving in his province [Spain], the hair on the head of a young attendant who was holding an incense box suddenly went completely white; and there were some who interpreted this as meaning a change of power and that an old man would succeed to a young one, that is Galba himself to Nero." Suetonius 8



III



IV

III. “Not long after, lightning struck a lake in Cantabria and twelve axes were found in it, an unmistakable sign of supreme power.” Suetonius 8

IV. “[T]hinking that it was not so much his old age as his childlessness that was held against him, he suddenly took Piso Frugi Licinianus out of the crowd of those who had come to greet him one morning, a distinguished and well-bred young man, one of his long-term favorites, and forever appointed him in his will as the heir to his property and name. Calling him his son, he took him to the military base and adopted him in front of the assembled soldiers.” Suetonius 17

Otho dish

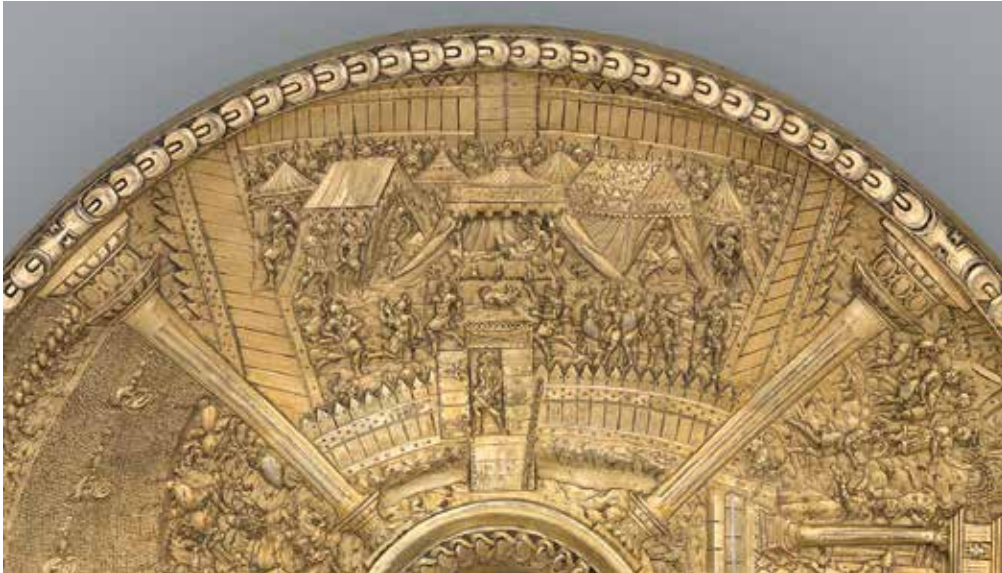


I. "Letting go no opportunity of attention or flattery to anyone, whenever he entertained the emperor at dinner, he doled out gold coins to each of the men of the cohort on guard duty, and equally put all the soldiers in his debt one way or another." Suetonius 4

II. "Then quickly getting into the kind of closed sedan chair that women use, he made for the military base; but when the bearers began to flag, he got out and ran. . . ." Suetonius 6



III



IV

III. "In the last and greatest battle, he was defeated at Bedriacum by a trick. A promise of a conference was made, but when the soldiers were led out on the assumption that they were to discuss peace, they were unexpectedly made to fight, just as they were greeting the enemy." Suetonius 9

IV. "My father used to say that . . . he was then induced to disregard his own survival thanks to the example of an ordinary soldier. This man convinced no one when he announced the defeat of the army, but was accused at one minute of lying, at another of cowardice, as if he had deserted the battle; so he fell on his sword in front of Otho's feet. . . . In the end, waking up at dawn, he stabbed himself with a single stroke below his left breast. . . ." Suetonius 10, 11

Vitellius dish



I. “[He] was hailed emperor by the soldiers and carried round the most populous villages, brandishing the sword that had belonged to Julius Caesar, which someone had taken from the Temple of Mars and had offered to him in the first moment of congratulations.” Suetonius 8

II. “As soon as the murder of Galba was announced, settling affairs in Germany he divided his forces into two, to send on one-half against Otho, the other to lead himself. The division that was sent on received a lucky omen, for an eagle suddenly flew toward them from the right-hand side and, surveying their standards, slowly went in front of them as they made their way.” Suetonius 9



III



IV

III. "Soon after, as he was giving legal judgments on the tribunal at Vienna, a rooster came and stood on his shoulder, and then on his head." Suetonius 9

IV. "Finally he entered the city of Rome to the sound of trumpets, in military uniform and armed with a sword, amidst standards and banners, while his staff wore cloaks, and his soldiers had their weapons on show." Suetonius 11

Vespasian dish



I. “Vespasian himself was chosen to put down this [Jewish] rebellion. . . . So two legions, eight cavalry units, and ten cohorts were added to his forces, and his elder son [Titus] was taken along as one of his officers . . . and he straightaway reformed military discipline and fought one or two battles with great courage.” Suetonius 4

II. “Once when he [Vespasian] was taking breakfast, a stray dog brought in a human hand from the crossroads and dropped it under the table. On another occasion when he was dining, an ox that was plowing shook off its yoke and burst into his dining room. It made the servants run away when, as if suddenly exhausted, it fell at Vespasian’s very feet as he was reclining and bowed its head.” Suetonius 5



III



IV

III. "An ordinary man who was blind and another who was lame approached him together as he sat on the tribunal. They begged for help for their ailments as had been promised by Serapis: that Vespasian would heal the eyes of one if he spat on them, and would give strength to the leg of the other if he deigned to touch it with his heel. He had no confidence that his healing would succeed and so did not dare even to try, but when finally his friends urged him on, he made an attempt on both, openly in front of a crowd. And it worked." Suetonius 7

IV. "Returning to the city as such a hero and with such a great reputation, he celebrated a triumph over the Jews." Suetonius 8

Titus dish



I



II

I. "Left behind to finish the conquest of Judaea, in the final assault on Jerusalem he killed twelve defenders with the strike of as many arrows, and he took the city on his daughter's birthday." Suetonius 5

II. "On his way to Alexandria he wore a diadem in consecrating the Apis bull at Memphis according to the custom and ritual of that ancient religion. But there were some who interpreted the [royal] diadem unfavorably." Suetonius 5



III



IV

III. "He took part in the triumph of his father." Suetonius 6

IV. "When his amphitheater was dedicated, and the baths hastily built next to it, he gave a most lavish and expensive display of gladiators and wild beasts." Suetonius 8

Domitian dish



I



II

I. "In the war with Vitellius he fled to the Capitol with his uncle Sabinus and a detachment of the troops who were in the city, and when the enemy were bursting in and the temple was on fire, he spent the night in hiding with the temple caretaker." Suetonius 1

II. "He gave magnificent and extravagant displays not only in the amphitheater but also in the circus, where in addition to the regular races of two-horse and four-horse chariots, he presented two battles, one of infantry, one of cavalry." Suetonius 4



III



IV

III. "On three occasions, he gave a handout to the people of three hundred sesterces each."
Suetonius 4

IV. "After battles waged with different degrees of success, he celebrated a double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians." Suetonius 6

Suetonius, the Silver Caesars, and Mistaken Identities

MY FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE TAZZE

In the fall of 2010, I first came face-to-face with one of the so-called Aldobrandini Tazze. I was a few months into a new research project on images of the Twelve Caesars in Renaissance and later art, and I already had a sense of the importance of this extraordinary set of sixteenth-century silverware. Here was a Renaissance re-creation of those first twelve Roman rulers, from Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.) to Domitian (A.D. 51–96), a portrait gallery of dynasts in miniature, their names clearly inscribed at their feet. But even more interesting for me, each dynast was attached to a dish decorated with four intricately chased scenes illustrating his reign, every episode taken from the biographies written by C. Suetonius Tranquillus, born about A.D. 70. Suetonius, as we now usually call him, was the Roman writer who, through his set of twelve *Lives*, bequeathed to the world the very idea of the Twelve Caesars, as well as some of the most memorable and lurid anecdotes about them.¹ The tazze have a good claim to be the earliest surviving systematic attempt to illustrate Suetonius's text.²

I had also picked up some hints about the intriguing complexity of the story of the tazze—how over the centuries they had been sold off, lost, disconnected, dispersed across the globe, and their parts so mixed up

that several of the detachable imperial figures had landed on the “wrong” dishes, accompanied by scenes from the “wrong” imperial lives. But the Victoria and Albert Museum in London was supposed to have one of these objects in its original state—the figure of the notorious Roman tyrant Domitian standing on a dish that, at least since the late nineteenth century, had been identified as “his,” decorated with scenes from his *Life*.³ So I went to take a closer look.

The encounter was more surprising than I had anticipated. I watched with a mixture of awe and astonishment as expert curators donned their gloves and gently disassembled the thing. The figure of Domitian unscrewed so easily that it instantly became much clearer how the emperors could have migrated from dish to dish: once the statuettes were unscrewed, you would have to look very carefully at the details of the scenes to make sure that each one ended up back on his “right” dish. But there was a bigger surprise, and the start of a curious historical detective story, when I tried to match up the chased scenes on the dish with the text of Suetonius's *Life of Domitian*.

It was a triumphal procession that first caught my eye (Tiberius III, p. 13). According to the museum's documentation, one of the scenes represented Domitian's celebration of his rather overblown military success against German tribes, mentioned by Suetonius⁴ (“after battles fought with different degrees of success, he celebrated a double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians”⁵). A triumphal procession does indeed stand out on the dish, and it includes many precise details of the ceremony as it was usually performed. The shape of the special ceremonial chariot reflects Renaissance scholarship on that subject, learning based on careful study of ancient descriptions and depictions of the ritual, and the animals to be sacrificed carry their correct Roman ornaments. But there is one strikingly unorthodox feature: the chariot itself is empty. The victorious general, in military dress and wearing the triumphal laurel

wreath, has brought the vehicle to a halt along the ceremonial route and dismounted in order to kneel in front of a seated figure attended by twelve official guards (or lic-tors), each holding a bundle of fasces—the rods of office that were the symbol of official Roman power (fig. 1). This can only be the occasion when, in A.D. 12—almost seven decades before the reign of Domitian—the future emperor Tiberius included an unprecedented gesture in the celebration of his victories in Germany. In the words of Suetonius’s *Life of Tiberius*, “Before he turned to drive up onto the Capitoline Hill, he got down from the chariot and dropped to his knees in front of his father [the emperor Augustus], who was presiding over the ceremony.”⁶ It was for Roman readers a sure sign of the appropriate deference of Tiberius, as heir, to the ruling emperor, and for me a sure sign that, whatever was claimed, the dish could not possibly “belong” to Domitian.

That was quickly confirmed by the other three scenes, which also turned out to derive from the *Life of Tiberius* and had nothing to do with Domitian. One was as glaringly misidentified as the scene of triumph. It had been interpreted as Domitian’s wife traveling in Germany, where her husband was on campaign (Tiberius I, p. 12). But this is not only difficult to match up to the narrative of Suetonius, who in his *Life of Domitian* hardly refers to Domitia at all, and certainly not in Germany; it also fails to explain why on earth the woman in question is almost on fire (the convention here for representing flames being the same as on other dishes) and carrying a baby. The scene must represent the incident, described by Suetonius, involving the infant Tiberius and his mother, Livia, when they were on the run in Greece during the civil wars that followed the assassination of Julius Caesar: “Leaving [Sparta] by night, he very nearly lost his life when flames suddenly burst out from the woods all along the way and engulfed the whole party to the extent that part of Livia’s clothes and hair was singed.”⁷

Of the other two scenes, one pictured a rare instance of Tiberius’s liberality (Tiberius IV, p. 13). Meanness was this emperor’s usual trait, but after an earthquake in the province of Asia in A.D. 17, he sponsored relief measures and gave generous subsidies to the cities of the area. On one side of a river, we see the emperor, with his lic-tors behind him, receiving petitions from the local population; on the other side, buildings are toppling from the force of the quake.⁸ This vignette had been masquerading as Domitian receiving the submission of the Germans, but that hardly explained the collapsing buildings. The remaining scene seems, at first sight, a generic image of battle between Roman forces and their enemies under the watchful eye of a splendid river god reclining next to his streaming waters (Tiberius II, p. 12). This had been identified as another episode from Domitian’s German campaigns. But the clear references to Tiberius on the rest of the dish suggest instead that it is a scene from *his* German campaigns, almost certainly his defeat of the Raeti and Vindelici in southern Germany in 15 B.C.⁹ One tiny detail of the design



Fig. 1. Detail of Tiberius III (p. 13) showing the triumphant future emperor kneeling before his father, Augustus

more or less clinches it: the pinecone, the traditional symbol of the Bavarian city of Augsburg, shown on a couple of the German standards (fig. 2). This emblem has often been taken as a clue to the place of the tazze's manufacture, on the assumption that patriotic craftsmen had smuggled in a subtle reference to their own hometown.¹⁰ But whether that is true or not, the pinecone image is a clear pointer to the location of the campaign (Roman Augsburg—or Augusta Vindelicorum—eventually became the capital of the Roman province of Raetia) and may hint again at Tiberius himself, for according to tradition, it was he who during that war established the town as a Roman base.¹¹

There is more to this story than a simple case of mistaken identity, of the life of Tiberius being misread as the life of Domitian. For a start, there is a piquant irony in the present combination of emperor and dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum that goes back only to 1956. When the tazza first entered the museum

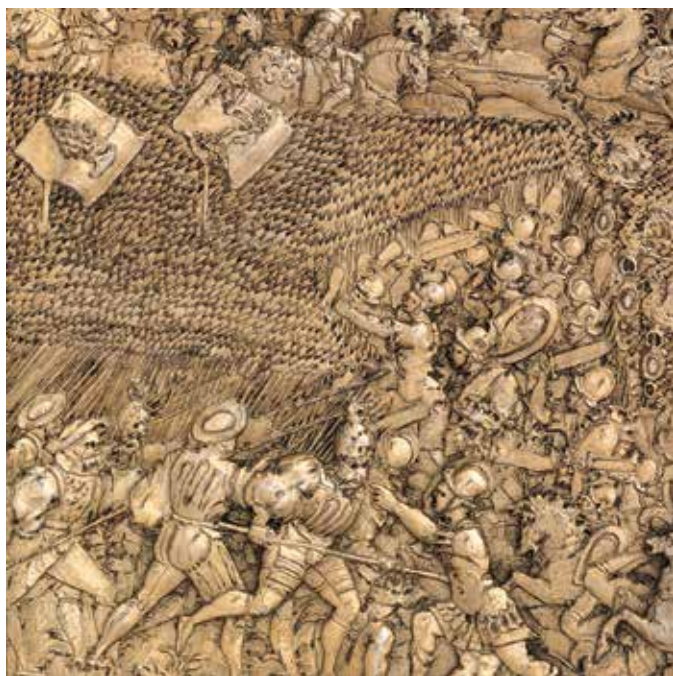


Fig. 2. Detail of Tiberius II (p. 12) depicting standards emblazoned with the image of a pinecone, symbol of the city of Augsburg

(originally on loan) in 1927, it displayed the figure of the emperor Vitellius above what was then taken to be Domitian's dish. The combination we now see was the result of a well-meaning international collaboration between three museums, each of which owned one of the original twelve tazze and was keen to reunite the right emperors with their dishes. The figure of Vitellius from London was sent to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to stand above the Vitellius dish in place of the "wrong" figure of Otho; the Metropolitan Museum sent the figure of Otho to the Royal Ontario Museum to rejoin its original dish; while the Royal Ontario Museum sent its figure of Domitian to the V&A to preside over the "Domitian" dish. The only trouble was that—as it wasn't really the Domitian dish at all—the V&A's tazza remained just as mongrel as it had been before. Despite all the excellent intentions, in this case one wrong emperor had been swapped for another.¹²

There is also the obvious domino effect. If the so-called Domitian dish really "belonged" to Tiberius, where did that leave the so-called Tiberius dish in Lisbon, which had been at some point wrongly attached to the figure of Galba (3 B.C.–A.D. 69)? The answer to that question exposed another series of misidentifications, not far short of farce. It did not take long to see that Galba was actually standing on top of the dish that depicted the deeds of Caligula (A.D. 12–41). Thanks to some truly astonishing wishful thinking, the notorious stunt in which Caligula pranced on horseback over a bridge of boats joining Baiae and Puteoli, the neighboring port on the Bay of Naples, had been interpreted as the retirement of Tiberius to the island of Capri (Caligula IV, p. 15). And a famous incident in which, as a toddler and army mascot, Caligula managed to shame Roman soldiers out of mutiny (they repented when they realized the tiny prince was being taken away to safety) had been squeezed to fit a scene from Tiberius's

German campaigns (Caligula I, p. 14).¹³ Meanwhile, in the final piece of the puzzle, what had been taken to be the Caligula dish at the Minneapolis Institute of Art, wrongly attached to the figure of Augustus, proved to be that elusive Domitian dish. The drastic misreading in this case involved the scene of the burning Capitol (Domitian I, p. 30). According to Suetonius, in the civil war at the start of Vespasian's reign (r. 69–79) the emperor's young son Domitian barely escaped Rome with his life.¹⁴ To fit the Caligula narrative, the scene had been construed as an image of the popular disturbances that followed the death of the future emperor's father, Germanicus.

These confusions have dogged the history of the tazze over the last century, and, as I shall suggest, probably much longer. But, errors though they are, they point to bigger questions about the iconography of the scenes on the dishes and the cultural background and literary tradition underlying them, to which I now turn. What was the "Suetonian tradition" that we see represented and so often misinterpreted in these extraordinary chasings? What reading of Suetonius do the Aldobrandini Tazze offer us? How typical was it of sixteenth-century readings more generally? And why has this unique collection of silverware been so susceptible to misidentification, disaggregation, and sheer muddle?

SUETONIUS AND HIS CAESARS

Suetonius is now most widely known for his racy tales of the iniquity of the first Roman emperors and their courts. Included in his sequence of twelve *Lives of the Caesars*, these accounts are still re-created in novels, movies, and popular history with a familiar mixture of horror, amusement, and titillation. It is thanks to these *Lives* that we know, or *think* we know, about Tiberius's sex antics in his swimming pool on Capri and Caligula's rumored (and unfulfilled) plans to make his favorite horse a consul.¹⁵ But to focus only on this gossip—as if it

were no more than gossip—is to underestimate Suetonius. It is true that some ancient writers themselves could be critical of the kind of trivial anecdotes found in his work. For example, writing about a century after Suetonius, the historian Cassius Dio reflected on the story of the young Domitian impaling flies on his stylus as a pastime—one of the most colorful passages in the Suetonian *Life*. Dio judged it beneath the dignity of true history writing, even though he did "feel obliged" also to record it himself.¹⁶ Overall, however, there is more historical, literary, and political expertise in Suetonius's writing than has been regularly acknowledged.¹⁷

Suetonius had one great advantage in writing the life stories of emperors: having been a senior official in the palace administration, including posts as head librarian, archivist, and general secretary to the emperor from about A.D. 115 to the early 120s, he had firsthand experience of how the Roman imperial court worked.¹⁸ A scholar as much as a bureaucrat, he had used his privileged access to the equivalent of the imperial filing cabinets to take copies of some of the emperors' private correspondence, which are included verbatim in the earlier *Lives* in the series. What is more, when he does cite the apparently trivial details of the emperors' personal habits—from sexual preferences to dining choices—it is often as a way of exploring the ethical basis of their rule. Some of those details may well be, in our terms, flagrantly unreliable, based on the hearsay of the palace corridors rather than documents from the archive and on biased stories that circulated posthumously rather than on contemporary evidence. But even so, they were deployed by Suetonius to scrutinize the nature of autocratic power. What made a good emperor? What were the diagnostic signs of good or bad imperial rule? Could they be seen in the everyday private behavior of the ruler?

Those features contributed to the popularity of Suetonius among leading

humanists in the Renaissance and more widely among the European elite. The great fourteenth-century scholar Petrarch (1304–1374) owned no fewer than three manuscript copies of the Latin text, including one that he heavily annotated; during the same period, Boccaccio made his own collection of excerpts from the *Lives*.¹⁹ Two printed editions were produced in 1470, near the start of the first flood of classical publishing in Europe, and there were another thirteen by 1500. Translations into the vernacular went side by side. A French translation in manuscript had been produced anonymously in 1381, and by the time of the production of the tazze in the mid- to late sixteenth century, there were printed translations in at least German, Italian, and Spanish (English had to wait until 1606, for the influential translation of Philemon Holland). To put this another way, according to one rough reckoning, about 150,000 printed copies in Latin or the vernacular were produced in Europe between 1470 and 1700. That certainly does not make Suetonius's *Lives* the most popular classical history text of this period, but on those calculations it was roughly at the same level of wide dissemination as the works of historians Livy or Tacitus.²⁰

Unsurprisingly, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* figured prominently in Renaissance debates about competing forms and methods in life writing. As a collection it lay behind the series of multiple biographies (of Illustrious Men, or Famous Characters from Ancient History, and so on) that were common at the time, and the structure of Suetonius's individual *Lives*—by topic and theme rather than strict chronology—was influential, too. Already in the fourteenth century, in the introduction to his own collection *On Illustrious Men*, Petrarch referred to some of the themes in his biographies, which appear to match those of Suetonius (including domestic life, bodily stature, manner of death). Elsewhere, in the second of his series of *Lives*, Petrarch based his detailed description of his own appearance closely on

Suetonius's description of the emperor Augustus (63 B.C.—A.D. 14).²¹

By the mid-sixteenth century, controversies over the quality and value of Suetonian-style biography, and over its relationship with historiography more generally, had long been rehearsed. On the one hand, many writers and critics insisted on the educational and moral value of biographies. As Angelo Poliziano claimed in 1490 in his *Introduction to Suetonius*, biographers “have put in our midst the life, habits and deeds [of great men], onto which the whole of posterity might gaze as a role model,” while also displaying the misdeeds of those whose example we should take care *not* to follow. On the other, there were those who criticized the triviality of some of Suetonius's subject matter and his larger-than-life, lurid portrayal of imperial vices. Even Petrarch is slightly apologetic about his adoption of Suetonian themes (“distracting digressions”), and in one nice image a famous biographer of the early sixteenth century, Paolo Giovio, defended his treatment of his subject's faults by comparing his own light touch with Suetonius's approach: “He didn't hold back from displaying their every vice as if he were inscribing them onto a triumphal arch.”²²

But Suetonius's Caesars left their mark on the visual arts even more than on the literary and scholarly tradition. Ancient Roman sculptors had often created groups of portraits, whether of leading members of an imperial dynasty or of famous philosophers. So far as is known, however, they never attempted to create the Suetonian set—each of the Roman rulers from Julius Caesar to Domitian—in marble, bronze, or any other material, even if writers did occasionally reflect on that group on paper.²³ From the fifteenth century onward, inspired by Suetonius's fame, even if not always by close acquaintance with his text itself, images of the Twelve Caesars became increasingly popular among European elites. Sometimes they were assembled from specimens of ancient sculpture identified or misidentified

as the emperors concerned; more often they were re-created in contemporary sculpture, in painting (from miniatures on manuscripts to display images on walls and ceilings), and on furniture and jewelry, in enamel and silverware, and, eventually, in any number of series of prints—which circulated to a far wider audience than the upper echelons of the aristocracy who could afford customized works or art. It is hardly an exaggeration to claim that in western Europe between the Middle Ages and the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, the Twelve Caesars, whether as a complete set or as individuals, were the commonest human subject of art after Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and a handful of saints.²⁴

Many other factors underpinned the Renaissance enthusiasm for images of the Caesars, from the growing prestige of classical antiquity in general to the imagined continuum linking modern dynasts to their ancient predecessors (Holy Roman emperors confidently traced their descent back to pagan Roman emperors, and beyond them to Romulus himself). Particularly important were the increasing desire to put faces to Roman names and the intense scholarly activity devoted to working out how to recreate the “look” of the major figures of the Roman world. This is now often seen as one element in a greater commitment to archaeological accuracy in exploring the past. And certainly, careful scrutiny of heads on coins and other surviving ancient portraits, as well as (in the case of the Caesars) of the physical descriptions offered by Suetonius, was involved.²⁵ But the keen interest in the Caesars is also connected to a bigger conceptual change in how antiquity was envisaged and how the similarities and differences between the ancient and modern worlds were expressed. It is a change neatly summed up in the shift from fourteenth-century images of the Roman emperors, usually portrayed in the guise of fourteenth-century kings and nobles, to those in the sixteenth century, usually dressed in togas or in look-alike Roman armor and with

apparently bona fide Roman weapons. The picture is, however, more nuanced than that. It is striking, for example, that on the tazze, while the emperor figures and the Romans in the engraved scenes are shown in ancient costume, many of their barbarian enemies and occasional onlookers are clad in unmistakably sixteenth-century dress (Tiberius II, p. 12). This is not an error: rather, two different ways of imagining the distant past were pointedly juxtaposed on a single object.

So, what did all the imperial imagery mean? The ubiquity of these Renaissance Caesars can make it easy to take them for granted, as if they often amounted to little more than cultural wallpaper or an off-the-peg badge of ancient and imperial prestige. Some of them, no doubt, were just that. But they could also be much more awkward and edgier. There are many more variants on the theme than the shorthand “Twelve Caesars” might suggest, and there was plenty of room for artistic flexibility, ingenuity, reinterpretation, and subversion. Even the number and lineup of emperors were not always constrained by the Suetonian template. Occasionally, for example, a couple of the most heinous imperial characters were omitted and two “good” emperors from later Roman dynasties inserted in their place. Many series stopped short of twelve or went beyond. Perhaps the most famous set of emperors made in the sixteenth century, the group painted by Titian for the Gonzaga of Mantua in the 1530s, comprised only eleven: Domitian, the last of Suetonius’s twelve, was not included. Why not is uncertain. The common idea that Titian simply could not fit paintings of all twelve Caesars into the space available is desperately unconvincing. More likely, I suspect, the omission of the final character was a pointed comment on dynastic closure: here was a dynasty that literally did not end.²⁶

Some artists also faced directly the villainy of so many of the rulers among Suetonius’s twelve. Renaissance critics certainly suggested that these emperors could act as both



Fig. 3. Adriaen Collaert (Netherlandish, ca. 1560–1618) after a design by Jan van der Straet, known as Johannes Stradanus (Netherlandish, 1523–1605). *Domitianus*, plate 12 in *Roman Emperors on Horseback*. Published by Philips Galle, ca. 1587–89. Engraving, 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32.6 × 22.1 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds, 1963 (RP-P-1963-146). The oval detail on the statue's base shows the young Domitian skewering flies.

models to emulate and warnings of what to avoid. And some artists, patrons, and viewers must have seen the positive side in the image of power that the Twelve Caesars represented. But the fact was that, if you were following Suetonius closely, there was rather little to admire or to wish to emulate in them. In the captions to several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century series of prints, for example, Vespasian, the tenth emperor, was singled out as a Roman ruler unusually blessed with a natural death; the fact, or the hint, of foul play hung over the death of all his predecessors.²⁷ One series from about 1600, reproducing Titian's emperors (and our best evidence of them, since the originals were destroyed in a fire in the eighteenth century), attached a Latin poem to the image of each ruler. For the most part, the poems are decidedly unflattering, starting from insinuations of Julius Caesar's incest with his mother and finishing with the crimes of Domitian.²⁸ No less damning were the poems that accompanied the series of prints of the twelve emperors by Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), produced in the late 1580s. Stradanus's prints also incorporated into their design vignettes drawn from the *Lives* of Suetonius, including some of the darkest: Julius Caesar's assassination, for example; Augustus sacrilegiously playing the part of the god Apollo at a fancy-dress banquet; Domitian skewering flies (fig. 3).²⁹

The question is: how do the Aldobrandini Tazze fit into this rich tradition?

READING SUETONIUS ON THE TAZZE

The iconography of the tazze in part overlaps comfortably with the standard forms in which emperors were depicted at this period and in part represents a much more distinctive program. The imperial figures that stand in the center of each dish, each figure named at his feet as one of the first twelve Roman rulers, are the most conventional elements of the design. Their facial features seem broadly based on what was becoming in the sixteenth century the

orthodox physiognomy for their respective emperors. How close this is to what these men ever really looked like is highly debatable. Their appearance was derived ultimately from their tiny portraits on Roman coins, enlarged and elaborated by generations of artists, especially printmakers, who sometimes produced, or at least collaborated on, books that were in effect galleries of ancient Roman faces (mostly male, but including—often even more imaginatively—some of their female relatives). The features and costume of the silver Tiberius are typical in echoing his portraits in contemporary prints. Although in Stradanus's print Tiberius is seated on horseback, as are all the emperors in that series, the style of armor, with heavy epaulettes, elaborate boots, plated tunic, sword, and swaggering spear, is very similar in its antique idiom to the garb worn by the Tiberius of the tazze; and so, too, with the rest of the set (figs. 4, 5).

It is the design of the dishes that breaks striking new ground. The idea of illustrating Suetonius was not entirely unprecedented. There had been editions of the text before the mid-sixteenth century that included illustrations, but these images had usually been restricted to portraits of the emperors.³⁰ And Stradanus's prints incorporated miniature scenes from the *Lives* to animate the background and decorate the pedestals on which in some editions the equestrian emperors were presented. But the systematic illustration of each emperor's career and achievements, with four episodes chosen from Suetonius given such prominence in the overall design, was new.

We have already seen how carefully the *Lives* could be rendered in these images. Although there are one or two generic scenes (illustrations of particular imperial building schemes, taken more or less wholesale from printed sources³¹), most of the forty-eight images are based on the kind of detailed attention to the Suetonian text that underlay the scenes of Tiberius's triumph, Livia's dash through the burning countryside, and Caligula's encounter with the



Fig. 4. Adriaen Collaert after Johannes Stradanus. *Tiberius*, plate 3 in *Roman Emperors on Horseback*. Published by Philips Galle, ca. 1587–89. Engraving, 13 × 8¾ in. (32.9 × 22.3 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds, 1963 (RP-P-1963-137). The idiom of the emperor’s ancient military garb resembles that of the Tiberius statuette seen in fig. 5.

mutinous soldiers. Only very occasionally did the designer or designers miss a trick or perhaps slip up.

The scene of the “triumph” of Nero is an especially interesting case. Suetonius devotes several lines to this event. It was not a celebration of any military victory but almost a parody of the traditional ceremony, held to congratulate the emperor for his successes in literary and athletic competitions in Greece. According to the *Life*, Nero rode

in the very chariot that Augustus had once upon a time used to celebrate his triumphs, wearing purple robes, with a cloak decorated with golden stars, carrying the crown from the Olympic Games on his head, and from the Pythian Games in his right hand. A procession went in front of him, carrying placards detailing his other successes: where he had won, against whom, and what the subjects of the winning songs or plays were. Following the chariot came his cheerleaders according to the custom of such celebrations, and they called out that they were the emperor’s men and the soldiers of his triumph. Then going through the arch in the Circus Maximus, which was torn down, and on through the Velabrum and the Forum, he made his way to the Palatine and the Temple of Apollo. Everywhere he went, animals were killed in sacrifice, lots of perfume was sprinkled onto the streets, and he was showered with birds, ribbons, and sweets.³²

Some of these details are clearly registered on the dish (Nero IV, p. 19). Nero in his chariot wears one wreath (the Olympic crown) on his head and holds another (the Pythian) in his right hand. Onlookers are throwing down birds and other tidbits from balconies. Altars for sacrifice, with flames and animal victims nearby, are shown along the route. And the temple to which the



Fig. 5. Tiberius statuette on the Tiberius figure/ Nero dish tazza (pl. 6)

procession is making its way is clearly that of Apollo (the statue of the god on the temple steps holds Apollo’s bow and arrow) rather than the standard Temple of Jupiter shown in the scenes of triumph on other dishes. But, despite Suetonius’s headline claim that Nero had reused the vehicle of his predecessor, his chariot is not identical with the triumphal chariot shown on the Augustus dish (figs. 6, 7). And there is a posse of prisoners being marched through an arch in advance of the imperial party—a strange incongruity for a celebration of a victory that Suetonius insists involved no military combat. It may be that this was a conscious adjustment intended to bring the Neronian scene into line with the more standard triumphal processions that, as we shall see, are a prominent element in many of the dishes. Or, it may be that it was a less well-considered inclusion by those involved in the final execution of the design, who believed that, leaving aside the other details,

Fig. 6. Detail of Nero IV (p. 19) showing the emperor's triumphal chariot. Despite Suetonius's claim that Nero used the chariot of Augustus for the occasion, the designers have not here followed (or perhaps noticed the implications of) the Suetonian text.



this *was* a Neronian triumph, and that a triumph meant prisoners.

Whatever the correct explanation, it seems clear that whoever was behind the iconography of these dishes—whether some grand designer, an interventionist patron, hands-on craftsmen, a more remote source, or any combination of those—knew the text of Suetonius very well and was concerned to present it accurately in visual form. But they probably did not have either the will or the capacity to impose complete consistency from one tazza to the next, or to prevent flexibility and minor divergences in the final presentation of the chosen episodes.

It is also clear that there is a strong narrative reading of the text from scene to scene on each dish. The basic rule is that the episodes are arranged clockwise in the order in which they occur in the relevant *Life*, and, indeed, on most of the dishes explicit numbering of them, from 1 to 4, is still visible.³³ This alone should have indicated that there was a problem with the so-called Domitian dish in the V&A, for on the traditional identification of the scenes, they did not follow the order of Suetonius's *Life of Domitian*. There is only one exception to this arrangement: when a triumphal procession is shown, as it is on the majority of the dishes, it is usually made the final scene, even if that means taking it out of its Suetonian order. Such is the case with Nero's quasi triumph, and so, too, with Caligula's display across the

bridge of boats, suggesting that the hints in Suetonius that this pageant also was intended as a kind of triumph had not been missed.³⁴ The only instances where the ceremony remains in its original narrative place—on the dishes of Tiberius and Titus—occur when the triumph in question was held before the emperor came to the throne, in the reign of his father. Taken together, all this signals not only careful attention to Suetonius's writing and a confidence in manipulating it, but also quite literally a triumphalist reading of these imperial *Lives*: in total, seven of these visual biographies actually end with a triumph or its equivalent.

Triumphalism in a more general sense is the hallmark of these images. The scenes from Suetonius chosen for illustration are often not those best remembered by modern readers of the *Lives of the Caesars*, but they are overwhelmingly positive. The tazze do not foreground the moral failings of the emperors or the tragedies of their careers, on which we, and some of our Renaissance predecessors, have laid such stress. There is no sign, as in Stradanus's prints, for example, of the bloody murder of Julius Caesar or of the sadism of the young Domitian. In fact, there are only two overtly negative scenes: Nero playing his lyre while Rome burns (Nero III, p. 19), and Caligula's antics on the bridge (and those are given triumphal resonance). There is only one imperial death, despite Suetonius's usual insistence on the last moments of his emperors and the violent ends that so many met, and that is the brave suicide of Otho, who reigned for three months in the civil wars of A.D. 69. The focus instead is on imperial victory (over the Germans and the Jews, for example), celebration and spectacle, liberality (both Caligula and Domitian are shown handing out money to the people in Rome), public building work, and, most of all, succession to the throne and the omens lying behind it. At least a quarter of the episodes depicted on the tazze focus on the transmission of imperial power and on the divine signs of future greatness.

It is this last aspect that makes the repertoire of Suetonian images offered here particularly unfamiliar to modern readers of the text. The moments when an eagle lands on the shoulder of Claudius as a portent of his rise to the throne (Claudius I, p. 16), or when a blast of lightning revealing twelve fasces beneath a lake predicts the rule of Galba (another short-term emperor, he reigned in A.D. 68–69), are not for us the famous highlights of the text. That is partly a consequence—and a failing—of our own modern reading practice. We now tend to think of Suetonius as writing twelve separate biographies, and we read them as such. No one worries, for example, about picking up the *Life of Nero* without having read the previous five *Lives* in the series; very few people, especially if they are reading in Latin, would start with the *Life of Julius Caesar* and read right through to *Domitian*. But, as earlier generations understood better than we do, what Suetonius wrote was much closer to a single book with twelve chapters, and as such it prompted questions not just about individual rulers but about the transmission of power over the long term and how succession was managed.³⁵ The tazze are by no means the only works of art in this period to pick out the omens of succession and predictions of future greatness for star treatment. Originally arranged on the wall beneath Titian's emperors in Mantua, painted panels by Giulio Romano depict scenes from each of the rulers' lives. One of the panels illustrates Julius Caesar launched on his bid to power by the sight of a statue of the young, precociously successful Alexander the Great; another shows a prediction of the future greatness of the infant Augustus; another, the eagle landing on Claudius's shoulder (fig. 8).³⁶

The cycle of images on the tazze is even in this respect unusually optimistic. Of course, darker readings might always have been possible. We cannot know, for example, how many viewers looked at the final episode on Galba's dish (Galba IV, p. 21), where the elderly, childless emperor adopts



Fig. 7. Detail of Augustus IV (p. 11) showing the emperor in his triumphal chariot

a successor, and shook their heads in the knowledge of the futility of the gesture: within a couple of weeks, both adopter and adopted would be killed.³⁷ But in general, the overwhelming impression given by the scenes is one of successful transmission of imperial status, of inheritance of power validated by signs from the gods (even when really granted in civil war), and of emperors who died in their beds. This is true right up to the end, where the final scene on Domitian's dish is not his assassination in a palace coup in A.D. 96—a tiny version of which is visible in the background of Stradanus's print (see fig. 3, palace portico at far right)—but his triumphal procession.

Altogether, they would make a reassuring sight for sixteenth-century aristocrats and dynasts who chose to scrutinize them, offering a vision of lordly success, liberality, military victory, spectacular showmanship—and dynastic continuity.

THE FATE OF SUETONIUS AND HIS CAESARS

So why on earth did the Aldobrandini Tazze suffer the fate that they have? There is a strong iconographic program, including the figures of named emperors, rooted in a well-known Latin text. How was it that emperors migrated from one dish to another, ending up tied to what were flagrantly the wrong scenes—as any consultation of Suetonius would have quickly revealed?



Fig. 8. Workshop of Giulio Romano (Italian, 1499–1546). *The Omen of Claudius's Imperial Powers*, ca. 1536–39. Oil on wood, 47 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 36 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (121.4 × 93.5 cm). Hampton Court Palace, Richmond upon Thames (RCIN 402806)

This may be one of those rare cases where the domestic staff bears some of the responsibility. As I discovered first at the V&A, the imperial figures unscrew very easily and can be easily transposed. They must always have been disassembled when moved any distance or cleaned thoroughly. Unless the dismantling was done very systematically, either a text of Suetonius or an intimate knowledge of it would have been needed to put them back together correctly. It is hard to imagine that those on whose tables or in whose display cases the tazze stood would have checked very often that the match of emperor to dish was correct. If they did not, then the tazze could well have begun to be muddled in this way very early in their history. The earliest precisely dated documentary evidence we have for the combinations of these pieces admittedly goes back no further than the late nineteenth century, but certainly the confusion had set in by that point. A description in 1872 shows that the

figure of Augustus was already screwed into the Domitian dish; a decade later, the tazza with what was clearly the figure of Nero screwed into the Titus dish was sold in Germany; and, according to the information we have on them, three of the six tazze owned by Frédéric Spitzer were mismatched when they were sold in 1893.³⁸ In fact, the undersides of some of the dishes bear the traces of earlier attempts, successful and unsuccessful, to identify the protagonist of the scenes. Eight of them have names scratched onto them, undated but compatible with a nineteenth-century hand, though possibly earlier. Some are correct, but the Domitian dish is marked with the name *Vespasian*, the Caligula dish with *Domitian*, and the Vespasian dish with *Caligula*.³⁹

The fate of Suetonius's reputation after the sixteenth century may also have a part to play in the later history of confusion and misidentification. *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* has continued to be an important text for those studying Roman history or concerned with the different versions of life writing and their ancestry. But from at least the early nineteenth century, in the pedagogical tradition in Britain and more widely in Europe, Suetonius as an author was somewhat marginalized. He was not generally used as a model for what had by then become the backbone of the school Latin curriculum—that is, translating from the modern vernacular into Latin in imitation of the “best” Latin authors. Suetonius was not counted among the best; writing at the beginning of the second century A.D., he was too late for what was then judged the greatest age of Latin prose. His style was thought to be no match for the linguistic and rhetorical mastery of Cicero (106–43 B.C.). Among the European elite, Suetonius slipped down slightly further, into the second rank.⁴⁰

That decline may well be, even if indirectly, one of the factors that explains a surprising silence in the majority of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century sale catalogues that feature one or more of the

tazze. Although in a couple of cases the name of Suetonius is mentioned (if only as a tentative source: “presumably *De vita Caesarum* by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus”⁴¹), mostly the scenes are described as merely drawn from the history of the emperor concerned. Even when they are more or less correctly identified, as at the sale of the Titus dish in 1914, they are not necessarily linked to the relevant *Life* (“the scenes depicted in the four panels illustrate the history of Titus immediately succeeding his capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70”⁴²).

The connection with Suetonius has regularly been stressed in the recent scholarly literature (though, even there, not entirely accurately), and there is a clear awareness of the Suetonian source lying behind some of the descriptions in early sale catalogues and reports—indicated, for example, by references to “The Twelve Caesars” (the capital letters pointing to Suetonius’s title).⁴³ But the regular absence of Suetonius’s name and the entire omission of any reference to the Latin source from some catalogues suggest that among the wider interest group of collectors, auction houses, buyers, and sellers, the specifically Suetonian background to the scenes was being replaced by a much more general and vaguer sense of imperial history and life story. Once the Suetonian connection had faded, the reliable explanation of the scenes was obscured and the likelihood of confusion enormously increased. People simply did not know which dish went with which figure.

THE MISSING BOOK

The irony is that, at least until the late nineteenth century, a manuscript “key” to the scenes on the dishes had been available. There are several reports of a “curious volume . . . giving a very interesting historical account of the salvers and the achievements displayed thereon. It is bound in a rich green velvet and ornamented with 24 ancient gold

coins, clasps, and centre medallions.”⁴⁴

Dating to the sixteenth or seventeenth century (accounts differ) and compiled, we assume, by a scholar or scholar-owner well aware of the dangers of confusion, it was put on sale in Paris in 1893 alongside six of the tazze and went with the Domitian (that is, the Tiberius!) dish to the dealers J. & S. Goldschmidt, who bought all but one of the tazze (Julius Caesar) that were then on the market. According to the sale catalogue, the volume contained “the explanation of all the subjects” found on the dishes.⁴⁵ But it has not been seen again. Or at least wherever it might be lurking—if it indeed still lurks—it has not been recognized.

It is always easy for scholars to imagine that lost objects hold the answers to their problems. Certainly, those of us who work on the Aldobrandini Tazze can regularly be heard muttering, “If only we had that green velvet book!” Whether it really would deliver what we hoped about the history of the pieces, their commissioning, production, and all the other puzzles discussed in the following pages, I have my doubts. But it is worth reflecting that, if all the claims for the green velvet book are true, throughout the period up to 1893, when the wrong emperors were getting screwed into the wrong dishes, the answers were at hand for anyone who chose to look for them. But they either did not look or did not act on what they read.

But, book or no book, as I think back to my own first encounter with the so-called Domitian dish in the V&A, I can’t help feeling that we owe it to the designers and craftsmen behind these marvelous objects, to those who commissioned them, to Suetonius himself, and even to the emperors—brutal rulers though they might have been in real life—to get these scenes sorted out, connect the right man with the right deeds, and see them all together as originally intended. And I think at last we have done just that.

Renaissance Intellectual Culture, Antiquarianism, and Visual Sources

On the Aldobrandini Tazze, imperial Rome is an idea, not a time or place. In the Suetonian scenes, Renaissance buildings and people mix seamlessly with historical figures and artifacts within supposedly ancient space. The settings generally do not *look* like Rome, ancient or modern: there is no evidence of the artists' firsthand experience of the physical city, nor even of Italy.¹ Instead, the concept of Rome is conjured through the precise deployment of learned visual references gathered from portable antiquarian sources such as coins, books, and prints.² In the interstices between these erudite citations, the artists turned to what they knew, crafting whimsical passages that betray an unmistakably Northern European, sixteenth-century sensibility. The result is a marvelous fantasia at once scholarly and irreverent—a pastiche of ancient material repurposed to bring meaning to a chaotic Renaissance world.

Examination of the specific visual sources upon which the narrative scenes depend provides a new dating for the tazze and offers insight into the artistic and intellectual context of their origin. Excellent new photography carried out by the Metropolitan Museum reveals that a number of goldsmiths were involved in the creation of the tazze, which vary greatly in their

respective styles of chasing and slightly in the dimensions of their framing elements, such as the columns that divide the scenes. This team of goldsmiths must have been guided in its work by an erudite scholar equipped with a sophisticated knowledge of the Suetonian text as well as with a substantial collection of antiquarian material that could be utilized to lend authority and emphasis to evocations of the Roman past.

On the tazze, this antiquarian source material is almost always deftly integrated into highly original compositions. The result is a vibrant tension central to the scenes' appeal. Embedded within each image is an interplay between the thoughtful, deliberate historicism of a serious antiquarian scholar and the fertile imaginations of a group of artists for whom the ancient world provides an opportunity for unregulated expression—the lawless realm of fairy tale. The best narrative scenes are thus equally significant and enchanting. Neither capricious nor pedantic, they balance the weighty import of classical learning with a joyful artistic autonomy. By attempting to isolate these two creative impulses—by disentangling scholar and goldsmith—we can begin to appreciate the subtlety of their interactions.

THE (LIMITED) INFLUENCE OF PIRRO LIGORIO

We start by addressing the two most obvious and heavy-handed instances of borrowing that appear on the Aldobrandini Tazze—outliers among the more nuanced appropriations seen in the rest of the set. In each of these two scenes, a famous print is reproduced in full: once, for the third episode on the Claudius dish, and again for Domitian II. In both cases, the print sources are engravings made after designs by the Italian antiquarian Pirro Ligorio (ca. 1513–1583) and published in the early 1550s by Michele Tramezzino in Rome.³

Claudius III relates to a passage in chapter 20 of Suetonius's *Life of Claudius*, which



Fig. 1. Giulio de' Musi (Italian, active 1550–55) after Pirro Ligorio (Italian, ca. 1513–1583). *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae: Birds-Eye View of the Port of Rome*. Published by Michele Tramezzino, 1554. Engraving, sheet 15³/₁₆ × 26¹⁵/₁₆ in. (39.5 × 68.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, transferred from the Library, 1941 (41.72[2.2])

celebrates certain of the emperor's public works (see p. 17).⁴ Among these is the great Port of Ostia, the harbor of Rome. Rather than invent the harbor anew, the goldsmith has reproduced in its entirety Ligorio's *Bird's-Eye View of the Port of Rome*, engraved by Giulio de' Musi in 1554 (fig. 1). The print is one of several based on Ligorio's reconstructions of Roman architectural sites issued separately by Tramezzino in the years 1552–58.⁵ Included in this group is Nicolas Béatrizet's engraving *The Circus Maximus* (1553), reproduced on the Domitian dish (fig. 2, and see Domitian II, p. 30).⁶ The image corresponds to a passage in chapter 4 of *Domitian's Life*, in which Suetonius refers briefly to the building and activities held within it.⁷

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Ligorio's antiquarian studies—the result of a synthesis of multiple ancient sources, including visual materials such as coins, sculpture, and architectural ruins, as well as classical texts—constituted an

essential resource for scholars of ancient Rome.⁸ Born in Naples and trained as a painter and architect, Ligorio arrived in Rome about 1537 and quickly became interested in the city's ancient history.⁹ In 1549, he entered the service of Ippolito II d'Este (1509–1572) as the Ferrarese cardinal's personal archaeologist.¹⁰ During the next two decades in Rome, Ligorio excavated ruins, served as architect to several popes, and produced maps, reconstructions, and encyclopedic volumes.¹¹ In 1568 he accepted a position in Ferrara as court antiquarian under Alfonso II d'Este, taking responsibility for the ducal collection of classical material.¹² When Ligorio died in 1583, only a small fraction of his work had been published, but it constituted an essential component of the late Renaissance conception of ancient Rome.¹³

On the Aldobrandini Tazze, the two narrative scenes based on Ligorio's designs are visually quite distinct from the other compositions, although they are in keeping with

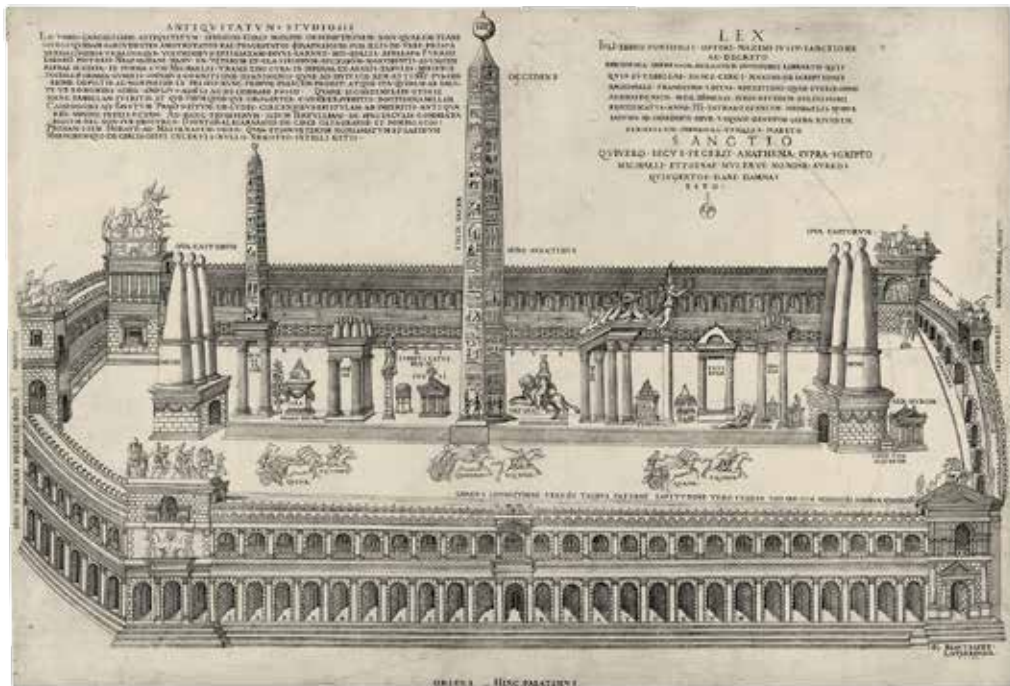


Fig. 2. Nicolas Béatrizet (French, 1515–ca. 1566) after Pirro Ligorio. *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae: The Circus Maximus*. Published by Michele Tramezzino, 1553. Engraving, first state of three, 14¹⁵/₁₆ × 21⁷/₁₆ in. (38 × 55.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, transferred from the Library, 1941 (41.72[1.67])

the set's overall theme. The tazze present the Twelve Caesars in an almost universally positive light; the Circus Maximus and Port of Ostia, as public achievements of the emperors Domitian and Claudius, make fitting subjects for representation on those rulers' respective dishes. Unique, however, is the lack of narrative content in Domitian II and Claudius III: all the other scenes take a specific event as their subject, not an ancient monument.¹⁴ Barring these two exceptions, the narrative scenes on the tazze function not as literal depictions (or reconstructions) of ancient Rome, but rather as vehicles for telling certain carefully chosen stories about the rulers concerned.

That the other forty-six narrative scenes prioritize storytelling over apparent naturalism or historical accuracy is reflected in the originality of their compositions. They display extensive temporal license, frequently depicting actions together with their causes

and subsequent effects. Sometimes the conjoining of events requires compressing into a single image several sequential occurrences taking place in different locations. This telescoping effect is often found in representations of military campaigns, such as Julius Caesar I (invasion of Britain), Augustus II (invasion of Egypt), and Vespasian I (invasion of Judaea) (see pp. 8, 10, 26). Augustus II is dominated by the Battle of Actium but also includes the Temple of Apollo at Nicopolis (expanded by Augustus in celebration of his victory) and the death of the defeated Cleopatra in Alexandria.¹⁵ Elsewhere, as a tale unfolds, emperors and other historical figures may appear more than once in a single composition, as occurs in Galba I and Vespasian II (both episodes concerned with good omens) (see pp. 20, 26). This anti-illusionistic and visually disjointed approach is at odds with the wholesale borrowing that defines Domitian II and

Claudius III, the only scenes on the Aldo-brandini Tazze in which entire prints are reproduced largely intact.

Yet while the debt to Ligorio's compositions is unmistakable in these two scenes, it is far from absolute. The artists have altered the perspective and scale and added elements not found in the original prints. The landscape surrounding the harbor on Claudius III, for example, has been expanded to include rippling waves, grassy tufts of earth, and three grazing stags; Domitian II is more literal in its adherence to the Ligorio but still is supplemented with billowing clouds on the horizon. The most jarring change occurs in the presentation of architecture. In his designs, Ligorio purposefully disregarded contemporary conventions of perspectival construction in favor of a flatter representation meant to evoke the aesthetic of ancient coins and sculptural reliefs. As Howard Burns has explained, Ligorio "draws the city and the buildings as if he were himself an ancient Roman artist."¹⁶

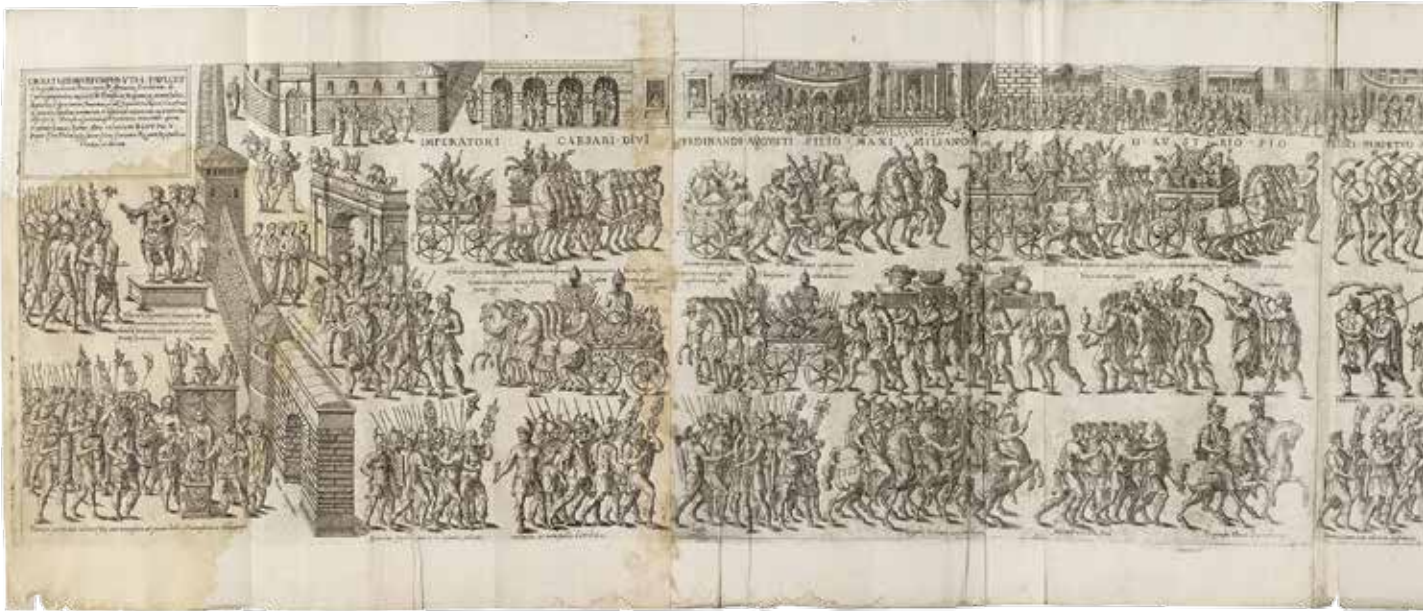
The authors of the tazze demonstrate even less interest than Ligorio in the aims of Renaissance pictorial illusionism but make no pretense of employing a consistent alternative formula. Little heed is given to hierarchies of scale, logical proportions, and unified perspective. Ian Campbell, in a lecture on the architectural representation on the dishes, concluded that the goldsmiths "show no detailed knowledge of ancient Roman architecture, nor any desire to get it precisely right."¹⁷ While Domitian II and Claudius III stand out for their relatively close adherence to their print sources, the goldsmiths have nevertheless reproduced Ligorio's harbor and amphitheater from multiple conflicting viewpoints and distorted the buildings to fit within the awkward dimensions of the allotted space. In many other scenes, alterations to the visual source material are so extreme that the specific precedents are unlikely ever to be identified definitively.

Despite their status as outliers, Domitian II and Claudius III offer useful starting

points from which we can begin to uncover the design process of the narrative scenes. First, these two images establish that the artists had access to popular, mid-sixteenth-century antiquarian prints and turned to them for inspiration. This knowledge encourages us to hunt for other instances of similar borrowings. Moreover, the evidence offered by Domitian II and Claudius III suggests that each scene on the tazze relates precisely to a specific passage from Suetonius. These factors imply the involvement of a scholar with profound knowledge of both the Suetonian text and the available antiquarian imagery, someone we might term the designer—or even "scholar-designer"—of the project. But Domitian II and Claudius III also hint at a separate creative force, that is, the goldsmiths themselves, artists almost entirely indifferent to the simulation of the antique.

It is unclear why the two Ligorio prints were copied so faithfully on the tazze. Serendipity may have played a part. Possibly, the designer responsible for selecting the visual source material simply had these engravings at hand and recognized their utility. They were certainly widely available: beginning in 1573, Ligorio's designs for the Port of Ostia and Circus Maximus joined hundreds of other assorted works in forming the publisher Antonio Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, a print series illustrating the marvels of ancient Rome.¹⁸ The works were designed especially for popular collecting and could be purchased singly or gathered into large albums.¹⁹ Or perhaps Ligorio's reputation somehow played a role in the choice to employ his imagery so openly. His reconstruction of the Circus Maximus, at least, was authoritative. Antonio Agostín, in his study of ancient coins (first published in Spain in 1587), wrote that he had not seen medals bearing representations of the structure, but only the designs by his friend Ligorio, "the great antiquarian and painter."²⁰ There is, however, no further evidence to suggest that Ligorio's scholarship was

Fig. 3. Etienne Dupérac (French, ca. 1535–1604) after a design by Onofrio Panvinio (Italian, 1530–1568). *Ornatissimi triumphi uti L. Paulus . . .* Engraving, five joined sheets including the image of a triumphal column at far right. From Panvinio 1571



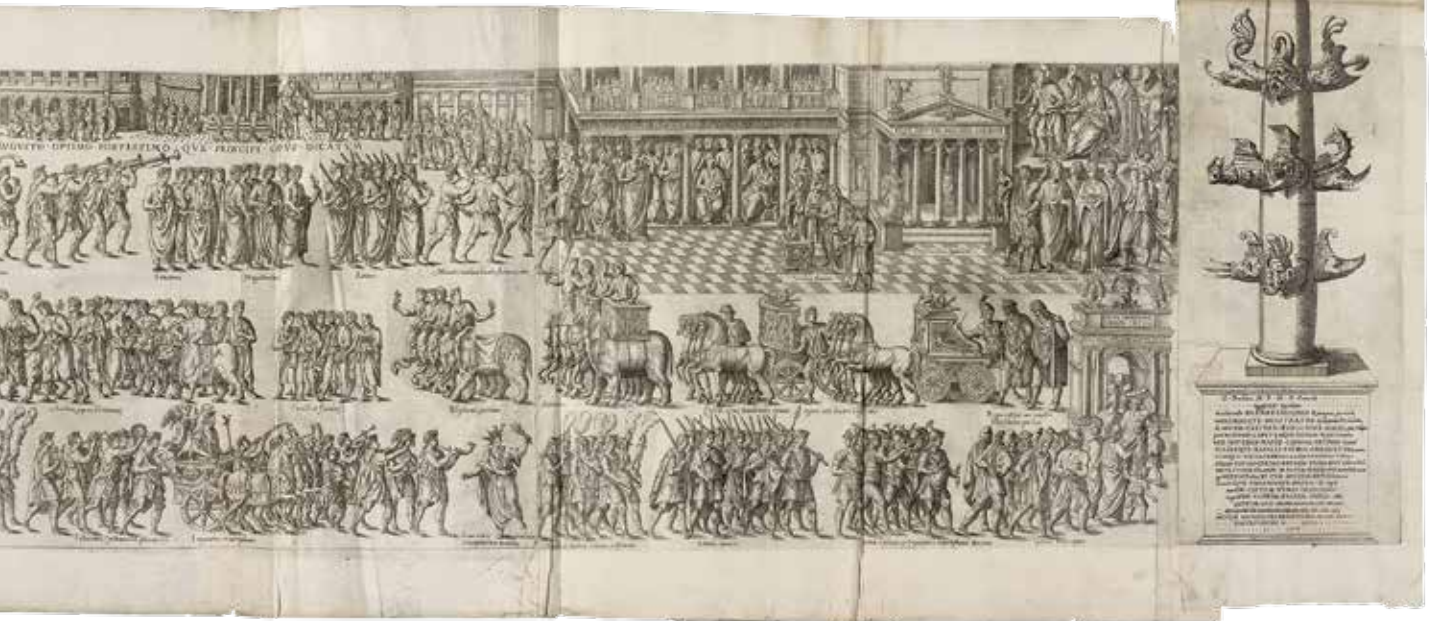
especially meaningful to the creators of the tazze. In fact, Ligorio’s direct influence—confined to the two scenes on the Domitian and Claudius dishes—appears relatively limited when compared to that of another Italian antiquarian, Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568). The impact of Panvinio’s work, though less immediately obvious, is traceable on nearly all the dishes.

ONOFRIO PANVINIO AND ROMAN TRIUMPHAL PROCESSIONS

The Aldobrandini Tazze celebrate the Twelve Caesars as successful rulers. Above all, the narrative scenes highlight themes of legitimacy, magnanimity, popularity, and military prowess. Although every composition is independent and unique, repeated motifs related to these key themes build a sense of visual and rhetorical continuity across the dozen tazze. The strategic repetition of imagery underscores the symbolic

ties linking certain of the Suetonian scenes and draws parallels among the emperors—their individual experiences thus becoming emblematic of broader concepts and ideals.²¹ For the viewer tasked with navigating a vast quantity of historical information, these echoes help direct attention toward the grand ideological framework. The encomiastic character of the set, for example, is emphasized by the large number of compositions representing Roman triumphal processions, the subject that occurs most frequently on the tazze. Eight of the twelve dishes—all that history allows—display their Caesar’s triumph, and they do so in the third or fourth scene. These images are quite consistent, each one drawing inspiration from a large illustration of a Roman triumphal procession published in a 1571 volume by Onofrio Panvinio, his posthumous *De triumpho commentarius*.

Panvinio was an Augustinian friar born in Verona, where he began his education.



A promising scholar, he was sent by benefactors to study first in Naples and then in Rome, where he arrived in 1549.²² In the early 1550s he worked as a historian for his monastic order, investigating both the ecclesiastical and Roman past, subjects that would occupy him for the rest of his career.²³ At mid-decade he came under the primary patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, with whom he left Rome in 1556, traveling to Parma and then Venice.²⁴ They visited Augsburg in 1559, where Panvinio established connections with members of the prominent Fugger family and met the Holy Roman emperor, Ferdinand I.²⁵ The cardinal brought Panvinio back with him to Rome in 1560; eight years later, not yet forty, Panvinio died of fever during a trip to Sicily.²⁶

At the time of his death, Panvinio had published over three thousand pages related to his studies.²⁷ During the 1550s and 1560s, his writings were printed in Rome, Venice, Basel, and Cologne; in the decades

following his death, these works were frequently reissued, as were new, posthumous publications constructed from his surviving manuscripts.²⁸ In 1571, Michele Tramezzino printed a brief, illustrated description of Roman triumphal processions, a hybrid treatise crafted out of repurposed material from Panvinio's works. It was released in Venice, in Latin and Italian editions, as *De triumpho commentarius / Comentario dell'uso et ordine de' trionfi antichi*. Although neither the text nor the images were new, in Tramezzino's publication they were united for the first time. The book was widely available throughout Europe.

The text of *De triumpho* consists of a short excerpt—only eleven pages in the Latin version—originally published in 1558 as an appendix to Panvinio's *Fastorum libri V a Romulo rege usque ad Imp. Caesarem Carolum V Austrum . . .*, a history of Roman triumphal processions stretching from the time of Romulus to the reign of the Habsburg

emperor Charles V.²⁹ In *De triumpho*, this brief text is accompanied for the first time by five illustrated sheets, the first depicting the Rostral Column of Duilius (a victory column erected by Augustus). Sprawling across the other four joined, foldout sheets is a continuous, densely detailed illustration of a triumphal procession, titled *Ornatissimi triumphi . . .* (fig. 3).³⁰ (The date 1565 appears on the image, which may have been published separately, in limited distribution at that time.)³¹ The caption identifies the *Ornatissimi triumphi* as a representation of the type of celebration that would traditionally follow a Roman military victory.³² Running across the top of the procession, just beneath the row of buildings, is a prominent dedication to Emperor Maximilian II, who had succeeded Ferdinand I in 1564.³³

The triumph begins at far left, outside the city wall. There, just beyond a gate labeled *Porta Triumphalis*, the emperor addresses his troops and a sacrifice is made. Within the city walls, the long parade loops three times horizontally across the pages, framed at left and right by triumphal arches. Captions identify the participants, among them dignified magistrates and senators, captives with hands bound behind their backs, lictors (ceremonial bodyguards) holding axes, trumpeters playing their instruments, and cult members burning incense. Carts carry heavy loads of treasure, sacrificial bulls are led to slaughter, and boys holding sprays of laurel ride on the backs of elephants. The upper edge of the *Ornatissimi triumphi* is lined with buildings (some identified, such as the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus) and spectators, who gather along the street and fill windows. At the base of the image, in the center of the procession, the emperor appears again, this time as *Imperator triumphans* standing in a quadriga—a lavishly decorated chariot pulled by four horses (fig. 4). Just over his shoulder stands a small Winged Victory; balancing on one foot on the rear edge of his chariot, she reaches out to crown him with laurel.

Panvinio, unlike Ligorio, was not trained as an artist; this ambitious illustration was

most likely produced under his direction by the French engraver Etienne Dupérac.³⁴ Dupérac, an artist and architect with antiquarian interests of his own, arrived in Rome in 1559 and afterward worked in the circle of Ligorio and Panvinio.³⁵ On the caption to the *Ornatissimi triumphi*, Panvinio nonetheless takes full credit for the illustration, declaring it to be his own, based on the “ancient testimony of stones, coins and books.”³⁶ The omission of Dupérac’s name seems consistent with Panvinio’s general attitude toward the work of others: William Stenhouse has attributed the historian’s astonishing prolificacy to his skill as “a great compiler.”³⁷ Panvinio’s oeuvre not only reflects knowledge of classical texts and antiquities but also makes abundant if unacknowledged use of the efforts of his fellow antiquarian contemporaries and forebears. Ligorio, who shared a publisher with Panvinio, went so far as to accuse Panvinio of stealing his work.³⁸ In the case of *De triumpho*, Stenhouse demonstrates that although Panvinio’s antiquarian scholarship sets the publication apart, the *Ornatissimi triumphi* has its origins in a long tradition of Renaissance treatments of the Roman triumph.³⁹ The Aldobrandini Tazze, through a reliance on Panvinio, inherit strong ties to this Renaissance tradition.

The triumphs on the tazze are brimming with features that closely resemble those in the *Ornatissimi triumphi*: the emperors in their quadrigae, the trumpeters, captives, senators, lictors, sacrificial bulls, and even the elephants appear.⁴⁰ Still, precisely because Panvinio was such a great compiler of ancient and Renaissance imagery, the artists of the tazze might in theory have been familiar with these features of the Roman triumph through different means. Further investigation, however, proves beyond a doubt that the creators of the tazze did indeed know Panvinio’s illustration and that they turned to it for inspiration.

The eight triumphs on the tazze function as variations on a theme. Each is tailored to the specific Caesar and festivities described



Fig. 4. Detail of fig. 3 showing the emperor in his quadriga



Fig. 5. Detail of Julius Caesar IV (p. 9)

by Suetonius, but the images adhere to a shared formula: the victorious ruler parades from left to right across the center of the composition, with spectators lining the bottom of the image and buildings running parallel across the top.⁴¹ Many elements related to Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphi*—such as the bejeweled bulls and their attendants, and the elephants with their young riders—repeat on several dishes. These motifs are never exact duplicates; the artists alter the imagery, ensuring that each triumph retains its individuality. The bound captives, for example, assume the same pose on each dish, slanting their well-muscled shoulders, but their clothing changes from one tazza to the other. Likewise, the detail of the Caesar in his quadriga sometimes appears very close to the Panvinio (especially in Julius Caesar IV) but is altered in others (Titus III and Domitian IV), as the artists rethink the chariot's decoration or shift the emperor's gesture (fig. 5 and pp. 29, 31). There is no evidence here of the reverence paid to Ligorio's two prints in Domitian II and Claudius III. Instead, Panvinio's imagery is used, manipulated, and confidently reinterpreted: the apparent aim is to create original compositions that convey clearly the symbolic meaning of the narrative scenes, not to preserve the specific source material intact. The visual source material is only as valuable as its ability to communicate specific iconographic information. Nowhere is this approach more apparent than in a pair of scenes on the

Caligula and Domitian dishes—representations of imperial generosity derived from the *Ornatissimi triumphi*.

THE DESIGN PROCESS

In the upper right corner of the *Ornatissimi triumphi*, a small vignette stands independently from the triumphal procession nearby (fig. 6). A label identifies it as a representation of *Congiarium populo Romano Datum*, or imperial generosity shown to the Roman people. The area is divided into two levels; above, on a raised platform, a togate emperor with one arm outstretched sits upon a curule chair, a tall tripod beside him. He is surrounded by a cluster of six standing figures, two of them allegorical: at right, Liberalitas, the personification of generosity, is identified by her cornucopia and abacus (for counting coins); behind and to the left, helmeted Minerva holds a small figure of Winged Victory. Beneath this group, unidentified members of the *populo Romano* engage with one another or stretch out their hands toward the emperor in expectation of his munificence.

This passage is based on a stone relief showing the Liberalitas of Marcus Aurelius, originally part of an arch or monument to Marcus Aurelius but later affixed to the Arch of Constantine in Rome (A.D. 315) (fig. 7).⁴² Panvinio has retained the general format of the relief—the seated emperor elevated on a platform above his



Fig. 6. Detail of fig. 3 showing the emperor bestowing *congiarium* (imperial generosity)

people—but has expanded the composition, adding Minerva, Liberalitas, and the tripod. Where the relief is damaged, Panvinio has restored and extrapolated, filling out, for example, the figure of a young boy perched on his father's shoulders.

In chapter 4 of *Domitian's Life*, Suetonius writes that “on three occasions [Domitian] gave a handout to the people of three hundred sesterces each. . . .”⁴³ In Domitian III, the emperor undertakes this act of largess in a composition based on Panvinio's version of the Marcus Aurelius relief, not on the relief itself. On the dish, the emperor is shown sitting on a raised platform set within a cityscape of ambiguous depth and organization (fig. 8). Throngs of people await their gifts, while a line of satisfied recipients retreats in the background at right, clutching heavy purses. The fundamental elements of the *Liberalitas of Marcus Aurelius* are present in the scene, but only as transmitted by Panvinio. Below the platform, among the

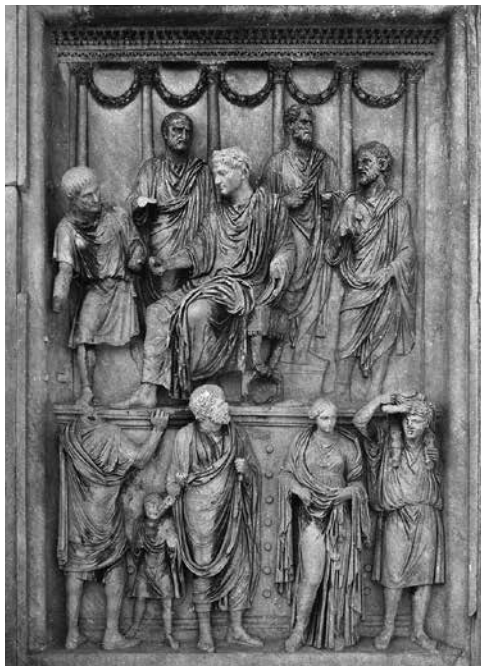


Fig. 7. *Liberalitas of Marcus Aurelius*. Marble relief on the Arch of Constantine, Rome, A.D. 315



Fig. 8. Detail of Domitian III (p. 31) showing the emperor bestowing *congiarium*. The design is based in part on the image seen in fig. 6.

gathered Romans, the figures particular to Panvinio's print may at first be difficult to spot but are recognizable by their gestures. The appearance of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, set into the left background on the dish, corresponds to the *Ornatissimi triumphi*, where the same building can be found immediately to the left of the *congiarium* vignette.

Panvinio's additional figures of Minerva and Liberalitas likewise appear on the dish, as does the tripod, which the goldsmith seems not quite to have understood: in Domitian III the ceremonial object has lost much of its volume, becoming a flattened, illegible shape. This small point of rupture in the transmission of information from print to dish may offer insight into the relationship between the scholarly mind behind the tazze's designs and the goldsmiths responsible for carrying them out. Similar evidence of misunderstanding on the dishes appears to stem from the goldsmiths' difficulty comprehending the esoteric ancient material, not from any lack of artistic skill. (The stunning and tender naturalism of a pair of grazing deer in Galba III is enough to prove that a simple volumetric shape was entirely within these artists' reach (fig. 9). We can conclude, then, that the designer responsible for supplying antiquarian source material was not closely involved in the later stages of manufacture, otherwise he would surely have intervened, here and elsewhere. Thus, it is highly unlikely that the designer was one of the goldsmiths who worked the silver—and certainly not in the case of Domitian III.

While Domitian III is clearly based on the detail from Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphi*, the goldsmith has not copied the print slavishly. The overall impression conveyed by the composition on the Domitian dish, brimming with people and feverish decoration, is quite distinct from that of its model, but the divergence is not purely aesthetic. The designer of the tazza's narrative scene has utilized the Panvinio *congiarium* motif as a mechanism for communicating the



Fig. 9. Detail of Galba III (p. 21) showing grazing deer

emperor's magnanimity toward his people and developed that theme further by incorporating another visual source. The platform in Domitian III differs from the Panvinio in that the upper level connects to the ground via a flight of stairs. At the top, a seated boy hands out coins from a coffer at his side; a man ascending the steps reaches out to accept the bounty. This detail is derived from neither the Panvinio nor the Marcus Aurelius relief. It originates instead in an emblem of *congiarium* found on ancient Roman coins, such as a bronze sestertius (or "sesterce") of Nero from about A.D. 64–68 (fig. 10).⁴⁴ This coin's reverse shares components of Panvinio's *congiarium* scene, such as the emperor in his curule chair accompanied by Liberalitas and Minerva, but includes the additional features of the boy with his coffer, reaching down to give money to the man climbing the steps.⁴⁵

The creators of the Aldobrandini Tazze would not have needed access to any specific Roman coin in order to design Domitian III, nor really any coin at all. An enormous selection of coin reverses would have been readily available through any one of the many numismatic treatises published in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. As John Cunnally has explained, Greek and Roman coins were abundant in the Renaissance, especially when compared with other antiquities, but



Fig. 10. Bronze sestertius of Nero bearing an emblem of imperial generosity. Rome, ca. A.D. 64–68. American Numismatic Society, New York (1937:158.467)



Fig. 11. Illustration of an ancient coin with the emblem of imperial generosity displayed in fig. 8. From Erizzo 1559, p. 168

“beginning in 1517, with the publication of Andrea Fulvio’s *Illustrium imagines*, the coins themselves were joined by another kind of object that could be collected, circulated, exchanged, and given away, and which seemed to gush forth from its own perennial vein—the numismatic book.”⁴⁶

The middle of the sixteenth century witnessed an efflorescence of numismatic volumes published across Europe. Authors such as Hubert Goltzius (1526–1583) in the Low Countries, Antonio Agustín (1517–1586) in Spain, Guillaume du Choul (1496?–1560?) in France, Jacopo Strada (ca. 1515–1588) in France and Zurich, and Enea Vico (ca. 1520–ca. 1570?), Fulvio Orsini (1529–1601), and Sebastiano Erizzo (1525–1585) in Italy produced elaborate studies of ancient coins; these illustrated volumes included explanations of the images’ historical context and symbolic content.⁴⁷ An emblem of imperial generosity like that which informed Domitian III can be found, for example, in Erizzo’s *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo sopra le medaglie antichi . . .*, first published in Venice in 1559 (fig. 11).⁴⁸ Erizzo discusses the circumstances of the manufacture of this particular coin (citing

Suetonius) and clarifies that coins with reverses of this type “honor the liberality of the prince.”⁴⁹ Studies of this kind were immensely popular and widely available across Europe;⁵⁰ Erizzo’s *Discorso* was reissued in ever-expanding editions, in 1568, 1571, and circa 1585–90.⁵¹ The designer of the tazze was certainly in possession of at least one, if not several, of these numismatic texts.

Examination of Domitian III makes plain the sophistication and dexterity with which antiquarian references are integrated into the narrative scenes on the tazze. The creators do not imitate visual sources so much as deploy them, freely incorporating multiple references and external information in order to improve upon the available material. These iconographic decisions demonstrate an astonishing familiarity with the historical subject matter—and not just Suetonius’s record. This scholarly breadth is exemplified by a tiny, easily overlooked detail in Titus I, a scene depicting the siege of Jerusalem (p. 28). There, the city is shown from above in a representation that depends—with characteristic freedom—upon a woodcut illustration from a history

of the city by Adam Reißner (ca. 1486–1582), first published (in German and Latin) in Frankfurt in 1563 (fig. 12).⁵² In Titus I, the designer has added an important element that does not appear in the woodcut original: a bird with spread wings atop a gate called Solomon's Porch (fig. 13). Identified on Reißner's map as the Portico of Solomon, this was the eastern entrance to the enclosure surrounding Herod's reconstruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. In Reißner's description of the city—hundreds of pages into the book, nowhere near the illustration—the author explains that King Herod set a large golden eagle in precisely that spot as a symbol of his allegiance to Roman rule.⁵³

Regardless of whether the scholarly designer of Titus I knew Herod's eagle from Reißner's treatise or from another history, such as Josephus's *Jewish War*, his decision to append this element to his loose interpretation of Reißner's Jerusalem for the dish is revealing.⁵⁴ It alerts us to the designer's critical role in the creation of the Aldobrandini Tazze, editing the visual sources to reflect his abundant learning. Relevant material was not merely gathered; it was revised and enhanced. The difficulty in establishing firm precedents for much of the ancient material on the tazze is explained in part by the fact that neither designer nor artists seem especially beholden to their sources. The designer alters the source material with a clear purpose: the imagery is deliberately manipulated in order to best communicate the intended symbolic meaning of the scene. The goldsmiths, on the other hand, appear to amend for aesthetic reasons alone: they absorb and digest the visual precedents, retaining the necessary iconographic content but otherwise subsuming the source material within compositions that otherwise mostly reflect their own idiosyncratic sensibilities.

Returning to the example of Domitian III, it should come as no surprise that the designer has approached the Panvinio print with such authority and confidence, freely



Fig. 12. Woodcut illustration showing overhead view of Jerusalem similar to that seen in Titus I (p. 28). From Reißner 1563, pp. 24–25



Fig. 13. Detail of Titus I (p. 28) showing an eagle perched on a gate called Solomon's Porch

changing, combining, and manipulating the antiquarian imagery in order to express the intended meaning of the ancient moment to best advantage. His methods are further illuminated by comparing Domitian III with Caligula III (pp. 31, 15) a scene with which it has much in common. Like the triumph scenes, these two compositions are variations on a theme: in this case, the theme of the emperor's magnanimity. For Caligula, the corresponding Suetonian lines appear in chapter 17 of his *Life*, where the author writes, "On two occasions [Caligula] gave the people a handout of three hundred sesterces each. . . ."⁵⁵ Caligula III retains the essential components of Domitian III but compositionally strays further from the antiquarian precedents. The emperor and his platform are reversed, and a group of lictors replaces the throng of Romans at the

front; Minerva in her helmet has become a Roman soldier, and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus has been pushed deep into the background at right.⁵⁶

Comparison of Domitian III and Caligula III casts more light on the design process of the narrative scenes. The first step must have been the selection of subject matter: the designer searched Suetonius for episodes representative of imperial generosity—a desirable quality in a ruler and an important component for constructing the positive presentation of the Caesars on the Aldobrandini Tazze.⁵⁷ Settling upon these two episodes of generosity, he matched them to the appropriate antiquarian source material: the Panvinio detail and the *congiarium* coins. There is not enough evidence to clarify whether the designer was himself an artist involved in the formulation of the compositions (à la Ligorio), or if he fulfilled more of a consulting role (à la Panvinio), responsible only for programming the iconographic content. In either case, the antiquarian sources were eventually passed to artists who interpreted them freely, creating first the Domitian scene, and then that of Caligula.

Caligula III is essentially a variation on Domitian III: the ties between the Domitian scene and its source material are much stronger than those binding Caligula III to the *Ornatissimi triumphi* and the *congiarium* coins. It has been proposed that the tazze were carried out in two separate campaigns, because the first known archival records concerning the set mention only six of the objects, not twelve, and because only half of the dishes (Galba through Domitian) bear the Aldobrandini arms.⁵⁸ The dependence of Caligula III upon Domitian III appears to refute that hypothesis. The composition of Domitian III clearly precedes that of Caligula III, establishing that the designs for the Aldobrandini Tazze were not conceived in the chronological order of the lives of the Caesars. It would be illogical to compose a scene for the twelfth Caesar before the fourth unless the entire



Fig. 14. Maerten de Vos (Netherlandish, 1532–1603). Design for a tazza with scenes from the life of Paris, 1578 or 1598. Pen and brush and brown ink, brown wash, and traces of black chalk, Diam. 9¾ in. (24.6 cm); signed and dated (upper left): *M.D. Vos. F / 1578* [or 1598]. Fondation Custodia-Frits Lugt Collection, Paris (4400)

commission were envisioned from the start. The dishes must, therefore, have been designed in a single campaign.⁵⁹

During that process, once the thematic emphasis and source material had been selected, each narrative scene would initially have been worked out on paper. The compositions were likely elaborated in a series of drawings culminating with images prepared on paper fitting the shape and size of the dishes. The design for a tazza with scenes from the life of Paris by the Antwerp artist Maerten de Vos (1532–1603) offers an example of the type of drawing that would have been produced at this stage (fig. 14).⁶⁰ The goldsmiths then transferred the rudiments of the composition to the front of the dish by means of pricking: with the paper pressed against the surface, they used a sharp tool to prick tiny dots along the outlines of the composition, punching through the paper and into the silver. These marks are most visible in the contours of architectural structures and landscape, although they can also be found in details of antiquarian elements such as the tripod in Domitian III (figs. 15, 16).

After pricking the outlines, the goldsmiths—clearly accomplished draftsmen—probably drew the complete composition directly on the silver to serve as a guide during the chasing process. An early seventeenth-century silver basin created by a Northern artist working in England bears traces of this same pattern transfer process.⁶¹ That basin, however, was embossed from the back, and therefore the pricking appears on its reverse, resulting in mirror images of its print sources. The Aldobrandini dishes, in contrast, were worked almost exclusively from the front; there is no evidence of pricking on the back, and the visual sources are reproduced with their original orientation except in the case of the emperor on Caligula III.⁶² In that scene, Caligula faces the opposite direction from his Panvinio precedent and from his twin in Domitian III.⁶³ This change is not technically produced but is instead the result



Fig. 15. Detail of Vitellius IV (p. 25) showing goldsmiths' pricking marks



Fig. 16. Detail of Domitian III (p. 31) showing goldsmiths' pricking marks

of the goldsmith's choice to vary the composition.

Without first carefully studying Domitian III, it would be virtually impossible to link Caligula III to Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphi*. Like Panvinio himself, the creators of the tazze were great compilers and apparently unconcerned with crediting their sources. Such was the nature of sixteenth-century antiquarian practice: in Antonio Agostin's dialogue on ancient coins, an interlocutor wonders how it might be that Ligorio, without speaking Latin, could have written so well on classical material. The author's response is to ask whether the first speaker thinks Goltzius, Vico, Strada, and others have seen everything about which they write and have read all the available Latin and Greek books. The answer of course, is no: "They rely," Agostin explains, "on the efforts of others."⁶⁴

NUMISMATIC IMAGERY

The Roman world envisioned on the Aldobrandini Tazze owes much to the vast supply of emblematic imagery to be found on the reverses of ancient coins. These concise yet eloquent motifs offer ancient material in a format reconcilable with the dual qualities

of erudition and inventiveness that characterize the narrative scenes. For the goldsmiths who chased the scenes, a broader parallel between the tazze and ancient coins must have been obvious: both worked precious metal in low relief and paired portraits of rulers with imagery designed to commemorate important political events. Sometimes ancient coins inform details or individual figures found on the tazze. In Nero II, the figure of the emperor singing and playing his lyre relates to an image that appears on a bronze coin called an *as*, where Nero is represented in the guise of Apollo Citharoedus (Nero II, p. 18 and fig. 17).⁶⁵ In other scenes, the basis for the entire composition can be connected to a coin reverse, or type of coin reverse. Galba II, for example, can be linked to a motif—the sacrifice before a temple—found on many coins, such as a bronze sestertius of Caligula (A.D. 37–38) and another bronze *as* of Domitian (Galba II, p. 20 and fig. 18).⁶⁶ Coin reverses also provide inspiration for architecture on the tazze. Ian Campbell has connected the assorted depictions of ancient temples as well as the representation of the Colosseum in Titus IV (p. 29) to numismatic studies.⁶⁷ In Claudius II, a Praetorian camp (really, the battlements surrounding the camp)



Fig. 17. Bronze *as* portraying Nero as Apollo Citharoedus. Lugdunum, A.D. 64–66. American Numismatic Society, New York (1995.11.1558)



Fig. 18. Bronze *as* representing Domitian at a sacrifice before a temple. Rome, A.D. 88. American Numismatic Society, New York (1995.110.24)



Fig. 19. Gold aureus showing a Praetorian camp. Rome, A.D. 44. American Numismatic Society, New York (1944.100.39353)

echoes the structure depicted on a gold aureus of Claudius (A.D. 44) (Claudius II, p. 16 and fig. 19).⁶⁸ Variants derived from this same architectural motif can likewise be found in Galba IV and Otho II (pp. 21, 22). In employing numismatic sources on the tazze, the designer prioritizes the subject matter over any actual historical relationship connecting the specific coin to the Caesar in question.

Numismatic studies seem to have been useful to the designer for their wealth of ancient imagery, and also for their interpretation of the emblems' iconographic content. The treatises vary in their organization, sometimes grouping coins by ruler or historical period, and sometimes by theme or subject matter—the latter approach resembling that of the designer of the tazze's narrative scenes.⁶⁹ Goltzius's *Fastos magistratuuum* (Bruges, 1566), for example, contains a section titled *Bellum Germanicum*, which reproduces a number of coins topically connected to German wars.⁷⁰ On the first page under that heading, we encounter, grouped together, images of a pinecone, a river god, and the goddess Cybele (fig. 20). All of these images appear in Tiberius II, an episode dedicated to the emperor's "pacification" of the tribes of southern Germany and featuring antagonists—knights and landsknechts—of a decidedly sixteenth-century variety (p. 12).⁷¹

The "Germans" on Tiberius II carry standards of two types, one emblazoned with the pinecone, the other with Cybele in a chariot pulled by lions. Both emblems are easily located in Renaissance numismatic books, such as Goltzius's text (fig. 21).⁷² In the foreground of Tiberius II, to underscore the fact that the Germans are losing the battle, their standards are trampled underfoot. Despite that fact, since the pinecone is the symbol of Augsburg, its appearance in Tiberius II has been wrongly interpreted as evidence that the tazze were made in the city (without accounting for the accompanying presence of Cybele).⁷³



Fig. 20. Hubert Goltzius (Netherlandish, 1526–1583). Engraved illustration of ancient Roman coins commemorating wars fought against the Germans. From Goltzius 1566, p. 216



Fig. 21. Hubert Goltzius. Engraved illustration of an ancient Roman coin depicting the goddess Cybele in a chariot pulled by lions (detail). From Goltzius 1566, p. 206



Fig. 22. Hubert Goltzius. Engraved illustration of ancient Roman coins relating to Tiberius's victory in Germany. From Goltzius 1574, p. xliii. Images of the goddess Cybele and a pinecone—emblems of the city of Augsburg—appear on certain of the coins.

There is no need to look beyond the subject matter of Tiberius II to explain its imagery. In the sixteenth century, there was understood to be a connection between Tiberius's victory in southern Germany and the paired emblems of Cybele and the pinecone, an association made explicit in period literature and endorsed in numismatic texts. Humanist studies posited that the mother goddess (Cisa or Zisa) worshipped by the pre-Roman German tribes was actually the Roman Magna Mater, Cybele.⁷⁴ The pinecone was thought to have become the city's symbol because the tree was sacred to Cybele, and especially to her consort, Attis.⁷⁵ The link between Cybele and the pinecone was also supported linguistically, with *Zirbelnuss* (the word for pinecone) taken to be a slippage from *pro Cybelis nux* (Cybele's nut).⁷⁶ These concepts were not obscure: in 1544, an Augsburg schoolteacher, Johann Picianus, published a charming (and soon popular) poem in German and Latin in which they were used to explain the city's adoption of the pinecone as its coat of arms.⁷⁷

The coin reverses of Cybele and the pinecone identify the battle represented in Tiberius II. This identification is confirmed by another of Goltzius's numismatic texts, one dedicated to the reign of Augustus, published in Bruges in 1574.⁷⁸ There, coins with images of Cybele and a pinecone (a river god appears on the previous page) are identified as symbols of the subjugation of southern Germany by Tiberius during the reign of Augustus—that is, precisely the Suetonian moment depicted in Tiberius II (fig. 22).⁷⁹ An appended inscription reads: "German affairs / Victory, Trophies, Triumphs over the Germans / The sign of Augusta Vindelicorum with its distinctive pinecone / even now the symbol and insignia of the Vindelici."⁸⁰ In Tiberius II, the designer of the tazze uses these numismatic images to impart historical specificity to the scene, while the artists have chosen to depict the Germans in contemporary Renaissance costume.



Fig. 23. Detail of Caligula II (p. 14) showing the Parthian king Artabanus wearing the distinctive Armenian tiara as he kneels before the Romans

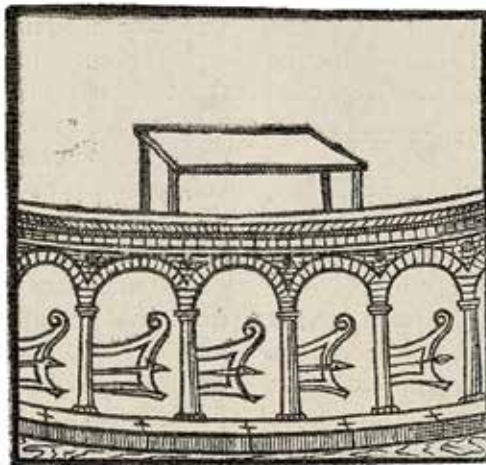


Fig. 24. Hubert Goltzius. Detail of engraved illustration of an ancient Roman coin, showing the exotic crown seen in fig. 23. From Goltzius 1566, p. 221

The numismatic references on the tazze are never haphazard or random: they always serve a function related to the content of the narrative scenes in which they appear and demonstrate careful attention to their iconographic significance. These references invest the scenes with a rich symbolic texture that rewards close study. Ubaldo Vitali has observed that in *Caligula II*, for example, the Parthian king Artabanus, kneeling in homage to the Roman delegation, wears a particular headdress known as the Armenian tiara (fig. 23).⁸¹ The designer of this scene might have known the exotic crown from its representation on a denarius issued by Mark Antony in 36 B.C. in commemoration of Armenian battles; more probably, it was familiar from a text like Goltzius's *Fastos magistratum*, where a similar coin appears with the appropriate inscription *DE PARTHIS* (of the Parthians) (fig. 24).⁸²

The pointed and well-informed use of numismatic imagery on the tazze animates Suetonius's writings in a manner consistent with Renaissance antiquarian practice.⁸³ During the second half of the sixteenth century, coin reverses were sometimes used to illustrate modern editions of ancient texts,

performing an elucidatory role akin to that which they fulfill on the tazze.⁸⁴ The French antiquary Blaise de Vigenère (1523–1596), for example, included such images in his French translation of and commentary on Livy's *Roman History*, published in Paris 1583.⁸⁵ The text appends reconstructions from contemporary antiquarians such as Ligorio, whom Vigenère had met in Rome about 1550.⁸⁶ One of Vigenère's illustrations, identified as *le pourtraict des Rostres agencez en Tribunal ou Poulpitre*, is set into a rectangular frame but is taken directly from a silver denarius of 45 B.C., a coin featuring a ceremonial platform in the Roman Forum called the *Rostra*, topped by a bench called a *subsellium*: this distinctive motif also appears in the background of *Nero I* (fig. 25).⁸⁷ It is represented there because the chapter in Suetonius's *Life of Nero* to which this narrative scene corresponds makes specific (although passing) reference to the *Rostra*. The inclusion of this particular architectural feature within this particular scene reflects the designer's impressive control over both the Suetonian text and the available ancient imagery. He deftly pairs the two. His careful attention to the relationship between



a



b



c

Fig. 25. The motif of the *Rostra* (ceremonial platform) topped by a *subsellium* (bench) occurs in (a) an engraving from Vigenère 1583, p. 611, and (b) a detail from Nero I (p. 18) that derives from (c) a silver denarius of Palicanus, Rome, 45 B.C., American Numismatic Society, New York (1944.100.3528)

ancient words and images is manifest throughout the narrative scenes.

LAEVINUS TORRENTIUS AND THE TESTIMONY OF ANCIENT COINS

One late sixteenth-century antiquarian volume is especially relevant to the Aldobrandini Tazze. In 1578, the Flemish humanist Laevinus Torrentius published in Antwerp an illustrated commentary on Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*.⁸⁸ An expanded second edition was published in 1592, with the addition of a frontispiece engraved by Peeter van der Borcht.⁸⁹ There, the title, *C. Svetonii Tranquilli XII Caesares, et in eos Laevini Torrentii commentarius auctior et emediator*, is surrounded by twelve profile busts of the Caesars set into circular frames with inscriptions in imitation of numismatic portraits (fig. 26).⁹⁰ The text itself is studded with illustrations of ancient coins. Torrentius (1525–1595), also called Lieven van der Beke, was born in Ghent but spent significant time in Italy, earning a doctorate in law at Bologna and studying antiquities in Rome before returning north, where he developed close ties with famous humanists, including Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).⁹¹ A diplomat for the Habsburg rulers of the Southern Netherlands, Torrentius championed the Counter-Reformation and was eventually named the second bishop of Antwerp in 1587.⁹² In 1594, Torrentius was chosen by the Spanish king Philip II to serve as archbishop of the Low Countries, although he died before being installed.⁹³

Torrentius's antiquarian interests were piqued in the 1550s, during his five years in Rome.⁹⁴ There, he joined a circle of celebrated writers and humanists, becoming especially friendly with the numismatist Fulvio Orsini. He also developed a great admiration for Antonio Agostín, whose collection inspired Torrentius to become an antiquarian himself.⁹⁵ He began collecting while in Rome; later, his home in Liège was recorded as being filled with books and manuscripts, bronzes, marbles, cameos, and

gems, as well as over 2,000 ancient coins.⁹⁶ The library, which included at least 1,732 volumes, was well stocked with numismatic studies, containing nearly every publication available on the subject.⁹⁷ The famous Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius described Torrentius as owning such a profusion of ancient coins as to fill Italy herself with envy.⁹⁸ Torrentius's commentary on the *Twelve Caesars* leaves little doubt that the author knew both his ancient coins and his Suetonius very well. More importantly, Torrentius's understanding of the connections between coins and text is comparable to that demonstrated by the scholar responsible for designing the narrative scenes on the Aldobrandini Tazze.

Torrentius's commentary on the *Twelve Caesars* includes only a few images; the coins are illustrated solely where they can support his analysis of the Suetonian text.



Fig. 26. Peeter van der Borch (Netherlandish, ca. 1545–1608). Engraving representing the Twelve Caesars with numismatic-style portraits. Frontispiece to Torrentius 1592

Such an opportunity occurs in his discussion of the *Life of Augustus*, where Suetonius reports that the emperor closed the door of the Temple of Janus Quirinus three times—an unprecedented symbolic gesture signaling that “the Empire was at peace on land and sea.”⁹⁹ Annotating this passage, Torrentius reproduces a coin of Nero that shows the temple on its reverse and an inscription that mirrors the phrasing in the Suetonian text (*PACE P R TERRA MARIQ[VE] PARTA IANVM CLVSIT*) (fig. 27). On the Aldobrandini Tazze, Augustus III takes this same passage from Suetonius as its subject, and, like Torrentius, the designer of the scene associates these lines with the coin of Nero (Augustus III, p. 11). In Augustus III, the emperor is shown closing the door of the Temple of Janus Quirinus, a building clearly based on the same coin reverse.¹⁰⁰ (True to the designer's synthetic approach, on the dish, the Temple of Janus Quirinus is set within an open square bounded by architecture adapted from Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphi*.)¹⁰¹

It is not yet possible to establish whether the creators of the Aldobrandini Tazze had access to Torrentius's commentary, although it seems very likely. There are several other instances where the book and the tazze



Fig. 27. Image of a coin of Nero (at right) emblazoned with the Temple of Janus Quirinus, employed to illustrate commentary on an episode in the *Life of Augustus*. From Torrentius 1592, p. 79



Fig. 28. Printed image of the gold aureas seen in fig. 19, here illustrating a passage from Suetonius's *Life of Claudius*. From Torrentius 1592, p. 244. The design also appears in *Claudius II* (p. 16).

employ the same coin reverse to illustrate Suetonius's text. Claudius II, for example, represents a scene from chapter 10 of Suetonius's *Life of Claudius*, and, as mentioned above, features an architectural element—the Praetorian camp—based on a gold aureus (*Claudius II*, p. 16). Torrentius reproduces the same coin in his discussion of that chapter (fig. 28).¹⁰² Another parallel can be found when examining the source for the image of Nero playing his lyre in Nero II, which relates to chapter 21 of his *Life* (fig. 29). The coin in question, depicting Nero as Apollo Citharoedus (see fig. 17), is pictured in Torrentius's discussion of Suetonius's chapter 25, where Suetonius actually makes reference to it, saying that Nero, in his vanity, had a coin struck of himself playing the lyre (fig. 30).¹⁰³

The Aldobrandini Tazze and Torrentius's commentary reflect a similar form of antiquarian interpretation. In both cases, the ancient coins are understood to provide a valid alternative historical testimony, offering an evocative means through which to explore and expand the record preserved within classical text. This high regard for

numismatic information was shared by many late sixteenth-century antiquarians: Peter Burke has discussed the preference expressed by Erizzo and Agostín for ancient coins over written words, with the former considered a more trustworthy mechanism for investigating the past.¹⁰⁴

According to Burke, the proliferation in the late Renaissance of ancient texts illustrated with antiquarian imagery should be connected to that period's trends in collecting, "to the rise of private collections of classical sculpture and of cabinets of curiosities, especially cabinets of coins and medals"—that is, collections just like the one owned by Torrentius, himself.¹⁰⁵ There is a clear relationship between Torrentius's personal hoard of ancient coins and his numismatic approach to Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*—he may even have begun collecting with his commentary in mind.¹⁰⁶ One imagines him poring over the text, making annotations, his coins scattered across the table. It is reasonable to wonder whether a similar collection of antiquities might have played a parallel role in the creation of the Aldobrandini Tazze. However, no ancient sources have been discovered for the narrative scenes that could not have been easily located in widely available books or prints. This would suggest that the intellectual activity of constructing the scenes took place outside Rome, where real, concrete antiquities could be observed in abundance. The designer's desk may have been covered exclusively in paper resources rather than by reference materials in any more substantial medium.

GUILLAUME DU CHOUL'S ROMAN CAMP REIMAGINED

Thus far, there is only one Renaissance numismatic treatise that can be securely linked to the Aldobrandini Tazze—one that we know must have had space on the designer's desk: Guillaume du Choul's study of Roman military customs, the *Discours sur la castramétation et la discipline militaire des*



Fig. 29. Detail of Nero II (p. 18) showing the emperor playing his lyre



Fig. 30. Engraving of an ancient Roman coin depicting Nero as Apollo Citharoedus. From Torrentius 1592, p. 298

Romains (Discourse on Roman Military Camps and Customs), first published in Lyon by Guillaume Rouillé in 1554. Du Choul, a French historian and collector who dedicated his volume to the French king Henri II, included in his *Discours* images from coins as well as from a wide variety of ancient reliefs and artifacts available in Rome and France.¹⁰⁷ The book proved immensely popular; new editions were printed nearly every year, with twenty-two issued between 1554 and 1582, including translations into Italian and Spanish.¹⁰⁸ The woodcut illustrations accompanying the text were conceived by Du Choul and carried out by a team of anonymous artists associated with Rouillé's shop.¹⁰⁹ As Yvonne Hackenbroch observed in 1950, one of these illustrations, a Roman camp, provides the setting for the last scene on the Otho dish, in which the emperor takes his own life (fig. 31 and p. 23).¹¹⁰

The final chapters of Suetonius's *Life of Otho* describe the emperor's noble suicide. Distraught over his failures and inspired by the suicide of one of his soldiers, Otho stabs himself with a dagger.¹¹¹ In Otho IV, this

action takes place at the very center of the composition, where the emperor reclines in his tent; he is pictured just at the moment of plunging the dagger into his breast. Outside, the busy camp is packed with soldiers, all enclosed by the tall picket fence inspired by Du Choul's illustration. In particular, the rendering of this mundane element reveals a glimpse into the artistic sensibility of the goldsmith responsible.

Du Choul's Praetorian camp is blocked out in thick, insensitive lines presumably inherited from the style of the ancient marble relief (*marbre antique*) it purportedly reproduces.¹¹² The foreground is given over to the flat boards of the camp's fence, which line the bank of a stream or small moat. In Otho IV, these details are enlivened as the fence transforms into something both more and less naturalistic. In the goldsmith's hands, the structure actually resembles wood: to the surface of every other plank, a stippled pattern has been added, creating the effect of wood grain (fig. 32). The draw-bridge, which has no visible mechanism in Du Choul's image, is now convincingly supported by a taut, heavy chain. An



Fig. 31. Woodcut depicting a Roman camp. From Du Choul 1555, p. 18v

outward-opening door has been added, held by elaborate and substantial hinges. Unlike Du Choul's barren riverbank, its counterpart on the dish is bordered with rocky earth and tufts of grass. And yet, despite these additions of convincing detail on the Otho dish, the fence itself is presented implausibly from multiple conflicting points of view—we see it simultaneously from inside and out as it wraps around the composition in a manner that defies visual logic. These surprising changes bring vibrant energy to the artist's adaptation of Du Choul's staid record of a Roman army camp. Vitellius I also includes a Roman camp derived from the Du Choul print, but it is even further removed from the source (Vitellius I, p. 24). In Vitellius I, the camp is seen from a completely different angle, and the heavy chain that was added in Otho IV has become a sagging rope.

Like so many scenes on the tazze, Otho IV is an amalgamation, combining more than one visual source in order to tell the Suetonian story. While the camp setting comes from Du Choul, the detail of Otho's suicide is taken from a print portrait of the emperor designed in Italy by the Flemish artist Johannes Stradanus (1523–1605) and engraved in Antwerp by Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618) (fig. 33). The print belongs to a thirteen-part series, the *Imperatorum XII*, sometimes called *Emperors on Horseback*. The series consists of twelve equestrian portraits and a frontispiece, published by Philips Galle about 1587–89.¹¹³ As the latest known visual source for the Aldobrandini Tazze, the *Imperatorum XII* provides the terminus post quem for the set's manufacture.¹¹⁴

THE TWELVE CAESARS OF JOHANNES STRADANUS

The *Imperatorum XII* pictures the twelve rulers in front of vast landscapes filled with scenes from Suetonius's history; brief inscriptions identify the Caesars.¹¹⁵ In the broadest sense, there is a clear parallel to be drawn with the Aldobrandini Tazze: the overall



Fig. 32. Detail of Otho IV (p. 23) showing stippled patterns imitating the effect of wood grain



Fig. 33. Adriaen Collaert (Netherlandish, ca. 1560–1618) after a design by Jan van der Straet, known as Johannes Stradanus (Netherlandish, 1523–1605). *Otho*, plate 8 in *Roman Emperors on Horseback*. Published by Philips Galle, ca. 1587–89. Engraving, 12¾ × 8¾ in. (32.5 × 22.3 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds, 1963 (RP-P-1963-142)



Fig. 34. Adriaen Collaert after Johannes Stradanus. Detail of *Augustus*, plate 2 in *Roman Emperors on Horseback*. Published by Philips Galle, ca. 1587–89. Engraving, 12¾ × 8¾ in. (32.4 × 22.2 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds, 1963 (RP-P-1963-136). The floral and scroll pattern on the emperor’s cloak is similar to those found on the emperor statuette in the Aldobrandini Tazze.



Fig. 35. Detail of the Claudius statuette (pl. 5)

impression of the engraved images, with the grand scale of the emperors posed above minute details of their Suetonian *Lives*, is roughly analogous to the effect of the tazze. Moreover, the two series, although realized in very different media, share a narrative strategy, with each individual composition representing multiple events that in actuality were separated by time and distance.

In 1976–77, David McFadden wrote of his suspicion that there might be a connection between the print series and the Aldobrandini Tazze.¹¹⁶ For him, the connection between the tazze and the *Imperatorum XII* was largely conjectural; he noted physiognomic similarities between the portrayals of the Caesars in the statuette and in the prints and observed that the floral and scroll patterns decorating their cloaks had much in common (figs. 34, 35).¹¹⁷ While he did not recognize direct correspondences between the representation of historical events on the dishes and in the engravings,

McFadden predicted that “further research will provide a closer link between the design of the tazze and the work of popular and well-known artists such as Stradanus.”¹¹⁸ Forty years later, examination of the dishes (assisted by new photography) suggests that the creators of the Aldobrandini Tazze were indeed aware of the *Imperatorum XII*. Only in the case of the Galba dish is there no apparent connection to the relevant Stradanus portrait.

Johannes Stradanus was born Jan van der Straet in Bruges in 1523.¹¹⁹ He trained as a painter in Antwerp before departing for Italy at midcentury.¹²⁰ In 1576–78, he returned to Flanders, following his patron, the governor-general of the Habsburg Netherlands, Don Juan of Austria.¹²¹ Sometime before 1580 Stradanus again went to Italy, where, as Giovanni Stradino, he found success working for Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici in Florence.¹²² He died there in 1605. In Italy, Stradanus maintained close contacts with Antwerp



Fig. 36. Adriaen Collaert after Johannes Stradanus. *Vespasianus*, plate 10 in *Roman Emperors on Horseback*. Published by Philips Galle, ca. 1587–89. Engraving, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32.1 × 22.3 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds, 1963 (RP-P-1963-144). The emperor's acts of healing are depicted in the background.



Fig. 37. Detail of Otho IV (p. 23) representing the emperor's suicide. Otho's pose echoes its counterpart in fig. 33, far right.

publishers such as Galle, with whom he continued to produce a large number of prints.¹²³ The engraver of the portraits, Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618), was a frequent collaborator and a member of an important family of Antwerp artists and printmakers.¹²⁴

Correspondences between the *Imperatorum XII* and the Aldobrandini Tazze can be discovered throughout the narrative scenes. Sometimes, the affinity is as basic as the choice of Suetonian subject. In the Vespasian print, for example, significant space is given to an interaction between the emperor and two handicapped men whom he is shown in the act of healing: he cures a man of blindness by spitting in his eyes and another man of lameness by touching his heel with his own (fig. 36).¹²⁵ Vespasian III is entirely dedicated to the same moment (Vespasian III, p. 27). That the prints and the tazze frequently represent the same historical moment is particularly noteworthy because neither series attempts a complete

representation of Suetonius's *Lives*. Moreover, the depictions of Suetonian moments on the tazze often resemble those in Stradanus's portraits, as in the case of another scene on the Vespasian dish. In Suetonius's *Life* of the emperor, two auspicious events occur while he is at table: a dog delivers a human hand to him, and a bull disrupts his meal.¹²⁶ In Stradanus's portrait, these two separate moments are collapsed into a single image, with the bull and dog shown on either side of the dining emperor. In Vespasian II the events are kept separate, but each recalls Stradanus's treatment of the subject (Vespasian II, p. 26).

The dishes never copy the prints exactly, but precise duplication would be out of character. The depictions are nevertheless sometimes surprisingly close, as can be seen twice on the Otho dish. In Suetonius's telling, the emperor, alone in bed, stabs himself on the left side of his chest.¹²⁷ In Stradanus's portrait, Otho takes his own life under a tentlike canopy drawn back to allow the

viewer to see the action (see fig. 33, far right). The position of the emperor's reclining body, with dagger about to strike, is echoed in Otho IV (fig. 37). This vision of the event is apparently unique to Stradanus and the tazza; it does not appear to be traceable to any ancient or antiquarian precedent that might otherwise explain the kinship. The same is true of the other instance of overlap in the Otho dish and the Stradanus portrait: in Otho II, the emperor is shown, in profile from left, running eagerly—arms outstretched, one leg in the air—toward the Praetorian camp. He has just leaped from his sedan chair, which had been moving too slowly for his taste (fig. 38). In the Stradanus print, this vignette is depicted on the pedestal supporting the equestrian statue (see fig. 33). Apart from the shifted perspective, the two depictions are very much alike and, again, apparently unique.

The imagery on the Vespasian and Otho dishes displays multiple points of correspondence with the imagery of the parallel Stradanus portraits—compelling evidence in support of the idea that the creators of the tazze knew the Stradanus series. Further proof is offered by the relationship between an image of Vitellius being carried on a litter in Vitellius I and in his engraved portrait. According to Suetonius, the incident involved a group of soldiers who came to Vitellius one night: “[He] was hailed emperor by the soldiers and carried round the most populous villages, brandishing the sword that had belonged to Julius Caesar, which someone had taken from the Temple of Mars and had offered to him in the first moment of congratulations.”¹²⁸ Both Stradanus and the artist of the Vitellius dish show the emperor seated on a litter carried by four soldiers, with Vitellius holding the sword in a vertical position and with his arm extended at an awkward right angle to his body (figs. 39a, b, and fig. 40). The text does not justify this rather peculiar depiction, nor is there a visual precedent that would explain the similarity of the two images.



Fig. 38. Detail of Otho II (p. 22) featuring the emperor running toward the Praetorian camp after abandoning his sedan chair. The same moment is represented in fig. 33, on the statue's pedestal.

The Ligorio prints, Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphi*, Du Choul's *Discours*, and the numismatic texts are all based, at various degrees of remove, on the evidence of ancient art. Moreover, they operate in dialogue with a shared antiquarian patrimony—the commonwealth of Renaissance information to which Agostín attributed these scholars' surpassing fluency. Each engages with those that came before, copying and revising their work.¹²⁹ As a result, there is a great deal of overlap between one antiquarian study and the next. This duplication contributes to the difficulty in identifying the origins of some of the ancient visual material discoverable on the tazze. The appearance of an emperor in his quadriga, say, could look much the same were it based on a reconstruction by Ligorio or on an original Aurelian relief on the Arch of Constantine rather than on Panvinio's *triumph*. The same is not true of the affinities between the tazze and Stradanus: while the equestrian portraits do feature elements of



Fig. 39a. Adriaen Collaert after Johannes Stradanus. *Vitellius*, plate 9 in *Roman Emperors on Horseback*. Published by Philips Galle, ca. 1587–89. Engraving, 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32.7 × 22.3 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased with the support of the F. G. Waller-Fonds, 1963 (RP-P-1963-143)



Fig. 39b. Detail of fig. 39a showing the emperor, borne on a litter, holding his sword in an upright position

the antique, the links between the Aldobrandini Tazze and the *Imperatorum XII* cannot be attributed to a shared stock of recognizable ancient images. The creators of the Aldobrandini Tazze must have had access to Stradanus’s series of engravings.

NORTH AND SOUTH

When we imagine the desk of the designer of the Aldobrandini Tazze and picture the books and prints that we know must have been there, they are all of a sort. They constitute a scholar’s resources or materials that would interest an especially refined collector—the deeply serious prints and books on historical subjects that Ligorio, Panvinio, Du Choul, Erizzo, Reißner, Torrentius, Goltzius, and Agostin would certainly have owned themselves. Therefore, in considering the type of scholar who might have served as designer of the narrative scenes, we can imagine someone very like these men. His broad range of references, depth of knowledge, and clear control of the historical subject matter all suggest that the designer was someone who might easily have belonged to this international community of antiquarians. Only someone of similar erudition could have provided the goldsmiths with the ancient material necessary to construct the narrative scenes.

And what of the artists themselves? Their sensibility is on display throughout, although its manifestations are impossible to quantify in terms of isolated borrowings and visual precedents. It is present in the general disregard for the appearance of ancient art and visible in the spaces between and around the antiquarian references. In these places, the narrative scenes shed any reference to ancient Rome, or even Italy, and instead offer imagery consistent with late sixteenth-century Northern art. One such moment occurs in the example of Caligula IV, a scene that portrays one of the emperor’s novel feats, which involved parading across the Bay of Baiae, near Naples, on a floating, ephemeral bridge

(*Caligula IV*, p. 15). According to Suetonius, the bridge was constructed by lashing boats together, then covering them with planks and dirt.¹³⁰ In *Caligula IV*, the emperor rides across a pontoon bridge that looks a great deal like those found in relief on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome and on a coin of Marcus Aurelius; the artist responsible must have modeled his bridge after one of the many available antiquarian sources for such imagery.¹³¹ The outlandish sea monsters swimming beneath the bridge, however, are indebted not to any scholarly visual precedent, but to the type of popular imagery produced in Antwerp in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

The sea creatures in *Caligula IV* are closely related to those found in the oeuvre of Adriaen Collaert, the engraver of the Stradanus prints and prolific producer of designs for jewelry and goldsmiths' work.¹³² At the 2014 Aldobrandini Tazze colloquium, Wolfram Koeppe drew attention in his lecture to a sheet with designs for two pendants created by Hans Collaert and engraved by his son Adriaen in 1582 (see fig. 15a, p. 118).¹³³ The beaky creatures in the print are the same breed as the two that feature most prominently in *Caligula IV*. (They have been swapped so that the monster on the left in the Collaert appears on the right on the dish.) This print is one in a series containing many more monsters of the same type, and Collaert also included an array of similar creatures in his designs for four dishes dated circa 1600. The links between the Collaert prints and the tazze extend beyond the grotesqueries: both seem to draw often from the same late sixteenth-century ornamental vocabulary. One of the four Collaert designs for aquatic-themed dishes, for example, includes a decorative geometric border very like the one featured on the *Julius Caesar* dish.¹³⁴ Elsewhere, in *Otho IV*, the emperor's bed is framed by scrolling, harpylike elements of a large-breasted form capped at top and bottom by monstrous heads (see fig. 37). This fancifully

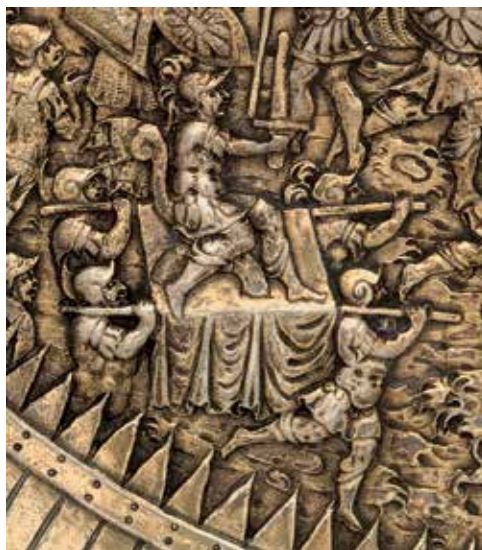


Fig. 40. Detail of *Vitellius I* (p. 24) portraying the emperor holding an upright sword, as in fig. 39b

designed furniture strongly echoes an ornamental element enclosing the inscription on the Collaert pendant print. Stylistic choices such as these relate the tazze to period trends in the North.

The ancient visual material appearing on the Aldobrandini Tazze, though substantial and well integrated, can to a large extent be identified and isolated. What remains—hounds bounding after rabbits and deer, wood-frame houses with steeply pitched roofs, sea monsters and landsknechts, imperial drummers, waiters with high-stacked plates—speaks in the accent of the North. Artistic conventions throughout the scenes indicate that the goldsmiths were not Italian, but whether they were Flemish, German, or of some other origin is difficult to say with certainty. Besides the Collaert connection with Antwerp, the prints of Jost Amman, a prolific Swiss artist working in Nuremberg offer several parallels. As Ian Campbell has noted, architectural elements represented in several places on the dishes are reminiscent of those appearing in Amman's prints, such as in the treatment of buttresses on city walls (figs. 41, 42).¹³⁵ This is not to suggest that the goldsmiths have copied Amman, but

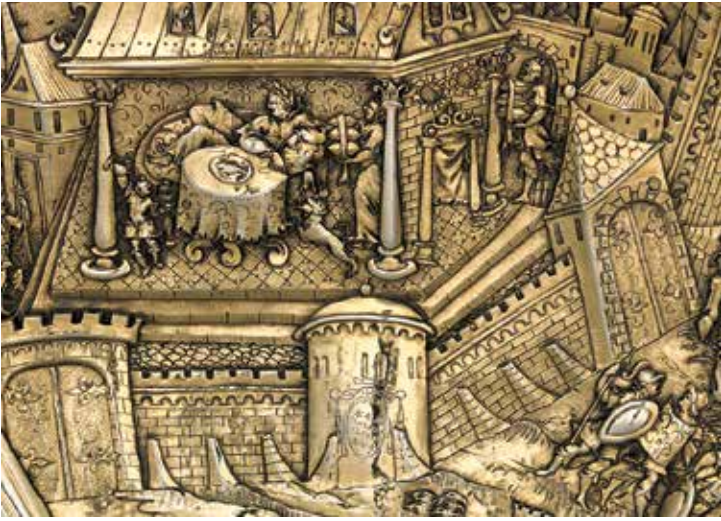


Fig. 41. Detail of Vespasian II (p. 26) showing walls, buttresses, and other architectural elements similar to those in fig. 42



Fig. 42. Jost Amman (Swiss, 1539–1591). *The Overthrow of Jerusalem*. From Josephus 1569, p. 260

rather that, in this and other instances, regional characteristics or pictorial conventions align. For example, the representation of the destruction caused by an earthquake in Tiberius IV is similar to Amman's *Fall of the Walls of Jericho* (Frankfurt, 1565), with the tops of buildings breaking open like hinged boxes (figs. 43, 44).¹³⁶ Similar depictions of earthquakes occur in German and Netherlandish images throughout the sixteenth century.¹³⁷

When not bound to ancient sources, the goldsmiths fall back upon their Northern idiom, confirming their personal origin and training, but not necessarily the place of origin of the Aldobrandini Tazze. In the sixteenth century, artists—and particularly goldsmiths—were highly mobile, following opportunities for work across the Continent.¹³⁸ Italy, however, is nowhere on the tazze: there is no architecture, no landscape, no clothing, no streetscape, no ruin—nothing that recalls the peninsula. Perhaps one individual Northern artist working in Italy might successfully avoid representing his current location in favor of his homeland, but a comparison of the dishes makes clear that many goldsmiths were involved in the creation of the narrative scenes. It seems impossible that an entire team of artists tasked with crafting four dozen vignettes of ancient Rome could be so indifferent to their surroundings so as to ignore them completely. The most reasonable explanation is that the tazze originated in the North.

Stradanus's *Imperatorum XII* highlights late Renaissance ties between North and South, linking artistic production and intellectual exchange.¹³⁹ The Aldobrandini Tazze function similarly, blending ancient imagery into narrative scenes of an unabashedly contemporary Northern style and representing knowledge gathered largely in Rome but flowering across Europe. Nevertheless, the tazze are very different from the *Imperatorum XII* in that they offer a deliberately censored version of the *Lives*. Charged with a clear objective, and with the aid of the finest goldsmiths, the designer of the Aldobrandini

Tazze went to great lengths to produce a celebratory representation of imperial power, which he created through the careful selection of subject matter and to which he lent historical authority through the deployment of ancient imagery. The key to discovering the tazze's origin may reside in identifying an appropriate Northern context that suits such political aims, falling in the decade between the terminus post quem established here—circa 1587–89—and March 16, 1599, when six of the tazze appeared on the market in Milan.¹⁴⁰ But whatever the circumstances of their commission, it is abundantly clear that the Aldobrandini Tazze together form a singular Renaissance masterpiece, the result of collaboration between an antiquarian scholar of extraordinary erudition and a team of goldsmiths of surpassing virtuosity.



Fig. 43. Detail of Tiberius IV (p. 13) showing details of architectural destruction similar to those in fig. 44



Fig. 44. Jost Amman. *Fall of the Walls of Jericho*. From Luther 1565, p. 108v. Detail showing the effects of an earthquake

Tracing the Origin of the Aldobrandini Tazze

The earliest known documents related to the Aldobrandini Tazze are a pair of letters, the fragmentary record of an exchange that took place during the first weeks of spring 1599.¹ This correspondence, newly discovered by Antonella Fabriani Rojas, provides vital if somewhat cryptic clues in the search for the origin of the Aldobrandini Tazze. While offering no clear answers regarding the commission and manufacture of the set—we still do not know when the tazze were made, by whom, for whom, nor to what end—these and other early documents nevertheless help refine the parameters of the investigation. When examined alongside the evidence of the objects themselves, the set's form and iconography, they tell us where to look.

THE DOCUMENTS

On March 16, 1599, six of the twelve tazze were in Milan and available for purchase. David de' Cervi (1532–1626), an art dealer, jeweler, and goldsmith in that city, wrote of them to the duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga, hoping to realize a sale (see Appendix A). The letter offers only a brief description of the objects, identifying them as large silver *tazzoni* on a high foot, each with a statue of an emperor positioned at its center and surrounded by finely worked scenes from that emperor's life.² The letter is otherwise unforthcoming: de' Cervi does not reveal which six tazze were available, how they came to be in Milan, or where the other half of the set was to be found.

De' Cervi does, however, offer one tantalizing bit of further intelligence. He writes that he has previously communicated with Count Julio [Giulio] Caffini, a member of the Mantuan court, regarding the tazze. “The Signore count,” the dealer explains, “saw one of these in Ferrara.”³ The statement gives rise to more questions than answers, as de' Cervi fails to specify which tazza Caffini had examined, the circumstances of the encounter, and when it had taken place. In a second letter, dated April 1, de' Cervi agrees to bring one of the tazze to Mantua so that the duke may judge whether he would like to acquire all six. A single tazza will serve, de' Cervi explains, because all the tazze are essentially the same, distinguishable only by the identities of the emperors and their actions.⁴

Duke Vincenzo apparently declined to buy the tazze. No record of them has been found in Mantua, and three years after de' Cervi offered the tazze to the duke, six of them were again on the market in Milan. They were purchased by agents of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621), a prominent member of the aristocratic family that gives the set its name. Documents registering payment for the six, dated March 26, 1602, were discovered by Stefanie Walker in Cardinal Pietro's accounts.⁵

The first known reference to the complete set of the Aldobrandini Tazze occurs in the following year: in 1603, all twelve were inventoried as part of Cardinal Pietro's prodigious silver collection. This record (also uncovered by Walker) does not reveal how the other half of the set came into the cardinal's possession. His accounts show no evidence of purchase of a second group of six tazze between 1602 and 1603—nor, for that matter, at any time previous. Still, even without such documentation, de' Cervi's letters of 1599 and the payment record of 1602 confirm that Cardinal Pietro was not the original patron of the Aldobrandini Tazze.

The cardinal may not have commissioned the tazze, but he did recognize their value.

Having reunited the two halves of the set, he proudly exhibited his Twelve Caesars for important guests. The tazze impressed, for example, during a meal at his residence in Rome in September 1604; a letter detailing the event yields yet another important clue related to their origin. Joining the cardinal at table were Ranuccio Farnese, Duke of Parma (Pietro's relation by marriage), and Ranuccio's brother Odoardo, Cardinal Farnese.⁶ Also present was the letter's author, Fabio Masetti, ambassador to Cesare d'Este, Duke of Modena and Reggio. The day after the gathering, Masetti wrote to Duke Cesare, recalling with awe the great quantity of silver that had been on display, "said," Masetti adds, "to be worth four hundred thousand scudi."⁷ What had particularly caught Masetti's eye were the Aldobrandini Tazze, to which he attributes a small fraction of that sum: "I observed twelve [large serving dishes] with the twelve Caesars, and within sculpted all their triumphs and famous accomplishments, valued at two thousand scudi."⁸

One of the most intriguing elements of Masetti's letter is its intended recipient. Cesare d'Este (1562–1628) was descended from the ruling family of Ferrara and had become the city's duke in the fall of 1597.⁹ However, his right to inherit was disputed by the Church, and in January 1598, under threat of excommunication, Duke Cesare ceded Ferrara to Pope Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini).¹⁰ The pope immediately installed his nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, as papal legate; within a matter of days, Pietro arrived in Ferrara to take control of the territory and its ducal property in the name of the Catholic Church.¹¹

In his letter to Duke Cesare, Masetti describes the tazze as an extravagant curiosity; there is no insinuation that the duke might possibly recognize the set. Given the history of the tazze before they entered Cardinal Pietro's collection, Masetti's casual tone is telling: de' Cervi's first letter of 1599 establishes that at least one of the tazze had previously been in Ferrara. While it is

reasonable to wonder whether the tazze had been owned by the Este dukes, no documentary evidence has been uncovered to support this idea, and Masetti's letter seems to preclude it. As Antonella Fabriani Rojas has observed, had the tazze once belonged to the Este family, Masetti surely would have mentioned this when describing them to Duke Cesare.¹² Therefore, the presence of at least one tazza in Ferrara before 1599 must be explained in some other way.

The documents mentioned above, spanning 1599 and 1604, establish a few key points that any hypothesis regarding the early history of the tazze must take into account: first, that at some time before March 1599, at least one tazza was in Ferrara, although almost certainly not as part of the ducal collection; second, that while the tazza was there, the Mantuan nobleman Giulio Caffini had the opportunity to see it; third, that one was thought to represent all for the purposes of buying and selling; fourth, that six tazze were in Milan in 1599 and again in 1602, from whence they came to Rome, purchased by Cardinal Pietro; and, finally, that all twelve tazze were owned by Cardinal Pietro in 1603, although evidence exists of his purchase of only half of the set. We have no concrete information regarding the commission of the Aldobrandini Tazze, but their complicated history limits the possible paths by which the set might have entered the cardinal's collection.

THE TAZZE AND THEIR ICONOGRAPHY

The Aldobrandini Tazze are undeniably, even pointedly, grand. That their original owner was someone of elite status is a fact immediately established by the set's precious medium. The silver tazze are artworks literally made from money; with a combined weight of nearly twelve hundred troy ounces (over eighty-two pounds), they must have been created for one of the period's most preeminent patrons.¹³ Moreover, given the distinctive treatment of the Roman

subject matter, it is highly probable that the tazze were intended for someone in a position of princely authority.

The Twelve Caesars were a favorite theme in Renaissance art, especially among patrons claiming connection to the Holy Roman Empire. A 1607 inventory of the *Kunstammer* of Emperor Rudolf II, for example, includes two sets of the Twelve Caesars rendered in silver—one sculptural, and the other in relief.¹⁴ However, as Mary Beard has shown, the Aldobrandini Tazze are an extraordinary iteration, unlike any other surviving treatment of the subject.¹⁵ Neither a rehearsal of the standard portrait series nor a faithful treatment of the Suetonian text, the tazze instead present an extensive yet deliberately misleading account of the ancient rulers and their lives. The specifics of this manipulation suggest that the set was designed to function at least partly as an appeal to power.

The Aldobrandini Tazze are perhaps best understood as an injunction to just rule. As discussed in the previous chapters, the set's designer used *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* as a means to celebrate themes of magnanimity, popularity, military prowess, and legitimate sovereignty (including dynastic succession). Represented on the interior of the twelve dishes are forty-eight narrative scenes chosen for their ability to convey these concepts—regardless of whether such treatment accurately reflects Suetonius's interpretation of the historical facts. The effect is aspirational: good omens are often represented even if they proved false.¹⁶ In some cases, the visual result is decidedly at odds with the mood of Suetonius's text. The fourth quadrant on the Tiberius dish (Tiberius IV) provides a representative example of this disjuncture. The scene, which comes from chapter 48, depicts the emperor's response to an earthquake in Asia Minor (Tiberius IV, p. 13). Suetonius's passage begins, "Tiberius showed large-scale generosity no more than twice."¹⁷ What follows is a long catalogue of actions meant to illustrate Tiberius's cupidity. The chapter

concludes, "He did not relieve the provinces either with any act of generosity, with the exception of the province of Asia, after its cities had been ruined in an earthquake."¹⁸ It is this uncharacteristic gesture that appears on the Tiberius dish—an isolated example of magnanimity presented as one of the four defining events in the emperor's life. Other scenes on the tazze depict related features of effective government, such as righteous warfare and the achievement of peace, or even, in the case of Nero, dedication to the arts.¹⁹ These various accomplishments are then applauded in scenes of the emperors' triumphs, festivities shown on nearly every tazza.²⁰

There is an admonishment inherent in this presentation of noble achievement, a message directed toward the locus of power. The narrative scenes are oriented inward, as if to accommodate the viewpoint of the statuettes of the Caesars positioned at the center of each dish. This arrangement privileges the imaginary imperial gaze over that of the flesh-and-blood observer. In fact, uninterrupted views of the four dozen chased scenes can be achieved only by dismantling the objects; with the tazze intact, the Suetonian images are either partially obscured, seen upside down, or at a distorting angle. For the silver Caesars, however, the view is ideal. Each ruler, standing on his pedestal, looks down at a positive version of his life and the resulting adoration of his people. The Otho figure even leans forward to get a better view (fig. 1). He gestures outward with his right hand as he surveys the carefully edited vision of his history—a glimpse of Rome well governed.

Each tazza represents a microcosm of the ancient city and, by extension, the Roman Empire as a whole. The basic structure of the individual objects—a circle divided into segments with an elevated statue at its center—recalls Renaissance maps of an idealized ancient Rome, especially Marco Fabio Calvo's schematic rendering published in 1532 (figs. 2, 3).²¹ The round shape with radiating sections is particular to Calvo's



Fig. 1. Detail of the Otho tazza (pl. 8) showing the emperor leaning forward, as if to get a closer view of the positive version of his life laid out below him



Fig. 2. The Claudius tazza (pl. 5). Like the other members of the set, this tazza recalls the scheme of an idealized ancient Rome presented in Renaissance maps such as the one shown in fig. 3.

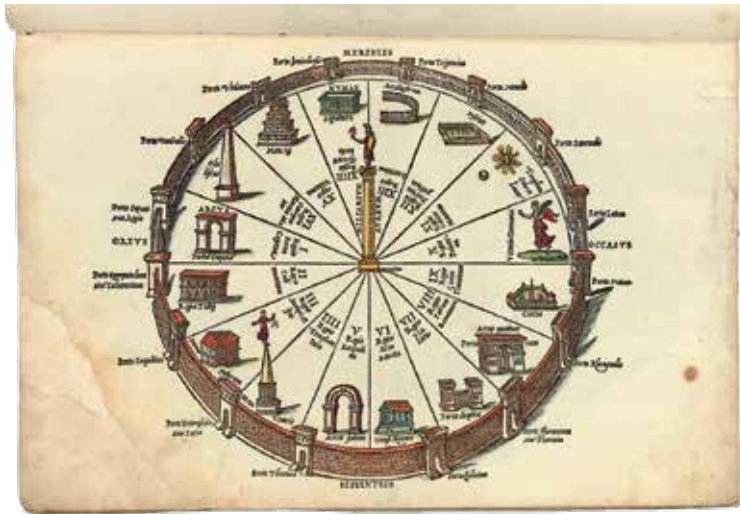


Fig. 3. Tolomeo Egnazio. Map of Augustan Rome. Hand-colored woodcut illustration from Marco Fabio Calvo 1532. Sheet 11 × 16³/₈ in. (27.8 × 41.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1947 (47.87). The conceptual plan reflects Calvo's view of the consolidation of power in imperial Rome.

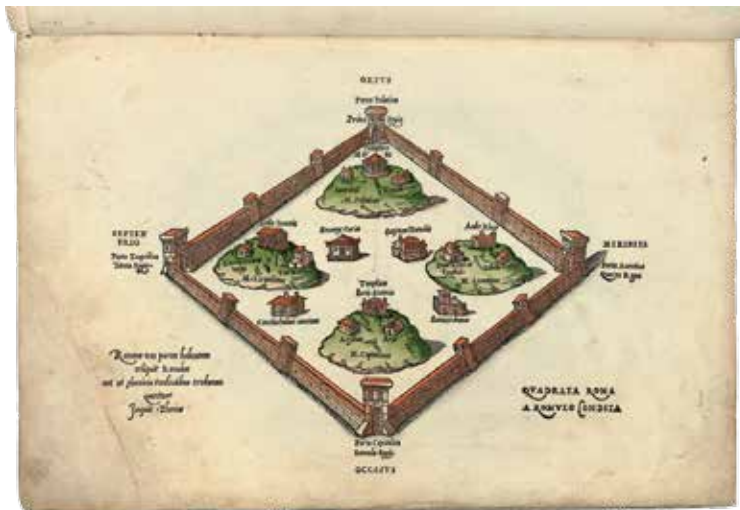


Fig. 4. Tolomeo Egnazio. The "Roma Quadrata" of Romulus. Hand-colored woodcut illustration from Marco Fabio Calvo 1532. Sheet 11 × 16³/₈ in. (27.8 × 41.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1947 (47.87). Pre-imperial Rome is represented as decentralized.

conception of imperial Rome and serves as a visual manifestation of the consolidation of power.

Calvo created a series of conceptual Roman maps tied to historical eras. Those representing periods before Augustus (the first emperor) appear decentralized. Calvo depicts Romulan Rome, for example, as a square devoid of spatial focus (fig. 4). The Augustan city, however, radiates outward from a central hub marked by the *miliarium aureum*—a gilt column on which were inscribed the distances to important outposts in the empire, a monument described by

Plutarch as the terminus of all Roman roads.²² Calvo's image helps us understand a peculiar feature of the strange columns separating the quadrants on the tazze's dishes. Unlike the scenes they frame, these columns, tapering toward their capitals at the center of each dish, respond to an external viewpoint.²³ This arrangement results in a noticeable tension between the orientations of image and frame, one that can be resolved by imagining the columns as visual extensions of the single, central pillar on which each Caesar stands. In Calvo's map and on the tazze, this central column symbolizes imperial control.



Fig. 5. Illustration of a statue of Charles V by Taddeo Landini (Italian, 1561–1596), in Gualterotti 1589, Book II, p. 133. Etching, plate 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (22 × 16.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31.72.7). Conjuring ancient dynastic lineage, Habsburg rulers were frequently portrayed in the guise of early Roman emperors.



Fig. 6. Detail of the Vespasian tazza (pl. 10) showing the emperor posed and attired similarly to Charles V in fig. 5

HABSBURG CONNECTIONS

The Aldobrandini Tazze celebrate the strength and reach of the Roman Empire while simultaneously petitioning a ruler for wise and beneficent governance. In the late sixteenth century, the intended recipient of such an appeal could very well have been a prominent member of the Habsburg dynasty, rulers of the Holy Roman Empire—and there is considerable evidence to suggest that this was the case. In the second half of the century, following the abdication of Emperor Charles V (r. 1530–58), the family struggled with the division of power between its Austrian and Spanish branches; still, together they controlled huge territories in Europe stretching far beyond Spain and Austria to include

large parts of Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Low Countries, all the while fighting internal wars of religion and defending against the Ottoman threat.²⁴ The family's mechanism for maintaining control over diverse populations involved unflagging insistence on the lineage linking contemporary Habsburg rulers to their ancient Roman predecessors.

Habsburg iconography presented the connection literally: male family members were fashioned as Roman emperors—an elision rehearsed throughout the imperial domains. One example appears in the decorative ephemera created for the 1589 wedding of Ferdinando I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany (a state of the Holy Roman Empire), and the French princess Christine



Fig. 7. Illustration of a statue of Philip II by Taddeo Landini, in Gualterotti 1589, Book II, p. 139. Etching, plate 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (22 × 16.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31.72.7). Like his father Charles V, Philip is represented as an emperor of ancient Rome.



Fig. 8. Detail of the Vitellius tazza (pl. 9) showing the emperor posed and attired similarly to Philip II in fig. 7

of Lorraine.²⁵ For the elaborate Florentine celebration, the sculptor Taddeo Landini constructed a triumphal arch honoring the Habsburg dynasty. The arch included statues of the late emperor Charles V and his son Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–98), both portrayed in the guise of ancient Roman emperors. Their costumes and attitudes, recorded in a festival book, were extremely close to those of the Caesar figures on the Aldobrandini Tazze (figs. 5–8).²⁶ Although the wedding decorations included many other portraits of modern rulers, none were portrayed in similar garb.

The success of Landini's statues of Charles V and Philip II depended on late sixteenth-century viewers' ability to

recognize these ostensibly antique figures as representations of modern Habsburg dynasts.²⁷ It may be that the creators of the Aldobrandini Tazze designed the silver Caesars to operate similarly—but rather than inviting viewers to see each statuette as the portrayal of a specific modern ruler, to have them view the set as an evocation of current imperial leadership. Although it is entirely possible that the Aldobrandini Tazze's antique vocabulary was engaged in reference to another power—the Habsburgs were by no means the only Renaissance rulers to be represented as ancient Romans—the Habsburg claim to the Holy Roman Empire constitutes the most obvious contemporary parallel to the tazze's imperial content.



Fig. 9. Gianpaolo Poggini (Italian, 1518–ca. 1582). Medal of Philip II, reverse, 1559. Silver, Diam. 1½ in. (3.9 cm). American Numismatic Society, New York (1908.78.3). Like ancient coins of Nero, this Habsburg medal carries the Augustan inscription *PACE.TERRA.MARIQ.COMPOSITA* and the figure of Peace standing before the closed doors of the Temple of Janus Quirinus.

As noted earlier in this volume, one of the most important design sources for the tazze was Onofrio Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphii*, an illustration of the ancient Roman triumph dedicated to the Habsburg emperor Maximilian II (see fig. 3, pp. 50–51).²⁸ What is more, repeated overlap of the antiquarian imagery found in the tazze's narrative scenes with Habsburg imperial iconography greatly strengthens the suggestion of a link between the tazze and the Habsburg dynasty.

Comparison of the third scene on the Augustus dish (Augustus III) with a silver portrait medal for Philip II that predates the tazze by some three decades reveals evidence of this overlap. Philip, entrusted by his father with the government of the Netherlands in the mid-1550s, installed the Florentine artist Gianpaolo Poggini (1518–ca. 1582) as master of the Brussels mint in 1557.²⁹ In that role, Poggini created a series of portrait medals for the Spanish king, including the piece mentioned above, which commemorates the 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambresis, drafted to end disputes between the Habsburgs and the Valois over territory in Italy.³⁰ The obverse of the medal bears a portrait of Philip. On its reverse, an allegorical figure of Peace stands outside the Temple of Janus Quirinus, where she sets fire to trophies of war; the inscription *PACE.TERRA.MARIQ.COMPOSITA* declares peace established on land and at sea (fig. 9).³¹

A slightly longer version of that same phrase appears in Suetonius's *Life of Augustus*. In chapter 22, the author recounts how Augustus closed the door of the temple; this ritual gesture, he explains, was performed to signal that "peace had been established on land and sea."³² On the tazze, this action is the focus of Augustus III (fig. 10). As discussed in the previous essay, the temple in that scene derives from a coin issued by Nero.³³ On the coin, the building's image is encircled by a variation on the phrase used by Suetonius. (see fig. 27, p. 65).³⁴ In 1559, Poggini turned to the same ancient iconography in order to celebrate Philip II.



Fig. 10. Detail of Augustus III (p. 11) showing the emperor closing the door of the Temple of Janus Quirinus



Fig. 11. Detail of Otho IV (p. 23) featuring a Praetorian camp like the one represented in fig. 12. Both works derive from the print shown in fig. 31, p. 68.

This is no coincidence: Nero’s coin, Suetonius’s text, and Philip’s medal all invoke a powerful line of Augustan rhetoric used by the Roman emperor himself in reference to the closing of the door of the temple.³⁵ The phrase—“peace established on land and sea”—has been identified as the “dominant slogan” of Augustan rule and conveys more than the conclusion of hostilities.³⁶ It was employed first by Augustus and later by Nero and Philip II specifically to announce the restoration of peace through imperialism and military conquest.³⁷ That particular resonance and its connection to Habsburg rule could hardly have escaped sixteenth-century viewers of the Aldobrandini Tazze.

An even closer visual link between the tazze and Habsburg iconography can be discovered by comparing the fourth scene on the Otho dish to a gold medal designed in 1586 for Philip II’s nephew, Archduke Maximilian III of Austria (1558–1618) (figs. 11, 12). Archduke Maximilian, son of Emperor Maximilian II (r. 1564–76) and Maria of Spain (1528–1603), was directly descended from both the Austrian and Spanish branches of the Habsburg family.³⁸ The medal was designed by Antonio



Fig. 12. Antonio Abondio (Italian, 1538–1591). Medal of Archduke Maximilian III of Austria (brother of Emperor Rudolf II), 1586. Gold, Diam. 1 1/8 in. (3 cm). Bode-Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (18200809). The obverse carries a portrait of the archduke; the reverse, shown here, depicts the same Roman army camp as the one represented on Otho IV, seen in fig. 11.

Abondio (1538–1591), an imperial artist at the Prague court of Archduke Maximilian's older brother Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612).³⁹ Of the type known as a *Gnadenpfennig*, the medal was intended for presentation; fitted within an enameled gold setting, it was meant to be worn on a chain by members of the family and those loyal to them.⁴⁰ The archduke's portrait appears on the obverse; on the reverse, beneath Maximilian's motto, *MILITEMUS* (let us fight), is a Roman army camp.⁴¹ The source for this Praetorian camp is the same as that for Otho IV: an illustration from a treatise by the French antiquarian Guillaume du Choul, first published in the 1550s (see fig. 31, p. 68).⁴²

For Archduke Maximilian III, the image of the camp bore personal as well as familial significance. He had the medal updated and reissued in 1612, when another brother, Matthias (1557–1619), supplanted Rudolf II as emperor. The new version, created by Abondio's son, Alessandro, changes only the obverse, replacing the earlier portrait with a new one that reflects the archduke's advanced age; the camp remains unaltered.⁴³ The Aldobrandini Tazze were made at some point between the two editions of Maximilian's medal; when Otho IV was produced, the image's Habsburg associations were robust and undiminished. Throughout the chased scenes on the tazze, ancient numismatic emblems provide visual and iconographic inspiration; the additional affinity to modern Habsburg medals is probably not coincidental. The relationship between the Aldobrandini Tazze and the medals of Archduke Maximilian III of Austria and King Philip II of Spain supports the idea that the tazze—whatever their origin—were designed with Habsburg iconography in mind.

A PROPOSAL

The previous chapter offers a new dating for the tazze based on the appearance of their four dozen narrative scenes. It suggests that the works were probably made sometime

between 1587–89 and early 1599, and, given the preponderance of typically Northern imagery on their chased surfaces, that they were likely produced in Northern Europe rather than Italy.⁴⁴ Above, it is argued that the set's celebration of imperial power can be understood to imply an association with a member of the Habsburg dynasty. Relying on this loose framework, it becomes possible to construct a hypothesis for the creation of the Aldobrandini Tazze. What follows is a possible scenario that attempts to reconcile the appearance of the tazze—their form and iconographic program—with what little is known of their history.

FERRARA 1598 AND COUNT GIULIO CAFFINI

The exercise begins in Ferrara. According to the documents discussed at the beginning of this essay, it was there that at some time prior to March 16, 1599, the Mantuan courtier Giulio Caffini encountered one of the Aldobrandini Tazze. There is reason to suspect that this sighting took place a few months earlier, in the fall of 1598. That November, Ferrara—and Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, in his role as papal legate—hosted some of Europe's most important personages, who gathered to celebrate two important Habsburg weddings performed in a double ceremony. The event was accompanied by an extensive display of silver and would have offered an ideal opportunity for Count Giulio to study one of the tazze.

The Habsburg double wedding of November 1598 carried tremendous political import.⁴⁵ The previous spring, after years of negotiation, King Philip II, nearing death and fearing for his legacy, had arranged marriages for two of his children, Philip III (1578–1621) and Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633).⁴⁶ Both were to marry Habsburg relatives from the Austrian branch of the family in the hope of fostering peace within the empire.⁴⁷ For Philip III, his father chose the young Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), daughter of Archduke Charles II

of Styria and granddaughter of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I. For Isabella, the king selected his nephew, Margaret's first cousin, Archduke Albert VII of Austria (1559–1621), son of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II and brother of the reigning emperor, Rudolf II (and thus, brother also to Archduke Maximilian III of Austria, whose portrait medal is analyzed above). Archduke Albert, a cardinal with a distinguished military reputation and experience as viceroy of Portugal, would renounce his role in the church.⁴⁸ Philip III and his bride were to become king and queen of Spain; Albert and Isabella, autonomous sovereigns of the Habsburg Netherlands, where Albert was already installed as governor-general.⁴⁹

On September 14, 1598, Archduke Albert set out from Brussels, beginning a journey that would eventually bring him to meet his bride in Spain.⁵⁰ He traveled with a large party: according to one estimate, he was accompanied by two thousand men and half again as many horses.⁵¹ After stops in southern Germany, Albert stayed briefly with his brother the emperor in Bohemia.⁵² Meanwhile, his teenage cousin Margaret departed from Vienna with her mother, Dowager-Archduchess Maria, and their own large cortege.⁵³ The two parties met in Trent in late October.⁵⁴ Put together, their retinues included some seven thousand people.⁵⁵ In the following weeks, they progressed through Spanish-ruled northern Italy, taking advantage of the hospitality of the local nobility. They were feted with terrific pomp, the excitement increased by the news that Philip II had died; Archduchess Margaret was greeted as queen of Spain.⁵⁶ There were parades, banquets, theatrical spectacles, and other forms of celebration in each town Margaret and Albert visited, in the most splendid Habsburg progression since midcentury.⁵⁷

In early November they were met at Busolengo, near Verona, by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini and Don Juan Fernández de Velasco, Duke of Frias, the Spanish governor of Habsburg Milan.⁵⁸ The cardinal and governor had ridden out to accompany

Albert, Margaret, and Maria on their journey to Ferrara, where they arrived on Friday, November 13, at eleven o'clock in the evening.⁵⁹ Two days later, Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini presided over a preliminary wedding ceremony in the cathedral.⁶⁰ Neither of the Spanish spouses was in attendance (a second ceremony would take place in Spain). Their roles were filled by proxies, but their absence did little to curtail the festivities.⁶¹ On the evening of the wedding, there were dances, dinner, and parties; the following day, the pope oversaw an extravagant banquet.⁶²

Cardinal Pietro, in order to properly host his illustrious Habsburg guests and the assorted dignitaries, had assembled an enormous amount of silver. He gathered so much, in fact, that other Italian nobles, anticipating visits from the wedding party as they continued on their journey, were unable to find silver for their own celebrations.⁶³ Such was the case for the Mantuan duke, Vincenzo Gonzaga. A month before the wedding, on October 10, 1598, one of the duke's agents, Feliciano Amigoni, wrote from Venice admitting that he had utterly failed in his task to rent silver—there was simply none to be had. Amigoni explains that it is “too late . . . because the illustrious cardinal [Pietro] Aldobrandini . . . has rented all the silver belonging to the Venetian nobility, to the extent of some three thousand pieces.”⁶⁴ A few days earlier, Eugenio Cagnani, a Mantuan agent in Milan charged with gathering between one hundred fifty and two hundred silver plates, had complained of similar difficulty, saying that he could not find any silver tableware that matched or was of fine enough quality, and that there was not time enough to have anything newly made.⁶⁵ Another letter, of November 7, documents the arrival of the Venetian silver in Ferrara.⁶⁶

Even allowing for hyperbole, it is clear that Cardinal Pietro had amassed a terrific quantity of silver for the festivities. If the purported “three thousand pieces” constituted the portion he obtained in Venice alone, there must have been much more.

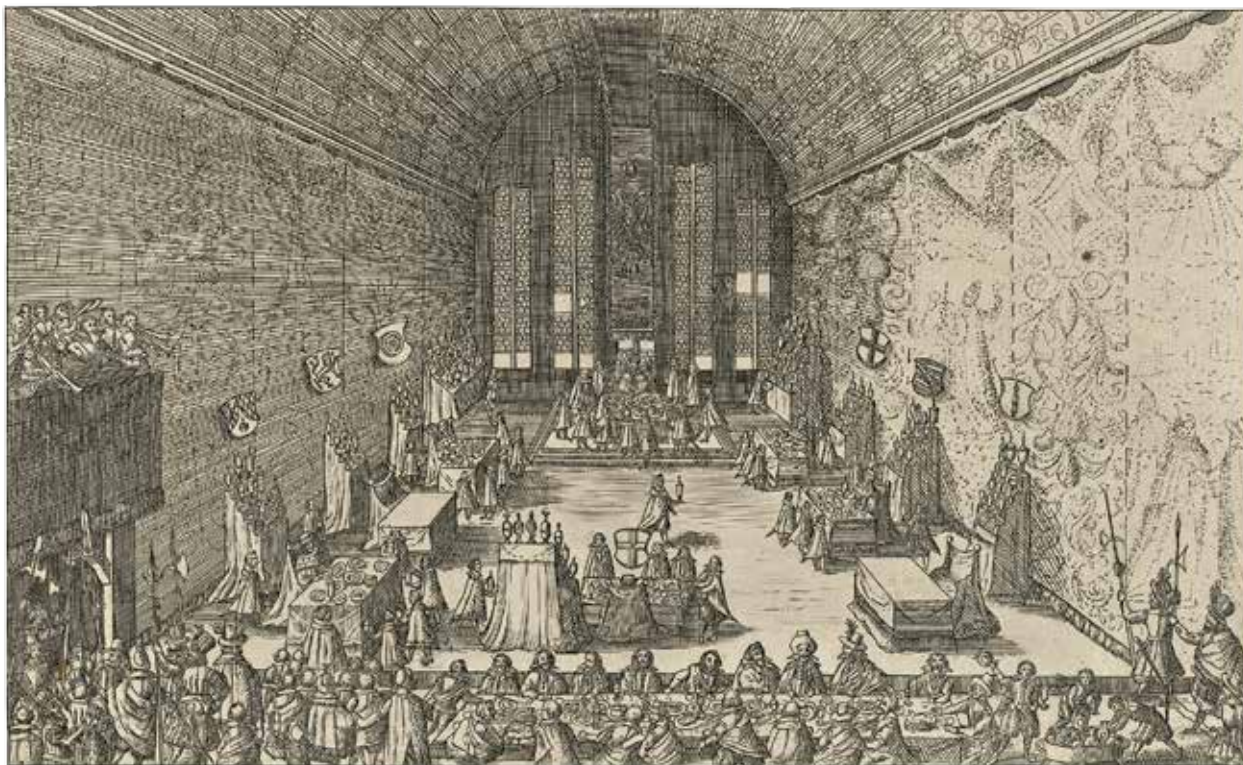


Fig. 13. Wilhelm Hoffmans (German, active Frankfurt). *Election and Coronation of Emperor Matthias*, pl. G, published 1612. Etching, sheet 7 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 11 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (18.6 × 28.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.570.351[6]). Much of the precious metalwork displayed on the credenzas of the banquet hall belonged to important guests who lent them for the occasion.

The entire trove would have included not only what Cardinal Pietro could provide but also what would have been brought to Ferrara by his many noble guests. For major occasions of this kind, prestigious sixteenth-century visitors would often arrive with their own silver in tow. The practice is illustrated in an early seventeenth-century print depicting a feast held in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1612.⁶⁷ The gathering is in honor of the election of Archduke Albert's brother Matthias as Holy Roman emperor (fig. 13). Positioned along the walls are tiered buffets, or *credenze*, each one filled with an array of goldsmiths' work from the personal collection of an important guest; the size of the displays are indicative of the owners' ranks.⁶⁸ Although the image brims with silver, it still does not do justice to the quantity of silver items that might have been seen during such a feast.

Besides the precious objects arrayed on the credenzas, other silverware was continually ferried in and out of the hall.⁶⁹ Such

was the case, for example, in 1570, when Emperor Maximilian II (Albert's father) held a banquet in the imperial city of Speyer. During the fifth course, sixty-six tazze were brought to the table. According to one attendee, the tazze were fitted with all sorts of statuettes positioned within: allegories of justice, fame, and virtue—"not," he clarifies, "sculpted out of sugar, but fashioned out of gilded silver, and with the most superb skill."⁷⁰ This is the only known sixteenth-century reference to tazze fitted with silver statuettes in the manner of the Aldobrandini Tazze. Given the scale of the marriage festivities held in Ferrara in 1598, the rank of those in attendance, and the amount of silver assembled for the occasion by Cardinal Pietro, it can be assumed that similar displays were staged there.

Caffini probably attended the wedding in Ferrara. He often accompanied Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga—who was certainly there and traveled with a large retinue—to similar events.⁷¹ Caffini was present, for example, at

the Florentine wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine in 1589, described above.⁷² He also went to the Netherlands with Duke Vincenzo to visit Albert and Isabella in Brussels and Antwerp in the fall of 1599.⁷³ If Caffini attended the Habsburg wedding, and if the Aldobrandini Tazze were there as well, it is logical that he in particular would have been invited to study one of the objects: Mantuan correspondence reveals that Caffini often served as an arbiter for the duke in arts-related matters. A letter of 1602 reports that Caffini had “acted as intercessor” during negotiations for the duke’s potential purchase of a painting.⁷⁴ Caffini—who was godfather to the composer Claudio Monteverdi’s first daughter—also handled tasks relating to the performing arts, such as securing a new prologue to Giovan Battista Guarini’s drama *Il Pastor Fido* in honor of Albert and his bride, Isabella.⁷⁵ Most relevant to the tazze, however, is the fact that, when, again in 1602, a Mantuan agent in Milan wrote to the duke regarding a number of acquisitions, the author declined to elaborate on his dealings with silver, explaining that “regarding the silver, for now I will say no more to your highness on the subject, because the [Milanese] goldsmith [Tomaso] Rovida says that he has written enough about it already to the *signor* count Giulio Caffini.”⁷⁶ If any of Duke Vincenzo’s courtiers had the privilege to examine one of the tazze in Ferrara, it would have been Count Giulio.

There can be no doubt that at a banquet, all twelve certainly would have been displayed together. But the tazze, with their intricate reliefs and ambitious subject matter, demand close looking. Perhaps Caffini’s role as art adviser at the Mantuan court earned him a special invitation to study one of the tazze carefully, under different circumstances. David de’ Cervi confirms the validity of this idea when, in April 1599, he proposes to show only one tazza to Duke Vincenzo, remarking that a single tazza suffices to give an idea of all twelve.⁷⁷

MILAN 1599 AND HABSBURG GIFTS

The circumstances surrounding the wedding in Ferrara neatly align with the historical peculiarities of Cardinal Pietro’s disjointed acquisition of the tazze and the set’s presumed arrival in Italy from the North. The timing of events is particularly suggestive. Following the marriage ceremony, Archduke Albert and the new Queen Margaret continued on their way through northern Italy, traveling to Mantua before heading to Milan.⁷⁸ Once again they were accompanied on their journey by Cardinal Pietro. A print by Antonio Tempesta depicts the group’s arrival in Milan on November 30, 1598 (fig. 14). The image matches an account written a few days later, recalling Margaret riding under a fine canopy followed closely by Cardinal Pietro, Archduke Albert, and Dowager-Archduchess Maria. Welcoming them was Giovanni [Don Juan] Fernández de Velasco, the city’s Spanish governor.⁷⁹ The wedding party remained in Milan for nearly two months. On February 3, 1599, they set out for the port of Genoa; on



Fig. 14. Antonio Tempesta (Italian, 1555–1630). *Triumphal Entry of Margaret of Austria into Milan*, pl. 10 in Tempesta 1612. Etching, sheet 11¼ × 7¾ in. (28.5 × 20 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31.67.7[11]). Following their proxy weddings in Ferrara, the new Queen Margaret of Spain and Archduke Albert of Austria were accompanied by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (portrayed here wearing a galero) to Milan.

the 18th, they embarked on a fleet bound for Spain.⁸⁰ Less than a month later, on March 16, 1599, six of the twelve tazze were for sale in Milan. The proximity of these dates may be no coincidence.

Both Margaret and Albert gave out presents during their trip. Records kept by his staff tally a large number of standard items, such as gloves and gold chains, that were packed expressly to be distributed during the journey.⁸¹ During his stay in Prague in late October 1598, the archduke was described as presenting gifts “generously and magnanimously,” and chosen appropriately “according to status and rank.”⁸² Accounts of the progress through northern Italy in 1598–99 mention items dispensed along the way by both Albert and Margaret. One festival book, recounting the events in Bussolengo (where Cardinal Pietro joined the Habsburg party on their way to Ferrara), devotes its conclusion to listing examples of such gifts. It notes that “to Bonanomi, owner of the *Palazzo* where the Queen [Margaret] had lodged,” she gave “vessels of silver in gracious remuneration,” and that “others were likewise honored with considerable gifts.”⁸³ Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, who hosted the wedding ceremony in Ferrara and accompanied the Habsburg party for many weeks during their Italian journey, would doubtless have merited a substantial token.⁸⁴

A record keeper’s oversight might be to blame for the lack of documentation surrounding Cardinal Pietro’s acquisition of half of the tazze. It is also possible, however, that the record does not exist simply because the cardinal neither purchased nor inherited them. It could be that he received half of the set from one of his Habsburg guests in recognition of his hospitality during their Italian sojourn. There can be no question that the tazze entered the cardinal’s collection in two different phases: only six of the dishes (Galba through Domitian) bear the cardinal’s arms. Thus, whoever split the tazze into two groups did so neatly, in chronological order. This must have

been accomplished by someone with deep knowledge of the set and suggests that the division was calculated and likely made by the original owner. One of Pietro’s Habsburg guests might have bestowed such a gift in order to reward the cardinal’s generosity and solidify ties with the church. Were this the case, the other six tazze would have been presented to someone else—someone in Milan, perhaps, such as the city’s Spanish governor, another logical and politically astute choice—when Margaret and Albert departed the city in February 1599.⁸⁵ That recipient must have put his six on the market almost immediately, accounting for de’ Cervi’s attempt to sell them only a few weeks after the Habsburgs had left the city.

This hypothesis, if correct, would resolve a number of issues. If the tazze were brought to Italy by Margaret or Albert, that fact would explain how Giulio Caffini had the opportunity to examine one of the tazze at Ferrara, and why six were for sale in Milan shortly after the Habsburgs set sail for Spain. It would also clarify how Cardinal Pietro came to own all twelve tazze in 1603, having apparently paid for only six. The purchase of six tazze in 1602 would have completed his set.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TAZZE

This proposal began with a discussion of the documentary evidence—citing Ferrara and Milan—but might easily have started with the iconography—adducing the Low Countries—instead. The tazze are datable to about 1587–1599, and during that period there is one political context that seems to offer an especially good fit for the particularities of the set’s iconography: the Habsburg Netherlands under governorship of the Austrian Archdukes Ernest and Albert.

The present chapter deliberately avoids a discussion of style. However, it should be noted that the tazze have long been linked to artists from the Low Countries. In 1983, for example, Timothy Schroder offered a convincing argument for considering the

chasers, at least, as Netherlandish; he put forward a famous ewer and basin made in Antwerp in 1558–59 and decorated with scenes depicting Charles V's conquest of Tunis as "perhaps the closest parallel" (the work is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; see fig. 4, p. 110).⁸⁶ Others have echoed this conclusion.⁸⁷ But while the idea that the silversmiths may have been trained in the Low Countries is not new, the possibility that the tazze were made there is novel. Several connections with the iconography of the Habsburg archdukes and circumstances related to artistic and intellectual culture in the 1590s underscore the merits of this second hypothesis.

Archduke Albert of Austria arrived in the Netherlands in early 1596, tasked with replacing his elder brother, Archduke Ernest (1553–1595), who had served as governor-general until his untimely death in February 1595.⁸⁸ Ernest had arrived in Brussels only in late January 1594; there and in Antwerp the following June, he was welcomed with the traditional Flemish festival of the Joyous Entry (*Blijde Inkomst*).⁸⁹ This extravagant, citywide event included triumphal arches, tableaux vivants, floats, jousts, feasts, and pageants, all endowed with a carefully plotted civic symbolism.⁹⁰

Each festival was accompanied by a commemorative book documenting the occasion and elaborating upon it, an illustrated publication sponsored by the municipality and reflecting the highest degree of erudition.⁹¹ Ernest's tenure as governor-general was so short, however, that the festival book for his Joyous Entry into Antwerp also includes the text of his funeral oration and was dedicated to his replacement, Archduke Albert.⁹² The political situation in the Netherlands in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was extraordinarily complex, far beyond the reach of this essay. However, the festival book for Ernest's entry into Antwerp, the *Descriptio publicae gratulationis . . . in adventu . . . Principis Ernesti*, written by the humanist city secretary and neo-Latin poet Johannes Bochius (Jan Boghe,

1555–1609), offers a useful lens through which to examine a possible link between the Aldobrandini Tazze and the Habsburg Netherlands in the mid-1590s.⁹³

ERNEST'S JOYOUS ENTRY INTO ANTWERP, JUNE 14, 1594

In 1593, Philip II appointed Archduke Ernest of Austria, his nephew, as governor-general of the Habsburg Netherlands.⁹⁴ Ernest and his brothers (Albert VII, Maximilian III, the future emperor Matthias I, and the reigning emperor Rudolf II) were the surviving sons of Emperor Maximilian II and descended from Charles V on both their maternal and paternal sides.⁹⁵ The two eldest, Rudolf and Ernest, spent their teenage years at the Spanish court; in 1585 Philip II inducted them into the Order of the Golden Fleece, a legacy of the Burgundian duchy and supreme distinction of the Habsburg dynasty.⁹⁶ The banquet commemorating the event, which took place in Prague, featured an impressive credenza and is illustrated in this volume (see fig. 9, p. 125); Ernest is identified among the guests. It was Philip's intention that Ernest should marry the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia and that under their joint rule the Habsburg Netherlands should gain (ostensive) autonomy from Spain.⁹⁷

In the fall of 1593, Ernest set out from Vienna, traveling to Rudolf's court in Prague before crossing Germany to the Netherlands. He was accompanied for part of the journey by his brother Maximilian.⁹⁸ Ernest was a dedicated collector, and records from his trip show him eagerly acquiring precious objects along the way, including at least one set of twelve silver tazze.⁹⁹ He arrived in Brussels in late January 1594, celebrating his Joyous Entry there on January 30, a date specifically chosen for its association with the Roman festival of peace.¹⁰⁰ The hope for the war-torn Southern Netherlands was that Ernest would restore the region to the glory it had enjoyed under his grandfather Charles, who

had been born in Ghent and had passed to him local hereditary legitimacy as duke of Burgundy and Brabant.¹⁰¹ These themes were emphasized in Ernest's Joyous Entry into Brussels; Ernest wrote to his brother Rudolf II of how touched he was by this demonstration of the people's faith in him and his future rule.¹⁰² Several months later, on June 14, 1594, he was officially welcomed into Antwerp with another Joyous Entry.

CONNECTING THE TAZZE TO ERNEST'S JOYOUS ENTRY INTO ANTWERP

Like the Aldobrandini Tazze, celebration of Ernest's Joyous Entry into Antwerp glossed over past troubles in order to communicate hope for the future in a message intended for someone in a position of power. As Peter Davidson and Adriaan van der Weel have written, the primary purpose of the event was not to honor the archduke's accomplishments, but rather "to appeal to the governor to do his utmost to aid the revival of the city."¹⁰³ Paid for with municipal funds, planned by city councils and committees, and realized by teams of artists, the event functioned, in Roy Strong's words, as "a dialogue between the prince and his subjects, who paid homage but respectfully reminded him of the virtues he should cultivate and the liberties of his subjects that he should respect."¹⁰⁴ The decorations emphasized the aspirational themes—of legitimacy, magnanimity, military victory, and the achievement of peace—that are so emphatically underscored on the tazze. In the entry celebrations and Johannes Bochius's explication of the event, these desires were couched in symbolic terms adopted from the ancient Roman past; perhaps unsurprisingly, there is significant overlap with elements from the Aldobrandini Tazze.

Bochius, Antwerp's scholarly city secretary, played an important role in the organization of the entry and was paid by the city for his contributions.¹⁰⁵ Born in Brussels, he had been educated in Leuven and Rome and had traveled widely in Europe.¹⁰⁶ His learning is made plain in the *Descriptio publicae gratulationis*, which provides detailed examination of the motivations and meaning behind the decorations and pageants created for the festival, much of which he himself designed.¹⁰⁷ (In the planning of the iconographic program, he was assisted by the painters Ambrosius Francken and Maerten de Vos.)¹⁰⁸ The book also includes nearly three dozen illustrations engraved by Peeter van der Borcht (ca. 1545–1608) after



Fig. 15. Peeter van der Borcht (Netherlandish, ca. 1545–1608). Frontispiece to Bochius 1595. Engraving, plate 13 × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (32.9 × 21.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916, transferred from the Library (22.106.76)

designs by Cornelis Floris II and Joos de Momper.¹⁰⁹ Van der Borcht also designed two frontispieces for the text, the second of which was added at the last minute before publication, when the book was quickly reconfigured after Ernest's sudden death to include the dedication to his replacement, Archduke Albert.¹¹⁰ The final version is decorated with assorted classical imagery and includes, centered at the top, an image of the Temple of Janus Quirinus (fig. 15).

The motif of the closing of the door of the temple has been discussed in the preceding pages, first in relation to the Augustus tazza, and then with regard to Poggini's medal of Philip II, made at Brussels in 1559. In the 1590s, following years of war, the Augustan subject carried great resonance in the Habsburg Netherlands, and it features prominently in Bochi's record of Ernest's

entry. In the first lines of the introduction to the *Descriptio*, Bochi writes that "we all firmly believe the Archduke will bolt the doors of the temple of Janus with peace by his auspicious arrival in the province, no less by necessity than by the desire of everyone."¹¹¹ In addition, a representation of Augustus undertaking this action appeared on one of the ephemeral structures prepared for Ernest's entry: a colonnade of twelve Caesars sponsored by the Antwerp branch of the wealthy Fugger family (fig. 16).¹¹²

The Twelve Caesars Portico consisted of a dozen columns, each standing seventeen feet high and bearing a full-length, painted imperial portrait.¹¹³ The emperors' identities were advertised on their pedestals, to which had been added emblematic images and explicatory inscriptions. This arrangement, with twelve emperors elevated on pedestals



Fig. 16. Peeter van der Borcht, illustration from Bochi's 1595. Engraving, plate 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.9 × 32.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1975 (1975.607.20). Illustration showing the Twelve Caesars Portico, a structure featured in Archduke Ernest of Austria's Joyous Entry into Antwerp in 1594

decorated with images of important moments from their lives, shares a basic structural kinship with the Aldobrandini Tazze. Yet, although clearly modeled after Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*, the portico did not represent the historical first Twelve Caesars but instead featured the four "best" Roman emperors, followed by four "Greek" (Byzantine) and four "German" (Habsburg) emperors.¹¹⁴ The first of the group was Augustus; below his portrait was an inscription reminding viewers that "he closed the door of the Temple [of Janus Quirinus]."¹¹⁵ Near the inscription was an image of the emperor doing just that—precisely the subject of Augustus III (p. 11). The next emperor was Titus, who, with his father, Vespasian, had "conquered Judea" and whose pedestal was emblazoned with the image of their double triumph.¹¹⁶ These two moments are depicted on the Aldobrandini Tazze, providing the subjects for Titus I and Titus III (pp. 28, 29). The other ten emperors in the portico were applauded for championing the law and the church, for military victories in Germany and Hungary, the defeat of Turks and barbarians, and the restoration of justice, world order, and imperial peace.¹¹⁷ The four Habsburg emperors were Ernest's grandfather Charles V, his great-uncle Ferdinand I, his father, Maximilian II, and his brother Rudolf II. In this way, the Twelve Caesars Portico engaged the Suetonian imperial series in order to confirm the unbroken connection between the Roman and Habsburg Empires, highlighting their very best moments.

There is evidence that whoever designed the tazze was either present at Archduke Ernest's entry into Antwerp, involved in its planning, or—at the very least—familiar with Bochiuss's account. The event was rooted in a long tradition of Flemish Joyous Entries, and all but one of the festival structures were recycled from previous occasions.¹¹⁸ The only entirely new architecture designed specifically for Ernest's entry was an amphitheater that provided the setting for a large-scale tableau vivant dubbed the

"Theater of Austrian Peace" (fig. 17).¹¹⁹ Situated in the most prominent location on the city's central promenade, the theater was an idiosyncratic structure, with sheared-off sides and odd balustrades. (In his text, Bochiuss draws special attention to the balustrades, justifying them as a functional feature installed to help the performers clambering about the amphitheater.)¹²⁰ The amphitheater shown in Nero II (p. 18), although not an exact duplication, bears a resemblance to the one in Van der Borch's engraving. As discussed earlier in the present volume, the goldsmiths who produced the narrative scenes on the Aldobrandini Tazze demonstrate varying degrees of loyalty to their design sources, freely adapting them to fit their purpose.¹²¹ And as is evident from the masterful representation of the Colosseum in Titus IV (p. 29), the designer of the Aldobrandini Tazze was fully aware of the conventions dictating the forms of Roman amphitheaters. Could it be that the composition of Nero II was inspired by Archduke Ernest's entry?

Further examination of Nero II supports the idea. The narrative scene on the Nero tazza may have been purposefully adapted to reflect the symbolism of Ernest's Theater of Austrian Peace. The tableau vivant functioned as an elaborate allegory of Habsburg peace and the desired state of civic happiness throughout the Holy Roman Empire, all overseen by Apollo.¹²² He can be identified at the very center of Van der Borch's engraving, playing a stringed instrument. During the pageant, Archduke Ernest's (future) ability to make peace was likened to that of the god.¹²³ Apollo also features prominently in Nero II, despite the fact that he does not appear in the Suetonian source material for the image. The second scene on the Nero dish illustrates a passage from chapter 20 of Suetonius's *Life of Nero*, which tells of the personal concerts given by the emperor, including his debut at Naples.¹²⁴ In Nero II, the emperor, costumed as Apollo, can be seen playing the lyre onstage at the center of the amphitheater.



Fig. 17. Peeter van der Borcht, illustration from Bochius 1595. Engraving, plate $12\frac{7}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ in. (32.8 x 44.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916, transferred from the Library, 1922 (22.106.76). Illustration of the Theater of Austrian Peace, an amphitheater constructed for the Joyous Entry of Archduke Ernest of Austria into Antwerp in 1594. The idiosyncratic structure compares closely to the amphitheater in Nero II (p. 18).

The emperor's figure in Nero II is taken from an ancient coin (discussed in the previous essay) that shows the emperor playing his lyre in the guise of Apollo Citharoedus (see fig. 17, p. 60).¹²⁵ Suetonius mentions the coin elsewhere in his *Life of Nero*, but in a chapter unrelated to this particular vignette.¹²⁶ Given the similarities between the depiction of the Theater of Austrian Peace and the amphitheater that dominates Nero II, and considering the Apollonian emphasis present in both images, it is tempting to conclude that the Aldobrandini Tazze may relate in some way to the Joyous Entry of Archduke Ernest, celebrated in Antwerp in June 1594.

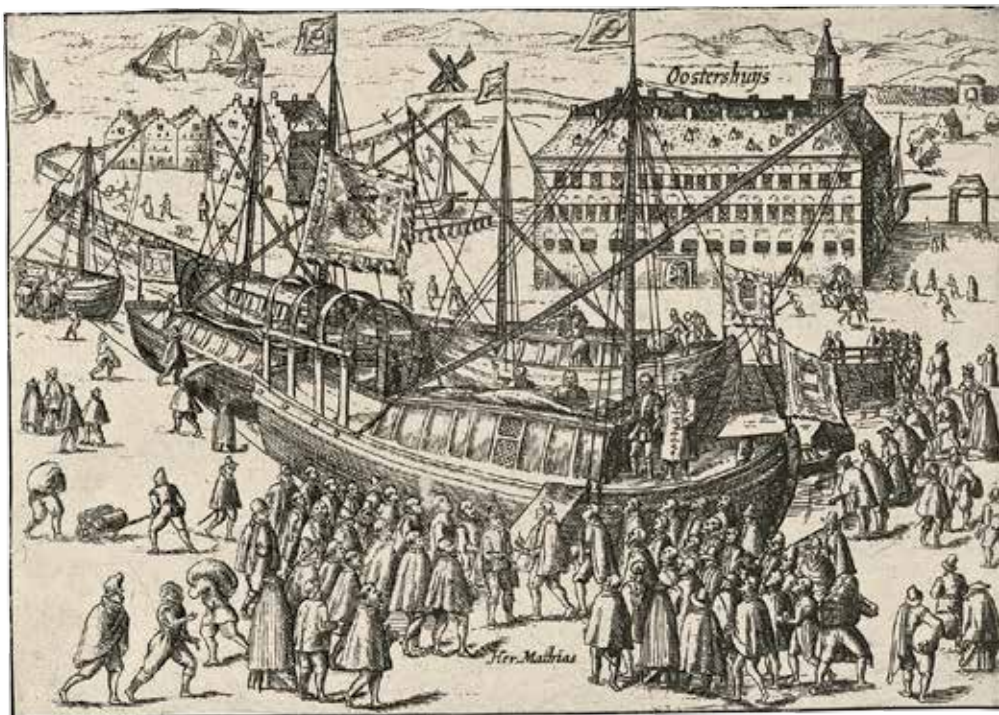
SILVER FOR THE ARCHDUKE?

It was traditional, on the occasion of Flemish Joyous Entries, for the incoming ruler to be presented with civic gifts. These took many forms, with some specially

commissioned, others repurposed. Among the tokens received by arriving rulers in the last quarter of the sixteenth century were series of large-scale bronzes, paintings, and tapestries.¹²⁷ Since the time of the first dukes of Burgundy and Brabant, it had been customary for major events such as Joyous Entries, military victories, and court weddings to be commemorated with gifts of precious metal.¹²⁸ This convention is neatly illustrated in an image of Archduke Matthias of Austria taking leave of Antwerp in 1581. Matthias (1557–1619), future emperor and the brother of Albert and Ernest, had a disastrous but short turn as governor-general, a post he resigned after only a few years.¹²⁹ The print shows city counselors presenting him with a precious covered cup as a parting gift (fig. 18).¹³⁰

To mark an imperial or royal visit or a new ruler's Joyous Entry, each city was honor-bound to produce appropriate silver gifts for the guest of honor and his family

Fig. 18. Anonymous, after a print by Frans Hogenberg (Netherlandish/German, 1535–1590). *Archduke Matthias Departs from the Netherlands, 1581*, 1613–15. Etching, sheet 5¼ × 6⅞ in. (13.4 × 17.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-79.858). Leaving Antwerp, the resigning governor-general receives a farewell gift of precious metal.



and entourage.¹³¹ This custom is easily confirmed by Antwerp city records and was certainly observed in Brussels and other Flemish cities as well.¹³² In 1549, for example, at Philip II's Joyous Entry into Brussels, he was given a silver-gilt cup with a Latin inscription applauding his military triumphs.¹³³ Even ill-fated Matthias was greeted with new silver "ornaments" for his welcome feast.¹³⁴ When Matthias was replaced by the duke of Anjou in 1582, the city of Antwerp commissioned for the new regent and his retinue a gift of silver items including serving dishes, cups, spoons, salt-cellars, a gilt tazza filled with coins, and a miniature gilt castle by Matheus Valckx that weighed close to twenty-six pounds.¹³⁵ After presentation, fanciful credenza objects might find their places on a buffet in the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, enlivening one of the many feasts held to celebrate these important events. Illustrations from the 1565 wedding of Maria of Portugal and Alessandro Farnese (1545–1592) at the court of his mother, Margaret of Parma, then

governor-general, show a variety of silver arrangements, including one with small statues arranged beside the more standard tazze, plates, and ewers (fig. 19).¹³⁶

Precious gifts were also created to commemorate Archduke Ernest's entry into Antwerp in 1594. On July 27, the city paid 1,329 guilders and 7 stuivers to Artus de Rasier (Rogiers), the silversmith most active in the service of the municipal government, in recompense for "diverse" silver objects presented to members of Ernest's retinue in association with his arrival in June.¹³⁷ Upon Albert's return to Brussels with his new wife, Isabella, in the fall of 1599, the city presented the newlyweds with an entire *credentiera* (credenza) of silver that one Italian chronicler estimated to be worth many thousand scudi.¹³⁸ The following year, they received a large gold *hanap* (lidded goblet) to commemorate their entry at Mons. Made by Pierre Godefroid, the vessel was decorated with rubies and pearls and chased with scenes from Albert's military victories at Calais, Ardres, and Hulst.¹³⁹

Gifts of this kind would have reinforced the appeals for good government found in the traditional Joyous Entry and the Aldobrandini Tazze. Peter Burke has described the “upward movement” of such offerings from the people to their prince as “a kind of democracy, a way in which the relatively powerless could exert pressure on the powerful.”¹⁴⁰ If the tazze were conceived as an exhortatory tribute of this sort or were in some way related to a Joyous Entry, certain of the surprising compositional and iconographic features that distinguish the set, such as the orientation of the imagery toward the Caesar figures and the distinctly and consistently positive cast of the Suetonian content, would be readily understood.

The rationale for other curious aspects of the tazze’s subject matter, such as the preponderance of “triumphs”—or, read differently, triumphal entries—would also be apparent. An illustration depicting the Brussels celebrations of 1565 offers a vivid evocation of this type of traditional entry. It shows joyful participants passing through the city streets in a manner resembling the triumphal Romans in Tiberius III and Domitian IV. The Flemish architecture seen behind them might—just might—recall that found in Vitellius III (fig. 20 and pp. 13, 31, 25). Even the generous distribution of coins to the people (*congiarium*), which appears in Otho I and is the central focus of Domitian III and Caligula III, could relate to similar performances of liberality at the Joyous Entries: during the entry of the duke of Anjou in 1582, silver coins designed by the master-general of the Antwerp mint, Geeraert de Rasier, were distributed to the public.¹⁴¹

ARCHDUKE ALBERT AND THE ALDOBRANDINI TAZZE?

Archduke Ernest of Austria died in February 1595, only thirteen months after becoming governor-general of the Habsburg Netherlands. His inventories, the subject of new research by Ivo Raband, show no trace

of the Aldobrandini Tazze.¹⁴² But of course it was Albert, and not Ernest, who interacted with Pietro Aldobrandini in Ferrara and Milan and who was in Milan just weeks before six of the tazze are known to have been there in 1599. Given the various affinities between the Aldobrandini Tazze and Ernest’s Antwerp entry of 1594, it is worth considering whether the tazze could have been produced with Ernest in mind and later given to Albert, or perhaps created for Albert in the wake of his brother’s demise.

After Ernest’s sudden death, Philip II invited Albert to take the former governor-general’s place, both in Brussels and as the future husband of Isabella Clara Eugenia, the Spanish infanta.¹⁴³ As a result, the iconography of Ernest’s entry—so close in some ways to that of the tazze—was deftly adapted to suit his replacement. Bochiu’s *Descriptio publicae gratulationis*, published shortly after Ernest’s death in early 1595, was updated to reflect the expectation of Albert’s arrival. The change did not affect the book’s iconographic affinity with the Aldobrandini Tazze; if anything, the additional text had an even greater Suetonian resonance. To his account of Ernest’s entry, Bochiu appended a dedication to Archduke Albert that included a substantial history of Belgium from its origin as a Roman province until the present day (and introduced it with the highly classicizing frontispiece discussed above).¹⁴⁴ The text operates in a distinctly Suetonian mode: it begins, in the very first sentence, with Julius Caesar.¹⁴⁵ It then progresses to Augustus, and on through each of the twelve Caesars, as Bochiu traces the history of Belgium under each. Finally, he moves from Domitian to the local Flemish dukes, ending with the arrival of Archduke Albert and the potential good he can do in the Habsburg Netherlands.¹⁴⁶

Bochiu’s *Descriptio* was not the only antiquarian effort dedicated to Ernest that was incomplete at the time of his death. *De militia Romana*, a treatise on Roman military practice, was another, written by the humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606),



Fig. 19. Anonymous (circle of Frans Floris?). The Brussels Album, sheet no. 7: Main wedding feast in the Great Hall of the Royal Palace in Brussels, held in honor of Maria of Portugal and Alessandro Farnese (November 18, 1565), 1566. Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow, and blue watercolor, pulverized gold and silver, on goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glué undercoat, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (30 × 38.8 cm). Warsaw University Library (Zb. Król. Wol. 755)

professor at Leuven and a member of a network of Netherlandish scholars active in the 1590s and dedicated to the study of ancient Rome.¹⁴⁷ Lipsius corresponded with the Antwerp city secretary Johannes Bochius as well as the city's bishop, Laevinus Torrentius, whose commentary on Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*, reissued in expanded form in 1592, seems to have been an essential resource for the designer of the Aldobrandini Tazza.¹⁴⁸ Lipsius's *De militia Romana* was in press when Ernest died in 1595; the author halted publication in order to provide a new dedication to the Spanish crown prince Philip III.¹⁴⁹ (Illustrations for the text, which was reissued in 1598, were engraved by Peeter van der Borcht, who also provided the illustrations for Bochius's *Descriptio* and

Torrentius's commentary.)¹⁵⁰ In 1598, Lipsius dedicated a treatise on the grandeur of Rome, his *Admiranda sive de Magnitudine Romana Libri IV*, to Archduke Albert.¹⁵¹ (Albert thanked the author with a silver-gilt tazza made by Artus de Rasier.)¹⁵² The celebration of ancient Rome in the *Admiranda* had a clear political message; as Marc Laureys has explained, it "pressed upon the mind of [Lipsius's] dedicatee Albert of Austria" that for Habsburg rulers, "the greatness of Rome was a part of their own history and thus represented a challenge to live up to."¹⁵³ This message was paralleled in the iconography of the Joyous Entries: on one arch erected in Brussels, Albert was shown in the place of Augustus, striving to close the door of the Temple of Janus Quirinus.¹⁵⁴



Fig. 20. Anonymous (circle of Frans Floris?). The Brussels Album, sheet no. 10: The entry of tournament participants into the Grand-Place in Brussels (1565), 1566. Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow, and blue watercolor, pulverized gold and silver, on goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat, 11¾ × 15 in. (29.9 × 38.2 cm). Warsaw University Library (Zb. Król. Wol. 755)

Archduke Albert, in his role as governor-general, cultivated comparison with ancient Roman rulers. After his arrival in Brussels in February 1596, he commissioned the Antwerp medalist Conrad Bloc to create for him a portrait medal in which his recent military triumphs over the Dutch were compared to Julius Caesar's victories in Turkey.¹⁵⁵ For the inscription, *VENI VIDI VICIT DEUS*, Albert chose a phrase adapted from Caesar's triumphant declaration, reported by Suetonius in his history.¹⁵⁶ Albert was not alone in drawing a comparison between his rule and ancient Rome. Soon after assuming his post as governor-general, he was given a series of prints relating to his Brussels entry and depicting the adventures of Aeneas.¹⁵⁷ The chosen hero-founder of the Roman Empire

and model of virtue served as a vehicle for both celebrating the archduke's imperial ancestry and reminding him of his duties: the series, in Manfred Sellink's words, was the perfect "mirror of princes," encouraging Albert to weigh his actions against the highest achievements of his illustrious predecessors.¹⁵⁸ The moralizing, antiquarian mode of the Aldobrandini Tazze would have suited the archduke well.

Could the tazze have been presented to Albert by some civic community in the Habsburg Netherlands between the start of his career as regent in early 1596 and his departure for Italy in late 1598? No record has been discovered of the silver given to Albert in celebration of his Joyous Entry into Brussels in February 1596. Few

documents remain concerning civic commissions of silver from this period in the city's history, and even fewer objects survive.¹⁵⁹ The testimony of other Joyous Entries, however, establishes that it would have been highly irregular had no precious gifts been presented. There is also no record of silver given to the archduke at Antwerp before he returned from Spain with Isabella, his new wife, in 1599.¹⁶⁰ In that year, as noted above, the couple were given a *credenza* believed to have been worth thousands of *scudi*. The Aldobrandini Tazze, assessed by the ambassador Fabio Masetti in 1604 as worth two thousand, would fall within the scope of a similar civic gift.

SOME FINAL QUESTIONS

This essay has outlined ways in which the historical, political, and cultural circumstances of the Habsburg Netherlands in the mid-1590s seem concinnous with what little we know about the Aldobrandini Tazze and what may be discerned from their appearance. A few practical points remain to be addressed with regard to this hypothesis. The first relates to the visual and textual sources for the narrative scenes. In order to compose the four dozen images chased on the tazze, the set's antiquarian designer would have needed access to a substantial collection of print material. Key works of this kind are identified in the preceding chapter; a brief overview establishes that all of them would have been readily available in the Southern Netherlands in the 1590s. In some cases, there is even evidence of considerable local interest.

The single most important resource for the antiquarian designer of the tazze must have been his copy of Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. There is cause to suspect that the version he consulted was the second edition of Laevinus Torrentius's commentary on Suetonius's *Lives*, published by the Plantin Press in Antwerp in 1592.¹⁶¹ The commentary, illustrated with images of ancient coins that often correspond to the numismatic

references on the tazze, was first published by the same press in 1578.¹⁶² This early version, however, did not include Suetonius's complete original text. Then, in 1592, during Torrentius's tenure as bishop of Antwerp, his illustrated commentary was reissued in expanded form, presenting the bishop's work alongside the full text of Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*.¹⁶³ Peeter van der Borcht contributed a new cover page with pseudo-numismatic portraits (see fig. 26, p. 65).¹⁶⁴ The other print volumes necessary to develop the set's historical content were either similarly produced in the Netherlands or available throughout Europe.¹⁶⁵

The prints that served as design sources for the tazze were also available without exception in the Netherlands. Some of them are famous midcentury Italian works, like the two engravings after designs by Ligorio, published in Rome in the early 1550s.¹⁶⁶ These popular images, intended for collecting, could easily have belonged to the scholar-collectors in Torrentius's erudite circle, each of whom had spent time studying in Rome—some even counted Ligorio as a friend.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the latest and perhaps most essential of the Italian print sources, Onofrio Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphi* (published posthumously in Venice in 1571), garnered significant attention in the Habsburg Netherlands at the end of the century.¹⁶⁸ At the Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden, four brush drawings after Panvinio's image of the Roman triumph, probably the work of the Antwerp artist Jan Snellinck, are datable to circa 1577–85.¹⁶⁹ The *Ornatissimi triumphi* also inspired a series of eleven engravings by Gerard de Jode, printed in Antwerp at an unknown date before the artist's death in 1591.¹⁷⁰ In 1596, Gerard's son Cornelis published an expanded version of his father's triumphal images.¹⁷¹ As with the 1592 edition of Torrentius's commentary, a new cover page by Peeter van der Borcht was appended.¹⁷² And whereas the earlier version consisted only of the triumphal images, the 1596 de Jode edition also included the text of Panvinio's treatise;

Cornelis explained that the text was added for the benefit of scholars desiring access to a complete edition of Panvinio's work.¹⁷³

These same scholars, eager for full editions of Suetonius and Panvinio, were probably the intended audience for another essential visual source for the tazze: Adriaen Collaert's series of twelve engravings after Stradanus's *Imperatorum XII*, published in Antwerp by Philips Galle in the late 1580s.¹⁷⁴ And to this same late sixteenth-century Netherlandish atmosphere belongs Bochi's classicizing description of Archduke Ernest's Joyous Entry (which included a local history modeled after Suetonius's *Lives*) published in 1595, as well as Lipsius's studies of ancient Roman military customs (1595–96) and the grandeur of Rome (1598). These publications testify to a community hungry for precisely the same brand of antiquarian materials that played a fundamental role in the development of the tazze's narrative scenes. Whether or not the Aldobrandini Tazze were made in the Habsburg Netherlands, these works provide substantial evidence of the presence there, at exactly the right moment, of the antiquarian impulse to which the tazze must be linked: one dedicated to the investigation of the present through the lens of the ancient Roman past.

But even if the narrative scenes, with their Northern-inflected Roman imagery, present no obstacle to the hypothesis of a Netherlandish origin for the Aldobrandini Tazze, there remains the question of the set's overall design, gilding, and material composition. Although developed in Italy, the tazza form was extremely popular—even ubiquitous—in the Netherlands at the end of the century: for example, tazze were used as payment to lottery winners—sixteenth-century advertisements show them stacked high, ready to be given as prizes.¹⁷⁵ Silver tazze were also a standard means by which city magistrates rewarded civic service and were likewise regularly ordered by the court at Brussels.¹⁷⁶ These tokens were not necessarily chased with scenes in relief, but there is evidence that



Fig. 21. Attributed to Artus Claessens (Flemish, active 1625–44). *Still-life with a Silver-Gilt Tazza Surmounted by a Personification of Painting*, undated. Oil on panel, 31½ × 16 in. (79 × 40.5 cm). Private collection, Amsterdam

they often were: late sixteenth-century drawings with designs for tazze, like those by Maerten de Vos discussed in the previous chapter, may have been produced for precisely this purpose (see fig. 14, p. 58).¹⁷⁷ An example by Frans Pourbus the Younger (featuring representations of Silvius Brabo and Julius Caesar in Roman armor as well as personifications of Fame and the Scheldt River) has been connected to a city commission awarded to the Antwerp silversmith Artus de Rasier in 1595; Artus was paid to make four silver-gilt tazze to be presented to army commanders in recognition of a recent victory.¹⁷⁸

Of course, the Aldobrandini Tazze, with their Caesar statuettes, constitute a departure from the standard form. The only

known documentary record of tazze similarly equipped comes from the description of the imperial banquet held at Speyer in 1570, discussed above. There is, however, an additional testament to the existence of at least one comparable object: it appears as the central subject of a still-life painting attributed to the early seventeenth-century Antwerp artist Artus Claessens (fig. 21). This tazza, like the Aldobrandini Tazze, is surmounted by a statuette, which Claessens has depicted as an allegorical figure of painting; assorted fruit, a gold chain, and Spanish pieces of eight lie scattered nearby.

Claessens's gilt tazza recalls the fact that the Aldobrandini Tazze were originally left white, or ungolded.¹⁷⁹ In this they differ from most of the Netherlandish silver that survives from the Renaissance, as well as from the evidence in archival records examined during the course of this study, which refer less frequently to white silver than to gilt silver. However, documentary references to white silver tazze, though less plentiful than records of their gilt counterparts, do exist.¹⁸⁰ What is more, examples still survive: a white silver tazza made circa 1598 by Guillaume van der Mont (Willem van der Monde), an Antwerp silversmith who worked in the service of the city throughout the 1590s, recently appeared on the market.¹⁸¹ The artist, approximate date, and city of manufacture of this work are identified by marks found on the bottom of the tazza. As already noted, the Aldobrandini Tazze lack such marks.

Renaissance guild regulations stipulated that all Netherlandish silver be marked, largely as a means to guarantee the quality of the metal.¹⁸² Under only a few circumstances were goldsmiths excused from these demands.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, as John F. Hayward has pointed out, some of the most important works produced in Antwerp are in fact unmarked.¹⁸⁴ He goes on to note that this condition might not be original to the objects: Antwerp goldsmiths tended to mark their works on the bottom (as in the case of the Van der Mont tazza), an

area especially subject to damage or modification.¹⁸⁵ It so happens that in the nineteenth century, metal wires were added to the fluted feet of the Aldobrandini Tazze, obscuring the original rim; these additions might explain the tazze's lack of visible marks.¹⁸⁶

Yet some Netherlandish silver simply never bore any marks at all: court goldsmiths were not subject to regulation by the guilds, nor were goldsmiths who held important positions at the city mint, the institution responsible for enforcing metal standards.¹⁸⁷ Goldsmiths affiliated with the court and mint were sometimes excused from meeting set standards for precious metals as well as from marking their works. In 1605, for example, Robert Staes (court goldsmith and master-general of the mint in Brussels) enlisted his sometime collaborator Artus de Rasier (by then general of the mint in Antwerp) to help carry out a commission for the archdukes Albert and Isabella. Although the alloy of the completed works was found to fall below standard, records show that, owing to the artists' special status, the works were not destroyed.¹⁸⁸

Involvement of a master goldsmith affiliated with the court or mint would explain the Aldobrandini Tazze's lack of marks and anomalous metal composition, which differs from any standard Renaissance European alloy and falls below the percentage of silver required by Netherlandish guilds.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, there are too few comparanda by which to test such a hypothesis. For example, no major works survive by one of the most active goldsmiths in Brussels during the 1590s, Godefroid van Gelre, mint master-general and court goldsmith/medalist to the archdukes.¹⁹⁰ The only extant work by Robert Staes, whose name appears frequently in court records, is a sober yet deeply refined funerary urn created in 1595 to hold the heart of Archduke Ernest of Austria.¹⁹¹

Although the tazze are unmarked, the set does bear one inscription that may offer a further clue to their place of origin. The



pedestal of each Caesar figure is inscribed with that emperor's name. All the names have standard Latin spellings except "Tiberius," which appears as *TIWERIUS*. Ivo Raband has observed that the substitution of *W* for *B* might relate to the Habsburg idiom of the archducal court at Brussels; under Albert and Ernest the dominant languages were German and Spanish, with written records often using Spanish terms to identify works of art. In such a linguistic context, B-V-W might have been easily confused.¹⁹² This spelling mistake, like so many of the tazze's apparent idiosyncracies, can be explained by connecting the set to the archdukes.

Situating the tazze in the world of the Habsburg archdukes offers a means to reconcile the hybridity of the set's form, subject matter, imagery, and style.¹⁹³ This blend of features highlights the extraordinary internationalism of the goldsmith's art. Still, the particular amalgam of interests and influences recognizable in the tazze seems at home in the Southern Netherlands under

the archdukes. The culture they fostered is embodied in the *Allegory of Sight* (1617), by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) and Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) (fig. 22).

This painting, now at the Museo del Prado, Madrid, offers a vivid evocation of the relationship between art, politics, and art making in the Habsburg Netherlands. It is easy to imagine the tazze among the other works depicted in the painting's imaginary *Kunst-kammer*: objects in precious metal, ancient and contemporary coins, Renaissance medals, classical busts, books, prints, copies after more recent works of art, maps, rugs, plants, and animals gathered from the empire's farthest realms—and more obvious Habsburg emblems such as the double-headed eagle atop the chandelier. For now, the proposal outlined in this essay remains speculative, and the mystery surrounding the tazze intact. But no matter their origin, the Aldobrandini Tazze will continue to inspire viewers to consider the complex interplay of art and power.

Fig. 22. Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577–1640) and Jan Brueghel the Elder (Flemish, 1568–1625). *Allegory of Sight*, 1617. Oil on panel, 25½ × 43⅛ in. (64.7 × 109.5 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid (Po1394)

Goldsmithing and Commemorative Gifts North of the Alps

Although the origin of the Aldobrandini Tazze remains a mystery, the typology of these masterworks is possible to discern. This essay aims to show that the set belongs to an important genre of Renaissance precious object: the commemorative gift. The practice of marking key political moments by presenting visiting rulers and military heroes with lavish silver gifts is illuminated by a small number of surviving—and well-documented—works, most of them made in Northern European centers of the goldsmith's art, such as Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Antwerp. Like the Aldobrandini Tazze, these princely tokens take forms associated with luxurious tableware and employ them as carriers of important political statements.¹ Some of these silver gifts are, moreover, narrative objects: like the tazze, they are chased with historical scenes in low relief. Examination of a few prominent examples establishes the genre's historical and artistic significance and provides useful context for understanding the Aldobrandini Tazze.

THE MERKELSCHER TAFELAUFSATZ

The South German imperial city of Nuremberg, a prosperous trading center for luxury objects during the Renaissance, had an esteemed tradition of goldsmiths' work that reached its zenith in the sixteenth century. The city's reputation for producing high-quality silver objects resulted in

commissions from all over the Habsburg Empire, including Italy. Often, these transactions were directed by local merchants acting as agents.² The goldsmiths' guild in Nuremberg was the most noble and respected in the city, which was also home to an active intellectual community, attracting visitors from everywhere in Europe.³ The Parisian humanist Petrus Ramus, for example, spent four days visiting workshops in Nuremberg in 1568.⁴ In a letter to the scholar Joachim Camérarius, Ramus expressed his view that the internationally acclaimed goldsmiths "Jean Lincecer" (Hans Lencker, 1523–1585) and "Wendelein Jamicher" (Wenzel Jamnitzer, 1507/8–1585) were among the city's foremost artisans.⁵ Jamnitzer, who began his career in Nuremberg in 1534, quickly became famous for his highly inventive decorative objects and mounted *naturalia* as well as for his presentation pieces. The French court and the dukes of Ferrara employed his services, and he later served as imperial goldsmith to four Habsburg emperors.⁶

When in 1541 Emperor Charles V made his first visit to Nuremberg, the city presented him with gifts that were costlier than any it had previously given to an imperial visitor.⁷ In addition to 2,000 guilders in cash, the emperor received "a gilded drinking vessel with a lid showing the seven planets."⁸ This cup, made for the occasion by Melchior Baier and now lost, was estimated to be worth about 460 guilders; its leather case and red velvet travel sack were valued at a further 32 guilders. Seven years later, anticipating a second visit from Charles V, the city commissioned from Jamnitzer a gift of even greater grandeur, a monumental *Tafelaufsatz* (table ornament) in the form of a tazza that doubtless challenged the skills of the many artisans in his workshop (fig. 1).⁹

Jamnitzer's detailed invoice from 1549 describes the work as "a beautiful silver gilt *Credentz*, magnificently made," for which he charged 1,321 guilders.¹⁰ Embellished

with colored enamels, life casts of flowers, herbs, and small lizards, and other sculptural elements of superb quality, the tazza is a virtuoso compendium of decorative goldsmithing techniques. As such, it was doubtless meant to show off the technical perfection for which Nuremberg was famous while celebrating the virtues and power of the intended recipient. Conceived primarily as an impressive decorative piece, the work was also designed to hold fruit or confectionary. As on the Aldobrandini Tazze, the decorations on the dish and foot of the *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* are chased with an opulent ornamental density. Also, like the Caesar statuettes on the tazze, the major figurative element on Jamnitzer's piece—an earth goddess—is cast. Here, however, the figure supports rather than tops the composition. A Latin verse etched into cartouches applied to the underside of the dish invokes Mother Earth as the creator and provider of the fruits that could be presented on the tazza: "I am Earth, the mother of all, loaded with the precious weight of the fruits I create."¹¹ Thus characterized, the goddess stands like an ancient Roman caryatid, positioned to bear the weight of the fruit she brings forth. The allegory alludes to the vast dominions of Charles V, which, extending into the Americas, surpassed the expansion of the Roman Empire under the Caesars.¹²

Jamnitzer's fabulous tazza never reached Charles V, for he never made another ceremonial appearance in Nuremberg.¹³ By the time Charles's nephew, Emperor Maximilian II, visited the city in 1570, the Habsburg dominions had been split between the Spanish and Austrian branches of the family, with the Spanish monarchy controlling the overseas territories and the Austrian branch controlling the elective emperorship of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁴ Because of these changes, the iconography of the Jamnitzer tazza no longer reflected political reality and was therefore unsuitable as a diplomatic tribute. It was stored in Nuremberg's municipal treasury, and the emperor was given gifts deemed more appropriate



Fig. 1. Wenzel Jamnitzer (German, 1507/8–1585). *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz*. Nuremberg, 1549. Silver, gilt, and enamel, H. 39¼ in. (99.8 cm), Diam. 18⅞ in. (46 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-17040-A)



for the occasion.¹⁵ Despite its substantial monetary value—it weighs over eleven kilograms and if melted down could have been converted into coins representing a small fortune—Jamnitzer’s tazza survived, doubtless because it was widely held in high esteem.¹⁶

THE ENGLISH MONUMENT

Very different in style from the Jamnitzer tazza, the silver-gilt cup known as the English Monument was made in Antwerp in 1558–59 (fig. 2).¹⁷ Now in the Historisches Museum in Frankfurt, this curiously fashioned drinking vessel is shaped like a composite column and is truly substantial in size, standing 21½ inches (54.5 cm) high. On its capital, a domed lid is crowned by a cylindrical pedestal that functions as a lifting knob. The pedestal also serves as the base for a statuette of a warrior wearing antique armor and holding a shield and a stylized horn of plenty.

A community of English Protestant refugees in Frankfurt commissioned the work as a token of gratitude to the city that granted them asylum during the reign of the Catholic queen Mary Tudor (r. 1553–58). Executed by Antwerp goldsmiths, the silver-gilt vessel bears on its rectangular block base the Tudor coat of arms, a Latin inscription explaining the donors’ motive, and the date 1559.¹⁸

Comparison of this highly classicizing gift with the Aldobrandini Tazze reveals similarities in the objects’ structural forms and ornamental language. The works’ shared decorative elements, including fluting and gadrooning, were clearly part of the vocabulary of sixteenth-century Antwerp goldsmiths. As to the works’ forms, their resemblance is particularly striking if the tazze are imagined without their dishes, or if the circular expanse of the dishes is imagined as territory surrounding a central victory column (see fig. 3, p. 83).¹⁹ It is just such a column that the English Monument calls to mind.

Fig. 2. Commemorative cup known as the English Monument. Antwerp, 1558–59. Gilt silver, H. 21½ in. (54.5 cm). Historisches Museum, Frankfurt (x 4)



Fig. 3. Left: Chalice. Brussels, ca. 1610–11. Silver, H. 9¾ in. (24.8 cm). Location unknown (formerly Saint Martin's Church, Lovendegem, Belgium). Right: knob on the stem of the Tiberius/Nero tazza (pl. 6)

The classical forms present on the tazze have been cited as evidence of an Italian origin.²⁰ In particular, the restrained lines of the fluted feet have proved especially difficult to reconcile with the modern perception of Renaissance silver from Northern Europe. However, as the English Monument makes clear, such refined classicism can indeed be traced to sixteenth-century goldsmith's work created north of the Alps. Suitable comparanda are extremely rare because so little Northern Renaissance silver has survived. Among them is a silver ecclesiastical chalice made in Brussels circa 1610–11 that has a knob (the large, quasi-oval ornament on the stem) similar to those found on the tazze (fig. 3).²¹

ANTWERP EWER AND BASIN

The high classicism that defines the vertical components of the Aldobrandini Tazze is balanced on the horizontal plane of the dishes by the dynamic style of the densely chased, low-relief scenes. This type of decoration is typical of Northern Renaissance goldsmith's work and, as mentioned elsewhere in this volume, has been convincingly connected to a celebrated ewer

and basin made in Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century (fig. 4).²² That splendid pair of narrative objects, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, was conceived as a commemorative gift for Charles V more than twenty years after the victory it honored: the military triumph won by the emperor in 1535 over the Ottoman Turks in Tunis.

Scenes of the battle and of Charles's travels to and from Tunis appear on the basin. Chased mostly from the back, the basin presents a relatively flat, unified upper surface. The height of the relief is fairly uniform, resulting in a subtle, somewhat static design punctuated by more prominently embossed foreground scenes around the rim. By contrast, the multiple techniques used on the Aldobrandini Tazze, which show evidence of pricking and punching as well as chasing with a variety of instruments, result in a more vigorously dynamic visual effect.²³ Dense figural groupings occur on both works, including rectangular formations of spear-carrying soldiers massed together to suggest military might. On the ewer, the chased central frieze depicts imperial troops embarking on ships to return home, a theme also seen on



Fig. 4. Ewer and basin with the Siege of Tunis by Charles V in 1535. Antwerp, 1558–59. Gilt silver and enamel, Diam. of basin 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (64.5 cm), H. of ewer 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (43.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'art (MR 341, MR 351)

the tazze, where it is associated with the forces of the Roman emperors. Applied renderings of ancient-style trophies partly colored with enamel ring the body of the ewer above and below the frieze.

Charles V died in 1558, the year this ensemble was apparently already in the making. (It is struck with the Antwerp hallmark of 1558–59.) Hans Devisscher suggests the possibility that the city magistrates commissioned the set as a gift to commemorate a future Joyous Entry of the emperor's successor.²⁴ This event never happened, however; the objects were mentioned in 1562 as being offered in a lottery.²⁵

VEERE CUP

The density and style of the chased relief on the ewer and basin are echoed on the cylinder of a drinking cup now in the city hall of Veere, in the Netherlands (fig. 5). Still used on special occasions, this ceremonial parade cup is marked with the Antwerp hallmarks of 1546–48. The Veere Cup, like the ewer and basin in the Musée du Louvre, was designed as a gift of appreciation. Charles V presented it to Maximiliaan van Egmond, Count of Buren and Leerdam—also known as Maximilian of Burgundy (d. 1548)—in recognition of his military accomplishments

and service to the emperor.²⁶ The imagery on the cup shows Charles V receiving Egmond and his lieutenant, Count Jean de Ligne, at his camp in Ingolstadt.²⁷ (This peaceful meeting of two forces relates thematically to the second scene on the Caligula dish, picturing Roman officials meeting Eastern dignitaries [Caligula II, p. 14].) The event is commemorated by an engraved inscription on the outer lip: “On September 15, 1546, Maximilian, Count of Buren, having crossed the Rhine despite his enemies, reunited his troops at the camp of the Emperor.”²⁸ It is thanks to these troops

that Charles V defeated the Protestants at Mühlberg on April 24, 1547. On the lid of the cup, illustrated some two hundred years later in a finely detailed print, a narrative scene shows Egmond and his troops crossing the Rhine to reach the emperor’s camp (fig. 6).²⁹ The crowning figure of a warrior in ancient armor stands as a familiar symbol in the celebration of might and public power. Similar figures top the English Monument and the Aldobrandini Tazze, and comparable statuettes decorate a wide range of ceremonial objects that functioned as symbols of office, such as the silver



Fig. 5. Veere Cup. Antwerp, 1546–48. Gilt silver, H. 22 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (56.7 cm). Community of Veere, the Netherlands (GVE16)



Fig. 6. Caspar Jacobsz. Philips (Dutch, 1732–1789) after Pieter Beuckels (Flemish, 1728–1815). *Silver Cup of Maximilian of Burgundy*, 1751. Etching/engraving, 15 × 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (38 × 24.2 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-84.153)



scepters carried by university directors and the richly decorated welcome cups with which visiting dignitaries were saluted by their resident counterparts.³⁰

BREDA CUP

The Breda *Schale*, also known as the Breda Cup, is an outstanding Renaissance survival with a stylistic link to the Aldobrandini Tazze (fig. 7). An imposing silver-gilt vessel, it was given to Count Philipp von Hohenlohe by the city of Breda, in the Netherlands, in 1600.³¹ In contrast to the Antwerp Ewer and Basin and the Veere Cup, this gift was made to commemorate a victory won *against* the Habsburgs. Twenty-four inches high and weighing 5,172 grams, it was chased and engraved with decorations celebrating the liberation of Breda from Habsburg control in March 1590. Von Hohenlohe commanded the Dutch cavalry in the conflict, which was initiated with a strategy similar to the one famously used by the ancient Greeks to capture Troy: seventy Dutch soldiers hidden in the hold of a peat barge penetrated Breda's Spanish-occupied fortress and invaded it from within.³²

The history of the cup, which was manufactured in 1600 by the local goldsmith Elias Marcus with assistance from his colleague Jeremiah Maes, can be traced nearly in its entirety.³³ Today, the vessel stands as the centerpiece of the *Kunstammer* in the Hohenlohe Museum at Neuenstein Castle.³⁴ The imagery on the interior of the cup describes the phases of the battle and was based on a print by Bartholomeus Willemsz. Dolendo (figs. 8, 9).³⁵ The elaborately chased scenes include a peculiar pictorial effect similar to one found on the Aldo-brandini Tazze.³⁶ In both works, perspectival distortion is employed to represent architectural structures from unusual and sometimes multiple angles, enabling images of large constructions to occupy small spaces and remain legible.³⁷ Bold and schematized, the relief on the cup shows Breda from a high angle that allows for the

Fig. 7. Elias Marcus (Netherlandish). Breda Cup, 1600. Gilt silver, H. 24¼ in. (61.5 cm), Diam. 12⅞ in. (32.5 cm). Hohenlohe Museum, Neuenstein Castle, Germany (NL3)



Fig. 8. Detail of chased scenes on the interior of the Breda Cup

Fig. 9. Bartholomeus Willemsz. Dolendo (Netherlandish, ca. 1571–after 1627). *The Invasion of Breda, 1590* (detail). Published by Henrick Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens, 1597–1601. Engraving, 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (35 × 48 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-80.089)

inclusion of the city's massive fortifications and surrounding fields.

The narrative scenes on the Breda Cup, like those on the Aldobrandini Tazze, must be examined up close in order to be seen in their entirety. Ideal viewing of the Breda Cup would also include physical handling of the object, for the narrative decoration on the cup extends to the inside of the lid.³⁸ The chased and engraved scenes are numbered in a clumsy style that differs markedly from the exquisite craftsmanship of the cup. Probably added years later, when firsthand memories of the city's dramatic liberation had faded, the numbers were possibly keyed—or so it is tempting to imagine—to a





Fig. 10. Paul Hübner (German, ca. 1550–1614). Tazza, ca. 1595. Silver, H. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.5 cm), Diam. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.7 cm). British Museum, London (WB.97.F). A piastre relief encircles the scene on the dish.

written account of the scenes with which they were associated. The historical narrative, perhaps illustrated with related print images, would have served the same purpose as the “velvet book” that once accompanied the Aldobrandini Tazze.³⁹

EXCHANGE OF IDEAS IN THE NORTH

With the exception of Jamnitzer’s *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz*, all the commemorative gifts discussed above were made in the Southern Netherlands. That this is so may be an

accident of survival: although only a few extant works from this time are identified with specific commissions, records attest that precious gifts of gratitude and tribute were ordered in great quantities throughout Europe in the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ A notable example was the tribute paid to the duke of Alba, who embarked on a tour of the major South German imperial cities after winning the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547. In honor of the duke’s visit, the city council of Augsburg ordered from Nuremberg goldsmiths extraordinary diplomatic gifts

of gold and silver objects valued at over 1,600 guilders.⁴¹ A few decades later, Augsburg would replace Nuremberg as the leading goldsmithing center of major courtly productions in Europe, its finished works disseminated across the Continent by the city's influential merchants.⁴² Thus, the city was for some time considered a candidate for the tazze's place of origin.

Goldsmiths' styles were easily transmitted from one location to another through international trade, and goldsmiths and journeymen themselves traveled frequently. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Reformation and the religious wars associated with it displaced countless craftsmen, impelling goldsmiths from across Europe to flee to the centers of their trade, such as Augsburg.⁴³ Others were driven by their talent to search for new opportunities. For example, Erasmus Hornick (ca. 1520–1583), a goldsmith and engraver who left behind a great legacy of drawings and prints, trained in Antwerp, worked in Augsburg and Nuremberg, and spent the last two years of his life in Prague as court goldsmith to Emperor Rudolf II.⁴⁴

Despite these favorable-seeming circumstances and the presence on the Aldobrandini Tazze of iconographic and ornamental elements employed by Augsburg goldsmiths, German-made comparanda for the tazze are few. For example, a tazza by Christoph Lencker (ca. 1556–1613), one of Augsburg's great late Renaissance master goldsmiths, has a laureate profile of a Caesar in the center of the dish and elements of classical ornamentation, such as gadroons and intertwined band formations, on the rim.⁴⁵ But the chasing, done almost completely from the back, lacks the sharp definition that lends the figures on the Aldobrandini Tazze their vibrancy. These distinctions make it clear that Lencker's tazza is based on a goldsmithing tradition different from that of the Aldobrandini Tazze.⁴⁶

Similarly, a decorative element resembling a string of overlapping coins (called a piastre, or nailed-coin motif) that appears



Fig. 11. Dolphin grotesque. Nuremberg, late 16th century. Lead plaquette, overall $\frac{7}{8} \times 2$ in. (2.1 × 5.2 cm). Historischesmuseum Basel (1904.1263)

on the dishes of the Aldobrandini tazze is found on two substantial sets of tazze by Augsburg masters. One, a collaboration between Cornelius Erb and Paul Hübner, is now in the Museo degli Argenti in Florence; the other, by Hübner, is in the British Museum, London. All the dishes in these silver tazze ensembles have piastre borders framing the narrative reliefs (fig. 10).⁴⁷ However, because of the itinerant nature of the goldsmithing trade during the sixteenth century, it is impossible to say that a work was made in Augsburg because it bears the piastre motif, which was commonly used throughout Europe.

Comparisons of the Aldobrandini Tazze with Southern Netherlandish commemorative gifts and works from Augsburg show that the tazze combine stylistic features typical of Northern production with classicizing elements that were employed internationally. The signs of Northern influence—and perhaps origin—on the tazze include motifs that were commonly transmitted not only through the movement of artists but also through the sharing of portable sources such as plaquettes and prints. Several examples of such design sources popular in sixteenth-century North European goldsmiths' work can be connected to the Aldobrandini Tazze.

Ornamental prints were a major source of inspiration for goldsmiths. Most ornamental engravers received training as goldsmiths; in fact, many engravers made prints especially

to provide goldsmiths with ornamental motifs.⁴⁸ Plaquettes of bronze, lead, or plaster served a similar purpose. Affordable and easy to transport, they were made by goldsmiths as working models for the designs of their chased surface decorations and thus were an essential tool (fig. 11). Like sketches, they captured the unedited first stage of an artist's invention and became objects of desire in their own right. Used in conjunction with working drawings and ornamental prints, plaquettes provided a wealth of inspiration and reflected the latest design trends.⁴⁹ A talented goldsmith would formulate his ideas with help from all of these sources.

Paulus Flindt, a goldsmith and engraver active in Nuremberg, created a series of prints depicting weeping willow trees with thin trunks and downward-bending branches (fig. 12).⁵⁰ This decorative motif can be seen in several of the Aldobrandini Tazze—specifically on the dishes of Galba (fig. 13) and Vespasian (Vespasian II, p. 26). Peter Flötner, a preeminent decorative artist in Germany during the Renaissance, may have been the first to introduce naturalistic willow compositions into his plaquette repertoire (fig. 14).⁵¹ His inventions had a major influence on the development of the Renaissance style in Northern Europe and were in use for generations.⁵² Wenzel Jamnitzer himself adapted a willow tree image from one of Flötner's plaquettes to decorate a bronze mortar recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum.⁵³

An ornament print produced by Hans and Adriaen Collaert in Antwerp bears a strong similarity to a sea monster pictured on the Caligula dish, a resemblance noted by Julia Siemon in this volume (fig. 15, left).⁵⁴ The two renderings are so much alike that the designer of the tazza must have known this print. It is interesting to note that this same Collaert print was used by Jörg Ruel, a renowned Nuremberg goldsmith, to shape the monster finial of a Turban snail cup about 1610–20.⁵⁵ In the same, fourth, quadrant of the Caligula dish, another monster

whimsically paddles toward the viewer with spread fins. This motif is adapted from a lead plaquette attributed to Christoph Jamnitzer (1563–1618), a goldsmith and engraver of pattern books celebrated for his grotesque ornament (fig. 15, upper and lower right).⁵⁶

A peculiar detail found on the first quadrant of the Titus dish (Titus I) is a clockface on the tower of Herod's reconstruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (fig. 16). To explain this curious anachronism, one need look no further than the woodcut print, published in 1563, on which Titus I was based.⁵⁷ It, too, shows a clock—or perhaps a round window that the goldsmiths chose to interpret as a clock—above the temple's entrance. The tall, narrow form of the temple on Titus I appears more Gothic than Roman in style. It can be compared, for example, with a depiction of the clock tower of Antwerp's Gothic cathedral represented in a view of the city by Vergilius Bononiensis in 1565 (fig. 17).⁵⁸ A similar structure appears on the lid of the Veere Cup, discussed above (see fig. 6). The multitude of architectural details in the tazze's narrative scenes is particularly telling of the ways in which the goldsmiths incorporated features not only from pictorial sources, such as prints and plaquettes, but also from the world around them. Close examination reveals cone-shaped roofs and towers with corbels at the corners—features typically associated with Northern European architecture of the Middle Ages (Claudius I and II, p. 16, and Vitellius IV, p. 25).⁵⁹ By the mid-sixteenth century, such features were considered relics from a distant past and were perceived as “ancient”—not in the usual sense of antiquity but relative to the present.⁶⁰ The designer(s) of the Aldobrandini Tazze would not have regarded this outmoded style of architecture as antiquarian material per se, but rather as a memento of a period long gone, serviceable for use on the tazze.

Half-timbered houses represented on the tazze are another evocation of a Northern European environment, albeit one more



Fig. 12. Andreas Luining (German, active Vienna 1579–89) after Paulus Flindt (German, 1567–1631). Grotesques and a central medallion with a weeping willow tree and a big cat amid ruins. Printed by Andreas Luining, Vienna, 1592. Engraving, sheet $5\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (15 × 11 cm). Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna (KI 2861)



Fig. 13. Detail of Galba III (p. 21) showing a weeping willow tree and a big cat at right



Fig. 14. Peter Flötner (German, 1485–1546). *Baptism of Christ*, ca. 1525–35. Bronze plaquette, overall $2\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (5.4 × 11 cm). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. From Weber 1975, pl. 7



Fig. 15. Sea monsters typical of those found in late sixteenth-century Northern European art. Clockwise from upper left: Adriaen Collaert (Netherlandish, ca. 1560–1618) after a design by Hans Collaert (Netherlandish, 1525/30–1580). Title plate with two pendant designs above and Neptune standing on a cartouche below, 1582. Engraving, second state of four (New Hollstein), sheet $7\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{3}{16}$ in. (17.9×13.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1942 (42.14.1); detail of Caligula IV (p. 15); Christoph Jamnitzer (German, 1563–1618). Putto on sea monster with spread fins, ca. 1610. Lead plaquette, $2 \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5×8 cm). Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (K5769)



Fig. 16. Detail of Titus I (p. 28) showing the clockface on the Second Temple in Jerusalem



Fig. 17. Vergilius Bononiensis (Italian). Map of Antwerp (detail showing clock tower). Printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest, Antwerp, 1565. Hand-colored woodcut, overall $47\frac{1}{4} \times 104\frac{3}{8}$ in. (120 × 265 cm). Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp

closely identified with the Renaissance (Domitian I, p. 30).⁶¹ The density of the chased scenes and the artists' ambition to fill the entire surface of the dishes with a profusion of details, leaving no empty space, are a superlative demonstration of the *éclat* and *horror vacui* so typical of goldsmiths' work in the North.

Whereas all of the commemorative gifts discussed above are silver gilt, the Aldobrandini Tazze were originally left white. Perhaps this fact can be explained by the tazze's evocation of coins. In a culture where rulers were presented with sumptuous commemorative objects and munificent gifts of freshly minted coins, the display of twelve silver tazze of such impressive size would likely have been appreciated at

first glance as an embodiment of great wealth—as the equivalent of heaps of shiny, coined silver.⁶² Thus, part of the calculated challenge assumed by the Aldobrandini Tazze's makers was to transform this metal, worth an average of 6.3 pounds of silver coinage per tazza, into a priceless work of art. They did so by adapting the essential structure of ancient coins and Renaissance medals, which pair rulers' portraits on one side with emblematic imagery on the other. Accordingly, the goldsmiths juxtaposed the Caesar statuettes on the tazze with emblematic images of the emperors' achievements chased masterfully on the dishes below. This feat of artistic imagination alone made the Aldobrandini Tazze worth far more than their weight in silver.

Tazze: Questions of Their Use and Display

The research conducted within the framework of this publication adds considerably to our knowledge of the Aldobrandini Tazze. Despite the objects' alteration in previous centuries—the tazze were gilded, six of the feet and stems were replaced, and many of the emperor statuettes transposed—it is now possible to reconstruct their original appearance. By matching each statuette with its original dish, we can form an image of this imposing series as it once was: twelve silver standing cups, each crowned by the figure of a Roman emperor and decorated with scenes from his reign, perfectly set off by the refined classicism of their bases.

WINE AND DESSERT

The monumentality of the Aldobrandini Tazze might suggest that they were designed by an architect rather than a goldsmith. Had they been sculpted in marble and on a larger scale, they would have made superb fountains of the kind that emerged during the early Renaissance in Italy (fig. 1). However, the tazze are clearly objets d'art, and their original setting and function must have befitted this classification. Indeed, they are formally related to the shallow, footed dishes that seem to have been widespread throughout Europe during the Renaissance. Although generally known today by their Italian name, *tazze*, these pieces had particular local designations and functions.¹ Their prototype is probably the

vessel that appeared in Portugal in the late fifteenth century: a wide, shallow dish on a low foot, chased, embossed, and decorated with a concentric groove (fig. 2). As its name, *salva* (salver), indicates, the vessel was originally used by the royal cupbearer to test beverages before they were served to the prince.² Historians of Portuguese precious metalwork have pointed out how long this type of object was in use: for more than two centuries, salvers were increasingly employed as serving trays and, eventually, as ceremonial pieces.³

In the mid-sixteenth century, Sevillian goldsmiths developed the production of ornately footed drinking vessels embellished with a central medallion in low relief.⁴ In the regions of Italy where beverages were served in Venetian crystal, tazze were not associated with drinks; rather, they were used primarily for presenting the cold and sweet dishes that were served at the beginning and end of lavish meals (fig. 3).⁵ On grand occasions, desserts such as marzipan, pistachio paste, and fresh and candied fruit were brought to the credenza, or sideboard, placed in the waiting tazze, and then carried in a procession to the table.⁶ It is not difficult to imagine the ballet these objects performed as they moved from sideboard to table and back.

In Northern European countries, standing cups were used for drinking wine. In Antwerp, these vessels—flat-bottomed, fairly deep goblets of various heights—were called *coptasses* or *coupetasses* in French, and *Schalen* in Flemish. The French word *tasse* (cup) has long denoted vessels intended for the consumption of liquids,⁷ and it is precisely this use that is anticipated in the second scene on the Aldobrandini tazza featuring the emperor Vespasian (fig. 4). However, Netherlandish iconography proves that, by the late Middle Ages, standing cups were also employed for serving sweets—at least in Northern Europe. *Taste*, one of the tapestries in the *Lady with the Unicorn* series, shows a servant offering sweetmeats in a large, footed, silver-gilt cup



Fig. 1. Zoan Andrea (Italian, active ca. 1475–ca. 1520). Fountain surmounted by a statue of Neptune. Engraving, 13 × 9³/₈ in. (32.9 × 23.8 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques, Cabinet Rothschild (388oLR)



Fig. 2. Anonymous. Salver decorated with scenes of the Trojan War. Porto(?), Portugal, ca. 1500–1520. Gilt silver, Diam. 11¹/₈ in. (30.1 cm), D. 2¹/₈ in. (5.4 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (M.2-1938)



Fig. 3. Paolo Caliari, known as Veronese (Italian, 1528–1588). *The Wedding Feast of Cana* (detail), 1563. Oil on canvas, 21 ft. 10¹/₄ in. × 32 ft. 5³/₄ in. (666 × 990 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Peintures (142)



Fig. 4. Detail from *Vespasian II* (p. 26) showing a servant pouring wine into a large standing cup for the emperor



Fig. 5. *Taste* (detail), from the *Lady with the Unicorn* tapestry series. Southern Netherlands, 1484–1500. Wool and silk threads, overall 12 ft. 4¼ in. × 15 ft. 3½ in. (377 × 466 cm). Musée de Cluny–Musée National du Moyen Age, Paris (CL 10831)

with embossed gadroons (fig. 5). Bruges painter Antoon Claessens depicted footed vessels serving both functions in his *Banquet of the Magistrates*, 1574 (fig. 6).⁸ The wine cups shown on the table are silver gilt and more ornately decorated than the silver fruit cups, which are merely rimmed with gold.

We know that in England deep standing cups were used as drinking vessels because many of the examples that have come down to us bear engraved inscriptions indicating that they were donated as communion cups to Anglican congregations.⁹ Unfortunately, few standing cups marked with Antwerp hallmarks have been preserved.¹⁰ The finest of them are noteworthy not for their size (on average, they stand about six inches high), but for their wonderfully chased scenes, which reflect the Renaissance taste for antiquity (fig. 7). The prominence of their decoration probably indicates that these vessels were designed principally, though not exclusively, to impress. Nevertheless, the Aldobrandini Tazze surpass them and all others in size and artistic ambition.

THE AESTHETIC POWER OF SERIES

Within the Habsburg Empire tazze evolved significantly in Nuremberg under the impetus of the goldsmith Hans Pezolt (1550/51–1633) and even further in Augsburg, another free imperial city located on the road that connected the Netherlands and Italy. The German cups were called *Konfetschalen* (sweetmeat cups) or, more generally, *Kredenzen*, terms that identified the vessels as objects intended for the table as well as the sideboard. Their functions are confirmed by the iconography: an entire set of *Konfetschalen* filled with fruits and sweets is seen in *Banquet of the Hohenems Family*, painted by Anton Bays in 1578 to commemorate the feast held by the great German family for the cardinals Mark Sittich von Hohenems (Altemps) and Carlo Borromeo (fig. 8).¹¹ Another painting, *The Banquet of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, a famous miniature depicting the feast of Rudolf II in Prague in 1585,



Fig. 6. Antoon Claessens (Netherlandish, 1538?–1613). *Banquet of the Magistrates*, 1574. Oil on panel, 51½ × 61 in. (130 × 155 cm). Groeningemuseum, Bruges (O.23)

shows two *Kredenzen* standing prominently on a sideboard (fig. 9).¹²

Contemporaneous descriptions of tazze in sixteenth-century France are as imprecise as those that have frustrated attempts to classify tazze elsewhere. Instances include the 1537 inventory of the royal gold and silver kept at the Louvre, which cites many footed *grandes tasses* but does not mention their shape;¹³ and the early seventeenth-century inventory of Cardinal François de Joyeuse, whose gold and silver holdings were reported to include more than fifty *plats fruitiers* (fruit plates), also without description.¹⁴ Only two sixteenth-century French tazze are known to have been preserved, but their feet have been changed. Made in Paris in 1583–84 by the goldsmiths Jean Delahaye and Nicolas de Villiers II, the pair feature dishes with chased and embossed

hunting scenes arranged concentrically, like the narrative episodes on the Aldobrandini Tazze but less strictly compartmentalized (fig. 10).¹⁵ It is evident from the types of game represented that the scenes are allegories of the European and Asian continents. The two vessels were probably part of a set that included tazze representing Africa and America and symbolized the Four Continents. Designs for comparable series are found in several drawings showing scenes from the Life of Moses in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 11).

The largest set of tazze that has come down to us is German. It consists of fifty-four silver-gilt cups divided into distinct series of six, twelve, and thirty-six pieces representing the Four Elements, the Virtues, the Months, and Genesis. Executed in Augsburg about 1590 by the goldsmiths Cornelius

Fig. 7. Anonymous.
Bowl of a standing cup
with a scene showing
Mucius Scaevola putting
his hand in the fire.
Antwerp, 1561–62. Gilt
silver, H. 5½ in. (14 cm),
Diam. 6⅞ in. (17.5 cm).
DIVA-APB Museum
for Gold and
Silversmithing, Jewelry
and Diamonds,
Antwerp (S 60 120)



Erb and Paul Hübner, the series were brought together in Salzburg by the prince-archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau (1559–1617).¹⁶ The work's imagery can be linked to the abundant production of prints and illustrated books during that period. Antwerp publisher Hieronymus Cock (1510–1570) was among the first to issue large series of prints—titled, captioned, and sold in portfolios—depicting architecture, ornament, and history subjects. The clientele for these works included not only collectors but also goldsmiths looking for iconographic models.¹⁷ By being produced in series rather than separately, tazze came to be assembled in sets or services that lent a striking visual effect and new coherence and symmetry to dining tables and sideboard displays. Perhaps the implications of this aesthetic unity—particularly its suggestion of power—

ultimately determined an increasingly ceremonial use of these vessels, for it is likely that, over time, most tazze left the sideboard only occasionally to be used at table.

AT THE CARDINALS' TABLES

A recent discovery by Antonella Fabriani Rojas reveals that the earliest documented use of the Aldobrandini Tazze was in Rome, in 1604, at a banquet hosted by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621), who had acquired them (see Appendix A, Letter III). Remarkably, the next recorded use of the tazze was not until 1622, the year after the cardinal's death. Roman banquets were famous for their splendor, and we know, thanks to account books that have been preserved, how the cardinals rivaled one another in the sumptuousness of the



Fig. 8. Anton Bays (Netherlandish, active ca. 1572–93). *Banquet of the Hohenems Family*, 1578. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times 17 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (210 \times 542 cm). Municipal Museum, Policka, Czech Republic



Fig. 9. Anonymous. *The Banquet of the Order of the Golden Fleece*. Germany, 1585. Oil on parchment, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (31 \times 60 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer (KK 5348)

festivities they put on.¹⁸ Stefanie Walker has drawn attention to the writings of stewards employed in prominent Roman households during this period.¹⁹ Their reports contain precise information about the decoration of banqueting rooms, the monumental sideboards topped by canopies adorned with coats of arms, and the unfolding of elaborate feasts accompanied by music. They describe the first courses, cold and warm, and the successive dishes *di credenza* (from the sideboard, thus cold, sweet, and salty) and *di cucina* (from the kitchen, therefore warm). The meal ended with a final course of sweet desserts from the sideboard.

Fortunately for posterity, the Aldobrandinis' steward, Vittorio Lancellotti, published a book, *Lo scalco pratico*, in 1627. In it, he wrote of the noteworthy meals he had organized from 1602 to 1627, and in particular, those hosted by Pietro Aldobrandini and, later, Pietro's nephew Ippolito, at their palace in Rome and their Villa Belvedere, in Frascati.²⁰ There are only nine mentions of *tazze imperiali* (tazze of the largest size) in Lancellotti's book, which means that this particular type of tableware was used infrequently, for only the most important banquets, when the full splendor of the house was on display. The twelve tazze that are



Fig. 10. Jean Delahaye (French, active 1579–1611) and Nicolas de Villiers II (French, active 1582–1613). Two tazze, probably from a larger set. Paris, 1583–84. Gilt silver, Diam. 11½ in. (29.2 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Selim K. Zilkha, 1991 (M.91.347.1–2)

Fig. 11. Etienne Delaune (French, 1518/19–1583?) or Baptiste Pellerin (French, d. 1575). Design for the interior of a cup depicting scenes from the Life of Moses, ca. 1560. Pen and brown ink with brown wash on parchment, 11 × 11 in. (27.8 × 27.8 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques (RF 1086 recto)

the subject of the present study are mentioned explicitly only once: in the description of the wedding feast of Prince Giovan Giorgio Aldobrandini and Ippolita Ludovisi, niece of Pope Gregory XV, which was held in Rome on May 13, 1622. The extravagance of this banquet, with its many courses, table decorations, and even live birds—would be hard to overstate. It was during the third and last course from the sideboard, at the moment when the *confettura bianca* and pistachio paste molded in the shape of cross-bow bolts were served, that the “twelve imperial tazze, with silver emperors” were ceremoniously brought out—Lancellotti does not say from where—empty, for the guests to admire.²¹

Reliable despite its retrospective character, Lancellotti’s text allows us to conclude that Cardinal Pietro rarely (if ever, after 1604) used the tazze at table. Under Lancellotti’s stewardship in the Aldobrandini households, they were not presented at a meal until Cardinal Ippolito succeeded his uncle as the head of the family. Had the tazze’s origin been forgotten by the time they were given pride of place at the wedding

feast in 1622, making their entrance at the high point of the banquet? In a magnificent grand finale, the twelve tazze, surmounted by their Caesar statuettes, were brought out together with twelve other tazze, the latter silver gilt and crowned with animal figures made of sugar. The manner in which the Aldobrandini Tazze were presented is noteworthy: they were treated as *trionfi da tavola*, table sculptures of glass and sugar whose



amusing and sometimes ribald motifs were recorded in many drawings (fig. 12).²² How strange! Did this display not belie the tazze's original meaning and betray a misunderstanding of their intrinsic value?

TRIBUTE OBJECTS?

The erudition displayed in the scenes on the Aldobrandini Tazze raises the question of why these objects were commissioned in the first place. The occasion was no doubt a major historical, political, or military event: a special imperial appointment, an international treaty, the capture of a city, or the ceremonial entrance of a ruler.²³ In fact, the tazze share formal and thematic similarities with a large basin from Antwerp, now preserved in the Musée du Louvre with its ewer, that depicts the conquest of Tunis by Emperor Charles V in 1535 (see fig. 4, p. 110).²⁴ Common to many such politically charged objects of the day was an evocation of the moral qualities of the monarchs—or of those moral qualities one would hope to find in them. Thus, the so-called gold vessel (actually, a candelabrum) that was offered to the French king Henri II on his entry into Paris in 1549 was crowned with statuettes representing the ruling sovereign and his two immediate predecessors, François I and Louis XII, portrayed as Roman emperors (fig. 13). Standing together under the motto *Magnum magna decent* (Great deeds befit a great king), the three figures were accompanied by their respective virtues: for Louis XII, Janus, who stood for Wisdom; for François I, Justice; for Henri II, Mars, representing Courage. The young king of France was clearly invested with a mission to conquer. The same close attention given to the examples of the ancients on the royal gift is evident in the rendering of the scenes on the Aldobrandini Tazze. And yet, the tazze lack dedicatory inscriptions, and, strangely, the undersides of the dishes have no protective liners. Could it be that these elements, which might have borne inscriptions identifying the objects' origin, have been lost?



Fig. 12. Stefano della Bella (Italian, 1610–1664). Drawing for a *trionfo da tavola* depicting a cardinal riding a mule. Florence, undated. Pen and brown ink on paper. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe (9950)

Like the tazze, the ewer and basin honoring Charles V and the “gold vessel” given to Henri II were functional, but their commemorative character made them de facto collector's items. How, then, could the Aldobrandini Tazze have been reduced to serving as ceremonial tableware? Displayed on the shelves of a sideboard, they would have been viewed mainly in profile, a vantage point that would have rendered their principal feature—the superbly wrought emperor narratives—illegible. The tazze's silver color would have been overpowered by the luster of the gold objects surrounding them. Their political, historical, and scholarly content would have been eclipsed.

MODES OF DISPLAY

We turn now from considering the ways in which the Aldobrandini Tazze were used to presenting hypotheses about how they might have been displayed. Their imposing proportions suggest that they could have been designed for a particular architectural space: a small room, possibly with a centered

Fig. 13. Jean Cousin the Elder (French, 1490–1560). Design for a vessel presented to the French king Henri II on his entry into Paris in 1549. Pen and ink wash, india ink with watercolor on vellum, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (30.2 × 20.1 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (© 35)



layout and niches for the tazze, which would have enhanced the decor while functioning as open books with highly learned subject matter. This arrangement recalls the *studiolo* (private study) that Piero de' Medici, father of Lorenzo the Magnificent, installed in the Medici Palace in Florence in the fifteenth century. Piero's *studiolo*, located in a secluded area of the palace, where calm and security were assured, was a model of its kind. It housed the Florentine ruler's library and his collections of vases and gems, gold and silver, and, according to the Renaissance architect Filarete, "portraits of the emperors and great men of the past."²⁵ The Aldobrandini Tazze embody this kind of marriage of art and erudition, although we have no documentary trace of their original placement. They might have been displayed in a *Kunst-kammer* devoted to the valuable collections and enjoyment of the owner. In Innsbruck, at Ambras Castle, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (1529–1595) presented his collections of gold and silver objects separately: blue cabinets held gold, and green cabinets held silver.²⁶

This arrangement, which played on color contrasts, would have been perfectly adapted to the twelve silver tazze.

Let us reflect for a moment on this notion of color. Ceremonial objects made of silver were usually gilded, except in Italy, where Genoan goldsmiths, for example, executed many magnificent ungilded ewers and basins.²⁷ In the world of the Southern Netherlands, silver-colored tazze might have appeared strange, as they were so unusual. However, furniture made of dark wood or ebony was coming into fashion in Europe in the early seventeenth century, and it was often embellished with ungilded silver. Augsburg goldsmiths made a specialty of adorning cabinets in which collector's items could be placed inside drawers and behind doors. The most famous work of this kind was undoubtedly the Pomeranian Cabinet sold by the merchant Philipp Hainofer to Philip II, duke of Pomerania, in 1615.²⁸ Destroyed in 1945, the piece was depicted by the Augsburg painter Anton Mozart (1573–1625) in a work commemorating the presentation of the cabinet to the duke.²⁹ Some of the cabinet's original contents have been preserved: board games, surgical instruments, pharmaceutical items, a toiletry set, and a silver table service. The table service, intended for travel, is the work of the Augsburg goldsmith Michael Gaß (active 1593–1633). It includes a *Kredenz* with an octagonal tray, but neither of these objects is comparable in size or quality to the twelve Aldobrandini Tazze.³⁰ Even so monumental a cabinet as the Farnese *studiolo*, the most highly prized piece of furniture in the palace of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589) in Rome, would have proved too small a setting for the tazze (fig. 14).³¹ While the Farnese cabinet housed an important collection, the objects were mostly small: coins, gems, intaglios, archaeological fragments, and small bronzes, along with six hundred drawings and miniatures.³²

The final hypothesis we propose here—and the one we favor—concerning the display of the twelve tazze involves a presentation table. Exhibiting the tazze

on such a support would have ensured the legibility of the chased scenes as well as a linear disposition of the objects that permitted a chronological reading of the histories depicted. The dark wood or ebony inlays of the table would have provided the necessary color contrast with the silver tazze placed upon it.

Comparable presentations are well documented: center tables, to use Peter Thornton's terminology, drew attention in the palaces of the Medici starting in the mid-sixteenth century. They were as much admired for their intrinsic splendor as were the treasures they served to display.³³ In Prague, Rudolf II exhibited the most impressive of his objets d'art on a long table placed in the center of one of the vaulted rooms of Hradčany Castle.³⁴ Display tables of this sort were nothing like the trestle tables that were used at banquets. Many specialized craftsmen contributed to the wood carving, marquetry, ivory or stone inlays, painting, and gilding that made these center tables so expensive.³⁵ The posthumous inventory of Catherine de' Medici, drawn up in 1589, the year she died, described several center tables richly decorated with marquetry in the "German fashion."³⁶ The popularity of such tables encouraged engravers to copy the drawings on which they were based. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau in France, followed by Hans Vredeman de Vries in Flanders, published many variants of these pieces, which were supported by two fan-shaped bases carved with abundant ornaments and figures (fig. 15).³⁷ Tables of this kind are exceedingly rare today.³⁸

Tribute objects repurposed as ceremonial tableware and, finally, collector's items: such a path is not rare in the history of masterpieces in gold and silver. An analogous—but reverse—shift occurred in the history of Benvenuto Cellini's famous *Saliera*, completed in 1543. Conceived by its maker as a saltcellar, the stunning work of gold and enamel was considered by the French king François I as a collector's item from the start, and it never appeared at the his table.³⁹



Fig. 14. Flaminio Boulanger (French, active 1552–81). Farnese studiolo, ca. 1578. Walnut, 90 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 83 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 33 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (230 × 213 × 85.5 cm). Musée National de la Renaissance, Ecouen, on permanent loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris (ML 125)



Fig. 15. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (French, ca. 1510–1584). Model for a table, ca. 1560. Etching, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9 × 12 cm). Musée National de la Renaissance, Ecouen (2001-12-33)

The Aldobrandini Tazze in Context: Collecting Silver in Rome around 1600

In the Middle Ages and the early modern period, works in silver had meaning beyond their material worth: their use and display conveyed status and prestige. In papal Rome, acquiring large amounts of silver was an important part of the strategy of personal and family advancement. The case of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621), the first documented owner of the set of tazze still known by his family name, is a prime example.

Most popes were elderly and reigned no more than six years on average during the sixteenth century. It was imperative for them, therefore, to begin supporting their younger ecclesiastic relatives and the secular branches of their families immediately and intensively after being elected. Clement VIII Aldobrandini, who remained in office from 1592 to 1605—longer than most—appointed two of his nephews, Cinzio (1551–1610) and Pietro, to important Curial posts within months of his election and made them cardinals a year later, on September 17, 1593. Though twenty years younger than Cinzio, Pietro Aldobrandini soon outmaneuvered his cousin and quickly rose to become Clement VIII's closest adviser and most powerful papal nephew, the *Cardinal Padrone*.

By the early 1600s, Pietro had reached the apex of his career: as secretary of state and

papal chamberlain, he was the most important man in Rome after his uncle and managed the major diplomatic and fiscal affairs of the Papal States. He drew an enormous annual income from numerous church benefices and land holdings as well as cash gifts from the pope. He patronized writers, musicians, and artists and embarked on several construction projects: the family palace on the Corso, the city villa at Monte Magnanapoli, and the exurban villa in Frascati—the famous Belvedere.¹ Pietro's secular relatives were also supported handsomely by the pope, who enabled them to purchase several feudal titles and properties in and around Rome. As newfound nobility and wealth required legitimization through outward display, the appropriate trappings of a princely household had to be procured. The massive inventory of Cardinal Pietro's belongings, compiled in 1603, offers ample evidence of his achievement in this regard.

The inventory opens with what contemporaries considered the most important asset, namely, works in silver—the list of paintings, for example, begins over one hundred pages later, after several categories of objects in other materials.² Silver objects were like money and easily converted to such, either through pawning or by being melted down. Therefore, the entries record not only detailed descriptions of the objects' forms but also the exact weight of each piece and whether or not it was gilt. The inventory has six alphabetically ordered subsections, with the following headings: *Baulo da viaggio* (trunk containing travel silver), *Bottigliaria* (sideboard for bottles and cups), *Camera* (chamber), *Capella* (chapel), *Credenza* (sideboard), and *Piatti* (plates). Under number 52 in the *Credenza* section we find the earliest description of the Aldobrandini Tazze: “Twelve large cups, on a high foot, worked with various stories in low relief, with a standing emperor on each, each piece marked with the number 52, all together weighing 109 libbre 11½ oncie.”³ Less than a year earlier, on March 26, 1602, a payment had been issued to cover “the cost of six

silver tazze with six emperors in them, sent from Milan,” leaving open the question of when and how the other six tazze entered Pietro’s possession.⁴

To understand what position the Aldobrandini Tazze may have occupied in the esteem of Renaissance beholders, a closer look at the contents of Cardinal Pietro’s inventory is necessary. How special were the “Silver Caesars”? Were there objects of comparable appearance and function among the cardinal’s possessions? As magnificent as the Aldobrandini Tazze are, they were not the only objects of their type in his collection. The following entry, number 53, mentions four pieces similarly described as “large cups, on a high foot, worked with hunts and sea monsters in low relief, with a smooth edge, and the family coat of arms in the center, all gilt inside and out; all together they weigh 29 *libbre* 4 *oncie*.”⁵ In modern measurements, the total weight of the Aldobrandini Tazze given in the inventory is just over 82 pounds (37,276 grams), or about 6 pounds 13.5 ounces (3,106 grams) for each individual tazza.⁶ Substantially lighter, the four tazze under number 53 come to about 5 pounds 8 ounces (2,486 grams) each, indicating that they were likely considerably smaller than the Aldobrandini Tazze. Although the inventory refers to both sets as *tazzoni*—large tazze—their tall form with an expansive, shallow dish was often also referred to as a *fruttiera*, or fruit stand.⁷ The term *tazza* more commonly designated a drinking cup; it was usually smaller in diameter, with a lower foot, and could have one or two handles.⁸ The 1603 inventory includes two sets of twelve fruit stands (*fruttiere*) that were, however, much smaller than the Aldobrandini Tazze, judging by their total weight of eighteen and almost seventeen pounds, respectively. Both sets of fruit stands were described as *alla Tedesca* (in the German style): one decorated with “arabesques,” probably scrolling acanthus, and the other “worked in a triangular form in the center . . . with three cherubs each . . . [and] a low foot.” Unlike the



Fig. 1. Frans Francken the Elder (Netherlandish, 1542–1616). *The Wedding Party* (detail), 1600–1610. Oil on panel, 19½ × 26⅞ in. (49.4 × 66.3 cm). Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp. The stepped sideboard holds four basins and two tazze comparable to sets of display silver owned by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.

Aldobrandini Tazze in their original condition, these sets were gilt—one of them entirely, the other, partially.⁹

Exhibited on the stepped sideboard, the Aldobrandini Tazze undoubtedly would have been considered splendid showpieces, but pride of place would have gone to the twenty-two pairs of basins and ewers in Cardinal Pietro’s collection. The original purpose of these sets for hand washing before and during meals had long been superseded by their function as decorative display plate. Row upon row, in symmetrical arrangements, they created a gleaming upper register in the exhibition of silver on the sideboard, stopping viewers in their tracks—as happened, for example, at a banquet hosted by Cardinal Pietro at Castel Sant’ Angelo in May 1593 (fig. 1).¹⁰ None of the Aldobrandini basins survive, but descriptions in the inventory hint at their elaborate decoration and subject matter. One of the basins displayed at its center the biblical story of Pharaoh and his army being engulfed by the Red Sea, and on its rim, Moses and the Iron Serpent; two matching basins presented maritime myths involving Neptune and Galatea; another pair illustrated the popular story of Apollo and Marsyas from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, with the musical competition between the god

Fig. 2. Francesco Mavilia (Italian, 1639–1697). Basin with Perseus and Phineus, ca. 1670–91. Silver (repoussé), Diam. 31½ in. (80 cm). The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Though of a later date than the Aldobrandini silver, this basin, with its central narrative scene, represents the kind of plate that would have been propped up for display on Cardinal Aldobrandini's sideboard.



and the satyr on one basin and the brutal punishment of Marsyas—his flaying by Apollo—on the other (fig. 2).¹¹ The nine largest basins weighed between eight pounds thirteen ounces and ten pounds and could well have reached 25 inches in diameter. While most of the ewers are summarily described as companion pieces worked similarly to their basins, two featured four compartments with chased personifications of the Cardinal Virtues (Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance) as well as mascarons and festoons (fig. 3).¹² The most elaborate ewer had a body made of a large, exotic nut, with silver-gilt mounts that included a rhinoceros head as the spout, straps resembling terms to hold the nut in place, and four harpies forming the foot. Inside, attached with a silver chain, was a piece of “unicorn horn,” included, no doubt, because of its reputed ability to counteract poisons (fig. 4).¹³

Besides basins, ewers, and tazze, focal points on the sideboard and banquet table included ornate saltcellars and table centers. Cardinal Pietro owned fourteen salts, the two largest of which were gilt and in the form of sarcophagi (*à sepoltura*) supported by lion's feet, with floral bouquets on the lids (fig. 5).¹⁴ Closely related were three stands for condiments (*servizio da credenza, posata*), two of them described as “Spanish style” and the third labeled “Milanese work.”¹⁵ They consisted of raised trays set with containers for salt, pepper, sugar, oil, and vinegar, as well as other sauces and spices. Two of them featured a central raised dish for salt surmounted by a toothpick holder in the form of a punctured animal—an ox in one case, an eagle in the other (fig. 6). Although these sumptuous objects could be brought to the table for use by diners, they functioned equally as display pieces on the sideboard.



Fig. 3. Basin and ewer. Venetian, 1590–1600. Gilt silver, Diam. of basin 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (67.5 cm), weight 3,740 g (8 lb. 4 oz.); H. of ewer 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (43.9 cm), weight 2,670 g (5 lb. 14 oz.). Marks and inscriptions: on reverse, city mark for Venice; master's mark W; and SB in monogram. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (M.237&A-1956). Descriptions of similar, highly decorated objects occur in the Aldobrandini inventory of 1603.



Fig. 4. Ewer. German (Augsburg?), ca. 1575–1600. Gilt silver, Seychelles nut, H. 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (41 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstammer (KK 6849). A more elaborate ewer of this type is described in the Aldobrandini inventory of 1603.



Fig. 5. Casket. Florence, late 15th–early 16th century. Gold, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.5 × 10.2 × 4.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1706). This small casket could have served as a saltcellar. It corresponds to descriptions of similar objects “in sarcophagus form” found in the Aldobrandini inventory of 1603.

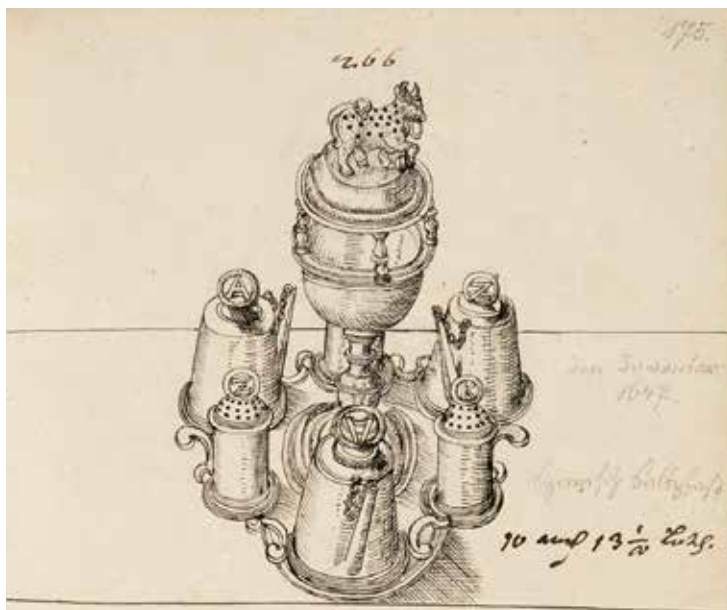
While the above-mentioned pieces represent some of the highlights of the Aldobrandini inventory’s *Credenza* section, the collection included several silver objects that were even larger and grander. Among them was a huge, round cistern for cooling wine that weighed forty-three pounds; two massive torchères (124 pounds total), probably over five feet high, supported by three dolphins; and two coal braziers, together weighing seventy-eight pounds, decorated with the cardinal’s coat of arms and twelve phoenixes.¹⁶ The single largest piece in the collection was a silver table covered with engraved scenes from ancient Roman history reminiscent of the themes on the Aldobrandini Tazze. Weighing over 125 pounds, the table had a wood core, silvered iron brackets, and legs in the shape of half figures of male and female satyrs carrying baskets laden with fruit and pairs of recumbent putti.¹⁷ The silver table would have been exhibited in one of the state rooms of the cardinal’s palace—perhaps in the audience chamber, along with the thronelike chair described in the inventory as being encased in repoussé

silver and upholstered with gold-and-silver-embroidered fabric.¹⁸ These precious pieces of furniture were extraordinary, indeed unique, in sixteenth-century Italy. They stood out amid the bulk of the Aldobrandini silver, which was made up of far more prosaic items, such as 85 candlesticks of various shapes and sizes, 386 pieces of flatware, and about 700 plates and platters. In total, the silver inventory’s 305 numbered entries record over 1,600 individual silver objects with a combined weight of almost 2,950 pounds.

There remains the question of how Pietro Aldobrandini was able to assemble this stunning treasure in just ten years as a cardinal. The fact that he inherited the belongings of Lucrezia d’Este, Duchess of Urbino, at her death in 1598, must have helped: three pieces in the inventory are described as bearing her coat of arms; other, unmarked objects may also have come from the duchess’s property. Yet for newly ascendant families like the Aldobrandini, inheritance would not have been the primary method of accumulating silver. Cardinals such as Pietro had the

means to commission objects from Roman goldsmiths and did so frequently, especially for works intended as gifts and religious donations. To this end, Cardinal Pietro employed one master almost exclusively: Pietro Spagna (1561–1627), who is credited in the inventory with providing an estimate of the weight of the silver used on the throne.¹⁹ As Xavier F. Salomon has shown, Spagna's name appears in numerous Aldobrandini payment documents, indicating that he produced works for the cardinal on a regular basis.²⁰ However, as was usual for the time, the 1603 inventory does not include goldsmiths' attributions. Only two entries—for a gold chalice and a set of six silver candlesticks—can be connected to Spagna, and the associations are tentative, based on corresponding weights.²¹ Further, although Spagna was paid several thousand scudi over decades, he and his workshop could not possibly have manufactured the entirety of Cardinal Pietro's holdings by 1603. The process of building an impressive silver collection through commissions alone was neither fast enough to meet the needs and expectations of a princely household nor the most financially advantageous method of acquisition.

In order to amass a substantial amount of silver quickly, well-funded patrons often availed themselves of the busy resale market in existing pieces. Research on the silver trade in Renaissance Italy is far from complete, but emerging archival evidence suggests that the market was more extensive and transnational than previously thought. The 1602 record of payment for six of the Aldobrandini Tazze, cited above, documents one such purchase, and there are additional entries for unspecified silver expenses in the Aldobrandini documents.²² In Rome, a good source for such acquisitions was silver left behind by deceased cardinals, whose heirs were often in need of cash. In 1560, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (1509–1572) bought four pieces that had belonged to Cardinal Girolamo Dandini, who died during the long papal conclave of 1559: a gilt dish for serving



bread (*panattiera*) with two small salts, a large egg cup “worked in relief,” a gilt chafing dish, and a gilt and decorated cup “in the German style.”²³ During the same conclave but from another source, Cardinal d’Este acquired twelve tazze. Known for his fondness of luxury and splendor, he probably owned many more: his table silver, estimated at more than 600 pieces, is recorded in an inventory begun in 1555.²⁴ The heirs of Cardinal Innocenzo del Bufalo (1566–1610) kept a careful record of the silver sold after his death. His inventory, much more modest, listed some 126 items. In April 1610, the lion’s share of Innocenzo’s silver was purchased by none other than Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1577–1633), who, following in Pietro’s footsteps, was the new *Cardinal Padrone* under the Aldobrandini pope’s successor, Paul V Borghese. Scipione (or his agent) paid 1,631.15 scudi for Innocenzo’s major pieces, including three basin-and-ewer sets (two large and gilt, one smaller and white, or ungilded), a large water jug weighing thirteen pounds, four German covered cups, three gilt candlesticks, a cardinal’s ceremonial mace, and ten large serving platters.²⁵ It is compelling to conclude that Scipione Borghese was accumulating his silver in a manner similar to the one

Fig. 6. Drawing (detail) of a condiment set. Czech or Austrian, ca. 1650–60. Pen and ink with white and yellow wash on paper, 12³/₈ × 7⁵/₈ in. (31.5 × 19.5 cm). Lobkowitz Silver Inventory, Nelahozeves Castle, Czech Republic (LB 44, fol. 175). The depiction corresponds closely to an entry for a condiment set in the Aldobrandini inventory.

Fig. 7. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger(?) (German/Swiss, ca. 1497–1543). Design for a jeweled cup, ca. 1535–40. Black ink and gray and brown wash on paper, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (30.2 × 21.7 cm). Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (1924.64), on loan from the Gottfried Keller-Stiftung. The drawing represents an object comparable to the jeweled cup described in the 1644 Farnese inventory.



employed by Pietro Aldobrandini a decade earlier. The two were rivals in many respects. Scipione, who is often portrayed as a rapacious collector of paintings, sculpture, and antiquities, sought to outdo Pietro's architectural projects with his own Villa Borghese in Rome and Villa Mondragone in Frascati, not far from Pietro's Belvedere.²⁶ Pietro had modeled his patronage on that of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), who had built a family palazzo, a villa in Caprarola, and the Jesuit mother church of the Gesù. In addition, he had assembled perhaps the most important collection of paintings and antiquities of his time.²⁷ Though Aldobrandini was unable to match the wide-ranging patronage of the elder Farnese cardinal, he remained in dogged competition throughout his life with Alessandro's grand-nephew Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), best known for commissioning Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) to paint the famous ceiling fresco in the gallery of Palazzo Farnese.²⁸

It is difficult to compare the Aldobrandini and Farnese silver collections. The inventory of Palazzo Farnese that is nearest in date to the Aldobrandini inventory of 1603 was

drawn up in 1644, long after the deaths of Cardinals Alessandro and Odoardo.²⁹ It is likely that by then a good amount of silver had been transferred from Rome to Piacenza, the capital of the Duchy of Parma, ruled by the Farnese family. The number of silver items—approximately 316—appears too small and the range too limited to represent the full holdings and level of splendor expected of *Il Gran Cardinale*, as Alessandro Farnese had been known. Nonetheless, some observations are worth noting. The inventory includes twenty-three tazze—a surprisingly large group.³⁰ Moreover, three of them were crafted of solid gold and by their description appear to belong stylistically to Cardinal Alessandro's time. The largest tazza had a lid, weighed almost four pounds, and was covered with colorful enamel and jewels. In the order of their mention in the inventory, the gems included two large sapphires, thirty-four rubies, forty-five diamonds, thirty-two emeralds of different sizes, and two heraldic Farnese lilies, each composed of five additional sapphires and rubies. The characterization of the vessel suggests that it may have been similar in design to a covered cup studded with gems represented in a drawing from about 1535–40 associated with Hans Holbein the Younger (fig. 7). Another of the Farnese gold tazze featured a foot combining an elephant and a grape vine, while the third was boat-shaped with two handles. An elaborate silver-gilt and enameled tazza, “in the German style” and set with “various medals,” may have been similar to extant sixteenth-century examples of covered cups from Nuremberg, Strasbourg, and other German centers (fig. 8).³¹ More important for the current discussion are entries for two Farnese silver tazze that included statuettes. One was gilt with “a figure of Neptune riding a horse”—probably a web-footed hippocamp—placed in the center; the dish and foot were covered in repoussé ornament. The other, smaller piece on a low foot also featured a sea theme: it had two fish handles; the dish was decorated with

waves and fish; and in the center were “two marine statuettes,” perhaps a pair of entwined tritons or mermaids. Weighing about two pounds and nine ounces, respectively, these objects could not compare in size or magnificence to the Aldobrandini Tazze.

Closer to the Aldobrandini inventory in date is the inventory of silver belonging to Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644), recorded just after he was elected to the papacy as Urban VIII in 1623.³² The three hundred items reflect his career as a well-to-do cardinal and diplomat on the rise. Indeed, he had worked closely with Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini and was part of his retinue on the diplomatic missions to Ferrara in 1598–99 and Lyon in 1600.³³ Maffeo’s holdings were substantial but not nearly as magnificent or numerous as Pietro’s, and his inventory was organized differently, divided into separate sections for silver and silver-gilt items. Pietro Spagna, the master goldsmith associated with Pietro, is cited as the expert who weighed and perhaps provided the descriptions of Maffeo’s pieces.

The first section of the Barberini inventory listed silver without gilding and began with the largest single object in Maffeo’s collection, a cistern for cooling bottles of wine and water.³⁴ At thirty-three pounds, it was not as massive as the cistern owned by Pietro, which was ten pounds heavier, but still would have provided an impressive focal point of the bottle cupboard’s display. A notable group of thirty-three pieces described as *alla francese* (in the French style) was likely acquired during Maffeo’s years as papal nuncio in Paris, in 1601–2 and 1605–7. Henri IV of France reportedly gave Maffeo twenty silver objects worth three thousand scudi after his first stay; after his second, the king is said to have sent him off with an entire credenza’s worth of silver-gilt vessels.³⁵ The silver-gilt objects labeled as French in the 1623 inventory include two basin-and-ewer sets, four saltcellars, two baskets, two lanterns, and four small bearers.³⁶ Additional standouts in this section



Fig. 8. Attributed to Erasmus Krug the Younger (German, active 1506–52). Covered cup with coins. Probably Strasbourg, ca. 1540. Gilt silver, H. 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (37.2 cm). Schroder Collection, London. The cup is similar to the cup “in the German style” set with “various medals” listed in the 1644 Farnese inventory.

included a large jug or ewer (fourteen pounds) that would have accompanied the white silver cistern mentioned above and three “large, decorated” basin-and-ewer sets.³⁷ Yet Maffeo Barberini did not appear to own tazze of particular note, nor does the inventory list fruit stands or other objects that might be compared to the Aldobrandini Tazze. Maffeo’s four small “French” tazze could be grouped together with three vessels listed in the inventory as *onappe*, a term derived from the French *hanap*, which usually refers to covered cups on a high foot.³⁸

Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632) was the favorite nephew of Pope Gregory XV (1554–1623), who, despite his short reign (February 1621–July 1623), enabled his younger relative to accumulate titles and benefices that made him an extremely wealthy man. Another avid art collector and builder of the era, Ludovisi outlived his uncle by less than a decade. The comprehensive inventory of the *guardarobba* (wardrobe) drawn up after his death in early 1633 begins, just like the 1603 Aldobrandini inventory, with silverwork.³⁹ Numbering four hundred pieces, the Ludovisi silver

hardly rivals Pietro Aldobrandini's possessions but offers interesting comparisons.

Among items intended for the credenza, Ludovisi's thirteen basin-and-ewer sets included several magnificent objects with decorations recalling certain pieces in the Aldobrandini inventory. Two basins with narrative depictions of Noah's Ark and the Conversion of Paul are reminiscent of the Aldobrandini basins with Pharaoh at the Red Sea and the myth of Apollo and Marsyas. A huge Ludovisi basin, weighing over twenty-one pounds with its ewer, showed the "Seven Wonders of the World" and was labeled "extraordinary" for its size and splendor. Two other basin-and-ewer sets of silver gilt seemed to form an allegorical pair: one with the Four Elements on the basin and the "three Theological Virtues" (Faith, Hope, Charity) on the ewer; the other with the Four Seasons on the basin and the "Cardinal Virtues" (Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance) on the ewer, the latter reminiscent of Aldobrandini's ewer with the same quartet of personifications.⁴⁰

Like Aldobrandini and Barberini, Ludovisi owned a large cistern and a water jug, which weighed almost twenty-eight pounds and twelve pounds, respectively. As for tazze, however, the Ludovisi inventory included only seven individual items, and they were of modest size and form. Of Ludovisi's two sets of gilt fruit stands, neither is comparable to the Aldobrandini Tazze: one was described as a group of sixteen small *fruttiere* in the German style, each decorated with three green-enameled dolphins; the second consisted of four fruit stands of a leafy design, each standing on a low foot and with "a tower in the middle."⁴¹ Notable within the Ludovisi collection were twenty-six gilt vessels called *belliconi*, a name derived from the German word *Willkomm*, designating cups that were raised to welcome and toast a guest. Sixteen of these, each weighing over three pounds, standing on a high foot, and decorated with three lion's masks, made up an impressive matching set.⁴² Ten other *belliconi*—some with lids,

some without—were individual cups with diverse decorations. Together with the basin-and-ewer sets, they could have filled one or two stepped sideboards for a splendid display.

In Italian inventories of this period, loanwords from French and German, like *hanap* and *bellicone*, together with the numerous geographic designations of styles and places of manufacture, are evidence of the active, transnational European market for silver during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Patrons, especially sophisticated and well-traveled ones like the cardinals surveyed here, must themselves have had a sense of the differences in style and quality of work from the various major manufacturing centers.

The locations associated with silver objects in Pietro Aldobrandini's 1603 inventory are France, Germany, Portugal, and Spain, as well as the cities of Milan, Naples, and Venice. Surprisingly, Rome is mentioned only once, in an entry for a ewer in the *Capella* section.⁴³ The most frequently referenced country is Spain, which is alluded to in twenty entries, usually to indicate the style (*alla spagnola*) rather than the place of manufacture (*fattura spagnola, lavoro spagnolo*). But the completeness and reliability of these designations are not absolute. For example, judging from comparable extant objects, Aldobrandini's silver table was likely made in Spain, although the entry is silent on the matter.⁴⁴ In addition, as demonstrated by Maffeo Barberini's group of silver objects *alla francese*, a cardinal's political alliances and diplomatic missions might have played a role in his acquisitions. Yet, although Pietro Aldobrandini's relationship with the French was not nearly as close as Barberini's, he did own six substantial pieces that were labeled as French.⁴⁵

The powerhouses of Augsburg and Nuremberg, in addition to other German silver centers, were surely major suppliers of the Italian market. While the *belliconi* in the Ludovisi collection are not identified as German, many of them could have been of German origin. And although the German designation appears only four times in the

Aldobrandini inventory, the splendid sculptural group of St. George slaying the dragon was almost certainly made in Augsburg. The entry lacks a geographic reference, but the minute description of the object corresponds closely to known versions of the same subject made by the Augsburg master Jakob I. Miller.⁴⁶

In the final analysis, it is apparent that silver collections of this period were anything but homogeneous. They varied considerably in their content and number, although certain types of objects—basin-and-ewer sets, cups, bottles, candlesticks, trays, and plates, among others—appear in every cardinal's collection. Even within a given category—display silver, for example—and type, such as cups, objects came from many different manufacturing centers and varied in style, size, and degree of decoration. Generally, the larger, heavier, more gilded, and more ornamented a piece was, the greater its esteem. Silver could enter a collection as a gift or specific commission but was frequently acquired through purchase. As collectors' needs and funds fluctuated, their silver holdings increased and diminished; there was a continuous in- and outflow of objects. Yet through such shifts in fortune, some families managed to retain remarkable works, such as the Aldobrandini Tazze, over generations.⁴⁷ And, although styles and fashions changed, even older pieces, if handsome enough, could find a buyer. This high regard for the finest silver perhaps explains why we find, as late as 1671, in an entry for twenty-four silver-gilt *fruttieri* in Cardinal Antonio Barberini's inventory, the surprising description of "twelve [fruit stands],

with statuettes above in white silver of the Twelve Emperors." Three other sets of four, also surmounted by the appropriate statuettes, comprised the Seasons, Elements, and "Monarchies" (probably after the Book of Daniel, 7).⁴⁸ Each Barberini fruit stand was weighed individually and averaged approximately three pounds eight ounces, only about half the weight of a single Aldobrandini tazza. It is not known if there was a connection between the two sets—if they shared the same maker, place of origin, patronage, or date—but the astonishing fact remains that the basic design of the Aldobrandini Tazze was not unique. Still, we do not know of any related objects that rivaled the Aldobrandini Tazze in size and magnificence. It is possible that their creation and display prompted imitations.

A close reading of the 1603 inventory and comparisons with similar cardinals' collections provide context that nuances our understanding of the Aldobrandini Tazze. For Pietro Aldobrandini and his contemporaries, they constituted just one set of silver objects—albeit a particularly grand one—among many that bolstered the papal nephew's claims to rank and authority. Aldobrandini's massed display of finely wrought silver was the visible, tangible evidence of the wealth, worldliness, and princely magnificence that was expected of a powerful *Cardinal Padrone*. Today we see the Aldobrandini Tazze differently: we recognize the set as a singular work of art and among the rarest, most precious remnants of a splendor and pageantry that seem to have disappeared, leaving, as Shakespeare's Prospero put it, "not a rack behind."

The Dodici Tazzoni Grandi in the Aldobrandini Collection

The financial records of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621) (fig. 1), the nephew of Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605) and one of the most significant art patrons and collectors in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century, are preserved in a series of eleven volumes in the Aldobrandini family archive at Frascati. Typically, the cardinal's expenses would have been recorded in *giornali*, account books in which payments were logged on a daily basis. Two of these survive, covering the years 1599 to 1605.¹ Subsequently, those same expenses were compiled in other volumes, the *libri mastri*, in which the data was organized by category rather than date; nine such books, covering Cardinal Pietro's income and expenses from 1592 to his death in 1621, are preserved at Frascati.² Thanks to these volumes, the cardinal's acquisition of the tazze can be precisely dated to March 26, 1602. Under that date, the following information is recorded in the *giornale* covering the years 1599–1602: "Silver. Owing 791.21 scudi that have been paid to the magnificent Alessandro Ruspoli, in exchange for 659.6.10 ducats, by virtue of a letter of Giacomo and Filippo Melani from Milan of the past February 27. The currency from Giovan Paolo Cinquevie and Ottavio Secco for six silver tazze with six emperors in them, sent from Milan."³ The same expense record appears under the same date in the relevant *libro mastro*, with a slightly shorter, less

detailed, entry.⁴ Less than a year later, at the beginning of 1603, all twelve tazze appeared in the inventory of Cardinal Pietro's possessions.

It is unclear why the Aldobrandini papers show payment for only six of the tazze. How the remaining six entered the collection is not known. On occasion, expenses were not recorded in the *giornali* and *libri mastri* or were noted imprecisely, with the result that the records in the two sets of books do not match. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the cardinal paid for the twelve tazze in two installments, with one of the two payments left unrecorded. It is also possible that payment for the other six tazze came from another source—maybe even the papal coffers of the Camera Apostolica—or that they were exchanged for other objects, or presented as a gift. Furthermore, it cannot be determined if the six tazze purchased in March 1602 were the first group to enter the collection, soon to be joined by the other six, or if the other six tazze were already in Pietro's possession by that date. With the recent reidentification of some of their narrative scenes, the tazze can be divided evenly into two groups.⁵ Those representing the first six Caesars—from Julius to Nero—bear no visible signs of ownership. The other six, representing the last six emperors—Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian—bear the engraved coat of arms of Cardinal Aldobrandini. On four of them, the arms have been added discreetly to the underside of the dishes, while on the dishes of Vespasian and Titus, the coat of arms is engraved on the upper surface (fig. 2, and see Titus III, p. 29). This distinction seems to reinforce the idea that the tazze were at some point divided into two groups of six. However, it is impossible to prove whether the tazze with the coat of arms were those bought in March 1602; they may already have been among the cardinal's possessions, or perhaps joined the collection later that year. Furthermore, no specific links have been established between Cardinal Pietro and

Alessandro Ruspoli or the bankers Giacomo and Filippo Melani, Giovan Paolo Cinquevie, and Ottavio Secco.

In January 1603, work was coming to an end on the cardinal's three main residences: his palace on via del Corso in Rome, his villa at Monte Magnanapoli on the Quirinal, and his larger villa at Frascati. It was while planning how to furnish these three buildings that Aldobrandini commissioned an inventory of all his possessions. This register was compiled at the beginning of 1603 by the administrators of Aldobrandini's household: Girolamo Agucchi, his *maggiordomo* (majordomo), and Bernardino Lupi, his *guardaroba* (chamberlain).⁶ The massive inventory lists the cardinal's belongings in sections, according to object type rather than location. All twelve tazze appear in the section dedicated to Aldobrandini's silver: "No. 52. Twelve large tazze on a high foot, worked with various stories in low relief, with a standing emperor on each, each piece marked with the number 52, all together weighing 109 *libre* and 11½ *oncie*."⁷

Among the inventory's seventy-six sections, which together list thousands of objects, the one devoted to Aldobrandini's silver holdings is particularly impressive. In it, a total of 305 numbered entries describe approximately 1,625 objects of various kinds.⁸ They are classified in six subsections, the first of which lists the items in the cardinal's travel trunk (*baulo da viaggio*)—that is, the silver he carried with him on his travels: dishes and bowls, cutlery, bottles, and candlesticks. Each of the travel items is described as being engraved with a star, its inventory number, and the Aldobrandini coat of arms. The next three sections, headed *Bottiglieria*, *Camera*, and *Capella*, respectively, catalogue bottles and secular and sacred silver. They are followed by the *Credenza* section, featuring objects used at banquets—by far the largest group in the silver inventory. Finally, the section devoted to plates (*piatti*) concludes the inventory. Of all the objects registered in the silver



Fig. 1. Ottavio Leoni (Italian, 1578–1630). *Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini*, ca. 1603. Black chalk on paper, 9⅞ × 6¼ in. (23.1 × 16 cm). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (WA 1937.277)

inventory, only about 180—just over one-tenth—are described as being gilt.

The detailed inventory helps us understand many of the cardinal's practices. We learn from it that more than half of the silver objects (1,021) were marked with the Aldobrandini coat of arms and that two objects, both listed under *Credenza*, had the cardinal's name engraved on them. Other coats of arms are noted on some of the objects: a small box (*cassetta*) bore the arms "of a Spanish cardinal"; a caddinet



Fig. 2. Coat of arms of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini engraved on Titus III (p. 29)

(*panettiera*, or broad dish) displayed the arms of the Este family, and another, together with a chafing dish (*scaldavivande*), carried the arms of the duke and duchess of Urbino. (Lucrezia d'Este was the widow of the duke of Urbino; Cardinal Aldobrandini inherited her possessions in 1598, during the devolution of Ferrara.) The coats of arms on these objects must have been prominently featured: although the Aldobrandini arms are engraved on six of the tazze, the emblems are discreet, and the inventory entry does not mention them.

As discussed by Stefanie Walker in the preceding essay, the style of many of the objects is noted, and the workmanship is often identified with specific cities (Milan, Venice, Naples) or countries (Spain, Portugal, Germany, and France).⁹ One small tazza was even described as originating in India (*lavoro Indiano*). The specific provenance of objects, however, is never mentioned, and whether an object was made especially for the cardinal or was acquired by him, and where, is never indicated. Nonetheless, the

descriptions in the entries allow us to imagine how extraordinary many of Pietro's silver holdings were. Most relevant for the tazze would have been a silver table, its top decorated with twenty scenes from ancient Roman history and its legs in the shape of male and female satyrs.¹⁰

The not-particularly-detailed entry on the tazze raises two interesting issues. First, it describes the objects as having a high foot (*piède alto*), proving that six of the feet—those that were not replaced in the nineteenth century—are either original or similar to the originals in size.¹¹ Second, and puzzlingly, the entry specifies that each tazza was marked with the inventory number 52, but that number does not appear on the tazze today. Its absence prompts questions, such as whether the numbers were erased or all the feet replaced at a later stage.

The 1603 inventory also contains annotations concerning the fortunes of many of the objects in the collection. The comments are usually recorded on the blank, right-hand pages facing the entries, which are inscribed on the left. Some of the objects were moved from one location to another: two basins with their ewers, as well as a caddinet, were sent to Meldola, one of the Aldobrandini fiefs in the north of Italy; and thirty-six plates were sent to Germany in 1621, to the cardinal's nephew, Pietro, Duke of Carpineto (1587–1630). A relatively large number of objects were recorded as missing. Cutlery was often lost; some pieces disappeared on a trip to Ravenna in 1620 and others at banquets—one in honor of the viceroy of Naples in 1600, another for the cardinal of Savoy in 1621. Silver plates were lost during conclaves and *sede vacante* (the time between the death of a pope and the election of his successor, a period of particular turmoil in Rome), but objects also went missing in the palace of the cardinal and at his villa in Frascati.

Because of their high value, silver objects were also melted down to be transformed into new objects. Fifty plates were melted, for example, so that the silver could be used

to produce another fifty, presumably following a more modern design. Gifts, too, were made in this way. A silver goblet was sacrificed to create a belt for Carlotta, Duchess of Carpineto (the wife of Cardinal Aldobrandini's nephew Pietro), and in 1627, Olimpia, the cardinal's sister and heir, had a basin and ewer melted down to make another basin and a barber's vase as a gift for her son Cardinal Ippolito. Not surprisingly, silver was most commonly sold or melted for the purpose of raising cash. The sum earned from the sale of a vase and two salvers in 1623 was given to the Monte di Pietà. Between May 14 and 24, 1625, 566 objects—an extraordinarily large group constituting about a third of the collection—were sent to the mint to be melted down on the orders of Pope Urban VIII, presumably to raise money for the Papal States. As we will see, such measures were common practice. Fortunately, and somewhat surprisingly, the twelve tazze were spared this fate and survived intact. Therefore, no comments were added to the original entry on the tazze.

The theme of the Twelve Caesars was a common one in Rome, and the 1603 Aldobrandini inventory demonstrates that the tazze were not the only objects with imperial associations kept by the cardinal. Among his sculptures were “twelve marble busts of twelve Roman emperors, about one palm high, with a round base”; these are likely the busts “found at San Giuliano” for which Aldobrandini paid Basilio Anguisola, the prior of the Carmelite order, 30 scudi on December 24, 1600.¹²

The silversmith most often employed by Cardinal Aldobrandini was Pietro Spagna (1561–1627) (fig. 3), from whom he commissioned a staggering number of works.¹³ From his workshop on via del Pellegrino, Spagna provided the cardinal with new objects and also repaired existing pieces. He produced silver objects of all types, including tazze. On May 10, 1601, for example, he was paid six scudi for making three tazze.¹⁴ Spagna also engraved the cardinal's coat of



Fig. 3. Giuliano Periccioli (Italian, 1600–after 1649). *Pietro Spagna*, ca. 1628. Black chalk, pen and brown ink on paper, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (21.8 × 15.5 cm). Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Mas. 2268)

arms on many of his silver objects and may have been responsible for those found on six of the tazze.¹⁵ No specific record of payment survives for this task, but Spagna was often paid lump sums for work “done and to be done” (*lavori fatti e da fare*). On September 23, 1602, and February 27, 1603, he was paid “for objects made and repaired” (*per fatture et aconciature*); between October 9, 1600, and January 21, 1603, he received payment “for other work done” (*et altri lavori fatti*).¹⁶ The second payment refers to a particular bill (*conto*) that had been

provided by Spagna but unfortunately does not survive. These payments may have included the engraving of the arms on the six tazze.

When Cardinal Pietro died in 1621, the tazze, together with his other belongings, were inherited by his sister, Olimpia (1566–1637), who was the widow of a cousin, Giovan Francesco Aldobrandini (1545–1601). Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini (1592–1638), who at Olimpia's death was her only surviving son, was the subsequent owner of the tazze, which appear in at least three undated inventories of his possessions.¹⁷ In addition, Ippolito's postmortem inventory of September 9, 1638, also includes the twelve tazze.¹⁸

In 1627, Vittorio Lancellotti, who had served as a steward (*scalco*) for Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, published with the printer Francesco Corbelletti a volume on the role of the steward at banquets. Titled *Lo scalco pratico* and dedicated to Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, the volume chronicles a number of banquets—most of them hosted by the Aldobrandini family—held between July 1602 and October 1627, at which Lancellotti had worked. Each meal is described in minute detail, allowing us to know how tazze, and in particular, the Aldobrandini Tazze, were used when they were in the family collection.¹⁹

Generally, tazze were used during one of the services in a banquet to hold fruit (pears, apples, figs, grapes, medlars, prunes, and cherries), vegetables (fennel), sweets (quince jam, sugared almonds), and sometimes Parmesan cheese. On occasion, they were purely decorative. In his account of the wedding banquet of Giovan Giorgio Aldobrandini and Ippolita Ludovisi, held in Rome on May 13, 1622, Lancellotti wrote, "Upon entering the main room, on the right side, there were three most beautiful dressers . . . with infinite and most beautiful gilded tazze, which provided a most beautiful and noble sight."²⁰ He had witnessed a similar display more than thirteen years earlier, on October 19, 1608, for the wedding of Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of

Tuscany, and Maria Maddalena of Austria, at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. There, "at the end of the room, in front of the royal table, was a most beautiful sideboard with basins, imperial, royal, and half dishes, caddinets, tazze of different sorts, made of sugar, so realistic that many people were fooled, and such a beautiful thing was never seen again."²¹ The objects displayed were often made of ephemeral materials. The banquet hosted by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in honor of Tommaso di Savoia on June 27, 1619, took place in the Stanza d'Apollo, adjacent to the nymphaeum at the villa in Frascati. "Because of the tightness of the space, there was no sideboard display, but just a dresser for the royal table . . . and there were new inventions of tazze." Among the objects described for that banquet were "six small statuettes made of sugar, one and one-half palms high, served on top of small tazze of biscuit paste, all silvered, with their arms lifted in the act of holding the tablecloth, with which the royal table was covered."²² Objects of this kind, in precious or ephemeral materials, were always a part of seventeenth-century banquets (fig. 4).

Lancellotti mentions the presence of *tazze imperiali* (imperial tazze) at nine of the banquets described in his book. On each of these occasions, the tazze were used to serve the confection known as *confettura bianca* or other types of sweets. A dessert of *confettura bianca* was served in four imperial tazze on January 1, 1610, at the banquet hosted by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini for the Auditori di Rota and again, exactly a year later, at another banquet held for the same guests.²³ Four imperial tazze with *confettura bianca* were also presented at banquets on November 20, 1610, and in March 1613 and February 1614.²⁴ On May 20, 1611, there were six imperial tazze with *confettura bianca*, and in February 1610 there were twelve.²⁵ On two other occasions—on May 22, 1603, for a banquet hosted by Duke Alessandro Pico della Mirandola, in Mirandola, in honor of the Archduke of Austria, and on

October 18, 1625, at the banquet hosted at Frascati by Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, in honor of Pope Urban VIII—imperial tazze were used to display Genoese biscuits and quince jelly from Portugal and Bologna.²⁶ It is tempting to identify the tazze mentioned in these descriptions with the Aldobrandini Tazze, but it is highly unlikely that decorated objects such as the Aldobrandini Tazze, with their delicate, low-relief ornamentation, would have been used to display sweets, or anything, for that matter, that would have hidden the scenes of Roman history and possibly damaged the objects' surfaces.²⁷

It becomes apparent, reading Lancellotti, that “imperial” relates to the size of the tazze rather than to their iconography. Throughout the book, there are mentions of *tazze reali* (royal tazze) and *tazzette* (small tazze). Clearly, tazze came in different sizes, imperial being the largest. During the 1622 banquet for the wedding of Giovan Giorgio Aldobrandini and Ippolita Ludovisi, twenty-four royal tazze were used for *confettura bianca*, and other types were used for fruit and sweets.²⁸ But also, and exceptionally, during the banquet's final course, “twelve imperial tazze, with silver emperors” were displayed on the table with nothing in them.²⁹

It is fitting that the tazze were used at this wedding. The following year, Giovan Giorgio and Ippolita had a daughter, Olimpia (1623–1681), who, by the time of Cardinal Ippolito's death in 1628, was the only surviving young member of the family. Therefore, the cardinal bequeathed the family properties and collection to her. Envisioning that her firstborn son would take his father's surname, he asked Olimpia to leave the Aldobrandini collection to her second-born son, who should take the Aldobrandini name instead of his father's. The tazze are recorded in two inventories of Olimpia's belongings: one compiled in 1646 and another between July 20 and August 17, 1682, after her death.³⁰ In the latter inventory, the tazze are recorded on July 23 as

being in the Aldobrandini palace on via del Corso, “in the first large room of the *guardaroba*, where the silver is.”³¹

Cardinal Ippolito's will created an inheritance problem that was to continue for more than one hundred years. The cardinal surely assumed that his niece would have at least two sons from the same husband, and that, while the first son would carry the father's family name, the second son would continue the Aldobrandini name. However, Olimpia married Paolo Borghese (1624–1646) in 1638, and at the time of his death, only one male son, Giovan Battista Borghese (1639–1717), survived. In 1647, Olimpia was married a second time, to Camillo Pamphilj (1622–1666), the nephew of Pope Innocent X. Of their children, two were boys: Giovan Battista (1649–1709) and Benedetto (1653–1729). Olimpia Aldobrandini thus became the last in the Aldobrandini line, leaving behind, at her death in 1681, three sons: two princes—Giovan Battista Borghese and Giovan Battista Pamphilj—and a cardinal, Benedetto Pamphilj. Two of them were firstborns, obliged to carry their papal family names; the third had entered an ecclesiastical career. Thus, none of Olimpia's sons could take the Aldobrandini name. Giovan Battista Pamphilj, as second born, inherited all the maternal Aldobrandini properties—the palaces, the villas, and the collection.

After 1681, the Aldobrandini Tazze became the property of the Pamphilj family.³² They next appear in the postmortem inventory of Giovan Battista Pamphilj, dated March 2, 1710. The “twelve large silver tazze with high feet, decorated in low relief with a standing emperor on top of each, weighing all together 109 *libre* and 8 *oncie*” are described as being “in the Aldobrandini *guardaroba* located in the palace on the Corso, inhabited by His Eminency Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj.”³³ A few years earlier, on September 4, 1690, Giovan Battista Pamphilj had lent the twelve tazze, together with other silver objects, textiles, and furniture, to his younger brother,

Fig. 4. Pierre-Paul Sevin (French, 1650–1710). *Feast Given by Pope Clement IX to the Polish Prince Lubomirsky in 1668*. Location unknown. From Fuhring 1989, vol. 1, p. 682, no. 1014



Benedetto, to use during his sojourn in Bologna as legate.³⁴

Giovan Battista Pamphilj and his wife, Violante Facchinetti, had two sons: Camillo (1675–1747) and Girolamo (1678–1760). At Girolamo’s death in 1760, the main line of the Pamphilj family, owners of the Aldobrandini inheritance, also came to an end. Giovan Battista’s sister, Anna Pamphilj (1652–1728), had married Giovanni Andrea III Doria Landi (1653–1737) in October 1671, and because of that marriage, in 1763 Pope Clement XIII allowed their grandson Giovanni Andrea IV (1705–1764) to take the Pamphilj surname. The Doria Landi family was based in Genoa, and it was Giovanni Andrea IV’s son, Andrea IV Doria Pamphilj Landi (1747–1820), who, in 1767, after his wedding to Leopoldina di Savoia Carignano, moved to Rome to take over the Pamphilj family palace on via del Corso. With the extinction of the Pamphilj family, the Borghese, as direct descendants of Olimpia Aldobrandini, were able to claim the Aldobrandini inheritance from the Doria Pamphilj. In 1769, the matter was settled, and among the silver objects

restituted by the Doria Pamphilj family to the Borghese, the tazze appear for the last time in the Pamphilj papers: “Aldobrandini silver delivered by Prince Doria Pamphilj to the Most Excellent Borghese family, according to the inventory of February 1769 . . . Twelve ancient silver fruit stands, all engraved and storied, with the statue of one of the twelve Caesars above each, in silver.”³⁵ By the time another inventory was compiled of the Doria Pamphilj silver, in 1796, no trace of the tazze remained.

What happened to the tazze after 1769 is unknown. At the time, Marcantonio IV (1730–1800) was Prince Borghese, and his younger brother, Paolo (1733–1792), inherited the Aldobrandini name and fortune. But for several generations, the name kept returning to the main branch of the family. When Paolo died in 1792, the Aldobrandini name went to Marcantonio’s second son, Francesco (1776–1839), who took the title of Prince Aldobrandini. Marcantonio’s first son, Camillo (1775–1832), became Prince Borghese and married Napoleon’s sister Pauline Bonaparte but died with no children, leaving the title of Prince Borghese to

Francesco. Francesco's sons, Marcantonio V (1814–1886) and Camillo (1816–1902), in turn became the princes Borghese and Aldobrandini. However, the tazze seem to have been in the Borghese/Aldobrandini family for a very short time, possibly less than a generation. The silver inventory compiled on May 5, 1792, after Paolo Borghese Aldobrandini's death, makes no mention of the twelve tazze.³⁶ They must have been sold by the Borghese family between 1769 and 1792 and had probably left Rome, as we will show below.

Of the 1,625 silver items listed in the 1603 inventory of Cardinal Aldobrandini, the twelve tazze are the only objects that are known to survive. This is not surprising: the late eighteenth century witnessed the systematic destruction of most, if not all, gold and silver objects in the Papal States. Because of the financial crisis in Rome caused by the war with France, Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–99) ordered all aristocratic families to surrender their gold and silver objects to the mint. In June 1796, the pope put two Roman princes, Marcantonio IV Borghese and Filippo III Colonna, in charge of collecting the silver and gold. A letter of June 8, 1796, from Colonna to Andrea IV Doria Pamphilj informed Doria Pamphilj of Pius VI's order.³⁷ The edict established the value that was to be assigned to both gold and silver; the value of the material submitted was to be invested, and the investments were to be redeemable after ten years. Doria Pamphilj, like other princes, was asked to "report to the public mint the quantity of gold and silver that he can surrender for the public good." A printed notification, dated June 29 and signed by the pope's treasurer, Girolamo

della Porta, confirmed that "to reorder the monetary system, which has suffered because of the unfortunate circumstances of these times, as in the past," Pius VI asked all his subjects to deliver their gold and silver to the mint, to "invest it" in the production of new currency.³⁸ Several further edicts followed. In July 1796, Prince Doria Pamphilj requested that a list of all his silver in his various residences be compiled, and an inventory was recorded on July 8.³⁹ Most of that silver was sent to the mint to be melted down. The tazze, having been given to the Borghese family twenty-seven years earlier, were not in the inventory, but if they had still been in the Borghese family in 1796, it is unlikely that they would have escaped being melted down. Since Prince Borghese was one of the two papal commissaries charged with making sure the aristocracy complied with Pius VI's edict, it is improbable that the tazze would have been saved. The twelve objects must have been sold by the Borghese family earlier on, possibly soon after 1769.

It is highly unlikely that the tazze could have survived the 1790s in Rome. On February 19, 1797, Napoleon and the pope signed the Treaty of Tolentino, effectively declaring the French victory over the papacy. What followed was a new wave of destruction of silver and gold objects in private collections and churches. Consequently, Roman silver objects created prior to the early nineteenth century are now extremely rare, and the tazze represent an astonishing survival. The circumstances that guaranteed their existence and allowed for their reappearance in England in 1826 remain a mystery.⁴⁰

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The Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History of the Tazze

The history of the Aldobrandini Tazze in the nineteenth century is almost imponderably complex, but as a mirror of contemporary taste and the growing antiquarian market, it rewards examination. The set of twelve tazze remained intact until at least 1861 and was divided at some point in the following decade. By then, many of the dishes had been paired with the wrong emperor figures, confounding—or perhaps reflecting a lack of interest in—the narrative significance of the chased scenes. But as the objects changed hands among collectors and dealers, the animated detail and extraordinary chased work on the dishes were consistently prized. This appreciation is a telling expression of the growing admiration for virtuoso craftsmanship in a century of industrialization.

This essay summarizes the history of the tazze—as far as it is known—from their arrival in England in 1826 to their eventual dispersal across five countries and three continents in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ The objects are considered in the context of evolving connoisseurship and a changing art market. Nineteenth-century antiquarianism was nurtured jointly by dealers specializing in precious curiosities and their clients, whose historical princely possessions added luster and gravitas to newly acquired wealth.

There is a fifty-year gap in our knowledge of the tazze, spanning 1769, when they

were last recorded in Rome, and 1826, when their arrival in England was announced. The tazze were celebrated as the work of the famous Florentine goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini, an attribution that persisted through much of the nineteenth century. British newspaper accounts of the day summarized the tazze's putative recent history, claiming that in 1792 they “escaped the rapacity of the French invaders by being carried off [from the Borghese palace] and buried. . . . [T]hey afterwards became the property of one Dominichi, who was steward to the family at this perilous period; at whose death they were sold into England . . . while the money paid for them is devoted to charities and masses, &c. for the good of the soul of their last possessor.”² More reliably, the papers described the interest aroused by the display of the tazze in London, where “they ha[d] also been submitted to the notice of His Majesty, and of several members of the Royal Family.”³

The dealer responsible for the London display was the silversmith Kensington Lewis (1790–1854), who is reported to have been inundated by prospective buyers keen to acquire the tazze, which he had purchased for “a large price.”⁴ Lewis had set up shop in fashionable St. James's Street in 1822.⁵ His new business satisfied the appetites of a circle of patrons that included King George IV and two of his brothers, the dukes of York and Sussex.⁶ The Napoleonic Wars had resulted in the release of thousands of works onto the art market, which had shifted its center from Paris to London. In contrast to the apparent austerity of George III's household, George IV, as both Prince Regent and king, reveled in court ceremony and grand display. Though his vast expenses were controversial, supporters held that British manufacturers benefited from them and that the nation's prestige was at stake. In the face of war with revolutionary France, these Britons looked to the court to underscore the dignity of the monarchy with grand display and to bolster

British manufacturers by its patronage of luxury goods.⁷

Lewis was known for selling both antiques and contemporary plate of eclectic design and massive scale. To the Duke of York, he sold silver objects cumulatively weighing thousands of ounces, many of them executed by the maverick silversmith Edward Farrell, who borrowed liberally from Baroque and Renaissance sources. When the profligate duke died in 1827, a four-day sale of his silver was held at Christie's to recover part of his enormous debt.⁸ Although secondhand silver had always been a marketable commodity, it was not until the early years of the nineteenth century that out-of-fashion plate came to be appreciated for its design and workmanship as well as for its material value. Among the wealthy English collectors drawn to great Renaissance goldsmiths' work were Horace Walpole (1717–1797), William Beckford (1760–1844), and Albert, Lord Londesborough (1805–1860).

Lewis competed for market share with the larger and more established firm of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, which had held a royal warrant since 1797. Rundell's had a dizzying portfolio of wealthy clients and sold new plate, gold boxes, regalia, bronzes, and jewelry through agents in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and South America.⁹ From its lavishly outfitted shop in Ludgate Hill, the firm supplied the Prince Regent and his brothers with great *Schatzkammer* (treasury) objects, some of which are still in the Royal Collection, and it met a growing demand for old silver by offering clients secondhand royal plate—presumably at melt value—that it had on consignment.

It is not known who bought the tazze from Lewis, but in 1834 they were again on the market.¹⁰ The vendor, whose name was not disclosed at the time, was another significant London dealer, Thomas Hamlet (1793–ca. 1849).¹¹ Less powerful than Lewis and Rundell's, Hamlet was nonetheless extremely ambitious and successful, at least

until his bankruptcy in 1841. For thirty years he operated as a jeweler and goldsmith specializing in military badges and decorations. His interests and investments were diverse: he developed the Royal Bazaar, a retail space-cum-diorama, and when that burned down he built a theater in its place.¹² Several factors point to the possibility that Hamlet had been holding the tazze against debts owed him by the estate of the Duke of York.¹³ If eventually this hypothesis proves to be correct and allows us to conclude that the tazze were indeed owned by the duke, our understanding of royal collecting will be enhanced.¹⁴

George IV and the dukes of York and Sussex were keen acquirers of both modern plate and virtuoso antique plate. York followed the king's lead; most of his collection was made up of grand, sculptural, modern plate, and much of it was gilded. His main aim, like the king's, seems to have been to create a theatrical effect with his silver; he had little interest in segregating the new from the old, and most of the old was re-gilded, presumably to produce a harmonizing effect when the collection was seen en masse. Sussex was a collector of a different stripe. While his modern silver was opulent (though fewer pieces were gilded), his antique collection showed a real connoisseur's eye. To judge from surviving pieces and from the catalogue of his posthumous sale in 1843, it must have been one of the most interesting and well-chosen collections of English and Continental Renaissance and Baroque silver of his time.¹⁵

The tazze's buyer at the Hamlet sale was the Emanuel Brothers, described as "rich diamond merchants in the City."¹⁶ Whether they were buying for stock or acting as agent is unknown, but at some stage between 1834 and 1860, the tazze were acquired by Charles Scarisbrick (1800–1860) of Scarisbrick Hall in Lancashire. A wealthy landowner from a distinguished Catholic family, Scarisbrick was said to have been worth about £3 million when he died. By all accounts, he was a reclusive, antisocial

Fig. 1. A. W. N. Pugin (British, 1812–1852). Design for the great hall, Scarisbrick Hall, Lancashire, ca. 1840. From *Country Life* (London) 122 (March 1958), p. 506



individual; it has even been suggested that he was the model for Mr. Rochester in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.¹⁷ Nathaniel Hawthorne described him as "a very eccentric and nervous man [who] spends all his time at the secluded hall . . . and sees nobody, not even his steward."¹⁸ Scarisbrick's eccentricity may be gauged by the instructions he left for his funeral, which stipulated that his remains be carried from the house to the grave in a straight line. Fulfilling this request entailed the demolition of a wall, the removal of a section of hedge, and the bridging of ditches across the fields.¹⁹

Despite his reclusiveness, Scarisbrick developed a keen sense of the magnificent comparable to that of the more famous William Beckford. After inheriting the estate from his brother in 1833, Scarisbrick commissioned the Catholic architect A. W. N. Pugin to remodel the house in the Gothic style. The resulting edifice, completed after Scarisbrick's death, included a chapel, great hall, picture gallery, and elaborately decorated rooms, such as the Carved Oak Room and the Tudor Hall (fig. 1).

Unfortunately, no reference to the tazze has been found in the Scarisbrick archives, and we do not know exactly when Scarisbrick acquired them or how he displayed them.²⁰ They were, however, the most expensive item by far at his posthumous sale at Christie's in 1861, where they fetched £1,280, more than twice as much as any of his pictures. What had persuaded him to buy them? It is clear from the sale catalogues and from the house itself that Scarisbrick was fascinated by theatricality, the classical world, and fine reliefs. He was a great patron of the English painter John Martin and owned several of his large, Romantic canvases; also included in his sale were more than 160 classical gems, intaglios, and cameos, as well as a collection of silver reliefs, some mounted in black frames. The Carved Oak Room, known from photographs taken before an auction held there in 1963, was decorated with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century carved wood panels that would have provided a perfect setting for the tazze.²¹ Scarisbrick may also have been attracted by the tazze's presumed papal provenance, discussed below.

At the 1861 sale, ownership of the tazze passed to Richard Attenborough, a prominent London dealer who lent two of the tazze to the landmark exhibition held at the South Kensington Museum (precursor to the Victoria and Albert Museum) the following year.²² Attenborough, like many dealers of the time, was involved in many trades; he is recorded as a pawnbroker, goldsmith, silversmith, diamond and pearl merchant, and appraiser.²³ A stately two-story shop, newly constructed in 1870 and fitted with air-tight cases in walnut and ebony, gives a sense of the scale of Attenborough's retail activities (fig. 2).²⁴

The varied business interests of the small group of elite dealers that included Lewis, Hamlet, and Attenborough suggest that London's traders in luxury goods were cultivating a global market for their wares. What is less clear is what qualities they valued in Renaissance silver. There were no

publications on the subject, no references for understanding the marks, and no major princely collections in England on which to base a study. The antiquarian interests of Scarisbrick and his English contemporaries may have been broad, but what was their understanding of the tazze's twelve Caesars and chased narrative scenes? The mismatched dishes and figures and the fact that most of the scenes on the dishes do not feature the great monuments of ancient Rome would have made it hard to decipher the works' meaning. Although Latin (with Greek) remained a foundation stone in England for a boy's education, the favored texts were Caesar, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace. Suetonius was translated only once in the nineteenth century; it was not until 1950 that he was explicitly identified in modern times as the source of the tazze's narrative.²⁵ As a result, the imperial theme seems not to have attracted discussion. With a few exceptions, nineteenth-century accounts tend to summarize the scenes generically: "battles, triumphal marches, judicial assemblies, the circus."²⁶

Provenance, however, was clearly important to nineteenth-century collectors. From the time they first appeared in England the tazze were associated with the Aldobrandini family. Early nineteenth-century newspaper and auction accounts incorrectly associated the arms on the tazze with Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini (later Pope Clement VIII).²⁷ Only in the last ten years has it become clear that the family arms must relate instead to Ippolito's nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621), who owned the entire set in 1603.²⁸ By 1834, a more illustrious and equally spurious provenance had been appended. It was claimed that Ippolito had presented the tazze to François I of France (r. 1515–47) and that the set had remained with the French royal treasures until the Revolution.²⁹ This is a curious assertion, not least because the king died long before Ippolito became pope.³⁰

The market also clearly prized attribution to an artist of stature. From their first



Fig. 2. Premises of Richard Attenborough, 33 Piccadilly, London, 1870. From *The Architect* (London) 4 (August 27, 1870), following p. 118

appearance on the London art market in 1826, the tazze were attributed to Benvenuto Cellini, who was admired as "illustrious and eccentric," with a "peculiar and incomparable" manner of working.³¹ Accordingly, writers focused on the objects' virtuoso workmanship, particularly "the number of the figures, their minuteness, and the accuracy of their drawing," rather than on their meaning.³² Cellini's reputation as the greatest goldsmith of the Renaissance stemmed mainly from the publication in English of his colorful autobiography.³³ Initially brought out in 1771, the translation was reissued five times in the first half of the nineteenth century. The author's folkloric fame was further enhanced by Hector Berlioz's opera *Benvenuto Cellini* (1838) and Alexandre Dumas's novel *Ascanio* (1843). As a result, Cellini's name became a magnet for almost any virtuoso goldsmith's work in want of an attribution. As early as 1772, Horace Walpole attributed to Cellini his intricately cast bell (made in Nuremberg), calling it "the *uniquet* thing in the world."³⁴ In 1786, one of the prized lots in the sale of the contents of the Duchess of Portland's museum was a rosary "by Benvenuto



Fig. 3. Attributed to the workshop of Ferdinand Eusebio Miseroni (Bohemian, active 1656–84). Ewer, ca. 1680, with early 19th-century mounts. Smoky rock crystal, enamel, gold, diamonds, H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.138)

Cellini” formed from “six plumb and fifty cherry-stones”;³⁵ and in the 1822 sale catalogue of William Beckford’s possessions from Fonthill Abbey, an elaborate gold-mounted rock-crystal cup (now recognized as an early nineteenth-century marriage) was described as “the UNDOUBTED EXECUTION OF BENVENUTO CELLINI” (fig. 3).³⁶ A final example of the Cellini craze is a silver-mounted nautilus cup, attributed to Cellini but by the Nuremberg goldsmith Nikolaus Schmidt (ca. 1550/55–1609), that was bought by George IV in 1823.³⁷

The events described by the swashbuckling Cellini would have been enticing fodder for the nascent Romantic movement, but his persistent popularity also aligned with certain contemporary undercurrents in

the English goldsmiths’ trade. Established businesses like Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, whose workers had trained in the eighteenth-century English tradition, were wrestling with a nagging concern that their national design heritage could not compare with the French or Italian. The absence of a champion—a sculptor of international stature—to elevate the reputation of English silver was keenly felt, and there was anxiety that the noblest of all trades might be reduced to manufacturing decorative wares. The notion that important works of art, such as the tazze, might be created by an anonymous team of goldsmiths was incompatible with the notion of the heroic Renaissance artist. Therefore, a concerted effort was made to elevate the quality of English goldsmiths’ designs by engaging academy-trained sculptors. Philip Rundell, for example, hired the sculptor William Theed (1764–1817) and later John Flaxman (1755–1826) to produce models for the workshop.

The sensitivity of English goldsmiths to their standing in relation to their French and Italian counterparts was never far from the surface. After the Duke of York’s 1827 sale, the press celebrated the superiority of English-made silver, which had gone for a higher rate per ounce than its French equivalent. And in 1834 the tazze were disparaged in a letter to the editor from “A Legitimate Citizen Goldsmith,” who complained that English chasers had talents superior even to Cellini’s, and that the twelve tazze, “about the identity of which . . . there are great doubts” were nothing compared to what English goldsmiths might do if only given the opportunity. The writer did not elaborate on his doubts, and there are no explicit indications that the authenticity of the tazze was called into question in this period. The letter reveals an anti-Semitic resentment of Jewish dealers in antiques, who, he claimed, directed the taste of the aristocracy and socialized with them as equals while the honest [Christian] “tradesman or artist will

be allowed to kick his heels in the hall, companion to the porter.”³⁸ The goldsmith’s complaint suggests anxiety about the future of new commissions for contemporary work that for the first time had to compete with a generous supply of Renaissance treasury pieces. It is in this somewhat charged atmosphere that the Aldobrandini Tazze changed hands several times in the first half of the nineteenth century.

After Attenborough’s acquisition of the tazze, the trail becomes more difficult to follow. Sometime between 1862 and 1872 the set was divided; some of the tazze entered Rothschild family collections, and by 1888, a group of six was owned by the Paris dealer Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890).³⁹ The Rothschilds were natural owners of the tazze; the massive expansion in the market for princely decorative arts in the second half of the nineteenth century was largely inspired by their voracious collecting. The founder of the dynasty, Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744–1812), had run a business from the Frankfurt ghetto selling “antiques, medals and objects of display.”⁴⁰ So successful was he that he was able to shift his business to banking. He was also successful in producing talented sons, who established branches of the family bank in London, Paris, Naples, and Vienna. The silver collection was founded by a grandson, Anselm Salomon von Rothschild (1803–1874), and it is fitting that he should have been one of the first owners of a tazza after the set was dispersed. His collection, which included more than six hundred precious objects dating mostly from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, became well known in 1872 through the publication of a sumptuous, illustrated catalogue that included one of the Aldobrandini Tazze.⁴¹ On Anselm’s death in 1874, the collection was divided among his sons, each portion becoming the foundation of a new Rothschild collection. Of these, the best known is that of Baron Ferdinand (1839–1898). Modeled after the great *Kunstammer* troves of the Renaissance, the baron’s collection included maiolica, glass,

princely arms and armor, silver, and jewelry, and was displayed at Waddesdon Manor, his magnificent home in Buckinghamshire.⁴²

Forming such a collection then was easier than it would be today. Objects were available and prices were often low. Writing toward the end of his life, Baron Ferdinand mused about the market of the 1840s as a buyer’s paradise: “Oh! for those good old days when the artistic merit of a cup was of no account to its possessor, and he merely valued it according to the number of ounces it contained!”⁴³ The gradual rise in prices later in the nineteenth century resulted partly from the creation of museum collections in Europe, Britain, and the United States, and partly from publications like Baron Anselm’s. One can well imagine that the decision to produce such a catalogue was based as much on financial considerations as on a desire for self-advertisement; the book would have helped raise awareness of the merits of its contents and hence increased their value.

Unfortunately, this buyer’s paradise was set with snares to trap the unwary. Renaissance jewels and *Schatzkammer* objects were available, but not in sufficient quantities to satisfy the cravings of collectors. Fakes proliferated, and few contemporary collectors managed to avoid them completely.

Frédéric Spitzer is now considered one of the most notorious collectors-cum-dealers of the nineteenth century. Born in Vienna, he began his career in London before moving to Paris (fig. 4). He was insatiable in acquiring medieval and Renaissance objects, which he showed in his densely furnished apartment. In 1893, after his death, his collection was dispersed in a highly publicized sale in Paris that lasted thirty-eight days.⁴⁴

Spitzer’s posthumous reputation as an inveterate meddler is attested by a letter of 1950 by Julius Goldschmidt, nephew of the dealer Selig Goldschmidt, whose family was involved in sales of the tazze from 1893, or perhaps earlier.⁴⁵ “Spitzer had the peculiar habit and passion to ‘embellish’ many works

Fig. 4. Frédéric Spitzer in Renaissance costume. Photograph by Atelier Nadar, Paris, after 1878. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Arms and Armor archives



of art in his collection. He liked everything ornate and overrich. In the case of the six cups [the tazze] he did not like the feet, which are so beautiful in their simplicity and proportion. He had the original feet removed, and had made new ones, most horribly over ornamented and not going at all with the style of the cups."⁴⁶ Whether Spitzer believed the original, fluted feet were inauthentic or simply wanted to make them conform more closely to a nineteenth-century stereotype of Renaissance style—and hence, make the tazze more salable—we do not know. But the original feet are now lost and were perhaps melted down to provide the metal for their replacements.⁴⁷ Two of the tazze, complete with new feet, are visible on a table in photographs of Spitzer's study (fig. 5).⁴⁸

A turning point in our understanding of Spitzer's interventions came with the discovery of a trove of drawings by the Aachen goldsmith Reinhold Vasters (1827–1909), whom Spitzer employed to design and produce fake Renaissance jewels and *Schatzkammer* objects in what has come to be known as *le goût Rothschild* (Rothschild taste).⁴⁹ When Spitzer had the tazze's feet

replaced with elaborate, mannerist substitutes, he probably entrusted the work to Vasters.⁵⁰ For his new productions, Vasters famously borrowed motifs from works he restored. This practice can be seen in a hardstone figure from his workshop: the figure of a Roman emperor, posed on a cylindrical base and garnished with enamelled gold settings, which could well have been inspired by the statuettes of the Caesars on the tazze (fig. 6).

So long as the tazze's physical alterations—the gilding and replaced feet—were undisclosed, they would doubtless have increased the works' appeal to admirers of *le goût Rothschild*. Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that the gilding was not done earlier, as there was a long-standing presumption that Renaissance silver should be gilded, and Kensington Lewis and his clients strongly favored gilt over white silver.⁵¹ However, considering the large surface area of the set, the treatment would have been very expensive.⁵²

A different kind of intervention—one that testified to the enduring fame of the tazze—involved the creation of replicas. Bronze copies of the twelve Caesar figures, each mounted on an elaborate Venetian-style base, were cast at an unknown date, presumably in the nineteenth century and before 1872, by which time the set had been divided (fig. 7).⁵³ In addition, electrotype silver copies were made of at least some of the dishes. Electroforming, a technique invented in the 1840s for producing precise copies of an original, was developed in England, France, Germany, and Russia. Commercial manufacturers Elkington & Co., based in Birmingham, and Christoffe & Cie., in Paris, had success selling electroformed wares for educational purposes to art schools and museums. It is not clear where or why the Titus dish, now in Lisbon, was copied (the electrotype is in a private collection), but the posthumous sale of Vasters's possessions included copies of the Augustus and Vitellius dishes, so it is possible, though not certain, that Vasters copied



Fig. 5. View of Frédéric Spitzer's study, Paris, with two tazze visible on the near table. Photograph by A. Pepper, ca. 1890. From *Recueil: Photographies Diverses du 19^e siècle*, photo album, ca. 1880–1905, Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (LL97)

the full set.⁵⁴ The electrotyped Titus dish is distinctly heavy and, unusually, was produced in panels: four forming the narrative section of the dish and a fifth for the section at the center. The reverse is smooth, lacking the nodules characteristic of electrolytic deposition, suggesting that it may have been allowed to remain in the electrolyte solution until a very heavy layer of silver had accumulated. This side of the dish seems to have then been filed down. Most of Elkington's nineteenth-century silver electrotypes

are much lighter and thinner and were fabricated when the technology was fully mastered. The construction of the Titus dish raises the possibility that it is an early production, made in five pieces because the manufacturer had not yet mastered the technology.

Though the tazze attracted attention each time they appeared on the market, there is little evidence that they directly influenced the design of nineteenth-century historicist silver. However, a silver agricultural trophy

Fig. 6. Reinhold Vasters (German, 1827–1909). *Roman Emperor*, 19th century. Gold, enamel, and semiprecious stones, H. 13¼ in. (33.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.599)



produced by Christoffe in 1861 might possibly reflect an awareness of their design (fig. 8). It features a standing figure of Ceres on a cylindrical pedestal above a dish chased in low relief; the reclining livestock on the base are clearly a nineteenth-century

invention. Could this piece have been inspired by the tazze at the same moment the electrotype copies were produced?

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the price of the tazze rose dramatically. In 1861, at the Scarisbrick sale, the full set made £1,280; in 1893, six of the tazze sold at the Spitzer sale for a total of 69,500 French francs (£2,780 at the exchange rate of the time), more than four times the earlier price pro rata. An even starker contrast is the 15,000 German marks paid for a single tazza in Cologne in 1882 (about £730). Finally, the Titus dish in the Ashburnham sale in 1914, despite the loss of its stem and emperor figure, made £680.⁵⁵

In the turmoil of World War I and, later, the Great Depression, the monetary value of the tazze tumbled, along with the rest of the art market. The Titus dish (pl. 11) reappeared three times, realizing less on each occasion: in 1922 it sold for £456; in 1935, for £280; and in 1945, for £230. Since then, the tazze's price point has had an extraordinary trajectory. When the Caligula figure/Galba dish tazza (pl. 7) was offered at Christie's in 1960, it sold for just £380 after a well-known dealer declared it a fake. The condemnation was presumably based on the



Fig. 7. Copies made after the Aldobrandini Tazze emperor figures, probably 19th century. Bronze, average H. excluding base 11¾ in. (29 cm). Schroder Collection, London

object's fluted foot, for at the time, the more elaborate Spitzer feet were widely regarded as genuine. In 1970, an article by silver scholar John F. Hayward proved the contrary and doubtless played a part in the tazze's reversal of fortune between 1960 and 1982, when the Vespasian tazza (even with a Vasters foot) (pl. 10) sold for \$231,000.⁵⁶ The upward-spiraling trend continued. When the Nero/Augustus tazza (pl. 2) was sold from the Wernher collection in 2000, it made £1 million.⁵⁷

Can the gilding and the "improved" feet fully account for the late nineteenth-century escalation in price? Probably not. While the interventions were doubtless intended to increase the tazze's value, the price rise also reflects a general market surge. The following examples from the same period indicate similar (though inconsistent) trends in the wider market for Renaissance silver and decorative arts. A Basel-made covered beaker of 1541 sold for £45 in the high-profile Bernal sale of 1855 but £300 when resold twenty years later; the Blacksmiths' Company Cup of 1625, also in the Bernal sale, made £37 10s in 1855 but £4,100 in 1911; an oval, rock-crystal bowl attributed to Valerio Belli was bought by William Beckford for just £21 in 1818 and sold in the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882 for £1,207; between 1859 and 1882, a Saint-Porchaire salt escalated from £280 to £840; a Limoges enamel portrait of Queen Claude, consort of Francis I, rose from £400 in 1861 to £1,280 in 1890; and a Gubbio lusted maiolica dish of the Judgment of Paris sold for £142 5s in 1855 and made £819 in 1884.⁵⁸

Auction prices are only one measure of changing economic conditions and taste. The consistent interest aroused by the Aldobrandini Tazze during the nineteenth century reflects a rising appreciation for virtuoso workmanship in the elite field of goldsmiths' work, which was felt to be threatened by the rise of industrial manufacturing. In addition, the stature of Renaissance art objects benefited from a



growing body of scholarship and the nascent discipline of art history. Because of the vicissitudes suffered by the tazze—their dispersal, the replacement of some of the feet, and, most significantly, the misalignment of the components—they were admired for their workmanship, but their meaning was lost. This story is interesting in itself as a window onto the character of nineteenth-century taste and the growth of antiquarianism and the antiques market. More specifically, the present research initiative, which has untangled much of the complex history of the tazze, should open the door to understanding them as a single, extraordinarily ambitious work of art.

Fig. 8. Christofle & Cie. Agricultural trophy modeled by Pierre Louis Rouillard (1820–1881) and Eugène Capy (1829–1894), 1861. Silver, H. 25¼ in. (64 cm)

*Linda Borsch, Federico Carò,
and Mark T. Wypyski*

Technical Analysis of the Aldobrandini Tazze

The departments of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research at The Metropolitan Museum of Art carried out a technical analysis of the Aldobrandini Tazze when the objects were gathered at the Museum over a twelve-week period, from March to June 2014. In order to identify how the objects were made and assess their condition—including evidence of use, alterations, damages, and repairs—the tazze were disassembled and examined visually with stereobinocular magnification and using X-ray radiography. All the individual silver components were analyzed using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF).¹ Quantitative analyses of microsamples from four of the tazze were performed with the use of energy and wavelength dispersive X-ray spectrometry in the scanning electron microscope (SEM-EDS/WDS).² Samples from three tazze were also analyzed by laser ablation inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS).³ SEM-EDS/WDS characterized the silver alloys of the tazze's original components as containing approximately 11–13 percent copper, with traces of lead and bismuth in amounts typically found in silver produced before the second half of the nineteenth century (see Tables, p. 168).

When correctly configured, the tazze have an average height of 16 inches (41 cm) and an average weight of 6.3 pounds (2.85 kg). Each tazza is composed of seven separately finished silver components: a cast figure, pinned and soldered to the pedestal cap; a cast cape, with two threaded shoulder

pins; a cast pedestal in the form of an open cylinder; a hammered dish; a small, hammered disk on the underside of the dish; a cast stem; and a hammered foot (fig. 1). The seven components were joined mechanically rather than by silver soldering to avoid melting the thinner, hammered elements in the furnace during the final stages of assembly.⁴ The figure, pedestal, dish, disk, and stem were connected by means of a threaded silver rod (approximately 0.39 inches [1 cm] in diameter and 3.3 inches [8.4 cm] in length) that was inserted vertically through a threaded hole in the center of the dish, secured with a domed nut on the underside, and then soldered in place.

The emperor figure was positioned on its hollow pedestal and then attached to the dish by inserting the upper tip of the joining rod into a threaded silver tube that was soldered to the underside of the pedestal cap. The dish was connected to the stem by inserting the lower tip of the rod through a hole in the center of the smaller disk, then into a threaded hole in the top of the stem. A shorter threaded rod of similar diameter was soldered into a hole in the top of the foot and secured with a domed nut on the underside. The foot was attached by inserting the upper end of the rod into a threaded hole in the lower stem. The mound of partially melted solder clippings that is visible around the joining rods for both the dish and the foot indicates that the elements were heated to the minimum temperature required to fuse the rods in place.

The dishes are very much alike in dimensions, thickness, and weight: they measure on average 15 inches (38 cm) in diameter and 1 mm in thickness, and each weighs approximately 2.4 pounds (1.1 kg) with the attached rod. Each dish was made by hammering a cast silver ingot into a disk and then raising the cupped form by hammering the disk over a stake. Repeated stages of heating and quenching were required to soften the metal throughout the process of shaping the dish, turning out the edge, and

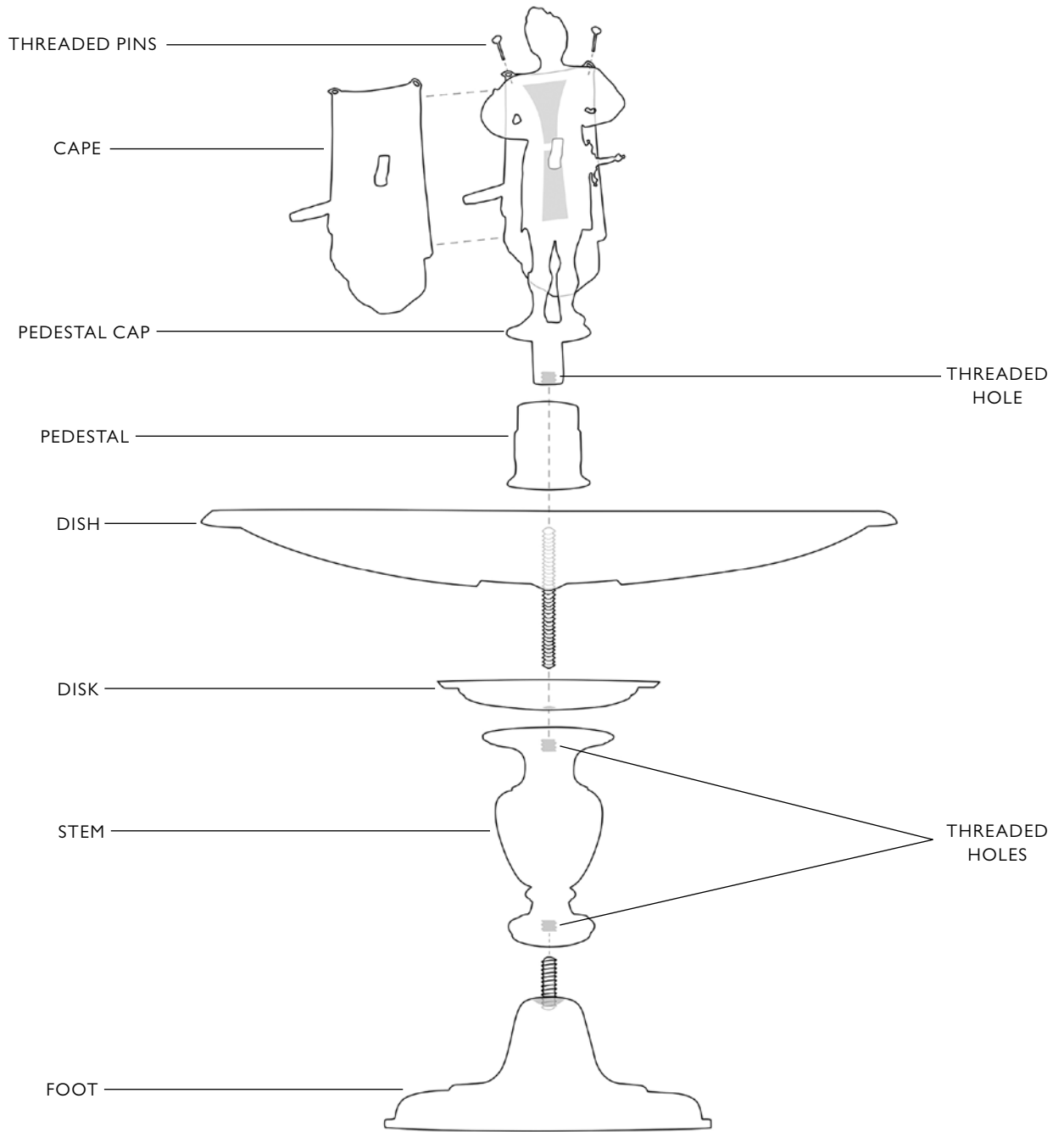


Fig. 1. A tazza's components and mechanical assembly



Fig. 2. Dish of the Julius Caesar tazza (pl. 1)

adding the decoration (fig. 2). X-ray radiography highlights similarities in the dishes' manufacture, with the range of gray tones revealing variations in the thickness of the silver—a typical feature of hammered work (fig. 3). The lighter areas on the radiographs represent areas of greater thickness, such as the rims, which are consistently thicker (2–3 mm) than the interiors.

Drawings on paper would have been used to lay out the complex imagery on the dishes, with the main outlines of the designs transferred to the surface of the silver by pricking.⁵ The imagery was applied by

extensive chasing of the upper surfaces using a variety of steel tools, including curved tracers, rounded and pointed punches, and punches with textured tips (fig. 4). Round, oval, and rectangular toolmarks scattered on the underside of the dishes indicate the limited number of areas where raised forms were also worked up from the reverse (fig. 5). While the dishes are technically similar, there are notable stylistic differences in the chased decoration, indicating that multiple hands were involved in producing the drawings and then translating the designs to the silver.

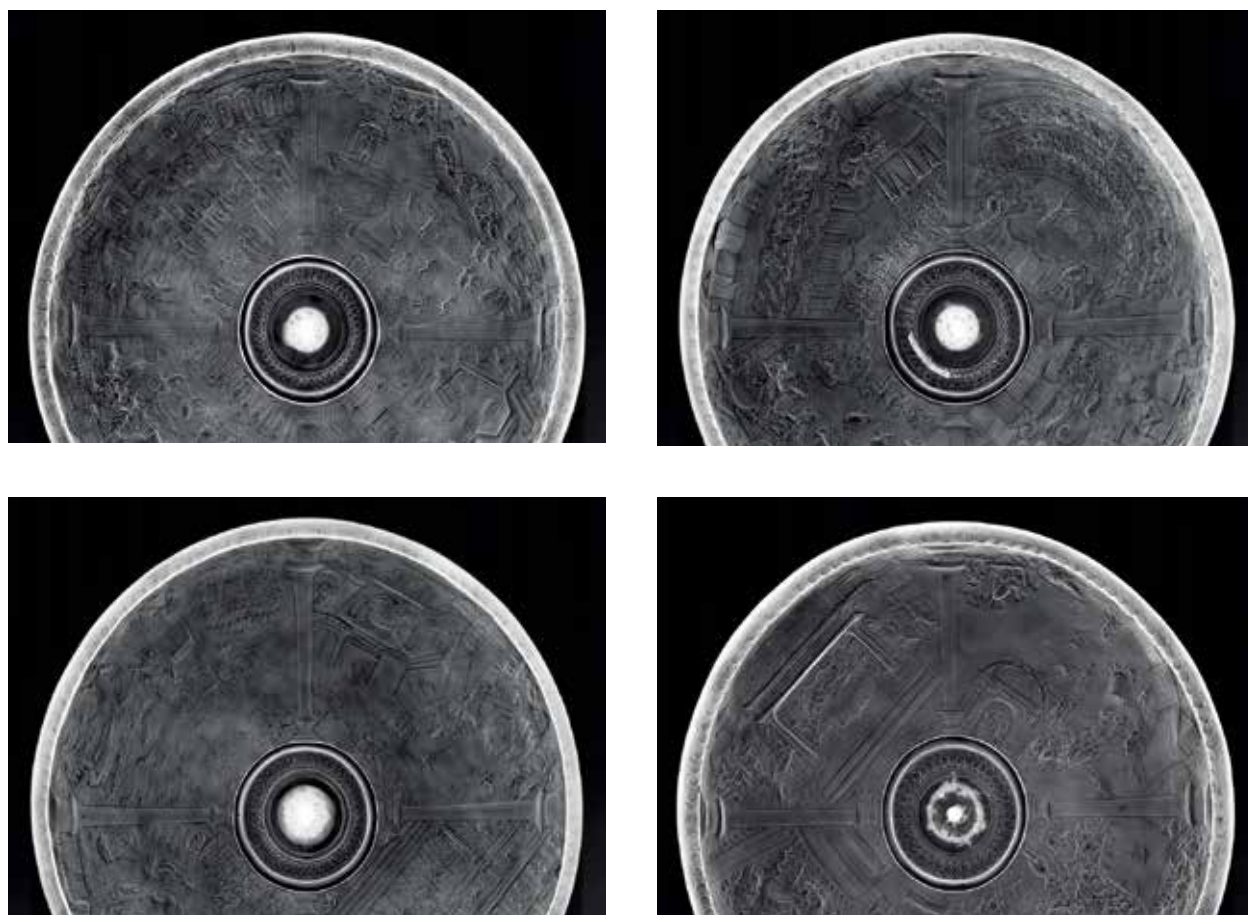


Fig. 3. X-ray radiographs of the dishes reveal structural similarities. Thicker silver at the rims appears whiter, or more radiopaque. Clockwise from upper left, images of: Claudius I and II (p. 16); Nero I and II (p. 18); Otho I and II (p. 22); Vespasian I and II (p. 26).

Fig. 4. Detail of Vitellius IV (p. 25). Evidence of the use of a variety of tools is apparent in the chased decoration.

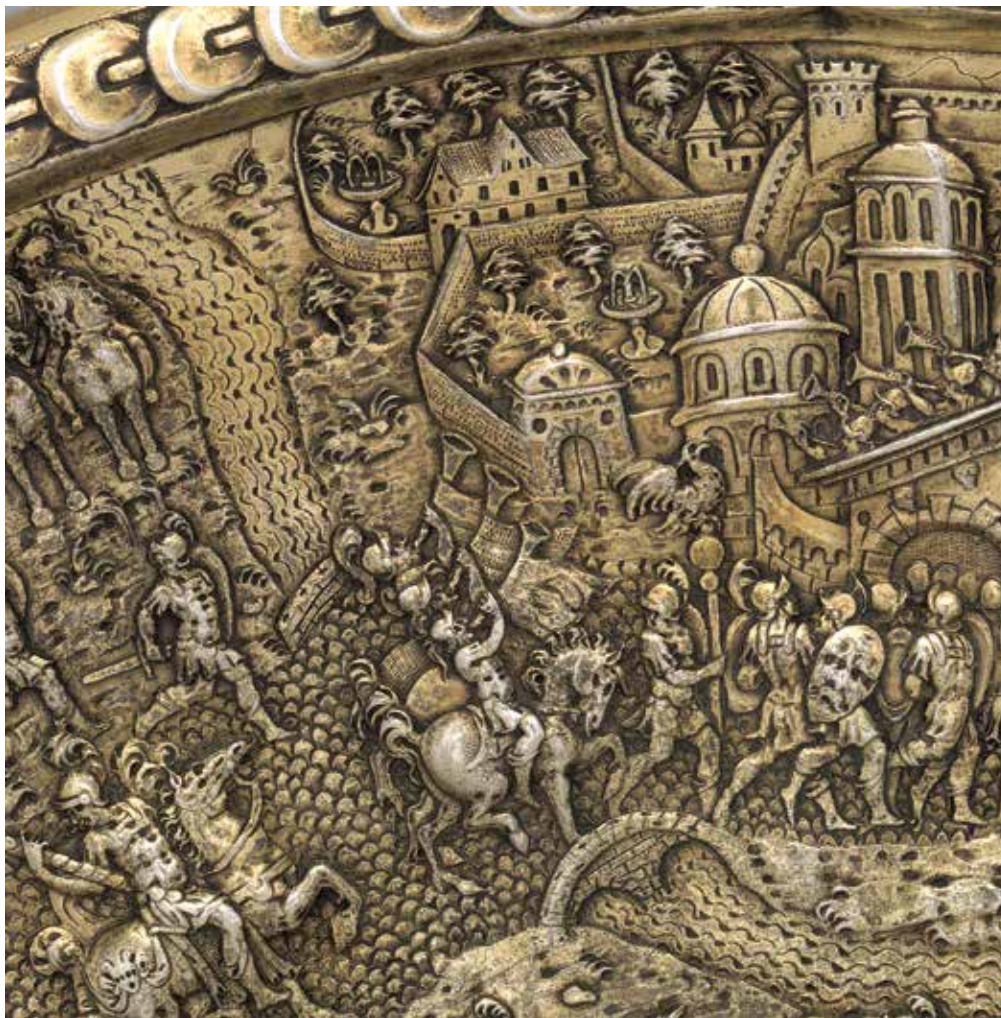


Fig. 5. Reverse of Vitellius IV showing marks made by a round punch used to define the raised front arch of the bridge seen in fig. 4

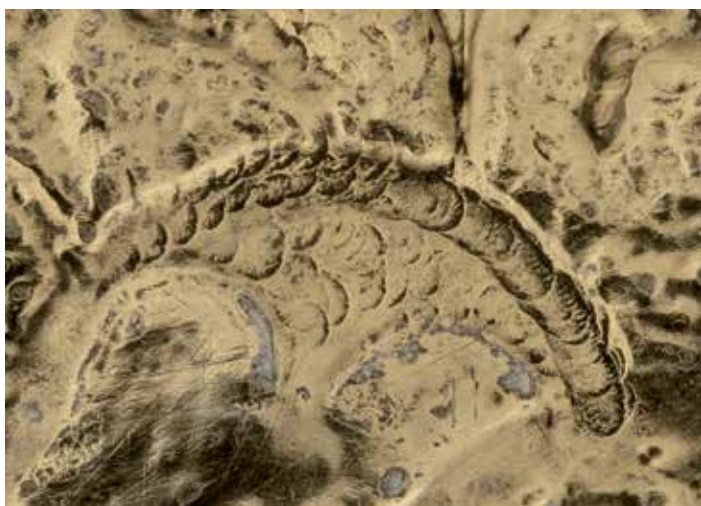




Fig. 6. Similar pricked decoration on the emperor figures and the dishes suggests that the cast and worked components of the tazze were made in the same workshop. The pricking details shown here are from the breastplate of the Tiberius statuette (pl. 6) and the lower right portion of Nero III (p. 19).

The chased surfaces of the dishes are in remarkably good condition, particularly for silver objects of this period, which would have been subjected to centuries of polishing. Curiously, one area of wear is present on nearly all the dishes: the pricked decoration at the upper ends of the four columns separating the quadrants appears to have been deliberately reduced. The dishes display varying degrees of damage and restoration around the central joining rods, where the thin, hammered vessels carry the weight of the thicker cast figures and pedestals. On radiographs, the whiter areas at the centers of the dishes indicate mounds of original solder clippings for attaching the rod; these areas can also point to later riveted, patched, and soldered repairs. There is evidence of extensive wear to the joining rods, some of which have been altered by filing, patching, and rethreading.

The emperor statuettes weigh approximately 1.1 pounds (0.5 kg) each and have an average height of 6.6 inches (16.7 cm). The pricked detailing on their armor relates closely to the pricking on the dishes, linking the two elements visually and providing evidence that the cast and worked sections were produced in the same workshop

(fig. 6). Side-by-side comparison and X-ray radiography of the emperors illustrate differences in proportion of two apparent figure types: one is relatively short and slender; the other comparatively tall and stocky (figs. 7, 8). The statuettes are surprisingly heavy as well as somewhat clumsy in their proportions and poses, differing both technically and stylistically from finer examples of small-scale figurative sculpture produced in Italy and southern Germany during the late Renaissance. X-ray radiography and material analysis indicate that the Titus figure on the electrotype dish is a later invention modeled after the statuette representing Julius Caesar.⁶

The figures were made by lost-wax casting in multiple, largely hollow, relatively thick sections that were joined together with silver solder. The head and torso were cast as one element, with openings at the sleeves and underside of the tunic for insertion of the arms and legs. Two additional openings on the reverse of the torso facilitated attachment of the cape, limbs, and sword (fig. 9). The legs were attached using rolled silver tubes that were soldered into the upper legs and inserted and soldered into the opening under the tunic.



Fig. 7. Two figure types—stocky and diminutive—were employed to represent the emperors, as seen in the statuettes of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius.

The weapon was pinned and soldered to the body and, in some cases, the cape. The cape was applied by clipping a rectangular silver tab soldered to its interior surface onto the horizontal bridge between the two openings on the reverse of the torso. The cape was then secured with threaded pins inserted through holes in the upper corners and into threaded holes in the figures' shoulders (see fig. 1). Two of the figures, Vitellius and Otho, were soldered to their pedestals at a later date.

Five of the tazze still stand on original fluted feet. The sixth fluted foot appears to be a later reproduction cast from modern silver.⁷ Each original foot was created by hammering out a disk of silver and raising the flared form by hammering. The decoration was applied by means of repoussé and chasing (fig. 10). Originally, each foot would have had a fine, hammered edge that extended out from the main form. The

square, cast-wire edges of the feet were added later to update the style or repair damage to this inherently fragile area.⁸ The original stem was produced by casting the hollow form and soldering silver plugs with threaded holes at both ends for insertion of the threaded rods extending from the foot and dish. The stem was thickly cast and appears more radiopaque, or whiter, on radiographs than the thinner, hammered foot (fig. 11).

Documentary evidence indicates that the six ornate replacement feet and stems were applied between 1862 and the time—by 1888—when the affected tazze were in the Spitzer Collection in Paris (fig. 12).⁹ The so-called Spitzer feet can be divided into several stylistic types based on variations in height, decoration, and manufacture.¹⁰ The six feet share certain features, including evidence of a slotted bayonet fitting on their upper surface that does not correspond to

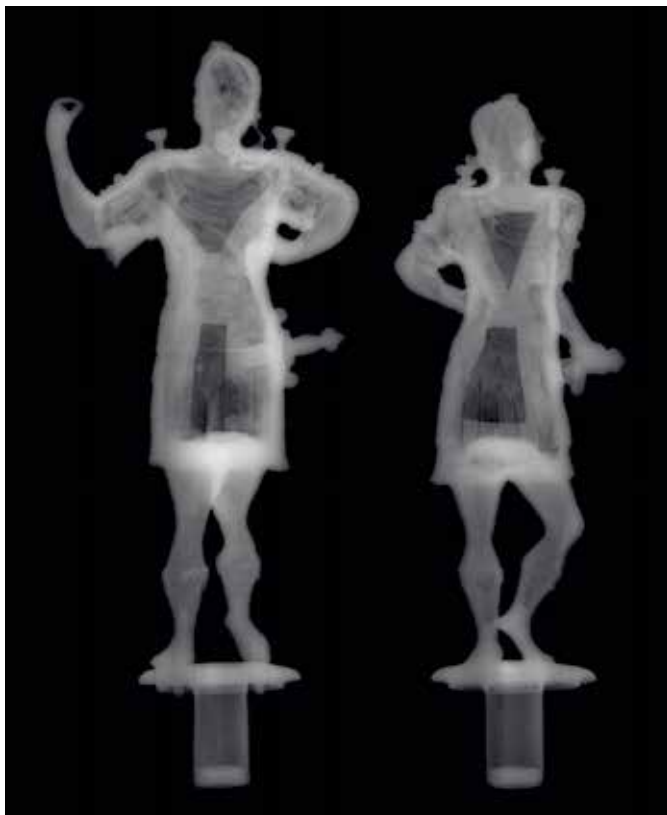


Fig. 8. X-ray radiograph of the Caligula and Claudius statuettes with capes removed. Darker areas indicate the openings on the reverse of the figures.



Fig. 9. Reverse of the Tiberius figure, showing openings in the torso that facilitated attachment of the limbs, cape, and weapon. The cape was clipped to the horizontal bridge of silver that separates the openings.

the existing threaded join between the feet and stems (fig. 13). XRF analysis indicates that a considerable number of the replacement components were made with early silver. This suggests that some of the replacement feet originated with historical objects or were made from silver salvaged from earlier pieces. Some elements, including most of the wires on the rims of the feet, are composed of refined silver produced after the mid-nineteenth century.¹¹

The gilding was applied between 1862, when the tazze were described as silver, and 1872, when they were described as gilt.¹² The technique that was employed—sometimes referred to as fire gilding—involved spreading a paste of gold-mercury amalgam on the surface of a metal object and then

heating the object in a furnace to drive off the mercury vapor and fuse the gold to the underlying metal. To economize on the use of gold, the amalgam was usually applied only to visible exterior surfaces. Yet some of the tazze display gilding on hidden elements, such as the joining rods and the undersides of the feet, where gold would never have been wasted. The gilding in these locations indicates that some mercury-gilt elements were subsequently regilded by electroplating, an immersion process that generally results in overall coverage.

The Aldobrandini Tazze are remarkably good condition. The majority of old damages and repairs are limited to the fragile centers of the dishes. Evidence of extensive wear on the joining rods reflects a



Fig. 10. Fluted foot and stem of the Tiberius figure/Nero dish tazza (pl. 6)



Fig. 11. X-ray radiograph of the thin, hammered foot and thicker, cast stem of the Tiberius figure/Nero dish tazza



Fig. 12. Replacement foot and stem of the Vitellius tazza (pl. 9)



Fig. 13. Evidence of a former slotted bayonet join at the top of the replacement foot of the Domitian figure/Tiberius dish tazza (pl. 3)

lengthy history of dismantling and reassembly, which also resulted in errors in the tazze's configurations. The near pristine condition of the dishes indicates that the tazze were probably used for display rather than as serving dishes for food. Like other precious objects of the period, they would likely have been kept in leather storage boxes when not on display, and each box would have been fitted to the shape of the tazza it housed. Thus, the objects would have been protected from mechanical damage, rapid tarnishing, and wear from frequent polishing.

Significant alterations to the tazze include the late nineteenth-century gilding; the replacement of six fluted feet with more ornate substitutes; the creation of one reproduction fluted foot and stem; the separation of the Titus dish from its original figure and foot; the fabrication of the Titus figure that surmounts the electrotype dish; and the addition of square wires to the edges of all the feet. Most of these changes appear to have occurred between 1862 and the time—by 1888—when six of the tazze were in the Spitzer Collection in Paris. The gilding represents the most significant alteration to the overall appearance of the objects. It has particularly affected the dishes, which originally would have borne a closer resemblance to engraved prints of the period, with dark

tarnish in the chased details contrasted against a bright silver background.

Technical and analytical evidence gathered from this study supports the theory that the Aldobrandini Tazze were produced in Northern Europe in the late sixteenth century. Stylistic differences in the decoration of the dishes and a lack of sophistication in the production of the statuettes suggest that the tazze were chased by numerous hands in a workshop of goldsmiths who, while highly skilled at chasing, lacked firsthand knowledge of three-dimensional classical models and were unfamiliar with advanced casting practices. These findings place the workshop outside Italy and technically sophisticated South German centers such as Augsburg and Nuremberg. The absence of guild and standard stamps, which were required on silver objects produced in most Northern European centers by the sixteenth century, could be explained by the theory—introduced in this volume—that the tazze were a court commission and therefore exempt from this regulation.¹³ While this hypothesis remains to be confirmed, a tremendous amount of knowledge has been gained by reuniting this extraordinary set of Renaissance silver at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for technical comparison, scholarly research, and public display.

Table 1. Silver Alloy Compositions: SEM-EDS/WDS Results (Weight %)

	Original components								Later additions		
	Vitellius Figure	Vitellius Dish	Claudius Figure	Claudius Dish	Tiberius Figure	Nero Dish	Otho Dish	Otho Pedestal	Vitellius Foot	Nero Foot Rim	Otho Foot
Silver (Ag)	86.6	88.2	87.7	88.4	86.5	88.0	87.9	88.0	91.5	94.6	89.5
Copper (Cu)	13.0	11.3	11.9	11.1	13.0	11.5	11.4	11.4	7.3	5.3	9.6
Gold (Au)	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.11	nd	0.45
Lead (Pb)	0.22	0.36	0.19	0.31	0.33	0.35	0.33	0.32	0.88	0.05	0.23
Bismuth (Bi)	0.17	0.11	0.19	0.13	0.08	0.11	0.09	0.11	0.16	nd	0.05
Zinc (Zn)	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.03	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.03
Nickel (Ni)	nd	0.01	nd	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	nd	nd	nd
Tin (Sn)	nd	0.01	nd	0.01	0.01	0.01	nd	nd	0.01	nd	nd
Antimony (Sb)	nd	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd

nd indicates not detected, concentration below the minimum detection limit.

Table 2. Silver Alloy Compositions: LA-ICP-MS Results (Weight %)

	Vitellius Figure	Vitellius Dish	Claudius Figure	Claudius Dish	Tiberius Figure	Nero Dish
Silver (Ag)	89.7	87.1	89.1	87.5	89.4	88.3
Copper (Cu)	10.3	12.8	10.9	12.5	10.6	11.6
Gold (Au)	0.0241	0.0425	0.0303	0.0387	0.1088	0.0311
Lead (Pb)	0.1919	0.287	0.183	0.2554	0.2519	0.2881
Bismuth (Bi)	0.1473	0.0889	0.1571	0.0994	0.078	0.0871
Zinc (Zn)	nd	0.00205	nd	0.00111	0.01849	0.00194
Nickel (Ni)	0.00895	0.011	0.00596	0.0108	0.00572	0.0096
Tin (Sn)	0.00107	0.0101	0.00112	0.00871	0.0144	0.0103
Antimony (Sb)	0.00902	0.0096	0.00707	0.0122	0.0077	0.0108
Arsenic (As)	0.0006	0.00309	nd	0.00441	0.00915	0.0029
Selenium (Se)	0.00112	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
Palladium (Pd)	0.00032	0.00039	0.00036	0.00032	0.00034	0.00034
Platinum (Pt)	0.00003	0.00008	0.00005	0.00007	0.00006	0.00007
Mercury (Hg)	0.00002	0.00012	0.00086	0.00009	0.00076	0.00008

nd indicates not detected, concentration below the minimum detection limit.

Other elements sought, but not detected, by LA-ICP-MS include Ti, Cr, Mn, Fe, Co, Cd, and Te.

Appendix A: Archival Letters

Transcribed by Antonella Fabriani Rojas

Translated by Julia Siemon

INTRODUCTION

The earliest known documents relating to the objects now referred to as the Aldobrandini Tazze are two letters, dated March 16 and April 1, 1599, from David de' Cervi (1532–1626) to Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (1562–1612).¹ Written from Milan, both letters are offers for the sale of six of the tazze. In the first, de' Cervi reports that an acquaintance of the duke's had seen one of the tazze in Ferrara. Although this statement might seem to suggest that the tazze were being put up for sale by the Este dukes, this hypothesis is not borne out by the Este family inventories.

Instead, it seems more likely that one of the tazze was in Ferrara only temporarily, perhaps rented for use at an important event. Prestigious silverware was frequently rented for display, as attested in numerous documents. That only one tazza was seen there is surprising, however, as there is no other evidence indicating that the tazze were ever displayed individually. Indeed, in 1604, when Fabio Masetti, Cesare d'Este's ambassador in Rome, wrote to his employer of seeing the tazze at the home of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, he emphasizes that all twelve tazze were shown together.² If the envoy had recognized them as former Este treasures, or if he had recently learned they had come into the Aldobrandini family by inheritance from Lucrezia d'Este or by some other means linked to the Este family, he would surely have pointed this out to Duke Cesare. That he did not supports the view that the tazze were never part of the Este collection.

David de' Cervi is the key to the mystery of the tazze's origins. Skilled in commerce, he avoided mentioning the name of the seller in his letters to the duke. A Mantuan jeweler and native of Prague,

de' Cervi—his original surname, Hirsch (“deer” or “stag” in German), is *cervo* in Italian—was a reputed connoisseur of pearls and a dealer in precious goods. He was well known in Italian court circles and was particularly active as a business agent for the Gonzaga. In Rome in 1594, he had been in contact with important figures in the ecclesiastical court, of which Pietro Aldobrandini, who had recently been named a cardinal, was a member. Whether the two men wrote to one another is not known, because, unfortunately, most of Aldobrandini's private correspondence has been lost. Thanks to de' Cervi's letters to Vincenzo Gonzaga, we know that in 1599 six of the tazze were in Milan, where the cardinal acquired six of the tazze in 1602. It is tempting to think these two groups were one and the same, although there is currently no way to confirm this hunch. If Cardinal Pietro owned the other six tazze in 1599, he cannot have owned them for long, for if he had, de' Cervi, with his wide network of informers and agents, would certainly have known and tried to sell him the rest of the set.

—*Antonella Fabriani Rojas*

1. Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 2677, c. 168, letter from David de' Cervi to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, March 16, 1599; *ibid.*, busta 1723, Diversi, f.1, c. 788, letter from David de' Cervi to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, April 1, 1599.
2. Archivio di Stato, Modena, Ambasciatori di Roma, busta 167, letter from Fabio Masetti to Duke Cesare d'Este, September 25, 1604.

I. David de' Cervi to Vincenzo Gonzaga, March 16, 1599

My Most Serene [and] Particular Lord and Most Respected Master,

Having stayed in Milan for many days on account of my affairs, I did not neglect my responsibilities as Your Serene Highness's faithful servant, attending to the matters pertinent to you, and dutifully keeping records in the proper way, some of which I reported to Mons. Petrozani when he was here, and the rest which I will relate to Your Highness upon my arrival in Mantua, which will be very soon.

Some days ago I wrote to the Signore Count [Gi]ulio Caffini requesting that he describe to your Highness six beautiful large silver *tazzoni* on a high foot, with a palm-high emperor at the center; each *tazzone* is finely decorated with the achievements of that emperor. The Signore Count saw one of these in Ferrara. They each weigh about 106 ounces, and I have offered 7.10 lire per Milanese ounce for them. I believe that they could be bought for 8 lire per ounce, and to me they seem very refined, and I think are being offered at a fair price.

Gio[vanni] [Batt[ist]a, [called] Romanino, showed me a beautiful jewel, offered at four thousand scudi. He also showed me some cameos decorated on both sides with devotional subjects and adorned with precious stones. He led me to believe that he would offer them at a fair price and even accept payment in installments, that way in six months time he will have some money. I did not want to fail in making Your Highness aware of this.

Now, concerning one Zan [Giovan] Agnolo Benzoni, jeweler, I see that his works are valued by many who work in the employment of princes, not only for the polished craftsmanship, but even more for the ease of doing business with him. I arranged that, if it pleases Your Highness, he should come to Mantua to make his beautiful vessel for you, and more; and furthermore since I can manage to get along with him in terms of pricing, I will also request that he also take up work on your collection, but in his name I ask Your Highness not to say a word about it to anyone, but only to let me know what is your wish. And in this and in every other way I am at Your Highness's command, and I will strive to serve you faithfully as is my duty, and bow to you most humbly, and as a good servant I pay reverence to you, and May God grant you glory and reward you with happiness in all of your desires.

Milan, the 16th of March 1599

From Your Most Serene Highness's

Most humble and faithful servant David di Cervi, Jew.

599:16:Mzō Ser.^{mo} sig.^r mio S.^r è patrō Collend.^o

Essendomi tratenuto molti giorni in Milō per mei a' fare, non hò mancato come fedel servitore di V.A. Ser.^{ma} nelle occasione à lei pertinenti, tenerne quel debito registro che me si conviene, di parte ne raguagliaj Mons. Petrozani al suo passaggio de qui, e parte me ne riservo conferirli co' V.A. al mio arrivo a Mantua che sarà prestiss.^o.

Già di sono scrissi al S.^r Conte Julio Caffini daesse raguaglio a V.A. di sei belliss.ⁱ Tazzoni d'Argiento grandi con piede Alto, con un Imperatore in mezzo Alto un Palmo, Istoriato il tazzone sotillissim.^{te} delle imprese fatte da quel Imperatore, et esso S.^r Conte ne vitte in Ferrara Uno di essi. Il peso si è circa Oncie cento sei l'una, li ho offerto [lire] 7:10 de l'oncia di Milō et credo si havriano p[er] libre [sic] 8 l'oncia e mi parano molto regalliss.ⁱ e' pretio onesto.

Da Gia: Batta Romanino mi è stato mostro Un belliss.^o Gioiello qual lui pretia scuti 4/m et anco mi mostro alcuni Camei di devotione istoriati da tutte le due le Bande co' gioie adornati et con me si è lassato intender che faria pretio onesto et partito longiss.^o a V.A. quanto però fra mesi sei havesse qualche denari, no' ho voluto restare darne aviso a V.A.

Hora trattando con Un Zan Agnolo Benzoni qual lavora di predaria i vego che molti quali pigliano l'impresa da Principi si vagliano del opera sua, si per il lavorar polito è bene quanto ancora per l'apiacer che ricevano nel mercato; l'ho disposto che volendo V.A. verà a Mantua a farli il suo bel vaso et altro et oltra l'apiacer che mi basti l'animo di disponer di lui nelli pretij li farò anco pigliar a conto di fature delle robbe di V.A., però a' suo nome sup.^{co} V.A. non ne faci motto con alcuno sol comettermi quel tanto sia in sua volontà, e in qstō come in ogn'altra occasione pronto al comandam.^{to} di V.A. cercarò ser.^{ba} fideliss.^{te} come debito mio, e humiliss.^{te} meli inchino, e de buon ser.^{te} li faccio riverenza N.S. l'esalti e felicitati in ogni suo contento

Il di XVI Marzo 1599 Milō

D.V. A.Ser.^{ma}

Humil.^o e fid.^{mo} serv.^{te} David di Cervi heb.

1. The author mistakenly wrote *libre* instead of *lire*.

II. David de' Cervi to Vincenzo Gonzaga, April 1, 1599

My Most Serene [and] Particular Lord and Most Respected Master, From the response I have received from Signore Cepis on behalf of Your Serene Highness I see that you are greatly interested, and therefore I have arranged with Benzoni that he should accompany me to Mantua. I will bring with me one of the *tazzoni*, because by seeing one, Your Highness will have a sense of all six, as there is no difference between them except the representation of the emperor and his achievements. And so from your most humble and faithful servant, with every reverence I bow before you, praying that Our Lord grant you glory and every happiness.

The first of April 1599, Milan

From Your Serene Highness's
Most Humble and devoted servant, David d' Cervi, Jew.

III. Fabio Masetti to Cesare d'Este, Sept. 23, 1604

My Most Illustrious, Excellent, Particular and Princely Lord,

1604

Sept. 23

This morning I told Lucatelli that Your Illustrious Lordship had entrusted me with the message for the Lord Cardinal Aldobrandini, and that I am always at your service, and he decided to come visit me. I believe, however, that for the next few days neither the Signore Cardinal nor [the Pope] will be in Rome, as yesterday after dining they left for Frascati during a terrific rain-storm. Also departing yesterday evening were the Signore Duke of Parma with the Signore Cardinal Farnese, who set out together for Caprarola after dining with the Signore Cardinal Aldobrandini in his palazzo on the Corso. The banquet was furnished most sumptuously, especially in its array of silver, which was said to be worth four hundred thousand scudi; I observed twelve [large serving dishes] with the twelve Caesars, and within sculpted all of their triumphs and famous accomplishments, valued at two thousand scudi. It is the opinion of the Court that the barons are not entirely safe and therefore they—that is, Duke Gaittano, the Signore Gio[vanni] Ant[onio] Orsini, and the Signore Giuliano Cesarini—are absent from Rome; they have not even retracted the statement against the Spanish ambassador, and they say that distasteful words were exchanged between Duke Gaittano and the Most Illustrious Lord Cardinal Aldobrandini, but to me the most distasteful thing is to be without money hence I beg Your Most Illustrious Highness likewise to keep me, and, kissing your hands, I wish you the fulfillment of every true happiness.

Sent from Rome the 25th of September 1604

From your most illustrious and most excellent Lordship's servant,
and to your Lordship most devoted and faithful,
Fabio Masetti

599: 1: Aplē Ser.^{mo} Sig.^r mio S.^r e Prōne Collend.^o
Per l'erisposta havuta dal s.^r Cepis à nome è di comision di V.A. Ser.^{ma} vedo quanto desira, così ho disposto il Benzoni che verà con me à Mantua, e portarò con me uno de qlli Tazzoni che vedendone L'A. V.ra uno si potrà trattare sopra tutti sei, no' vi essendo altra differenza che l'effigia dell'Imperatore co' le sue imprese Così da humil.^o e fid.^{mo} ser.^{te} con ogni riverenza meli inchino pregando N.S. l'esalti e dia ogni contento.
Il di p.^o Aprile 1599 Milò

D.V.A. Ser.^{ma}

Humil.^o e devotiss.^o ser.^{te} David d Cervi heb.

Ill.^{mo} et Ecc.^{mo} S.^r mio S.^r et Princip.^{mo}

1604

23 7mbre

Questa mattina ho detto al Lucatelli che V.S. Ill.^{ma} mi ha rimessa là diretta per il S.^r Car.^{le} Aldobrandini, che sarò prontiss.^o sempre a soi cenni, et è restato di venirmi a trovare, ma io credo che in Roma per qualche giorno nõ si tratterà né col S.^r Car.^{le}, né con N.S.^r poichè hieri doppio [p]ranzo se n'andorono à Frascati, et furno accompagnati da una grossiss.^a pioggia. Parti parim.^{te} hier sera per Caprarola il S.^r Duca di Parma col S.^r Car.e Farnese alli quali il S.^r Car.^{le} Aldobrandini diede pranzo nel suo Palazzo sul Corso, havendo fatto uno sontuosiss.^o apparato, et particularm.^{te} d'Argentaria, il cui valore dicono che ascen-da a 400 millia scudi, et io n'osservai dodici Confetture con li dodici Cesari et drento scolpiti tutti i triumphi et notabili fatti loro, che si stimano 2/m s.di. E' opinione della Corte che i Baroni non siano intieramente assicurati, et però si sono absentati da Roma, cioè il Duca Gaittano il S.^r Gio:Ant.Orsini, et il S.^r Giuliano Cesarini, nemeno si sia ritrattato il scritto contra l'Amb.^r di Spagna, dicono che tra il Duca Gaittano et l'Ill.^{mo} S.^r Car.^{le} Aldob.no siano passate parole di poco gusto, ma a me è di più disgusto l'esser senza denari però supplico V.S. Ill.^{ma} havermi parim.^{te} et col basciarli le mani li dedico il compim.^{to} di ogni vera felicità.
Di Roma li 25 settemb. 1604
Di V.S. Ill.^{ma} et Ecc.^{ma}
Criato et S.^{te} devotis. et f.^{mo}
Fabio Masetti

Appendix B: Provenances of the Aldobrandini Tazze

Researched and compiled by Julia Siemon

NB: All mentions of “tazze” refer to Aldobrandini Tazze.

1. MUSEO LÁZARO GALDIANO, MADRID (JULIUS CAESAR FIGURE, JULIUS CAESAR DISH, REPLACED FOOT, pl. 1)

Before March 16, 1599, possibly the tazza reported to have been seen in Ferrara by an acquaintance of the Duke of Mantua, ownership unknown; March–April 1599, possibly one of six tazze in the possession of David de’ Cervi, dealer in Milan; March 26, 1602, possibly one of six tazze purchased by agents of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in Milan for 791.21 scudi; 1603, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (inventory); his sister, Olimpia Aldobrandini; 1638, her son, Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini (inventory); his niece, Olimpia Aldobrandini Borghese Pamphilj; 1710, her son, Giovan Battista Pamphilj (inventory); by descent to the Doria Pamphilj family; 1769, by descent to the Borghese branch of the family; before 1792, sold and probably dispatched from Rome; 1826, in the possession of retail silversmith Kensington Lewis, London; February 3, 1834, Thomas Hamlet sale, George Robins, London, no. 22, as by Benvenuto Cellini, sold to Emanuel Brothers, London (1,000 gns.); May 15, 1861, Charles Scarisbrick, Lancashire, posthumous sale, Christie’s, London, no. 159, as attributed to Benvenuto Cellini, sold to Richard Attenborough of the Strand, London (£1,280); by 1888, one of six tazze in the possession of Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, with replaced foot, gilded; 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 58, as “Augsburg?,” 16th century; April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1758, as “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to “Dauphin” (14,500 F); January 9–12, 1929, sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, no. 626 (\$1,250); ca. 1941–44, purchased by José Lázaro Galdiano on the New York market; 1945, transferred to Lisbon, then Madrid.

Exhibitions: London 1862, p. 538, cat. nos. 6409, 6410 (as Italian, 16th century, property of Richard Attenborough); Lisbon 1945, cat. no. 110; Toledo 1958, cat. no. 81; Cruz Valdovinos 1997, cat. no. 46 (as Roman, ca. 1570–80); Madrid 2002.

2. MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ART (AUGUSTUS FIGURE, DOMITIAN DISH, FLUTED FOOT,¹ pl. 12)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase; 1872, Baron Anselm von Rothschild, Vienna, his catalogue no. 532, as Italian, 16th century, with fluted foot, gilded; 1950, Standish Robert Gage Prendergast Vereker, 7th Viscount Gort; by November 1974, D. C. C. Wilson, Esq., Swindon Village, Cheltenham; 1975, purchased by present owner from a private collection.

Exhibition: Vienna 1873, cat. no. 22 (as Italian, 16th century, property of Anselm von Rothschild).

3. PRIVATE COLLECTION (TIBERIUS FIGURE, NERO DISH, FLUTED FOOT, pl. 6)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase; probably Baron James de Rothschild, Paris, to his son Baron Alphonse, and by descent;² by 1976, Baron David de Rothschild, Paris, gilded, with fluted foot; early 1990s, purchased by present owner in private sale; since 1999, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (L.1999.62.2).

4. SCHRODER COLLECTION, LONDON (CALIGULA FIGURE, GALBA DISH, FLUTED FOOT, pl. 7)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase; probably Baron James de Rothschild, Paris, to his son Baron Gustave; 1912, probably one of the two gilded tazze in the posthumous inventory of Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris;³ probably Rothschild-Lambert collection, Brussels (one of two tazze); June 22, 1960, anonymous sale (F. S. Collinson, Christie’s, London, no. 102, gilded, with fluted foot (£380); March 1966, sale, Weinmüller, Munich; December 11, 1967, H. S. Wellby Ltd., London, sold to present owner (£3,680).

5. PRIVATE COLLECTION (CLAUDIUS FIGURE, CLAUDIUS DISH, FLUTED FOOT, pl. 5)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase; probably Baron James de Rothschild, Paris, to his son Baron Alphonse, and by descent;⁴ by 1976, Baron David de Rothschild, Paris, gilded, with fluted foot; early 1990s, purchased by present owner in private sale; since 1999, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (L.1999.62.1).

6. ZILKHA COLLECTION, LOS ANGELES
(NERO FIGURE, AUGUSTUS DISH,
FLUTED FOOT, pl. 2)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase.

Figure: 1876, gilded, Gebrüder Bourgeois, Cologne; October 16, 1882, Johannes Paul Collection, Hamburg, posthumous sale, J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz Söhne), Cologne, no. 720 (with original Titus dish [Lisbon], fluted foot), as by Benvenuto Cellini (15,000 Marks); October 27–28, 1898, Heinrich Wencke Collection, Hamburg, sale, J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz Söhne), Cologne, no. 152 (with Titus dish, fluted foot), as attributed to Benvenuto Cellini (12,000 F); 1913, Sir Julius Wernher, 1st Baronet (1850–1912), Bath House, London, inventory no. 677 (Nero figure); 1914, Wernher inventory no. 457 (Nero figure); to his widow, Alice; to her son, Sir Harold Wernher, 3rd Baronet, G.C.V.O. (1893–1973), Bath House, London, and, from 1948, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire (by 1975, Nero figure and Augustus dish displayed together, with replaced foot).

Dish: By 1888, a component of one of six tazze with Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, gilded, with replaced foot; 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 62 (with Vespasian figure, replaced foot), as “Augsburg?,” 16th century; April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1760, as “Vitellius” (with Vitellius figure, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F).

Tazza as currently configured: July 7, 2000, sale, “Works of Art from the Wernher Collection,” Christie’s, London, no. 18 (with Nero figure and fluted foot [reassembled by Christie’s]), as Italian, ca. 1560–70, sold to present owner.

Exhibitions: “Kunsthistorische Ausstellung,” Cologne, 1876 (Nero figure on Titus dish [Lisbon], with fluted foot, gilded) (property of Gebrüder Bourgeois, Cologne); Jackson-Stops 1985, cat. no. 515 (Nero figure on Augustus dish, with replaced foot [currently with Titus electrotypel]).

7. CASA-MUSEU MEDEIROS E ALMEIDA,
LISBON (GALBA FIGURE, CALIGULA DISH,
FLUTED FOOT, pl. 4)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase; probably Baron James de Rothschild, Paris; 1912, probably one of two tazze in the posthumous inventory of Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris; Rothschild-Lambert collection, Brussels, gilded (one of two tazze); September 30, 1959, sale, Leiria & Nascimento, Lisbon, as Augsburg, 16th century, sold to Fundação Medeiros e Almeida (PTE 160,000).

Exhibition: Lisbon 1983, cat. no. 622 (as Augsburg, late 16th century).

8. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, TORONTO
(OTHO FIGURE, OTHO DISH, REPLACED
FOOT, pl. 8)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase; by 1888, one of six tazze in the possession of Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, gilded, with replaced foot; 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 59, as “Augsburg?,” 16th century.

Figure: April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1759, as “Otho” (with Vitellius dish), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); 1945, acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art from the estate of Jules S. Bache, New York; 1956, by exchange to Hart House, University of Toronto.

Dish: April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1762, as “Titus” (with Titus figure, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); 1935, Julius Goldschmidt, London, sold to Viscount Arthur Hamilton Lee of Fareham; 1940, presented by Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham to Hart House, University of Toronto.

Tazza as currently configured: 1960, transferred to the Royal Ontario Museum by the Massey Foundation; 1997, given in trust by the Massey Foundation to the Royal Ontario Museum.

Exhibition: Borys 2013.

9. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF
ART (VITELLIUS FIGURE, VITELLIUS DISH,
REPLACED FOOT, pl. 9)

As above (no. 1) through 1888, one of six tazze in the possession of Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, gilded, with replaced foot; 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 60, as “Augsburg?,” 16th century.

Figure: April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1760, as “Vitellius” (with Augustus dish, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); before 1927, purchased by Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, London (with Tiberius dish, replaced foot); 1955, his bequest to the Victoria and Albert Museum; 1956, by exchange to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Dish: April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1759, as “Otho” (with Otho figure, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); 1945, purchased by The Metropolitan Museum of Art from the estate of Jules S. Bache, New York.

10. PRIVATE COLLECTION (VESPASIAN FIGURE, VESPASIAN DISH, REPLACED FOOT, pl. 10)

As above (no. 1) through 1888, one of six tazze with Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, gilded, with replaced foot.

Figure: 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 61, as “Vespasian” (with Augustus dish), “Augsburg?,” 16th century.

Dish: 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 62, as “Titus” (with Titus figure), “Augsburg?,” 16th century.

Tazza as currently configured: April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1761, as “Vespasian” (Vespasian figure and dish, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); by 1901, J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913); his son, J. P. Morgan (1867–1943), and by descent; October 26, 1982, sale, “The Morgan Collection,” Christie’s, New York, no. 68, as probably Italian, ca. 1570–85, with replaced (“Spanish”) foot (\$231,000); February 1, 2013, sale, “Masterworks,” Sotheby’s, New York, no. 10, sold to present owner (\$1,426,500).

Exhibition: London 1901, case F, no. 2 (as Augsburg, German, 17th century).

11. MUSEU NACIONAL DE ARTE ANTIGA, LISBON (TITUS DISH, pl. 11)

As above (no. 1) through 1861 Attenborough purchase; 1876, Gebrüder Bourgeois, Cologne, gilded (with Nero figure, fluted foot); October 16, 1882, Johannes Paul Collection, Hamburg, posthumous sale, J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz Söhne), Cologne, no. 720 (with Nero figure, fluted foot), as by Benvenuto Cellini (15,000 Marks); October 27–28, 1898, Heinrich Wencke Collection, Hamburg, sale, J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz Söhne), Cologne, no. 152 (with Nero figure, fluted foot), as attributed to Benvenuto Cellini (12,000 Marks);⁵ March 24–26, 1914, Bertram, 5th Earl of Ashburnham, posthumous sale, Christie’s, London, no. 202, as by Benvenuto Cellini, without figure or stem (“Rosewater dish”), sold to Mr. Amor (£680); 1922, sale, Sotheby’s, London, as Augsburg, late 16th century (£456); May 16, 1935, William Randolph Hearst, sale, Christie’s, London, no. 77, as 16th-century North Italian or South German (“Rosewater dish”) (£280); 1945, sale, Sotheby’s, London, as Nuremberg, late 16th century (£230); 1981, purchased by present owner.

Exhibition: “Kunsthistorische Ausstellung,” Cologne, 1876 (property of Gebrüder Bourgeois, Cologne).

12. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON (DOMITIAN FIGURE, TIBERIUS DISH, REPLACED FOOT, pl. 3)

As above (no. 1) through 1888, one of six tazze with Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, gilded, with replaced foot.

Figure: 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 63 (Domitian figure with Tiberius dish), as “Augsburg?,” 16th century; April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1763, as “Domitian” (with Tiberius dish, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); Julius Goldschmidt, London; 1935, Viscount Arthur Hamilton Lee of Fareham; 1940, presented by Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham to Hart House, University of Toronto; 1956, by exchange to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Dish: April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1763, as “Domitian” (with Domitian figure, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); before 1927, Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, London (with Vitellius figure, replaced foot); 1955, his bequest to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

13. PRIVATE COLLECTION (TITUS FIGURE, TITUS ELECTROTYPE DISH, REPLACED FOOT, pl. 13)

Figure: Unknown origin. Slightly modified copy of Julius Caesar figure, probably 19th century. 1891, Spitzer Collection, no. 62 (with Vespasian dish), as “Augsburg?,” 16th century, gilded; April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1762, as “Titus” (with Otho dish, replaced foot), “Augsburg?,” 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); by 1912, Sir Julius Wernher, 1st Baronet (1850–1912); his widow, Alice; her son, Sir Harold Wernher, 3rd Baronet, G.C.V.O. (1893–1973), Bath House, London, and, from 1948, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire.

Dish: Unknown origin. Prior to the publication of this volume, the Titus dish that was in German collections (with Nero figure, fluted foot) in 1876, 1882, and 1898 was thought to be the electrotype copy. However, the weight of the tazza consistently reported in those sales as 3,025 grams can be achieved only with the original dish, not the electrotype. Potentially contradictory evidence is found in the fact that by 1912, Julius Wernher owned the Nero figure and a fluted foot. These are nevertheless listed separately in his posthumous inventories of 1913 and 1914, which suggests that they were not purchased as a single unit. (See also provenances for nos. 6 and 12.)

Gilded electrotype copies of two dishes (Augustus ["Vespasian"] and Vitellius) were recorded in the posthumous sale of the Reinhold Vasters collection, H. Lempertz Söhne, October 26–29, 1909, no. 303; Sir Julius Wernher, 1st Baronet (1850–1912), Bath House, London, inventory of 1913, no. 678 (Titus dish on fluted foot); Wernher inventory of 1914, no. 458 (Titus dish, fluted foot).

Foot: Early provenance unknown. By 1888, one of six replacement feet substituted by Frédéric Spitzer for the originals; April 17–June 16, 1893, Spitzer, posthumous sale, Paul Chevallier and Charles Mannheim, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, no. 1760, as "Vitellius" (with Augustus dish, Vitellius figure), "Augsburg?," 16th century, sold to Goldschmidt, Frankfurt (11,000 F); probably by 1912, Sir Julius Wernher, 1st Baronet (1850–1912); his widow, Alice; her son, Sir Harold Wernher, 3rd Baronet, G.C.V.O. (1893–1973), Bath House, London, and, from 1948, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire.

Tazza as currently configured: July 5, 2000, sale, "Works of Art from the Wernher Collection," Christie's, London, no. 19 (Titus figure with Titus electrotype dish, replaced foot [reassembled by Christie's], gilded), as Italian, ca. 1560–70, sold to present owner.

THE MISSING MANUSCRIPT

Hamlet sale catalogue, 1834: "Accompanying these works of art, is a curious volume in manuscript, giving a very interesting historical account of the salvers and the achievements displayed thereon. It is bound in rich green velvet, and ornamented with 24 ancient gold coins, clasps, and centre medallions."⁶

Scarisbrick sale catalogue, 1861: "The divisions were originally described in a work of great erudition and labour, which has been unfortunately lost. A manuscript volume accompanies them."⁷

Spitzer catalogue, 1891, p. 140: "Manuscripts, no. 23: Description of Goldsmiths Objects (*Italy [17th century]*). This manuscript, each page of which is half covered by a piece of green silk, is titled *Brief description of twelve standing cups, each of which has at its center a likeness of one of the twelve Caesars, and represented on the dish Four acts of the same, all carried out in silver with admirable refinement*. It concerns cups representing events in the history of the Twelve Caesars, six of which are in the collection and are described in the series *l'Orfèverrie civile*. Binding in green velvet decorated with Roman coins and the coat of arms of a cardinal in the Aldobrandini family, in bronze. Paper. 49 sheets Height: 0.255 m [10 in.] Width: 0.205 m [8 1/8 in.]"⁸

Spitzer sale catalogue, 1893: "No. 3025, Italy (17th century)."⁹

According to annotations in certain copies of the Spitzer sale catalogue, the manuscript was purchased by Goldschmidt of Frankfurt, along with the five tazze the dealers bought at the sale. There is no subsequent record of the manuscript's location. It might have gone to one of the collectors who purchased directly from Goldschmidt (Wernher or Lee, or possibly Bache, Morgan, or Hildburgh), or it may have been sold by Goldschmidt to a collector of manuscripts.

1. The metallic composition of the fluted foot is consistent with silver produced after the mid-nineteenth century. See Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski, note 7 in this volume.
2. With thanks to Alexis Kugel.
3. With thanks to Dora Thornton.
4. With thanks to Alexis Kugel.
5. Prior to the publication of this volume, the Titus dish that was in German collections (with Nero figure, fluted foot) in 1876, 1882, and 1898 was thought to be the electrotype copy. See the discussion in nos. 11 and 12.
6. Hamlet 1834.
7. Christie's 1861.
8. "Manuscripts, no. 23: Description de Pièces d'Orfèverrie (*Italie [xvii siècle]*). Ce manuscrit, dont la moitié de chaque Feuille est cachée par un morceau d'étoffe de soie verte, est ainsi intitulé: *Breve descriziane [sic] di dodici sottocoppe ciascuna delli quali ha nel seno il simulacro di uno dei dodici Cesari e mostra nel disco reppresentati Quattro fatti dei medesimi, il tutto eseguito in argento con mirabile finezza di lavoro*. Il s'agit des coupes représentant les faits de l'histoire des Douze Césars, dont six font partie de la collection et sont décrites à la série de *l'Orfèverrie civile*. Reliure en velours vert décorée de monnaies romaines et des armes d'un cardinal de la famille Aldobrandini, en bronze doré. Papier. 49 feuillets. Hauteur: om, 265. Largeur: om, 205."
9. Spitzer 1893: "No. 3025, Italie (xvii siècle)." This subheading is followed by the text published in the 1891 Spitzer catalogue (see note 8 above).

Appendix C: Silver in the Aldobrandini Inventory of 1603

Transcribed by Stefanie Walker

INTRODUCTION

In early 1603, all of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini's possessions were recorded in a huge inventory, divided by types of objects and materials (Archivio Aldobrandini Frascati, *Inventario generale* [1603]). The display-quality volume contains several hundred pages and is beautifully bound in dark leather with a colored roundel of the family coat of arms on the cover. Throughout the inventory, batches of empty pages hint at the expectation of later additions; conversely, numerous entries are crossed out and annotated with explanations of when and why objects exited the collection. Transcribed below is the section listing the approximately 1,600 works in silver, which includes the first known mention of the Aldobrandini Tazze as a complete set (entry no. 52 in the *Credenza* section). Annotated deletions of individual entries have been omitted for the sake of clarity. In addition to evoking the cardinal's astonishing wealth, the collection documented in this inventory offers a unique picture of the multitude of silver types, shapes, and decorative schemes in all imaginable sizes and configurations made in Europe at the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century.
—*Stefanie Walker*

[p. 1]

INVENTARIO GENERALE DELLA CASA dell'

Illustriss.^{mo} et Rever.^{mo} Sig.^{re} PIETRO Cardinale
Aldobrandino Camerlengo di Santa Chiesa,
et de'beni, et cose appartenenti
à sua Signoria Illustrissima
revisto, accommodato,
et ridotto in questo
libro nel principio
dell'anno
MDCIII.

Monsig.^{re} Agocchi Maggior-
domo, et
D. Bernardino Lupi Guardarob.^a

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Argenti

Baulo da Viaggio con gl'infrascritti pezzi tutti segnati
con una Stella oltre il numero et Arme del Sig.^{re}
Cardinale.

- N.º 1. Un Bacile ovato con l'orlo lavorato, et fondo
piano col boccale basso alla Spagnola, pesa
___lib. 5 on. 3:--
- N.º 2. Una Panattiera col salerino posta sù quattro
palle, pesa ___lib. 3 on. 2: 1/2
- N.º 3. Una Coppa con tre palle, che servono per piedi
da tenervi sopra l'infra.tti Vasi dell'Olio, et
dell'Aceto, pesa ___ lib. 1 on. --: 1/2
- N.º 4. Una Sottocoppa pesa ____ lib. 1 on. 8: --
- N.º 5. Una Bottiglia per acqua pesa ___ lib. 2 on. 5: --
- N.º 6. Due Fiaschi quadri con le catenelle per il Vino,
pesano ___ lib. 7 on. 5: 1/2
- N.º 7. Tre Navicelle da bere dorate, nelle q.^{li} una
coperta da rinfrescare il Vino in pezzi n.º 4.
pesano ___ lib. 2 on. 1: --
- N.º 8. Dodici Tondi piccoli, pesano ___ lib. 11 on. 9: --
- N.º 9. Dodici piatti à scudella, pesano ___ lib. 13 on.
11: --
- N.º 10. Otto Piatti un poco più grandi delle scudelle,
pesano ___ lib. 11 on. 1: --
- N.º 11. Tre Ovaroli pesano ___ lib. -- on. 11: 7/8
- N.º 12. Una Saliera alla Venetiana sù 4 piedi di Bove in
tre pezzi, pesa ___ lib. 1 on. 3: 1/2
- N.º 13. Una Bussola da pepe, pesa ___ lib. -- on. 6: --
- N.º 14. Una Grattazuccaro, pesa ___ lib. -- on. 9: --
- N.º 15. Due Candelieri quadri alla Spagnola, pesano
___ lib. 3 on. 4: --
- N.º 16. Un Moccatore con suo piatto, et catenella, pesa
___ lib. 1 on. 6: 1/2
- N.º 17. Una Bugia, pesa ___ lib. -- on. 6: --
- N.º 18. Due Vasetti per Olio, et Aceto alla Spagnola
tutti dorati con la coppa da tenerveli sopra à n.º
3., pesano ___ lib. 1 on. 9: --
- N.º 19. Sei Cucchiari, et sei Forcine con tre punte à
zampa di Bove, pesano ___ lib. 1 on. 3: --
- N.º 20. Sei Cortelli col manico d'argento à zampa di
Bove, che non sono pesati

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiciuti [*sic*] li sopra detti argenti dal
S.^r Don Abbate Bernardino Lupi

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Argenti

Bottigliaria

- N.° 1. Un Vaso grande in forma tonda lavorato à specchi con due manichi in forma di due Mascaroni, pesa libre cinquant'otto oncie tre ___ lib. 58 on. 3 --
- N.° 1. Una Brocca compagna à detto rinfrescatore d'argento, con manico, che hà due Arpie intagliate, et coperchio, et il boccaglio sostenuto da una Serena, con l'Arme del Sig.^{to} Cardinale, pesa libre tredici oncie nove ___ lib. 13 on. 9 --
- N.° 2. Una Catina grande con la sua brocca lavorata d'intaglio à fogliami con due manichi, et quattro piedi, et la Brocca hà il coperchio attaccato con una Catenella, et con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma} all'una, et all'altra, pesano libre vint'otto oncie sei ___ lib. 28 on. 6 --
- N.° 3. Un Vaso fatto à spicchio col piede, che serve di rinfrescatore, pesa libre nove oncie dieci ___ lib. 9 on. 10 --
- N.° 4. Due Fiaschi con lavori à fogliami indorati con le catene attaccate per mezo di due teste di Montone, pesano libre undici oncie dieci ___ lib. 11 on. 10 --
- N.° 5. Due Fiaschi bianchi con catene attaccate con due Mascaroni per ciascuno, che tengono le catene con coperchio, pesano libre tredici oncie nove e meza ___ lib. 13 on. 9 1/2
- N.° 6. Due Fiaschi tutti dorati lavorati à spicchi con coperchi à vite; Uno pesa libre tre oncie otto e meza, l'altro libre tre oncie dua e meza, In tutto ___ lib. 6 on. 11 --
[inserted] Vol dire il peso libre sei, et oncie sette e mezzo in tutto
- N.° 7. Due Boccie col collo longo da rinfrescare con neve, con li coperchietti attaccati con catenelle, pesano libre tre oncie dieci; et la Cassa per metterci la neve fatta à foggia di due scatoloni attaccati insieme con un manico in mezo à vite, che serve ad ambidua, pesa libre sei oncie quattro, fanno in tutto ___ lib. 10 on. 2 --
- N.° 8. Due Bichieri alla Todesca alti, con coperchi lavorati di rilievo [sic] con diverse figure; Uno pesa libre sette oncie cinque; l'altro libre sette oncie nove, In tutto ___ lib. 15 on. 2 --
- N.° 9. Una Tazza indorata alla Francese con coperchio lavorato di rilievo [sic] con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma} nel piede, pesa libre quattro oncie nove ___ lib. 4 on. 9 --

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni ho riciuti dal S.^r Don Bernardino li sopra detti argenti

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Argenti

Bottigliaria

- N.° 10. Una Navetta alla Napolitana da beber'acqua, con un'Anatra nel fondo, manichi in forma di Delfini con piedi in forma di quattro Conchiglie tutta dorata, pesa libre dua oncie quattro ___ lib. 2 on. 4 --
- N.° 11. Una Navetta tutta dorata con un'Anatra nel fondo, manichi Delfini, coperta in forma di gondola, con sei pietre di pasta di Vetro verde ligate in argento bianco sù un piede in forma di Cochiglia, [sic], pesa libre dua oncie otto e meza ___ lib. 2 on. 8 1/2
- N.° 12. Una Navicella alla Spagnola con due Cigni, che servono per manico, et quattro Lumachette tutta dorata, pesa libre dua oncie sei ___ lib. 2 on. 6 --
- N.° 13. Un Fiasco piccolo schiacciato, tutto indorato, con catenella piana, et coperchio à vite con un Buffone in cima, pesa libre dua oncie otto ___ lib. 2 on. 8 --
- N.° 14. Un Secchiello lavorato col manico, et la sua mescola, ò schiumarello, pesa libre dua oncie undici ___ lib. 2 on. 11 --
[inserted] con un schiumarello pesa ___ lib. -- on. 6 d.^{ri} 15
- N.° 15. Un Secchiello da acqua liscio con il manico, pesa libre dua oncie una ___ lib. 2 on. 1 --
- N.° 16. Una Ghiara alla Napolitana con manico, et teste d'Anatre nell'orlo, et dentro al fondo una Ranocchia, pesa libre tre oncie quattro e meza ___ lib. 3 on. 4 1/2
[inserted] con un schiumarello pesa ___ lib. -- on. 5 d.^{ri} 21
- N.° 17. Un Coco ligato in argento dorato di forma ovata, con un Mascarone dal quale dipende il manico, col suo coperchio separato sù un piede quadro, pesa libre quattro on. undici ___
[inserted at left margin] Vol dire libre tre ___ lib. 4 on. 11 --
- N.° 18. Un Bichiero di Corno di Bada intagliato con figure et animali, sopra un piede d'argento et indorato, apprezzato scudi quaranta, pesa libre dua ___ lib. 2 on. --
- N.° 19. Una Conchiglia sopra il piede, che posa con tre Delfini, et di sopra un'Ippogriffo col guarnim.^{to} d'argento indorato con alcune gioie di poco valore ___
- N.° 20. Una Conchiglia di Madreperle sotto tre Delfini in una Conchiglia, che stà sopra tre Ranocchie, et di sopra un Serpente tutto di rame indorato. ___

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiciuto dal S.^r Don Bernadino li sopradetti

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Argenti

Bottigliaria

- N.° 21. Un'altra Conchiglia simile all'ultima retroscritta sù due Serene, che posano sù una Tartaruga, et di sopra un Satiro tutto di rame indorato ___
- N.° 22. Due Sottocoppe bianche col piede basso con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} senz'oro, pesano libre cinque oncie una ___ lib. 5 on. 1 --
- N.° 23. Una Navicella da bere con due manichetti, pesa oncie tre et un quarto ___ lib. -- on. 3 1/4
- N.° 24. Due Piatelle sottili, dette Latte, da rinfrescare per metterle sù bichieri con la neve dentro, pesano insieme oncie cinque e cinque ottavi ___ lib. -- on. 5 5/8
- N.° 25. Una Sottocoppa col piede basso tutta indorata con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesa libre dua oncie dieci e tre quarti ___ lib. 2 on. 10 3/4
- N.° 26. Due Sottocoppe compagne col piede basso tutte indorate con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesano insieme libre cinque oncie undici e un quarto ___ lib. 5 on. 11 1/4
- N.° 27. Quattro Sottocoppe compagne bianche senz'oro col piede ordinario, et Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesano insieme libre dodici oncie dua e meza ___ lib. 12 on. 2 1/2
- N.° 28. Due Sottocoppe compagne senz'oro col piede ordinario lavorato à specchi con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesano insieme libre quattro oncie sei ___ lib. 4 on. 6 --
- N.° 29. Una Sottocoppa col piede basso ordinario et liscio con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa libre dua oncie undici e tre quarti ___ lib. 2 on. 11 3/4
- N.° 30. Tre Sottocoppe lavorate alla Venetiana con un'Arme piccola senza Capello del S.^r Cardinale, pesano insieme libre cinque oncie una ___ lib. 5 on. 1 --
- N.° 31. Una Boccia da rinfrescare col suo coperchietto, et un Vaso da metterci la neve, col suo piede con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} in ambidue i pezzi, pesano in tutto lib. cinq. on. sette ___ lib. 5 on. 7 --
- N.° 32. Un Cocco d'India guarnito d'argento dorato, col suo coperchio, pesa tutto libre tre oncie otto ___ lib. 3 on. 8 --

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiceuto dal S.^r Don Bernardino li sopradetti

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Argenti

Bottigliaria

- N.° 33. Due Boccali grandi lavorati à pera di rilievo con due manichi, et coperchio attaccato con una catenella, con Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} sotto il

piede, pesano libre dieci oncie sei e meza ___ lib. 10 on. 6 1/2

- N.° 34. Due Fiaschi grandi in forma di Botticelle col piede ovato con coperchi, et catene alla piana, tutti dorati, pesano ambidue insieme libre trentacinque oncie otto ___ lib. 35 on. 8 --
- N.° 35. Quattro Bichieri grandi lavorati di basso rilievo con caccie, sù piedi alti, et Arpie che sostengono la Coppa, con coperchi del medesimo lavoro tutti simili, e tutti dorati, pesano insieme libre vinti oncie sei ___ lib. 20 on. 6 --
- N.° 36. Quattro Bichieri di coppa più bassa, lavorati di basso rilievo con diverse historie di Mare, et di Fiumi, col piè alto, et coperchi lavorati di diverse caccie, con un Vasetto in cima, tutti dorati, pesano insieme libre dicisette oncie quattro ___ lib. 17 on. 4 --
- N.° 37. Un Broccone grande di fattura Francese liscio, dal piede in poi, con una Maschera di Leone nel corpo dietro, che tiene un'anello in bocca, con manico alto tutto dorato, pesa libre quindici ___ lib. 15 on. -- --
- N.° 38. Un Vaso da bever' acqua d'argento bianco lavorato diligentissime à spicchio con due Serpi fatte di eccellente lavoro, che servono per manichi, pesa libre tre oncie cinque ___ lib. 3 on. 5 --
- N.° 39. Due Sottocoppe di lavoro di Venetia lavorate à rabesco con Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesano insieme libre dua oncie dieci ___ lib. 2 on. 10 --
- N.° 40. Una Tazza, che serve di Ghiara d'argento tutta dorata, tonda à sei faccie, con due manichi elevati, et in mezo una Piramide, che hà in capo un Smeraldo con sei cartellette intorno, la Tazza di dentro di Oro, smaltate di rosso, et di bianco, pesa oncie undici e meza ___ lib. -- on. 11 1/2

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni ho riciuto dal S.^r Bernardino li sopradetti

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Argenti

Bottigliaria

- N.° 41. Un Bichiero di Corno di Bada intagliato di fuori con figure, e tronchi d'arbori sù un piede d'oro massiccio, smaltato di diversi colori, pesa in tutto una libra et oncie quattro e meza ___ lib. 1 on. 4 1/2
- N.° 42. Una Navicella piegata con due manichi, che hanno la testa d'Aquila, senza piede pesa libre una d.ⁿⁱ dodici ___ lib. 1 on. -- d.ⁿⁱ 12
- N.° 43. Una Navicella piegata con due manichi simili alla sudetta, pesa oncie cinque et denari nove ___ lib. -- on. 5 d.ⁿⁱ 9
- N.° 44. Un Rinfrescatore con li Vasi distinti per Vino, Acqua, et Neve dorati dentro, et ciascuno ha

- due chiavi, col coperchio grande, stà sù un piede sostenuto da tre Arpie, con alcuni fogliami ò festoni, pesa tutto libre trentanove, oncie cinque ___ lib. 39 on. 5 --
- N.° 45. Un Bichiero di Corno di Bada legato in argento dorato con alcune lettere intagliate nell'orlo di sopra d'argento, pesa tutto una libra et oncie due ___ lib. 1 on. 2 --
- N.° 46. Una Navicella dorata fatta à barchetta col piede alto, e fanale in cima, che porge acqua, con dodici stelle d'Amatista ligate in oro, et il Timone con dieci Amatiste, pesa tutta libre due oncie sei e d.^{ri} 18 ___ lib. 2 on. 6 d.ri 18
- N.° 47. Un Bichiero piccolo d'oro liscio sbavato pesa oncie una e d.^{ri} sei ___ lib. -- -- --
- N.° 48. Due Fiaschi quadri traforati simili con vetro per di dentro, tutti due con stelle e rastelli con suo boccaglio fatto à vite con quattro arpie, e quattro tartarughe che reggono ciascuno, con due armi di S.S.Ill.^{ma}
- N.° 49. Un Vaso di Vetro azzurro guarnito tutto d'argento dorato col suo coperchio traforato, con ovati smaltati di azzurro, e verde
- N.° 50. Un Fiasco di Ambra tessuta d'oro smaltato con rosette et fiori per ogni ligatura, smaltati rossi, pavonazzi, et verdi, con due manichi che si convertono in Drago, con Catena à maniglia, suo boccaglio, e piede d'oro smaltato, pesa tutto libre tre oncie due e mezo

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiciuto dal S.^r Don Bernardino li sopra detti

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Argenti

Bottigliaria

- N.° 51. Un Vaso tutto d'oro con una Figura in cima al coperchio che rappresenta la Giustizia, et varie figure nel corpo, pesa libre una, oncie cinque e meza
- N.° 52. Una sottocoppa fatta alla moderna, dorata dentro, e fuori col suo piede à vite con l'arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesa libre due oncie sette e mezzo ___ lib. 2 on. 7 1/2
- N.° 53. Un'altra sottocoppa simile dorata dentro e fuori, eccetto che il piede, pesa libre due oncie due e ½ ___ lib. 2 on. 2 1/2
- N.° 54. Una Conchiglia d'argento, fatta alla Napolitana con un Mascherone, il quale hà in testa un puttino, et all'orecchie due anatre, con un piede liscio fatto à balaustro, pesa libre due oncie tre ___ lib. 2 on. 3 --
- N.° 55. Una tazzetta dorata, e martellata, pesa oncie otto, d.^{ri} quindici ___ lib. on. 8 d.^{ri} 15
- N.° 56. Un Rinfrescatore di Suero, cerchiato d'argento dorato, col vaso d'arg.^{to} dorato pesa il vaso solo lib. una d.^{ri} diciotto ___ lib. 1 ___ d.^{ri} 18

- N.° 57. Un Bichiere di diaspro, et amatista congelati insieme col piede d'arg.^{to} dorato con amatiste, et col cerchio d'arg.^{to} dorato nel labro
- N.° 58. Una Baciletta, o Tazzetta à ottangolo, fatta tutta d'oro, et insieme di lavoro Indiano, con un vaso da acqua simil.^{te} tutto d'oro, e lavorato all'Indiana, pesano ambidue libre due oncie cinque d.^{ri} dici sette ___ lib. 2 on. 5 d.^{ri} 17
- N.° 59. Due Fiaschi lavorati alla Napolitana con fogliami piani traforati con l'arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} con una figuretta in cima con le catene di maglia attaccate à due mascheroni, pesano senza il vetro libre tredici e mezzo ___ lib. 13 on. 6 --
- N.° 60. Due Vasi da rinfrescare con due bocchie col collo lungo co'i suoi coperchi, e catene con i manichi à i vasi con l'arme à ciascuno, pesano tutti due insieme libre venti tre oncie una e mezzo ___ lib. 23 on. 1 1/2

Una misura d'un'oncia d'argento

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiciuto dal S.^r Don Bernardino li sopradette

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Argenti

Bottigliaria

- N.° 61. Quattro Sottocoppe d'Argento dorato di libre otto, et oncie otto in tutto dico ___ lib. 8 on. 8 --

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni ho riciuto li sopradetti dal S.^r Don Bernardino

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 1. Una Torciera grande lavorata alta sei palmi con quattro Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} in scudo ovato al piede, pesa con l'anima libre cinquantatre, et senza libre trentatre oncie cinque ___ lib. 33 on. 5 --
- N.° 2. Due Candelieri d'argento con l'anima di legno alti palmi 4 ¼ per tenere lumi in Camera, pesano senza l'anima libre Vinti ___ lib. 20 on. ----
- N.° 3. Un Scaldaletto col coperchio, con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} et manico tutto d'argento, pesa libre sette oncie nove ___ lib. 7 on. 9 --
- N.° 4. Un Scaldaletto col manico tutto d'argento con due Aquile intagliate, una nel Scaldaletto, et una nel manico, pesa libre sette oncie quattro ___ lib. 7 on. 4 --
- N.° 5. Una Catinella per lavare le mani fatta à coste con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} nel fondo con la Brocca compagna, che hà il coperchio attaccato con

- una piccola catena, pesa libre sette oncie tre et un quarto ___ lib. 7 on. 3 1/4 --
- N.° 6. Una Catinella da Camera per lavare le mani con un'Aquila intagliata nel fondo, et una Brocca compagna col manico alto lavorato con due teste scolpite et un mascarone al becchetto dell'acqua, pesano libre otto oncie nove ___ lib. 8 on. 9 --
- N.° 7. Un Catino da Camera con suo Boccale col coperchio staccato, che hà una testa d'Aquila per buttar'acqua, pesano libre sei oncie quattro ___ lib. 6 on. 4 --
- N.° 8. Una Catinella per lavare le mani con Boccale, et coperchio alla Spagnola, pesa libre cinque oncie nove ___ lib. 5 on. 9 --
- N.° 9. Un Cucchetto d'argento con un'Aquila intagliata dinanzi con suo coperchio attaccato con catenella, pesa libre dua oncie sette e meza ___ lib. 2 on. 7 1/2
- N.° 10. Un Cucchino piccolo schietto con coperchio attaccato con una Catenella, pesa libre una oncie un quarto ___ lib. 1 on. -- 1/4

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 11. Un Lumino in forma di Tempio in tre pezzi con Stella sopra, pesa libre sei oncie dua e meza et denari sei ___ lib. 6 on. 2 d.ⁿⁱ 18
- N.° 12. Un Candeliero da studio grande con un Lumino sopra in forma di Piramide, che finisce in una palla, col suo guardalume et moccatore, con Arme del S.^r Card.^{ic} nella Piramide, pesa libre dieci oncie sette ___ lib. 10 on. 7 --
- N.° 13. Un paro di Candelieri indorati piccoli da Studio, pesano tutti due libre una oncie cinque ___ lib. 1 on. 5 --
- N.° 14. Un Calamaro fatto à sepoltura sù quattro Arpie con zampe di Leone, tutto lavorato con mascare et festoni indorati, con la Prudenza in forma d'una Donna, et con l'Arme et impresa di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesa libre quattordici ___ lib. 14 on. -- --
- N.° 15. Un Calamaro d'argento à sepoltura sopra quattro Leoni, et con la Virtù in forma di Donna sopra al coperchio, pesa libre otto, oncie quattro, denari diciotto ___ lib. 8 on. 4 d.ⁿⁱ 18
- N.° 16. Un Calamaro d'argento in forma d'una Cassa sù le zampe di Leone, et di sopra un'Aquila in piedi, pesa libre cinque oncie sette ___ lib. 5 on. 7 --
- N.° 17. Una Cassetta con calamaro et polverino da portare in Campagna, pesa netta oncie cinque et un quarto ___ lib. -- on. 5 1/4

- N.° 18. Un Calamaro in Cassa di rame dorato, con cassa per le penne, calamaro, et polverino dentro d'argento, et di sopra nel coperchio un'horologio, che serve di svegliatore con un Dio d'Amore in cima, pesa libre cinque oncie otto ___ lib. 5 on. 8 --
- N.° 19/20 Due Campanelle da Camera con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, uno con oro, et l'altro senza, pesano libre dua oncie due ___ lib. 2 on. 2 --
- N.° 21. Un Profumino sopra tre Aquile, et con tre Armi di S.S.Ill.^{ma} in tre pezzi, computata una Bacinetta, che serve di piedi, pesa libre sei, oncie nove ___ lib. 6 on. 9 --
- N.° 22. Due Profumiere in forma di piramide, pesano libre tre, oncie tre e meza ___ lib. 3 on. 3 1/2

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 23. Una Profumiera da acqua con catenella piana in forma di fiasca tutta dorata, pesa libre una oncie nove ___ lib. 1 on. 9 --
- N.° 24. Un Profumino indorato in forma di pignattino col manico attaccato, et coperchio separato, pesa libre una oncie nove [inserted] solo oncie nove, senza la libra ___ lib. 1 on. 9 --
- N.° 25. Una Profumiera in due pezzi, quel di sopra è intagliato con un Vasetto à capo, et quel di sotto hà il manico, pesa libre una, oncie tre et un quarto ___ lib. 1 on. 3 1/4
- N.° 26. Una Cassetta tutta d'argento, con la serratura, sopra quattro palle, con il coperchio attaccato, et con due manichi in forma di festoni da pigliarla con l'Arme d'un Card.^{ic} Spagnolo sopra il coperchio, pesa libre sei, oncie quattro ___ lib. 6 on. 4 --
- N.° 27. Un Vaso per l'acqua santa da tenere al Letto, pesa oncie nove e meza ___ lib. -- on. 9 1/2
- N.° 28. Una Canestra grande tutta traforata et indorata, pesa libre tre oncie dua ___ lib. 3 on. 2 --
- N.° 29. Due Canestrelle alla Spagnola traforate con quattro mascaroni, indorate, pesa una libre una oncie otto, et l'altra libre una oncie sei In tutto ___ lib. 3 on. 2 --
- N.° 30. Una Guantiera tutta d'oro, ovata, lavorata con Anatre et fiori, con l'Arme del S.^r Cardinale pesa libre tre, oncie cinque al peso di Roma, cioe sc.^{di} 357 d'oro in.^{ro} ___ lib.
- N.° 31. Una Guantiera d'argento, ovata indorata, lavorata di rilievo con figure et mascare, pesa libre dua, oncie tre e meza ___ lib. 2 on. 3 1/2
- N.° 32. Due Guantiere tonde alla Spagnola indorate, et intagliate con un Uccello in mezo, pesa una

- libre dua oncie tre, l'altra libre dua oncie tre e mezzo In tutto ___ lib. 4 on. 6 1/2
- N.° 33. Una Guantiera bianca traforata, et lavorata à fogliami con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, pesa libre una oncie cinque ___ lib. 1 on. 5 --
- N.° 34. Una Guantiera indorata dentro e fuori, ripiena d'Ambra con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, et del S.^r Diego, pesa libre dua, oncie due e mezzo ___ lib. 2 on. 2 1/2

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 35. Un Calamaro tondo, et Polverino simile con l'Arme di Papa Sisto, pesa libre una ___ lib. 1 ---
- N.° 36. Un San Giorgio à cavallo inarborato sostenuto da tronco circondato da una Serpe, il qual Santo con la Donna genuflessa appresso stà ferendo il Drago; tutto posto sopra base, che rappresenta un Prato con diversi animalletti, tutto indorato, pesa al peso di Roma libre diciotto, oncie tre ___ lib. 18 on. 3 -
- N.° 37. Un Vasetto piccolo col coperchio forato, et due manichini, che può servire per profumo, pesa oncie tre e cinque ottavi ___ lib. -- on. 3 5/8
- N.° 38. Un Catino da Barbiere, scollato da una parte, con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} nel fondo, pesa libre quattro ___ lib. 4 on. -- --
- N.° 39. Un Vaso grande fatto per servire di Brasiere ò Focone sù tre zampe di Leone, et due campanelle attaccate con due Mascaroni per ciascuna, con una Conca tutta di rame inargentata, che hà due catenelle per manico da mettere sopra il Brasiere col fuoco dentro, pesa il Vaso d'argento senza la conca di rame libre vinti, oncie dieci ___ lib. 20 on. 10 --
- N.° 40. Un Profumino in forma d'un fiaschetto col coperchio separato, mà attaccato con catenelle col mezzo di due teste di Leone, pesa libre una oncie dua ___ lib. 1 on. 2 --
- N.° 41. Una Mazza per portare inanzi il S.^r Card.^{le} in Pontificale, messa insieme in 17 pezzi, lavorata alla Spagnola, con 4 Puttini à cavallo di 4 Leoni, che tengono una Coppa con l'Arme di N. S.re, et del S.^r Card.^{le}, tutta d'argento dorata, pesa libre dicinove, oncie una e meza ___ lib. 19 on. 1 1/2
- N.° 42. Una Palla in due pezzi per il sapone con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, pesa oncie otto e un quarto ___ lib. -- on. 8 1/4

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 43. Una Sedia grande con l'appoggio alto, tutta coperta con lastre d'argento lavorato di basso rilievo, il qual argento à giuditio di m. Pietro Spagna può pesare vinticinque libre, il sedere et l'appoggio è di tela d'argento ricamata à fogliami, et fiori d'oro riccio et di seta, con le frangie d'oro et seta turchina e rossa ___ lib. 25 on. -- --
- Un Cestellino di filo d'argento col suo coperchio Tredici lucchetti d'argento piccoli come piselli, con le chiavi in uno scatolino d'arg.to à ottangoli
- N.° 44. Una Lucerna da Olio in due pezzi in forma tonda con due luminelli, posata sù un Candeliero di piede ordinario liscio con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, et col balaustro, che hà un bottone solo in mezzo, et con la Ventola che hà la sudetta Arme in mezzo, et con una catenella con smoccatore, stuzzicatore, et smorzatore, tutta d'argento, pesa libre tre, oncie dieci e mezzo ___ lib. 3 on. 10 1/2
- N.° 45. Una Croce d'argento parte indorata, da Legato, in sette pezzi, cioe la Croce con undici vasetti piccoli, che si mettono à vite, il Vaso lavorato et indorato, quattro Cannoni indorati ne'capi per il manico, et il puntale da basso in un bastone con due vite d'argento, pesa insieme tutto l'argento senza l'hasta libre dicisetete, oncie una, et denari dicidotto ___ lib. 17 on. 1 d.ⁿⁱ 18
- N.° 46. Due Candelieri grandi per tenere il Lume in Camera simili alli due di sopra segnati n.° 2., pesano senza l'anima di legno libre vint'una ___ lib. 21 on. -- --
- N.° 47. Un Scaldaletto col coperchio forato à scaglie con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma} nel mezzo, et col manico in due pezzi, che si congiunge à vite, tutto d'argento, pesa libre dieci oncie dua ___ lib. 10 on. 2 --

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 48. Sei Bracci grandi di forma humana nudi, con un candeliero in mano distaccato però et lisci, il qual braccio esce da una nuvola tutti d'argento bianco, pesano tutti insieme con i Candelieri libre cinquantadua oncie tre ___ lib. 52 on. 3 --
- N.° 49. Una Canestra forata à scartocci, pesa libre tre oncie otto ___ lib. 3 on. 8 --

- N.° 50. Due Candelieri col piede basso quadro, che posa sopra quattro Cherubini, con la gamba fatta à balaustri tutti dorati, pesano ambedue libre tre e meza ___ lib. 3 on. 6 --
- N.° 51. Due Profumini d'argento fatti à colonna lavorati, e traforati con una cuppoletta in cima et una Catenella con un'uncino, et posano sù una base quadra, tutti dorati, pesano ambedue insieme libre dua e mezo [inserted] vol dire libre due, et onza una ___ lib. 2 on. 6 --
- N.° 52. Due Candelieri, ò Torchiere grandi col piede à triangolo, con la gamba fatta a vaso, balaustro, e padellina, col vaso da tenere la torcia con tre Armi di S.S.Ill.^{ma} per ciascun piede, pesano in tutto con l'anima di legno libre centodoi ___ lib. 102 on. -- --
- N.° 53. Due Vasetti d'argento indorati per tenere acque odorifece, con un fiore d'argento bianco per coperta, che vi entra à vite, smaltati in alcuni tondi, pesano ambedue libre una ___ lib. 1 on. ---
- N.° 54. Due Torchiere grandi col piede à triangolo, sostenute ciascuna da tre Delfini, con tre Armi di S.S.Ill.^{ma} con la gamba à vaso, et balaustro; et di sopra la padellina, et vaso da tenere la torcia, pesa una libre ottantaquattro e meza, et l'altra libre ottantadua oncie cinque, che ambedue pesano in tutto senza l'anime di ferro, che vi sono dentro, libre cento sessantasei, oncie undici ___ lib. 166 on. 11 --

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 Colli dui vasetti di argento indorati sudetti del numero cinquanta tre mancano dui cartelette smaltate

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 55. Due brascieri grandi tondi, ciascuno con dodici termini, sei con zampe, et sei con Vasetti di sotto, con una fenice per ciascun termine di sopra, lavorata con sei Armi del S.^r Card.^{le} et sei cartelle, col fondo liscio di sopra ammovibile, con due manichi, pesa una libre cinquantadua oncie tre, et l'altra, ch'è simile di lavoro, libre cinquant'una oncie nove, In tutto ___ lib. 104 on. --
- N.° 56. Un Martello, et una Cuchiar tutti d'argento dorati, l'uno e l'altra fatti per aprire et chiudere la Porta Santa; Il Martello hà le figure di S. Pietro, e di S. Paolo tutti di rilievo; et della Carità, e Religione di basso rilievo, con l'Arme, et il nome di Papa Clemente Ottavo Anno Jubilei 1600, pesa libre quattro, oncie nove e denari dicitotto; Et la Cuchiar è tutta liscia di fuori e di dentro con l'Arme del Papa, col manico liscio, et appresso Clemens Octavus

Pont. Max. Anno Jubilei 1600, pesa libre una, oncie tre, den.^{ri} diciotto. In tutto ___ lib. 6 on. 1 d.^{ri} 18

[Note on left margin: Martello et Cucchiara della Porta Santa l'Anno 1600]

- N.° 57. Due Torchiere alte col piede à triangolo sostenute da tre teste di Montone gettato con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, e tre Arpie nel Vaso, et di sopra balaustro che finisce con la padellina, e Vaso da tenere la torcia, pesano ambedue insieme nette libre centocinque, oncie undici ___ lib. 105 on. 11 --
- N.° 58. Un Vasetto da Acqua S.^{ta} per tenere à capo il letto con una Cartella del Battesimo di N. S.^{co} pesa oncie quattro, et denari dodici ___ lib. -- on. 4 d.^{ri} 12
- N.° 58. Due altri Vasetti per l'Acqua S.^{ta} simili alli sudetti senza Cartella, pesa ciascuno oncie tre, et denari vint'uno ___ lib. -- on. 7 d.^{ri} 18
- N.° 58. Un'altro Vasetto per l'Acqua S.^{ta} simile alli sudetti senza Cartella, pesa oncie quattro ___ lib. -- on. 4 --
- N.° 59. Una Guantiera d'argento indorata con l'Historia di Moisè in una Cestella buttato in Mare di lavoro di basso rilievo, et l'orlo con Mascaroni, e fiori, e piede lavorato à Mas.ⁿⁱ pesa lib. 3 on. 1 ___ lib. 3 on. 1 --

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Argenti

Camera

- N.° 60. Un Specchio con la sua luce di cristallo incasata in una cassa d'argento, con la sua cartella d'avanti con arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa tutto senza la luce lib. 3 on. 9 1/2 ___ lib. 3 on. 9 1/2
- N.° 61. Una Bugia in forma di stella con una Cartella avanti sostenuta dalle bande da due filetti, con una stella in mezo, et smoccatore legato con catenella, pesa tutto libre una oncie 3 ___ lib. 1 on. 3 --
- N.° 62. Una Guantiera tutta d'oro ottangola con una Dea marina in mezo, pesa libre una oncie tre.
- N.° 63. Una Palla da profume indorata tutta traforata, s'apre in due pezzi, pesa oncie una d.^{ri} 6 ___ lib. -- on. 1 d.^{ri} 6
- N.° 64. Un Tavolino di piastra d'argento fodrato di legno longo palmi cinque in circa, largo p.^{mi} 3. con la cornice intorno, et vinti historie di Romani antichi intagliati con il bolino, e ripartimenti trà l'una, e l'altra historia, cartellate di basso rilievo, con due traverse di sotto coperte di argento, tutto lavorato, con otto spranghe di ferro, e due balaustri di ferro argentato, che reggono la tavola, con quattro

- piedi col legno dentro, che si convertono in quattro Satiri, due maschi, e due femine, che per ciascuna reggono una Canestra di frutti, et due putti à giacere lavorati di rabesco, pesata con la stadera grossa tutta insieme è di libre cento sessant'otto pesa ___ lib. 168 on. -- --
- N.º 65. Una Cassetta quadra tramezzata dentro con due scatolini con l'Arme del S.^r Cardinale nel coperchio serve per medicamenti pesa libre quattro oncie due, e d.^{ri} 18 ___ lib. 4 on. 2: 18
- N.º 66. Un'Orinale d'Argento di libre una oncia quattro, e mezzo con la cassa di velluto rosso, guaranita con frangia rossa d'oro, e seta ___ lib. 1 on. 4 1/2
- N.º 67. Una palla da sapone con l'arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa oncie nove ___ lib. -- on. 9.
- N.º 68. Una Guantiera ovata, lavorata con fogliami traforati pesa libre una oncia cinque ___ lib. 1 on. 5 --
- N.º 69. Un Calamaro col suo Polverino tondo col suo coperchio con l'arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa libre una oncia sei, e mezzo ___ lib. 1 on. 6. 1/2
- N.º 70. Una Catinella con la Brocchetta fatte à costa con l'arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesano libre sette oncie sei ___ lib. 7 on. 6 --
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- Camera
- N.º 71. Una catinella da sputare con li manichi con il coperchio tutto traforato con l'arme, pesa libre quattro oncie undici e mezzo ___ lib. 4 on. 11 1/2
- N.º 72. Una Guantiera ovata, fatta alla Spagnuola, dorata dentro, e fuori, eccetto che 21. ovati piccoli di color d'arg.^{to} smaltati, et è tutta traforata, et hà il piede ovato, pesa libre due oncie undici ___ lib. 2 on. 11 --
- N.º 73. Un Calamaro tondo, col polverino, e coperchio, pesa lib. una onc. quattro denari 18 ___ lib. 1 on. 4 d.^{ri} 18
- N.º 74. Una Catinella con la sua Brocchetta lavorata alla Spagn.la, pesano lib. otto on. sei ___ lib. 8 on. 6 --
- N.º 75. Una Canestrella, lavorata con diversi animali, e traforata, con l'arme, pesa lib. tre on. undici ___ lib. 3 on. 11 --
- N.º 76. Un paro di capofuochi con quattro Bottoni, e otto anelli alli ferri con l'arme, pesano in tutto lib. vintiquattro onc. cinque ___ lib. 24 on. 5 --
- N.º 77. Sette secchietti da acqua santa di diversi lavori, e fattura, pesano tutti lib. due onc. sei d.^{ri} quindici ___ lib. 2 on. 6 d.^{ri} 15

- N.º 78. Due Torcieri scannellati col piede liscio con l'arme, pesano senza l'anima di legno lib. vinti on. dieci ___ lib. 20 on. 10 --
- N.º 79. Due Vasi da fiori, fatti à coste coi manichi, pesano lib. sei ___ lib. 6 -- --
- N.º 80. Quattro Vasi da fiori lavorati con festoni, e maschere, e due manichi per ciascuno, pesano tutti lib. nove on. tre d.^{ri} 18 ___ lib. 9 on. 3 d.^{ri} 18
- N.º 81. Due Calamari con due polverini, e due coperchi, p. con l'arme in forma tonda, pesano tutti due lib. due onc. otto ___ lib. 2 on. 8 --
- N.º 82. Due Vasi grandi da fiori, lavorati con festoni, e maschere coi manichi, pesano lib. dieci, on. dieci ___ lib. 10 on. 10 --
- N.º 83. Due altri Vasi simili mezzani, simil.^{te} lavorati, pesano lib. cinque onc. quattro ___ lib. 5 on. 4 --

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Argenti

Camera

- N.º 84. Una Catinella liscia con l'arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa lib. tre onc. sei, e mezzo
- Num.º 85 Un Scaldaletto di fattura tonda di peso lib. cinq. onze cinq. et d.^{ri} sei dico ___ lib. 5 on. 5 d.^{ri} 6 --
- Num.º 86 Una Brocchetta d'Argento di peso lib. dua, et o.^e nove del n.º setta.ta uno ___ lib. 2 on. 9
- Due Penarole d'Argento con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesano tutte due lib. una, e onze una dico ___ lib. 1 on. 1 --
- N.º 87 Una Catinella di peso libre tre, oncie sei denari dodeci dico ___ lib. 3 on. 6 d.^{ri} 12
- N.º 88 Una Catinella con la sua brocchetta liscia, che tutti insieme pesano libre sei, onze sei, et denari dodeci dico ___ lib. 6 on. 6 d.^{ri} 12
- N.º 89 Una Guantiera tutta dorata liscia ovata pesa libre dua, e onze quattro dico libr [sic] ___ lib. 2 on. 4 --
- Num.º 90 Una Canestrella d'Argento tutta lavorata con animali di bassorilievo di peso libre tre, et onze nove ___ lib. 3 on. 9 --
- N.º 91 Un Campanello grande liscio di manco lega con Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesò di peso libra una, onze nove, et denari dodeci dico ___ lib. 1 on. 9 d.^{ri} 12
- Num.º 92 Un Cucumo liscio col suo boccaglio longo et coperchio con Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa lib. sette e onze quattro dico ___ lib. 7 on. 4 --

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Argenti

Capella

- N.° 1. Una Pace tutta dorata col quadro di Christo, che annuntia la pace, et con l'Arme del S.^r Card.le dietro, pesa libre una oncie cinque ___ lib. 1 on. 5 --
- N.° 2. Una Croce da Capella posta sul piede separato fatto à triangolo, con vaso et balaustro lavorato à fogliami, et con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa libre undici on. due ___ lib. 15 on. 2 --
Una Pace in forma commune Sig.^{ta} n.° 1 con un Xpo. in Croce, et Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} à piedi, pesa libre una, oncie tre ___ lib. 1 on. 3 --
- N.° 2. Sei Candelieri grandi da Capella compagni della sud.^a Croce, et della med.ma fattura, di tre ordini seguiti, pesano libre vintisette oncie undici ___ lib. 27 on. 11 --
- N.° 3. Due Candelieri d'argento lisci per altare in forma ordinaria di triangolo sù le zampe, et con gigli ne'triangoli di ciascuno pesano libre sette ___ lib. 7 on.--
- N.° 4. Una Croce di lavoro quadrato da Capella, sùl piede à triangolo con tre zampe di Leone, tutto d'un pezzo, con Aquila et Lettere L. et E. intagliate, et due Candelieri simili, pesano insieme libre otto oncie una ___ lib. 8 on. 1
- N.° 5. Un Baciletto ovato con due Ampolle Compagne per l'Altare con Arme et Stelle di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesano libre tre, oncie otto e mezzo ___ lib. 3 on. 8 1/2
- N.° 6. Una Bacilotta per l'Ampolle da Messa lavorata alla Venetiana, pesa libre una ___ lib. 1 on.
- N.° 7. Una Bugia con catenella et molletta con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa oncie otto ___ lib. -- on. 8
- N.° 8. Due Ampolline di Pasta verde di Napoli ligate in argento indorato, con manico che rappresenta un'Arpia, et con l'Arme del S.^r Diego
- N.° 9. Due Ampolline di pasta verde di Napoli guarnite d'arg.^{to} dorato, con la Baciletta tutta dorata con Arme di Papa Clemente VIIJ in tutti i pezzi, et con alcune lettere nella Baciletta, pesano insieme libre tre oncie cinque ___ lib. 3 on. 5

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Argenti

Capella

- N.° 10. Un Calice di forma antica, hà la Coppa d'argento dorato, et il piede di rame dorato con la Patena simile al piede
- N.° 11. Un Calice di forma moderna, lavorato à fogliami, con la Patena, tutto d'argento dorato, pesa libre una oncie sei. ___ lib. 1 on. 6 --

- N.° 12. Un Calice nuovo d'argento con tre Angeli nel bottone, con Coppa dorata di dentro, et Patena dorata da una banda, et l'altra bianca, pesa libre dua oncie cinque ___ lib. 2 on. 5 --
- N.° 13. Un Calice tutto d'argento lavorato alla Venetiana con tre ovati nel piede, dentro quali sono diversi misterij della passione parte dorato, con la patena dorata da una parte, pesa libre dua oncie nove ___ lib. 2 on. 9 --
- N.° 14. Un Calice con la Patena tutto d'oro lavorato alla moderna con fioretti, et fogliami al bottone et alla Coppa, con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} sotto il piede, pesa libre dua, oncie nove e meza
- N.° 15. Un'altro Calice con la Patena tutto d'oro lavorato alla moderna con fioretti, fogliami, e stelle con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} à piedi, pesa libre due oncie sette e 1/16
- N.° 16. Una Custodia d'argento dorata dentro, et di fuori profilata d'oro per il S.^{mo} Sacram.^{to} pesa libre una ___ lib. 1 on.-- --
- N.° 17. Un'altra Custodia per il S.^{mo} Sacram.^{to} con il coperchio, che hà una Crocetta di sopra, tutta indorata, pesa libre una oncie una 3/8. ___ lib. 1 on. 1 3/8
- N.° 18. Un Secchiello d'argento indorato fatto à coste bianchi col coperchio simile, et l'Asperges pesa libre una, oncie nove e meza. ___ lib. 1 on. 9 1/2
- N.° 19. Una Bugia col manico mezo coperto con l'Aquila intagliata sùl manico pesa ___ lib.--on. 8 1/2
- N.° 20. Un Calice d'argento dorato in forma antica col piede à sei angoli, pesa lib. una on. 6 1/2 ___ lib. 1 on. 6 1/2

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiciuti dal S.^r Don Bernardino Lupi li sopra detti

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Argenti

Capella

- N.° 20. Due Bacili ovati indorati di lavori Francesi con l'Arme del S.^r Cardinale nel mezo, che uno di essi può servire per boccale alla reale, intagliati con fogliami et mascare, pesano libre nove oncie cinque e meza ___ lib. 9 on. 5 1/2
- N.° 20. Un Boccale ovato di simile lavoro con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} nel corpo, et un'Angelo che fà manico, tutto dorato, fatto in Roma, pesa libre quattro, oncie sette e 7/8 ___ lib. 4 on. 7 7/8
- N.° 20. Un'altro Boccale alla Spagnola in forma quadrangolare col manico fatto à Serena e Coperchio, et con un Cherubino alla bocca d'argento tutto dorato dentro e fuori, con Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} nel Coperchio, pesa libre dua, oncie sette ___ lib. 2 on. 7 --
- N.° 21. Una Scatola per conservare l'Hostie, tutta indorata di fuori, di fattura Spagnola, col

- coperchio, pesa libre una, oncie cinque den.^{ri} diciotto. ___ lib. 1 on. 5 d.^{ri} 18 --
- N.° 22. Un Scatolino ovato d'argento col coperchio, per tenere Reliquie, pesa oncie una d.^{ri} 13 ___ lib. -- on. 1 d.^{ri} 13
- N.° 23. Un Calice con la Coppa sola d'argento, et piede et patena di rame indorato
- N.° 24. Un Campanello liscio con l'Arme del s.^r Card.^{le} pesa oncie dieci e meza ___ lib. -- on. 10 1/2
- N.° 25. Uno Incensiero con quattro catene, e suo manipolo incima, e Navicella tutta d'oro d'oro [sic] di scudo, fatto tutto à fogliami naturali di Cerqua, dove esce per i mezi ghiande di rilievo, et il piede dell'uno, e dell'altra rappresenta un rame di Cerqua, e nella Navicella vi è un Cocchiario serve per l'Incenso, fatto à foglie di cerqua, pesano tutti li sudetti pezzi libre sette et oncie sei
- N.° 26. Un Pastorale d'argento, pesa lib. quattro on. 9 d.^{ri} 15 ___ lib. 4 on. 9 d.^{ri} 15
- N.° 27. Un secchio d'acqua santa col suo aspersorio pesa una libra ___ lib. 1 -- --
- N.° 28. Un Calice tutto d'oro smaltato di colori, e lavorato con teste di cherubini, e fogliami, con nove rose di diamanti in n.° settanta cinque piccoli, e nove grandi, uno per ciascuna rosa, pesa con la patena liscia lib. tre on. sette ___ lib. 3 on. 7 -

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Argenti

Capella

- N.° 29. Una pace, fatta all'antica con l'ornam.^{to} d'arg.^{to} tutto indorato, e trè angeletti di sopra, e manico, che si rivolta con il frontespizio fatto à mezzo tondo, con intorno al fregio dodici rubini legati in oro, et una perla scaramozza per mezzo di cias.^o rubino di n.° undici, e sotto dodici filara di perle fioretti, et il nome di Giesù fatto di rubini piccolini legati in oro, et in mezzo è un' historia della predicatione nel deserto di S. Gio: batista, che mostrano esse diciassette figure in tutto, d'oro, smaltato di colori, et il paese, che è sotto à dette figure è d'arg.^{to} smaltato con li due arbori solo d'oro smaltati, et [into]rno à d.^{ta} historia un fregio di pezzi fatti à fogliami d'oro smaltati con sette balasci intorno, legati in oro, et un robino in breccia impiccato in mezzo, et in mezzo di ciascuna pietra una rosa di quattro perle scaramozze per ciascuna, pesa tutta insieme libre tre oncie quattro ___ lib. 3 on. 4 --
- Una Croce col piede d'agata con un Christo d'oro, quattro testate, titolo, morte, et altri

ornam.^{ti} d'oro smaltati con un sole in mezzo, che appare d'ambe le bande, e la testa del sole di rubino, e per ciascuna testata due rubini grandotti in tutto num.^o otto, e nel piede dodici rubini più piccoli, e quattro diamanti, legati in oro

- N.° 30. Una Baciletta ovata, tutta d'oro, lavorata di festoni cartelle, et animali con l'arme in mezzo di Savoia fatta di smalto con due ampolline tutte d'oro, lavorate à costa con l'arme di Savoia smaltate, pesano tutt'insieme lib. tre onc. sette, e mezzo ___ lib. 3 on. 7 1/2
- N.° 31. Due candelieri tutti d'oro, cioe due Angeli con l'ale smaltati, e lavorati, che tengono in mano un cornucopia con la punta in cima, dove si mette la candela, han.^o il piede fatto à triangolo lavorato di smalto sostenuti da tre palle, in ciascuna faccia del piede una rosa di diamanti, n.° dieci, cioe nove piccioli et un grande, e di più nella cima del piede ci sono sei perle scaramozze, e tre rubini, pesano lib. otto on. due ___ lib. 8 on. 2 --

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiciuto dal S.^r Don Bernardino Lupi tutti[?] li sopradetti

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Argenti

Capella

- N.° 32 Un Incensiero con la Navicella, et Cocchiario tutto lavorato, traforato l'incensiero, et la navicella con l'impresa della Casa di peso libre tre, et onze quattro dico ___ lib. 3 on. 4 --

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 1. Un Bacile d'argento indorato di dentro, lavorato à fogliami, diviso in diversi compartimenti con Anatre, Mascare, Stelle, et Rastelli, et con l'Arme del S.^r Cardinale, pesa libre dieci oncie otto e un quarto ___ lib. 10 on. 8 1/4
- N.° 1. Il Boccale compagno tutto dorato, al quale un'Arpia serve di manico, pesa libre sei oncie nove ___ lib. 6 on. 9 --
- N.° 2. Un Bacile d'argento lavorato alla Francese dorato dentro et fuori con l' historia di Faraone, che s'annega nel Mare rosso, et sù l'orlo la historia del Serpe con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesa libre tredici oncie nove ___ lib. 13 on. 9 --
- N.° 2. Il Boccale compagno dorato lavorato in quattro compartimenti con quattro Virtù, et con

- mascaroni, e festoni, pesa libre otto, oncie tre ___ lib. 8 on. 3 --
- N.° 3. Un' altro Bacile di simile argento tutto dorato dentro et fuori, lavorato con diverse caccie dentro, et sù l'orlo con fogliami, et putti, pesa libre tredici oncie dieci ___ lib. 13 on. 10 --
- N.° 3. Il Boccale compagno lavorato come l'altro, pesa libre sette oncie nove ___ lib. 7 on. 9 --
- N.° 4. Un Bacile indorato di lavoro Spagnolo fatto à buglioni con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} dentro et fuori, pesa libre otto, oncie sei ___ lib. 8 on. 6 --
- N.° 4. Il Boccale compagno pesa libre cinque oncie undici ___ lib. 5 on. 11 --
- N.° 5. Un Bacile d'argento indorato fatto à fogliami con Mascare attorno, con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} dentro, et della Città d'Ancona di fuori, et con lettere P.C.A., pesa libre sei on. tre ___ lib. 6 on. 3 --
- N.° 5. Il Boccale compagno, pesa libre cinque oncie dua ___ lib. 5 on. 2 --
- N.° 6. Un Bacile lavorato alla gemina niellato con Mostri Marini indorato con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesa libre cinque oncie nove ___ lib. 5 on. 9 --
- N.° 6. Il Boccale compagno pesa libre tre, oncie otto ___ lib. 3 on. 8 --

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni ho riciuto dal S.^r Don Bernardino Lupi li sopradetti

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 7. Un Bacile indorato dentro, lavorato, che rappresenta un Fiume con Anatre, et fiori, con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le}, et nel roverso con tre chiavi, pesa libre sei, oncie tre e meza ___ lib. 6 on. 3 1/2
- N.° 7. Il Boccale compagno di lavoro simile con un'Orso per manico, pesa libre quattro oncie otto ___ lib. 4 on. 8 --
- N.° 8. Un Bacile bianco lavorato con fiori et spicchi con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, et nel fondo P.A., pesa libre sei oncie quattro ___ lib. 6 on. 4 --
- N.° 8. Il Boccale compagno, pesa libre tre oncie sei et un quarto ___ lib. 3 on. 6 1/4
- N.° 9. Un Bacile tutto indorato lavorato à fogliami et Mascaroni con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa libre cinque, oncie dieci e meza ___ lib. 5 on. 10 1/2
- N.° 9. Il Boccale compagno pesa libre quattro oncie tre ___ lib. 4 on. 3 --
- N.° 10. Due Bacili bianchi simili lavorati con foglie, Arpie, et Conchiglie, con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesano libre quindici [inserted] vol dire libre quattordici ___ lib. 15 on. -- --
- N.° 10. Due Boccali compagni de' sudetti Bacili, pesano libre dieci oncie una e tre quarti ___ lib. 10 on. 1 3/4

- N.° 11. Un Servitio da Credenza alla Spagnola tutto dorato sopra un quadro in forma di Panattiera, posato sù quattro palle, i pezzi del quale sono dieci con l'istessa posata; cioe Una Saliera col coperchio, che hà un Bue sopra, che serve per stecchi; Quattro Vasi col manico et et beccalino per Olio, Aceto, e simili, et quattro senza manico et beccalino per Zuccaro, et altre Spetiarie, segnati in ciasc.^o pezzo N.° 11, et pesano tutti libre dieci, oncie quattro ___ lib. 10 on. 4 --
- N.° 12. Due Vasetti da Olio, et Aceto, alla Spagnola senz'oro, con coperchi separati, con manichi, et beccalini, pesano insieme libre dua oncie cinque ___ lib. 2 on. 5 --

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 13. Vintiquattro Candelieri lisci tutti simili da Tavola, et da Camera, con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} intagliata sùl corpo, tutti segnati col n.° 13., et pesano insieme libre sessantadua, oncie dua e un terzo [inserted] e più altri dodici candelieri simili com' in q.^{to} à c.^{le} 42 ___ lib. 62 on. 2 1/3
- N.° 14. Dodici fruttiere lavorate alla Tedesca con rabschi indorati col piede di simile lavoro, segnate tutte col n.° 14, pesano insieme libre dicidotto oncie dua ___ lib. 18 on. 2 --
- N.° 15. Due Fruttiere alla Tedesca tutte indorate lavorate à rabesco, et à spicchi dentro, et fuori con tre Mascaroni per ciascuna, col piede basso lavorato con conchiglie, ambedue sotto il n.° di 15, pesano insieme libre tre oncie nove ___ lib. 3 on. 9 --
- N.° 16. Dodici Fruttiere alla Tedesca lavorate in mezo in forma di triangolo indorato con tre Cherubini per ciascuna, et l'orlo indorato col piede basso del medesimo lavoro, tutte segnate del n.° 16, pesano insieme libre sedici, oncie dieci ___ lib. 16 on. 10 --
- N.° 17. Due Graticole ovate sù quattro zampe di Leone, et due Conchiglie per manico di ciascuna da cucinare Conchiglie con coperchi, et posata in forma di bacilette ovate, che ciascuna di esse hà quattro Conchiglie di fuori, che servono anco per piedi, et in mezo un'Aquila intagliata, in tutto pezzi n.° 4, segnati n.° 17, pesano libre sei, et oncie quattro ___ lib. 6 on. 4 --
- N.° 18. Due Saliere à Sepoltura indorate sù 4 zampe di Leone con due coperchi per ciascuna, et sopra l'ultimo un mazzo di fiori tutto indorato, pesano libre sette ___ lib. 7 on. -- --

- N.° 19. Quattro Ovaroli sù tre piedi di Bove per ciascuno, pesano libre una oncie nove ___ lib. 1 on. 9 --
- N.° 20. Una Panattiera indorata attorno sù 4 Arpie con teste di Montone, due Salerini à vite, et l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, pesa libre cinque, oncie tre ___ lib. 5 on. 3 --
- N.° 21. Una Panattiera lavorata in bianco à fogliami sù 4 teste, et zampe di Montone, et due Salerini con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, pesa libre tre, oncie quattro ___ lib. 3 on. 4 --

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 22. Una Panattiera indorata con l'Arme d'Este, et quattro Aquile à gl'angoli intagliate, et con un Aquila e due gigli sopra la Cassetta, pesa libre tre oncie otto ___ lib. 3 on. 8 --
- N.° 23. Una Panattiera indorata lavorata à fogliami et compartimenti, con due Vasetti, et con l'Arme della Duchessa et Duca d'Urbino, pesa libre cinque, oncie quattro e meza ___ lib. 5 on. 4 1/2
- N.° 24. Un Scaldavivande lavorato con due Mascaroni, et campanelle fatte à diamanti col fondo straforato, con Stelle et Rastelli, et con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le}, pesa libre tre oncie tre ___ lib. 3 on. 3 --
- N.° 25. Un Scaldavivande da scaldare con acqua con orlo indorato et Arme d'Urbino, con manichi fatti à festoni, et due Mascaroni, pesa libre otto, oncie dua e meza ___ lib. 8 on. 2 1/2
- N.° 26. Due Scaldavivande tutti bianchi con un cerchio di sopra, et con due Catenelle in bocca à Lioni, pesa libre tre oncie dieci ___ lib. 3 on. 10 --
- N.° 27. Due Scaldavivande lavorati di basso rilievo, et di sopra sbusati, con li manichi à campanella, pesano libre quattro oncie quattro ___ lib. 4 on. 4 --
- N.° 28. Due Cucchiare da Trinciante, una forata, et l'altra intiera con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, pesano oncie sette e meza ___ lib. -- on. 7 1/2
- N.° 29. Un Candeliere alla Napolitana in cinque pezzi sopra tre piedi per tenere una torcietta, e tre candele, pesa libre tre oncie cinque e meza ___ lib. 3 on. 5 1/2
- N.° 30. Una Tazzetta in forma di Scudella tutta d'oro con dieci Medaglie, et undici pezzi d'osso, che si crede Onghia della gran bestia, con manichi lisci, pesa oncie undici ___ lib. -- on. 11 --

- N.° 31. Un paro di fruttiere senza piedi alla Spagnola, tutte dorate lavorate à spicchi nel fondo, et sù l'orlo à fogliami con merletti attorno, con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, pesano libre quattro, oncie otto ___ lib. 4 on. 8 --

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 32. Dicinove Forcine col manico à Mascaroni da tre punte, pesano libre due oncie dieci ___ lib. 2 on. 10 --
- N.° 32. Digidotto Cucchiari col manico à Mascaroni, pesano libre tre ___ lib. 3 on. -- --
- N.° 32. Vinti Cortelli col manico d'argento à mascaroni, pesano i manichi libre tre oncie quattro ___ lib. 3 on. 4 --
- N.° 33. Un Parafumo col manico, con l'orlo lavorato à fogliami con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} in mezo, et il smoccatore con la med.^{ma} Arme nel coperchio della Cassetta, attaccato con una catenella d'argento al parafumo, pesa libre due oncie sei ___ lib. 2 on. 6 --
- N.° 34. Un'altro Parafumo simile intagliato à fogliami et rastelli con la med.^{ma} Arme, col smoccatore, et catenella come l'altro, pesa libre due oncie sei ___ lib. 2 on. 6 --
- N.° 35. Due Saliere indorate fatte à sepoltura senza coperchio, ciascuna sù 4 zampe di Leone con due Mascaroni, et due Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} per ciascuna, fatte per il Trinciante, pesano libre due oncie un quarto ___ lib. 2 on. 1/4
- N.° 36. Dodici Forcine di quattro punte l'una col manico scartocciato con l'Arme Aldobrandina à capo, delle quali una è tutta dorata, pesano in tutto libre una oncie sei ___ lib. 1 on. 6 --
- N.° 37. Vintiquattro forcine di tre punte l'una, delle quali una è tutta indorata, con manico, et Arme simili, pesano libre due oncie nove et un quarto ___ lib. 2 on. 9 1/4
- N.° 38. Trentasei Cucchiari di fattura, et Arme simili alle Forcine, de' i quali due sono tutti dorati, pesano libre cinque oncie una ___ lib. 5 on. 1 --
- N.° 39. Trentasei Cortelli col manico d'argento, di forma simile alle forcine, et con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} di basso rilievo, che due di questi manichi sono tutti dorati, pesano li manichi senza le lame libre ___ lib. [sic]

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 40. Sei Candelieri di mezana grandezza di forma ordinaria, et lisci con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le}, pesano in tutto libre undici oncie sei et un quarto ___ lib. 11 on. 6 1/4
- N.° 41. Due Saliere tutte bianche in forma commune di Navicella, ciascuna sù quattro piedi fatti à zampa di Bove, pesano in tutto libre due, oncie tre e cinq. ottavi ___ lib. 2 on. 3 5/8
- N.° 42. Un Cocco d'India ovato grosso legato in argento dorato, et ridotto à forma d'un Boccale per dare acqua alle mani, sù un piede strafornato con 4 Arpie, et il corpo cinto da tre Termini con la Testa della Bada, che serve per bocceglio, col coperchio et Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, et dentro un pezzo d'Alicorno attaccato con una Catenella, pesa in tutto libre otto ___ lib. 8 on. ---
- N.° 43. Una Posata d'Argento dorata di lavoro Milanese in forma sestangola, sostenuta da tre piedi in forma di Griffi, con una Saliera in mezo coperta con un'Aquila in Capo da mettere i stecchi, con tre Vasi da Olio, Aceto, et Agresto, e tre altri Vasi per zucchero, pepe, et altre spetie, pesa in tutto libre otto oncie una ___ lib. 8 on. 1 --
- N.° 44. Quattro Moccatori, due grandi, et due più piccoli, sono senza piatti, pesano libre una, oncie cinque e un quarto ___ lib. 1 on. 5 1/4
- N.° 45. Due Panattiere compagne sostenute da 4 Fenici per ciascuna con due Salarini, corniciate intorno, et liscie in mezo con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} et tutte dorate dal fondo in poi, pesano ambidue libre tredici, oncie tre e meza ___ lib. 13 on. 3 1/2
- N.° 46. Un Bacile d'argento bianco senz'oro di lavoro ordinario con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma}, pesa libre cinque oncie una ___ lib. 5 on. 1 --
- N.° 46. Il Boccale compagno pesa libre tre oncie dieci ___ lib. 3 on. 10 --

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 47. Due Bacili sestangoli bianchi historiati di figure di basso rilievo, uno con Nettuno, l'altro con Galatea, et Mascaroni, et uno è accomodato da poter servire per dare l'acqua alle mani all'Imperiale, pesano libre vint'otto ___ lib. 28 ---

N.° 48. Due Boccali grandi di lavoro francese con Mascarone al collo et al manico tutti dorati, con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le}, pesano libre vintidue oncie tre ___ lib. 22 on. 3 --

N.° 49. Un Broccone di lavoro francese col manico alto col bocceglio, coperchio, et dietro Mascarone con una campanella, tutto dorato, con Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} pesa libre dicinove oncie quattro ___ lib. 19 on. 4 --

N.° 50. Un Scaldavivande grande in tre pezzi con due manichi fatti à festoni, tutto dorato dentro e fuora, pesa libre quattordici ___ lib. 14 on. -- --

N.° 51. Una Tiella da fare torte con due manichi, pesa libre due oncie dieci ___ lib. 2 on. 10 --

N.° 52. **Dodici Tazzoni grandi col piede alto, lavorati con diverse historie di basso rilievo, con un Imperatore in piedi sopra ciascuno, segnati ciascun pezzo col controscritto n.° 52., pesano tutti insieme libre centonove, oncie undici e meza ___ lib. 109 on. 11 1/2**

N.° 53. Quattro Tazzoni grandi col piede alto, lavorati con Caccie et Mostri Marini di basso rilievo con il fregio liscio d'intorno, et l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} in mezo, tutti dorati dentro et fuori, segnati ciascun pezzo col n.° 53., pesano tutti insieme libre vintinove oncie quattro ___ lib. 29 on. 4 --

N.° 54. Quattro Saliere grandi in forma di base quadra, lavorate di basso rilievo con diversi Trofei, et con l'Armi di S.S.Ill.^{ma} tutte dorate dentro et fuori, ciascuna segnata n.° 54, pesano tutte insieme libre quattordici oncie tre ___ lib. 14 on. 3 --

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Argenti

Credenza

N.° 55. Una Saliera alla Spagnola grande con la base sotto quadra, sopra quattro palle, alla quale stà attaccata il Vaso della Saliera, con quattro Vasi per Aceto, Olio, Zucchero, et Sale, accomodati uno per angolo, distaccati però; et questi Vasi hanno i coperchi, et sono scanellati, et tutti indorati, pesano insieme libre quattordici oncie una ___ lib. 14 on. 1 --

N.° 56. Un Bacile ovato lavorato à grottesco di basso rilievo con Satiri, et con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} tutto dorato, pesa libre sette oncie cinque ___ lib. 7 on. 5 --

N.° 56. Il Boccale compagno simil.^{te} tutto dorato, lavorato con caccia di basso rilievo, et un'Arpia

- nel manico, pesa libre sei oncie quattro ___ lib. 6 on. 4 --
- N.° 57. Un Bacile grande tondo lavorato di basso rilievo con caccine et grottesche tutto dorato con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma} pesa libre dodici ___ lib. 12 on. -- --
- N.° 57. Il Boccale lavorato similmente con caccine di basso rilievo con un Putto sopra il manico tutto dorato, pesa libre otto oncie nove ___ lib. 8 on. 9 --
- N.° 58. Un Bacile lavorato con caccine di basso rilievo, et l'orlo con Cherubini con l'Arme di S.S.III.^{ma} tutto dorato, pesa libre undici oncie dieci ___ lib. 11 on. 10 --
- N.° 58. Il Boccale di simile lavoro tutto dorato con un Putto sopra il manico, pesa libre nove, oncie tre ___ lib. 9 on. 3 --
- N.° 59. Un Bacile lavorato di basso rilievo con Mostri Marini tutto dorato, pesa libre sette, oncie nove ___ lib. 7 on. 9 --
- N.° 59. Un Boccale alto lavorato di simil lavoro con tre teste di Leone, e tre manichi, et s'accommoda sigillatam.te nel sudetto Bacile, dentro il qual Boccale stà una Fonte con due teste di Serpenti, et un Cupido sopra il coperschio tutto dorato, servono per lavare le mani, pesa libre sette oncie sette ___ lib. 7 on. 7 --

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 59. Un Boccale ordinario lavorato di basso rilievo con caccine, et con un'Arpia nel manico tutto dorato, pesa libre sei oncie cinque ___ lib. 6 on. 5 --
- N.° 60. Un Parafumo in forma di Stella con manico, catenella, e smocatore, pesa libre una oncie otto ___ lib. 1 on. 8 --
- N.° 61. Dodici Cucchiari, et dodici forcine vecchi, pesano tutti libre due oncie 4 d.^{ri} 12 ___ lib. 2 on. 4 d.^{ri} 12
- N.° 62. Tre Cucchiari piccoli, trà quali uno sbusato, et una paletta da impiastro
- N.° 63. Tre Cortelli vecchi col manico d'argento à zampa di Leone
- N.° 64. Due Saliere quadre liscie, col salarino tondo, pesano libre 1 oncie 4 d.^{ri} 6 ___ lib. 1 on. 4 d.^{ri} 6
- N.° 65. Due Bacili compagni di fattura Portuguese con lavori di rilievo di Caccine con un mascarone in mezo à uno, et una testa di leone all'altro, pesano ambidue insieme ___ lib. 22 on. 8 --
- N.° 66. Sei Candelieri fatti alla Spagnola con arme di S.S.III.^{ma} pesano tutti insieme libre undici oncie cinque d.^{ri} 21 ___ lib. 11 on. 5 d.^{ri} 21

- N.° 67. Due Canestrelle traforate simili, posa ciascuna sopra quattro palle tonde, di lavoro Napolit.^o col manico ritorto, pesano ambedue libre tre oncie dieci et den.^{ri} 13 ___ lib. 3 on. 10 d.^{ri} 13
- N.° 68. Sei Tegami col manico con arme di S.S.III.^{ma} à ciascuno, pesano insieme libre cinque et oncie 3 ___ lib. 5 on. 3 --
- N.° 69. Due Bacili dorati compagni historiat, in uno Orfeo quando disputa con Marsia, nell'altro quando Apollo scortica Marsia con gli orli lavorati à fogliami, pesano ambedui libre quindici oncie sei ___ lib. 15 on. 6 --
- N.° 70. Sei Cortelli con manico d'argento di lavoro rabesco, trà quali uno magg.^{ri} degl'altri
- N.° 71. Due Candelieri di Argento con l'arme di S.S.III.^{ma}, pesano in tutto libre tre oncie sei ___ lib. 3 on. 6
- N.° 72. Un Parafumo col suo smoccolatore, fatto à stella con l'arme di S.S.III.^{ma} pesa libre una oncie nove, e d.^{ri} sei ___ lib. 1 on. 9 d.^{ri} 6 --

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Argenti

Credenza

- N.° 73. Quattro Cucchiari piccoli dorati, pesano on. tre d.^{ri} vintuno ___ lib. on. 3 d.^{ri} 21
- N.° 74. Una Tazza, over scudella dorata con suoi manichi, pesa oncie otto e mezzo ___ lib. on. 8 1/2
- N.° 75. Una Panattiera sostenuta da quattro Sirene con due vasetti sopra, lavorata à fogliami, con l'arme, pesa lib. sette onc. quattro e mezzo ___ lib. 7 on. 4 1/2
- N.° 76. Quattro Cocchiari da Trinciante due intieri, e due forati, pesano lib. una on. sette e 1/2 ___ lib. 1 on. 7 1/2
- N.° 77. Sei dozzene di Cocchiari con altrettante forchette, di diverse fatture, pesano lib. tredici onc. undici e mezzo ___ lib. 13 on. 11 1/2
- N.° 78. Una Cocchiara grande forata da spremere melangoli col manico fatto à balaustro, pesa lib. una on. due, e d.^{ri} undici ___ lib. 1 on. 2 d.^{ri} 11
- N.° 79. Una Cortelliera con dodici cortelli col manico d'argento, lavorati à mascheroni con l'arme in capo ___
- N.° 80. Due Tazze da frutti, dorate, e historiate, pesano lib. cinque onc. sei ___ lib. 5 on. 6 --
- N.° 81. Quattro Bacili simili con i Boccali compagni, fatti alla Spag.^{la}, tutti lisci, e dorati dentro, e fuori, pesano lib. trenta due onc. cinque, d.^{ri} sei ___ lib. 32 on. 5 d.^{ri} 6
- Dodici Candelieri lisci con l'arme di S.S.III.^{ma} e col num.^o 13. pesano in tutto lib. trenta on. cinque ___ lib. 30 on. 5 --

N.º 82. Due Tazze grandi dorate istoriate, et lavorate di basso rilievo con Armi di S.S.Ill.^{ma} in ciascuna pesano tutte dua libre tredici, et onze dieci dico ___ lib. 13 on. 10 --

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Argenti

Piatti

- N.º 1. Quattro Piatti tondi grandi all'Imperiale con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le}, pesano libre vintiquattro oncie due [inserted] e più due altri piatti simili, come à carte 50 ___ lib. 24 on. 2 --
- N.º 2. Quattro Piatti grandi à Navicella con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre vintitre oncie tre ___ lib. 23 on. 3 --
- N.º 3. Otto Piatti à Navicella più piccoli de' sudetti con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre trentacinque oncie dieci ___ lib. 35 on. 10 --
- N.º 4. Sedici Piatti grandi alla reale con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre sessantacinque oncie quattro ___ lib. 65 on. 4 --
- N.º 5. Vintiquattro Piatti grandi con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre sessantasette, oncie cinque [inserted:] più altri otto piatti simili, come à carte 50 ___ lib. 67 on. 5 --
- N.º 6. Dodici Piatti ovati più piccoli di gl'altri soprascritti à Navicella con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre trentanove, oncie sette ___ lib. 39 on. 7 --
- N.º 7. Quarant'otto Piatti reali mezani con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre cento diciette, oncie sette, e denari dodici ___ lib. 117 on. 7 d.^{ri} 12
- N.º 8. Vinticinque Piatti mezani cupi con l'orlo stretto, et Arme sud.^a, pesano libre sessantaquattro oncie sei ___ lib. 64 on. 6 --
- N.º 9. Vintiquattro Piatti mezani con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre quarantasette oncie tre [inserted:] e più diciotto piatti simili, come à carte 50 ___ lib. 47 on. 3 --
- N.º 10. Vintiquattro Piatti piccoli cupi con l'orlo stretto, et Arme sud.^a, pesano libre trentasette oncie nove ___ lib. 37 on. 9 --
- N.º 11. Trentasei Piatti à scudella di forma grande con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre cinquantatre, oncie sei, denari dodici ___ lib. 53 on. 6 d.^{ri} 12

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Argenti

Piatti

- N.º 12. Trenta Piatti à scudella di forma ordinaria con l'Arme del S.^r Card.^{le} pesano libre quaranta oncie dieci ___ lib. 40 on. 10 --
- N.º 13. Cinque Piatti mezani col bollo di Venetia, orlo stretto, et Arme sud.^a pesano libre nove oncie dieci ___ lib. 9 on. 10 --
- N.º 14. Cinquanta Tondi con l'orlo stretto, et Arme sud.^a, pesano libre quarantasette, oncie dieci ___ lib. 47 on. 10 --
- N.º 15. Cinquanta Tondi ordinarij con la med.^a Arme pesano libre cinquantasette oncie otto ___ lib. 57 on. 8 --
- N.º 16. Cinquant'uno Tondo ordinario con la med.^a Arme pesano libre cinquantaquattro, oncie tre, denari sei ___ lib. 54 on. 3 d.^{ri} 6
- N.º 17. Cinquanta Tondi piani ordinarij con la med.^a Arme, pesano libre sessantacinq. ___ lib. 65 on. -- --
- N.º 18. Cento Tondi detti Saette con la med.^a Arme pesano libre novant'una, oncie dieci, denari sei ___ lib. 91 on. 10 d.^{ri} 6
- Cinquanta Piatti à scudella di forma ordinaria con l'Arme di S.S.Ill.^{ma} sono segnati del N.º 12. et simili alli sudetti, quali sono stati rifatti delli soprascritti Tondi 50 del N.º 14. che furono disfatti d'ordine del S.^r Card.^{le} pesano in tutto libre settantaquattro et oncie due ___ lib. 74 on. 2 --
- Due Piatti grandi all'Imperiale con l'arme segnati num.º uno pesano lib. tredici onc. undici ___ lib. 13 on. 11 --
- Otto piatti grandi, segnati n.º cinque, pesano lib. ventisei onc. tre ___ lib. 26 on. 3 --
- Diciotto Piatti mezzani segnati n.º nove, pesano lib. trentacinque on. cinque ___ lib. 35 on. 5 --
- N.º 14 Trentaquattro Piatti tondi coll'orlo stretto, pesano lib. quarantuno ___ lib. 41 -- --

Io Fran.^{co} Attoni horiciuto dal S.^r D. Bernardino Lupi li sopradetti et piu Un piatto del n.º 12 et Un altro del n.º 17 et Un altro del n.º 9

Notes to the Essays

SUETONIUS, THE SILVER CAESARS, AND MISTAKEN IDENTITIES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: There are many people to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude: to all my fellow contributors to this catalogue, in particular Tim Schroder, who gave me my first lessons in Renaissance silverware; Kirstin Kennedy, who introduced me to the tazza in the Victoria and Albert Museum (and unscrewed it); and above all to Julia Siemon, who has generously shared her knowledge of the tazze with me, gently corrected my errors, and often pointed me in the right direction when I was in danger of straying. —Mary Beard

1. Suetonius 2007 and 2000 are both reliable translations; Suetonius 1997–98 offers a Latin text with facing English translation. All translations here are my own, and references are to the chapters of the Latin text.
2. Rivals might be the illustrated manuscript version of 1433 (Kane MS. 44, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library—though the gleaming illuminations could hardly be said to be “systematic”) or the prints of Stradanus (see pp. 38–40 in this essay).
3. The description in Darcel 1891, p. 24, no. 63 (though pl. XIV shows the Otho figure attached to the Tiberius dish) and the illustrations in the catalogue of the Spitzer sale in 1893 (Spitzer 1893, no. 1763) make it clear that this dish was already assigned to Domitian in the early 1890s.
4. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (M.247–1956), <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O91721/the-aldobrandini-tazza-standing-cup-unknown/>; the traditional identification of the scenes is given under “Labels and date.”
5. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian* 6; Brian W. Jones (1992, pp. 126–39) discusses the exact dates and number of the triumphs celebrated by Domitian.
6. Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius* 20.
7. *Ibid.*, 6.
8. *Ibid.*, 48: “He did not relieve the provinces either with any act of generosity, with the exception of the province of Asia, after its cities had been ruined in an earthquake.”
9. *Ibid.*, 9: “Then he waged war against the Raeti and Vindelici . . . and in that war he subdued the Alpine peoples.”
10. See discussion in Siemon, pp. 61–62 in this volume.
11. This is a particularly complex scene both in its temporal references (Augsburg is imagined in both its pre-Roman and Roman identity) and in its symbolic repertoire. In addition to the pinecones, some of the German standards carry an image of the Roman goddess Cybele. In Greco-Roman mythology she was associated with the pinecone through her consort, Attis, whose distinctive symbol it was; but she was often conflated with the ancient German deity Cisa. This symbolism, its history, meaning, and connections with Augusta Vindelicorum, was a subject of much sixteenth-century debate; see Wood 2008, pp. 279–87; and Siemon, p. 62 in this volume. For archaeological evidence supporting the tradition of Tiberius’s foundation of Augusta Vindelicorum, see Wells 1972, pp. 88–89.
12. There is an even more complicated irony here. When the Domitian dish, as it was then believed to be, was owned by Frédéric Spitzer, it was clearly attached to the figure of Domitian (see note 3 above). Between the Spitzer sale and the loan of the tazza to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1927, the intermediate owner had, for whatever reason, unscrewed the figure of Domitian and replaced it with that of Vitellius. So the effect of the three-way swap in 1956 was to restore the tazza in the V&A to its condition in 1893. The mismatch between plate and text in Darcel’s catalogue (see note 3 above) is a good indication of the ease of confusion and the speed of change.
13. Suetonius, *Life of Caligula* 19: “Besides this, he dreamt up a new and unheard-of kind of spectacle. For he bridged the gap between Baiae and the harbor works at Puteoli, a distance of just over three and one-half miles, by bringing in merchants’ boats from everywhere and anchoring them in a double row, then piling a mound of earth on top, making a straight line like the Appian Way. He marched over this bridge, from one end to the other, for two whole days, on the first riding a horse in all its battle trappings, conspicuous in his wreath of oak leaves, with a shield and a sword, and a golden breastplate.” 9: “How much love and affection he enjoyed among the soldiers, thanks to being brought up in their company, is best seen by what happened when they were on the brink of mutiny after the death of Augustus and rushing headlong into madness. Without a doubt, he alone—just the sight of him—calmed them down. For they didn’t stop until they noticed that he was being evacuated because of the danger of the uprising and taken to the safety of the next town. Then finally, turning to remorse, they held up his carriage and stopped it, and begged to be let off the disgrace that was facing them.” The Tiberian reading is elaborated in Coggiola 2007, pp. 44–46; more briefly in Almeida and Vilaça 2002, p. 33.
14. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian* 1: “In the war with Vitellius he fled to the Capitol with his uncle Sabinus and a detachment of the troops who were in the city, and when the enemy were bursting in and the temple was on fire, he spent the night in hiding with the temple caretaker.” The Caligulan reading is elaborated in McFadden 1976–77, esp. pp. 51–52.
15. Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius* 44; *Life of Caligula* 55.
16. Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 65:9, with Suetonius, *Life of Domitian* 3.
17. Among recent studies to stress the sophistication of Suetonius and explore his methods (in *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* and his other biographical works, including *Lives of the Poets*), see Power and Gibson 2014. Wallace-Hadrill 1983 remains a classic study.
18. The career of Suetonius is detailed in a partially surviving inscription put up in

- his honor in Algeria (which may have been his family's original home). This is fully discussed in Townend 1961.
19. Conte 1994, p. 550; in detail, Berté 2011.
 20. Burke 1966. At this period the most popular authors on Burke's index were Sallust (*War against Catiline* and *War against Jugurtha*, each having in the order of 275,000 printed copies) and the now little-read Valerius Maximus, whose *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* was available in just under 200,000 printed copies. For a history of the manuscripts, printed editions, and translations, see "Suetonius" in Reynolds 1983, pp. 399–404, and, in detail on the manuscripts, Kaster 2014.
 21. McLaughlin 2002 is an excellent survey of Renaissance biography and its Suetonian antecedents. Petrarch's Suetonian themes are outlined in the longer version of the preface to his *De viris illustribus*, translated in Kohl 1974, esp. p. 142. His self-description, echoing Suetonius, is in "Letter to Posterity" 4, Latin text and English translation in Enenkel et al. 1998, pp. 243–81.
 22. Angelo Poliziano, "Praefatio in Suetonii expositionem," reprinted in Poliziano 1622, pp. 589–610 (quotation, p. 589); Giovinetti 1956, p. 176.
 23. See, for example, the verses of Decimus Magnus Ausonius, "On the Twelve Caesars whose Lives were written by Suetonius" (fourth century A.D.), in Latin and English, in Ausonius 1919–21, vol. 1, pp. 330–35.
 24. Christian 2010, with further bibliography; note especially Stupperich 1995, and (not cited by Christian) Fittschen 2006.
 25. The Renaissance development of an iconography of imperial and other Roman characters is explored in Fittschen 1985; Haskell 1993, pp. 13–79; and (on coins exclusively) Cunnally 1999.
 26. For variants of the "canonical" Twelve, see Lightbown 1986, p. 415. Andrea Mantegna's eight Caesars in the Camera Picta, Mantua, with further discussion in Starn and Partridge 1992, pp. 118–31; Caglioti 2008, on early Florentine "sets"; Wethey 1975, pp. 235–40 (no. L-12), on Titian's Eleven Caesars, with important recent discussion in Zeitz 2000, pp. 59–103.
 27. "Primus Augustorum, / omnium admiratione, sicca morte occubuit" (the first of the emperors, to the admiration of all, who died a *dry* [i.e., "natural"] death) was the crisp phrase in Hubert Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (Antwerp, 1645) (with woodcut by Christoffel Jegher).
 28. For Aegidius Sadeler II's prints of Titian's emperors and the accompanying verses, see Hollstein 1980, nos. 346–57; Chiari 1982, pp. 70–73.
 29. Leesberg and Leeftang 2008, vol. 2, nos. 309, 310, 320.
 30. The major precedent to include narrative scenes as well as portraits is the 1433 illustrated manuscript of the *Lives* (Kane MS. 44, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; see note 2 above), but the images are vignettes rather than an ordered visual narrative.
 31. Siemon, pp. 46–48 in this volume.
 32. Suetonius, *Life of Nero* 25; this bizarre ceremony is discussed in Beard 2007, pp. 268–71.
 33. The engraved numbers are centered in the uppermost portion of the scenes, flush with the border design.
 34. Suetonius, *Life of Caligula* 19, explains that the emperor was accompanied by soldiers of the Praetorian Guard, and it seems that a Parthian hostage stood in for the prisoners. (The account in Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59:17, adds even more triumphal elements, including spoils and—an element hinted at in Suetonius, *Life of Caligula* 52—the breastplate of Alexander the Great, as part of the imperial costume.)
 35. Suetonius's text of the *Lives* was originally divided into eight "books" (or chapters), partly determined by the length of a papyrus roll. For a discussion of aspects of the original articulation of the whole work, see Tristan Power, "The Endings of Suetonius' *Caesars*," in Power and Gibson 2014, pp. 58–77.
 36. Zeitz 2000, pp. 72, 80, 98–100; Whitaker and Clayton 2007, pp. 139–45 (Claudius and the eagle). Frederick Hartt (1981, pp. 170–76) is still useful but is incorrect on the scene featuring Julius Caesar.
 37. Suetonius, *Life of Galba* 17, 20; *Life of Otho* 6.
 38. See Schestag 1872, p. 17, no. 532; Billung 1882–83; and Spitzer 1893, nos. 1760, 1762, 1763 (Augustus dish with Vitellius figure, Otho dish with Titus figure, Tiberius dish with Domitian figure)—with the descriptions in Darcel 1891, pp. 23–24. We can, in fact, push the date of confusion back a little further. As those in the Spitzer Collection were mismatched with elements of tazze that Spitzer himself never owned (he had the Augustus dish, for example, but not the figure), these must have become muddled before Spitzer's ownership, and almost certainly when all twelve were still held together. (The set was split up sometime between 1862, when they were all owned by Richard Attenborough, and 1872, when the Viennese collection of Anselm Salomon von Rothschild included a tazza composed of the Augustus figure on top of the Domitian dish.)
 39. Interestingly, these names introduce new misidentifications not reflected in the current mismatches; there are yet more in further names scratched, in a different style, on the detachable disks below the center of the dishes underneath the figures (for example, *VITELIUS* on the Nero disk).
 40. For a flavor of the nineteenth-century classical curriculum in England, see Stray 1998.
 41. Christie's 2000, no. 18 (on the Augustus dish).
 42. Christie's 1914, no. 202 (similarly, *ibid.*, no. 19: "four scenes from the life of the Roman Emperor Titus"). The catalogue of the Scarisbrick sale (Christie's 1861, no. 159) likewise refers to the scenes merely as "minute subjects of Roman history."
 43. For example, "représentant l'Histoire des douze Césars," in Spitzer 1893, nos. 1758–63; even the report of the Scarisbrick sale in the *Times* (May 16, 1861, p. 7), while first referencing "minute subjects of Roman history," goes on to refer to the "Twelve Caesars" (the capitals clearly invoking Suetonius's title).
 44. Hamlet 1834, no. 22. All of the reports are cited in Appendix B, p. 175 in this volume.
 45. "[U]n volume manuscrit du xvii^e siècle qui donne l'explication de tous les sujets représentés sur ces pièces d'orfèvrerie." Spitzer 1893, p. 38. For the manuscript, see *ibid.*, no. 3025. An annotation (discovered by Xavier F. Salomon) in a copy of the catalogue currently in the

library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, reports that the manuscript was sold to Goldschmidt with the five tazze. This is supported by similar annotations in other copies.

RENAISSANCE INTELLECTUAL CULTURE, ANTIQUARIANISM, AND VISUAL SOURCES

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1. Ian Campbell, in a lecture titled “The Nature of Architectural Representation on the Tazze and the Extent of the Influence of Pirro Ligorio,” stated that he found no evidence of direct knowledge of Italian architecture. However, in the architecture of the minor buildings, he identified indications of Northern origin. Campbell's lecture was given at The Metropolitan Museum of Art colloquium on the Aldobrandini Tazze, held in June 2014.
2. On antiquarianism as a field of study and its distinction from the field of history, the classic text is Momigliano 1950.
3. Jacks 1993, pp. 216–18; Daly Davis 2008, p. 5.
4. Suetonius 1980, pp. 172–73.
5. Coffin 2004, pp. 22–24.
6. For Béatrizet as the engraver of *Circus Maximus*, see Daly Davis 2008, p. 9. David McFadden (1976–77) mistook

- the image for Ligorio's similar *Circus Flaminius*, also engraved by Béatrizet, and published in 1552. This is in part because the Domitian dish was in the past frequently mistaken for the Caligula, an error corrected by Mary Beard (see her essay in this volume). At the MMA's June 2014 conference dedicated to the Aldobrandini Tazze, William Stenhouse and Ian Campbell both correctly noted that the circus on the Domitian dish reproduces Ligorio's *Circus Maximus*. Campbell, “The Nature of Architectural Representation on the Tazze”; Stenhouse, “The Tazze and Sixteenth-Century Illustrated Books.”
7. Suetonius 1980, p. 262.
 8. See, for example, Stenhouse 2012, esp. pp. 238–39, 246–47.
 9. Jacks 1993, p. 215.
 10. Coffin 2004, p. 139.
 11. On Ligorio's oeuvre, see, for example, Jacks 1993, pp. 214–33, or Palma Venetucci 2003.
 12. Coffin 2004, pp. 78–79.
 13. Stenhouse 2012, p. 251.
 14. The depiction of the Colosseum that appears on Titus IV (p. 29) is the closest parallel. But with the addition of men battling animals within the arena, the Titus IV scene clearly represents a particular event: the dedication of the amphitheater, during which Titus gave a gladiatorial show—proof, according to Suetonius (1980, p. 256), of Titus's munificence.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 55. The figure of Cleopatra is modeled on the ancient statue of the *Laocoön*.
 16. Burns 1988, p. 40. See also Stenhouse 2012, p. 238 and note 11.
 17. Campbell, “The Nature of Architectural Representation on the Tazze.”
 18. Coffin 2004, pp. 22–23.
 19. McGowan 2001, pp. 148–49. On the *Speculum*, see also Parshall 2006 and Hülsen 1921.
 20. Agostín 1587, p. 131.
 21. See, for example, the very similar compositions on Claudius II (p. 16) and Otho II (p. 22): both images show the protagonist being made emperor by the Praetorian Guard.
 22. Bauer 2014.
 23. *Ibid.*; Ferrary 1996, pp. 10–11.
 24. Bauer 2014.
 25. On Panvinio's relationship with the Fuggers, see Ferrary 1996, esp. pp. 16,

- 94, 98, 100, 110. On his meeting with Ferdinand, see *ibid.*, pp. 7, 16.
26. Bauer 2014.
27. Stenhouse 2012, p. 240.
28. For a complete list of Panvinio's published writings, see Ferrary 1996, Appendix 4, pp. 203–16.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 206. On the Habsburg investment in the continuity of ancient and modern imperial rule and its relevance to the tazze, see Siemon, pp. 84–88 in this volume.
30. Ferrary 1996, p. 212.
31. Zerner 1965, p. 509; Jacks 1993, p. 257.
32. *AMPLISSIMI ornatissimique Triumphii, uti L. PAVLVVS / de rege Macedonum Perse capto, P. Africanus Aemilianus de / Carthagenensibus excisis, CN. Pompeius Magnus ex oriente, Julius / Augustus, Vespasianus, Traianus, et alii Imperatores Romani, Triumpharunt / ex antiquissimis Lapidum, nummorum et librorum monumentis accuratissima / descriptio Onuphrii Panvini Veronensis inuntoris opera, / et aeneis formeis. Romae. Anno salutis MDLXV Pio V / Papa Cum Privilegiis pontificis Caesaris Regum, Republica / Venetae et ducum.* Stenhouse (2012, p. 241) offers the following translation: “A most accurate *descriptio* of a truly elaborate triumph, such as Lucius Paullus celebrated after the capture of Perseus, king of Macedon, Publius Africanus Aemilianus held after the slaughter of the Carthaginians, Pompey held over the east, and Julius, Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan and other emperors enjoyed, from the ancient testimony of stones, coins and books.”
33. *IMPERATORI CAESARI DIVI FERDINANDI AVGVSTI FILIO MAXI MILLIANO II AVSTRIO PIO / FELICI PERPETVO AVGVSTO OPTIMO FORTISSIMO QVE PRINCIPII OPVS DICATVM.* Ferrary 1996, p. 212.
34. Zerner 1965, p. 509; Ferrary 1996, pp. 29–35.
35. Ferrary 1996, pp. 34–38.
36. Translation from Stenhouse 2012, p. 241.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
40. Stenhouse suggested in his lecture at the MMA colloquium on the Aldobrandini Tazze (see note 6 above) that Panvinio's *Ornatissimi triumphii* might have served as a guide for the creators of the Aldobrandini Tazze.

41. For example, Julius Caesar IV depicts the ruler's Gallic triumph, an event distinguished by the number of elephants. On the dish, these are the floppy-eared animals familiar from Panvinio, with their young riders holding branches of laurel. See Suetonius 1980, p. 29.
42. Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 232–33, fig. 182d–iii.
43. Suetonius 1980, p. 263. Translated by Mary Beard, p. 31 in this volume.
44. *RIC* 1984–, vol. 1, Nero, no. 154. On the *congiarium* type and the platform's wooden stair, see Cerutti 1998, p. 297.
45. Stenhouse, in “The Tazze and Sixteenth-Century Illustrated Books,” drew attention to the *congiarium* type in reference to Domitian III.
46. Cunnally 1999, pp. 4–5. For the history of earlier Renaissance numismatic studies culminating in Fulvio's work, such as Guillaume Budé's important *De asse et partibus eius* (Paris, 1515), see Weiss 1988, pp. 167–202.
47. For all these authors, see Cunnally 1999, especially the useful biographical appendix to his text. See also the entire chapter on “The Early Numismatists,” in Haskell 1993, pp. 13–25.
48. Erizzo 1559, p. 168. See Cunnally 1999, pp. 188–89.
49. Erizzo 1559, p. 169.
50. Cunnally 1999, p. 51.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
52. Reißner 1563, pp. 24–25. The artist Virgil Solis (1514?–1562) was a close collaborator of the publishers of this text, and it is possible that he is responsible for the engraving. See Ubisch 1889, pp. 73–76.
53. Reißner 1563, p. 325.
54. The golden eagle is discussed frequently in the Sigmund Feyerabend illustrated edition of Josephus, *Historien und Bücher* (Frankfurt, first edition 1569), but no image of the eagle is included.
55. Suetonius 1980, p. 142. Translated by Mary Beard, p. 15 in this volume.
56. On the change in Minerva's costume, and a possible connection to a 1596 Antwerp version of Panvinio's triumphal scenes, see Siemon, note 170, p. 199 in this volume.
57. For discussion of the relationship between the manipulation of the Suetonian histories and the possible origin of the tazze, see Siemon, pp. 79–85 in this volume.
58. Siemon, p. 92 in this volume.
59. It has been proposed that the Julius Caesar tazza, given its exceptional quality, may have been made by a master craftsman as a demonstration piece before the remainder of the set was carried out. This theory is plausible but unproven, and the skill of the chaser does not provide evidence in itself. Even if the Julius Caesar predates the other tazze, there is no question that the rest were conceived as a single group.
60. Fondation Custodia–Frits Lugt Collection, Paris (4440): signed, dated 1578 or 1598. Similar drawings by de Vos are in collections in Florence (Fondazione Horne) and in a Belgian private collection. See Baudouin et al. 1989, p. 42; Hautekeete 2016, pp. 95–97.
61. Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass. (1989.2). See Wees 1997, pp. 124–29, no. 59. According to Ubaldo Vitali (personal communication to author), the pricking method of pattern transfer is characteristic of German and Flemish goldsmiths.
62. Thanks to Ubaldo Vitali for the observation that the chasing was done from the front, and for his many insights into the manufacture of the tazze. Personal communications, and Vitali, “Itinerant Goldsmiths: Confluences, Techniques, Styles & Identities in Late Renaissance Europe,” presentation at the MMA colloquium on the Aldobrandini Tazze, June 2014.
63. On this issue and a possible connection to a 1596 Antwerp version of Panvinio's triumphal scenes, see Siemon, note 170, p. 199 in this volume.
64. Agostín 1592, p. 117. On Agostín, see Stenhouse 2009.
65. *RIC* 1984–, vol. 1, Nero, no. 416.
66. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, Gaius/Caligula, no. 36; vol. 2.1, Domitian, no. 623.
67. Campbell, in “The Nature of Architectural Representation on the Tazze,” noted that the various temples on the tazze loosely approximate those dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus and Mars Ultor, as represented in Renaissance numismatic treatises. The Temple of Janus Quirinus on Augustus III adheres more closely to the sources. The Colosseum seems indebted to a coin of Vespasian.
68. *RIC* 1984–, vol. 1, Claudius, no. 25. The same coin inspired the architecture that appears in Otho II, a scene that features essentially the same composition as Claudius II, and to which it is closely related in theme.
69. On the organization of information in the numismatic texts, see McGowan 2001, p. 72.
70. Goltzius 1566, pp. 215–16. For Goltzius, see Cunnally 1999, pp. 192–95.
71. For identification of the subject of Tiberius II, see Beard, pp. 33–34 in this volume.
72. Goltzius 1566, p. 206. This precise manifestation of Cybele in her chariot appears in Goltzius's discussion of the goddess. He explains (p. 176) that she is also called “Mother of the Gods” and that her image is almost always paired with the pine tree or pinecone.
73. See, for example, Hackenbroch 1950, pp. 192–93. See also Hayward 1970, p. 673, for clarification that such placement of a town mark would be “quite exceptional, and altogether contrary to the practice of the guilds.”
74. Wood 2008, pp. 282–84.
75. Roth 1909. Attis committed suicide by self-castration, and a pine tree sprang up in the spot where his blood was spilt.
76. As explained by the Italian antiquarian Mariangelo Accursius in his 1530 study of the problem. Reprinted in Roth 1909, p. 118.
77. The poem is “Ex eusdem Mariangeli, viri doctissimi, sententia de augustanae urbis insignibus Carmen Ioan. Piniciani,” also published in translation as “Ein Spruch, von dem Wapen, der Kaiserlichen und alten Statt Augspurg, im Riess.” First published Basel, 1544; reprinted in Roth 1909, pp. 119–23.
78. Goltzius 1574. See Cunnally 1999, p. 193.
79. Goltzius 1574, p. xliii; Beard, pp. 33–34 in this volume.
80. Goltzius 1574. Translation by Mary Beard.
81. Personal communication to author. On the Armenian tiara, see Young 1964.
82. Goltzius 1566, p. 221.
83. Burke 2003, p. 279; Campbell 1988.
84. Haskell 1993, p. 13.
85. Vigenère 1583, p. 613; McGowan 2001, pp. 107–21, and McGowan 2006.
86. Coffin 2004, pp. 22.
87. Crawford 1974, Palikanus, vol. 1, no. 473.1 On this Roman denarius, see Cerutti 1998, pp. 300–301.
88. Torrentius 1578.
89. Torrentius 1592.

90. On the two editions, see Siemon, pp. 102–103 in this volume.
91. On Torrentius, see Roersch 1933. The letters of Torrentius are collected in Torrentius 1950–54; a more recent and very useful study is Callatäy 2013. On his circle, see also Siemon, pp. 102–103 in this volume.
92. He had been appointed bishop in 1576 but did not begin his service until eleven years later, owing to political and religious difficulties in the Low Countries. On Torrentius's diplomatic activities in support of the Habsburgs, see Roersch 1933, p. 133.
93. Callatäy 2013, p. 127.
94. Torrentius lived in Rome from 1552 to 1557. Callatäy 2013, p. 126; Roersch 1933, pp. 120–21.
95. On Torrentius's Roman circle, which included Orsini, Agostin, Carlo Borromeo, Paolo Manuzio, and others, see Callatäy 2013. On his admiration for Agostin, see *ibid.*, p. 128; for his particular friendship with Orsini, see Tourneur 1914, p. 291.
96. Roersch 1933, p. 127. On the collection, see Tourneur 1914. That he began collecting in Rome is noted in Callatäy 2013, p. 133.
97. Callatäy 2013, p. 131; a list of the numismatic texts is on p. 132.
98. Ortellius visited Torrentius's house in Liège with Jean Vivianus in 1584, and the two men praised the collection at great length. See Roersch 1933, p. 127.
99. Suetonius 1980, p. 59.
100. Campbell drew attention to this fact in his 2014 lecture "The Nature of Architectural Representation on the Tazze."
101. Campbell spotted the similarity in *ibid.*
102. Another example, not as close: Caligula I, a scene from the emperor's youth that features a *carpentum*, or cart, pulled by donkeys. Torrentius's commentary (1578, p. 292) illustrates a coin of Caligula with just such a cart, although it appears in relation to a later event.
103. Suetonius 1980, pp. 194–95.
104. Burke 2003, p. 276.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
106. Tourneur 1914, p. 317.
107. For Du Choul, see McGowan 2001, pp. 71–81 (for the dedication to Henri II, p. 80).
108. Desvignes 2008, p. 69. A table of Du Choul's publications appears on p. 77.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
110. Hackenbroch (1950, p. 195) reproduces the image but mistakenly credits it to another of Du Choul's treatises, his *Discours de la Religion des Anciens Romains* (Lyon, 1556), and does not identify the author of the text.
111. Suetonius 1980, p. 229, and see the translation by Mary Beard, p. 23 in this volume.
112. Du Choul 1555, p. 18.
113. The title plate is inscribed: *IMPERATORVM XII. A SVETONIO DESCRIPTORVM / EFFIGIES REQVE GESTAE, ICONIBVS FIDELITER / EXPRESSAE, EDITAEQVE, A PHILIPPO GALLAEO*. Leesberg and Leeftang 2008, vol. 2, nos. 308–20. Leesberg 2012, p. 166. None of the copies are as close to the Aldobrandini Tazze as the Stradanus originals. On the *Imperatorum XII* in the context of other "Roman" portraits of the sixteenth century (including Titian's *Caesars*), see Leuschner 2006.
114. There are no known preparatory drawings for the Stradanus prints, and the prints themselves are not dated. They must fall after 1584, since they do not appear in Raffaello Borghini's *Riposo*. Notes by Stradanus regarding the frontispiece appear on a drawing related to a work created about 1589. For the accepted dating of about 1587–89, see Baroni Vannucci 1997, p. 416.
115. For complex works like these, "aimed at the 'top' market sector of humanist prints," Galle, according to Manfred Sellink, required "three kinds of labour: designing a composition, engraving the copperplate and writing verses." Sellink 1997, vol. 1, p. 22. It is not known who composed the Latin verses for the *Imperatorum XII*, although after 1585, the humanist town clerk of Antwerp, Johannes Boghe (Jan Bochius), is known to have contributed other verses for Stradanus. See Sellink 2012, p. 121.
116. McFadden 1976–77.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
118. *Ibid.*
119. A biography of the artist appears in Baroni Vannucci 1997, pp. 16–68.
120. Sellink 2012, p. 110.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 123–24; Diels and Leesberg 2005–6, nos. 1178–90.
125. Suetonius 1980, p. 246.
126. *Ibid.*, ch. 2, p. 244.
127. *Ibid.*, chs. 11 and 12, p. 229.
128. *Ibid.*, ch. 10, pp. 233–34. Translated by Mary Beard, p. 24 in this volume.
129. See, for example, McGowan 2001, p. 147.
130. Suetonius 1980, p. 142.
131. For example, Erizzo 1559, p. 332.
132. Hayward 1976, p. 288.
133. See Koepe 1989, p. 40.
134. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.80.2[1]): Adriaen Collaert, *Design for a Plate with Arion Riding a Dolphin in a Medallion Bordered by Sea Monsters*, engraving, ca. 1600.
135. See note 1 above regarding Ian Campbell's observation on Northern-style architecture depicted on the Aldobrandini Tazze. Campbell drew parallels between, for example, buttressed walls in Vespasian II and in Amman's illustration of *The Overthrow of Jerusalem*, a woodcut in an edition of Josephus's *Historien und Bücher* (see Josephus 1569, p. 260). G. Seelig et al. 2002–3, vol. 3, p. 91, no. 58.77, fig. 1941.
136. G. Seelig et al. 2002–3, vol. 3, no. 6.31, fig. 442.
137. See, for example, the earthquakes in Münster 1552, p. 984, or Peeter van der Borch's *Centaur* engraving (after Gerard de Jode [1509/17–1591]) for Johannes Moerman's *Apologi Creaturarum* (Antwerp, after 1585), in Luijten et al. 2005–7, vol. 5, p. 84, no. 2113.
138. On the internationalism of Renaissance goldsmiths, see discussion in, for example, Somers Cocks 1980, p. 7.
139. Sellink 2012, p. 111.
140. See Appendix A and Siemon, p. 78 in this volume.

TRACING THE ORIGIN OF THE ALDOBRANDINI TAZZE

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Claessens-Peré shared their great knowledge of Netherlandish goldsmithing, and Nanette went above and beyond, searching for lost silver in Belgium. —Julia Siemon

1. See Appendix A.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
4. Appendix A: Letter II, p. 171.
5. See transcriptions in Walker, pp. 130–131, and Salomon, p. 140, in this volume.
6. A discussion of the Farnese silver collection appears in Walker, pp. 136–37 in this volume.
7. Appendix A: Letter III, p. 171. Masetti is a trustworthy witness; he often corresponded with the duke about art-related matters. See, for example, the letters printed in Spike 2010, p. 263.
8. Appendix A: Letter III, p. 171. Masetti's estimate isn't far off, as Cardinal Pietro paid just under 800 scudi for six of the tazze in 1602. See Salomon, p. 140 in this volume.
9. Mitchell 1990, pp. 18–22.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., pp. 22–25. On Pietro's arrival, see also Mitchell 1986, p. 191.
12. Fabriani Rojas, introduction to Appendix A, p. 169.
13. For the original weight as given in the cardinal's inventory, see Walker, p. 131 in this volume. For the tazze's current weight, see Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski, p. 158 in this volume.
14. Stupperich 1995, p. 40 n. 3.
15. See Beard in this volume.
16. The Galba tazza is especially concerned with good omens and portents, none of which came to be. Even Galba's adoption of Piso, chosen by the emperor as his heir, is presented earnestly (in Galba IV), although the younger man, murdered shortly after Galba himself, would never rule. See Mary Beard's translation of Suetonius for Galba IV, p. 21 in this volume. All the bad omens recounted by Suetonius in chapter 18 of Galba's *Life* are conspicuously absent; see Suetonius 1980, p. 221.
17. Ibid., p. 124.
18. Translation by Mary Beard, p. 13 in this volume.
19. The Nero dish includes an image of the emperor playing while Rome burns (Nero III, p. 19), but it is possible that even that catastrophe has been given a positive spin. As in Nero II (p. 18), the emperor is portrayed playing music, oblivious to worldly concerns. These representations may be a comment on devotion to the arts: according to Elizabeth McGrath (1991, p. 699), Nero was associated with the phrase (adapted from Suetonius) *Artem quaevis alit terra* ("Every land nurtures art"), which Rubens appended to a portrait of the emperor.
20. For analysis of these triumphs, see Beard, p. 42, and Siemon, p. 50, in this volume.
21. Jacks 1990.
22. Ibid., pp. 460–61; Plutarch, "Life of Galba," *Lives* XXIV:24 (Plutarch 1914–26, vol. 11, p. 261).
23. On this point, see also J. D. Wille, "The Aldobrandini Tazzas of Emperors Claudius and Nero: The Property of a European Nobleman" (unpublished), p. 7.
24. Geever 2010, p. 464.
25. On the wedding, see Saslow 1996.
26. See Gualterotti 1589, pp. 129–43, for a description of the Habsburg arch, and images on pp. 133 (*Charles V*) and 139 (*Philip II*).
27. All the portrait statues, including those representing figures in contemporary dress, were identified by inscriptions. See *ibid.*
28. Siemon, pp. 50–53 in this volume.
29. For Philip's accession in the Netherlands, see Duerloo 2012, p. 63. On Poggini, see Pollard 2007, pp. 396–98; Attwood 1994, esp. p. 166.
30. On Poggini and this medal, see Attwood 2003, vol. 1, pp. 431–32.
31. Loon 1723, p. 28. Philip Attwood (1994, p. 166) points out that Poggini must have known Benvenuto Cellini's 1534 medal for Clement VII, which also bears an image of Peace burning trophies outside the Temple of Janus Quirinus. (It commemorates the Peace of Cambrai, another Habsburg treaty.) This is doubtless true, but Cellini's version has a very different image of the temple and does not carry the Augustan inscription discussed below.
32. Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 22: "Ianum Quirinum semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum in multo breviori temporis spatio terramarique pace parta ter clusit." Translated by Mary Beard, p. 11 in this volume.
33. Siemon, p. 65 in this volume. The Temple of Janus Quirinus appears on several coins issued by Nero. The closest parallel to the building in Augustus III is found on a bronze sestertius issued in Rome in A.D. 64–68 and illustrated in Torrentius's edition of Suetonius (Siemon, p. 65, fig. 27 in this volume). An example of the coin is now in the American Numismatic Society, New York (1957.172.1544).
34. *PACE PR TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT*; see Siemon, p. 65 in this volume.
35. The line appears in Augustus's autobiographical *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 13: "Ianum Quirinum, quem clausum esse maiores nostri voluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terramarique esset parta victoriis pax, cum prius, quam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit." (Our ancestors wanted Janus Quirinus to be closed when peace had been achieved by victories on land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; whereas, before I was born, it is recorded as having been closed twice in all from the foundation of the city, the senate decreed it should be closed three times when I was leader.) Augustus 2009, p. 72.
36. For the importance of this passage to Augustus, see Ginsberg 2017, p. 72.
37. Ibid., pp. 71–75.
38. The archduke's paternal great-uncle was Emperor Charles V; his grandfather was Charles V's brother and successor Ferdinand I (r. 1558–64); his father was Emperor Maximilian II (r. 1564–76). The archduke's mother was Empress Maria of Spain, daughter of Charles V, sister to Philip II, and mother of the reigning emperor, Rudolf II. See Duerloo 2012, pp. 18–19.
39. On Abondio, see Pollard 2007, pp. 53–54; Scher 1994, pp. 171–72.
40. Börner 1981, p. 11. On the *Gnadenpfennig* medals made by Abondio for Maximilian's brother, Archduke Matthias, and their distribution, see Kleisner 2009.
41. Börner 1981, p. 156, no. 89a.
42. For a discussion of the print by Du Choul, see Siemon, pp. 67–68 in this volume.
43. Börner 1981, p. 156, no. 89b.
44. Siemon pp. 74–78 in this volume.

45. On this subject, see especially Duerloo 2011; Duerloo and Thomas 1998b.
46. Duerloo 2012, pp. 51–54; Mitchell 1990, p. 37; Mitchell 1986, p. 191; Khevenhüller 2001, p. 474.
47. Hortal Muñoz 2013, p. 1013.
48. Mitchell 1990, p. 37. On Albert, see also Hortal Muñoz 2013.
49. Mitchell 1990, p. 37.
50. Duerloo 2012, p. 54; Hortal Muñoz 2013, p. 1043.
51. Anonymous 1599, p. 1.
52. Hortal Muñoz 2013, p. 1044; Khevenhüller 2001, pp. 487–88.
53. For accounts of Margaret's trip, see Grillo 1604 and Zerlì 1599.
54. Duerloo 2012, p. 54; Mitchell 1990, p. 38.
55. D'Ancona 1885, p. 80. Mitchell (1990, p. 38) reports slightly lower numbers but still in the thousands.
56. Philip had died September 13. Mitchell 1986, p. 191. On Margaret's journey, see also Moretti 1598.
57. Mitchell 1990, p. 37, and Mitchell 1986, pp. 190–91; Varallo 2015.
58. Mitchell 1990, p. 39.
59. *Ibid.*; Anonymous 1599, p. 7. See also the account in the letter of Ludovico Cremasco to Annibale Chieppio, dated November 14, 1598, in Furlotti 2003, pp. 283–84, no. 337.
60. Duerloo 2012, p. 54.
61. Mitchell 1990, p. 38; Khevenhüller 2001, pp. 490–91.
62. Mitchell 1990, p. 41; Faing 1882, pp. 478–97.
63. On the practice of renting silver for important events, see Taylor 2005, esp. pp. 632–33.
64. Sermidi 2003, p. 237, no. 387: “Vostra signoria resterà servita di far consapevole sua altezza che sia troppo tardi a venir a Venetia per gli argenti, poiché l'illustrissimo cardinal Aldobrandino col meglio d'alcuni signori venetiani ha tolto in prestito tutti gli argenti delli gentilhuomini particolari al numero di tremilla pezzi; . . . in Venetia non se ne ritrova d'altro se non quello della signoria.”
65. The letter was sent on October 5, 1598, and adds that it would take three or four silversmiths, working together, some fifteen days to prepare the required plates. Piccinelli 2003, pp. 288–89, no. 635.
66. Letter from Ludovico Cremasco to Vincenzo Gonzaga, in Furlotti 2003, p. 283, no. 336.
67. Stahl 2002.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
69. Taylor 2005, p. 629.
70. Letter from Guglielmo Malaspina to Vincenzo Gonzaga, sent July 31, 1570, from Speyer, in Venturini 2002, p. 201, no. 59: “. . . e nel meglio vi era molte sorte di statue, non dico fate di sucharo, ma il tutto d'argento messo a oro, con superbissima fatura fati . . .”
71. Faing 1882, p. 482. When the duke visited Ferrara in June 1598, he was accompanied by 400 horsemen, 200 carriages, and numerous soldiers on foot (Mitchell 1990, p. 32).
72. Gualterotti 1589, Book I, p. 35.
73. On the Mantuan visit to the Netherlands, see Brunetti 2010. A letter sent by Caffini during the trip documents his presence (Archivio di Stato–Archivio Gonzaga, Mantua, busta 525, cc. 1066–1067); see *ibid.*, p. 256.
74. Letter dated August 10, 1602, in Furlotti 2003, p. 366, no. 480.
75. D'Ancona 1885, p. 83 n. On Caffini and Monteverdi, see Monteverdi 1980, p. 39.
76. Letter from Lelio Bellone, dated July 24, 1602, in Piccinelli 2003, p. 320, no. 721: “Delli argenti non dico altro per hora a vostra altezza poiche il Rovida orefice dice scriverne abastanza al signor conte Giulio Caffini.”
77. See Appendix A: Letter II, p. 171.
78. Duerloo 2011, p. 176.
79. Piccinelli 2003, p. 291, no. 641.
80. Mitchell 1986, p. 203; Duerloo 2012, p. 55; Khevenhüller 2001, p. 499.
81. Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, MS 26-1-10, fols. 194v–195r. I am grateful to Raúl Martínez for his help in accessing this document.
82. Letter from Federigo Gonzaga to Vincenzo Gonzaga, dated October 26, 1598, in Venturini 2002, p. 458, no. 749.
83. “A Bonanomi patroni del Palazzo dove la Regina in Bussolengo alloggiò, sono stati da lei donate vasi d'argento per gratiosa rimunerazione, & similmente ad altri sono stati fatti riguardevoli presenti . . .” Moretti 1598, p. 18.
84. Cardinal Pietro owned at least one object commemorating the events of 1598, a table elaborately decorated in *pietre dure* (inlaid stone mosaic) and silver, with scenes of the papal accession of Ferrara, the cardinal's entry into the city, and the royal weddings held there in the fall. This description appears in Pietro's inventory of 1603 (Archivio Aldobrandini Frascati, Inventario generale [1603], p. 89a), an excerpt of which is published in Appendix C. It is listed under the heading “Tavoli, Tavolini d'Ebano, di Legno d'India et altri lavori intertiati.” I am grateful to Stefanie Walker for providing the reference. The table is mentioned in Coggiola 2007, p. 40.
85. On the good relationship between Albert and Margaret and their Spanish host Don Juan Fernández de Velasco in Milan, see Khevenhüller 2001, p. 499.
86. Schroder 1983, pp. 70–71.
87. For example, Glanville 1997, p. 131. Flanders was also suggested as the possible origin of the chaser(s) in Hayward 1976, pp. 371–72.
88. Duerloo 2011, pp. 164–65.
89. Technically, the *Blijde Inkomst* involved a legal agreement between the city and a new sovereign, which the governor-general was not. Still, the festivities for Archduke Ernest and others were almost exactly the same as those held for a bona fide *Blijde Inkomst*, and so they are treated as such in the literature. On the *Blijde Inkomst*, see Beemon 2007. On the negligible impact the legal question had on the Joyous Entries for the governors-general, see Cauterer 2009–10, p. 18 n. 4.
90. For an overview (with bibliography), see Thofner 2007.
91. On sponsorship, degree of erudition, and catering to a patrician readership, see *ibid.*, pp. 170–71. For the Brussels festival book, see Anonymous 1594.
92. Bochi 1595. For a facsimile edition, see Bochi 1970. For a partial translation, see Bochi 2004.
93. For an important contribution to the study of the relationships between the published accounts of the *Blijde Inkomsten* and the festivals themselves, see Peters 2008.
94. Raband 2014, p. 110.
95. On the family, see Duerloo 2012, pp. 18–22.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 19; Baña 2016.
97. Duerloo 2012, p. 41. After Ernest's death, the plans for autonomy were delayed until after Isabella's wedding to Archduke Albert was arranged; Isabella was to receive the Habsburg Netherlands and the Franche-Comté as her dowry. The Act of Cession was passed May 6, 1598. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

98. Raband 2014, p. 111; Coremans 1847, p. 49.
99. Coremans (1847, p. 6) published accounts kept by Blaise Hütter, the archduke's private secretary. On November 29, 1593, in Prague, Ernest paid Jean Fell, "master-goldsmith," for having marked twelve silver-gilt tazze.
100. Bochius 2004, p. 497. On the Brussels Joyous Entry, see Thöfner 2007, pp. 169–80; Cauteren 2009–10. The Brussels city secretary, Philip Numan, was responsible for planning the Entry (Cauteren 2009–10, p. 20).
101. Davidson and van der Weel 2004.
102. The letter of February 7, 1594, is translated into French in Coremans 1847, pp. 53–56; see p. 54 for Ernest's response to the Brussels Joyous Entry.
103. Davidson and van der Weel 2004, p. 493.
104. Strong 1984, p. 86. Elsewhere, Strong describes the Joyous Entries as a "dialogue between ruler and ruled, between the prince and the bourgeois classes" (p. 50). On payment and planning, see Thöfner 2007, p. 181; and Diels 2003, who shows that several commissions were given based on auctions and were carried out with great speed. She does not discuss the metalwork commissions.
105. Bochius was paid 300 guilders for having "conceived and invented" elements of the program. The entry is transcribed in Diels 2003, p. 27 n.11.
106. For a biography, see Sarrazin 1937.
107. For Bochius's involvement, see Diels 2003, pp. 27–28; Thöfner 2007, p. 181; Cauteren 2009–10, p. 20.
108. Diels 2003. Among the many other artists involved in the Joyous Entry were Tobias Verhaecht, Adam van Noort, Joos de Momper the Younger, Otto van Veen, and Frans Francken the Elder.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 30 and n. 31. The original drawings were attributed to Maerten de Vos: Doutrepoint 1937. For a study of the production of the book, see Imhof 2014, vol. 1, pp. 101–4; for Van der Borcht as illustrator, see Bowen and Imhof 2008.
110. I am grateful to Ivo Raband for drawing my attention to the fact that the highly classicizing frontispiece was added just before publication and was tailored to the book's new, dual role of welcoming Archduke Albert and celebrating Ernest's Joyous Entry. The simpler frontispiece originally proposed was repositioned (also before publication) to become the second image in the book: it now separates the sections between Bochius's dedication to Archduke Albert and the description of his deceased brother's Joyous Entry. (Personal communication, June 2017.) For discussion of other last-minute changes made to the *Descriptio* after Ernest's death, see p. 99 in this essay.
111. Bochius 2004, p. 497.
112. In addition to the Fuggers, several of Antwerp's foreign merchant communities and local guilds were represented. Arches were designed and paid for by the local Genoese, Spanish, Milanese, Florentines, etc. See Peters 2008, esp. p. 376.
113. Bochius 2004, p. 561.
114. Augustus, Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, Constantine, Theodosius I, Justinian, Heraclius, Charles V, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, Rudolf II.
115. Bochius 2004, p. 565.
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*
118. Diels 2003, pp. 36–39.
119. Stensland 2012, p. 124. Maerten de Vos is credited with the design: Zweite 1980, pp. 198–99. On the innovative nature of the Theater of Austrian Peace and its influence on other structures, see Bernheimer 1956.
120. Bochius 2004, p. 531.
121. See Siemon, pp. 49, 53, 55–57 in this volume.
122. Bochius 2004, pp. 533–35. Bernheimer (1956, p. 242) neatly summarizes the figures as "impersonations of the blessed state of civic happiness, of the virtues, arts, and industries which benefit a commonwealth, and of the countries under the Hapsburg crown that were to profit from their gifts: the provinces of Spain, the empire overseas, and the parts of Germany and Belgium."
123. Thöfner 2007, p. 187.
124. See the translation by Mary Beard, p. 18 in this volume.
125. See Siemon, pp. 65, 66, and figs. 29, 30, p. 67, in this volume.
126. The coin is mentioned in Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, ch. 25. The content for Nero II on the tazza comes from chs. 20–21.
127. When Alessandro Farnese took control of the Netherlands in 1585, the Antwerp City Council presented him with eight large bronzes of Bacchus and the Planets made by Jacques Jonghelinck two decades earlier. Farnese sent the statues to Spain. See Buchanan 1990. In 1594, Archduke Ernest was given six panels from Pieter Bruegel the Elder's series of The Seasons. See Raband 2014, p. 113. Other gifts were specially made: when, in 1598–99, Archduke Albert was traveling through Europe for his marriage to Isabella, his place as governor-general was temporarily filled by Archduke Andreas, his cousin, who upon his entry into Antwerp was given a set of eight new tapestries representing the *Histories of Hannibal* by the city. Henrick Franckx was paid for the series. Antwerp Stadsrekening, Collegiale Aktenboeken, May 5, 1599, p. 182: 63, fol. 289v; printed in Prims 1931.
128. Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 29.
129. Duerloo 2012, pp. 141–42.
130. Nys 2006a, p. 42.
131. Roobaert 2015, vol. 1, pp. 152–56, 334; Nys 2006a, p. 41; Baudouin et al. 1989, p. 35.
132. Roobaert 2015, vol. 1, pp. 155–56; Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 33.
133. Roobaert 2015, vol. 1, p. 156.
134. Godelieve van Hemeldonck, "Het Grootwerk: Goudsmeden, zilversmeden en juweliers vermeld te Antwerpen, 13de–19de eeuw" (unpublished, 2005), no. 16–1208, May 9, 1579, Collegiale Aktenboeken 382: betalng, 134 gln 12½. Jeronimus Mannacker II.
135. Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 29; Gielens 1940, pp. 94, 102; Nys 2006a, p. 41.
136. On this event, with facsimile of the illustrations, see Bertini 1997.
137. Van Hemeldonck, "Het Grootwerk," Artus de Rasier, no. 16–1513, July 27, 1594: "aen Aertus de Rasieres, silversmit de somme van een duysent drij hondert xxix gln vii st ter saecke van diversche werken tot behoefit deser stadt geleverd volgens de specificatie (daer) van sijne, ende van der stadswegen geschonken aen sekere personen mijne heere kennelijck in dincompste van de hoochheyden eertshertogh Ernestus als beter gedaen dan gelaeten, actum XXVII^e juli 1594." This amount, while significant, is not large enough to have covered the Aldobrandini Tazze, although it could have paid someone working on part of the set. Artus was a member of the Romanists, an affiliation that required a trip to Rome. This would suggest that he was probably not a collaborator on the project. See Siemon,

- p. 46 in this volume. On Artus, see also Claessens-Peré 1999, pp. 18–19.
138. Campana 1602, vol. 3, p. 172.
139. Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 29.
140. Burke 1980, p. 11.
141. Nys 2006a, p. 42: Geeraert was the father of Artus de Rasier.
142. Haupt and Wied 2010. A forthcoming volume by Ivo Raband will include the complete inventory. I am grateful to him for confirming that the tazze do not appear in it.
143. Duerloo 2012, pp. 41–42.
144. Bochius 1595, pp. 3–48.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
146. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–9.
147. Landtsheer et al. 2006. Jeanine de Landtsheer (*ibid.*, p. 226) reproduces a charming letter that chronicles a dinner held in Antwerp in June 1594, during which Lipsius and his friends Abraham Ortelius and Laevinus Torrentius debated “all the known means of transport in ancient Rome,” supporting their ideas with quotations from the texts of ancient authors.
148. Siemon, pp. 64–68 in this volume.
149. Landtsheer et al. 2006, pp. 545–46. See also Depuydt 1999, p. 43.
150. Bowen and Imhof 2008, pp. 217–20; Imhof 1999, p. 70.
151. Papy 2004, p. 127. On Lipsius’s political approach to Albert in the dedication and connection of the positive qualities of the Roman emperors to the Habsburgs, see De Bom 2011.
152. Antwerp Stadsrekening, Collegiale Aktenboeken, April 26, 1602, fol. 241v: a payment of 173.14 guilders. See Prims 1931, p. 183.
153. Laureys 2001, p. 140.
154. Thofner 1998, p. 58.
155. Duerloo and Thomas 1998a, p. 71, cat. no. 72.
156. Smolderen 2009, pp. 43, 58, no. 75.
157. The series was published by Philips Galle in Antwerp. See Duerloo and Thomas 1998a, pp. 35–36, cat. nos. 23–25 (entries by Manfred Sellink). On the accompanying poems and the connection to Albert’s Joyous Entry into Brussels, see Papy and van Houdt 1998, p. 333 n. 27.
158. Duerloo and Thomas 1998a, pp. 35–36, cat. nos. 23–25.
159. On the scarcity of civic silver and related records, see, for example, Roobaert 2015, vol. 1, p. 152.
160. On the Entries of 1599, see Duerloo 2012, pp. 108–13.
161. Torrentius 1592.
162. Torrentius 1578.
163. Publication of the second edition seems to have been driven by Johannes Livineius (Lievens), Torrentius’s nephew. See Battezzato 2006, p. 83.
164. Luijten et al. 2005–7, vol. 5, pp. 272–73.
165. Siemon, p. 66 in this volume.
166. Siemon, p. 46 in this volume.
167. Depuydt 1999, p. 40.
168. On the *Ornatissimi triumphi*, see Siemon, pp. 50–53 in this volume.
169. Mielke 1975, esp. pp. 37–42 and figs. 11–13. The drawings are in the Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Leiden, Coll. Welcker, ns. 400–403.
170. *AMPLISSIMI ornatissimiq(ue) triumphii . . . Onuphrij Panvinij Vernonenis . . . Antwerpiae . . . apud Gerardum de Iode* (title plate and eleven images). A copy is in the British Museum (1932,0416.19–30). As the details show, there is no doubt that the chasers who created the tazze were working from Panvinio’s original images. It seems worth noting, however, that in de Jode’s version, the *congiarium* vignette is presented in mirror image—reversed, as in Caligula III (Siemon, pp. 58–60 in this volume). This coincidence is made more intriguing by the fact that in the original Panvinio, Minerva wears a helmet and simple tunic, whereas in the de Jode version as well as in Caligula III and Domitian III, Minerva wears a military costume with cuirass and split leather sleeves. It may be that both the original and the de Jode versions of Panvinio’s *Ornatissimi triumphii* were known to the creators of the tazze.
171. Ferrary 1996, pp. 212–13.
172. Mielke 1975, pp. 37–38.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 38; Stenhouse 2012, pp. 249–50; Ferrary 1996, pp. 212–13.
174. Siemon, p. 68 in this volume.
175. Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 33, fig. 19. See also Nys 2006a, pp. 40–41.
176. Nys 2006a, p. 41; Roobaert 2015, vol. 1, pp. 317–18, 328; Claessens-Peré 1999, pp. 19–20.
177. Baudouin et al. 1989, p. 42.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 42, fig. 23.
179. The thin layer of gilding now present on their surfaces is a nineteenth-century addition. See Alcorn and Schroder, p. 154, and Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski, p. 165, in this volume.
180. In 1599, for example, the widow of the goldsmith Willem van den Heuvel was paid for a silver tazza weighing 79 ounces, made by her husband. Van Hemeldonck, “Het Grootwerk” (III), “Willem van den Heuvel,” no. 16–924 (from the Antwerp Stadsrekening, 1599, fol. 291). The posthumous inventory (dated January 17, 1574) of the goldsmith Laureys de Groote included fifteen silver tazze and two silver-gilt tazze. *Ibid.*, “Laureys de Groote, I,” no. 16–827.
181. Christie’s 2016, no. 568. On Van der Mont, see Dilis 1921 and the records in Van Hemeldonck, “Het Grootwerk” (III), “Ghuillam van der Monde,” no. 16–1322.
182. Baudouin et al. 1989, p. 26.
183. *Ibid.*
184. Hayward 1976, p. 284.
185. *Ibid.*
186. See Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski, p. 167 in this volume.
187. On court artists, see Burke 1980. For examples of unmarked Antwerp silver, see Hayward 1976, pp. 285–86. On goldsmiths attached to the mint and exemptions from guild assay, see Claessens-Peré 1999, pp. 172–75, with an example of an unmarked tazza.
188. Roobaert 2015, vol. 1, p. 78; Roobaert 2012, p. 119. Staes and de Rasier had worked together in 1594 as well. See Roobaert 2015, vol. 2, p. 329.
189. Testing indicates that the alloy of the tazze consists of approximately 87–88 percent silver. See Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski in this volume. In the 1590s, Antwerp silver set a very high standard, 94.445 percent; contamination with German and Spanish silver was an issue, however, and in 1608 the standard was lowered to 88.8 percent—very close to the alloy of the tazze.
190. On Van Gelre and his role in the mint, see Smolderen 2009, p. 44. A comprehensive study of the archival records can be found in Roobaert 2015, vol. 2, pp. 136–54.
191. Cathedral of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula, Brussels, illustrated in Roobaert 2012, p. 123, fig. 1.
192. Personal communication. Ernest and Albert were born in Austria and educated in Spain. On languages at the Brussels court, see, for example, Duerloo 2012, pp. 35, 92.
193. At the archducal court, according to Duerloo (2012, p. 92), “the visual arts were Flemish, blended with influences from Roman antiquity and Italian

art . . . [in a culture] not so much Spanish as Habsburg [and which] appropriated elements from the scattered possessions of the dynasty and as such materialized its universalist ambitions.”

GOLDSMITHING AND COMMEMORATIVE GIFTS NORTH OF THE ALPS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: Julia Siemon and Ellenor Alcorn were a constant source of inspiring information. I am grateful for the exchange of ideas and many instructive but also fun moments during our research. I thank Linda Borsch, Ernst-Ludwig Richter, and especially Ubaldo Vitali for generously sharing with me their knowledge of goldsmiths’ techniques. I thank Timothy Schroder, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, Tamara Schechter, Federico Carò, Kristen Hudson, Ana Matisse Donefer-Hickie, and particularly Luke Syson, who with Julia Siemon streamlined this essay in meaningful ways. Sarah McFadden carefully edited the text, and Achim Stiegel and Lothar Lambacher of the Kunstgewerbemuseum provided generous assistance. I extend my heartfelt thanks to Mrs. Marina Kellen French and the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation. Both have supported my research in various ways. —Wolfram Koeppé

1. Syndram 2011; Timann 2002.
2. Wolfram Koeppé and Michelangelo Lupo in Castelnouvo 1991, pp. 138–43, no. 26; Nuremberg 2002, pp. 199–215.
3. Pechstein 1974, p. 90. Some goldsmiths held political offices as appointed members of the city council (*Innere Rat*) and the prestigious town assembly. See Tebbe 2007, vol. 1, p. 20. No other guild enjoyed a comparable social status: silver and gold, the basis of the European monetary system, were goldsmiths’ raw materials. See Schürer 2002, p. 175.
4. Smith 2004, p. 66.
5. For Ramus’s letter and Jamnitzer’s early career in Nuremberg, see Waddington 1855, pp. 209–10. For Jamnitzer’s artistic production, see Bott 1985.
6. For a discussion of Jamnitzer’s employment, see Pechstein 1974. See also Bott 1985.
7. Pechstein 1974, p. 92.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Jamnitzer’s tazza was later named after Paul Wolfgang Merkel, a prominent citizen of Nuremberg, who bought the work in 1806, thus saving it from being melted down together with other important objects in the town treasury. See Bott 1985, p. 220.
10. Invoice quoted in Pechstein 1974, pp. 92–93; Smith 2004, fig. 2.12. The term *Credentz* was used interchangeably in this period to refer to a credenza or an object made of precious metal.
11. *SUM TERRA MATER OMNIUM / ONUSTA CARO PONDERE / NASCENTIUM EX ME FRUCTUUM*. In Pechstein 1974, p. 96. English translation by the author.
12. Devisscher 1999, p. 288.
13. Pechstein 1974, p. 93.
14. Haupt 1997, pp. 73–74.
15. Pechstein 1974, p. 100.
16. For the widespread practice of melting down silver for its monetary value during the Renaissance, see Hayward 1983, pp. 15–16. See also Salomon in this volume.
17. Antwerp 1988, p. 95, cat. no. 42; Berger 2005, pp. 50, 54, cat. no. 3.03.
18. Antwerp 1988, p. 95.
19. For a discussion of this special conceit, see Siemon, p. 83 in this volume.
20. Schroder 1983, p. 71.
21. Knops and other types of nodi were among the staples of a Northern Renaissance goldsmith’s repository of lead or plaster models. See L. Seelig 1989, p. 87, cat. no. 160. The chalice, now lost, was examined and dated by Elisabeth Dhanens and Jacques Vanwittenbergh in the 1960s and 1980s, respectively. I am grateful to Nanette Claessens-Peré for this information (communicated by email to Julia Siemon, October 26, 2016).
22. See Bimbenet-Privat, p. 127, and Siemon, p. 93, in this volume; Hayward 1976, figs. 596, 597; Schroder 1983, p. 71; Antwerp 1988, p. 93. I am grateful to Michèle Bimbenet-Privat for giving me the opportunity to examine the ewer and basin at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
23. For technical and material analysis of the Aldobrandini Tazze, see Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski in this volume.
24. Devisscher 1999, p. 288.
25. *Ibid.*; reference to the lottery in Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 52.
26. Destrée 1932; Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 55, no. 34. For the cup’s use in recent times, see www.zeeuwseankers.nl/nl-NL/veerhal/1097/beker-van-maximiliaan
27. Destrée 1932, p. 103.
28. *XV SEPTEMB: M.DXLVI MAXIMIL COMES A BUREN INVITIS HOSTIBVS TRAJECTO RHENO CAESAREIS CASTRIS SVAS CONJVNGIT COPIAS*. Destrée 1932, p. 99, with French translation.
29. Baudouin et al. 1988, p. 55.
30. Koeppé 1992, p. 477. For an example of a figure atop a judiciary scepter, see Schütte 1997, p. 27, no. 1.
31. Grünenwald 1951.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
33. For documentation of the cup’s origin, see Rijen 2000, pp. 283, 286; Grünenwald 1951, p. 95. Subsequent history can be found in Württemberg 2015, pp. 105–6.
34. The work on display is a copy; the original is preserved in storage.
35. Grünenwald 1951, p. 98, ill.; Grünenwald (*ibid.*, p. 102), argues that Marcus’s knowledge of the town’s geography allowed him to correct topographical inaccuracies when he transferred the Dolendo print image to the *Schale*.
36. I thank Ubaldo Vitali for discussing this subject with me. Whereas the chasing on the Breda Cup was done from the back, Vitali points out that on the Aldobrandini Tazze, nearly all of the chasing was accomplished from the front of the dishes.
37. This effect is found in Claudius III (p. 17) and Domitian II (p. 30), as discussed in Siemon, p. 49 in this volume.
38. I am grateful to H. S. H. Kraft Fürst zu Hohenlohe for allowing me to examine the original Breda Cup.
39. The book, now lost, is discussed by Beard, p. 45 in this volume. See also Appendix B, p. 175.
40. Timann 2002; see also Nuremberg 2002, pp. 199–215.
41. Nuremberg goldsmiths were given the commission because local masters would not have been able to produce the gifts in time. Tebbe 2007, vol. 2, p. 19.
42. See Selig 2007, pp. 9–29.
43. Cornelius Anthoni fled to Augsburg from Breda, and his son worked for Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria. Emperor Rudolf II asked the Augsburg goldsmiths’ guild to take in Andreas Attemstett from Groningen. David

- Altenstetter, originally from Colmar, applied to be a master goldsmith in Augsburg in 1573. Selig 2007, p. 9.
44. Reiter 2012.
45. Christoph Lencker was a grandson of the Nuremberg goldsmith Hans Lencker, mentioned above. The tazza under discussion is in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.
46. Selig 2007, p. 141, no. 993f (0140) (not ill.); Pechstein 1971, no. 53, ill.
47. Adapted from ancient classical design, the piastre relief ornament consists of roundels with a hole in the center threaded on a string. In furniture mounts or in Renaissance bronzework, the piastre shape can take the form of a tongue or quatrefoil. See Freddolini 2005, fig. 38. I thank Peter Bell for this reference.
48. Byrne 1981, p. 104.
49. Koeppel 1989, fig. 14.
50. For Flindt, see Warncke 1979, vol. 1, no. 298.
51. Weber 1975, no. 34.1; L. Seelig 2011, p. 18.
52. A Flötner plaque of about 1540 was adapted by Christoph Lencker in a tazza of about 1595–1600. For information on the plaque, see Weber 1975, no. 55.2; for information on the tazze, see Selig 1980, fig. 182.
53. Laue 2016; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2016.492).
54. See Siemon, p. 75 in this volume.
55. Koeppel 1989.
56. Weber 1975; Bott 1985. Christoph Jamnitzer was a grandson of Wenzel, creator of the *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz*.
57. See Siemon, pp. 56–57 in this volume.
58. Damme 1994, p. 31.
59. The epitome of this style was the central European medieval *Ganerbenburg*, a fortified castle occupied and managed by several families together. The best surviving example is Eltz Castle, situated high above the Mosel River near Koblenz, Germany. A structure with truly ancient roots is the monument chased on Claudius I (p. 16). Shaped like an ancient Egyptian obelisk (and, to modern eyes, the Eiffel Tower), the motif can be found in sixteenth-century Northern prints, including several by Jonas Silber, who worked in Nuremberg from 1572 to 1589 (see Byrne 1981, p. 104, cat. no. 130; British Museum, London [1847.1009.67]).
60. Störkel 1999.
61. Schofield 1991.
62. According to Michael North (1994, pp. 80–81), in about 1566, the gold-silver value relation was 1:12.2; in 1609, it was 1:13.3. In sixteenth-century Europe, silver accounted for 95 percent of the precious metal brought to the mint by private citizens to be melted down into coins; gold constituted only 5 percent. It should be noted that the silver alloy of the tazze has a purity of 870–880/1000 (see Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski in this volume), and was thus considerably higher than the “13 loth” (or 812.5/1000) purity required in most towns of the Holy Roman Empire (Koeppel 2010, p. 90). From the early sixteenth century onward, Antwerp goldsmiths were required to guarantee a purity of 944–945/1000, which was decreased to 888/1000 purity by 1608 (Antwerp 1988, p. 26).

TAZZE: QUESTIONS OF THEIR USE AND DISPLAY

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—Michèle Bimbenet-Privat

1. For the typology, see Hernmarck 1977, vol. 1, pp. 125–30.
2. Caetano 1995.
3. Vassallo e Silva 2012, pp. 160–66.
4. See, for example, the piece (ca. 1550–60) attributed to the Sevillian goldsmith Juan de Herrera in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (278-1879). Cruz Valdovinos 1992, pp. 54–55, cat. no. 33.

5. Flandrin 2002, pp. 207–14.
6. Taylor 2005, p. 623.
7. Baudouin et al. 1988, pp. 34–35.
8. Groeningemuseum, Bruges (O.23): De Vos 1979, pp. 112–14.
9. For an example, see Schroder 2015, pp. 40, 126–28, no. 8 (standing cup, London, 1571–72).
10. Nys 2006b, pp. 159–60, cat. no. 99 (entry by Wim Nys).
11. Municipal Museum, Policka, Czech Republic (see Brugerolles 2012, p. 465, ill.).
12. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstammer (KK 5348): Seipel 2001, pp. 78–82, cat. no. 46, ill.
13. Bimbenet-Privat 1995.
14. Posthumous inventory of Cardinal François de Joyeuse, September 10, 1615 (Archives Nationales, Paris, Minutier Central des Notaires Parisiens, XXIV, 150).
15. Schroder 2012, p. 55, fig. 42.
16. Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, Florence: Piacenti Aschengreen 1968, nos. 603–56.
17. Fuhring 2013.
18. Hurtubise 1994.
19. Walker 2002.
20. Lancellotti 1627. Lancellotti dedicated the book to his master, Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini the Younger.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
22. Heikamp 1986, pp. 247–62. I am grateful to Mme Geneviève Rérolle-Pouffier for her translation of the German titles used in this article.
23. See Siemon, pp. 97, 101–2, and Koeppel in this volume.
24. Musée du Louvre, Paris (MR 341, MR 351). See Destrée 1900; Devisscher 1999, pp. 288–89, cat. no. 180.
25. Cited in Massinelli and Tuena 1992, pp. 22–24. Filarete’s full name was Antonio di Pietro Averlino.
26. Scheicher 1985, p. 31.
27. I thank Timothy Schroder for this insightful observation. See Boggero and Simonetti 1991, esp. pp. 109–19.
28. Mundt 2009.
29. Anton Mozart, *Die Übergabe des Pommerschen Kunstschranks* (Presentation of the Pomerian Cabinet), 1615/16, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin. The Kunstgewerbemuseum also preserves the contents of the cabinet that are mentioned in this essay.
30. For the *Kredenzen* and tray, see Mundt 2009, p. 272, no. P32.

31. As used here, the term *studiolo* designates a piece of furniture rather than a room. See Jestaz 2010a.
32. Jestaz 2010b.
33. P. Thornton 1991, pp. 209–14.
34. Schlosser 2012, p. 183.
35. Thirion 1998, pp. 126–37; Calderai and Chiarugi 2006.
36. Bonnaffé 1874, p. 76, nos. 164, 166, 167.
37. Fuhring 2002.
38. A remarkable extant example attributed to a French cabinetmaker and dated about 1575 is made of walnut and has marquetry and marble inlays (33½ × 57% × 33½ in. [85.1 × 147 × 85.1 cm]). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust inv. 1127744).
39. Bimbenet-Privat 2017.

THE ALDOBRANDINI TAZZE IN CONTEXT: COLLECTING SILVER IN ROME AROUND 1600

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1. Robertson 2015, pp. 57–58; Fasano Guarini 1960.
2. The list of paintings begins on p. 104; D'Onofrio 1964, p. 17.
3. Archivio Aldobrandini Frascati (AAF), *Inventario generale* (1603), p. 39, no. 52; see transcription in Appendix C.
4. AAF, *Libro Mastro C* (1599–1603), p. 72: “Adi 26: Marzo scudi 791:21 moneta fatti pagare a Ruspoli etc. per ducati 659:6:10 per costo di sei Tazze d'Argento con sei Imperatori dentro, mandatoci da Milano, Mazzinghi havere.” See Salomon, p. 140 in this volume.
5. AAF, *Inventario generale* (1603), p. 39, no. 53; see transcription in Appendix C.
6. The Roman pound, or *libra*, of this period is equivalent to 339 grams, or almost 12 ounces. One Roman *libra* equaled 12 *oncie*, or ounces; 1 *uncia* equaled 24 *denari*; see *Tavole* 1877, p. 628. In this essay, Roman weights are converted into U.S. pounds and ounces. The weights of the tazze given in the inventory are slightly greater than those obtained recently by the Metropolitan Museum. See Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski, p. 158 in this volume.
7. Hayward 1976, pp. 233–34, mentions the dual function of drinking vessels and fruit dishes.
8. No. 80 in the *Credenza* section (inv. p. 42) lists two *tazze da frutti* (cups for fruit) and provides an example of the mingling of the terms and functions. No. 82 describes two *tazze grandi* (large cups), gilt and decorated with scenes in low relief, that are close in individual weight to the “large cups” under no. 53; see transcriptions in Appendix C.
9. AAF, *Inventario generale* (1603), p. 35, nos. 14, 16; see transcription in Appendix C. These sets may have been similar to the set of fifty-four made in Augsburg in 1590 and 1594 by Paul Hübner and Cornelius Erb and acquired by Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, prince-bishop of Salzburg (now in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence); see Weber 1970, and see Bimbenet-Privat, pp. 123–24 in this volume.
10. Fusoritto da Narni, in his effusive description of the banquet, writes of “two most superb and rich sideboards under baldachins of red damask, one of silverwork, the other of porcelain, with vessels so large, of such beautiful forms, and in such number that no one who fixed his gaze on them could not but remain immobilized”; Cervio and Fusoritto 1593, p. 125. See Walker 2006.
11. AAF, *Inventario generale* (1603), p. 33, no. 2; p. 39, no. 47; and p. 41, no. 69; see transcriptions in Appendix C.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 33, no. 2; see transcription in Appendix C.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 38, no. 42; see transcription in Appendix C. “Unicorn horn” was usually made from the spiky horn of the narwhal. The body of the ewer might have been made of a Seychelles nut rather than a coconut. Several ewers with Seychelles nuts from about 1600 are known to survive, for example at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer (KK 6849 and 6872); Green Vaults, Dresden (IV 314); and British Museum, London (WB.125).
14. *Ibid.*, p. 35, no. 18; see transcription in Appendix C. Together the two weighed 7 *libbre*, or about 5.2 lb.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 34, no. 11; p. 38, no. 43; p. 40, no. 55; see transcriptions in Appendix C.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 5, no. 10; p. 18, no. 54; p. 19, no. 55; see transcriptions in Appendix C.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 20, no. 64; see transcription in Appendix C.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 17, no. 43; see transcription in Appendix C.
19. *Ibid.*; Salomon 2006.
20. See Salomon 2006, and Salomon, p. 143 in this volume.
21. Salomon (2006, pp. 346, 357) cites a payment to Spagna of 360 scudi on February 28, 1599, for a gold chalice weighing 2 *libbre* 7 *oncie* 1.5 *denari*; the *Capella* section of the inventory (no. 15) records a chalice and paten “of all gold, worked in the modern style, with little flowers, leaves, and stars,” and with the family coat of arms on the foot. Its weight is given as 2 *libbre* 7½ *oncie*, which corresponds exactly to the weight recorded in the payment document; AAF, *Inventario generale* (1603), p. 28, no. 15; see transcription in Appendix C. Though made two years after the inventory was drawn up, the payment on May 14, 1605, of 126.40 scudi for six candlesticks weighing 11 *libbre* 5 *oncie* 21 *denari* is for the same weight as a set listed in the *Credenza* section; Salomon 2006, p. 361, and AAF, *Inventario generale* (1603), p. 41, no. 66; see transcription in Appendix C. Interestingly, the inventory describes these as “in the Spanish style” but bearing the family coat of arms. As Salomon notes (2006, p. 345), affixing or engraving silver pieces with coats of arms was one of Spagna's frequent tasks for Cardinal Pietro.
22. Testa 2001, p. 45.
23. See Hollingsworth 2010, p. 139. The dish (*panattiera*) weighed 4 *libbre* 8 *oncie* 12 *denari*; the egg cup (*ovarolo*), 2 *libbre* 6 *oncie* 12 *denari*; the chafing dish

- (*scaldavivande*), 5 *libre 5 oncie 5 denari*; and the cup (*coppa alla thodescha*), 7 *libre 6 oncie 3 denari*; *ibid.*, p. 150 n. 112.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 136, 149–50. The tazze do not appear to have been a matching set of twelve, but rather three groups of four: one with a quartered design and partially gilt; another, smooth and white; the third, partially gilt with foliate decorations and “birds inside.”
 25. Archivio di Stato, Rome (ASR), Archivio Santacroce 818, Libro dell’Hredità della bo: me: dell’Ill.mo Sig.r Card.le del Bufalo, containing the inventory of Innocenzo del Bufalo’s possessions and record of the sale beginning April 22, 1610, along with related documents. I am deeply grateful to Patricia Waddy for discovering and sharing this important document with me.
 26. See Ehrlich 2002 for a discussion of how competitive the building of villas and gardens was in early seventeenth-century Rome; Hill 2001.
 27. Robertson 1992; Robertson 2015, pp. 108–10 and *passim*.
 28. Robertson 2008; Robertson 2015, ch. 2, “The Cardinal Nephew: Pietro Aldobrandini,” pp. 57–121 and *passim*.
 29. Jestaz et al. 1994, pp. 8–13.
 30. *Ibid.*, nos. 72–74, 92, 95–104, 107–9, 111, 138.
 31. Schroder 1983, cat. no. 7.
 32. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Arch. Barb. Ind. II. 331, fols. 20r–21v; Lavin 1975, pp. 65–71. The independent scholars Francesca Barberini and Micaela Dickmann de Petra are preparing a comprehensive study on the Barberini family’s silver, including transcriptions of all the extant inventories; the author thanks them for sharing some of their insights. All Barberini transcriptions cited here are the author’s.
 33. Pastor 1938, p. 28; Richard 1902, p. 483.
 34. BAV, Arch. Barb. Ind. II. 331, fol. 20r: “conca grande da bottiglieria.”
 35. Lutz 2000. According to the inventory, the thirty-three objects labeled as French weighed in total about 104 kg, far less than the 200 kg reported for the gilt items in Lutz’s encyclopedia entry.
 36. BAV, Arch. Barb. Ind. II. 331, fols. 20r, 20v.
 37. *Ibid.*, fol. 20r: “broccone grande della bottiglieria”; fol. 20v: “Tre bacili, e tre boccali grandi lavorati.”
 38. *Ibid.*, fols. 20r, 20v. The inventory includes three additional small tazze without further designation or description. On the meaning and usage of *hanap*, see Godefroy 1885.
 39. Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Arch. Boncompagni-Ludovisi 324, fols. 3r–18v.
 40. *Ibid.*, fols. 3r–v. Compare AAF, Inventario generale (1603), p. 33, no. 2; see transcription in Appendix C.
 41. ASV, Arch. Boncompagni-Ludovisi 324, fols. 8r–v. In the set of sixteen, each item weighed just over 1 lb.; in the other set, each weighed about 1 lb. 9 oz.
 42. *Ibid.*, fols. 11r–v.
 43. AAF, Inventario generale (1603), p. 29, no. 20: “fatto a Roma.”
 44. Cruz Valdovinos 2007.
 45. AAF, Inventario generale (1603), p. 4, no. 9; p. 7, no. 37; p. 28, no. 20; p. 33, no. 2; p. 39, nos. 48, 49.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 16, no. 36; see transcription in Appendix C. A detailed study of the known versions of this type is provided in L. Seelig 1987.
 47. See Salomon in this volume.
 48. BAV, Arch. Barb. Ind. II. 55, Inventario dei Mobili, Argenti, et altro trovati nella Guardarobba, e Stanze nel Palazzo ai Giubbonari della felice Memoria del Signor Cardinal Antonio Barberini . . . (begun August 9, 1671), p. 345: “Fruttiere no. ventiquattro d’Argento d’orato di roma, cioè no. Dodici, con statuette sopra d’Argento bianco con li Dodici Imperatori, quattro con figurette delle quattro Monarchie, quattro delle quattro Stagioni, et Altre quattro delli quattro elementi. . .” This entry is also cited in Michel 2007, p. 462.
- THE DODICI TAZZONI GRANDI
IN THE ALDOBRANDINI
COLLECTION**
- ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: Most of the research for this essay was done between 2001 and 2005, in preparation for my PhD dissertation (Salomon 2005). Aspects of my interest in the Aldobrandini silver resulted in an article on the Aldobrandini family and Pietro Spagna (Salomon 2006). Subsequently I carried out further research on the Aldobrandini family holdings of silver. Over the past fifteen years, I have had unrestricted access to the Archivio Aldobrandini at Frascati and the Archivio Doria Pamphilj in Rome. For this, I thank Prince Camillo Aldobrandini and Prince Jonathan Doria Pamphilj and their archivists, Antonella Fabriani Rojas and Alessandra Mercantini. For an analysis of the Aldobrandini Tazze and their presence in the Aldobrandini collection, see also Coggiola 2007. I am particularly grateful to Giulio Dalvit and Alvar González-Palacios for their comments on this essay. —Xavier F. Salomon
1. Archivio Aldobrandini Frascati (AAF), Giornale del Libro Mastro C (1599–1602) and Giornale del Libro Mastro D (1603–5).
 2. AAF, Libro Mastro A (1592–95); Libro Mastro B (1595–99); Libro Mastro C (1599–1603); Libro Mastro D (1603–5); Libro Mastro E (1606–13); Libro Mastro E2 (1613–14); Libro Mastro F (1613–15); Libro Mastro G (1616–18); Libro Mastro H (1618–28).
 3. “Argenti devono dare scudi setticento novanta uno e 21 m[one]ta fatti pagla[re] al m[agnifi]co Aless[and]ro Ruspoli per la Val[u]ta di ducati 659:6:10. In virtu de una lett[e]ra di Iacomo e Filippo Melani da Milano de 27 di Febraro pass[ato] la valuta da Gio Paolo cinque vie e ottavio secco per conto di sei Tazze di Arg[en]to con sei Imperatori dentro mandatoci da Milano,” AAF, Giornale del Libro Mastro C (1599–1602), fol. 217v.
 4. “E adi 26 Marzo scudi 791.21 m[one]ta fatti pagare a Ruspoli per ducati 659.6.10 per costo di sei Tazze d’Argento con sei Imperatori dentro, mandatoci da Milano,” AAF, Libro Mastro C (1599–1603), fol. 72v.
 5. For the reidentification, see Beard, pp. 32–35 in this volume.
 6. AAF, Inventario generale (1603). For the roles of *maggiordomo* and *guardaroba*, see Gozzano 2015.
 7. AAF, Inventario generale (1603), p. 39, no. 52; see transcription in Appendix C.
 8. For a transcription of the silver section of the 1603 inventory, see Appendix C.
 9. Many objects—basins, candlesticks, receptacles for oil and vinegar, a *navicella* (boat-shaped table ornament), ewers, tankards, salvers, a mace, and an entire credenza service—are described as being *alla Spagnola*. A tazza and a basin engraved with a scene depicting the Parting of the Red Sea are *alla Francese*; glasses and fruit dishes are described as *alla Todesca*. The inventory also lists candlesticks and bottles *alla Napolitana*, and salts, cups, cruets, and a

- chalice *alla Venetiana*. For full descriptions in Italian, see Appendix C.
10. See Appendix C, inv. p. 20, no. 64.
 11. See Alcorn and Schroder, pp. 153–55, and Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski, p. 167, in this volume for discussions of the alterations to the tazze in the nineteenth century.
 12. “Dodici Teste col petto di dodici Imperatori Romani di marmo, d’altezza circa un palmo l’una col piede tondo,” AAF, *Inventario generale* (1603), fol. 152v; “Adi 24 dicembre 1600: 30 scudi fatti pagar al Pre. Tro Basilio Anguseiola Priore Generale de Carmelitani per le 12 Teste dell’Imperatori trovate a S. Giuliano,” AAF, *Libro Mastro C* (1599–1603), fol. 103.
 13. For Aldobrandini and Pietro Spagna, see Salomon 2006. For the portrait drawing of Spagna, see Pitrolo 2010, pp. 119–23, no. 55.
 14. “Scudi 6 fa boni per fattura di 3 Tazze,” AAF, *Libro Mastro C* (1599–1603), fol. 32; Salomon 2006, p. 359.
 15. On January 9, 1594, for example, Spagna was paid “per fattura di due arme a un calamaro d’argento, un’altra arme alla mazza d’argento, un arme a un bacino d’argento,” AAF, *Libro Mastro A* (1592–95), fol. 132; Salomon 2006, p. 355.
 16. Salomon 2006, p. 359, quoting AAF, *Libro Mastro C* (1599–1603), fol. 72, and *Giornale del Libro Mastro D* (1603–5), fol. 6r.
 17. “Dodici tazzoni grandi libre 109 oncie 11,” AAF, *Inventari*, vol. 1, no. 24, *Inventario dei beni mobili e stabili di proprietà del Cardinale Ippolito Aldobrandini* [no date], fol. 5r. “225. Dodici Tazzoni grandi d’argento historiati con Imperatori in piede sopra ciascheduno sono li med[esi]mi descritti alla Partita 235 del sud[ett]o Inventario pesano libre centonove oncie 8,” AAF, *Inventari*, vol. 2, no. 1, *Inventario degli argenti quadri ecc. appartenenti al Cardinale Ippolito Aldobrandini* [no date], fol. 5r. “N[umero] 52 Dodici tazzoni grandi con il piede alto lavorati con diverse historie di basso rilievo con imperatori in piede sopra ciascuno segnati ciascun pezzo col controscritto n[umero] 52 pesano tutti insieme libre centonove oncie undici e mezza,” AAF, *Inventari*, vol. 2, no. 5, *Inventario degli ori ed argenti della cappella e da tavola appartenenti al Cardinale Ippolito Aldobrandini* [no date], fol. 12v.
 18. “Dodici tazzoni grandi con il piede alto lavorato con diverse historie di basso rilievo con Imperatori in piede sopra ciascuna segnati ciascun pezzo col n[umero] 52 pesano libre 109 oncie 11½,” AAF, *Inventari*, vol. 2, no. 11, *Inventario dei beni del Card[inal] Ippolito Aldobrandini compilato per ordine di D[on]na Olimpia Aldobrandini Borghese*–9 settembre 1638, fol. 39r. Two other copies of the same inventory are in AAF, *Inventari*, vol. 2, no. 12 (fols. 52v, 48v); *Archivio di Stato, Rome* (ASR), *Notai A.C.* 3161, p. 829; *Archivio Doria Pamphilj* (ADP), *Rome*, Scaffale 90, busta 65, fol. 48v.
 19. For more on Lancellotti’s text, see Bimbenet-Privat, pp. 125–26 in this volume.
 20. “Nell’entrare della Sala à man destra, si fece tre bellissime bottigliere . . . con infinite tazze dorate bellissime, che rendevano una vaga, e nobilissima vista . . .,” Lancellotti 1627, p. 108.
 21. “A piedi della sala incontro alla tavola Reale, era una bellissima credenza di bacili, piatti Imperiali, Reali, e mezzani, panattiere, tazze di più sorti, fatte di zuccaro, tanto al naturale, che molti restarono aggabati, ne fù mai vista cosa più bella,” *ibid.*, p. 234.
 22. “. . . per la strettezza del luogo non si fece mostra di credenza, ma solo di bottigliera per la tavola reale . . . vi erano nuove inventioni di tazze . . . Sei statuette di zuccaro alte un palmo e mezo, servite sopra tazzette di pasta di ciambellette, tutte inargentate, con le braccia alzate in atto di sostenere la tovaglia, con la quale si coprì la tavola reale,” *ibid.*, pp. 156, 158.
 23. “Quattro tazze Imperiali per piatto di confettura bianca” and “Confetture bianche, quattro tazze Imperiali per piatto,” *ibid.*, pp. 6, 11.
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 50, 278.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 106.
 26. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 256.
 27. The tazze’s ornamented surfaces are in excellent condition. For a detailed discussion, see Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski in this volume.
 28. For the banquet, see Lancellotti 1627, pp. 107–24.
 29. “Tazze Imperiali dodici, con Imperatori d’argento,” *ibid.*, p. 124.
 30. “Argenti di Credenza . . . Dodici Tazzoni grandi con il piede alto lavorati con diverse historie di basso rilievo con un Imperatore in piede sopra ciascuno tutti del num[er]o 52, pesano tutti insieme libre cento e nove, oncie 11 e mezza, del n[umero] 52,” AAF, *Inventari*, vol. 3, no. 4, *Inventario di tutti i mobili, suppellettili, ori, argenti, gioie, ecc. di proprietà della P.ssa Olimpia Aldobrandini Giuniore che si riconsegnano* (1646), fol. 5v. “N[umero] 3 Dodici Tazzoni d’argento grandi con piedi alti historiati di basso rilievo con un Imperatore in piedi sopra á ciascuno pesano tutti insieme libre cento e nove, e oncie undeci n[umero] 52,” AAF, *Inventari*, *Inventario dei beni di Olimpia Aldobrandini Junior* (1682), fol. 6v.
 31. This information can be gathered from another copy of the inventory in ADP, *Fondo Aldobrandini*, busta 30, *Inventario di Olimpia Aldobrandini Junior* (1682), fols. 47r–v, 170v.
 32. For a brief, recent history of the Pamphilj family, see De Marchi 2016, pp. 9–19.
 33. “Nel Guardarobba Aldobrandini posta nel Palazzo al Corso habitato dall’Em. ma Cardinale D. Benedetto Pamphilj . . . Dodici Tazzoni grandi d’argento con piedi alti, historiati di bassorilievo con un Imperatore in piedi sopra ciascheduno, pesano tutti insieme libre cento nove et oncie otto,” ASR, *Notai A.C.* 2661, n.p.
 34. “36 Dodici Tazzoni di Argento grandi con piedi alti historiati di basso rilievo con un Imperatore in piedi sopra à ciascuno pesano tutti insieme libre cento nove, et oncia undeci in conformità dell’Inventario di Guardarobba a 6 n[umero] 3 et al p[rese]nte libre cento nove, et oncie otto decritte nell’Inventario di d[ett]o Sig[no]r Card[inal]e a 48,” AAF, *Inventari*, vol. 6, no. 5, *Nota di Argenti, Paramenti et altri Mobili dalla Guardarobba Aldobrandina che sono stati imprestati sotto hoggi 4 7mbre 1690 all’Ecc[ellentissimo] et Rev[erendissimo] Sig[no]r Card[inal]e Don Benedetto Pamphilio . . . da restituirsi dall’Em[inen]za sua doppo che sarà terminato tutto il tempo della sua legazione in Bologna*, fol. 8r.
 35. “1. Dodici Fruttiere antiche di argento t[ut]t[e] cisellate, ed istoriate con sopra

- ciascuna la Statua di uno dei 12 Cesari di Argento di Carlino di peso libre 110:7," ADP, Scaffale 86, busta 58, Argenti Aldobrandini consegnati dal Sig[no]r P[i]n[ci]pe Doria Pamphilj all'Ecc[ellentissim]a Casa Borghese a tenore dell'Inv[enta]rio di Febraro 1769, i quali Argenti vanno in discarico dei d[icon]tro che furono consegnati al d[ett]o o Sig[no]r P[i]n[ci]pe Doria in forma di Deposito a tenore dell'Inv[enta]rio del 1763, n.p.
36. AAF, Inventari, vol. 6, no. 10, Nota delle robe trovate nell'appartamento del P[ri]ncipi]pe D[on] Paolo Borghese Aldobrandini nel Palazzo Borghese—Argenti provenienti dalla eredità del P[ri]ncipi]pe D[on] Paolo Borghese Aldobrandini 5 Maggio 1792.
37. "Si è degnata la Santità di N[ost]ro S[ign]ore incaricare con suo Biglietto tanto S[ua] E[minenza] il Sig[no]r Principe Borghese, quanto il Contestabile Colonna, che scrive, acciò invitino efficacemente la Nobiltà di Roma a trasmettere li loro Ori, ed Argenti alla Zecca con le Condizioni di stabilirsi con S[ua] E[minenza] Monsignor Tesoriere . . . Tutto ciò il Contestabile Colonna ha l'onore di partecipare a V[ost]ra E[minenza] acciò in vista di quanto è stato da Sua Santità ordinato, si compiacca trasmettere alla pubblica Zecca quella quantità di Ori, ed Argenti, da cui potrà privarsi per vantaggio del Pubblico," ADP, Scaffale 86, busta 58, n.p.
38. "Per riordinare il sistema monetario, il quale per le infelici circostanze de' tempi ha sofferto come in altri, così nel Dominio Pontificio, una notevole alterazione, varie sono le providenze, che le instancabili cure di Nostro Signore Papa Pio Sesto felicemente regnante vanno disponendo. All'oggetto specialmente di accrescer la coniazione della moneta effettiva, e questa reale, e di bontà, la Santità Sua approvando le risoluzioni prese dalla Sacra Congregazione deputata sulla pubblica economia ha creduto d'invitare efficacemente li Proprietarij d'Argenti, ed Ori lavorati, ed in Massa tanto in Roma, che in tutto il suo Stato a recarli in questa Zecca, e rispettivamente alli Tesorieri, o loro Commessinelle Provincie, e del prezzo de' medesimi formare un adeguato fruttifero Investimento colla Camera Apostolica," *ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. For the tazze's reappearance in the nineteenth century, see Alcorn and Schroder in this volume.

THE NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY HISTORY OF THE TAZZE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: The authors gratefully acknowledge Julia Siemon's meticulous research on the provenances and thank John Culme for sharing his insights into the nineteenth-century silver trade. In addition, they are grateful to Denise Allen, Diana Scarisbrick, and Jeremy Warren.—Ellenor Alcorn and Timothy Schroder

1. For the provenances of the tazze, see Appendix B.
2. *The Literary Gazette* (London, 1826), p. 235; see also Ackermann 1826.
3. *The Morning Chronicle* (London), April 29, 1826.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Culme 1975.
6. Culme 1985.
7. Morris 1998, pp. 134–59.
8. Christie's 1827. The duke's debts were thought to be between £200,000 and £500,000. Culme 1975, p. 34.
9. Bury 1966a and 1966b; Hartop 2005.
10. The tazze went for 1,000 guineas (£1,050) in a sale by the auctioneer George Robins at Covent Garden, London, February 3, 1834, no. 22.
11. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London), April 1834, p. 418, revealed Hamlet as the seller.
12. Culme 1987, vol. 1, pp. 205–6, for Hamlet; vol. 1, p. 398, for Rundell, Bridge and Rundell. Very wealthy, Hamlet collected pictures and other forms of art. In 1813 he bought Denham Court, the late seventeenth-century estate in Buckinghamshire. This information was kindly supplied by John Culme in a personal communication, May 19, 2016.
13. The Robins sale (see Hamlet 1834) was advertised as taking place "under especial circumstances," the lots having "long since been deposited as a collateral security, and are now consigned to the uncertain fate of the hammer." *The Times* (London), January 25, 1834. Why and for whom Hamlet had been holding the items is not known. A member of the royal family cannot be ruled out: the terms of the sale announcement are appropriately discreet; the 1826 newspaper report (see note 2 above) cites attention given to the tazze by "His Majesty, and several members of the Royal Family"; the Duke of York, as Lewis's most important client, surely would have been offered the tazze in 1826. It appears that some items were held back from Christie's posthumous sale of the duke's plate in 1827: at Hamlet's bankruptcy hearing in 1841, it was claimed that "a quantity of valuable property had been sent to Mr Hamlet [by the duke's executors] in order to be disposed of." (*The Morning Chronicle* [London], July 1, 1841). Hamlet argued that since the duke's estate had owed him money, he was justified in retaining the proceeds of the 1834 sale rather than remitting the money to the executors. (Reported in *The Morning Advertiser* [London], July 1, 1841.) Could this disposal have been one and the same as the Robins sale? We do not know for sure, but it seems possible.
14. Other items offered in the Hamlet sale are compatible with the authors' hypothesis that they came from the duke's estate. They included a magnificent inkstand with the royal arms, gold-mounted cameos of George III, George IV, and the Duke of Wellington (York had been head of the army and an admirer of Wellington), and a bronze crucifix—six feet tall, by Alessandro Algardi—that had been on the Paris market in 1824. See Hamlet 1834; for information on the earlier provenance of the Algardi crucifix, we are grateful to Jeremy Warren.
15. Christie's 1843.
16. *The Standard* (London), February 4, 1834; see also Culme 1987, vol. 1, pp. 145–48.
17. We are grateful to Diana Scarisbrick for this information.
18. Quoted in Cheetham 1907, p. 100.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101.
20. The Scarisbrick archives are preserved in the Lancashire Record Office, Preston.
21. Scarisbrick 1963.
22. London 1862, p. 538, cat. nos. 6409, 6410. Even though only two tazze were exhibited, Attenborough probably still owned all twelve at that stage. The pair

- is described in the exhibition catalogue as white silver and “part of a set of twelve.”
23. Culme 1987, vol. 1, p. 20.
 24. *The Architect* (London), August 27, 1870, following p. 118.
 25. See Beard, p. 45 in this volume; Hackenbroch 1950.
 26. *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (London), April 1834, p. 418.
 27. For example, Ackermann 1826, p. 303: “The history given of these unique specimens of workmanship and art is this: They were executed by Cellini about the year 1560, for the celebrated Cardinal Aldobrandini, afterwards Pope Clement VIII, whose arms are introduced on several spaces of the chasing, and passed into the family of Borghese, his successors.”
 28. See Walker, p. 130, and Salomon, p. 140, in this volume; see also Appendix C (inv. p. 39, no. 52).
 29. Hamlet 1834, no. 22.
 30. The story was presumably fabricated from thin air, but perhaps once the famous goldsmith Cellini had been invoked, it seemed only natural to implicate his great patron as well.
 31. As described in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (London), April 1834, p. 418, and *The Times* (London), January 25, 1834, p. 8, respectively.
 32. *The Literary Gazette* (London, 1826), p. 234. It is interesting to note that the emperor statuettes are singled out for their “poor execution,” imputed to the possibility that they are a “fancied improvement of later years” (ibid., p. 235). For the execution of the emperor figures, see Borsch, Carò, and Wypyski in this volume.
 33. Cellini 1771.
 34. Letter to Horace Mann, quoted in Tait 1988, p. 99.
 35. Portland 1786, no. 4147. The rosary’s buyer was recorded as Jones; the subsequent lot, another rosary attributed to Cellini, was purchased by Rundell.
 36. Christie’s 1822, pp. 34–35, no. 50. See Stone 1997.
 37. Royal Collection Trust (RCIN 50603); Carlton 1991, pp. 186–87, cat. no. 161.
 38. “The Twelve Caesars in Silver, by Benvenuto Cellini,” *The Age* (London), February 16, 1834.
 39. By 1872, one of the tazze (with the figure of Augustus and the Domitian dish) was in the collection of Baron Anselm von Rothschild in Vienna; Schestag 1872, no. 532; Vienna 1873, p. 24, cat. no. 22. By 1876, there were reports that seven of the tazze were in Rothschild family collections in Europe; *Beiblatt* 1876, p. 734. That number is repeated in Paul 1882, no. 720. Julia Siemon’s research suggests that five of the tazze, not seven, were in the hands of various members of the Rothschild family (see Appendix B). For Spitzer’s ownership of six of the tazze, see Darcel 1888, pp. 235–36. Spitzer’s tazze are also mentioned in Molinier 1889, p. 116.
 40. Elon 1996, p. 68.
 41. Schestag 1872, p. 3. The tazza is no. 532.
 42. This account is drawn largely from D. Thornton 2015.
 43. Quoted in Hall 2007, p. 56. See also Hall 2014.
 44. Spitzer 1893.
 45. J. and S. Goldschmidt of Frankfurt purchased five of the tazze along with the now-missing seventeenth-century manuscript at the Spitzer sale in 1893 and is listed as the underbidder at the 1914 Ashburnham sale (Christie’s 1914, no. 202). See Appendix B.
 46. Letter from Julius Goldschmidt to Viscount Gort, February 3, 1950. Copy in the curatorial files at the Royal Ontario Museum, kindly shared by Robert Little.
 47. John Hayward (1976, p. 165) suggested that the feet added by Spitzer were of sixteenth-century origin and proposed that they may have been removed from a set of contemporary sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Spanish monstrances.
 48. We are grateful to Paola Cordera for sharing this information. See Cordera 2014, p. 88, fig. 57.
 49. Truman 1979.
 50. The possibility that Vasters was the author of the bases was suggested by Christie’s cataloguers in the Wernher sale; see Christie’s 2000, no. 18.
 51. The gilding must have been done after the tazze left Attenborough’s hands but before Anselm von Rothschild’s collection was catalogued in 1872. Schestag 1872, no. 532.
 52. The total surface area of each tazza is approximately 3,300 cm² and of the full set, 39,600 cm². Mercury gilding of an area of this size in the third quarter of the nineteenth century would have been very costly.
 53. The replica figures are well but thickly cast. The capes are separately formed, as on the originals, and are attached by screws with machined threads suggestive of relatively modern facture.
 54. Vasters’s posthumous sale catalogue (Vasters 1909, no. 303) lists “Two large silver basins, gilded inside, from a set of twelve, representing the history of the Caesars. Replicas after Augsburg works of the sixteenth century. a) Vespasian . . . b) Vitellius.” Quoted in Hackenbroch 1984–85, p. 258 n. 153. The descriptions of the four scenes on each of the “large silver basins” make evident that what is called “Vespasian” in the sale catalogue is actually a copy of the Augustus dish. On Vasters, see Krautwurst 2003, pp. 71, 76, 655–57.
 55. For more information on the sale, see Appendix B, no. 12.
 56. Hayward 1970. The Vespasian tazza was sold at Christie’s, New York, October 26, 1982, no. 68.
 57. Christie’s 2000, no. 18. See Appendix B, no. 6.
 58. These examples are drawn from Reitlinger 1963.

TECHNICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ALDOBRANDINI TAZZE

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1. Federico Carò conducted extensive XRF surface analysis on components with areas of exposed silver not covered by gilding. In addition to allowing for the identification of silver and copper, the main alloy elements, this noninvasive analytical technique permits the detection of impurities such as bismuth, arsenic, antimony, lead, and gold. These elements are generally observed in silver alloys produced prior to the mid-nineteenth century; after this point,

- owing to the introduction of electrolytic refining, their concentrations are greatly reduced. In this study, the detection of bismuth was found to be the most reliable indicator for qualitatively distinguishing between original components and later additions to the tazze. Bismuth was found in detectable amounts (above approximately 0.04 weight percent, based on comparison with LA-ICP-MS and WDS data) in most of the components analyzed. Exceptions include most of the components of the Titus tazza (with electrotype dish) and most of the edge wires on both styles of feet. Bismuth was below the XRF detection limit in the stems of the Vitellius and Vespasian tazze, the foot and stem of the Augustus figure/Domitian dish tazza, and the cape of the Caligula figure. It is important to note that for some components, the analytical results (i.e., the detection of bismuth) were considered unreliable because XRF surface analysis was compromised by the presence of gold and mercury even in areas where gilding was not visible.
2. SEM-EDS/WDS analysis by Mark T. Wypyski determined that original elements from the four tazze sampled (Vitellius, Claudius, Otho, and the Tiberius figure/Nero dish) were made from alloys containing about 87–88% silver, 11–13% copper, small amounts of lead and bismuth, and trace amounts of gold, zinc, nickel, tin, and antimony. Five of the silver alloy samples analyzed were found to be very close in composition (the Vitellius, Claudius, and Nero dishes and the Otho dish and pedestal), averaging about 11.3% copper, 0.33% lead, and 0.11% bismuth, for a ratio of lead to bismuth of three to one (see Table 1, p. 168).
 3. LA-ICP-MS analyses of six silver samples (from the Vitellius, Claudius, and Tiberius figure/Nero dish tazze) were performed by Michael Brauns at CEZ Archäometrie gGmbH, Mannheim, Germany, in collaboration with Ernst-Ludwig Richter. In addition to confirming the XRF and SEM-EDS/WDS findings of small amounts of lead and bismuth in the alloys, LA-ICP-MS detected traces of elements including gold, zinc, nickel, tin, antimony, arsenic, palladium, platinum, and mercury (see Table 2, p. 168).
 4. Before the invention of the soldering torch in the late eighteenth century, objects were soldered by being subjected to overall heating in a furnace. Larger, thicker metal elements required longer heating times to reach soldering temperatures, which meant that joining elements of different size and thickness carried a risk of reversing earlier solder joints and melting thinner elements.
 5. For a description of this method, see Siemon, p. 59 in this volume.
 6. The appearance of the original Titus statuette is not known. The existing figure was modeled on the Julius Caesar statuette, with changes made to the cape and spear. XRF analysis identified a relatively pure silver composition, with no detectable bismuth, arsenic, or antimony, indicating that the figure was most likely produced after the mid-nineteenth century. The statuette differs technically from the original figures. It has solid legs soldered directly to the flat underside of the tunic, as opposed to hollow legs inserted into the body using tubular inserts; it was soldered directly to the pedestal cap without pinning and lacks the threaded tube below the pedestal cap, a feature shared by all the original emperors.
 7. The lack of impurities in the silver indicates that the fluted foot and stem of the Augustus figure/Domitian dish tazza (Minneapolis Institute of Art) were produced after the mid-nineteenth century. X-ray radiography confirms that the foot was cast and not hammered and that the stem is considerably thinner and more evenly cast than the originals.
 8. The absence of bismuth and other impurities suggests that most of the foot edge wires were made after the mid-nineteenth century.
 9. For a discussion of the Spitzer Collection, see Alcorn and Schroder, pp. 153–54 in this volume.
 10. The four higher replacement feet were marked with chased dots numbering one to four in the following order: Domitian figure/Tiberius dish, Vespasian, Julius Caesar, and Otho. These four feet have a similar threaded element in their upper interiors that is visible on radiographs. The feet of the Julius Caesar and Otho tazze (pls. 1, 8) have an upper band of cherubs' heads; those of the Domitian figure and Vespasian tazze (pls. 3, 10) have an upper band of horned masks similar to the masks soldered on all six of the stems. The Vitellius and Titus tazze feet (pls. 9, 13) are slightly lower and share a distinctive interior threaded element. Both are decorated with an upper band of repoussé cherubs' heads and a pair of applied rams' horns that are pinned and soldered into the lower band. Both stems have a short silver pin soldered to the top edge that inserts into a small hole in the pierced disk.
 11. The detection of bismuth by XRF surface analysis indicates that some replacement feet and stems were either salvaged from earlier objects or produced using silver melted down from historical objects. Bismuth was detected in the replacement foot and stem of the Julius Caesar tazza, the replacement feet on the Otho and Vitellius tazze, and the wire on the rim of the foot of the Domitian figure tazza. Results for the feet of the Vespasian and Domitian tazze were uncertain owing to the presence of gilding or because values for bismuth were too close to the detection limit of the instrument.
 12. See Alcorn and Schroder, note 22, pp. 205–6, and Appendix B, p. 172, no. 2, in this volume.
 13. See Siemon, p. 104 in this volume.

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