LATE ROMAN CORINTHIAN LAMPS FROM THE FOUNTAIN OF THE LAMPS'

(PLATES 43, 44)

PPROXIMATELY 4000 terracotta lamps, nearly half of them intact, were uncovered in a marble-lined subterranean structure during the 1968 and 1969 excavations of the University of Texas in the Gymnasium Area of Ancient Corinth.² This structure, now known as the Fountain of the Lamps, is part of a larger fountain-bath complex erected and refurbished during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. It was cleared and re-used in the Late Roman period as a cult room and repository for votive terracotta lamps. The rock above the entrance corridor of the Fountain collapsed in the sixth century and thus sealed a series of Late Roman deposits that contained not only considerable quantities of pottery, coins, and other objects, but also the surprising number of votive lamps.³

The multitude found in the Fountain demanded a re-examination of the Late Roman lamps of Corinth. That study has now made it possible to identify the Corinthian productions accurately and to outline the characteristics and chronology of the Late Roman lamp industry of Corinth.

Метнор

Preliminary reviews of the lamps from the Fountain indicated that they were not unusual in shape or decoration. Most can easily be assigned to the Late Roman types in Broneer's typology (Types 28, 29, 31, and 32), and many are strikingly similar to lamps found in the Late Roman levels at Corinth and at the nearby sites of Athens and Argos.⁴ The sheer number of specimens suggested that a detailed

¹ This paper is a condensation of a master's thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, and prepared under the supervision of Professor James R. Wiseman, whom I wish to thank for his many suggestions and helpful advice. I would also like to thank the many others who have assisted me in this study, as well as the Ford Foundation which provided the funds enabling me to spend the summers of 1968 and 1969 as an archaeological trainee in Ancient Corinth.

² For reports of the 1968-1970 excavations of the Fountain of the Lamps, see: James Wiseman, "Excavations in Corinth, The Gymnasium Area, 1967-1968," *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 64-109; *idem*, "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth, 1969-1970," *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 1-42; and *idem*, "The Fountain of the Lamps," *Archaeology*, XXIII, 1970, pp. 130-137.

³ The character of the cult associated with the Fountain of the Lamps is discussed, along with the graffiti on four lamps from the Fountain, in Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 26-33.

⁴ For lamps from Corinth, see O. Broneer, Corinth, IV, ii, Terracotta Lamps, Cambridge (Mass.), 1930 (hereinafter Broneer). For Attic lamps, see J. Perlzweig, The Athenian Agora, VII,

typology, or expansion of the existing typologies for similar lamps, would provide a sound basis for further study of those from the Fountain, and their chronology. This typology and chronology could, in turn, greatly improve the status of the Late Roman (and we can say now, Corinthian) lamp as an accurate archaeological dating tool, especially for sites in the Corinthia and the Argolid, where lamps similar to those from the Fountain predominate.

As might be expected for so large a sample as the Fountain lamps, existing publications provided only a general outline for dealing with them.⁵ Hence, the preliminary classification scheme for them was based solely on visible distinctions among the following physical features of the intact lamps: shape, motifs, signature, fabric, and technical details.⁶ Lamps were sorted first according to their shape (in this case, Broneer Type), and then according to their fabric. The most significant arrangement by far was based not on shape but on consistency in technical methods and fabric.

The final arrangement of the lamps demonstrates that over 80% of those intact were executed in the same fabric and with the same techniques. A surprising degree of repetition in motifs, proportions, and signatures suggested that a large number were *related*, or "members of a series . . . [in which the members were derived] ultimately from a common archetype [or original model] through mechanical means of reproduction." The large number of series, and the size of some of those series,

Lamps of the Roman Period, Princeton, 1961 (hereafter Perlzweig). For lamps found in Argos, see A. Bovon, Études péloponnésiennes, V, Lampes d'Argos, Paris, 1966 (hereafter Bovon). Only a few of the many lamps found in Corinth since 1930 have been published. Most of these were found in the Late Roman burial ground of the Corinthian Christians known as Lerna Hollow Cemetery, which borders the Gymnasium Area, and in the Asklepieion and Lerna complex. Many of the lamps found are related to those from the Fountain. For illustrations of some of them, see C. Roebuck, Corinth, XIV, The Asklepieion and Lerna, Princeton, 1951, pl. 67, and Wiseman, Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 26, c.

⁵ The three works dealing most closely with the varieties of lamps uncovered in the Fountain are those of Broneer, Perlzweig, and Bovon (note 4, above). None of these publications, however, have dealt in detail with the identification of the Late Roman Corinthian production. For example, Broneer's numerical typology still represents a reliable presentation of the varied lampmaking activities of Corinth; however, he did not assume that Corinth had a large local industry in the Late Roman period (Broneer, pp. 111-112). Perlzweig's treatment of the Attic lamps admirably incorporates many of the advances made in lychnology since Broneer's publication. She also discussed the problem of Corinthian production in the Late Roman period (p. 9), but on the basis of the few Corinthian examples found in the Agora could not provide a history of the evolution of the Corinthian lamp. Miss Bovon, on the other hand, felt that the numerous Late Roman lamps found in Argos were Argive and not Corinthian.

⁶ Fragments of lamps, which were not inventoried but stored with their associated pottery deposits, were examined at a later date to verify that the fragments did not contradict any of the tenets of the final typology. They did not.

⁷ Perlzweig, p. xv. Not every member of each series of Corinthian lamps found in the Foun-

implies that the majority of lamps were produced in a single place; that place was Corinth.

IMPORTS

Before examining the Corinthian industry in detail, we may quickly review the variety of imported lamps found in the Fountain of the Lamps. We shall stress, as one of the main features of the Corinthian industry, a predilection to copy those produced at other sites. The imports found in the Fountain are, in many cases, very similar to those which were copied by the Corinthian lampmaker.

Attic lamps, approximately 400 intact, comprise the largest segment of imports found in the Fountain. The signatures, motifs, fabric and techniques are typical of the Attic productions made during the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ.⁸ Because

tain was completely inventoried. In most cases, only one or two members from each series were inventoried. Before they were stored, detailed accounts were made of all uninventoried lamps and fragments, related to the inventoried examples, with their associated pottery deposits.

⁸ Some of the Attic lamps from the Fountain are illustrated in Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 24, a. My thanks are extended to Professor T. L. Shear, Jr., Director of the Agora Excavations, for providing me the opportunity to examine the Roman lamps published by Perlzweig, and to Dr. J. Perlzweig (Binder) for her comments regarding the possible extent of Corinthian production.

The Fountain of the Lamps did offer some new additions to the repertories of the makers of Attic glazed lamps of the fourth century. Though the "new" disk motifs are new to the repertories of the individual shops, these motifs are not new to the overall Attic repertory. The repertories (cf. Perlzweig, pp. 29-59) can be expanded as follows:

A---. Eros Playing Double Flute, left. Paneled, plain: L 4673 (Wiseman, Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 24, a, top, left).

Kv---. Bestiarius and Bear at Cochlea. Plain: L 4706.

Wild Boar, right. Wreath: L 4584 (Wiseman, Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 24, a, center, right).

Eros with Lyre. Paneled, plain: L 4569.

Two Fish. Wavy lines: L 4585 (Wiseman, Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 24, a, top, center); 8-S: L 69-383.

Globule and Volute. L 69-220.

Ram, left. 8-S: L 4699.

Satyr Playing Panpipes. Paneled, plain: L 69-215. Rosette with Four Petals. Paneled, plain: L 69-391.

Στρατόλαος Boukranion. Herringbone: L 69-97.

Panther Drinking from Krater. Paneled, plain: L 4615.

Square, plain. Vine and cluster: L 4735.

T---. Panther Drinking from Krater. Plain: L 4632.

Tρν —. Boat. Paneled, plain: L 69-218 (Wiseman, Hesperia, XLI, 1972, pl. 10, a). This Attic glazed lamp from the Fountain of the Lamps carries the letters TPY on its base, a signature not otherwise noted among those examined by J. Perlzweig. Tρν — may represent a new form of the signature connected with the

the chronology and physical characteristics of the Attic lamps have been established and thoroughly presented by J. Perlzweig, those within the Fountain deposits provide a welcome basis for comparison, both stylistically and chronologically, with their Corinthian counterparts. Attic imported lamps, however, were not evenly distributed throughout the Fountain deposits; they occurred in the greatest percentage in the lower or earlier strata in the Fountain. Thus, prior to the establishment of the Corinthian industry during the fifth century, Athens (especially the more productive Attic shops of Stratolaos, Ky———, Chione, and Soteria) apparently had a vigorous export trade to Corinth. Once the local Corinthian industry was well established and its products began appearing in the Fountain deposits in quantity, Attic exportation to Corinth sharply declined.

Of the many lamps from the Fountain only 27 specimens definitely represent imports from localities other than Athens. Only two of these imports are similar enough in fabric and execution to have been made at the same site. Among the non-Attic imports, there is great variation in shape and motifs: three are North African (Broneer Type 31); seven are from various cities in Asia Minor; and

T--- shop, or may represent an otherwise unknown shop name. The disk motif is similar to Perlzweig, nos. 1029-1035.

Two unglazed lamps from the Fountain expand the repertory of unglazed Attic lamps as follows:

Xιόνη Cat Licking Boy's Face. Herringbone: L 4559 (Wiseman, Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 105, and pl. 26, d). This is a new disk motif for Attic lamps.

Maρτύριος Cross Monogram with Open Rho, right. Vine and cluster: L 4649 (Wiseman, Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 24, a, center, middle).

⁹ L 69-142 and L 69-143 possess a pink (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4, see note 15), slightly micaceous and well-refined clay. Both lamps belong to Broneer Type 32 and are almost identical in size and disk motif; the rim motifs are not identical but could easily have been produced by the same or related stamps. There is little to indicate that these two lamps were not produced at the same site, and at the same time. They were found in a deposit dated to the early sixth century. Though Type 32 is Sicilian or South Italian in origin, the specific city that produced the lamps has not been determined.

¹⁰ One North African import appears on Plate 44 (L 69-152). The second (L 69-92) is completely unglazed and bears a strong resemblance in its stamped motifs to the Broneer Type 32 decorative stamps such as appear on Perlzweig, nos. 340 and 341; it may represent a Sicilian version of the North African shape. The third North African import has a worn reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6, see note 15) glaze and an exaggerated fin-like handle (L 69-200, Pl. 43, profile). None of the three examples from the Fountain possesses the sturdy red-orange glaze that identifies Cyrenaica Ware.

¹¹ Of the seven imports, five were complete enough to classify according to the Ephesos typology (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, Das Coemeterium der Sieben Schlaefer, Vienna, 1937). One lamp (L 4675) has no parallel type at Ephesos, but is similar to three lamps from Kalymnos now in the British Museum (56 8-26 197, Lamp 833, and Lamp 850). The other four lamps belonged to four different Ephesos types, three of which date to the fifth century. One lamp (L 69-55), very nicely

five belong to the distinctive Broneer Type 32, possibly Sicilian.¹² The centers of production for the remaining imported lamps could not be determined on the basis of available information.¹³ The small number of non-Attic imports reflects the absence of any extensive export trade to Corinth other than that of Athens.¹⁴ The few and varied imports found in the Fountain that did not originate in Athens must represent individual travelers', or perhaps immigrants', offerings to the cult active at the Fountain of the Lamps.

CORINTHIAN LAMP FABRICS

Late Roman lamps produced in Corinth appear in two distinct fabrics. A very small percentage possess a soft, very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/4) fabric similar to, but not as well refined as, the traditional Corinthian clay used in fine wares (generally referred to as Corinthian white, cream, or buff). Lamps in this soft fabric were infrequently glazed. This fabric is common only among the earliest variety of Corinthian lamp found in the Fountain, the group that are copies of Attic glazed lamps. Evidence from the Fountain suggests that this very pale brown fabric was abandoned for this use by the middle of the sixth century. The few examples in the light fabric that are not early in date are all members of series where the majority were executed in the second, major Corinthian lamp fabric. The second of the sixth century is series where the majority were executed in the second, major Corinthian lamp fabric.

The major lamp fabric used in Late Roman Corinth is normally reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/4) or yellowish red (Munsell 5YR 5/6) in color.¹⁸ Minor deviations

executed with a face on the front of a hollow-handle shield, belongs to Ephesos Type XI, Form 3 (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, p. 105, and Tafel IX, no. 1864), dated to the fifth century. This lamp was executed in a pink (Munsell 7.5YR 8/4, see note 15), heavily micaceous clay and appears to derive from Ephesos (cf. Perlzweig, no. 370 and a lid from a similar lamp in the British Museum, 68-6-20 275).

¹² Two of the Broneer Type 32 imports are discussed in note 9, above. Of the remaining three, one lamp is glazed. No specific center of production could be determined for any of these lamps. Cf. Broneer, p. 120, and Perlzweig, p. 10.

¹⁸ Of the unindentified imports, two are unusual in clay, shape, and decoration: L 4626 and L 69-36. The remaining imports, including two possibly from the same city, represent variations of the popular Attic glazed lamp of the fourth century from unidentified localities.

¹⁴ Other excavations of Late Roman deposits in Corinth have also failed to produce any substantial number of imported lamps other than those of Athens. If there was any import trade in Corinth, it must have been very small.

¹⁵ The Munsell color names and readings given here and elsewhere in this article were taken from a representative sample of Corinthian and Attic lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps using *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, Baltimore, 1971.

 16 L 69-128, for example, has a thin, reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/6) glaze that is now very worn.

¹⁷ Of the 50 entries in the Catalogue, 16 represent series of related Corinthian lamps with at least one member of the series executed in the very pale brown Corinthian clay.

18 For earlier descriptions of this fabric, which has often been called the red or dark red fabric

from these standard colors are common; light red (Munsell 2.5YR 6/6) and light brown (Munsell 7.5YR 6/4) represent the approximate limits for these deviations. Some lamps possess a gray (Munsell 5YR 5/.5) or dark gray surface from firing in a reducing atmosphere; however, the interior of these retains the typical reddish brown color. Lamps in the reddish brown fabric are never glazed. Small white particles are visible in the clay, but these are generally smaller and more numerous than the white impurities in contemporary Attic lamps.¹⁹ This Corinthian clay is durable and crisp; breaks occur along the lines where the two parts of the lamp are joined rather than elsewhere. A reddish brown fabric is also common among Corinthian coarse wares and characterizes the Broneer Type 16 lamps of the first century, where it is better refined but still subject to a wide range of color variations.²⁰ According to M. Farnsworth, clay beds are located on the slopes of Acrocorinth that could have provided the clay for both the fabrics used to produce the Late Roman lamps of Corinth.21 Though no molds have been found in Corinth that are directly related to the lamps from the Fountain, both the common reddish brown and rarer very pale brown fabrics are equally and typically Corinthian.²²

THE CORINTHIAN LAMP INDUSTRY AND ITS TECHNIQUES

The technical details of the Corinthian lamps reflect the character of the industry and, more important, unify a large number of lamps of varying shapes. Mechanical reproduction and serialization ²³ are the distinguishing traits. As did most Late

of Corinth, see: Broneer, pp. 57, 111; Perlzweig, p. 9; and Bovon, pp. 10-11, 55. In contrast to the Corinthian, the fabric of most of the Attic unglazed lamps found in the Fountain is pink or reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4 and 7.5YR 7/6 are typical readings). For published descriptions of the Attic fabric, see Perlzweig, pp. 17-18, and Broneer, p. 111. Some variations in the Attic fabric, or in firing conditions, produced a light red (Munsell 10YR 6/8) or a pinkish gray (Munsell 7.5YR 6/2), and a few lamps possess a pale yellow (Munsell 2.5Y 8/4) or very pale brown color (Munsell 10YR 7/3). There is some overlap in the color ranges of the Corinthian and the Attic lamp fabrics, particularly near reddish yellow tones (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6), but Corinthian lamps in this color are exceptional.

- ¹⁹ These white particles are easily visible on some, but not all, Corinthian lamps, e.g., Pl. 44, **46**. ²⁰ Broneer, p. 57, for the Type 16 lamp fabric. See especially Perlzweig, p. 9, for her discussion of this fabric as Corinthian.
- ²¹ M. Farnsworth, "Corinthian Pottery: Technical Studies," A.J.A., LXXIV, 1970, pp. 9-18.
 ²² One fragment of a Broneer Type 28 lamp mold has been found in Corinth, but it cannot yet be associated with a specific series of Corinthian lamps. Roebuck, Corinth, XIV, p. 146 and pl. 61, 7.
- ²³ Technical terms, such as "series," used here are those employed by Perlzweig, pp. xv and 71. Those terms not derived from Perlzweig are in italics in the text. For a discussion of serialization in terracotta moldmade objects, see R. V. Nicholls, "Type, Group, and Series: A Reconsideration of Some Coroplastic Fundamentals," B.S.A., XVII, 1952, pp. 217-226.

Roman lampmakers, the Corinthian formed a lamp by pressing clay into the top and bottom portions of a two-part mold. A lamp mold was normally made from a solid terracotta model (or archetype) that the lampmaker himself had designed. The Corinthian lampmaker, however, was not as imaginative as his contemporaries, for he preferred to use as models for his molds older Corinthian or imported lamps.²⁴ In addition, the Corinthian lampmaker rarely inscribed any decorative alterations or signatures on his lamps after he removed them from the mold. In other words, the majority of Late Roman Corinthian lamps are simply unoriginal, uninspired, mechanical copies of those of other cities.

Because a single lamp mold could be re-used until it broke, the Corinthian could produce an indefinite number of identical lamps from each mold he made. Whenever the lampmaker decided he needed new molds, he could make them either from the imported lamp he had previously used as a model, or from a lamp taken from an earlier mold he had made from that same model. Using the latter method, he would be able to create a new "generation" of lamps, but with either method all his products would belong to a single "series": a group of lamps all ultimately derived from a single archetype or model. Series of lamps, some containing more than one generation, are very common among the Corinthian lamps from the Fountain. The Corinthians made few alterations from lamp to lamp and from generation to generation, so that all the members of a series are strikingly similar in their motifs and shape to the original model from which they were derived. Hence in most cases it is extremely easy to group together those which are related, i.e., members of the same series, and to determine the exact type that served as a model for a particular series.

The Late Roman Corinthian lampmakers were not alone in their imitation of lamp types produced in other cities. The Attic lampmakers of the fifth century frequently designed stylized imitations of the products of other centers when the style of the Greek mainland lamps became less popular and the sale of those of North

²⁴ In addition, the following also suggest that imported models rather than solid archetypes were used to produce the Corinthian lamp molds: worn disk motifs which are never altered (Pl. 43, 1); moldmarks transferred to the copies from air and wickholes on the model lamp (Pl. 43, 13 and 15, airholes apparent at conjunction of disk and nozzle); worn signatures such as on the base of 4; and mold impressions indicating the size of the original lamp (Pls. 43, 2; 44, 20, 30, and 49). In contrast, none of these features was observed on the Attic imports found in the Fountain of the Lamps.

²⁵ All but a few of the Corinthian series were represented by at least one intact specimen from the Fountain. No serial count was made of the fragmented lamps because in many cases where only one intact specimen in a series was found in the Fountain other intact members of the series existed in the Corinth collections (those lamps published by Broneer and also those unpublished lamps from the Asklepieion complex) or among the lamps from Argos published by Bovon.

²⁶ Cf. Pl. 43, 2 and 3, which are easily recognized as related lamps deriving from a mold made from a Broneer Type 27, Group 1 lamp such as Broneer, no. 566.

Africa and Asia Minor more lucrative.²⁷ But the Corinthians, relying almost entirely on the direct mechanical reproduction of imported lamps, were never as original as the Attic lampmakers who created the archetypes for, and incised signatures and other decorative details on, their imitations. The complete lack of imagination represented by the large number of unaltered mechanical copies of types originally produced somewhere else is perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the lamp industry of Late Roman Corinth.

Fortunately, not all the Corinthian lamps are unaltered mechanical copies. Some carry motifs produced by the Corinthian lampmaker with incisions made either in the mold (for altered copies) or on an archetype (for locally designed lamps). Incisions added to molds rarely clarify or even relate to the blurred motifs of the original model (e.g., Pl. 43, rim of 1); incisions on the lamps of local design are never deep and produce a flat, decorative, and linear effect (e.g., Pl. 44, 50). The Corinthian incised details are often imprecise and contrast sharply with the careful incisions made by Attic craftsmen to increase the plasticity and clarity of their moldmade designs.28 The linearity of the Corinthian motifs is perhaps a result of the relatively late flourishing of the Corinthian industry which, unlike the Attic, lost its earlier tradition of techniques producing plastic effects, and grew up in a period when linearity was the vogue. 29 The Corinthian's disregard for clarity and precision, combined with his desire to copy lamps mechanically in large series, can only reflect his apparent greater concern for rapid production and quantity than for quality and individuality. His lack of individuality and pride is evidenced by the fact that fresh signatures, signatures not transferred by a mold, are extremely rare on Corinthian lamps.³⁰ Figure 1 illustrates signatures and marks found on the bases of Corinthian lamps, signatures which were transferred by mold and not altered by the Corinthian lampmaker.

²⁷ Fifth- and sixth-century lampmaking trends in Athens are discussed by Perlzweig, pp. 64-65.

²⁸ For example, compare the herringbone rim of the Corinthian-designed lamp 46 on Plate 44 with the herringbone rim copied directly from Attic unglazed lamps, 14 and 15 on Plate 43.

²⁹ See Perlzweig, p. 21 on Attic decorative techniques.

³⁰ See Figure 1. Corinthian lamps often carry signatures transferred by mold from the original model, e.g., 4(Fig. 1, 1) carries a signature of the Broneer Type 27 lampmaker Preimos. Only one lamp of Corinthian manufacture has an obvious "fresh" signature: 40 (Fig. 1, 47). A signature transferred by mold is typical even for lamps designed in Corinth, e.g., 47 on Plate 44 and Figure 1, 50. Sometimes the signature was written in the mold to appear retrograde on the lamp, e.g., 46 (Fig. 1, 52).

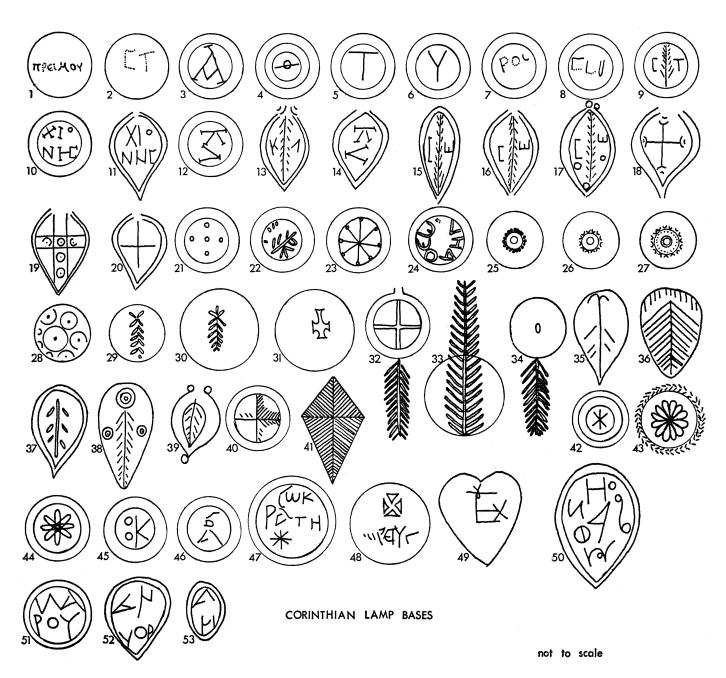


Fig. 1. Signatures and other marks on Corinthian lamp bases from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Nos. 1-21 are Attic signatures and marks transferred by mold to Corinthian copies of Attic lamps. Nos. 22 and 23 are marks added by the Corinthian lampmaker to copies of Attic lamps. No. 24 is a signature transferred by mold from a lamp of Asia Minor shape. Nos. 25-28 are motifs transferred by mold to Corinthian copies of North African lamps. Nos. 29-33 are marks in relief added by Corinthian lampmakers to copies of Broneer Types 31 and 32. Nos. 34-53 are signatures and marks on bases of lamps designed in Corinth (or, in some cases, of unknown provenience). Not illustrated are three common marks: a) incised branches (similar to the branches between the letters in Nos. 15-17) on Corinthian copies of Attic lamps (e.g., 17); b) concentric circles and/or dots on the bases of Corinthian copies of North African lamps; and c) the planta pedis (intaglio footprint) on the bases of some Corinthian copies of lamps from Asia Minor (e.g., 31 and 32).

For each base the following key gives either the Catalogue number or a Fountain of Lamps inventory number (L) of the lamp or series which has the illustrated mark. When the lamp is not discussed in the Catalogue, the inventory number is followed by the total number, in parentheses, from the Fountain of the Lamps that bear the illustrated mark.

1	4	20	T (0.202(11)
1.			L 69-202(11)
	L 69-333(1)	29.	
3.		30.	
	L 4743(6)	31.	37
	L 4742(1)	32.	L 4651(4)
6.	L 69-339(2)	33.	36
7.	L 4749(1)	34.	48
8.	L 69-74(3)	35.	L 69-29(11)
9.	L 69-329(1)	36.	L 69-334(2)
10.	14 , L 69-75(1)	37.	L 4648(1)
11.	L 4694(1)	38.	50
12.	L 69-305(2)	39.	L 69-295
13.	16	40.	39
14.	L 69-296(1)	41.	L 69-312(1)
15.	L 69-62(11)	42.	42
16.	L 4713(3)	43.	L 4624(2)
17.	15, 18		L 4677(1)
18.	L 69-323(1)	45.	L 69-345(1)
19.	L 4679(19)	46.	L 4622(1)
	L 69-45(2)	47.	
	L 69-297(2)	48.	49
	L 69-322(2)	49.	45
	L 4753(6)	50.	47
	33, 34		L 69-17(6)
	L 69-160(2)	52.	, ,
	26 , L 69-147(9)		L 4752(3)
27.			(-)
•			

It is probably the Corinthian disregard for quality that accounts for the fact that, to date, the Corinthian lamps have been found in quantity at only one site in addition to Corinth; that site is Argos.³¹ Possibly the quality of his lamps was so inferior to other exported varieties that it would have been difficult for the Corinthian exporter to make any profit over his transportation costs to distant cities. The Corinthian lampmaker appears to have concentrated his efforts on making the most lamps with the least effort, probably aware that his inferior products would adequately satisfy the large local market for cheap household utensils and votive offerings in the Fountain of the Lamps. The unartistic appearance undoubtedly reflects the lampmaker's conception of the lamp as an expendable and utilitarian commodity.

Since decorative motifs, signatures, and shapes of most of the Corinthian lamps are directly copied from the imported models, they can rarely be used as indicators of Corinthian production. However, a number of their physical features are prime illustrations of the distinctive, even if somewhat sloppy, method employed by a Corinthian lampmaker. All but a few of the earliest Corinthian examples have a pronounced horizontal ridge, which may be called a *joining ridge*, marking the line where the upper and lower portions of the moldmade lamp were joined (prominent on Pl. 43, profiles of L 69-16 and 20). The ridge is never smoothed and obscured as on the imported North African lamps (Pl. 43, profile of L 69-200), nor was the excess clay removed by scraping along the join and near the handle as on contemporary Attic examples.

The Corinthian technique of joining the two lamp portions produced three related secondary physical features that serve, in conjunction with the fabric, to distinguish the production of Corinth from that of other centers. The first feature is a webbing of excess clay flanking the handle at the line of the joining ridge (e.g., Pl. 44, 49). The webbing is absent on most Attic and North African lamps because the excess clay around the handle was removed. Most of these lamps can be held by the handle

examine those Late Roman lamps found in Argos which were published by Miss Bovon. Many as these were, a larger number of Late Roman lamps appear to have been found since the publication of Miss Bovon's research. The number of Corinthian lamps among the Argos collections is so large that it led Miss Bovon (pp. 10-11 and 55) to suspect their origin as Argive. If the fabric of the lamps from Argos and Corinth were not identical, and if the evidence did not point so strongly to that fabric being Corinthian, the reasonable conclusion would be that the lamps were made at both sites. The great similarity of the lamps makes this hypothesis awkward, however, unless both molds and clay were transported between the two cities. Until more conclusive evidence, such as lamp molds, appears at either site, we must accept the lamps in question as Corinthian exports to Argos and assume that Corinth dominated the Argos lamp market during the late fifth to the middle sixth centuries. Supporting the hypothesis of a Corinthian rather than an Argive center of production is the presence of the Corinthian white lamps in Corinth but not in Argos. Also, very few Attic imports have been found in Argos, imports that would have been necessary to serve as models for the local copies.

at the location of the join, but a Corinthian lamp handle cannot be securely grasped at the joining ridge because the excess clay from the joining process was not removed and formed a webbing which gets in the way. The Corinthian lamp handle must be grasped above the joining ridge.

The second feature is a *ledge*, an undecorated area which forms a narrow band around the edge of the upper portion of the lamp. This ledge often provides the most obvious indication that a particular Corinthian lamp is a mechanical copy. On many examples a faint line visible on this ledge delineates the edge of the *mold impression* made by the lamp which was used as the original model. The ledge and its mold impression are very apparent on the left side of 3 on Plate 43.³²

Because the Corinthian joining technique was rather sloppy, but the Corinthian clay is durable, breaks along the joining ridge, often the weakest part of the lamp, are common. Another feature common to all Corinthian lamps of the Late Roman period is a solid handle; it is never punched or pierced as on many contemporary Attic lamps.³³ The distinctive Corinthian joining technique appears so consistently on the Late Roman productions of Corinth that, despite their wide variety of shapes, Corinthian lamps can be distinguished from those of other cities merely by a quick visual check on fabric and a search for the physical features related to the joining technique: a prominent joining ridge, a webbed handle that is solid, and a ledge with a mold impression.

CORINTHIAN LAMP TYPES AND THEIR CHRONOLOGY

The Fountain of the Lamps contained examples of almost the complete Corinthian repertory of the Late Roman period which, because of the high degree of serialization, probably consisted of a maximum of about 300 designs.³⁴ Within this repertory there is a wide range of shapes; a number of different cities and geographic areas seem to have provided the models mechanically copied by the Corinthians. Thus, the typology for the Corinthian lamps was designed to separate them by shape and by model origins. It utilizes the following names for individual types in order to

³² The mold impression left by the model is also visible in the nozzle areas of the following lamps on Plate 44: **20**, **23**, **32**, **33**, and **49**. Because the sides of lamps made in North Africa are more rounded than those of Attic lamps their mold impressions are often less distinct in photographs of the Corinthian copies.

³³ Broneer, p. 106. Also, compare the solid handle of the Corinthian copy of a Broneer Type 27 lamp on Plate 43 (profile, L 69-16) with the handle of the Broneer Type 27 Corinthian lamp on Perlzweig, pl. 8, no. 259.

³⁴ Some members of the Corinthian repertory not represented by examples from the Fountain of the Lamps have been published by Broneer and Bovon. However, because the following Catalogue is not a complete presentation of the Corinthian repertory, references in the discussions of the types will only include the published parallels of lamps from the Fountain.

incorporate, whenever possible, the two bases for differentiation: the shape (which in most cases can be described by Broneer Type) and the locality where the lamps' shapes and designs originated:

- 1. Copies of Broneer Type 27 Corinthian and Attic lamps
- 2. Copies of Attic glazed lamps, Broneer Type 28
- 3. Copies of Attic unglazed lamps, Broneer Type 28
- 4. Copies and imitations of North African shape, Broneer Type 31
- 5. Copies and imitations of Asia Minor shapes
- 6. Copies of South Italian lamps, Broneer Type 32
- 7. Locally designed lamps. (This type includes possible copies of imports from unidentified cities. Most belong to Broneer Type 28.)

Statistical evaluations of the Fountain's lamp deposits were made to determine a chronology for the Corinthian types. Most of the intact lamps were found in seven large deposits (now stored as lots) in the interior and entrance corridor of the Fountain. The number of lamps in each deposit was large enough to cancel some of the sampling error which would result from basing the evaluations on only the intact examples in each deposit; each of the seven lots contained over 35 intact lamps, while one lot contained a total of 734. The contents of these lots, arranged by Corinthian lamp type, are presented in the table in Figure 2. The chronology presented below is based on an analysis and interpretation of these statistics.³⁵

Late Roman lamp production in Corinth began in the early years of the fifth century. The peak period of production in Corinth lasted from the middle years of the fifth century till at least the end of the Fountain deposits, after the middle of the sixth century. The industry probably continued its production after the Fountain of the Lamps was abandoned, perhaps until the Avar invasion of the Corinthia in A.D. 588.³⁶

³⁵ Various circumstances inherent in the excavation of the Fountain of the Lamps prevented a breakdown of the deposits into smaller divisions which might have permitted the establishment of a more precise absolute chronology. First, all the excavation of the 1968 season in the Fountain was conducted below the water table. In following seasons, when the majority of lamps were found, excavation was carried out in a thick layer of mud. Second, the votive lamps were apparently floated on or thrown into the Fountain, and both lamps and coins would have been randomly deposited over the whole interior of the Fountain. For instance, coins thrown into the Fountain would often have sunk to the floor but others would have come to rest on top of the lamps already deposited. Finally, many of the coins found were not legible and the dating of late fifth- and sixth-century pottery, especially the coarse wares which appeared in quantity in the Fountain, is not as precise as would be necessary for the establishment of a thoroughly reliable absolute chronology for the Corinthian lamps.

³⁶ For the chronology of the Fountain of the Lamps, see Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 26-33. Also, for an account of the sixth-century events, especially the earthquakes, which may have affected the Fountain and its cult, see C. Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, p. 164. On the Avar inva-

Lor Number	6100	6102		6104	6105	6110-6111
Pottery Date, after Christ	6th cent.	early 6th cent.	early 6th cent.	mid- 6th cent.	mid- 5th cent.	Late 5th- early 6th cent.
Latest Legible Coin				69-561 A.D. 546-547	69-533 A.D. 408-423	69-725 A.D. 383-408
TOTAL INTACT LAMPS IN LOT	53	37	734	222	48	70
ATTIC IMPORTS (TOTAL):	37%	26%	12%	4%	75%	4%
GLAZED	fragment	2%	1%	1%	%99	3%
Unglazed	37%	24%	11%	3%	8%	1%
CORINTHIAN LAMPS (TOTAL):	62%	%29	85%	94%	20%	%96
1. Broneer Type 27 Copies 1-6	5%	13%	22%	25%	2%	33%
1a. Vine-and-Cluster Rim Type 27 5-6	fragment	fragment	2%	3%	2%	4%
2. ATTIC GLAZED COPIES 7-11	3%	5%	2%	3%	4%	none
3. ATTIC UNGLAZED COPIES 12-18	24%	10%	14%	%6	4%	20%
4. Broneer Type 31 Copies 19-30	12%	5%	20%	28%	fragment	21%
4a. Late Broneer Type 31 29-30	1%	none	1%	10%	none	fragment
5. Asia Minor Copies 31-35	3%	5%	4%	4%	none	%9
6. Broneer Type 32 Copies 36-38	fragment	2%	1%	4%	none	fragment
7. Local Designs 39-50	11%	24%	16%	15%	%9	16%

Fig. 2. Large lamp deposits from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Percentages are based only on the intact lamps from each deposit. "Fragment" and "none" indicate whether or not fragments of that type were observed among the fragmented lamps stored with the lot.

The first productions of the Corinthian industry are crude, often misshapen or misfired attempts to imitate or mechanically copy the glazed lamps commonly imported from Athens during the fourth century (e.g., Pl. 43, 10 and 11). The Corinthian copies, executed in the soft buff (white) clay of Corinth, were found in the earliest strata of the Fountain amidst a quantity of predominately glazed Attic imports, in deposits not later than the middle of the fifth century.

These crude early attempts soon disappear from the Fountain deposits and are replaced by more numerous and typical examples of Corinthian production. The number and variety of Corinthian types increases throughout the fifth century. Near the end of the century the Attic import trade is virtually abandoned, and from this time until the collapse of the bedrock over the Fountain entrance Corinthian products comprise almost all of the lamps found within. Concurrently this appears to be the era in which the Fountain achieved its greatest popularity as a lamp repository, for most of those found there date to its last century of activity. That this interval, from the middle of the fifth century to the middle of the sixth century, was also probably the greatest period of Corinthian production is supported by the fact that the Fountain has provided examples of almost the complete Corinthian repertory as it can be assembled from excavations here and elsewhere in Corinth and in Argos.

The Catalogue, arranged according to the typology given above, presents a representative sample of 50 members of the Corinthian repertory and includes specimens from some, but not all, of the most common series. Because of the high degree of serialization, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the date of any particular lamp, though evidence from the Fountain does permit us to suggest a date for the beginning and end of most series. The Fountain lamps suggest that often, once a series was begun, its use continued until, and perhaps beyond, the abandonment of the place as a lamp repository, for many members of popular series were found not only in fifth-century strata but also in the latest strata of the Fountain. Therefore, for each catalogue entry which represents a series of lamps rather than a unique lamp the date provided is for the series rather than for any single member of the series.³⁸

sions, see G. R. Davidson, "The Avar Invasion of Corinth," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 227-238. The latest legible coin from the Fountain deposits associated with the lamps was minted during the reign of Justinian in A.D. 546-547 (identification by Dr. James Dengate).

³⁷ The thickest deposits of lamps (see Fig. 2, Lots 6103 and 6104) date from this period of use.

⁸⁸ Any previously published dates for Corinthian lamps are ignored. The dates presented here are based only on the evidence presented by the Fountain of the Lamps deposits.

A detailed examination of the larger series (especially 2 and 3) in an attempt to develop a chronology for the various generations of lamps within a series might be helpful; a preliminary examination of some of the larger series with such a goal in mind, however, resulted only in the observation that molds belonging to various generations in the same series were apparently in use at the same time.

CATALOGUE OF LAMP SERIES

Catalogue abbreviations and terms follow those employed by Perlzweig, pp. xv, 71. All dimensions are in meters. Features characteristic of the lamp type or of Corinthian production as a whole will only be discussed in the introduction to each type. Fabric is not mentioned unless the lamp in question was made of the Corinthian very pale brown clay, in the Catalogue called "Corinthian white." Dates are for series, not for individual lamps described. The total number of lamps per series recorded from the Fountain of the Lamps includes only those intact or inventoried, not fragments. CL prefixes refer to lamps found in Corinth but not from the Fountain of the Lamps; the latter are listed by the inventory number prefixed L. Where lamps are designated as "related," it is not intended that they are more than members of the same series derived from a single ancestral model; "mold-brothers," though possible in some cases, is not implied.

Copies of Broneer Type 27 Corinthian and Attic Lamps (1-6)

Most of the specimens belonging to this type are mechanical copies of Broneer Type 27 lamps originally produced in Corinth or Athens during the second and early third centuries after Christ.³⁹ Thus they share a number of features with the Type 27 lamps from which they were made: raised rim panels, raised kite-shaped nozzles, a single circular groove on the base, a ray or well-modeled figural disk, and an ovolo or vine-and-cluster rim pattern.⁴⁰ Though neither their technical quality nor their fabric is equal to that of their Type 27 predecessors, they are generally more compact and neater in appearance than the other Late Roman lamps of Corinth. They are smaller and more elongated than the original Broneer Type 27 lamps, appear frequently in series, and have the joining ridge, webbing, and solid handle typical of Corinthian productions.⁴¹ The reproductions are derived from actual Type 27 lamps rather than from solid archetypes. For example, one series (Pl. 43, 4, and Fig. 1, 1) bears a very worn signature of Preimos which must have been transferred from a model lamp, for the Preimos shop ceased production long before the fifth-century copies were produced in Corinth.

The largest series of lamps from the Fountain (2) copies a Broneer Type 27 lamp. These copies have small ovolos on the rim and rays on the disk. Including a common variation (3), this large series accounts for 215 of the intact lamps found in the Fountain. On the original Type 27 lamps which carried these motifs, the "ovules on the rim and the rays on the discus are impressed, not made in the mold." ⁴²

³⁹ A total of 275 lamps from the Fountain belong to this class. For discussions of the Broneer Type 27 lamps, see Broneer, pp. 90-102, Perlzweig, pp. 17-18, and G. Siebert, "Lampes Corinthiennes et imitations au Musée National d'Athènes," *B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, pp. 472-513.

⁴⁰ Though these features are typical of Broneer Type 27, the Late Roman copies were classified by Broneer as Type 28, e.g., Broneer, nos. 919-923.

⁴¹ A profile view of a lamp showing these features and belonging to series 1 appears on Plate 43 (L 69-16, profile).

⁴² Broneer, p. 90.

Not one of the 215 members of the Late Roman series was altered after the lamp was removed from the mold. Likewise, the lamps belonging to the "retarius and secutor" series (1) have various rim decorations produced by mold retouching, but the indistinct disk, copied directly from the earlier Type 27 model, is never clarified. Other figural disk motifs reproduced from Broneer Type 27 lamps include: Eros with Torch and Thyrsos, a Horseman riding left, a Centaur attacking, and Athena striding right.⁴³ Some in this category are copies of Attic glazed lamps produced in the fourth century which are in turn imitations of the Broneer Type 27 lamps. They are included in this subdivision because of their ultimate source: the ray disk and vine-and-cluster rim of Broneer Type 27, Group 2.⁴⁴

Lamps derived from Broneer Type 27 originals occur throughout the Fountain deposits, with the ray-and-ovolo series (2 and 3) being extremely plentiful. Some series occur in small quantity by the middle of the fifth century. Production of the type increases rapidly in the late fifth century, but, except for 2 and 3, production decreases after the early sixth century, especially in copies with a ray disk and vine-and-cluster rim (5 and 6).

1. L 69-283. Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.083, W. 0.069, H. 0.027.

Disk: retarius and secutor, worn; framing ring. Rim: relief dots in double row; worn raised panels. Nozzle: raised. Base: concave within circular groove.

The disk representation is discussed by Broneer, pp. 101-102, 256. A specific source for this lamp has not been located but was a lamp that could be assigned to Broneer Type 27, Group 3, similar to Broneer, no. 630.

A variety of rim patterns appears on the lamps in this series. Relief branches (L 4644) and rows of dots (as 1, Pl. 43) are common motifs added to the mold over a worn pattern of small ovolos and raised panels, such as appear on Perlzweig, no. 320.

Related: Broneer, nos. 1192-1195; Perlzweig, 320; CL 4489 (Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 26, c); CL 2658 (Corinthian white fabric); and L 69-16 (profile, Pl. 43) and 9 other intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle fifth through early sixth century.

2. L 69-34. Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.081, W. 0.061, H. 0.029.

Disk: short rays around edge; central filling hole; framing ring. Rim: small ovolo. Nozzle: raised. Base: single circular groove; small circle in center.

The mold for this lamp must have been taken from a lamp very similar to Perlzweig, no. 259

⁴³ Eros with Torch and Thyrsos: Bovon, nos. 500 and 501, and one intact lamp from the Fountain. Horseman riding left: two intact lamps from the Fountain. Lamps belonging to the series representing a Centaur attacking (Broneer, no. 1181) and Athena striding right (Bovon, no. 259 and CL 4381; Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pl. 15, a, 1) were not found among the intact examples from the Fountain of the Lamps. Published lamps from series represented in the Fountain but not in the following Catalogue include Broneer, nos. 925, 934 and 935.

44 Nine series ultimately derive from Broneer Type 27, Group 2 lamps. These are for the most part mechanical copies of Attic lamps similar to Perlzweig, nos. 1515, 1562-1569.

and must have belonged to Broneer's Type 27, Group 1.

Related: Broneer, nos. 919, 920; Bovon, no. 274; CL 4379 (Corinthian white fabric); and 100 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle fifth to middle sixth century.

3. L 69-314. P1. 43

Intact. L. 0.088, W. 0.069, H. 0.030.

Disk: short rays around edge; central filling hole; framing ring. Rim: small ovolo; row of relief dots on outer edge. Nozzle: raised; relief dots flanking wickhole. Base: single circular groove; small circle in center.

This series of lamps is probably derived from a retouched mold made from a Broneer Type 27, Group 1 lamp similar, if not identical, to that used as the model for the previous series (2).

Related: Broneer, nos. 921-923; Bovon, no. 284; CL 4485 (Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 26, c); and 114 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: contemporary with 2, above.

4. L 4746. Fig. 1, 1; Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.088, W. 0.068, H. 0.030.

Disk: short rays around edge; central filling hole; framing ring. Rim: running spiral tendrils. Nozzle: raised. Base: circular groove; very worn signature, $\Pi_{\rho\epsilon\ell\mu\nu\nu}$ (Fig. 1, 1), within groove.

The mold for this lamp was taken from one produced by the Preimos shop, similar to Perlzweig, no. 1581. The shop of Preimos was active in both Corinth and Athens from the early third to the fourth century and the Attic branch was particularly "fascinated by the motif of the grapevine" (Perlzweig, pp. 48-49).

Related: CL 2802 (Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 67, 1); and 3 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle to late fifth century.

5. L 4666. Fig. 1, 3

Intact. L. 0.102, W. 0.074, H. 0.034.

Disk: rays; double framing ring and grooves. Rim: vine-and-cluster. Nozzle: slightly raised. Base: bow at base of handle; within two circular grooves, A (Fig. 1, 3).

The model for this lamp was probably a lamp produced in the fourth century by the A---shop of Athens (q.v., Perlzweig, p. 29). The ray disk and the vine-and-cluster rim derive from Broneer Type 27, Group 2, but the Attic lamp which the Corinthians copied represents a fourth-century treatment of the older motif, similar to Perlzweig, nos. 1562-1569, not a direct copy of the older lamp.

Date: early to middle fifth century.

6. L 69-54. Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.075, W. 0.057, H. 0.025.

Disk: rays; framing ring flanked by grooves. Rim: vine-and-cluster. Nozzle: set off by double grooves; groove from framing ring to wickhole. Base: bow at base of handle; concentric rings around central dot; nozzle set off, below, by incised lines.

Though the mold was taken from an Attic lamp of the fourth century, the incised lines on the walls below the nozzle were probably added by the Corinthian lampmaker.

Related: Broneer, nos. 927, 928; Bovon, nos. 343, 344; L 69-324 (Corinthian white fabric) and 14 other intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle fifth through early sixth century.

COPIES OF ATTIC GLAZED LAMPS, BRONEER TYPE 28 (7-11)

This subdivision contains some of the earliest attempts of the Corinthians to revive their industry in the Late Roman period. A lack of technical ability is apparent in many of the specimens, and the webbing and joining ridges typical of the other Corinthian types are often absent in the copies of Attic glazed lamps.⁴⁵ The joins are crude and awkward and the lamps warped and asymmetrical. Despite the apparent "amateurish" look, because they are mechanical copies the lamps share many of the physical aspects of the more skillful Attic productions. The most distinctive of these features are: modeled figured disks; grooved, flat panels on the rim; solid, grooved handles; kite-shaped nozzles set off by grooves; and one or two circular grooves on the base, often enclosing a signature. The Attic lamps and their copies are typical of Broneer Type 28, but the difference in technical quality between the two is extreme. The signatures, transferred by the mold from the model to the copy, belong to Attic craftsmen and were rarely erased (or clarified) by the Corinthian artisan.⁴⁶

Many of the lamps in this group do not appear in series.⁴⁷ Most of the lamps not in series possess the poorly refined, very pale brown clay of Corinth; these lamps are the most inferior technically, suggesting early and inexpert attempts to revive the Corinthian industry (e.g., Pl. 43, 10, 11). Dogs, bears, lions, and Eros account for all the figured disks in this type. Other series have decorative disks and rim motifs typically found on the fourth-century glazed lamps of Athens. Though a few series based on Attic glazed models continue into the sixth century (7), most of the lamps, especially the very crudely executed specimens not found in series, were found in the earliest strata of the Fountain and probably date to the last years of the fourth century and early in the fifth.

7. L 69-31.

Intact. L. 0.086, W. 0.067, H. 0.026.

Disk: dog facing left; double framing ring. Rim: very worn 8-S pattern with panels of three grooves. Base: within two almond-shaped grooves, diamond-shaped groove enclosing an incised branch and two small circles.

When the wickhole for this lamp was made, the airhole was pushed into a lunette shape, indicating that the airhole was made before the wickhole.

"The seated dog was one of the most popular representations in 3rd and 4th century Athens" (Perlzweig, p. 128). The disk and

⁴⁵ A total of 54 intact specimens belonging to this type were found in the Fountain of the Lamps. The Attic glazed lamps of the fourth century are discussed by Perlzweig, where most of those used as models for the Corinthian lamps are dated by her *ca.* A.D. 300-360 (pp. 62-64).

⁴⁶ Signatures of Attic makers of glazed lamps reproduced on Corinthian copies include: Rouphos (L 4749, Fig. 1, 7); Soteros (L 69-74, Fig. 1, 8); Stratolaos (L 69-329, Fig. 1, 9; L 69-333, Fig. 1, 2); and the Y --- shop (L 69-339, Fig. 1, 6). See Perlzweig, pp. 24-59 on the activities of these shops.

⁴⁷ Thirteen of the lamps belonging to this type have no serial relations among those from the Fountain or among the lamps published by Broneer and Bovon. The remaining 41 in the type appear in six different series. Published lamps of this type related to series from the Fountain of the Lamps but not presented in the Catalogue include: Bovon, nos. 525, 393, 394-396, 353 and Broneer, no. 1058.

rim were probably taken from an early fourthcentury Attic glazed lamp similar to Perlzweig, no. 924. The base is not typically Attic and may be a design of local inspiration.

Related: 7 lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to early sixth century.

8. L 69-84 (only example).

Intact. L. 0.091, W. 0.070, H. 0.031. Corinthian white fabric.

Disk: Eros standing with lyre, right; framing ring flanked by grooves. Rim: plain with panels indicated by grooves. Base: two circular grooves.

Eros standing with a lyre appears on Attic lamp disks of the fourth century (Perlzweig, nos. 684-688, Broneer, no. 1124). The motif was rarely copied by the Corinthian lampmakers.

Date: early sixth-century context, though produced earlier.

9. L 69-94 (only example). Pl. 43

Nozzle broken. Max. P.L. 0.086, W. 0.076, H. 0.031.

Corinthian white fabric.

Disk: nude "messenger" or wingless Eros holding a bunch of grapes, right, and a sickle, left; framing ring. Rim: plain, but with a worn herringbone on the upper left; raised grooved panels which impinge on the framing ring. Nozzle: set off by double grooves. Base: bow at base of handle; low base ring within grooves.

The disk relief is the same as that which appears on an Attic emblema (Perlzweig, pl.

47, c) and on a lamp fragment (Perlzweig, no. 747), both from the Athenian Agora.

Date: late fifth-century context, though produced earlier.

10. L 4692 (only example). Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.090, W. 0.067, H. 0.032. Corinthian white clay.

Disk: lion crouching right on a horizontal base; framing ring and groove. Rim: plain with herringbone panels. Base: bow at base of handle; circular base ring flanked by grooves.

The lion crouching right is a frequent motif on Attic lamps and their Corinthian copies. The earliest Attic examples of the motif appear on late third-century products of the Preimos shop (Perlzweig, nos. 970, 971) while some of the Corinthian copies date as late as the sixth century (e.g., 13). L 4692 is one of the earliest Corinthian copies of the motif and was probably taken from a lamp similar to Perlzweig, nos. 974-987.

Date: early fifth century.

11. L 4769 (only example). Pl. 43

Small hole in wall. L. 0.093, W. 0.065, H. 0.032.

Corinthian white fabric.

Disk: eight leaves; triple framing ring; broad framing ring around central filling hole. Rim: plain. Base: pellet enclosed by four circular grooves.

The Corinthian copy was made from a mold taken from an Attic lamp similar to L 4631, found in the Fountain of the Lamps, and to some from the Athenian Agora (Perlzweig, nos. 1623-1639).

Date: early fifth century.

Copies of Attic Unglazed Lamps, Broneer Type 28 (12-18)

The lamps assigned to this type, like those of that preceding, are mechanical copies of Attic originals, but the models for this group were the unglazed lamps produced in Athens in the late fourth and fifth centuries.⁴⁸ Most of the Corinthian

⁴⁸ 177 lamps assigned to this group were found intact in the Fountain of the Lamps. See Perlzweig on the unglazed lamps of Late Roman Athens.

copies possess the hard, reddish brown fabric, joining ridges, and webbing characteristic of products of the fully developed Corinthian industry. The variations in shape that characterize the fifth-century Attic productions are also common in the Corinthian copies, a few of which were made from Attic models that imitated the lamps of Asia Minor and North Africa. The repertory of motifs in this type, as in the other, reflects, but is more limited than, the repertory of the Attic lampmakers who produced the models. The few modeled disks bear animals. Christian motifs are frequent (14-17). The signatures on the Corinthian copies are those which occur frequently among the unglazed Attic imports from the Fountain: Chiones (Fig. 1, 10 and 11), Soterias (Fig. 1, 15-17), and Ky--- (possibly Fig. 1, 12-14); in all cases, these signatures were transferred by mold to the Corinthian copy. The lamps of this group represent the standard but low level of technical competence achieved by the Corinthian industry. Serialization is so common it is the rule. Some series contain members with retouched rim motifs or in the Corinthian white fabric.

This type occurs in the lower levels of the Fountain, and after the first attempts to imitate the Attic glazed lamps represents, along with the copies of Broneer Type 27 lamps, some of the earliest productions of the Corinthian industry. Lamps made on Attic models continue to be produced until the time of the collapse of the Fountain, but comprise only a small percentage of the later deposits, where imitations and copies of the lamps of North Africa appear in quantity.

12. L 69-113.

Intact. L. 0.092, W. 0.056, H. 0.031. Corinthian white clay.

Disk: dove sitting on a basket or chalice. Rim: herringbone. Nozzle: broad channel from disk to wickhole; double grooves flanking channel. Base: incised branch within two almond-shaped grooves.

The model for this Corinthian lamp was probably an Attic lamp designed to imitate

⁴⁹ See Perlzweig, pp. 64-65. Two copies of Attic unglazed lamps have the keyhole-shaped disk which includes a long channel to the wickhole in imitation of the lamps of North Africa: 12 and L 69-77 with six relations from the Fountain.

⁵⁶ Dog: L 4603, related to CL 4383 (Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pl. 15, a, 4). Dolphin: L 69-45, related to Broneer, no. 1274; also Broneer, nos. 1272 and 1276 which had no intact relations from the Fountain of the Lamps. Dove: 12. Lion: 13; 4 lamps related to Broneer, no. 1230; one lamp from the Fountain related to Broneer, no. 1227.

⁵¹ Only one lamp belonging to this group has no serial relations identified among the lamps of Corinth and Argos: L 69-75, with a mold-signature of Chiones (Fig. 1, 10). The disk of the lamp is also unusual, bearing a Latin cross with a second horizontal bar below the main arm, a motif not otherwise known on Attic unglazed or Corinthian lamps (context: early 6th century).

Series present in the Fountain which have published relations but were omitted from the Catalogue and are not listed in note 50, above, include: 11 lamps related to Broneer, no. 1361 (also CL 4382, Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pl. 15, a, 4); 3 lamps related to Bovon, nos. 586-588; 3 lamps related to Bovon, no. 575; 4 lamps related to Broneer, no. 1333; 2 lamps related to Broneer, nos. 1083, 1084 and Bovon, no. 569; 2 lamps related to Broneer, no. 821 and Bovon, no. 379; 7 lamps related to Broneer, no. 831; and 19 lamps related to Bovon, no. 565.

those of North Africa, similar to Perlzweig, nos. 2394-2397.

Related: Broneer, nos. 1292, 1293, and 2 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to early sixth century.

13. L 4714. Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.092, W. 0.064, H. 0.032.

Disk: lion crouching right; framing ring. Rim: incised vine-and-cluster. Handle: ladder pattern above. Nozzle: set off by circles and double grooves; groove from moldmark for airhole to wickhole. Base: within two almond-shaped grooves, incised branch.

The model was an Attic lamp very similar to Perlzweig, no. 2412.

Related: Broneer, nos. 1224-1226; Bovon, nos. 355, 356; CL 4488 (Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 26, c); and 9 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle fifth through early sixth century.

14. L 69-98. Fig. 1, 10; Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.093, W. 0.069, H. 0.029.

Disk: Chi-Icta monogram; framing ring. Rim: herringbone. Handle: ladder pattern above. Nozzle: set off by double grooves; groove from airhole to wickhole. Base: within two circular grooves, XIO NHC (Fig. 1, 10).

On the disk motif, see Broneer, p. 110 and fig. 52, 7. The only versions of this lamp known that are signed by Chiones are of Corinthian manufacture and related to L 69-98.

Related: Broneer, nos. 1343-1345; Bovon, no. 580; L 69-95 (Corinthian white fabric); and 17 other intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle fifth to middle sixth century.

15. L 69-290. Fig. 1, 17; Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.085, W. 0.063, H. 0.032.

Disk: cross monogram with open Rho, right, and circle at crossing and at end of each arm.

Rim: herringbone with circle flanking each side of disk. Nozzle: set off by circle and double groove on each side; faint groove from moldmark for airhole to wickhole. Base: within two almond-shaped grooves, incised branch flanked by Σ and W (Fig. 1, 17).

Published: Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 28, note 69, and pl. 10, a, middle.

The model for this lamp was probably produced by the Soterias shop in the early years of the fifth century (Perlzweig, pp. 52-53).

Related: CL 4387 (Wiseman, Hesperia, XXXVI, 1967, pl. 15, a, 2 and 3); and 3 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

16. L 69-77. Fig. 1, 13

Intact. L. 0.099, W. 0.072, H. 0.036.

Disk: keyhole shape outlined by groove which includes channel to wickhole; cross monogram with open Rho, right, and a circle at crossing. Rim: wavy lines. Base: within two almond-shaped grooves, incised branch flanked by K and A or Y (Fig. 1, 13).

This signature, and that on another series of Corinthian lamps (Broneer, no. 821; Bovon, no. 379; and 2 Fountain lamps, q.v., Fig. 1, 12), either belong to the Attic Ky --- shop or represent an otherwise unknown Attic or Corinthian lampmaker. All the specimens that may have a Kl --- signature are Corinthian copies of fifth-century Attic unglazed lamps.

Related: Broneer, nos. 1360-1362; and 6 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps (one with a rim of relief wedges enclosing the wavy lines).

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

17. L 4709. Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.081, W. 0.056, H. 0.030.

Disk: square with double framing ridge on three sides; cross formée with circle at crossing. Rim: arcs flanking channel; herringbone on

sides; circles flanking handle. Nozzle: channel from disk to wickhole. Base: within two almond-shaped grooves, incised branch.

The model was probably an Attic lamp designed to imitate the keyhole-shaped disk of the lamps of North Africa.

Related: Broneer, no. 1079 (without cross in disk); Broneer, nos. 1325-1329, no. 1330 (Corinthian white fabric); Bovon, no. 566; and 45 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps, some with retouched disk or rim decorations.

Date of series: a long-lasting popular series, middle fifth through middle sixth century.

18. L 4610.

Intact. L. 0.083, W. 0.063, H. 0.031.

Disk: worn rosette of ten petals; framing ring. Rim: alternating leaves and small circles. Nozzle: arcs flanking wickhole. Base: within almond-shaped groove, incised branch flanked by Σ and W (similar to Fig. 1, 17).

From a model produced by the Attic shop of Soterias (Perlzweig, pp. 52-53).

Related: 11 lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps, some with retouched rim or disk designs.

Date of series: middle fifth to early sixth century.

COPIES AND IMITATIONS OF NORTH AFRICAN SHAPE, BRONEER TYPE 31 (19-30)

The Corinthian imitations and copies of the Early Christian lamps of North Africa possess those features by which the latter are readily identified: "a solid knoblike handle without grooves, depressed rim with raised decorations, broad shallow channel from the discus to the wickhole, and a base ring from which a ridge extends to the handle." ⁵² While the lamps produced in North Africa are frequently glazed, the copies produced in Corinth are executed in the reddish brown, less frequently in the white, Corinthian fabric, and are never glazed. ⁵³ The Corinthian lamps are easily distinguished from the imported lamps of Broneer Type 31 by their distinct joining ridges and by the appearance on many of mold impressions left by the original model. ⁵⁴

Though a few disks on the North African lamps are plain or purely decorative, the majority bear Christian symbols or scenes. In almost all cases, these are symbols of the Resurrection (as Pl. 44, 30) or examples of the persecution of the faithful derived from the Old Testament (as 19). The symbols and scenes are some of the oldest members of the Christian repertory, and reflect the fact that small, quasidevotional objects, such as the lamps might have been, rarely represent any break with iconographic tradition. The Rim decorations are usually decorative rather than

⁵² Broneer, p. 118.

⁵³ Only one series of lamps in this group had a member (L 4634) in Corinthian white clay. Four other lamps of North African shape from the Fountain were executed in the white clay, one of which (L 69-105), though not intact, bore graffiti on its walls; see Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 32, and fig. 10.

⁵⁴ Cf. the North African imports, L 69-200 (profile, Pl. 43) and L 69-152 (Pl. 44), with the Corinthian copy, 20 (Pl. 43, profile, and Pl. 44).

⁵⁵ See, among others, J. Daniélou, *Primitive Christian Symbols*, translated by D. Attwater, Baltimore, 1964, and A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Bollingen Series, XXXV, 10), Princeton, 1968.

symbolic and were often patterns stamped on the rims of the original lamps (e.g., Pl. 44, 20 and 23). Signatures do not appear on the bases, though some lamps have decorations, perhaps makers' marks, within the base ring (Fig. 1, 25-29 and 32).

Copies of North African lamps are the second most numerous type found in the Fountain of the Lamps, following the copies of the Broneer Type 27 lamps, but large series are not as common as among the latter. More than 30 series of lamps can be distinguished but the number of lamps per series is generally small (by Corinthian standards).⁵⁶

The variety of decorative treatments and motifs on the copies of North African shape indicate that lamps from a number of cities in North Africa were reproduced by the Corinthians.⁵⁷ In addition, a few probably derive from Attic copies of North African lamps rather than from North African originals.⁵⁸ Some lamps may even represent locally designed imitations of the North African shape; few in number, these lamps have flat relief decorations produced by mold incisions, handles which are sometimes grooved, and rims which are not depressed as are those in lamps of the typical North African shape.⁵⁹

One relatively large group appears in the latest deposits from the Fountain of the Lamps and must represent a late, and perhaps only local, variation of the North African type (29, 30). 60 They (e.g., Pl. 44, 30) were made according to the typical Corinthian technical process, but are larger, cruder, and sloppier than most of the other lamps of North African type made in Corinth. 61 The disk generally contains

⁵⁶ Series of Corinthian copies of North African lamps from the Fountain that are not listed in the Catalogue but have published relations include: 1 lamp related to Broneer, no. 1454 and Bovon, no. 634; 2 lamps related to Bovon, no. 613; 1 lamp related to Broneer, no. 1469 and Bovon, no. 610; 4 lamps related to Broneer, no. 1474; 1 lamp related to Bovon, no. 635; 2 lamps related to Bovon, no. 631; 9 lamps related to Broneer, no. 1465, Bovon, no. 630, CL 3074 (Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 67, 1), and CL 4490 (Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 26, c); 11 lamps related to Bovon, no. 651; and 2 related lamps including L 69-151 (Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, p. 28, note 69. and pl. 10, a, second from right).

⁵⁷ For example, the broad flat relief used to depict Abraham and Isaac (19) probably reflects the style of a center different from that which produced the relief outline of "Nebuchadnezzar and the Three Hebrews" (20). Available published material regarding the decorative style and fabric of the various places in North Africa which must have produced lamps is scanty, so that specific attributions regarding centers of production for the models used by the Corinthians could not easily be made.

⁵⁸ Lamps possibly derived from Attic imitations of North African shape include **21**, **24**, and **30**, and 4 related lamps similar to Perlzweig, no. 2444.

⁵⁹ L 69-175 and L 69-178.

⁶⁰ A total of 34 intact lamps of this group were found in the Fountain of the Lamps; all but 11 of these were found in the very latest Fountain deposit.

⁶¹ The fabric is in this case coarser, with larger inclusions than the standard Corinthian reddish brown. Greater variations in color for some of the lamps suggest less controlled firing conditions. Because of the texture, standard color, and technical aspects such as the joining ridge and webbing,

a cross formée or a Maltese cross whose decoration suggests an attempt to imitate the jeweled crosses used as church ornaments and sometimes copied in contemporary mosaics. The "jewels" are indicated by relief circles and pellets. The rim motifs are generally herringbone patterns or small relief pellets in rows. Though these specimens from the Fountain rarely appear in series, the motifs and decorations of the individual lamps are extremely similar. These late versions of the North African type often have an almost finlike handle, and first appear in small quantity in the early sixth century; they comprise ten per cent of the intact lamps from the latest level of the Fountain.

Production of the standard type of North African lamp made in Corinth appears to have begun soon after the middle of the fifth century, and after that of the Broneer Type 27 and Attic unglazed copies was in full swing. It remained the most popular type throughout the sixth-century use of the Fountain of the Lamps.

19. L 69-146.

Intact. L. 0.108, W. 0.067, H. 0.027.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: Abraham holding a sword, left, about to sacrifice Isaac, right, with the Hand of God and a ram on the left. Rim: row of relief circles enclosing diamonds and stars in alternation.

On the iconography of this disk representation, see Bovon, pp. 87-88; A. Smith, "The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art," A.J.A., XXVI, 1922, pp. 170-173; and I. S. van Woerden, "The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham," Vigiliae Christianae, XV, 1961, pp. 214-255. See Bovon, no. 608 for other lamps with this disk representation.

Related: Broneer, no. 1468, Bovon, no. 608; CL 3090 (Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 67, 1); and 20 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

20. L 69-153. Pls. 43 (profile), 44

Intact. L. 0.114, W. 0.069, H. 0.033.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: three standing figures, right; seated figure, left; between figures, a vertical shaft, staff, or tree. Rim: alternating circles and squares with chevrons flanking the channel. Nozzle: in channel, a rectangle enclosing a X with circles between the arms. Base: within ring, faint cross-hatching.

The scene depicted on this lamp and its style are almost identical to that of a North African import found in the Fountain (Pl. 44, L 69-152). Lamps of the North African shape with a similar disk representation are generally assumed to depict Nebuchadnezzar attempting to make the three Hebrew youths worship an image (F. de Cardaillac, De quelques lampes antiques découvertes dans L'Afrique du Nord, Tarbes, 1922, p. 117, fig. 152; and H. Menzel, Antike Lampen . . . zu Mainz, 1969, no. 596, q.v. for others). The attributes and even the

there seems no reason to identify this fabric as other than Corinthian. Similar lamps appeared among the Attic collections, e.g., Perlzweig, no. 2591, where they were identified as Attic products.

⁶² Compare, for instance, the cross on the disk of **30** (Pl. 44) with the sixth-century Cross of Agilulf in the Cathedral of Monza, Italy.

⁶³ Published examples, similar to Fountain lamps of the late North African shape but not necessarily mold-relations, include: Bovon, nos. 639-643 and 647; Broneer, nos. 1456, 1458, 1461, 1462; and Perlzweig, no. 2591.

sex of the figures depicted on the Corinthian and the imported lamps from the Fountain are uncertain and could be interpreted as depicting the Three Marys at the Tomb being greeted by the Angel announcing the Resurrection as easily as Nebuchadnezzar and the Three Hebrew Youths.

Related: 2 lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: early to middle sixth century.

21. L 69-164.

Intact. L. 0.102, W. 0.057, H. 0.027.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: a bird set vertically in disk, feet left, with wheel below beak of bird and a cross within a circle in the channel. Rim: alternating circles, chevrons, and dot rosettes. Base: within ring, two small concentric circles.

Perlzweig, no. 2399, which is a glazed lamp produced in Athens and not in Corinth, was made from a similar mold, perhaps related.

Related: Broneer, no. 1482 (rim with concentric circles) and no. 1483; Bovon, no. 625; and 12 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

22. L 69-173.

Small hole in disk. L. 0.117, W. 0.074, H. 0.033.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: running antelope set vertically in disk. Rim: concentric ovals.

Related: Broneer, no. 1469 (q.v. for others); Bovon, no. 610.

Date of series: early sixth century.

23. L 69-154. Pl. 44

Intact. L. 0.115, W. 0.069, H. 0.029.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: chalice or urn from which a spiraling vine emerges; small figure, perhaps a bird, in each loop of the vine. Rim: alternating ovolos and spirals.

The model for this lamp was probably very

similar to one found in North Africa and published by Cardaillac, De quelques lampes antiques découvertes dans l'Afrique du Nord, Tarbes, 1922, p. 121, fig. 164. The motif is common in Early Christian art; on its symbolism, see Daniélou, Primitive Christian Symbols, pp. 25-41.

Related: one intact lamp from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle sixth century.

24. L 69-358.

Intact. L. 0.100, W. 0.056, H. 0.027.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: palm tree. Rim: alternating circles and volute diamonds.

This lamp is similar to the glazed Athenian product, Perlzweig, no. 2425. The date-palm, $\phi o i n \xi$, was used as a substitute for the bird known as the Phoenix, and both are symbols of the Resurrection (F. Webber, Church Symbolism, 2nd ed., rev., Cleveland, 1938, pp. 74-75).

Related: one intact lamp from the Fountain of the Lamps. Broneer, no. 1493 with pellets on the rim is similar.

Date of series: middle sixth century.

25. L 69-103.

Intact. L. 0.114, W. 0.069, H. 0.031.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: abstracted palm tree surrounded by circles. Rim: row of small circles flanked on each side by row of larger circles. Base: within ring, two circles of dots enclosing a mass of small dots. Walls with graffiti, for which see Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 28-30.

Related: CL 69-400.

Date of series: early sixth century.

26. L 69-186.

Fig. 1, 26

Intact. L. 0.102, W. 0.060, H. 0.030.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: cross monogram with closed Rho, right, and decorated with pellets and circles. Rim: double row of small pellets. Base: within ring, rosette-sun (Fig. 1, 26).

Related: 9 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps (2 with retouched rim or base). Broneer, nos. 1463, 1464 are similar without the rosette-sun on the base.

Date of series: early sixth century.

27. L 4712. Fig. 1, 27

Tip of handle missing. L. 0.093, W. 0.052, H. 0.030.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: relief outline of Greek cross with concentric circles in each arm and at crossing, and small pellets at corners of arms. Rim: row of relief outlines of triangles each enclosing three sets of concentric circles. Base: within ring, small rosette-sun (Fig. 1, 27).

Related: 3 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to early sixth century.

28. L 69-198.

Small hole in wall. L. 0.108, W. 0.061, H. 0.033.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: cross formée with circles in each arm and at crossing; upper portion of another similar cross in channel. Rim: alternating circles and dots. Base: within ring, concentric circles surrounded by small dots.

Related: Bovon, no. 611; and 2 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: early sixth century.

29. L 69-206.

Intact. L. 0.111, W. 0.066, H. 0.030.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: cross formée with circles in each arm and at crossing; X within circle in channel. Rim: curved rays.

Broneer, no. 1461 is a similar lamp of Corinthian production.

Date: middle sixth century.

30. L 69-204. Fig. 1, 29; Pl. 44

Intact. L. 0.107, W. 0.064, H. 0.029.

Shape: Broneer Type 31. Disk: Maltese cross with double relief outline and circles in arms and between points. Rim: herringbone branch. Base: within ring, relief branch (as Fig. 1, 29).

This is the most common series described above as having the late, or exaggerated, North African shape.

Related: Broneer, nos. 1460, 1480; and 9 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps. Similar lamps include Perlzweig, no. 2591 and Bovon, no. 643.

Date of series: middle sixth century.

Copies and Imitations of Asia Minor Shapes (31-36)

Seven series from the Fountain of the Lamps are copies of lamps produced in Asia Minor. The Corinthian copies share a number of features with their Asia Minor models; a sloping rim, intaglio footprint (*planta pedis*), chevron grooves below the nozzle, fishtails at the base of the handle, a slightly raised base ring, a handle with a flat top, a raised rim around the wickhole, and a narrow channel between the disk and the wickhole. The models for the Corinthian lamps can be classified according to the Ephesos typology, but a joining ridge and Corinthian fabric will distinguish the local

⁶⁴ A total of 48 intact lamps of this type were found in the Fountain. Series not represented by Catalogue entries include: 3 related lamps derived from one of Ephesos Type 9, Form 3 (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, Tafel VIII, nos. 1384-1404); and 6 related lamps probably derived from one of Ephesos Type 2, though no specific parallel could be located.

copy from the imported model (e.g., the ridge on Pl. 44, 32). One series (35) may be derived from an Attic copy of an Asia Minor lamp, but the rest are all direct mechanical copies of the Asia Minor originals.

All the Asia Minor models for the Corinthian lamps are dated to the fifth century. Never very numerous in the Fountain's deposits, most of the copies probably date to the last years of the fifth century and early in the sixth. Two series (33 and 34), however, apparently continued to be made beyond the first third of the sixth century.

31. L 4705.

Intact. L. 0.083, W. 0.055, H. 0.022.

Disk: bird standing with wings spread, head left, tail right; framing ring which also encloses wickhole and narrow channel between disk and wickhole. Rim: sloping; fine, close rays. Handle: terminates in very worn fishtails. Base: within two circular grooves, very faint intaglio footprint.

A lamp very similar to no. 1335 in H. B. Walters, Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum, London, 1914 (excavated by J. T. Wood at Ephesos in 1867) must have served as a model for the Corinthian specimen. For the rim and shape, see Ephesos Type 10, Form 1 (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, Tafel VIII, no. 1415), dated to the fifth century.

Related: 5 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle fifth to early sixth century.

32. L 69-101. Pl. 43

Intact. L. 0.085, W. 0.058, H. 0.026.

Disk: winged and draped Eros, bending right to pick up a grape cluster; framing ring. Rim: sloping; vine, tendril, and grape cluster. Nozzle: raised platform around wickhole; three rows of dots between disk and wickhole. Handle: terminates in fishtails, below; flattened top, above. Base: double chevron grooves set off nozzle below; slightly raised base ring flanked by grooves; within ring, intaglio footprint.

A glazed lamp from Kalymnos (London, British Museum 56 8-23 163) is very similar, and one related to it must have served as a model for the Corinthian lamp. The disk, shape and rim have parallels among the lamps of Ephesos Type 3, Form 3 (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, Tafel IV, nos. 491, 492, and Tafel XII, no. 196). The Ephesos type is dated to the first half of the fifth century.

Related: 6 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps, including one in the Corinthian white fabric.

Date of series: late fifth century.

Intact. L. 0.091, W. 0.057, H. 0.035.

Disk: very small with filling hole; raised framing ring. Rim: sloping; long rays or grooved petals. Nozzle: raised around wickhole. Handle: flat on top. Base: double chevron ridges set off nozzle, below; within ring, worn uncertain signature, which also appears on 34(Fig. 1, 24).

For signature, see 34. A lamp similar to one excavated at Kalymnos (London, British Museum 56 8-26 189) may have served as a model for this Corinthian series. The latter can be assigned to Ephesos Type 4, Form 4 (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, Tafel IV, no. 609), which is dated to the fifth century.

A number of similar lamps other than those positively produced in Corinth and Asia Minor have been uncovered. Three from the Athenian Agora bear the same decorative motifs, shape and signature as the Corinthian series (Perl-

⁶⁵ Three series have members in the Corinthian white fabric: 32, 33, and 35.

zweig, nos. 362-364). The clay is neither Corinthian nor typically Attic, nor is it related to the fabric of the one found in Kalymnos. A lamp from Argos (Argos Museum C. 13295) also appears related to this series, but its fabric is a bright orange, soft clay. The variety in fabric but similarity in decoration and signature suggests that this style of lamp was exported to a number of cities, or that molds or models in the same style were exported and reproduced by a variety of local craftsmen.

The Fountain's evidence indicates that the date of these lamps (the Corinthian at least) is earlier than the seventh-century date suggested by Perlzweig (p. 102). The Ephesos type which served as the model is dated to the fifth century and the chronology of the Fountain deposits indicates that the Corinthian copies date as early as the late fifth century. It seems unlikely that the Attic copies were made as late as the seventh century.

Related: Broneer, nos. 1415-1417 (classified by Broneer as Type 29); Bovon, nos. 603-606; L 4738 (in Corinthian white fabric); and 12 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps, including one in the Corinthian white fabric.

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

34. L 69-44. Fig. 1, 24

Intact. L. 0.079, W. 0.049, H. 0.031.

Identical to **33** except rim: sloping; long rays with a row of 3-5 pellets between each ray.

The model must have been an Asia Minor lamp of Ephesos Type 4, Form 2 (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, Tafel IV, nos. 609 and 613). The type is dated to the fifth century. Broneer, no. 1413 and Walters, Catalogue, no.

1491 (from Kalymnos) are non-Corinthian lamps similar enough to **34** to have served as a model for the Corinthian series.

The Fountain of the Lamps did not contain one member of either series 33 or 34 which preserved a clearer signature (as Fig. 1, 24) than previously published or read. For previous readings, see: Walters, *Catalogue*, no. 1491; Broneer, p. 114; Perlzweig, p. 102; and Bovon, p. 86.

Related: Broneer, no. 1414 (classified as Type 29); Bovon, no. 607; and 2 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to early sixth century.

35. L 69-131.

Intact. L. 0.090, W. 0.055, H. 0.030.

Disk: worn circular depressions around central filling hole; raised framing ring. Rim: sloping; plain. Nozzle: raised around wickhole; four circular depressions between framing ring and wickhole.

This series of lamps belongs to Ephesos Type 7 (Forschungen in Ephesos, IV, ii, Tafel VI, nos. 1111-1132). Certain Attic lamps (e.g., Perlzweig, no. 2739, and L 69-262, from the Fountain) also imitate this type and it is difficult to say whether the Corinthian productions of this shape are copies of the Asia Minor lamps or copies of their Attic imitations.

Related: Broneer, no. 902; Bovon, no. 602; CL 2908 (Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 67, 1); and 10 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps, including two in the Corinthian white fabric.

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

Copies of South Italian Lamps, Broneer Type 32 (36-38)

Only 21 intact Corinthian copies of Broneer Type 32 lamps, whose models were probably produced in Sicily or South Italy, were found in the Fountain of the Lamps. 66

⁶⁶ See Broneer, p. 120, and Perlzweig, p. 10 for discussions of the Type 32 lamps. Other pertinent publications on this type mentioned by Broneer have not been available to this writer.

Like the copies of Asia Minor lamps, the Broneer Type 32 lamps were derived from a relatively small number of models and appear in only five series from the Fountain.⁶⁷ These lamps all have the round body and conical handle characteristic of their type. The motifs are purely decorative in most and the lack of variation in the shape makes them distinctive but not exceptionally interesting. The motifs, originally stamped on the models, are transformed directly to the copies and often blurred. Retouching is rare; one lamp (36, Fig. 1, 33), however, was taken from a retouched mold which had an incised branch on the lower half. This branch, in relief on the actual lamp, is very similar to branches on the bases of two other Corinthian lamps belonging to two different series: one of them is of North African shape (L 4651, Fig. 1, 32), while the other is a local product (48, Fig. 1, 34). This relief branch may well represent a Corinthian maker's mark. If so, it would indicate positively that a Corinthian lampmaker would not limit himself to the production of only one type of lamp.

No Broneer Type 32 lamps executed in the Corinthian white fabric have been identified, nor have Type 32 lamps been found among the early levels of the Fountain. These lamps were never extremely popular and did not occur in quantity in Corinth, one of the few Greek mainland cities which attempted to produce this South Italian shape. ⁶⁸ Corinthian production of these lamps probably began before the late imitations of the North African types and possibly after the Corinthian white was abandoned as a lamp fabric. If production of these lamps did not cease altogether before the entrance to the Fountain collapsed, it was definitely on the decline.

36. L 69-135. Fig. 1, 33; Pl. 44

Intact. L. 0.083, W. 0.077, H. 0.026.

Disk: three dolphins; circle of small dots on the inside edge of the framing ring. Rim: three rectangles on each side with small dots randomly placed around rectangles; in rectangles nearest wickhole, chalices, and in remaining four rectangles, birds. Base: large relief branch, extending to wall below handle (Fig. 1, 33).

This is one of the few Broneer Type 32 lamps with symbolic motifs. They are probably Christian as Orsi had originally suggested

(Broneer, p. 120), and chalices, birds, and fish (not specifically dolphins) appear on other "Christian" lamps from the Fountain.

Published: Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 28, note 69 and pl. 10, a, right.

Related: 11 intact lamps (all without branch on base) from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle sixth century.

37. L 69-136. Fig. 1, 30

Intact. L. 0.076, W. 0.071, H. 0.022.

Disk: alternating rays and rows of three circles except near wickhole where one large

⁶⁷ Three of the series are presented in the Catalogue. A fourth consists of two lamps (L 69-138 and L 69-139); the fifth comprises 3 lamps from the Fountain related to Bovon, nos. 665, 666.

⁶⁸ The Athenians also produced a few round lamps of Broneer Type 32, but these do not appear to have served as models for the Corinthian lamps (cf. Perlzweig, nos. 2832-2837).

circle is flanked by rays. Rim: alternating rays and volute-diamonds. Base: within base ring, relief branch (Fig. 1, 30).

The volute-diamond is a common motif on lamps with stamped decoration which were not produced in Corinth (see Perlzweig, nos. 340 and 2832; Boyon, no. 657).

Related: 2 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps, one with base as Figure 1, 31.

Date of series: middle sixth century.

38. L 69-141.

Intact. L. 0.082, W. 0.074, H. 0.029.

Disk: rosette of four petals enclosed by a diamond decorated in a meander pattern. Rim: on each side from handle to nozzle, fish(?), three leaf patterns, rosettes, volute-diamond, and meander stripe.

Related: 1 intact lamp from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle sixth century.

LOCALLY DESIGNED LAMPS (39-50)

The last type of Late Roman Corinthian lamp represented in the Fountain of the Lamps includes those that appear to be original designs made by the Corinthian lampmakers. These lamps occur in both the Corinthian fabrics and are consistent in their technical details with the rest of the Corinthian production.

Most of the lamps of local design are imitations of the fifth-century unglazed lamps of Athens. In shape the Corinthian designs are similar to the Attic and most can be assigned to Broneer Type 28. On a typical Corinthian-designed lamp (e.g., 46 and 47, Pl. 44) the disk is circular, only slightly concave, and often outlined by a groove or notched ring. The rim is flat, the nozzle not delineated, and the plain walls are almost vertical. The base may be defined by a variety of motifs; chevron grooves sometimes set off the underside of the nozzle in imitation of the lamps of Asia Minor. Perhaps the most distinctive feature is the handle, which is normally a stout, solid handle, grooved near the disk but rarely on the lower back of the lamp (Pl. 44, 45 and 50). The grooves on the upper handle are often aligned with, and thus continue, the ray or groove decoration on the disk (Pl. 44, 46).

Motifs on locally designed lamps are "incised" motifs transferred to the lamp by mold from an incised archetype. Corinthian motifs are never figural, but are always decorative, linear and flat in their appearance. The linear treatment of the herringbone, ray, and notches of the lamps is peculiar to Corinthian-designed products

⁶⁹ A total of 164 intact lamps, belonging to 35 series, from the Fountain of the Lamps can be assigned to this type. Series not presented in the Catalogue include: 1 lamp related to Broneer, no. 1323; 2 lamps related to Bovon, nos. 514, 515; 6 lamps related to Perlzweig, no. 321 and Bovon, nos. 438, 439; 2 lamps related to Bovon, no. 354; 1 lamp related to Bovon, nos. 520, 521; 3 lamps related to Bovon, no. 545; 2 lamps related to Broneer, no. 1069; L 69-96 and 20 relations; L 4740 and 8 relations; L 69-304 and 4 relations; L 69-340 and 4 relations; L 69-89 and 3 relations; L 69-126 and 2 relations; L 4752 (Fig. 1, 53) and three relations; L 69-344 (Fig. 1, 36) and 1 relation; and L 69-66 and 1 relation. The following lamps from the Fountain belong to this type but had no intact relations: L 4648 (Fig. 1, 37); L 4622 (Fig. 1, 46); L 69-312 (Fig. 1, 41); L 4629; L 4677 (Fig. 1, 44); L 69-63; and L 69-345 (Fig. 1, 45).

and contrasts sharply with the Attic treatment of the same subjects (compare Pl. 44, 46 with Pl. 43, 14).

The lamps designed in Corinth often have a signature or other mark on the base (Fig. 1, 34-53). Most of these marks were made in the mold or archetype, and not incised directly on the lamps; some signatures even appear retrograde (Fig. 1, 52). Unfortunately, most lamps that bear the same signature or mark are ones that belong to the same series, so that any fruitful study of the Corinthian "shops" is impossible at this time.⁷⁰

The locally designed lamps of Corinth reflect the local conceptions of lampmaking. The absence of legible signatures on many of them, the large number in series and the frequently sloppy appearance of the final products indicate that most Corinthian lampmakers were not even concerned with the artistic quality of the products which they designed themselves. However, a few represent the works of unusual and exceptionally careful Corinthian craftsmen, for these are neater and more precise in their appearance than other Corinthian lamps (e.g., Pl. 44, 50).

A few series of lamps have been classified with this type though they probably do not represent local creations. These (e.g., 48 and 49) are in shape a variation of the North African lamp. Though disk and rim motifs are similar to those found on locally designed products, they are not identical, and mold impressions (Pl. 44, 49) indicate they were made not from archetypes but from other lamps (probably imported). These variations of the Broneer Type 31 shape have not been found in the Corinthian white fabric and do not date before the early sixth century.

Locally designed lamps begin appearing among the Fountain deposits shortly before copies of North African originals appear in the second half of the fifth century; many series continue well into the sixth century.

39. L 69-292.

Fig. 1, 40

Intact. L. 0.088, W. 0.069, H. 0.030.

Disk: relief Greek cross; framing ridge with row of dots; framing ring. Rim: worn, wavy lines. Handle: three-grooved. Base: within two circular grooves, worn cross of incised branches (Fig. 1, 40).

The motifs were probably inspired by the motifs of Attic lamps.

⁷⁰ The following three groups of lamps represent the only instances where similar signatures or marks, assumed to be of local inspiration, appear on more than one Corinthian series. Shop 1: Signature, Nα Pov, sometimes retrograde; this signature appears only on lamps of local design: a) 46 (Fig. 1, 52), retrograde; b) L 4752 (Fig. 1, 53), possibly; c) Broneer, no. 825; and d) Perlzweig, no. 321, Bovon, nos. 438, 439 and 6 related lamps from the Fountain (Fig. 1, 51). Shop 2: Mark, long relief branch; this mark is discussed with the Corinthian copies of Broneer Type 32 lamps: a) L 4651 (Fig. 1, 32); b) 36(Fig. 1, 33); and c) 48 (Fig. 1, 34). Shop 3: Mark, short relief branch: a) L 69-322 (Fig. 1, 22), possibly; b) 30 (Fig. 1, 29); and c) 37 (Fig. 1, 30).

Related: Bovon, no. 314; and 11 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: early sixth century.

40. L 69-64. Fig. 1, 47

Intact. L. 0.105, W. 0.078, H. 0.037.

Disk: long ridges, set vertically in disk; circular framing ring and framing groove. Rim: incised zigzag line; outlined by groove. Nozzle: two nozzles, each with narrow channel from disk to wickhole. Handle: stout and three-grooved above. Base: within two circular grooves, Σωκράτης, as Fig. 1, 47.

Published: Wiseman, Archaeology, XXIII, 1970, p. 136; and Wiseman, Hesperia, XLI, 1972, p. 28, note 70, and pl. 10, b.

Date: early sixth century.

41. L 69-65.

Intact. L. 0.096, W. 0.072, H. 0.033. Corinthian white fabric.

Disk: plain with central filling hole; edge of disk decorated with small dots; framing ring. Rim: herringbone. Nozzle: set off by single groove on each side. Handle: single-grooved above. Base: slightly raised ring enclosed by circular groove; two chevron grooves set off nozzle below.

Related: Broneer, no. 828 (Corinthian white fabric) and no. 829; Bovon, nos. 360 and 370-375; and 12 lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

42. L 69-307. Fig. 1, 42

Intact. L. 0.076, W. 0.059, H. 0.028.

Disk: plain with three circles just below handle; double framing ring. Rim: alternating pellets and dots; panels of relief squares. Nozzle: short channel from disk to wickhole. Handle: three-grooved above, two-grooved below. Base: within two circular rings, faint star (Fig. 1, 42).

Related: Broneer, nos. 883-888; Bovon, nos. 480-482; CL 2978 (in Corinthian white fabric); and 10 lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps,

including one fragment (L 4607) with graffiti on the lower walls, for which see Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 30-31 and fig. 10.

Date of series: middle fifth century to middle sixth century.

43. L 69-306. Fig. 1, 42

Intact. L. 0.081, W. 0.059, H. 0.029. Corinthian white fabric.

Disk: circular, plain with central filling hole. Framing ring of small dots; three circles below handle. Rim: 8-S pattern. Nozzle: short channel from disk to wickhole. Handle: three-grooved above; two-grooved below. Base: within two circular rings, faint star, as in Fig. 1, 42.

Identical to the preceding, except for the rim pattern. The style of this lamp and the preceding varies slightly from that of the more typical Corinthian designs, such as 46.

Related: Broneer, no. 906 and no. 907 (Corinthian white fabric); Bovon, no. 508; and 1 intact lamp from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to early sixth century.

44. L 4670.

Intact. L. 0.096, W. 0.064, H. 0.029.

Disk: plain with ring of tangent arcs around outer edge; framing ring. Rim: single row of globules. Nozzle: set off from rim by single groove and circle on each side. Handle: single groove; bottom of handle terminates in two raised circles. Base: circular groove; double chevron groove below nozzle.

Related: Bovon, nos. 493-497; and 27 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: late fifth to middle sixth century.

45. L 69-114. Fig. 1, 49; Pl. 44

Intact. L. 0.097, W. 0.079, H. 0.032.

Disk: plain; framing ring. Rim: intaglio vine-and-cluster. Handle: two-grooved. Base: within heart-shaped groove, EX (Fig. 1, 49).

Related: Bovon, no. 677 (base only);

L 4633 (with a relief cross in disk) and 16 other intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: middle fifth to middle sixth century.

46. L 69-310.

Fig. 1, 52; Pl. 44

Intact. L. 0.089, W. 0.068, H. 0.031.

Disk: ray pattern; circular framing groove on left, ladder pattern on right. Rim: herringbone outlined by groove. Handle: two grooves above; grooves of handle aligned with rays of disk. Base: within two almond-shaped grooves, NAPOY as Fig. 1, 52.

Related: Bovon, no. 441; CL-69-396 (Corinthian white fabric; the signature on this lamp may not be from the mold); and 3 lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: early sixth century.

47. L 69-308.

Fig. 1, 50; Pl. 44

Small holes in wall and rim. L. 0.109, W. 0.083, H. 0.042.

Disk: rays; circular framing ring in ladder pattern. Rim: incised herringbone with circles flanking nozzle; outlined by groove. Nozzle: groove from airhole to wickhole. Handle: three-grooved above; grooves of handle aligned with rays of disk. Base: within two almond-shaped grooves, signature of uncertain reading (Fig. 1, 50, Pl. 44).

Related: Broneer, no. 889 (rim retouched with pellets); Bovon, no. 378; CL 4518 (Corinthian white fabric); and 1 lamp from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: early sixth century.

48. L 69-72.

Fig. 1, 34

Intact. L. 0.103, W. 0.072, H. 0.029.

Disk: rays; circular framing ring. Rim: herringbone. Nozzle: raised about wickhole and narrow channel from framing ring to wickhole. Handle: not grooved; set back on rim. Base: oval base ring attached to bottom of

handle ridge; relief branch from edge of ring to tip of nozzle (Fig. 1, 34).

The branch on the base is similar to that on No. 36.

Related: 3 lamps with branch on base and 8 lamps without branch on base from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: early sixth century.

49. L 69-104.

Fig. 1, 49; Pl. 44

Intact. L. 0.113, W. 0.071, H. 0.031.

Disk: slanted rays. Rim: herringbone extending from an impressed Maltese cross just below the handle to raised area which flanks a narrow channel to the wickhole. Handle: set back on rim; two-grooved above. Base: circular ring connected to bottom of handle ridge; within ring, worn signature below a cross (Fig. 1, 49).

This lamp is probably not of local inspiration, but a variation of Broneer Type 31 produced at an unidentified center.

The walls of the lamp bear graffiti, for which see Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 31-32 and fig. 10.

Related (without graffiti): Bovon, nos. 431-435; CL 4483 (Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 26, c); and 7 intact lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps.

Date of series: early sixth century.

50. L 69-332.

Fig. 1, 38; Pl. 44

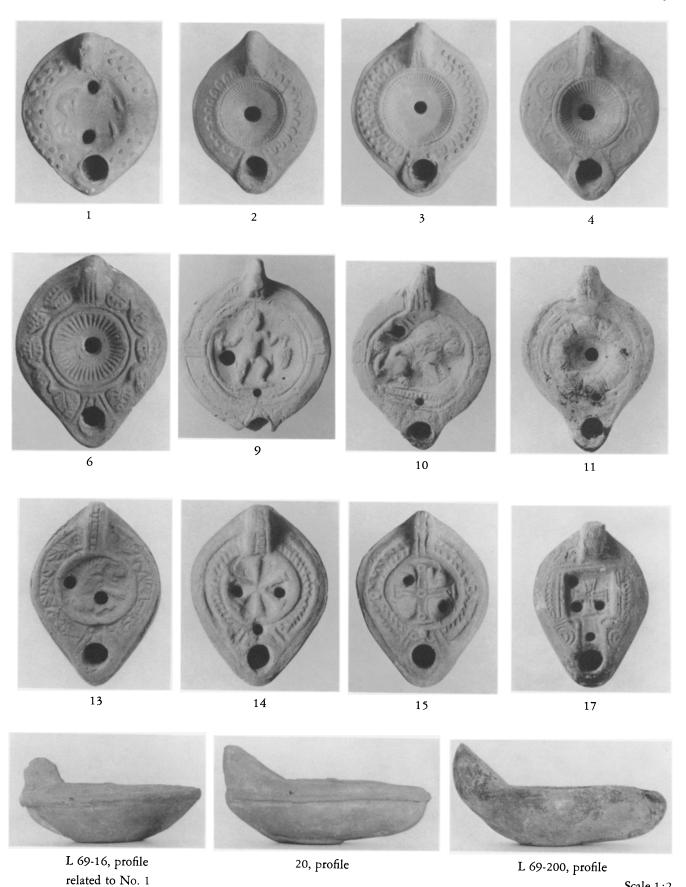
Top of nozzle missing. L. 0.107, W. 0.080, H. 0.042.

Disk: rosette of 24 petals, alternating thick and thin; framing ring in ladder pattern outlined by grooves. Rim: incised volutes; outlined by groove. Handle: three-grooved above. Base: within almond-shaped groove, incised branch and three sets of concentric circles (Fig. 1, 38).

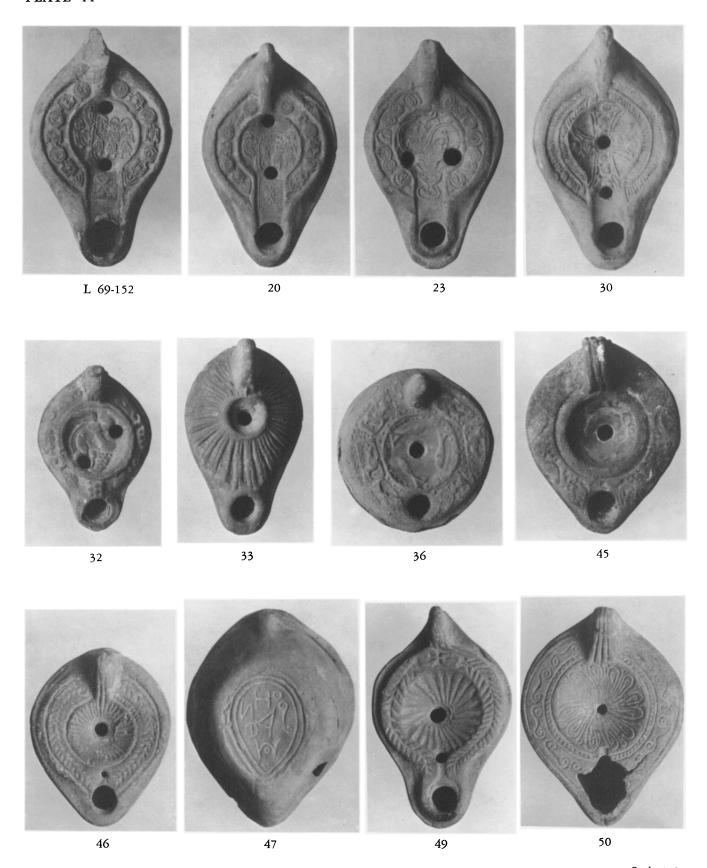
Related: Bovon, no. 522.

Date: late fifth to early sixth century.

Scale 1:2



KAREN S. GARNETT: LATE ROMAN CORINTHIAN LAMPS FROM THE FOUNTAIN OF THE LAMPS



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