

## ROMAN LAMPS OF GERULATA AND THEIR ROLE IN FUNERAL RITES

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**Abstract:** The auxiliary camp of Gerulata was founded in the late Flavian period, and housed a cavalry ala for most of its existence. Its adjoining cemeteries contained Roman lamps as a major group of grave goods, in both cremation and inhumation graves until the early 3rd century AD, when lamps ceased to be deposited. Altogether 93 graves out of 336 contained a total of 106 lamps, a largely 2nd century assembly of both Firma- and Bildlampen. Lamps played a part in funeral rites, usually to be burned on the pyre; at Gerulata they were second only to pottery in abundance though they occur in varying proportion across different cemeteries and burial types. Their context in burial practice and relationship with other grave goods is analysed throughout; notably, adult inhumation graves seem to purposely lack lamps. The lamps bear signs of use, personal ownership, and several unique relief stamps and inscriptions, but the proportion of imports to locally made lamps remains uncertain. Roman lamps in Gerulata are seen as tokens of Roman culture, much used by the inhabitants of this borderland settlement in both life and death.

As the Danube River passes from the banks of Carnuntum under the rocky slopes of Devín and Hainburg and through the natural water gate formed by these two hilltops, it widens and bends to the southwest, in anticipation of the marshy and manifold currents that give rise to the Greater and Lesser Rye Islands (Veľký a Malý Žitný ostrov). In Roman times, that is, before the construction of the modern Gabčíkovo – Nagymaros dam, the next part of the river formed a web of streams, practically impassable for its dense wetland vegetation and swamp soil in all but a few places. Fortunately, a bend in the Danube occupied today by the city of Bratislava commanded several vital fords in this region; it was perhaps the last of these crossings before the marshy wetlands further downstream on which the auxiliary camp of Gerulata was founded (Pichlerová 1986) on the site of present-day Bratislava-Rusovce.

This area had long been of strategic importance to the Romans, as the Augustan campaigns against Marobudus were spearheaded from nearby Carnuntum, and possibly the hill of Devín, which already by that time housed a Roman garrison (Hulínek/Plachá 2000). Located on the right bank of the river, Gerulata was occupied by the Roman military in the late Flavian period, possibly during the reign of emperor Domitian (AD 81-96; Wilkes 2005, 150), as attested by the earliest terra sigillata of southern Gaulish manufacture from La Graufesenque identified as Drag. form 37 (Pichlerová 1981, 27; cremation grave 27) and Drag. form 35/36 of northern Italian manu-

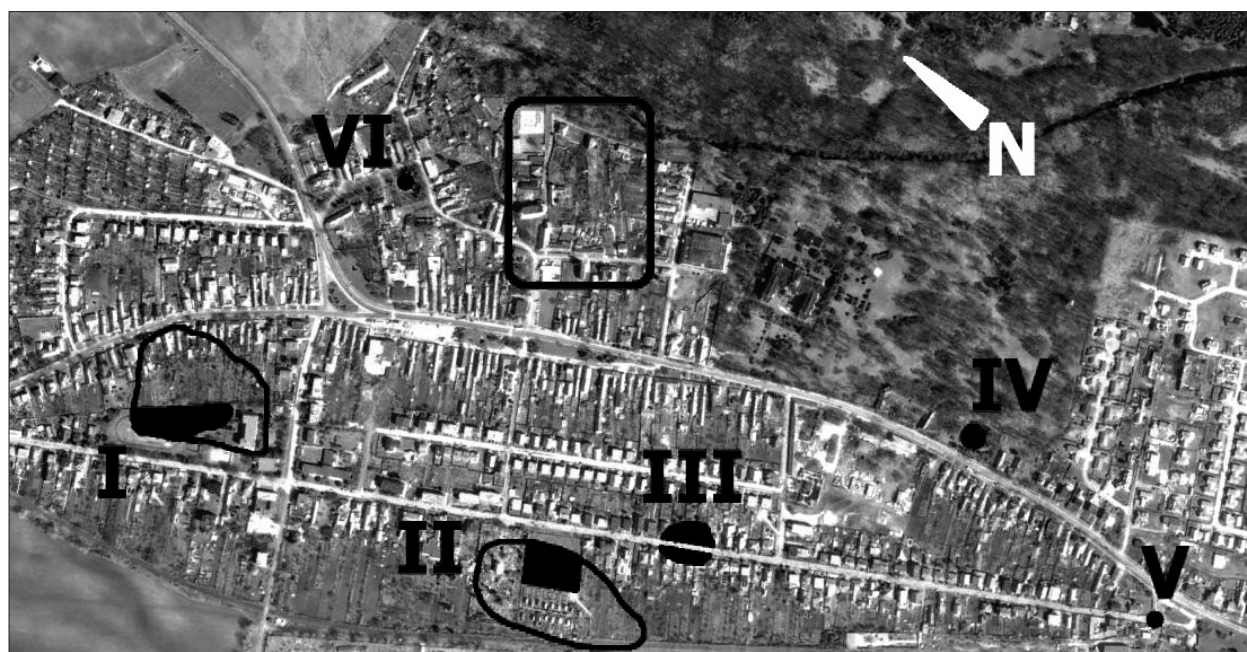


Fig. 1: Gerulata: auxiliary camp (rectangle) and cemeteries (filled in: excavated area, border: presumed extent according to Varsik 1996)

facture (Gabler 1991, 246, 248; Gabler/Pichlerová 1996, 89-92). At the same time, some northern Italian wares (Gabler 1977, 119) commonly found on earlier Flavian military sites are notably absent here. Previous La Tène settlements existed to the south and northwest of the future fort, as well as on the site of the fort itself (Bazovský 2004, 96; Snopko 1985; Schmidtová 2006, 133-137). For most of its existence, it housed a cavalry garrison of 500 men known as an *ala*. A stamped brick from the first phase of the fort (Varsik 1996, 36-37, Abb. 11) may point to the soldiers of *cohors V Lucensium Callaecorum* as the workforce constructing the camp at a time when the northern sections of the *Limes Romanus* were being strengthened and consolidated as a distinct border system.

The fort was reconstructed in stone sometime during the reigns of the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius – somewhat later than the Trajanic date at which other camps on this section of the *Limes* underwent this change (Varsik 1996, 27-28; Varsik/Kuzmová/Schmidtová 1996, 536). This phase is exemplified by terra sigillata made in Lezoux, Rheinzabern and later Westerndorf (Pichlerová 1981, 27; grave 109, Drag. Form 37; Gabler/Pichlerová 1996, 93-97; surface find, Drag. Form 37).

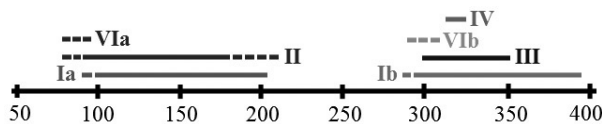


Fig. 2: Timeline of cemeteries in Gerulata. Dotted lines denote a speculated dating, founded on a small number of graves. Note the hiatus between c. AD 200 and c. AD 290.

Six places of burial have been identified in the vicinity of Gerulata (Fig. 1); although only four of them are large enough to be called “proper” cemeteries with more than 10 graves. Cemeteries I and II, consisting of 167 and 268 graves each, respectively, are the largest (Kraskovská 1974a; Pichlerová 1981). Both begin in the earliest stages of Roman occupation on the site or shortly thereafter, and the mode of burial is mostly cremation, although Cemetery II was notably bi-ritual with frequent inhumation practiced alongside cremating rites.

Apart from the disturbances of the Marcomannic Wars, only a slight decrease in number of burials is seen until the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, at which time a hiatus may be observed (Fig. 2). Existing cemeteries I and II cease to be used, and new cemeteries III and IV do not appear until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Kraskovská 1974b; Schmidtová 2010; Slivka 1990), as inhumation becomes the sole mode of burial. Moreover, Cemetery I is overlaid with new burials, and this newer cemetery is conventionally labelled ‘Ib’ to distinguish it from the earlier, 2<sup>nd</sup> century Cemetery Ia. “Cemetery” VI consists of isolated burials in the *vicus* (Schmidtová/Kozubová 2007). It is important to note that in Gerulata lamps are only found in the earlier, late 1<sup>st</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century phase of burial, that is, in cemeteries Ia, II and VIa, with the prominent exception of one ‘late Pannonian’ glazed lamp tentatively attributable to Cemetery Ib.

Loeschcke type Cemetery	Ib	Ib/c	Ic	I <sup>1</sup>	VIII	IXb	IXc	IX	X	Xc	XK	X- var	X	FL	total
<i>Ia</i>	0	0	1	2	0	3	0	3	26	2	1	0	29	5	39
<i>II</i>	1	6	4	13	1	3	2	5	35	1	1	1	38	8	65
<i>VIa</i>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>total</i>	1	6	6	16	1	6	2	8	61	3	2	1	67	13	106 <sup>2</sup>

Table 1: Types of lamps from the cemeteries of Gerulata. Bold indicates totals.

FL = unidentified Firmalampen. <sup>1</sup>type I includes 3 fragments that could not be assigned to a subtype <sup>2</sup>this total includes the horse lamp handle fragment, probably attributable to Cemetery Ib.

Altogether, 106 lamps were found in funerary contexts in Gerulata, with a total of 17 Bildlampen, 88 Firmalampen and variations thereof, and one special shape (Table 1). Of the Bildlampen, most are Loeschcke type I volute lamps with angular nozzles, predominantly later types I b/c and the so-called ‘Raetian’ type I c (Fig. 3). Lamps of these types began to be produced in Italy around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but local production is plentifully attested in Pannonia in subsequent centuries (Leibundgut 1977, 25; Alram-Stern 1989, 25, footnote 34; Bailey 1988, 149) In Gerulata these lamps are found in closed contexts with coins of Galba (AD 68-69; Cemetery II, grave 46), Trajan (AD 98-99; Cemetery II, grave XXV), and pottery of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century (‘Cemetery’ VIa, the single grave of that cemetery; and Cemetery II, grave I) and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Cemetery II, grave 104).

The utilitarian and functionalistic Firmalampen make up the greatest portion of the ensemble. Of the 88 lamps, Loeschcke types IX and X are represented by 8 and 67 examples, respectively. Type IX lamps were conceived in central and northern Italian workshops in the AD 60s, characterised by their utilitarian shape, sparse decoration reserved to simple masks, high discus rim, shoulder lugs and nozzle channel (Fig. 4; Buchi 1975, XXXIII; Alram-Stern 1989, 39). The broadening of the nozzle channel and flattening of the shoulders brought about lamps of Type X in the AD 90s (Bailey 1980, 275), which in turn became the universal lamp of the so-called ‘military pro-

vinces’ – i.e. those bordering the European continental *Limes*. Again, in a fashion similar to Bildlampen, the Firmalampen were abundantly produced by local makers with ambiguous official sanction. Both lamp types coexisted and continued to be used in Pannonia until at least the early 4<sup>th</sup> century (Type IX: *Iványi 1935, 137; Petru 1972, 86, 162; Buchi 1975, XXXII, footnote 2; Type X: Iványi 1935, 16-19*).

In Gerulata, Type IX lamps are dated by coins of Domitian (AD 90-91; Cemetery II, grave 90), Hadrian (AD 117-138; Cemetery Ia, grave 72), and Trajan (AD 101-2) and with pottery of AD 110-130 (Cemetery II, grave LI). Only the later subtypes IXb and IXc are represented, and few in number; perhaps this is testament to the “provincial” character of the settlement. Lamps of Type X are dated across three centuries, from coins of Domitian (AD 81-96, Cemetery II, grave 1) to pottery of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cemetery II, graves 14 and 37).

Apart from the previous common types of lamps, some special shapes are also to be found. The Loeschke XK form, essentially a type X with a shortened nozzle, is represented by two examples. One of them has an interesting discus relief – a plastic head of a lion with a loop designed to hang the lamp in the air (Fig. 5). A multi-



Fig. 3: Loeschcke type Ic, Cemetery II, grave I, infans, early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Head of Hercules covered by a shawl resting on an altar, while his club leans on it to the left (courtesy of Archaeological Museum SNM, inv. no. 14.872)



Fig. 4: Loeschcke type IXb, Cemetery II, grave IV, infans, late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Mask of Jupiter Ammon – an Egyptian syncretism (courtesy of Archaeological Museum SNM, inv. no. 14.886).



Fig. 5: Loeschcke type XK, Cemetery II, grave 118, maturus-senilis. Lion's head with suspension loop rising out of its snout, now restored (courtesy of Archaeological Museum SNM, inv. no. 21.334)

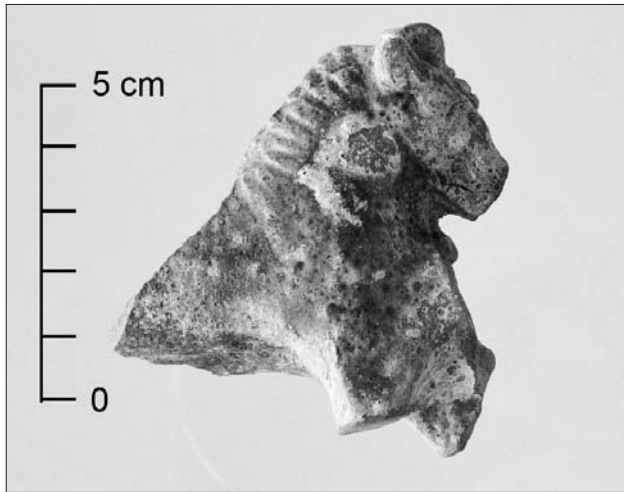


Fig. 6: Lamp handle in the shape of a horse, Cemetery I(b?), surface find (courtesy of Archaeological Museum SNM, inv. no. 14.613)

nozzled variation of type X with a damaged discus matches two complete lamps from Brigetio with a bust of Sol, the Sun God, between two stars and with a star on his brow (Iványi 1935, lamps 536-7, Taf. XIX: 9). A small discus and shoulder fragment may be attributed through its outstanding rosette decoration as belonging to the Loeschke VIII family of circular Bildlampen, which were produced in an array of local varieties throughout the Empire, and essentially were to the Mediterranean area what the Loeschke type X was to the northern provinces – a 'koine' type of lamp. Our fragment, with 20-24 leafs in its rosette, a distinctive shoulder type of VIIIb and coarse fabric resembles the earliest lamps of the type made in Italy (Bailey 1980, 295, lamp Q 1202) around AD 75, and lamps of Cnidian manufacture made in the late 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD (Bailey 1988, 331, e.g. lamp Q 2747). Finally, a glazed green ceramic handle in the shape of a horse

(Fig. 6) was discovered as a surface find on the site of cemetery I; with parallels in Intercisa of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Iványi 1935, Taf. LXV:8, 14; Taf LXVI:5), we may assume that this lamp belongs to Cemetery Ib, making it unique

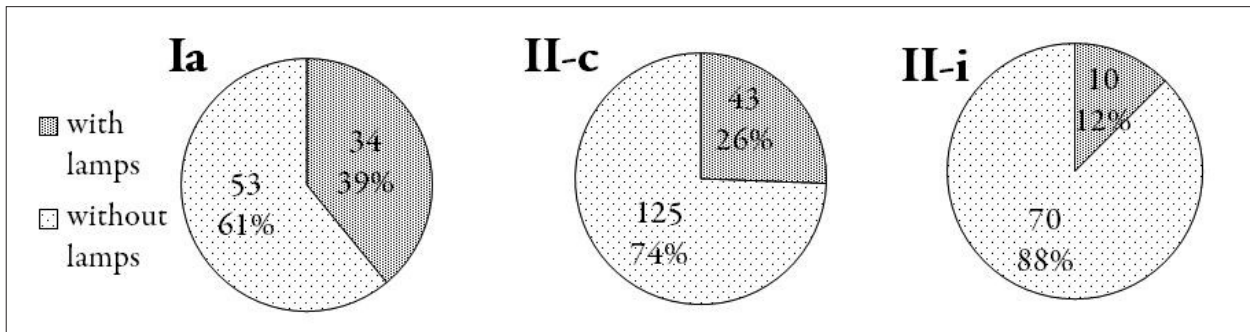


Fig. 7: Graves containing lamps in the respective cemeteries of Gerulata.

Cemetery Ia 34/87	graves with item	% of all graves	graves with item and lamps	% of graves with item
pottery	77	88.5%	29	37.7%
coinage	10	11.5%	8	80.0%
glass	11	12.6%	7	63.6%
jewelry	6	6.9%	5	83.3%
Ae	5	5.7%	5	100%
Fe	14	16.1%	7	50.0%
knives	2	2.3%	2	100%
terra sigillata	3	3.4%	2	66.6%
pins and fibulae	0	0.0%	-	-
no goods	4	4.6%	-	-

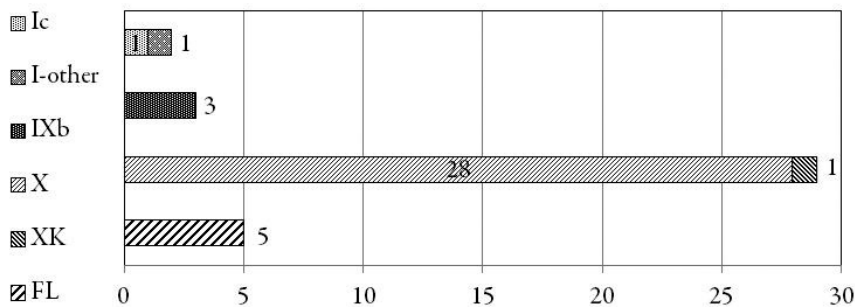


Table 2: Lamp types from Cemetery Ia and frequency of association with other grave goods. FL = unidentified fragments of Firmalampen.

as the only lamp deposited in a funerary context after the hiatus of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. It is, however, of a very different shape than the standard Roman lamps that were a staple of grave deposits almost a century earlier.

The categories of lamps described above are found in various proportions in the assemblages of the respective cemeteries (Fig. 7). It may be seen that the cremation graves of Cemetery II contain lamps more frequently than inhumation graves of the same, although they were not delineated spatially into two separate cemeteries; instead, they existed side by side. An in-depth look at the grave goods of each cemetery is in order, as well as an appraisal

of the lamps deposited in each.

Cemetery Ia was in use from c. AD 90/100 to c. AD 200: it consists of 87 cremation graves, 34 of which contained one or more lamps (Table 2). The majority of these lamps were simple, type X Firmalampen. Pottery was the most common grave good, present in 88.5% of all graves, followed immediately by lamps in 39% of all graves. Lamps were most closely associated with bronze objects, knives, jewellery and coinage; in other words, if a grave contained one of these items, it quite likely to have a lamp as well. Of the 39 lamps, 25 (64.1%) were burnt through cremation, and 7 (17.9%) had a charred nozzle, indicating they had been used shortly before.

The cremation graves of Cemetery II are 168 in number, of which 43 were found to contain lamps (Table 3). The cemetery itself began in the earliest phase of c. AD 80/90, and it was used readily until the Marcomannic Wars of AD 166-180, with burials then progressively declining until the first decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when they disappear altogether. Again, the vast majority of lamps are type X Firmalampen, but a splash of other types is evident – earlier I b/c volute lamps, an early type IXb Firmslampe, one multi-nozzled lamp, and the extraordinary discus fragment of a type VIII round lamp – all, however, in one or two examples. Simple Firmslampen are nonetheless overwhelming. As for other grave goods, pottery is again the most common in cremation graves, followed by iron objects, and then glass and lamps tied at 25.6%. Interestingly, ‘luxury’ pottery also appears in these graves, with some 25 contexts containing terra sigillata, fine Raetian ware, and terra nigra. Lamps are most associated here with iron objects – knives for that matter – and not much else, but they remain relatively well represented as the third most common grave good. Of the 43 lamps, 69.1% were charred by the pyre, and 20% have a nozzle blackened by prior use.

The 80 inhumation graves of Cemetery II have already been described as unusual in funerary rite, as

Cemetery II-c 43/168	graves with item	% of all graves	graves with item and lamps	% of graves with item
pottery	139	82.7%	37	26.6%
coinage	24	14.3%	12	50.0%
glass	42	25.0%	15	35.7%
jewellery	19	11.3%	10	52.6%
Ae	24	14.3%	10	41.7%
Fe	53	31.5%	31	58.5%
<i>knives</i>	19	11.3%	12	63.2%
luxury pottery	25	14.9%	8	32.0%
<i>terra sigillata</i>	22	13.1%	6	27.3%
<i>Raetian ware</i>	1	0.6%	1	100%
<i>terra nigra</i>	2	1.2%	1	50.0%
pins and fibulae	15	8.9%	5	33.3%
no goods	11	6.5%	-	-

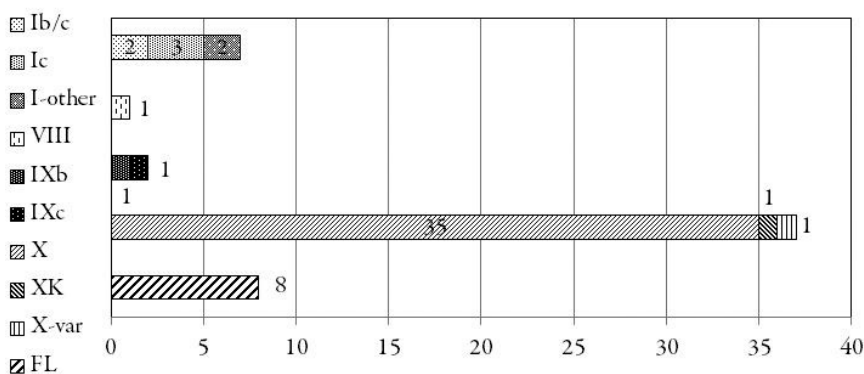


Table 3: Lamp types from Cemetery II-cremation graves and frequency of association with other grave goods. FL = unidentified fragments of Firmslampen.

Cemetery II-i 10/80	graves with item	% of all graves	graves with item and lamps	% of graves with item
pottery	25	31.3%	8	32.0%
coinage	5	6.3%	2	40.0%
glass	14	17.5%	4	28.6%
jewellery	14	17.5%	2	14.3%
Ae	4	5.0%	1	25.0%
Fe	6	7.5%	0	0.0%
<i>knives</i>	1	1.3%	0	0.0%
terra sigillata	0	0.0%	-	-
pins and fibulae	7	8.8%	2	28.6%
no goods	34	42.5%	-	-

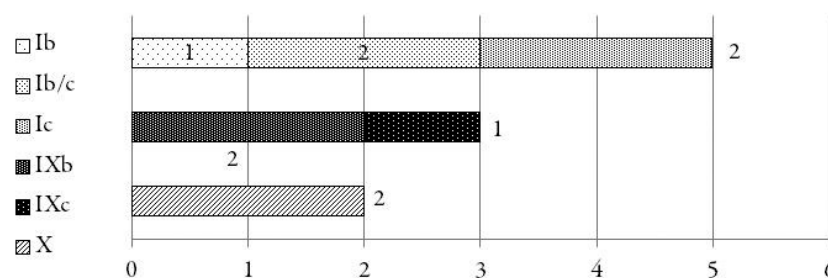


Table 4: Lamp types from Cemetery II-inhumation graves and frequency of association with other grave goods. FL = unidentified fragments of Firmslampen.

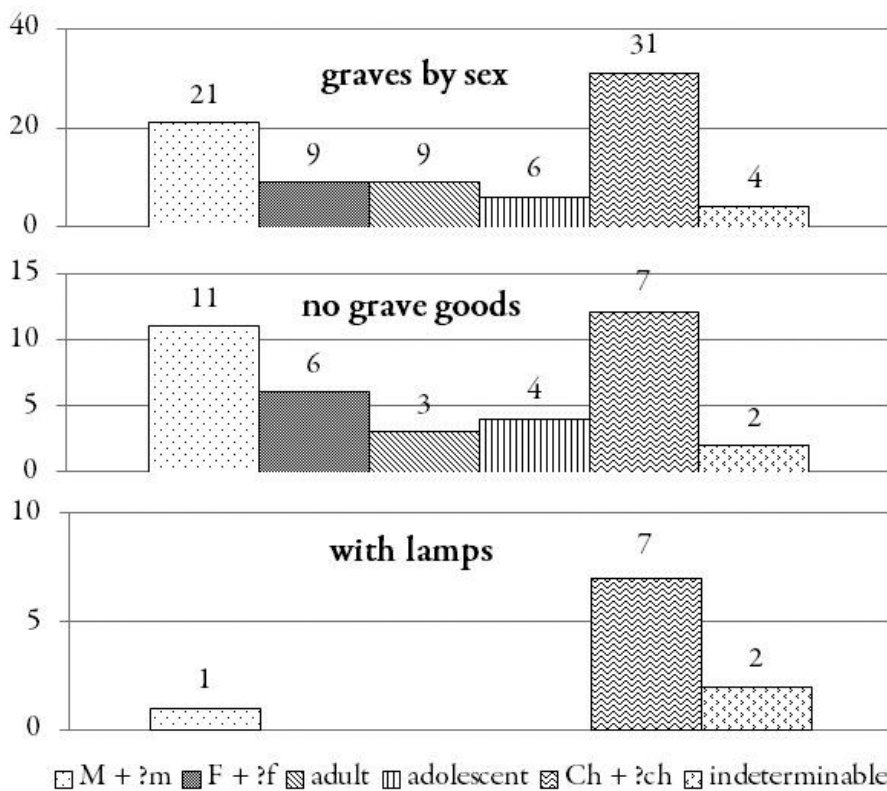


Table 5: Grave goods in inhumation graves of Cemetery II by age/sex.

However, as far as quality is concerned, there is no devaluation; the lamps here are a far more representative section of 2<sup>nd</sup> century types, with Bildlampen equal in number to Firmalampen for the first time. In total, they appear only in 12.5% of graves, behind pottery, glass, and jewellery (!).

Where it was possible, the human remains from Cemetery II were anthropologically examined to ascertain age and sex (Table 5). Of the 76 identified skeletons coming from inhumation graves, 31 belonged to children and 6 to adolescents under 14 years of age, thus making up nearly half of the ‘inhumation’ section of the cemetery. When compared to graves sorted by sex, the graves with no grave goods are shown to be rather evenly distributed.

Graves	Age group	children	adolescents	adults	indeterminable	total
<b>II-cremation (% total)</b>		7 (4.2%)	3 (1.8%)	105 (62.5%)	56 (33.3%)	168
<i>II-c with lamps</i>		2 (28.6%)	0	28 (26.7%)	13 (24.5%)	43
<i>(% of graves in age group)</i>						
<b>II-inhumation (% total)</b>		31 (38.7%)	6 (7.5%)	39 (48.8%)	4 (5.0%)	80
<i>II-i with lamps</i>		7 (22.6%)	0	1 (2.6%)	2 (50.0%)	10
<i>(% of graves in age group)</i>						

Table 6: Anthropologically identifiable remains from Cemetery II by age, crossed with the proportion of lamp-containing graves in their parent age group.

However, of the 10 graves with lamps, 7 belong to children, two to indeterminable individuals, and one to a young male. Could it be that lamps were placed in children’s graves foremost?

Table 6 shows the known age composition of Cemetery II. In cremation graves, the proportion of graves with lamps is evenly distributed among the identifiable age groups, at around 25%. A similar proportion is observed in children’s inhumation graves, but surprisingly, only 2.6% of adult inhumation graves contain lamps. Perhaps it was not so that lamps were preferred for children’s burials, but rather that lamps were deliberately denied to inhumed adults. We may be observing here the faint shadow of a cultural practice in 2<sup>nd</sup> century Gerulata.

only few cemeteries in Pannonia were demonstrably bi-ritual in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and if so, in smaller proportion – for example, the southern cemetery of Matrica had 178 cremation and 33 inhumation graves (Topál 1981). It remains disputed whether this form of burial was reserved for the poor, who could not afford wood for their own pyre, or was in fact the expression of a cultural norm. At any rate, the graves show a marked scarcity of goods as far as quantity is concerned, with as many as 42.5% without objects (Table 4), as compared to the 4.6% and 6.5% of Cemetery Ia and II-cremation graves, respectively. The most frequent feature is pottery, found only in every third grave.



Fig. 8: Two lamps of Loeschcke type X incised with the letters YYCO. Left: Cemetery II, grave 122; Right: Cemetery Ia, grave 129

Close to two thirds of lamps from cremation graves show signs of discoloration and secondary firing presumably from their incineration on the funeral pyre. Curiously, some lamps from the inhumation graves also show a similar discoloration and brittleness, more than the usual charring around the nozzle hole indicating a lamp that was recently used. As we know there could have been no pyre in this case, perhaps this phenomenon can be explained by the close proximity of a decomposing body in the grave which could have accelerated the decay of the lamps in question. Around 20% of the lamps also had blackened nozzles, showing that they were used immediately prior to deposition – however, this number may have been larger when we include the lamps burned on the pyre from which any such trace would have been wiped by the consuming flames.



Fig. 9: Loeschcke type X lamps with linear incisions. Left: Cemetery II, grave 168, CRESCES;  
Top right: Cemetery Ia, grave 99, VIBIUS; Bottom right: Cemetery II, grave 36, FORTIS.

Lamps in Gerulata show signs of personal ownership in all stages of their production and use; the well-published type X lamp with the singular relief of an anchor, created no doubt for a specific customer, has been claimed as a Christian symbol or as the request of a Danube ship captain (Kolník 1984, 85; Pichlerová 1981, 182). A type XK lamp from Cemetery Ia, grave 108 bears a unique signature of AYR|(O) in mirrored letters. Two interesting lamps are incised with the letters YYCO – one made before firing, the other scratched in after the fact (Fig. 8). Could these be owner's marks, or the marks of an unofficial producer who did not have the means to create relief signatures? If they were property of the same family, it is thought-provoking as to how they found their way into two separate cemeteries, and the resulting implications of this circumstance for burial custom. Finally, several lamps have linear incisions made after firing, including one on the discus and shoulder of the lamp in the form of rays centered on the filling hole (Fig. 9). One may only wonder by whom and when these incisions were made – they are testaments to personal narratives we may never fully grasp.

In conclusion, the cemeteries of Roman Gerulata contained 106 lamps in 93 graves out of a total of 336, or, on average, lamps were found in 27.7% of graves. Most were deposited in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Although a variety of types is represented, the great majority consist of Firmalampen of Loeschcke types IX and X. Lamps were usually second only to pottery in their frequency as grave goods; they were an affordable luxury that may have symbolised a Roman identity for the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of denizens in this settlement, in competition with indigenous forms of lighting such as torches, braziers and open bowls of burning fat. Preference for a 'Mediterranean' lighting style, complete with mythological artistic motives, could have meant so much for the inhabitants of Gerulata that they wished to deposit this symbol even into their graves.

It is worth pointing out here that while a 'rich' grave most certainly indicates some form of wealth, the material scarcity of inhumation graves does not imply poverty, although it seems to suggest it. The costs of a Roman funeral were borne in varying proportion by the deceased, their family, friends, and funeral *collegium* to which they may have belonged – and this web of relations was often different in other areas of the Empire, to the point where we cannot in good faith distinguish between the financiers who furnished the grave without concrete evidence in the form of a headstone with an inscription. Objects found within a grave may have been property of the deceased, a parting gift to them from friends and funeral attendees, a show of wealth by their family, a costly display of vanity, the remnants of a funerary feast, or a combination of all the above, leaving us puzzled as to the origin and significance of certain objects.

Although the inhumation graves of Cemetery II show material poverty, they also contain luxury goods such as jewellery and glass – hardly property of the destitute. Perhaps in Gerulata, the custom for inhumation graves was to include very few objects; but if any were to be deposited, they might have been of great relative value in a frontier settlement such as this. It seems that in this case, lamps were reserved for deceased children, while at the same time in the 'cremation' section, lamps were equally spread among age groups.

An analogous situation is observable on other Pannonian cemeteries – in Matrica, 213 graves from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century contained 110 lamps – 98 Firmalampen and 12 Bildlampen, including a lonely type VIII fragment (Topál 1981, 90-1) as in Gerulata. In Aquincum, the 200 combined graves of 2<sup>nd</sup> century cemeteries VI and VII had 46 graves with 52 lamps (Topál 1993, 95-96). The cemeteries of Carnuntum of the period number 200 graves with 42 lamps in them (Ertel *et al.* 1999, 55); it goes almost without saying that the great majority are Loeschcke type X, the 'koine' lighting device of the Northern provinces. However, funerary rites varied from cemetery to cemetery, and it is not unusual to find one where 149 funeral contexts spanning two centuries contain only 2 lamp fragments (Gleisdorf; Artner 1994). It serves as a reminder that even in the more advanced heartland regions of the Danube provinces, the Roman custom of giving lamps to the dead may not have caught on so well.

The topic of lamps in funerary contexts certainly raises more questions. Throughout this article, I have deliberately avoided reference the origin of lamps; the subject of makers' stamps is material for a very different topic. Were lamps produced locally from unsanctioned plaster moulds taken from existing lamps, were they made in official branch workshops working under a certain mark, or were they imported from large distances – and if so, by land or by river? In all probability, each of these possibilities may have occurred at different times in Gerulata, as the lamps range from high-quality wares of an intermediate, uncommon type (Fig. 4), to shoddy and rough products of the 'koine' provincial Loeschcke type X that were made from hasty moulds.

It is beyond doubt that the army in Gerulata played an important role in the introduction of Roman lamps to this region, creating a demand that may have been first met by a supply of imports, and later locally produced wares, and the use of lamps soon spread to the civilian population, as may be evidenced from lamps found in child graves. The hiatus of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century may be due to a change in burial custom, but when new cemeteries appear around AD 300, lamps are no longer found. A similar state occurs elsewhere in Pannonia, Raetia and Germania in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Somogyszil, Burger 1979; Mackensen 1980, 219), while on other sites such as Castra Regina or Emona, lamps are deposited without interruption well into the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Petru 1972; von Schnurbein 1977, 63). Were lamps no longer preferred in Gerulata as a lighting device, losing to the competition



of other light sources? Did the ethnic composition of the Gerulata garrison change, bringing about a change in light use? Or did they simply cease to become appropriate for graves? These questions remain a challenge for future research.

(Preklad autor)

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## RÍMSKE LAMPY Z GERULATY A ICH ÚLOHA V POHREBNOM RÍTE

ROBERT FRECER

Auxiliárny tábor Gerulata bol založený za vlády fláviovcov. Na priľahlých pohrebiskách tvorili od založenia tábora až do začiatku 3. storočia významnú zložku hrobového inventáru hlinené lampy, spolu 106 dochovaných kusov v 93 žiarových aj kostrových hroboch z celkového počtu 336 hrobov. Okrem 17 obrazových lamp sa jednalo prevažne o firemné lampy a ich variácie v počte 88 kusov, a jeden osamelý tvar rúčky vo forme koňa. Obrazové lampy pozostávali hlavne z typu Loeschcke I s hranatým volutovým horákom. Jeden fragment disku sa dá stotožniť s typom Loeschcke VIII, a pripomína lampy knidskej produkcie z 2. storočia po Kr. Z firemných lamp sú zastúpené oba typy Loeschcke IX a X, s dvoma variáciami typu XK so skráteným horákom a jedným viacplamenným kahancom s poškodenou bustou Sola medzi hviezdami. Lampy boli súčasťou funerálneho rituálu, v dvoch tretinách prípadov spálené na hranici, a vo svojom výskyte takmer najčastejšie po keramike ako súčasť hrobovej výbavy. Na pohrebisku Ia sa vyskytovali v 39% hroboch. V žiarových hroboch pohrebiska II bola miera výskytu 25.6%, ale kostrové hroby toho istého pohrebiska majú lampy len v 12.5% prípadoch. Zdá sa, že do kostrových hrobov dospelých osôb sa lampy neukladávali. Patrná materiálna „chudoba“ kostrových hrobov, kde 42.5% hrobov je bez akýchkoľvek nálezov, však nemusí indikovať chudobu zosnulých; môže ísť o zvyk, v ktorom sa do týchto hrobov ukladalo menej predmetov, pričom tie, ktoré sa do hrobu dostali (napríklad sklo alebo šperk) mohli mať veľmi veľkú hodnotu v prostredí táborového vicusu na hranici ríše. Pri hodnotení zloženia hrobovej výbavy je taktiež dôležité si uvedomiť, že kultúrne zvyky pochovávaní sa mohli kraj od kraju líšiť – bola hrobová výbava majetkom zosnulého, dar od jeho priateľov a účastníkov pohrebu, ukážka bohatstva jeho rodiny, prejavom zúfalstva nad stratou, alebo zaobstaraná funerálnym kolégiom, prípadne kombinácia všetkých horeuvedených možností?

Mnoho lamp nesie stopy používania alebo osobného vlastníctva, či už v nezvyčajných motívoch na disku, rytých znakoch a čiarkach, až po obyčajné začernenie horáku, indikujúce nedávne použitie lampy. Dôležitý je vplyv rímskej armády, ktorá svojim príchodom vytvorila prostredie dopytu po lampách, a zvyk používať toto osvetlenie sa rozšíril aj na civilné obyvateľstvo, čo môžu dokladať aj lampy v detských hroboch. Ostáva otvorenou otázkou, aký bol pomer importovaných a lokálne vyrobených lamp, ako aj prečo sa lampy prestali ukladať do hrobov na začiatku 3. storočia po Kr. Zmenila sa etnická kompozícia vojenskej posádky, vytlačila ich konkurencia iných foriem osvetlenia, alebo jednoducho prestali byť vhodné do hrobov? Odpoveď by nám pomohla objasniť jednu formu prejavu rímskej kultúrnej identity tejto komunity na hranici „civilizovaného sveta“.

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