# Lamps from the foundation pits (fossae) in the principia of the castrum of Novae



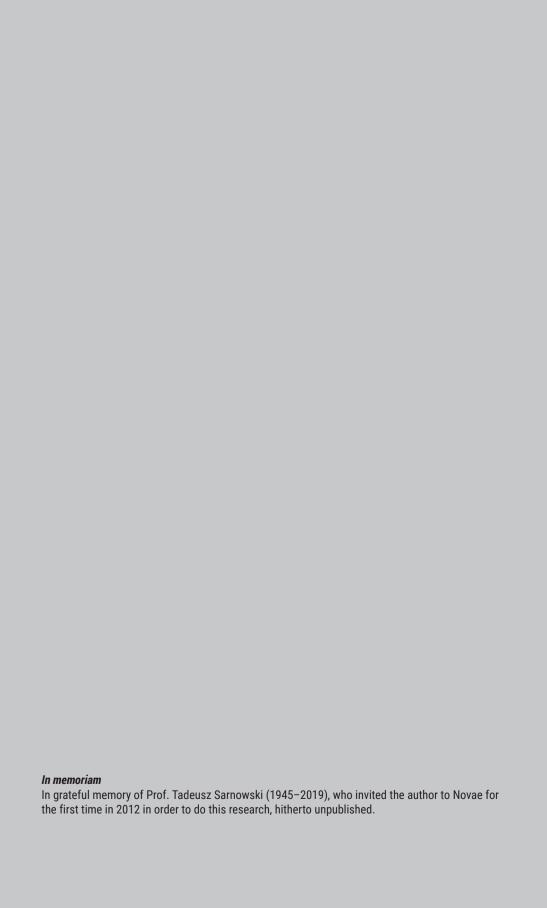
Abstract: Oil lamps found in foundation pits excavated on the site of the first principia in the Roman fortress of Novae (ŠviŠtov, Bulgaria), built shortly after AD 69, are part of the waste discarded by a legion which manned the site for the previous quarter of a century, starting from AD 45. These lighting devices provide essential information on the supply chain of the legionary camp of Novae before 71, when the pits were ultimately filled. The assemblage illustrates the high quality of the materials sent to the legion, including exclusive imports mainly from Italy and Asia Minor, but also from the Aegean world and South Pannonia. It further underscores the fact that military supply chains in the 1st century AD did not follow the easiest and shorter routes and, as regards lamps, frequently ignored nuch closer and already active lamp-producing centers.

**Keywords**: Roman lamps, *castrum* of Novae, foundation pits of the *principia*, military supply chain

A corpus of a little more than 40 lamps and individual fragments was excavated in two pits in the Eastern Portico of the legion's *principia* during the 2010 –2012 campaigns of the University of Warsaw mission of Tadeusz Sarnowski. The pits are believed to have been dug to quarry loess for building purposes. Afterwards, they were filled with earth and rubbish collected by the first contingent of the *Legio Prima Italica* whose task in Novae was to level the ground where the northeastern part

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of the *principia* was to be built [Fig. 2]. A preliminary look at the diverse content of these pits, including five coins minted from Tiberius to Vespasian, the latter in "mint condition" and dated AD 70–71, gave a *terminus ante quem* for both pits (Sarnowski et al. 2014: 79–82).

The ensemble studied here is of interest not only from a strictly lychnological point of view, but also and above all as a source of information on the supply chain that brought lighting devices to the legionary camp at Novae in the first phase of its existence. This was the period between about AD 45, when the first soldiers of the Legio Octava Augusta built a timber-and-earth fort, and AD 69 when, by direct order of Vespasian, the Legio Prima Italica manned the post and embarked on the construction of a huge stone fortress replacing the wooden one as their main headquarters. This fortress would go down in history under the name of Novae [Fig. 1].

Two main supply areas for the lamps in question have been identified: Italy (central and northern Italian workshops) and Asia Minor. Only a few lamps seem to have been imported from the Roman provinces located in the Aegean, and two

could have been made in neighboring Pannonia. No traces, unsurprisingly, have been found of any regional production, as all the well-known lamp production centers, from the nearest ones (Pavlikeni, Butovo) to the farthest, the extremely prolific Durostorum (Silistra), were not established before the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

From a typological point of view, the corpus is diverse [Fig. 3]. Two types are considered as imported derivatives of late Hellenistic prototypes [Cat. 1–2]. Cat. 1 is certainly the most interesting, the archetype having been crafted apparently from a combination of general body shape inspired by late Hellenistic Asia Minor production and nozzle evoking the typical anvil-looking ending, added to which was a small triangular upper channel that was typical of the early Imperial Roman type Loeschcke IA lamps manufactured both in Italy and in the Aegean world. Later variants of these two lamps are known from several sites in Dobrogea and along the Danube, a handful from each site and considerably varied, thus building a broader and hardly homogeneous group (types Iconomu IX, Kuzmanov XIX).

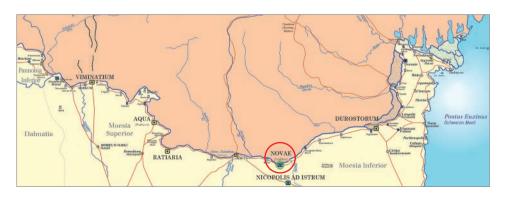


Fig. 1. Location of Novae on the Danube limes (After Stier et al. 1978 | processing M. Piorun)

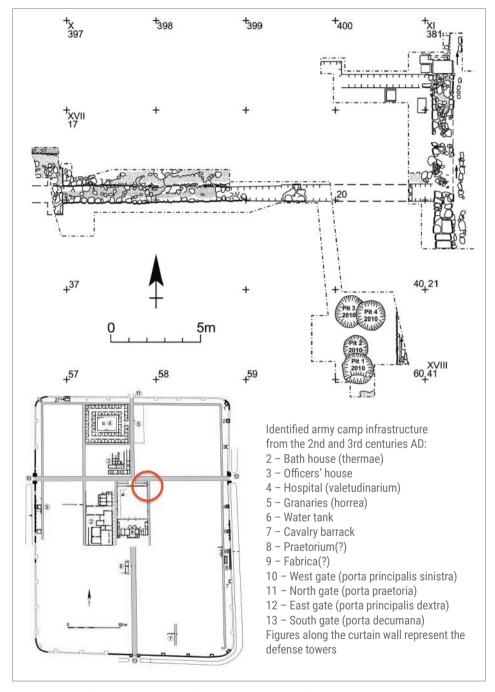


Fig. 2. Mapping of the pits in the area of the northeastern part of the headquarters building (principia) of the legionary fortress in Novae; inset, location of the principia within the fortress (inside red circle) (UW expedition to Novae | Drawing T. Sarnowski and J. Kaniszewski; plan after Sarnowski et al. 2014: 76, Fig. 1)

Next are some Loeschcke I lamps: a fragment of a type Loeschcke IA device and three lamps belonging to type Loeschcke IB/C [Cat. 4–7].

The Loeschcke III type is attested by four handle attachments (often called reflectors) [Cat. 8–11]. Three of these handles are triangular in shape, decorated with a palmette, and one is a fragmentary crescent form. With the exception of Cat. 10, which may be a Transalpine, perhaps Pannonian, product, the lamps represented by these fragments were most probably of Italian origin, like the highly fragmentary Italian-made bilychnis lamp [Cat. 12].

Two almost intact lamps [Cat. 13, 14] belong to type Loeschcke IV, while two

other lamps belonging to an eclectic variant [Cat. 15, 16], are in fact a derivative of a rare Italian shape recalling different characteristics of the Loeschcke IV and V types. They complete the transition toward the adorned discus form, which would become the Roman standard par excellence for more than three centuries. The Loeschcke VIII type is witnessed by one fragment [Cat. 24]. The clay and slip characteristics of lamps belonging to this "hybrid" type, even if very different between individual examples, could suggest their making in Pannonian workshops after prototypes from Italy [Cat. 15] and the Eastern Mediterranean [Cat. 16].

Early imported northern-Italian-made *Firmalampen* of the Buchi IX type, variants



Fig. 3. Collection of lamps from the foundation pits in the *principia* (UW expedition to Novae | photo K. Domżalski)

b and c, have also been found [*Cat. 17, 18*], making Novae and Raetiaria the only sites in Bulgaria where these imported types have been attested.

Finally, five discus fragments have also been considered for this study [*Cat.* 19–24], because their distinct iconography leads to precise conclusions concerning chronology and areas of production.

In the group of volute lamps, both Italian and Asia-Minor products are attested. With regard to the latter area, it is interesting to note that several clues—iconographic, morphological and ceramologic—lead to the island of Knidos and the broader region around it. Some of the lamps [Cat. 12, 24] may well belong to the well-known workshop of Romanesis, the products of which, identified by the base

mark, do not appear in the present collection, but have previously been documented at Novae.

For the period suggested, most like the set studied here are the lamp corpuses from Rhenish *limes* sites, especially Trier and Cologne, but also the military sites of Vindonissa, Magdalensberg and, last but not least, the already flourishing centers of Dalmatia. The latter provide not only the greatest number of parallels, but also very similar statistics concerning main production areas of imported high-quality lamps in the same period.

These findings, interestingly, match the results of research on other categories of ceramic finds in terms of the identified sources of imports. As a matter of fact, the regional scope of imports represented

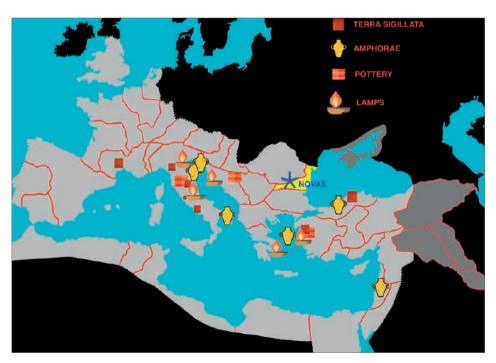


Fig. 4. The Novae military supply chain. Main sources of imports as indicated by pottery finds from the foundation pits in the principia (L. Chrzanovski, after a schematic map of the Roman Empire at its maximal expansion, following the consolidation of Trajan's conquests | source: Wikipedia)

by the amphorae, thin-walled fine wares and terra sigillata coming from the pits is even more extended than that indicated by the lamp find [Fig. 4]. For the latter, three commercial routes have been identified, whereas the other ceramic material brings more supply sources to the logistical equation, as demonstrated by products coming from southern Pontic centers, the Levant, Pompeii, Apulia and even Gaul, as suggested already in Sarnowski et al. 2014: 80: "Most of the amphorae came to Novae from an eastern direction (Aegean [Kos, Rhodos, Chios] and Pontic [Sinope, Heraclea] regions, and Syria/Palestine); Italy is represented by amphorae from the Adriatic coast (Apulia, Emilia-Romania and Istria) ... In addition to amphorae, fragmentary examples of domestic coarse pottery (cooking pots, lids, jugs, table amphorae, cups, two handled beakers, censers), fine drinking vessels (cups, bowls, beakers) and tableware (bowls, plates and

dishes) have been recovered, the former being quite few. Among hand-made and wheel-thrown coarse pottery, both local and foreign origin (Asia Minor, Pannonia, Italy) fabric groups can be distinguished. Both pits yielded 24 entirely or almost wholly preserved thin-walled bowls and beakers and about 40 fragmentary ones, mostly with barbotine decoration. 16 vessels and more than 35 rims and body sherds show characteristics of south Pannonian origin, while only eight bowls and beakers and about 15 fragments can be identified as north Italian imports. There are also several fragments of eastern Aegean cups and unclassified sherds. The terra sigillata pottery is represented by 14 fragmentary vessels of Italian origin (Arezzo, Pisa, the Po valley), three from southern Gaul, seven Eastern Sigillata B and four from the Pontic region. Four vessels (three plates and one lid) are among the Red Pompeian ware".

### CATALOG1

# I. IMPORTED EARLY IMPERIAL DERIVATIVES OF LATE HELLENISTIC PROTOTYPES

Although not compliant with the traditional order of chronological presentations, the catalog starts with two lamps belonging to this anomalous type, in order to provide, in the following sections, a "canonical" standard Roman lamp typochronological sequence. As a matter of fact, the first lamp is clearly an Eastern

Mediterranean creation, while the second is a fine product closely linked by its nozzle shape to Roman lamps of Loeschcke IV and V types. Both lamps can be dated to the 1st century AD, the former not after the second third of the century, the characteristics of the clay and slip indicating that they had been, imported from

All photos are by Krzysztof Domżalski, while dimensions, as well as clay and slip analyses come from the mission's documentation files prepared by Roksana Chowaniec. All photos are reduced one-third with regard to the original size.

Asia Minor [Cat. 1] and from the Aegean [Cat. 2]. One should not exclude the southern Black Sea area as a possibility. Huge ceramic workshops were well established there, but their lamp production has not been published to date, causing much grievance to scholars working on the ceramics from the Northern Pontic area and beyond.

### Cat. 1 (Inv. No. 181/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 2.5Y8/3; slip 7.5YR5/3 to 4/23 Dimensions: L. 10.2, W. 6.2, H. with handle 4.3, Dia. discus 3.5, Dia. base 3 cm Description: Lamp with broad, anvilshaped nozzle, round reservoir and carefully pierced molded handle at the rear. Circular, concave, undecorated discus surrounded by an impressed circle, interrupted on the nozzle by a small, triangular nozzle channel. Convex shoulder decorated on each side with a clovershaped motif in relief and three lines in relief separating the shoulder from the

nozzle. Flat drop-shaped base defined by an incised line; in the center, impressed *planta pedis* mark in the shape of a pointed slipper, identical to the mark found on a volute lamp from this set [see below, *Cat. 11*].

Dating: Second half of 1st century AD Discussion and parallels: No direct parallels are known for this lamp. Nevertheless, its clay and slip characteristics, the planta pedis, and the general quality of the lamp make it a plausible import from Asia Minor. A close parallel is a unprovenanced lamp from the Museum in Ploiesti, but with different clay and slip characteristics and no channel on the nozzle, which is short and ogiveended. Rosettes in relief appear on the shoulder on either side, as do the relief lines at the start of the nozzle. There is also a planta pedis on the base. Florin Topoleanu observed with perspicacity that the Ploiesti lamp was a Moesian production from a used mould, dated to the 1st



or maybe even to the 2nd century AD (Topoleanu 2012: 62, No. 20, with a complete list of parallels and related lamps). Five additional examples of lamps of this kind, considered as locally-made derivatives of Hellenistic types, were found in the 19th century in Pannonia, at Osijek, Ptuj, Szeged and Pecs (Iványi 1935: 35, 287, Nos 4090 to 4095, Pl. LV:1-5). They all have anvil-shaped nozzles and symmetrical decoration on the shoulder, but the rendering of this decoration is very different between lamps and the overall impression (clay, slip, details) is rather of mediocrity compared to the example from Novae. Four recently published lamps from Belgrade are close in shape (Krunić 2011: 241–245, Nos 389 to 393). For Slavica Krunić, they are a regional production dated contextually to the second half of the 3rd century AD. This leads the present author to think that the Novae lamp is a high-quality import that could be part of a series of original prototypes for successful regional variants created and produced for more than two centuries by different Danubian workshops. One should also mention two recently published lamps, identical with lamp *Cat. 2*, but bearing the same decorative motif on the shoulder as this lamp, unearthed at Raetiaria (Torbov 2010: 233, No. 5; 2014: 28, No. 84, Pl. 5:12) and at Nicopolis and Istrum (Falkner 2007: 113, No. 7.185, Fig. 7.6), the latter found in a pit precisely dated between AD 130 and 150.

### Cat. 2 (Inv. No. 129/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 5YR7/6; slip 10R 5/8–4/8, matt

Dimensions: L. 10.4, W. 6, H. with handle 4.5, Dia. discus 4.8, Dia. base 3.5 cm Description: Imported lamp of a subtype derived from both Loeschcke V half-volute lamps and late-Hellenistic lamps made in Asia Minor (to be classified in the vast Iconomu IX type). Rounded



reservoir shape and carefully pierced molded handle as in *Cat. 1*, but with an ogive-shaped flat-topped nozzle and the wick-hole preceded by half-volutes. Deep undecorated discus, the filling hole, chipped slightly larger, defined by a relief ring; convex shoulder ornamented with concentric rays in relief, interrupted by the plain flat top of the nozzle.

Dating: Last third of the 1st century AD Discussion and parallels: Two specimens are identical in all details: the first one was also discovered at Novae, in a lamp and pottery store inside the valetudinarium, associated with a number of lamps of types Loeschcke IV and V (Szubert 1982: 146, Group II, variant A, No. 8, Pl. I; see also Szubert 1987: 248, No. 2), meaning that this particular lamp may well have belonged to the soldiers filling the pit. In the valetudinarium context, the associated lamps were imported examples with parallels set around AD 70/80. The second parallel comes from Noviodunum (Isaccea, Dobrogea) (Baumann 2009: 231, No. 33, illustration on p. 283, dated by the author to the late 1st century AD without further discussion).

The specific shape of this lamp is attested exclusively at Danubian sites in Romania and Bulgaria, although, to this author, the fabric and slip identify this specimen, as well as the two parallels, as quality importsdated to the early years of the last third of the 1st century AD. Their place of manufacture remains to be established, but based on the fabric and slip the Aegean world stands as a hypothesis preferable to the western Black

Sea as was suggested by Baumann. As a matter of fact, this particular subtype is not attested, to the author's knowledge, on any Pontic site, whether Varna, Tomis, Olbia or Chersonesos.

Moreover, this form was reproduced for more than a century without variation in the workshops of the huge pottery-making center located near Pavlikeni, which started operations during Hadrian's reign. A mold for such lamps, dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD, was discovered there (Vladkova 2011: 122, No. 8; 2013: 163, No. 6, Pl. 2). At the same time, several identical lamps (unpublished) were produced in the other huge ceramic production center located near Butovo, also not far from Novae. Many lamps from Pavlikeni and Butovo, found at both production sites, as well as in the ancient city of Nicopolis and Istrum, for which they were made filling the demand for quality ceramics, are now in the depot of the Regional Archaeological Museum of Veliko Tarnovo (Vladkova 2013: 163). Numerous very similar lamps, with identical shape and shoulder-decoration but bearing an ornament on the top of the nozzle joining the two half-volutes, were found at sites on the Danube, mainly in Moesia Inferior, from Novae as far as Troesmis (Tulcea county, Dobrogea, Romania) (Topoleanu 2016: 65, 66, 105, No. 3, with a complete list of known parallels and other lamps close in shape), but also also upriver from Novae, at Sucidava (Olt county, Romania) (Gherghe and Cojoc 2011: 60, No. 3, Pl. 43).

### II.1 LOESCHCKE IA

The very first variant of the discus-lamps with anvil-shaped nozzle, with its characteristic small triangular nozzle-channel opening the discus towards the nozzle, is a unique attestation of Novae's contacts with Asia Minor.

As a matter of fact, if imported original lamps belonging to the broader Loeschcke I type in all its variants are scarce on the lower Danube, the subtype IA clearly never reached this area. Its production had ended in Italy—the canonical production dates extend from the Principate to the reign of Tiberius—much before the first legionaries ever reached the lands on the river, while some later specimens, to be dated until the mid 1st century AD, were still being produced in the Eastern Mediterranean.

A recent study of lamps belonging to a whole range of Loeschcke I subtypes, based on the lamp assemblage from Tomis (Constanta, Romania) (Georgescu 2017), unveiled a single Italian specimen of this very early type, ornamented with the motif of Fortuna bearing a shield with the incised abbreviation "Ob Cives Servatos", a classical Augustan motto. The lamp found at Tomis appears, by its clay, slip and motif, to be an Italian original with an added ribbon handle (lost) at the rear. Published typological parallels from the Black Sea littoral are noted only at Chersonesos (Georgescu 2017: 42-43, No. 1, with a list of parallels).

By contrast, the lamp found at Novae seems to be a Pergamum-made artifact, completed at the rear with an attached ribbon handle (lost), apparently a peculiarity of the lamps popular with Black Sea customers. Nevertheless, the import of this artifact before the first military Roman presence, that is, the arrival of the *Legio Octava*, cannot be excluded. This possibility fits with some lamps found at Novae in the 19th century, which cannot be dated after AD 25, and some coins of Tiberius. If this is confirmed by further discoveries, this particular lamp could fit the dates of Italian parallels.

### **Cat. 3** (Inv. No. 191/02w)

Fabric: Clay 2.5YR6/8; slip 2.5YR6/4, matt Dimensions: L. 8.8 (max.), W. 7.1, H. 3.1 (max.), Dia. discus 4.3, Dia. base 4.3 cm Description: Damaged lamp (almost entirely lost nozzle and handle) of type Loeschcke IA. Flat shoulder; discus defined by three concentric grooves interrupted by the nozzle channel. Small channel in the shape of a triangular gutter connecting the discus to the beginning of the nozzle. The concave discus is decorated with a rosette with multiple petals surrounding two low circles defining a flat round area pierced by the filling hole. Flat base, defined by a large circular raised rim.

Dating: Middle of the 1st century AD Discussion and parallels: This specific rosette decoration, combined with this subtype of lamp, can be found on the very first volute lamps produced in Italy (see, for example, Bailey 1980: 131, Q 760, dated from the end of the 1st century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD), and seems to have enjoyed considerable success as an export item, considering how quickly it spread throughout the Greek world and along the Amber

Route, from the Adriatic to the Danube. In Trier, identical lamps of Italian manufacture are dated to the last 15 years of the 1st century BC (Goethert-Polaschek 1985: 276, Motif 247, with parallels). Our lamp, with its slightly protruding external volutes, could be a somewhat later production, most probably from Asia Minor and in particular from the Perga-

mum area considering the fabric and slip; it is suggested to place it in the mid 1st century AD. Finally, one should mention a fragmentary lamp from Noviodunum (Isaccea) with almost identical decoration and similar dimensions (Baumann 2009: 228, No. 22, illustration on p. 303, misclassified by the author as a late Hellenistic derivative because of the nozzle channel).



### II.2 LOESCHCKE IB/C

The chronology of the Roman Loeschcke IB/C-type discus lamps with anvil-shaped nozzle in the Danubian region is still debated. Indeed, they appeared early in the harbor cities of the northwestern Black Sea, where they marked the transition from the Hellenistic period to the dawn of the Roman era, as they did in the main cities of Greece, like Athens or Corinth . Their original Italian chronology extended from Augustus to the beginning of the Flavian dynasty, but their import in Moesia does not seem to have occurred before the

middle of the 1st century AD, in perfect correspondence with the Roman conquest and the foundation of the first fortified wooden camp at Novae. All three artifacts [Cat. 4–6] have the execution quality and the fabric and slip that allow them, despite their fragmentary state of preservation, to be attributed to Italian workshops from the last phase of their production history in the peninsula.

In Novae, this type of lamp is attested by a dozen copies: seven intact examples excavated by Bulgarian missions and identified as imports from central or northern Italy (see Čičikova 1987: Nos 1–6; Genčeva 2002: 295, No. 276, the latter is the only Loeschcke IB/C known in the area with an incised signature: PLIINI), plus two fragments found by the Poznań Adam Mickiewicz University mission (Stawoska-Jundziłł 2008: 126-127, Nos 26 and 28, Pl. V). Five more examples come from the Western Sector investigated by the University of Warsaw team from 1953 to 2013; the first three are early imperial quality imports, the fourth is too eroded on the surface to be identified, and the last is undoubtedly an example of regional production, demonstrating very poor quality.

As is the case of other forms of original imported lamps and their copies, Novae and its territory constitutes a borderland. Several lamps of this type are known from west of Novae, almost all of them being, as far as can be observed in the published literature, local Moesian products of the 2nd century AD: 26 were found in Raetiaria, 11 in Oescus, two in Augusta, one in Utus and a few scattered examples in the Pleven region (Torbov 2014: 10-19, Nos 1-43, Tables 1-2). A further indication of the interest in this form of lamps in the freshly conquered territory is attested by the largesse of Danubian-provenanced lamps of this type kept at the National Museum in Sofia, all of them coming from the region between the Serbian border and Novae (Kuzmanov 1992: 17–19, Nos 48–57).

East of Novae there seems to be no Loeschcke IB/C-type lamp; a few rare exceptions are known from some sites in Dobrogea. Several Mediterranean-made lamps were found in the main harbors of the northwestern Black Sea, from Tomis (see Georgescu 2017) to Chersonesos, but

these cities had a completely different import–export network and a completely different socio-economic situation. South of Tomis, lamps of this type again seem to be absent (none appear in the recently published exhaustive catalogue of the Regional Museum of Varna, see Kuzmanov and Minčev 2018). Finally, in mainland Bulgaria, only one lamp, of unknown provenance but of regional manufacture, is held by the Regional Museum of Stara Zagora, the ancient Ulpia Augusta Traiana (Kalčev 1982: 7–8, No. 2).

Two aspects are of particular interest with regard to the macroregion in question.On one hand, Novae seems to be even with its handful of examples—the only city with original imports of this shape. On the other hand, several local workshops appear to have adopted the type with alacrity, producing more or less rough imitations of Mediterranean copies, at least as soon as the end of 1st century AD, and their success with the consumers would be so huge, that, that it was still being produced in small quantitites on both sides of the Danube in the 3rd century AD, more than a hundred years after the disappearance of the type from Italy.

Near Novae, production of this type of lamps, dated AD 100–200, evidently took place at Pavlikeni, where two molds for the lower parts of lamps were discovered, the first for making lamps with one nozzle, the second for producing lamps with two opposed nozzles. Both molds are signed PRISCUS in incised letters. They were found together with an intact lamp of fairly poor quality, with an added handle and broken discus, also signed PRISCUS (Vladkova 2011: 108–109, Nos 1–2, molds and No. 3, lamp). The three artifacts were

discovered in contexts dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, one mold from a mixed assemblage including a coin of this emperor and the lamp from a context with a coin of Faustina Maior, wife of Antoninus Pius. Recent excavations at Pavlikeni have also brought to light two other fragments (unpublished) of locally-made type Loeschcke IB/C lamps (according to Vladkova 2011; 2013).

### Cat. 4 (Inv. No. 168/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 5YR7/6 (reddish yellow) with rare particles of calcium carbonate; slip 2.5YR4.8 (red), glossy

*Dimensions*: L. 10.5 (max.), W. 6.3, H. 2.5, Dia. discus 4.5, Dia. base 3.7 cm

Description: Fragmentary lamp of an

Italian imported Loeschcke IB/C type; slightly convex shoulder, concave discus defined by two circular grooves; large airhole carefully pierced at the beginning of the nozzle, which is almost completely lost; flat base defined by a circular groove. Discus decorated with a pygmy in a short loincloth and moving to the left, head turned back and arms stretched forward, holding in each hand a couple of sticks, often interpreted as musical instruments. *Dating*: AD 30–70

Discussion and parallels: Another fragment of discus with the same motif and identical clay and slip characteristics was found in the same context (illustrated, UW mission Inv. No. 174/12w PR).

The significance of this lamp lies



in the iconographic motif on the discus rather than the typology. Most researchers insist on the diffusion of this theme exclusively on Loeschcke I lamps, discovered in large quantities both in Italy and in the northeastern provinces (Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia) as well as in Dalmatia, while it seems unknown in the western provinces and the Rhine area (see, among others, Leibundgut 1977: 174, Motivkatalog 260; Gualandi Genito 1986: 138–139; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1988: 103-104, Motif II.d.2.1, with a long list of parallels; Alram-Stern 1989: 97-98, Motif 24 "Tänzer mit Klappern"; for Loeschcke I specimens discovered in Slovenia and Croatia, see Vikić-Belancić 1971: 7, No. 51, Pls IV:8, XIX:8; see also the discussion on a lamp found at Sisak in Buzov 2008 and 2009: No. 8; the clarity of the details of the Sisak copy enables the wavy and braided hairstyle of the figure as well as the elaborate appearance of the sticks to be observed).

### Cat. 5 (Inv. No. 182/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 5YR7/6; slip 2.5YR6/8-10R5/8

Dimensions: L. 10.5, Dia. discus 3.8, Dia. base 4 cm

Description: Fragmentary lamp of the Loeschcke IB/C type. Slightly convex shoulder, concave ornamented discus (almost entirely lost) defined by three circular grooves; flat base defined by a circular groove; large air-vent carefully pierced between the nozzle volutes, at the edge of the shoulder. Broad anvil-shaped nozzle.

**Cat. 6** (Inv. No. 98/08w)

Fabric: Clay 2.5YR6/4 to 5/1, with many







tiny mica inclusions; slip 2.5YR5/8 to 3/6 *Dimensions*: L. 8.1 (max.), W. 5.6 (max.), H. 2.1 cm

Description: Fragment of the front part of a Loeschcke IB/C lamp. Flat shoulder, concave discus defined by two broad circular grooves; flat base defined by a circular groove; marked but not pierced air-hole between the nozzle volutes, at the edge of the shoulder. Broad anvil-shaped nozzle.

### Cat. 7 (Inv. No. 40/10w IA)

Fabric: Clay 5YR6/4 to 5/1, with many tiny mica and sand inclusions; slip 2.5YR5/8 to 3/6

Dimensions: L. 4.9 (max.) cm

Description: Fragment of a Loeschcke I lamp: flat shoulder, concave discus defined by three concentric circular grooves. Remains of the left upper volute.

# III. MONO- OR BILYCHNIS LAMPS WITH OGIVE-NOZZLE TYPE LOESCHCKE III

Imported Italian Loeschcke III volute lamps are a unique presence in the Lower Danubian landscape. As a matter of fact, original lamps of this type, because of their characteristic handle-ornament as well as their huge dimensions, were not fit for long-distance trade. In addition, their period of production in Italy was rather short, limited to the mid 1st century AD. With the singular exception of Rome and Pompeii, the shape does not vary—triangular or crescentic—and the decoration of the handle, when triangular, is always vegetal, generally consisting of well rendered palmettes rising from two volute leaves (like Cat. 8, 9), while the crescent is rendered without any ornament (like Cat. 11). As far as can be deduced from our fragmentary artifacts, the triangular ornaments, as well as the crescentshaped one, belong to the latest Italian products of this type (Bailey D3), dated for Italy from the reign of Tiberius to the Flavian period.

On the contrary, in Knidos, and mainly in Alexandria, two centers con-

sidered as a source of inspiration for the best Roman and Campanian workshops, the same type of triangular ornaments are massively used to present the customer with a variety of depictions, chiefly Egyptian deities in Hellenistic garb, while the crescent-shaped ones, clearly symbolizing Luna, are regularly decorated with her "twin" deity, Sol radiatus in bust.

In the western provinces, mainly in Africa and Pannonia, these ornaments began to be produced shortly after their invention in Italy, but were so successful that they continued to be produced at least until the end of the 2nd century AD. They adorned either the simple Loeschcke IV type lamps, as is the case of our fragmentary lamp, which is probably a Pannonian imitation of a Roman original, seeing the overmolding bubble at the foot of the blurred palmette [Cat. 10], or original types with multiple nozzles. Near Novae, this fact is witnessed by a triangular handle-ornament recently found in the lamp-making center of Pavlikeni, where it was made during the 2nd or even at the beginning of the 3rd century AD (Vladkova 2013: 179, No. 66, Pl. IX).

Novae is currently the only find spot in Bulgaria of an almost intact imported large bilychnis Loeschcke type III lamp [Cat. 12]. Unearthed by the Poznań Adam Mickiewicz University team (Stawoska-Jundziłł 2008: 128, No. 22, Pl. III), it has a crescent-shaped handle ornament and its discus is decorated with Jupiter togatus, rendered as a facing bust behind the emblematic eagle, standing with spread wings, bearing the god's thunderbolt in its claws. This is probably the most common discus motif to be found on this type of lamp

as shown by countless parallels from Italy as well as Africa (for a list of parallels, see Cahn-Klaiber 1977: 74, No. 193, Pl. 18; Bussière 2000: 151, Motif I.a.1.(1); Bémont and Chew 2007: 49, Motif D 1; Cahn 2009: 304–305, Motif 1). Finally, another crescent-shaped ornament, very probably Italian-made, considering the quality and the clay and slip description, was discovered by the Bulgarian mission (Genčeva 2002: No. 2, Pl. XLIII).

### Cat. 8 (Inv. No. 175/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 7/5YR 6/4; slip 5YR4/3 to 4/1 Dimensions: L. 5.8 (max.), W. 6 cm Description: Triangular handle reflector, probably from a Loeschcke III lamp, dec-







orated with a seven-branched palmette adorned with a diamond motif at its base.

### Cat. 9 (Inv. No. 176/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 5YR7/4; slip 2.5YR4/8 to 3/6 Dimensions: L. 6.6 (max.), W. 7.6 cm Description: Triangular handle reflector, probably belonging to a Loeschcke III lamp, decorated with a seven-branched palmette adorned with a diamond motif at the base, composed of raised dots and





bordered by a hatched band, the whole composition standing on two half-volute leaves ornamented with an inner frieze, making them resemble fern leaves.

### Cat. 10 (Inv. No. 179/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 7.5YR7/6; slip 2.5YR5/8 to 4/6 Dimensions: Ornament L. 5, W. 4.8, lamp L. 7.9 (max.), H. 2.9 (with ornament 3.8) cm

Description: Fragment of a Loeschcke III lamp, with a triangular handle reflector decorated with a nine-branch tree; under the ornament, a molded handle, carefully pierced. The shoulder is flat and the discus concave, defined by two circular grooves. The base is flat, defined by a circular groove.

### Cat. 11 (Inv. No. 199/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 10YR8/4; slip 5YR5/6 Dimensions: Width of the larger fragment (max.) 1.4 cm

Description: Two fragments of a single handle ornament in the shape of a lunar crescent, also probably belonging to a Loeschcke III lamp.

### **Cat. 12** (Inv. No. 196/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 7.5YR7/6; slip 5YR6/6 to 4/2 Dimensions: L. 10.2 (max.) cm

Description: Fragment of a Loeschcke III bilychnis lamp. Convex shoulder, part of a deep concave discus, decorated (the center part with the motif is lost) and defined by two concentric grooves and a rim. At the right, beginning of the external volute of the right nozzle. Molded handle, carefully pierced, topped with the rectangular support of a handle attachment.

# IV. VOLUTE LAMPS WITH OGIVE NOZZLE TYPE LOESCHCKE IV

The presence of imported or locally-made Roman Loeschcke IV type volute lamps, with their characteristic ogive nozzle, is, unlike the previous types, a common feature the Danubian and Rhenish limes, from the Black Sea coast to Noviomagus (Nijmegen). Originally imported from Italy, where they were invented and produced from AD 40 to about AD 100, but also from the Eastern Mediterranean, clay lighting devices of this type were the first to be made in the huge lamp production center in the suburbs of Durostorum (Silistra), concurrently with the arrival of the Legio XI Claudia in the early years of the 2nd century AD (Muşeţeanu and Elefterescu 2008: 137) and, at the same time, in a vast number of workshops in Pannonia and Moesia.

In Novae, this type of lamp is well attested: the Bulgarian excavations delivered 32 examples, most of them high quality imports. Two of these bear an incised signature of Romanesis (Čičikova 1987: 154-156, Nos 7-22; Genčeva 2002: 43–44), a famous Asia Minor potter with workshops active between the first half of the 1st century and the middle of the 2nd century AD, and a floruit of variants and large quantities of exported lamps set between AD 70 and 130 (Heres 1968; Bailey 1988: 99-100; Gordon and Cova 2010, including a bibliography concerning this workshop). In addition, the Poznań excavations at Novae uncovered five mediocre examples of local production (Stawoska-Jundziłł 2008: 129–130, Nos 23-27), while the Warsaw excavation in

the Western Sector delivered seven more specimens, four being high-quality imports and three locally-made lamps of respectable appearance.

Relatively few Loeschcke IV lamps appear in publications of finds from west of Novae: nine have been found in Rae-tiaria, ten in Oescus, two in Variana, two in Augusta, one in Utus and a few scattered examples from the Pleven region (Torbov 2014: 19-24, Nos 44-62, Tables 3-4). The collections of the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia (Kuzmanov 1992: 19-20, Nos 61–74) contain only 13 specimens of this type; almost all of them come from the Danube area, but a few rare pieces from Varna (3) and Apollonia (1) on the Black Sea coast are noteworthy because they are quality Aegean and Asia Minor imports, including, among the lamps from Varna, a specimen signed with the Romanesis mark. The signature and, in general, lamps of types Loeschcke I to IV are extremely few from the latter site, the ancient Odessos, contrasting with a huge collection of pre-Augustan lamps and a complete corpus of all possible typologies made after AD 100, kept in the rich collection of the Regional Museum in Varna (Kuzmanov and Minčev 2018).

### Cat. 13 (Inv. No. 44/10w IA)

Fabric: Clay 5 YR 7/6; slip 10 R 4/8 Dimensions: L. (max) 13.1, W. 8.8, H. 2.7 cm Description: Loeschcke IV lamp, damaged, the central part of the discus lost, as well as the end of the nozzle and the top of the handle. Molded handle, carefully pierced,

slightly convex shoulder ornamented with pointed ovules, deep discus defined by two circular raised rims, a very elegant nozzle adorned with an arrow-shaped motif in relief, placed between the two volutes. Flat base defined by a circular raised rim; in the center, an impressed planta pedis in the shape of a pointed slipper. The discus, although chipped away, was probably undecorated, as suggested by a circular rim in relief, apparently surrounding a central filling hole.

The University of Warsaw excavations in 2012 yielded three other fragments (Inv. Nos 194/12w PR, two pieces, and 198/12w PR) with the same fabric characteristics and decorated with a *planta pedis* of identical shape.

Dating: AD 40 to 70 Discussion and parallels: The fabric and slip, but above all the specific shape of the planta pedis place the lamp among Asia Minor products, as indicated by the abundance of this specific form of planta pedis in Ephesus and Knidos in particular. Three direct parallels (with the exception of the discus decoration and the presence/absence of the handle) are not only very similar with regard to the fabric and slip, but, above all, the identical shoulder decoration, identical "arrow" between the volutes and identical shape of the planta pedis. The first lamp was discovered at Novae by the Bulgarian mission (Čičikova 1987: 156, No. 21, Pl. IV, discus ornamented with sun rays in relief disposed around the three concentric rims around the small filling hole; the back and lower part of the lamp are lost). The two other lamps were found west of Novae, at Utus



(Torbov 2014: 24, No. 62, Pl. IV:9, without handle and decorated with a *biga*) and, east of Novae, at Noviodunum (Baumann 2009: 226, No. 15, illustrations on pp. 282 and 302: the discus is decorated with an altar surrounded by votive items).

### Cat. 14 (Inv. No. 50/10w IA)

Fabric: Clay 7.5YR7/6; slip 2.5YR5/8 to 4/6 Dimensions: L. 12.4, W. 9.2, H. 2.9 cm Description: Loeschcke IV lamp. Concave discus defined by three circular grooves, small convex shoulder decorated with

pointed ovules, flat base defined by a circular groove. The discus is adorned with a female figure sitting on a cushioned folding stool on curved legs. The woman is dressed in a rich chiton and a draped coat, her hairdress elaborate, gathered into a bun at the back of her head. The position is intriguing: the right arm resting on the knee, the left bent with the hand caressing her chin.

Dating: Reign of Claudius or slightly later Discussion and parallels: This motif appears only on imported Loeschcke IV lamps,



probably made in Miletus and then copied in Italy; the latter have been found in Dalmatia and the lower Rhine area (see Goethert-Polaschek 1985: 243, Motiv 149, with a complete list of parallels).

The row of pointed ovules decorating the shoulder is noteworthy, appearing, to our knowledge, apparently only on a fragmentary discus of the same type attributed by Heres to the Romanesis workshop (Heres 1972: 87, No. 565, Pl. 60). A second lamp, intact but without decoration on the shoulder, was discovered at Miletus (Menzel 1969: 43, No. 220, Pl. 34). Nevertheless, the clay and slip characteristics of the lamp seem close to a direct parallel discovered in Trier, identified as an Italian import

(Goethert-Polaschek 1985: 107, No. 431, dated to the reign of Claudius by a precise burial context), a provenance also favored for our lamp.

In absence of more discriminative detail, Giuseppe de Bersa (1906: 79) suggested an interpretation of the feminine figure as Penelope, recognizing in the woman's attitude the skepticism of Ulysses' wife upon hearing that her husband would return. Supporting this hypothesis is the string that the woman holds in her right hand, a small detail that can be seen here as on all the best preserved parallels for this discus composition. The curved object between her feet, above the ground line, is the bow of Ulysses.

# HYBRID TYPE LAMPS: TRANSITIONAL FORMS BETWEEN LOESCHCKE IV/V AND LOESCHCKE VIII TYPES

The two lamps described here are part of a vast heterogeneous group rare in Bulgaria. The first one [Cat. 15] belongs to type XXV of the Varna corpus (Kuzmanov and Minčev 2018: 237), spanning a period from Claudius to the Flavian dynasty. Most lamps from this group, recalling different Italian and Corinthian subtypes, but also early products from Pannonia and the Rhine limes area, are adorned on the shoulder and bear volutes or half-volutes on the top of the nozzle. The only trait that they share, besides the high quality (of all aspects), is that they have a carefully pierced molded handle and the nozzle end is furnished, like the Firmalampen, with a raised flat surface through which the wick hole was pierced. The second example [Cat. 16], very fragmentary, already has all the characteristics of a Loeschcke type VIII lamp, while its profile resembles the previous type, while the nozzle is short, broad, almost ogive-shaped, recalling somehow the very first Knidian Loeschcke VIII lamps. The fabric and slip, however, suggest a possible Pannonian provenance for both these lamps.

**Cat. 15** (Inv. Nos 180/12w PR, 186/12w PR) *Fabric*: Clay 2.5Y8/3; 10YR5/3 slip lost almost entirely

Dimensions: L. 10.7, W. discus 3.5, H. with handle 4.5 cm

Description: Incomplete lamp of the Varna XXV type with a very prominent nozzle, ending in a raised, flat surface with the wick hole pierced through it. Molded, carefully pierced handle; highly convex shoulder; concave discus, undecorated, defined by a rim and two concentric grooves; flat base defined by a circular groove. *Dating*: Probable date between the mid 1st century AD and AD 71, the *terminus ante quem* for the pits.

*Discussion*: A piece of an identical lamp (Inv. No. 184/12w PR) was found by the University of Warsaw expedition in the same context. Only a part of the upper shoulder and undecorated discus, as well as the handle, are preserved.





### Cat. 16 (Inv. No. 178/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 5YR7/6; slip 10R5/8 Dimensions: L. 10.1, W. 6.8, H. with handle 4.5, Dia. discus 3.1, Dia. base 4.3 cm Description: Very damaged lamp similar to the Loeschcke VIII type, but with a very prominent, broad and almost ogive-shaped nozzle, reconstituted from many fragments found in three different pits. Molded, carefully pierced handle; highly convex shoulder; concave discus defined by a rim and two concentric grooves; flat

base defined by a circular groove.

Dating: Probable date between the mid 1st century AD and AD 71, the terminus ante quem for the pits.

Discussion: A close parallel from Novae was discovered in a huge group of lamps originating from one of the storage rooms in the *valetudinarium*. It is smaller in size, but the shape as well as clay and slip characteristics are identical with the discussed lamp (Szubert 1982: 148, Group III, variant A, No. 20, Pl. II).

### **FIRMALAMPEN**

Firmalampen present a regional panopticon of original Italian imports. Typologically, it is interesting to note that in Bulgaria all the imported Firmalampen, which are distinguished by the quality of their firing and, where preserved, by a very distinct mark, belong to the Buchi IX type, mainly its three subtypes (a, b and c). These subtypes are distinguished by a nozzle channel that does not interrupt either the high rim surrounding the discus or the raised area around the wick hole (IXa and IXb), or just the discus rim (IXc), unlike lamps of the following type (Buchi X), where a vertical rim surrounds the wick hole area and joins with the discus rim creating a broad open channel between the wick and filling holes.

With the exception of two specimens belonging to subtype IXb, lamps of subtypes IXa and IXb are absent from Durostorum (Čičikova 1974: 157), which is logical as this type was almost extinct, with a few rare exceptions, when the legionary camp was founded following the arrival of the Legio XI Claudia. It was

then, starting early in the 2nd century AD, that the most prolific lamp factories in all of the Danube area were established on the outskirts of the city. This center produced enormous quantities of Factory lamps, beginning with the subtype IXc and developing mostly with both variants of type X, as shown by several studies (among others, Muşeţeanu, Culică, and Elefterescu 1980, where 26 of 130 examined lamps represented subtype IXc). Recent exhaustive research on Durostorum-made Firmalampen, mostly devoted to the base marks, has shed new light on these impressive workshops (Elefterescu 2016 with earlier bibliography). One should also note the minor production input of the Pavlikeni workshops, which also produced lamps of type X as well as local derivatives, during the 2nd century AD (Vladkova 2013: 170-171, Nos 48-55, Pl. VII).

Coming back to the Italian-made imported early *Firmalampen*, several pieces of excellent quality from northwestern Bulgaria, unknown to Maria Čičikova at the time of her research, were pub-

lished recently (Torbov 2014: 56-61, 187-188, Nos 218-237, Pls XIII-XV). The FORTIS mark appears on four of these lamps, while other specimens bear the marks of ATIMETUS, ECHIO, FRON-TO. SATURNINI and STROBILI. All of the imports for which the find spot is known originated from Reatiaria. These data confirm observations made on the corpus of lamps from the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia (Kuzmanov 1992: 33, Nos 211-216), consisting of six imported lamps of this kind, four of them from the abovementioned list of lamps from northwestern Bulgaria, and two without known provenance

At Novae, among lamps from the Bulgarian excavations, Čičikova listed seven fragmentary lamps that could be considered Italian imports (Čičikova 1987: 165,

Group VIII, Variety A); they bear the marks: ATIMETI, COMMUNIS, FORTIS and STROBILI and are dated, by coin finds, to the second half of the 1st century AD.

In conclusion, it appears that for the period covered by the foundation pits, Novae and Raetiaria are, at least for the moment, the only places where early original Factory lamps have been discovered. Regarding the typologies of the specimens from the pits, three fragments belong to subtype IXb [Cat. 17], whereas the almost intact lamp Cat. 18 is a fine example of subtype IXc.

# **Cat. 17** (Inv. Nos 183+185/12w PR; 190/12w PR, two nozzles; 191/12w PR, fragments of the same lamp)

Fabric: Four fragments, very fine clay 2.5 YR 6/8 and no slip





Description: Two fragments of as many nozzles and two fragments of the shoulder and part of the discus of a single lamp; all of them high quality Factory lamps belonging to type Buchi IXb.

## Cat. 18 (Inv. No. 192/02w PR, two fragments)

Fabric: Clay 2.5YR6/8 with very fine mica particles; no slip

Dimensions: L. 10.5 (max.), W. 11.7, H. 3.8 cm Description: Fragmentary Factory lamp of the Buchi IXc type. One fragment is the upper part of the reservoir, shoulder and beginning of the base (the base itself is lost). Slightly convex shoulder decorated with two raised side-lugs. Flat discus, with a carefully pierced central filling hole, is surrounded by a high rim opening toward the nozzle. The other fragment is a large part of the nozzle, almost to the tip, topped by a rectangular channel pierced with a fairly large, neatly made air-vent at its end, just before the raised wick-hole area.

Dating: 1st century AD

### DISCUS FRAGMENTS WITH READABLE MOTIFS

The excavation yielded several fragments of lamps, some representing discuses with preserved parts of the relief decoration. Examination of these pieces contributes further information on the assemblage of lamps discussed here.

### Cat. 19 (Inv. No. 4/11w IA)

Fabric: Clay 7.5YR7/6; slip 5YR6/6 to 4/2 Dimensions: L. 4.9 (max.) cm

Description: Fragment of the discus of an Italian-made lamp of type Loeschcke I or IV, most probably IV. The scene is a symplegma representation on a bed with



finely rendered details: a pillow under the head of the female figure, lingerie and mattresses appearing between and behind the figures. The rectangular frame of the bed is emphasized, as well as two of its legs (one of which is lost in the case of this fragment). Underneath the bed is an elongated rectangular stool with two objects that are difficult to recognize.

Dating: AD 40 to 75

Discussion: This motif, exhaustively studied by Bailey, who proposed a precise chronology (Bailey 1980: 65-66, Q 882 and Q 979, with list of parallels) seems to have originated in Italy specifically for the Loeschcke IV lamps as well as some late Loeschcke IC examples. Lamps bearing the motif were extremely popular and were exported to the northern limes area—without being copied by the Rhine Valley workshops—as well as Africa and, mainly, the Iberian Peninsula (where half of the lamps bearing this scene have been found). Later, it would be copied by diverse workshops in the Western Mediterranean (mainly in the

Iberian Peninsula and in Gaul) on lamps of Loeschcke I, IV and even VIII types, produced at least until the first third of the 2nd century AD. In the Balkans this motif is attested twice in Slovenia proper, on a Loeschcke I lamp found at Poetovium and on a Loeschcke V lamp found at Emona. Judging by the iconographic rendering, even if from a more worn-out mold, and by the dimensions and the clay/slip characteristics, our fragment has its nearest parallel in an Italian-made Loeschcke IV lamp kept at the British Museum (Bailey 1980: 165, Q 882). For further lists of parallels, see Leibundgut 1977: 163, Motivkatalog 175; Bussière 2000: 193, Motif II.f.2.(4); Rodríguez Martín 2002: 112, Motif 1.I; Casas i Genover and Soler i Fusté 2006: 205-206, discussion of lamp E 241.

### Cat. 20 (Inv. No. 42/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 2.5YR6/8 (light red) to 5YR6/8 (reddish yellow); very fine paste, fine particles of mica and pyroxene(?); slip 2.5YR (light red)–5/8 (red), slightly glossy, half matt

Dimensions: L. max. 7.4 cm

Description: Fragment of the discus of

an Italian-made lamp belonging to Loeschcke I or IV type, decorated with Pegasus at a gallop, to the right. This motif, particularly appreciated during the first three centuries of our era, had several variants in terms of its rendering. Dating: Second half of the 1st century AD Discussion: The careful rendering of the wing feathers and the twisted tail make our representation identical to that on an Italian-made Loeschcke I lamp found at Cologne (Cahn 2009: 66, No. 325, and 326, Motiv 79, dated AD 50 to 100), but also one on another Italian-made lamp, this time of Loeschcke IV type, discovered in a necropolis in Trier (Goethert-Polaschek 1985: 117, No. 485, Motiv 164, and p. 249, with a complete list of parallels to this type, distributed mainly in Gaul and Germany, where the motif was quickly adopted by local workshops, to adorn mainly Loeschcke IV lamps).

### Cat. 21 (Inv. No. 167/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 7.5YR-7/4 (light orange); slip 2.5YR 4/6-4/8 (red), metallic, fine mica particles

Dimensions: L. max. 4.1 cm

Description: Fragment of the discus of





an Italian-made lamp belonging to the Loeschcke I or IV type, decorated with a sitting Eros playing with a hare. The animal is held by its back legs.

Dating: First half to mid-1st century AD Discussion: This motif is particularly popular on Italian-made lamps of type Loeschcke I and IV, which were exported mainly to the north, as suggested by a large number of lamps found in the Rhine Valley, the Alpine area, on the Western Danube limes and also in Dalmatia (see an exhaustive lists of parallels in Farka 1977: 109; Goethert-Polaschek 1985: 194, Motif 9; Bailey 1988: 14–16, Q 1500; Cahn 2009: 315, Motiv 40). The

motif was copied, mainly in the region on the Rhine, but also on the Danubian *limes*, as shown by a lamp from Belgrade (Krunić 2011: 36–38, No. 7, with extensive bibliography). The execution quality, coupled with the impeccable clay and slip of the piece, suggests an Italian origin for this lamp, probably a Loeschcke I type, very close to a fragment found in Magdalensberg (Farka 1977: 308, No. 1287, Pl. 61).

### Cat. 22 (Inv. No. 177/12w PR)

Fabric: Clay 5YR7/6; slip 2.5YR4/8 with metallic shine

Dimensions: W. 7.9, H. 2.3, Dia. discus 5.5,







Dia. base 4.5 cm

Description: Fragment of the rear part of a Loeschcke I to IV lamp. Shoulder slightly convex, concave discus defined by three concentric grooves. Flat base defined by a circular groove. The discus is decorated with a dog chasing a small animal, often interpreted as a hare.

Dating: Second to third quarter of the 1st century AD.

Discussion: The scene appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity, being quickly copied in the Rhine valley (see Leibundgut 1977: 176, Motivkatalog 268) and in Cyprus (see Bailey 1988: 74-75, Q 2359-Q 2360). Nevertheless, the rendering of the animals on these two provincial series is hardly a match for our example. The closest parallels are: a fragmentary lamp of Loeschcke I type found in Aquileia (Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1988: 133-134, No. 580, see Motif III.a.10.1, with parallels) and a fragment of a Loeschcke I or IV lamp made in Italy, unearthed in 1999 at the Augusteum of Narona (Topić 2003: 269, No. 387, Pl. 46). The dog has a collar and a curved tail, as in the lamp here, which is not the case of lamps made on the Rhine and in Cyprus. Moreover, the animal it hunts is larger and has a long tail (which is the case of Rhenish but not Cypriot lamps). The prey itself does not seem to be a hare, but rather a weasel or a young fox.

### **Cat. 23** (Inv. No. 101/08w)

Fabric: Clay 5YR7/6, with many mica particles; slip 10R5/8 to 3/3, slightly shiny Dimensions: L. 3.1 (max.) cm

Description: Fragment of a discus, probably belonging to an Italian-made

Loeschcke I lamp. The motif consists of a finely rendered bust of Luna on a crescent moon. The divinity is represented frontally, dressed in a chiton, the hair neatly arranged in two tiers separated by a horizontal band.

Dating: Second half of 1st century AD Discussion: Countless representations of this subject are known, on lamps of the Loeschcke I type and later ones. Nevertheless, the rendering of the head and hairstyle makes it possible to classify the fragment among Italian products attested in Switzerland and Germany, all of which are Loeschcke I (see, among others, Leibundgut 1977: 133, Motivkatalog 7; Goethert-Polaschek 1985: 198–199, Motiv 22, with parallels; for the most recent bibliography, see Cahn 2009: 309, Motiv 15). Annalis Leibundgut underlined the exclusivity of this representation on Italian-made Loeschcke I lamps in some of the most important military centers of the Rhenish provinces (Vindonissa, Trier, Mainz, Neuss, Xanten). where it can be dated to the second half of the 1st century AD. This very popular motif survived throughout the Mediterranean, where it was reproduced on some rare Italian Loeschcke IV lamps, but mainly on Loeschcke VIII devices produced throughout the 2nd century and even in the 3rd century AD (see on this subject the discussion of the lamp found at Neuss in Vegas 1966: 85–86, No. 156). In Novae, an identical intact Loeschcke I lamp with the same motif was discovered by the Bulgarian team before 1980 (Čičikova 1983: 138, Pl. VIII:1; 1987: 155, No. 5, Pl. I); it was considered as a direct import from northern Italy.

### Cat. 24 (Inv. No. 87/08w)

Fabric: Clay 2.5YR6/4 to 5/1 with tiny mica particles; slip 2.5YR5/4 to 4/2 Dimensions: L. max. 5.8 cm

Description: Fragment of a lamp belonging most probably to the earliest production of Loeschcke VIII specimens. Slightly convex shoulder, decorated with a wreath of oak branches with leaves and acorns, tied with a ribbon. Discus defined by three circular raised rims. Remains of a six-petal rosette decoration.

Dating: Last third of the 1st century AD

Discussion: The corona civica motif adorning the shoulder of Loeschcke VIII lamps appears to have been a favorite composition of the Romanesis workshops. Such lamps, often decorated with a simple rosette, as in this case, can be found in Asia Minor as well as in Greece and Dalmatia (see Bailey 1988: 356, Q 2899–Q 2901, all from Knidos; for the significance of the corona civica, the highest distinction granted to soldiers, and its presence on lamps, see Chrzanovski 2005).

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