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GREEK CLASSICAL LAMPS AND THEIR IMITATIONS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN — QUESTIONS OF CHRONOLOGY

(Figure 1; Plate 63)

The import of Greek pottery into the 5th Persian satrapy — Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus — during the Persian and Hellenistic periods is well-known, yet only selectively published.¹ Its acquisition and distribution via coastal sites was directed by Phoenician and Greek traders; Phoenician trading privileges were granted by the Achaemenid court in return for the loyalty of their fleet. The historical background was thus: a population of mixed ethnic and religious origin, the coastal towns in Phoenician hands, a certain number of Greek settlers, but no Greek colonies.

In the present paper I wish to follow the question of the imported wheel-made Attic lamps and their local imitations. Three problems await solution: the dating of an archaeological context with the help of both imported and local lamps, the typology and chronology of local lamps and correlation criteria for various sites. So far, few excavations have yielded substantial quantities of pottery from well-defined strata, but this is changing: Tell Acco, Tel Dor, Tel Mikhal, Tell 'Arqa and Ibn Hani — to mention only a few — are producing rich finds.² The excavations at Tel Dor, a coastal site south of Haifa, which were begun in 1980 under the direction of Professor Ephraim Stern from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, have brought to light Persian and Hellenistic pottery in

1. Dominique Auscher, *Les relations entre la Grèce et la Palestine avant la conquête d'Alexandre*, in *Vetus Testamentum* 17, 1967, 8-30; Ch. Clairmont, *Greek Pottery from the Near East*, in *Berytus* XI, 1954-55, 85-139; XII, 1956-58, 1-34; E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.* (Warminster, Jerusalem 1982), 137-141; R. Wenning, *Griechische Importe in Palästina aus der Zeit vor Alexander d. Gr.*, in *Boreas* 4, 1981, 29-46.

2. So far, only short notices or preliminary reports have appeared, the published lamps are mentioned below.

fairly good archaeological contexts. While working on that pottery, a chronological sequence of lamps could be established. Let me first sum up the evidence from Tel Dor and then compare it with other sites.

It was under the reign of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) that an increased amount of pottery reached the 5th satrapy.³ At that stage, lamps do not seem to have been popular. They began to appear in larger numbers in the second half of the 5th century B.C., as shown by the material from the store-houses at Al Mina (Level III, 430-375 B.C.).⁴ In Cyprus, Attic lamps were slow to penetrate the local market in the course of the 5th century. Thérèse Oziol holds Cypriote conservatism responsible for this situation.⁵ I suggest that the 5th century popular Attic lamps (Howland Types 21-22)⁶ with their open reservoir and narrow rim were not considered superior to the locally produced saucer lamps.⁷ The import of Attic lamps seems to have increased as a result of functional innovations in lamp shape and reservoir capacity, which were introduced in the second half of the 5th century and resulted in lamps of higher proportions and a gradual widening of shoulder and rims.⁸ Only a score of these lamps have been published so far.⁹ There is no evidence that they were imitated locally, yet in view of the restricted material this conclusion should not be regarded as final.

With the appearance of Howland Type 25, corresponding to Scheibler's lamps with rounded shoulder and popular from 400-250 B.C.,¹⁰ we can follow a well-defined and

3. Wenning (above, n. 1), 39; Auscher (above, n. 1), 19 — from the sixth century onwards.

4. C. L. Woolley, Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia I-II, in *JHS* LVIII, 1938, 1-30, 133-170, the lamps on p. 138, fig. 15:2-3.

5. Thérèse Oziol, *Salamine de Chypre VII. Les lampes du Musée de Chypre* (Paris 1977), 34.

6. The lamps are generally cited according to R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora IV. Greek Lamps and their Survivals* (Princeton 1958). For the typology and chronology I included the refinements worked out by Ingeborg Scheibler, *Griechische Lampen, Kerameikos XI* (Berlin 1976). I refrain from using the author's classification system according to shape, which, although convincing, cannot easily be transferred into other languages. Occasional imports and possible imitations of Howland Types 21-22 are found: Clairmont (above, n. 1), Nos. 460/460 bis, could be of Cypriote manufacture according to the author; Oziol (above, n. 5), No. 47.

7. Stern (above, n. 1), 127-129.

8. Scheibler (above, n. 6), 18ff — "lamps with a shoulder bend" appear in the second half of the 5th century as well-defined type. This class corresponds partly to Howland Type 23. The material from the Kerameikos has shown that three forms developed side by side: KSL = Knickschulterlampen — lamps with a shoulder bend, RSL = Rundschulterlampen — lamps with a rounded shoulder, DSL = Diskuslampen — lamps with a discus.

Howland Type 21 C — Scheibler RSL 1 late — 430-390 B.C.

23 A — KSL 1 late — 430-390 B.C.

23 B — KSL 1 late — 425-400 B.C.

23 C — DSL 1 — 400-350 B.C.

23 D — DSL 2 — 350-310 B.C.

9. Correct classification is hampered by poor drawings or photos in older excavation reports. Here I give the lamps according to the Kerameikos abbreviations used in the note before: RSL-Clairmont (above, n. 1), No. 461 — from the antiquities market in Beirut; KSL-J. L. Starkey and G. L. Harding, *Beth-Pelet II* (London 1932), Pl. LXXXVIII:12; W. F. M. Petrie, *Gerar* (London 1928), Pl. LXI:91y, 91z; DSL 1-Woolley (above, n. 4), fig. 15:2 on p. 138; R. S. Lammon and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo I* (Chicago 1939), Pl. 37:3, 64:3; Oziol (above, n. 5), Nos. 48-49.

10. Howland (above, n. 6), 67ff; Scheibler (above, n. 6), 26ff.

widely spread group of Attic imports and imitations. At Tel Dor, the local versions outnumber by far the imported lamps. The former have a globular body, relatively thin walls, sometimes a pierced side-lug, a string-cut base and are generally unglazed or covered with a reddish-brown slip (Fig. 1; Pl. 63,1-2). When did local production begin,

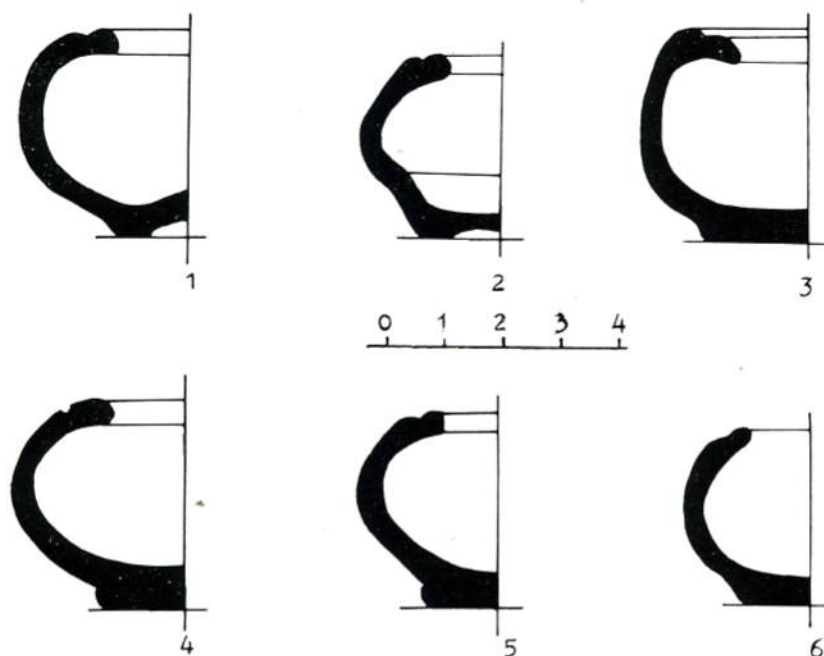


Fig. 1. Tel Dor — six lamps of local manufacture.

1. Bucket 4919	Area C, L. 590	burnt siena, remains of red slip inside nozzle
2. Bucket 5133	Area C, L. 616	yellow ochre, string-out base
3. Bucket 1055	Area A, L. 18	Roman ochre, remains of red slip inside nozzle
4. Bucket 4746	Area C, L. 546	stil de grain brun
5. Bucket 5105	Area C, L. 616	Roman ochre, string-out base
6. Bucket 4749	Area C, L. 550	stil de grain brun, string-cut base

or, in other words, is the type to be considered representative of the Persian or early Hellenistic period?¹¹ None of the lamps from Tel Dor show the heaviness of the base and the bottom of the reservoir, so common in the imported Attic lamps, where however these features were reduced from the early third century onwards. This late version of the lamps with rounded shoulder was produced mainly during the years 300-250 B.C., the upper date being provided by the lamps from the necropolis of Sciatbi and the lower

11. Stern (above, n. 1) maintains on p.129 that the imitation began in the 5th century. Since the form is clearly based on Attic prototypes, such an early date is impossible.

one by the finds from Koroni.¹² Evidence from Palestinian sites points to a longer time-span for local productions: from the middle of the 4th to the middle of the 3rd century. The importation and imitation of the partly contemporaneous lamps with angular profiles and the appearance of mould-made lamps of possible Egyptian origin suggest that local lamp fashion went along with pan-Hellenistic standards.¹³ The latter type was imported from the middle of the third century onwards and caused a change in trade patterns: Attic products were superseded by Near Eastern ones. It appears that this change coincided with the lower date of the local lamps with globular body, while the upper date is given by the Tennes Revolt shortly after the middle of the 4th century (see below).

The following table sums up the evidence from Tel Dor:

Types (Howland)	Dates (B.C.)						
	450	400	350	300	250	200	150
23 C import							
24 C Prime import		420	370				
25 A import							
imitation						?	?
25 B import							
imitation							
26 A import				270			
29 A imitation						220	
29 B import				260	220		
32 import				260			190
imitation							
33 A import					220		
45 A import				260			

Turning to other sites, the picture is far from complete, since few of them have yielded sufficient quantities of the different types. It is only at Samaria, where we can follow a similar sequence:

Howland	SS III ¹⁴	Dates: Crowfoot	Scheibler (B.C.)
23 C	Fig. 85:1	5th century and later	400-350
25 A	Fig. 85:2	end of 5th throughout 4th	400-250

12. Scheibler (above, n. 6), 27 — the lamps are smaller altogether, the bases less heavy, the side walls not so thick, the nozzles tend to become smaller and more pointed. For the dating pp. 8-9 and n. 20-21 on p. 9.

13. Lamps with angular profile: Howland Types 29, 32, 33; mould-made lamps: Howland Type 45 A (import) and 45 B (local Athenian copy).

14. SS III = J. W. Crowfoot et alii, *The Objects from Samaria, Samaria-Sebaste III* (London 1957), Fig. 85-1-6 on p. 366 and comments on p. 367. The same picture emerges from the earlier excavations: G. A. Reisner et alii, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria (1908-1910) 1-2* (Cambridge Mass. 1924), 318-319, Fig. 188-190, I-III (Howland Types 25-33).

25 A Prime	Fig. 85:3	4th-3rd?	370-250
25 imitation	Fig. 85:4	4th-3rd and later	350-250 (Tel Dor)
25 B	Fig. 85:5	3rd	350-250
32	Fig. 85:6	import and local, 3rd-2nd	260-190

Important dating criteria are supplied by those sites, which suffered destruction during the Tennes Revolt and which were not immediately resettled. In 351/350 B.C. Tennes, king of Sidon, led an uprising against Persian rule, which was crushed by Artaxerxes III Ochus in 345/344 B.C.¹⁵ It seems that Megiddo was destroyed in the rebellion, two lamps from Stratum I are not later than the middle of the fourth century.¹⁶

At Hazor, the Persian Stratum II is dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C., its final date can be fixed by the lamps in the middle of that century. It is here that a local lamp with rounded shoulder came to light.¹⁷ In Tomb 35 from the cemetery of Athlit, a local copy of Howland Type 25 A was found. Although the site seems to have suffered a sudden end in the middle of the fourth century, a later date around the mid-third century B.C. is also possible, when after a gap of one hundred years new occupation commenced.¹⁸ At Ramat Rahel, this type of lamps occurs in Stratum IV B, attributed to the "transitional Persian-Hellenistic" period.¹⁹ Ambiguous is also the dating of three lamps of "Howland Type 25"²⁰ from the destruction level of a fortress on the mound of Shiqmona. For the dating, the excavator proposes two alternatives: a Persian or Tyrian fort, constructed in the middle of the fourth century and destroyed by Alexander the Great during the siege of Tyre in 333/332 B.C., or, a fortress built during Alexander's time and destroyed by his fighting heirs.²¹ As a third possibility, the Tennes Revolt comes to mind.

In early Hellenistic levels, locally produced lamps with rounded shoulder are common. At Tell Keisan and Tel 'Arqa they are dated to the third century.²² From the associated

15. D. Barag, The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion in Palestine, in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 183, 1966, 6-12.

16. Lammon and Shipton (above, n. 9), Pl. 37:2-3, 64:2-3; Barag (above n. 15), 10.

17. Y. Yadin et alii, *Hazor I-IV* (Jerusalem 1959-1964). The pottery from Stratum II belongs to the 1st half of the 4th century B.C., see Barag (above, n. 15), 9. Lamps: Hazor I-Pl. 82:1, 152:4 is a type not represented in the Agora, but a late classical one before and around the middle of the 4th century, see Scheibler (above, n. 6), p. 38 (DSL 3 — lamps with a discus); Hazor I-Pl. 82:2, 152:3 is Howland Type 25; Hazor II-Pl. 75:25 the same; Hazor III/IV-Pl. 258:4, 364:12 is a local copy of the same prototype.

18. C. N. Johns, Excavations at Atlit (1930-31), The South-Eastern Cemetery, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* II, 1933, 41-104, the lamp on p. 103, fig. 92 and Pl. XXXVI; Barag (above, n. 15), n. 21 on p. 10.

19. Y. Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat Rahel, Seasons 1961 and 1962* (Rome 1964), fig. 11:6 and p. 18.

20. J. Elgavish, *Archaeological Excavations at Shikmona*, Field Report No. 1, The Levels of the Persian Period, Seasons 1963-1965 (Haifa 1968, Hebrew), Pl. LVII:135, 136 and Pl. LXVI: 186, descriptions on p. 51, 55. The lamps appear to be of local manufacture, although the excavator does not explicitly say so.

21. Elgavish (above, n. 20), 47.

22. J. Briand, J.-B. Humbert, *Tell Keisan (1971-1976), une cité phénicienne en Galilée* (Paris 1980), 110 and Pl. 14:1-3 — locally produced globular lamps are most common, for an imported lamp of Howland Type 25 see p. 110 and Pl. 14:5. J. P. Thalmann, Tel 'Arqa (Liban Nord), Campagnes I-III (1972-1974), Chantier I, Rapport Préliminaire, in *Syria* 1978, 1-151, esp. 65-66, fig. 41:5,6 and 14:A.

material, it is impossible to determine whether the lamp type was in use during the second half of the third century B.C. However, it is most probable that the local copies were manufactured over a longer period than their Attic prototypes. Among the latest specimens I would include the lamps from Tel el-Ful north of Jerusalem. They are small with a short raised and pointed nozzle.²³ L. A. Sinclair attributes Fortress IV B to the third and second centuries, Nancy L. Lapp dates the level to the 2nd century only.²⁴ If the latter dating is correct, then the type was very long-lived in Palestine! I propose to look for an explanation in the degree of adaptation of foreign culture and goods by the different inhabitants: the readiness of the partly foreign coastal population (Tel Dor, Acco) to follow fashionable trends against the conservatism of a Jewish village.

The lamps with a rounded shoulder are superseded by forms with an angular profile, Howland Types 29, 32 and 33. The Attic prototypes were manufactured over a period from 300 to 150 B.C.²⁵ At Ibn Hani²⁶ an example was found in an assembly near the foundation of the rampart, erected under Ptolemy III (246-221 B.C.) during the third Syrian campaign. At the present, the beginning and end of this type is not well-defined. The score of the published specimens point to a date from the second half of the third century until well after the middle of the second century.²⁷ Most common are the lamps with a sunken concave rim (Howland Type 32). They are often covered with a blackish-brown slip and are most probably²⁸ local copies of an Attic prototype. This development is paralleled by the local manufacture of fish-plates, bowls with in- and out-curved rim with a more or less carelessly applied blackish slip. It is evidence for a change in fashion: the early Hellenistic lamps with a rounded shoulder were generally plain,

23. Nancy L. Lapp (ed.), *The Third Campaign at Tell el-Ful: The Excavations of 1964*, in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 45, 1981, Pl. 80:3-10, 46:7-14, on p. 105 Lapp identifies the lamps as Broneer Type X (O. Broneer, *Corinth IV:2, Terracotta Lamps* (Cambridge Mass. 1930), 50).

24. L. A. Sinclair, *An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Ful)*, in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 34-35, 1960, 44-45 and Pl. 17A:1, the date on p. 8; *id.*, in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations of the Holy Land*, vol. II, ed. by M. Avi-Yonah, p. 444, s.v. Gibeah; Lapp (above, n. 23), 105 and Table on p. XVII.

25. The Agora Forms correspond to Scheibler's lamps with a flat shoulder (above, n. 6), 50 ff. Dates: Howland Type 29 A - 300-220 B.C., 29 B - 260-220 B.C., 32 - 260-190 B.C., 33 A - 220-150 B.C.

26. A. Bounni et alii, *Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles (1971) à Ibn Hani (Syria)*, in *Syria* LVI, 1979, 217-219, fig. 44 on p. 272. According to the photo, the lamp can be classified as Howland Type 29 B or 32.

27. Tel 'Arqa - Thalmann (above, n. 22), Fig. 41:1, 7, p. 66 — Stratum 8B/C=end of 3rd and 1st half of 2nd century, the author's identification with Howland Type 30C is not correct; Shiqmona - J. Elgavish, *Archaeological Excavations at Shikmona*, Report No.2, *The Level of the Hellenistic Period-Stratum H*, Seasons 1963-1970 (Haifa 1974, Hebrew), Pl. XXX:283, description on p. 42, the end of the level can be dated to 133/132 B.C. See also J. Elgavish, *Pottery of the Hellenistic Stratum at Shiqmona*, in *Israel Exploration Journal* 26, 1976, 65-76, the lamp is mentioned as No. 26 on p.76; Tel Keisan - Briand (above n. 22), Pl. 14:4 and 17:15, the latter from Kh. Kinniyeh; Tel Zeror - K. Ohata (ed.), *Tel Zeror III* (Tokyo 1970), Pl. LXII:5, wrongly termed "Persian"; Ashdod - M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, in *Atiqot* 9-10, 1971, fig. 133:26; Gezer - W. G. Dever et alii, *Gezer I. Preliminary Report of the 1964-1966 Seasons* (Jerusalem 1970), Pl. 33:29, on p. 67 — Stratum II is clearly Hellenistic, probably, mid-2nd century B.C.; Tel el-Ful - Lapp (above, n. 23), Pl. 80:1-2, 46:6 — Stratum IV A 175-135 B.C.; Bethany - S. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany (1949-53)* (Jerusalem 1957), fig. 33:5 on p. 160 and Pl. 109b.1, on p. 163 wrongly dated to the late part of the 4th century.

28. Clay analysis would help in establishing the provenance of local Eastern lamps.

seldom covered with a red slip, while the lamps with an angular profile are generally black-slipped and seldom plain.

Although the sequence of lamps presented here is far from complete, the following stages of development are clear:

1. The import of Attic lamps set in during the second half of the fifth century B.C., at a time, when improvements in lamp shape lead to the gradual closing of the top and higher body proportions.

2. The most common imitation was the type with a rounded shoulder, fashioned on the Attic prototype of Howland 25 from 400 B.C. onwards. It cannot be considered a typical lamp of the Persian period, but became popular only towards the end of that period from *ca.* 350-250 B.C. with occasional later versions.

3. In the second half of the third century B.C. Attic lamps with angular profiles were imported together with mould-made lamps of Eastern origin. In the second century Attic lamps and their local copies were losing their popularity, while Eastern products of different origin conquered the market.

Little to nothing is known about the identity of the buyer and user of the lamps, and it is hoped that future research will eventually lead to a better understanding of the preference of certain forms according to regions, ethnic origin and social standing.

RENATE ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM



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