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SOME ENGRAVED GEMS AND JEWELLERY BY ACQUISITIONS FROM WESTERN TURKEY

Ergün *LAFLI*, Martin *HENIG*, Attilio *MASTROCINQUE*

In memoriam
Gemma SENA CHIESA
(*1929 – †21.07.2024)

Abstract

This paper is devoted to glyptic finds in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk in Turkey, all of which are acquisitions by the museum and not excavated finds. It consists of two main chapters: Chapters 1 and 2 are devoted to the engraved gems from the Museum of Ephesus with a magical gem, finger-rings set with gems and earrings set with gems. In chapter 3 we have compiled a catalogue of depictions of Artemis Ephesia and other related symbols on gems. Her images as shown on both gems and coins are of Roman date or in the case of coins struck under Roman influence. Artemis Ephesia was the most popular deity worshipped within Anatolia, while further west in the Empire she was the commonest of the Anatolian deities to be venerated; however her gems and other iconographic depictions were for the most part fairly standard. Generally she displays few glyptic types and variants, but she is often shown with other deities, especially with Zeus. Her head or bust as well as representations of the goddess with her cult animals, deer and especially the bee, which are shown either accompanying her or separately, on engraved gems as in other media.

At the end of the article there is a discussion of bees on gems, which can be symbolic of Demeter/Ceres as well as of Artemis Ephesia.

Keywords: Intaglio, cameo, engraved gems, magical gems, finger-rings, earrings, Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus; Museum of Ephesus; Selçuk; western Turkey; Asia Minor; Roman period; glyptics; Roman archaeology.

Riassunto

Alcune gemme e gioielli incisi provenienti da acquisizioni dalla Turchia occidentale

Questo articolo è dedicato ai reperti glittici conservati nel Museo di Efeso a Selçuk in Turchia, tutti acquisiti dal museo e non frutto di scavo. Si compone di due capitoli principali: I capitoli 1 e 2 sono dedicati alle gemme incise del Museo di Efeso insieme con una gemma magica, anelli con gemme e orecchini con gemme. Nel capitolo 3 abbiamo compilato un catalogo delle raffigurazioni di Artemide Efesia e di altri simboli correlati sulle gemme. Le gemme e le monete sono romane o coniate sotto l'influenza romana. Artemide Efesia era la divinità più popolare venerata in Anatolia, mentre nella parte occidentale dell'Impero potrebbe essere stata la più comune delle divinità anatoliche ad essere venerata; tuttavia le sue gemme e altre raffigurazioni iconografiche erano per la maggior parte standard. Generalmente vi sono pochi tipi e varianti glittici, ma viene spesso raffigurata insieme con altre divinità, specialmente con Zeus. Spesso compaiono la sua testa o il busto, nonché rappresentazioni della dea con i suoi animali di culto, il cervo e soprattutto l'ape, che vengono mostrati insieme a lei o separatamente, su gemme incise come in altri media.

Alla fine dell'articolo è stato compilato un corpus relativo alla glittica dell'ape in quanto simbolo di Demetra/Cerere.

Parole chiave: Intaglio, cammeo, gemme incise, gemme magiche, anelli, orecchini, Artemis Ephesia, Efeso; Museo di Efeso; Selçuk; Turchia occidentale; Asia Minore; periodo romano; glittica; archeologia romana.

Özet

Batı Anadolu'da Satın Alma Yöntemi İle Elde Edilmiş Bazı Gemler ve Mücevherler:

Bu makale, Selçuk İlçesi'ndeki Efes Müzesi'nde bulunan ve tamamı müze tarafından satın alınan ve kazı buluntuları olmayan gem örneklerine ayrılmıştır. Makale iki ana bölümden oluşur: 1. ve 2. bölüm, Efes Müzesi'ndeki gemlere, büyü gemlerine, değerli taşlarla süslenmiş yüzüklere ve küpelere ayrılmıştır. 3. bölümde Artemis Ephesia'nın ve bu tanrıçaya bağlı sembollerin yarı değerli taşlar üzerindeki tasvirlerinin bir kataloğu derlenmiştir. Hem üzerileri Artemis Ephesia ile betimlenmiş gemler, hem de bu tür sikkeler Roma Dönemi'ne aittir veya Roma etkisi altında basılmışlardır. Artemis Ephesia, Anadolu'da tapınılan en popüler tanrıçalarındandı; Roma İmparatorluğu'nun daha batısında ise saygı duyulan Anadolu tanrıları arasında olasılıkla en yaygın olanı idi; ancak mücevher üzerindeki ve diğer ikonografik tasvirleri çoğunlukla standarttı. Tasvirleri genellikle az sayıda gliptik tip ve varyant gösterir, ancak sıklıkla diğer tanrılarla, özellikle Zeus'la birlikte gösterilir. İşlemeli taşlar üzerinde, diğer malzemelerde olduğu gibi, tanrıçanın başı veya büstü ile kült hayvanları, geyik ve özellikle de arı ile birlikte ya da ayrı ayrı yer almaktadır.

Makalenin sonunda ise gliptik sanatında Demeter/Ceres'in bir simgesi olarak arı tasvirlerinden oluşan bir katalog sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Intaglio; cameo; gemolojik buluntular; büyü gemleri; yüzükler; küpeler; Artemis Ephesia; Ephesos; Efes Müzesi; Selçuk; Batı Anadolu; Roma Dönemi; gliptik sanatı; Roma Dönemi arkeolojisi.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper a number of engraved gemstones, mainly of Roman date, and other related material are listed, which are currently curated in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk in western Turkey. All of the items discussed were acquired by the museum and are not from excavations. Authorization to publish these photos was granted by the Museum Directorate of Ephesus on 15 February 2017 to Mr Kerim Özgür Özgen (Izmir) under of permit 84400790-155.02/158 whose father, Mr Atilla Özgen (Izmir), took all the images in 2017 within the studies of his son's master's thesis. We would like to thank both K. Ö. Özgen and A. Özgen for the documentation and permission to use their photographs in the paper.

The first archaeological depot in Selçuk was built in 1929 which was opened as a museum in 1964. The current exhibition in this museum dates to 2014. Although there are many more gems in the museum's collections, we present here only a select catalogue of acquired gems.

Ephesus is the most famous ancient site of Turkey, settled uninterruptedly since the tenth century BC until today, and the city first came under the control of the Roman

Republic in 129 BC. With its temple of Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus was the largest and most cosmopolitan centre in Asia Minor. One can assume that several gem cutters and their workshops existed in Ephesus, perhaps also in Sardis, Pergamum and Smyrna in the west, in Byzantium, Nicomedia and Lampsacus in the north-west, Gordion and Ancyra in Central Anatolia as well as in Tarsus and Antioch in the south parts of Asia Minor (map 1). So far, glyptic finds from the excavations in Ephesus, as also in Pergamum, Smyrna, Sardis, Miletus, Didyma, and Priene in western Asia Minor, have only received intermittent publication, despite the fact that the Austrian Archaeological Institute has been conducting research in the ruins of the city since 1895, interrupted only by the two world wars. One example is an onyx ring-stone mounted in a gold ring bearing the depiction of Artemis Ephesia found in a third-century AD burial chamber in the West (Harbour) Necropolis of Ephesus in 2008¹. Otherwise the gems from the Austrian excavations in Ephesus remain unpublished and it is difficult to estimate the number of glyptic finds from the excavations. However, it is known that scarabs may have played a particular role in the Artemision at Ephesus. One of the archi-



Map. 1.

works of the Artemision, Theodoros of Samos, active between c. 550 and 520 BC, was also a highly appreciated gem carver: according to Herodotus, he created a precious emerald ring for Polycrates, tyrant of Samos between

c. 535 BC and his crucifixion by the Persians c. 522 BC. (Hdt. 3, 40-41). Furthermore a volume has recently been published on the Archaic amber finds from Ephesus which also includes some glyptic material ².

There is a second Ephesus Museum in Vienna, a part of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, although the glyptic collection in the museum is not published. Other Ephesian material including gems are to be seen in other museums, amongst them the British Museum, the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul and the Archaeological Museum of Izmir.

This article is organized into four chapters: in the first two chapters we deal with acquired gems, a magical gem and items of jewellery set with gemstones in the Museum of Ephesus. The third part is focused on depictions of Artemis Ephesia on glyptics. In chapter 4 we present a gem from a private collection in Graz, Austria as well as other intaglios from Much Hadham, Hertfordshire, UK and another in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna depicting bees, which can be symbolic of Demeter/Ceres as well as of Artemis Ephesia.

CHAPTER 1: GEMS BY ACQUISITION FROM THE MUSEUM OF EPHEBUS IN SELÇUK

All of the items treated here were acquired by the museum, and there are no excavated finds in this collection. The aim is to compile a glyptic repertory from this particular part of Turkey. As previously stated, we do not claim, however, that this is a comprehensive account of all gems curated in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk, but rather a select corpus of gems of especial iconographic interest.

This research has in large part been executed without physical examination of the stones and there is the caveat that it is always impossible to identify materials with certainty from photos. All are in need of examination by a gemmologist once again. Generally the glyptic collection of the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk is varied although quite a number represent relatively usual types.

In this corpus the entry for each find is given as completely as possible with at least the following information included: catalogue number in boldface; reference to images (within parentheses); measurements; classification by typology; comparanda listed in some main publications where applicable; and a date. Detailed physical descriptions of

the objects are offered for two reasons: the generally poor state of photographs, which obscures important details in their reproductions; and the importance of individual depictions.

The rationale for assigning a gem to one century or another is based on general observations, parallels and style; therefore the dates assigned here are conservative and should be considered merely as rough approximations. In our opinion, as imprecise as such proposed dates may be, it is better to assign a probable date than to offer none at all.

The gem collection in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk consists mostly of intaglios dated to the second and third centuries AD, as in the most of the Turkish collections, and only a few of them are earlier, from the Hellenistic period. We have almost no examples from the Archaic, Classical and Achaemenid-Persian periods, whereas it is known that some crystals were excavated in the Archaic level of Artemision which were possibly in use as magnifying glasses. It needs to be reiterated that almost none of the items published here are strictly provenanced, being purchased by the museum from local dealers who normally do not report the findspots of the objects that they sell. Most of the gems are of red jasper, as in the collections of neighbouring museums in Izmir, Aydın and Marmaris.

CHAPTER 2: CATALOGUE OF THE GEMS AND JEWELLERY ACQUIRED BY THE MUSEUM OF EPHEBUS IN SELÇUK

a. *Cameos*

No. 1. Satyr fondling a goat (fig. 1).

Onyx.

W. 24 mm, H. 13 mm, Wg. 2.1 gr.

Satyr seated on a rock in profile to the left, fondling a stocky goat that faces him. Separate ground lines.

Comparanda. The subject is a familiar one upon intaglios, as ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, 131, no. 1104; HENIG 1994, 102–103, nos. 186–187; HENIG, MACGREGOR 2004, 55, nos. 3.81 and 3.85.

First–second century AD.

No. 2. *Dextrarum iunctio* (fig. 2a).

Onyx.

W. 22 mm, H. 11 mm, Wg. 1.8 gr.

Inscribed εὐτυχίη with augural wishes for betrothal or marriage, although of course the clasped hands were a widespread device, notable in connection with concord between the Emperor and the army, see LEVICK 1978 for coins etc.

Comparanda. This is a very common cameo type, as NEVEROV 1988, 148-149, nos. 393-395 and HENIG, MOLESWORTH 2018, 257-260, nos. 281-285, nos. 281-283 inscribed ὁμόνοια meaning “concord”, “joined as one”, “harmony” or “togetherness”; no. 285, as here, εὐτυχίη; HENIG 2007, 181, no. 742 and 197, no. App. 30 carry both words of greeting.

For the subject on a gold finger-ring in the Archaeological Museum of Aydın see (fig. 2b).

Perhaps late first–early second century AD.

No. 3. Head of Eros (fig. 3).

Onyx cameo set in a gold finger-ring.

W. 9 mm, H. 18 mm, Wg. ring 4.3 gr.

Eros head, full face. The upper half of the gem is brown in colour; the lower half white.

The gold ring appears to be of third-century AD form with keeled hoop.

Comparanda. The head of a child, generally taken to be heads of Eros, are a very popular theme for miniature cameos in hardstone and in glass. As NEVEROV 1988, 72-74, nos. 100-106 and HENIG, MOLESWORTH 2018, 177-180, nos. 183-189. Also HENIG, WHITING 1987, 39, nos. 412-419, of which nos. 415 and 419 are set in bronze rings of a different form but which are likewise of third century AD date.

Third century AD.

b. *Intaglios*

Only two intaglios seem to be set in ancient rings (nos. 3 and 20).

No. 4. A scaraboid (fig. 4).

Red carnelian.

H. 17 mm, W. 7 mm, Wg. 1.8 gr.

Scaraboid, pierced. A monkey to the left holding a wreath, with an inscription of four letters in a zone below.

The gem is probably Phoenician and the letters below, Aramaic (=Baboon?).

Fifth century BC.

No. 5. Warrior (fig. 5).

Banded agate.

H. 18 mm, W. 9 mm, Wg. 1.8 gr.

Warrior, wearing helmet and corslet, stands, facing towards the left. He carries a shield in his right hand and a spear in his left hand.

Comparanda. For style, cf. the warrior on MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, 128-129, no. 172, probably from a central Italian workshop.

Second century BC.

No. 6. An elephant stands in profile to the right under a tree (fig. 6).

Moulded intaglio, yellow glass.

H. 9 mm, W. 18 mm, Wg. 1.9 gr.

An elephant, possibly with a howdah on its back, i.e., a compartment attached to its back for important people to sit in when fighting, hunting or in processions. The animal stands under a tree.

Comparanda. For other glass gems depicting elephants see FURTWÄNGLER 1896, 207, no. 5408; GERCKE 1970, 144, no. 488; BRANDT, KRUG, GERCKE, SCHMIDT 1972, 194, no. 3386; HENIG 1975, appendix, 92, no. 49.

First century BC.

No. 7. A craftsman (fig. 7).

Chrome chalcedony.

H. 11 mm, W. 6 mm, Wg. 1.4 gr.

A craftsman at work making some object.

Comparanda. Cf. SENA CHIESA 1966, 334-335, nos. 972, where he works on hammering out a helmet and 973, a sculptor carving a herm; also MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, 157, no. 277 and VITELLOZZI 2010, 147, no. 121 with the same subject; and another on which the sculptor carves a portrait head, VITELLOZZI 2010, 148, no. 122.

First century BC–first century AD.

No. 8. Athena seated in front of her is a serpent (fig. 8).

Red jasper.

Diam. 16 mm, Wg. 1.9 gr.

Athena is seated, wearing chiton, breastplate and helmet. She holds a figure of Nike. In front of her writhes a serpent, a reference to the myth of Erechtheus, i.e., legendary king and probably also a divinity of Athens.

Comparanda. WALTERS 1926, 154, no. 1367; SCHLÜTER, PLATZ-HORSTER, ZAZOFF 1975, 264, no. 1416; HENIG 2007, 206, no. App. 128 (from Wroxeter, *Viroconium*, UK); GUIRAUD 2008, 99, no. 1108 (from Biesheim, Haut-



Fig. 1.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 2a.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 2b.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

Rhin, Germany); KAIĆ 2024, 154-155, no. 162 (from Resnik, *Siculi*, Croatia).
First century AD.

No. 9. Helios holding solar whip and greeting the sun (fig. 9).

Rock crystal.

Diam. 21 mm, Wg. 4.7 gr.

Helios stands to the front, and faces left. His head is crowned with solar rays, and he raises his right arm to greet the heavens; he holds his solar whip in his left hand, and his chlamys is draped over his left arm.

Comparanda. Draped figures of Sol on gems are more unusual than nude representations. See SENA CHIESA 1966, 116, no. 84. Nude representations are more common, cf. HENIG, WHITING 1987, 12, nos. 66-67; SPIER 1992, 134, no. 366; GAVRILOVIĆ VITAS 2021, 244-245, figs 3-6; HENIG 2007, 95, no. 30;. Stylistically the intaglio from Ephesus is superior to any of these.

First century AD.

No. 10. A horse standing in profile to the left (fig. 10).

Onyx.

Diam. 17 mm, Wg. 2.4 gr.

The horse's head is turned to look over its shoulder to the right as though it has been startled. *Comparanda.* SENA CHIESA 1966, 350, no. 1055; ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1991, 92, no. 1839.

First century AD.

No. 11. A biga racing to the left (fig. 11).

Jasper, probably bloodstone.

Oval shape. Intact and well-preserved.

H. 8 mm, W. 17 mm, Wg. 1.9 gr.

The charioteer appears to be nude and it is likely that he represents Helios who is normally shown mounted upon a four-horse chariot (a quadriga).

Comparanda. For racing bigas see SENA CHIESA 1966, 307, nos. 859-860. For Helios driving a quadriga see DIMITROVA-MILCHEVA 1981, 91, nos. 275-276 from Bulgaria, the latter excavated at Ulpia Oescus, mod. Gigen. Mid-second century AD.

No. 12. Athena (fig. 12).

Chalcedony.

H. 19 mm, W. 10 mm, Wg. 2.1 gr.

Athena, wearing a belted chiton stands towards the right. She holds a spear in her right hand, below which is a shield. In her left hand she holds a small figure of Nike.

Comparanda. KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 55-58, nos. 31-34; VITELLOZZI 2010, 224-225, no. 236.

Second century AD.

No. 13. Hermes (fig. 13).

Red carnelian.

P. h. 18 mm, W. 11 mm, Wg. 2.9 gr.

Hermes stands to the front on a ground line. He is nude, and carries his *caduceus* in his right hand, his chlamys draped over his right arm. In his outstretched left hand he holds his purse. Below him stands his cult bird, a cockerel.

Comparanda. This is a very common type, cf. KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 87-92, nos. 62-68; HENIG, WHITING 1987, 13, nos. 78-87; DIMITROVA-MILCHEVA 1981, 44-46, nos. 63-73 (no. 73 also depicts a cockerel below the hand holding the purse); VITELLOZZI 2010, 249, no. 272 (with cockerel).

Second century AD.

No. 14. Heracles (fig. 14).

Onyx.

H. 22 mm, W. 15 mm, Wg. 3.1 gr.

Heracles stands to the front on a ground line. He is nude and his body is well muscled. He carries his lion skin draped over his right arm and he holds his club in his right hand; his left arm is extended and he probably holds in his hand one of the apples taken from the Garden of the Hesperides.

Comparanda. For Heracles on engraved gems cf. SENA CHIESA 1966, 209, no. 474; ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, 39, no. 660; HENIG 2007, 145-146, no. 430 (from Caerleon, Monmouthshire, South Wales). For glass examples, cf. HOEY MIDDLETON 1991, 89, no. 139 (from Split, Croatia).

Second century AD.

No. 15. Mask of Silenus (fig. 15).

Onyx.

H. 18 mm, W. 8 mm, Wg. 1.7 gr.

The mask depicts Silenus characterised by his scowling visage with beetling brows. He is shown full face; his forehead is bare, and he sports a substantial beard.

Comparanda. WALTERS 1926, 172, no. 1578. Note the glass intaglio, ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, 71, no. 841 and the cameo ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, 100, no. 1013.

Second century AD.

No. 16. A lion walking left (fig. 16).

Carnelian.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 18.

H. 8 mm, W. 19 mm, Wg. 1.9 gr.
A lion walking left; ground line.
Comparanda. KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 132, no. 108 and 136-137, nos. 11 and 113; HENIG, WHITING 1987, 35, nos. 361-362; KAIĆ 2024, 210-213, nos. 247-252.
Second century AD.

No. 17. Hippalectryon (fig. 17).

Red jasper.
H. 17 mm, W. 9 mm, Wg. 2.7 gr.
The hippalectryon (ἵππαλεκτρούων) has the head of a horse, the feet and tail and body of a cockerel with the head of Silenus on the bird's breast. The device was amuletic, diverting the Evil Eye.
Comparanda. This is a common type. Compare, for example, HOEY MIDDLETON 2001, 52, no. 29 (from Tarsus, Cilicia, Turkey); HENIG, WHITING 1987, 31, nos. 304-308; KAIĆ 1994, 276-277, no. 361; HENIG 2007, 139-140 no. 382; VITELLOZZI 2010, 316-318, nos. 371-373.
Second century AD.

No. 18. Nike (fig. 18).

Red jasper.
H. 17 mm, W. 10 mm, Wg. 2.2 gr.
Nike seated in profile to the left. Base line.
Comparanda. Cf. a glass intaglio, HENIG, MACGREGOR 2004, 44, no. 2.33 in which Nike is seated on Tyche's rudder.
Second century AD.

No. 19. Horse with rider (fig. 19).

Red jasper.
H. 12 mm, W. 18 mm, Wg. 2.4 gr.
The horse is depicted in profile to the left. The object held by the rider is uncertain; it is too thick for a lance, but might represent a palm of victory.
Comparanda. Horsemen are common on gems. For a rider holding a palm, cf. PANNUTI 1983, 109-110, no. 163; HENIG 2007, 158, no. 519 depicts a victorious rider holding a wreath; HENIG, MACGREGOR 2004, 107, no. 10.53 shows a mounted warrior holding a double axe
Second century AD.

No. 20. A panther walking left, its tail in the air (figs 20a-b).

Onyx of two layers. Set in a keeled gold ring, Henig type VIII.
H. 9 mm, W. 5 mm, Diam. ring 18 mm, Wg. ring 3.8 gr.
Comparanda. The panther was the particular

animal familiar of Dionysus. Cf. SENA CHIESA 1966, 367, nos. 1178-1179; KAIĆ 2024, 218-219, no. 260. See also SAGIV 2018, 87-90 and fig. 30.

The gem perhaps of the second century AD; the ring third century.

No. 21. Artemis Ephesia (fig. 21).

Red carnelian.
H. 15 mm, W. 8 mm, Wg. 1.2 gr.
For an extensive discussion on the types of Artemis Ephesia depicted on gems, cf. chapter 3 below.
Early third century AD.

No. 22. Artemis Ephesia (fig. 22).

Chrome chalcedony.
P. h. 14 mm, W. 8 mm, Wg. 1.3 gr.
Comparanda. See above.
Mid-third century AD.

No. 23. Tyche (fig. 23).

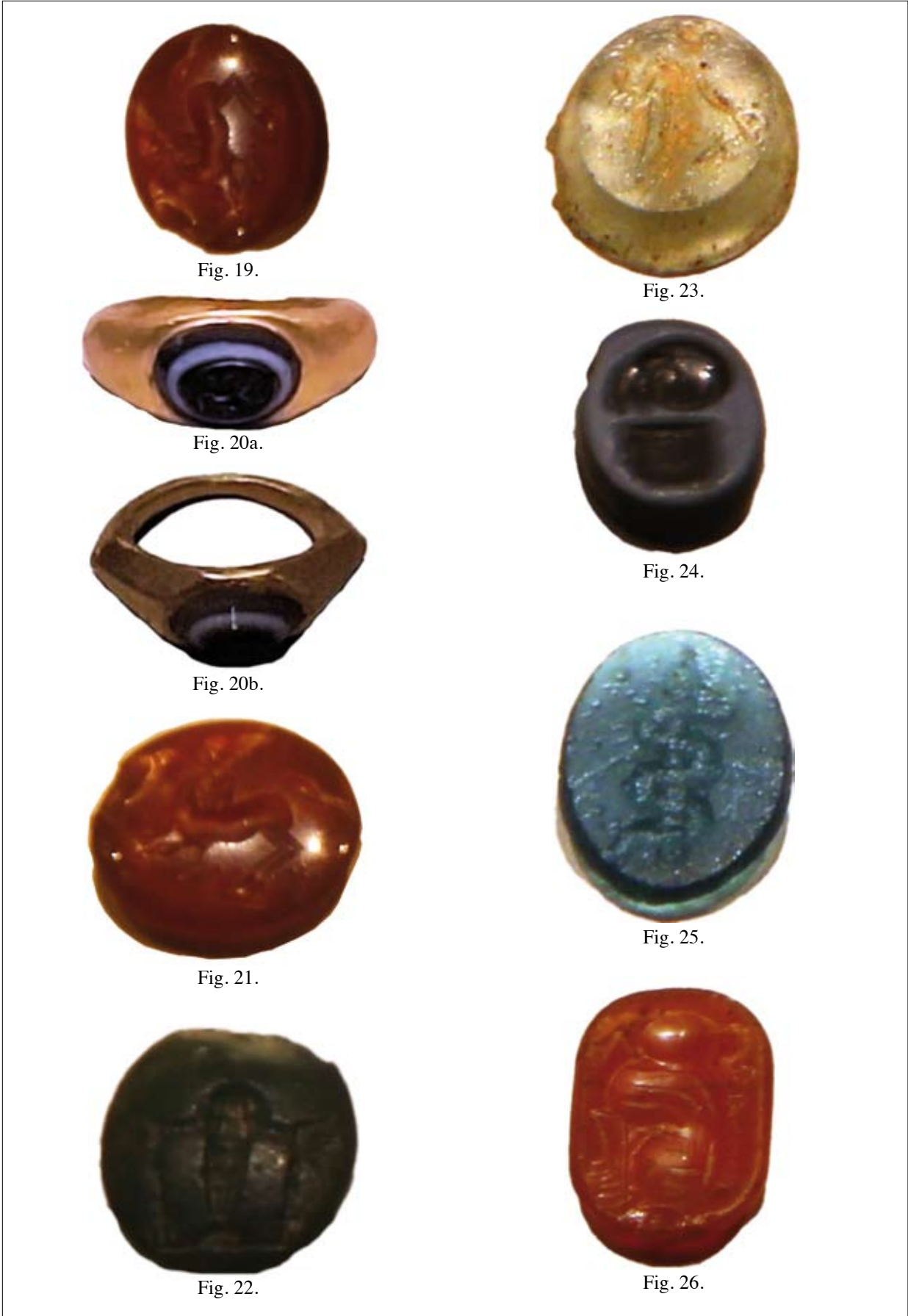
Moulded intaglio, translucent glass.
H. 19 mm, W. 13 mm, Wg. 2.9 gr.
Tyche stands to the front and faces towards the right. She holds a cornucopia in her right hand and the steering oar of a rudder in her left hand.
Comparanda. A very common type, see KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 101-110, nos. 77-86 and DIMITROVA-MILCHEVA 1981, 48-50, nos. 80-89, though these are all hard stones.
Third century AD. The shape, a truncated cone, is typical for this period.

No. 24. The head of a ram in profile to the left above a circular altar (fig. 24).

Onyx.
H. 15 mm, W. 7 mm, Wg. 1.5 gr.
The device is symbolic of sacrifice.
Comparanda. For a ram's head on intaglios see ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1991, 195, nos. 1865-1867.
Third century AD.

No. 25. A serpent wound round a column (fig. 25).

Moulded intaglio, blue glass.
H. 18 mm, W. 9 mm, Wg. 2.2 gr.
Comparanda. The gem brings to mind the serpent column from Delphi, but more directly recalls a surely later silver votive plaque in the Louvre of sixth or seventh century AD date, depicting St Symeon Stylites on top of a column around which a serpent is curled, cf. WEITZMANN 1979, 589-590, no. 529.
Third century AD.



No. 26. A quadruped sitting on its haunches with around it a serpent (fig. 26).

Red carnelian. Ovoid with rounded corners.
H. 18 mm, W. 7 mm, Wg. 2.1 gr.

The creature shown, could be intended for a monkey; the serpent has a large mouth and a bulge below its gullet as though it has swallowed something. The gem surely has amuletic significance.

Uncertain date.

c. *Glass impressions*

These impressions are positive like cameos, but made with engraved gems. The gems may be earlier but pendants in glass made like this appear to be later; cf. GESZTELYI 2000, 84, nos. 282 from a cemetery at Ságvár, in Somogy county, Hungary and 283 depicting in each case a lion and HENIG 2007, 201, no. app. 77 from Droitwich, Worcestershire, UK depicting the Lupa Romana, i.e., the She-Wolf who mothered the twins, Romulus and Remus.

No. 27. Centaur (fig. 27).

Colourless glass.

H. 9 mm, W. 17 mm, Wg. 1.4 gr.

Comparanda. For centaurs on gems see VITELLOZZI 2010, 131-132, nos. 98-99 and 286-287, no. 235; KAIĆ 2024, 118-119, no. 109.

Fourth century AD.

No. 28. Eagle (fig. 28).

Coloured glass.

Diam. 15 mm, Wg. 1.9 gr.

The eagle has a knobbed staff, perhaps a centurion's *vitis* (vine staff) projecting from the altar.

Comparanda. KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 150, no. 126 depicts a similar eagle but with a caduceus.

Fourth century AD.

No. 29. Horse head (fig. 29).

Coloured glass.

Diam. 18 mm, Wg. 2.5 gr.

Horse head.

Comparanda. For intaglios, cf. SENA CHIESA 1966, 352-353, nos. 1074-1075.

Fourth century AD.

d. *Bullae*

No. 30. Tyche (fig. 30).

Coloured glass.

Diam. 16 mm, Wg. 2.3 gr.

Tyche of a normal type.

Comparanda. For gems, cf. KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 101-110, nos. 77-86.

Second century AD.

No. 31. An eagle stands on an altar (fig. 31).

Coloured glass.

Diam. 16 mm, Wg. 2.3 gr.

An eagle stands on an altar left, looking right. It has a wreath in its beak.

Comparanda. A common type on gems, see KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 145-150, nos. 121-126.

Second century AD.

E.L. – M.H.

A magical gem (fig. 32)

Oval shape. W. 26 mm, Wg. 0.6 gr. Perhaps from Ephesus. Jasper. It is impossible to establish a precise chronology, but a cautious proposal can be made. As its style is excellent and accurate, and the inscription seems to pertain to the early centuries of the Imperial Age, this gem can be dated to the second century AD.

The gem is carved only on the obverse side with the head of the Gorgon on the left and on the right a lion walking left. The latter can be compared with the lion on our gem no. 16, above. The inscription engraved above reads BAPBAPAΩΘ and the one below reads MAPMAPAΩΘ.

In the following section we offer a more detailed insight on its iconography and meaning:

1. The Gorgon and the lion

This iconography seems to be concerned with protecting the owner of the amulet. The Gorgon was often employed on amulets because she was a demon defeated by Perseus, who used her head as a weapon to petrify his



Fig. 27.



Fig. 30.



Fig. 28.



Fig. 31.



Fig. 29.



Fig. 32.

enemies. On many gems, a lion-headed god is depicted instead of Perseus as the conqueror of Medusa, holding her severed head. This god was an image of Sabaoth, the warlike manifestation of the Jewish god³. The face of Medusa was also depicted on magical coral, red jasper, or haematite gems, which recall the myth of coral as the stone created from the petrified blood of the Gorgon⁴.

There are many gems depicting the Gorgon, and some of them combine her image with that of Hecate, the queen of ghosts, or even with the club of Heracles⁵, which threatened wrongdoers. Some *lapidaries*, i.e., the ancient and medieval books on magical stones, recommend engraving Hecate or the bust of the Gorgon on a gemstone to obtain a powerful talisman against the wrath of the master⁶. One gem figuring the Gorgon bears the following inscription:

“Gorgon. Achilles, son of Alios, son of Tauros; Iulis. If they speak, they should not be believed. Chnoubis”⁷.

Another gem showing the Gorgon bears an inscription saying: “Hail, monster! Hail Ogleia (“the ancient one?”)! Subdue Sebastian!”⁸.

The lion, too, was believed to subdue and take control of ghosts, people, or other entities. A recipe in the IV magical papyrus (ll. 2125–39) explains how to silence a prophetic human skull that functions improperly:

“A restraining seal for skulls that are not satisfactory [for use of divination], and also to prevent [them] from speaking or doing anything whatever of this [sort]: Seal the mouth of the skull with dirt from the doors of [a temple] of Osiris and from a mound [covering] graves. Taking iron from a leg fetter, work it cold and make a ring on which to have a headless lion engraved. Let him have, instead of his head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet a skeleton (the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton). In the middle of these should be on owl-eyed cat with its paw on a Gorgon’s head; in a circle around [all of them?], these names: IADOR INBA NICHAIOPLEX BRITH.” (transl. Morton Smith).

A gem corresponding to this prescription was kept in the Originalsammlung des Archäologischen Instituts in Göttingen and depicts, on the obverse, a Mithraic lion-headed Aion standing on a lion passing on a skeleton, a star, and the head of Medusa. On the reverse,

the inscription reads ΝΕΙΧΑΡΟΠΛΗΞ ΙΩΑ⁹. Campbell Bonner describes two magical gems depicting a lion holding a human skull between its paws, and one of these gems bears the inscription κρατῶ σε ἔχω σε, “I have you, I hold you”¹⁰. Among the gems kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna depicting Hecate on a lion trampling a human corpse, a haematite gem bears the inscription ὑπότασσε Ἐκάτη, “Hecate, subdue!”¹¹.

The purpose of the Gorgon and the lion was to control dangerous beings such as ghosts, diseases, or personal enemies.

2. Marmaraoth and Barbaraoth

These two magical words recur frequently in magical texts, whether papyri or defixiones or magical gems. Both are written in different ways but the first part is immutable whereas the suffix changes. We present here a series of occurrences which is far from complete but suffices to show the contexts within which ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑΩΘ and ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑΩΘ were mentioned.

ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑΩΘ or variations of this name appear in magical texts. In PGM IV 1009 (in IV 1030 the form Barbariêl recurs) it is a name of Horus-Harpokrates. This last name means “Horus the child” and this reinforces the better interpretation of Barbaraoth, namely from the Aramaic noun *br, br’* (*bar, brā*): בַּר, which is a doublet of *bēn* and means “son”. Βαρβαλ, in *Suppl. Mag.* 42, l. 32, has been interpreted by Catastini¹² as Aramaic: *bar-ba’al*, “son of the Lord”. Barbaraoth appears along with Jewish or judaizing divine names¹³. Barbaritha is identified with Adonis as a god of the dead¹⁴ and other variations of the name Barbaraoth are connected with the realm of the dead¹⁵. Barbar Adônai, Barbareich, and Barbaraiônê are names of a supreme god who creates winds and souls¹⁶.

Variations of the names Barbaraoth and Marmaraoth appear together in other two magical gems¹⁷. Μαρμαραωθ and Βαρβαραωθ are construed in a similar manner by repeating a noun and adding the judaizing ending -ωθ, which is typical of Sabaoth. Μαρμαραωθ is believed to be connected to the Aramaic

noun *mry*, *mry'*, and simply *mār*, in Hebrew מַר: “master, lord”, also as a title of respect. The noun is repeated twice and the meaning could have been “Lord of Lords”¹⁸. In Greek, the words such as μαρμαίρω, “flash, sparkle, gleam”, μαρμάρεος, “flashing, gleaming”, μαρμαρυσγή, “flashing, sparkling, gleaming”, likely contributed to the notion of Marmaraoth possessing a luminous nature or reinforced this aspect of the god. Marmaraoth is somewhat connected to Harpocrates, the young solar god, and the form Μαρμαραχθα (*Suppl. Mag.* 49, 37) equates him with or identifies him as Harachte, “Horus of the horizon”¹⁹. Marmaraoth is a solar god identified with a divine child: Krates (cf. Harpocrates)²⁰ and Marmaramō is a name of the sun²¹. Marmaraoth is accompanied by images of a lion, a lion and Eros²², Apis or a scarab²³. Numerous amulets invoke Marmaraoth to control ghosts and demons²⁴. In other texts, Marmaraoth is a supreme god²⁵, the creator god²⁶, and the polymorphic *protopator* (father of everything, i.e., the creator)²⁷.

To conclude, the couple of divine names Barbaraoth and Marmaraoth is invoked on the gem from Ephesus to control demons, ghosts, and other dangerous beings. The lion and the Gorgo were depicted to frighten and petrify the same obnoxious beings.

A. M.

f. Finger-rings set with gems

Gold production and goldsmithing in Ephesus and in the rest of western Asia Minor are not known in any detail, and very little research on the subject has been conducted to date.

No. 33. Gold finger-ring with a gem set bezel (fig. 33).
Diam. ring 23 mm, H. bezel 11 mm, Wg. 2.9 gr.
Gold finger-ring with a hollow hoop, rounded and dented on either side of the bezel.
Comparanda. For hollow gold rings see MARSHALL 1907, 86, no. 503; DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 31, nos. 136-137; HENIG 2007, 208-209, no. app. 155.
First or second century AD.

No. 34. Gold finger-ring with a gem set bezel (fig. 34).
Diam. ring 28 mm, H. bezel 13 mm, Wg. 4.9 gr.
Gold finger-ring with a wide, hollow hoop, its bezel containing a gem. The gold of the hoop is rather frayed.
Comparanda. DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 31, nos. 136-137.
First or second century AD.

No. 35. Gold finger-ring with a gem set bezel (fig. 35).
Diam. ring 23 mm, H. bezel 10 mm, Wg. 2.4 gr.
This is a gold finger-ring of simple form, with a wide flat hoop, deepening slightly towards the bezel which is raised to contain an oval gem, possibly a garnet. Wide hoops like this are characteristic of the Middle Roman period. However, rings with slightly narrower hoops and set with similar plain gems are dated to the first century AD.
Comparanda. DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 26, no. 90 and CHADOUR 1994, 63, no. 209, both set with plain stones, dated to the Early Roman period, but MARSHALL 1907, 84-85, no. 493 found in Egypt, is also similar but set with an engraved intaglio and dated to the second century AD.
Late first or second century AD.

No. 36. Gold finger-ring with a raised gem set bezel (fig. 36).
Diam. ring 25 mm, H. bezel 9 mm, Wg. 2.9 gr.
Gold finger-ring with a flattened hoop, similar to no. 33, but the hoop is wider.
Comparanda. For a wider hoop on a ring with an engraved bezel, MARSHALL 1907, 32, no. 192.
Second century AD.

No. 37. Gold finger-ring, octagonal, with a rectangular bezel and wide hoop with a knob at the base of the hoop set with a gem in a square setting (fig. 37).
W. ring 25 mm, H. bezel 12 mm, Wg. 3.7 gr.
This is basically a ring of keeled form typical of the third century, a spectacular example with the shoulders decorated with scrollwork.
Comparanda. CHADOUR 1994, 92-93, nos. 311-313 for the basic shape and 123, no. 423 for the scrollwork. Keeled rings are best described by JOHNS 1996, 48-49.
Late second or third century AD.

- No. 38.** Double gold finger-ring set with a cameo in a box bezel between the hoops (fig. 38).
W. ring 1 24 mm, W. ring 2 23 mm, H. bezel 12 mm, Wg. 4.9 gr.
The white onyx cameo depicts Medusa. The two hoops meet on each side at a pair of pellets on either side of the box bezel containing the cameo.
Comparanda. For Gorgoneia see NEVEROV 1988, 127-137, nos. 300-352 and HENIG, MOLESWORTH 2018, 183-192, nos. 192-204. The cameo is amongst the more schematic and less accomplished examples of this very common type. Cf. RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 182, no. 223 for a double gold ring similarly set with cameo, there depicting a mourning Eros, from Novae, Bulgaria. The double ring tradition was evidently long lasting, see DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 30, no. 128 and CHADOUR 1994, 62, no. 205 (said to be first century AD) and CHADOUR 1994, 127, no. 435 (third or fourth century AD).
Ring and cameo both third century AD.
- No. 39.** Gold finger-ring with a gem set bezel (fig. 39).
Diam. ring 25 mm, H. bezel 15 mm, Wg. 2.7 gr.
Gold finger-ring with keeled hoop, whose bezel is set with a gem which is split into two parts.
Comparanda. This is the characteristic third century AD form, i.e., Henig type VIII. Cf. RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 174, no. 203.
Third century AD.
- No. 40.** Finger-ring set with a raised sardonyx in the bezel (figs 40a-b).
Diam. ring 26 mm, H. bezel 10 mm, Wg. 3.1 gr.
Sardonyx of three layers in the form of a truncated cone set in a keeled gold ring, Henig type VIII.
Comparanda. Cf. MARSHALL 1907, 89, no. 525 which is narrower, but contains a similar sardonyx. Sardonyx gems in the form of truncated cones are characteristic of the period.
Third century AD.
- No. 41.** Finger-ring with a gem set, onyx bezel (fig. 41).
Diam. ring 21 mm, H. bezel 11 mm, Wg. 2.6 gr.
Gold finger-ring of simple form, widening towards the bezel.
Comparanda. MARSHALL 1907, 93, no. 549.
Third century AD.
- No. 42.** Finger-ring with three bezels (fig. 42).
W. ring 23 mm, H. bezel 9 mm, Wg. 3.1 gr.
Finger-ring with three bezels, the central one is rectangular and, on each side, it is flanked by a circular bezel.
Comparanda. See MARSHALL 1907, 140, no. 861; CHADOUR 1994, 127-128, nos. 435, 437-438 and 440; JOHNS, POTTER 1983, 93-95, nos. 22-23 for multi gem settings.
Gold finger-rings of this sort, with multiple gem settings are characteristic of the third and fourth centuries AD.
- No. 43.** Finger-ring with beaded hoop and with a blue glass setting in the bezel (fig. 43).
Diam. ring 18 mm, H. bezel 9 mm, Wg. 2.1 gr.
This is a finger-ring of refined form, and a narrow, beaded hoop, which is typical of a number of rings dated to the Late Roman period.
Comparanda. MARSHALL 1907, 141, nos. 864-865 and 243, no. 1652; JOHNS, POTTER 1983, 83-84, no. 21.
Fourth century AD.
- No. 44.** Finger-ring set with seven gems on a broad, circular bezel (fig. 44).
Diam. ring 26 mm, H. bezel 19 mm, Wg. 5.8 gr.
Comparanda. Cf. CHADOUR 1994, 151, nos. 505-506, which are described as Gothic, but the style was widespread in Late Antiquity. There is some resemblance to the even more spectacular and refined work on gold rings in the late fourth century Thetford Treasure from the UK with massive multi-gem set bezels, cf. JOHNS, POTTER 1983, 82-83, no. 5 and 85, no. 8.
Fifth century AD.
- No. 45.** Gold finger-ring with a swivel bezel on which a crystal gem is mounted (fig. 45).
W. ring 23 mm, H. bezel 5 mm, Wg. 4.0 gr.
The form of the ring is that employed for Classical scarabs and scaraboids, for use as seals, although it is likely to be a copy of the type and like the crystal of comparatively recent date.
- g. Earrings set with gems*
- No. 46.** A pair of gold earrings (fig. 46).
Total H. earring 76 mm, Diam. garnet 12 mm, Wg. 14.3-7 gr.



Fig. 33.



Fig. 39.



Fig. 34.



Fig. 40a.



Fig. 35.



Fig. 40b.



Fig. 36.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 37.



Fig. 42.



Fig. 38.



Fig. 43.

The earrings are of gold, each set with a pear shaped possibly onyx and a circular convex garnet in a circular setting with a surrounding order of seed pearls. From this hangs a double cornucopia filled with pearls, representing fruit, as a central feature, with on each side a triple pendant of gold chains terminating in pearls, which are missing on one side.

Comparanda. This is an extremely rich pair of earrings. Comparison may be made with MARSHALL 1911, 274, no. 2328 from Kalymnos in the south-eastern Aegean Sea, Greece, and the pair linked together by a gold chain. no. 2331, illustrated on pl. 51, and in colour by WALKER and HIGGS 2001, 93, no. 104, where it is suggested that the type may derive from Ptolemaic jewellery. The double cornucopia almost certainly does, see the Ptolemaic oinochoe illustrated by WALTER and HIGGS 2001, 49, no. 48 and coins, on p. 84, no. 78 and p. 85, no. 79. Note a later, simpler earring, MARSHALL 1911, p. 297, no. 2571 with a single cornucopia with fruit represented by pearls.

Second century BC.

No. 47. Gold earring (fig. 47).

H. earring 31 mm, H. pearl 6 mm, Wg. 3.2 gr. Gold earring with a plain gold disc attached and a single pendant from which hangs a pearl.

Comparanda. This is a very simple earring if the disc was not indeed simply backing for a further decorative plate, as RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 109, no. 13 also with a pearl pendant, from the Pleven region, Bulgaria.

Second–third century AD.

No. 48. Gold earring (fig. 48).

H. earring 59 mm, H. pearl 11 mm, Wg. 8.1 gr.

Gold earring from which hangs a pendant containing a red glass setting and a pearl threaded on the lower part of the pendant.

Comparanda. MARSHALL 1911, 299, no. 2588; Compare also RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 108, no. 12 with simple pendants on a pair of earrings, from a grave in Svilengrad, Haskovo Province, south-central Bulgaria, associated with late second century AD coins.

Second–third century AD.

No. 49. Gold earring (fig. 49).

H. earring 29 mm, W. pearl 10 mm, Wg. 2.4 gr.

Gold earring with a blue bead set in a rosette.

Comparanda. BESSON 2003, 16-17, no. 3;

KAYA, ALBAYRAK, HENIG, LAFLI 2024, 186-187, no. 8 from Nicaea, Bithynia; also RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 113, no. 25 from Oescus, Gigen, Bulgaria, with rosette but missing the bead.

Second–third century AD.

No. 50. A pair of gold earrings (fig. 50).

H. earring 26 mm, Diam. glass 11 mm, Wg. 4.2 gr (each).

A pair of gold earrings, with central blue glass settings and fairly narrow cut-and-crimped frame, suggestive of a floral rosette.

Comparanda. MILOVANOVIĆ 2018, 119-121, fig 18 with similar setting in green glass from a grave in Viminacium, Serbia. Also somewhat similar is KAYA, ALBAYRAK, HENIG, LAFLI 2024, 186-187, no. 8 with fully formed rosette and central green glass bead in a rectangular frame.

Early third century AD.

No. 51. Gold hoop earring (fig. 51).

H. earring 76 mm, H. pearls 6–8 mm, Wg. 19.4 gr.

Gold hoop earring, strung with pearls of which eleven remain.

Comparanda. For the type see RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 104, no. 3. An earring of different type composed of an S-shaped hook with wire ring on which nine pearls are strung is in the British Museum, MARSHALL 1911, 308, no. 2679 = WALKER, BIERBRIER 1997, 166-167, no. 195. An Egyptian mummy portrait of Severan date, perhaps from er-Rubayat (in the Fayum; WALKER, BIERBRIER 1997, 99-100, no. 92) shows a woman wearing hoop earrings strung with pearls.

Early third century AD.

No. 52. Gold earring (fig. 52).

H. earring 55 mm, Diam. garnet 6 mm, Wg. 8.2 gr.

The upper plate is square, and embellished with acanthus ornament in relief and originally set with a central jewel, now missing. From it are suspended two pendants, one set with a garnet.

Comparanda. ERGIL 1983, 46, no. 123 with a hexagonal plate and three pendants and KAYA, ALBAYRAK, HENIG, LAFLI 2024, 193, no. 26 with two pendants are somewhat similar.

Third century AD.

No. 53. Gold earring (fig. 53).

W. earring 24 mm, H. bead 5 mm, Wg. 2.21 gr.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 48.



Fig. 49.



Fig. 45.



Fig. 50.



Fig. 46.



Fig. 51.



Fig. 47.



Fig. 52.

A gold earring with a raised square box-setting set with a green emerald or glass bead, intact and well preserved.

Comparanda. There is a pair of earrings of similar form in the Archaeological Museum of Aydın, cf. LAFLI, HENIG 2024, p. 160, no. 15, figs 15a-c. Compare also ERGIL 1983, p. 43-44, no. 112; although in that case there is a hook rather than a loop see ALLASON-JONES 1989, p. 54 and pl. 20, no. 42 and RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, p. 122, no. 47, but in all these cases the bezels are rilled.

Third century AD.

No. 54. Gold earring with S-shaped hook and circular setting containing a pale glass bead (fig. 54).

H. earring 28 mm, Diam. bead 16 mm, Wg. 4.0 gr.

Comparanda. MARSHALL 1911, 308, nos. 2677-2678 from Episkopi, Limassol, Cyprus are rather finer examples with glass intaglio settings. Cf. also RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, p. 123, no. 48 from the necropolis of St Sophia Church, Serdica (mod. Sofia, Bulgaria).

Third century AD.

No. 55. Gold with S-shaped hookset with an emerald bead. (fig. 55).

H. earring 32 mm, W. bead 19 mm, Wg. 2.9 gr.

Comparanda. MILOVANOVIĆ 2018, 122-123, fig. 23 from a grave at the Pirivoj site at Viminacium; ALLASON-JONES 1989, 57, no. 58 from Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum, UK).

Third century AD.

No. 56. Pendant (fig. 56).

H. earring 37 mm, H. pearl 10 mm, Wg. 4.5 gr.

A pendant, perhaps from an earring consisting of a cylindrical gold sheet from which hangs a pendant with three bead settings.

Authenticity uncertain; perhaps late third century AD, if not a recent concoction.

No. 57. Gold earring (fig. 57).

H. earring 34 mm, W. bead 9 mm, Wg. 3.8 gr.

Gold earring with S-shaped hook and a boss set with a blue bead.

Comparandum. MILOVANOVIĆ 2018, 122-125, fig. 25 from a grave at the Pirivoj site at Viminacium.

Late third or early fourth century AD.

No. 58. Gold earring (fig. 58).

H. earring 84 mm, H. beads 5-8 mm, Wg. 8.2 gr.

The earring is damaged, having been distorted through fire.

A gold earring with a pendant strung with three glass beads.

Comparanda. ERGIL 1983, 54, no. 139; RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 120, no. 41 from Serdica.

Third or fourth century AD.

h. *Pendants set with gems*

No. 59. Black glass pendant in the form of the head of a young African (fig. 59).

H. 14 mm, W. 9 mm, Wg. 2.1 gr.

The head is moulded as can be seen by the lack of sharpness in the features. These African heads in moulded glass appear to be of Hellenistic date, possibly representing Nubians.

Comparanda. VOLLENWEIDER 1979, 84 and pl. 32, nos. 79-80; ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1991, 220-221, nos. 2480-2481.

Early second century BC.

No. 60. Circular bone pendant (fig. 60).

Diam. pendant 40 mm, Diam. red stone 29 mm, Wg. 3.8 gr.

A circular bone pendant set with a large slightly convex red stone and eight radiating circular settings around (two damaged), comprising a rosette.

Folk jewellery of the 19th century (of the Gypsy community of Selçuk?).

No. 61. Circular gold pendant (fig. 61).

H. pendant 75 mm, Diam. beads 9-14 mm, Wg. 5.9 gr.

Seven glass beads set in a gold pendant with a central circular setting which contains purple glass and six slightly smaller circular settings around each containing a glass jewel, alternately purple and green. There are small beaded circles between each of these and edge of the pendant is embellished with a continuous series of openwork loops.

Folk jewellery of the 19th century (of the Gypsy community of Selçuk?).

i. *A gold finger-ring with engraved decoration*

No. 62. Gold finger-ring with a female figure engraved on the bezel (fig. 62).

Gold finger-ring.

H. ring 27 mm, Diam. bezel 7 mm, Wg. 2.4 gr.



Fig. 53.



Fig. 58.



Fig. 59.



Fig. 54.



Fig. 55.



Fig. 60.



Fig. 56.



Fig. 61.



Fig. 57.



Fig. 62.

A third century keeled gold finger-ring with octagonal hoop, i.e., Henig type VIII, engraved with the figure of a dancing maenad.

Comparanda. The ring is comparable with MARSHALL 1907, 33 and pl. 5, nos. 200-201. As stated above, the engraved device depicts a dancing figure, almost certainly a maenad, as figured on engraved gems WALTERS 1926, 232, nos. 2258-2259; SENA CHIESA 1966, 201, no. 449. She seems to be holding something, perhaps a wreath or garland, in her outstretched left hand.

Third century AD.

CHAPTER 3: GEMS FIGURING ARTEMIS EPHESIA

In the Roman Empire Artemis Ephesia was the most popular deity worshipped in Anatolia and in general through the west of the Empire and was the commonest of the Anatolian deities to receive veneration far beyond her home city²⁸. Strabo, indeed, testifies to her cult having been imported in early times to the far West at Massalia (mod. Marseilles) and thence to her colonies in north-east Spain (4,1,3-8). The cult became internationally famous and representations of the goddess eventually appear on intaglios over much of the Roman world²⁹ including finds from Carnuntum in Austria and Aquileia in Italy (figs 63a-b). However, all the gems which depict her appear to date exclusively to the Imperial period after Asia had been recovered for Augustus and he had defeated Mark Antony in whose sphere of influence it had been. This event which brought peace to the region was widely heralded through a large striking of coins inscribed ASIA RECEPTA (“Asia recovered”) dated between 29 BC and 27 BC, struck both in Italy and at Ephesus³⁰. Although some rare coins dated to the period between 133 BC and 88 BC after Asia had been bequeathed to Rome by Attalus III of Pergamum, had already depicted the goddess in her familiar guise, throughout Classical and Hellenistic times she had only been portrayed on coins and indeed gems through the companion creatures associated with her cult, the bee and the deer; her *xoanon*-type image was perhaps thought too sacred to replicate (figs 64-65). The representation of the sacred image of Artemis Ephesia would, thus, seem to have

been a Roman innovation despite the common belief that it was an Archaic or even earlier creation. It is generally thought that on coins the motif of the goddess Artemis Ephesia is most common at the end of the second century and in the third century AD³¹. Despite the fact that the depiction of Artemis Ephesia³² is a familiar subject, not found infrequently on gems, those from Asia Minor have not, so far, received systematic study (but see Sageaux 2022 and Weiss 2013). A comprehensive study such as Thibault Girard’s study (2023) of gems depicting Mars Ultor would be a valuable resource.

In general the appearance of Artemis Ephesia on gems and other iconographic media, most notably sculpture but also on terracottas (see ROBERT FLEISCHER 1973; ROBERT FLEISCHER 1984) is quite standardized, and, in particular, most of her freestanding statues and statuettes assume basically the same static pose with bands composed of several nodes (sometimes in the form of small, underdeveloped breasts) strung below a festoon and her lower body ornamented with rows of animal protomes each flanked by rosettes and bees (figs 64-66). Generally, there are few glyptic types and variants which are derived from a limited number of prototypes. However, she is often shown with other deities notably Zeus who on these gems is invariably depicted seated on a throne, as well as with Helios and Selene (who are shown as busts), perhaps as a supplication of the owner of the gems to the sun or to a celestial divinity, but also with more regional deities like the two Nemeses of Smyrna. Her head or bust as well as representations of the goddess with her cult animals, especially the bee and deer, appear either with her or separately, are also to be found on engraved gems. In general, locally found gems depicting bees are likely to refer to Artemis; at the same time bees were symbolic of prosperity, wisdom and prosperity, the source of honey³³ and, in the context of Roman Italy, provide the subject for Virgil’s *Georgics* Book IV³⁴.

The representation of deer in association with Artemis Ephesia is not surprising as the animal was generally associated with the goddess, as mistress of the animals and of hunting in her varied representations in Antiquity, for example as shown upon a Hellenistic Jacinth



Fig. 63ab.



Fig. 64.



Fig. 65.



Fig. 66.

intaglio in Paris from San Pietro, Isola Lågosta (Lastovo, Croatia; HOEY MIDDLETON 1991, p. 34, no. 3) and on a Roman Republican glass ringstone depicting Diana Nemorensis [from Aenona (Nin, Zadar County) also in Croatia, HOEY MIDDLETON 1991, p. 39, no. 14]. As in representations of Jupiter/Jupiter Heliopolitanus (see below) who is flanked by bulls, representations of Artemis Ephesia adopt a similar symmetry.

A few gems figuring Artemis Ephesia may relate to magical gems as well. There is a gem, for example, in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen as well as a few similar gems in other collections showing her in an aedicula shrine which reminds us of the silver shrines mentioned in Acts 19:27, and one wonders about these and other shrines in gold or base metal.

The usual Western form of Artemis/Diana is different: gems showing local cults were for the most part locally produced and more or less confined to the region in which the deity was venerated, and were presumably engraved there. Artemis Ephesia was one such regional deity and comparable to similar figures of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, i.e., the Latin name for the supreme god venerated in the great temple of Baalbek, Lebanon, who is very well attested in gems from the Levant-Israel/Palestine (fig. 67). In the West, only



Fig. 67.

one gem depicting him is recorded – from *Coria*, Corbridge, Northumberland south of Hadrian's Wall in the UK ³⁵ which almost certainly was the seal of an officer in a regiment of Syrian archers, *Cohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum*, stationed at the fort at *Magnis*, Carvoran in Northumberland in the second century AD. Other very familiar Eastern types such as Mount Argaeus are again presumably of local origin ³⁶, and only very few are found outside Asia Minor and the northern Levant. We suspect that many of the gems with the depiction of Artemis Ephesia, which are rather more widespread, attest pilgrimage to Ephesus from elsewhere in the ancient Graeco-Roman world.

It is apposite to wonder about the relatively small number of glyptic versions which exist of Artemis Ephesia, as published in the scholarly literature, as a further pointer to there having been a specific gem workshop or even a number of such gem-workshops in Ephesus devoted to the production of gems figuring the goddess, in the Roman period. However, it is possible that her popularity led to some gems being engraved at gem-cutting centres elsewhere, for example in Aquileia.

The distribution of gems depicting Artemis Ephesia from excavated sites is also interesting to note: gems depicting Artemis Ephesia who, in the words of Demetrius the silversmith ³⁷, “all Asia and the world worship” (Acts 19:27) appear to be, surprisingly, rare in Ephesus and in the rest of Asia Minor (e.g., Izmir, Burdur and Gaziantep). So far Juliopolis in Bithynia is the most eastern find-spot of such gems. However, they are customary throughout the Eastern provinces whence most of those in collections, as WALTERS 1926, 151, nos. 1336-1340 and HENIG 1975, 37, nos. 130-133 [nos. 132 and 133 bought by Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis (1836-1891) “in Smyrna”] ³⁸ will have been collected; but many were certainly found (some from excavations) far beyond to the west, see DIMITROVA-MILCHEVA 1981, 41, no. 50 (from Novae, Bulgaria); GAVRILOVIĆ VITAS 2022, 243, figs 1-2 (from Kostolac, Serbia); KAIĆ 2024, 162-163, no. 174 (presumably from North Balkans); DEMBSKI 2005, 64, no. 108 (from Carnuntum, Austria); MAGNI, SENA CHIESA and TASSINARI 2009, 85, nos. 334-346 (probably from north Italy); GUIRAUD 2008,

94-95, no. 73 (from Mont Beuvray, Saône-et-Loire, France) and MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1980, pp. 6-7, fig. 2, no. 7 (from Velsen I, the Netherlands). The high number of such finds from Aquileia in north-eastern Italy is remarkable (e.g., SENA CHIESA 1966, 121-122, nos. 101-104; cat. nos. 4-6, 10-12 and 14 below). For a very full catalogue, including find-spots, see SPIER 1992, 130-131, nos. 352-355, including no. 353 from Tunisia and 354 and 355 from Asia Minor.

It is also interesting to note that Artemis Ephesia does not appear in any media figuring seated women holding tympana, identifying them as priestesses of Cybele, i.e., another discrete iconographic cultic type belonging to Ephesus.

In the following section we present some depictions of Artemis Ephesia from a number of collections and museums around the world in order to gain an insight on the iconographic repertory of Artemis Ephesia during the Roman period. In compiling this small corpus below we have attempted to highlight a nostalgic aspect in the presence of the sacred image of Artemis Ephesia in the sites and museums of the Roman West, seeing in this relative popularity an attempt to emulate the Archaic and Classical practices of introducing Eastern cults to Greece and Magna Graecia.

We do not claim, however, that this is a comprehensive account of all gems depicting Artemis Ephesia or themes and features related to her, as it is a select corpus; the selection of gems of especial iconographic interest was the foremost determinant in selection.

a. Catalogue of gems depicting Artemis Ephesia and other related symbols illustrated in this paper

No. 1. A bee (figs 68a-c).

Acquisition from Mr Tekin Özkanat on 21 April 1973 (for 100 Turkish Lira) from Şar (ancient Comana or Cataonia), Adana, south-western Cappadocia, curated in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep in south-eastern Turkey, acc. no. 44.6.74.

Red agate set in an iron finger-ring.

8 x 6 x 2 mm.

The upper surface of the agate is flat, the lower surface is convex and in shape it is oval,

appearing almost round. The workmanship of the agate is more detailed and meticulous than the following example (no. 2 below), and a variety of drills was employed to engrave it: the head of the insect was fashioned with a small round drill, the body, with a disc-shaped wheel, and the grooves on the wings with a thinner wheel.

This bee and the other example from Comana (no. 2 below) may refer to Artemis Ephesia in the Late Hellenistic period, before the appearance in glyptics of the cult statue, set in the finger-rings of the Early Roman period, thus paralleling its appearance on coins at this time. For a discussion of gems depicting bees related both to Artemis Ephesia and to Demeter/Ceres, cf. our chapter 4 below.

Comparandum. A similar gem figuring a bee is curated in the Ashmolean Museum, see BOARDMAN, VOLLENWEIDER 1978, p. 99, no. 338, who date it to the late second–first century BC which should also be the date of this example from Gaziantep.

Ref. YINESOR DEMİR 2008, p. 162, cat. no. 64, pp. 206–207.

No. 2. The same subject as no. 1 (figs 69a-c).

Curated in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep in south-eastern Turkey, as no. 1 above, acc. no. 44.6.73.

Red agate set in a circular, iron finger-ring of Late Hellenistic/Early Roman period form.

Diam. ring 16 mm.

The agate is mounted in the hoop to serve as a bezel. The depiction of the bee is highly stylized and was produced by employing a disc-shaped wheel alone. This suggests that it was crafted in the “Republican Wheel Style” in the first century BC.

Ref. YINESOR DEMİR 2008, p. 161, cat. no. 63, p. 206.

No. 3. Artemis Ephesia with supports for arms and flanked by a deer on each side (fig. 70).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 81.6.175.

Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881.

Carnelian intaglio.

12 mm.

There are busts of Helios and Selene beside Artemis Ephesia.

First century BC–first century AD.

Ref. and photo credits. RICHTER 1956, 70, pl. 39, no. 283; ROBERT FLEISCHER 1990, p. 1028, no. 316; <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/245046>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).

- No. 4.** Artemis Ephesia with lunar crescent to the left and star on the right (fig. 71).
Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.528.
A chrome chalcedony intaglio.
H. 8 mm, W. 5 mm, Th. 3 mm, Wg. 0.2 gr.
Probably first century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. LAFLI, BUORA 2023, p. 29, note 61, pl. 12, fig. 7.
- No. 5.** Artemis Ephesia in a highly schematic form (figs 72a-b).
Museum of Burdur, acc. no. 628.50.73.
Red jasper intaglio cut to an elipsoid shape and with a flat upper face.
7 x 6 x 3 mm.
Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia depicted in a highly stylized manner.
Comparanda. Getty, no. 354; FURTWÄNGLER 1896, no. 8420, 8421; WALTERS 1926, no. 1336, 1341; Berry coll., no. 54; 1.3 München, no. 3132; HENIG, MACGREGOR 2004, no. 2.13.
First–second century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. KULBAY 2019, p. 60, cat. no. 23.
- No. 6.** Artemis Ephesia in a simplified form (fig. 73).
Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, acc. no. 26467.
Red carnelian, form 4.
78 x 62 x 25 mm.
Artemis Ephesia, wrapped in a heavy robe, with polos on her head and triple face; in her hands she carries the torches. On the sides of her face the radiating sun and the crescent moon. Ground line. Very schematic rendering.
Comparanda. See for iconography and style see SCHLÜTER, PLATZ-HORSTER, ZAZOFF 1975, no. 1399 (carnelian; third century AD); MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, no. 907 (carnelian, first–second century AD). Also similar to cat. no. 4 from Izmir above.
First–second century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. SENA CHIESA 1966, 85, cat. no. 334, pl. 21.
- No. 7.** Artemis Ephesia, very schematically engraved (fig. 74).
Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, acc. no. 26468.
Red carnelian, form 7, slightly chipped, encrusted inside.
66 mm x 64 mm x 24 mm.
Very schematic carving; head of Artemis is rendered with a simple dash.
- Comparanda.* See for iconography MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1980, 6-7, no. 7 (carnelian; second half of the first century BC); CASAL GARCÍA 1990, no. 192 (carnelian; second–third century AD); Spier 1992, nos. 353 (carnelian, from Tunisia; first–second century AD), 354 (carnelian, from Asia Minor; second century AD).
First–second century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. SENA CHIESA 1966, 85, cat. no. 335, pl. 21.
- No. 8.** Artemis Ephesia with lunar crescent to the left and star on the right (fig. 75).
Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, acc. no. 26469.
Variegated brown carnelian, shape 5.
15 mm x 12.5 mm x 37 mm.
On the sides of her image two ears of corn.
Ground line. Linear style carving.
Comparanda. See for iconography KIBALTCHITCH 1910, no. 83 (carnelian, from Anapa in Krasnodar Krai, Russia); for iconography and style, ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, no. 1458 (red jasper, third–fourth century AD).
First–second century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. SENA CHIESA 1966, 85, cat. no. 335, pl. 22.
- No. 9.** Artemis Ephesia flanked by deer and, above her, busts of Helios and Selene (fig. 76).
The British Museum, London, acc. no. 1912,0311.2.
Sard.
H. 19 mm, W. 15 mm.
Artemis is accompanied on both sides by a Nemesis of Smyrna, each plucking at the upper edge of her chiton with one hand. One holds a bridle in her right hand, and the other a staff with a knob at the top in her left hand.
Second century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. WALTERS 1926, 151, no. 1340.
- No. 10.** Artemis Ephesia flanked by sun and moon (fig. 77).
Excavated in Juliopolis, south-eastern Bithynia, curated in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.
A garnet intaglio.
Perhaps second century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. ARSLAN *et alii* 2012, p. 184, fig. 7.
- No. 11.** Artemis Ephesia with deer (fig. 78).
Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.540.



Fig. 68.

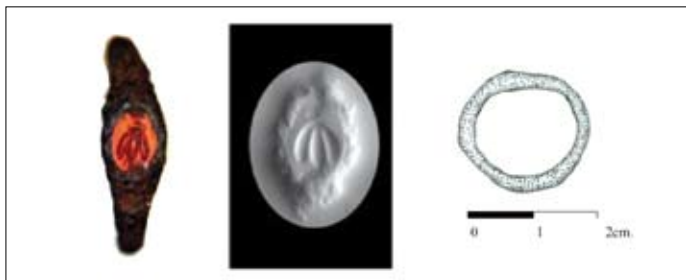


Fig. 69.



Fig. 70.



Fig. 71.



Fig. 72.



Fig. 73.



Fig. 76.



Fig. 74.



Fig. 75.



Fig. 77.

A nicolo glass intaglio.
H. 15 mm, W. 10 mm, Th. 2 mm, Wg. 0.92 gr.
Late second or third century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. LAFLI, BUORA 2023, p. 29, note 61, pl. 12, fig. 8.

No. 12. Artemis Ephesia not in her usual canonical form, but naturalistically rendered (fig. 79). Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, acc. no. 24468. Flat carnelian. 12 mm × 10 mm. The strongly stylized statue of the goddess stands, rigidly frontal, her body draped in a voluminous dress. On her head a polos is indicated; her arms are held forward and hold torches. At each side stands a deer. Her head is framed by two crescent moons. In all probability this is the syncretistic type of Artemis Hecate, whose representation appears rather late on gems. The representation of Artemis Ephesia on gems from Aquileia is always highly stylized, but there is no shortage of more complex and detailed variants: the two busts of the sun and the moon mostly appear on each side of the head. In the more schematic gems the radiate sun and the crescent moon are depicted. However, we do not know of other examples which, like ours, present a double lunar crescent³⁹. Since the entire engraving is extremely schematic, one might consider this to be an oversight by the engraver, who seems to have worked hastily and without too much effort. Because of the accurate design and modeling, end of the second–third century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. MAGNI, SENA CHIESA, TASSINARI 2009, 121, cat. no. 101, fig. 101.

No. 13. Artemis Ephesia schematically rendered (fig. 80). Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, acc. no. 24667. Flat carnelian with expanded edges. 11 mm × 9 mm. The head with the polos and framing veil is rendered in an entirely abstract manner between oblong masses. The same stylization, albeit less schematic, appears in a series of coins figuring the Ephesian goddess dating from the third century AD, in which we can already see the tendency towards lengthening of the polos with a swelling at the upper end, and the schematic rendering of the drapery on the sides of the face. The rest of the figure is also heavily geometric⁴⁰.

Second–third century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. SENA CHIESA 1966, 122, cat. no. 103, fig. 103.

No. 14. Artemis Ephesia schematically rendered (fig. 81). Museo del teatro romano di Verona, acc. no. 25721. Flat red jasper. 12 mm × 7 mm. Same as the previous one.
Comparandum. Similar to cat. no. 5 from Burdur above.
Ref. and photo credits. MAGNI, SENA CHIESA, TASSINARI 2009, 122, cat. no. 104, fig. 104.

No. 15. Two sided gem depicting Artemis Ephesia and the Artemis of Sardis (figs 82a-b). The British Museum, London, acc. no. G509, EA 56509. Obsidian. H. 27 mm, W. 21 mm. A double sided gem, possibly had magical significance, and is published by Simone Michel with the magical gems in the British Museum though unlike most magical gems there is no inscription. However the material on which it is said to be engraved, obsidian, is commonly used for magical gems and but rarely employed for regular seal stones. The obverse side depicts Artemis Ephesia with the sun and moon shown above the goddess who, as usual, is flanked by deer. The reverse portrays another *xoanon*-like figure, Artemis of Sardis, with a head of wheat on one side and a seeding poppy head on the other. Was the gem perhaps mounted as a pendant amulet with both sides visible so that the wearer was under the protection of two powerful local goddesses of Asia Minor?
Third century AD.
Ref. and photo credits. MICHEL 2001, 48-49, no. 72, pl. 10; and <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1889-1014-152>, <<http://cbd.mfab.hu/cbd/472/?sid=2908>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).

No. 16. Artemis Ephesia in her usual *xoanon* form (fig. 83). Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, acc. no. Flat carnelian. 11.5 mm × 9 mm. A veil is draped from the polos to frame the goddess's head. This detail often appears on coins which represent the goddess. Two vertical bands (of cloth?) fall from the hands,



Fig. 78.



Fig. 79.



Fig. 80.



Fig. 81.



Fig. 83.



Fig. 82a-b



Fig. 84.



Fig. 85.



Fig. 86.



Fig. 87.



Fig. 88.



Fig. 89.

- as they do on some numismatic representations but their significance is not entirely clear ⁴¹.
Ref. and photo credits. SENA CHIESA 1966, 122, cat. no. 102, fig. 102.
- No. 17.** Artemis Ephesia with usual related features (fig. 84).
 Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD, acc. no. 42.923.
 Carnelian.
Ref. and photo credits. <<https://art.thewalters.org/detail/9591/intaglio-with-ephesian-artemis-in-full-front/>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).
- No. 18.** Artemis Ephesia (“Diana Ephesus”) between two unidentified figures (fig. 85).
 Cornell Gem Impressions Collection, Ithaca, NY, acc. no. 03_2_0311.
 19th century plaster impression from an ancient gem.
Ref. and photo credits. <<https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:1973065>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).
- No. 19.** Artemis Ephesia between Asclepius and Hygeia (fig. 86).
 Cornell Gem Impressions Collection, Ithaca, NY, acc. no. 03_2_0312.
 19th century plaster impression from an ancient gem.
Ref. and photo credits. <<https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:1973066>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).
- No. 20.** Artemis Ephesia standing, Demeter seated (fig. 87).
 Cornell Gem Impressions Collection, Ithaca, NY, acc. no. 03_2_0310.
 19th century plaster impression from an ancient gem.
Ref. and photo credits. <<https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:1973064>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).
- No. 21.** Artemis Ephesia in a four-columned temple (fig. 88).
 Cornell Gem Impressions Collection, Ithaca, NY, acc. no. 03_2_0313.
 19th century plaster impression from an ancient gem.
Ref. and photo credits. <<https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:1973067>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).
- No. 22.** Artemis Ephesia and flanking two deer (fig. 89).
 The State Hermitage Museum, acc. no. GP-12643.
 Sardonyx cameo.
 H. 32 mm, W. 25 mm.
 A unique Post-Renaissance–Neoclassical rendering, presumably of Russian or Eastern European school.
 It is published as ancient by Oleg Neverov, but is more probably early modern, perhaps 17th–18th century.
Ref. and photo credits. NEVEROV 1988, 96–97, no. 182.
- b. Gems depicting Artemis Ephesia and other related symbols, not illustrated in this paper
- No. 23.** Three examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
 Civici Musei d’Arte di Verona.
 Carnelian intaglios.
 First–second century AD.
Ref. MAGNI, SENA CHIESA, TASSINARI 2009, 85, nos. 334-336.
- No. 24.** The *xoanon* of Artemis Ephesia alone.
 The British Museum, London, acc. no. 1930,0122.1.
 Chrome chalcedony intaglio.
 12 mm.
 Second century AD.
- No. 25.** Artemis Ephesia flanked by two deer.
 The British Museum, London, acc. no. 1814,0704.1682, from the Townley Collection.
 Purple glass intaglio.
 12.5 x 8.5 mm.
 First–third century AD.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, 269, no. 2759 (a glass gem imitating amethyst).
- No. 26.** Artemis Ephesia, standing and flanked by four deer.
 The British Museum, London, acc. no. 1814,0704.1675, from the Townley Collection.
 Green glass intaglio.
 11.0 x 1.0 mm.
 First–third century AD.
Ref. Unpublished?
- No. 27.** Artemis Ephesia flanked by two flying Nikai.

- The British Museum, London, acc. no. 1814.0704.1344, from the Townley Collection.
Sard intaglio.
15 mm x 12 mm.
Artemis Ephesia flanked by two flying Nikai, each holding out a wreath to her.
First–third century AD.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, 151, no. 1339.
- No. 28.** Artemis Ephesia and a group of divinities.
The British Museum, London, acc. no. 1923.0401.153.
Intaglio of red jasper.
14 mm x 12 mm.
Zeus or Serapis seated in the middle, facing right, holding a staff in his right hand. There is an eagle next to his feet. Nemesis stands on the right, facing left, holding an apple in one hand. Beside her is her griffin. Artemis Ephesia stands on the left side of the gem with one hand raised, flanked by one deer on each side.
First–third century AD.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, 144, no. 1266
- No. 29.** Six examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Museum August Kestner, Hanover.
Ref. SCHLÜTER, PLATZ-HORSTER, ZAZOFF 1975, 157, no. 767, gold-brown glass; no. 768 carnelian; 260-261, nos. 1397-1400 all carnelian. No. 1400 has busts of Helios and Selene on either side of Artemis' head; all second–third century AD.
- No. 30.** Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia.
Carnelian intaglio
Second–third century AD.
Ref. VITELLOZZI 2010, 223-224, no. 235.
- No. 31.** Two examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
From the Kostolac necropolis near Viminacium, curated at the Narodni muzej Srbije, Belgrade, Serbia.
Carnelian intaglios.
Second–third century AD.
Ref. GAVRILOVIĆ VITAS 2021, 243, figs 1–2, fig. 2.
- No. 32.** Four examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
2.13 is of red jasper, 2.14–16 are carnelian.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, acc. nos. 2.13–2.16.
Ref. HENIG, MACGREGOR 2004, 42-43, nos. 2.13 (Queen's College loan). 2.14 (acc. no. 2003.43), 2.15 (acc. no. 1910.97 from Kerč, Crimea), 2.16 [acc. no. 1921.863, from Beirut, Lebanon, purchased by Sir Charles Leonard Wooley (1880–1960)].
- No. 33.** Artemis Ephesia with Asclepius and Hygeia.
Carnelian.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (ex Southesk Collection), acc. no. CM.1553.1963.
Ref. HENIG et alii 1994, 153-154, no. 317.
- No. 34.** Four examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (ex Rev. S. S. Lewis Collection, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, now on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum). Given as numbers in J. Henry Middleton's primary catalogue (1892), B.10, A. 14, B, 17 and B. 88.
Ref. HENIG 1975, 37, nos. 130-133; no. 132 together with Hermes and no. 133 with Aphrodite. Nos. 130, 131 and 132 burnt carnelian, 133 white jasper, 132 and 133 bought at "Smyrna".
- No. 35.** 20 examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Ref. FURTWÄNGLER 1896, nos. 2616, 2817 and 2818, 6741, 7214-7219 (all carnelian), 2821 (carnelian, in shrine), 8418-8419 (red jasper); also 2819-2820, 3593-3595 (moulded glass), 7169 (carnelian, Artemis Ephesia with Asclepius and Hygeia) and 2616 with Zeus (chalcedony).
- No. 36.** Two examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Antiken-Sammlung Berlin, the Dressel Collection.
Ref. WEISS 2007, 176, no. 179, carnelian with Artemis Ephesia dated to second century AD; p. 320, no. 670 grey green jasper with Artemis Ephesia flanked by Tyche and Triple Hecate.
- No. 37.** Five examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.
Ref. FOSSING 1929, 110, no. 644, Artemis in shrine. Carnelian
No. 643 is also listed as of plasma chrome chalcedony.
Also p. 231, nos. 1706-1708 all carnelian.

- No. 38.** Artemis Ephesia stands in profile right.
Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, IN, from the collection of Burton Y. Berry.
Found in Ionia, purchased in Istanbul.
Carnelian.
Artemis Ephesia behind her on the ground a small altar; in front a seated small figure. Sun and moon on either side of her head, behind her YO Γ to the right.
Ref. BERRY 1965, 14 and 15, no. 12.
- No. 39.** Facing figure of Artemis Ephesia.
Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, IN, from the collection of Burton Y. Berry.
Purchased in Izmir.
Garnet.
Ref. BERRY 1965, 38–39, no. 54.
- No. 40.** Three examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich.
Ref. BRANDT, KRUG, GERCKE and SCHMIDT 1972, 13, no. 2172, carnelian; no. 2173 sardonyx, the reverse of the gem depicts a scorpion (magical?); 30, no. 2276, nicolo; no. 2277 carnelian with busts of Helios and Selene flanking the goddess' head.
- No. 41.** Three examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Herzog-Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig.
Ref. SCHERF 1970, 21, no. 43, chalcedony and no. 44, carnelian, both dated to the second century AD.
- No. 42.** Artemis Ephesia, a priest and the Osiris mummy.
Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Kassel.
Red jasper.
ΠΑΟV inscribed around.
Ref. ZAZOFF 1970, 230–231, no. 141.
- No. 43.** Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
The British Museum, London.
Agate.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, 151-152, no. 1337.
- No. 44.** Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
The British Museum, London.
Sard, i.e., carnelian.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, 151-152, no. 1338.
- No. 45.** Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
The British Museum, London.
Onyx.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, 151-152, no. 1341.
- No. 46.** Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
The British Museum, London.
Sard.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, 151-152, no. 1342.
- No. 47.** Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
The British Museum, London, acc. no. 1889.0810.25.
Purchased at Smyrna.
Onyx.
17 x 11 mm.
Ref. WALTERS 1926, no. 1341.
- No. 48.** Two examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia.
Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
Ref. RICHTER 1971, 33, nos. 90 and 92.
- No. 49.** Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
Ref. RICHTER 1971, 23, no. 91.
- No. 50.** Artemis Ephesia with two deer at her feet.
Cabinetul de Numismatică al Bibliotecii Academiei Române, Bucharest, acc. no. 115/C.O.
Translucent reddish carnelian. Oval format; slightly convex obverse and reverse; mounted in a modern gold necklace.
15 x 13 mm.
Artemis Ephesia with two deer at her feet; in the field an inscription ΠΑΖΗ/ΝΑΝ (?).
Ref. GRAMATOPOL 1974, 50 and pl. 8, no. 148. Mihai Gramatopol published the gem as depicting Artemis Ephesia or Hecate.
- No. 51.** Artemis Ephesia flanked by sun and moon.
Presumably from North Balkans, curated at the Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Croatia, acc. no. A-15991.
Red jasper intaglio.
16.8 x 12.8 mm
Ref. KAIĆ 2024, 162-163, no. 174.
- No. 52.** Statue of Artemis Ephesia (?); only the lower half of the gem survives.
From the Early Roman Fort at *Flevum*, Velsen I, North Holland which was discovered in 1972 and is believed to have been operational from AD 14 to 30; find no. 2031-7-1976. H92-trench 3. g 2008/6.1976-zn8. 2o. There is no indication as to where the gems from Velsen are now kept in any of the gem reports from Velsen I.

Orange-red, transparent carnelian, oval intaglio.

8 x 10.7 mm, Th. 1.7 mm.

Draped figure of Artemis shown frontally, standing on a low base and flanked by deer, one on each side. The goddess is probably intended to portray Artemis Ephesia. The execution of the gem is very schematic.

Ref. MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1980, pp. 6-7, fig. 2, no. 7.

CHAPTER 4: A DISCUSSION OF BEES AS SYMBOLIC OF BOTH ARTEMIS EPHESIA AND DEMETER/CERES

As discussed in chapter 3 and exemplified by cat. nos. 1-2 (in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep) above, bees were symbolic of Artemis Ephesia both on coins and gems, especially before the Roman period: a garnet ringstone in Oxford and a hyacinth gem in the Merz Collection both depicting a bee, are in each case dated to the end of the second century BC or the early first century BC. They recall the coins of Ephesus⁴² (for two examples from the fifth and third centuries BC, cf. figs 90-91). Note the remarks of Marie-Louise Vollenweider⁴³, although she also mentions that from early times the bee was a hieroglyphic symbol of royalty in Egypt. Other examples include one from Syra in the Cyclades dating to the second century AD now



Fig. 90.



Fig. 91.

in Vienna (ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1991, 112-113, no. 1985, below cat. no. 3).

Bees are sometimes shown on gems, including a carnelian in the Evans Collection found at Scardonia (mod. Skradin, Šibenik-Knin County) in Croatia depicting a bee with a caduceus (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, acc. no. 1941.338) published by MIDDLETON 1991, 134, no. 258. The device seems to be associated with Caesarean symbolism (VOLLENWEIDER 1970; VOLLENWEIDER 1979, 378-379, no. 424).

Bees, whose social organisation seemed so similar to that of humans, fascinated the Greeks and Romans; they were also of course the source of honey, the only sweetener widely used in Antiquity (DAVIES AND KATHIRITHAMBY 1986, 47-72). Here were additional reasons for the choice of the bee to symbolise the goddess. According to Philostratus of Lemnos the Athenian colonists of Ionia were led by the Muses in the form of bees (Imagines 2,8). In any case the priestesses of Artemis were called Μέλισσαι (= bees) (*I.Ephesos*, no. 2109) and the priests were Ἐσσηνοί (=king bees). Malcolm Davies and Jeyarany Kathirithamby illustrate a didrachm of Ephesus depicting a bee (1986, p. 60, fig. 11) and a remarkable pair of mid-fifth century BC earrings actually found in Ephesus depicting a bee on a flower (p. 53, fig. 9). This is in the collection of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (acc. no. 1957,54 St.79/79) and is fully discussed and illustrated by Herbert Hoffmann and Vera von Claer (1968, 99-101, no. 64).

Nevertheless, there are other gems which are far more probably to be connected with Demeter/Ceres rather than with Artemis Ephesia. Bees were, after all, the vital pollinators of the crops and the sole providers of honey. Below we present three such examples, one from the UK (almost certainly Ceres) and two from Austria in this brief corpus:

No. 1. A bee and two ants (figs 92a-c).

Found at Much Hadham, Hertfordshire, UK in 2019, and reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (BH-702ED7 / 2019T979).

Nicolo intaglio set in a gold ring.

External Diam. ring 18.2 mm, intaglio 10 x 8.9 mm.

A bee holds two ears of wheat in its proboscis and the ant on each side is depicted holding a glume (seed). This more probably references



Fig. 92a-c.



Fig. 93.

Ceres rather than the Eastern deity, Artemis Ephesia, who has not yet been attested in Britain. Ants were especially associated with Ceres/Demeter and appear with images of the goddess, see SAGIV 2018, pp. 119-120.

Ref. and photo credits. PEARCE, WORRELL 2020, 461-462, no. 20.

- No. 2.** A red garnet depicting a bee (fig. 93).
Private collection of Mr Stephan Karl, Graz, Austria.
Tarnished silver pendant set with a red garnet.
Diam. pendant 38 mm, Diam. garnet 27 mm, Wg. 3.4 gr.
A circular pendant which is rather better delineated than our gem parallels and is typologically close to the coins. Thus, it is close in accuracy of portrayal to bees on the Ephesus coins so like the gems in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep discussed in chapter 3 above, perhaps Artemis Ephesia's bee.
Dating. Probably end of second century–early first century BC because of the similarity of the setting to the garnet ringstone in Oxford.

- No. 3.** A bee.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
From Syra (Syros) in the Cyclades.
Carnelian intaglio in a gold ring.
Diam. Ring 27 mm, intaglio 11.5 x 9.8mm.
A bee with wings partly spread.
Probably second century AD.
Ref. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1991, no. 1985.

E.L. - M. H.

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Images are not to scale.

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Sources for most of the images in figs 69-90 are given in each of the catalogue entries.

Map 1 is included by arrangement with Dr Fatih Hakan Kaya (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir) in 2024 to whom we would like to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation.

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Initials E.L. are for Ergün Laflı, M.H. for Martin Henig and A.M. for Attilio Mastrocinque.

FIGURE CAPTIONS AND PHOTO CREDITS

Map 1: Sites in Anatolia to which reference is made in the text (drawn by F. H. Kaya, 2024).

Figs 1-32: Engraved gems by acquisition in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk (photo. A. Özgen, 2017).

Figs 33-45: Finger-rings set with gems by acquisition in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk (photo. A. Özgen, 2017).

Figs 46-62: Earrings and other jewellery set with gems by acquisition in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk (photo. A. Özgen, 2017).

Figs 63a-b: A marble statue depicting Artemis Ephesia from Aquileia in north-eastern Italy, Museo archeologico nazionale di Aquileia, acc. no. 451, first century AD, find-spot not known (photo. E. Laflı, 2024).

Fig 64: A marble statue depicting Artemis Ephesia from Ephesus, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, found in 1956, P.H. 163 cm (photo. E. Laflı, 2024).

Fig 65: A marble statue depicting Artemis Ephesia from Thermae Thesus in Lydia, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, found in 1963, P.H. 55 cm (photo. E. Laflı, 2024).

Fig 66: A terracotta figurine depicting Artemis Ephesia from Metropolis, Archaeological Museum of Izmir (photo. E. Laflı, 2024).

Fig 67: Alimestone statue depicting Jupiter Heliopolitanus from Palmyra, Archaeological Museums of Istanbul (photo by E. Laflı, 2024).

Figs 68-90: Gems figuring Artemis Ephesia (sources for images are given in each of the catalogue entries).

Figs 76-79: Artemis Ephesia on gems from Cornell Collection.

Figs 90a-91b: Similar and very life-like depictions of bees are shown on coins of Ephesus dating from the fifth century BC onwards - Figs 90a-b: Didrachm of Ephesus, obv. bee, inscribed ΕΦ, rev. incuse square. Archaeological Museum of Izmir, fifth century BC (photo. E. Laflı, 2017).

Figs 91a-b: Tetradrachm of Ephesus. Obv. bee, inscribed ΕΦ, reverse stag and palm, inscribed Εὐήνωρ. Archaeological Museum of Izmir, fourth century BC (photo. E. Laflı, 2020).

Figs 92a-c: A nicolo intaglio depicting a bee and two ants set in a gold ring, from Much Hadham, Hertfordshire, UK (after Pearce and Worrell 2020, 462, fig. 20; photo M. Fittock. ©. Portable Antiquities Scheme PAS reference BH-702ED7/2019T979).

Fig. 93: A pendant set with a bee from the private collection of Mr Stephan Karl, Graz, Austria (photo. S. Karl, 2024).

NOTES

¹ KODER, LADSTÄTTER 2010, p. 327.

² Cf. NASO 2024.

³ Cf. MASTROCINQUE 2013.

⁴ Eurip., *Ion* 1000-1009; Ovid., *Met.* 4.178 ff.; 5.178 ff.; Plin., *Nat.hist.* 37.164. See FARAONE 2018, 483; 394-401.

⁵ MASTROCINQUE 2007, no. VR 25.

⁶ *Orphica kerygmata* 20.34; DAMIGERON-EVAX 7.3.

⁷ GUARDUCCI 1978, 182; MASTROCINQUE 2007, 317.

⁸ MASTROCINQUE 2014, 454.

⁹ MASTROCINQUE 1998, 32-34; 94-95.

¹⁰ BONNER 1950, 36 and 151; D74.

¹¹ ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1991, nos. 2182, 2187, 2193 and 2201.

¹² In *Suppl.Mag.*, ad loc.

¹³ See PGM III, 11; IV, 1241; 1555; V, 54; 480; VII, 750; XV, 15; *Suppl.Mag.* 49 and 75, 21-22.

¹⁴ PGM IV, 338; *Suppl.Mag.* 49, 8.

¹⁵ PGM III, 109; IV, 362 and 385; *Suppl.Mag.* 49, 35-36; 51, 2 and 11; 50, 33-34.

¹⁶ PGM XII, 90 and 240; XXI, 4.

¹⁷ MASTROCINQUE 2014, nos 672 and 682.

¹⁸ PREISENDANZ 1930; KOPP 1829, 224 § 761. See, more recently, MALTOMINI 1979, 70. On divine names repeated twice to create a magical name see FAUTH 1993, 66-68.

¹⁹ MARTINEZ 1985, 83 translates Marmarachtha as "Lord Harachte."

²⁰ PGM XII, 231.

²¹ PGM XII, 178.

²² MICHEL 2001, no. 256 and PHILIPP 1986, no. 41.

²³ MASTROCINQUE 2014, no. 131 and 137; cf. a scarab: WUENSCH 1899, 294-299. Marmaraoth and pagan gods: MICHEL 2001, no. 496 and CBd-3263.

²⁴ For ex. *Suppl.Mag.* 49, 37; numerous passages from the *Testament of Solomon*; MEYER, SMITH 1999, no. 64, l. 109; PGM VII, 482-484. In several curses: see for ex. MEYER, SMITH 1999, nos 71 and 105; AUDOLLENT 1904, 16-17.

²⁵ PGM IV, 1591; XII, 187.

²⁶ MEYER, SMITH 1999, no. 131.

²⁷ PGM IV, 947; VII, 608 and a magical gem from Byblos that depicts the polymorphic god (also called "Pantheos"): DUNAND 1937, 44, pl. 137, no. 1248.

²⁸ For Artemis, i.e., virgin goddess of the hunt, wild animals, and childbirth, as the protector of feminine life, see KAHIL 1984, section 9, pp. 676-677, nos. 723-724, 751, s.v. Artemis. As goddess of the wilds, Artemis presides over hunting and the initiation of girls. On the cult of Artemis Ephesia, which differs in several aspects than the Artemis worshipped in Mainland Greece and elsewhere, cf., e.g., VAN DER LINDE 2016 (her cult in Ephesus), CLINTON 2014; HOOKER 2013. Two last studies of Ulrike Muss are also of importance in the regards of the cult of Artemis in Ephesus and its archaeological evidence, cf. MUSS 2020 (with an extensive bibliography on pp. 58-60), 2008 and 2001. Robert Robert Fleischer studied the Hellenistic cult statue of Artemis Ephesia in great detail and made a comparison with statues from Anatolia and Syria, cf. also ROBERT FLEISCHER 1973; LÉGER 2015, 129f; PORTEFAIX 1999; and LIDONNICI 1992; and THIERSCH 1935. Cf., e.g., GAVRILOVIĆ VITAS 2021.

³⁰ Augustus made Ephesus the capital of the consular province of Asia, and it was here that visitors usually arrived by sea and left, often taking images of the famous goddess with them. Compare also SELTMAN 1952; and BLUMA 1945 (for her temple on coins).

³¹ This representation is particularly frequent on Hadriatic coins. See, for example, LACROIX 1949, p. 181; COOK 1925, p. 408, figs 309-314, and MATTINGLY 1936, 75/1, 79/4.

³² So far there are very few studies clarifying the ritual context of Artemis Ephesia in her homeland, Ephesus, but see ROGERS 1991 for evidence of the benefactions to the city made in AD 104 by Caius Vibius Salutaris, an Ephesian member of the equestrian order, who established a foundation in which images of the Roman emperors, the *Populus Romanus* (the Roman people), and the Senate were exhibited. He also

provides information on processions, including p. 111 torchlight processions, perhaps borrowed from the cult of Cybele.

- ³³ For the association of bees with Artemis, cf. ELDERKIN 1939.
- ³⁴ Ephesus was regarded as an enchanted place in the Renaissance as well: Shakespeare's *The comedy of errors*, one of his early plays and based on Plautus is set in Ephesus and so is the very beautiful last scene of one of his great late Romances, *Pericles Prince of Tyre* where Pericles, the hero, mourning his presumed drowned wife, Thaisa, has a vision from the goddess and Thaisa is restored to him in the Temple.
- ³⁵ HENIG 2007, 134 and pl. 12, no. 351.
- ³⁶ HENIG, LAFLI 2024, pp. 11-14, cat. no. 1, p. 13, fig. 1.
- ³⁷ The name Demetrius is found twice in the New Testament: in 3 John 1:11 as a member of a Christian community but for our purpose the significant Demetrius is the Artemis-worshipping silversmith of Acts 19 who incited a riot against the Apostle Paul in Ephesus; for this episode see SOFFE 1986, 251-253; and BRINKS 2009. The possible productions of Demetrius the Silversmith and his fellows and their small, and presumably silver, shrines of Artemis have not yet been explored in detail, nor has the work of the Ephesian goldsmiths. We may be dealing with the same sort of portable aedicula as the little gold aedicula shrine housing a bust of Isis in the Koch Collection, later mounted on a ring, CHADOUR 1994, 115, no. 396 or the simpler lead examples occasionally encountered in the Roman West, see HENIG 1990, 152, fig. 11.1 (Minerva shrine from Dorchester, Dorset, UK) and 160, fig. 11.13 (Venus shrine from Wroxeter, Shropshire, UK). There is a clue, however, again from Britain that the production of silver items and gems may have been practiced in tandem, from the assemblage of silver jewellery much of it unfinished,

and over 100 carnelian intaglios both unset and set in rings some of which had not been finished. The hoard of jewellery from Snettisham, Norfolk provides important evidence, for workshop practice in multiple crafts which might have been replicated on a larger scale in Ephesus, see JOHNS 1997. For another piece of evidence attesting the personal link between glyptic artists and metalworkers in Pompeii see Spinazzola 1953, 687, citing a graffito found there reading "Priscus caelator Campano gemmario feliciter" (= "Priscus the bronze smith, happiness/prosperity to Campanus the gem-engraver"). For craft organisation in the Roman Empire with some references to Ephesus, see WILSON, FLOHR 2016. There is certainly scope for the craft organisation in Ephesus to be more fully examined.

- ³⁸ The Rev. S. S. Lewis certainly bought gems in Smyrna/Izmir and we believe that many of the examples in his collection came from the region, see HENIG 1975.
- ³⁹ The type appears, with variations in the attributes, on various gems, all rendered disorganically, for example FURTWÄNGLER 1896, pls. 44, 64, 80, with ears and other symbols; WALTERS 1926, nos. 1336-1342; RICHTER 1956, 283; FOSSING 1929, 19, 1707-1708. The latter is very close to the Aquileian glyptic workshop.
- ⁴⁰ A very similar type appears, also due to the stylization of the face, on a red jasper found in the Chiusi area, cf. INGHIRAMI 1833, pl. 144, 4.
- ⁴¹ On this particularity of the ornament of the Ephesian goddess see COOK 1925, 1, fig. 313; LACROIX 1949, 146 ff.
- ⁴² SNG 1972, Ephesos no. 908; BABELON 1936, Ephesos nos 2593-2594 and 2596.
- ⁴³ Cf. BOARDMAN, VOLLENWEIDER 1978, p. 99, no. 338; VOLLENWEIDER 1984, p. 71, no. 105, IMHOOF-BLÜMER, KELLER 1889, pl. 23, nos. 47-48.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANCIENT SOURCES

- DAMIGERON-ÉVAX = J. SCHAMP, R. HALLEUX, *Les Lapidaires grecs, Lapidaire orphique, Kérygmes lapidaires d'Orphée, Socrate et Denys, Lapidaire nautique, Damigéron-Évax*, Collection des universités de France 151, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1985.
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