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ROMAN ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHAELOGICAL MUSEUM IN LISBON

Abstract: The article presents the collection of Roman engraved gems in the National Museum of Archaeology, in Lisbon. Although a small cabinet, it contains a wide variety of themes and motifs. Among the intaglios, the nicolos deserve to be especially highlighted for their quantity when compared with the others, thus strenghtening the evidence for the existence of a regional quartz industry in the city of Ammaia, which particularly specialized in the manufacture of nicolo gemstones. The themes match those existing throughout the Empire, but some items deserve special attention: Eros removing a thorn from a lion's paw (no. 3); three Satyrs performing a sacrifice (no. 1); the wounded warrior (no. 31); the 'prodigy scene' (no. 36); Faustulus, the Capitoline Wolf and the twins (no. 37); a possible portrait of Cleopatra (no. 42); the Jewish symbols (no. 70) and the magical amulet (no. 72).

Keywords: Ammaia; Cleopatra; intaglio; cameo; nicolo; etched carnelian; 'prodigy scene'; foundation of Rome

The National Museum of Archaeology (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia) was created in Lisbon in 1893 by the archaeologist José Leite de Vasconcelos, under the name of Museu Etnográfico Português, although it officially opened only in 1906. It gathers the founder's first collections, those of the archaeologist Estácio da Veiga and many others coming from the Portuguese Royal House, the former Beaux Arts Museum, the Antiques Cabinet of the National Library, the excavations held by the museum or by other archaeologists (although several monographic museums have been

created, such as those in Conimbriga, Braga and Ammaia), and donations or legacies of collectors and devoted friends of the museum. Among its glyptic pieces, there is a small collection of scarabs (16 items), Modern gems (6 items) and Roman gems (74 items). Perhaps we should go back into Portuguese History and consider certain historical facts that might explain this small number of gems (such as the great earthquake and tsunami in Lisbon, in 1755, and the French Invasions). Actually, some authors refer to gems existing in Portugal whose actual location we do not know at all (Babelon 1897, 74; Reinach 1895, pl. 115, II, 33; Tassie 1791, vol. I: nos. 4394 and 5962; vol. II: nos. 8554, 9946, 10180, 10189, 10353, 10981, 11064, 11424, 11764, 12088, 12100, 13980 and 14349).

Many of the Roman gems were donated and the places where they were found are unknown (as is the case of those that once belonged to the donator Bustorff Silva – nos. 1, 15-16, 19, 29-32, 34, 36-37, 39-42, 56, 63 and 67.

Others have no precise findspot (for example those said to have come from Alentejo – 9, 12, 22, 25, 48, 59 and 71) or they have a false origin indicated (as we could see in old numbers of the revue *O Arqueólogo Português*). Actually, the inventory of the first archaeological collections was not made as the finds entered the museum, but only from 1906 onwards (that is, thirteen years after the museum's creation) due to lack of staff (Vasconcelos 1913a, 178). It is interesting to note that almost all the gems came from South Portugal, including a red jasper uncovered in Alentejo with a shrimp engraved on it and now lost (Graça and Machado 1970, 384-385, no. 17; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 169). The exceptions are nos. 6 and 10 (this one was bought in Lisbon but said to have come from Porto), from North Portugal and others uncovered in Central Portugal: no. 18 (from the mountains of Serra da Estrela), no. 26 (from Batalha, not far from the coastline), and no. 57 (from Idanha-a-Velha, the Roman Igaeditania, perhaps founded before Augustus and an episcopal city at an early stage).

This Glyptic collection is composed of **73** intaglios and **1** cameo (arranged in the catalogue according to the editor's suggestion, although other options exist, like that of Henig and MacGregor's 2004 book). Their materials are similar to those existing in other museums throughout the ancient Roman Empire: **17** nicolos (nos. 1, 3, 6, 8, 14, 18-19, 22, 27, 35, 38, 44-45, 48, 58, 66 and 70); **21** carnelians (nos. 2, 5, 11, 13, 15, 20, 23, 30, 32, 34, 36, 41, 43, 47, 49, 51, 53, 56, 63, 71 and 73); **2** plasmas (nos. 9-10); **2** sards (nos. 24 and 64); **10** jaspers (nos. 4, 25-26, 29, 33, 37, 52, 55, 57 and 72); **1** onyx/sardonyx (no. 7); **1** chrysoprase (no. 17); **1** amethyst (no. 31); **4** agates (nos. 50, 54, 62 and 65); **3** chalcedonies (nos. 39, 59 and 74); **8** glass

pastes (nos. 12, 16, 21, 40, 42, 60-61 and 67) and 4 nicolo-pastes (nos. 28, 46 and 68-69).

The most frequent materials are carnelian and nicolo. Note the great number of nicolos (23%), in comparison to those from other sites and regions: Aquileia (128, from a total of 1573 gems, that is, 8.1% - cf. Sena Chiesa 1966), Luni (9, from a total of 175 gems, that is, 5.1% - cf. Sena Chiesa 1978), Gadara (10, from a total of 427 gems, that is, 2.3% – cf. Henig and Whiting 1987), France (209, from a total of 1472 gems, that is, **14.1%** – cf. Guiraud 1988; Guiraud 2008), Great Britain (59, from a total of 860 gems, that is, 6.8% – cf. Henig 1974), Cologne (42, from a total of 470 gems, that is 8.9%), Bonn (11, from a total of 128 gems, that is 8.5% cf. Platz-Horster 1984), Bulgaria (19, from a total of 326 gems, that is, 5.8% – cf. Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980; Ruseva-Slokoska 1991). This only can be explained by the availability in Ammaia (Alentejo) of quartz as a raw material (already referred to by Pliny, NH 37.127) and perhaps the existence of (a) local manufacturing centre(s) specializing in treating, cutting and engraving quarried quartz during imperial times (Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2006, 533-543), as was demonstrated by the finding of some ancient quartz quarries, and by many quartz fragments uncovered during ongoing excavations (Taelman et al. 2008, 32; Taelman et al. 2009, 182-183 and 186; Pereira 2009, 73-74, 98, 122, 124 and 126; Taelman et al. 2010, 65-67; Osório 2014). Actually, nicolo is a treated microcrystaline quartz obtained by the use of techniques that go back to Hellenistic times, consisting in soaking the stones in honey (or other sugary substances) and heating them, in order to paint, improve and enhance their pale natural colors or change them into others. The technique is already referred to by Pliny, who states that the stones become brighter if boiled in honey, especially honey from Corsica (NH 37.195).

As to the iconography of the gems, the devices allude to religious beliefs and sacro-idyllic scenes (nos. 1-30), heroes (nos. 31-37), portraits and scenes of the daily life (nos. 38-44 and 73), masks and mythical beasts (nos. 60-63), and animals (nos. 45-59). There are also symbols, objects and symbolic compositions (nos. 64-70). The other intaglios either have an inscription (no. 71), magical motifs and an inscription (no. 72) or have been destroyed (no. 74).

Statues, inscriptions and gems show that the most popular Roman deities in the region which comprises present-day Portugal were Mars (nos. 2 and 9-14) and Jupiter (nos. 2 and 8). A bronze statue representing Mars Gradivus, in the Évora Museum, and some intaglios with his depiction perhaps testify to existence of a cult to the god of veterans and peasants in both Portuguese

Lusitania and Gallaecia (Alarcão 1987, 171-172). The cult of Jupiter can be explained by the assimilation of indigenous deities due to the influence of the Roman army and is demonstrated by many inscriptions with no epithet or bearing the epithets *Conservator*, *Depulsor*, *Maximus*, *Optimus Maximus*, *Repulsor*, *Solutorius*, *Supremus Summus*, *Tonans*, *Optimus Maximus Conservator*, *Optimus Maximus Municipalis* and *Iuppiter Caielobrigus* (this last one written in the Lusitanian language).

Victoria (nos. 26-28), Eros (nos. 3-7) and satyrs (nos. 1 and 15-20) were also popular. Indeed, satyrs are the most common motif in the Portuguese gem corpus.

Athena-Minerva (nos. 21-22) appears in several bronze statues and is mentioned in many inscriptions found throughout the country. In one altar from Conimbriga (Hispania Epigraphica online Database, no. 22949) she has the epitet of *Minerva Sancra* (instead of *Minerva Sancta*) and in another from Serpa (Hispania Epigraphina online Database, no. 5219) the epithet of *Dea Medica*. Athena Nikephoros (no. 2), identified by Plutarch with Nit, the Egyptian Goddess of War (called by him Athena of Sais) and with a specific cult and temple in the Acropolis of Athens, also appears on another four gems from Portuguese Lusitania. That is not the case of Minerva Pacifera, who only appears on our gem no. 22.

Fortuna (no. 24) is a very common subject for statues, mosaics, lamps, and inscriptions. In one inscription, from one of Conimbriga's Bath suites (the so-called 'Grandes Termas do Sul'), she appears as *Fortuna Balnearis* and in another, from Torre d'Aires (Algarve), as *Fortuna Augusti*.

Nemesis (no. 25) is apparently mentioned in only a single inscription (Hispania Epigraphica online Database, no. 21994) from Évora (Alentejo), where an association of worshipers (amici Nemesiaci) existed to provide burials for their members. Thus, it is not surprising that our gem was found in a grave at Alentejo.

The scene with the wounded warrior (no. 31) is typical of many gems of the 1st century BC and 1st century AD, engraved in Archaic style with scenes from the Trojan War (cf. Casal Garcia 1991, no. 52). The possible portrait of Cleopatra (no. 42) was identified with the help of some marble busts displayed in museums and a bronze coin of Alexandria dating to 50-31 BC (McManus 2006, no. 1).

The carnelian of no. 43 exhibits a special technique in manufacture which was kindly explained to us by Dr. Jack Ogden in 2014, as follows: 'The technique used to get the white in the engraved depression relates to that used from very ancient times ('etched carnelian' beads from ancient

Mesopotamia) to more recent Tibetan Dzi beads. The carnelian was shaped and engraved. Next it was covered in an alkali solution (probably sodium carbonate) and heated. This bleached the surface. The upper surface of the gem was then re-polished to leave the white in the depressions' (cf. Ogden 2007, 16). This is not, however, the only case where this technique has been employed in our gem corpus: another carnelian, depicting a reaper, found in recent excavations in Mogadouro (North Portugal) and dating to the 3rd century, was similarly treated.

The amulet (no. 72) is a remarkable piece, as are the intaglios depicting a lyre (no. 66) and Jewish symbols (no. 70). This last item is highly important as it testifies to Eastern influence and to the existence of individual Jews or perhaps even of a Jewish community in the city of Ammaia. Although the origin of their presence in Portuguese Lusitania is obscure, other archaeological objects, inscriptions and architectonic structures attest to Jews in Portugal from Roman times. The earliest concrete evidence for the presence of Jewish immigrants, presumably from Judaea, in the Iberian Peninsula is a small hoard of Roman coins dating from the 1st century AD discovered near Mértola (the Roman Myrtilis) during the destruction of an old wall, now displayed in the Museu Judaico de Belmonte, which includes coins issued in Jerusalem and Roman Palestine between the years 6-60 AD by King Agrippa (of King Herod's family) as well as by procurators serving in Palestine (Centeno and Valladares Souto 1993/1997, 200). It is significant that, of the several tomb inscriptions which testify to Jews buried in presentday Portugal, some were excavated in Mértola. One is a fragmented marble grave-slab inscribed in Latin bearing the date 4th of October 482 AD. Although it is missing the name of the deceased, his Jewish origin is made obvious by a partially preserved Hebrew word and a schematic menorah with plain branches and tripod base engraved below the inscription. Other objects relating to Jews, primarily ceramic oil lamps, were found in the ruins of Tróia city's harbour, Lusitania, whose ancient Roman name is unknown (its actual name goes back to the 16th century and was first used by the Portuguese humanists Gaspar Barreiros and André de Resende). At least two of the oil lamps are decorated with the menorah (Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2006, 533). However, ascribing Jewish ownership and meaning is problematic because the menorah was also used by Paleo-Christians.

CATALOGUE

I – DEITIES

Groups of gods

1. Black and greyish nicolo, sub-rectangular, flat upper face and slightly convex lower face, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F2?). *Dimensions*: 11.8 x 15.3 x 3mm. Chipped on the lower edge. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 619.

Description: Sacro-idyllic scene. Three Satyrs conducting the sacrifice of a goat: in the middle of the scene, one bearded satyr is seated on a rock and playing a lyre; a young satyr stands on the right and plays the double flute (tibiae); another bearded satyr on the left is under a tree holding the goat by its horns. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Republican Extinguishing Pellet Style.

Parallels: Marshall 1907, no. 1365 (= Walters 1926, no. 1618 – nicolo; 10 x 14mm); Walters 1926, no. 1585 (sard, 10 x 13mm; the same shape).

Discussion: The scene is related to the Dionysiac sacrifices performed in a sacred idyllic space. In some variants the animal (usually a goat) is being sacrificed (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 830; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos. 343 and 352; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 82; Henig 1994, no. 207) or is being led to an altar for the sacrifice – a common motif on Roman paintings of Pompeii, on which a lamb is being led to a sanctuary.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 183; Ponte 1995, 133, no. 249. *Date*: Second half of the 1st century BC.

2. Red carnelian, oval, set in a fragment of a Roman gold ring, now lost. From a grave in Benafim (Loulé, Algarve). Unknown location (only its impression lasts).

Description: Jupiter Capitolinus enthroned, in slightly three-quarter front view and facing left, with an eagle at his feet. Nude, apart from a himation around his legs, he holds a scepter in his left hand and a thunderbolt in the right. Facing him stands Mars Ultor, frontal, wearing a cuirass and a helmet and holding a spear and a shield. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 663 (also Victoria); Sternberg 1980, no. 731 (Jupiter and Mars standing, eagle between them); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 75 (also Victoria).

Discussion: According to Leite de Vasconcelos, the intaglio was set in a fragment of a Roman gold ring, already lost when he came across

its impression (Vasconcelos 1907, 367). Its motif is one of the several depictions with Jupiter and other deities, with a special emphasis on those that comprised the Capitoline Triad (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXV, no. 38 and pl. XLIV, no. 48; Richter 1971, no. 52). As to its date, we only have the testimony of the archaeologist José Leite de Vasconcelos, who stated that the grave was dated to the 5th century AD at the earliest, because the ring was found in association with a gold triens of Licinia Eudoxia (wife of Theodosius II, who lived from 421 to 450 AD).

Publ.: Vasconcelos 1907, 367; Vasconcelos 1908b, 355-356; Vasconcelos 1913b, 268, fig. 122; Cardozo 1962, no. 21; Almeida and Veiga Ferreira 1965, 97; Cravinho 2010, 16 (simply cited).

Date: 1st-2nd-century AD.

Gods

Eros

3. Black and very pale-blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4)¹. *Dimensions*: 13 x 10.5 x 3.2mm. Chipped on the right edge. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1200.

Description: Eros kneeling to the left, removing a thorn from the right paw of a lion with its mouth open as if roaring in pain. Behind the lion, a tree that bends to the right, curving with the shape of the intaglio. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Flat Bouterolle Style*.

Parallels: Tassie 1791, pl. XLIII, no. 6710; Furtwängler 1896, pl. 25, no. 3033 (= Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVI, no. 18; Lippold 1922, pl. XXIX, no. 11); Fossing 1929, no. 1727 (no tree; below a Capricorn and a star); Breglia 1941, no. 565 (no tree); Richter 1956, no. 308 (no tree); AGDS IV, pl. 41, no. 260 (no tree); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 368 (tree and a vase on a column).

Discussion: This motif, also common on magical gems (Bonner 1950, nos. 242-243; Delatte-Derchain 1964, no. 320a), is related to the legend of Androkles (cf. Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.12), transmitted by Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, vol. V.5-14) and later transposed to the evangelist Mark, commonly represented with a lion.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 23, no. 6; Cravinho 2015, 94-95, no. 1.

Date: End of the 1st century BC-beginning of the 1st century AD.

¹ This description of nicolos of the F4 type is according to Henig and MacGregor 2004. Sometimes the nicolo is of F2 type (cf. our no. 1) or has the upper face convex (cf. Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 553).

4. Red jasper, oval, flat upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 3a), with a bezel with ten concave faces. *Gem's dimensions*: 9.5 x 8.5mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 23.5mm; inner diameter: 18mm; H: 19mm. Wt: 4.3g. In good condition. From a grave in Luz de Tavira (Algarve)? Inv. no. Au 8.

Description: Eros standing in slightly three-quarter front view to the left, holding a thyrsus obliquely downward over his right shoulder and a theatrical mask in his right hand. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Wheel Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXVII, no. 64 (= Lippold 1922, pl. XXV, no. 4); Gonzenbach 1952, nos. 21 (holding a mask and an inverted *pedum*) and 22 (holding an inverted thyrsus and playing the double flute); Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 336; Henig 1974, no. 116 (holding a mask and an inverted *pedum*); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 377 (holding a thyrsus; a mask on his right); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2783; Spier 1992, no. 360; Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 54 (Hellenistic, 3rd-2nd century BC; without the tyrsus).

Discussion: Being a follower of Dionysos-Bacchus, Eros appears in a variety of poses related to his cult on gems, reliefs, sculptures and other objects. Sometimes he leans on a *pedum* and holds a mask (Middleton 1991, no. 7) or only holds a mask (Vollenweider 1984, no. 99) or a thyrsus (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 298) or, with one leg crossed over the other, he leans on a thyrsus copying the model of the statue of Pothos by Skopas and has at his feet a goose (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIII, no. 52 = Lippold 1922, pl. XXVII, no. 8).. This gem was reused in the 3rd century AD when mounted in this ring, which has an exact parallel in a ring from Carmona, Sevilha (cf. Lopez de la Orden 1990, no. 156).

Publ.: Vasconcelos 1898, 288, figs. 3-3a; Cardozo 1962, no. 25 (said to come from Alentejo); Graça and Machado 1970, 379-380, no. 6 (said to come from Alentejo); Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 200; Cravinho 2010, 17 (simply cited).

Date: 1st century BC.

5. Orange carnelian, oval, convex upper face and flat lower face, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type A4). *Dimensions*: 11.1 x 13.2 x 5mm. Chipped on the right edge. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1209. *Description*: Eros riding a lion to the left, with his right arm raised and holding the reins in the left. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, pl. 25, no. 3031 and pl. 56, no. 7528; Walters 1926, no. 2853 (glass paste imitating sard); AGDS III Kassel, pl. 32, no. 44 (2nd-1st century BC); AGDS IV, pl. 196, no. 1457.

Discussion: The type is related to the Dionysiac thiasos and was very popular among Roman decorative arts and gems (Michel 2001, nos. 257-258 – magical gems). Sometimes, Eros holds a whip (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1160) or a wreath (Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 179) or plays a lyre (Walters 1926, no. 3871; AGDS IV, pl. 106, no. 823) or a flute (Middleton 1991, no. 79), or the lion is running (Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 228). Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 23-24, no. 7; Cravinho 2015, 96-97, no. 2. Date: 2nd century AD.

6. Black and greyish nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4), set in a Roman silver ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2d). *Gem's dimensions*: 7 x 10mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 18mm; inner diameter: 14mm. In good condition. From the castrum of Monte Mozinho. Inv. no. Au 1219.

Description: Eros holding in his right hand a bunch of grapes and running away from a cock to the left. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Plain Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 872 (= Walters 1926, nos. 1516, pl. XX, no. 1524); Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XXI, no. 47; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, no. 42 (Eros and goose); Gonzenbach 1952, no. 24; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 429-430 (Pan); AGDS III Kassel, pl. 31, no. 41; Henig 1974, nos. 141-142 (Eros); AGDS IV, pl. 105, no. 815E (Eros); Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 73; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 454 (50 BC-50 AD); Sternberg 1980, no. 791 (cameo, fleeing from a swan); Zazoff 1983, pl. 103, no. 4; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 18 (Eros and goose); Spier 1992, no. 249 (Eros holding a palm on the other hand).

Discussion: This ring comes from a romanized Iron Age castrum of North Portugal. The type of its intaglio goes back to the 6th (Beazley 1920, no. 13) and 5th-4th centuries BC (Neverov 1976, no. 32). A similar motif shows a fight between a pygmy and a crane (Walters 1926, nos. 1037-1038; Richter 1971, nos. 22-23; AGDS IV, pl. 34, no. 183; Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 76).

Publ.: Rigaud de Sousa 1973, 190 no. 4, fig. 4; Ferreira de Almeida 1974, 25, pl. XXX, fig. 1; Casal Garcia 1980, 102-103 and footnote 19; Soeiro 1984, 263, fig. CXXXIV, 2; Cravinho 2010, 18 (simply cited).

Date: 2nd century AD.

7. White and black onyx/sardonyx, oval, flat on both faces, with high outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F3), set in a small Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2d). *Gem's dimensions*: 9 x 7mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 11mm; inner diameter: 6mm; H: 11mm. Wt: 2.6g. In good condition. Acquired in Estremoz. Inv. no. Au 432.

Description: Eros to the right, in slightly three-quarter front view, holding a quiver in his left hand and an arrow in the right. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Gramatopol 1974, no. 181 (with bow and arrow, altar in front); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1148 (with bow and arrow); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 196 (frontal, holding bow and pulling an arrow out of the quiver). *Discussion*: Eros as a hunter is a merely decorative motif also used on mosaics, lamps and coins. On gems he is sometimes depicted chasing a rabbit (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 334) or a hare (Richter 1956, no. 310; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 702) or with other Erotes, as if to illustrate the several phases of the hunt (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, no. 57).

Publ.: Cardozo 1962, no. 17; Graça and Machado 1970, 380, no. 7; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 204; Cravinho 2010, 17 (simply cited). *Date*: 2nd century AD.

Jupiter

8. Black and blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 19.3 x 15 x 4.2mm. Chipped on the lower face. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1197.

Description: Bearded, nude Jupiter standing to the front and facing right, holding in his outstretched left hand a thunderbolt (*fulmen*), and his scepter in the right. At his feet, an eagle with its head turned back, stands looking up towards him. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Rigid Chinmouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIV, no. 49; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 20; Hamburger 1968, no. 11; Maioli 1971, no. 4; Henig 1974, no. 14 (carnelian, 2nd century AD); Elliot and Henig 1982, no. 17; Middleton 1991, no. 30; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 150 (glass paste, 1st century AD); Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 24 (jasper, 2nd century AD); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 71; Sena Chiesa et al. 2009, no. 28; Lopez de la Orden 1990, no. 39.

Discussion: The type derived from a motif of 4th-century BC Greek art, which possibly depicted the Zeus of Argos by Lysippus, and appears on Greek coins of the 2nd century BC and on Roman coins until the 3rd century AD with the epithets of *Tonans* or *Conservator*.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 22, no. 3; Cravinho 2015, 108-109, no. 8.

Date: 3rd century AD.

Mars

9. Dark-green plasma, oval, slightly convex upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2b). *Gem's dimensions*: 10 x 7mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 21.4mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 18mm. Wt: 5.5g. In good condition. From Baixo Alentejo. Inv. no. Au 181.

Description: Mars standing, three-quarter front view to right, helmeted and wearing high boots and greaves, a cuirass, a short tunic and a mantle that hangs from his back and is being brushed away by his right arm. In his outstretched left hand he holds a Victoriola and in the right hand a spear obliquely upward and passing behind his body. At his feet is a shield. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Gesztelyi 1987, no. 63; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2769 (plasma, 1st-2nd century AD); Henig 1994, no. 876 (Roma or Virtus? 2nd century AD); Guiraud 2008, no. 1125; Angeles Gutierez 2008, no. 4.

Discussion: This iconographic scheme seems to have derived from a Hellenistic sculptural model. In some variants Mars stands by a column (Marshall 1907, no. 1334) or he holds the shield over his shoulder (Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 218-219), as on the coins of Trajan celebrating the victory against the Dacians, or there is no shield (Henig 1974, nos. 90-91; Guiraud 2008, no. 1126), or, instead of Victoria, he holds a patera in his outstretched hand (Guiraud 1988, no. 133; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 2767) and makes a libation on the altar at his feet (Gramatopol 1974, no. 192).

Publ.: Vasconcelos 1898, 288, figs. 2-2a; Vasconcelos 1906, 285; Vasconcelos 1908a, 356; Carvalhaes 1911, 118 and 295; Cardozo 1962, no. 23 (said to have depicted Minerva and to have been found in Luz de Tavira, Algarve); Graça and Machado 1970, 376-377, no. 2 (said to have depicted Minerva and to have been found in Luz de Tavira, Algarve); Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 196.

Date: 1st century AD.

10. Dark-green plasma, oval, slightly convex upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 10.2 x 9.2mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 25mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 21.1mm. Wt: 5.9g. In good condition. From Porto. Inv. no. Au 137.

Description: Mars (or Achilles) standing, with the body slightly bent and facing left, wearing a plumed helmet and a chlamys (sagum) falling down

his back. He has his right foot up on a rock and fastens a greave on the right leg with his left hand and holds in the right a spear and a shield, placed on a cuirass in front of him. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Reinach 1895, pl. 61, no. 57.2 (Achilles or Cincinnatus?); Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 921; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 6, no. 40; Middleton 1991, no. 163 (= Henig and MacGregor 2004, 102, no. 10.6 – Achilles?).

Discussion: Sometimes the warrior fastens the greave with both hands (Henig 1994, no. 337), or the shield and the spear are in front of him (Gauthier 1977, 460, fig. 14), or he is sitting on a chair and has in front of him a helmet on a shield (Krug 1995, no. 55). It is interesting to note that this scheme also appears in the iconography of Eros (AGDS III Kassel, pl. 39, nos. 119-122), who is sometimes depicted with Mars's weapons.

Publ.: Chaves 1914, 368; Chaves 1920, 245; Cardozo 1962, no. 22; Graça and Machado 1970, 383-384, no. 12; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 195.

Date: 1st century AD.

11. Red carnelian, polished, oval, convex upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 3f). *Gem's dimensions*: 12 x 9mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 20.5mm; inner diameter: 16mm; H: 23.5mm. Wt: 5.5g. In good condition. From the ruins of Tróia (opposite the city of Setúbal). Inv. no. Au 1.

Description: Mars Gradivus striding towards the left, wearing a helmet with λοφος and nude, apart from a subligaculum around his waist floating out on either side of his body. His left hand holds a spear obliquely upward, passing in front of his body, and the right holds a trophy (*spolia opima*) over the right shoulder. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Reinach 1895, pl. 62, nos. 58.3 and 59.4, pl. 125, no. 39bis; Furtwängler 1896, pl. 54, no. 7259; Lippold 1922, pl. VII, no. 1 and pl. XXXIX, no. 2; Walters 1926, no. 1356; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 222 and 224; Henig 1975, no. 33 (convex carnelian, 1st or 2nd century AD); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 625 (1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1283; Spier 1992, nos. 357-358; Alfaro Giner 1996, no. 27.

Discussion: The type of Mars Gradivus (the marching or dancing god, according to Ovid – cf. Henig 1982, 216) or Tropaeophoros or Iuvenis (the Italic agrarian god), was probably copied from a cult statue (cf. Richter, 1956, no. 295) and symbolized the Roman victories (which explains his

other names of *Victor* and *Invictus*). Having appeared for the first time on republican coins, such as those of L. Valerio Flacco (c. 100 BC), the type was more widespread in the imperial period, especially under Galba, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, although the name of Mars Gradivus never appears (only Mars *Ultor*, *Augustus*, *Invictus*, *Pater* and *Victor*). His subligaculum is said to be a mantel (Richter 1971, 37) or a reminiscence of the costume of the Samnite warriors (Guiraud 1995, no. 118). Very occasionally Venus Victrix is shown by his side (AGDS III Kassel, pl. 6, no. 39).

Publ.: Cardozo 1962, no. 28; Graça and Machado 1970, 378, no. 4; Henig 1974, 16 (parallel of his no. 70); Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 191; Cravinho 2010, 16 (simply cited).

Date: 1st century AD.

12. Glass paste imitating red jasper, oval, slightly convex upper face, flat lower face and inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type A4). *Dimensions*: 14 x 10.5 x 2.4mm. Broken and with small 'holes' in the upper face. From Alentejo. Inv. no. Au 599.

Description: Mars Gradivus walking to the left, helmeted and nude apart from a subligaculum around his waist floating out on the left side of his body. His left hand holds a spear obliquely upward, passing behind the body, and the right holds a trophy (*spolia opima*) over the right shoulder. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Round Head Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 225 and 228; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 6, nos. 36 and 38; Gramatopol 1974, no. 190; AGDS IV, pl. 101, no. 784; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 804; Krug 1978, no. 51; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1284; Krug 1980, nos. 250-251; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 79; Guiraud 1988, no. 125; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2772.

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 377-378, no. 3; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 164; Cravinho 2010, 16 (simply cited).

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

13. Pale-orange carnelian, with some lighter shades, oval, flat upper face, slightly convex lower face and inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F6). *Dimensions*: 12.6 x 9 x 2.3mm. Chipped on the right lower edge. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1207.

Description: Mars Gradivus walking to the left on tiptoe, wearing a helmet with $\lambda o \varphi o \varsigma$ and nude apart from a subligaculum around his waist floating out on the left side of his body. He holds in the left hand a spear obliquely

upward, passing behind his body, and in the right hand a trophy over the right shoulder. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Groves Style*.

Parallels: AGDS III Kassel, pl. 5, no. 35 (1st-2nd century AD); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 804 (carnelian, 1st-2nd century AD); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 131; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2771 (2nd century AD); Guiraud 1995, no. 23; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 10.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 22, no. 4; Cravinho 2015, 98-99, no. 3.

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

14. Black and blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 11.8 x 9.1 x 2.4mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1201.

Description: Mars Ultor standing in slightly three-quarter front view and facing right, helmeted and wearing a cuirass (*lorica*) and a short tunic (*tunica manicata*). In his left hand he holds a spear and in the right a large round shield over the right shoulder. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Plain Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Breglia 1941, no. 544; Maioli 1971, no. 27, pl. II, no. 9; Gramatopol 1974, no. 194; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1095 (1st century BC); Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 222; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 91.

Discussion: The motif derived from a prototype of early Hellenism and constitutes one of the variants of the Mars Ultor type. In some of those variants, he carries a sword and drapery at his waist (Zienkiewicz 1986, no. 46) or has another shield in front of him (Henig 1974, no. 465) or is accompanied by Victoria (Zwierlein-Diehl, 1979, no. 1204 – crowning him), by Venus (Smith, 1888, no. 791) or by Venus and Cupid (Walters, 1926, no. 1435).

Publ.: Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2006, 524, footnote 15 (simply cited); Cravinho 2010, 19, Pl. I-1; Cravinho 2015, 100-101, no. 4.

Date: 2nd century AD.

Satyrs

15. Orange carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 10.5 x 9 x 3mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 614.

Description: Satyr, in slightly three-quarter back view and facing left. With his right foot up resting on a stone, he plays with his left hand a lyre placed on his right knee and holds a thyrsus obliquely upward over the right

shoulder. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Republican Flat Bouterolle Style.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 2245 (= Marshall 1907, no. 1189; Walters 1926, no. 2179 – bearded man playing cithara); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2787 (Eros in front); Guiraud 2008, no. 1196 (carnelian, 15 x 9mm; late 1st century BC-1st century AD).

Discussion: On some variants of the motif the satyr is seated (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 342; Spier 1992, no. 281; Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 42) or kneeling (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 963; Krug 1980, no. 322), or there is also a figure of Silenus playing the *auloi* (Henig 1994, no. 177) in the scene.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 178; Ponte 1995, 129, no. 234; Cravinho 2010, 18 (simply cited).

Date: Second half of the 1st century BC.

16. Black glass paste, oval, flat upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Marshall's Ring Type XVI). *Gem's dimensions*: 12 x 16.5mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 20mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 26mm. Wt: 3.8g. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 639.

Description: Sacro-idyllic scene: satyr/Silenos seated on a rock in profile to the left, playing a lyre. In front of him, a shrine on a rocky eminence which contains a statue, perhaps of Priapus. Ground line.

Parallels: Middleton 1891, XVIII, no. 69 (= Henig 1994, no. 182 – second half of the 1st century BC); Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, no. 60; Walters 1926, 172, no. 1584 (= Richter 1971, no. 188); Berry 1969, no. 35 (nicolo; temple interpreted as an amphora); AGDS III Kassel, pl. 13, no. 101 (holding a thyrsus); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 394 (holding a thyrsus); Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 249; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2540/7; Ubaldelli 2001, no. 323; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 3.86 (1st century BC).

Discussion: This scene must have derived from a Hellenistic original, like all those in which the satyrs make libations or play a musical instrument in the open air, in front of an altar, or a small priapic temple, or a temple of Athena, or a column with a herma on it. Sometimes in front of the satyr there is also a tree (AGDS III Kassel, pl. 13, no. 102), or two goats (Spier 1992, no. 281), or an Erote (Gramatopol 1974, no. 53), or Dionysos-child (Sternberg 1980, no. 746), or the temple is missing (Breglia 1941, no. 535; Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 39). On another scheme, the satyr is standing and plays the double flute (Richter 1956, no. 326; AGDS IV, pl. 60, no. 413; Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 36; Guiraud 1988, no. 294; Baratte and Painter 1989, no. 150) or dances and plays a lyre (Walters 1926, no. 1584).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 206; Ponte 1995, 129, no. 232. *Date*: Second half of the 1st century BC.

17. Pale-green chrysoprase, circular, convex and polished upper face, set in a small Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2b). *Gem's dimensions*: 5.5 x 5mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 17mm; inner diameter: 12mm; H: 15.5mm. Wt: 3.2g. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 669.

Description: Young satyr in slightly three-quarter front view and facing left, sitting on the floor and holding a syrinx in his raised hand. Behind him, obliquely, a *pedum*. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 1038 (= Walters 1926, no. 3890 – bearded); Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 443 (Maenad in a similar pose, holding a thyrsus and a theatrical mask); Hamburger 1968, no. 153 (playing the double flute); Henig 1975, no. 68 (playing the double flute, sitting on the trunk of a tree); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 342 (playing lyre, column in front, second half of the 1st century BC); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 88 (holding thyrsus, animal in front); Guiraud 1988, no. 290 (playing the double flute, also a tree) and 291 (playing the double flute, sitting on a rock); Casal Garcia 1991, no. 76 (playing the double flute); Capolutti 1996, no. 87 (playing the double flute, between a tree and a bush).

Discussion: Followers of Dionysos-Bacchus, the satyrs were intimately concerned with drinking, music and revelry and constituted a favorite theme among the Roman soldiers. Their presence on glyptics goes back to the Greek gems of the 6th century BC (Furtwängler 1900, pl. VIII, no. 24) and Etruscan scaraboids of the 5th century BC (Richter 1956, no. 165). In the Roman era they were very popular throughout the Empire (even on amulets), in scenes on which we can see them dancing (Henig 1974, no. 178; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 486), holding or playing a syrinx (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1396; Sternberg 1980, no. 747; Middleton 1991, no. 172), or a lyre (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos. 342 and 963), or the double flute (Richter 1956, no. 326; Sena Chiesa 1978, nos. 27 and 71-72; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1400; Guiraud 1988, nos. 290-291). The ring in which this gem is set has a thick, massive, hoop.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 209; Cravinho 2010, 18 (simply cited).

Date: 1st century BC-1st century AD.

18. Dark and pale-blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4), set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 8.5 x 6.5mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 19.5mm; inner diameter: 17mm. Wt: 6.9g. In good condition. From Borralheira (Teixoso). Inv. no. Au 550.

Description: Satyr walking to the right, with his hair wrapped around his head. In his outstretched left hand he holds a bunch of grapes and in the right hand a *pedum* (*lagobolon*). Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Cap-with-rim Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 2195 (= Marshall 1907, no. 499; Walters 1926, no. 1604); Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 393; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 56, no. 325; Krug 1978, no. 20; Krug 1980, no. 318; Guiraud 1988, no. 255 (with nebris); Johns 1997, no. 227; Middleton 1998, no. 58; Henig 1999, no. 22 (= Henig 1974, no. 163); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 3.75; Lopez de la Orden 1990, no. 133.

Discussion: The ring, which entered the Museum in 1954, can be dated to the 1st century AD (perhaps to the Flavian period). However, it was found within a treasure (the so-called 'Tesouro da Borralheira') whose chronology dates from the 1st century AD to the early 3rd century AD (the date on which the treasure was hidden).

Publ.: Heleno 1953, 215; Graça and Machado 1970, 380-381, no. 8; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 138; Cravinho 2010, 18 (simply cited). *Date*: Late 1st century AD.

19. Grey and brownish nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 14 x 11.2 x 2.1mm. Chipped on the lower face. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 621.

Description: Satyr walking to the right, with his hair wrapped around his head. In his outstretched left hand he holds a bunch of grapes and in the right a pedum (lagobolon). Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Imperial Cap-with-rim Style.

Parallels: vide no. 18.

Discussion: The scheme of the motif, perhaps derived from a Hellenistic-Roman pictorial model, also appears on statues and sigillata and was widely spread throughout the Empire. On rare variants, the satyr turns back (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 579) or leans on a column with his legs crossed (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 625; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 41), or sits on a pile of rocks (Berry 1969, no. 215; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 123; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 174), or has a cock at his feet (Zwierlein-Diehl

1979, no. 1394), or is accompanied by a dog (Henig 1974, nos. 170-171; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1390; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 173). More often, a hare hangs from his outstretched hand, that a dog or a small goat is trying to catch (Smith 1888, no. 1039; Henig 1974, no. 166; Gramatopol 1974, no. 256; Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 69; Krug 1980, nos. 317 and 319-320).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 185; Ponte 1995, 129, no. 233; Cravinho 2010, 18 (simply cited).

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

20. Pale-orange carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 16 x 12.5 x 2.5mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1206.

Description: Bearded satyr/Silenos walking to the right, wearing an animal skin (nebris) over his head and his left shoulder, playing the flute held in his raised right hand and holding another flute in the left hand. A pedum is hanging from his left arm. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Imperial Classicizing Style.

Parallels: King 1866, pl. XLIII, no. 5 (= Richter 1956, no. 326 – playing the double flute); Smith 1888, no. 994 (= Walters 1926, no. 1561 – plasma, 23 x 17mm, playing the double flute); Richter 1971, no. 175 (playing the double flute); Vollenweider 1995, no. 248 (Hellenistic cameo, playing the double flute).

Discussion: The motif probably goes back to a 4th-3rd century BC original (Richter 1956, 77) and presents small variants on which the satyrs are depicted in three-quarter front view and playing a syrinx (Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 3.94) or a long horn (Henig 1994, no. 688, eighteenth century?) or sitting frontal and cross-legged holding a flute in each hand (AGDS II, no. 377 – mid. 1st century BC).

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 24, no. 8; Cravinho 2015, 102-103, no. 5.

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

Goddesses, Personifications and Syncretic (or Pantheistic) Deities Goddesses

21. Dark glass paste, covered by a thin gold and silver patina, oval, convex upper face, set in a Roman bronze gilt ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 13 x 8mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 24mm; inner diameter: 18mm; H: 24.7mm. In good condition. From the necropolis of Azinhaga do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal, Alentejo). Inv. no. 2010.59.41.

Description: Athena Nikephoros standing frontal and facing right, wearing a crested helmet and belted peplos, holding in her outstretched left hand Victoria, which she contemplates, and a spear in the right. In front of her, on the ground, is a shield. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: AGDS II, no. 459, pl. 81; Henig 1974, nos. 243-244; Elliot and Henig 1982, no. 23; Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 154; Guiraud 1988, no. 75; Angeles Gutierez 2008, no. 3.

Discussion: The type of Athena Nikephoros (Athena bringing the victory) is based on the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, which originally had a supp ort under the Nike (cf. Richter 1956, no. 269) and already appears on Greek coins and gems. In Rome it became very popular throughout the imperial period, both on coins (especially on aurei of Domitian, denarii of Hadrian and denarii and sestertii of Antoninus Pius – cf. Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1417) and gems of the Augustan period.

Publ.: Cravinho 2018, no. 11 (in press).

Date: 1st century AD.

22. Dark and greyish blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 12.5 x 10 x 3mm. Chipped on the top edge. From Alentejo (found in a grave or with coins). Inv. no. Au 600.

Description: Minerva Pacifera standing, frontal and facing right, with her right leg slightly bent, her head slightly lowered and wearing an Attic helmet with the ribbons floating, a sleeveless belted chiton, and peplos. In her right hand she holds a spear and in the left a hanging olive branch, which she contemplates. By her left side, a shield with a central umbo. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing-Stripy Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVI, no. 21; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 129; Henig 1974, A73 (4th century AD).

Discussion: Minerva Pacifera is the name of Minerva on coins of Marcus Aurelius (cf. Sternberg 1988, no. 434 – sestertius) and other emperors, on which she holds an olive branch. The motif of this gem, copied from a Greek statue (Furtwängler 1900, 222, pl. XLVI, no. 21), must be related to the mythological dispute between Athena and Poseidon, during the choice of the name and ownership of Athens. The rare gems depicting that dispute (cf. Rambach 2011, pl. 1) must derive from a composition that once decorated the west pediment of the Parthenon and is only known by a medallion of Marcus Aurelius (Smith 1888, no. 615) and by a drawing of 1674, by Jacques Carrey.

Publ.: Vasconcelos 1910, 238; Graça and Machado 1970, 375-376, no. 1; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 165; Cravinho 2018, no. 15 (in press). *Date*: 1st century AD.

23. Orange carnelian, oval, flat upper face, slightly convex lower face and inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F6). *Dimensions*: 14.1 x 10.1 x 2.5mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1208. *Description*: Ceres-Fides Publica standing in front view, head turned in profile to the left and the left leg slightly flexed, wearing a belted chiton with overfold. In her raised right hand, she holds a dish of fruit and in the lowered left hand two ears of wheat with their heads pointing down. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Chin-mouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Guiraud 1988, no. 221; Gallottini 2012, no. 143.

Discussion: The motif, typologically very similar to those of Annona and Aequitas types, appears for the first time on the coins of Domitian, symbolizing both his policy in increasing agriculture and strengthening finances, and the citizens' faith in their emperor (Fides Publica or Fides Augusti, as we can see on his and Plotina coins). In the field of gems (never on coins) it is very common to find the depiction of an ant seen from above – the insect consecrated to the cult of Juno Lanuvina and perhaps also to that of Ceres (a symbol of fertility, industry and richness). The elongated form of the figure is typical of the Mediterranean area (Guiraud 1996, 83).

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 22-23, no. 5; Cravinho 2015, 104-105, no. 6.

Date: 2nd century AD.

Personifications

24. Dark-brown sard, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 12.2 x 9.9 x 1.7mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 1229.

Description: Fortuna standing slightly in three-quarter front view facing right and her hair in a roll around her head. She wears a kalathos, a high-belted chiton and a mantle wrapped round her hips and over her right arm. In her left hand she holds a steering oar attached to a rudder, which lies horizontally behind her, and in her right hand a cornucopia. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Fossing 1929, no. 361 (sard; late 1st century BC); Richter 1956, no. 368; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 575 (1st century BC); AGDS III Kassel, pl. 91, no. 44 (1st century AD); Henig 1974, no. 314 (late 1st century AD); Krug 1980, no. 7 (1st century AD); Platz-Horster 1984, no. 64; Henig and

Whiting 1987, nos. 97 and 99 (1st century AD); Guiraud 1988, no. 201 (first half of the 1st century AD); Middleton 1991, no. 116; Henig 1994, no. 326 (1st century AD); Capolutti 1996, no. 63 (1st century BC-1st century AD); D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 111 (Isis-Fortuna); Konuk and Arslan 2000, nos. 78-79 (1st century AD); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 4.58 (F5, 1st century BC-1st century AD); Lafli 2012, nos. 24 and 103.

Discussion: The type derives from a prototype that dates back to the Hellenistic period and developed from the type of Artemis-Tyche. However, although its traditional scheme first appeared in Rome on coins of P. Sepullius Macer and T. Sempronius Graco, its symbols are characteristic of the Augustan period. From the coins the type was adopted for gems, becoming the most widespread motif in the imperial period after 70 AD (mainly in the second and third centuries AD), probably because of its auspicious character. According to Hélène Guiraud, this type of rudder is datable from a pre-Vespasianus age (cf. Guiraud 1988, 96, fig. 67).

Unpublished.

Date: 1st century AD (before Vespanianus).

25. Red jasper, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (F1). *Dimensions*: 8.5 x 6.7 x 2mm. Chipped on the upper right border, and with a scratch on the left side but repaired. From Alentejo (found in a grave or with coins). Inv. no. Au 602.

Description: Nemesis, wingless, standing in slightly three-quarter front view, her head in profile to the right and her hair rolled and tied back in a chignon. Wearing a long and sleeveless chiton, she holds two reins in her right hand and the edge of the chiton with her raised left hand. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Rigid Chin-mouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Hamburger 1968, no. 93; AGDS II, no. 526 (jasper, 2nd century AD); Gesztelyi 1987, no. 44; Guiraud 1988, no. 394 (holding a triangular object); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 152; Gesztelyi 2013, no. 12.

Discussion: Nemesis was a personified emotion that presided over the Destiny (*Moira*), and a symbol of righteous rage and divine vengeance. Her representations in Roman art, including on coins and gems, probably derive from a cult statue of the 4th-3rd century BC, based on the statue of her sanctuary in Rahmnus.

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 378-379, no. 5 ('Fortuna'); Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 167.

Date: 2nd or 2nd-3rd century AD.

26. Pale-red jasper, oval, slightly convex upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 11.2 x 8mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 21.5mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 20mm. Wt: 7.8g. In good condition. From Batalha. Inv. no. Au 130.

Description: Victoria standing in slightly three-quarter back view, her head turned to the left, nude, apart from a himation wrapped around her legs. With her left foot up on a stone, she writes on a shield resting on her raised left knee. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 1162 (= Walters 1926, pl. XVI, no. 1128); Furtwängler 1896, pl. 24, no. 2792 and pl. 28, no. 3550; Walters 1926, no. 3038; Fossing 1929, no. 625; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 679; Maioli 1971, no. 51; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 540; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 26; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 344; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 328 (plasma, 1st century AD, palm in front); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 4.34 (glass paste, B3, 1st century AD).

Discussion: This type derives from a statue by Lysippos ('Aphrodite admiring her reflection in the shield of Ares' – cf. Casal Garcia, no. 328) and appears on statues (cf. the bronze statue of Brescia), reliefs, coins, and gems for purposes of political propaganda. In some variants on gems, Victoria has her foot up on a globe (Richter 1971, no. 215; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 215), or is seated and wears a helmet (Krug 1995, no. 48), or an Erote gives her a palm (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1516), or the shield is propped against a trophy (Middleton 1991, no. 113), a column (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, nos. 1510-1511) or a palm tree (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, nos. 1512-1515; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 24).

Publ.: Chaves 1913, 154; Cardozo 1962, no. 27; Graça and Machado 1970, 381, no. 9; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 198; Cravinho 2010, 17 (simply cited).

Date: 1st century AD.

27. Dark and greyish blue nicolo with shades on the upper face, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 16 x 12 x 3.5mm. From the Villa of Torre de Palma. Inv. no. 2001.5.575. *Description*: Victoria showing one large wing, dressed with a chiton with overfold, walking on tiptoe to the right and holding a laurel wreath in her right hand. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Chin-mouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 862 (also a palm; carnelian; 1st-2nd century AD); Guiraud 1988, no. 135 (agate; 1st century AD).

Discussion: The motif dates back to the Hellenistic period and symbolizes a victory.

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd century AD.

28. Black and blue nicolo paste, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 14 x 10 x 3.2mm. Chipped on the middle of the left edge. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1199.

Description: Victoria wearing a chiton with overfold and flying to the left. She holds a laurel wreath in her left hand and a palm-branch over her right shoulder in the other hand. No ground line.

Parallels: Walters 1926, no. 1705; Bonner 1950, no. 227R (magical gem); Richter 1956, no. 354; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 660; Hamburger 1968, no. 60; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 47, no. 222 (2nd-3rd century AD); Gramatopol 1974, no. 320; Henig 1975, no. 89 (2nd century AD); Krug 1975, no. 3 (2nd century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, nos. 1520-1521 (2nd-3rd century AD) and 1522-1523 (3rd century AD); Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 33 (3rd century AD); Platz-Horster 1984, no. 19; Zienkiewicz 1986, no. 51 (carnelian, 2nd-3rd century AD); Henig and Whiting 1987, nos. 126-133 (2nd century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2815 (2nd century AD); Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 50 (late 2nd-3rd century AD); Henig 1994, no. 323 (2nd century AD); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 130 (2nd century AD); Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 73 (2nd century AD); Hamat 2014, no. 5 (2nd-3rd century AD, reverse).

Discussion: The type is of Hellenistic origin and occurs on republican coins struck by L. Piso Frugi in 90-89 BC (Sutherland, 1974, no. 103) and by Augustus, in order to express the idea of Victoria Augusti and as a symbol of good luck and victory. In a Christian context, it would represent the victory of Christianity over paganism (cf. Chelli 2008, 94, Fig. 62). It may be noted that an intaglio in the Berlin collection, with Victoria shouldering a palm (Furtwängler 1896, pl. 54, no. 7281), is inscribed AMMAIENSES. Panofka stated that the legend had to do with the Mesopotamian city of Amida (the modern Diarbakr in Turkey), cited by Ptolomy (Panofka 1852, 68, pl. 2, 28). However, it is very possible that the inscription refers to people from/living in Lusitanian Ammaia.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 24-25, no. 10; Cravinho 2015, 106-107, no. 7.

Date: 2nd-3rd century AD.

Syncretic Deities

29. Mottled green and red jasper (heliotrope), oval, flat upper face, set in a modern ring. *Gem's dimensions*: 15 x 12mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 24mm; inner diameter: 16mm; H: 21mm. Wt: 5.5g. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 638.

Description: Syncretic deity winged, standing frontal and facing right, wearing a Corinthian helmet, chiton and himation and holding in her left hand a rudder and two ears of wheat. Below, the letters I (on the left) and Z (on the right). Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 1179 (= Walters 1926, no. 1727) and no. 2205; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 612-613; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 299 (carnelian, 2nd century AD); Pannuti 1994, no. 143.

Discussion: This syncretic or pantheistic deity has the attributes of Minerva (helmet), Victoria (wings), Ceres (ears of wheat) and Fortuna (rudder). On a gem in the Thorvaldsen Museum, the figure wears a mural crown just like a marble statue found in Bulla Regia which, at the time of Fossing, was in the Bardo Museum in Tunis (cf. Fossing 1929, no. 670). It is important to emphasize the inscription IZ, the equivalent to HZ (the negative form of ZH), an abbreviation of the Greek word ZHCAIS that corresponds to the Latin expression VIVAS – a common greeting formula on gems, silverware and glass bowls, already used in the pagan era and later becoming especially frequent in Christianity with the addition of the words IN DEO (VIVAS IN DEO).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 205; Ponte 1995, 128, no. 229; Cravinho 2018, no. 22 (in press).

Date: 2nd century AD.

30. Orange carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 12.2 x 10.2 x 2.5mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 616.

Description: Syncretic deity, winged, standing frontal and her head facing right, wearing an Attic helmet, a stylized kalathos (?), chiton and himation and holding in her left hand a rudder and in her right hand a cornucopia (?) and an ear of wheat. In front of her, between the left arm and the ear of wheat, is an unusual object. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1036; Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 96 (holding an ear of wheat and two poppies; 1st-2nd century AD).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 180; Ponte 1995, 130, no. 236; Cravinho 2018, no. 24 (in press).

Date: 2nd-3rd century AD.

II - HEROES AND MYTHICAL FIGURES

Trojan Cycle

31. Translucent pale-purple amethyst, oval, convex on both faces (Henig's Type C7?), set in a gold mount with a spine-shaped decoration all along the edge. *Dimensions* (with the mount): 19 x 27.2 x 10mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 626.

Description: Youthful hero fallen with his body in slightly three-quarter front view, his head frontal and the legs flexed, leaning on a large wheel of a chariot not visible in the scene. He is wounded by an arrow in his right thigh and is being assisted by two warriors, one of whom helps him to draw out the arrow. All of them wear a linothorax and helmets whose feathers resemble birds. Behind the wounded warrior, a spear and a standard. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Campanian-Roman Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 1448 – 'sard' (= Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXIII, no. 2 – 'karneol'; Walters 1926, pl. XIV, no. 975 – 'sard'); AGDS II, pl. 84, no. 475 (glass paste; warrior sitting on a pile of stones; 1st century BC).

Discussion: The scene must portray an episode in the Trojan War, with the wounded hero Eurypylos (son of Euaemo) hit in a thigh by an arrow by Alexandros, while protecting Ajax with his shield. According to Homer, he was driven in his chariot to the Greek military camp and was helped by Patroklos (Homer, *Iliad*, XI, 844-848), at his request (Homer, *Iliad*, XI, 828-836). Scenes from the Trojan War cycle are frequent on gems, some of them depicting two warriors supporting a wounded warrior (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXIII, no. 3; Walters 1926, no. 3263; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 890) or carrying his body (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 672; Spier 1992, no. 182; Capolutti 1996, no. 174).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 190; Ponte 1995, 132, no. 247. *Date*: 2nd century BC.

32. Orange carnelian, oval, slightly convex upper face and flat lower face, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type A4). *Dimensions*: 9 x 9.7 x 4.2mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 613.

Description: Two naked, bald, long-bearded male figures kneeling, flanking a large shield with a helmet on it. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's

Republican Wheel Style.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. LXI, no. 55 (two young men); Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 974 (republican); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 453 (seated craftsmen; no helmet).

Discussion: Sena Chiesa (see her above parallel) says the motif could represent two Cyclopes preparing the weapons of a hero, perhaps Achilles, or two craftsmen working. The first hypothesis is more plausible. A gem in the Ashmolean Museum with a seated artisan working on a shield probably presents Hephaistos working on the shield of Achilles (Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.22)

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 177; Ponte 1995, 130, no. 238. *Date*: 1st century BC.

33. Red jasper, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 13.2 x 11.2 x 2mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. No. Au 1205.

Description: Nude warrior standing in profile to the left, with his right leg bent behind the left, in a Polycleitan stance. He is nude, apart from the chlamys which hangs from his shoulder, and holds in his right hand a spear obliquely upward and a plumed helmet in his left hand. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Chin-mouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 238-239; Henig 1974, nos. 457-459; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 743; Vollenweider 1984, no. 462; Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 264; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1627; Guiraud 1998, no. 13 (nicolo paste, 2nd-3rd century AD); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 183.

Discussion: The motif, based on a theme of the Trojan War cycle and inspired by the Greek art and gems of the 5th-4th century BC (Beazley 1920, no. 30), is a classic reworking of the Italic motifs in the Etruscan tradition, in which a warrior contemplates the head of an enemy or a helmet symbolizing it. Depicting Achilles holding the sword and the helmet of Peleus after the death of Patroklos (Henig 1974, 65-66) or Mars or Ajax veiling the weapons of Achilles or Theseus (Sena Chiesa 1966, 156), the type was especially popular in the 2nd century AD (Henig 1974, 41). In some variants there is a shield in front of the warrior (Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, nos. 1628-1629; Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 13; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 182; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.7), or a column behind him, on which he rests his elbow (Scatozza Höricht 1989, no. 55 = D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 314), or the warrior places one of his feet up on a globe (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 741). On a rare variant, his shield is ornamented with a star device,

reminiscent of the Macedonian sun burst (Henig 1994, no. 141).

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 19-20, Pl. I-2; Cravinho 2015, 112-113, no. 10.

Date: 2nd century AD.

Mythical Greek Figures

34. Dark-red carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1), set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2a). *Gem's dimensions*: 12 x 9mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 21.2mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 20.5mm. Wt: 10,1g. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 640.

Description: A youth nude and with curly hair (Meleager), is standing in a relaxed pose, in slightly three-quarter front view towards the left, his left leg bearing his weight and the right leg flexed. He leans slightly forward and rests his right arm on a column next to him, holding in his right hand a spear obliquely upward and placing the left hand on his hip, in a Polycletian stance. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Reinach 1895, pl. 4, no. 39; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, no. 9; Boardman 1968, no. 80; Gramatopol 1974, no. 337; Henig 1975, no. 16 (Apollo); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 214; D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 121; Weiß 2007, no. 254.

Discussion: The type is derived from a late Polykleitan statue in the style of Narkissos or Apollo leaning on a small column with a tripod or a lyre on it (D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 121). On Hellenistic and Roman gems he is identified with a mythological figure associated with the hunt – Adonis, Meleagros or Hippolytus, and is sometimes accompanied by a hound (Reinach 1895, pl. 133, no. 24; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, no. 12; Richter 1971, no. 680; Henig 1975, no. 179; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 465; Capolutti 1996, no. 168), or is crowned by an Erote (Neverov 1976, no. 101), or has in front of him a tree (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, no. 11), or an aedicula (AGDS IV, pl. 131, no. 984) or a statue of Artemis (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, no. 10; Richter 1956, no. 419; AGDS IV, pl. 131, no. 983; Tamma 1991, no. 61).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 207; Ponte 1995, 128, no. 228. *Date*: 1st century AD.

35. Black and pale blue-greyish nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 12.2 x 9.5 x 3.2mm. In good condition. From the castrum of Cabeço de Vaiamonte (Monforte). Inv. No. Au 657.

Description: Ganymede standing, in slightly three-quarter front view to the left, nude, apart from drapery round his left arm, and wearing a phrygian cap. In his right hand he holds out a cup and in the left hand a *pedum* over his left shoulder. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: King 1872, pl. XI, no. 8 (sard); Smith 1888, no. 602 (= Walters 1926, no. 1286 – nicolo, 14 x 12mm, eagle at feet); Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIII, no. 26; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 45; Guiraud 1988, no. 452 (nicolo paste, 2nd-3rd century AD).

Discussion: According to Furtwängler (1900, 206), this is a sculptural motif created by Leochares. Ganymede, with whom Zeus fell in love and took up to Olympos making him the cup-bearer of the gods, normally appears on gems in association with the eagle: at his feet (Walters, no. 1286), drinking from his cup (Henig 1974, nos. 471-476; Spier 1992, no. 427; Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 647; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.58; Guiraud 2008, no. 1258), carrying Ganymede to the Olympos (Richter 1956, no. 425), or forming the shape of his head on which Ganymede wears a Phrygian cap (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 646; Aguilera Aragon 1979, 89-94; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2111). Their depiction on a personal seal perhaps indicates that his possessor believed in immortality. As Henig states, 'Ganymede carried up to Olimpos and deified, was a natural symbol for Salvation' (Henig 1974, 103).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 163.

Date: 2nd century AD.

Mythical Italic Figures

36. Orange carnelian, polished, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 9.8 x 8.5 x 2.5mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 615.

Description: Male figure standing to the left, slightly bent forward and wearing a chlamys, looking at a small figure dressed in a chiton emerging from the ground at his feet and offering him two ears of wheat. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Henig and MacGregor 2004, 106, nos. 10.44-10.45.

Discussion: The motif shows what Martin Henig and Arthur MacGregor describe as a 'prodigy scene' (Henig and MacGregor 2004, 106). The small figure on the left can be Tages, who appeared at plow-time and taught Etruscans divination, according to a myth told by Cicero (*Div*, II.50-51) and Ovid (*Met*, 15.553-559).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 179; Ponte 1995, 130, no. 235. *Date*: 1st century BC.

37. Mottled green and red jasper (heliotrope), polished, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 8 x 11 x 2.5mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 609.

Description: Faustulus and another shepherd, wearing a short tunic and a Faustulus-type animal skin, standing one on each side of a cave, within which a she-wolf (Luperca) is suckling the two twin children (Romulus and Remus). In the background, above the cave, two goats are rearing up against the trunk of a tree, one on each side. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 1697 (= Walters 1926, no. 987; Richter 1971, no. 41 – plasma; two trees and two deer fighting); Reinach 1895, pl. 61, no. 54.3. (heliotrope); Furtwängler 1896, pl. 23, no. 2487 (herdsmen side by side) and pl. 26, nos. 3120-3121; AGDS IV, pl. 53, no. 366 (glass paste, 1st century BC-1st century AD); Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 409; Weiß 2007, no. 288 (heliotrope; lupa and three goats on the cave).

Discussion: This scene, which also appears on a marble sarcophagus of the Vatican and on the Ara Casalis (cf. Richter 1971, no. 41), alludes to the foundation of Rome as demonstrated by the cave, the she-wolf (Luperca, the Capitoline Wolf), the twins (Romulus and Remus, sons of Mars and Vestal Rhea Silvia) and the tree (the Ficus Ruminalis). The theme already appears on Roman-Campanian coins dating to 335-312 BC (especially in Southern Italy), on didracmas of 269-266 BC and post-235 BC, as well as on sextants of 217-215 BC (although without the representation of the Ruminal fig tree, which only appears in those of 150-140 BC). On a variant, the shewolf only suckles one of the twin children, recalling the myth of Telephos (the legendary founder of Pergamos) being suckled by a hind (Spier 1992, no. 84). Curiously, on the Renaissance medal of Perusia the theme is taken up to identify the two condottieri of the town (Braccio de Montone and Piccinino, being suckled by a female gryphus) to Romulus and Remus (Ferreira and Coutinho 1979, no. 2).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 173; Ponte 1995, 132, no. 242. *Date*: 2nd-3rd century AD.

III - HUMANS

Warrior

38. Black and blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 12.2 x 10.3 x 3mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1195.

Description: Young warrior standing frontally and facing right, nude, apart from a mantle draped over his right arm. In his right hand he holds a sword and a spear and in the left a sword sheath. A small shield leans towards his left leg. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Chin-mouth-nose Style*. Parallels: Marshall 1907, no. 1163 (= Walters 1926, no. 2086; Henig 1974, no. 92 – Alexander; carnelian; 1st or 2nd century AD); Henig 1975, A22 (holding palm?); Guiraud 1988, no. 539 (nicolo, warrior holding a sword, 2nd century AD).

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 25-26, no. 12; Cravinho 2015, 114-115, no. 11.

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

Herdsman

39. Faint and pale-brownish chalcedony, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 10.5 x 13 x 2mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 618.

Description: Shepherd standing in profile to the left, leaning on a staff, wearing a short chiton and a Faustulus-type animal-skin mantle. In front of him, a goat is eating the leaves of the bottom branches of a tree that bends to the right, rounding with the shape of the intaglio. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 770; Guiraud 1988, nos. 610-612; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, nos. 1664-1665 (1st-2nd century AD); Krug 1995, no. 58 (1st-2nd century AD, jasper); Gallottini 2012, no. 213.

Discussion: This bucolic scene, derived from Hellenistic iconography, is one of the most common motifs on Roman gems, mainly in the second half of the 1st century BC and in the Augustan period, and is frequent in Renaissance painting (specifically, that of Titian and Giorgione) in the background of scenes depicting nymphs and herdsmen. In some variants, the goat is rearing upon its hind legs and browsing from the tree (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 761; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 58, no. 344; Henig 1974, no. 500; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 653; Guiraud 1988, no. 615), from which hangs a hare that a dog is trying to catch (Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 762-766; Berry 1969, no. 81; Henig 1974, no. 499; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1686; Alfaro Giner

1996, no. 20) – a common motif on bronze coins, cremation urns and Paleo-Christian sarcophagi, in which the scene represents the earthly world, with classic reminiscences of the Orpheus myth, and the herdsman the Good Shepherd.

It may be noted that the brown taches existing on the gem (mainly on the edges) derive from the organic glue which held the gem in its setting. *Publ*.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 182; Ponte 1995, 130, no. 241. *Date*: 2nd-3rd century AD.

Athletes

40. Dark grey and white glass paste, oval, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type B3). *Dimensions*: 11.2 x 9.7 x 3.5mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 620.

Description: Wrestling match between two athletes. One of them lifts the other off the ground. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Republican Flat Bouterolle Style.

Parallels: Walters 1926, no. 3285; Fossing 1929, no. 1763; Henig 1974, no. 521 (3rd century AD); Gramatopol 1974, no. 253 (two Paniscoi).

Discussion: The theme appears on Greek coins of Pamphylia, struck between 420 and 400 BC, and is perhaps related to the fight between Hercules and Antaeus (cf. Henig 1974, no. 437; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 383). In some variants, besides the athletes is their physical trainer (paidotribes) (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 256), or a herm (Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 98), or a judge (Walters 1926, no. 3295; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 468), or a cup is in front of them (Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 37), or a palm (AGDS IV, pl. 135, nos. 1007-1008), or a cup and a palm for the winner of the fight (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1107; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 469). It is also a common motif on the iconography of Eros, which was intended to have a moral connotation: the struggle between Eros and Anteros, that is, between Good and Evil (Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 182; Guiraud 1988, no. 378; Sternberg 1988, no. 700; Spier 1992, no. 204; Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 222; Lopez de la Orden 1990, no. 123).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 184; Ponte 1995, 130, no. 240. *Date*: 1st century BC.

41. Dark red carnelian, oval, slightly convex upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2b). *Gem's dimensions*: 7.5 x 6mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 20mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 17.2mm. Wt: 3.9g. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. No. Au 641.

Description: Victorious athlete running to the left, in slightly three-quarter front view, holding in his outstretched right hand a laurel wreath and in the left a palm branch over his left shoulder. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Chin-mouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXVIII, no. 2; Marshall 1907, no. 1291 (= Walters 1926, no. 1161 – Eros with palm); Fossing 1929, no. 977; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 934-935; AGDS IV, pl. 134, no. 1005; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 471; Guiraud 1988, no. 572; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 372 (plasma, 1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1692; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 50. *Discussion*: The same motif is engraved on a denarius of L. Plaetorus, of *c*. 75 BC (Mattingly 1927, pl. XIII, no. 15), on a gem from Kassel (Zazoff 1965, no. 33 – Eros as an athlete), on a red jasper found on the floor of a Roman villa dating to *c*. 4th century BC in Tel-Shikmona, Israel (Shapira 2014) and on a carnelian published by Carina Weiß (Weiß 2009, no. 156). In other variants the athlete holds only a palm branch (Walters 1926, no. 2247; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 7.43), a laurel wreath (Cravinho 2001, no. 25) or a palm branch and a figurine of Victoria (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 936).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 202; Ponte 1995, 127, no. 227. *Date*: 1st century AD.

Female Portraits

42. Banded green, pale-blue and white glass, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 16 x 12.5 x 3mm. Chipped on the lower edge. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 622. *Description*: Bust of Cleopatra VII Philopator (?) to the left, with a knotted diadem, her hair tied back in a bun in the usual Greek manner and the clothing shown at the back of the neck. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style* (Augustan Era).

Parallels: Vollenweider 1995, no. 158 (bust) and no. 166; Walker and Higgs 2001, no. 153 (blue glass intaglio; bust facing left).

Discussion: The intaglio belongs to a special type of polychrome and banded glass pastes imitating the banded agate with green, white and blue colors or green, black and white strong colors, which were very popular in the Augustan Era. In fact, they are unreal imitations, since the artists use tones that stand out from the usual production and do not imitate any real stone (Guiraud 1988, 46). Its motif resembles the portraits of Cleopatra on bronze coins of Alexandria (50-31 BC) and marble statues in the British Museum (London), Musei Capitolini (Rome) and Pergamon Museum (Berlin).

On a contemporary hellenistic cameo she is depicted as Isis and Marcus Antonius as Osiris (Henig 2017, Fig. 13 – sardonyx, 1st century BC). Her portrait also appears on modern gems (Henig 1994, no. 630 – perhaps of the 18th century; Spier 2001, no. 50 – perhaps of the 18th century). *Publ.*: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 186; Ponte 1995, 130, no. 239. *Date*: Third quarter of the 1st century BC.

43. Red and white carnelian, oval, flat upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Henig's Ring Type XI). *Gem's dimensions*: 7 x 5mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 17mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 15.2 mm. Wt: 3.8g. Cracked on the upper face. From Mirobriga. Inv. no. Au 4.

Description: Drapped bust of Faustina the Younger (?) in profile to the left, with an elongated neck and curled hair tied back in a bun at the nape of the neck. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Chin-mouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Hamburger 1968, no. 137; Berry 1969, no. 95; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 837; Henig 1990, no. 64; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2540/14 (third quarter of the 2nd century AD); Henig 1995, 306-308, fig. A, pl. IV (cameo); Vollenweider 2003, no. 178 (*c*. 170-175 AD) and no. 181 (*c*. 170-175 AD); Henig and MacGregor 2004, nos. 5.42 (2nd century AD) and 5.47-5.48.

Discussion: This type of hairstyle is characteristic of the Antonine period (second half of the 2nd century AD), when private portraits were copied from those of Faustina the Younger and her daughters. The engraving technique was kindly explained to us by Dr. Jack Ogden in 2014: 'The carnelian was shaped and engraved. Next it was covered in an alkali solution (probably sodium carbonate) and heated. This bleached the surface. The upper surface of the gem was then re-polished to leave the white in the depressions. Incidentally, etching does seem to make carnelian more prone to cracking (you will sometimes see a network of surface cracks like 'crazy paving', I think probably there from the time of heating rather than developing over time)'.

Publ.: Vasconcelos 1905, 379; Vasconcelos 1914, 315; Cardozo 1962, no. 19; Almeida 1964, 68; Graça and Machado 1970, 381-382, no. 10; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 192.

Date: Second half of the 2nd century AD.

Child portrait

44. Black and blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4), set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 6.5 x 5.3mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 18.8mm;

inner diameter: 13mm; H: 17.5mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1212.

Description: Child's head in slightly three-quarter front view to the left, with cheeky face, half-closed mouth, open eyes and curled hair. The deep engraving enhances the black part of the gem and emphasizes the motif. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Extinguishing Pellet Style*.

Parallels: King 1866, no. 17, fig. on p. 75, no. 6 (= Richter 1956, no. 485 – inscribed in Greek letlers TYXIA); Furtwängler 1896, pl. 36, no. 5273; Vollenweider 1972, pl. 29, no. 1 (bust, 2nd century BC); Pannuti 1975, no. 29 (glass paste); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 707; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 8; Spier 1992, no. 229; Krug 1995, no. 10.4; D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 99 (nicolo); Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 48 (garnet, 2nd-1st century BC); Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 464 (nicolo) and no. 466 (jasper, with an inscription).

Discussion: The motif is of late Hellenistic, especially Ptolomaic (Henig 1975, no. 46), or early Roman type depicting Eros (or Eros-Horus) and was very popular among the Hellenistic engravers (Alessio 1985, no. 292 – button; Vollenweider 1995, nos. 67 – cameo, Ptolemy IV. and 164 – cameo, Ptolomaic prince) and the sculptors of the Augustan Era (cf. Richter 2004, no. 64; Weiß 2007, no. 401 – carnelian). These small child's heads (similar to those of Ara Pacis and the small Eros of the Augustus' statue in the Prima Porta) were intended as portraits, rather than as masks, although the neck is always absent (Richter, 1956, 106). Many of them date between the reign of Tiberius and the Flavian Era (cf. Pannuti 1975, 187, no. 29) and some bear inscriptions in Greek letters (cf. Richter, 1956, no. 485), which may indicate the name of the gem's owner. It may be noted that the black rim around the blue is very narrow in regard to the later imperial ones.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 21, pl. I-5; Cravinho 2015, 128-129, no. 18. *Date*: 1st century BC.

IV - ANIMALS

Group of animals

45. Dark blue and greyish nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4), set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 6.5 x 9mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 23.5mm; inner diameter: 16mm; H: 20.5mm. Wt: 11.7g. In good condition. From Beja or surroundings (?). Inv. no. Au 668.

Description: A large lion attacks a fallen goat in profile to the left. He stands on the left hind leg of the goat, who has its legs bent and its head still upright. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Fossing 1929, no. 1301; Henig 1974, no. 638; AGDS IV, pl. 86, no. 663; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 640; Platz-Horster 1984, no. 29 (above an eight-pointed star; chalcedony, 3rd century AD); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 232 (lion and horse); Scatozza Höricht 1989, no. 7 (= D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 342); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1793; Spier 1992, no. 425 (blue glass paste, 1st century AD); Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 494 (lion and horse).

Discussion: The motif, perhaps symbolizing the death devouring life and widely depicted in Eastern art, goes back to gems of the Minoan (Smith 1888, nos. 33 and 37; Beazley 1920, nos. 1-2; Spier 1992, no. 3), Mycenaean (Smith 1888, no. 41b; Beazley 1920, no. 3; Neverov 1976, no. 1) and Greek Geometric periods (Smith 1888, no. 36 = Walters 1926, no. 182) as well as Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals of c. 800 BC (Merrillees 2001, no. 20). In Rome it became very popular on lamps, terra sigillata, sculpture (as a decorative or funerary element), coins and gems and is later found on Sassanian gems and Renaissance and Romantic art. It may be noted that a similar motif was recorded on a gem set in a ring uncovered in Beja (the Roman Pax Julia) or surroundings, once in a private collection, and whose attacked animal was differently interpreted by those who published it (Vasconcelos 1899/1900, 230 – a goat depicted and interpreted as a horse; Vasconcelos 1913a, 502, fig. 265 – a goat depicted and interpreted as a horse; Bélard da Fonseca, 40-42, figs. 5-6 – a horse depicted; Viana 1946, 96; 100, figs. 11-12 – a horse depicted; Viana 1961/1962, 140, figs. 138-139 – a horse depicted); Cardozo 1962, no. 20 – a goat depicted, but interpreted as a horse; Henig 1974, 85 – as a parallel of his no. 636). Might it be the same ring?

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 319-321, no. 150; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 168.

Date: 1st century AD.

Mammals

Deer

46. Black and blue nicolo paste, oval, flat on both faces, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F2), set in a fragment of a Roman bronze ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 3a?). *Gem's dimensions*: 6.4 x 8mm. *Ring's fragment dimensions* – W: 7.4mm; L: 11.3mm; Th: 3.9mm. In good condition. From Torre d'Aires (Algarve). Inv. no. 2006.49.26.

Description: Running deer (?) to the left. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 1086-1088 (dog) and no. 1100 (deer).

Discussion: The deer/stag, already engraved on Prehistoric seals (Merrillees 2001, no. 1, from the fifth-third millennium BC), was a frequent theme on gems from the Minoan (Smith 1888, no. 59 = Walters 1926, no. 33) and Mycenaean periods (Berry 1969, no. 5) and a very common motif on Greek gems, in both Geometric (Smith 1888, nos. 58 and 101) and Archaic periods (Berry 1969, no. 17; Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 55), Greco-Persian gems (Richter 1956, nos. 138 and 141), archaic scaraboids (Smith 1888, no. 118), scarabs of the 5th century BC (Neverov 1976, no. 43), and Etruscan gems (Smith 1888, nos. 363 and 399; Pannuti 1994, nos. 45 and 47), and is also found on Sassanian seals. The type engraved on our intaglio has a long tradition in the repertoire of the engravers of the Greco-Persian (cf. above), Greek (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XI, no. 25; Richter 1956, no. 109; AGDS II, no. 199; Boardman 2001, fig. 305 and pl. 896), Etruscan (Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XVI, no. 24 and pl. XVII, no. 18; Pannuti 1994, no. 46) and Hellenistic-Roman periods (Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XVII, nos. 19 and 27-28). Sometimes, there is a hound running after the deer (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 867; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 57), or a tree behind it (Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 177), or a star above the scene (Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 114).

Publ.: Nolen 1994, 197, vi-122.

Date: 2nd-3rd century AD.

Dolphin

47. Pale-orange carnelian, with a black inclusion, oval, slightly convex on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (A5). *Dimensions*: 8 x 11.5 x 4mm. In good condition. From Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 597.

Description: Dolphin swimming to the left. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 1998; Marshall 1907, no. 420 and no. 446 (= Walters 1926, no. 2503; Richter 1971, no. 379); Hautecoeur et al. 1910, 347, no. 120; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1404; Henig 1974, nos. 645-648; AGDS IV, pl. 179, no. 1305; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 461; Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 153; Krug 1980, no. 29; Sternberg 1980, no. 778 (2); Elliot and Henig 1982, no. 14; Mandel-Elzinga 1985, no. 54; Guiraud 1988, no. 703; Scatozza Höricht 1989, no. 15; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1913; Henig 1994, no. 397; Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 45, fig. 1 and no. 51; Krug 1995, no. 18; Capolutti

1996, no. 151 (nicolo, 1st-2nd century AD); Guiraud 1998, nos. 5-6; Henig 1999, no. 41 (sardonyx, 2nd/3rd century AD); Henig and MacGregor 2004, 87, no. 9.2 (C3, 1st century BC-1st century AD); Henig 2008, no. 54.

Discussion: This type, which was very common on coins of Syracuse in association with the nymph Arethusa (Hipólito 1996, V-VI; XIII -5th century BC), was adopted as the emblem of X Legion Fretensis (after the victory of Fretum Siculum in 36 BC) and also of Legio II Augusta in Britain. Linked to Poseidon-Neptune and a symbol of the seas and of success, in an allegorical sense the dolphin symbolized the journey of the soul across the ocean to the Isles of the Blessed, where Apollo also reigned. This funerary connotation is especially important in Christian art from the 3rd century AD onwards, normally in association with the anchor (symbolizing Christ as the savior anchor) and the cross or the trident (alluding to the crucified Christ). However, the depiction of a dolphin (like that of Eros) was also suitable as a gift to a loved one (cf. Guiraud 1998, 133, no. 6). On the other hand, the fact that the dolphin (like fish) appears on gems whose chronology extends from the 2nd to the 4th century AD (that is, before the Constantinian Era) allows us to conclude that marine animals were one of the most frequent ambiguous (or neutral) motifs used both by pagans and by Christians (Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2011, 114).

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 383, no. 14; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 159; Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2011, 117, Pl. 6.

Date: Late 2nd-3rd century AD.

Goat

48. Dark and pale blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4), set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 8.4 x 10mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 19.8mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 17mm. Wt: 4.9g. In good condition. From a grave in Alentejo. Inv. no. Au 7.

Description: Goat's head in profile to the right. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Imperial Classicizing Style.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1141; AGDS IV, pl. 162, no. 1200; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1150 (head and trunk).

Discussion: The motif is quite rare on gems, except when the goat's head is combined with a head (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 189; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2740) or a body of another animal (Middleton 1991, no. 138), creating a fantastic creature.

Publ.: Vasconcelos 1898, 288-289, figs. 3-3a; Vasconcelos 1906, 285;

Vasconcelos 1908a, 356; Bélard da Fonseca 1945, 40, 1; Cardozo 1962, no. 24; Graça and Machado 1970, 384, no. 16; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 199.

Date: 1st century AD.

Hare

49. Red carnelian, oval (almost circular), slightly convex upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 2b). *Gem's dimensions*: 6 x 5mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 14mm; inner diameter: 10mm. Chipped on the upper face. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 1223.

Description: Recumbent hare in profile to the left. Below, a carrot and above a six-pointed star. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1356 (mouse); Berry 1969, no. 217 (carnelian); AGDS IV, pl. 167, no. 1233; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1905 (holding a nut, 3rd century AD); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.32. (carnelian; 2nd-3rd century AD).

Discussion: Symbol of fertility and of good luck, the hare became a popular motif in the pre-Roman Era on the coins of Messina, Etruscan art and coins and Calenian pottery (Sena Chiesa 1966, 393-394). On gems it is sometimes depicted by a tree (Amorai-Stark 1999, fig. 23) or leaping (Henig and MacGregor 2004, nos. 9.33-9.34) or, in a comic variant, walking on its hind legs and wearing a hat and a coat (Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.36). It may be noted that the hare also appears on a nicolo paste set in a gold ring from Fiães (North Portugal) but surrounded by the inscription AVITI – the genitive of *Avitus*, a very frequent anthroponym in the Iberia Peninsula, especially in Portugal, as well as its female equivalent *Avita* (cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and *Hispania Epigraphica online Database*).

Unpublished.

Date: 1st century AD.

Horse

50. Banded agate, with vertical brown and white bands, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 9.4 x 13.2 x 2.3mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. 1203.

Description: Grazing horse standing in profile to the left, with his head lowered and left leg raised. In front of him a plant. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Flat Bouterolle Style*.

Parallels: Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 181 (3rd century AD); Gallottini 2012, no. 226.

Discussion: The type, perhaps the most frequent in the depiction of horses on Roman gems, appears already upon Greek scaraboids of the 5th century BC (Richter 1956, no. 106), Greco-Persian seals of the 4th century BC (Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 49), and drachmas from Thessalia of 350 BC (Sternberg 1980, no. 79), and continued to be employed for Sassanian seals and gems (Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 156 – 5th century AD; Henig 1994, no. 420 – 4th or 5th century AD). In some variants there is an inscription (Henig 1974, no. 585 – HRAKLIDHC) or on the field of the gem a tree (Middleton, 1991, no. 226) or a star and/or a crescent (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1052; Richter 1971, no. 375; Henig 1994, no. 223) – a variant dating at least from the 4th-3rd century BC (Middleton 1991, Ap. I, no. 1). It may be noted that the horse was a popular theme on bronze statues, lamps and mosaics, and in present day Portugal perhaps because Lusitania was one of the main sources of horses for the chariot races.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 26, no. 13; Cravinho 2015, 116-117, no. 12.

Date: End of the 1st century BC.

Lion

51. Dark red carnelian with lighter shades, circular, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type C3). *Dimensions*: 13.5 x 14.5 x 4.2mm. In good condition. From the castrum of Cabeço de Vaiamonte (Monforte). Inv. no. Au 656.

Description: Lion walking to the left, holding in its jaws an animal's head (perhaps that of a bull). Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Flat Bouterolle Style*.

Parallels: Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XIV, no. 42; Gramatopol 1974, no. 386; Henig 1974, nos. 629 and 635; AGDS IV, pl. 155, no. 1151 and pl. 226, nos. 1710-1711; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 718; Krug 1980, no. 206 and no. 397; Pannuti 1983, no. 249; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1823 and no. 2735; Henig 1991, fig. 11 (= Henig 1999, no. 34 – jasper, 2nd/3rd century AD); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.14; Henig 2008, no. 44; Gallottini 2012, no. 319 (magical gem).

Discussion: This association of lion and head of an animal (usually the bull) was a symbol of death, since the head symbolized the sacrificial animal and the lion the voracious power of death, over which the man was believed to triumph. The type goes back to the Greek Archaic period, with several variants and sometimes the depiction of astral symbols (AGDS III Kassel,

pl. 105, no. 155; Gramatopol 1974, no. 382; AGDS IV, pl. 267, no. 83; Krug 1980, no. 393; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 404; Guiraud 2008, no. 1326). In that case, the motif could also represent the constellation Leo or be a talisman, protecting the owner of the intaglio against his enemies. More rarely, from the lion's mouth hangs a branch (Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 1161-1162) – a motif typical of Greek gems and Siciliot coins probably inspired by motifs of the late 5th century BC.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 162.

Date: 1st century BC.

52. Black jasper (?), oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 9 x 11.5 x 1.5mm. Chipped on the lower face, near the edge. From the villa of Torre de Palma. Inv. no. 2001.5.214. *Description*: Recumbent lion facing to the left, with his head resting on his front paw and the tail curving round beside him. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Campanian-Roman Style*.

Parallels: Fossing 1929, 187, no. 1292, pl. XV; Middleton 1991, 120, no. 216 (sardonyx, c. last third of the 1st century BC); Spier 1992, 86, no. 197.

Discussion: Recumbent lions on gems are few compared with other types and they were probably just symbols of strength (Middleton 1991, 120). Sometimes the lion lies under a tree (Gramatopol 1974, no. 387) or seems to have something under its front paws (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1175; Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 132). It may be noted that the color of the gem changes to blue when put under a direct light.

Unpublished.

Date: Last third of the 1st century BC.

53. Red carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F3). *Dimensions*: 9 x 12.5 x 4mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 623.

Description: Lion running to the left in a kind of flying gallop, with his long tail raised. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*. Parallels: Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XIV, no. 4; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XII, no. 21 and pl. XLV, no. 22; Richter 1956, no. 501; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1172; Henig 1974, no. 640; AGDS IV, pl. 156, no. 1155; Neverov 1976, no. 134R (1st century BC); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 719 (2nd century AD); Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 130; Krug 1980, nos. 26 and 212; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 194 (= Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, no. 247) and no. 196;

Pannuti 1983, no. 252; Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 360 (1st century AD); Guiraud 1988, no. 653; Herfort-Koch 1988, no. 37, pl. 23, no. 13; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1827; Spier 1992, no. 296 (banded agate, F3, 1st century AD); Guiraud 1998, no. 14; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 205; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 109 (2nd century AD); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.7; Fabregat 2011/2012, no. 1.6.

Discussion: The motif, which goes back to Greco-Persian scaraboids of the 5th century BC (Henig 1994, no. 63) and lasted on Greek, Hellenistic, Roman and Sassanian gems and glass pastes (Middleton 2001, no. 40), perhaps depicts a lion jumping over a victim, not visible in the scene. On some Roman gems the lion is portrayed with his mouth wide open as if roaring (Richter 1956, no. 503; Krug 1980, no. 396; Middleton 1991, no. 214; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1822), or there is a star above him (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1173) or a scorpion below him (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1174; Krug 1980, no. 209; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 228; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 105). Thus, although the lion was linked to Jupiter, these two last variants must allude to the zodiacal signs of Leo and Scorpio.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 187.

Date: 2nd century AD.

Birds

Peacock

54. Brown and pale-brown banded agate (horizontal bands), oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 15.5 x 11.5 x 1.8mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. 1228. *Description*: Peacock facing left, perched on the right hand side of a short pedestalled bacin, from which an ear of wheat grows. The base of the pedestal seems to be formed by three small pellets (?). Cf. Sena Chiesa's Officina del Tirso.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, pl. 19, no. 2073 (above, a bee or a fly); pl. 40, no. 5766 (in front, a butterfly and a caduceus) and pl. 46, no. 6587; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1317; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 763 (branch in front; 1st-2nd century AD); Guiraud 1988, nos. 855 (glass paste; 1st century AD) and 856; Middleton 1991, no. 15 (another long-tailed bird on the bacin).

Discussion: The intaglio belongs to a series of large agates produced in Aquileia, engraved by artists from central Southern Italy, or by local artists influenced by them. The vase/fountain engraved on it was very popular in Roman pagan times on decorative motifs of mosaics and mural paintings, symbolizing prosperity and abundance and, in Christian times, Life and

Salvation (Middleton 1991, 40, no. 15). The animal depicted was the monster Argos Panoptes, killed by Hermes and transformed into an exuberant bird by Hera with whose cult it was associated, and was a sign of luxury, a key note of *locus amoenus* and a symbol of Apotheosis and Eternity (Middleton 1991, 40, no. 15).

Unpublished.

Date: First half of the first century BC.

Cock

55. Dark green jasper, oval, flat and polished upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 3a). *Gem's dimensions*: 7 x 9mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 21mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 16mm. Wt: 2.9g. In good condition. From a grave in Rouca (grave no. 36), Alandroal (Alentejo). Inv. no. Au 128.

Description: Cock standing in profile to the left, with a branch in front. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Imperial Small Grooves Style.

Parallels: Marshall 1907, no. 203; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1340; Guiraud 1988, no. 754; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 226; Gesztelyi 2001, no. 53 (fighting cock; in front of him 'the branch of victory').

Discussion: The association of the cock (one of the animals associated with Mercurius) with a branch acquired several symbolic meanings, depending on the animals, objects (aerarium, cornucopiae) or plants (ear of wheat, poppy, bunch of grapes, cherry, pomegranate, palm) also depicted in the scene. In a small variant of the motif, instead of a branch there is an ear of wheat (Henig 1974, no. 678; Middleton 1991, no. 244) and in another one, the animal is an eagle (Krug 1995, no. 5; Gallottini 2012, no. 245).

Publ.: Cardozo 1962, no. 26; Graça and Machado 1970, 383-384, no. 15; Henig 1974, 90, no. 678; 116, App.82 (mentioned as a parallel); Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 194.

Date: 2nd century AD.

56. Orange carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 8.5 x 10.5 x 2.2mm. Chipped on the lower face, up to the upper face, affecting the lower top of the border and the left side of the gem. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 612.

Description: Victorious cock standing in profile to the left, with a palm behind his right wing, a large vase in front of him and above it a laurel wreath. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Middleton 1991, no. 243 (kantharos in front, 1st century BC-1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1961 (on the vase; 1st-2nd century AD).

Discussion: The intaglio depicts the winning cock of a fight, as attested by the laurel wreath and the palm branch – symbolic elements that appear already in Greek coins of the 6th century BC and are very common on lamps, Roman art and tombstones or cremation urns, where they acquire a funeral connotation symbolizing the soul of the deceased and his triumph over death. On certain Glyptic variants, he only has a palm in his beak, or the palm is caught by one of his legs or is emerging behind his body as if held by his wing. The vessel on the scene was a decorative and symbolic element in Antiquity.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 176; Ponte 1995, 132, no. 244. *Date*: 2nd-3rd century AD.

Ow1

57. Brownish jasper, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 6.5 x 7.5 x 1.8mm. In good condition. From the old cathedral of Idanha-a-Velha. Inv. no. Au 1004.

Description: Owl standing to the left on a round shield. In front, a caduceus. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, pl. 53, no. 7063 (on a round cist); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 231 (also a corn ear); Krug 1980, no. 433 (glass paste, 1st century AD); Spier 1992, no. 305 (*pedum* behind); Krug 1995, no. 10.20 (holding a spear in its paws).

Discussion: As a symbol of Athena, the owl is often depicted perched on a shield (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 231) or on a globe (Richter 1971, no. 33). In another variant, the owl forms the body of Athena (Henig 1975, no. 169), sometimes perched on a beam of rays resting on a globe (Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XXVI, nos. 61-62; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVI, no. 30; Walters 1926, nos. 2484-2485; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1015; Lopez de la Orden 1990, no. 60) – a type which also appears on a denarius of L. Valerius Acisculus, dating to 45 BC. In more complex variants, above the owl there are two figures of Isis-Fortuna clasping hands and over them the heads of Helios and Selene (Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2820), or the owl is on the central altar of a panoply of arms (Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2018), or on an altar flanked by a scorpion and a shield with a helmet on it (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 232). The owl on our gem is of the *Bubo Bubo Hispanus* type. Unfortunately we were not given a good picture of it.

Publ.: Cravinho 1999, 53, no. 17.

Date: 2nd-3rd century AD?

Raven

58. Dark-blue and greyish nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4), set in a Roman gold ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 3f/Henig's Ring Type VIIIb). *Gem's dimensions*: 6.2 x 9mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 19mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 19mm. Wt: 2.3g. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 671.

Description: Raven standing to the right on a laurel branch. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style.

Parallels: Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XXI, nos. 7 and 12-13; Marshall 1907, no. 448 (parrot?) and no. 487; Fossing 1929, nos. 1466-1467; Breglia 1941, no. 581 (pheasant?); Richter 1956, no. 525; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1309; Henig 1975, no. 224; AGDS IV, pl. 174-175, nos. 1278-1281; Casal Garcia 1980, no. 4; Pannuti 1983, no. 276; Platz-Horster 1984, no. 57 (raven and two ears of wheat); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 673 (also a star); Dimitrova-Milčeva 1987, no. 25; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 109; Guiraud 1988, nos. 770-771; Scatozza Höricht 1989, no. 56; Middleton 1991, no. 242; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 435 (carnelian, 2nd-3rd century AD, parrot?); Spier 1992, nos. 303-304; Krug 1995, no. 10.19; D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, nos. 241 and 319.

Discussion: The raven, a symbol of prosperity and gifted with prophetic powers, besides being one of the symbols of Apollo, was linked to the cult of Mithras Tauroctonos and, in Roman Gaul, to that of *Lugus* and other Celtic anonimous divinities. A common motif on Mithraic reliefs, bronze statues and bronze coins, the raven originates several variants according to the objects on the scene: a laurel leaf (D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 221), a tripod flanked by a laurel branch (Walters 1926, no. 2631) or by the serpent Python (Iñiguez 1989, no. 32.76), a lyre (Krug 1980, no. 242), or a lyre and a quiver (Krug 1980, no. 432). With regards to our intaglio, the fact that it is set in a ring whose chronology extends throughout the 4th and 5th centuries AD allows us to state that its possessor was very likely a Christian.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 201; Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2011, 121, pl. 28.

Date: 3rd-4th century AD.

Insects

Fly

59. Golden yellowish chalcedony (honey color), circular, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type B3). *Dimensions*: 8.5 x 8 x 2.8mm. In good condition. From Alentejo (found in a grave or with coins). Inv. no. Au 603.

Description: Fly seen from above. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Republican Wheel Style.

Parallels: Smith 1888, nos. 2022 (cameo), 2023 and 2025 (= Walters 1926, no. 2566 – with an inscription); Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XXIII, no. 39 (= Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 679); Furtwängler 1896, pl. 53, no. 7076; Pannuti 1983, no. 317 (cameo); Tamma 1991, no. 162 (ancient?); Guiraud 2008, no. 1379 (glass paste; 10 x 9 x 2mm; 1st century BC-1st century AD); Gallottini 2012, no. 257; Lopez de la Orden 1990, no. 173 (3rd-2nd century BC).

Discussion: The fly was a negative symbol in Antiquity – a connotation that appears already in the Iliad and lasted in the Paleo-Christian period to express the corruption of the flesh (i.e., carnal desire) and to identify the fly with Beelzebub, the Lord of the Flies (Chelli 2008, 69). However, its presence on tombs certainly had a chthonic meaning, evoking the eternal summers of the Elysian Fields. Its oldest depictions date back to Greek intaglios of the 5th century BC (Furtwängler 1900, pl. IX, no. 50 and pl. X, no. 53; Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 110) and to rings of the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Marshall 1907, no. 1260). Some variants of the motif also have in association a lunar crescent (Walters 1926, no. 2564), a plant (Smith 1888, no. 2026; Henig 1975, no. 230), an animal (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1371) or an object (Middleton 1991, no. 258 caduceus), giving the gem a symbolic meaning. But the conjugation of several elements, defining the contour of his body and originating a grotesque figure must have had a magical meaning (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXVI, no. 83; Walters 1926, no. 2463).

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 382-383, no. 13; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 168.

Date: 1st century BC.

V - MASKS AND MYTHICAL BEASTS

Masks

60. Dark amethyst-coloured glass paste, oval, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type C3). *Dimensions*: 15.5 x 12.5 x 7mm. Chipped on the upper face, between the mouth and the nose of the engraved figure. From the castrum of Cabeço de Vaiamonte (Monforte). Inv. no. Au 607.

Description: Male comedy mask of the 'angry old man' type in profile to the left, with a long beard, wrinkled face, aquiline nose and protuding chin and brow.

Parallels: Reinach 1895, pl. 126, no. 64; Furtwängler 1896, pl. 18, no. 1937 (= Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXVI, no. 49; AGDS II, pl. 74, no. 419), pl. 18, no. 1939 and pl. 37, no. 5264; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXVI, nos. 47, 50 and 51 (= Neverov 1976, no. 73) and pl. XXVI, nos. 54-55; Fossing 1929, no. 487; Richter 1956, no. 241; AGDS IV, no. 630; Krug 1980, no. 377; Platz-Horster 1984, no. 118; Neverov 1985, no. 22 (cameo); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, nos. 612-613; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 34; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 99 (sardonyx, 1st century BC); Henig 1994, no. 145 (early 1st century BC); Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 22 (below a *pedum*); Henig and MacGregor 2004, nos. 8.7 and 8.8 (C3 e B3, respectively; 1st century BC).

Discussion: The motif, a favorite theme of gem engravers and lamps artists since the Hellenistic period and the most popular type of the New Comedy, is of Italic origin and was very popular in the 2nd and 1st century BC, especially on glass paste, sometimes clean-shaven (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 143; Krug 1980, no. 378; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 22) or frontal (Berry 1969, no. 231 – cameo; Henig 1994, no. 286).

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 382, no. 11; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 160.

Date: Second-first half of the 1st century BC.

61. Dark-orange glass paste, oval, convex upper face and flat lower face (C3), set in a fragment of a Roman copper ring (Guiraud's Ring Type 1b). *Gem's dimensions*: 10 x 8 x 4mm. *Ring's fragment dimensions*: diameter: 17mm; inner diameter: 14mm; H: 16mm. Wt: 2.3g. In good condition. From the castrum of Cabeço de Vaiamonte (Monforte). Inv. no. Au 658.

Description: Comedy mask of the 'angry old man' type, in profile to the left, with a long, thin pointed beard, aquiline nose, furrowed brow and protuding chin.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, pl. 57, no. 7793 (a pedum below); Berry 1969,

no. 202; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 68, no. 462; AGDS IV, pl. 260, no. 48; Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 21; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 144; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 848 (1st century BC) and no. 1121 (second half of the 1st century BC); Krug 1980, no. 378; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 613; Guiraud 1988, no. 888; Middleton 1991, no. 267; Spier 1992, nos. 190 and 324?; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 138 (a *pedum* below, late 1st century BC); Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 101, pl. 24; Lopez de la Orden 1990, no. 94, pl. X.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 193.

Date: Second-first half of the 1st century BC.

Mythical Beasts

Pegasus

62. Brown and white banded agate (horizontal bands), oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 25.5 x 16.5 x 3.8mm. Cracked on the left side of the upper face. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1204.

Description: Pegasus to the right, with his long wings spread above his back as if preparing to take flight to the right over Bellerophon, who has his left leg bent and is resting his right hand on a shield with a central umbo and is holding in his left hand a sword and a spear. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Republican Extinguishing Pellet Style.

Parallels: Smith 1888, no. 1265 (= Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XXVI, no. 20; Walters 1926, no. 1913, pl. LIII, no. 1912 – nicolo, standing Bellerophon holding a spear and a rein of flying Pegasus); Guiraud 1988, no. 805 (incomplet; perhaps an exact parallel).

Discussion: The large dimensions of this intaglio may indicate that it belonged to one of the many dactyliotecae which were very popular in those ages (1st century BC-1st century AD, when this motif was very common). Its motif, probably copied from a pre-Roman prototype (a Greek or Etruscan gem or relief) and theme of many mosaics since the 8th century BC (cf. Bairrão Oleiro 1992, 43), may represent the precise moment at which Pegasus flew to Olympus throwing down Bellerophon, although the warrior is not tumbling from his mount nor extended prone on the ground. Another possibility is that this is an adaptation of the type of the horse rearing over an enemy kneeling under his front hoofs (Sternberg, 1980, no. 338 – on a Trajan coin from 105 AD) or based on the Hellenistic scene of the Battle of Issos in which Alexander triumphed over the Persians. It may be noted that the artist seems to have chosen the dark band of the gem for engraving the soil, the warrior and the back hoofs of the horse while the milky white

one to engrave the sky through which the divine horse begins his flight. Guiraud's gem (see above), unhappily incomplete, may be an exact parallel. In more complex scenes, Bellerofont kills the mythical Chimera – a theme much later transposed in Christian art into that of Saint George killing the Dragon.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 25, no. 11; Cravinho 2015, 110-111, no. 9.

Date: 1st century BC-1st century AD.

Capricorn

63. Orange carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 7 x 10.5 x 2.5mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 611.

Description: Capricorn to the left. Below, a rudder. Cf. Sena Chiesa's Officina della Sfinge.

Parallels: Reinach 1895, pl. 70, no. 90.5; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1238; AGDS IV, pl. 154, no. 1444 (palm on his back); Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 158 (Augustan date); Pannuti 1983, no. 125 (with a star); Guiraud 2008, no. 1399 (1st century BC).

Discussion: The Capricorn was a mythical beast (half ibex-half fish) and a member of the marine thiasos that first appears on Roman gems of the 2nd century BC (cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 91). It became very popular during the Roman civil wars and in the Augustan period. It was Augustus' choosen zodiac sign and perhaps symbolized the rebirth of the Sun (since, in astrological terms, the Capricorn begins with the winter solstice) and therefore that of Apollo, his personal protector. Furthermore, it also had a political meaning (Sena Chiesa 1978, 124), symbolizing the figure of princeps, justice and the new order created by Augustus, or the figure of Pan whom Zeus had honored with a place among the stars for his contribution to the giant Typhon's defeat. An emblem of six of the nine Augustan legions, his frequent association with certain symbolic elements (trident, globe, cornucopia and rudder) is a clear sign of political propaganda. On our gem, its relation with Augustus is clear, since the Capricorn was his astrological sign and the rudder symbolized his good qualities as a princeps.

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 175; Ponte 1995, 132, no. 245. *Date*: 1st century BC-1st century AD.

VI – SYMBOLS, OBJECTS AND SYMBOLIC COMPOSITIONS Symbols

64. Brown sard, oval, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type B3). *Dimensions*: 13 x 11.2 x 3.7mm. In good condition. From the castrum of Cabeço de Vaiamonte (Monforte). Inv. no. Au 608.

Description: Rhyton-shaped cornucopia, with stylized goat's head with small horns terminal, two horizontal bands and a fillet falling down beside it on the left. It is filled with fruit (pomegranates) and a bunch of grapes hanging down on either side. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Italic a Globolo-like Style*.

Parallels: Vollenweider 1984, no. 329; Alessio 1985, no. 228 (blue glass paste, convex, first quarter of the 3rd century BC); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 19 (first half of the 1st century BC); Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 127; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 149 (garnet; 2nd-1st century BC); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 11.40 (1st century BC-1st century AD).

Discussion: The cornucopia, whose depictions are of Alexandrian origin, was one of the attributes of Tyche-Fortuna and a symbol of abundance and prosperity. Depicted on Ptolomaic and Roman coins of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Sternberg 1980, nos. 11-12; Hipólito 1996, nos. 125-126), they became very popular on republican (Mattingly 1927, pl. XIX, no. 14, pl. XXI, no. 1, pl. XXIV, no. 7, pl. XXVIII, no. 4) and imperial coins (Mattingly 1927, pl. XLVI, no. 20; Sternberg 1980, no. 418). On Roman rings (Alessio 1985, no. 219; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 192) and gems (perhaps symbolizing, in addition to fertility, a particular political party) it was especially common from the 1st century BC onwards (cf. Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 150 -2nd century AD). However, in the Augustan period it became a clear symbol of political propaganda, perhaps because of its shape in the form of a goat's head, which led to its association with Almathea and the constellation of Capricorn (the choosen Zodiac sign of Augustus). In the Christian period of the Empire (in which it appears on wall paintings and mosaics, although sometimes is replaced by a basket with fruits), the cornucopia symbolized the abundance of divine grace (Chelli 2008, 54).

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 386, no. 19; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 161.

Date: Mid. 1st century BC.

65. Milky white and honey colour layered agate, oval, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type B3). *Dimensions*: 14 x 12 x 3.2mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 598.

Description: Rhyton-shaped cornucopia, with stylised goat's head with small horns terminal, two horizontal bands and a fillet falling down beside it on the right. It is filled with fruit (pomegranates) and a bunch of grapes hanging down on either side. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Italic a Globolo-like Style*.

Parallels: Fossing 1929, no. 335; Breglia 1941, no. 595; Righetti 1955, no. 172; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1422; Guiraud 2008, no. 1392 (sard, 1st century BC).

Publ.: Graça and Machado 1970, 386-387, no. 20; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 170.

Date: Mid. 1st century BC.

Musical Object

66. Black and pale-blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 9.6 x 7 x 2.5mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. 1194.

Description: Lyre on a base, with high, symmetrical curved arms of same length, a straight yoke, three strings and a crescent-like body. Its sound box is missing. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Rigid Chinmouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, 530, pl. 3 (two strings; carnelian, Augustan period); AGDS IV, pl. 46, no. 305a (three strings), pl. 185, no. 1344 (five strings, nicolo; 9.4 x 7.1 x 2.5mm; 1st century AD) and pl. 189, no. 1392 (two strings); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 439; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, nos. 217-218.

Discussion: The motif's basic engraving lines reach the lower darker blue layer and thus the motif contrasts strongly with the upper light-blue surface. The lyre depicted on it seems to be a stylization of one of the old eastern lyres (cf. type B of the Jewish coins of Bar-Khochba), although it has no sound-box. On the other hand, the motif has no ground line, as if suggesting that the lyre is floating in space. This unreal representation confirms its symbolic meaning as an attribute of Apollo, Achilles and Orpheus and as a symbolic object for both Jews and Christians. Actually, it was one of the objects that the Christians could have engraved upon their rings, according to Clement of Alexandria.

Publ.: Cravinho 2004, 232-242; Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2006, 521-529; Cravinho 2009, 18 (simply cited); Cravinho 2010, 20, Pl. I-3; Cravinho 2015, 118-119, no. 13.

Date: Late 2nd-3rd century AD or 3rd century AD.

Symbolic Compositions

67. Greenish glass paste with yellowish concretions, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 13.2 x 11.1 x 2.9mm. In good condition. Find place unknown. Inv. no. Au 610. *Description*: Vase on a high column containing two ears of wheat and flanked by two cornucopiae with a bird perched on each one. Below, a dolphin on either side of the column. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*. *Parallels*: Gonzenbach 1952, no. 40; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos. 1431-1432; Gramatopol 1974, no. 628; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 803 (trophy on crater; 1st-2nd century AD); Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 164 (carnelian; second half of the 1st century BC); Vollenweider 1984, no. 330 (carnelian set in a ring; 20 x 16.5mm; 1st century BC); Guiraud 1988, no. 854 (nicolo paste; 12 x 9 x 2mm; second half of the 1st century BC); Middleton 1991, no. 262 (convex carnelian; 13 x 10mm; 1st-2nd century AD); Capolutti 1996, no. 150.

Discussion: The motif is an example of political propaganda, representing the abundance and fertility of the Augustan period. In some variants, the combination of symbols and animals adds more complex symbolism (Gramatopol 1974, no. 632; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, nos. 1933 and 2099).

Publ.: Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 174; Ponte 1995, 132, no. 243. Date: 1st century BC-1st century AD.

68. Black and pale-grey nicolo paste, circular, flat on both faces, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F2). *Dimensions*: 11 x 4mm. Chipped on the right edge. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1196.

Description: Trident cut by two parallel lines.

Parallels: Weiß 2007, no. 601.

Discussion: The motif, although difficult to identify, probably had a symbolic meaning and could be derived from two clasped hands holding two cornucopia beside an ear of corn.

Publ.: Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2006, 543; Cravinho 2010, 26, no. 14; Cravinho 2015, 122-123, no. 15.

Date: 1st century AD.

69. Black and blue nicolo paste, oval, flat on both faces, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F2). *Dimensions*: 10.9 x 8.8 x 3.1mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1198.

Description: Face to face, two ravens perched on a huge krater. Maaskant-Kleibrink's Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, pl. 58, no. 7915; Platz-Horster 1984, no. 37 (red jasper, 3rd century AD); Guiraud 1988, nos. 831-833 (nicolo-pastes, F2, 2nd-3rd century AD); Krug 1995, no. 71 (1st century AD).

Discussion: The association of birds with a vase, placed in front of them (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 182; Casal Garcia 1991, nos. 426 and 433) or on which they are perched, besides constituting an important decorative element (especially on mosaics and wall paintings) is a symbolic theme which transited from Pagan to Christian art, its popularity peaking in the 18th-19th centuries.

Publ.: Cravinho 2015, 124-125, no. 16.

Date: 2nd-3rd century AD.

70. Black and very pale-blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 12.3 x 10.8 x 3.7mm. In good condition. From a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. 1193.

Description: A seven-branched Menorah with a tripod base and seven branches curved and plain, ending with light fittings, short lamps and flames. The flames are symmetrically arranged: three left-side flames and three right-side flames bent to centre; an upright central flame. A realistic open palm branch (*lulav*) on the right; a curved ram's horn (*shofar*), with a flat bulging top appearing like a bent nail and a realistic citron (*etrog*) with a short stem and two leaves on the left. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Rigid Chin-mouth-nose Style*.

Parallels: Hachlili 2001, IS 16.1, IS 16.4, IS 16.9, IS 16.14-16.15 and 16.17, IS 16.18 (glass pendant), IS 16.24 (bracelet), D 11.7 (seal), 434, D 11.13 (seal), D 11.23 (seal); Spier 2007, no. 947 (nicolo, objects on the ground line).

Discussion: The motif's basic engraving lines of the intaglio are cut into the same light-blue of the surface. The presence of the Menorah on it renders its symbolism unquestionably religious for Jews and for Paleo-Christians, as the menorah was the onetime great candelabrum of the Jerusalem Temple. It is a common motif in Jewish paintings, as in the Jewish catacombs at Rome and on the wall of the Dura Europos synagogue (Henig 1983, 110), and in reliefs, mosaics and gems, be it an isolated motif (Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 14.26; Michel 2001, no. 473) or associated with other elements (Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2055; Michel 2001, no. 472; Spier 2007, nos. 940 and 942-943 and the Hachlili parallels above). However, all the other elements had their own symbolism as well: the *shofar* was played in the ceremonies of the Temple, especially on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur;

the *ethrog* was a symbol of fertility (since the lemon tree bears fruits all year long), and the *lulav* was a symbol of victory. Besides, the palm tree was considered 'the tree of the life' and was a symbol of Judea, which explains its depiction on gems (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1414; Zienkiewicz 1986, no. 25), coins of the Flavian Era (with the inscriptions Judaea Devicta and Judaea Capta) and on Late Roman and Byzantine mosaics and artefacts. It is interesting to note that because of the absence of a ground line (usually missing from Roman glyptic rendering of object and vegetal symbols) the symbols of this intaglio seem to float in space (Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2006, 525).

Publ.: Cravinho 2004, 232-242; Cravinho and Amorai-Stark 2006, 521-533; Cravinho 2009, 18 (simply cited); Cravinho 2010, 20-21, Pl. I-4; Cravinho 2015, 120-121, no. 14; Cravinho 2017, 30, Fig. 23.

Date: Late 2nd-3rd century AD.

VII – GREEK INSCRIPTION

71. Red carnelian, oval, slightly convex on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (almost Henig's Type A5). *Dimensions*: c. 8.2 x 11 x c. 3.2mm. Chipped on the right and lower edges. From Alentejo (found in a grave or with coins). Inv. no. Au 601.

Description: Inscription in Greek letters HCYX to be read as on impression. Above a six-pointed star and below a lunar crescent.

Parallels: Marshall 1907, no. 503 (= Richter 1971, no. 120 – HCYXOC, under Hermes' bust); Berry 1969, no. 256 (cameo with the inscription KEBOHθΙΥΣΗΙΙΟ - Lord help Hesychios).

Discussion: The inscription must correspond to the name of the owner of the ring in which the intaglio was set. The name is an abbreviated form of HCYXOC – the name of a hero of Ancient Greece, whose descendants were members of an Athenian family of Eupatrids (the HCYXIΔAI), who had a very important religious role since he held the hereditary priesthood of the cult of the Eumenides. For Theophrastos, however, HCYXOC was the god who led the souls to Hades and whose sanctuary was situated near Polémon, outside of the nine gates of Pelasgikon. Other versions of the inscription, in Latin letters, are names and cognomes: HESYCHUS (CIL II no. 5973, from Oliva-Spain; CIL VI nos. 4441, 5413, 6619-66120, 11374, 14241, 14243, 15113, 26320, 29054 – from Roma; CIL VIII no. 13724 – from Cartago; CIL X no. 1403 – from Ercolano; no. 4091 – from Capua; CIL XII no. 3241 – from Nîmes; CIL XIV no. 3393 – from Palestrina); HESYCUS (CIL VI

no. 200, from Rome); ESYCHUS (CIL V no. 2224, from Venetia; CIL VI no. 322 – one of the many inscriptions from Rome; CIL IX no. 6128, from Brindisi; CIL X no. 1403, from Ercolano; CIL XIV no. 2304 – from Castel Gandolfo) and ISYCHUS, bishop of Vienne (McBrine 2008, 80). Another hypothesis is that the inscription is an abbreviation of HCYXIOC (Hesychios), the name of several bishops and martyrs of Egypt and Thessalonica, whose Latin versions are: ESICHIUS, ESYCHIUS/HESYCHIUS (CIL VI nos. 23024 and 38198, from Rome; CIL XIV no. 4408, from Ostia Antica); ESUCHIUS (Forcellini 1883, vol. 9, 384; Hoffmann 1907, 37, no. 2134; CIL no. 2134). One of those martyrs was Hesychios of Alexandria, a Jewish student of the Neo-Platonic and mathematician $Y\pi\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ of Alexandria, who was tortured and killed inside a church by fanatical Christians in 415 AD. *Publ.*: Vasconcelos 1910, 238; Graça and Machado 1970, 385-386, no. 18; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 17, no. 166.

Date: 2nd century AD.

VIII – MAGICAL GEM

72. Mottled green and red jasper (heliotrope), oval, convex on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type A5). *Dimensions*: upper face: 31.5 x 44.5mm, lower face: 27.5 x 42mm; Th: *c*. 8mm. Chipped on the right edge. Find place unknown. Inv. no. E 540.

Description: Face A: Horus-Harpokrates in the solar boat, sitting on a lotus-flower and with his index finger to his lips (his characteristic gesture). On the right side of the scene, there is a man rowing the boat, and the Genious Anguiped. Above them, in Greek letters, the inscription ABPACAZ. On the left side, is Akephalos (the Headless) and Anubis, both under the inscription IAΩ. Above the scene, the names of the archangels ΟΥΡΙΗΛ $PA\sqrt{AH\Lambda} \Phi PAXOIH\Lambda$ CABPIHΛ CABPIHΛ MIXAHΛ CAPIHΛ and below, on the right of the two boat's oars, the names of $PA\Phi AH\Lambda$ CAPIHΛ KOYCTIHΛ and on the left, IAHΛ.

Parallels (motif): Bonner 1950, nos. 197A, 199A, 200, 202 and 210; Delatte and Derchain 1964, no. 159; Zazoff 1965, no. 51 (= AGDS IV, pl. 103, no. 146); AGDS IV, pl. 103, no. 147; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, nos. 2184a-2185; Michel 2001, nos. 123-124.

Parallels (angels): Bonner 1950, nos. 40, 73, 98R, 153, 168R, 171-172, 179, 227A-R, 298, 309-311, 313, 336, 338A-R, 339, 342 and 361; Delatte and Derchain 1964, nos. 14, 24, 26-27, 116, 142, 211, 350, 362, 365, 457,

481, 489 and 493; Henig 1975, no. 251B; Michel 2001, nos. 424R, 445, 452 and 521-522.

Face B: Magic formula:

ΙΑΡΒΑΙΑΘΑΓΡΛΜΝΗΗΒΩΞΝΗΜΕ(or Ξ?)Ω ΦΗCOOOANOHPΕCΔΝΚΑΝΘΑΡΑ ΑΚΡΟΝΡΟΒΟΡΕΙΚΟΙΗΟΥ——ΚΟΝΥΕΥΚΕΝΤΕΥ ΚΕΝΤΕΥΚΗΜΔΕΥΓΕΝΥΟΟΕΥΛΥΝΥΝΖ ΑΥΚΥΝΖΥΛΥΚΥΝΖΥΝΤΑΚΟΡΥΖΗ ΘΗΝΩΡΒΑΡΡΑΚΑΜΠΥΚΝΗ

Discussion: The intaglio probably came from Alexandria (where the magical consecration of amulets was made) and has as its central figure Harpokrates (a Hellenized form of Harpakhrat, Horus child, the Egyptian God Nefertem). His depictions are quite common on magical gems, mainly within a papyrus boat (a solar barge) or sitting on a lotus-flower, as depicted on Greek (Smith 1888, no. 159) and Greco-Phoenician scarabs (Spier 1992, no. 100), and Hellenistic (Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 17) and Roman-Egyptian rings (Henig 1994, no. 587). From its roots emerge two ears of wheat (which had an important role in the Eleusinian Mysteries and were regarded by the Gnostics as the symbol of the promised Savior). The Akephalos by his side, frequent on magical gems and on magical papyri (being one of their most peculiar deities), has its origin in the most ancient religion of the Egyptians, although it was in Hellenistic Egypt that he became truly popular, either identified with Osiris (PGM II.98-117) or with Besas, the Egyptian god of music and revelry and the guardian of parturients (PGM VII.222-49; VIII.64-100). Other headless dieties existed in other civilizations: Molos in Creta, and Thriton, in the Dionysos temple in Tanagra. In the case of our intaglio, since the Akephalos appears in the barge together with the Genious Anguiped and Harpokrates-Horus, it is plausible that the scene is related to the Osiris cycle. Anubis was, from the beginnings of Egyptian Mythology, a funerary god, psychopomp and embalmer. Depicted with a jackal head, it appears as an isolated figure or in more complex motifs (associated with a mummy, a lion or another divinity). The Genious Anguiped was one of the gods of magic (all of them strange hybrid figures), depicted with a cock's head (but also that of a dog, a bird or a lion), human torso, serpent's legs and arms and holding in one hand a whip and in the other a shield. His origin is unknown, since he is absent from Pagan cults. Inexplicable as well is the association of the two opposing natures on him – one celestial (the cock) and the other telluric (the serpent).

Also inexplicable is his meaning. Was he a warrior who destroyed giants? Or was he related to the solar cult, as the whip and the cuirass, symbols of Helios, seem to demonstrate? As to the inscriptions ABPAXAZ and ABPACA Σ or AP Π AXA Σ they refer to the name of a mythical gnostic demon and constitute a formula of magical invocation. Its association to the Genious Anguiped is one of the most frequent on gnostic gems since the late 2nd century AD. The inscription IA Ω refers to Yahweh, the god of the Jews.

Publ.: Araújo 1993, 390, no. 301; Veiga and Griffin 2007, 141-149.

Date: 2nd-3rd century AD.

IX. CAMEO

Female Portrait

73. Orange carnelian, circular, flat lower face. *Dimensions*: 11.2 x 10.7 x 4.1mm. In good condition. Said to come from a necropolis in Ammaia. Inv. no. Au 1202.

Description: Feminine bust, with her head in three-quarter front view to the right.

Parallels: Berry 1969, no. 234 (amethyst); Sternberg 1980, no. 788 – carnelian, Augustan date (= Henig 1990, no. 65).

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 24, no. 9; Cravinho 2015, 126-127, no. 17.

Date: Late 1st century AD.

X. DAMAGED GEM

74. Milky chalcedony, oval, convex upper face, set in a Roman gold ring (Henig's Ring Type II/Guiraud's Ring Type 2c). *Gem's dimensions*: 7 x 9.5mm. *Ring's dimensions*: diameter: 21mm; inner diameter: 15mm; H: 18.5mm. Wt: 6.6g. Upper face destroyed. From Igrejinha (Arraiolos). Inv. no. Au 148.

Description: Impossible to describe because of the total destruction of the upper face.

Publ.: Vasconcelos 1916, 169; Graça and Machado 1970, 387, no. 23; Parreira and Vaz Pinto 1980, 18, no. 197.

Date: 1st century AD (according to the ring's type).

Abbreviations:

- AGDS II = Zwierlein-Diehl E. 1969. Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, vol. 2: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung Berlin. München.
- AGDS III Kassel = Scherf V., Gercke P. and Zazoff P. 1970. Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, vol. 3: Herzog Anton-Urlich Museum Braunschweig, Sammlung in Arch. Inst. Der Universität Göttingen, Staatliche Kunstsammlugen Kassel. Wiesbaden.
- AGDS IV = Schlüter M., Platz-Horster G. Zazoff P. 1975. Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlugen, vol. 4: Hannover, Kestner-Museum und Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Wiesbaden.
- **CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum**

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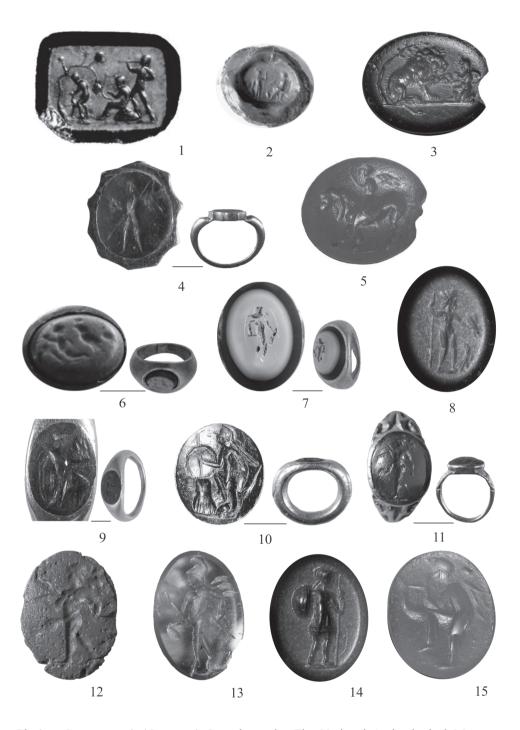
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Pl. 1 – Gems nos. 1–15: nos. 1–5 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon, no. 6 – photo by the author, nos. 7–15 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon

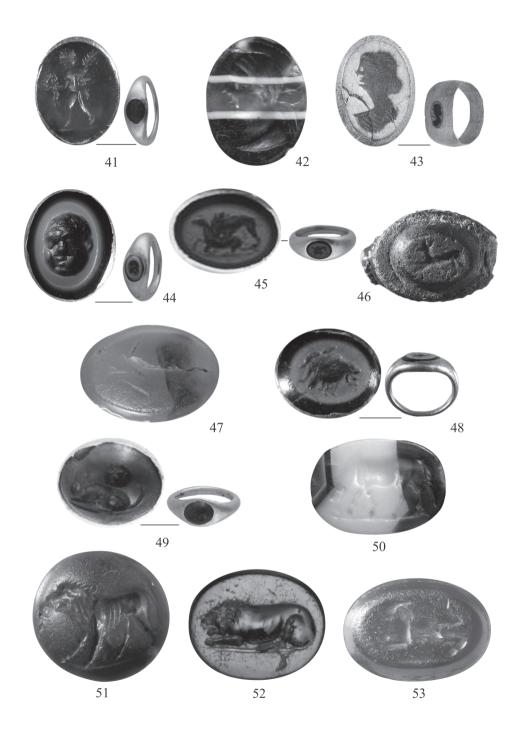


Pl. 2 – Gems nos. 16–28 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon

PLATE 3 G. Cravinho



Pl. 3 – Gems nos. 29–40 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon



Pl. 4 – Gems nos. 41–53 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon

PLATE 5 G. Cravinho



Pl. 5 – Gems nos. 54–65: nos. 54–56 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon, no. 57 – photo by the author, nos. 58–65 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon



Pl. 6 – Gems nos. 66–74 – photos by The National Archeological Museum in Lisbon