ENGRAVED GEMS

From antiquity to the present

edited by
B.J.L. van den Bercken & V.C.P. Baan

PALMA 14
PAPERS ON ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LEIDEN MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES

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Sidestone Press

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Amethyst cameo with portrait of Minerva. Probably 16th century, set in gilded bronze ring. Inventory number GS-10100.

Preface

In 2013 a large collection of circa 4,300 engraved gems and circa 20,000 impressions was transferred from the former GeldMuseum in Utrecht to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. This nearly quadrupled the amount of engraved gems in the Leiden collection and provided the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden with a valuable component of engraved gems and impressions from the sixteenth century and later. This group of objects greatly facilitates the growing field of interest in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden known as the 'reception of antiquity'. This field not only makes the connection of antiquity to the present visible, as stated in the museum mission, it also shows the development of this connection. Several contributions to this volume provide examples of how the past is relevant in understanding our present society and culture.

The individual engraved gems enrich the departmental collections of the ancient Near East, Egypt, the Classical World and the Middle Ages. Several objects, such as the *Gemma Constantiniana*, the 'Livia Cameo' and the tureen of Amalia van Solms, are unique and rightfully called masterpieces. These pieces and many more took pride of place at the gem exhibition *Splendour & precision* on the subject of engraved gems, their makers, users and reusers. The conference *From cylinder seals to Lippert's dactyliotheca*, held in Leiden on 2-4 November 2016, aimed to revive interest in the Leiden collection of engraved gems, presenting formerly unpublished material to international specialists and resulting in the present publication which is the first major publication on the collection since 1978.

The Engraved Gems project, which started in winter 2013 with the arrival of the engraved gems in Leiden, and ended with the conference in November 2016, was made possible by a number of people. The project was supervised by Heikki Pauts, the photographs were realized by Robbert-Jan Looman and the registration by Ben van den Bercken. The exhibition *Splendour & precision* was supervised by Tanja van der Zon and the project curators Selkit Verberk and Ben van den Bercken. The latter together with Vivian Baan assumed the role of editors for this volume. The publication would not have been possible without the contributions made by the international specialists who have so generously participated in discussions about the gems in the Leiden collection. The round table discussion during the conference provided new material for discussion and further discoveries into the unknown and unpublished parts of the collection.

Wim Weijland
Director Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

Engraved gems in Leiden

*Ben van den Bercken**

Introduction

The definition of an engraved gem, especially its Dutch translation, *gesneden steen*, is an interesting topic for discussion. What exactly is an engraved gem? In the Netherlands this discussion is almost 200 years old.[1] It is therefore no surprise that numerous scholarly disciplines – (art) historians, archaeologists, Assyriologists, Egyptologists, gemmologists, geologists, etc. – work with objects that qualify as *engraved gems*. In 2013 the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden was enriched with the engraved gems and dactyliothecae from the former GeldMuseum (Money Museum) in Utrecht.[2] This led to renewed interest in the study of engraved gems and the people behind them: their makers, users and reusers. The conference *From cylinder seals to Lippert's dactyliotheca*, held in Leiden on 2-4 November 2016, was not only a starting point for new studies on these topics, but also studies on formerly unpublished objects from the engraved gem collection. The eleven contributions to the conference and three additional contributions are published in this volume. Together they chart the chronological and geographical variety of the engraved gems in the Leiden collection and form the first of what we hope will be many new publications.

A short history of the collection

The 'Koninklijk Penningkabinet van Munten, Penningen en Gesneden Steenen' was founded by Royal Decree of 1 May 1816 by William I, King of the Netherlands. The Penningkabinet housed the collections of the former Stadholders and the collection of King Louis Napoleon, and was accommodated in the Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) in The Hague.[3] In 1824, after several transfers and redistribution of objects in national collections, the Penningkabinet comprised 1,473 engraved gems, three-quarters of which were the original collection of the Stadholders who had purchased these from Count Frederik de Thoms (1696-1746).[4] Other archaeological objects in the De Thoms collection also found their way into the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.[5] Between

* **Ben van den Bercken** is Assistant Curator Engraved Gems, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

1 Halbertsma 2003, 39-42.

2 As not all names of institutions mentioned translate easily into English, the institution names in this publication are generally given in their native language, for example, 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden' instead of 'National Museum of Antiquities'.

3 For an overview of the history of the collection, see Van Kuyk 1946, Enno van Gelder / Reedijk / De Vries 1967 and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.

4 De Jonge 1823 and 1824.

5 Halbertsma 2003, 12-14.

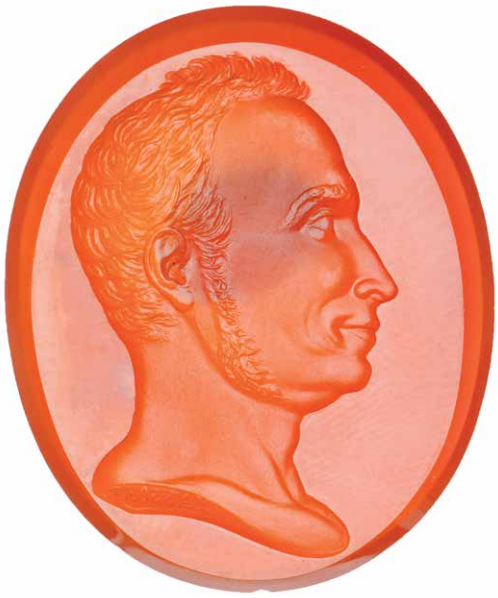

Fig.1 (left) The 'De Smeth amethyst': a Nereid seated on two dolphins calming a horse emerging from the sea. Signed by Dalioon, once owned by Lorenz Natter, second half first century BC (GS-01167).

Fig.2 (right) Portrait of William I, King of the Netherlands, carnelian, c 1826 (GS-10457).

1816 and circa 1828 several larger collections of engraved gems were bought for the Penningkabinet. Some of these were personally acquired by William I, such as the 'Great Cameo' (*Gemma Constantiniana*) in 1823.

After the Belgian revolution and Belgian independence, less acquisition funds were available and the emphasis shifted to documentation and producing impressions and casts of the gems (1834-1837).[6] Three decades later Leonhardt Janssen, curator at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, became involved in the documentation of the gem collection. He worked on the Greek and Etruscan inscribed gems and in 1866 compiled an inventory of the entire collection. In 1876-1878 the Near Eastern stamp and cylinder seals were published for the first time by Joachim Ménant. In 1892 Henri-Jean de Dompierre de Chaufepié was appointed curator at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden to work on the Van Papenbroek collection. He had a special interest in the engraved gems and spent one day a week working on the Penningkabinet collection.[7] In 1893 he was appointed director of the Penningkabinet; his inventory of the engraved gem collection was completed in 1895. De Dompierre travelled to important museum collections in London, Paris, Naples, Florence and Rome to study how the gems there were displayed.[8] This prompted him to install new vitrines for the intaglios and cameos in the Penningkabinet, allowing light to fall through the intaglios and improve their visibility.

From 1850 onwards engraved gems were only occasionally acquired for the collection. A considerable number were on display, however, as in the time of the first director of the Penningkabinet, Johannes Cornelis de Jonge (1893-1853), Dompierre de Chaufepié in particular made great efforts to present the gems to the public. After his directorship the main focus shifted to studying the coins in the collection. When the Penningkabinet moved premises in The Hague, firstly to Stadhouderslaan and then Zeestraat, this placed restrictions on access to the collection. Nevertheless, some of the gems were still exhibited, as in the exhibition *Edele Stenen* (1964).[9] During the 1970s the first and only monumental works on the large group of intaglios from antiquity in the collec-

6 De Jonge 1837.
7 Van Kerkwijk 1911.
8 He may have acquired the two dactyliothecae with Cades impressions, now in Leiden, during his visit to Rome (GS-70010 and GS-70011).
9 Anonymous 1964, 20.

Fig.3 The dactyliotheca Amusement Lithologique containing samples of types of (semi-)precious stones, mostly agates. Possibly made by the biologist/engraver Heinrich Gottlob Lang (1739-1809) (GS-60027).

tion were published by Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink.[10] In the Penningkabinet's yearly reports regular mention is made of small acquisitions of gems and another exhibition in 1991.[11] In 2004 the Penningkabinet was merged with Het Nederlands Muntmuseum (the Dutch Coin Museum) and the numismatic collection of De Nederlandsche Bank (Dutch National Bank) to form the GeldMuseum. Several of the masterpieces from the engraved gem collection were on display there. Closure of the GeldMuseum in 2013 due to budgetary cuts led to the transfer of the collection of engraved gems to Leiden.

Gem research in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Diminished interest in engraved gems in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century may chiefly be explained by the difficulty of distinguishing ancient from more modern specimens. From the Renaissance onwards engraved gems from antiquity were copied and sometimes reworked. Collectors' interest waned in the second half of the nineteenth century and large, new, private collections became exceptions. However, scholarly preoccupation with engraved gems continued and was boosted by the monumental works of Adolf Furtwängler and the compilation of numerous catalogues of engraved gems.[12] These catalogues often focused on a specific museum collection, historical period, collector or an iconographic topic. Most of the museum and period catalogues date from the 1900s to the 1920s or from the 1950s to

10 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.
11 *De stenenkracht, 5000 jaar intagli en cameeën* 14 February to 1 June 1991.
12 Furtwängler 1896 and 1900.

the 1970s.[13] From the 1970s onwards several catalogues were published, documenting Roman gems in their archaeological context. Gems with an archaeological provenance are in a minority in collections and are valuable objects in matters of dating.[14] At present new catalogues are being compiled, revisiting published collections, and also examining unpublished material. These catalogues will be a fundamental pillar in gem research.

Recently, publication of private collections has focused increasingly on the historiography of objects, alongside their iconographic and historical aspects.[15] Describing the route taken by a specific gem to arrive at its current location provides information on contacts between collectors and possible find spots or even an archaeological context. Historiography may similarly inform us about the production, use and reuse of gems.

Other topics receiving increasing attention in gem research are engravers, their techniques and production sites (the latter particularly in connection with Roman gems).[16] The work of Maaskant-Kleibrink has already underlined the importance of analysing engraving techniques.[17] Distinguishing different artists' hands in a single gem not only sheds light on a possible master-apprentice workflow, but also on how to recognize an engraver's workplace or shop. Archaeological and historical evidence for Roman gem engraving workshops does exist and needs to be investigated integrally. Increased cooperation between engraved gem researchers and gemmologists and engravers is very important, as this provides insights into the types of stone chosen and engraving techniques used; aspects of gem engraving which gem researchers are not able to determine independently.[18] The study of engraved gems should therefore be multidisciplinary.

Composition and importance of the Leiden collection, nationally and internationally

The collection which arrived in Leiden from Utrecht in 2013 consisted of circa 4,300 objects and circa 20,000 impressions. The total amount of objects in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden that presently qualifies as 'gesneden steen' (engraved gem) is 5,811. Among these pieces are stamp and cylinder seals from the ancient Near East and Egypt, Egyptian scarabs, Greek, Etruscan and Roman ring stones and sealstones, Roman cameos, Sassanid seals, Islamic seals, intaglios and cameos from the sixteenth-twentieth centuries and portrait busts. The collection additionally comprises clay sealings, dactyliothecae with gypsum, plaster and lacquer impressions, two watch chains set with gems and the famous tureen of Amalia van Solms.[19] No other public collection in the Netherlands has such a variety and quantity of engraved gems and De Jonge rightly considered the collection a "jewel of the Residence".[20] Other large Dutch collections of engraved gems can be found in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (Egyptian scarabs, Mesopotamian stamp and cylinder seals, Greek and Roman seals, Sassanid seals)[21], the Valkhof Museum in Nijmegen (Roman ring stones)[22], the PUG collection in Utrecht (Roman

13 For example, Fossing 1929, Richter 1956, Zazoff 1968, Richter 1968a and 1971, Boardman 1968 and 1975, Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, Scherf / Gerche / Zazoff 1970, Schlüter / Platz-Horster / Zazoff 1975, Brandt 1968-1972, Vollenweider 1972-1974, Neverov 1976 and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.

14 See the contribution of Martin Henig in this volume. Other examples: Henig 1974, Platz-Horster 1994 and 2009, Guiraud 1988, 1992, 2008 and Bosman 1992.

15 For example Boardman 2009. See in general the work of the Beazley Archive Classical Art Research Centre http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/ (accessed 25-5-2017).

16 Henig 2009 and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1997.

17 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.

18 See, for example, contributions by Gerhard Schmidt and Erwin Pauly to engraved gem publications and exhibitions, for example, Lang 2015, Platz-Horster 2008 and Pauly 2002. See also the contribution of Zwaan and Swaving in this volume and Platz 2012, 29-34.

19 See also the exhibition catalogue Van den Bercken / Verberk 2015.

20 Van Kuyk 1946, 36-37.

21 For example, Kist / Collon 2003.

22 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986.

ring stones and a dactyliotheca)[23] and smaller selections of gems and dactyliothecae in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague (Roman),[24] the Thermenmuseum Heerlen (Roman), the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (post-classical cameos and a dactyliotheca), Museum Catharijneconvent (Medieval codices with intaglios and cameos) and Museum Meermanno (Roman, Egyptian) and archaeological depots.[25]

The Leiden collection is not, however, comparable in size and quality to the large European collections in Vienna, Paris, Florence and Berlin. It is lacking, for example, in smaller high-quality Roman cameos and engraved gems from the Byzantine and Medieval periods. However, it does contain several unique masterpieces of historical and technical importance. The 'Great Cameo' is one of three great Roman cameos preserved from antiquity.[26] Other masterpieces include the 'Livia Cameo', the drunken satyr, the 'De Smeth Amethyst' (Fig.1), the cylinder seal of King Urzana of Musasir, several intaglios with portraits of Dutch royal family members (Fig.2), signed intaglios from antiquity, the portrait series made by Johann Christoph Dorsch of Bavarian rulers, Venetian doges, French kings and popes of Rome, the unique combination of the three editions of the Lippert dactyliotheca, the dactyliotheca *Amusement lithologique* (Fig.3) and several Alsengems and marriage scarabs of Amenhotep III. It is clear that the unique character of the Leiden collection lies in its geographical and chronological diversity, ranging from engraved gems dating from the fourth millennium BC to the twentieth century.

A first impression

In the period 2014-2016 the Leiden collection of engraved gems was registered, photographed, published online and exhibited. The contributors to this volume have taken another step forward in expanding our knowledge of the collection.

The conference provided an opportunity to focus on some of the well-known objects in the collection and some lesser known ones as well. International specialists were able to distil new information from both these categories. It underlined the importance of interdisciplinary cooperation, with specialisms such as gemmological studies adding to the understanding of provenance and dating issues. The conference further emphasized the importance of continuing research into the unknown sections of the collection. Future research will also focus on some of the more obscure parts, such as the numerous impressions in the dactyliothecae, the clay sealings, the Islamic seal stones, the text cameos, the Egyptian scarabs, the Mesopotamian stamp seals and the Chinese and Indonesian gems. Unique and important engraved gems are still waiting to be discovered in the Leiden collection.[27]

23 See http://www.pugutrecht.nl/ (accessed on 25-5-2017).
24 See, for example, Waasdorp / Zee 1988.
25 For example, the Archeologisch Centrum Eindhoven en Helmond and the Provinciaal Depot Utrecht.
26 Halbertsma 2015.
27 See the contributions in this volume by Platz-Horster and Wagner.

Roman gems in old collections and in modern archaeology

Martin Henig[*1]

Gems from historic collections

Ancient engraved gems have been collected in the modern manner since the time of the Renaissance, although of course they were valued for their quality both as jewels and as examples of craft in Antiquity – as is apparent from the expensive manner of the setting of those of the most accomplished workmanship and from the testimony of contemporary writers.[2] In the Middle Ages Roman gems were re-set in reliquaries and other items of *Ars Sacra* and select examples were treasured by the high ecclesiastics and powerful laymen who had them set in their personal seals.[3] Connoisseurs have, thus, appreciated these little antiquities over the ages, long before the advent of modern scholarship.

For most students of glyptics, whenever provenance is mentioned that is generally taken to refer to the collections in which intaglios and cameos were previously incorporated. A good example is the splendid collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, of which a fairly large proportion, the antique intaglios from the former Dutch Royal Coin Cabinet, has already been published in a splendid catalogue by Marianne Kleibrink.[4] A number of these gems are from the cabinet originally assembled by the late 17th and early 18th century collector Jacob de Wilde, some of which were later bought by Count de Thoms, who made a fortune through the English South Sea Company and acquired many more gems, mainly from old Italian collections. In the early 19th century the Royal Coin Cabinet bought the collections of Frans Hemsterhuis, Theodorus de Smeth and Baron Pieter van Hoorn van Vlooswijk. A similar assemblage over the centuries is recorded by John Boardman in another excellent catalogue devoted to a famous English cabinet, the Marlborough gems, which incorporated the early 17th century collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (itself largely taken from the Renaissance collection of the Gonzaga Dukes of Mantua) as well as the 18th century collection of William Ponsonby, Second Earl of Bessborough. These and other intaglios and cameos belonging to the Dukes of Marlborough were sold and dispersed in the late 19th century, and many of them now hold pride of place in other collections.[5]

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1 I owe a particular debt to the Beazley Archive and especially to Dr Claudia Wagner who has not only provided the majority of photographs used in this article, but has been a considerable support throughout.
2 E.g. Pliny, *NH. XXXVII.*
3 Zwierlein-Diehl 1998; Henig 2008b; Simonet 2015.
4 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.
5 Boardman 2009.

The vicissitudes of collecting are well illustrated in the English Royal Collection, which began with a flourish, in the acquisition in 1612 by Prince Henry Stuart, heir to the thrones of England and Scotland, of the renowned collection of Abraham van Goorle (Gorlaeus), latterly of Utrecht.[6] Although some of the gems may have been disposed of in the middle of the century under the Commonwealth, a residue of these remained for impressions to be taken by Elias Ashmole in 1660 when he was asked to record King Charles II's coins immediately after the Restoration, though it is believed that the intaglios were later destroyed in the great fire which engulfed Whitehall in 1695. However, two gems from the Gorlaeus cabinet are known to survive. One of them is a Renaissance gem depicting jugate heads of Augustus and Livia, given by Prince Henry to the Earl of Arundel shortly after the collection's acquisition by the Prince.[7] The other is a Roman intaglio depicting a crow and emblems of Apollo (Fig.1) which was evidently presented by Prince Henry to his younger brother Charles and appears to have been kept separately from the other gems and, through various vicissitudes, eventually came into the possession of the Wiltshire Heritage Museum, Devizes. In itself this simple banded agate intaglio is, like many other gems of above average quality and of Augustan date, but it gains its particular historic value from when Elias Ashmole recorded it as 'much esteemed by King Charles the first, and now in his Majestie's Cabinet.' He goes on to describe the tripod, crow and laurel as 'the Symbols of Divin accord'. The intaglio was presented to the museum of Devizes by the grand-daughter of John Chamberlaine, Keeper of Coins and Medals to George III.[8] In one way these Royal connections over the past few centuries places this little gem on a par, with regard to its historical importance, to Augustus' seal, carved by the great gem-engraver of his age, Dioscourides.[9] King Charles I, incidentally, also acquired before his accession to the throne in 1625 (from an unknown source, probably not Van Goorle) the celebrated State Cameo now in Windsor, a portrait of the emperor Claudius, which for him would surely have come to exemplify the Imperium by Divine Right to which he aspired.[10]

The modern archaeologist's outlook is somewhat different from that of the noble collector for s/he will be more interested in the location where any particular gem was found and, wherever possible, will wish to

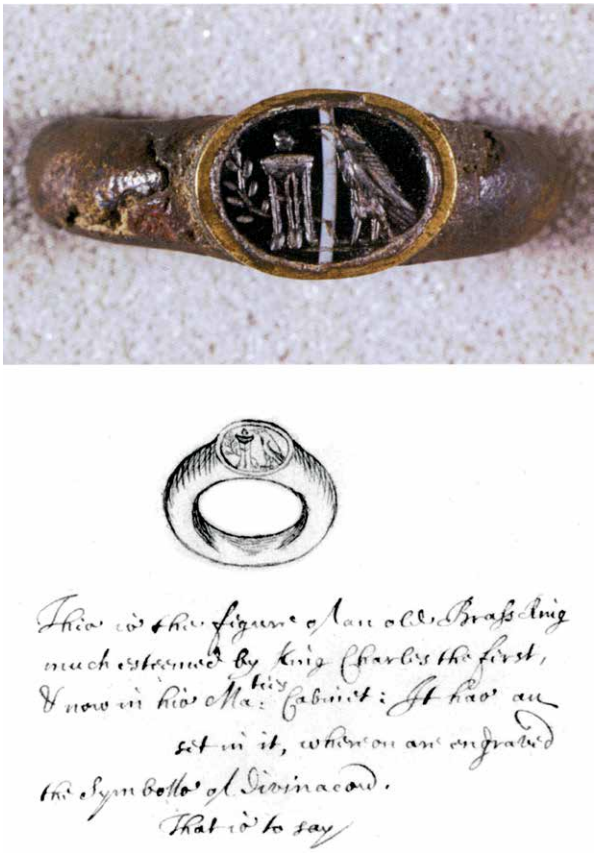

Fig.1 Banded onyx intaglio depicting emblems of Apollo, set in a 16th-17th century collector's ring, Intaglio 13 mm × 9 mm. 1st century B.C. Wiltshire Heritage Museum, Devizes. Photo: Claudia Wagner, Beazley Archive, University of Oxford. Sketch: Bodleian Library MSAshmole 826.fol.60r.

ascertain its stratigraphy as well as wishing to relate the gem together with the ring or brooch in which it may still be set to other items from the site. Gems being highly personal objects, the question will arise as to the workshop where it was manufactured and the type of person who wore it. The archaeologist will wish to know whether a gem assemblage from a fort and its environs, and thus for the most part possessed by soldiers and their dependants, differs from one from an urban setting. Such considerations lay behind the analysis in my doctoral dissertation on intaglios and cameos found in Britain and they informed much of my later work on gemstones.[11] Many

6 Henig 2008b.
7 Boardman 2009, 6 and 56 no.56.
8 Henig 2008c. 281, figs 4 and 5.
9 Suetonius, *Div.Augustus* 50; Pliny, *NH XXXVII*,8; Dio Cassius li.3.6.7.
10 Megow 1987, 194-5 Claudius A76; Piacenti / Boardman 2008, 30-33 no.1.
11 Henig 2007a; for other *Fundgemmen* see for example Sena Chiesa 1966 (Aquileia), Pannuti 1983 and D'Ambrosio / De Carolis 1997(Pompeii and Herculaneum), Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986 (Nijmegen), Guiraud 1988 and 2008 (Gaul), Middleton 1991 and Nardelli 2011 (Dalmatia), Platz-Horster 1987 and 1994 (Xanten), Dembski 2005 (Carnuntum), Henig / Whiting 1987 (Gadara, Jordan).

Fig.2 Agate cameo depicting the Triumph of Constantine, set in 17th century frame. Cameo 180 mm × 255 mm. c. A.D.315 Leiden Museum. Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

of the examples cited in this article – though not all – are thus from Britain, though hopefully the evidence adduced has a far wider application and agrees with those of others who have recorded *Fundgemmen* in other provinces. Such studies can strongly suggest historical and social contexts for gems in old collections without recorded provenance.

That is not to say that a stratigraphic provenance is always vital for understanding the reason why a gem was engraved or will help us to understand who originally owned it. Some of the larger cameos, for example, are rightly regarded as historical monuments in their own right.[12] Virtually every general book on Roman art, for example, includes an illustration of the *Gemma Augustea* now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which can be dated with confidence late in the reign of Augustus and expresses in symbolic form the regime's achievements in bringing peace to the Roman world through vanquishing its enemies. The cameo is first recorded in the 13th century in the abbey of St. Sernin, Toulouse and is assumed to have been acquired as a result of the looting of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade; it was expropriated by King Francis I in 1533 and remained in France until acquired by the Habsburg emperor Rudolf I.[13] A similar biography may be assigned to the almost equally famous Tiberian *Grand Camée de France* in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, which most probably records the achievements of Tiberius and his dynasty; it certainly originated in an Imperial or Ecclesiastical treasury in Constantinople, and was probably given by the Latin Emperor Balduin II to King Louis IX of France. Until it was stolen from the Sainte-Chapelle in 1804, it was probably still in its Byzantine mount. Its fame in the 17th century is exemplified by the fact that in

12 Megow 1987.

13 Richter 1971,104 no.501; Megow 1987, 155-63, Augustus A10; Oberleitner 1985, 40-44; Pollini 1993.

1626 it was painted by Rubens for his friend Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc.[14] Rubens himself owned a striking cameo of early 3rd century date, now in the British Museum, which depicts Septimius Severus' empress, Julia Domna as Juno Caelestis, riding in a chariot pulled by bulls.[15] But no cameo is more redolent of historical significance than the Great Cameo now in Leiden (Fig.2) which records Constantine's victory over Roman enemies, most probably the forces of Maxentius in 312, though it may have been recut for his triumph over Licinius in 324. It was a great privilege to examine the cameo prior to its display in the exhibition *Constantine the Great. York's Roman Emperor* in 2006, and to confirm its dating on the grounds both of style and because it has the same uneven 'pebble' back as may be noted on many ordinary cameos depicting mourning cupids, female portraits, masks of Medusa and the like fabricated at the same period.[16] This cameo, incidentally, had a colourful history: it was probably looted from Constantinople in 1204, set in a Medieval shrine destroyed at the Reformation, before entering a collection. By the 17th century, like the Julia Domna cameo, it probably belonged to Rubens; it later survived shipwreck when sent to the Far East as a diplomatic gift before finally entering the Dutch Royal collection.[17]

Apart from such 'State cameos' the majority of the gems I will be discussing in this article are not necessarily the ones which would be regarded most highly by collectors – who are sometimes rather too dismissive of the minor examples of gem cutting which I quite frequently bring to their notice – but these too were valued by their ancient owners and if we study them sympathetically all have a story to tell.

Fig.3a Cornelian intaglio depicting Tyche. From Pattanam, Kerala, India. 15 mm × 10 mm. 1st century A.D.

Fig.3b Cornelian intaglio depicting a lion. From Pattanam, Kerala, India. Dimensions not available. 1st century AD. Photos: by permission of Professor P.J. Cherian and W. Morrison, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

Gems as evidence of Roman trade

Roman gems have often been recorded as having been found outside the Imperial frontiers, but it is particularly satisfactory when they have been excavated in an archaeological context. Professor Cherian's excavations at Pattanam in Kerala have indicated the presence of a trading post, perhaps ancient *Muziris*, with contacts reaching to the Mediterranean. This is not surprising considering that Kerala was the area from which pepper and other spices were despatched to Rome. Two cornelian intaglios have been brought to my notice from here, one depicting a leaping lion from the 2010 season (Fig.3b) and one found in 2014, showing a figure of Tyche wearing an *atef*-crown (Fig.3a), equating her with the Egyptian goddess. Both gems are well paralleled by gems from Pompeii and from the Flavian cache at Bath.[18]

Other Roman intaglios are recorded from further north on the same trade route, a cornelian depicting the god Hermes from excavations at Qasr-I Abu Nasr in Iran, and although not excavated, several Roman intaglios figuring amongst others Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena-Nike and a browsing horse collected by A.W. Davis when H.B.M. Consul in Shiraz and Hamadan in the 1920s, and assumed to be local finds.[19]

Gems have also been recorded beyond the areas of official Roman control to the north and west of the Roman world. A banded agate depicting a maenad and set in a gold ring both dating to 1st century BC, was found at Alton, Hampshire with a gold bracelet and a hoard of gold coins struck by Tincomarus, a local king of the Atrebates tribe in the early 1st century A.D. The ring may have been a diplomatic gift to a client ruler or it could have arrived in Britain by way of trade, some decades before the invasion of Britain

Fig.4 Nicolo intaglio depicting an eagle standing on an altar flanked by legionary standards, set in an iron ring. From the fort at Great Casterton, Rutland. Intaglio 12.5 mm × 9 mm. 1st century A.D. In Oakham Museum, Rutland. Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

14 Richter 1971,104-105 no.502; Mango / Mundell Mango 1993,59 and 64, fig.4.11; White 1993; Giard 1998.
15 Elsner 1998, 96 ill.62.
16 Henig 1990; Henig 2007a, nos 725-728. The exhibition was presented in the Yorkshire Museum.
17 Hartley / Hawkes / Henig / Mee, 2006, 138-9 no.76; for a full discussion of the cameo see now Halbertsma 2015.
18 For the Fortuna gem see Cherian / Menan 2014, 32-33, paralleled by Pannuti 1983, nos 80-84 (Pompeii and Herculaneum) and Henig 2007a, no.314 (Bath); For the lion, note Pannuti 1983, no.252 (Pompeii) and Henig 2007a, no 640 (Bath) and 639 (Richborough).
19 Frye 1973, 40 no.30 (not Parthian); Henig 1994, 425-7 nos 875-880.

in AD 43.[20] Local dynasts in early 1st century A.D. Britain struck coins, many of which copied Roman coins though some were certainly based on gems, implying diplomatic or trading contacts beyond the frontiers.[21] After the middle of the 1st century, intaglios from Scotland attest similar commercial and diplomatic contacts with *barbaricum*. From Howe in Orkney a cornelian intaglio figuring an eagle, probably of Antonine date, was found during the excavations of a native broch and wheel-house. The mid 2nd century was a time of Roman advance in Scotland, but again the most plausible suggestion here is trade, in such items as skins and slaves.[22] Whether this intaglio was lost from the signet ring of a merchant or had fallen into the hands of a local who endowed it with purely amuletic significance is not known. Another intaglio, of fine glass and probably of Augustan date, depicts a satyr engaged in an ecstatic dance. It was found with a collection of natural stones and pieces of glass from Cairnhill, Aberdeenshire, and it was clearly regarded by its native owner simply as an exotic charm.[23]

Gems and the Roman Army

The most iconic gem-type associated with the Imperial army is one which depicts an eagle between two legionary standards. Known from coins celebrating the legions as well as on sculptural reliefs, it is especially satisfying when these gems are excavated on military sites, as is the case of most of those found in Britain. One of the best is a nicolo set in an iron ring from a barrack block in a fort at Great Casterton, Rutland in Eastern England occupied for a few decades after the Roman invasion of AD 43, and likely to have been the signet of an officer of Legio XIV (Fig.4) Of approximately the same date is a cornelian from another invasion period fort at Hod Hill in Dorset, there associated with Legio II Augusta.[24] The type persisted and another Eagle and Standards cornelian is dated archaeologically to an early, Hadrianic phase at the fort of Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall, while a casual find of a sardonyx of the same type was found at the Legionary fortress of Legio II Augusta at Caerleon in Wales and was evidently of 2nd century date.[25] One of the finest examples is a red jasper depicting an eagle standing on Jupiter's thunderbolt and flanked by standards which although recovered from a late Roman context was probably associated with the fort constructed in the reign of Trajan that provided a guard for the governor of the province in London, drawn from the legions based in the province and again dates to the 2nd century although it was found in a 4th century context.[26] Other such gems from elsewhere in the Empire bear the names of individual legions, and all of them provide invaluable testimony to the ethos of the Roman army.[27] A few other gems may be placed in the same category, for example a glass intaglio from the newly recognised early legionary fortress of Legio II at Alchester, north of Oxford which depicts a *cornu* encircling the head of a horse (Fig.5). It was surely worn by a *cornicen*, and is evidence which taken with pendants from horse harness provide evidence for the presence of cavalry at a key site in the Claudian period from which the Roman army advanced and eventually conquered Northern Britain. Another gem depicting a *cornicen*, a red jasper of 2nd century date has recently surfaced in a collection assembled by the 19th century prehistoric archaeologist and ethnologist, Lt. Gen. Pitt Rivers, with the information that it came from Sinzig in the Rhineland-Palatinate. Despite the lack of the precise find-spot, it most probably came from a fort in the vicinity, and it adds to information on the importance of musicians in the Roman army; moreover the soldier is depicted in a pose generally adopted for heroes such as Achilles who, as here, is often depicted with his shield set on the ground in front of him.[28] As I pointed out in one of the first articles I ever published, heroes, Hercules, Theseus, Achilles and Alexander the Great amongst others were popular subjects on gems from military contexts as exemplars of the martial virtues.[29]

The gems from the frontier zone in general, from Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall – for example from *Vindolanda* just south of Hadrian's Wall (and established by Trajan three decades before that Wall was constructed) as well ast the gems from the large fort of Newstead (*Trimontium*) south of the Antonine Wall – provide an invaluable perspective on glyptics, at least in the military zone, and are, in many instances, associated with countless other items of daily use.[30] They demonstrate the hopes and fears of soldiers and civilians, and while some show gods (including a few Eastern deities) and heroes, many others portray Dionysiac scenes or symbols connected with prosperity. The same is of course true of other forts from around the frontiers of the Empire and most assiduously in the European provinces along the Rhine and Danube frontiers which have been especially productive

20 Henig 2002,32-3, col.pl.3a.
21 Henig 1972.
22 M. Henig, 'Roman intaglio', p.191 illus.108 in Smith, 1994.
23 Henig 2007a, no.178.
24 Henig 2007a, nos 705 and 708.
25 Henig in Wilmott 1997,283-5 no.86; Henig 2007a, no.706.
26 Information James Gerrard.
27 Daszewski 1973 (Legio XV Apollinaris); Dimitrova-Milcheva 1981, no.208 (Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis).
28 Henig 2000; Marshman 2014.
29 Henig 1970.
30 In general see Henig 2014, also Greene 2006, 53- 116 (Vindolanda); Elliot / Henig 1982 and 1999 (Newstead).

Fig.5 Intaglio of light brown glass, imitative of sard depicting the head of a horse surrounded by a military trumpet (cornu). From the fortress at Alchester, Oxfordshire. 9.5 mm × 8 mm. Mid-1st century A.D. Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

Fig.6 Intaglio of chrome chalcedony depicting Marsyas, hands bound and in mourning after his defeat by Apollo. Note Marsyas' auloi leaning against a rock. From Chichester, Sussex. 17 mm × 13 mm. Early 1st century A.D. In Chichester Museum. Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

of engraved gems.[31] They have likewise yielded a very wide range of intaglios and a few cameos owned by soldiers, their dependants and the merchants who supplied them. Some specific themes stand out, amongst them Jupiter of course, as well as Mars and Minerva, both deities wielding weapons who protected soldiers and led them to victory, and the personification of Victory herself. The persistence of these types on intaglios can be compared with their presence on inscriptions and sculptural reliefs.

Legionary officers were likely to come from reasonably well-established families. Tacitus' encomium on Gnaeus Iulius Agricola suggests the type. Such men may have inherited seals belonging to their fathers and grandfathers and that accounts for antiques of Hellenistic date excavated or found on sites. These include an iron ring containing a sardonyx intaglio depicting the bust of a warrior, perhaps Alexander the Great, found on Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh and perhaps lost in Agricola's advance into Scotland, another iron ring with an intaglio depicting Selene from a 2nd century barrack block at Caerleon, and perhaps most interesting of all a sardonyx from the fortress at Wroxeter cut with a portrait of Ptolemy XII.[32] The glass gem found at Cairnhill, Aberdeenshire, mentioned above might plausibly have been lost by a soldier. To these might plausibly be added another Hellenistic stone figuring Eros as a boxer, from an early level of a villa at Shepreth near

Fig.7 Intaglio of red jasper depicting a hound coursing a hare, From Dowgate, London, 14 mm × 11 mm. 2nd century A.D. Photo: Portable Antiquities Scheme. Number: LON-CF9D8B.

31 For example Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986; Platz-Horster 1987 and 1994.

32 Henig 2007a, nos 467 and 289; Henig 1999, 54 no.27.

Cambridge, which was believed by the excavator to be the residence of a veteran.[33] Of course inheritance would not have been the only way very old objects might end up on a Roman site. A 5th century Achaemenid cylinder seal from the Classis Britannica fort at Dover was presumably a curiosity picked up by a marine on his service in the Roman East, and possibly worn by him as an amulet.[34]

Becoming Roman in a Provincial setting.

At the highest level, the handful of gems and rings found at the large later 1st century A.D. villa or palace at Fishbourne, Sussex, believed to be the residence of the client king Tiberius Claudius Togidubnus, and of his capital at Chichester, illuminate the aspirations of Britons aspiring to be Romans. Several of them are works of art of the highest quality. A good starting point is an inscribed gold ring from Fishbourne bearing the name in finely engraved capitals of TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS CATVARVS.[35] The letters are reversed so this was evidently the seal ring of someone in Togidubnus' circle. The only other gold ring from the palace is a child's ring containing a diminutive chrome chalcedony engraved with a bird.[36] Two other intaglios from the site, however, are particularly fine examples. One of them is an amethyst figuring the god Mercury leaning on a column. The other is a nicolo depicting a racehorse with a palm of victory behind his back, admittedly a common type, but this is one of the best engraved examples recorded.[37] They were clearly the seals of people of wealth and taste. Togidubnus's putative capital at nearby Chichester has yielded at least one gem of exceptional quality (Fig.6), a chrome chalcedony showing a bound and grieving Marsyas, his *auloi*, now useless to him, and so abandoned against a rock.[38]

The progress of acculturation is shown especially from the gems recovered from other towns including Silchester and Verulamium which, like Chichester, were already flourishing native *oppida* before AD 43 and from London, where rapid acculturation was in progress within a decade of the invasion.[39] Wroxeter has also yielded an extensive gem list; it had been a military fortress but a highly successful city was founded here by Hadrian after the legion based there had moved on, the gems demonstrating vigorous *Romanitas* from the 2nd century onward.[40] Like the themes of other works of art, sculpture, wall-paintings, mosaics, they attest religious beliefs, superstition, and popular secular activities, amongst them hunting and hare coursing (Fig.7), a reminder of the very close proximity of the countryside to all ancient towns.[41]

From the 2nd century we begin to see the wide adoption of the wearing of signet rings in the countryside, here best attested by over a hundred cornelian intaglios most of them as yet unset, found in a pottery vessel at Snettisham, Norfolk, the stock of a local travelling jeweller.[42] These were studied and analysed by Marianne Kleibrink and myself soon after their recovery. These intaglios were clearly the work of two or perhaps three hands, some clearly the work of the master and the others, the majority of apprentices.[43] The subjects Mercury, Bonus Eventus, Ceres and Fortuna being especially in evidence, we concluded that the gems were surely part of a 'stock-in-trade' designed to appeal to the local agrarian community.[44] Some were already set in rings of silver so the clientele were presumably tenant farmers and the like with cash in hand.

Standing on the hem of the garment of history

In one sense every gem discussed here is a historical document, its significance frequently enhanced by a precise find spot and especially a stratigraphical context. Of course some large, important gems, especially cameos, were in all probability never buried but preserved from Antiquity, often set into Ecclesiastical metalwork, and brought to Western Europe after the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in 1204, or in some cases maybe after the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1453. Amongst these are the State cameos such as the Augustan *Gemma Augustea* in Vienna, the Tiberian *Grand Camée de France* in Paris and, of course, the Great Cameos in Belgrade and Leiden from the Age of Constantine. It is more than likely that such cameos were owned and valued by people in the circle of the Imperial Court itself and they can certainly be set alongside State Reliefs and Imperial Panegyrics. But of course other gems also bring us into contact with written history, for example gems signed by Augustus' own gem cutter Dioscourides.[45]

All gems are of course witnesses to historical events, but here I want to highlight a few dramatic episodes, mainly but not all in Britain, and some of the gems associated with them. One is the sack of Colchester, *Verulamium*

33 Parker 1975, 32 and Henig 2007a, no. App.48.
34 Henig 2007a, no. App.1.
35 Tomlin 1997.
36 Henig 1971,88-89 no.2 ; Henig 2007a, no.671.
37 Henig 1971, 83-88 no.1; Henig 2007a, no.53; Henig in Manley / Rudkin 2003, 112-3 no.1.
38 Henig 2007a no. App.108.
39 Henig 2008a (London).
40 Henig 1999.
41 Henig 2007a no.620 and 2008a,230 no.45 (boar); Henig 2007a no.507 and 2008a,229 no.40 and previously unpublished fig.7 (hare coursing).
42 Johns 1997.
43 Kleibrink 1997.
44 Henig 1997b.
45 Pliny, *NH XXXVII*,8 and Suetonius, *Div.Augustus* 50 and *cf.* Vollenweider 1966, 56-64.

Fig.8a (left) Sardonyx intaglio depicting Mars descending to earth in order to deflower Rhea Silvia. Set in a gold ring. From the early Colonia at Colchester (Camulodunum). No dimensions available. Photo: David Clarke.

Fig.8b (right) Red jasper intaglio depicting Mars descending towards Rhea Silvia. Ex Thoms Collection, 14.5 mm × 11.5 mm. 2nd century A.D. Leiden Museum. Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

and London by rebels led by the Icenian queen Boudicca in AD 59. Colchester was a newly founded Colonia for legionary veterans. Pride in being Roman is demonstrated by a sardonyx intaglio depicting Mars evidently flying and perhaps descending to earth (Fig.8a); the meaning of the device is provided by a fine red jasper ring stone, bought by Thoms in Rome and now in Leiden (Fig.8b).[46] This reveals that the god is about to rape Rhea Silvia whose progeny will be Romulus and Remus, and so the gem refers to the very origins of Rome. Incidentally from a later period another Colchester intaglio is a unique gem depicting Jupiter feeding the Cretan goat, equally stressing the *Romanitas* of the Colonia.[47] A recently discovered cache of gold and silver jewellery, including gold rings belonged to a veteran and his family overwhelmed by the attack of the Iceni under their queen Boudicca in AD 59, as recounted by Tacitus and starkly physically revealed by excavation.[48] The cache, hastily buried beneath the floor of his house is comparable with some of the groups from Pompeii. Unfortunately for us the stones set in the rings were uncut, mainly emeralds, and presumably female dress jewellery. One gold ring, however, was engraved with a dolphin, and there was an unset glass intaglio, very probably some 50 years old at the time of the disaster, portraying a panther. The thick layer of burning covering much of the Colonia has yielded another glass gem, a cameo, figuring a Nereid upon a dolphin.[49] Verulamium has not yet yielded any intaglios specifically associated with the sack, but a cache of four high quality intaglios from Eastcheap in the City of London, would appear to have been buried at the time of the assault, perhaps by a jeweller as there are indications that one of them, a marriage type figuring clasped hands within a wreath of wild olive, was going to be engraved with the name of the bride, ALBA, in block capitals- here simply sketched on the stone; the others portrayed a *discobolus*, a head of the goddess Roma and a standing Pegasus, all of them very fine examples of Neronian glyptic art.[50] Apparently a dice was found with the gems, which is a hint that in his extremity the desperate *gemmarius* was uttering a prayer to Fortune.

46 Henig 1982; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 271 no. 740. *(RCC Inv. No.875).*

47 Henig 2007a, no.12.

48 Crummy / Henig / Ward 2016.

49 Henig 2007a, no.738.

50 Henig 1984.

The Pompeian evidence is too well known to require extensive discussion here. While some jewellery, like the cache from the House of the Menander, may have been put away while the owners were away during the renovation of their property, many rings and other jewellery was clearly being carried on the person or dropped as people, often unsuccessfully, tried to get away. Consequently the abundance of signet rings from Pompeii and Herculaneum provide a 'snapshot' of the gems worn by often better off citizens at the time.[51] The deities, Bacchic scenes, animals and other subjects reflect the diversity of interests also seen in wall-paintings and mosaics.

History is not simply a record of disasters. One of the attractions of studying gems from Roman Britain was not only that many sites had been excavated stratigraphically, but so many were time specific. Hadrian's Wall for example was only established by order of Hadrian after A.D.122 and while it had a long life, there are gems from its forts and those guarding its western flank which cannot have been lost before that date, while the Wall in southern Scotland constructed some twenty years later by Antoninus Pius, was only garrisoned for forty years. Amongst the early stratified finds from Hadrian's Wall is the eagle and standards gem from the time of the construction of the fort at Birdoswald, Cumbria which must have been worn by a legionary officer engaged in the construction of the fort.[52] Equally primary is a gold ring set with a garnet depicting a theatre mask from a very early period at Housesteads which can only have belonged to someone of at least Equestrian rank, and indeed it was found in the latrine of the commanding officer, who would have been of Equestrian rank.[53] Most interesting of all is a glass intaglio from Maryport, a fort on the western flank of the frontier, moulded with the portrait of a philosopher, most probably Zeno of Kition, the founder of the Stoics. It is a ringstone of a rare type, with the intaglio on the reverse, filled with a powdery substance now white, perhaps once gilded and worn in a ring as a sort of cameo (Fig.9).[54] Although not stratified, associated material and the style of the image suggests a date in the early years of the fort. Comparison may be made with a slightly earlier but more up-market example engraved in rock-crystal, probably of late 1st-century date and still set in a gold ring found near Rome in the sarcophagus of a woman called Arbutia Quarta, displaying the bust of a youth with tousled hair, probably Arbutia's son Titus Carvilius Gemellus, who was interred in a neighbouring sarcophagus.[55] The presence of this unusual item at Maryport brings us close to the beliefs of the military elite of Roman Britain which frequently had a Stoic basis. One might recall Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, educated at the Greek university of Massilia, had shown a particular interest in philosophy, which doubtless remained with him throughout his career of public service.[56] The most likely owner of this very special object was a tribune of the First Cohort of Spaniards at Maryport stationed in Hadrian's reign at Maryport and it is very tempting to assign it to Marcus Maenius Agrippa who served as Tribune *c.* 123-6 during which time he dedicated an altar to Jupiter.[57] We learn more about him from a long inscription at Camerinum in Picinum, North Italy in which he styled himself '*hospes divi Hadriani*' marking himself out as the emperor's host at Picinum and perhaps earlier during the *expeditio Britannica*, and in any case he seems to have been in high favour under both Hadrian and his successor, Antoninus Pius.[58] Is it possible that Hadrian, who had a personal interest in Stoicism having been a friend of Epictetus, presented him with a ring containing this jewel?

One large and very well executed intaglio of decidedly military type, a cornelian intaglio depicting Victory signing a trophy, was excavated at a Roman villa at Lullingstone, Kent in south-East England. Here the circumstances of the find and other objects from the villa gave it a particular and dramatic interest. A small trace of gold, lodged in a crack in the gem showed it had been prised from its setting. Coins appear to have been scattered in the vicinity. Two marble busts were found in the villa, one of which had been deliberately damaged by the head having been cut off and the shoulders removed: it proved to be the bust of Pertinax, before he became emperor and when he was governor of Britain early in the reign of Commodus, a post from which he had to withdraw as the result of a military revolt. This intaglio was very probably his signet, or possibly that of a very close follower, discarded by the mutinous soldiers when they sacked the villa.[59] It is tempting to think the gem refers to the service of the owner in Marcus' wars. A cornelian intaglio from Newstead depicting Victory crowning a trophy, although of lesser quality, most probably likewise had reference to these wars, though there are other possibilities, including Septimius Severus' campaign in Britain itself, AD 208-11.[60]

These wars provide compelling evidence of the way in which gems from provincial sites can mirror the more

51 Painter 2001, 4-8 and 73-76; Pannuti 1983; d'Ambrosio / De Carolis 1997.

52 See above Henig in Wilmott 1997,283-5 no.86.

53 Charlesworth 1969; Henig 2007a, no.525.

54 I am grateful to Tony Wilmott for informing me about this important gem and allowing me to examine it.

55 Ghini 2003; Butini 2003.

56 Tacitus, *Agricola* 4.

57 *RIB* I nos 823-826.

58 *CIL* xi.5632; Birley 1997, 123 and 198.

59 Henig 2007b.

60 Henig 2007a, no.302 and see Marsden 2011, 432, fig.5.

impressive *Staatskameen* and the like, unprovenanced in larger collections. For the period of Severus' campaign itself, a red jasper depicting the young Caracalla from Newstead is evidence that the site may have been briefly re-occupied by Severus in his advance into Scotland.[61] Birdoswald has yielded another jasper intaglio of Geta, while a cornelian gem (unfortunately lost) from nearby Castlesteads appears to show Severus as the Graeco-Egyptian god Serapis and his two sons as the Dioscuri.[62] To these may be added two cameos from South Shields, on the east coast just south of Hadrian's Wall, a mustering point for supplies. One of them is a fairly large cameo of oriental sardonyx, a high quality gem depicting a bear, which most probably belonged to a lady in the entourage of Julia Domna, while the other is a bust of Hercules displaying the physiognomy of Caracalla.[63]

Severus died at York in February 211 and Caracalla seized power, quickly disposing of his brother. An intaglio from Stainfield, Lincolnshire depicts Victory crowning Caracalla-Hercules (Fig.10). Interestingly this rather fine gem was found reset into a low quality copper alloy disc brooch dated later in the 3rd century, thus presumably subsequent to the reign of Caracalla. Another intaglio from Caistor St. Edmund near Norwich, depicting Victory crowning Fortuna, has been attributed by Adrian Marsden to the same workshop and was also later reused in a disc brooch after it was fashionable or even politic to celebrate Severus' son. A third intaglio, from Silchester, a chrome chalcedony depicts Caracalla as the Genius Populi Romani, a type known on other gems. A cameo, said to be from Tunisia, in the Content collection depicting an emperor, probably Caracalla, pouring a libation onto an altar was very likely cut to mark the same occasion: such

Fig.9 (left) Clear glass intaglio moulded on reverse side with a portrait of Zeno of Kition. From the fort of Maryport, Cumbria. 13 mm × 11 mm. Late 1st or Early 2nd century A.D. Photo: Claudia Wagner, Beazley Archive, University of Oxford by permission of Tony Wilmott, Historic England.

Fig.10 (right) Sard intaglio depicting Victory crowning Caracalla in the persona of Hercules. From Stainfield, Lincolnshire. 19 mm × 14.5 mm. Early 3rd century A.D. set in a later 3rd century brooch setting. Now in Lincoln Museum. Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

61 Elliot / Henig 1999, 395-7 no.36.
62 Henig in Wilmott 1997, 284-5 no.87;Henig 1986, 378 fig.4; Henig 2007a, no.358.
63 Henig 1986,pl. lxiva and b; Henig 2007a no.735.

gems were presumably given out to prominent people in the Province as well as in the wider Empire to ensure their loyalty to the regime.[64]

One social aspect that glyptics sometimes helps to elucidate, alongside epigraphy and sculpture, is the variety of religious life including the dissemination of exotic cults. All the well-known Roman gods are shown, though not very often the native deities of Western Europe so familiar from sculpture. It is presumed that apparently standard representations disguised local pieties, just as intaglios depicting worshippers making offerings at temples would have been endowed with a local context.[65] A very fine red jasper intaglio from South Shields, Co. Durham depicting a bearded huntsman was probably cut in a North British workshop in the late 2nd century and has been thought to depict the local god Cocidius, while another jasper from Caistor St. Edmund, Norfolk is engraved with an unusual combination of three heads in native style arranged in triskele with the letters CEN around it, perhaps referring to the local tribal cults of the Iceni.[66]

Oriental gods are more visible than Celtic or Germanic gods on gems in the western provinces and they probably attest the presence of eastern immigrants. In Britain, the presence of a Graeco-Egyptian birth amulet in a villa in Hertfordshire and an Abraxas amulet from Silchester as well as intaglios depicting Isis and Serapis from Wroxeter proclaim their presence in the civilian zone of the province, in the case of the Wroxeter gems even a possible Iseum, while a gem depicting Zeus Heliopolitanus from Corbridge is a pointer to a small Syrian community, very likely linked to a regiment of Hamian archers.[67] As is well established, intaglios become scarcer in the later 3rd and 4th centuries, but a cornelian intaglio from the Colonia at York depicting an anchor and two fish is evidence of Christianity at York, perhaps as early as the time of Constantine, who was first proclaimed Augustus there; since then a similar gem set in a ring has been excavated in a fort further north at Binchester, Co. Durham, which implies the presence of a Christian in the late Roman garrison. A glass gem depicting the Good Shepherd, is recorded from a villa at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire providing evidence for Christianity near the late Roman provincial capital at Cirencester, also attested by the carving of the Chi-Rho emblem on stone slabs from the nymphaeum at a much larger villa in the same region at Chedworth.[68]

64 Marsden / Henig 2002; Marsden 2011; Henig 2007a, no.103; Henig 1990, 35 no.60.
65 Henig 2007a, nos 493 and 494.
66 Henig 2007a, nos 184 and 380.
67 Respectively Henig 2007a, nos 369,366, 359, 356 and 351. For the Wroxeter gems also Henig 1999, 54 nos 24-26.
68 Henig 2011,9; information David Petts; Henig 2007a. no.361.

Gem Workshops

The very large number of gems from Aquileia and its vicinity, many of which can be assigned to particular styles and even hands, implies the presence of large scale production in this city at the head of the Adriatic. This has been known for at least 50 years and was the occasion for a fairly recent conference.[69] Of course there were important workshops throughout the Roman world, including major cities, amongst them Rome and Alexandria, but also elsewhere. My own work in Britain has suggested the presence of gem-cutters at Bath and in North Britain, as well as the well-known Snettisham jeweller in East Anglia mentioned above. In addition a number of crude but distinctive intaglios were being moulded in green, blue and yellow glass somewhere in southern Britain in the late 2nd and 3rd century showing that the wearing of what at least passed for seal rings had even descended to the peasantry in the countryside.[70] There is still a great deal to be done on identifying workshops in all provinces of the Empire. Recent publications have included a study of a large number of distinctive octagonal intaglios, evidently of 3rd century date whose production appears to be localised in central Anatolia.[71] This is the sort of evidence we would not know if so many gems of this type had not been found in Gordian or its region. A new study of gems from Caesarea Maritima in Israel has revealed not only gems but suggestive quantities of raw material.[72] There must have been numerous centres for manufacture, not only of engraved gems but also of the many glass gems dating from the Late Republic which are to be found in virtually every old collection. When I was asked long ago to publish a cache of glass 'wasters'- unfinished and damaged glass intaglios- I was able to date them through the subject matter of portraits of Antony and Octavian to the Second triumvirate, but there was no way of telling then where they were made. A large number of such wasters was recently recovered in Marghareta Steinby's excavations at the Lacus Iuturnae in Rome, so at least it can be concluded that some of these cheap substitutes for engraved gems were manufactured there.[73] In order to fully appreciate the riches in our museum collections, we need much more such archaeological data.

Personal and Professional

Students of medieval sigillography and diplomatic, will be aware of different kinds of seals, of state and civic seals and seals of particular professional groups such as clerics and

69 Sena Chiesa 1966; Sena Chiesa / Gagetti 2009.
70 Henig 2009.
71 Goldman 2014.
72 Amorai-Stark and Hershkovitz 2016.
73 Henig 1975b; Harri 2012.

Fig.11 Onyx cameo depicting the dextrarum iunctio and the Greek inscription: EYTYXWC / OMONOIA. From North Wraxall, Wiltshire. 13.5 × 9.5 mm. 3rd century A.D. Ashmolean Museum. Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

notaries as well as of the many personal and private seals. This is a subject which still requires much further work with regard to Antiquity though we can point to gems in old collections as well as from excavated contexts which have a public character. Foremost amongst these are the State Cameos, not seals, but works of art meant for display and doubtless given to supporters of the Emperor. This was true of the Augustan *Gemma Augustea* and the Great Cameo in Leiden, as well as of smaller gems portraying the Emperor. If these were intaglios they may well have been used as official seals, like the example portraying Gordian III on an official document from Dura Europos.[74] Sealings struck in lead with metal dies, and depicting portraits of emperors sometimes found in contexts associated with military campaigns such as that of Septimus Severus in Britain in AD 208-211, prove that point and help us to understand the use of other gems with Imperial portraits, gems in the British Museum depicting Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus both reset in medieval settings, Trajan Decius from the Hamilton Collection or a much grander gem depicting Constantius II previously in the Carlisle collection.[75]

On a more humble level, the Eagle and standard intaglios discussed above (Fig.4) was the badge of the legionary centurion, while another intaglio depicting a curved military trumpet was appropriate to a *cornicen* (Fig.5). It is likely that other gems depicting Victory with a trophy were, as suggested above, given to deserving officers in military campaigns, but whether these were intended for use in an official capacity is unknown. An intaglio in the Tarsus treasure, set in a magnificent gold ring, figures an image of Dea Roma and also bears a legend in Greek declaring it to be the 'seal of Gerontios'. Figures of Roma are by no means rare on gems, but one wonders whether Gerontios held some sort of official post.[76] Apart from such seals it is hard to connect particular devices with specific professions, though this is an aspect of glyptics deserving further research.

There are public seals in lead, of provinces, of cities and tax-offices with devices which relate in terms of iconography to coinage which can be regarded as bullion stamped with devices by the Roman state to supposedly guarantee its value. In Late Roman and Byzantine times official sealing of packages was increasingly executed in lead with a *bulloterion* very different from the bulk of sealing performed in Roman times even on official documents with personal intaglio seals reflecting the religious beliefs, philosophy or pleasures of the owner.[77]

Collector and Archaeologist: towards a mutual understanding

Archaeology provides a physical context, the towns, villas and forts and tombs in which the owners of engraved gems lived and *Fundgemmen* help us to understand the vast number of intaglios and cameos in old collections. Nevertheless, in various ways, unprovenanced assemblages of gems in museums and in private hands can provide information of value for the field archaeologist.

Single finds can be placed alongside a mass of similar stones and variants, providing a greater understanding of iconography. For example, a majority of cameos is not, of course, composed of *Staatskameen*, but reflect more private concerns. For example one unusual cameo depicting a mime actor from Barnoldby le Bec, Lincolnshire, is of special interest because most gems depicting mimes simply portray masks while this example shows a complete figure.[78] Here it may well reflect an aspect of local life as an inscription from a nearby small town at Brough-on-Humber records the donation of a theatre stage (*proscaenium*) by an aedile of the vicus.[79]

A large number of unprovenanced cameos in old collections dating mainly from the late 2nd and 3rd centuries depict portraits of women sometimes highly schematised; they are very rare in Britain (where only two are recorded,

74 Henig 1887a, 95-96.

75 Henig 2008b, 27-8, figs 3 and 4; Walters 1926, 212-3 nos 228 and 2032; Henig 1997a, 105 ill.6/6. For lead sealings RIB II.1,87-95 nos 2411.1-2411.41.

76 Henig 1997a, 105, fig.6/7.

77 Cheynet 1997.

78 Henig 1987; see Henig 1990, 85-86 nos 152-155 for heads of mimes.

79 RIB I no.707.

Fig.12 Red jasper intaglio depicting Victory standing on a globe; in front of her are a crescent moon and three stars. It is set in an oval 13th century seal matrix inscribed +SIGILL WALTERI DE LONGEDVNE. From Arreton Parish, Isle of Wight. Intaglio 24 mm × 20 mm. 2nd century A.D. Photo: Portable Antiquities Scheme IOW-944917.2006.

from Kettlebaston, Suffolk and Silchester, Hampshire, and in other parts of the Roman West) but common in the Danubian provinces, which suggesting that some at least were produced in the Balkans though of course others may have originated in workshops in Asia Minor or the Levant.[80] A similar story is to be told of other cameos carrying good luck messages in Greek, which once again are very rare in the West with just two examples from sites in Britain both from villas, at Keynsham, Somerset and North Wraxall, Wiltshire, the second also displaying the *dextrarum iunctio* of marriage (Fig.11),[81] Although these are only single finds in the province they reflect cultural interests widely disseminated in the Empire, and they may be set beside the many unprovenanced cameos engraved with inscriptions of love, passion and even disdain in published collections, for example those in the Content Family collection which allow us to explore the full range of this important category.[82] Based both on the language of the inscriptions and the known or suspected origins of many of them it is likely that the majority of these were cut in workshops in the East Mediterranean area.

Two studies concerned with discrete aspects of glyptics bring together the many gems in old collections and finds provenance through archaeology, one dealing with intaglios depicting the rape of the *Palladion* from Troy and the other with early Christian gems. Not only is comparison and perhaps even the identification of workshops made easier, but in the case of the latter, in particular, there would be merit in putting provenanced finds on the map which might provide something of an indicator of the progress of Christianisation in the 4th century.[83]

There are different approaches to analysis, excavation in the field but also excavation of records concerning collections of intaglios and cameos or even individual gems. All ancient objects possess a biography, whether it is fully known or not, and sometimes a very rich one. A case in point is of course the Great Cameo in Leiden, mentioned above, though one might equally have taken the Great Cameo of St Albans depicting *Divus* Augustus, which was probably given to the Abbey before the Norman Conquest and was recorded and drawn by Matthew Paris in the 1250s. Its previous history is not known, but it is unlikely ever to have been buried and presumably came from a treasury in Constantinople or Rome. It was endowed with wonder-working powers and for that reason we assume it was destroyed at the Reformation.[84] Recently my particular concern has been with intaglios re-used in medieval seal matrices, generally of silver or gold, and thus for the most part possessions of the elite. Apart from the seal matrices themselves, a very large number are recorded upon the wax sealings of documents of various kinds, kept in record offices and libraries throughout Europe.[85] In Britain, while some matrices have been excavated others have been casual finds and most recently reported to the authorities under the Portable Antiquities Scheme.[86] It is apparent that many are of much higher quality than the average site finds, and many are of earlier (Republican or Augustan) date than would be usual from Roman sites in

80 Henig 1990,42-49 nos 68-85; Henig/Plouviez 2006; Popović 2010.

81 Henig 2007a, nos 743 and App.30.

82 Henig 1990, 6-30 nos 3-56; Molesworth/ Henig 2011. A new much expanded study of these and other cameos in this important collection by Helen Molesworth and myself is in active preparation.

83 Moret 1997; Spier 2007.

84 Henig / Heslop 1986.

85 Demay 1887; Simonet 2015.

86 Website: https://finds.org.uk/.

Fig.13 Sardonyx cameo depicting Cleopatra (as Isis) and Mark Antony (as Osiris). 60 × 43 mm. 1st century B.C. In a private collection. Photo: Claudia Wagner, Beazley Archive, University of Oxford.

Britain and some of the re-set gems are clearly of Levantine origin and thus attest a lively trade with Rome and the Mediterranean between the late 11th and the 14th centuries. They include the gold seal of Simon Passelewe, a civil servant of King Henry III of England, found on a Medieval site at Great Eversden, Cambridgeshire, and set with an intaglio depicting the head of Hercules and the gold seal ring of Adam of Newmarket from Shepreth in the same county, an opponent of the king in the Barons Wars who employed a superb ancient intaglio figuring the head of Medusa in profile but possibly interpreted by its Medieval owner as Mercury.[87] Walter of Longdown employed a superb 2nd-century red jasper gem in his 13th-century seal which was found on the Isle of Wight (Fig.12). It depicted Victory, surely interpreted as the Angel of the book of Revelation, amongst the stars and crescent moon of the Cosmos.[88]

Gems of amazing historic interest continue to be encountered in excavations and old collections. A very recent find whose full significance I only realised during the conference is the case of a sardonyx cameo (Fig.13) which was located in a private collection in Stockholm now in an early 20th century mounting.[89] It depicts a seated female figure, nude to the waist, wearing a *himation* and holding a large *cornucopia* in her right hand. On her head she sports the cow horns and sun-disc head dress of Hathor-Isis. Seated beside her on her left is a somewhat smaller male figure holding a *patera* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Based on these characteristics, I identified the former as a Ptolemaic queen, none other than Cleopatra VII and the latter as most probably Mark Antony. The large cornucopia representing the fecundity of Egypt is an attribute of Ptolemaic queens on faience *oinochoai*. Some justification for date and identification is provided by the general likeness of the composition to a famous cameo in Vienna showing Octavian/Augustus seated beside Dea Roma though here the figures are reversed and Augustus holds the *cornucopia* and though here the presumably Greek gem cutter is celebrating the replacement of Oriental monarchy by Rome.[90] Although the Stockholm cameo is not of quite the same quality, I was over severe in my preliminary publication because, as confirmed to me by several participants at the colloquium both heads had been crudely re-cut. That political iconoclasm is very significant; after Actium nobody would wish to flaunt partisanship with Cleopatra or indeed Antony and the cameo was presumably then reinterpreted, if rather unconvincingly, simply as Isis and Osiris. We see something of the same process in the demotion of the intaglio depicting Caracalla, found at Stainfield, Lincolnshire two and a half centuries later.

If this article has done nothing else, I hope it will have shown that we students of ancient gems need to give equal prominence to research on archaeological sites in the field and to research in museums and private collections, neither privileging nor despising one or the other.

87 Henig 1994, 116-117 nos 218 and 218a; Henig 2008b; Cherry / Henig, forthcoming.
88 Henig 2008b, 31, fig 8.
89 Henig 2015/2016.
90 Eichler and Kris 1927, 51 no.484.

Cassandra on seals. Ring stone images as self-representation: an example

*Marianne Kleibrink**

Introduction

First, allow me to indulge in some personal history, in grateful memory of the men who helped me along during my first gem-art adventure. In the 1960s, the curator of Greek coins at the Royal Coin Cabinet in The Hague, Jean-Pierre Guépin,[1] came up with the idea to exhibit the most beautiful and interesting engraved gems in the Dutch Cabinet's collection,[2] which until then had been sleeping peacefully in a safe in the Cabinets' basement. When the Cabinet approached Hans van de Waal,[3] professor of Art History at Leiden University, with a request for a research assistant, he judged me to be the only one among his students to have an interest in these objects. I therefore commuted back and forth to The Hague where Dr H. Enno van Gelder, director of the Royal Coin Cabinet, and his staff listened patiently to my gem exploits and when necessary corrected me during the daily afternoon tea sessions.

Most of the ca. 2000 gems were absolutely dirty and many were still stowed away in a variety of small boxes, in which they had been hidden during the Second World War. Only some of the most eye-catching cameos, such as the 'Great Cameo' and the 'Livia Cameo' as well as a few small but famous collections (such as that which formerly belonged to Dutch philosopher Frans Hemsterhuis), had been studied and subsequently published by Annie Zadoks-Josephus Jitta.[4] Fortunately, the Cabinet possessed a patient and capable restorer in Mr. E. Maasland, who cleaned the stones and made excellent impressions of the gems, using the then newly introduced Bayer synthetic-rubber product siloprene.

But still, imagine my bewilderment when faced with the problem how to separate the ancient gems from those engraved in later periods, anyhow a difficult task because precious stones do not deteriorate over time and contexts were lacking. The motifs on them were not very helpful either, as later engravers excelled in the imitation of ancient

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1 Jan Pieter Guépin: www.dbnl.org.
2 EDELE STENEN 1964.
3 On Henri van de Waal cq. Hans van de Waal, see *Dictionary of Art Historians* https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/vandewaalh.htm.
4 Great Cameo: Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1951a; Livia cameo: Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1958; Coll. Hemsterhuis: Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952a.

subjects. Only stones set in ancient rings provided reliable information as to Greek and Roman engraving styles and subjects; ring shapes change through time and can be linked to specimens encountered in well-dated ancient tombs. I therefore concentrated on the various engraving styles on gems[5] set in dated rings, using a powerful zoom microscope the Cabinet purchased for me. This, together with dated comparable dies of ancient coins, formed the basis, first, for my selection of gems for the Cabinet's exhibition and, second, for the chronology of the gems in my catalogues.[6] The idea was to go beyond an analysis of styles and techniques and to use the gained insight into their chronology to also address ancient gem iconology. As it turned out, I could publish only a few articles, because once employed at Groningen University, it became evident that the study of ancient engraved gems was not considered an academically approved subject. Fieldwork then (first at Satricum and later at Francavilla Marittima, both in Italy) kept me fully occupied.

Cassandra in myth

It is with pleasure that with this conference I am once again able to embark upon an iconological study, all the more so since many colleagues have in the meantime made considerable progress in the field. Sabina Toso, for one, in her volume on Roman 1st-century BC gems with Greek mythological subjects links many ring stones to the literature and politics of the Late Republican period.[7] Because many Italic and Roman aristocratic families considered themselves descendants of heroes who had participated in the Trojan War, the most convincing of the cases presented by Toso are gems with Trojan subjects. Earlier, these had been extensively commented upon by Vollenweider, Moret and occasionally myself.[8] Today, I believe we should give more attention than has hitherto been the case to the persistent use of Trojan iconography in the ancient world, because it provides us with information on the process whereby the aristocratic *intelligentsia* created a desired identity, culminating in the Emperor Augustus' successful self-propaganda.[9] As is evident from the ancient intaglios with the Cassandra motif, she must have been present in all these instances, but in view of her tragic fate we have yet to establish how that could have been at all helpful in the formation of an individual's identity.

The tragic story of Cassandra is of course well-known.[10] She is the beautiful daughter of Priam, king of Troy and a mantic priestess to Apollo, but her refusal of the god's embrace imbued her predictions with a curse: they would never be believed until it would be too late. The night of Troy's downfall, Cassandra sought refuge in the temple of Athena where she embraced the goddess's cult statue and prayed for help when Greek Ajax approached to rape her. After Troy had fallen, Agamemnon gained her as part of the spoils of victory; after their return to Mycenae, both were murdered by Agamemnon's wife Clytemnestra.

These tragic events could certainly have given rise to a wide variety of art works, but ancient art concentrated on the temple scene, featuring Cassandra, the statue of Athena and the Greek aggressor. Ancient vase paintings in the black-figured style concentrate on the fierce reaction of the statue of Athena,[11] which attacks Ajax (e.g. an *olpe* from circa 530-'20 BC in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden);[12] the later Classical art by contrast focussed on the rape of Cassandra.[13] In the Archaic period, Ajax's violation of Athena's temple asylum was evidently regarded as the worse crime, the rape of Cassandra – who is often rendered as a mere child – being of secondary importance. In later vase painting, especially on vases produced in South Italy, Cassandra's rape is the more important transgression.[14]

Because Greek vase painters were only marginally interested in the rendering of cult statues, it is uncertain whether they equated the statue Cassandra embraces with the Palladium.[15] This ancient Trojan cult statue was, in the words of Faraone,[16] talismanic, because it guaranteed the safety of the city where it resided.[17] The fact that ancient artists rendered the Trojan statue of Athena in several different ways (defending Cassandra, turned away from the rape scene, or indifferently standing) shows

5 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1975; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.
6 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986.
7 Toso 2007.
8 Vollenweider 1966; Moret 1975; Moret 1997; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1997a-b.
9 Engraved gems and identity: Greek gems: Moreno 2008, 419-38; Etruscan gems: Torelli 2002, 101-155; gems and glass intaglios in Augustan propaganda: Catarina Maderna Lauter, 'Glyptik' in DIE VERLORENE REPUBLIK 1988, 441-473.
10 The literary traditions are *e.g.* found in Fantuzzi & Tsagali 2015.
11 E.g. Mazzoldi 1997, 7-22.
12 Leiden *olpe*: Vos 1978, 34, Pl. 82.
13 E.g. a red-figured crater attributed to the Lycurgus painter, 'Rape of Cassandra', National Archaeological Museum, Naples H3230, LIMC I, "Aias II", no.56.
14 Connelly 1993, 88-129; De Cesare 1997, 230-239; Mangold 2000; Mazzoldi 2001, 31-46; the themes existed also in pediment sculpture and metopes as well as in other material: Davreux 1942; LIMC VII, 956-970: "Kassandra I" (O. Paoletti).
15 Strawcwzynski 2006, 167-179.
16 Faraone 1992.
17 The Palladium may or may not have been identical to the statue Cassandra embraced, because according to ancient sources it had earlier been stolen by Diomede and Ulysses. This theft is a recurring theme on engraved gems, admirably studied by Jean-Marc Moret (Moret 1997), who pointed out an iconographical difference between the Palladium carried off by the Greek thieves, which is tiny, and the larger pedestalled statue of the Cassandra scenes, which in ancient texts is never referred to as a Palladium. Rosaria Ciardiello and others also point out that the literary sources...

that a magical ability of movement was attributed to it; an ability which is solely associated with the Palladium. From the 4th-century BC onwards, Italiote vase painters and coroplasts added Phrygian helmets and sometimes even facial expression to Cassandra's Athena statue, in an attempt to make visible its Trojan origin and magical abilities.[18] It seems that, from this time onwards, Cassandra was more firmly associated with the Palladium, which in Roman legend linked her to Aeneas and to Rome as Troy's successor and the Palladium's future place of residence.

Etruscan Cassandra: two scarabs

A group of Etruscan scarabs not only illustrates the very high level of Etruscan gem engraving but also reveals a well-informed interest in themes centring on the aftermath of the Trojan War. Due to their confrontational iconography we concentrate on two outstanding scarabs picturing the rape of Cassandra by Ajax. A cornelian scarab originally from the Morrison and Cook collections, now lost but known from publications (*Fig.1a*),[19] is almost identical to a banded sardonyx cut from a scarab, now in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (*Fig.1b*).[20]

These intaglios show Cassandra from behind, with a suggestive bare back and buttocks, her head with long loose locks thrown back, clinging with both arms to the statue of Athena. Ajax is rendered frontally with his head in profile, standing over the girl (this is one of the very few images actually depicting the rape in a realistic way), fully dressed in cuirass[21] and crested helmet and carrying a shield on his left arm. The Palladium itself, perched on a high pedestal, is half covered by a large round shield; it wears a helmet and although its spear is perhaps pointed toward the warrior its head is turned away from the scene.

The high quality of these intaglios is apparent not only in the unusual and successful composition on such a small scale but also in the engraving itself. Regarding the Naples stone, Peter Zazoff praises the expert handling of the various engraving tools and especially the refined polishing, resulting in a glossy surface on Cassandra's naked flesh. Zazoff dates these intaglios to slightly later than the mid-5th century BC.[22] Although this date is not impossible in view of the unusual nature of other Etruscan intaglios, we must not accept it at face value. Especially the three-quarter rear view of Cassandra and the position of her head are exceptional in Greece and Etruria for this period.[23] Unfortunately, we cannot verify the reverse side of these scarabs, for the Morrison-Cook specimen is lost and the Naples gem has been sawn off.

Images of a later date reveal that Cassandra's posture reflects an iconography of divine possession, *mania* in Greek or *furor* in Latin. Here and in other scenes she is shown in a frenzied state, as expressed by the twisted body and the thrown-back head, a small laurel branch at her feet.[24] However, the Etruscan scarabs demonstrate that, as a motif of divine possession, such images (which I propose we label the 'negative Cassandra formula') have a long pedigree.[25] In support, one may refer to contemporary ancient texts and especially to Aeschylus' 'Agamemnon' (458 BC) and Euripides' 'Hekuba' (424 BC) and 'Trojan

...known to us refer to two different Trojan statues of Athena, one seated (Homer) and one small and standing: Ciardiello 1997 with references. Toso (2000) refers to other ancient texts, for instance the *Alexandra* by Lycophron, which attribute magical powers to Cassandra's Athena which is a main characteristic of the Palladium.

18 Pouzadoux 2011.

19 Zazoff 1968, no. 47; Cades 1831-1839, 4A IX 47; Furtwängler 1900, no. 24.13; Giovanelli 2015, CXLII.68.

20 Zazoff 1968, no. 46; King 1885, 225, Pl. 66; Pannuti 1983, no.6; the motif is also found on glass gems in the Martin-von-Wagner collection, *cf.* Zwierlein Diehl 1986, no. 83.

21 Many vase paintings show the hero in full cuirass and greaves which, however, do not cover his thighs. Later images show a nude hero, whether because nudity was perceived as heroic, or as being more realistic in this case is hard to say. Because of the full armour in the gem scenes, I initially wondered whether an image showing a Greek hero in full armour while raping a girl would not have seemed odd to the Etruscans. I have since become aware that the type of cuirass worn here by Ajax probably existed in the ancient world, and therefore also in Etruria, in a linen version (Aldrete, Bartell and Aldrete 2013).

22 Peter Zazoff links the scarabs to the famous – now lost – Greek paintings by Polygnotos and Mikon described by Pausanias (Polygnotos Lesche Paus. 10.26.3; Polygnotos Stoa Poikile Paus. 1.15) and thinks that these reached Etruria through vase-paintings and drawings. One of his other examples is a scarab showing Achilles and Penthesileia, in which Achilles is rendered similar to Ajax in an overall similar composition of a female in front of a warrior, part of whose lower body is covered by hers. However, this scarab has been attributed – in my opinion correctly – to the 3rd century BC (Glynn 1982).

23 In Greek gem engraving rear-views of human nudes were anatomically correct by 500 BC (e.g. images by the engraver Epimenes, Richter 1968b, nos. 115-117); and see bathing women in three-quarter front and rear view, resembling the Cassandra motif, *cf.* Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, Figs 153-155. There are no ancient vase-paintings with Cassandra in rear view, but such images are found on Hellenistic relief bowls, *e.g.* one from Tanagra in Berlin (Davreux 1942, no. 127), where the Ajax-Cassandra scene is identical to *e.g.* the sard in the British Museum and the Delos clay seals discussed in this article.

24 M. L. Morricone and S. Toso attribute Cassandra's *furor* as inspired by the Bacchic frenzy of rear-view maenads known from 1st-century BC ring stones: Morricone Mattini 1992; Toso 2000, 122, where the parallel is followed further.

25 Ecstatic maenads in rear view were already engraved in stone in Greece in the 4th century BC; for one in black jasper De Haan-Van der Wiel, Maaskant-Kleibrink 1972, no. 11; for the development of the motif, ibidem. These and other types of maenad and satyr images were also used as seals: Bouzek & Ondrejobar 2015, 269-277.

Women' (415 BC)[26] in which Cassandra's prophetic frenzy found literary expression. Of course, Ajax' rape of the Trojan princess, already impious in the extreme (*asebeia*) because violating the sacredness of Athena's temple and cult statue, becomes even more horrendous by the addition of such a detail, suggesting that he raped a prophetess while she was in a trance.[27]

Small though it is, this forceful Etruscan image of the rape of Cassandra must have made a strong impression on any ancient viewer who encountered it as a seal. Even today, its image of sacrilege and rape remains seared in the viewer's mind forever. Since this is a mythical rape, the image may have been a powerful metaphor: the Etruscan city states participated in some major battles against the Greeks and the Romans; in the end, they lost their territories to the Romans forever. Surely, these scenes on seals may have been felt to be highly poignant to many an Etruscan and over a long period.

A later date for the Cassandra scarabs than Zazoff's, possibly somewhere in the later 4th century BC, may be more accurate. The existence of two identical Etruscan intaglios is unusual, because although they are not by the same hand they are very similar; this suggests a common source, presumably another, very famous seal, which both stones may have copied faithfully and perhaps more such seal stones were in circulation at the time.[28] In cases where several intaglios with such eloquent and well-designed images are preserved, such as the group of Etruscan scarabs showing Aeneas carrying his parents away from Troy, it may be supposed that the original was widely known.[29] Perhaps the original of the Cassandra rape scene was the seal of a famous ruler who used this horrendous and debasing war scene to intimidate his enemies.[30] Were the Etruscans warning the Romans that their virgins would meet a similar fate, or was Cassandra a metaphor for an Etruscan territory lost to the Romans, or vice versa? Either way, the continued production of similar intaglios shows that the motif continued to be popular. An interesting Etruscan banded agate ring stone with a Cassandra rape scene illustrates a 3rd-century BC transmission from the scarabs (*Fig.1c*).[31] The ring stone shows a tall Ajax standing over Cassandra, who is seen from behind, clutching a small Palladium that is turned away from the scene.

A different Cassandra: the Tomba François ring stone

A completely different type of Cassandra seal stone (*Fig.1d*) is known to have played a role in the lives of members of one of the Etruscan aristocratic families living at Vulci.[32] The stone, a convex cornelian ring stone, derives

26 Already in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (458 BC), the chorus describes Cassandra as being possessed by a god (1140); she is moreover compared to a wild beast (1063), as full of *mania* (1064), and as being mad, '*mainetai'*. Euripides in his *Hecuba* calls Cassandra 'the inspired Bacchant' (57) and in the same play she is described by her mother as 'the frenzied daughter' (58). *Cf.* for these and other references: Dillon 2010; also Mazzoldi 2001.

27 Cassandra and her prophesies: Aischylus, *Agamemnon,* 1035-1330; Pindar, *Pythian Ode* 11.33; Euripides, *Andromache*, 296-98; *Hekabe*, 827; *Trojan Women,* 253-54, 500; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1-30; Apollodoros*, The Library of Greek Mythology* 3.12.5, *Epitome* 5.16-18, 22, 23, 6.23; *Iliou Persis* (Evelyn-White 1936: 521); Strabo 13.1.40.

28 Although this is nowhere depicted in an anatomical correct way, in Hellenistic and later images the rear-view Cassandra seems to be imagined seated on the Palladium base; in the Etruscan seal images, however, she is, in a twisted, crouched position hanging from the Palladium. That a base or an altar is missing points perhaps to a misunderstanding of an original seal which had such an element, but the crouching, awkward position of Cassandra was maybe intentional. Just before this article was handed in, Elon Heymans informed me that a third Etruscan scarab exist in the Israel Museum at Jerusalem, no. 76.42.2386, Harry Stern collection; his description of the intaglio indicates a seated Cassandra.

29 Another possibility is that the image existed in another medium, as a painting or a statue, as I have suggested for Etruscan scarabs showing another Trojan refugee group, the Aeneas family: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 125-154; 1997a and 1997b. With regard to the Cassandra rape scene, this is even more likely since a ring stone in the British Museum, London, (see Note 57), which either itself dates from the 3rd century BC or is based on a model of that period, is clearly inspired by the same image.

30 Mario Torelli, in his interpretative overview of the engraved motifs encountered on scarabs-to-seal evidently used by the Etruscans as a means of self-representation, concludes that 60% were associated with the military, sports, artisanal or religious careers of the bearers. Among these subjects, Torelli singles out the above scarabs with Cassandra as well as those with the Laocoon and Orest and Electra, as being 'subjects of a higher order with strong ethical connotations': Torelli 2002, 131. In my view, the existence of a 'higher order' iconography points to special creative processes and special categories of users. According to Enrico Giovanelli, scarabs with a negative content, including the *asebeia* of Ajax, may possibly be explained as attacks on a dominant aristocratic group by others: Giovanelli 2015, 431.

31 Photo archive of Genevra Kornbluth; kindly Hadrien Rambach and Genevra Kornbluth provided the pedigree of this stone: it comes from the collection formed by His Grace Arthur Richard Wellesley, 2nd Duke of Wellington (1807-1884); was purchased from the family by S. J. Phillips in 1976, *cf.* D. Scarisbrick, *The Wellington Gems*, London 1977, no. 424-12; purchased by Dr. Julius Tarshis (d. 2006) and his wife Dena K. Tarshis (1935-2009); sold by their daughter Lauren Tarshis at Christie's (New York), general auction, 21 April 2010, part of lot 91; property of Hadrien J. Rambach, London. Unsold at Christie's (London), Antiquities sale, 2 April 2014; purchased in May 2014 by Galerie Antoine Tarantino, Paris.

32 Cassandra seal from the François tomb, Vulci. Paris, Louvre, Bj1259. Davreux 1942, no. 139; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" 957, no. 8a (O. Paoletti); Toso 2000, no. 15.

Fig.1a Impression made with an Etruscan scarab with Cassandra scene. Former Morrison and Cook collections, now lost (after Zazoff 1968, no.47).

Fig.1b Post antique glass paste, copy of an Etruscan scarab with Cassandra scene, Napels National Archaeological Museum. © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, photo C. Kiefer.

Fig.1c Ajax frontal and Cassandra shown from behind, the Palladium turned away. Etruscan ring stone 3rd/2nd century BC. Photo: Kornbluth (www.kornbluthphoto.com).

Fig.1d Cassandra seated and turning towards the Palladium, carnelian ring stone. From the François tomb in Vulci. Paris, Louvre Museum. Drawing by the author.

Fig.1e Cassandra seated and turning towards the Palladium. Taranto, carnelian ringstone, Munich Coin Collection, inv. no. A1840 (after Brandt 1969, no. 837).

Fig.1f Clay seal with Cassandra seated and turning towards the Palladium. Maison des Sceaux Delos, no. 74/761 Aa. Photo: L'école francaise d'Athène.

from the most famous of the painted tombs, the Tomba François, dated to the second half of the 4th century BC. A Cassandra scene was also painted on one of the walls of this tomb. The painting, which is only partially preserved, shows a scene familiar from Greek and South-Italian vase paintings: Ajax pulls Cassandra away from the Palladium by her hair. Together with the scene in which Achilles slaughters Trojan prisoners on the tomb of Patroclus, it is a reference to the Trojan War amidst a wealth of impressive scenes from Etruscan legend and history and, on the higher wall segments, of fighting animals – all very bloody scenes.[33] Scholarly interpretations of the paintings predominantly equate the Trojans with the Romans, which would mean that the Trojan scenes, including Cassandra, which accompanied the deceased members of the *Saties* family evoked the downfall of the Romans. The painting shows a Cassandra scene in its full drama, but the ring stone does not. It is a long, oval, convex cornelian and shows an altar or pedestal decorated with a garland and positioned with one of its corners in front. Cassandra is seated towards the back, clutching the Palladium which is perched on the front section. This creates an ambiguity as to what is actually represented, because in reality, of course, statues are always centrally positioned on their base. Is Cassandra here already clutching at a portable statue?[34] The girl is fully dressed in chiton and himation and her hair is in a large bun. The statue is frontal and rendered with raised shield and spear, its helmeted head turned away from the girl, defending her. Cassandra is turning towards the statue but otherwise sitting peacefully and seemingly pointing out the Palladium to the viewer, rather than clinging to it in a panic.[35] The François ring stone probably belonged to a deceased woman rather than a man[36] which may explain why Cassandra is represented fully dressed and, as it where, advertising her connection to the Palladium. An Etruscan elite female may have chosen this particular image of the Trojan princess as her seal to demonstrate that she was protected by the Palladium, and thus by the goddess Athena, or perhaps to advertise that she herself could foretell the future.[37]

There are several parallels to the François intaglio; a particularly interesting one is a cornelian from Taranto currently in the Munich Coin Collection (Fig.1e).[38] On it, the poses of Cassandra and the Palladium resemble those on the François specimen, but the Munich gem is more clearly part of the pellet-style gems of the 2nd century BC. Another ring stone with the Cassandra motif on the basis of its elongated body and stiff pose stylistically belongs to a different group of the same period.[39] The elongated bodies and small heads with hair buns derive directly from Hellenistic engraved gems such as one showing a woman leaning on a column, dating to the late 4th century BC.[40] The François gem fits between these examples and may be dated somewhere in the 3rd century BC;[41] the shape of the ring stone, the elongated figure of Cassandra, the stiff rendering of her dress and the detailing with tiny pellets all suggest non-Etruscan workmanship but rather a Campanian or Apulian origin. The motif was widespread, as the Delos find, further discussed below, shows (Fig.1f)[42] and was also used for ancient glass intaglios, most of them brown and slightly convex.[43] The concept of Cassandra actively carrying the statue is engraved in a banded agate ring stone in the Thorvaldsen collection in Copenhagen.[44]

Gems of the François-tomb type and the specimens where Cassandra holds the statue in her arms, (images I refer to as the positive Cassandra formula), effectively convey an intimate connection between the Trojan princes and the Palladium. These images may have carried an altogether different meaning in South-Italy, because there Cassandra herself was venerated.

33 Andreae 2004.

34 The Palladium was known as a small portable statue, which is for example clear from representations of its theft by Diomedes, which show him with a small sculpture in his hands, as discussed in Note 17; the Thorvaldsen gem with Cassandra holding the statue, discussed below, also follows this tradition.

35 Toso (Toso 2000, 118 and note 47) interprets these images as abbreviations of the scenes with Ajax, which I cannot accept: first because Cassandra is fully dressed, second because she is seated on the pedestal of the statue and further because the Apulian red-figure vase which shows her seated in a similar position does not show an attacking Ajax but in my opinion a young couple, because the man is young, not in armour and wears a wreath; see for the vessel Davreux 1942, 176, Fig. 123; LIMC I, Aias II, no. 95.

36 Quite a few of the Etruscan ladies portrayed in stone on the lids of their coffins are wearing jewellery including finger rings, see for instance (although of later date) the well-known Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa in the British Museum (Swaddling 2002, 1 ss.); men equally portrayed wear them too but not nearly as often.

37 L. Haumesser (2014) recognizes a parallel evocative timeframe in the Alexandra of Lycophron and the wall decorations of the Tomba François and attributes it to how seers deal with time and reality.

38 Brandt 1969, no. 837; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 8c; Toso 2000, no. 13.

39 Brandt 1969, no. 838; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 8d; Toso 2000, no. 14. Compare the ring stone with Iphigeneia from Samsun, Brandt 1969, no. 696 and the ring stones Brandt 1969, nos. 694, 695 and 697.

40 Ring stone with woman at column: Brandt 1968, no. 349.

41 For the date see also Moret 1997, 50 (late 3rd century BC) and Buranelli 1987, 132-3.

42 Hatzi-Vallianou 1996, 218: seals 74/761 Aa and Bb are illustrated; their engraved stones are iconographically identical to the Italian specimens, although details of the engraving style and technique are unclear.

43 Brandt 1969, nos. 1360-1361 with parallels cited.

44 Fossing 1929, no. 914 (Thorvaldsen Museum no. 922); Davreux 1942, no. 189; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 7; Toso 2000, no. 22.

Cassandra/Alexandra and marriage ritual

A connection between Cassandra and young women is known to have existed in southern Italy and perhaps Lazio, following the *Alexandra,* a 2nd-century BC poem by Lycophron (Alexandra is another name for Cassandra).[45] Because of its cryptic style the poem has long been puzzling to many classicists. Recently, however, the work of Simon Hornblower seems to have resulted in a satisfactory explanation and date.[46] In the poem, Alexandra is a deity venerated at mythical Dardania (a town in Apulia = ancient Daunia) in an unusual cult in which young girls, dressed in black, their faces painted red and carrying sticks, embrace the statue of Alexandra/Cassandra in a prayer for protection against men. This ritual is explained as part of a pre-marriage ritual for nubile girls, held in that sanctuary.[47] A similar interpretation probably applies to cults in the Minerva sanctuary at Lavinium in Lazio where dedicated terracotta statues of brides carry Cassandra scenes on their gold *bullae*. A close analysis of the famous terracotta statues in that sanctuary identifies one group of girls by their dress, earrings, headbands and *bullae* as new brides. The *bullae*, large, probably gold-plate ornaments worn around the neck, presumably were used only at special occasions and melted down after that, for they are seldom found as physical objects, although they were evidently added separately to the statues and based on the same matrices as those used to make real jewellery.[48] By their size and position they can be identified as show pieces directly connected to the bride on whose breast they glow, and it stands to reason that the subjects on them were therefore somehow involved in the representation of that bride by her family. The Cassandra scene on the *bulla* worn by terracotta statue D224 shows a central winged Palladium, with Ajax and Cassandra on either side protected by its wings.[49] Thus, it is likely that ring stones from South Italy with the Cassandra motif such as those with a seated Cassandra embracing the Palladium (the Francois-tomb type, see above) do not represent mythological, revolting rape scenes but may, on the contrary, refer to intricate local marriage rituals, whether in South Italy or in Lazio.[50]

We learn from this that the ancient user of these images may have felt Cassandra's shying away from male advances and seeking the well-known chastity of Athena Parthenos as related to a certain age-group, but the iconological implications of the Cassandra images on engraved gems may as yet demonstrate that such sentiments had a much deeper level, because the Cassandra myth contrasts:

Athena Parthenos	–	Apollo
Cassandra	–	Ajax
Troy – Rome intact	–	Troy's downfall
chastity	–	sexual excess
non-Greeks	–	Greeks

and the intaglios hitherto discussed were clearly made and used by the non-Greek peoples in Italy: Etruscans, Apulians-Campanians and Romans.

Greek seals, Cassandra kneeling

To the best of my knowledge, the glyptic dramatic kneeling Cassandra in rear view as discussed above was developed in Etruscan and Italic and Roman workshops and was unknown in Greece. The motif in three-quarter frontal view, however, was used in Greek sealing. First, there is a gold ring dated by its shape to the 4th century BC, now in the New York Metropolitan Museum (*Fig.2a*).[51] Its inscription reads 'Cassandra' in Greek letters, in reverse, which indicates that the object was used to seal. Although the name may refer to the engraved subject, this seems a little too obvious and it is possible, and indeed more likely, that the ring instead belonged to a (wealthy) woman of that name. Moreover, that some connection may have existed between the wearer of the ring and the motif is rendered likely by the iconography chosen for Cassandra. She is fully and elegantly dressed, although her vulnerability is evident from a single bare breast; she kneels in front of the Palladium and is, as suggested by her head which is thrown far back, deeply immersed in a trance. The Palladium shows many details such as tassels, also present on a 4th-century BC cornelian[52] and encountered on Corinthian coins; perhaps tassels made it easier to recognise the Palladium as such, as they were commonly added to venerably old cult statues. On the basis of vase paintings of the subject we may identify the block on which the Palladium stands as a statue base while that in front of it must be Athena's altar. Thus, Cassandra is kneeling on the ground in front of the altar. Although the blocks are only summarily sketched it is yet more precise than is customary on Italian gems, where a distinction between statue base and altar is seldom indicated.

45 Cassandra means 'I excel', Alexandra means 'she who wards off men' (Hornblower 2015, 5).

46 Hornblower 2015.

47 On the cult *e.g.* Veronese 2006; Mari 2007; Bifis 2014; Hornblower 2015; Menichetti 2016.

48 Weiss 2014.

49 ENEA NEL LAZIO 1981, 240-41.

50 On marriage ritual Torelli 1984.

51 LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 2.

52 Cornelian scaraboid, Palladium on a base, Museum of Fine Arts no. 23.583, Boston, bought at Naples, 400-350 BC.

Fig.2a Cassandra kneeling at the Palladium, gold ring. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 400-380 BC. Rogers Fund,1953 (53.11.2). ©2017. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

Fig.2b Jasper scaraboid with Cassandra kneeling at the Palladium. From Granitza, Doris, Greece. Fine Arts Museum, no. 27.704, Boston. © Photo: www.mfa.org. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig.2c Cassandra in trance at Palladium. Sard ring stone, found at Chalkis (Euboia, Greece). Museum of Fine Arts, no. 27.713, Boston, late 1st century BC. © Photo: www.mfa.org. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig.2d Gem of transparent white glass paste, engraved with a nude winged Victory kneeling beside a bull which she is about to sacrifice; in the background is an altar wreathed with branches. 27-14 BC. British Museum Inv. 1923, 0401.636. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig.2e Cassandra shown from behind, defended by the Palladium, Ajax behind her. Sard ring stone. British Museum. Drawing by the author.

Fig.2f Ajax frontal and Cassandra, shown from behind, the Palladium turned away. Clay seal, Delos. Maison des Sceaux, inv. no. 75/1684 Aa. Photo: L'école francaise d'Athène.

The Cassandra image on the mottled jasper scaraboid ring stone from Granitza[53] in Doris, Greece (today in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) is hardly visible, suggesting that its principal function is likely to have been that of a seal (*Fig.2b*). On this gem, the sexual attraction of Cassandra is successfully emphasized through her beautifully modelled nude, three-quarter body and accentuated by the fine folds of her dress. The glyptic formula stems from the 4th century BC and is well-known from quite a few images of nude bathing women crouching while bathing.[54] Again, the Palladium is placed on a high pedestal with Athena's altar in front. Here, Cassandra's knee on the altar in front of the statue identifies her position as that of a supplicant. The somewhat overlarge head almost touches the statue and it is clear that the engraver drew inspiration from vase painting, in which the girl seeks protection under the statue's shield, here the head is too large and the shield too small.

Images such as these must have influenced the creation of Late Hellenistic images of Cassandra and the Palladium (*Fig.2c*), which, although engraved by master engravers of Greek descend and most likely active in Rome, – because of the similarity of these Cassandra's to glass intaglios with Nike-Victory offering a bull (*Fig.2d*) – circulated also in Greece.[55] In these late Hellenistic/Roman Republican, highly sophisticated works the element of kneeling with one knee on the altar of Athena's temple is adopted from gems like the Granitza stone, as is the covering of that knee with fine drapery. New, however, is the complete nudity of the rest of Cassandra's body, which creates a pleasing contrast to the undulating locks cascading around her face and over her shoulders. Another new element is the fact that the Palladium is actually facing the girl, who is again in a deep trance, this time with bowed head. To emphasize her status as a priestess and a seer, she holds a laurel branch and wears a laurel wreath. The girl's nudity is puzzling; are we perhaps looking at Cassandra after or just before she was raped? To the Greek wearer of these jewels, this may not have been an issue; these images in which Ajax is absent seem to concentrate on the beauty, youth and devotion of the tragic seer. The parallel with the Nike-Victory, moreover, may indicate that in this image Cassandra is already depicted as victorious predictor of Rome's greatness.[56]

53 LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 5.

54 For instance the four impressive scaraboids in the Hermitage: Neverov 1976, nos 33-36.

55 LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" nos 4a and 4b.

56 Which is the opinion of Sabina Toso: Toso 2000, 125.

Development of the Cassandra motifs

A comparable iconography of Cassandra in rear view as known from the Etruscan scarabs is seen on Hellenistic intaglios, such as an impressive sard ring stone in the British Museum (*Fig.2e*).[57] The details on the British gem, however, are quite different: Ajax is now nude and more menacing, raising his sword above the girl's head. He also stands further away from Cassandra than in the Etruscan version, while she is again represented as being in trance, with her body heavily twisted and her – disproportionally large – head thrown far back. The Palladium is now on a lower pedestal and this suggests that Cassandra is seated, and not solely clinging to the Palladium as in the Etruscan versions. Another – very important – difference is the attitude of the Palladium itself; on the British Museum specimen, the statue, which is taller than it is on other intaglios, holds its shield over the girl's head and attacks Ajax. An Athena statue duelling with Ajax over the Trojan princess – as shown on the Leiden *olpe* – was the principal version of the subject in Attic black-figured vase painting. It was reintroduced in this glyptic design, which identifies Athena's statue as the Palladium by its magical ability of movement, thus demonstrating that Athena's defence of Cassandra and of her asylum was still an important issue in the Hellenistic period.

The date of the British Museum gem – or of its model – must lie somewhere in the early 3rd century BC.[58] The engraver paid much attention to the musculature of Ajax' compact body and to the three-quarter frontal view of his face, which is surrounded by half-long locks. Similar faces and hair styles are encountered on gems influenced by the iconography of Alexander the Great.[59] The contortion of Cassandra's body is even more dramatic than on the Etruscan scarabs, but it does not result from her hair being pulled by Ajax, as the descriptions of this particular composition often claim. In this regard, the drawing by an anonymous draughtsman, today at the Chantilly Musée Condé[60] is quite accurate, although Ajax's sword is somewhat too high above Cassandra's head, being raised at the Palladium.

Interestingly, similar Hellenistic versions of the rape scene are also known from clay seals found in the north-east corner of the House of Seals/*Maison des Sceaux* on Delos. Specimens were found to have been imprinted by

57 Walters 1926, no. 1942, from the Duc de Blacas collection; Davreux 1942, no. 128; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 183; Toso 2000, no. 9.

58 Only autopsy – which unfortunately has not yet been possible – of the gem can resolve the question of the date. A bowl in moulded relief ware, from Tanagra, shows an identical scene: Davreux 1942, no. 127.

59 *Cf.* for instance the gem featuring Diomedes at Cortona (no. 15.744) discussed by Jean-Marc Moret: Moret 1997, 40.

60 See http://chain.eu/?m3=15765.

Fig.3a Rear view of Cassandra kneeling on an altar clutching an elevated Palladium, Ajax next to her. Garnet ring stone © Photo: Musées d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, n° inv. MF 2726.

Fig.3b Cameo, rear view of Cassandra seated on an altar, former collection Lorenzo De Medici. Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 97, 25930 (image in the public domain).

Fig.3c Rear view of Cassandra kneeling on an altar clutching an elevated Palladium. Roman Republican banded agate ring stone, 100 BC-30 BC. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum, „Kassandra, seated by the Palladion", inv. no. I920. www.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk

Fig.3d Rear view of Cassandra kneeling on an altar clutching an elevated Palladium. Carnelian ring stone Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 16321, presumably from Xanten Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 16321 © Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn (Foto Gisela Geng).

Fig.3e Chrysoprase ring stone, former collection Hemsterhuis, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-10797. Photo Stephen Sack.

Fig.3f Small marble relief, Venetian work of the first decades of the 16th century; in or in the environment of Antonio and Tullio Lombardo. Photo: Paris, Musée du Louvre MR 707. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Jean-Gilles Berizzi.

Fig.3g Carnelian ring stone with Cassandra, Palladium and Ajax, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-00327. Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

Fig.3h Carnelian ring stone with Cassandra, Palladium and Ajax, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. GS-00405. Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

the same – evidently slightly damaged and very convex – ring stone (*Fig.2f*).[61] The body musculature of Ajax and his 'Alexander head' is even more impressive on this specimen than on the British Museum gem. The hero holds his sword above the head of Cassandra and a spear in his other hand. The Athena statue also raises a spear, but it is – like its head – completely turned away from the scene, as in the Etruscan versions. Among the Delos seals, the 'positive' version of the Cassandra motif is found on three clay seals made with the same ring stone.[62]

It is evident that the many seal stones used for the 16,000 Delos clay seals found in the *Maison des Sceaux* (which likely contained a papyri archive built up over approximately a century prior to 69 BC, when Delos was destroyed and the archive burnt)[63] were seldom engraved on the island itself, since in style, subject and date they are highly diverse. It seems likely that merchants, magistrates and other individuals used sealing rings that were family heirlooms, or which they obtained from engravers working in the larger centres around the Mediterranean, as indicated also by the Central/South Italian ring stones of seated Cassandra in the same archive.

Of great relevance to the dating of the Cassandra motifs on the Delos clay seals is Jean-Marc Moret's observation regarding the Diomedes seals from this archive that the stylistic diversity of these seals is a reflection of the glyptic variation in motifs and styles of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC which existed before the Late Republican glyptic stylistic *koine* came about under the influence of the Roman workshops.[64] A boundary has yet to be established between these two glyptic categories, but may perhaps be found in the fact that the latter category, of a later date, shows copyist traits. A damaged garnet in Geneva, for instance (*Fig.3a*),[65] likely dates to the period 50 BC – 50 AD because it shows a kneeling girl with a dramatic contortion of her body, but here Cassandra's *furor* is perhaps no longer understood and as a cause for her twisted body Ajax's dragging the

61 Hatzi-Vallianou 1996, no. 75/1684Aa (Fig. 19); no. 75/1167 Aa (Fig. 20).

62 Hatzi-Vallianou 1996, no. 75/1687 Aa (Fig. 18).

63 Boussac 1992, 1993.

64 Moret 1997, 274. Consequently, the dates I propose for some of the Cassandra gems are considerable earlier than those found in Toso 2000.

65 Cassandra in rear view on the altar, clinging to a high-placed Palladium; garnet ringstone, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, no. 2726: Davreux 1942, no. 118, comparing the rear-view of Cassandra already with images of maenads; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 181; Toso 2000, no. 11.

girl away by her hair is suggested.[66] Another version of the motif attesting to a late Republican or 1st century BC date is found on a cameo from the De Medici collection (*Fig.3b*).[67] Originally, Ajax' pulling hand grasped a – no doubt heavy – upright sword instead of Cassandra's hair and he was menacing the Palladium not the girl (see the British Museum sard).

The Delos seals of the violent type featuring Ajax, are not easily understandable as seals of merchants or magistrates.[68] For them, an advertisement of the desecration of a sanctuary or of aggression against women seems to be without purpose. The fact, however, that there are also seals with the 'positive' seated Cassandra in this archive may suggest an ongoing discourse in which the role of the Palladium may have been more prominent than that of either Ajax or Cassandra. The person who used his ring stone at least 64 times to seal papyri documents merits our attention, because he/she was evidently an important individual. His/her use of the Cassandra seal and the discourse on the level of the clay sealings in this archive may have been regional, for instance indicating a North-Italian provenance for the person with the 'negative' Cassandra and a Daunian one for the person with the 'positive' Cassandra, but further conclusions can only be drawn after study from the viewpoint of auto-representation of all the seals in this archive.

A banded agate ring stone, presumably dating from the 2nd century BC, in the collection of the Thorvaldsen Museum (*Fig.3c)*,[69] inspired on the 4th-3rd century BC rear-view *mania* Cassandra, and a cornelian ring stone, probably from the Roman *castrum* at Xanten (*Fig.3d*) show how, sometime before the latter stone was engraved (i.e. before the 1st century BC), an as yet unidentified master engraver decided to leave Ajax out of the scene altogether, concentrating instead on the frenzied and possessed Cassandra – kneeling in rear view – seeking help from a disconcertingly small Palladium.[70] His composition is the most dramatic as well as erotically stimulating, and its success reverberates in the Xanten stone and other copies in stone and glass.[71] This Cassandra composition was the inspiration for gemstones with ecstatic maenads presumably cut already in the Renaissance. It generated many copies, for instance the costly maenad engraved in a chrysoprase from the Hemsterhuis collection (*Fig.3e*),[72] which resembles the intaglio illustrated in the influential publication by Rossi-Maffei from 1708, "*Baccante, pasta di topasio, dal Museo Del Pozzo",73* modern glass pastes in the Valkhof collection at Nijmegen and in the Martin von Wagner Museum at Würzburg.[74] Erika Zwierlein-Diehl and this author dated these gems and glass pastes in the 17th-18th centuries because a very similar marble relief in the Louvre Museum was published as a fake (*Fig.3f*).[75] However, a print, dated to AD 1507, in the British Museum collection shows that the Cassandra motif was indeed already known and studied in the Renaissance. The Louvre relief has now been recognised as a Venetian work of the first decades of the 16th century, made in or in the environment of the workshop of Antonio and Tullio Lombardo.

Compared to these highly dramatic versions of the theme, ring stones such as the two round cornelians in the collection in the Leiden National Museum of Antiquities, dating from the Late Republican period, are rather mundane (*Fig.3g-h*). Unlike the rear-view Cassandra, these gems with the more common frontal view do not express Cassandra's trance or any erotic emotion. Here Cassandra is fully dressed. It seems likely that ring stones like no. GS-00327 were understood again as images of Ajax' blatant disregard of the sanctity of asylum, because the Palladium seems to be defending that right while Ajax

66 The 'hair pulling' is a steady motif on red-figure vases (Moret 1975, 191-225), usually Aiax does this with his left hand, holding either a sword or a shield and spear in his other hand. This motif is encountered also on gems but mostly with a frontal Cassandra, a prime example being the large brown glass gem in the Hannover collection (Kestner Museum K666: Schlüter, Platz-Horster, Zazoff 1975, no. 341; Daveux 1942, no. 103: stating that the iconography of these gems has parallels in Greek images with the battle of Greeks against Amazones; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 176; Toso 2000, no. 1). I know of only one red-figure Apulian vase from the end of the 4th century BC with Aiax pulling Casssandra's hair with a hand in which he holds also a sword: LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 141.

67 Naples National Archaeological Museum Inv. no. 97, 25930: Dacos / Giuliano / Pannuti 1972 Cat. no. 46; Pannuti 1994, no. 185.

68 The Delos archive probably belonged to a private individual and the contracts on the papyri preserved by him likely circulated among private persons; Marie-Françoise Boussac compares his office to that of a modern notary: Boussac 1993.

69 Thorvaldsen ring stone no. 920, Fossing 1929, no. 396; Davreux 1942, no. 153; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 9; Toso 2000, no. 21.

70 Xanten ring stone in Bonn Rheinisches Landesmuseum no. 16 321, *cf.* Platz-Horster 1987, no. 194; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 6a; Toso 2000, no. 25.

71 *Cf.* Toso 2000, nos. 12-20, two cornelian ring stones in the Coin Collection, Munich and one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and glass intaglios in Berlin and Munich. The earlier 'Cassandra formula' shows her seated on an altar or base and strongly twisted (e.g. the Medici cameo and a banded agate ring stone in Copenhagen, Fossing 1929, no. 914; Davreux 1942, no. 153; the new 'Cassandra formula' shows her kneeling on the altar in front of the Palladium, which is the attitude of Cassandra engraved in the Greek seals.

72 Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952a, no. 10.

73 No. 56 = *Gemme antiche figurate date in luce da Domenico De Rossi. Colle sposizioni di Paolo Alessandro Maffei, III*, 1708).

74 The Valkhof gem: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, no. 229; Zwierlein Diehl 1986, no. 882.

75 Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, under no. 882 (on the judgment of Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture II*, 430) and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, under no. 229 (on the judgment of Eberhard Paul, *Die falsche Göttin. Geschichte der Antikenfälschung* 1962, Plate 11).

raises his sword against the goddess.[76] The other Leiden gem is interesting; on it, the Palladium is placed on a small column, a trait comparable to what is encountered on gems with a rear-view Cassandra (e.g. the Xanten gem).

Cassandra in Rome

A blue glass paste, of which unfortunately only the upper half has been preserved (*Fig.4a*), offers us a glimpse of an originally large gem featuring a Cassandra seated in front of the Palladium, which in this case is small and directly in front of the girl's face.[77] The girl, fully dressed, is seated on a rock (as visible on better preserved specimens, *e.g. Fig.4b*) and supports her head with her hand, an attitude associated not only with Cassandra but also with Sibyls.[78] The head of the Cassandra on this paste is easily recognisable as deriving from the same source as the earlier discussed Late Hellenistic Cassandra kneeling in trance in front of the statue. Another version of a Cassandra who is seated and in trance, dating from the Augustan period, is illustrated by a yellow glass paste in the Berlin collection (*Fig.4c).*[79] Cassandra is seated on a rock in front of a large tripod; one leg is raised, Cassandra's head resting on its knee.

These glass intaglios – much larger than normal ringstones – suggest large flat gems with these motif being the models. Such large pieces, usually in monochrome thin sardonyx or chalcedony, were engraved by master engravers known from their signatures or by their anonymous colleagues, usually immigrants from Greece and working for the Roman aristocracy during the Late Republican and Early Imperial period.[80] The motif, however, must have circulated also as a ring stone type for merchants and men in the Roman army because it is found on a gem from Gallia.[81] The type of head is also known as a bust (*Fig.4d*).[82] Evidently several master engravers, each in their own way, varied on a famous prototype Cassandra. As Jeffrey Spier remarks, the cornelian in St. Petersburg is the finest engraving of the type with head. It shows a draped bust and a head with shoulder-length, undulating hair and a young, rather fleshy face in profile.[83] Around the head, a laurel wreath is tied with very long – pelleted – fillets which cascade over the girl's shoulder. Remarkable, at least in comparison with other heads by the period's master engravers,[84] is the slightly downward position of this head, which may still hint at prophetic trance.[85] These Cassandra heads and busts are strongly influenced by the iconography of contemporary Apollo heads, which are similarly fleshy and have similar shoulder-length hair, sometimes more curly and surrounding a wider face (*Fig.4e)*.[86] The large glass intaglios with Cassandra-as-Sibyl occur during a veritable outburst of similar – though usually smaller – glass intaglios with a range of motifs which helped the various contestants in their struggle for power in Rome during the Late Republican period;[87] this Cassandra-as-Sibyl motif has been attributed to Julius Caesar.[88] The reasons for the portrayal of Cassandra as Sibyl must indeed be sought in a changed view of the reliability of her prophesies, in particular the prophesy in which the greatness of Rome was foretold, encountered already in Lycophron's *Alexandra*[89] and afterwards in for example Vergil's *Aeneis*.[90] Although Cassandra in this new role is linked to the Aeneas myth,[91] she is more evidently associated with the revived Apollo cult of the Late Republican and Early Imperial period, *e.g.* the rebuilding of the Apollo Sosianos temple and a new dual significance attributed to the laurel as a symbol of triumph and cleansing.[92] This Apollo cult probably derived from Cumae near Naples, where Apollo had a very famous oracular cult involving female seers of great renown. The new role assigned by Augustus to the Apollo Palatino temple by transferring the Sibylline books to it probably played a part as well.[93] The iconography of the large glass intaglios demonstrates that Cassandra has been incorporated among the Sibyls. In Rome, she apparently not only lost her 'Ajax story' but also her Greek prophetic *mania.*[94] In fact, she was transformed into a completely different kind of seer: one who was part of a Sibylline system in which priestesses, said to

76 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 327; Moret 1997, 99; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no.182a; Toso 2000, no. 7 and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 405; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 185; Toso 2000, 10.

77 In Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 678 (upper half of blue glass paste) with references; LIMC VII, 958, "Kassandra I" no. 10 with references; Toso 2000, 117 with references.

78 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1997a-b; Toso 2000.

79 Furtwängler 1896, no. 6267; Davreux 1942, no. 4; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 11; on the theme Maaskant-Kleibrink 1997a-b.

80 The most recent history of these engravers is by Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 109-132.

81 Guiraud 1988, no. 442; LIMC VII, "Kassandra I" no. 10f.

82 Cassandra head: amethyst in the Paul Getty Museum, *cf.* Spier 1992, no. 222 with further parallels.

83 Neverov 1976, no. 116.

84 O. Neverov attributed the gem to Hyllos (Neverov 1976, no. 116), while Vollenweider (1966, 55) attributed it to the environment of Solon.

85 A reason to see the amethyst published as no. 536 in Schlüter, Platz-Horster, Zazoff 1975 as well as the cornelian from Xanten (Platz-Horster 1987, no. 212) as Cassandra heads.

86 For example on an amethyst in Petersburg, attributed to Hyllos by O. Neverov: Neverov 1976, no. 15.

87 Vollenweider 1966; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007.

88 Toso 2000, 124.

89 In the *Alexandra* (1464/65) Cassandra is compared to Melancrera, a Cumaean Sibyl.

90 *Aeneis* 6.46.

91 The Palladium in Rome: Moret 1997, 281-294 with further references.

92 E.g. La Rocca 1988, 121.

93 E.g. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* XXXI.

94 Compare also Toso 2000.

Fig.4a Cassandra in trance in front of the Palladium, blue glass paste, 50 BC - 50 AD, in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna inv. no. XII 918, photo © KHM-Museumsverband.

Fig.4b Cassandra in trance in front of the Palladium. Graeco-Roman white glass paste, 27 BC-14. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum, "Trojan priestess (?), seated by the Palladium", inv. no. I1094. www.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk.

be in communication with Apollo, prophesied. Cassandra is now depicted as being asleep or dreaming with her head on a knee or in her hand, like a Sibyl.[95]

Late Republican/Early Imperial gems show that Cassandra's relation to Apollo inspired fascinating glyptic masterpieces. I am aware of two stones; one, which I am unable to trace, is among the Cades casts,[96] the other is a cornelian engraved in a sublime classicist style, currently in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas, (Missouri) and attributed by Martin Henig to the gem engraver Aulos (Fig.4f).[97] Central in these images is a tree, undoubtedly a laurel, and close to it, to the right, the god Apollo who holds on to the tree. He looks down on Cassandra, pictured as in a trance with her head thrown far back (a heritage of the *mania* images) and semi-nude, a mantle covering only her legs. Above her head, a large bird perches on a piece of rock. On the Cades gem, the bird has outspread wings; in both images it looks like a raven, known to be Apollo's bird. It is not clear how these images should be read: does Cassandra see the god in her trance, or is the god inducing the trance? Interestingly, the painter Jerôme Martin Langlois, who trained with the famous Jacques-Louis David, France's leading neo-classical painter, must have known a Cassandra gem of the type just discussed, because the attitude of his Cassandra painting – nowadays in the Metropolitan Museum in New York – is identical to that on the gems. [98] He does not interpret her pose as the result of a trance but rather as an expression of supplication, imploring the gods to punish Ajax.

In its composition, the Aulos gem resembles works of art with the subject of Rhea Silvia who, while sleeping (or dreaming?) is visited by the god Mars,[99] except that Mars is often pictured as coming from above while Apollo has his feet firmly on the ground. For a short period in the second half of the first century BC, Rhea Silvia was depicted (especially on gems) as a second and positive Cassandra, because after a dream vision she predicted the greatness of Rome following a dream vision. The coins and gems that show Mars discovering the sleeping Rhea are mostly later (this book Henig, *Fig.8b*), but that does not prevent us from combining them with Rhea's visions: she is discovered whilst asleep in a sacred precinct, dreaming of the greatness of Rome and of intercourse with Mars; as a result, Romulus and Remus are born. Moreover, there is a story (and perhaps there were images as well) that Atia, mother of Augustus, was visited in her sleep by a serpent sent by Apollo. Although these images are all closely connected to a desire for a golden age through the reign of a ruler born from a god and a mortal woman, the Cassandra image does not imply any intercourse with the god, although Apollo's interest in Cassandra is evidently erotic/sexual. That the iconography of a sleeping/entranced young woman in a sacred precinct had strong sexual connotations for members of the Roman aristocratic circles is more than evident from an oval cornelian gem in Berlin (*Fig.4g*).[100] On it, a fully dressed

95 Sibyl on a coin from Sparta: LIMC VII sv. Sibyllae.
96 Cades Beazley Archive 28-IIIE001-057, no. 18.
97 Henig 1994.
98 See http://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/337537.
99 E.g. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 740; Rivka & Sonia 1988; Whylrew 2011.
100 Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, no. 408.

Fig.4c Cassandra in trance in front of a large tripod, yellow glass paste. Staatliche Museen Berlin, inv. no. 6267. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. © 2017. Photo Scala, Florence/bpk, Bildagentur fuer Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.

Fig.4d Cassandra head, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. GR-26850 (Zh-6656). Attributed to Hyllos. Rome, 1st century BC-1st century. Photo: after Neverov 1976, no. 116.

Fig.4e Apollo head, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv.no. GR-21450 (Zh-1253). Attributed to Hyllos. Rome, 1st century BC-1st century. Photo: after Neverov 1976, no. 115.

Fig.4f Carnelian and gold signet ringstone with Apollo standing near Cassandra in trance. Attributed by Martin Henig to Aulos, son of Alexos. Roman (second half of first century B.C.). © The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, United States, Purchase: acquired through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Everitt, object no. F93-22.

Fig.4g Young woman/priestess/Sibyl in trance/asleep in front of a statuette of Priapus. Staatliche Museen Preussischer kulturbesitz antikenabteilung, Berlin, inv. no. FG 6893. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. © 2017. Photo Scala, Florence/bpk, Bildagentur fuer Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.

Fig.4h Cassandra in trance/asleep, seated on an altar in front of a column with the Palladium, glass paste in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna, inv. no. XI B 527, photo © KHM-Museumsverband.

young woman/priestess/sibyl is seated on a piece of rock, in a trance or dreaming, in front of a small and elevated chapel containing a tiny statuette of the god Priapus. The girl grasps a branch (probably laurel) and appears to wear a (laurel) wreath of which the fillets together with loose locks of hair hang down to the nape of the neck. Erika Zwierlein-Diehl discovered that the explicit reverse of the gem, with seven phalli around a snail and the inscription INVICTA MESSAL.. CLAUDI, must be a later addition (and a genuine reference to Messalina [29-48 AD]), while the intaglio on the other side can be dated on the basis of the girl's hairstyle to ca. 50 BC.[101] Valeria Messalina was the third wife of the Emperor Claudius and her sexual prowess was widely known. The shape of the letters convinced Erika Zwierlein-Diehl that the inscriptions were genuine.

Still, Cassandra's connection to the Palladium was far from forgotten in Late Republican/ Early Imperial Rome, as is evident from a small ancient glass paste in the Vienna collection (*Fig.4h*).[102] It shows Cassandra in a Sibylline trance or sleep, seated on an altar in front of a small Palladium on a column. If the object she holds in her lap is indeed a *pedum*, as identified by Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, then the engraver of the original stone wished to indicate that Cassandra's prophesies were inspired by the Muses, but the object is imprecisely rendered and may also be, for example, a scroll, which would be a reference to the Sibylline books.

Conclusion

Etruscan scarabs from the early 4th century BC introduce us to the 'negative Cassandra formula', a view of this tragic heroine in which her two main properties, her beauty and her gift of prophecy, are reflected in a fascinating rear view of a kneeling young woman with her head thrown far backwards. This formula, in which she clings to the Palladium while being threatened by Ajax, was slightly modified by late Hellenistic engravers but only made poignant by the 'manic Cassandra' (without Ajax) of Late Republican Rome. Seals show that high-ranking people from the Etruscan, Greek, Italic and Roman elite chose the manic, beautiful Cassandra as a personal device, which given her tragic fate is surprising. An overall reason may be that in the ancient world the imminent death of a graceful girl was a well-known subject (linked to sacrificial practice); Andromeda and Iphigeneia come to mind, for example. The beauty of these girls, to the point where gods and heroes want to possess them, may have motivated the gem engravers to choose them as a subject in order to show their mastery and ring bearers to choose them for seals with which they could impress by expressing beauty and beastly wrongdoing. Cassandra's rape is especially a metaphor for the wrongful rape of, for example, a right or law or a territory, and this may also have been a reason to choose the negative Cassandra formula.

The Hellenistic 'positive' version of glyptic Cassandra forms a strong contrast. Here, the girl is dressed in chiton and himation and has her arms around the Palladium while sitting on the statue's pedestal. Such a view and its use as a seal so starkly negates all that was said above, that there must have been a strong reason for this new Cassandra creation. This may have been a new role for the Cassandra figure, when she herself became worshipped both in Sparta and in Daunia, where she played an important role in nuptial ceremonies as is evident from Lycophron's *Alexandra*. The Palladium remains important, but as in other later images, Ajax seems to have been forgotten.

A third step in the development of glyptic Cassandra is represented by a return to her prophetic abilities and close ties to Apollo and the Palladium. The serenely classical style of the famous Late Republican and Augustan gem-engravers portrays the girl as a female variant of Apollo, mantic and exalted. In this new, sibylline role Cassandra is more clearly a talisman herself, a seer propelling people towards a golden future.

Yet the erotic element is still there, as is evident from the parallel images of stones showing the pair Rhea Silvia – Mars for the Aulos gem with Cassandra and Apollo, and from odd variations as the 'Messalina' stone.

On closer inspection, the role in the process of seal stones as identity formers – as exemplified by those with the Cassandra motif – is intriguingly diverse. In order to understand what kind of role engraved gems played in political and private interaction and thus in history, we have to concentrate on the use of their images in auto-representation. More accurate dating and further study of the possible reasons behind a choice for particular mythological figures, legendary episodes, animals and symbols may reveal where and when the visual language of the gems was empathetic, metaphoric or merely meant to be amusing. The difference between engraved gems and other ancient objects is that the images on them were the result of private choice, whether they were worn ostentatiously on a finger and used to seal and so advertise one's intimate connection with the subject, or dedicated in a sanctuary. This is a reminder that many engraved gems were the Rembrandts of their age, the most admired, most costly and highest form of art. Quite a number of the Cassandra gems discussed are such outstanding pieces; seen Cassandras tragic fate it seemed almost impossible to find out how these gems could have been at all helpful as auto-representative seals, but hopefully a few pathways could be indicated.

101 See previous Note.

102 Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, no. 650.

Some cameos in Leiden – Roman to neoclassicism

*Gertrud Platz-Horster**

Introduction

Little is known about the provenance of the cameos from the former Royal Coin Cabinet. Two of the eleven selected items (nos. 7 – 8) could be identified in the catalogue for the auction of the collection of Johan Hendrik, Earl of Wassenaer Obdam (1683-1745), held in October 1769 in Amsterdam.[1] They were acquired there by Theodorus de Smeth (1710-1772), whose collection was subsequently purchased for the Cabinet in 1821.[2] King Frederic II (1722-1786) of Prussia also bought several cameos at the 1769 auction.[3] These two cameos in Leiden exemplify the high-quality output of Baroque gem engravers working in northern Italy, especially in Milan, as does the cameo with the bust of a satyr (no. 9), cut from a carnelian onyx obtained from deposits near Idar-Oberstein in western Germany, a much valued gemstone in this period.

Two pieces carved with political devices from Roman history represent the only surviving cameo portrait of the Emperor Elagabalus (no. 3) and two young *togati*, whose identity has yet to be determined (no. 4, a fragment acquired from the Cabinet M. Lupus in Brussels). A small cameo cut in a scratchy manner can be attributed to a recently identified late antique workshop, probably located in Asia Minor (no. 5).

The eleven items selected from the many cameos now in Leiden illustrate the extent to which this medium owed a debt to antiquity throughout modern times.[4] Contrasting layers of agate enabled engravers to produce relief designs; dyeing precious stones and following their structure allowed them to create light and shadow with color accents. The repertoire of devices on cameos focused on ideal busts or portraits and on mythological scenes, while some conveyed political messages. Cameos have enriched the applied arts since the mid-third century BC.

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1 See: Platz-Horster 2012, 14-15 n. 30-32. The Earl's name is variously written as Wassenaer and Wassenaar as well as Obdam and Opdam; today the family's name is Van Wassenaer Obdam. In 1727 Johan Hendrik had purchased 117 cameos and 143 intaglios from the collection of Hendrik Adriaan van de Marck. The Earl commissioned the renowned painter Willem van Mieris (1692-1766) to draw 183 of his gemstones; the album with these drawings is now kept in the archives of the Twickel Foundation (Stichting Twickel) at Castle Twickel, near Delden.

2 See: Maaskant-Kleibrink, 1978, 40-41. For the collections of De Smeth's ancestor, Johannes Smetius (Johann Smith, 1591-1651) and his son, Johannes Smetius junior (1636-1704), who published the illustrated catalogue "Antiquitates Neomagenses" (Nijmegen 1678), see: Weber 1992, 13 n. 25, 15-16 n. 40-50, 201-223 cat. nos. 253-327 (lit.); Halbertsma 2003, 10-11.

3 Platz-Horster 2012, 276 n. 13, 285 Archivalien B.5, 316 Register D. 2.2 s.v.

4 The catalogue numbers are followed by the inventory numbers of the Leiden Museum starting with 'GS-'.

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Catalogue

No. 1. GS-11078.

Fig.1 Portrait of Drusilla or Agrippina the Younger with laurel wreath. Sardonyx in three layers: brown over opaque white on dark-brown background. Chipped at nose, mouth, chin and wreath. Set in a gold pendant. Vertical oval. 40 × 32.5 × 5 mm; weight 19.95 g. Julio-Claudian era, c 40 – 50 AD.

Portrait bust of a lady of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, in three-quarter view facing right. Most probably either Drusilla, beloved sister of Emperor Caligula, or her elder sister Agrippina the Younger, niece and fourth wife of Emperor Claudius, and mother of the Emperor Nero. The hair is combed in parallel waves, the forehead framed by a single row of small circular locks; in her neck this is turned into a long braid folded upwards. The laurel wreath is bound with a knotted ribbon. An earring with a drop-shaped pendant decorates her earlobe. Her bust is dressed with a *chiton*, a mantle and a *stola*.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1823, 127 Tablette VIII N. 4 „*Buste d'Agrippine mère, couronnée de lauriers, sur une fort belle Sardoine*."; De Jonge 1837, 54 no. 956 „*Tête laurée d'Agrippine mère. C Sardoine*"; Megow 1987, 302 D 37 pl. 16,9 „*Drusilla*"; Alexandridis 2004, 166 cat. no. 125 pl. 56,7.

Cf. Sardonyx cameo Paris, CdM 283 (34 × 30 mm). Megow 1987, 302 D 38 pl. 18,2 „*Drusilla*". Vollenweider/Avisseau-Broustet 2003, 104 no. 113 pl. 75 „*Agrippine II*", c 55 AD. Alexandridis 2004, 168 cat. no. 130 pl. 57,3; Sardonyx cameo Paris, CdM 280. Megow 1987, 302 D 36 pl. 16,3. Vollenweider/Avisseau-Broustet 2003, 103-104 no. 112 pl. 75. Alexandridis 2004, 167 cat. no. 128 pl. 57,1.

No. 2. GS-10284.

Fig.2 Portrait of a lady. Sardonyx in three layers: opaque white on blue-black, reverse white. Set in a gold pendant. Vertical oval. 19 × 15.5 × 6.5 mm; weight 3.72 g. c 210 – 220 AD.

Portrait of a young lady in profile facing right. She wears her hair closely rolled around her face, covering her ear, and pulled up tightly to a large flat knot almost at the top of the back of her head. Her vivid features comprise a drilled pupil beneath a dotted eyebrow, a slightly curving nose, open lips and smooth skin. Her bust wears a *stola*. Her hair is dressed in a manner resembling hairstyles worn by images of the Empresses Plautilla and Julia Maesa.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1837, 57 N. 997 „*Tête de Julie Domna, épouse de Septime Sévère. C. Sardoine de toute beauté. Très-joli camée*." Van den Bercken/Verberk 2015, 32 Fig. 39.

Cf. Sardonyx cameos*:* Platz-Horster 2012, 88 no. 74 pl. 15 (17 × 12 mm; period of Faustina the Younger, c 150 AD or earlier); Vollenweider 1976/1979, 236 no. 244 pl. 76,3 (19 × 13 × 5 mm), probably Crispina, c 180 AD; carnelian intaglio: Vollenweider/Avisseau-Broustet 2003, 189 no. 242 pl. 127 (19 × 15 × 2.5 mm; period of Plautilla, c 210-220 AD).

No. 3. GS-11079.

Fig.3 Portrait of Elagabalus in cuirass and paludamentum. Sardonyx in three layers: light brown, opaque white and dark greyish brown (reddish brown in transmitted light); thin black vein through the white relief from the man's forehead to the back. Small chip on right edge of background. Set in a gold pendant. Vertical oval, flat on both sides. 39.5 × 29.5 × 6 mm; weight 24.02 g. 218 – 219 AD.

This portrait bust of the Roman emperor Elagabalus, wearing a laurel wreath, a cuirass with Gorgoneion and a *paludamentum*, is historically important. In his early youth the emperor served as a priest to the god Elagabalus in Emesa (Homs) in Syria but only became known as Elagabalus himself after his death; on becoming emperor he took the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (reigned 218-222 AD). He was proclaimed twenty-fifth Caesar of the Roman Empire at the age of only 14, following the assassination of his cousin, Emperor Caracalla, in 217 and a military revolt against Caracalla's successor Macrinus.

The Leiden cameo is the sole surviving portrayal of the emperor in this medium. A fragmented cameo known only from a plaster cast in Tommaso Cades' *Impronte* from 1829 shows the same typical physiognomy of a beardless young man with full lips, smooth skin, a drilled pupil beneath the overlapping upper eyelid and a short haircut sharply angled on the forehead, with sideburns and longer hair in the neck. He can be clearly identified by the same features in his coinage, of which the Leiden cameo represents the first portrait type, minted in Rome at the beginning of Elagabalus' reign in 218/219. Elegabalus was murdered at the age of 18 for his eccentricity and disregard for Roman traditions and replaced by his cousin Severus Alexander to continue the Severan Dynasty.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1823, 127 Tablette VIII N. 6 „*Buste de Geta, couronné de lauriers, la poitrine cuirassée. Sardoine de toute beauté*"; De Jonge 1837, 57 no. 1000 „*Tête laurée de Géta. C. Sardoine. Beau camée antique*."

Cf. cameo: Sardonyx (?), fragment; lost. Cades 1829, 33, IV A, 99. Megow 1987, 247 A 165 pl. 51,1. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2007, 311 T. IV, cass. 6 no. 424 „*Quinto Erennio Figlio di Trajano Decio Imp. re*".

Cf. intaglios: Carnelian and nicolo in original silver ring, Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 7010-11. Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, 192-193 pl. 93, 541-542 (with comparanda on coins and gemstones); carnelian, Athens, National Museum, ex Karapanos inv. 186. Richter 1971, 118 no. 585; glass paste cast from a chromium chalcedony, St. Petersburg. Furtwängler 1900, 230 pl. 48, 24. Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 261 no. 789 (laurel wreath with rays).

Coins: Mattingly 1950, 530-535 no. 2 pl. 85,1 (denarius, Rome 218 AD), 531 no. 10 pl. 85,6, 534 No. 30 pl. 85,14 (aurei, Rome 218/219 AD). Altmayer 2014, 93-96, 253 Fig. 1.

Portraits: Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 114-117. Marble bust in Copenhagen, NCG 756. Bergmann 1977, 25 pl. 2,1 and pl. 3,2-3; Leitmeir, F., Brüche im Kaiserbildnis von Caracalla und Geta, in: Faust/Leitmeir 2011, 20-21 no. 6 Elagabal Fig. 13.

No. 4. GS-11095.

Fig.4 Provenance: "Cabinet de M. Lupus" in Brussels. Two young togati with Tropaion. Sardonyx in four layers: mid and light brown over opaque white on translucent chalcedony background incorporating a thin light-brown layer. Unset. Fragment of a once horizontal oval. Flat on both sides. To the left almost half the stone has been broken off and the edge ground down. The original rim is preserved between the Tropaion's helmet and the smaller youth's right foot. Several deeper scratches on the ground-down edge. 28 × 32 × 5 mm; weight 9.93 g. Circa 50 AD.

This fragmented sardonyx preserves the right part of a complex scene showing two young *togati* flanking a Tropaion. Depicted from right to left, on a ground line following the underside of the oval, is a young man walking, dressed in a *toga praetexta* over a long tunic and bound *calcei senatorii*; his left hand holds a long stick, his right arm is obscured by the Tropaion; his left foot is set sideways on the stone's border. Behind him is a plant as high as his shoulder. The Tropaion, represented in frontal view, is equipped with a muscle cuirass, a helmet, and four shields – two beside the chest, two beside the trunk – as well as four lances in the background. Behind the Tropaion, the head of an older man with long hair and a long curly beard emerges, turning slightly to the left. The tallest of the figures, he may be the personification of the *Genius Senatus*, rather than the father of the two young men or a defeated Barbarian, despite his wild hair. The third figure, obviously somewhat older than his companion, may be identified as *Augustus* by his dress, a *toga triumphalis*, more *calcei senatorii* and the laurel wreath; his left hand is covered by his toga, his right forearm curved at a right angle; the right hand probably once held a bowl to make a libation on an altar. The central focus of the overall scene seems to have been

the making of an offering after a victory. Originally the cameo was at least double the width it is now.

The gem engraver has carefully used the sardonyx layers to highlight the purple of the *toga triumphalis*, the red *clavi* of the *toga praetexta*, the leaves of the laurel wreath and the shields' lavish decorations. Two of the shields are framed with an orange border and their relief marked in orange; the other two shields are entirely cut from the orange layer. Curiously, the two oval shields are decorated with statuary emblems, with Apollo leaning on a *kithara* top right and Jupiter with his sceptre lower left; the fourth shield (lower right), represented in profile, is decorated with a scrolled garland. Although these motifs may seem singular, a wide variety of shield decoration can be observed in marble or limestone reliefs from the early Roman Empire, which Eugenio Polito (1998, cap. 2.5) has called "*armi di fantasia*". Even the breastplates of some "cuirassed statues" of Roman emperors and commanders were decorated with "*imaginary tropaia*", "*allegoric, and not historically correct*" (Stemmer 1978, 155).

A three-layered sardonyx cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, first mentioned in 1606, shows the Emperor Septimius Severus standing front and centre, dressed in a cuirass, *paludamentum* and *caligae*; in his left hand he holds a lance, in his right a *patera* with which he is offering a libation above a flaming altar, assisted by his younger son, Geta, again dressed in military costume. To the right of the scene his older son Caracalla, distinguished as *Augustus* by the laurel wreath, approaches, presenting a globe on his right hand. Both sons are crowned by a Victoria above a globe at the outer edges of the scene. The inscription below the ground line, NEIKHN TϠN KYPIϠN CEBACTϠN, means: "For the victory of the Lords Augustes". The cameo may have been occasioned by the elevation of Geta to *Augustus* during the 209 campaign in Britain. It was certainly cut before 211 when, following Septimius Severus' death in York, Caracalla murdered his younger brother.

While the two cameos share a prestigious character, despite their relatively small size in comparison with large *Staatskameen*, they are totally different in style. There is greater plasticity with vivid contours in the execution of the Leiden piece; the composition interlaces the figures and obviously indulges a kind of "horror vacui". The subtle use of the stone's coloured layers and the smooth surface, combined with the detailed depiction of clothing and shield emblems, matches the Leiden cameo to those of the Julio-Claudian era; a period appropriate to the hairstyle of the youth on the right. So who might the figures of the two young *togati* of high status depict within this timeframe? Both are dressed in official but not military clothing, indicating that they probably played no part in the victory represented by the Tropaion; the left figure is distinguished from the right by his laurel wreath and *toga triumphalis*. In the absence of any individual features, the emphasis on the contrasting outfits in this fragmented scene recalls an episode in the lives of the princes Nero and Britannicus, reported by Roman historian P. Cornelius Tacitus in his *Annal*s (ann. 12,41): *et ludicro dircensium, quod adquirendis vulgi studiis edebatur, Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti sunt: spectaret populus hunc decore imperatorio, illum puerili habitu, ac perinde fortunam utriusque praesumeret* [… and at games held in the Circus he [Nero] was allowed to attract popular attention by wearing triumphal robes, whereas Britannicus was dressed as a minor. So the crowd, seeing one in the trappings of command, and the other in boy's clothes, could deduce their contrasted destinies. Translation Michael Grant, Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, Penguin 1996]. Stepbrothers Nero and Britannicus were 17 and 14 respectively when Emperor Claudius was assassinated in 54 AD.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1824, 17 c. ex "*Cabinet de M. Lupus", "l'Empereur Septime Séveres et ses deux fils Caracalla et Geta*"; De Jonge 1837, 57 no. 1001 "*Trophée militaire ; d'un côté l'empereur Caracalla … son frère Géta ; derrière le trophée, la tête d'un vieillard, apparemment celle de Septime Sévère, père des deux princes. Ce camée, qui est véritablement antique, appartenait autrefois au cabinet de M. Lupus."*

Cf. Sardonyx cameo Paris, Cdm 301 (31 × 32 mm). Megow 1987, 240 A 144 pl. 49,2. Vollenweider/Avisseau-Broustet 2003, 179 no. 228 pl. 120; Sardonyx cameos ex Medici, Florence. Giuliano 1989, 254 nos. 188-189 (Septimius Severus and family).

For the clothes see: Goette 1988, Calceus 449-451; Goette 1990. Many thanks to H. R. Goette for discussing the cameo.

For *Tropaia* with different weapons, see reliefs: Torino, Museo di Antichità, inv.no. 612. http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/31425; Trieste, Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, inv.no. 2204. Berke 2009, 278 cat. no. 6, 1./2. century AD; *http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/220689*.

For weapons on reliefs see: Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 958. Arachne Nr. 104099 (lit.) and the two pillars in Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 59 & 72, dating to the early second century AD; also Polito 1998, 37-44, 204-205 Fig. 146, 209-211 Fig. 153-154.

For *Tropaia* on breastplates of cuirass statues see: Stemmer 1978, 155-157; Nabbefeld 2008, 24-26, 47-50 Exkurs "Paradeschildbuckel". Revue: E. Polito, *Gnomon*, vol. 83, 2011, p. 537-542.

Ralf Grüßinger drew my attention to the passage in Tacitus' *Annals*.

No. 5. GS-10280.

Fig.5 Dancing maenad with flutes. Sardonyx in four layers: light brown and bluish white on thin black layer, reverse opaque bluish white. Chips on both sides. Unset. Vertical oval. Front flat, reverse convex and uneven, crudely knapped. 9 × 7 × 3 mm; weight 0.3 g. Sixth century AD.

A young woman, nude apart from a short garment fluttering from her neck, is depicted in rear view, her body twisting with crossed legs on a ground line, her head with uprolled hair turned right toward the double flute she is playing with both hands. Her eye is a deep triangle in shape, her hips and thigh form a crossed oval, her garment billows behind her head, forming two decorative fans beside her hips.

This cameo can be attributed to a late antique workshop, the "Mythological Workshop" distinguished by Jeffrey Spier in 2007 and augmented in 2011. Its output of mostly very small cameos is characterized by a somewhat flat relief with hard, scratchy contours, bodies that are quite unclassical in their proportions and long heads with triangular eyes, plus a predilection for garments billowing in the wind. Most probably located in the East (Asia Minor?), the workshop's proposed dating to the sixth century appears confirmed by several contemporary settings.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1837, 40 no. 735 "*Bacchante, en extase, vue par derrière. C. Onyx.*"(?)

Cf. Sardonyx cameos: Henig 1990, 66 no. 119 (20.6 × 19 × 4 mm), 68 no. 123 (13.2 × 12.1 × 2 mm), 83 no. 149 (21.6 × 17.9 × 2.8 mm); Spier 2007, 139-141 nos. 759-770bis "*The Mythological Workshop, sixth century(?)*"; Spier, J., Late Antique and Early Christian Gems: Some Unpublished Examples, in: Entwistle/Adams 2011, 200 Add. 68 – 71 pl. 43 – 46 (in gold ring), 206 Add. 109 pl. 58 (in silver ring); Zwierlein-Diehl, AGWien III 1991, 213 no. 2458 pl. 150 (17.7 × 15 × 2.5 mm); Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 456 Fig. 766 "third century AD"; Platz-Horster 2012, 85 no. 62 pl. 14 (18 × 16 mm), from the Assiût Hoard, "fourth century AD or contemporary with the setting c 500 AD" (lit.).

The crude treatment of the cameo's reverse is also observed on mass-produced cameos of the later Roman period carved with Medusa's head: Platz-Horster 2012, 86 no. 64 pl. 14.

No. 6. GS-11034.

Fig.6 Victoria driving a biga. Sardonyx in four layers: greyish and light brown over opaque greyish white on dark-brown background. Undyed. Unset. Horizontal oval. Front convex, reverse flat. Intact. 16 × 19 × 5 mm; weight 1.83 g. Third century AD.

Victoria stands in a *biga*, a chariot drawn by two horses galloping to the left; her right hand holds the whip and reins, her left hand rests on the body of the vehicle. The crisp, straight lines of her *peplos* and wings contrast with the folds of her long dress billowing out of the chariot in parallel waves. Gems such as this carved in the late Roman Empire may have provided the models for the hard, scratchy style of engraving and strongly stylized treatment characteristic of the "Mythological Workshop" (no. 5).

Lit.:

De Jonge 1823, 132 Montre II. Camées modernes, N. 9 "*Bige mené par la Victoire*."; De Jonge 1837, 29 N. 572 "*Victoire, dans un bige. C. Onyx*".

Cf. Sardonyx cameo reputedly from Kobern / Moselle. Megow 1986, 475-480 no. 10 Fig. 10 (basic); Platz-Horster 2012, 73-74 nos. 43 – 44 pl. 8 (lit.).

No. 7. GS-11084.

Fig.7 Formely Van Wassenaer Obdam Collection, purchased by Theodorus De Smeth (1710-1772) in 1769, acquired by the Royal Colin Cabinet in 1821. Sol driving a quadriga. Sardonyx in two layers: opaque white on translucent mid-brown background. Set in a gold pendant. Horizontal oval. Flat on both sides, bevelled edge on reverse. Highly polished. Intact apart from a small chip on leading horse's head and a scratch under rear horse's hoof. The background uneven, with the translucent lower part of the white upper layer not fully cut down to the brown background in any part of the scene. 30 × 34 × 4 mm; weight 14.64 g. Italy, late fifteenth/sixteenth century.

The young god Sol stands upright in a *quadriga* in three-quarter view, using his left hand to control the four horses galloping to the right. He is nude apart from a mantle draped over his arms and billowing behind his head like a veil, which his right hand appears to hold. His round face is framed by long locks and has crudely drilled holes for mouth and eyes. Below the chariot and the horses is the reclining figure of a bearded and long-haired old man, a mantle covering his lower body, his head resting on his left hand, his right hand holding a branch on his leg; his face, in frontal view, has the same drilled eyes. He partly overlaps a young woman crouching behind him, dressed in a *chiton*; her right hand holds a tall vessel, her left is covered by her cloak. Both figures are placed along the lower edge of the oval stone.

The Leiden cameo echoes a famous carnelian *intaglio*, once the property of Lorenzo de' Medici, now in Naples, or rather a cast of the original gem. The engraver of the Leiden stone has changed the original vertical format to a horizontal oval, thereby creating more space for the horses and lower figures. He has straightened the chariot driver's dynamic

pose and omitted the torch in his free hand, as well as the diagonal strap over his breast for a bow and quiver on his back; attributes which clearly identify this figure on the Medici intaglio as Apollo. The old man on the ground can be identified on the Medici intaglio by the garment over his head and the reed on his lap as Nilus Pater; his young consort Euthenia faces him, scattering grains of incense with her upper hand, while the lower holds a little box for these. Erika Zwierlein-Diehl has interpreted the Medici gem as an allegory of the young Octavian after his victory over Egypt at Actium in 30 BC; the Sibylline Oracle had prophesied that as Sol-Apollo he would take the Empire into a new *aurea aetas*.

The Medici intaglio was first inventoried in 1492; however, its earliest known cast was not recorded until 1756, by Philipp Daniel Lippert in the *Dactyliotheca Universalis*, although the existence of earlier casts, drawings or copper plates from the Medicis' most famous gems is already attested from the fifteenth century by a considerable number of reproductions in glyptic and other media, such as the marble *tondi* in the Courtyard of the Medici Palace in Florence (c 1460).

The engraver of the Leiden cameo may have had access to an indistinct cast of this very shallow engraved intaglio and consequently misunderstood or overlooked the details described above. However, it still constitutes the only known 'reproduction' of this Medici gem to date.

Lit.:

Wassenaar Obdam 1769, 49 no. 140 „*Phaeton* …". De Jonge 1823, 122 N. 2 „*Phaéton menant le char du Soleil, tiré par quatre chevaux : au bas, deux fleuves couchés, et prêts, pour ainsi dire, à recevoir le téméraire, qui va être foudroyé par le Père des Dieux. Bel antique sur Sardoine.* "; De Jonge 1837, 46 no. 841 „*Phaéton conduisant le char du Soleil tiré par quatre chevaux ; au-dessous deux fleuves prêts à recevoir le téméraire. C. Sardoine. Beau camée antique de la collection du M. Th. de Smeth*."

Cf. Carnelian intaglio Naples (inv. n. 26086/248), ex Lorenzo de' Medici, inscribed LAVR.R.MED on top (28 × 26 mm): Octavian as Sol-Apollo, c 30 BC. Lippert 1756, I, 28 no. 258 „*Phaetonis in quadrigis cum lapade casus. Infra Padus recumbit. gemmae magnae orbe rotundo. opus doctum. Sarda. Rex Sicil.*"; Lippert 1767, I. 263 no. 740 „*Carneol. Gehöret dem König von Sizilien. Sonst war er in der mediceischen Sammlung, wie es der Name oben weiset. Phaeton* … etc.". Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 189-190 no. 491 pl. 86-87; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 126-127, 420 Fig. 503 (lit.).

For the Van Wassenaer Obdam Collection see: Platz-Horster 2012, 14-15 n. 30-32; no. 8 in this article.

For the De Smeth Collection see: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 40-41; Halbertsma 2003, 10.

No. 8. GS-10185.

Fig.8a and Fig.8b (next page) Bernhard Platz, Berlin. Formerly Van Wassenaer Obdam Collection, auctioned in 1769. Venus on a shell seducing Anchises. Carnelian onyx in two layers: opaque white and orange layer on translucent orange background with "flags". Undyed. Unset. Horizontal oval, pierced horizontally from both sides. Reverse flat, bevelled edge on reverse. Intact; highly polished. 20 × 23 × 10 mm; weight 5.69 g. Italy, late sixteenth / seventeenth century.

In the period before 1727 the renowned Dutch painter Willem van Mieris (1662-1747) had drawn some 183 gemstones in the collection of Johan Hendrik, Earl of Wassenaer Obdam (1683-1745). These drawings are bound in a catalogue "*Pierres gravées du cabinet du Comte de Wassenaer seigneur d'Opdam, designées par Guillaume van Mieris*" and preserved in the archives of the Twickel Foundation, at Twickel Castle near Delden. No. 64 in the album (Fig. 8b) shows this cameo carved in very high relief from an undyed carnelian onyx. The auction catalogue of 1769 describes it as: "*Venus couchée auprès d' Anchises, en cornaline-onyx*", which may be the correct interpretation of the scene. To the left, Venus, nude apart from a wreath and a breast band, is seated on a scallop, embracing the nude figure of the man beside her whom she is pulling onto her lap; he is turning away his bearded head and attempting to escape, but his left arm and ankle appear to be entangled in the drapery of her love camp**.**

According to legend, recorded in the "Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite" and by the Roman poet Virgil in his "Aeneid", Anchises was a member of the Trojan royal family who was seduced by Venus/Aphrodite in the guise of a Phrygian princess. During the Trojan War their son Aeneas carried his elderly father from the burning city and sailed with him to Sicily. Aeneas later went on to found Rome.

The cameo's material, the very high relief featuring fleshy naked bodies with undercut arms and legs and the figures' distorted movement within the oval resemble a cameo in Berlin carved with the figure of a nude, bearded older man, holding a huge mask in his right hand.

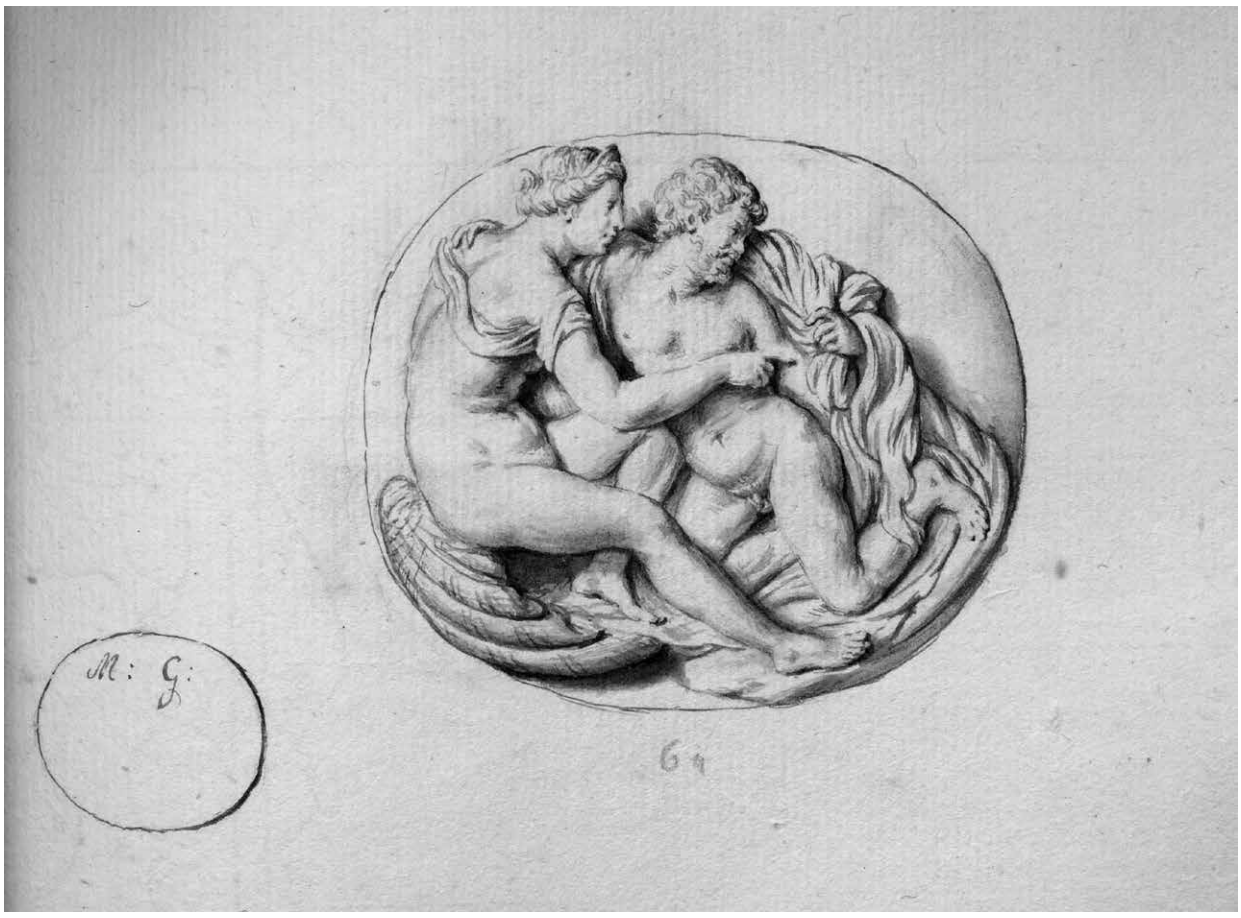

Fig.8b.

Lit.:

Wassenaar Obdam 1769, 51 no. 149 „*Venus couchée auprès d'Anchises, en cornaline-onyx* …"; De Jonge 1823, 132 Montre II, Tablette II N. 3 „*Mars couché près de Vénus, qui est assise sur une coquille. Cornaline-onyx.*"; Stroo 1995, 26-27.

I am very grateful to Aafke Brunt, Twickel Foundation Archives, Delden, for permission to publish the drawing by W. van Mieris, photographed by Bernhard Platz, Berlin, in July 2011 (Fig. 8b).

Cf. carnelian onyx Platz-Horster 2012, 236-237 no. 774 pl. 70 (31.8 × 36.6 × 16.9 mm; lit.).

For the subject identified as Atalante and Meleager see: Distelberger 2002, 108-109 no. 31-32.

For the treatment of the relief see: idem 234-235 no. 136 b), attributed to the Miseroni workshop, 1575-1600.

For the Van Wassenaer Obdam Collection see: Platz-Horster 2012, 14-15 n. 30-32; no. 7 in this article

For the material see: no. 9.

No. 9. GS-10105.

Fig.9 Bust of a laughing satyr. Carnelian onyx in two layers: clear white over orange, translucent with small dots: a so-called "Stephan's Stone" from Oberkirchen / Idar-Oberstein. Undyed. Unset. Vertical oval. Reverse flat, bevelled edge on reverse. Intact; highly polished. 20 × 15 × 5 mm; weight 2.35 g. Milan, second half sixteenth/seventeenth century.

Undyed carnelian onyx with small dots or flags was a popular precious stone for cameos carved in rather high relief with the bust of a young laughing satyr, viewed from the front. These typically display long pointed ears, disheveled hair and rustic features. The bust on the Leiden cameo is dressed in a lion's skin; the satyr on a slightly larger cameo in Berlin sports an ivy wreath and is clad in a garment fastened with a fibula. These baroque cameos seem to have been an export success from workshops in Milan.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1823, Montre I. 16 Camées antiques, 124 n. 10 "*Buste de Faune, vu en face. Onyx de Cornaline*"; De Jonge 1837, 36 no. 685 "*Buste d'un faune, orné d'un manteau de léopard. C. Onyx de cornaline*."

For parallels in carnelian onyx see: Platz-Horster 2012, 217-218 no. 693 pl. 63 (25.4 × 19.8 × 5.9 mm); Scarisbrick/Wagner/Boardman 2016a, 28 no. 22 (53 × 43 × 12 mm).

For the material see: Platz-Horster 2012, 313 Register D. 1 s.v. Lagenachat.

No. 10. GS-10143.

Fig.10 Selene running with two torches / Endymion sleeping. Agate with nine layers, four used for the two-sided cameo: for the front relief an opaque white layer on a greyish and dark-brown background, for the reverse an opaque white layer on light-brown background. Unset. Vertical oval. Front flat, back slightly convex. Small chips on the right edge and reverse. 13 × 10 × 3 mm; weight 0.55 g. Early eighteenth century.

The front of this two-sided cameo is engraved with the goddess Selene, clad in a long, high-girdled *chiton*; she is running to the right, holding up two burning torches, her left foot touching the ground line, the right lifted backwards; the ends of her *himation* flutter behind her; her hair is combed into a knot on her neck. On the reverse the moon goddess' beautiful and eternally young lover, the hunter Endymion, leans in sleep against a rock to the right, nude apart from the mantle on his left shoulder and below his body. The scene appears to reproduce a well-known Roman relief in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, but differs from this in the depiction of the dog: on the relief the beast warns his master of the goddess' nightly arrival; on the cameo, the dog is curled up in the foreground asleep.

The motif on the cameo's front is known from a sardonyx cameo once in Berlin, first published in 1696 in a copper plate engraving by Lorenz Beger as "*Ceres Dadouchos sive Taedifera*", and later correctly identified as "*Diana Lucifera*". The engraving on this elongated oval, depicting the goddess standing on her right foot with the left foot raised, is much more detailed from head to feet; stylistically it is closer to a fragmented cameo in the Content Collection, on which the motif is varied through the bow between neck and arm formed by the fluttering *himation*. Both these cameos date to the early first century BC.

By combining this type of Diana with the sleeping Endymion, the engraver of the Leiden cameo has represented the goddess as Selene/Luna lighting the way to her lover. Both ancient archetypes seem to have been recovered around 1700 which may therefore provide a *terminus post quem* for this unique cameo's origin.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1823, Camées modernes, Montre XII. 129 n. 1 „*Camée double ; sur l'une des faces de la pierre se trouve Cérès portant deux flambeaux ; sur l'autre, Endymion dormant. Jolie gravure sur Jaspe onyx à trois couches*."

Cf. a carnelian onyx in two layers, Platz-Horster 2012, 59 no. 19 pl. 4 (lit.), lost since World War II (c 31 × 18 mm), first published in: Beger 1696, 10-11; cf a sardonyx in three layers, lower part missing; Henig 1990, 57 no. 94 pl. 16 (22.2 × 15 × 5.3 mm).

Marble relief, found on the Aventine hill during the papacy of Clemens XI (1700-1721), subsequently the Albani Collection. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala degli Imperatori H: LIMC III 1986, s.v. Endymion 729 no. 7 (H. Gabelmann). In 1784 the gem engraver Nathaniel Marchant copied this relief in a sardonyx intaglio: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2012, 21 tomo V. no. 27 (lit.); G. Platz-Horster, Die Gemmen der Grimms in Kassel. Brüder Grimm Gedenken 17, 2012, 337 Nr. 16.

No. 11. GS-10132.

Fig.11 Silenus and nymph playing with the infant Bacchus. Agate in two layers; opaque white over clear background. Undyed. Unset. Vertical oval, very thin. Flat reverse. Intact apart from a chip on right rim. Polished. 22 × 16 × 2 mm; 0.84 g. Rome, c 1800.

The final example from the Leiden collection shows the idyllic scene of Silenus and a nymph playing with the infant Bacchus. The engraving in the agate's light layers creates virtually no contrast.

The same motif on a sardonyx cameo in Berlin can be more easily discerned thanks to its three contrasting layers. This larger version of the subject has been signed MORELLI in Latin letters below the ground line; possibly the well-known gem engraver Nicola Morelli, who worked in Rome around 1800. Both cameos are based on a wall fresco from Herculaneum, the Roman city entombed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD. First excavated in 1738, its publication in "*Le Antichità di Ercolano*" from 1757 to 1765 had an enormous impact on early Neoclassicism.

Lit.:

De Jonge 1837, 35 N. 666 „*Bacchus, assis, levant de ses mains l'Amour qui reçoit d'Ariane assise les fruits d'une vigne, qui se trouve près d'elle. C. Sardoine*."

Cf. carnelian onyx, signed MORELLI, Platz-Horster 2012, 235 no. 769 pl. 70 (36.6 × 26.3 × 4.5 mm; lit.), inspired by the fresco in Herculaneum, Naples NM 9270: Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano e contorni, Tomo 2, Napoli 1760, 73-79 Tav. XII „*L'educazione di Bacco*"; LIMC III (1986) 552 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 157 pl. 443. Also Tassinari 2015.

Summary
With the exception of the large "Hague Cameo"[5] and the fine "Livia"-Cameo, still the subject of discussion[6], little is known about the 449 cameos once assembled in the Royal Coin Cabinet in The Hague. Founded in 1816, the Cabinet's collections included some 4.300 gemstones. These were later transferred to the GeldMuseum in Utrecht and only acquired by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in 2013.

I have selected for this article eleven cameos which may provide an insight into the wide chronological and iconographical span of this collection. As far as I am aware, only the portrait of a Roman empress (no. 1) has been cited in literature since the several lists and catalogues compiled by Johannes de Jonge between 1823 and 1837. The examples chosen exemplify the major subjects of portraiture or political device; some of the mythological cameos correspond with parallels in Berlin or other old collections. The article further considers the origin and treatment of the material, as well as the changing taste for cameos during this long period.

5 Megow 2011, 167, 169-180 no. 1 Fig. 1; Halbertsma 2015, 221-235.
6 *Cf.* Vollenweider / Avisseau-Broustet 2003, 212-23 no. 269; Alexandridis 2004, 135 cat.no. 45.

The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden's original engraved gem collection: gem identification and applied research techniques

*Hanco Zwaan and Christine Swaving**

Introduction and scope

The original collection of engraved gems in the department of Classical Antiquities at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden – that is, the collection before this was expanded in 2013 – consists of a total of 267 gems, largely intaglios. Fifty-five of these gems belong to the 'Guillon collection', an extensive collection of historical art objects assembled by Charles Guillon (1811-1873), a notary, politician and collector, based in Roermond.[1] Charles Guillon shared his archeological and collector's items with the public by opening a museum, the Musée Guillon, at his home on Swalmerstraat. He conducted his own excavations and may have found many of the intaglios himself while digging in the soil of Roermond and its surroundings. The entire Guillon collection once comprised 68 paintings, 830 charters, 1800 coins and around 1000 Roman and Germanic antiquities. After Guillon's death in 1873, his books, charters and art objects were auctioned in 1874. In 1890, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden purchased a substantial part of Guillon's antiquities, including the 55 intaglios.

The remaining 212 pieces in the museum's original collection of engraved gems mainly derive from bequests and various archaeological excavations, such as digs at Velsen (acquired in 2008), the Roman fort at Vechten (near Bunnik, acquired in 1868-1869 and 1878) and Xanten (acquired in 1884). The bequests include the Gildemeester bequest (acquired in 1931), comprising gems from the province of Gelderland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany and Italy, and gems collected by J. Van den Hooven in Turkey and donated to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in 1985. A collection of gems from Lebda (Leptis Magna), Libya was presented to the museum by the Dutch consul in Tripoli, Jonkheer Jacques F.H. Clifford Kocq van Breugel, in 1830. Some gems were also purchased, chiefly from Jac Grandjean, based in Nijmegen.

In the museum's documentation, many of the engraved gems were designated as Roman in date, while their material was loosely identified or simply labelled as 'stone'. The museum was interested in having these gems correctly identified. These identifi-

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1 Berg 2011, 53-59.

cations were conducted at the Netherlands Gemmological Laboratory, in the context of gemmological teaching. This also constituted an evaluation of the extent to which standard gemmological test methods, used to study modern gems, could be applied to identify old engraved gems.

Applied methods and evaluation

Standard equipment for establishing the physical properties of modern gemstones could be partially used to properly identify the museum's ancient engraved gems. After visual inspection, an effective starting point was provided by the combined use of hydrostatic weighing, measuring the specific gravity of a gem,[2] reading of the refractive index (R.I.) or indices on a refractometer – which gives a measure of how strongly light is refracted by a particular gem – and use of a polariscope. In a considerable number of cases these techniques helped to distinguish varieties of chalcedony and glass.

Readings on a refractometer are most accurate when taken from gems with facets, i.e., at least one large, flat surface. Moreover, information can be obtained on the optical character of their material, on whether this is isotropic (the incident light is only refracted once) or anisotropic (the incident light is refracted twice, into two polarized rays of light). While the curved surfaces of the museum's engraved gems only allowed approximate R.I. readings, it was possible to establish their isotropic or anisotropic character with the aid of a polariscope[3], provided the gems could transmit light. In the above-mentioned example (distinguishing chalcedony and glass), crystalline chalcedony is anisotropic, allowing light to pass through the polariscope, whereas glass is isotropic and will remain dark, or show anomalous extinction patterns under a polariscope.

Hydrostatic weighing of gems involves immersion in water, while refractometer readings require a droplet of contact (heavy) liquid, to obtain effective optical contact between the refractometer glass and the stone being tested. As a precautionary measure, these methods were not therefore used on gems that looked fragile (for example, displaying cracks) or which were potentially porous. The polariscope could not be deployed when testing opaque gem materials.

Another standard instrument, the spectroscope, analyses which wavelengths in the visible light spectrum are absorbed by a gemstone. Some gemstones show a diagnostic absorption spectrum, consisting of a pattern of dark absorption bands and lines that reflect the parts in the visible spectrum absorbed by the gemstone. One oval, cabochon-cut, transparent, red gem, weighing 1.16 carat (KvB 36cc), from Leptis Magna, Libya, could be identified as almandine garnet using this instrument. Furthermore, a stereo microscope with a darkfield illumination system helped greatly in studying internal features in transparent and translucent gems.

More advanced techniques were also employed, such as Energy-Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence (ED-XRF), a non-destructive method for measuring relative concentrations of chemical elements that are indicated by fluorescent X-ray peak intensities. An Orbis µED-XRF analyser was used, allowing analysis of surface spots with a diameter of 300 µm (0.3 mm). During the study, this method proved especially useful in analysing glass compositions.

Raman spectroscopy detects extremely slight re-emissions of energy by objects illuminated by a laser. The resulting re-emitted spectrum, or Raman spectrum, is characteristic for different (solid or fluid) substances, and allows rapid identification, even when these

2 Based on the principle of Archimedes, the specific gravity (SG) is measured by comparing the weight of an object in air (A) with the weight of that object in water (W). The SG can then be calculated: SG = A/(A-W).

3 A polariscope is an instrument with two polarizing filters fitted one above the other in a fixed crossed position, so that the upper filter's transmitted polarization vibration direction is at right angles to that of the lower filter. The filters are either fixed on an inbuilt light source or placed on a separate light source.

*Fig.1 Examples of chalcedony varieties in the collection, (a) Sard, no. I 1985/9.684 d, intaglio depicting a seated satyr, provenance: Turkey (1985); (b) Onyx, no. M 1931/2.13, intaglio with cornucopia, provenance: Germany (1931), dated: 100 BC; (c) Carnelian, no. XO*24, intaglio depicting Mars(?) with shield and spear, provenance: Xanten (1884); (d) Agate, no. M 1931/2.7, intaglio with a portrait of a bearded man, provenance: Germany (1931). All four were originally labelled as glass.*

Fig.2 An intaglio (GL 591) depicting a bearded man facing left, labelled as modern glass, but found to be an agate, with white and pink bands visible from the side. Provenance: Guillon collection, Roermond, Limburg (1890).

are enclosed within other transparent substances. A Thermo DXR Raman micro-spectrometer was used, in combination with a 532 nm (green) laser. This non-destructive method proved very effective in identifying inclusions, opaque stones and stones too fragile to study in other ways, and in confirming the identity of stones that could not be identified with certainty using other techniques. Raman spectroscopy was complemented by the use of a Thermo Scientific Nicolet iS50 Fourier-Transform[4] Infrared (FTIR) spectrometer, to accurately measure absorption or transmission positions and their relative intensities in the (near) infrared range of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Identification and discussion

The engraved gems were all identified using a combination of the above-mentioned techniques. Original identifications were corrected in 96 cases, amounting to 35% of the total number of stones tested. Most of the gems consisted of polycrystalline quartz (SiO_2) and glass. The polycrystalline quartz examples included microcrystalline jasper and tiger's eye, and cryptocrystalline[5] chalcedony. Chalcedony varieties included carnelian, agate, sard, sardonyx, onyx and chrysoprase. Many of these had been previously labelled as glass (Fig.1). Transparent and translucent varieties of chalcedony, such as carnelian, agate and chrysoprase, could be excluded from identification as glass using the polariscope; opaque varieties could be directly confirmed as onyx, sardonyx or sard using Raman spectroscopy.

An intaglio from the Guillon collection (GL 591), depicting a bearded man facing left, was labelled as 'modern glass', but found to be an agate, with pink and white bands,

4 'Fourier Transform' is a mathematical technique used to convert the spectrometer signal into a spectrum plotted as a function of energy.

5 A polycrystalline material consists of single crystals but of very small sizes and randomly distributed, usually without a preferred orientation. A cryptocrystalline material is made up of such minute crystals that no distinct particles are recognizable under a microscope. A microcrystalline material also contains small crystals, but these are visible through microscopic examination.

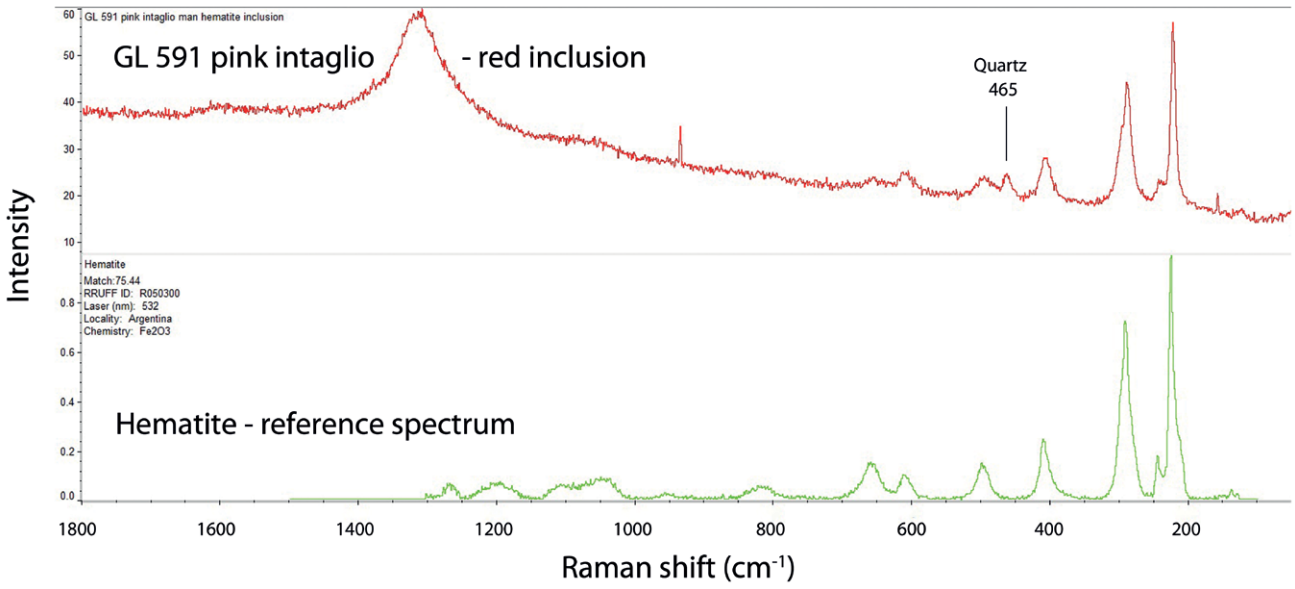

Fig.3 The Raman spectra of vivid red inclusions were found to match with the Raman spectrum of hematite. Clearly, the agate derives its natural pink colour from included hematite.

visible at the side of the intaglio (Fig.2); small, vivid red inclusions proved to be hematite (Fe_2O_3) when analysed with the Raman micro-spectrometer (Fig.3). These inclusions give the agate its natural pink colour. The stone resembles locally found pink agates exhibited in the Deutsches Edelsteinmuseum in Idar Oberstein, Germany, suggesting a similar provenance.

The study also identified 'in between' varieties of chalcedony, such as a colourless chalcedony with a fracture, naturally stained red by a secondary deposition of iron oxide – which also locally stained porous layers – and revealing an agate structure which gave part of the stone a carnelian colour. Carnelian gems with a banded (agate) structure and dendritic manganese oxide inclusions (moss-agate structure) were also identified. In one case, 'disks' of concentric micro-agate structures were observed in carnelian.

Jasper is an impure, micro-crystalline variety of quartz, containing mainly clay minerals and iron-(hydro)oxides, creating a variety of colours and appearances (Fig.4). Several of the jasper engraved gems were previously labelled as 'stone'. A few stones of the dark-green heliotrope variety, or 'blood stone,' were identified.[6] A yellow jasper (originally labelled as glass) was found to contain circa 6 weight percent of iron, indicating that included limonite (a mixture of iron hydroxides – $FeO(OH).nH_2O$) was the cause of its colour.

Other types of stone identified included almandine garnet, marble and dark-grey (organic) limestone. Two pinkish-orange cameos were made of shell with a characteristic 'flame' structure, known from gastropods, such as *Lombatus gigas* from the Caribbean and *Melo melo* from the Indian Ocean.[7] The orange colour of the cameos would suggest *Melo melo* as the origin, although *Lombatus gigas* cannot be ruled out completely. One intaglio from Xanten was found to be a resin, which, however, lacked the properties of a fossilized resin, such as amber or (younger) copal; an initial FTIR spectrum revealed most resemblance to the spectrum of cherry gum, which can be formed by cherry or plum trees, such as *Prunus Cerasus* or *Prunus Domestica,* both of which occur in southern Europe. These findings need confirmation by further tests.

Engraved glass gems from the Guillon collection were mostly dated between 1-300 AD. Glass GL 594 was the only gem labelled as 'modern?' (table 1). The chemical compositions of the glass gems invariably displayed a high silica content; most were

6 The red spots in heliotrope are grains of hematite.
7 *cf.* Strack 2006.

a

b

c

d

Fig.4 Examples of jasper, showing a variety in colour and appearance. (a) M 1893/2.13 Intaglio depicting a seated woman, (b) M 1893/2.3 Intaglio depicting Minerva; both (a) and (b) were purchased in Nijmegen (1893), and were originally labelled as stone; (c) yellow jasper, containing considerable iron, indicating limonite inclusions as the cause of colour, originally labelled as glass, Q 1931/2.7, Intaglio depicting an Egyptian crown, provenance: Belgium/Luxemburg (1931); (d) heliotrope, also called 'blood stone', H+20, Intaglio, Abraxas, provenance: Egypt, purchased from Colonel J.E. Humbert (1831).

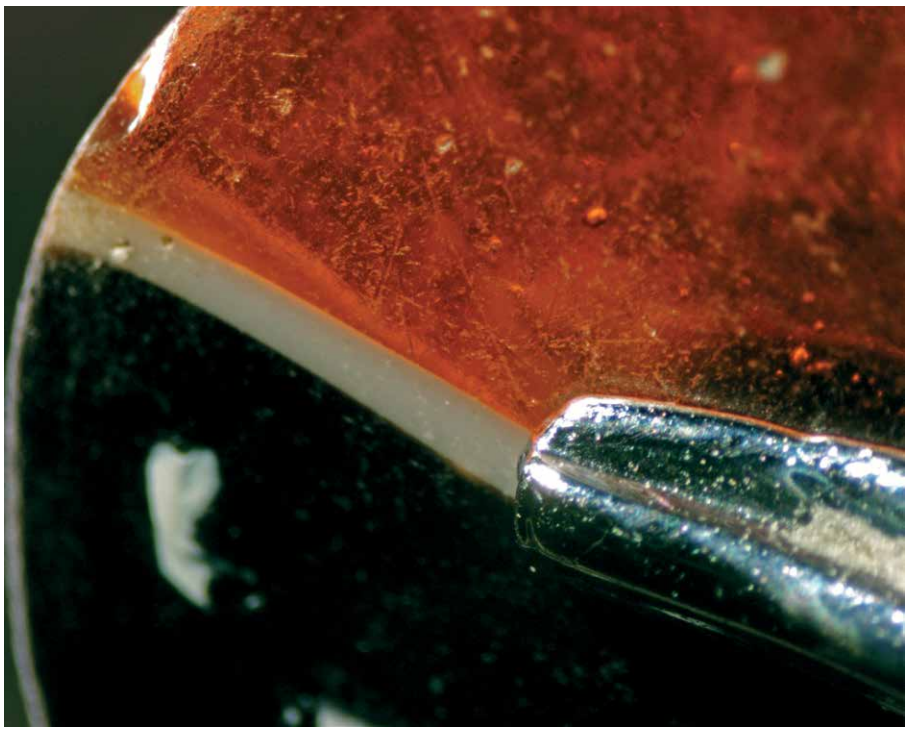

Fig.5 GL 570, glass imitation of sardonyx, dated 100-300 AD (size 12x10x2 mm). Air bubbles are visible in the transparent red-brown part. The white layer was found to contain considerable antimony and elevated manganese.

found to be soda-lime-silica glass, with low magnesium oxide (MgO) and potassium oxide (K_2O), typical of 'Roman-type' glass.[8] Elevated traces of copper and cobalt, well known colouring agents, were present in green and blue glasses respectively. Glass gems, such as GL 570, an imitation of sardonyx (Fig.5), contained considerable amounts of antimony and elevated concentrations of manganese in the white layers. Both elements are known to have been used as decolourizers, with antimony being a stronger decolourizer than manganese.[9] Relatively high traces of strontium in comparison with the calcium content could indicate the addition of marine shell to (lime-bearing) quartz-rich sand: the raw materials likely to have been used in the production of the glass.[10]

An exception in the Guillon collection is glass GL 594, the lead-silica glass composition of which would indeed support a more 'modern' dating, as lead glasses were rare before the medieval period, apart from some strongly coloured opaque glasses and glasses specific to the Far East.[11]

Other glass gems in the collection with high lead content were an orange gem from Turkey and a green-blue gem from Libya. Supposedly ancient glass gems (dated 15-100 AD and 15-250 AD, table 1), found at Fort Vechten, could also be characterised as lead-silica based. These findings raise questions as to their assumed age; careful review of their records may therefore be required.

8 e.g., Freestone 2006, Sayre and Smith 1961.
9 e.g., Jackson, 2005.
10 Wedepohl and Baumann, 2000
11 Freestone 2006, Brill and Martin 1991.

Dated (A.D.)	Glass	Colour	Oxides (wt.%)																	
			Na_2O	MgO	Al_2O_3	SiO_2	P_2O_5	SO_3	K_2O	Sb_2O_3	CaO	TiO_2	V_2O_5	Cr_2O_3	MnO	FeO	CoO	CuO	ZnO	PbO_2	SrO
1-300	GL 525	green	2,96	1,25	3,51	77,89	0,58	0,91	1,18	-	6,50	0,25	0,03	-	1,36	1,16	0,03	2,17	-	0,12	0,12
1-300	GL 527	purple	6,28	0,87	3,62	71,27	0,61	1,04	1,15	-	8,74	0,24	0,03	-	3,85	1,41	0,05	0,25	-	0,40	0,21
1-300	GL 528	black	2,26	1,79	5,35	77,36	1,04	1,38	1,20	-	6,02	0,62	0,04	-	0,23	2,47	0,05	0,03	-	0,06	0,12
100-300	GL 529	black/ brown	1,86	0,74	4,02	81,41	0,87	1,67	1,23	-	7,44	0,14	0,02	0,03	0,03	0,37	-	0,02	-	0,06	0,11
100-300	GL 530	brown	10,17	3,56	1,66	70,96	0,97	0,39	1,41	-	8,57	0,22	0,01	-	0,35	1,64	0,03	0,04	-	0,01	0,08
n.d.	GL 555	orange	5,14	-	3,66	79,19		1,26	1,02	-	8,82	0,15	-	-	0,06	0,46	-	-	-	-	0,24
1-300	GL 567	black	3,71	0,90	3,14	81,30	0,61	0,81	0,90	-	7,99	0,08	-	-	0,06	0,31	-	-	-	-	0,19
		grey	5,41	0,85	3,19	74,17	0,99	2,16	0,84	-	11,39	0,11	0,05	-	0,10	0,54	-	-	-	-	0,21
		white	3,25	0,72	3,29	72,92	1,24	1,84	0,69	4,92	9,06	0,09	-	-	0,23	1,22	-	0,15	-	0,37	0,23
1-300	GL 568	grey	2,57	1,49	2,72	77,02	0,40	1,65	0,54	1,13	10,86	0,15	0,01	-	0,58	0,66	-	0,04	-	0,05	0,11
		orange	2,22	0,98	3,86	81,72	0,75	0,72	1,04	-	8,05	0,11	-	-	0,05	0,39	-	-	-	-	0,11
100-300	GL 569	black	6,43	0,40	3,42	78,48	0,68	1,09	1,17	-	7,79	0,08	-	-	0,03	0,33	-	-	-	-	0,10
		orange	5,83	0,61	3,49	80,25	0,69	0,45	0,93	-	7,21	0,09	-	-	0,34	0,30	-	-	-	0,07	0,10
100-300	GL 570	black	-	-	3,71	84,90	-	1,31	1,57	-	7,85	0,11	-	-	0,03	0,34	-	-	-	-	0,15
		orange-brown	-	-	3,85	86,20	-	0,90	1,12	-	7,34	0,08	-	-	0,02	0,31	-	-	-	-	0,16
		white	4,20	-	3,68	75,80	-	2,70	0,65	3,81	8,02	0,13	-	-	0,41	0,46	-	-	-	-	0,15
1-100	GL 571	black	10,05	-	2,87	72,40	0,73	2,81	1,41		9,01	0,09	-	-	0,24	0,30	-	-	-	-	0,77
		white	3,02	1,44	2,46	77,37	0,25	2,47	0,52	1,69	9,69	0,17	-	-	0,45	0,39	-	-	-	-	0,07
1-200	GL 576	black	12,16	0,58	3,44	70,54	0,72	1,73	0,82	-	8,33	0,15	0,02	-	0,09	0,88	0,07	0,25	-	0,16	0,07
100-300	GL 578	black	2,00	2,38	1,79	83,89	0,34	0,69	0,48	-	7,02	0,20	0,01	-	0,12	0,96	0,02	-	-	0,05	0,07
		blue	7,47	-	3,09	67,75	0,67	1,01	0,43	7,45	8,87	0,19	-	-	0,43	1,50	0,36	0,53	0,05	0,09	0,11
1-300	GL 579	black 1	2,42	0,36	3,82	59,02	5,78	13,20	1,91	-	10,06	0,36	0,02	-	0,34	2,22	0,05	0,05	-	0,22	0,18
		black 2	4,30	0,37	4,82	64,52	6,56	5,31	2,06	-	8,85	0,32	0,03	-	0,34	2,09	0,05	0,05	-	0,16	0,17
		blue	8,07	0,57	3,52	66,99	0,94	1,37	0,51	6,96	8,09	0,09	0,02	0,02	0,44	1,38	0,34	0,52	0,04		0,14

Dated (A.D.)	Glass	Colour	Oxides (wt.%)																	
			Na_2O	MgO	Al_2O_3	SiO_2	P_2O_5	SO_3	K_2O	Sb_2O_3	CaO	TiO_2	V_2O_5	Cr_2O_3	MnO	FeO	CoO	CuO	ZnO	PbO_2	SrO
1-300	GL 580	black	2,36	3,02	1,80	79,38	0,53	1,21	1,05	-	8,12	0,17	0,01	-	0,63	1,52	0,03	0,05	-	0,04	0,09
		blue	5,91	0,53	3,22	73,90	0,53	1,72	0,52	2,47	7,70	0,10	0,02	-	0,58	1,08	0,19	0,43	-	1,02	0,11
1-300	GL 581	black	10,40	0,91	4,01	72,39	0,41	1,31	0,94	-	7,67	0,17	0,03	-	0,10	0,97	0,08	0,25	-	0,33	0,07
		blue	1,50	1,02	4,00	73,51	0,54	2,60	0,70	5,52	7,52	0,15	0,03	-	0,25	1,22	0,22	0,54	-	0,58	0,10
1-300	GL 582	black	11,66	0,51	2,85	61,54	0,64	-	1,12	-	7,38	0,18	0,05	-	0,49	7,99	0,12	0,05	-	5,22	0,21
		blue	5,33	1,54	1,91	75,87	0,23	2,06	0,44	0,70	8,26	0,10	-	-	0,71	1,36	0,30	0,37	-	0,71	0,13
n.d.	GL 589	black	5,59	0,77	2,84	69,87	0,76	8,34	1,07	-	8,17	0,22	0,04	-	0,20	1,29	0,05	0,28	-	0,31	0,13
		blue	8,53	0,37	3,13	70,86	-	1,76	0,60	4,85	7,22	0,14	-	-	0,26	1,19	0,19	0,36	-	0,35	0,19
modern?	GL 594	transparent	-	-	-	54,23	-	-	6,27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39,51	-
?	I1985-9-684i	orange	-	1,31	1,88	52,01	-	2,44	10,8	-	1,96	0,08	0,03	-	0,05	0,07	-	-	-	28,22	-
?	KvB36g	green-blue	-	0,47	1,97	48,71	-	-	0,83	-	2,99	-	-	-	-	0,36	-	0,90	-	43,77	-
15-100	VF524	blue	-	-	-	61,14	-	-	5,50	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,28	-	-	-	33,08	-
15-100	VF525	colourless	-	-	-	55,15	-	-	4,36	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,16	-	-	-	40,32	-
15-250	VF863	black	-	-	-	44,40	7,12	-	1,43	-	7,25	-	-	-	0,74	11,04	-	-	4,34	22,30	-

n.d. = not described; - = below detection; Sources: GL - Guillon collection; I - Turkey (1985); KvB - Libya (1830); VF - Fort Vechten (Bunnik)

An important collection of Mesopotamian cylinder seals

*Diederik J.W. Meijer**

Introduction

Like other peoples, the early Mesopotamians developed methods to identify and mark property. In distant prehistory this mostly took the form of stamp seals on moist clay. As we know, stamp seals are still used today. However, around 3600 BC the Mesopotamians invented another type of seal.

Stamp seals by their very nature offer only a small surface in which to scratch a representation. This limits the number of possibilities for engraving distinguishing marks or figures required to keep properties or shipments apart. Around 3600 BC cylindrically cut stones began to be used for engraved figurative representations, producing a continuous frieze when rolled onto wet clay (Fig. 1). Depending on the diameter of the cylinder, a more or less intricate picture could be engraved. This offered a far greater array of possibilities for distinguishing representations, which became necessary as contemporary society grew increasingly complex, and more property and shipments had to be identifiable. During this period Mesopotamian society was stratified into at least three levels. A ruler, ministers, and workforces with their foremen are attested in the earliest extant texts from the archives of the city of Uruk in what is now southern Iraq. These archives date slightly later (circa 3300 BC) than the earliest appearance of cylinder seals. While Uruk is certainly not the only urban agglomeration at that time, it nevertheless constitutes our best source so far for insights into the evolved complexity of society. When a community reaches circa 450-500 people, some form of mnemonic aid or administration becomes necessary; calculations suggest that Uruk may have had a population of more than 10.000 in this period. Both writing and cylinder seals were obviously indispensable for managing the increased complexity of society. This complexity is also attested by the diversity in architecture, which ranges from highly monumental buildings to modest domestic dwellings. Mass production of items such as ceramics and far-reaching trade and other cultural contacts have all been securely demonstrated by both archaeology and early texts; cylinder seals and their impressions on clay tags, bullae and tablets play a very important role in this regard. This invention was quickly exported to other regions such as Syria, Iran and Turkey, where such seals initially functioned as economic and administrative tools, but also, as in Mesopotamia, served as talismans or amulets. Cylinder seals continued to be used until the first century BC (Herodotus famously mentions that "every Babylonian has a seal" (*Histories I*, 195)), by which time stamp seals had regained popularity, having never entirely left the scene.

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Fig.1 Baked clay cylinder seal from Tell Hammam al-Turkman (Syria), c. 1750 BC with modern impression. Photograph D. Meijer.

The designs

Designs engraved on early cylinders produced clearly recognizable impressions, showing a preoccupation with the economic life of the period and also what might be described as political propaganda. For example, Urukian rulers are pictured in their several functions as intermediaries between their subjects and the world of the gods, garnering favour from these deities for the well-being of their city, as generals in battle and as feeders of the flocks. They are presumably depicted as a type, not an individual (we think), always with a beard resembling cottonwool, a nude torso and a kilt with a wide belt (Fig. 2).

Representations on cylinder seals developed a wider range of genres throughout the third millennium BC and subsequent millennia: mythological scenes, scenes of milking and milk processing, hunting scenes, royal activities etc. all occur. Both the motifs or themes and the styles of these representations changed over time and in many cases can now be dated, through ongoing research, to within circa 50 years. Clearly, therefore, cylinder seals are extremely important for archaeologists and art historians. Not only can such seals help in dating archaeological contexts, they can also provide insights into the world of thought and ideas of the ancient Mesopotamians. Seals inscribed with their owner's name accompanied by a prayer or dedication can furnish even more information, while entire genealogies can be reconstructed on the basis of names on seals that have been impressed on cuneiform tablets inscribed with contracts and other administrative texts. The renowned Dutch archaeologist Henri Frankfort (1896-1954) even chose cylinder seals as the main medium through which to approach the world of thought of the ancient Mesopotamians, complementing the work of his contemporary, the Assyriologist Benno Landsberger, who attempted the same through interpreting their various genres of texts.[1]

1 Frankfort 1939 and Landsberger 1965.

Fig.2a Rolled impression of Uruk seal VA 10537, Vorderasiatisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin © Foto: bpk / Vorderasiatisches Museum, SMB / Gudrun Stenzel.

Fig.2b Rolled impression of Uruk seal VA 11040, Vorderasiatisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin © Foto: bpk / Vorderasiatisches Museum, SMB / Olaf M.Teßmer.

The collection

There are countless Near Eastern cylinder seals in collections all over the world, as well as many seal impressions on tablets, bullae and dockets. The collection under review here, formerly that of the Koninklijk Penningkabinet (Royal Coin Cabinet), comprises 169 cylinders. I shall consider just a handful of these, which I have chosen for their quality or because they are typical of their category. The collection's history will not concern us here, apart from the fact that in 1952 A. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta illustrated 27 of its cylinders in a summary catalogue, and summarized 126 others[2]. In a long-standing agreement with the former curator of the Penningkabinet, the late Dr. Van der Vin, I am engaged in preparing a comprehensive *catalogue raisonné* of the collection; the conference provided a good incentive for looking at the material with a fresh eye, and I thank its organizer Ben van den Bercken for this opportunity. The collection has recently been transferred to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.[3] The collection contains no seals from that early period we call the Uruk period: its earliest seal dates from about 2650 BC.

2 Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952b.

3 Since the transfer of the seals to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, the registration numbers of the seals have been modified. For example, number 19 in A. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952b has become RMO GS-30019; her no. 148 is now RMO GS-30148. The latter numbers are used here. Unless otherwise indicated the photographs have been taken by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

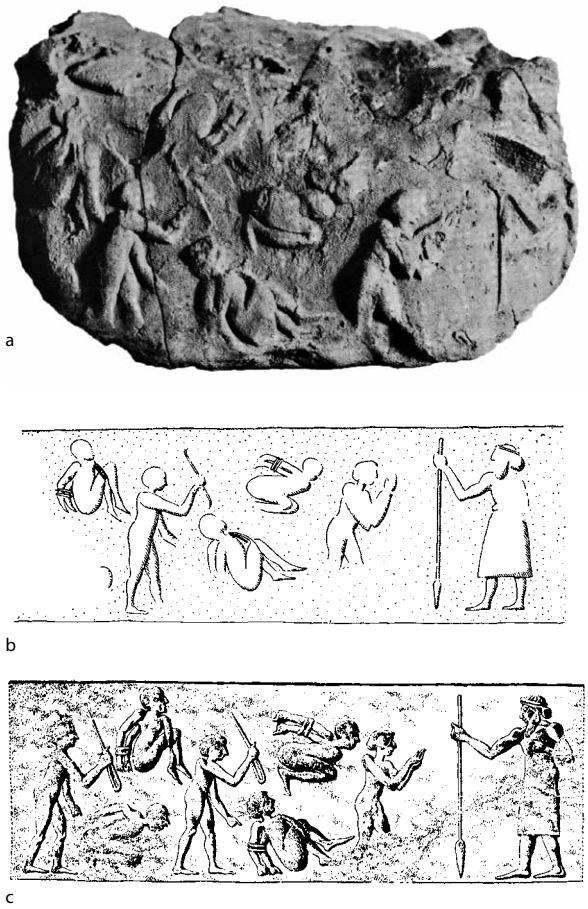

Fig.2c, 2d, 2e Uruk seal W 10 952 l, r and reconstructions by E. Schott and A. Bollacher from: Mark A. Brandes: Siegelabrollungen aus den archaischen Bauschichten in Uruk-Warka Teil 2, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag 1979, Tafel 1.

The seals

Our first seal is from the later Early Dynastic period, circa 2400 BC, and bears a damaged cuneiform inscription detailing a dedication (Fig. 3, GS-30010). Measuring 4.5 cm high with a diameter of 3 cm, the seal is of green-veined serpentine[4] and very well cut, producing a clear impression with high relief. The exception is the inscription, which looks as if it was added after the scene with the animals, suggesting that the seal cutter had prepared the seal and only afterwards catered to the customer's wishes. The scene is semi-mythological. From left to right we see a bull-man (a figure with the body of a bull and a bearded human face) grappling a rampant bovine looking away, then the inscription above separation lines, above a bird whose outspread wings are each held by a tiny rampant lion; to the right are three figures, two naked bearded men holding a bull-man, and finally, a differently cut human-headed bull (with only one horn shown) with a battle axe,[5] looking away from a rampant lion that is about to bite him. The details of the figures, such as tails, leg muscles, hair tufts at the joints, beards and faces, are very well cut, bringing a remarkable liveliness to the scene.

In the time known as the later Early Dynastic period (ED III), which we date between circa 2550 and 2350 BC, this kind of scene was extremely popular, having come into fashion during ED II around 2750 BC. In German this theme is called *Tierkampfszene*, in English Animal Contest. Frankfort has explained its origin as the protection of herd animals against wild animals of the steppe.[6] This was, of course, a daily challenge for herdsmen who put their herds out to graze on the edges of the steppe and remained an ongoing battle until the last lions in northern Mesopotamia were shot in the later nineteenth century AD. However, the 'protectors' of the herd on this seal can hardly be described as ordinary men, for they are pictured as heroes with luxuriant beards and hair framing their faces in long tresses. They have been identified from thousands of texts as the *Lahmu*, a favorable genius.[7] The figures known as bull-men are also mythical heroes called *Kusarikku*. In the present scene the only real attacker is the rampant lion far right, indicating that by this period the theme had become a kind of playground for seal cutters, allowing them to display their proficiency and rich fantasy. Depictions of heroes grappling with each other are, of course, a departure from the original meaning of the scene. The difference becomes clear if we compare our seal with a slightly earlier example (Fig. 4, GS-30007, shell, 18 x 10 mm) on which two lions are attacking two horned animals while a human protector tries to intervene, or GS-30009 (Fig. 5, limestone, 19 x 11 mm) depicting a human about to stab a lion from behind as the lion pursues a horned animal. Both these seals represent the genre's original concept. The bird with outspread wings in the lower inset of seal GS-30010 is also a fabled animal, called Anzu. Of course, both lions and bulls exude power and prowess, so vanquishing them transfers these qualities to their vanquisher. In what might be described as the earliest propagandistic relief stela, from the Uruk period, we indeed see the community's ruler shooting lions (Fig. 6). This theme continued throughout the iconography of Mesopotamia and surrounding regions, was eventually adopted by the Greeks (Alexander the Great) and is still with us today, as the ubiquitous oc-

4 Designations of the seals' materials have yet to be confirmed by petrological analysis.

5 Since Henri Frankfort (1939) a distinction has been made between Bull-Man and Human-Headed Bull. Here we disregard that difference, which merits lengthy discussion in its own right. The last-mentioned figure would be the HHB.

6 Frankfort 1939, 58.

7 Wiggerman 1983, 90-105.

Fig.3 Rolled impression of GS-30010. Photo D. Meijer.

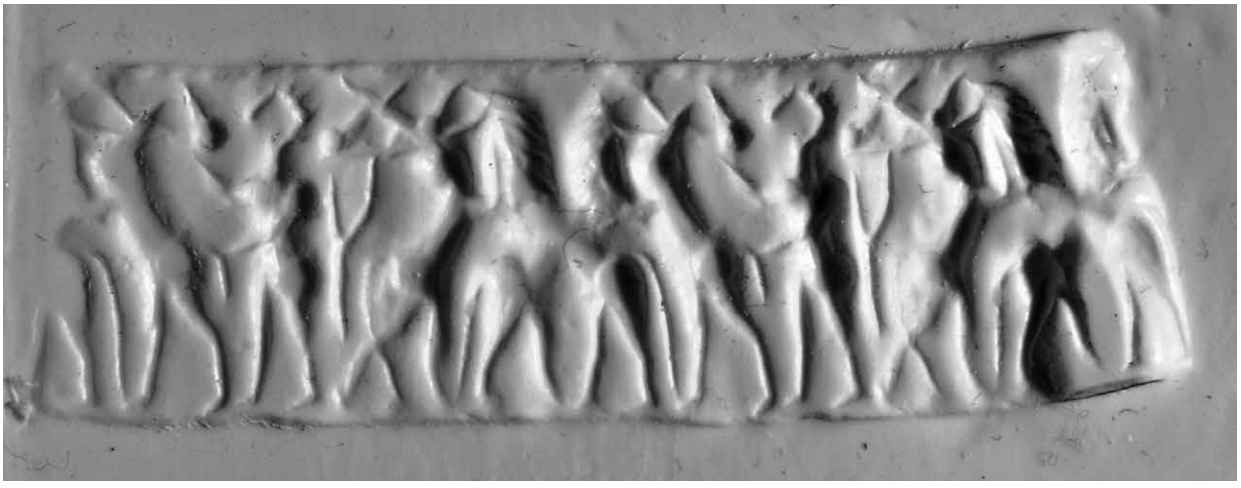

Fig.4 Rolled impression of GS-30007.

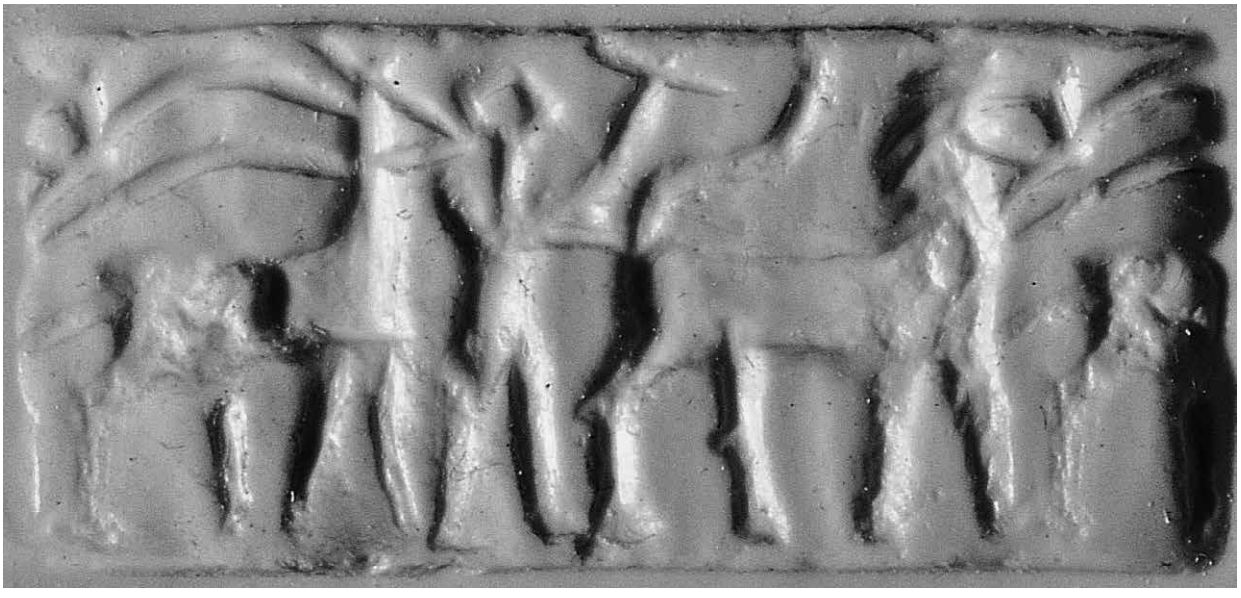

Fig.5 Rolled impression of GS-30009.

Fig.6 Stone relief showing a ruler of the Uruk period shooting a lion. Baghdad Museum. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg / Albert Hirmer / Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer.

currence of lions in royal and noble coats-of-arms attests. Bovine horns on anthropoid figures, however, become signs of divinity from circa 2600 BC onwards, thereby also signifying supernatural power.

Later third millennium BC

In the subsequent era known as the Akkadian period (circa 2350-2100 BC) we see an enormous increase in themes, including quite worldly subjects such as expeditions to the mountains. However, the subject most often portrayed is the sun-god Šamaš. Seal GS-30019 (Fig. 7, serpentine, 26.6 x 15 mm) shows this deity emerging from the mountains with rays emanating from his shoulders while a servant hands him a saw (šaššaru). This saw is Šamaš's main attribute, which he used to "cut the destiny" of humans. He was also the god of justice who could see everything that occurred on earth. The scene further incorporates a lesser horned deity opening the gates of heaven for all this to become visible. Seal GS-30027 (Fig. 8, lydite, 31 x 19.5 mm) depicts a scene from daily life, the harvesting of dates, which are still a staple food in Iraq. Here women are doing the harvesting. The inscription (*TA-TA*) does not help us very much. However, the style of the seal is detailed and interesting in that it represents 'nature', which is signified by the other bushes alongside the date palm.

During a brief period shortly before 2000 BC we see the number of themes reduced almost to one, the *Presentation scene*, where a human figure is shown in audience with a deity (the latter mostly the moon god Nanna or Sin), or sometimes with a king. GS-30034 (Fig. 9, serpentine, 29 x 15.5 mm) is a very well-cut example, depicting the seated moon god receiving a bald-headed mortal who is being introduced to the deity by a lesser goddess leading him by the arm; behind is another lesser female deity. The inscription tells us the name of the seal's owner: "Mister Sagugu, servant of Nanna".

The second millennium BC

GS-30086 (Fig. 10, serpentine, 30 x 19.5 mm) is another interesting seal. It is well-cut and shows an adaptation of the earlier Presentation Scene which became typical of seal iconography during the Old Babylonian period (circa 2000-1600 BC). In this variation on the theme, the goddess introducing the mortal always stands behind him as he approaches the god or the king, whereas in the earlier Ur III period she always led him by the hand, as we have seen. This seal also depicts two *Lahmu* heads without divine horns; below them are two horned heads, which, harking back to the Early Dynastic examples, should represent Bull-Men (*Kusarikku*). There is also an object known as a ball-staff, a sun and moon, and a stick on which a monkey sits is seated. Monkeys were kept by the elite as pets and sources of entertainment throughout Mesopotamian history. The seated figure holds a shallow bowl and wears a beard but displays no specific divine characteristics such as a horned crown. As mentioned above, presentation scenes could show not only deities, but also seated kings in the position of deities. The scene on this seal is set on a raised podium and the seated figure has his feet on a foot-stool, suggesting to me that the image represents an actual audience with a king. In this case, the goddess with her hands raised in devout greeting behind the visitor may be regarded as the latter's 'patron deity'.

GS-30047 (Fig. 11, serpentine, 21.5 x 12 mm) is a fine example of an Old Babylonian adaptation of the theme of the protection of the herd, which we have already encountered in the Early Dynastic period. The serpentine cylinder is beautifully cut, showing every small detail of the figures. We see a bearded hero attacking a lion from behind; the lion is preparing to tackle a rampant bull, with neck and head stretching upwards, about to be

Fig.7 Rolled impression of GS-30019.

Fig.8 Rolled impression of GS-30027. Photo D. Meijer.

Fig.9 Rolled impression of GS-30034. Photo D. Meijer.

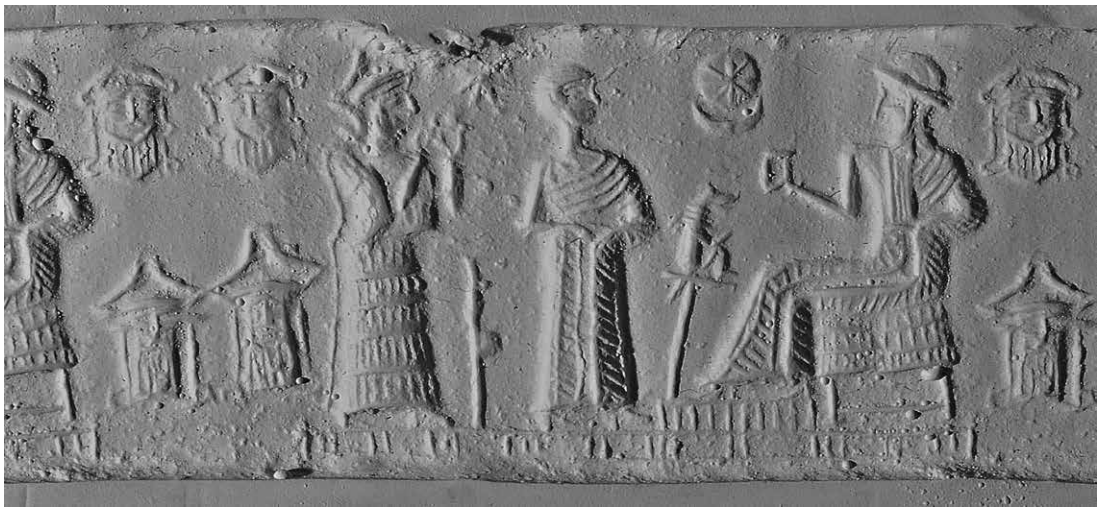

Fig.10 Rolled impression of GS-30086.

Fig.11 Rolled impression of GS-30047. Photo D. Meijer.

Fig.12 Rolled impression of GS-30112. Photo D. Meijer.

bitten by a second lion. Note the difference between the lions' heads. The image also incorporates a filler motif in the shape of a sitting dog with some kind of stick above its head, plus a small recumbent lion above this. Such filler motifs do not necessarily convey any meaning connected with the main scene. The hero's raised left leg and uncomfortably outstretched left arm are typical features found in glyptic styles of the Akkadian period, when this theme was also very popular.

Our collection comprises many seals from the Old Babylonian period, which is the period of King Hammurabi of the famous Code of Laws (now in the Louvre). During this period many long-forgotten motifs from the Akkadian period were revived, albeit in slightly different styles. It is also in this period that relations between Mesopotamia proper (i.e. present-day Iraq) and what is now Syria became much more intensive.

Hammurabi's dynasty in the south coincided with slightly different social conditions in the more northerly region of Assyria, just to the south and east of present-day Mosul. There the city-state of Assur was rising, and flourishing institutionalized trade with faraway regions can be documented for some two hundred years, starting around 1950 BC. The documents that have provided this information were found in an Assyrian trading colony called Kanesh, near modern Kayseri in central Turkey. Thousands of cuneiform tablets and their envelopes tell us about the trade in textiles and metals; these were also sealed. The styles of the seal impressions include a category called 'Cappadocian', of which we have a nice example in our collection: GS-30112 (Fig. 12, hematite, 21.5 x 11.5 mm). It is engraved with an obvious adaptation of the Presentation Scene, but executed in a 'linear' fashion with considerable use of horizontal, diagonal and vertical incisions. We see a seated figure holding a cup or small bowl being approached by a greeting figure in a *kaunakes*-like skirt; the torso of the greeting figure is hatched and he appears to be wearing a horned crown. Behind him is a figure with one hand raised; a fourth figure is armed and stands on a recumbent bull which he is holding on a leash ending in a trident. This latter figure must be Adad, the storm god. The sun and moon are used as fillers. From this it seems that using horns as divine attributes was not always necessary as the seated figure lacks these, but should be a high-ranking deity; like the third figure, who should be the introducing deity, he wears striated headgear.

Syria

The rapid adoption of cylinder seals by regions outside Mesopotamia has already been mentioned. Our collection includes a very fine Syrian cylinder (GS-30139, Fig. 13, hematite, 16 x 9 mm) from the mid-second millennium BC. Although some of the details of the figures represented here, such as the *kaunakes*-like kilt, can easily be connected to Mesopotamian prototypes, there is a new character to the composition and in certain dress details. Note the heavy fringed borders on the mantles of the standing figures, and particularly the deity on the mountains. The image reflects the context of northwestern Syrian and Anatolian religious ideas, where Ba`al plays an important role. A storm and weather god, in the Hurrian and Hittite sphere he is called Teshup; in their dealings with the Levant the Egyptians called him Reshef. On the present seal he carries a weapon and is being approached by a mortal wearing a half-open mantle with a heavy border. The introducing goddess of earlier times stands behind, holding what looks like a battle axe with a long handle. Behind the god on the mountains is another man holding a lance. Filler motifs include a recumbent bovine, a goat and the sun-moon combination, plus a fly or bee. This hematite seal is well-executed and thus a fine example of the northern Syrian style of the eighteenth- sixteenth centuries BC. During this period particularly, the fringed borders of mantles are tell-tale distinguishing features of Syrian styles; this continues into the Late Bronze Age, until circa 1350 BC.

One of the more striking iconographical elements in seals of the period between 2000 and 1600 BC, in both Mesopotamia and Syria, is the figure of the Nude Female, whose body is always shown *en face*, whereas her face is either turned sideways (in Syria) or represented frontally (Mesopotamia). She is, however, more a Syrian than a Mesopotamian invention. Some scholars call her the Syrian Goddess; however there are no real arguments for attributing that status to her, or arguments against, for that matter, although she never wears a horned crown. Anyway, this development is a manifestation of the intimate ties between Mesopotamia and Syria in this period, when Hammurabi himself was related to western Syrian royal houses; ties that unfortunately cannot be discussed in the present context.

Late Bronze Age

Sometime after the Old Babylonian dynasty left the political scene, around 1600 BC, that stage became occupied by Kassite dynasties, who reigned in southern Mesopotamia for some 400 years. The Kassites spoke a non-Semitic language, but adopted the Semitic Akkadian language for all their official texts, conforming almost completely in fact to the existing material and iconographical culture of Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, seals from this period can be distinguished as Kassite in most cases. One of their more striking characteristics is the inclusion of longer texts on the seals, most often prayers to Marduk, the main deity of the Old Babylonian period whom the Kassites evidently adopted from their hosts as

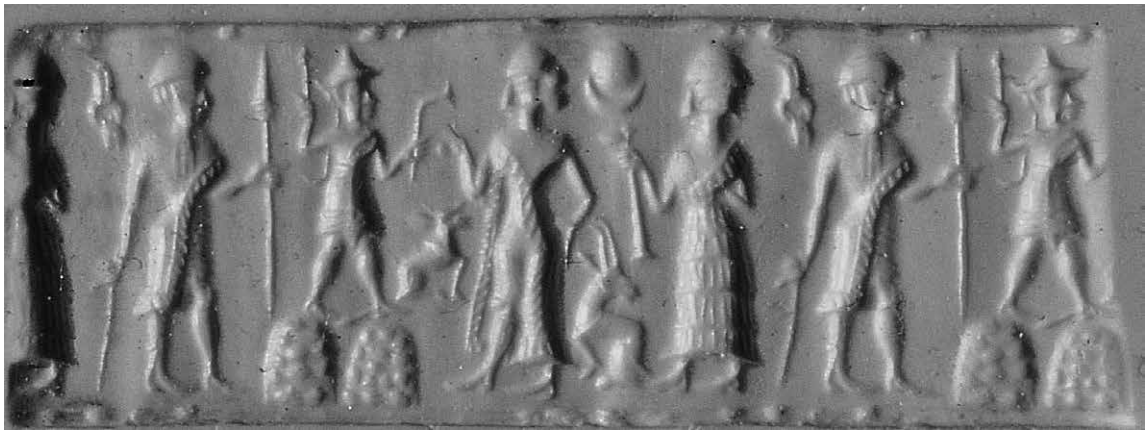

Fig.13 Rolled impression of GS-30139.

Fig.14 Rolled impression of GS-30109. Photo D. Meijer.

Fig.15 Rolled impression of GS-30148, Urzana's seal.

well. GS-30109 (Fig. 14, heliotrope, 28 x 15.5 mm) is a prime example of such a Kassite seal, although the text here is a wish-list rather than a prayer directed to a specific deity: "spare, forgive, save, let live animal and garden, name and life – let it all exist [for me]". We see a male worshipper in a long robe, his hands raised in prayer, addressing a figure also in a long robe that is presumably a deity; between them is a figure of the Nude Female, mentioned above; the main part of the seal's surface is occupied by six lines of text. The slightly elongated, or leptosome, rendering of the figures is also typical of Kassite glyptics.

Iron Age

One of our collection's most discussed pieces in seal-related literature is the seal of King Urzana of Musasir, the Urartian city so viciously destroyed by the Assyrian king Sargon II in 714 BC (GS-30148, Fig. 15, chalcedony, 48.5 x 22 mm). This seal became part of the collection in the early 1800s, having passed through many hands in Europe's early antiquities market. The scene shows a centrally placed four-winged genius grasping two ostriches in a heraldic composition, a subject which is purely neo-Assyrian in style and conforms well with other neo-Assyrian seals in the finely cut details of wings, dress and feathers. The inscription, however, is a different story. It is easy to see that this was added later, as well as that it was not engraved in reverse, as it should have been: an impression taken from the seal thus produces a mirror image of the inscription. It is a mistake sometimes found on neo-Assyrian seals, but very rare in other periods, and always raises the question of whether seal cutters were in fact literate or not, although clearly engraving cuneiform in mirror image would be quite a feat even if they were![8] The inscription has been variously translated; the most recent offering, by K. Radner, reads: "Seal of Urzana, king of Musasir, the city of the raven, of which, like a snake in difficult mountains, the mouth is open".[9] This rather poetic text is an unusual one for seals, and thus mirrors the seal's own curious history: cut by an Assyrian craftsman, probably in Assyria, then somehow reaching Urartu and being cursorily inscribed by an Urartian (?) at the behest of the local king Urzana. The latter was vanquished by the Assyrian ruler Sargon II, but then reinstated as vassal king on his own throne. Given this historical background, it is all the more regrettable that the seal has no known archaeological provenance, although some say it may have come from Nineveh.[10]

Conclusion

In this short contribution I have discussed a few seals from this collection which contains excellent examples of what ancient Mesopotamian seal cutters were capable of. Working on small surfaces, in hard stone such as hematite, as well as in softer types, they were able to engrave finely detailed scenes. Although not all glyptic styles and periods are represented in the collection, which also contains a relatively large number of Old Babylonian seals, the collection as a whole attests to the fascination felt by nineteenth-century Dutch collectors for all things Mesopotamian, at a time when intense Western interest in that part of the ancient world was only just beginning.

8 For a short discussion about seal cutters, see Meijer 2010.

9 *Cf.* Radner 2012. Other interpretations exist: *"Urzana, king of Musasir, an Urartian (?) city, of which, like a snake in hostile mountains, the mouth is open." Cf.* Collon 1987, 87.

10 Collon 1987, 86.

Sasanian seals: owners and reusers

*Rika Gyselen**

A. Sigillographic information from Sasanian seals

Owners of Sasanian seals could be private individuals or legal entities, that is, institutions. They may be identified iconographically through the image on the seals (paragraph A.1.a), often confirmed by an inscription (paragraph A.1.a-b). However, it is generally the inscription on seals that identifies their owners (paragraph A.2). When these are private individuals, inscriptions will at least contain their personal name. Several other types of information can additionally be found: the name of the owner's father, in rare instances, that of their grandfather, their function and various titles. If a seal belonged to an institution, the institution's name will be mentioned, together with other information,[1] usually a place name indicating its function as a territorial administration. With the exception of the seals of territorial institutions, which are exclusively epigraphic, seals inscribed with their owner's name bear an iconographic motif. In general, these images have no specific aspect that could individualize their owners. The vast majority of these seals were mass produced. It was among this kind of seal that individuals with the financial means to have their name engraved, tended to choose their seal. However, there are some exceptions: that is, seals on which one can identify a link between the iconography, or a detail in the motif, and the seal's owner. In the following paragraphs we shall consider this last mentioned category of seal.

A.1.a. Owners identified from iconographic criteria

Until recently, the only owners of seals we could identify from iconographic criteria alone were kings, and then only if they were wearing the same crown as on their coinage on which they are identified by the legend. In fact, we know of only one non-inscribed seal with a royal representation, currently in the British Museum. The image is engraved in negative (intaglio), confirming its function as a seal. However, the seal, a large onyx engraved in *nicolo* technique, displays a strong resemblance to cameos. It once belonged to King Wahrām IV (388-399 AD), who is shown standing atop a body lying on the ground (fig.1a).[2] The king has been identified from his crown with which he is represented on his coinage (fig.1b). There is no technical explanation for the lack of an inscription on this seal: other onyx seals of important people certainly bear inscriptions identifying their owners (see, for example, fig.3a).

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1 For some exceptions, see paragraph A.2.d.

2 Bivar 1969, 56, pl. 4, BC1.

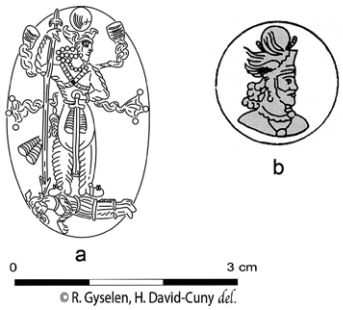

Fig.1 Drawings of a seal of (a) King Wahrām IV (after Bivar 1969, pl. 4: BC1) and (b) bust of Wahrām IV on his coinage.

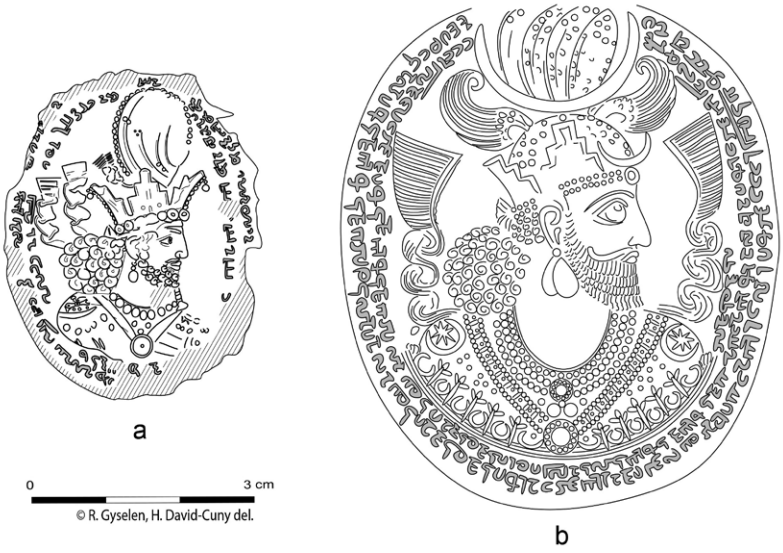

Fig.2 Drawings of seals of (a) Šābuhr II (Gyselen 2007b) and (b) Pērōz (Gyselen in Baratte et al. 2012, 15, fig.a).

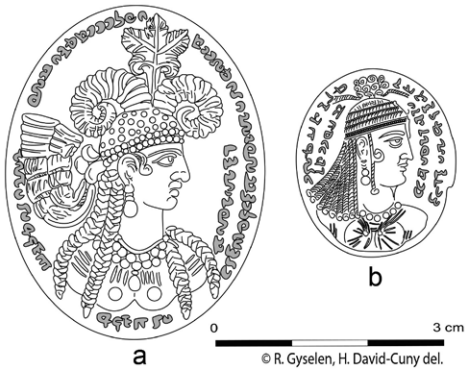

Fig.3 Drawings of seals of (a) Yazdān-friy-Šābuhr (after Gyselen 1993, pl IX: 20.A.1) and (b) Dēnag (after Splendor 1993, 80, No. 66).

Fig.4 Drawings of seals of dignitaries individualized by their kulāf:
(a) Weh-dēn-Šābuhr Ērān-anbaragbed (drawing based on Bivar 1969, pl. 3: AD1),
(b) Mihr-Narseh, wuzurg-framadār (Gyselen 2008, 46: seal 6),
(c) an Ohrmazd-mowbed (after a photo published in Gyselen 1989, 190, fig 7, British Museum No. 134980),
(d) a dar-handarzbed (Gyselen 2008, 53: seal 13) and
(e) Ādur-Narseh, Āsurestān-marzbān (Gyselen 2008, 57: seal 17).

A.1.a-b. Owners identified by iconographic and epigraphic criteria

It is only recently that two seals engraved with royal busts, identifiable by their crowns, but also inscribed with the name of their kings, have emerged. These are the seal of Šābuhr II (309-379 AD), known only from its impression on clay bullae (fig.2a),[3] and the carnelian seal of King Pērōz (459-484 AD) (fig.2b).[4] Although the inscriptions on these seals have significant differences, their common feature is their reference to their kings' royal line, as both father and grandfather are mentioned by name.

A.2. From epigraphic data to iconographic criteria

Seals inscribed with the name of their owners, either private individuals or institutions, cover almost the entire range of Sasanian glyptics, from purely epigraphic seals to seals engraved with iconographic motifs, such as figures, busts, all kinds of animals and hybrid beings, objects and symbols.

It is important to establish whether there is an exclusive link between particular iconographic elements and the owners of seals, as is certainly the case with royal crowns identified by Sasanian coinage. In other words: is it possible to identify individuals from specific iconographic elements on seals lacking inscriptions? Such elements must necessarily be unique to a particular seal and owner; that is to say, they never appear on seals belonging to others. Naturally, what is regarded as unique today may no longer be unique tomorrow when more documentation becomes available.

3 Gyselen 2007b.
4 Baratte *e.a.* 2012, drawing: 15, fig.a. Now published in: Carter *et al.* 2015, 316-319: Cat. 88.

A.2.a. Seals with busts

There are many seals engraved with a bust and an inscription mentioning the name of their owner, and it is tempting to consider this bust as a representation of the person who owned the seal. However, the majority of these busts have no specific characteristics, so cannot be used as a starting point for identifying their owners. Nevertheless, some seals, all of significant size, bearing a bust and an inscription stating that the seal belongs to a member of the royal family or a high dignitary of the empire, do incorporate elements, either unique or highly distinct, that appear to individualize their owners.

A.2.a.1. Royal busts individualized by headgear

The best example of such a piece is undoubtedly the onyx seal in *nicolo* technique of Yazdān-friy-Šābuhr, wife of Šābuhr III (383-388 AD).[5] The motif, a female bust, displays some very distinct characteristics which might be specific to the seal's owner: the cap topped with a pair of sheep horns and an unusual floral motif is certainly exceptional and unique (fig.3a).

The amethyst seal of Dēnag, a Sasanian queen of the third century AD, displays fewer individual specificities.[6] The hairstyle appears rather generic for the period and probably does not individualize the queen who possessed the seal. Indeed, the cap surmounted by a globe is also worn by the figure of a queen on the relief of Wahram II in Sarab-i Qandil, whose name is not Dēnag. However, Wahrām's queen does not wear long curls like the lady on the seal.[7] It should therefore be concluded that, in this instance, the headgear is not a sufficient element to identify the queen, although it does underline her queenly status (Fig.3b).

A.2.a.2. Busts of high dignitaries individualized by headgear

Other finely crafted seals inscribed with the name of a high dignitary show a bust whose headgear or *kulāf* is likely to individualize their owner. The seal of Weh-dēn-Šābuhr, Ērān-anbaragbed 'chief of the empire's stores', has long been known and its owner identified through textual sources (fig.4a).[8] Though the bust itself displays no exclusive characteristic, the *kulāf* does: a row of palmettes and a symbol known as a 'monogram'.[9] Neither of these elements is found on other *kulāf*s. For a considerable time some monograms have been regarded as symbols which might identify an individual, especially when these appear on a *kulāf*. Several seals inscribed with the name of their owner and engraved with a bust wearing a *kulāf* decorated with a monogram have been long known;[10] however, it is only recently that the emergence of more seals has shed real light on this issue.

Documentation has grown considerably with the recent emergence of clay bullae bearing seal impressions of high dignitaries,[11] allowing the formulation of plausible hypotheses, although these are still tentative. While the theory that monograms individualize the persons depicted on seals is still valuable, the variety of documentation provides glimpses of other possibilities. One hypothesis suggests that the frieze at the base of the *kulāf* can sometimes serve to determine a seal owner's function. A headband with five (or six large?)[12] 'suns' symbolizes the function of *wuzurg-framādār*, or 'great commander', comparable to the function of prime minister (Fig.4b)[13]; a headband with five (?) discs denotes the office of *Ohrmazd-mowbed* (Fig.4c)[14]; a frieze of six (seven or eight?) small palmettes that of *mogān-andarzbed* 'advisor of the magi'; eight (nine or ten?) small palmettes that of *dar-andarzbed,* or 'counsellor of the court' (Fig.4d)[15]; a frieze of four (five or six?) large palmettes represents the position of *Asūrestān-marzbān,* or 'marzbān of Asūrestān' (Fig.4e).[16] According to this hypothesis, each type of decoration around the *kulāf* can be linked to a specific function and therefore serves as a reference for determining the function of a person depicted wearing the same type of *kulāf* but with no inscription to specify that function.

If the decoration placed around the base of the *kulāf* clarifies the position or function of a seal's owner, only the symbol on the *kulāf* seems likely to identify him. This symbol can be a plain monogram, a sequence of letters or a letter monogram. If this hypothesis is proved correct, it would parallel the evidence provided by royal crowns; that is to say, we would be able to identify a seal's owner from the unique symbol on his *kulāf*. It is necessary to accumulate more material to prove this hypothesis,

5 Gignoux 1978, 31 and pl. VIII: 3.34; correction of the reading of the inscription: Gignoux / Gyselen 1989; Gyselen 1993, 88-89 and pl. IX: 20.A.1.

6 *Splendeur* 1993, 280-281: 131.

7 *Splendeur* 1993, 80: 66.

8 For the bibliography see: Bivar 1969, 49: AD1.

9 Bivar 1969, pl. 3: AD1.

10 For example: Gyselen 1993, pl. X: 20.B.1; Göbl 1973, pl. 5: 7a (Berlin), 7 (Vienna).

11 Gyselen 2007a, 2007b and 2008.

12 The *kulāf* is represented in profile, so it is hard to determine the exact number of elements in the decoration, as we do not know the conventions of such representations. In this case, the element to the right may actually be placed above the forehead, so there are five suns. In other cases, it appears that both the left and right elements were placed in the middle of the neck and the forehead respectively. In this case we should add the number of items between the left and right element to the total number of items.

13 Gyselen 2008, 46: seal 6.

14 Gyselen 1989.

15 Gyselen 2008, respectively seal 11, seals 12-16.

16 Gyselen 2008, seal 17.

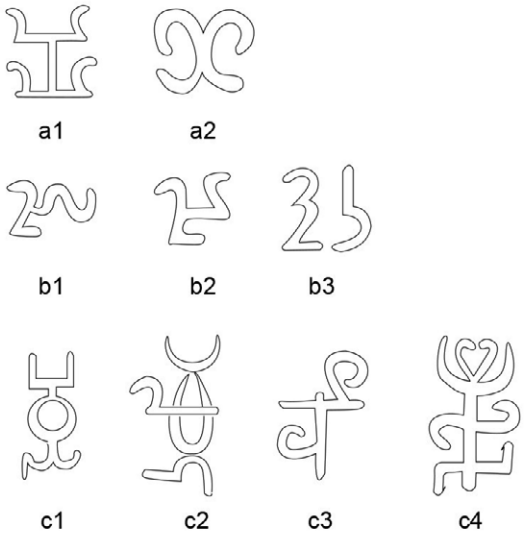

Fig.5 Drawings of several (a) monograms, (b) letters and (c) letter-monograms on kulāfs.

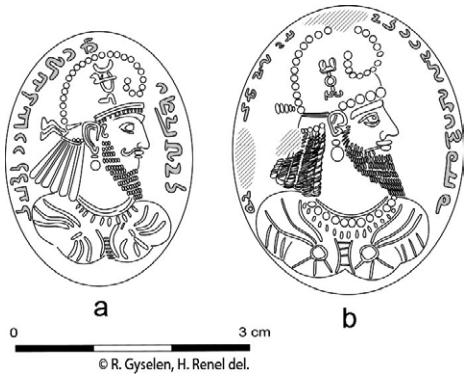

Fig.6 Letter monograms on kulāfs which give the name of the seal owner mentioned in the inscription. Drawings of the seals of (a) Rōzbūd and (b) Pābag (Gyselen 2008, 42: seal 2 and 44: seal 4).

but there seems little doubt that, in the long-term, the different types of *kulāf*s will allow us to determine the administrative or honorary position held by seal owners and their identity. At present, the question of these symbols' meaning has yet to be satisfactorily solved.

Some of these symbols are purely geometric (Fig.5a), others are letters (Fig.5b) or letters arranged in a monogram (Fig.5c). Geometric symbols are often attested elsewhere and their relationship with the owners of seals does not seem completely relevant.[17] In the case of letter-based symbols, one would expect to find a connection between the letters on the *kulāf* and the proper name in the inscription. Unfortunately, such a link can seldom be established. In a number of instances, while the letters on the *kulāf* are sometimes readable, the proper name in the inscription cannot be read, thereby preventing any connection.[18] Seals and seal impressions with a letter monogram on the *kulāf* are better preserved. Generally speaking, however, letter monograms that can be 'read' do not seem to match the first letters of the proper name in the inscription,[19] although there are a few exceptions: a letter monogram with the letters *lw* (maybe also *c*) (*bwty*) for Rōzbūd (Fig.5c2 and 6a), and the complete name *p'<p>k*, that is to say, Pābag (Fig.5c1 and 6b).[20]

A.2.b.1. Seals with a letter monogram as main iconographic motif

Seals bearing a letter monogram as the main motif on the *kulāf* belong to everyday production. To date, no fine quality examples of such seals owned by elite members of the empire are known.

Several studies of letter monograms on inscribed seals have been conducted.[21] However, the scope of these studies was very limited as they were restricted to seals inscribed with a name. Recently, a new approach was proposed, encompassing all these seals.[22] The objective, as in previous studies, was to interpret the letters on the monograms as proper nouns. To proceed, this study required a reference corpus with proper names in Middle Persian. Numerous proper names appear in Middle Persian texts but these have not been gathered in a published directory or dictionary.[23] However, a dictionary with proper names – exclusively attested in epigraphic sources – could be used as a reference

17 See Gyselen 2008, 45 (seal 5), 48 (seal 8), 57 (seal 17).

18 This is the case for example with the following seals: Gyselen 2008, 51 (seal 11), 53 (seal 13), 55 (seal 15).

19 Gyselen 2008, 41 (seal 1), 43 (seal 3), 46 (seal 6), 49 (seal 9), 50 (seal 10).

20 See Gyselen 2008, 42 (seal 2) and 44 (seal 4).

21 All references are to be found in: Gyselen & Monsef 2012.

22 Gyselen / Monsef 2012.

23 The 'Iranische Personennamen' programme of the Österreichische Akademie für Wissenschaften planned a dictionary of Iranian proper names in Middle Persian texts, but the project never saw the light of day.

corpus for this study.[24] These names have the advantage of being contemporary to the sigillographic documentation; it is assumed that they are spelt in exactly the same way, which is not the case, for example, with Middle-Persian names in Syriac, Armenian and Greek texts. Despite a limited corpus of reference, some 70 monograms could be read. Once these readings had been established, we tested the hypothesis that had inspired earlier studies: in other words, we checked whether there was a relationship between the proper name in the inscription and the word that could be read in the monogram.[25] Our research has shown that such a link rarely exists since it has only been established for a dozen seals:[26] in most cases there appears to be no connection between the proper name mentioned in the inscription and the word in the monogram.[27] The question then remains: what is the relationship between the word read in the monogram and the name of a seal's owner? It is possible that the monogram is not a proper name, although theoretically such a reading is feasible, for it has recently been demonstrated that many monograms may also be read as formulas containing good wishes; other interpretations cannot be excluded either.[28] This suggests that many monograms may have multiple meanings, which would explain why there is no connection on so many seals between the name read in the monogram and the one cited in the inscription. We are currently only beginning to decipher letter monograms which have yet to reveal all their secrets.

A.2.c. Seals with a letter monogram in the field

Letters and letter monograms not only feature on *kulāf*s, but can also appear in the field (fig.7a-c) or interspersed in the inscription.[29] In such cases we may also expect letters and letter monograms to identify the owners of seals. However, there are only a few instances in which such a relation can be established.[30]

Many seals with a monogram in the field are beautifully engraved, of significant size and, judging by the titles, inscribed with the name of an important person.[31] The recent emergence of clay bullae bearing impressions of such seals has significantly increased our knowledge.[32] Occurrences of unique monograms together with the name of the owner may lead to the identification of the owners of other seals which lack inscriptions and only display the same unique monogram.

Interesting examples are the two seals of two different *Danbāwand-wismagān* wearing divergent but very similar symbols which could also be letter monograms (Fig.8a-b).[33] In both cases the symbol could be read as *d* (*dāle*t) and *w* (*wāw*), so one could suggest this is an abbreviation of *D<anbāwand->w<ismagān>*, the title held by the seals' owners. If these symbols do not individualize the seals'

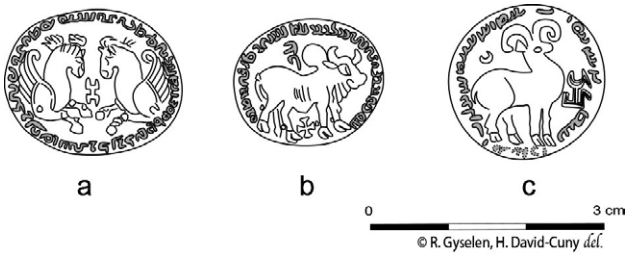

Fig.7 Some seals with a monogram, letters and a letter monogram in the field. Drawings of seals of (a) Dād-Burz-Mihr, aspbed ī pahlaw (Gyselen 2001, 46: seal A), (b) Abarez-šōy, Husraw-šād-Ohrmezd šahrab (drawing from photos obtained by R. Göbl) and (c) Dād-Gušnasp, Šahr-xwāst-Husraw (naxwār?) (after Gyselen 2007a, 295: III/57-58).

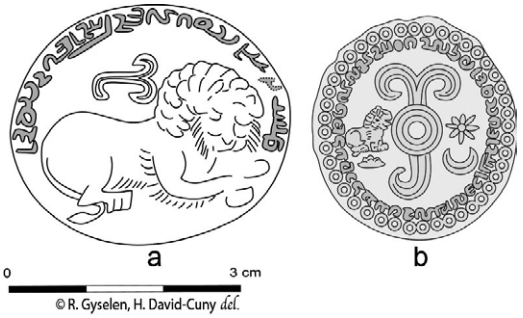

Fig.8 Two seals with a unique but very similar symbol in the field. Drawings of seals (a) Māh-Gušnasp, Danbāwand-wismagān (after Gyselen 2007, 283: III/36-37) and (b) Ōz-weh ī Mihr-ādur-Šābuhr, Danbāwand-wismagān (after Gyselen 2007, 379; drawing after a photo provided by J. Kröger).

24 Part of the Iranische Personennamen series: Gignoux 1986 and 2003.

25 Gyselen & Monsef, 2012, 172.

26 Gyselen & Monsef, 2012, 172, fig.9a.

27 Gyselen & Monsef, 2012, 172, fig.9b.

28 See Gyselen 2017.

29 An explicit example of this practice can be seen on an official seal of a Ērān-spāhbed on which the letters AT form part of the inscription (Gyselen 2001, 37-38).

30 On the official seals of a *spāhbed* (Gyselen 2007a, 262-267) the letters AT allude to his real name Ādurmāhān (under which he is known in literary sources) before acceding to the function of Ērān-spāhbed and becoming known as Wahram ī nām-xwāst-Husraw, that is "Wahram 'name desired by Husraw'"; in other words King Husraw I gave this general named Ādurmāhān another, honorary, name.

31 For example, see: Bivar 1969, 70 and pl. 9: DB2; *id.*, 79 and pl. 13: EG1; Göbl 1976 pl. 39: 364, pl. 41: 481, pl. 47 'Privatbesitz'; Gyselen 1993, 143, pl. XXXVI: 37.1 and 227: impression on bulla BnF 30.H.12/2.1b.

32 See chiefly: Gyselen 2007a, 294-295: III/57, 304-305: IVA/21, 352-353 VA/11.

33 Gyselen 2007a, 55-56. The article announced on page 55, footnote 163, has never been published.

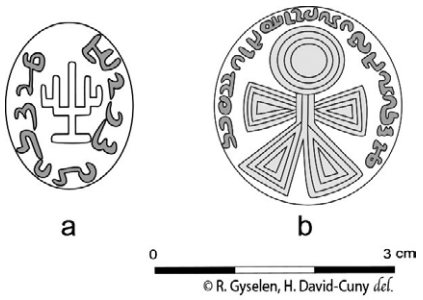

Fig.9 Two seals bearing a specific symbol which reveals the nature of the administration named in the inscription. Drawings of the seals of a (a) dīwān "Chancellery" (Gyselen 2003, 125) and a (b) ganj "Treasury" (ead., 125).

Fig.10 Drawing of a seal of a member of the Warāz (litt. 'wild boar') family (after Gyselen 2007a, 305: IVA/17-18).

owners, they seem to symbolize his function, like the band of decoration on *kulāf*s.

We must therefore conclude that both letter compositions and letter monograms can refer either to a function held by a seal's owner or to their identity. In cases where no link can be established between the monogram and an individual's proper name or function, the question of the monogram's meaning remains unanswered.

A.2.d. Seals bearing a 'unique' symbol as main motif

Only a small number of Sasanian seals inscribed with a proper name bear a symbol as the main motif. These symbols sometimes refer to their owners' religion: a cross for a Christian, a *lulav* and *etrog* for a Jew and a fire altar for a Zoroastrian. Other symbols appear to have no religious or liturgical connotations and were understood as auspicious wishes. Most of these symbols, such as the triskelion and the node, may be found elsewhere and in other civilizations.

There are only a very few cases where a symbol is unique; when this is associated with an inscription specifying the seal's function, it is tempting to assume a connection between the epigraphic and iconographic data. One such seal with a unique image bears the terse inscription 'Seal of the *dīwān*' (Fig.9a).[34] *Dīwān* is a general term for an administrative office, a chancellery, and it seems improbable that the specific nature of this *dīwān* would not be specified on a Sasanian administrative seal.[35] We have hypothesized that this information must be on the seal itself and that, if the inscription does not specify the nature of the *dīwān*, this information is conveyed by the iconographic motif. Unfortunately the motif on this specific seal is not attested elsewhere and thus the exact character of this *dīwān* remains unknown.

The situation is quite different on another administrative seal with an inscription that is similarly vague as to the nature of the institution, stating simply: 'Seal of the treasury which is good in increase' (Fig.9b).[36] Much has been written about the motif on this seal and there is a broad consensus – at least in my opinion – for considering it as the symbol of Sasanian royalty. In this case the symbol certainly specifies the nature of the treasury in question, allowing the seal to be interpreted as belonging to the administration of the royal treasury.

It has become clear that the rare seals for which one could establish a link between the owner and the motif belong to a very limited iconographic range: symbols, monograms and stylized plant elements. The majority of Sasanian seals bear animals, often lions and zebus. While it seems likely that the owners of seals would not have chosen an iconographic motif at random, any link between iconography and seal owner has yet to be determined.

Nevertheless, the choice of motif is sometimes explicit. This is the case with a member of the noble Warāz family – *warāz* literally means 'wild boar' – who selected for his seal the motif of a boar (Fig.10).[37] However, this does not necessarily mean that other seals engraved with a boar belonged to a member of the Warāz family, as we have no proof of this.

B. Textual data from sealed documents

The appearance of documents with attached clay bullae is of recent date. These comprise two 'archives', plus some isolated sealed documents. A collection of 260 documents appeared on the art market in the late 1980s and consists of private records relating to the management of a large estate. One or more small clay bullae, often bearing a single seal impression, are still attached to 82 of these documents.[38] Most seals lack inscriptions; some are inscribed with greetings formulae. The name of a seal's owner is oc-

34 Gyselen 2003; Gyselen 2007a, 118-119: 60.1.
35 This is the case with another *dīwān* seal on which the inscription specifies that it is the *dīwān* of the army: Gyselen 2015.
36 Gyselen 2007a, 246-247.
37 Gyselen 2007a, 304-305: IVA/17-18.
38 Azarpay 2006.

Fig.11 Drawings of the seal impression in the name of Pīrag with the inscription (a) Pīrag ī šahrwarāz ud hujadag Husraw wuzurg Ērān kust ī nēmrōz spāhbed and (b) the same inscription with the addition of the name Mihrān (Gyselen 2001, seal 2d /1 and seal 2d/2).

casionally revealed by mention in the attached document of the person who sealed this. A preliminary study has been devoted to this archive.[39] This will be continued once the complete edition of all documents is available.

The second archive is of a legal type and comprises 29 documents. Its publication began in 2012 and still continues.[40] One or more clay bullae are still attached to some two dozen of its documents. Some bear impressions of administrative seals, others impressions of (mostly anonymous) private seals.[41] A study is underway to establish the link between the nature of the documents (letter, court order, file of a complaint, etc.) and the composition of the clay bullae.

Change of ownership

Some 25 years ago the author reviewed all aspects of reuse that could be detected on Sasanian seals.[42] No new cases have since come to light. The following typology lists the types of reuse known:

A. Reuse of non-Sasanian seals:
1. Reuse of old Iranian seals.
2. Reuse of 'foreign' seals.

B. Reuse of Sasanian seals:
1. Reshaping of the seal.
2. Partial reengraving of the motif.
3. Addition of a motif on the back without changing the shape of the seal.
4. Addition of a motif on one or both surfaces subsequent to the manufacture of the seal.
5. Addition of an inscription on a non-inscribed seal.
6. Reworking of the inscription.
7. Erasing of the inscription.
8. Erasing of the inscription and addition of a new inscription.
9. Erasing of the inscription and engraving of a new inscription on the same spot.

It remains an open question whether such reworked seals could be used in a legal context to seal documents,[43] although this does seem to have been the case since the impression of such a seal[44] has been found on an administrative bulla.[45]

Reworking of a seal does not necessarily signify a change of ownership, as illustrated by a seal of which the original state is known, thanks to its impression on bullae, as well as the reshaped inscription to which the name Mihrān has been added (Fig.11a-b).[46]

Conclusion

While we must assume that the choice of an iconographic motif, or even of a secondary element, by a seal's owner is not insignificant, the link between the iconography and the person generally escapes us.

In this article I have endeavoured to show that there are some cases in which the link between the iconographic motif and the owner is explicit: in other words, the motif can function as an identification of a person in the same way as Sasanian royal crowns identify monarchs. This only applies to unique motifs. However some specific motifs, although not unique, can identify the function of an individual or the nature of an institution, which is another aspect of identity.

39 Gignoux / Gyselen 2006.
40 Gignoux, 2012, 2014, 2016; Weber 2016a and 2016b.
41 Several seals are illustrated in Gyselen 2012.
42 Gyselen 1991.
43 According to *The Book of a Thousand Judgements*, the authenticity of the seals was strictly controlled: see Macuch 1997.
44 Gyselen 1991 pl. XXIII, No. 25.
45 Gignoux 1978, 92 and pl. XLII: 7.2.
46 Gyselen 2007a, 254-257: III/8-9, 256-259: III/10-12.

Invocations to Hermes and Aphrodite on two engraved gems in Leiden

*Attilio Mastrocinque**

Introduction

This article reinvestigates and proposes new readings of the inscriptions on two of the magical gems previously in The Hague and Utrecht and now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.

The term 'magical gems' is relatively modern. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries antiquarians and Catholic priests decided whether certain gems and not others were labelled 'magical'. Initially, such gems have been called 'Gnostic' or 'Basilidian', as features from Gnostic doctrines had been recognized in them; they were subsequently designated as 'magic' when comparisons with ancient authors revealed their incorporation of elements from the magic arts. From the twentieth century, such objects have mostly been designated magical gems, thanks to comparisons with magical papyri. Many magical gems do indeed display spells, divine names and the secret iconography of gods also found on magical papyri and *lamellae* (both protective amulets on silver or gold leaves and *defixiones*, i.e. curses written on small lead texts). These spells and iconography are sometimes labelled 'magic' and are ascribed to magicians by both the magical papyri and some pagan and Christian authors, as well.[1] Engraved gems with puzzling inscriptions and iconography are sometimes also labelled as magical gems.

Distinguishing magical from non-magical gems, however, is scarcely a useful task. A more important approach is to identify the religious traditions that developed these forms of magic and their dissemination in varying social milieus. A necessary first step to comprehending this process is reading, translating and understanding the inscriptions and iconography. The following paragraphs will discuss two of the Leiden gems.

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1 For example, among the pagan works: Plinius, *Naturalis historia* book 30; the *Cyranides*; the *Lapidaria* ascribed to different authors such as Orpheus and Damigeron; among the Christian works: Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 5.242; Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, esp. books 5 and 6, Epiphanius bishop of Salamis, *Panarion*; Hieronimus, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*, and *Epistula* 75 (Patrologia Latina 1, 687).

Fig.1a Side A of the Hermes gem.

Fig.1b Side B of the Hermes gem.

Hermes

The first gem (Fig.1a-b) is a heliotrope with a representation of Hermes seated on a rock and holding a purse and his caduceus.[2] The inscription on the reverse has been published as follows:

ΑΡΚΑ
ΔΗΝΙΤΕ
ΤΕΡΑVΟΙ
ΠΕΦΡΗΝΙ
ΚΕΡΔΟC
ΨΠΟΜΠΙ
Ε Χ

As Hermes was born on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia, the first series of letters, *ΑΡΚΑΔ*, can only represent the adjective *Ἀρκάς*, *Ἀρκάδος*, 'Arcadian'. The ending *-νιτε* seems to be a vocative case of an ethnic name, Ἀρκαδηνίτης, construed like *Ἀδρηνίτης*, *Συηνίτης, Σεληνίτης, Ἀτρηνίτης*.[3] The following letters *ΤΕΡΑ* seem to refer to the noun *τέρας, τέρατος*, meaning 'sign, wonder, marvel, portent.' However, *ΤΕΡΑ* cannot stand alone. The sequence *ΤΕΡΑVΟΙΠΕ* ends with the vocative *-ε*, while the *Ι* is not a complete letter, but represents the beginning of an oblique line. Evidently, the surface of the stone was reduced in size at some point after the inscription was cut. Moreover, the vertical line of the *Ι* is slightly angled, as would be the case with a letter *Μ*. The following reading is therefore proposed: τερα<π>όμπε, 'he who sends prodigies'. In a famous passage from Euripides' *Electra,* Hermes is described as the god 'who brought the prodigy to Atreus' palace':

2 Inv, no. GS-01105, Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 352 No. 1105.

3 See for ex. Herodianus, *Perì paronymon* III.2, 865 Lentz; Stephan. Byz., s.v. Ἀτρήνη.

Ἀτρέως, τέρας ἐκκομί-
ζει πρὸς δώματα.[4]

ΦΡΗΝΙ, i.e. *φρενί*, is evidently the dative of *φρήν, φρενός*, 'the mind'. The following word, *κέρδος*, '*gain, profit*' was recognized by the first editor[5] of the gem, despite the *Δ* being written with four bars. Profit is an appropriate word for association with a god such as Hermes-Mercury. This is followed by the sequence *ΨΠΟΜΠΙΕ X*, recalling the previous *τεραπόμπε*, and can be edited as *κερδο[[οψ]]πόμπ[[ι]]ε*. The final letter can be either an *X* or a *Y*, and I think this refers to a number (600 or 400). The complete text can be read as follows:

ΑΡΚΑ
ΔΗΝΙΤΕ
ΤΕΡΑ<Π>ΟΜ
ΠΕΦΡ<Ε>ΝΙ
ΚΕΡΔΟ
[[ΟΨ]]ΠΟΜΠ[[Ι]]
Ε X

Ἀρκαδηνίτε, τερα<π>όμπε φρ<ε>νί, κερδο[[οψ]]πόμπε X

'Oh Arcadian! You who bring prodigies to the mind, you who bring gain!'

This prayer to Hermes was evidently aimed at obtaining a dream, that is, the prodigy, which could have been an idea, an opportunity that comes to the mind, and a profit.

Homer states that Hermes, thanks to his ceptre, provides men with sweet sleep and wakes some people up.[6]

The philosopher Chrysippus asserts that Homer mentions sacrifices made to Hermes by the Phaeaces, not because Hermes was the sender of dreams (*ὀνειρόπομπος*), but because he was the giver of sweet sleep.[7] In a magical papyrus a recommendation to go to sleep is followed by this prayer to Hermes:

> *'Hermes, lord of the world… The prophet of events and Dream divine you're said to be, who send forth oracles by day and night… O mighty son of Memory, who brings full mental powers… That I may comprehend you by your skills of prophecy, by your own wond'rous deeds. I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and without deceit appear and prophesy to me.*'[8]

So Hermes is called here *θεῖος Ὄνειρος*, 'divine Dream'. Another papyrus describes how to request a dream, by drawing an image of Hermes and pronouncing an invocation to the god.[9]

4 Eur., *El.* 722.
5 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 352.
6 Hom., *Od.* XXIV.1-24.
7 Chrysippus, fr. 777 von Arnim. Similarly Eustathius (*in Hom., Od.*, II, p. 311 Weigel) asserts that Hermes gives sleep.
8 *PGM* V, 399-421, transl. O'Neil, in Betz 1986, 108. The same formula is repeated in *PGM* XVIIb.
9 *PGM* XII, 144-152.

Fig.2a The figurative side of the Aphrodite gem, GS-01112. Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Fig.2b The inscription on the Aphrodite gem, GS-01112. Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Aphrodite

The second engraved gem (Fig.2a-b) is a green jasper with a depiction of Aphrodite spreading out her hair.[10] The difficult inscription on the reverse side has formerly been interpreted as:

ΚΑΝΩΠΙ
ΥΓΟΙΗΡΟΔC
ΕΡ ΚΑΑΥ+ΑC
ΡΕΚΙΝ ΠΟΘΗΣΕΙ
ΡΕΝΤΟΥΝ ΜΟΡΦΥC
ΑΡΙΕC ΠΑΦΙΕΤΙ
ΡΙCΙΣΩ ΒΟΘΚΑCCΤΙ
ΟΩΓΙΙΩ ΕΡΩΤ
Ε ΖΕΒΕΒΙ

Having observed that the reverse surface has been reduced in size, that some letters have been partially removed and that the engraver has clearly separated some words from the following ones, I propose the following alternative reading:

Ḳ ΑΝΩΠΙ
Ḳ ΥΠΡΟΙΗ ΡΟΔΟ
ΕΡ ΚΑΛΥΨΑC
<Ε>ΡΕΚΙΝ ΠΟΘΗΞΕΙ
ΡΕΝΤΟΥΝ ΜΟΡΦΥC
ΧΑΡΙΕC ΠΑΦΙΕΤΙ
Ḅ ΙCΙΩ ΒΟΥΚΑCΓΙ
ΠΟΘΩΠΙΩ ΕΡΩΤ
Ι ΖΕΒΕΒΙ

Fortunately, we have the same spell at our disposal, from the VII magical papyrus (verses 385-389). This papyrus, discovered at Thebes in Egypt and now in the British Museum, has been ascribed to the third or fourth century AD. The spell on the papyrus has consequently improved the reading of the text on the gem:[11]

<Ποτήριον καλόν.>ἐ[π]ὶ ποτηρίου λέγε ζ'·
'Κανωπῖ[τι] προιη
ρωδοχ[.]φ καλυψας ερεκιν ποθηξας ερατευν
μορφυς Χάρις Φαφιετι Εἶσι ω Βούβαστι Ποθωπι,
ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅγια ὀνόματα τῆς Κύπριδος, ὅπως,
ἐὰν καταβᾶτε εἰς τὰ σπλάγχ<ν>α τῆς δεῖνα,<ἣν>ἡ
δεῖνα, ποιῆσαι φιλεῖν (this is the text from the papyrus according to the edition by Preisendanz ands Henrichs, PGM VII, p. 17).

10 Museum inventory number GS-01112, Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 354 No. 1112.

11 *Cf.* Sijpesteijn 1980, 155.

'A good cup spell: Over a cup say 7 times: *'KANÔPI[TI] PROIE RÔDOCH…PH KALYPSAS EREKIN POTHÊXAS ERATEUN MORPHYS CHARIS PHAPHIETI EISI Ô BOUBASTI POTHÔPI*, I adjure you, holy names of Kypris, that, if you descend into the innermost heart of her, NN, [whom] NN bore, make her love'.' (transl. O' Neil, in Betz 1986, 128).

The first word of the incantation has been construed as an adjective of the inhabitants of Kanopos, *Κανωπίτης* (also *Κανωβικός, Κανωβεύς*), but I think that the final [*-τι*] in the papyrus version is a false supposition. It should instead be read as *KY*. On the stone there is neither space for, nor traces of *TI*, whereas the second line begins with *ΚΥ*, and therefore we read *Κυπροῖη* instead of *Κυπρίη*,'Cypriot', preceded by *Κανωπίη*. The common pronunciation produced the incorrect transcription *Κυπροῖη*, pronounced 'kiprii'; *Κανωπίη* was pronounced 'kanopii'. The meaning is: 'Oh goddess of Kanopos, of Cyprus!'. We remember that the Homeric *Hymn to Afrodite* begins thus: *ἔργα Ἀφροδίτης Κύπριδος*: 'the deeds of Aphrodite the Kyprian'.

The third and fourth lines have been interpreted by K.E.W. Schmidt[12] as *Ῥοδόχρους Καλυψὼ Ἐρυκίνη Θελξὼ Ἐρατεινή*: 'with rose pink skin, Kalypso, dwelling in Eryx, enchantress, lovely'. Instead of *ῥοδόχρους*, I prefer *ῥοδόχειρ*[13], 'having rose pink hands', because the papyrus reads *ρωδοχ* and the gem *ροδοερ*, and so *ῥοδόχειρ* could be a good solution.

The next two words, *Καλυψας ερεκιν*, are attested twice and difficult to interpret. A participle of the verb *καλύπτω* is more probable than a mention of the Nymph Kalypso. Homer (*Il.* V.312-313) recounts how, during the Trojan war, Aphrodite covered her son Aeneas with her peplos to shelter him from enemy arrows: *Κάλυψεν ἕρκος ἕμεν βελέων. Καλύψας ερεκι* could perhaps have been a remainder of the two Homeric words, modified as *καλύψας ἕρκη* (plural of *ἕρκος*: 'defence'), and pronounced 'erki'. Obviously, this is far from certain, although I think it a better solution than the previous ones, or, at least, as good as that of Schmidt, that is,*Ἐρυκίνη*, which needs considerable correction.

After this the text on the stone continues with *ποθηξει ρεντουν*; the text on the papyrus with *ποθηξας ερατευν*. *Θελξὼ* is hardly credible because *ποθ-* is the beginning of the word *πόθος*, 'the desire', a feeling befitting Aphrodite. *ηξει* and *ηξας* are forms of the verb *ἔχω*, 'I have'. Another possibility is the verb *θήγω*, 'sharpen, excite'; in this case, *πόθος* and *θήγω* could signify a new, solecistic and specific word, a verb whose meaning is 'she who excites desire'.

ερατευν (on the papyrus) is to be preferred to *ρεντουν* (on the gem) as because *ἐρατὴ* and *ἐρατεινὴ* signify '*lovely, beloved*' and ερατευν was pronounced '*eratein*'.

Μορφυς corresponds perfectly to *μορφῆς*,[14] 'of the form'. Their similarity might be explained by the fact that they were both pronounced in the same manner, as 'morfis'. *Ἐρατεινὴ μορφῆς* could be taken either as a genitive *ἐρατεινῆς μορφῆς*, 'of the lovely form', or as the nominative *ἐρατεινὴ μορφῆ*, 'the lovely form', i.e., in Latin, '*formosa*, beautiful', or even a dative *ἐρατεινῇ μορφῇ*, 'with (her) lovely form'.

Χάρις is the grace of the goddess. For *Παφιετι* or *Φαφιετι* K. E. W. Schmidt[15] proposed a reading based on the Egyptian language, correcting this word into ΦΑΦΙΕΡΙ, in order to translate it as 'bright eye'. The Egyptian word for 'eye' is *irt*, but the main objection against Schmidt's interpretation is that in such a context *Παφι(ε)* can only mean 'The Paphian'. Just as we find *Κυπρίη* and *Κανωπίη*, pronounced 'Kiprii' and 'Kanopii', *Παφι* should represent the pronunciation of *Παφίη* as 'Paphii'. 'The Paphian one' was a typical antonomasia for Aphrodite.[16]

The following word ετι could be the adverb *ἔτι*, '*yet, besides, nay more, furthermore*'.

Finally, we read on the stone ΒΙCΙΩ ΒΟΥΚΑCΓΙ ΠΟΘΩΠΙΩ ΕΡΩΤ Ι ΖΕΒΕΒΙ and on the papyrus *Εἶσι ω Βούβαστι Ποθωπι, ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς*. The text on the gem evidently contains some errors and we must assume that the correct writing was *Ἴσι ω Βούβαστι Πόθωπι ω ἔρωτι. Εἶσις* was a possible rendering of *Ἶσις*.

The vowel *ω* at the end of a noun could be an Egyptian word signifying 'great'[17], although it is far more likely that it is the Greek exclamation *ὦ*, 'oh !'. Boubastis (Bubastis, as well) refers to the city (Per-Bastet, house of Bastet) in the Nile Delta, but sometimes to the goddess herself, as well. [18] Therefore we may translate either "Boubastis" or "the goddess of Boubastis". Since Herodotus,[19] she was usually identified with Artemis. *Πόθωπι* is a vocative of an adjective (or, eventually, a noun) construed by *πόθος* and *ὤψ, ὠπός*, '*eye*, face' similar to *γλαυκῶπις*, *Γοργῶπις,*

12 Schmidt 1934, 174.

13 Sch. Theocr. II.135.

14 Rather than *Μορφώ, Morphô*, the name of the Spartan Aphrodite: Paus. III.15.8.

15 Schmidt 1934, 174. On a Mithraic and magical stone axe one can read the following words: *ΒΑΚΑΞΙΧΥΧ ΠΑΠΑΦΙΕΡΙC*, where the first one is Egyptian, and signifies 'soul of darkness, son of darkness' Delatte 1914, 11; Mastrocinque 1998, 25-27.

16 *Cf.* for ex. *Anthologia Palatina* V.30. *Cf.* Aristoph., *Lysistr.* 556: Παφίαν Ἀφροδίτην.

17 *Cf.* for ex. R.K. Ritner, in *GMPT*, 11, footnote 60.

18 Her. II.137: *Ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσάν ἐστι Ἄρτεμις*; *cf.* as well Her. II.156; Aesch., fr. 653 Mette; Iosephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae* XIII.50; *Vita Aesopi* 117; Iamblichus, *Theologoumena arithmetica* 41 ed. De Falco: Βουβάστειαν.

19 Her. II.137 and 156.

εὐῶπις etc., and it signifies 'she/he whose face inspires desire'. *ἔρωτι* is the dative of *ἔρως*, 'love'.

We can therefore propose the following, approximate translation: 'Oh Isis, oh Boubastis whose face inspires desire, for (the) love'.

The final line begins with either a *I* or a *Γ*; the first reading is recommended by the preceding word *ἔρωτ-*, which requires a final letter; the second is recommended only by a very small horizontal line at the top of the iota.

The final word, ZEBEBI, has the second B written like a Latin R.

The personal name of the desired person or a divine powerful name would be expected in this position. The first hypothesis is more probable because the papyrus text recommends adding the name of the desired person and the word 'love', *τῆς δεῖνα … ποιῆσαι φιλεῖν*, for the spell to take effect. The word ἔρωτι can be considered an addition to this specific amulet instead of *ποιῆσαι φιλεῖν*. For this reason I propose recognizing *Σεβῆρι* as a variant of *Σεουῆρι*, that is, the personal name Severus. I do not rule out the possibility of a Latin word, *Severi*, "of Severus", being preceded by ἔρωτι, that is, '*for the love of Severus*'.[20] Many Greek texts are known on magical gems which incorporate some Latin words, although these may be written in the Greek alphabet.

Consequently the Greek text can be reconstructed as follows:

Κανωπίη, Κυπρίη, ῥοδόχειρ, καλύψας ἔρκη, ποθῆξ(ε)ι ἐρατεινῇ μορφῇ, χάρις, Παφίη, ἔτι Ἶσι ὦ Βούβαστι, Πόθωπι ὦ ἔρωτι Σεβῆρι.

As a complete translation I would propose:

'Oh goddess of Kanopos, of Cyprus! You, having rose pink hands, hiding and giving protection, you who excite desire (with your) lovely form, the gracious one, the Paphian, and furthermore Isis, oh Boubastis whose face inspires desire. Oh! For the love of Severus'.

20 I presume the practitioner/engraver wrote down the spell and asked his/her customer for the name to be added at the end of the spell, as on the papyrus, and the customer wrote the name *Severi*. The engraver was used to writing in Greek and did not recognize the Latin S, which he wrote like the more familiar Z, writing the *v* as a *b*, whose pronunciation was *v*. Furthermore, it is possible that the spell on both the papyrus and the gem depended on an already badly written text which was not copied but written after dictation.

The importance of gems in the work of Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640

Marcia Pointon[*1]

Introduction

My approach in this contribution is neither that of a classicist nor of a student of glyptics, but that of a historian of visual culture. While I recognise that a foundation stone of gem studies is the relationship between ancient and modern, in my research I am also committed to understanding the interconnectedness between different aspects of an artist's work. Recognising the intellectual and imaginative integrity of an artist's life and work is necessarily a corrective to the compartmentalising procedures that disciplinary specialisms have imposed. Thus, for example, we read in the opening paragraph to Van de Meulen's *Petrus Paulus Antiquarius* (1975) that "by focussing on Rubens's interest in antique engraved and carved gems we do not encounter him primarily as an artist, since only a relatively small number of drawings from his hand after glyptic art are known. We meet him above all as the antiquarian scholar with a profound erudition in archaeological matters."[2] To be sure, Rubens was remarkably knowledgeable for his period and was an active participant in the so-called Republic of Letters that extended from Flanders across France to Italy and beyond.[3] Claude-Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc told the artist in 1621 that he was surprised at having met so many people interested in medals and so infinitely few collectors of intaglios and cameos that he would now double the esteem in which he already held him.[4] On the other hand, I shall argue that Rubens's work with gems impacted upon and was coloured by his artistic concerns as more conventionally understood. Peiresc, however, was not an aesthete and had little interest in the interconnected character of different aspects of Rubens's work, regarding his friend's artistic genius as something instrumental that could be harnessed to the communication of data. Thus, for example, in 1622 Peiresc reported to him in a long and pedantic letter that his tapestry cartoons for the *Life of Constantine* had been admired but also criticised in Paris

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1 I would like to thank the following for their advice: Ben van den Bercken, Rachel Bowlby, Lucy Gent, Josephine Glover and Bert Watteeuw.

2 Meulen-Schregardus 1975; Thomson de Grummond 1968 similarly classifies Rubens's interests into discrete categories: collector, scholar, painter. Since these publications, David Jaffé in two publications has identified a small number of paintings clearly based on antique gems: Jaffé, David 1997, 24, 38; Jaffé, David 1988.

3 Miller 2000, Miller 2015.

4 Peiresc to Rubens 26 November 1621, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 2

Fig.1 La Favola di Ganimede, Firenze: Museo degli Argenti, sardonyx cameo 5.4 × 4.1 mm. (inv. 14436). Photo: Gallerie degli Uffizi.

for their lack of *dessin* and disregard for classical rules; a particular objection was made by the viewing party to the curvature of men's calves and what Peiresc calls an appearance of dislocation in the arms. He recommended that his friend should improve his work by recognising the importance of truth to antiquity and the relativity of taste according to national standards.[5] In arguing even at the most basic level for the absorption of gemmology into Rubens's artistic make-up we might cite various instances in which Rubens's knowledge of cameos served him as a repertory from which motifs could be drawn on for incorporation into large scale paintings. One such is the pose of Henry IV at his triumphal entry into Paris in the oil painting of 1627, now in the Uffizi, which was inspired by the artist's drawing of Claudius and Messalina on a dragon chariot.[6]

Early encounters with gems and gem-collecting

It would in fact be very surprising if Rubens had not been interested in gems, given that his first and most transformative training took place when, in 1600 aged twenty-two, he entered the service of Vincenzo I, the Gonzaga Duke of Mantua; among other treasures, he was able to see and study the cameo, now in the State Hermitage Museum, containing the paired portraits of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (sardonyx, silver and copper) produced in Alexandria in the third century BC.[7] He later remembered holding it in his hand.[8] Vincenzo's wife was Eleonora de' Medici, a great collector in her own right. Moreover, while in Italy between 1600 and 1608, as well as spending time in Rome specifically to study art, he visited Florence on more than one occasion and would have been able

5 Peiresc to Rubens 1 December 1622, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 3.
6 Meulen 1994-5, vol. 2, no. 165; see also Meulen 1997.
7 On questions of identification, see Brown 1997.
8 Rubens to P. Dupuy, 9 September 1627, *Codex Diplomaticus* vol.4, p. 303; Magurn 1955 no. 123.

Fig.2 Peter Paul Rubens, The Rape of Ganymede, 1636-38, oil on canvas, Madrid: Prado, 181 × 87.3 cm. Photo: © Museo Nacional del Prado.

to see the Medici collection.[9] Rubens lived in Rome with his brother Philip who included among his friends the Neo-Stoic philosopher Gaspar Scioppius and numismatist Jan de Hemelaer, librarian to Cardinal Cesi. The trade in gems by this time was extremely highly developed, as Barbara Furlotti has established, with networks of foragers (*frugatori*), dealers and middlemen spread across rural and urban areas.[10] Fulvio Orsini's inventory of gems provides a picture of this commerce, giving details of provenance, naming agents, gem cutters, artisans, common people and above all goldsmiths.[11] Rubens met the Medici Grand Duke Ferdinand (1587-1609) in Livorno in 1603, while waiting to board ship to Alicante on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the Duke of Mantua, and did him a favour by including in his goods a palfrey that Duke Ferdinand wanted to send to Spain.[12] The Grand Ducal cabinet of cameos and intaglios had been built up by successive Medici dukes through the sixteenth century and included both modern gems and works of classical antiquity.[13] The fact that no drawings by Rubens of Medici gems survive should not be taken as evidence that he did not see them. Rubens possessed an extraordinary visual memory, as evidenced by the fact that many years after studying the 'Aldrovandini Marriage' in Rome he was able to describe it in detail.[14] He may well have been thinking of the *Rape of Ganymede* cameo (Fig.1) in the Medici collection when he painted the same scene in a full-scale mythological picture (Fig.2). Drawings on paper are ephemeral objects and although Rubens valued highly his study collection of his own drawings, bequeathing it in his will to his antiquarian son Albert, it must be the case that just as there are manifest gaps in Rubens's voluminous correspondence, so also many of his drawings were dispersed and lost.[15]

Gem specialists understandably look for the copies after gems, whether drawn or engraved, that seemingly faithfully replicate design and content as these are what assist in identification and provenance. These were not necessarily the major or only concern in the seventeenth century (though it is true that Rubens in his correspondence with Peiresc took time to make drawings that would assist identification).[16] I will return to this but let us just dwell a little on *The Rape of Ganymede* and notice how Rubens has adopted what I will call a cameo-like technique, emphasizing the illuminated whiteness of the boy's body against the three lower strata of colour: blue sky, crimson cloak, and dark brown wings. Furthermore,

9 Rubens's plans to study in Rome and his contacts there are set out in a letter to Duke Vincenzo's Secretary of State, Annibale Chieppio, Rome 2 December 1606, Magurn 1955, no. 14.

10 Furlotti 2010, 388.

11 De Nolhac 1884, 153-172 (cited in Furlotti 2010, 388 no. 6).

12 Rubens to Chieppio from Pisa 29 March 1603 and from Livorno 2 April 1603, Magurn 1955, nos. 3 and 4.

13 McCrory 1979; *Pregio e Bellezza*, 2010.

14 Magurn 1955, 14.

15 See Muller 1989; and especially Belkin and Healy 2004 where the 'cantoor' or studiolo in which Rubens is thought to have kept his drawings is described.

16 David Jaffé points out how few printed images of gems were available at the time, Jaffé, David 1993, 103. One of the earliest was an illustration in Conrad Gesner, *De Omni Rerum Fossilium Genere* ….1565.

the blue of the sky is rendered with streaks of white and gold reminiscent of the surface of one of the artist's much loved chalcedonies. Peiresc's first biographer referred in 1641 to Rubens as "that most renowned painter and lover of all antiquities, but especially achats [agates] in which he was very skilful."[17] Agate, as we shall see, whether in the form of an incised or carved gem or as raw material, played a significant part in Rubens's intellectual and creative world.

Gem research in relation to Rubens studies

Over the past forty years there have been some major contributions to our knowledge of Rubens' relationship to gems – in particular Van de Meulen's volumes on Rubens' studies from antiquity for the *Corpus Rubenianum* (1994), an article by Oleg Neverov in 1979,[18] and various essays by David Jaffé, to all of which I am much indebted. This work is surely ongoing; there remains, for example, disagreement not only over what is represented but also as to whether the Leiden cameo, or *Gemma Constantiniana* of Constantine and Fausta with Crispus riding on a chariot drawn by centaurs, was once in the artist's collection.[19] The focus on reconstituting Rubens's collection and upon his relationship to a small number of spectacular gems, in particular the *Gemma Augustea* and the *Gemma Tiberiana,* has meant other issues have been ignored. The term 'gem' has had – and still has – many different meanings: the Oxford English Dictionary lists five nouns, of which number 3 is "a precious or semi-precious stone, bearing an engraved design either in relief or intaglio."[20] Collectors of intaglios and cameos in the late Renaissance and Early Modern period also collected raw minerals; it is, for example, impossible to say for certain what Michele Mercati (1541-1593) had in the drawer labelled 'Gemmae' in the cabinet of the museum he created in the Vatican for Pope Gregory XVIII, an incomplete account of which was published in 1556 entitled *De Re Metallica*.[21] Andrea Bacci's book on precious stones, a copy of which was in the library of Cassiano dal Pozzo, refers to *gemme* when describing raw minerals; the great Naples collector Ferrante Imperato, in his *Dell'Historia Naturale,* follows Pliny in describing as gems the raw materials from which cameos are worked.[22] Similarly the word agate is used widely, not least in correspondence between Rubens, Peiresc and their associates, both as a shorthand for incised and carved gems and as a descriptor for the raw material of agate.

Rubens the collector

Notwithstanding what I have said above, a few words on Rubens's own collection are in order. His first purchases probably date from his time in Italy; he was certainly purchasing statuary during that period and in a letter of 2 March 1612, after his premature return to Antwerp on the occasion of his mother's death, he speaks of commissioning an Italian friend to spend the money he had been paid for the altarpiece in the Chiesa Nuova for the purchase of 'a few trinkets in Rome'.[23] But it is only after 1619 that the dates of certain purchases of gems were recorded in correspondence. Certainly Bellori, writing in 1672, 32 years after the artist's death, claimed that Rubens had acquired, as well as marble statues, every kind of antiquity, medals, cameos, intaglios, *gemme* and *metalli* and had them transported back to Antwerp.[24] *Metalli* was generally the term for anything that came out of the ground rather than what we would now understand as metals. For example, the German Joannes Schreck, almost certainly known to Rubens as he was in Rome at the same time, in his preface to the *Tesoro Messicano* published in 1628 by the Accademia dei Lincei, declared: "Parlo dei Metalli, delle gemme, dei minerali, dei diversi sali e dei vari succhi …" ("I speak of metals, gems, minerals, of various salts and juices…") going on to praise Pliny for having affirmed that contemplation of a gem is sufficient for the appreciation of nature's perfection.[25] The certainly generic but nonetheless interesting illustration of gem hunters in *Hortus Sanitatis* (1491) indicates that gems were closely associated with mineral excavation. Sources of information on Rubens' collection of worked gemstones include an index from 1628, listing 53 gems of which the artist sent casts to Peiresc, an inventory of a cabinet of 212 gems belonging to Rubens' son Albert, and documents concerning the estate of the Duke of Buckingham to whom Rubens sold the bulk of his collection

17 Gassendi 1657, 177, quoted Thomson de Grummond 1968, 2.

18 Neverov 1979.

19 Van de Meulen 1994-5, vol. 2, no. 166; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1951b; Halbertsma 2015. The object is currently designated by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden inventory number GS-11096.

20 www.oed.com.

21 Mercati 1717; On Michele Mercati, see Accordi 1980. The posthumously published catalogue of the Mercati collection would have been circulated in manuscript form in the seventeenth century.

22 Bacci 1587. On Cassiano's library see Sparti 1992, 131. See Imperato's passage on *achat* in Imperato 1599 ch. 39. On Imperato's museum see Stendardo 2001.

23 Magurn 1955, no 23.

24 Bellori 1672, 148.

25 Mottana 2013, 219. Sometimes early collectors distinguished *pietre* from *metalli*' but generally *metalli* is a generic term as in Agricola 1556; Gesner 1565 who provides an image of a cameo as well as instructions on how to cut one; Mercati 1717.

in 1626, [26] while retaining, as he famously told Peiresc in 1634, "some of the rarest gems and most exquisite medals from the sale. Thus I still have a collection of beautiful and curious things in my possession".[27]

Rubens' friendship with Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc

The name of Peiresc has cropped up several times. Thanks to the work of Peter N. Miller, we now know a great deal not only about who belonged to the so-called Republic of Letters, of which Peiresc was the leading light, but equally significantly the practical details of how knowledge, ideas, letters and artefacts were transmitted through Europe's sprawling maritime networks.[28] Thanks to the publication of Rubens' surviving correspondence[29] we have long known how highly Peiresc valued his Flemish friend's knowledge of antiquity and his skill as a draftsman and engraver capable of transferring visual data in a pre-photographic era. But we now know a great deal more as well about the context in which Peiresc and Rubens planned their never-to-be-completed Gem Book in the summer of 1620, stimulated by Peiresc's discovery in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris of the *Gemma Tiberiana*. Much has been written about the surviving engravings executed in Rubens' workshop and intended for publication in this book.[30] Less attention has been paid to why the project was aborted. The most obvious reason is that, although the two men shared a common interest in antiquity, for Peiresc cameos and intaglios were instruments in his search for information about ancient customs, religions, husbandry, mythology – a means to an end. Thus, the reason he wanted a cast of Rubens' exquisitely beautiful agate cameo-cut vase was so that he could fill it with sand and measure its capacity in order to assist his theory of historic weights and measures.[31] Rubens was also committed to researching and identifying the subjects on gems, though he found coins with their lesser susceptibility to damage and therefore greater legibility more conducive. But to Rubens gems were exquisite artefacts; they were minerals wrought by human ingenuity into an object that could be held in the hand. Moreover, they furnished an artist to whom colour was paramount with exemplars of great purity: sard, onyx, carnelian, jasper. Agate and onyx were minerals that had been admired since Pliny for their natural figurations, miraculous forms of representation devised by nature without human intervention.[32] Rubens would have been familiar with the ways in which artists exploited the natural banding in agate as the basis for a pictorial representation, adding figures in paint to the 'landscape' or 'seascape' invoked by the stone. Agate panels treated in this way – combining the artistry of nature with man's artistic skills – were incorporated into cabinets such as the example made by Philipp Hainhofer, now in the Gustavianum in Uppsala, where the natural 'landscape' banding of agate has been worked up into biblical scenes by a painter.[33] In seventeenth-century Europe agates were precious stones, authorised by their presence on the High Priest's robe in Ezekiel; while never losing their traditional virtues, they were valued beyond all others for their poetic story-telling qualities. In 1585, agate is described as coming from the Indies by an anonymous poet: "Cette pierre est toujours depeinte & bigarre … et de plusieurs couleurs" ("This stone is always painted and streaked … and of several colours").[34] Typical is Remy Belleau's 1604 praise of agate as "nonpareille", a stone in whose mirror are imprinted "the faces of men and animals, the earth, sky, stars, sea, mountains, rocks …". [35]

A love of agate

Scholars writing about the Gem Book disregard the fact that, over a long period of time in 1633, Peiresc tried unsuccessfully to purchase on Rubens' behalf a piece of rough agate. We only have Peiresc's side of this exchange, but it is nonetheless clear what occurred. Peiresc describes in detail a piece of agate he has located. Unfortunately, however, it has a flaw through a vein. So he has arranged for merchants to bring him all the pieces of white agate in their possession; all these turn out to be transparent white and this is not what Rubens wants. What he desires, and what Peiresc has been seeking is "un blanc laiteux et opaque" (a milky and opaque white).[36] Shortly thereafter he offers Rubens a fist-sized piece that he has had in Provence for around twelve years after receiving it from Aleppo. He is worried that it might be too soft for Rubens's purposes (of which we remain ignorant) but suggests it will take a good polish and, as long as it is not exposed to

26 Significantly, according to Thomson de Grummond 1968, 38, the list includes the phrase: "twelve boxes of agates and other precious stones", the implication being that agates and precious stones were coterminous.

27 Magurn 1955, no. 235.

28 Miller 2000; Miller 2015.

29 Codex Diplomaticus 1887-1901; Magurn 1955.

30 See, for example, Meulen 1994-5, vol. 2, 173-5; Jaffé, David 1988.

31 See Miller 2000, 343-345.

32 See, for example Pliny the Elder 37th Book, Ch. LIV, Achates (Loeb edition 1989); Aldrovandi 1648; Daston and Park 1998, ch. 7.

33 Similar, if less elaborate, cabinets were made in Flanders in the seventeenth century, Fabri 1991.

34 *Les trois livres des meteores*, 1585, 58

35 Belleau 1604, vol. i, pp. 50 verso – 51 recto

36 *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol.3, 1 December 1622.

Fig.3 Rubens Vase, agate, 19 cm height, ca. 400 AD, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Photo: © Walters Art Museum.

rain and wind, is likely to endure.[37] The importance here of the aesthetic as well as the physical properties of agate serve to remind us that agate has an extraordinary impact as a material even before its banded structure is exploited by a gifted gem carver. One of Rubens' greatest purchases was the vase made from a single piece of honey-coloured agate that he bought in Paris in 1619 (Fig.3), paying the enormous price of 2,000 scudi for it. We now know that in all likelihood this had been stolen from the French royal collection.[38] The craftsman who made this small scale deluxe object for a Byzantine patron around 400 AD used techniques of undercutting similar to those of a gem cutter, manifesting what has been described as a gem-like focus on an exquisite miniature.[39] As Rubens subsequently sold this object, having first made a drawing (now known only through the engraving), it was evidently not part of the group of beloved objects, including agate vases, that Rubens specified in his will should not be sold without the agreement of both his sons.[40] These were described as medals, agate vases, jaspers and precious/valuable stones.

37 Ibid, 15 December1622. A further letter of 29-30 December indicates that Rubens has proved reluctant to take the piece; Peiresc assures him that it is no trouble and that he only regrets it may not be hard enough. It is noteworthy that Peiresc had this mineral in the rough.

38 For the extraordinary history of the *Rubens Vase*, as it is now known, see Ross 1943.

39 Elsner 2004, 299.

40 'Het Laatste Testament van P.P. Rubens', 27 May 1640, reprinted in *Rubens-Bulletijn Jaarboeken*, 1896, 125-181, codicil 137-138.

Fig.4 The Triumph of Licinius, cameo, sardonyx, 160 × 214 mm, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles. Photo © Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Rubens – an astute businessman

A more mundane reason for the failure to bring the gem book to completion is that, while Peiresc was an independent bachelor scholar, an aristocrat with a private income, Rubens had many strings to his bow – diplomat and businessman, husband and father, as well as collector. Unlike Peiresc, he was making a living and (thanks to his acumen) a good one. Although undoubtedly he loved the objects he collected, he had no hesitation in disposing of them if it would be profitable. According to a story published by Sandrart in 1675, having astutely seen that the Duke of Buckingham wanted to acquire an instant collection, the artist quickly sold to him his own gem collection for 60,000 Dutch guilders, thereby demonstrating that Rubens "next to his art knew how to make money quickly".[41] Thereafter, when Zacharias Brendel, 'a well-known alchemist', came to visit Rubens in Antwerp and told him that if the artist would furnish for him a house at his expense, he would soon find the method to make gold, Rubens is reported to have said: "you are twenty years too late because in this time I have found with my paintbrush and colours the right and true Lapidum Philosophicum".[42]

Rubens and the 'Great Cameos'

Much of the correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc was devoted to the two great cameos – the *Gemma Tiberiana* (The Apotheosis of Germanicus) and the *Gemma Augustea* (The Apotheosis of Augustus), respectively in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Both have been extensively published and the various drawings and engravings of them catalogued. I do not, therefore, intend

41 Sandrart 1675, vol. 2, Buch 3, 292.

42 Sandrart 1675, vol. 2, Buch 3, 292. This must refer to Brendel the Younger 1592-1638 as the elder died in 1626.

Fig.5 Lucas Vorsterman I after Peter Paul Rubens, The Triumph of Licinius, engraving, 209 × 288 mm., 1622, © The Trustees of the British Museum All rights reserved (1874,0808.2120).

Fig.6 Peter Paul Rubens, The Triumph of Licinius, pen and brown ink on white paper with a wash, 1622, 189 × 249 mm, © The Trustees of the British Museum All rights reserved (1919,1111.22).

to revisit the data. Rather I shall examine what happens when an artist as knowledgeable and sympathetic to gems as Rubens sets out to make representations – and I am deliberately avoiding the word copy – either for his own records or for a recipient at a distance, who desires a substitute for the missing object, a substitute which might be an engraving in multiples and therefore open to breach of copyright.[43] Representations of this kind are freighted with expectation for scholars: the hope is always that they will provide a missing link, offer evidence for the condition of an object subsequently damaged or work effectively as a substitute for the original in terms of its narrative content. A look at one instance shows how ill-founded such expectations may be. When P.J. Mariette in 1750 admired the engraving of the Triumph of Licinius cameo (Fig.4), made in 1622 by the highly skilled engraver Lucas Vorsterman after Rubens (Fig.5) and intended for the Gem Book, he had not seen the cameo itself but judged it by the engraving to be one of the rarest monuments from antiquity. "Ce Camée … m'a semblé si beau et si singulier dans l'Estampe de Rubens, que je n'ai pû me refuser à en tracer cette légère esquisse …" ("This cameo appeared to me so unusual in Rubens' print, that I could not resist sketching this light tracing from it").[44] Rubens' very fine drawing (Fig.6), from which Vorsterman worked, measures 189 x 249 mm whereas the cameo measures 160 x 214 mm. Drawings invariably aggrandise cameos and in this instance the artist has included an outline of the actual cameo in the lower left inscribed 'Grandezza della Pietra'.

Rubens is likely to have seen and drawn this cameo on his first visit to France in 1622. Although the engraving indicates that the subject was intended for the Gem Book, the dimensions of Rubens's drawing and the extensive changes he made to the composition of what is a rather crude assemblage of figures in uncertain perspective suggests that an accurate scholarly reproduction was not first and foremost in his mind. The figure of Licinius has been reduced to dimensions more proportionate to his position mid ground behind his horses. The animals are transformed from plodding cart horses to spirited steeds, the enemies are individualized and rendered with exuberant anatomical correctness and the winged Victory figures, who hold the horses' reins to right and left, are now elegantly draped and graceful in movement. We know that Rubens was interested in Roman armour, an interest his son inherited.[45] Moreover the artist went on to use the winged Victory from the cameo as a source for his first sketch for *The Triumph of Henry IV* (National Gallery of Australia, Canberra), indicating that the potential of the cameo as a source book was of equal importance to the need to record the design of the cameo.[46] As an engraver himself he made sure his drawing could be readily interpreted and translated into print, a process in which the decision to allow for reversal was a creative one. In the engraving, the making of which was supervised by the artist, we notice how placing the outward leaning Victory at the right instead of the left in the engraving, while reversing the cameo, lends the composition greater narrative dynamism. A similar process can be seen at work in Paulus Pontius's engraving of the *Gemma Constantiniana* in Leiden, though the quality of the engraving is not as good. The engraving of Licinius, done in Rubens' lifetime and under his watchful eye, takes us away from the cameo that is its pre-text. The uneven edge of the stone that bespeaks its unique character is gone; what we have is an example of the artist's belief in print-making as a valuable endeavour and a demonstration of how he hired engravers on whom he could rely for consistency of style and an ability to respond to his own pictorial idiom.[47]

Representing the *Gemma Tiberiana*

In the case of the *Gemma Tiberiana* (Fig.7) we have a cameo of much superior quality and, therefore, one might conjecture there would be no temptation to embellish or 'improve' on the part of the artist. In addition to the cameo we have three depictions associated with the Rubens-Peiresc project. Firstly, a drawing by Rubens signed in a later hand was executed in Paris in 1622. Van der Meulen states that this "faithfully pictures the cameo, although the contrasting colours of the dark top layer of the sardonyx are not always indicated."[48] This is not strictly speaking true as Rubens also 'repaired' the cracks in the stone, greatly elaborated the drapery and made many subtle changes. For example, the profile of the central figure at the lower margin – the seated male accompanying the woman with her baby – is tipped slightly forward so as to be on the same vertical axis as the staff held by Tiberius. These changes were incorporated into the anonymous engraving (in reverse) along with other sharpening up of details that are generally summarised in the cameo where the focus is on the dramatic rendering of profiles.[49] Rubens' enhancements are articulated with the thoroughness of an archaeological reconstruction; note,

43 Rubens was afraid someone would copy his engravings of gems, see 'Magurn 1955, no. 47.

44 Mariette 1750, 300.

45 See: Rubens, Albert 1665.

46 The borrowing was first observed by Jaffé, David 1988, 7 where he remarks that the first oil sketch was "inspired by the cameo".

47 Vorsterman and Rubens quarrelled and Pontius took his place. On reproductive engraving, see: Zorach and Rodini 2005, 18.

48 Meulen 1994-5, no. 168a.

49 It was published by the artist's son in his *Dissertatio De Gemma Tiberiana* in Rubens, Albert 1665, 192.

Fig.7 Gemma Tiberiana (The Apotheosis of Augustus [Germanicus]) cameo, ca. 23 AD, sardonyx, 31 × 26.5 cm, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles. Photo: Annemarieke Willemsen.

Fig.8 Peter Paul Rubens, The Glorification of Germanicus (Gemma Tiberiana), WA1989.74, oil on canvas, 1626, 100 × 82.6, Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

for example, the claw feet of Tiberius's throne. Uniquely from the Rubens-Peiresc collaboration, we have the famous painting (Fig.8), now in the Ashmolean Museum, which was commissioned after the engraving in 1625 and dispatched to Peiresc in 1626. It is three times the size of the original, is not a coloured drawing (in which outline would have been preeminent) but a painting in oil on canvas. It is rendered in grisaille which retains the browns that make this cameo so distinctive but ignores the whites. Moreover, where the brown colouration might detract from the overall grace and elegance, a cream tint is substituted, as with the figure of Livia and in what Rubens transforms into a crush of pale knees in the foreground. The considerably divergent views of Peiresc and Rubens as to the function that such a representation might fulfil, and the extent and legitimacy of the artist's originality, can be judged if we consider that Peiresc had requested that the dimensions should match those of a painting he already possessed by Niccoló dell'Abate of the *Gemma Augustea* and that the figures should be painted in colours to resemble *real people* – surely a Disneyland fantasy for the frail antiquarian's Provençal bed chamber.[50] Rubens was in Antwerp when he executed this painting and it is assumed that he therefore followed his own drawing and a cast.[51] So the painting is at two removes from the cameo and has, with good reason, come to be viewed as a monumental work in its own right. Rubens would have shared sixteenth-century concepts of the artist reaching, through divine power, to the idea that lies behind the material object; interpolation was a mark of his distinction. With engraving, a dark background (something that could be achieved in paint by washing the area around the figures) could only be reproduced by cross-hatching. Furthermore, an oil painting could reproduce something of the luminosity and above all the colour of the cameo. The overall consequences of Rubens's artistic decisions are twofold: firstly, his choices serve to emphasize individual human figures and their anatomy; secondly (as a result of this), the iconography is immediately more legible. Both are consonant with the preoccupations of a great Baroque history painter who balances his instinctual feel for a contemporary viewing public with his concern for archaeological accuracy.

50 See: correspondence Peiresc to Rubens and to Valavez, December 1622, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 3. (author's italics).

51 White 1990, 144.

Fig.9 Jan Brueghel the Elder, Still Life with Flowers and a Tazza, oil on panel,47.5 × 52.5, 1618, Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts (inv. 5013) © Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium. Photo: J. Geleyns-Ro scan.

The appeal of gems to painters

I shall conclude by taking us back to Rubens as a painter since here the artist's knowledge of precious stones and his love of what I will call the poetry of minerals is most vividly registered as he engages with their visual allure, their centrality to theories and naming of colours, the mystery of their origin and composition, and their myths. Precious stones, meticulously observed, feature prominently in the artist's historical and mythological paintings. And we know that he dealt and traded in them, especially but by no means exclusively in diamonds.[52] I will focus on a small number of images in which agates and other stones of the same family (carnelians, onyxes and jaspers) are represented. It has been noticed that Rubens' close friend and collaborator, Jan Brueghel the Elder, in his *Allegory of Sight*, introduced many pieces of antique sculpture belonging to Rubens.[53] Several of the paintings in this series include gems and impressions along with coins which had become part of the iconography of Vanitas scenes in Flemish art. In *Still Life with Flowers and a Tazza* (Fig.9) Brueghel, who was court painter to Archduke Albert

52 This is the subject of my ongoing research.

53 Meulen 1994-5, vol. 1, 143; the painting is one of eight, all now in the Prado, executed in 1617-18. On Jan Brueghel the Elder see: Ertz 1979; Woollett and Suchtelen 2006.

Fig.10a (left) Peter Paul Rubens, Jan Brueghel the Elder with his Second Wife and Children, oil on panel, 125.1 × 95.2, 1612-13, The Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London. (P1978 PG.362).

Fig.10b (right) Detail of 10a.

and Isabella, unmistakeably features among the jewellery spilling out of the casket two identical bracelets of mounted agates, displaying clearly visible bands of colour and suggestions of intaglio designs on some of these.

Gems in portraits

Shortly after his return from Italy in 1608, Rubens painted a portrait of Brueghel with his second wife and children (Fig.10). The idea of mounting antique gems in jewellery is, I recognise, anathema to specialists in glyptics[54] even though gems mounted on rings were a commonplace of early collections and the practice of mounting gems in this way was sanctioned by the myth of Prometheus and embedded in iconography connected with early museums. To be sure, the stones in the bracelet worn by Catherina Brueghel, to which her son draws attention, may be composed of modern stones. It was common practice to mix authentic classical gems and modern imitations: the Cheapside Hoard includes both and recipes for their manufacture abounded.[55] However, it does not seem likely that wealthy bourgeois sitters in their best clothes would have been content to display for perpetuity *ersatz* examples. When Rubens painted the wedding portrait of himself and his first wife Isabella Brant (the famous *Honeysuckle Bower*) (1609 Munich, Alte Pinakothek), he portrayed Isabella wearing a similar pair of bracelets which are listed in an inventory as "Een paer agaete braseletten …".[56] These were not – unlike the pair's clothes – the height of fashion. Nor were they financially valuable as were, for example, gold chains and diamonds of which the Rubens household also owned a number. But they were evidently valued in other ways. It behoves us to discard a purist approach to material history and to recognise hybrid artefacts for the ways in which they were understood and appreciated in the past. An objection can be raised that these were not intaglios or cameos but merely coloured stones, especially as, despite the fact that figurations are discernible on a number of stones in these images, it is not possible within the economy of Rubens' and Brueghel's painting styles to precisely identify any single stone. This need not, however, be taken to mean there were none; the overwhelming likelihood is that they were indeed engraved gems and that this is precisely why attention is drawn to them in different ways in these images. The only surviving piece of jewellery of the kind seen in the paintings that I have been able to discover is a necklace in the Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg, thought to have originally been two bracelets, and dated on the

54 See Henig 1994, x-xii.

55 See, for example: Leonardus 1502 and della Porta 1611; Mottana, 2016. On the Hoard see: Forsyth 2013.

56 Item 12 in inventory drawn up 17 November 1645 by Rubens and his second wife, Helena Forment, see: Duverger 1991, 266.

basis of comparison with portraits to northern Europe circa 1530-40.[57] It incorporates a wide range of stones, including amethyst, rock crystal, tourmaline, malachite, agate, cornelian – and one antique cameo. It may have had a prophylactic function.

What contemporary documents can tell us

In the absence of material evidence we turn to documents. Inventories and wills in northern Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century frequently list minerals, either as individual stones or as jewellery. Here descriptions have evidently been often made in a hurry by scribes uncertain of what they were looking at, but they do give us some idea of the extent of ownership of gems in Rubens' circle and beyond. The artist's father-in-law Daniel Fourment, a merchant who had bought and shipped to the East Indies the famous *Rubens Vase*, possessed at the time of his death numerous agates, at least some of which must have been cameos or incised gems. A particularly elaborate example is described as: "Dry … stucken agathe waervan twee groote gesneden Trogniën syn gestalt in gout met loofswerck gemailleert met esmerauden ende robynen ende andere een ovael gesneden anichil in t'gout geset den grout swert ende boven sardonyx." ("Three other pieces of agate and two of them have large incised faces set in gold with enamelled foliage with emeralds and rubies and another one oval cut anichil set in gold with a black background on top of sardonyx").[58] Other inventories describe these agates with faces mounted in bracelets like the ones we see in Rubens' portraits and in Brueghel's paintings. Thus, for example, we read of: "Noch twee andere bracheletten, al mist golden Grieksch A A ende mit ronde cornalinen, agaten ende andere diergelijcke, desommige mit personnaigien gesteken" (Two more bracelets, both with gold Greek AA and with round cornelians, agate and other such, some of which carved with personnages).[59]

Conclusion

Rubens was a man of his time. Just as the pleasure he was able to take in collecting and researching agate artefacts did not preclude his selling those very artefacts if he could make a good profit, so his recognition of their aesthetic and historical worth did not preclude acceptance that they might be mounted in jewellery which would be worn and could contribute to the impressive and costly dress worn by family and friends when sitting for their portraits. A corollary to this account, and a splendid precedent for the aforementioned paintings I have discussed, was readily available to Rubens in the form of Raphael's *Dama Velata* (1514-1515, Palazzo Pitti), which the artist could have seen in Florence in 1600 when it was in the house of a local merchant.[60] The sitter wears an extraordinary necklace composed of oval-cut or incised antique cameos in agate, onyx or sardonyx. In the inventory of jewels in Isabella D'Este's *grotto* in 1531 was a necklace that must have appeared similar to the one worn by Raphael's sitter: "E più, camei quatordeci legati in oro, parte teste e parte figure, tutti attaccati con un cathenino d'oro" ("And further, fourteen cameos set in gold, partly heads and partly figures, all linked with a little gold chain)"[61]

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57 Zander-Seidel 2007, 233-243. The lack of surviving examples is unsurprising given that jewellery, including this piece, was regularly dismantled and stones reused.

58 Inventory 23 July 1643, transcribed in Duverger 1991, 106. The AA probably refers to the clasp or the links.

59 'Uit het testament van Elisabeth, Gravin Van Culemborg', 1555, Rijksarchief in Gelderland, transcribed in Gans 1961, inventory 7, 375-376.

60 The portrait is mentioned in *Le Bellezze di Firenze*, 1591, as in the house of the merchant Matteo Botti. It passed to the Medicis in 1619. See Cocke and de Vecchi 1969, no. 121.

61 Il Codice D.XII, 6 dell'Archivio Gonzaga nell'Archivio di Stato di Mantova, transcribed in Bini 2001, no. 86, 28. Isabella D'Este died in 1539.

Post-classical cameos, their makers and users

*Claudia Wagner**

Introduction

One of the major luxury arts of classical antiquity was the production of gems and finger rings, precious objects prized throughout history. In the long tradition of gem engraving the cameo is a comparably recent invention, probably introduced by workshops in Alexandria by the second century BC when Hellenistic courts made a point of displaying luxury – *tryphe* – to legitimize the rule of their new dynasties. These cameos present in relief, mostly on layered stones (usually sardonyx), subjects similar to those on intaglios, and often demonstrably by the same artists. From the first century BC they were a popular medium for secular and religious subjects in their function as jewellery, often for women. Another popular use was for imperial portraiture and even propaganda, often carved in larger stones. The great cameos, one of the major arts of classical antiquity, were particularly admired, serving as important sources of information about classical figures and myths.

Inspired by these classical gems, Renaissance artists began to rival earlier engravers with innovative designs. During this period famous collections were formed, such as the Medici, Gonzaga and Farnese collections. Many were published, some even in the sixteenth century, attracting the attention not only of nobles and kings in Austria, France, and even Britain, but also the Netherlands, where one collector, Abraham van Goorle (Gorlaeus), proudly published his extensive collection of provincial gems of the Roman Empire. The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden has benefitted hugely from such diverse collecting and its post-classical cameos reflect techniques, shapes and iconography which had spread throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. Many pieces are copies of ancient and even early Renaissance gems; others original designs with classicising motifs, portrait studies and more complex groups. I shall endeavour to provide an overview of some of the highlights of the Leiden collection: cameos engraved in beautiful materials such as a deep-red jacinth bust of a woman from the sixteenth century, gems featuring motifs treasured in the Renaissance, such as a four-layered sardonyx copy of the famous Cesati cameo of Cupid taming a lion, much admired by Vasari, and portraits of rulers and kings, exotic men and women.

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Fig.1 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-11093, showing an eagle attacking a snake (33 × 31 mm); after 1231.

Fig.2 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-10138, a copy of a famous Renaissance gem, Cupid leading a lion (15 × 13.5 mm), 16th/17th century.

Cameo revival

Classical cameos continued to be collected and displayed after the classical period. They were found in treasuries, often together with contemporary gems, decorating reliquaries, book covers or liturgical items. Numerous examples of such use include the *Shrine of the Magi* in Cologne, which incorporated a Hellenistic cameo (the *Ptolemies Cameo*) as a centrepiece, and the Lothair Cross in Aachen, a cross studded with engraved gems and set with a cameo of the Emperor Augustus at its centre.[1] After the early Christian period the number of new gems produced was substantially lower. While gem engravers' workshops can be traced to various localities and stylistically identified, these mainly produced intaglios. Cameo carving reached new heights in the medieval period during the reign of the Hohenstaufens in southern Italy and Sicily. Roman imperial symbols and arts were revived under Emperor Frederick II (1212-1250), himself a gem collector, whose great political and cultural ambitions encompassed Italy and Germany, and even extended to Jerusalem. A series of cameos produced in this period, mostly of multi-layered sardonyx, often present their subject in a dark layer on a white ground. The dark layers of the stone are coloured with 'il caramello di miele,'[2] a simple application of honey and heat which turns light-brown and gray layers of quartz into a deep shade of brown. The Leiden collection contains an impressive example of such a cameo (Fig.1), representing an eagle with outspread wings attacking a snake coiled around its leg and raising its head. Frederick II adopted the eagle as an imperial symbol; from circa 1231 the mints of Brindisi and Messina started striking gold coins, known as *augustales*, bearing the bust of Frederick II on the obverse and the eagle with outspread wings and head turned right on the reverse. Giuliano has argued that Frederick not only used the bird as an imperial symbol but that he also identified himself with the eagle;[3] the snake the eagle is attacking on the cameo, he contends, should be interpreted as representing the papacy. There is a similar version of the subject in Munich,. [4] Other cameos show the eagle with animals of prey, such as the hare.[5] Hohenstaufen supremacy also appears in other symbols on cameos (such as the lion); classical subjects (such as Hercules killing the Nemean lion) form a coherent iconography of the class.

During the Renaissance cameos were again produced in great numbers. Artists began to rival earlier engravers with innovative designs; the best of these signed their work and attained fame. Alessandro Cesati (floruit between 1538 and 1564), also known as 'Il Grechetto,' was a gem engraver and designer of medals. He was indeed highly regarded: Michelangelo is reported to have judged Cesati's medal of Pope Paul III as a high point in art, while Vasari praised a cameo head of Phocion ("la testa di Fotione Ateniense che è miracolosa, è il piu bello cammeo che si possa vedere") and a "cammeo di un leone con putto – opera perduta."[6] Alessandro Cesati mostly signed in Greek

1 See Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 59-60, 262, with detailed bibliography, 466-469, 474.
2 Del Bufalo, in Del Bufalo / Pannuti 2009, 11-27, Fig. 32.
3 Giuliano, in Scarisbrick / Wagner / Boardman 2016a, no. 128.
4 *cf.* Kahsnitz, in Bernward / Kahsnitz 1977, no. 880.
5 Giuliano 2009, 131.1, 132.2, and 134.4.
6 Vasari 1568, IV.

Fig.3 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-10221, a copy of a famous Renaissance gem, Hippa pressing milk from her breast (18 × 14.5 mm), 16th/17th century.

Fig.4 Jacinth cameo, inv. GS-11055, bust of a nude woman (Cleopatra?) (42 × 30 mm), 16th century.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΕΠΟΙΕ.[7] The quality of Cesati's work was so splendid, that Baron Philip von Stosch included his cameo of Cupid leading a lion in his publication of gems signed by ancient artists, the *Gemmae antiquae caelata*. At the time Cesati's beautiful cameo belonged to the 4th Earl of Carlisle. The Leiden collection contains a copy of the original gem (Fig.2). Cesati's cameo is now in London, owned by S. J. Phillips. The 'Alexander' signature is engraved underneath the thick groundline, the cameo is carved out of a five layered sardonyx. The engraver of the copy had to make do with a four-layered stone and reduced the size substantially, to fit the setting of a gold ring. The colouring is well reproduced, apart from Cupid's wings, which Cesati managed to engrave in the honey-coloured brown of his stone's top layer. The engraver of the Leiden copy must have had access to the original cameo to understand the colouring and thus did not have to rely on Stosch's engraving or an impression. Later neo-classical copies of Cesati's cameo are more detailed than even the original, such as the rock crystal version by the English engraver Georg Michael Moser, dated to the eighteenth century.[8]

Increased interest in gems in the Renaissance prompted their study and diffusion through impressions and publications, accompanied in the sixteenth century by a rise in the production of copies of famous ancient gems, in particular signed gems. Such copies allowed collectors unable to acquire a specific original cameo to nevertheless add an image of their desired gem, often cut by the best contemporary engraver, to their growing collection. When the Duke of Marlborough, proud owner of one of the best collections in Britain, lost out to his cousin, the Earl of Spencer, in his attempt to acquire the famous Zanetti leopard, he had a faithful copy made of this gem for his collection, set in a ring surrounded by diamonds. He also commissioned a copy of a much coveted gem which he did own, the *Marlborough Intaglio*, showing the bust of a young Antinous.[9] The original had survived as a fragment; the copy, by the highly accomplished British engraver Edward Burch, is a faithful reconstruction, signed by the artist.[10] Many of these copies were not made to deceive, as fakes, although copies could be passed off as originals to unsuspecting buyers after a time. Even Baron von Stosch, patron of the engraver Lorenz Natter, was accused by the artist of duping the public by not declaring that the gems he had cut for the Baron were modern.[11] The faking of signatures and cameos is known to have been a lucrative business, which did not always profit engravers, who must have received news of the attribution of their work to ancient masters with a mixture of pride and dismay.

7 Visconti 1829,118; Rochette 1832, 108-9. He also signed as M. Lollius Alexander.

8 Kagan 2010, Fig. 6.23.

9 Boardman / Scarisbrick / Wagner / Zwierlein-Diehl 2009, no. 530.

10 Antinous and Burch's copy: Boardman / Scarisbrick / Wagner / Zwierlein-Diehl 2009, no. 753.

11 See Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 301-2 with a discussion of Natter's original missive and Winckelmann's considered response.

Copies of famous cameos are themselves important historical documents. Sometimes they represent the only record of gems now lost. The Leiden collection contains a sardonyx (Fig.3), engraved with the half-dressed upper body of a maenad pressing milk from her breast into a small *rhyton*, a drinking horn with a finial in the shape of an animal's head, here a goat with curved horns. Her hair is bound up with a ribbon and a *thyrsos* can be seen in the field behind her. The famous original gem, a carnelian intaglio, is recorded in the Medici collection. Gori identified the woman as the Lydian maenad Hippa, one of the nymphs who nursed the baby Dionysos.[12] As a maenad she became a member of the god's entourage and took part in ecstatic Dionysian revelries. The motif proved a particularly popular device in Renaissance art; even the Leiden collection has another version, set in a gold ring, on which Hippa has a slightly different hairstyle than on the Medici original.[13] The Medici collection also contained another gem, now lost, engraved with a satyr. Satyr and Hippa are combined on a Renaissance masterpiece known as the *Martelli Mirror*,[14] which has been dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. A bronze plaque on the back of the mirror, decorated in low relief, couples the Hippa motif on the right, as on the Medici gem, with a satyr on the left; the satyr is facing her and is making the gesture for a cuckold with his hand. A small statue of Priapus, ancient god of fertility, is shown between them. The subject is identified as an allegory of reproduction by the inscription: NATVRA FOVET QVAE NECESSITAS VRGET ('Nature encourages what necessity demands'). Hippa and satyr also appear separately on companion plaquettes and as individual subjects on Renaissance items ranging from a terracotta lamp to a stone altarpiece.[15]

Sardonyx was not the only material used by Renaissance engravers to engrave cameos. A bust of a nude woman in the museum's collection (Fig.4), is carved into a deep-red/orange stone traditionally referred to as jacinth, but also commonly known as hyacinth. These stones were sourced from 'the east'; one of the modern provenances is Pakistan. The material and style of the Leiden cameo closely match a jacinth bust of a nude woman in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle.[16] The inscription 'NASSARO' on the flat gold back of a setting for the cameo may identify the engraver as Matteo del Nassaro (died circa 1548), who worked in Italy and France and was much admired by Vasari.[17] He is mostly known for his magnificent cameo portraits. Vasari relates that he also engraved a 'Descent from the Cross' in heliotrope, taking advantage of the stone's red markings to render the bleeding wounds of Christ's body.[18] It is difficult to compare other signed copies of work by Nassaro with our nude busts. There is a faint mark on the Alnwick bust between and below the breasts, suggesting that snake, an asp, may once have been attached here. This would identify the figure as Cleopatra, which is indeed a common designation for female frontal nude busts.[19] While the Leiden gem lacks the asp, it would probably have been interpreted as Cleopatra by most viewers, although the gem could also have been considered a Venus. The setting is silver gilt with filigree on the reverse, incorporating a necklace; the stone was carved in two parts and the necklace hides the join. A comparable piece in St. Petersburg (from the collection of St. Morys, Paris, 1792) is described as "a hessonite bust of a woman set in silver and gold"; this gem is thought to have been made in Augsburg and the setting in Milan (circa 1560). Is it possible that all three precious busts were made by Nassaro in the sixteenth century? The mounts and style of engraving are certainly in keeping with this date.

Iconographical notes

Unlike intaglios, which could be used as seals and were probably primarily regarded as functional items, despite their obvious beauty and function as signifiers of wealth, cameos are more obviously display pieces. The subjects engraved on intaglios are also noticeably different from those chosen by cameo engravers, with subjects of interest to women represented in far greater number on cameos. During the Renaissance one of the favourite divinities depicted was Venus, goddess of love, and her entourage of Cupids. Sardonyx inv. GS-10145 (Fig.5) has been engraved by a Renaissance artist with a remarkable composition of a seascape, in which the goddess, nude, but for a cloak billowing over her head, is standing on a fearsome sea-monster; her son, Cupid, wielding an arrow, rides a smaller version of the beast. To the right Venus is accompanied by a bearded Triton with shield and trident. The deeply undercut figures of the goddess and her son are almost detached from the background of the cameo. The scene is probably intended to show the birth of Venus. According to classical mythology Venus was born from sea foam and blown ashore by the winds. Representations of Venus' birth in antiquity, such as the celebrated fresco in the House of Venus Marina in Pompeii, tend to depict

12 Gori 1731, I, pl.84.10. For a discussion of the subject and comparisons, see Scarisbrick 2008, no. 320 and Warren, in Scarisbrick / Wagner / Boardman 2016a, no. 65.

13 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden inv, no. GS-10136.

14 Now in the Victoria & Albert Museum: inv. 8717-1863.

15 Riddick 2015, *https://renbronze.com/2015/01/06/martelli-mirror/*; Beck/Blume 1985, 446-448, no. 146.

16 Scarisbrick / Wagner / Boardman 2016b, no.1.

17 Vasari 1568, VI, 75-82.

18 *Cf.* Dalton 1915, 23.

19 See *e.g.* Boardman / Scarisbrick / Wagner / Zwierlein-Diehl 2009, S.-M. no. 367.

Fig.5 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-10145, Venus Marina (18 × 22 mm), 16th century.

her reclining on a shell; even the most famous Renaissance depiction of her birth, by Sandro Botticelli, shows her standing in a scallop shell. The cameo probably dates to the sixteenth century and is thus about a century younger than Botticelli's iconic image. During the sixteenth century Venus Marina, or Venus borne on the waves was a subject much explored on cameos. Mantegna's influential *Battle of the Sea Gods* must have fuelled this fashion. It is rather apt that a piece strongly influenced by gems itself (Mantegna 'quotes' the Poseidon on the *Felix Gem* in Oxford) inspired gem engravers. Other known versions of the Venus Marina, with similar iconography, include examples in Leiden and Bath.[20]

Portrait cameos

Portrait heads and busts were particularly popular on cameos from antiquity onwards. Portraits could be viewed more clearly on cameos than on intaglios and enjoyed a certain propaganda value as gifts.

The identity of post-classical portraits is often not easily established, for features and hairstyles tend towards an idealized generic version of a type rather than a truly individualized representation. Many serious collectors were keen to have complete series of famous heads, emperors and rulers, philosophers and intellectuals, and commissioned engravers to supply the full set of 'illustrious men'.[21]

Portrait studies of rulers became popular on gems from the time of Alexander the Great onwards. The Roman writer Pliny the Elder records that Alexander had a court gem-engraver, Pyrgoteles, who was the only artist allowed to carve intaglios with his

20 Leiden, inv. GS-10192; Holburne Museum, Bath, inv. X427.

21 For example, the set of Emperors produced by the engraver Lorenz Natter for the Duke of Marlborough: Boardman / Scarisbrick / Wagner / Zwierlein-Diehl 2009, S-M. no. 498.1-40.

image.[22] While it seems eminently sensible for a ruler to control his own image, it would probably not have been possible for Alexander to enforce this. So far, no surviving portrait of Alexander has been attributed to Pyrgoteles. Numerous obvious forgeries exist, and very few others have any pretensions to authenticity. However, Alexander's portrait became one of the most reproduced and widely distributed images from the Hellenistic period to the present. After his death his successors used his portrait to legitimise their own rule and his image was represented on coins for the first time. The Leiden sardonyx cameo inv. GS-10255 (Fig.6) is a copy of the image issued on the coinage of Lysimachos, ruler of the region which encompasses much of what is now Bulgaria, northern Greece and Turkey. It shows Alexander as a fresh-faced youth with thick long hair, his fringe styled into a dynamic quiff, known as *anastole*. The rest of is hair is combed forward from the back, where it lies in tiers of thick, slightly undulating locks. The ears are left uncovered. The mass of hair is held with a ribbon of cloth, knotted at the back: a diadem, symbol of the Macedonian ruler. Another attribute defines him: a ram's horn positioned over the ear. In 332 BC Alexander had visited the Egyptian sanctuary of Zeus Ammon, where he was hailed by the priests as the son of the god. Alexander adopted the credo of his divine descent during his life and continued to be worshipped as a god after his death.[23] His legendary achievements and military prowess in conquering most of the known ancient world during a comparatively short life were much admired during antiquity, by Roman emperors from Caesar and Augustus to Nero and Caracalla; such admiration has continuedto the present day. His portrait served as a good luck charm and engravers from the Renaissance to the neo-classical period made copies of the iconic image. The Leiden copy is already attested in the collection of Van Wassenaer Obdam at Twickel Castle in a drawing produced by Willem van Mieris before 1727 (Fig.7).[24] The heavy eyelids, bulging eye and protruding brow most likely date this Alexander cameo to the seventeenth century.

Later rulers also encouraged court engravers to portray them on cameos. Philip II of Spain (1527-98) employed Jacopo da Trezzo, who moved to Madrid in 1559. A Leiden version of Philip's image by Da Trezzo appears on inv. GS-10078 (Fig.8), a sardonyx in white on a clear background. The king is shown in profile facing right, wearing a ruff and cloak. The detailed characterisa-

Fig.6 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-10255, Alexander the Great, (16 × 14 mm), 17th century.

Fig.7 Drawing by Willem van Mieris of the Alexander cameo in the Van Wassenaer Obdam Collection at Twickel Castle; photo by Bernhard Platz.

22 Pliny *HN*, VII. 37, XXXVII. 1 (edition Riley 1855).

23 Plantzos 1999, 164.

24 Dr. Gertrud Platz-Horster has identified the Alexander cameo and other gems in the Van Wassenaer Obdam Collection and kindly given permission to publish the photo by Bernhard Platz. For the collection, see: Platz-Horster 2012, 14-15, refs. 30-32.

tion of the sitter – the jutting Habsburg chin, the closely cropped hair, incised rather than rendered in individual curls – identifies him immediately. The quality is not as striking as on the best extant versions of this image. The Royal collection in Windsor has a more finely worked portrait bust, attributed to Da Trezzo, which may have been presented as a special gift by Philip II, who was King Consort to Mary I of England between 1554 and 1558. The gem was acquired by Charles I, possibly by 1637.[25] Philip II also had ties with English aristocratic families: he was godfather to Philip Howard, 20th Earl of Arundel (1557-1595), and his portrait on a magnificent citrine cameo was possibly a remarkable gift to his godson.[26] The Arundel Philip II intaglio has been connected to the famous engraver Alessandro Cesati on the strength of the gem's quality and the initials A.E. incised on the clothing below the collar.

Fig.8 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-10078, Philip II of Spain, (19 × 15 mm), 16th century.

Changing faces: from 'exotic' portraits to symbols of Abolitionism

Rulers and aristocrats, ancient and modern, were not the only subjects of portrait studies on cameos. From the late sixteenth century onward African men and women, often described as Moorish in contemporary inventories, became a fashionable subject on gems. During the Renaissance interest in foreign peoples was sparked by European traffic with Africa and the Americas. The continent of Africa became associated with gold and ivory, symbols of wealth. The exoticism of ebony skin, and dark, tightly curling hair, plus the mythical prowess ascribed to black warriors (in literature see Shakespeare's *Othello* from 1604), were recurring subjects into the nineteenth century. There are several examples in the Leiden collection. Inv. GS-10062 (Fig.9), carved from black jasper to fully capture the colouring of the subject, represents the head of a young black African man in profile facing left. The squat head with prominent flattened nose, thick lips and short, tightly curling hair is stereotypical in characterisation – almost a caricature – with no attributes. This is not always the case, however. The bust of a black woman (inv. GS-10206 (Fig.10)) may display similar stereotypical features of flattened nose and thick lips, but also incorporates a highly elaborate, fashionable European hairstyle, tied with a scarf, a large drop earring and classical dress gathered on the shoulder with a round brooch. The vogue for exoticism gave rise to the practice of employing black youngsters, either servants or slaves, as pages and maids in rich households. In the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in particular many black Africans arrived at courts and stately homes, often from the West Indies. The cameo images of the beautiful young woman and the young man with stereotypical features must reflect this custom. Decked out in expensive, brightly coloured costumes and adorned with imaginative turbans and jewellery, they were intended to show off the status of their masters.[27] For the cameo with the female bust the engraver has chosen a layered agate in various shades of brown. The face is carved from the darkest part of the stone and is not as highly polished as the other elements, giving the skin a slightly matt surface. It is possible that this cameo was intended to be a true, if idealized, representation of a real woman. Vivid portraits of high-status black individuals are certainly known from the Renaissance. The most famous and spectacular of these is a marble portrait bust by Francesco Caporale in the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, representing the first African ambassador to Europe.[28] Antonio Emanuele Nsaku Vunda, called *il Nigrita*, was the Kingdom of Congo's ambassador to the Papacy. The bust was commissioned posthumously after his untimely death in Rome in 1608, and dates to around 1629. Both the female bust on the Leiden cameo

25 Aschengreen Piacenti / Boardman 2008, 136-7
26 Boardman / Scarisbrick / Wagner / Zwierlein-Diehl 2009, 66
27 Schäffer 2009, 28, Fig. 9.
28 Earle / Lowe (eds.) 2005, 23-4, Fig. 60.

and the ambassador are shown dressed in antique style; in both instances the colours of the materials used were specifically chosen to enhance the qualities of the subjects depicted.

The Leiden collection also provides evidence of the shift in how the treatment of black Africans was regarded in European society. Sardonyx GS-10179 (Fig.11) shows a black man bent on one knee, his hands clasped together in front of his body. The features are again somewhat stereotypical, with short, tightly curling hair, flattened nose and wide lips. This figure was the best known and most widely distributed image of a black person in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, for it is copied directly from the medal created for the *Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* by Josiah Wedgwood.

Josiah Wedgwood was increasingly troubled by the cruelty of slavery and became a member of the society in the year of its foundation, in 1787. The British abolitionist group gathered together intrepid campaigners, such as Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce, who devoted themselves to educating the public about the inhumanity of the slave trade.[29] Josiah Wedgwood's incomparable contribution to the cause was the medallion with an image created for him by William Hackwood, one of his chief modellers:[30] a kneeling slave, hands bound together in chains leading to the ankles; the motto around the image reads "Am I not a Man and a Brother". As with the Leiden cameo, the subject was usually reproduced in black on a white ground, in jasper ware. Although the Leiden cameo clearly references the abolitionist image on the Wedgwood medallion, it displays minor departures from the original: the chains are implied around the clasped hands rather than rendered in detail, while the loincloth has been replaced by a more modest short tunic. Wedgwood's image became the foremost symbol of the abolitionist movement and served as the Society's seal.

According to records in the archives of the Wedgwood museum, the slavery medallion was originally produced at Wedgwood's own expense. Benjamin Franklin, one of the founding fathers of America, was sent a batch in 1788, together with a note by Wedgwood explaining their purpose: "This will be an epoch before unknown to the World, and while relief is given to millions of our fellow Creatures immediately the object of it, the subject of freedom will be more canvassed and better understood in the enlightened nations."[31]

The medallions were mass produced in Wedgwood's factory and freely distributed, appearing on a wide variety of items produced by the firm. Made in various sizes, they could be worn as jewellery, pins, brooches, or necklaces,

Fig.9 Black jasper cameo, inv. GS-10062, black African man (10 × 10 mm), 16th/17th century.

Fig.10 Agate cameo, inv. GS-10206, black African woman (25 × 17.5 mm) 17th century.

29 Hochschild 2005.
30 Uglow 2002, 712 (with image).
31 Uglow 2002, 710.

Fig.11 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-10179, black man kneeling (31 × 20 mm), late 18th/early 19th century.

Fig.12 Sardonyx cameo, inv. GS-10103, portrait bust of a Roman prince in a gold and enamel openwork setting (15 × 18 mm), 16th or 19th century.

and also set into other personal items such as snuffboxes. The abundant quantity of jewellery incorporating the medallion shows how women in particular increasingly took on the political cause of the abolitionist movement. The plight of women slaves parted from their children seems to have struck a special chord. The slave medallion was more than just an ornament, it signifies a fashionable change in attitude in society. By commissioning an expensive copy of the symbol of the abolitionist movement in a hard stone, sardonyx, the owner of the Leiden cameo indicated that their commitment to the cause was such that they deemed the mass produced Wedgwood version insufficient to express their intention.

Cameos as collector's items and jewellery

Most cameos were probably kept in collector's cabinets, set in simple settings: small gems in rings could be stored in dactyliothecae; larger ones, often fitted with loops, could be suspended from stands. A wide variety of collectors is known from the Low Countries, not as thoroughly researched and studied as they should have been. Cameos were much admired by famous scholars, such as Gronovius, Cuperus and Cannegiter, by artists, such as Rubens, and, of course royalty and aristocracy.[32] At various times, however, cameos were also treasured pieces of jewellery, worn as precious ornaments, to convey a cultural and political statement.

One of the most avid collectors of jewellery was Amalia van Solms (1602-1675), who became princess of Orange when she married Frederik Hendrik of the Netherlands, Prince of Orange-Nassau. In several portraits by Gerard van Honthorst she chose to be represented à l'antique, as the goddess Diana, holding a spear or bow and wearing lavish contemporary dresses with expensive jewellery adorning her hair, headgear and neckline with short, fashionable pearl necklaces and earrings. These portraits not only gave her an opportunity to show off her cultural aspirations and pretensions in appropriating the guise of a classical subject, they also asserted her aristocratic status by displaying her acquired wealth. For a dynasty intent on finding advantageous matches for sons and daughters at other European courts, such display must have served a more important purpose than the mere frivolous presentation of conspicuous consumption.

However, extensive collecting could cause problems. Amalia was rumoured to have spent too much of Dutch taxpayers' money on her jewellery and her spending habit exacerbated tensions between rulers and ruled. Amalia was alleged to have been partly to blame when the 'Regenten',

32 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 11-12.

the merchant bourgeoisie, initiated a temporary abolishment of the office of Stadholder in The Hague.[33]

Many cameos made to be worn as jewellery were passed down the female line: Amalia's jewellery was inherited by her four surviving daughters. The collections of later royal enthusiasts, such as King William I (1772-1843), formed part of the Royal Collection and were incorporated in the Royal Collection of Coins.

Only a few cameos in the Leiden collection are set in lavish mounts to be worn as pendants. One of these is the sardonyx cameo mounted in a gold and enamel openwork design, inv. GS-10103 (Fig.12), incorporating green and light-blue stones in closed-back mounts and three pendent crystals. The cameo is a generic portrait of a Roman prince with curly hair wearing military dress with a cloak fastened on the shoulder. Cameo and setting appear to date to the Renaissance, or were at least inspired by Renaissance jewellery. During the nineteenth century a revival in period pieces suddenly made such objects highly desirable and contemporary jewellers quickly exploited the newly emerging market. Copies and pastiches of Renaissance jewellery were not only manufactured in Italy: Paris, Aachen, Vienna and Budapest are also known as centres of production for objects in the 'new' Renaissance style.[34] Only through close inspection is it possible to distinguish between the two.

Conclusion

Even the small number of cameos I have selected from the Leiden collection for this short essay demonstrates that engravers of post-classical cameos were much admired and their work highly collectable. Often their craft displays superior quality in miniature to other 'major' arts. The subjects they chose are frequently personal and were sometimes simply intended to delight when given or received as gifts. People coveted the beauty of object and subject depicted on it; cameos, set and unset, were regarded as status symbols.

However, messages, personal or political, could also be conveyed by the iconography. The wearing, owning or distributing of a cameo could express political allegiance. From ruler portraits to causes such as the abolitionist movement, cameos have been used to publicly signal their owner's opinions. There is still much to be explored in the Leiden collection: beautiful gemstones which can reveal a wealth of information about their diverse makers and users.

33 Akkerman 2014.

34 Scarisbrick, in Boardman / Scarisbrick / Wagner / Zwierlein-Diehl 2009, 314.

Princely splendour: some cameo vessels from the middle of the seventeenth century and their patrons

*Jørgen Hein**

Introduction

Among the power pieces at Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen – recorded in three inventories from 1696, 1718 and 1781 – are three vessels, all made of enamelled gold and mounted with cameos and intaglios.[1] They can be dated around 1650 and form a group with similar vessels in St. Petersburg, Stockholm and Cassel. A related vessel is the pride of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, the sumptuous terrine of Amalia van Solms (1602-1675), which is mentioned in her estate in 1666 and which I had the privilege to examine in 1995.[2] Being Danish, please allow me to start with the northern examples and end with the Leiden showpiece. Let it also be clear that I know neither where the vessels were made nor by whom and that their provenances are all relatively obscure. This leaves the engraved gems, the enamel and the goldsmith's work on the vessels as the most important stylistic guidelines. In the following essay I shall only comment on a few individual gems. My main focus will be on the vessels and their owners.

All in all five pieces – three in Copenhagen, one in Stockholm and one in St. Petersburg – have a provenance that places them in a Scandinavian triangle between Copenhagen, once the capital of Denmark-Norway to the west, and Stockholm, the capital of Sweden-Finland to the east, and Schleswig, the city where the Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp resided, in the south. Originally, the ducal line of Gottorp was a loyal junior branch of the royal Danish family; following the Swedish victories in the Thirty Years War, however, the Duke of Gottorp allied with Sweden. In the space of little more than one generation Scandinavia witnessed a new balance of power: Denmark lost and Sweden won, encircling its old rival from the north and from the south. All five vessels date from these years of tension and change in rule: the Interregnum and Restoration in England, the Fronde and the absolutism of Louis XIV in France, and the struggle between the house of Orange and the Estates General in the Netherlands. Within this European perspective it should also be mentioned that, as there was no money for large

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1 Hein 2009, I, 171-176, III, cat. nos. 663-665.

2 Van der Ploeg / Van Vermeeren 1997, cat. no. 34.

Fig.1 Lidded beaker, mounted with 220-230 gems. Gouache on paper, signed: "O. Elliger Delin" 1736. H. 434. B. 580 mm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. EER-7061. After Hein 2009, III.

Fig.2 Lidded goblet, mounted with 205 cameos and 115 enamelled ovals. On the Moor and dragon seven table-cut diamonds. H. 43.3 cm. The Royal Danish Collections, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Photo Kit Weiss.

building schemes, princely and aristocratic patrons turned their interest to lesser objects such as furniture, small-scale sculpture – partly in new media like ivory – and goldsmith's work, as witnessed by the rise of Augsburg. Finally, the prolonged warfare of the 1640s and 1650s produced booty for the international art market on a hitherto unprecedented scale.

The Petrine beaker

The first vessel, an engraved gem-covered beaker on a tripod of dolphins, is only known from a watercolour, signed by Ottmar Elliger the Younger (Hamburg 1666 – St. Petersburg 1735) and made for a planned publication of the Kunstkammer of Peter the Great of Russia (Fig.1). In 1785 Catherine the Great had the cameos and intaglios detached from the beaker to enrich her collections of gems; the vessel itself was then melted down. In 1982 Julia Kagan and Oleg Neverov identified around half of the some 220 to 230 gems from the beaker in the Hermitage.[3] Nearly all can be dated to the period 1500 to 1650. The motifs are portraits of rulers, mythological scenes, depictions of animals and heads and busts of the gods of antiquity and of Roman emperors. The stones were framed in gold and placed according to size in bands or rows, creating a decorative symmetry which was enhanced by the opaque blue enamel covered by flowers, in particular vividly coloured tulips, bunches of fruit and larvae. This decoration formed a refined contrast to the dolphins, whose black-scaled bodies shone in translucent green enamel. Taking their cue from Ernst Kris, Kagan and Neverov judged the beaker to date from the period of 'decline and fall' (1550-1700), in which individual masterpieces and works of good quality were replaced by series production and mass production. As production provenance they proposed Stockholm, but only with a reference to filigree silver. A possibly earlier provenance

3 Kagan / Neverov 1982. Kagan in Amsterdam 1996, 76-77, cat. no. 124, pl. 67 and 197. Hein 2009, III, cat. no. 959.

for the 'Petrine' beaker, unknown to Kagan and Neverov, must be considered.

In 1716 the vessel was presented by Frederik IV of Denmark to Peter the Great, when the Russian tsar visited Copenhagen and was shown the treasure collection at Rosenborg Castle. The beaker is recorded in the Rosenborg inventory of 1696 and can be traced back to 1661, when it was confiscated from Leonora Christina (1621-1698), morganatic daughter of Christian IV of Denmark, and her husband Count Corfitz Ulfeldt, first minister of the Danish Crown in the 1640s. It is not known where and how the semi-royal and deeply corrupt couple acquired the beaker. They stayed as Danish diplomats for longer periods in both The Hague (1647 and 1649) and Paris (1647), and in 1651 fled to Stockholm, where Ulfeldt – a crypto-Catholic – financed Queen Christina's journey to Rome in 1654. In 1661 they fled back to Denmark, where they were imprisoned and forced to hand over most of their great collection of *objets de vertu* to the king.

The Rosenborg vessels

The second vessel is a tall lidded goblet (Fig.2). In 1732 the goblet and a companion lidded bowl – to which I shall return – were found in the cellars of Gottorp Castle in Schleswig, having been hidden there before the sudden Danish occupation in 1713.[4] Both are recorded in 1705 in the estate of Friederike Amalie, the last Dowager Duchess of Gottorp, where they are described as gifts from Carl XII of Sweden to Friederike Amalie during her "last sojourn in Stockholm", presumably the wedding of her son to the sister of Carl XII in 1698. In 1734 the Danish king had both pieces sent to Copenhagen where they were restored by the court jeweller Frederik Fabritius, whose detailed invoice has been preserved, before entering the Danish royal treasure collection at Rosenborg. All the gems were taken out, cleaned and remounted. Many of the smaller stones on the goblet were missing; around the lid, rim and foot these were replaced by enamelled ovals, some decorated with cameo faces, others with painted flowers. The enamel was also repaired, for example, on the finial of the lid. The stem with the Moor and the dragon appears original. The silhouette arabesque ornaments on the Moor's quiver date this figure to 1610-1620. The objects this figure probably once held – a lance in his right hand and possibly a globe in his left – are missing. Undoubtedly, the Moor was reused from another object which may well explain the absence of dolphins. The court jeweller's invoice for restoring the goblet makes no mention of new replacement cameos. However, the placing of some of the existing cameos may have been changed. The

4 Hein 2009, III, cat. no. 665; *cf.* Spielmann / Drees 1997, I, 269-273, cat. no. 61.

Fig.3 James I of England (1567/68-1603/25). Sardonyx cameo, brown on white. H. 3.8. W. 2.7 cm. The Royal Danish Collections, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Photo Kit Weiss.

overall design of the goblet is very close to the beaker in St. Petersburg. Among the cameos a few coloured banded agates stand out, such as a Virgin with her face in clear yellow and green and her veil in white, brown and black (Fig.2, on the left side of the bowl), presumably made in the Miseroni workshop in Milan in the last third of the sixteenth century. The goblet also incorporates copies of antique engraved gems, such as the cameo of Emperor Decius (249-251 AD) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and classicizing images such as the Triumph of Amphitrite. On the lid a portrait of James I of England, made after medals from the year of his accession in 1603, can be admired (Fig.3).[5] Another 'English' cameo should also be noted: a hind inscribed with the text *Tandem Si* (Fig.2, on the right of the bowl), the motto of Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-1591). Hatton financed Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage around the globe in his good ship 'The Golden Hind' and became a trusted counsellor to Queen Elizabeth I.[6] While cameos of the ageing Virgin Queen abound, only a few of James I are known. This shows that the workshop where the goblet was made catered for the English market. So the prominent placing of the first

5 Hein 2006, 400-405.

6 A related hind, although without legend, is mounted in the centre of the interior of the bowl in Stockholm (Fig.6).

Fig.4 Lidded bowl, mounted with 265 cameos, three intaglios, eight ovals with heads of Moors in white on black enamel. H. 16. L. 31.4. D. 17 cm. The Royal Danish Collections, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Photo Kit Weiss.

Stuart king on the vessel's lid is far from accidental. On the lid of the beaker in St. Petersburg Julia Kagan identified a cameo of Francis I of France, which she attributed to the circle of Matteo del Nassaro.

A related decorative scheme is found on the third vessel, a lidded bowl (Fig.4).[7] On the lid there is a cameo of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, carved in chalcedony, partially gilded like a *commesso* and later pasted on a sardonyx like an intaglio *relievato*. I have not succeeded in finding the original for this image, although Charles' beret proudly displays the pillars of Gibraltar and he wears the Golden Fleece without its collar, suggesting the cameo may well date to the period between his accession to the throne of Spain in 1516 and election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. Close to this gem is a cameo of Philip II and a 'youthful' version of his full-bearded and laureate father. This Habsburg family tree is not without competition, however: elsewhere on the bowl we find the not uncommon cameos of Margrave Kasimir of Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1481-1527) and his wife Susanna of Bavaria (before 1517-1543), as well as portraits of the French kings Charles IX (after his coronation medal from 1561) and Henri IV from circa 1610. Variations in motifs and hardstones appear otherwise to correspond to those on the beaker and the goblet. Green dolphins reappear on this bowl, functioning as handles and foot decorations.

The Stockholm bowl

The fourth vessel is a related lidded bowl in Stockholm, of which only the foot-rim seems to have been restored (Fig.5).[8] Mentioned for the first time in the estate of the Queen Dowager Hedvig Eleonora (1636-1715), this vessel probably once formed a 'triad' garniture with the above-mentioned goblet and bowl. For many years Hedvig Eleonora, a daughter of Duke Friedrich III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp and widow of

7 Hein 2009, III, cat. no. 664.

8 Hein 2009, III, 70-71; *cf.* Laine 2015, 174-176.

Fig.5 Lidded bowl, mounted with 235 cameos, 2 comessi, 5 intaglios. H. 18.4. L. 32.8. D. 17.5 cm. Royal Husgerådskammaren, Stockholm Castle. Inv. no. HGK SS 22., The Royal Husgerådskammaren, Stockholm. Photo Alexis Daflos.

Carl X Gustav from 1660, was the embodiment of imperial Sweden.[9] She may well have commissioned the vessels, although the two bowls do differ in some respects. Firstly, the bowl in Stockholm displays no cameo of a contemporary ruler; in the centre of the lid we find Judith with the head of Holofernes, perhaps serving as a counterpart to the idealized emperor on the bowl in Copenhagen. Secondly, the bowl in Stockholm has a rounded bottom, whereas that of the Copenhagen bowl is nearly flat. Thirdly, on the Stockholm bowl the green dolphins only appear as handles. Fourthly, there are differences in the variations in the size and distribution of the gems: on the Stockholm vessel a five-fold rhythm is found on both bowl and lid, on the Copenhagen vessel the bowl has a three-fold rhythm and the lid a seven-fold one. Fifthly and finally, the base of the foot of the Stockholm vessel is adorned with enamelled landscapes (Fig.6), depicting rural Arcadia; a detail of a hill with a half-timbered house under a large tree may be a free variation on a hunting scene by Matthäus Merian the Elder from circa 1616-1617.[10] However, the other scenes seem to be of younger date, while enamel painting of this size and quality points to a date around 1640.

In conclusion, with regard to the first four vessels. It is very difficult to find a didactic programme or concept in the combination of gems, except in the widest sense: Evil and Good perhaps, or Hybris and Nemesis. The painted enamel is not without its problems, either, as the animals, birds, insects, larvae, vegetables and fruits are reproductions of 'types', while some of the colours seem to have been invented by the painter. Only the flowers offer a valid criterion. Single flowers, each on their own branch, combine naturalistic petals with leaves displaying tripartite curves and tapering ends in the 'pea-pod style'. This simplified semi-naturalism is known from Parisian ornamental engravings from circa 1645.[11]

9 Skogh 2015.

10 Wüthrich 1966, 52, No. 235, Pl. 114.

11 For example 12 ornamental prints by Nicolas Cochin, LIVRE NOUVEAU DE FLEVRS TRESUTIL POUR L'ART DE D'ORFEVRERIE ET AUTRES, published by Balthasar Moncornet in Paris in 1645 *cf.* Fuhring 2004, no. 12346.

Fig.6 Enamelled landscapes on the base of the foot of the bowl in Stockholm. The engraved foot-rim is a restoration from circa 1780, when Gustav III had the bowl transferred to Drottningholm Palace. The Royal Husgerådskammaren, Stockholm. Photo Alexis Daflos.

The Cassel bowl

The fifth vessel is a lidded bowl which has been in the princely collections of Hesse-Cassel since 1767 (Fig.7). It is smaller and lighter than the previous vessels and figuratively soars upwards, supported by six green dolphins. The bowl's colour scheme also differs from that of the vessels discussed above. The centre of both lid and foot are adorned by a cameo of brown sardonyx, whereas the rest of the gems are white and grey agate or shell. All are set on a background of white enamel with flowers in uniform yellow-red and light blue-green. On the lid the sardonyx cameo depicts Caracalla, surrounded by scenes from Roman history and by the gods of the planets and signs of the zodiac. The sides of the bowl are adorned by the Justice of Paris and the Fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, flanked by the usual repertoire. The foot is dominated by a possibly Byzantine elephant, surrounded by mythological and biblical themes. In 2003 the bowl was published by Rudolph-Alexander Schütte, who interpreted the cameos as an allegory on Roman virtues and

Fig.7 Lidded bowl, mounted with 96 cameos including 10 of shell. H. 11.4. L. 20.4. D. 9.7 cm. Museumslandschaft Hessen-Kassel. Inv. no. B II.589. Photo: Hein 2009, III, p. 69.

dated the piece to 1640-1650, which would make it the youngest of the five vessels.[12]

In my opinion the sequence should be reversed. The bowl in Cassel is the only piece on which the engraved and rather uniform gems form a kind of programme, while the enamelled flowers all grow from a common root, in a manner typical of the early pea-pod style.[13] All in all the bowl in Cassel seems the most refined of the five vessels, a survivor from the Rudolphine world of yesteryear. In comparison the four blue vessels have a noisy bourgeois opulence which proclaims quantity over quality. Were all the vessels produced in the same workshop, catering for different levels of quality? Were there more workshops? Or are we dealing with itinerant artists? Earlier research attributed the vessels to Prague, probably on account of the gem carving. The Netherlands was also proposed, presumably on the evidence of the tulips and the abundance of exotic flora and fauna from South America on the vessels. In 2003 Schütte proposed Scandinavia as the place of manufacture, based on the historiography of the objects. For many years I have been in close contact with Dr. Lars Ljungström, First Curator of the Royal Swedish Husgerådskammaren in Stockholm Castle. Neither he nor I find a Swedish origin plausible. In 2009 I therefore

12 Schütte 2003, cat. no. 68; *cf.* Hein 2009, III, 69-70.

13 A related enamelled mounting with fine colours on a white ground and with dolphins' feet on pea-pod foliage features on a dragon bowl of rock crystal. The bowl, dated 1633, is in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart *cf.* Irmscher 1997, cat. no. 14.

adopted a different and more circumspect point of view.[14] The courts in Stockholm and Copenhagen bought objects everywhere: in The Hague, Paris, Nuremberg, Augsburg and Hamburg. If the cameos and intaglios were traded on the European market, such vessels may have been made by goldsmiths and enamellers in any major city north of the Alps.[15]

The tureen of Amalia van Solms

A related vessel is one of the masterpieces of the collection at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. This bowl, of full-bottomed bomb shape, is said to have been given to Amalia van Solms as a birthday present in 1666 by her grandson, the later Stadholder William III (Fig.8). The variety of the gems and their ornamental distribution – in which there appears to be no programme – are similar to the four vessels of the 'blue group', although the enamel, of which the main part has unfortunately been lost, is very different.[16] This consists of a ground of a translucent honey-like yellow-brown material, painted with large and open flowers in opaque colours. Once again we are at a crossroads. On the one hand, similar flowers can be seen on an anonymous drinking beaker in the Wavel Collection (Fig.9), yet this vessel has a black ground and the gems are uniformly carved and form a kind of programme similar to that on the white bowl in Cassel; on the other hand, a related full-bottomed bomb shape and a similar non-programmatic variation of gems are combined on another blue and black bowl in Copenhagen, on which, however, the usual dolphins have been replaced by other feet and handles (Fig.10).[17] This bowl was first recorded at Rosenborg in 1718 and probably entered the collection

Fig.8 Lidded bowl, mounted with 79 cameos and 19 intaglios. H. 18.5. L. 29 cm. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, GS-60001.

Fig.9 Beaker, mounted with cameos and feet carved in turquoise, coral and emerald. The Crown Treasury, Wavel Castle. Photo Jørgen Hein.

Fig.10 Lidded goblet, mounted with 122 cameos and one intaglio. H. 20.8. L. 36.6. D. 17.6 cm. Rosenborg Castle inv. no. 6-76. The Royal Danish Collections, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Photo Kit Weiss.

14 If the bowl was made in Sweden, why does it not incorporate a large cameo of 'The Lion of the North', Gustav II Adolf, who appears on several smaller shell cameos from the 1630s? Examples are illustrated in Heiberg 1988, cat. no. 613, and in Weber 1992, cat. nos. 223-224.

15 Hein 2009, I, 179 and III, 56f, 66ff.

16 In an email of 14 August 2009 Johan R. ter Molen wondered if this bowl had originally had a base-plate like the Cassel bowl, which would explain the difference in weight of about 200 grams between the seventeenth-century inventory and the present situation. He further compared the rim of palmettes with those on a gold cup in the Rijksmuseum, made by Nicolaas Loockemans in The Hague for Admiral de Ruyter in 1667, and considered an attribution of the bowl to Loockemans.

17 The blue and black enamel on bowl and cover may be an eighteenth-century restoration, *cf.* Hein, 2009, III, cat. no. 663. In 1700 Charlotte Amalie gave her brother, Landgrave Charles of Hesse, a covered beaker of gilded silver, mounted with "une grande quantité de pierres précieuses de toutes les couleurs, entre autre de quatre grenats de la grosseur d'un oeuf mediocre, de plusieurs camées antiques, ainsi que de perles dont la plus grosse, en forme de poire a près de deux pouces de long". See Schütte 2003, cat. no. 58.

from the estate of Queen Dowager Charlotte Amalie, who had married Christian V in 1667. New parallels therefore seem to raise more questions than answers.

Acquiring and displaying showpieces

One wonders how the owners of such pieces would have exhibited these precious show vessels. I shall offer at least one example. When Peter the Great visited Copenhagen in October 1716, one of the main festivities was held in the King's Garden, the park around Rosenborg. Here, Peter and his host, Frederik IV of Denmark, embarked in gondolas on an artificial channel and participated in a tournament on water. Later they entered Rosenborg Castle where the tsar was taken to the Long Hall to see the anointing chair made of narwhal tusk, guarded by three silver lions. From the Long Hall they proceeded to the Treasure Chamber, in which the two wall cupboards, to which only the king had the key, were opened to display the regalia and 'gold' items. They then went into the Green Cabinet, in which the collection of *objets vertu* was exhibited in another cupboard, and finally entered the Glass Room that had recently been furnished during the winter of 1713-1714. In the Green Cabinet Peter may have admired the beaker of Leonora Christina (Fig.1); in the Glass Room he may have commented on a large rock-crystal ewer with a built-in silver ice-cooling cylinder, cut by Franz Gondelach in Cassel. Eventually the tsar received both as gifts from his host; the beaker entered Peter's Kunstkammer in St. Petersburg, as illustrated in the watercolour by Ellinger, while the ewer has been preserved in the Kremlin. In his turn Peter presented his host with a goblet of ivory which he had turned himself on a lathe, a gift which Frederik IV displayed in his 'private' Kunstkammer in the Winter Room at Rosenborg.

I have mentioned above that Catherine the Great had the beaker of Leonora Christina melted down in 1785. A few years earlier Gustav III of Sweden had visited St. Petersburg incognito as Count of Gothland. During his stay he paid several visits to Peter the Great's Kunstkammer, where he may have seen the beaker. This might explain why, in the 1780s, he had the bowl in Stockholm transferred to Drottningholm Palace; at this point the foot was fitted with a new foot-rim, the underside of which is engraved with a neo-classical serrated border (Fig.6).[18]

How did these patrons acquire such vessels and who apprised them of the latest fashion? If I may restrict myself to the Danish court, a gold cup to mark Hamburg's act of homage to the Danish king was signed and dated by Hans Conrad Brechtel in The Hague in 1653. We know that it was ordered with a member of the Nassau-Siegen family acting as intermediary and that letters and drawings were exchanged between Copenhagen and The Hague.[19] In 1669 Frederik III instructed the Danish ambassador in Paris to buy a triad of silver filigree; in 1670 his widow, Sophie Amalie, sent the steward of her new dower house to France to ensure that its furnishings would not be outmoded.[20] Even royalty itself might be approached by artists and dealers. In 1669 Prince Georg of Denmark, later to marry Queen Anne of England, spent part of his Grand Tour in Paris, where the wax modeller Antoine Benoist was making life masks and heads of Louis XIV and his circle. Naturally, the prince had to follow suit; from February to April he 'sat' four times for Benoist. During one of these sessions he was shown a collection of 500 intaglios, some antique, that were being offered for sale for the vast sum of 10,000 *Rigsdaler*. Obviously, Benoist's fashionable studio also functioned as a sales room.[21]

Summary

This article discussed ten cameo vessels in European princely collections. They are all made of enamelled gold and are mounted with cameos and a few intaglios. None of the vessels bears a maker's mark or an artist's signature. Most of the cameos can be dated after 1500, while the painted enamel is decorated with flowers, animals, birds and larvae of a type which dates the production of these vessels to around 1650. But where and for whom were they made?

The manufacture of the vessels has been attributed to ateliers in Prague, based on the lapidary work, or to the Netherlands, based on the painted flower enamel. However, the gems could have been bought unset as semi-finished products all over Europe; the new fashion for flower-decorated enamel likewise spread rapidly over Europe. Consequently, the vessels may have been produced in any great goldsmiths' city north of the Alps. Only two of the vessels have a *terminus ante quem*. Firstly, a beaker in St. Petersburg, which is listed in 1661 in the collection of Leonora Christina Ulfeldt, morganatic daughter of Christian IV of Denmark. Secondly, a tureen in Leiden, which is recorded in the estate of Amalia van Solms in 1666.

18 Gustav III's visit in St. Petersburg is outlined in Vilinbachov / Olausson 1998, 153-164 (Vjateslav Fjodorov, Bengt Jangfeldt, Magnus Olausson).

19 Hein 2009, I, 41, II, cat. no. 36.

20 Hein 2009, I, 41, 52.

21 Hein 2009, I, 173.

"A treasure, a schoolmaster, a pass-time" Dactyliothecae in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their function as teaching aids in schools and universities[1]

*Valentin Kockel**

Introduction

On 21 July 1818, just a few weeks into his new post as Professor of Archaeology and head of the Archaeological Cabinet of Leiden College, Caspar Reuvens drafted a letter to the university's curators.[2] Under the title "Thoughts on the purchase of the necessary material resources for the new tuition in Archaeology", he compiled a preliminary list of all the objects and books that, in his view, the university ought to buy little by little over the course of time. Only if furnished with such teaching and learning aids, he believed, would his department be able to provide an education in archaeology that was worthy of the university's status.[3] There are two surviving drafts of the letter, whose crossings out, corrections and additions show that Reuvens compiled his wish-list in an organic

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1 "… der erlanget einen Schatz, einen Lehrmeister, einen Zeitvertreib…" The quotation is taken from an anonymous review of the first volume of Philipp Daniel Lippert's *Dactyliotheca Universalis*, in *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, February 1756, 155. – I would like to thank the organizers for inviting me to take part in the colloquium. I received help from B. van den Bercken, R. Halbertsma (both Leiden), D. Graepler (Göttingen), R. Hiller (Leipzig), R. Miller-Gruber (Augsburg); C. Rummel (Berlin) and E. Zwierlein-Diehl (Bonn). L. van Hoof (Berlin) assisted me with the reading of archival materials written in Dutch. The translation from German was provided by K. Williams. The photographs of the Leiden dactyliothecae were taken by P. J. Bomhof and A. de Kemp.

2 Reuvens was appointed on 13 June 1818. The draft survives in two versions. I quote here from the reworked second version. The Leiden museum correspondence has been digitized in exemplary fashion; page numbers cited here refer to the digital version. Archive portal of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at http://archieven.rmo.nl/index.php/A, *Verzonden brieven 1818-1906*, 3 (17.0101/01| 1818-1825), 6-10. – On Reuvens' early years in Leiden and his concept of archaeology, see: Halbertsma 2003, 21-48. Hoijtink 2012, 45-57. I did not have access to Cordfunke 2007.

3 Reuvens expressed his views in a more elegant and scholarly form in his inaugural lecture, delivered in October 1818, on numismatics. Reuvens 1819. Summary in Halbertsma 2003, 25-27; Hoijtink 2012, 47-48.

Fig.1 Christian Dehn/Francesco Maria Dolce, 10 stackable trays with zolfi (tomo primo/secondo), Rome, undated. Leiden RMO GS-70012. Photo Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

process. The then 25-year-old professor ultimately gave first priority to the purchase of coins, copies of coins and dactyliothecae, followed by cork models of antique buildings and lastly by volumes of plate illustrations. Looking at antiquities in three dimensions, in other words, was fundamental to his understanding of archaeology as a study of classical antiquity conducted on the basis of its monuments. The university was slow to meet the demands of its fiery young professor, as subsequent letters make clear.[4] However, by the end of the 1820s Leiden owned, in addition to newly purchased antiquities, a comprehensive collection of plaster casts, dactyliothecae and cork models.

From today's perspective, it may seem unusual for an archaeologist to request, alongside large folio volumes of plates, a wealth of copies and small-scale three-dimensional reproductions of antique objects for academic teaching purposes. But Reuvens was by no means alone within the European university landscape in wanting such resources: in Göttingen, the first German university to offer lectures on archaeology, Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812) had been using such reproductions in his teaching for decades. Dactyliothecae had been part of the "archaeological apparatus"[5] right from the start: all the way from Dorpat[6] (now Tartu in Estonia) to the newly founded University of Bonn, where Friedrich Gottlob Welcker (1784-1868) – arriving from Göttingen – built up a comprehensive collection of casts from 1819, in his capacity as Professor of Philology and Archaeology. Reuvens had himself visited Göttingen and would later travel to Bonn as well.[7] His patron, the Dutch statesman Anton Reinhard Falck (1777-1843), had also studied under Heyne, and one of the most important educational reformers in the Netherlands, Johan Meerman (1753-1815), had spent his formative

4 In detail and most importantly in the letter of 19 February 1820, where Reuvens also suggests buying a small-scale copy by John Henning of the Parthenon Frieze, along with Wedgwood copies of antique vases. See also the letter of 20 April 1825. Both documents in *Verzonden brieven 1818-1906*, 3 (17.0101/01| 1818-1825), 63-89; 433-435.

5 Graepler 2006, 39-43; Graepler 2014, 80.

6 During his tenure (1803-1837) as director of the university collections in Dorpat, the philologist Karl Morgenstern purchased a whole series of dactyliothecae. Anderson 2015, 98-114; 299-302.

7 For a detailed account of Reuvens' travels and networks, see the very informative work by Hoijtink 2012, 23-29; 54-55.

years in Göttingen, so Reuvens could hope to receive support for his requests, which doubtless appeared unusual within philological circles.

Why did three-dimensional reproductions and miniatures of antique artworks hold such importance for university archaeologists in the period around 1800, whereas in our own day dactyliothecae and collections of plaster-cast coins tend to belong to the curiosities gathering dust in the basement? To what extent did the philologist Heyne contribute to their popularity and – most importantly – with what methodological tools can we evaluate the expectations associated with these teaching aids and their actual effectiveness? In this article I propose to look first of all at the tradition of gem casts, or 'impressions' [8]and the 'invention' of dactyliothecae by Philipp Daniel Lippert (1702-1785, Fig.2).

As authentic testaments to classical antiquity, engraved gems were undoubtedly among the most important media affording an undistorted picture of antique iconography and art. In the eyes of contemporaries, the same was true – if not more so – of the collections of impressions of such antique gems, known as dactyliothecae, that were very widespread in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. They were manufactured and sold not just in Rome but also in countries north of the Alps. Thanks to historical holdings from Caspar Reuvens' day and new acquisitions in recent years, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden possesses a large number of such dactyliothecae, to which I shall return below.[9] My article is not about the original gems and their interpretation, but about their replication and organization into 'collections' that allowed them to be perceived in a concrete fashion at academies, universities and schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. I shall be asking how these 'images' were used in practice and inquiring into their possible influence upon knowledge of antique iconography and art. I shall conclude by asking in what form their reflections may perhaps be found in the illustrations accompanying contemporary anthologies of Greek mythology.

My investigation will have to be based almost exclusively on findings from modern-day Germany, since neither in the case of France nor Britain do we currently dispose of a level of information comparable to that which we know about the German-speaking sphere. It is true that Viccy Coltmann discusses the teaching given at English schools, which was to a large degree dominated by

Fig.2 Anton Graff, Philipp Daniel Lippert, 1774, oil on canvas, 63.5 × 51.8 cm, Leipzig, Kunstbesitz der Universität Leipzig, Photo: Marion Wenzel. © Kustodie der Universität Leipzig

Fig.3 Three editions of Philipp Daniel Lippert's Dactyliotheca. From left: 1767, Leiden RMO GS-70001; Rabenstein, after 1808, Leiden RMO AM 111; 1753, Leiden RMO inv. 1899/1.1. Photo Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

8 The term "cast" corresponds to the actual manufacturing technique. Since the eighteenth century, however, it has become the practice in the case of gems to speak of 'impressions' (It. *impronte*, Ger. *Abdrücke*). This is the term accordingly still used in specialist literature today.

9 See postscript.

Fig.4 Rabenstein's Selection, 9 stackable trays (of ten?), Dresden, after 1808. Leiden RMO inv. GS-70027. Photo Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Latin classes. Whether and in what form Greek mythology or history was brought to life using visual media remains unknown, however.[10]

Philipp Daniel Lippert and the editions of his Dactyliotheca Universalis

Gem impressions had long served as a means of reproducing the images on engraved stones and had allowed these to be shared with other collectors. Initially made of wax or sealing wax, they were later also manufactured from glass or sulphur, the latter usually dyed red. Not until 1739, however, do we hear of Christian Dehn (1696-1770), valet and assistant to the great connoisseur Baron Philipp von Stosch, opening a shop in Rome where he made and sold 'sulphurs', as they were commonly known (Fig.1). Customers could choose the impressions they wanted from a large selection. Dehn packaged them in small wooden boxes, accompanied by an extremely brief hand-written inventory.[11]

The triumphant advance of gem impressions only truly began with Philipp Daniel Lippert and his Dactyliotheca Universalis. Lippert's life and career, which saw him rise from sickly orphaned son of a leatherworker to academy professor and acknowledged academic authority, have frequently been described and we shall only highlight a few aspects here.[12] Alongside his technical skills as an artist and craftsman, in 1753 Lippert had a stroke of genius when he conceived the idea of organizing a collection of 1000 impressions into a systematic order and of selling this with a catalogue.[13] In addition to

10 Coltman 1999; Coltman 2006, 28-37. On this point, see also the review by Collins 2007, 4. On dactyliothecae in England (without Tassie) see also Kurtz 2000, 332-336 and Wagner/Seidmann 2010. I would like to thank Claudia Wagner (Oxford) very much for the information she provided in this matter. On France, see: Oberlin 1796; Millin 1797.

11 A selection of 150 impressions by Dehn, dated February 1743 and thus the earliest testament to his commercial activity, was in an Italian private collection in 2006. I am grateful to D. Graepler for this information. After his death in 1770, Dehn's impressions were systematically catalogued by his son-in-law Francesco Maria Dolce. Dolce 1772.

12 Obituary: anonymous 1786. Most recently, for example, Zazoff 1983, 150-164; Kerschner 2006; Knüppel 2009, 61-64; Lang 2012. The Latin edition of Lippert can be accessed online: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems/lippert/default.htm.

13 Lippert 1753. Anonymous 1786, 29-30. On the publishing history of Lippert's *Dactyliotheca* in detail: Kerschner/Kockel 2006. There is no room here to explore the question of whether Lippert adopted the organization of his impressions from earlier systems and – if so – from which ones. Knüppel 2009, 63, posits the *Museum Florentinum* edited by Antonio Francesco Gori (1731/32); Graepler 2015, 109-110 does not agree and considers the issue ultimately unresolved.

the stackable wooden trays that had been the convention up till then, he also provided a tall container which looked like an enormous folio volume on the outside and accomodated twenty drawers. This hermeneutic association of a book as the traditional medium of storing knowledge with the new medium of the three-dimensional impression was a huge success right from the start and accounted for almost all Lippert's sales, despite its high price. Reuvens, too, personally owned an example, the very one still preserved in Leiden today.[14]

Three editions were published up to 1776, of which the last was the most successful (Fig.3).[15] Having previously addressed himself to an educated readership, with captions exclusively in Latin, Lippert accompanied the third edition with a comprehensive text volume in German, with the intention of reaching fellow artists and other individuals who did not possess an extensive knowledge of the classical languages. After Lippert's death this German edition continued to be issued by his daughter Theresia (died 1807). It was subsequently republished – in a 'fourth' edition – by Gottlieb Benjamin Rabenstein (died 1816), a member of staff at the Dresden Antikensammlung. A copy of this dactyliotheca, which went on sale in 1808, is also housed in Leiden and hardly differs from its predecessor (Fig.3).

Lippert's innovations gave rise to a specific business model: unlike Dehn, for example, Lippert only sold his Dactyliotheca Universalis as a complete set, not in selected parts. He thereby emphasized the importance of his classification system as an entity, but was obliged to accept a lower overall turnover due to the high price of each complete edition. From Rabenstein, on the other hand, it was possible to buy individual impressions as well as a selection, one of which likewise made its way to Leiden (Fig.4).[16]

In a way that is barely conceivable today, Lippert's Dactyliotheca became the epitome of the visual transmission of antique art. The fact that, as a German, he had surpassed with his invention the volumes of plates by the French and English, only added to his fame. He was known for his directness and lack of diplomacy, traits exacerbated by his hardness of hearing. A little-known etching shows Lippert in his apartments in 'conversation' with the Swiss artist Adrian Zingg in 1773.[17] Lippert had thus become a highly regarded and relatively prosperous man, who was able to move from his third-floor apartment in 1776 to a more comfortable house in Dresden's Neustadt.

From the first edition of 1753 onwards, the appearance of Lippert volumes was accompanied by eulogistic reviews; the title of this article is taken from one of these. Far outside the sphere of classical studies, the intellectual world rhapsodized about the educational possibilities opened up by their use. It was widely agreed that, in their three-dimensionality, Lippert's impressions were able to convey the principles of antique art far more authentically than drawings or printed plates, and in so doing could contribute to the improvement of pupils' 'taste' and character.[18] Given that educational theorists in the latter part of the eighteenth century were postulating that teaching on the basis of illustrations and reproductions should be included to a greater extent alongside purely text-based learning, and bearing in mind, too, that the material remains of classical antiquity were being understood increasingly as sources in their own right, it was virtually inevitable that Lippert's Dactyliotheca should also be incorporated into university and school teaching.[19] While it is true that Lippert could still be heard complaining, in a letter of 1772, that his collection was being purchased neither by universities nor by schools,[20] in 1796, on the other hand, the Alsatian philologist and archaeologist Jérémie-Jacques Oberlin (1735-1806) claimed that there was hardly a grammar school in Germany that was not using the Dactyliotheca in the classroom.[21] So, where does the truth lie? Even today, we still do not know exactly how many copies of the 'Lippert' were produced and sold. More than 80 copies of all editions are documented to date. To these we may add text volumes that were perhaps sold without the book-shaped containers. If we map the locations of these dactyliothecae, a strong concentration emerges in central Germany and particularly Saxony.[22] Thus the academies in Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin, the universities in Leipzig, Halle and Wittenberg, and the Freiberg Mining Academy founded in 1765, all own or owned Lippert editions. The number of schools to which copies can be traced is also large. The three

14 Reuvens refers to it in his above-mentioned letter of 1818 and also used it in his classes. In 1899 Reuvens' Lippert was donated to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden by his grandson, C.L. Reuvens. Inv. Z 1899/1.1. I am grateful to B. van den Bercken for this information.

15 Lippert 1755-1762; Lippert 1767; Lippert 1776.

16 On the difficult history of Rabenstein's dactyliothecae and the composition of the *Selection,*, see Knüppel 2009, 154 note 555; for the other known copy in the Gleim-Haus-Museum, Halberstadt/Saxony-Anhalt, see Knüppel 2015 .

17 For the difficult history of this print, see Griffiths/Carey 1994, no. 27i.

18 See in depth Stante 2006 and Graepler 2013.

19 Bestle 2006 illustrates this in the case of Augsburg. In Bautzen, the headmaster of the grammar school taught Greek and Roman literature, philosophy and historical geography with the aid of a Lippert donated in 1795. Gedike 1796, 46-47 and 78; Gedike 1802, 18. Zittau: Lindemann 1829. See also Kerschner 2006; Haag/Kockel 2006; Knüppel 2009, 71-82.

20 Murr 1786, 100.

21 Oberlin 1796, 65.

22 See http://www.daktyliothek.de/lippertsche-daktyliotheken/.

so-called 'prince's schools' (Fürstenschule) in Saxony, for example, received the volumes as a gift from the Elector himself – an act of patronage whereby the Elector also gave financial support to Lippert. But dactyliothecae are also documented in other elite boarding schools as well as grammar schools in towns such as Guben, Zittau, Bautzen and Eisleben, to name just a few.

Dactyliothecae as teaching aids

How are we to picture dactyliothecae in practical use as teaching and learning aids? For his archaeological lectures in Göttingen, for example, we know that Christian Gottlob Heyne had a janitor on hand to open large volumes of plates to the corresponding illustrations, providing a series of views of the statues under discussion.[23] In London, the sculptor and archaeologist Richard Westmacott (1775-1856) also made use of illustrations, albeit of a different kind, in his lectures on antique sculpture. A lithograph after Georg Scharf (1788-1860) shows him lecturing in 1830 at Somerset House, the home of the Royal Academy, surrounded by plaster casts, in an auditorium whose walls are hung with large copies of famous paintings that probably served to illustrate other lectures.[24] In Bonn around 1820, Welcker insisted that the library and classroom should be directly connected to the room containing the plaster casts via a short flight of stairs, so that he and his class could easily move between rooms over the course of the lecture.[25] Lippert's impressions were very much smaller, however, and would not have been visible to a large public seated at a distance. Did Heyne perhaps refer to them by number in his lectures and students consult them afterwards in their corresponding drawers?[26]

It must have been the practical disadvantages of using small impressions in a lecture-hall situation, in conjunction with the high costs associated with buying the 'encyclopaedic' Lippert,[27] that inspired other 'business models'. The first of these appeared in 1781 under the title Versuch einer mythologischen Dactyliothec für Schulen and was compiled by Anton Ernst Klausing (1739-1803), Professor of Church Antiquities at the Theological Faculty in Leipzig and head of the university library, in collaboration with the Leipzig art dealer Christian Heinrich Rost (1742-1798). It comprised 120 red sulphur impressions, which were housed in four drawers in a small book-shaped container.[28] In his accompanying text, Klausing reiterated the arguments we have already heard for using the impressions and hoped that "teachers and men of insight" would encourage him to continue the project. Since several copies of this dactyliotheca survive from one and the same school library in a number of locations, its educational concept is clear: small groups of pupils could together acquire "the correct formation of knowledge and taste … in the humanities and the fine arts", as Klausing put it.[29] Other dactyliothecae were aimed at different levels of German secondary education, such as the Mythologische Dactyliotheca by Johann Ferdinand Roth (1748-1814), published in 1805, which was designed for "grammar schools, schools and in particular municipal schools for boys"[30], and the Auswahl von 50 Gemmen-Abdrücken für den Unterricht in der Mythologie und die anschauliche Kenntniss antiker Kunst by Martin Krause (dates unknown), published around 1850, a copy of which is housed in the museum at Leiden (Fig.5).[31]

Finally, of particular importance in our context is the Sammlung von [720] Abdrücken geschnittener Steine der Griechen, Römer und Ägyptier published in 1841 by Edmund Müller (dates unknown, Fig.6).[32]

Its accompanying text volume includes a list of buyers and subscribers and provides numerous references to donations to grammar schools and municipal schools.[33] Thus, we have confirmation from multiple sources that

23 The teaching methods employed by Heyne in Göttingen have been extensively reconstructed by Daniel Graepler. Graepler 2014.

24 Sir John Soane made comparable use of pictures as illustrations when delivering his lectures on architecture. Soane asked his pupils to prepare a large number of diagrams, which were then held up during his talk. On the days preceding and following lectures, models and plaster casts of the relevant architectural elements could be viewed at Soane's London home. Watkin 1996.

25 Ehrhardt 1982, 32; 42.

26 D. Graepler voiced this conjecture in conversation.

27 Knüppel 2009, 61 introduces this term as an organizational category.

28 "Attempt at a Mythological Dactyliotheca for Schools", Klausing 1781; on Rost: Schreiter 2014, 133-260.

29 Kockel in Kockel/Graepler 2006, 162-163 cat. 5; Knüppel 2009, 72-74.

30 "Mythological Dactyliotheca"; Knüppel 2009, 74-77.

31 "Selection of 50 Gem Impressions for the Teaching of Mythology and the Visual Knowledge of Antique Art"; ibid., 79-82. Krause was active between 1829 and 1866, see Knüppel 2009, 154 n. 555.

32 "Collection of [720] Impressions of Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Romans and Egyptians"; Müller 1841. The most exhaustive details are found in: Antiquariat Müller & Draheim (Potsdam), cat. 18, 2011, 60-63 no. 38. The text, which survives incomplete, can be found in digital form on the internet. I am acquainted with just one container for the gem impressions, but fragments of others can supposedly be found in various locations in North Germany. Müller's list of subscribers in Hanover alone includes, alongside numerous private individuals, the Polytechnische Schule and the Höhere Bürgerschule, each of which purchased collections of a different size. The Königliches Ober-Schulcollegium bought copies for 14 grammar schools (in the kingdom?), the Duke of Cambridge bought editions for a further four. Knüppel 2009, 34-35, notes 100 and 115, names a further copy in Lübeck.

33 An education at grammar school (in German, *Gymnasium*) qualified young men to study at university; municipal schools (Ger., *Bürgerschulen*) were run by the municipal authorities and prepared pupils for a commercial or other practical profession.

Fig.5 Martin Krause, Auswahl von 50 Gemmen-Abdrücken für den Unterricht in der Mythologie und die anschauliche Kenntniss antiker Kunst, Berlin, ca. 1850. Leiden, RMO inv. GS-70037. Photo Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Fig.6 Edmund Müller, Sammlung von Abdrücken geschnittener Steine der Griechen, Römer und Ägyptier, Hamburg 1841. Frankfurt am Main, private collection. Photo: Antiquariat Müller & Draheim (Potsdam, 2011).

schools in German-speaking Central Europe owned copies of such dactyliothecae. Whether their classroom use was confined to what they had to teach about antique iconography, however, or whether it extended to an appreciation of artistic styles, may have depended on the abilities of the teachers, who were educated only in philology.[34] Lippert wrote angrily about their level of expertise in a letter of 1772: "…all these academics remain with their eyes stuck to their books without any discernment at all; in the same way they recite it to their young listeners, who believe what their teachers are telling them without improving their eye or their taste." Only Heyne's pupils showed "their taste [to be] educated according to the best rules" and "their judgement of art [to be] correct and applied to scholarship."[35] Contemporary documentary evidence points to an unfavourable shift in attitudes towards dactyliothecae over the course of time, as the following two examples may illustrate. In 1780 the gift of a Lippert to the prince's school in Grimma was celebrated by the headmaster with a Latin treatise on gems.[36] A similar gift, made in 1791 to a grammar school in Eisleben, was reviewed half a century later with far less enthusiasm. Writing in 1846, the school's then principal described Lippert's Dactyliotheca as "a present more expensive than useful" and as "highly overrated in its day". Instead he applauds the purchase of a small organ for the school, which in contrast to the dactyliotheca could evidently regularly be used in teaching.[37]

Still in the old – baroque – style?

However, the encyclopaedic Lippert in particular served as a teaching aid in another way, too. In several books on antique texts, its impressions are cited by individual numbers and thereby provide "one of the best means of visualization for archaeologists and artists". [38]The first example we may mention is Heyne's edition of Virgil, highly acclaimed in its day; first published in 1767, it subsequently went into several editions, reaching a wide public in Germany as well as England. The six volumes of the third edition[39] are generously illustrated with high-quality vignettes, based on drawings specially produced for the project by the Göttingen artist and art historian Domenico Fiorillo (1748-1821, Fig.7a).[40]

These vignettes reproduce antique works of art, either singly or combined into pasticci, and relate to specific

34 More research is required in this area. School curricula and timetables need to be examined. In his influential school directive for the prince's schools in Saxony, Johann August Ernesti – himself closely associated with the contemporary enthusiasm for classical antiquity thanks to his book *Archaeologia literaria* (1768) – names only maps as practical visual materials. Ernesti 1773. On Ernesti see also Graepler 2014, 99-104.

35 Murr 1784. The letter is cited in full and interpreted by Graepler 2015, 105-106.

36 Krebs 1780.

37 Ellendt 1840, 255-256.

38 Anonymous 1808, 338.

39 Heyne 1796-1800.

40 These remarks relate to the third edition; I have not seen the earlier, less substantial editions.

passages of text. In the final volume Heyne reserves over 50 pages for a Recensus parergorum et ornamentorum caelo expressorum, in which he names his visual sources and describes the objects illustrated. In the majority of cases the illustrations are based on books of plates, although Fiorillo has also regularly consulted Lippert's Dactyliotheca. A rapturous review of the third edition of Heyne's Virgil particularly emphasized the selection and quality of the illustrations, which – according to the reviewer K.A. Böttiger – only an author with Heyne's vast knowledge could have compiled.[41] Other works that make reference to Lippert are less lavishly illustrated and confine themselves to citing the volume and number of a gem by way of a visual link.[42]

In a review of the third volume of Lippert's Latin edition, Heyne remarked that the vignettes were "still in the old style".[43] Picking up on this criticism, Daniel Graepler has asked to what extent Lippert, as an artist, really satisfied his ambition to translate and communicate the exemplary characteristics of antique art at the stylistic level, too. We know little about the artistic tendencies of the self-taught Lippert. Preserved in Leiden, however, is an etching by Lippert, dated 1736, showing Diana in a heroic landscape (Fig.7b).[44]

If we compare this composition with the few vignettes above the chapter headings in the Latin edition, we see much that is similar. An essential difference, however, lies in the fact that the landscapes in the vignettes are now peopled with figures taken directly from the gems: the antique images are understood as excerpts, in other words, and are contextualized, so to speak. I would like to draw attention here briefly to a rather odd detail: below each vignette is a row of dots whose length symbolizes the actual size of the gem. In gem publications since Stosch, it had been the convention to indicate the actual size of the stones, which were, of course, mostly very small in relation to the magnified scale in which they appeared in the drawing. To give the size of a gem in a landscape picture, however, is somewhat bizarre.[45] Heyne's censure of the "old style" of the vignettes may be understood in this light. It was perhaps for this reason, too, that Lippert had the vignettes for the German edition designed in a more 'classicist' style, although his frontispieces remained in the Baroque tradition.

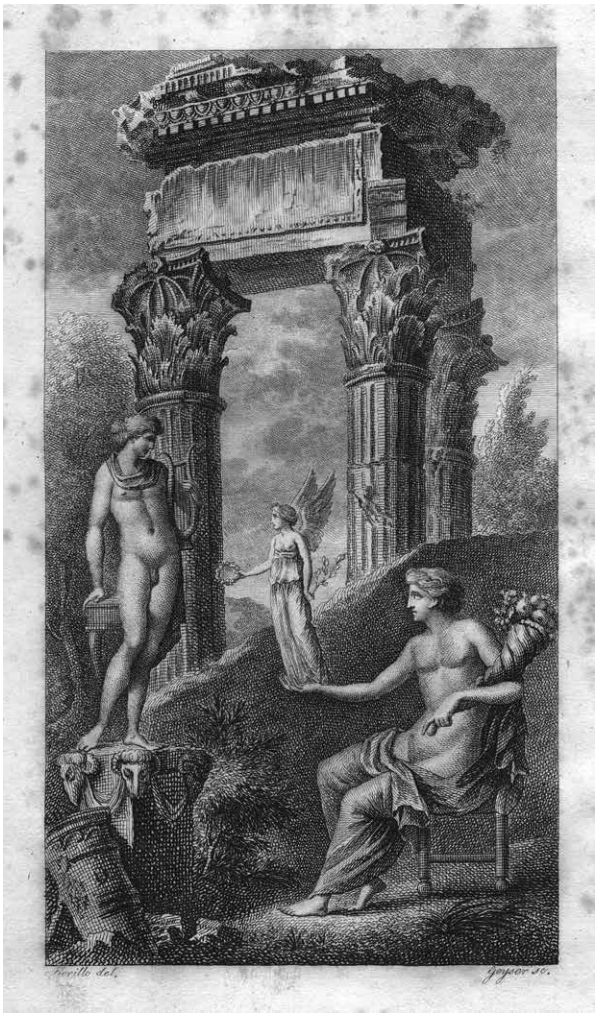

Fig.7a Christian Gottlob Heyne, P. Virgilius Maro (opera omnia). Varietate lectionis et perpetua adnotatione illustratus a Christ. Gottlob Heyne, editio novis, Vol. 1 (3rd edition), Leipzig 1797, frontispiece (illustration by Domenico Fiorillo). Göttingen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie. Photo: Stephan Eckardt.

Moritz – Ramler – Hirt: Illustrating mythological handbooks

Let us conclude with an attempt to gauge the artistic impact in particular of Lippert's Dactyliotheca. To what extent did dactyliothecae and reproductions of antique gems lead to the adoption of a uniform pictorial language in contemporary eighteenth and nineteenth century illustrations to Greek myths? Around 1800 there appeared on the market several, rival mythological handbooks that for

41 Böttiger 1800, 305-309.

42 For example, the German-language prose version of the *Aeneid* by Seehusen 1780. The revised and updated edition of Hederich 1770 covers antique artworks that are documented with reference to Lippert, among other sources. An anonymous reviewer discusses the question of what a mythology handbook for artists should deliver in: Anonymous 1773, 132-134. More examples in Kerschner 2006, 66.

43 Heyne 1776, 758; Graepler 2015, 112

44 Philipp Daniel Lippert, *Park Landscape with a Garden Vase* (dated 1736). Etching, reworked with brush and grey ink. 165 x 272 mm. Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections inv. PK-T-2320. URL: http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/UBL_V1:All_Content:UBL_ALMA51263448150002711.

45 Stante 2006, 113.

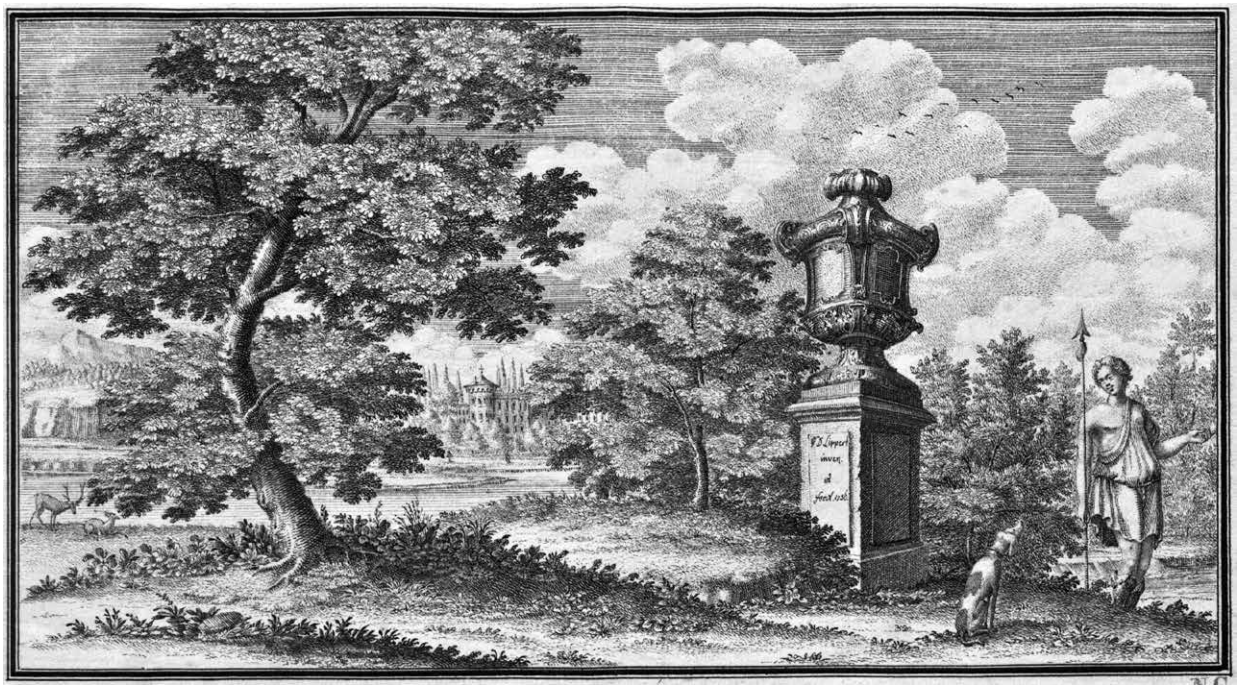

Fig.7b Philipp Daniel Lippert, Park Landscape with a Garden Vase (dated 1736). Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek PK-T-2320.

the first time married text and image. Probably the most famous is the 1791 Götterlehre by Karl Philipp Moritz (1756-1793), illustrated with 65 copper engravings by Asmus Jacob Carstens (1754-1798, Fig.8).[46] As Moritz acknowledges in his introduction, these illustrations are based on gems from Lippert's Dactyliotheca, selected by Carstens and himself and engraved as outline drawings.

Moritz also taught mythology for artists at the Berlin Academy, where he and Carstens were colleagues. In the eyes of contemporaries, the engravings in Moritz' Götterlehre perfectly translated the antique style into the present. Other authors adopted different visual strategies, however. One such was Aloys Hirt (1759-1837), "archaeologist, historian and art connoisseur"[47] and Moritz's successor at the Berlin Academy from 1796. Hirt's Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst, published in two volumes in 1806 and 1815 respectively, was targeted – according to the announcement of the publisher – at a wide audience: "Friends of literature, lovers of classical studies, academics, artists, and as a gift for young men educating themselves".[48] Its 32 full-page plates and 34 vignettes by Erdmann Hummel (1769-1852) are conceived in a completely different manner to the illustrations in Moritz. Each plate brings together various statues, vase paintings, reliefs and gems illustrating the same theme and presents them in rows inside registers of equal height. All are portrayed in the same scale, regardless of their actual size; in their drawing, too, they are made to look somewhat alike. Each object is numbered for the purposes of identification. In other words, Hirt here draws upon a much wider repertoire of visual sources, but ultimately omits all context in order to concentrate entirely on a differentiated iconographical tradition.

In 1823 the Swiss professor and librarian Johann Jakob Horner (1772-1831) published his Bilder des griechischen Alterthums in Zurich. The album – which also appeared in French translation in 1824/5 – was intended to complement the basically sound knowledge of ancient Greece in Germany with images that conjured up antique

46 Platz-Horster 2005.

47 Hence the subtitle of Sedlarz 2004; Sedlarz 2014, 159-169. For illustrated school-books on mythology in general, see also: exhib. cat. Kunze 2005.

48 *Illustrated Book of Mythology, Archaeology and Art*. Hirt 1806/1815. Borbein 2004, 178.

Götterlehre

oder

mythologische Dichtungen

der Alten.

Zusammengestellt

von

Karl Philipp Moritz.

Mit fünf und sechzig in Kupfer gestochenen Abbildungen,

nach antiken geschnittnen Steinen und andern Denkmälern des Alterthums.

Zweite unveränderte aber wohlfeilere Ausgabe.

Preis 1 Rthlr.

Berlin,
bei Johann Friedrich Unger.
1795.

Fig.8 Karl Philipp Moritz/ Asmus Carstens, Götterlehre oder mythologische Dichtung der Alten, Berlin 1791, frontispiece and title. Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Photo: Klaus Satzinger-Viel.

sites and artworks directly before the viewer's eyes. Plans of major sites and illustrations of Greek art, including gems, were intended to aid the "imagination" to form a picture of Greece even in the "petty surroundings of its domicile".[49] Horner draws his illustrations from a wide range of sources and in each case retains their character.[50]

For our analysis of illustration strategies, however, the Kurzgefaßte Mythologie by Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-1798) is the most revealing work (Fig.9).

Ramler, who was greatly admired as a sensitive poet of the Enlightenment, taught at the Berlin Academy as Moritz's immediate forerunner. His Concise Mythology was written for poets and artists and therefore expressively avoids overly philological issues. The two-volume work was published in Berlin (1790) and subsequently in Vienna (1794), going through at least seven and nine print runs respectively.[51] The first Berlin edition was illustrated by Ramler's friend Bernhard Rode (1725-1797) with some

49 Horner 1823, p. III.

50 According to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 13, 1881, 155-156 s.v. Horner, Johann Kaspar, his *Bilderbuch* is said to have earned praise from Goethe, whom it reached via the Swiss painter Heinrich Meyer. I have not yet been able to verify this source.

51 Ramler 1790 and numerous editions in Berlin and Vienna. I have only been able to consult a number of editions on the internet, whereby the quality of the digitization varies and in many cases does not allow the picture signatures to be read.

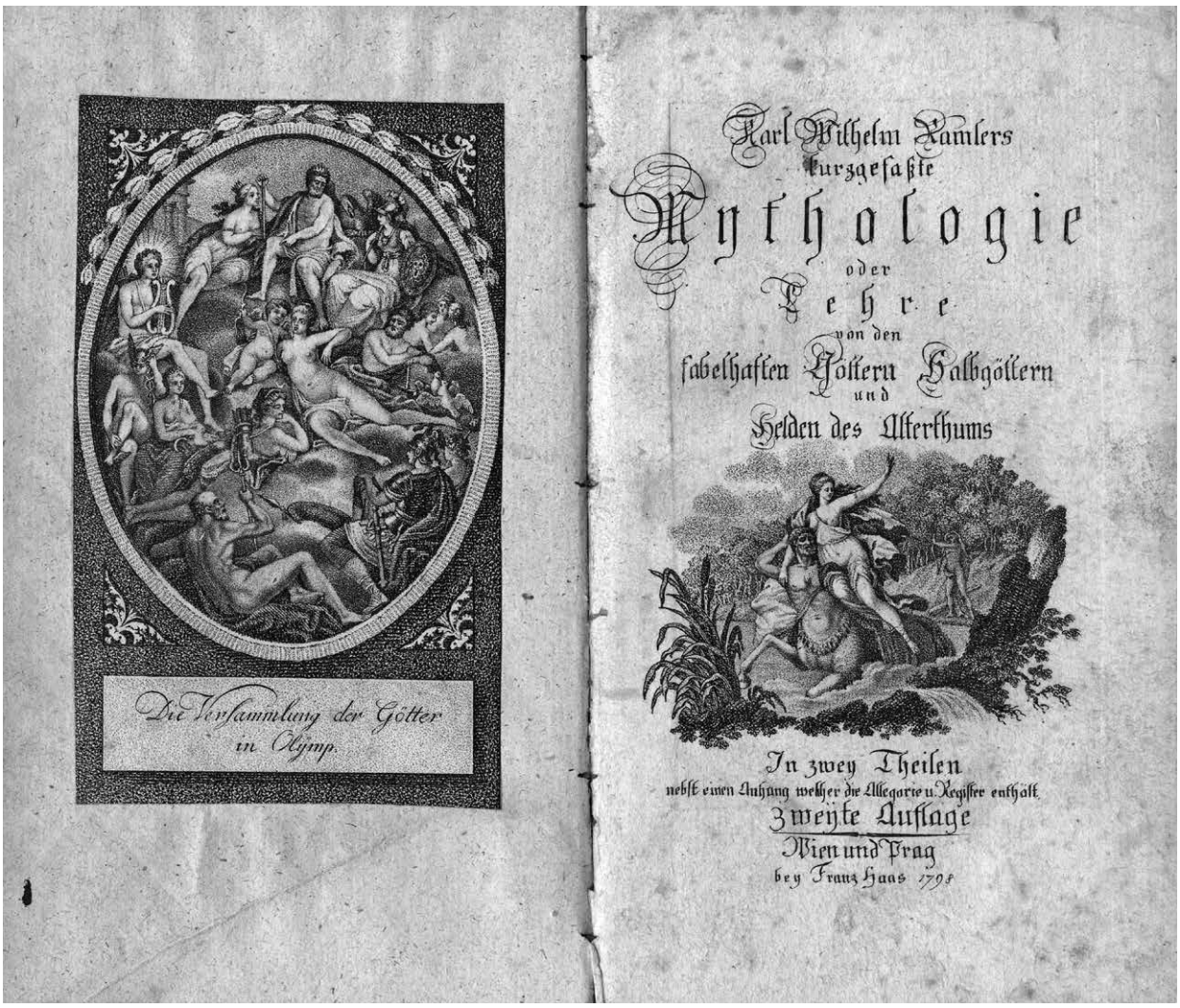

Fig.9 Karl Wilhelm Ramlers kurzgefaßte Mythologe, Vienna/ Prague 1798 (illustration by Caspar Weinrauch), frontispiece and title. Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Photo: Klaus Satzinger-Viel.

thirty etchings, whose delicate Frederician Rococo style bears little relation to antique art. The plates of the 1794 Vienna edition, by contrast, stem from the hand of Caspar Weinrauch (1765-1846), who likewise produced freely conceived compositions that we might imagine as ceiling paintings, for example. He nonetheless enclosed his illustrations within an oval surround, so that they at least called to mind the typical gem outline. In the years after Ramler's death, further editions were published in Berlin, accompanied by new illustrations far removed from Rode's style.

In the majority of plates, an artist whom I have not yet been able to identify portrays statues of Greek gods in monumental niches and devotes the area underneath to reliefs or coins. Occasionally, however, he also employs the gem form. Despite a change of publisher, these two parallel versions of the Kurzgefaßte Mythologie can be traced into the middle of the nineteenth century, until finally, in Berlin, the plate section underwent another radical redesign. At this point new printing technology allowed images to be inserted directly into the text in the form of simple wood engravings.

In the case of Ramler's Mythologie, the spectrum of illustrations described above also comes full circle, for we know of three volumes in quarto of a dactyliotheca with gems from the Vienna collection that were probably intended to illustrate this text.[52] A copy

52 Vols. 9-11. Bernhard-Walcher 1991, 36 with note 41. I have not yet seen the dactyliotheca in question.

of Volume 8, auctioned on eBay in 2016,[53] is stamped on the back as follows: "Ramlers Mythologie. Sammlung der [sic] im k.k. Antik Kabinett zu Wien".[54] Even if the precise context is not yet known, this renewed association of the Kurzgefaßte Mythologie with corresponding gems shows that dactyliothecae remained a popular visual resource for artists.

Summary

The present study is not concerned with antique engraved gems per se, but with the dissemination of knowledge about these gems via the medium of dactyliothecae. It looks in particular at the impact of dactyliothecae upon the knowledge of iconography and upon stylistic trends in art in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. It is able to show that the largest of these, Lippert's Dactyliotheca Universalis, was distributed surprisingly broadly in both the university and the school sphere, and that the dactyliothecae produced specifically for schools by other authors were even more widespread. A number of documentary sources also convey a concrete idea of how these dactyliothecae were used in teaching. Their impressions are frequently referenced as iconographical visual sources in the literature of the period, including publications destined for a broad public. Whether gem impressions indeed had the potential to educate tastes, as contemporaries regularly insisted, is nevertheless open to doubt. Lippert himself was not the only one to complain vehemently about the "blindness" of users. However, neither his system of classification – conceived even before Winckelmann published his defining works – nor his observations and autograph illustrations exhibit a particular awareness of the changing styles in antique art and their translation into a contemporary artistic language. Even before the close of the eighteenth century, gem reproductions had lost their initially almost exclusive reference value as authentic testaments to the art of classical antiquity. Christian Gottlob Heyne, for example, became the first to deliver archaeological lectures in the modern sense, in Göttingen from 1767 to 1804, and increasingly incorporated other visual media; the illustrators of concise histories of mythology likewise drew upon a very diverse range of visual sources and designs. Dactyliothecae nevertheless continued to be viewed as an indispensable means of visualizing antique art.

It is in this context that we may understand the young Caspar Reuvens' eagerness in 1818, directly after his appointment as professor of archaeology at Leiden University, to obtain a dactyliotheca for the newly introduced course in antique art. Specimens from the museum's founding years and acquisitions right up to recent years mean that today Leiden holds a sizeable collection of these media, whose individual histories and significance nevertheless remain to be researched.

Fig.10 Karl Wilhelm Ramler's kurzgefaßte Mythologie, Berlin 1821, p. 24 (illustrator unknown). Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Photo: Klaus Satzinger-Viel.

53 On 13 March 2016 vol. 8 of the series was advertised for sale via eBay USA ("seller from Woodstock GA"). In autumn 2016 this page no longer existed. The volume contained 60 impressions. The handwritten captions, written out in list form inside the book covers, comprise the numbers 66-165 of a catalogue that has not yet been possible to identify. The resolution of the images on the internet only allowed the gem pictures and the text to be partially deciphered.

54 This abbreviated sentence is grammatically incorrect in the German original, perhaps due to lack of space on the back of the book, and should probably read: "Sammlung der im k.k. Antik Kabinett zu Wien *aufbewahrten Gemmen*" ("Ramler's Mythology. Collection of the *gems housed* in the Imperial Royal Cabinet of Antiquities in Vienna").

Fig.11 Lipperts Daktyliothek, new edition by G.B. Rabenstein, Dresden, after 1808. Leiden RMO Am 111. Photo Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Postscript

The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden owns a substantial number of dactyliothecae, which can be accessed via its online catalogue (inv. AM 111; Z 1899/1.1; GS-70001-70037).[55] While their individual provenances and dates of acquisition still need to be investigated in more depth, we can already say certain things about them. The 1753 edition of Lippert (inv. Z 1899/1.1) was the copy owned and used by Reuvens himself and was presented to the museum by his grandson in 1899. Other dactyliothecae are mentioned by Reuvens in a letter of 1820[56], in which he makes reference to the most recent catalogue of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and once belonged in the Rijksmuseum's original holdings when the institution was founded in 1808 as the Koninklijk Museum.[57] In 1825 the antiquities from Amsterdam were distributed between the collections in The Hague and Leiden; it remains unclear whether the dactyliothecae entered the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at this time or later.[58] Rabenstein's Lippert (inv. AM 111, Fig.11), and probably also Rabenstein's Selection (inv. GS-70027),[59] as well as gems and cameos from the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris (inv. GS-70021), plus a compilation of Spinthria ('pornographic' gems) after Tassie (inv. GS-70024), may also have reached Leiden from the Rijksmuseum. The dactyliotheca of the Stosch Collection in Berlin, procured by Carl Gottlieb Reinhardt in 1826 (GS-70004), was perhaps purchased during Reuvens' lifetime. Like the Lippert in Saxony before it, in Prussia this dactyliotheca in five mahogany chests was sold or presented by the Ministry to univer-

55 http://www.rmo.nl/english/collection/search-collection. Ben van den Bercken kindly provided me with the entries in the 2014 inventory of the RMO.

56 See note 4.

57 See Apostool 1809, 99, nos. 483-488 and Apostool 1816, 101, nos. 468-473: the descriptions are identical.

58 On this distribution, see: Anonymous 1903, p. XII. Many dactyliothecae were not inventoried until 1892. The models of antique temples certainly came to Leiden at this point. Bastet 1984, 154.

59 Identical with Janssen 1848, 369 no. 71?

sities, such as Bonn and schools, for example in Bielefeld.[60] Not until 1836 do we find mention of a further Berlin collection of impressions by Martin Krause, based on Ernst Heinrich Tölken's new organizational system, here in a small version (GS-70003).[61] It is hardly surprising that in Leiden we should find dactyliothecae from the Dutch royal gem collection in The Hague. Johannes Cornelis de Jonge's Catalogue d'Empreintes du Cabinet des Pierres Gravés de sa Majesté le Roi des Pays Bas appeared in 1837. Inv. GS-70002 comprises three sets of the entire royal collection (the three sets combined contain over 3000 impressions in six mahogany chests). By contrast, GS-70025 and GS-70026 comprise only small selections, totalling 10 and 307 impressions respectively.[62] At least one edition must be named here which is not available in Leiden, namely the Impronte gemmarie published by the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome, which appeared in six volumes between 1831 and 1868. The financial problems faced by the Netherlands from 1830 meant that this first scholarly edition of securely authenticated gems could not be acquired for the Leiden collection.

Finally, two large series of a dactyliotheca by Tommaso Cades (GS-70010 and 70011) with a clear provenance were formerly owned by the numismatist Henri Jean de Dompierre de Chaufepié (1861-1911). We can currently only attach a name to some of the remaining collections, most of which are stored in stacking trays: Francesco Maria Dolce, represented by one dactyliotheca in two tomi (GS-70012), and a second in three tomi with two supplementi (GS-70020). I know of no other examples of this latter, which contains more than 3000 impressions); Pietro Bracci (GS-70016 and GS-70018); Nathaniel Marchand (GS-70014); Giovanni Pichler, [Tommaso] Cades and [Nathaniel] Marchand (?) (GS-70015); Giovanni Liberotti (5 vols. GS-70036); a Museo del Principe Boncompagni (GS-70013); and Martin Krause (50 impressions). Further holdings, most of them small in scale, still remain to be identified. GS-70023, a single drawer of a Lippert, may bear witness to another, destroyed copy.

60 Kockel in Kockel/Graepler, 2006, 174-177, no. 11; Knüppel 2009, 33.

61 Graepler, in Kockel/Graepler, 179-180, no. 13; Knüppel 2009, 108-109.

62 On the history of the collection: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 15-54. On the different dactyliothecae see Riedl 2006; Knüppel 2009, 109. Identical with Janssen 1848, 369 no. 72?

Non grylloi, baskania sunt. On the significance of so-called grylloi/grilli or grylli in Greek and Roman glyptics

*Carina Weiss**

Introduction

My contribution examines the iconography of some types of what are known as *grylloi/grilli* or *grylli* (sing. *gryllos/grillus* or *gryllus*) on gems (Fig. 1-2, 4, 6-10).[1] I shall endeavour to make suggestions concerning the meaning of these images, discussing those specific cases for which the term grylloi does seem appropriate and proposing use of the existing term *baskania* to denote the group as a whole.

In 2011 Kenneth Lapatin intensively examined this subject. In my view he rightly concludes that we are far from fully understanding the meaning of grylloi, and It is his considered opinion that these motifs represent a class rather than a loose grouping of images, even though, as he states, there is no precise definition of a glyptic gryllos.[2]

Grylloi: a name often incorrectly applied to a huge group of heterogeneous gem images

In scientific literature the conventional term grylloi/grylli denotes a numerous, widespread and long-lived group of images comprised of hybrid beings (Fig. 1-2) or fantastic animals (Fig. 3, 5-10). Despite a persistent tendency to hold fast to this designation, in many cases misapplied, it is now being subjected to critical scrutiny.[3] According to Lapatin, the term grylloi was introduced by Winckelmann and later became a common

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1 I would like to thank Jochen Griessbach, Martin von Wagner, Museum der Universität Würzburg, Tamás Gesztelyi, Debrecen, Fredrik Grosser, Freiburg, Astrid Fendt, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München, Erika Simon, Würzburg, and my son Leonard Weiss, Munich, for suggestions, corrections and images. My special thanks are extended to Heinz Weiss, Würzburg/Stuttgart, Ursula Haug and Steve Iliffe, London, who corrected the English version. I conclude by conveying my warm thanks to all members of the organisation and editing team of the conference and the publication, namely Vivian Baan and Ben van den Bercken.

Gesztelyi 1992, 83-90; Lapatin 2011, 88-98.

2 Lapatin 2011, 88.

3 Zwierlein-Diehl, 2007, 142; Lapatin 2011,

Fig.1 Glass paste with multiple hybrid creatures with bridled horse head, ridden by Amor, © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Kat. 839. Photo Isolde Luckert.

Fig.2 Glass paste with victorious bridled cockerel horse/ cockerelhybrid with wreath, cornucopia and palm leaf, © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Kat. 839. Photo Isolde Luckert.

expression in scientific literature.[4] It served to describe gem images that are mostly composed from animals, animal protomes, masks and heads of mythological creatures, such as satyrs and silenoi, and also the heads or faces of gods and humans, and animals shown engaged in human activities (Fig. 6-10). Combinations comprise at least two joined elements, such as two heads or masks; many more composites are achieved through combinations of heads, masks, limbs, body parts and even attributes.[5] Often we encounter blurred or hidden images (Fig. 4). Such picture puzzles are a further important and specific feature of these gems and will be discussed in this article. The term grylloi is even, based on the wrong etymology from Italian grilli (cricket), erroneously applied to little insect men shown engaging in human activities. I will show that they are grylloi, but not because they all are crickets. [6]

Possible origins for the image type

It is often explained in literature that these bizarre combinations and strange creatures have their origins in the East as early as the second millennium BC and were handed down or spontaneously recreated in Greek vase painting or Achaemenid, Greek and Phoenician glyptics.[7] Tamás Gesztely suggests that these creatures completely disappeared during the course of the fourth century BC and were only revived in Italic glyptics of the first century BC. This statement requires further examination. At present we have very elaborate examples of grylloi in south Italian vase painting from the second half of the fourth century BC, such as the combination of a cockerel with a Pan's head and a locust's leg in Lecce (Fig. 5),[8] or a monstrous bird in the medallion of an Apulian stamped cup (Xenon Group) in Geneva (Fig. 3), which suggest an ongoing continuity.[9] The Pan's head with the cockerel's crest on the Lecce krater (Fig. 5) reappears on a banded agate, in Cambridge, where it is worn by a little insect man from the second/first century BC. The figure is posed like a countryman carrying home his prey (two hares and a fish), hanging from a rod over his shoulder.[10] Perhaps it was the theatre which inspired this iconographic pro-

4 Lapatin 2011, 90 note 15.
5 Lapatin 2011, 88 – 89.
6 Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 142.
7 Boardman 2001, 322; Gesztelyi 1992, 84-85; Lapatin 2011,89. One starting point for combinations of animal and human heads mayhave been images like Walters 1926, n. 504, showing a head with a Phrygian cap with the peak in the form of a ram's head: (mottled plasma scaraboid from Adana, Asia Minor).
8 Lecce, Museo Provinciale 1011 from Rudiae: Borda 1966, 56. 88. 110-111 pl. 20; Weiss 2015, 305 note 79.
9 Chamay 2009, 48 (best image). 108; Chamays 2014, 437 with fig.
10 Henig/Whiting/Scarisbrick 1994, n. 146 (in the field are a scorpion and a garnet, not a snake).

Fig.3 Stamped kylix, Xenon Group, with a monstrous bird painted in red in the medallion, © Ville de Genève, Musée d'art et d'histoire Inv. N° HR 1998-027. Photo Angelo Lui.

Fig.5 Gnathia krater with a cockerel/locust hybrid, Lecce, Museo Provinciale, Inv. 1011, from Rudiae. Reproduction after Borda 1966, pl. 20.

duction. The improvised farces of the *Fabulae Atellanae* (Atellan Farce or Oscan Games) featured a character in a theriomorphic cockerel mask, known as Cicerrus (Horace, Serm. I, 5, 51-52),[11] who may have influenced images such as that on the Lecce crater. It was no great leap from such a figure combined with locust components to the insect man on the gem.

11 Barra, http://www.iststudiatell.org/atella/..%5Crsc%5Cannate_08%5Catella_e_le_sue_fabulae.pdf.

Fig.4 Gold ring with glass gem, a water bird composed of a goose head and legs, a dolphin and a ram's head. © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich. Photo Renate Kühling.

The meaning of gryllos in antique literature and the selection of images for which the term gryllos is correctly applied

In antique literature the term gryllos is found in an often discussed passage by Pliny the Elder, NH XXXV 37,114, in which he discusses the painter Antiphilos of Naucratis, who lived during the time of Alexander the Great.[12] According to Pliny, Antiphilos specialised in small pictures and painted a ridiculous-looking man named Gryllos on one of his comic panel paintings, which is why such pictures are called grylloi.

Jürgen Hammerstaedt has examined the antique meaning of this term on the basis of the known literature.[13] In his article he comes to the conclusion that "grylloi do not represent a special human being, but depict ridiculous human figures as repeated clusters" [translation by the author].[14] He also notes that "the ridiculousness of the *grylloi* lies in their tininess, disproportion and ugliness as well as in their corporal deficiency" [translation by the author].[15] Quoting from handed down sources, Hammerstaedt demonstrates that it was in the visual arts that these

12 Lapatin 2011, 90.
13 Hammerstaedt 2000, 29-46. See also Voegtle 2013, 124.
14 Hammerstaedt 2000, 33.
15 Hammerstaedt 2000, 34.

Fig.6 Modern gold ring set with an antique sard showing an insect man carrying grapes, © Freud Museum London. Photo: Robert Wilkins, Oxford.

ugly, disproportionate little men were first named *grylloi*.[16] Mask combinations and hybrid and fantastic animals have nothing in common with those *grylloi*, but of course served as amulets as well. I would, therefore, like to propose the existing term *baskania,* after the Greek *baskanion,* as the descriptor for this entire class. I shall return to this subject later.

In a parody of Heracles in Papyrus Oxyrynchos 2331 col. 2,1 the word γρὺλλω appears. Three illustrations have proved helpful in reconstructing this difficult text, revealed to be a dialogue between Heracles and his challenger, whose heroic deeds are opposed to his own in a jokey parody. While the hero measures his force againsta lion, his tiny antagonist does the same with a chameleon. The pun λὲων – χαμαιλὲων contains the joke. A ridiculous ugly and frail figure, known in painting as Gryllos, challenges the demigod and shows himself unexpectedly equal to him in terms of heroic actions, even hunting down a chameleon appropriate to his size. So, we may call images of shrivelled little figures bearing cicadas or crickets they have hunted a gryllos, applying this to all examples on gems, where an ugly, shrivelled little man is dragging the insect he has killed

Fig.7 Chalcedony gem engraved with a grasshopper leading a crane, followed by another grasshopper carrying a spear. British Museum London, Inv. 1814, 0704.1429 © Trustees of the British Museum.

16 According to Hammerstaedt 2000, 45 it was only later that the designation nomination shifted to the curious crippled dancers in entertainment performances, such as parodiesy of noble mythological subjects.

Fig.8 Iron ring with a carnelian gem, showing a mouse as charioteer in a cockerel biga.© Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich, Inv. 15.046, 595. Photo Renate Kühling.

in the manner of Heracles with the Erymanthian boar or the Nemean lion, having struggled with his adversary in similar fashion.[17] On Italic second/first-century BC gems there is a very similar type of shrivelled and dwarfish figure known as Pygmy, dragging a dead crane.[18]

It may be possible, therefore, that the meaning shifted from this iconographic type to denote little insect men acting like shrivelled human figures.[19] We find such insect men on numerous first-century BC gems and glass gems. Often they are engaged in heavy work, such as carrying handled baskets on their shoulders like human *mercenarii*.[20]

A cicada is shown carrying harvested grapes on an intaglio at the Freud Museum, London (Fig. 6).[21] A similar everyday scene, on a carnelian in Bonn, represents a harvest with insect men carrying grapes and stamping grapes with their feet.[22]

Another gem (Fig. 7) shows a similarly topsy-turvy world in which a predator is now dominated by its prey, in this instance a pair of cicadas leading a heron or crane they have caught.[23] In reality such long-legged wading birds are natural enemies of insects like cicadas and locusts which form part of their diet.[24]

A possible connection with ageing is suggested by the antique story of Tithonos, human husband of Eos, goddess of dawn, who had asked Zeus to make him immortal. Having forgotten to ask for eternal youth as well (218-38), Tithonos did indeed live forever, as a frail old man; in later versions of the tale he was eventually turned into a cicada.[25] The image of Tithonos, ageing, dehydrated and finally transformed into an insect, present only through his voice, exemplifies the rigours of old age. According to many antique authors, old age weakened the body and reduced its activities. Cicero's fictional dialogue *Cato maior de senectute*, on the decay suffered in old age and possible countermeasures in the form of mental power instead of physical strength, and love of agriculture, was written 45-44 BC, that is, in the same period in which gems featuring old, frail insect bearers were fashionable.

17 Brandt, E. 1970, n. 958-959; Schmidt, E., 1970, n. 1883; Pannuti 1994, n. 200; Weiss 2007, n. 550

18 Walters 1926, n. 1040 (2. c. BC); 1039 (1. c. BC); Brandt, E., 1970, n. 960 (not a goose, a crane).

19 But not in the etymology already rejected by Binsfeld 1956, 28. *Cf.* Hammerstaedt 2000, 29-30 note 5-6; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 142.

20 Cosima Möller, Die mercenarii in der römischen Arbeitswelt, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung*. Band 110, Heft 1, 296-330.

21 Weiss 2011, 98-99 Fig. 26; 111 n. 31.

22 Platz-Horster 1984, n. 111; Zwierlein-Diehl 2002, 89-90 Kat. 94 Fig. 86.

23 Walters 1926, n. 2462.

24 Girl feeding a locust to a heron: Mottled jasper scaraboid Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi" 8614, Boardman 2001, 201. 291 Fig. 547; Weiss 2013, 302. 303 Fig. 6.

25 Hellanikos, FGrH 4 F 140; Kossatz-Deissmann 1997, 34.

Fig.9 Sard gem showing a grasshopper in a chariot drawn by two butterflies. London, British Museum Inv.1814, 0704.1446 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig.10 Carnelian gem showing a mouse as charioteer in an elephant biga. © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich, Inv. 15.046, 677. Photo Renate Kühling.

Cicero (Cato 5, 15) lists the prejudices associated with old age:

> *"It deters from action (unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis), it weakens the body (alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius), it deprives one from nearly every delight (tertiam, quod corpus faciat infirmius), and age is not far from death (quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte)"*

Cicero's argument runs as follows: while one can become an old man in terms of the body, a disciplined, questioning mind, endowed with real authority, decisiveness and perseverance, that loves the benefits of agriculture, will never be old. In the light of this I interpret the little cicada porters and insect men on gems, most of which were cut during Cicero's lifetime, as symbols representing the correct attitude to be adopted by ageing human beings. Perhaps they could even protect their bearers against the dangers and restrictions of ageing. It also seems possible that any man named Gryllos could allude to his personal name by wearing such a ring stone.[26]

Finally, gems engraved with bridled horse hybrids ridden by a mouse or changed into a racing chariot with a mouse or cricket acting as charioteer also belong to this group of *grylloi*.[27] Such chariots may be drawn by a *biga* of cockerels (Fig. 8), butterflies (Fig. 9) or even elephants (Fig. 10), etc. These too, may be called grylloi, for they represent a reversal of the status quo: a weak creature dominating a stronger one, often its natural enemy.

Images which should not be called grylloi

We should certainly not designate the horse hybrids without a little rider or charioteer (Fig. 2) as grylloi. Their function as bringers of good luck is clearly shown by the most common type, the horse-cockerels. According to Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, the combination of horsehead, ram's head, Silenus mask, cockerel's feet and tail, ears of corn, victory crown and palm, represent good luck for a favoured team in a horserace or, more generally, in human life.[28] Represented on gems, a horse protome is an abbreviation of a victorious racehorse, sometimes inscribed with the horse's name and thereby clearly understandable as an emblem of *felicitas* attracting success and luck.[29] The fact that the hybrid takes the overall form of a cockerel is a direct allusion to Mercury, beinglthe god's preferred animals and a symbol of Mercury's quality as Enagonios, important in horse racing.[30] Furthermore, both cockerel and ram were sacrifices dedicated to Mercury and therefore meat suppliers. On a carnelian cut by Dioscurides, in the British Museum, Mercury is shown holding a plate bearing a sacrificial ram's head.[31] Meat and bread (ears of corn) are references to Bacchanalian feasts and the enjoyment of life. Victory celebrations for winning teams were part of everyday life for Circus obsessed Romans.

Indeed, in one instance,the horse-hybrid, in the form of a hippocamp (composed of a horsehead, a Silenus mask, a ram's head with ears and a dolphin), carries a krater of wine.[32] In the heated atmosphere of the Circus charioteers needed luck as well as skill. Driving their chariots at high speed was a risky undertaking and use of amulets, curse

26 For Gryllos as a Greek personal name, see: Fraser Matthews I 1987, 111; II 1994, 97; III B 200, 94.

27 Weiss 1996, n. 272 (with many parallels); Strathaus 2016, 435 note 16-18 pl. 54. 5. – here Fig. 8: Weiss 2010, 96 n. 89; here Fig. 9: Walters 1926, n. 2549.

28 Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 274 f. n. 839-840.

29 Aubry 2011, 642.

30 Simon 1992, 535 s.v. Mercurius, Hahn. See also ibid. 515 n. 176 = Zazoff 1970, n. 68, Mercurius in cockerel biga.

31 Simon 1992, 512 n. and Fig. 113.

32 AGD III Braunschweig n. 172 (hippocamp undescribed).

tablets, etc. was common to bring good luck and counteract opponents' luck.[33]

The Circus was also the arena for love, a meeting place for the sexes. It is in this context that Amor appears, as the rider of bridled horse cockerels (Fig. 1),[34] possibly a charming love gift, although other explanations are just as likely.[35] Known to me only from literature, a carnelian in private ownership bears the image of a mouse in a cockerel *biga* and the inscription '*have dulcis*', 'hail, sweet one'.[36]

The significance of ambiguity in composite image gems

While above I have interpreted these objects as charms that attract luck or avoid misfortune, Martin Henig emphasises the apotropaic character of such ambivalent images: "Whatever is curious was thought to attract and neutralise the baleful stare of the Evil Eye away from the wearer; …"[37]. I think that these explanations are not exclusive but complementary.

An important approach to understanding these images is through the playful combinations of various heads, which reveal their ambiguity when moved around in the hand; a characteristic emphasised by Erika Zwierlein-Diehl.[38] Virtually no other medium is as suited to creating picture puzzles as these gems. Closely connected to their owner's person and animated by being directly worn on the body, gems provided ideal possibilities for picture puzzles as they were turned around and viewed from changing angles. Differing colours, patterns and light transmission contributed to a range of possible images. Moving the position of gems or observer and changing angles of light render them almost plastic. Images are multiplied in a version of 'peek-a-boo'; a characteristic that has certainly contributed to the popularity of these gem images. Moreover, masks or heads facing to all sides could be understood as protecting the bearer from every direction.[39]

It is notable that the virtuoso handling of playful ambiguity has been found since Hellenistic times on images connected with the theme of the *symposion/convivium*. Norbert Franken has demonstrated this with regard to *Wendeköpfe* (Janusheads) decorating bronze lamps,[40] also comparing these with Roman mosaics depicting the same theme from the first century BC to the second century AD. The earliest preserved example is a relief-moulded Megarian bowl (third/second century BC).[41] Franken sees a development from picture puzzles on high Hellenistic relief ceramics to the motifs that occuron mosaics and bronze household equipment from the Augustan period onwards. Another possible explanation for this connection can be found in the *Satyricon* of T. Petronius Niger. Tacitus (*Annales* 16, 18) describes him as the master of the reversal of the usual, who aligns his live totally. The passage in the *Cena Trimalchionis* should not be understood as a simple reflection of the contemporary reality of life, but as something that reveals "the technique of paradox, the continuous transformation and reformation" [translation by the author]. In this incessant metamorphosis the author accords the convivium the intensity of a staged performance and presents it as *theatrum mundi*.[42]

There was great entertainment value to be had in the transformation of one thing into another, as well as seeing mythical figures acting in unexpected ways, particularly during the convivium. The *Cena Trimalchionis* refers several times to dishes where the roasted meat comes from another animal than expected: a highly qualified cook knew how to transform pork meat into fish, wood-dove, turtle-dove, hen or goose (*cf.* Petronius II 70, 74). A wooden hen 'lays' filled peacock eggs (*cf.* Petronius II 33). The serving of a boiled calf is performed by a slave (known as a *scissor*), a specialist in cutting meat, in the guise of a furious Ajax he tears the meat to pieces to distribute amongst the guests (*cf.* Petronius II 59).[43]

Gems as *baskania*: apotropaic charms for warding off the evil eye

The discordant and exaggerated details observed in literature nevertheless correspond with the *Zeitgeist* in the first century. Applied to gems this inspired masterly gem engravers to produce the ambivalent images so fashionable in the period, working skilfully *a la mode* to compose a bird from a ram's head, a dolphin and other elements. It was a time when box trees and cypresses in villa gardens were shaped into all kinds of figures, when walls were 'opened' by painting architectural structures offering illusory views, 'dissolved' by the playful ornaments of the Second/Third Pompeian styles or entangled with the fantastic sceneries of the Fourth Style. It is generally appreciated that gems,

33 Bell 2013, 498. 500. For gem rings with circus scenes, see: Weiss/Aubry 2009, 227-258, especially 250-251.
34 Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 274 f. n. 839. For this subject see: Bell, 2013, 500.
35 Gesztely places too much stress on this in my opinion, 1992, 86-88.
36 Henkel 1913, 300-301, note 4.
37 Henig 1997c, 47. *cf.* Gesztelyi 1992, 86 note 23.
38 Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 142.
39 For example Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, n. 622; Lapatin 2011, pl. 29-30.
40 Franken 2007, 121-128.
41 Franken 2007, 126 Fig. 4a.b.
42 Stein-Hölleskamp 2005, 245.
43 Stein-Hölleskamp 2005, 246.

like an example from the Loeb Collection (Fig. 4),[44] may be connected with entertainment, revealing a new and surprising view of the world by an unexpected punch line. The function of these amulets as bringers of luck and apotropaic charms was not affected by this connection, but may even have been intensified. A jealous glance signified bad influence that was expected to come from the outside at a *convivium*. Thomas Rakoczy has emphasized in his work entitled *Böser Blick, Macht des Auges und Neid der Götter* that "The meal stands out from the rest of the daily routine and therefore is like all unusual events exposed in an increasing degree to the danger of bad influences" [translation by the author].[45] Simply opening one's mouth could represent a moment of serious threat, since every kind of harm might enter the body together with the food. "Whether at the table, during the meal or on the couch during a *symposium* the danger of the *baskania* lurks everywhere and should be never forgotten." [translation by the author]. Even the cockcrow (Petronius 74) in the neighbourhood was understood as a bad omen by Trimalchio and he takes countermeasures, such as having wine poured under the table and sprinkled on the lamp and changing a ring from his left to right hand.

There were important safeguards for warding off the danger of the evil eye. A fragment of Aristophanes (Fr. 607 K/A), transmitted in Pollux's *Onomastikon,* tells us about them.[46] Small, ugly, ridiculous figures were suspended at the chimneys of blacksmiths' or foundry furnaces (*andros chalkeos*), to ward off enviousness. The famous Attic red-figured cup by the Foundry Painter in Berlin illustrates this practice.[47] Beside the furnace hangs a row of cattle-horns, which were *apotropaia* for a room or building in antiquity.[48] Also suspended are a male and a female head (from statues) four tablets with silhouette paintings (representing a buck, a seated figure with tendrils, a striding workman with an axe and a standing mantel-figure with a stick or torch) and some twigs. In my opinion this is not a collection assembly of preliminary sketches as was once thought[49] but a set of figures and offerings to protect the workshop. Phrynichos (*Praep. Soph.* 53.6 de Borries) explains the form and purpose of the bizarre objects called *baskania*:[50] "A *baskanion* or, as the uneducated say, a *probaskanion*, is a human-like object but ultimately deriving somewhat from the human figure. Craftsmen suspend these outside their workshops to prevent their products from being bewitched by the evil eye." [translation by the author]. These bizarre figures catch the eye like a lightning rod in attracting the first and therefore most dangerous glance (*cf.* Plutarch, *Questiones conviviales* 5.7 [681 F]).[51] Rakoczy's interpretation of grotesque figures adds the explanation that *baskania* were also useful in causing laughter: when the *jettatore*, the sender of the evil eye, had to laugh, his negative emotions of jealousy were changed into harmless, positive ones.[52]

Laughter would also have been evoked by the hybrid form described by Horace at the beginning of his *Ars Poetica* (Epistle 2,3,5). He begins with the image of a painter setting a human head on a horse's neck, mixing up limbs and covering this in multi-coloured plumage, so that what appears to be a beautiful women at the top has a repulsive black fishtail at the bottom. Horace asks his readers: "Wouldn't that make you laugh?" This laughter caused by such a hybrid figure brings us back to our gem images and the protection they could give to those attending a convivium. Perhaps they are really baskania?

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44 Weiss 2012, 16. 33-35 n. 10 with fig.

45 Rakoczy 1996, 142.

46 Pollucis Onomasticon, Bethe, E. (ed.) Leipzig 1900-37; repr. Stuttgart 1967; Rakoczy 1996, 153-155 note 522 (Greek text).

47 Berlin F 2294, a collection of images and a catalogue of vase painters can be found at: www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?id=A5158FBE-FC09-4880-82AB-3A4C1A699D15.

48 Theis, 2014, 123-125. 256-257 u. passim.

49 Greifenhagen 1962, 26 pl. 72.

50 Rakoczy 1996, 154 note 525 (Greek text). *Cf.* also Waser 2010, 95-96;

51 Rakoczy 1996, 154 note 526 (Greek text); Lapatin 2011, 90 note 14 (text). Elliot 2016, 48-56 on Plutarch and the evil eye.

52 Rakoczy 1996, 154-155.

We can certainly recognise baskania in the little locust or cicada men on gems (Fig. 6-7, 9). In antiquity locusts were associated with the evil eye, which is why their images or parts of their bodies, such as the leg, were thought to be apotropaic.[53] A note in the margin of Hesychius, s.v. *katachene* (ridicule and mockery), describes an aspect of the Acropolis in Athens where the figure of an animal similar to a locust was erected to protect the space against the evil eye. This example repeats the bizarre and the ridiculous, the realm of the *geloia*, transmitted by a scholion to Ar. Plut 943 (Dübner) and Pollux 7.108.[54]

In my opinion, the power of repulsing the evil eye and attracting the good is the *tertium comparationis* of all the gems examined here.

Summary

In this article I argued against the generalised application of the term grylloi for gems presenting fantastic hybrid figures and mask – head combinations. Whilst the expression may be used to describe a subgroup depicting a topsy-turvy world in which the weak become strong heroes or men (shrivelled-up dwarfs or insect men, or tiny animals engaged in human activities), the larger group presents a wider variety of themes such as mask and head combinations, hybrid structures of cockerels and horses or similar arrangements of animals and artefacts. They should be regarded in a different semantic context and are not gryllo*i*. What unifies all the gems presented here is their apotropaic function known in ancient literature under the term baskania. Protecting the owner against bad luck, envy and evil, such objects might also attract luck and sometimes love. Laughter and astonishment are the protective qualities which all of these gems produce to deflect the evil eye. The varying ways in which they achieve this depend on their different iconographies. I therefore suggest that the term *baskania* be used to denote the group as a whole and that subgroups be distinguished on the basis of individual iconographies. One of these subgroups might be called grylloi, defined in the narrower sense I have developed above.

53 Weiss 2015, 304-305. See also the Gnathia crater, here note 8.

54 Rakoczy 1996, 173-174.

Some unpublished scarabs from the Leiden collection

*Ben van den Bercken**

Introduction

When the GeldMuseum closed down in 2013, its collection of engraved gems, almost all from the Koninklijk Penningkabinet (Royal Coin Cabinet), was transferred to Leiden. This created the largest public collection of engraved gems in the Netherlands, totalling 5.811 objects. While the GeldMuseum collection contained large numbers of Roman intaglios, post-classical cameos, Mesopotamian cylinder seals, and Sasanian and Islamic seal stones, the number of ancient Egyptian and 'Egyptianizing' artefacts was small, consisting of only 18 objects.[1] Before 2013 the Leiden collection had already comprised some 1600 Egyptian scarabs, most unpublished.[2]

This article aims to publish 14 of these hitherto unpublished scarabs. It will shed more light on the historiography of these objects and on their dating. The selected objects represent some of the types of semi-precious stone – carnelian, amethyst and turquoise – used for making Egyptian scarabs. They also exemplify the main functions of an engraved gem: sealing, ornament and protection.

Scarabs as 'engraved gems': Reuvens and De Jonge

The Dutch term 'gesneden steen' (engraved gem) has been problematic but persistent for at least two centuries. In 1824 the directors of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Caspar Reuvens (1793-1835), and the Koninklijk Penningkabinet, Johannes de Jonge (1793-1853), corresponded on the problem.[3] Reuvens had refused to accept four scarabs returned to him by De Jonge after the latter had inspected these and decided not to place them in the Koninklijk Penningkabinet. A discussion about which collection was most appropriate for the scarabs was turned by Reuvens into a discourse on the definition of an 'engraved gem'. Should this be based on function (for example, seal stones), material (for example, semiprecious versus common stone), or type of object (for example, all scarabs or amulets)? Reuvens's argument was firmly rooted in his belief that education was highly

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1 Van den Bercken (in preparation).
2 Several scarabs are mentioned in: Bulsink 2015; Jaeger 1984, 60 No.133; Greco 2012, 137 Cat.86; and Nouwens 1994, 280-283.
3 Halbertsma 2003, 39-42.

Fig.1 Back of scarab BA 76. The surface polish is clearly visible.

Fig.2 Impression of the underside of the base of scarab F 93/1.16.

important.[4] For the purposes of his teaching he needed to provide his students with an image of antiquity that was as complete as possible. De Jonge, on the other hand, had very clear ideas about what should and should not belong in the Koninklijk Penningkabinet: during its early days he purchased a number of pieces specifically to fill 'gaps' in the collection on the criteria of physical size, importance, and cultural and historical provenance.[5] In 1816 De Jonge had asked the Commissaris-Generaal, Repelaer van Driel, to assign to his cabinet '*eene zeer aanzienelijke menigte van Edele gesteentens, gedeeltelijk bustes, gedeeltelijk Camées geheten*' ('a considerable number of gems, partially called busts, partially cameos'), the request contested by the director of the Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden (Cabinet of Rarities), R.P. van de Kasteele, who was entrusted with these objects at the time.[6] De Jonge successfully argued that they should be transferred to his care, as the gems were mostly ancient cameos and thus complemented the old medals in his cabinet. Difficulty in distinguishing between coins, medals and small arts like cameos from antiquities, resulted in the creation of a category of objects which cannot be easily reassigned or split up even today: engraved gems.

Carnelian scarabs

Carnelian was already in use in Egypt in predynastic times for beads and amulets, but its use for scarabs was rare before the New Kingdom.[7] It is attested before the 12th Dynasty: Ward discusses some scarabs from the 12th Dynasty *Montet Jar* found at Byblos.[8] Most carnelian scarabs date from the 18th-20th Dynasties.[9] Several scarabs entered the Leiden museum via the collection of the late Nicolaas Marinus van Beeftingh (1796-1882). Van Beeftingh was a

4 Reuvens stresses his point in a letter to the Administrateur van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken (Administrator of the Ministry of Internal Affairs), previously Administrateur van Openbaar Onderwijs (Administrator of Public Education) Daniël Jacob van Ewijck, dated 21 November 1824 (VB 21 November 1824).

5 The 1819 acquisition of the Hemsterhuis collection which included a considerable number of large engraved gems; the 1823 acquisition of the Great Cameo, which put the Koninklijk Penningkabinet on a par with collections in Paris and Vienna; the 1822 acquisition of the Van Hoorn Van Vlooswijck collection, which included "oriental" gems (Van Kuyk 1946, 19-20).

6 Van Kuyk 1946, 11.

7 Aston 2000, 26-27.

8 Keel 1995, 144.

9 Hornung 1976, 22 and Keel 1995, 144.

Rotterdam merchant and judge at the Merchant Court. It is possible that he collected the scarabs himself, although his older brother, Pieter van der Dussen van Beeftingh (1794-1875), a member of the city council of Rotterdam and director of a sugar refinery, was a known collector of art.[10] Pieter's collection was sold in 1876, so it is feasible that objects from this collection came into the possession of his younger brother Nicolaas.[11] On Nicolaas' death in 1882 his collection of Egyptian rarities was sold by his heirs to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden via the firm Van Marle De Sille in Rotterdam.[12] Two of the carnelian scarabs, BA 76 (Fig.1) and BA 77, are of a type known as funerary scarabs:[13] scarabs with a naturalistic underside displaying separate legs and carved with a transverse perforation for securing the scarab to a mummy.[14] Scarabs of this type could be made of faience, carnelian, lapis lazuli, haematite and diorite. Only BA 76 has a transverse perforation on the underside; this is lacking on BA 77. Was BA 77 not finished, or not intended to be fastened to a mummy? This remains unclear. While the execution of both scarabs using a single-wheel drill is somewhat sloppy, the high surface polish on both pieces immediately catches the eye. This classifies them as Late Period scarabs, although an earlier date cannot be completely ruled out on account of the double separation line between the two wings (elytra).[15]

The next scarab BA 77a has a longitudinal perforation.[16] This is larger at the rear of the scarab than at the front, indicating that two different drill heads may have been used. While theclypeus and head are detailed, the legs and separation lines between prothorax and elytra are crudely cut. The underside of the base is not engraved. This scarab resembles the uninscribed specimens of Ramesside date from Megiddo and Der el-Belaḥ mentioned by Othmar Keel.[17]

The rendering of the body of the figure on the underside of the base and the scarab's own features indicate that scarab F 93/1.16 is an example of Archaic Greek gem engraving, from the sixth-fifth century BC (Fig.2).[18] During this period, when Greek art was Influenced by the Phoenicians, Greek craftsmen rediscovered the use of the bow drill and often used the scarab form.[19] Although this scarab is missing a large part of its left side (Fig.3), engraved detail can be seen at the clypeus and head.[20] The elytra are detailed with three grooves. On the underside of the base is a scene enclosed by an oval groove and small perpendicular grooves,[21] showing a man running with his left foot on the oval groove (baseline) and his right leg touching the groove on the left side of the base. In his right hand he is holding or touching an object and he is looking left, away from the animal that has sprung at him. Most probably this is a representation of Herakles fighting a mythical animal.[22] This scarab and the following five are from the collection of Henri Melges (1829-1892), an Antwerp archaeologist and collector, who acquired his Egyptian objects from several other collections.[23] On 19 December 1892 Melges' collection, including 97 lots of Egyptian objects, was sold at auction. The director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Willem Pleyte, was present

10 Scheffer 1878, 20. Anonymous 1876 and anonymous 1881, neither of which refers to Egyptian scarabs or any other objects from antiquity. A separate catalogue for a possible auction of the antiquities has yet to be located.

11 At this stage this theory cannot be proven. The family archives are scattered and sometimes ended up in other archives by inheritance, such as the Van Beuningen archive (no. 1339) in Het Utrechts Archief. In the RMO archive is a letter from the firm Van Marle De Sille which describes the objects to the director of the RMO, Conrad Leemans, as '*… de collectie van rariteiten in den tijd in Egypte door den Heer Van Beeftingh bijeenverzameld …*' ('… the collection of rarities at the time collected in Egypt by Mr. Van Beeftingh …'). We cannot be certain which of the brothers is referred to in this letter, though we might assume Nicolaas and not Pieter, as the correspondence is on the former's collection (IB 11-12-1882, No. 236).

12 Correspondence on the sale started on11 November 1882 (IB 11-12-1882, No. 236), after which Leemans went to see the collection while visiting his son in Rotterdam. The sale was concluded in January 1883 (VB 4-1-1883, No. 1).

13 BA 76: L.2.1 x H.0,9 x W.1,5 cm; BA 77: L.1.4 x H.0,65 x W.1 cm.

14 Andrews 1994, 59. See also Petrie 1914, plate XI No. 92a-f.

15 Andrews (Op. cit.) proposes the 26th Dynasty and later as dating for most funerary scarabs, which only partially fit the wider dating based on clypeus and elytra types. Despite the high 'Late Period' polish, clypeus and elytra suggest that both scarabs could be much older: BA 76: Tufnell 1984, 32 Fig. 12 type A1 or A3 (head); ... Rowe 1936 plate 32 EP 27 (15th-27th Dynasty)/EP 120 (15th-16th Dynasty) (clypeus); L.2.1 x H.0.9 x W.1,5 cm. BA 77: Tufnell 1984, 32 Fig. 12 Type A? (head); Rowe 1936 plate 32 HC 58 (15th-18th Dynasty) (head); Rowe 1936 pl. 33-34 EP 120 (15th-16th Dynasty) (clypeus); L.1.4 x H.0.65 x W.1 cm.

16 BA 77a: Head type: Tufnell 1984, 32 Fig. 12 Type A3. Clypeus type: Rowe 1936 pl. 33-34 EP27 (15th-27th dynasty), L.0.7 x H.0.4 x W.0.5 cm.

17 Keel 1995, 144.

18 L.1.7 x H.0.8 x W.1,1 cm. Longitudinal perforation. Although the style of engraving (scene) is reminiscent of *a globolo* Etruscan gems (see, for example Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, No.49a), the simplicity of the scarab's features seems to indicate an earlier date.

19 Zazoff 1983, 99ff.

20 The detailed head would classify as Keel 2013 Type A5, though application of this typology to early Greek scarabs is not entirely appropriate here.

21 This conforms to Zazoff 1983, 121 Abb. 38i.

22 Possibly the Hydra, as we know this from other examples (Zazoff 1983, 121 Abb. 38i) or perhaps a lion (for an 8th-7th century BC example of the scene see: Vollenweider 1967, 120 No. 152).

23 Jules de Baré de Comogne, Antoine Herry, and Eugène Allemant (Gubel 1995, 41).

Fig.3 Back of scarab F 93/1.16, showing details of the scarab's features.

Fig.4 Impression of the underside of the base of scarab F 93/1.17.

at the sale and bought several objects.[24] Lot number 65 describes the scarabs discussed here but unfortunately does not mention any provenance.[25] The objects were listed under *Objets Egyptien*, which might account for their present classification in the museum's Egyptian department. The five other Melges scarabs all seem to belong to the Etruscan *a globolo* style (fourth -first century BC).[26] F 93/1.17 (Fig.4) has whitish discolorations[27], a hatched separation between prothorax and elytra, a detailed clypeus and a representation of a horseman with a shield in his right hand.[28] F 93/1.18 is almost identical to F 93/1.17, apart from the double elytra separation line, the double lines in the V-shaped winglets and the decoration on the sides of the base. The head is missing and a horseman is depicted on the underside of the base, apparently riding or guiding two horses. Vollenweider proposed that such riders belonged to the *equites priores*.[29] F 93/1.19 (Fig.5) has a very flat top and roughly executed scarab features. The top left part is missing and the sides are damaged. On the underside of the base are four horses held together by reins between their heads.[30] F 93/1.20 (Fig.6) is a dark carnelian with the lower right part of the scarab missing, a flat back and a damaged head. Prothorax and elytra are separated by a double groove, the elytra likewise; large V-shaped winglets feature on the elytra. On the underside of the base is a deer-like animal.[31] Finally, F 93/1.21, is made of an orange carnelian with simple scarab features and a missing rear end. The elytra have a ridged dividing

24 Pleyte went to Antwerp on short notice and was able to buy several objects. The RMO archive preserves Pleyte's request to Frans Claes to send the objects to Leiden (VB 24-12-1892, No. 238), Vincent Claes' reply to Pleyte (IB 25-12-1892, No. 230), Frans Claes' subsequent letter to Pleyte informing him that the objects had been despatched (IB 8-1-1893, No. 11).

25 Anonymous 1892, 204.

26 F 93/1.17: L.1.4 x H.0.8 x W.1,1 cm, longitudinal perforation; F 93/1.18 : L.1.4 x H.0.8 x W.1.2 cm, longitudinal perforation; F 93/1.19: L.1.2 x H.0.7 x W.1 cm, longitudinal perforation; F 93/1.20: L.1.5 x H.1.15 x W.1 cm, longitudinal perforation; F 93/1.21: L.1.3 x H.0.75 x W.1 cm, longitudinal perforation.

27 This whitish discoloration argues in favour of an interpretation as jasper instead of carnelian. I am indebted to Hanco Zwaan and Christine Swaving for their preliminary observations on this scarab.

28 Parallels: Zazoff 1983, 246 Abb. 63b; Zazoff 1968, 136 No. 283.

29 Vollenweider 1967, 177 and plate 91 Nos. 2 and 3. Vollenweider proposes a date in the fourth century BC for these parallels.

30 For similar scarabs, see Richter 1956, plate XXXII No. 211 (three horses); Henig 1994, 68-69 Nos. 114 and 115 (respectively four and three horses, both 3rd century BC).

31 Interpretation of this type of animal varies, based on the ears/horns. Suggestions include a deer (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, Nos. 52 and 53; Zazoff 1968, No. 296) and a hare (Henig 1994, No. 117). See also Zazoff 1983, 244 and Tafel 62 No. 13.

Fig.5 Underside of the base of scarab F 93/1.19. Four horses.

Fig.6 Underside of the base of scarab F 93/1.20. The engraved animal has its front legs outstretched on the ground while the rear end is raised.

Fig.7 Underside of the base of scarab LA 41. Possibly two seated figures facing left.

Fig.8 Underside of the base of scarab LA 42. In the centre a three-line cross.

line. On the underside of the base is a bull, falling to the ground, below the head of a jackal.[32]

The last two carnelian scarabs are pharaonic in date and formerly belonged in the collection of Giovanni d'Athanasi (1798-1854). D'Athanasi worked for Henry Salt, British Consul-General in Egypt, conducting excavations for him in Thebes and dealing in Egyptian objects. In 1836-1837 he sold a large collection of Egyptian artefacts in London.[33] Among the objects on sale was a large number of scarabs. At the 1837 auction, Leemans was able to buy several scarabs for the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. Unfortunately the descriptions in the catalogue do not allow identification of the individual scarabs.[34] LA 41 (Fig.7) is a simple opaque scarab; its longitudinal perforation has a larger hole at the rear than in front.[35] There are no V-shaped winglets on the elytra and all the engraving has been executed with a single type of groove (i.e. drill). The clypeus is relatively detailed and the scene on the underside of the base is encircled with a single line. Othmar Keel describes carnelian scarabs from Palestinian sites that display the same 'caricature' figures.[36]

32 For a parallel, see Richter 1956, plate XXXI No. 190.

33 D'Athanasi 1837.

34 Candidates for LA 41-44 are: D'Athanasi 1837, 6 no. 66; 19 no. 207; 33 no. 360-361, 367 and 369; 46 no. 508-509; 57 no. 633-637, 641 and 643; 70-71 no. 783-790 and 792.

35 Possibly indicating the use of two different drill heads. LA 41 head type: Tufnell 1984, 32 Fig. 12 Type A3. Clypeus type: Rowe 1936, pl.33-34, EP38 (13th-19th Dynasty)? Only the notch at the end of the clypeus is not otherwise found in this type. No other type conforms better. L.1.3 x H.1.25 x W.1 cm.

36 E.g. Keel 1997, 187 No. 246 and 767 No. 23.

Fig.9 Underside of the base of scarab LA 44 with a number of hieroglyphs possibly spelling the name Asetneferet or Neferaset.

Fig.10 Back of scarab RA 36 with no detailing for the elytra.

This simple engraving of animals and gods is typical of the Ramesside period.[37] The subject depicted on the base of LA 41 is unclear, possibly two seated figures. LA 42 (Fig.8) is very roughly engraved with only six grooves portraying the main scarab features.[38] On the underside of the base is a cross, which Keel suggests dates the scarab to the Ramesside period.[39] An example with similar dimensions is known from Tell el-'Aǧul.[40] Other examples with three-line crosses are from Afek and Aseka.[41]

Amethyst scarabs

Little amethyst material is known from the pre-11th Dynasty period.[42] During the Middle Kingdom use of amethyst is more common. The most important source for the material was Wadi el-Hudi, southeast of Aswan.[43] After the Middle Kingdom amethyst was only occasionally used for beads in jewellery, perhaps indicating a shortage of raw materials. From the Roman period onwards its use increased with multiple active mining sites. In the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden there are two amethyst scarabs that once belonged to Giovanni d'Athanasi, mentioned above. Only one is discussed in this article:[44] LA 44 (Fig.9) has a longitudinal perforation and a slightly weathered surface.[45] The scarab features are summarily engraved and there is a single border line on the underside of the base. The latter may indicate a date in the 13th Dynasty.[46] The inscription cannot be read in its entirety with any certainty. It starts with *3ś.t nfr(.t)* and possibly *ṯs*, so the first part may refer to the female name Asetneferet or even Neferetaset.[47] However, the second part remains a mystery. There is no mention of a title (which normally

37 Keel 1995, 145.

38 No similarity to the typologies of Rowe 1936, Tufnell 1984 and Keel 1995. L.1.1 x H.0.6 x W.0,8 cm.

39 See Keel 1995, 145, for a summary of archaeological contexts for similar Ramesside scarabs.

40 Keel 1997, 515 No. 1208.

41 Keel 1997, 91 No. 34 and 737 No. 2.

42 Shaw 2000, 219-220.

43 Andrews 1994, 103; Shaw 2000, 220 ff.

44 The second amethyst scarab from the D'Athanasi collection is published in Schneider 1987, 72 No. 58 and Schneider 1995, 38-39 No. 12. A third amethyst scarab in the Leiden collection, with a different provenance, has recently been published in Bulsink 2015, 163 No. 106 (inventory number AO 8xxvi).

45 LA 44: Head type: Tufnell 1984, 32 Fig. 12 Type A1; Rowe 1936 pl. 32 HC 61 (18th-27th Dynasty). Back type: Rowe 1936 pl. 33-34, EP27 (15th-27th Dynasty); Martin 1971, Back Type 2a? Base type: Martin 1971, Base Type 3d. L.1.6 x H.0.8 x W.1.2 cm

46 Petrie 1917, plate XVI Nos. AA-AV and plate XVII Nos. AW-AX and BB-CE.

47 Ranke 1935, 4 No. 7 and 194 No. 3. Often the title precedes the name, *e.g.* Martin 1971, pl. 36 Nos. 14-16 (all starting with *nb.t pr*).

Fig.11 Back of scarab RA 37 with simple scarab features.

precedes the name), suggesting this may be an invocation ('to tie/to put together'), giving the scarab an amuletic significance.

Another amethyst scarab, RA 36 (Fig.10), formerly belonged in the collection of antiquities owned by Adrianus Ruyssenaers (1813-?) of Rotterdam, brother to the Dutch Consul in Alexandria Samuel Willem Ruyssenaers (1815-1877).[48] As is the case with Nicolaas van Beeftingh, described above, it is not inconceivable that Adrianus obtained objects in his collection from his brother, who played an influential role in Egypt in the 1870s.[49] The scarabs were bought by Jacob Paulus Amersfoordt (1817-1885), mayor of Badhoevedorp, at a public auction of Ruyssenaer's collection held in Amsterdam in 1861.[50] In that same year Amersfoordt loaned the scarabs and several other antiquities to

48 RA 36: Head type: Rowe 1936, pl. 32 HC33 (15th-16th dynasty); Tufnell 1984, 32 Fig. 12 Type D. Clypeus type: Rowe 1936, pl. 33-34, EP1 (12th-26th dynasty). L.1,6 x H.1,85 x W.1,1 cm, longitudinal perforation.

49 Ruyssenaers played an important diplomatic role in the early days of the Suez Canal, see: Tutein-Nolthenius 1903, 164.

50 It is not yet known whether the auction was organized because Adrianus had died (date of death unknown) or for another reason. See a letter from Leemans to Mr. Amersfoordt (VB 9-2-1885, No. 22). A catalogue of this auction has not yet been found.

the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden; after his death the objects were donated to the museum by his widow.[51] Rowe mentions several scarabs, similar in both type of head and material, which he dates to the Hyksos period (14th-15th Dynasty).[52] Most of these examples come from Tell el-'Aǧul. Keel discusses several amethyst scarabs with no engraving on the underside of the base, which he considers common for the 12th Dynasty.[53]

Turquoise scarabs

The final scarab, RA 37 (Fig.11), also from the Ruyssenaers-Amersfoordt collection, is made of turquoise.[54] The Egyptians procured this material from mines in the Sinai, using it for beads and pendants from the Badarian period onwards.[55] During the Middle and New Kingdom the material was often used for inlays and only occasionally for scarabs.[56] The scarab features are summarily represented in simple grooves made by a wheel drill. The gem has a longitudinal perforation and the underside of the base is undecorated. Perhaps uninscribed scarabs made of semi-precious stones possessed sufficient apotropaic or magical influence to render an inscription unnecessary.[57]

Conclusion

Scarab studies have been multiple and extensive, in some cases providing scholars with a typology that can also be used on other collections. Unfortunately, many scarabs often lack a properly documented archaeological context, thereby frustrating their precise dating. Properly cataloguing, describing and publishing large numbers of these small objects forms the basis for any future typological additions and corrections. While Reuvens and De Jonge had different points of view as to what should belong in the Koninklijk Penningkabinet and what in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, they were of one mind as regards the proper cataloguing and analysis of the objects in these collections: a Herculean task on which they bravely embarked. The 14 scarabs discussed in this article are only a fraction of the collection in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. Improved dating of these pieces, and identifying and understanding the people behind them, will increase our knowledge of the historiography of these small objects.

51 Letters from Leemans to Mr. Amersfoordt and later Mrs. Amersfoordt-Dijk (VB 23-10-1861, No. 127 and 9-2-1885, No. 22). Letters from Mr. Amersfoordt and later Mrs. Amersfoordt-Dijk to Leemans (IB 16-10-1861, No. 80 and 20-2-1885, No. 27).

52 Rowe 1936, Nos. 422-449.

53 Keel 1995, 142.

54 Head type: Rowe 1936 pl. 32 HC65 (19th Dynasty); Tufnell 1984, 32 Fig. 12 Type D? clypeus type: Rowe 1936, pl. 33-34, EP27 (15th-27th Dynasty)? L.1,2 x H.0,6 x W.0,9 cm.

55 Aston 2000, 62-63.

56 Andrews 1990, 51-52; Hornung 1976, 22-23.

57 Hornung 1976, 22.

Abstracts

Roman Gems in Old Collections and in Modern Archaeology

Martin Henig

Cameos and intaglios have been valued and collected since Antiquity and they have been studied ever since the Renaissance for what they can tell us about Ancient Greece and Rome. Some, indeed, carry with them an impressive pedigree concerning earlier usages for example as jewels in Medieval *Ars Sacra* or as well documented items in earlier collections (though few have had so exciting a 'biography' as the Great Cameo from the Dutch Royal Collection, celebrating Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge, now in Leiden, Henig Fig. 2).

In the past two centuries there has been an increased archaeological aspect to the study of engraved gems, excavated as site finds alongside other small objects. These are frequently well stratified and thus they not only possess a geographical context but in addition the time of their loss can be known with some confidence. It is sad though, that all too seldom have those engaged in fieldwork evinced a real appreciation of the long history of glyptic study. On the other hand, collectors and those engaged in cataloguing collections of gems have too seldom engaged with the physical contexts in which these objects were used and mislaid, and they have too often categorised gems simply on the grounds of their aesthetic qualities. This article seeks to bring together the archaeology of gems in the study and the archaeology of gems in the field.

Cassandra on Seals. Ring Stone Images as Self-Representation: an Example

Marianne Kleibrink

To understand what kind of role engraved gems played in private and political interaction and thus in history, we have to unravel the use of their images in auto-representation. Engraved gems are different from other ancient objects in that their images can be considered as directly related to the self. Kassandra, the subject of this contribution, is deliberately chosen, because – in respect to her tragic fate – who could possibly be interested in being associated with this Trojan heroine? Yet there are relatively many seal-stones with Kassandra and in a variety of iconographies, showing her transformation from Trojan war casualty to Rome's prophetess of a golden future.

Some Cameos in Leiden – Roman to Neoclassicism

Gertrud Platz-Horster

Apart from the still discussed large 'Hague Cameo' or 'Gemma Constantiniana' and the fine 'Livia'-Cameo, little is known about the 449 cameos in the collection. Among some 4.300 gems and cameos, they originate from the former Royal Coin Cabinet in The Hague, founded in 1816, then transferred to the GeldMuseum in Utrecht, and acquired by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden only in 2013.

For this paper eleven cameos have been selected which may provide an idea of the large chronological and iconographical frame of this stock. They stand exemplary for portraiture or political device; they match stunningly with parallels in the Berlin or other old royal collections, and they add remarkable items to a recently identified late antique workshop. The article further considers the origin and the treatment of the material will be discussed as well as the changing of taste for cameos during this long period.

The Original RMO Engraved Gem Collection: Gem Identification and Applied Research Techniques

Hanco Zwaan and Christine Swaving

The original collection of engraved gems in the department of Classical Antiquities at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden comprises a total of 267 pieces. Fifty-five of these gems once belonged to the Musée Guillon, assembled by Charles Guillon (1811-1873), a notary, politician and collector, based in Roermond. The remaining 212 gems mainly derive from bequests and various excavations, including the Velser tunnel site. Museum records designate many of these engraved gems as Roman in date, loosely identifying their material or simply labelling them as 'stone'.

Standard equipment for establishing the physical properties of modern gemstones could be partially used to properly identify these ancient engraved gems. More advanced techniques, such as Energy-Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence (ED-XRF), Fourier-Transform Infrared (FTIR) and Raman spectroscopy, were deployed to obtain full characterization of the stones' identity.

In 96 cases, amounting to over 35% of the total number of gemstones, the original identifications could be corrected. The chemical composition of a number of glass gems additionally raised questions as to their assumed age.

An Important Collection of Mesopotamian Cylinder Seals

Diederik J.W. Meijer

In this article a few seals are dicussed from the collection which contains excellent examples of what ancient Mesopotamian seal cutters were capable of. Working on small surfaces, in hard stone such as hematite, as well as in softer types, they were able to engrave finely detailed scenes. Although not all glyptic styles and periods are represented in the collection, which also contains a relatively large number of Old Babylonian seals, the collection as a whole attests to the fascination felt by nineteenth-century Dutch collectors for all things Mesopotamian, at a time when intense Western interest in that part of the ancient world was only just beginning.

Sasanian Seals: Owners and Re-users

Rika Gyselen

The majority of Sasanian seals are anonymous and anepigraphic. Some are engraved with an inscription, sometimes a personal name or the name of an institution. This information allows seal owners to be identified. It can be provided by:

A. Sigillographic data, that is, data intrinsic to the seal itself. This can be epigraphic and/or iconographic.
B. Textual data in a document with a sealed clay bulla still attached.

Seals were sometimes reused by subsequent owners; on some seals this reuse can be traced.

Invocations to Hermes and Aphrodite on Two Engraved Gems in Leiden

Attilio Mastrocinque

The inscriptions on two engraved gems from the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden are discussed here. The first is an invocation to Hermes, which can be translated as follows: "Oh Arcadian! You who bring prodigies to the mind, you who bring gain!". The second text invokes Aphrodite and reads in translation: "Oh goddess of Kanopos, of Cyprus! You, having rose pink hands, hiding and giving protection, you who excite desire (with your) lovely form, the gracious one, the Paphian, and furthermore Isis, oh Boubastis whose face inspires desire. Oh! For the love of Severus."

The Importance of Gems in the Work of Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640

Marcia Pointon

In his 1672 'Life' of Rubens, Giovanni Pietro Bellori reported on the origins of the contents of the museum the artist assembled at his house in Antwerp.

> *"Aveva egli adunato marmi, e statue, che portó, e fece condursi di Roma con ogni sorte di antichità, medaglie, camei, intaglio, gemme, e metalli;"*[1]

> *"He had collected marbles and statues which he took [with him, presumably] and had [= caused to be] brought to him from Rome with every sort of antiquities, medals, cameos, intaglios, gems, and metals;"*

It is a well-known fact that Rubens planned to publish a volume on gems, with his friend and correspondent Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc. This work never materialised, though some correspondence relating to it is in print. Detailed research by Nancy Thomson de Grummond and by Hermance Marjon van der Meulen-Schregardus has revealed something of the extent and character of Rubens's collection of gems.

This article will not add to what is known of the contents of this collection. Rather it will seek, firstly, to cast light on the relationship between Rubens's interest in gems and his wider fascination with precious stones, secondly, to establish a connection between his achievement as a painter of mythology and portraits and his interest in gems, and, thirdly, to consider the significance of minerals as materials in Rubens's intellectual and artistic milieu. The approach is that of the historian of early modern visual culture. The aim of this article is therefore to bring together areas of Rubens's work that have earlier been viewed as discrete territories.

Post-Classical Cameos, their Makers and Users

Claudia Wagner

One of the major luxury arts of classical antiquity was the production of gems and finger rings, precious objects prized throughout history. In the long tradition of gem engraving the cameo is a comparably recent invention, probably introduced by workshops in Alexandria by the second century BC when Hellenistic courts made a point of displaying luxury – tryphe – to legitimize the rule of their new dynasties. These cameos present in relief, mostly on layered stones (usually sardonyx), subjects similar to those on intaglios, and often demonstrably by the same artists. From the first century BC they were a popular medium for secular and religious subjects in their function as jewellery, often for women. Another popular use was for imperial portraiture and even propaganda, often carved in larger stones. The great cameos, one of the major arts of classical antiquity, were particularly admired, serving as important sources of information about classical figures and myths.

Inspired by these classical gems, Renaissance artists began to rival earlier engravers with innovative designs. During this period famous collections were formed, such as the Medici, Gonzaga and Farnese collections. Many were published, some even in the sixteenth century, attracting the attention not only of nobles and kings in Austria, France, and even Britain, but also the Netherlands, where one collector, Abraham van Goorle (Gorlaeus), proudly published his extensive collection of provincial gems of the Roman Empire. The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden has benefitted hugely from such diverse collecting and its post-classical cameos reflect techniques, shapes and iconography which had spread throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. Many pieces are copies of ancient and even early Renaissance gems; others original designs with classicising motifs, portrait studies and more complex groups. This article provides an overview of some of the highlights of the Leiden collection: cameos engraved in beautiful materials such as a deep-red jacinth bust of a woman from the sixteenth century, gems featuring motifs treasured in the Renaissance, such as a four-layered sardonyx copy of the famous Cesati cameo of Cupid taming a lion, much admired by Vasari, and portraits of rulers and kings, exotic men and women.

Princely Splendour: Some Cameo Vessels from the Middle of the Seventeenth Century and their Patrons

Jørgen Hein

This article discusses ten cameo vessels in European princely collections. They are all made of enamelled gold and are mounted with cameos and a few intaglios. None of the vessels bears a maker's mark or an artist's signature. Most of the cameos can be dated after 1500, while the painted enamel is decorated with flowers, animals, birds and larvae of a type which dates the production of these vessels to around 1650. But where and for whom were they made?

The manufacture of the vessels has been attributed to ateliers in Prague, based on the lapidary work, or to the Netherlands, based on the painted flower enamel. However, the gems could have been bought unset as

1 Bellori 1672, 148.

semi-finished products all over Europe; the new fashion for flower-decorated enamel likewise spread rapidly over Europe. Consequently, the vessels may have been produced in any great goldsmiths' city north of the Alps. Only two of the vessels have a *terminus ante quem*. Firstly, a beaker in St. Petersburg, which is listed in 1661 in the collection of Leonora Christina Ulfeldt, morganatic daughter of Christian IV of Denmark. Secondly, a tureen in Leiden, which is recorded in the estate of Amalia van Solms in 1666.

"A Treasure, a Schoolmaster, a Pass-Time" Dactyliothecae in the 18th and 19th Centuries and their Function as Teaching Aids in Schools and Universities

Valentin Kockel

> *"This dactyliotheca is used in classes across German grammar schools to illustrate the classical authors and ancient customs; an exercise that is just as entertaining as it is useful, but which has not yet been discovered in France".*

These are the – no doubt idealising – words used by Strasbourg Professor Jérémie-Jacques Oberlin in 1796 to describe the employment of Lippert's dactyliothecae in German schools – and to differentiate it from French teaching practices of the time. This article tracks the spread of gem cast collections and their actual use in classroom environments, which included the creation of specific editions for schools. Some school texts of ancient authors specifically refer to Lippert casts in footnotes. As such, it is hardly surprising that from the very beginning, Caspar Reuvens' wishes for the archaeological collections at Leiden included dactyliothecae in addition to plaster casts of statues and cork models of key architectural monuments.

Non Grylloi, Baskania Sunt. On the Significance of the So Called Grylloi/Grilli or Grylli in Greek and Roman Glyptics

Carina Weiss

This article argues against the generalised application of the term grylloi for gems presenting fantastic hybrid figures and mask – head combinations. Whilst the expression may be used to describe a subgroup depicting a topsy-turvy world in which the weak become strong heroes or men (shrivelled-up dwarfs or insect men, or tiny animals engaged in human activities), the larger group presents a wider variety of themes such as mask and head combinations, hybrid structures of cockerels and horses or similar arrangements of animals and artefacts. They should be regarded in a different semantic context and are not grylloi. What unifies all the gems presented here is their apotropaic function known in ancient literature under the term baskania. Protecting the owner against bad luck, envy and evil, such objects might also attract luck and sometimes love. Laughter and astonishment are the protective qualities which all of these gems produce to deflect the evil eye. The varying ways in which they achieve this depend on their different iconographies. Weiss therefore suggests that the term *baskania* be used to denote the group as a whole and that subgroups be distinguished on the basis of individual iconographies. One of these subgroups might be called grylloi, defined in the narrower sense I have developed above.

Some Unpublished Scarabs from the Leiden Collection

Ben van den Bercken

Egyptian scarab typology and dating is constantly evolving. The publication of unpublished specimens allows current typologies to be further refined. This contribution discusses 14 Egyptian and Archaic Greek scarabs from the large collection of circa 1600 scarabs in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. It also discusses the historiography of these small objects, which has sometimes provided more information on their provenance, revealing that they often entered the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden via older private collections.

Abbreviations used

AGDS – Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen, München / Wiesbaden 1968-1975.

CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

LIMC – Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Zürich / München 1981-1999.

PGM *– Papyri Græcæ magicæ. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, eds. K. Preisendanz, 2nd ed. by A. Henrichs, Stuttgart 1973.

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