

Gem Market of Izmir During the 19th Century

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To my mother Francesca,
in love with Türkiye

Abstract

In the second half of the 18th and 19th centuries, Izmir was the major center for the trade in Classical antiquities; in particular, it was a capital of numismatics. But Izmir's leading role in the market of gems, which were among the favorite souvenirs, has so far received little scholarly attention. In this study, we have gathered the illuminating information to fill this gap, to delineate a basic panorama of the local glyptic manufacture and engravers of classical and post-classical gemstones, as well as the dealers, collectors, connoisseurs, scholars, antiquarians, travelers, and forgers who were active engaged in the purchasing and selling process in Izmir. The results of this research provide new and unequivocal evidence both for the possibility of acquiring gems in Izmir from the city and neighboring sites, and that Izmir supplied gemstones to private and public collections, throughout Europe and America. The range is remarkable and varied, embracing all materials, themes, styles, qualities, sometimes superlatives, and periods, from ancient to the post-classical age: scaraboids, intaglios, cameos, pastes, rings in gold, silver, bronze, iron, glass, even with decorated bezels. Several types are popular, other representations are less familiar or unica. It is a fascinating overview of the documentation of the engraved stones from Izmir: a worldwide circulation and distribution.

Keywords: *Izmir, Smyrne, Sardis, Ephesus, intaglios, cameos, collections, collectors*

Résumé - Marché aux pierres précieuses d'Izmir au 19ème siècle

Dans la seconde moitié des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, Smyrne était le centre majeur du commerce des antiquités classiques ; c'était notamment une capitale de la numismatique. Mais le rôle majeur de Smyrne dans le marché des pierres précieuses, qui figuraient parmi les souvenirs préférés, a jusqu'à présent reçu peu d'attention des chercheurs. Dans cette étude, nous avons rassemblé des informations éclairantes pour combler cette lacune, pour tracer un panorama de base de la fabrication glyptique locale et des graveurs de pierres précieuses classiques et post-classiques, ainsi que des marchands, collectionneurs, connaisseurs, érudits, antiquaires, voyageurs, et des faussaires qui étaient activement engagés dans le processus d'achat et de vente à Smyrne. Les résultats de cette recherche fournissent des preuves nouvelles et sans équivoque à la fois de la possibilité d'acquérir des pierres précieuses à Smyrne auprès de la ville et des sites voisins, et du fait que Smyrne a fourni des pierres précieuses à des collections privées et publiques, dans toute l'Europe et en Amérique. La gamme est remarquable et variée, embrassant tous les matériaux, thèmes, styles, qualités, parfois superlatifs, et époques, de l'Antiquité à l'époque post-classique: scarabéides, intailles, camées, pâtes, bagues en or, argent, bronze, fer, verre, même avec des lunettes décorées. Plusieurs types sont populaires, d'autres représentations sont moins familières ou uniques. Il s'agit d'un aperçu fascinant de la documentation des pierres gravées de Smyrne : une circulation et une distribution mondiales.

Mots-clés : *Izmir, Smyrne, Sardes, Éphèse, intailles, camées, collections, collectionneurs.*

1. The status quaestionis

During the second half of the 18th and 19th centuries A.D. Izmir was the queen among the cities of Anatolia, and one of the principal commercial ports in Asia Minor, directly connected to all the leading seaports in the Levant: there was clearly a continuous movement of people and goods. Consequently Izmir was the major center of the trade in Classical antiquities found in the city, its surroundings and the interior of Anatolia. In particular it is described as a numismatic capital. This means that in the town are gathered coins from Asia Minor and the islands; some celebrated numismatists and numismatic collectors settled in Izmir, where they were actively engaged

in the usual process of exchanging and selling coins¹.

But which role did Izmir play in the history of the production and trade of the engraved gems, small objects that were naturally the most convenient to transport? The subject has not received considerable scholarly attention; so there is no exhaustive study on the topic. In this article we will try to fill this gap, trace original documents, extrapolate elements for our research purposes, follow the most different threads and link them together in order to delineate a basic panorama.

Unfortunately, it is hard to answer several questions, because it leads to an entanglement of many problems.

¹ Spencer 1851, pp. 294-304; Curtius 1872, pp. 59-60, 63; Handbook 1878, pp. 247, 251-252; Allen 1999, pp. 85-87, 90, 287-288, note 156; Merrillees 2017,

pp. 128-144; Callataÿ 2021.

The primary impediment consists in the state of the documentation. Private and public collections of engraved stones from Asia Minor are largely unpublished; finds of gems from the rescue or systematic excavations and surveys undertaken in Türkiye are published often only sparsely or not sufficiently reported or published in the Turkish books and periodicals that are not always easy to consult. Further complicates the recognition the Turkish language, difficult to understand for the scholars.

The catalogues of glyptic collections known to be exclusively from Türkiye² are unhelpful in regard to specify the original find-spot or offer no more specific information about the circumstances or the context in which the object was found.

Of course, the publications of gems collection of the Museum of Izmir does not escape this lamentable situation: the dactylothea is established by acquisitions by local salesmen; a few examples come from the excavations in the surroundings of Izmir³.

And «most of the gems known in scholarly literature as originating from “Izmir” are not from ancient Izmir, but from the antique market in the city which flourished in the 19th century. In the excavations at Old Izmir between 1948 and 1951 as well as 1966 and today very few gems of the the Archaic and Classical periods have been found. Almost no finds have so far been published from the excavations at the Agora of Izmir between 1933 and 1941 and 1997 and today»⁴.

Even when the engraved gems are recovered from a secure archaeological context, we can doubt about the real provenance. In fact gems have always travelled throughout space and time, passing from owner to owner by inheritance, trade, loss... Consequentially, the circulation of gems flows beyond their manufacturing place; the scholars can identify with uncertainty an atelier and assign an item to it. Therefore a further problem is – such as generally all over the Classical world – to recognize individual or several engravers and workshops in Izmir, that produced ancient and modern intaglios and cameos, to demonstrate the local production in the city and in the region and to state the distribution patterns⁵.

A final obstacle to the research. Some travel journals describe the Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire's lands in the 18th and 19th centuries. The collectors looked for gems and jewels, that were among the favorite souvenirs, but unfortunately they give us very few information about where and how they acquired the precious pieces.

This is a brief overview, a short selection of examples with only minimal references to material, iconography, style and date; we neither will judge the quality of engraving nor we will offer proper considerations about style or age to which a piece belongs (often the dating of intaglios remains problematic). We will take sufficient information from the studies in which the gems are published. A detailed commentary on each piece would require much more space than is possible here and this is not the focus of the article. Sometimes we will also briefly show finger-rings that are not set with gems / pastes, but with ornamented bezel or with engraved design, when they are particularly considerable, deserve some attention and enrich the panorama.

Waiting for full accounts in another study, this present is intended to give an idea of the glyptic situation in Izmir, an idea of these precious objects that could be found, bought, collected, donated.

2. A centre of glyptic production: Sardis

The local glyptic manufacture nearest to Izmir is Sardis.

Lydia was rich of unusual mineral resources: gold, silver, iron, copper, arsenic, antimony, cinnabar... and the stone, the semi-precious sard⁶. Lydia was one of the leading producer of gold, which played a crucial role in transforming the region into a commercial, industrial, and trading country⁷. Moulds for making jewelry provides a proof for local production⁸. And gem cutting is closely allied to metalwork, because of the use of stones in jewelry. From the sixth century B.C., the production of seals, gems, and ringstones, under the patronage from the Lydian royal entourage, assumed the dimensions of a considerable activity; and several finds suggest that this local industry continued.

Archaeological discoveries make it likely that rock crystal cutting has been a specialty in Sardis: large quantities of rock crystal, rough lumps, chips, flakes and occasionally a finished piece⁹. It was still being worked in the Middle Byzantine times, as testifies the grave of a little girl in Sardis buried in a wooden casket, with a golden earring and a fine, faceted rock crystal bead¹⁰.

The existence of a school of gem cutters in Sardis, beginning in the sixth century¹¹, is demonstrated also by epigraphic evidence: the inscription (second century A.D.) mentions the young Doros dead “δακτυλοκοιολγύφος”, which came from Sardis¹².

Other precious, fundamental achievements for the knowledge of the Sardis' glyptic ateliers / gem cutters.

In the area of the city of Sardis, just to west of the late Roman fortifications, – the chronology of the pottery ranges from the Lydian to the Byzantine period, but the bulk is Roman – has been discovered a high concentration of semi-precious stones of different colors, flakes of amethyst, jasper and sard, several unfinished or defective gems blanks, microflakes and nodules of semiprecious stones, documenting various stages in the process of engraving gems, from the raw material to the finished product¹³. The variety and nature of the pieces, the absence of architectural remains and the concentration of gemstone material in the upper levels of the excavation suggest that this is a dump site. The archaeologists rightly observe that the fragments of a dump provide uncertain evidence about the specific placement of Roman gem-workshop in Sardis. However, the concentration of material indicates that it should have been in the immediate vicinity. The discovery of pieces of worked ivory and millefiore glass also allows us to affirm that a center of luxury craftsmanship existed in this area in Roman times.

Jane De Rose Evans argues that the glass intaglios found at Sardis, on a hilltop known as Field 49, were made at a still to-be discovered workshop nearby, during the Augustan / earliest years of Tiberius' reign; they were scattered in the destruction caused by the earthquake that devastated Sardis, in 17 A.D.¹⁴.

² See the panorama in Laflı, Buora 2023, pp. 25-32; Laflı, Henig 2024, pp. 148-155; Tassinari in press.

³ Laflı 2012; Hatipoğlu, Güney 2013; Laflı 2015; Laflı, Buora 2021, pp. 235-237, nn. 1-4, pp. 240-241, nn. 9-10; Henig, Laflı 2023.

⁴ Laflı, Henig 2024, p. 153, note 82.

⁵ Tassinari 2008, where an analysis of the problems associated with the glyptic workshops during the Roman imperial period and a discussion of the local production of gems.

⁶ Hanfmann *et alii* 1983, pp. 7-10.

⁷ On the golden Sardis, the scientific examination of the excavated gold material, a historical survey of gold refining, see King Croesus' 2000.

⁸ Hanfmann *et alii* 1983, p. 10, p. 222, note 17.

⁹ King Croesus' 2000, pp. 88, 92, fig. 4.43, p. 98, note 39.

¹⁰ Hanfmann 1974, pp. 41-42, fig. 10; Hanfmann *et alii* 1983, p. 10.

¹¹ See, e.g., Spier 2000; Tassinari 2008, p. 283; Weiss 2013, pp. 671-672; Laflı, Henig 2024, p. 149, note 6.

¹² Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, pp. 317-318, 500-501, tav. 221, fig. 959, where a complete analysis is given. It is worth recalling that this stele was located in the house of the doctor M. Kosson in Izmir.

¹³ Sardis 1983, pp. 28-29, fig. 36.

¹⁴ De Rose Evans 2019, p. 2. On the local manufacture of glass intaglios in Sardis, strongly suggested by good evidence, see Önder 1994; De Rose Evans 2019.

The presence of the uncut edges of the intaglios implies that they were not yet set into rings / jewelry; perhaps they did not travel far from their manufacturing spot. Furthermore, some pastes appear to be from the same mould used or a second generation mould.

The iconography of these glasses show the variety of the representations and several of the most common motifs in Roman glyptic art: Zeus seated on throne, the standing figures of Athena, Apollo, Hermes, Ares, Asklepios, Demeter, Herakles, Tyche, Nike; the two-figure compositions of Nike and Fortuna, Asklepios and Hygeia; the busts of Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Helios; animals.

«While a number of the motifs on the intaglios are found across the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire, there are ten to twelve motifs that have very local models. The most striking are the rider with the labrys, not attested outside of Lydia and Phrygia, and the doubled Nemesis, which is only found in Izmir. Several of the motifs may have been derived from Hellenistic to Early Roman coins of Sardis itself. Thus, if the evidence of the unfinished state of the gems was not persuasive, the iconographical parallels provide another indication that points directly to the manufacture of the intaglios within Sardis. Although excavations have not yet uncovered the actual spot of manufacture, it is extremely likely that the workshop was on top of the hill, where all of these intaglios were found»¹⁵ (fig. 1a-1d).



Figure 1a. Fortuna/Tyche standing and holding a cornucopia and a rudder. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 32.



Figure 1b. Bust of Artemis, with a quiver and a bow over her shoulders. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 40.



Figure 1c. Rider with the chlamys flying out behind, moving on his horse. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 54.



Figure 1d. Eagle with wings spread catches a hare under its claws. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 56.

3. Some sources that report on the local glyptic production

Indication available appear to provide support for the theory that in Izmir and environs existed manufactures of gemstones in Roman period, as well as post-classical.

One of the most important French numismatic of his generation, Louis Allier de Hauteroche (Lyon, 1766 – Paris, 1827), Chevalier des Ordres de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem e du Saint-Sépulcre, during his travels and diplomatic career in Levant (he was *attaché* at the Consulate General in Izmir) built up a big and wonderful collection of Greek coins¹⁶. The sale (1828) of his cabinet of ancient and modern engraved gems provides an exceptional opportunity to learn about the craft of gem cutting in these places. It is a sardonix cameo with three layers, set in chiseled gold, with the image of Zeus standing and facing, holding patera and scepter; at his feet the eagle. This cameo is remarkable for its extraordinary size (7.9 x 5.6 cm) and the beauty of the colors and the strata. Bought in Izmir, it is said to be found among ancient ruins in Ephesus. A detail of a considerable significance: it seems that the cameo is unfinished¹⁷. This would be a good evidence of local gem-working¹⁸.

Although the specific placement of manufacture in Ephesus is still unknown and the depiction of Artemis Ephesia can be found in many media throughout the ancient world¹⁹, it is not problematic to think that the production of gems with this image thrived in Ephe-

¹⁵ De Rose Evans 2019, p. 9.

¹⁶ See, Notice 1828, pp. 3-6.

¹⁷ Notice 1828, pp. 8-9, n. 9.

¹⁸ See the comments on the parallels between this artifact and a unique and exceptional great cameo / small bas-relief, of several layers of chalcedony, incomplete, with an idealized Emperor Claudius, seated on a throne like Jupiter.

The expensive and rare cameo is a specimen of the courtly, 'state' glyptic, and an evidence for a specialized workshop in Rome: Tassinari 2020, pp. 213-224.

¹⁹ On the internationally famous cult of Artemis Ephesia in her homeland – Ephesus – and elsewhere, the ritual context, the iconographic media, a comprehensive study of the glyptic types of the sacred image, a select corpus of gems depicting the goddess or themes related to her, see Laflı, Henig,

sus.

According to Krug's hypothesis²⁰, the majority of the stones engraved with Artemis Ephesia were made in the centers near the sanctuary of Ephesus. Also Attilio Mastrocinque believes that existed in Ephesus specialized ateliers that produced gems with the effigy of the goddess²¹.

Laura Sageaux, analysing the glyptic corpus with Artemis Ephesia's image, from the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd-4th century A.D., agrees with Krug and Mastrocinque. She notes that several gems have been found in Asia Minor, but we have no precise information about the actual place. Mastrocinque and Sageaux quote a passage from the Acts of the Apostles regarding the existence of goldsmiths' ateliers and other craftsmen set up not far from Artemision who benefited from the arrival of the pilgrims²².

Finally, Martin Henig and Ergün Laflı suspect that many of the gems figuring Artemis Ephesia attest pilgrimage to Ephesus from elsewhere; there may have been a specific glyptic manufacture, or a number of such ateliers, in Ephesus devoted to the production of gems with the depiction of the goddess, in the Roman period. However, it is possible that, because of her popularity, some gems were engraved in other workshops, for example in Aquileia²³.

Among the finds in Türkiye of gems showing Artemis Ephesia, we remember an onyx mounted in a gold ring, found in a third-century A.D. burial chamber in the West Necropolis of Ephesus²⁴, and two acquired intaglios (carnelian, chalcedony; 3rd century A.D.) of the collection in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk²⁵.

Two glass intaglios with uncut edges were excavated, one from the suggested manufacturing spot in Field 49, at Sardis, the other from a trench far many meters²⁶.

A garnet intaglio (perhaps 2nd century A.D.) with the same depiction was recovered in a rich findspot for gemstones: the extensive necropolis of Juliopolis in south-eastern Bithynia²⁷.

In the Archaeological Museum of Izmir are housed two intaglios: a chrome chalcedony (probably first century A.D.) and a nicolo glass (late 2nd or 3rd century A.D.)²⁸.

From Izmir come a truncated cone-shaped onyx intaglio dated to second century A.D., engraved with the Ephesian Artemis, in the British Museum²⁹; a garnet (collection of Burton Y. Berry, Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington)³⁰; and two intaglios in Lewis collection (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge): a sard, with also Hermes standing, and a white jasper, on which Aphrodite can also be seen binding on her sandal³¹.

Let's take a look at a noteworthy passage by the Reverend Henry John Van Lennep (1815-1889); He was born into a wealthy family in Izmir, went to the United States to continue his education, became a missionary in Türkiye, a painter and a historian.

Starting from Izmir for Constantinople, embarked (April 28, 1864) for a long journey in Asia Minor, Van Lennep describes some of his fellow passengers³²:

«The Greek gentleman from Isbarta is a druggist there, and visits Constantinople on business. He seems to have paid some attention to antiques, and showed me a fine cornelian, beautifully cut on one side in the form of a beetle, and bearing on the other the figure of a man, who appeared to be jumping the rope. He also mentioned

having had in his possession a small stone, with an inscription in Greek characters, but in a language apparently now lost. It ran as follows [...] And on the other side thus [...]». In the footnote Van Lennep adds: «* Since the above was in manuscript, the writer has met with many signet stones having the same characters, and all coming from regions south of Izmir. The most remarkable of these bore a fine representation of a seven - branch candlestick, very similar to the one found on the arch of Titus, at Rome».

These are Jewish magical gems. According to Spier, the gem mentioned by Van Lennep is probably the red jasper with Menorah (on the side A) and four lines of Hebrew (side B), said to be from Ephesus, formerly in the Wood collection (until 1872), now in the British Museum, whose authenticity is doubtful³³.

In response to the great interest in and demand for gem collecting, engravers skillfully copied classical gems, worked in a style very close to the authentic stones and made works that in many cases passed as ancient and were probably sold as such. Post-classical items, modern copies, uncertain works, forgeries intended to deceive flooded the European markets.

We acquire an invaluable occasion to better understand the local glyptic milieu, thanks to the following passage by Samuel Duffield Osborne (1858 – 1917) an American author, engaged in literary work, including a text on engraved gems: «Though the signets of the Turks are usually cut in metal, the wealthy still use a ring-stone, and the skill necessary to cut the graceful lines of their script is available for disreputable purpose [...]. I know of but one forger in Constantinople, a Greek, who is reputed to make occasional trips to Asia Minor where, in exchange for genuine finds, he distributes his work among the peasants who bury it to be dug up for the delectation of missionaries and tourists. Also there is a small factory at Panderma on the other side of the Bosphorus, and, at Tyre, a Syrian, Najib Saadi, has during the last three years made copies of a few intaglios that must be scrutinized rather closely to fix their provenance, but the only establishment of any size in Northern Asia Minor is that of a Turk at Caesarea. He has in his employ several Greeks and Armenians who turn out gems, cameos and coins which go, for the most part, to Izmir for marketing»³⁴.

And Izmir supplied with gemstones cabinets and public institutions, widespread throughout Europe and America.

4. Gems from Izmir widely circulating and shared: some examples of collectors and collections

The multiple aspects of the background of local gem finds and purchases are reflected in the presence in private or public collections with the brief note: «bought at Izmir», «said to be from Izmir», «said to be from Ephesos», «purchased in Izmir and said to be from Ephesos». They may belong to ancient glyptic art, as well as to post-classical period; their antiquity may be in doubt or they may be a forgery.

It is an interesting glimpse into these engraved stones scattered among worldwide collections.

Mastrocinque 2024, pp. 137-148, with an extensive bibliography.

²⁰ Krug 1981, p. 228, n. 309.

²¹ Mastrocinque 2014, p. 136.

²² Mastrocinque 2014, p. 136; Sageaux 2022, pp. 18-19, and note 18.

²³ Laflı, Henig, Mastrocinque 2024, p. 139.

²⁴ Koder, Ladstätter 2010, p. 327.

²⁵ Laflı, Henig, Mastrocinque 2024, pp. 125-126, nn. 21-22, fig. 22.

²⁶ De Rose Evans 2019, p. 14, fig. 22.

²⁷ Laflı, Buora 2023, p. 28, plate 11, 6; Laflı, Henig, Mastrocinque 2024, pp. 141-142, n. 10, fig. 77.

²⁸ Laflı, Buora 2023, p. 29, note 61, plate 12, 7-8; Laflı, Henig, Mastrocinque

2024, pp. 141-144, nn. 4, 11, figg. 71, 78.

²⁹ Walters 1926, p. 152, n. 1341, plate XIX; Sageaux 2022, p. 52, n. 25; Laflı, Henig, Mastrocinque 2024, p. 147, n. 45 o n. 47.

³⁰ Berry 1968, pp. 38-39, n. 54; Laflı, Henig, Mastrocinque 2024, p. 147, n. 39.

³¹ Middleton 1892, p. 58, n. 17; Henig 1975, p. 37, n. 132; Middleton 1892, p. 66, n. 88; Henig 1975, p. 37, n. 133; Laflı, Henig, Mastrocinque 2024, p. 146, n. 34.

³² Van Lennep 1870, pp. 19-20, and footnote.

³³ Spier 2007, p. 163, n. 953, plate 122.

³⁴ Osborne 1912, p. 194.

In this deliberate and necessary selection we will mention only a few examples, that have a special significance³⁵.

4.1 Sir Richard Worsley

The first British traveller and collector to bring home mainly Greek antiquities: Sir Richard Worsley (Appuldurcombe, February 13, 1751 - August 8, 1805), the 7th Baronet of Appuldercombe, Isle of Wight, wealthy, learned, man of taste, notable connoisseur, antiquary, member of the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries and the Society of Dilettanti, politician, Governor of the Isle of Wight, British resident at Venice³⁶. During his extensive tour through Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor (1785-1786), sparing no expense, Sir Worsley assembled the most outstanding and splendid collection – at that period – of Greek statues, reliefs and gems, collection now Yarborough, housed at Brocklesby Hall (Lincolnshire).

Sir Worsley's large collection of gems was worth seeing: a Gem Cottage was created at Appuldercombe, his family home on the Isle of Wight. It was formed from manifold sources: the beginning is just the travel in Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece, and later by acquiring gems from famous private collections.



GENIUS of the PALESTRA

Figure 2. Cupid standing before a herma under a tree, beside it a cock. Amethyst intaglio. *Dactyl.iotheca previously Worsley, now Yarborough, Brocklesby Hall. From Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of antique Basso-relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems [...], vol. 1, London 1824.*



Figure 3. Greek inscription. Onyx cameo. *Dactyl.iotheca previously Worsley, now Yarborough, Brocklesby Hall. From Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of antique Basso-relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems [...], vol. 1, London 1824.*

The nobleman also employed celebrated contemporaries gem-engravers.

With the friendship and collaboration of the eminent antiquarian Ennio Quirino Visconti, Sir Worsley prepared a sumptuous, lavish catalogue of his collections, an illustrated description, in English and in Italian, *Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of antique Basso-relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems [...]*. The first volume appeared in 1798, the second in 1802; a new edition came out in 1824. Only a select part of the relevant dactyl.iotheca was published in the *Museum Worsleyanum*, generally the masterpieces or the most important stones: two of them were recovered in the area of Izmir.

A number of these gems, all believed to be ancient, are dubious, fictitious, probably sold as ancient and made to deceive: not even Worsley escapes mistakes in dating and forgeries.

The dactyl.iotheca previously Worsley now Yarborough, at Brocklesby Hall, is published, but without picture³⁷.

Near Izmir (in the year 1785) an irregular amethyst (or oriental garnet) intaglio, once bored longitudinally, was found in the antique gold setting worn as an ear-ring, with winged Cupid standing before an herma of Mercury under a tree; beside it a cockerel³⁸. The intaglio is praised in the *Museum Worsleyanum* as well engraved and explained as follows: «(...) represents the Genius of the Palaestra before an Herma of Mercury, the inventor of the Gymnastic Games. The cock is sacred to Mercury and, from being fond of fighting, is a proper symbol of the Athletes. A plane-tree appears in the back ground; they were commonly planted in the places resorted to in the Gymnastic exercises. The Palaestra of Sparta took the name of *Platanistas* from the plane trees that surrounded it; and in the Academy where the Athenian youths exercised, there were very large

³⁵ Of course some of the gemstones from Izmir are not included in the summary account.

See, e.g., a scaraboid with a youth with a lyre, and a scarab, where a lion attacks a bull (6th-early 5th centuries B.C.; Boardman 1968, p. 99, n. 278, plate XIX, p. 127, n. 398).

A cornelian intaglio, in a modern metal setting, with the standing winged Hygiea holding a serpent above a dish, dated to 1st century B.C. Charles Drury Edward Fortnum purchased it in Izmir and donated it to the Ashmolean Museum (1897). Fortnum, collector of considerable private means and a scholar, presented the Ashmolean with a total of 828 rings, ranging from ancient Greek to modern times (Henig, MacGregor 2004, pp. 10-11, p. 46, 2.46). Among the magical gems used by Christians, a piece from Izmir, but acquired in Ainos (Trace), formerly in the Briot collection, now in Paris (Bibliothèque

Nationale), that preserves a lengthy formula with Gnostic elements, about the god who rules everything from the middle of the heavens, along with busts of Helios and Selene and stars (Spier 2007, p. 83; Mastrocinque 2014, p. 149, n. 396). The other is a cornelian: on the side A, a Greek inscription in ten lines, on the side B, five lines of Hebrew written in concentric circles; once in Josef Keil collection, at Vienna, was purchased in Izmir and said to be from Ephesos (Spier 2007, p. 164, n. 961, plate 123).

³⁶ An extensive analysis of Worsley's tours, antiquarian studies, and collections, in Tassinari 2015, pp. 114-122; Tassinari 2022, pp. 133-145, figg. 33-49; Tassinari in press.

³⁷ Smith 1897.

³⁸ *Museum Worsleyanum* 1824, vol. I, p. 117, plate without n.; Smith 1897, p. 48, n. 86; Tassinari in press, fig. 10.

plane-trees, which were cut down in the war with Sylla»³⁹ (fig. 2).

It was found near Izmir and was previously kept in the Worsley's dactylitheca, now Yarborough, also the onyx cameo with a Greek inscription: ΔΕΦΟΥCΙΝ / ΑΘΕΛΟΥCΙΝ / ΔΕΓΕΤΩCΑΝ / ΟΥΜΕΛΙΜΟΙ (They say what they wish. Let them say. I care not)⁴⁰ (fig. 3).

The manuscript of the diary describing the gems collected by Sir Worsley, during his journey in Egypt, the Near East and Greece (1785-1787), is a meaningful testimony⁴¹. But without any illustration, the problem arises to identify the extant specimens. While the cameo is missing from the gems listed by Worsley in his manuscript, the intaglio could perhaps be identified with a «small amethyst of an oval form perforated» cited by the nobleman.

4.2 Samuel Savage Lewis

An eccentric and learned man, cleric, teacher, antiquary, Fellow and Librarian of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, the Reverend Samuel Savage Lewis (1836–1891) amassed an antiquarian eclectic, relevant collection of antiquities, which he bequeathed to the College⁴². His interests were those of the traditional, searching for illustrations of classical myths and history.

As a result, his collection of miscellaneous objects ranges from vases to sculpture, to bronzes, from the prehistoric era to the Middle Ages, but above all Greek and Roman coins (nearly 7,000) and engraved gems (nearly 400). The Lewis collection is currently on display at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, on long-term loan from Corpus Christi College.

Very often Lewis left the College – his home for many years – and went abroad, travelling to Italy, Greece, Türkiye, Russia, Algeria and Persia, visiting archaeological ruins and places, and regularly acquiring.

Enlighten on the means by which the enthusiastic Reverend formed his collection of gems and rings the following anecdotal pages, written by his famous wife Agnes Smith Lewis, in her husband's honour.

«A very curious habit was the loose way in which he carried his precious signet-gems [...]. His pockets were full of them, and so were three caskets and a Wedgwood vase packed into a stout black bag [...]. In passing through a Custom-house he would put on an old thick overcoat, which he kept only to lend to other people, and except on these occasions disdained to wear, and place the contents in its pockets. In warm weather a porter carried the overcoat, a casket sometimes appearing quite ready to drop out from an unbuttoned inner pocket»⁴³.

And «A letter, dated April 14th, 1884, from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, shows that he had got into difficulties on landing at Constantinople, owing to the signet-gems which he carried in his pockets, and had to invoke the good offices of our Ambassador»⁴⁴.

Lewis bought his gems from a variety of sources: at auctions in London and Paris, from dealers, friends and colleagues, who lived or

travelled abroad (such as Greville John Chester), during his frequent journeys, for example to Naples, Kerch, Constantinople and especially Izmir. None of them comes from a controlled archaeological excavation.

Charles William King, author of texts on engraved gems and owner of a collection, now at Metropolitan Museum of Art, had great influence on Lewis's collecting, and helped him constantly.

Lewis acquired gems more for their interesting themes, rather than their beauty as works of art. His collection contains Roman, Christian, Gnostic, Oriental intaglios and cameos; some are attributed from Renaissance to Neo-classical periods; others are of uncertain authenticity; still others are even forgeries; anyway the majority consist of intaglios of first / second century A.D.

J. Henry Middleton, Professor of Fine Art and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, catalogued the Lewis collection of gems and rings owned by Corpus Christi College (1892)⁴⁵. But in Middleton's work, containing also an introductory essay on ancient gems, very few pieces are illustrated, none by photography. Therefore, the aim of Martin Henig's catalogue is to describe with images Lewis' extensive dactylitheca⁴⁶.

The engraved gems bought in Izmir are exclusively intaglios; the dates of their acquisition, when are recorded: 1881, 1883, 1884, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891.

These intaglios display a remarkable range of subjects, styles (frequently coarse workmanship), stones, as well as periods, from Roman to «recent», as Henig defines them; in some cases the antiquity may to be doubted, often the «mistakes», the «misunderstandings» are just perceptible.

The many gems are listed below, in a very synthetic way, to give an interesting and heterogenous overview.

Several types are popular, widespread in the Roman Imperial glyptics art, such as Apollo standing, leaning on a cippus, and holding a branch (fine green plasma; 1st century A.D.)⁴⁷; Fortuna standing (yellow cornelian; 1st or 2nd century A.D.)⁴⁸; a lion walking (citrine; 1st or 2nd century A.D.)⁴⁹; Zeus Arotraios standing, holding a sceptre and a bunch of corn-ears and poppies, which he extends over an altar (chalcedony; 1st century A.D.)⁵⁰; the bust of Serapis with pantheistic attribute (cornelian; 2nd century A.D.)⁵¹; a shepherd seated on a rock, milking a goat, in front of him another goat and three kids (cornelian; 2nd century A.D.)⁵²; Asklepius and Hygieia (red jasper; 2nd century A.D.)⁵³; the two Ephesian Artemis already mentioned (sard, white jasper; 2nd century A.D.); the profile bust of a Roman lady (fine cornelian; 2nd century A.D.)⁵⁴; Helios driving the solar quadriga (very large yellow mottled agate, mounted in a silver seal; 3rd century A.D.)⁵⁵; «Hippalectryon», made of bearded head, the head and neck of a horse, a ram's head and two bird-legs (cornelian; 2nd century A.D.)⁵⁶; Chnoubis as a snake, in reverse ABPACAE (chalcedony; 3rd century A.D.)⁵⁷.

³⁹ Museum Worsleyanum 1824, p. 117.

⁴⁰ Museum Worsleyanum 1824, vol. I, p. 142, plate without n.; Smith 1897, pp. 43-44, n. 54; Tassinari in press, fig. 9.

⁴¹ A detailed analysis of this manuscript of Worsley's travel in Tassinari in press.

⁴² On the figure of Lewis, and his collections, in particular of gems, see Smith Lewis 1892; Middleton 1892; Henig 1975; Scarisbrick 1994; Spier, Vassilika 1995, p. XX.

⁴³ Smith Lewis 1892, pp. 25-26. Furthermore, see Henig 1975, p. 2, note 5; Spier, Vassilika 1995, p. 86.

⁴⁴ Smith Lewis 1892, p. 96.

⁴⁵ Middleton 1892.

⁴⁶ Henig 1975.

⁴⁷ Middleton 1892, p. 67, n. 92; Henig 1975, p. 16, n. 16, plate 1.

⁴⁸ Middleton 1892, p. 60, n. 32; Henig 1975, p. 32, n. 103, plate 7.

⁴⁹ Middleton 1892, p. 73, n. 144; Henig 1975, p. 54, n. 217, plate 13.

⁵⁰ Middleton 1892, p. 49, n. 21; Henig 1975, pp. 13-14, n. 5, plate 1.

⁵¹ Middleton 1892, p. 75, n. 173; Henig 1975, p. 35, n. 121, plate 8; Veymiers 2009, p. 364, VIEAE 5, plate 69.

⁵² Middleton 1892, p. 69, n. 104; Henig 1975, p. 51, n. 200, plate 12.

⁵³ Middleton 1892, p. 64, n. 64; Henig 1975, p. 28, n. 80, plate 5.

⁵⁴ Middleton 1892, p. 65, n. 78; Henig 1975, p. 42, n. 157, plate 10.

⁵⁵ Middleton 1892, p. 61, n. 37; Henig 1975, p. 16, n. 19, plate 2.

⁵⁶ Middleton 1892, p. 82, n. 29; Henig 1975, p. 40, n. 145, plate 9.

⁵⁷ Middleton 1892, p. 77, n. 8; Henig 1975, p. 61, n. 257, plate 15.



Figure 4.

a. Isis Pelagia standing and holding (?) a sail in one hand and a sistrum in the other, turning to face the Pharos of Alexandria. Cornelian intaglio. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

b. Isis Pelagia standing and holding (?) a sail in one hand and a sistrum in the other, turning to face the Pharos of Alexandria. Cornelian intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.



Figure 5.

a. Lion with a bull's head at his feet and on his back a Nike holding palm and wreath, in the exergue the letters C-FI. Yellow jasper intaglio. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

b. Lion with a bull's head at his feet and on his back a Nike holding palm and wreath, in the exergue the letters C-FI. Yellow jasper intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Conversely, other representations are less common or less familiar: a Dionysian worshipper who supports an amphora on a rock (green plasma; 1st century B.C.)⁵⁸; Nike holding a palm branch and a wreath, standing on the prow of a ship, behind which a dolphin (sard; 1st century B.C.)⁵⁹; a nude male figure seated facing a trophy set up by Nike, in the field ΚΑΛΙΚΤΟΥ, probably the owner's name (cornelian; 1st century B.C.)⁶⁰; a seated Sphinx with a caduceus (chalcedony; 1st century B.C. or 1st century A.D.)⁶¹; draped bust of Emperor Hadrian in profile, a tiny Nike flies towards him to crown him with a wreath (very fine cornelian; 2nd century A.D.)⁶²; Isis Pelagia standing and holding (?) a sail in one hand and a sistrum in the other, turning to face the Pharos of Alexandria (cornelian; 2nd century A.D.?)⁶³ (**fig. 4**); a group composed by Antioch, the river Orontes, Fortuna, a warrior holding a wreath (Ares / Roman Emperor) (red jasper; 2nd century A.D.)⁶⁴; a lion with a bull's head at his feet and on his back a Nike holding palm and wreath, in the exergue the letters C-FI (yellow jasper; 2nd or 3rd century A.D.)⁶⁵ (**fig. 5**); laureated bust of Emperor Caracalla, crowned by a Victory, in the field the letters H X (very fine cornelian; early 3rd century)⁶⁶;

the bust of Emperor Septimius Severus in profile, laureate, opposite the bust of his son Caracalla (red jasper; early 3rd century A.D.)⁶⁷; Athena standing, armed with spear and shield, holding a patera on a lighted altar (plasma; obverse, 1st-2nd century A.D.) and a lion walking (reverse, perhaps 3rd century A.D.)⁶⁸; a putto plucking fruit from a tree, below a Capricorn, on the other side of the tree a crater from which a goat and a ear of grain spring (cornelian; 2nd or 3rd century A.D.)⁶⁹; Constantinople enthroned over a prow, a shield at her side, wearing a helmet, holding a spear and a Nike on a globe (cornelian; 4th century)⁷⁰.

The features of other motifs, although well attested in the antiquity, express an engraver who seems not classical; so that a post-ancient dating is suggested. They are: a bust of Athena/Roma and one of Herakles (both cornelian; recent?)⁷¹; Mars standing in front of a woodpecker upon an altar (red jasper; recent?)⁷²; a beautiful bust of Apollo in profile with long curly hair and a laurel wreath, a laurel branch in the field (brown sard; recent)⁷³ (**fig. 6**); Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder and leading Ascanius by the hand (red jasper; recent)⁷⁴ (**fig. 7**).



Figure 6.

a. Bust of Apollo in profile with a laurel wreath and long curly hair, a laurel branch in the field. Brown sard intaglio. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

b. Bust of Apollo in profile with long curly hair and a laurel wreath, a laurel branch in the field. Brown sard intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

⁵⁸ Middleton 1892, p. 68, n. 98; Henig 1975, pp. 24-25, n. 62, plate 4.

⁵⁹ Middleton 1892, pp. 61-62, n. 46; Henig 1975, p. 29, n. 87, plate 6.

⁶⁰ Middleton 1892, pp. 68-69, n. 101; Henig 1975, p. 50, n. 196, plate 12.

⁶¹ Middleton 1892, p. 52, n. 46; Henig 1975, p. 45, n. 171, plate 11.

⁶² Middleton 1892, p. 66, n. 80; Henig 1975, p. 42, n. 156, plate 10.

⁶³ Middleton 1892, p. 75, n. 176; Henig 1975, p. 34, n. 113, plate 7.

⁶⁴ Middleton 1892, p. 70, n. 110; Henig 1975, p. 36, n. 128, plate 8.

⁶⁵ Middleton 1892, p. 73, n. 145; Henig 1975, p. 30, n. 93, plate 6.

⁶⁶ Middleton 1892, p. 66, n. 81; Henig 1975, p. 42, n. 158, plate 10.

⁶⁷ Middleton 1892, p. 66, n. 82; Henig 1975, pp. 42-43, n. 159, plate 10.

⁶⁸ Middleton 1892, p. 63, n. 54; Henig 1975, p. 18, n. 28, plate 2.

⁶⁹ Middleton 1892, p. 70, n. 117; Henig 1975, p. 56, n. 231, plate 14.

⁷⁰ Middleton 1892, p. 63, n. 55; Henig 1975, p. 29, n. 85, Spier 2007, p. 21, n. 32, plate 6, where full bibliography.

⁷¹ Middleton 1892, p. 62, n. 49, p. 65, n. 74; Henig 1975, p. 75, n. 343, p. 76, n. 346, plate 20.

⁷² Middleton 1892, p. 91, n. 32; Henig 1975, p. 75, n. 342, plate 20.

⁷³ Middleton 1892, p. 64, n. 68; Henig 1975, p. 74, n. 336, plate 20.

⁷⁴ Middleton 1892, p. 90, n. 19; Henig 1975, p. 77, n. 353, plate 21.



Figure 7.

a. Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder and leading Ascanius by the hand. Red jasper intaglio. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

b. Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder and leading Ascanius by the hand. Red jasper intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

4.3 Greville John Chester

One of the most prominent, assiduous and original of the donors scholarly alumni of the Oxford University, was the Reverend Greville John Chester (1830 -1892), tireless clergyman, vigorous advocate of reforms against injustice and abuse, teacher, author of a book, scholarly articles, verses, pamphlets and sermons, notable collector and student of natural science, local history and archaeology⁷⁵.

Indefatigable explorer of unknown regions, and sunny climates, he spent two years on a journey to the West Indies and the Americas; he very frequently visited Italy, North Africa, Egypt and the Levant, particularly Syria and Palestine. Thanks to these travels and a network of trusted dealers, Chester acquired thousands of artefacts on behalf of the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum.

He also sold objects to collectors (for instance to the ninth Earl of Southesk; see next paragraph), in order to finance further journeys and acquisitions.

But his attachment to his old university led him to become a prodigious donor to Oxford University. A stream of gifts flowed to the Bodleian Library, the Oxford Colleges, and the Ashmolean Museum: precious manuscripts, large packets of coins, included rarities, thousands of Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greek and Roman antiquities.

Engraved gems were among Chester's favourites small objects; although he too was taken in by fakes, he had practised eye and

wonderful discernment. He bequeathed a largest number of Greek, Hellenistic, Roman scaraboids, gems and pastes to the Ashmolean Museum⁷⁶.

All were acquired by Chester in Izmir, and presented by him to the Ashmolean Museum (1888; 1892): a green serpentine scaraboid, with a sow (early 5th century B.C.)⁷⁷; a rock crystal scaraboid, with a heron preening (last quarter of the 5th century B.C.)⁷⁸; a silver ring with a seated figure raising an arm over his head (4th century B.C.)⁷⁹; a bronze ring with Herakles standing, resting on his club, holding out his bow (mid-4th century B.C.)⁸⁰; a bronze ring with a dancing figure, apparently playing a lyre (4th century B.C.)⁸¹; a bronze ring with a woman standing, leaning her elbow on a pillar, a bird on her hand, a sceptre in the other (second half of 4th century B.C.)⁸²; a bronze ring with the bust of a young woman, perhaps a queen (probably last quarter of 3rd century B.C.)⁸³; a glass cameo with the bust of Eros in profile (1st century B.C.)⁸⁴; a chalcedony intaglio, set in a gold ring, engraved with the busts of a man and a woman, facing each other, a star and the inscription ΘΕΟ / ΔΟΤΟ in the field (3rd-early 4th century A.D.)⁸⁵.

Chester bought in Ephesus and then donated to the Ashmolean (1892) a copper alloy finger ring with a rectangular bezel engraved with a warrior looking to the right, holding a spear in his hand and a shield in the other, above a star (3rd century AD)⁸⁶.

Gems and rings in the collection housed in the British Museum are associated with Chester name, who purchased them in Izmir (1874, 1888, 1889), and sometimes are bequeathed by Sir Augustus

⁷⁵ Seidmann 2006. Furthermore, see Boardman, Vollenweider 1978; Henig, Macgregor 2004.

⁷⁶ Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, pp. 116-117, *ad vocem*; Henig, MacGregor 2004, p. 13, *ad vocem*.

⁷⁷ Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, p. 17, n. 82, plate XV.

⁷⁸ Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, pp. 24-25, n. 106, plate XIX.

⁷⁹ Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, p. 35, n. 151, plate XXVIII.

⁸⁰ Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, p. 36, n. 157, plate XXIX.

⁸¹ Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, p. 37, n. 161, plate XXX.

⁸² Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, p. 37, n. 164, plate XXX.

⁸³ Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, pp. 81-82, n. 289, plate XLVII.

⁸⁴ Henig, MacGregor 2004, p. 50, 3.26.

⁸⁵ Henig, MacGregor 2004, p. 72, 5.59.

⁸⁶ Henig, MacGregor 2004, p. 80, 7.32.

Wollaston Franks. These are: a strongly convex dark red paste set in a bronze ring with a draped female figure leaning her arm on a column and holding palm branches in hand (Hellenistic)⁸⁷ (**fig. 8a-b**); the aforementioned onyx intaglio with Ephesian Artemis; a rock crystal intaglio with a cornucopia and the letter E (Graeco-Roman)⁸⁸ (**fig. 9**); a chalcedony ring with plain hoop and flattened bezel (Roman)⁸⁹ (**fig. 10a-b**); an Ottoman copper alloy ring with a lenticular bezel engraved with Arabic inscription (14th century A.D.)⁹⁰ (**fig. 11**).

A tangible proof of cosmopolitan Izmir's market, the widespread circulation and trade: a late Byzantine (13th century A.D.) cameo in opaque red glass, with the figure of St. Christopher and the Latin inscription S. CRISTOFOR(i), made in Venice, but acquired by Chester in Izmir⁹¹ (**fig. 12**).



Figure 8. a, b Female figure leaning her arm on a column and holding palm branches in hand. Dark red glass intaglio set in a bronze ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.



Figure 9. A cornucopia and the letter E. Rock crystal intaglio. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.



Figure 10. a, b Chalcedony ring with plain hoop and flattened bezel. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

⁸⁷ Marshall 1907, p. 202, n. 1287; Walters 1926, p. 140, n. 1235.

⁸⁸ Walters 1926, p. 257, n. 2618, plate XXIX.

⁸⁹ Marshall 1907, p. 234, n. 1603.

⁹⁰ Dalton 1912, p. 327, n. 2351.

⁹¹ Wentzel 1959.



Figure 11. Arabic inscription. Copper alloy ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 12. St. Christopher and the Latin inscription S. CRISTOFOR(i). Red glass cameo. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

4.4 James Carnegie, ninth Earl of Southesk

Scottish writer, poet and explorer, member of the Royal

Geographical Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, James Carnegie, ninth Earl of Southesk (Edinburgh, November 16, 1827 - Kinnaird Castle, Brechin in Angus, February 21, 1905)⁹², practically rebuilt Kinnaird Castle, the family residence, where he collected old pictures, books and gems, with cultivated taste and thoroughness. He began his conspicuous dactyliothea in 1878, apart from a few pieces acquired earlier⁹³. A considerable proportion of it come from collections sold at public auction, in London and in Paris; others gems are obtained by private purchase from well-know collectors or derive directly from the East, Costantinople, Bagdad and Athens.

The catalogue of this collection, edited by his daughter, Lady Helena Carnegie, displays a wide range of themes and stones: scarabs, scaraboids, intaglios and cameos, Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Persian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Gnostic, post-classical. Four of them pertain to Izmir.

Only one is now in a large private dactyliothea, created from 1921 through the 1960s from various sources, including many examples of previous collections that had come on to the market, such as the Southesk⁹⁴. It is a cornelian intaglio in a gold ring with a Niobid supporting the body of her brother dying, who holds a downturned torch, symbol of death. This piece, dated to second/first century B.C., belonged to professor Rhousopoulos in Athens, who informed the Earl of Southesk that it came from Izmir⁹⁵.

A intricate image is depicted on a haematite intaglio, engraved in both fields, heavily corroded, mounted in a gold swivel: a Genius winged, with legs in the shape of lion-headed serpents, a draped male figure with wings and a scepter in each hand, a seated ibis, a naked man riding on lion, a recumbent corpse, Isis standing, an Abraxas deity, Greek letters scattered. This intaglio was bought from Stilianopoulos, at Izmir, in 1882⁹⁶.

The other two pieces belonged to the small collection of Van Loo, in Izmir, which was forwarded to Carnegie, for his inspection and acquired by the nobleman in 1900.

The first is a octagonal conoid seal in a pretty sapphirine chalcedony, set in a silver mount (Persian?), with a winged gryphon walking towards a fir branch planted⁹⁷. The second is a black jasper scaraboid, with a kneeling bull (6th-early 5th century B.C.)⁹⁸.

4.5 Augustus Wollaston Franks

A crucial figure in determining the whole shape of the British Museum, playing a central role in the establishment of today impressive British Museum's collections, is Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (Geneva, March 20, 1826-London, May 21, 1897)⁹⁹. Born into a wealthy, privileged family, heir to a long line of collectors, attending Eton and Cambridge, where he graduated, Franks was a scholar, curator, advisor, an insatiable collector, donor and lender.

Franks' long career at the British Museum began in 1851 with his appointment as an assistant in the Department of Antiquities. He went on to serve as the first Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography in the British Museum (1866-1896). His whole time, energies, and ample means were entirely devoted to the development, enrichment, and rise in status of the collections under his care. His scientific, taxonomic and systematic approach to the the strategy of acquiring and arranging the ob-

⁹² Fryer 1912.

⁹³ Carnegie 1908, p. VII.

⁹⁴ Wagner, Boardman 2003, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Carnegie 1908, pp. 72-73, E 29, plate V; Wagner, Boardman 2003, p. 29, n. 187, plate 33.

⁹⁶ Carnegie 1908, pp. 175-176, N 55.

⁹⁷ Carnegie 1908, p. 213, O 33, plate XVII.

⁹⁸ Carnegie 1908, p. 214, O 34, plate XVII; Boardman 1968, p. 144, n. 482, plate XXXIII.

⁹⁹ On Franks' biography, his role within the broader institutional history of the British Museum and his contribution to the British Museum collections, Read 1901; Wilson 1984; Caygill, Cherry 1997; Coolidge Rousmaniere 2008; Wilson 2014; Donnelly 2018.

jects, his understanding of the social and intellectual function of the Museum, marked a new era of specialized curatorship.

The personal and professional networks Franks developed with art dealers, private collectors and museum colleagues in Britain and on the Continent, his unrivalled insight into the circulation of art objects on the market, his wide ranging knowledge, his determination to obtain targeted and specific specimens, his ability, enabled him to locate the most valuable acquisitions early, to examine carefully before, commissioning the dealer to bid on lots at the auction on the Museum's behalf, using both Museum funds and his own money to acquire the objects.



Figure 13. a, b Dionysos leaning against a column, a crescent of gold and another of silver on each side. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.



Figure 14. a, b Portrait head of a Ptolemaic queen. Cameo in a gold-plated bronze ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

He was well established within the archaeological and antiquarian community, member of the Cambridge Architectural Society, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the Cambridge Camden Society, the Society of Antiquaries (he also occupied the responsible post of director), the Archaeological Institute, where he arranged the collections and organised events, Fellow of The Royal Academy, honorary member of the principal foreign learned societies. His services to the British Museum were recognized by the award of a Knight Commander of the Bath.

Franks's chief publications are the catalogues of the Museum's collections, particularly on porcelain, and contributions to *Archaeologia* and *Proceedings*.

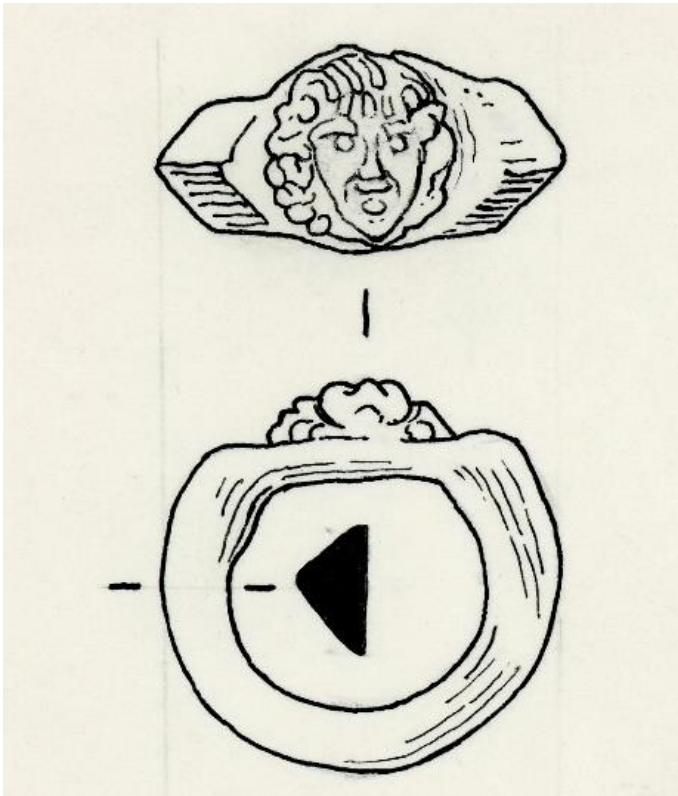


Fig 15. a Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Drawing by Marion Cox or Susan Bird.

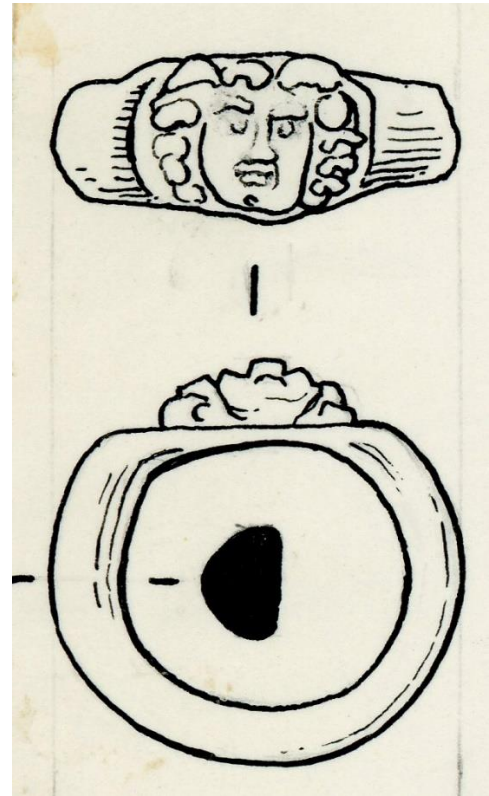


Figure 16. a Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Drawing by Marion Cox or Susan Bird.



Figure 15. b-c Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Figure 16. b-c Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.



Figure 17. a, b Female head. Sard intaglio in a gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

He became a leading authority, as well known abroad as at home, with a sphere of influence and a significant impact that facilitated the propagation of modern curatorial practice.

It is due to Franks's powers of persuasion, the charm of his personality, his success in attracting private donations and gifts, that many antiquarians, private collectors, connoisseurs and friends bequeathed their collections to the British Museum. And to the same Museum passed, with Franks's will, the whole of his immense and miscellaneous collections (1897).

His extraordinary legacy also includes jewellery, finger rings, engraved stones.

The purpose of this article, the main subject – the gems / pastes – and the space limited do not allow to be exhaustive and to provide a complete illustration of the admirable body of precious material of Frank bequest that have a Izmir provenance. However on a very simplistic level the list that can be drawn up from largely published jewelry offers an illuminating indication of the great and varied range, embracing all the periods, materials, qualities.

Thereafter, it suffices to note: are purchased from Izmir, Archaic, Roman, early Christian, Byzantine, Mediaeval and Modern rings, in silver, bronze, and iron, ending with snakes' heads, or with a bezel engraved with an inscription, a name, some characters, a cruciform monogram, or with the bust of a saint, standing figures in the attitude of praying, with male and female heads confronted, or other devices such as a palm tree between two birds, a lion with letters, a bird and three branches, a double-headed eagle, a small

heart-shaped figure surrounded by scrolls¹⁰⁰. A fine gold ring shows a pierced hoop of three horizontal bands ornamented, enclosing four open-work medallions each containing a cross¹⁰¹, while a complicated gold ring (5th century (?) A.D.), made of seven oval medallions, is engraved with standing similar figures, and the applied oval bezel with Our Lord (?) seated, with his hand raised in the attitude of benediction¹⁰². In another very beautiful gold ring the hoop is granulated and set with eleven rubies; the rectangular bezel is ornamented on the sides and contains a dark green stone (16th century)¹⁰³.



Figure 18. a, b Fortuna with cornucopia and steering oar. Sardonyx intaglio in a gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Acquired in Izmir, bequeathed by Frank is the considerable amount of gold, bronze, iron, and glass rings in which is inserted an intaglio, a cameo, a paste; or with the bezel ornamented with engraved design.

An iron ring bezel with engraved Dionysos leaning against a column, a crescent of gold and another of silver on each side (4th cen-

¹⁰⁰ Marshall 1907, pp. 164-165, nn. 1023-1024, plate XXVI, p. 226, n. 1479, plate XXXIII; Dalton 1912, pp. 13-14, 20, 23, nn. 70, 74, 78, 81, 123, 126, 141-142, 145, p. 102, n. 669, pp. 325, 327, nn. 2341, 2354.

¹⁰¹ Dalton 1912, p. 22, n. 132.

¹⁰² Dalton 1912, p. 19, n. 112.

¹⁰³ Dalton 1912, p. 269, n. 1905.

tury B.C. circa)¹⁰⁴ (fig. 13a-b); a gold-plated bronze ring with a cameo depicting a portrait head of a Ptolemaic queen (2nd century B.C. circa)¹⁰⁵ (fig. 14a-b); two dark green glass rings with mask of Medusa in relief in opaque glass (late Greek)¹⁰⁶ (figg. 15a-c, 16a-c); a sard intaglio, cut into the exact shape of the design, with a female head wearing wreath, inserted in a gold ring (Graeco-Roman)¹⁰⁷ (fig. 17a-b); a sardonyx intaglio in the shape of a truncated cone, set in a gold ring, shows Fortuna with cornucopia and steering oar (3rd century A.D.)¹⁰⁸ (fig. 18a-b); a bronze gilded ring, where is inset a round shell cameo, with the letter K within a circular border (3rd century A.D.)¹⁰⁹ (fig. 19a-b); an antique carbuncle intaglio with a Medusa head, mounted in a silver gilt ring dated 18th century A.D.¹¹⁰.

Stand out for their superlative quality two gold rings. The first is a massive ring that bears a chased frontal head of Medusa, with protruding tongue, and below a dolphin (350-330 B.C.)¹¹¹ (fig. 20). On the bezel of the other ring is engraved a woman, in chiton and himation, standing before an altar upon which is an eagle; she is about to place an offering, taken from a casket. Ascribed 350 B.C. circa, excavated at Phocaea, it was purchased by Franks from Alfred John Lawson (1893) at Izmir (fig. 21a-c)¹¹².

4.6 Edward Perry Warren

Born into a wealthy family, Edward Perry Warren (Waltham, Massachusetts, January 8, 1860-London, December 28, 1928)¹¹³, graduated from Harvard, moved to Oxford, where he met John Marshall (1862-1928), archaeologist, finest authority on Greek and Roman antiquities, with whom he formed a close and lifelong relationship and lived together at Lewes House, a large residence in Sussex.

Several studies demonstrate that Warren influenced the rise of art history and archaeology in academic institutions in the United States and the development of public collections of Greek and Roman art. Moreover in partnership with Marshall they purchased and secured for American collections classical antiquities that have been pivotal in developing the American scholarship. Warren himself was an indefatigable collector, acquiring thousands of antiquities, many of which he donated or sold especially to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

His homosexuality impacted his tastes: he was a “pioneer” in collecting items, with explicit depiction of erotic scenes. Thus, he published works proposing an idealized view of same-sex relationships, similar to those in classical Greece.

So far as concerns intaglios and cameos, Warren was a connoisseur; for instance, he proposed to the Boston Museum to buy the celebrated Malborough gems. High is the standard Warren set himself bringing together his museum, chiefly during the years 1895 to 1904. He purchased engraved gems from every source: distinguished antiquarian dealers, at Italian classical sites, in Paris, in Italy, in Greece, and also in Izmir. He bought many gems of the cabinet auctioned and dispersed of one of the outstanding experts

on intaglios and cameos: the Polish Count Michael Tyszkiewicz (1828-1897)¹¹⁴.



Figure 19. a. b Letter K within a circular border. Shell cameo in a bronze gilded ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

¹⁰⁴ Marshall 1907, p. 223, n. 1457.

¹⁰⁵ Marshall 1907, p. 201, n. 1275, plate XXXI.

¹⁰⁶ Marshall 1907, p. 231, nn. 1573-1574, plate XXXIV; Walters 1926, p. 365, nn. 3907-3908.

¹⁰⁷ Marshall 1907, p. 75, n. 422, plate XIII; Walters 1926, p. 234, n. 2291, fig. 62.

¹⁰⁸ Marshall 1907, p. 87, n. 507, plate XIV; Walters 1926, p. 187, n. 1741.

¹⁰⁹ Marshall 1907, p. 215, n. 1399, plate XXXII; Walters 1926, p. 350, n. 3717.

¹¹⁰ Dalton 1912, p. 100, n. 658.

¹¹¹ Marshall 1907, p. 19, n. 94, plate IV; Williams and Ogden 1994, p. 105, n. 59, where other bibliographic references.

¹¹² Marshall 1907, p. 13, n. 59, plate II; Williams, Ogden 1994, p. 105, n. 58, where other bibliographic references.

¹¹³ For a portrayal of Warren (context, biography, family, his circle, many works, collections), see Sox 1991; Boardman 1999; Vermeule 2002; Sox 2005; Murley 2012; Warren 2013. In particular on the collection of engraved gems: Caskey 1928; Beazley 1920; Boardman 1999; Beazley 2002; Murley 2012, pp. 261-271, pp. 506-513, 518, fig. 108-115, 120.

¹¹⁴ See Kazimierczak 2004; Kazimierczak 2007; Kazimierczak 2018 (essential bibliography).



Figure 20. Head of Medusa, with below a dolphin. Gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Amateur Egyptologist, he largely promoted the development of archaeology and ancient art history; he collected antiquities, many of great scientific interest, ranked among the most valuable European ones, now kept in European and American museums. Tyszkiewicz developed his impressive network of contacts with dealers, antiquarians and collectors during his travels and having settling in Naples and Rome, where he conducted archaeological excavations. His admired dactylothea included examples of Hittite seals, Etruscan, Greek and Roman scarabs, intaglios and cameos. Warren stored his engraved gems in his property (Lewes House); afterwards he offered them to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, to keep them together and in familiar area; the Museum acquired them from the income of the Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912: the total number is one hundred and ninety-seven pieces, including thirty added by Warren as gifts.

Before going to Boston the gems were catalogued by John Davidson Beazley¹¹⁵ – a frequent visitor to Lewes House and one of the influential scholars who were part of Warren's circle of men interested in art and antiquities – who described and illustrated one hundred and thirty-five pieces. But after that year the collection has been enriched by a number of fine intaglios.

Warren's dactylothea includes Cretan, Mycenaean, Mesopotamian, Persian seals, Etruscan scarabs, Greek, Hellenistic and Roman intaglios, very few cameos, and post-classical intaglios. Many of these gems have long been known to specialists – some are illustrated in Furtwängler's great work, *Die Antiken Gemmen* –, some are famous masterpieces, such as a garnet with a very deep representation of the dog Sirius frontal head, by the artist Gaios, passed to the cabinet of Lord Chesterfield, to Bessborough, and thence to the Duke of Marlborough¹¹⁶.



Figs 21. a–b. Woman standing and holding a small seed or piece of incense on an altar, upon which is an eagle. Gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum

¹¹⁵ Beazley 1920; Beazley 2002. See also Boardman 1999.

¹¹⁶ Beazley 1920, pp. 95-96, n. 114, plate 5; Beazley 2002, p. 71, n. 114, plate 23.



Figure 21. c Woman standing and holding a small seed or piece of incense on an altar, upon which is an eagle. Gold ring. Cast. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

According to Warren's records, all bought in Izmir (December 1901, only one March 1903) and now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, are intaglios dated to Achaemenid, Greek, Hellenistic, Roman Imperial, and probably modern periods.

Two pyramidal seals in chalcedony date from the Achaemenid period: one with a female figure holding a flower in her hand and facing a male figure, whose arms are outstretched towards her; the other with a hunting scene¹¹⁷. Notable is an intaglio in red jasper (early to mid 1st century B.C.) with the head of Tigranes II of Armenia, the Great, who wears the Armenian tiara¹¹⁸. An intaglio in banded agate with a naked warrior standing with his leg on a rock has been dated to the 3rd century B.C. (although this is doubtful in my opinion)¹¹⁹. A red jasper intaglio (1st century A.D.), set in a beautiful massive gold ring, shows Asklepius standing frontally and looking to the right; his chest is bare and his lower body is wrapped in a *himation*; he holds a staff around which a snake is coiled¹²⁰ (fig. 22). A magical intaglio in rock crystal, inscribed in Greek on the reverse, depicts a male solar deity with a human body and a lion's head, holding a globe and a whip (mid 2nd-3rd century A.D.)¹²¹. I think that the beautiful intaglio in black jasper, dated late Republican or early Imperial or Modern (?) period, belongs to 19th century; it depicts the bust of Artemis, with a mass of curls also at the back of her head, a thin fillet, and a small crescent moon atop head; behind her shoulder a quiver with three arrows; in front a bow¹²² (fig. 23).

¹¹⁷ Accession Number 01.7602; Accession Number 03.1012.

¹¹⁸ Accession Number 01.7595.

¹¹⁹ Accession Number 01.7541.

¹²⁰ Accession Number 01.7599.

¹²¹ Accession Number 01.7556.

¹²² Accession Number 01.7575.

4.7 Alfred John Lawson

A British employee of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, a numismatist active in Izmir, and a member of the Royal Numismatic Society, was Alfred John Lawson (1838-1921)¹²³. He sold Greek and Roman coins to the British Museum, a number of Izmir terracottas to the Louvre, and contributed a few Classical terracottas from Myrina to the exhibition of Greek ceramic art held in London. The French archaeologist and numismatist Arthur Engel, who published a catalogue of some Greek coins owned by Lawson, noted that the Lawson *médailleur* was the finest and most interesting of the private collections in Izmir.

Deserve to be noted the two pieces purchased by the British Museum from Lawson. One is the already mentioned wonderful golden ring, unearthed in Phocaea, with a woman standing before an altar (fig. 21a-c). The other, in green jasper, is very interesting, although the workmanship is crude: a Byzantine cameo (12th century A.D.), pierced with two holes at top, with the Virgin standing, holding the child in her arm and a few Greek letters in the field¹²⁴ (fig. 24).

Purchased by Richard Norton from Lawson (February 9, 1909) are two carnelian intaglios, dated to 1st century B.C., in the Museum of Fine Arts. In the first, set in a modern ring, the bust of a youth (Herakles?), facing left, with short curly hair; it shows a high degree of both modeling and the details¹²⁵ (fig. 25). In the other there is the top of a bearded herm, in profile¹²⁶.



Figure 22. Asklepius standing, wrapped in a himation, holding a staff around which a snake is coiled. Red jasper intaglio in a gold ring. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹²³ See Engel 1884, pp. 22-35; Spier, Vassilika 1995, p. 89; Rous, Laugier, Martinez 2009, p. 231, *ad vocem*; Merrillees 2017, pp. 139-140.

¹²⁴ Dalton 1915, p. 3, n. 13.

¹²⁵ Accession Number 09.67.

¹²⁶ Accession Number 09.68.



Figure 23. Bust of Artemis with a small crescent moon atop head, a quiver behind her shoulder and a bow in front. Black jasper intaglio. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

4.8 Other gems from Izmir in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston

The collections of the Museum of Fine Arts contain further objects which, according to archival card, are said to be from the Izmir art market.

A meaningful testimony of the circulation of gems, beyond the original findspot and a appreciated gift is a gold bracelet with an engraved gem in rock crystal depicting a female head wearing a necklace and earrings, dated to the late 4th-3rd century B.C.¹²⁷. This jewel was found near Izmir (his hometown) by Telemachus Thomas Timayenis (1853-1918), a Greek-American professor, novelist, and playwright. He was a professor of classical Greek at the New York Hellenic Institute and the Chautauqua School of Languages; he was also the director of the New York School of Languages. Timayenis published and edited a monthly Greek-American newspaper, *The Eastern and Western Review*¹²⁸. So Timayenis sold the jewel to «a class of young ladies», who gave it to the MFA through Miss Bessie Andrew Talbot, on June 24, 1887.

Burton Yost Berry (1901 - 1985)¹²⁹ was an American diplomat and collector of art, coins, gems, and jewelry. In his political career, Berry served as Consul to Istanbul, Athens, Bucharest, as Ambassador to Iraq, as Director of the State Department's Office of African, South Asian and Near East Affairs. Many of the coins were donated to the American Numismatic Society, while gems and

jewelry to the Indiana University Art Museum, at Bloomington. Berry published also a catalogue of his collection of gems¹³⁰. His gift to the Museum (October 15, 1969): a scaraboid, pierced vertically, in golden brown agate with white bands, where a nude man walks with a stick, gesturing towards a seated dog in front; a crescent in the field (2nd-1st century B.C.)¹³¹.

Two intaglios have been purchased (October 17, 1963) by the Museum from Euripides Sepheriades, a coin collector active in Athens in the 1950s and 60s¹³². The first is a scarab intaglio – East Greek, about 500 B.C. – in orange carnelian with stripes (red, brown, and gray), pierced horizontally: a goat is milked by a seated figure, a shepherd or a satyr¹³³. The other is an intaglio in green jasper where Mars stands in battle dress, with helmet, cuirass, shield and spear (1st-2nd century A.D.)¹³⁴.

5. A fruitful gift

A very well-known episode offers a clear indication of both the potential of the Izmir glyptic market and the opportunity to acquire gems from the neighbouring sites. The influential Venetian politician and collector Girolamo Zulian (1730-1795), from a noble family, patron of artists, great friend and protector of Antonio Canova, ambassador in Rome, keen on antiquities and artworks, put together a valuable museum¹³⁵.

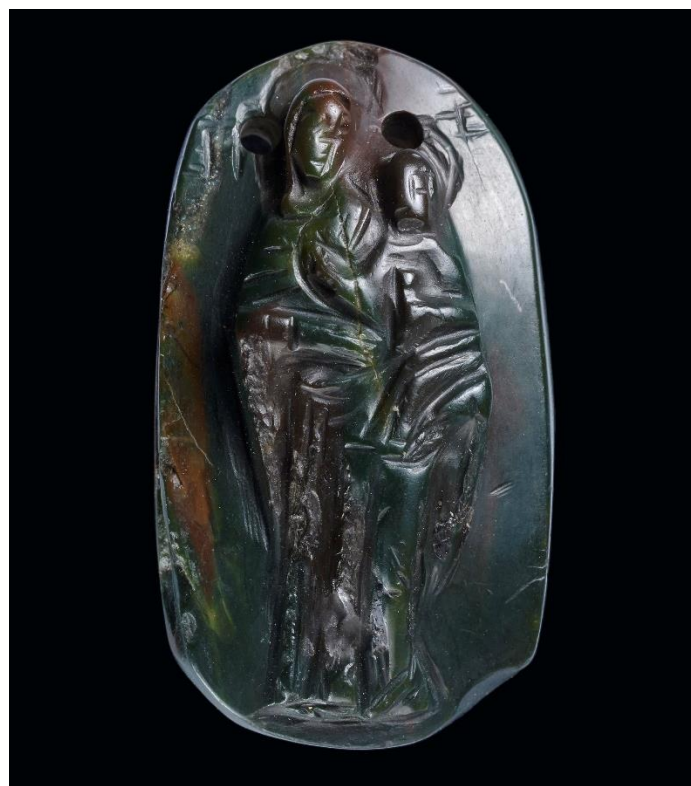


Figure 24. Virgin standing and holding the child in arm, some letters in the field. Cameo in green jasper. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

¹²⁷ Accession Number 87.60.

¹²⁸ <http://www.geniimagazine.com> > T.T. Timayenis.

¹²⁹ Berry, Burton Y. - ARCHER American Numismatic Society, <http://numismatics.org> > authority.

¹³⁰ Berry 1968.

¹³¹ Accession Number 69.1208.

¹³² Sepheriades, Euripides S. - ARCHER American Numismatic Society, <http://numismatics.org> > authority.

¹³³ Accession Number 63.1520; Vermeule 1966, p. 19, n. 1.

¹³⁴ Accession Number 63.1522; Vermeule 1966, p. 27, n. 13.

¹³⁵ On Zulian and his collections, De Paoli 1998; Materassi 2006; De Paoli 2008.



Figure 25. Bust of a youth (Herakles?) with short curly hair. Carnelian intaglio. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 26. Raphael Morghen. Plate engraved for *Osservazioni di Ennio Quirino Visconti sopra un antico cammeo rappresentante Giove Egioco*. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

During the years of his mandate in Constantinople (1783-1788), he received one of his most loved pieces: the cameo depicting the bust of Jupiter Egioco, nowadays preserved in the National Archaeological Museum of Venice¹³⁶. It was Luca Drigon Cortazzi, Venetian consul in Izmir, who gave it to Zulian in the successful attempt to be reconfirmed in the office.

This sardonix cameo with several strata, whose dating ranges from Hellenistic to Hadrianic age, unearthed in Ephesus shortly before 1787, is a masterpiece, albeit fragmentary. Once come back to Venice, it was sent to Rome so that Canova could give his opinion on it.

Due to its special value, the cameo achieved instant fame and enjoyed great appreciation and popularity, as evidenced from the numerous post-classical versions and the dissertations, such as that of the scholar and book collector Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna¹³⁷. Ennio Quirino Visconti wrote a brief essay about it, printed in 1793, with the etching by Raphael Morghen, and widespread (fig. 26)¹³⁸.

Zulian bequeathed his collection, including intaglios and cameos, to the city of Venice, to the public Museum of St. Mark's Library. The French commissioners, in charge of moving works of art from Venice to revolutionary France as war contributions, transferred the cameo to Paris (Cabinet des Antiques, Bibliothèque Nationale); in 1815 it returned again.

It is fitting to recall here to render the connoisseurial acumen of Zulian in glyptic world, and consequentially at which high level the gift of Cortazzi should be to obtain the achievement. Zulian commissioned a cameo to Giovanni Pichler, the most celebrated gem-engraver in the 18th century: although he really wanted to have it very much, he knew that the artist should not be urged. But then Zulian was very happy to change the Pichler cameo with another, because it seemed bad to him. Furthermore Zulian returned another gem engraved by Pichler, both because of the price too high to him, and because he considered it neither a beautiful antique, nor a beautiful modern piece¹³⁹.

Having gathered for the first time the information about gems dealers, collectors and unscrupulous forgers in Izmir, the results of this summarized account provide new and clear evidence of the variety of the picture emerged. Certainly, we may assume that the intended research has given and even more will give further valuable indications, considerable advances in our knowledge and fundamental achievements to state the Izmir's leading role in the gemstone market.

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¹³⁶ On the story of the cameo and its success, Sperti 1993; Sena Chiesa 1997, pp. 126-129; De Paoli 1997, p. 292, n. 346; De Paoli 1998, pp. 25-26; Nardelli 1999, pp. 95-96, n. 55; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 2007, p. 236, n. 434 (with further bibliography); De Paoli 2008, p. 88; De Paoli 2013, pp. 79-80; Catra 2017, pp.

158-159, 168, fig.1.7.

¹³⁷ Cicogna 1865.

¹³⁸ Visconti 1793.

¹³⁹ Tassinari 2012, pp. 21, 24.

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FIGURE CAPTIONS AND PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1a. Fortuna/Tyche standing and holding a cornucopia and a rudder. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 32.

Fig. 1b. Bust of Artemis, with a quiver and a bow over her shoulders. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 40.

Fig. 1c. Rider with the chlamys flying out behind, moving on his horse. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 54.

Fig. 1d. Eagle with wings spread catches a hare under its claws. Glass intaglio found at Sardis. From J. De Rose Evans, *Glass Intaglios of the Roman Imperial Period from Sardis*, 2019, fig. 56.

Fig. 2. Cupid standing before a herma under a tree, beside it a cock. Amethyst intaglio. Dactylionthea previously Worsley, now Yarborough, Brocklesby Hall. From *Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of antique Basso-relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems [...]*, vol. 1, London 1824.

Fig. 3. Greek inscription. Onyx cameo. Dactylionthea previously Worsley, now Yarborough, Brocklesby Hall. From *Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of antique Basso-relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems [...]*, vol. 1, London 1824.

Fig. 4a. Isis Pelagia standing and holding (?) a sail in one hand and a sistrum in the other, turning to face the Pharos of Alexandria. Cornelian intaglio. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 4b. Isis Pelagia standing and holding (?) a sail in one hand and a sistrum in the other, turning to face the Pharos of Alexandria. Cornelian intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 5a. Lion with a bull's head at his feet and on his back a Nike holding palm and wreath, in the exergue the letters C-FL. Yellow jasper intaglio.

Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 5b. Lion with a bull's head at his feet and on his back a Nike holding palm and wreath, in the exergue the letters C-FI. Yellow jasper intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 6a. Bust of Apollo in profile with a laurel wreath and long curly hair, a laurel branch in the field. Brown sard intaglio. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 6b. Bust of Apollo in profile with long curly hair and a laurel wreath, a laurel branch in the field. Brown sard intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 7a. Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder and leading Ascanius by the hand. Red jasper intaglio. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 7b. Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder and leading Ascanius by the hand. Red jasper intaglio. Cast. Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Figs 8a–b. Female figure leaning her arm on a column and holding palm branches in hand. Dark red glass intaglio set in a bronze ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Fig. 9. A cornucopia and the letter E. Rock crystal intaglio. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Figs 10a–b. Chalcedony ring with plain hoop and flattened bezel. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Fig. 11. Arabic inscription. Copper alloy ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 12. St. Christopher and the Latin inscription S. CRISTOFOR(i). Red glass cameo. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figs 13a–b. Dionysos leaning against a column, a crescent of gold and another of silver on each side. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Figs 14a–b. Portrait head of a Ptolemaic queen. Cameo in a gold-plated bronze ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Fig. 15a. Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Drawing by Marion Cox or Susan Bird.

Figs 15b–c. Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Fig. 16a. Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Drawing by Marion Cox or Susan Bird.

Figs 16b–c. Mask of Medusa. Glass cameo in dark green glass ring.

London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Figs 17a–b. Female head. Sard intaglio in a gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Figs 18a–b. Fortuna with cornucopia and steering oar. Sardonyx intaglio in a gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Figs 19a–b. Letter K within a circular border. Shell cameo in a bronze gilded ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by A. Masson-Berghoff.

Fig. 20. Head of Medusa, with below a dolphin. Gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figs 21a–b. Woman standing and holding a small seed or piece of incense on an altar, upon which is an eagle. Gold ring. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 21c. Woman standing and holding a small seed or piece of incense on an altar, upon which is an eagle. Gold ring. Cast. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 22. Asklepius standing, wrapped in a *himation*, holding a staff around which a snake is coiled. Red jasper intaglio in a gold ring. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 23. Bust of Artemis with a small crescent moon atop head, a quiver behind her shoulder and a bow in front. Black jasper intaglio. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 24. Virgin standing and holding the child in arm, some letters in the field. Cameo in green jasper. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 25. Bust of a youth (Herakles?) with short curly hair. Carnelian intaglio. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 26. Raphael Morghen. Plate engraved for *Osservazioni di Ennio Quirino Visconti sopra un antico cammeo rappresentante Giove Egioco*. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.