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LAMPES ANTIQUES
DU BILAD ES SHAM

Jordanie, Syrie, Liban, Palestine

ANCIENT LAMPS OF BILAD ES SHAM

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THE ROMAN LAMPS OF NABATAEAN PETRA

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Abstract: Roman lamps were produced at Petra in great number. On the one hand the production is inspired by and follows the general development of this class, but on the other hand it possesses its own internal development and chronology. A picture of the local development can only emerge if the various types, discus-scenes and rim-types can be dated with a chronology independent to material from other regions as opposed to the creation of pure analogies. In the following, an attempt is made to sketch this local development, based on the stratigraphical information available to date. This information is mainly provided by the Swiss-Liechtenstein excavations at ez-Zantur in the years 1988-2003, where more than 3000 lamp fragments were found ranging from the late 2nd century BC to the early 5th century AD, to a good part well stratified.

Résumé: Des lampes de type romain ont été produites en grand nombre à Pétra. Cette production s’est inspirée et a suivi le développement général de cette catégorie de luminaire, mais elle se caractérise aussi par une évolution et une chronologie spéciﬁques. Une vision de ce développement local ne peut s’entrevoir que si les différents types, les scènes de médaillons et les variations morphologiques (par ex., les bords) peuvent être datées selon des critères indépendants des autres régions de production, évitant de réduire les lampes en question à de simples copies. On essaiera ci-dessous de déﬁnir les phases de ce développement local sur la base des données stratigraphiques disponibles. Celles-ci proviennent essentiellement de la fouille Suisse-Liechtenstein à az-Zantur, 1998-2003, où plus de 3000 fragments de lampes ont été recueillis, datant de la fin du 2e s. av. J.-C. au début du 5e s. ap. J.-C., pour une bonne partie en position stratigraphique bien établie (n. 1).

The lamps from Petra in the 2nd and 1st century BC (pl. 1)

For a proper assessment of the occurrence of the Roman lamp at Petra, it may be useful to take first a glance at the preceding production of lamps at Petra.

In the 2nd and 1st century BC the local lamps were modelled by hand. First, the potter formed the general outline of the upper and the lower part separately, then put them together and incised or applied the decoration. Due to their crude appearance these hand-modelled lamps have been suspected to be test pieces or the work of apprentices, but such assumptions are certainly inaccurate. The hand-modelled lamps were simply the only ones produced at Petra during that time. This is somewhat surprising as the moulding technique was already established for more than 200 years in the less peripheral regions of the Near East.

The output clearly imitates these Hellenistic mould-made lamps of the Eastern Mediterranean, especially Broner’s types XVIII and XIX, also known as « lampes grises à pousser en s » and « Ephesus-lamps ». At the end of the 1st century BC the first inﬂuences of the Roman discus-lamps become manifest. In many cases it can not be decided what exact model the lamp-maker had in mind when he created the lamp, and the models served merely as a source of inspiration. Most of the lamps were fired to a black or grey colour as it is the case with their

1. For the full corpus see: GRAWEHR, 2006.
mould-made counterparts from the Eastern Mediterranean centres. Only towards the end of the 1st century does this situation change, when also brighter reddish-brown colours begin to appear. The lamps are never slipped.

To date, such lamps have been published from several sites outside Petra: from Nessana, Oboda and Khirbet edh-Dharib, however it is impossible to assess if these are exports from the Nabataean capital or if a local production existed elsewhere in the region.

The Roman lamps in the Near East

At a certain date, a little before the turn of the era, a potter at Petra pressed clay for the first time into a mould to produce a lamp. The lamp he produced was a Roman discus-lamp.

A local production of Roman lamps is not exceptional. After the invention of the discus-lamp in Italy, these lamps were exported in large numbers and were soon produced locally in different regions of the Roman World as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean, as for example in the Roman provinces of Cyprus, Syria and Egypt.

In Cyprus it is assumed, that the local production derived from imported Italic lamps and commenced in the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD. On the Phoenician coast, several workshops seem to have been active, starting simultaneously with the Cypriote production and using a distinctive yellowish clay. The same chronology holds true for Egypt.

However, in the nominally independent Herodian kingdom, no comparable production of Roman lamps was set up. Very few Roman lamps have been reported from the inland and these are sometimes related to Roman military sites and always considered as imports. It is obvious that the Roman lamps were not well accepted in Palestine. Only after the First Jewish Revolt a small-scale local production of Roman lamps was set up by the Legio X Fretensis at Jerusalem.

This is the background against which the production of Roman lamps in Petra has to be seen.

3. COLT, 1962, p. 62, pl. 28; 1, 2, 4.
5. VILLENEUVE, 1990, pp. 374-375, pl. 8: 4, lower row left; cf. Durand in this volume.
The local production of Roman lamps at Petra

In the following I would like to stress the point that the Roman lamps from Petra are local products and that the local production follows its own rules with its own distinctive features. Several observations indicate that the Roman lamps from Petra were indeed local products and not imports: some bear Nabataean inscriptions, the clay looks like the local clay, frequently containing small white grits, and finally they are so frequent, that it seems impossible for all of them to be imports.

Closed and well dated contexts are still not abundant at Petra. Regarding the chronology of each local type and discus-scene, we are often left to the slippery field of imagination and hypothesis. Thus the following outline should be only regarded as one out of several possible models for the local development.

The beginning of the production (pl. 1, nos 2-3; pl. 2, nos 1-4)

Let us turn our attention to the potter who first produced Roman lamps at Petra.

Who was this potter? Where did he learn the technique? Where did he get his moulds from?

Of course no one will ever be able to answer any of these questions with certainty, but to get an idea, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the earliest mould-made lamps attested at Petra.

Sixty years ago, the Horsfields published two lamps from Petra, bearing the mark of the potter Faustus. This Faustus is known from many other lamps hailing up mainly from Cyprus, the Levant or Egypt. Most of them are made in local clays and therefore Faustus was either an itinerant lamp-maker or provided archetypes or moulds for local workshops – even still these archetypes were only lamps produced by Faustus, which local potters copied by surmoulage. At Petra not only moulds or archetypes must have been introduced, but also the know-how in order to use them. Thus it is tempting to imagine that Faustus was indeed an itinerant lamp-maker who set up his workshop at Petra, but it will be difficult to prove such a case. At Petra in the initial stages, the stock of archetypes and moulds was rather limited as each discus-scene is attested several times. Because of the paucity of the different designs, the lamps were copied by surmoulage and often it seems that the same moulds were used over and over again, until the relief of the lamps became completely blurred and indistinctive (pl. nos 1, 2-3). These frequently attested lamps are considered here to form the earliest stage of the production of Roman lamps at Petra. It may be suggested that more than one workshop existed. All the lamps are of the type Loebschcke Ia and should be dated to around 20 BC-20 AD. The following motifs occur:

12. HORSFIELD, 1942 cautiously marked all the Roman lamps from Petra as «import (?)». HAMMOND, 1973b, p. 90, stated that quasi all Roman lamps from Petra should be considered as imports. The attitude changed with ROSENDHAL, SIVAN, 1978, p. 97, who considered these lamps as being of Nabataean manufacture, as did BAILEY, 1988, p. 276. Some Roman lamps of «workshop I» (see below) were tested and found to be made of local clay: AMR, 1987, p. 159.

13. HORSFIELD, 1942, pp. 195-196, nos. 420-421, pl. 44. Another lamp of this potter is known from Petra: BAILEY, 1988, p. 277, Q 2284, pl. 57.


15. Mainly because of the attested variety of clays and techniques, there might have been one workshop who possessed good quality archetypes and moulds and which was presumably working with plaster moulds. Another workshop might have been producing cheaper lamps of less careful manufacture, working by surmoulage and with clay moulds. The location of the latter workshop in the potter’s quarter at Zurabeh might be suggested by the fact that only lamps with a blurred design were found on the site, cf. ZAYADINE, 1982. In this case it would be probable that the workshop was not specialized in lamps. None of these workshops can be related in any way to the later «workshop I», which will be discussed below.
1. A prancing centaur to the right, playing the lyre, is to date attested on twelve lamps from Petra. Where nozzle and rim are preserved, the lamp can always be classified as Loeschcke Ia, shoulder Ila. Some of the lamps stem from fresh moulds, while others are clearly surmoulage copies as it can be deduced from their smaller size and the blurred design. All fragments of this type from ez-Zantur originate from the fill underneath the building of Phase III-1 on EZ I, built around 10 BC-10 AD (pl. nos 1, 2; 2, no 1).

The same motif occurs on Augusteum lamps mainly on the western coast of Asia Minor. Only one example is known from Palestine — it is said to be from Tubas, 15km east of Samaria. Two examples from Delos bear the mark of Faustus. 19

2. Two μαγείρικαι slaughtering an animal in the size of a pig, goat or sheep, are attested seven or eight times at Petra. 20 Of these lamps, one was found in layers that contained coins of Aretas IV (18-40 AD). On some of the lamps the design is crisp, while on other copies, produced presumably by surmoulage, it is rather faded. Three of the lamps are marked FAVSTI (pl.2, no 2).

A similar discus-scene is known from a series of lamps from Syracusa 21 of a hybrid type between Loeschcke's type Ia and « Vogelkopflampen », dated to around 30-10 BC, or more cautiously to 30 BC-30 AD. Exact parallels for the Petraean examples are known from Cyprus and Beirut. 22 One of them is signed with Faustus' mark.

3. A four petalled leaf-bud with round knob-like rosettes between the petals is attested twice as a discus-scene at Petra.23 One of them with a crisp design was found in the fill underneath the mansion on EZ IV, containing pottery and coins of the second quarter of the 1st century AD, the other one is presumably a residual find from a later context. Judging by the size and the faded relief it is a surmoulage copy of a second or even later generation (pl.no 2, 3).

I can not produce any direct parallels for the motif, but identical petals as well as identical rosettes appear on lamps from Egypt, signed with the mark of Faustus. 24

3bis. (not illustrated) A woman grasping a large ram by its horns is attested once at Petra.25 One parallel in the British Museum bears the potter's mark of Faustus. 26

4. A συμπλεγμα-version with the man raising the woman's right leg is attested six times at Petra on lamps of Loeschcke's type Ia. Some of them are made in fresh moulds; others are debased copies of a second and third generation. The motif recurs in a later stage of the production as well as on lamps of the 3rd century AD. At ez-Zantur (EZ IV) two of the fragments come from the fill, on which the mansion was built, presumably in the 2nd quarter of the 1st century AD (pl. 1, no 3; pl. 2, no 4).

The motif is common in the Roman World. Examples of Loeschcke's type Ia are known mainly from 27

18. HAYES, 1980, p. 90, no 361, pl. 44.
20. HORSFIELD, 1942, pp. 195-196, nos. 421, 428, pl. 44-45; ZAYADINE, 1982, p. 392, no 134, pl. 142; BAILEY, 1988, pp. 276-278, Q 2284, pl. 57; SARLEY, 1988, pp. 24-25, C3a 1-2; KHAIRY, 1990, p. 13, no 21, fig. 9, pl. 5. An unsigned lamp in the Metropolitan Museum in New York no 52.72 is said to be from Transjordan.
21. In addition to the lamps listed in BAILEY, 1988, p. 46, ad Q 1859, see MLASOS W , 1993, pp. 228-229, no. 215.
26. BAILEY, 1988, p. 234, Q 1892.
Italy, from where they seem to have found their way to the northern and western provinces. In the East one early import is reported from Athens, another example is in the National Museum at Damascus, but otherwise the motif is absent on Loeschcke Ia lamps from Cyprus, the Levant or Egypt. Unlike the previously discussed discus-scenes it lacks any connection to the production of Faustus and might instead have been introduced into Petra through an import, presumably from Italy, arriving at Petra in the early 1st century AD.

The following picture emerges: in the earliest stage, imported lamps, moulds or archetypes were copied over and over again. As a date for the production, the latest 1st century BC to the early 1st century AD (10 BC-20 AD) seems probable. Because all the motifs were imported, they do not reveal much about Nabataean culture. Certainly they were not specifically designed for the Nabataean market and it is even doubtful if a selection from the common stock of motifs was made to fit the local background.

A rare exception can be seen on pl. 1, no 4. In this case an inventive Nabataean potter created his own discus-scene. It is hard to decide whether the lamp is mould-made or hand-modelled. Its findspot is in a sounding beneath the building of the earliest 1st century AD on EZ I (10 BC-10 AD). This clearly shows that it belongs to the earliest stage of Roman lamps at Petra. The motif is never found on any other Roman lamp, whereas it is indisputable that it was deeply rooted in the Nabataean society.

The later development of the production (pl. 1, no 5; pl. 2, nos 5-20; pl. 3, nos 21-23)

After this initial stage, the Petraean products start to display a far greater variety of discus-scenes. Moreover the single discus-scenes are now attested in fewer examples and almost in every case a fairly fresh mould was used. In the meantime, it looks as if the potters had established connections which provided them continuously with a fresh stock of moulds or archetypes. Again it might well be that these archetypes were in fact imports that could be copied by surmulage. Only in rare cases do the motifs seem to have been designed by a creative Nabataean craftsman.

It is proposed here, that this was the second stage of the production of Roman lamps at Petra, which started around 20 AD and endured far into the second half of the 1st century AD, as illustrated by the following discus-scenes:

5. A variant of two cornucopia is attested twice at Petra; one from a fresh mould, the other one with a blurred relief being probably a surmulage copy. Although the nozzle is not preserved in the first example and very misshapen in the second, it may be assumed that the type would be Loeschcke Ia, as this is the common form for lamps with the attested shoulder profile. None of the Petraean examples stem from a dated context (pl. 2, no 5).

The motif is very common for lamps from all over the Roman World and since Augustean times.

6. A crouching lion is attested twice as a lamp-motif at Petra. In one example the relief is crisp, in the other case it is rather blurred. None of them was found in a regular excavation.

30. PERLZWEIG, 1961, p. 75, no. 41, pl. 2.
32. DENTZER, 1982; SCHMID, 2001, pp. 84-86.
33. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 197, no. 436, pl. 46.
34. ZAYADINE, 1982, p. 392, no. 129, pl. 142.
36. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 196, no. 427, pl. 45.
37. ROSENTHAL, SIVAN, 1978, p. 98, no. 397; the lamp might be hand-modelled.
Outside Petra the motif is not well attested, I know of only one example in Damascus. Therefore it might be the invention of a Nabataean potter (pl. 2, no 6).

7. A girl or maenad, playing the lyre, is attested in three cases at Petra. A fourth example was acquired in 1939 in Jerusalem and might be a Nabataean product as well. The motif occurs always on an early shape of Loeschcke's type Ia and might have been introduced at Petra via an import from Italy, as this is the only place where the motif is otherwise attested (pl. 2, no 7).

8. A man approaching a woman from behind is seen on one lamp from Petra of rather crude manufacture. By the published illustration it is not possible to decide whether the lamp is hand-modelled or mould-made. The motif is unique (pl. 2, no 8).

9. The discus-scene shows a biga to the right. The body of the chariot is depicted as a triangle, the charioteer has both arms lowered and stretched forwards. Four attestations are known from Petra, none from a dated context. They are most probably all of Loeschcke Ia and were all made in a relatively fresh mould. Other examples were found at Oboda (pl. 2, no 9).

The motif is widespread all over the Roman World and various attempts have been made to create a typology for the scene. As comparison to the Petraean examples only early lamps with the abovementioned characteristics of the image are considered. Two examples with a slightly different shoulder profile are reported from central and northern Italy, in the East a closely related fragment stems from Cyprus, another one has no secure provenience.

10. Eros standing beside a lion, legs crossed and caressing or harnessing the beast, is attested once as a disk motif in Petra. The lamp bears a T-shaped mark and lacks a stratigraphical context (pl. 2, no 10). All the other known examples of Loeschcke Ia-lamps that bear the same scene originate from Cyprus, besides one, possibly two, that were found at Milan.

11. Harpokrates sitting on a lion-skin under a palm-tree is attested once at Petra. The lamp bears a potter's mark in the shape of a 'R' and was not retrieved in a regular excavation, it was suspected to be an Italic import (pl. 2, no II).

On lamps of Loeschcke Ia the motif is attested mainly from Cyprus and Egypt, less frequently in the

38. ZOUHDI, 1974, p. 179.
40. ROSENTHAL, SIVAN, 1978, p. 23, no. 57 ef. motif no. 12.
41. HERES, 1972b, p. 90, pl. 63 with a further reference.
42. HAMMOND, 1973a, p. 37, no. 152 illustration on p. 49.
43. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 196, no. 422, pl. 45; BAILEY, 1988, p. 277, Q 2283, pl. 57; SARLEY, 1988, p. 26, C3a 12; GRAWEHR, 2006, p. 287, no. 77.
44. The attested shoulder profile is known at Petra only in connection with the nozzle of Loeschcke Ia.
49. ROSENTHAL, SIVAN, 1978, p. 35, no. 128.
50. BAILEY, 1988, p. 277, Q 2282, pl. 57.
51. See BAILEY, 1988, p. 14, ad Q 2282.
52. SAPELLI, 1979, p. 54, no. 91, pl. 9; MLASOWSKY, 1993, pp. 112-113, no. 115: Mlasowsky states that this lamp originates from Petra, probably based on comparison to the Petraean example published by Bailey. In fact, such an assumption is highly improbable, as the lamp was part of the Kestner Collection, formed before Kestner's death in 1853. Discovered only in 1812, Petra had still not seen many visitors at the time of Kestner's death. In addition, the design of the motif seems closer to the example from Milan.
54. Pistoia: PELLEGRINI, 1904, p. 250, fig. 10, 5; St. Jean le Vieux (Aquitanian): COUNPRY, 1967, p. 371, fig. 68; Lattera: ARNAL et al., 1974, p. 165, fig. 73F; Tarragona: BERNAL, 1993, p. 150, no. 103; Herrera de Pisuerga: MORILLO CERDÁN, 1999, p. 584, no. 28, fig. 119; Sidi Khrebish: BAILEY, 1985, p. 39, fig. 5; probably Corfu:
West, where it might have been produced in Italy, Southern France and Northern Spain.55

12. A locust sitting on a vine is attested once from Petra, another example presumably from Nabataea was acquired in 1939 in Jerusalem.52 Both lamps are of Loeschcke type Ia. The scene remains without parallels elsewhere. As with the preceding motif it is probable that the motif was copied from an import of undetected origin (pl. 2, no 12).

13. A single gladiator, seen from the front, both arms lowered with shield and sword, is known once from Petra, once from Oboda on lamps of type Loeschcke Ia, rim-type II.59 The example from Petra was found in a fill underneath the mansion on EZ IV (25-50 AD). The same scene is attested on lamps in the Schloessinger collection as well as from Cyprus and Caesarea (pl. 2, no 13).60

14. A single gladiator, seen from the front, both arms lowered with a sword and the shield probably lying in front of him, is attested on one fragment from Petra.60 Parallels for the same scene are attested at Köln, Priene and in North Africa (pl. 2, no 14).61

15. A pair of fighting gladiators is attested six times at Petra.62 I know of only one parallel for the motif in the Schloessinger collection (pl. 2, no 15).63

16. A scallop shell with seven lobes is represented on a lamp of Loeschcke type IV.64 It was bought at Petra and bears the Nabataean inscription $\text{shlm zydwmy}$.65 Two bases with the same inscription were published from Petra.66 Although the scallop shell is frequently represented on lamps, no exact parallel has been noted from the Roman world. Therefore the design owes its inventiveness of a Nabataean potter, presumably by the name Zydwy (pl. 2, no 16).

17. A scallop shell with eleven lobes is once attested on a lamp of Loeschcke type Ia.67 No exact parallels are known from the Roman world, although the motif is common in general (pl. 2, no 17).

18. A dove is attested once as a discus-motif at Petra.68 The lamp is of Loeschcke type IV and lacks a stratigraphical context. The motif occurs later again on the lamps of « workshop I » (see below). Similar lamps of different types have been reported from several places in the Roman World (pl. 2, no 18).69

19. Young Dionysos riding a she-panther is attested on two lamps excavated at Petra, of which one may be dated by its context.70 The other lamp may appear to be a surmoulage copy (pl. 2, no 19).

The scene is very rare. Beside the one example from Petra and obviously of local manufacture, there is only one other lamp from Marina el-Alamein and one in the Damaskus Museum.71 Both are of Loeschcke's type Ib, as presumably was the archetype of the Petra example as well.

BAILEY, 1980, p. 133, Q 769, pl. 2.


56. ROSENTHAL, SIVAN, 1978, p. 25, no. 71 cf. below motif no. 7.


59. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 197, no. 432, pl. 46.

60. FREMERSDORF, 1942, p. 243, pl. 27, 9; ZAHN, 1904, pp. 453-454, no. 189, fig. 561; BUSSIÈRE, 2000, p. 250, no. 32, pl. 16.

61. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 197, no. 433, pl. 46; ZAYADINE, 1974, p. 150, nos. 15, 15a, pl. 63; SARLEY, 1988, p. 21, C1a 1-3.


63. BAILEY, 1988, p. 278, Q 2288, pl. 57.

64. BAILEY, 1988, p. 119, fig. 153; the inscription was read by T. Mitchell as shlm shynw, although the reading as shlm (zydwmy) seems preferable, cf. STARCKY, 1966, col. 984.

65. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 195, nos. 413-414, pl. 44; the inscription was read by M.-R. Savignac as shlm syzwmy, although the reading as shlm zydwmy seems preferable, cf. STARCKY, 1966, col. 984.


67. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 196, no. 423, pl. 45.

68. BAILEY, 1980, p. 82, ad Q 951, with further parallels.

69. ZAYADINE, 1982, p. 392, no. 153, fig. 15, pl. 142, 2; SARLEY, 1988, p. 27, C3a 13 from Parr's trench IX.

70. DASZEWSKY, 1994; ZOUHDI, 1974, p. 177.

71. KÖNIGSWEG, p. 243, no. 240.
20. A prancing lion to the right, his right hind leg tied to the ground, his face turned towards the spectator, is depicted on one lamp from Petra (pl. 2, no 20). The lamp is of Loeschcke type Ib and it possesses a heavily rimmed shoulder. Exact parallels regarding the motif and the rim-type are known from Vindonissa and Vidy. The motif in general is common and often attested on lamps of this type all over the Roman Empire.

21. A cymbalist is known from only one lamp at Petra. The motif is not known otherwise. The masterly rendering of the figure however suggests rather an undetected source of inspiration for the Petraean lamp, than an invention of the motif by a local lamp-maker, for whom such artistic exploits are not yet attested (pl. 3, no 21).

22. A horseman, galloping in full career to the left is attested in twice undated contexts at Petra (pl. 3, 22). The motif is known in different versions on lamps of Loeschcke Ib. The rider bearing a shield in front of him occurs with his leg stretched forwards or backwards as it is the case in the Petraean example as well as with one from Constantine/Algeria and one from Pozzuoli. The Petraean example might be a surmoulage of an import from Italy.

23. A standing Heracles with club, cup and lion-skin is attested twice on lamps of Loeschcke Ib (rim-type IIla). One was found at ca-Zantur, in a destruction layer of around 80 AD. The motif is not attested elsewhere on a Roman lamp (pl. 1, no 5; pl. 3, no 23).

A « New Year Lamp » and the motif of a « male on a winged horse » were published from Petra as well, but they seem to be rather imports than local products. Finally, several more discus-scenes are published from Petra, but the given illustrations do not allow an exact identification of the scene. They were described as: Eros as an archer, twice a symplegma, a standing figure, probably being Tyche, an elephant, a reclining figure, two nude boxers, twice gladiators, and three galloping horses to the left.

The few stratigraphical contexts available suggest a production between 20 and ca. 70 AD. Again most of the discus-scenes are far from genuine Nabataean creations, but one may speculate if not some of them were deliberately chosen to fit the local taste: Cornucopia are the most common motif on the reverse of Nabataean coins from Aretas IV to Rabb I and are depicted in sculpture as well. Lions and Erotes are frequently depicted in Nabataean sculpture, the musician might be seen in relation to their presence in Nabataean inscriptions, terracotta

72. LEIBUNDGUT, 1977, p. 182, motif 308, pl. 49.
73. PICARD, REINACH, 1912, p. 296, no. 13, pl. 4, 13; LOESCHCIE, 1919, p. 401, nos. 489-491; COUPRY, 1959, pp. 399-400, fig. 34, 2; DE NEAUVE, 1969, p. 116, no. 340, pl. 39; GUALANDI GENITO, 1977, p. 100, no. 186, pl. 29; FARKA, 1977, p. 267, no. 838; BAILEY, 1985, p. 36, C 167, fig. 18, pl. 8; GOERTHE-POLASCHKE, 1985, p. 256, motif 185; FI FILIPPO BAILESTRAZZI, 1988, II p. 120, motif III.a.1.1. no. 230; BERNAL, 1993, pp. 148-149; MORILLO CERDÁ, 1999, p. 228, motif 110; VINE, HARELJUS, 2000, type 6A card no. 1905.
74. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 197, no. 431, pl. 46.
75. KIRKBRIDE, 1960, p. 119, pl. 8 upper row, middle; SARLEY, 1988, p. 27, C 3a 15.
77. BAILEY, 1980, p. 140, Q 789, pl. 4, said to be from Pozzuoli; BUSSIÈRE, 2000, p. 250, no. 41, pl. 17.
80. HAMMOND, 1973a, p. 37, no. 150, illustration on p. 49; HAMMOND, 1973a, p. 37, no. 149 illustration on p. 49; SARLEY, 1988, pp. 21, 24, 27; HORSFIELD, 1942, pp. 150-151, no. 186, pl. 25; for the motif at Petra, cf. the following note.
82. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 204, no. 478, pl. 99; PARR 1957, p. 9, pl. 5; MCKENZIE, 1990, pp. 136-137, 152; ROCHE, 2001, p. 354, no. 17.
figurines as well as to the finds of cymbala, produced by Nabataean bronze workers.83

Only in a few cases is the motif a genuine Nabataean creation: the symplegma no. 8 is unique and, together with two scallop shells is of a design that is not attested anywhere else. One of them bears the mark of a Nabataean craftsman. The Herakles motif (pl. 1, no 5; pl. 3, no 23) is genuine as well; the posture depicted on the lamp bears a striking resemblance to the two identical marble statues found in the theatre of Petra.84 It has been suggested that they were made in the second century. If the discus-scene on the lamp, found in a layer of around 80 AD, was in fact inspired by the statuary type, their dating should be reconsidered.85

The adoption of another Roman lamp-type, the Roman Round Lamp86 stands at the end of this production, and will be the starting point for the fascinating future development of local lamps in the second and third century.

**Defining a workshop: the specific features of «workshop I» (pl. 1, nos 6–8; pl. 3, nos 24–36)**

Finally there is a series of Roman lamps from Petra defined by several common distinctive features and should thus be regarded as the output of a separate workshop active in the city.87

More than 30 lamps from this workshop are known. Three of them bear a single stroke or an «I»-shaped mark on the base, therefore I suggest dubbing it «workshop I» 88 The depiction of the volutes on the nozzle is most characteristic. Normally the volutes of Roman lamps are separated from the flat area between them by a single step or groove. In this case, the output of this workshop always bears two grooves on the highest edge of the volute, which follows and accentuates it. This is a feature which does not occur on any other production of Roman lamps and makes it easy to recognize the output of «workshop I». A further characteristic is the shallow slit situated in the flat area between the volutes, reminiscent of an air-or adjustment-hole for the wick. All the lamps from this workshop are made in plaster moulds and many of them were made of a distinctive fabric containing many small quartz grits, as if the clay was tempered with sand. To date, the following discus-scenes are attested on lamps made in this workshop:

24. The same symplegma as above no. 4 was redrawn by the local craftsmen (pl. 1, no 6; pl. 3, no 24). On lamps of «workshop I» it is attested six times at Petra.89 One of them bears the mark «I» and was found in a layer with coins of Aretas IV (8 BC–18 AD).

25. A scallop shell is attested at least eleven times at Petra90 (pl. no 3, 25), one of them marked with an «I»

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84. HAMMOND, 1965, pp. 69-70, pl. 40-41.

85. Hammond dated a renovation of the stage (phase 1b) to 40-53/63 AD on the basis of historical considerations. It would fit the date of the lamp to consider the statuary as part of this refurbishing.

86. GRAWEHR, 2006, pp. 309-314, type I.

87. For the distinction of further workshops, see above note 16.

88. Further lamps of different types but with the same mark are published from Petra: KHAIRY, 1990, pp. 14-15, nos. 23, 25-26, fig. 11-12, pl. 6; GRAWEHR, 2006, p. 292, no. 111.

89. KÖNIGSWEG, p. 242, no. 236; SARLEY, 1988, p. 25, C3a 3, 7; BARRETT, 1998, p. 281, no. 94P-37, fig. 6.50; ZANONI, 1993, p. 53, fig. 109 – GRAWEHR, 2006, p. 287, no. 70; KHAIRY, 1990, p. 13, no. 20, fig. 9, pl. 5 with context.

on the base. The discus-motif is common all over the Roman World, but special attention deserves a fragment with the same motif and an identical rim-type from Ostia.91 One example from Petra was found with the material belonging to building phase Ia of the theatre (4 BC-27 AD), another stems from tomb no. 1 underneath the North Ridge church, which was presumably closed in the mid-1st century AD.92

26. A lamp with lunula-handle is depicted on two lamps from Petra (pl. 3, no 26).93 The lamps possess a nozzle-channel and cannot be dated by their stratigraphical context. The motif is known on lamps of type Loescheke la from Italy, North Africa and the Northwestern Provinces.94

27. A rosette with six heart-shaped petals or twelve lobes is attested four times at Petra (pl. 3, no 27).95 One example originates from tomb no. 1 underneath the North Ridge Church, that may have been closed in the mid-1st century AD.96 Others are associated with coins of Aretas IV (18-40 AD) and Rabbel II (70-106 AD). The motif is common all over the Roman Empire, although it is suggested here, that a new archetypal was designed by the Nabataean maker.

28. Europa riding the bull is attested thrice at Petra (pl. 3, 28).97 The motif is common all over the Roman World,98 but was clearly redrawn as it may be seen in the horizontal stroking of the tail of the garment, which is not met elsewhere.

29. Eros in shackles is known in several examples from Petra (pl. 3, no 29)99 as well as from Khirbet edh-Dharir.100 The motif is unique. One of the Petraean examples was found with coins of 18-40 AD.

30. Pegasus to the left, is attested four times at Petra on lamps of Loeschcke type IV and with two different rim-types (pl. 1, no 7; pl. 3, no 30).101 On ez-Zantur, one of the fragments comes from a layer containing Nabataean fine ware of phase 3a (20-70/80 AD), another is a residual find in a later context. One example in London bears the potter's mark «I». Outside Petra, the motif is found on various lamps – one example from Cyprus is close in design and has an identical rim.102 A further lamp in Madrid is also similar with a rim-type like the Nabataean lamp in London.103 In the Nabataean version the rendering of the baseline on which the Pegasus stands is distinctive and marks it as a local product. A potential source of inspiration may be seen in an import (?) with the same subject found at Petra.104

31. A naked man standing with outstretched arms, seen from behind, wearing a cloak over his left arm and carrying a vase in his right (pl. 3, no 31); attested twice at Petra on lamps of Loeschcke type Ia.105 The only known parallel is a lamp of Loeschcke type IV from Smyrna, which has an identical rim-type.106

91. POHL, ZEVI, 1970, p. 166, no. 126, fig. 80.
92. BIKAI, PERRY, 2001, p. 65.
95. GRAWEHR, 2006, p. 288, no. 82; BARRETT, 2005, p. 82, fig. 4.13.
96. BIKAI, PERRY, 2001, p. 65.
98. LEIBUNDBUGT, 1977, p. 136, motif 22, pl. 25; BUSSIÈRE, 2000, p. 152, motif 1.a.1 (8), both with further references.
100. See Durand in this volume.
101. Simple rim-type (Loeschcke Ia): BAILEY, 1988, p. 278, Q 2287, pl. 57 for the mark see ibidem p. 105, fig. 136; elaborated rim-type: DALMAN, 1912, p. 27, fig. 15a; GRAWEHR, 2006, p. 289, nos. 90-91.
103. ALVAREZ-OSSORIO, 1942, p. 282, no. 3, fig. 4: 3, with further examples of the motif noted.
104. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 152, no. 151, pl. 20.
105. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 196, no. 425, pl. 45. A second fragment is mentioned.
106. BRANTS, 1913, p. 20, no. 269, pl. 3.
32. A slender double-cornucopia is attested four times at Petra (pl. 1, no 8; pl. 3, no 32). One was found in a destruction layer of around 80 AD. Each of the three lamps seems to stem from a slightly different archetype. Although cornucopia are common motifs in the Roman World, the attested design is a Nabataean invention.

33. A wreath of ivy is attested five times as a discus-motif at Petra (pl. 3, no 33). The subject is known from other lamps outside Petra, but the rendering is unique.

34. A man standing to the right, holding a garment or fishing-net in his hands, is depicted on four lamps of Loeschcke's type Ia, rim-type Vla, from Petra (pl. 3, no 34). In the background of the scene is a boat or large bowl on a wavy ground. The scene may depict a fisherman casting his net out. It is a genuine Nabataean invention, although it might have been inspired by similar representations.

35. A dove, similar to no. 18 above, is depicted on one lamp of « workshop I » (pl. 3, no 35). The lamp is of Loeschcke type Ia, rim-type Vla.

36. A small fragment from Petra can be reconstructed as the scene of an entertainer crouching on the floor, next to him an animal leaping up a ladder (pl. 3, no 36). The motif is well-known in the Roman World, but remarkably the lamp from Petra displays a unique variant. Here the animal is much closer to the man, than in the other attestations of the subject and the ladder is shorter. Being a locally redrawn scene, it fits well into the production of this workshop, although without a preserved nozzle, this cannot be proven.

Although some of the scenes are copied from Roman lamps produced earlier at Petra (cf. scenes 4/24, 5/32, 18/35) or imported from elsewhere (25-28, 30, 31, 36), the craftsmen of this workshop always revrew the scene for his own new archetype, from which he then took his plaster moulds. He never employed the surmoulage technique. His style can be described as graphical. The motifs are not rich in overlappings and often the relief is outlined rather than plastically and sensitively modelled. Nevertheless the lamp-maker succeeded in creating clear and powerful images.

All the scenes present in the repertoire of this workshop were either invented or redrawn by the local craftsmen. In some cases the reason for the choice of motifs might be their decorative value, as with the scallop shell (25), the rosette (27) or the ivy wreath (33). In other cases it might have been a curious or funny image from daily life that caught the lamp-maker’s attention, as in the case of the symplegma (24), the lamp (26), the dove (35) or the entertainer (36). Other motifs seem to have a more symbolic meaning or required a local background for their interpretation — a background we lack today: the frequent occurrence of the cornucopia (32) on Nabataean coins and sculpture has already been mentioned. The Pegasos (30) seems to fit the frequent depictions of winged animals in Nabataean art. Europa riding the bull (28) recurs on the facade of the temple at Khirbet edh-Dharih. In all three cases the Nabataean interpretation of the motif is not evident. Even more difficulties are encountered in the interpretation of other unique scenes on the lamps, as it is the case with the Eros in shackles (29), the standing figure (31) or the fisherman (34).

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107. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 197, no. 435, pl. 46; SARLEY, 1988, p. 22, C1bi 1; GRAWEHR, 2006, p. 287, nos. 73-74.
108. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 122, no. 46, pl. 11; SARLEY, 1988, p. 22, C1bii 2; KHAIRY, 1990, p. 17, no. 32, fig. 15, pl. 8; GRAWEHR, 2006, p. 287, nos. 75-76.
110. Cf. BAILEY, 1988, p. 46, ad Q 1715; another source of inspiration might be a sacrificial scene like BAILEY, 1988, pp. 47-48, ad Q 2386.
111. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 123, no. 48, pl. 11.
112. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 197, no. 434, pl. 46.
114. Admittedly the winged animals are usually lions. Cf. PARR, 1957, p. 9, pl. 5; HAMMOND, 1977. A local meaning of Pegasus might be underlined by the occurrence of a lamp with this scene in a tomb, cf. HORSFIELD, 1942, p. 152, no. 151.
As the occurrence of such lamps in stratified contexts suggest, the workshop was set up around 25 AD. It is remarkable to note how little the shape of the lamps changed in the following decades. Most of the lamps are invariably of Loeschcke type Ia, even though some of them were most probably made in the second half of the 1st century AD. Some of the lamps are of a late rim-type (Loeschcke Vla), usually occurring only with lamps of Loeschcke type IV. However at Petra, they are combined with a nozzle of Loeschcke’s type Ia; thus in order to deal with the output of this workshop, the traditional typology for the nozzles is no useful tool. The rim-type seems to be a little more indicative even if the almost never-changing design of the production is rather puzzling. « Workshop I » produced Roman lamps for a little longer than the other workshops at Petra – probably until ca. 80 AD, judging by the higher percentage of these lamps in the destruction of building 3 at EZ III of around 80 AD.

If we consider the sand-tempered clay and the use of plaster moulds as characteristic for the workshop, some other types of lamps can be classed alongside it, such as the so called Negev-lamps, the Omega-lamps, as well as some local imitations of other Roman lamp-types. A connection to the Negev-lamps becomes immediately apparent, if one compares the distinctive and very characteristic treatment of the volutes on both types. The design of the Negev-lamps remained unchanged during the whole span of their production starting around the turn of the era, and this was found to be characteristic for the production of Roman lamps by « workshop I ».

What stands against the assumption, that all the mentioned lamp-types were produced by one and the same workshop?

Thus, at Petra two very different lamp-types, the Negev-lamps, deriving from an Egyptian-Hellenistic tradition, as well as the Roman lamps were in fashion at the same time and were produced – if we follow my proposal – by the same workshop. When the production of Negev-lamps ceased at around 100 AD, « Workshop I » seems to have stopped its entire production. There are no signs of any continuity or evolution into the 2nd century AD. The output of this workshop has to be regarded as an erratic bleeck within the development of Nabataean minor arts, and it proved to be a dead end when the Romans occupied Petra in 106 AD.

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Plate 3 (scale=140% of 1/2)

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