CONSTANTINOPLE HAYES 8 - A RARE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN LAMP TYPE IN THE PROVINCE OF SCYTHIA. SEVERAL CONSIDERATIONS DERIVED FROM ITS ICONOGRAPHY AND DISTRIBUTION

“Consider the most famous and enduring relic of all: the tomb of Christ.”

Abstract: The article is specifically tackling the Constantinople Hayes 8 type of clay lamps, dating from the second half of the 5th century to early 7th century AD. Our analysis pinpoints the sites where such lighting devices have been found in the Balkans, along the Lower Danube and in the Black Sea basin, as well as their specific clustering (namely at Constantinople, in association to the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Saraçhane, at Halmyris in the Lower Danube province of Scythia, as well as at Tauric Chersonesos in Northern Pontus).

The keywords for understanding these lamps are urban sites, maritime or river distribution, the connection to pilgrims and pilgrimage sites, Eastern Mediterranean and Pontic trade network, not to forget the annona maritime route within the Quaestura Iustiniana exercitus. Considering the uncommon canopy on the discus and based upon known archaeological evidence and contexts, our terracotta lamps are arguably embodying concurrent plebeian iconic ways and profound symbolic multiplications of the Holy City with the Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre.

Keywords: Late Roman/Early Byzantine lamp; Constantinople Hayes 8 type; architectural features; second half of 5th - early 7th century; Early Christian shrines; Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre.

Twenty three lamps of this specific type are known so far in Scythia, coming from six different sites (Fig. 1). While publishing his thorough monograph on the Roman to Early Byzantine pottery from Halmyris two decades ago, Florin Topoleanu presented a solitary lamp fragment (type IV – Kuzmanov 1992 A, type 33; Abadie-Reynal, Sodini 1992, L 51) of Oriental origin. It had been found in a N9 context and was subsequently dated to the second half of the 5th century AD1. The colour of the fabric is reddish-brown, as well as that of the overall applied gloss-slip. The preserved fragment

belongs to the relief decorated discus with filling-hole and raised shoulder. On the same occasion, the existence of two more unpublished fragments from Argamum and (L)ibida – both dated in the 6th century AD – was also signalled. The lamp from (L)ibida (Constantinople Hayes 1992 type 8) was thereafter published; the total number of such lighting devices found so far in the largest interior city from the north of the province eventually went up to five.

As I had already embarked on writing this article, it came to my attention that an association of top specialists in Roman lychnology was actually doing more or less the same thing for Peuce XVII, 2019 – the review of the Eco-Museum Research Institute in Tulcea. Therefore, I anxiously waited for the (excellent) development of their work, hoping there would be anything left for me to say. The reading of this article is direct proof that our subject is not yet closed and that I have still found some aspects worthwhile bringing in addition to the extensive approach of the topic by Laurent Chrzanovski, Denis Žuravlev and Florin Topoleanu.

The first contribution of the 2019 article is the thorough charting of the finds in Scythia and that is a fact: the number of the lamps of this type from Halmyris dramatically rose, for instance, to eleven instead of one; at Argamum, three instead of one.

The lamps of the cited type have a round body, projecting nozzle with raised edge to wick-hole and (if not broken) applied vertical band-handles. The discus is wide and in most cases the available description includes a decoration of architectural/ vegetal features: two columns with gable, supporting an arch, bunches of grapes (?), as well as other triangular details between columns, with inner dots probably suggesting again grapes (see Fig. 4).

Four decades ago another lamp belonging to this Eastern Greek type had been published on the occasion of the systematic excavations in the 1970’s at Sacidava (Muzait, Constanța county). The 9.5 cm long / 7 cm diameter lamp was produced in a worn mould. The original fabric was red, but the lamp had been exposed to intense secondary burning, so it turned to grey. One can still observe on the preserved part of the discus the typical decorative features (one column, as well as the arch with dotted elements). Allegedly based upon the stratigraphic position of the lamp, yet rather unconvincingly argued, the 4th century dating advanced by C. Scorpan was implausibly early.

Two more lamp fragments of this kind were found at Capidava, during an excavation inside the horreum of

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1 TOPOLEANU 2000, 181. The lamp fragments are kept in the storage of ICEM Tulcea: inv. no 43900 - (L)ibida; inv. no 42429 - Argamum.
2 NUȚU/MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2016, 212-213, 221 = pl. 2.13.
3 NUȚU/MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2016, 212; NUȚU/MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019, 331, pl. 3.15. For (L)ibida, Laurent Chrzanovski, Denis Žuravlev and Florin Topoleanu indicate just four such lamps, see CHRZANOVKSI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 226-227, nos. 39-42, but we decided to give credit to the excavators of the site.
6 See the typological description at BAILEY 1988, 415 (Q 3309 MLA and Q 3310 MLA), pl. 122.
7 SCORPAN 1978, 159 and pl. III/12 (no 12, inv. 14211). The lamp is fragmentary; still a large part of the discus with known features and base has been preserved. See also CHRZANOVSKI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 227, no 46.
the *castellum* during the late 1980’s – early 1990’s\(^\text{10}\). Both belonged to a well dated 6th century AD context, when the central nave of the imposing building was transformed into an open space (court) with stone pavement and a channel for water drain/ sewer was also added (Fig. 2). The two fragments were found inside this sewer in 1990\(^\text{11}\). The first (no. 425, inv. 2199) is 5.9 cm long and belongs to the relief decorated discus with filling-hole and raised shoulder. Both architectural and vegetal patterns are visible. The fabric is reddish-brown, as well as the slip, covering the whole surface of the discus, including the interior; the slip is no more than a fine film, non-glossy and fused with the body clay. The second sherd (no. 426, inv. 3156) is 5.6 cm long and presents on its discus the same decorative patterns, yet one can observe both a better quality of the orange-red micaceous fabric and the glossy appearance of the slip. The decoration is rendered in a much finer way (meaning a new and superior mould); finally, the slip is dull gloss. When comparing the two sherds, one might conclude that the former could be a low quality copy of the latter (Fig. 3.1-2).

Far upstream the Danube, the only find of this kind on the left bank is a recently published lamp belonging to the inventory from the 6th century strategic reborn *Sucidava*, in front of *Oescus* in Dacia Ripensis\(^\text{13}\). On the right bank of the river an isolated half discus and handle fragment of the referred type, with no description, was found during the first two excavation campaigns of Vasile Pârvan in *Ulmetum*, most likely in a 6th century context\(^\text{12}\).

The closest regional analogies come indeed from Bulgaria. A completely preserved lamp kept in the collection of National Museum in Sofia had been published decades ago by G. Kuzmanov, without any indication of a known find place\(^\text{15}\); a second one comes most likely from a 6th century context in Sadovec (Sadovsko Kale)\(^\text{16}\). In the same monographic contribution G. Kuzmanov mentioned four other unpublished lamps from *Odessos*, in *Moesia Secunda*, offering supplementary information: two of them had been cast in the same mould\(^\text{17}\). Subsequently, these quite well preserved lamps coming from the thermae in *Odessos* have been recently published by G. Kuzmanov and Al. Minčev\(^\text{18}\); close finds along the western coast of the Black Sea comprise several discus and rim or handle fragments further south in

\(^{10}\) See, lately, OPRIŞ/RAȚIU 2017, 19-21.

\(^{11}\) OPRIŞ 2003a, 172, nos 425-426, pl. LXII (type III); see also CHRZANOVSKI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 227, nos 47-48.

\(^{12}\) PÂRVAN 1913, pl. XXXI, no 11; see also CHRZANOVSKI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 227, no 49.

\(^{13}\) GHERGHE/COJOC 2011, 98, no 171; see also CHRZANOVSKI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 227, no 51.

\(^{14}\) CHICHKOVA 1999, 106-107, fig. 3.

\(^{15}\) KUZMANOV 1992b, 40, 117, type XXXIII, No. 296; CHRZANOVSKI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 227, no. 54.

\(^{16}\) KUZMANOV 1992a, 223, 229, pl. 44.4, 144.6 (type 3, No. 4). See also HAYES 1992, 82, n. 19; CHRZANOVSKI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 227, no 52, indicating a 527-602 AD dating, according to the numismatic evidence associated with it.

\(^{17}\) KUZMANOV 1992a, 225, n. 17 (Archaeological Museum in Varna, inv. II 1232.4084; III 236.237).

\(^{18}\) KUZMANOV, MINČEV 2018, 144-145, nos 716-719 (pl. XLXI, LXXIV); see also CHRZANOVSKI/ŽURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 227, nos 55-58.
Further afield, the type was reported with a rather unlikely early 4th century dating at Sirmium; in the Northern Aegean, it occurred in Thasos, and a consistent grouping has also been identified at Constantinople. From the same area come other lamps found either at Hadrianopolis (Edrine), or on the Asian continent at Akçakoca and at another Hadrianopolis, in Paphlagonia.

Nonetheless, the most abundant and at the same time the most significant assemblage of all known analogies has been recorded in the North-Pontic area. So far, Chersonesos is the main distribution site and twenty lamps of this kind were found at different places in the Crimean town. Denis Zhuravlev considered they could be indirectly connected to the so-called „Basilica of 1955”, where the excavations carried out in the mid-20th century unearthed „remains of a sacral building belonging to the synagoge of Chersonesos”. He further inferred the possibility of a production centre (centres) somewhere on the Black Sea littoral, based on the concentration of such finds in the Pontic area, as well as on the „visual characteristics of clay and glaze”. Except for the Chersonesos assemblage, four other lamps of said type in the Hermitage come from unspecified sites of the North Pontic shore, from the Illichevskaya fortress in the Taman Peninsula, as well as from a 4th century context at Olbia (?); finally, a solitary lamp belongs to the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Odessa, most likely discovered in the mentioned coastal area.

One should undoubtedly pinpoint this high concentration of such Constantinople Hayes 8 type and derivatives lamps in Chersonesos and the surroundings, but exactly the same thing can be stressed on two other findplaces. One of them is the site of Church of St. Polyeyuktos, subsequently superposed by Saddler’s Market (Sarachane) in Constantinople, and the other is the Late Roman castellum at 

20 CHRZANOFSKI/ŻURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 228, nos 61-63; MUTAFCHEVA 2013, 148, nos 6-8 (although the patterns on no 8 look rather different). A fourth different lamp fragment from Akra was published by HRISTOV 2013, 133.
22 ABADIE-REYNAL/SODINI 1992, 75-76, pl. XI-j (L 51).
23 HAYES 1992, 82, 85-86, pl. 20 (nos. 34-44); CHRZANOFSKI/ŻURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 228, no. 64-74. See also ABADIE-REYNAL/SODINI 1992, 76. Further to the south, in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean such lamps have been found in excavations in Corinth, see WILLIAMS 1981, No. 462, pl. 20; Mileto, see MENZEL 1956, 99, Abb. 72.3; Salamis (Constantia) in Cyprus, see OZIOI 1977, 276-277, No. 837, pl. 46 and Alexandria, see BERNHAARD 1955, 187-188, fig. 56.
24 CHRZANOFSKI/ŻURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 229, no75 (Akçakoca); nos 76-77 (Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonia); 230, no 79 (Hadrianopolis, Edrine). According to the same CHRZANOFSKI/ŻURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 231, nos 80-81 two more lamps at the British Museum come from unassigned sites in the Greek East or from the Balkans.
27 CHRONAVLEV 2012, 28.
28 CHRONAVLEV 2012, 28.
29 CHRZANOFSKI/ŻURAVLEV/TOPOLEANU 2019, 220-221, nos 2-5 (Hermitage Museum); 221, no 6 (Illichevskaya, Taman Peninsula); 221, no 26 (Olbia); 221, no 27 (Archaeological Museum in Odessa).
tableware, lamps included, followed the same routes and were most likely subsidiary to the primary transport, riding piggyback on strategic grain and oil shipments\(^29\). Some of the ports of call keep memory of the sailors and their prayers for safe journey: at Agios Georgios, by Cape Drepanon in Cyprus, the Proconnesian marble pulpit in Basilica A presents the inscription ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗΣ ΝΑ ΥΤΩΝ (Most Blessed Sailors); St. Isidore, another patron of seafarers, had his own cult centre in Chios, where he was beheaded under the persecutions ordered by emperor Decius, in AD 251\(^40\). In tokens or \textit{ampullae} with patron Saints of sailors, such as St. Phocas and St. Isidore and/or images of sailing ships, such as an Egyptian flask for the pilgrims transiting Alexandria, we may well acknowledge sea voyage anxieties\(^41\).

The connection of the abovementioned finds to pilgrims, literally the \textit{οἱ πολλοί} coming from all strata of society and from every corner of the Christian world is obvious. They embarked those ships to and fro the most famous sanctuaries of the Holy Land, Egypt and Asia Minor carrying on their way back home souvenirs or \textit{eulogiai} – i.e. mobile “blessings” or blessed objects (from Gr. \textit{εὐλογία}) empowered with the sanctity or the holiness of a place, object or person. Resuming our topic, one should also remark the association of such lamps with pilgrim sites and pilgrimage products, such as clay \textit{ampullae}, rightly stressed by the authors of the latest study on Constantinep Hayes 8 lamp type\(^2\). This approach might well explain the presence of such lighting devices on the fringes of the Empire at Capidava or (L)ibida, for instance, where St. Menas or Asia Minor \textit{ampullae} are also known\(^43\); furthermore, two St. Menas pilgrim flasks in State Historical Museum – GIM with no handles and broken slender neck were found in the late 19th century in Chersonesos\(^44\). The pattern is obvious and we should further expect a multiplication of sites where both \textit{ampullae} and this specific type of lamps are associated.

The decoration itself is intriguing, as the elements on the discus of \textit{Constantinople Hayes 8 type} and derivate lamps have been interpreted in different ways: J.W. Hayes, who published the late 6th century lamp assemblage from „church building levels” in Saraçhan, recognized a „baldacchino” on four columns sometimes resembling a crude diadem ed head in frontal view with columnar ornaments at the sides\(^45\); the Egyptian magic life knot\(^46\); a symbolic image of a synagogue with its most holy place, the tabernacle of the Testament (\textit{Toraschrein-Motiv} according to E. Lapp)\(^47\). Similar images are common issue in Jewish art, and Rachel Hachlili rendered the available iconography of niches and arks for Torah scrolls long time ago\(^48\).

Vera Zaleskaya saw in this architectural display the schematic facade of a \textit{martyrium} with \textit{baptisterium} rendered in the foreground as a dotted triangle\(^49\). According to our opinion, Michael Grünbart is in fact the one to come directly to the very essence of the ensemble, while writing the catalogue entry to a beautiful Egyptian (prototype) lamp in WWU Museum in Münster: \textit{Tonlampe mit Darstellung des Grabeskirche}\(^50\) (see fig. 7, infra). This unique lamp is undoubtedly the most sophisticated of the series, with its (Calvary) cross potent between the arcade and filling-hole.

The cross potent has good analogies in early 7th century coinage minted under Heraclius and a close analogy coming to my mind for associating the upmentioned lamp to the Calvary cross should be the pewter alloy pilgrims’ ampulla with Holy Women at the Sepulchre from Dumbarton Oaks Collection\(^51\). Grünbart’s interpretation is that of the image of the Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre and all available reconstructions offered by John Wilkinson and Martin Biddle fully support his hypothesis\(^52\) (see Figs. 5.1-3).

\(^{29}\) An Asia Minor \textit{ampulla} from \textit{(L)ibida} is in print, submitted for publication to the Acta of the 24. International Limes Congress, Belgrade-Viminacium, 2nd-9th September 2018. Personal communication of Dr. Dan Aparaschivei (Institute of Archaeology in Iași): Pilgrims from the province of Scythia in Ephesus. For the two \textit{ampullae} in Capidava (St. Menas and Asia Minor types), see OPRIS 2003a, 162, nos 190-191, pl. LVIII; OPRIS 2003b, 447-449, 468 = pl. 3.1-3; OPRIS 2004, 266-267, 274-275 = figs. 13-16.

\(^{40}\) ZYPAJABE 2012.

\(^{41}\) HAYES 1992, 82 (type 8).

\(^{42}\) ZHURAVLEV 2012, 26; UŠAKOV/ŽURAVLEV 2014, 295.

\(^{43}\) LAPP 1991, 158.

\(^{44}\) HACHLILI 1976, \textit{passim}, with the following constituitive elements of the ensemble: a niche and its interior; a facade of two/ four columns; an arch or gable supported by columns; a conch decorating the vaulted upper part of the niche/ arch/ gable; a base on which the niche is built; a flight of stairs leading up to the niche (see the same HACHLILI 1976, 43).

\(^{45}\) ZALESSKAJA 1988, \textit{non vidi}; see also ZHURAVLEV 2012, 26-27 and n. 26. \textit{stylized depiction of the roof of a holy martyr’s grave (i.e. a Christian \textit{martyrium}) and a baptistery that can symbolize the second birth of the neophyte through the sacrament of christening}.

\(^{46}\) GRÜNBART 2012, 188-189, no 69.

\(^{47}\) WEITZMANN 1979, 585-586, no 524 (by Archer St. Clair).

\(^{48}\) WILKINSON 1972; WILKINSON 2006, 174, fig. 34 – the Cave of the Anastasis; BIDDLE 2000, 32-37, with artist’s reconstruction of Constantine’s Edicule at p. 35. See also MURPHY-O’CONNOR 2008, 49-54, 56, fig. 15; OUSTERHOUT 1990, for the relationship between early representations of the Ark of the Covenant and the Tomb aedicula at the Holy Sepulchre, with

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**Fig. 4.** Constantinople Hayes 8 lamp from \textit{Halmyris} (Murighiol, Tulcea County). Courtesy of Fl. Topoleanu.
As to the inverted triangle filled with relief dots (relief globules) on the Constantinople Hayes 8 lamps, it has been mostly seen as grape clusters, architectural detail, yet other abstract encoding suggestions are not missing, as well. I am just wondering if we should not approach this puzzling dotted triangle in a totally different way, i.e. as the image of the "Stone of the Angel". It is figured on Wilkinson’s reconstructed model, and on the Sancta Sanctorum wooden reliquary lid from the Lateran “Treasury” kept at Musei Vaticani (Chapel of St. Peter Martyr), in the upper left panel (Holy Women at the tomb) of an encaustic 6th century painting from Syria or, more likely, Palestine.

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Fig. 5. 1-3. The Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre: 1. BIDDLE 2000, 35; 2. WILKINSON 2006, 174, fig. 34; 3. MURPHY O’CONNOR 2008, 56, fig. 15), the flasks as a rectangular shape at the floor-level within the gates and we know that before the Persians ravaged the stone it had been covered with gold and jewels, according to the Piacenza Pilgrim or the later 7th century bishop of Jerusalem, Sophronius. The triangle instead of rectangle might be the answer to concurrent issues: the limited space on the discus and, perhaps, obscure aesthetic strategies, as well.

The conspicuous relationship between early representations of the Ark of the Covenant and the Tomb aedicula at the Holy Sepulchre reveals the expected strong ties to Jewish tradition, but also ambiguous, intricated artistic ways. Until the 7th century, when aniconic synagogue art becomes the rule, one might have had difficulties discerning the artistic decoration of synagogues vs churches, neither uniform nor distinctive and (in some cases) involving the same artists using the same style and motifs. More than a decade ago, Nicholas de Lange launched a troubling question in Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian: “How distinctive were the Jews? We do not hear of any outward sign that would distinguish Jews from non-Jews. Neither clothing nor language marked them out, and they mingled freely with non-Jews, even if in some cities they had their own quarters”.

What do we actually know about Jews and Jewish communities in the Black Sea and Western Pontus area?
during 6th to 7th centuries, at a time and place where part of the cited lamps were also circulating? Some important steps have been taken during the last decades, so that the general picture is getting much sharper (Fig. 6). A fascinating assemblage of finds was known for a long time in the Cimmerian Bosporus. As early as the 1st century Jewish communities are known in major cities as Pantikapaion and Phanagoria, but the cult of Θεὸς ὕψιστος (Most High God) is mentioned at Gorgippia (nowadays Anapa), and Tanais as well. Over 60 funerary stelae rendering the Menorah, Schofar and the Lulav had been found in Phanagoria in the second half of the 19th century and this extraordinary concentration of ancient Jewish population is completed by similar finds circa 15 km south, at Vyšesteblievskaja. Some of them are bilingual (with Greek text, as well). The chronology of the finds unveils enduring communities, uninterrupted lasting until 8th-9th century. In an entry for the year 678/679, Teophanes Confessor mentions them in his early 9th century Chronographia, later on followed by the Abbasid geographer Ibn-Khordadhbeh. On the other shore of the Kerch strait, on Crimean soil, an inscription from Pantikapaion informs us that the governor Aurelius Valerius Sogus from Theodosia built a προσευχή (Jewish prayer house) to the local community in 306 AD.

An important assemblage of finds comes from the western side of the Peninsula, namely from Chersonesos and its territory, as Jewish funerary stelae have been recorded at Vlino and Eski-Kermen, in the nearby inland, as well. In Chersonesos a synagogue built in the 4th century AD functioned until the time of Theodosius I, and was later superposed by two subsequent basilicas (the so-called 1935 Basilica). The Tauric Chersonesos – with so many lamp finds of Constantinople Hayes 8 type – was the terminus harbour for large-scale commercial operations, yet we cannot put aside pilgrims and the pilgrimage phenomenon, as well. With its famous St. Phocas shrine, the city was an important centre of local pilgrimage, as already mentioned, but archaeological proofs of long distance pilgrimage to supra-regional sanctuaries, as Abu Mena in Egypt, had been also traced. A strong local Jewish community and the conspicuous signs of flourishing Christian life lead to the idea of an explicit, moreover privileged relationship to the Holy Land, given the important quantities of Late Roman 4 and bag-shaped amphorae discovered in Late Roman and Early Byzantine archaeological contexts. The LRA 4 containers were carrying the famous vinum Gazetum (also known as Gazetina, or Gazeticum), the DOCG or premier grand cru of late Roman wine production. These amphorae were produced in the Negev (particularly in the area of Avdat), Gaza and Ascalon (25 km away from Gaza), and huge concentrations were also recorded in the city-port of Pelusium. As to the bag-shaped ones (LRA 5-6), the production sites are situated in a wider area, in both North and South Palestine. All those wine containers are well known in Chersonesos deposits. LRA 4 is dated there in archaeological contexts from the first half of the 5th century to third quarter of the 7th century (circa 650-670), whereas LRA 5 have a later dating range, from the end of the 6th century to late 7th/ early 8th century.

Several other uncharted lamps of assumedly North Pontic find place, including an improbable 4th century (?) piece from Olbia, will not puzzle the big picture. Coming to the Western Pontus, the ancient cities where Constantinople

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60 UŠAKOV/ŽURAVLEV 2014, 287-291.
61 WICKHAM 2005, 714.
64 ROMANCHUK/SAZANOVA SEDIKOVA 1995, class 4-5, 21-24, figs. 3-6; SAZANOVA 1997, 88-89, types 3-4, fig. 1; SAZANOVA 2014, 413, 420 – fig. 4.
Hayes 8 type lamps have been equally recorded concentrate in the province of Scythia, with Halmyris undisputedly as main site. One can draw a pattern with two different concentration groups, the first along the Black Sea coast (Argamum, Odessos, Anchialos and Akra) and a second one along the Danube (Halmyris, Capidava, Saccidava, Novae and westernmost at Sucidava, on the left bank). Inland finds come from Ulmetum and (L)libida, and the latter city with its 27 ha surface is one of the largest in the province in the Late Roman/ Early Byzantine period. One can therefore imagine that the lamps came by sea and upstream the river, in ships carrying the annona amphorae and pilgrims, as well. One should nevertheless mention that, unlike in the Bosphoran fringe area or in Pannonia\textsuperscript{72}, Jewish and Jewish communities are little known here.

Up the Danube, at Oescus (i.e. in front of Sucidava, where one of our lamps was found) a Jewish epitaph (in Latin) of Joses, archisynagogos and principalis with his wife Cyria (or better Kyria) could be dated to the 4th century\textsuperscript{72}, a second fragmentary inscription in Greek with the image of the menorah was further reported, in Oescus again\textsuperscript{74}. In the 6th century Procopius of Caesarea (De Aed. IV.6.21) mentions a watchtower called Ιουδαίοι close to Dorticum, in Dacia Ripensis, most likely after a neighbouring tavern owned by Jews\textsuperscript{73}. In the capital and chief port of Tomis and nearby suburban habitations or at the legionary headquarters in Troesmis inscriptions of Orientals generically coming from Syria-Palestine are quite numerous in 2nd — 3rd century inscriptions: Flavia Neapolis and Antipatris (in Samaria), Neapolis (in Syria) Emesa, Laodicea (Syriae) are all proudly mentioned hometowns. Some of them could have obviously had a Jewish origin\textsuperscript{75}. Either conscripts in the army units stationed in Moesia Inferior, veterans or merchants – and the phenomenon is general for the Danubian provinces –, they gravitated towards the rich capital of Moesia Inferior and the headquarters of legio V Macedonica in Troesmis, both strategic and highly attractive cities.

A female dedicatar of Jewish origin (Aurelia Sambatis) is later known from an inscription at Tomis in late 3rd – early 4th century\textsuperscript{77}, and she is surely not the only one, since two other patronyms might indicate a wider community: Sulifera\textsuperscript{76} and Seppon\textsuperscript{78}, a wine trader from Alexandria. The latter’s name is accompanied on the stone by two specific graphic features, i.e. the pentagram and the palm branch (lulav)\textsuperscript{80}.

The pattern is obvious. Natives from the East are either connected to the army or trade\textsuperscript{83} and the two do no exclude each other, settling down in major centres on the right bank of the river, along the Black Sea Coast or in large continental cities. They definitely must have had to do with the associations of sea merchants or shippers, such as ο οἶκος τῶν ἐν Τόμει ναυκλήρων in 2nd century Tomis\textsuperscript{82}. From Oescus southwards, crossing the Balkans, the next important Jewish community in Late Roman Thracia was that of Philippopolis, with its synagogue built in early 4th century, renovated a hundred years later for being destroyed in the 6th century\textsuperscript{83}. Nevertheless, things are definitely more complex than the few pieces of epigraphic evidence can describe: during the turbulent 6th century, we learn about havoc brought by Antes in the Balkan provinces to unnamed urban Jewish communities from a complaining Midrashic holimist\textsuperscript{84}.

So, let us get back to our Constantinople Hayes 8 lamps, for final remarks. One has established a high concentration of sites (6) and a clustering (11 such lamps for Halmyris) in the Lower Danube province of Scythia during the 6th century and a further distribution route upstream the river, in several military sites. The westernmost point known so far is Sirmium. Surprisingly, no lamp of this kind has been recorded until now in the capital and main port of the province at Tomis, but a few other finds are scattered along the Western Black Sea Coast. In return, dominant findplaces are Tauric Chersonesos in Northern Pontus, and, again, Constantinople, where the type seemingly originated from. The keywords for understanding these lamps are urban sites, maritime or river access, the connection to pilgrims and pilgrimage, Eastern Mediterranean and Pontic trade network, not to forget the annona maritime route within the Quaestura Iustitiana exercitus\textsuperscript{85}. So, are the lamps Jewish or Christian? G. Nuțu and L. Mihăilenescu-Bîrliba, who published the lamps from (L) libida, are doubting both local Pontic origin or any Jewish connection, arguing that no tangible presence of a Jewish community in Scythia has yet been established\textsuperscript{86}.

Is it, however, possible to draw a relationship between the Constantinople Hayes 8 finds and the former 4th century synagogue in Chersonesos? During 6th century when these lamps were circulating, the synagogue had been for a long time destroyed and converted to a church, and if not just a pure match the distinct cluster identified in that place (Basilica 1935)\textsuperscript{87} might indicate a subtle tradition. An archaeological element of high symbolic value to this conversion is a re-used Menorah-decorated slab identified in the church’s foundation.

\textsuperscript{72} BOUNEGRU 2014, 304-305, with abundant Jewish archaeological elements known in Mursa, Intercisa, Solva, Brigetio, Aquincum, Triciana, Sirmium, Siklos and Savaria (including explicitly mentioned synagogues in Mursa and Intercisa). See also MOGA 2018, 121-130, especially 122-123. According to HANSEN 2014, 45, Abb. 11, a third Pannonian synagogue could be charted in Brigetio. I am grateful to Prof. Svend Hansen (Eurasien Abteilung – DAI Berlin) for final remarks. One has established a high concentration of sites (6) and a clustering (11 such lamps for Halmyris) in the Lower Danube province of Scythia during the 6th century and a further distribution route upstream the river, in several military sites. The westernmost point known so far is Sirmium. Surprisingly, no lamp of this kind has been recorded until now in the capital and main port of the province at Tomis, but a few other finds are scattered along the Western Black Sea Coast. In return, dominant findplaces are Tauric Chersonesos in Northern Pontus, and, again, Constantinople, where the type seemingly originated from. The keywords for understanding these lamps are urban sites, maritime or river access, the connection to pilgrims and pilgrimage, Eastern Mediterranean and Pontic trade network, not to forget the annona maritime route within the Quaestura Iustitiana exercitus\textsuperscript{85}. So, are the lamps Jewish or Christian? G. Nuțu and L. Mihăilenescu-Bîrliba, who published the lamps from (L) libida, are doubting both local Pontic origin or any Jewish connection, arguing that no tangible presence of a Jewish community in Scythia has yet been established\textsuperscript{86}.

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\textsuperscript{74} BOUNEGRU 2014, 306.

\textsuperscript{75} PANAYOTOV 2004, 61, 63.

\textsuperscript{76} ISM II, 60, 132.

\textsuperscript{77} PANAYOTOV 2014, 56-57. The Jewish presence in Roman to Byzantine times becomes much more expressive South of the Rhodopes and in Northern Macedonia, see PANAYOTOV 2014, 56-62 (besides Philippopolis and neighbouring Stanimaka/Aessonagad, one should also name here Byzice, Vize, Heraclea Perinthos, Gallipoli, as well as Philipps, Drama, Christopolis/ Kavala, Dimitriti) next to Serres, Stobi, Thessalonica, Beroea/ Veria etc.).

\textsuperscript{80} Castil 2001, 79, n. 19.

\textsuperscript{81} For newest approaches on the quaestura exercitus topic, see SARANTIS 2019; OPRIȘ/RAȚIU 2019.

\textsuperscript{82} NUTU/MHĂILESCU-BĂRLIBA 2019, 331.

\textsuperscript{83} UȘĂKOV/ΖΩΡΑΛΕΒΗ 2014, 297; ΖΩΡΑΛΕΒΗ 2012, 26 (= fig. 8), 28.
of the apsis during the 1957 restoration works\textsuperscript{68}. It is true that such lamps are known from areas with strong Jewish communities in the Taman Peninsula and Pantikapaion\textsuperscript{69}, but also from Olbia, where a synagogue might have possibly functioned until 4th century\textsuperscript{70}, yet one should not exclude Christians from the general picture. The reason resides in the very dating of the lamps, i.e. from the second half of 5th to early 7th century, and by that time the Christians were largely taking over even on the northern fringes of the Empire. On the other hand, the documented co-existence of Jews and Christians in Chersonesos and the Northern Black Sea territories was not matched in any way by corresponding circumstances in Western Pontus, where lamps of this type have been recorded as well. That is why I believe these lamps in Chersonesos and the northern territories are in fact related to Christians, to pilgrimage and local shrines, as well. The city was one of the transit pilgrimage points on the way to the Holy Land, mentioned by a German Archdeacon Theodosius around AD 518-530\textsuperscript{81}.

It is precisely at Constantinople\textsuperscript{83} that they pinpointed the other important cluster of Hayes 8 lamps and one should add that it found itself in close relationship to the Church of St. Polyeuktos (Sarayhane). A beautiful sculptural marble niche belonging to a huge exedra brings to mind some of the artistic features rendered on our lamps\textsuperscript{84}. To sum up, both the Church of St. Polyeuktos built by Princess Juliana Anicia in the capital and Basilica no. II (1935 Basilica) at Chersonesos are somehow involved in the distribution of these lamps. It definitely had to do with pilgrimage.

The iconographic scheme, as we have already seen, includes architectural elements – niches and gables or decorated arches supported by columns – earlier used in Jewish art to house the ark with Torah scrolls\textsuperscript{85}. With the clay lamp in Westfälisches Wilhelms-Universität Münster Museum as finest of all known, the Constantinople Hayes 8 series is just part on the long list of pyxides, ivory plaques and diptychs, reliquaries, book covers, chalices, lighting devices (κανδῆλα) or ampullae iconographically emphasizing sumptuous architectural features\textsuperscript{86}. Under the canopy on the discus of the above-mentioned lamps one should perceive what Gary Vikan named “plebeian art of the pilgrim”, characterized by lack of elegance and lowly substance, but enjoying mass distribution\textsuperscript{87}. In my opinion, with their very special “Zeichencode” these portable items are just more conspicuous props of the pilgrimage, though indistinctly associated to maritime pilgrims, merchants or soldiers. If not local low copies, they practically acknowledge the same pattern the pilgrim flasks do: long-distance luxury goods with little intrinsic worth, but high symbolic value, esteemed as “contact relics”\textsuperscript{88}.

The devotional practices they serve are way out of doubt to me, yet the answer to the question on how they arrive on the fringes of the Empire remains obscure. Is it actually a result of long-distance trade or long-distance pilgrimage? Or the combined consequence of both? What is certain is that piggybacking on grain and oil military annona transports\textsuperscript{89} large quantities of consumable, utilitarian and such luxury goods arrive to Lower Danube, Western and Northern Pontus during the Justinianic revival and later, in the 6th – early decades of the 7th century, pilgrims included\textsuperscript{90}. A wider focus unveils new concepts of the time, with precise implications to our topic: Constantinople – Second Jerusalem\textsuperscript{101}, the “constantinopolisation” of the Imperial power, with huge effects on the entire Balkans\textsuperscript{102}, and furthermore, the rising rivalry between a wide local

\begin{figure}[h]
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...
network of cultic sites and the Holy Land, the Holy City, with the True Cross and the Aedicula at Holy Tomb of the Lord. 103

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