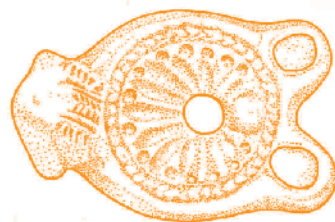


# Clay lamps from the temenos of Allat in Palmyra



**Abstract:** The excavation of the temenos of Allat in Palmyra in the 1970s uncovered a deposit of clay lamps with a few vessels and coins. Inside the cella, the lamps were clustered in two groups, a few examples were found also in the temenos outside the cella. All in all, there were 191 complete and fragmentary lamps, the bulk of them made locally in Palmyra. The assemblage reveals two trends in oil lamp production: wheel-made lamps with different numbers of nozzles and imitations of imported lamps moulded from archetypes. The assemblage from the temenos is of 4th century date, but many of the moulded lamps copy Greek and Roman types from the 3rd century, with Antioch-on-the-Orontes being a highly probable source of inspiration for Palmyrene lampmakers. Special in this context are rectangular multi-nozzled lamps with relief decoration, in one case menorahs framing a scallop shell and a figural frieze, most likely a Dionysiac thiasos.

**Keywords:** oil lamps, clay, local production, wheel-made, iconography, temenos of Allat, Palmyra

Excavations in the ancient city of Palmyra in the Syrian desert, including projects carried out by Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw team, uncovered a sizable collection of terracotta oil lamps, which have been the object of study and publication. Most of the studied sets of lighting devices came from the hypogeum and tower tombs in the Valley of the Tombs, a group of finds was associated with pottery kilns in the western urban district, yielding evidence of local ceramic

**Maria Krogulska**

University of Warsaw

*In memoriam*

The paper is presented posthumously, Maria Krogulska (1932–2019) having worked on it in the last years of her life. Ever since we published together a clay lantern from Bijan Island (first presented at an International Lychnological Association congress in Heidelberg in 2009), she occasionally referred to me in discussions, searching in particular for parallels for the relief-decorated multi-nozzled rectangular lamps. It seemed only right to translate the text of the article into English and to prepare the plates according to the instructions she had left. The text was practically ready and I have edited it only as far as adapting it to the *PAM* journal guidelines and revising some obvious mistakes. The ideas and interpretations presented in the paper remain hers.

Maria Krogulska introduced me to Near Eastern archaeology in my freshman year at the University of Warsaw and she never wavered in her support of my work, despite my having “betrayed” this field for the archaeology of later periods and other regions. I dedicate this small labor of gratitude to her memory.

*Iwona Zych*

production in the 2nd century AD. Isolated finds of Arabic-period lamps come from the surface.<sup>1</sup> Two synthetic studies of lamps from Palmyra have been published (Fellmann 1975; Sadurska 1975).

Some clay oil lamps were found in a deposit together with a few vessels and coins in the temenos of Allat (for the location of the sanctuary and general description of the excavation, see Gawlikowski 2017: Fig. 1 and 15ff., with complete list of references). The material was stored in

the Museum in Palmyra until the recent conflict; after the destruction, everything that could be salvaged was moved to Damasacus). The lamps were excavated in the temenos, near the cella and inside it. Of particular significance was trench D dug in the temenos, directly northwest of the cella, and trench C adjoining the wall of the temenos, north of its western part.

Inside the cella, lamps were clustered in two places, north of the tetrastyle and south of it. The lamps found north of the



Fig. 1. Findspot of the hoard of clay oil lamps in the northwestern part of the cella of Allat (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | photo P. Bieliński)

<sup>1</sup> For the clay oil lamp collection from tombs: Abdul-Hak 1952: 193ff., esp. 249–250; Fellmann 1970: 29 Fig. 8 (7–9), 68 Fig. 17 (11), 34 Fig. 19 (4), 39ff. Fig. 21 (12–16), 87–93 Fig. 31, Pls 13–15, 19, 20; Amy and Seyrig 1936; Michałowski 1960: 188 Fig. 206; 1963: 227–228 Fig. 267; 1964: 173–178 Pls VIII–IX; Sadurska 1977: 49–62, 167–191; Bounni and Saliby 1957; al-As'ad and Taha 1968; Heimberg 1993: Pls 29–38; Saito 1994: Pls 58–62; Higuchi and Saito 2001: 120–135. For lamps from the western city district, found next to the pottery kilns from the 2nd century AD, from before Aurelian's destruction of Palmyra, and sporadic lamps of Islamic date from surface layers, see Michałowski 1963: 174–177; 1964: 124–134, Pls I–V; 1966: 90–92, Pl. I; Krogulska 1985. For lamps from other parts of the western city district and the Valley of the Tombs, Michałowski 1962: 208–212, Fig. 238; Byliński 1995.

tetrastyle were scattered between the column bases and the north wall of the cella, together with the broken head of Athena of the Giustiniani type (Inv. No. B 2303/8495), roughly 0.90 m below the modern walking level (see Gawlikowski 2017: 162–164, 218ff., Figs 141, 158, 185–187). Another cluster of lamps, but less numerous, was found in a similar position south of the tetrastyle.

The assemblage has been dated contextually by a hoard of bronze coins hidden in a broken lid of coarse gray clay (Krzyżanowska 1981). The hoard was found in the northwestern part of the

cella, between the stones of a low wall encasing a low structure (Gawlikowski 2017: Fig. 9, see Fig. 152 for an early stage of work in this part of the cella). The coins must have been buried just before the temple was destroyed, setting thus a *terminus post quem* in the second half of the 4th century AD for the pottery assemblage. The coins indicate that the most likely date for the destruction is the end of the 4th century AD.

Lamps found in the temenos outside the cella were few and in a few cases earlier than the lamps from inside the building.

## ASSEMBLAGE

Altogether 191 lamps and fragments of lamps were recorded from the excavations in the cella and temenos of Allat. All the nozzles bear evidence of burning, confirming that they were in habitual use in the shrine of the late 4th century AD. The assemblage is important also for its content: lamps of different types, some of them found in Palmyra for the first time. All of them with one exception were made in Palmyra, even though many of the models were from outside (see the catalog below).

The state of preservation of the lamps varies from undamaged examples to pieces without nozzles and handles, to strongly fragmented discuses or bases. Specimens are cracked, the clay delaminated, the form damaged, the surfaces

peeling. The weight of these lamps is also greater, the porous walls saturated with the oil used in them and heavy with the accreted sand and earth (e.g., A 69/75).

Palmyrene clay is characterized by its coarseness, containing sand, lime and mica; it is porous and medium hard (Daszkiewicz 1994; Daszkiewicz, Krogulska, and Raabe 1995; Daszkiewicz, Raabe, and Jelitto 1996; Daszkiewicz, Krogulska, and Bobryk 2000). The degree of firing varies, the color ranging from beige, greenish-beige, through light brown, brown, orange-brown and orange, to brick red, gray and orange-gray. The surface is always lighter.

In technical terms, the lamps are either wheel-made or moulded; in one case, the lamp is handmade.

## I. WHEEL-MADE LAMPS

The type of lamps represented by this group of finds was first described by

Rudolf Fellmann (1975: 49–51). His evidence included only single-nozzled finds,

although he had several variants of these, and he designated them as his Group K. The single-nozzled lamps from the Temple of Allat correspond to his variant Nos 89–91 (Fellmann 1975: 50, Pls 6, 7). His other variants are all later than the Palmyrene assemblage. With regard to the shape, the Allat lamps are close to a 4th century AD lamp, Iványi Type XXII (Iványi 1935: 20 and 21, Pl. LVII:6), although the Palmyra lamps were never glazed like this piece. The parallels from Palestine cited by Fellmann reflect the technique as well. Wheel-made lamps with a single nozzle, different from the Allat set in that they have a concave discus, are also known from the northeastern parts of the Roman Empire, that is, Panonnia and Carnuntum, where they are dated to the 3rd and 4th century AD (see Alram-Stern 1989: 52–54, Pls 40–42, B.3/4; Alicu and Nemeş 1977: Type V, 23–24).

The local wheel-made lamp has a biconical body set on a small flat base and sporting a central filling hole on top. It has one or more projecting nozzles of different size. Like the handles, they are modeled by hand and attached to the body. A lug handle squeezed between the fingers appears on the back shoulder, sticking out up and back. It is positioned on axis with the nozzle in the case of single-nozzle lamps, with the center one of three nozzles in three-nozzled lamps and with the bisecting line between two nozzles in the two-nozzled ones. All in all, 92 complete lamps, two incomplete lamps, and numerous body sherds (not catalogued) were assigned to this type.

The material is classified by the number of nozzles a lamp had.

### **I.1 SINGLE-NOZZLED LAMP**

Most of the 71 recorded lamps from the cella and the five from the temenos are complete, some missing the handle or nozzle. Additionally, there are 70 fragments (which could well fit any of the other groups described below).

Lamps of this type have been found in Palmyra in the Western District (Michałowski 1964: 137, Pl. V,7 No. CD 121) and in the temenos of the Temple of Baalshamin (Fellmann 1975: 49–51, Figs 3, 5–6; Collart and Vicari 1969: 87 and 93), as well as in the Annex next to the Agora (Bounni and Saliby 1968: 102) and north of the Great Colonnade, where they were found with pottery in a 4th century layer, possibly in the remains of a pottery workshop (Gawlikowski 2000: 255–256). In none of these cases was there such a concentration in terms of several lamps being found together. Outside Palmyra, six lamps representing this group were discovered in a Roman–Byzantine tomb at Taiba (Abou Assaf 1974: 212) and one lamp is known from Hama (Ploug 1986: 111, Fig. 37a, Type I). The Museum in Palmyra used to have on display a lamp with sooted nozzle and another one on a high stand, still preserving the wick; neither was ever published. The commonness of this group must have been a factor of their plainness and uncomplicated production technique, which obviously would have made them a cheap product intended for the local market.

### **I.2 DOUBLE-NOZZLED LAMP**

Recorded exemplars include 12 complete or insignificantly damaged lamps, and seven identifiable fragments (not catalogued).

**I.3 TRIPLE-NOZZLED LAMP**

Four complete or insignificantly damaged lamps were recorded.

**I.4 MULTI-NOZZLED LAMPS**

Three poorly preserved lamps had more than three nozzles.

**DISCUSSION**

Lamps from groups I.2, I.3 and I.4 are known only from the Allat Temple enclosure (although the Museum in Palmyra used to display a round multi-nozzled wheel-made lamp with the nozzles there being incorporated into the discus).

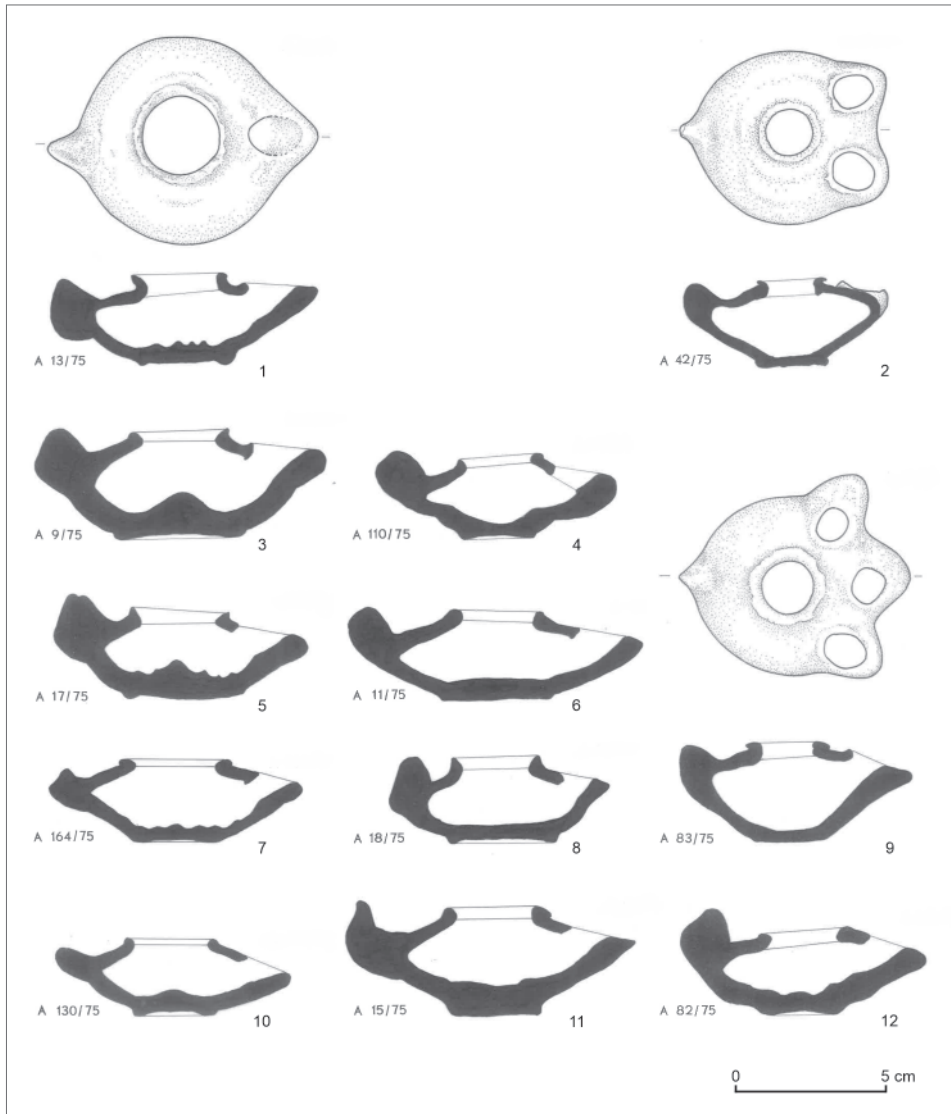


Fig. 2. Wheel-made lamps with one, two and three nozzles (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturó)

The wheel-made lamps in all their variants were made of local clay. The inside surface of the bodies presents easily recognizable marks of throwing on the wheel and string-cutting marks are frequent on the bases. The carination of the body may be rounded or quite acute. The lower body may sometimes bulge a little. The nozzles are hand-modeled and attached to the body, and the wick hole is pierced through the nozzle and lamp shoulder at an angle, leaving the pushed-out clay around the hole, mainly on the inside. Occasionally, the nozzle is purely ornamental, the wick hole having been pierced in the shoulder. The hand-modeling technique ensures that each nozzle is unique, but some trends regarding its shape are to be noted [Fig. 2]:

- 1) small and pointed at the tip, small wick hole continuing through the lamp shoulder (e.g., A 9/75, A 15/75, A 164/75);
- 2) small and rounded, large wick hole (e.g., A 18/75);
- 3) wide and short, wick hole continuing through the lamp shoulder (e.g., A 110/75);
- 4) large and pointed at the tip;
- 5) large and rounded with a large wick hole (e.g., A 13/75).

The nozzles on the multi-nozzled lamps may differ among themselves, being of different shape and size, as well as spacing around the body; for example, one nozzle may be longer and projecting forward more than the other, which is more regular in shape and rounded at the tip, or the nozzles may be rounded, spaced very widely, the tips level with the body carination, or asymmetrically disposed, all rounded, but each of different shape [see Fig. 2].

No two handles that are the same, again due to the hand-modeling technique. The general shape is conical, but it may be more rounded or flattened. Lamp sections illustrate well this variability [see Fig. 2]. Usually on axis with the nozzle, these lug handles may occasionally deviate from this position.

The lamp bases vary as well, the diameter ranging between 2 cm and 4 cm, the shape may be flat (the most numerous kind), slightly concave, with a minute base of different kind or with a disk-shaped base. Several lamps show rough lumps of waste clay still stuck to the bases (e.g., A 17/75) [see Fig. 2].

Filling holes are either large or small, the diameter ranging between 1.3 cm and 3.0 cm. The finishing of the edge of the hole follows one of a number variants:

- 1) vertical with sharp edge;
- 2) oblique;
- 3) thickened edge;
- 4) flat and everted;
- 5) thick roll around the edge;
- 6) thick flattened roll splayed out onto the shoulder;
- 7) rough finishing, thickened on one side, pushed out onto the shoulder on the other.

Surface treatment is not ubiquitous; the surface is either left as is or, occasionally, coated with a wash. The workmanship is generally coarse, the lamps often crooked or squashed. There are exceptions to this rule, e.g., A 130/75 and A 164/75, both of which have a very regular reservoir with flatly everted filling hole and a small flattened handle, wide at the base and projecting upward slightly. The former has a small semicircular handle, the latter a pointed nozzle.

The multi-nozzled wheel-made lamps are poorly preserved. Three lamps can be reconstructed from the fragments. Lamp A 60/75 had at least five irregular nozzles, one damaged, flaring out from a flat bottom, but not enough of the lamp has been preserved to support a full reconstruction. It is not clear how they were disposed around the reservoir and where the handle was positioned [Fig. 3:1]. A broken lamp of this kind was found in 1997 in the surface layers near the Great Colonnade and it is the closest parallel.

The next lamp, A 60a/75, probably had six nozzles and two or three pierced handles for suspension [Fig. 3:2]. Pierced suspension handles on lamps have been recorded at other sites in Syria. A round lamp with nine nozzles and three handles around the filling hole is now in Damascus (No. 5914/1344, Zouhdi 1974: 184). Other fragments with pierced handles

are only distant parallels and they show that the form and idea of hanging lamps, modeled on metal prototypes, was known in the Near East since at least the 2nd century AD. A fragmentary lamp from Dura Europos (Baur 1947: 71, 72, Pl. XIII, No. 412) was moulded and had a nozzle of different shape, but the pierced handle was positioned on the lamp axis; it was thought to be a copy of a metal original. Similar lamps, well preserved with two or three nozzles, are known from Jerash (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 91–93, Nos 373–376; also Iliffé 1945: 20, Nos 122 and 123, Pl. VII). The Palmyra lamp is the first of its kind discovered in the oasis and its technique is different from that of the earlier lamps, but it clearly draws upon an earlier tradition.

The third of these multi-nozzled lamps, A 60b/75, found in the temenos of the sanctuary, is the only one with

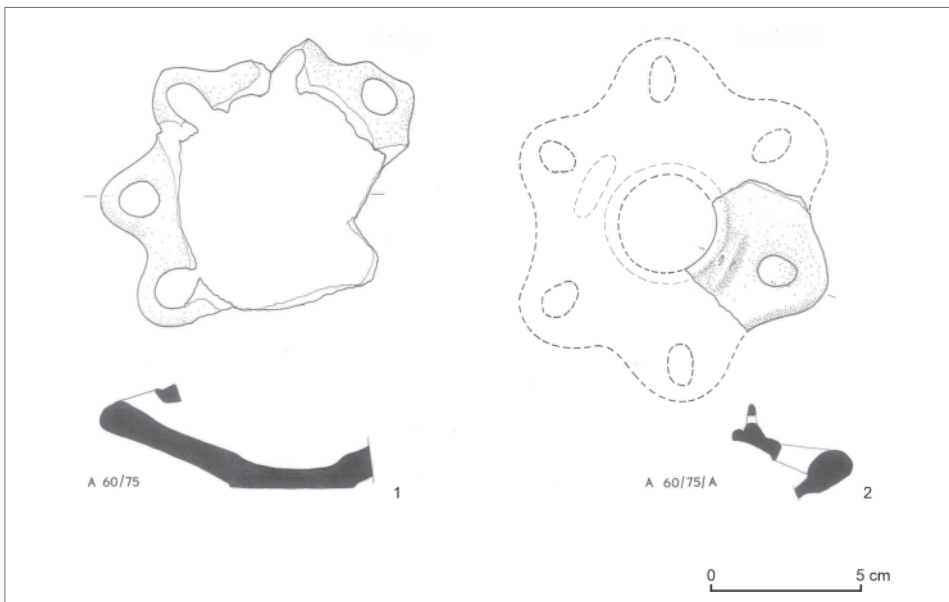


Fig. 3. Multi-nozzled wheel-made lamps (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)



plastic decoration. It survives as part of the reservoir with one complete and one half-damaged nozzle. There is an impressed pattern of small semicircular shapes, running in closely spaced parallel rows, two on the shoulder and four, more irregular, on the lower body. It was round and furnished probably with nine nozzles. No parallels are known.

On the whole, round wheel-made multi-nozzled lamps are very rare. There is a six-nozzled lamp with biconical body that is wheel-made, but its proportions and shape exclude it as a parallel (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 128, No. 529). A local lamp on a high stand, round in shape with seven nozzles incorporated into the slightly convex discus, appears to be wheel-made (Waldhauer 1914: 66, No. 526, Pl. L). Moulded lamps of this kind with projecting nozzles around the discus, on one side or on three sides, with diverse forms of the handles, are quite common (e.g., Perlzweig 1961: 157, Pl. 32, Nos 2016, 2017, also illustrated in Thompson 1933: 209–210, Fig. 9.2, 4th century AD; Alram-Stern 1989: 235, No. 404 from Carnuntum, Pl. 35; Neumann 1967: 1, Pl. IV.31, Type VIII; Osborne 1924: 16, No. 82, from Egypt; Kennedy 1963: 114, Pl. XXX, 4th century AD), but they cannot be considered as parallels for the Palmyra production (except perhaps for Iványi 1935: 11, 13, 90–91, Pls XVII–XXIV, Types III to V, 2nd–3rd century AD, Pls XXIX–XXXI, Type VIII from the 3rd century AD, with one small loop handle as in Pl. XXIX 4, a five-nozzled lamp with five irregularly spaced nozzles opposite the handle apparently attached separately, see also Pls XXX and XXXI). Thus, it seems that from a typological point of view, the multi-

nozzled wheel-made lamps from Palmyra derive from the single-, double- and triple-nozzled examples and they must have been somewhat more difficult and hence more costly to make. Some influence from metal lamps and their imitations can be assumed, for example, in the case of A 60a/75, especially with regard to the shape of the handle and the position and manner of attachment (Howland 1958: No. 207, 5th century BC; Bruneau 1965: 39 and 111–112, Pls 9 and 10, 28, Hellenistic lamp, second half of 2nd and beginning of 1st century BC). A tentative reconstruction of the Palmyrene lamps A 60/75 and A 60b/75, based on an understanding of the typological development of local lamps in the oasis, places the filling hole centrally on the convex discus and adds one projecting handle attached at the point of carination on the body. The nozzles could have been on the opposite side to the handle or spaced more or less evenly around the body; in the latter case, there would have been two, three or four handles positioned vertically around the filling hole. If the latter, more probable, reconstruction is accepted, then these would be hanging lamps.

The consistency shown by this group, the uniformity of shape and large number of lamps of this kind from the cella of the Temple of Allat leave no doubt that we are dealing here with objects from the mid-4th century AD, objects that were produced on the spot in local workshops despite the commonness of wheel-made lamps in the late period outside Palmyra, in Palestine, Cyprus and Panonia. The assemblage from the Temple of Allat constitutes a single variant, distinguished internally only by the number of nozzles.

This local production appears to have been carried out on a mass scale. If one accepts the shape of the handle and the

shape of the lamp itself, then only four lamps (roughly 4%) were not produced in the same workshop.

## II. HANDMADE RING-SHAPED LAMP

A multi-nozzled ring-shaped lamp A 59/75 is the only one of its kind found in Palmyra and it does not seem to have any good published parallels. Triangular rounded nozzles with roughly formed wick holes were attached around the ring [Fig. 4]. The modeling technique recalls the wheel-made group of lamps and leaves no doubt as to the local origin and contemporaneity of these devices.

Ring-shaped lamps are known from the Mediterranean from the 5th century BC until late antiquity (Vessberg 1953; from Cyprus, especially 128–129, Pl. IV 1,3, Type 21, contextual dating to the 3rd century AD; Joly 1974: 24 and 113, No. 162, Pl. XI, three small handles on the top surface, 2nd–3rd century AD;

Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 51–52, No. 207, 11 nozzles, handle crossed on top, earlier than the Palmyra specimen; Waldhauer 1914: 48, No. 304, Pl. XXXII, full ring plastically decorated, Roman lamps, mid 1st to end of 3rd century AD; Iványi 1935: 19, Pl. LV:6,7, Type XIX, end of 1st century AD; Bruneau 1965: 39, 111–112, Nos 1986–1989, 4451–4452, Pls 9, 10, 28, Hellenistic lamps, second half of 2nd and early 1st century BC; Bailey 1980: Q 1103, second half of 1st century AD; 1988: 414, Q 3294, Pl. 121, 1st century AD with references). These are most often lamps without handles and the Palmyra lamp also probably did not have one. It would have had seven nozzles (five are preserved). The lamp is a local imitation of ring-shaped lamps

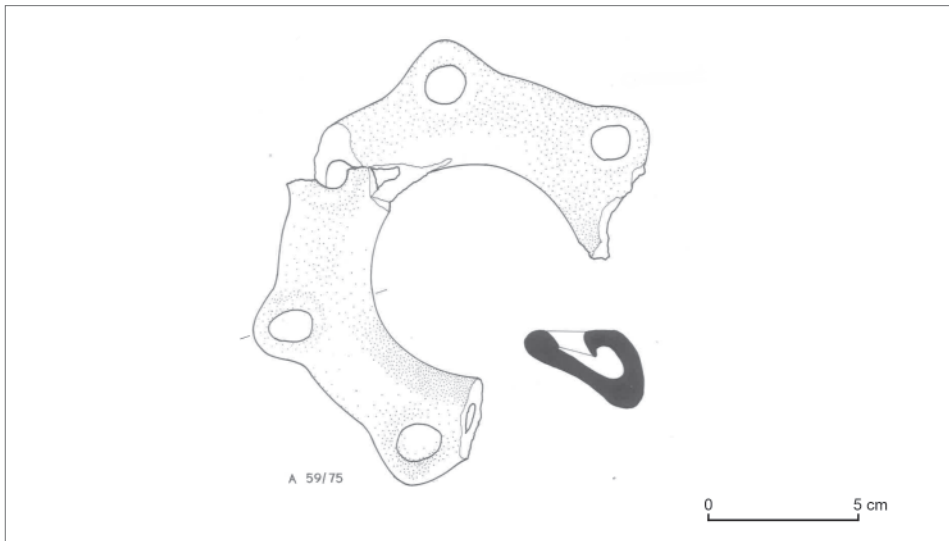


Fig. 4. Hand-made ring-shaped lamp (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturó)

known from other sites in the Mediterranean, including Palestine (Sussman 1982: 126; Netzer 1977: 12, Fig. 14, hanging lamp from Jericho with 17 projecting nozzles and three handles positioned inside the

ring, 2nd century AD; Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 51–52, No. 207) and Syria (hanging lamp with nine projecting nozzles and three handles in the Museum at Maarrat Alnuman).

### III. MOULDMADE LAMPS

The cella and temenos of the Temple of Allat produced 62 complete lamps and numerous fragments. They were all with one exception moulded from two late-generation moulds presumably made from lamps brought from outside (see Karivieri 1996: 24). The lamps are not slipped, sometimes they have a wash; some preserve traces of red pigment (see also Dobbins 1977: 29, 119, 157–158, 263ff.).

The lamps were divided into five different groups with further subdivisions.

#### III.1 ROUND BODY, ROUNDED NOZZLE, FULL HANDLE EXTENDED BACK

The moulded lamps have a broad decorated shoulder and small concave discus. The rounded nozzle finds the nearest parallel in Bailey's type Q Group VIII (see also lamps from Cos published by Fitch and Goldman 1994: 149–183, Pls 4, 5, 78).

Lamps like these have been found previously in Palmyra, in the temenos of the Temple of Baalshamin (Fellmann 1975: 44–47, Fig. 2:15, 3:1,2, Pl. 5:4–7), the Camp of Diocletian (Michałowski 1964: 136, Pl. V,5; 1962: 210, Fig. 238e), Sanctuary of Abgal at Khirbet Semrine and Wadi Souane in

the western Palmyrene (Schlumberger 1951: 62, Pl. 33,1–4, Nos 56a and 56b, 14 and 20), and Tomb 36 excavated by Andreas Schmidt-Colinet (Heimberg 1993: 117–118, Figs 11,88–90, 12,91–92, Pls 37, 38).

In Fellmann's typology, these lamps form Group H (Fellmann 1975: 44–47, Fig. 2:15, 3:1,2, Pl. 5:4–7 with discussion of the origins of the ornament and dating),<sup>2</sup> Sadurska (1977: 56, Fig. 8) assigned them to her Category IV with handle. They represent types: Bailey R (Bailey 1980: 337–381, Pl. 86), Loeschke VIII (Loeschke 1919: 237 [49–55] 243), Broneer XXV or XXVIII (Broneer 1930: 83–87, 102–114), Provoost 4 (Provoost 1970: 24ff., 44ff.), Dobbins 16, Forms 2 and 3 (Dobbins 1977: 263–265).

#### III.1.A.1 Shoulder decoration in the form of rows of relief dots

The excavation of the Temple of Allat uncovered 26 complete and almost complete lamps and a few dozen small fragments with the characteristic decoration.

These lamps have a round body and elongated rounded nozzle, small plain

2 Krogulska does not concur with Iwona Modrzewska-Marciniak (1977: 139–140, Fig. 2 Type I) in assigning lamps of Fellmann's Groups H and G to type I from Anab Safina, although she admits that it is a distant parallel. The profile of the Palmyra lamps is basically different: unlike the Anab Safina lamps, which have a convex discus gently passing to the shoulder, the Group H lamps have a small concave discus and convex shoulder, while the discus of Group H lamps is flat or slightly concave.

sunken discus pierced with a small central filling hole and a shoulder decorated with four rows of relief dots. A small smooth round hollow appears between the discus and nozzle, leaving just two outer rows of dots; the hollow must have been made when the mould for these lamps was pressed from the model lamp, which must have had a hole in this place, as did also the other first-generation lamps. Short vertical bars in relief set off the base of the nozzle (almost completely obliterated in some examples). The full handle extends back and encloses the body; on top it reaches the first row of dots ending in four bars in relief, on the bottom, it reaches to the base.

Marks of producers appear inside the ring base: a palm branch or ear-of-corn, a cross and a rosette (see below). But not all lamps bear such marks and indeed not all have indicated bases; the bottom of a lamp can be smooth, round and flat, and sometimes a ring base is suggested by a double grooved ring imitating a base ring. The absence of a base or its roughness point to the use of a late-generation mold and careless execution of a product intended for the mass consumer.

The following combinations of base types and base marks have been recorded:

- ◊ ring base—faintly impressed branch;
- ◊ ring base—cross;
- ◊ ring base—stylized rosette;
- ◊ double groove insted of ring base  
—rosette(?);
- ◊ flat ring base—no mark or illegible mark.

The three lamps with relief-dot decoration from the temenos of Baalshamin's sanctuary were found in late layers and Fellmann (1975: 44) assigned them to his

Group H dated from the end of the 3rd through the early 5th century AD. He compared them with the Mediterranean *Warzenlampen*, which are dated to the mid-3rd and 4th centuries AD. Fellmann cited as the main parallel Attic lamps (Perlzweig 1961: 138, Pl. 25), but he also took into consideration for the dating the single lamp from the Sanctuary of Abgal in Khirbet Semrine, found together with coins of the Roman emperors Maxentius and Maximianus (Schlumberger 1951: 61, 62, 132). Despite his very scarce source base, Fellmann's dating of the Palmyrene lamps has stood up to time admirably, the finds from the Temple of Allat confirming it in full, even as they finehone it.

Lamps with relief-dot decoration occur from the 2nd to the 5th century AD in different parts of the Mediterranean: Italy (including Rome), Carthage, Boeotia, Panonia, Greece, Ephesus. Studies of Italian material indicate that the type proliferated in the Western Empire in the 3rd and early 4th century AD (Russell 1973: 96, 98, No. 15; see also Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 43, 55, 96, Nos 173, 222, 389; Bailey 1980: 292, 375–381, Pls 86 and 87, Group X described as Fat-Globule decoration, Nos Q 1421, Q 1422, Severan or later). These lamps refer to Type R and correspond to form Dressel 30 and type Provoost 4 (Bailey 1980: Q 1423–Q 1425, end of 3rd through early 5th century AD; Fitch and Goldman 1994: 164–166, Figs 89 and 90, also compare 205–206, Figs 112, 113). The Palmyrene lamps appear to be the nearest, although not identical with the Italian lamps (Provoost 1970: 24–25, 43–44, Type 4). Provoost (1976) has also demonstrated that full handles extending back

do not appear before the end of the 3rd century AD (so also for Athenian lamps, Karivieri 1996: 74–75, and for lamps from Argos, Bovon 1966: 51, 58–62, Pls 8, 9, end of 3rd through end of 5th century AD). The direct passing from the discus and residual shoulder to the nozzle, barely marking the base of the latter, as in the Palmyra lamps, is typical of the late antique examples.

All things considered the Palmyrene lamps refer to Italian or, more broadly, Roman lamps from the 4th century AD, known from Rome itself and from the provinces. Despite the wide dissemination of the relief-dot motif on lamps throughout the Mediterranean in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, no strict parallels could be found. The Palmyrene lamps are smaller and the decoration flatter. Lamps of this kind are known also from other sites in Syria: Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Waagé 1934: 65–66, Type IX, 593; 1941: 66–67, Type 51a, 152; Dobbins 1977: 265–266, Forms 2 and 3, more broadly 263–269, Type 16, Forms 3 and 4), Dura Europos (Baur 1947: 69, Type IX, Pl. XIII, No. 401), and Hama (Papanicolaou Christensen 1986: 35, Fig. 12g, Nos 421–426).

### III.1.A.2 SHOULDER DECORATION IN THE FORM OF A SCROLLING VINE (VARIANTS A AND B)

The excavation in the temple yielded five lamps with scrolling grapevine decoration on the shoulder: two from the cella and three from the temenos (A 8/75, A 2/86, CD 22/76, CD 35a/76, CD 39b/76). Two variants were recorded, one with a radiate or rosette motif on a small concave discus (two lamps from the cella and one from the temenos) and the other with

a fish motif impressed on the small plain concave discus (two lamps from the temenos).

The lamps are round with elongated rounded nozzle and full handle embracing the body, which gives the optical illusion of a longer lamp body. The handle starts at the base and ends by the discus; it is doubled on the underside and has four “fingers” on top. The shoulders are convex and decorated with bunches of grapes composed symmetrically around a scrolling vine. The leaves start at the handle, followed by a bunch of grapes, more leaves and another bunch of grapes which reaches to the nozzle. The bunches of grapes have an elongated triangular shape and are formed of relief dots; the leaf and scrolling branch are rendered schematically. The small concave dis-

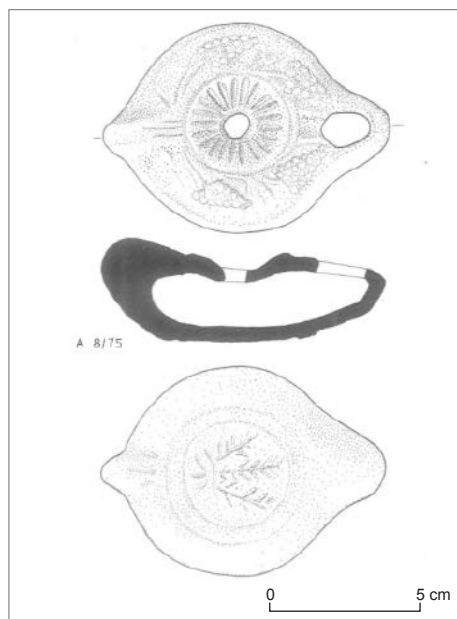


Fig. 5. Lamp with shoulder decoration as a scrolling vine (Group III.1.A.2) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)

cus is decorated with 27 narrow petals forming a rosette. A small filling hole is centered on the discus. The wick hole is oval. A circular groove separates the discus from the shoulder. A roll appears opposite the nozzle. A flat base on some lamps had a double groove encircling it and inside it, a producer's mark in the form of three branches crossed by two semicircular lines with the arc upward (A 8/75) [Fig. 5].

Apart from being smaller, as Fellmann noted already, the second variant bears a different decoration on the discus and nozzle, and the shoulder decoration is composed in a different way. The small concave discus is separated from the shoulder with a circular groove and the filling hole is displaced from the center toward the nozzle. It is decorated with a relief fish(?) placed obliquely above the filling hole. Leaves appear on either side of the nozzle and the upper part of a bunch of grapes is on the nozzle top. Two short grooves on either side delineate the nozzle from the shoulder.

Earlier finds of this type of lamp with scrolling vine decoration from Palmyra and the region include four examples with either radiate or rosette decoration published by Fellmann (1975: 46 and 47, Nos 59–62, Fig. 3,2, Pl. 5,4), a single lamp from the apse of the Temple of Standards inside the Camp of Diocletian (Sadurska 1975: 55, Fig. 8,3) and two lamps from the temple in Khirbet Semrine (Schlumberger 1951: 62, No. 56a,b, Pl. 33,1–2). Three lamps come from Tomb 36 in the Valley of the Tombs (Heimberg 1993: 117, Fig. 11, 88–90, Pl. 37) and another three from Tomb F in the Southeastern Necropolis, of which only L115 can be considered as

a parallel; L116 is smaller and more like the second variant here, but with a different discus (Higuchi and Saito 2001: 135, Fig. 85). Three lamps like the second variant here with decoration on the small discus in the form of a fish come from the temenos of the Temple of Baalshamin (Fellmann 1975: 46, Nos 63–65, Fig. 3,1, Pl. 5:5–6). One more lamp of the kind comes from Khirbet Wadi Souane (Schlumberger 1951: 62, No. 56d, Pl. 33,3 and 7).

Sadurska (1975: 55) put both variants in her Category IV with handle and dated them to the 3rd–4th century. Fellmann assigned them to his Group H, which he dated together with the lamps with relief-dot decoration to the turn of the 3rd century AD based on Schlumberger's finds from Khirbet Semrine and for the origins of which he would have liked the 3rd and 4th century AD lamps from Corinth passing via Athens (Fellmann 1975: 46–47 plus references; Perlzweig 1961: 146, Nos 1544–1559, 1562, Pl. 28; Bruneau 1965: 135, Nos 4658, 4659, Pl. 31, Corinthian; Heres 1972: 77, Pl. 51, Nos 483, 484, Athens, 2nd–4th century AD; Slane 1994: 153, 157, Fig. 13, Pls 35–37, Nos 78, 99, 3rd–4th century AD; Broneer 1977: 64, 67, Type XXVII, Pl. 30, Nos 2796–2801, 2843, figural scene on the discus; Bovon 1966: 57–62, Pls 8, 9, lamps with full handle, end of 3rd through early 5th century AD; Broneer 1930: 90–96, Nos 566, 570, Pl. 11). One should keep in mind, however, that a broad-shouldered lamp with decoration in the form of bunches of grapes on a vine, coupled with a small discus decorated with a rosette, was common in Syria and Palestine in the first centuries of our era and was an imitation of

Attic–Corinthian models (Broneer XXVII, Group 2) (e.g., Corinthian lamp from Tell Halif with a signature, dated to the end of the 1st and the 2nd century AD, Borowski 1977: Figs 1 and 2).

Prototypes for the variant of lamp with the fish on the discus can be found in Italy and Greece, where lamps with a scrolling vine on the shoulder had small concave discuses decorated with figural scenes. Lamps from central Italy from the 1st through 3rd centuries AD bore either dolphins, crabs, or one or two fishes (Waldhauer 1914: Pl. XXXI, No. 297, 1st–2nd century AD, 63, Pl. XLVI, Fig. 492, two fish on the discus, import, 2nd–4th century AD; Iványi 1935: 13–14, Type X, Pl. XXXV, 4–7; Bailey 1980: 77–78; 1988: 88, Fig. 112). Attic lamps from the 3rd and 4th century AD also bore dolphins and fish on the discuses (Perlzweig 1961: 129–130, Pl. 20, Nos 939–960; Broneer 1930: 264, 266, Type XXVIII, Pl. XVII, No. 1261, XIX, Nos 1279, 1283, 1285; Iványi 1935: 12, Pls XXXIV–XXXV, Type X, corresponding to type Broneer XXVII, which appeared in Greece of the end of the 1st century AD and variants of its lasted through the end of the 4th century AD). None of these lamps, however, produce a direct parallel; rather they signal similar themes of decoration as likely to appear on lamps in the 4th century AD.

### III.1.A.3 CONCENTRIC RELIEF RINGS ON THE DISCUS

This is the first lamp of its kind to be found in Palmyra. It is round with an elongated nozzle and concave discus with two concentric relief rings disposed around the central filling hole. A small

full handle embraces the body; the underside is grooved lengthwise, the top touches the discus ring. A stylized scrolling vine decorates the convex shoulders: six bunches of grapes separated by leaves with their tips pointing toward the discus. Inside a low base ring there is a mark in relief in the form of a four-petal rosette with dotted hollows in each petal.

There are only indirect parallels for this lamp among the typologically nearest Attic lamps of the 3rd and 4th century AD (Bailey 1965: 63, Pl. X 21). It is also comparable to a lamp said to be from the Greek East, possibly Halicarnassus, which has a full handle and is dated to the 4th–5th century AD (late Loeschke VIII, Bailey 1988: 415, Q3306, Pl. 122).

Included in this group is a very poorly preserved lamp (A 1/75) with round body, flat shoulder and irregular central filling hole [Fig. 6]. The nozzle is elongated and projecting, a lug handle with traces of profiling sits on the shoulder and the base

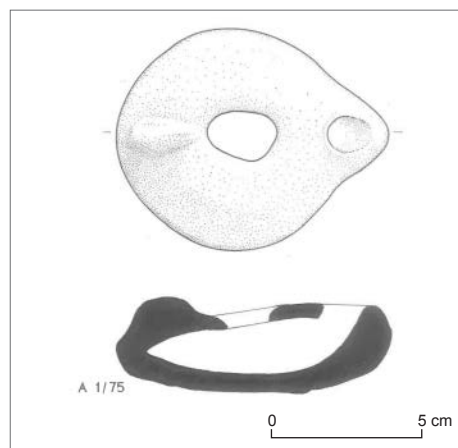


Fig. 6. Very degenerate lamp with concentric rings on the discus (Group III.1.A.3) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)

is faintly distinguished. The back of the lamp is strongly flattened. Another lamp of this kind was found in surface layers in the Forum (CD 15/62, Michałowski 1964: 136, Pl. V,6, No. 109), whereas lamp T24/62 was found in the entrance to the hypogeum of Tower-tomb 15 (Michałowski 1964: 178, Pl. IX,5, No. 32); neither is helpful with the dating of these lamps, but they have a better preserved surface. Lamps L110–L113 from Tomb F in the Southeastern Necropolis seem to be of the same kind based on drawings and photographic images (Higuchi and Saito 2001: 135, Fig. 85).

The nearest parallel for the shape of this lamp is a late Roman lamp from Tyre (Rey-Coquais 1964: 159, No. 35, Pl. VII), which is identified as Corinthian type Broneer XXIb corresponding to Loeschke IV type (analogous shape and position of handle). The Tyre lamp is slightly bigger than the ones from Palmyra, 8.5 cm length to our 7–8 cm and 7.5 cm width to ours 6–7 cm. The Palmyra lamps are technically of worse quality and characterized by a peeling surface. They lack decoration on the shoulder but retain hollows on the discus and traces of relief rings around the central filling hole in two cases. It may be assumed with a fair amount of certainty that the lamps from the oasis were modeled on a lamp of the Tyre kind.

### III.1.B LAMP WITH FLAT DECORATED DISCUS AND NARROW UNDISTINGUISHED SHOULDER

These lamps are decorated on the discus either with a rosette (first group) or with other motifs (second group). There are 13 examples in the first group and several fragments that were not catalogued.

Twelve of these complete lamps appear to have come from the same mould and if not, then most certainly from the same archetype. The one remaining lamp, which has a 15-petal rosette instead of the 11-petal one on the others, represents a different model. All the lamps appear to be contemporaneous and were produced in the same workshop.

The lamps are round with an elongated rounded nozzle and full handle embracing the body, projecting back and up. The end touching the petals of the rosette on the discus is four-fingered. The shoulder is narrow and undecorated. The discus is only slightly concave, encircled with a relief rope motif; in the center, there is a large rosette composed of 11 pointed petals or, in one case (A 7/75) [Fig. 7:2], 15 petals with rounded tips (Bailey 1980: 85, 88, 362, 363, Q 1382, 1383, Fig. 100; Fitch and Goldman 1994: 154–157, No. 788, Fig. 80). The petals are outlined in relief. The small filling hole is cut straight through the center of the rosette. The bases are usually flat, distinct, often framed with a double engraved base ring, occasionally with a producer's mark in the center. In one case (A 50/75), it is a branch, in two other cases there is a distinct straight line and faint traces of ridges on either side. An elaborate group of branches appears on the base of A 7/75 [Fig. 7:2]. Traces of red paint have been attested on the surface of some of these lamps.

Earlier finds of lamps with a rosette on the discus from Palmyra include five examples from the Baalshamin complex (Fellmann 1975: 43–44, Fig. 2:11, Group G, Pl. 5:1–3) and one from the western district of the city (Sadurska 1975: 56, Fig. 8.2).



Fellmann assigned these lamps to his Group G and compared them to Attic and Delian lamps. Sadurska (1975: Note 41) placed them in her category IV with handle. Fellmann (1975: 44) voiced an opinion that the lamps were not local Palmyrene imitations despite being somewhat coarser than the models. However, the fabric of the examples from the Temple of Allat leaves no doubt that lamps with a rosette on the discus were produced in Palmyra (at present there are 20 complete lamps and several fragments known).

The nearest parallel is a half of a mould from Antioch, Waagé's Form 50e (Waagé 1941: 66, Fig. 79, No. 147), which Waagé considered to be made from a non-local clay. If a mould had been imported to Antioch, then it must have been for the purpose of making lamps

from it in a local workshop. And it is very likely that such a lamp made in Antioch was brought to Palmyra to be used by the local lampmakers in their own production. Determining the original prototype, however, is not possible, as lamps decorated with a rosette in the 4th century AD are present at many sites: Athens (Perlzweig 1961: 150–151, Pl. 30, Nos 1709, 1713, 1743; Karivieri 1996: 69; Böttger 2002: 205–206, Pl. 48, Nos 2638, 2639, 229–234, Pls 54–57), Delos (Bruneau 1965: 137–138, Pl. 32, Nos 4683, 4684, both Attic lamps), Argos (Bovon 1966: 64, No. 393, 17-petal rosette encircled with a rope-patterned ring, opening before the nozzle) and Panonia (Iványi 1935: 13, Type X and XI, Pls XXXIX 7 and 9, XXXV 1, XXXVI 1,3,4,6–9, pages 96–99), but none is a direct parallel.

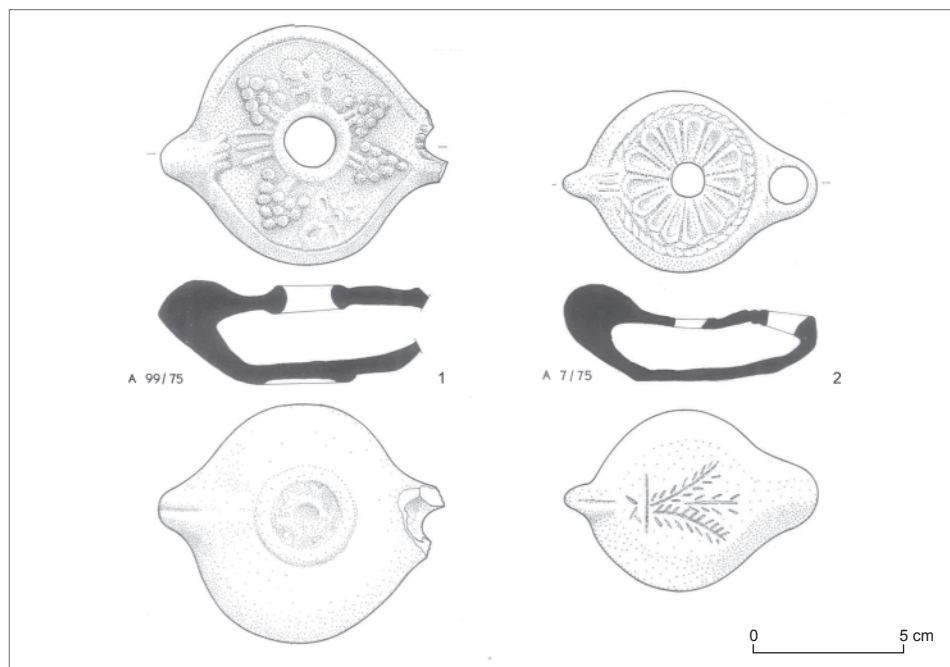


Fig. 7. Lamps with flat decorated discus (Group III.1.B) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturó)

The second group is distinguished by vegetal (one example) and geometric (four examples) decoration on the discus instead of the rosette. These have not been discovered previously at Palmyra.

The one lamp with vegetal decoration, A 99/75, has a large flat discus within a circular groove, pierced centrally with a big filling hole which is framed by a wide relief band [Fig. 7:1]. The handle has a “four-fingered” ending on the discus and the base bears a mark in the form of a rosette. The decoration on the discus consists of four bunches of grapes hanging, so to speak, from the band around the filling hole. Stylized leaves appear symmetrically right and left of the filling hole. Three bars extend from the band around the filling hole toward the handle and on the opposite side there is a clear triangular space on the nozzle top between the bunches of grapes.

Lamps of this type but with different decoration on the discus were discovered in Antioch (Waagé 1934: 65ff., Pls X, XI, Nos 700, 814, 1487, 251,3, Group IX; 1941: 66–67, Fig. 80, Nos 153–154, Type 51, 3rd–4th century AD) and Hama (Papanicolaou Christensen 1986: 35, Fig. 14 e). Kennedy (1963: 103–104, Pl. XXIV, No. 618, Type 13) also published a lamp of this kind purchased in Aleppo, a very good parallel for the general shape and handle attachment; this lamp is much better made and better preserved than the one from Palmyra. The mark on its base is a palmette.

Lamps with geometric decoration include one with globules (A 90/75) and three with radiate bars (A 55–57/75). Like A 99/75 and unlike the lamps with rosette, the filling hole in all these lamps

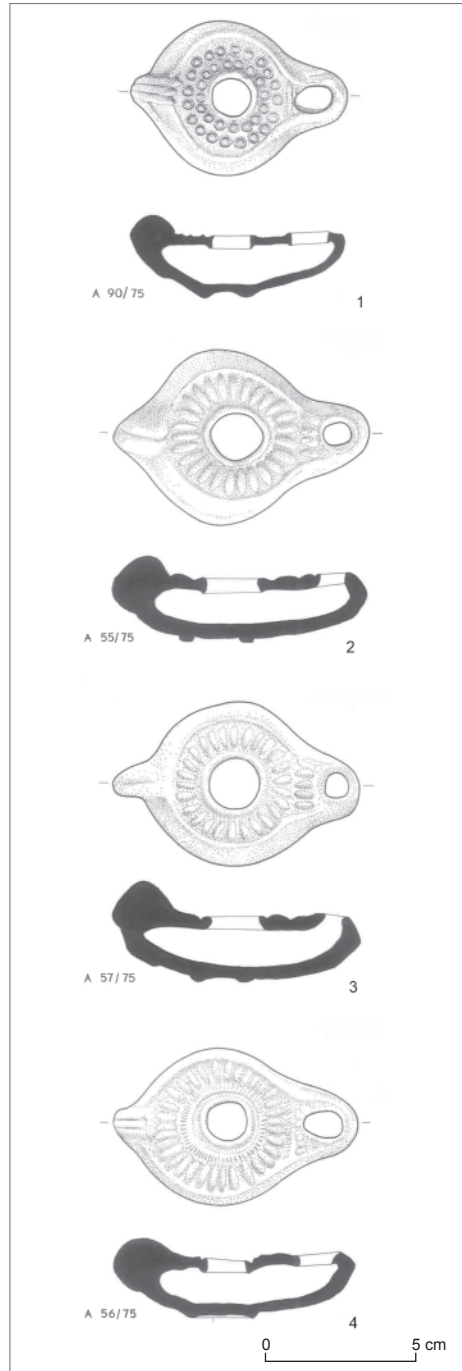


Fig. 8. Lamps with flat decorated discus (Group III.1.B) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)

is somewhat larger and encircled with a fleshy relief ring. A raised edge runs around the discus and nozzle, separating them from the sloping shoulder. The wick hole on the nozzle is separated from the discus either by a crosswise edge (A 90/75) or by lengthwise bars (A 55/75), or triangles (A 57/75), and in the case of A 56/75, small globules [Fig. 8]. The handle may have a double groove running its length on top and a single or double groove on the underside. The lamp with globules on the discus had two rings: inner one of 16 globules and outer one of 20. The bars on the other lamps radiate from the central filling hole. The lamp with globules has a small concave base, while the ones with bars have small ring bases.

Lamp A 56/75 [Fig. 8:4] is at the same time a transitional shape to oval lamps. Both the handle and the nozzle appear to be incorporated into the overall shape of the lamp and the decoration is more elaborate. The roll around the large filling hole has an additional circular groove around it and a raised band with notching, which is surrounded by a series of 34 bars forming a radiate pattern, which touches onto the handle and is delimited there by a crosswise bar. A band with rope pattern separates the discus from the nozzle. A low raised edge with notching on the inside separates the discus and nozzle from the narrow shoulder; it ends in small globules on either side of the handle. The base is small and oval in shape.

The lamps have been described as a late Syrian type from the 4th century AD, distinguished in Dura Europos (Baur 1947: 70–71, Pl. XIII, 404, 407, 408, Type X). One should also mention a North Syrian type, Dobbins 26 Form 1

from the early 4th century AD (Dobbins 1980: 294–295). Lamps from the tombs in Hama are also parallels. These are pear-shaped lamps of Type III, which are dated based on parallels with lamps from Antioch to the 5th century AD (Ploug 1986: 111–112, Fig. 37, Type III, Nos 1–15, especially No. 10 and Note 254). This type appears to have been introduced at the turn of the 4th century AD and developed a number of iconographic variants throughout the 5th century AD.

### III.2 OVOID LAMP WITH GEOMETRIC DECORATION

Oval lamps are characterized by a handle and nozzle that do not project beyond the general outline of the body. The one lamp here, A 132/75, is also an evident import considering the fabric [Fig. 9]. It is different from other Palmyrean lamps and finds absolutely no parallel in the Palmyrean ceramic production.

The lamp is oval in shape and has a solid handle with two grooves down its length positioned on the shoulder in the back part of the body. Its base where

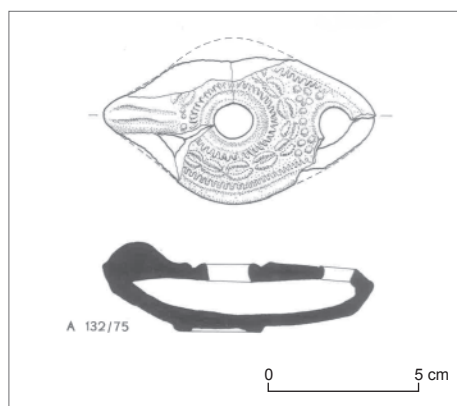


Fig. 9. Ovoid lamp (Group III.2) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)

it starts on the body is marked with four small globules. A low raised edge runs from the handle to and around the nozzle; it is notched on the inside, similarly as the band around the filling hole. The filling hole has a low thickened roll around the rim. Between the two notched edges there is a chain-like ornament, done with care (resembling a series of cowry shells), encircling the filling hole. The discus and nozzle are separated by 12 small globules. There is a low ring base. There are no known published examples, although such lamps are said to have been discovered in Apamea (T. Sarnowski, personal communication).

Summing up, the lamps with geometric decoration appear to form a developmental line, evolving from A 56/75 through A 55/75 to A 56/75. All bear a pattern of radiate relief bars, enriched in the lattermost case with globules. A similar raised and notched edge runs around the discus and nozzle. At the end of the line is A 132/75, which is the most ornate of all, including a richer framing of the filling hole. In effect, we may be dealing here with an evolution of shape and decoration within the line of North Syrian lamps.

### III.3 TRIPLE-NOZZLED LAMP WITH GEOMETRIC DECORATION

Lamps of this kind were found in Palmyra for the first time. The two complete lamps and one fragmentary one appear to have been made in the same two-part mould. It was an elongated lamp with three rounded nozzles at the front and

a wide, slightly rising hollow handle at the back. A round discus with small centrally positioned filling hole is decorated with two concentric relief rings,<sup>3</sup> the inner one plain and the outer one with alternating sharp teeth (for the decoration, see the discussion below, A 126/75). The handle was decorated on the top and underside, the top ornament cannot be read, but the underside bears a vegetal decoration of branches. A vegetal ornament can be discerned also inside the ring bases.

No direct parallels have been noted. Perhaps they are simply the regular lamps described above but furnished with extra nozzles and with a wider and rounded handle. Handles of this kind are known on lamps from Antioch, e.g., Type 52b, lamp No. 157 (Waagé 1941: 67, Fig. 80; 1934: 66, Group X, Pl. XI, No. 492), Type 53, lamps Nos 158, 159, 160 (Waagé 1941: 67, Fig. 80). Both types were derived from Type 51, dated by Waagé to the 4th century AD, and Types 52 and 53 from the 5th and even 6th century AD (Waagé 1941: 66–67). A single-nozzled lamp with the same kind of handle from Hama had a different decoration and was compared to Type 52b from Antioch (No. 157). However, the lamps from the Allat Temple are dated contextually to the 4th century AD and the specimens from Antioch help to put them in their place in the typological series of the so-called late Syrian lamps.

Multi-nozzled lamps with from two to seven nozzles were used in Palestine in the second half of the 3rd and the 4th century AD (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 108–110;

3 Two round lamps from Carnuntum (type Iványi VIII) have five nozzles and a round discus decorated with similar concentric rings (the handle is lost), see Alram-Stern 1989: 272, 273, Nos 553, 554, Pls 3 and 36.

Kennedy 1962: 95, 113–115, Type 29, Pls XXX and XXXI, Nos 833–847), e.g., a lamp from the Schloessinger collection (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 109, No. 445), but the handle as well as the decoration is different. Handles that were hollow inside, moulded together with the body of the lamp, were introduced in Palestine in the Byzantine period and were dated to the 5th century, similarly as in Antioch (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 121–122, Nos 501–504). Last but not least, two lamps from the antiquaries market, one from Aleppo (Kennedy 1963: 114, Pl. XXX, No. 839) and the other one from Jerusalem (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 150, No. 621), represent the Syro-Palestinian type: both have round reservoirs, three nozzles and a hollow raised handle decorated in one case with a human face and in the other with a geometric ornament. Both are placed on high stands. The Jerusalem lamp is dated to the Byzantine period.

Summing up, there is no reason to think that the Palmyra lamp cannot be from the 4th century AD and the fabric as well as the toothed ornament point to a local provenance and local craftsmanship. Also, one should keep in mind that the Tomb of Yarhai yielded two atypical lamps, one with two nozzles and the other with three nozzles, with handles that are typical of Syro-Palmyrene lamps of type D3 (Amy and Seyrig 1936: 262, Pl. LI, 36 and 43; Fellmann 1975: 30–40, Fig. 2:1–9).

#### III.4 DOUBLE-NOZZLED LAMP WITH CONCH ON THE DISCUS

The five complete lamps and a few fragments are the first of this type to be recorded in Palmyra. They were pressed in a two-part mould and the seam was

smoothed. The shape of these lamps is oval, fitted with two large rounded, slightly flaring nozzles and a large hollow handle pointing up and with a triangular top. The flat and narrow shoulder runs around the nozzles and is separated from the discus by a band with a rope pattern in relief. The discus is concave, round, decorated with a schematic conch composed of 15 pointed sections, separated by small hollows between the tips. The position of a small filling hole is shifted toward the nozzle, just above the thickening at the base of the shell. The handle is decorated on both sides. On the front, there is a vertical branch pointing up, flanked with double vertical lines and two columns of oblique lines rising toward the line of symmetry; on the back, extending to the underside, there is an ornament of single branches on the nozzles, a double branch on the handle, and two branches running around the base. The base is concave, encircled with a faint wide ring base.

The positioning of the handles differs in these lamps, from oblique (A 124/75, A 125/75, A 175/75) to almost vertical (A 95/75) and almost horizontal (A 96/75, this lamp is also smaller) [Fig. 10]. The decoration of the back is best observed on the lattermost lamp.

Three of these five lamps could have been pressed in the same mould, being differentiated only by the slightly different positioning of the handle. One lamp has a body lower by about 1 cm and an almost vertical handle and the last one is clearly smaller and must have been made in a different mould of a later generation and with a definitely simplified ornament and almost horizontally positioned handle. The shell is in itself a hugely popular mo-

tif on Roman lamps (Goethert-Polaschek 1985: 269–272, found on *Bildlampen* starting from the 1st century AD; Bailey 1980: 84, 85, Fig. 99; 1988: 85–87, Figs 110, 111; Iványi 1935: 10, 11, 15, Types I, II, XIII, Pls XIV,1, XVI,7, 1st and 2nd century AD; Loeschcke 1919: *Bildlampen* of Type IV, 2nd century AD; Broneer 1930: 245, Fig. 173, No. 1101). The best parallel is a lamp from Antioch, even though it is of a different shape, described as Type 50 from the 4th century AD (Waagé 1941: 66, Fig. 79, No. 148); it is a round lamp with a full grooved handle. The shell with a characteristic thickening at the base, directly below a small straight-cut filling hole, occupies the entire discus, which is delineated with a circular band of rope pattern. The similarities between the Palmyra and Antioch lamps include a similar placement of the decoration, but the handles are different as is the number of nozzles.

**III.5 MULTI-NOZZLED LAMPS**

The nearest parallels are two rectangular five-nozzled lamps from the Temple of Allat (A 58/75, A 98/75) where a shell is depicted between two candelabra (Krogulska 1983; *Palmyra...* 1987: 354, Nos. 109, 110; Daszkiewicz, Krogulska, and Raabe 1995: 45, No. P/14). These are the first lamps of this kind found in Palmyra (three fragments were also found, but not catalogued, two pressed in the same mould, the third a handle from a different piece).

The body is rectangular with five rounded nozzles set side by side on one long edge and a solid rectangular handle with triangular top on the other edge [Fig. 11:1]. The top is decorated with two seven-branched candelabra (menorahs) flanking a shell, the images inside a grooved rectangular frame. The filling hole is cut through the lower part of the

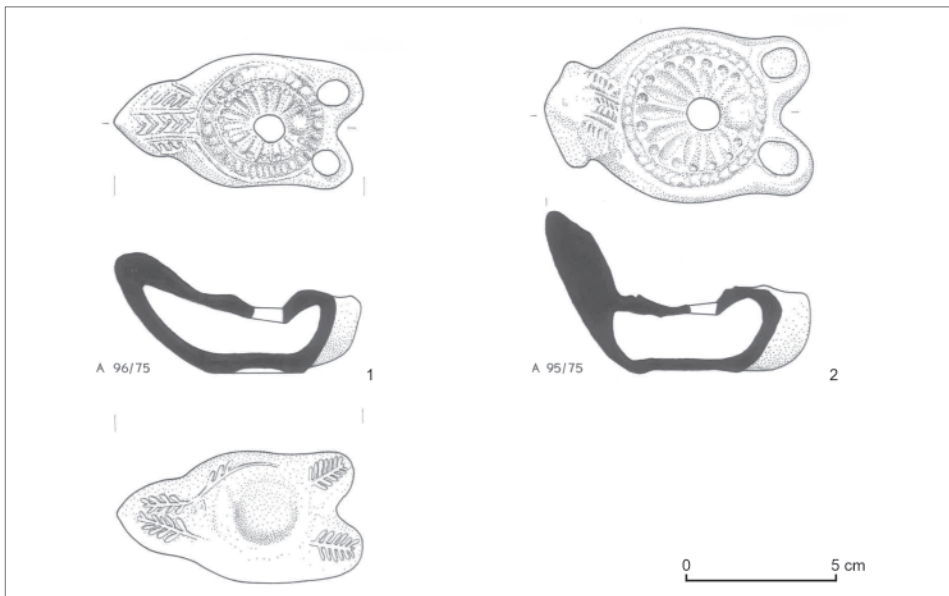


Fig. 10. Double-nozzled lamps with a conch on the discus (Group III.4) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturó)

conch. The handle is decorated on both the top and the underside with branches,<sup>4</sup> which are also represented on the base. The ornament on the top of the handle consists of two parallel lines with rows of oblique dashes between them. On either side there are oblique lines rising toward the center, opposite them the residual dashes of the two leaves in their bottom part. On the underside, the motif is repeated with two vertical lines continuing the outer frame on the bottom, furnished with dashes on both sides in the lower part and on the inside, between the lines, to the top; in the upper part, dashes form two isosceles triangles extending sideways from the vertical lines. On the base of the lamp, an outer frame follows the shape of the body: a zigzag line at the base of the nozzles, straight on the sides and peaking in a triangle under the base. A double rectangle in the center frames two branches mounted on parallel horizontal lines in the center and oriented in opposite directions. The space between the frames is filled with a repeat of the central ornament at the base of the handle and an additional central short line in the middle and individual branches on the sides.

The Jewish symbols on lamps from a pagan temple are interesting to note. The menorah is a motif current on round or oval, but mostly single-nozzled lamps from Palestine and the Diaspora starting from the mid 2nd century AD (Modrzewska 1988: 24–27, Pls XIII–XIX, XXI–XXIV; Goodenough 1953–1965/I: 84, 146; III: Fig. 931; IV: 76–77; XII: 79–83;

Sussman 1973: 46–47 and note; 1982: 20; Bailey 1988: 33, 34, Fig. 38 and references). The menorah is usually shown as a single object and may be accompanied by other symbols, such as the *lulav*, *ethrog*, *shafar* and Torah scrolls (Goodenough 1953–1965/I: 139–164; II: 101–108; III: Nos 923–958 with further references; Moss 1975: 156, Pl. 14 A; Deneauve 1974: 220ff., Pl. CI, Nos 1105–1118; Kennedy 1963: 78, 79, Type II, 87, 88, Type 21, Pls XXIII, XXVIII, XXXI, especially Nos 571, 573, 734, 742; Applebaum 1957: 154ff., especially 156, 157).

Catacombs at Sheikh Ibriq in Palestine, dated to the Second Destruction of the Temple, that is, after AD 135, preserve three schematic paintings and one graffito on the wall, depicting the Torah ark flanked by two menorahs (Goodenough 1953–1965/I: 89–102; III: Nos 58–61). In one case, a shell is shown above the Ark (Goodenough 1953–1965/III: 95, No. 59); elsewhere the shell is marked only by the semicircular vault above the Ark (Goodenough 1953–1965/III: 95, No. 58). The sanctuary is always under a gable roof. Interestingly, Palmyrene Jews were buried in this cemetery in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, their presence there attested by inscriptions written in Greek, Hebrew and Palmyrene (Goodenough 1953–1965/I: 89–90 with references). Representations of the Torah ark (or Aron Kodesh) are known also from the second synagogue in Dura Europos, dated to AD 235 (Kraeling 1956; Goodenough 1953–1965/I: 227–231; III: 599–602; Perkins 1973: 56, Pl. 20). The niche between columns and topped with

4 The branch motif, which elsewhere, e.g., in Egypt, is considered as a palm branch or ears of grain, has been described as an olive branch, which is one of the Jewish symbols (Sussman 1982: 27).

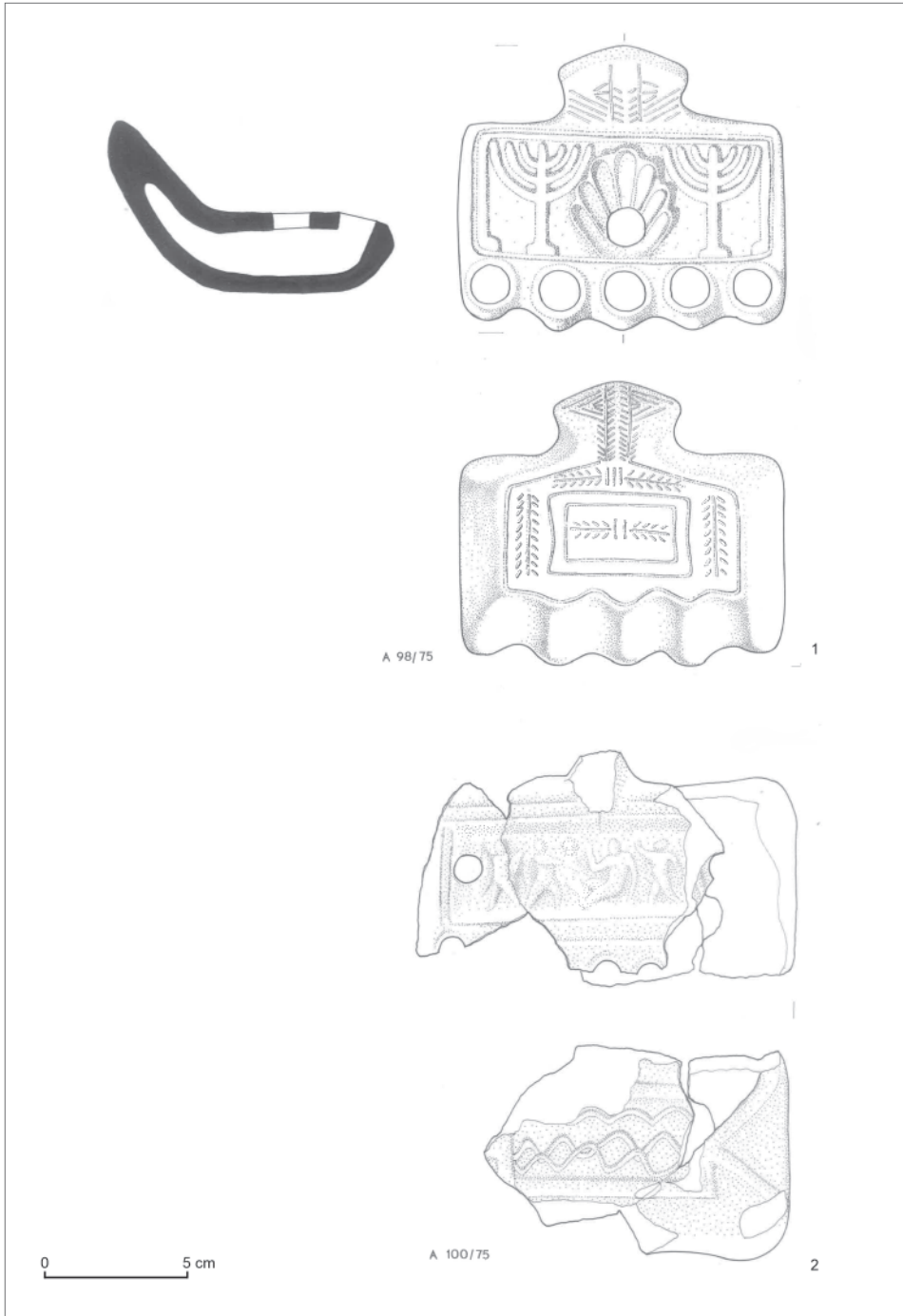


Fig. 11. Multi-nozzled lamps with relief decoration (Group III.5) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)



a representation of a shell conch, bore paintings inside it: an ark (also considered as the facade of the Temple of Solomon, see Perkins 1973: 56; Goodenough 1953–1965/IV: 114ff.), menorah, *ethrog* and *lulav* on the left side and the offering of Isaac on the right.

Another parallel to be considered is a gilded glass vessel of the 2nd–4th century AD from the Jewish catacombs in Rome (Shiloh 1968: 55, Fig. 2, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Acc. No.08.145.1.A, B; Goodenough 1953–1965/II: 108–120, Note 53; III: Nos 964–974; Garrucci 1858: 14, Pl. V,3,6. Vogel narrowed the dating to the end of the 3rd and the 4th century AD, a dating that Goodenough accepts as well). The motif of the Torah ark is repeated a number of times with either one or two menorahs shown either under the ark or flanking it, always set in a tondo. The nearest parallel is a depiction of the ark flanked by two menorahs, inscribed in an apparently rectangular field that is placed in the upper half of the tondo circle; the composition recalls another rectangular composition on a glass vessel from the Museum in Berlin (Bossert 1951: No. 1039; Goodenough 1953–1965/II: 111–112, the third type of composition, see Nos 973 and 974). The motif is also the theme of a painting in the Catacombs of the Villa Torlonia in Rome (Goodenough 1953–1965/II: 39, No. 817) and it appears in Palestinian synagogues in Nasran (Bossert 1951: No. 1045; Goodenough 1953–1965/I: 251ff.; III: No. 646), Beth Shean (Avi-Yonah 1975/I: 225–226; Goodenough 1953–1965/I) and Beth Alpha (Goodenough 1953–1965/I: 251–252; III: No. 639; IV: 71–98; Avi-Yonah 1975/

I: 188, 189). In the latter two synagogues, the mosaic floors made by the artists Hanin and his son Marianos are dated to the early 6th century AD. Placed in the center of these floors is a Torah ark flanked by seven-branched candelabra and surrounded by other Jewish symbols. Above the closed doors of the Aron Kodesh there is a niche in the form of a shell and there is a gabled roof above the ark. On the mosaic floor from Beth Alpha, the closed doors are covered with a geometric ornament and on the floor from Beth Shean the ark is concealed behind a curtain. These examples indicate a proliferation of the motif on various categories of objects both in Palestine and in the Diaspora after the destruction of the Second Temple, that is, from the 2nd until at least the 6th century AD.

Multi-nozzled rectangular lamps were disseminated in the Roman period in Egypt, e.g., Alexandria (Bailey 1988: 221–222, 241, Pl. 37, Q 1971–Q 1976; Walters 1914: 65, No. 447, Fig. 70; Cahn-Klaiber 1977: 321–322, Nos 117–119, Pl. 8; Menzel 1969: 72 and 73, No. 488 and 489; Tran Tam Tinh and Jentel 1993: 222, 223, No. 263, Pl. 65, Fig. 244, square lamp from the 2nd/3rd centuries AD, 339, 340, No. 475, Pl. 121, Fig. 447, lamp from Alexandria, 2nd/3rd century AD) and Fayum (Osborne 1924: 16, Nos 83, 84; Walters 1914: 65, No. 446; Petrie 1905: 7, Pl. LVII 52–72, 3rd century AD; Selesnow 1988: 32, Nos 53–66, Pls 8–10, end of 2nd–3rd century AD, all from Egypt; Bailey 1988: 221–222, 241, Pl. 37, Q 1971–Q 1975), Syria, e.g., Palmyra (Amy and Seyrig 1936: 262, No. 1, Pl. L.1), Delos (Bruneau 1965: 103, 105, 106, 116, Nos 4450, 4453, 4454, 4518–4522, 4524), the Black Sea littoral

(Waldhauer 1914: 25, Nos 73–78, Pl. VII, from Hellenistic Egypt, Pl. XXXII, 305, with *tabula ansata*, 306, page 48, 1st–3rd century AD), Carnuntum (Alram-Stern 1989: 273, 274, Pls 3 and 37, Nos 555–557, mid 3rd century, multi-nozzled type Iványi IV, No. 555 with broad handle in the form of a flattened cone), and Pannonia (Iványi 1935: 13, 94, 95, Type IX, Nos 820–827, Pls XXXII and XXXIII). They are decorated with ornaments like garlands, rosettes, snakes, busts, architectural arches (e.g., lamp from Egypt, now in the British Museum with a depiction of a sanctuary of Asklepios; Walters 1914: No. 446, 65, Pl. XV; Bailey 1988: 241, Pl. 37, Q 1974). The Palmyra lamps belong to this last type.

A fragmentary multi-nozzled lamp from the cella of the Temple of Allat is to be reconstructed as a rectangular shape with seven nozzles (A 100/75 and a similar lamp not registered) [Fig. 11:2]. Like the other multi-nozzled lamps from the sanctuary, it was made of local clay in a local workshop. One whole nozzle and fragments of four others were preserved along with three pieces of the rectangular discus and two pieces of the base with the upper right corner and right edge. The handle was grooved. It is actually possible that there were two lamps of this kind pressed in the same mould, suggesting serial manufacture in the oasis. Traces of a fugitive red coating was noted on one of the fragments.

Based on the preserved fragments, the length of the lamp is reconstructed at 7.7 cm and the width at 8 cm. The seven nozzles were lined up in a row on one long edge, opposite the handle centered on the other long edge. The nozzles at the

extreme ends were attached higher than the five in between. One filling hole can be seen on the left side, beyond the figural decoration. The border of the rectangular frieze at top and bottom is delimited by double grooved lines, a garland appearing in the wider parts at top and bottom. The frame on the shorter sides is narrower and is not integrated into the top and bottom parts. The figure depicted centrally is a naked male figure in left profile, supporting himself on the left hand and raising the right one, bent at the elbow, perhaps holding a thyrsus. The figure appears to be seated on a small rectangular object. The figure behind the central figure is shown in a kind of contrapost, left hand lowered beside the body, the head inclined to the left shoulder, the right holding a round object that may be a tympanum. The left leg is bent, the right is shown stepping forward. Two naked winged figures stand on widespread legs to the right of the reclining figure, their heads in profile, facing the reclining figure. The second one appears to hold a bow. Yet another figure may have been depicted in the background, seated in right profile and smaller than the others. The hairdress appears to be that of a woman and hence the interpretation of this scene as Dionysus and Ariadne with a cortege. Thus, the representation on the lamp can be read as a Dionysiac thiasos (see Turcan 1966: 229, 641, Pl. 34a, sarcophagi; LIMC 748, 751, vases; see also Knoll et al. 1993: 50, Fig. 28; Matz 1968: 157–164, No. 52, Pl. 60, see also Pls 66, 67, 73, 75), possibly inspired by the composition that is represented on a sarcophagus (No. 1728) from the Albani collection in Rome, now in the Albertinum in Dresden, dated to AD 225. Dionysus is depicted

seated on a panther, facing three dancing satyrs and another satyr behind him.

The base has a *tabula ansata* marked on it, filled with a pattern of three intertwining wavy lines (possibly imitating an inscription).

The nearest parallel for this scene does not come from any known Roman or late antique lamp. However, it is close, although more elaborate, to a representation found on a clay box from the Pelizaus collection, dated to the end of the 2nd–early 3rd century AD, measuring 11 cm in length and 4.3 cm high. The frieze on the front of the box encompasses two seated figures and a third standing in front of the central seated one. Such boxes were made in Egypt (Castiglione [1953] knows of four examples) and they may have derived from child sarcophagi decorated with Bacchic scenes or a Dionysiac banquet with Erotes in attendance.

Attic sarcophagi with mythological decoration started to present friezes with a central seated figure, such as Achilles, from the 2nd century AD (Rogge 1995: 131–132, No. 17, Pl. 32).

The lamps made in Palmyra would have been modeled on lamps brought in from the outside world, from which moulds would have been taken and used in the local workshops. The heavily blurred modeling of the figures and the

obliterated iconographic details indicate that these are late generation lamps.

Small fragments of rectangular lamps with representations of divinities, identified as Egyptian, are known from the Agora in Athens (Perlzweig 1961: 117, Pl. 23 h) and the Kerameikos (Böttger 2002: 51, 206–207, Nos 2645–2650); the lamps were dated to the 330s. The Kerameikos lamp has a garland around the discus and the Palmyra lamps look like they may have had a similar kind of handle. The Erotes on Attic lamps were borrowed from the sarcophagi compositions (Perlzweig 1961: 22 and Note 44, 114–116; Kübler 1952: especially 103–106, 109–116, 120–121).

Imports of Attic sarcophagi have been recorded in Syria, including Palmyra, in the 2nd and 3rd century AD (Koch 1991) and in Palmyra Attic sarcophagi were also imitated by the local craftsmen (Wielgosz 1997: especially 70). Palmyra also had direct relations with Athens as attested by sculpture made of Pentelic marble in Athens (Gawlikowski 1996: especially 22) and by Attic sarcophagi (Wielgosz 2001). Thus it seems highly probable that the composition on the Palmyrene lamp was modeled on art from Athens, especially as Attic lamps are known to have been imported to Syria and Palestine (see Karivieri 1996: 255, 264; Borowski 1977).

#### IV. STAND/LANTERN/INCENSE BURNER?

Four fragments found in the cella of the Temple of Allat were reconstructed into a form that recalls a cylindrical lantern (A 126/75) [Fig. 12]. It is wheel-made, hollow inside and open at the bottom, closed at the top with a concave top forming

a kind of shallow bowl. The sides are pierced with rectangular openings, vertical and arched at the top, at least two cut before firing. It stands on a three-step profiled base and the top is formed of uneven triangular “horns” with rounded

edges. The base is round, but the top appears to have been hexagonal and there may have been more openings around the circumference of the object.

The outer walls were decorated with vertical ornaments, three or four series of horizontal characteristically arched incisions, which were made by chattering to form a visual kind of plaiting. The arched tops of the rectangular openings are emphasized with an arch of short semicircular incisions.

The clay is local and this particular kind of ornament is recorded also on pottery from late antique Palmyra. The Hama excavations have yielded a piece of a lid with such an ornament (Papanicolaou Christensen and Friis Johanson 1971: 44, No. 180, Figs 19, 20) and there are two locally made amphorae from Tell Halaf with the same decoration (Oppenheim 1962: Pl. 74, No. 1, Pl. 75, No. 25), all Hellenistic in date. A three-handled amphora from Dura Europos bears the ornament (Dyson 1968: 29, Fig. 7.142, Pl. II) which is also recorded on numerous glazed containers from the 1st century AD (Charleston 1960: 30, Pl. 45; Toll 1943: 5, 9, 11, 12, 41, Figs 4, 5, 6, 23, Pls I–III). Later, in Omayyad times, the ornament is encountered again on pottery from Dêhès in northern Syria (especially Orssaud 1980: 262–266, especially Figs 333, 335, No. 76.1). The ornament rendered as single bands running horizontally around Brittle Ware cooking pots from early Abbasid times is found on the island of Bijan on the Middle Euphrates in Iraq and on early Islamic pottery from Palestine (Shalem 2002: 154–156, Fig. 7.4–6; gray-clay early Islamic bowls from Neve' Ur, see Magness 1993: 129, 3rd–4th century AD). The

cited evidence would suggest that the said ornament is common on Syrian local ceramics from the Hellenistic through the Abbasid period, evolving gradually from smaller to larger forms, on different types of vessels and in different arrangements.

The stand under discussion is the first such find from Palmyra and does not find easy parallels. It could have been a lantern, a stand for a regular oil lamp, or an incense burner. Stands for lamps were known from Roman, Byzantine and Islamic antiquity. Various sites in Palmyra have yielded regular lanterns with loop handles for suspension and there are from Dura Europos sherds of four wheel-made lanterns with closed bottom and neck narrowing into the handle (Baur 1947: 73, Figs 35 and 36, Pl. XIII). The Museum in Damascus also holds such examples (Zouhdi 1974: 184). The lanterns from Palestine are of the house-type and hence not a parallel for the Palmyra piece (Magness 1993: 145, Fig. 3.1–4, 135, 150, Fig. 4.9–10). Lantern finds are the most numerous from Egypt where they

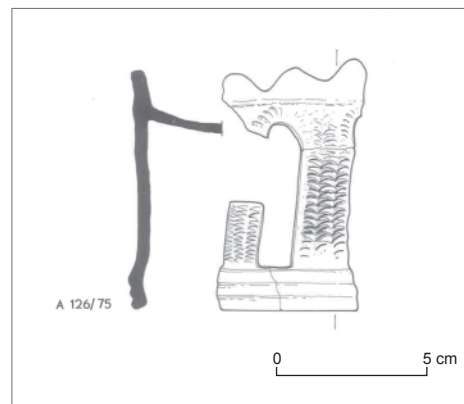


Fig. 12. Lantern/stand/incense burner(?) (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)

are present already in the 1st century AD, but they are in no way similar to the Palmyra object (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 150, 151, Nos 623–625; Graindor 1939: 87–88, Pl. VII; Petrie 1905; Perdrizet

1921: 118–119, Pl. CXXXVI; Selesnow 1988: 32, Nos 53–66, Pls 8–10, end of 2nd–3rd century AD; Bayer-Niemeier 1988: 258, Nos 663, 674, 3rd/4th century AD, 676–677, 2nd/3rd century AD, Pls 116–118).

## V. PRODUCER'S MARKS ON LAMP BASES

Only the moulded lamps carry producer's marks on the bases and the shape of the base makes no difference in this regard (Bailey 1980: 89–121, especially 104–108, Fig. 111; 1988: 95–147, especially 108, Figs 146–147; Perlzweig 1961: Pls 35 and 36; Karivieri 1996: 77–78; on base marks on Palmyra lamps, see Fellmann 1975: 43, 47, 49, Fig. 3).

The most common form is a triple-branch rising from a horizontal straight or arched foundation line (A 8/75, A 7/75) [see Figs 5, 7:2, 12:3,5,8]. Traces of red paint are sometimes preserved within the incised parts. There are different variants, which can appear on lamps with different

decoration. A single branch is observed (A 46/75, A 50/75). An isolated example of a mark is a four-petal rosette (A 123/75) [Fig. 12:7]. Geometric marks have been recorded as well (A 49/75), including a cross (A 46/75) and a composition of five globules inside a circle (A 48/75).

The branch motif appears also on handles and on the underside of the bodies and nozzles (A 97/75, A 6/75, A 96/75) [Fig. 12:1,2; 1; see also Fig. 10:1], occasionally quite elaborate (A 98/75) [see Fig. 11:1]. A unique mark in the form of a *tabula ansata* is found on a rectangular lamp with figural frieze on the discus (A 100/75) [see Fig. 11:2].

## VI. LAMPS OF EARLIER DATE

Lamps dated from the end of the 1st century BC through the second half of the 3rd century AD were also discovered in the excavation of the temenos of the Temple of Allat. These are lamps referred to as Syro-Palmyrene (Fellmann 1975: 23–40, Figs 1, 2), known from Palmyra (Fellmann 1975: 23–40; Michałowski 1964: 124–132, Pls I–III, Nos 69–93; Sadurska 1977: 167–179, 52–60, Categories I, II, V; Heimberg 1993: 85, 88–89; Saito 1994: 98–99, Figs 70,30–36, 71,37–44; Higuchi and Saito 2001: 120–121) and Dura Europos (Baur 1947: 15–24, Pls II–IV, Nos 38–80), as well as Fellmann's Type F

(Fellmann 1975: 41–43).

Excavation of the cella yielded a Hellenistic lamp (A 5/75), oval in shape with a long nozzle narrowing at the base and rounded at the tip [Fig. 13:1]. A fairly large filling hole with roughly finished edge was pierced in a small, slightly depressed, plain discus. The shoulder was convex. Traces of a wide handle were preserved at back. A scrolling vine motif runs from the wick hole on both sides of the nozzle, ending in a spiral on the shoulder. The base was flat.

Earlier finds of this type in Palmyra include three lamps found west of the

Great Gate (Michalowski 1964: 126, Pls 1,2,6,7, Nos 70, 74, 75), together with Syro-Palmyrene lamps of type D3; five lamps from the Tomb of Alaine, of which four have a different decoration (Sadurska 1977: 54–55, 180, Fig. 126 and similar but slightly modified Figs 125, 127, 128, 129, dated to AD 138–200, Category V; 1975: 52–53); one lamp with a richer decoration from the Tomb of Yarhai (Amy and Seyrig 1936: Pl. 50). From the vicinity of Palmyra there is one lamp from Khirbet Semrine (Schlumberger 1951: 62, Pl. 33, No. 56d).

The lamp from Dura Europos that was considered as similar in shape and with a handle like a not fully developed palmette, shows Hellenistic reminiscences according to Baur and was attributed to his Types II or III, but the palmette-like handle was already signaling his Syrian Type IV Group I (Baur 1947: 11, Pl. 1,21). Syro-Palmyrene lamps D3 are dated by Fellmann to the end of the 1st through mid 3rd century AD. Sadurska dated the lamps from the Tomb of Alaine to AD 138–200, hence the lamp here discussed should be dated to roughly

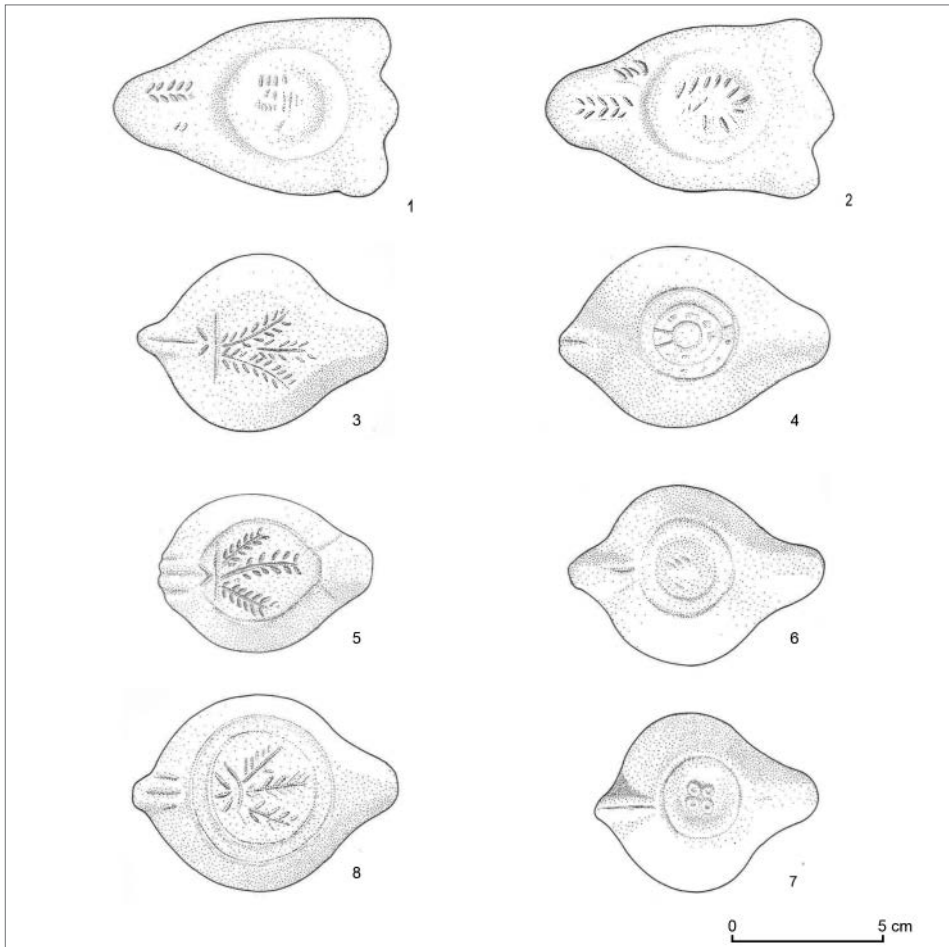


Fig. 13. Producer's marks on the bases (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)

the 2nd century AD along with the D3 Syro-Palmyrene lamps (Fellmann 1975: 23–28, 54, especially Pls 3, 5, Fig. 1,11), emphasizing the Hellenistic influence in their decoration (Waagé 1934: 59, Pl. VII, No. 1834). It would be a Palmyrene variant of lamps preserving the Hellenistic features of Antiochan lamps.

Lamp A 4/75, Fellmann’s Type D1 from the end of the 1st century BC through the mid 2nd century AD, was found in the southwestern corner of the temenos. It is round with a flat discus decorated with a regular rosette composed of eight large heart-shaped double petals [Fig. 13:4]. The large filling hole with a flat wide rim is located centrally. A series of relief dots runs around the rosette, marking the raised edge of the discus. Opposite the nozzle, between two petals is a small air hole. A transverse line of five relief dots runs across the nozzle top. The base is

marked by two concentric grooves setting off a bulging base ring.

A round lamp with elongated rounded nozzle, CD 170/75, attributed to Fellmann’s Type D3 from the 2nd–3rd century (Fellmann 1975: 30, Fig. 2,1, Pl. 3,7), was found in a surface layer inside the temenos. It has no shoulder and the large flat discus passes into the nozzle top; the edge is profiled [Fig. 13:2]. A large filling hole in the center is framed with a double-ring rim. The handle is solid, grooved on top, extending back, decorated with a dotted pellet at the base.

Three lamps, CD 168/75, A 1/78 and A 1/86, represent Fellmann’s Type F from the 2nd–3rd century AD (Fellmann 1975: 41–43, Fig. 2:12–14, Pl. 4:6–9), also designated as Syrian imitations of Roman *Bildlampen* (Baur 1947: 45; Fellmann 1975: 42) [Fig. 13:5]. This type is common in Palmyra (Fellmann 1975: 41–43; Michałowski

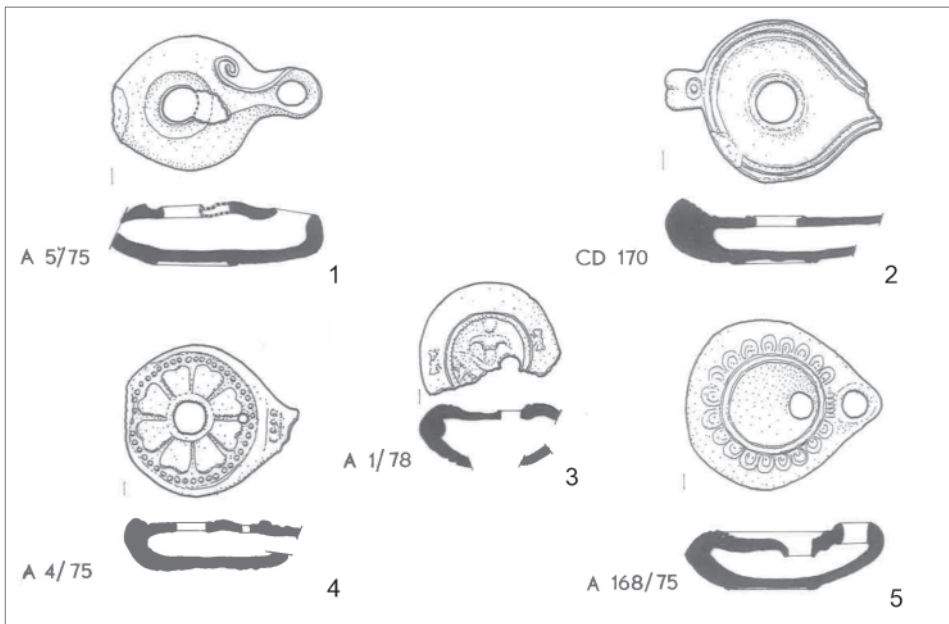


Fig. 14. Lamps of earlier date (PCMA UW Palmyra Project | drawing M. Barański/K. Baturo)

1964: 132–136, Pls IV–V:1–4, 176, IX:1–4; Sadurska 1977: 54, 182–190, Figs 131–148; Heimberg 1993; Higuchi and Saito 2001: 120–121; Amy and Seyrig 1936: 262, Pl. 52) as well as at many sites in Syria (Baur 1947: 52–55, Pl. VIII, Nos 322–332; Papanicolaou Christensen 1986: 33–35, Fig. 14b,c; Dobbins 1980: 57) and Palestine (Rosenthal and Sivan 1978: 85–90; Nahshoni et al. 2002: 61, Fig. 9 and notes; Kennedy 1963: 73–75, 98–100, Pls XXI–

XXII, Nos 499–509). These lamps are characterized by a round body with small rounded nozzle, concave discus and convex shoulder. CD 168/75 has a plain concave discus and shoulder decorated with a Ionian kymation, A 1/78 has a double-axe motif on the shoulder and a *symplegma* scene on the discus (Krogulska 1987: 93, Fig. 33; see Michałowski 1964: 134, Pl. IV,8, No. 102), and A 1/86 features a cock on the discus (Krogulska 1992).

## CONCLUSIONS

There are clearly two trends in oil lamp production in Palmyra. First, a typically local production for the local market comprising wheel-made lamps with one, two or more nozzles, and second, imitations of imported lamps making use of lamps brought from outside. All the moulded lamps found in the Temple of Allat belong to this second category. It explains why in many instances they repeat Greek and Roman lamp types from the 3rd century AD. Antioch-on-the-Orontes also seems to have been a source of inspiration for the Palmyrene lampmakers.

The Palmyrene lamps are always smaller than the models and are never signed, although occasionally they show producer's marks. The quality of these products is always worse and the ornament never as clear as on the models. The lamp with the menorah decoration is intriguing in this context, having been copied indubitably from the Jewish catacombs in Sheikh Ibriq. Was the model lamp made in Palestine or already on the spot in Palmyra? There is no way to tell. However, the seven-nozzled rectangular

lamp with figural frieze, the motif possibly borrowed from scenes on marble sarcophagi, is most certainly a copy of a lamp brought to Palmyra from outside. Attic and Corinthian lamp imports to the region are attested (Karivieri 1996: 255, 264; Borowski 1977) and the lamps with the scrolling vine and grape bunches on the shoulder, the fish on the discus and the large rosette on the discus with a rope pattern around it are definitely examples. It is possible that the model for the lamp with the figural frieze came from Greece. According to Fellmann, the globule-decorated lamps are an imitation of Athenian lamps. The models of lamps with geometric decoration would have rather come to Palmyra from Antioch. A common characteristic of all lamps from the end of the 3rd century AD is a solid handle, in Rome and Italy as well as Greece and more generally, the entire Roman Empire. According to Bovon (1966: 13), local lamps from Argos from the 3rd–4th century AD show a strongly eclectic appearance. The same can be said of the Palmyrene lamps from this period.



**Dr. Maria Krogulska**

University of Warsaw  
Poland

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