

## The Roman military phalera from the Perm Urals

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### Izvleček

Okrogla ploščica iz kalcedona z upodobitvijo otroškega obraza je bila odkrita pri izkopavanju nekropole 4. in 5. st. v Mokinu (Perm, zah. Ural, Rusija). Ploščica je bila odkrita v bojevniškem grobu s sledovi nomadskega (sarmatskega) vpliva. Zdi se, da gre za rimsko vojaško falero, ki je bila uporabljena v obdobju zgodnjega principata. V kontroverzni upodobitvi t. i. "Amorja" avtorji predlagajo identifikacijo s starejšim bratom cesarja Kaligule. V različnih evropskih muzejih se je ohranilo okoli 30 takšnih faler. Pozneje je bila falera uporabljena kot glavič meča ali bodala sarmatskega vojščaka.

From 1987 to 1994, the archaeological team of the Perm State University excavated the Mokino cemetery (near Perm, West Urals) dated to the 4th-5th centuries AD.<sup>1</sup> The necropolis is situated on the left bank of the Kama River. In addition to burials belonging to the local Glyadenovo Culture, warrior burials characterized by nomadic (probably Sarmatian) influence were discovered. Nomadic influence was emphasized by presence of long iron swords with wooden sheaths, decorated with golden and silver foil, cornealian glass beads and belt sets with bronze and silver. Constructive elements of grave pits, such as ashes placed on the base, could also be interpreted as signs of Sarmatian influence.

One of these burials included fragments of tree-trunk coffin, human bones, a bone arrowhead, rem-

### Abstract

A chalcedony disc with the image of a child's face was discovered during the excavations at the Mokino cemetery (Western Urals, Perm region, Russia) dated to the Iron Age. It was found in the context of warrior burial with traces of nomadic (Sarmatian) influence.

The disc seems to be a Roman military phalera used during the Early Principate. Disputing that this was a "Cupid" type, the authors propose that the elder brother of the Emperor Caligula was depicted on this phalera. About 30 medals of this kind can be found in European museums. Later the phalera was used as a pommel on a sword (or dagger) handle by a Sarmatian warrior.

nants of an iron sword or dagger, and blue-grey gem of chalcedony (*Fig. 1: 3; 2*). The gem is oval: height - 40 mm, width - 35 mm, thickness - 22 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back of the gem. Slice-like damages can be seen on the face and especially on the back side of the gem. A child's face with a braid from crown to forehead is depicted on the gem. This kind of children's hairstyle is typical for late Hellenistic iconography.

The ancient origin of this gem (Inv. no. 19317, Perm Regional Museum) is definite.<sup>2</sup> According to O. J. Neverov, the gem from Mokino cemetery is most likely a medal of a Roman legionary dated by the Early Empire.<sup>3</sup> The function of *dona militaria* is indicated first of all by crossed grooves on the gem's back. These grooves probably served for attachment

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Melnitchuk, V. A. Oborin, N. V. Soboleva, Issledovanie Mokinskogo mogilnika bliz Permi, *Arheologičeskije otkrytija Urala i Povolzhja* (Syktyvkar 1989), 78-81; N. V. Soboleva, Raskopki Mokinskogo mogilnika, *Arheologičeskije otkrytija Urala i Povolzhja* (Iževsk 1991) 73; A. F. Melnitchuk, Raskopki Mokinskogo mogilnika bliz Permi, *Arheologičeskije otkrytija 1994* (Moskva 1995) 223-224.

<sup>2</sup> The authors would like to thank Sergej Baratov (Institute of Archaeology, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences) for kindly consulting with us about problems concerning Eurasian nomads.

<sup>3</sup> The authors would like to thank Oleg Neverov (The Hermitage State Museum, Saint Petersburg) for a consultation on ancient glyptics and for attribution of the gem from the Mokino cemetery.

to the lorica with belts. The best known type of Roman medals are metal. Medals called phalerae by the Romans were used during the Early Principate for legionary soldiers, like torcs and *armillae*.<sup>4</sup>

After long discussion, gems of glass and of stone with traces of attachment were acknowledged as the military phalerae. Members of the imperial families, Gorgons, Maenads, and Dii Militaries were depicted on these gems.<sup>5</sup> According to expert opinion, phalerae of glass and of stone were issued only during a short time: from Tiberius to Claudius (AD 14-54).<sup>6</sup> Phalerae with depiction of a child termed “Cupid” provoked different interpretations among scholars. M. Babelon

defined such an image as a Gorgon, as was often seen on Roman phalerae.<sup>7</sup> M. Feugère noted the absence of the “snaky” hair and the long tongue typical for Gorgon’s iconography, and thus could not support M. Babelon’s opinion.<sup>8</sup>

M. Feugère suggested that Bacchus was depicted as Cupid on these phalerae.<sup>9</sup> M. Feugère’s interpretation is supported by numerous Bacchus-child pictures in bronze.<sup>10</sup> Floral symbols seen on some phalerae could be interpreted as connected with cult of Bacchus.<sup>11</sup> The Romans often compared atmosphere of battle with Bacchanaliae and the bravery of soldiers often was compared with Bacchic trances.<sup>12</sup>

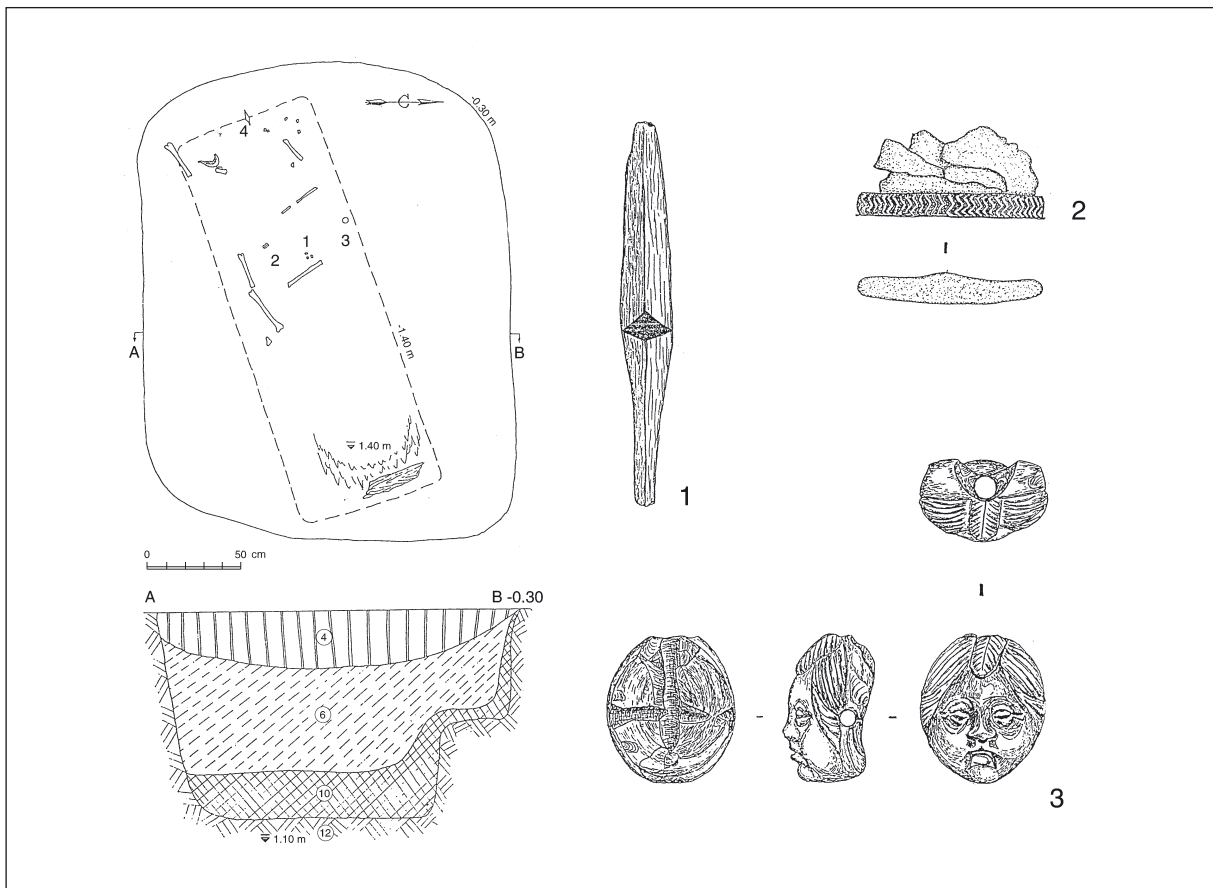


Fig. 1: Mokino near Perm. Warrior burial and its finds.

<sup>4</sup> V. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (London 1981) 214. G. Wesch-Klein noted that torcs were used by the Roman army during the Late Empire not as military decorations but rather as signs of a definite rank: G. Wesch-Klein, *Der Miles torquatus Aurelius Iovinus*, *Arch. vest.* 45, 1991, 123-129.

<sup>5</sup> A. Alföldy, Zu den Glasmedallions der militärischen Auszeichnungen aus der Zeit des Tiberius, *Ur-Schweiz* 21, 1957), 80-96; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antike Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien* 2 (Wien 1979) 109-115; W.-R. Megow, Kameen im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn, *Bonner Jb.* 186, 1986, 458.

<sup>6</sup> A. Alföldy, Römische Porträtmedallions aus Glas, *Ur-Schweiz* 15, 1951, 66-80; D. Boschung, Römische Glasphalerae mit Porträtbüsten, *Bonner Jb.* 187, 1987, 193-258.

<sup>7</sup> M. E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1897) 87.

<sup>8</sup> M. Feugère, Phalères romaines en calcédoine, *Miscellanea di studi archeologici e di antichità* 3, 1989 (Modena 1990) 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, 39-40.

<sup>10</sup> I. Manfrini-Aragno, *Bacchus dans les bronzes hellénistiques et romains* (Lausanne 1987) 162.

<sup>11</sup> Feugère (n. 8) 51, Fig. 13.

<sup>12</sup> F. Beck, H. Chew, *Masques de Fer. Un officier romain du temps de Caligula* (Paris 1991) 140.

The stone phalerae with “Cupid” images do not have iconographical parallels with medals of metal and glass. Phalerae of the “Cupid” type were carved from chalcedony, cornelian, sardonyx, agate, and amber (see the Catalogue). Most of them were circle or oval. They are similar in dimensions. Other than very massive phalera of sardonyx (no. 23 in our catalogue), other gems have diameters from 20 to 60 mm. The majority of gems have a similar type of attachment by belts through the crossed grooves. The style of the “Cupid” image is absolutely similar on the gems from museums in Oxford, London, Paris, Wien, Krakow, Saint-Petersburg, and Perm. The M. Feugère idea that issue of “Cupid” medals was unique series dated by the 1st century AD seems to be very probable.<sup>13</sup>

The almost absolute “portrayal” identity of the “Cupids” on medals from different parts of Europe permits the proposal of another interpretation. The “Cupid” could be imagined not only as little Bacchus but also somebody from the imperial family of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. According to O. Neverov, the “Cupid” on the stone phalerae depicted Gaius - Emperor Caligula’s brother and namesake, who died in early childhood.<sup>14</sup> Suetonius noted that Gaius the beloved grand grandson of Augustus and Livia was



Fig. 2: Mokino near Perm. The Roman military phalera.

portrayed after his death like Cupido/Amor (Suet., *Gaius*, 7). Portraiture of ruling dynasty’s descendats as Cupids was practised in late Ptolemaic Egypt. O. Neverov studied the gems in Hermitage collection issued in Egypt under Cleopatra the Seventh (69-30 BC). As some scholars suggested, Cleopatra’s children with Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius were engraved as image of Erotes on these gems.<sup>15</sup> Probably such portraiture of princes could be explained by strong belief of Cleopatra in the cult of Isis. As we know, many representatives of the Roman elite were also enthusiastic worshippers of Isis.

Gaius’ mother was Agrippina - the granddaughter of Augustus. His father was Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus - the adopted grandson of Augustus. Because of the military abilities of the husband and the demonstrative old-fashioned traditionalism of the wife the couple of Agrippina and Germanicus was very popular in army. Because of their relationship to Marcus Antonius they also were popular in the Eastern provinces.<sup>16</sup> As Augustus requested, Tiberius adopted Germanicus and designated him as the future Emperor (Suet., *Tib.*, 15,2). Our phalera could have been issued during the reign of Tiberius, when the first “portrayal” medals appeared. After AD 23, when Tiberius’ son Drusus died phalerae with images of Germanicus and Agrippina were issued.<sup>17</sup>

It would be more probable to connect the issue of our phalera with reign of Caligula (AD 37-41). At the moment of Tiberius’ decease, Gaius Caligula became the only legal descendant of the Julian dynasty. Caligula had not have his own heir, making any prospects of dynasty uncertain. According to D. Balsdon, the numerous conspiracies against Caligula were not feverish imaginations of his paranoid, but rather quite real.<sup>18</sup> D. Balsdon suggested that the governor of Upper Germany Gneius Cornelius Lentulus Getulicus, influential under previous Princesps, had taken part in a conspiracy to make Tiberius’ grandson, M. Aemilius Lepidus, the new Emperor.<sup>19</sup> Caligula was especially jealous of Getulicus’ popularity among the legions stationed on Rhine. The emperor considered these troops to be part of his family’s heritage (Tac., *Ann.*, I, 69). He needed the fidelity of these legions, because the Rhine legions were the strongest among the provincial armies at that time. But twenty years of peace had weakened the discipline and desire to fight of Rhine legions. They were

<sup>13</sup> Feugère (n. 8) 41.

<sup>14</sup> O. J. Neverov, *Antichnye gemmy v sobranii Ermitazha* (Leningrad 1988) 73.

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.*, 44-45.

<sup>16</sup> W. Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius* (Berlin 1988) 32-33.

<sup>17</sup> Alföldy (n. 6) 74. According to D. Boschung, the first phalerae with Tiberius’ image were engraved during the reign of Augustus: Boschung (n. 6) 228, 231.

<sup>18</sup> J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (Oxford 1934) 66, 71, 77.

<sup>19</sup> *Ib.*, 71.

often defeated in minor conflicts with the Germans.<sup>20</sup> Considered by ancient authors as anecdotal, Caligula's "German expedition" of AD 39 was, according to D. Balsdon's interpretation, a serious military manoeuvre to restore loyalty and discipline of the Rhine legions after Getulicus' conspiracy was defeated.<sup>21</sup> When the manoeuvres were finished the Emperor according to tradition demobilised the veterans and gave awards to the best soldiers.

The best way to maintain Caligula's prestige among the Rhine legions was to appeal to his parents' authority. Soldiers received as *donativum* (Dio, 59, 22) the coins on which Germanicus and Agrippina were pictured. Those coins were issued throughout Caligula's reign.<sup>22</sup> The special phalerae of glass with images of Caligula, Germanicus, and Agrippina were issued as award to the Rhine legions.<sup>23</sup>

Emperor Gaius was the only Princeps paying attention to his brothers and sisters in the dynastic propaganda. His sisters Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla were pictured on Caligula's sesterces as images of goddesses Securitas, Concordia, and Fortuna.<sup>24</sup> Statues of Drusilla were set after her death in the Roman Senate and in the temple of Venus in Rome (Dio, 59, 11, 1-3). Gaius' brothers Nero and Drusus, who died under Tiberius' reign were commemorated on Caligula's dupondes as Gemini-Dioscures<sup>25</sup> and on statues (*CIL* VI, 31293 - Rome; *AE* 1938, 68 - Iader, Dalmatia). The demonstrative attention of Caligula to his living and dead brothers and sisters could be interpreted as characteristic dynastic propaganda. It is reasonable to suppose that the elder brother, who had died before Caligula was born, would also take his place in Emperor Gaius' propaganda. Remembrance of the beloved grand grandson of Augustus, who probably saw in that little child the future Emperor, could be useful for Caligula. For a worshipper of Isis like Gaius Caligula, it could be natural to underline the mystic connection with another Gaius. An appeal to shade of Gaius could be another argument for the legitimacy of Caligula's rule.

In our opinion, Caligula's dynastic propaganda reflected the ruler's ideal of Emperor Gaius. Under the influence of his paternal grandmother, Antonia Minor (daughter of Marcus Antonius), he was fascinated from early childhood not by pragmatic Augustus but by heroic Marcus Antonius.<sup>26</sup> Like Marcus Antonius, Caligula admired the habits of Ptolemaic court. Some of them the young ruler tried to realize in Rome. Caligula's "Egyptian" innovations included a demonstrative despotic style of ruling, and incest with siblings, especially with Drusilla. Emperor Caligula probably connected the prospects of his dynasty with her.<sup>27</sup> The portraiture of the princes on the gems with images of Erotes could also have been appropriated from the Ptolemaic arsenal of dynastic propaganda. No doubt the "Cupids" on the Roman military phalerae were a replica from Egyptian prototypes dated to the reign of Cleopatra the VIIth. Augustus took many masters of glyptics in Italy after Egypt was occupied by the Romans. Workshops were organized there under the Emperor's auspices.<sup>28</sup> So stone phalerae with "Cupid" images could have been produced in a glyptic workshop in Aquileia, for instance. The export of glyptics from Aquileia to the regions of the Rhine and Danube is known to archaeologists.<sup>29</sup> These phalerae could probably also have been produced *in situ* by glyptic workshops in the military camps of Mogontiacum or Vetera.<sup>30</sup>

The main reason why the gems with "Cupid" images were not recognized by many scholars as military decorations was their discovery as single specimens. It is well known that Roman military phalerae were always in multiples of 5, 7, 9 and more. In the mid seventies B. Ilakovac found that some "portrayal" medals had individual attachment mechanisms.<sup>31</sup> Recently M. Feugère published a set of 12 stone medals with "Cupids" depicted on the tombstone of an unknown veteran from Rubiera (Emilia region, Italy).<sup>32</sup> As seen in the illustration, phalerae were connected to each other by straps through the crossed grooves. Like sets of metallic phalerae, the

<sup>20</sup> *Ib.*, 66.

<sup>21</sup> *Ib.*, 79; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Principate of Tiberius and Gaius*, *ANRW* II/2 (Berlin, New York 1981) 94.

<sup>22</sup> Boschung (n. 6), 243-248; According to M. Henig, a medal depicting Germanicus with his sons Gaius (the future princeps), Nero and Drusus was edited at the beginning of Tiberius' reign: M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from the British Sites*, *BAR* Brit. Ser. 8 (1974) 82.

<sup>23</sup> Trillmich (n. 16) 32-43.

<sup>24</sup> A. Ferrill, *Caligula Emperor of Rome* (London 1991) 71.

<sup>25</sup> Trillmich (n. 16) 39; Alföldy (n. 6) 75.

<sup>26</sup> Balsdon (n. 18) 13.

<sup>27</sup> *Ib.*, 34.

<sup>28</sup> G. Sena Chiesa, G. M. Facchini, *Gemme romane di età imperiale: produzione, commerci, committenze*, *ANRW* II/12.3 (Berlin, New York 1985) 11.

<sup>29</sup> Henig (n. 23) 29.

<sup>30</sup> Sena Chiesa, Facchini (n. 28) 9.

<sup>31</sup> B. Ilakovac, *Portretna medalja iz Burnuma*, *Arh. vest.* 25, 1974, 161.



sets of stone ones was worn above the body armour.

How this Roman military decoration appeared in the Western Urals cannot be explained satisfactorily. In our opinion, this gem was connected to the migrations of Sarmatian nomadic tribes. Some scholars suggest a large group of Iranian-speaking nomads from the Eurasian steppe reached the northern coast of the Black Sea in the mid 1st century AD.<sup>33</sup> Those newcomers tried to invade the Roman province of Moesia and fought in the second half of the 1st century AD against a Roman provincial garrison, which was supported by legionary vexillations from Rhine.<sup>34</sup> Sarmatians also took part in the Marcommanic wars (160-180 AD) and in the Hunic invasions (second half of 4th-first half of 5th cent. AD). Chalcedonic decorations were well known to the invaders from steppes because chalcedony was exported to the ancient world from the territory of modern Uzbekistan. The nomads of Central Asia became acquainted with art of glyptics through the Greco-Bactrians and made “barbarian” replicas of the gems and cameos. So a chalcedony phalera could represent a valuable trophy for them. We also cannot exclude that the phalera travelled to the east as result of trade, exchange, or as a gift/award to a tribal chieftain from the Roman provincial administration in the Danubian region.<sup>35</sup>

Archaeologists recognize the fashion used on decorations of chalcedony among Sarmatian warriors from the southern Ural steppes. Beads of chalcedony were used by Sarmatians for sword grip decoration.<sup>36</sup> Chalcedony discs were used by Sarmatians from Southern Urals like pommels on long sword handles

in the 2nd-5th cent. AD. Some scholars suggest that these discs served as ethnic identifiers.<sup>37</sup> The Sarmatian discs typically have no hole in the central part of the gem. It can be hypothesized that this disc was attached to the sword (or dagger?) handle by a metallic frame. We can not precisely define the ethnic identity of the last owner of phalera buried in Mokino cemetery. Archaeological material connected with the Sarmatians in the taiga of the Urals is very scarce. The warrior buried at Mokino seems to be the Sarmatian because of the specific construction of the grave, and details of the weaponry and equipment. But the barrow burials and fibulae so typical for Sarmatians were not found at Mokino.<sup>38</sup> Warriors of “Sarmatian” type were buried in flat graves in an extended supine position. These burials could belong to warriors of local Finno-Hungarian Late Glyadenovo Culture or the neighbouring Post-Pyanobor Culture from the lower Kama and Vyatka Rivers. We consider that genesis of the military aristocracy in the tribes of the Post-Pyanobor and Late Glyadenovo Cultures was a sequence of intensive contacts between nomads of the Eurasian steppes and the Finno-Hungarians from the Lower Kama region during the Migration Period. This new social group absorbed some elements of the material and spiritual culture typical for the nomads. Recent archaeological investigations have shown a distribution of chalcedony beads and discs with holes in warrior and female burials belonging to the Late Glyadenovo and Post-Pyanobor Cultures (3rd-5th cent. AD) in the territory of the Perm region and the Republic of Udmurtia.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Feugère (n. 8) Fig. 1-4.

<sup>33</sup> A. S. Skripkin, K voprosu etnicheskoi istorii Sarmatov v pervyh vekah novoi ery, *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 1, 1996, 165, 186.

<sup>34</sup> B. Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von August bis auf Diocletian* (Leipzig 1906) 24.

<sup>35</sup> J. Wielowiejski, Funde von Römischen Medaillons zu beiden Seiten des Rhein-Donau-Limes, *Roman Frontier Studies* (London 1981) 1079-1089.

<sup>36</sup> A. M. Khazanov, *Ocherki voennogo dela sarmatov* (Moskva 1971) 25.

<sup>37</sup> M. G. Moshkova, Pozdnesarmatskaja kultura, in: *Stepi Evropejskoj chasti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoje vremya*, Arheologija SSSR (Moskva 1989) 196.

<sup>38</sup> D. Braund noted that some Sarmatian burials were without barrows: D. Braund, “Prepariruju sarmatov”: problemy istochnikovedcheskoj i arheologicheskoi metodologii, *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 4, 1994, 170-171.

<sup>39</sup> N. V. Vololago, T. A. Korobejnikova, I. Ju. Pastushenko, Issledovanija srednevekovyh mogilnikov v Prikamje, *Arheologicheskije otkrytija Urala i Povolzhja* (Syktyvkar 1989) 49; V. F. Gening, Völkerwanderungszeitliche Kriegergräber aus Turaevo im Uralvorland, *Eurasia Antiqua* 1, 1995, 265-325; N. A. Leschchinskaja, Hronologija i periodizacija mogilnikov bassejna r. Vyatki (I - nachalo II tys. n. e.), *Tipologija i datirovka arheologicheskikh materialov Vostochnoj Evropy* (Izhevsk 1995) 91-92. The phalera from Mokino is not the only example where a primary destination was changed. Chalcedony phalera with a “Cupid” (cat. no. 24, Köln, Germany) was found in a child burial dated to the 3rd-4th cent. AD. According to M. Feugère it could play role of a toy or amulet. K. Czarnicka published an interesting report about fragments of a Roman weapon and miniature copies of it discovered in female burials of Przeworsk Culture (southern Poland, 2nd-3rd cent. AD). The author suggested these could have been cult objects or perhaps fashionable decoration: K. Czarnicka, The re-use of Roman military equipment in barbarian context. A chain-mail souvenir?, *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 5, 1994, 245-253.

### Catalogue of the Roman stone phalerae with "Cupid" image

1. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Dark-blue and white agate. Oval: 21 x 19 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale du Paris. Inv. no. 167. Provenience unknown. Traces of attachment were not noted by publisher. O. Neverov attributed this gem as a Roman phalera: Neverov (n. 14) 73; Babelon (n. 7) 87, Pl. 18.

2. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Brown sardonyx. Circular with a 30 mm diameter. Bibliothèque Nationale du Paris. Inv. no. 170. Provenience unknown. Traces of attachment were not noted by publisher. Attributed as a Roman phalera by M. Babelon (n. 7) 87, Pl. 18.

3. A child's head with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Light chalcedony. Circular with a 38 mm diameter. Traces of attachment were not noted by M. Babelon. Bibliothèque Nationale du Paris. Inv. no. 171. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Babelon (n. 7) 87, Pl. 18.

4. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Milk chalcedony. Circular with a 41 mm diameter. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Bibliothèque Nationale du Paris. Inv. no. 172. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Babelon (n. 7) 88, Pl. 18.

5. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Light blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 33 x 36 mm. There are two crossing channels on the back side. Bibliothèque Nationale du Paris. Inv. no. 173. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 34, No. 23.

6. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Circular with a 43 mm diameter. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Bibliothèque nationale du Paris. Inv. no. 173 b. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 34, No. 24.

7. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 48 x 56 mm. The traces of ancient attachment cannot be seen because the gem was enclosed in a metallic frame in the Middle Ages. Musée des Thermes de Cluny (France). Inv. no. Cl. 3028. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 34, No. 26.

8. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Cornelian (the colour of the stone was not mentioned by O. J. Neverov). Circular with a 28 mm diameter. Traces of attachment were not noted by O. J. Neverov. The Hermitage State Museum, Saint Petersburg. Cat. no. 101. Before 1917, the gem was part of the private collection of Mme Dobychina. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by O. J. Neverov (n. 14) 73.

9. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Chalcedony (the colour of the stone was not mentioned by O. J. Neverov). Oval: 31 x 22 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. The Hermitage State Museum, Saint Petersburg. Cat. no. 102. Before 1917, in the Stroganov private collection. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by O. J. Neverov (n. 14) 73.

10. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue chalcedony. Oval: 32 x 28 mm. Thickness: 15 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Krakow Muzeum Narodowy, Poland. Inv. no. MNK IV-ZL-1179. To the end of 19th century, the gem was in the private collection of K. Szmidi-Cianzynski (Krakow). Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by J. Sliwa. J. Sliwa, Rzymska falera ze zbiorow Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, *Filomata* 417 (Krakow 1993) 391.

11. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 40 x 35 mm. Thickness: 22 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Perm Regional Museum. Inv. no. 13917. Find site: Mokino cemetery near Perm, 4th-5th cent. AD (Fig. 1: 3; 2). Attributed as phalera by O. J. Neverov.

12. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 25 x 28 mm.

There are two crossed grooves on the back. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inv. no. 1927-554. Find site: Woodstock, Blenheim Park, U. K. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 32, No. 1.

13. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Quadrate with rounded angles: 24 x 24 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inv. no. 1932-494. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 31-51, No. 2.

14. Child's head of "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 22 x 24 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inv. no. 1927-550. The phalera was bought in London. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 32, No. 3.

15. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 49 x 33 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The inventory number was not mentioned by M. Feugère. The gem was bought from A. Comarmond (Musée de Lyon) in 1851. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 34, No. 28.

16. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: ca. 45 x 35 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The inventory number was not mentioned by M. Feugère. The gem was bought from A. Comarmond (Musée de Lyon) in 1851. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 34, No. 29.

17. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Circular with a 26 mm diameter. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inventory number was not mentioned by the author. The gem was bought in Paris. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 33, No. 15.

18. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 45 x 48 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. British Museum, London. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (London 1926). Cat. no. 3361. It was bought at auction Booke in 1856. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 32-33, No. 4.

19. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 18 x 25 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. British Museum, London. Cliche British Museum, No. eg. XCII C31. It was bought in Efes (Turkey). Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 34, No. 54.

20. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 50 x 60 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. British Museum, London. Cat. no. 3362; Walters (see cat. no. 18) Pl. 44. It was purchased from the collection of Duke Carlisle in 1892. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 32-33, No. 5.

21. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 45 x 54 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. British Museum, London. Cat. no. 3363; Walters (see cat. no. 18) Pl. 44. The gem was bought from A. Comarmond (Musée de Lyon) in 1851. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 32-33, No. 6.

22. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Circular with a 24 mm diameter. There are two crossed grooves on the back. British Museum, London. Cat. no. 3364; Walters (see cat. no. 18) Pl. 44. The gem was bought from Castellani private collection in 1872. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 32-33, No. 7.

23. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Brown sardonyx. Oval: 110 x 128 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. British Museum, London. Inv.

no. LVIII B 3. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 32-33, No. 8.

24. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Circular with a 45 mm diameter. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Location of the gem is presently unknown. It was found in a child's burial dated to the 3rd-4th cent. AD at the Roman cemetery of Köln. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère according to information from U. Friedhof (Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt/Main). Feugère (n. 8) 33, No. 10.

25. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Circular with a 58 mm diameter. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Until 1940 the gem was in the private Reibold collection. The location of the gem is presently unknown. Probably the gem was founded in the Rhein region. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 33, No. 11.

26. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 48 x 55 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. Neg. III 16-725. The gem was purchased from the

Duke Leopold Wilhelm collection. Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 33, No. 13.

27. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid. 1st cent. AD. Blue-grey chalcedony. Oval: 25 x 28 mm. There are two crossed grooves on the back. Museum of Naples (Italy). Inventory number was not mentioned by publisher. The Provenience unknown. Attributed as phalera by M. Feugère (n. 8) 34, No. 53.

28. A child's head of the "Cupid" type with a "Hellenistic" braid (profile). 1st cent. AD. Amber. Unregular quadrangle. Height: 59 mm. Width: ca. 48 mm. Provincial Museum G. M. Kam, Nijmegen, Netherlands. Traces of attachment and inventory number were not mentioned by the publisher. The gem was discovered in a burial (1st cent. AD) at the Roman site Noviomagus: *Instrumentum* 7, 1998, 7. Not classified as phalera until the present.

29. A depiction of 12 (!) phalerae of "Cupid" type on the tombstone of unknown Roman veteran (Rubiera, regio Emilia, Italy). The tombstone was dated to the second quarter of the 1st cent. AD. by M. Feugère. Civici Musei di Reggio Emilia. Inv. no. 65838. Attributed as phalerae by M. Feugère (n. 8) 31-32, Fig. 1-4.

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