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# MARINA EL-ALAMEIN

## SOME ANCIENT TERRACOTTA LAMPS FROM MARINA

Iwona Zych

*The commonplaceness of terracotta oil lamps in everyday life in Antiquity makes them an interesting object of study, whether as a reflection of individual tastes, fashionable trends or evidence of commercial trade patterns. Like the Wedgwoods or Rosenthals of another age, the oil lamps of Antiquity could have been transported over long distances as an exclusive product intended for sale or carried in people's luggage as a memento of home or of better times.*

*Polish archaeological excavations and conservation work carried out at the site since 1987 have brought to light some 70 more or less complete lamps and many more fragmentary examples. Another 70 or so whole or almost whole lamps were picked up during fieldwalking of the site or were found during rescue digs carried out by the Egyptian antiquities authorities (unstratified finds). Being acquainted closely with most of the material, Prof. W.A. Daszewski, who discovered the site and has been excavating it for the past sixteen years, believed it instructive to set up a project for the study of the entire collection. At his inspiration and with permission from the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt, I was able to proceed with the first part of the project, spending three weeks in March 2003 in the stores of the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, where all the material from Marina collected between 1990 and 1996 is kept.<sup>1)</sup> Altogether, I saw 35 lamps out of a total of 49 and was able to document them in drawing and photography in addition to describing macroscopically the fabric with a view to identifying imports wherever possible. Added to this set were 11 whole and fragmentary oil lamps from Egyptian excavations at Marina el-Alamein (registered in the Alexandria Museum collection), to which the Director of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, Dr. Ahmed Abd El Fattah, kindly drew my attention.<sup>2)</sup>*

*The following is a preliminary presentation and discussion of this group of lamps (reference numbers refer to Egyptian records), from which I have excluded the pieces excavated by the Polish mission, preferring instead to concentrate on material unpublished in any way whatsoever so far.*

1) To complete the project a similar study has to be conducted on the assemblage (about 50 pieces) kept in the stores at Tell Basta Zagazig, for which, hopefully, permission from the SCA will be forthcoming.

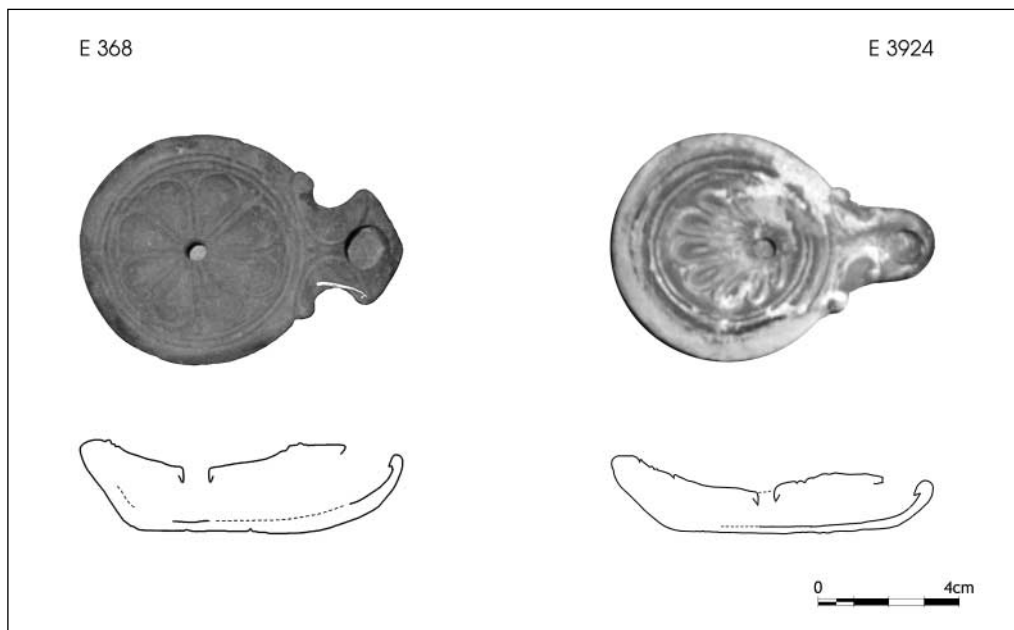
2) I would like to thank Dr. Ahmed Abd El Fattah, Director of the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, for his kind assistance, and Madame Nadya Taha of the Museum, attached as Inspector to the project. The study would have never proceeded without Prof. W. A. Daszewski, who suggested the subject and encouraged me to work on the material from Marina el-Alamein. Dr. Grzegorz Majcherek of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of Warsaw University has patiently helped in surmounting all the formal obstacles. The Centre also kindly provided for accommodations and overall logistical assistance during my stay in Alexandria. Messrs. Artur Błaszczuk and Mariusz Burdajewicz kindly rendered my pencil drawings in a more presentable form.

## EARLY ROMAN VOLUTED LAMPS

Possibly the oldest in this group are voluted lamps E 368 and E 3924 (*Fig. 1*), representing two different, late 1st century types. E 368 is Loeschcke Type IB with an air slit on the nozzle top and a raised base with a Romanesic inscription incised within it. The fabric is a reddish yellow with red semi-glossy slip. The rosette on the discus is a very common motif and it was apparently very popular in Marina as well. British Museum lamp Q 2656, said to come from Cyprus, but definitely of

Cnidian production, appears to be a very close parallel, although clearly not in the same series; it is dated to AD 70-80.<sup>3)</sup>

The other lamp, E 3924 (*Fig. 1*), represents another highly popular type identified as Loeschcke Type IV. Lamps of similar overall form and with the scallop-shell motif on the discus have been found in Cyprus and Carthage to mention but two examples.<sup>4)</sup> The fabric of our example is dark brown with a glossy red-brown slip. The lamp should be recognized as an import<sup>5)</sup> in



*Fig. 1. Early Roman voluted lamps*  
(Photo I. Zych; drawing A. Błaszczuk after I. Zych)

3) Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, iii. Roman Provincial Lamps (British Museum Publications: London 1988), 327, 333 and pl. 74, fig. 128.

4) Bailey iii, op. cit., Q 2435; also J. Bussière, *Lampes antiques d'Algérie*, *Monographies Instrumentum* 16 (Montagnac 2000), Type BIII1, 72-75 and fig. 6; J. Deneauve, *Lampes de Carthage* (CNRS: Paris 1974), Type V B, cat. nos. 536, 538, 539 (the latter two with handles).

5) Archaeological writers are slow to admit the generally unscientific procedures employed in distinguishing locally produced lamps from imports; hence I have refrained from anything stronger than a suggestion of foreign origin, based simply on macroscopic examination.

Marina, presumably from the mid-1st or second half of the 1st century AD.

Quite likely an import, possibly from Italy, is a mouldmade lamp of which only a fragment of the discus has been preserved (E 365). The fabric is a very fine light brown, covered with a glossy, dark red to brown and even black slip. The relief representation is that of Jupiter and eagle of a type frequently encountered in lamp catalogues.<sup>6)</sup> It is a typical full-face bust of the god with the eagle in front, standing on a thunderbolt, with wings spread and looking to left. This discus scene appears to have enjoyed its floruit starting from the mid-1st century and continuing into the first quarter of the 2nd century.

The later 1st and early 2nd centuries saw the rise of the big single and double-nozzled lamps with handle attachments. Such handles bearing moulded relief representations are present in our assemblage: a large acanthus leaf (E 367; fine grayish-brown fabric with a very dark gray slip) and a leaf (E 3950; reddish-yellow with peeling red slip). Close parallels to the first are known from, among others, Libya<sup>7)</sup> (second half of the 2nd century) and Benghazi where a Cnidian import was discovered in one of the tombs.<sup>8)</sup> Another triangular handle attachment (E 3950; reddish yellow fabric with peeling red slip) represents a typical leaf with concentric target pattern in relief

at the top. The study material from the Greco-Roman Museum includes one vulvate handle (fine light brown fabric with a matt self-slip), typically dated to the first half of the 1st century.<sup>9)</sup> Finally, there is an oversize nozzle (E 3948; reddish-brown fabric with light red slip) with tightly scrolled volutes in relief and a thyrsus or rather thunderbolt motif between the volute terminations<sup>10)</sup> and another nozzle of the same type and size (reddish-brown slip) but without the thunderbolt.

Lamp E 244, illustrated here as it may have looked with its three nozzles (*Fig. 2*), is an unusual example.<sup>11)</sup> The third nozzle was placed opposite the other two and on the same axis, where normally the handle of a *dilychnoi* lamp would have been positioned. The handle, a triangular attachment, rises on one side and is decorated with a simplified palmette (?) above a Dionysiac(?) face crowned with a wreath of ivy leaves. Otherwise, the lamp is undecorated except for a series of concentric mouldings on the deep discus and on the base, in resemblance of bronze lamps. The fabric of this exceptional lamp is a fine, compact gray-black with no visible inclusions, the slip a semi-matt black. The preserved dimensions are 13.8 cm in width and 16 cm in length; the height including the handle attachment reaches 9.15 cm.

6) See discussion of the motif in D.M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, ii. *Roman Lamps Made in Italy* (British Museum Publications: London 1980), 8-9; A. Leibundgut, *Die römischen Lampen in der Schweiz* (Bern 1977), cat. nos. 390, 392.

7) Bailey iii, op. cit., Q 1855.

8) *Ibid.*, Q 2688.

9) I.a. Bailey ii, op. cit., p. 213; Leibundgut, op. cit., cat. no. 268 from Vindonissa.

10) Cf. e.g. Bailey iii, op. cit., Q 2686, dated AD 80-120; Bussière, op. cit., type BII2 (=Loeschcke III).

11) I have noted so far only one parallel, but very close at that (fabric included), a lamp with three nozzles and broken off handle of 1st century AD date, said to come from Alexandria, cf. E.-M. Cahn-Klaiber, *Die antiken Tonlampen des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Tübingen* (Tübingen 1977), cat. no. 194, pp. 70, 179.

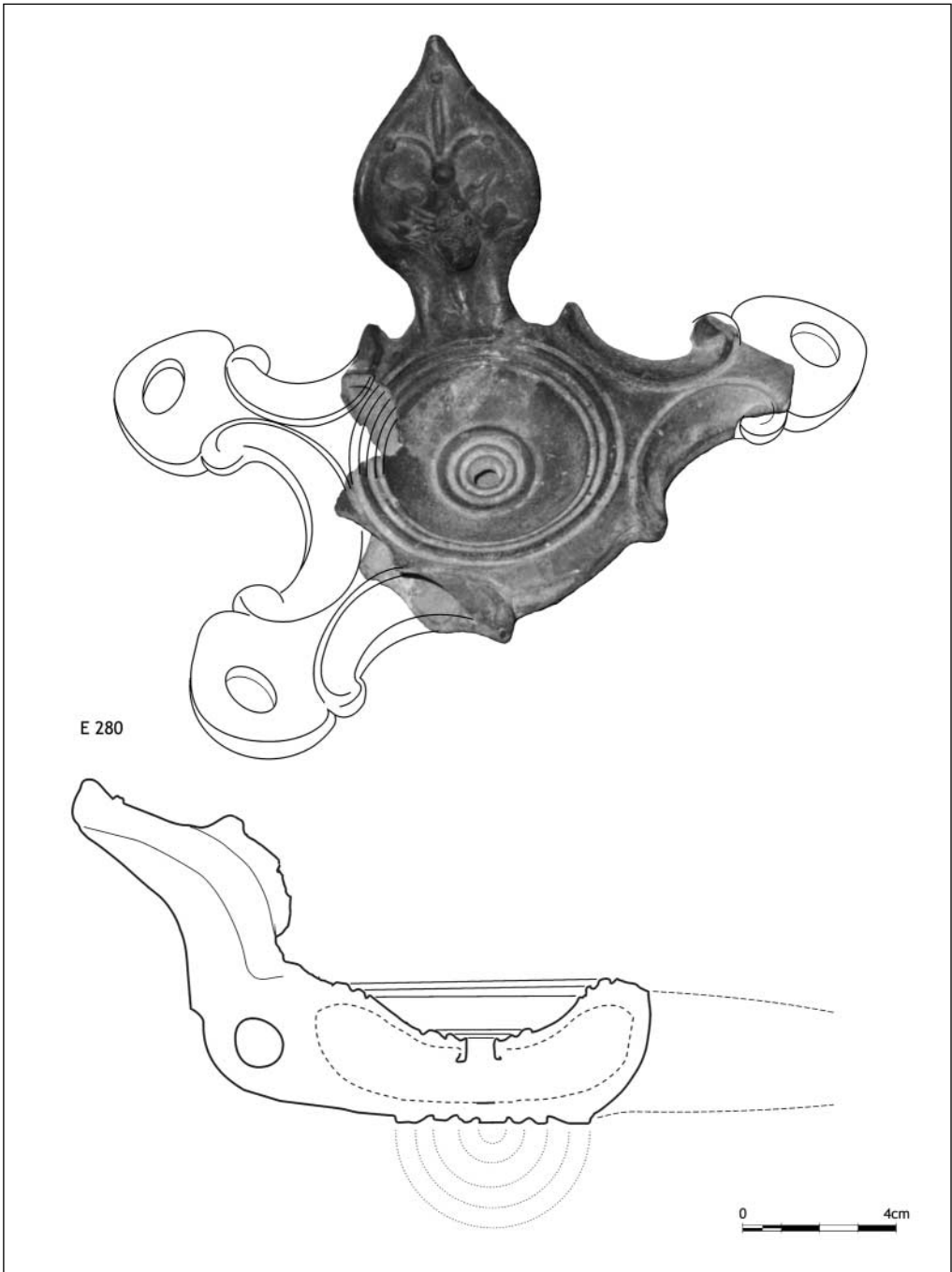


Fig. 2. *Three-nozzle lamp with decorated handle attachment (Photo I. Zych; drawing and reconstruction A. Błaszczak from pencil drawing by the author)*

## CRETAN MOULD-MADE IVY LEAF LAMPS

This is a highly specific and characteristic group of lamps featuring a round body and big rounded nozzle with ledge around the wick hole. The profile is roughly biconical, the shoulders being usually deeper than the base part. The bases are concave, either round or oval (as in the case of the Marina lamps) and there is a vertical ring handle invariably with one or more deep grooves. Handle attachments are encountered (a distinct possibility in the case of our two *dilychnoi* lamps, counted among the most splendid examples of the form) (Fig. 3). Discuses are fairly deep and plain with large filling holes in the center and outer edges emphasized by more or less elaborate concentric mouldings. The shoulders bear

relief ornaments consisting of a limited series of patterns, but exhibiting much creativity in their juxtaposition. The most distinctive one is the relief ivy leaf, resembling a heart-shaped device with a deep vertical groove separating the two halves, round circllets impressed into each of the lobes, always point down on the nozzle bridge and most often at right angles to the handle and nozzle; round bosses at four points around the shoulders and alternating with the leaves; vertical grooves in sets of two or three dividing the motifs. Chevrons or herringbone patterns are encountered on the nozzle.

Our lamp E 3923 is of a reddish-yellow fabric with a typical red slip, worn off and

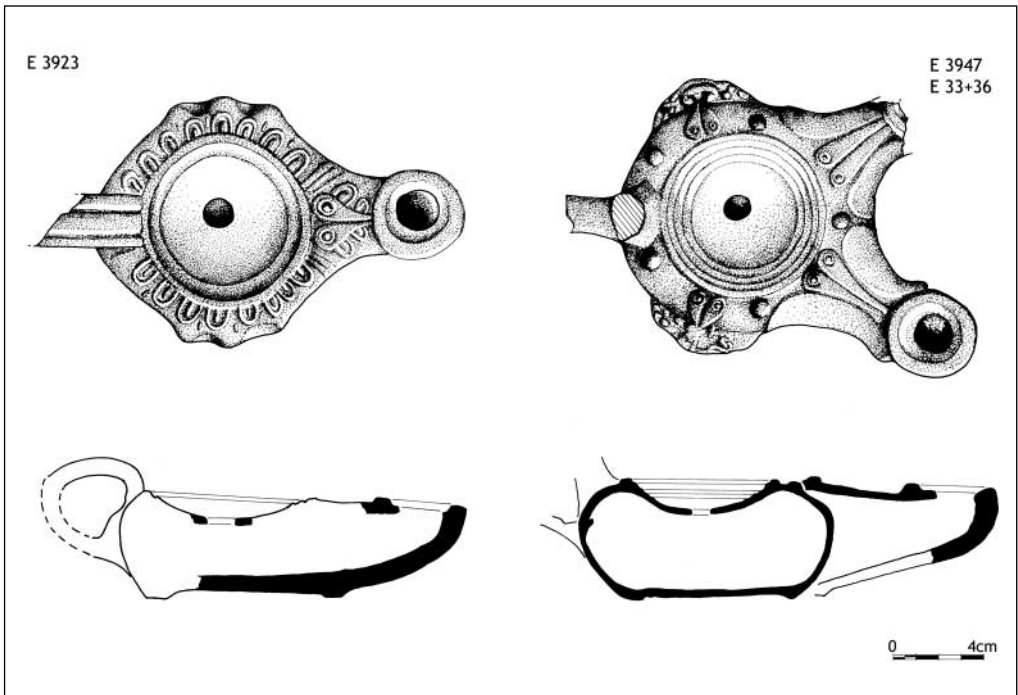


Fig. 3. Cretan ivy-leaf lamps  
(Drawing M. Burdajewicz after I. Zych)

peeling. Lamp E 3947 is of a fine light reddish-brown fabric with no apparent inclusions, covered with an adhering but patchy in color dark brown to red and gray semi-glossy slip; the other *dilychnoi*, E33+36, is of the same fabric but has a slip in the red-pinks, seemingly matt and worn off, but not peeling. Overall, the lamps measure some 12 cm in width, the length of the single nozzle lamp being 22.3 cm and the height with handle 9.2 cm (the other two are fragmentarily preserved).

The three presently recorded lamps add to an assemblage from Marina that already includes five complete lamps and at least four fragments.<sup>12)</sup> The complete lamps come from four separate hypogeum tombs in the central part of the necropolis. (Recently, fragments of lamps of this kind have surfaced in domestic contexts from the town area.) There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the three lamps here presented may have come from one of the big underground tombs.

Lamps of this kind, which originated in 1st century Crete and number in the hundreds from the island, are seldom encountered anywhere else.<sup>13)</sup> Indeed, after Benghazi, where some 34 examples have been reported,<sup>14)</sup> our assemblage of eight plus is the most extensive one. The Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria apparently holds only one example.<sup>15)</sup>

In Crete, where the lamps were produced for more than two hundred years (from the early 1st century AD, possibly even pre-Augustan, into the early 3rd century, they are found in funeral and religious contexts,<sup>16)</sup> as well as in the obvious everyday-life domestic assemblages.

As H.W. Catling has noted in his study of the type, the lamps appear to be strikingly similar, but are rarely ever the same. There seems to have been a wealth of forms and series of forms in use and retouching was very common. In our case, the lamp illustrated on the right in *Fig. 3* is actually a combination of two separate, incompletely preserved lamps that were definitely part of the same series. Based on parallels from Crete they can be placed in the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD; the single-nozzle lamp is more likely to be from the first half of the 2nd century. These three pieces thus appear to be the latest in the Marina assemblage of this type of lamp, the earliest piece of which may be even from the mid-1st century. While a detailed discussion of the group is being prepared for publication elsewhere, it should be pointed out that the presence of these lamps in Marina in funerary contexts covering a span of more than 150 years indicates some form of strong personal ties of the owners of these objects with Crete. Considering the amount of Cretan

12) Cf. e.g. *PAM IX, Reports 1997* (1998), Fig. 4, p. 69. An article on the Cretan ivy-leaf lamps from Marina will be published separately by the present author.

13) For a synthesis of the available evidence, cf. H.W. and E.A. Catling, "The Lamps", in *Knossos. From Greek City to Roman Colony, Excavations of the Unexplored Mansion II*, ed. L.H. Sackett (British School of Archaeology at Athens: Thames and Hudson 1992), 257-322, pls. 224-274.

14) D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*, vol. III, Part 2: *The Lamps* (Tripoli 1985), 4-5, pl. I (cat. nos. C 7 to C 18).

15) A big *dilychnoi* that used to be on display in the exhibition rooms (pers. comm. of Mrs. Camelia Georges, Director of Registration at the Graeco-Roman Museum, to whom I am grateful for her kind assistance).

16) Tombs, notably Heraklion and Ayia Theka & Matalo; sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos, sanctuary in Eleutherna, at Kommos and in the Agiasmati Cave sanctuary; finally, from the excavations of the Unexplored Mansion in Knossos (Hayes), cf. Catling, *op. cit.*, esp. 259-260 for a discussion of the distribution and bibliography.

amphorae coming up in pottery contexts from the site, it is clear that trade with Crete ranked highly on the list of the town's commercial relations. The lamps themselves were rather not the object of trade; their occurrence in funerary contexts

would suggest that they were treated more as prized family heirlooms and may thus be construed as an indication of agents of Cretan merchants possibly residing in Marina. A tentative connection with Benghazi should also be considered.

## EGYPTIAN AND IMPORTED LAMPS OF THE 2ND AND 3RD CENTURIES

The next group described here consists of five handle attachments in the form of terracotta figurines, of which Bailey said that it is "surprising how seldom they are found attached to a datable lamp".<sup>17)</sup> We are fortunate to have such a set (E 253). Bailey discusses them as his Type V, which he believes was introduced in Egypt and spread from there to North Syria, Cnidus and Italy. Our lamp (*Fig. 5*) is round-bodied (Loeschcke Type VIII), 10.3 cm

wide and 9.5 cm high with the handle; its length reached 12.5 cm. The fabric is fine but porous light brown clay covered with a glossy yellow to reddish-yellow slip. The nozzle is heart-shaped, partly incorporated into the body, with tendrils growing out of it and onto the shoulder. Side lugs are formed of scrolling volutes marked with a plastic floral ornament on the shoulder.<sup>18)</sup> The discus itself, big and shallow, has a relief impression of a face in the center of



*Fig. 4. Lamp handles in the form of Serapis busts and an enthroned figure of a nursing Isis (Photo I. Zych)*

17) Bailey ii, op. cit., 396ff.

18) The lamp itself falls into a second-century type that was produced in Cnidus (e.g. British Museum lamp Q 2748, Antonine period; for an Italian variant, cf. Bailey, ii, op. cit., 343 and pl. 74). Again, the identification of manufacturing center can be based on little more than intuition.



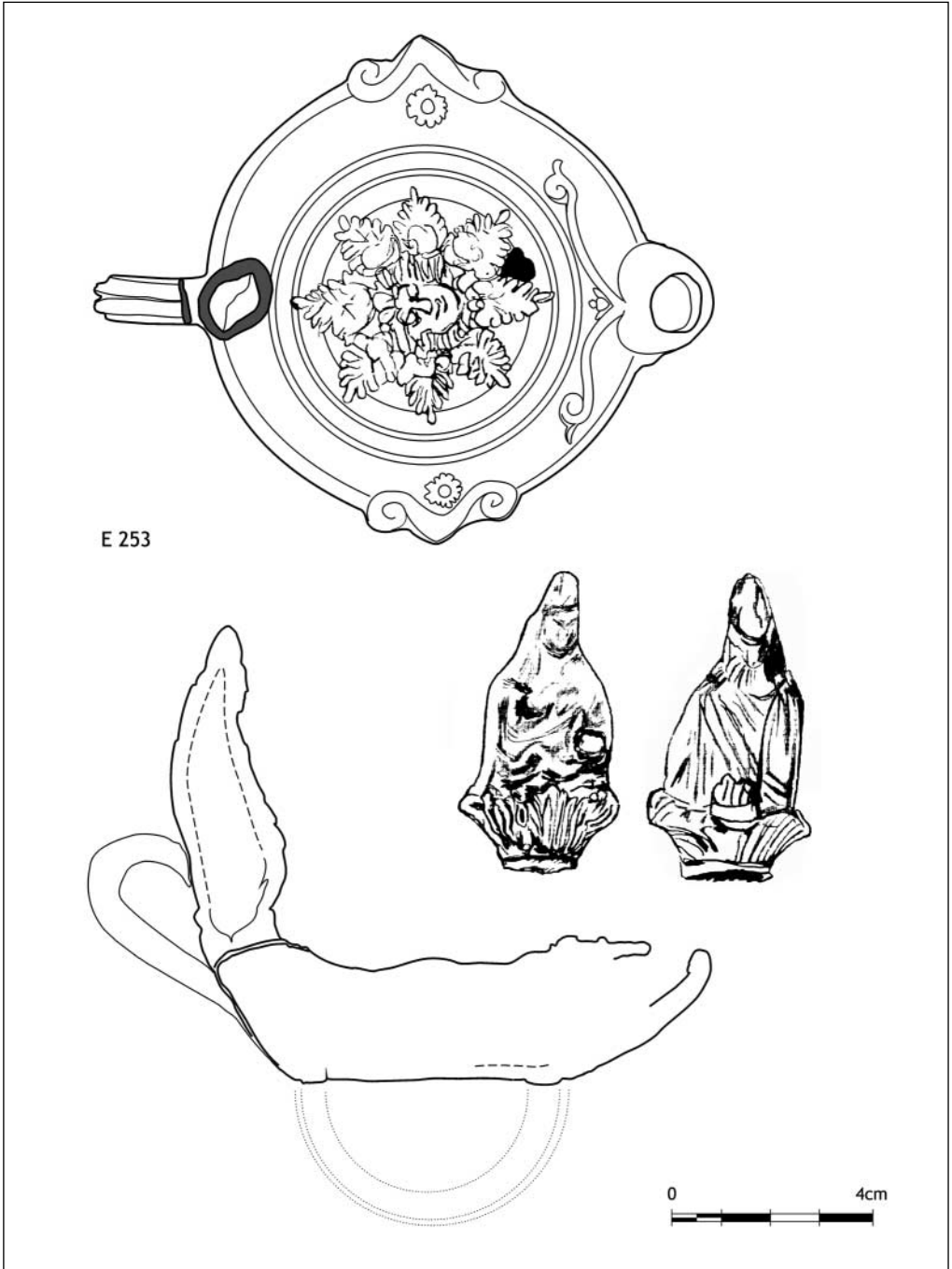
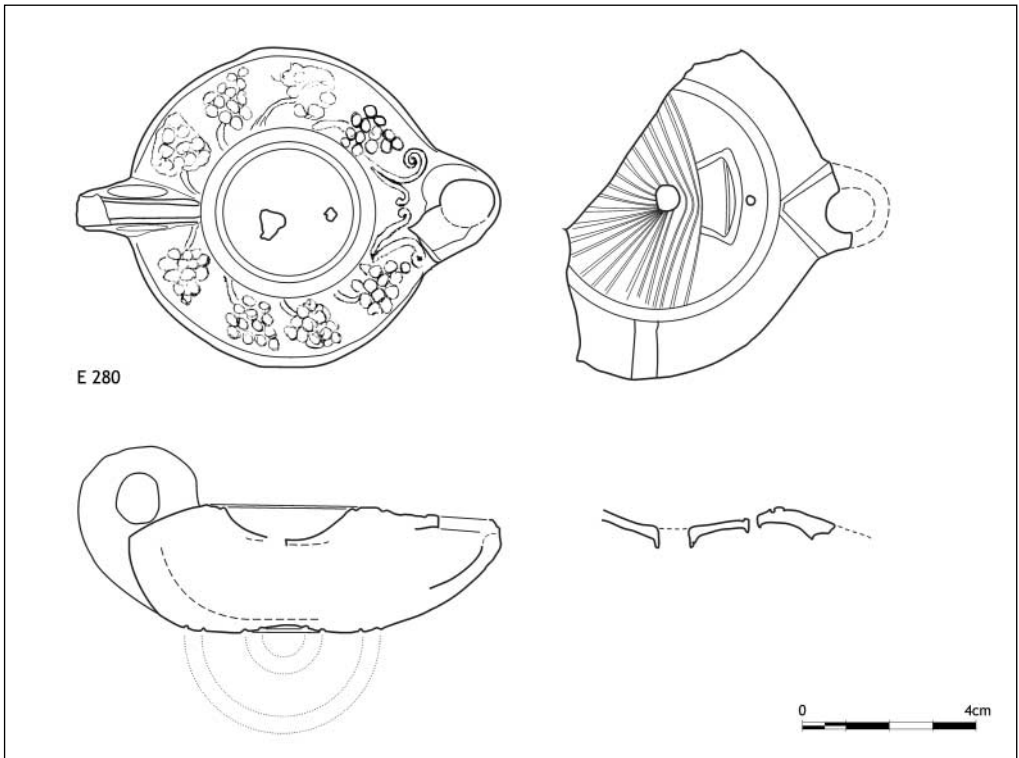


Fig. 5. Lamp with handle in the form of an *Isis lactans* terracotta figurine  
(Drawing A. Błaszczuk after I. Zych)

a floral (?) rosette. Attached to a ring handle was a figurine of Isis nursing Horus, rising from an acanthus base. The other handle attachments (*Fig. 4*), preserved without the lamps, include three busts of Serapis (E 256-E 258) and one figurine of Isis seated on a throne, suckling the baby Horus (E 259). Bailey dates this type to the Antonine to Severan period, at least with regard to the pieces which are of Italian manufacture; it stands to reason, suggests Szentléleky, that these particular lamps were produced in the second half of the 1st century and in the 2nd century AD, most likely in Alexandria in Egypt, where, as he points out, the Serapeum was

renovated in the 2nd century AD.<sup>19)</sup> The popularity of the Serapis cult in the ancient world would explain the prolific occurrence of these figurines in widely separate contexts.

An interesting example of a lamp finding no exact parallels is E 280 (*Fig. 6*). It is a round-bodied mould-made lamp with pierced handle and rounded nozzle, small deep discus, undecorated, with small filling hole and air hole. The decoration consists of relief bunches of grapes growing on short stems from the moulding around the discus edge, the grapevine branch terminating in scrolling tendrils on either side of the nozzle. The lamp is 9.7 cm



*Fig. 6. Imported (?) 2nd century lamps  
(Drawing A. Błaszczyk after I. Zych)*

19) T. Szentléleky, *Ancient Lamps* (Budapest 1969), 138, cat. no. 272.

long, 7.2 cm wide, 4.4 cm high with the handle. The fabric is red, fine and somewhat powdery, featuring a variety of gritty inclusions of various size; the slip is pink to light brown. The execution is quite crisp.

A discus sherd found among the GRM study material (no reference number) said to be from Egyptian excavations at Marina represents a round mould-made lamp, made of a fine buff fabric, unslipped (Fig. 6). The discus decoration consists of a scalloped sherd in relief and rectangular

panels on an otherwise plain, sloping shoulder. The nozzle is characteristically triangular, set off from the body by a deep V-shaped groove. Close parallels include a lamp from Larnaca and another one from Xeros in Cyprus, which is an earlier generation example in the same series.<sup>20)</sup> These particular lamps are believed to be modeled closely on imported Corinthian and Athenian Ovule-and-Panel lamps of Group C of Broneer Type XXVII (Vessberg Type 16) and are dated from the middle of the 2nd century throughout the 3rd

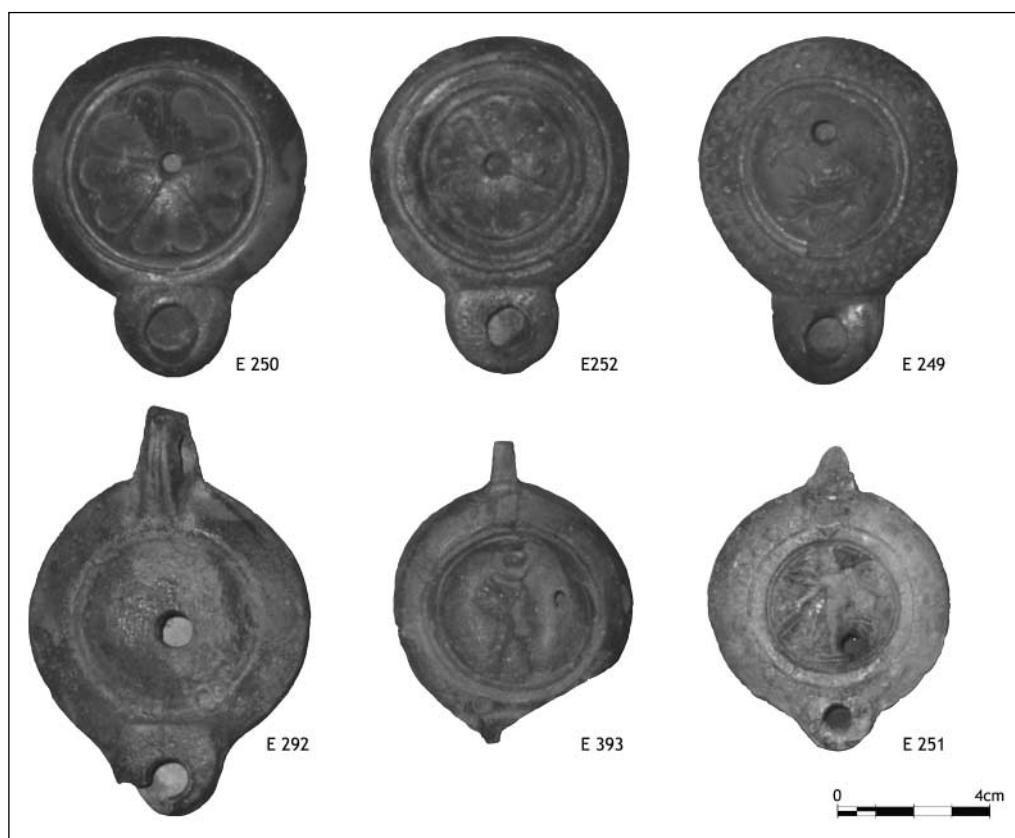


Fig. 7. Selection of 2nd-century lamps with rounded nozzles, handled and handleless (Photo I. Zych)

20) From Larnaca: Bailey III, Q 2565, p. 314, fig. 110. pl. 69; from Xeros: Oziol, no. 635, pp. 214-215. For a discussion see Bailey, pp. 298-299. One other fragmentarily preserved but identical lamp has recently come to light in excavations at Marina.

century and may even reach into the 4th; the parallel from the British Museum collection is dated by Bailey to AD 200-300. While the fabric, at least viewed macroscopically, demonstrates affinity to Cypriot examples, Oziol exercises caution in assigning a Cypriot origin to these lamps. However, the scallop-shell design is specific and different from other variants of the same motif.

Objects E 251 and E 394 represent round mouldmade lamps of Loeschcke Type VIII, near shoulder form VIIIb, furnished with an Egyptian ring handle, about 9 cm long and 6.4-6.6 cm wide. Their distinctive feature is a relief pattern of alternating circles and leaves on the shoulder surrounding a small shallow discus, and a heart-shaped nozzle. Both also have a raised base with an incuse wheat-head mark in the center. E 251 (*Fig. 7*), which is in a dark brown fabric with a semi-glossy self-slip, bears a representation in crisp relief of Eros on a small pedestal, stepping to right, holding a butterfly in upraised left hand, and a torch in his lowered right hand. The other lamp (E 394, not illustrated), of a reddish-brown fabric with red surface, is decorated with a slightly blurred but still distinct impression of a floral garland, suspended from four points on the shoulder with dotted circles (=rosettes?) above each loop. Parallels are all dated to the 2nd century.<sup>21)</sup>

A sizable group of 13 lamps falls into what is the wide field of Loeschcke Type VIII (a selection illustrated in *Fig. 7*): round moulded lamps, handleless or with handles, with varying shoulder forms and a whole spectrum of rounded nozzle types, identified as either specifically Cnidian or spec-

ifically Ephesian in form.<sup>22)</sup> It does not mean that the lamps themselves are imports, because the local Egyptian lamp-making tradition frequently availed itself of these popular products to create surmoulage copies. On the average, the handleless variety of lamps is about 9 cm in length and about 7 cm in width. All are of 2nd-century date apparently. The fabrics are generally reddish-yellow to reddish-brown, the slip mostly glossy or semi-glossy, red and red-brown. Discus-scenes include a deity (?) on a throne seated to front, heavily blurred (GRM study material without number); gladiator (E 393 = British Museum lamp Q 3083); deer (E 222 = British Museum lamp Q 3052); bull, blurred (E 3933); cock (E 249); crater, heavily blurred (E 265 = British Museum lamp Q 2800); and single- and double-petal rosettes (E 250; E 266; E 252; E 3949; E 3943). One lamp is entirely plain (E 292) while another is plain except for a band of impressed circles on the shoulder and two large impressed circles flanking the nozzle (E 3942).

Eight of the 13 lamps presented under this section have marks on the bases; one is a Romanesic inscription, two represent plain zigzags, one a zigzag between impressed circles at top and bottom; the remaining are either very blurred zigzags or heavily corrupt inscriptions, in one case between impressed circles at top and bottom. One lamp bears a faint possibly *delta*-shaped mark (?).

The Romanesic inscription and the derivative zigzag mark refer to lamps originally produced in Cnidus (or Miletus) workshop(s) starting in the 70s AD and stretching to the reign of Hadrian. The eco-

21) Bailey III, Q 2022 EA and Q 2023 EA (from Damanhur), with further references.

22) Bailey iii, op. cit., for Cnidian nozzle-forms, fig. 160 and comments on pages 330-331; for Ephesian nozzle-forms, fig. 369 and comments on pages 369-370.

conomic success of this producer resulted in lamps with these inscriptions within the bases (mostly on Cnidian Loeschke Type VIII lamps, such as ours) being found in ample quantities in the Eastern provinces also later, especially in the 2nd century.<sup>23)</sup> However, as W.V. Harris points out in an instructive article on the organization of the

lamp industry in Roman times,<sup>24)</sup> successful manufacturing 'firms' were likely to establish branch workshops at strategic places far away from the original sites of production, and it is more than probable that our lamps are in the majority the product of local Egyptian subsidiary enterprises, if not simply unauthorized copies.

## FROG LAMPS

Both examples of frog lamps from our assemblage are signed. E 221 (*Fig. 8*) seems to be somewhat earlier, judging by the nozzle form. The legs are still evident, if distorted; the pattern of braids distinct and fleshy. The top of the nozzle is decorated with arched ridges between a frame of relief ridges. The signature impressed on the bottom is a wheat-head.<sup>25)</sup>

The other lamp of this type (E 3928, *Fig. 8*) represents Shier's type A.5.2.c, with grooved palm branches springing from a boss at the back of the lamp; the nozzle plain except for a small groove at the base. Parallels (from Karanis) are dated to the early 2nd-mid 3rd century. The lamp also bears a signature in the form of an incised *alpha*.<sup>26)</sup>

## BYZANTINE LAMPS

The late period (6th-7th century) is represented in this assemblage by a statistically larger number of lamps than recorded in the regular excavations, which is probably due to archaeological investigations and current restoration work failing to include the latest, Christian settlement known to have existed in the eastern part of the site.

Two lamps (E 268 and E 269, *Fig. 8*) represent a type typically referred to in Egypt as 'Coptic'. It is characterized by a piriform or almond shape of the body, small open discus with channel opening onto the nozzle, which is one with the body, small conical lugs as handles, pulled

up from the clay of the body. The feature that always makes it easy to distinguish these lamps is the rich floral pattern rendered in relief on the shoulder and discus (scrolling branches, berries, dots and bars). The fabric of these two lamps, as well as of an open almond-shaped lamp (E 295) seems to be of local origin.

The bottom of a round mouldmade lamp (E 288), made of a light brown clay with self-slip(?), has a fine mark in the form of a Solomon's knot on the base and a crisp relief cross with dots between the arms under the handle. The mark identifies it possibly as a product of a local Abu

23) Bailey iii, op. cit., 100, fig. 128 (inscription), 115, fig. 148 (zigzag) and further references; also the discussion on pages 331-332. For a discussion of the Cnidian factory of Romanesis, cf. G. Heres, "Die Werkstatt des Lampentöpfers Romanesis", *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Forschungen und Berichte)* X (1968), 185-211; for a synthesis, cf. H. Williams, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth V, The Lamps* (Leiden 1981), esp. 27-30.

24) W.V. Harris, "Roman terracotta lamps: The organization of an industry", *JRS* 70 (1980), 126-145, esp. 130.

25) The wheat-head mark is frequently lumped together with branches and palm branches, while it is definitely not either one and should be considered separately.

26) L.A. Shier, *Terracotta Lamps from Karanis*, Egypt (Ann Arbor 1978), cat. no. 158, pl. 22.

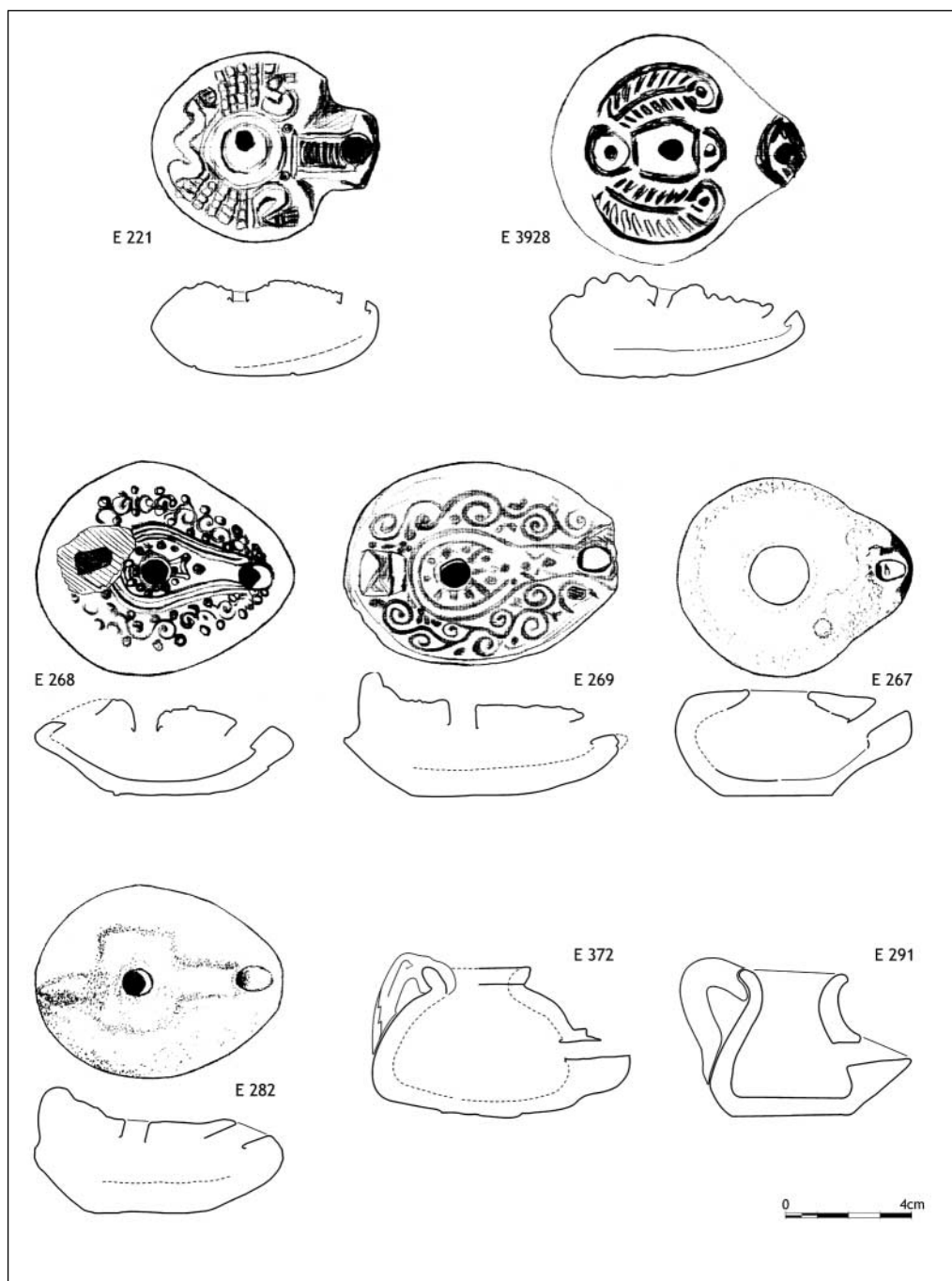


Fig. 8. Frog lamps and late lamps  
(Drawing A. Błaszczyk after I. Zych)

Mena workshop.<sup>27)</sup> Parallels are dated to the first half of the 7th century.

Lamp E 282 (*Fig. 8*), ovoid in shape, made of a reddish-yellow fabric with gray slip, has a rather blurred square discus, depressed and joined to the wick hole on the nozzle by a shallow channel. The lug is drawn up from the clay, as is typical of these late lamps. A very similar lamp was found in Islamic layers at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria (Polish excavations reg. no. 4018). The other late lamp (E 281) is an evidently local clumsy product intended for everyday use.

The studied assemblage also contained a wheelmade Byzantine lamp (E 267) and three examples of Byzantine 'boot' lamps (E 270, E 291, E 372) (*Fig. 8*). The fabric of the boot lamps is light brown or light-yellowish brown, the slip varying from reddish yellow and pale yellow to light greenish-gray. The bodies are wheelmade, squat, wide rounded shoulders and flared filling hole. The short nozzles were made separately and attached, the vertical band-handle applied as well.<sup>28)</sup> The lamps are dated to the 6th and 7th century AD.

27) W. Selesnow, *Bildwerke der Sammlung Kaufmann, II, Lampen aus Ton und Bronz* (Liebieghaus-Frankfurt-am-Main 1988), cat. no. 321 (Pl. 44), from Abu Mena (?); Pl. 8a on page 99 illustrates the marks identifying Abu Mena ateliers.

28) Bailey iii, *op. cit.*, Q 2276 from Wadi Sarga near Asyut, and discussion on page 232-233; Selesnow, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 294, from Egypt.