



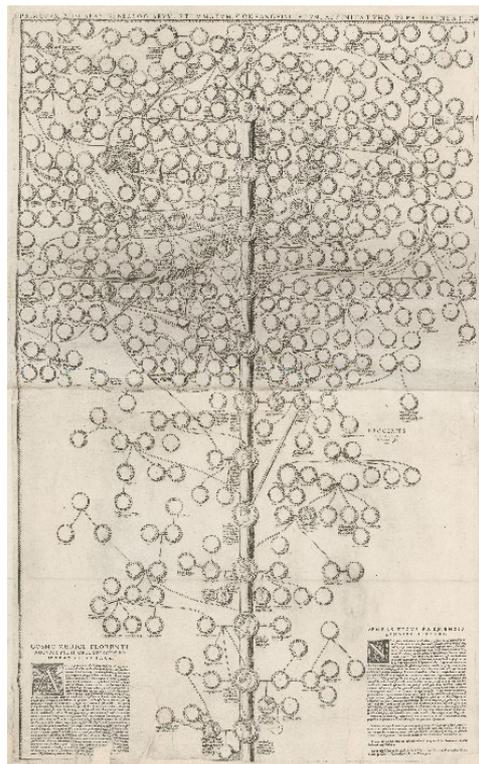
FONTES **E**-Quellen und Dokumente zur Kunst 1350-1750
Sources and Documents for the History of Art 1350-1750

**Enea Vico's 'Accurate Representation of the Genealogies of the First Twelve Roman
Caesars': PRIMORUM XII CAESS. GENEALOGIARUM, STEMMATUM,
CONSANGVINITATVM, AFFINITATVMQ[VE] VERA DELINEATIO**
(Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich)

Edited, with an introductory essay

by

Margaret Daly Davis



FONTES 91

[6.04.2021]

URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72649

URL: <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7264>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007264>

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Domitia, in: Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555 (ed.pr. 1553)

1. Enea Vico's 'Accurate Representation of the Genealogies of the first Twelve Roman Caesars' or, Numismatics in the service of historical truth

by Margaret Daly Davis

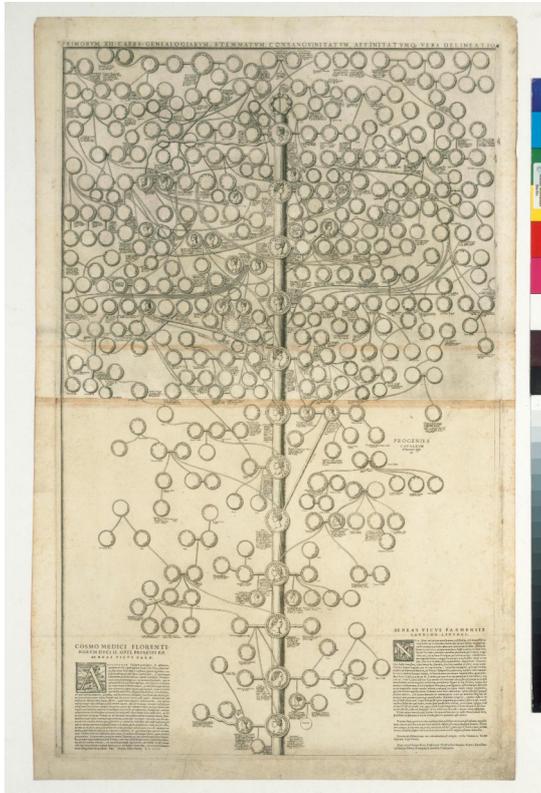
Enea Vico's accurate representation ("vera delineatio") of the genealogies of the first twelve Roman Caesars – the Suetonian emperors – will have been a welcome research tool for numismatists, antiquarians and historians of the mid sixteenth century. Entitled *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinitatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, the 'genealogical tree', or stemma, was issued in its first printing in late 1553 and dedicated by Vico to Cosimo de' Medici, Second Duke of Florence.¹ The dedication to Cosimo is printed

1 Enea Vico's, PRIMORUM XII CAESS GENEALOGIARUM, STEMMATUM, CONSANGVINITATVM, AFFINITATUMQ[VE] VERA DELINEATIO (ed. pr.), Venice 1553, a true representation of the genealogies, stemmata, kinships and relationships by marriage of the first twelve Caesars, ca. 50 x 80 cm, was printed from two engraved copper plates on two sheets, then united. The genealogical tree, or stemma, treated in the present work, is the third state, Venice 1555, preserved today in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich. In its published reproductions up until now the stemma is, with respect to the texts, mostly illegible. The scanned image of the sheet (1555), presented in its publication here in FONTES, should provide access to all of Vico's engraved illustrations, texts and notations and facilitate a more thorough understanding of his work. We are grateful to the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (Munich), in particular to Kurt Zeitler und Sabine Wölfel, for furnishing FONTES with a scan of high resolution to be presented here.

For the stemma in the context of Vico's numismatic studies and the wide-ranging antiquarian culture of the Cinquecento, see Giulio Bodon, *Enea Vico, fra memoria e miraggio della classicità*, Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1997, Chapter III, "Lo studio del mondo antico nell'attività letteraria vichiana", in particular, pp. 108-110. See also: Cecilia Cavalca, "Dalle vite degli imperatori ai commentari di Giulio Cesare; l'immagine cesarea nelle incisioni e nelle parole di Enea Vico", in: *Archivio storico per le province parmensi*, 46, 1995, pp. 547-563, in particular, pp. 554-555; Ulrike Peter; Birte Rubach, "Die Genealogie der ersten zwölf römischen Kaiser in einem grossformatigen Kupferstich von Enea Vico", in: *Pegasus, Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike*, 13, 2011, pp. 77-119; Ulrike Peter; Birte Rubach, "Münzen als historische Quelle: Enea Vicos Kaisergenealogie von 1553 – eine neue visuelle Wissensordnung", in: *Das Altertum*, 61, 2016, pp. 199-204; Margaret Daly Davis, *Enea Vico on ancient coin reverses as historical documents: verso il 'secondo libro sopra le medaglie degli antichi'*, Heidelberg 2013 (FONTES 77), <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2013/2181>.

For Vico and his numismatic studies see: Edith Lemburg-Ruppelt, *Enea Vico, Ein Künstler-Antiquar des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Bedeutung seines Werks für die Numismatik als historische Hilfswissenschaft*, Dissertation, Berlin 1988 (available in Microform); E. Lemburg-Ruppelt, "Vera Historia: Numismatik um 1550", in: *Akten, XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1977*, ed. Bernd Kluge and Bernhard Weisser, 2 vol., Berlin 2000, vol. 1, pp. 114-123 and E. Lemburg-Ruppelt, "Der systematische Ausbau der Numismatik im Werk Enea Vicos (1523-67)", in: *Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Numismatik, Beiträge zum 17. Deutschen Numismatikertag, 3.-5. März 1995 in Hannover*, ed. Rainer Albert and Reiner Cunz, Speyer 1995, pp. 49-70. In neither work, however, does Lemburg-Ruppelt treat Vico's stemma. The following works by Federica Missere Fontana are most essential for they combine vast archival research with a profound knowledge of Vico's books and manuscripts and the aims and methods of his investigations: Federica Missere Fontana, "Raccolte numismatiche e scambi antiquari del Cinquecento. Gli Stati estensi", in: *Atti e memorie, Accademia nazionale di scienze, lettere e arti, Modena*, 11, 1993-94, pp. 213-256; Eadem, "Raccolte numismatiche e scambi antiquari del secolo XVI. Enea Vico a Venezia", in: *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*, 23, 1994, pp. 343-383; Eadem, "La controversia 'monete o medaglie': nuovi documenti su Enea Vico e Sebastiano Erizzo", in: *Atti. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 153, 1, 1994-1995, pp. 61-103.; Eadem, "I progetti di studio di un antiquario del Cinquecento: Enea Vico tra Venezia e Ferrara", in: *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e*

at the lower left of the sheet; a notice to the reader (“*Candido lectori*”) appears at the lower right.² Both of these texts are significant for Vico clarifies, with remarkable succinctness, the origins of the stemma and his aims in publishing the work. At the same time the texts reveal a path to discerning the interrelatedness of Vico’s treatises and the evolution of his scholarship in the years between 1548 and 1557.³

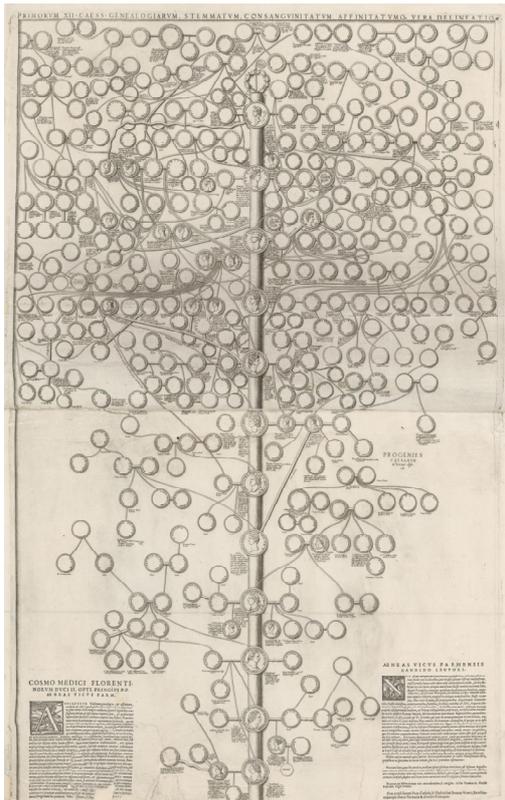


Enea Vico, *PRIMORUM XII CAESS. GENEALOGIARUM, STEMMATUM, CONSANGVINITATVM, AFFINITATVMQ(VE) VERA DELINEATIO*, 1553, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

antichità classiche, 24, 1995, pp. 379-412; Eadem, *Testimoni parlanti: le monete antiche a Roma tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, Roma: Ed. Quasar, 2009; Eadem, “Enea Vicos Numismata antiqua: Der Codex Latinus 496 der Biblioteca Estense-Universitaria zu Modena”, in: *Das Altertum*, 61, 2016, pp. 209-222.

I am grateful to Elizabeth McGrath for her reading of my manuscript, for her help and suggestions.

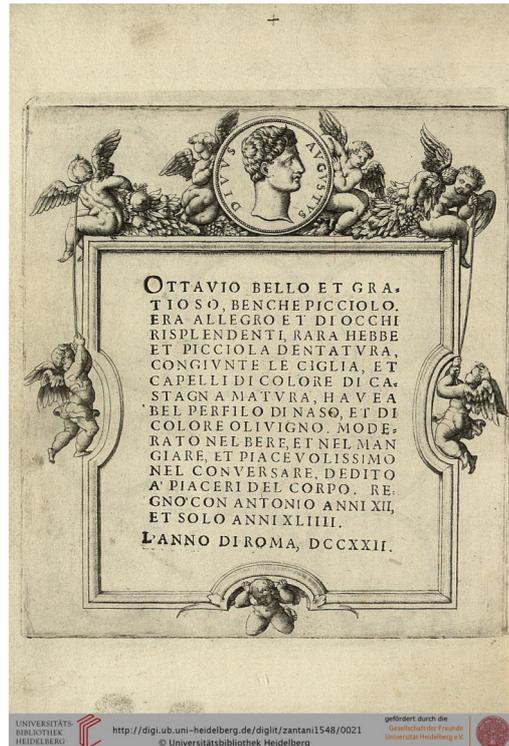
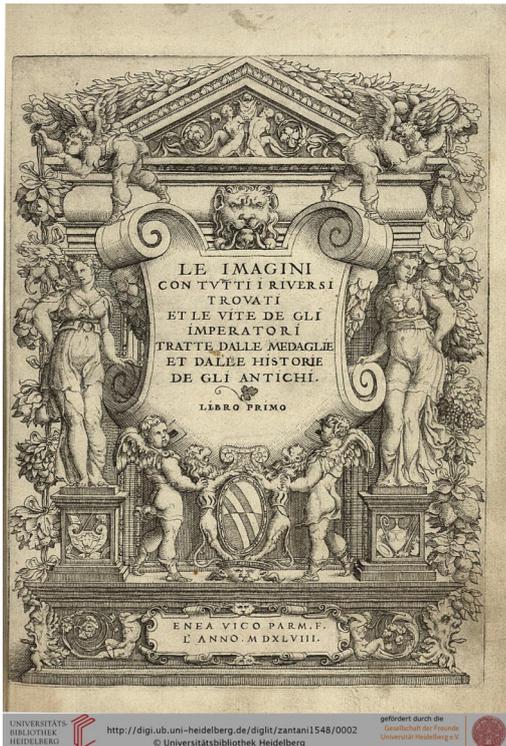
- 2 The dedication is entitled: “COSMO MEDICI FLORENTINORVM DVCI II. OPTI. PRINCIPI P.P. AENEAS VICVS PARM.” The letter to the reader is entitled: “AENEAS VICVS PARMENSIS CANDIDO LECTORI”. The 1555 folio in Munich is damaged at the foot of the inscription. Cavalca 1995 (note 1, above, pp. 555) and Bodon 1997 (note 1, pp. 108-109) furnish partial transcriptions of both texts; Peters and Rubach 2011 (note 1, above, pp. 98-100), furnish German translations of the Latin text of the dedication and the notice to the reader. The Latin texts have not as yet been transcribed and published in their entirety. See below for my transcriptions of these.
- 3 For Vico’s numismatical publications during these years, see: Antonio Zantani and Enea Vico, *Le imagini con tutti i riversi trovati et le vite de gli imperatori tratte dalle medaglie et dalle historie de gli antichi*, Libro primo, [Venezia] Enea Vico Parm. F. L’anno 1548; Antonio Zantani and Enea Vico, *Omnium Caesarum verissimae imagines ex antiquis numismatis desumptae. Addita per breui cuiusque vitae descriptione: ac diligenti eorum, quae reperiri potuerunt numismatum, aversae partis delineatione*, Libri primi, Editio altera, Aeneas Vicus Parm. F., 1553; Enea Vico, *Discorsi di M. Enea Vico Parmigiano, sopra le medaglie de gli antichi divisi in due libri. Ove si dimostrano notabili errori di scrittori antichi, e moderni, intorno alle historie Romane*. Con due tavole, l’una de’ capitoli; l’altra delle cose piu notabili. Al magnanimo et invittiss. Signore, il S. Cosimo De’ Medici, Duca II. di Fiorenza. O.P.D.P., In Vinegia: Appresso Gabriel Giolito De Ferrari, et Fratelli, 1555 (second, revised ed. 1558; see below note 19); Enea Vico, *Le imagini delle donne auguste intagliate in istampa di rame: con le vite et isposizioni di Enea Vico, sopra i riversi delle loro medaglie antiche*, Libro primo, In Vinegia: Appresso Enea Vico Parmigiano, et Vincenzo Valgrisio, All’insegna d’Erasmus, 1557.



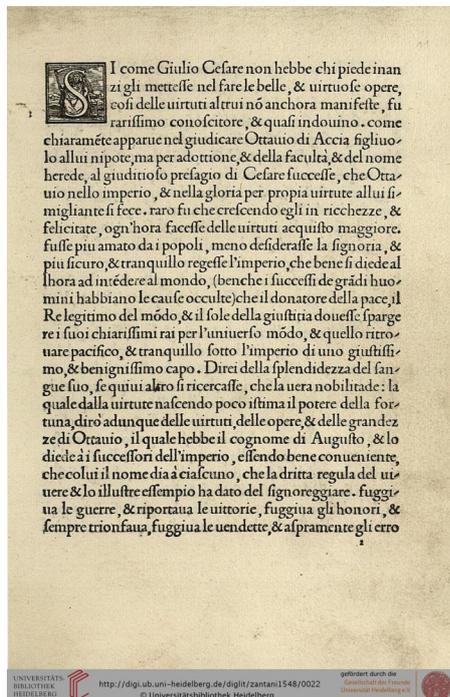
Enea Vico, *PRIMORUM XII CAESS. GENEALOGIARUM, STEMMATUM, CONSANGVINITATVM, AFFINITATVMQ(VE) VERA DELINEATIO* The third state of 1555, München, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung

The genealogical tree is closely related to Vico's first numismatic work, published together with Antonio Zantani in 1548: *Le imagini con tutti i riversi trovati et le vite de gli imperatori tratte dalle medaglie et dalle historie de gli antichi, Libro primo*.⁴ Indeed, the stemma might be considered an offshoot of his research for the *Imagini*. Vico and Zantani, in this earliest of scholarly numismatic treatises, provide images of imperial coin obverses with the effigy of each emperor, a brief note in the form of an inscription below the coin image, and a short *vita* drawn to a large extent from Sueton. The *vite* (by Zantani) are followed by meticulous engravings (by Vico) of all of the coin reverses of the emperors that they had found.

4 Zantani and Vico 1548 (note 3, above). See also: *Antonio Zantani's 'Lives of the Emperors'*, edited, with an introduction by Margaret Daly Davis, Heidelberg 2014 (FONTES 79): <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2014/2210>.



Left: Antonio Zantani; Enea Vico, *Le imagini* (1548), Title page.
 Right: Obverse of coin of Caesar Augustus (Octavian) with description of his appearance and character and with the date of reign, in *Le imagini* (1548)



Left: *Vita* of Caesar Augustus by Antonio Zantani, first of 2 1/3 pages of text in *Le imagini* (1548)
 Right: First of twelve pages of coin reverses of Caesar Augustus by Enea Vico

The number of reverses illustrated by Vico is impressive: there are no fewer than 550 detailed and very beautiful representations in the book. The authors, however, chose not to provide an elucidation or explanation (i.e., '*dichiaratione*' or '*ispositione*') of these images.

Zantani offers a justification for this: while many scholars, applying diligence accompanied by knowledge and good judgement, might compose refined and accurate interpretations of the reverses, there were many others who were prone to guess rashly rather than to seek the truth carefully. Thus the author preferred to leave the task of interpretation to the judgement of scholars, who, with the help of ancient writings, might reveal their wonderful (“*belle*”) but hidden meanings: “*Per questa cagione ho giudicato essere à bastanza travagliarmi nella inventione, et varietà di molte Medaglie, et porgere quelle à giudiciosi huomini, lasciando loro il campo aperto, et libero di ritrovare le intelligenze belle, et secrete delle cose per via delle historie*”.⁵ Clearly, however, during the years of preparation for the *Imagini* and in the years immediately following the publication, Vico was profoundly occupied with the meanings of the reverses he so exquisitely revived.

The *Imagini ... Libro primo*, was intended to be followed by a *Libro secondo*, which never appeared.⁶ Although manuscripts or drafts of the second book have not been identified, there are a number of scattered references in Vico’s *Discorsi ... sopra le medaglie de gli antichi* (1555) regarding the state of the work, its structure and contents. These indicate that the *Libro secondo* was far along in its composition and that it represented a radical change from the *Libro primo* of 1548. No longer organized chronologically by emperor, the images were classified thematically. The main categories devised by Vico were Religion, Politics and the Military, an arrangement ultimately deriving from the *Antiquitates* by Marcus Terentius Varro and widely disseminated in Flavio Biondo’s *Roma triumphans*.⁷ This systematization (which evidently also comprised subcategories) presupposed Vico’s having come to grips with the *vitae et res gestae* of the emperors and with broader antiquarian discussions of the mid 16th century.

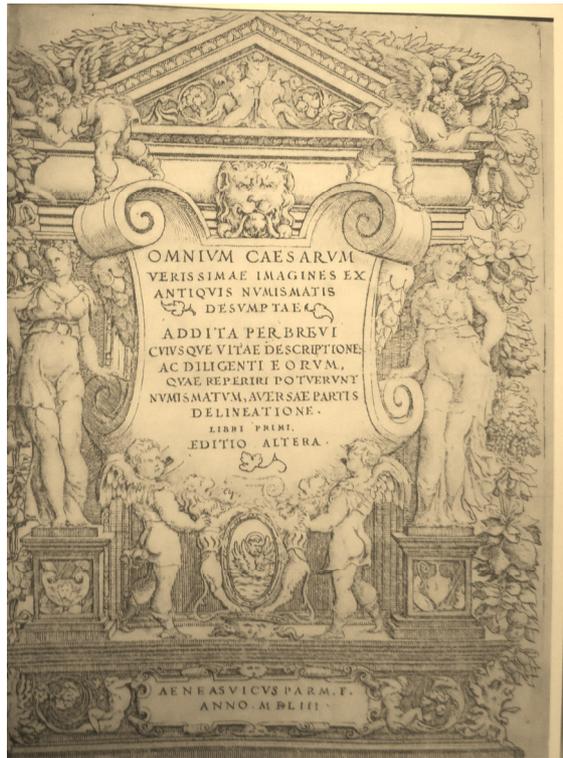
In addition to the *Libro secondo* of the *Imagini*, Vico was preparing in these same post-1548 years a revised and enlarged edition, in Latin translation, of the same *Le Imagini... Libro primo* of 1548. This appeared five years later, in 1553/1554, under the title *Omnium Caesarum verissimae imagines ex antiquis numismatis desumptae (...), Editio altera*.⁸

5 Daly Davis 2014 (note 4, above), p. 8; see Zantani and Vico 1548 (note 3, above).

6 See Margaret Daly Davis, *Enea Vico on ancient coin reverses as historical documents: verso il ‘secondo libro sopra le medaglie degli antichi’*, Heidelberg 2013 (FONTES 77), <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2013/2181>; Missere Fontana 1995 (see note 1, above), p. 384, mentions Vico’s references to the second book in the *Discorsi*. The existence of this second book, to my knowledge, has been otherwise overlooked.

7 See Daly Davis 2013 (note 6, above), p. 16, concerning *Roma triumphans* (ed. pr. 1482). In the preface to the Italian translation of 1544, *Roma trionfante*, Biondo elucidates the five sections into which he has divided the book. These are religion, government, the military, customs and usages of everyday life, and the practice of Roman triumphs: “*La quale fatica cosi immensa, la habbiamo noi in cinque parti divisa; toccando prima le cose appartenenti a la religione; appresso quelle, che al governo de la Republica appartengano; nel terzo loco poi ragionando de la disciplina, e de l’arte militare; nel quarto, de costumi, et ordini del vivere; ne l’ultimo poi del modo del Trionfare.*” (Underlining added.)

8 See note 3, above.



Enea Vico, *Omnium Caesarum verissimae imagines ex antiquis numismatis desumptae*, 1553, Titlepage

At the conclusion of this edition are appended two indices. The first index records the coins that were newly added (*Numismatum omnium in hac secunda aeditione additorum Index*), together with a list of notes and corrections of errors found in the first edition;⁹ the second index consists of a substantial catalogue of memorable names and things to be seen in Vico's engravings of the reverses (*Numismatum et rerum omnium memorabilium, quae in hoc libro sculptae visuntur Aeneae Vici Parmensis Index*).¹⁰ The entries in the second index, which reflect Vico's wide-ranging readings of ancient historical texts as well as his study of the tangible remains, now enabled him to now furnish brief identifications of subject matter as well as useful descriptions and definitions of objects represented on the reverses which aided in understanding the meaning of an image, for example:

“*Ancilia, quae sunt arma coelestia Marti consecrata, cum pileolo Martialis flaminis, in argen. Aug. 9.*”

“*Amphitheatrum, quod est spectaculorum locus ubi pugnabant gladiatores, in aere Vesp. 30.*”

“*Scabellum sacrum, quod sub pedibus simulacrorum Deorum consueverant Gentiles ponere, in aere Aug. 21. [...].*”

9 Vico 1553 (note 3, above): “Lectori advertenda, Lector modestissime, nonnulla quae aere delapso, et corruptione numismatum in nostri prima libri aeditione difficile discerni potuerunt, alijs postmodum inventis melius ab iniuria temporum conservatis correximus, cuius rei te admonere opereprecium fore existimamus.”

10 Zantani and Vico 1553 (note 3, above). This index is reproduced in: M. Daly Davis, Nachtrag / Addendum, *Three notable later editions of Antonio Zantani and Enea Vico's Le imagini [...]*, Heidelberg, Universität Heidelberg, 2014, FONTES 80 (http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2211/1/Davis_Fontes80.pdf).

Other entries in his index clarify the symbolic, or allegorical, nature of the representations:

“*Anchorae delphinus involutus, typus prudentiae, in argento Aug. 85. Titi. 8. Domit. 4. in auro eiusdem .3.*”

“*Securitatis Neronis Aug. simulacrum sedens cum ara, in aere Titi 32. Vide in eiusdem argen. 10.*”

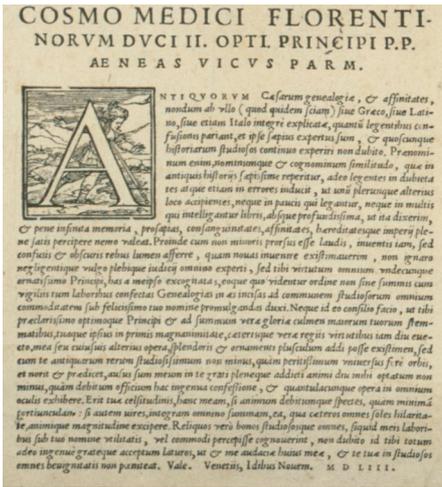
“*Stella crinita cum inscriptione, Divus. Iulius. In ludis quos faciebat Augustus Veneri Genitrici, paulo post obitum Caesaris fulsit sydus crinitum per septem dies in regione coeli sub Septentrionibus, et oriebatur circa undecimam horam. Creditum est animam esse Caesaris in coelum recepti, in argen. Aug. 14. 15.*”

These rather remarkable thirty pages, in addition to being a guide to the broad subject matter of *Omnium Caesarum ... Imagines*, testify to the extent and depth of Vico's antiquarian and historical studies in the year subsequent to the publication of the *Imagini* of 1548. At the same time his succinct entries (which by no means cover the whole work) represent the foundation for more comprehensive and specific explanations of the reverses.¹¹

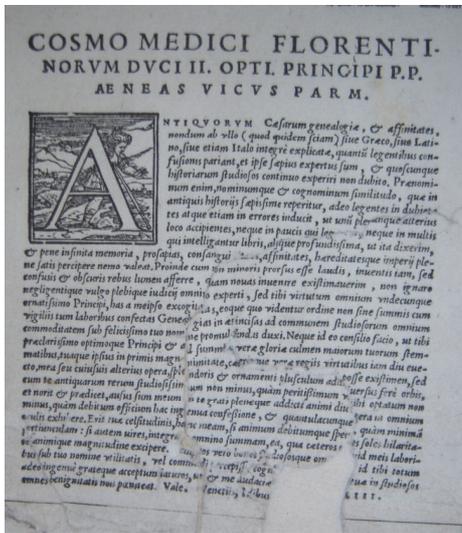
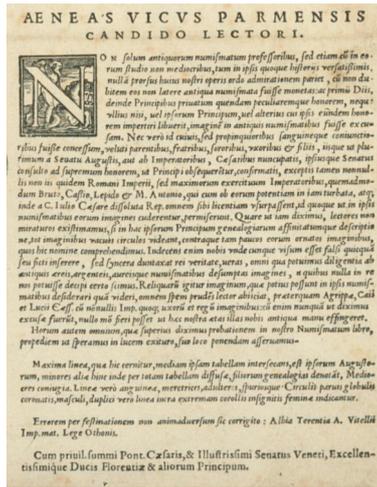
Vico's assiduous readings of the ancient authors and the research he undertook for these earliest of his numismatic works – 1) the *Imagini, Libro primo* (1548); 2) the never-issued *Imagini, Libro secondo*; and 3) the revised and enlarged Latin edition of the *Imagini* of 1548, i.e., *Omnium Caesarum ... Imagines* (1553/1554) – will have been inevitably frustrating. Vico was more frequently than not confronted with contradictory, confusing, incomplete and erroneous information in the written sources concerning the emperors and their families, their lives and deeds, their titles and offices, all of which impeded a correct understanding and interpretation of their coin reverses. His own careful and comparative reading of the historical sources in light of the additional evidence provided by additional coins as well as gems and inscriptions, allowed him to resolve numerous discrepancies in the literature, to establish an accurate overview of the emperors' kinships and to verify facts, deeds and events recorded in the ancient books.

Vico explained the difficulties he encountered and his procedures for resolving these in the concise texts of the dedication to Cosimo de' Medici and notice to the reader mentioned above.

11 These brief entries, in fact, reach 'maturity' in Vico's *Donne auguste* (note 3, and below, note 53). See Missere Fontana 1995 (note 1, above), pp. 382-383, who notes that the index contains, “*brevi frasi, quasi 'dichiarazioni', [...] sulla base della descrizione e soprattutto della interpretazione del loro contenuto*”. Missere Fontana 2016 (note 1, above) also calls attention to a manuscript in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena (Cod. 496), pertaining to the *Omnium Caesarum ... Imagines* (see note 53, below).



Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinitatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1553. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.



Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinitatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.



At the outset of his dedication to Cosimo, Vico states that the genealogies of the ancient emperors had not been completely explained, as far as he knew, by any writer – Greek, Latin or Italian. They presented problems, however, and he presumed this to be not only his own experience but also that of other students of ancient history. The similarity of the “*praenomina*”, “*nomina*” and “*cognomina*” (given names, first names which signified the *gens*, and family names) found in the writings of ancient historians will lead a reader to doubt and error. He will often wrongly understand one name for another [and, consequently, one person for another] and there would seem to be no one, without profound knowledge and an almost infinite memory, capable of keeping in mind all the clans, blood relatives, in-laws and descendants. For this reason, he decided to publish the genealogical tree that he had drawn up with great care and with much labor in its arrangement. He engraved the stemma on copper for the benefit of all learned men: “*ad communem studiosorum omnium commoditatem*”.

Vico’s synoptic vision of the genealogies is still today considered valid: “– bis auf wenige Schreibfehler und kleinere Irrtümer in einer noch heute gültigen Form gelungen”.¹²

In his notice to the reader (“*Candido lectori*”) Vico states that his genealogical tree should be valuable not only to numismatists but also to distinguished scholars who had proved themselves gifted in historical research.¹³ He notes his conviction that ancient “*medaglie*” served as currency;¹⁴ he further informs his reader that portrait images on coins were initially restricted to representations of the gods, and later the emperors, as a kind of private and special honor. No one other than the Caesars themselves, or those whom they had authorised, might have his image represented on a coin. It was a privilege awarded solely to the emperor’s family members, that is, to blood relatives such as parents, siblings, wives and children.¹⁵ Vico admits, however, that images of others, generals of large armies, for instance, had been struck on coins, and he names Brutus, Cassius, Lepidus and Marcus Antonius. These were men who took advantage of their power, usurping such liberties for themselves.¹⁶ He explains further that the reader should not be surprised that so many of the circles for which there are names remain empty of likenesses, for he had found no images of these persons and it was his intention to show only authentic portraits found on gold, silver and bronze coins. When no portrait was to be found, he invented none in its place.¹⁷

Lastly, Vico informs the reader that the topics touched upon in the dedication and notice to the reader will be found, more extensively treated, in his book on numismatics to appear shortly.¹⁸ He is referring, of course, to his *Discorsi ... sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*, also dedicated to Cosimo de’ Medici and published in 1555.¹⁹ On the evidence of this statement, which seems to have been overlooked until now, the *Discorsi* must have existed in a finished,

12 Peter; Rubach 2011 (note 1, above), p. 87; Peter; Rubach 2016 (note 1, above), p. 202, “Seine präzise Aufbereitung der verwandtschaftlichen (auch der weit entfernten) Beziehungen des julisch-claudischen und des flavischen Kaiserhauses besitzt noch heute weitgehend Gültigkeit.”

13 See transcription below: “*Non solum antiquorum numismatum professoribus, sed etiam cum in eorum studio non mediocribus, tum in ipsis quoque historiis versatissimis, nullam prorsus huius nostris operis ordo admirationem pariet, cum non dubitem eos non latere antiqua numismata fuisse monetas [...]*”. See partial transcription in Bodon 1997 (note 1, above), p. 109.

14 Vico’s conviction is not shared by many of his contemporaries, particularly Sebastiano Erizzo, who believed them to have been intended as celebratory medals. See Missere Fontana 1994-1995 (note 1, above).

15 See transcription below: “[...] *ac priorum Diis, deinde Principibus privatumque quendam peculiaremque honorem, neque ullius nisi, vel ipsorum Principum, vel alterius cui ipsis eundem honorem impertiri libuerit, imaginem in antiquis numismatibus fuisse excussam. Nec vero id cuivis, sed propinquioribus sanguineque coniunctioribus fuisse concessum, veluti parentibus, fratribus, sororibus, uxoribus et filiis [...]*”. See partial transcription in Bodon 1997 (note 1, above), p. 109.

16 See transcription below below: “[...] *qui cum ob eorum potentiam in iam turbata, atque inde a C. Iulio Caesare dissoluta Rep. omnem sibi licentiam usurpassent, id quoque ut in ipsis numismatibus eorum imagines cuderentur, permiserunt.*” See partial transcription in Bodon 1997 (note 1, above), p. 109.

17 See transcription below below: “*Indecens enim nobis undecumque visum esset falsi quicquam seu ficti inserere, sed sincera duntaxat rei veritate, veras, omni qua potuimus diligentia ab antiquis aereis, argenteis, aureisque numismatibus desumptas imagines, a quibus nulla in re nos potuisse decipi certo scimus.*” See partial transcription in Bodon 1997 (note 1, above), p. 109.

18 See Appendix II below: “*Horum autem omnium, quae superius diximus probationem in nostro Numismatum libro, propediem ut speramus in lucem exituro, suo loco ponendam asservamus.*”

19 Vico 1555 (note 3, above). A second, revised edition of the *Discorsi* appeared three years later: Enea Vico, *Discorsi di M. Enea Vico Parmigiano sopra le medaglie de gli antichi divisi in due libri. Ove si dimostrano notabili errori di scrittori antichi, e moderni, intorno alle historie Romane. Con due Tavole, l’una de’ Capitoli, l’altra delle cose piu notabili*, In Vinegia: Appresso Gabriel Giolito De Ferrari, 1558.

or nearly finished state some two years prior to publication, a fact that further underlines the intensity of Vico's numismatic research following the publication of the *Imagini* (1548). In fact, between 1548 and 1553, Vico brought to fruition: 1) the manuscript for the never printed second book of the *Imagini*, 2) the enlarged, amended and copiously indexed Latin edition of the *Imagini* (*Omnium Caesarum verissimae Imagines*), 3) the manuscript of the *Discorsi ... sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*, and 4) the genealogical tree, all in all, an astounding intellectual and artistic achievement.

Vico concludes his notice to the reader with an explanation of the construction of the synoptic table: the thick trunk dividing the page in the middle shows the twelve Caesars; middle-sized lines lead to the images of their spouses; smaller lines found all over the plate refer to the emperors' sons and daughters. Finally, wavy lines indicate lovers, adulterers and illegitimate offspring ("*meretrices*", "*adulteros*", "*spuriosque*"). Circles with a pearl rim indicate males, with a double-outlined rim, females.

Vico's *Discorsi ... sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*, almost ready to go to press in 1553 and printed in 1555,²⁰ indeed treats in a very comprehensive manner many of the themes alluded to in an abbreviated form in the dedication to Cosimo de' Medici and in the note to the *candido lectori* of the stemma. Consisting of two books on the nobility and utility of coins ("*Della nobiltà delle medaglie antiche*"; "*Della utilità delle medaglie antiche*"), the *Discorsi* opens with an *elogio* by Lodovico Dolce to Cosimo de' Medici, inspired by Vico's engraved portrait of the Duke on the reverse of that page. Vico's dedication of the book to "*Cosimo de' Medici, Duca secondo di Fiorenza*" and his *Proemio* to the two books of *Discorsi* follow. A list of the chapters of both books is then provided ("*Tavola de' capitoli del primo libro*", "*Capitoli del secondo libro*") and, subsequently, a list of writers whom the author holds to be in error ("*Scrittori accusati*") as well as a long list of 'authorities' cited in the work ("*Autorità citate nella presente opera*"). This latter consists not only of persons but also things, for example, *Camei antichi*, *Gemme intagliate*, *Iscrittioni di marmo*, *Medaglie antiche*. Vico concludes with the names of the antiquarians in whose possession were found the coins and other objects cited in the books ("*Anticarii nomati, nelle cui mani al presente si trovavano le Medaglie, e l'altre cose citate in questi libri*"). Vico's very diverse and informative chapters of the *Discorsi* provided an essential guideline and manual, as well as a source for contemporary and later antiquarians and numismatists.

The *Proemio* to the *Discorsi* opens with the not infrequent observation that one might be inclined to doubt the greatness of the Roman empire, recounted by the historians, were it not for the fragments of the city still remaining. Vico notes the marvellous ruins – the arches, inscriptions, coins, statues, cameos and engraved gems – and, in a significant aside, adds that it was his intention to compose books about all of these genres of ancient remains. Here, however, he was undertaking a book on coins – on their nobility and usefulness – which

20 Vico 1555 (note 3, above).

should direct the reader along the path of truthful history (“*indirizandone sul corso della vera historia*”).²¹

Fulfilling his promise, that topics briefly touched upon in the dedication and notice to the reader of the stemma would be treated more extensively in his soon-to-appear work, Vico points out in the *Proemio* to the *Discorsi* that numerous errors were to be found in the works of the most illustrious ancient and modern writers regarding the years of the emperors’ reigns and their deeds, as well as their correct names, first names (*prenomi*), given names (*nomi*), family names (*cognomi*) and by-names (*agnomi*). He writes further of mistakes in orthography and portraiture, as well as simple factual errors, the number of times, for instance, an emperor held the office of Consul, as well as his honors, titles and the like: “[...] e si scorgono molti notabili errori di piu illustri scrittori, cosi antichi, come moderni, intorno a gli anni dell’Imperio de’ Cesari, intorno a’ gesti, intorno a’ prenomi, nomi, cognomi, et agnomi; intorno all’ortographia, intorno alle imagini, intorno a’ numeri di Consolati, intorno a gli honori, i titoli d’essi Cesari [...]”. All of these things will be verified in the *Discorsi*, he assures the reader of the *Proemio*, according to the evidence of inscriptions and by comparing the texts of different historians, some in Greek, others in Latin, and still others in Italian, according to those texts that seemed to Vico to be the best, having first explained the sense of the narratives in such a way that both the learned and those less learned would remain satisfied: “tutti queste cose affermando con l’autorità de’ marmi, e degli istessi storici con porre le istesse parole loro, dove in Greco, dove in Latino, e dove in Italiano, secondo che mi è parso meglio, havendo primieramente in nostra favella narrata il senso della cosa; accioche i dotti, e quegli che dotti non sono, ugualmente rimangono sodisfatti...”.²²

Vico’s perforce very briefly stated belief in the dedication of the stemma, that “*medaglie*” were coins, that is currency, is the argument of the first five chapters of Book I of the *Discorsi* (pp. 17-34), so listed in his “*Tavola de’ capitoli del primo libro*”:

Cap. I: *Si tratta della permutatione innanzi al danaio, e come esso fu indotto per legge.*

Cap. II: *Qual piu necessario sia, o la permutatione, o vero il danaio.*

Cap. III: *De gl’inventori del danaio.*

Cap. IV: *De’ varii nomi della moneta.*

Cap. V: *Che le medaglie appresso gli antichi erano monete, e si spendevano a honor di chi elle furono fatte, e che dicono le due lettere S.C.*

21 See Vico 1555 (note 3, above), “*Proemio*”, p. 11: “*Il Senato, e Popolo Romano, si come è stato il maggiore, et piu bellicoso, et ha havuto il piu grande Imperio di tutte l’altre nationi del mondo; cosi ha dato à diversi scrittori ampia materia, e largo camp di narrare maravigliosi fatti, i quali alle orecchie nostre sono si grande pervenuti, che per avventura molti dubitare ne potrebbero, se i fragmenti dell’antica Città, le mirabili rovine, gli archi, le iscrizioni, le medaglie, le statue, i camei, e le intagliate gemme, non ne rendessero apertissima testimonianza. Delle quali cose havendo io in animo, nell’avvenire per testimonio di ciò, darne in in (sic) luce piu libri, (se cosi dal sommo Rettore della humana vita mi sarà concesso) hora quello, che nelle medaglie loro si contenga, cosi la nobiltà, et utilità, ch’elle indirizandone sul corso della vera historia, ci possono dare, in parte, come per breve essemplio, in questi due di *Discorsi*, per ordine ho descritto; accioche con l’industria mia, sia noto ad ogniuno che gli leggerà, il fine che reca l’honesta diletatione delle medaglie antiche [...]*” N.B. The underlined phrase was omitted in the edition of 1558 (note 19, above); “*Vera historia*” should be best understood not as ‘true history’ or ‘*wahre Geschichte*’, but rather as ‘truthful’, or ‘*wahrheitsgetreue*’ history, or better, historical truth (see below, Cunnally 1999, at note 27).

22 See Vico 1555 (note 3, above), “*Proemio*”, pp. 11-12.

Vico's assertion in the dedication to Cosimo regarding the difficulty to be encountered frequently in distinguishing historical personages owing to the similarity of the "praenomina", "nomina" and "cognomina" is not only treated in the "Proemio" to the *Discorsi*, but also in Book I, Chapter XI, dedicated to what was to be found on coin reverses: "*Che cosa si contenga ne' reversi delle medaglie de' Cesari*": "*Appresso vi si veggono gli anni dell'Imperio di ciascun Cesare: Le provincie, e nationi soggiogate: I trionfi, le città privilegiate, e fatte Colonie. I gesti, i prenomi, i nomi, i cognomi, e gli agnomi veri di essi Consoli, Imperadori, e Cesari; le effigie, le imagini, e somiglianze verissime; le dignità, gli honori, i magistrati, et i titoli per merito, e per adulatione ricevuti dal Senato, et Popolo Romano.*" (Underlining added.) He concludes the chapter noting the importance of the reverses for "*La forma de' caratteri, l'ortographia del scrivere; significati, et altre ingeniose e belle imprese, non in una sola, ma in piu medaglie si trovano.*"²³

In the second book of the *Discorsi*, on the "utilità delle medaglie", that is, on the advantages that all literary men and scholars of ancient history may draw from the study of coins, other topics that Vico briefly mentioned in the dedication to Cosimo and in his notice to the "candido lectore" are numerous.²⁴ This is documented, in fact, in ten of the twelve chapters of *Libro II* (I, IV-XII, pp. 73-83; 85-111) which treat (I) the correct number of years an emperor reigned and the mistaken information given by historians (specifically treating Nerva and Trajan (see below); (IV) notable errors of modern writers concerning the *prenomi* of the ancients; (V) notable errors in ancient writings regarding the *nomi* of the emperors and others; (VI) errors of numerous ancient writers regarding the *cognomi* of the ancients; (VII) some of the *agnomi* of the emperors found on coins but not found in historical writings; (VIII) false images of ancient men found in modern printed books on coins, shown to be so on the evidence of their portraits in ancient carvings, i.e., statuary, busts, gems, cameos and similar objects; (IX) honors (*dignità*), awarded to the emperors; (X) their magistratures (*Magistrati*); (XI) their titles (*titoli*); and finally, (XII) how coins ornament, that is illustrate and enliven, historical writings.

Cap. I: *De gli anni dell'Imperio di due Principi [Nerva, Traiano], e dela falsa opinione de gli scrittori intorno a quelli.*

Cap. IV: *Di alcuni notabili errori di moderni scrittori intorno a prenomi de gli antichi.*

Cap. V: *D'altri errori notabili di scrittori antichi intorno a' nomi de gl'Imperadori, e di altri.*

Cap. VI: *De gli errori di più scrittori intorno a' cognomi de gli antichi.*

Cap. VII: *D'alcuni agnomi d'Imperadori, che nelle medaglie antiche si trovano, e nelle historie non si leggono.*

²³ See Vico 1555 (note 3, above), p. 48. Well-constructed and precisely formulated discourses by Hubertus Goltzius and, following him, Sebastiano Erizzo, on the usefulness of numismatics (see Henning Wrede, "Der Nutzen der Numismatik bei Hubert Goltzius", in: *Translatio nummorum: römische Kaiser in der Renaissance*, ed. Ulrike Peter; Bernhard Weisser, Mainz; Ruppolding: Rutzen, 2013, pp. 91-100) have definite similarities, even overlaps, with Vico's Chapter XI, which we will treat elsewhere.

²⁴ Vico 1555 (note 3, above), p. 73, "*Nel passato libro havendosi dimostrata la nobiltà delle medaglie; hora si dirà del frutto, e della utilità, che trar ne puo ciascuno letterato, e studioso delle historie antiche; provando con gli errori di molti honorati scrittori, che non vi posero debito studio, queste esser grandemente necessarie alla lettione historica, e frutto saporito de gli huomini dotti [...].*"

- Cap. VIII: *Delle immagini false di antichi huomini stampate in piu libri di medaglie, provate con l'autorità delle monete, de gl'intagli, de Camei, e simili cose antiche.*
- Cap. IX: *Delle dignità, che si raccolgono dalle medaglie.*
- Cap. X: *Che Magistrati de gliantiche nelle medaglie si trovano.*
- Cap. XI: *De' Titoli, che nelle medaglie de gli antichi si trovano.*
- Cap. XII: *Che le medaglie antiche sono di molto ornamento alle historie.*²⁵

Neither in the dedication of the stemma to Cosimo de' Medici nor in his notice to the reader does Vico comment upon the ancient writers whose works represent a foundation for his genealogical tree. Nonetheless, in his historical research, Vico consulted, abridged, summarized and, as the case required, corrected, improved and augmented these works and they are sometimes cited in briefest form next to the coin image on the stemma. Furthermore, throughout his writings, and particularly in the *Discorsi*, Vico notes the role of numismatics and epigraphy in the service of historical truth. Corrupt texts might be amended by recourse to images and inscriptions on coins of gold, silver and bronze (*rame*) as well as in stone for, owing to their material, these had survived unaltered but for the natural consequences of time. Portraits and inscriptions on coin obverses and images and inscriptions on reverses provide accurate likenesses of the emperors as well as their correct given names, first names, family names and by-names, the titles and honours that had been awarded to them, their offices and the number of times they held these offices. At the same time, the images on reverses, particularly those of religious, military or political character, were often explicable solely through ancient writings.²⁶ In these reciprocal investigations Vico furnishes, as John Cunnally affirms, a “remarkable argument for the primacy of coins over literary evidence in determining historical truth”.²⁷

25 Vico 1555 (note 3, above). The last book, on the ornament provided by coin images to the recounting of ancient history, is discussed by Daly Davis 2013 (note 6, above), pp. 19-22, and Appendix V.

26 Vico 1555 (note 3, above), p. 48, Book I, chapter XI: “*Che cosa si contenga ne' riversi delle Medaglie de' Cesari*”; Book I, chapter XII: “*Perche le sopradette cose da gli antichi furono dimostrate in medaglie*”, and for his use of inscriptions, Book II, chapter XI, “*De' titoli diversi, che nelle medaglie de gli antichi si trovano*”. For a more extensive discussion and extracts from Vico's text, see Daly Davis 2013 (note 6, above), pp. 11-18. See also here below for Vico's chapter in the *Discorsi* on the emperors Nerva and Trajan.

27 See John Cunnally's discussion of the role of numismatics and epigraphy for historiography, in: *Images of the Illustrious: the numismatic presence in the Renaissance*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 134-135: “The second part [of Vico's *Discorsi*] explains how the inscriptions on coins can be used by scholars to ascertain historical facts, such as the correct names and titles of the emperors, with examples of *errori notabili* found in the ancient and modern historians, which Vico corrects by citing the numismatic evidence. Vico argues for the primacy of coin evidence over the word of the historians not only because the former is a primary, contemporary source, unaffected by the vagaries of copyists and editors, but because it is public and official in character. After enumerating the various kinds of objects, figures, and scenes that can be found on antique coins, Vico delivers a remarkable argument for the primacy of coins over literary evidence in determining historical truth: ‘Not without the best of judgement were these things made by the ancients like public records in bronze, silver and gold, but especially in bronze, because this material is more secure, more truthful, and sustains the name and memory of past things more eternally than does the pen. For medals are corporeal figures, a history that keeps silent and displays the truth [*Perchè le medaglie sono figure de' corpi, e historia che tace, e dimostra il vero*] whereas words are images and pictures of the souls who speak, and they say whatever they please. Hence the former were made in those days by public decree and by the will of the Senate, for the honor and glory of the princes; while the latter were said and written for private ends. Medals verify the things that have been narrated truthfully, and they correct and amend the things that were written falsely.’” Cunnally's analysis, in addition, permits a significant revision or modification of Arnaldo Momigliano's thesis regarding antiquarian and historical research. Cunnally states, “Vico exhibits that ‘distinction between original and derivative authorities’ that Momigliano considered the

Fourteen ancient writers cited by Vico on the *Stemma* as sources are: Appian, Asconius Peditanus, Cassius Dio, Cicero, Lucius Annaeus Florus, Flavius Josephus, Paulus Orosius, Philostratus, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Plutarch, Sextus Aurelius Victor, Sueton and Tacitus. Four modern writers upon whose works he drew (also in their capacity as editors of ancient texts) are: Filippo Beroaldo the Elder, Leonardo Bruni, Johannes Ravisius [Johannes Ravisius Textor, Jean Tixier de Ravisi], and Marco Antonio Sabellico.

In addition to noting his textual sources, Vico also points out those images on the stemma which derived directly from a coin (“*numisma*”), for instance: 1) “GERMANICVS CAESAR TI. AVG. F. DIVI AVG. N.” and 2) “DOMITIA AVG. DOMITIANI IMP.”²⁸

In his brief gloss for Germanicus, Vico notes that the image derives from a coin and he names his ancient historical sources for the genealogy: “*Numisma. Obiit in Anthiochia fraude Tiberij a Cn. Pisone. Dion, et Suet. In Caio.*” Similarly for Domitia, Vico derives his gloss pertaining to Domitia’s *vita* from Sueton and Sextus Aurelius Victor: “*Abducta à Lamia et Repudiata ut capta amor e’ Paridis. Et infra breve tempus ab Imp. Reducta, in consilio coniuratorum ob amorem Paridis adfuit. Suet. Et Sex. Aurel. Divi Caesaris mater.*” And, he adds, such a bronze coin of Domitia was found in his own study: “*Vide numisma aereum vetus quod a me inter cubiculares colitur.*”²⁹

basis of the modern method of historical research, and which did not enjoy general acceptance until the eighteenth century”. See Cunnally’s note 4.

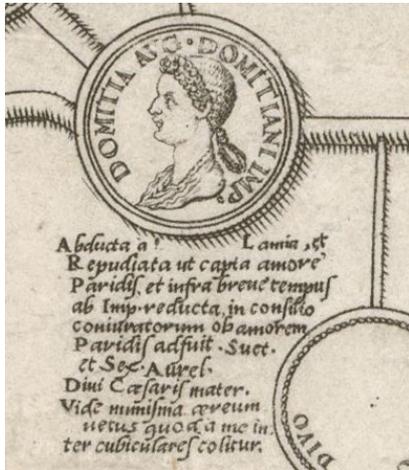
28 Further examples listed in Peter; Rubach 2011 (note 1, above), pp. 84-85. In his preface to the *Imagini delle donne auguste* (1557; note 3, above), entitled “*Alli studiosi dell’ antichità, Proemio*” Vico explained his models for coin portraits: there were those found in the *Illustrium* imagines of 1517 and those he had taken directly from coins: “*Le imagine predette, (perche da me non rimangiate ingannati) non tutte ho tratte da antico essemplio, ne meno ce ne ho fatte da mia testa, perche è cosa indegna di nome di historia, il fingere quelle cose, che non sono, ma una parte e tratta dal libro composto da diversi, et in maggior parte da Andrea Fulvio, et dedicato al Cardinale Sadoletti, sotto l’ Imperio di Leone X Pontefice, l’ anno M.D.XVII. Le quali, se veramente da medaglie antiche, da intaglii, o pur da statue siano state tratte, questo per certezza non ho: tuttavia per non lasciare i luoghi vacui, non ho voluto lasciare di porcelle, lasciando in quello, che è fuor dell’ opera mia, l’ opinione libera a ciaschuno, dove vedrete, che in alcune tavole habbiamo posta et la imagine del detto libro, et la nostra antica, si come piu di sotto si dimostrerà per registro. L’ altra parte, non devete dubitare, che non sta simigliantissima alle vere antiche medaglie loro, percioche a’ suoi luoghi vi si allegga il testimonio delle persone, che le possegono.*” Vico then lists fifty-seven images in the *Donne auguste* that were taken from Andrea Fulvio’s book, and twelve that were based on coins. See Ulrich Pfisterer, “Medaillenkunde auf dem Weg zur Wissenschaft”, in: *Lysippus und seine Freunde. Liebesgaben und Gedächtnis in Rom der Renaissance, oder: Das erste Jahrhundert der Medaille*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008, pp. 129-203, in particular pp. 160-169.

29 Vico also refers to the coin in the *Discorsi* (1555), pp. 93-94: “*E Domitia moglie di Domitiano vi si conosce chiaramente essere stata fatta ad imaginatione. Io di questa ho la medaglia antica di rame, con molto differente volto, abbigliamento di capo, e lettere, DOMITIA. AVG. IMP. CAES. DIVI. F. DOMITIAN. AVG. e nel reverso la figura di lei a sedere con uno altare dinanzi con iscrizione, DIVI CAES. MATRI. Una simile d’ argento ha il Reverendiss. D’ Aquilea, col figliuolo nato di lei, e di Domitiano; già morto, e collocato fra le stelle de’ suoi parenti in cielo, e segnato nel reverso con iscrizione tale, PIVS [sic] CAESAR IMP. DOMITIANVS. De’ quali Statio Papinio fa mentione nella prima Selva, dicendo.*”

*‘Dum Romana dies: huc et sub nocte silenti
Cum superis terrena placent, tua turba relicto
Labetur coelo: miscebitque oscula iuxta:
Ibit in amplexus natus, fraterque, paterque
Et soror: una locum cervix dabit omnibus astris.’”*



Left: Germanicus, in: Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555.
Right: Germanicus (brother of Claudius), RIC 106.



Left: Domitia, in: Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555 (ed.pr. 1553); Right: Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian. Augusta (RIC 681)

The fourteen ancient authors cited on the stemma represent, however, only a selection of the sources Vico read, excerpted, compared and classified in these years. The two indices to



Ancient coin of Domitia; Deified infant son of Domitian & Domitia, seated left on celestial orb, reaching out to seven stars above.

the *Discorsi* of 1555 (“*Scrittori accusati*” and “*Autorità citate nella presente opera*”)³⁰ and the index to Vico’s *Imagini delle donne auguste* of 1557 (“*Tavola delle autori cittati [sic] in piu luoghi dell’opera*”), name, in fact, more than sixty further ancient writers whose works he consulted and drew upon at the time.³¹ Thus altogether in these indices Vico lists some 86 ancient and modern writers, several anonymous works and, as mentioned above, material objects, that is, “*Camei antichi*”, “*Gemme intagliate*”, “*Iscritzioni di marmo*” and “*Medaglie antiche*”, which provided him with further evidence and corroboration.

A very instructive example of how Vico read and interpreted the ancient writings for determining the lineage, lives and deeds of the emperors is found in Book II, Chapter I, of the *Discorsi*, treating the reigns of Nerva and Trajan and the often erroneous opinions of ancient writers: “*De gli anni dell’Imperio di due Principi, e della falsa opinione de gli Scrittori intorno a quelli*”.³² In this chapter, which runs over eleven pages, Vico establishes the correct names of the emperors, Nerva and Trajan, the number of years they reigned, their personal characteristics and their titles, or *dignità*. He recounts the many discrepancies to be encountered in the written histories and how he resolved these by means of comparison and verification with inscriptions in metal and stone. A close reading of his long citations from the written sources for Nerva – the first six are ancient, the last five modern – is exemplary for understanding his methods of extracting and organizing source material for present and future use. Regarding the written sources for the reign of Nerva, he names a number of historians, ancient and modern, who disagree with one another, falling into error: “*tra essi discordarono con error loro intorno a’ tempi dello Imperio di Nerva, Dione, Aurelio Vittore, Eutropio, Orosio, Cassiodoro, Eusebio Cesariense, Platina, Cuspiniano, Modognetto, l’Autore delle Medaglie di Roma, et Egnatio*”. He points out the contradictions and divergencies in the biographies and offers resolutions to these based upon the evidence of the inscriptions on the emperor’s coins. Thus he establishes the correct number of years of Nerva’s rule, his true name, titles and offices. At the same time Vico takes cognizance of the events recounted in the life and reign of Nerva to which the allegorical figures on the reverses – *Libertà*, *Fortuna*, *Equità* and others – refer. Moreover, he notes the illustrations of relevant coins to be found in his second (unpublished) book of the *Imagini* in the parts on *religione*, *militia* and *politica*:

“Dione scrive, Nerva haver regnato un’anno, e quattro mesi: Eutropio uno, e quattro mesi, et otto giorni: Aurelio Vittore dice uno anno, un mese, e dieci di. Con Dione s’accorda Eusebio nella Cronica, Cassiodoro, Cuspiniano, Platina, et Egnatio. Con Eutropio colui, che nel tempo di Leone X. Pontefice, fece il libro delle imagini illustri antiche di Roma seguitandolo

30 Vico 1555 (note 3, above), pp. 14-15; pp. 15-16.

31 Vico 1557 (note 3, above), unnumbered page. Among these are to be found: Aelius Donatus, Aelius Lampridius, Aelius Spartianus, Alexander ab Alexandro, Apuleius, Aristoteles, Cassiodorus, Cicero, Claudius Aelianus, Epicharmos, Eubulus, Euripides, Eusebius Caesariensis, Eutropius, Firmianus Lactantius, Frontinus, Hermogenian, Herodian, Herodotus, Homer, Horapollo, Horatius, Iavolenus Priscus, Julius Capitolinus, Julius Pollux, Juvenal, Livius, Lucanus, Lucilius, Macrobius, Marcus Terentius Varro, Ovid, Palaephatus, Papinius Statius, Pausanias, Petrarca, Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Plutarch, Pollienus, Porphyry, Priscianus, Quintilian, Sallust, Seneca, Silius Italicus, Solinus, Strabo, Sueton, Valerius Maximus, Valerius Probus, Vegetius, Velleius Paterculus, Vergil and Xenophon.

32 Vico 1555 (note 3, above), pp. 73-83, here pp. 73-74.

quegli d'Alemagna, e di Lione. Tuttavia le medaglie e le iscrizioni, che si veggono ne' marmi, altrimenti ci dinotano; conciosiacosa, che con la imagine di Nerva nella moneta cosi di rame, come di argento, e d'oro, col nome d'Imperadore, di Cesare, e di Augusto congiunti con la possanza Tribunitia, e col nome di Padre della patria nello scritto posto attorno della sua imagine, dal lato della medaglia, che si chiama il diritto, e per i Consolati che vi si leggono, si truova haver regnato il detto Nerva piu di ventisette mesi, e toccato, per il meno, de gli vinti otto. Per il Simulacro della Libertà pubblica nelle sue medaglie, è confermato: per quello del la sua Fortuna: dell'Equità sua: della Dea Copia: di Roma Renascente: per l'Ubidiensa de gli eserciti; per la Corona di alloro: per il Congiario: per il Frumento costituito alla plebe: per le Calunnie levate: per la Designatione dell'Imperio a Traiano, in quella parte, che si nomina reverso: e per quello che i detti autori (inavvedutamente) confermano, scrivendo Nerva assunto alla Imperiale Maiestà, queste cose haver fatte, si puo, come si dice, toccare con mano, il tempo da loro assegnatoli, portar seco errore. Questo si prova in tal modo. Nerva fu quattro volte Consolo; Cassiodoro, e Cuspiniano lo affermano, niuno lo niega, e le medaglie lo dimostrano: perche la iscrizione delle medaglie di questo Imperadore nel secondo libro da me disegnato, ma non dato in luce, a numero 19. et 20. nella parte di Religione, che è la prima, leggendosi cosi. IMP. II. COS. IIII. P. P. Dinota che Nerva fu quattro volte Consolo, e nel suo secondo Consolato era Imperadore: non di quel nome dico, che anticamente si soleva dare a' grandi Capitani de gli eserciti (perche furono di due sorti Imperadori) ma di quello, che significava tutta la Monarchia, e possanza Romana, si come seguendo piu oltre si dirà. Questo è dichiarato ancora da quattro altri reversi nella parte pur detta; da due nella parte che appartiene alla Militia che è la seconda, e da altre tante nella terza, qual è di Politica nel medesimo libro; benche i sopradetti dicono, che il primo Consolato, il secondo, et il terzo sotto Domitiano da Nerva esser stato essercitato, il che se fosse vero, forse potria cascare, che il tempo ascritto da loro de' sedici mesi, fosse conveniente: Ma perche si veggono i secondi fasci nelle monete sue, si rifiuta l'openione di questi."

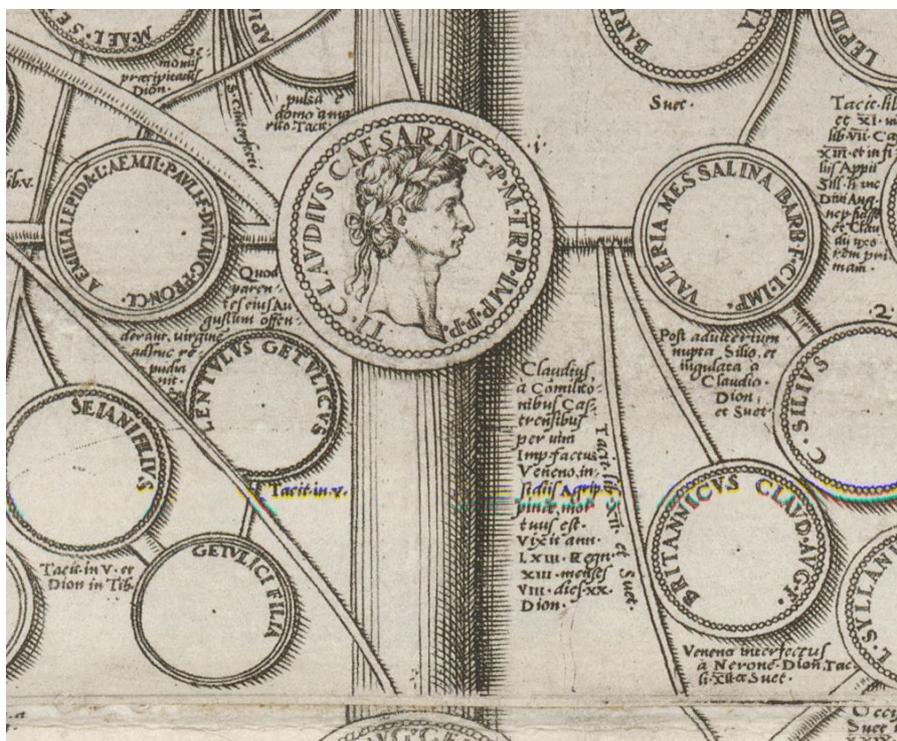
Vico's chapter, concluding with the Emperor Trajan, similarly indicates the countless errors in the historians' works: "*Non meno ne gli anni del regno di Traiano, che in quelli dell'Imperio di Nerva, s'ingannano Platino, Orosio, Dione, Aurelio Vittore, Cassiodoro, Eusebio Cesariense, l'Egnatio, il Modogneto e quegli che vogliono, che esso Traiano lo tenesse molto piu d'anni decesette (...)*". He cites their contradictory assertions and draws on the column of Trajan and its epitaph, the last honors awarded to the emperor, to resolve the controversy regarding the correct number of years of his reign: "*Hora perche questo fu l'ultimo honore che gli fu dato, è ben da credere, che la nota delle podestà Tribunitie, cio è de gli anni che regnò, non vi fosse posta falsamente. Si come voi lettori esaminando giudicar potrete*". (p. 83)

Three examples of Vico's scrupulous attention to ancient writings and *anticaglie* for his 'vera delineatione' of the imperial genealogies might stand here as exemplary. The first, treating the emperor Claudius, is, as are most, quite brief; the second and third, treating the Livia Drusilla, the third wife of Augustus, and Antonia Minor, mother of the Emperor Claudius, show more extensive applications of his source material and, at the same time, document the interdependency of his investigations.³³

³³ See Peter; Rubach 2011 (note 1, above), p. 102, no. 268, and note 162, for a brief descriptive entry on the coin of Claudius.

1) The Emperor Claudius

In his gloss to the emperor Claudius's coin image, Vico notes the proclamation of Claudius as Emperor on the part of his soldiers in their camp, Claudius' death by poisoning at the hands of his wife Agrippina, and the number of years Claudius lived and reigned.



Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555 (ed.pr. 1553), detail of coin of Claudius with biographical gloss.

His annotation reads: “*Claudius, / à Comilito-/ nibus Cas-/ trentibus / per [...] / Imp. factus / Veneno in-/ sidiis Agrip-/ pinae, mor / tuus est. / Vixit ann. / LXIII. Regn. / XIII. menses / VIII. dies .xx- / Dion.*”

In addition to his reference to Cassius Dio, “*Dion.*”, Vico notes at the side Tacitus and Sueton, “*Tacit. lib. XII. et Suet.*”. Cassius Dio, in his *History of Rome*, reports the soldiers’ proclamation of Claudius as emperor³⁴ and his death.³⁵ Tacitus in his *Annals*³⁶ and Sueton in his *Lives* do the same. On the basis of Cassius Dio’s *History* Vico also corrects biographical details that Antonio Zantani had provided in their *Imagini* of 1548. There, Claudius lived to be 64 years of age and reigned for 14 years (“*visse anni LXIII, regno anni XIII*”). Zantani’s source in 1548 was likely Andrea Fulvio’s *Illustrium imagines* of 1517, which reads “*LXIII. aetatis suae*”, information that Fulvio and his editor, Jacopo Mazzocchio, derived from Sueton.

34 Cassius Dio, see Dio Cassius, Books 60-61, vols. 7-8 (Claudius, Loeb, 7, 367)

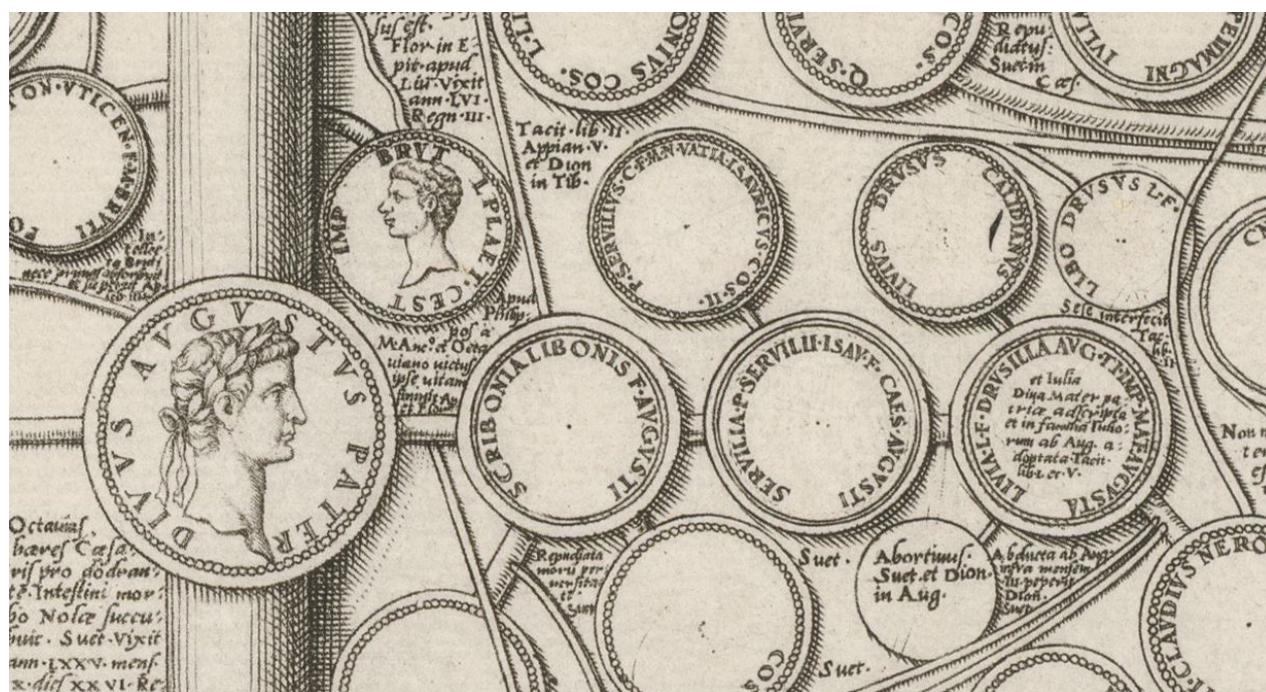
35 Cassius Dio, (Claudius, Loeb, 8, pp. 29, 31; Dio Cassius, Books 60-61, vols. 7-8: Loeb, 7, p. 367; 8, pp. 29, 31).

36 Tacitus: (Tacitus, Annals, Loeb, Book XII, 66-67, pp. 413-414)

2) Livia Drusilla, wife of Emperor Augustus

Although Vico's coin of Livia Augusta, third wife of Augustus, is devoid of a portrait, his research in the textual sources was more extensive than usually noted on the stemma. Information about Livia Augusta begins, in fact, in his inscription around the rim of the coin: LIVIA L F DRVSILLA AVG TI IMP MAT AVGVSTA and continues within the circle, "*et Iulia Diva Mater patriae adscripta et in familia Iuliorum ab Avg. adoptata Tacit. / lib. I et V*".

As a textual reference Vico names Tacitus, Books I and V, of the *Annals*. In his gloss below the coin he notes Livia's abduction by Augustus, citing Dio Cassius and Sueton.



Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555 (ed.pr. 1553), detail of coin of Augustus and, the third coin to his right, Livia Drusilla, daughter of Livius Drusus Calidianus.

Livia's coin shows her descent from "LIVIVS DRVSUS CALIDIANVS". The name CALIDIANVS on her father's coin, however, is not a "Schreibfehler", *pace* Peter and Rubach.³⁷ Instead, 'Calidianus', rather than 'Claudianus', has its source in another source (not mentioned on the stemma), as is confirmed in Vico's chapter on Livia Augusta in *Le immagini delle donne auguste* (1557), which begins:

"Livia Drusilla, donna sopra ogni altra di quella età eccellentissima, nobilissima et per propria virtù, et per l'adottione di due illustrissime famiglie: cio è della Livia, et della Giulia: Fu figliuola di Livio Druso Calidiano; il quale dopo la morte di Gaio Giulio Cesare,

37 See Peter; Rubach 2011 (note 1, above), p. 84.

*seguendo la parte de gli interfettori, dopo vinti Bruto, et Cassio da Ottaviano Cesare, per non venire nelle mani del nimico, uccise se stesso, si come Velleio scrive.*³⁸ (Underlining added.)

Velleio, or Marcus Velleius Paterculus, whose *Historia Romana* was published in Basel in 1520, is also included in the table of authors cited by Vico in the *Donne auguste*.³⁹ In the *Historia Romana* Velleius writes of “*Livia nobilissimi et fortissimi viri Drusi Calidiani filia...*”.⁴⁰ (Underlining added.) Furthermore, in the table of most notable things to be found in Vico’s *Donne auguste* (“*Tavola delle cose piu notabili, che nell’opera si contengono*”), Livia’s father is entered as “*Livio Druso Calidiano*”. Thus for the inscription ‘*Livius Drusus Calidianus*’ on the stemma, Vico drew from accurate notes taken from M. Velleius Paterculus’s *Historia Romana*, a source that was also fundamental for his chapter on Livia in the *Donne auguste*, evidently being composed in the same years (see below).

While Vico did not include a coin image of Livia Drusilla for the stemma of 1553, it is the case that he included notices for three images of Livia in the second index, *Numismatum et rerum omnium memorabilium, quae in hoc libro sculptae visuntur Aeneae Vici Parmensis Index*, mentioned above, of the *Omnium Caesarum.... Imagines*, issued in the same year as the stemma (1553) and that he also illustrated these images of Livia in that book.⁴¹ One is a seated representation, one a representation as Ceres, standing, and one a personification, *Salus Augusta*. These were to be found on the reverses of coins of Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula and are described in the index with their plate locations. The first and second refer to the seated and standing figures of Livia, the third to the portrait effigy of Livia as *Salus Augusta* on a coin of Tiberius (see underlining).

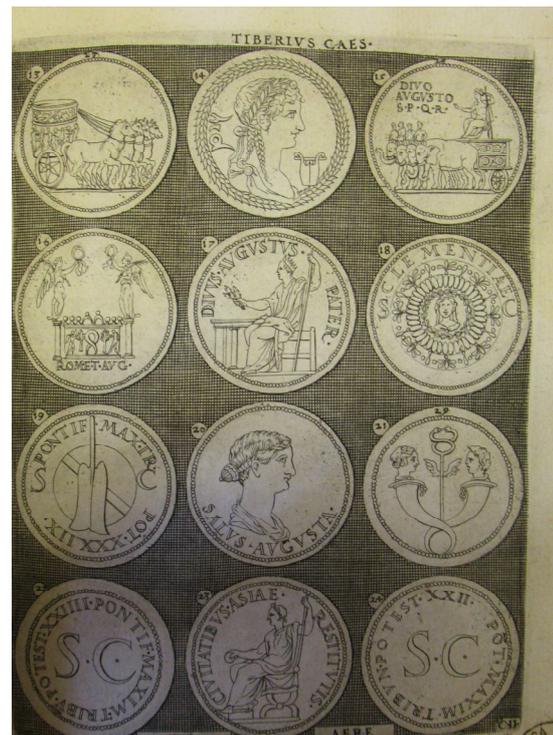
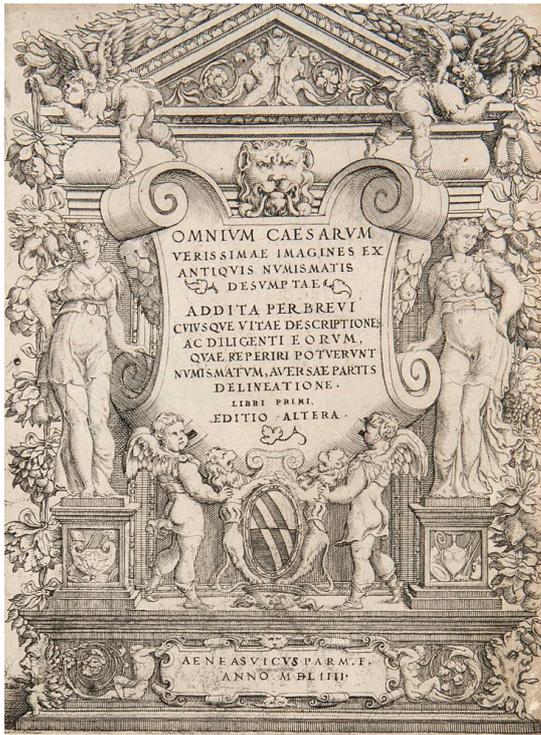
Liviae Divae simulacrum sedens, in aere Augusti. 21. Tiberii. 2.
Liviae in effigie Cereris simulacrum, cum inscriptione Divae Augustae, in aere Augusti. 2.
Liviae effigies in numine Salutis Augustae, in aere Tiberii. 20. Calig. 12.

38 Vico 1557 (note 3, above), pp. 48-65, here p. 49. Vico’s *Donne auguste*, published in 1557, was a long time in gestation. Vico is cited in Anton Francesco Doni’s *La seconda libreria del Doni. Al Signor Ferrante Carrafa*, In Vinegia [per Francesco Marcolini], 1551, for his engravings, “*Le medaglie delle donne Auguste Romane, in rame*” (underlining added), i.e., for medallion portrait engravings of the women. See also note 49, below.

39 See Vico 1557 (note 3, above), “*Tavola delli autori cittati in piu luoghi dell’opera*”: “*Velleio Patercolo*”.

40 See Velleius Paterculus, *P. Vellei Paterculi Historiae Romanae duo volumina [...]*, Basileae: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, 1520, p. 44, “*Livia nobilissimi et fortissimi viri Drusi Calidiani filia, genere, probitate, forma, Rhomanarum eminentissima, quam postea coniugem Augusti vidimus [...]*”. On p. 51, Velleius Paterculus writes, “*Hoc tractu temporum Titus Claudius Nero, quo primo (ut praediximus) Livia Drusi Claudiani filia, respondente Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat [...]*”. See also *C. Vellei Paterculi quae supersunt ex Historiae Romanae libris duobus, ex codice Amerbachiano [...]*, expressit Io. Casp. Orellius, Lipsiae: Apud Weidmannos, 1835, p. 95: “*Livia nobilissimi et fortissimi viri Drusi Calidiani filia, genere probitate forma Romanarum eminentissima, quam postea coniugem Augusti vidimus [...]*”.

41 See Zantani and Vico 1553 (see notes 3 and 10, above).



Left: Enea Vico, *Omnium Caesarum ... Imagines*, 1553, Title page

Right, Vico, *Imagines*, row 3, center, no. 20: SALVS AVGVSTA (“*Liviae effigies in numine Salutis Augustae, in aere Tiberij .20. Calig. .12.*”)

It is therefore not improbable that the image of Livia Augusta (from coins of Tiberius and Caligula) came to Vico’s attention after the completion of that section of the engraving of the stemma.



Dupondius, Julia Augusta (Livia). Struck under Tiberius. Inscriptions: SALVS AVGVSTA; [see above, *Omnium Caesarum*, no. 20)]; TI CAES DIVI AVGV F AVGV P M TR POT XXIII.

The same coin image of Livia (*Salus Augusta*) served Vico again for *Le imagini delle donne auguste intagliate in istampa di rame, con le vite, et ispositioni di Enea Vico, sopra i reversi delle loro medaglie antiche*, Libro primo (1557), that is, Vico’s book of images of the

imperial women.⁴² Vico's images, as he states in the title, are followed by accounts of their *vite*. These, in turn, are followed by one or more folios on which the coins dedicated to them are engraved. The folio page for Livia's coins is followed by elucidations (*'ispositioni'*) of the ten images in light of the events recounted in the *vite*.



Enea Vico, *Le immagini delle donne auguste intagliate in istampa di rame: con le vite et ispositioni di Enea Vico, sopra i reversi delle loro medaglie antiche, Libro primo*, In Vinegia: Appresso Enea Vico Parmigiano, et Vincenzo Valgrisio, All'insegna d'Erasmus, 1557. Title page

Livia Augusta and, following her, Antonia Minore are among the most important women to be treated by Vico in the *Imagini delle donne auguste* and to each of these the artist/author devoted much research. For the very beautiful 'title page' of his chapter on "*Livia Augusta moglie ultima di Augusto*" Vico, as mentioned above, draws upon, directly or indirectly, medallic images. The image at the top of Livia's introductory page would seem to derive from that of Andrea Fulvio, *Illustrium imagines*, fol. XXV verso (*'Livia Drusilla August Uxor'*), that to the left below, with the inscription *Salus Augusta*, from a coin of Tiberius. The image

⁴² While none of his images were invented, not all, as he recounts (see note 28, above), were derived from the coins themselves but the largest part were taken from Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines*. These, in turn, he believed, were based on coins, gems or statues.

to the lower right, with the inscription DIVA LIVIA DIVI AVGV., remains for the moment a puzzle, though it is not dissimilar from the coin shown a page of Tiberius’s coins at number 9 with the inscription PIETAS.



Vico, Livia Augusta, in: *Donne auguste*, 1557, p. 48



Detail from a page of coins of Tiberius in: Enea Vico, *Omnium Caesarum ... Imagines*, 1553, no. 9

Livia Augusta’s *vita* in the *Donne auguste* runs over seven pages and Vico cites his sources, often book and chapter, for her life: Velleius, Petrarca, Dio Cassius, Pliny, Suetonius, Tacitus, Macrobius. In his account, towards the end of the *vita* (fol. 53 verso-54 recto), he

writes of ‘cities’ in Asia having built a temple in accordance with the Senate and Tiberius [who] consented to having Livia’s name also inscribed on the temple. This temple, Vico continues, was sculptured on a medal of Tiberius, above which are two Victories, but neither the name of the Senate nor Livia, he states, are to be read there; one sees [instead] the names of Rome and of Tiberius in this manner: ROM. ET AUG., and, on the obverse with the effigy of Tiberius, the following inscription: CAESAR. PONT. MAX.



Left: Enea Vico, *Omnium Caesarum ... Imagines*, 1553, Coins of Tiberius; Right: Detail of no. 16

Vico then compares this coin with a similar one and in bronze of the same size, showing a statue of Tiberius in a heroic pose, holding a patera in his right hand and in his left a sword, with a similar inscription running around the coin: CIVITATIBUS ASIAE RESTITUTIS.



Left and middle: Sestertius of TIBERIUS in bronze, showing emperor seated and the inscription CIVITATIBUS ASIAE RESTITUTIS
 Right: Detail from coins of Tiberius, in: Enea Vico, *Omnium Caesarum ... Imagines*, 1553, no. 23

The statue had been placed in the temple by the Asians, he continues. The reason for this honor, the cities involved, the identification of the city in which the temple was erected and

the year in which this took place, will be discussed in his *dicchiarationi* of the medals of the first book on the Caesars:

“Questo Tempio si vede iscolpito in una medaglia di Tiberio, sopra il quale sono due vittorie, ma non vi si legge il nome del Senato, ne di Livia: vi si vede quello di Roma, et di Tiberio in questa guisa. ROM. ET AVG., et dal lato della effigie di Tiberio questa iscrizione: CAESAR. PONT. MAX. Si confa poi con questa un'altra medaglia similmente di rame Corintio mischiato, di grandezze commune, con la statua di Tiberio in forma Heroica coronata di alloro, con la patera nella destra mano, nella sinistra un'hasta, con una simile scrittura attorno: CIVITATIBUS ASIAE RESTITUTIS. La quale statua fu posta da gli Asiani nel detto Tempio: la cagione di questo honore, et quali fussero queste città, et in quale fusse edificato il Tempio, et in che anno, a suo luogo nelle nostre dicchiarationi delle Medaglie del primo libro de' Cesari, si dira piu largamente. (Underlining added)

Though the reverses of these coins are not illustrated in the *Donne Auguste*, the first is illustrated in the *Imagini* of 1548 and in the Latin translation of that work, *Omnium Caesarum* (1553). Vico's mention of his *dicchiarationi*, a work evidently in preparation in 1557, would seem to refer to his Commentaries, the first volume of which appeared in 1560; successive volumes did not follow but were seeming underway.⁴³



Left: Illustration of coin with temple dedicated to Livia, from Vico, *Omnium Caesarum* (1553), Coins of Tiberius, no. 16.

Right: Sestertius of Tiberius, Obverse: TI CAESAR AVGVSTI IMPERATOR V; Reverse: ROM ET AVG

The *vita* of Livia is followed by a single folio upon which 10 coin reverses are represented; these are followed by explanations, that is, the “*ispositioni*” mentioned in the title, drawn from his readings of the works of, *inter alia*, Dio Cassius, Sueton, Tacitus, Ovid, Plutarch and Pausanias.

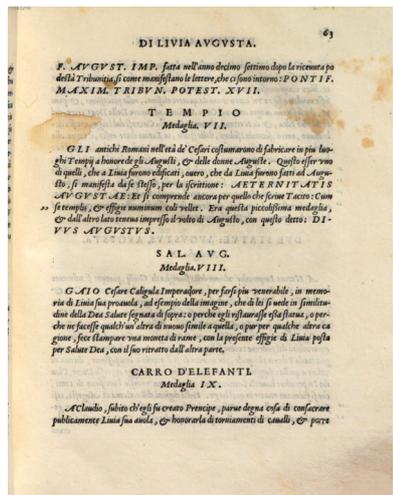
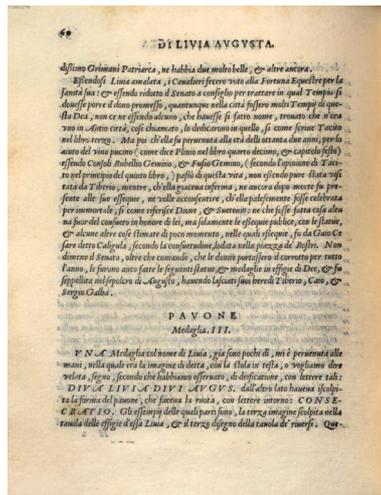
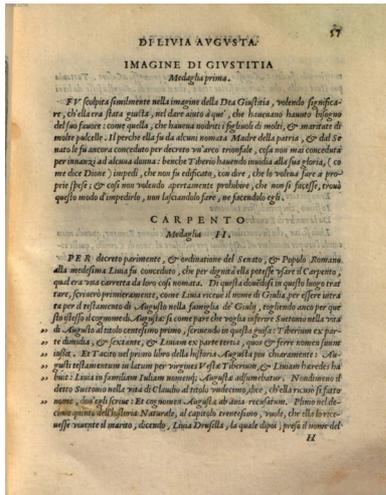
43 Enea Vico, *Ex libris XXIII Commentariorum in vetera imperatorum romanorum numismata Aeneae Vici*, Liber primus, Venetiis: [Aldus], 1560. See Bodon 1997 (note 1, above), pp. 143-149.



Enea Vico, Livia Augusta, in: *Donne auguste*, 1557, p. 56



Coins of Salus Augusta and Iustitia (Livia Augusta)



Selections of explanations (“*Isposizioni*”) of the coins of Livia: I, II, III, VII, VIII, IX in: Enea Vico, *Livia Augusta*, in: *Donne auguste*, 1557, pp. 57, 60, 63.

Although Livia Augusta and her effigy are lacking in the stemma, these were already well known and much in Vico’s mind when he composed the *Discorsi*, where in Book II, chapter viii, Vico finds great fault with earlier and contemporary scholars who misled their readers regarding their portraits of the ancients when ancient portraits existed.⁴⁴ He affirms at the outset of the chapter that a knowledge of the true images of the ancients presupposed knowledge of “*le cose antiche*”, in particular coins, accompanied by a study of ancient literature. He mentions four modern books treating these:

“*Il primo autore adunque delle imagini antiche di Roma, che essendo Leone X. Pontefice ne stampò un libro; e quello paramente che costui imitando, le rifece in Alemagna; e poi la terza volta in Lione di Francia; et appresso nella medesima città la quarta, con giunta ristampate le medesime sotto titolo di Prontuario*”.⁴⁵

The portraits in these books, however, were not necessarily faithful ones, Vico continues, for the authors attempted to render an idea of the spirit rather than the natural likeness. He enumerates notable errors, one of the worst examples being the invented images of “*Livia Drusilla moglie del Divo Augusto*”, all the more inexcusable since her true likeness was known. Vico does not mention coin images here, however, but rather the portrait of Livia together with Augustus in the Grotta of the Duke of Mantua, sculpted in a beautiful and large cameo, not dissimilar from an engraved gem, a “*Corngniuola intagliata*” belonging to Pietro Bembo. The latter, in turn, is similar to an effigy on a coin of the “*Dea Salute*” struck on a coin of Tiberius, issued in honour of Livia Augusta (see above).

44 Vico 1555 (note 3, above), Book II, Chapter VIII, pp. 92-104, entitled, “*Delle imagini false di antichi huomini stampate in piu libri di medaglie, provate con l'autorità delle monete, de gl'intagli, de' Camei, e simili cose antiche*”. See in particular pp. 92-93.

45 The first is Andrea Fulvio’s *Illustrium imagines* (Rome 1517); the second, Johann Huttich’s *Imperatorum et Caesarum vitae* (Strassburg 1534); the third description probably refers to Jacopo Strada’s *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* (Lyon 1553); the fourth is Guillaume Rouillé’s *Prontuario delle medaglie...* (Lyon 1553). Vico refers to Strada’s work in the same chapter, p. 101: “*La onde di quanti sino a questi tempi intorno a imagini tali habbiano scritto, piu fedele, e diligente dimostrato si è colui, che composto ha l'ultimo libro delle imagini de gli Imperadori stampato la terza volta in Lione, l'anno M.D.LIII. sotto nome di Iacopo di strada, con titolo, Thesoro delle antichità.*”

“Peggiormente quella di Livia Drusilla moglie del Divo Augusto; perche ella si vede al naturale insieme con quella del suo marito, e col suo nome in lettere scritto, fra le cose rare, e preziose della Grotta dell’eccellentissimo Signor Duca di Mantova scolpita in uno bellissimo, e gran Cameo di inestimabile pregio, alla cui similitudine ne ha una in Corgniuola intagliata Mons. Bembo non dissimile a quel volto, che sotto nome della Dea Salute si vede nelle medaglie di Tiberio di rame Corinthio; perche lei, vivente Augusto (se creder vogliamo a Dione, e a Tacito) si dice, che la sua donnesca prudenza, e con ben saper gli andare a verso, fece sì, che molti cittadini Romani furono salvati dall’ira d’esso Augusto, e liberati dal pericolo della morte: e per questa cagione il Senato, havendola ne’ simulacri di questa Dea figurata, le stampò si fatta moneta.”⁴⁶



The Gonzaga cameo with portraits of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II, Sardonyx, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

46 Vico 1555 (note 3, above), pp. 92-93. For the identification of the Gonzaga cameo with the cameo in Vienna, see Elizabeth McGrath, Rubens: *Subjects from history*, Volume I, London: Harvey Miller, 1997 (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XIII (1), Subjects from history in two volumes), pp. 91-92, note 101: “Pieresc’s description incidentally confirms Nancy de Grummond’s identification of the cameo at Mantua with that now in Vienna (Nancy T. de Grummond, “The real Gonzaga cameo”, in: *American Journal of Archaeology*, 78, 1974, pp. 427-429). See also: Clifford Malcom Brown, “Isabella d’Este Gonzaga’s Augustus and Livia Cameo and the ‘Alexander and Olympias’ gems in Vienna and Saint Petersburg”, in: *Engraved Gems. Survivals and Revivals*, ed. By C.M. Brown, Hanover; London 1997, pp. 84-107 (National Gallery of Art, Washington: Studies in the History of Art, 54; Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers, XXXII); Elena Arsenyeva, “Il Cammeo Gonzaga. Enigmi della storia”, in: *Il Cammeo Gonzaga. Arti preziose alla corte di Mantova*, a cura di Ornella Casazza, catalogo della mostra, Palazzo Te, Mantova, 12 ottobre 2008 – 11 gennaio 2009, Milano: Skira, 2008; Lorenzo Bonoldi, “Il Cammeo Gonzaga di San Pietroburgo e la gemma perduta di Isabella d’Este”, http://www.engramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=706, (18.03.2021). In his revised and enlarged second edition of the *Discorsi* (1558, note 19, above), p. 93, Vico adds a notice for a further coin image of Livia of which he availed himself for the *Donne Auguste* (1557): “Peggiormente quella di Livia Drusilla moglie del Divo Augusto; perche ella si vede in una medaglia antichissima di M. Giorgio Canlergia, Rettore de gli Scolari nello studio di Padova, et da questa ritratto, nel nostro primo libro delle imagini, et vite delle donne Auguste, dedicato allo Illustrissimo et gran Cardinale di Ferrara Hippolito da Este, veramente magnanimo et liberalissimo Signore, si come egli con il dono d’una honesta somma d’oro a me ha dimostrato al naturale.”

Vico's gloss regarding Livia Augusta on the stemma (1553), his entries in the Index to the *Omnia Caesarum... Imagines* (1553), his discussions in the *Discorsi* (1555) and in the *Donne auguste* (1557) – four contributions which aim at establishing the correct image and *vita* of the third wife of Augustus – when examined together, present an excellent example of our author/artist's interwoven antiquarian, numismatical and historical research and its almost simultaneous application in several separate studies.

3) **Antonia Augusta Minor**, mother of the Emperor Claudius

In his gloss to the image of Antonia Augusta Minor on the stemma, Vico notes specifically that her portrait, as also that of her consort, Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, derives directly from a coin example. He notes there also his written sources for Antonia: Pliny, Sueton and Plutarch, and for Nero Claudius Drusus, Cassius Dio, Sueton and Plutarch. His annotation at Antonia's image reads: "*Numisma. Nunquam exruit. Plin. Lib. VII. Minor dictam. Suet. In Caio, et in Claudio. Plutarch in Ant. et Solin.*"; at the image of Germanicus, the sources for whom were Cassius Dio, Sueton and Plutarch, is annotated: "*Numisma. In itinere in Germania morbo extinctus. Dion. et Suet. et Plut.*"



Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555 (ed.pr. 1553), detail of coins of Antonia Augusta and Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus



Left: Vico, Detail of Antonia Augusta from the stemma; Right: Ancient coin image of Antonia Augusta



Left: Detail of Nero Claudius Drusus from the stemma; Right: Ancient coin image of Nero Claudius Drusus

Vico had written about Antonia extensively in the *Discorsi* of 1555 (Book II, Chapter viii, “*Delle imagini false di antichi huomini stampate in piu libri di medaglie...*”); her discussion there follows immediately upon that treating Livia Augusta⁴⁷ and like that of Livia Vico’s text reveals substantial research. He describes a coin of “Antonia Augusta” showing on the reverse of a statue of her son Claudius in priestly robes and holding a ladle, or perhaps an incense box (Vico believes it to be the latter). There are those, however, who maintain that this coin does not represent Antonia, Claudius’s mother, but rather his daughter of the same

47 Vico 1555 (note 3, above), p. 93. His discussion of Antonia contains some confusion that is corrected in the second edition of 1558 (note 19, above), p. 93.

name. This assertion, however, he has shown to be erroneous in his books ‘on the genealogy of the Roman families’:

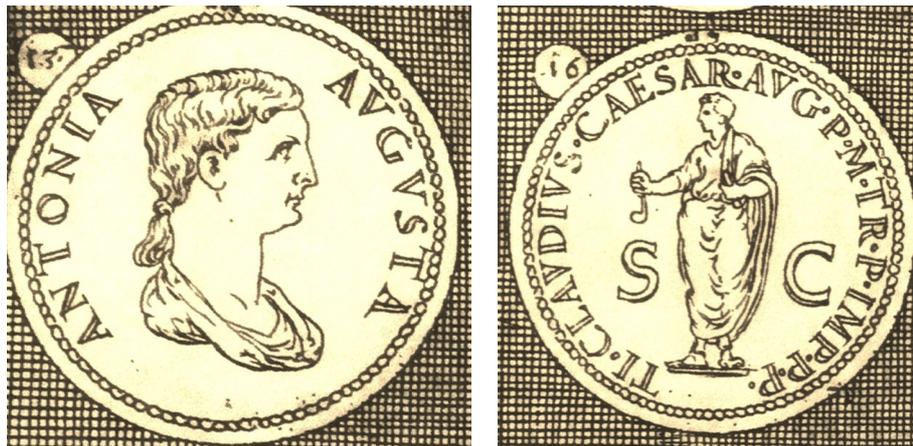
“S’abusano simigliantemente nella effigie di Antonia Augusta madre di Claudio Imperadore, come dimostra l’anticha medaglia di lei fatta da esso Claudio suo figliuolo, e con la statua del medesimo Claudio, nel reverso con habito di Pontefice; il quale tiene il Simpullo vaso, o vero l’Acerra in mano, come piu tosto penso: benché alcuni vogliono che questa fosse imagine della figliuola d’esso Claudio; ma ne’ libri miei della Genealogia delle famiglie Romane si prova il contrario.”⁴⁸ (Underlining added; see below)



Obv: Dupondius of ANTONIA AVGVSTA, mother of the emperor Claudius
 Rev: TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP; Claudius standing left, toga draped over head, holding *simpulum* or *acerra* (ladle or incense box)

Vico, in fact, had already illustrated the coin of Antonia Augusta with her son Claudius in his chapter on the Emperor Claudius in *Omnium Caesarum ... imagines* (1553), on the third plate devoted to the coins of Emperor Claudius (Germanicus).

⁴⁸ Vico 1555 (note 3, above), p. 93.



Enea Vico, *Omnium Caesarum... imagines* (1553), no. 13 and 16. Effigy of Antonia Augusta and, on the reverse, her son Claudius (Germanicus), issued by Claudius for his mother Antonia

Not only did he illustrate the coin but he included it in both indices to the *Omnium Caesarum ... imagines*, discussed above. In the first index of coins – those coins which had been added to those of the *Imagini* of 1548 – she is identified as the mother of Claudius; in the second – the memorable persons and things to be found on the reverses – Claudius is identified together with his instruments, as he is in the *Discorsi*:

- *Antoniae Augustae, Claudii matris effigies, in aere Claudii. 13. Pars adversa. 16.*
- *Statua Claudii in habitu pontificis cum acerra (sive sympullo ut nonnulli volunt) in manu, in aere Claud. 16. Pars adversa .13.*

The stemma and the *Omnium Caesarum... imagines* are both dated 1553; the *Discorsi*, as we have ascertained, was almost finished in that same year. It is also documented by Anton Francesco Doni in the *Seconda Libreria* that by 1551 Vico had undertaken to engrave portrait images for the “*Donne auguste*”.⁴⁹ Thus his statement in the *Discorsi*, that some mistakenly hold the coin image to be the effigy of the daughter of Claudius rather than his mother, an assumption that he had already argued against in his ‘books on the genealogy of the Roman families’, where much was argued and ‘proved’ about the the interpretation of coin images. The importance of these genealogical books cannot be underestimated for they evidently contained the source material for his final texts. Already in 1995 attention was drawn to the “*libri miei della Genealogia delle famiglie Romane*” by Federica Missere Fontana, who, moreover, was able to connect the said books with an anonymous codex found among Vico’s papers in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena: she describes the manuscript as clearly related to the stemma: “*collegabile alla genealogia dei XII cesari (1553)*”.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, both Vico’s

49 See Doni 1551 (note 38, above): Doni records there, “*Le medaglie delle donne Auguste Romane, in rame*”.

From the entry no more can be deduced than that the work, perhaps an album, was a collection of portrait engravings after the womens’ coins. There is no evidence of any text, any commissioner or any dedication.

This will be discussed at greater length in a later study of the *Donne auguste*.

50 Vico 1555, p. 93. See Missere Fontana 1995 (note 1, above), p. 384, and there note 30: “*Nei Discorsi si trova riferimento (p. 93) anche ai ‘libri miei della Genealogia delle famiglie Romane’, ovvero probabilmente un codice anonimo oggi in Biblioteca Estense, collegabile alla genealogia dei XII cesari (1553).*” See also, p. 384, note 30, where Missere Fontana mentions “*Cod. It. 246 = a.W.6, 16, dal titolo ‘La descendencia et progenie, con l’ordine di tutti gli Imperadorj da Giulio Cesare sino a trenta Tiranni della Romana Repubblica,*

statement in the *Discorsi* regarding his genealogical books and the relevant manuscript in Modena, both noted and treated by Missere Fontane some twenty-five years ago, seem to have been overlooked in all later studies of the stemma despite their significance for our understanding of Vico's scholarship.⁵¹

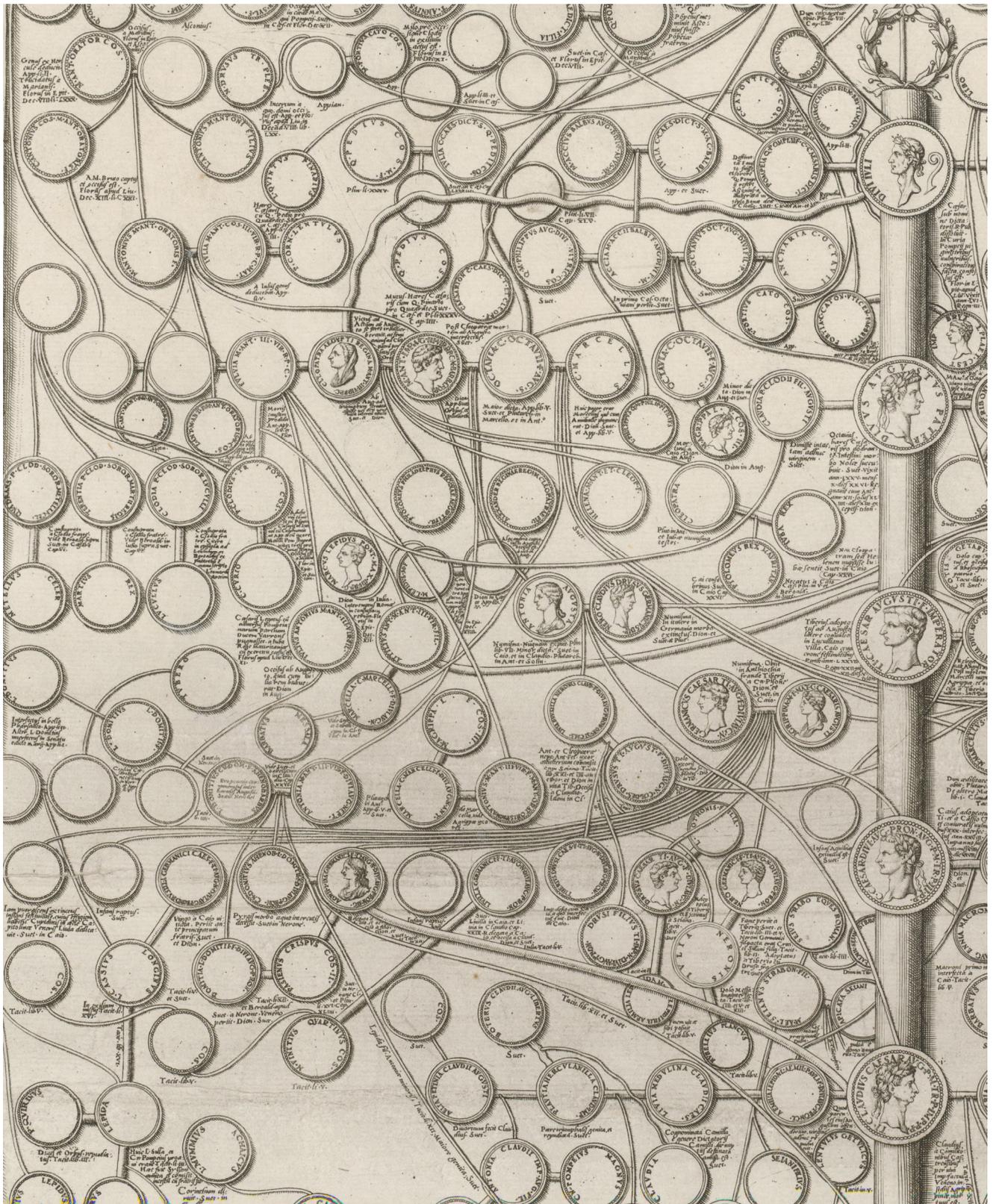
In Vico's section of the *Donne auguste* devoted to Antonia Minore, "*Di Antonia madre di Claudio Imp.*" the author describes at the outset Antonia's lineage, the "*sterpa, congiunzione et generationi di Antonia*", which descended from 'Antone' ("M. ANT. ORATOR. COS."), son of Hercules. All of the relationships described in the passage cited below are clearly delineated on the stemma and can be closely followed there – from the coin image of the fifth Caesar on the center trunk, '*Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug.*', at the lower right of our illustration, through his parents Antonia Augusta and Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus up to the beginning of the Antonii line, '*M. Ant. Orator Cos*', accompanied by the gloss, "*Genus ex Hercule deducit. App. li. II. (sic) Trucidatus à Marianis. Florus in Epit. Dec. VIII. Li: LXXX.*". Vico's description of Antonia's lineage and the branches of the stemma align so closely that it is easy to imagine the "*Vera delineatione*" at his side.

*"Gli Antonii per la nobiltà, et antichità loro, furono chiari appresso i Romani, come quelli che discesero da Antone figliuolo di Hercole, dal cui nome è la famiglia loro così chiamata: si come testimonia Appiano nel terzo delle Guerre civili, et Alessandro d'Alessandro nel primo libro de' Geniali al capitolo undecimo. Marc'Antonio, uno de' tre Tiranni della Repubblica Romana, Capitano eccellente, Oratore eloquente, et che haveva ottenuto dentro, et fuori città honori, et magistrati per l'amicitia, et favore di Cesare: di piu mogli, che egli hebbe, con Ottavia sorella di Augusto, hebbe due figliuole senza piu, amendue nomate Antonie, l'una detta maggiore, l'altra minore per l'età. La maggiore fu maritata a Lucio Domitio Enobarbo: la minore fu sposata a Nerone Claudio Druso cognominato Germanico figliuolo di Livia Drusilla Augusta; col quale ella generò duoi figliuoli maschi, et una femina, cioè Germanico cesare, et Tiberio Claudio poi Imperadore, et Livia Drusilla altrimenti detta Livilla."*⁵²

tratta da i piu veri scrittori delle historie Antiche', cc. 47 r-67, olim IX.A.11, autografo, probabilmente costruito attraverso i fogli di appunti con raccolta di brani da autori classici in ASMo, 8/2, 2. Vico si riferisce anche a Primorum XII. Caesarum Genealogiarum Stemmaturum... (1553 o 1555), su cui Affò (1793), p. 120 e Pezzana (1825), VI, 2, pp. 533-534, poi compreso nello *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, v. III. Bartsch, n. 256, dedicato a Cosimo de' Medici, con illustrazioni di monete. Nella edizione 1558 dei *Discorsi*, p. 93 a questa annotazione sulla genealogia si sostituisce 'ma nel sopradetto libro delle donne Auguste si prova il contrario...'.⁵²

51 It is significant that Vico in the time between the edition of the *Discorsi* of 1555 and the second revised edition of that work issued in 1558, that is, during the time he was preparing the text of the *Donne auguste* (1557), amended carefully his research. In the *Discorsi* 1558, p. 93, in fact, the statement of 1555 is thus revised: "*S'abusano similmente nella effigie di Antonia Augusta, madre di Claudio Imperatore, come dimostra l'antica medaglia di lei fatta da esso Claudio suo figliuolo, col simulacro della Dea Constantia, la quale è d'oro, di M. Achille Maffei; et in quella di sua figliuola, la cui medaglia, e con la statua del medesimo Claudio, nel reverso con habito di Pontefice, il quale tiene l'Acerra in mano: benche alcuni vogliono che questa fosse imagine della madre d'esso Claudio; ma nel sopradetto libro delle donne Auguste si prova il contrario.*" It would seem to be the case, however, that the image of Antonia "madre di Claudio Imp.", wearing a grain-ear wreath, found on the obverse of the gold coin showing the standing image of "Constantiae Augusti" was the model for the *Donne auguste*, a quite different image from that of Antonia Augusta found on the page of reverses in *Omnium Caesarum* and on the stemma, modelled on another coin.

52 Vico 1557 (note 3, above), p. 71.



Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*, Venice 1555 (ed.pr. 1553), detail from 'Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug.', lower right, to 'M. Ant. Orator Cos', above left.

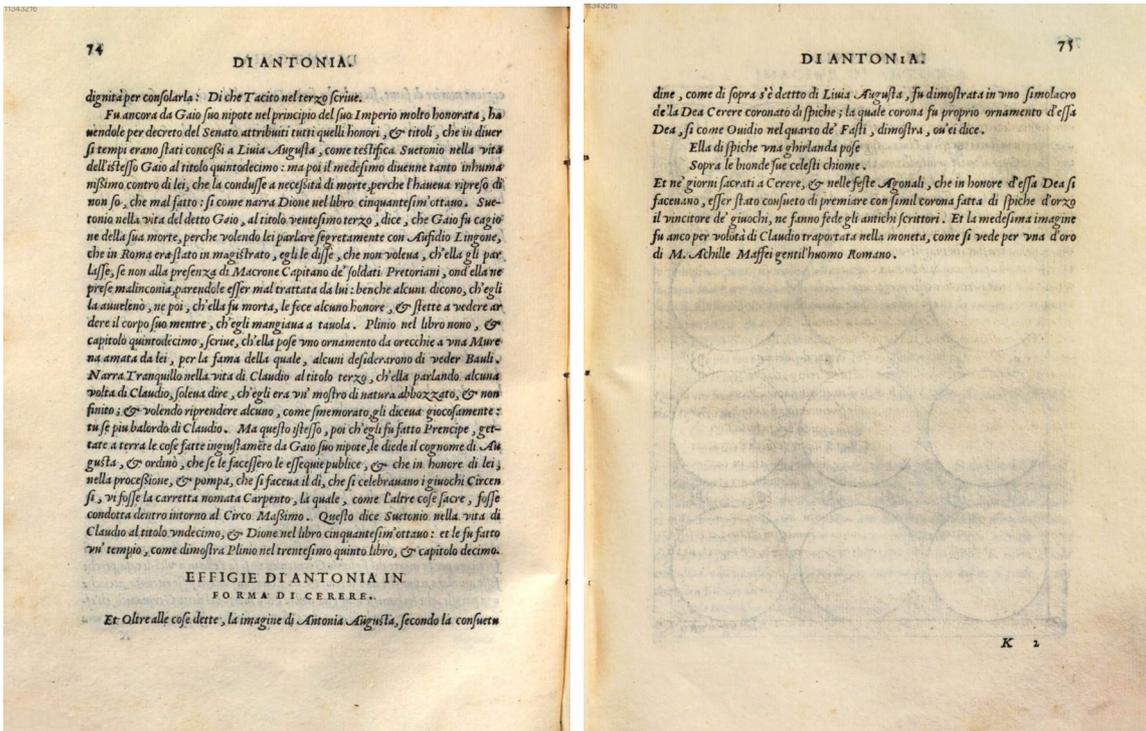
Antonia's lineage in the *Donne auguste* is followed by Vico's discourse on her customs and *mores*, her behaviour and morals, qualities that were to be identified through the events he recounted in her life. Vico relies on the ancient written sources, naming in particular Pliny, Solinus, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Dio Cassius, Tacitus and Sueton, often with book and chapter. He notes, *inter alia*, Antonia's continence, or abstinence from wine, her reverence and faithfulness to her husband, her prudence, charity and courtesy, or good will. Her life and her virtues provided the foundation for the badges or symbols on her coin reverses, and for the '*ispositioni*', or elucidation, of three of these reverses which followed her *vita* in the *Donne auguste*.

The *vita* itself concludes with a brief discourse entitled "*Effigie di Antonia in forma de Cerere*", which serves as an explanation of the coin on her title page and at the same time as an introduction to the *ispositioni*. Describing the remarkable image of Antonia as the goddess Ceres on her title page, Vivo explains that her crown of grain-ears was the true ornament of the goddess, as Ovid reveals in the *Fasti*, and he cites: "*Ella di spiche una ghirlanda pose / Sopra le bionde sue celesti chiome.*" He recounts further, on the testimony of the "*antichi scrittori*", that Antonia was so crowned on the occasion of sacred festivals and that her son Claudius desired to have this image represented on a coin, one, in fact, that was similar to the gold coin now found in the collection of the Roman gentleman, Achille Maffei: "*E la medesima imagine fu anco per volontà di Claudio trasportata nella moneta, come si vede per una d'oro di M. Achille Maffei gentil'huomo Romano*".

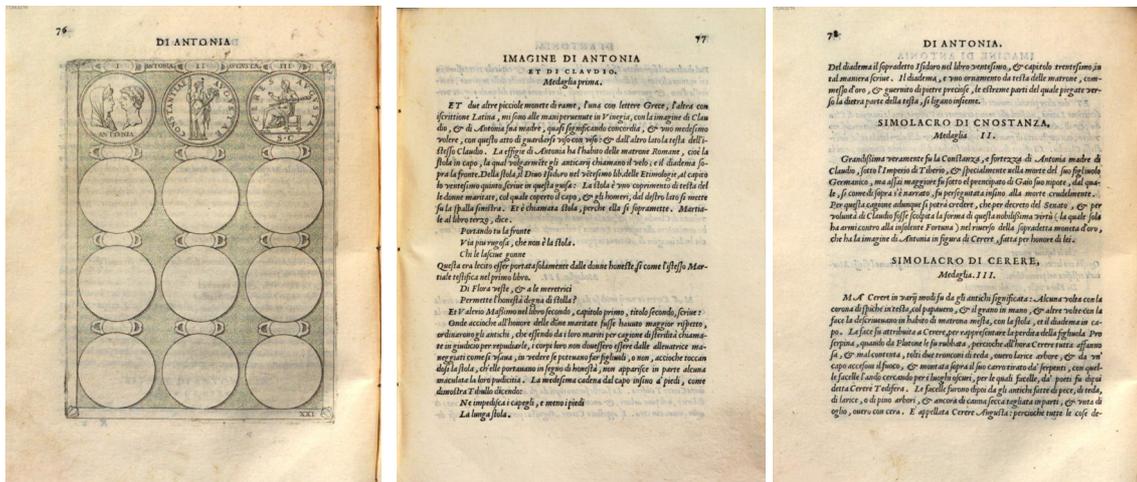


Left: ANTONIA AVGVSTA, draped bust, crowned by grain-ear wreath

Right: CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTAE, Antonia, as Constantia, standing and holding long torch and cornucopia



Following the frontispiece illustration of Antonia as Ceres (p. 70) and her *vita* (pp. 71-75) Vico presents a single folio page with illustrations of three further coin images of Antonia. This page is, in turn, followed by two pages with three *isposizioni* of the images entitled: “*Immagine di Antonia et di Claudio*”; “*Simolacro di Constanza*”; “*Simolacro di Cerere*”.



Enea Vico, *Le immagini delle donne auguste intagliate in istampa di rame* (1557) p. 71: “*Di Antonia madre di Claudio Imp.*”



Left : Reverse of coin of Antonia Augusta with personification of Constantia, holding long torch and cornucopia
 Right: Reverse of coin of the emperor Claudius with image of Ceres, veiled and draped, seated on ornamental throne, holding two corn-ears and a long torch

The first coin on Vico's folio page (for which I have found no model) represents Claudius and his mother Antonia: the inscription reads ANTONIA. Vico recounts that he had seen two such small coins of bronze, one with Greek letters, the other Latin, in Venice. Both, it would seem, represented Claudius and Antonia shown facing each other, signifying as it were *Concordia* and a common will. Vico states in his elucidation.

“Et due altre piccioli monete di rame, l'una con lettere Grece, l'altra con iscrizione Latina, mi sono alle mani pervenute in Vinegia, con la imagine di Claudio et di Antonia sua madre, quasi significando concordia, et uno medesimo volere, con questo atto di guardarsi viso con viso: et dall'altro lato la testa dell'istesso Claudio.”

The effigy of Antonia, he continues, showed her in the dress of a Roman matron: a *stola*, as it is called by the antiquarians, he writes, or a veil, a *velo*, covers her head, and a diadem rests above her forehead. Vico defines Antonia's accessories according to definitions by Isidore of Seville – he cites book, chapters and text – and draws also on Martial, Valerius Maximus and Albius Tibullus.

The second coin represents the *virtù* of Antonia Augusta: Antonia showed *Constanza* and *Fortezza* at the time of the cruel deaths of her son and her nephew, which Vico had recounted in her *vita* above. By decree of the Senate and her son Claudius, this image of Antonia was carved – '*Constanza*' being the *virtù* that fortified Antonia against insolent '*Fortuna*'. Vico also recounts here of Antonia in the guise of Ceres, shown on the reverse of a medal of gold. In this case he would seem to be referring to the coin with the inscription CONSTANTIAE AUGUSTI which served for the image on Antonia's title page, the coin which he described in the collection of Achille Maffei, illustrated above).

The third coin on the folio, "*Simolacro di Cerere*", shows Ceres, who in antiquity, Vico explains, was shown in many ways: sometimes with *spicche* of grain on her head and othertimes with poppies or grain in her hand. She is also portrayed with the face of a sad matron, covered with a *stola*, a diadem on her head, her expression attributed to the loss of her daughter Proserpina. In a longer passage he then recounts Proserpina's abduction by Pluto and

refers to Ceres, “*Cerere Tedifera*”, in a carriage drawn by serpents (dragons), searching for her daughter in *luoghi oscuri*, in dark places, with a burning torch (*face*, or *facelle*). Vico describes the *face*, or *facelle*, the burning torches which illuminated her search for Proserpina and he describes the seated figure of Ceres holding such a *facella* on the coin. Finally, he explains the reasons she was called *Augusta*. The coin itself, he continues, was small, of bronze, and poorly preserved. It showed the effigy of Claudius on the obverse and the inscription TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P.P.



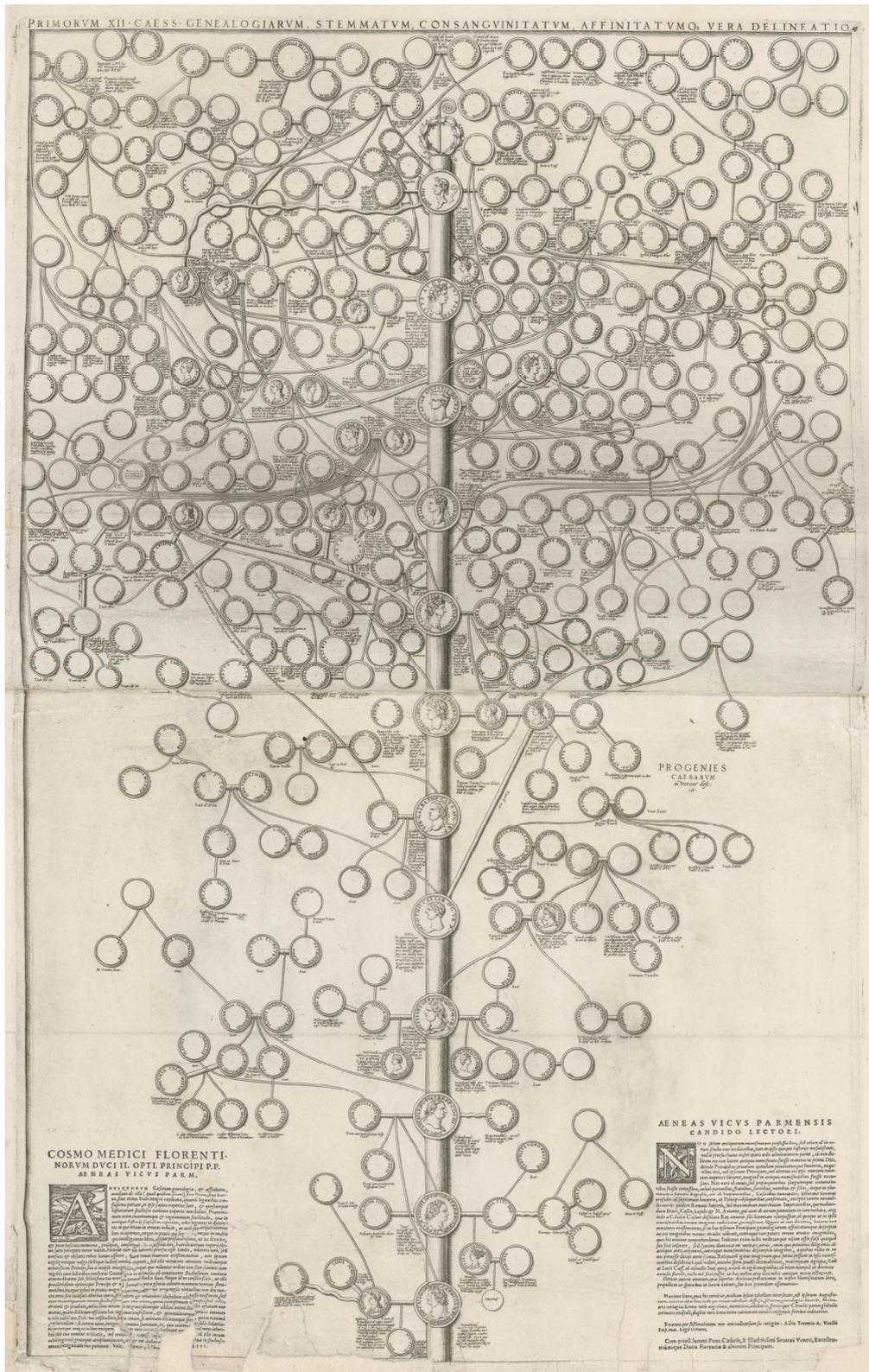
Claudius AE Dupondius. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP, head left / CERES AVGVSTA, Ceres, veiled and draped, seated l. on ornamental throne, holding two corn-ears & long torch, S C in ex.

To conclude: Vico’s glosses to the images on the stemma (1553), here in particular to those of Livia Augusta and Antonia Augusta, his entries in the indices of *Omnium Caesarum.... Imagines* (1553), his lengthy discussions of both women in the *Discorsi* (1553/1555) and in the *Donne auguste* (1557), reveal his constant will to create accurate illustrations, descriptions and interpretations of coin reverses and to document the interwoven antiquarian, numismatical and historical research that was the foundation of this achievement. The interrelationships among his works and their common foundation in the written histories and ‘tangible remains’ of antiquity will have generated a substantial and ever growing archive of textual and visual reference material – a plethora of excerpts from historical texts, drawings after the antiquities, particularly after ancient coins, copies of inscriptions on marble and bronze, that is, an abundance of sources, or ‘*autorità*’, which Vico recorded, described, interpreted, revised and drew upon over decades for his histories. Fundamental were the coins, obverse and reverse, for their study, together with the ancient historical sources, would set the reader along the path of truthful history, “... *sul corso della vera historia...*”, as he states in the *Discorsi*.⁵³

53 See Vico 1555 (note 3, above), “*Proemio*”, p. 11, cited above at note 21. For an idea of the enormity of Enea Vico’s ‘*archivio*’, the breadth of his notes and his application of his vast research in his publications, see the studies of Federica Missere Fontana cited above (note 1), in particular, “*Der Codex Latinus 496*”, a manuscript in the Biblioteca Estense-Universitaria in Modena, which visualizes Vico’s aims and working

methods. Missere Fontana describes (pp. 209-210): *“Ein wahres Dickicht an verstreuten Notizen, Zitaten aus literarischen Quellen, Entwürfen zur Interpretation einzelner Münztypen, überlagert von Beobachtungen und Vertiefungen, die beinahe vollständig den antiken Münzen gewidmet sind, überzieht die Seiten. Darüber hinaus hat Vico die Seiten mit zahlreichen Zeichnungen gefüllt, die zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten entstanden sind und ihm zur Erinnerung an die Münzen dienten, die er bei Sammlern, Händlern und Antikenkennern gesehen und interpretiert hat. Der Großteil seiner Münzzeichnungen im Cod. Lat. 496 ist mit einer Randnotiz versehen, die den Besitzer der Münze festhält. Mitunter hat Vico auch Material und Größe der Münzen (etwa im Verhältnis zur damals in Venedig im Umlauf befindlichen Währung) vermerkt sowie Zitate antiker Autoren notiert. Die Entstehung des Manuskripts kann in den Zeitraum 1553-1563 datiert werden: 1553 ist das Erscheinungsdatum der Edition von Vicos ‘Omnium Caesarum’, von der die Probedrucke stammen; 1563 gelangte Vico an den Ferrareser Hof, an dem auch Agostino Most lebte, aus dessen Besitz einige der Münzen stammen, die Vico zeichnerisch festgehalten hat.”*

2. Facsimile of the “*Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum, stemmatum, consanguinitatum, affinitatumque vera delineatio*” (Venice 1555; ed.pr. 1553)



Enea Vico, *PRIMORVM XII CAESS. GENEALOGIARVM, STEMMATVM, CONSANGVINITATVM, AFFINITATVMQ(VE) VERA DELINEATIO*, 1555, München, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.

**3. Transcription of the Dedication of the stemma to Cosimo de' Medici
(*COSMO MEDICI FLORENTINORVM DVCI II. OPTI. PRINCIPI P.P.
AENEAS VICVS PARM.*)**

COSMO MEDICI FLORENTI-
NORVM DVCI II. OPTI. PRINCIPI P. P.

AENEAS VICVS PARM.

Antiquorum Caesarum genealogiae, et affinitates, nondum ab ullo (quod quidem sciam) sive Graeco, sive Latino, sive etiam Italo integrè explicatae, quantum legentibus confusionis pariant, et ipse saepius expertus sum, et quoscunque historiarum studiosos continuo experiri non dubito. Praenominum enim, nominumque et cognominum similitudo, quae in antiquis historiis saepissime reperitur, adeo legentes in dubietates atque etiam in errores inducit, ut unum plerunque alterius loco accipientes, neque in paucis qui legantur, neque in multis qui intelligantur libris, absque profundissima, ut ita dixerim, et pene infinita memoria, prosapias, consanguinitates, affinitates, haereditatesque imperii plene satis percipere nemo valeat. Proinde cum non minoris prorsus esse laudis, inventis iam, sed confusis et obscuris rebus lumen afferre, quam novas invenire existimaverim, non ignaro negligentique vulgo plebique iudicii omnino experti, sed tibi virtutem omnium undecunque ornatissimo Principi, has a meipso excogita, eoque quo videntur ordine non sine summis cum vigiliis tum laboribus confectas Genealogias in aes incisas ad communem studiosorum omnium commoditatem sub felicissimo tuo nomine promulgandas duxi. Neque id eo consilio facio, ut tibi praeclarissimo optimoque Principi et ad summum verae gloriae culmen maiorum tuorum stemmatibus, tuaque ipsius in primis magnanimitate, caeterisque vera regiis virtutibus iam diu evectoro, mea seu cuiusvis alterius opera, splendoris et ornamenti plusculum addi posse existimen, sed cum te antiquarum rerum studiosissimum non minus, quam peritissimum universus ferè orbis, et norit et praedicet, ausus sum meum in te grati pleneque addicti animi diu mihi optatum non minus, quàm debitum officium hac ingenua confessione, et quantulacunque opera in omnium oculis exhibere. Erit tua celsitudinis, hanc meam, si animum debitumque spectes, quam minimam portiunculam: si autem vires, integram omnino summam, ea, qua caeteros omnes soles hilaritate animique magnitudine excipere. Reliquos verò bonos studiososque omnes, siquid meis laboribus sub tuo nomine utilitatis, vel comodi percepisse cognoverint, non dubito id tibi totum adeo ingenuè grateque acceptum laturos, ut et me audaciae huius mea, et te tuae in studiosos omnes benignitatis non poeniteat. Vale. Venetiis, Idibus Novem. MDLIII.

4. Transcription of the Letter to the Reader (“*AENEAS VICVS PARMENSIS CANDIDO LECTORI*”)

AENEAS VICVS PARMENSIS CANDIDO LECTORI

Non solum antiquorum numismatum professoribus, sed etiam cum in eorum studio non mediocribus, tum in ipsis quoque historiis versatissimis, nullam prorsus huius nostri operis ordo admirationem pariet, cum non dubitem eos non latere antiqua numismata fuisse monetas: ac primum Diis, deinde Principibus privatum quendam peculiaremque honorem, neque ullius nisi, vel ipsorum Principum, vel alterius cui ipsis eundem honorem impertiri libuerit, imaginem in antiquis numismatibus fuisse excusam. Nec verò id cuivis, sed propinquioribus sanguineque coniunctioribus fuisse concessum, veluti parentibus, fratribus, sororibus, uxoribus et filiis, iisque ut plurimum a Senatu Augustis, aut ab Imperatoribus, Caesaribus nuncupatis, ipsiusque Senatus ad supremum honorem, ut Principi obsequerentur, confirmatis, exceptis tamen nonnullis non iis quidem Romani Imperii, sed maximorum exercituum Imperatoribus, quemadmodum Bruto, Cassio, Lepido et M. Antonio, qui cum ob eorum potentiam in iam turbata, atque inde a C. Iulio Caesare dissoluta Rep. Omnem sibi licentiam usurpassent, id quoque ut in ipsis numismatibus eorum imagines cuderentur, permiserunt. Quare ut iam diximus, lectores non miraturos existimamus, si in hac ipsorum Principum genealogiarum affinitatumque descriptione, tot imaginibus vacuos circulos videant, contraque tam paucos eorum ornatos imaginibus, quos hic nomine comprehendimus. Indecens enim nobis unde cunque visum esset falsi quicquam seu ficti inserere, sed sincera duntaxat rei veritate, veras, omni qua potuimus diligentia ab antiquis aereis, argenteis, aureisque numismatibus desumptas imagines, a quibus nulla in re nos potuisse decipi certo scimus. Reliquarum igitur imaginum, quae potius possunt in ipsis numismatibus desiderari quam videri, omnem spem prudens lector abiiciat, praeterquam Agrippae, Caii et Lucii Caess. cum nonnullis Imp. quoque uxorum et regum imaginibus: cum enim nunquam ut diximus excusae fuerunt, nullo mon fieri posset ut haec nostra aetas illas nobis antiqua manu effingeret.

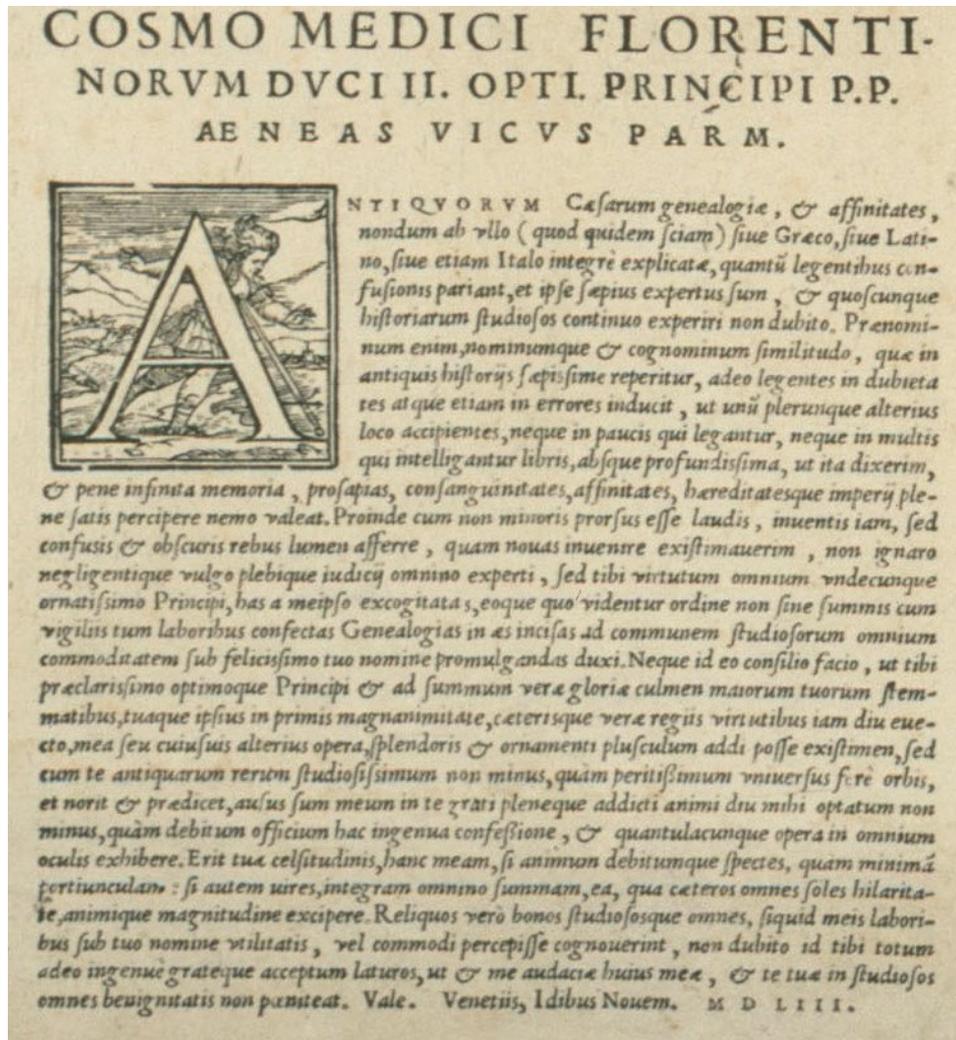
Horum autem omnium, quae superius diximus probationem in nostro Numismatum libro, propediem ut speramus in lucem exituro, suo loco ponendam asservamus.

Maxima linea, quae hic cernitur, mediam ipsam tabellam intersecans, est ipsorum Augustorum, minores aliae hinc inde per totam tabellam diffusa, filiorum genealogias denotant, Mediocres coniugia. Linea verò anguinae, meretrices, adulteres, spuriosque. Circulis parvis globulis coronatis, masculi, duplici verò linea intra extremam corollis insignitis feminae indicantur.

Errorem per festinationem non animadversum sic corrigito: Albia Terentia A. Vitellii Imp. mat. Lege Othonis.

Cum privil. summi Pont. Caesaris, et Illustrissimi Senatus Veneti, Excellentissimique Ducis Florentiae et aliorum Principum.

5. Facsimiles of Dedication and Letter to the Reader



Enea Vico, *Primorum XII Caess. genealogiarum...*, 1555, Detail: Dedication

AE NE A S VICVS PARMENSIS
CANDIDO LECTORI.



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Cum priuilegiū summi Pont. Cæsaris, & Illustrissimi Senatus Veneti, Excellentissimiq; Ducis Florentiæ & aliorum Principum.