

ENGRAVED GEMS FROM ANDETRIUM IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN ZAGREB¹

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This paper analyses 11 engraved gems from Gornji Muć. They belong to the collection of Roman engraved gems in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and were acquired in the 19th century by Mijo Jerko Granić, the priest of Gornji Muć. These gems were

found in Gornji Muć, which was the location of the Roman auxiliary fort of Andetrium, and therefore add to our knowledge of Roman gems from military sites in Croatia.

Key words:

Andetrium, Gornji Muć, Dalmatia, engraved gems, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

Introduction

Among its numerous Roman finds and monuments, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb holds a collection of Roman engraved gems, which contains more than 400 items.² The largest part of the collection was formed during the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century. Despite the fact that almost all of the gems in the collection were gathered as stray finds, the majority of them have a recorded provenance.³ That allows us to examine a group of engraved gems from Gornji Muć, where ancient *Andetrium*, an important military site in Dalmatia, was located.

Andetrium, a hillfort of the Delmatae, was one of the last Delmataean strongholds conquered during the Great Illyrian Revolt in 6 – 9 AD.⁴ The Romans built an auxiliary fort of the same name in the nearby area, and later a civilian settlement developed there as well.⁵ The exact positions of both the Delmataean hillfort and the Roman auxiliary fort within the Muć Valley remain uncertain. The site of Čukova Greda is a possible location of the Delmataean hillfort, while for the Roman fort and civilian settlement the locations of Ordžija and Dobreč have been proposed.⁶

1 This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project 'Understanding Roman Borders. The Case of the Eastern Adriatic (IP-2018-01-4934)'.
2

Numbering more than 400 Roman engraved gems, the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb is one of the largest glyptic collections in Croatia. (For glyptics in Croatia, see Nardelli 2011a, 1, n. 4 and Nardelli 2012, 133–134, n. 3.) The collection is only partially published, with F. Maixner (1881a; 1881b) being the first to publish the gems collected up till 1881. (He published 127 items.) In 1942, M. Šeper published a doctoral dissertation on the magical gems of the former Yugoslavia, which included four magical gemstones from the collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Šeper 1942, 12, 14–15, cat. nos 7–8, 15–16). In 1958, I. Degmedžić published four gemstones from Sisak engraved with zodiac signs (Degmedžić 1958). After that, the gems were only published occasionally, mainly as part of several variously themed ex-

hibitions (Rendić-Miočević 1987; Larese, Nardelli (eds.) 1991; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1993a; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1993b). Some 477 gems from the collection have been analysed in an unpublished PhD thesis (Kaić 2013), with several items published afterwards (Kaić 2015; 2017; 2020; 2021). For a detailed account of the publications on engraved gems from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, see Kaić 2017, 479, no. 1.

3 They were found at various sites in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina that once lay in the Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Pannonia, Dalmatia and Upper Moesia. Of only 18 percent of the engraved gems in the collection, the finding site is not known (Kaić 2013, 69–73).

4 Bekić 2011, 315; Cesarik 2018, 54.

5 Bekić 2011, 315.

6 Bekić 2011.

Finds of Roman epigraphic inscriptions and military stamps reveal the names of the auxiliary troops which were stationed in *Andetrium* up into the 3rd century AD (*cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *cohors III Alpinorum equitata* and *cohors I Belgarum*).⁷

After the departure of the auxiliary troops during the 3rd century AD, the civilian settlement acquired the character of a Late Antique castrum.⁸ Finds of military equipment dated to the 4th and 5th centuries AD, as well as coins of the Byzantine emperor Justin, show that the castrum existed until the middle of the 6th century AD or the beginning of the 7th century AD.⁹

History of the *Andetrian* gems in the collection

It is worth noting that, within this collection, among all the engraved gems from Dalmatia with a known findspot, the gems from Gornji Muć (10 engraved gems, 6 glass gems and one glass cameo) are second in number, exceeded only by the engraved gems from Salona (about 40 items).¹⁰ To this number we should also add a cornelian found at Ordžija, near Gornji Muć.

All the gems were obtained by the local parish priest, Mijo Jerko Granić, an amateur archaeologist, who handed them to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.¹¹ He was a friend and associate of Šime Ljubić, then director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.¹² It was this very priest, Granić, who discovered one of the most important of Croatian archaeological monuments: an architrave with the name of the Croatian duke Branimir and the year 888.¹³ In the course of further construction activities on the site of the parish church of St Peter in Gornji Muć, Mijo Jerko Granić conducted amateur archaeological excavations as well, which yielded numerous Roman finds.¹⁴

From 1872 until 1886, Mijo Jerko Granić maintained a lively correspondence with Šime Ljubić, regularly informing him of his archaeological endeavours in Gornji Muć.¹⁵ In several letters the priest described how he found carved “pebbles”, as he affectionately called the engraved gems. In a letter, dated 12th May 1873, Granić mentioned three pebbles (one of which had an inscription GRE/GORI/VIVAS) he had found during the excavations of Saint Peter’s Church in Gornji Muć.¹⁶ From the preserved list of donations to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, compiled by Šime Ljubić in the period of 1868 to 1875,



FIGURE 1. Jupiter, a chalcedony, inv. no. A-16002 (photo by I. Krajcar).

we learn that Mijo Jerko Granić gave several pebbles to the Museum in 1873.¹⁷ Among them, 8 engraved gems were listed as follows: two were without engravings, two were partially broken, but one among them carried a depiction of Victoria with a wreath, one gemstone engraved with a cornucopia, the above-mentioned gemstone with an inscription, a gemstone showing an armed figure (perhaps Mars?) and a gemstone from Ordžija, depicting “Theseus” and Medusa.¹⁸

In a letter dated 29th May 1879, Mijo Jerko Granić describes a little pebble carved with an inscription (ARMC/A PALM/PANVM/ELIA/PTOL M) and the figure of Apollo with a lyre.¹⁹ In a letter dated 12th June 1885, the priest mentions one pebble which was carved as intaglio, without precisely describing the motif; then, in another letter of 29th January 1886, he mentions several broken gemstones engraved with mythological scenes, and another one with a hippocamp.²⁰ In a letter dated 26th May 1886, he describes a partially broken gem engraved with the image of Apollo.²¹

7 Zaninović 1996, 287, 289; Bekić 2011, 317; Matijević 2011, 184; Tončinić, Tabak, Librenjak 2011, 364.

8 Bekić 2011, 318.

9 Bekić 2011, 318.

10 Of the 138 pieces from Dalmatia in the collection, the exact findspot was recorded for 89 (Kaić 2013).

11 See Luetić 2001, 240.

12 For the priest M. J. Granić and his relations with the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, see Mirnik 2010.

13 Mirnik 2010.

14 Kaić 2017, 482, n. 14.

15 Mirnik 2010.

16 Mirnik 2010, 69.

17 See Luetić 2001.

18 Luetić 2001, 240.

19 Ljubić 1879, 123–124; Mirnik 2010, 75, n. 23–24.

20 Mirnik 2001, 81, 84.

21 Mirnik 2001, 86.

Some of the gems described in these letters are nowadays missing from the glyptic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.²² At the same time, it is difficult to recognize all of them due to their very general descriptions in the letters. It is also not possible to discern the glass gems among them, because in his letters Mijo Jerko Granić referred only to “pebbles”. Nevertheless, seven glass gems and one glass cameo within the collection testify that some of the priest's “pebbles” must have been made of glass.

In this paper we shall examine only the engraved gemstones, while the glass gems and a glass cameo from *Andetrium* will be discussed in a paper that will follow.

Iconographic repertoire and the datation of the *Andetrian* engraved gems

As we can see, the gems from Gornji Muć mostly come from the amateur archaeological excavations undertaken by Mijo Jerko Granić in the second half of the 19th century and conducted in a manner characteristic of that time. Therefore, in datation of the *Andetrian* gems we must rely on their iconographic, stylistic and technical features in order to determine the period in which they were manufactured.

The engraved gems found at Gornji Muć display motifs that were part of the standard repertoire in Roman glyptic art, with depictions of Graeco-Roman deities, mythological heroes, animals, symbols and inscriptions.

Considering their material, of the nine intaglios, four were made in carnelian, two in chalcedony, and single ones in amethyst, chrome chalcedony, red jasper and nicolo.

We shall start with the depiction of Jupiter, the supreme deity of the Roman pantheon. The chalcedony (Fig. 1)²³ is engraved with Jupiter standing frontally, his head turned right, his hips covered with a himation, holding a phiale in his extended left arm and leaning on a sceptre in his raised right hand. At his feet to right, an eagle is standing, with head turned left, and with its wings gathered. This iconographic type of standing Jupiter was derived from Lysippos's bronze statues of Zeus.²⁴ Our chalcedony is worked with several drills of varying widths, and, although the face is stylised, the rendering of the figure is fluid, and classicising. Iconographic and stylistic analogies with our intaglio can be traced to a chalcedony from Gadara²⁵ and an agate²⁶ from the Hague collection, as well as another unprovenanced chalcedony²⁷ from the Zagreb collection, thus placing the *Andetrium* chalcedony in the period from the 1st century AD



FIGURE 2. Minerva, a red cornelian, inv. no. A-16065 (photo by I. Krajcar).

to the 1st half of the 2nd century AD. The choice of chalcedony was not accidental, because this greyish precious stone was reminiscent of the sky's colour, which made it particularly suitable for depicting the god Jupiter.²⁸

The third deity in the Capitoline triad, the goddess Minerva, appears on a chipped red cornelian (Fig. 2)²⁹ which was found at the parish church in Gornji Muć. It was engraved with Minerva standing to the front with her head facing right, clad in a long peplos and holding Victoria in her extended left hand. To the left of the goddess there is a shield on the ground. It is not possible to determine the position of Minerva's right hand, due to the breakage of the stone, but she was probably holding a spear, her usual attribute. The figure is engraved accurately but schematically, with mainly broad drills, dating the cornelian to the 2nd century AD. Stylistic and technical analogies can be found with one cornelian³⁰ from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and with another one³¹ from the Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy Library, allowing us to date our cornelian to the 2nd century AD.

22 For instance, the gemstone engraved with both Apollo and the inscription, as well as another Apollo gem, are only known to us from the letters.

23 Inv. no. A-16002; shape 1; 13.6 x 11.39 x 4.65 mm. Purchased from M. J. Granić. Unpublished. Shapes of all intaglios published herein are based on AGWien 1, 15, Fig. c and Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 30, Pl. 2.

24 Henig 2007³, 28.

25 Henig, Whiting 1987, 8, cat. no. 19.

26 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 303, cat. no. 880, Pl. 145.

27 Kaić 2013, cat. no. 7.

28 Gesztelyi 2000, 22.

29 Inv. no. A-16065; shape 8; 12.29 x 7.20 x 2.27 mm. The stone is broken off on the left side and lower edge. Purchased from M. J. Granić. Published in Maixner 1881a, 80, cat. no. 24.

30 AGWien 2, 191, cat. no. 1418.

31 Gramatopol 2009, 115–116, cat. no. 130, Pl. 7.



FIGURE 3. Diana Venatrix, a red jasper, inv. no. A-16246 (photo by I. Krajcar).



FIGURE 4. Perseus, a carnelian, inv. no. A-16123 (photo by I. Krajcar).

The goddess Diana is the subject of the red jasper (Fig. 3),³² engraved with the goddess dressed in a short chiton, running to the left. With her left hand Diana is pulling an arrow from the quiver on her back, while holding a bow in her right hand. Her hound is running by her feet. This Diana the Huntress iconographic type, derived from the sculptural prototypes, was well represented on Roman gems.³³ The red jasper is rather coarsely cut with a drill at a small scale, dating our item to the 2nd or 3rd century. In terms of iconography and style, our red jasper can be paralleled with a green jasper³⁴ from the Verona collection, dated to the 2nd century AD. We can also mention a carnelian³⁵ from Carnuntum, as well as a chalcedony³⁶ from the Hannover collection, although that chalcedony shows certain iconographic differences (as the goddess is holding the bow in both hands, and there is no dog accompanying her).

Roman gems depicting mythological heroes have frequently been found at Roman military sites.³⁷ A carnelian (Fig. 4)³⁸ from Ordžija, near Gornji Muć, is engraved with Perseus standing frontally with his head in profile to the right.³⁹ He is nude apart

from the chlamys hanging from his shoulders. In his extended left hand he is holding a sword pointed upwards, while in his raised right hand he is holding the severed head of Medusa. We can compare our carnelian with a carnelian⁴⁰ from Aquileia, showing Perseus holding Medusa's head with arm bent at the elbow above his head. We can also mention a yellow glass gem⁴¹ from the Munich collections, depicting Perseus with his head turned towards Medusa. The stylistic rendering of our carnelian, cut in a classicising style, places it in the 1st century AD.

On the chrome chalcedony (Fig. 5),⁴² a nude figure standing in three-quarter profile with head in profile to the left is depicted. This intaglio is particularly interesting, because it represents an unfinished work. The body is schematically cut with missing details, such as the figure's feet. Yet, in the body's posture, with hips pushed forward and lowered head to the chest, perhaps we can discern the figure of Omphale or even Methe, the personification of drunkenness. The convex shape of the stone and the material of the gemstone point to the group of so-called 'Kleine Praser', the chrome chalcedonies of convex or bi-convex shape, often engraved with classical motifs ranging from the famous cult statues to sacro-idyllic scenes.⁴³ They were mainly manufactured throughout the 1st century AD, although some pieces are dated to the end of the 1st century BC or the early 2nd century AD.⁴⁴ Chrome-chalcedony gems are assigned to workshops

32 Inv. no. A-16246; red jasper; shape 9; 10.74 x 7.46 x 2.32 mm; purchased from M. J. Granić.

33 Magni 2009, 40, n. 66.

34 Magni 2009, 41, cat. no. 44, Pl. 4.

35 Dembski 2005, 64, cat. no. 104, Pl. 11. Dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD.

36 AGDS 4 Hannover, 260, cat. no. 1394, Pl. 189. Dated to the 2nd century AD.

37 Henig 1970; Henig 2007³, 51.

38 Inv. no. A-16123; shape 8; 13.5 x 11 x 2 mm; purchased from M. J. Granić. Published in Maixner 1881a, 77, cat. no. 6.

39 The find site was originally written as "Orgija", and the intaglio was described as depicting Theseus (Luetić 2001, 240; Mirnik 2010, 69, n. 21).

40 Sena Chiesa 1966, 273, cat. no. 726, Pl. 37.

41 AGDS I/2, 135, cat. no. 1415, Pl. 140.

42 Inv. no. A-15930; shape 1; 8.0 x 6.0 x 2.5 mm. Chipped on edges, poorly preserved surface. Purchased from M. J. Granić.

43 Platz-Horster 2010.

44 Platz-Horster 2010, 191.



FIGURE 5. Standing figure, a green chrome chalcedony, inv. no. A-15930 (photo by I. Krajcar).



FIGURE 6. Panther with cornucopia, an orange carnelian, inv. no. A-16109 (photo by I. Krajcar).

in central Italy, with the raw material supplied from a mine in central Anatolia.⁴⁵ Our unfinished item points to the possibility of its having been manufactured in a local workshop, which on the other hand poses a question of whether such a workshop could have existed in *Andetrium*. The problem of localizing the provincial workshops, or workshops outside the major centres, is still not resolved.⁴⁶ Yet there are indications of local production of engraved gems in the Roman province of Dalmatia. A group of white chalcedonies from the Zadar area, all depicting Tyche-Fortuna, could appertain to a local glyptic workshop in Liburnia.⁴⁷ Furthermore, several cornelians from Gardun depicting satyrs can be assigned to a local workshop, perhaps connected with the legionary fortress of *Tilurium*.⁴⁸ Although it is difficult to prove a local glyptic workshop based on only one unfinished item, the Andetrian chrome chalcedony could prove important in our understanding of local production of gems within the group of convex chrome chalcedonies.

Animals appear rather frequently on Roman gems, often connected with certain gods, or as symbols of fertility and prosperity.⁴⁹ On an orange carnelian (Fig. 6)⁵⁰ from Gornji Muć we find a depiction of a panther, an animal associated with the god Dionysus. The carnelian is engraved with a panther either walking

or lying down with its body in profile to the left and its head turned backwards, with open maw. There is a cornucopia behind the panther's back. Since the top surface on the bottom half of the gemstone is damaged, it is impossible to determine the exact position of the animal's paws. The panther is convincingly executed, mainly with broad drills for the creature's body and the cornucopia, but a narrower drill for the panther's tail. Parallels in both the iconography and the style can be found with a carnelian⁵¹ from *Aquileia*. We can also mention a carnelian⁵² from Bath, showing a panther with a cornucopia placed on top of a column behind the animal. Based on these analogies, our carnelian can be dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD.

The habit of horse racing is reflected in an amethyst (Fig. 7),⁵³ engraved with a victorious racehorse standing in profile to the left, with right foreleg raised. A green jasper⁵⁴ from *Aquileia* and a carnelian⁵⁵ from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna can be cited as parallels for our motif. Short parallel lines, incised for the horse's mane, can be compared with an intaglio⁵⁶ from the Arthur Evans collection. The horse is accurately cut with rounded drills for the body and narrow drills for the mane. The stylistic rendition of our amethyst places it in the 1st century AD.

45 Platz-Horster 2010, 196.

46 Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 145.

47 Nardelli 2005.

48 Nardelli 2011a, 25, nos 40–42; Nardelli 2011b, 300–302.

49 Henig 2007³, 54.

50 Inv. no. A-16109; shape 8; 8.98 x 10.97 x 2.35 mm. Top surface on the bottom half of the intaglio is broken off. Donated by M. J. Granić. Published in Maixner 1881b, 113, cat. no. 63.

51 Sena Chiesa 1966, 367, cat. no. 1179, Pl. 60.

52 Henig 2007³, 170, 234, cat. no. 642, Pl. 20.

53 Inv. no. A-15946; shape 6; 9.0 x 8.0 x 3.0 mm. Worn on lower left edge. Purchased from M. J. Granić.

54 Sena Chiesa 1966, 351, cat. no. 1061, Pl. 54.

55 AGWien 3, 92, cat. no. 1840, Pl. 37.

56 Hoey Middleton 1991, 122, cat. no. 223.



FIGURE 7. Horse, an amethyst, inv. no. A-15946 (photo by I. Krajcar).



FIGURE 8. Eagle between two legion signa, a red cornelian, inv. no. A-16066 (photo by I. Krajcar).

Eagles, associated with the god Jupiter, were employed as symbols of the Roman army. On the preserved piece of a red cornelian (Fig. 8)⁵⁷ an eagle is engraved as standing on a sacrificial altar, flanked by one legion *signum* each to the left and right of the altar. Due to the breakage of the upper two-thirds of the intaglio, only the lower part of the right wing, the tail and legs of the eagle together with lower parts of the *signa* have been preserved. Analogies for both the motif and the style can be found in a carnelian⁵⁸ from *Carnuntum* and a brown jasper⁵⁹ from Dalmatia. The engraving of the Andetrian cornelian is somewhat discordantly executed, dating it to the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

A similar motif is found on another cornelian (Fig. 9)⁶⁰ in our collection, engraved with a legionary signum and an eagle. The gemstone is heavily damaged on the left side, leaving recognizable only the right wing of an eagle. It is cut schematically, with broad grooves, dating it to the 2nd century AD. For both our cornelians we can find direct parallels with three cornelians⁶¹ from Britain, engraved with an eagle standing between the signa.

A chalcedony (Fig. 10),⁶² engraved with an ear of corn between two conjoined cornucopiae, can be placed in the group of gems with a combination of symbols. In terms of iconography and style, our intaglio can be compared with a cornelian⁶³ from the Nürnberg collection and consequently dated to the 1st century AD. Bearing symbols of prosperity and abundance associated with the goddesses Ceres and Fortuna, this chalcedony was chosen to bring wealth and good fortune to its owner.

Last in the collection is a nicolo with a Latin inscription in positive (Fig. 11), that reads GRE/GORI/VIVAS (“May you live and be wakeful”).⁶⁴ This nicolo was one of the three pebbles which Mijo Jerko Granić found along with the Emperor Gratian’s coin, while excavating at the position of St Peter’s Church in Gornji Muć in 1873.⁶⁵ The closest parallel is found with a cameo portrait from Geneva, which bears the inscription A(Π)A (G)REGORI VIVAS.⁶⁶ One should also mention two cameos from the Content collection with a Greek inscription that reads ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙ.⁶⁷ Concerning these analogies and the Christian meaning of the inscription,

57 Inv. no. A-16066; shape 8; 6.29 x 10.84 x 2.03 mm. Severely damaged: the upper two-thirds of the intaglio are broken off. It was donated by M. J. Granić. Found at the parish church in Gornji Muć (*Andetrium*).

58 Dembski 2005, 140, cat. no. 884, Pl. 90.

59 Nardelli 2007, 271–272, cat. no. 14.

60 Inv. no. A-16067; shape 12; 9.83 x 9.24 x 3.42 mm. Left half of the intaglio is broken off. Donated by M. J. Granić.

61 Henig 2007³, 177, 236, cat. nos 707–708, Pl. 22, both dated to the 1st century AD; 211, 245, App. 186, Pl. 31, dated to the 2nd century AD.

62 Inv. no. A-16317; shape 11; 10.31 x 11.96 x 2.66 mm. Purchased from M. J. Granić.

63 AGNürnberg, 155, cat. no. 435, Pl. 59.

64 CIL 03: 10188, 17. For a detailed account of this intaglio and its inscription, see Kaić 2017, 482–483.

65 Mirnik 2010, 69.

66 Vollenweider 1979, 261–263, cat. no. 272 bis; Aubry 2011, 241, n. 36.

67 Henig 1990, XIII, 26–27, cat. nos 47–48.



FIGURE 9. Legionary signum and eagle, a red cornelian, inv. no. A-16067 (photo by I. Krajcjar).



FIGURE 10. A combination of symbols, a chalcedony, inv. no. A-16317 (photo by I. Krajcjar).



FIGURE 11. Inscription, a nicolo, inv. no. A-16097 (photo by I. Krajcjar).

the Andetrian nicolo with the inscription should be dated to the 4th century AD, a date that is furthermore confirmed with the find of the 4th-century coin of Emperor Gratian.⁶⁸

Conclusion

The engraved gems from Gornji Muć display various stylistic trends which occur in the Roman glyptics of the Imperial period, dating them to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Only one intaglio belongs to the period of Late Antiquity (Fig. 11), bearing an Early Christian inscription.

Among the various motifs which appear on the *Andetrian* engraved gems, we cannot perceive any peculiarities or differences in relation to standard Roman glyptic production.

Taking into consideration the military nature of the site, it is not surprising that we find intaglios showing Jupiter (Fig. 1), Minerva (Fig. 2) and eagles between legionary signa (Figs 8–9), all subjects closely related to the Roman army. A cornelian depicting the hero Perseus (Fig. 4) also fits well into that frame. Other intaglios bear witness to religious worship (Figs 3, 6), point to the lifestyle of their owner (Fig. 7) or allude to fertility and prosperity (Fig. 10). The unfinished engraving of the chrome chalcedony (Fig. 5) suggests it was perhaps manufactured in a local workshop.

For the present time, most of our knowledge of Roman *Andetrium* has been acquired through analysis of the preserved Roman finds. This group of engraved gems from Gornji Muć is thus important in our understanding of the Roman presence, both military and civilian, in the Muć Valley area.

68 The Christian meaning of the inscription is derived from the instruction given by Christ (Mk 14 38; Mt 26: 38, 41) to his disciples, asking them to keep vigil (Vollenweider 1979, 261–263, cat. no. 272 bis, n. 15; Kaić 2017, 483, n. 18).

ABBREVIATIONS

AGDS I/2 – E. Brandt, E. Schmidt, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen I, Staatliche Münzsammlung München 2, Italische Gemmen etruskisch bis römisch-republikanisch, Italische Glaspasten vorkaiserzeitlich*, Prestel Verlag, 1970.

AGNürnberg – C. Weiss, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen 5, Die antiken Gemmen in Sammlung Friedrich Julius Rudolf Bergau im Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, 1996.

AGWien 1 – E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien 1, Die Gemmen von der minoischen Zeit bis zur frühen römischen Kaiserzeit*, Prestel Verlag, 1973.

AGWien 3 – E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien 3, Die Gemmen der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit 2, Masken, Masken - Kombinationen, Phantasie- und Märchentiere, Gemmen mit Inschriften, Christliche Gemme, Magische Gemmen, Sasanidische Siegel, Rundplastik aus Edelstein und verwandten Material, Kameen*, Prestel Verlag, 1991.

CIL 3 – *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum 3. Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Graecarum, Illyrici*, Georg Reimer, 1902.

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