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Doctoral Thesis Summary

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Gerulata: The Lamps. Roman Lamps in a Provincial Context

Gerulata: Lampy. Římské lampy v provinciálním kontextu

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školitel: doc. PhDr. Jiří Musil, PhD.
A. Introduction

My doctoral thesis aspires to be a full and complete catalogue of lamps from Gerulata, a Roman military fort housing 500 to 1000 troops and its adjacent vicus, one day’s march east along the Danube from Carnuntum. Based on the 210 lamps gathered together in this work, more may be written on the producer’s marks and discus scenes found on them; then conclusions may be drawn regarding their manufacture, and to a limited extent about their trade; more then on the use of lamps in furnishing graves in burial; and lastly, on the significance of lamplight in day-to-day provincial life.

Lamps were present in Gerulata from its very foundation with the arrival of the Roman army in the AD 80s. It was a novel technology that necessitated a stable production system of wares, relied on fuel made of foodstuff, and required a certain skill to operate. Lamps were most widely used within a generation of the first Roman soldiers setting foot in Gerulata, and the pleasure of lamplight may or may not have had cultural and religious significance for the inhabitants of the settlement. The habit of furnishing graves with oil lamps was popular in the first few generations, but then seems to have died out sometime around AD 200. Herein is encapsulated one community’s use of a certain method of illuminating its interior spaces.

Consequently, the dissertation’s primary goal is to take a single large and well-defined corpus of archaeological material (in this case, all lamps excavated since 1949 to the present day from Gerulata) and tap the material to extract as much information as is at all possible – not only about the technical characteristics of the objects themselves, but what they really mean in terms of Roman life in a peripheral Pannonian vicus.

First, it is a catalogue in the scientific sense, bringing together for the first time quality graphic documentation and all circumstances of discovery for each of the 210 lamps from Gerulata. In contrast to other works, I have attempted to present the objects as completely and fully as possible, drawing partly from my own experience and research using older lamp catalogues from other collections and what information I found missing – yet essential – for a scholar of lamps.

Second, the lamps and their decorations are evaluated as works of art – in the sense that they showed designs of Classical (Roman, but also Greek) myth and culture, to which the inhabitants of Gerulata cannot have been oblivious. It is however very uncertain to what extent the soldiers, coming from all corners of the Empire, and the inhabitants of the settlement, whether native or newcomers, were responsive to these myths. Were they more than just faintly aware of the stories behind the images? But even if they were not – in their own right, the images are not disagreeable.

Third, this work aims to evaluate the patterns of behavior associated with the use of lamplight. As I have attempted to show, some lamps were imported to Gerulata the Pannonian hinterland, from
northern Italy and possibly even the island of Cnidus, while some were local copies fashioned from homemade molds taken from existing lamps in circulation. These lamps tell us much about the economic contacts of the settlement. Some lamps with multiple nozzles may have had different purposes than simpler consumer wares; the overused designation of lamps for ‘religious purposes’ should not always be ridiculed, but kept in mind. The relationship of producer’s marks and workshop marks will be evaluated to draw conclusions on lamp production. Moreover, the use of lamps in funeral rites is significant in evaluating the life of the community and its rituals.

In the two sections below, I’d like to summarize my doctoral thesis by describing the research and documentation process (B), and put forth an overview of the main results (C) which I feel that the work brings into the field of lychnology.

**B. Research methods and investigation**

My work with the Roman lamps of Gerulata began in 2011 with a single meeting, and ended in 2015 with the publication of my book by Karolinum, the Charles University press.

During my master’s degree studies at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at Charles University in Prague in late 2011, I consulted with Dr. Jaroslava Schmidtová of the Ancient Gerulata Museum in Bratislava as to what a suitable subject for my master’s thesis might be. She suggested that I take on the formidable corpus of ancient Roman lamps excavated at Gerulata, kept in three separate museum collections. Some lamps had already been published in the twin monographs detailing Roman cemeteries I and II from Gerulata in 1974 and 1981, respectively1. For my diploma thesis, I adopted the subject of lamps excavated from funerary contexts – i.e. those from the two abovementioned Roman cemeteries. The published catalogue didn’t do the lamps justice, as they focused on presenting the finds from the cemeteries as a whole and were rarely concerned with minute details that the objects had to offer. Working with actual archaeological material was a very stimulating and exciting prospect, as I could avoid a theoretical work that I felt would be largely self-serving and arduous.

My planned method of investigation was simple: visit the lamps in their source collections, take precise measurements with a vernier caliper, record any and all detailed observations of the lamps’ characteristics and take high-quality photographs from various angles.

Most of the collection was stored in the Archaeological Museum of the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava; I visited over several sessions in the spring of 2012 and thanks to the kind cooperation of Dr. Juraj Bartík, Dr. Vladimír Turčan and Dr. Klára Fúryová I was provided with access to any and all lamps in the museum repository.

To locate all the necessary lamps, I studied all museum inventory books for all lamp material from Gerulata and noted their inventory numbers and location in the repository. I set up a mini-photographic studio in the hallway above the courtyard of the museum, consisting of a suspended clean glass plate, on which the lamps were placed (an old display case worked just fine), a beige carton to deflect light from underneath, a rag with window cleaning liquid to keep the glass clean, and clay or play-doh to suspend the lamps in various angles when shooting side-view photos. My home Institute of Classical

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Archaeology was kind enough to provide me with a Nikon camera which shot photos in RAW format, suitable for high-quality post-processing in Adobe Photoshop. The caliper was my own.

First, each lamp was measured for length (maximum extent from the tip of the nozzle to the upper shoulder), discus diameter, base diameter, overall height and shoulder height (the shoulder being the seam where the two halves of the lamp form met). These dimensions were only taken and recorded if it was possible to do so – which was unfortunately not the case with many fragments.

Next, each lamp was examined in detail for marks, scratches, distinguishing features, and decoration. A macro-photograph was taken of each distinguishing feature, and in the case of more than 150 FirmaLampen, the same was done for their base producers’ marks and workshop marks in detail. Some marks were only visible when photographed under a certain angle – something that previous researchers could not notice, as the FirmaLampen were not scrutinized as carefully during their initial publication.

Finally, a series of photos was taken of each object, with the primary being top view (a), base view (b), side view with nozzle facing right (c), side view with nozzle facing left (d), any decoration or distinguishing marks (e), and producer’s marks (k). This was in anticipation of the catalogue that was to form the backbone of my master’s thesis.

Digging through the inventory books I happened upon a great number of lamps that did not seem to have come from the cemeteries of Gerulata but instead from various rescue and systematic excavations made on the site at different times, foremost among them the unpublished excavations of J. Dekan in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the spirit of curiosity, I photographed and documented them as well.

My master’s thesis was successfully defended in September 2012 at the Institute of Classical Archaeology; it focused on the role of lamps in Roman provincial funerary rites at Gerulata, and its conclusions are summarized in Chapter 4 of my dissertation. My supervisor, doc. Jiří Musil, persuaded me to expand on the subject and prepare a book for publication – thanks to his kind encouragement and support, and two grants from the Charles University Grant Agency and the Faculty of Arts, respectively, I was able to continue my research and tackle the subject of lamps from the site of Gerulata as a whole, not just its funerary spaces.

I returned to the Archaeological Museum in Bratislava for several more documentation sessions in 2013 and 2014, and also visited the Ancient Gerulata Museum in Bratislava-Rusovce, and the Bratislava City Museum where Dr. Schmidtová kindly provided me with a number of lamps from her long years of diligent rescue excavations on the site (e.g. λ 205) that I could include in my complete publication. The same procedure was applied as before. Some lamps which could not be located were replaced with extant sketches from previous publications, and measurements and other defining features were taken over from other descriptions.

With enough material photographed and recorded, I started sorting it into a meaningful catalogue with the following items in each catalogue entry: high-quality photos, measurements in mm, a lengthy text description, and a list of analogies and parallels to the lamp type, shape and/or motif. For the latter I used lamp catalogues from all areas of the Roman Empire, available in a number of academic libraries (the Archaeological Department of the Humboldt Universität in Berlin, the Archaeological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, the Archaeological Institute of the University of Vienna,  

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^2 Freer 2012
the Archaeological Institute of Göttingen University, and the Department of Archaeology of Comenius University in Bratislava). I should like to admit that the catalogues of lamps from the British Museum, authored by D. M. Bailey and comprising his life’s work, were of tremendous influence – and the inspiration for my convention of prefacing catalogue numbers of lamps by a λ symbol, as he did with a Q.

In my dissertation, I attempted to treat the lamps from Gerulata as fully and completely as possible. The three catalogue chapters (Chapter 3 for the lamps themselves, Chapter 5 for the stamps and producers’ marks, and Chapter 6 for the iconography) capture the material as accurately as possible, making it available for future research. The remaining chapters and conclusions interpret the material in the greatest detail possible through observation. The dissertation was ready by the May 2014 and submitted as a manuscript to Karolinum Press, where it was finally published in June 2015.

C. Results

It seems fitting for the conclusions and results of the dissertation to be treated separately in three categories:

• theoretical conclusions, summarizing the research of other specialists on Pannonian history and the archaeological history of Gerulata (Chapter 2);
• results obtained by presenting the material itself, in complete catalogue form (Chapters 3 and 5); and,
• value-based conclusions arising from by the material itself, how it relates to Roman culture in Pannonia, lamp use and funerary practice at Gerulata (Chapters 4 and 6).

Theoretical

Chapter 2 of the dissertation is a synthetic study covering two important areas – the history of lamp use in the Greek and Roman world, and the history of the Roman presence at Gerulata. Although it may seem they were both included in the thesis merely to give context to the catalogue which is to follow, I felt it this kind of study was lacking in present literature.

The opening parts of the chapter document the evolution of lampmaking from the earliers Palestinian cocked-hat lamps through the invention of the nozzle in 7th century BC Asia Minor up to the adoption of lamps by the Romans in the 3rd century BC. Like the Romanized inhabitants of Pannonia, the Romans themselves had indigenous forms of light such as lanterns, and by adopting lamps were making a cultural change that mirrors that in Gerulata four centuries later.

The second part of the chapter seeks to summarize the history of the Roman presence in Pannonia, drawing upon newer research to complement older studies. It is now known that the region around present-day Bratislava, known as the Danube Gate, was of interest to the Romans long before Augustus, as amphorae from Devin Castle Hill and the mid-1st century BC palace build in Roman style in the midst of the Celtic oppidum on Bratislava Castle Hill attests. Although Roman policy in the

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3 Such as, for example, Barkóczi 1980; for a full bibliography see Chapter 2.2 of the doctoral thesis.
4 M. Musilová in Turčan et al. 2010, 84–85 and 96–97
region was initially one of expansion, Rome stalled with the upheavals of Maroboduus and laid the
ground for the future province of Pannonia during the first decades of the 1st century AD. Chapters
2.2.7–2.2.13 summarize the archaeological history of Gerulata in this context, expanding upon recent
but aging studies by including newer research and setting the lamps of Gerulata into the fort’s
archaeological phases. The military installation was founded under Domitian (phase *Gerulata 1a*) with
eight lamps being found in one of the earlier strata (a barracks building) of the timber fort. The
reconstruction of the main fort into stone under Antoninus Pius marked a new phase, *Gerulata 1b*, and
at the same time a second fortification known as *Gerulata 2* may have housed the corps temporarily while
the reconstruction took place. Several important lamp finds such as the λ 205 rectangular Iványi type IX
lamp, were noted in the ditch of this temporary fort excavated in 2009: It was filled in at the conclusion
of the 2nd century AD to pave way for new construction in the vicus, and the lamp in question may have
been a feature of the camp *sacellum*.

The subsequent 2nd century AD was the primary period of use for both major cemeteries in
Gerulata – I and II – and most lamps from Gerulata probably date to this prosperous phase. The peace
was broken by the Marcomannic Wars, and although Gerulata could not have escaped destruction, there
is strong evidence that the fort was destroyed by force, and abandoned for a time, in the mid-3rd century
AD. The new and smaller fort is known as the phase *Gerulata 1c*, and this phase is also mirrored in the
funerary record; it existed until an unspecified time in the late 4th century AD when the extent of the
camp shrank again and a final fortified palace-style building (*Gerulata 1d*) was erected in the north
corner of the former *castellum*. It is notable that very few lamps originate from these two final phases,
most belonging to Gerulata 1a and 1b.

*Material*

The lamp catalogue of Chapter 3 uses the established typologies of Loeschcke and Iványi to
classify and present the material. Of the 40 Bildlampen and fragments thereof, most (23) are Loeschcke
type I *koine* Augustan lamps of the 1st century AD, with a few interesting Loeschcke type VIII round
lamps that appeared around the middle of the century in Italy but were not as popular north of the Alps.
Of the 164 Firmalampen, the majority (90) belong to the sturdy later Loeschcke type X that acted as the
*koine* lamp of the ‘military’ northern provinces. The chapter is subdivided by lamp type, and each sub-
chapter is prefaced by a summary of information about the type with dating, origin and spread.

At the time when Gerulata was founded, during the reign of Emperor Domitian (AD 81–96),
Loeschcke type VIII round lamps had already been in production for some 30 to 40 years and by that
time they had become widespread in the Mediterranean; yet most of the wares in Gerulata are of the
earlier Loeschcke type I lamp that was nearing the end of its production in Italy, but would continue to
be produced in Pannonia well into the 3rd century AD.

The earliest, Augustan to Neronian Loeschcke subtype Ia is notably absent, and the Claudian to
Flavian subtype Ib is represented by one lamp (λ 1). It may be seen that the difference between ‘subtypes’

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5 Varsik 1996a; Varsik 1996b
6 Schmidlová and Bárta 2013
7 See Chapter 2.2.11, or pages 55–56 of the dissertation for the argument
Ib/c and Ic is very slight, so as to be minimal – many motifs are found on both subtypes, and many motifs from Gerulata have analogies on the other subtype.

The problem of making clear-cut distinctions between the Loeschcke I subtypes has been recognized for some time now\(^8\), and enforcing strict subtypes may be a case of wanting to forcefully apply a simple solution to a complicated issue. The material from Gerulata, at any rate, upholds this view.

For example, one would be tempted to see the bust of Cupid on \(\lambda\ 15\) as a motif associated solely with the shoulder form IIIa as it is on all presented analogies, thereby assigning it to Loeschcke subtype Ib/c. However, our lamp, with shoulder form IVb and conspicuously wide nozzle points, is firmly in subtype Ic territory – and testament to how fluidly motifs may have been recycled, and that where provincial production of lamps is concerned, no rule is absolute.

Of the hybrid subtype Ib/c, one lamp in Gerulata was found with a coin of Galba (\(\lambda\ 5\), AD 68–69 terminus post quem), and one subtype Ic lamp (\(\lambda\ 15\)) may be dated to AD 100–166 – to give an idea of dating and range. The 5 Loeschcke type VIII round lamps are somewhat unusual in this assembly, and each probably found its way to Gerulata under unique circumstances. Lamps \(\lambda\ 24–26\) are significantly beholden to plentiful analogies from the Greek East, especially Cnidus; \(\lambda\ 25\) may specifically have been produced there\(^9\).

Sixty three of the 164 Firmalampen are indeterminate fragments (38.4%). Out of the pool of 101 remaining identifiable lamps, 11 belong to Loeschcke type IX (10.9%), and the rest, 90 lamps, belong to Loeschcke type X and its variations (89.1%). The great preference for Loeschcke type X lamps is consistent with their popularity in the northern, “military” provinces as \(koiné\) lamp types from AD 90 to at least the early 3rd century AD.

Chapter 5 details the stamps and workshop marks found on the base of lamps in the context of lamp production. The established three-part paradigm in Roman lampmaking counts with three methods of manufacture – in Italian parent workshops (large manufactories), in official branch workshops in the provinces, and illicit copying\(^10\). My dissertation presents new evidence to expand this paradigm.

In Gerulata, from of a total of 210 lamps, 93 producers’ marks were observed; of those 93 marks, 75 could be conclusively identified. They make up 25 different names. By far the largest group is \(\text{FORTIS}\) (29x), followed by \(\text{CRESCES}\) (9x) and \(\text{VIBIVS}\) (4x). None are found on the Bildlampen, but out of 107 Firmalampen with sufficiently intact bases, 93 lamps or 86.9% were signed in this way.

The producers’ marks are the most talked-about feature on Firmalampen, but their true importance is only brought to light when combined with workshop marks, such as palms, wreaths and circles that often complement the bases and producers’ marks. At first it was thought workshop marks were used only by the large-scale manufactories of Italy, where they served to identify the output of a certain mold or a certain worker or slave, checking productivity or mold durability. In this regard, they were recognized as largely a phenomenon of the 1st and early 2nd centuries AD in Italy only\(^11\). A new explanation is offered by the key lamp fragment \(\lambda\ 143\) from the forgotten Bergl excavations of J. Dekan.

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\(^8\) For example, by Kirsch 2002, 9 and Leibundgut 1977, 22, who recognizes mainly shoulder form and discus motif as the defining characteristics of the subtypes, contrary to Loeschcke, who used nozzle width.

\(^9\) See pages 95–97 of the dissertation

\(^10\) Harris 1980

\(^11\) Bailey 1980, 110
On this fragment, the clear letters of the producer’s mark CASSI in high relief are accompanied by a blurry ‘flower’ workshop mark below in low relief. From the fragment it is clear that the workshop mark was in use for several generations, as it had become worn by re-use of the lamps to make new molds, and in this form it had been passed down on our fragment. The CASSI letters (the mark of the firm), however, are fresh, which means they were added only later, and the mold in this form was used for a shorter period of time.

My proposed explanation is that a previous relief mark may have indeed been filed off and replaced, but not with the purpose of industrial theft. It was a deliberate action by the workshop because it needed to now produce lamps with another producer’s mark. This is because the ‘flower’ workshop mark is older and more important than the CASSI relief stamp as far as production is concerned. One workshop may have simultaneously produced lamps with several molds bearing different producers’ marks (e.g. Fortis, Cassi, legidi, etc.), but may have wished to mark all of its products with a shared and distinctive workshop mark – in this case, the ‘flower’. This would have been done to identify the output of the workshop among all the lamps it had produced, as it was contracted to do so by the CASSI parent company.

Additionally, Firmalampen may have been produced with little expertise by a craftsman who was already accustomed to working with pottery. Evidence for a “dispersed manufactory” model suggests that ceramics may have been produced in the laborer’s home with raw materials being supplied by the contractor or workshop\textsuperscript{12}, and the final wares being collected together at the headquarters.

Literary evidence for these contract-based models of manufacture is also provided by Egyptian papyri detailing pottery production\textsuperscript{13}. This expands the existing triple lamp paradigm of parent workshop – branch workshop – illicit copyist to a new, five-part one: parent workshop – branch workshop – subcontracted workshop – dispersed manufactory – illicit copyist. I regard this to be the most important theoretical conclusion of my dissertation, supported as yet by a single fragment but pointing in the direction for more such fragments to be discovered in order to test this theory. It is consistent with the use of the workshop mark of a young tree on lamps of several producers’ marks in the ‘Gas-works’ pottery workshop and the workshop south of the macellum at Aquincum\textsuperscript{14}.

On one hand, lamps with the FORTIS producer’s mark display a wide variety of types and styles that would have been produced in a great number of hypothetical workshops. The broad distribution of dimensions adds to the picture. We may postulate that FORTIS lamps were transmitted to Gerulata over a relatively long period of time, from numerous production centers. On the other hand, more uniform stamps such as CRESCE\textsuperscript{s}, QGC and VIBIVS display a notable degree of uniformity in their typeface design (even more prominent in the VIBIVS lamps on account of their positioning) and in their proportions. Lamps of these producer groups may have been transmitted to Gerulata over a shorter period of time, or from only one or two production centers that used similar or identical stamp poinçons.

The catalogue also analyzes several curious individualized personal marks, such as the ‘YYCO’ incised inscription (found on two lamps in two graves on separate cemeteries) and the ‘AY PR O’ cursive relief. Both may be read as customized producers’ marks where the workshop wanted to sign their wares.

\textsuperscript{12} Peacock 1982, 10, 127
\textsuperscript{13} Fülle 1997
\textsuperscript{14} Szentlélyeky 1959, 200–201
Value-based

Chapter 4 reflects on the funerary use of lamps in Gerulata. Burial at Gerulata can be split into two distinct phases – a late 1st century AD to early 3rd century AD phase 1, and a second late 3rd century AD to late 4th century AD phase 2, with a hiatus of some 80 years in between. The two large cemeteries, termed I and II by their excavators, were an interesting mix of cremation and inhumation burial, with these two methods clearly split in cemetery I into the two respective phases (cremation first, inhumation second), and concurrent in cemetery II in the 2nd century AD.

The cemeteries of Roman Gerulata include 336 known graves in the first phase (AD 80–200); 93 of those graves contained a total of 106 lamps. On average, lamps were found in 27.7% of all graves. Most were deposited in the 2nd century AD. Although a variety of types is represented, the great majority consist of Firmaalampen of Loeschcke types IX and X – 88 lamps or 83% of the total. Lamps were usually second only to pottery in their frequency as grave goods; they were an affordable luxury that may have symbolized a Roman identity for the second generation of denizens in this settlement, in competition with indigenous forms of lighting such as torches, braziers and open bowls of burning fat. Preference for a Mediterranean lighting style, complete with mythological artistic motives, could have meant so much for the inhabitants of Gerulata that they wished to deposit this symbol even into their graves.

Interestingly, of the total 106 lamps from funerary contexts, only a single lamp (\( \lambda \ 209 \); a Pannonian glazed lamp of the 4th century) is attributable the second phase. This means lamp use in graves was exclusive to the pre-Niederbiber destruction period Gerulata (phases 1a and 1b), and may indicate that after Gerulata was reconstructed in the later 3rd century AD, a different population was settled here – one that did not use lamps in graves, or even did not use lamps at all.

The frequency of lamps as grave goods did show a certain relationship with age and sex. Of the 76 identified skeletons coming from inhumation graves, 31 belonged to children and 6 to adolescents under 14 years of age, thus making up nearly half of the ‘inhumation’ section of the cemetery. When compared to graves sorted by sex, the graves with no grave goods are shown to be rather evenly distributed. However, of the 10 graves with lamps, 7 belong to children, two to indeterminable individuals, and one to a young male. In cremation graves, the proportion of graves with lamps is evenly distributed among the identifiable age groups, at around 25%. A similar proportion is observed in children’s inhumation graves, but surprisingly, only 2.6% of adult inhumation graves contain lamps. Perhaps it was not the case that lamps were somehow preferred for children’s burials, but rather that inhumed adults were deliberately buried without lamps. We may be observing the glimpse of a cultural practice in 2nd century AD Roman Gerulata.

Around two thirds of lamps from cremation graves were cremated along with the deceased on the pyre. Of the 42 uncremated lamps with preserved nozzles, 16 lamps or 38.1% also had blackened charring around them, showing that they were used immediately prior to deposition – perhaps in the last rites for the deceased. In contrast stands \( \lambda \ 43 \), from the inhumation grave of an infant. The lamp had never been used or lit – it was bought and promptly deposited, brand new, into this child’s resting place.

The community of Gerulata was part of a larger Roman world connected by trade and the transfer of wares, as the lamp material also suggests. Where long-distance trade is concerned, the two Loeschcke type VIII lamps \( \lambda \ 24 \) and \( \lambda \ 25 \) will in all probability have originated in the lamp workshops of the Greek East of the first half of the 2nd century AD, probably in Asia Minor or the islands. For \( \lambda \ 25 \) in particular, a strong case may be made for origin in Cnidus, a cosmopolitan Greek city located on the Datça Peninsula in present-day Turkey. The rosette-decorated lamps \( \lambda \ 27 \) and \( \lambda \ 28 \) may have come from
Italian workshops in the late 1st century AD in the earliest decades from the foundation of Gerulata, being brought along with military personnel.

Firmalampen are a different issue entirely. With the above concerns in mind, λ 43 (LITOGENES, °, Jupiter Ammon mask), λ 55 (SCA), λ 68 (FORTIS, *, slave mask), λ 127–λ 128, λ 143 (CASSI, ‘flower’), λ 144 ([C]ERIALIS) and λ 188 (bearded mask) are so outstanding in their quality, firing and sharpness of decoration amongst the material from Gerulata that they recall the quality northern Italian wares as faithfully as anyone could expect if any such lamps were presented before us. But to be consistent, we cannot be sure.

Of the uncommon shapes, all the multi-wicked lamps (λ 205–λ 208) of Iványi types III, VIII and IX have strong Pannonian roots, with molds being found on a number of sites including Aquincum and Savaria, and the 4th century AD glazed horse-lamp (λ 209) was probably produced in Interccsia.

In Gerulata, there seems to have been no link between the content of discus scenes and their use as grave goods. This mirrors the prevalent theory among lychnologists that lamp decoration had no relation to the function of a lamp\(^\text{15}\), although we must bear in mind that “lamps themselves were offerings; but so was the act of burning oil in the lamp”. Motifs from Gerulata range from Eastern deities (Jupiter Ammon) to Roman goddesses with Pannonian significance (Luna), from fauns to bearded masks, and running animals.

A caduceus, a faun, a ram or a comic mask on grave lamps are hardly images that evoke the end of life. Only the head of Hercules on an altar (λ 14) from inhumation grave I of an infant from Cemetery II, may be understood to evoke the passing of the great hero, his being granted immortality on Olympus, but at the same time the emptiness of that which remains on earth after death. The organized presence of the Roman army on the limes must have introduced at least some semblance of an environment of ‘Classical’ culture in Gerulata. For some consumers, motifs on lamps may have been but insignificant or indecipherable decorations to their lighting devices; to others, they may have had deep personal meaning.

D. Bibliography


\(^{15}\text{First postulated by Deonna 1927; upheld among others by Leibundgut 1977, 193; Bailey 1980, 6; for a dissident view, see Crnobrnja 2006 and Stewart 2000, 10, to whom the citation in the next part of the sentence is credited.}\)