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**MOLDING DIANA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND CATALOG OF A  
SELECTION OF LAMPS FROM THE TURNURE COLLECTION**

by

**Peyton M. Kendall**

A Thesis Submitted to the Honors Council

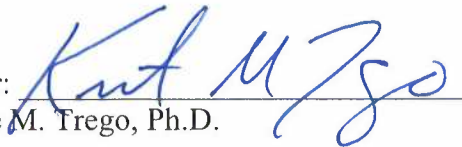
For Honors in Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies

May 11, 2022

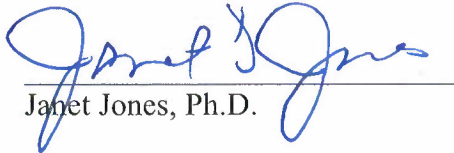
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Second Evaluator in major:



Janet Jones, Ph.D.

*For Banjo*

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## Abstract

In 2019, James Turnure, Samuel H. Kress Professor of Art History Emeritus, donated a collection of antiquities to Bucknell University's Samek Art Museum. Among the artifacts were seventeen Roman oil lamps, seven of which were chosen to serve as the basis for this thesis. The selected lamps are included in the attached catalog, representing their first formal study and publication. This thesis thus serves to introduce the lamps into the known archaeological corpus, providing greater accessibility to future researchers. Accompanying the catalog are three chapters dealing in the modern reception of small finds, the ancient Roman oil lamp industry, and the transmission of iconography throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. When taken together, these topics shed light on the various aspects of a lamp's life, from ancient production to modern collecting. In this way, the artifacts are situated in a historical and contemporary context, constructing a holistic account of the value lamps have to the archaeological community and justifying their further study.

**Keywords:** Oil Lamps, Roman, Turnure Collection, Samek Art Museum, Archaeology, Workshops, Diana, Motif, Iconography, Everyday Objects, Small Finds

## **Introduction: An Evocation of the Lamps**

This thesis takes a holistic approach to the examination of ancient Roman oil lamps through the examination of their reception by the archaeological community and modern collectors, the original context of their manufacture, and their role in building the ancient iconographic vernacular. In this way, lamps are considered through the lens of each party that has interacted with them, thereby constructing a complete picture of their role in both ancient and modern society.

A great debt is owed to James Turnure, Samuel H. Kress Professor of Art History Emeritus at Bucknell University. In 2019, Turnure donated a collection of antiquities to Bucknell's Samek Art Museum, including seventeen Roman oil lamps, seven of which form the basis of this study. With the support of the Douglas K. Candland Undergraduate Research Fund, work began on the catalog over the summer of 2021. Following its completion, efforts pivoted to situating the lamps in their historical and contemporary context via the exploration of different aspects of the life cycles of lamps.

The first chapter discusses the historical treatment of oil lamps by the archaeological community, beginning with early archaeologists' relative disregard for small finds. The organization of lamps into typologies, chronological listings of lamp forms, proved pivotal in establishing their study as a legitimate means of contextualizing a site. Focus then shifts to public and private collections, with an increased emphasis on the lamps' removal from their initial context and the subsequent recontextualization attempts made by researchers in the form of catalogs. Antiquities legislation is also given consideration, as it represents the international community's views on smuggling, and its

attempts to limit cultural heritage theft. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the Turnure Collection.

The second chapter investigates the ancient lamp making industry, taking a Pompeiian workshop as a case study. It touches on aspects of workshop functioning, from the production process to the sale of merchandise. The study then expands to branch workshops, loosely affiliated facilities that used the same maker's mark on their products. The consistency of these marks at first appears indicative of a large trade network, but further analysis debunks that notion. The final section considers the blurred lines between commercial and domestic production and serves to emphasize the interconnectivity of the ancient world, despite the heavy influence of localized production and procurement.

The third chapter examines the transmission of motifs across time and space in the ancient world through various media. Greek influence on Roman products is made apparent through the presence of Roman copies of Greek originals, and further iterations imply the existence of picture books, meant to facilitate the replication of an image. The latter part of the chapter takes one motif, depicted on three of the lamps in the attached catalog, as a case study on the dissemination of specific iconography. The motif in question shows the Roman goddess Diana, although it is thought to have been inspired by a statue of a closely associated Greek goddess, Artemis. The likely origin of the motif is discussed before attention turns towards its repetition on various media, including personalized versions on the funerary stele of young girls. The overall theme of the chapter is the longevity and wide distribution of motifs in the ancient world.

The attached catalog facilitates future scholarship through the formal documentation and publication of a selection of lamps from the Turnure Collection at Bucknell University's Samek Art Museum. Their introduction to the known corpus enables comparisons to be drawn by other researchers searching for *comparanda* for their own lamps. The best way to build a better understanding of the ancient world is through the continued expansion and documentation of archaeological finds. As such, the catalog represents this thesis' most significant contribution to scholarship.

The aim of this work is to show how the study of everyday objects, such as lamps, contextualizes the ancient world. They are troves of information, historically overlooked, that shed light on the cultural and social interactions of ancient peoples by virtue of their ubiquity. May the following pages help to illuminate their worth.

## Chapter I: Reception of Small Finds

### 1.1 Early Archaeological Treatment

When archaeology began to mature as a scientific field of study in the late 1800s, small finds were not regarded as significant. Cheap, easily transportable, mass-produced daily life objects such as oil lamps were instead seen as debris cluttering around the pedestals of more significant finds such as statues. However, as archaeology slowly began to formalize into a more methodical analytical approach, daily life objects came into greater focus. They began to be seen as valuable tools that offer insight into the lives of the average individual, cutting across the social divides that render the majority of the population obscure in instances of, say, literary analysis (MacDonald, 2016, p. 649). Little is recorded about the lives of plebs, slaves<sup>1</sup>, or foreigners, with the aristocracy dominating the historical record by and large. Small finds therefore offer an avenue into the realm of social history, as well as contextualizing the recorded events of the elite. Suddenly coins, pottery, and tools were coveted on excavations. The development of typologies, chronological listings detailing the types of lamps found in context at a

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<sup>1</sup> Against the recommendations of Dr. Trego, this thesis uses the term 'slave' instead of 'enslaved person'. This is a deliberate choice, made for a couple of reasons. Firstly, the former term is consistent with the scholarship referenced and offers the greatest degree of semantic clarity. Secondly, and more importantly, mapping modern societal conceptions onto the ancient world is problematic and best avoided whenever possible. The concept of slavery in the ancient world was one of subjugation, and its presence should be stated in the clearest terms most indicative of the actuality of the situation. This phrasing is not meant to dehumanize slaves or ignore their human agency, but rather to highlight the stark realities of the despicable practice.

specific site, such as Siegfried Loeschcke's 1919 typology from Vindonissa, enabled the dating of strata based on the inclusion of a given lamp type (BM, 2022, n.p.; Sussman, 2016, p. 3). Due to their dynamic forms, the presence of one variety of lamp in a deposit ordinarily allows for the earliest possible timeframe to be established (Sussman, 2015, p. 6). However, lamps are durable, and may have outlived other contemporary types.

Furthermore, lamps are known to have been cloned, meaning that the original design may have been produced several years before the secondary lamp was made from a mold of the original lamp.

Dating with lamps is thus not without its pitfalls, although it remains a central component to the temporal identification of sites. Nonetheless, small find studies remain in the shadows of larger discoveries. Classical Studies, an umbrella term that encompasses archaeology, ancient history, and philology, still partially adheres to a great man style of history, despite some scholars' continuing efforts to change the narrative (Flower, 2007, p. 417). In some cases, such as the excavations in Athens, ancient literature, like that of Pausanias, is exceedingly useful (Stewart, 2013, p. 231). In others, however, a desire to match the material culture to the literary canon, as Heinrich Schliemann attempted to at many sites, creates oversights in the historical record.

Oil lamps were initially overlooked by the early archaeological community. Originally, it sought to discover artifacts indicative of states as a whole, or otherwise linked to legend. In the late 1800s, Heinrich Schliemann, perhaps the best-known early archaeologist and "discoverer" of Troy, relentlessly pursued sites and artifacts tied to the Homeric epics (Traill, 1985, p. 13). The value of seemingly mundane objects such as oil

lamps was not yet illuminated by the shifting research questions of later generations. Lacking this mindset, Schliemann destroyed the later levels of Troy with dynamite, intent on locating more notable finds with potential mythical backgrounds. The cultures that inhabited the same space but were perhaps less affluent and famous as Priam's people were dismissed completely, their daily wares destroyed along with the potential to expose their legacy. In a sense, oil lamps were like such societies, objects seen as mundane and commonplace. They were of little use to excavators obsessed with larger finds such as statuary or metalwork, merely pieces of durable terracotta that served as signposts to the presence of an ancient society. They went largely unexamined and unappreciated, as they had no relative value to the excavation crews. At that time, the focus was on confirming the identity of ancient sites, not building a nuanced picture of everyday life at one.

Granted, the modern, scientific archaeological community was still in its infancy and had yet to establish proven approaches and practices, but the value of a corpus of lamps remained unrecognized for a large period of time. It was not until the development of pottery form typologies in the early 1900s that lamps became useful in dating strata and indicating the presence of specific cultures (BM, 2022, n.p.; Sussman, 2015, p. 6). Until the formalization and categorization of small finds began, objects such as oil lamps had no basis for comparison to place them in context. Large or rare finds were appreciated for their beauty or grandeur, but oil lamps, ever the common necessity, were of little note. Many were discarded or, in Schliemann's case, destroyed. Those that were not had minimal protection from private collectors, as archaeologists had little use for them. What the early archaeologists failed to realize is that instead of valuing uniqueness, they should

have been valuing ubiquity. The typologies that would later emerge, as a result of evolving research questions, established a universal and firm criterion for site dating, one that remained unavailable to corpora of other artifacts that were too small or too localized to be of much use at other excavations.

## 1.2 Typologies

At their advent in the early-to-mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, typologies immediately invested new potential into oil lamps and other small finds, as they served to standardize the study of the objects (Broneer, 1930, p. i). Out of the context of a typology, a lamp was only valued by the archaeological community as far as its beauty would take it. Most were merely regarded as common everyday objects, while a few were retained as especially striking examples (MacDonald, 2016, p. 642). Regardless, they were illegible historically, a Linear A of sorts that nobody had bothered to attempt to crack. The challenge facing the establishment of typologies was not a lack of material, but a lack of material in context. They required fresh excavations to form and concentrated on the finds from a single site. Dating the lamps was a process of examining the rest of the finds in a given layer of strata; coins, architectural features, charring, etc. could reliably establish a date independent of the oil lamps, thereby confirming the usage of a particular style at that point in time (Sussman, 2016, p. 3). It is worth noting that the presence of a style did not necessarily correlate to its prime, only that an example survived, potentially through a cloning process. For example, lamps found at the bottom of wells often

represent multiple generations, yet they are found in the same layer (Adan-Bayewitz, 2008, p. 39).

Early lamp experts, such as Oscar Broneer at the American School of Classical Studies Excavations at Corinth in 1930 and Richard Howland at the American School of Classical Studies Excavations at the Athenian Agora in 1958, were able to alter that perception by situating lamps in the context of other lamps from the same excavations, thereby building a chronologically linear account of stylistic shifts (Sussman, 2016, p. 6; Broneer, 1930, p. i; Howland, 1958, p. i). Stylistic shifts were defined as slow but perceptible change in form from a previous lamp generation. By organizing them, lamps suddenly became valuable tools in dating sites and identifying involved cultures.

However, a single excavation, even one as significant as the Athenian Agora, is not a sufficiently large sample size. Further typologies therefore followed, with the names of their authors given to lamps of a certain type, as classified by the archaeologist in question. Hence terms like “Loeschcke VIII” became standardized, synonymous with Loeschcke’s description and definition of what it means for a lamp to be his type VIII (Bonfante, 2015, p. 327). That standardization process therefore allowed for the standardization of catalog entries in turn, with universal terminology enabling reliable descriptions. In essence, the typological process had to be jump-started by particularly ambitious individuals but once in motion, continued to drive itself forward. Mid-century archaeological practices were becoming more and more scientific, with an increasing interest in collecting as many data points as possible. Lamps fit perfectly into the small finds category which would begin to take hold in the 1950s, whereupon daily objects

would be professionally studied to a further extent than a quick documentation and photograph in an excavation logbook (Johns, 2007, p. 29).

### **1.3 Collecting's Impact on Archaeology**

The original disregard for small finds, combined with the colonization of ancient lands and a curiosity driven by the remnants of a Renaissance mentality led to collecting, and with it, the looting of ancient sites (Al Quntar, 2017, p. 19). Oil lamps are durable, common, small, and cheap. They made the perfect souvenir, an easy starting point from which to begin building a collection. The nonexistent antiquities laws prior to 1954 facilitated their dispersion throughout the world, particularly Western Europe (Bailey, 1972, p. 101; UNESCO, 1954, art. 2). Still to this day, lamps from the Levant are sought after by ill-informed collectors seeking out objects from the time of Christ (Rosenthal, 1978, p. 7). Archaeologists, for their part, had little concern for the seemingly insignificant objects; oil lamps were mass produced, and lacked the size of more stunning artifacts. A large number of lamps were produced, due to their ease of manufacture and the ever-changing trends in lamp design. Their inclusion as grave goods only further increased their presence, and oftentimes they were inadvertently discovered by farmers or construction workers, who could count on a small payment from a local antiquities dealer (Pearce, 2015, p. 231). Thus, many lamps were removed from their context without a second thought, greatly lessening their use in reconstructing the story of a site. Following their removal, they were sold off to travelers, local collectors, or museums, further

removing them from their context and depriving them of their provenance in the process (Al Quntar, 2017, p. 21). Thus, the collector was able to render the lamp into the less significant object the archaeologist already regarded it as. The positive feedback cycle has resulted in the corpus of Mediterranean oil lamps being scattered about the world, with most of the artifacts going unpublished and unstudied; it is difficult to analyze trends and make claims about oil lamps when many of them still remain in unknown private hands. Some efforts have been made to analyze specific examples, although in many cases the disappointment of an unknown provenance is still painfully present.

As archaeology has evolved, new research questions have arisen. As such, oil lamps are now recognized as previously untapped troves of information, accessible through modern methodologies. Excavations are saving large amounts of diagnostic pottery, a category into which lamps easily fall (Sussman, 2015, p. 6). Intact examples are staples of excavation catalogs, and thanks to momentous typological efforts, even pieces such as rim sherds can prove incredibly insightful.

#### **1.4 Archaeological Treatment of Oil Lamps Today**

During the early to mid 1900s, archaeologists were trained as general scholars of the period on which they worked (Johns, 2007, p. 29). When excavating sites, they were expected to record small finds, albeit in the form of short entries. While not the most glamorous work, the documentation of all of the small finds at a site, even one dominated by a more awe-inspiring structure or group of artifacts, was necessary to paint a coherent

picture of the setting and the culture that once inhabited it. However, with the growth of archaeology, both in terms of the number of excavations and the sheer volume of data collected, the generalist approach soon grew to be impractical. Furthermore, the increasingly scientific nature of archaeology, including an emphasis on organics and substance analysis, expedited the move to specialists on excavations (Johns, 2007, p. 30). The nature of excavation reports then began to shift from one of a few authors to one of many (Papadopoulos, 2017, p. xii-xiv). Small finds were pigeonholed into narrow specialists' areas, where they began to be analyzed apart from the broader context within which they were originally found (Howland, 1958, p. v). Today, specialists work on finds from multiple excavations, but only to provide an analysis of the objects themselves (Johns, 2007, p. 30). It is then up to the director and other excavation staff to stitch the various specialists' findings together into one coherent account of the site. While specialization was inevitable, it broadens the divide between the small finds and the rest of the artifacts found at the site. Although the specialist approach allows for a detailed, objective report of semi-independent findings, it sacrifices the notion of holistic study.

## **1.5 Antiquities Legislation**

The first major international treaty aimed at stemming the tide of the looting and sale of antiquities was the 1954 Hague Convention, which was originally signed by 49 parties, including the United States (UNESCO, 1954, art. 21). Since the convention, 84 more countries have ratified the convention's text, bringing the total number of signees to

133 (UNESCO, 2021, annex. II, p. 10). The convention established preventative measures meant to protect cultural sites and property. It encouraged the founding of safe locations for antiquities, means of recovering and protecting artifacts and sites, and promised sanctions for breaches of the agreement (UNESCO, 1954, arts. 7, 8, 28).

The most significant piece of international legislation with regards to the transmission of antiquities is the *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 1970*, today ratified by 141 countries (UNESCO, 2021, annex. II, p. 10). Articles 7 and 13 lay the groundwork for the repatriation of illegal artifacts and the dissuasion of smuggling through national legislation. Together, they compel state parties to prevent the importation and exportation of stolen cultural property and to ensure its expedient repatriation to the rightful state owner (UNESCO, 1970, arts. 7, 13).

However, when implemented on the national level, an issue with antiquities laws arises in the form of their punitive measures. While some countries such as Egypt, where the smuggling of antiquities now carries up to a lifetime sentence, have taken a hardline stance, many still have comparatively relaxed penalties when it comes to cultural property (Zaher, 2018, n.p.). The seizure and repatriation of the artifact is the central aim of such endeavors, but the dissuasive nature of the remaining punishments is light compared to other black-market items, such as narcotics. Often, offenders escape with a fine, either a light, suspended, or nonexistent prison sentence, and perhaps some community service (Borodkin, 1995, p. 378). There is thus little to discourage the middlemen of the antiquities trade from continuing their ventures, given the risk-reward

ratio. The lack of serious penalty is disconcerting for obvious reasons, but also because it inherently devalues antiquities and relics of great cultural value. While narcotics traffickers distribute reproducible goods to willing victims, antiquities smugglers remove irreplicable items from unknowing, and often unconsidered, victims (Al Quntar, 2017, p. 22). They rob the home country of part of its cultural heritage while simultaneously committing a far greater sin than simple property crime: a theft of priceless information and cultural identity. The artifacts which they smuggle are laden with historical value in the form of archaeological evidence. Small finds, ever the easily transportable and collectible good, are the chief examples of ancient daily life. The black market essentially removes puzzle pieces from the box, forcing a scenario in which archaeologists must attempt to piece together insufficient numbers of fragments. By imposing relaxed penalties on smugglers, governments are neglecting to dissuade cultural heritage theft in proportion to the damage it does to cultural histories. It appears as an issue that legislators do not take seriously, one in which the punishments fail to meet the aims of the legal system, namely that of discouraging crime. It is an affront to world history to allow its chief physical manifestations to be treated as mere commodities.

The other major component of the antiquities trade is that of the procurement of artifacts, and in particular, illicit amateur digging and looting. While middlemen make staggering profits dealing in antiquities, looters receive a very small portion of the market value of the item which they have found. Often, looters are operating in poor economic conditions and lack the networks and infrastructure necessary to fully capitalize on their finds (Borodkin, 1995, p. 378). However, smugglers are more than willing to purchase

the artifacts and do the rest themselves. With the notable exceptions of a few countries such as Egypt, looting carries a light sentence, one even lighter than dealing in most cases. Furthermore, in the Middle East and other areas that witness periods of great strife, there is little to no enforcement on the matter of illegal digging (AIA, 2010, par. 6).

These actions are even more detrimental to the archaeological community than the trade itself, as they destroy sites through the careless practices of treasure hunters (Borodkin, 1995, p. 378). They have little to no concern for the context in which they find artifacts, instead employing the most expedient means of searching for their prey. If dealing discovered artifacts is problematic, amateurs improperly removing and not documenting finds is cataclysmic. The total destruction of a once promising site renders the artifacts themselves substantially less useful to archaeologists, as was once the case with uncontextualized oil lamp souvenirs. The objects may well retain some informational and cultural value, but the information to be gleaned from their context is equally, if not more, important.

## **1.6 Oil Lamps in Museums**

Museums today are beginning to digitize their collections, increasing accessibility for a worldwide audience (Bonfante, 2015, p. 319). As oil lamps are small finds and museums only have a portion of their holdings on display at any given time, some have yet to provide full biographic information or include photographs. Many lamps were donated or purchased by museums without a full provenance listing, and collections

managers are not ordinarily tasked with doing research past the legality of the acquisition (Bailey, 1972, p. 101). The role of individual artifact research for small finds is thus often left to designated teams within the museum or to outside parties, such as independent researchers. Those researchers then publish their finds in catalogs, which are generally made accessible online (Rosenthal, 1978, p. 7). While it is an effective means of facilitating public scholarship, online access is far from universal. Some larger institutions that have researchers on staff, such as the Getty Museum, have been able to organize their holdings in such a way as to match existing typologies, easing the difficulties of searching for specific lamp types in the hunt for similar lamps, known as *comparanda* (Bussière, 2017, n.p.). Their public facing approach, digestible by the general public as well as by academics, helps to standardize expectations for museum collections. Some institutions do not publish all the information on their artifacts, whether out of a desire to encourage more in-person visits, or because of the difficulties in digitizing whole collections. While the latter is time consuming, it is vital to growing the corpus of known and accessible lamps, allowing for gaps to be filled within existing scholarship. Conclusions may be drawn with more certainty and connections may be reaffirmed when supported by a greater amount of evidence, such as additional *comparanda*. The challenge facing lamps in this department is simply their status as small finds, ones that oftentimes do not elicit the excitement or public draw of larger works. As museums have limited staffing, they are forced to allocate their resources to what they deem as the most important objects to present. When museum funding is lacking, the problem of accessibility falls, to an extent, on outside grants and independent

researchers, whose findings are geared towards the archaeological community (Mitten, 1959, p. 247). Such a situation is a double-edged sword, as it means that detailed, specialist publications will be of use to future researchers, while at the same time rendering them technical and thus more inaccessible to those outside of the archaeological community.

Finds from research, either done by museum researchers or independent researchers, may be published by the museum's press (Bussière, 2017, n.p.). Such publications are useful as they immediately contextualize and locate the artifacts within the context of their current environment. However, many of these publications tend to focus on the larger objects, as that is what generally compels visitors to purchase them in a physical form. Additionally, small finds tend to be aspects of exhibitions, not the focus of them. They play a supporting role in helping to paint a holistic picture of the culture on display. Hence, exhibition catalogs often contain a few small finds, but they are not represented in the context of their less presentable brethren in storage. For deeper studies into the museum's archives, an online form is usually utilized (Bussière, 2017, n.p.). Independent archaeological journals and museum presses may both publish some of the same artifacts, which is generally the best scenario in raising accessibility to both an academic audience and a curious lay one.

Exhibition catalogs which include a sample of small finds, as touched on above, serve to ignite public interest and raise awareness of the significant contributions small finds offer to understanding ancient society. In many ways, a visitor might find daily life objects more compelling and thought provoking than an unfamiliar object. They

encourage comparisons with the viewer's own life and serve to render ancient cultures more relatable. This relatability not only possesses the capacity to ignite further interest and study, but it also helps make the case for more small find inclusions in exhibitions. Museum directors realize this interest, and have begun to shift their display practices accordingly, in order to further reflect changing questions within both society and academia. However, larger objects are often still used to headline exhibitions, as they may serve to increase audience draw. While marketing is a necessary aspect of museum function, increasing small find representation in exhibitions is equally important to portraying the diversity and daily reality of a culture. For the purposes of academics however, a focused and consolidated study of all the small finds of a given type in the museum should be the aim. The challenges facing a larger volume of focused publications may simply include the desire for a larger audience, as cataloging can be thankless, although nonetheless vital, work.

### **1.7 Oil Lamps in Private Collections**

While a popular aspect of tourism up until the late 1940s, taking small finds as souvenirs is now illegal (UNESCO, 1970, art. 3). While many objects in current museum and private collections were procured prior to legislation protecting small finds from removal from their country of origin, especially by private hands, the practice still weighs heavily on the archaeological conscious and historical record (Bailey, 1972, p. 101). Major artifacts such as the Elgin Marbles receive the attention of the press and public,

while small finds often pass unnoticed, in part due to their mass-produced nature (Small, 2020, n.p.). They simply do not strike the authorities as significant in comparison to large, unique works of art, one-of-a-kind finds taken to be symbolic of a society, or those tied to a famous individual. This perception has proven extremely problematic to archaeological studies as a whole. The role of small finds is establishing a sense of the culture beyond the famous speeches, major battles, and lives of the rulers. In many ways, they shape the archaeological community's understanding of the functioning of society, the connections between various cultures, the lives of the overwhelming majority of the population, and the like (Carlson, 2005, p. 71). Despite this realized value, small finds are among the most overlooked aspects of cultural heritage, regarded by many as collectibles to fill private shelves. The result of this long-held stance has been the dispersion of small finds throughout the world. While they are now under the protection of antiquities laws, there is no serious impetus to protect them or to seek the retrieval of even legally procured objects (Tahan, 2017, p. 30). Mediterranean nations would rather focus their efforts on the repatriation of objects they deem representative of their storied histories; a small oil lamp is often denied that significance, despite its potential role in doing so.

## **1.8 The Turnure Collection**

The oil lamps that serve as the basis for this study are from the Turnure Collection at the Samek Art Museum, located at Bucknell University. The collection was donated in 2019 by James Turnure, Samuel H. Kress Professor of Art History Emeritus, who

amassed it in his youth. It includes an array of 140 Egyptian and Roman antiquities, Native American artifacts, and American geofacts. The 17 oil lamps in the collection were purchased by Turnure during a period from 1945-1946, when Turnure was stationed at the US Embassy in Rome in the wake of World War II. They were purchased from a dealer near the Quattro Fontane, known now only as “Vito.” Over the course of six or so trips to Vito’s shop, Turnure purchased a range of antiquities. How the lamps came into Vito’s possession is unknown, but Turnure’s procurement and export of the lamps predates antiquities laws preventing the practice (Turnure, 2020, 0:00:30-0:05:00). Given Vito’s location in Rome it is possible that some of his artifacts came from central Italy, although there can be no certainty in such a claim. Some of the cataloged lamps bear markings from ancient central Italian workshops however, further lending this theory credence. From the original corpus of 17 lamps, seven were selected for inclusion in the attached catalog. All six of the lamps bearing maker’s marks were chosen. Additionally, an unmarked lamp displaying a Diana motif was selected, as the same imagery is observed on two of the marked lamps. This motif, along with the transmission of iconography generally, is discussed at length in Chapter III. First, however, Chapter II explores the ancient oil lamp making industry, utilizing a particularly well-preserved Pompeiian workshop as a case study.



## Chapter II: The Ancient Roman Oil Lamp Industry

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the workshop production of stamped Roman mold-made oil lamps. Otto Fischbach coined the term *firmalampen* in 1896 to refer to such artifacts, and it has since become synonymous with signed “factory made” mold-made lamps. Traditionally, the term has been used primarily to refer to Loeschcke type IX and X lamps, although the corpus under study in this thesis consists mostly of type VIII pieces exhibiting the same characteristics as later types (Harris, 1980, p. 127). A substantial amount of scholarship has been produced regarding *firmalampen* in the narrower sense of the term (types IX and X), but their production shares many similarities with the type VIII variants produced slightly earlier.

Mold-made lamps are created by pressing layers of clay cut from sheets into carved terracotta, stone, or plaster molds. The two halves of the mold are then joined together, uniting the top and base of the lamp. The mold is then removed, and the edges are smoothed together prior to firing. A handle may also be added, as is the case with the lamps in this study. It is at this pre-firing stage that the potter would also stamp or carve the mark of his workshop into the base of the lamp, thereby branding the product prior to its sale (Orton, 2013, p.128, 132f.). These marks are extremely useful in determining the context from which the lamp was originally produced, although they are by no means surefire indicators of the lamp’s provenance. Workshops often had various branches

which used the same mark across several locations; therefore, two lamps bearing the inscription C OPPI RES could have been made by different branches at different times (Harris, 1980, p. 130, tab. 1). Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest the production of lamps from molds made by taking casts of existing lamps. In such cases, the maker's mark may have been replicated on the second-generation lamp, despite it potentially not coming from the original workshop that its mark would seem to indicate (Harris, 1980, p. 138).

Evidence for the workshop production of oil lamps is abundant, albeit scattered and difficult to fully pin down. In some cases, lamps were produced in domestic settings, masking the identity of potential workshops. The buildings which housed workshops are often former residential properties, or otherwise embedded in residential settings (Allison, 2007, p. 348). This commonality of space, combined with the ease with which pottery could have been produced as a means of secondary income for a household, limits the ability to positively identify designated workshops.

The presence of molds helps to highlight centers of production, such as Northern Italy in the case of *firmalampen*, although their absence does not necessarily discount the possibility of a nearby workshop (Harris, 1980, p. 139). Additionally, workshops often produced multiple different products and operated sporadically throughout the year as determined by demand and the allotment of labor and resources (Peña, 2009, p. 72). Given the relatively low cost-benefit ratio of transporting lamps, as touched upon in Chapter I, workshops offer an opportunity to examine external influences on local production, best embodied by foreign motifs and profile shapes (Harris, 1980, p. 144).

These factors, when combined with clay composition and maker's marks, begin to reconstruct the context from which a specific lamp arose. The excavation of workshops, such as the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E workshop in Athens, further reveals the working conditions and means of production that led to changes in style and dispersion.

The workshop that serves as the case study for this chapter, *Via di Nocera*, is located in the well-preserved ruins of Pompeii, offering an excellent opportunity to understand a manufacturing center frozen in time (Peña, 2009, p. 64). The layout of the various rooms, its connection to a bordering vineyard, the contents of the kilns, and nearby surrounding evidence, all allow for the examination of an urban workshop responsible for the production of mold-made lamps near the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E., a period directly preceding the prime of the *firmalampen* types. It is clear from the roles ascribed to the various rooms that the workshop was fully committed to the production of pottery, in this case lamps and dice cups, indicating the concentrated efforts of a business on a level greater than casual domestic manufacturing (Peña, 2009, p. 70, tab. 1). Workshops located throughout the empire indicate that lamp making was an aspect of professional pottery production. The dispersion of maker's marks is representative of a complex and sprawling industry that transcended isolated, localized workshops (Harris, 1980, p. 128).

The aim of this chapter is to explore the archaeological evidence of workshops in relation to one another in the production of lamps similar to those in the attached catalog, best embodied by the workshop at Pompeii and the subsequent spreading of networks responsible for the production of *firmalampen*.

## 2.2 A Pompeiian Lamp Workshop

The eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. granted the archaeological community a trove of information by preserving an Italian city in time, including an ancient pottery workshop and accompanying evidence to suggest the presence of at least some level of localized urban production. The majority of lamps were sold in close proximity to where they were produced, as their affordability meant there was limited profit to be had from their commercial transport. In many cases, lamps were produced and sold by an associated vendor at counters in urban centers; Pompeii was no different (Robinson, 2005, p. 90). While the urbanization of Pompeii in the early imperial era is evident through the transformation of many of its workshops into solely retail locations, it does not represent a total shift in production centers (Ellis, 2018, p. 151). Thus, the study of a Pompeiian workshop remains a valuable insight into the world of a proto-typical lamp production facility likely akin to those that produced the lamps in the attached catalog.

The well preserved *Via di Nocera* workshop, with its five rooms and two kilns, provides a glimpse into facilities devoted to pottery production. It is linked to an adjacent vineyard, suggesting that the two could have been operated by the same party. This theory is supported by the two doorways connecting them, the larger of which directly leads into the pottery production facility (Peña, 2009, p. 65, p. 67, fig. 10). Despite this connector, the facility was primarily involved in the production of lamps and dice cups,

discounting the notion that it was simply a means of creating vessels for the wine produced by the vineyard. The limited size of the two kilns on the premises would not allow for the firing of amphoras; instead, it was better suited for the smaller wheel thrown dice cups and mold-made lamps (Peña, 2009, p. 69). The presence of both products, in addition to lamp molds themselves, shows that a single workshop could be involved in both means of production, wheel thrown and mold-made. However, the two items were made with different fabrics, indicating that two separate supplies of clay were necessary to both store and work (Peña, 2009, p. 68).

The kilns were not in use at the time of the eruption, instead serving as storage chambers for dice cups, lamp molds, and the lamps themselves. The lamps were found stacked in a pyramid, suggesting that they were not hastily thrown in upon the eruption's occurrence (Peña, 2009, p. 68). The fact that unused pottery, along with their molds, were still in the kilns indicates a level of use around the time of the eruption. It is possible that the workshop was not operating at full capacity at the time, due to a lack of sufficient labor or resources. Additionally, as the firing of pottery generally occurred in cycles, the storage of unsold product in the kilns conveys the likelihood that the workshop was still in use; operations may have simply been suspended, or otherwise scheduled to occur a different week (Peña, 2009, 72). The facility likely sold its wares directly from the location, so it may have also operated as demand dictated, manufacturing products in waves to restock as needed (Peña, 2009, p. 71).

One of the rooms in the workshop, room 5, appears to have been a residence, suggesting that perhaps the manager lived on the premises (Peña, 2009, p. 70, tab. 1). The

room is also connected to the vineyard, which would have allowed for easy access to both facilities by a single overseer, if indeed the properties were linked. The two properties working in conjunction is a logical explanation for the types of wares produced, as the vineyard housed a dining facility and a nearby necropolis may have increased the demand for grave goods, possibly both oil lamps and dice cups, from the area. Lamps were often used in funerary rites or buried with the dead, while dice cups occasionally were interred as well, as evidenced by the *Porta Nocera* cemetery in Pompeii (Lepetz, 2011, p. 119; Small, 2002, p. 167). The venture would thereby prove to be somewhat self-sustaining, in that some of the necessary products for the running of the vineyard and dining premises would have been produced in-house, with the notable exception of the wine vessels themselves (Peña, 2009, p. 72).

A fresco in room 5 of the *Hospitium dei Pulcinella* in Pompeii, thought to have been a pottery workshop, offers further clues as to the nature of pottery production at the time (Peña, 2009, p. 60). Although at first appearing to represent four different pottery wheels, it actually depicts four consecutive scenes of the production of a wheel thrown vessel by the same seated male figure. Workshops were small ventures and did not have room for multiple wheels (Peña, 2009, p. 67, fig. 10). The commissioner of the artwork presumably had his own workshop represented, immortalized in the act of shaping clay. A female assistant stands by, ready to transport the vessel to its next shaping area, or otherwise remove a finished vessel from the wheel (Peña, 2009, p. 61, fig. 4).

While it is difficult to ascertain the labor process from the image alone, it nonetheless represents the presence of both male and female workers. The presence of the

woman is noteworthy, although she is depicted in a supporting capacity, as she is not shaping the clay herself. That is not to rule out the possibility that women were directly involved as potters; it merely portrays a singular instance in which a woman is placed in an auxiliary role. The fact that a man is seen at the wheel is unsurprising, as the wheels were likely rod driven, given another Pompeiian pottery fresco that depicts a rod at an active potter's feet (Peña, 2009, p. 60, fig. 3). The operation of the wheel thus required a greater level of upper body strength to control. In other regions, it was the case that men almost exclusively worked in this role, although a woman feasibly could have as well. If modern potters are to be taken as an example of experimental archaeology, it bears worth noting that similar gender divides persist in India, where the rod driven wheel still thrives (Peña, 2009, p. 63). In any case, the mold-made lamps of this study and those found in the *Via di Nocera* workshop were produced via a different process, one less strenuous and therefore requiring less physicality.

Graffiti also contributes to an understanding of labor in Pompeii, with one inscription on a vessel indicating that it was produced by a slave. The slave's name appears on other pottery objects in the area, suggesting that he may have continued working as a potter after his emancipation (Peña, 2009, p. 63). Given the skills needed to be a potter, it is plausible that the former slave potter further employed at least one additional slave to assist in his emancipated production. Therefore, the markings suggest that slaves and freedmen alike manufactured pottery, in addition to female assistants as portrayed in the aforementioned fresco. It follows that the manufacturing process was not

limited to a certain demographic or gender, instead defining itself by social classes, particularly those of the lower strata of society.

### **2.3 Branch Workshops**

Roman pottery workshops, such as the one unearthed at Pompeii, are representative of an industry concerned with localized lamp production and distribution, often facilitating both operations from the same location (Peña, 2009, p. 71). Networks grew out of these workshops, spreading their names to far-flung provinces through branches that operated semi-autonomously (Harris, 1980, p. 128). As such, they established norms in lamp production and design, presenting the illusion of a well-maintained trade network. In reality, the workshops themselves were small ventures, not industrial factories, as the hundreds-strong corpus of wares bearing a given maker's mark would lead some to believe (Harris, 1980, p. 130, tab. 1). The frescos from Pompeii depicted a singular wheel in each instance, rather than a large-scale operation (Peña, 2009, p. 60, fig. 3; p. 61, fig. 4). The cheap, utilitarian nature of lamps, combined with the relative ease of their production, allowed for their mass production by a loosely knit network of operators. The picture of lamp manufacturing in the Roman world is thus one of cooperation between different localities, not one of large central production centers.

However, the appearance of signed Roman oil lamps in the provinces, particularly those outside of the Mediterranean basin, suggests the existence of trade networks centered on exporting Roman goods to frontier locations. This evidence is not to say that

the vast majority of oil lamps in the Roman world were not produced and sold locally, only that some cases necessitated, or at least encouraged, export. The presence of signed lamps in Britain, for example, conveys that there was, to some extent, a dissemination of lamps from their manufacturing origins, despite their affordability and disproportionate cost of transport (Harris, 1980, p. 136). It is difficult to equate British and Italian pottery usage, but the material evidence as applied here is only meant to highlight the connections between continental production centers and the far-flung province. While some of the dispersion is undoubtedly the result of the movement of peoples, particularly military personnel, a portion of the Italian lamps found outside of the territory were moved by commercial ventures (Evans, 2005, p. 145). Shipwrecks carrying lamps reflect the cheaper costs associated with water transport, although shipments were mostly included in cargos of a variety of goods, suggesting that the mass transport of lamps was not the primary purpose of journeys (Harris, 1980, p. 135).

Clay analysis has recently helped to shed light on the origins of imported lamps, although the difficulties associated with the process do not allow for widespread testing on large numbers of lamps. Furthermore, clay analysis is a destructive science, as it requires that a piece of the lamp is chipped off for testing (Braekmans, 2016, p. 234). One proposed alternative is to compare the dimensions of lamps of the same type found in Italy with lamps unearthed elsewhere, thereby marshalling evidence for claims of a shared origin. However, the reproduction of lamps via lamp-mold-lamp replication translates to a smaller artifact. Thus, reliance on dimensions alone is ill-advised, as it fails to take into account lamps produced from imported originals (Harris, 1980, p. 138).

Lamp-mold-lamp replication is the process of creating an exact mold from an existing lamp and then using it to create a new lamp, imitating the original lamp's characteristics (Harris, 1980, p. 138).

The most likely culprit for the reappearance of the same maker's marks across provinces is the emergence of branch workshops, semi-autonomous businesses run by regional managers, often skilled potters themselves (Harris, 1980, p. 128). Some of these potters likely followed their markets, as was the case with legionary encampments (Evans, 2005, p. 145). Sent with molds but also capable of manufacturing new ones, the potters would disperse lamp designs and maker's marks to various locations within the empire and the surrounding territories, presenting the illusion of a wide-ranging trade network. As touched on previously, such networks were generally not worth the cost-benefit ratio of the mass-produced lamps, so their existence is unlikely. When lamps were transported in bulk, they were likely moved along established trade routes, on which merchants without a full cart or cargo hold may have been willing to transport cheap goods rather than return without a full load (Harris, 1980, p. 136)

The decorative motifs on signed lamps may constitute evidence for collaboration between workshops. Some of the designs are highly detailed and specific yet are branded by an array of different workshops from the same area. Chapter III will examine the prevalence of specific motifs. For now, what is important to note is that it is unlikely that a single entity operated the firms, but instead that they mutually benefited from a sharing of resources, namely the production of similar molds (Harris, 1980, p. 138). A rival explanation raises concerns of intentional copying of designs by smaller workshops,

although it remains problematic. For one, the misspelling of maker's marks and sloppy craftsmanship are likely the results of errors at the original workshop. Additionally, copied lamps, if created from the lamp-mold-lamp style of imitation, would be smaller than other lamps in the area produced by the original workshops. While this size difference exists in some limited cases, it is also partially the result of workshops recycling designs as opposed to creating new molds from scratch (Harris, 1980, 139). The name of the workshop would not have affected the value much, as lamps were cheap utilitarian goods. As mentioned in the previous section, many workshops sold their wares from the same location, meaning that fakes would be blatantly out of place.

It is likely that semi-autonomous branch workshops populated the empire with lamps bearing the same maker's mark of the original workshop, resulting in a dispersion greater than that which would have been attained through trade alone. Had they not functioned in this way, the geographic range of specific marks would be more restricted, and examples less prevalent (Harris, 1980, p. 132). The movement of peoples and a limited lamp trade are not to be disregarded, although they alone are insufficient in explaining the wide influence of specific makers and styles. Trends in motifs will be discussed in the next chapter, however it is worth mentioning that branch workshops may have facilitated the spread and the normalization of a given motif on lamps. Furthermore, the sharing of resources, specifically lamp molds, is an indication of the influence workshops had on one another, operating in conjunction. Due to the low cost of the lamps they were producing, competition among potters through stylistic changes to motifs or branding is unlikely. Rather, the shape of the lamps themselves is a more likely ground

for innovation and marketing superiority, as evidenced by the evolution of lamps shown by typologies. However, one must continue to bear in mind that the primary role of lamps was illumination; they were not purely aesthetic objects or social indicators.

## **2.4 The Study of Individual Lamps**

Archaeological approaches to pottery workshop production have continued to evolve, with competing methodologies furthering both theoretical and empirical attempts at making sense of both urban and domestic production in society. Via the distribution of lamps, in particular signed examples, complex migration movements and trade networks become apparent. However, by and large, the lamp making industry concerned itself with local markets, as evidenced by the clusters of artifacts found within a small radius of the production center. Well-preserved sites, such as Pompeii, serve to illustrate the interconnectivity of the pottery industry and urban social life. The range of actors who participate in some aspect of a single lamp's life, the clay supplier, the workshop owner, the various potters and assistants, the merchant, and finally, the consumer, occupy nearly every stratum of society. As such, object biography approaches to scholarship, which traces the life of an artifact from raw materials to its present-day state, serve to both broaden and deepen the impact of artifacts on archaeological findings, in particular those related to workshop production and lamp dispersion in the ancient Mediterranean world (Duistermaat, 2016, p. 131). To that end, the examination of individual lamps found in

collections across the world is a necessary facet of lamp studies, even if the examples lack the context provided by excavations.

## **Chapter III: Diana and the Transmission of Iconography**

### **Part I**

#### **3.1.1 Introduction**

A myriad of iconographic motifs appearing on a variety of media experienced long periods of popularity in antiquity. Many of the images in question draw on mythological themes, a testament to the topic's commonality in both artistic and everyday life. The aim of this chapter is to offer potential explanations as to how the same imagery was successfully replicated time and again over the course of centuries, in different locations, and on various media. Such consistency in the reproduction of imagery across spatial and temporal bounds is remarkable, considering the technology available in the ancient world. Furthermore, the mythical subject matter responsible for inspiring this visual vernacular was created and passed down through an oral tradition. Without a canonized text, variations in myths were bound to occur. Even in identical renditions of a myth, countless images could have been chosen to symbolize a story. Despite the difficulties facing image association and transmission in the ancient world, a unified set of motifs emerged and endured.

The organic establishment of a Roman visual canon is a phenomenon directly relevant to this study of oil lamps as three of the lamps in the accompanying catalog, 5, 6, and 7, bear the same motif of Diana hunting. As was discussed in the previous chapter,

the network of branch workshops and loose collaboration between them likely resulted in the spread of iconography. Lamps created from the same mold, molds created by the same maker, and lamps created through the lamp-mold-lamp process all offer the means to spread iconography outside of its original setting. Traveling potters, campaigning legions, settlers, and traders carried the small objects far and wide, introducing the imagery to new markets (Evans, 2005, p. 145).

The motifs that lamps helped spread were not constrained to terracotta media, nor did they change as quickly as the forms of the lamps that they were stamped upon. It is for this reason that Part I of this chapter begins with a discussion of the various media the same motif is represented on. Focus then shifts to a potential explanation as to how the motif could have been replicated with such accuracy, with special attention paid to lamps. Part II is a case study on the Diana motif represented on three of the lamps included in the catalog, examining various occurrences which span time, space, and media.

### **3.1.2 A Quick Note on Terminology**

It is tempting to regard two instances of the same motif as ‘copies’ of one another. However, as Rui Morais states, terms such as ‘copy’ must be applied loosely to subsequent renditions of a given theme. Whether intentional or unintentional, artisans and patrons would have slightly altered the original image in their replication of it, meaning that the resulting product would likely not have been an exact copy as the term is conceived in the modern sense (Morais, 2017, p. 1). Instead, a motif goes through various

stages of progression and regression regarding details added or erased. The altering of the folds in a goddess' clothing, the inclusion or exclusion of an accessory, or a different orientation of the figure all represent departures from the original inspiration in minor respects. Such discrepancies are best considered a natural part of the artistic process, likely reflecting localized and temporal trends, and should not diminish the overall sense of common themes in motifs, particularly when they appear across different media.

### 3.1.3 Media

Motifs owe their longevity to their transmission by and across various media, allowing for the more portable formats to spread well-known artistic renderings throughout the Roman world. Textiles, papyri, oil lamps, jewelry, coins, and the like were significantly easier to transport than monumental works depicting the same imagery. While the literary tradition popularized certain scenes that were then made desirable subjects of artistic products, the spread of common ways of depicting them ensured a degree of universality in visual renderings.

The literary tradition itself was born out of an oral tradition, with stories often recited by traveling bards. These stories, traditionally myths, were thus well known. Perhaps the most famous examples are the Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which were calcified long after their inception through the efforts of a scribe or group thereof. Despite the inevitable variations in the retelling of myths through the oral tradition, some fixed attributes were common across renditions. The traditional symbols

associated with certain gods, Poseidon's trident for instance, became easily recognizable hallmarks. This commonality allowed visual renderings to seize upon themes and tropes, the necessary forerunners of motifs.

In some instances, arguments concerning the primacy of a particular work in establishing a motif are possible (Morais, 2017, p. 48). Monumental works depicted on coinage, for example, are relatively clear inspirations for the replication of their given themes in further renditions. However, it is difficult to entirely rule out the possibility that some may have been inspired by more diminutive, lost predecessors. It is for this reason that claims regarding the origins of visual motifs must be taken with caution, despite their appeal. Nonetheless, larger works, as well as everyday objects, were integral to the spread of motifs. They served as anchor points which ensured the motif would persist, so long as they provided a satisfactory level of artistic grounding to guarantee that the motif in question would not merely become a fleeting trend.

#### **3.1.4 Greek Influence**

It has traditionally been held that Roman art was profoundly influenced by its Greek predecessors. Despite a recent move by scholars to push back on such notions in the interest of championing originality and progress, undercurrents of Greek attribution remain. Roman art took on a Greek-like appearance in an effort to show Roman cultural superiority via associations with high Greek culture. These depictions reflect a desire by the Romans to show themselves as civilized when contrasted with opposing cultures, who

were rendered as barbarians (Green, 2007, p. 82f.). Additionally, Roman copies of Greek originals were prevalent throughout the empire. Greek art was considered by many to be an indicator of wealth and taste, which further fueled the market for Greek originals and, when unavailable, copies (Childs, 2018, p. 99). Some scholars argue that the Romans copied less than 100 Greek statues, thereby creating a limited corpus from which a number of works would have been recognizable to a portion of the populace (Childs, 2018, p. 60).

One such image was that of the Three Graces, assumed to be a copy of a Greek work from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. The image was transferred across various media, appearing on everything from statuary to textiles. The motif was so widespread that in some instances it lost its original virtuous meaning, one of gratitude and prosperity, as evidenced by a plaque that hung in a brothel or tavern (Morais, 2017, p. 24-41). Thus, the repetition of a motif does not necessarily correlate to a repetition of meaning. High profile Greek art was translated onto everyday objects and ‘minor art,’ articles that were not valued for their artistic worth but for their utility. For the purposes of this study, those small, mundane objects are more important than the monumental works from which they drew inspiration, due to their role in the popularization of iconography.

### **3.1.5 Picture Books**

In addition to everyday objects, iconography was often transmitted via picture books or other means designed specifically to facilitate future replication. A prime

example of an early iteration of this method is found in Egypt, where grids were drawn on papyri or ostraca in order to ensure proportioning remained true to prevailing aesthetic trends (Morais, 2017, p. 4). Such a method also allowed for the easy replication of common tropes on everything from relief carvings to wall paintings. Snap lines have been found on works left uncompleted, suggesting that the original image was imposed on a different media with painstaking precision in a desire to produce an exact copy (Morais, 2017, p. 5).

By the time of the Roman Empire, picture books were in use. Their existence is evidenced by nearly identical paintings and murals, located in different towns. For instance, a motif of heraldic swimmers is found throughout the Roman world. Two notable parallel mosaics, one at Este in Northern Italy and the other at Cirta in modern Algeria, demonstrate the use of some form of transportable model (Clarke, 1998, p. 120). As evidenced, these illustrated manuals allowed artisans to replicate a given scene that had already been created elsewhere. A client commissioning a work would have been able to select the desired theme from an array of images in the book. For traveling artisans, picture books were valued tools that provided illustrations of what they intended to replicate. They were especially useful to those creating non-transportable frescos or mosaics, as commissioned works involved higher stakes and more complex imagery (Morais, 2017, p. 28-30). In cases involving mass produced objects or those of comparatively lesser value, an artisan could simply bring along a set of samples. Parallel relief sculptures further lend credence to the employment of picture books, and, at a minimum, prove that artisans would have drawn their inspirations onto a transportable

material in order to replicate it in a different location (Morais, 2017, p. 30). Whether the dissemination of these copied images was the result of efforts of individual artisans or whether they were an engrained and commercialized aspect of artisan society is difficult to prove for certain. It is entirely plausible that some motifs spread organically, through the gradual buildup of repeated copying.

Anne Weis, in analyzing a motif of the *adligatus* and a tree, argues that because of the similarities between various depictions of the motif, they must have either been inspired by a monumental painting or a lost workshop rendering. However, given the geographic, temporal, and media differences between the representations, she concludes that they were likely imitating a specific original, rather than being the products of a localized workshop trend (Weis, 1982, p. 22f.). The motif itself depicts a figure bound to a tree, but she credits the original work to a portrayal of Amykos, a figure from the Argonaut journey (Dräger, 2006, n.p.). A monumental work, serving as inspiration, would have been more insulated from changing workshop trends that smaller works were subjected to. In this instance, the original work was a painting from central Italy, done in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Weis reaches this conclusion based on the more consistent representations of Amykos as the bound figure on vases from the area and the vines used to tie him, local to central Italy. Later, the motif appears to have been replicated primarily by southern Italian artists, who were aware of the proper mythological context in which to depict the image. It appears that, in this instance, the motif largely remained true to its intended meaning, as opposed to the occasional appropriation which can occur, such as that of the Three Graces touched on previously (Weis, 1982, p. 29).

In the case of the *adligatus* motif, transmission seems to have been relatively localized. However, examples concerning the widespread dissemination of more well-known themes, particularly those attributed to monumental Greek works, may in large part be explained by their inclusion in picture books. Conversely, the fame of the original work may have been able to carry on its perpetuation largely unassisted, through the transport of copies and sketches to various locations throughout the empire. In turn, these copies would have provided inspiration on their own accord, and the symbols would have become well known, appearing on everything from coinage to oil lamps.

### **3.1.6 Oil Lamp Workshops**

As touched on in the previous chapter, collaboration among oil lamp workshops is possible, given the presence of the same motifs on lamps produced by different makers in the same area (Harris, 1980, p. 138). This occurrence may be due to the sharing of molds or mold makers, although a communal picture book may have been used as well. Whether cheap objects such as lamps warranted the use of picture books is another question altogether. Some scholars suggest that the usage of picture books in oil lamp workshops must be presupposed in order to understand the remarkably similar patterns reproduced on them (Morais, 2017, p. 32). However, as potters traveled with legions, their work spread, or occurrences of a given motif increased, the need for picture books may have lessened. Popular themes could have been viewed in a multitude of media aside from picture books. Furthermore, the lamp-mold-lamp technique would have allowed for

the copying of a motif without having to carve a new mold, thus negating the need for a visual reference (Harris, 1980, p. 139).

Regardless of whether picture books were widespread in oil lamp workshops, motifs were. As mentioned previously, the dissemination of the objects themselves only served to hasten the spread of similar imagery. It may have only taken a series of copying events to establish a motif in the visual canon, lessening the emphasis placed on picture books, at least for decorating everyday objects. At their core, oil lamps were utilitarian, and their artistic value came second to their usefulness. It is for this reason that poorly executed lamps still exhibit marks of use, as they remained capable of carrying out their primary task. Nonetheless, poorly impressed discuses, or the ‘tops’ of lamps, are still useful in establishing the prevalence of a given motif.

## **Part II**

### **3.2.1 Diana Hunting: A Case Study**

Three of the lamps included in the attached catalog, 5, 6, and 7, display the same Diana motif. Diana is a Roman goddess chiefly associated with the hunt, animals, the divide between ‘inside’ and ‘outside,’ wild savagery, women, and virginity. She is often synchronized with Artemis, the Greek goddess of similar themes. As the Romans embraced Greek culture, Diana was often portrayed in hunting dress similar to that of Artemis (Scheid, 2006, n.p.).

The motif displayed on the lamps' discusses is a common one. It depicts Diana facing right, holding a bow in her left hand, her right reaching for a quiver over her right shoulder. Occasionally she is flanked by hounds or fleeing game. The same motif, in various iterations, is visible across a broad spectrum of media such as statuary, funerary stele, coins, and lamps, beginning in the fourth century B.C.E. and remaining popular through the high empire (D'Ambra, 2008, p. 174). This chapter first tentatively suggests a monumental work that may have inspired the motif, before examining various occurrences of it throughout the ancient world, chiefly focusing on the Italian peninsula.

### **3.2.2 Possible Origins: The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus**

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, pinpointing the origin of a motif is difficult to do and largely irrelevant to the discussion at hand, that being the dissemination and staying power of motifs. However, it is worth noting a *potential* first instance of the imagery, as it may help to explain its popularity. In the case of this style of Diana, Leochares' statue at the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus must be considered (D'Ambra, 2008, p. 174). The Mausoleum served as a monumental tomb for Maussollus, the satrap, or provincial ruler, of Caria, located in modern Turkey. It was built in the 350s B.C.E. and rose to nearly 50 meters in height. It was included in a list of the Seven Wonders of the World created at the Library of Alexandria during the Hellenistic Period, and its name has since been synonymous with funerary structures (Höcker, 2006, n.p.).

Both Pliny and Vitruvius identify Leochares, a renowned Greek sculptor, as having worked on the Mausoleum, an account generally accepted by scholars (Pliny, *NH* XXXVI. 30-I, Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VII, praef. 12-13). It is speculated that he was the sculptor of a statue of Artemis located on the west side of the Mausoleum, although definitive attribution is difficult to ascertain (Neudecker, 2006, n.p.). Though the original has since been lost, a Roman marble copy, “Diana of Versailles,” remains.

Given the Mausoleum’s status as one of the Seven Wonders, it is sufficient to say that the building and the work therein attracted large amounts of attention. It was a highly visited site, complete with ancient tour guides (Cook, 2005, p. 18). Such a large degree of exposure would have granted Leochares’ Artemis a large audience, and perhaps inspired visiting artisans and patrons alike. Although it is possible that it was not the first time Artemis was portrayed in such a pose, the statue in the Mausoleum would have at least provided a remarkable example in a highly trafficked and well-respected area. Roman magistrates and generals visited the building, and the impressive sculptures inspired copies made for shrines located elsewhere (Vermeule, 1994, p. 75). Furthermore, its relatively close proximity, roughly 150 km, to the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, another of the Seven Wonders, already in existence at the time of the Mausoleum’s construction, might help to explain interest in the Diana statue in particular.

### 3.2.3 Nemi

The Diana of Versailles was originally found at Nemi, and is now housed in the Louvre (Cooper, 2013, p. 189). Its existence and attribution to the first or second century C.E. is evidence of Leochares' Diana's influence, still prominent six centuries later. A torso from the first or second century B.C.E., also from Nemi, offers yet another sculptural example of Diana in the same pose (Romano, 2006, p. 93). Combined, the two Nemi pieces signify the longevity of the motif, having been created at far different points in the Roman world from the suspected original.

The concentration of Diana depictions at Nemi, located in central Italy, is due to the fact that it was a major cult center for the goddess. Interestingly, the cult statues of Diana at both Nemi and Rome are said to have come from elsewhere. Credit is given to Ephesus and Tauropolos, the former located in Turkey, the latter a mythical place believed to have been on the Black Sea (Green, 2007, p. 85). Thus, evidence for the transmission of iconography in a religious context, regarding Diana in particular, from 'semi-barbaric' lands further suggests the wide dissemination of the motif and an emphasis placed on well-known originals.

A final example, found in Tivoli and dating to the second century C.E., depicts Diana in the same manner as the Nemi statuery, albeit with slightly altered styling (Musei Capitolini, 2022, n.p.). It is thus safe to say that the Diana motif was portrayed sculpturally for at least 600 years.

### **3.2.4 Funerary Stele**

Further evidence for the longevity of the Diana motif comes in the form of funerary stele depicting young girls, found in Rome, Ostia, and along the Via Appia near S. Sebastiano, among other locations (D'Ambra, 2008, p. 173-177). As a virgin goddess, Diana was often used to memorialize girls who had passed away at a young age. Several funerary altars from the first through third centuries C.E. show the girls emulating the goddess' hunting pose, their youthful faces superimposed upon the recognizable figure of Diana. It is important to note that these steles were not simply copying the motif; they were personalizing it. While the figures' poses and armaments match those of Diana, the faces are unique. They depict the individual, the girl to whom the given stele remains a testament. D'Ambra argues that this dichotomy presents a curious dilemma, that the idealized body was considered art while the realistic face was simply viewed as a document (D'Ambra, 2008, p. 171). The figure of Diana was meant to represent the youthful, virgin virtues and temperament of girls. However, the emulation of Greek imagery was also a statement, meant to evoke a sense of high classical culture. It is in that respect that the idealized body of Diana was considered art, whereas the portrait itself was simply a token of remembrance, granted to girls who had yet to achieve the ultimate calling of marriage (D'Ambra, 2008, p. 171).

A parallel example occurs in statues and funerary stelae commissioned by husbands to memorialize their wives. They take the form of a nude Venus, the goddess of love and beauty, covering herself with her hands. The motif is a popular one, thought to have originated from a 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. sculpture by Praxiteles of Athens (Morais, 2017, p. 48-50). The shift in imagery is reflective of the change from maiden to married

woman, as Venus is an appropriate choice for one engaged in a consummated relationship. Here too, the idealized body is imposed with a personalized face, simultaneously a memorial and a statement proclaiming a high level of culture.

### **3.2.5 Numismatic Evidence**

A myriad of coins displaying the Diana motif on the reverse have been found. Notable examples bear the likenesses the Roman emperors Augustus, Nerva, Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, and Victorinus on the obverse, covering a range from 11 B.C.E. through 271 C.E. (American Numismatic Society, 2022, p. 1-8). The motif's appearance on coins is notable in that it is another example of its role in everyday life, liberated from its original high classical form. Coins were, and still are, utilitarian objects. Thus, the imagery on them was of secondary significance to their role as currency; they do not inhabit the same role as picture books, whose intention was purely to replicate a given motif. Nonetheless, they served to spread propagandistic iconography through ensuring that it was commonplace. The transmission of iconography via everyday objects quickly familiarized large segments of the population with a given motif, thereby increasing its recognizability, even if done in the service of political messaging. In doing so, coins contributed to cementing the motif in the visual vernacular. Furthermore, a high level of recognition and readily available examples could have negated some of the need to use picture books. However, this substitution would have applied primarily to media other than coins, as mints would have required prototype images in order to produce similar coinage.

### 3.2.6 Conclusion

The dissemination of motifs, often inspired by a Greek monumental work, was likely facilitated by both picture books and the spread of versions themselves. It is possible that at a certain level of recognition, the latter overtook the former as the primary means for visual inspiration. In the case of the Diana motif, the popularity of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus likely played a pivotal role in establishing the image in the visual canon. Although tempting to consider, issues of primacy are secondary to the motif's longevity. Regardless, the ubiquity of the Diana motif embodies the influence of Greek art on important cultural images, transmitted across both time and space.

## Conclusion

Oil lamps offer a trove of information regarding daily life in the ancient world. Their value has now been realized by archaeologists, who treat them as useful dating and contextual objects, capable of painting a more coherent picture of sites. The damage done to the known corpus by the antiquities trade is impossible to fully reverse, but nonetheless governments are making efforts to prevent any further illegal removal of lamps from their contexts and home countries. While in most cases not deemed important enough to repatriate, lamps still fall under the protection of legislation meant to curb the high levels of cultural theft left over from colonialism and perpetuated by instability in countries rich in archaeological history. The continued protection of and emphasis on small finds is of paramount importance to the scholarly community, as well as anyone remotely interested in ancient society.

Lamps, like any daily life objects, are useful in analyzing the interconnectivity of the ancient world. While the presence of branch workshops helps to taper notions of wide-ranging trade routes distributing low-cost pottery goods, they remain indicative of a commercial network spread across the Roman world. The movement of peoples, traders, legions, and the like are tracible through the wares they left behind. Workshops embedded in residential communities that employed a range of individuals help to demonstrate the nature of urban production, and localized distribution shows the relative self-sufficiency of regions with regard to manufacturing.

While the spread of the physical products themselves was limited, the iconography emblazoned upon them was not. Lamps contributed directly to the

establishment of an ancient visual vernacular, one rooted in Greek artisanry and bolstered by Roman markets. Monumental works served as original inspirations, but lamps assisted in carrying motifs through time and space. Although one of many products decorated with common motifs, their transportability and ease of manufacture enabled them to hasten the spread of imagery beyond the private frescos and mosaics of the elite. Their strength laid in their ubiquity, the same ubiquity which has today provided a basis for the archaeological community's dating methods.

The following catalog is the most significant scholarly contribution of this thesis. It offers a formal documentation of previously unpublished lamps, thereby making them accessible to the archaeological community. Catalogs of private collections and museum holdings are a vital means of undoing some of the damage collecting has done to archaeology's understanding of antiquity. They reclaim previously lost objects, and, although they are not able to resituate artifacts in their original context, they allow for their public study, especially when digitized. Building the accessible corpus increases the chances of connections being made between relevant *comparanda*, and, in turn, allows for the realization of patterns for which sufficient evidence was previously lacking. The hope is that this thesis will serve as the basis for the future study and publication of the remaining lamps in the Turnure Collection, as every effort to expand the corpus should be made. After all, it was the initial cataloging of excavation material, in the form of typologies, that vested archaeological value into lamps. Further documentation builds upon the precedent set by early typologies and connects them to other sites through the standardization of terminology. Continued regulation of archaeological practices refines

the field further, in much the same ways that early methodological shifts and scientific canonization did.

The establishment of typologies, the excavation of pottery workshops, and the analysis of motifs all demonstrate the importance of the study of oil lamps through their conclusions regarding ancient society as a whole. In order to see the larger picture, archaeologists must first look to the smaller. The ubiquity of everyday objects should not be seen as something that diminishes their importance, but rather as an exciting possibility for understanding life in the ancient world. Archaeology owes a great debt to the mundane, one repayable only through the continued protection and study of the small finds that make the big discoveries possible.

## *Catalog*

1. No. TD2019.1.30 Oil Lamp L. 11.37 cm D. 5.94 cm H. 3.02 cm

Complete, mold-made (?) oil lamp (top appears mold-made, bottom unclear).

Slightly concave discus with central fill hole (D. 1.01 cm) surrounded by a raised framing ring. Outer portion of discus is flat; a grooved framing ring delineates it from the narrow, raised shoulders. An airhole is located close to the nozzle. Hand-formed, concave-tipped, spatulated nozzle. Three globules adorn its neck; the wick hole (D. 1.33 cm) is at the narrowest point of the nozzle. The reservoir is steep-walled. The flat base is inversely inscribed POP BIT (Popilius Bithus) (Possibly Greek-like characters). The vertical strap handle has raised, incised edges, while the center is double-grooved. Fingerprints visible at the base of the handle and the underside of the handle where it meets the base. Pale brown fabric, Munsell 2.5YR 7/4. Reddish brown slipped, Munsell 5YR 4/4.

Cf. Detroit Institute of Arts, "One-wick Delphiform lamp," no. 72.305, inscribed POP BIT (for inscription see Bodel and Tracy CIL. Vol. XV, 662h); J. Perlzweig, *Agora IV*, no. 485, pp. 108, pl. 43 (Similar to Broneer XVI, Corinthian type?)

2. No. TD2019.1.37 Oil Lamp L. 11.13 cm D. 8.08 cm H. 2.39 cm

Nearly complete, mold-made discus lamp. Small fragment missing from discus; partially repaired by collector. Concave discus with forward facing bearded male (possibly robed?). Single, narrow framing ring. Plain shoulders, angled wall. Round-tipped, (hexagonal?) nozzle. The flat base is stamped CFABRI (C. Fabrius). Circular base groove. Vertical, pierced handle. Indentation in lower wall of shoulder, prior to firing.

Very pale brown fabric, Munsell 10YR 8/3. Reddish yellow slipped, Munsell 7.5YR 6/6.

Loeschcke VIII. 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.

Cf. Bonfante, L., Nagy, H., & Collins-Clinton, J., *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, 11, no. 2009, pp. 323

3. No. TD2019.1.38 Oil Lamp L. 10.51 cm D. 6.83 cm H. 2.99 cm

Complete, mold-made discus lamp. Concave plain discus with fill hole (D. 0.73 cm) in center. The raised plain framing ring continues into a double semi-volute; the knobs of the semi-volutes extend as ribs down the walls at the neck of the nozzle. The round-tipped nozzle has a central wick hole (D. 1.02 cm), which exhibits fire blackening. The flat base is stamped C·OPPI·RES (Gaius Oppius Restitutus), which is surrounded by a circular base groove. The vertical, pierced, hand-formed handle has two grooves originating from the discus. Fingerprints on wall and underside of nozzle visible in slip-glaze. Uneven red slipped, Munsell 2.5YR 4/8. Broneer XXIV. 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E.

Cf. Rosenthal and Sivan, *Qedem*, 8, no. 111, pp. 32 (?); J. Perlzweig, *Agora VII*, no. 158, pp. 86, pl. 6 (?); Bonfante, L., Nagy, H., & Collins-Clinton, J., *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, 11, nos. 2059, 8805, 8806, pp. 326

4. No. TD2019.1.40 Oil Lamp L. 9.41 cm D. 6.39 cm H. 2.68 cm

Complete, mold-made discus lamp with modern handle restoration. The central fill hole (D. 0.77 cm) is located inside the concave discus, surrounded by two concentric plain framing rings. Slightly broader outer ring. The shoulders are decorated with four rings of globules; an impressed circle on either side of the base of the handle. Round-tipped nozzle with fire blackening; wick hole (D. 1.07 cm). The flat base is stamped FLORENT (Florentius) in the center, directly between two impressed circles. The base ring obscures F and T. Grooves from base run up the center and to either side of the underside of the extent portion of the vertical handle. Reddish yellow slipped, Munsell 5YR 7/6 to 5YR 6/6. Loeschcke VIII (Broneer XXIX?). 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.

Cf. J. Perlzweig, *Agora VII*, no. 141, pl. 6; British Museum, *Lamp (1905,0520.153)*, no. 1905,0520.153; Rosenthal and Sivan, *Qedem*, 8, no. 173, pp. 43

5. No. TD2019.1.41 Oil Lamp L. 9.21 cm D. 6.69 cm H. 2.50 cm

Complete, mold-made discus lamp. Concave discus depicts Diana hunting, armed with a bow, facing right. The fill hole (D. 0.81 cm) is located at her right leg. One plain framing ring. Sloping plain shoulders. Round-tipped, heart-shaped nozzle with off-center wick hole (D. 0.97 cm). The flat base is stamped FLORENT (Florentius) between two impressed circles, slightly off-center. Possible double-impression. A circular groove surrounds the stamp. Grooves from base run up the center and to either side of the unevenly formed, pierced vertical handle. Traces of mica in fabric. Very pale brown

fabric, Munsell 10YR 8/3. Traces of yellowish red slipped, Munsell 5YR 5/6. Loeschcke VIII (Broneer XXV?). 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.

Cf. British Museum, *Lamp (1814,0704.154)*, no. 1814,0704.154; Bonfante, L., Nagy, H., & Collins-Clinton, J., *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, 11, no. 2024, pp. 327

6. No. TD2019.1.42 Oil Lamp L. 9.59 cm D. 6.72 cm H. 2.17 cm

Complete, mold-made discus lamp. Concave discus depicts Diana hunting, front facing. Armed with bow in left hand, right hand reaching for quiver, wearing three-tiered pleated dress and radial crown. The fill hole (D. 0.94 cm) is to the left of the figure. One plain raised framing ring. Flat shoulder with row of ovolos. Slightly recessed base with small impressed central ring surrounded by a wider base ring. Two grooves run up bottom of unevenly formed, pierced vertical handle. Pink fabric, Munsell 7.5YR 7/3. Loeschcke VIII. 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.

Cf. 7; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, nos. 498, 999, pp. 74, 150, pl. xv, xxix

7. No. TD2019.1.43 Oil Lamp L. 9.01 cm D. 6.39 cm H. 2.54 cm

Nearly complete mold-made discus lamp. Small fragments missing around fill hole. Concave discus with Diana motif in raised relief. Diana is facing right, armed with a

bow in her left hand, reaching for her quiver with her right. Her legs are flanked by two fleeing game animals (?). The fill hole is located to the left of Diana and is slightly chipped. One plain, raised framing ring. The angled shoulders are decorated with a row of ovolos. Round-tipped, heart-shaped nozzle with off-center wick hole (D. 0.93 cm). Fire blackening around wick hole. Tool marks visible at seam juncture. Steep, sloping walls. Flat base stamped CIVNBIT (C. Juni Biti) between two impressed circles; a circular groove surrounds the stamp. A groove runs from the base up the underside of the vertical, pierced, unevenly formed handle. Very Pale Brown Fabric, Munsell 10YR 8/3. Yellowish red slipped, Munsell 5YR 5/6. Loeschcke VIII. 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.

Cf. 6; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, nos. 498, 999, pp. 74, 150, pl. xv, xxix

## *Plates*

## Plate I



1 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



1 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



2 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



2 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)

## Plate II



3 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



3 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



4 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



4 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)

## Plate III



5 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



5 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



6 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



6 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)

## Plate IV



7 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)



7 (Photo Credit: Kristine M. Trego)

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