
**A (PARTIAL) ICONOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF
EARLY ROMAN IMPERIAL LAMPS (70-130 AD).
A SHORT STUDY OF 290 DISCUS-MOTIFS ADORNING THE LAMPS
DISCOVERED WITHIN THE HARBOR GARBAGE COVERING THE "ARLES-
RHÔNE 3" SHIPWRECK AND OF THEIR GEOGRAPHIC REPARTITION**

Laurent Chrzanovski *, David Djaoui **

Abstract: *The importance of the Arles harbor's garbage which "sealed" the Arles-Rhône 3 shipwreck, shortly depicted hereafter, is so huge in archaeological materials, quantitatively and qualitatively, that it will give birth in the next decade to more than twenty monographs devoted each one to a specific type of artifact.*

This lamp-focused article aims to propose, in "avant-première" and in "globish" (the recently accepted expression designated for non-native very poor English), to highlight only one of the many important results of the final study of the more than 816 intact lamps and +5'000 fragments discovered during the underwater excavations of the Arles-Rhône 3 shipwreck, to be published next year. As a matter of fact, never in lychnological history a single small excavation delivered so many motifs from so many different manufactures and adorning productions framed in only 60 years of history (70 to 130 AD), and the different social, economic, productive and merely lychnological topics to be covered in the monograph abound.

Here, we would like to propose a discussion on the micro- and macro-regional trade roads and their influences on lamp iconography. As a matter of fact, the corpus is made of artifacts brought to Arles from the most remote parts of the Mediterranean as well as from the nearest Gallic workshops, exactly during the apex of creativity of the Roman workshops in terms of quantity and variety of discuss themes. This flourishing lamp decoration vogue started with Tiberius' reign and will slowly end with Trajan's one, our garbage is hence covering the second half of this momentum.

Arles, a major multimodal platform as we would say today, transferring goods from the sea to the river Rhône as well as to the consular road network and vice-versa, is certainly one the most perfect observation points possible towards the whole Western Roman Empire.

There we can guess some partial answers on important questions such as: which motifs remained at the level of individual imports? Which ones seduced the local manufactures? Which ones were also produced by the flourishing manufactures of one or both ends of the Western Empire (the Rhine Valley and Africa)? Which ones belong to Gallic lamp-makers' own creativity?

The short comparison tables will indicate that there are a lot of hypothesis to study further in this domain. Further, an in-depth immersion on each motif will be proposed through an "illustrated dictionary" of the 290 more relevant motifs with the most relevant lists of parallels and the intact/context-dated lamps

* Doctoral School of History of the "Lucian Blaga" State University of Sibiu, e-mail: l.chrzanovski@icloud.com

** Musée Départemental Arles Antique, France, e-mail: david.djaouimdaa@gmail.com

found in Gaul, eliminating all additional French-known fragments which did not bring anything relevant to the article.

Rezumat: *Importanța depunerii de gunoi din portul de la Arles, care a „sigilat” epava Arles-Rhône 3 ce urmează a fi descrisă succint în cele ce urmează, este atât de mare în ceea ce privește materialul arheologic, atât din punct de vedere cantitativ cât și calitativ, încât va da naștere în următorul deceniu la nu mai puțin de douăzeci de monografii, fiecare tratând un anumit tip de artefact.*

Articolul de față, concentrându-se asupra opaițelor, este menit să propună, în „avanpremieră” și într-un limbaj „cvasi-global” (expresie recent acceptată asociată non-nativilor cu puține cunoștințe de limbă engleză), să pună în evidență doar unul dintre multitudinea de rezultate importante ale studiului final, a nu mai puțin de 816 opaițe intacte și a peste 5000 de fragmente descoperite în cursul cercetării arheologice subacvatice ale epavei Arles-Rhône 3, ce va fi publicată în anul ce urmează. De altfel, niciodată în decursul studiilor opaițelor romane o singură cercetare de mici dimensiuni nu a rezultat în atât de multe motive iconografice provenite din ateliere diferite, decorând produsele manufacturate într-o perioadă de doar 60 de ani (din 70 până în 130 p.Chr.), cât și în atât de multe teme sociale, economice, de producție sau simple motive caracteristice opaițelor în general, ce urmează a fi tratate în monografie.

În aceste pagini am dori să propunem o discuție asupra rutelor comerciale micro- și macro-regionale cât și a influențelor acestora asupra iconografiei opaițelor în sine. De altfel, acest corpus este compus din artefacte venite la Arles din cele mai îndepărtate regiuni mediteraneene dar și din cele mai apropiate ateliere galice, exact în momentul de maximă creativitate ale atelierelor romane în ceea ce privește cantitatea și varietatea tematicilor reprezentate pe discuri. Această modă înfloritoare de decor a început în timpul domniei lui Tiberius și se va încheia treptat în timpul lui Traian; în consecință, depunerea noastră acoperă cea de a doua jumătate a acestei perioade.

Arles, o platformă multimodală majoră, așa cum am spune azi, transferând mărfuri venite pe mare pentru a fi transbordate atât pe Ron cât și pe drumul consular și viceversa, este cu siguranță unul dintre cele mai bune puncte de observație ale Imperiului Roman de Apus.

Aici putem intui răspunsuri parțiale pentru întrebări importante precum: care motive au rămas la nivelul importurilor individuale? Care dintre acestea au sedus manufacturierii locali? Care motive au fost produse de centrele înfloritoare ale unui capăt sau ale ambelor limite ale Imperiului Roman de Apus (Valea Rinului și Africa)? Care dintre acestea sunt rezultatul creativității producătorilor gali de opaițe?

Scurtele tabele comparative vor indica faptul că există o multitudine de ipoteze pentru studiile viitoare în acest domeniu. Mai mult, o privire aprofundată asupra fiecărui motiv va fi propusă printr-un „dicționar ilustrativ” ale celor peste 290 de motive relevante și ale listelor relevante de paralele și opaițe intacte sau datate de context descoperite în Galia, eliminând astfel fragmentele suplimentare cunoscute în Franța care nu contribuie cu nimic relevant prezentului articol.

Key words: *Arles, Roman shipwreck, harbor garbage, lamps, iconography, imagery diffusion.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Arles, epavă romană, opaițe din depunerea portuară, iconografie, difuzia imagisticii.*

THE ROOTS OF SUCH A PRETENTIOUS TITLE: CAUSES AND AIMS. (L.C.)

Studying since decades lamps from all horizons, we have seen or worked on impressive corpuses from museums or excavations. Yet we never dared to write down in any of our researches the used and abused word "amazing". The underwater discoveries made at Arles and, within them, the lamp corpus, are indeed worth of using for the first time this very expression.

The first and main reason is, as David Djaoui will explain, the very short timeframe within which the excavated zone was in use, corresponding to what the archaeologists believe to be the most outlying area used for transshipping purpose during the period of the maximal extension of the Roman city's harbor, one of the most important ones in the whole Northern Mediterranean area. As a matter of fact, except for a few wrecks and occasional discoveries, this southern area on the right shore of the Rhône has been left, as soon as the end of the first third of the 2nd century, to some minor suburban activities, all the main maritime and fluvial activities being led further North, facing the *intra muros* city, while on the opposite bank, facing the Arles-Rhône 3 location, the magnificent circus was built on the remains of a former suburban area.

As a consequence, no archaeologist could have achieved more but dreaming to find, in a single excavation covering less than 200 square meters, more than 5000 lamp fragments, among which ca. 1500 deserved an in-depth research. The very rare occasions when such situations do exist, are in general the discoveries of a huge garbage pit linked to a very rich *villa rustica*. Yet, in no way, those contexts could "speak" on behalf of a whole and vital urban sector of activities witnessing the presence of hundreds of men per day between indigenous and foreign *nautae*, tradesmen, local workforces, inhabitants of the neighborhood etc.

Above all, the whole lamp corpus is framed in less than 70 years, a period we could even sharpen to 60 years as very few lamps can possibly be dated prior to 70 AD or later than 130 AD. The timeframe itself is, among Roman productions, a research heaven: it is the second and last part of the "Golden Age" of Roman Empire as a whole in all aspects of its lychnological productions. At Arles, we have hence Central, Northern and Southern (Campanian) Italian originals, as well as African ones, besides a few lighting devices made in Asia Minor, Alexandria and the Aegean world, all being soon overwhelmed by the birth and massive productions of workshops located in Southern and Central Gaul.

For lamp iconography, it is hence a unique momentum in the Roman history, when themes newly-born in different parts of the Empire reach far-away destinations and, among them, one can witness which ones will be appreciated, hence copied or imitated, and which ones stayed at the level of unique imports without impacting the newly established local manufactures in their repertory choice. In the figures at the end

of this introduction, the reader will find a comparative scheme of the contemporary and consecutive geographical repartition of the adoption of each motif. A very interesting point is that quite a few were beloved both in the Northern provinces and in the South-Western Mediterranean area, i.e. produced by the main Rhine Valley producing workshops and by their African counterparts.

As a consequence of the historical framework and of the characteristics of a major "*international cargo multimodal hub*" as one would say today, the impressive quantity of motifs – 331, i.e. less than 3 discus-readable fragments or lamps with the same representation! – is the equivalent of the ones, covering much broader periods, gathered during decennial excavations in major sites like Ampurias, Trier, the Athenian Agora, the Athenian Kerameikos or Corinth just to mention some of them – and more or less the same as all the motifs studied for the whole Swiss territory from the latest years of the 1st century BC to the end of the 4th century AD.

We could not end our introduction without thanking the generosity of the Peuce's editorial office and its team for accepting our very long text as the complete final publication will be edited in French, a language which is far from being accessible to everyone and far from being easy to learn.

THE ARLES-RHÔNE 3 SHIPWRECK (D.D.)

Contextualization of its excavation and its importance for Arles and beyond

The Arles-Rhône 3 (AR3) shipwreck was discovered in 2004 during an archaeological mapping operation. Between 2005 and 2010, a number of assessments, a survey and finally an excavation were carried out on the shipwreck. These operations were conducted by the Arkaeos association, with the collaboration of the Musée départemental Arles antique, the Centre Camille Jullian/CNRS, when Patrice Pomey was the director. Sabrina Marlier was the scientific director of these operations, in co-direction with Sandra Greck (Arkaeos) and David Djaoui (Musée départemental Arles antique). Three years of excavations of this shipwreck revealed the exceptional state of preservation of a flat-bottom Gallo-Roman barge of 31 m long. It appeared that the hull was almost entirely preserved along with the internal layout for loading, also preserved – 21 tons stone cargo –, and the inner furniture with on board discoveries, the steering oar, the towing mast¹.

Arles-Rhône 3, from the river to the Museum

For this great operation, 9 million euros was allocated including nearly 2 million for the excavation and the raising of the barge. So, the operation was called "Arles-Rhône 3"

¹ Marlier 2014.

and took place between 2011 and 2013. It required a highly organized operation and a tight collaboration between curators, archaeologists, commercial divers, conservators, architects and museographers... more than 100 persons. And a lot of creativity was necessary to maximize efficiency.

After a European bid, the underwater archaeological company, Ipso Facto, the commercial diving firm O'Can and the conservation laboratory ARC-Nucléart were selected. And we worked also in collaboration with the Drassm and the CNRS, and especially with the Centre Camille Jullian.

The excavation and raising operation took place in 2011 under the direction of Sabrina Marlier and David Djaoui (Musée départemental Arles antique), Mourad El Amouri and Sandra Greck (Ipso Facto) and Benoit Poinard (O'Can). The barge was between 4 to 9 m depth and beneath 40 cm to 2 m of sediment that corresponded to the layers of the Roman harbor garbage dump. In this harbor garbage dump, of a great density, we found amphorae, ceramics and a thousand other objects as much related to the internal fittings and shipping gear as to the consumption and artisanal activities of the roman town, as butcheries. So, to excavate and lift the barge we had first to excavate and remove this material. Since we did not have much time, we developed new excavation strategies and established complex operating procedures. At the end of the operation, we removed more than 4000 objects and almost 1200 crates of archaeological artifacts. And we found all types of materials (ceramics, glass, but also wood, bones, leather...) of a high quality. This material is currently in the storages of the museum, to be preserved and studied and just a little part of it is exhibited in the new wing of the museum.

As far as the shipwreck is concerned, it was properly excavated and documented underwater by archaeologists and then, cut in ten sections by a commercial diver with a saw. The sections of the barge, of 3 m each, were lifted one after the other thanks to a crane onto land, where they were recorded and surveyed in 3D. It then followed a series of treatments in the ARC-Nucléart laboratory, situated in Grenoble, 300 km away from Arles. These treatments involved immersion in PEG solutions, freeze-drying and a complementary treatment by gamma radiation for the bow and the mast. In parallel, the museum was extended in 2012. Thereafter, the 200 pieces of the boat were reassembled by the restorers of the Grenoble workshop, and then in the museum, where the barge, put in the new wing of the archaeological Museum, was inaugurated on the 4th of October 2013, as expected.

On the difficulty and the interest to study a harbor garbage area

To an impressive number of amphorae, witnessing the trade activity in Roman times, we have to add thousands of artifacts which offer diverse kinds of information on what was on board of the ships, what was part of their structure and, last but not least, on all the activities led in the harbor itself and the neighboring area at the same period as well

as all that has been used or bought by the inhabitants and the workers. To study a harbor context in a suburban area leads hence to question oneself on the different causes of the artifacts being thrown away². To achieve this task, signs of use, *graffiti*, painted marks and, in particular, the state of conservation – intact or fragmentary – of the single objects are all elements of a huge importance to help us to offer an interpretation of their presence in the river.



Fig. 1. Inauguration of the Museum's extension housing the Arles-Rhône 3 barge (Rémi Bénali, MdAa/CD13).

If an exceptional state of conservation as a whole allows a quite easy identification of the diverse single artifacts, on the contrary, the difficulties of excavating underwater in the Rhône River do not allow to achieve a thin stratigraphic sequence. The stratigraphy itself is even more complex due to the fact it regards the floods, high flow and recession cycles of the river, sunk and compressed in a deposit layer of 900 cube meters of archaeological materials³. It is hence delicate, if not impossible, to apprehend with

² Djaoui 2018, *in print*.

³ El Amouri 2014, 37-38.

precision the dynamic of the constitution of the garbage deposit through stratigraphy. From a geological point of view, it is also very difficult to access to the stratigraphic layers associated to the archaeological remains and which are all located in today's active river channels⁴.

Some numbers

To give an example, from this deposit and only during the excavation campaign led in 2011, the team brought out of the river more than 3000 amphorae (235 of which being intact), tens of thousands of diverse Roman ceramics, 816 lamps, 428 coins, a thousand glass artifacts, 106 wood objects and 110 metal ones (23 made of iron, 72 of different copper alloys, 15 of lead), 30 composite artifacts (wood and copper alloy), but also 2000 fragments of wall paintings and ca. 50 fragments of colored marbles. We also filled 139 crates – more than 2.5 cube meters – with animal bones and shells.

Among the artifacts which benefitted of a first counting and preliminary study, numbers have revealed 3124 clay lamps (L. Chrzanovski), 28 000 fragments of Southern-Gallic *sigillata* vessels (estimations made by T. Martin from a sample of 50 crates), 22 000 fragments of thin-walled ceramics made in Baetica, corresponding to 3149 individuals (M. Chanas), 4619 fragments of glass corresponding to 1261 individuals⁵. Finally, 120 tons of fragments of amphorae and diverse ceramic groups have been left on the river bed, in the depression created after the removal of the wreck.

The "multimodal transport platform" area

In terms of volume, the amphorae naturally dominate and come to constitute the principal nature of the deposit, indicating a "multimodal" area where maritime, fluvial and road ways interconnect and interact⁶. The amphorae, arrived at their destination,

⁴ In the frame of the Rhône excavations, Claude Vella has been able to achieve interesting results by drilling systematic under the Arles-Rhône 3 wreck as well as under the other wrecks identified by Luc Long (cf. *Carte Archéologique du Rhône*). As a matter of fact, the wreck of every single boat allowed the preserving sequences of sediments enabling to date the underlying deposits (Vella, Tomatis, Sivan 2014, 65). On the contrary, the sequences situated above the ships were, most frequently, swept by the strength of the Rhône current.

⁵ Fontaine 2014.

⁶ It is extremely difficult to propose precise numbers on the counting of amphorae, for which, due to reasons not belonging to the Museum procedures, the inventory has been made in two steps. A first global counting allowed nevertheless to identify the main categories. The provisory minimal number of individuals has been calculated according to the number of rims preserved without attempts of restauration. Said in another way, four fourth of a rim of a same type amphora built one individual. If these first estimations offered the advantage to frame the huge tendencies in the statistics, it had the disadvantage to let heavily underestimated some categories. It is the case, for

were emptied – sometimes probably cut with a sword and then thrown to sink in the deep waters of Rhône.

To those amphorae, we have to add a number of ceramics for which – voluntary or by accident – dumping causes are to be related as well to the local inhabitants of the neighborhood next to the river as to the harbor workers' life itself: onboard life of the shippers, repacking contents into smaller ceramics from a bigger container – then thrown away – and even cult offerings.

Local ceramics

As far as cooking vases of local or regional production are concerned, the huge quantities of carinated pots and, in a minor way, of pots with ribbed necks, we could observe that they were systematically covered by traces of fire. Those used vessels correspond with all probability to voluntary dumps after use⁷. In the same way, lots of small jars with molded bands⁸ and with simple spilled rim⁹ and also the pots with two knee-shaped handles said "from the Rhône Valley"¹⁰ are to be seen as dumped in the same logic.

If all those ceramics, known to be made in the whole area of the Rhône Valley, can also have a micro-regional or even local origin¹¹, the huge quantity of boiling vessels made with a kaolin clay witness, on the contrary, a North-South commerce of this specific type of ceramics. The fire marks, observed in almost every single vessel, include them too in the category of after-use voluntary dumps.

instance, for the amphorae made in Baetica, with 698 individuals, for the Oriental ones, with 111 individuals, considerably higher results obtained thanks to the help of Séverine Lemaître (Université de Potiers, EA 3811-HeRMA), or even for Ibiza with 12 individuals... In the case of the African amphorae, this category benefitted of a much more accurate inventory mainly thanks to Michel Bonifay (CNRS/CCJ), who allowed pushing the provisory minimal number from 60 to 91 individuals. The same happened with amphorae from Lusitania, first given as 19, and finally counted as 32 (Djaoui, Quaresma 2016). A second global counting, integrating the restorations results, has started in 2017.

⁷ Among the US 2007, which delivered 83 individuals of dark common ceramics, 90% of the cooking pots are regional productions made in the mid Rhône valley, with a majority of carinated pots (24%) followed by ribbed pots (14%).

⁸ This type of small jars is very frequent in the Rhône Valley (Long, Piton, Djaoui 2009, p. 584, fig. 52-54) as well as in the Gulf of Fos where 65 individuals have been counted so far (Marty 2002, p. 202, fig. 8 and p. 203).

⁹ The jars with spilled rim are also common in the Rhône Valley (Long, Piton, Djaoui 2009, 584, fig. 57) while in the Gulf of Fos 72 individuals have been counted so far (Marty 2002, 201, 203, fig. 1-4).

¹⁰ Those pots were initially seen as productions made in Lyon or Vienne (Long, Piton, Djaoui 2009, 584, fig. 59-62; Marty 2002, 214, fig. 51-53).

¹¹ Cf. *infra*.

The garbage of the seamen

The prolonged stationing of the boats moored to the right bank of the Rhône has certainly been the cause of the dumping of a part of their board vessel as well as of the containers of the shipmen's food reserves which, broken or consumed by the *nautae*, where thrown in the river¹². If a global inventory of the ceramics is still to be completed, we have no doubts that the elevated percentage of the ceramics qualified as "*from yet unknown origin*" will be one of the main characteristics and also one of the main research challenges of this context¹³.

We can also underline a huge repertory of extremely rare – sometimes unique – shapes, to which we shall add all those very scarcely diffused in the middle Rhône Valley area. The exogenous characteristics of those artifacts recalls the different board equipment from the ships, which original home harbor has to be found, for each of them, in the whole Mediterranean area¹⁴. As far as the thin-walled ceramics are concerned, we can for instance notice the presence of Hispanic *sigillata* from La Rioja, Tricio as well as from *Baetica*, of a kind unknown previously in the whole *Narbonensis* Province, those called "*Peñaflor type*"¹⁵. On the same logic, the daily ceramics of the shipmen whose boats carried the thousands of amphorae from the harbors of the Iberian Peninsula are well represented by productions from *Baetica*, Cartagena, Seville and also from the Algarve region (Portugal)¹⁶. We can also observe more than sixty fish containers coming from the Latium¹⁷. As a conclusion, we will retain that among the board vessels we can also identify some artifacts as being the own property of a single shipman.

In a so reduced space as the one available on trade ships, where the living area can be confined in less than two square meters¹⁸, the seamen often personalized their own ceramics by incising them. *Graffiti* of anchors, of ships as well as even *tria nomina* are some of the characteristic signs of the board vessel. For instance, on a pot from *Baetica*, a graffito can be read *DIVRNI*, meaning the daily food ration, restituting

¹² This area of docking is perfectly illustrated by the numerous excavated elements belonging to the boats themselves, such as the rigging and the fittings (anchors, pullies, sheaves; belaying pins, sticks, brail rings, boat-hooks, lead lines, awls, fid spikes...).

¹³ On common ceramics from Port-La-Nautique, Corinne Sanchez indicated that the research is made extremely complex by the huge diversity of the shapes and of the origins of the artifacts (Sanchez 2011, 171).

¹⁴ Djaoui, Capelli 2017.

¹⁵ Martin 2009, 304-307.

¹⁶ Djaoui 2016.

¹⁷ Djaoui, Piques, Botte 2013.

¹⁸ Djaoui, Greck 2014, 271.

perfectly the alimentary function of those containers¹⁹. As far as the lamps are concerned, the examination of combustion traces as well as of the graffiti will allow to add some of those artifacts, with due prudence, to this type of dumps. It will also be useful to see which lamps are absent from all known domestic areas excavated in the city. To see the difference between the seamen's lamps and the commercial ones is not an easy task, yet lamps as other artifacts used as geographic markers could indicate us, for instance, the harbors from where the ships came to Arles and the trade ways followed²⁰. If the origin of the amphorae discovered in the river allows, of course, to have an idea of the main trade routes used by the ships, it is much harder to determine the redistribution harbors or the commercial fluxes associated to perishable containers like wooden barrels²¹.



Fig. 2. Set of ceramic vases made in Latium, 1st c. DC. (MDAA/CD13 © J.-L. Maby and L. Roux).

The merchandises

The important quantities of Southern Gaul *sigillata* vases discovered without any sign of use are highly probably to be inserted into the category of the merchandises transiting at Arles. Those vessels, breached or broken during the transport, would hence have been dumped in the river at their arrival²². To illustrate this example, we can underline the

¹⁹ Djaoui 2014, fig. 4/3 166.

²⁰ Djaoui, Capelli 2017.

²¹ Djaoui, Tran 2015; Djaoui 2015.

²² At Port-La-Nautique, an identical hypothesis had been made by H. Rouzaud to explain the important present of *sigillata* vessels (Fiches *et alii* 1978,188).

presence, in the same excavation square, of four big complete cups of Drag. 37 shape, with identical dimensions, coming from the Graufesenque and marked with the signature of the same decorator, *Germanus*²³. Those ceramics, stockpiled before the departure of their boat (at Narbonne?) have probably been damaged during their sea transport and were dumped at Arles during the arrival selection process made before being transshipped. We have yet to underline that in the case of drinking pots, like the thousands of thin walled ceramics from *Baetica*, their function itself makes it impossible to notice any trace of use, and hence to attribute their dumping after a damage due to their use or due to the transport. Besides the selection upon arrival of the merchandises coming from the sea or from the river, we also have to take into account the artifacts broken during a road transport. At Port-La-Nautique, H. Rouzaud explained in this sense the important presence of the Rutenian ceramics, after a selection of the merchandises coming there by chariots²⁴. In this last case, the "quality control" before shipping regards the exports of regional productions reaching a harbor by road ways. The clay lamp fragments without traces of use and identified as regional productions could be part of this type of dump. In the same way, the identified exogenous lots could correspond to the lychnological merchandises arrived by sea boats. As a secondary cargo, the lamps could hence, again, allow us to think about the departing harbors and the trade routes. We have also not to forget that a single chariot could bring more than a thousand lamps and that it was hence easy and cheap to move from a region to the other thousands of ceramics to be exported. We can hence understand better the importance to isolate the board equipment belonging to the seamen to get a clue on the original harbor where they came from²⁵. Else said, it is well the whole corpus of the discovered material and its synthesis which will, maybe, give some answers to all those questions, vital questions which are difficult to answer but compulsory to be thought about in permanence.

Dumping as a form of cult offering

More than a hundred objects have been discovered perfectly intact²⁶. Said it in another way, the state of preservation of this category of objects would fit better with the idea of an intentional offering than with a garbage dumping. If the hypothesis of manipulation mistakes is also plausible, we cannot exclude the hypothesis of a voluntary ritual act.

²³ Martin 2011, 88-91.

²⁴ Fiches *et alii* 1978, 188.

²⁵ Djaoui, Capelli 2017.

²⁶ This exceptional conservation state observed on a hundred artifacts automatically despite their falling into the river and of the conditions of the archaeological interventions implies that the real number of intact objects thrown in Roman times had to be considerably higher.

Apuleius²⁷ recalls for instance several rituals aiming to be granted of the river's clemency or to celebrate the annual opening of navigation: «Everybody, soon, initiated as well as profanes, start to bring vases filled with aromas and different offerings, and made on the waters libations of curdled milk, until the moment when the boat charged of presents and pious offerings, finally free of the ties holding it to the dock, and profiting of a soft wind born for the occasion, raised the high sea”.



Fig. 3. Thin-walled ceramics from Baetica (Rémi Bénali, MdAa/CD13).

If this concept is extremely delicate to deal with, the ritual acts performed in rivers are nevertheless well witnessed practices in Saône-et-Loire during the 1st century AD²⁸. More recently, S. Nieloud-Muller has proven, in the Bourget Lake (Savoie), ritual acts clearly linked to a religious dimension²⁹. As a matter of fact, a ceramic lot of the second half of the 2nd century AD showed an over-representation of high shapes among a particular mix of ceramics bearing voluntary mutilations very probably to be set within a goodwill-demanding ritual. In the Rhône, it seems to be highly possible that facing the hazards of the navigation and of the floods, violent and unforecastable, donation acts could have been performed to gain the clemency of the big river. Yet contrary to the "relatively closed" and hence peaceful constituted by a lake, the complexity of the constitution dynamics of a harbor garbage deposit at Arles does not allow to evaluate the part of the artifacts potentially linked to a ritual act. If we take the example of the oil lamps, a particular

²⁷ *Metamorphosis*, XI, 16.

²⁸ Bonnamour, Marival 1985.

²⁹ Nieloud-Muller 2011.

attention has been drawn on the voluntary mutilations. If such kind of intentional acts are always very difficult to observe, the very large lychnological vision of L. Chrzanowski allowed to distinguish voluntary and accurate discus extractions from the lamps themselves, with a recurrence of some motifs – systematically associating wine, gladiators and theatre –, finds an amazing analogy with several sanctuaries of the *Vocontii*, where the same process with the same discus decorations do not let any interpretation open other than ritual. Their very meaning at Arles will be, on the contrary to those *favissae*, very difficult to understand. Moreover, the different causes of the dumps are raising not a few interrogations. Within the intact lamps, how to distinguish transshipment errors from the agglomerations consecutive to flood periods? How to separate rejections of the lamps used by the inhabitants from those used by the harbor workers and the seamen? And how, at the end, to consider the constitution itself of this deposit? Is it ceramic facies fed by daily dumps or one-time facies resulting from a particularly devastating flood?

When facing a context with so many faces, is it reasonable or pertinent to quantify the whole corpus of the individuals in the aim to compare them to other contexts? To be already conscious of those difficulties will allow, in the future, to mitigate the first statistic results and to draw prudent interpretations of the data even if they remain in many ways, complex and equivocal.

THE LAMPS (L.C.)

A well-defined lychnological timeframe: a short explanation

According to all researches led on the wreck itself, of each of its components and its load, the date of the sinking has been set during the 70's of the 1st century AD. The lamps found there can not only confirm this date, but also the hypothesis according to which the area was very scarcely used before the wreck: only 3 fragmentary lamps, of late Republican types, were found under the ship itself, while the ship's crew lamp found among the board vessel is a Gallic-made Loeschcke type IV ornamented with a very rare representation of Eros at a banquet (Fig. 5).

Epigraphically, all the readable marks on the lamp bases belong to workshops which were extinguished at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian for the latest of them, with the only exception of the Gallic lamps marked LHOSCRI, whose original workshop (launched around 90 AD) ceased its activities around 140 AD, while some counterfeited lamps, still bearing its mark, were produced until 175 AD.



Fig. 4. **a.** Some of the intentionally-cut discus scenes found in the garbage deposit; **b.** some of the intentionally-cut discus scenes from Arles (blue frame) compared with two identical scenes from the hundreds of cut discuses found at the sanctuaries of Chastelard de Lardiers and of Lachau (red frame: one sample from each sanctuary) (Images selected from Rouzeau 2016³⁰, Illustration n. 7, p. 195 and map of the location of the sanctuaries © N. Rouzeau, DRAC / MET, 2016; re-elaboration L. Chrzanovski).

³⁰ Rouzeau 2016, 191-195.

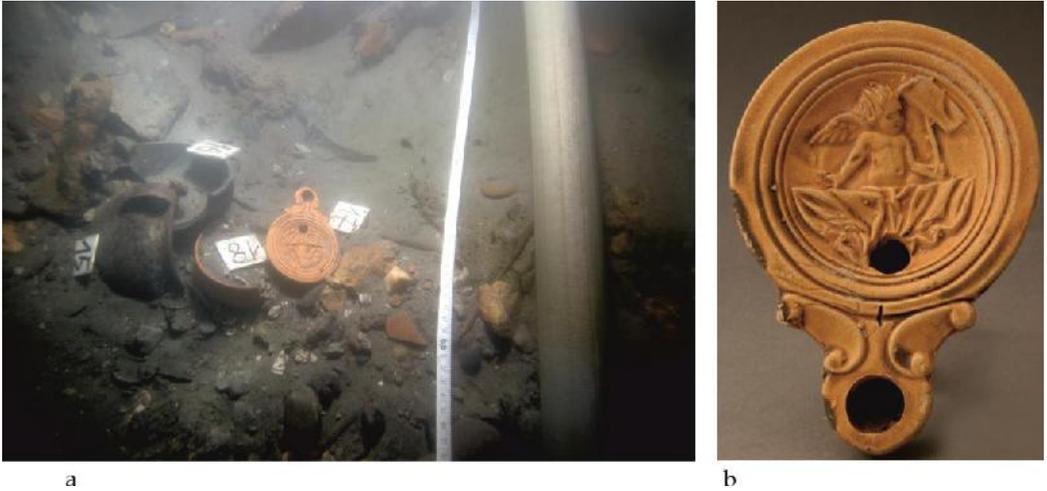


Fig. 5. The crew's lamp and vessels as they were discovered and the lamp after cleaning (© Christine Durand, CCJ/CNRS).



Fig. 6. The most amazing lamp at the moment of its discovery: the 22-wicked lustrum, finding parallels only at Delos and at Mons Porphyrites (© Christine Durand, CCJ/CNRS).

Moreover, all attempts to reveal stratigraphic layers have been inconclusive, leading to think there was an only single consolidated "magma" covering the wreck and including all the artifacts. In all sectors, at all levels, all types (volute lamps to Loeschcke VIII) are represented, even if in different proportions. The quantitative repartition of the individuals sufficiently well preserved to be inscribed into a broad specific type is as follows:

Type and quantity	Conventional dating and comments
Loeschcke I B-C: 79	30-100 AD in Italy, max. until 125 AD for Gallic productions
Loeschcke II: 1	0-50 AD in Italy, max. until 100 AD for Gallic productions
Loeschcke III: 44	0-75 AD in Italy, same date range for the seldom for Gallic productions
Loeschcke IV : 148	30-125 AD (rare Gallic survivals up to 140 AD)
Volute lamps fragments: 200+	Huge majority of them finding analogies only in Loeschcke types IV and V
Standard Loeschcke V: 39	70-150 AD (175 AD for the latest Gallic productions)
Regional Loeschcke V: 58	80-150 AD, identical to Loeschcke V but of smaller size
Late Vogelkopflampe: 1	First quarter to mid-2 nd century AD in Italy, later for Northern Iberian workshops. Extremely rare type in Gaul, where it has never been produced.
Firmalampen : 48	60 AD to 150 AD in Italy, until 180-200 AD in Southern Gaul depending of the workshop's mark (original or counterfeit), the subtype and the quality
Loeschcke VIII : 102	Claudius reign to 250 for the latest Gallic productions

Coming to the *terminus ante quem*, as far as the extinction of the harbor zone and its garbage deposit are concerned, we can propose without doubts the end of the 1st third of the 2nd century AD., more probably within the twenties of the century.

As a matter of fact, not only all the lamps of the latest type (Loeschcke VIII) were found mixed with earlier types, but those of them in a sufficiently well-preserved condition allowed to establish analogies with parallels dated no later than 120 AD.

In addition, two other elements come to strengthen our hypothesis. First, we found no lamps bearing the marks of the most important industrial Tunisian workshops, whose productions were exported in all the Western Mediterranean. In the meantime, lamps of the manufactures of *Marcus Novius Iustus* (120-180 AD), *Caius Iunius Alexis* (120-200 AD) and *Caius Iunius Draco* (120-200 AD) are well known at Arles and were recently discovered at ca. two hundred meters northwards Arles-Rhône 3, where they are among the ceramics found in the Arles-Rhône-14 (AR14) shipwreck, recently published³¹.

This wreck is situated on the same bank of the river, docked at the wharf of the Trinquetaille harbor zone, where underwater excavations started in 2011. There, researches revealed that the peak period of activity of the area³² runs from the middle of

³¹ cf. Long *et alii* 2013, 155-158.

³² Long (dir.), *Fouille du dépôt urbain de Trinquetaille (Rhône, Arles). Opération de fouille archéologique subaquatique programmée, Rapport d'opérations 2011 (Unpublished field report, DRASSM)*. Cf. pp. 38-49 (layers VI and VII).

the 2nd to the 4th century AD, exactly right after – and maybe as a consequence of – the abandon of the Arles-Rhône-3 quay portion as a major transshipment location.

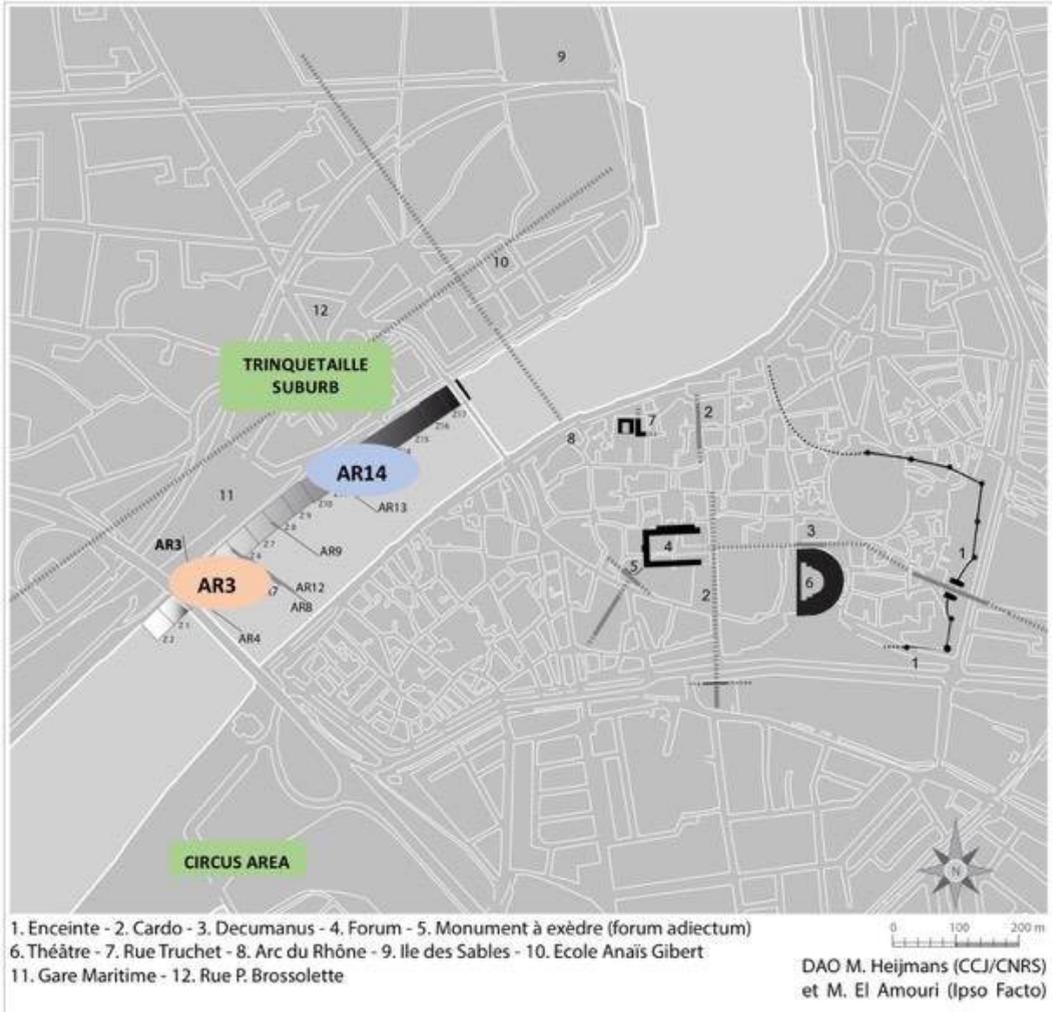


Fig. 7. The location of AR3 and of the relevant areas mentioned in the introduction (© DAO M. Heijmans (CCJ/CNRS) and M. El Amouri (Ipsa Facto) and additions by L. Chrzanowski).

Macro-regional repertoires: affinities and divergences

Quantitative results (on 271 motifs):

We selected 290 motifs for the iconographical dictionary proposed hereafter (paying attention to the 271 ones having known and dated analogies) for this short study aiming to consider the proportions of the different affinities and divergences we can find between Arles, Gaul and the best studied regions - with extremely active workshops - in the concerned period : Northern Africa (with the exhaustive catalogues made on Morocco, Algeria, Carthage) and the Transalpine area, mainly the Rhine Valley (with the exhaustive catalogues made on Trier, Cologne and Switzerland), without of course neglecting the Spanish corpuses when useful (mainly the recent volume on the imperial lamps found at Ampurias) as well as the authoritative volumes on the topic such as the unavoidable British Museum catalogue. Our choice was made on a total of 331 motifs catalogued for our final study, from which we excluded the "banal" seashells, rosettes and other geometric or vegetal patterns, which not only are common Empire-wide, but do often propose slight or broad differences of detail treatment. As such, we noticed they would cause more inexactitude than providing additional accuracy in our synthetic attempt of geographical diffusion and production of iconographical themes on Roman lamps during the 50 years timeframe of our garbage.

Arles, a Mediterranean-rooted harbor (61 themes)

The direct import of lamps ornamented with original motifs which will not be copied neither in Gaul, nor in Africa or in the Rhine area (42 themes, Table 1), is the mere definition of the ecosystem of a city living on the rhythm of the long-haul ships coming from all over the Mare Nostrum. To those 42 representations, we added 19 more, which were "skipped" by the regional Southern Gaul and Rhône valley workshops but were adopted by the German and/or by the African manufactures (Table 2).

Table 1. Imported themes, not to be found on lamps made in Gaul, Germanies or Africa (42).

Theme	M	Origin
Jupiter with the eagle holding the thunder, variant 2	2	Italy
Mars Ultor walking to the left	11	Italy
Pan standing	21	Italy
Head of satyr, variant 1	30	Italy, Asia Minor
Head of satyr, variant 2	31	Italy
Head of Silenus with crown of ivy and flowers	35	Italy
Eros trying to ride Bacchus' panther on a richly rendered bed	38	Italy
Eros jumping to reach a grape from the branch	50	Italy
Eros with thyrsus trying to steal a bunch of grapes from a rabbit	53	Italy
Standing Eros, holding a vase full of flowers	56	Italy
Eros playing with a puppy dog raising its leg	61	Italy
Lunar crescent ending with stars	79	Italy

Theme	M	Origin
Bust of Sol Radiatus, with undressed breast	80	Italy
Cybele-Fortuna on a throne	81	Italy
Hercules (or Silenus) wrapped by the lion skin and holding a kantharos	88	Italy
Ulysses naked kneeling in front of a temple	93	Italy
Ulysses tied to the ship's mast before the sirens start singing	94	Italy
Ulysses hiding under a big ram	95	Asia Minor
Feminine face	109	Italy
The cooking of the pork	124	Italy, Asia Minor
Scene with an altar	125	Italy
Trophy (?)	136	Italy
Allegory of the victory: cantharus, garland and palm leave	138	Asia Minor
Running desultor	146	Italy
Defeated gladiator, hands behind his back	150	Italy
Defending gladiator on the left, rival attacking on the right	154	Italy
Gladiator (of a pair) with Augustan-time weaponry	157	Italy
Victorious quadriga	164	Italy
Horse standing on its rear legs (scene of dressage)	166	Italy
Small beardless mask, variant 2	179	Italy
Grinning mask with hair dressed in side-braids, variant 2	178	Italy
Erotic/banquet scene	193	Italy
Erotic scene?	194	Italy
Resting camel, lying on the ground	197	Italy
Dog attacking a panther	199	Aegean world
Head of lion	204	Italy
Swine with back fur, standing on a mace	222	Italy
Ronde of two dogs pursuing two hares	224	Italy
Greyhounds coupling	229	Italy
Bull running rightwards, head in attack position	238	Egypt
Protome of bull with wrinkled baleens on the neck	240	Italy
Horse trotting leftwards and turning back its head	249	Italy

Southern Gaul and the Rhône valley until Lyon: a cosmopolitan world with workshops adopting mainstream iconographical themes, sometimes common with Africa, sometimes with the Rhine Valley area (98 themes).

The most interesting part of the attempt of preliminary research we led consisted into analyzing which topics seduced not only the workshops established in Gaul, but also their homologues in the Rhine Valley and in Tunisia. In this frame, we numbered 42 themes which were imitated in Gaul and in the Germanies (Table 3), 40 which were imitated in Gaul and in Africa (Table 4) and only 17 motifs which will be adopted by manufactures of all of the three areas (Table 5).

Table 2. Imported themes, later common on lamps made in Germanies and/or Africa but not on lamps made in Gaul (19).

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Jupiter with the eagle holding the thunder, variant 1	1	No	No	Yes	Italy
Minerva casting her vote in favor of Orestes	7	No	No	Yes	Italy
Sitting Eros	36	No	Yes	No	Italy
Eros walking rightwards while looking backwards	47	No	Yes	No	Italy
Winged Victoria on a two-horses driven chariot	72	No	No	Yes	Italy, Africa
Amazon fallen from her horse	88	No	Yes	No	Italy
Gladiator seen backwards	147	No	Yes	Yes	Italy
End of fight with two gladiators	156	No	Yes	No	Italy
Defeated gladiator rendered on left profile	158	No	Yes	Yes	Italy
Charioteer on a <i>biga</i> , holding his whip	163	No	Yes	Yes	Italy
Erotic scene a tergo, variant 2	189	No	Yes	Yes	Italy
Baby-charioteer on biga whipping his horses	165	No	No	Yes	Italy
Erotic scene with pygmies, second variant	186	No	No	Yes	Italy
Ram walking rightwards, variant 2	241	No	No	Yes	Africa
Goat walking leftwards	243	No	No	Yes	Africa
Bird on a "olive-tree branch" reaching a fruit (variant 2)	253	No	No	Yes	Africa
Standing wader, head looking upwards	272	No	Yes	No	Italy
Two dolphins swimming side by side	285	No	No	Yes	Africa
Two dolphins' swimming towards each other	286	No	No	Yes	Italy

Table 3. Imported themes, later common within lamps made in Gaul and in the Germanies (42).

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Head of Jupiter-Ammon (on Firmalampen)	4	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Minerva standing (Athena Parthenos)	6	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Sitting and toileting Venus	13	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Venus combing her hair	14	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Sitting Apollo paying the cithara	16	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Bacchant holding thyrsus and tambourine	24	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Head of young satyr, right profile	28	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Standing Eros holding Hercules' mace and lion skin	39	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Bust of Luna wearing a tunica with round neck	75	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Busts of beardless Hercules	87	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Head of Medusa with baby cheeks	97	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Griffin running rightwards	102	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Pegasus on run to the right	105	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Pair of clues	111	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Double <i>Cornucopia</i>	112	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Cleaning a Herm	120	Yes	Yes	No	Italy

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Slave washing his hands	122	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Chalice on high stand	134	Yes	Yes	No	Gaul
Theme of the "Gallic chevalier"	135	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Iubilator	161	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Charioteer on a <i>biga</i> whipping his horses	162	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Defeated pugilist, knee on the ground	168	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Muse or musician playing cithara	169	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Itinerant showman: animal handler and juggler	176	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Erotic-comic scene with pygmies	184	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Erotic scene with pygmies, first variant	185	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Erotic scene a tergo, variant 1	188	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Erotic scene with lying woman	191	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Erotic scene with woman holding weapons	192	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Lion bouncing rightwards	202	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Wild boar bitten on its flank by a hunting dog	217	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Wild boar running rightwards	220	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Hare running rightwards, variant 1	225	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Huge sheep dog barking	232	Yes	Yes	No	Gaul
Harnessed horse, galloping leftwards	247	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Eagle, wings folding, holding a crown with its beak	252	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Standing eagle, holding a palm branch with its beak	255	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Bird on an "olive-tree branch" facing a fruit (variant 1)	257	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Rooster going rightwards, long tail in torsade	263	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Couple of swimming ducks	266	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Duck only, seen on three quarters	267	Yes	Yes	No	Italy
Peacock in right profile	270	Yes	Yes	No	Italy

Table 4. Imported themes, later common within lamps made in Gaul and in Africa (40).

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Jupiter with the eagle holding the thunder, variant 3	3	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Venus anadyomene	12	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Diana hunting	15	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Bust of Mercury bearing the winged petasus	18	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Ivy-crowned head of Silenus on a panpipe	27	Yes	No	Yes	Africa
Sitting Eros playing the double pipe	43	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Eros going leftwards, playing double pipe	44	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Eros grape-picker	51	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Eros going leftwards, holding a vase upside down	54	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Eros holding a small amphora with his right hand	55	Yes	No	Yes	Africa
Eros playing a double pipe while riding a dolphin	59	Yes	No	Yes	Africa
Eros riding a seahorse swimming to the left	60	Yes	No	Yes	Africa
Nereid riding a dolphin to the left	63	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Sitting Fortuna, rendered in left profile	66	Yes	No	Yes	Italy

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Standing Victoria holding her shield	70	Yes	No	Yes	Africa
Bust of Luna with delicate hairdressing	76	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Different busts of Luna/Diana on the lunar crescent	77	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Harpocrates with cornucopia	85	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Standing Sirena rendered on three quarters left	100	Yes	No	Yes	Africa
Sphinx rendered frontally	101	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Griffin on left profile, raising its front right leg	103	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Double <i>Cornucopia</i> with body decorated with grooves	113	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Herm rendered frontally, on a pedestal and flanked by a solar scepter	118	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Skyphos on low foot	133	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Eques or riding gladiator	145	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Defeated or resting gladiator	148	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Defeated gladiator, seating on the ground	149	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Right-profile elephant head	198	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Lion walking leftwards, one of its front legs raised	203	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Bear attacking a bull	208	Yes	No	Yes	Miletus
Furry dog or young bear (attacking a deer)	212	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Wild boar running leftwards	220	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Dog pursuing a hare, under a tree	223	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Hare eating a bunch of grapes	228	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Hunting dog kept with a leash tied to a tree	233	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Wild horse galloping rightwards	248	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Bird on left profile, on a pomegranate branch	256	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Bird on a myrtle branch reaching a fruit (variant 3)	259	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Crab heading upwards	289	Yes	No	Yes	Italy
Scorpion headed rightwards	290	Yes	No	Yes	Italy

Table 5. Imported themes, later common within productions made in Gaul, Germanies and Africa (17).

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Bust of Mercury bearing the winged petasus	19	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Bacchant standing	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Head of satyr with widely displayed beard	32	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Eros holding a shell and a perfume flask	45	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Standing Victoria, holding a crown and a palm leave	69	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Standing Victoria holding her shield with her right hand	70	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Bust of a curly haired child	110	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
War ship	126	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Krater with vine and grapes	131	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Gladiator raising his hand leftwards	152	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Lion assaulting an antelope	200	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Lion bouncing leftwards	201	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Bear running rightwards	209	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Deer running rightwards	207	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Tale-plumed rooster walking rightwards	262	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Tale-plumed rooster walking rightwards, right leg raised, palm leaf	264	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy
Facing peacock making the wheel	271	Yes	Yes	Yes	Italy

Arles, Mediterranean Gaul and the Rhône valley, between imitations and original creations (113 themes)

If we look at the merely "regional" productions made in Gaul, ornamented with themes which have not benefitted of the appreciation neither of the Rhine valley workshops nor of the Tunisian ones, the AR3 excavations allowed to underline two contemporary – and not contradictory – phenomena: the imported motifs, imitated or copied by overmolding, and the newly created original motifs, fruit of the culture and the skills of the local manufacturers. We can witness 66 themes generated after original imports (Table 6) and 46 motifs invented in Gaul and mainly addressed to local customers (Table 7).

Table 6. Imported themes to be found only in productions made in Gaul (66).

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Leda and the swan, pushed by a small Eros	5	Yes	No	No	Italy
Minerva coming to feed Erychthonios, variant 2	10	Yes	No	No	Italy, Asia Minor
Bacchant standing	22	Yes	No	No	Italy
Child holding a small krater	34	Yes	No	No	Italy
Eros at a banquet	37	Yes	No	No	Italy
Standing Eros togatus facing an altar and the caduceus, a horn lying on the ground	41	Yes	No	No	Italy
Standing Eros togatus, alone	42	Yes	No	No	Italy
Eros naked walking rightwards	46	Yes	No	No	Italy
Eros walking rightwards, holding a torch	49	Yes	No	No	Italy
Eros holding a bunch of grapes	52	Yes	No	No	Italy
Fishing Eros	57	Yes	No	No	Asia Minor
Fishing Eros, floating on an amphora	58	Yes	No	No	Italy
Feminine bust surrounded by two dolphins	65	Yes	No	No	Italy
Fortuna standing, rendered in left profile	67	Yes	No	No	Italy
Standing Ceres	74	Yes	No	No	Italy
Bust of Attis	82	Yes	No	No	Italy
Standing Anubis	83	Yes	No	No	Italy
Standing Anubis, rendered in 3/4 profile	84	Yes	No	No	Italy
Omphale surrounded by small cupids	90	Yes	No	No	Italy
Telephus being suckled by the doe	96	Yes	No	No	Italy
Head of Medusa on a vegetal palmette, her hair crowned by two crab claws	98	Yes	No	No	Italy

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Pegasus trotting leftwards	106	Yes	No	No	Italy
Busts of the imperial couple on profile	107	Yes	No	No	Italy
Bust of Hadrian (right profile)	108	Yes	No	No	Italy
Round altar ornamented with offerings	116	Yes	No	No	Italy
Personage with a knife facing a broken amphora	123	Yes	No	No	Italy
Two personages on a sailing boat	127	Yes	No	No	Italy
Two monkeys on a small skiff	128	Yes	No	No	Italy
Basket with fish and birds	125	Yes	No	No	Italy
Krater on a stand	132	Yes	No	No	Italy
Helmet and sica	139	Yes	No	No	Italy
Parma, helmet and sica	140	Yes	No	No	Italy
Helmet	144	Yes	No	No	Italy
Defeated or resting gladiator	148	Yes	No	No	Italy
A gladiator, on the right, counters the attack of his rival	155	Yes	No	No	Asia Minor
<i>Venatio</i> : personage, lion and mule	160	Yes	No	No	Italy
Pygmies (<i>Kinaidoi</i>) dancing while holding two sticks in each hand	170	Yes	No	No	Asia Minor
Hunchbacked pygmy dancing, holding two sticks his right each	171	Yes	No	No	Italy
Ithyphallic dancer with a sharp-ended cap, holding two sticks with a hand	172	Yes	No	No	Italy
Hunchbacked ithyphallic grotesque personage, running while playing double panpipe	173	Yes	No	No	Asia Minor
Grotesque ithyphallic personage, crouched, playing lyre	174	Yes	No	No	Italy
Two small beardless masks	180	Yes	No	No	Italy
Grinning mask with hair dressed in side-braids, variant 2	182	Yes	No	No	Italy
Mask with grumpy nose	183	Yes	No	No	Italy
Allegory of Cleopatra, variant 1	195	Yes	No	No	Italy
Bear running leftwards	210	Yes	No	No	Italy
Sitting bear, forelegs up	211	Yes	No	No	Italy
Wild boar on the ground, attacked by two dogs	216	Yes	No	No	Italy
Wild boar attacked in its lair by a dog	218	Yes	No	No	Italy
Wild pig or wild boar going leftwards	221	Yes	No	No	Italy
Dog with a collar running rightwards	230	Yes	No	No	Italy
Bull running rightwards, head in attack position	238	Yes	No	No	Egypt
Ram walking rightwards, variant 1	241	Yes	No	No	Italy
Ibex bouncing to the right	244	Yes	No	No	Italy
Horse trotting leftwards and turning back its head	249	Yes	No	No	Italy
Eagle hunting a hare	250	Yes	No	No	Italy
Eagle, wings spread, holding (or not) the triple thunder	251	Yes	No	No	Italy
Eagle looking rightwards, depicted with the caduceus	253	Yes	No	No	Italy

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Hen and her chicks	260	Yes	No	No	Italy
Rooster to the left (scene of the two roosters fighting)	261	Yes	No	No	Italy
Tale-plumed rooster walking rightwards, left leg raised	265	Yes	No	No	Egée
Duck swimming, holding a snake with its beak	268	Yes	No	No	Italy
Dolphin with trident, left profile t	276	Yes	No	No	Italy
Dolphin swimming rightwards above a bed of seaweed	277	Yes	No	No	Italy
Dolphin swimming rightwards, raising its large crescent-shaped tail	280	Yes	No	No	Italy
Tuna, sea-bass and squid	287	Yes	No	No	Italy

Table 7. Gallic autochthonous themes (46).

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Head of Jupiter-Ammon (on discus lamps)	4	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Minerva at war (Athena Promachos)	8	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Minerva coming to feed Erychthonios, variant 1	9	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Head of Mercury or actor's mask	20	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Bacchus child with a Silenus as his mentor	23	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Dionysian head	29	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Horned head	33	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Eros with a basket on his breast, both arms raised	48	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Nereid riding the Ceto to the right	62	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Lunar crescent with raised dots	76	Yes	No	No	Gaul
The mongoose fighting the cobra	86	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Chimera?	104	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Winged <i>caduceus</i>	111	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Small round altar adorned with offerings	117	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Bearded herm, caduceus and circle	119	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Woman bearing a small box	121	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Amphora	130	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Small naked warrior	137	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Shield, hilt of sword and crossed greaves	141	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Two helmets, two shields	142	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Helmet with panache, sword, shield and palm leave	143	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Raetarius (?)	151	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Pigmy with a shield, fighting a cock	159	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Pygmy walking rightwards	175	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Bearded mask	177	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Small beardless mask, variant 1	178	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Cervid	215	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Hare running rightwards, variant 1	225	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Hare running rightwards, variant 2	226	Yes	No	No	Gaul

Theme	M	Gaul	Germanies	Africa	Origin
Small dog running leftwards	231	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Tree and bouncing dog	235	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Ferret	236	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Crouched goat	245	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Two sheep, and a sucking lamb	246	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Eagle, rendered alone without any ornaments	254	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Standing ostrich	269	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Standing wader, left leg raised forwards, head looking backwards	273	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Standing wader, his head bent to clean his feathers	274	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Dolphin swimming leftwards	278	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Dolphin swimming rightwards	280	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Diving dolphin	281	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Two dolphins in vertical dive (var. 1), head-to-head	283	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Two dolphins in dive (variant 2), each one aiming to reach the other	284	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Two dolphins in dive (variant 3), touching themselves by their nose	285	Yes	No	No	Gaul
Cuttlefish rendered frontally	288	Yes	No	No	Gaul

CONCLUSIONS

Even if to be considered as of the highest importance possible, a single excavation alone will never give us the capacity to give trustworthy statistics, following the real meaning of the word in mathematics. This does not apply only to the settlement where the research has been led, but even more to the micro- and macro-regional reality the Roman city was a part of. Hence, all the work here is to be considered, no more no less, than a simple study hypothesis, from which the only reliable elements are some macro-tendencies evidenced by the analyzed data.

In this sense, the Mediterranean openness of Arles and its harbor, so often proved by researches on different topics, is now witnessed also from the "lychnological front", with those 61 themes made in as many workshops from different parts of the Mare Nostrum and present, in Gaul, at Arles – sometimes exclusively, sometimes within very small groups of the same lamps found in areas situated not so far away.

On the other side, the analysis made allows to come again on an already known yet very scarcely studied phenomenon, the one of the appreciations by Gallic workshops and customers of many subjects "*en vogue*" at Rome and in the major cities of the Mediterranean. With 164 motifs copied or adapted, the Rhone Valley workshops proved to be more receptive to "external fashions" than their Rhine Valley or Tunisian counterparts, while, in the same time, they proved to be able of great creativity,

inventing original motifs. Only within our corpus, we number almost fifty ornaments which will never be reproduced outside Gaul.

Last but not least, at the southern end of the Rhône commercial corridor, Arles proves again to be a spectacular gatherer of micro- and macro-regional productions. Not only we found in the harbor garbage almost all typologies used in the region during the mentioned timeframe, but 211 motifs made in Gaul (mainly from the workshops situated in the Rhone delta area as well as from the huge production centers that were Vaison-la-Romaine and Lyon). If we look at the results of the excavations led, not so far away, at Glanum, Fos-sur-Mer, Saint-Paul-les-Trois-Châteaux, each of them does not reach a half of the repertoire found under the Rhone waters. The full publication of the corpus, owing a lot to the specific kind and spot of the excavations, but also to the strategic commercial position of Arles will give birth to not a few additional hypotheses, to be confirmed or infirmed by future researches.

Lychnology, particularly in France but also in the Mediterranean as a whole, has still a lot of secrets to deliver, but at the same time, has already delivered enough pieces to start playing different "puzzles" than the "niche ones" played most of the times until now. In this sense, one of the aims of this appendix – despite its numbers with a merely "hypothetic" value – is to show that the iconographical repertoires can also be inscribed among the elements helping to retrace with precision long-haul as well as short-haul commercial trade routes and, what is even more important, the impact of the goods coming via those routes on the local populations and hence of the local manufactures in each different region of the Empire.

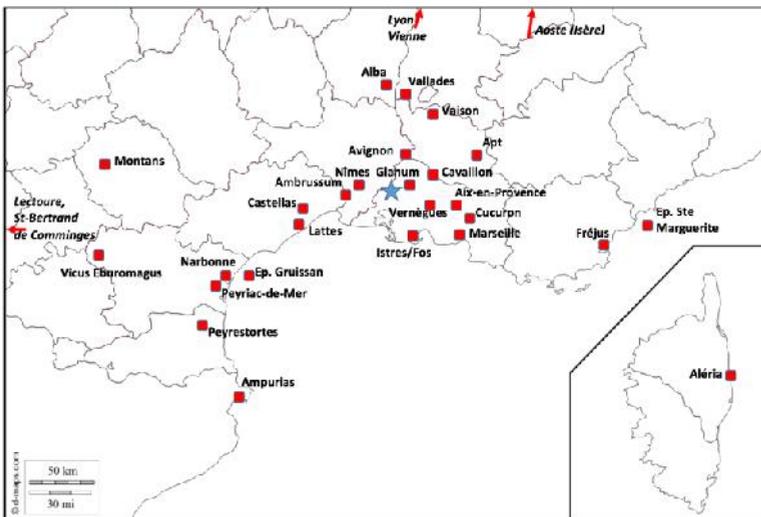


Fig. 8. Map of the sites of Southern France where analogies have been found and reported in the dictionary.



Fig. 9. Map of further French sites and important Swiss, German and Spanish sites where most of the analogies have been found and reported in the dictionary.

ICONOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE

M1. Jupiter with the eagle holding the thunder, variant 1

Lamps: Loeschcke III (2 ex., 1 bilychnis, 1 monolychnis).

Discussion: Representation (and lamps) typical of Italian original productions. Jupiter is completely dressed and taller than his iconic bird. The bird's wings are widely open, feathers to the top. Motif common on lamps of big size (Loeschcke III) and on Italian earlier to contemporary productions of Loeschcke IV. It is the first time this representation is found in Gaul on intact lamps; until now only a fragment belonging to a lamp of Italian manufacture has been unearthed, in the same region, at Fos-sur-Mer.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 255, pp. 78 and 152; *Archetype on an early Loeschcke IV:* Bailey 1980, Q 948, p. 181 and pl. 19, dated 50 to 90 AD; *Principal lists of parallels:* Cahn-Klaiber 1977, n. 193, p. 74 and pl. 18; Bussière 2000, motif I.a.1. (1), p. 151; Bémont, Chew 2007; motif D 1, p. 49; Cahn 2009, motif1, pp. 304-305.

M2. Jupiter with the eagle holding the thunder, variant 2

Lamps: one Loeschcke III bilychnis.

Discussion: almost identical to M1 but with Jupiter represented on a smaller scale and bird's wings and feathers having a different rendering. Italian production without any parallel known to us.



Fig. 10. M1-M5: JUPITER; M6-M10: MINERVA. M1 discus from AR3.4001.120; M2 discus from AR3.2007.72; M3 discus from AR3.3001.305; M4 discus from AR3.3001.308; M5 Fragment AR3.3018.27; M6. discus from AR3.4001.71; M7. discus from A48 40 M8. discus from fragment AR3.3007.92; M9 discus from AR3.3002.32; M10. Fragment AR3.3001.23

M3. Jupiter with the eagle holding the thunder, variant 3

Lamps: One Loeschcke IV, Loeschcke VIII, multiple fragments.

Discussion: it is the most popular and "standard" rendering of the motif, similar to M3 but with the wings of the eagle rendered with upwards feathers. In the very huge group of known parallels, Jupiter can be fully dressed or bearing only a garment on his right shoulder. In Gaul, imported Italian lamps of types Loeschcke I, III and IV are known, while local copies of good quality were observed in our corpus for the first time, all belonging to Loeschcke IV lamps, similar to the Colchester productions or in the five lamps unearthed in Switzerland and said to be either locally manufactured or imported from Lyon. Else, very mediocre copies were well known within the productions of the workshops of Montans.

Bibliography: *Montans:* Bergès 1989, nn. 444-5, p. 77 and fig. 45, p. 95; *Colchester:* Bailey 1988, Q 1523-1524, pp. 3, 4, 160 and pl. 3; *Switzerland:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 28, p. 137 and pl. 25. *Principal lists of parallels:* Bussière 2000, motif I.a.1. (3), pp. 151-152; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 1.3, nn. 4-5, pp. 44-45 and Fig. 1; Cahn 2009, motif 2, pp. 305.

M4. Head of Jupiter-Ammon

Lamps: several fragments of volute lamps, one intact Firmalampe (Loeschcke IXb), several fragments of Firmalampen.

Discussion: The head of Jupiter-Ammon is one of the most popular representations on Firmalampen, in particular those used or made in Gaul. In the same area, the motif will enjoy such a success that it will be reproduced on late Loeschcke I lamps, first in an identical way and then with a much more elegant and broader rendering allowing to add supplementary details to the composition. Both kinds of variants are well represented within the register of motifs produced in the highly skilled workshops of Lyon-La Butte. At Arles, only the "small" variant, i.e. the one fitting both Firmalampen and discus lamps, is attested.

Bibliography: *Firmalampen:* cf. Bémont 2002, motif D005, p. 61; Bémont, Chew 2007; motif D 103, p. 86; *Loeschcke I manufactured at Lyon-La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, n. 14, p. 488 and fig. 9, p. 489; *Principal lists of parallels:* Chrzanowski 2000, n. 7, pp. 61-62; Elaigne 1996, nn. 1-4, pp. 104-106; pl. 83, p. 186.

M5. Leda and Jupiter metamorphosed in a swan, pushed by a small Eros.

Lamps: several fragments of volute lamps.

Discussion: The representation shown here is the most complete and the most seldom of the love scene depicting Leda and the swan. As a matter of fact, besides the main protagonists, a small Eros comes to help Jupiter by holding with his hands the right wing of the swan. On most of the other lamps bearing this theme, we observe only Leda and Jupiter with, on the most elaborate ones, a big egg – the fruit of their love - lying under Leda. The scene with Eros is known to us only in Italy and in carefully made Cypriot imitations of Italian lamps of Loeschcke type IV. Within our fragments, we find Italian originals and local copies, the last being either roughly made, with relief globules resulting from residual oxygen bubbles remained in the mold, signifying a too quick plaster mold-making of an Italian lamp, or carefully rendered with hand-worked small incisions made before firing in order to erase the bubbles and render again the details lost during the molding.

Bibliography: *complete scene:* Bailey 1980, pp. 10, 173 and pl. 12 with bibliography (Q 871 – dated 40 to 70 AD.). *Abridged scene:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 26, pp. 136-7, pl. 25; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 67, p. 214, pl. 28; Bussière 2000, motif I.a.1 (7), p. 152; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 1.5, n. 6, p. 46, Fig. 1; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 230 and E 912, p. 64.

M6. Minerva standing (Athena Parthenos)

Lamps: Loeschcke IV

Discussion: the standing Minerva, bearing her helmet and holding a spear with her right hand and her shield with her left, is one of the most popular mythological themes of the Capitoline deities' renderings on Roman lamps, second only to Jupiter with the eagle. Not only the immense quantity of lamps with this ornament, but their geographical repartition, witness their appreciation in almost all the regions of the Empire.

In Gaul, nevertheless, the theme is quite rare, being either imported like our artifact, or produced – mainly in the workshops of Fos-sur-Mer and Lyon-La Butte – on volute-lamps.

Bibliography: *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 102-6, pp. 62 and 134; *Lyon - La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, n. 16, p. 488, fig. 9, p. 489. *Principal lists of parallels:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 14, p. 134, pl. 24; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q

962, p. 13; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 29, pp. 200-1, pl. 24 and 52; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 8, pp. 171-2; Bussière 2000, motif Ia.7 (1), p. 155; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 4.2, n. 27, p. 53, Fig. 3; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 355-357, p.72; Cahn 2009, motif 11, p. 308.

M7. Minerva casting her vote in favor of Orestes

Lamp: one Loeschcke IV

Discussion: With the exception of a lamp unearthed at Osuna (ancient Urso, province of Seville, Andalucía, Spain), our variant of the motif, where Minerva casts her vote into an urn set on a small column and not on a table as on all lamps witnessed in the Western Mediterranean area, is a merely Eastern Roman rendering. With its characteristic column, it seems to have had only a limited diffusion, if compared to its "western" counterpart: we can observe it only on some Loeschcke type IV lamps. Our artifact, eroded by the waters, could be an Aegean import, being very close to a lamp found at Argos. Another interesting fact is that at Arles, both renderings are witnessed: our lamp finds a "twin" discovered also in the Rhône waters, in 2010, while the traditional Italian version with table is depicted on a short-nozzle volute lamp with ears preserved in the ancient collections of the Museum (fig. 2).

Bibliography: *Osuna:* Rodríguez Neila 1977, n. 15, p. 390; *Argos:* Bovon 1966, n. 220, pp. 41-2 and pl. 5; *Principal lists of parallels:* Bussière 2000, motif Ia.7. (5), p. 157.



Fig. 11. The "Eastern rendering" on our lamp and the "Western rendering" on the Museum's lamp FAN.91.00.2043.

M8. Minerva at war (Athena Promachos)

Lamps: fragments of volute lamps

Discussion: standing Minerva, holding straight her shield with her left hand while ready to throw her spear with her right. This representation is very rare, being observed until now only at Vindonissa on two lamps of Loeschcke type I described as "Gallic manufacture". Our fragments come to confirm this hypothesis, both bearing little marks revealing the use of the over-molding technique: one is hand-worked small incisions made before firing in order to erase the bubbles and render again the details lost during the molding, such as the numerous small belts inside the shield, allowing the goddess to hold it.

Bibliography: Leibundgut 1977, motif 13, p. 134, pl. 24 (*Vindonissa lamps*).

M9. Minerva coming to feed Erychthonios, variant 1

Lamps: fragments of volute lamps

Discussion: standing Minerva, unusually bearing a nightgown. She holds her spear with her right hand and reaching out her left towards a small basket placed under a tree, from which the snake-shaped Erychthonios is coming out. On the right part of the scene, the goddess' shield ornamented with the Gorgoneion is placed near an aedicule made of stones, on the top of which stands a crow. We are facing the second known representation of Minerva observed by a crow, coming to feed her illegitimate child, born from her leg. The first rendering is known on only one Loeschke IV lamp said to come from Smyrna. Both our fragments have as exact parallel a small fragment unearthed at Fos-sur-Mer, while another fragment, found at Alesia, where we see only Erychthonios exiting from the basket but without the tree. We certainly face a Gallic production of very high quality and additional details if compared to the Mediterranean "archetype" constituted by the Smyrna lamp.

Bibliography: *Smyrna*: Bailey 1988, Q 3290, p. 413, pl. 120; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 388, pp. 62, 171; *Aléria*: Oziol 1980, n. 73, p. 32, pl. 6.

M10. Minerva coming to feed Erychthonios, variant 2

Lamps: fragments of volute lamps

Discussion: this time, the standing Minerva is bearing her war dress, with Gorgoneion and snakes adorning her pectoral armor. This rendering is much more similar - and from a better mold - to the one observed on the Smyrna lamp, while clay and slip suggest an Italian import.

Bibliography: for further details on the iconography itself and the presence of the crow instead of the owl, sticking exactly to the legend (Chrzanovski 2016, pp. 173-180).

M11. Mars Ultor walking to the left

Lamp: one fragment of a volute lamp

Discussion: Mars *Ultor*, naked excepted a short loincloth, bears his helmet and holds a spear with his right hand while with his left, he bears a trophy. This scene is well-known in the Aegean world, which is probably its birthplace, before being massively reproduced in Italy on lamps of type Loeschke I and IV. At Arles, it is the second attestation of the motif, known on a much better-preserved lamp (Loeschke IV) also found in the Rhône. Imported lamps with Mars Ultor are unknown in Gaul, while the motif itself is well attested among the productions of the workshops of Lyon-La Butte.

Bibliography: *Lyon-La Butte*: Elaigne 1997, n. 36, p. 22 and pl. 8, p. 40; *Principal lists of parallels*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 34, p. 138; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 878, p. 14.

M12. Venus anadyomene

Lamps: Loeschke IV

Discussion: Venus standing, just coming from the water - *anadyomene* - is holding her hair with her right hand while her left holds a loincloth covering her legs. This representation has a very eclectic geographical repartition: it is witnessed in Italy, probably its birthplace, in Africa and in Gaul. Among all known parallels, half have a rendering almost identical to ours, while the other half is adorned, on the left side, by a small column on the top of which a vase is placed. Our lamps are to be considered as Gallic productions.

Bibliography: Principal lists of parallels: Bussière 2000, motif Ia.8 (1), p. 156; Bémont 2002, motif D003, pp. 59-60.

M13. Sitting and toileting Venus

Lamp: fragment of a volute lamp

Discussion: On the complete scene, the goddess seats on a chair, naked excepted for a *strophium* covering her breast. Facing her, a small Eros opens a coffin with garments while a second one, on the left, heads towards the goddess to give her an object. This complex scene is rare and appears only on Italian lamps of Loeschcke type IV, soon copied by Rhine Valley manufactures, and was unknown in Gaul. The rendering of our fragment indicates a regional production made by a delicate over-molding while clay and slip are close to those of the lamps traditionally attributed to the workshops of Vaison-la-Romaine. It would hence be another motif to add to the repertory of Gallic productions.

Bibliography: Principal lists of parallels: Leibundgut 1977, motif 17, p. 135 and pl. 24; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 29, p. 58; Cahn 2009, motif 7, p. 306.



Fig. 12. M11-M14: MARS & VENUS (M11 Parallel: Arles Museum, discus of RHO.2013.R.2 ; M12: discus of PR1.806; M13 Parallel: discus of M.A.N., inv. 12549 (IT 19); M14 Parallel: discus of M.A.N., inv. 12422 (GA 47)); M15-M16: DIANA & APOLLO (M15 the fragment AR3.2029.61; M16 Parallel : discus of British Museum: 1847, 1108.1 (Q 975)); M17-M20: MERCURY (M17 Parallel: discus of RHO.2004.Z2.582; M18 Parallel: discus of British Museum 1756, 0101.1052 (Q1301); M19 Discus of AR3.3018.70 ; M20 Fragment AR3.2001.163).

M14. Venus combing her hair

Lamp: fragment of volute lamp

Discussion: Venus is rendered naked, kneeling, holding her hair with both hands as like after a bath. This scene is more seldom than the one depicting Venus "at the bath" where the goddess is the same position but places her right hand on her knee while she holds a shell with her left. Our scene is witnessed only on Loeschcke type I lamps found at Vindonissa, Trier as well as at Ampurias and in Northern Africa. In Gaul, two intact lamps of the same type were discovered at Vaison and we know the scene was produced by the workshops of Lyon-La Butte.

Bibliography: Gaul: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 29, p. 59; Bémont 2002, motif D004, p. 60; Lyon - La Butte: Hanotte 2003, n. 17, p. 488, fig. 9. Principal lists of parallels: Leibundgut 1977, motif 19, p. 135; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 31, p. 201; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 359-360, pp. 227-228.

M15. Diana hunting

Lamp: fragment of volute lamp

Discussion: This depiction of hunting Diana is one of the most carefully rendered we know. With such accurate details, we found a single exact parallel in a very damaged Loeschcke IV lamp signed COPPIRES and found at Mogador. The same Diana, but without the dog at her feet, appears also on a Loeschcke I lamp unearthed at Carthago, while some other volute lamps of very different quality are known in Southern Spain. This representation, after a hiatus, will reappear much later, on massively produced lamps of Loeschcke type VIII, made in Italy as well as in Africa and exported in all the Western Mediterranean area. Our fragment is without any doubt an Italian original production and the earliest attestation of this theme in Gaul.

Bibliography: *Mogador:* Ponsich 1961, n. 118, p. 88, pl. 11; *Carthago:* Deneauve 1969, n. 284, p. 108, pl. 35; *Mérida and lists of parallels:* Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 6.3, n. 38, p. 57, Fig. 3.

M16. Sitting Apollo paying the cithara

Lamp: fragment of volute lamp

Discussion: This theme is very rare and seems to be limited to lamps of Loeschcke type V. On its complete rendering, Apollo is sitting on a rock from which a griffin is coming out, turning its head to look at the god. Other representations of Apollo, playing alone, or according his cithara, are more frequent. Born in Italy, our motif will be copied in several provinces of the North of the Mediterranean and in the Rhine valley, as the lamp found at Köln and, of course, our fragment, to be considered as a copy made in Southern France by over-molding, rendering the griffin almost unrecognizable.

Bibliography: *Italy & list of parallels:* Bailey 1980, Q 975, p. 193, pl. 23, with discussion p. 11; *Köln & list of parallels:* Cahn 2009, n. 769, pp. 128-129 and pl. 52; motif 5, p. 306.

M17. Mercury standing

Lamps: several fragments of volute lamps

Discussion: Mercury, rendered standing naked excepted a short tunica covering his shoulders, bears his winged petasus on his head and his winged sandals. With his right hand, he holds a purse while with his left, he waves the caduceus. If we follow the rendering of the tunica, at least two of our fragments were made in the workshops of Lyon, of which we know several Loeschcke type I lamps exported as far as Vindonissa. The motif itself, probably of Italian origin, will be reproduced in Spain and in Africa both on Loeschcke type I and type IV lamps.

Bibliographie: *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 38, p. 139, pl. 26; *list of parallels:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 27, p. 200, pl. 24; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 4, p. 170.

M18. Bust of Mercury bearing the winged petasus

Lamp: fragment of Loeschcke type VIII lamp

Discussion: On intact pieces, the bust of Mercury is flanked at its right by the caduceus and at its left by a purse. The motif appears on lamps of Loeschcke type I to be then massively produced, mainly on lamps

of Loeschcke type VIII. The broadest diffusion of this scene is to be found in Africa, where it appears on Italian lamps as well as on locally made, signed, productions. Extremely rare in Gaul, it appears on two Loeschcke type IV lamps found around Fos-sur-Mer as well as at Vaison-la-Romaine. Our fragment could be an Italian import as well as a very carefully made Gallic lamp.

Bibliography: list of parallels: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 292, p. 217; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 1301-3, p. 13; Bussière 2000, motif I.a.6 (1), pp. 154-5.

M19. Bust of Mercury (right profile) bearing the winged petasus

Lamps: one lamp of Loeschcke type IV and several fragments of Loeschcke types IV and VIII

Discussion: This rendering of the god's bust will enjoy a broad success on all types of Roman lamps, since the earliest Loeschcke IA to the latest Loeschcke VIII, and in almost all the region of the Empire. In Gaul, our intact Loeschcke IV lamp, which is certainly an Italian import – marked with *planta pedis* – is the only volute-lamp bearing this motif at this day with a fragment discovered at Cavaillon, while the Loeschcke type VIII lamps with this scene are very common in Southern France, probably fruits of the work of careful local manufacturers.

Bibliography: list of parallels: Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 3, pp. 168-9; Bussière 2000, motif I.a.6 (2), p. 155, Cahn 2009, motif 8, p. 307.

M20. Head of Mercury or actor's mask

Lampe: small discus fragment

Discussion: This motif is known only in the very place where it has been produced: the workshops of La Butte in Lyon, where the fragment unearthed is alas as incomplete as ours, making impossible any reconstitution of the whole scene as well as the type of lamp both discuses belonged to.

Bibliography: Lyon, La Butte: Hanotte 2003, p. 488 and fig. 13:67, p. 493.

M21. Pan standing

Lamp: one lamp of Loeschcke type IV

Discussion: For this fragmentary lamp, no parallels are known to us. The deity, Pan, is very rarely represented on lamps, and when he is, the renderings show either only his head, or a complex scene with Pan together with a satyr, a faun and a goat. Here, the god stands looking rightwards, his arms deployed horizontally, his right hand holding a crown of wine leaves while his left holds his characteristic small flute. The quality and the ceramologic aspects of the lamp suggests an Italian import.

M22. Silenus standing

Lamps: fragments of volute lamps

Discussion: Rare, the theme of the standing hairy silenus – or Papposilenus –, moving rightwards and holding with his right hand the thyrsus, belongs to the repertory of the motifs created by the most skilled Central Italian manufactures, among which we can quote, for this very scene, the one of Caius Clodius, which reproduced it on Loeschcke type IV lamps such as the one preserved at the British Museum. The only known lamps are to be found in Gaul and are all from the same type. Among them, we find both original imports and Southern Gallic copies made by over-molding originals. Among our fragments, we find both productions, the Italian one and the Gallic one.

Bibliography: Bailey 1980, Q 902, pp. 18-9, 169, pl. 14 *with list of parallels*; Gaul: Rivet 2003, n. 180, pp. 70-71 and 136.

M23. Bacchus during his childhood with a Silenus as his mentor

Lamp: one intact Loeschcke I

Discussion: This motif belongs exclusively to the repertory of the manufacturers of Southern Gaul, where the only three parallels on the same type of lamps have been found. There, manufactures probably found their inspiration on similar depictions appearing on other ceramic classes, a fact which led Colette Bémont to think that the scene was just portraying a child satyr and an adult one. We believe it is more likely to see there a representation of Bacchus during his childhood, raised by his mentor, an old silenus, a scene we will find during slightly later periods, in a way more elaborated form, on African-produced and well-attested Loeschcke type VIII lamps.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 17, pp. 54-55; Bémont 2002, motif D047, p. 72; *theme of Bacchus in his childhood and parallels on other types of lamps:* Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 1712, pp. 8-10.

M24. Bacchant walking leftwards, holding thyrsus and tambourine

Lamps: Loeschcke I, Loeschcke IV and fragments of volute-lamps.

Discussion: The tiny feminine personage, richly dressed, holds on her shoulders the thyrsus, while, with her right hands, she shakes a tambourine. This representation is very wide-spread in the Roman world, in particular on volute-lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV. We can consider it is born in Italian workshops, and then rapidly adopted, mainly on Loeschcke IV lamps, by manufactures situated in the Rhine Valley, in Cyprus and in Gaul. Our first lamp, a Loeschcke type I, is certainly an Italian import, while the other ones belong very likely to Gallic productions, as the small over-molding signs indicate. A fragment found at Glanum was even produced with the same mould used for one of our fragments, bearing the same signs and bubbles at the same places.

Bibliography: *Glanum and parallels:* Bémont 2002, motif D033, p. 68; n. 236, p. 178 and pl. 21; *Analogies and lists of parallels:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 57, p. 210; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamp Q 2386, p. 47; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 335, p. 1224; Cahn 2009, motif 54, p. 319.

M25. Bacchant in trance

Lamps: fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The *Rasende Bacchantin*, denomination chosen for this motif by K. Goethert-Polaschek, renders perfectly the state of trance of the personage. The bacchant is dressed with a chiton, covered on her torso by a animal skin, whose legs fall on the woman's waist and fixed on her back by crossed straps and a belt. Hair in the wind, the head raised to look upwards, the bacchante seems to dance, while holding a knife with her left hand and a goat's head with her left. According to E.M. Cahn, the representation should recall on ceramics a famous statuary group made by Callimachos "*Euripid's bacchant*". This scene appears on very early lamps Loeschcke type IA, first made in Asia Minor, mostly at Pergamum, then in Italy. Soon, they will be produced by workshops of the Rhine Valley such as the ones located at Cologne-Neumarkt. It comes overwhelmingly to decorate Loeschcke type I lamps, but it is still found on some Loeschcke type IV lamps. Its geographical expansion is great, being witnessed from Asia Minor and the Aegean Word to Italy and to almost all the Mediterranean regions, including the western ones like the Iberian Peninsula or Africa. In Gaul, a single fragment is known to us, belonging to an imported Italian-made lamp and coming from a context dated during Claudius' reign unearthed at Amiens (Northern France). Among our fragments, we find both an Italian or Attic

original as well as the first known witness of a Gallic production, bearing not a few bubbles due to the oxygen remained in the cast during the over-molding process.

Bibliography: Amiens: Massy, Molière 1978, n. 4, p. 136; *Analogies and lists of parallels:* Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 787, pp. 16-17; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 59, p. 211; Casas, Bussière 2000, motif 1.a.10. (22), pp. 158-9; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E330, 333 and 334, pp. 71 and 224; Cahn 2009, motif 51, p. 318.



Fig. 13. Bacchus and his world. M21 *Discus* of AR3.2029.109; M22 *Discus* of RHO 2008.A40.37; M23 *Discus* of AR3.1007.12; M24 *Discus* of AR3.4001.148; M25 *Parallel* : *discus* of British Museum (Inv.1868,0110.653 Bailey Q787); M26 *Parallel* : *discus* of M.A.N., inv. 12421 (Bémont, Chew GA36); M27 *Discus* of AR3.2001.146; M28 *Fragment* AR3.4001.79; M29 *Fragment* AR3.2001.164; M30 *Fragment* AR3.4001.191; M31 *Discus* of AR3.3018.24; M32 *Fragment* AR3.1020.5; M33 *Discus* of AR3.2007.48; M34 *Discus* of AR3.2024.14; M35 *Discus* of AR3.4001.48

M26. Bacchant standing

Lamps: a fragment of a Loeschcke type I lamp and several fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Our small fragments, where only the veil in the wind remains readable, are hard to attribute to a certain motif. Nevertheless, they fit much better to the one depicting a frontally standing bacchant than to a second one, well attested at Arles, depicting a Nereid (*cf. infra*), where the floating veil is in a different position. On complete lamps, the "bacchant" – some researchers prefer to recognize this personage as being Venus or even Diana – is standing frontally, her veil in the wind behind her head and a small animal curling up on her leg. The motif is well attested on Loeschcke type I lamps produced and found in Italy, Africa and the Rhine area. In Gaul, this theme will be very popular, being reproduced on the same type of lamps by several Southern manufactures.

Bibliography: Gaul: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 8, p. 51; Bémont 2002, motif D 032, p. 68. *Analogies and lists of parallels:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 18, p. 135; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 58, p. 211; Bussière 2000, motif I.a.10. (21), p. 158.

M27. Ivy-crowned head of Silenus on a panpipe

Lamps: fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This motif seems to be born to adorn lamps of Loeschcke type I, such as the complete – yet made from a very used mold – lamp unearthed at Ampurias. It will be even more popular on lamps of Loeschcke type IV, but apparently only in Africa (Morocco, Tunisia), Spain and Southern France. Among our fragments, all of them being regional productions, not only the quality differs, but the rendering too, from the most delicate one, shown above, to less careful renderings where the crown strips are shorter while the panpipe is rendered in a rougher and more massive way. The scene itself is only a part of a more complex composition made by Central Italian manufactures on lamps of Loeschcke types IV and V, where our head faces a kantharos and a second mask, defined as a "*parasitus*", rendered on the left part of the discus, the whole scene carefully offering the portrait of the two main characters of the New Comedy.

Bibliography: Ampurias and lists of parallels: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 91, pp. 180-181; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 432, p. 130; *Banasa:* Ponsich 1961, n. 48, p. 82; *Gaul and lists of parallels:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 134, p. 96; *Scene with both masks and list of parallels:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 133, p. 95.

M28. Head of young satyr, right profile

Lamp: discus fragment

Discussion: This motif comes to adorn lamps of Loeschcke types I, III and IV, mostly in the Rhine Valley, where it is rendered like on our fragment or within a more complex scene, where the young head faces the one of an old silenus, the same which adorns the previous motif. In Gaul, only some Loeschcke type I lamps have been found, all of them being from local manufactures, among which the Fos-sur-Mer ones were known to produce lamps with this scene.

Bibliography: Rhine Valley and lists of parallels: Leibundgut 1977, motif 20, p. 135; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 49, p. 208; Cahn 2009, motif 59, p. 320; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 27-29 pp. 54; *Gaul:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 20, p. 56.

M29. Dionysian head

Lamps: fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This rendering of the god, beardless and with a very complex hairdressing, topped and flanked by a wreath made of leaves and fruits, is specific of the Gallic repertory. It is known on intact lamps of Loeschcke type IV exported until Vindonissa the origin of the scene, reinvented by Gallic manufactures, has to be found on Italian-made Loeschcke type I lamps.

Bibliography: lists of parallels: Leibundgut 1977, motif 130, p. 154; *Italian predecessors:* Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 812 and Q 840, p. 15.

M30. Head of satyr, variant 1

Lamps: fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Our fragments show one of the most elaborate rendering of this very popular theme. The satyr's hair is topped by a vine-crown, his ears are sharp-edged and the beard is carefully combed, each hair lock ending by a pointed loop. This motif is rare, and the fragment shown here could well be the Italian archetypal original variant which generated all further renderings. All known renderings are, as a matter of fact, of a worse quality compared to our first fragment. The scene seems to come with the first Roman exports on lamps of Loeschcke type I found in Algeria or Croatia. Later, it will know a real success on lamps of Loeschcke type IV in the Rhine Valley and further south-east, until the Magdalensberg. Astonishingly, the very same rendering reappears within the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean repertoires on Loeschcke type VIII lamps dated during the 2nd century AD, where the scene is the same but its details are poorly rendered, with the exception of some splendid artifacts made in Smyrna and Pergamum.

Bibliography: lists of parallels: Farka 1977, motif 25, pp. 112-3 and pl. 29, 63; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 53, p. 209; Bussière 2000, I.a.10 (11), p. 158; *Pergamum:* Heimerl 2001, nn. 310-311, p. 123.

M31. Head of satyr, variant 2

Lamps: one intact lamp of Loeschcke type VIII and a fragment belonging to the same type

Discussion: This version is a later and simplified rendering of the previous motif, to be dated between the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. A single intact lamp, discovered at Vaison-la-Romaine, is known to us. Having the same ceramic characteristics of our artifacts, it seems well that we have to do with high quality Italian-made imports.

Bibliography: Vaison: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 26, p. 58, with parallels and analogies.

M32. Head of satyr with widely displayed beard

Lamp: one fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: This variant of the satyr's head is the most popular one of the series. We find it on Italian-made lamps of Loeschcke type I, as well as on Gallic-made lamps of Loeschcke type IV. There are many other workshops, in the Rhine Valley, but also in Africa, Spain and Asia Minor, which reproduced the theme on almost all types of lamps, from Loeschcke IB and all kinds of volute-lamps to Loeschcke type VIII lamps produced until the end of the 2nd century AD.

Bibliography: lists of parallels (Gaul): Bémont, Chew 2007, motifs D 24-25, p. 57; *lists of parallels (rest of the Empire):* Bailey 1980, discussion on Italian lamps Q895, Q1071 and Q1072, pp. 18-9; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 52, p. 209 (Rhine Valley lamps); Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 2379 (Loeschcke IV made in Cyprus) Q 3027-8 (Loeschcke V made in Ephesos), pp. 9-10; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 37, pp. 188-9 – completed for Spain by Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 344 à 346, pp. 225-227; Africa: Bussière 2000, motif 1.a.10 (12), p. 158.

M33. Horned head

Lamps: three lamps belonging to the Gallic variant of Loeschcke type V, of rather smaller size if compared to the imperial standards.

Discussion: The small horned head, with breads falling on both sides of the neck, is a motif exclusively belonging to the Gallic repertory, and adorning only the above-mentioned type of lamps. Only half a dozen parallels are known to us.

Bibliography: Rivet 2003, n. 482, p. 102.

M34. Child holding a small krater

Lamps: an intact lamp of Loeschcke type I and two fragments of volute-lamps.

Discussion: a naked standing child holds a small krater with his right hand. According to A. Leibundgut, the motif is extracted by a more complex scene, where the child offers the krater to a satyr situated on the left of the discus. Rendered individually, the child is known only on two Italian-made lamps of Loeschcke type I, both found at Vindonissa. Our artifacts are also from the same type but were certainly made in Gaul, as over-molding signs appear on each of them. They hence constitute the first attestation of the motif within the Gallic repertory.

Bibliography: Leibundgut 1977, motif 103, p. 150.

M35. Head of Silenus with crown of ivy and flowers

Lamp: one Loeschcke type I lamp

Discussion: This exquisite representation adorns exclusively lamps of Loeschcke type I, alone or in a pair, where the silenus head faces a young satyr head. Alone, the satyr seems to be known only in Gaul, where it has probably also been produced.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 27, p. 58. Bibliography on lamps with both heads: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 48, p. 208.

M36. Sitting Eros

Lamp: one lamp of Loeschcke type I

Discussion: This motif generally constitutes the right part of a more complex and well-known scene, ornamenting another slightly later Loeschcke type IV, also lamp found in the Rhône, where Eros faces a herm raised on the left part of the discus. Our lamp is a rare witness of the Eros alone, above all as it belongs to the first type of lamps bearing this iconography, the Loeschcke I B and C forms. It also confirms the theory of E.-M. Canh-Klaiber, according to which the complex motif is in fact a combination of two individual motifs, contrary to other examples shown in this study, where a motif is extracted from an earlier more complex scene. We are hence observing one of the very first renderings of the Eros alone on a very good quality lamp, probably made in Italy.

Bibliography: *Analogies and parallels:* Canh-Klaiber 1977, n. 183, pp. 78-79; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 3, p. 192; Cahn 2009, motif 39, pp. 314-315.



Fig. 14. The lamp found in the Rhône (RHO.90.00.1), with the complete scene (M36).

M37. Eros at a banquet

Lamps: the ship's crew Loeschcke type IV lamp and a fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Eros, is standing behind a festive table adorned with a rich tablecloth and holds a flag with his left hand. This scene is extremely rare: at the moment, we know only a lamp from the same type unearthed at Vaison-la-Romaine, a fragmentary one found at Fos-sur-Mer, two fragments found at Mérida and a last one unearthed at Aventicum. As neither the Vaison nor the Mérida fragments are rendered by a picture, being just drawn, we cannot see if the motif is better rendered than ours, witnessing a foreign import. Both our artifacts are certainly made by Gallic workshops: the small fragment is qualitatively the best, with very sharp and elegantly rendered details, while the complete lamp bearing some over-molding signs. Finally, the lamp from Fos is from a third generation, with signs of hand worked incisions before firing, coming to correct and enhance details lost by a very used cast. The archetype of the motif is unknown but looking at the exuberance and the originality of the theme, we could well suggest an Asia Minor original innovation, even if we have no elements to give some weight to this hypothesis.

Bibliographie: *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 16, p. 21 and pl. 2; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n.111. pp. 63 and 135; *Mérida:* Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 3.7, n. 52, p. 65 and Fig. 4; *Avenches:* Tille 2003, n. 79.

M38. Eros trying to ride Bacchus' panther on a richly rendered bed

Lamp: one Loeschcke type IV

Discussion: This very rare motif was previously known to us only on a Loeschcke type V lamp unearthed at Vindonissa and on a small fragment found in the Gulf of Fos and a second near Istres (i.e. both in the Rhône delta area). Our lamp as well as the other parallels are high-quality Italian imports.

Bibliographie: *Vindonissa:* Loeschcke 1919, n. 350, p. 390 and pl. IV; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 412, pp. 97 and 173; *Istres:* Marty 2014, n. 12, pp. 634-5.

M39. Standing Eros holding Hercules' mace and lion skin

Lampes: a fragmentary Loeschcke I and two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The representation of a standing Eros as Hercules is limited to Loeschcke type I lamps, observed in different regions of the Empire. The motif was launched by Italian workshops before being adopted by several provincial manufactures, above all in the Rhine Valley area. In Gaul, we find this motif only at Arles and in two other sites of the same micro-region: Glanum and Fos-sur-Mer. At Arles, our fragments and the lamp discovered at the Trinquetaille necropolis seem to belong to Italian imports while the intact lamp, with over-molding signs, is clearly a locally-made one.

Bibliography: *Discussion and list of parallels:* Bémont 2002, motif D020, p. 64; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 809, p. 21; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 2, p. 192; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 15, p. 176; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 58 and 60, pp. 74-76; Cahn 2009, motif 31, p. 313.



Fig. 15. The Lamp found in the necropolis with the complete scene: CIM 66.00.94

M40. Standing Eros bearing Hercules' lion skin as a scarf

Lamp: a fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This complex scene, difficult to read, seems to be an *unicum*. It seems that Eros attached to his neck, as a scarf, the lion skin, which is floating in the wind in front of him. He brings to his mouth, with his left hand, an object (a fruit?) while with his right, he holds a bough. At his feet, a capital stands on a column and is topped by a vegetal ornament around which a snake is coiled. Our unique artifact, which exact typology (Loeschcke I or IV) cannot be defined, is a local production made by a careful overcasting, only some very small signs witnessing this technique. Ceramologically, it may well belong to the best productions of the Vaison-la-Romaine workshops. Among the appropriation by Eros of the herculean myths, our scene seems to take place just before another one, well-known, where Eros throws an arrow to the snake, hidden in a tree or alone.

Bibliography: *Eros throwing an arrow to the snake hidden in a tree:* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.1 (33), pp. 162-163; *Eros hunting the snake alone:* Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 1314 and Q 1316, p. 22.

M41. Standing Eros togatus facing an altar and the caduceus, a horn lying on the ground

Lamps: one Loeschcke type IV, one fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: This motif is very rare, with the exception of Gallic copies. The complete scene we observe here has probably been created in the innovating workshops settled in Miletus, where a lamp with this scene rendered in the highest quality possible was unearthed, while a second one, considered as an import, has been found at Carthage. Both lamps are of the same type as our complete one. In Gaul, we find this scene on lamps found in several Southern sites, where, as our artifacts, they are to be seen as local copies, probably mainly made at the Vaison-la-Romaine, without excluding other workshops.

Bibliography: *Miletus:* Menzel 1969, n. 209, p. 43, fig 33:6; I: *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 446, p. 132, pl. 48; *Gail and list of parallels:* Bémont, Chew 2007 motif D 32, p. 60; Bémont 2002, motif D015, p. 63; Leibundgut 1977, motif 95, p. 157.



Fig. 16. Eros / Cupid. M36. Discus of AR3.3024.21; M37 Discus of PIR.17.72; M38 Discus of AR3.2001.98; M39 Parallel: discus of CIM 66.00.94; M40 the fragment RHO 2009.A43.2; M41 Discus of AR3.3001.306; M42 Discus of AR3.3001.279; M43 discus of AR3.2031.81.; M44 Discus of AR3.3001.293; M45 Parallel: discus of M.A.N., inv. 31428 (Bémont, Chew GA1); M46 the fragment AR3.2005.56; M47 the fragment AR3.2024.31; M48. Parallel: discus of CIM.1966.5.3; M49 The fragment AR3.4001.201; M50 Discus of AR3.3009.8; M51 Discus of AR3.3001.175; M52 The fragment AR3.3020.102; M53 the fragment AR3.3020.53; M54 Parallel: discus of M.A.N., inv. 12414 (Bémont, Chew GA186); M55 The fragment AR3 3018 F9; M56 The fragment AR3.4001.152; M57 Discus of AR3.3002.35; M58 Discus of AR3.2012.29; M59 Discus of AR3.3003.11; M60 Discus of AR3.4001.164; M61 : Parallel : fragment of the Musée d'Istres (Rivet n. 404).

M42. Standing Eros togatus, alone

Lamps: three intact Loeschcke type IV and a fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: This representation is a simplification of the previous motif and, as the previous, quite rare yet more wide spread, as lamps ornamented with such scene have been found in Cyprus, Africa and Spain. In Gaul, it is witnessed only on Loeschcke type IV lamps found in Southern France, where two closed contexts allowed to gather different chronologies: second half of the 1st c. to 125 AD (a pit excavated at Vernègues) and 40-80 AD (a tomb within the vast Vallades necropolis excavated at Saint-Paul-les-trois-Châteaux. All lamps should be considered as Gallic productions, from different workshops as the clay characteristics are not the same and the quality of the ornament goes from the best possible to very mediocre.

Bibliography: *Gaul:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 32, p. 60; *Analogies and parallels:* Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 2380, p. 11; Bussière 2000, motif I.b.1 (8), pp. 160-1; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 382, p. 232.

M43. Sitting Eros playing the double pipe

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: The sitting Eros, usually, plays a syrinx or a lyre and not a double pipe. Our rendering is hence very rare, knowing only two parallels on lamps of Loeschcke type I, the first found at Arles and a second preserved in the Museum of Bologna, indicating that the original scene could be born in Italy while Gallic manufactures quickly copied it, as it is shown on our fragment by the dots resulting from over-molding.

Bibliography: *Bologna:* Gualandi Genito 1977, n. 164, p. 96 and pl. 27.

M44. Eros going leftwards, dressed with a bend used as a belt and playing the double pipe.

Lamps: three Loeschcke type I and two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Chronologically, this scene is one of the earliest, "inaugurating" the enormous production of different renderings of the young winged deity. It comes to adorn only lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV, principally made and found in Italy and then adopted outside the peninsula, but almost only in Gaul. All our artifacts seem to be inscribed within the Loeschcke type I group, and are probably all productions of the Vaison-la-Romaine workshops, which were used later to reproduce the scene on Loeschcke type 4 lamps. In a recent excavation made at Bordeaux, a close context with a discus fragment bearing this motif - but probably to be considered as an Italian import - has been dated from 40 to 70 AD.

Bibliography: *Gaul:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 47, p. 65; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, motif D006, p. 60; *Analogies and parallels:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 81, p. 146; Bussière 2000, motif I.b.1 (1), p. 160.

M45. Eros walking rightwards, holding a shell and a perfume flask

Lamps: one Loeschcke type I lamp and one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Present in a huge majority of the Western provinces on all types of discus-lamps, this motif is without any doubt one of the most beloved representations of Eros. On the lamps bearing the most carefully rendered details, we can observe the object the deity holds with his right hand: a delicately stripped alabastron. In Gaul, we find this motif on a Loeschcke type I lamp, very close to our artifacts, discovered at Aoste, but also on further types like the Loeschcke IV lamp. Our artifacts, as well as all the other ones found in Gaul, no matter the lamp-type, seem to be made by

different local manufactures. At Arles, a Loeschcke type IV lamp has been unearthed in a tomb of the Rochefleur necropolis, broadly dated to the 1st century AD.

Bibliography: Gaul: Bémont, Chew 2007, motifs D 39-41, pp. 62-3; Bémont 2002, motif D019, p. 64; *further analogies and parallels on all lamp-types through the Empire:* Bussièrè 2000, motif I.b.1 (6), p. 160.

M46. Eros naked walking rightwards

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV, two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This very simple representation is rare: besides Gaul, only a fragmentary lamp found at Mérida bears the same iconography. While one of our small fragments, by its quality and ceramic characteristics, could very well belong to a Central-Italian-made lamp, our other artifacts are to be considered as produced by Gallic manufacturers, with very different quality of the clay, the slip and of the rendering. From a closed context, a Loeschcke type IV lamp has been unearthed in a tomb at the Vallades necropolis excavated at Saint-Paul-les-trois-Châteaux, dated between 70 and 120 AD, while at Toulouse, a fragment was recently discovered on a layer dated from the reign of Claudius to the one of Nero.

Bibliography: Gaul and parallels: Bémont 2002, motif D017, p. 6.

M47. Eros walking rightwards while looking backwards.

Lamp: fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This depiction of Eros, bearing a small towel on his left arm while lying his right hand on his leg, seems to have enjoyed a great success on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV produced first by Italian workshops and then by the Rhine Valley ones, which combined this very Eros with a second one situated on the left of the discus. In Gaul, only a Loeschcke type IV is known to us, discovered at Vaison, as well as a fragment unearthed at Glanum, both being, as our fragment, witnesses of a local production.

Bibliography: With 1 Eros: Bémont 2002, motif D016, p. 63; *Bibliography and parallels: With 2 Cupids:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 88, pp. 147-8; Bailey 1980, discussion on Italian lamp Q 899, p. 24; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 16, p. 196.

M48. Eros with a basket on his breast, both arms raised

Lamp: fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Eros, a nest on his chest, hanged at its neck by a belt, holds his both arms forward. This scene is a synthesis of the "Eros grape-picker" and belongs exclusively to the Gallic repertory, apparently reproduced only on Loeschcke type I lamps known at Vaison and at Arles as well as at Vidy (Switzerland)

Bibliography: Leibundgut 1977, motif 91, p. 148; Bémont, Chew 2007; motif D 42, p. 63.

M49. Eros walking rightwards, holding a torch

Lamps: several fragmentary volute-lamps and one Loeschcke type VIII lamp.

Discussion: This rendering of Eros, bearing a mantle on his shoulders and waving a torch, is known in two different versions: a first where the small deity has a curly hair – as on all our artifacts – and a second, where his head is covered by a small conical hat. Both versions are specific of the Central Italian repertory, from where the production started, being quickly followed by its adoption by Northern Mediterranean workshops (Cataluña, Southern France). In Gaul, this theme will enjoy a very long success, being reproduced on all kinds of volute-lamps.

All our fragments seem to have been produced locally and to belong to lamps of Loeschcke type IV, with the exception of the complete Loeschcke type VIII lamp, which is the very first witness of the survival of this motif on this later type.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, motifs D 34-D35, pp. 60-1; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 232, p. 76.

M50. Eros jumping to reach a grape from the branch of a magnificent tree, his torch lying on the ground

Lamp: one Loeschcke type IV lamp

Discussion: This very elegant depiction is only known to us on two parallels, both of Italian manufacture, the first preserved at the French National Museum of Archaeology, the second belonging to a private collection.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, n. IT 27, p. 183 and pl. 17; motif D 43, p. 64.

M51. Eros grape-picker

Lamps: one Loeschcke type I, one Loeschcke type IV, one fragment of a volute-lamp, one Loeschcke type VIII

Discussion: Eros is walking rightwards, bearing on his shoulders a stick on which extremities are hanged two baskets, one on each side. With his left hand, he holds a bunch of grapes. The origin of the scene, very probably Italy, is unknown, while it is well attested on lamps of both Loeschcke types I and IV made in Africa, Spain and Gaul. Later, its massive production on Loeschcke type VIII lamps is well attested in Africa as well as in Italy. In Gaul, a Loeschcke type I lamp has been found in a tomb at the Vallades necropolis excavated at Saint-Paul-les-trois-Châteaux, and dated between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. While all our volute-lamps are certainly made in Gaul, the intact Loeschcke VIII lamp, marked CIVLSEC, is certainly an Italian production, if we consider both its ceramic characteristics as well as the fact that the motif seems no longer to be produced in Gaul on lamps of this type. This potter's mark is very rare and is witnessed only in Southern France. It is hence a third known mark to associate to this motif, known until now only on lamps signed from the industrial Italian workshops of Caius Oppius Restitutus (COPPIRES) and Caius Clodius Successus (CCLOSVC).

Bibliography: Gaul: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 45, p. 64; Bémont 2002, motif D011, p. 62; *Further parallels and analogies:* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.1 (37), p. 163; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 87 and E 390, pp. 76 and 178.

M52. Eros holding a bunch of grapes

Lamps: two discus fragments

Discussion: this complex scene of Eros grape-picker, has no exact parallels known to, as the whole right part of the discus is missing on both fragments. Rendered individually in a central position on the discus, a similar Eros is known on rare and much later Italian lamps of Loeschcke type VIII (175-225 AD), such as the one preserved at the British Museum. Our two fragments belonged very probably to volute-lamps made in Gaul, as we can deduce by the small dots resulting from an overmolding made cast. A single possible parallel is a Loeschcke type IV lamps discovered near Vaison-la-Romaine, bearing two identical Eros occupied to walk on bunches of grapes on a barrel.

Bibliography: *Eros alone:* Bailey 1980, Q 1401, p. 370. *Two Eros: Vaison:* Carte Archéologique de la Gaule vol. 84/1, "site 126*34: Séguret, petite nécropole", pp. 472-3 and fig. 781.

M53. Eros with thyrsus trying to steal a bunch of grapes from a rabbit

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Eros, on the right part of the discus, is busy to try reaching with his left hand a wine grape, while nearby a rabbit sits. In front of Eros lays a finely rendered thyrsus. This scene has no parallels known to us, yet its quality and its ceramic characteristics lead us to see our fragment as the part of a lamp made by one of the finest Central Italian manufactures. We cannot forget in this frame that the very manufacture of Caius Oppius Restitutus (COPPIRES) is considered to have created the scene where the rabbit is alone with the grape. Here, we observe for the very first time the very popular motif of the rabbit associated with an Eros, creating a new narrative.

M54. Eros going leftwards, holding a vase upside down

Lamps: one fragment de Loeschcke type IV and two other fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Even if witnessed in several Western Mediterranean Provinces, this motif seems to have been privileged by Gallic potters, who reproduced it mainly on lamps of Loeschcke types V and VIII. Among the manufactures, the one with the mark LHOSCRI seems to be one of the most prolific producers of this representation. Our first fragment is the only witness, at the moment, of this scene on a Loeschcke type IV lamp in Gaul, leading us to think it may have been imported.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 46, pp. 64-5; *Analogies and list of known parallels:* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.1 (18), pp. 161.

M55. Eros holding a small amphora with his right hand

Lamp: one fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: We probably witness here one of the many variations of the classical theme of Eros holding a shell, rendered in the very same position. Our motif is known on two identical Loeschcke type V lamps, one intact unearthed at Carthage and a second, fragmentary, found at Fos-sur-Mer. The ceramic characteristics of our fragment seem to point out at an imported Loeschcke type V.

Bibliography: *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 587, p. 151 and pl. 40; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n.262. pp. 79 and 153.

M56. Standing Eros, holding a vase full of flowers

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Eros, dressed with a small towel and holding a vase with flowers, is a rendering we know only in Switzerland and Hungary, on much less readable discuses of lamps of Loeschcke type I, hence its interpretation of Eros holding a cornucopia. On our fragments, the details are very delicately rendered: on the first, by the mold itself, indicating a possible Italian production, while on the second, thanks to small incisions made before firing to erase over-molding signs and revive the scene, clearly indicating we face a local production.

Bibliography: Leibundgut 1977, motif 74, p. 145.

M57. Fishing Eros

Lamp: fragmentary Loeschcke type V lamp

Discussion: We know the complete motif only through its variant rendered in a mirror, on a Loeschcke type VIII lamp made in Ephesus from the second half of the 1st to the very beginning of the 2nd century AD. It is hence its first attestation on a Gallic lamp Loeschcke type V, letting us also think that different types and variants of the representation - still unknown - may have circulate through the diverse Mediterranean horizons during the same period.

Bibliography: *Ephesus lamp*: Bailey 1988, Q 3044, p. 376 and pl. 101.

M58. Fishing Eros, floating on an amphora

Lamp: fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Eros, sitting on an amphora, rowing with his right hand while he throws a net into the sea with his left. This motif is known to us on a single intact Loeschcke type I lamp discovered at Vidy (Lausanne, Switzerland). The Swiss lamp and our fragment were most likely produced by the same workshop, to be placed with all probabilities in Central Italy, even if both are made with a very used mold.

Bibliography: *Vidy*: Leibundgut 1977, n. 161, p. 220 and motif 86, p. 147-8 and pl. 30. The author mentions two unpublished parallels, the first being preserved at the Museo Nazionale Romano, the second at the Bachofen collection.

M59. Eros playing a double pipe while riding a dolphin

Lamps: A Loeschcke type IV lamp and a large fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This scene is mostly known in its mirror-rendering, with the dolphin swimming to the right, as on a lamp found in a tomb at the Vallades necropolis excavated at Saint-Paul-les-trois-Châteaux, and dated between 60 and 120 AD. With Eros and the dolphin swimming leftwards, we know several Loeschcke type IV lamps, most of them produced and found in Africa and Spain, where they are generically dated from Tiberius reign to Claudian times, while only one Italian-manufactured Loeschcke type IV lamp is known, found at Arles as our artifacts. To end, the same scene but with different details appears already on a Loeschcke type I lamp found at Fos-sur-Mer. Both our artifacts seem to be Gallic productions, the intact lamp being of outstanding quality even if we take into account some very tiny signs of over-molding, while the fragment is very mediocre and produced with a very used cast.

Bibliography: (*dolphin swimming leftwards*) Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 51 (the Italian lamp found at Arles and further bibliography), p. 67; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n.23, pp. 54 and 126. *Analogies and lists of parallels*: Bussière 2000, motif I.b.1 (26), p. 162; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 3.1, n. 38, p. 63 and Fig. 4.

M60. Eros riding a seahorse swimming to the left

Lamp: one intact Loeschcke type IV lamp

Discussion: This motif is very rare, and is known to us only on Loeschcke type IV lamps, found in Africa – made in Italy and in Africa, the signed ones bearing the marks COPPIRES and MVNTREP, to which we must add a fragment found at Ampurias. We hence have here to do the not only with first attestation of this scene in Gaul, but also to the first proof this motif was copied in Gaul too, as our lamp has one of the typically regional clay and slip while the ornament itself shows traces of over-molding.

Bibliography: Deneauve 1969, nn. 449-451, pp. 132-3 and pl. 48; Ponsich 1961, nn. 79 and 86, p. 85 and pl. 8-9; *Ampurias*: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 375, pp. 78 and 230.

M61. Eros playing with a puppy dog raising its leg

Lampe: one intact Loeschcke type IV lamp

Discussion: Our lamp is of very mediocre quality, both for the clay, the slip and the iconography, almost unreadable. It comes from an over-used cast, itself made by over-molding a lamp. Yet the scene is easy to identify: Eros is standing, a mantle on his shoulders, wings raised, leaning forward to hold with his left hand the leg of a puppy dog. This scene was previously known to us only on Loeschcke type I lamps, unearthened in Switzerland and France. It is hence its first appearance in Gaul on a locally-made Loeschcke type IV lamp, this last type of lamps bearing the same scene being well-known only in Africa and at Ampurias.

Bibliography: *Gaul:* Bémont 2002, motif D012, p. 62; *analogies and lists of parallels:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 82, pp. 146-7 and pl. 30; Bussièrè 2000, motif I.b.1. (30), p. 162; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 233, p. 204.

M62. Nereid riding the Ceto to the right

Lamps: several fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Among the earliest renderings of a Nereid riding the Ceto, a sea monster with a bull head, the one which adorns our fragments is the rarest. As a matter of fact, the Rhine provinces, Spain but also Africa will privilege the scene where the daughter of Nereus is rendered showing her back and holding the Ceto with both hands. Our variant, with the feminine personage faces the spectator while riding the Ceto, her veil widely floating behind her, is known only on an Italian-made lamp of Loeschcke type IV preserved at the British Museum and dated 40 to 75 AD by Donald Bailey, who acknowledges to have found only a single unpublished parallel, preserved in the Museum of Draguignan (Var, South-Eastern France). In Gaul, we found two similar pieces: a small fragment unearthened at Glanum and an intact lamp found at Lyon exactly in the workshop which produced it, the famous La Butte manufacture. If one of our fragments is close of what we believe to be Italian clay and slip, all the others belong to lamps made by Gallic manufactures located in Southern France.

Bibliography: *Lyon-La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, n. 63, p. 488 and fig. 10, p. 490; *Italian original:* Bailey 1980, Q 886, pp. 31, 166 and pl. 13; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 168, p. 166 and pl. 16; see motif D043, p. 71 with analogies for the other variants of the theme.

M63. Nereid riding a dolphin to the left

Lamps: several fragments of Loeschcke type VIII lamps

Discussion: This scene enjoyed a very eclectic and relatively late diffusion if compared with the precedent. Here, the Ceto is replaced by a dolphin while the Nereid adopts a similar position as the one in the previous motif. Details are much poorer, and parallels are seldom and on very different types of lamps, from Loeschcke type I to Loeschcke type VIII found and made in very different horizons: Vindonissa, Tarsus, Utica. In Gaul, a small fragment unearthened at Glanum and dated to the second half of the 1st century AD was the only witness of the presence of the scene on this region, before new excavations, led at Peyriac-de Mer (Aude, South-Western France), revealed that it appears also on a Loeschcke IV lamp, in a context dated between 30 and 60 BC.

Bibliography: *Peyriac-de Mer:* Sanchez 2006, n. 3, p. 221 and fig 22:3 p. 225; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 396, p. 220 and pl. 35; motif D042, p. 71 with analogies for the other variants of the theme.

M64. Seahorse

Lamps: two Loeschcke type IV lamps

Discussion: The seahorse represented alone seems have been created by African workshops, mainly on Loeschcke type V lamps. In Southern Gaul, it is a rather popular scene, which appears on Loeschcke type IV lamps on several archaeological sites.

Bibliography: *Gaul:* see Bémont 2002, n. 172, pp. 75, 167 and pl. 16; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, nn. 608-609, p. 155 and pl. 61.

M 65. Feminine bust surrounded by two dolphins

Lamps: several fragmentary Loeschcke type IV lamps, one of them signed SORICI

Discussion: Generally interpreted as Amphitrite (by some researchers as Scylla or a Gorgon), this bust is not very widely spread in the Empire. It can be found on Italian-made Loeschcke type I lamps at Vindonissa and Tipasa, but above all in France, always on this early type, in several sites. The Gallic manufactures such as the one of Lyon-La Butte will then start to produce the theme on Loeschcke type IV lamps, as well as the workshop of Soricius, witnessed here for the first time associated with this theme. *Soricius* is a Gallic lamp-maker who started his production during the first half of the 1st century AD yet was mostly active during the second half of the same century and whose workshop had to be situated somewhere in the Rhone Valley between Arles and Vienne.

Bibliography: *Analogies and lists of parallels:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 128, p. 154; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 77, p. 77; *Lyon, La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, p. 488 and fig. 12:64, p. 492. *Soricius:* Bémont 2002, p. 234.



Fig. 17. M52-M65 Sea deities. M62 *The fragment* AR3.3024.24; M63 *The discus of* AR3.2024.25; M64 *The discus of* AR3.3001.128; M 65 *The discus of* PR1 810

M66. Sitting Fortuna, rendered in left profile

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: The goddess, seated, holds with her right hand the cornucopia and with her right a rudder. This motif, here produced in a Gallic workshop with the over-molding technique, is a premiere for Gaul and for the Gallic repertory. All known originals are Italian productions of Loeschcke type IV lamps, mostly find in Italy with the exception of some artifacts discovered mainly in Southern Spain and, more rarely, in Africa.

Bibliography: Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 945-7, pp. 29-30; *complete lists of analogies:* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.10 (1), pp. 167-168; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 5.1, nn. 68-9, pp. 70-71.

M67. Fortuna standing, rendered in left profile

Lamps: one fragment of a Loeschcke type IV lamp and one discus fragment

Discussion: The goddess, standing, bears a long chiton. She holds with her right hand the cornucopia and with her right a rudder. This rendering of the Fortuna is the most popular of all kinds, to be found *in primis* on lamps of Loeschcke type IV manufactured in Italy and successfully exported in Spain and Africa and has continued to be produced, later, on lamps of Loeschcke types V and, above all, type VIII. In Gaul, the motif is rare on lamps of Loeschcke type IV as our first artifact, which is more likely an Italian production. It is nevertheless witnessed on lamps of the same type made by the prolific workshop of LHOSCRI, one intact lamp with this mark having been found at Vaison-la-Romaine. Our second fragment is very close to an intact Loeschcke V preserved within the ancient collections of the Arles Museum. Of mediocre quality, our item and the Museum one is made in Gaul by over-molding. A little later, the scene is still produced in Southern Gaul on Loeschcke type VIII lamps, as it is witnessed by a lamp found at Fos-sur-Mer.

Bibliography: Parallels and analogies: Bailey 1980, discussion in Italian lamp Q 1035, p. 29; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 18, p. 197; Bussière 2000, motif I.b.10 (2), p. 168; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 5.2, n. 70, p. 71.

M68. Standing Fortuna

Lamps: one Loeschcke type IV lamp and a fragment of a volute-lamp.

Discussion: This representation of the goddess, standing, in frontal position, holding a patera (or a crown) with her right hand and the cornucopia with her left, has been interpreted for some parallels as a small genius offering a libation. Nevertheless, this hypothesis concerns only African-made lamps of later types, where the personage is veiled and bears a different garment. Here, rendered with her traditional chiton, it seems certain that we have to do with Fortuna even if this very rendering found no direct parallel at the moment. Both our artifacts are produced by Southern Gallic workshops. It is hence another new motif to be added to their repertory.

M69. Standing Victoria, holding a crown and a palm leaf

Lamps: one Loeschcke type IV lamp and several fragments of volute-lamps.

Discussion: This rendering where Victory is originally standing on the globe is certainly the most popular and widely produced representation of the goddess, to be found on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV but also on much later round lamps. In Gaul, an Italian-made imported lamp of Loeschcke type IV has been found at Glanum while a second was unearthed in the horrea of Excisum (Villeneuve-sur-lot), in a context dated from Tiberius' reign to the late 1st century AD. Two of our artifacts have the same characteristics, and hence have to be set among the Italian imports. On the other hand, the scene is well attested within the production of the Fos-sur-Mer workshops as well as within the later ones of Montans, and certainly in many other Southern Gallic manufactures, on lamps of both Loeschcke type IV and V.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 71, p. 74; Bémont 2002, n. 117, motif D 031, pp. 67-8; Fos: Rivet 2003, nn. 185-190, pp. 71 and 145; Montans: Bergès 1989, n. 135, p. 66 and fig. 37, p. 87; complete lists of analogies: Leibundgut 1977, motif 3, p. 133 and pl. 23; Bailey 1980, discussion on lamp Q 1321, p. 28; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 32, pp. 201-2; Bussière 2000, motif I.b.9.(1), p. 166; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 6.3.b, n. 98, pp. 75-6; Cahn 2009, motif 20, p. 310

M70. Standing Victoria holding her shield with her right hand

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This motif, inspired from the previous one, is rare, known to us only on a Loeschcke I lamp found in Algeria and on a Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered in Morocco. On both lamps, probably Italian-made, we can observe that Victoria holds with her left hand a small palm leave. Our small fragment is without doubt made by a Gallic manufacture, as the small over-molding signs indicate. It is hence not only the first appearance of the theme in France, but also the first witness of a local production of it.

Bibliography: *Algeria:* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.9.(4), pp. 166-167; *Tanger (Morocco):* Ponsich 1961, n. 88, p. 86 and pl. 9.

M71. Sanding Victoria, in left profile, holding her shield with her right hand.

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This variant of Victoria is, as the previous one, well attested almost Empire-wide, yet mainly in the Western Mediterranean Provinces, on Loeschcke I and Loeschcke type IV lamps. It is nevertheless rare in Gaul, where only a few locally manufactured Loeschcke type IV were found, in two workshop sites: Fos-sur-Mer and Lyon La Butte.

Bibliography: *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 113-4, pp. 63 and 136; *Lyon - La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, n. 25, p. 488 and fig. 10, p. 490; *complete lists of analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 1, p. 132 and pl. 23; Bailey 1980, discussion on the Italian lamp Q 829, pp. 26-28; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 36, pp. 203; Bussière 2000, motif I.b.9.(5), p. 167; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 6.2, n. 104, pp. 72-4 and Fig. 8; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 402, p. 81; Cahn 2009, motifs 22-23, pp. 310-311.



Fig. 18. Fortuna, Victoria, Ceres. M66 Parallel: the discus of British Museum: 1847, 1108.4 (Bailey Q945); M67 The fragment AR3.3002.23; M68 The discus of AR3.3001.174; M69 The discus of AR3.2025.13; M70 The fragment AR3.3019.86; M71 Parallel: the discus of British Museum 1756, 0101.594 (Bailey Q829); M72 The discus of AR3.2007.13; M73 The fragment AR3.4001.194; M74. The fragment AR3.2029.121

M72. Winged Victoria on a two-horses driven chariot (biga)

Lamp: one Loeschcke type IV lamp

Discussion: Victoria as an Auriga, holds with her left hand the reins of both horses, while waving with her right the crown symbolizing the race victory. This representation, born in Italy, will quickly seduce the producers of Southern Mediterranean provinces as well as the Rhine Valley manufactures, witnessed on Loeschcke I as well as on Loeschcke type IV lamps. In Gaul, no lamp was known to us before the artifact shown here, which is most likely an Italian import, very close to the first Italian lamps with the same scene unearthed at Carthage.

Bibliography: *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, nn. 422-423, p. 129 and pl. 46; *complete lists of analogies:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 35, pp. 202-3; Bailey 1988, discussion on the Italian lamp Q 1911, p. 20; Bussière 2000, motif I.b.9.(11), p. 167.

M73. Victoria overcoming a mythical beast (also known as Nike at the sacrifice)

Lamp: one fragment of discus

Discussion: This scene is extremely rare: we could find only three published parallels, all being given as Italian productions. The first two, with a rendering identical to ours, are on lamps of Loeschcke type IC discovered at Trier and at Cologne, while the third, bearing a reduced variant of the decoration, belongs to an Italian lamp from a used mold, preserved at the Bologna Archaeological Museum. This representation of the deity, keeping her pray immobilized with her left knee and holding its mouth open with her left hand, is known as "Nike at the sacrifice". It is a well attested motif among Hellenistic art, mainly on black glazed ceramics with ornaments in relief, typical of the manufactures of Cales, a city near Capua, and, later on "Campana relief-tiles". Chronologically, the Cologne lamp was found among the offerings to a rich tomb dated between the reign of Claudius and the beginning of the Flavian dynasty, while the Trier lamp comes from a grave dated from Flavian times. Our fragment is the very first witness of the presence of this motif in France.

Bibliography: *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 34, p. 202 (mentioning another lamp of the same type, bearing a *planta pedis* on its base, among an old private collection donated to Cologne Museum); *Cologne:* Cahn 2009, motif 24, p. 311 (with bibliography on the scene on other supports); *Bologne:* Gualandi Genito 1977, n. 228, p. 110 and pl. 34.

M74. Standing Ceres

Lamp: one fragment of discus

Discussion: On our very tiny fragment, only the very special rendering, in particular the one of the pleated movements of the himation allow to define our piece within a precise motif: the one showing Ceres going leftwards, holding a bunch of flowers with her left hand and a torch with her right one. It is a rare scene, typical of the Central Italian workshops but copied, in Gaul, by the Lyon-La Butte workshops and, in Britain, by the Colchester ones. Our fragment could well belong to the Lyon productions.

Bibliography: *parallels from Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean:* Bailey 1988, discussion on Colchester lamp Q 1525, pp. 5 and 160; *Lyon - La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, p. 488 and n. 18, fig. 9, p. 489.

M75. Bust of Luna wearing a tunica with round neck, a crescent behind her.

Lamps: several fragments of Loeschcke type I lamps and a fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: This rendering of the goddess, the head slightly turned leftwards, knew some popularity in specific areas and during a precise timeframe. It appears on Loeschcke type I lamps – given as "imported" and found in Transalpine sites, and dated from the second half of the 1st century AD. If two of our fragments seem to be Italian imports, the other ones are certainly very accurate Gallic-made pieces, bringing hence to our knowledge not only the presence of this motif on very good-quality Loeschcke I lamps, which could well be the origin of some of the "imported" lamps mentioned above in Germany and Switzerland. The last fragment is on the contrary of a very mediocre quality, produced by a very badly over-molding obtained cast. The principal center of production could well be Vaison-la-Romaine, if we consider the ceramological aspect of our lamps, exported northwards, as this scene does not appear within the material of the main archaeological sites located in Southern Gaul.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 59, p. 70; *complete lists of analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 11, p. 134 (proposing to date the Vindonissa piece between 25 and 50 AD); Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 23, p. 199; Cahn 2009, motif 16, p. 309.

M76. Bust of Luna with delicate hairdressing crowned by the lunar crescent.

Lamps: two Loeschcke type I lamps, two discus fragments and two fragments of volute-lamps.

Discussion: This rendering of Luna's bust is one of the most popular depictions of the goddess. It is particularly well witnessed on Loeschcke types I and IV lamps and is still reproduced on much later Loeschcke type VIII lamps. It has to be noted that the scene was not liked by Transalpine workshops, being almost absent in sites from the Rhine and Danube Limes. On the contrary, it is very present in Italy, in Africa and in Spain. In Gaul, it was so successful that it figures not only on lamps but also on the luxury *terra sigillata* ceramics made at the Graufesenque. All intact lamps known to us in France belong to Loeschcke type I, which could well be the case of our fragments too, with a single exception, belonging probably to a Loeschcke type IV or V. Among them, the illustrated Loeschcke I, even if made with a used mold, could well be an Italian-made import, while all other artifacts are doubtlessly local productions made in Southern France, mainly at Vaison-la-Romaine and Fos-sur-Mer without excluding other workshops not yet localized.

Bibliography: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 53, p. 69; Bémont 2002, motif D026, p. 66 (discussion on a lamp found at Glanum and dated to the last third of the 1st century AD. *Further parallels:* Bailey 1980, discussion on the Italian-made Q 839, pp. 25, 151 and pl. 8; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 23, pp. 180-1; Bussière 2000, motif I.b.6 (3), p. 165; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 283, p. 216.

M77. Different busts of Luna/Diana on the lunar crescent

Lamps: two Loeschcke type IV; several fragments of volute-lamps; one Loeschcke type VIII

Discussion: The renderings of the feminine deity on the lunar crescent, may she be either Diana or Luna, are as popular as different in their details in all the regions of the Empire, from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. We will hence propose here only the nearest parallels known to our finds.

Analogies and list of parallels (all known variants): Bussière 2000, motif I.b.6 (1), pp. 164-5; Cahn 2009, motif 15, p. 309.

First variant: bust with short hair, bearing a tunica with a V-shaped neck (one Loeschcke type IV and fragments). This variant is well known on almost all types of lamps, mostly on Loeschcke type IV ones. All our artifacts were made in Southern Gallic workshops.

Short bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, lamp n. 25. pp. 54 and 126.

Second variant: bust with short hair, bearing a tunica with a V-shaped neck (one Loeschcke type IV, one type VIII and a fragment). This rendering is well attested in Gaul, above all on an intact Loeschcke type IV discovered at Rasteau (Vaucluse) as well as fragments unearthed at Glanum, not to forget a good quality Loeschcke type VIII found in the Gulf of Fos, the last being a probable prototype of our very degenerated lamp of the same type, bearing large traces of over-molding. On the other side, one of our Loeschcke type IV is of a very high quality while its clay and clip characteristics allow to suggest an Italian import, very close to an Italian lamp of the same type, preserved at the British museum and bearing the mark CATILIVEST, corresponding to a Central-Italian workshop active between 90 and 140 AD. Within a recent excavated context, a fragment of similar quality was discovered at *Ambrussum*, part of a layer dated from 100 to 125 AD.

Short bibliography: Bémont 2002, motif D027, p. 66; Bailey 1980, Q 1289, p. 25 (discussion and parallels), 326 and pl. 68.

Third variant: bust with hair centrally parted, bearing a tunica with a V-shaped neck, on a very sharp-angled crescent (one fragment). This rendering is rare, known to us by two analogies: a Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered in the Gulf of Fos and a Loeschcke type VIII lamp unearthed at Ampurias. Our fragment, as well as the Fos lamp, are certainly productions made in Southern Gaul.

Short bibliography: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 827, pp. 301 and 303.



Fig. 19. Luna and Sol. M75 The discus of AR3.2002.6; M76 The discus of AR3.2036.5; M77 The discus of AR3.3005.41, M78 The discus of AR3.3001.237; M79 The fragmentary lamp AR3.3025.24; M80 The discus of AR3.2007.118

M78. Lunar crescent with raised dots at its corners and surrounded by impressed dots

Lamps: two Loeschcke type I lamps, two discus fragments, one lamp of rare type (Bussière C III 1, derivation of Loeschcke VIII)

Discussion: The lunar crescent is very frequently represented. Nevertheless, on Loeschcke type I with dots on its corners and four impressed circles surrounding it, as in four of our artifacts, it finds a single direct parallel in a lamp unearthed in the Gulf of Fos, while our fragmentary Bussière type C III 1 lamp is certainly an African import as this rare shape - a mix between Loeschcke VIII body with an elongated nozzle inspired by the ones of some polylichnis lamps - is a Tunisian creation produced only during a very short timeframe, between the end of the 1st to the beginnings of the 2nd century AD.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, lamp n. 26. pp. 54 and 126; *complete lists of analogies:* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.7, pp. 165-6.

M79. Lunar crescent ending with a star on each corner and two more stars placed under it

Lamp: one fragment of Loeschcke type VIII lamp

Discussion: Our fragmentary artifact does not have any parallel known to us. Nevertheless, the quality of the clay, slip and rendering as well as the shoulder, ornamented with very accurate impressed olive leaves, allow us to see in it a Central-Italian made production belonging to a well-known subtype of Loeschcke VIII, the rather eclectic Bailey type O.5, precisely dated to a short period: the last third of the 1st century AD.

M80. Bust of Sol Radiatus, with undressed breast.

Lamp: one Loeschcke type I with handle

Discussion: Belonging to the specific subtype of Loeschcke I with molded handle (Bailey subtypes A.5-6), and signed C.OPPI.RES, this high-quality lamp is a Central-Italian made production to be dated to the mid-1st century AD. The motif is identical to a Loeschcke type III lamp also produced in Central Italy and preserved at the British Museum, while the workshop itself is known to have produced this theme during a long time, with this exact rendering or with Sol crowned only by five rays instead of seven like here, on different types of volute-lamps and mostly on Loeschcke type VIII ones. We face here, chronologically, one of the very first reproductions of the motif among the huge panoply of scenes developed by Caius Oppius Restitutus. Later, with small differences, the motif will be also produced by several Southern Gallic workshops.

Bibliography: Bailey 1980, discussion on Italian lamps Q 1009 and 1281, pp. 24-5; *complete lists of analogies (seven-rays crowned bust):* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.5 (2), p. 164; *Gaul:* Bémont 2002, motif D029, p. 67; Bémont, Chew 2007, motifs D 61-62, p. 71.

M81. Cybele-Fortuna on a throne

Lamp: one fragmentary Loeschcke type III lamp

Discussion: The goddess, interpreted by some researchers as a simple Fortuna, while, by others, as Cybele bearing Fortuna's attributes, wears a fine long garment and sits on a richly ornamented throne. She holds the cornucopia with her left hand, while with her right, she tends a patera, sign she is making a libation. This scene is extremely rare and is known to us on a single lamp of the same type and characteristics of ours, preserved in Berlin. Intact, this artifact is adorned with a crescent-shaped reflector above the handle while bearing on its base the impressed mark of the famous central Italian manufacture of Caius Oppius Restitutus (C.OPPI.RES). Our lamp is hence the first appearance of the theme in Gaul and without doubt an Italian import

Bibliography: Heres 1972, n. 25, pp. 16-17 and pl. 6.

M82. Bust of Attis

Lamps: two Loeschcke type IV lamps

Discussion: On this bust, Attis, slightly turning his head rightwards, is rendered with curly hair and a Phrygian hat, wearing a small mantle enrolled on his neck. This representation of the Oriental god is absolutely unknown to us. As a matter of fact, if Attis is frequently depicted along Cybele, his portrait alone is only witnessed in a different rendering, where his bust is on its right profile and the god holds a syrinx. Another rendering, later and appearing only on Loeschcke type VIII lamps as the fragment unearthed in Berenice (Benghazi), is also known, bearing only the head of the god facing a krateros. We are hence looking at an *unicum*, both for its iconography and its geographical location. Our first lamp bears ceramic characteristics suggesting a Central Italian import while the second is a typical product of a cast obtained by over-molding a lamp identical to our first one, as the large dot on the hat comes to confirm, alongside with the loss of ca. 10 percent of the size (7.6 cm. breadth for the original, 7,0 for the copy), meaning a first-generation over-molding. For this second lamp, clay and slip are fitting the ones known to be used mainly by some workshops of Lyon but also of some other ones of the Rhone valley.

Indicative bibliography: *Bust Attis with the syrinx:* Bussière 2000, motif I.c.2. (7), p. 171; *Head of with Krateros:* Bailey 1985, fragment C 479, p. 72 and pl. 7.



Fig. 20. Oriental deities and cults. M81 The discus of AR3.2007.15; M82 The discus of AR3.2007.10; M83 The fragment AR3.3018.118; M84 The discus of AR3.3005.58; M85 The discus of AR3.2008.12; M86 Parallel: the discus of FAN.91.00.2031

M83. Standing Anubis

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This representation is rare: we face a production which seems to belong exclusively to Central Italian workshops. Anubis is standing frontally, wearing a chlamys and holding a palm branch with his left hand and a caduceus with his right. Later, this theme will reappear with different variations on its depiction. Our fragment is to be inserted in a well-defined group studied by J.-L. Podvin, and among which the only intact lamps are Italian-made artifacts of Loeschcke

types I and III discovered in Southern Mediterranean provinces (from Cyrenaica to Morocco to Southern Spain). Our fragment is hence the first witness of Anubis alone in Gaul. As for the lamp with Cybele observed above, the only potter's mark associated to this motif is the one of Caius Oppius Restitutus. Among the lamps from the group, the closest to our fragment is an Italian-made lamp of Loeschcke type I, of unknown provenience, preserved at the British Museum.

Bibliography: Podvin 2011, pp. 66-68 and group Adg.1.m, p. 231 and pl. 29 with a list of all known parallels; *British Museum lamp:* Bailey 1996, Q 801 bis, p. 128 and pl. 168.

M84. Standing Anubis, rendered in 3/4 profile

Lamp: one fragmentary volute-lamp

Discussion: This motif is the most common variant among all the representations of Anubis on lamps. As on the previous one, Anubis is rendered alone, but on three quarters left profile and bearing a tunica. He holds a palm branch with his left hand and the caduceus with his right. Our fragment is to be inserted in a well-defined group studied by J.-L. Podvin, which "archetype" could well be a Central-Italian Loeschcke type I artifact (again produced and marked by the C.OPPI.RES manufacture) unearthed in Morocco. The others, all lamps belonging to Loeschcke type IV, have been discovered in Spain, Gaul and England. Our fragment, of good quality but showing signs of over-molding, finds three parallels in Southern France, where it has been certainly made.

Bibliography: Podvin 2011, pp. 66-68 and group Adg.2.m, p. 231 with a list of all known parallels; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 413, p. 236; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 38, pp. 180-181; Bussière 2000, motif I.c.1 (8), p. 170.

M85. Harpocrates with cornucopia

Lamp: one fragmentary Loeschcke type IV lamp

Discussion: The child-god us standing, holding a cornucopia with his left hand and typically placing his right index on his mouth, sign of silence. His hair is adorned by a lotus flower. This representation is well known on lamps from almost all Mediterranean regions, appearing on a huge panoply of types extending from early Loeschcke I and III, to later Loeschcke IV and VIII, most of them being Italian or African productions. In Gaul, it will become very popular on Loeschcke type VIII lamps, produces mainly at Vaison-la-Romaine as well as in other sites, and frequently associated with the potter's mark LHOSCRI. Our artifact, a Gallic Loeschcke type IV lamp made by over-molding, finds no direct parallel as belonging to the earliest type with this iconography found in Gaul at this date, close to contemporary African imports of Loeschcke type V found in some Southern Rhone Valley spots.

Bibliography: Podvin 2011, pp. 68-69 and group Hdf.m, pp. 233-236 and pl. 30-33 with a list of all known parallels; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 210, pp. 89 and 200; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 102, p. 86.

M86. The mongoose fighting the cobra

Lamps: two Loeschcke type IV fragments and nine fragments of volute-lamps.

Discussion: This theme, as it has been proven by J.-L. Podvin, has six different renderings, only one being present on all our fragments, indicating a Rhone Valley production for all of them. Very popular in Gaul, the fight between the mongoose and the cobra, a main element of the

imagery linked to Isis cults, is witnessed almost only on Loeschcke type IV lamps in numerous sites on the Rhone Valley or not far from it.

From closed contexts, we find two Loeschcke type IV lamps found in as many tombs of the Vallades necropolis excavated at Saint-Paul-les-trois-Châteaux: the first one being dated between 60 and 100 AD while the second seems a little later, ranging from the end of the 1st century to the first half of the 2nd century AD. Ceramologically, one of our lamps finds an exact parallel in a lamp made at Vaison-la-Romaine while a second is to be attributed to one of the workshops established at Fos-sur-Mer.

Bibliography: Podvin 1999, pp. 79-88; Podvin 2008, pp. 213-218; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 244, p. 134.



Fig. 21. Mythological figures. M87 The fragments AR3.4001.169 (v.1) and AR3.2025.10 (v.2); M88 The fragment AR3.3018.77; M89 The fragment AR3.2032.10; M90 The fragment AR3.3001.182; M91 Parallel: discus of Collection Rivel Cat. n. 114; M92 The fragment AR3.2030.9; M93 Parallel: discus of British Museum: 1865, 1214.45 (Bailey Q 929); M94 The fragment AR3.1012.19; M95: Parallel: discus of Getty Museum 83.AQ.377.53; M96 Parallel: discus of British Museum 1856, 1226.508 (Bailey Q813).

M87. Busts of beardless Hercules

Lamps: four discus fragments

Discussion: Our fragments are to be set according to two rendering ways; the **first variant** (2 fragments) shows a very carefully rendered face with the lion skin tied on the neck; their main difference with the other variant is the accuracy of the head and the position of the lion skin, which

later will come only to adorn the bottom of the scene. This first rendering is mainly to be found on Italian-made lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV, Hercules being shown alone or facing his mace. Both our fragments could well belong to imports, as no lamps with this motif variant have been found in Gaul. The **second variant** (2), has a much rougher rendering. It is well attested on locally-made Loeschcke type IV lamps in Southern France, but also at Vindonissa and Trier. s.

Bibliography: **Variante 1:** cf. Bailey 1980, discussion on lamp Q 803, pp. 34-5; Leibundgut 1977, motif 51 and 51, p. 141. **Variante 2:** Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 78, p. 77 with additional bibliographical references; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 50, p. 141; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 63, pp. 212-213.

M88. Hercules (or Silenus) wrapped in the lion skin and holding a kantharos

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This fragment of excellent quality is an *unicum* close a Loeschcke I lamp without provenance preserved at Budapest, which shows a Silenus with a thyrsos on his back. It renders the scene in a style very close to the best Mediterranean productions of the early decades of the Empire, while the other representations of the scene will depict Hercules banally sitting on a rock where he laid the skin, leaning on his mace and drinking from the kantharos to celebrate his victory over the Nemean beast.

The discus of the lamp preserved in Budapest (Szentleky n. 73)



Fig. 22. The discus of the lamp preserved in Budapest (Szentleky n. 73).

Bibliography: *exact parallel:* Szentleky n. 73, p. 67; *simplified rendering:* Bussière 2000, motif 1.d.1.(12), p. 173.

M89. Endymion asleep

Lamp: one fragment

Discussion: Our fragment, with its impeccable rendering and very accurate details, finds parallels only among the best productions of the Pergamum workshops, exported as far as Cyprus, Africa and Italy. The "Endymion asleep" classical Greek theme has an eclectic repartition: born on different kinds of Pergamum ceramics, it will be exported, on Loeschcke type I lamps, mainly to the most advanced transalpine Roman military outposts, as it is shown on the lamp found up to the Magdalensberg. The hero, sleeping on his buckskin bag, is rendered alone or surrounded by

bucolic motifs. It may be possible that the myth seduced also Italian lamp-makers, as it is found among the repertory of motifs of the Aretine sigillata, yet no lamp certainly produced in Central Italy is known to us. On the contrary, the Rhine Valley workshops will reproduce it on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV, often loosing much of the original quality. Our fragment is hence the very first witness of this scene in Gaul.

Bibliography: List of Parallels: Heimerl 2001, motif 106, p. 194; Cahn 2009, motif 63, p. 321.



Fig. 23. *Comparanda*: our fragment set on the discus of the Berlin Museum lamp (TC 8217/134 1889; Heres n. 143).

M90. Omphale surrounded by small cupids

Lamp: two fragments of a same discus belonging to a volute-lamp

Discussion: This scene is very rare, and geographically spread in an eclectic way: it is mainly known on lamps of Loeschcke type IV found at Cosa, Vindonissa, Trier, Athens, Tarsus, Carthage, Ampurias or Alicante. Thanks to the most complete renderings, we can observe the queen of Lydia sitting on the lion skin at the center of an overcharged decoration. Her legs are covered by a towel and her breast by a *strophium*. She is dressing her hair with both hands, facing a tree and with a Cupid sleeping on her knees. Above the queen we can observe another Cupid while a third is climbing behind her to draw better the lion skin. At the bottom, we can observe the head of the lion and, under it, Hercules' mace. In Gaul, only two imported fragments of discus with this motif were found: at Aleria (Corsica) and in a very rich villa near Béziers in a context dated in the 1st century AD, yet the scene is part of the repertory of the Lyon-La Butte workshops; it is hence in these manufactures that we have to find the provenance of our fragment, without excluding an Italian import as our fragment, the Béziers one and the Ampurias one have very close ceramic characteristics.

Bibliography: Lyon-La Butte: Hanotte 2003, n. 63, p. 488 and fig. 12, p. 492; *Bibliography and parallels:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 21, p. 135; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 72, pp. 215-6; Hellmann 1987, discussion on n. 107, p. 32; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 425, p. 94.

M91. Amazon and her horse fallen to the ground

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Contrary to the depiction representing either Bellerophon or an Amazon to the ground holding the reins of a still standing horse, this scene renders the rider and the horse fallen down. According to the classical canons, the Amazon tries to protect herself against the Greek spears and arrows with a *pelta*, a light shield in form of a half-moon, while holding her axe with

her right hand. This motif is attested only on Loeschcke type IV lamps, produced in Central Italy and exported mainly in Africa and Spain. In France, it is witnessed on a small fragment belonging to an import and discovered in the Atlantic part of the country, while it figures among the low-quality copies made by the Montans workshops.

Bibliography: *Montans:* Bergès 1989, nn. 58-60, pp. 64-5 and fig. 34, p. 84. *Parallels and analogies:* Cahn Klaiber 1977, discussion on fragment n. 252, p. 82; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 8.1, p. 93; Bussière, Rivel 2012, n. 114, pp. 124-5.

M92. Amazon fallen from her horse

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This rendering is rare and scarcely diffused. Additionally, only the upper details of the scene, lost here, allow us to distinguish the Amazon fallen from her horse from Bellerophon fallen in his attempt to domesticate Pegasus. The rendering of the garment of our personage suggests to see an Amazon. A single exact parallel is to be found in France, preserved at Besançon, and another one in Germany, in the collections of the Museum of Hannover. The very carefully rendered details as well as the ceramic characteristics lead us to see in this first lamp discovered in Gaul an Italian import, probably a Loeschcke type I lamp.

Bibliography: *Besançon:* Lerat 1954, n. 119, p. 20 and pl. 15; *Hanover:* Mlasowsky 1993, n. 99, pp. 114-5; *Parallels and analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 27, p. 137; Bailey 1980, discussion on the Italian lamp Q 919, p. 37.

M93. Ulysses naked kneeling in front of a temple

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Interpreted by some researchers as Ulysses kneeling in front of Circe, by others as a shortcut of his meeting with Polyphemus – a known scene where Ulysses offers to Polyphemus a cup of wine –, this mysterious scene is rare and limited in its production to some very high-quality workshops located in Central Italy. It is very scarcely exported, witnessed only in Loeschcke type IV in Southern Spain and in Africa. Our fragment, which lost its sharpness during its long stay in the Rhone waters, is certainly an Italian import and the first attestation of this motif in Gaul.

Bibliography: Bailey 1980, discussion on Italian lamp Q 929, pp. 36-7; Bussière 2000, motif 1.d.2 (2), pp. 173-4; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 3.3, n. 125, p. 90.

M94. Ulysses tied to the ship's mast before the sirens start singing

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: The only published depictions of this scene come to adorn huge triangular handle reflectors belonging to lamps of Loeschcke type III, most of them found in Cyprus. They render the scene in an identical way: the personage we see in our fragment, behind the mast, is the seaman in charge to tie Ulysses, who is to be found at the right, on the missing part of our discus. This very fine fragment is certainly an Italian import and an *unicum* in Gaul.

Bibliography: Bailey 1980, discussion on reflectors Q 2450-1, p. 36, with analogies to unpublished Loeschcke type IV lamps he saw in various museums and collections.

M95. Ulysses hiding under a big ram

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Ulysses, his legs tied to the ram through robust belts, is hiding to run out of the cavern of Polyphemus, the cyclops he just blinded. This scene is very popular on Lamps of Loeschcke types I, IV and VIII in almost all regions of the Mediterranean. In Gaul, the scene appears only on one imported Loeschcke type I lamp has been discovered recently, at Avignon, in a context dated from 25 to 40 AD. Our fragment seems to be an Italian import and belongs probably to a volute-lamp.

Bibliography: Parallels and analogies: Leibundgut 1977, motif 56, p. 142; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamps Q 2482-3 and Q 2312, p. 36; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 3.1, n. 123, p. 89 and Fig. 9; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 241, pp. 93 and 237.

M96. Telephus being suckled by the doe

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: We witness an iconography born in Central Italy and almost exclusively produced there during the second third of the 1st century AD, on lamps of Loeschcke type I. The rendering of the motif of our fragment, of very high quality, confirms it belonged to an Italian imported lamp. The complete scene shows a standing doe, turning its head to lick Telephus, while breastfeeding him. Lamps with such iconography have been found at Augst, Vindonissa and Carthage. In Gaul, the La Butte workshops in Lyon are known to have copied it on volute lamps.

Bibliography: Lyon-La Butte: Hanotte 2003, n. 22, p. 488 and fig. 10, p. 490; *Analogies and parallels:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 54, p. 142; Bailey 1980, discussion on Italian lamp Q 813, p. 38-39.

M97. Head of Medusa with baby cheeks

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This kind of head, normally set within a crown of laurels, has to be considered as a specificity of the Fos workshops, mainly reproduced on Loeschcke type IV lamps, found as far as Vaison; without the crown, this motif has been popular also within the Rhine Valley manufactures, as witness the Loeschcke type I lamps found at Trier and Vindonissa. The origin of the motif has to be found in more accurate renderings where the same head is crowned by two small wings, as we can observe at Corinth.

Bibliography: Fos productions: Rivet 2003, nn. 121-129, pp. 64 and 137; *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 44, p. 24, pl. 4; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 124, p. 154, pl. 33; *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 68, p. 214, pl. 46; *Corinth:* Broneer 1977, n. 445, p. 175, pl. 25.

M98. Head of Medusa on a vegetal palmette, her hair crowned by two crab claws

Lamps: 2 fragments of discus and 2 fragments of volute-lamps.

Discussion: This representation of the Gorgoneion seems to be an Italian creation, to be found on a few individuals discovered in Italy, Spain and also in Transalpine areas on Loeschcke type IV lamps. In Gaul, the rendering is popular on regional-made lamps of earlier types, mainly belonging to Loeschcke type I as it is witnessed by three intact individuals found at Vaison, very close to two of our fragments, and at Avignon, but also by not a few individuals with a very blurred rendering, discovered in the Gulf of Fos or at the Lachau sanctuary. It has to be noticed also that the motif survives on Asia Minor lamps of Loeschcke type VIII such as the lamp found at Pergamum.

Bibliography: Vindonissa: Leibundgut 1977, motif 123, p. 154, pl. 33; *M.A.N.:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 56-8, pp. 242, pl. 37; motif D 76, pp. 76-7 with further bibliography; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 30, p. 23, pl. 3; *Istres:* Rivet 2003, nn. 178-119, pp. 70 and 144 and fragments nn.

393-4, p. 96 and 171; *Lachau*: Bleu 2003, motif n. 145, pl. 11, p. 505; *Pergamum*: Heimerl 2001, nn. 257, p. 118 and pl. 7.



Fig. 24. Mythological creatures. M97 The fragment AR3.4001.81; M98 Parallel: discus of M.A.N., inv. 12401A (GA56 catalogue); M99 The fragments AR3.3020.174 and AR3.2035.F3; M100 The fragment AR3.2001.247; M101. Discus of AR3.2001.101; M102: Parallel: discus of British Museum 1878, 1019.319 (Q910); M103 The fragment AR3.2004.26; M104 The fragment AR3.3001.341; M105 Discus of AR3.1012.15; M106 Parallel: discus of M.A.N., inv. 12440 (GA17 catalogue)

M99. Other heads of Medusa

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The two fragments gathered here are certainly local productions which have no direct parallel. The first is close to a very rare rendering of the Medusa witnessed on a fragment found at Vindonissa and a second, found at Peyrestortes.

Bibliography: *Vindonissa*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 125, p. 154, pl. 33; *Peyrestortes*: Claustres 1956, n. 21, pl. 3.

M100. Standing Sirena rendered on three quarters left

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Turned to the left, the Sirena with a woman's body but with bird tail and legs, seems to come out from a forest. She holds a syrinx in her left hand while she tends forward her right arm (her hand, lost, holds normally the head of a beast). This very rare scene seems to be

predominantly witnessed in Africa and exclusively on Loeschcke type IV lamps with a "revival" on a simplified version on later Loeschcke type VIII lamps. Nearer to Arles, only two Loeschcke type IV lamps are known, unearthed at Ampurias. Our fragment seems to be the fruit of an accurate over-molding obtained in Southern Gaul from a brand-new lamp. The details of the personage are perfectly rendered but the scene is 'damaged' by molding bubbles, one under the right arm and the second near to the left part of the personage's face.

Bibliography: Ampurias: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 236 and E 261, pp. 96-7, 205, 210.

Bibliography and list of known analogies: Bussière 2000, motif 1.e.4.(1), p. 177.

M101. Sphinx rendered frontally

Lamps: seven fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This large-breast sphinx is rendered frontally, its wings spread, standing with its claws on the junction of two vegetal branches ending with volutes. This rendering is the most popular of all the representations of this mythological being. We find it on lamps belonging to Loeschcke types IV, V and VIII, associated with several potter's marks from Italian and African workshops and even to the Gallic manufacture LHOSCRI. In Gaul, the motif can be found on Loeschcke type IV lamps at Glanum, Fos and Avignon. The scene is also on the repertory of lamps produced by the Montans workshops, while not a few Loeschcke type V are known, some signed LHOSCRI, unearthed for instance at Vaison and at Cavaillon (signed LHOSCRI). All our fragments seem to belong to regional productions, some – the most accurate – being very close to a lamp found at Glanum and made in the micro-regions while others, less accurate, are made with a clay which could indicate diverse Rhône valley origins and a small group of two lamps seem to be identical for their clay and rendering, to two lamps signed LHOSCRI and recently unearthed at Aix-en-Provence, the first belonging to a tomb precisely dated to the very last years of the 1st c. AD.

Bibliography: Glanum: Bémont 2002, nn. 175-6, p. 167, pl. 17; motif D 050, p. 73; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 131-2, pp. 65 and 138; fragment n. 433, p. 99 and 174; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 47, p. 24 and pl. 4; *Montans:* Bergès 1989, nn. 446-7, p. 77 and fig. 46; *Vaison:* CAG 84/1, Vaison*425, pp. 340-1; *Cavaillon:* Dumoulin 1965, p. 42 and pl. 48:d, p. 43; *Aix-en-Provence, southern necropolis:* Nin 2006, Tomb 21, pp. 183-186: lamp: p. 184 and fig. 222:9, p. 185. *Aix-en-Provence, DAVA:* Nin 2015, n. 295c, p. 209. *Bibliography and list of known analogies:* Bussière 2000, motif 1.e.2.(2), p. 176.

M102. Griffin running rightwards

Lamps: two discus fragments

Discussion: This rendering is the most popular of all the representations of the griffin. It is found above all in Italy, in Transalpine provinces and in the Iberian Peninsula, mostly on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV but also surviving later on Loeschcke type VIII lamps. In Gaul, a Loeschcke type I lamp has been unearthed at Rousset-les-Vignes, within a funerary complex dated around 80 AD, as well as on several fragments belonging to lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV, discovered at Glanum, Fos, Peyrestortes and even in North France Amiens, in a context broadly dated during Claudius reign. During recent excavations, a fragment of volute-lamp with this motif has been unearthed at Ambrussum, within the facies dated between 25 and 50 AD. Our first fragment is probably an Italian import, while the second is very close to the accurate, probably Gallic, productions found at Amiens

Bibliography: Rousset-les-Vignes: CAG 26, 285*4, *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 204, p. 174, pl. 19; motif D 052, p. 74; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 432, pp. 99 and 174; *Peyrestortes*: Claustres 1956, n. 29, p. 138 and pl. 4; *Amiens*: Massy, Molière 1978, nn. 45-6, pp. 141-2; *Ambrussum*: Gafà-Piskorz 2009, n. 27, p. 94 and fig. 70:1, p. 89. *Bibliography and list of analogies*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 112, p. 152 and pl. 32; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 901, pp. 42-3; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 161, pp. 247-8 and pl. 37; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on griffins, pp. 98-100.

M103. Griffin on left profile, raising its front right leg

Lamp: fragment of discus

Discussion: This representation of the griffin with feline head, of excellent rendering, is very rare. Not only the mythological animal does not lay its leg on its prey's cranium as in the most common renderings, but the specific details of the feathers of its wings and of its mane are drawn with a particular care. In Gaul, a single complete artifact bearing the representation of this griffin but with the cranium of its prey, is known: a Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered at Vaison. Nevertheless, two fragments identical to ours have been unearthed: one at Fos and the second at Ampurias. The rendering of the Arles fragment and of the other ones, showing very tiny points, seems to point out to a very accurate copy, with details retouched by hand after molding and before firing. All those fragments, of a workshop of unknown location, belonged to volute lamps to be dated around 25-75 AD.

Bibliography: Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 54, p. 25 and pl. 4; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 204, pp. 73 and 146; *Ampurias*: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 454, pp. 242-3. *Bibliography and list of analogies (with the crane)*: Bussière 2000, motif 1.e.3.(1), p. 176.

M104. Chimera?

Lamp: fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: This motif, previously known to us only on some rare and much later Tunisian made lamps belonging to private collections, could constitute the first rendering of the chimera on Roman lamps. We can easily identify the mythological being by observing the snake replacing the lion's tail and by the goat's head placed on the back of the feline. This subject, so popular in other forms of art and manufactured objects, comes to join the lychnological repertory. We face here a lamp of Loeschcke type IV, Gallic-made, obtained after a careful over-molding witnessed by very small raised bubbles. For this representation, the only known analogy in Gaul is a lamp of Loeschcke type I with a slightly different rendering, discovered at Avignon in a context dated between 25 and 40 AD.

Bibliography: Avignon, *fouilles de Saint-Agricol*: Gauthier 1984, fig. 6, p. 410

M105. Pegasus on run to the right

Lamps: One Loeschcke type I, seven fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Pegasus running to the right is a rarer variant of the same scene in a mirror-rendering, where the winged horse is heading leftwards. Our variant has been appreciated on Loeschcke type I and IV lamps mainly in the Rhine Valley and Cataluña. In Gaul, a very accurate Loeschcke type I lamp has been discovered at Hyères, while Loeschcke type IV lamps are witnessed at Brumath (Alsace) and at Vaison, not to forget a small fragment of a carefully made lamp unearthed at Fos. At Montans, the local workshops reproduced the scene with the three letters PIN in relief on the discus. Near Arles, a fragment of a volute-lamp has been found in the rural settlement of the Chemin du

Castellan (Istres), a second in the *horrea* of Excisum (Villeneuve-sur-lot), in contexts dated between the reigns of Tiberius and the end of the 1st c. AD, the same date proposed for a fragment unearthed at the Place des Grands-Hommes in Bordeaux. All our lamps seem to have been made in Gaul and to belong to Loeschcke type IV lamps, with the exception of the first individual, a very accurate Loeschcke type I lamp whose clay seems close to the Vaison lamps, and of a small fragment whose characteristics could point to an original Italian production.

Bibliography: *Hyères:* Goudineau 1975, pp. 559-570; cf. pp. 562 and 564, fig. 8; *Brumath:* Pétry 1974, pp. 367-400, cf. pp. 391 and fig. 28, p. 392; *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 57, p. 25 and pl. 5; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 429, pp. 98 and 174; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 454, pp. 242-243; *Montans:* Bergès 1989, nn. 50-51, p.64 and fig. 49, 99; *Istres:* Marty 2014, n. 7, pp. 634-5; *Excisum:* Garnier et al. 2009, n. 21, pp. 436-438; *Bordeaux:* Magister-Vernou 1997, n. 12, p. 69. *Bibliography and lists of analogies:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 164, p. 249 and pl. 58; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 1.2, n. 141, p. 97 and Fig. 11.

M106. Pegasus trotting leftwards

Lamps: one fragmentary Loeschcke I, one fragment of a volute-lamp and one Loeschcke V.

Discussion: For the Loeschcke type V lamp with damaged discus as well as on the two other fragmentary lamps, we can find parallels for clay and rendering on not a few regional made lamps of Loeschcke types I, IV and sometimes V, mainly made by the Fos workshops. A Loeschcke type I intact lamp has also been found at Vaison while a Loeschcke type V lamp very similar to ours is preserved at the Museum of Avignon; this rendering is else well spread, mainly in the Iberian Peninsula.

Bibliography: *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 198-203, pp. 72-3 and 146; *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 17, p. 232 and pl. 32; motif D 88, p. 80, *with further analogies;* *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 59, p. 25 and pl. 5. *Bibliographic references for the analogies:* Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 1.1, n. 140, pp. 96-7 and Fig. 10.

M107. Busts of the imperial couple on profile

Lamps: one fragment of discus with the emperor; one fragment of discus with the empress.

Discussion: While the feminine bust, alone, is well attested, we had to wait until the publication of an intact lamp unearthed at Belo (Southern Spain) to understand its exact signification. This Loeschcke type IV lamp, studied in parallel with numismatics and statuary, allowed S. Dardaine to propose the hypothesis according to which we could recognize in the personages Caligula facing Agrippina the Elder. In Gaul, only three fragments of lamps bearing the scene are known, unearthed at Glanum, at Lachau (sanctuary) and at Lattara (Lattes). Our fragments do not belong to a single lamp and witness the presence of the complete scene at Arles.

Bibliography: S. Dardaine, *Portraits impériaux sur une lampe découverte à Belo (Bolonía, Cadix)*, in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 17 (1981), pp. 517-519; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 400, pp. 77, 221 and pl. 35; *Lachau:* Bleu 2003, motif n. 86, pl. 9, p. 504; *Lattes:* Paterno 2004, fig. 2, p. 347.

M108. Bust of Hadrian (right profile)

Lamps: two fragments of discus

Discussion: This second imperial portrait was unknown in Gaul while well attested in the Aegean world. At the beginning, it seems that the motif has been created by Cnidian workshops to adorn

lamps of Loeschcke type IV, seducing then quickly Italian workshops. Our fragments, fruit of an over-molding, are the first witnesses of a Gallic production, the first one simply copied, the second one even slightly retouched by hand before firing to enhance the details.

Bibliography: Bailey 1980, discussion on fragment Q 1073, p. 43-44.



Fig. 25. Busts and heads. M107 Parallel: discus of the lamp found at Belo; M108 The fragment AR3.3002.21; M109 Discus of AR3.2025.12; M110 Discus of AR3.1012.17

M109. Feminine face

Lampe: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: this feminine face, with a careful rendering of the head and of the hairdressing, is not known to us on any of the many studied repertoires. For its accuracy but also its clay and slip characteristics, our fragment belonged very probably to an Italian-made lamp Loeschcke type I.

M110. Bust of a curly haired child

Lamp: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: It is only the second time this motif is observed in Gaul, where it was known on a lamp of the same type discovered at Glanum, maybe made in the same workshop which produced our artifact; this hypothesis is even more probable if we look at the air-hole, slightly cut instead of being pierced with a nail. The prototype of this medium quality copy made in Gaul has to be found on Loeschcke type I lamps of a better quality, well attested in Italy, at Corinth and in the Aegean world. Elsewhere, only two fragments are known, one in Ampurias and a second in Algeria. The real boom for this motif will come slightly later - in contemporaneous with our lamp - when Rhine valley manufactures will reproduce it massively, but only on Loeschcke type IV lamps as witness the number of lamps found from this area - Cologne, Trier - down to Vindonissa. Later, the motif reappears, poorly rendered, on lamps of Loeschcke type V, of mediocre quality, made at Lyon and other central Gallic workshops and massively attested, for instance, at Alba (Ardèche).

Bibliography: *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 126, pp. 90, 157-8 and pl. 11; *Italy:* cf. Bailey 1980, discussion on lamp Q 827, pp. 48-9; *Corinth:* Broneer 1977, n. 431, fig. 37, p. 77 and p. 174; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 396, pp. 233 and 235; *Algeria:* Bussière 2000, motif I. b.1 (45), pp. 163-4 with a complete list of parallels and analogies; *Rhine Valley:* Cahn 2009, motif 102, pp. 331-2 with a complete list of parallels and analogies; *Lyon, La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, p. 486 and fig. 9:4, p. 489 as well as fig. 12:4, p. 492; *Alba:* Ayala 1990, nn. 99-107, pp. 202-204.

M111. Pair of clues

Lamps: a fragmentary Loeschcke I and two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The pair of clues does not seem to have found any success on other types than the Loeschcke I series. Born in Italy, it quickly joins the repertory of the Rhine Valley producers and

is massively witnessed in most of the *limes* sites. In Gaul, several Southern Gallic manufactures reproduced the motif, which is witness on different productions of very unequal quality found at Cucuron (Vaucluse), at Vaison, at Glanum, and at Fos. From closed contexts, we can quote an intact Loeschcke I type lamp found at Argiliers (Gard), in a grave dated from the second half of the 1st c. to the beginning of the 2nd c. AD. At Ambrussum, we find this scene among the lamps belonging to the *facies* dated between 75 and 100 AD.

Bibliography: *Cucuron:* H. Rolland, Circonscription d'Aix-en-Provence (Région nord), in *Gallia* 18:2 (1960), pp. 263-285, cf. p. 267 and fig. 5, p. 266; *Vaison and other lamps from Gaul:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 54-5, pp. 241-2 and pl. 36; motifs D 94-95, pp. 82-3; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 231, p. 178 and pl. 21; motif D 059, p. 76; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 193-194, pp. 72 and 145. *Argiliers:* CAG 30/2, 013*4 Argiliers, *tomb of the Mas d'Arnès*, pp. 160-161; *Ambrussum:* Gafà-Piskorz 2009, n. 79, p. 96 and fig. 74:1, p. 91. *Rhine Valley and complete lists of analogies:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 66, pp. 213-214 and pl. 43-46; Cahn 2009, motif 82, pp. 326-327.



Fig. 26. Allegories. M111 Parallel: discus of Musée de Nîmes, Inv. 908.51.1505; M112 Parallel: discus from Arles - RHO.2013.R.14; M113 The fragment AR3.2029.24; M114 Discus of AR3.2004.56; M115 Discus of RHO 2009 A43.127; M116 Discus of AR3.3018.73; M117 Discus of AR3.3001.294; M118 The fragment AR3.2018.41; M119 The fragment AR3.3018.117; M120 The fragment AR3.2029.123

M112. Double Cornucopia

Lamp: fragment of discus

Discussion: This fragment belongs to one of the most ancient renderings of the double cornucopia. On the best-preserved lamps, we can observe the richness of the details, mainly the carefully rendered fruits crowning the horn as well as the bases of the horns themselves, decorated with a goat's head. The motif, born in Italy, was very popular in the peninsula as well in the Transalpine areas, first imported and then copied by the Rhine Valley workshops, which will re-elaborate the motif in diverse variants to adorn lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV. Today, only three lamps are known in Gaul: a complete Loeschcke type I lamp discovered at Vienne, a Loeschcke type IV said to be from Vaison and a fragment of discus, discovered at Fos, made from of a very used mold, not far in all aspects to our piece.

Bibliography: Vienne: Pelletier 1976, p. 138 and fig. 21:9, p. 139; Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 185, p. 45 and pl. 12; Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 192, pp. 72 and 145. *Full lists of known analogies:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 40, pp. 204-5 and pl. 17; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 91, pp. 81-2; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 734, p. 87.

M113. Double Cornucopia with body decorated with grooves

Lamp: fragment of discus

Discussion: This rendering of the double cornucopia, very popular in the Western Mediterranean area, is above all the fruit of the production centers located in Italy and Africa, where this motif is commonly used to adorn lamps of Loeschcke type V lamps, at the beginning, becoming much more common on later Loeschcke type VIII lamps. In Gaul, this motif is witnessed only on a Loeschcke type VIII lamps, bearing the Italian mark COPPIRES and preserved at the Avignon Museum.

Bibliography: Avignon: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 185bis, p. 45. *List of all known analogies:* Bussière 2000, motif I.b.10.(12), pp. 168-169.

M114. Representation of the Felicitas

Lamp: one Loeschcke type IV

Discussion: The two shaking hands in front of the caduceus are the very symbol of the *Felicitas*. This theme is well attested on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV, while its apex will come on Italian and African lamps of Loeschcke type VIII. Even if massively produced, its geographical repartition is quite eclectic and limited: very common in Italy and Northern Africa, it is absent in the Iberian Peninsula and in all the Eastern Mediterranean area. In Gaul, our lamp finds an identical parallel in a same type artifact discovered at Fos, the only difference between the two lamps is that our lamp has a carefully impressed *planta pedis* on its base while the lamp found at Fos has no mark on its base. As far as Loeschcke IV lamps are concerned, the nearest parallels are to be found at Carthage – a probably Italian import – and at Cologne – two locally-made artifacts. Our lamp as well as the Fos one is most probably to be considered as Italian imports. For Gaul, it is worth to mention that in a slightly later period, this motif is known on only two Loeschcke type VIII lamps, both bearing the Gallic mark LHOSCRI on their base. The two lamps are preserved at the Museum of Avignon, one of them being said to come from Vaison.

Bibliography: Avignon: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 190, p. 45 and pl. 12; Fos: Rivet 2003, n.115, pp. 64 and 136; Carthage: Deneauve 1969, n. 455, p. 133 and pl. 18; Cologne: Cahn 2009, motif 83, p. 327. *Bibliography and list of analogies:* Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 1280 and 1299, p. 49; Bussière 2000, motif II.a.3 (26), p. 180.

M115. Winged caduceus

Lamp: one Loeschcke type I

Discussion: The representation of the *caduceus* alone is somehow common, yet its version with deployed wings is an *unicum* witnessed only within the lower Rhône Valley. As such, our lamp finds as single known parallel a fragmentary volute-lamp unearthed at Alba. The small bubbles and the slightly blurred details witnessing the use of the over-molding technique makes us consider, together with the ceramological aspects, the Arles lamp as a Gallic production. Its clay and slip are close to those found in the lamps made by the Drôme valley workshops. We could well be facing an original creation obtained by a copy of Italian lamps with a normal caduceus to

which the wings have been added instead of the original *cornucopiae* associated with the identical-rendering *caducei* known to us.

Bibliography: Alba: Ayala 1991, n. 52, p. 196 and fig. 15.

M116. Round altar ornamented with offerings

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This type of altar is witnessed only on Italian and Gallic lamps of Loeschcke type I, known in France at Vaison and at Glanum, where they are dated by C. Bémont between 30 and 100 AD. One of our fragments is very close to the Vaison lamp while the second has a less carefully rendered decoration with abundant over-molding signs.

Bibliography: Vaison: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 18, p. 233 and pl. 32; motif D 126, p. 93; Glanum: Bémont 2002, n. 103, pp. 154-5 and pl. 9; motif D070, p. 79.

M117. Small round altar adorned with offerings

Lamp: one Loeschcke type VIII

Discussion: This representation, with smaller size of the altar and less offerings if compared to the previous motif, is known only on one lamp, also found at Arles. It is a Loeschcke type V lamp discovered at the Trinquetaille cemetery and with the very same ceramological characteristics our lamp has. This fact leads to suggest seeing on both lamps the fruits of a micro-regional theme on both types of lamps, maybe even simultaneously.

Bibliography: Arles: Robin Petitot 2000, n. 118, p. 59.

M118. Herm rendered frontally, on a pedestal and flanked by a solar scepter

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: among the numerous scenes depicting a herm rendered frontally, we can distinguish two main categories: the ones belonging to the Bacchic cult where the herm is associated with symbolic ornaments of this rite, and the ones belonging to the palestra activities, where the herm is associated with a circle, a jug or an athlete. Our fragment seems to belong to the second category, where he finds no exact parallel. A same herm, ornamented with a scarf and ribbons, can be found on a Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Vindonissa, but without the scepter. The same herm is also rendered on a same-type lamp found at Carthage, but associated with a circle and a jug and an identical scepter with a different position, being on the right side. Our lamp is clearly a Southern Gallic copy, as we can see through the numerous bubbles due to the over-molding. It could be the first witness of this scene made in Gaul as in France only one similar, but much more carefully made Loeschcke type I lamp, probably imported, was discovered, at Peyriac-de Mer (Aude), where it belonged to the facies dated between 30 and 60 AD.

Bibliography: Vindonissa: Leibundgut 1977, motif 140, p. 156 and pl. 34 (with parallels); Carthage: Deneauve 1969, n. 437, p. 131 and pl. 17; Peyriac-de Mer: Sanchez 2006, lamp n. 2, p. 221 and fig 22:2 p. 225

M119. Bearded herm, face looking rightwards, caduceus and circle

Lamp: one fragment of volute-lamp

*Discussion: This fragment is an *unicum*, without any parallels in the consulted bibliography. Its ceramological characteristics indicate a Gallic manufacture while the motif itself seems to be a simplified and mirror-rendered version of a motif known on African made lamps of Loeschcke*

type IV. It is interesting to see that the workshop did also mix the themes as the caduceus is mostly linked to the Bacchic cult, while the circle is proper to those associated with the palestra repertory.

M120. Cleaning a Herm

Lamp: fragment of discus

Discussion: A small personage stands, dressed only with a loincloth, leaning leftwards to reach from his right hand the content of a small vase, while his left hand is laid in the head of a Herm. If the scene is rare, its geographical repartition is amazing: born in Italy to adorn lamps of Loeschcke type I, witnessed in the peninsula but also in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the scene will be soon adopted by the Rhine Valley workshops and then, retouched, on later Loeschcke VIII made in Tunisian workshops. In Gaul, only a single Loeschcke type 4 was known prior to this fragment. Unearthed at the rich *villa rustica* of Frans (near Toulouse) its ceramic characteristics as well as the rendering of the scene are almost identical to ours, coming to prove that this motif was also produced by South Gallic workshops.

Bibliography: *Frans:* M. Labrousse, Circonscription de Toulouse, in *Gallia* 17:2 (1959, pp. 409-449, cf. pp. 417-8 and fig. 8. *Analogies: Italy:* Bailey 1980, Q 818, pp. 47, 145 and pl. 6; *Rhine valley:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 141, p. 156 and pl. 34 (proposing a chronology, for those productions, between entre 40 and 100 AD); *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 79, p. 218 and pl. 28.

M121. Woman bearing a small box

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This motif, whose meaning remains mysterious, is well attested in the Western provinces. It shows a feminine personage, her suit tied around the waist and bearing a veil on her head, leans her right hand on her hip while her left hand is holding an opened box. In Gaul, this scene is known on Loeschcke type IV lamps, found at Apt – in a late 1st century AD necropolis – as well as at Aix-en-Provence among a secondary deposit – dated in the second half of the 2nd century – of a tomb of the southern necropolis. On the same type of lamps, we find the scene on two intact artefacts found at Vaison, Arles and on a fragment unearthed at Fos.

Bibliography: *Apt:* Dumoulin 1964 and CAG 84/2, 003*53 Apt, *Nécropoles, terrain Piton*, pp. 144-8; *Aix-en-Provence, nécropole méridionale:* Nin 2006, *Sépulture* 28, pp. 188-191: lamp, p. 190 and fig. 230:3, p. 189; *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 99, pp. 251-2 (with further bibliography) and pl. 42; *De Brun, Gagnière* 1935, n. 78, p. 29 and pl. 6; *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 83, p. 55; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 390, pp. 95 and 171.

M122. Slave washing his hands

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This eclectic scene seems to represent the preparation moment before performing a sacrifice: a kneeling slave washes his hands in a richly adorned basin while behind the vase, we can observe a goat's head rendered in profile. Born in Italy and quickly reproduced by the Rhine Valley workshops, this motif appears on some Loeschcke type I lamps while it is still witnessed on Loeschcke type IV lamps in very different areas: Cyprus and the Northern Rhenan area (Cologne, Nijmegen). In Gaul, only a fragment found at Glanum and a second excavated at the rural settlement of the *Chemin du Castellan* (Istres), come to confirm with our fragments the

presence of the scene in Southern France. Both our fragments belong without doubt to Loeschcke type I lamps, and are of a particular importance. As a matter of fact, if the first is extremely accurate and is certainly an Italian import, the second is fruit of a regional over-molding, with several bubbles and a very mediocre rendering. This means that this scene, previously so well attested on the Rhine production, has been produced in Gaul too, our fragment being the first witness of this motif joining the macro-regional Gallic repertory.

Bibliography: *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, motif D068, p. 78; n. 403, p. 221 and pl. 35; *Istres*: Marty 2014, n. 9, pp. 634-5. *Analogies and bibliography:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 144, p. 157 and pl. 35; *Trier*: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 80, p. 218 and pl. 46; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamp Q 2386, p. 47; Cahn 2009, motif 93, pp. 329-330.



Fig. 27. Personages. M121 Parallel: discus of Museum of Arles (FAN.91.00.2025); M122. Discus of AR3.3018.108; M123 Parallel: discus of Musée de Nîmes, Inv. 908.51.1499; M124 Parallel: discus of Cologne D3259, Cahn 573; M125 The fragment AR3.4001.197.

M123. Personage with a knife facing a broken amphora

Lamps: three fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: A long-haired masculine personage, bearing a lacerated tunic, knees in front of a broken amphora. He seems grieving, his hands up, holding a knife in his right hand. This scene, rare and mysterious, has been linked to the Medea's myth but without solid arguments. It appears on a few lamps of Loeschcke type I, generally of much weaker quality than the first of our fragments. We can mention the artifacts found at Trier and at Sevilla, and, in Gaul, the Loeschcke type I lamps discovered at Vaison, Nîmes and a fragment unearthed in the horrea of Excisum (Villeneuve-sur-lot), in a context dated from the reign of Tiberius to the end of the 1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Vaison*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 40, p. 25 and pl. 4; *Nîmes*: Chrzanowski 2006, N18, p. 89; *Excisum*: Garnier and al. 2009, n. 7 and fragment n. 8, p. 436; *Trier*: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 146, p. 242 and pl. 47 with complete list of analogies.

M124. The cooking of the pork

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: The alexandrine theatre scene called "the cooking of the pork" and depicted on a few lamps has been widely debated. Its representations are generally rendered in another way than the one depicted on our lamp, i.e. showing two men holding with a support an entire pork whose stomach has been already opened and cleaned. Our motif is far more complex, and was unknown outside Italy until the publication of the corpus of the lamps unearthed at Cologne. There, an intact Loeschcke type IV lamp bears a discus adorned with a tree on the left, under which a small

personage seems to take out some dry branches from the fire under heating a big cauldron, from which two standing personages, on each side of a cooking vessel, take out the well-cooked entire animal. Our fragment is the only one discovered in Gaul, and shall be considered – as the Cologne artifact – as a new piece among the very rare Italian lamps bearing this scene.

Bibliography: Cologne: Cahn 2009, n. 573, p. 108 and pl. 41; motif 92, p. 329; on the motif: Picard 1961, pp. 228-231.

M125. Scene with an altar

Lamp: fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Very carefully rendered, this fragmentary scene where we can observe only the altar upon which we distinguish the hand of a personage, has no direct parallels known. On the contrary, an identical altar adorned with the same garland but depicted alone, with or without being topped by a flame, is very well attested on Loeschcke type I lamps, *in primis* within the repertory of the Rhine Valley workshops. We are very probably in front of an original lamp made in Italy or in Asia Minor, which motif could have been the source of inspiration of the Rhine manufactures for elaborating their reduced version presenting the altar alone.

Bibliography: (altar alone): Cahn 2009, motif 88, p. 328.



Fig. 28. Maritime scenes. M126 Discus of AR3.4001.103; M127 Fragment AR3.2001.105; M128 Parallel: discus of Arles Museum (CIM.66.00.119).

M126. War ship

Lamps: one complete Loeschcke III and three fragments of volute lamps

Discussion: The rowing ship on well-rendered sea waves has been a very popular motif on lamps: born to adorn Loeschcke type I lamps, it will be reproduced in an identical way on lamps of Loeschcke types III, IV and even VIII. Created in Italy, the motif will quickly be adopted by workshops in Gaul and in the Rhine Valley. For Gaul, we can observe it on Loeschcke type I lamps found at Vaison and at Villedieu, on Loeschcke type IV lamps found at Arles, at Fos and at Peyrestortes (fragment). Our fragments seems to be certainly made in Gaul, while our intact Loeschcke type III (exception made of the lost handle-ornament) is most probably a very accurate Italian production, with a rendering of the scene almost identical of the one adorning an imported Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered at Constantine (Algeria). It is worth to underline that according to our research, it is the first time we observe this scene on a Loeschcke type III lamp.

Bibliography: Vaison and Villedieu: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 189, p. 45 and pl. 12; *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 182, p. 65; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 205-6. pp. 73 and 146; *Peyrestortes:* Claustres 1956, n. 15, p. 136 and pl. 3; *Constantine:* Bussière 2000, n. 283, p. 260 and pl. 32. *Bibliography and analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 164, p. 161 and pl. 36; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 152, pp.

244 and pl. 58; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamps Q 2397-9 and Q 3048, pp. 45-6; Bussière 2000, motif II.a.2 (2), p. 178; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamps E 461-2, pp. 102-3; Cahn 2009, motif 107, p. 333.

M127. Two personages on a sailing boat

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This scene is rare. It depicts two small personages waving their hands as if they were saluting, sitting on a reduced-scale *navis oneraria*, sails unset and rows standing still. This motif seems to be the reproduction of an imported theme, well attested among the Gallic productions of Loeschcke type I like the intact lamp preserved at the British Museum or the two fragments unearthed at Vindonissa, all considered as Gallic productions to be broadly dated during the reign Claudius, lamps to which we have to add the individual discovered at Montans, very probably manufactured in the same town's workshops. As far as the archetype has to be found, we can mention the extremely carefully made Loeschcke type I lamp, discovered at Portus Magnus (Algeria), which is very probably an Italian import.

Bibliography: *British Museum:* Bailey 1988, Q 1503, p. 158 and pl. 2; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 167, p. 161 and pl. 37; *Montans:* Bergès 1988, n. 449, p. 77 and fig. 46; *Portus Magnus:* Bussière 2000, n. 74, p. 252 and pl. 19.

M128. Two monkeys on a small skiff

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This scene, probably inspired by a scene of the Alexandrine theatre, is rare on lamps. It is witnessed only on Loeschcke type V lamps made in Africa as well as in Italy. D. Bailey wrote he saw unpublished Gallic productions of the same type, in the deposits of the museums of Lyon and of Sens. Gallic workshops could well be the authors of the three lamps unearthed at Vindonissa as well as the intact lamp discovered at Arles (Necropolis of Trinquetaille) and a second, unearthed at the Necropolis of Richeaume, at Puyloubier, near to Aix-en-Provence.

Bibliography: *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 127, p. 60; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 168, pp. 161-2 and pl. 37; *Necropolis of Richeaume:* Nin 2014, p. 249 (LP1016); *analogies:* Bailey 1980, discussion on lamp Q 865, p. 75.

M129. Basket with fish and birds

Lamps: one Loeschcke I, one Loeschcke IV) and four fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This motif had an almost "confidential" diffusion outside Southern France. It can be found only on two lamps discovered in Algeria: a Loeschcke I found at Tipasa and a Loeschcke found at Tebessa, and on a single, later, Loeschcke type VIII lamp found at Vindonissa (where it is considered as an Italian import), to which we shall add two lamps of the last type, considered as Italian productions, and preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and at the Hanover Museum. In Gaul, the motif appears on a Loeschcke type I lamp discovered at Vaison, on several Loeschcke type IV lamps unearthed at *Vicus Eburomagus*, Vaison, Fos, Lachau and Glanum (two artifacts); on a Loeschcke type VIII lamp discovered at Vienne and on two fragments probably belonging to this last type, found at Peyrestortes. Our six pieces reflect well the popularity of the theme in Southern Gaul, mainly on volute-lamps. All of them are clearly Southern Gallic productions.

Bibliography: Roman world: *Algeria:* Bussière 2000, n. 358, pp. 179, 263 and pl. 37; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 153, p. 159 and pl. 35; *Bibliothèque Nationale:* Hellmann 1987, n. 142, p. 40 and pl. 40; *Hannovre:* Mlasowsky 1993, n. 303, pp. 310-1. *Gaul:* *Loeschcke I: Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 46, pp. 238 and pl. 35; motif D 321, p. 158; *Loeschcke IV: Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 198, p. 46 and pl. 12; *Vicus Eburomagus:* Passelac 1970, pp. 96-8 and fig. 15:1; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, fragment n. 437, pp. 99 and 175; *Lachau:* Bleu 2003, motif n. 109, pl. 10, p. 504; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, nn. 147-148, pp. 103, 163-4 and pl. 13 (quoting the unpublished lamp found at Vienne); *Peyrestortes:* Claustres 1956, nn. 34-5, p. 138.



Fig. 29. Paniers, containers, vases. M129 Discus of AR3.3003.12; M130 Parallel: discus of de British Museum, 1904,0204.451 (Q1502); M131 Discus of AR3.2031.77; M132 Discus of AR3.2007.67; M133 Discus of AR3.2008.13; M134 Discus of AR3.2031.48

M130. Amphora

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This motif is to be found only in Gaul and only adorning Loeschcke type I lamps, such as the artifact said to be from the Vaucluse department and preserved at the British Museum and the one unearthed at Vaison and preserved at the M.A.N., dated by C. Bémont and H. Chew to the last third of the 1st century AD. From an excavated context, we find a same-type lamp at the Vallades necropolis, in a tomb dated from the end of the 1st to the first decades of the 2nd century AD. All those lamps as well as our fragment are regional productions.

Bibliography: *Vaucluse:* Bailey 1988, Q 1502, p. 158 and pl. 1; *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 68, p. 244 and pl. 38; motif D 320, p. 157; *Necropolis of Vallades:* Bel 2002, Tomb 107, pp. 419-420 and fig. 493:1, p. 420.

M131. Krater with vine and grapes

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and two discus fragments

Discussion: This krater on a stand, from which flourish vines, volutes and grapes, is a very popular motif. In its most complete version, the vines start on each side with a grape and end, on each side, by two other grapes. The motif will know several variants, according to the workshops, and its production will be very long, being witnessed since the earliest Loeschcke type I lamps to late Loeschcke type VIII lamps. Born in Italy and in the Aegean world, it will quickly be adopted by African and Rhine Valley workshops. Our three pieces are Gallic productions, to be set in parallel with a very high quality Loeschcke type I lamp found at Arles and preserved at the British Museum and with a fragment unearthed at Fos and a second, at Peyrestortes. Else, the workshops of Lezoux and those of la Galane at Lombez (Gers) are known to have produced lamps with this motif.

Bibliography: *Lezoux:* Vertet 1983, p. 90, n. 1; discussion p. 91, n. 3; *Galane - Lombez (Gers):* P. Mesplé, M. Labrousse, *L'atelier de potier gallo-romain de Galane, à Lombez (Gers)*, in *Gallia* 24:1 (1966), p. 166 and pl. 9:2, p. 177; *Arles:* Bailey 1988, Q 1509, p. 159 and pl. 2; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, fragments nn. 438 and 439, pp. 99 and 175; *Peyrestortes:* Claustres 1956, n. 7, p. 133 and pl. 2. *Lists of analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 354, pp. 186-7 and pl. 52; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 217, pp. 266-7 and pl. 41; Bailey 1988, pp. 49-51 - who mentions an unpublished Loeschcke type IV lamp preserved at the Museum of Lyon; Bussière 2000, motif II.a.4. (12), p. 182; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 2.1, n. 205, p. 148 and Fig. 15; Cahn 2009, motif 80, p. 326.

M132. Krater on a stand

Lamps: one fragment of Loeschcke I and one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This high and broad krater, accurately decorated, is rare. The two Loeschcke type I lamps unearthed at Tipasa (Algeria) are probably to be considered as part of the first productions of the theme. Both bear the mark *MARCI in planta pedis* – an Italian workshop of the middle of the 1st century AD. Then, we know a Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Ampurias, while the motif seems totally absent of the Transalpine regions. In Gaul, the motif is witnessed within the repertory of the Montans workshops while a more accurate Loeschcke type IV lamp has been discovered at Glanum. Our pieces are both regional productions, the second being almost identical to the Glanum artifact.

Bibliography: *Tipasa:* Bussière 2000, nn. 102-3, p. 253 and pl. 21; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, n. 284, p. 216 and n. 293, p. 217; *Montans:* Bergès 1989, n. 671, p. 80 and fig. 48, p. 98; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 157, p. 165 and pl. 15; motif D 163, p. 104.

M133. Skyphos on low foot

Lampe: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: This motif has been very popular, mainly in the Western Mediterranean provinces, where it can be found on lamps of Loeschcke types I, IV, V and VIII. In Gaul, all exact parallels to our lamp have to be found in the immediate surroundings of Arles: at the Pègue and at Glanum (3 lamps), all belonging to Loeschcke type I. Two other lamps have been found at Arles, one in a closed context, at the Odeon necropolis, in a tomb dated to the first half of the 1st century AD. Our lamp, a regional production, has its closest parallels at Glanum.

Bibliography: *Le Pègue:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 202, p. 46 and pl. 12; CAG 26, 226*31 Le Pègue, pp. 479 and fig. p. 480; *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 51, p. 50; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, nn. 121-123, p.

157 and pl. 11; motif D 161, p. 104; *Arles, Odéon Necropolis*: Hejmans and al. 2004, Odéon, tomb S 2, pp. 203-4. *Lists of parallels*: Bailey 1980, Q 1312, p. 48 on Italian productions on Loeschcke type VIII; Bailey 1988, p. 51; Bussière 2000, motif II.a.4. (9), pp. 181-2; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion pp. 100-101.

M134. Chalice on high stand

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The representation of a chalice, without handles as in our first piece or with added - incised - handles as in the two other ones, is extremely rare. A single identical parallel to our lamp without handle is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; from closed contexts, we know a Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Cologne, where the chalice seems to contain a fruit. In Gaul, a very similar lamp to our first one has been unearthed at the Vallades necropolis, in a tomb dated to the last third of the 1st century AD, to which we have to add a tiny fragment discovered at Lachau, the only one with added handles.

Bibliography: Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Hellmann 1997, n. 143, p. 40 and pl. 15; Cologne: Cahn 2009, motif 108, p. 333; *Vallades Necropolis*: Bel 2002, Tomb 133, pp. 326-328 and fig. 369:14, p. 327; *Lachau*: Bleu 2003, n. 117, fig. 10, p. 504.

M135. Theme of the "Gallic chevalier"

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This fragment of a Loeschcke type I lamp, showing a horse with all its legs bowed and its forelegs projected forward, is known on a single complete motif, known as the "*Gallic chevalier*". Probably born in Italy, lamps with the complete scene were found at the Magdalensberg, at Vindonissa, at Trèves, at Carthage and also at Ampurias – on several early imperial fragments but also a mediocre rendering on a later Loeschcke type VIII lamp. In Gaul, one Loeschcke type I lamp has been found at Sérignan, a second – with very erased rendering – has been found at the rural settlement of the *Chemin du Castellan* (Istres), and a fragmentary lamp has been unearthed at the *Roche fleur* Necropolis in Arles, in a tomb dated to the 2nd half of the 1st century AD. It has to be noted that the same motif will be reproduced, in an identical way, on *terra sigillata* bowls made by the famous Graufesenque workshops since the mid-1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Magdalensberg*: Farka 1977, motif 70, pp. 124-5 with list of parallels; *Vindonissa*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 250, pp. 172-3 and pl. 44; *Trèves*: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 116, p. 232; *Sérignan*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 65, p. 27 and pl. 5; *Carthage*: Deneauve 1969, nn. 326-327, p. 114 and pl. XXXVIII; *Ampurias*: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, pp. 104-5. *Arles, Roche fleur Necropolis*: Hejmans et alii 2004, tombe S-H, p. 197; *Istres*: Marty 2014, n. 3, pp. 634-635.

M136. Trophy (?)

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: On the fragment, we can observe a round shield set post, adorned with a triangular object. The fragmentary scene finds no parallels but seems to belong to the series of representations of military trophies, into which it would constitute the most schematic rendering known.



Fig. 30. Military symbolism and allegories. M135 Drawing of Musée Calvet K98A, Cat. 65; M136 The fragment AR3.4001.199; M 137 Discus of AR3.2003.12; M 138 Discus of AR3.2032.8

M 137. Small naked warrior (allegory)

Lamp: one Loeschcke V

Discussion: The aspect of this scene could lead to see an allegory of a warrior rendered as a child, if we look at the nonchalant attitude of the personage, the rendering of his legs as well as at the archaic or heroic rendering of his weapons – a round shield held by a belt on his torso, a panache helmet on his head, a spear in his hand and a small loincloth covering his sex-. It is a Gallic copy of an unknown Mediterranean lamp, whose original mark, GABINIA is preserved. A single identical lamp is known to us, made in the Montans workshops.

Bibliography: *Montans:* Bergès 1988, n. 147, p. 67 and fig. 38, p. 88.

M 138. Allegory of the victory: cantharus, garland and palm leave

Lamp: one Loeschcke VIII with side-lugs

Discussion: This representation is an *unicum*, finding no parallels on the studied bibliography. The symbolism of this very nice lamp probably made in Italy or in the Aegean does not leave any place to doubt: it is the prize offered to a winner of an athletic competition, showing us all the attributes of a Greek game victory: a huge cantharus adorned with a garland and a palm leaf leaned to the vase handle. The motif is rendered with prizes in conformity to the Greek tradition, mostly the one of the Panathenian games, while its "Roman" counterpart, where the prizes are a wine amphora with garland and palm leaves is widely known, produced in Italy, Northern Africa and Egypt.

M139. Helmet and sica

Lamps: two Loeschcke I; three discus fragments

Discussion: This scene seems to belong almost exclusively to the Gallic repertory, being probably inspired by Italian archetypes such as the lamp preserved in the ancient collection of the Bologna Museum. At this date, outside Gaul, we found only one lamp unearthed at Vindonissa and a fragment discovered at Ampurias. In Gaul, a fragmentary Loeschcke type I lamp and six additional fragments have been found at Fos, where they are considered among the productions of the local workshops, also authors of the four lamps discovered at Vaison (preserved at the MAN, at Avignon and at Nîmes). From the same type, we know lamps made in other Gallic workshops and found at Narbonne, at l'Hospitalet-du-Larzac, and at Bordeaux. On more lamps of the same type but of a mediocre quality, we find an intact lamp in a tomb of the necropolis of Tavel, from a context dated from 50 to 60 AD. Among our materials, a lamp and a fragment certainly were made by the Fos workshops while the fact that the remaining lamp and two fragments may have been also produced there but another regional workshop is not to be excluded.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, nn. 45-51, pp. 56-7 and 129; Vaison: Bémont, Chew 2007, nn. GA 31 and GA 32, p. 236 and pl. 34; De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 73, p. 29 and pl. 6; Nîmes: Landes 1987, n. 31, p. 131; Narbonne: Landes 1987, n. 43, p. 138; Hospitalet-du-Larzac: Landes 1987, n. 34, p. 133; Bordeaux: Cueillens 2000, n. 6, p. 182 and pl. I:6, p. 183; Tavel: CAG 30/3, 141*Tavel, p. 694 and Gagnière and al. 1961, fig. 6:3, p. 238. *Bologna:* Gualandi Genito 1977, N. 170; *Vindonissa:* Loeschcke 1909, n. 165 = Leibundgut 1977, motif 222; *Ampurias:* Casas, Soler 2006: cf. E 521, p. 110 and 252. *Discussion and parallels:* Bémont, Chew 2007, D164, p. 105.

M140. Parma, helmet and sica

Lamp: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: This iconography is rare, and, besides Italian archetypes, seems to be produced on Loeschcke type I lamps only in Gaul but also, later and more massively, on lamps of Loeschcke IV made in several Eastern Mediterranean workshops, *in primis* in Cyprus. It seems that the Gallic manufacturers chose to render the original motif in a mirror and only on Loeschcke type I lamps in contemporary with the flourish of the theme in Italy, i.e between 40 and 100 AD, extending their local productions to the first decades of the second century AD.

Bibliography: Vaison: Bémont, Chew 2007, nn. GA 33, p. 236 and pl. 34, Arles: Robin Petitot 200, n. 48, p. 50; *Bologna:* Gualandi Genito 1977, N. 197; *Vindonissa:* Loeschcke 1909, n. 165; *analogies and dating:* Bailey 1988, p. 59; Bémont, Chew 2007, D 163, p. 105.



Fig. 31. Gladiatorial equipment. M139 Discus of AR3.4001.119; M140 Discus of AR3.4001.180; M141 Discus of AR3.2017.7; M142 Discus of AR3.2001.97; M143 Discus of PR1 815; M144 The fragment AR3.4001.177.

M141. Shield, hilt of sword and crossed greaves

Lamp: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: We can observe here the voluntary choice made by a Gallic workshop to reproduce a small sequence, constituted by three pieces of equipment, extracted by the classical complete friezes of weapons, well attested within Italian and Rhine Valley productions. Very rare even in

Gaul, we witness this "shortcut" on a single exact parallel found at the nearby Glanum where it was dated during the second half of the 1st century AD, leading us to see both lamps produced by a single workshop situated in the area.

Bibliography: Glanum: Bémont 2002, n. 128, p. 158 and discussion on the theme at p. 85; complete frieze: Leibundut 1977, motif 231, p. 170 with parallels and Bessi, Moncini 1980, n. 58.

M142. Two helmets, two shields

Lamps: two Loeschcke I

Discussion: This is another very rare iconographical rendering, known to us only on a fragment found at Vindonissa, and dated during the last third of the 1st century AD. The two complete lamps found in the river allow finally to define the type of lamps on which the scene was reproduced and witness also the exclusive Gallic manufacture if this theme, itself again taken from the vast choice of equipment offered by the complete Italian friezes.

Bibliography: Vindonissa: Leibundgut 1977, n. 565, p. 258 and pl. 43; motif 232, p. 170.

M143. Helmet topped with a panache, sword, shield and palm leave

Lamp: one fragmentary volute-lamp

Discussion: This motif too finds an unique parallel: a Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered at Ampurias, where it is dated to the second half of the 1st century AD, and which has the same ceramological characteristics as our lamp. The only exception is constituted by the palm leaf, rendered by incisions after taking the lamp out of the mold, absent at Ampurias and present on our lamp.

Bibliography: Ampurias: Casas, Soler 2006, inv. E245, p. 110 and pp. 206-207.

M144. Helmet

Lamps: four discus fragments

Discussion: In Gaul, we know a single intact Loeschcke type I lamp, unearthed at Narbonne, as well as a small fragment discovered at Fos. The motif has nevertheless known a huge popularity among Loeschcke type IV lamps on a vast geographical area: they can be found at Carthage, Ampurias, Bologna and Mainz (the two last being Italian productions). Our four fragments go from very accurate to very mediocre or retouched, witnessing a possible mix of imports and regional productions.

Bibliography: Narbonne: Landes 1987, n. 44, pp. 138-139; Fos: Rivet 2003, fragment n. 451, pp. 100 and 176; Carthage: Deneauve 1969, n. 465, p. 135 and pl. XLIX; Ampurias: Casas, Soler 2006, E 518, p. 110 and pp. 250-1; Bologne: Gualandi 1977, n. 240; Mayence: Menzel 1969, n. 363.

M145. Eques or riding gladiator

Lamps: three fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The representation of the *l'eques* looking backwards is born on Italian Loeschcke type I lamps and knew its *flourish* on Loeschcke type IV lamps made in Italy but also in Miletus, Cyprus, and above all in Tunisia, from where they were exported to Algeria, Sardinia, and to the Northern Mediterranean area. One mark is associated to this last category: COPPIRES. The theme appears since Augustus reign and will be produced at least until the end of the 1st century AD. Then, we see a survival on later Loeschcke type VIII lamps, made in Ephesus, Cyrenaica, the Rhine limes and in the Iberian Peninsula, such as the lamp found at Ampurias, and still produced in Africa as the lamp preserved at the MAN. In Gaul, this theme never knew a huge popularity and has to be found only on a fragment discovered at Glanum, probably like our artifact an import made from a very used mold.

Bibliography: Glanum: Bémont 2002, motif D083, p. 82 and n. 206, p. 175 and pl. 19. *Analogies : Italy and provinces* : Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 777 and parallels, pp. 49-50; Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 3043, p. 54 - interpreting the personage as a soldier -; Bussière 2000, motif II.b.1.(2), p. 182; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D169, discussion p. 107; *Vindonissa and Rhine Valley*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 246, p. 172; *Africa*: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif AF 3, p. 326; *Iberia*: Casas, Soler 2007, discussion on E 879, p. 105 and 312.



Fig. 31. Gladiators. M145 The discus of AR3.2012.26; M146 The discus of AR3.2001.132; M 147 The discus of AR3.3020.165; M148 The fragment AR3.2031.51; M149 Parallel: the discus of Cologne RGMK inv. Ton 3064, Cahn. 606; M150 The fragment AR3.2005.60; M151 The discus of AR3.3005.39; M152 Parallel: drawing of Musée Calvet K19A, Cat. 68; M153 The discus of AR3.2005.19; M154 Parallel: the discus of RAL 76.00.3; M155: Parallel: the discus of CIM.66.00.108; M156 The discus of AR3.2004.60; M157 The fragment AR3.1020.6; M158 Parallel: the discus of Carthage (Deneauve 316); M159. Parallel: drawing of Musée Calvet K136, Cat. 46; M160 The discus of AR3.3002.26.

M146. Running desultor

Lamps: three Loeschcke IV and a fragment of discus

Discussion: This atypical personage, his torso naked, wearing short slippers and a loincloth held by a belt, his head covered by a pointed cap, holding a tool with his right hand (a knife or, better, a riding crop) has been identified by A. Morillo Cerdán, with many precautions, as a *desultor* because of his similarity with other *desultores* (circus and games acrobats) whose canonical representation sees them, rendered in an identical way, standing in front of a horse. The scene is very rare, as only five similar lamps are known to us: four, very fragmentary, found in Spain (two at Herrera de Pisuergra, one at Numancia) and one at Baia, near Naples and one intact Loeschcke type IV lamp with very blurred details, preserved at the Museum of Portogruaro (Veneto region). Hence the presence of three intact lamps bearing this motif at Arles is of a crucial importance. Above all, among the four artifacts, two are firing failures. Their fine and yellowish clay could suggest seeing imports from a workshop situated near Puteoli, famous production center, with clay that has this peculiar color due to the massive presence of sulfur, exactly like in the Baia fragment.

Bibliography: Morillo Cerdán 2001, motif 18, pp. 188-189, with all parallels.

M 147. Gladiator seen backwards

Lamp: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: The gladiator, seen from a back-right profile, is one of the oldest but also rarest scenes of the amphitheater repertory: it appears already on a very early Italian-made Loeschcke type IA with discus-channel unearthed at Salamis (Cyprus) and preserved at the British Museum, dated between the end of the 1st c. BC and the very first decades of the 1st c. AD. On almost all known lamps, this defeated gladiator appears coupled with another one located on the left and raising his shield in sign of victory, like on the Loeschcke type I lamps discovered at Trier, Neuss, the Magdalensberg, Constantine and, in Gaul, at Cahors; a single fragmentary lamp, unearthed at Ampurias, shows the *victus* alone as on our lamp.

Bibliography: *Analogies: (couple of gladiators) Lamp of Salamis:* Bailey 1988, Q 759bis, p. 455; *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1988, motif 96, p. 225; *Constantine:* Bussière 2000, motif II.c.1.(7), pp. 183-4; *Cahors:* Labrousse 1972, p. 499, fig. 2. *Gladiator alone: Ampurias:* Casas, Soler 2006, E 491, p. 249.

M148. Defeated or resting gladiator, gladius turned downwards, helmet with panache

Lamps: Two fragments of volute-lamps

This scene is rare and has different variants in the rendering of the weapon – *sica* or *gladius* –; it is to be found mostly on Loeschcke type I lamps discovered at Trier or Ampurias. This personage too is rendered alone or as the personage of the right part of a scene where, on the left, stands a victorious gladiator holding high his sword, like on the lamp found at Carthage. In Gaul, a single Loeschcke type IV lamp is identical to our fragmentary examples. It has been found not very far from Arles, in the necropolis of La Font-du-Buis, at Saze (Gard), in a layer dated from 60 to 100 AD.

Bibliography: *Saze Necropolis:* Gagnière, Granier 1972, fig 15, 3, p. 134; *Analogies:* Casas, Soler 2006, discussion on E 476, pp. 109-110 and 245; *(couple of gladiators) Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 316.

M149. Defeated gladiator, seating on the ground

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and four fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The seating defeated gladiator is certainly one of the most popular motifs of the gladiatorial series. It adorned, first, Italian-made lamps such as the Loeschcke type I lamps found at the Magdalensberg, at Portella (Spain) or at *Aeclanum* (Irpinia, Italy), but is mostly present on Loeschcke type IV lamps made in Italy or in the provinces, like the ones found at Trier, at Vindonissa, at Colchester, at London, in Portugal, and in Tunisia, Cyprus and Egypt. In Gaul, the motif is well attested among the Loeschcke type IV lamps made by the workshops of Lyon-La Butte. Of the same type but from a different workshop, we know a lamp found at à Aoste (Isère), a second one, found in a tomb dated from 70 to 100 AD in the Vallades Necropolis, and a third, found in a deposit at Vienne, broadly dated to the reign of Claudius. It has to be noticed, for Gaul, that the motif is reproduced also on Loeschcke type V lamps, such as the artifact unearthed at the rural settlement of the *Chemin du Castellan* (Istres). Thanks to the excavations led at Trier and the closed contexts they provided, we know that the motif reached Germany during Claudius reign, generally imports associated with the marks GABINIA, MVNTREPT and LMADIEC, which imply Italian-made imports covering all the Flavian era and the beginning of the Antonine dynasty epoch.

Bibliography: *Lyon-La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, n. 41, pp. 49-1. *Loeschcke IV: Aoste:* CAG 38/2, pp. 138-140 (Aoste, découvertes anciennes); *Vallades Necropolis:* Bel 2002, Tombe 194, pp. 337-338 and fig. 382:2, p. 337; *Vienne:* Godard 1992, n. 155. *Loeschcke V: Istres:* Marty 2014, n. 5, pp. 634-5. *Analogies and exhaustive bibliography:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 104, p. 228; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamp Q 1530, p. 58; Cahn 2009, motif 131, p. 340.

M150. Defeated gladiator, hands behind his back.

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Both our fragments preserve only the defeated warrior. One of them belongs certainly to a part of the right side of a well-known scene where a victorious gladiator stands on the left side, his both arms raised holding a gladius and a shield, and on the left side, our bare-breast gladiator, his right knee on his shield lying on the ground and his head inclined downwards, waiting for the final decision. This whole scene is well attested on Loeschcke type I lamps produced in Central Italy and discovered, for instance, at Haltern, Vindonissa, the Magdalensberg or Ampurias. The second fragment, on the contrary, belongs to the series where the defeated gladiator is depicted alone, mainly on Loeschcke type IV lamps such as the ones found at Ampurias, Conimbriga and at Lipari. All those lamps shall be considered as Italian productions too, from Augustean times to the mid-1st century AD for the first type, from 40 to 80 AD for the second one. In Gaul, the complete scene is known to us only on Italian made fragmentary lamps found at Lutetia and at Fos, and on a single intact Loeschcke type I lamp, also of Italian manufacture, discovered at Bordeaux. The defeated gladiator alone is known on three pieces: a complete Loeschcke type I lamp found in the layer 3C of the "Cybele sanctuary" of Lyon – dated between 15 and the last third of the 1st century AD), and on two Loeschcke type IV lamps from the ancient deposits of the Avignon Museum.

Bibliography: *Lutèce:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 151, p. 100 and IT 76, p. 196 and pl. 25; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 445, pp. 100 and 175; *Bordeaux:* Cueillens 2000, n. 8; *Lyon, "Sanctuaire de Cybèle":* Hanotte 2015, n. 2, fig. 4, p. 109; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 82, p. 29 and pl. 6. *Analogies: couple of gladiators:* Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 780-1 and Q 798, p. 53; Casas, Soler 2006, discussion on E 46, pp. 171-172; *gladiator alone:* Casas, Soler 2006, discussion on E 488 and E 511, pp. 107-108.

M151. Raetarius (?)

Lamp: one Loeschcke IV

Discussion: This representation, found only in Gaul and adorning exclusively Loeschcke type IV lamps of mediocre quality, has been identified by P. De Brun and S. Gagnière as a raetarius hording the trident and net. Nevertheless, on none of the known lamps, found at Vaison, Fos or without known finding spot, the scene is sufficiently well rendered to be clearly readable, and could also be set within the caricature scenes of public amusers.

Bibliography: *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 81, p. 29 and pl. 6; *unknown provenance and Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 126 and GA 127, p. 258 and pl. 45; motif D 160, p. 104; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 136, pp. 66 and 139.

M152. Gladiator raising his hand leftwards

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This gladiator, bearing a pointed helmet adorned with a feather, holds his shield with his left hand and raises his right hand in front of him, has been very popular in most of the provinces, in particular in the Rhine area, Northern Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, Northern Africa (Tunisia and Libya) as well as in Egypt. It is rendered on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV. On some occasions, we find this gladiator as part of a couple, his defeated rival being situated on the left side of the discus. In Gaul, the production of the motif of the gladiator alone is well attested among the productions of the manufactures of Lyon-La Butte, while two Loeschcke type I lamps have been discovered at Apt and at Fos.

Bibliography: *Apt:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 68, p. 27 and pl. 6; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 210, pp. 73 and 147; *Lyon-La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, n. 40, pp. 49-1. *Analogies and bibliography:* Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 820, pp. 53-4; Goethert-Polashek 1985, motif 108, p. 229 and n. 150 (couple), p. 310; Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 1909, p. 58; Bussière 2000, motif II.c.1.(18), p. 185; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 158, p. 103; Cahn 2009, motif 123, p. 338.

M153. Gladiator on right profile (hoplomacus?)

Lamps: one Loeschcke I; four discus fragments

Discussion: This gladiator, moving rightwards to exercise against a *palus*, is a very well-known scene, with or without a *palus* represented at the extreme right side of the discus. With this item, we can quote Loeschcke type IV lamps found at Vindonissa and in Cyprus. Without, it is more common on Loeschcke type I lamps, like the one found at Carthage. The motif would be to date from Claudius' to Trajan's reign, according to C. Bémont and H. Chew. In Gaul, an intact Loeschcke type I lamp has been discovered at Graveson, while an imported Italian Loeschcke type IV lamp has been unearthed at Vaison; without knowing the exact type, we shall add a fragment discovered at Glanum. Among our lamps, we can distinguish an imported lamp, a very probable Gallic imitation and three fragments too small to give them an exact attribution.

Bibliography: *Graveson:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 66, p. 27 and pl. 5; *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, IT 30, p. 184 and pl. 17; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 409, p. 222 and pl. 36; motif D082, p. 82; *Analogies:* Bailey 1988, p. 58; Bémont, Chew 2007, D 154, p. 102.

M154. Defending gladiator on the left, attacking rival on the right

Lamp: one fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: This scene, originating from Italian workshops, is very rare. Our tiny fragment, depicting only the shield fallen to the ground, is exactly from the same very high quality as the complete scene to be observed on an intact Loeschcke type I lamp, excavated also at Arles, in the necropolis of Rochefleur à Arles, and belonging to a 1st century AD tomb. A second lamp is known to us: preserved at the Museum of Nîmes, it is a Gallic over-molded production, which indicates the imitation of this scene by regional lamp-makers for the very first time.

Bibliography: *Arles, Rochefleur Necropolis:* Hejmans and al. 2004, tomb S-A, p. 191 (= Robin Petitot 2000, n. 38, p. 49); *Nîmes:* Landes 1987, n. 32, p. 132.

M155. A gladiator, on the right, counters the attack of his rival

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This very carefully rendered scene is witnessed on several Loeschcke type IV lamps signed by the Aegean workshop of Romanesis and mainly discovered in à Chypre, while Italian well-made copies are well attested in Tunisia. In his study, D. Bailey proposes to date the motif between 80 and 120 AD. In Gaul, we know two Loeschcke type IV lamps, the first discovered at Vaison and the second at Arles during the excavations of the Trinquetaille necropolis, to which we have to add a fragment, discovered at Fos.

Bibliography: *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 69, p. 27 and pl. 6; *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 87, p. 57; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 443, pp. 99-100 and 175. *Analogies:* Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 2678, p. 57.

M156. End of fight with two gladiators

Lamp: one Loeschcke IV

Discussion: This very rare scene depicting the moment when the fighters are waiting for the verdict depicts the gladiator on the left side raising his shield while his adversary is almost on his knees, visibly wounded and raising his left hand to ask for clemency, his shield thrown on the ground. This iconography appears on the first kind of Loeschcke VIII with elegant side-lugs, signed COPPIRES (like the one preserved at the British Museum and dated end of 1st to the beginning of the 2nd century AD), but the archetype has to be found on a Loeschcke type IV found in Portugal. Our lamp, of Loeschcke type IV yet signed COPPIRES, clearly indicated that Caius Oppius Restitutus invented and produced the motif (maybe on both types of lamps contemporarily), probably in concurrence with a scene which depicts the same gladiator on the right side but still holding his sword in an attack position while his wounded counterpart asks for clemency but has not thrown away his weapons, a typical ROMANESIS production soon copied by Rhine Valley and Gallic workshops on Loeschcke type VIII lamp.

Bibliography: "COPPIRES" variant Bailey 1980, Q 1244, p. 312 - discussion and list of parallels on pp. 52-3; "Romanesis" variant: Goethert Polaschek 1985, motif 93, p. 224 and Cahn 2009, motif 115, p. 335 with several parallels. *Avignon (signed ROMANESIS):* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 70, p. 27 and pl. 6.

M157. Gladiator (of a pair) with Augustan-time weaponry

Lamp: small fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: The complete scene, depicting two sitting gladiators, is extremely rare. It is eclectic as far as the equipment of the fighters is concerned: they bear a helmet with visor but without panache and are entirely dressed (*tunicati*), a fashion style which, in the amphitheater, does not seem to survive to Tiberius' reign. The motif can be found only on five Loeschcke type I lamps, all

Italian productions, three of them found at Vindonissa, one at Basel and one at Avignon in a context dated between 25 and 40 AD. If our hypothesis to link our tiny fragment to this scene is viable, it should hence constitute either one of the very few lamps found under the ship or along the ship but thrown before the wreck, or, what is more probable, of a later survival of the scene on Gallic over-molded copies, as the bubble resulting from this technique witnesses clearly. It is hence, chronological problem apart, the first witness of a non-Italian production ever known.

Bibliography: Leibundgut 1977, motif 201, p. 166; *Avignon, research at Saint-Agricol:* Gauthier 1984, fig. 6, p. 410. See also CAG 84/4, 007, 25*, pp. 100-101.

M158. Defeated gladiator rendered on left profile (from a pair)

Lamp: AR3.4001.160 (Loeschcke I fragmentary)

Discussion: The complete scene of the verdict shows a resting Thracian looking leftwards and not towards his competitor, situated on the right. This second – the one preserved on our artifact –, a Hoplomachus, seems defeated, his sword held towards the ground and his shield behind his back. This iconography seems lacking on Gallic productions while it is well attested on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV of very diverse production areas: Italy, the Rhine Valley, Carthage but also the Aegean world, mainly Miletus and Delos – where the "victorious" Thracian, rendered alone, will enjoy a parallel success at the same time as the pair of fighters.

Bibliography: Goethert-Polashek 1988, motif 88, pp. 222-223 with list of analogies from all provinces and lamp n. 150, p. 310, unearthed at Trier in a tomb dated from Claudius' to Nero's reign.

M159. Pigmy with a shield, fighting a cock

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This very eclectic motif is a Southern Gallic workshop invention and was known to us only on a Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered at Vaison.

Bibliography: *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 46, p. 24 and pl. 4.

M160. Venatio: personage, lion and mule

Lamp: one Loeschcke IV

Discussion: This motif, very rare, is probably a creation of Central Italian workshops. Among the known originals, we can witness two very accurate Loeschcke type IV lamps: the first has been discovered at Arles, during the amphitheater excavations while the second is preserved, without given finding spot, at Bologna. We can distinguish on those lamps, in a second plan, a personage dressed in a short tunica and holding a whip, while in the first plan a lion is hunting a mule. According to different researchers, it could be an allegory of Diana or a simple scene from a *venatio*. Two lamps, identical to ours, with blurred details, are known, discovered at Ampurias and at Vaison, as well as a fragmentary lamp preserved at Avignon. The similarities between our lamp and the Vaison one suggest seeing in both objects the productions of a same and unique Southern Gallic workshop, which used the over-molding technique to produce them.

Bibliography: *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 177, p. 65; *Bologna:* Gualandi Genito 1977, n. 235, p. 111 and pl. 35; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 231, pp. 180, 201 and 204; *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 109, pp. 254 and pl. 43; motif D 176, p. 110, recalling a similar lamp, unpublished, preserved at the Museum of Moulins; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 121, p. 35 and pl. 8.

M161. Iubilator

Lamp: fragment of discus

Discussion: This very popular motif is represented on lamps of Loeschcke types I and, rarely, of type IV. There are two slightly different variant: on the first, the personage salutes the public, his right hand opened, while on the second, more seldom, he holds – like on our fragment - a small stick. Besides some original Italian lamps discovered in their motherland, all the lamps with this scene have been discovered in the Western provinces: on the Rhine limes, in Britain, in Switzerland, in Austria and in the Iberian Peninsula as well as in Africa. Besides a few Italian imports, most are regional productions, mainly in the Rhine Valley. In Spain, we witness both African imports and locally-made lamps, one of the workshops producing lamps with this theme having been localized in Tarazona. In Gaul, only one Loeschcke type I is known, preserved at the Museum of Feurs, while a fragment of a possible lamp of the same type is said to come from the Mont Beuvray (Gergovia), while an intact Loeschcke type IV lamp witnesses the production of lamps with the *Iubilator* made by the Montans workshops. Many fragmentary lamps where the personage salutes with his hand were, in parallel, produced by the famous workshops of Lyon-La Butte.

Bibliography: *Feurs*: Rémy 1976, n.1, p. 301; *Mont Beuoray*: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 234, p. 284 and pl. 57; *Montans*: Bergès 1989, n. 61, p. 65 and fig. 34, p. 84; *Lyon-La Butte*: Elaigne 1997, n. 60. *Analogies and list of parallels*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 247, p. 172; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 933, pp. 58-9; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 124, p. 234; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 92, p. 217; Morillo Cerdán 2001, motif 19, p. 189; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 170, p. 108

M162. Charioteer on a biga whipping his horses

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV; five discus fragments

Discussion: This scene is certainly the most popular motif among the circus repertory. It can be found on Italian Loeschcke type I lamps but above all, as in our case, on Loeschcke type IV lamps, produced in almost all the regions of the Empire: from Spain to the Rhine Valley, from Africa to Cyrenaica, from Cyprus to Ephesus, and even in Egypt. Among our lamps (intact or fragmentary), five seem to be Italian imports while the two last ones - fragments - show clear signs of the over-molding technique and a different clay, being certainly regionally made productions. The chronology of the Loeschcke type IV lamps bearing this scene has been set by D. Bailey from Tiberius' reign to the end of the 1st century AD. In Gaul, from a closed context, we find the scene on two lamps belonging to as many tombs of the huge Vallades necropolis, both sepultures being dated from the last third of the 1st century AD. At Arles, the Trinquetaille necropolis brought to us an intact Loeschcke IV Italian lamp, identical to one of our *corpus*, to which we must add another identical lamp, said to be from Vaison and preserved at the Museum of Toulouse. Typical Gallic productions have been found, at the moment, only in a very fragmentary state, at Glanum, at Fos, and at Vindonissa.

Bibliography: *Vallades Necropolis* : Bel 2002, Tomb 127, pp. 324-326 and fig. 367:2, p. 325 and Tomb 3, pp. 366-7 and fig. 416:4, p. 367; *Arles*: Robin Petitot 2000, n. 85, p. 55; *Vaison*: Landes 1990, n. 72a, p. 116; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, motif D 096, p. 86 and n. 413-4, p. 222 and pl. 36; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 456, pp. 100 and 176; *Ampurias*: Casas, Soler 2006, discussion on E 104, p. 184. *Analogies: Vindonissa*: Leibudgut 1977, motif 242, p. 171; Goethert-Polaschek 1988, Motif 118, pp. 232-3; Bailey 1988,

discussion on Q 2388-9 and Q 2296, p. 60; Bémont, Chew 2007, D 172, p. 109; Cahn 2009, motif 158, p. 347.

M163. Charioteer on a *biga*, holding his whip

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Our fragment, produced by a local workshop using the over-molding technique, belongs to a well-known series, studied by A. Morillo. It is well attested on lamps of Loeschcke type I, but mostly of Loeschcke type IV, a huge number of them having been found in the Iberian Peninsula (Astorga, Herrera de Pisuerga, Mérida, Conimbriga, Évora, Elche, Mataró...) as well as in Tunisia, without forgetting the Romanesque-signed lamps produced at Cnidus and unearthed in Cyprus. Among the lamps found in the Western Mediterranean area, the motif can be associated to the potter's marks CCLOSVC, GABINIA and LMADIEC. No lamp with this motif has been found in Gaul until our fragment was discovered, but judging from the bubbles, witnesses of a mediocre over-molding, as well as the clay characteristics, we can suggest to see our *unicum* as a precious witness, adding this motif in the vast repertory of the Gallic productions, to be dated in the second half of the 1st century AD.

Analogies and bibliography: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 118, p. 232-233; Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 2283, p. 60; Morillo Cerdán 2001, motif 18, p. 187.



Fig. 32. The circus. M161 Paralel: discus of British Museum, 1756,0101.977 (Bailey Q933); M162 Discus of AR3.3018.46; M163 The fragment AR3.1019.4; M164 Paralel: discus of FAN.91.00.2142; M165. Discus of AR3.3020.45; M166 The fragment AR3.3020.100.

M164. Victorious *quadriga*

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This scene is rare and the interesting fact about our fragment is that its rendering is very different from the Italian original which inspired the Gallic workshop which made it. As a matter of fact, the original motif, created in Central Italy, has on its background all the constitutive elements of the circus: an architrave supported by two columns and topped by seven dolphins, the *spina* adorned by an obelisk and a statue of Victoria, and at the other side, a sacred

aedicule. The complete scene is to be found in Gaul only in over-molded productions obtained directly from complete originals such as the complete Loeschcke type IV lamp found at Vichy or the fragment of discus found in underwater excavations led at Arles. To the last, we have to add a fragmentary Loeschcke type I original Italian lamp found at the Odeon Necropolis in a tomb dated between 30 and 50 AD. The later and simplified version we can observe in our fragment is known on a Loeschcke type IV lamp found at Vaison as well as on a volute-lamp preserved in the ancient deposits of the Arles Museum.

Bibliography: (complete scene): Vichy: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 151, p. 264 and pl. 48; Arles: Rivet 2009, n. 7, pp. 320-1; Arles, Odeon Necropolis: Hejmans and al. 2004, Odeon, tomb S 15, pp. 211-2. (simplified scene): Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 69, p. 27 and pl. 5; Arles: Robin Petitot 2000, n. 186, p. 66. Analogies and bibliography: Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 920, p. 56; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D171, p. 108.

M165. Baby-charioteer on *biga* whipping his horses

Lamp: one fragment of Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: D. Bailey observed that this facetious scene with a charioteer rendered with a baby face and body, standing on the *biga* with a smaller personage, his face covered by a hood, is to be considered as a typical Central Italian creation also produced with accuracy in Tunisia and only on Loeschcke type VIII lamps dated between 90 and 140 AD. Lamps bearing this motif have been found in Italy, Northern Africa and also up to Ampurias and Cologne, while the workshop marks associated to it BASSA, COPPIRES, MVNTREPT and CLOHELI. CLOHELI may have been the mark adorning the base of our lamp, which is too fragmentary to propose this deduction more than in a mere hypothesis. If it was so, we would face a Central Italian piece made by the workshop of Clodius Heliodorus, active during the end of the Flavian era and the beginning of the Antonine one. In Gaul, the scene is very rare, exception being made of a series of very mediocre productions of the Montans workshops.

Bibliography: Ampurias: Casas, Soler/Empúries, discussion and bibliography on E 918, p. 112 and 320; Montans: Bergès 1989, nn. 257-9, p. 72 and fig. 42, p. 92; Analogies: Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 1276, p. 46; Bussière 2000, motif II.1.3. (2), p. 178; Cahn 2009, motif 157, pp. 346-7.

M166. Horse standing on its rear legs (scene of dressage)

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: On the complete scene, the horse faces its bare-chested handler. It is known on Loeschcke type I lamps first produced during Tiberius reign. The first lamps are from Italian workshops, exported in Africa and Transalpine areas, while Gallic copies are well known, with the scene as in the originals or even in a mirror-rendering and with a completely dressed handler. Our fragment is the only one to have an inscription (alas incomplete) incised on the discus before firing.

Bibliography: Gallic lamp: Bailey 1988, Q 1488, pp. 61, 157 and pl. 1; Constantine: Bussière 2000, n. 41, pp. 188, 250 and pl. 17; Vintimille: Hayes 1980, n. 217, p. 48 and pl. 21; Vindonissa: Leibundgut 1977, motif 156, p. 159 and pl. 35; mirror-scene: cf. Bailey 1988, p. 61 ; Leibundgut 1977, motif 157, pp. 159-160.

M167. Two pugilists

Lamp: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: In her study on this very motif on a lamp found at Vindonissa, A. Leibundgut analyses this scene as a typical example of the creation, by provincial workshops, of discus-scenes constituted by two distinct motifs, achieving sometimes scenes "without any sense". As a matter of fact, here, the pugilist who is training (left) is normally rendered alone or missing his blow, his adversary kneeling to avoid the fist, as we can observe on a lamp preserved at the British Museum. The defeated or waiting pugilist (right) is well-known, alone, from Aquileia to Miletus and from Vindonissa to Cologne. Our lamp finds a single parallel in Gaul, another Loeschcke type I lamp preserved in the ancient collections of Musée Calvet at Avignon. If the Vindonissa lamp is dated by A. Leibundgut in the Tiberian era, both motifs are still produced during Claudius' reign and even after.

Bibliography: *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 80, p. 29. *Analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 186, pp 164-5; Cahn 2009, motif 141, p. 342 *with long list of parallels;* *Pugilists fighting:* Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 1023, pp. 59-60; *standing pugilist alone:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 185, p. 164.



Fig. 33. Fist-fighting. M167 Discus of AR3.2036.2; M168 Discus of AR3.2004.57.

M168. Defeated pugilist, knee on the ground

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and two discus fragments

Discussion: The defeated kneeling pugilist is doubtless one of the most popular scenes among all the fighting representations of all games. It appears on Loeschcke type I lamps, made in Italy and in Provinces and found in huge quantities in Germany, Cyprus, Egypt or Spain. On Loeschcke type IV lamps, it is witnessed only in Transalpine provinces: at Trier, Vindonissa and Vidy (Switzerland). In Gaul, a single Loeschcke type I lamp is known to us: an unpublished artifact preserved in the Museum of Nîmes. On Loeschcke type IV lamps, it is well-known among the productions of the Montans and Lyon workshops and on other Southern-Gallic productions discovered at Aleria (Corsica), Alesia, Glanum and Fos. Our complete lamp is certainly a local production obtained by over-molding the discus and placing the personage in an oblique position, while the two fragmentary lamps could well be Italian imports.

Bibliography: *Lyon-La Butte:* Elaigne 1997, n. 23 and Hanotte 2003, n. 43, p. 491; *Montans:* Bergès 1989, n. 450, p. 76; *Aléria:* Oziol 1980, fragment n. 68; *Alésia:* Carré 1985, n. 7, p. 286; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, motif D095, p. 86 and n. 412, p. 222 and pl. 36; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 449-450, pp. 100 and 175-6. *Analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 216, p. 168; Goethert-Polashek 1985, motif 128, pp. 235-236 avec bibliographie; Bailey 1988, discussion on Q1532, pp. 61-62; Cahn 2009, motif 143, p. 343 with an exhaustive list of parallels.

M169. Muse or musician playing cithara

Lamp: one Loeschcke IV

Discussion: This representation of the muse, bearing a long-folded dress and holding the cithara with both hands, was born in Italy to adorn Loeschcke type I lamps, and will then know a huge success in the South-Eastern Mediterranean area, in particular in Cyprus. Besides a single lamp found at Baden (Switzerland), the motif seems absent of the Transalpine world as well as of the Iberian Peninsula in a first phase. On the contrary, its appearance on Loeschcke type IV lamps will seduce the Western and Northern provinces. As our lamp, they seem to be broadly dated between 25 and 75 AD. Our artifact, bearing several bubbles witnessing the use of the over-molding technique, can be considered as the first known Gallic-made copy, while the fragmentary lamp found at Guéthary has all characteristics to be considered as a high-quality import. To be noticed also the presence of a Loeschcke type I lamp with the same motif but rendered in a mirror, found at the Vallades Necropolis in a tomb dated mid-1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Italy:* Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 817, p. 11; *Cologne:* Cahn 2009, n. 769, pp. 128-9 and pl. 52; motif 5, p. 306; Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 2366-7, p. 6; Bussi re 2000, motif I.b.3 (1), p. 164; B mont, Chew 2007, D 7, p. 51; *Gu thary:* Ephrem 2000, p. 41; *Vallades Necropolis:* Bel 2002, Tomb 218, pp. 262-267 and fig. 281:7, p. 265.



Fig. 34. Entertainment. M169 Discus of AR3.2001.13; M170 Discus of AR3.3001.292; M171 Discus of AR3.3001.312; M172 Discus of AR3.3005.40; M173 Parallel: discus of Mus e de N mes, Inv. 908.51.1492; M174 Parallel: discus of FAN.91.00.2065; M175 Discus of AR3.3005.43; M176 Parallel: drawing of Mus e Calvet K19A, Cat. 68.

M170. Pygmies (*Kinaidoi*) dancing while holding two sticks in each hand

Lamps: one complete and one fragmentary Loeschcke IV

Discussion: We observe two Gallic-made lamps obtained by over-molding of an Italian or Micro Asiatic original. This double discovery is an *unicum* on many aspects: first, both lamps found in the river deliver what is probably the oldest and most careful representation of a couple of *Kinaidoi*, those naked pygmies performing dances and acrobatics with two sticks in each hand. The only other witnesses of the scene, yet with a completely retouched rendering, are two

fragments of lamps of the same type, the first preserved in Tübingen, the second found at Augst. We are hence facing the only trustful reproduction of the original motif, a scene which, simplified to a singly ithyphallic personage, will later seduce the Western Roman provinces.

Bibliography: Tübingen: Cahn-Klaiber 1977, n. 248, pp. 88, 359-360 and pl. 24; Augst: Leibundgut 1977, motif 259, p. 174 and pl. 45.

M171. Hunchbacked pygmy dancing, holding two sticks his right each

Lamps: three fragments of Loeschcke I

Discussion: This variant of the dancer, hunchbacked and with a mutilated or deformed left arm, is very rare and seems specific to Southern France. A complete, very accurate lamp of the same type than ours, and a second of very mediocre one were discovered at Fos, while a same-type lamp was unearthed at Vaison and a fragment has been found among the votive offerings of the Lachau sanctuary.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, nn. 53-4, pp. 57 and 129; Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 84, p. 31 and pl. 6; Lachau: Bleu 2003, motif n. 157, pl. 11, p. 505.

M172. Ithyphallic dancer with a sharp-ended cap, holding two sticks with a hand

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV and three fragments of volute-lamps

Discussions: This grotesque personage is known on a leftwards oriented version as well as, identically, in a mirror version. On several pieces, the personage seems also to have deformed arms exactly like in the previous motifs, while in other ones both arms seem normal. The theme is present exclusively on Loeschcke type IV lamps, and has been successful only in Southern Gaul. It has been copied from Italian originals like the one, signed OPPI, discovered at Volubilis (Morocco). The motif in its variants is to be found at Arles (ancient funds) as well as at Glanum (two lamps) and finally, on a small fragment unearthed at Fos. If one of our intact lamps could be an import, all the other artifacts found in the Rhône are certainly regional-made.

Bibliography: Variant 1 (with normal arms and hands): Volubilis: Ponsich 1961, n. 36, p. 81 and pl. V; Arles: Robin Petitot 2000, n. 79, pp. 54-55; Variant 2 (with mutilated arms): Arles: Robin Petitot 2000, n. 80, p. 55; Glanum: Bémont 2002, n. 140, pp. 80-81, 162-163 and pl. 12; n. 162, pp. 80, 165-166 and pl. 15; Fos: Rivet 2003, fragment n. 459, pp. 101 and 176.

M173. Hunchbacked ithyphallic grotesque personage, running while playing double panpipe

Lamps: three discus fragments

Discussion: This motif, generally to be found on Loeschcke type I and IV lamps, has been very popular in Gaul, to be found, on the first type, at Vaison and in the Poitou region, as well as, on fragments of volute-lamps, on two fragments found at Fos, one discus found at *Villa Maritima* of Seneymes near Martigues, in a layer of the 1st c. AD. Our fragments, of very mediocre rendering, seems to be the fruits of a used cast made by over-molding and could be close to another variant of the motif known on Egyptian lamps such as the one preserved at the British Museum.

Bibliography: Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 216, p. 47 and pl. 13; Poitou-Charentes: Vernou-Magister 1991, n. fig. 3:4, p. 116; Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 460, pp. 101 and 176 with bibliography; Martigues: CAG 13/1,056*57 Martigues, pp. 247-9. *British Museum:* Bailey 1988, Q 3345, p. 420 and pl. 126.

M174. Grotesque ithyphallic personage, crouched, playing lyre

Lamps: two Loeschcke V and a fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This very well-known motif originates from Italy, as we can see on lamps of Loeschcke types IV and V preserved at the British Museum and in Paris, and can be found on those two types in Cyprus as well as in North Africa (Carthage, Tebessa). In Gaul, we can observe the scene on a very carefully made Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Lectoure, but above all on Loeschcke type V lamps, such as the ones found at Vaison, Arles and Fos; it is also well attested among the productions of the Montans workshops.

Bibliography: *British Museum:* Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 884 and Q 970, pp. 74-5; *Bibliothèque Nationale de France:* Hellmann 1987, n. 134, p. 38 and pl. 14; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 261, p. 174 and pl. 45; *Tebessa:* Bussière 2000, lamp n. 282, p. 260 and pl. 32; motif II. d.10 (6), p. 190 with list of analogies. *Lectoure:* Labrousse 1960, n. 2, fig. 3 and p. 13; *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 215 (n. K90 and K90A), p. 47 and pl. 13; *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 120, p. 59; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 461-2, pp. 101 and 176; *Montans:* Bergès 1989, n. 443, p. 77 and fig. 45, p. 95.

M175. Pygmy walking rightwards

Lamp: one Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: This unusual representation is typical of Southern Gallic manufactures. It can be observed on same type lamps, such as the intact one preserved at the Avignon Museum or the fragmentary one, unpublished, discovered at Trinquetaille necropolis at Arles. It also appears on a small series of very mediocre Loeschcke type IV productions of the Montans workshops, where it is almost unreadable.

Bibliography: *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 45, p. 24 and pl. 4. *Arles:* inv. CIM 65.00.5; *Montans:* Bergès 1989, n. 62-3, p. 65 and fig. 34, p. 84.

M176. Itinerant showman: animal handler and juggler

Lamps: three fragments of Loeschcke IV

Discussion: The complete scene of the fairground showman with domesticated animals is one of the most complex representations we know on lamps as far as the number of details is concerned. On its integral version, the artist is in the center, crouched on a step. His left arm on his knee, he leans his right arm on an object. At his left we observe a sitting monkey, raising its hand towards its master, and, on the most complete depictions, a goat. At his right, a vase with flowers, a jug and a bell are lying on the ground; near the personage's leg, a small dog rushes out from behind a pot, chasing a cat which climbs a ladder. Behind the artist, two hoops are hanged to the wall. The original creation of the scene belongs to Central Italian workshops and adorns lamps of types Loeschcke I and IV dated between 30 and 70 AD, quickly followed by their representation on Rhine Valley and Gallic-made Loeschcke type IV lamps as well as terra sigillata vessels. In Gaul, the production of the scene is well attested at the Lyon - La Butte workshops, while a single intact lamp is known to us, preserved at the Avignon Museum. Two large fragments have been discovered at Fos and a third at Amiens in a context broadly dated to Claudian reign. Among our fragments, one is certainly a high-quality Italian import, very close to the lamp preserved in the British Museum, while the two others are from South-Gallic workshops.

Bibliography: *Lyon:* Hanotte 2003, n. 44, p. 491 and pl. 11; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 62, pp. 25-7 and pl. 5; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 457-8, pp. 101 and 176; *Amiens:* Massy, Molière 1978, n. 32, p. 140; *British Museum:* Bailey 1980, Q 861, p. 160 and pl. 10. *Bibliography and analogies:* Leibundgut

1977, motif 262, p. 175 and pl. 45; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 861, p. 61; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 142, pp. 240-1 and pl. 57; Bussi re 2000, motif II.d.10 (1), pp. 189-190; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fust  2006, discussion on E 283, p. 114; Cahn 2009, motif 166, p. 349.

M177. Bearded mask

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and six fragments of volute-lamps (5) and Firmalampen (1)

Discussion: This small mask, with broadly opened smiling mouth, carefully dressed hair and beard, is one of the rare common Firmalampen masks to have been reproduced also on discus-lamps. In Southern France, we find this motif on Loeschcke type I lamps, unearthed at Fos and at Vaison, as well as on a fragment discovered at Lachau and, on a Loeschcke type IV lamp, identical to ours, in the rural settlement of the *Chemin du Castellan* (Istres).

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 213, pp. 74 and 147; Vaison: B mont, Chew 2007, GA 4, p. 229 and pl. 31; Lachau: Bleu 2003, motif n. 110, pl. 10, p. 504; Istres: Marty 2014, n. 4, pp. 634-635.



Fig. 35. Theatre masks. M177 The fragment AR3.3018.21; M178 Dicus of PR1.808; M179 Dicus of AR3.3007.42; M180 Parallel: discus of M.A.N. 85762A, cat. GA179; M181 Parallel: discus of Mus e de Nimes, Inv. 007.1.49; M182 Dicus of AR3.3001.334; M183 The fragment AR3.2003.F4.

M178. Small beardless mask, variant 1

Lamps: one Loeschcke V - regional subtype - and fragments of the same type (local variant lamps and fragments).

Discussion: This small mask with hair carefully dressed in a helmet-shape, is a specificity for the South of France. It is attested on Loeschcke type V lamps, like the one discovered   Nyons - identical to our intact lamp - and on fragments discovered at Fos and at Lachau. This scene seems hence specifically used on local Loeschcke V (smaller by size than the standard ones).

Bibliography: Nyons: Bailey 1988, Q 1556, pp. 162-3 and pl. 4; Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 465, pp. 101 and 177; Lachau: Bleu 2003, motif n. 112, pl. 10, p. 504.

M179. Small beardless mask, variant 2

Lamp: one Firmalampe

Discussion: This small motif, rare among the masks, is often associated with the mark FORTIS, like the one discovered in the Richeaume necropolis at Puyloubier, near to Aix-en-Provence.

Bibliography: Puyloubier: Nin 2014, p. 249 (inv. VR300).

M180. Two small beardless masks

Lamp: one fragmentary Loeschcke V

Discussion: the small actor's mask is generally coupled with a feminine one on the left part of the lamp, like on the identical but complete lamp unearthed at Villemagne. This motif, reproduced in Gaul also on discus-lamps, is much more popular on Firmalampen in most of the Transalpine regions. From closed French contexts, we can quote for this last type a Loeschcke X signed STROBILI, discovered at the Vernègues necropolis, in a pit dated from the last quarter of the 1st c. AD to the beginning of Trajan's reign.

Bibliography: Villemagne: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 179, p. 229 and pl. 51 & motif D 139, p. 97 for further parallels. Firmalampen: Vernègues: Chapon and al. 2004, Fosse F22, pp. 156-157.

M181. Mask with hair dressed in side-braids, variant 1

Lamp: discus fragment

Discussion: This rare motif appears on Italian and African lamps of Loeschcke type V, dated in the last third of the 1st century AD. Our fragment could well be imported, while a regional production is witnessed by an unpublished complete lamp of the same type, preserved at the Museum of Nîmes.

Bibliography: Italy: Bailey 1980, discussion on Q973-4, pp. 63-64, and pl. 23; Carthage: Deneauve 1969, n. 612, p. 154 and pl. LXII.

M182. Grinning mask with hair dressed in side-braids, variant 2

Lamp: fragment of a Firmalampe

Discussion: This mask belongs specifically to Northern Italian made Firmalampen and their direct copies. In Gaul, an over-molded production, like ours, is witnessed by the upper part of a Loeschcke type X lamp, unearthed at Marseille.

Bibliography: Marseille: CAG 13/3, Marseille, 20* Rue du Port, pp. 323-324; Analogies: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 136, p. 96.

M183. Mask with grumpy nose

Lamp: discus fragment

Discussion: This rendering, which could also represent the face of a pygmy or of a grotesque personage, seems specific to the original Italian Firmalampen, such as the ones discovered at Fos (signed ATIMETI) or the one found during the Arles Amphitheatre excavations, signed STROBILI. Nevertheless, a Gallic-made copy found at Vichy witnesses that regional copies existed among the French productions.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 366, pp. 92 and 167; Arles: Robin Petitot 2000, n. 304, p. 82; Vichy: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 295, p. 298 and pl. 63. Analogies: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 136, p. 96.

M184. Erotic-comic scene with pygmies

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Among the huge group of the erotic motifs, this scene is one of the most popular by far. We can see two pygmies: the male, on the left, is half lying, leaning on his right elbow and raising

his right hand; the female is standing on him, playing castanets. The bed is richly adorned and, while on Italian originals, its legs are not rendered, they are depicted on provincial imitations. Among our two fragments, the first belongs to the elder series of the motif, with very carefully-rendered details such as the flowers in the male's hair, exactly like in the Italian lamp preserved at the British Museum (Bailey Q 1079). Our second one, on the contrary, is a regional-made mediocre artifact. If it is not useful to recall all the analogies known through the Empire, it must be underlined that, after being invented in Italy, the motif appears on Loeschcke type I lamps mostly made by the Rhine Valley but listed also among the Lyon - La Butte workshop productions, from which a lamp and a fragment discovered in Nyon (Switzerland) may come from. In Gaul, the scene is quite rare, attested only on a lamp preserved at the British Museum and on two fragments, discovered at Lectoure and Lachau. In other provinces, the apex of the success of this scene was to be found on Loeschcke type IV lamps produced in Italy and in most of the provinces of the Empire.

Bibliography: British Museum: Bailey 1980, Q 1079, p. 227 and pl. 37; *Lyon, La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, p. 489 and 13:70, p. 493; *Nyon* : Chrzanowski 2000, n. 8, pp. 63-65 and fragment n. 40, pp. 93-94; *Gaul, British Museum* : Bailey 1988, Q 1496, p. 157 and pl. 1; *Lectoure:* Labrousse 1960, n. 5, fig. 7 and p. 36; *Lachau:* Bleu 2003, motif n. 90, pl. 9, p. 504. *Bibliography and lists of parallels* : Leibundgut 1977, motif 172, p. 162 and pl. 37; Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 916, 924 and 1079, pp. 69-70; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 135, p. 238 and pl. 14; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamp Q 1496, p. 65; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 108, pp. 225-226; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 7.VII (184), pp. 114-115; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 239, p. 205; Cahn 2009, motif 180, pp. 353-354.

M185. Erotic scene with pygmies, first variant

Lamps: three Loeschcke IV and six fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: As the precedent one, this motif is to be found in all the regions of the Empire. Its first apex will be raised in Italy on Loeschcke type I lamps and then its success will continue in most provinces on Loeschcke type IV lamps, like the numerous ones produced in the Rhine Valley manufactures. In Gaul, it is attested on Loeschcke type IV lamps found at Fos, Aix-en-Provence and Avignon, as well as on fragments found at Glanum, Lachau and at the rural settlement of the *chemin du Castellan* (Istres). Among our artifacts, the first two have accurate renderings very close to those seen on Italian original Loeschcke type I, while the other pieces are all Gallic-made and run from good quality copies to very mediocre over-molded blurred scenes.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 138, pp. 66 and 139 and n. 215, pp. 74 and 147; *Aix-en-Provence:* CAG 13/4, Aix-en-Provence *228, p. 367 (fouilles de la Z.A.C. Sextius-Mirabeau, îlot J3); *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 220, p. 49 and pl. 13; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 416, pp. 89, 222-3 and pl. 36; *Lachau:* Bleu 2003, motif n. 91, pl. 9, p. 504; *Istres:* Marty 2014, n. 5, pp. 634-5; *Italian originals:* Bailey 1980, Q 800, 804 and 806, pp. 142-3 and pl. 5. *Bibliography and list of parallels and renvois aux analogies connues:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 177, p. 163 and pl. 38; Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 800, 804, 806 and 927, pp. 69-70; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 132, p. 237 and pl. 55; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamp Q 2387, p. 65; Cahn 2009, motif 179, p. 353.

M186. Erotic scene with pygmies, second variant

Lampe: one Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: This representation is identical to the previous one, only the bed linens being rendered differently. It was previously witnessed only on lamps of late Italian Loeschcke type V with a

molded handle, like the British Museum lamp or the one found at Carthage, marked C.OPPI.RES, dated between 50 and 80 AD. On our lamp, clay slip and rendering characteristics as well as the vine-leaves shoulder decoration indicate a clear Italian import to be dated within the same timeframe.

Bibliography: Italy: Bailey 1980, Q 980, pp. 194 and pl. 24; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 619, p. 155 and pl. 42; *shoulder decoration:* Bailey 1980, Q 962, pp. 188 and pl. 22.



Fig. 36. Erotic scenes. M184 Parallel: the fragment of British Museum, 1971,0426.23 (Bailey Q1079); M185 Discus of AR3.2023.6; M186 Discus of AR3.2029.68; M187 The fragment AR3.2023.7; M188 Discus of IGS 39 ; M189 Parallel: discus of RHO.2004.Z2.180 ; M190 Parallel : discus of M.A.N. (12429, Bémont, Chew GA 152); M191 Parallel: discus of British Museum 1971,0426.23 (Bailey Q1079) ; M192 Parallel: discus of CIM 66.00.106; M193 The fragment AR3.2002.12; M194 The fragment AR3.2024.24 : M195 Discus of AR3.2001.134 ; M196 Parallel: discus of FAN.91.00.2029.

M187. Grotesque erotic scene

Lamps: three fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: A man with a few hairs left, on his knees, puts his right hand on his hip while, with his left, he uncovers a part of the dress of his partner, who leans, knees bent, her head turned on the side and laid on a pillow. This scene, where both personages have grotesque-rendered faces, has been very popular on lamps of Loeschcke type IV in Italy, Spain and Africa while it is completely absent from the Rhine Valley repertory. The earliest form ornamented with this scene was certainly the Loeschcke type I, as we can observe in a very good quality over-molded lamp found at Ampurias. Among our fragments, the first is almost an *unicum*, knowing only two parallels, the first being a fragment found at Ampurias (E544) and the second a complete, probably Italian, Loeschcke

type I lamp preserved at the Lumina Domestica Museum in Bruges: as a matter of fact, we can observe very rich bed linens covering the usual mattress and the feet of the bed, a supplementary detail absent from all the other lamps bearing this scene. The other fragments belong to the conventional rendering, very popular in the Western Mediterranean areas and to be found, in Gaul, on Loeschcke type IV lamps such as the artifacts unearthed at Fos, Vaison and Glanum, to which we must add the intact Gallic lamp preserved at the British Museum. Moreover, the scene is listed in the repertory of the Montans workshops. From a recently excavated context of the 1st century AD, we shall add two more fragments, unearthed at the Place des Grands-Hommes in Bordeaux. Our lamps, with remarkable quality, seem rather to belong to Italian imports, being very far from the mediocre over-molded lamps found at Fos or Glanum.

Bibliography: Lamps with richly adorned bed: Ampurias: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E544, pp. 253-5; lamp preserved at Bruges: Dejean 2011, pl. 31, M 432; conventional type: Fos: Rivet 2003, nn. 216-7. pp. 74 and 148 + fragment 467, pp. 101 and 177; Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 219, p. 49 and pl. 13; Glanum: Bémont 2002, n. 144, pp. 89-90, 163 and pl. 13; Gaul, British Museum: Bailey 1988, Q 1512, p. 159 and pl. 2; Montans: Bergès 1989, n. 454, p. 77 and fig. 47; Bordeaux: Magister-Vernou 1997, nn. 20-21, p. 70 and fig. 4, p. 69. Bibliography and list of parallels: Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 887 and Q 888, pp. 67, 166 and pl. 13; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamp Q 1512, p. 65; Bussière 2000, motif II.f.2 (6), p. 193; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 7.IX (186), p. 116; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussions on E 101 (Loeschcke I), p. 182 and E 240 (Loeschcke IV), p. 205.

M188. Erotic scene a tergo, variant 1

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV

Discussion: On his knees, a man leans with his right hand on the bed while he lays his left hand on the back of his lover. The woman, knees bent, lays her right hand on a pillow while holding her left arm between her legs. This motif knew an inverse diffusion in comparison to the previous one: born in Italy on Loeschcke type I lamps, it was quickly reproduced on the same type of lamps by the Rhine Valley workshops, while it is absent from Spain and Africa, where it will appear, in Tunisia, on much later Loeschcke type VIII lamps. Our two intact lamps, of good quality but with traces of over-molding, are an *unicum* as they witness a very rare Gallic specificity, as contrary to the Italian and German lamps, they belong to Loeschcke type IV, witnessed hence only in France, where only on two small discus fragments were known. The first, probably an import, was discovered in the Tiberian era pit of Vienne while the second, a blurred mediocre production, has been unearthed at Fos.

Bibliography: Vienne: Pelletier 1976, p. 138 and fig. 21:24, p. 139; Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 472. pp. 102 and 177. Bibliography and parallels: Leibundgut 1977, motif 178, p. 163 and pl. 38; Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q1081, Q924 and Q835, pp. 67; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 130, pp. 236-7 and pl. 14; Cahn 2009, motif 176a, p. 352; Late African variants: Bussière 2000, motif II.f.2 (8), p. 193.

M189. Erotic scene a tergo, variant 2

Lamps: five discus fragments

Discussion: On his knees, a man holds with his left hand the ankle of his partner while he leans his right hand on her hip. The woman, her right knee on the bed, her left leg raised, leans with both hands on the pillow and turns her face to look at her partner. This scene is among the most

popular within the erotic repertory of Roman lamps. Born in Italy on Loeschcke type I lamps, it will be soon produced in the Rhine Valley and in Africa while lamps of different origins are well attested in Spain, Libya and Cyprus. In Gaul, the scene is rare. It appears only on three fragments of very high quality, certainly Italian imports, found at Amiens and on one fragment unearthed at Fos. Within our fragments, one belonged certainly to a Central Italian lamp while the four others are without any doubt Southern Gallic productions, witnessing for the first time this motif among the Gallic repertory.

Bibliography: Amiens: Massy, Molière 1978, nn. 20-2, pp. 138-139; Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 471. pp. 102 and 177. *Analogies and lists of parallels:* Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 828, Q880, Q922 and Q1078, pp. 67-8; Leibundgut 1977, motif 176, p. 163 and pl. 38; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 134, pp. 238 and pl. 19; Chrzanovski 2000, n. 9, pp. 65-67; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 7.X (187), pp. 116-117; Cahn 2009, motif 177, pp. 352-353.

M190. Erotic scene a tergo, variant 4

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and two discus fragments

Discussion: On his knees, a man holds with his right hand the ankle of his partner. The woman, her right knee on the bed, leans with both hands on the pillow. This scene, due to the rendering of the personages, has been classified by many scholars in the category of the pygmies/grotesque motifs. It is also one of the most popular among the erotic renderings, as we can observe through its very long production extending typologically from Loeschcke type I to Loeschcke type IV lamps. The motif, of probable Italian origin, was soon to be adopted by workshops of the Rhine Valley, of Northern Africa and of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in Gaul. The Montans workshops are known to have produced Loeschcke type IV lamps adorned with this motif, and this very lamp type is the only known in Gaul for bearing the scene, as we can see on the complete lamps found at the Bolards, at Vaison, at Glanum, at Fos, at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges and at Aoste (Isère). All our artifacts are carefully-made regional productions obtained by over-molding imports.

Bibliography: Montans productions: Bergès 1989, n. 65, p. 65 and fig. 35; Les Bolards: Hellmann 1987, n. 132, p. 38 and pl. 14; Vaison: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 152, pp. 264 and pl. 49; motif D 184, p. 113; Glanum: Bémont 2002, motif D105, p. 89; lamp n. 180, p. 168 and pl. 17, fragment 232, p. 178 and pl. 21; Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 139. pp. 66 and 139; fragments 218-220, p. 74 and 148 and fragment 469, pp. 101 and 177; Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Bonnet, Delplace 1989, n. 53, p. 53 and 84, p. 69; Aoste: Rougier 1964, n. 4, p. 348. *Analogies and lists of parallels:* Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 823, Q930 and Q1287, pp. 67-68; Leibundgut 1977, motif 180, p. 163 and pl. 38; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 133, pp. 237-238 and pl. 35; Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 105, p. 224; Bussière 2000, motif II.f.2 (5), p. 193; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamps E 241, p. 206; Cahn 2009, motif 178, pp. 353.

M191. Erotic scene with lying woman

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: The original, well known scene shows a man, on his knees, holding the legs of his partner, lying in front of him. Our tiny constitutes the only presence in Gaul of this scene in an excavated context, together with another fragment, unearthed at Ambrussum, in the facies dated

between 100 and 125 AD. The rendering of both fragments, probably imports, excludes them from the well-known Lyon productions of the scenes. Born in Italy, the motif has been exported between 40 and 75 AD on Loeschcke type IV lamps found in the Northern Limes area – without being copied by the Rhine Valley workshops – as well as in Africa and in Iberia (where half of the lamps bearing this scene have been found). Later, it will be copied on lamps of Loeschcke types I, IV and VIII at least until the first third of the 2nd century, mainly in the Western Mediterranean area.

Bibliography: Fragment of Ambrussum: Gafà-Piskorz 2009, n. 117, p. 97 and fig. 75:1, p. 92; fragment of Lyon-Fourvière: Hellmann 1987, n. 173, p. 47 and pl. 19. Direct parallel for our fragment: Bailey 1980, Q 882, p. 165 and pl. 13. Analogies and lists of parallels: Bailey 1980, discussion on lamps Q 882 and Q979, p. 65; Leibundgut 1977, motif 175, p. 163 and pl. 38; Rodríguez Martín 2002, motif 1.I (183, 188, 189), p. 112; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 241, pp. 205-206.

M192. Erotic scene with woman holding weapons

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and six fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The man is lying, his right hand under the cushion and his left hand on his flank. Sitting on him, his partner has her hair dressed in a bun, holding a curved dagger with her bended right hand and a small rectangular shield with her left hand, i.e. a part of a Thracian gladiator's equipment. This scene, besides some Northern Iberian and Rhine Valley copies, may originate from Italy but was mostly produced by Gallic workshops, adding it also to the repertory of the famous vases with applied molded scenes (*Vases à médaillons d'applique*) made in the Rhône Valley. In Southern France, we find the scene on several intact lamps, at Vaison, Arles, Orange, the Valladas Necropolis as well as on some fragments discovered at Fos. It must be added that it is one of the few erotic scenes where the bed is rendered with high, delicately worked legs. All our pieces are from Gallic manufactures and their quality goes from superior to very mediocre.

Bibliography: on the Vases à médaillons d'applique: Wuilleumier, Audin 1952, cf. nn. 54-7, pp. 56-57. Lamps: Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 218, p. 47-9 and pl. 13 and Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 135, p. 260 and pl. 46; motif D 185, p. 114; Arles: Robin Petitot 2000, nn. 88, pp. 56 (from the Trinquetaille Necropolis); Orange, furniture of the tombs from the Fourches-Vieilles Necropolis: CAG 84/3 Orange, p. 132, fig. 60/d; Valladas: Bel 2002, pl. 512/1; Fos: Rivet 2003, fragments 473-5, pp. 102 and 177. Analogies and lists of parallels: Leibundgut 1977, motif 181, p. 164 and pl. 38; Chrzanowski 2000, n. 11, pp. 69-71; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 244, p. 206; Cahn 2009, motif 173, pp. 351-2.

M193. Erotic/banquet scene

Lamp: two fragments of the same volute-lamp

Discussion: A naked women, a scarf on her neck – maybe a slave if we consider the bracelets on her arms and wrists – holds an object, maybe a drinking vessel – to a man, half-naked, his tunic raised above his abdomen, comfortably sitting on a bed. This scene is an *unicum* without any parallel known to us, and belongs very probably to a Central Italian Loeschcke type I lamp as far as the quality and the ceramological characteristics seem to indicate.

M194. Erotic scene?

Lamp: one fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: Half-sitting on a bed, a man raises his left arm above his head, watching in front of him. On the discus, we can read the molded inscription, in relief, "DIV / SVI", maybe a good omen formula. Inscriptions in relief, generally descriptive or patriotic, are very rare, as it has been discussed by D. Bailey, and are almost exclusively to be found on Loeschcke type IV Central-Italian made lamps, an origin which could perfectly fit our fragment, for which no parallels have been found. The scene could be similar to the precedent one, but in a higher quality version.

Bibliography: *On inscriptions in relief on Roman lamps discusses:* Bailey 1980, pp. 110-111.

M195. Allegory of Cleopatra, variant 1

Lamp: fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: The standing crocodile having sex with a grotesque-rendered female leaning in front of it, on a small boat floating on the Nile – symbolized by two lotus flowers – is the rarest of the two known allegories of Cleopatra made after her death and "*in vogue*" between the veterans in Italy and the in the Northern Provinces of the Empire. This rendering is known in Gaul only on an intact Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered at Feurs and, further North, on four fragments unearthed at Vindonissa, to which we have to add a nice fragment preserved at Hannover. Clay and slip characteristics of our piece lead us to consider it a quality production made in Southern Gaul.

Bibliography: *Feurs:* Rémy 1976, n. 14, p. 305 and pl. 3; *Vindonissa:* Loeschcke 1919, nn. 424-427, pp. 396-397; *Hanover:* Mlasowsky 1993, n. 213, pp. 222-223.

M196: Allegory of Cleopatra, variant 2

Lamp: discus fragment

Discussion: This is by far the most popular allegory of Cleopatra. Rendered as a pygmy, Cleopatra is represented seating on a phallus set on the back of a crocodile while holding a palm leaf with her left hand. The palm and the (chained) crocodile are a clear allusion to both symbols used to express in imagery the annexation of the Pharaoh's country to the Roman Empire by Octavius, this "*Aegypta Capta*" well-known on coins and remaining until nowadays the symbol of the city of Nîmes (colony of veterans of the Egyptian campaign). At Arles, this scene was already present on a Loeschcke type IV lamp in the Museum's old collections, while a huge number of Italian, Gallic and Rhine-Valley made parallels can be found at Nîmes, Lyon (productions of La Butte workshops), Vindonissa, Geneva as well as in several settlements of the Rhine limes.

Bibliography: *parallels and analogies:* Bailey 1980, discussion on Italian Q 900, p. 168; Leibundgut 1977, motif 183; Goethert-Poleschek 1985, motif 137.

M197. Resting camel, lying on the ground

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This animal is rarely represented on lamps. We find the camel mostly on Italian-made Loeschcke type I lamps, discovered in the Danubian area (Sisak, Carnuntum), as well on the Dalmatian coastal sites, at Lipari and in Spain (at Ampurias and at Saragoza). Only two Loeschcke type IV lamps are known, the first discovered at Carthage and the second said to be from Italy and preserved at the MAN, to which a fragment preserved in Berlin should be added. Of all the known artifacts, our fragmentary lamp presents the poorest rendering, probably due to a long use of the mold. All scholars point to a very short period of life of the motif, from 25 to 90 AD as a maximum.

Bibliography: Lamps of Loeschcke type I: Sisak: Ivanyi 1935, nn. 201-2, p. 50 and pl. VIII; Vikić-Belancić 1971, n. 73 (old collection preserved in Zagreb), p. 11 and pl. VI:4 as well as n. 74, p. 11 and pl. XX, 2 (= Ivanyi 201), the author mentions unpublished parallels preserved at the museums of Pula, Split and Zadar; *Carnuntum* : Alram-Stern 1989, motif n. 45, p. 105; lamps n. 41 à 43, pl. 16 with bibliography on parallels discovered at Lipari and Nona (Dalmatia); *Saragoza:* Beltrán Lloris and alii 1994, p. 625; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, fragment n. E574, pp. 122 and 258-9. *Lamps of Loeschcke type IV: M.A.N.:* Bémont, Chew 2007, D 194, p. 118; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 505, p. 140 and pl. LII; *Berlin:* Heres 1972, n. 567, p. 87 and pl. 60.

M198. Right-profile elephant head

Lamps: one volute-lamp and two discus fragments

Discussion: The motif of the elephant head has been a very successful one: only at Ampurias, for instance, we can observe three imported lamps of the highest quality. It is interesting to observe, there, that on the Loeschcke type I lamp, both tusks of the animal are well rendered, like in two of our three fragmentary artifacts, while on the two intact Loeschcke type IV lamps found in the Catalan site, only the right tusk is depicted, exactly like in our last piece. The Ampurias corpus hence allowed opening a discussion on the rendering of the head and the association of the precise rendering with a defined lamp type. As such, we can observe that the most complete rendering, with two defenses, is the best attested, mainly in Spain (Cala Culip shipwreck, Tarragona, Bilbilis), with a clear Central-Italian origin as witness the associated marks, all from the famous Oppi family workshops, and dated mid-1st century AD. It is also a member of this family, Caius Oppius Restitutus – mark C.OPPI.RES – who seems to have produced the first Loeschcke type IV lamps, like the high-quality artifact found at Carthage. The African workshops were among the first to reproduce the motif of Loeschcke type I lamps, like the ones discovered at Cherchel and at Tipasa. In Gaul, two artifacts unearthed at Fos are known, both presenting the complete variant: the first is a locally-produced Loeschcke type I lamp, while the second is a better quality but also Gallic-made Loeschcke type IV lamp. Very close to the last, we find a same type lamp preserved at Avignon. On Loeschcke type I, the Montans workshops over-molded an original Italian lamp, as their productions still bear a readable C.OPPI.RES imprinted mark on their base. Recently, the motif has been found on a Gallic-made fragment unearthed at Peyriac-de Mer (Aude), in facies dated between 60 and 80 AD.

Bibliography: Ampurias: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion pp. 121-122; Loeschcke I: lamp E92, p. 180; Loeschcke IV: lamp E285, p. 216 and lamp E 302, p. 219, signed ALI; *Cala Culip shipwreck:* Nieto and al. 1989, p. 118 and fig. 73 (one Loeschcke type IV lamp signed OPPI and precisely dated around 80 AD.); *Tarragona:* Bernal 1993, n. 102, pp. 149-150 and p. 263, Loeschcke type I lamp signed MIRO in planta pedis; *Bilbilis:* Amaré 1988, fig. 160, p. 86; *Central Italy* : Pavolini 1993, pl. 20:6; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 372, pl. 42; *Cherchel, Tipasa:* Bussière 2000, lamps nn. 85 and 110-111, pp. 252-253, pl. 22 and discussion of the motif with list of parallels, p. 197. *Fos:* Rivet 2003, lamp n. 56, p. 57 and p. 130 and lamp n. 141, p. 66 and p. 139; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 111, pl. 8; *Montans:* Bergès 1989, n. 21, p. 63 and p. 81; *Peyriac-de Mer:* Sanchez 2006, lamp n. 5, p. 223 and fig 22/5 p. 225.

M199. Dog attacking a panther

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: The fragment found in the Rhône at Arles unveils a very rare scene. If we observe the delicate rendering of the details as well as the ceramological characteristics, this hunting motif was clearly from an Eastern Mediterranean-made lamp. As a matter of fact, the only known parallel is a fragmentary Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, where it is given as a local production dated in the second to last third of the 1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Corinth*: Warner Slane 1990, n. 14, p. 27 and pl. 1.

M200. Lion assaulting an antelope or wild donkey

Lamps: one fragmentary Loeschcke IV and four discus fragments

Discussion: This motif appears first on Italian and Aegean productions of Loeschcke type I dated to the second third of the 1st century AD and found at Miletus, Carthage, Lyon, Vindonissa, Augst and Neuss. It becomes then one of the most popular discus-scenes of all kinds, produced in Africa, the Rhine Valley, Gaul and other provinces on Loeschcke type IV lamps and surviving more than a century later on Ephesian, African and Gallic productions of late Loeschcke type VIII lamps. Lamps bearing this scene are to be found in almost all regions of the Empire, and it has no sense to make here a complete inventory. In Gaul, their presence seems discrete with the exception of the late Loeschcke type VIII lamps which D. Bailey writes to have seen on a huge series preserved in the unpublished collection of the Gallo-Roman Museum of Lyon. On the contrary, on volute-lamps, the scene is witnessed on locally-made lamp fragments found at Glanum, Fos, Montans and, finally, an intact lamp from Villa de Montmaurin, as well as on an intact lamp of the ancient collection of the Avignon Museum. From recent excavations, a fragment of a volute-lamp with this motif has been unearthed at Ambrussum, in the facies dated between 75 and 100 AD.

Bibliography: (*Loeschcke I*): Lyon, research made at "Sanctuaire de Cybèle": Hanotte 2015, lamps nn. 10-12, fig. 4, p. 109. (*Loeschcke IV*): *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, lamp n. 365, p. 88, 217 and pl. 33; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, lamp n. 486, p. 103 and 178; *Montans*: Bergès 1989, n. 47, p. 64 and fig. 32; *Villa de Montmaurin*: G. Fouet, *La villa de Montmaurin*, Paris 1969, n. 167, p. 266 and pl. LXVI. *Avignon*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 118, p. 33 and pl. 8; *Ambrussum*: Gafa-Piskorz 2009, lamp n. 110, p. 976 and fig. 74:4, p. 91; *Ampurias*: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E203, pp. 120-1 and 198-9. *On the motif and for lists of parallels*, see: Leibundgut 1977, motif 274, pp. 177-8; Bailey 1980, discussion on lamp Q866, pp. 72-3; Goethert-Polaschek 1985; motif 169, pp. 250-1; Bailey 1988, discussion on lamp Q 1526, p. 68; Cahn 2009, motif 186, p. 355.

M201. Lion bouncing leftwards

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV and seven volute-lamps/discus fragments

Discussion: A huge amount of variants of the representation of the bouncing lion are known, on all types of discus-lamps. The scene has been – mainly – produced in Italy, Egypt, Africa, Gaul and in the Rhine Valley. As far as Gaul is concerned, we can find several lamps with this motifs, all of them being considered Gallic productions. To summarize with the most significant pieces (further bibliography can be found in the quoted researches). A Loeschcke type I lamp has been found between Nîmes and Arles, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard while a second, more mediocre, is known at Alesia. The production of the scene is well known among the productions of Loeschcke IV lamps made in the Lyon – La Butte workshops. This last type is predominant in Gaul, as we can

witness in intact lamps discovered at Lyon, Vaison, Orange, Fos, or even accurately rendered scenes on fragments unearthed at Glanum and à Amiens, all dated from Claudius' reign to the beginning of the 2nd century AD. On later Loeschcke type VIII lamps, the scene knows a revival, broadly produced by the Montans workshops.

Bibliography: (Loeschcke I) *Saint-Gilles-du-Gard*: Py, Barruol 1978, fig. 7, n. 20; *Alésia*: Carré 1985, n. 2, pp. 285-6. (Loeschcke IV) *Lyon – La Butte*: Elaigne 1997, n. 18, p. 20 and pl. 6, p. 38; *Lyon*: Bailey 1988, Q 1528, p. 160 and pl. 3; *Vaison*: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 153, pp. 264-5 and pl. 49; De Brun, Gagnière 1935, n. 120, p. 35 and pl. 8; *Orange*: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 154, pp. 265 and pl. 49; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 140, pp. 66 and 139 + fragment n. 484, pp. 102-3 and 178; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 181, p. 168 and pl. 17; *Amiens*: Massy, Molière 1978, nn. 43-4, pp. 141-2. (Loeschcke VIII) *Montans*: Bergès 1989, nn. 206-9, pp. 69-70 and fig. 40, p. 90. *Analogies and further reading*: Bailey 1988, pp. 66-7; Bussière 2000, motifs III.a.1. (3) and (4), p. 195; Bémont, Chew 2007, D 198-9, p. 119; Cahn 2009, motifs 196-7, p. 357.



Fig. 37. African animals. M197 Discus of AR3.3001.130; M198 Discus of AR3.4001.72; M199 The fragment AR3.3018.74; M200 The fragment AR3.2005.10; M201 Discus of AR3.2005.8; M202 Discus of AR3.2001.77; M203 Discus of AR3.3001.256; M204 Discus of AR3.2007.54; M205 Discus of AR3.3019.58; M206. Discus of AR3.3019.91 L4; M207. The fragment AR3 1002 F12.

M202. Lion bouncing rightwards

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV

Discussion: Our lamps propose a very delicate rendering of the animal, very close to the one generally reserved for griffins, with the fur of the legs and of the thorax rendered in tiny relief, as well as the claws. With this quality, it is a rare representation, created in Italy during Claudius' reign and mainly found as an import, on Loeschcke type I lamps, in the biggest Transalpine colonies (Trier, Vindonissa) as well as in Spain (León, Astorga, Tarragona, Mérida). In Gaul, an almost intact Loeschcke type I lamp has been discovered at Agen and a second at Lyon, in early imperial contexts. On Loeschcke type IV lamps, we witness the scene on a fragment found at Peyrestortes, and on a second unearthed at Amiens.

Bibliography: *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 185, p. 256 and pl. 38, 39 and 48; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 308, p. 179 and pl. 49; *Spain:* Morillo Cerdán 1999, motif 110, p. 228 and pl. 148; *Agen:* J. Couptry, Circonscription de Bordeaux, in *Gallia* 17:2 (1959), pp. 377-409, cf. p. 399 and pl. 34, n.2, p. 400; *Lyon, Presqu'île:* Bertrand 2015, n. 10, p. 42 and fig 3, p. 43; *Peyrestortes:* Claustres 1956, nn. 23, p. 138; *Amiens:* Massy, Molière 1978, n. 41, pp. 141-142.

M203. Lion walking leftwards, one of its front legs raised

Lamps: three Loeschcke I and a discus fragment

Discussion: The origins of this motif which could be nicknamed "lion rampant", have to be found in very high-quality Italian more complex scenes, where, on the left of the discus, a small Eros tries to kill the lion with a spear, blocked by the animal's leg (caricature of *venatio*) as on an Italian lamp unearthed at Carthage. The lion alone, on Loeschcke type I lamps, is an exclusive Gallic reinterpretation of the motif, and is quantitatively scarcely yet geographically broadly witnessed in the Southern part of France and in Northern Catalunya: we find it at Vaison, Arles, Glanum, Bordeaux and Ampurias, all being dated between 30 and the end of the 1st century AD. The real success of the motif will appear later, on Loeschcke type IV, V and VIII lamps mainly made in Italy and in Africa. One of our lamps is of very high quality; from there, the rendering tends to degenerate if we look at the fragment of our second lamp.

Bibliography: *Carthage (complete scene with Eros):* Deneauve 1974, n. 296, p. 110 and pl. XXXVI; *Gaul: Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, D 200, p. 119 and lamps GA19-20, pp. 233 and pl. 33; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 104, pp. 92, 155 and pl. 9; *Bordeaux:* Cueillens 2000, n. 5, p. 182 and pl. I:5, p. 183; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 222, pp. 120, 202 and fig. p. 199; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1974, n. 622, p. 156 and pl. LXIII (Loeschcke V) and n. 754, p. 173 and pl. LXXI (Loeschcke VIII).

M204. Head of lion

Lamps: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: With this magnificent example, even if the quality of the slip suffered of a neglected firing, we can again underline the importance of Arles in the frame of the trade of high-quality Italian lamps in the first two thirds of the 1st century AD. Represented only on Italian Loeschcke type I lamps, this motif can be found only in two different horizons: the flourishing new Transalpine colonies or military camps (Vindonissa, Trier) and the most important Mediterranean harbors (Smyrna, Benghazi, Ampurias). In Gaul, only a small fragment unearthed at Amiens was known before our intact lamp came out of the Rhône waters.

Bibliography: *Trier:* Goethert Polaschek 1985, n. 102, pp. 40, 257 and pl. 39; *Smyrna:* Brants 1913, n. 215, p. 17 and pl. 2; *Benghazi:* Bailey 1985, n. 295, pp. 45-6 and pl. 6; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, n. 313, pp. 182, 236 and pl. 49, *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E566-7, pp. 120, 258-9.,

Amiens: Massy, Molière 1978, n. 40, pp. 141-142.

M205. Beast (wild cat or small African feline) jumping leftwards

Lamps: four Loeschcke VIII with discus-channel

Discussion: This representation is known only at Arles and only in micro-regionally made Loeschcke type VIII lamps ornamented with a small V-shaped channel interrupting the discus rim towards the nozzle. Until our lamps were discovered in the river, only one identical unpublished lamp was known in the city, unearthened during the excavations of the amphitheater (lamp n. AMP.50.00.39).

M206. Beast(s)?

Lamp: one fragmentary Loeschcke IV

Discussion: An unidentified beast is jumping, probably on or above a second animal not preserved on our artifact. No parallels known.

M207. Beast walking rightwards

Lamp: one fragment of a Loeschcke V

Discussion: Only the furry and curvy tail of the beast is preserved, making impossible our quest for exact analogies.

M208. Bear attacking a bull

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: It is a huge surprise to find at Arles this particular iconography rendered in high quality, and for the second time, as a first intact Loeschcke type IV lamp was found also in another research led into the Rhône, in the 2004 preventive excavations. This scene is one of the best-rendered motifs of the Rhine Valley factories, where it is produced between 40 and 100 AD. Only at Trier, no less than 25 lamps with this motif have been found, followed by the 13 unearthened at Vindonissa and the 12 at Köln and 1 at Novaesium, all of Loeschcke type I and considered in all above-mentioned as masterpieces of the suburban workshops of those colonies. Else, like in Urmitz, Valkenburg, or Brigantium, their production is always given as coming from the Rhine Valley workshops without more details. The motif itself seems to have been created in Asia Minor, as it is shown by the two lamps preserved in Berlin and given as found in Miletus or the ROMANESIS marked lamp preserved in Mainz. Other intact or fragmentary lamps have been found at Ostia, Bilbilis (Ebro Valley, Spain), Benghazi and Carthage. In Southern Gaul, three fragments, identical in quality to ours, have been unearthened: at Fos, at Eburomagus (settlement between Narbonne and Toulouse), and at Glanum. Last, a fragment has been unearthened at the other extremity of France, in Bretagne, at Vannes. We hence face here an export belonging in terms of quality and clay to the original productions, most probably made in the Eastern Mediterranean area, and dated around the middle of the 1st century AD, at the same time when they were already produced in the Rhine Valley.

Bibliography: *Miletus:* Heres 1972, n. 54, p. 23 and pl. 9 and n. 77, p. 27 and pl. 12; Menzel 1969, n. 127, p. 33 and Fig. 19, pl. 27. *Ostia:* D. Vaglieri, *Ostia*, in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1911:2, pp. 81-94 - cf. fig. 8, p. 88. *Bilbilis:* Amaré Tafalla 1984, nn. 50-52, pp. 35-36 and pl. VII, XII. *Benghazi:* Bailey 1985, n. 299, p. 46 and fig. 6, given as an Italian import. *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 350, p. 117 and pl. XL. *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 491, pp. 103 and 178; *Vicus Eburomagus:* Passelac 1970, pp. 97-8 and fig. 15, n. 3, p. 97; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 211, pp. 87, 175 and pl. 20; *Vannes:* Bonnet, Delplace 1997, n. 4, p. 198. *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 170, p. 251 with parallels;

Vindonissa: Leibundgut 1977, motif 266, p. 176 and pl. 45 with parallels; *Novaesium*: Vegas 1966, n. 113, pp. 96, 109 and pl. 8 with parallels; *Cologne*: Cahn 2009, motif 189, lamps nn. 33-6; 75-77; 84-87; 230; pp. 23-24, 28-30, 54, 356 with parallels and pl. 6-7.

M209. Bear running rightwards

Lamps: four fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This scene is among the most popular within the motifs representing an animal alone. Its birth is certainly to be attributed to Italian workshops, quickly imitated by their counterparts in Africa, the Rhine Valley and Gaul. The popularity of the bear will grant the animal to be reproduced for more than three centuries, from lamps belonging to Loeschcke type IA up to Loeschcke VIII. In Gaul, the motif is known on Loeschcke type I lamps, two found at Vaison (preserved at Vaison and at Avignon) and nine found at Montans and preserved at Toulouse, to which we shall add an unpublished one preserved in Nîmes and two fragmentary ones of very neglected quality unearthed at Glanum. On a Loeschcke type IV lamp, the motif is known from Fos and Bordeaux, in mid-1st century contexts. The Montans workshops copied also later Loeschcke type VIII original lamps, copying also the mark (LMVNPFILE), while at Fos, an excellent quality import of this type, marked CCORVR, has been unearthed. Our lamp was probably a Gallic made lamp of relatively mediocre quality, of an undeterminable type.

Bibliography: *Italy and the provinces with lists of parallels*: Bailey 1980, pp. 73-4; Bailey 1988, p. 69; Bussière 2000, motif III.a.3 (1), pp. 196-7; Cahn 2009, motif 200, p. 358; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on pp. 122-123. *Gaul*: *M.A.N.*: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 62, pp. 243 and pl. 37; motif D 216, p. 125; *Avignon*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 126, p. 35 and pl. 8; *Montans*: Labrousse 1962, nn. 3-11 (Loeschcke I), pp. 16-17 and pl. I; nn. 30-31 (Loeschcke VIII), p. 25 and pl. II; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 233-234 (Loeschcke I), pp. 94, 178 and pl. 21; n. 420 (fragment), pp. 94, 223 and pl. 36; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 142, pp. 66 and 140 (Loeschcke IV), n. 300 (Loeschcke VIII), p. 84, 158 and nn. 489-490 (fragments), p. 103, 178; *Bordeaux*: Chuniaud 2009, n. 13, pp. 285-286 (Loeschcke IV).

M210. Bear running leftwards

Lamps: one fragments of a volute-lamp

Discussion: On the contrary to the previous scene, this one, mirror-rendered, is known to us on a single lamp, of Loeschcke type IV, discovered at Alesia, but with less accurate details. Our fragmentary piece is hence an *unicum*, as its rendering is of a particularly high quality despite some very tiny bubbles witnessing it as a fruit of an over-molding, resulting maybe also in the mirroring of the original scene. Some details even recall the original on the base of which the lamp was copied: the delicately rendered eyebrows, for instance, appear only in Italian lamps of the 1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Alésia*: Carré 1985, n. 10, pp. 286.

M211. Sitting bear, forelegs up

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This rendering of the plantigrade is extremely rare. Our fragment, particularly accurate, as well as the clay characteristics, could suggest an Italian or an African import. The scene is witnessed only in Gaul, on an imported Loeschcke type I marked with a *planta pedis*, unearthed in the Vallades Necropolis, in a tomb dated to the late 1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Vallades Necropolis*: Bel 2002, Tomb 82, p. 317 and fig. 355/4, p. 318

M212. Furry dog or young bear (attacking a deer)

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Our small fragment belongs to a well-known scene, depicting a dog or a young bear attacking a deer by biting it under the right leg. A plethora of parallels are known, starting from Loeschcke type I lamps, while a massive reappearance of the scene is witnessed on Egyptian and African made Loeschcke type VIII lamps. In Gaul, a specific production of Loeschcke type VIII lamps whose shoulder is ornamented with half-circles – a mediocre imitation of African lamps – is witnessed at Fos, where they bear the same huge over-molding bubbles and the same clay we observed in our fragment, which was certainly done there.

Bibliography: *Italy and provinces with lists of parallels:* Cahn 2009, motif 190, p. 356; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion p. 125. *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 333-336, pp. 88 and 162.

M213. Deer running rightwards

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: The running deer is one of the most common motifs within the animal scenes, to be found in all provinces and on all types of discus lamps. In Gaul, it can be observed mainly on Loeschcke type IV lamps, first in the production wastes of the workshops of Lyon-La Butte and then on different sites like Glanum or Fos, to which we have to underline the persistence of the motif on Loeschcke type V lamps, as it is witnessed by a lamp found at Vaison. From closed contexts recently excavated, we can quote a Loeschcke type I lamp discovered at the Vallades Necropolis, in a tomb dated 70-130 AD, and on a same-type lamp unearthed at Peyriac-de Mer, from the facies dated between 30 and 60 AD. Our fragment is probably part of a Loeschcke IV lamp, and is ceramologically very close to the fragment found in Glanum and to the Lyon productions, which may be the producers of our artifact.

Bibliography: *Scene and lists of parallels:* Bussière 2000, motif III.a.7 (1), p. 198; Cahn 2009, motif 203, pp. 358-9; *Lyon :* Elaigne 1997, n. 13, p. 19 and pl. 6; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 215, pp. 92, 176 and pl. 20; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 147, pp. 67 and 140; *Vaison :* M.A.N.: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 180, pp. 243 and pl. 37; motif D 206, p. 122; always at, see the fragment discovered at the « Propriété Fondacci », CAG 84/1, Vaison*215, p. 208; *Vallades:* Bel 2002, Tombe 246, pp. 399-400 and fig. 466/1, p. 400; *Peyriac-de Mer:* Sanchez 2006, lamp n. 8, p. 221 and fig 22/8 p. 225.

M214. Deer (?)

Lamp: one fragment of Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: The specific rendering of the horns, very carefully rendered, led us to class this fragment as a specific motif, constituting an *unicum* for which we found no parallel in the consulted bibliography. Certainly, a Gallic production, the animal it represents could also be a Ceto or a marine monster ridden by a deity or a Cupid and rendered with a deer head and not with the bull head.

M215. Cervid

Lamp: one fragmentary Loeschcke V

Discussion: On the contrary to the precedent motif, this much degenerated rendering of a cervid is a Gallic production, known in Gaul in several very different variants, none of which constituting an exact analogy for our artifact.

M216. Wild boar on the ground, attacked by two dogs

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Both fragments are Gallic copies of very different quality: the first is made from a very used mold but shows few traces of over-molding while the second has its discus overcrowded with raised dots, signs of a badly-made plaster mold while the original lamp which served for the copy was of a very high quality, as we can see in the accuracy of all the details. This motif is rare, and has been found in close geographic areas. The best-known parallels are Loeschcke type IV lamps, produced from relatively used molds and found in Algeria and in Cyprus. The original productions, probably Italian, are yet unknown and our "bubbled" artifact can help to define the accuracy of a brand-new original rendering.

Bibliography: *Algeria: Portus Magnus:* Bussière 2000, n. 287, pp. 198, 260 and pl. 32; *Cyprus:* Oziol 1977, n. 356, p. 132 and pl. 19.

M217. Wild boar bitten on its flank by a hunting dog

Lamp: one fragment of volute-lamp

Discussion: As in the previous case, both fragments are very different, the first produced by a very used mold, the second reproduced from a high-quality original, whose delicate details were damaged by the number of raised dots created by the oxygen bubbles remained in the mold.

In Gaul, an over-molded Loeschcke type IV lamp, with simplified details, has been found at Fos while a second, discovered at Vaison, is, like our first fragment, issued from a very used mold, a same quality we find also at Ampurias. The original variants of this motif have to be identified on a Loeschcke type I lamp bearing the mark LMVNSVC and unearthed at Tébessa, as well as on two Loeschcke type I lamps, the first discovered at Carthage, the second preserved in Bologna. As we can see in the Algerian corpus, the motif will know a huge success at least in Africa, being produced on all types of volute-lamps and, later, on Loeschcke type VIII lamps. Our lamp was certainly manufactured in Southern Gaul, and the scene is very delicately rendered. In this sense, it is an *unicum* for the area, being carefully copied and not over-molded by Italian originals, the same phenomenon happening in the Rhine Valley on Loeschcke type I, sometimes with a mirrored rendering, as we see on lamps found at Trier, Vindonissa, Cologne and Neuss.

Bibliography: *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 145, p. 67 and p. 140; *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 138, p. 35 and pl. VIII; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 275-6, pp. 128-9 and 213-4. *Tébessa:* Bussière 2000, n. 82, pp. 197-198 (with further bibliography), 252 and pl. 20; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 511, p. 141 and pl. LIII; *Bologne:* Gualandi Genito 1977, n. 245, p. 113 and pl. 37; *Trèves:* Goethert Polaschek 1985, motif 165, n. 169, pp. 53-4, 249 and pl. 37; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 273, pp. 177, 249 and pl. 46.

M218. Wild boar attacked in its lair by a dog

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV and two discus fragments

Discussion: This scene is almost unknown, being absent from France and the neighboring provinces. The only exact parallel we know is a Loeschcke type IV lamp said to be from Italy and preserved in the Ermitage, which has more vegetal patterns than ours. This illustrates well a common phenomenon concerning pastoral and hunting scenes, where the vegetal elements as well as the ground, present on the first series, have the tendency to disappear progressively, leaving the animals as single motifs on the discus. Coming back to the subject, the presence on four artifacts at Arles on our single excavation is particularly important for Arles, as one of the fragments only has the quality of the Ermitage lamp while

the others show traces of over-molding, meaning it would be another motif to be added to the Gallic-made lamps iconographical repertory.

Bibliography: *Ermitage*: Waldhauer 1914, n. 231, p. 41 and pl. XXIV, acquired from the Pizzati collection. A more detailed scene can be observed on a lamp of the same type, preserved at Jerusalem: Rosenthal, Sivan 1978, n. 129, p. 35.



Fig. 37. Wild mammals. M208 The fragment of AR3.2004.65; M209 Parallel: discus of Musée de Nîmes, Inv. 908.51.1495; M210 The fragment AR3.2001.152; M211 The fragment AR3.3018.115; M212 Parallel: discus of British Museum 1865,1214.44; cat. Q808; M213 Parallel: discus of Collection Sempéré, Rousset L95; M214 The fragment AR3.2017.F2; M215 Discus of AR3.2018.9 ; M216 The fragment AR3.1002.27 ; M 217 Discus of AR3.2007.117; M219 Discus of AR3.4001.47 ; M219 Discus of AR3.2001.131 ; M220. The fragment AR3.2001.212; M221 Parallel: discus of M.A.N. (52011C, cat. GA119); M222 Discus of AR3.2003.27; M223 Discus of AR3.3032.4; M224 Discus of AR3.2031.89; M225 Discus of AR3.2012.19; M226 Discus of AR3.1001.64; M227 Parallel: discus of Musée de Nîmes Inv. 893.13.1; M228 Parallel: discus of FAN 91.00.2072.

M219. Wild boar (variant 1), running rightwards

Lamps: one Loeschcke I and one discus fragment

M220. Wild boar (variants 2 and 3), running leftwards

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV; two discus fragments

Discussion: We can observe here three different ways to render the wild boar. The first two are very accurate, their main difference being their rendering "in a mirror", while the third one, very neglected, kept the ground rendered in shape of a line. For the **first variant (M219)**, witnessed in Gaul only by a small fragment unearthed at Glanum, we find exact parallels in a Loeschcke type I lamp unearthed at Ampurias and in a fragment from Miletus, while wild boars carefully depicted but with slightly different rendering are known on Italian productions of the same type, some of them bearing the mark COPPIRES, like the lamp preserved in the British Museum. Our lamps belong probably, as their clay could lead us to think, to the Eastern Mediterranean series, from Miletus and the area, which will inspire the Rhine Valley manufactures for their productions. Some Southern Gallic productions (like the one found at Fos and the one preserved at the Musée d'Avignon) do also render a similar wild boar, but framed with rich vegetation ornamenting all the upper part of the discus. The **second variant (M220)** is witnessed on a Loeschcke type I discovered at Vaison, where it was probably made, while the **third variant (M220)** is known in Gaul on two Loeschcke type IV lamps and an additional fragment, discovered at Fos, close to a better-quality lamp unearthed at Carthage.

Bibliography: **219: Glanum:** Bémont 2002, n. 104, pp. 92, 155 and pl. 9; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, lamp n. E73, pp. 124, 177 and 179 *Milet :* Menzel 1969, intact Loeschcke I, n. 141, p. 34 and Fig. 9, pl. 28 and Heres 1972, fragment n. 576, p. 88 and pl. 60; *British Museum :* Bailey 1980, Q 1257 and discussion on the motif, p. 74; see also the discussion in Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 217, pp. 125-6; *Rhine Valley :* Goethert Polaschek 1985, motif 174, p. 252 with bibliography. **220 - Second variant:** *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 41 (motif D 218), pp. 126, 238 and pl. 35. **220 - Third variant:** *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 143-4 (Loeschcke IV), p. 67 and p. 140; fragment n. 492, p. 103 and p. 178; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 509, p. 141 and pl. LII.

M221. Wild pig or wild boar going leftwards

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This is a very uncommon rendering of a swine. The snout is particularly massive and round, the skin is wrinkled and the ears are prominent. This motif belongs exclusively to the Gallic repertory, ornamenting Loeschcke type IV lamps. Only two of them, found at Lezoux, are published: both are signed by the workshop of Surillius and dated from the end of the 1st to the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Bibliography: *Lezoux (M.A.N.):* Bémont, Chew 2007, motifs D 219-220, pp. 126-7 and lamps GA 119-120, pp. 256-257 and pl. 44

M222. Swine with back fur, standing on a mace

Lamp: one Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: This motif has only one parallel known to us: a Loeschcke type V lamp, preserved in Berlin, signed with the mark CCLOSVC, a workshop settled in Central Italy and active during the second half of the 1st c. to the first quarter of the 2nd c. AD. The quality of our lamp could indicate an African origin,

which could confirm the hypothesis proposed by many researchers to see in Northern Africa not only copies but also the creation of a filial of Caius Clodius Successus. The subject depicted is highly probably the Erymantheian wild boar captured by Hercules, whose mace is represented to confirm the achievement of the hero's fourth labor. The motif is innovating and highly interesting as the only known representation of Hercules and the wild boar to be found on a tiny fragment unearthed at Benghazi, where the hero is depicted in full fight with the fabulous animal, this fragment belonging to a much later locally made lamp found in a 3rd century AD context.

Bibliography: Berlin: Heres 1972, n. 215, pp. 47-8 and pl. 27; CCLOSVC: Bailey 1980, pp. 93-94; Benghazi: Bailey 1985, lamp C1031, p. 145 and pl. 28.

M223. Dog pursuing a hare, under a tree

Lamps: one Loeschcke I, one Loeschcke IV and a fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: On Loeschcke type I lamps, as our first piece, the scene presents only the animals alone. It is well attested in Cyprus on Italian imports as well as on local productions. In the rendering of our example (AR3.4001.202), the scene is wholly animalistic. It is unknown at Arles and the neighboring regions and absent even from the Rhine Valley repertory, where the sizes of the animals are very different, like on African productions: there, the dog is of bigger size and the hare of smaller size. Our lamp is hence an *unicum* for France and even if made from a very used mold, it is highly probable that we face an Italian production. On the two other pieces, the potter added a tree on the left side, and here we found no parallel at all, even if the same tree, in an identical position or in a mirror, is well attested on African and mostly Gallic productions where it is rendered with a dog alone in different positions (see motifs described hereunder), on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV. Those two pieces are an *unicum* and certainly made in Southern Gaul.

Bibliography: Scene with animals only: Cyprus: Bailey 1988, lamps Q 2359-2360, discussion pp. 74-75 with parallels. Tree: Cf. Bémont, Chew 2007, motifs D 228 and D 231-2, pp. 129-130.

M224. Ronde of two dogs pursuing two hares on the outer part of the discus

Lamps: three discus fragments

Discussion: We observe two variants of a well-known motif; on the two first fragments, the pursuit is framed within a tiny strip which covers only a small outer part of the discus. This is the only variant known in Gaul and only on a Loeschcke type VIII lamp preserved at the Avignon Museum to which a small fragment must be added, unearthed at Vannes, in Bretagne. We also know four fragments of the same type, discovered at Ampurias, but none in contextual excavations led in Southern France. The second variant, ornamenting our third fragment, sees the scene covering a much larger part of the discus, the strip being broader and nearer to the filling-hole. It was unknown in Gaul until the discovery of our fragment. Both renderings enjoyed a great success on all discus lamps, from Loeschcke type I to Loeschcke type VIII. Probably created in Italy, the motif will seduce lots of workshops around the Empire: in Africa, Egypt, the Aegean world as well as the Rhine Valley.

Bibliography: Avignon: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 107, p. 33 and pl. 8; Vannes: Bonnet, Delplace 1997, n. 35, p. 202; Ampurias: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, fragments n. E 729, E 731, E732 and E749, pp. 126, 128, 284-7 (with parallels in Spain); motif and lists of parallels: Bailey 1988, p. 74; Bussière 2000, motif III.a.10 (14), p. 201; Cahn 2009, motif 191, p. 356.

M225. Hare running rightwards, variant 1

Lamp: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: The hare running rightwards, legs widely deployed, is only known on a Loeschcke type I lamp discovered at Vaison. We could hence be dealing with a Gallic "shortcut" of the broader scene of the same hare pursued by a dog and well attested on Italian Loeschcke type I lamps mainly found in Transalpine regions as well as on slightly later African Loeschcke type IV lamps.

Bibliography: *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 117, p. 33 and pl. 8; *Scene with dog:* Cahn 2009, motif 192, pp. 356-7, with list of parallels and bibliography.

M226. Hare running rightwards, variant 2

Lamp: one fragment of a regional-type lamp

Discussion: This hare is a unique local composition. The pottery deliberately extracted alone exactly the same hare of the motif (M223) where it figures with a dog and a tree. No direct parallel is known.

M227. Hare bouncing leftwards

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: On the full intact scene, very well attested in Gaul, the hare bounces from the roots of a tree situated on the right. It is witnessed on many regional-made lamps, mainly of Loeschcke type V, like the ones of the M.A.N., of Avignon as well as an unpublished lamp preserved in Nîmes or a fragment unearthed at Glanum. It reappears on lamps of Loeschcke type VIII, like the intact piece found at Glanum. Most of the known Loeschcke type V lamps – studied by C. Bémont – are marked LHOSCRI. In the same timeframe J. Bussière reveals the production, in Africa, of some Loeschcke type V lamps, but a huge quantity of Loeschcke type VIII lamps.

Bibliography: *M.A.N.:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 188, pp. 273 and pl. 52; motif D 215, p. 125, with several unpublished parallels; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 116 (inv. K 129, discovered at Vaison and K129a), p. 33 and pl. 8; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, motif D121, p. 93, n. 255 (Loeschcke V), p. 187 and pl. 24; n. 311 (Loeschcke VIII), p. 202 and pl. 29; *Africa and list of parallels:* Bussière 2000, motif III.a.7 (3), p. 198.

M228. Hare eating a bunch of grapes surrounded by leaves

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This scene is very popular among the animal world repertory. It can be found on lamps of Loeschcke types I, IV and also VIII, produced in almost all the regions of the Empire. In Gaul, it is attested on lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV at Glanum, on a Loeschcke type I lamp found at Fos and on lamps of Loeschcke types IV and VIII found at Vaison. The Montans workshops are known to have produced the scene on Loeschcke type VIII lamps made by overmolding imports – one lamp keeps, blurred, the copy of the original mark, LMADIEC (Lucius Munatius Adiectus, known to have run workshops in Italy and in Northern Africa from 90 to 120 AD). Else, we know a fragment unearthed in the horrea of Excisum (Villeneuve-sur-lot), in a context dated between Tiberius' reign and the end of the 1st c. AD and, in Northern Spain, on four fragments unearthed at Ampurias. Our three pieces are certainly of Gallic manufacture.

Bibliography: *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 112 (Loeschcke VIII), p. 33 and pl. 8; Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 144 (Loeschcke IV), pp. 262 and pl. 48; motif D 211, p. 123 with exhaustive list of

parallels; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 170, pp. 93, 166-7 and pl. 16; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 57 (Loeschcke I), pp. 57-8 and 130; n. 496 (fragment), pp. 104 and 179; *Montans*: Bonnet 1988, nn. 173-6, p. 68 and fig. 39; *Excisum*: Garnier and al. 2009, n. 17, pp. 436-8. *Ampurias*: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, p. 126; *complete bibliography on the motif*: Bussière 2000, motif III.a.8 (7), p. 199.

M229. Greyhounds coupling

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This is an extremely rare scene. In all studied bibliography, it seems to appear only in Northern Africa, where it is limited to Tunisian workshops. Only three intact lamps are known, all belonging to Loeschcke type V and having the same quality and characteristics of our fragment. Among them, only one has an exact provenience, the Necropolis of the *Officinales* at Carthage; the other two lamps are said to be from Sbeitla (Rivel collection, bearing the mark LMVNSVC) and from Carthage (Anawati collection, bearing the mark GABINIA). Both potters' marks allow to date the lamps and hence the motif from the end of the 1st to the first half of the 2nd c. AD.

Bibliography: *Carthage*: Deneauve 1969, n. 628, p. 156 and pl. LXII; *Rivel Collection*: Bussière, Rivel 2012, n. 123, pp. 130-131; *Anawati Collection*: Djuric 1995, C117, p. 44.

M230. Dog with a collar running rightwards

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This motif is rather rare and witnessed, in Gaul, on Loeschcke type IV lamps unearthed at Lezoux and at Vaison. It is well attested on same-type lamps on the Rhine Valley provinces, generally given as Italian imports broadly dated to the reign of Claudius. Our fragment belongs certainly to the category of the imports, contrary to the Lezoux one, which attests a Gallic production of copies of the motif.

Bibliography: *Lezoux*: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 157-8, pp. 265-6 and pl. 49; motif D 226, pp. 128-9 (with list of unpublished parallels); *Vaison*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 110, p. 33 and pl. 8; *Rhine provinces*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 285, p. 179; Cahn 2009, motif 209, p. 360 with long list of analogies.

M231. Small dog running leftwards

Lamp: one Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: As L. Rivet noticed, the variant showing the animal on a ground line in relief is quite rare. As such, the only exact parallels, on the same type, known for our lamp are a lamp found at Fos, a second at Lattes and then two lamps, one from Fos, the second from Vaison, where the dog is depicted without the ground line. All those lamps seem clearly to belong to Southern Gallic productions and it has to be added that the small dog is exactly the same than the one we observed on the motif where it bounces from under a tree situated on the right side of the discus.

Bibliography: *with ground-line*: *Lattes*: Paterno 2004, fig. 2, p. 347; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 303, pp. 84 and 158 *without ground-line* *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 304, pp. 84 and 158; *Vaison*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 104, p. 33 and pl. 8.

M232. Huge sheep dog barking

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This very popular motif appears on Italian-made Loeschcke type I lamps, before being produced in several regions of the Empire, mainly in the Rhine Valley and in the Aegean. In Gaul, we find it on a Loeschcke type I lamp found at Arles and on two fragments of a same-type

unearthed at Glanum. Later, it appears on a Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Saint-Rémy and on two fragments, one preserved at the Istres Museum and the other found at Ampurias. Our fragment, a very mediocre over-molded production very similar to the Istres one, is certainly a regional production, while the other analogies quoted seem rather to be Italian imports.

Bibliography: Analogies: Bailey 1988, discussion on Q2771, p. 74; *Rhine Valley:* Cahn 2009, motif 208, p. 359 with list of analogies; *Arles:* Robin-Petitot 2000, n. 58, p. 51; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, nn. 108-9, pp. 96, 155 and pl. 9; *Saint-Rémy:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 102, p. 32 and pl. 8; *Istres:* Rivet 2003, n. 506, p. 104 and p. 180; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, fragment n. E597, pp. 128, 261, 263.

M232bis. Hunting dog standing, one foreleg raised

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This representation, where the rendering of the dog's head and the raised foreleg are the distinguishing factors, is an *unicum* and seems looking at its characteristics, to belong only to Loeschcke type V Gallic-made lamps, no parallels having been found in other provinces.

M233. Tied hunting dog standing

Lamps: two discus fragments

Discussion: This hunting dog, instead of being kept on a leash, has one of its back legs tied by a string to a non-depicted support (tree, wall), with carefully-rendered head, snout smelling forwards and ribs rendered with tiny incisions showing its belonging to the broad greyhound race, and is quite rare. Nevertheless, we can observe that it appears on Italian-made Loeschcke type I lamps, found in different regions (Benghazi, Emona, Vindonissa and Trier), where the birth of the scene is dated to the second quarter of the 1st century AD. In Gaul, on the same type of lamp, we find the motif on a very neglected regional copy unearthed at Alesia and on a better-quality artifact from the same type preserved at the Avignon Museum; later, the scene appears on Loeschcke type IV lamps of very probable local productions, such as the complete lamp and a fragment discovered at Fos. Among our fragments, one could be an Italian import, while the other one is certainly a Gallic production of good quality.

Bibliography: Avignon: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 105, p. 33 and pl. 8; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 222, p. 75 and p. 148 and fragment n. 507, p. 104 and p. 180; *Alésia:* Carré 1985, n. 3, pp. 286; *Italian lamps and analogies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 286, p. 180; Bailey 1980, discussion on Q 847, pp. 78-9 with bibliography; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 180, p. 254.

M233. Hunting dog kept with a leash tied to a tree

Lamp: one fragmentary Loeschcke IV

Discussion: This badly over-molded Loeschcke IV lamp was made after a very high-quality original, as we can see through the accuracy of the rendering of the details. The known originals can be found in Africa, like the Loeschcke type I unearthed at Tipasa, or the Loeschcke type IV lamps discovered at Lipari and Carthage, even if none of those has so many careful details as ours, which could indicate that the first and best renderings were central Italian. In Gaul, we know two Loeschcke type IV lamps with fewer details, found at Vaison.

Bibliography: Vaison: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 110, p. 254 and pl. 43; motif D 228, p. 129; De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 103, p. 33 and pl. 8; *Tipasa and bibliography on African lamps :* Bussière 2000, n. 109, pp. 201, 253 and pl. 22.



Fig. 39. Domestic animals. M229 The fragment AR3.2001.178; M230 The fragment AR3.2024.30; M231 Discus of AR3.3007.94; M232 Parallel: discus of FAN 91.00.2012; M232bis The fragment AR3.2007.74; M233 The fragment AR3.2036.4; M234 Médaille de RHO 2009.A43.24; M235 Discus of AR3.3019.49; M236 Parallel: discus of CIM 66.00.120; M237 Discus of AR3.2012.31; M238 The fragment AR3.3018.113; M239 The fragment AR3 2024 F3; M240 The fragment AR3.3019.87; M241 Discus of AR3.1001.60; M242 Discus of A 49 51; M243 The fragment AR3.3018.F3; M244 The fragment AR3.3018.81 ; M245 Discus of AR3.2004.66; M246 Parallel : discus of M.A.N. (31396, Bémont, Chew cat. OI9); M247 The fragment AR3.3001.313; M248 The fragment AR3.3019.59; M249 Discus of AR3.1012.13.

M235. Tree and bouncing dog

Lampe: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This mediocre production can be inserted in a series of well-attested Gallic productions. We know four Loeschcke type I lamps with the same scene: one unearthed at Fos, two at Vaison while the last, without known origin, is preserved at Avignon. Some researchers proposed to see an analogy with a large series of Loeschcke type IV lamps made and found in Algeria and depicting the same subject, but without reason as on those lamps, the dog is from another race and much taller than the one depicted on Gallic lamps.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 65, p. 58 and p. 131; Vaison: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 44-45, p. 239 and pl. 36; motif D 231-2, p. 130; Avignon: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 127, p. 35 and pl. 9; Algeria: Bussière 2000, lampes 400-411, motif III.a.10 (3), p. 201 with list of parallels.

M236. Ferret

Lamp: one Loeschcke V

Discussion: This is a typical rendering made in Gaul, where it appears only on Loeschcke type V lamps. Wrongly interpreted by D. Bailey as a panther, it is more than certainly a ferret, an animal beloved by all farm-owners to hunt mice, as cats were absent from Northern Mediterranean provinces at that time. It can be found on a series of intact lamps almost identical to our artifact: one is preserved in Bern, the others have been discovered at Nyons, Arles (Trinquetaille necropolis), Fos – a lamp and a fragment –, at Glanum (two fragments with the same shoulder decoration like on our lamp) and at Rousset-les-Vignes, within a funerary context dated around 80 AD.

Bibliography: Berne: Leibundgut 1964, n. 24, pp. 425 and 449; Nyons: Bailey 1988, Q1553, pp. 68, 162 and pl. 4; Arles: Robin-Petitot 2000, n. 58, p. 51; Fos: Rivet 2003, n. 267, p. 79 and p. 154 as well as fragment n. 488, p. 103 and p. 178; Glanum: Bémont 2002, n. 242-3, pp. 93, 185 and pl. 23; Rousset-les-Vignes: CAG 26, 285*4 Rousset-les-Vignes.

M237. Mouse

Lamp: a fragment of Loeschcke V

Discussion: The representation of a mouse on terracotta lamp is very rare and the extremely blurred rendering of the motif on our lamp prevents us to find direct parallels. The theme, however, is a direct recall of the frequent presence of the animal on bronze lamps.

Bibliography: For an inventory of mice on all kind of small finds, see Kiernan 2014, pp. 601-626.

M238. Bull running rightwards, head in attack position

Lamps: two discus fragments

Discussion: This specific rendering, with the small size of the animal reported to the discus width, is unknown outside Egypt, where it adorns specific types of lamps with anvil-shaped nozzle made by Italian expatriated potters established in Alexandria and other cities of the Nile Delta. We are hence facing a double *unicum*: one of the fragments has all characteristics to be Egyptian made while the second, with over-molding bubbles, could well be the single witness of a Gallic copy of this very eclectic scene.

Bibliography: Egypt: Bailey 1988, Q 1955-6, pp. 77, 241, with parallels, and pl. 37

M239. Bull running leftwards, head in attack position

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This scene, with an identical rendering, is known to us only on a Loeschcke type I lamp found at Carthage, while, with the bull mirror-rendered and of probable local production, we find a same type lamp preserved at Avignon.

Bibliography: *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 349, p. 117 and pl. XL; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 134, p. 37 and pl. 9.

M240. Protome of bull with wrinkled baleens on the neck

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This is a very rare motif, probably born in Italy where it can be found on Loeschcke type I lamps found in the Alpine area, but also in Tunisia (Carthage), Libya (Sabratha) and Switzerland (Vindonissa). Later, on Loeschcke type IV lamps, we find it in the Northern Adriatic (Portogruaro, Emona) as well as at the Southern Gallic site of Peyrestortes. A small fragment very similar to ours has been unearthed at Glanum, where it is dated to the 2nd half of the 1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Italy (Trentino, Alpine province):* Gualandi Genito 1986, n. 31, p. 176; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 352, p. 118 and pl. XL; *Sabratha:* Joly 1974, n. 19, p. 102 and pl. III; *Portogruaro:* Larese 1983, n. 25, pp. 38-9 quoting the Emona fragment; *Peyrestortes:* Claustres 1956, n. 4, p. 133 and pl. 1; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 424, pp. 97, 223 and pl. 36.

M241. Ram walking rightwards, variant 1

Lamps: one Loeschcke I and two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: We can observe here the different transformations of one of the most popular themes, known on Italian Loeschcke type I originals (probably our last fragment is part of those series), to be found in Gaul at Orange, quickly followed by Gallic productions obtained by over-molding, all of Loeschcke I type as our intact lamp or a fragment found at Glanum, and finally its degeneration, with the same animal depicted in a slimmer way, well attested on Loeschcke type IV lamps made in Gaul and preserved at the M.A.N., at Avignon, with a single intact lamp found *in situ*, at Rousset-les-Vignes, in a funerary context dated around 80 AD.

Bibliography: *Italian originals :* Bailey 1980, Q836, p. 80; Bémont, Chew 2007, IT 14, pp. 180 and pl. 15; motif D 237, p. 132 (with analogies); *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 423, pp. 92, 155 and pl. 36; *Gallic rendering with slim ram:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 145, pp. 97, 223 and pl. 47; motif D 238, p. 132; De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 123, p. 35 and pl. 8.; *Rousset-les-Vignes:* CAG 26, 285*4.

M242. Ram walking rightwards, variant 2

Lamp: one Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: This representation of the ram with a large furry tail, walking on a well-defined ground line, is an African creation dedicated to adorn Loeschcke type VIII lamps, such as the artifacts known at Carthage and at Tipasa. A large Gallic production is well known, with lamps found in the Rhône valley: Orange, Avignon, Arles and Glanum, all lamps bearing the mark LHOSCRI. Our lamp is without doubt an African import of high quality if compared to the Gallic productions, and it bears the mark LMADIEC imprinted on its base. Here also, we face a "small" *unicum*, as among the more than 20 potters' marks associated with this motif, our lamp allows since now to add it, for the first time, to the repertory of the workshops of Lucius Munatius Adiectus.

Bibliography: *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, nn. 762-4, p. 174 and pl. LXXII; *Tipasa:* Bussière 2000, n. 2670, pp. 202-203, 333 and pl. 70 (GABMERC) with exhaustive list of parallels; *Orange:* Bailey

1988, Q 1570, pp. 77-78, 164 and pl. 5 (LHOSCRI). *Avignon*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 124, p. 35 and pl. 8 (signed LHOSCRI); *Arles*: Robin-Petitot 2000, n. 253, p. 74; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 317-319, pp. 96-97, 155 and pl. 29.

M243. Goat walking leftwards

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: The very small size of the fragment, probably belonging to a Loeschcke type I lamp, makes the attribution of the animal to a precise motif rendering almost impossible. Nevertheless, it could belong to a well-known scene, well-known on Italian and African lamps of Loeschcke types I, IV and V. Among the potters' marks associated to the last motif, we find COPPIRES, LMADIEC and GABINIA, all marks well known at Arles.

Bibliography: *exhaustive list of parallels*: Bussière 2000, motif III.a.13 (2), p. 203.

M244. Ibex bouncing to the right

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and two discus fragments

Discussion: Our three pieces do not find any parallel in the studied bibliography. We are facing an *unicum* in this special rendering of a very beloved animal on discus lamps. All three are of Gallic-made manufacture.

M245. Crouched goat

Lamps: one Loeschcke I and one discus fragment

Discussion: We face an exclusively Gallic motif, known on three Loeschcke type I lamps preserved at the M.A.N. and at Avignon: two of them are said to have been found at Vaison. Later, the same goat appears on a Loeschcke type VIII made by the Montans workshops. As the earliest production known, we could see a discus fragment discovered at in a context dated between 25 and 40 AD.

Bibliography: *M.A.N.*: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 42-3, pp. 265-6 and pl. 49; motif D 225, pp. 128 (with list of unpublished parallels); *Vaison*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 100, p. 32 and pl. 7; *Montans*: Labrousse 1962, n. 2, p. 16 and pl. I.; *Avignon, research made at Saint-Agricol*: Gauthier 1984, fig. 6, p. 410.

M246. Two sheep, one turning its head backwards to lick its new born sucking lamb

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: This scene is known only on a Loeschcke type IV without known origin, preserved at the M.A.N., and presenting identical ceramological characteristics. As C. Bémont and H. Chew remark, the scene is extracted – certainly by a Gallic workshop – from a much more complex bucolic scene where this couple of sheep is only a part, hence the question if our fragment was part of the complete scene or was an extraction as on the M.A.N. intact discus. The complete scene can be found in Spain, particularly in the Aragon region, while its origin is most probably Italian. A fragment depicting the same group we see on the Arles piece is also to be found on a similar fragment unearthed at Ampurias.

Bibliography: *M.A.N.*: Bémont, Chew 2007, OI 9, p. 382 and pl. 97; motif D 235, p. 131 (with complete list of parallels); *Ampurias*: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, fragment n. E602, pp. 130, 261, 263-264.

M247. Harnessed horse, galloping leftwards

Lamps: two Loeschcke I and five fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The motif of the galloping harnessed horse is well known even if eclectically diffused in its geographic spreading, most of the lamps with this scene having been found in Transalpine regions (predominantly in Switzerland). For the first area, we find one Loeschcke I and three Loeschcke IV lamps at Trier, 26 Loeschcke I lamps in Switzerland (Vindonissa, Augst, Aventicum and Baden, partially given as Italian imports, partially given as productions of the Lausanne-Vidy workshop). We also know that the Colchester workshops, in Britain, produced the motif, while in Southern Mediterranean area, lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV have been found at Carthage, where they are given as Italian imports. Among our artifacts, we find two Loeschcke type I lamps while the fragmentary ones could belong either to the same type, or to a Loeschcke type IV lamp, both being attested in Gaul. On the earlier type, we find the scene at Vichy, Saint-Gilles du Gard, Glanum and Fos (with several additional fragments); on a Loeschcke type IV lamp, we know an intact lamp unearthed at the La Guérine Necropolis at Cabasse. All our artifacts are certainly regional Gallic productions, some of particularly high quality.

Bibliography: *Gaul: Vichy:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 21, p. 233 and pl. 33; motif D 224, p. 128; *Saint-Gilles:* Py, Barruol 1978, n. 21, fig. 7; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 112, pp. 95, 156 and pl. 10; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 66, pp. 58 and 130; fragments nn. 508-512, pp. 104-5 and 180; *Cabasse:* Bérard 1980, Tomb 11, p. 34 and fig. 9, p. 36; *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 191, p. 258; *Switzerland:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 282, p. 179; *Colchester:* Bailey 1988, Q 1498, p. 158 and pl. 1; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, nn. 345 and 347 (Loeschcke I), p. 117 and pl. XL; n. 512 (Loeschcke IV), p. 141 and pl. LIII.

M248. Wild horse galloping rightwards

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This horse rendering is rarer than the precedent one. It can be found at Vindonissa on a Loeschcke type IV fragment, and, nearer to Arles, at Fos and at Glanum on small fragments. At Colchester, a complete Loeschcke type I lamp has been found and given as a Gallic production or even a local manufactured product. The original archetypes are certainly Italians, as we can witness on Tunisian-found lamps belonging to the same type found at Colchester. Our fragment, bearing small bubbles resulting from over-molding and having the same ceramologic characteristics as the Fos and Vaison fragments are certainly the production of a Southern Gallic workshop.

Bibliography: *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 279, p. 178 and pl. 46; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 513, pp. 105 and 180; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 216, pp. 94-5, 176 and pl. 20; *Colchester:* Bailey 1988, Q 1499, p. 158 and pl. 1; *Tunisia:* Bailey 1988, p. 76 with list of analogies.

M249. Horse trotting leftwards and turning back its head

Lamps: one fragment of a Loeschcke IV and one fragment of a Loeschcke V

Discussion: On our two fragmentary lamps, we can observe a partially unique representation. As a matter of fact, the only known parallel has to be found at Carthage on a lamp where the animal occupies only the left part of the discus, the right one being ornamented with a mill, a "mix" of two incoherent motifs made by a Tunisian workshop. We hence could face here local copies of the original archetype, with a horse dressed and combed as the winning horses are, and certainly not a "replacing" animal for a mule, associated to the animal-moved mills.

Bibliography: *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 496, p. 139 and pl. LI.

M250. Eagle hunting a hare

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and four fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The eagle rendered in all its majesty, wings wide opened, holding a hare with its claws on a rocky ground is a rare motif, witnessed only on Loeschcke type IV lamps found in the Transalpine provinces - where they are considered as Italian imports and dated by A. Leibundgut to the second half of the 1st century AD. In Gaul, imported lamps of the same type are known at Vienne, at the Vallades necropolis in a tomb dated to the end of the 1st c. AD, and finally at Montans. It is also worth mentioning the coexistence of a similar scene, where the eagle is rendered frontally, holding the hare with its claws but with a more simple rendering as far as details are concerned. The artifacts found in the Rhône at Arles come to share a new light on this scene and its evolution. Three of our fragments are certainly Italian originals, while two others show very mediocre renderings with over-molding signs, indicating their manufacture by regional workshops, while the intact lamp - whose discus is illustrated here - is the most interesting: it has been produced by over-molding but completely hand-worked after casting. All details are extremely carefully rendered by small incisions, making the scene "alive" again, totally readable thanks to this long and very delicate process made before firing.

Bibliography: *Vindonissa, Berne:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 270, p. 177 and pl. 46 (with unpublished parallels known in Vienne); *Vallades Necropolis:* Bel 2002, Tomb 76, pp. 310-312 and fig. 346:2 p. 305; *Montans:* Labrousse 1962, n. 18, p. 20 and pl. I. *Scene with frontally standing eagle:* cf. Rivet 2003, n. 229, pp. 75 and 149; Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 268, p. 142 with list of parallels.



Fig. 40. Birds. M250: Discus of AR3.2029.75; M251: Discus of AR3.1019.3; M252 : the fragment AR3.3001.339; M253: Discus of AR3.3018.23; M254: Parallel: discus of FAN 91.00.2176; M255: the fragment AR3.2023.F2; M256: Parallel: discus of M.A.N. 49641 (Bémont, Chew GA94); M257: Discus of AR3.2008.23; M258: Discus of AR3.2017.6; M259: Parallel : discus of M.A.N. 12448 (Bémont, Chew GA112); M260: Parallel: drawing of Musée Calvet K142, Cat. 151; M261: the fragment AR3.2029.98.

M251. Eagle, wings spread, holding (or not) the triple thunder

Lamps: six fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: On the contrary to the representation of the eagle, its wings folded, Jupiter's noble bird rendered frontally, its wings widely spread and its head turned to the right, is an extraction of the rare scene where it appears with its master, in first plan. On a limited series of lamps, such as our first fragment illustrated here, it still holds with its claws the triple thunder. This first variant is known only on a few Loeschcke type IV lamps, as well as on a single Loeschcke type VIII lamp, exclusively discovered in Northern Africa. To this series, another very similar rendering should be added, witnessed on Italian lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV, dated from Tiberius to Claudius reign, mostly discovered in the Transalpine provinces: there the eagle holds a palm branch with its beak, the triple thunder with its claws and stands on a globe. Our motif, in its first variant, has been found in Gaul on a Loeschcke type IV lamp in the Vallades Necropolis, in a tomb dated 55 to 70 AD, and on a small fragment unearthed at Glanum; besides, a Loeschcke type VIII lamp is preserved at Avignon. On a second variant, this identical eagle is to be found without the thunder but raising its left leg. This rendering is the most diffused and can be found on lamps of Loeschcke types I, IV and V, made in Italy and in South Mediterranean, from Africa to Cyprus and even in Asia Minor. Several such lamps, as imports, were found for instance at Vindonissa and at Ampurias, in the last case on an Italian lamp of Loeschcke type IV from a context dated 50 to 100 AD. In Gaul, this variant, present on three of our fragments, is known on Loeschcke type IV lamps, such as the one of the Vallades necropolis, from a tomb dated to the first third of the 2nd century AD, the two lamps unearthed at Glanum and on two other ones, discovered at the Trinquetaille necropolis in Arles. Finally, our last two fragments show a similar eagle but with slightly different rendering of the wings, on very blurred motifs to be considered as regional copy.



Fig. 41. Eagle without thunder: parallel: CIM 66.00.113.

Bibliography: *Eagle with thunder: (Without palm branch nor globe):* Bussière 2000, motif III.b.1. (3), p. 203; *Nécropole du Vallades:* Bel 2002, Tomb 45, pp. 221-212 and fig. 234:29, p. 224; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 100, p. 154 and pl. 8; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 136, p. 37 and pl. 9. (*holding a palm branch and standing on a globe*) Leibundgut 1977, motif 58, p. 143 and pl. 28; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 158, p. 246 and pl. 58; Cahn 2009, motif 73, p. 324. *Same eagle but without*

thunder and with raised leg: Bailey 1988, discussion on a series of Loeschcke type IV lamps produced in Cyprus (Q 2414 - Q 2417), p. 78; Bussière 2000, motif III.b.1. (2), p. 203; *Ampurias*: Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on lamp E 288, p. 216; *Nécropole du Vallades*: Bel 2002, Tomb 213, pp. 428-430 and fig. 506:3, p. 429; *Vaison*: Bémont, Chew 2007; GA 146 and 147, p. 263 and pl. 48; motif D 269, p. 142; *Arles*: Robin Petitot 2000, nn. 97-98, p. 57.

M252. Eagle, wings folding, holding a vegetal crown with its beak

Lamp: one fragment of a Loeschcke V

Discussion: This rare motif, when complete, shows the eagle standing on a thunder while holding a laurel crown with its beak. It is known on Italian lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV dated from the end of Tiberius reign and mainly found in the Rhine and Danubian provinces. After having disappeared in Italy, it will know a rebirth on Loeschcke type IV lamps in Gaul (mainly at the Lyon-La Butte workshops), exported as far as Britain, taking into consideration a lamp found at Colchester and dated by D. Bailey from 45 and 100 AD. Other Gallic-made series, made in different areas of Southern France, have generally a mediocre rendering, where the crown is hardly recognizable, as on the lamps found at Glanum and Apt (dated between 90 and 140 AD).

Bibliography: theme and analogies: Leibudgut 1977, motif 60, p. 143 and pl. 28; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 157a, p. 246 and pl. 58; *Lyon-La Butte*: Hanotte 2003, n. 32, fig. 13, p. 493; *Colchester*: Bailey 1988, Q 1515, p. 159 and pl. 2; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 312, p. 202 and pl. 29; *Apt*: Dumoulin 1964, p. 94 and fig. 9:C, p. 95.

M253. Eagle looking rightwards, depicted with the caduceus

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The eagle, wings folded, is standing on a squared block facing the caduceus and holding a garland with its beak. We are facing an extremely rare variant of the eagle, to be found only on Italian-made lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV discovered at Lipari, Trier and Vindonissa or preserved, without exact provenience known, at London and at Mainz. Later, the motif will appear again on Aegean-made lamps of Loeschcke type VIII. In Gaul, we know two Loeschcke IV lamps with identical decoration, the first discovered at Vaison, the second in the Vallades Necropolis, in a tomb dated between the end of the 1st c. and the middle of the 2nd c. AD. Among our fragments, one should well be an Italian import while the second, showing over-molding signs and being made with a characteristic Southern Gallic clay, is certainly a regional production.

Bibliography: Loeschcke I: Trier: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, Motif 160, p. 247; *Vindonissa*: Loeschcke 1919, nn. 340-1, p. 388 and pl. 4; *London*: Bailey 1980, Q 906, pp. 80-81, 170 and pl. 15 with recall to the unpublished Lipari lamp; *Mainz*: Menzel 1969, n. 199 (given as found at Fiano), p. 41 and n. 18, fig. 32; *Cyprus*: Oziol 1977, nn. 338-339, p. 129 and pl. 19; *Loeschcke IV: Mainz*: Menzel 1969, n. 246, pp. 46-47 and n. 19, fig. 32; *Loeschcke VIII: Ephesos*: Bailey 1988, Q 3057 and discussion p. 78-79; *Heres* 1972, n. 370, p. 66 and pl. 41; *Gaul: Vaison*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 149, p. 39 and pl. 10; *Vallades Necropolis*: Bel 2002, Tombe 193, pp. 396-7 and fig. 462/4, p. 397.

M254. Same eagle, rendered alone without any ornaments

Lamps: three Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: It is rare to find the same eagle as in the previous one, but without garland, stand and caduceus. Very few parallels are known: some Campanian-made Loeschcke type I lamps of

outstanding quality, three having been discovered in Algeria, two being kept at the British Museum and the last at Berlin. Our lamps do not find hence any direct parallel, and are an *unicum* witnessing the survival of this motif on later type lamps made by Gallic workshops.

Bibliography: List of analogies and Algerian-found lamps: Bussière 2000, n. 81, p. 252 and pl. 20 (marked COPPIRES); n. 108, p. 253 and pl. 22; *London:* Bailey 1980, Q 845-6, pp. 80-1, 152 and pl. 8; *Berlin:* Heres 1972, n. 67, p. 25 and pl. 11.

M255. Standing eagle, holding a palm branch with its beak

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: We face another rare motif. On intact lamps, the eagle is standing on a globe and holds the triple thunder with its claws. This rendering is typically Italian, to be found in Transalpine areas on Loeschcke type I lamps (one at Trier, four at Vindonissa and two at Baden) and on regional Loeschcke type IV productions discovered at Vindonissa, Köln and Besançon. Our fragment is very close to the Besançon one, characterized by a line of very tiny dots adorning the feathers of the wings.

Bibliography: Loeschcke I: Trier: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, Motif 159a, pp. 246-7 and pl. 37; *Switzerland:* Leibundgut 1977, Motif 58, p. 143 and pl. 28; *Loeschcke IV: Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, Motif 59, p. 143 and pl. 28; *Cologne:* Cahn 2009, motif 73, p. 324; *Besançon:* Lerat 1954, n. 41, p. 7 and pl. 6.

M256. Bird on left profile, on a pomegranate branch

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This very popular ornament seems to originate in Eastern Mediterranean on Loeschcke type I lamps, before seducing almost all regions of the Roman world, mainly reproduced on Loeschcke type IV lamps. In Gaul, the motif adorns this last type on a very accurate series of lamps produced by the Lyon-La Butte workshops, while an intact lamp has been unearthed at Vichy; nearer to Arles, a fragment of a Gallic-made lamp, very close to ours, has been discovered at Fos.

Bibliography: Lyon-La Butte: Elaigne 1997, n. 41, p. 23; pl. 8, p. 40 and pl. 11, p. 43; Hanotte 2003, n. 33, p. 489 and fig. 10, p. 490; *Vichy:* Bémont, Chew 2007; GA 94, p. 250 and pl. 41; motif D 283, p. 147; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 518, pp. 105 and 180; *List of analogies:* Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 2422-7, p. 82; Bussière 2000, motif III.b.6.(1), p. 204; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion on E 249, pp. 206-208; Cahn 2009, motif 221, p. 362.

257. Bird on an "olive-tree branch" facing a fruit (variant 1)

Lamps: one Loeschcke I and a fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: The bird on a branch is one of the most popular zoomorphic motifs known. On different productions and periods, the details differ from province to province. The variant observed here is probably one of the oldest, witnessed only on Italian Loeschcke type I lamps like the one found at Trier as well as their Gallic counterparts found at Vaison but also on a fragment unearthed at Fos. If our fragment is probably an Italian import, the intact lamp is a very carefully made Southern Gallic copy.

Bibliography: Trier: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 203b, p. 262 and lamp n. 329, pl. 48 *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 139, p. 37 and pl. 9; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, n. 519, pp. 105 and 181.

258. Bird on an "olive-tree branch" reaching a fruit (variant 2)

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV and two fragments of volute-lamps.

Discussion: This motif has a simplified vegetal rendering. The bird raises its left wing and reaches the fruit with its beak. Born in Italy and in the Aegean world to adorn Loeschcke type I lamps, the motif is better known on Loeschcke type IV lamps, produced mainly in Italy, Cyprus and the Rhine Valley. No parallel is known to us in Gaul and as far as their quality is concerned, our intact lamp as well as the two fragments seem well to be Italian-made.

Bibliography: *Loeschcke IV made in the Rhine Valley and other parallels:* Cahn 2009, motif 222, pp. 362-3; Bailey 1988, Q 2420, 2421 and 2429 (Cypriot lamps), p. 82 and list of parallels. According to the author, this scene is born in Miletus, and shortly later in Italy and adorns Loeschcke type I but mostly Loeschcke type IV lamps are widely exported.

259. Bird on a myrtle branch reaching a fruit (variant 3)

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: The same bird seen in the previous motif is, this time, placed on a myrtle branch. This small detail will help the motif to seduce the Mediterranean area way more than the previous one. It appears on all types of lamps, from Tiberian Loeschcke type I up to mid-3rd century AD. In Gaul, it appears on an accurate Gallic-made Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Vaison as well as on a series of more mediocre Loeschcke type V lamps produced at Montans. Our fragment is very close to the Vaison one as well as to a complete Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered in the Rhône (illustrated hereabove).

Bibliography: *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 112, pp. 255 and pl. 43; motif D 282, p. 146; *Montans:* Bonnet 1988, n. 130, p. 66 and fig. 37; *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 95 (*Loeschcke I*), pp. 180, 182-3; *list of parallels and analogies:* Bussière 2000, motif III.b.6 (2), p. 205.

260. Hen and her chicks

Lamps: four fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: The complete rendering shows the hen as the central element of the scene, bearing a chick on her back while a second stands in front of her and two more under her. This rare depiction is known only on Loeschcke type IV lamps, all being unearthed in the Iberian Peninsula (7 at Mérida, 2 at Italica, 1 at Osuna, 2 at Sevilla, 1 at Conimbriga) with two exceptions, one lamp found at Banasa (Morocco) and another discovered at Corfu. In Gaul, such a lamp is known among the old collections of the Calvet Museum of Avignon, while the only excavated artifact is a fragment unearthed at Glanum and dated to the last decades of the 1st century AD. In this context, to find four artifacts at Arles is of a particular importance, as they are certainly Southern Gallic productions, exactly as the Spanish ones were regionally made. We are hence facing another lost original Italian motif, which survived to our knowledge thanks to regional copies. In this frame, it is not useless to mention that the scene will reappear on later Loeschcke type VIII lamps, with a very different rendering, adorning North African productions of the 3rd century AD.

Bibliography: *Mérida:* Rodriguez Martin 2002, motif D.b.2.1., pp. 133-4 and fig. 252, pl. XVII with complete Iberian bibliography; *Banasa:* Ponsich 1961, n. 49, p. 82 and pl. VI; *Corfu:* Bailey 1980, Q 913, pp. 85, 171 and pl. 15; *Avignon:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 151, p. 39 and pl. 10; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 160, pp. 101-102, 165 and pl. 15; *Late Loeschcke VIII:* Bussière 2000, motif III.b.7 (5), p. 206.

261. Rooster to the left (scene of the two roosters fighting)

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: The delicateness of the rendering preserved despite the river erosion, shows that our lamp is an import from Italy, unique by the fact that the potter rendered an olive branch with an incision, held by the rooster in its beak and deployed above its back. The rendering of the animal is identical to the one we can observe in complete scenes, where its competitor, defeated, lays on the ground on the left side of the discus. This iconography, unknown in Gaul until our find, is certainly an Italian creation we can find on Loeschcke type IV lamps discovered in Africa (Carthage, Cotta) and then copied on late Athenian Loeschcke type VIII, like the one preserved at the British Museum.

Bibliography: *Parallels:* cf. Bailey 1988, discussion on Q 3254, p. 84; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 520, p. 142 and pl. LIII; *Cotta:* Ponsich 1961, n. 103, pl. X.

262. Tale-plumed rooster walking rightwards (with or without palm branch)

Lamp: one discus fragment (AR3.2001.104)

Discussion: Our fragment is identical to the discus of an intact Loeschcke type I lamp discovered at Vaison, which shows signs of over-molding and hence its belonging to a regional production. At the Vallades Necropolis, a second lamp of the same type was found in a tomb dated to the last third of the 1st c. AD, while a third lamp, bearing the Gallic lamp-maker stamp LHOSCRI, was discovered at Aix-en-Provence. The motif, with or without palm branch, is well known on lamps of type Loeschcke I produced in Asia Minor and in the Rhine Valley while Loeschcke type IV lamps have been discovered in Africa and at Ampurias.

Bibliography: *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 272, p. 143, with list of unpublished parallels, and GA 22, p. 234 and pl. 33; *Valladas:* Bel 2002, pl. 320:3; *Aix-en-Provence:* Nin 2015, n. 295e, p. 209. *Ampurias* (Loeschcke IV) *and bibliography:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E250, p. 132, 207-8; *On the motif:* cf. additional literature on the Rhine Valley made lamps: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 198, p. 260 and pl. 40; Cahn 2009, motif 217, p. 361.

263. Rooster going rightwards, long tail in torsade

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This rendering is very rare, known only on three Loeschcke type I lamps, discovered at Vindonissa, Trier and Vaison. Without raised leg and palm leaf, it seems well that only Rhine Valley and Gallic workshops produced this simplified version. Similar roosters with palms are well known and should be considered as the archetypes of our lamp. They are Italian-made Loeschcke type I lamps dated from 40 to 80 AD., like the artifact preserved in the British Museum; the complete scene was then imitated by African workshops on Loeschcke type IV lamps.

Bibliography: *Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 143, p. 38 and pl. 19; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 335, p. 185 and pl. 51; *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 199, p. 260 and pl. 65; *Italy:* Bailey 1980, Q825, pp. 83, 147 and pl. 6.

264. Tale-plumed rooster walking rightwards, right leg raised, palm leaf

Lamps: one fragmentary Loeschcke I and two discus fragments

Discussion: This rendering of the rooster with a palm leaf, with the ground rendered by small oblique lines, is wide-spread in the Transalpine provinces, mainly on Loeschcke type I and IV lamps, before being produced in Africa on Loeschcke types V and even VIII. One of our

fragments is certainly made by the Fos workshops, while the almost complete lamp and the last fragment find exact clay and slip parallels on a Loeschcke type I lamp unearthed at Glanum, on three Loeschcke type V lamps discovered at à Valréas and at Vaison (this last bearing the mark LHOSCRI), the Vaison one being exactly identical to a lamp said to be from the Drôme province and preserved at the British Museum and to a lamp found at Orange. Further fragments, found at Fos and at Ampurias, show the popularity of the theme in the area.

Bibliography: *Transalpine regions:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 336, p. 185 and pl. 51; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 197, p. 260 and pl. 40; *Africa* (all types): Bussière 2000, motif III.b.7 (2), p. 205. *Fos:* Rivet 2003, fragments 230-6 (*productions of the local workshop*), pp. 75-76 and 149 (*other productions*); fragments 520-522, pp. 105-106 and 181; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 106, pp. 88, 155 and pl. 9; *Valréas and Vaison:* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 142 (K 139 and 139A), p. 39 and pl. 9; *Orange:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 178, p. 143, with list of parallels, and GA 189, p. 273 and pl. 52; *Drôme:* Bailey 1988, Q 1550, pp. 83-4, 162 and pl. 4 (proposed dating: 90-150 AD); *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E799, p. 132, 295 and 298.



Fig. 42. Birds. M262: Parallel: discus of FAN 91.00.2058; M263: Discus of AR3.2001.104; M264: Discus of fragmentary AR3.2007.59; M265: the fragment AR3.3018.49; M266: Discus of AR3.3018.47; M267: discus of RHO 2009.Z43.62; M268: the fragment AR3.3032.F1; M269: the fragment AR3.2029.97; M270: Discus of AR3.2006.16; M271: Parallel: discus of M.A.N. 49643 (Bémont, Chew GA93); M272 : the fragment AR3.2025.F1; M273: Discus of AR3.2007.44; M274: the fragment AR3.2012.20; M275: the fragment AR3.3001.344.

265. Tale-plumed rooster walking rightwards, left leg raised

Lamps: one fragmentary Loeschcke IV, one Loeschcke VIII, one discus fragment

Discussion: This rendering of the rooster is known mostly in Eastern Mediterranean, on Loeschcke type VIII lamps where the animal is rendered in small dimension. Its presence on our Loeschcke type IV lamp witness a much earlier production, made in Southern Gaul, of a motif whose origins could be Italian. As far as our Loeschcke type VIII lamp is concerned, it is certainly an Italian or Aegean import, without known parallels.

266. Couple of swimming ducks

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This iconography typically adorns Loeschcke type IV lamps, while the duck alone (next motif) is often rendered on Loeschcke type I lamps, meaning that the more complex scene has maybe been created a little later than the simpler one. Lamps with two ducks can be found only at Trier and Vindonissa, and only on one lamp on each city. In Gaul, the scene is absent but appears at Avignon, in a context dated between 25 and 40 AD, on a much more sophisticated rendering, also on a Loeschcke type IV, where the ducks "float" on the higher part of the discus, the lower one being ornamented by a crocodile.

Bibliography: *Avignon, research made at Saint-Agricol:* Gauthier 1984, fig. 6, p. 410; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 338, p. 185 and pl. 51; *Trèves:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 196, p. 259 and pl. 60.

267. Duck only, seen on three quarters

Lamp: one Loeschcke I

Discussion: This extremely carefully made lamp finds a single parallel: an identical lamp found at Vindonissa and dated to the second third of the 1st century AD. As in the Swiss legionary camp, our lamp is certainly an Italian import.

Bibliography: *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 337, p. 185 and pl. 51.

268. Duck only, swimming leftwards, holding a snake in its beak

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This variant of the duck is contemporary to the previous one. In Italy, it appears without holding the snake on Loeschcke type I lamps such as the one preserved at Bologna. On the contrary, with the snake, we find a same-type lamp discovered at Carthage, and also at Vindonissa, both with more carefully rendered details. In Gaul, it is known on Gallic-made fragments of volute-lamps found at Glanum and at Lachau.

Bibliography: *Bologna:* Gualandi Genito 1977, n. 205, p. 104 and pl. 31; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 359, p. 119 and pl. XLI; *Vindonissa:* Leibundgut 1977, motif 338, p. 185 and pl. 51; *Glanum:* Bémont 2002, n. 111, pp. 100, 156 and pl. 10; *Lachau:* Bleu 2003, motif n. 62, pl. 8, p. 503.

269. Standing ostrich

Lamps: four Loeschcke V

Discussion: This motif seems limited to Southern Gaul and Northern Spain and adorns exclusively lamps of Loeschcke type V. At Ampurias, a very nicely rendered lamp, close to one of our lamps, is given as an Italian import, and bears a *planta pedis* impressed on its base, an origin confirmed by an identical lamp found in the Cala Culip shipwreck which contained almost only lamps

marked OPPI. In Gaul, the Italian motif is quickly copied, and we find several lamps of regional workshops, at Vaison and at Lachau, close to our three other fragments. From a closed context, a Loeschcke type V lamp with this scene was found at the Vallades necropolis in a tomb dated to the last third of the 1st century AD.

Bibliography: *Ampurias:* Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, E 305, pp. 218-219; *Cala Culip:* Alaminos, Casas, Rocas 1989, pp. 113-122 (cf. fig. 64, p. 114 and discussion p. 117); *Vaison:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 270 and lamp GA 183, pp. 142, 272 and pl. 52; De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 150, p. 39 and pl. 10; *Lachau:* Bleu 2003, motif n. 59, pl. 8, p. 503; *Vallades Necropolis:* Bel 2002, Tomb 31, pp. 294-296 and fig. 320/46 p. 291.

270. Peacock in right profile

Lamps: one Loeschcke I and one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Until now, the peacock with folded tail and wings was known to us, in Gaul as well as in the Rhine provinces, only standing on a branch of pomegranate, ornamenting lamps of Loeschcke types I and IV. A single exception is known, being also the single parallel to our lamp: an artifact found at Vindonissa. Looking at clay, slip and rendering, both our artifacts are regional-made productions.

Bibliography: *Vindonissa:* Loeschcke 1919, n. 287, p. 382 and pl. XIII; *Peacock on a pomegranate:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 281, p. 146, with list of parallels.

271. Facing peacock making the wheel

Lamps: two fragments volute-lamps

Discussion: Our fragments are part of a Gallic series abbreviating, as in the previous motif, the scene showing the same bird but on a branch. Its origin has to be situated in Italy, where it seems to appear on lamps of Loeschcke type IV, like the one found at Cosa and bearing the mark LCAESAR. Later, it will be copied in the Transalpine area (several lamps found at Augst and Baden) and also in Africa, where it will adorn lamps of Loeschcke types V and VIII. On Gallic-made lamps, the peacock appears on three intact Loeschcke IV lamps, discovered at Colchester, at Vichy, and at the horrea of Excisum (Villeneuve-sur-lot), in a context dated between the end of Tiberius' reign and the end of the 1st c. AD, to which a small fragment must be added, discovered in a tomb at Ussubium (Le Mas d'Agenais).

Bibliography: *Cosa:* Rickman Fitch, Goldman 1994, n. 804, p. 159 and pl. 8, dated between 100 and 125 AD; *Germanies:* Leibundgut 1977, motif n. 331, pp. 184-5 and pl. 50; *Africa:* Bussièrè 2000, motif III.b.5 (1), p. 204 with exhaustive list of analogies. *Gaul: Colchester:* Bailey 1988, Q 1507, p. 158 and pl. 2; discussion and parallels. pp. 80-1; *Vichy:* Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 279 and lamp GA 93, pp. 145, 250 and pl. 41; *Excisum:* Garnier *et alii* 2009, n. 22, pp. 436-8; *Ussubium:* Coupry 1967, pp. 327-372; lamp: p. 358-359 and pl. 46.

272. Standing wader, legs straight and parallel, head looking upwards

Lamps: one discus fragment

Discussion: Our fragment, of very good quality, seems to be an Italian import. The motif is unknown in Gaul while it is frequently represented on Loeschcke type I lamps made by the Rhine

Valley workshops, certainly copied after Italian originals like ours, where the feathers and all the details are much more carefully rendered than on the Transalpine artifacts.

Bibliography: *Germanies*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 342, p. 186 and pl. 51; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 197, p. 261 and pl. 41 with list of analogies.

273. Standing wader, left leg raised forwards, head looking backwards

Lamps: one Loeschcke V and one discus fragment

Discussion: Our intact lamp and our fragment are two additional witnesses of a typically Gallic motif, maybe inspired by Italian originals. The few known parallels belong all to Loeschcke type V and have been found in Southern France: two at Vaison and one at Montdragon.

Bibliography: *Vaison*: Bémont, Chew 2007, motif D 279 and lamp GA 184, pp. 145, 272 and pl. 52; *Vaison and Montdragon*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 144 (K 145 and K 145A), p. 39 and pl. 10.

274. Standing wader, his head bent to clean his feathers

Lamps: one fragmentary Loeschcke V and two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: All our artifacts are part of a well-known series of Southern Gallic-made Loeschcke type V lamps, the only form to be adorned with this motif. An intact lamp has been discovered at Apt while a fragmentary one comes from the Lachau sanctuary. From a closed context, an intact lamp has been unearthed in a secondary pit of the Southern necropolis of Aix-en-Provence, dated from the last third of the 1st century to the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Bibliography: *Apt*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 138, p. 37 and pl. 9; *Lachau*: Bleu 2003, motif n. 61, pl. 8, p. 503; *Aix-en-Provence, southern necropolis*: Nin 2006, Tomb 41, pp. 206-209, lamp: p. 190 and fig. 272/6, p. 208.

275. Frieze with a bird

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: Our fragment is very interesting as it seems to propose a zoomorphic frieze organized around the central theme; on this frieze, we can observe a bird, carefully rendered, and the beginning of a second motif. The only known parallel, very fragmentary too, has been unearthed at the place des Grands-Hommes, in Bordeaux, belonging to a broadly dated 1st century AD context.

Bibliography: *Bordeaux*: Magister-Vernou 1997, n. 26, p. 72 and fig. 5, p. 71.

276. Dolphin with trident, left profile

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Both our fragments, with very accurate details, find only two analogies in Gaul: an African-made Loeschcke type V lamp said to have been found in the Saône river at Thoisse and a small fragment with very delicate rendering unearthed at the horrea of Excisum (Villeneuve-sur-lot), in a context dated between Tiberius' reign and the end of the 1st century AD. Besides many parallels without context and a series of Asia Minor productions of smaller size, the only known parallels are two fragments of Loeschcke type V discovered at Vindonissa and a complete lamp of the same type discovered at Córdoba, with analogies for Southern Spain. The original manufactures could hence be Italian as well as African according to the contexts, with a privileged hypothesis for Tunisian-made lamps as far as our fragments are concerned.

Bibliography: *Thoisse*: Bémont, Chew 2007, AF 53, pp. 340 and pl. 83; motif D 256, pp. 138-139 with list of parallels; *Excisum*: Garnier and al. 2009, n. 20, pp. 436-8; *Vindonissa*: Leibundgut 1977, motif

61, p. 143 and pl. 28; *Córdoba*: Rodríguez Neila 1979, n. 39, pp. 50-51, 53, with list of parallels found in Southern Spain.



Fig. 43. Sea animals and insects. M276. The fragment AR3.3001.125; M277: Parallel: discus of RHO.2004.Z3.583; M278: Discus of AR3.3001.22; M279: The fragment AR3.3005.58; M280: Parallel : discus of M.A.N. 31897bis (Bémont, Chew GA182); M281: The fragment AR3.2003.61; M282: The fragment AR3.3005.F1; M283: Parallel: discus of CIM.66.00.91; M284: discus of AR3.2007.70; M285: Parallel : drawing of Musée Calvet K153-155, Cat. 155; M286: discus of AR3.3001.123; M287: Parallel: discus of Glanum Inv. 1757 (Bémont Cat.145); M288: discus of AR3.3001.176; M289: discus of PIR.235; M290: discus of AR3.2031.78.

277. Dolphin swimming rightwards above a bed of seaweed

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: This particular rendering of the dolphin is rare in Gaul, where it can be found on a Loeschke type V intact lamp discovered in the Rhône, at Arles, and on a same-type lamp found at the Vallades Necropolis in a tomb dated from the last third of the 1st to the first decades of the

2nd century AD. Elsewhere, we know a single direct parallel, on a Loeschcke type I found in the region of Constantine (Algeria). Both our fragments clearly indicate their belonging to the Loeschcke type V group, and their production can be asserted as Southern Gallic, not only because of their ceramological characteristics, but also because both have accurate renderings made with careful incisions after molding, meaning after a copy was obtained by over-molding a used lamp with an erased motif.

Bibliography: Vallades: Bel 2002, Tomb 66, pp. 372-3 and fig. 426:3, p. 372; *Constantine:* Bussière 2000, n. 113, p. 253 and pl. 22.

278. Dolphin swimming leftwards

Lamp: one fragmentary Loeschcke IV

Discussion: This very mediocre production does not find any analogy at the moment. It is certainly a local production, maybe mirroring an Italian original.

279. Dolphin swimming rightwards, raising its large crescent-shaped tail

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Our fragments belong to a large group of different dolphins swimming rightwards, a very popular theme to be found in almost all the regions of the Empire. Only the rendering of the animal's details, in particular of its tail, allows us to make regional categorizations. Our fragment finds identical parallels within fragments of Loeschcke type I lamps produced by the Fos workshops - the probable manufacture of our artifact - , but the motif also appears identical on a Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Trier.

Bibliography: Fos: Rivet 2003, nn. 59-64, pp. 58 and 130; *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 208, pp. 263-264 and pl. 60 with analogies.

280. Dolphin swimming rightwards

Lamps: two fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Both our fragments are identical to a complete Loeschcke type V lamp unearthed at Lyon, while the motif can be found also in a miniature Loeschcke type VI, said to be made by Gallic workshops, unearthed at Trier.

Bibliography: Lyon: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 182, pp. 272 and pl. 52; motif D 253, p. 138 quoting an unpublished parallel, a lamp bought in Arles and preserved at the Museum in Marseille; *Trier:* Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 206, pp. 263 and pl. 67.

281. Diving dolphin

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Our fragment has three identical parallels: the same motif can be found on two Loeschcke type I lamps, the first said to be from Orange and given as an Italian production, the second unearthed at Glanum and considered as an accurate Southern Gallic production, as well as a fragment of a same-type lamp found at the Guérine necropolis at Cabasse. The motif is also very close to a Loeschcke type IV lamp discovered at Fos. It has to be noticed that the very same dolphin is also rendered swimming rightwards: we face one of the rare motifs where the potter had the choice to render a scene in a different direction than simply mirroring it. Most probably, our fragment is a Gallic production.

Bibliography: Orange: Bailey 1988, Q 814, p. 144 and pl. 6; cf. discussion p. 78; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 99, pp. 98 (with parallels of the same dolphin swimming rightwards), p. 154 and pl. 8; *Cabasse*: Bérard 1980, Tomb 13, p. 34 and fig. 10, p. 36; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 148, pp. 67 and 141.

282. Two dolphins swimming side by side

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Our very accurately rendered fragment has a single, identical, direct parallel: a fragmentary Loeschcke type IV lamp unearthed at Cotta (Morocco). The same scene will reappear later, if we judge by an Aegean-made Loeschcke type VIII lamp bought in Beirut.

Bibliography: Cotta: Ponsich 1961, n. 94, p. 86 and pl. 10; *Loeschcke VIII*: Rosenthal, Sivan 1978, n. 138, p. 36

283. Two dolphins in vertical dive (variant 1), head-to-head

Lamps: one Loeschcke I and three fragments of volute-lamps

Discussion: Three of our pieces belong to Loeschcke type I, while the last seems to have been a part of a Loeschcke type IV lamp. This motif, where the animals seem to play by uniting their heads while diving, seems to be a specific Gallic rendering of a very popular theme. On Loeschcke type I lamps, it can be found twice at Vaison, once at Rousset-les-Vignes (in a funerary context dated around 80 AD), and on four lamps preserved in Arles, among which three were recently unearthed in the Trinquetaille necropolis. On our pieces, the rendering quality is very different: from good with some small over-molding bubbles, to covered by over-molding bubbles to a completely renewed scene where the details are made by careful incisions after casting.

Bibliography: Vaison: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 155, p. 40 and pl. 10; Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 65, pp. 244 and pl. 38; motif D 251, p. 137 - quoting an unpublished lamp from Lyon preserved at the Borély Museum at Marseille; *Rousset-les-Vignes*: CAG 26, 285*4; *Arles*: Robin Petitot 2000, nn. 52-55, p. 51.

284. Two dolphins in dive (variant 2), each one aiming to reach the other

Lamps: one fragmentary Loeschcke V

Discussion: The rendering of the dolphins is inspired from the previous one and is a transition to the next one. No exact parallel has been found for this Southern Gallic made lamp, fruit of a potter's creation and not of an over-molding.

285. Two dolphins in dive (variant 3), touching each other with their noses

Lamp: one discus fragment

Discussion: Those dolphins, in an almost horizontal position if compared to the two previous motifs, are a very popular rendering to be found in several provinces. In Gaul, it appears on a single Loeschcke type I lamp, found at Arles, but on a series of Loeschcke type V lamps, found at à Vaison, Cabrières d'Aigues, Cavaillon and at – and around – Fos. Looking at the ceramological characteristics, the Fos workshops could well be the producers of our piece. Else, the same motif is well attested on Loeschcke type IV lamps found in the Rhine area.

Bibliography: Arles: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 8, pp. 230 and pl. 31; motif D 252, p. 137; *Vaison and Cabrières*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 155 (K154B, K 155), p. 40 and pl. 10; *Cavaillon*: Dumoulin 1965, p. 42 and pl.48c, p. 43; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 271 (almost intact lamp), pp. 80 and 154; fragments

501-3, pp. 104 and 179; *Transalpine area*: Leibundgut 1977, motif 315, p. 183; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 209, p. 264 and pl. 60 with list of analogies.

286. Two dolphins swimming towards each other

Lamp: one Loeschcke VIII

Discussion: Our almost intact lamp is a Central Italian import made from a quite used mold, and bears the stamped mark GABINIA, a workshop considered by some researchers as having also a contemporary Northern African filial. On artifacts of the same type, an identical motif can be found on a Central Italian lamp bearing the mark CLOHELI – dated between 90 and 140 AD – preserved at the British Museum, on a fragment discovered at Cotta (Morocco), and, in Algeria, on two lamps found at Tipasa and one at Sétif, bearing the marks MVNTREPT, GABMERC and CCLOSVC.

Bibliography: *British Museum*: Bailey 1980, Q 1272, p. 322 and pl. 66; *Cotta*: Ponsich 1961, n. 470, p. 115 and pl. 31; *Tipasa and Sétif*: Bussière 2000, nn. 2365-7, pp. 200 (with list of parallels and other signatures, like COPPIRES and LMVNPFILE), 326-7 and pl. 67; *for the association of the motif with potters' marks*, cf. Bonnet 1988, motif 2.a.Ma.1, p. 46.

287. Tuna, sea-bass and squid

Lamp: one fragment of a volute-lamp

Discussion: This very rare motif was known only on a Loeschcke type I lamp found at Trier, which is also the closest parallel to our fragment. Else, we find a fragmentary Loeschcke type IV lamp with a much more erased scene, unearthed at Glanum, and, finally, a very tiny fragment discovered at Fos. Our piece seems to be a careful copy of a Campanian original, as this scene is said to be born there if we trust the older publications mentioned by K. Goethert-Polaschek.

Bibliography: *Trier*: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 213, p. 265 and pl. 48; *Glanum*: Bémont 2002, n. 145, pp. 98, 163 and pl. 13; *Fos*: Rivet 2003, fragment n. 504, pp. 104 and 179.

288. Cuttlefish rendered frontally

Lamps: two Loeschcke I and a discus fragment

Discussion: This extremely rare scene appears only in Southern Gaul and exclusively on Loeschcke type I lamps such as the ones found at Vaison and at Lachau. If our complete lamps are of certain Gallic production, the tiny fragment is particularly interesting, as the tentacles are rendered on two different plans. We could hence face the only known original version of the theme, maybe Italian – as its ceramologic characteristics are not the same at all if compared to the two intact lamps –, which gave birth to the Gallic interpretation where all tentacles are on the same plan.

Bibliography: *Vaison*: De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 166, p. 41 and pl. 11; *Lachau*: Bleu 2003, motif n. 49, pl. 8, p. 503

289. Crab heading upwards

Lamps: two Loeschcke IV and a discus fragment

Discussion: This depiction appears on Loeschcke type I lamps before becoming extremely popular on lamps of Loeschcke types IV and V, surviving even on Loeschcke type VIII lamps. In Gaul as well as in the Transalpine provinces, it appears only on Loeschcke type IV lamps and mainly in contexts dated to the 1st century AD. As far as France is concerned, we find two intact parallels: the first was unearthed at the necropolis of Apt, while the second, marked by the Gallic potter LHOSCRI, comes from old excavations with unknown context led at Arles. Besides those

individuals, a series of lamps produced by the Fos workshops is well known. There, the crab is rendered in a mirror, heading downwards. The rendering of the animal's shell is also very interesting: in Italy, as well as on the Apt and Arles lamps, it is undecorated, while in North Africa as well as at Fos, small incisions come to adorn the crab's back. The rendering with small impressed points likes on our first intact lamp finds a single direct parallel, an Italian lamp discovered at Carthage, allowing us to give the same origin to our artifact, which has its base with the signature of the Italian lamp-maker MYRO *in planta pedis*. The second lamp and the fragment are, on the contrary, Southern Gallic productions obtained by over-molding an Italian original. Of the same quality of our two last pieces, which is much more decadent than the LHOSCRI marked lamp preserved at Arles, we find a discus fragment unearthed at the horrea of Excisum (Villeneuve-sur-lot), in a context dated between Tiberius' reign and the end of the 1st century AD.

Bibliography: Transalpine areas and further bibliography: Leibundgut 1977, motif 322, p. 184 and pl. 50; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, motif 214, pp. 265-6 and pl. 61; *Apt:* Dumoulin 1958, p. 215 and pl. 19:8, p. 214; *Arles:* Robin Petitot 2000, n. 100, p. 57; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, *productions of the Fos workshops:* nn. 236-9, pp. 76 and 150; *productions of other workshops:* nn. 529-532, pp. 106 and 181; *Excisum:* Garnier and al. 2009, n. 16, pp. 436-8; *Carthage:* Deneauve 1969, n. 531, p. 143 and pl. 54; *Further literature:* Bailey 1980, discussion on lamp Q 939, pp. 83-4; Bussière 2000, motif III.2.d (1), p. 206.

290. Scorpion headed rightwards

Lamps: one Loeschcke IV, two fragments of volute-lamps and six fragments of discus

Discussion: This motif is very beloved in the Mediterranean provinces, where it can be found on lamps belonging to Loeschcke I, IV and VIII and even on some Loeschcke type V lamps signed OPPI, where it is mirror-rendered, heading leftwards, as on the lamps found in the Cala Culip shipwreck. Invented by Italian workshops and quickly produced in Tunisia too, the motif will soon integrate the Gallic repertory (where they were produced among others by the famous workshops of Lyon-La Butte), while it will remain absent of the Rhine Valley and the Danubian provinces' repertories. In Gaul, the scorpion appears on several Loeschcke type I lamps, discovered at Courthézon (Vaucluse), Fos, Vaison, Apt and on a lamp without provenience preserved at Avignon. On Loeschcke type IV lamps, we find them at Lezoux, Lachau, Sault and at Arles. Finally, on Loeschcke type VIII lamps, they are known on an Italian import bearing the mark BASSA, discovered at Eauze (Gers), on several fragments and a Gallic-made found at Fos, on very high-quality imported fragments found at Aleria (Corsica) and *Aquae Siccae* (Cazères, Haute-Garonne), where it was unearthed in a funerary pit dated late 1st century AD. Later, a well-known series of mediocre productions made in the Montans workshops is also witnessed. At Arles, a fragment of volute-lamp bearing the scorpion was unearthed at the Rochefleur necropolis, in a tomb dated to the 1st century AD. Among our artifacts, five are probably Italian imports while the remaining ones are Gallic-made.

Bibliography: exhaustive lists of parallels: Bailey 1980, p. 84; Bailey 1988, p. 85; Bussière 2000, motif III.c.1 (1), p. 206; Casas i Genover, Soler i Fusté 2006, discussion p. 133 and analogies on a Loeschcke IV lamp (nr. E 253), pp. 208-9; *Lamps marked OPPI at Cala Culip:* Alaminos et alii 1989, pp. 113-122 (cf. fig. 62, p. 114 and discussion pp. 117-118). *Gaul: Ateliers de La Butte:* Hanotte 2003, p. 489 and n. 36, fig. 10; *Loeschcke I: Courthézon:* Bailey 1988, Q 1504, p. 158 and pl. 2; *Fos:* Rivet 2003, nn. 67, pp. 58 and 131; *Vaison, Apt and Avignon (museum):* De Brun, Gagnière 1937, n. 165, p.

41 and pl. 11; *Loeschcke IV: Lezoux*: Bémont, Chew 2007, GA 130, pp. 259 and pl. 45 and motifs D 248-9, p. 136; *Lachau*: Bleu 2003, motif n. 48, pl. 8, p. 503; *Sault*: CAG 84/2, 042*12 Sault, Coustière, p. 353; *Arles*: Robin Petitot 2000, n. 101, p. 57; *Loeschcke VIII: Eauze (Gers)*: Bémont, Chew 2007, IT 63, pp. 192 and pl. 24, *Fos*: Rivet 2003, n. 306, pp. 85 and 158 (Loeschcke VIII signed LHOSCRI); fragments nn. 523-527, pp. 106 and 181; *Aleria*: Oziol 1980, n. 63, p. 30 and pl. V; *Aquae Siccae*: Manière 1966, pp. 101-159, cf. n.216, p. 112 and fig. 7, p. 111; *Montans*: Bergès 1988, nn. 178-185, p. 68 and fig. 39, p. 178. *Arles, Rochefleur Necropolis*: Hejmans *et alii* 2004, tomb S-N, p. 198-199.

*
* *

Special thanks: this study would not have been made possible without the constant help of the Direction of the Musée Départemental Arles Antiques (MDAA), in particular Director Claude Sintès and Deputy Director Alain Charron as well as of the Ipso'Facto Archaeonautical Cooperative, led by Mourad El Amouri. May they receive the expressions of our deepest gratitude. For the lamps belonging to the Musée de la Romanité (former *Musée Archéologique de Nîmes*), we address our deepest thanks to Director Dominique Darde for allowing the reproduction of unpublished images (photos © Dejan Stokic) illustrating motives 111,123, 173, 181, 209 and 227).

© All the images' copyrights belong to the quoted museums and were re-worked by Laurent Chrzanovski.



More to see in the final catalogue, like this beautiful discus of a Gallic-made Loeschcke V (AR3.1002.23).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ayala, G. 1990, *Alba-la-Romaine (Ardèche), les lampes en terre cuite*, RAN 23, 153-212.
- Bailey, D. M. 1980, *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum, 2. Roman lamps made in Italy*, London.
- Bailey, D. M. 1988, *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum, 3. Roman provincial lamps*, London.
- Bailly, R. 1962, *Essai de classification de marques de potiers sur lampes en argile dans la Narbonnaise*, Cahiers Ligures de Préhistoire et d'Archéologie 11, 1, 79-127.
- Barberan, S., Bardot-Cambot, A., Gafà, R., Lemaire, B., A. Malignas, Raux, S., Renaud, A., Silvéreano, S. 2012, *Boire et manger sur le forum du Castellans (Murviel-lès-Montpellier, Hérault): un dépotoir atypique de la première moitié du IIe s. ap. J.-C.*, RAN 45, 293-360
- Bel, V. 2002, *Pratiques funéraires du Haut-Empire dans le Midi de la Gaule. La nécropole gallo-romaine du Valladas à Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme)*, MonArchMedit 11, Lattes.
- Bellet, M.-E., Dumoulin, A. 1985, *Sépultures à incinération du Ier s. de n. è. découvertes à Cavaillon (Vaucluse)*, DAM 8, 165-170
- Bémont, C. 1999, *Le potier SURILLIUS et les lampes de la collection Plicque au Musée des Antiquités Nationales*, AntNat 31, 191-217
- Bémont, C. 2002 *Les lampes de Glanum*, RAN, Supplément 34, Montpellier.
- Bémont, C., Chew, H. 2007, *Musée d'archéologie nationale de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Lampes en terre cuite antiques*, Paris.
- Bérard, G. 1980, *La nécropole de La Guérine à Cabasse (Var)*, RAN 13, 19-63.
- Bergès, G. 1989, *Les lampes de Montans (Tarn). Une production céramique des Ier et IIe siècles ap. J.C. Modes de fabrication, typologie et chronologie*, DAF 21, Paris.
- Bessi, V., Moncini, C. 1980, *Lucerne romane nelle collezioni del Museo teatrale alla Scala. Guida alla mostra*, Milano
- Bleu, S. 2003, *Le mobilier céramique du sanctuaire du Luminaire à Lachau (Drôme)*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Saint-Romain-en-Gal (mai-juin 2003)*, Marseille, 497-512.
- Bonnamour, L., Marinval, P. 1985, *Céramique gallo-romaines précoces avec dépôt de millet, dans la vallée de la Saône*, RAE, 321-325.
- Bonnet, J. 1985, *La production d'un atelier de lampes romaines en terre cuite*, in SFECAG. *Actes du colloque de Metz (1982)*, Nancy, 107-131.
- Bonnet, J. 1988, *Lampes céramiques signées. Définition critique d'ateliers du Haut Empire*, DAF 13, Paris.
- Bonnet, J., Delplace, C. 1983, *Etude d'une production de lampes en Gaule*, Gallia 41, 1, 167-189

- Bonnet, J., Delplace, C. 1997, *Lampes de Vannes (Morbihan)*, in SFECAG, *Actes du Colloque du Mans (mai 1997)*, Marseille, 195-208.
- Bonnet, J., Delplace, C., Bergès, G. 1989, *Collections du Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, 2. Lampes*, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges.
- Bovon, A. 1966, *Lampes d'Argos*, Ecole française d'Athènes. *Etudes péloponnésiennes* 5, Paris.
- Broneer, O. 1930, *Corinth IV, 2, Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge
- Brun (De), P., Gagnière S. 1937, *Les Lampes Antiques du Musée Calvet d'Avignon*, Annales d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin 21, Avignon.
- Bussière, J. 2000, *Lampes antiques d'Algérie*, Monographies Instrumentum 16, Montagnac.
- Cahn, E.M. 2009, *Die römischen Bildlampen aus Köln*, KölnJahr 42, 7-391.
- Cahn-Klaiber, E.M. 1977, *Die antiken Tonlampen des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Tübingen*, TübStArchKunst 2, Tübingen.
- Carré, F. 1985, *Les lampes en terre cuite d'Alésia*. Collection des musées d'Alésia, RAECE 36, 277-297.
- Casas i Genover, J., Soler i Fusté V. 2006, *Llànties romanes d'Empúries. Materials augustals i alto-imperials*, MonEmpor 13, Girona.
- Chapon, P., Bussière, J., Delattre, L., Michel, M. Richier, A., Roth-Congès, A. Villemeur, I., Écard, P. Michel, D., 2004, *Les nécropoles de Vernègues (B.-du-Rh.)*. Deux ensembles funéraires du Haut-Empire à la périphérie d'une agglomération secondaire, RAN 37, 109-204.
- Chrzanovski, L. 2000, *Lumières antiques. Les lampes à huile du Musée Romain de Nyon*, Milano.
- Chrzanovski, L. 2006, *Lumière ! L'éclairage dans l'antiquité* (2^e édition, catalogue de l'exposition internationale), Milano.
- Claustres, G. 1956, *Les lampes romaines de Peyrestortes*, EtRous 5, 2-4, 131-146.
- Cueillens L. 2008, *Les lampes à huile*, in Sireix, C. (ed.), *La Cité judiciaire. Un quartier suburbain de Bordeaux Antique*, Aquitania, Supplément 15, Bordeaux, 413-436.
- Dardaine S. 1981, *Portraits impériaux sur une lampe découverte à Belo (Bolonina, Cadix)*, Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez 17, 517-519.
- Deneauve, J. 1969, *Lampes de Carthage*, Paris
- Deneauve, J. 1972, *Céramique et lampes africaines sur la côte de Provence*, AntAfr 6, 219-240.
- Desbat, A., Leblanc, O. 1995, *Un lot de céramiques du début du III^e siècle à Saint-Romain-en-Gal (Rhône)*, RAN 25, 125-150.
- Djaoui, D. 2014, *Découverte d'un pot mentionnant la famille des DD Caecilii dans un contexte portuaire situé entre 50-140 apr. J.-C. Découverte subaquatique à Arles, Bouches du Rhône, France*, in Morai, R., Fernandez, A., Sousa, M.J. (eds.), *Actas del Congreso internacional de la Sociedad de estudios de la Cerámica Antigua en Hispania*, Braga, 3-6 avril 2013 (Monographias Ex Officina Hispana II, Tomo II, *Las produções cerâmicas de imitação na Hispania*), Porto, 161-178.

- Djaoui, D. 2015, *Les pipettes en terre cuite: preuve indirecte de l'utilisation des tonneaux sur Arles et Fréjus à la période flavienne*, in Lemaître S., Batigne Vallet, C. (éds.), *Abécédaire pour un archéologue lyonnais. Mélanges offerts à Armand Desbat*, Archéologie et Histoire Romaine 31, Montagnac, 207-214.
- Djaoui, D. 2016, *Les céramiques hispaniques du dépotoir portuaire d'Arles-Rhône 3 (50-140 apr. J.-C.)*, in Járrega, R., Berni, P. (éds.), *Amphorae ex Hispania. Paisajes de producción y de consumo*, III Congreso internacional de la Sociedad de estudios de la Cerámica Antigua en Hispania (Tarragona, 10-13 de diciembre de 2014), Monografías Ex Officina Hispana 3, Tarragona, 962-975.
- Djaoui, D. *in print*, *Difficultés et intérêts à définir un faciès portuaire fluvoio-maritime en zone péri-urbaine (50-140 ap. J.-C.): fouilles subaquatique à Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône)*, in Ballet, P., Lemaître, S., Bertrand, I. (eds.), *Les mobiliers archéologiques dans leur contexte, de la Gaule à l'Orient méditerranéen*, Colloque international de Poitiers, 27-29 octobre 2014, Rennes.
- Djaoui D., Capelli, C. 2017, *Objets d'importation ou objets personnels? La dotation de bord des marins au regard du grand commerce, l'exemple du dépotoir portuaire d'Arles-Rhône 3*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Narbonne, 2017*, Marseille, 115-132.
- Djaoui, D., Greck S. 2014, *La vie à bord*, Marlier 2014, 271.
- Djaoui, D., Piquès, G., Botte, E. 2014, *Nouvelles données sur les pots dits « à garum » du Latium, d'après les découvertes subaquatiques du Rhône (Arles)*, in Botte, E., Leitch, V. (eds.), *Fish & Ships. Production and commerce of salsamenta during Antiquity*, Actes de l'atelier doctoral, Rome 18-22 juin 2012, BIAMA 17, 175-196.
- Djaoui, D., Quaresma, J. 2016, *Lusitanian amphorae from dump layer above the shipwreck Arles-Rhône 3*, in Vaz Pinto, I., Roberto de Almeida, R., Martin, A. (eds.) *Lusitanian Amphorae: Production and distribution*, 10-13 th october 2011, Troia, Portugal, Oxford, Archaeopress, 357-367.
- Djaoui, D., Tran, N. 2015, *Une cruche du port d'Arles et l'usage d'échantillons dans le commerce de vin romain*, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Antiquité [En ligne]*, 126-2 | 2014, mis en ligne le 14 janvier 2015, consulté le 12 février 2015. URL: <http://mefra.revues.org/2549>
- Dumoulin, A. 1964, *Découverte d'une nécropole gallo-romaine à Apt (Vaucluse)*, Gallia 22, 1, 87-110.
- Dumoulin, A. 1965, *Les puits et fosses de la colline Saint-Jacques à Cavaillon (Vaucluse)*, Gallia 23, 1, 1-85.
- El Amouri, M. 2014, *Fouille du dépotoir et documentation lors de l'opération de fouille-relevage de 2011*, Marlier 2014, 37-38.
- Elaigne, S. 1993, *La production des lampes à huile à Lyon sous le Haut-Empire : essai de synthèse*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Versailles (1993)*, Paris, 239-248.

- Elaigne S. 1996, *Les lampes*, in Desbat, A., Genin, M., Lasfargues, J. (éds.), *Les productions des ateliers de potiers antiques de Lyon, 1ère partie : les ateliers précoces*, Gallia 53, 1-249.
- Elaigne S. 1997, *Les lampes*, in Desbat, A. (éd.), *Les productions des ateliers de potiers antiques de Lyon, 2^e partie : les ateliers du I^{er} siècle après J.-C.*, Gallia 54, 1-117
- Ephrem, B. 2010, *Un établissement unique en Aquitaine romaine: les bassins à salaisons de Guéthary (Pyrénées-Atlantiques)*, Aquitania 26, 21-48
- Farka, C. 1977, *Die römischen Lampen vom Magdalensberg*, KärntMus 61, Klagenfurt.
- Ferri, D. 1995, *Lampes moulées en terre cuite découvertes à Auch*, BullSocArchGers 4, 35-41
- Fiches, J.-L., Guy M., Poncin, L. 1978, *Un lot de vases sigillés des premières années du règne de Néron dans l'un des ports de Narbonne*, Archeonautica 2, 185-219.
- Fontaine, S. 2014, *Maritime Roman Glass Trade: An Archaeological Case Study of Arles Harbour (France)*, JGS 56, 357-364.
- Gafà-Piskorz, R. 2009, *Le mobilier céramique: les lampes à huile*, in Fiches, J.-L. (dir.), *Une maison de l'agglomération routière d'Ambrussum (Villetelle, Hérault): fouille de la zone 9 (1995-1999)*, MonArchMedit 26, Lattes, 87-99.
- Gagnière, S., Granier, J. 1972, *La nécropole gallo-romaine et barbare de La Font-du-Buis à Saze (Gard)*, RAN 5, 117-144
- Garnier, J.-F., Sanchez, C. Chabrié, C. 2009, *Les lampes à huile des horrea de l'agglomération d'Excisum (Eysses, Villeneuve-sur-Lot)*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Colmar (mai 2009)*, Marseille, 433-440
- Gauthier, M. 1984, *Circonscription de Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur*, Gallia, 42:2, 405-434
- Godard, C. 1992, *Une réserve de céramiques de l'époque de Claude à Vienne*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Saint-Tournai (mai 1992)*, Marseille, 239-264
- Goethert-Polaschek, K. 1985, *Katalog der römischen Lampen des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier. Bildlampen und Sonderformen*, TrierGrabForsch 15, Mainz.
- Gualandi Genito, M.C. 1977, *Lucerne fittili delle collezioni del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna*, Fonti per la storia di Bologna. Cataloghi 3, Bologna
- Hallier, G., Guéry, R., Lavagne, H., Gascou, J. 1990, *Le Mausolée de Cucuron (Vaucluse)*, Gallia 47, 145-202.
- Hanotte A. 2003, *Les lampes à huile de l'atelier de la Butte à Lyon : nouvelles découvertes*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Saint-Romain-en-Gal (mai-juin 2003)*, Marseille, 483-495.
- Hanotte A. 2015, *Lampes à huile des fosses à relief de banquet du "santuaire de Cybèle" à Lyon*, in Lemaître, S., Batigne Vallet, C. (eds.), *Abécédaire pour un archéologue lyonnais. Mélanges offerts à Armand Desbat*, Autun, 107-113.
- Heimerl, A. 2000, *Die römischen Lampen aus Pergamon (Pergamenische Forschungen Band 13)*, Berlin.

- Hejmans M., Rothé, M.P., Piton, J., Brémond, J., Robin, N. 2004, *Données nouvelles sur la nécropole dite des Alyscamps à Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône) Fouilles de Rochefleur (1976) et de l'ancien cinéma l'Odéon, Bd Victor Hugo (1999-2000)*, RAN 37,165-219
- Hellmann, M.-C. 1980, *Lampes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale, 1. Collection Froehner*, Paris.
- Hellmann, M.-C. 1987, *Lampes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale, 2. Fonds général. Lampes pré-romaines et romaines*, Paris.
- Heres, G. 1972, *Die römischen Bildlampen der Berliner Antiken-Sammlung*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR 3, Berlin.
- Labrousse, M. 1959, *Les lampes romaines du Musée de Lectoure*, BullSocArchGers, 43-67
- Labrousse, M. 1960, *Tauroboles, Lampes romaines et Céramiques romaines du Musée de Lectoure*, Auch.
- Labrousse, M. 1962, *Les lampes romaines de Montans aux Musées de Toulouse et d'Albi*, MémSocArchMidFr 28, 9-39.
- Labrousse, M. 1964, *Nouveaux fragments de lampes romaines de Lectoure*, BullSocArchGers, 25-30.
- Leibundgut, A. 1977, *Die römischen Lampen in der Schweiz. Eine kultur- und handelsgeschichtliche Studie*, Bern.
- Lerat, L. 1954, *Catalogue des collections archéologiques de Besançon, I : Les lampes antiques*, Paris 1954
- Long, L., Duperron, G., Bonifay, M., Capelli, C., Desbat, A., Leger, C. 2013, *Navigation et commerce dans le delta du Rhône : l'épave Arles-Rhône 14 (IIIe s. ap. J.-C.)*, in Mauné, S., Duperron, G. (eds.), *Du Rhône aux Pyrénées. Aspects de la Vie Matérielle en Gaule Narbonnaise II*, ArchHistRom 25, Montagnac, 125-167.
- Magister-Vernou C. 1997, *Les lampes*, in Sireix, C. (ed.), *Les fouilles de la place des Grands-Hommes à Bordeaux*, PagArchHistGir 3, Bordeaux, 65-74.
- Manière, G. 1966, *Un puits funéraire de la fin du Ier siècle aux Aquae Siccae (Cazères, haute-Garonne)*, Gallia 24, 1, 101-159.
- Marlier, S. (ed.) 2014, *Arles-Rhône 3, un chaland gallo-romain du I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C.*, Paris.
- Marlier, S. (ed.) 2018, *Arles-Rhône 3, du fleuve au musée*, Gent.
- Martin, T. 2009, *Les céramiques sigillées*, in Long, L., Picard, P., César, *Le Rhône pour mémoire*, Actes Sud, Arles, 304-318.
- Martin, T. 2011, *Les sigillées*, in Djaoui, D., Greck, S., Marlier, S. (eds.), *Arles Rhône 3. Le naufrage d'un chalant antique dans le Rhône, enquête pluridisciplinaire*, Arles, 88-96.
- Marty F. 2014, *Faciès céramique de l'agglomération secondaire du chemin du Castellon (Istres, Bouches-du-Rhône) durant le Haut-Empire*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Chartres (mai 2014)*, Marseille, 599-640

- Massy, J.L., Molière, J. 1978, *Lampes en terre cuite d'époque claudienne à Amiens*, CahArchPicard 5, 135-146
- Menzel, H. 1969, *Antike Lampen im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz*, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Katalog 15, Mainz.
- Mlasowsky, A. 1993, *Die antiken Tonlampen im Kestner-Museum Hannover*, Kestner-Museum Hannover. Sammlungskataloge 8, Hannover.
- Morillo Cerdán A. 1999, *Lucernas romanas en la región septentrional de la península ibérica. Contribución al conocimiento de la implantación romana en Hispania*, MonInstr 8, Montagnac.
- Nieloud-Muller, S. 2011, *Ensemble céramique de la seconde moitié du IIème s. Apr. J.-C. découvert dans le lac du Bourget (Savoie): dépôt culturel en milieu lacustre?*, in SFECAG. *Actes du congrès d'Arles, 2-5 juin 2011*, Marseille, 367-380.
- Nin, N. (ed.) 2014, *Aix antique. Une cité en Gaule du sud*, Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, décembre 2014 - mai 2015, Milano.
- Nin N. 2006, *La nécropole méridionale d'Aix-en-Provence, Ier-VIe siècles apr. J.-C.: les fouilles de la ZAC Sextius Mirabeau, 1994-2000*, RAN, supplément 37, Montpellier.
- Oziol, T. 1980, *Les lampes de terre cuite*, Archéologia Corsa. Etudes et Mémoires 5, 11-84.
- Passelac, M. 1970, *Le Vicus Eburomagus. Éléments de topographie. Documents archéologiques*, RAN 3, 71-101.
- Paterno, L. 2004, *Les petits objets du quartier 30-35 dans leur contexte lattois*, Lattara 17, 345-359.
- Pelletier, A. 1976, *Construction augustéenne et dépotoir tibérien dans le sanctuaire métraoque de Vienne (Isère)*, RAN 9, 115-142.
- Podvin, J.-L. 1999, *Nouvelles lampes égyptisantes de la Vallée du Rhône*, RA, 79-88.
- Ponsich, M. 1961, *Les lampes romaines en terre cuite de la Maurétanie Tingitane*, Rabat.
- Ponsich, M. 1965, *Les lampes romaines en Tarn-et-Garonne*, MémSocArchMidFr 31, 19-28.
- Py, M. 1994, *Catalogue des petits objets*, in Garcia, D. (dir.) *Lattara 7. Exploration de la ville portuaire de Lattes. Les îlots 2, 4-sud, 5, 7-est, 7-ouest, 8, 9 et 16 du quartier Saint-Sauveur*, Lattes, 373-422.
- Rabeisen, E. 1985, *Lampes et chandeliers d'Alésia*, RAECE 36, 298-303.
- Rémy B. 1976, *Les lampes romaines en terre cuite du Musée de Feurs*, RAC 15, 299-318.
- Rivet, L. 2003, *Lampes antiques du Golfe de Fos*, Aix-en-Provence.
- Robin Petitot, B. 2000, *Catalogue des lampes grecques et romaines*, Arles.
- Rodríguez Martín, F.G. 2002, *Lucernas romanas del Museo Nacional de Arte Romano (Mérida)*, MonEmer 7, Madrid.
- Rodríguez Neila J.-F. 1977, *Serie de lucernas de Osuna*, Habis 8, 385-397.
- Rougier, J. 1964, *Etude et classement des lampes romaines en terre cuite du Musée d'Aoste (Isère)*, Celticum 12, 347-355.

- Sanchez, C. 2006, *Une cave des années -10/+80 au lieu-dit "Les Carrières" à Peyriac-de-Mer (Aude). Fouilles Y. Solier, H. Barbouteau et J.-M. Mascla*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Pézenas (mai 2006)*, Marseille, 207-229.
- Sanchez, C. 2011, *Vaisselle de bord et petits conteneurs, l'exemple des céramiques communes de la collection Bouscaras à Port-la-Nautique (Narbonne)*, in Sanchez, C., Jezegou M.-P. (dir.), *Zones portuaires et espaces littoraux de Narbonne et sa région dans l'Antiquité*, Association pour le Développement de l'Archéologie en Languedoc-Roussillon (ADAL), *MonArchMédit* 28, 143-176.
- Szentléleky, T. 1969, *Ancient lamps*, *MonAntiq* 1, Budapest.
- Tassaux, F., Tassaux, D., Caillat, P., Maurin, L., Santrot, M.-H., Santrot, J., Starakis., P., Tronche, P. 1984, *Aulnay de Saintonge. Un camp militaire augusto-tibérien en Aquitaine*, *Aquitania* 2, 105-157.
- Tille, M. 2003, *Les lampes en terre cuite d'Avenches/Aventicum*, *BullAssocPrAvent* 45, 7-82.
- Vafinay, M. 1979, *Lampes gallo-romaines en terre cuite retrouvées à Roanne*, *BullDiana* 46, 2, 41-57.
- Vella, C., Tomatis C., Sivan, O. 2014, *Le contexte paléoenvironnemental*, *Marlier* 2014, 65-73.
- Vernou-Magister, C. 1991, *Recherches sur les lampes antiques en Poitou-Charentes*, in SFECAG. *Actes du Congrès de Cognac*, Marseille, 113-118.