

Of Dragons, Basilisks, and the Arms of the Seven Kings of Rome

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FOR OTTFRIED NEUBECKER

AMONG THE HUNDREDS OF SEALS that came to the Museum with the W. Gedney Beatty Bequest in 1941 there is a silver signet ring that poses intriguing iconographical questions. This ring (Figure 1) is thought to be Byzantine, probably of the fifth or sixth century.

Carved on the round bezel of this ring is a standing figure in Late Roman scale armor, accompanied by an inscription in Greek letters. The warrior's helmeted head is surrounded by a halo; he leans to his right with his hand on an upright lance, while the left hand rests on the top of his shield set on the ground. This heroic pose is familiar from many such representations since classical times. In striking contrast to the quiet stance of the warrior, a wildly writhing dragon is hanging from the tip of his lance.

Because of his halo this warrior has been identified as Theodore Stratelates of Heraclea, the knightly saint who was credited with having slain a dragon.¹ However, aside from the thorny problem that the warrior is more likely the other, earlier Theodore, St. Theodore Tiro of Amasea, who was the patron saint of the Byzantine army,² the dragon seemingly impaled on his lance is not a specimen of the virgin-devouring mythical monsters, but a *draco*, a military standard. The *draco* was a dragon-shaped battle-ensign, constructed like a wind sock from fabric attached to a metal head with open jaws, designed to catch the wind, making it billow out and writhe like a live serpent. These standards were introduced into the Roman army by Sarmatian cavalry auxiliaries from the Danube regions of Dacia and Pannonia after A.D. 175. In the third and fourth centuries the

draco was carried by Late Roman and Byzantine cavalry units, and at times it was even used as the distinctive signum of the cohort.³ The bearers of the *draco*, the *draconarii*, formed a special group within the class of standard-bearers, the *signifers*. Because the ring's inscription, BPATHAA ("bratila"), appears to be an archaic Balkan-Slavic diminutive for "brother,"⁴ and taking into consideration that there is a nearly identical gold ring (bearing the same inscription) preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, it is tempting to speculate that these were "class rings" of *draconarii*, most likely of the East Roman mercenary units recruited from Slavic tribes (Figure 2).

Most intriguingly, a very similar motif—a knight armored in blue, standing on a small red dragon and clutching in his right hand a golden staff and a green snake—appears nearly a thousand years later, in the fifteenth century, as heraldic charge in the imaginary arms of Servius Tullius (578–534 B.C.), the sixth of the seven semilegendary kings of Rome (Figure 3). The only difference in the rendering of this knight as compared to the warriors on the BPATHAA rings is that the knight holds his golden shield braced at the ready and there is no halo. The shape of the shield and the body armor, with its carefully detailed *pteryges* (shoulder straps), indicate a conscious effort to copy a Late Roman model. The dragon under the knight's feet is clearly a misinterpretation of the rocky ground upon which the saintly warriors of the rings stand. There seems to be little room for doubt that the alleged arms of Servius Tullius were styled after such a *draconarius* ring. Since the field of



1. Silver signet ring, with inscription ΒΡΑΤΗΑΑ, Byzantine, probably 5th or 6th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.160.279

Servius Tullius's arms is argent, in all probability this was a silver ring, but it would be too much to hope that our silver ring was the direct model.

These armorial bearings of Servius Tullius are part of a series, the arms of the Seven Kings of Rome, "who existed before the Empire originated" (*die gewessen sind zuvor, e dz keisertumb uff erstund*), il-

2. Gold signet ring, with inscription ΒΡΑΤΗΑΑ, Byzantine, probably 5th or 6th century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. M 175 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

OPPOSITE PAGE:

4. The arms proposed for "the Emperor who would reconquer the Holy Sepulcher and the Holy Land Jerusalem," surrounded by the arms attributed to the Seven Kings of Rome (after Grüenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; folio IIb)

lustrated on folio IIb of one of the most important rolls of arms of the fifteenth century, the *Wappenbuch* of Konrad Grüenberg, knight, patrician, and mayor of Constance; it was completed in 1483 (Figure 4).⁵

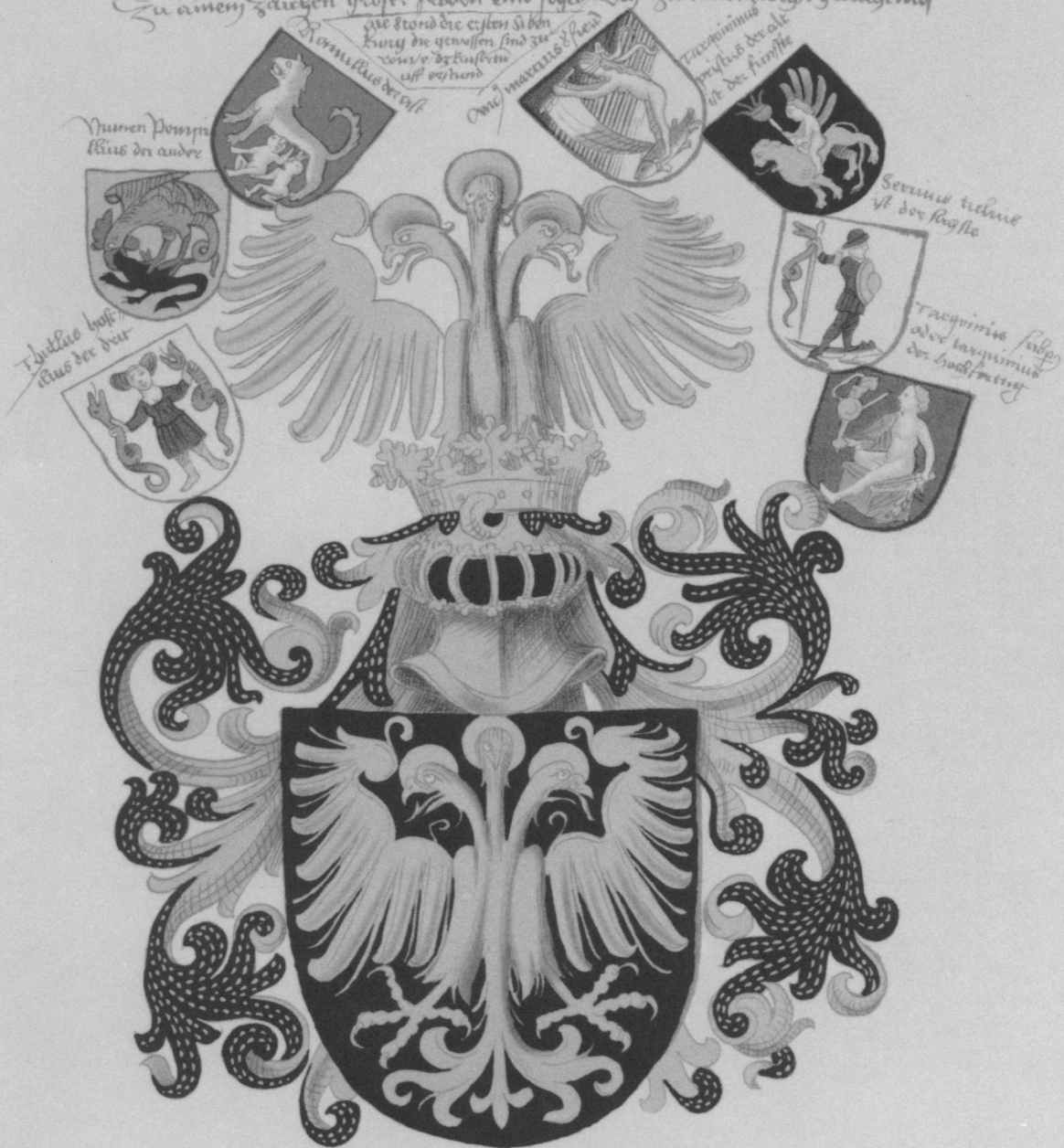
The inclusion of the arms of the Seven Kings of Rome in Grüenberg's *Wappenbuch* grew out of the conviction (shared by most medieval heraldists) that every historical, biblical, or mythical personality—who by the standards of medieval society would have been entitled to a coat of arms, as for instance the Knights of the Round Table or the Nine Worthies—should have one assigned for propriety's sake. Therefore, a herald compiling a comprehensive roll of arms was practically forced to fill in gaps. From this *horror vacui* derived some very peculiar creations, including the arms of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Trinity. Incidentally, the arms attributed to the Twelve Caesars of Rome are included on folio III of Grüenberg's *Wappenbuch* (Figure 5).⁶

The imaginary arms of the Seven Kings of Rome are grouped around another hypothetical shield and crest, a highly original augmentation of the arms of

3. The arms attributed to Servius Tullius, sixth King of Rome, 578–534 B.C. (after Grüenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)

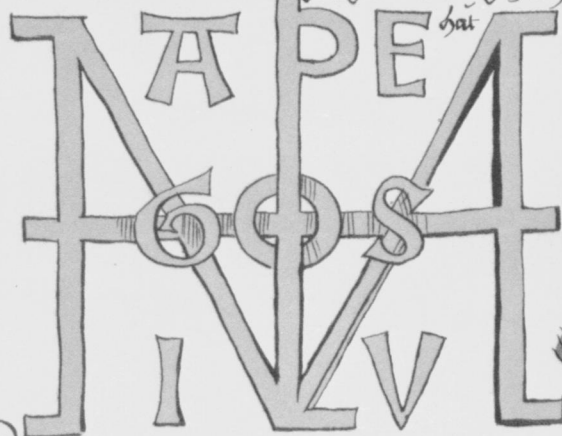


Item welcher Römischer kaiser Gewinne dz hailig grab vnd des selb
hailig land iherusalem der macht sine wappen vnd banner vore der adler
vor schwarz mit dreyen herten vns, also gulden vortext an der runder fau
zu einem saucken großer freuden vnd ligen des zu einer ewigen gedächtnis



es allerdurchlauchtigsten und grafmätigsten
unser gnedigsten heyligen kaiser friderichs
erbkayser den er an vil dincen gar lieb und gezahmet
hat

Bedeutung der fünf vocalen
Nere ist osterich vnderion



Alere ist ob uns² v
 hernach stat gezeichnet der heilich Rom; darumb der kaiser vnd die mächste
 zwelf ersten kaiser die andern; der am groeszest ist; das in durg lutz gering
 willen vnderwain gelauffen; won sy gar nach amts auffs such bedorffen



the Holy Roman Empire: a sable, a triple-headed and -haloed eagle Or. These arms were waiting to be awarded to the emperor “who will reconquer the Holy Sepulcher and the Holy Land Jerusalem.” The actual imperial arms at Grünenberg’s time were Or, a double-headed eagle sable, armed gules.⁷

The shields of the Seven Kings of Rome are as follows:

1. Romulus (*Romullus der erst*): gules, the She-wolf suckling the Twins, Romulus and Remus, argent;
2. Numa Pompilius (*Numen Pompilius der ander*): Or, a basilisk vert, beaked and crested gules, devouring a scorpion sable;
3. Tullus Hostilius (*Thullus host/ilius der drit*): argent, a standing woman, barefoot in a short gown azure, her hair done up in two coils Or, holding in either hand a snake vert;
4. Ancus Marcius (*Anc’ martius d’ fierd*): argent, the shield’s upper part shaded azure, Fortuna, nude and blindfolded, holding up a billowing sail argent, standing on a large fish vert;
5. Tarquinius Priscus (*Tarquininus/pristus der alt/ist der fimffte*): sable, a winged Cupid, holding a lighted fire-basket, riding a lion passant Or;
6. Servius Tullius (*Servius tulius/ist der sechste*): argent, an armored knight azure, with a shield Or, holding a staff Or together with a snake vert in his right hand, standing on a dragon gules;
7. Tarquinius Superbus (*Tarqvinus subp’/oder tarqvinus der hochfertig*): azure, a nude man with a cloak vert draped over his right shoulder, is seated on a square chest Or, holding in his left hand a short sword argent together with a laurel branch vert, and in his right an indistinct torchlike object argent.

In the preface to his *Wappenbuch* Grünenberg takes care to point out that he did extensive research for his armorial illustrations; indeed, direct models can be found for most of these fictitious arms of the Seven Kings of Rome.

Aside from the arms of Servius Tullius, with their charge based on one of the *BPATHAA* rings,⁸ the most obvious case is the She-wolf with the Twins in the shield of the first king, Romulus (753–715 B.C.) (Fig-

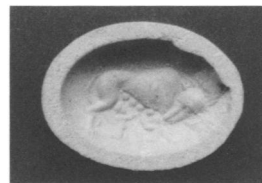
5. The ciphers of Emperor Friedrich III (1440–93), and the arms attributed to the Twelve Caesars, surrounding the arms [+ SPQR] of the City of Rome. (after Grünenberg’s *Wappenbuch*, 1483; folio III)



6. The arms attributed to Romulus, founder and first King of Rome, 753–715 B.C. (after Grünenberg’s *Wappenbuch*, 1483, detail of folio IIb)

ure 6). The story of Romulus and Remus and the founding of Rome, as told by Livy (I, 4), was of course familiar to every educated person in the fifteenth century and makes the choice of this charge self-evident. However, there is a possibility that this motif was not taken only from literary tradition.

The She-wolf with the Twins could be found on countless works of Roman art, ranging from altar reliefs to coins. In most of these representations from classical antiquity the She-wolf is turning her head, watching the suckling infants (Figures 7, 8). With the



7. Impression of an almandine sealstone, representing the She-wolf with the Twins, Roman, 2d century B.C.–A.D. 3d century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941, 41.160.693
8. Reverse of bronze coin, representing the She-wolf with the Twins, Roman, 2d–1st century B.C. Private collection
9. The Capitoline *lupa* with the Twins. Bronze. Rome, Museo Capitolino (photo: Alinari/Anderson)



exception of her heraldically raised tail, though, the forward-facing stance of the She-wolf in Romulus's arms and the positioning of the Twins—one sitting up and one kneeling—are the same as in the bronze group on the Capitoline Hill (Figure 9). Evidently Grüenberg took the famed Capitoline *lupa* as his model; it was the most authoritative representation he could find.⁹

Similarly, the seventh and last king, Tarquinius Su-



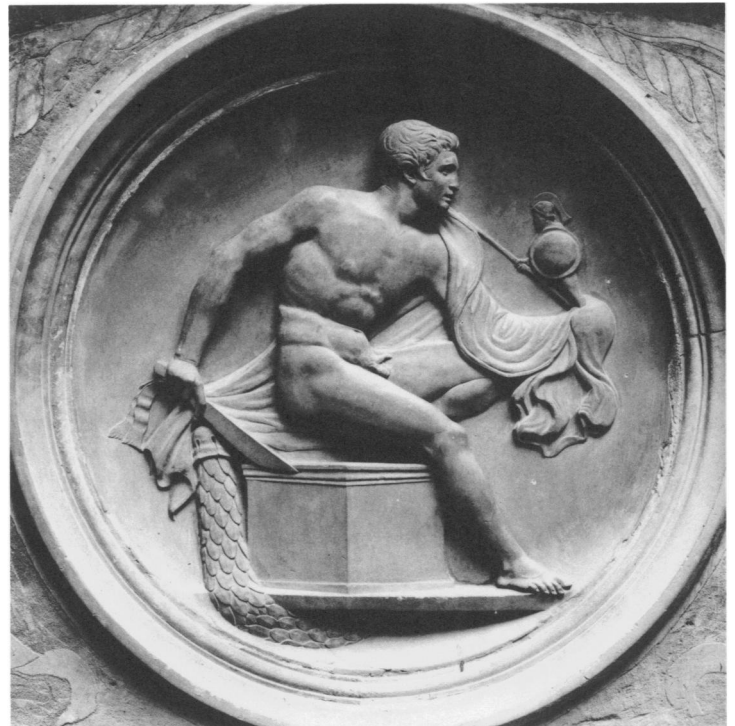
10. The arms attributed to Tarquinius Superbus, seventh and last King of Rome, 534–510 B.C. (after Grüenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)
11. Chalcedony intaglio, representing Diomedes seizing the Palladium of Troy, by Dioskourides, ca. 30 B.C. Florence, Museo Mediceo (after Dacos, Giuliano, and Pannuti, *Il tesoro di Lorenzo*, fig. 19)



perbus (534–510 B.C.), has a most distinguished work of classical art for the model of his shield blazon (Figure 10). This is the much admired intaglio by Dioskourides, about 30 B.C., of Diomedes seizing the Palladium. It was famous enough to be copied in antiquity. In the fifteenth century there were already four examples of it in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who would become Pope Paul II. The most celebrated of these gems, the so-called Niccoli chalcedony, was later acquired by Lorenzo il Magnifico, and it became the model for one of the relief medallions in the cortile of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (Figures 11, 12).¹⁰ The fact that Grüenberg represents Diomedes with his sword in his left hand indicates that he must have copied his design directly from an actual gemstone and not from an impression.

Surprisingly, the iconography of the highly praised Niccoli chalcedony was not recognized in Grüenberg's time; the inventory of the Barbo collection, in 1457, speaks only of "a nude man sitting, with a sword in his right hand, and [a figure of] the god Mars in his left." Apparently, Grüenberg, or whoever brought this motif to his attention, saw in it a representation of Tarquinius's usurpation of the king's chair in front of the Senate House (Livy I, 47), instead of one of the crucial events that led to the Fall of Troy.

12. Relief medallion, representing Diomedes seizing the Palladium; workshop of Donatello. Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (photo: Alinari)

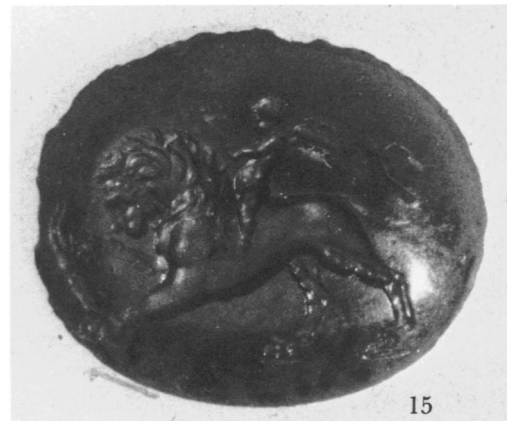




13



14



15

13. The arms attributed to Tarquinius Priscus, fifth King of Rome, 616–578 B.C. (after Grünberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)

14. Bronze medal, representing Eros riding a lion and carrying a lighted incense burner on a pole, by Gian Francesco Enzola (act. 1456–78). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

15. Almandine ringstone, representing Eros riding a lion, which is tearing a goat's head, Roman, undated. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, x.327

16. The arms attributed to Ancus Marcius, fourth King of Rome, 641–616 B.C. (after Grünberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483, detail of folio IIb)

17. Reverse of bronze medal of Gianozzo di Bernardo Salviati, representing *Fortuna audax*, holding a sail and standing on a dolphin, in the manner of Niccolò Fiorentino, late 15th century. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

The unheraldic posture of the lion in the shield charge of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king (616–578 B.C.) (Figure 13), and its color scheme of light-colored figures on a dark background suggest that its source was a cameo gem cut in layered agate. If there was such a gem, it seems to be lost; but the motif is found on an Early Renaissance medal by Gian Francesco Enzola (active 1456–78) (Figure 14).¹¹ The little Eros taming a lion or other wild beast is an allegory for the Power of Love (Figure 15).¹² The reason for choosing this device for Tarquinius Priscus is obscure; it was possibly an allusion to the dominant personality of Tanaquil, his wife, who steered him into the kingship (Livy I, 33–35).

Blindfolded Fortuna with her sail, and as *Fortuna audax* represented as standing on a dolphin skimming over the waves, was a well-known symbol for braving and overcoming the dangers of maritime trade, and was therefore very appropriate for Ancus Marcius (640–616 B.C.), the fourth king and by tradition the founder of the harbor of Ostia (Livy I, 33) (Figure 16). Again, the direct model for these arms seems to have been not a work of art from classical antiquity but a fifteenth-century medal (Figure 17).¹³

On the other hand, it seems that ancient Greek



16



17

Tullus host.
ilius der drei

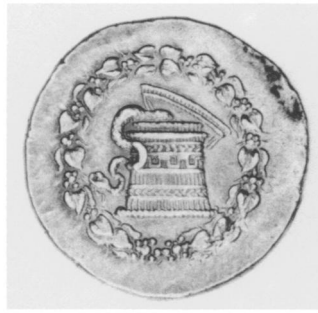


18. The arms attributed to Tullus Hostilius, third King of Rome, 673–641 B.C. (after Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)

and Roman coins were the prototypes for the arms of the remaining two kings, Tullus Hostilius (ruled 672–641 B.C.) and Numa Pompilius (715–672 B.C.).

The enigmatic female figure holding a pair of snakes in her hands on Tullus Hostilius's shield (Figure 18) seems to have no readily identifiable model. The motif was probably influenced by the story of the youthful Herakles strangling the two serpents Hera sent to his cradle in a fit of jealousy. More likely, however, it was derived from the snake design on coins first minted at Pergamum in the second century B.C. (Figures 19, 20).

The rulers of Pergamum claimed to be descended from both Dionysos and Herakles. Therefore a lid-ded box, from which a snake is crawling—a motif from the Dionysian mysteries—is to be found on the obverse of their coins; it was the box, *cista*, that gave these coins their popular name, *cistophori*. On the reverses are pairs of snakes entwined around a *gorytus*



19, 20. Obverse and reverse of a *cistophorus*, Pergamum mint, 2d century B.C. New York, American Numismatic Society (photo: American Numismatic Society)

21. Tetradrachm (*cistophorus*) of Mark Anthony, Roman, ca. 40 B.C. (after Sydenham)

(quiver/bowcase) as an allusion to Herakles. In Roman times the *gorytus* was replaced by the *cista* itself, surmounted by either a small statue or a portrait bust, such as in the *cistophorus* of Mark Antony (Figure 21).¹⁴ The fluted surface of the *cista* with a hoop around its middle could be easily misinterpreted as the pleats of a short, belted gown.

There seems to be no ready explanation why the figure with the snakes was assigned to Tullus Hostilius; but for the basilisk of Numa Pompilius such an explanation can be found in an extraordinary combination of literary source and pictorial prototype.

Livy (I, 19) credits Numa with the building of the Temple of Janus. Beginning with the *aes grave*, the very first coin of Rome, cast as a one-pound disk of bronze in the third century B.C., a large number of Roman coins bear the head of Janus on the obverse, and on the reverse a *rostrum* (ship's prow) or an entire warship (Figures 22–25). Apparently Grünenberg

22, 23. Obverse (head of Janus) and reverse (ship's prow) of copper *aes*; Roman, 5th–4th century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John van Benschoten Griggs, 1946, 46.129.7

24, 25. Obverse (faces of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, joined as Janus head) and reverse (trireme) of a silver denarius, by the moneyer C. Fonteius, Roman, ca. 114–113 B.C. London, British Museum (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)



was led to believe that such a coin was issued by the founder of the Janus temple, Numa Pompilius, and he quite naturally assumed that the device on the reverse must be his coat of arms.

The image of the Roman trireme, especially on a somewhat worn specimen, would not be easy to identify as a ship, even for someone residing in a busy port like Constance. After all, it looked very different from the craft that could be seen daily crowding her harbor and dotting the blue waters of the Lake of Constance with their sails. Thus, it appears that Grünenberg, in an honest mistake, turned this image upside down—and saw a basilisk in it. This creature was believed to be the king of the serpents, hatched from a rooster's egg, incubated by a toad, and said to be so venomous that its mere glance could kill (Figures 26, 27).¹⁵ The ship's stern, with its decorative roundel shield and trailing streamers, became the crested and wattled rooster's head of the basilisk, the rudder, bank of oars, and the *rostrum* were turned into its dragon wings, and the ship's prow into its curled tail. The scorpion must have been made up from the fish-tail top of the ship's stern and of blurred remnants of the inscription that extends between stem and stern.

It would be interesting to know whether all these coins and gems were in one collection in the fifteenth century, and who the antiquarian was from whom Konrad Grünenberg might have learned their significance as the alleged arms of the Seven Kings of Rome.

NOTES

1. *ROMANS & barbarians*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, 1976) cat. no. 207, ill.

2. *Biblioteca Sanctorum* XII (Rome, 1969) pp. 238–248. Theodore (the Soldier) Tiro was martyred at Amasea between 306 and 311. He is first documented in a sermon by St. Gregory of Nissa (d. 394), and he was made patron saint of the Byzantine army by Belisarius during the Gothic Wars (534–55). At the end of the ninth century a duplication occurred: Theodore (the General) Stratelates was martyred at Heraclea, and parallel miracles, such as the slaying of dragons, were attributed to him.

3. Graham Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army* (New York, 1969) p. 136.

4. For the interpretation of this word I must thank my colleague Dr. Leonid Tarassuk.

Numen Pompili
König der Römer



26. The arms attributed to Numa Pompilius, second King of Rome, 715–673 B.C. (after Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, 1483; detail of folio IIb)
27. Reverse (trireme) of denarius in Figure 25, shown upside down

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincerest thanks are due to my teacher at the Free University, Berlin, Otfried Neubecker, who more than thirty years ago first introduced me to the fascinating world of *Phantasiewappen* and to whom I dedicate this essay. Furthermore I would like to thank my friends and colleagues in the Metropolitan Museum Stuart W. Pyhrr and Leonid Tarassuk, as well as George Szabo, former curator of the Robert Lehman Collection, and Claude Blair, formerly of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for their kind and generous help in sharing information and bringing to my attention sources that otherwise might have escaped my notice.

5. *Des Konrad Grünenberg, Ritters und Burgers zu Constanz, Wappenbuch*, 1483 R. Graf Stillfried-Alcantara and Adolph M. Hildebrandt, eds. (Görlitz, 1875) pl. IIb; Otfried Neubecker, with contributions by J. P. Brooke-Little, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (New York, 1976) p. 225, ill. The Stillfried–Hildebrandt publication is a facsimile edition of the manuscript on paper, formerly in the library of the genealogical society "Herold," Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin; it disappeared at the end of World War II and for years was thought to be lost, but it was eventually found in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Abt. Merseburg. The paper manuscript seems to have been Grünenberg's personal copy. The illustration in Neubecker's *Heraldry* is taken from the contemporary deluxe copy on vellum, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cgm 145.

6. The names of the Twelve Caesars are listed according to

Suetonius; their arms are as follows: I. Julius Caesar (per pale, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. argent, a dragon sable, spewing flames gules); II. Octavianus Augustus (per pale, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. gules, a double-headed lion argent); III. Tiberius (Or, a double-headed eagle sable, on its breast an escutcheon argent, charged with a mountain azure [possibly an allusion to Capri and its Blue Grotto, which was known as a legend, but had not yet been rediscovered]); IV. Gaius Caligula (per fess, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. vert, two crossed swords gules, hilted Or [perhaps an allusion to Caligula's two hit lists, *The Sword and The Dagger*, mentioned by Suetonius]); V. Claudius (Or, a double-headed eagle sable); VI. Nero (argent, an eagle sable [apparently the argent field and the single head of the eagle were meant as abasements for Nero, as the notorious persecutor of Christians]); VII. Galba (per fess, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. rayonny of gules and argent [probably an allusion to Suetonius's explanation of the name Galba, from resin-torches, "galbanum"]); VIII. Otho (per bend sinister, 1. Or, an eagle sable, 2. vert, a staff gules in bend sinister, entwined by a snake argent); IX. Aulus Vitellius (per pale, 1. Or, a double-headed eagle sable, 2. per fess, in chief argent, a rose gules, in base bendy, gules, and argent, with a chief Or [the family arms of Orsini]); X. Vespasianus (barry, argent, and gules, overall a pile Or, charged with a double-headed eagle sable [according to Suetonius, the troops of Pannonia, i.e., Hungary, were the first to swear allegiance to Vespasian. Barry of gules and argent are the arms of Hungary]); XI. Titus (azure, two stars argent, a pile Or, charged with a double-headed eagle sable); XII. Domitian (sable, an escutcheon Or, charged with an eagle sable, flanked by a pair of wings Or).

7. Johann Karl von Schroeder, "Dreiköpfige Reichsadler," *Der Herold*, n.s. 7, 5 (1970) pp. 106–112, ill.

8. Servius Tullius was considered to be the creator of the Roman military organization (Livy I, 43), and therefore this martial device would have seemed to be most appropriate for him.

9. The She-wolf is generally accepted as being Etruscan; the Twins are thought to have been added in the Renaissance. Their appearance in Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* would give a date ante quem.

10. Nicole Dacos, Antonio Giuliano, and Ulrico Pannuti, *Il tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico: Le gemme I*, exh. cat., Museo Mediceo (Florence, 1972) no. 26, ill., also "Appendice Documentaria," pp. 85, 86, 88, 160. The Diomedes intaglio first became known as the prize possession of the Florentine collector Niccolò Niccoli (ca. 1364–1437), who made it a special point to single it out in his testament (Jan. 22, 1437). In 1457 it appears [valued at 80 ducats] in the inventory of Cardinal Pietro Barbo, later Pope Paul II. It is mentioned in the "Ricordi" of Lorenzo il Magnifico by March 1472. Marie-Louise Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden, 1966), does not mention the Niccoli/Medici Diomedes at all. Four distinct versions of the motif of Diomedes leaping across the altar in seizing the Palladium were found in intaglios by both classical and Renaissance

artists, and in Renaissance bronze medals. The Niccoli/Medici intaglio is of the most restrained type; the most ambitious version, which also includes the second figure of Odysseus, is by Felix (Vollenweider, pl. 39, figs. 1, 2). The Felix gem was also in the Barbo collection (valued at 100 ducats). See also Michael Vickers, "The Felix Gem in Oxford and Mantegna's Triumphal Programme"; Clifford M. Brown, "Appendix: Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga's Collection of Antique Intaglios and Cameos: Questions of Provenance, Identification and Dispersal," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 101 (Mar. 1973) pp. 97–104, ill.; and Ursula Webster and Erika Simon, "Die Reliefmédallions im Hofe des Palazzo Medici zu Florenz," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 7 (1965) pp. 15–91, ill.

11. John Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (London, 1965), no. 66, fig. 62; Seymour de Ricci, *The Gustave Dreyfus Collection: Reliefs and Plaquettes* (Oxford, 1931) nos. 60 (pl. xx), 64 (pl. xxi).

12. Dacos–Giuliano–Pannuti, *Tesoro*, I, no. 3 (pl. iv), cameo, attributed to Protarchos: Aphrodite riding a lion, led by Eros; see also Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, pl. 12, fig. 1, cameo, signed by Protarchos: Eros playing a cithara, riding on a lion, in the Museo Nazionale, Florence; and J. G. Jacobi, *Beschreibung einiger der vornehmsten geschnittenen Steine mythologischen Inhalts aus dem Cabinet des Herzogs von Orleans* (Zurich, 1796) pl. iv, "Die Macht der Liebe," pp. 60ff. Jacobi also mentions an impression of an antique intaglio (Löhr collection), with the lion holding a goat's head in his paws; this could refer to our almandine ringstone, acc. no. X.327.

13. G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini* (London, 1930) no. 1065, pl. 177 (the Salviati medal). Slightly closer than the Florentine medals may be a Roman one, reverse of a medal of Thomas Bakocz, Primate of Hungary (Hill, *Corpus*, no. 857, pl. 138); and G. F. Hill and G. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at The National Gallery of Art* (London, 1967). Medals with *Fortuna audax* on the reverse, in the manner of Niccolò Fiorentino, no. 290: Alessandro di Gino Vecchiotti, no. 294: Gianozzo di Bernardo Salviati.

14. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia, British Museum* (London, 1892) nos. 86–125, pl. xxvi; Harold Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire* (London, 1928) pl. vi, figs. 15a, b; Edward Sydenham, rev. by G. C. Haines, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952) no. 1197, pl. 29; and J. P. C. Kent, *Roman Coins* (New York, 1978) no. 110.

15. T. H. White, *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York, 1960) pp. 168–169: "The Basilisk is translated in Greek and Latin as 'Regulus' (a prince), because it is the king of serpents—so much so, that people who see it run for their lives. . . . Even if it looks at a man, it destroys him. At the mere sight of a basilisk, any bird which is flying past cannot get across unhurt, but, although it might be far from the creature's mouth, it gets frizzled up and is devoured. . . . The basilisk, moreover, like the scorpion, also frequents desert places. . . ."