

# A DEPOSIT OF LAMPS FROM THE ROMAN BATH AT ISTHμία

(PLATES 33–36)

ONE OF SEVERAL PLACES along Alaric's Greek path was the Corinthian Isthmus<sup>1</sup> with its sanctuary of Poseidon. The excavations carried on here since 1967 by the University of California at Los Angeles have addressed themselves primarily to the Roman remains, the Hexamilion and a Roman bath, in the process shedding light on the troubled era of Late Antiquity, which saw the abandonment and destruction of so many pagan cult places.<sup>2</sup>

The preliminary conclusions concerning the arrival of the Visigoths in A.D. 396 and the dates of the Isthmian fortification have already been published by Paul A. Clement.<sup>3</sup> I summarize: the first article presents a coin hoard of 97 pieces from the so-called East Field (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> The coins belong to the second half of the 4th century after Christ, ranging from Constans through Honorius. It is significant that no coin is later than A.D. 395, and it is a safe assumption that the hoard was either dropped in flight or hidden away in the face of the arrival of Alaric.<sup>5</sup>

From that moment on the sanctuary fell into increasing disrepair and soon became a source for building material for the construction of the Hexamilion, especially the Northeast Gate in the Fortress,<sup>6</sup> which is the subject of the second article by Clement

<sup>1</sup> *RE*, s.v. Alaricus, col. 1287; Zosimus, v.6.

<sup>2</sup> The following special abbreviations will be used in the discussion:

- Agora* VII = J. Perlzweig (Binder), *The Athenian Agora*, VII, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1961.
- Corinth* IV, ii = O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass. 1930.
- FOL = Fountain of the Lamps. See Garnett, *Hesperia* and footnote 33 below.
- Garnett = K. S. Garnett, *Late Roman Lamps of Corinthian Manufacture from the Fountain of the Lamps* (thesis for the M.A. degree, University of Texas, Austin 1970).
- Garnett, *Hesperia* = K. S. Garnett, "Late Roman Corinthian Lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps," *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 173–206.
- Isthmia* III = O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, III, *Terracotta Lamps*, Princeton 1977.
- "Vari" = S. E. Bassett, "The Cave at Vari, VI, The Terra-cotta Lamps," *AJA* 7, 1903, pp. 338–349.

<sup>3</sup> With A. E. Beaton, "The Date of the Destruction of the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth," *Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 267–279, and "The Date of the Hexamilion," *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas*, Thessaloniki 1975, pp. 159–164.

<sup>4</sup> The area, probably containing houses, was excavated in 1970, 1971, and 1972. Preliminary reports by Clement are in Δελτ 26, 1971, B' 1 [1974], pp. 100–111, Δελτ 27, 1972, B' 1 [1976], pp. 224–231 and Δελτ 28, 1973, B' 1 [1977] pp. 143–149.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the coin hoard found in Corinth on top of the so-called Epistyle Wall; no coin in it is later than A.D. 395, and in all likelihood it is a phenomenon parallel to the East Field hoard; see J. Wiseman, "Excavations in Corinth, The Gymnasium Area, 1967–1968," *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 92 and pl. 29:c.

<sup>6</sup> One item of special interest from the Gate, a stele re-used as a paving block, is published: P. A. Clement, "L. Kornelios Korinthos of Corinth," Φόρος, *Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1974, pp. 36–39.

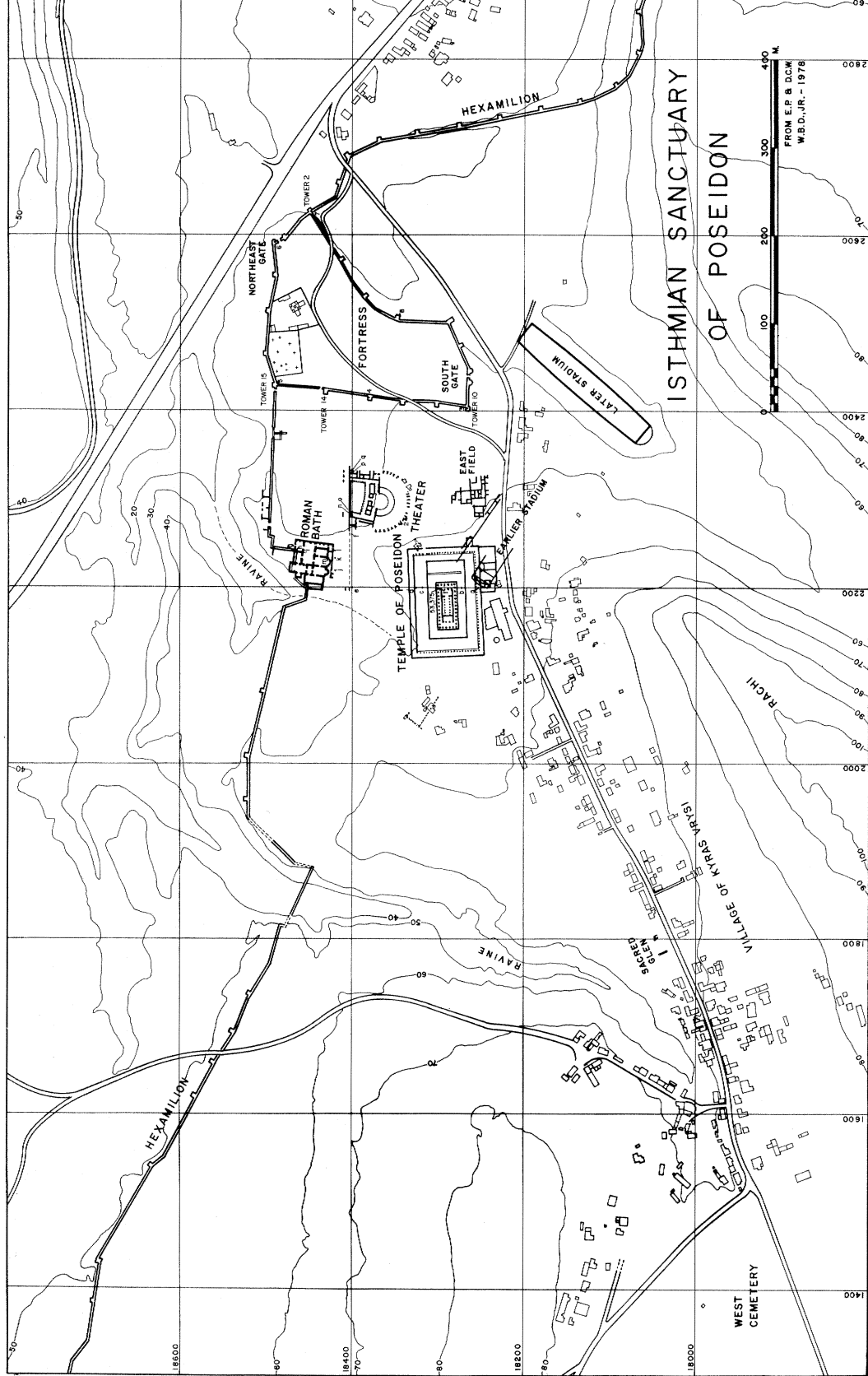


FIG. 1. Plan of the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon

mentioned above. Eighteen coins from the roadway of the gate derive from the top surface cuttings and crevices of the re-used paving blocks. They can therefore reasonably be suggested to include some of the earliest coins dropped onto the new road and point to the second and third decades of the 5th century after Christ as a likely date for its construction. By the third quarter of the century the military aspects of the gate were so diminished (though the road continued to be used) that graves could be constructed up against the inner face of the wall. One of these graves contained a coin of Marcian (A.D. 450–457).<sup>7</sup>

R. Hohlfelder has suggested a date in the 440's after Christ for the construction of the Trans-Isthmus wall, rather in anticipation of the Huns than as a reaction to Visigoths.<sup>8</sup> This dating, however, meets with several difficulties not only from the Isthmia coin material already published but also from a deposit of lamps in the Roman Bath to be presented here.<sup>9</sup>

The present article attempts to clarify further the chronology of the end of the sanctuary and the construction of the Hexamilion, as well as to explore some implications for the Athenian lamp trade of the late 4th to early 5th century after Christ. The problems under consideration come out of the interrelation between the Late Roman architectural activity in the Roman Bath (located approximately 100 meters north of the temple of Poseidon) and a large open deposit of lamps found within the northern rooms<sup>10</sup> (Figs. 1 and 2).

<sup>7</sup>The coin comes from one of two graves found in 1967. Six more were excavated in 1969, all from the inside of the Northeast Gate.

<sup>8</sup>"Trans-Isthmian Walls in the Age of Justinian," *GRBS* 18, 1977, pp. 173–179.

<sup>9</sup>Although this is not the place for a full-scale consideration of Hohlfelder's article, the following points must be made:

1. Unless the coin of Marcian had been in circulation many decades before ending up in the grave, there is a surprisingly brief interval between the construction of the wall and its becoming obsolete enough to serve as backing for a burial.

2. The unidentified coin from the Northeast Gate (see Clement, "The Date of the Hexamilion" [footnote 3 above], no. 17, p. 163) has turned out to be not Theodosius II, as suggested by Hohlfelder (p. 175), but Justinian I.

3. Clement has preliminarily identified Justinian's activities at the Hexamilion with a clearly definable third stage of gate construction; this is of a rather hasty and much less careful nature than the Hexamilion itself. But to call the 5th-century wall "the earlier" and the later additions "one of several important Justinianic constructions in Greece" (Hohlfelder, *passim* and p. 178 respectively) is not warranted by the material from the Northeast Gate nor from the stretch of the Hexamilion by the Roman Bath.

[The reader's attention is called to the article by J. A. Dengate ("Coin Hoards from the Gymnasium Area at Corinth," pp. 147–188 below), especially pp. 149–153, where a hoard from the time of Alaric is discussed, together with the attendant problems of dating.—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup>I want to thank Professor P. A. Clement for his kind permission to publish, along with the lamps, these preliminary statements on the Roman Bath; his knowledge and advice have been invaluable guidelines. The Bath still awaits a full-scale study; in it was found *inter alia* a large black-and-white mosaic, preliminarily published in the *ILN*, Oct. 1976, and studied in detail by P. M. Packard, "A Monochrome Mosaic at Isthmia," *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 326–346. The present article, written while I was a member at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, contains the first presentation of a segment of all the lamps from the UCLA excavations from 1967 through 1978; a full catalogue is in preparation.

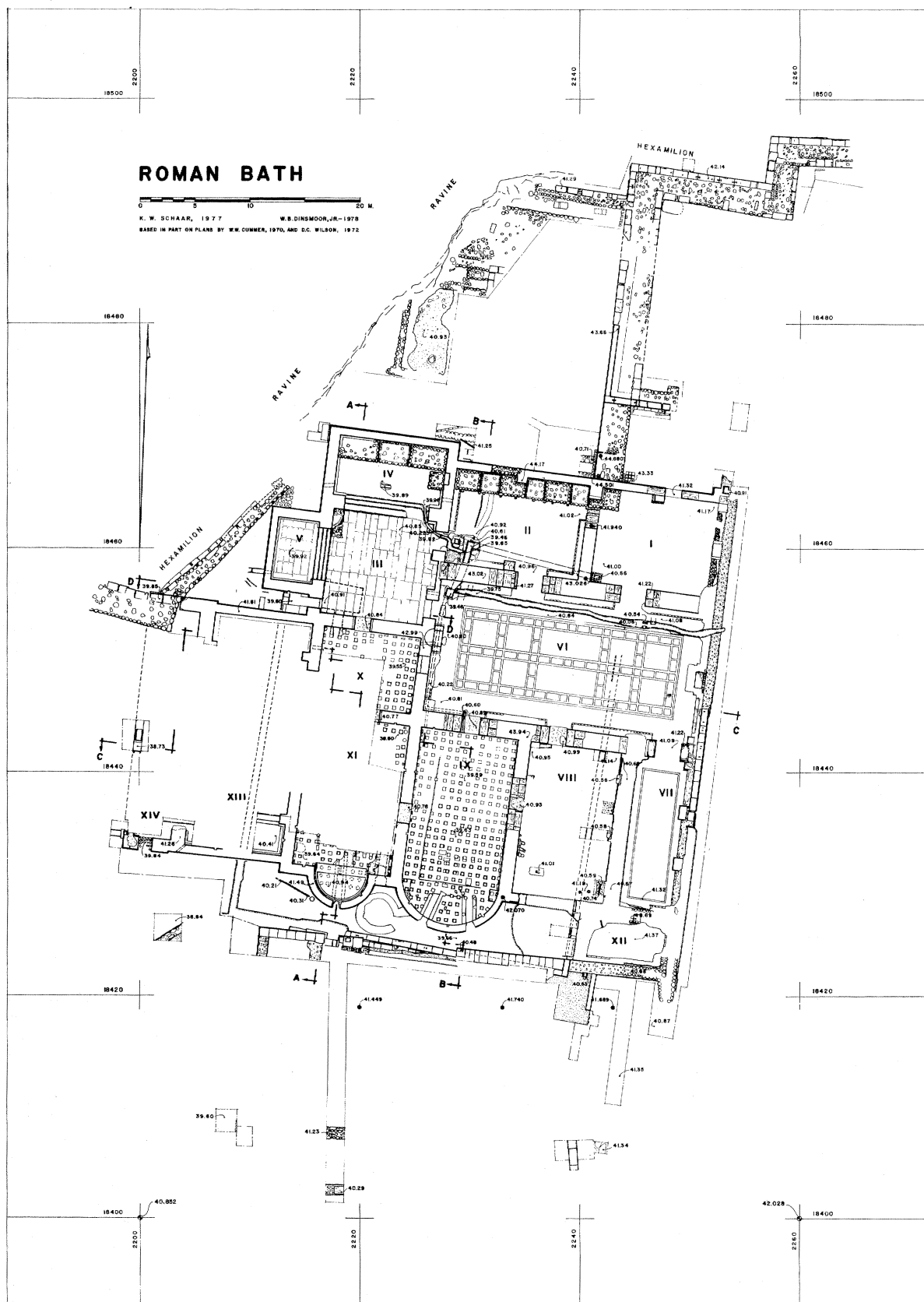


FIG. 2. Plan of the Roman Bath

Although this lamp deposit concerns merely two rooms (I and VI) out of some 14 so far identified, the Bath is comprehensive enough in size (approximately 51.6 by 46 meters) to be said to have suffered the same general fate in its entirety. Built probably in the 2nd century after Christ, its disintegration comprises three stages:

1. A period of abandonment starting either with the edict of Theodosius in A.D. 392 or with the sack of Alaric in A.D. 396.
2. A period of demolition and of the construction of the Hexamilion, which here incorporates the north wall of the Bath. This activity is suggested, on the basis of the Northeast Gate evidence, to have taken place in the second to third decades of 5th century after Christ as a response to Alaric's sack of Rome. It would thus parallel the large fortification works at Constantinople, and also at Corinth, as has been recently argued by T. E. Gregory.<sup>11</sup> His notion that the carefully built wall at Corinth hardly seems to have been constructed in the haste of an oncoming threat (p. 270) could certainly also apply to the Hexamilion and the Northeast Gate.
3. The final collapse of the building cannot be given a precise date, at least not at this point in the study of the Bath. Let me, however, merely indicate that it is unlikely to have occurred very long after the demolition: the stability of the structure was undermined by the robbing of the building blocks; from a stratigraphical point of view nothing notable was found between the material connected with the demolition and the destruction debris consisting of fallen walls and roof tiles. The end that sealed off the site probably came in the late 6th century, possibly through an earthquake.

The latest datable object so far found under the destruction debris is a lamp of North African type, not part of the deposit and from a different room<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 4, Pl. 33:a).

#### THE NORTH ROOMS OF THE BATH

From this general history of the Bath let us focus on the archaeological situation of the smaller area under special consideration here: the north rooms connected with the Hexamilion and with the lamp deposit (rooms I and VI; Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup>

The three stages of disintegration mentioned above take on certain individual features in this area. The principal factors to consider are the following: Stage 1, the period of abandonment (390's to *ca.* A.D. 415), is represented very significantly in room I by a layer of hard gray silt, directly over the floor of marble tesserae. The horizontal

<sup>11</sup>For Constantinople, see B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* I, II, Berlin 1943; for Corinth, T. E. Gregory, "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth," *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 264-280.

<sup>12</sup>IPL 72-8. An exact, less worn parallel comes from Corinth, FOL, L 69-160; its context is of mid-6th century.

<sup>13</sup>Rooms I and VI were excavated in two sessions: 1972 and 1976. Room I may have been part of an entrance system, room VI was the great central hall of the Bath with a large floor mosaic, sculptural decoration and benches for resting.

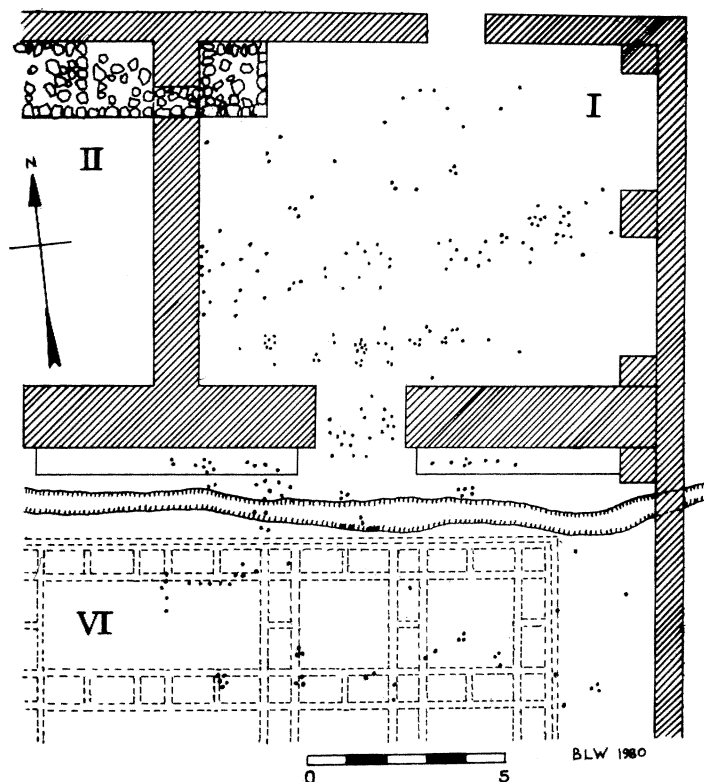


FIG. 3. Plan of the northern rooms of the Roman Bath showing the distribution of the lamp deposit. Dots often mark the findspot not of a single fragment but of several.

extent of the silt comprises only the area closest to the wall dividing rooms I and II (extending *ca.* three meters east from that wall), nor was it reported in the very southwest corner of the room. This situation can be explained by the slight sloping of the floor towards the extreme southwest corner of the room where there is a sizable drain. The silt would most naturally have entered room I with winter rains through the door in the north wall and sifted itself west and south. The thickness of the layer is *ca.* 0.10 m. or slightly more. Though the layer thus is of relatively limited extent in the room, it is in fact quite sufficient for providing information, for it intersects both with the part of the Hexamilion which intrudes into the northwest corner of room I and with a sizable section of the lamp deposit.

The Hexamilion intrusion into room I is one of the factors representing Stage 2: demolition of the Bath and construction of the Trans-Isthmus wall. This period is characterized by a number of different but interrelated activities in the Bath, all within a relatively brief time, including the depositing of the lamps. Some attempt will be made at establishing a sequence where possible.

The section of the Bath primarily robbed of material was the east exterior wall, which in great part must be picked out mainly by its footing trench. But the north wall

of the Bath became in this stage a part of the east-west run of the Hexamilion, which backs up against its inside face. The corner of the Hexamilion protruding into Room I is of particular interest (Fig. 3). The construction material consists of smallish fieldstones, brick, and heavy mortar; the dimensions of the protruding corner are  $1.60 \times 1.90$  m. Its masonry is bedded directly on the marble mosaic floor; the silt from the previous period was cleared away from a section of the floor for construction purposes, leaving a small footing trench (of soft soil) along the east and south sides of the Hexamilion intrusion, a trench about 0.20 m. wide (Pl. 33:b).

A further sign of activity from the demolition period is an uneven channel cut in room VI just north of the big figured mosaic. The channel extends from the east end all the way to a drain in the west end of room VI, to a length of *ca.* 23 meters<sup>14</sup> with a width varying from 0.40 to 0.60 m. The project ripped up the pavement of large tesserae, numerous pieces of which were found along its edge; the channel was dug to a depth of *ca.* 0.97 m., but whatever the original purpose was, it was abandoned for unknown reasons, the channel filled in (without a pipe inserted), but the pavement was not replaced. In fact the whole enterprise shows vacillating plans on which one can only speculate. Perhaps the channel was connected with an attempted alteration of some of the north rooms into a station for a military garrison. Was the channel meant for the piping of a fresh-water line?<sup>15</sup> Many questions, unanswerable at least at the moment, are raised by this channel, but we can say with some assurance that the project post-dates the robbing of the east wall as the channel cuts through its footing trench. While the general destruction debris of walls and bricks is reported as fairly uniform throughout the building, the material for refilling found in the channel had by exception a great concentration of sculptural marble fragments and large tiles, i.e., a selection of bulky pieces of debris, good for fast filling.<sup>16</sup> That such pieces were available gives at least a *terminus post quem*, i.e. after A.D. 396. The soil in and at the bottom of the channel was of a distinctive red color; during the original digging it was thrown up to form a ledge on the south side of the channel. Although the open ditch was refilled, part of this red soil was not replaced, but along the east half of the channel a ledge was left sitting on the mosaic floor where it still remained when the building totally caved in. The lamp deposit to be discussed here partially spills across the channel.

The final collapse, Stage 3 of the disintegration, buried all this: the silt layer, the re-filled drain, and the lamp deposit. It left impressive traces in the northern rooms: large sections of wall containing windows and arched niches were fallen, accompanied by much window glass, stucco pieces, and other architectural terracotta and marble fragments.

<sup>14</sup>The total length of the channel as found in 1976 was 24.7 m. including a section east of (outside) room VI.

<sup>15</sup>The channel was apparently to be part of an elaborate piping and drainage system under the Bath, which shows signs of several stages of reworking; it remains to be more thoroughly explored and studied.

<sup>16</sup>I am indebted to Dr. J. Peppers, Field Director during 1977 and 1978, for generously sharing with me much useful knowledge concerning the Roman Bath in general and the lamp deposit and the channel under discussion in particular.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE DEPOSIT

There are 71 inventoried items in the deposit and over 200 uninventoried fragments. Their condition is notable: only one lamp was found reasonably whole (nozzle missing), yet its general quality and glaze are bad; the majority of the inventoried items are mended from several pieces, and joining pieces were found spread over considerable areas. But in not a single instance has a whole lamp been restored.

Although we are dealing with an open deposit,<sup>17</sup> the horizontal perimeter was relatively easy to define for a number of reasons. First of all, apart from the deposit there was a general absence of lamps or lamp fragments in that particular section of the establishment. Secondly, the concentration was thickest in the southwest part of room I, the doorway to room VI, and in the northernmost sections of room VI. It was particularly the tapering off of the fragments (southward) over the figured mosaic in room VI that created uncertainties. These were conveniently removed, however, when, on several occasions, more peripheral pieces would find joins with fragments from the unquestionable center. Thirdly, there is a remarkable stylistic homogeneity in the material itself: with very few exceptions, the lamps are of the late, Athenian, glazed variety. Of approximately 550 deposit fragments (before mending) only about 20 were found which do not cohere typologically with the majority.<sup>18</sup> The kind represented by the majority has traditionally been dated no later than *ca.* A.D. 360, i.e. at a time when the Bath, we assume, was still in use and about 40 to 50 years before the date of the depositing, as suggested by the stratigraphical evidence.<sup>19</sup> This discrepancy is discussed further below.

The vertical extent of the fragments is also rather clear cut. Always starting below the destruction debris, the highest reported location is *ca.* 0.50 m. above the mosaic floor (room I), but the majority are in a layer immediately above the floor in both rooms concerned. In one southwest area of room I the fragments not only start well above the silt but continue down through it to the floor; this is not surprising given the thickness of the deposit and the weight of the fallen debris above.

The lamp fragments, almost always in room I and to a great extent in room VI, are connected with a burned layer of distinct dark soil. This strosis varies not only in intensity of burned matter, but also in thickness from *ca.* 0.50 m. (room I) to 0.05 m. (room VI), with an average of *ca.* 0.20 m. The darkest, and also thickest, concentration of this

<sup>17</sup>Being aware of the wide variation (and inexactness) with which the word "deposit" is used in the scholarly literature, I would like to specify how the concept is applied in this article. By an open deposit I understand a group of finds not intentionally sealed off from its surroundings (e.g. by a pit or container) but of internal consistency, occurring within a limited area horizontally and vertically in sufficient quantity to distinguish it as a unit.

<sup>18</sup>Fifteen fragments are much earlier; e.g., some Corinthian sherds of the late 3rd century after Christ and some unglazed, Athenian pieces of the late 3rd to early 4th century. The other five, later than the majority, are reported at the end of the catalogue (43–47) as the last additions to the deposit.

<sup>19</sup>J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, VII, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton 1961, p. 64. It is with gratitude that I acknowledge the help that Dr. Perlzweig Binder gave in the initial stages of this project. I learned a great deal from her insights and especially appreciate her scrupulous insistence on the tentative nature of the A.D. 360 date as an end for Athenian glaze.

burned layer was found in the whole south and southwest part of room I, in the door to room VI, and immediately south of the door and towards the east between the party wall of rooms I and VI and the edge of the red-soil channel. To the west of the doorway and south of the channel in room VI, dark soil is very spotty if it exists at all.<sup>20</sup>

In room VI we have to take into account, in addition to the burned layer in the northern parts, the red soil from the channel dug the length of the room (cf. p. 118 above). The stratigraphy here shows that the deposit antedates not only the refilling of the channel but probably also its opening. For where the red-soil ledge was left thrown up south of the channel in its east extension, about 20 lamp fragments were located in and mostly under it.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, six pieces were recovered from the channel filling itself; in fact, given the limited physical space encompassing lamps, channel, and red-soil ledge, it is astonishing that more fragments did not end up in the refill.<sup>22</sup>

With these stratigraphic facts at hand, we may suggest a sequence of events. The silting up of the floor in room I, the building of the Hexamilion, the accompanying gradual dumping in the burned layer, and finally the aborted channel project seem all to be fairly closely related chronologically. The traces of human activity left between the abandonment and the final collapse is most naturally connected with the construction of the Trans-Isthmus wall and with more or less temporary quarters of the builders around (or perhaps in) the Bath, as well as with possible plans to convert part of the demolished structure into garrison quarters in the early 5th century. These projects were abandoned, however, and the habitation ended, possibly when the construction crew moved on to other sectors of the wall. As far as can be determined at the moment, the late habitation and all but spotty activity in and around the Bath came to a halt before the final collapse in the 6th(?) century, not because of it. Here the half-completed refilling of the channel of room VI is an important item. If we may venture a picture of the situation in the northern rooms before the collapse it makes for a rather cluttered area: in room I the mounting burned layer with the (dumped) lamps plus a moderate amount of destruction debris, e.g. marble pieces, plaster, and pottery; the doorway to room VI obstructed in the same way, as well as by a large mass of broken-up mosaic tesserae from the floor over the channel; in room VI the channel itself in different stages of disrepair, an earth shelf *ca.* 0.30 to 0.40 m. high formed from the fill, and a considerable amount of broken lamp fragments. All this would, one feels, substantially lessen the practicality and the accessibility of the potentially usable spaces still available. Perhaps another factor discouraging the use of the Bath was the danger of collapse,

<sup>20</sup>The dark soil hardly ever occurs without lamp fragments, while lamp fragments were occasionally found without the burned soil.

<sup>21</sup>This, however, was the case in only one spot; in general no pottery of any sort emerged from this ledge.

<sup>22</sup>In view of the relative absence of black soil surrounding the lamp fragments south of the red-earth channel, it is a possibility that those sherds got there at the time of the digging of the channel, dislocated from their original (dumped) position somewhat further north, i.e. more or less over the area now taken up by the channel.

anticipated for some time. For the period before the cave-in it is also reasonable to assume that the roof in at least rooms I, II, III, and IV had been dismantled in connection with the incorporation of the northern exterior wall into the Hexamilion and the robbing of material from the east wall, creating a gap which gave direct access to room I.

The indication is thus that the lamps were not used where found, but the intrinsic thickness of the deposit in general would suggest some time of accumulation in spite of the general homogeneity of the material (let us say the years during which the construction of the Wall occasioned temporary bivouacking near by); rooms I and VI became the repository for broken-up and dumped lamp fragments. The conjunction with the burned layer of soil, the charcoal bits clinging to many fragments, and the burned condition of a good number of them raise the questions of how and when they were exposed to fire. The simplest solution is to assume open fires right there on top of the rubbish layer over the floor, especially in the southwest corner of room I and the northeast corner of room VI, where the accumulation of burned matter was particularly strong.<sup>23</sup>

The preliminary conclusion is therefore that the deposit was left within a relatively brief period, after the abandonment of the structure, in connection with the building of the Trans-Isthmus wall in the early decades of the 5th century after Christ.

#### THE CONTEXT POTTERY

The context material corroborates the chronological conclusions already drawn. While the Roman pottery from the Bath has not yet been fully studied, initial investigations indicate that no material from below the final destruction level postdates the 6th century after Christ anywhere in the building.<sup>24</sup> The great majority of the floor-level pottery in the Bath in general is of late 4th- and early 5th-century types; it includes many large, grooved amphoras and also one specimen of a Late Red Ware bowl (IPR 76-6) attributed to the 5th century. The few examples of 6th-century pottery include some specimens of combed amphoras.<sup>25</sup> The pottery from the area of the deposit itself

<sup>23</sup>The marble mosaic floor does in fact show burn marks in a number of instances in the northern rooms of the Bath including the areas just mentioned. One cannot, however, convincingly connect the burned soil layer and the burn marks on the floor at this moment. Perhaps future studies of the Bath will clarify the matter. For while the two phenomena partially overlap, they also exist independently of each other: a) in room I (where burn marks and black soil are separated by the silt), b) in rooms II and VI (where the marks are found without any notable presence of burned soil). One might perhaps suggest that the burn marks on the floor belong to the early abandonment stage, resulting from squatters(?) whose minuscule traces were absorbed by later activities.

<sup>24</sup>I am grateful to Professor T. Gregory for his knowledgeable suggestions on the context pottery and helpful advice in related matters.

<sup>25</sup>For a parallel to the Late Red Ware bowl, see J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London 1972: African Red Slip Ware, pp. 121–122, Form 73, type A, ca. A.D. 420–475. For the 6th-century amphoras, see W. W. Rudolph, "Excavations at Porto Cheli and Vicinity, . . . V: The Early Byzantine Remains," *Hesperia* 48, 1979, p. 308, fig. 5, nos. 11 and 12.

is intrinsically coherent and harmonizes with the general picture. One significant fact to add, however, is that the area of the deposit yielded noticeably less pottery than the rest of the Bath at the same level. Representative examples from the deposit area include fragments of large, grooved amphoras of the late 4th to early 5th century (e.g. IPR 72-56), a large-diameter basin and a shallow gray-ware bowl, both of the early 5th century, a flanged bowl in buff fabric, and a local red-slip plate dated to the late 4th to early 5th century after Christ.<sup>26</sup>

The chronological distribution of the context pottery thus agrees with that of the lamps from the Roman Bath generally: after the early decades of the 5th century the material grows very scarce for the rest of the century. Activities evidently tapered off shortly after the construction of the Hexamilion, but continued in a scattered fashion into the 6th century, when the limited amount of lamps and pottery found in the Bath as well as in other parts of the former sanctuary probably could be tied to the reactivating of the fortifications by Justinian and the presence of his troops.

#### THE CONTEXT COINS

The numismatic evidence in the Bath for the late activity and its cessation is even more comprehensive than that of the pottery. From floor level or floor fill inside the structure, sealed by the final collapse debris, were recovered 15 coins, all from the 4th century after Christ with a preponderance towards the later half; only one coin bridges over into the early 5th century. Since only three of them were found in immediate contact with the lamp deposit, the listing of all 15 coins has been considered useful at this point.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup>The shape of the basin is similar to H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology*. Princeton 1959, K 78, there dated to the mid-3rd century; the clay and surface treatment, however, are more like L 48, a pitcher dated to the 4th century. The best parallel comes from Isthmia, IPR 67-1, from the foot of the Fortress curtain wall, datable to the construction of the Hexamilion: see J. M. Peppers, *Selected Roman Pottery, Isthmia Excavations, 1967-1972* (diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1979), p. 305, Q 347.

The gray-ware shallow bowl is similar to *Agora* V, P 11186, pl. 70, published as close to L 61, which is dated to early 5th century. L 59-L 61 all have similar clay and slip.

The flanged bowl in buff fabric is similar to Late Roman C Ware, Form 3 (Hayes, *op. cit.* [footnote 25 above], pp. 329-338), but is of a very different clay and without exact parallel. The fragment is from a small bowl, a shape in general dated early in the range of Late Roman C Ware, A.D. 400-550. Possibly manufactured in Asia Minor(?).

The local red-slip plate is related to African Red Slip Ware, Form 61(?) (Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-107), dated A.D. 325-450; it is a shallow plate with flat bottom and nearly vertical rim.

<sup>27</sup>The following special abbreviations are used in the numismatic references:

LRBC = R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, London 1960.

RIC = H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland, R. A. G. Carson, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London 1923-1967.

Professor Clement is preparing the catalogue of coins from Isthmia; it is the results of his work that I am able to include here. In addition to those in the list, four more coins of the same period can be reported. They come from the immediate vicinity of the Bath, or from circumstances where the robbed walls make it impossible to establish a floor level.

From the deposit (all from room I):

1. IC 72-28.  
Constantius II, A.D. 351–361, unknown mint.  
Falling horseman.  
*LRBC* II, p. 87 (Constantinople).
2. IC 72-31.  
Constantius II, A.D. 351–361, unknown mint.  
[FELTEMPRE-PA]RATIO, falling horseman.  
*LRBC* II, p. 87 (Constantinople).
3. IC 72-33.  
Constantius II, Cyzicus A.D. 355–361.  
[FEL]TEMPRE-PARATIO, falling horseman.  
*LRBC* II, no. 2502.

From the rest of the Bath:

4. IC 76-1 (doorway north of room I).  
Roman Imperial, defaced.
5. IC 76-3 (room VI).  
Constantine I, Constantinople, A.D. 333–335.  
GLOR-IAEXERC-ITUS, two soldiers and two standards.  
*LRBC* I, no. 1010, *RIC* VII, p. 581, no. 73 (A.D. 333–335).
6. IC 76-5 (room VI).  
Constans I, A.D. 341–346, unknown mint.  
[VICT]ORIAE[DD] AVGGQN[N], two Victories each with wreath.  
E.g. *LRBC* I, no. 791 (at Siscia).
7. IC 72-29 (room II).  
Constantius II, Constantinople, A.D. 351–354.  
FELTEMPRE-PARATIO, falling horseman.  
*LRBC* II, no. 2039.
8. IC 76-9 (room VIII).  
Valentinian I, Thessalonica, A.D. 364–367.  
GLORIARO-MANORUM, emperor and captive.  
*LRBC* II, no. 1704.

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- a. IC 78-6  
Valens, Thessalonica, A.D. 364–367.  
[G]LORIARO-MANORUM: emperor dragging captive.  
*LRBC* II, no. 1705 or 1709, *RIC* IX, p. 176, no. 16b.
  - b. IC 72-32  
Valentinian II, Thessalonica, A.D. 378–383.  
REPARATIO-[REIP]VB, emperor raising woman.  
*LRBC* II, no. 1825, *RIC* IX, p. 181, no. 37 C1.
  - c. IC 70-39  
Valentinian II, Cyzicus, A.D. 383–392.  
SALUSREI-PUBLICAE, Victory dragging captive.  
*LRBC* II, no. 2568.
  - d. IC 76-8

If Victory with wreath and palm, possibilities range from A.D. 337 to 394, but probability lies with the SECURITAS REIPUBLICAE issues of Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian and Valentinian II, struck at all mints A.D. 367–378 (C<sub>13</sub>, *LRBC* II, pp. 79–81 at Thessalonica).

9. IC 76-10 (room VIII).  
Gratian, Siscia, A.D. 378–383.  
REPARATIO–REIPVB, emperor raising woman.  
*LRBC* II, no. 1519, *RIC* IX, p. 150, no. 262.
10. IC 77-2 (doorway between rooms III and X).  
Arcadius, Thessalonica, A.D. 383–388.  
VICTORIAAΛYΓ, two victories.  
*LRBC* II, no. 1872, *RIC* IX, p. 187, no. 63e.
11. IC 76-6 (room VI).  
Theodosius I, Thessalonica, A.D. 384–388 or 392.  
GLORIAREI–[PVBLICE], camp gates.  
*LRBC* II, no. 1862 (A.D. 384–292), *RIC* IX, p. 183 and p. 186, no. 59b (A.D. 384–388).
12. IC 77-5 (dump from room VIII and IX).  
Arcadius, Thessalonica, A.D. 388–393.  
SALVSREI–PVBLICAE, Victory dragging captive.  
*LRBC* II, no. 1875, *RIC* IX, p. 188, no. 65c.
13. IC 78-5 (east of room VI, on top of red channel refill).  
Theodosius I, Cyzicus, A.D. 383– or 388–395.  
SALVSREI–PVBLICAE, Victory dragging captive.  
*LRBC* II, nos. 2569 and 2577 (A.D. 383–395), *RIC* IX, p. 246, no. 26b3 (A.D. 388–392) and p. 247, no. 30b (A.D. 392–395).
14. IC 78-2 (room VIII).  
Arcadius, Nicomedia, A.D. 395–408.  
VIR[TVS–EXERCITI], emperor crowned by Victory.  
*LRBC* II, no. 2436.
15. IC 76-7 (room VI).  
If SALVS REIPVBLICAE, Victory dragging captive, then an issue of Theodosius I or Valentinian II or Arcadius or Honorius, A.D. 383–392 (e.g. *LRBC* II, nos. 1873–1875 at Thessalonica). If Victory with wreath and palm, possibilities range from A.D. 337 to 394, but probability lies with the SECVRITAS REI–PVBLICAE issues of Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian and Valentinian II, struck at all mints A.D. 367–378 (e.g. *LRBC* II, pp. 79–81 at Thessalonica).

Taking into account the often considerable use period of some of these coins, especially the long circulation of the Constantius II issues, the substance of this extended list clearly points to the end of the 4th and the early decades of the 5th century after Christ for the core of the post-abandonment activities in the Roman Bath at Isthmia.

## CATALOGUE

The following catalogue contains a representative selection of the lamp deposit.<sup>28</sup> All measurements are given in meters.

<sup>28</sup>The Catalogue is arranged in the following sequence of categories: 1) figured disks, 2) patterned disks, 3) signatures, 4) heterogeneous later pieces. When a lamp falls into two categories, the dominating or best preserved feature has determined its place. Approximately two thirds of the inventoried pieces appear in the Catalogue, but the number of parallels from the remaining third and from the uninventoried fragments is always indicated.

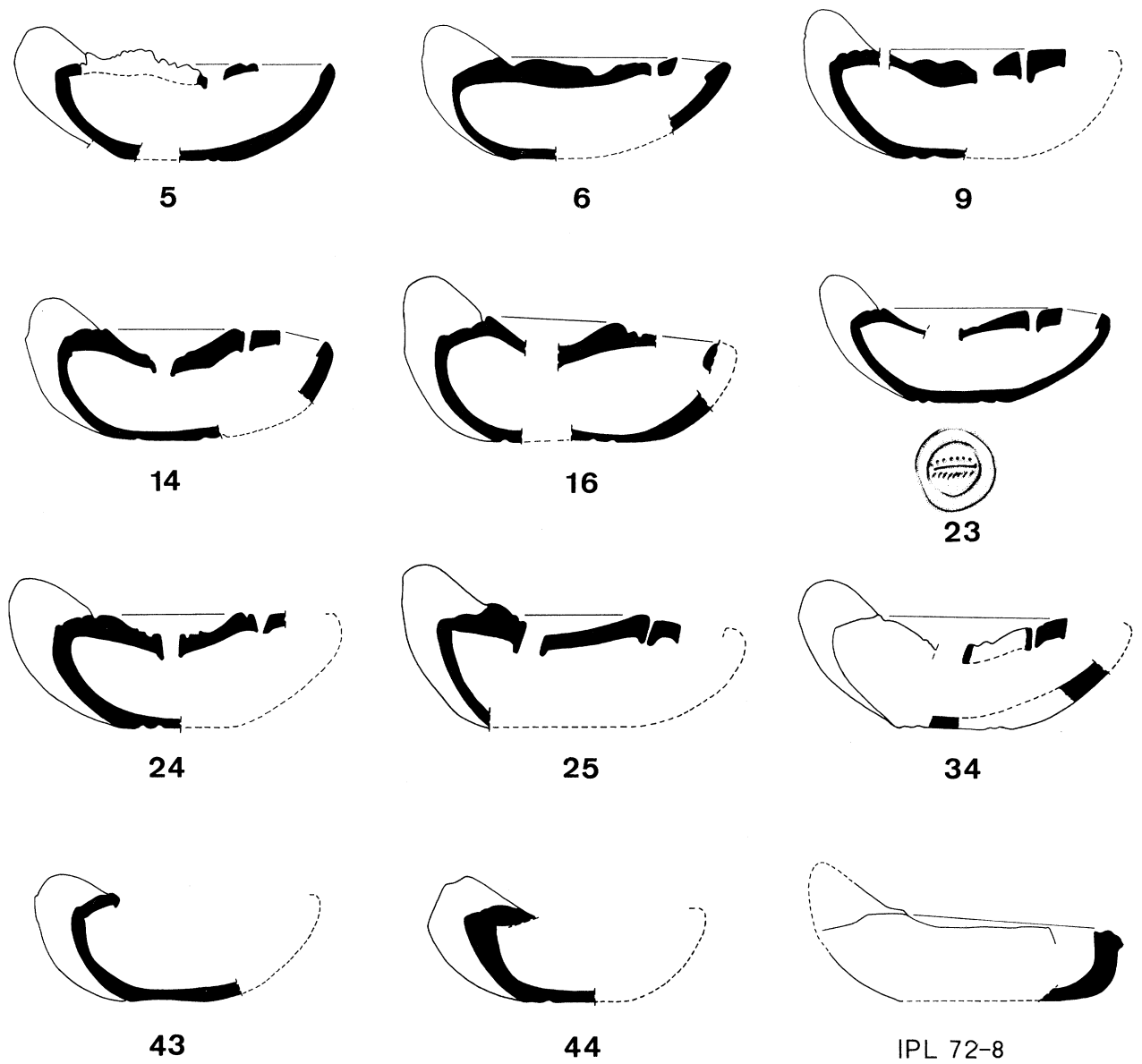


FIG. 4. Scale 1:2

## 1. IPL 72-17

Pl. 34

P. L. 0.089, p. W. 0.069, H. 0.033.

Several fragments preserving handle, part of disk, rim and back. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6);<sup>29</sup> reddish brown metallic glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Disk: Eros standing turned left,<sup>30</sup> head turned right, down-turned torch in right hand; to right: altar and part of filling-hole, double ground lines with concentric circles; framing ring. Rim: plain as preserved; concentric circles flanking handle. Handle: solid, 3 grooves above, 2 below.

For the torch-and-patera type of Eros disk, see *Agora* VII, no. 733, and especially the fragment no. 738; or K. Kübler, "Zum Formwandel in der spätantiken attischen Tonplastik," *Jdl* 67, 1952, p. 127, fig. 48, although the deposit version is later than either one of these lamps and the retouching is heavy-handed; its geometricized qualities contribute to the dissolving of form rather than to the restoring of it.

*Comparanda*.<sup>31</sup> *Corinth* IV, ii, no. 1116;<sup>32</sup> FOL,<sup>33</sup> L 4689 and L 4690, both disk fragments; all these examples have a more organic indication of muscles than 1.

<sup>29</sup>Color descriptions are from *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, Baltimore 1971.

<sup>30</sup>"Left" and "right" are to be understood as "proper" when applied to figures, but are in respect to the viewer when the design is described as a whole.

<sup>31</sup>The listing of parallels is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather to be concentrated on material most to the point for the present purposes. It therefore includes *Athens* as the point of provenience (for the majority), *Corinth* and *Isthmia* for physical proximity and pattern of import, especially the *Fountain of the Lamps* in *Corinth* for its important chronological altitude, *other sites* only in case of rarity or particular chronological significance of the comparative material. In the collection of this material I acquired several debts, which it is a pleasure to acknowledge: to Dr. J. Camp II and the *Agora* Excavations, for permission to study and assistance in working with their material; and to C. K. Williams, II and Dr. N. Bookidis of the *Corinth* Excavations, both for permission to study the lamps and for their constant helpfulness, which greatly facilitated my work.

<sup>32</sup>I am very grateful to Professor Broneer for his encouragement and willingness to discuss with me the lamps from both *Corinth* and *Isthmia*.

<sup>33</sup>The *Fountain of the Lamps*, excavated by the University of Texas at Austin under the direction of Professor J. R. Wiseman in 1968-1970, yielded about 4,000 lamps of the Late Roman period. The earliest layers of this deposit contained Athenian glazed lamps, with many and close parallels to the lamps in the *Isthmia* deposit. These lamps have been studied by K. S. Garnett and presented in two forms: as a thesis for the M.A. degree (University of Texas, Austin 1970) and in a compressed article (Garnett, *Hesperia*). For a listing of the preliminary reports of the FOL as such, see Garnett, *Hesperia*, p. 173, note 2. I want to thank Professor Wiseman for valuable discussions and suggestions on several questions concerning the FOL and related matters.

<sup>34</sup>The parallels from the Vari Cave are potentially very important, but our present knowledge of them is insufficient. For further discussion, see below p. 137. Of similar interest are the lamps from Parnes, see K. Rhomaios, 'Αρχ'Εφ, 1906, pp. 110-116.

## 2. IPL 76-7

P. L. 0.073, p. W. 0.067.

Two fragments preserving part of rim, most of disk. Reddish brown clay (5YR 5/4); same color glaze.

Disk: satyr as Pan-piper; framing ring. Rim: panels with herringbone; circles flanking panels and nozzle. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves.

*Comparanda*. For a discussion of the type, as well as for the closest parallel, see *Isthmia* III, no. 2979. Other related lamps are FOL, L 69-215 (illustrated *ibid.*, pl. 40) and FOL, L 4598; also *Agora* VII, nos. 801-804, and "Vari,"<sup>34</sup> pl. XIII:5; all these examples have the same rim decoration.

## 3. IPL 76-20

P. L. 0.059, p. W. 0.057, p. H. 0.042.

Two fragments preserving most of handle, part of adjacent back, rim and disk. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); reddish brown, metallic glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Disk: bust of Athena (top of crested helmet preserved); rough edge of filling-hole; framing ring. Rim: panels (above a horizontal position)

with double branch; concentric circles flanking handle and panels. Handle: solid, 3 grooves above, 2 below.

A thorough discussion of the iconography with bibliographical references is found in *Agora* VII, pp. 111–112. 3 belongs to Group 2, with spear showing. In most examples studied, however, the spear is broader than on 3.

*Comparanda.* Closest from the *Agora* is *Agora* VII, no. 669; FOL, L 4595 signed K[Y] with branch (*Hesperia* 38, 1969, pl. 24) is important; see also *Corinth* IV, ii, nos. 1103 and 1106, and “Vari,” fig. 3.

#### 4. IPL 76-9 Pl. 34

P. L. 0.082, p. W. 0.062.

Two fragments preserving part of handle, disk and rim. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); reddish brown glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Disk: Herakles wrestling with the Nemean Lion; framing ring. Rim: plain as preserved. Handle: solid, 3 grooves above.

The organic, three-dimensional qualities of the bodies are comparatively well maintained alongside the more sketchily retouched hair, eye, mane and misinterpreted stomach muscles.

*Comparanda.* *Agora* VII, no. 773; *Corinth* IV, ii, esp. no. 1170; FOL, L 69-379; “Vari,” no. 17b, pl. XIV:2.<sup>35</sup>

#### 5. IPL 72-9 Fig. 4, Pl. 34

L. 0.118, W. 0.078, H. 0.033.

Mended from several fragments, partially restored on back; part of base, side, rim, nozzle and disk missing. Reddish brown clay (5YR 5/3); reddish brown glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Disk: mask of young man: tragedy(?); framing ring. Rim: panels with branch; concentric circles flanking handle, panels and nozzle. Handle: solid, 3 grooves above, 2 below. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves. Base: within 2 concentric grooves, E[T] (half of base missing).

*Comparanda.* *Agora* VII, no. 872 is close; while none of several Athenian glazed lamps at Corinth with disks of theatrical masks is very similar, it is

interesting to note that the FOL has provided 2 examples. For theatrical representations on lamps see, e.g., H. Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, Mainz 1954, p. 7 with references, and T. B. L. Webster, *BICS*, Suppl. XX, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, 2nd ed., London 1967, p. 32 (AL 1), on *Agora* VII, nos. 872, 873, where he assumes it to be a satyr. For the signature, see under 35 below.

#### 6. IPL 72-11 Fig. 4, Pl. 34

L. 0.103, p. W. 0.079, H. 0.033.

Mended from several fragments; part of base and lower half missing. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); light reddish brown glaze (5YR 6/4).

Disk: lion crouching right; oblique ground line with vertical hatchings; framing groove. Rim: herringbone panels (right panel is above center); circles flanking handle, nozzle, and panels. Nozzle: diagonal grooves and groove from air-hole to wick-hole. Handle: solid, 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: mostly missing within faint single groove.

For the iconography see *Agora* VII, p. 130, especially nos. 974 and 979.

*Comparanda.* Among several examples from *Corinth* IV, ii, see especially no. 1216. FOL has yielded several fragmentary examples as well as one whole one (L 69-384). See also *Isthmia* III, nos. 2987 and 2988. All quoted examples show a similar but not identical tendency to sloppy symmetry of disk and rim details; no close parallel is from as worn a mold as is 6.<sup>36</sup>

#### 7. IPL 72-33 Pl. 34

P. L. 0.031, p. W. 0.042.

Two fragments preserving part of disk and rim. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4); reddish brown glaze (5YR 5/3).

Disk: paw of lion; part of double ground line with vertical hatchings; framing groove. Rim: plain as preserved; concentric circle by nozzle.

This is a more freshly retouched version of the same composition as 6.

<sup>35</sup>Signed ETP: Stratolaos; see discussion under 35.

<sup>36</sup>A lion disk is mentioned among the Vari lamps (“Vari,” p. 344) and connected with a ETP signature (p. 348), but is neither illustrated nor further described.

## 8. IPL 76-17

Pl. 34

P. L. 0.071, W. 0.079.

Two fragments preserving most of disk and rim. Light-brown clay (7.5YR 6/4); reddish brown glaze (5YR 5/4).

Disk: boar right. Rim: 3 uneven framing grooves. Nozzle: 1 diagonal groove visible.

*Comparanda.* Since the composition is rare the example from Corinth, FOL, L 4584, is particularly important. There the detail of the rendering of the bristles is different from that of 8 and also less clear; signed KY (*Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 78 and pl. 24). See also R. Haken, *Roman Lamps in the Prague National Museum and Other Czechoslovak Collections*, Prague 1958, fig. 108 and p. 103, a related but cruder version within 1 framing ring, the rim with 6 circles (purchased in Athens, no glaze reported). Haken comments on two features noticeable also in the present version: 1) the great height of the relief above the peak of the rim (there 0.0035, here 0.0025); 2) the overwhelming size of the animal in relation to the disk (with reference to Kübler's discussion of transference to lamps of subject matter from other media, *op. cit.* [under 1 above], pp. 118–119, 121). The narrowness of the field is solved differently on 8 and on the Prague lamp: on 8 the rim is practically abandoned, the 2 framing rings become the rim and the regularity of the circular form of the disk (still maintained in the Prague example) is tampered with when necessary, especially noticeably at tail and muzzle. This results in a larger field proportionately, since the total width is almost identical between the two lamps (there 0.078, here 0.079). In contrast to the carelessness of the frame, the retouches on the boar are done with great delicacy, but in view of their height they must be a result of a retouching of the mold.<sup>37</sup>

## 9. IPL 72-34

Fig. 4, Pl. 34

P. L. 0.096, p. W. 0.078, H. 0.042.

Several fragments preserving most of top section and about one third of lower section. Light-brown clay (7.5YR 6/4); reddish yellow glaze (5YR 5/6).

Disk: 2 fish, framing groove. Rim: wavy lines. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves. Handle; solid, 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: within 2 grooves, Δ(?) or possibly A.

*Comparanda.* The topic is relatively common on Athenian lamps from the later half of the 3rd century (see *Agora VII*, nos. 944–964). The closest *Agora* parallel is no. 960. The FOL example, L 4585, signed KY, provides the variant of an addition of hatched panels; otherwise the Athens and Corinth examples share a sharpness of the disk relief that 9 lacks. Furthermore, they have in common a crowded quality, caused by 3 framing grooves partially impinged upon by the 2 fish; this problem the maker of 9 avoided by eliminating all but 1 framing groove. A lamp disk with 2 fish is listed in "Vari," p. 345. The rim pattern originally combined with this type of disk was the S-rim; for the wavy-line pattern in general and in the deposit, see 19. For the signature, see 29.

## 10. IPL 76-4

P. L. 0.100, W. 0.073, H. 0.035.

Several fragments preserving handle, adjacent back, part of base, almost all of top. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); light-red, flaky glaze (2.5YR 6/6).

Disk: plain with crescent, 2 framing rings. Rim: 1 panel with herringbone (left side); circles flanking handle and nozzle. Nozzle: U-shaped, separated by 2 horizontal grooves. Handle: solid; 2 grooves above, 2 below with crosshatchings. Base:

<sup>37</sup>Contrasting with the rarity among the late lamps, there is evidence of a certain popularity of the topic on the lamps of the 1st century after Christ (single boar right), e.g.:

J. Deneuve, *Lampes de Carthage*, Paris 1969, nos. 344, 510.

Menzel (under 5 above), no. 141c.

M. Ponsich, *Les lampes romaines en terre cuite de la Maurétanie tingitane*, Rabat 1961, nos. 44, 122 and 145.

O. Waldhauer, *Kaiserlich Ermitage. Die antiken Tonlampen*, St. Petersburg 1914, no. 151.

H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, London 1914, nos. 585, 586 and 1036.

missing within 2 partially preserved concentric grooves.

*Comparanda:* The lamp is remarkably ill made, both in the mold and in the joining. Parallels, close also in the carelessness of quality, from locations of particular interest, have different nozzles: *Isthmia* III, no. 2994 (kite-shaped nozzle); *Corinth*, FOL, L 4667 and 2 uninventoried examples from lot 6105 (combination of kite- and U-shaped nozzle). *Agora* VII, no. 1072 (U-shaped nozzle). See also "Vari," no. 29, signed T.

# 11. IPL 72-16

Pl. 34

L. 0.102, p. W. 0.068, H. 0.034.

Mended from many fragments; part of rim, most of lower section missing. Light-brown clay (7.5YR 6/4); brown, metallic glaze (7.5YR 5/2).

Disk: small, concave with central ring; 3 framing grooves. Rim: 3 rows of globules, plain outer edge; globules end in volutes facing the nozzle; air-hole and tongue between volutes. Nozzle: bottom marked by 2 semicircular ridges touching base ring. Handle: punctured, not pierced; 3 grooves above, branch below. Underside: 5 rows of globules. Base: missing within 2 partially preserved grooves.

*Comparanda.* Roman Bath deposit: 2 uninventoried disk fragments, glazed, not from the same lamp, but one has the same disk diameter as 11. From the FOL there are several examples but in various stages of dissolution of the original type, mixing globules with other decorative elements. Two are of particular interest as good parallels: L 4732 and L 69-220, the latter signed KY: *Agora* VII, no. 1274.

# 12. IPL 76-41

Max. p. dim. 0.050 × 0.024.

Fragment preserving part of rim and disk. Light-red clay (2.5YR 6/6); weak red, metallic glaze (10R 5/4).

Disk: indistinguishable relief; framing ring. Rim: 8 S-spirals with dots between. Nozzle: diagonal lines.

*Comparanda.* The fragment comes from a worn mold and has 2 more parallels in the Roman Bath deposit, one of which could possibly be from 12. The other preserves a plain panel and a framing

ring; both are glazed. *Corinth* IV, ii, the FOL and *Isthmia* III record several examples. See also "Vari," pls. XII:6, and XIII:6. For the origin and spread of this common Athenian rim pattern, see *Agora* VII, pp. 23-24 and 57.

# 13. IPL 72-45

P. W. 0.045, p. L. 0.040.

Two fragments preserving part of handle, rim and disk. Dark, reddish gray clay, burned (5YR 4/2); reddish brown glaze (5YR 5/3).

Disk: square with inner scalloped edge; frame of 2 grooves. Rim: incised interlocked spirals. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. The combination of square disk and glaze is relatively rare, while the shape becomes more common in unglazed, later versions.

*Comparanda.* Closest parallel is *Agora* VII, no. 1429, signed A. Haken, *op. cit.* (under 8 above), no. 104 is similar, though the rim has a wavy-line pattern. The only example of a square-disked, glazed Athenian lamp from the FOL, L 4753, has a leaf-and-cluster rim in high relief, and is signed ETP/Δ.

# 14. IPL 72-15

Fig. 4, Pl. 34

L. 0.103, W. 0.074, H. 0.038.

Mended from several fragments; part of rim and lower section missing. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); reddish brown, metallic glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Disk: central ring; rosette of 18 petals; scalloped framing ring. Rim: leaf-and-cluster. Nozzle: diagonal grooves. Handle: reaches to inner circle of base, 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: 2 grooves.

This lamp introduces the largest single category of decoration among the Late Roman lamps: the rosette disk combined with a variety of rim patterns. This fact is easily discernible in the material from Athens (*Agora* VII, nos. 1649-1976) as well as from Corinth (*Corinth* IV, ii, nos. 964-1069, and many more found since Broneer's publication); see also "Vari," p. 343. The lamps from the Roman Bath deposit are no exception to this distribution pattern. In this catalogue 11 examples are included, representing the existing varieties of rosette-shape and rim combinations. Fifteen more are inventoried, near repetitions of those in the

Catalogue; they are described below when applicable. In addition, there are 24 uninventoried fragments.

The leaf-and-cluster design of the rim (harking back to its delicate Corinthian antecedents of the 2nd century after Christ) is not the most frequent rim decoration in the deposit (see **16** below); 2 more inventoried examples have a rosette disk (IPL 76-24 and IPL 72-44); 1 example is combined with rays; of 5 uninventoried fragments, 2 have a rosette disk, 3 do not include the disk. For a discussion of the range and frequency of Athenian rim patterns from the Roman period, see *Agora VII*, esp. pp. 22–24.

*Comparanda.* The best illustrated examples are *Agora VII*, no. 1789, and *Corinth IV*, ii, no. 1044, fig. 170. The FOL, however, provides the most striking parallels: L 4614 and one uninventoried example (lot 6105) are not of the same mold as **14** but are very close; both are signed LT.

**15. IPL 76-31** Pl. 34

P. L. 0.084, p. W. 0.051, p. H. (with handle) 0.039.

Two fragments preserving handle, part of rim and disk. Light-red clay (2.5YR 6/8); red, flaky glaze (2.5YR 5/6).

Disk: rosette of 18(?) petals; scalloped framing ring. Rim: leaf-and-cluster. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 3 below.

This lamp is slightly larger than **14** and the shapes of the leaves and clusters were originally different from it; this impression is enhanced both by a flakier glaze and by a more apparent manner of retouching: e.g., the recut berries are well separated from each other and rise from an almost smooth surface; many small clay particles are left in the deep lines of the leaves.

*Comparanda.* Closest parallel is *Corinth*, FOL, L 4627.

**16. IPL 72-13** Fig. 4, Pl. 35

P. L. 0.096, W. 0.075, H. 0.035.

Mended from several fragments; part of disk, rim, nozzle and base missing. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); glaze burned gray black, originally reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4?).

Disk: rosette of 12 petals. Rim: herringbone. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves. Handle: solid;

branch above, 3 grooves below. Base: within 2 circles part of base with signature preserved: E[TP].

*Comparanda.* This combination of disk and rim is very common, see, e.g., *Agora VII*, nos. 1856–1971; closest parallel there is no. 1912. *Corinth*, FOL, L 1613 is of the same mold as **16**. From the Roman Bath deposit there is in addition 1 very similar disk fragment (IPL 76-13) and 2 fragmentary lamps with pointed petals (IPL 72-30 and IPL 76-54); for the latter, see **31**.

The herringbone rim pattern is a favorite of the Late Roman period in general, and the deposit material confirms this fact; it is second only to the plain rim with its variations (see **23** below). Further examples from the deposit are **17**, **18**, **24**, **25**, **31** plus 3 inventoried fragments, all with rosette disk, and 7 uninventoried fragments. From Vari about half the lamps are reported as having herringbone rims (called “palm leaf,” “Vari,” pp. 342–343). For a discussion of the signature, see **35**.

**17. IPL 76-12 a, b** Pl. 35

a) P. L. 0.069, p. W. 0.067, p. H. 0.035.

b) P. L. 0.053, p. W. 0.055, p. H. 0.028.

Two non-joining sections: a) 2 fragments preserving part of disk, rim and side wall; b) 2 fragments preserving lower handle, adjacent wall and part of base. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); yellowish red glaze (2.5YR 5/6).

Disk: rosette of 4 large and 4 small double petals; framing ring. Rim: herringbone. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves; groove from air-hole to wick-hole. Handle: 2 grooves below. Base: mostly lost, single heart-shaped(?) groove turning to loop at handle.

*Comparanda.* Not including base: closest illustrated parallel is *Agora VII*, no. 1867. See also *Corinth IV*, ii, no. 966 and especially *Corinth* FOL, L 4612 signed ETP and the disk fragment L 4764. In the Roman Bath deposit, uninventoried: fragment of a base with 2 tear-shaped(?) grooves; loop at handle.

**18. IPL 72-46**

Max. p. dim. 0.029 × 0.029.

Fragment preserving part of disk and rim. Light-red clay (2.5YR 6/6); reddish brown, metallic glaze (2.5YR 5/6).

Disk: central ring; 2 leaves of a high-relief rosette (originally *ca.* 8 leaves), alternating between double-loop petals and leaves, framing groove. Rim: herringbone.

*Comparanda.* No exact parallels found; *Corinth* IV, ii, no. 1085 is similar with a large leaf rosette, but the leaves are not of alternating shape, nor are they on *Agora* VII, no. 1646.

19. IPL 72-19 Pl. 35

P. L. 0.065, p. W. 0.075, p. H. 0.032.

Fragment preserving part of disk, rim, handle and back side. Grayish brown clay, burned (10YR 5/2); reddish gray glaze (5YR 5/2).

Disk: central ring; rosette of *ca.* 28 slim petals ending in loops; scalloped framing ring with dots. Rim: wavy lines. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below.

The wavy-line pattern is a late arrival in the rim repertory (see *Agora* VII, p. 22) and is reported as second in frequency among the Vari lamps ("Vari," p. 343), which is also the case among the deposit lamps: see 20, 21 and 26. In addition there are 8 uninventoried fragments from the Roman Bath deposit.

*Comparanda.* No parallels found; *Corinth* IV, ii, nos. 957 and 959 are vaguely similar (thin, cloven petals).

20. IPL 72-18 Pl. 35

P. L. 0.098, p. W. 0.049, H. 0.036.

Several fragments preserving handle, half of disk and rim, part of back wall. Brown clay (7.5YR 5/4); reddish brown, metallic glaze (5YR 5/3).

Disk: 4 concentric heart-shaped leaves pointing outward; 4 small heart-shaped leaves pointing inward in interstices; 8 small concentric circles along periphery; framing groove. Rim: wavy lines. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: missing; fraction of 2 grooves preserved.

*Comparanda.* A. Bovon, *Études péloponnésienes*, V, *Lampes d'Argos*, Paris 1966, no. 316 from same or closely related mold; judged from the Isthmia and Argos fragments, the size is the same. The circles on the disk, however, are sharper on the Argive lamp; in addition, it is reported as unglazed.

21. IPL 72-24

P. L. 0.083, p. W. 0.051, p. H. 0.030.

Two fragments preserving handle, half of disk and rim, part of back wall. Reddish brown clay (5YR 5/4); reddish gray, flaky glaze (5YR 5/2).

Disk: central ring; 8-pointed star, framing ring. Rim: wavy lines. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 3 below. Base: fraction of groove preserved.

*Comparanda.* *Agora* VII, nos. 1980 and especially 1989 (signed ΑΓΑ).

22. IPL 72-10

P. L. 0.090, W. 0.071, H. 0.038.

Two fragments preserving most of top, part of back wall and base. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4); reddish brown, metallic glaze (5YR 5/4).

Disk: central ring; rosette of 14 petals; framing ring. Rim: 2 parallel grooves from handle to nozzle. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves; groove from air-hole to wick-hole. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: missing; arc from top of single heart-shaped(?) groove preserved (cf. 17).

*Comparanda.* No exact parallels found, though many are similar in *Corinth* IV, ii, the FOL, and Athens; see, e.g., *Agora* VII, no. 1775. In the Roman Bath deposit itself are the closest parallels to date: IPL 72-31 (without a framing ring) and 2 uninventoried fragments.

23. IPL 72-14 Fig. 4, Pl. 35

L. 0.109, W. 0.083, H. 0.034.

Mended from several fragments; part of disk, nozzle and side wall missing. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); mottled glaze unevenly fired, ranging from red (10R 5/8) to dark gray (5YR 4/1).

Disk: 2 central rings; rosette of 16 petals; framing ring. Rim: plain; circles at handle, nozzle and panel height. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves; groove from air-hole to wick-hole. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: within 2 grooves, a branch (Fig. 4).

In the deposit there are in all 7 inventoried examples of this combination of disk and rim; the rim pattern, in its variety of forms and of connections, represents the largest single category with 40 examples (of which 14 are uninventoried fragments). One reason for the large number is that it

incorporates plain rims with variations of absence or presence of panels and/or circles. These features have been combined in the present study, since they were not always separable owing to the small size of the fragments.

*Comparanda.* No exact parallels, but very close examples are found, e.g., in Corinth: FOL, L 4760 (13 petals, circles on rim, branch on base) or FOL uninventoried, lot 6105 (12 petals, plain panels and 4 circles, signed ET). *Agora* VII, nos. 1713–1736 are related to these, though considerably smaller in size.

For the branch design of the base, see *Agora* VII, p. 28, where it is concluded that it can not be regarded as a regular shop trademark, as Garnett, p. 29, suggests. A mere glance at *Agora* VII, pls. 35–37 shows that the design was coupled with various signatures, as well as appearing alone; the Roman Bath deposit material concurs with this: see 30 and 32. In the deposit there are also 2 uninventoried glazed bases each with a branch.

#### 24. IPL 72-12

Fig. 4, Pl. 35

P. L. 0.085, W. 0.074, H. 0.035.

Mended from several fragments; part of nozzle and half lower section missing. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); red glaze (10R 5/6).

Disk: 2 central rings, rays, framing ring. Rim: herringbone, 1 circle on each side at panel height. Nozzle: diagonal grooves. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, branch below. Base: one half missing with-in 2 grooves.

*Comparanda.* One more example of a ray disk from the deposit is IPL 76-21 (curving rays; rim plain with circles). The ray disk itself, starting from the delicately executed Corinthian lamps of the 2nd century after Christ, resumed and continued a vigorous life in Athens in the 3rd and 4th centuries. For the affiliation with a herringbone rim, see *Agora* VII, nos. 1600–1618; no. 1607 is a moldmate of 24. No close counterpart is found in Corinth.

#### 25. IPL 76-3

Fig. 4, Pl. 35

P. L. 0.093, p. W. 0.074, p. H. 0.037.

Several fragments preserving handle, part of adjacent wall, all of disk and most of rim. Reddish

yellow clay (5YR 6/6); light reddish brown, mottled, metallic glaze (mostly 2.5YR 6/4).

Disk: shell emanating from volute; framing ring. Rim: herringbone. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves; groove from air-hole to wick-hole. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below.

The shell pattern, seemingly so suitable for a disk, was common among the Italian lamps of the Augustan period; those shells, however, emanate mostly from the nozzle side of the disk (see, e.g., S. Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, Zurich 1919, nos. 550–574). *Agora* VII, pl. 47:A is an example of a continuation of the pattern in the 3rd century after Christ, now, however, emanating from the top. Other examples may appear to strengthen this documented link leading to the Athenian 4th-century glazed and the 5th-century unglazed examples. Among these Late Roman variations one distinguishing mark is the absence or presence of a core from which the fanning lines emanate, and in the latter category the diverse forms of that core: 25 represents one, 26 another.

*Comparanda.* Although there are several Athenian glazed lamps with a shell disk both in Athens (*Agora* VII, e.g. no. 1132) and in Corinth (*Corinth* IV, ii, e.g. no. 1087, and among the items found since 1930, e.g., 2 from the FOL, L 69-387 and L 4771), none has the peculiar core of 25 or its generally clear and distinct design.<sup>38</sup>

#### 26. IPL 76-3

P. L. 0.046, p. W. 0.059.

Fragment preserving part of disk and handle(?). Light-red clay (2.5YR 6/6); red glaze (10R 5/6).

Disk: shell(?) emanating from concentric semi-circles around the handle base; 1 filling-hole, 2 air-holes preserved. Shoulder (flanking handle): wavy lines(?). Handle: flush with disk surface; 2 grooves above.

*Comparanda.* *Corinth* IV, ii, no. 1101, unglazed.

#### 27. IPL 72-23

P. L. 0.094, p. W. 0.070, H. 0.034.

Several fragments preserving greater part of disk and nozzle, minor part of handle, side wall

<sup>38</sup>In "Vari," p. 346, are mentioned two shell-disk lamps: no. 2, signed ΔΕ, and no. 7a, signed ΕΥ/ΚΑΡ/ΠΟΥ.

and base. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); no glaze.

Disk: plain; central ring; framing groove. Rim: wavy lines. Nozzle: U-shaped, separated by 2 horizontal grooves with transverse hatchings; groove from air-hole to wick-hole. Handle: solid. Base: missing; part of 1 groove preserved.

*Comparanda.* Closest parallel is *Agora* VII, no. 1332 (unglazed, kite nozzle); 2 examples from the FOL are both glazed (kite nozzles: L 4478 and L 69-222).

## 28. IPL 76-5

P. L. 0.075, p. W. 0.064, p. H. 0.032.

Several fragments preserving handle, adjacent back wall, larger part of top section. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4); light-red, metallic glaze (2.5YR 6/6).

Disk: plain; central ring; 2 framing rings. Rim: plain as preserved. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: missing, part of 1 groove preserved.

*Comparanda.* The closest parallels in crispness and fabric come from the Roman Bath deposit itself: 1 inventoried, IPL 76-23 (plain panels), 1 uninventoried fragment (herringbone panels). See also Athens, *Agora* VII, nos. 1182 and 1184.

## 29. IPL 76-33

Pl. 35

P. L. 0.091, p. W. 0.077, H. 0.037.

Several fragments preserving handle, part of rim and disk, greater part of lower section. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); reddish brown, uneven glaze (mostly 5YR 5/3).

Disk: unidentifiable object; framing ring. Rim: plain. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base, within groove:  $\Delta$ .<sup>39</sup>

For this shop, see *Agora* VII, pp. 30–31, where various forms of the signature are attested: e.g., nos. 1818, 2103–2104 exhibit the upright bar to the right, as here; the same is true of *Isthmia* III, no. 3075. **9** is probably an example of the same signature. The upright bar to the left is far more

common, and in this category close parallels are found, e.g., *Corinth* IV, ii, no. 799 and FOL, L 69-346. Vari has three examples of the latter ("Vari," no. 25 a–c).<sup>40</sup>

## 30. IPL 76-15

P. L. 0.036, p. W. 0.024.

Fragment preserving part of base and handle tip. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4); reddish brown, metallic glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Base: within 2 grooves, part of a letter and a branch:  $\Delta\text{¶}$ [?].

*Comparanda.* There is room for one more letter on the other side of the branch. Among known candidates, *Corinth*, Tseliolophos 165 ( $\Delta$ I flanking a branch) is a possible parallel; see *Agora* VII, pp. 31 and 136. On the relationship between **30** and the later unglazed lamps signed  $\Delta$ I with circles one can only speculate (cf., e.g., *Agora* VII, no. 1339, *Corinth* IV, ii, no. 806 and FOL, L 69-256).<sup>41</sup>

## 31. IPL 76-54

Pl. 35

P. L. 0.062, p. W. 0.040, H. 0.033.

Two fragments preserving part of disk, rim, wall and base. (Dark) brown clay (7.5YR 4/4); reddish brown glaze (2.5YR 4/4).

Disk: rosette of ca. 14 pointed petals, framing ring. Rim: herringbone. Nozzle: double diagonal grooves. Base: within 2 grooves part of signature  $\Lambda$ .

For signature forms from this workshop, see *Agora* VII, pp. 34–38, esp. 37–38; both examples from the Roman Bath deposit are of the single-letter variety, considered late in the production.<sup>42</sup>

*Comparanda.* *Corinth* IV, ii, no. 1016 (fragment) is closest; the one example from the FOL, L 4657, has slight variations: wavy-line rim, base with 3 grooves.

## 32. IPL 72-22

Pl. 36

P. L. 0.088, p. W. 0.075, p. H. 0.032.

Several fragments preserving greater part of lower half of lamp. Light reddish brown clay (5YR

<sup>39</sup>The marking above the letter is accidental.

<sup>40</sup>The signature  $\Lambda$  has been discarded as less likely; see *Agora* VII, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup>The signatures  $\Delta E$  and  $\Delta Y$  are reported from Vari ("Vari," p. 346, nos. 2 and 3 respectively).

<sup>42</sup>From Vari, however, there are two examples of the two-letter form EY: "Vari," p. 346, nos. 5a (rosette), 5b (bust of Athena), fig. 3, on p. 342.

6/4); glaze much burned, originally reddish brown (5YR 5/4?).

Handle: 2 grooves below; loops at base. Base: within 2 grooves a branch and retrograde E.

*Comparanda.* There are 7 known examples from Athens of the signature variety that includes a branch; only one comes from the Agora (*Agora* VII, no. 1679), also with a retrograde E. **32** adds a third known example from the Corinthia, the others being one from Corinth, the Tseliolophos area, and Corinth L 3563, a particularly interesting parallel, as the proportions, the disk and rim decorations, and the clay are very close to **32**; it is signed E (no branch). "Vari," no. 26, with branch.

### 33. IPL 76-14

P. L. 0.073, p. W. 0.073, p. H. 0.029.

Several fragments preserving most of lower part of lamp. Light-red clay (2.5YR 6/6); light reddish brown glaze (2.5YR 6/4).

Handle: 2 grooves below. Base: within 2 grooves, signature KY (part missing).

*Comparanda.* For the activity of this shop see *Agora* VII, pp. 41–42 and Garnett, pp. 29 and 161 for additions to the repertory. Without any knowledge of the top of this lamp, no particular parallel can be quoted among the numerous examples of this signature both in Athens and Corinth. See also *Isthmia* III, nos. 3078 and 3067, both fragments; "Vari," no. 11 a–d.

### 34. IPL 72-43

Pl. 36

Max. p. dim. 0.054 × 0.031.

Fragments preserving part of base and adjoining wall. Reddish brown clay (5YR 4/3) with a burned core; reddish brown glaze (5YR 5/4).

Base: within 2 grooves, Λ.

The conjectured remainder of the base is likely to have contained one more letter, preceding the Λ. Of the letter combinations known to date, none is a very plausible parallel.

### 35. IPL 76-1

Fig. 4, Pl. 36

P. L. 0.096, W. 0.078, H. 0.033.

Intact except for nozzle tip. Brown clay (7.5YR 5/4); dark reddish gray glaze (5YR 4/4).

Disk: plain; 2 central rings; framing ring. Rim: plain; plain panels; concentric circles by handle, nozzle and on panels. Nozzle: diagonal grooves. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 3 below. Base: within 2 grooves, LTP/Λ.

For the activity and repertory of this shop, see *Agora* VII, pp. 51–52 and Garnett, pp. 29 and 162. Of the 4 different forms of the signature reported there, the deposit presents only the 3 shorter versions. The present form, containing 4 letters, is also found (partially preserved) on **16**.

*Comparanda.* Parallels to the various forms of this signature are plentiful (see, e.g., *Agora* VII, p. 239). While there is a general agreement between the 6 examples and the shop's known repertory and characteristics at large, only one exact parallel has been located: **16** is a moldmate of FOL, L 4613.<sup>43</sup>

### 36. IPL 72-32

Pl. 36

P. L. 0.067, p. W. 0.073, H. 0.033.

Several fragments preserving handle, large part of base and back wall, small part of disk and rim. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); red glaze (2.5YR 5/6).

Disk: rosette of 9(?) double petals; framing ring. Rim: wavy lines; row of small hatchings flanking handle. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: within 2 grooves, LTP (part of base missing).

It is unlikely that an Λ was contained in the missing part: we have thus the three-letter form of the signature.

### 37. IPL 72-10

Max. p. dim. 0.022 × 0.011.

Fragment preserving part of base. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4); reddish brown glaze (5YR 4/3).

Base: within 2 grooves part of 3 letters: ETP.

<sup>43</sup>There are in all five examples from Vari, p. 348, no. 17 a–c, (cf. **4** and **6**); three have a rosette disk, of which one has the present signature form, a parallel to **16**; two have the two-letter signature form. Of the three last, none is further illustrated or described.

The calculated remainder of the base makes possible an A but does not necessitate it.

### 38. IPL 76-35

P. L. 0.058, p. W. 0.059, H. 0.039.

Several fragments preserving part of base and rim, most of lower front section. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4); reddish brown glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Rim: wavy lines. Base: within 2 grooves, most of 2 letters: LT.

This frequent two-letter form of the signature is also found (T missing) on 5.

### 39. IPL 76-32

L. 0.102, p. W. 0.078, H. 0.039.

Three fragments preserving handle and larger part of lower section of lamp. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 5/4); reddish brown, metallic glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Rim: plain as preserved. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: within 2 grooves, T.

*Comparanda.* The signature occurs both in Athens (*Agora* VII, pp. 54–55) and in Corinth (*Corinth* IV, ii, p. 312, and Garnett, pp. 29 and 162). See also *Isthmia* III, no. 3079 (base fragment), and “Vari,” no. 29.

### 40. IPL 76-8

P. L. 0.045, p. W. 0.078, p. H. 0.037.

Four fragments preserving larger part of base and lower section of lamp. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); red glaze (10R 5/6).

Rim: plain; circle by (missing) panel. Handle: 2 grooves below. Base: within 2 grooves, T.

### 41. IPL 72-21

Pl. 36

P. L. 0.100, p. W. 0.079, H. 0.030.

Several fragments preserving almost all of lower half of lamp. Light-red clay (2.5YR 6/6); reddish brown glaze (2.5YR 5/4).

Handle: 2 grooves below; tip flanked by double circles. Base: within 2 grooves, 4 double circles divided by 2 crossed grooves.

Although not a regular signature, the present base decoration may fall under the possible interpretations discussed in *Agora* VII, pp. 27–28, as referring to some as yet unknown aspect of production or shop organization.

*Comparanda.* No exact parallels; the general scheme of decoration, however, with 4 circles, with or without division of the field, exists in glazed lamps (e.g. *Agora* VII, no. 1189 and FOL, L 4678, both with 4 circles in a diamond pattern, and one from Corinth, the Tseliolophos area: 4 dots placed as on 41). It continues with greater frequency in later non-glazed Athenian lamps, especially on almond-shaped bases (e.g. *Agora* VII, no. 2699 with branches as crossbars, no. 2487, and FOL, L 69-253). Closest parallel is FOL, L 69-82 (see Garnett, p. 34 and note 2): unglazed; disk: bust of Athena; base: within 2 circular grooves, 2 crosses with small end bars, 4 circles in the quadrants, 2 circles at handle base; both base and disk are close to the source: the best traditions of Athenian glazed lamps.

### 42. IPL 76-55

Pl. 36

P. L. 0.084, p. W. 0.047, p. H. 0.034.

Two fragments preserving about half the base and lower part of lamp. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); light-red glaze (2.5YR 6/6).

Base: inverted branch within 2 tear-shaped grooves, the inner one ending in loops beside the handle.

*Comparanda.* Athens, *Agora* VII, no. 1438 (inverted branch) and Corinth, FOL, L 69-223 (branch). The very elongated shape of both base and body point forward typologically to post-glaze lamps, such as *Agora* VII, no. 1414.

### 43. IPL 72-26

Fig. 4, Pl. 36

P. L. 0.072, p. W. 0.048, H. 0.040.

Two fragments preserving handle, adjacent wall and most of base. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); dark reddish gray, uneven glaze (5YR 4/2).

Disk: part of filling-hole at base of handle; relief decoration(?); framing ring. Rim: plain. Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 3 below. Base (Pl. 36): within 2 uneven tear-shaped(?) grooves, circles(?).

*Comparanda.* Of careless workmanship and clumsy proportions, this lamp is typologically one of the latest glazed ones in the deposit, as seen in the shape of the base and the backward sloping broad handle; the base appears to be mirroring an oval outline of the lamp itself. Parallels of the general proportions are found rather among post-

glaze Athenian lamps. Suggested date: first quarter of 5th century after Christ.

**44. IPL 72-28** Fig. 4, Pl. 36

P. L. 0.059, p. W. 0.050, H. 0.030.

Two fragments preserving handle, adjacent part of disk, rim, back side and most of base. Light brown clay (7.5YR 6/4); reddish brown worn glaze (5YR 5/4).

Disk: square(?); semicircular ridges at base of handle. Rim: herringbone. Handle: attempt at piercing; herringbone above, 2 grooves below. Base (Pl. 36): 2 circular(?) grooves.

Like **43** above, this lamp is one of the latest glazed lamps of the deposit; witness especially its small size, its ill-joined, sloping handle and attempted piercing.

*Comparanda.* No exact parallel, but it is most akin to post-glaze 5th century, small-size lamps of oval base and general oval outlines, such as *Corinth* IV, ii, nos. 1076–1080.<sup>44</sup> Suggested date: first quarter of 5th century after Christ.

**45. IPL 76-56** Pl. 36

P. L. 0.045, p. W. 0.026.

Fragments preserving upper part of handle and fraction of disk. Heavily burned clay (originally 7.5YR 5/6?); unglazed surface, self slip(?), yellowish brown (10YR 5/4).

The considerable size of the handle (p. W. 0.016) along with its backward slope narrows the

range of parallels in spite of the fragmentary state of preservation. If the scanty remains on the disk indeed were a cross monogram, good parallels are found in *Isthmia* III, no. 3037 or at Corinth, FOL, L 69-235; if on the other hand the disk carried a rosette, see FOL, L 69-273 or Athens, *Agora* VII, no. 1964. Date: first half of 5th century after Christ.

**46. IPL 72-25** Pl. 36

P. L. 0.074, p. W. 0.061, H. 0.036.

Several fragments preserving handle, adjacent part of rim and disk, part of back wall and base. Grayish brown, burned clay (10YR 5/2); no glaze(?).

Disk: part of unclear relief, 1 framing ring. Rim: plain(?). Handle: solid; 3 grooves above, 2 below. Base: 2 circular grooves.

*Comparanda.* The burned condition in combination with a worn mold makes it difficult to establish parallels. All indications preserved, however, point to lamps such as FOL, L 69-94 and L 4692. Date: 5th century after Christ. Corinthian(?).<sup>45</sup>

**47. IPL 72-47** Pl. 36

P. L. 0.020, p. W. 0.032, p. H. 0.029.

Fragment preserving front part of nozzle. Reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); no glaze.

This is most likely a nozzle from a type imitating North African lamps, among which is repeat-

<sup>44</sup>A close parallel is also found in a lamp fragment, IP 3694, the Northeast Gate: an unglazed, pierced handle (herringbone above, 2 grooves below; disk, rosette(?); rim, herringbone). Its context demonstrates the mixed quality of the transitional first few decades of the 5th century:

Two post-glaze, pierced handles (IP 3693 and IP 3695).

Post-glaze fragment of handle and adjacent back (IP 3684; handle pierced, 2 grooves above, 2 below; circles flanking handle on rim and at base; base: within one groove, top part of first two letters of a signature: EY[KAPIIOY] (see *Agora* VII, no. 2904).

Intact, well-shaped glazed lamp (IP 3678; disk: rosette; rim: herringbone; handle: solid, 3 grooves above, 2 below; base: 2 tear-shaped grooves).

Large, glazed, fragmentary lamp (IP 3679; disk: rosette; rim: wavy lines; handle: solid, 3 grooves above, 2 below; base: within two circular grooves, branch on stand).

Coin (IC 887, Honorius, A.D. 395–408).

Two pieces of inventoried pottery (IPR 67-30): large grooved amphora of late 4th–early 5th century. IPR 67-39: fragment of stamped ware attributed to mid-5th century).

<sup>45</sup>For illustrations see Garnett, *Hesperia*, pl. 43, nos. 9 and 10, Corinthian lamps of the category “Copies of Attic Glazed Lamps, Broneer Type 28” (pp. 190–192), which with few exceptions are all glazed.

edly found the raised, slightly recessed part above a pronounced joining ridge as seen on 47.<sup>46</sup> The lamp must have been of large size (length

ca. 0.11–0.12); cf., e.g., Corinth, FOL, L 69-112 or Athens, *Agora* VII, no. 2591. Date: mid- to late 6th century after Christ.

## COMMENTARY

As suggested above (p. 121), the deposit was most likely made in the early decades of the 5th century; the homogeneity of the overwhelming majority of the lamps implies a limited time of accumulation. With the use of Athenian glazed lamps extended into the early 5th century, we can assume that the range of the period of manufacture of the lamps in the deposit, conservatively estimated, goes from the last decades of the 4th century to the first decade of the 5th, excluding a few late stragglers (43–47, see discussion below). On the other hand, none of the lamps need necessarily have been made and used very long before the disposal. The provenience is almost exclusively Athenian, as both the parallels and the narrow range of clay variations confirm.<sup>47</sup>

What supporting evidence can be found from other published sites for this extension of the use of glaze?<sup>48</sup> The lamps from the prior excavation at Isthmia by the University of Chicago lie closest at hand<sup>49</sup> but are not very helpful for the chronology of this late period, owing to the disturbed character of most areas excavated. The cave at Vari has much tantalizing material from the transitional period in question, late 4th to early 5th century after Christ. A full-scale study would be a most important contribution; until then all comparisons are tentative, with the exception of the few illustrated lamps and the list of signatures.<sup>50</sup> At Corinth, however, the situation is different. Since the publication of *Corinth* IV, ii (1930) various areas have been found to contain lamps that are parallel or of related interest. But the only lamps of this category so far published come from the Lerna Hollow Cemetery, and most important, from the Fountain of the Lamps,<sup>51</sup> which was in use from the late 4th to about the middle of the 6th

<sup>46</sup>It is sometimes, but rarely, found on some Athenian, post-glaze 5th-century lamps that are stylistic hybrids of certain African features and those of other regions: see, e.g., FOL, L 69-104 (Garnett, *Hesperia*, pl. 44, no. 49).

<sup>47</sup>The clay of two heavily burned lamps, IPL 76-56 and IPL 72-25, cannot be judged, but on grounds of form the first has been deemed Athenian, the second Corinthian.

<sup>48</sup>Among the unpublished collections the one at the Athenian Kerameikos is the richest. The majority of these lamps have been inventoried by J. Binder and included in the signature section of *Agora* VII. Further comparisons for chronological support must await full publication. The imminent appearance of the Kenchreai lamp volume by H. Williams will also provide important information for the deposit under discussion.

<sup>49</sup>See *Isthmia* III.

<sup>50</sup>One can only agree with *Agora* VII, p. 63: "The evidence of the coins and lamps from the Cave at Vari must be handled with caution, as only a small portion of the lamps are published and 64 out of 147 coins have not been identified."

<sup>51</sup>For the large cemetery extending over the northernmost part of the city (from the late 4th to at least the 6th century after Christ), see C. Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton 1951; and for another section of it, J. Wiseman, "Excavations at Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1965," *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 13–41 and 402–428 and *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 64–106. A number of lamps have been found

century after Christ. What concerns us in the Fountain are the earlier layers of its deposit, containing a majority of glazed Athenian lamps, often striking parallels to those of the Roman Bath deposit at Isthmia, as demonstrated in the Catalogue above. This lends support to the notion of a vigorous Athenian export trade to the Corinthia, assumed by Garnett *inter alios* for the late 4th and early 5th centuries.<sup>52</sup> The evidence of the Isthmia deposit also confirms her impression that the use of glaze on Athenian lamps should be extended further towards the end of the century.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to this extension of the use of glaze, the Isthmia deposit also further clarifies some details and corroborates previous evidence on Athenian lamps. A comparison with the frequency of given signatures among the glazed Athenian lamps in the FOL shows a general correspondence in distribution in spite of the vastly larger amount of lamps at Corinth (*ca.* 4,000). Of the major Athenian shops, Agapios is missing in both; the largest exporters to Corinth, Stratolaos and KY, are found also at Isthmia, but with Stratolaos numerically ahead, which is not the case in the FOL. Δ, E and T are sparsely represented in both; the Isthmia deposit is lacking a few of the rarer signatures of the FOL and the FOL is lacking [?]Α. The latter is the only signature for the identification of which there is no hint in the listing of *Agora* VII, pp. 29–57; for the incised branch, see 23. Among the six examples of Stratolaos in the Isthmia deposit one (5) adds a novelty to his previously known repertory,<sup>54</sup> the mask of a young man. As is the case in the FOL, this shop presents both figured disks and non-figured decoration, but with a predominance of the latter, the typologically later category. It is therefore not surprising that it is in this more numerous group that we find moldmates in the Isthmia deposit and the FOL. Nor is it surprising that this signature is absent in the *Isthmia* III volume; that harmonizes with the general picture: the more immediate post-Alaric activities were concentrated in the now vital section of the former sanctuary, the fortifications.<sup>55</sup> For the rest, the deposit fragments are too few to enable us to draw any further conclusions about the Athenian shops and their interrelationships.

It is a known fact that “lamps differing widely in appearance are actually contemporary.”<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, an attempt should be made to distinguish between lamps likely to come from the earlier limits of the deposit’s time-range and those from the later. In the former category would fall several lamps with still well-shaped disk representations (e.g.

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in the graves and their immediate surroundings, the full publication of which should clarify also their relationship to the finds in the near-by FOL. The late 4th century seems at this point much more sparsely represented in the tombs than in the FOL; e.g., the only Athenian glazed lamps so far reported are CL 4391 and CL 4392 (signed KY); see *Hesperia* 36, 1967, p. 37 and pl. 15:6 and 7, 8. A thorough restudy of the lamps from the excavations in the Asklepieion and the Lerna Spring area (both from graves and well) would also be most helpful for the picture of the cemetery and its funerary rites generally.

<sup>52</sup>Garnett, *Hesperia*, p. 176.

<sup>53</sup>See the discussion in Garnett, pp. 153–155: A.D. 375 is tentatively proposed.

<sup>54</sup>See *Agora* VII, p. 52 and the additions in Garnett, p. 162.

<sup>55</sup>There are very few Late Roman signatures at all in the excavations covered by *Isthmia* III; only three glazed Athenian fragments are reported, Δ, Δ and [K]Y, all from the Theater area.

<sup>56</sup>*Agora* VII, p. 2.

1 and 4) and some with non-figurative decoration (e.g. 11). In the latter, on the other hand, could be classified the great majority of the non-figurative lamps, which dominate the deposit. For there is, as shown in the Catalogue, among these Isthmia lamps a significant tendency towards features regarded as late in the development of Athenian glazed lamps: e.g., the rosette disk is constantly repeated, especially in combination with a herringbone rim; on the leaf-and-cluster rims the berries are recut in the mold and high, the leaves often retouched; several examples are found with a backward-sloping handle<sup>57</sup> and a tear-shaped or heart-shaped base;<sup>58</sup> smallness of size, also a late feature, is often noticeable.<sup>59</sup>

43–47 constitute a group by themselves, although internally they have little or no homogeneity. All, however, embody features later than the majority of the deposit and represent the straggling end of the dumping. 47, chronologically the latest, simply concurs with the context pottery in the Bath, informing us that the area was still open in the 6th century, but does not lend weight to any generalization on the nature of the deposit as such. The first three, on the other hand, 43, 44 and 45, are intrinsically much more interesting and could be characterized as threshold cases, i.e., bridging the passage from late glazed into post-glaze Athenian lamps, a period of overlap taking place in the early part of the 5th century. The general configuration of 43 and 44 is more consonant with post-glaze lamps in their concentration of later features, as identified above; but both nevertheless are glazed, and 44 has a circular base. 45 constitutes the only post-glaze 5th-century Athenian lamp fragment of this deposit, an important fact to which we will return below. 46, finally, also represents something unique in the deposit: the presence of a late Corinthian product. If we may assume that we are in fact dealing with an imitation of an Athenian glazed lamp, its occurrence in the deposit falls very much in line chronologically with the other pieces from the end of the dumping. For according to Garnett this category is found already in the earliest layers of the FOL, making its first appearance roughly contemporaneously with the late glazed Athenian lamps there; it continues with infrequent examples through the century.<sup>60</sup> 46 thus gives us another direct link between Isthmia and Corinth in this period, and with the early FOL material in particular.

Returning to the implication of 45 and looking briefly at the presence of Athenian post-glaze 5th-century lamps in the Bath generally, we find only eight inventoried items

<sup>57</sup>See Garnett, pp. 33 and 36, who signals this as a characteristic feature among Athenian post-glaze lamps; it is, however, also quite noticeable in the late glazed material. Some pieces catalogued here are too fragmentary for a study of this particular feature. Among the rest, however, it is most pronounced on 43, 44 and 45, already classified as late for other reasons. But also the following have a significant slope: 5, 6, 13, and 38. On the other hand, the lamps with the most upright handle line are 3, 4, and 28. See Figure 7 for profiles.

<sup>58</sup>See 17, 22, 42, 43 and two uninventoried fragments.

<sup>59</sup>E.g. 21, 27 and 31; and from the last group 43, 44, and 46.

<sup>60</sup>Garnett, *Hesperia*, p. 191. Since her dating of the beginning of this category hinges on the end of Athenian glaze, this interrelation will remain even if Athenian glazed lamps are extended in time.

in all.<sup>61</sup> This amount represents a drastic drop from the previous period, and we must conclude that not only did the dumping in the deposit area virtually come to an end just about the time of the introduction of post-glaze Athenian lamps, but that there was a general sharp decrease in the number of lamps in the Bath around that time. This impression of diminishing activity is heightened by the absence of any coins apart from those reported above (pp. 122–124). This moment of tapering off perhaps occurred *ca.* A.D. 425–435. In summary, the dumping seems to have stopped when certain features or developments of Athenian lamps had not yet appeared, or are represented only by exceptions or incipient hints in the deposit (by the so-called threshold cases). These features are

absence of glaze

specifically Christian decoration

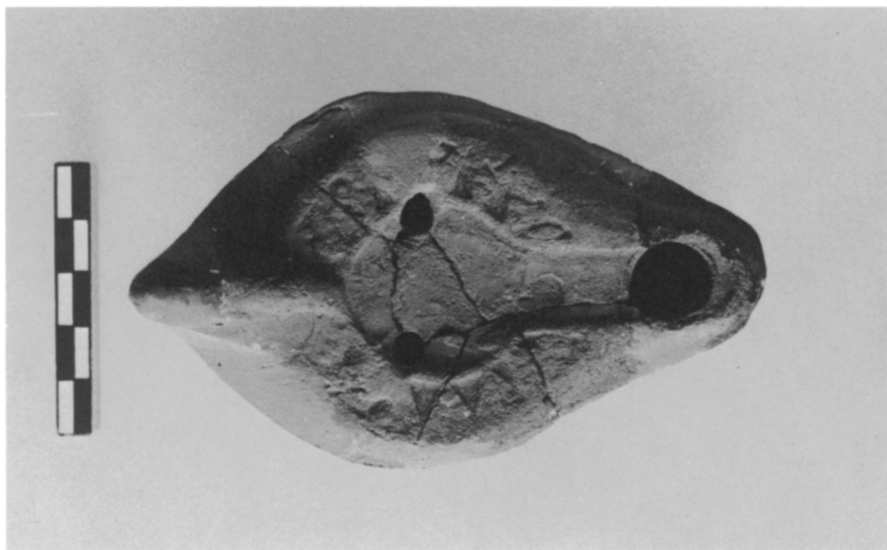
developed, distinctly oval or tear-shaped form.

The eight inventoried examples from the rest of the Bath mentioned above are the only lamp fragments that can be assigned to the 5th century. They all embody at least two of these features and suggest that these developments were immediately subsequent to the end of the dumping. That the activities in the Bath subsided in the second and third quarters of the 5th century supports the history of the site as suggested by excavations in other areas apart from the Bath. Future studies will no doubt further specify for us the events at Isthmia during those troubled centuries of Late Antiquity.

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<sup>61</sup>Most are fragments of oval-shaped lamps of good Athenian clay (Munsell 5YR 6/6–7/6). Two are intact and well shaped: one has a cross disk, the other the signature of Soterias.



a. IPL 72-8



b. Footing trench of Hexamilion

BIRGITTA LINDROS WOHL: A DEPOSIT OF LAMPS FROM THE ROMAN BATH AT ISTHMA



1



4



5



6



8

(Scale 2:5)



9



14



11



15

Scale approximately 1:2



16



17



19



20



23



24



25



29



31

(Scale 2:3)

Scale approximately 1:2



32



34  
(Scale 2:3)



35



36



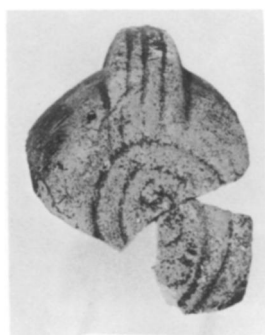
41



42



43, top



43, bottom



47



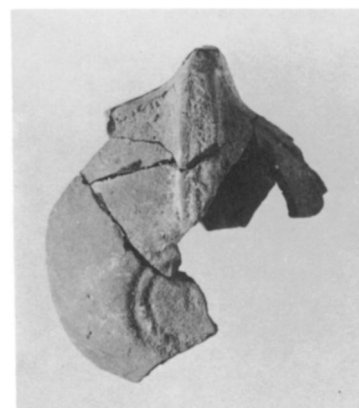
44, top



44, bottom



45  
(Scale 2:3)



46

Scale approximately 1:2