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ROMAN GEMS IN THE NATIONAL SOARES DOS REIS MUSEUM IN OPORTO

Abstract: The 34 intaglios and cameos discussed in this paper are part of a collection of 136 gems (both Roman and Modern) we studied in 2002, with permission of the former Museum director, Mónica Baldaque, and the curator Fátima Macedo. Some of those gems are set in rings (no. 10 – Roman iron ring; no. 22 – medieval gold ring; no. 31 – modern gold ring; also 3 ceramic cameos depicting the Portuguese Queen Maria I – modern silver rings: inv. nos 74 CMP; 75 CMP and 174 MNSR) and 2 others in snuff boxes (1 ivory cameo and 1 Wedgwood cameo – inv. nos 37 MNSR and 31 MNSR, respectively). Besides them, the museum also holds a collection of 800 plaster seals. Among the types of these Roman gems, some deserve special attention: Marsyas (no. 6) – the only gem in the Portuguese Gem Corpus bearing this theme, as well as those of Athena Promachos (no. 7), Isis-Selene bust (no. 9), Socrates (no. 11), Diogenes (no. 14), eagle fighting a serpent (no. 17), shrimp and murex (no. 19), mouse (23) and confronted doves (no. 25). This last one, with its associated inscription, perhaps symbolizes the union of a couple by the bonds of matrimony. However, how did the scarab bearing a Centaur (no. 28) reach Portugal?

Keywords: intaglio; cameo; re-use of gems; *interpretatio graeca*; wedding gem; military standards

All of these 34 gems are of unknown origin. Perhaps many of them came from Northern Portugal in the 19th century. Actually, a newspaper dated 15/11/1890 ('O Nosso Tempo', no. 5, p. 3) refers to the archaeologist

Martins Sarmento, after the discovery of a bluish gem ('pedra azulada') in the Castrum of Raposeira (Central Portugal), during excavations he conducted with Alberto Osório de Castro, who stated that those 'stones' were very common in the Castrum of Briteiros (Northern Portugal). Strangely, we only know 4 intaglios from there, which were found between the years 1949-1960 (Cardozo 1962, nos 8-11), of which only one lasts.

Their materials are similar to those found all over the Roman Empire: 13 carnelians, 4 chalcedonies, 2 plasmas, 3 sardonices, 2 jaspers, 3 nicolos, 4 agates, 1 onyx, 1 quartz, 1 sard and 1 serpentine. As we can see, the most frequent gems are the carnelian, the agate and the chalcedony. It is interesting to note the existence in the Gerês Mountains (Northern Portugal) of deposits of chalcedony (Lima 2006, 175 and 183) and near them the Romanized Castrum of Calcedónia. However, it is not clear if its name derives from those mines or from the name of the martyr Saint Euphemia of Chalcedony (still venerated in the area of Penedono, in north-central Portugal). Other lodes of chalcedony also exist in the area of the northern city Viana do Castelo (Lima 2006, 134) and on a hill in Amadora (Lisbon region), in whose foothills stands a Roman *villa* (the *villa* of Quinta da Bolacha), and near it the Roman aqueduct that supplied water to Olisipo, now Lisbon (Viegas and Gonzalez 1994, 29-35).

Their devices allude to religious beliefs and sacro-idyllic scenes (nos 1-11, Pl. 1: 1-11), a heroine (no. 31, Pl. 3: 8), portraits and scenes of daily life (nos 12-16, 32-34, Pl. 1: 12, 2: 1-4, 3: 9-11), animals (nos 17-26, Pl. 2: 5-10, 3: 1-4), a plant (no. 27, Pl. 3: 5), a mythical beast (no. 28, Pl. 3: 6) and symbolic compositions (nos 29-30, Pl. 3: 7-8).

Dionysos (no. 1, Pl. 1: 1), identified with the ancient Italic god Liber Pater, was a popular deity in present-day Portugal, appearing on the mosaic of Torre de Palma (Heleno 1962, 326 and 331-332), on a marble head from Mértola and on inscriptions from *Conimbriga* (HEp no. 22171), Chaves (HEp nos 15250 and 16924), Monsanto (HEp no. 19993), Lisboa (HEp no. 16749) and Serpa (HEp no. 5220).

Eros (no. 3, Pl. 1: 3) is a common motif on oil lamps (Ferreira de Almeida 1953, nos 31, 53 and 91; Nolen 1995, no. 453) and statues, and he was mentioned (among other deities) as CUPIDINI on an inscription (now lost) from the suburbs of Braga, the Roman *Bracara Augusta* (HEp no. 8231).

Mars Ultor (no. 5, Pl. 1: 5) appears on several inscriptions and on a golden and silver *patera* found in 1861 in the castrum of Alvarelhos, North Portugal (in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Inv. no. Au 112) and Athena-Minerva (nos 7-8, Pl. 1: 7-8) on the silver *patera* of Lameira Larga

(Cravinho 2018b, Fig. 4), statuettes and inscriptions, some of which were dedicated to her as a goddess of health (HEp nos 5206, 5219 and 22949).

Aset or Eset was the Egyptian name of Isis (her Greek name, by a process of *interpretatio graeca*), whose association with the Ptolemaic dynastic cult, developed by Ptolemy II and his sister/wife Arsinoe II, strengthened the Ptolemaic power over Egyptians and Greeks. The Roman Emperors (and before them, Mark Antony) also imitated Alexander and the Ptolemies, presenting themselves in Egypt as pharaohs and assuming their liaison with Egyptian deities: Tiberius when visiting the Isis Temple at Philae presenting himself as a conqueror; Caligula for his personal devotion to the cult of the goddess; Vespasian representing Serapis in Alexandria, where he visited the *Sarapeum*, and using a diadem in Memphis at the consecration of the Apis bull (conducted by his son Titus); Domitian rebuilding the sanctuary of Isis and Serapis in Rome and Caracalla for his devotion to Isis (Dillery 1999, 277), as well as to Serapis. Her cult in present-day Portugal is attested by a statue found in the 18th century, now lost (Vasconcelos 1895, 343, 4 – Isis as a mummy), and a terracotta head (both from the suburbs of Beja, the Roman *Pax Julia*) and a bronze statuette of unknown find place that belonged to the Portuguese King Luis I, with Isis breastfeeding Harpokrates (in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon, inv. no. 35044). Inscriptions dedicated to her came from the exterior wall (still *in situ*) of the Cathedral of Braga (HEp no. 8244 – *Isis Augusta*), Chaves – the Roman *Aquae Flavia* (HEp no. 19968), and Alcácer do Sal – the Roman *Salacia* (HEp no. 21113). It may be noted that 4 of the 6 intaglios of the Portuguese Corpus on which she is depicted (one of them with a bust of Serapis) came from the south of the country – the most cosmopolitan area of Lusitania. However, on our gem no. 9 (Pl. 1: 9) there is a lunar crescent below her bust, which may indicate her identification with the goddess Selene.

The lion on the carnelian, set in a remarkable 13th century ring (no. 22, Pl. 2: 10), testifies to the reuse of Roman gems in medieval jewels and personal seals, also demonstrated in Portugal by a 13th century Processional Cross (the so-called ‘Cruz de D. Sancho’, on display at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisboa) and a ‘caldeirinha’ (a liturgical object to contain holy water to sprinkle in certain ceremonies of the Catholic cult) on display at the Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Coimbra.

However, the existence of a scarab (no. 28, Pl. 3: 6) seems strange (although Egyptian scarabs were uncovered in several Iron Age necropolises of South Portugal). Perhaps it was bought in Italy, when João Allen (a rich Portuguese-English merchant) visited Pompeii, Herculano and Rome (from

September 1826 to May 1827) and acquired there several paintings and antiques (now integrating the Soares dos Reis Museum collections). Only one document cites the existence, in his eclectic collection, of some boxes containing 106 cameos and engraved gems (cf. Santos 2005, 205, doc. 29). Unfortunately, their provenance is not confirmed.

CATALOGUE

I - DEITIES

Gods

1. Dark green plasma, oval, convex upper face, flat lower face and inward-beveled edges (Henig's Type A4). *Dimensions*: 8.5 x 6.6 x 2.7mm. Wt: 0.20g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/24 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 1).

Description: Young Dionysus slightly three-quarter front view and facing right. Nude, apart from a himation draped around his right hip and hanging between his legs, he holds in his raised right hand a *thyrsus* with fillets vertically upward and in the lowered left hand a *kantharos* upside down, from which he is pouring wine to feed a panther at his feet. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIII, no. 33; Walters 1926, no. 1540; Fossing 1929, nos 790 and 1738; Delatte and Derchain 1964, nos 292-293 (magical gems); Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 357-358; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 38, no. 108; AGDS IV, pl. 111, no. 858 and pl. 198, no. 1473; Sena Chiesa 1978, nos 66-67; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos 482 (plasma, 1st century AD) and 483 (amethyst, 1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1380 (behind, a bent *thyrsus*); Krug 1980, no. 150; Pannuti 1983, nos 38 (leaning on a column) and 39; Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 240 (a bent *thyrsus*); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 138; Neverov 1988, no. 62 (cameo – no *kantharos*); Guiraud 1988, no. 250; Tamma 1991, no. 34; Spier 1992, no. 260 (amethyst, F1, 1st century AD); Henig 1994, nos 281-282 (1st-2nd century AD); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 166; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 1.32 (carnelian, A4); Fabregat 2011/2012, no. 3.1. ('Venus Victrix'); Laffi 2012, nos 89 and 107; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 323 (carnelian, 1st-2nd century AD).

Discussion: The motif, which derived from a Greek statue of the 4th century BC, was widespread on statues, reliefs, lamps, and coins (only in the 2nd century AD – cf. Asian *cistophoroi* of Hadrian and Septimius Severus) and was very common on gems between the 1st century BC and the 1st

century AD (like all the Dionysian themes). On gems, Dionysus can be frontal (Walters 1926, no. 1541) or have his legs crossed (Henig 1994, no. 179; Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 207) or be sitting on a rock (Walters, no. 1216), with the himation wrapped round the hips (cf. Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 359; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 821; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1379) – a motif also copied from a 4th century BC Greek statue, which was very common in the Late-Hellenistic decorative repertoire and survived on Roman marble statues of the Imperial era and on the reverse of coins of the 2nd century AD. On other variants, he rests an elbow on a column next to him (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIII, no. 36; Richter 1956, no. 318 – carnelian, from Cyprus; Righetti 1955, no. 19; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 361; Berry 1969, no. 120; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1379; Vollenweider 1984, nos 126 and 436-437; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 41; Capolutti 1996, no. 51; Spier 2007, no. 760 – cameo) or seems to be even more drunk, as he can barely walk and is leaning on a Satyr (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIII, no. 74; Walters 1926, no. 3491; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos 865 and 972; Spier 1992, no. 403; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 1.36), on a Silenus (Weiß 2007, no. 90) or on an Erote (Walters 1926, no. 1121). Sometimes a vine surrounds the scene (Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 138) or is next to the god (Henig 1994, no. 283; Walters 1926, no. 2937; AGDS IV, pl. 198, no. 1472; Krug 1978, no. 31; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1378), or there is an Erote flying towards him (Richter 1971, no. 167).

A similar motif to our gem, but without the panther, is engraved on a carnelian set in a silver ring found in Alentejo or Algarve, once in the Barreto Collection and now lost (Casal Garcia and Cravinho 2002, no. 8). *Unpublished.*

Date: 1st century AD.

2. White and light brown sardonyx, oval, flat on both faces, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F2). *Dimensions:* 14.2 x 11 x 4.3mm. Wt: 1.07g. Chipped on the upper right edge. Inv. no. 5/10 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 2).

Description: The Dioscuri standing towards the front and facing each other (in contrapposto). Nude, apart from a himation wrapped around their arms, they hold a spear in their hands. Above their heads is a star. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Plain Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Gramatopol 1974, no. 215; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1987, no. 21 (carnelian, 2nd-3rd century AD); Guiraud 1988, no. 403 (gem's impression).

Discussion: The Dioscuri (the twins Castor and Pollux, sons of Leda and

Zeus) were young Dorian warriors (a knight and a boxer, respectively) and later appear helping the Romans against the Latin League in the legendary battle of Lake *Regillus*, in c. 496 BC (cf. Richter 1920, no. 95 – carnelian). The stars above their heads identify them with the constellation *Gemini* (an identification perhaps made in the Roman period). Adopted as patrons of the *equites*, they first appeared on coins in 225 BC and frequently throughout the Republican period, on either their obverse or reverse (although it was against the customs of Rome to use portraits of living people on the coinage), but they were used frequently down to 43 BC (cf. RRC 14/1, 280-276 BC, Janiform head of Dioscuri, obverse; 44/5, of 211 BC onwards, Dioscuri galloping, reverse; RRC 290/1, 114-113 BC, Janiform head of Dioscuri, obverse; RRC 304/1, 109-108 BC, Dioscuri standing facing between their horses, reverse; RRC 307/1, 108-107 BC, Jugate, laureate heads of the Dioscuri, obverse; RRC 307/1, 108-107 BC, Jugate, laureate heads of the Dioscuri, obverse and reverse; RRC 335/10, 99-96 BC, Dioscuri watering horses at the *Lacus Juturnae*, reverse; RRC 463/1, 46 BC, Jugate heads of Dioscuri, obverse; RRC 515/1, 41 BC, Jugate heads of Dioscuri, obverse; RRC 515/2, 41 BC, Dioscuri standing facing, reverse; RIC II, 310, no. 810 – 43 BC, restored coin of Trajan) and rarely during the Empire. The exceptions are coins of Hadrian (133/4 AD), Geta (200-202 AD, both of the twins or only Castor), Gallien (253-268 AD), Postumus (268 AD, only Castor) and Maxentius (309-312 AD) and medallions of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and Commodus (Toynbee 1944¹).

This type (a mirror composition) can also be seen on the reverse of Hellenistic coins of Alexandria (cf. Zienkiewicz 1986, no. 49), Sidon and Tripoli, perhaps because they were considered the savior gods of sailors at sea (cf. Hamburger 1968, no. 54) and their patrons. On gems, they already appear in the 8th century BC (Neverov 1976, no. 4) and 5th century BC (ADGS II, no. 153) and were popular throughout the Imperial period, with several variants according to other elements on the scene (a lunar crescent above the spears – cf. Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 47), their stance, the way they are dressed (cf. Zienkiewicz 1986, no. 49 – as legionaries) or the way they hold their weapons. As for the gem, its pale colors show that it is an untreated sardonyx. Other gems in the Portuguese gem Corpus bear them: a sardonyx on which they also hold a sword, an agate with Castor standing by his horse, both from the ex-Barreto Collection and not located, and an unpublished carnelian with Castor and Pollux confronted on horseback, on display at the Museu Quinta das Cruzes, Funchal.

¹ See: <http://numismatics.org/digitallibrary/ark:/53695/nnan8359>.

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd century AD.

3. Red jasper with some greenish shades, oval, slightly convex upper face, flat lower face and inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type A4). *Dimensions:* 9.1 x 12 x 3.2mm. Wt: 0.52g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/41 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 3).

Description: Eros seated upon a dolphin swimming towards the left. He holds the reins of the animal with his right hand and a whip in his raised left hand. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Cap-with-rim Style*.

Parallels Walters 1926, no. 1494 (frontal); Fossing 1929, no. 1728; Richter 1956, no. 314 (nicolo, from Cyprus); Henig 1974, nos 130-132, App. 6, 78 and 87 (gem's impression); AGDS IV, pl. 107, no. 831; Maaskant-Kleibrink, no. 510 (*Imperial Classicizing Style*, 1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1347; Krug 1980, no. 135 (nicolo paste, 9 x 12.5 x 4mm, 1st century AD); Platz-Horster 1984, no. 16; Tamma 1991, no. 53; Henig 1994, no. 305 (without the whip); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 118; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 3.8; Cicu 2006/2008, 760, Fig. 1 (carnelian); Weiß 2007, no. 59 (1st-2nd century AD); Guiraud 2008, no. 1214 (nicolo paste, 2nd century AD). Another parallell can also be seen on a nicolo paste of the 2nd century AD on display at the Museo Arqueológico de León, Spain.

Discussion: Eros-Cupid as an element of the marine thiasos and riding marine animals (real or mythical ones) is already depicted on the Greek red-figure pottery of the 6th century BC and in other forms of art of the 4th century BC. The motif on our gem also goes back to the 4th century BC (Neverov 1976, no. 51), sometimes depicted with a high level of realism and perfection (Lippold 1922, pl. CXXV, no. 2; Walters 1926, no. 2858; Henig 1974, no. 133; Gramatopol 1974, no. 173; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 899; Zahlhaas 1980, pl. 11-a; Guiraud 1988, nos 338-341) and had a decorative purpose, being very popular in the Hellenistic repertoire as well as on Roman oil lamps, mosaics, statues (cf. Matos 1995, no. 32) and Republican coins (cf. RRC 390/2, of 76 BC, by L. Lucretius Trio; RRC 463/3, by Cordius Rufus, 46 BC). But it also had a funerary connotation, since Eros was considered the conductor of the souls of the dead to the 'Isles of the Blessed' and the dolphin was in charge of bringing them across the oceans towards those isles, as the variant on which Eros holds a wreath (symbolizing the victory of life over death) may express (Vollenweider 1984, no. 393) and explain its frequent depiction on sarcophagi, wall paintings and mosaics, even in the Christian period.

Unpublished gems of the Museu Quinta das Cruzes (Funchal) also bear Eros fishing upon a dolphin, riding a hippocamp and a biga of hippocamps (Cravinho 2014, nos. 141 – fishing upon a dolphin; 140 and 143, respectively).

Publ: Cravinho 2010, 15 (simply cited).

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

4. Milky-white chalcedony, oval, convex upper face and markedly convex lower face (Henig's Type A2). *Dimensions:* 13.2 x 10.6 x 4.1mm. Wt: 0.66g. Chipped on the right side of the upper edge. Inv. no. 5/4 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 4).

Description: Bearded Jupiter Tonans standing frontal and facing right with his hair wrapped around his head as if wearing a hat. He is nude, apart from a mantle hanging over his right shoulder, and holds in his right hand a sceptre and in the left a thunderbolt, which touches his body. At his feet stands an eagle with its head turned back. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Righetti 1955, no. 2; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 49, no. 237; AGDS IV, pl. 187, no. 1357; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 570; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 164; Sternberg 1988, no. 674.

Discussion: The type (probably derived from the 4th century BC 'Zeus of Argos' statue, by Lysippos) became very popular in Rome perhaps because of the political importance of the cult of Jupiter in the developing and strengthening of the political structures of the city. Actually, the emperors considered him their personal protector (the case of Augustus) or considered themselves to be an incarnation of him (the case of Caligula, who even adopted his epithet *Optimus Maximus*). Having first appeared on coins of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Sternberg 1980, nos 91-92 – dracmas, 230-191 BC) it continued throughout the imperial period until the 3rd century AD, especially under Caracalla (Mattingly 1927, pl. XXVI, no. 10 – antoninian, 217 AD; Sutherland 1974, nos 432 – *aureus*, 217 AD; and 435 – *aureus*, 222 AD), Gallienus (Parente 2002, no. 264 – 320 AD), Claudius II (Pereira and Bost 1974, nos 663 and 705 – antoninians, 269 AD), Probus (Pereira and Bost 1974, no. 1135 – 281 AD) and Diocletianus (Mattingly 1927, pl. XXVII, no. 8 – *aureus*, c. 286 AD), first under the epithet *Tonans* and then *Conservator*. On gems, the eagle (the animal associated with his cult) is sometimes missing (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 26; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 474; Guiraud 1988, no. 8; Spier 1992, no. 421; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 72; Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 261) or there are astral symbols in the field of the gem (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 29 – star and lunar crescent)

– an association already existing on coins of Asia Minor of the 2nd century BC and very frequently on gems of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

Other gems with the same type were found in Ammaia (Cravinho 2017b, no. 8) and in Borba or Estremoz (all in the Alentejo region).

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 14 (simply cited).

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

5. Black and greyish nicolo, oval, flat on both faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions*: 14.7 x 12.2 x 3.8mm. Wt: 1.12g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/21 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 5).

Description: Mars Ultor standing frontal, his head facing right, wearing a helmet with high λοφος, high boots and greaves, a cuirass (*lorica*), a short tunic (*tunica manicata*) and a mantle (*chlamys* or *sagum*) which falls down his back. In his left hand he supports a shield with a central *umbo* that is standing on the ground, and in his right hand a spear. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. LXIV, no. 63 and pl. LXV, no. 35 (inscribed MARS ULTOR); Gonzenbach 1952, no. 8; Richter 1956, no. 294; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 209-211; AGDS II, no. 513 (2nd century AD); AGDS III Kassel, pl. 93, nos 69-70 (with inscriptions); Gramatopol 1974, no. 195; Henig 1974, App. 62; Henig 1975, no. 31; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos 738-739; Krug 1980, no. 248 (carnelian, 2nd century AD); Platz-Horster 1984, no. 92; Henig and Whiting 1987, nos 220-221; Platz-Horster 1987, nos 4 (carnelian) and 113-114 (both in jasper); Middleton 1991, App. I, no. 7 (1st-2nd century AD); Casal Garcia 1991, no. 226 (carnelian, 2nd century AD); Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 62A (1st century AD); Henig 1994, no. 271 (2nd century AD); Guiraud 1998, no. 1; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 89; Guiraud 2008, no. 1116 (carnelian, 13 x 10 x 4mm, 2nd century AD); Hamat 2014, no. 7; Gołyźniak 2017, nos 383-384 (first half of the 2nd century AD).

Discussion: This is the most popular scheme of the Mars Ultor type on statues, lamps, *paterae*, coins (Sternberg 1980, no. 340 – *denarius* of Trajan, 107 AD; Parente 2002, no. 107 – Mars with spear and globe, antoninian, 261 AD) and gems (even on magical ones – cf. Michel 2001, no. 385). Its identification is easy because of an inscription existent on some gems (cf. Furtwängler's parallel) and coins, like those of Antoninus Pius (MARTI ULTORI/S.C. – cf. Richter 1956, no. 294), Hadrian (cf. Maioli 1971, no. 27) and Allectus (Sutherland 1974, no. 512 – *aureus*, 293-296 AD). The motif has several variants on which we can see Mars with his head frontal (Gesztelyi 2000, no. 17) or turned back (Dimitrova-Milčeva 1987,

no. 29), with shield over his shoulder (cf. Cravinho 2017b, no. 14), or holding a sword and a spear (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1279; Pannuti 1983, no. 164 – shield leaning on a column; Zienkiewicz 1986, nos 43-44; Spier 1992, no. 215 – altar in front, the shield on it), flanked by standards (Henig 1975, App. 4; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2540/3), crowned by Victory (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 954; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2540) or holding two ears of wheat and a poppy over a flaming altar (Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 223) – a variant which reminds us that Mars, before his identification with Ares, was an Italic agrarian deity (who defeated the demonic forces that produced the winter).

Other gems of the Portuguese Corpus also have Mars Ultor depicted: one from *Conimbriga* (Cravinho 2001, no. 9 – only wearing a *chlamys*), other from Ammaia (Cravinho 2017b, no. 14), two glass pastes from Braga (Cravinho 2010, 16) and another one in a private collection (Daenhardt 1990, no. 775).

Publ: Cravinho 2010, 14 (simply cited).

Date: First half of the 2nd century AD.

6. White and milky chalcedony, oval, flat on both highly polished faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions*: 16.5 x 13.2 x 2.3mm. Wt: 0.87g. Chipped on the right and lower edges and with an old inventory number written on the lower face. Inv. no. 3/6 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 6).

Description: Bearded Marsyas in profile to the left suspended by his arms from a leafless tree that bends to the left, curving with the shape of the intaglio. Short ground line under the tree. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Tassie 1791, nos 3023 (double flute at his feet) and 3024; AGDS II, no. 467 (Olympos in front, nicolo, 17.4 x 14 x 3.9mm; 1st century AD); Richter 1971, no. 255 (Olympos in front); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 399 (double flute in front; mid 1st century AD).

Discussion: The punishment of the satyr Marsyas by Apollo was a very common motif on Greek, Hellenistic and Roman Art and gems. Hanging from a tree – like Amykos (cf. Cartledge *et al.* 1997, 51), which may suggest that this was the variant-type for the iconography of Marsyas – this theme was taken up in Renaissance and Neo-Classical Painting, medals and gems (cf. Rambach 2010). On the Roman gems, he is sometimes depicted sitting on a rock awaiting his punishment of being flayed alive (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLII, nos 28 and 56; Boardman 1968, no. 16; Henig 2003,

fig. 1 – double flute in front; Pannuti 1994, no. 108) or bound to the trunk of a tree (Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 30; Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 342). In most cases, he is surrounded by other figures linked to the myth, like Apollo (Weiß 2007, no. 26), Olympus (his flagellator), two Satyrs or Victoria. In others, he appears sitting on the floor and has a double flute between his crossed legs (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXVIII, no. 5; Walters 1926, nos 3892-3893; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 624; Trummer 1981/1982, no. 15; Guiraud 1988, no. 292). However, the most famous gem is the so-called ‘Nero’s Seal’ – a carnelian dating from the time of Augustus, once in the possession of Lorenzo di Medici (whose name is inscribed on it) and now in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (Massinelli and Tuena 1992, 30; Pannuti 1994, no. 127).

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd century AD.

Goddesses and Syncretic (or Pantheistic) Deities

Goddess

7. White and orange layered agate (four layers with alternating colours), oval, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig’s Type C3). *Dimensions:* 8.3 x 6.9 x 4.5mm. Wt: 0.37g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/37 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 7).

Description: Athena Promachos flying (or on tiptoes?) in profile to the left, wearing a *peplos* and a crested helmet. In her left hand she holds a shield seen from the side behind her and in the right hand the spear over her shoulder. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink’s *Hellenistic-Roman Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 145; Henig 1975, no. 29 (1st century AD); AGDS IV, pl. 101, no. 780 (1st century AD); Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 53 (mid 1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1068 (convex plasma, 1st century AD); Pannuti 1983, nos 16-17; Vollenweider 1984, no. 125 (mid 1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 101 (2nd century BC); Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 149 (1st century BC-1st century AD); Sternberg 1988, no. 690 (convex garnet, Augustan date); Gesztelyi 2000, no. 84; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 2.27 (1st century BC); Gesztelyi 2013, nos 3-4; Gołyźniak 2017, nos 11 (carnelian, 1st century BC) and 369-371.

Discussion: The type probably derived from a Hellenistic statue (cf. Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 141) and was inspired by a colossal bronze statue by Phidias which was erected c. 456 BC in the Acropolis of Athens, between the Propylaea and the Parthenon. It was a very popular theme in Panathenaic

amphorae and early-Hellenistic tetradrachms of Alexander struck in Amphipolis in 326/5 BC (Havelock 1980, 41) or c. 323-320 BC (Price 1991, nos 105 and 109) and in Peloponnese in 280-250 BC (Price 1991, no. 758); in coins of Ptolemy I Soter, as a Satrap (in tetradrachms/hemidrachms of 323-305 BC – cf. Svoronos 1904, Pl. 2a, nos 7, 10-15; Pl. 2b, nos 17-24, 26-28) and as a King (in tetradrachms of 305-285 BC – Svoronos 1904, Pl. 4a, nos 8-12; Pl. 4b – nos 23-31; Pl. 5a, nos 5-14; Pl. 5b, nos 15-24; Pl. 6a, nos 1-10; Pl. 6b, 11-15; 19-20; Pl. 65a, nos 18-21); in coins of Pyrrhos (on octobols of 278-276 BC – Poole 1876, nos 493-495 and 504-505) and of Antigonus II Gonatas (tetradrachms of 300-250 BC – Price 1991, nos 757-760). But on some similar coins, she appears brandishing a thunderbolt instead of a spear, in the type of Athena Alkidemos (Poole 1876, nos 495-503; Rutter 1983, 42, pl. 11, no. 3 – tetradrachm of Antigonus II Gonatas). In Rome, the Athena Promachos type occurs on imperial money silver medallions of Domitian (struck in 92 AD), since Minerva was his personal protector (Toynbee 1944, 50 and 89). On gems (on which we can already see it on scaraboids of the 5th century BC – cf. Walters 1926, no. 494) it became very common from the end of the 1st century BC onwards, even on the magical ones (Delatte and Derchain 1964, no. 290). Sometimes the goddess is running, as the ground line beneath her feet suggests (Furtwängler 1900, pl. LXIII, no. 29; Hauteceur 1910, no. 93; Walters 1926, nos 1144, 1361 and 1363; Breglia 1941, no. 539; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 149; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 194; Henig 1994, no. 273; Laffi 2012, no. 106), or is frontal (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIII, no. 45; Astruc 1958, nos 79 and 86), or in three-quarters. Cf. other cases with frontal view and holding the spear upright (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 829). However, on other variants, she has no shield (Guiraud 1988, no. 87), or holds it in her outstretched hand (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1427; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 40; Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 151; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 36) or holds a long spear (AGDS II, no. 458; Laffi 2012, no. 128). A serpent (Erichthonios, her and Hephaestus' son, according to Greek Mythology) can also be depicted in front of her (Furtwängler 1896, no. 3532; Walters 1926, no. 1145; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 141, 143-144, 146 and 148; Richter 1971, no. 100; Henig 1974, no. 245; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 906; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1428; Krug 1980, no. 265; Pannuti 1983, no. 18; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 299; Casal Garcia 1991, nos 202-203; Johns 1997, no. 180) – a motif perhaps related to that of Athena Alkis (in which Athena comes down from heaven), which copies a statue existing in Pella and is similar to the Palladion (cf. Berry 1969, no. 48; Maaskant-Kleibrink, no. 976; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1991, no. 3; Spier 1992, no. 340).

Publ.: Cravinho 2018b, no. 6.

Date: 1st century BC.

8. Translucent milky-white and pale-brown layered agate, oval, flat on both faces, with high outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F3). *Dimensions*: 10.8 x 9.7 x 5mm (engraved face: 8 x 5.5mm). Wt: 0.74 g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/6 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 8).

Description: Minerva standing to the front and facing right wearing a Corinthian helmet, a belted *peplos* and a large overfold. In the left hand she holds a patera and in her upright right hand a spear, against which is the shield. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Plain Grooves Style*. *Parallels*: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 120; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 854 (1st-2nd century AD); Casal Garcia 1991, no. 200 (plasma, biconvex, 1st century AD); Lafli 2012, no. 119.

Discussion: This is perhaps the most common type of Athena-Minerva, whose prototype is the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos, by Phidias, erected in the Parthenon in 447 BC. Already depicted in the Greek iconography (on which she holds an *oinochoe* or a *phiale*), on some variants the goddess holds the spear and the shield in the same hand (Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 117-118; Henig 1974, no. 240; Gramatopol 1974, no. 124; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos 955 and 970; Krug 1980, nos 6 and 261; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1987, no. 13; Henig 1994, no. 275; Johns 1997, nos 168-170), or has an owl at her feet (Vollenweider 1984, no. 369) or is pouring a libation over a lighted altar (Richter 1956, no. 268 – a serpent rising from the altar; AGDS II, no. 368; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 7, no. 48; Gramatopol 1974, no. 139; Henig 1975, no. 28; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 855; Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 51; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 39; Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 144; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 134; Platz-Horster 1987, no. 2; Casal Garcia 1991, nos 196 and 199 – carnelian, 2nd century AD; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2796 – *thymiaterion* at her feet; Middleton 1991, no. 36 – jasper, 2nd century AD; Capolutti 1996, no. 32; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 2.28 – carnelian, 1st century AD).

Publ.: Cravinho 2018b, no. 2.

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

Syncretic Deities

9. Pale-orange carnelian, oval, slightly convex upper face and flat lower face, both highly polished, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type A4). *Dimensions*: 11.7 x 9.9 x 2.2mm. Wt: 0.35g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/34 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 9).

Description: Draped bust of Isis-Selene in profile to the left, wearing long Libyan locks, a fillet passing over her head and a lotus bloom over her forehead. Below a crescent moon. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Extinguishing Pellet Style*.

Parallels (Isis): Tassie 1791, pl. VII, no. 280; Furtwängler 1896, no. 6928; Furtwängler 1900, pl. XXXIII, no. 7 and pl. LXIII, no. 27 (garnet, 3rd-2nd century BC); Marshall 1907, no. 429; Walters 1926, no. 3084; Fossing 1929, no. 468; Berry 1969, no. 109; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 45, no. 194 (1st century BC-1st century AD); AGDS IV, pl. 140, no. 1045 (1st century BC-1st century AD); Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 45 (3rd-2nd century BC); Boardman and Vollenweider 1978, no. 290 (2nd century BC); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 199 (sard, F1, *Italic-Republican Pellet Style*, 1st century BC); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, nos 1501-1502 (2nd century AD); Middleton 1991, no. 127 (1st century BC-1st century AD); Pannuti 1994, no. 139; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 86 (with *uraeus*; sard, 2nd half of the 1st century BC).

Discussion: Delicate heads/busts of Isis are a common motif on rings (Marshall 1907, no. 1300; Henig 1994, no. 586 – from the NW border of India; Boardman 2001, pl. 1012) and gems, be it in profile, frontal (Spier 1992, no. 235) or three-quarter front view (Richter 1956, no. 377). As a goddess of the fields (besides a magical healer, a mourner, a wife and a mother), Isis is often depicted with ears of wheat on her head (instead of the lotus-crown or the horns-and-disc crown) or in front of her (Krug 1980, no. 186). In some variants, she holds a sceptre (Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 274) or a *sistrum* (Tondo 1996, no. 155), or has an earring hanging from her ear (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 199) or the *nodus Isiacus* over her breast (Middleton 1998, no. 42). Alone or with Serapis, it is sometimes difficult to say if the depicted figure is Isis or a Ptolemaic queen identified with her (cf. Beazley 1920, no. 95 – Isis or Berenike I or Arsinoe Philadelphos; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 49 – Isis or a Ptolemaic queen, 2nd century BC; Spier 1992, no. 208 – Isis or Cleopatra VII). Actually, Arsinoe II was once portrayed fully costumed as Isis; Cleopatra III established a new priesthood of the 'Sacred Foal of Isis, Great Mother of the Gods' (Plantzos 2011, 395); and Cleopatra VII used the epithet of 'Nea Isis' and claimed to be her earthly incarnation (Ruiter 2007, 8).

However, on our gem there is a lunar crescent depicted below the bust of Isis (a solar diety, who accompanied Rha on his heavenly journey), which may indicate her identification with Selene (a lunar goddess). This seems somehow strange, since the lunar deities of the Egyptian pantheon

were always a male (for instance, Thoth) because ‘moon’ in Egyptian was masculine, whereas in the Greek pantheon they were always a female because ‘moon’ in Greek was feminine. But, if we have in account that, in the Ptolemaic Era, Isis acquired more and more power and identities, that identification is not surprising (Lieven 2017, 66). Besides, she was ‘the supreme goddess controlling human affairs and invigorating all creation’, a ‘sovereign over nature’ (Delia 1998, 539). Actually, according to Egyptian Mythology, she was able to reunite the pieces of the body of Osiris (killed, cut into pieces and spread far and wide by his envious brother Seth) and conceive Horus. Furthermore, Greek and Roman authors already highlighted the link between growth, nurturance, conception, procreation and the moon. Thus, it is not surprising that she also had a lunar significance and was identified with Selene. That is why her depiction with a crescent moon on her head (in wall paintings, statues, coins, gems and rings – cf. Boardman 2001, pl. 1012) is so common.

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd half of the 1st century BC.

10. Olive-green plasma, oval, flat upper face, set in a Roman iron ring (Guiraud’s Ring Type 2d). *Gem’s dimensions:* 13.5 x 11.6mm. *Ring’s dimensions:* diameter: 27.7mm; inner diameter: 18mm; H: 22.7mm. Wt: 6.91g. With a horizontal scratch on the middle of the gem. Inv. no. 66 CMP (Exposição Permanente) (Pl. 1: 10).

Description: Syncretic deity winged standing frontal and facing right, wearing a Corinthian helmet, a belted *chiton* and a *himation* hanging from her right arm. In her left hand she holds an ear of wheat, a poppy and a steering oar attached to a rudder. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink’s *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 612-613; Hamburger 1968, no. 70; Gramatopol 1974, no. 327; Henig and Whiting 1987, nos 112-117; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2828; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 299 (carnelian, 2nd century AD); Chaves and Casal 1995, nos 8 and 12.

Discussion: This type of syncretic or pantheistic diety with attributes of Minerva (helmet), Victoria (wings), Ceres (ear of wheat and poppy) and Fortuna (rudder) was, like that of Ceres, one of the most popular types in the 2nd century AD. Perhaps it was represented on an incomplete bronze figurine found near Santarém, the Roman *Scallabis*. On some variants of the type, she also holds the cornucopia of Fortuna (Fremersdorf 1938, no. 11; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 859; Vollenweider 1984, nos 411-

412; Sternberg 1988, no. 714; Spier 1992, no. 275) or, instead of the ear of wheat and poppy, two ears (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos 964 and 1036; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 183) or two ears and a poppy (Berges 1999, fig. 17; Gallottini 2012, no. 155). More rarely she holds an ear and a *sistrum*, an attribute of Isis (Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 316), or has no helmet (Gramatopol 1974, no. 328). Other gems from Portugal present the same type (Cravinho 2018b, nos 21-23).

Publ: Vitorino 1930, 161; Rocha 1947, 17; Cravinho 2018b, no. 20.

Date: Early 2nd century AD.

II - HUMANS

Sacro-Idyllic Scene

11. Red carnelian, oval, flat on both highly polished faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions:* 9.7 x 10.5 x 3.7mm. Wt: 0.60g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/36 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 11). *Description:* Standing woman in profile to the left, dressed in a chiton and wrapped in a himation holding a patera of fruit (?) in her raised right hand and bending over an altar on which she places an offering with the left hand. Beside the altar are two leafless trees. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Wheel Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, no. 862 – a patera of fruit in her raised hand; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 819 and 821 (*Officina miniaturistica*); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 53.

Discussion: This sacro-idyllic scene, of landscape style, clearly reflects the influence of Hellenistic motifs and, more directly, on its rework in the Augustan period. Already present on rings of the 5th (Marshall 1907, no. 1251 – woman throwing incense on the altar) and 4th centuries BC (Richter 1956, no. 90 – woman throwing incense on the altar), on arretine pottery, oil lamps and gems, this theme is later found in the Renaissance frescoes of 'Villa Farnesina'. On some variants the Maenad is under a tree (Casal Garcia 1991, no. 366) or there is also a Silenus playing a *tibiae* (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 348; Capolutti 1996, no. 176) or another woman (Henig 1974, no. 494; AGDS IV, pl. 60, no. 415; Guiraud 1988, no. 519; Henig 1994, no. 206) and a Silenus playing a *tibiae* (Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 813-816; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 18, no. 143; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 347; Krug 1978, no. 1; Guiraud 1988, no. 517; Baratte and Painter 1989, no. 157; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 80; Pannuti 1994, no. 94; Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 2) or the Phrigian *auloi* (Henig 1975, no. 70; AGDS IV,

pl. 133, no. 997; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 439; Middleton 1991, no. 182; Weiß 2007, no. 330). There may also be in the scene a temple (AGDS IV, pl. 209, no. 1562) or an *aedicula* on a rocky eminence (Furtwängler 1900, pl. LXII, no. 29; Walters 1926, no. 3886; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1099; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 53; Henig 1994, no. 205) or an Erote playing *tibiae* (Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1658) or a priapic herm – which indicates that the scene is linked to the Priapus' cult (Smith 1888, no. 914 – also cymbals; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 812 – also Silenus playing a Phrygian *auloi*; Henig 1974, no. 495; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 491; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, nos 437 and 441; Neverov 1988, no. 14 – cameo, also a woman playing a Phrygian *auloi*; Baratte and Painter 1989, no. 157; Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 40; Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 103; Gallottini 2012, no. 214).

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd half of the 1st century BC.

Athlete

12. Pale-orange carnelian, oval, flat on both highly polished faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions:* 11.5 x 10 x 2.1mm. Wt: 0.35g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/38 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 1: 12).

Description: *Diadoumenos* head in profile to the left, with a fillet around it and short and parallel stripy hair. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing-Stripy Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XL, nos 26-27; Fossing 1929, no. 1140; AGDS II, no. 477 (1st century BC); AGDS IV, pl. 73, no. 548; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 28 (with curly hair, Hellenistic, 2nd-1st century BC); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 485; Guiraud 1988, no. 1002; Spier 1992, no. 231.

Discussion: The type copies the head of a famous Greek bronze statue by Polykleitos of Argos (c. 430 BC), portraying an athlete tying a ribbon around his head that probably existed at a sanctuary in Olympia or Delphi (where the Pan-Hellenic Games were held), from which many copies were made in Roman times because of its popularity (Lucian, *Philops.* 18; Plin. *NH*, XXXIV, 15). The motif was then transposed to gems, some of them depicting Ptolemaic princes of the 1st century BC. (cf. Vollenweider 1995, nos 151, 159, 168-169). A gem of a similar type, coming from the Story-Maskelyne collection, is on display at the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon (Spier 2001, no. 30).

Unpublished.

Date: 1st century AD.

Philosophers

13. Black and light-blue nicolo, oval, flat on both faces and with double beveled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions:* 14.7 x 12.1 x 2.9mm. Wt: 0.75g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/18 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 1).

Description: Bust of Socrates in profile to the right (Type A). He is bearded, bald, has longish locks of hair at the back, and wears a cloak.

Parallels: Berry 1969, no. 92 (type A); Richter 1971, nos 416-420 (type A) and no. 635 (engraved by Agathemeros); AGDS IV, pl. 76, nos 576-577 (1st century AD, type A), 578 (1st/2nd century AD, type A), 579 (1st century AD, type A); Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 99 (carnelian, Late 1st century BC, type A); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, nos 501 (3rd quarter of the 1st century BC) and 503 (2nd half of the 1st century BC); Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 277 (nicolo, 15 x 12mm, 1st-2nd century AD, type A); Casal Garcia 1991, no. 355 (sard, 1st century AD, type A); Vollenweider 1995, no. 244; Capolutti 1996, no. 109 (1st century BC-1st century AD); Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 98 (carnelian, Late 1st century BC); Henig and Atherton 2002, Fig. 1 (pre-Hadrian era, type A); Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 447.

Discussion: The bust was engraved into the darker layer of the intaglio and on account of that it can be clearly seen against the paler blue of the upper layer. The face is accurately depicted, with a strong profile resembling that of Silenus (as Plato already stated – cf. Henig and Atherton, 230), curly hair and curly, copious beard, there is a space engraved with rounded wheel grooves. Among the depictions of Socrates (based on the bust of 'Villa Albani'), there are three variants of which the Type B stands out (the Lisippian one – cf. Richter 1971, nos 421-425 and 428-429; Henig 1974, no. 480; Krug 1980, no. 380; Henig and Atherton 2002, no. 1) and the Type A (like our gem). The type already exists on Greek gems and was widespread during the Hellenistic (Vollenweider 1995, nos 226, 229-232, 234-235, 237-238 and 242) and Roman times (including on seals – cf. Spier 1992, no. 472), on which Socrates appears in slightly three-quarter front view (Richter 1971, no. 718), or reclining (Richter 1956, no. 462 – Type B), or with one hand in front of his face and the forefinger pointed to the nose, in a thoughtful attitude (Henig 1975, App. 34; Pannuti 1983, no. 184; Wagner and Boardman 2003, no. 96; Weiß 2007, no. 367). However, it was also very popular among modern engravers (cf. Gramatopol 1974, nos 770 and 896; Sternberg 1988, no. 772; Tamma 1991, no. 98; Henig 1994, nos 616-621 and 624). Among them stands Tassie, a recognized engraver of Socrates portraits.

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd century AD.

14. White and pale-brownish sardonyx, oval, flat on both faces, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F2). *Dimensions:* 8.8 x 7.1 x 2mm. Wt: 0.18g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/7 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 2).

Description: Bust of Diogenes facing right, bald and with longish hair and beard and a cloak over his shoulders.

Parallels: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, nos 507 (Diogenes? 3rd quarter of the 1st century BC) and 508-509 (Diogenes, 2nd half of the 1st century BC); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1736 (Diogenes, gray onyx, 2nd century AD).

Discussion: In modern plaster seals, similar busts are also interpreted as Diogenes (Bernardini *et al.* 1998, nos 12 and 134).

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd century AD.

15. White onyx, sub-rectangular, flat upper face and convex lower face (Henig's Type F7). *Dimensions:* 11.5 x 9.3 x 3.2mm. Wt: 0.42g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/11 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 3).

Description: Head of bearded Epicurus in profile to the left, with aquiline nose, curly hair and beard, and a cloak over his shoulders.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, no. 6381 (2nd century AD); Walters 1926, no. 1960; Berry 1969, no. 71; Richter 1971, nos 438 (jasper) and 438a (carnelian, inscribed 'Επιχουρος'); AGDS IV, pl. 76, no. 581; Pannuti 1994, no. 201 (cameo); Vollenweider 1995, nos 252-254 (cameos); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 5.6 (1st century BC); Weiß 2007, no. 366.

Discussion: Epicurus was a very popular philosopher in Roman times, which explains the existence of his portraits on gems set in so many rings used by the followers of his philosophy (Cic. *Fin.* V, 1, 3). A similar portrait can be seen in an unpublished glass paste imitating carnelian at the Museu Quinta das Cruzes, in Funchal.

Unpublished.

Date: Late 1st century BC.

Portraits

16. Dark red carnelian, oval, flat upper face and convex lower face, both highly polished, and slightly outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F7). *Dimensions:* 12.8 x 11.2 x 2.1mm. Wt: 0.39g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/33 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 4).

Description: Laureate head of Commodus in profile to the left, with a long curly beard and hair.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVIII, no. 19; Richter 1971, no. 564 (bust, with cuirass and *paludamentum*); Gramatopol 1974, no. 404; Neverov 1985, no. 27 (bust; cameo); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 771 (bust, with cuirass and *paludamentum*; 177-192 AD); Neverov 1988, nos 87 and 89 (laureate head, with radiate crown and *paludamentum*); Pannuti 1994, no. 208; Ubaldelli 2001, no. 160; Vollenweider 2003, nos 193-194 (with cuirass and *paludamentum*).

Discussion: The portrait is similar to those engraved on coins struck after 181 AD (cf. Mattingly 1927, pl. XXXIX, no. 7 – *aureus*, c. 186 AD and pl. XLII, no. 8 – *denarius*, 186 AD; Sutherland 1974, nos 392-393 – *denarii*, 186-189 AD and 394-395 – *sestertius*, 190-191 AD; Sternberg 1980, nos 425-437, 179-189 AD; Cremer 1997, pl. 20, no. 4). In other schemes, Commodus appears in frontal view (Richter 1956, no. 493), or killing the lion of Nemeas (Vollenweider 2003, no. 191 – 180-185 AD) or, like Caracalla, wearing a lion skin and a club as *Hercules Commodianus*, with whom he identified himself (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVIII, no. 20; Gramatopol 1974, no. 663; Vollenweider 1984, no. 308; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 772; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 254; Vollenweider 2003, no. 192) – a type also depicted on statues (Mortimer Wheeler 1964, fig. 151) and coins (Mattingly 1927, pl. XL, no. 17 – *aureus*, c. 191 AD), or next to Hercules (Walters 1926, no. 2019; Richter 1971, no. 566). Perhaps he wanted to present himself as a new Romulus (up to appearing on coins performing a foundation ritual) or as the *Hercules Romanus*. Gems with his young bust also exist in Portugal: an unpublished sard in the Museu Quinta das Cruzes (Funchal) and an amethyst, once in the Morisson Collection, in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon (Spier 2001, no. 38). The motif was also very popular on modern gems, decorative medallions, and plaster seals.

Unpublished.

Date: Late 2nd century AD.

III - ANIMALS

Groups of Animals

17. Pale-brownish layered agate, a black inclusion in the upper face, concentric layers and a circular hole in the lower face, oval (almost circular), convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type B3). *Dimensions:* 11.2 x 10.9 x 3.5mm. Wt: 0.59g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/8 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 5).

Description: Eagle facing right, with its left leg upright, the wings displayed

and the right leg perched on the ground line, attacking a coiled snake. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Pellet Style*.

Parallels: Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XX, no. 49; Walters 1926, no. 2443; Fossing 1929, pl. XVII, no. 1447; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 69, nos 478-480; AGDS IV, pl. 37, no. 223; Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 106; Sternberg 1988, no. 741 (1); Krug 1995, no. 31; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.96 (fighting the serpent); Henig 2008a, no. 51 (wing raised); Gołyźniak 2017, no. 188 (eagle holding serpent in its beak).

Discussion: The motif appeared for the first time on coins of Olympia and Agrigento of the 5th century BC (Hipólito 1996, no. 4) and on Greek scaraboids of the 5th century BC (Walters 1926, no. 552; AGDS IV, pl. 9, no. 28).

Unpublished.

Date: 1st century BC.

18. Pale-rose quartz, oval, flat on both sides, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions:* 10.5 x 13.9 x 3mm. Wt: 0.65g. Chipped on the right edge. Inv. no. 5/12 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 6).

Description: A large lion in profile to the right is attacking a fallen stag. He stands on the left hind leg of the animal, whose legs are bent and whose head is still upright and looking back at him. Above is a six-pointed star. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1192 (a star); Gramatopol 1974, no. 506 (a star); Dimitrova-Milčeva 1977, no. 12 (a lunar crescent and two stars); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 226 (*Italic-Republican Pellet Style*); Guiraud 1988, no. 712 (a star).

Discussion: Of all the motifs depicting a lion attacking another animal, the most popular scheme is that on which the lion chases (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1198) or attacks a deer/stag – a motif that goes back to the Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals, Mycenaean gems, and Greek and Greco-Persian intaglios of the 5th-4th centuries BC and was very common on Roman coins of the 1st century BC (*denarii* of 18 BC and 14 BC, these last ones struck by *M. Durmius* – cf. Fossing 1929, no. 1298 and Richter 1956, no. 505) and gems. Also used as a funerary element, this motif is later found on Sassanian gems and Romantic Art. A similar scene, but with a lion attacking a fallen goat, is on display at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Cravinho 2017b, no. 45).

Unpublished.

Date: Early 1st century AD.

19. Green jasper, oval, flat on both faces, with high outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F3). *Dimensions:* 9.5 x 13.2 x 4.2mm. Wt: 0.84g. Chipped on the lower face and right edge. Inv. no. 5/23 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 7).

Description: A shrimp and a shell of murex. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Small Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLV, no. 66; AGDS IV, pl. 178, no. 1302 (carnelian, 9 x 12.4 x 3.5mm, 1st century BC-1st century AD).

Discussion: Both animals had an economic significance (as they were related to the fishing of coastal populations – cf. Sena Chiesa 1966, 398) and were important in the Mediterranean diet. The *murex*, already engraved on Greek scaraboids of the 5th-4th century BC (cf. Spier 1992, no. 19), was very popular on Roman mosaics and appears on Roman gems either as a single subject (Walters 1926, no. 2523; Fossing 1929, no. 323; Righetti 1955, no. 171; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1407; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 460; Gołyźniak 2017, no. 656) or associated with a small pin (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, nos 905 and 1167-1168), a fish (Walters 1926, no. 2513; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1406; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 70, no. 491; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1790), or a human figure coming out of the interior of its shell (Boardman 2001, fig. 258). In more fantastic scenes, it is being pulled by two horses (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLVI, no. 32) or there is a mule leaping from its interior (Walters 1926, no. 2414) – a similar motif to those on which other animals are leaping from the shell of a *nautilus*, as we can see on a gem found in Ammaia and on another one existing in the Museu Quinta das Cruzes, Funchal. Only very rarely and reflecting Christian influences, there are two *murex* shells flanking an anchor (Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, no. 83). Actually, the shell could be related to the idea of rebirth or life itself (Henig 1974, 130). Perhaps the use of the jasper was intentional in order to reinforce the apotropaic virtues that could be assigned to the motif (itself a symbol of the richness of nature and abundance). It may be noted that the shrimp (as an isolated motif) appears on 4 intaglios uncovered in Portugal, in Alentejo and Alentejo/Algarve regions.

Unpublished.

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

Mammals

20. Pale-orange carnelian, with lighter parallel veins and a black inclusion perforating the intaglio, oval, flat upper face and slightly convex lower face, with slightly outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F8). *Dimensions:* 15.7

x 12.6 x 2.7mm. Wt: 0.74g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/31 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 8).

Description: Deer leaping to the right. Under its hind legs there is a branch. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1100 (nicolo); Vollenweider 1984, no. 113; Tamma 1991, no. 15; Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 15 (1st century BC); Capolutti 1996, no. 138 (mid 1st century BC); Weiß 2007, no. 460 (2nd half of the 1st century BC); Gołyźniak 2017, no. 200 (end of the 2nd-beginning of the 1st century BC).

Discussion: Already engraved on prehistoric seals (Merrillees 2001, no. 1 – 5th-3rd millennium BC), the deer has a long tradition on ancient gems and is later found on Sassanian seals (Henig 1994, no. 1017; Middleton 1998, nos 74-75; Middleton 2001, no. 41). Motifs on which they are running or leaping were very popular on the Greek, Etruscan and Hellenistic-Roman gems. However, it can also appear being chased by a dog (Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 867; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 57) or with a tree (Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 177) or a star associated (Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 114). It may be noted that the same type of branch on our intaglio is also on a gem with a deer attacking a lion (Gallottini 2012, no. 124 – antique?).

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd half of the 1st century AD.

21. Dark orange carnelian with some lighter shades, oval, convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type C3). *Dimensions:* 11.8 x 15 x 5.2mm. Wt: 1.19g. Chipped on the lower face. Inv. no. 4/26 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 2: 9).

Description: Goat running to the left with its head turned back. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Italic a Globolo-like Style*.

Parallels: Fossing 1929, no. 314 ('dog'); Righetti 1955, no. 131 ('dog', *Italic a Globolo-like Style*); Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 1098-1099 ('cervids', 1st century BC); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 87 (carnelian, 2nd century BC); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, no. 21 ('dog'); Casal Garcia 1991, no. 3 ('dog', chalcedony, 2nd-1st century BC); Tamma 1991, nos 16-17 ('dog'); Gołyźniak 2017, no. 187 ('hound', end of the 2nd century BC).

Discussion: The goat has a long tradition on Ancient Greek vases and Roman statuettes, reliefs, oil lamps, mosaics and wall paintings. Already present on Greek scaraboids of the 5th century BC, Etruscan scarabs of the 4th-3rd and 3rd centuries BC and on Hellenistic gems, it was a very popular motif in Rome, due to its importance in the people's daily life and perhaps also

for its relation with the mythical Cretan goat *Almathea* (the foster-mother of Zeus).

Unpublished.

Date: Late 2nd century BC.

22. Dark red carnelian, oval, flat upper face, set in a medieval gold ring. *Dimensions:* 9 x 11.5mm. In good condition. Inv. no. 150 CMP (Exposição Permanente) (Pl. 2: 10).

Description: Large lion walking to the left, with strong legs and slightly raised tail. Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Classicizing Style*.

Parallels: Merlin and Lantier 1922, no. 360; Richter 1956, no. 502; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1165; Hamburger 1968, no. 107; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 460 (50 BC-50 AD); Tamma 1991, no. 68 (1st-2nd century AD); Henig 1994, no. 245 (Augustan); Konuk and Arslan 2000, no. 108 (1st-2nd century AD).

Discussion: The intaglio is set in a ring of the 13th century (cf. Gesztelyi 2000, no. 204) with the inscription EMMANUEL on the bezel and the inscription PAX FIDES ET CARITAS on the edge. The popularity of the lion on Roman art, coins, rings and gems can be explained by the fact that it was linked to Jupiter, had a high degree in the Mithraic initiation (cf. Tondo 1996, 113, no. 153), and was adopted as the emblem of *legio XIII Gemina* and perhaps also of *legio XVI Gallica*. Its re-use in a medieval ring as a personal seal, in which the name Emmanuel may allude to Jesus Christ, is not surprising. Actually, as Henig points out, being the king of beasts the lion can be a symbol of Christ (Henig 2008b, 26). Other gems with the depiction of a lion occur in the Portuguese Corpus: 2 at the Museu Quinta das Cruzes, Funchal (one with a lion and another with a lioness); 3 at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (one holding in its paws an animal's head, another recumbent and another one running – Cravinho 2017b, nos 51-53) and another 3 with a lion walking, once in a private collection and now lost.

Publ: Teixeira de Aragão 1887, 21; Rocha Peixoto 1902, 13-14, no. 87; Peres 1928, 336; Vitorino 1930, 161; Rocha 1947, 17; Cravinho 2018a, 63, Fig. 8.

Date: 1st century AD.

23. Milky chalcedony with brownish shapes, oval, flat on both highly polished faces, with double bevelled edges (Henig's Type F4). *Dimensions:* 14.3 x 11.1 x 4.2mm. Wt: 1.10g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/5 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 1).

Description: Mouse with a piece of food in its mouth sitting on a table with two curved legs. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Plain Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1896, no. 7903 (three-legged table; a cock in front of him); Fossing 1929, no. 1810 (three-legged table); Righetti 1955, no. 195 (three-legged table and two pieces of bread on it); Hamburger 1968, no. 165 (three-legged table); Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 62 (three-legged table; convex carnelian, 2nd-3rd century AD); Gołyźniak 2017, no. 692 (jasper, 2nd century AD, three-legged table).

Discussion: The motif is already depicted on a Greco-Persian gem (Boardman 2001, pl. 893, no. 4) but its symbolism is obscure. The mouse was a symbol of fertility (for its quick and plenteous procreation) and appears normally in Roman art associated with food (Toynbee 1973, 203-204). On gems, it is often depicted eating a piece of fruit (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1357; Krug 1995, no. 10.13), a bunch of grapes (Chaves and Casal 1995, no. 38; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 7.2), a nut (Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 1354-1356; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos 616-617; Krug 1980, no. 421; Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 184; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, nos 1905-1908; Krug 1995, no. 10.14; Johns 1997, nos 196 and 198; Gesztelyi 2000, nos 213-214) or a loaf of bread (AGDS IV, pl. 167, no. 1234) or, more rarely, with an ear of wheat (AGDS IV, pl. 168, no. 1235) or a snail (AGDS IV, pl. 168, no. 1236) or a basket of fruit in front of him (Walters 1926, no. 2425). But perhaps it also had a chthonic significance (Henig 1974, 130-131). Actually, Pliny says that white mice were a positive omen (Plin. *NH*, VIII, 223) and Aelian mentions that at the sanctuary of *Haximatos* (in the south-west of the Troad region of Anatolia) they were sacred to Apollo Smintheus, the destroyer of mice (Ael. *NA*, 12 5).

For the shape of this table, see: Walters 1926, no. 1255 and Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.14.

Unpublished.

Date: 2nd century AD.

Birds

24. Pale-brownish chalcedony with a lighter shade on the right side, oval (almost circular), convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig's Type B3).

Dimensions: 12.5 x 11 x 4mm. Wt: 0.74g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/9 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 2).

Description: Cockerel standing in profile to the left. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Italic a Globolo-like Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 1337-1338; AGDS III Kassel, pl. 71, no. 496 (glass paste; 12.2 x 10.9 x 2mm; 1st century AD); Sternberg 1980, no. 774; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1154 (with an inscription, 2nd-3rd quarter of the 1st century BC); D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 101; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.113 (almost circular, C3, 1st century BC; above the cock, a lunar crescent); Galletti 2009, no. 11 (inv. no. 98683 – glass paste, 2nd century BC; with a poppy in its beak).

Discussion: In Pagan times, the cock was associated with Mercury and a symbol of fertility (linked to marriage), was a solar animal (since it crows at sunrise), and it had a chthonic meaning linked to Persephone and the Underworld (Cosentino 2016, 192). Depicted on statuettes (cf. small bronze from Conimbriga, Inv. no. A 387), mosaics, oil lamps (Ferreira de Almeida 1953, no. 254) and rings (Spier 1992, no. 37 – 2nd half of the 6th century BC; Marshall 1907, no. 1356), it appears already on gems in the 4th century BC (Boardman 2001, pl. 875) and was widespread in Rome in a multiplicity of scenes until the 3rd century AD (standing on the ground line, running, walking, with its head turned back, about to peck at a morsel of food on the ground or fighting with another cock). Other gems with a cock depicted occur in the Portuguese corpus: 2 at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Cravinho 2017b, nos 55-56), 1 unpublished nicolo from the ruins of Tróia city's harbor and 1 from Monte Mozinho (North Portugal), with a cock and its 'coach' holding a dead cock on his arm (Casal Garcia 1980, no. 1).

Unpublished.

Date: Late 2nd century BC.

25. Dark red carnelian, oval (elongated), flat on both faces, with outward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F2). *Dimensions:* 6 x 13.9 x 2mm. Wt: 0.28g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/39 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 3).

Description: Two confronted doves (perhaps a couple) perched on a branch. Above them, the inscription in negative UNIS. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Imperial Incoherent Grooves Style*.

Parallels: Henig 1974, no. 667 (nicolo, 2nd century AD); Maaskant-Kleibrink, no. 724 (nicolo, 1st-2nd century AD, *Imperial Small Grooves Style*); Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 676 (1st century AD); Krug 1995, no. 10.21; Spier 2007, no. 308 (a *krismon* above and an inscription between the doves).

Discussion: In Roman pagan times, the dove was linked to Venus and was a symbol of marital concord (Mastrocinque 2016, 215-216). Being

a decorative element, it was very common on mural paintings, mosaics, rings (Henig 1975, no. 293) and gems, on which it already appears in the 4th century BC (Spier 1992, no. 117 – flying, Greco-Persian scaraboid). As an isolated motif, it normally appears standing, with a branch in front, carrying cherries in its beak, being devoured by an eagle (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 1118) or upon a column/altar – a variant engraved on two intaglios from Alentejo or Algarve, whose actual location is unknown. But it can also be seen held by Venus or by Eros or associated with symbolic objects/elements (a vase, a bunch of grapes, astral symbols, a krismon or a cross). However, an intaglio which was perhaps set in a wedding ring depicts two doves flanking a bridal altar and perched on quince branches, whose fruit was eaten by the bride and groom during the wedding ceremony (King 1872, pl. LIV, no. 13 = Richter 1956, no. 561). Might our gem also have a wedding meaning? In that case, the inscription UNIS could be a variant of the Latin word UNUS and symbolize the union of two persons in only one, by marriage.

It may be noted that in the Christian religious thought, the dove was a symbol of peace (related to Noah and his family) and later of the Holy Spirit (as those that fell from heaven when Jesus was baptized). That is why it was an extremely popular motif widespread in Early Christian art (especially in the Catacombs of Rome) and one of the symbols that the Christians should have had engraved upon their rings, according to Clement of Alexandria (cf. Spier 2007, no. 308)

For parallels of the elongated shape of the gem, see a Roman blue ‘corindon’ of the Vesuviana area (D’Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 120).

Unpublished.

Date: 3rd-4th century AD.

26. Orange carnelian with lighter shades, oval, slightly convex upper face and flat lower face (Henig’s Type A3), both highly polished. *Dimensions:* 10.6 x 9.5 x 2.5mm. Wt: 0.36g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/35 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 4).

Description: Stork walking to the left, with the head turned up. No ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink’s *Republican Pellet Style*.

Parallels: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 88 (standing stork; agate, C3, 2nd century BC); Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1948 (nicolo, 2nd century AD); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 9.100 (citrine, A2, 1st century AD); Weiß 2007, no. 496.

Discussion: The stork was a symbol of Pietas for the pagans (Toynbee 1973, 244). Depicted alone or associated with plants, its victims or its young, it appears on Greek rings, scaraboids of the 5th century BC, Etruscan scarabs, Nilotic landscapes of the Hellenistic repertoire, and Roman rings and gems, mainly on convex gems of the *Italic a-Globolo Style*. Sometimes, it has the head turned back, as on a gem from Alentejo or Algarve (that once was in a private collection and now lost) and on a garnet set in a processional Cross – the so-called ‘Cruz de D. Sancho’ (Inv. no. MNAA 540 Our). More often, the stork is playing a *lituus* or *salpinx*, as on an unpublished chalcedony of the Museu Quinta das Cruzes (Funchal), has a plant in front of it, or is eating it. It can also have its head lowered, and seeking its victims on the ground: the lizards that symbolize the evil forces annihilated by the stork (cf. Henig 1999, 55, no. 39) – which may explain its use as *philacteriae* to prevent or cure ophthalmias (Delatte and Derchain 1964, nos 365-368) – and the serpent (*ophiomachus*), killed and eaten by the stork without being affected by its poison.

Unpublished.

Date: 1st century BC.

IV - PLANT

27. Orange carnelian with some lighter shades, oval, flat upper face and convex lower face (Henig’s Type F7), both highly polished. *Dimensions:* 7.5 x 6 x 2.1mm. Wt: 0.12g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/40 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 5).

Description: Pomegranate blossom on twig. Maaskant-Kleibrink’s *Republican Flat Bouterolle Style*.

Parallels: Walters 1926, no. 2678 (two sprays of pomegranate; a Greek inscription); Richter 1956, no. 573; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 929 (convex layered agate, 8 x 6 mm, 1st-2nd century AD, poppy-head?); Mandrioli Bizarri 1987, nos 118-119; 120 (poppy-flower; 7.4 x 6.2 x 2.3 mm, 1st-2nd century AD).

Discussion: The pomegranate was a symbolic fruit amongst the Egyptians, Greeks, Jews, Roman Pagans and Christians (for its association with death and rebirth of nature, which made it a symbol of man’s resurrection from the 4th century AD and explains its common depiction on mosaics – cf. Chelli 2008, 69, fig. 40). Already appearing on Etruscan scarabs (Walters 1926, nos 925-927) and later found on Sassanid gems (Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, nos 2422-2423; Henig 1994, nos 467-470; 1024-1029; Middleton

1998, no. 79), it is frequently associated with animals (Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1269 – eagle; Henig 1994, nos 122 and 151 – a horse and a sparrow, respectively; D'Ambrosio and De Carolis 1997, no. 340 – cock) or with deities, like Venus Victrix (Cravinho 1997/1998, no. 2) or Harpokrates of *Pelusium* (as on a gem uncovered in Alentejo or Algarve, once in a private collection and now lost).

Unpublished.

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

V - MYTHICAL BEAST

28. Scarab. Brown sard with a horizontal perforation in the center of the gem. *Dimensions:* 15.8 x 11.3 x 7.8mm. Wt: 2.05g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/21 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 6).

Description: Centaur to the right, holding a club in his left hand. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Italic a Globolo Scarab*.

Parallels: Richter 1956, no. 203 (banded agate, Centaur with outstretched arms and head turned back).

Discussion: The Centaurs (mythical beasts living in hills and forests and of brutal customs, except the wise Chiron and Pholos), are already depicted on Greek gems (from the Archaic period until the 4th century BC) as well as on Etruscan and Hellenistic ones, appear in Rome on the decorative repertoire of Hellenistic origin and on coins. On gems, we see them kidnapping young girls (Henig 1975, no. 75), struggling with Heracles (Krug 1980, no. 327), fighting with the Lapiths of Thessaly (which may symbolize the struggle of civilization against barbarism – cf. Marshall 1907, no. 357; Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 717), associated with Eros (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos 242 and 375-376; Casal Garcia 1991, no. 75; Laffi 2012, no. 86) or with Achilles, especially Chiron, said to have been his tutor and having taught him how to play the lyre (Lippold 1922, est. XL, no. 6; Gonzenbach 1952, no. 18; Sena Chiesa 1966, nos 737-738; Richter 1971, no. 286; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 396; Krug 1980, no. 328; Spier 1992, no. 412).

A gem with a Centaur was uncovered in *Conimbriga* in the 19th century. Unfortunately only its impression lasts (Cravinho 2001, 190-192, no. 24).

Unpublished.

Date: 4th-3rd century BC.

VI - SYMBOLIC COMPOSITIONS

29. Pale orange carnelian, oval, flat on both faces, with inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type F1). *Dimensions:* 12.6 x 15 x 3.4mm. Wt: 1.04g. In good condition. Inv. no. 4/30 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 7).

Description: Standing goose, with its wings spread and the beak open with a grape, in front of a cornucopia upon a globe, with stylised frontal goat's head with small horns terminal. Short ground line under its left paw. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Extinguishing Pellet Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1426 ('bird', mid 1st century BC); AGDS III Kassel, pl. 5, no. 27 ('bird', mid 1st century BC) and pl. 21, no. 170 (cock; 1st century AD); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 1180 ('bird', cristal, 11.8 x 10.3 x 1.8mm, mid 1st century BC); Sternberg 1988, no. 743 ('bird', Augustan).

Discussion: The motif is a symbolic composition, on which the cornucopia (an attribute of Fortuna) stands for abundance and prosperity, the globe (a celestial object) for Jupiter and the goose for Juno. In some variants of the motif, instead of a globe there is an ear and a poppy (Sena Chiesa 1978, no. 145 – cock; Henig 1994, no. 387 – cock) or two ears (Imhoof and Keller 1889, pl. XXI, no. 45 – cock) and also a caduceus and another bird (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 566 – 'bird') or, instead of the bird, a deer (Casal Garcia 1991, no. 419) or a goat rearing up against the cornucopia (Henig 1994, no. 233; Tassinari 2010, Fig. 9; Gołyźniak 2017, nos 280-281).

Unpublished.

Date: Mid 1st century BC.

30. Black and greyish serpentine, oval, convex upper face, flat lower face and inward-bevelled edges (Henig's Type A4). *Dimensions:* 12 x 11.4 x 4.6mm. Wt: 0.69g. In good condition. Inv. no. 5/19 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS.

Description: Eagle with a wreath in its beak in three-quarter front view to right upon a cylindrical, garlanded altar flanked by two military standards (*vexilla*). Ground line. Maaskant-Kleibrink's *Republican Flat Bouterolle Style*.

Parallels: Sena Chiesa 1966, no. 1283; Hamburger 1968, no. 103; Berry 1969, no. 89; Henig 1974, nos 705 (nicolo, 12.5 x 9mm, 1st century AD) and 706-708; Gramatopol 1974, no. 550; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 759 (jasper, 1st-2nd century AD); Dimitrova-Milčeva 1980, no. 207; Vollenweider 1984, no. 351 (eagle on a globe, carnelian, 2nd-3rd century AD); Tamma 1991, nos 69-70; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 1935; Konuk and Arslan 2000,

no. 125 (yellow jasper, 2nd century AD); Ravagnan 2003, no. 7 (stars above the standards); Gołyźniak 2017, nos 278-279 (without standards); 598-599 (between standards).

Discussion: Depicted between standards, the eagle should represent the sovereignty of the legions, especially when associated with an altar – a motif derived from similar Republican monetary compositions (RRC 544/1, *aureus*, 32-31 BC; and RRC 546/1, *denarius*, 31 BC – both by Marc Antony; Pereira and Bost 1974, no. 50 – 23?-12 BC; Pereira 2002, nos 2-3 (I) – Mark Antony, 32-31 BC) and imperial ones (Mattingly 1927, pl. LII, no. 7 – *as* of Julia Domna, 193-211 AD; Pereira and Bost 1974, no. 242 – *as* of Hadrian, 118 AD). Widespread on gems in the imperial period (as a symbol of bounty, luck and victory – Gołyźniak 2017, no. 278), it was extremely popular amongst legionnaires and veterans, as an intaglio from Cyprus, inscribed *Leg XV Appollinaris*, may suggest. However, as Martin Henig points out, more than as a military symbol these standards should be religious totems linked to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* (Henig 1983, 111). In the specific case of this intaglio, the presence of a garlanded altar evokes the idea of sacrifice and reinforces the idea that standards belonged to the paraphernalia of religious cult objects. Taking into account the standards also engraved on it (venerated by the armies and probably transformed into a magic symbol), we may conclude that the intaglio perhaps belonged to a legionnaire. It may be noted that this black and ashy variety of serpentine (*'ophites'*) was worn as an amulet, for its magical properties in the cure of headache and wounds inflicted by serpents (Plin. *NH*, XXXVI, 11).

On a similar variant of the motif, there are four standards flanking the altar (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 688).

Unpublished.

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

VII - CAMEOS

31. Dark and greyish nicolo, oval, set in a modern gold ring. *Gem's dimensions:* 8.5 x 9.5mm. Ring's weight: 6.69g. In a good condition. Inv. no. 27 CMP (Exposição Permanente) (Pl. 3: 8).

Description: Leda reclined to the right and a large swan with spread wings sitting between her legs.

Parallels: Fossing 1929, no. 1919; Boardman 1968, no. 74 (nicolo cameo); Vollenweider 1984, no. 457; Pannuti 1994, no. 74 (sardonyx); Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 10.34 (onyx cameo, 2nd-3rd century AD).

Discussion: The motif, based on a gem by Aulos (Tassie 1791, pl. XXI, no. 1211), depicts the union of Leda (wife of Tyndaros, king of Sparta) and Zeus who, metamorphosed into a swan, seduced her – a theme which dates back to the 5th century BC and is later found on modern and contemporary sculpture and painting (for instance, by Tintoretto, Leonardo da Vinci, Cesare da Sesto, François Boucher and Fragonard). Having been introduced on gems by the Late-Etruscan engravers, it was very common in Roman times and lasted until the 16th-17th centuries (cf. Miller 1933, fig. 1.14; Alfaro Giner 1996, no. 66). This variant, the most frequent and the most ancient version of the theme (cf. Boardman 2001, 223), appears already on rings and gems of the 4th century BC (Boardman 2001, pl. 728), Hellenistic terracotta, Roman oil lamps (Ferreira de Almeida 1953, no. 152 – from *Ossonoba*, Algarve) and on a nicolo from Braga.

Unpublished.

Date: 1st-2nd century AD.

32. Brown banded agate, with some milky shades, oval, flat lower face with two depressions. *Dimensions:* 28.8 x 20.3 x 15.5mm. Wt: 11.29g. Chipped on the upper face (on the tip of the figure's nose) and on the lower and left edges of the lower face. Inv. no. 4/1 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 9).

Description: Feminine head, frontal, with a small mouth closed and big eyes open with the pupil depicted.

Parallels: Berry 1969, no. 235; Gramatopol 1974, no. 676; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2455.

Unpublished.

Date: 3rd century AD.

33. White and brown sardonyx, oval and flat lower face. *Dimensions:* 7.1 x 6.2 x 3.4 mm. Wt: 0.19g. In good condition. Inv. no. 10/3 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 10).

Description: Child's head (Eros?) slightly three-quarter front view to the right, with chubby face and curly hair.

Parallels: Marshall 1907, no. 531, pl. XV (plasma, 3rd century AD); Vollenweider 1984, no. 283 (1st century BC-1st century AD); Tondo 1996, no. 139 (garnet, 16th century); Weiß 2007, no. 742 (modern?).

Discussion: Heads and busts of children are very common on Roman statuettes (cf. Mortimer Wheeler 1964, fig. 213; Matos 1995, no. 31 – from *Conimbriga*; Matos 2005, no. 1222), bronze medallions, oil lamps (Ferreira

de Almeida 1953, no. 290) and cameos, mainly on chalcedony or sardonyx. Sometimes used as *phalerae* (cf. Henig 1990, no. 191), they were widespread from the Late-Hellenistic period until the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD and are later found on modern gems of the 16th and 17th centuries (Henig 1994, no. 800 – 16th-17th century?). Usually interpreted as Eros (Spier 2001, no. 42; Pereira 2009, pl. III, 4), Medusa (Gramatopol, nos 692-696) or public figures (Gramatopol, no. 653 – Caligula; Neverov 1988, no. 103 – Annius Verus; Amorai-Stark 1993, no. 46 – Eros or a Ptolomaic prince, 1st century BC), most of them portray anonymous people (Furtwängler 1896, no. 1796; Krug 1980, no. 67; Pannuti 1983, no. 188 – from Pompeii; Vollenweider 1984, no. 282 – chalcedony, 2nd century BC; Sternberg 1988, no. 856; Pannuti 1994, nos 233-234; Vollenweider 2003, no. 176). Other small child/Eros heads exist in the Portuguese gem corpus: 2 from Ammaia – an intaglio set in a ring that once belonged to the Delmira Maçãs' collection (Cravinho 2017b, no. 44) and a cameo excavated by the archaeologist Sérgio Pereira (Pereira 2009, Pl. III, 4); 1 cameo at the Antiques Cabinet of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (Cravinho 1997/98, no. 8); 1 cameo at the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian (Spier 2001, no. 42); 1 cameo that once was in a private collection and now lost (Cravinho 2010, p. 19 – simply cited; Cravinho 2017a, p. 25, Fig. 2).

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 19 (simply cited).

Date: 1st century BC-1st century AD (or 16th-17th century?).

34. Cameo. Orange carnelian with black inclusions on the lower face, oval (almost circular). *Dimensions:* 8.3 x 7.5 x 3.5mm. Wt: 0.27g. In good condition. Inv. no. 6/4 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS (Pl. 3: 11).

Description: Child's head frontal, with curly hair and open eyes.

Parallels: Furtwängler 1900, pl. LXI, no. 42; Walters 1926, pl. XLIV, no. 3664; Gramatopol 1974, nos 692 and 696 – 'Medusa heads'; Krug 1980, no. 203; Henig and Whiting 1987, nos 412-414; Popović 1989, no. 63; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, nos 2448-2449 and 2452-2454; Gesztelyi 2000, no. 267.

Publ.: Cravinho 2010, 17 (simply cited).

Date: 1st century BC-1st century AD (or 16th-17th century?).

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 Kunstsammlungen Kassel*. Wiesbaden.

AGDS IV = Schlüter M., Platz-Horster G. and Zazoff P. 1975. *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. 4: *Hannover, Kestner-Museum und Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*. Wiesbaden.

HEp = Hispania Epigraphica online Database

RRC = Crawford M. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge.

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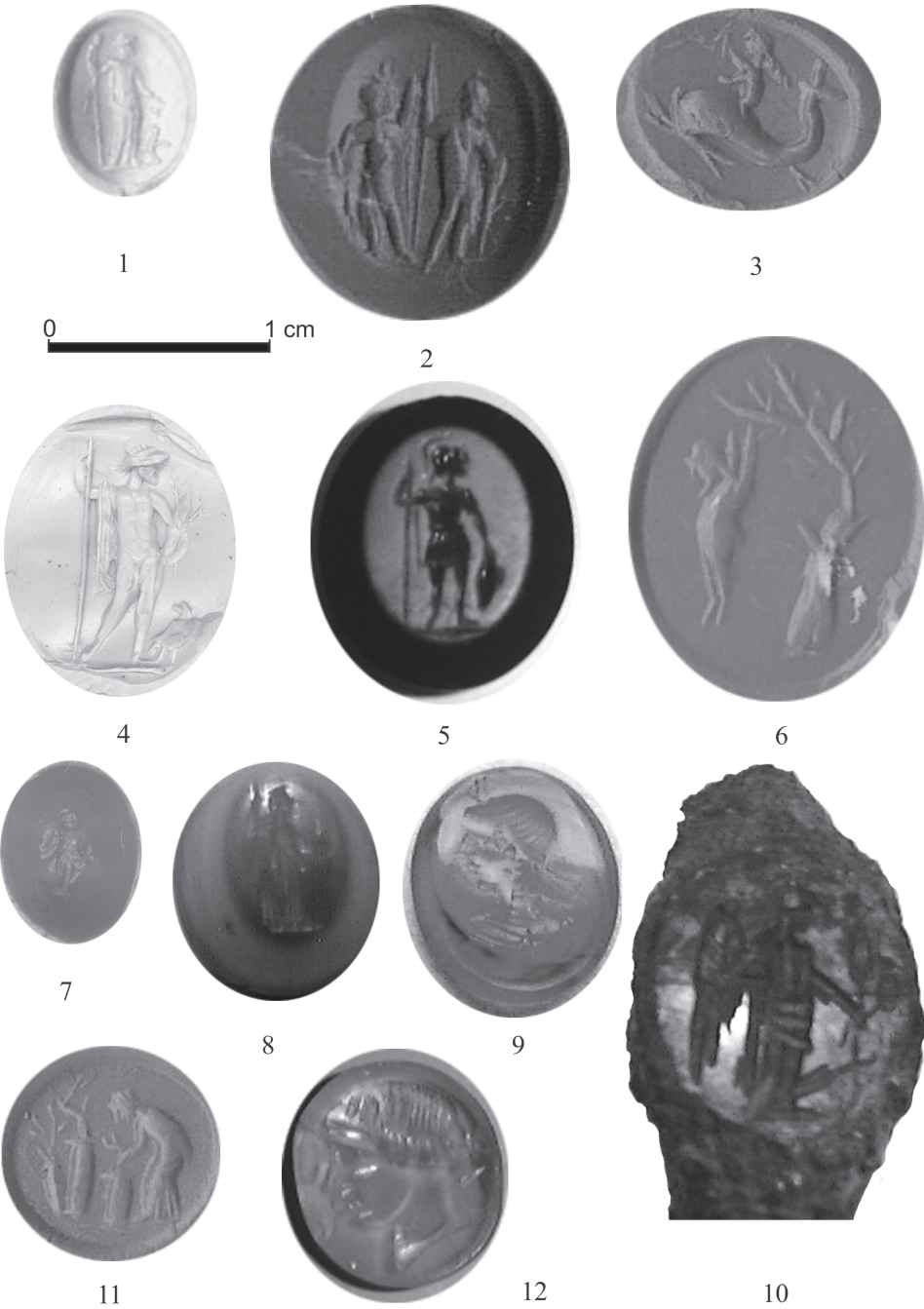
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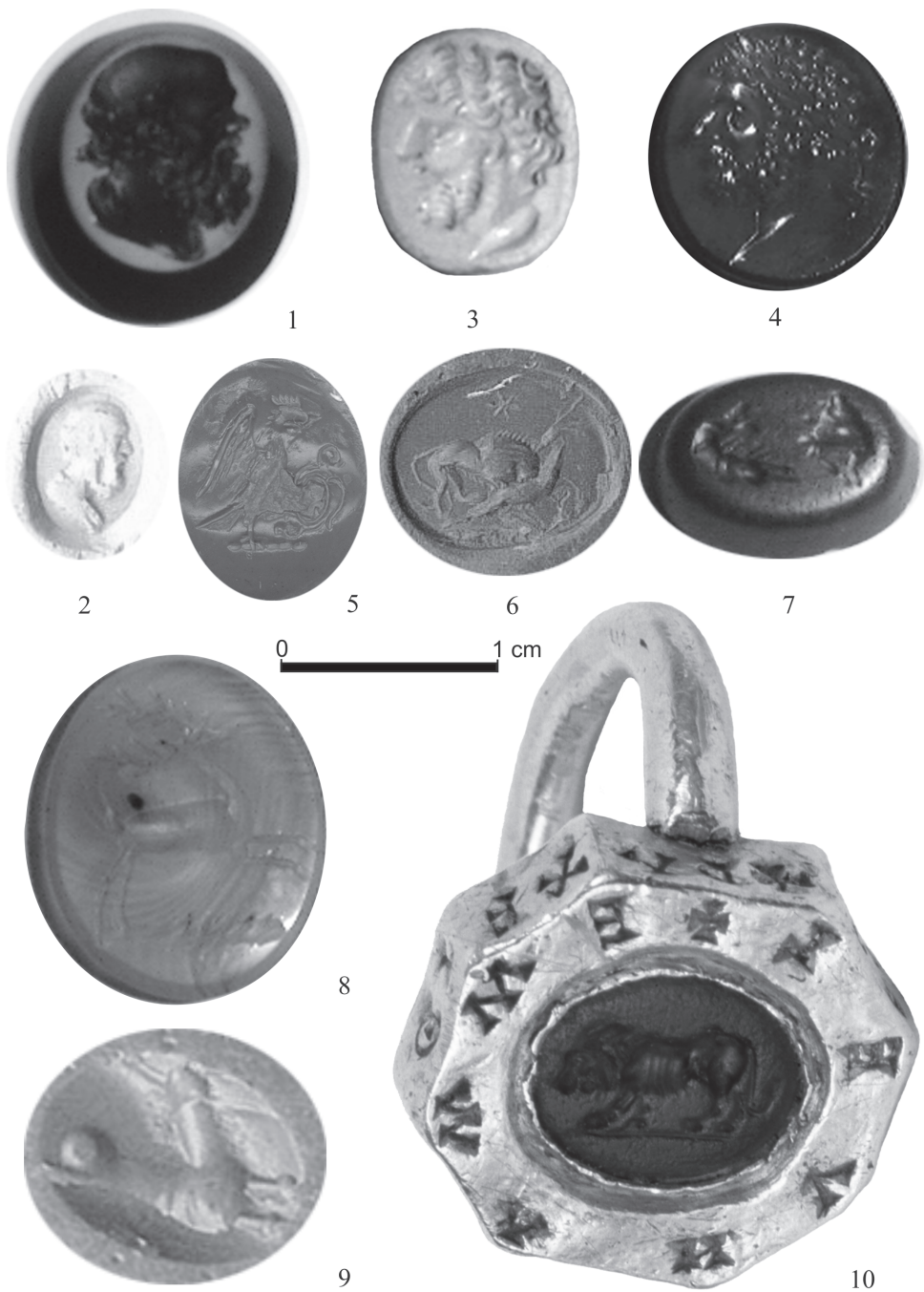
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- Pl. 1: 1. Gem with young Dionysus. Dark green plasma. Inv. no. 5/24 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 2. Gem with the Dioscuri. White and light brown sardonyx. Inv. no. 5/10 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 3. Gem with Eros seated upon a dolphin. Red jasper with some greenish shades. Inv. no. 4/41 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 4. Gem with Jupiter Tonans. Milky-white chalcedony. Inv. no. 5/4 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 5. Gem with Mars Ultor. Black and greyish nicolo. Inv. no. 5/21 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 6. Gem with bearded Marsyas. White and milky chalcedony. Inv. no. 3/6 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 7. Gem with Athena Promachos. White and orange layered agate. Inv. no. 4/37 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 8. Gem with Minerva. Translucent milky-white and pale-brown layered agate. Inv. no. 5/6 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 9. Gem with a draped bust of Isis-Selene. Pale-orange carnelian. Inv. no. 4/34 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 10. Gem with a syncretic deity. Olive-green plasma. Inv. no. 66. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 11. Gem with a standing woman in profile. Inv. no. 4/36 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 1: 12. Gem with *Diadoumenos*' head. Pale-orange carnelian. Inv. no. 4/38 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author



- Pl. 2: 1. Gem with a bust of Socrates. Black and light-blue nicolo. Inv. no. 5/18 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 2. Gem with a bust of Diogenes. White and pale-brownish sardonyx. Inv. no. 5/7 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 3. Gem with a head of bearded Epicurus. White onyx, sub-rectangular. Inv. no. 5/11 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 4. Gem with a laureate head of Commodus. Dark red carnelian. Inv. no. 4/33 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 5. Gem with an eagle. Pale-brownish layered agate. Inv. no. 5/8 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 6. Gem with a lion attacking a fallen stag. Pale-rose quartz. Inv. no. 5/12 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 7. Gem with a shrimp and a shell of murex. Green jasper. Inv. no. 5/23 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 8. Gem with a deer leaping to the right. Inv. no. 4/31 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 9. Gem with a goat. Dark orange carnelian with some lighter shades. Inv. no. 4/26 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 2: 10. Gem with a walking lion. Dark red carnelian. Inv. no. 150 CMP. Photo by Author



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- Pl. 3: 1. Gem with a mouse with a piece of food in its mouth. Milky chalcedony with brownish shapes. Inv. no. 5/5 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 2. Gem with a cockerel. Pale-brownish chalcedony. Inv. no. 5/9 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 3. Gem with two confronted doves. Dark red carnelian. Inv. no. 4/39 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 4. Gem with a stork. Orange carnelian with lighter shades. Inv. no. 4/35 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 5. Gem with a pomegranate blossom on twig. Orange carnelian with some lighter shades. Inv. no. 4/40 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 6. Scarab with a centaur. Brown sard. Inv. no. 4/21 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 7. Gem with a standing goose. Pale orange carnelian. Inv. no. 4/30 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 8. Camea with Leda. Dark and greyish nicolo. Inv. no. 27 CMP. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 9. Camea with a feminine head. Brown banded agate. Inv. no. 4/1 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 10. Camea with a child's head (Eros?). White and brown sardonyx. Inv. no. 10/3 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author
- Pl. 3: 11. Camea with a child's head frontal. Orange carnelian. Inv. no. 6/4 CMP – OURIV. PEDRAS. Photo by Author