Lychnological miscellanea from Polish excavations in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean

Abstract: A review article collecting obscure publications and mentions of finds of lamps (made of clay and glass, some of stone and metal as well) and lighting accessories, like wicks, wick holders and lamp stands and holders (polycandela) scattered in reports and papers of the archaeological excavations carried out or under the auspices of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, published in the past 60 years since the Centre’s founding in 1959. The article draws upon finds presented conjointly with reports from excavations, often including significant contextual information about the discoveries, which are still to see their final publication. This data is summarized in relevant cases, the author contributing, wherever possible, new insight and interpretations, citing new parallels and introducing occasional corrigenda.

Keywords: oil lamps, clay/bronze/stone/glass lamps, archaeological context, lighting devices, lighting accessories, Hellenistic/early Roman/late Roman/Byzantine/early Islamic

Oil lamps are a common find and are usually published either in full, as a separate volume or as a separate section of a volume on pottery and/or small finds. Lamps made of materials like stone and metal are more easily “conjoined” with the clay counterparts, which often had bronze prototypes. Glass lighting devices are usually discussed separately, together with the clay ma-

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terial. Occasionally, lamps made of clay are included, as they naturally should be, in pottery publications from individual sites and seasons of fieldwork. Equally often, however, this category is presented in preliminary excavation reports as isolated objects, because they are complete, interesting, of significance for the dating or interpretation. When these reports are not followed by full publications, this material often escapes the attention of lamp specialists, although I dare say, many, like Jean-Louis Podvin in the case of his research on Isiac cult motifs in lamp iconography, peruse the various and often obscure archaeological material in search of artifacts of interest to their topic.

In turn, archaeologists rarely have the expertise necessary to provide more detailed interpretations apart from the most common and obvious pieces. At the same time, they are best equipped to furnish contextual information, which can prove of use to lamp specialists studying particular types of lighting devices. The reason for recalcitrance in publishing material is sometimes the dearth of recognizable finds and often the unfortunate absence of a specialist on site to record the material in full and prepare a publication. Just as often interested researchers, who are specialists in other subjects, produce articles on individual pieces, those of greatest interest or at least of interest to the specialist in question, while the mass of the material is set aside for publication in the more or less foreseeable future (“when the project is published”). This is particularly true of the older projects and the present author herself is responsible for not having completed publications of lamps from three different sites.

This review article collects lamps of all kinds, materials and dating that have been published in one way or another, or at least mentioned and illustrated in reports, from excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean (including Cyprus) and Northeastern Africa organized by or under the auspices of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, over the past 60 years since the Centre’s establishment in 1959 and including the three seasons just before World War II, when the founder of the Centre, Kazimierz Michalowski, field-directed Franco-Polish excavations in Tell Edfu in Egypt. It should be emphasized that the presentation is by no means full and is not intended in lieu of a proper publication. The original idea was to search out lamp artifacts presented in reports published in the journal Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean; the discriminatory element was that the lamp had to be illustrated in some way. It quickly became obvious that reports published elsewhere also contained material, sometimes not repetitive with respect to the presentation in PAM or bringing different information. These sources were included somewhat selectively (not all the references could be accessed) in the review, because for the most part they satisfied the condition of miscellanea, appearing in illustration, although hardly ever with extended description or interpretation, of specific archaeological discourses on the findspots.

The handful of full lamp publications are cited where relevant in order to keep the picture as full as possible. These are:
Jolanta Młynarczyk’s study of the lamp assemblage from Tell Atrib (2012; all of the material) and of the Hellenistic moldmade lamps from the Kom el-Dikka excavations in Alexandria (1997; part of the collection), a catalog of lamps from three seasons of excavations at Marea, presented in the first volume of the final publication (Szymańska and Babraj 2008), a contribution by Aneta Cedro on lamps from Banganarti in Sudan (Cedro 2014); assemblage of lamps from the Tomb of Alaine in Palmyra, Syria (in Sadurska 1977). Apart from these, there are some articles cataloguing groups of finds from specific sites or areas: Anna Sadurska’s comprehensive review of lamps found in Palmyra (1975; superseding catalogs of lamps from separate field seasons, Michalowski 1960; 1962; 1963; 1964; 1966); Maria Krogulska’s work on the lamp finds from Bijan Island in Iraq (1987) and Palmyra in Syria (1992); Olga Wasilewska’s study of material from Tell Farama/Pelusium in Egypt (Wasilewska 2008), Iwona Zych’s presentation of lamps from Egyptian archaeological salvage work in Marina el-Alamein in the late 1990s (Zych 2004) and of the collection of Cretan Ivy-leaf lamps from the same site (Majcherek and Zych 2011) as well as from one season of excavation at Berenike (Zych 2011), both sites in Egypt. The lamps from Tell Edfu, excavated by the Franco-Polish mission before the war, at least the ones that reached the National Museum in Warsaw, were published in a catalog by Maria-Ludwika Bernhard (1959).

Being singular clay vessels, lamps have been included in publications of pottery from the different sites (mostly as articles in journals or conference proceedings): Palmyra in Syria (Krogulska 1996; posthumously 2019, in this volume); Jiyeh/Porphyréon in Lebanon (Domzálski et al. 2005); Naqluin in Egypt (Danys-Lasek 2014; Żurek 2004), Dongola (Danys-Lasek 2012; Bańńska 2008a), Banganarti (Bańńska 2008b) and Selib 1 (Cedro 2015; 2016) in Sudan.

Glass lamps have never been the subject of a separate volume, but have been studied by Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert in her work on lighting and lighting devices used in monastic context, based in part on material from Deir el-Naqlun (Mossakowska-Gaubert 2000). Renata Kucharczyk has also presented the various kinds of glass lamps in her reports from successive seasons of excavation at Alexandria (2005b; 2007a; 2010a; 2011*), Marina el-Alamein (2010b; **), Marea (2004; 2005a; 2007b; **) and Berenike in Egypt, while Mariusz Burdajewicz included lamps in his presentation of glass vessels from Beit Ras/Capitolias in Jordan. Krystyna Gawlikowska published lamps among the glass finds from Hawarte in Syria and from Tell Farama/Pelusium in Egypt. By dint of the same principle of grouping finds by the raw material used in their making, a stone lamp was included by Marta Mierzejewska in her study of stone vessels from Islamic layers on Bijan Island in Iraq (2016).

The review of miscellaneous lamp finds from Polish excavations has been arranged loosely by material (clay, stone, metal, glass), chronology [Table 1] and type. Near to 170 clay lamps are presented, three lamps of stone, one of metal and about 80 glass ones. Also included is a bronze lampstand, one of clay, two
Table 1. Sites excavated by PCMA UW teams (since 1959), yielding lamp finds appearing in published form, listed in alphabetical order and indicating general dating of lamps and lamp-related artifacts

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<th>SITE</th>
<th>Hellenistic</th>
<th>early Roman (1st century)</th>
<th>mid-Roman (2nd–3rd)</th>
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clay lanterns, two polycandela and metal chains for suspension, metal wick holders and examples of unused wicks, these being an integral part of the lighting experience in antiquity and medieval times.

Last but not least, a few examples of incense burners (properly identified) are presented, not because they are lamps, but because they are frequently mistaken for lamps. It is useful to show a few examples in juxtaposition with the actual lamps in order that caution be exerted when identifying fragmentary remains of such objects: holes and soot are hardly decisive criteria.

Relevant information on the objects themselves and the contextual data (if available) from the original reports and publications is discussed briefly, contributing wherever possible new insight and interpretations, citing new parallels and introducing occasional corrigenda. However, as already said above, this is not an effort to publish this material. The goal rather is to bring to the attention of lamp specialists a richness of finds that still await publication.

If, by chance, the presentation has become something of a review of oil lamp evolution spanning almost two millennia (the geographical and chronological scope of Polish Mediterranean archaeology under the auspices of the PCMA UW in the past 60 years has been quite breathtaking), it is to be hoped that some good will come of it, helping to “re-discover” some finds and possibly prompting a renewed interest in full publications.

**HELLENISTIC**

article in the jubilee volume for Maria-Ludwika Bernhard, whose Lampki starożytne, a catalogue of the collection of lamps in the National Museum in Warsaw (1955), included information on the assemblage of lamps that, in effect of a post-excavation division of finds with the Egyptian authorities, reached the Museum from the Franco-Polish excavation in Tell Edfu in Egypt the last three years before World War II. Bernhard used the set to discuss Egyptian lamp-making workshops from Upper Egypt, especially with regard to the Hellenistic period when much of many Greek lamp types were imitated (for the collection of Frog lamps from Tell Edfu, see below).

Oil lamps, one inscribed with an alpha on the base, typical Hellenistic types with radial decoration on the shoulder and anvil-shaped nozzle, were discovered in the context of the most ancient structures excavated in Sector U in the northwestern part of the Kom el-Dikka site in Alexandria (Daszewski 1994: 428 and Fig. 1). The lamps and the accompanying ceramics were dated to the early 1st century BC; they came from architecture oriented according to a different grid, more in line with a strictly north–south alignment, which the late Roman public sector that was constructed on the ruins of the early Roman residential district did not respect. In recent years, a fornica was identified in this area by Grzegorz Majcherek heading the Polish excavations on Kom el-Dikka.

Hellenistic oil lamps from Alexandria were published by Jolanta Mynarczyk.
Młynarczyk discussed two Hellenistic types of lamps found in the Polish excavations both in Nea Paphos in Cyprus and in Alexandria in Egypt, produced at a time when reciprocal ties between the capital city of the Ptolemies and the provincial capital in Cyprus were at the height of their development. One of these was the so-called Phoenician or Punic open lamp. The finds from Paphos, discovered in layers directly on bedrock, cannot be earlier than the foundation of the city, which is dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC. The type was prevalent in Cypriot lamp production in the 2nd century BD (Młynarczyk 1983: 284, Fig. 1). The other type are lamps of the Knidian sort, produced somewhere on the western Asia Minor coast, perhaps near to Knidos as D.M. Bailey suspected (and M.-L. Bernhard before him [1955: 111]). In any case Knidos and Deos have yielded the largest assemblages. They seem to have copied metal prototypes, including firing in a reduction atmosphere to obtain grey clay and a dark grey or black surface with a glossy sheen to it, imitating shining metal reflections. Both Nea Paphos and the Kom el-Dikka site in Alexandria have yielded lamps of this type, which was quite rare in Egypt, having been found otherwise mainly in sepulchral contexts in Alexandria. The generally 2nd-century BC date of these fragments, a time of the greatest territorial expansion of the so-called Knidian products, is cited based on parallels; The presence of these lamps in Nea Paphos is proof of established contacts of this naval base of the Ptolemies in the Mediterranean with the Anatolian coast (Młynarczyk 1983: 288–290). A plastic lamp in the shape of a sitting Sylenos (initially described simply as a naked dwarf, Mysliwiec 1992: 27) came from a context with a coin of Ptolemy II [Fig. 1]. It takes on the form of a semi-reclining figure with a long phal-lus between his legs shaped into a noz-
hands he holds up to his face a vessel, the rim of which is made into a filling hole. A fully pierced side lug is placed by his left elbow. The piece was published by Jolanta Młynarcyk in her corpus of terracotta oil lamps from Tell Atrib, who dated it to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC dated and considered it at least an Alexandrian product, if not an imported (Młynarczyk 2012: 139–140, No. 268, Fig. 39 with a discussion and references for a bronze lamp reminiscent in shape and prototypes/replicas from Egypt in the British Museum Collection). Recently, two closely similar lamps from the private Bouvier Collection have been published; one may have been made in a workshop in Bubastis, the other is a more mediocre copy from Fayum; both are from the 1st century AD (Chrzanovski 2019a: Cat. 255, 256).

A set of complete (three) and fragmentary oil lamps as well as a fragment of multi-nozzle ring-shaped crown comes from trenches testing the stratum underlying the pottery workshops in Sector B of the site on the northern outskirts of the coastal town of Jiyeh/Porphyreon in Lebanon (Domżalski et al. 2005: 433, for site interpretation and dating 429, 439) [Fig. 2:A]. The workshops produced mainly amphorae between the 2nd century BC and the late 1st century AD, perhaps even slightly later (for a comprehensive discussion of site stratigraphy and dating, see Wicenciak 2016). The lamps are wheel-made with attached nozzles, reminiscent of the Howland 25D Prime type. One of the complete lamps reveals an unpierced wick-hole [Fig. 2:B], which is seen as proof of local production of the so-called “watch-shaped” terracotta oil lamps as well as finer wares, like thin-walled bowls and oil lamps, in a typical Brittle Ware fabric recognized in Hellenistic and Roman Phoenicia. This waster dates from the 2nd to early 1st century BC (Gwiazda 2010–2011: 35).

The lamp assemblage from the excavation in Tell Farama/Pelusium in Egypt

Fig. 1. Plastic lamp: Tell Atrib (Egypt) (After Myśliwiec 1992: Fig. 1, TA 91A/116 | digitizing M. Piorun)
included a few larger wheel-made Hellenistic fragments, all from the western part of the theater orchestra and parodos, where they were found mixed into rubbish of late Roman date (for this material, see below, Fig. 10). They were identified as a) an Alexandrian-influenced Młynarczyk A type from the 1st century BC into the 1st century AD (PL 04/317); b) a form resembling Athenian 4th century BC products.

Fig. 2. Hellenistic lamps: a, b – Jiyeh/Porphyreon (Lebanon); c – Hawarte (Syria); d – Tell Farama/Pelusium (Egypt) (After: a – Domżalski et al. 2005: Fig. 7; b – Gwiazda 2011–2012: Fig. 4; c – Majcherek 2004: Fig. 9; d – Wasilewska 2008: Fig. 1 | digitizing M. Piorun)
(PL 04/330), and c) a form closely paralleled by a 3rd century BC North African lamp (PL 04/372) (Wasilewska 2008: 118–119, with references) [Fig. 2:C].

These two lamps [Fig. 2:D] represent a limited number of artifacts that were found discarded in a bothros in the main chamber of the Roman mithraeum in Hawarte. The rock-cut pit was more than 2 m in diameter and roughly 1.50 m deep. A small channel running from a nearby altar emptied into it, hence it was probably where libations were directed from the altar. The bothros was found filled with ash intercalated with loosely packed soil, containing a substantial deposit of early Roman tableware including Eastern Sigillata A plates and a fine large skyphos with applied decoration featuring a scrolling-vine motif. The set was dated securely to the second half of the 1st century AD and contributed to a revision of the generally later dating of the diffusion of the Mithraic cult in the East (Majcherek 2004: 332).
Fig. 3. Early Roman volute lamps (Loeschcke III): a, b, c, d, f, g – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt);
e, h – Nea Paphos (Cyprus) (After: a, c – Zych 2004: Fig. 1; b – Daszewski 1992: Fig. 2; d– Daszewski 2001: Fig. 6; e – Daszewski 1996: Fig. 2; f – Bąkowska-Czerner 2011: Fig. 6; g – Medeksza et al. 2010: Fig. 9; h – Daszewski and Meyza 2008: Fig. 11 | digitizing M. Piorun)
EARLY ROMAN

VOLUTE LAMPS
The report presented nine of the 48 lamps excavated during the first three seasons of excavations, covering a range from the Hellenistic (2nd–1st century BC) through the 4th century AD. The lamps included lamps produced outside of Egypt, Italic imports constituting roughly 30–50% of the assemblage, Asia Minor products roughly 8%, and Cyprus. The rest were Egyptian-made lamps, notably dominating the assemblage from the 2nd–3rd century AD (roughly 70% of the set from this period) and making up the latest group of three lamps of the Frog type, attributed to the 4th century AD (Sztetyło 1991: Fig. 5).

The lamp identified as a pear-shaped form from the 1st century AD is suggested to be an imitation of bronze lamps of the period (Sztetyło 1991: 4). The lamp identified as a pear-shaped form from the 1st century AD is suggested to be an imitation of bronze lamps of the period (Sztetyło 1991: 4; Fig. 6, after Bernhard 1955: 212, with other references) and an Italic product from the Claudian period. The latter identification is obviously mistaken, although the form of the lamp with heart-shaped discus and angular nozzle is considered as rare with the nearest parallels coming from the Athenian Agora (see Bussière and Lindros Wohl 2017: 372 and Cat. 514 with parallels and references). An Eastern provenance of the workshop is not out of the question in this case, but the date in the second half of the 1st century AD is acceptable and, all things considered, it is not to be excluded that bronze prototypes actually had a role in the emergence of the few lamps of this form.

Two lamps, presumed Asia Minor imports (Knidian?), both type Heres C, bear the Romanesis signature, impressed in one case and incised in the other, the first showing a canthar with a vine and bunches of grapes and in the other a stylized grapevine, both of Claudian date (Heres 1968: 192, No. 53, Fig. 12, discus iconography type 21, and No. 54, Fig. 13, discus iconography type 22).

Sztetyło lists the iconographic motifs appearing on the 1st century AD voluted lamps: dolphins and gladiatorial images, and on the 2nd–3rd century AD lamps, both Egyptian, most likely Alexandrian products and their prototypes: Sarapis enthroned, wreathed bust of Dionysus, grotesque dancer, Eros asleep in a scalloped shell, symbol of Aphrodite, an animal walking right. She also mentions a producer’s mark in the form of three palm branches, a common mark on Egyptian lamps (Sztetyło 1991: 48–49).

36–43 catalog of finds from two seasons, including terracotta oil lamps (7 out of 10 illustrated)

Pillar Tomb 1: RF 6/87 and RF 9/87, one from the floor of the northern loculus and outside the loculi, on the level of the floor of the southern loculus, circular
lamps with voluted nozzles, both of Augustan date (Daszewski 1990: 36–47, Cat. Nos 1, 2 with references, Pl. 15a,b).

Pillar Tomb 1B: in sand fill east of the remains of the pillar, a late Augustan circular lamp with a rare relief representation of a voluted lamp with splayed nozzle and triangular handle in top view on the discus, sharing the filling hole (Daszewski 1990: 38, Cat. No. 8 with references, among others, to a later Loeschke I A lamp, Pl. 15d).

Tomb 1F: two lamp discovered in a context associated with the tomb foundations, a circular lamp with voluted nozzle with angular tip (Loeschke 1B type), decorated with a myrtle wreath on the discus, attributed to the early first half of the 1st century AD, and a circular lamp with short volutes on the shoulder (Loeschke V type) and a double-petaled rosette on the discus, from the later part of the 1st century AD (Daszewski 1990: 39–40, Cat. Nos 12, 13 with references, Pl. 15:e,f).

Hypogeum-tomb 6: five lamps from the aboveground mausoleum, rooms 2, 18 and 12 (Daszewski 1990: 41–43, Cat. Nos 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, with references, Pl. 15c,g), found in collapse-related contexts that could be associated with major destruction of the town, probably caused by an earthquake in the AD 160s (see above). This corresponds to the latest use of the tomb, when two secret chambers were constructed on opposite sides of the staircase and four mummies with so-called Fayum portraits (one relatively well preserved) deposited in the western of the chambers. The lamps are dated roughly to the early to mid-2nd century AD. A triangular handle attachment with a scrolling vine with buds and flowers (Cat. 25) was found in the main hall of the mausoleum with two banquet benches, three lamps lay under a collapsed wall in the entrance to the staircase, outside a secret cache of mummies located east of it. The circular lamp with ring handle and a depiction of a “bearded and horned figure” holding an object in his outstretched right hand (Cat. 23) may indeed be a Knidian product with an image of a grotesque performing a stave dance (see Bailey 1988: 62, Discus scenes III(e)ii), especially since the other lamp is a Knidian circular lamp with short broad semicircular nozzle and a relief double-petalled rosette on the shoulder. The third from this space was a lamp with ovoid body and a plain almond-shaped discus, furnished with a pierced lug handle with grooves on top of it (Loeschke V, elongated variant, Cat. 24). The dating of this lamp, which finds near parallels among Ephesian lamps, follows from the archaeological context, favoring an earlier dating to the late 1st–early 2nd century AD proposed by John W. Hayes rather than Bailey’s suggested second half of the 2nd and even 3rd century AD (Daszewski et al. 1990: 42–43, Cat. 24 and Note 41). The dating issue regarding this eastern elongated variant of Loeschcke V (or Deneauve V F) type lamps was addressed again recently, citing dates from the second quarter of the 1st century AD (too early), through Flavian–Trajanic and first half of the 2nd century AD, to the second half of the 2nd century into the 3rd century AD and even AD 350–450 for a lamp with a cross monogram (Bussière and Lindros Wohl 2017: 373). The post-2nd century date is assigned to examples that have already
lost the residual volutes, but since the nozzle end of the Marina lamp is broken off, this criterion cannot be used.

Last from this tomb, a rosette lamp with ovules on the shoulder, found in a side hall, resembled the one described above. It was a first-generation lamp, red-slipped on top and bearing a degenerate form of the Romanesis signature in the form of a zigzag on the base with impressed circles below and above (Cat. 19). The excavators noted several examples of this particular type of lamp and signature from different contexts around the city (for an example, see below).

Two early 1st century AD lamps from Egyptian excavations at Marina el-Alamein in Egypt. One is a Loeschcke IB lamp in a reddish-yellow fabric with red semi-matt slip, produced in a workshop using the Romanesis signature. The rosette on the discus is a very common motif, Marina el-Alamein being no exception [Fig. 3:A]. The other is a Loeschcke IV type, with a glossy red-brown slip coating a dark brown fabric. It may have been produced outside of Egypt. The scalloped shell device in the discus is found, for example, on lamps originating from Cyprus and North Africa [Fig. 3:C]. A third lamp, a presumed Italian-made piece, presents a light brown fabric and a glossy dark red to brown and even black slip. The image on the discus is that of Jupiter, a frontal bust, and an eagle looking left with wings spread and standing on a thunderbolt. This depiction in this form was common in early Imperial times, through the beginning of the 2nd century (Zych 2004: 78–79). A later variant is shown by a lamp from Tell Farama/Pelusium [see below, Fig. 10:E].

A fine terracotta lamp lay in a crack between the blocks of the upper layer of box tombs T1B and T1C in the center of the Pillar Tomb area of the necropolis at Marina el-Alamein, considered to be the core of the cemetery which started perhaps even in the 2nd century BC. The lamp is a Loeschcke 1B type, which originated from Italy and was an immediate and immense success with Egyptian lampmakers who produced them on a massive scale all through the 1st century AD. They are very common on sites in the Nile Delta as well as the Fayum, reflecting, as Chrzanovski notes (2019a: 187), the enthusiastic cultural integration that welded the province of Egypt to the koine of the Roman Eastern Mediterranean.

The large medallion shape of the discus in these lamps lent itself to a variety of increasingly elaborate subjects with nothing but the imagination and skill of the artisans to curb the effects. The discus in the case of this lamp was decorated with the theme of a winged Eros riding a panther, for which the excavator, Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski sought Dionysiac overtones (Daszewski 1992: 31) [Fig. 3:B]. Daszewski knew the motif to be rare in lamps and he evoked parallels for the composition from late Hellenistic mosaics from Delos and Pompeii. However, a closer parallel, which would also point to creative copying of imported mold-made relief wares by the Egyptian lampmakers, and more generally potters, are the medallion cups with relief decoration. Type 8 of the medallion cups from Morgantina presents the motif of Eros riding a pantheress, an allegory of savagery being conquered by love, which closely
followed the schema of a popular 4th
century representation of Dionysus on a pantheress, translated into other media (Stone 2014: 256 and Nos 551–555, Pls 114, 115). There is no archaeological evidence for the dating of the Morgantina stamps, which Stone thinks ceased to be used by the 2nd century BC, but there is nothing to say that they were not further adapted for use on discuses of the 1st century AD lamps so well suited to the purpose. One should add that a medallion from a cup of this kind was found during the MASP excavations at Marina el-Alamein in 2006 (I. Zych, personal observation).

Pottery, both tableware fragments and sherds of large amphora containers, glass and lamps were found around the remains of Tomb 27 in the Roman necropolis of Marina el-Alamein on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt. They are the material remains of commemorative rituals for the dead celebrated at the tombs. The lamp is a Loeschcke IV standard form, decorated with a relief rendering of an oak wreath on a large shallow discus with central filling hole; the nozzle is of medium length with a large wick hole and a double volute marking the junction with the reservoir [Fig. 3:D]. The lamp and the early Roman Cypriot sigillata and other tableware presumably relate to an earlier offering altar arranged of flat irregular stones almost on top of bedrock as opposed to a later altar located practically on the same spot, on a thick layer of sand, dated to the 2nd/3rd century by the pottery assemblage (Daszewski 2001: 53). The type is fairly rare in Egypt, although it seems to have been produced in the Delta long after their Italian prototypes had disappeared from the market. This particular form occurs from the 30s to the end of the 1st century AD (Chrzanovski 2019: 187). Granted that discus motifs need not to have determined customer choices when procuring a lamp to be lighted in a funerary commemoration; however, the oak wreath, beside being a reward for athletes, was seen also as a guardian against evil spirits and was related to concepts of rebirth and eternal life. It could reflect on the clientele in Marina el-Alamein, rich enough and interested enough to invest in lamps with such motifs, brought to the site possibly from Alexandrian workshops.

A small fragment of a Roman discus red-slipped lamp, most likely an import, bears a fine representation in relief most probably of Heracles [Fig. 3:G]. It was most probably a surface find and is not mentioned in the report (Medeksza et al. 2010: Fig. 9). LERNA

A lamp of Loeschcke IV type came from House H19 in Marina, where it was found in a niche in Room 22. The discus is decorated with the motif of a standing Aphrodite with two winged Erotes on either side, handing her toiletries [Fig. 3:F]. The lamp has a stamped ligature ΑΓ appearing on the base. The fabric and slip are suggestive of an Italian product of the second half of the 1st century–2nd century AD, thus the Greek letters of the stamped signature are considered by Grażyna Bąkowska-Czerner as a case of Corinthian artisans working in Italic workshops, using a discus motif from their portfolio and retaining the names of their former masters written in Greek on the lamps (Bąkowska-Czerner 2011: 108). Bąkowska-Czerner cites a parallel from a museum collection in Piraeus, which by its heart-shaped nozzle is probably closer
in date to the lamp described above and which is inscribed with the signature of Loukios (ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ) and another Corinthian lamp from the Kom el-Shukafa hypogeum in Alexandria with the signature of Gaios (ΓΑΙΟΥ) and another nozzle more like that of the lamp from Marina (Bruneau 1977: 259, Cat. 57 and Note 32, dated to the early 2nd century AD). Markos was a lampmaker in Corinth in the early 2nd century and the few signed lamps from his workshop are decorated with motifs from the marine thiasos (Bruneau 1971: 461; 1977: 285). It is entirely possible that the two bases signed with this name could be attributed to him (see below, a later lamp with the same iconography, Fig. 7: **).

A Loeschcke IV lamp from a context below Room 16N of the Villa of Theseus in Cyprus was not dated in the report and illustrated with only a drawing without information on the fabric or dimensions (Daszewski 1996: 99). It was from the fill of an early Roman house of the 1st century pre-dating the Villa of Theseus, yielding also fragments of a millefiori glass bowl of Alexandrian provenance. A close parallel is held in the J. Paul Getty Museum, where it is described as an Eastern Mediterranean lamp (reddish-yellow fabric with mottled glaze), rather than North African, and the discus iconography is more easily recognized as a lion bringing down a stag [Fig. 3:E]. The lamp from the Getty Museum has a planta pedis stamp on the base, while the Nea Paphos specimen is said to be inscribed with the signature of the Romanesisis workshop. The motif was apparently more common on lamps from the western Mediterranean, where the lion was shown biting at the throat of a horse or mule (see Bailey 1980: 161, Q 866). Generally, the motif has a symbolism going beyond a genre scene at the circus (also a possibility considering the popularity of animal combat with the ancient Romans) because it has connotations of the power of the stronger. The date of the parallel is given as Tiberian to early Trajanic (Bussière and Wohl 2017: 133 Cat. 187).

A fragment of the discus of a lamp with the figure of a standing bull in relief, from a quality-made molded lamp (Daszewski and Meyza 2008: Fig. 3) [Fig. 3:H]. A Loeschcke I lamp from the 1st century AD (originally from a private British collection) bears a directly parallel image of a bull with the head of a man (which is broken off in the Paphos example); it is interpreted as Achelous, the patron deity of the largest river in Greece (https://fragmentsoftime.com/shop/galleries/achelous/). With the head of the bull being lost from the Paphos example, it is of course only speculation to cite it here in this context.

**LOESCHCKE III LAMPS**

Loeschcke III lamps were large devices furnished with at least two nozzles and a handle attachment rising high above the reservoir, triangular with relief decoration or plastic in form. The grand Italian prototypes made of bronze were fashionable in the Augustan age; around the Mediterranean, Egypt included, smaller and less elaborate copies were considered luxury items and were produced through the end of the 2nd century AD (Chrzanowski 2019a: 187; see also Chrzanowski 2019b, in this volume: 456ff.).
Handle attachments in the form of a large acanthus leaf and a regular leaf, a vulvate handle and an oversize nozzle with tightly scrolled volutes in relief and a thunderbolt motif between them represent a fashion for large multi-nozzle lamps that began in the later 1st century and was continued into the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. Illustrated here is a reconstructed trilychnoi lamp with a close parallel said to come from Alexandria. The handle attachment is decorated with a frontal Dionysiac(?) face wreathed in ivy leaves with a simplified palmette rising above it. The execution of this relief representation and its nature argues in favor of it having been made in an expert atelier, possibly even in Italy considering the dense gray-black fabric with no visible inclusions and a semi-matt black slip. The resemblance to metal lamps is in this case evident, not the least because of its size (about 9 cm high with the handle and at least 16 cm long, more with the nozzles (Zych 2004: 79) [Fig. 4:A].

The lamp found in Tomb 18, a tomb

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Fig. 4. Early Roman multiple-nozzle lamps: Marina el-Alamein (Egypt) (After: a – Zych 2004: Fig. 2; b – Zych 2011: Fig. 2; c – Daszewski 1999: Fig. 6 | digitizing M. Piorun)
belonging to the category of rock-cut hypogea with deep courtyard shaft approached by a vaulted stairway descending from the surface, and chambers with niches of various size and shape cut in the walls (for an axonometric plan of the tomb, see Daszewski 1999: 47–48 and Fig. 5), constituted the furnishing of a specific burial made in one of the niches shared by two other burials in the west wall of the main chamber, a location apparently assigned by tradition to the owners or founders of a given hypogea (Zych 2010: Medeksza). The bilychnoi lamp with a pattern of ovules on a narrow shoulder, a triangular attachment with a vegetal ornament (broken) and volutes terminating in plastically rendered horses’ heads, the most characteristic feature of this lamp, was found by the skull of the individual buried latest in this niche. It is one of the best preserved examples of its kind, others being known from Isthmia, Cyprus, the Agora in Athens and Corinth, among others (Daszewski 1999: 48 note 7 for a list of parallels; see also Chrzanovski 2019: Cat. 218, not a direct parallel from the Bouvier Collection; for the horse’s head as the termination of a handle, see Cat. 249) [Fig. 4:C]. The accepted date for lamps with horse-headed volutes is the second and third quarter of the 1st century AD.

Two other very large lamps of the 1st century, one of these a bilychnoi device with the relief bust of Apollo with a bow slung across his back on the triangular handle attachment [Fig. 4:C] and the other a jumbo Cretan lamp of the Ivy-leaf type (see below), were placed on the parapets of the window in the facade of the burial chamber through which daylight would have streamed from the shaft courtyard into the chamber. The size of these lamps, suggesting a large reservoir and doubled wick-lighting power, combined with their location in the “window” of the burial chamber may be seen as proof of commemorative rituals taking place in the night. The pottery assemblage from the fill of the tomb confirms the dating in the 1st century for the first use of the hypogea; its continued use, including regular commemoration of the dead according to Roman practice, is attested by three small lamps of early 2nd century date found in the fill of the chamber.

A close parallel for the triangular attachment with a relief bust of Apollo, identified as an Alexandrian product, is dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD, although, publishing an example from the Kaufmann Collection, Wolfgang Selesnow opted for the second half of the 1st century AD (Chrzanovski 2019: Cat. 238 with references). The context of the tomb and the Cretan lamp supports the earlier dating, at least in the case of the lamp from Marina el-Alamein.

**CRETAN IVY-LEAF LAMPS**

The so-called Cretan ivy-leaf lamps were found at Marina el-Alamein in both urban domestic and sepulchral contexts, although in the former case very fragmented. However, despite the individuality of the shape and decoration—no two seem to be the same, the ornaments being freely worked into the clay before firing, both molded in relief and incised—these lighting devices are so characteristic that they are easily identified in fragmentary assemblages. They are made of a fine reddish-yellow or light reddish-brown
fabric with a red slip that is usually worn off and peeling, and the decoration, the most characteristic form that has given the type its designation, consists of schematic bilobate (“ivy”) leaves and bosses attached to the shoulder and nozzles. The stratigraphic contextual dating of these lamps in Marina falls within a horizon from the latter half of the 1st century through the middle of the 2nd century, that is, from the Flavians through the Antonines.

One of the earliest, dated contextually to the second half or end of the 1st century BC by pottery and glass vessels from the fill of the burial chamber, is a simple form with long rounded nozzle and attached loop handle, decorated with an incised zigzag and dots on the shoulder and a feathered incised semi-volutes suspended from the ring around the discus, came from Tomb T1GH, one of the earliest rock-cut hypogea in the city necropolis (Daszewski 1991: 34 and Fig. 2).

Fig. 5. Cretan Ivy-leaf lamps: a–d Marina el-Alamein (Egypt) (After: Majcherek and Zych 2011: Figs 7A–B and 8 | digitizing M. Piorun)
At the other end of the spectrum is one of largest and most elaborate examples of the type, a bilychnoi with decorated side handles (a mark of later 1st and 2nd century AD lighting devices, see Bailey 1985) and bog nozzles with a raised ring around the wick hole leaving a ledge for the wick to rest on. It was discovered fortuitously together with a coin of Marcus Aurelius in a layer of rubble attesting to the violent destruction of one of the large houses in the city center, most probably in the earthquake of AD 164, heavily felt in the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus and Libya. The location within the house, clearly not in the residential quarters, suggests that at the time of the catastrophe the lamp may have been in storage; the other objects found together with the lamp included a small shafted iron adze, iron box fittings wrapped in cloth, bronze pyxis lid with hoop handle, terracotta figurine, bowls, plates and jugs of plan and table wares, a faience bowl (Zych, Obłuski and Wicenciak 2008: 90 and Fig. 10 top) [Fig. 5:B].

The complete lamps—at least seven and some fragments (for a full description of the assemblage with discussion, see Majcherek and Zych 2011: strony and Figs 7–9; see also Zych 2004: 81–83 and Fig. 3)—came from burial contexts in four separate hypogeum tombs in the central part of the necropolis (in a few cases the evidence for the provenance is circumstantial). One of the lamps illustrated here [Fig. 7:C] was found in Tomb 13, an elaborate hypogeum tomb with a rich and varied set of grave goods coming from the different loculi, which also yielded evidence for the presence of mummies (remains of resinated or bitumized bandages), wooden biers or coffins as well as leaves of golden foil placed in the mouth of the deceased, tableware and other lamps, female figurines of the “bride of the dead” kind molded of lime mortar (Daszewski 1998: 7–69; for a discussion of the dating and the socio-cultural affiliation of the dead from this tomb, see Zych 2010). Again, the contextual dating of the lamp in this tomb falls in the late 1st–early 2nd century AD.

Interestingly, a deceptively similar lamp was found in a domestic context in the University of Warsaw Institute of Archaeology excavations at Ptolemais in Libya (Majcherek and Zych 2011: Fig. 9). It is worth reiterating that, to the author’s knowledge, Cretan lamps have not been reported from other sites excavated in Egypt and the only other published assemblage of lamps of this kind outside Crete (where they come in hundreds) is a set excavated at Benghazi (Sidi Khrebish) in Libya. The Crete-based workshop of Gamos, whose signature as well as characteristic pelta-shaped marks on the bases (also noted in the Marina el-Alamein assemblage, I. Zych, personal observation), may have played a role in the distribution of this particular Cre-

1 Two recently published private collections of oil lamps, that of Maurice Bouvier held in private hands (Chrzanovski 2019a) and the Forcart Collection from the Museum in Geneva (Chrzanovski 2019b), collected respectively on the antiquaries market mainly in Alexandria and from the early 20th century excavations in Fayum, have not produced any examples of this type. As an argumentio ex silentio it is hardly conclusive, but one is forgiven to think that had examples of these attractive and unusual lamps been forthcoming from these areas in Egypt, they would have had a chance of entering these private collections.
The Ptolemais find can be construed as evidence for tightening commercial and private ties within the province (see Chevrollier 2016), whereas the assemblage from Marina el-Alamein is a clue to the closeness and nature of ties between this Mediterranean coastal city just a hundred kilometers from Alexandria in Egypt and the Cyrenaican province and through it possibly also with Crete.

As an aside, one can mention in this context two giant Cretan lamps (35 cm long to the regular top length of 20–25 cm of the lamps from Marina el-Alamein), one an unprovenanced specimen from the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria and the other from Herod’s Palace in Caesarea. There is every reason to see these two objects as valuable and glamorous gifts, presented as part of official relations in the Roman world (see Majcherek and Zych 2011: 265–367). The jumbo-sized lamp from Tomb 18 (wrongly identified as T19 in Majcherek and Zych 2011: 369) is big enough also to constitute a special object; one can only speculate on the socio-cultural statement that was invested in its placement in a tomb at Marina el-Alamein.

**LOESCHCKE VIII LAMPS**

Two lamps with a representation of a big running sheepdog, its feet on a ground line also rendered in relief, were found in burial contexts at the necropolis of Marina el-Alamein. The illustrated lamp came from Tomb T7 and was dated by the excavator to the late 1st century AD (Daszewski 1994: 24, 31) [Fig. 6:A]. It represents a Loeschcke VIII type, made in a secondary mold. It was found in the fill of the burial chamber, together with another late 1st century AD lamp. Lamps of 1st century AD date were found together with Cypriot sigillata ceramics also on the ground surface of the cemetery, in windblown sand accumulated against the low wall sheltering the shaft of the tomb courtyard (Daszewski 1992: 36).

The other lamp with a sheepdog on the discus came from the burial loculi inside a box-tomb T1F. According to the excavator, it was a crisp shape from the beginning of the 1st century AD. The sheepdog motif in this form appears to have been a common motif on Loeschcke I lamps especially in the Rhenish provinces, but also in the Aegean (see Chrzanovski 2019: 97, Motif M82, Cat. 166, Alexandrian lamp from the first half of the 1st century AD).

Roman-age layers in the part of ancient Tell Atrib excavated by the Polish team in the 1990s were heavily disturbed. This lamp of the Loeschcke VIII type with the Egyptian notched lug handle came from a thick surface layer overlying Hellenistic remains in squares EEE and III at the western edge of the site. The discus scene shows two pairs of animals (one spotted feline? a tiger attacking a donkey and a wolf attacking a lamb, according to Młynarczyk) in combat, composed around the central filling hole set off by a double relief ring. The base bears an in-
Fig. 6. Roman lamps (Loeschcke VIII): a, c–h – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt); b – Tell Atrib (Egypt)
(After: a – Daszewski 1994: Fig. 2; b – Myśliwiec 1996: Fig. 3; c–h – Zych 2004: Fig. 7 | digitizing M. Piorun)
cised palm branch (or ear-of-corn) above an incuse dotted circle; the bottom is additionally decorated with an arched line with a pattern of ovules suspended from it, marking the junction with the nozzle, and a V-shaped groove underlining the attachments of the lug handle [Fig. 6b].

The base mark is a frequent case on Egyptian-made lamps from the 1st through at least the 4th century (for an index of marks on lamps from the Bouvier Collection, see Chrzanovski 2019a: 57–65). The Loeschcke VIII variant with the characteristic notched ring handle started to be produced in local Egyptian workshops. Thus, except for the lug handle (handles of this type, with the notch, separated from the lamp they had once been attached to, are among the bulk finds from late Roman layers at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria; I. Zych, personal observation), the lamp is an Egyptian imitation, apparently from an Alexandrian workshop. Młynarczyk suggests a date in the late 4th century AD, revising the 2nd century AD date given in the initial report (Myśliwiec 1996: 6; Młynarczyk 2012: Cat. 325 with references to the late Roman Alexandrian series of this lamp pattern). The mixed nature of the context supports both dates.

The collection from Polish and Egyptian excavations in Marina el-Alamein includes a sizable group of 13 Loeschcke VIII circular molded lamps, with and without handles, varying shoulder profiles and a whole spectrum of rounded nozzle types [Fig. 6:C–G]. These are most probably Egyptian imitations of Knidian and Ephesian forms, all of 2nd century date. The fabric is generally reddish-yellow to reddish-brown, the slip mostly glossy or semi-glossy, red and red-brown.

The discus iconography is varied: single- and double-petal rosettes, kantharos, bull, gladiator, enthroned deity(?). Inscriptions on the bases include one Romanesia signature and several derivative zigzags, either isolated or between impressed circles above and below. As indicated, the lamps are of local manufacture despite repeating popular shapes and decoration from overseas ateliers, hence it is more than likely that they are a product of subsidiary “branch” workshop benefiting from the “brand” of this successful producer (Zych 2004: 87; for a still key study of the organization of the lamp industry in Roman times, see Harris 1980: esp. 130).

The lamp with a decoration of grape bunches suspended from the relief ring delineating the discus with an unusual scrolling volute marked on the shoulder and joining on the top of the nozzle, which is rounded and possibly heart-shaped, does not find close parallels. The fabric is red, fine and somewhat powdery with many inclusions of various size, the slip is pink to light brown (Zych 2004: 85–86) [Fig. 7:A]. The fragment with the scallop-shell design is of a design that is believed to be modeled closely on imported Corinthian and Athenian Ovule-and-Pnel lamps of group X of the Broneer XXVII type dated from the mid 2nd century AD, perhaps even into the 4th century AD (Zych 2004: 86–87) [Fig. 7:D].

Collection of fragmented lamps, including a base with the signature of the lamp producer Markou, written in Greek (MAPKOY), known so far from the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean (Katsioti 2014: 157–158). A Cypriot workshop has been suggested, not later than the
3rd century AD (G. Bąkowska-Czerner 2018: 79) [Fig. 7:E]. Another lamp with the Markou signature is a Corinthian Loeschcke VIII specimen with discus iconography in the form of an Aphrodite standing between two winged Erotes offering her attributes, coming from House 40.1 in the northern part of Marina el-Alamein; Katarzyna Warecka dates it to the 3rd century AD (Warecka forthcoming) (for a 1st century imported volute lamp with the same iconographic motif, see above, Fig. 3:F).

Base of clay oil lamp from the layer directly on the floor, bearing an incuse signature of a lamp producer: Synekdemou (Synekdemos means "traveling companion", A. Łajtar, personal communication) [Fig. 7:F]. The signature of Synekdemos (C745) is rare, it has been noted on some lamps found at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice). Its presence in Marina, in a bath just off the ancient city forum, may yet again reflect a passing role of this harbor (and caravan stop as a matter of fact) in the Cretan and Cyrenaican coastal trade, by land as well as by sea, aimed at Egypt and Alexandria (Grażyna Bąkowska-Czerner in Czerner, Bąkowska-Czerner, and Majcherek 2015: 129).

A lamp of the so-called Sagalassos type (Inv. No. 3801) comes from the TSU I sector of the Kom el-Dikka site in Alexandria, a sector where layers pre-dating the late Roman public complex were tested. It was made of reddish-brown clay. It is circular with sloping shoulders and a small plain concave discus with central filling hole. The noz-

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Fig. 7. Lamps of the 3rd century AD: a, d, e, f – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt); b, c – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka (Egypt) (After: a, d – Zych 2004: Fig. 6; b, c – Majcherek 2011: Fig. 3; e – Czerner, Bąkowska-Czerner, and Grzegorek 2015: Fig. 9 bottom left; F – Czerner, Bąkowska-Czerner, and Majcherek 2015: Fig. 9 | digitizing M. Piorun)
zzle is shaped from the body and there is small strap handle with four grooves on top. Inscribed on the bottom is a signature which Adam Łukaszewicz read as Σαγαλασσικόν. It was incised in large Greek letters in three lines, the space left on the unmarked base filled with a single palm branch. The sigmas here are a rectangular version of the lunar form, which was in common use in the Pisidian Sagalassos during Roman times. Epigrapher Łukaszewicz pointed out that the term was an adjective for “coming from” or “belonging to” Sagalassos. A second lamp of the same type turned up in Tell Atrib (Sector A3, inside a channel), bearing the inscription TROAΔ/ΕCIA. It is a moldmade Egyptian lamp (apparently Hayes Category 1c, presumed to be made in Alexandria), bearing non-Egyptian toponyms inscribed on the flat circular bases (Młynarczyk 2012: 162, Cat. 337; see Hayes 1980: 94; Bailey 1992). Chrzanovski recently published five more lamps of this type and summed up the evidence for, firstly, the Alexandrian provenance of these products (Młynarczyk noted that the lamps represented different archetypes and that each of the inscriptions was inscribed in the respective archetype), based however on an original Sagalassos wheel-made lamp, resolving the issue raised by Młynarczyk why a form apparently typical of Asia Minor lampmaking was adopted in Alexandria. Secondly, he expanded on the hypothesis first proposed by Łukaszewicz and reiterated by Młynarczyk that their function was as a special votive object to be offered during festivities celebrated by groups of Greek expatriates living in Alexandria, eager to use a form coming
from their homeland: Sagalassians from Pisidia, Gortynians from Crete and the Troadians from Troas (Chrzanovski 2019: Cat. 365–369, introduction 260–263). A general date in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, after Bailey, is accepted.

A lamp of an entirely different type, but still dated to the 2nd century AD, found in the excavation at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria, bears the signature ΤΡΟΑ/ΔΗΣΙΑ on the base; Chrzanovski lists a ΤΡΟΑ/ΔΗΘΙΝ signature on a typical Egyptian-made Loeschcke VIII lamp with a mythological theme (2019a: 60, epigraphic index, Cat. 394).

**LAMP with dots**

**LAMPS WITH ISISAC ICONOGRAPHY**

An equally characteristic find, one of several of the kind in the Alexandrian Kom el-Dikka assemblage, was a handle attachment in the form of a three-dimensional figure of an enthroned Serapis [Fig. 8:A]. Handles of terracotta oil lamps in the form of plastically rendered busts of Serapis are surprisingly common among the finds from Area U; the occupation of this district is now believed to have ended in the late 3rd or the first half of the 4th century, before the major public investments that were carried out in this part of Alexandria in the later 4th century AD (Majcherek 2016: 37) [Fig. 8:D]. An Isis *lactans* figure, the handle attachment of an Egyptian-made lamp, was found in Area FW, in early Roman house with the latest phase already abandonment producing substantial quantities of 2nd to 4th century ceramics as well as glass and lamp fragments, also a thin-walled cup, an Aegean import with a painted Greek inscription “drink with joy”, as well as Egyptian imitations of ubiquitous Cypro-riot Sigillata P40 kraters. Shows class! (Majcherek 2018: 41–43) [Fig.8:E].

Marina el-Alamein has been a prolific source of figural handle attachments representing Isisac deities: Isis with Harpocrates rising from a flower, Serapis enthroned and as a bust [Fig. 8:F]. Pol- ish excavations on Kom el-Dikka have yielded a similarly numerous collection. Donald M. Bailey believed them to have been invented in Egypt and distributed from there to North Syria, Knidos and Italy. The lamp from Marina el-Alamein is a rare complete example. It is a Loeschcke VIII type, 9.5 cm high and 10.3 cm at the widest with the side lugs in the form of scrolling volutes. In the center of the discus is a face of Bacchus in a crown of vine leaves. Rising above this discus image was a figure of Isis nursing Harpocrates, emerging from a basket of acanthus leaves. The eclectic combination of the symbols of the cults of Bacchus and Isis surely reflect religious trends prevalent in contemporary Alexandria (see Zych 2004: 83–85, Fig. 5) [Figs 8:B; 9:C].

**Example of a large volute lamp with attached figu-**

**r-al handle in the shape of the bust of a bearded deity in a modius on the head; the lamp shoulders are decorated with a wreath surrounding a frontal relief bust on the discus, interpreted as that of a victorious charioteer (Menzel 1969: Cat. 90, Fig.
Fig. 8. Isiac lamps including plastic handle attachments: a, d, f, g – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka (Egypt); b, c, e, h – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt); j – Bijan Islan (Iraq) (After: a, g – Majcherek and Kucharczyk 2014: Fig. 9; b – Zych 2004: Fig. 5; c – Zych, Obluski and Wicenciak 2008: Fig. 10; d – Majcherek 2016: Fig. 3; e – Zych 2004: Fig. 4; f – Majcherek 2011: Fig. 9; h0 – Jakubiak 2016: Fig. 11; j – Krogluska and Zych 2013: Fig. 5; Czerner, Bąkowska-Czerner, and Grzegorek 2018: Fig. 9 bottom left | digitizing M. Piorun)
26:7, plus Serapis bust, Cat. 98, Fig. 26:2 with earlier references). The dating to the Antonine through Severan period, following Bailey, corresponds to the renovation of the Serapeum in the 2nd century AD (Szentléleky 1969: 138, Cat. 272). Found in the domestic rear part of a large house in central Marina (Tr01), just east of the forum area, together with a Frog lamp: an Isis-in-lotus-flower-nursing-Harpokrates lamp handle attachment (Zych, Ołuski, and Wicenciak 2008: 93)

Presented as a terracotta bust of the goddess Isis in a characteristic hairstyle and with a fringed robe fastened in the so-called Knot of Isis on the front. The base is missing [Fig. 8:F]. The size of this small piece suggests that it could also be

Fig. 9. Roman lamps: a – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka (Egypt); b – Nea Paphos (Cyprus); c – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt) (After: a – Majcherek 2010: Fig. 11; b – Daszewski and Meyza 2008: Fig. 11; c – Zych 2004: Fig. 3 | digitizing M. Piorun)
interpreted as a handle attachment, for which there are several parallels. It was found in a layer of packed dark soil in the corner of Room 17 of the South baths in Marina el-Alamein; the stratigraphy is not clear, but fragments of lamps as well as another terracotta figurine, most likely an animal, were found with the piece (Bąkowska-Czerner 2018: 79–80).

Mentions a lamp handle with Isis seated in an acanthus basket, nursing a small Harpokrates in her arms, dated to the 1st–2nd century AD (Bąkowska-Czerner 2004: Fig. 4; 2009: 133–134 and Pl. I: 3; see Joly, E. L. D. A. (1995). Lucerne con riflettore del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria. Lucerne con riflettore del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria, 329–331). The handle was discovered in House H10E in a layer dated by the pottery. See E252, Zych 2004: 83–84, Fig. 4.

A lamp with an enthroned Serapis represented on the discus was presented by Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski in illustration of the presence of a cult of Serapis in Marina el-Alamein (Daszewki 1991: 101–102, Fig. 6). The lamp was found near a tholos bath just north of the forum; it is just a fragment of a discus framed by a circular radiate band. Another lamp found with the first is complete and can be date to the late 2nd to early 3rd century AD (Antonine and Severan dynasty). It is a Loeschcke VIII/Bussière D X type of lamp with ovolo decoration on the shoulder, the nearest parallels coming from African/Italic workshops on one hand and Eastern/ANatolian workshops on the other (Bussière and Lindros Wohl 2017: 220ff. and Cat. 315, 421–422, with references). The decoration on the discus is in the form of a relief bust of Dionysus with a wreath of vine leaves with bunches of grapes adorning his head. The African Getty example is decorated with a bust of Serapis (Cat. 315) and mythology is actually a predominant theme on lamps of this type; one of the Asia Minor lamps bears a frontal bust of Attis (Cat. 421). It is impossible to be more precise with regard to the Marina lamp without examining the fabric (an Anatolian provenance is suggested intuitively).

Excavation of the forica or public latrine in the southern part of Sector U in the northwestern part of the site uncovered layers of occupation and destruction from the 1st through 3rd centuries AD. The finds included several lamps, complete and fragmentary, including a Loeschcke VIII lamp with a frontal depiction of Isis in relief on the discus and large impressed ovolo around the shoulder. The lamp was made in an Alexandria workshop as the fabric and notched ring handle indicate (Majcherek and Kucharczyk 2014: 35) [Fig. 8: G]. The lamp can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD like a lamp with an enthroned Serapis on a discus (see Chrzanowski 2019a: Cat. 392). The size of the ovolo on the shoulder is also a chronologically discriminative factor as the ornament became bigger and longer about the middle of the century.
Fig. 10. Lamps from the 4th century: a–c – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka (Egypt); d–l – Tell Farama/ Pelusium (Egypt); m – Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni (Egypt) (After: a–c – Majcherek 2007: Fig. 9; d–l – Wasilewska 2008: Figs 2, 4; m – Godlewski 2000: Fig. 8 | Digitizing M. Piorun)
Egyptian moldmade lamp with a representation of Isis facing Harpocrates and Serapis (Majcherek 2016: 45) [Fig. 8:G].

An Isiac lamp was found with the clay lantern (see below) in the same layer and unit of the Roman fortress on Bijan Island on the Euphrates in Iraq. It was originally published with a tentative identification of the discus decoration as busts of Baalshamin and Allat (Krogulska 1987:94–95, Fig. C and 30). In an addendum to the publication of the clay lantern, Krogulska interpreted the lamp as a Tarsus product, Goldman Group XVI representative corresponding to type Loeschcke VIII, featuring a round reservoir, small angular nozzle, side lugs. This Syrian imitation of Roman figural lamps presents blurred discus decoration, showing heavy use of successive generations of molds, a second- or even third-generation mold in this case. There is an apparent penchant for images of guardian deities, especially in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. From Tarsus these lamps traveled to Cyprus, Egypt and the Levantine coast; they appear to have been imitated in Egypt and Jerash. Upon reconsideration, the motif on the discus could be recognized as facing busts of Serapis and Isis, a representation particularly popular with Roman troops [for a comprehensive approach to the subject, see Podvin 2011], which could be easily explained in the context of the Roman legionary camp on the island (Krogulska and Zych 2013: 60; see also Podvin 2019, in this volume) [Fig. 8:K].

Building H41 Room 7b (misidentified in the report as H40.1, layers 6 and 5). One of three fragmentary lamps from the second half of the 3rd century AD (Jakubiak 2016: Fig. 11 caption) [see above, Fig. 7:*]. Identified by Karolina Warecka as a probable Egyptian Loeschcke VIII lamp. The discus bears a frontal image of an enthroned Serapis between two representations of Agathodaimon on pedestals (Warecka forthcoming) [Fig. 8:J].

**MID-ROMAN LAMPS**

The abandonment layers of House FB in Area F on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria yielded an assemblage of 2nd–3rd century date, including a complete imported lamp, somewhat wrongly identified in the text as a Firmalampen (Majcherek 2010: 41) [Fig. 9:A]. It bears a signature in relief on the bottom: T[RWA  ΛΙIΓΙΑ, within a double relief ring. The discus with a small filling hole slightly off center is fairly large; a triple set of concentric relief rings frames the filling hole and another set of two relief rings underscores the rim of the discus, which is itself framed with a double set of concentric relief rings on the flat and otherwise plain shoulder. The nozzle is practically not projected, a flat channel for the wick being made by transverse ridges interrupting the rings on the shoulder. A relief dot appears on axis with the two holes, filling and wick hole. The attachment of the handle, a typical pierced handle (damaged) with an irregular groove along the bottom spine also interrupts the shoulder rings.

The rubble layer from the Roman phase of the so-called Hellenistic House in Nea Paphos in Cyprus yielded a complete oil lamp from the beginning of the 2nd century BC at the latest [Fig. 9:B], found with fragmented pieces of 1st century AD discus lamps (see above,
Fig. 3:H). They were found together with the bronze candelabrum from the 1st century (see below, Fig. 22:E) (Daszewski and Meyza 2008: Fig. 3).

Oil lamps from the layer corresponding to the presence of a Roman military unit on Bijan, an island on the Euphrates, in the Haditha region, counted more than 30 in all and represented four groups. All four are represented among a set of six lamps found in a single room by the southern gate, together with the presumed lantern (see below), and a seventh found wedged among the blocks of the southern defenses. Two groups account for most of the assemblage. One group is made up of Syrian imitations of Roman lamps with figural decoration on the discus, most likely from Tarsus or Cyprus, dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. One complete lamp bears an erotic symplegma scene on the discus, closely paralleled by two lamps from Palmyra, which are thought to have been produced locally there (Krogulska 1981: 93–94, Figs B and 31, 33). Another bore a heavily blurred (indicating successive overmoulding of the copies) representation of a bust of Serapis and Isis, initially wrongly identified as Baalshamin and Allat (see below) [Fig. XXX]. The second group, constituting about half of the assemblage, is represented by circular lamps without handles, plain or with geometric decoration (rosette, rays, globules, rope pattern), a single ring around the filling hole and a flat bottom, designated by **** Baur as his Type V in Dura Europos and generally referred to as the Euphrates type, dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD (Krogulska 1981: 91, 95, Figs D–I, 35–39). These lamps appear to have been produced in Mesopotamia, and must have been brought to Bijan as part of the army supply chain which would have used Dura Europos as a base and a transshipment point for goods coming in from northeastern Syria. Krogulska accepted the possibility of lamps of this type being locally produced on the island from moulds brought from Dura. A few of the Bijan lamps were wheel-made (like the lantern) with an elongated nozzle attached separately. These were not glazed. Baur considered them a Mesopotamian type (Krogulska 1981: 98–99 and Fig. K, L, 40). A rare example without parallels of a moldmade lamp with elongated nozzle, truncated on the sides, and emphasized by schematic incised volutes reaching from the nozzle to the shoulders. The rounded shoulders and round shallow discus are covered with floral decoration in the shape of applied palm leaves and rosettes. An incised ornament of schematic flowers and buds appears on the base and underside of the nozzle. Krogulska considered it as a derivative of Roman, perhaps even Hellenistic lamps with molded decoration from the 1st century in terms of its shape, but with a decoration already in keeping with the Mesopotamian ceramic tradition. It was one of the lamps found in the room by the southern gate. Coins found with these lamps have dated the assemblage to the second quarter of the 3rd century AD but before AD 236 (Krogulska 1981: 100).

FIRMALAMPEN

In the western district of Palmyra, three pottery kilns, dated to c. 100–200 CE, were excavated; among the lamps retrieved, there was a single factory lamp
Exploring for conservation purposes the fill of the underground vaulted structure containing the heating infrastructure of the great public baths as well as the entire inner communication network of passages for supplying and servicing the bathing halls (the Bath was built in the mid 4th century AD making use of a subterranean corridor structure somewhat predating it) has yielded indisputable pottery evidence of use in the 4th century AD and the three complete lamps found in one of the vaulted units in the southern wing of the structure stand in confirmation of the dating. They were all evidently used an exemplify the range of forms and types concurrently in use in the service quarters. They all are of a local make, of fair to poor quality in terms of both the fabric and rendering of the decoration, exemplifying more or less late generation molded items. Two are handled, one has discus decoration in the shape of five feathered leaves arranged radially around a central filling hole (Majcherek 2007: 31) [Fig. 10:A–C].

The mid- and late Roman collection of lamp fragments from Polish excavations in Tell Farama/Pelusium came from the surface, from the rubbish dump inside the theater and from rich Roman houses in a residential district. Most of them represented a 4th century AD horizon. They were moldmade, showing considerable Alexandrian influence and evidence of serial production including later-generation examples, suggesting a regular source of supply of lamps purchased for use in this part of the city. The range displayed in this limited set of altogether 57 pieces, of which Wasilewska presents 11 in a detailed catalog with references (Wasilewska 2008), reflects the commercial ties of the city in the Nile Delta, particularly strong with the metropolitan Alexandria, and the sources of inspiration used by the local potters in their craft. A lamp of pale reddish fabric [Fig. 10:E] presents discus iconography in the form of an eagle standing frontally with spread wings, a motif first found on Roman Imperial lamps from Italy from the 1st century and continued down the ages. The shoulder of this lamp is decorated with schematic palm branches. The crudeness of the execution favors a very local workshop (for a discussion of how Egyptian workshops adapted Italian motifs, based on material from Polish excavations on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria, see Młynarczyk 1998). Other shoulder patterns recognized in the material included a scrolling vine with bunches of grapes [Fig. 10:G], double spirals and stamped dots [Fig. 10:F] and a double knot [Fig. 10:L], the latter characteristic of Alexandrian 3rd and 4th century products. The transverse relief bars on the nozzle [Fig. 10:K] are also typical of Egyptian material, especially on Frog lamps.

A fragment apparently of foreign origin has a row of relief circles around the filling hole. It is made of a pinkish-cream fabric, unslipped, and is considered a typical 3rd and 4th century product on Palestinian sites [Fig. 10:H].
Building H41 Room 7b (misidentified in the report as H40.1, layers 6 and 5, Jakubiak 2016: Fig. 11). One of three fragmentary lamps from the second half of the 3rd century AD [see below, Fig. 8]. Identified by Karolina Warecka as a probable Egyptian product with a depiction of either Apollo or a Muse (Warecka forthcoming) [Fig. 10:D].

J. Młynarczyk, Egyptian types of terracotta lamps from Tell Atrib, EtTrav 7, 1973, 81–113

Groups:
1) late Hellenistic, 2nd century BC–beginning of 1st century AD
2) 1st through 4th century AD
3) 2nd–4th century AD Egyptian types “The development of shape and decorative motifs occurred in a manner entirely distinctive from the universal development of Group II types in the whole Empire”.

Two fabrics: red or pinkish-red clay, tinged grey or yellow, some bear traces of red paint

Very light grey clay with creamish tinge, surface covered with characteristic grey slip with whitish or yellowish tint citing Bernhard’s pioneer work on the typology of lamps with the Frog motif from Efu and Deir el-Medineh based on criteria of shape and decoration, leading to the dating of individual types (Bernhard 1955: 200–205).

A 4th-century AD context in the Temple of Allat, an ancient shrine incorporated into the corner of the army Camp of Diocletian constructed at about this time in western Palmyra, yielded a multi-nozzled rectangular clay lamp that had once been painted a deep red (traces still lingered in the hollows of the relief decoration) (there was apparently one more fairly complete lamp with five nozzles and fragments of three others). The lamp is decorated with relief images of two menorahs framing a scallop-shell in the middle, the shell in this case standing in for a decorated doorway with a shell in the tympanum, presumably the entrance to a sanctuary, which would be the shrine of the Torah in this particular combination of motifs; this is apparently the only case of an artifact with Jewish motifs being found in a pagan temple (Krogulska 1983: 211). The lamp, like the others, was evidently used. The execution, coupled with the fabric, suggest a Palmyrenian workshop from the late 4th century AD, before AD 380 when the temple was destroyed (see below).

**Frog lamps**

Found in the domestic back part of a large house in central Marina (Tro1), just east of the forum area, together with an Isis-in-lotus-flower-nursing-Harpokrates lamp handle attachment (Zych, Oblasuki, and Wicenciak 2008: 93), probably mid-
2nd century AD context (destruction of the house most probably in the earthquake of AD 164).

The geometric motif recalls the motif on so-called dislocated “frog” lamps. It is most like a Neo-Hellenistic lamp of the 3rd century AD.

One of the lamps has a wheat-head mark [Fig. 11:B], the other one an incised alpha [Fig. 11:D].

The Neo-Hellenistic lamp (corresponding to the Selesnok D1c=Shier A.5.1A type) is according to Jolanta Mylnarzyczk (2012: 122–123 with a comprehensive discussion of the group including updated chronology) widespread in Egypt, produced mainly in the Nile Valley and present also on sites in the Red Sea. Lamps from this group are now fairly securely dated to the 3rd century AD, possibly extending to the 4th century (see Chrzanowski 2019a: 313, C.IX.7, Cat. 519).

The other lamp is decorated with double palm leaves embracing a somewhat quadrangular discus with central filling hole, emerging from a dotted circle at the back and marked with a dotted semicircle on the nozzle top (where the head appears on regular frog lamps). The nozzle is shortened, with a small wick hole at the tip marked off by an arched line, a morphological element characteristic of the ovoid lamps, useful in distinguishing this variant (Bailey 1988: 229). Lamps of this kind are usually dated to the 3rd/4th century, but they have been found in contexts as early as the 1st century AD at Mons Caudianus (Knowles 2006: 349–367). The chronological discrepancy has been noted by Laurent Chrzanovski (2019a: 302, C.IX.3.3, Cat. 498).

Illustrated with material from the early Roman rubbish dump but the contextual date is obviously wrong here. There is ample evidence now of material from the centuries from the 3rd to the 5th in the surface layers of the early Roman rubbish dump, including human and animal burials. Hence the 2nd or 3rd and even 3rd/4th dating suggested for close parallels of this variant of Frog lamp is admissible. The lamp fits in with Laurent Chrzanovski’s Neo-Hellenistic variant with double palm leaves and a nozzle decorated with a ladder pattern between degenerate volutes (Bailey 1988z; 264, Q 2189; Chrzanovski 2019a: Cat. 489, citing parallels also from Elephantine and Deir el-Medineh as well as Karanis and Ehnasya, and private collections, with further references; 2019b: examples from the Forcart Collection, Geneva, XXX, variant 3, Cat. 89, 92, with further references, in this volume).

Bernhard used the material from the Tell Edfu and Deir el-Medina excavations before the war, deposited by agreement with the Egyptian authorities at the National Museum in Warsaw, to develop a typology of Frog lamps that was set within a chronological timeframe spanning from the 2nd to the 6th century AD (Bernhard 1955: 200–205). She noted the resurrection meaning of the motif, strongly rooted in ancient Egyptian pagan beliefs and adopted by Christianity in a process of syncretism designed to imbue entrenched religious motifs with new meaning. Her pioneer classification is worth recalling here in some detail in view of the dated archaeological context of the finds. At Tell Edfu they were found in 2nd-century AD levels AD (together
with dated Jewish ostraka), in a district that was razed to the ground by a great fire and abandoned for more than 300 years. It is interesting to look at this classification in context with another set of dated finds of frog lamps, namely, the assemblage from the stone quarries of the late 1st and 2nd century AD at Mons Claudianus in the Egyptian Eastern Desert. In the latter case, large numbers of lamps of two Types, A1.3 and C2.1 according to Kathryn Knowles, found at the site in Trajanic contexts, could have been part of a bulk consignment delivered to the main fort when it took over as a major administrative center in the late 1st century AD (Knowles 2006: 214). Other lamps of less common types or individual form would have more likely been personal possessions of those who worked the quarries. Repeating after Knowles, the aim of this exercise is, as

Fig. 11. Frog lamps: a, b, d – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt); c – Berenike (Egypt); e – Tell Edfu (Egypt) (After: a – Zych, Obluski and Wicenciak 2008: Fig. 10; b, d – Marina el-Alamein, Zych 2004: Fig. 8; c – Sidebotham et al. 2015: Fig. 15; Bernhardt (digitizing M. Piorun)

Fig. 12. Late Roman imported – Coptic/Byzantine lamps: a, e – Berenike (Egypt); b – Nea Paphos
set down also in the introduction to this review article, is to address the recognized weakness of missing stratigraphic contexts, which is particularly confusing with regard to frog lamps in view of their ubiquity in Egyptian Roman and Byzantine archaeology. The comparison is also valid because it is extremely likely that Edfu and Deir el-Medineh could have sourced their lamps from much the same Upper Egyptian workshops that worked to supply the imperial quarrying project in the Eastern Desert.

Bernhard distinguished three groups based on shape and decoration. Her first group corresponds to the so-called Neo-Hellenistic handleless moulded lamps of rounded shape with medium to long nozzles. The characteristic “winged” shape and splayed (sometimes triangular) nozzle are difficult to miss. The decoration consists of the hind legs of a frog at the back, in place of the handle as a rule, and rows of raised dots in the shoulders (Petrie’s “ears-of-corn”) (Bernhard 1955: Cat. 459–483; see Bailey 2001: Cat. 11 with discussion and references, late 1st to 2nd century date). These forms still have semi-volutes ending on the shoulder, framing a herringbone pattern on the nozzle top. A variant is characterized by panels filled with raised dots, including a panel replacing the realistically rendered frog legs at back; the nozzle is no longer decorated and a raised knob is all that remains on the ridge surrounding the small discus with filling hole (Bernhard 1955: Cat. 484–489). This group corresponds with the Knowles Type A1 from Mons Claudianus (Knowles 2006: 324ff.). The two Marina el-Alamein lamps correspond to this type along with Bernhard’s variant with raised dots instead of the hind legs of the frog [Fig. 11:A,B].

Bernhard’s second and third groups correspond to Knowles Types B and C2. The Berenike lamp, which was found in an early Roman rubbish dump dated more precisely to the late 1st to early 2nd century AD, is near a Mons Claudianus example except for the nozzle decoration, dated to the Hadrianic period (Knowles 2006: Type B2.1a(i), Cat. 30 with reference and a generally later dating). It has a large plain boss at the top of the shoulder and two palm branches looped at the stem, a ladder pattern on the nozzle between two ridges, but ending here in schematic volutes [Fig. 11:C].

The third of the Marina el-Alamein lamps appears to be a classic Knowles Type C2 globular lamp with the nozzle almost entirely part of the body, corresponding to Bernhard’s third group (Knowles 2006: 350ff.; Bernhard 1955: Cat. 505–511). The boss at the top of the shoulder is the beginning for two palm branches curving around a discus that is no longer round. A curved line sets off the wick hole, while a smaller boss appears at the top of the nozzle [Fig. 11:D]. However, it remains to be seen whether and how the dating of particular types of frog lamps found in Lower Egypt differs from the evidence from Upper Egypt in later centuries.

Bernhard also included a series of frog lamps of ovoid shape, more distinctly rounded and high, the top shaped into a frog’s body decorated with impressed dots or circles, sitting as if on a base above the seam line between the lower and upper parts, more or less richly decorated with impressed circles, arched, ovules
and what not. The rump of the frog is where the boss is usually at the top of the shoulder, while a characteristically rendered frog's head with impressed eyes and grooved line appears at the top of the nozzle. An arched line usually sets off the wick hole at the tip of the nozzle, which is part of the body. These lamps are often covered with a cream-colored slip applied over a whitish ground. Bernhard appears to assign a 2nd-century date to nine lamps from Tell Edfu (Bernhard 1955: Cat. 493, 497–504) without hesitating, however, to consider similar lamps Cat. 550 and 551 as of 6th century date. The latter dating is more in line with the evidence from Berenike, where this type is common and has been dated contextually in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, both in domestic and cultic settings (e.g., Rądkowska et al. 2011: Fig. 4).

Fig. 14. Drawing of a rather low lamp with flattened body and a solid lug handle, radiate pattern of relief bars on the shoulders, a relief ridge around the discus and wick hole forming a channel on the nozzle, the filling hole additionally surrounded by a relief ring, roughly 8 cm long, of a type dated by M.-L. Bernhard (1953) to the 7th century AD. The context of the find, the upper layers of fill inside a latrine which was part of the public bath complex on Kom el-Dikka, suggested indirectly the date for the latest occupation of the southern and western part of the baths including the latrine, before the area became part of a burial ground for an Islamic community (Rodziewicz and Rodziewicz 1983: 275, Fig. 14).

One of the finds from the northern part of the House of Aion in Nea Paphos is a Tripolitanian lamp of the Atalante 13 type (see Chrzanowski 2015: 215 and Cat. 68 for a near parallel found at Acrae, with references), which came from a context containing several complete lamps of the 4th century, indicating a cataclysm, the earthquake of AD 367 perhaps, which ultimately destroyed the house (Daszewski and Meyza et al. 2008: 510) [Fig. 12:B]. Lamps of this kind were produced in Tripolitanian workshops in the 4th and 5th century AD for a regional market in the western Libyan cities. They are also increasingly frequent at archaeological sites on the major sea routes from Tripolitania to Rome. While Nea Paphos was not on that route, the lamp could well have found its way into the House of Aion with a sea traveler passing through the harbor.

The building uncovered in Polish excavations in Beit Ras/Capitolias turned out to be dated to not later than the 6th century AD. The lamps found here, under as well as on the floor, were of the North Jordan type dated to the 5th and 6th centuries AD (Młynarczyk 2017: 484) [Fig. 12:D,F,G]. A lamp of the same type with a
Fig. 13. Byzantine lamps: a, e, f – Marea (Egypt); b, c, d – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt) (After: a – Szy-
Christian cross on the nozzle came from the fill of a basin, which apparently came from a church; it was of 6th to 7th century date and was probably manufactured locally. Another lamp found together with this one was of the Jerash type (and in a characteristic Jerash fabric) with a wider manufacturing span through the 8th century; it was decorated with two birds flanking a tree, a motif that could be Christian in its symbolic expression (Młynarczyk 2017: 494–495) [Fig. 12:C].

Exploration of the rubbish dump at the southern end of the plateau where the monastery of Deir el-Naqlun was located yielded, among others, several complete and fragmentary clay oil lamps as well as the common glass conical lamps and stemmed polycandelion lamps. They represent Middle Egyptian products from the 6th–7th century.

– Lamp (Nd.08.342, Derda and Dzierzbicka 2012: 214 with parallels) [Fig. 12:*];

– Long ovoid lamp with vertical loop handle, raised edge around the discus and channel on the nozzle, wavy line in relief on the shoulder and short dashes on the ridge, the discus and channel part decorated with a pattern of raised dots (Nd.11.037, Dzierzbicka 2014: 198) [Fig. 12:K];

Trial pits dug between the two floors of the church at Selib 1 in Sudan yielded material from the Transitional/early Christian period (6th/7th century AD) including an almost complete molded red-slipped lamp of a form that would have been imported from Egypt (WS1.02.13). Lamps of this kind were fairly common in Lower Nubia, enough to make them diagnostic of early Christian contexts. Interestingly, they seem not to have breached the barrier of the Third Cataract (Cedro 2015: 401) [Fig. 12:L].
regional typologies
Lychnological miscellanea from Polish excavations in Egypt and the Eastern...

Byzantine
A typical example of a lamp of this kind—ovoid shape, solid conical lug handle, plain discus with a relief circle around it, a relief line delimiting the discus and nozzle with wick hole, and shoulders decorated with relief rays (Bailey 1988: 269, Q 2228)—was found also in the hypocaust cellar of the bath (Szymańska and Babraj 2001: 40, Fig. 5) [Fig. 20:e].

The large water channels of the bath, Q1 and Q2, contained a usual array of finds, including oil lamps, at least 35 in all. The type represented is typically Byzantine, ovoid in shape, with a solid conical lug handle on the shoulder at the rear, the discus either defined with a relief ring or not, connected with a channel on the nozzle, separating the functional discus and nozzle sections from the decorated shoulder. The ornaments consist of relief circles or rays, occasionally bunches of grapes on a scrolling vine. Lamps of this kind, evidently coming from a nearby production center considering the number of lamps in this set coming from the same mold, are dated mainly to AD 550–650 (Bailey 1988: 269, Q 2228, 274 Q 2266; see Szymańska and Babraj 2002: 56) [Fig. 20:a].

The Byzantine elongated lamp with a small loop handle was among the finds from a waste dump in the courtyard of the women’s part of the late double bath at Marea. It has a round depressed discus connected by a channel on the nozzle with the wick hole. It is decorated in relief with a dotted guilloche pattern on the shoulder, a stylized palm branch on the nozzle and a crux gemmata on the discus arranged around a central filling hole. The apparent favissa in this part of the bath also yielded 30 coins from the 6th–7th century, dating the stratigraphic horizon yielding the lamp, in line with the dating usually assigned to this type of lamp (Szymańska and Babraj 2003: Fig.4). Nowa plansza marea
mańska and Babraj 2002: Fig. 11; b, c – Zych 2004: Fig. 8; e – Szymańska and Babraj 2001: Fig. 5; f – Szymańska and Babraj 2003: Fig. 4 (digitizing M. Piorun)

Fig. 14. Late Byzantine lamps: g – Selib 1 (Sudan); a–d, h – Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni (Egypt); e,
These piriform- or almond-shaped lamps are often referred to as “Coptic”, basically identifying them as Byzantine lamps from the 6th–7th centuries AD. They have small, circular or ovoid, discuses opening into a channel that reaches the wick hole, delineated often by ridges in relief. The shoulders are decorated with intricate floral patterns in relief, which also appear on the discuses: scrolling branches, berries, dots and bars. They are all apparently made in local workshops [Fig. 13:B,C]. A Solomon’s knot on the base of one example and a crisp relief cross with dots between the arms under the handle are indicative of a lamp made in the Abu Mena workshop; its presence at Marina can be construed as a souvenir of a pilgrimage to the tomb of the saint. The lamp with the rectangular depressed discus is paralleled by an example from Islamic layers on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria (Zych 2004: 88, 90) [Fig. 13:D].

BOOT LAMPS

The pottery assemblage from the central part of the monastic compound at Deir el-Naqqlun (field seasons in 2010 and 2011) yielded Fustat type necked cups with handles used as lamps, one of them with cream dots on the shoulder, the other two heavily sooted (Nd.11.116, Nd.11.117, Nd.10.097, Danys-Lasek 2014: 624–625, Table 3-4 and Fig. 23) [Fig.13:A,B,C]. Similar lamps were found earlier as well (Żurek 2004: Fig.4.11). Danys-Lasek noted parallels from nearby Tebtynis and the capital center at Fustat, where glazed examples were dated to the 10th–11th century.

A deposit of pottery scattered on the floor of Room AA.40.2 in a building situated west of the church on Kom A in the central part of the Deir el-Naqqlun plateau included a Fustat-type lamp of a red fabric. It had a flaring rim and fairly low body, a short nozzle and a loop handle (Nd.00.239; Żurek 2004: 172) [Fig. 13:I]. Building AA produced a number of very similar lamps, for example two specimens from the staircase AA.30.1. The type has a secure contextual dating at Tebtynis (second quarter of the 9th through the mid-10th century). Indirect proof of the destruction and abandonment of Building AA sometime before the mid-10th century can be drawn from the find of a golden dinar from AD 891/892 in the northern part of this complex (see also below, the bronze lamp and polychandelier from neighboring Building B.J).

Wasilewska 2008: Fig. 3

The lamp, which is commonly referred to as a boot lamp owing to its shape, is a Byzantine form, probably of Egyptian origin, wheel-made with attached loop handles and long handmade nozzles. The type was produced from the 6th century and is recorded from sites all over the Eastern Mediterranean, from contexts dated through the early 8th century (Wasilewska 2008: 121) [Fig. 14:K].

The Byzantine “boot” lamps from Marina el-Alamein are rather squat wheel-made bottles with wide rounded shoulders and a flared filling hole, the
f – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt); j – Marea (Egypt); k – Tell Farama (Pelusium (Egypt) (After: a–c – Dany-Nys-Lasek 2014: 624–625, Table 3-4; d – Derda and Dzierzbicka 2012: Fig. 4; e, f – Zych 2004: Fig. 8; h – Żurek 2004: Fig. 4; g – Cedro 2015: 20:E; j – Szymańska and Babraj 2003: Fig. 10; k – Wasilewska 2008: Fig. 3 | digitizing M. Piorun)

Fig. 15. Early Christian (Alladin-type) lamps: a, b, d, e, f – Selib 1 (Sudan); c – Shemkhiya, Fourth Nile
short nozzles were made separately and attached, as was the vertical band handle. The fabric is light brown or light yellowish-brown. The lamps are slipped a reddish yellow and pale yellow to light greenish-gray (Zych 2004: 90) [Fig. 14:E,F].

Lamp with loop handle from the southern rubbish dump (WS1.33.13) had the straight sides of a biconical body decorated with small stamps on the shoulder (Cedro 2015: 378) [Fig. 14:G]. The stamped decoration is unusual, band without the nozzle or base it is difficult to search out parallels, but the shape may possibly align with Byzantine boot lamps [Fig.14:E,F].

Excavations in the Byzantine bath in Marea uncovered a furnace for heating the hypocaust system under the caldarium in the women’s part of the bath and at the bottom of it a small pottery bowl with painted magic signs in black and an askos, which held oil for filling up lamps (Szymańska and Babraj 2003: 46; for a photo of the context of the discovery, see Szymańska and Babraj 2008: 80, Fig. 62) [Fig. 13:j]. It is more than likely that vessels of this shape were not intended as lamps per se, but served in an auxiliary function, topping up the oil supply in lighting devices used in more stationary circumstances inside the bath.

**EARLY CHRISTIAN (ALLADIN-TYPE)**

The so-called Alladin type of lamp resembles a small squat bottle with a very narrow neck, an oblate carinated body that was wheel-made and red-slipped, furnished with a loop handle opposite the wick hole pierced through the body side above the carination. Polish finds of lamps of this type from Selib [Fig. 16:A,B,D,E] and el-Zuma, sites on the Nile in the Southern Dongola Reach, have helped to revise the original concept that they should be attributed to Lower Nubia in early Christian times. Examples of local manufacture [Fig. 16:B], roughly made as it is not easy to copy the form, must be seen as an indication of the demand for this particular form (Cedro 2016: 370–371). These two lamps were found in the church, in the fill between the initial pavement and the floor of the later edifice, attributed to the Transitional/early Christian period (mid 6th through the 7th century AD).

Fine example of an Alladin-type lamp from the fill between the two church floors (WS1.150.11–12), which is pottery dated to the Transitional/early Christian period (6th/7th century) (Cedro 2015: 399) [Fig. 16:D].

The Transitional/early Christian assemblage from a test pit by the west wall of the church in Selb 1, attributed to the earlier phase, yielded a lamp of the Aladdin type with four wick holes; another lamp of the same type came from another context associated with the first Church (Żurawski et al. 2004: ****) [Fig. 16:F].

The hilltop fortress of Shemkhiya SH8, surveyed and tested archaeologically within the frame of the International Middle Nile Rescue Project, yielded a fragmentary Alladin-type lamp with an incised square with diagonals crossing inside it on the shoulder (Żurawski 2008: 442) [Fig. 16:C].

**CANDLE-HOLDER LAMP**

The “candle-holder” took the idea of a wick holder and attached a cylindrical receptacle for oil in the middle of a wheel-made open saucer. An orange-
Cataract (Sudan) (After: a, b – Cedro 2016: Fig. 20:B, D; c – Żurawski 2008: Fig. 7; d – Cedro 2015: Fig. 2; e, f – Żurawski et al. 2014: Fig. 5 | digitizing M. Piorun)

Fig. 16. Early Christian lamps: a, b, c – Old Dongola (Sudan); d, e – Selib 1 (Sudan); f – Banganarti
slipped example comes from the southern rubbish dump. The type was particularly prevalent in the Northern Building extending north of the church at Selib 1 and for the most part they were made of Nile silt and red-slipped (Cedro 2015: 382 with references to parallels from [Fig. 17:C] and a post-Meroitic cemetery at Jeble Ghaddar North).

A lamp with a maximum diameter of 23 cm and a height of 10 cm is the largest of all the lighting devices discovered so far at Selib. It came from the Northern Building. The symbol of a cross is incised inside the central receptacle of this pink-slipped device (WS1.08.14; Cedro 2016: 382) [Fig. 17:E].

A candle-holder type of oil lamp with a single nozzle was recorded among the pottery from a test pit dug inside Unit B:37 of the palatial Building B.1 (ADd.09.343; Danys-Lasek 2012: 327) [Fig. 17:C]. The context is dated to the 6th–7th century. Danys cites parallels from Lower Nubia and the graves of Gebel el-Ghaddar. Two lamps found in Dongola are of the same type (Bagińska 2008b: Fig. 5) [Fig. 17:A,B].

Oil lamp in White Ware decorated with a painted radial pattern, most likely with a small loop handle. Pierced with holes around the circumference of the oil receptacle/candle holder (Bagińska 2008b: 416 with a reference) [Fig. 17:F]. The lamp was found in a layer of intentionally broken amphorae, all local-made products from the Dongolan workshops, dated to the 6th/7th century AD and diagnostic of the transition from post-Meroitic to early Christian.

A lamp from the fill behind the south wall of the Monastery Church in the Monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola, made in Red Ware, was furnished with an air-vent as well as a loop handle. It is an early Christian lamp of the Adams N III type (Ware 5) with a parallel from the septic tanks of the toilets in Room 15 of the palatial Building B.1, where it was dated to the 7th century (Godlewski 2004: Fig. 5) [Fig. 17:A, B].

CEDRO

EARLY ISLAMIC
Fig. 20. Early Islamic lamps: a–d – Palmyra (Syria) (After Majcherek 2012: Fig. 19 | digitizing M. Piorun)
Excavations of the largest church building in Palmyra, the northern Basilica IV, situated north of the Great Colonnade, yielded also an assemblage of finds from the 9th–10th century representing a phase when the abandoned church was reoriented and transformed into a large official residence. The archaeological evidence indicates that the building in this post-church phase comprised a series of regular but separate units grouped around a central courtyard. The assemblage was homogeneous in its makeup and included several fragments of wheel-made lamps of Fellman’s group L, broadly dated to the 8th–9th century. Contextual pottery material in the form of so-called Abbasid “Samarra horizon” – cobalt blue painted glaze, molded wares, bichrome and monochrome luster wares, some early lead-gazed splashed wares and typical Abbasid blue-glazed jugs, narrows down the dating in this case to the 9th–early 10th century (Majcherek 2012: 476, 477) [Fig. 14].

A detailed study of 124 lamps coming from the fill of the Umayyad-period House A in Jerash/Gerasa in Jordan, excavated by Polish archaeologists in 1982 and 1983, distinguished six typological groups ranging in date from the 6th to the 9th centuries AD (Scholl 1991, with discussion of archaeological context and dating, and references). The lamps came from the fill of the house which was constructed about AD 660. The oldest in this context were Candlestick lamps (Group I), representing the large variant of slipper lamps, decorated both with radiate geometric patterns and inscribed with religious formulas in Greek (Scholl 1991: 67, Cat. 7, “Light of Christ shines for all”; Cat. 4, broken, “of the Mother of God”). Group II comprised lamps with raised curving handles, the decoration of the tops often including crosses and pellets, the bases often inscribed with palm branches around a central base ring. Groups III and IV were lamps with hand-formed animal heads as handles with and without a Greek cross with bosses, Group IV also bearing inscribed text in Greek or a characteristic zigzag hatching pattern on the shoulders. Group IV was indeed the most numerous group (more than 40) and included also multi-nozzle examples. Groups V and VI, channel lamps with or without animal-heads formed on the raised, tongue-shaped handles, are already of 8th-century date. They are richly decorated with incised strokes, relief pellets, circles and demi-volutes. A few lamps in Group V are decorated with the pentagram star and spoked wheels; rows of bosses appear in the channel space. Some bear Arabic inscriptions, either invoking God (Scholl 1991: “Blessing from God to Amer son of Harağ (?)”, Cat. 92, 101; “Made by Jarwal in Jerash ... year 125/AD 747”, Cat. 102). Group VI lamps are even more richly decorated with geometric figures, scrolling tendrils, grapevines with bunches of fruit, birds in the vines, depictions of ornate amphorae, including amphorae with fish inside on the base (Scholl 1991: Cat. 107, 108). One small molded lamp with six-pointed stars on the shoulder was identified a toy lamp (Scholl 1991: 84, Group VII, Cat. 118). The fact that it was never used does not mean that it was indeed a toy; one should also consider such small lamps as designed to give light for a limited duration of time, for use in a slave’s sleeping quarters, for
Jerash
example. The assemblage also yielded six fragments of moulds for making lamps of the types found in the house, both the upper and the lower parts (Scholl 1991: 84, Group VIII, Cat. 119–124).

GLAZED ISLAMIC LAMPS:
A wheel-made green-glazed oil lamp, preserved intact, came from the fill of room D22 in the group of rooms D18–D22 identified as structure II.DB of the monastery complex on Kom D at Deir el-Naqlun (Nd.93.115; Górecki 1994: Fig. 13) [Fig. 15:a]. This simple form with many variants—circular reservoir, filling hole set off with a raised circular band and an open V-shaped nozzle—may have originated from the Near East where they are always glazed. However, the lamp was made in Egypt. Comparisons with the Fustat material suggested a date for the lamp in the 10th–11th century (Kubiak 1970: 6–8, Type B; see also Chrzanovski 2019a: 459 and especially Cat. 761).

A green-glazed oil lamp from the Upper Necropolis strata, interpreted in the context of the assembled finds from the layer contemporary with the use of the burial ground which can be taken as evidence of a custom of bringing gifts for the
dead to the burial place. Complete lamps indicate depositional intention and may have been an integral part of burial practices (Kulicka 2011: 496) [Fig. 15:b].

Islamic lamps found in the disturbed upper parts of the fill of the Old Kingdom funerary complexes explored in West Saqqara attest to the medieval illicit incursions into the rock-cut subterranean chambers. The lamp is an Egyptian-made product featuring a thin turquoise-colored glaze with dark green dripping on the lower part. It represents a type designated as Fustat I by Władysław Kubiak (1970: 13–15, Figs 10–11, text figures 12–13), with a tall funnel, long nozzle, a nibbed handle and concave foot with incised ring. A burned knot and residue were found inside it, indicating it had been used by looters penetrating the underground chambers, most likely sometime between the second half of the 12th century, when the type was first made, and the 14th and even 15th century (Rzeuska 2003: 144, Fig. 1) [Fig. 15:c].

The monastery complex referred to

Fig. 17. Terminal Christian period lamps: a, e – Old Dongola (Sudan); b – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka; c – West Saqqara (Egypt) (After: a – Górecki 1994: Fig. 13; b – Kulicka 2011: Fig. 17; c – Rzeuska 2003: Fig. 1 | digitizing M. Piorun)

Fig. 18. Glazed Islamic lamps: a – Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni (Egypt); b – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka
as Kom D in the northern part of the Deir el-Naqlun compound on the plateau yielded several utilitarian artifacts, including a lamp, from the walking level in Room D.32, which contained two domed ovens and a raised platform. This structure was destroyed at the turn of the 12th century, thus setting a terminus post quem for the assemblage including the lamp. It is a Nile-silt product, undoubtedly made in a local Fayum atelier, late in the medieval period (for the discovery context, see Godlewski 2000: 132; for more on this lamps and other Naqlun lamp finds, see Zych 2019xyz, in this volume).

OPEN SAUCER LAMPS
The practice of remodeling vessels was also responsible for lamps, for example, an open oil lamp created from a small bottle by striking off the upper part, perhaps damaged making the vessel useless in its original function. This example comes from the small monastery installed in a Pharaonic tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna in Deir el-Bagari, West Thebes, Egypt (Górecki 2017: 758) [Fig. 16:B].

A small handmade saucer was the only intact lamp from the southern rubbish dump which represented refuse from the rebuilding of the church dated in the 11th century when it became the prevalent source of lighting (for a list of parallels from Banganarti, see Cedro 2014: Pls 1–3; for lamps from the monks' cemetery at Dongola, see Żurawski 1999: Fig. 27).

A set of four complete lamps of late 12th century AD date was found under one of the capitals collapsed on the pavement (WS1.03–06.13) (Cedro 2015: Fig. 3) [Fig. 17:**].

Burning lamps were part of religious observance in the terminal Christian period. The custom presumably was to place burning lamps at the base of the murals on the walls, often on benches or in niches. The soot seen on the paintings is proof of long-lasting habitual burning of votive lamps. Sherds were also used as substitute lamps. The large quantities of these devices in successive deposits in Room 6 of the so-called Southwestern Annex located by the entrance for visitors to the compound of the monastery of Great Anthony in Old Dongola may be related to the function of this room as a chapel. It was furnished with a structure built against the east wall, which could have been an altar, set below a monumental wall painting of what was presumed to be a representation of the Archangel Michael. The room was decorated with other pictorial renderings of biblical themes as well as several inscriptions in Old Nubian and Greek. The room was part of the earliest structure raised not earlier than the 11th century and remained in use even after it had been partly filled with sand. The lamps come from this late period, possibly even from the 14th century. (Jakobielski 2005: 267, Fig. 11, for the function of room 6 as a chapel, see 266 [Fig. 18:E])

Clay oil lamp, wheel-made, with a hand-molded rim is a representative of the ceramics used in the third and latest phase of occupation of the palatial building B.I. It was found in the fill of Room 52 in the central part of the upper floor of the structure, which was the only part accessible for residential purposes in
(Egypt); c, d – Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni (Egypt) (After: a – Godlewski 2010: Fig. 8; b – Kubiak and Redlak 1997: Fig. 2:7; c, d – Danys-Lasek 2014: 624–625, Table 3-4; e – Jakobielski 2005: Fig.11 | digitizing M. Piorun)
Fig. ccc
the 14th–15th century (Godlewski 2010: 320) [Fig. 18:A]. A lamp of the same type, also sooted to show use, was found in the Tower Church, along with a set of square open-saucer lighting devices, such as those from Room 6 of the Southwestern Annex (see above) [Fig. 18:B,D].

Small bowl-shaped lamps in a brown fabric were also in the assemblage from units AA.40.6 and AA.40.7 (Nd.10.083, Nd.11.118; Danys-Lasek 2014: 624–625, Table 3-4, Fig. 23) [Fig. 18:F,G]. Parallels are known from Kellia. These are ubiquitous shapes, dated contextually in this case to the 10th–11th century AD.

An oil lamp of uncommon shape, the fabric red and poorly fired, the surface unglazed, was recognized in the group of utility wares, mainly of a domestic character, unglazed or partly glazed, from excavations of Islamic strata on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria. The find, of which little more can be said, was dated to the 10th–11th centuries AD (Kubiak and Redlak 1997: 33 and Fig. 2) [Fig. 18:C].

CHANDELIER
Katarzyna Danys identified a clay
chandelier among the pottery coming from the fill of Units 6 and 7 in Building AA.40 in the central part of the Deir el-Naqlun monastic complex on the plateau (N.d. 11.389; Danys-Lasek 2014: 624–625, Table 3–4, Fig. 23) [Fig. 19]. The shape borrows from the idea of a kernos, a pottery ring with attached several small vessels for holding offerings (such as sage, white poppy heads, wheat, barley, peas(?), vetches(?), pulse, lentils, beans, spelt(?), oats, cakes of compressed fruit, honey, olive oil, wine, milk, and unwashed sheep’s wool, to quote Athenaios). The drawing reconstructs the ring with the small bowls. Danys quotes parallels from Tebtynis from the mid-9th century and a so-called lamp stand from Kellia (see also Zych 2019x, in this volume).

**LAMPSTAND**
The assemblage from room D21 (structure II.DB of the monastic complex on Kom D in Deir el-Naqlun), from layers constituting the first levels of refuse discarded in the room after the structure ceased to be used, included the lower part of a lamp or lantern stand (see below) as well as wine containers, water bottles and qawwadis pots (Górecki 1994, 63, 69). The stand is a conical object, hollow inside and with openwork cuts in the upper part. Decoration on the outside includes a zigzag incised pattern around the base and simple finger-pinched decoration. An incised wavy line runs around the standing edge of the bottom part, interrupted by an inscription engraved pre-firing, reading NOY XANOY[... (Górecki 1994: 67–69, Fig. 5). An equally probable interpretation is that the artifact was part of an incense burner. The fill was dated by the excavator to as early as the mid 9th century, based on a comparative analysis of the pottery.
Lampboxes in architecture
(Godlewski 2013: 668 Fig. 5) albo książka
DOnogolanska

Marina przy grobie T5 chyba

STONE LAMPS

A multi-nozzle saucer-shaped lamp of schist, complete and undamaged, was found in the rubble of Room 39, one of the inside rooms of the original core of the so-called Northwestern Building (called the NW Annex in much of the literature). This room was lighted through two slot windows in the south wall before the corridor-like space outside this wall was built over probably in the 13th century. The lamp is in the shape of a star with 13 (not 12 as indicated in the report) ogive-shaped open nozzles surrounding a circular saucer-like space in the center which would have held the oil (Jakobieski 2001: 270 and Fig. 5) [Fig. 27:a]. The star-motif with the center “eye” has an apotropaic significance of ancient origin as Laurent Chrzanovski points out (Chrzanovski 2018: 476–478). The material—recognized macroscopically as schist—falls in with a time-hallowed tradition in Arabia and the Near East of working cooking pots and incense burners, as well as lamps in a stone characterized by its ability to absorb and conduct heat. A star-shaped lamp of this kind, with slightly differently styled nozzles, was found in a stratified context at Aqaba/Ayla, dated to the 8th–9th century (Whitcomb 1988: 25, Figs C, D; see Aida Naghawy, Manal Basyouni "Two steatite (soapstone) oil lamps: a) star-shaped oil lamp; b) triplet oil lamp" in Discover Islamic Art, Museum With No Frontiers, 2020. http://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;isl;yo;mus 01_d;14,en [accessed 20.11.2019]. Without studying the provenance of the schist it is impossible to tell whether the lamp could have been made near the Arabian quarry sources, but it is more than likely that it reached Dongola from Egypt.

Fragment of a multi-nozzled lamp made of stone, most probably steatite to judge by the photograph, found in the fill of Room D.50, located on the southern side of the monastic compound in Building D. The context in this case consisted of fragments of codices, papyri, a wooden board painted with a figure of a saint (an icon?) alongside hundreds of fragments of wall plaster with colorful images, faunal and geometric for sure, as well architectural elements of decoration including lime-mortar window grilles with remains of windowpanes, all coming most probably from the upper floor of the building.
These could well represent the remains of a library or scriptorium suspected to have existed in this part of the monastery in the 11th–12th century AD (Godlewski, Danys and Maślak 2016: 266–269, 271) [Fig. 27:B].

The lamp from Bijan Island in Iraq came from the Islamic phase of occupation of this outpost on the Euphrates first occupied in the Assyrian period and then fortified and manned by a Roman legion in the Roman age. It was found together with an Abbasid glazed lamp in a context that the excavators interpreted as a residential area. The material was most probably a kind of steatite. It was vaguely boat-shaped, flat-bottomed, a vertical handle with notching attached to the short side of this elongated triangular form. The exterior was embellished with an irregular network pattern of dotted rhombuses. This apparently rare type finds parallels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection in New York, provenanced either from Iraq in general or specifically from Nishapur, and dated to the 9th–10th century. Stone and clay boat-shaped lamps are known

21. Stone lamps: a – Old Dongola (Sudan); b – Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni (Egypt); c – Bijan Island (Iraq) (After: a – Jakobielski 2001: Fig. 5; b – Godlewski, Danys and Maślak 2016: Fig. 7; c – Mierzejewska 2016: Fig. 2 | digitizing M. Piorun)
from Faras, where they were thought to be from the 11th century (Mierzejewska 2016: 801–803 with discussion and references) [Fig. 27:C]. The British Museum holds a boat-shaped lamp of grey soapstone said to be from Yemen from the 8th–10th century; it bears an incised zigzag pattern on the outer walls. Several examples of this shape and material have been reported from early Islamic contexts excavated at al-Tur in the Sinai peninsula (M. Kawatoko, personal communication) (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1985-0223-88; accessed 12.12.2019). A much closer parallel are two damaged boat-shaped lamps (pointed bases preserved) from Ramla, el-Sheikh Rihan, identified as early Islamic (IAA 2014–1558, IAA 2014–1832). Other soapstone lamps of this kind are known also from Tiberias (http://www.antiquities.org.il/t/item_en.aspx?CurrentPageKey=201&indicator=qeljsjb&shalemid=649 [accessed: 12:12:2019]; see also Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 164, 680–681).

Among the finds from Islamic strata on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria there are also several soapstone vessels, some of which may still be recognized as lamps (I. Zych, personal communication).

**BRONZE LAMPS AND ACCESSORIES**

The Roman phase of the so-called Hellenistic House, situated just south of the Villa of Theseus, in the Maloutena district of Nea Paphos, in the eastern part of the building explored in 2006, yielded among other finds a bronze candelabrum (FR 40/06; Daszewski and Meyza 2008: 517) [Fig. 21:D]. It is composed of a shaft, made of three segments, rendered as a branch with sprouting sets of leaves closely hugging the stem, standing on three schematic animal's feet, a lion's or perhaps a griffin's, topped by a drip-pan carrying the lighting device. The profiling of this disk resembles typical 1st-century faience and pottery vessels. The artifact, which measures 35 cm in height, belongs to a group of lamp stands that are about one Roman foot high and were produced in Italy in the 1st century AD. Close parallels are found at Callatis-Mangalai in Romania (Simion 2003: 84–85, Pl. XLVI–II, Nos 54 and 55) and in the collection of the British Museum (Bailey 1996: Q 3891, Q 3893); examples from Pompeii are bigger and more elaborate (Daszewski 2008; see also Bertrand 2008; Arasoy 2005: Cat. 122). It was found embedded in compacted plaster on the floor of Room 17, evidence of a cataclysmic earthquake that ultimately destroyed the house, the date for which is set fairly securely by terracotta oil lamps (not illustrated in the report) attributed to the early 2nd century AD.

Abandoned in the debris of the building, destroyed by a huge conflagration, was a bronze lamp with a square socket hole in the base for inserting a pricket (Godlewski 2012: 203) [Fig. 21:C] (for images after preservation of the bronze artifacts, see Zych and Godlewski 2020, in this volume). The body is elongated, tapering to a flaring nozzle end with a small circular wick hole slightly off center. Raised rim around the filling hole. Small domed lid with a knob handle attached on a hinge at the back. High foot. Ring handle ter-
minating in an animal’s (griffon’s) head attached (possible parallels from the 6th and 7th centuries AD: Atasoy 2005: Cat. 83; see also Bailey 1996: Q 3821; Hayes 1984: Cat. 227, and further references from Egypt). The fire that burned down this building is given a terminus post quem by a hoard of dinars, 18 intact coins and 62 cut pieces, the most numerous being coins of the Caliph Muqtadir (AD 908–928).

The polycandelion found in the rubble of Room J.8 in a building in the central part of the monastic compound at Deir el-Naqlun consisted of a flat metal ring with openwork decoration consisting of circular holes (for the glass lamps) alternating squares/trapezes; it had three chains for suspension, all made of bronze (Nd.09.466; Godlewski 2012: 203) [Fig. 21:C]. JAK ???? (see Bailey 1996: 107, Q 3932, Pls 141–142, Sidon, 6th–7th century AD; Atasoy 2005: Cat. 175–177, 6th–7th century AD).

A fragmentary polycandelion of iron was found on the mosaic floor of the northern aisle of the church in the mountain village of Chhîm. The village was abandoned sometime before the end of the 7th century, hence the chandelier should be dated accordingly (Waliszewski 2000: 245). A circular flat ring was suspended by eight chains. Eight glass-lamp holders were reconstructed, spaced evenly around the circumference.

Bronze hangers with three rods (polyangistra) are used for single lamps or, if larger, polycandela. The same system is applied for metal chain hangers, with a long suspension hook at the top and figure-of-eight twisted links ending in flat hooks at the end of the rods or chains. Three different hangers were noted in the material from Hawarte (Gawlikowska 2012: 504 with references) [Fig. 21:A]. A similar hanger was preserved with the 10th-century polycandelon from the monastery at Deir el-Naqlun in Egypt. Hooks, figure-of-eight links and fragments of chains, made of bronze and iron, are present in the Islamic strata from the Kom el-Dikka site in Alexandria (I. Zych, personal observation).

**GLASS LAMPS**

**SOLID STEMMED GLASS**

The stemmed lamp, intended for use in groups inserted into metal rings (polycandela), suspended on metal hangers, consisted of a small cup with thin, straight or bulging walls and fire-rounded and thickened rims, set atop a stem. The stems are of different types. They can be hollow stems: rounded, pointed, flattened with parts of the pontil still attached (Kucharczyk 2016: 94) [Fig. 22:*]. Lamps with solid knobbed stems appear to be the most numerous. Those with a bulbose ending and impressed grooves or dots proliferate as well [Figs 23–24].

These forms are extremely long-lived, highly popular in late Roman/early Byzantine times (5th century examples from Kom el-Dikka assemblage, Kucharczyk 2011: 61) [Fig. 22:*] and successful also throughout the Islamic period through Mamluk times. Parallels can be cited from Fustat, Raya and el-Tur, among others (Kucharczyk 2010a: 65) [Fig. 22:N]. The set
Fig. 22. Bronze oil lamps, candlesticks and candelabrum: a – Hawarte (Syria); b – Chhîm (Lebanon); c – Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni (Egypt); d – Nea Paphos (Cyprus) (After: a – Gawlikowska 2012: Fig. 10; b – Waliszewski 2000: Fig. 7; c – Godlewski 2012: Fig. 12; d – Daszewski and Meyza 2008: Fig. 13 | digitizing M. Piorun)
from the Islamic strata on Kom el-Dikka, where stemmed lamps are very well represented and the most characteristic find, is second only to Fustat as far as the Fatimid and early Mamluk material is concerned. It is matched closely by finds from other Islamic sites in Egypt and elsewhere in the region (Kucharczyk 2005b: 31, Fig. 6:5–8; 2010a:6–8).

The assemblage reflects mass production designed to meet the demand of a local market. The pieces are notable for their careless fashioning. More than 30 hollow and solid stems were found together with a large quantity of coins in a room close to the southwestern corner of the basilica in Marea (Kucharczyk 2005a: 55–57, Fig. 1) [Fig. 24:M–P, S–V]. Solid-stem vessels with impressed dots and grooves predominated in the material from the Basilica, one of the largest buildings of its kind in Byzantine Egypt.

A characteristic feature of these lamps are the rounded or elongated depressions on the lower part of the stems, which are noted on lamps from Alexandria as well as Marea. It is a bulbous shape with a small round or elongates hollow or vertical grooved dash on one side and uneven flattening of the opposite side (Type B.1 in the Crowfoot and Harden typology, without showing the stem variation found in the Marea assemblage). In the 2010 season of excavation at the Basilica in Marea, 80 out of 150 stems represented solid stems the 2010 season of excavation at the Basilica, the total number of glass lamps was in excess of 150. Of this, 80 represented solid stems. These tool marks could be proof of regional differences. Kucharczyk points out that the lamps share the same dimensions and careless execution, as well as quality of the glass. Traces of pontil wads are observed on the bottom ends. Wasters, like a severely malformed hollow stem, argue strongly in favor of a low-key production to satisfy local needs (Kucharczyk 2007b: 74) [Fig. 23:M, R, S].

Kucharczyk notes that there are numerous references to solid-stem lamps in the literature but few direct parallels for this unusual shape (Kucharczyk 2004: 63–64 with reference; 2007a: 50) [Fig. 23:X, Y, D’, E’].

Stemmed glass lamps were also present in the excavations in and around the theater at Tell Farama/Pelusium. They had solid or hollow stems, terminating in rounded or coil-wound knobs, bulbous, piriform, long with thick, rounded or pointed bases or flat and thin bases, constricted—these are of 4th–6th century date [Fig. 23:A–G]—or twisted or drawn (four examples), the latter being of 6th–7th century date [Fig. 23:H–K]. Pontil wads are preserved on some stem bottom ends (Gawlikowska 2017: 620, 622, catalog with detailed references).

Stemmed glass lamps for use in polycandela were also found in the an upstairs toilet in Unit B.I.15 at the Palace of Ioannes in Dongola, dated to the early Christian period (6th–7th centuries AD) (Godlewski 2004: 199).

The lamps from Beit Ras/Capitolias, a short rounded solid-stem with a flaring bowl, made of dark amber glass, represents a type that is rather uncommon in Syria-Palestine. Similar bases but in natural green or almost colorless glass, are known from Beirut (5th–7th century) (Burdajewicz 2017: 676 with a reference) [Fig. 22:o].
Fig. 23. Stemmed glass lamps a–n – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka (Egypt); o – Beit Ras/Capitolias (Jordan) (After: a–e – Kucharczyk 2007a: Fig. 2:4–8; f–j – Kucharczyk 2005b: Fig. 6; k–n – Kucharczyk 2010a: Fig. 5; o – Burdajewicz 2017: Fig. 8:11 | digitizing M. Piorun)
Fig. 24. Stemmed lamps: a–k – Tell Farama/Pelusium (Egypt); l–f’ – Marea (Egypt) (After: a–k – Gawlikowska 2017: Figs 3, 4, 5; l, m, r, s – Kucharczyk 2007b: Fig. 3; n–q, t–w, z–c’ – Kucharczyk 2005a: Fig. 1; x, y, d’, e’ – Kucharczyk 2004: Fig. 1:1–4; f’ – Babraj et al. 2013: Fig. 8:d | digitizing M. Piorun)
Fig. 25. Conical glass lamps: a–e – Marina el-Alamein (Egypt); f, j–z – Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka (Egypt); g–i – Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni (Egypt) (After: a–d, e – Kucharczyk 2010b: Figs 7, 9; f – Kucharczyk 2011: Fig. 3; j–z – Kucharczyk 2007a: Fig. 1 | digitizing M. Piorun)
CONICAL LAMPS
Conical lamps have flaring cracked-off rims and straight side walls tapering to a base that can take on different forms: a) solid plain base of triangular section without a pontil wad or mark, rounded [Fig. 25: J–L]; b) coiled knob base [Fig. 25: M–O]; c) short pronounced knob base flattened at the bottom [Fig. 25: P–R]. Other forms of the base have also been recorded [Fig. 25: S–U]. Wall thickness varies, always thinner closer to the middle part [Fig. 25: J]. When in fragments, they are often recognized as beakers, but there is much to indicate that their preferred use in the Eastern Mediterranean was as lamps (in the West they seem to have been more drinking vessels than oil containers for wick lamps) (Kucharczyk 2007a: Fig. 1).

Decoration, when it is present, consists of closely spaced wheel-abraded lines or characteristic colored prunts applied to the outer surface in some kind of pattern arrangement. The prunts are usually rather irregular prunt, but they can take on a more amygdaloidal shape or, very rarely (noted by Kucharczyk only in the Kom el-Dikka assemblage and in Marina el-Alamein), a trailed motif of open diamonds or a chain in dark blue glass on an olive-green background [Fig. 25: Z]. The colored-blob ornament was invented in the mid-3rd century AD, was very common in the Eastern Mediterranean and on the Black Sea in the 4th century and continued to be made in the West until the 5th century AD. The lamps from the eastern of the double-cistern in House H1 in Marina el-Alamein were of the conical type with ornamentation including both abraded lines and the oval, elongate or round prunts of green and dark blue glass (Kucharczyk 2010b: 125) [Fig. 25:A–D]. The prunts on these lamps are from less than 0.5 cm to approximately 2 cm in size, and are arranged in one register or as clusters spaced around the circumference. Sidewalls with colored prunts that can be safely identified as parts of lamps are known also from Polish excavations in Ptolemais (Libya) and the Polish-American excavations at the Red Sea port of Berenike in Egypt (Kucharczyk 2010b: 125; 2011: 91, Cat. 71, diameter 10 cm).

None of the finds from Polish excavations at Kom el-Dikka, Marina el-Alamein, Marea or Naqlun appear to have the soot and oily deposits that pieces from Karanis demonstrated, but their use in polycandela for suspending from the ceilings or in small wooden tripods when in hand is amply evidenced. Many of the pieces demonstrate characteristic frictional-wear signs below the rim and at roughly the midpoint of the body where the glass came in contact with the metal rings of the suspension devices (Kucharczyk 2007a: 46–47 with discussion and lists of parallels).

The type is well represented at Kom el-Dikka, Marea and Marina el-Alamein, among others (Kucharczyk 2011: 61) [Fig. 25:F]. The assemblage from houses H1 and H2 are dated generally to the 4th–5th centuries AD (not illustrated) (Kucharczyk 2007b: 73; Kucharczyk 2011 In Medeksza and Czerner et al. 2011: 125, Fig. 17:5–6) [Fig. 24:K]. At Deir el-Naqlun/Nekloni conical lamp fragments constituted 17% of the material from one of the earliest hermitages, E85. The walls of the bowl are plain or decorated with bands of horizontal abraded lines or prunts of blue
glass. The glass is honey-colored, green or colorless. The one lamp preserved fairly complete shows a rather massive bottom. Lamps of this type were common in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean from the mid 4th century to the beginning of the 6th century (Mossakowska-Gaubert 2000: 345–347; 2008: 217 with references; Mossakowska-Gaubert 2004: 1451–1452, Fig. 4, Cat. VI.3 and Fig. 14) [Fig. 24:G–I]. Conical lamps with abraded grooves and/or prunts (Cat. 7–9) were recorded in the published assemblage from Tell Farama/Pelusium (Gawlikowska 2017: Figs 3, 4, 5).

**TUMBLER (SUSPENDED) LAMPS**

Tumbler-shaped lamps have bowls with slightly flaring walls terminating in rims folded out and down and small attached handles, usually three, spaced regularly around the rim. These handles are often made of a glass in a contrasting color, dark blue as a rule.

Bowl-shaped lamps are plain as a rule, although decorated examples with mold-blown, twisted shallow ribs are also known, and have three small trail handles for suspending the vessels. The handles were drawn from the wall up to edge of an outfolded hollow rim or else applied at mid-height. Several loop handles with indented tails must represent yet another type, but they still need to be attributed to some kind of rim and base (Kucharczyk 2005a: 55–57, Fig. 1). Example with a thin uneven wall and infolded almost vertical rim made of a blue thread (Kucharczyk 2010a: Fig. 5:4–6) [Fig. 26:K].

These lamps would have functioned with wick-holders, such as those in Fig. 25.

Tumbler lamps could stand on altars or be suspended from the ceilings. The type is long-lived, starting from the 5th–7th century and continuing through medieval times. Stratified material is forthcoming from many sites in Egypt, including Marea, Medinet Madi and the Sinai (Kucharczyk 2007a: 49–50 with references).

The examples from excavations in 2012 and 2013 were all made of low quality bluish-green glass, representing a mass production for everyday use (Kucharczyk 2016: 93) [Fig. 26: **].

At Beit Ras/Capitolias, few rims that are difficult to differentiate from bowls with out-folded rims could have been part of lamps with three loop handles for suspension on metal chains. The example with a very flat out-folded rim was found in a content dated by the pottery to the 7th–8th century; the other potential suspended bowl-lamp is from a the to 7th century context (Burdajewicz 2011: 668) [Fig. 26: **].

A fragment of a suspended bowl-lamp with out-folded flattened rim and three vertical handles and a second fragment also probably from a suspension bowl-lamp represent a type (Dussart BVI.1221) that put in an appearance in the 5th century to become a ubiquitous form of lighting throughout the Byzantine and Umayyad periods and later (Burdajewicz 2011: 678, with references to parallels from Jerash, Hammat Gader, Susita/Hippos and Beth Shean).

Glass lamps of the tumbler type were recognized among the finds from the underground mithraeum in Hawarte, being used apparently together with pottery.
Fig. 26. Glass suspended lamp: a, c – Hawarte (Syria); b – Beit Ras/Capitoli (Jordan) (After: a, c – Gawlikowska 2012: Figs 6, 7; b – Burdajewicz 2017: Fig. 10 | digitizing M. Piorun)
lamps in the late 4th and 5th century AD phase of the sanctuary. All in all, there were 16 specimens, one nearly complete and seven to be reconstructed, the rest characteristic fragments. The bowl of the lamp is wide (more than 10 cm in diameter) and about 8.5 cm deep, cylindrical in the bottom part and flaring from mid-height, set on a flat or concave base, and furnished with three equidistant handles attached to the rim for the purpose of suspension. The rim is thickened and incurved. The glass was usually green, from olive to dark. Wick tubes were found inside many of them [Fig. 26:D]. Of similar glass color (light green, dark green and olive green) and size (9 cm high, 10 cm rim diameter) were eight fragmentary goblet-shaped lamps in an applied foot and with a wide wick holder inside. The handles are the same for both types: attached to the rim, dropped down and back up to the underside of the rim. The tubular wick holder is attached at the center of the bottom; it is from 3 cm to 42 cm high and cylindrical in shape (sometimes conical near the base) (Gawlikowska 2012: 501–503 with parallels and references) [Fig. 26:C].

Suspension bowl lamps were used also in the church built on top of the mithraeum cave and used after the 5th century. They are bowl-shaped and have three handles, two with a plain tail adhering to the body, the third a loop version with a long flat strip tail that could reach the base. In these lamps the handles were attached at mid-height of the body. The church assemblages also yielded stemmed lamps intended for inserting into polycandela. These were hollow stems, associated with thickened
rounded rims. Ubiquitous goblet feet could be interpreted as tumbler-lamps (Gawlikowska 2012: 504).

For lamps without the glass wick holders, both in the lamps from the mithraeum and those from the later church, a copper variant with two strips joining at a short tube through which the wick was passed was used to center the wick in the middle of the top of the bowl. The other type was a strip of metal was bent at one end to hang it over the rim of a lamp, while the other end was twisted to hold the wick in a centered position (Gawlikowska 2012: 505 with a list of references) [Fig. 27]

The bundle of wicks found in the hermitage at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna in Egypt were made of strips of fabric torn from larger pieces of fabric; this was an industry for the monks, reutilizing scrap fabric in all manner of ways (Górecki 2013: 185) [Fig. 27:C]. A bundle of unused wicks was also discovered at Deir el-Naqlun [Fig. 27:D].

**LANTERNS AND CENSERS**

Incense burners are frequently mistaken for lamps because of the evidence of burning that is attested. The Old Kingdom domed vessel, partly handmade and partly thrown, has the bottom inside burnt. Holes in the sides were pierced before firing. The upper part was domed and a hole for suspension was pierced through the top. The burner was red-slipped, the fabric identified as Nile Silt B2 (SQ 1894; Rzeuska 2012: 184) [Fig. 28:b].

The lid of a censer in the shape of a mouse, the corpus wheel-made, the handle shaped by hand. A square opening was cut in the bottom part, while the top was perforated. Blackening on the front part indicates use (SQ 03-1315; Rzeuska 2004: 136) [Fig. 28:E]. It was found in Corridor 2, an Old Kingdom funerary complex from the second half of the Sixth Dynasty. The shape reminded the researcher of a mouse, but it is likely that a hedgehog was intended, this timid creature being invested with an apotropaic symbolism connected with protection against danger and rebirth.

A burial G2, located in Area D of the Bronze Age urban site at Tell Arbid in Syria, produced among the grave goods a clay censer shaped like a hut or shrine. They belonged to the later burial in this tomb (Bieliński 2005: 486, Fig. 10).

A clay lantern from the Polish excavation on Bijan Island on the Euphrates in Iraq is a wheel-made vessel, practically indistinguishable from regular pottery were it not for a zoomorphic figurine attached to one of the fragments. The reconstructed vessel is not too big, barely 11.2 cm in diameter and 10,8 m high without the lost, presumably loop handle. Rectangular openings were cut in the leather-hard clay before firing and a plastic figure of an apparent sheep or ram on the lintel. It is possible that there was no floor inside it [Fig. 28:C].

Its role as a lantern seems indisputable considering the context of the find, a small store inside a gateway with pottery, torpedo jars, Roman silver coinage from North Syrian mints, and seven oil lamps
Reginalt typologies Lychnological miscellanea from Polish excavations in Egypt and the Eastern...
, including the Isiac lamp (see above) which is a Syrian imitation of Roman figural lamps, and other lamps deriving from the 1st century Roman products but with molded and appliqué decoration, four circular handleless lamps of the Euphrates type, either plain or with geometric decoration, dated at Dura Europos to the first half of mid-3rd century AD (mistakenly given as BC in the text), and a local wheel-made lamp in the Mesopotamian tradition deriving from Parthian lamps (Krogulska 1987 with detailed discussion and references).

The lantern designation suggests a function of lighting the way, but for that the Bijan product is rather small and it is not entirely clear that it could have been carried (the top is damaged). A clay object from Polish excavations in Palmyra has the space inside and openings in the side walls that make it resemble the Bijan piece, but the top is preserved as a small saucer-like depression [Fig. 28:D]. This suggests its use as an incense burner with the bowl-like top intended for burning incense or rather heating a liquid form if incense with the small flame placed inside the object. Its form as a miniature shrine and the sheep figurine reflects processes aptly described by David Frankfurter (1998) as domestication of cults by miniaturization. Thus, the Bijan lantern, like the Palmyra incense burner, could have been intended for use in a domestic religious context, giving a flickering symbolic light and spreading fragrance in offering to the gods (Krogulska and Zych 2013: 656–659). The execution of the piece and the fabric point to manufacture in the whereabouts of the site, while the archaeological context points to a date in the first half of the 3rd century AD. Lmterns from NAQLUN

\  LRA 3 amphora used as a lampshade with a wonderfully overlapping handles
that form a heart-shaped outline, reused, found in Tumulus T4 at the early Maku- rian (post-Meroitic) cemetery of el-Zuma in Sudan. The upper part, cut off from the bottom, which was also found in fragmented state, had large holes pierced in it (1–2 cm in diameter) and the inner surface was smoked. Four oil lamps were also found in the tunnel leading from outside the mound into the burial chambers. One idea is that the amphora top (which had a fired pottery bung in the neck) was used as a lampshade by the robbers looting the tomb (Czyżewska-Zalewska 2017: 363, 365) [Fig. 28:F].

**DISCUSSION**

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