

## Roman, Early Byzantine and Islamic Bronze Lamps from Southern Anatolia

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### Introduction

In the 2000s, several major studies on Roman and Early Byzantine bronze lamps appeared: Maria Xanthopoulou (2010) considered more than six hundred bronze or copper alloy later period lamps from the Roman world. Her monograph contains the first typological study of metallic lamps. Sümer Atasoy published a catalogue of the bronze lamps kept at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, based on their typological and chronological identity (2005). Antonietta Ferraresi pointed out in her study (2003) that the increased cost of a bronze lamp, when compared to a clay lamp, is a significant factor, hinting at the presence of distinguished buyers and economically affluent customers. At Pompei, no more than one or two bronze lamps were recovered from the dwellings, even from the richest households, thus confirming the rarity of bronze lamps. In addition, bronze oil lamps, being less subject to changes in fashion, had the potential to remain in use for a long time before being recast, it normally being assumed that bronze-ware could remain in use for at most three generations. Finally, bronze lamps could be “modernized” and personalized with the addition, for instance, of decorative details or Christian symbols. Apart from their coverage in these three publications, bronze lamps as a whole have not become in recent times a single field of detailed study and, so far, the typology as well as the chronology of bronze lamps are the most researched aspects, whereas their production and purpose have been neglected.

In this study, metal alloy lamps from Southern Anatolia, especially Cilicia, were chosen because of the existence of another on-going study, which has the aim of publishing the *instrumenta domestica* of this region. In general, it is the existence of a number of unexpected and unknown objects that can best help to raise awareness of the material culture of this region, i.e., in relation to the area more closely dependent on Constantinople, e.g., Cyprus, Syria and Palestine, which were, over the course of time, subjected to Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic influences. For this reason, we present bronze lamps from local museums in Cilicia, from west to the east Alanya, Silifke, Mersin, Tarsus and Adana. No bronze lamps are housed at the Museums of Anamur and Taşucu. So far, very few oil lamps in bronze or from metal alloys have been publicised from the region. Certainly, some of them without proven origin or with unattested provenance have been preserved in the

larger museums of Europe and North America, as well as in Turkey. Three lamps from Rifat Ağa's collection, for instance, were photographed by Gertrude Bell in 1905.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, some finds are known from the excavations in Anemurium,<sup>2</sup> Zeugma<sup>3</sup> and from some other excavations in the area, but without any additional information being available.

In particular, the period of Late Antiquity is rich in bronze oil lamps from Southern Anatolia. The best representative collection is housed in the Museum of Hatay in Antakya, the Roman Antioch. As befits the capital of the province of Syria, the Museum of Hatay is very rich in terms of minor Roman and Early Byzantine objects. The authors, for instance, have recently published details of an extraordinary 3rd cent. osiriform lamp from this large collection.<sup>4</sup> What is also surprising is the case of Mardin, which houses in the local museum – opened in 1995 – ten bronze oil lamps, mostly from Late Antiquity and have been purchased in recent years. Mardin is a city in south-eastern Turkey, closer to Lake Van than to the Mediterranean coast. Ammianus Marcellinus (xix, 9, 4) writes about the road that led to Nisibis and the two forts that stood nearby; their names also appear in a passage in *De aedificiis* by Procopius (II, 4). The area was occupied by the Muslims in AD 640. Therefore, the lamps we present below are among the few items of evidence of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine settlements in the area. Probably, these products were locally manufactured and, while they are in keeping with generally widespread contemporary trends, they exhibit typical details of works executed on commission as well as standard features. It can be assumed that some of these lamps originated from the local Jacobite churches and monasteries in the Tur Abdin area.

In the first two centuries of the empire, there is evidence of an imitation of Italic models by local manufacturers in Asia Minor. This practice occurred in conjunction with the influence of other products from Italy, including terracotta oil lamps, which were themselves quickly imitated in Asia Minor. This phenomenon is evident in the one dozen oil lamps from the area that are of interest to us.<sup>5</sup> The dating of most of our lamps does not go beyond the Early Byzantine period, although some isolated items could be later. This is certainly due to the fact that from the 7th cent. AD onwards oil lighting was replaced by the use of wax candles in churches and possibly also in private houses, their use being influenced by an increase in beekeeping.<sup>6</sup> It is plausible to conclude that during the Christian era bronze lamps were used for purposes of worship or were placed in the richest tombs.

<sup>1</sup> Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle University, UK. <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/> (accessed 1 Sept 2014).

<sup>2</sup> James Russell, "Byzantine instrumenta," 137; and Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 64.

<sup>3</sup> Elias Khamis, "Copper Alloy Objects," 111, fig. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ergün Laflı, Maurizio Buora, and Attilio Mastrocinque, "A New Osiriform Lamp."

<sup>5</sup> To be published by Ergün Laflı and Maurizio Buora, *Instrumenta domestica*, forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup> Guglielmo Cavallo, *The Byzantines*, 56.

## Production and Use of Bronze Lamps in Roman and Early Byzantine Anatolia

The production and use of lamps in Asia Minor have not yet been sufficiently investigated.<sup>7</sup> Until now, most of the published lamps from a private Turkish collection have been purchased from abroad,<sup>8</sup> and information relating to an additional 150 lamps, published by the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, is limited in terms of provenance.<sup>9</sup> In both cases, the majority of the material belongs to the Early Byzantine era (i.e., the 5th to 7th cent. AD). This article will, therefore, greatly increase the consistency of our awareness of the classical material culture of Anatolia in this so far neglected field of study.

Unfortunately, none of the specimens presented offer any indication of their origin, because of their status as purchased items. Therefore, this paper does not contribute to a better definition of their use in ancient times. We make a presumption that most of them originated from burial sites because of their condition; but this assumption certainly does not exclude their use in sacred buildings or private places of worship, especially in relation to lamps with a cross. However, since the 4th cent. AD, bronze or metal alloy objects decorated with a cross or Christian symbols have also been found in private homes, as demonstrated by numerous discoveries in Italy and elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> In any case, they must have been luxury items for rich homes, rather than items that appeared in poorer homes in the eastern Mediterranean of the Late Roman period. Future research on the lamps presented here, through a systematic analysis of their composition, may provide important data which can be compared to what is known about the hundreds of oil bronze lamps that have already been scientifically analysed.<sup>11</sup> It may be the case that they provide us with new insights in relation to the use of alloys in different periods and also in relation to local preferences – perhaps with regard to supply lines.

With regard to the organization of production in the Byzantine Empire, there is a book, *Book of the Prefect* (Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον), which is an essential document

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ergün Laflı, “Roman Terracotta Oil Lamps.”

<sup>8</sup> Sümer Atasoy, “Haluk Perk Koleksiyonu’ndan.”

<sup>9</sup> Idem, *Bronze Lamps*.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., the suspension chain, from Aquileia, with cross from the House of Wounded Beasts, where, however, an apse mosaic with the image of a bird in a cage, now in the local Christian Museum, had already been confirmed as a Christian symbol: for a discussion cf. Hélène Toubert, and Lucinia Speciale, *Un'arte orientata*, 217–18. For Rome it suffices to reference the famous ship-shaped oil lamp from the House of the Valerii (late 4th cent.), discovered prior to 1675 and now in the Archaeological Museum of Florence (see Mario Iozzo, “V, 77. Lucerna”). A find from Koubi on Euboea where it may have been used to illuminate a workshop or as a production sample (Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 6011) and, finally a further lamp from the sunken ship in Plemmyrion (eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 3.112) should be mentioned.

<sup>11</sup> Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 82–84.

in understanding the economic history of Byzantium and the Mediterranean. This book was lost until 1891, when it was discovered in Geneva by the Swiss national, Jules Nicole, who referred to it as the *Livre de l'Éparque*, attributing it to the time of the Emperor Leo VI the Wise (AD 886–912).<sup>12</sup> We learn from this source that, at least at that time, there was an extreme degree of specialization among those who made metal alloy objects: they were sub-divided into manufacturers of statues, keys etc. The *Book of the Prefect* has the ability to help us recreate a commercial map of Constantinople, shed light on its economy and the governmental controls over it, as well as to provide information concerning the regulation of trade between the Byzantine capital and its provinces. However, it is obvious that we still remain uncertain as to whether the information pertains only to a great city, such as Constantinople, or extends to the smaller towns of the empire. Neither are we aware of the overall effect in relation to metal production. Therefore, our analysis of products from a restricted area will allow us to establish the transmission of the models, the widespread circulation of different types and also the local bespoke items required by individual customers.

### **Typology and Chronology of Roman and Early Byzantine Lamps in Southern Anatolia (pl. 1, no. 1–pl. 2, no. 8)**

This paper presents about thirty previously unpublished bronze and alloy lamps, based on their typology and chronology, which are kept in local museums of Cilicia, Hatay and Mardin in southern Turkey (**map 1**).<sup>13</sup> It might appear that their number is limited; however, our specimens are of particular interest because of the restricted area of origin. Often, the lamps preserved in larger museums have no precise indication of origin; our pieces have the potential to help us understand the origins and the spread of some of the designs.

This applies in particular to the “askoid” lamps, designated as **pl. 1, no. 1**, of which Maria Xanthopoulou lists more than twenty pieces, four at the Louvre and Berlin, three in the Vatican, another two in Rome, and one in Toronto, without identifying their place of discovery.<sup>14</sup> The place of discovery is known for a small number of others (Israel, Cairo and Istanbul) and specifically only for samples from Salona, Stobi, Athens, Crete and Metsovo. So, the addition of another set is very significant. These lamps have elongated bodies; they mainly represent items from the 4th to the 6th cent. AD. Often, the rear of the body is flower-shaped, with a variable number of petals. The small ring foot is usually out of proportion in

<sup>12</sup> Jules Nicole, *Le livre du préfet*.

<sup>13</sup> In addition, other Turkish museums hold numerous bronze or metallic lamps, e.g., two are in the Museum of Aphrodisias and four in the Museum of Izmir.

<sup>14</sup> Marisa Conticello de' Spagnolis and Ernesto de Carolis, *Le lucerne di bronzo. Musei della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, type XXIV; and Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, group 5.

relation to the lamp's length. Some specimens exhibit a horse-shaped head and a *gryphon*- or corolla-shaped handle, which Maria Xanthopoulou deems as possibly representing regional variants. Because of the high number of petals, in our case eight, instead of the four displayed by another group<sup>15</sup> and because of their rounded terminations, it may be that our lamp is associated with another piece with a very high handle,<sup>16</sup> which is kept in the Louvre Museum. It does not have a central hole, as is the case with other specimens from the same group, very few indeed, thus allowing the oil to be poured from the flower, which was used as a funnel. The elongated shape suggests a certain similarity with a dolphin-shaped lamp at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM).<sup>17</sup> The extended and circular spout, protruding from the body, reflects a broadly common feature in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine times.<sup>18</sup>

A very original and local creation is **pl. 1, no. 2**, which has three loops for hanging, a cylindrical body and a flat shoulder. On the top, there is a flattened termination in the shape of a large and perforated leaf, which has carved ribs. On the lid there is a representation of Medusa's head.<sup>19</sup> At the front there are three holes for wicks, set between two sorts of pine cone (?), sticking out from each end. According to Maria Xanthopoulou, the spout recalls the specimens from Gezer in Palestine,<sup>20</sup> but the lamps of the Gezer type, divided by Varda Sussmann into three groups in 2007, have different shapes.<sup>21</sup>

The so-called "Coptic lamps,"<sup>22</sup> e.g., **pl. 1, nos. 3–5**, according to Nazarena Valenza Mele,<sup>23</sup> belong to the "lamps with elongated and arched spouts," which in turn are divided into four sub-types, namely:

**Sub-type 1-)** With a termination in the shape of a griffin's head,

**Sub-type 2-)** In the shape of a flower,

**Sub-type 3-)** With an openwork and ring-shaped termination, and finally

**Sub-type 4-)** With a flat leaf or cross-shaped termination.

This is Type I of Valenza, which is also defined as Type I by de' Spagnolis and

<sup>15</sup> Eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 5.010–012.

<sup>16</sup> Eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 5.015; dated to the 4th or 5th cent. AD.

<sup>17</sup> John Walker Hayes, *Ancient Lamps*, no. 214; as well as Laskarina Bouras and Maria G. Parani, *Lighting in Early Byzantium*, 54.

<sup>18</sup> Tihamér Szentlélek, *Ancient Lamps*, 144, no. 289; as well as Marisa Conticello de' Spagnolis, and Ernesto de Carolis, *Le lucerne di bronzo. Musei della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 73.

<sup>19</sup> For this image, see lamps pl. 1, no. 6 and pl. 2, no. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 17.001, originating from Aleppo, now in the British Museum.

<sup>21</sup> Varda Sussmann, "The Clay Oil Lamps," 11.

<sup>22</sup> Marisa de' Spagnolis, and Ernesto de Carolis, *Museo nazionale Romano, I bronzi, IV, 1, Le lucerne*, type I; Nazarena Valenza, "Le lucerne di bronzo del Museo di Napoli," Group I; and Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Group H.

<sup>23</sup> Nazarena Valenza Mele, *Museo nazionale*, 165.

de Carolis, as well as Group H by Donald M. Bailey. The so-called “Spargi Type,” – once considered as being the development of an earlier Greek design from Late Antiquity, – originated in Greece, perhaps in Delos, in the mid-2nd cent. BC. It was further developed in Pompeii and Herculaneum.<sup>24</sup> More recently, the independent development of such a type also seems probable.<sup>25</sup>

In many cases, the lamps are provided with a elongated foot, with a notch for fitting them into a stem. The widespread diffusion of the Spargi Type in Egypt and Syria implies that these lamps were manufactured by eastern workshops, whose products were perhaps imitated in the West.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, as early as 1996 Donald M. Bailey underlined a certain relationship between these lamps, which he included in his group “H” and those which he included in group “G.” Both are widespread in the eastern Mediterranean and were probably produced in the same local workshops. An initial dating to the end of the 4th cent. and the beginning of the 5th cent.<sup>27</sup> was later extended to the 7th cent. AD by the same scholar.<sup>28</sup> The shape often occurs during the Byzantine age.<sup>29</sup>

**Pl. 1, nos. 3** (Adana) and **4** (Mardin) belong to a small group (seven specimens are known), with a likely origin of Asia Minor or, perhaps, southeastern Turkey (Diyarbakır and Adana). They are characterised by a different addition to the ring handle. In Istanbul there is a further piece which is characterized by the existence of a high foot, a pipe-shaped or pear-shaped body, a hole for the oil supply and an oblique flattened appendix over the ring handle, circular in shape and with nine points.<sup>30</sup>

More than one hundred lamps with cross-shaped additions over the handle are known to us; about fifty of these belong to a group among which three of our examples (**pl. 1, no. 4** as well as **pl. 2, nos. 2 and 12**) are representative. According to the findings, this type came into use in the 5th cent. AD, especially in the Eastern Roman Empire.

**Pl. 1, no. 5** from Mardin, with a long foot, has a very similar body and spout. The lid is missing. It was created for hanging; therefore, the loop is of reduced size.

<sup>24</sup> For its origin, see eadem, “Le lucerne di bronzo del Museo di Napoli,” 158–59; and eadem, *Museo nazionale*, 11–13.

<sup>25</sup> See the aspects of Marisa de’ Spagnolis and Ernesto de Carolis. *Museo nazionale Romano, I bronzi, IV, 1, Le lucerne*, 11–12.

<sup>26</sup> Antonietta Ferraresi, “Due lucerne in bronzo.”

<sup>27</sup> Anna Maria Fallico, “Lucerne in bronzo,” 140–43.

<sup>28</sup> For the diffusion of this type during the early Christian period, see Gerhard Kapitän and Anna Maria Fallico, “Bronzi tardo antichi,” figs. 3a and 7.

<sup>29</sup> Selected bibliography: Letizia Pani Ermini, “Lucerne ed incensieri”; Marisa Conticello de’ Spagnolis and Ernesto de Carolis, *Le lucerne di bronzo. Musei della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 66–67, 71; eadem, *Museo nazionale Romano, I bronzi, IV, 1, Le lucerne*, 11; Antonietta Ferraresi, “Due lucerne in bronzo”; and the so-called “Coptic lamps”: Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 71–72.

<sup>30</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 50–51, nos. 92–93.



**Pl. 1, nos. 6 and 7** match with Type Xanthopoulou LA 3, having an elongated and flared spout, and correspond to Type Valenza no. XXII. Two ribs are moulded in relief on the sides of the globular body. In other samples they are shaped as dolphins with the head turned towards the handle.<sup>31</sup> The lid reproduces a Medusa head, as is the case with **pl. 1, no. 2** and **pl. 2, no. 6**. Two curved handles join in a curl, over which, on the top, rests a tiny bird.

A very similar lamp, but with a different lid profile, found in 1893 in Adana, is today preserved in the Istanbul Museum.<sup>32</sup> Another similar lamp, with a cap patterned in the shape of a shell, instead of the Medusa head, belongs to the Schloessinger Collection, now in Jerusalem Museum.<sup>33</sup>

A lamp put on sale with its lamp stand at Sotheby's New York, on June 23rd, 1989, no. 172<sup>34</sup> is identical to the piece from Jerusalem. The lamp, London 3820 Q, with an elongated foot, perhaps from Egypt<sup>35</sup> is also similar, except for the different pattern of the final curl, which still ends with a bird.

Comparison should be made with the sample published by Renate Rosenthal and Renée Sivan (160, no. 663). Another unpublished lamp, quite similar, but without the bird and with a different curl is now housed in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir. It also has a large spout and is surrounded by a radiating crown. The lids of the two lamps present the decorative motif of a woman's head, possibly Medusa.<sup>36</sup>

With reference to **pl. 1, no. 7**, two curved handles rise from the rear portion and join in a curl, ending in a female head with waved hair and maybe a bun at the back. Such a hairstyle might be representative of the contemporary hairstyle of the 3rd–4th cent. AD. Opportunities for comparisons with similar types of lamp are limited: at least two samples are known from Athens or from the Greek vicinity; however, they exhibit a more complex style of decoration. It may be the case that our sample is localised. We are also aware of a version with a male head: this is similar to our type of lamp, but without the cap; it was found during the excavations carried out near an earlier building, in a layer covering the temple of Nabu at Niniveh in Iraq, and it is now kept in the British Museum,<sup>37</sup> dated to the 5th–6th cent. AD.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Marisa de' Spagnolis and Ernesto de Carolis, *Museo nazionale Romano, I bronzi, IV, 1, Le lucerne*, 13, no. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 42, no. 79.

<sup>33</sup> Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 3.180, 139.

<sup>34</sup> Eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, CD 7.094, 276.

<sup>35</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 75, pl. 87, dated to the 6th–7th cent. AD.

<sup>36</sup> *Comparanda*: Dorothy Eugenia Miner, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 64, no. 252, 65, no. 254, 66, no. 261 and pl. LXII, dated to the 4th to 6th cent. AD; Marvin Chauncey Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine*, 34–35, no. 34 and pl. XXVII; 6th cent. AD examples from Syria: idem, *Catalogue of the Byzantine*, 33–34, no. 33 and pl. XXVII; 5th to 7th cent. AD examples from Egypt: Nehemaya Tzori, "Bronze Utensils," 68, bottom right (with previous literature).

<sup>37</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 73, pl. 83, no. Q3811.

The Archaeological Museum of Istanbul houses a similar lamp, above whose double handles a flower is superimposed, instead of a head.<sup>38</sup> The piece is dated to the 4th to 6th cent. AD.

For the lamps of the Type of de' Spagnolis and de Carolis 1983, XVII, here referred as **pl. 2, no. 1**, some striking comparisons can be made. One can find a number of close similarities, in fact, with a sample kept in the *Museo nazionale Romano*,<sup>39</sup> originating from the River Tiber, tentatively dated to the 1st–2nd cent. AD. This lamp probably fell into the Tiber from a boat; it was not manufactured in Italy, in fact it is of foreign origin. The lamp of Silifke is similar to a sample from London,<sup>40</sup> alleged to be of Egyptian origin.

However, in relation to the Silifke piece we can recognize parallels with some lamps from the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul,<sup>41</sup> when we make reference to the biconical body, the form of the nozzle, the shape of the grip and the presence of a finger rest. It was probably produced in an Eastern Mediterranean workshop.

**Pl. 2, no. 2** shows an elongated body, a shell-shaped lid closing the reservoir, and an oblique cross, superimposed over the handle. The great success of this type brought about the establishment of several production centres, as can be confirmed by the frequent appearance of some of the details, e.g., the shape of the lid or of the cross and the length of the spout. Despite their wide distribution across Asia Minor, Greece and the Balkan Peninsula, these lamps also spread throughout Syria and reached Egypt, Morocco and even Central Europe.

Over the course of time, this type obviously underwent some changes, as documented, for instance by reference to a similar lamp (from Egypt?) from the British Museum, with an elongated foot and a more elaborate cross, provided with circular studs at the ends of the arms and dated, by Donald M. Bailey, to the 6th–7th cent. AD.<sup>42</sup> The same date is proposed by Sümer Atasoy for a lamp of this type (no. 88) and for another three samples housed in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (nos. 72–74). In his catalogue, however, the distinction between the forms is not very clear. Even with the same shape, the size can vary. The lamps in Istanbul have lengths ranging from 6.2 cm to 13.8–13.9 and even to 14.5 cm.

It is not easy to date these lamps because they continued to be produced for a long time, up until the Early Middle Ages. Often, the lamps were supported by lamp stands, some of them reproducing armed youths, perhaps referencing the military equipment of Byzantine army officers. Such a combination appears in a bilychne lamp from the Menil Collection in Houston.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 36, no. 69.

<sup>39</sup> Marisa de' Spagnolis and Ernesto de Carolis, *Museo nazionale Romano, I bronzi, IV, 1, Le lucerne*, 62, no. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 72, pl. 82, Q3808.

<sup>41</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 26, no. 48, dated to the 3rd–4th cent. AD.

<sup>42</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 76, pl. 88, Q3822.

<sup>43</sup> Laskarina Bouras and Maria G. Parani, *Lighting in Early Byzantium*, 84–85, no. 24. Formerly published examples from Turkey: Ankara: Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, inv. no. 8433



Compared to the previous samples, **pl. 2, no. 3** has a more extended body, with an open-work leaf being superimposed over the handle. The handle roughly reproduces some decorative features which were in fashion in the 1st cent. AD, e.g., in Pompeii and in the Athenian Agora, with a very naturalistic rendering.<sup>44</sup>

(5th–6th cent. AD); Museum of Afyonkarahisar: Inv. no. 6200; Archaeological Museum of Istanbul: Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 38–39, nos. 72–74, and 48, no. 88; Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 104, LA 3.021; Pergamum: Wolfgang Radt, “Kleinfunde,” 62, fig. 17; from Turkey: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 100, LA 3.004. Greece: Athens, Agora: Judith Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, pl. 48, nos. 2948–2949; Athens, Coll. Stathatos: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 103, LA 3.019; Athens, Mus. Canellopoulos: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 105, LA 3.026; Corinth: Gladys R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, 579, 76, pl. 53; Louloudies: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 105, LA 3.025. Balkans: Bucarest, National Museum: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 100, LA 3.003; Sofia: Georgi Konstantinov Kuzmanov, *Antični lampi*, 152, no. 443 (5th cent. AD); Varna: Alexander Mintshev, *Rannochristijanski relikvarii*, 123–124, no. 23, fig. 19 (5th to 6th cent. AD). Germany: Augsburg: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 103, LA 3.013. Italy: Vatican: Marisa Conticello de’ Spagnolis and Ernesto de Carolis, *Le lucerne di bronzo. Musei della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 67, nos. 29–30 (4th to 6th cent. AD). Syria: Palmyra: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 100, LA 3.005. Palestine: Jerusalem, Schloessinger Coll.: Renate Rosenthal and Renée Sivan, *Ancient Lamps*, no. 665; Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 104, LA 3.024. Egypt: Cairo: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 101, LA 3.006; Cairo-Edfu: Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 70, Q3800–Q3801; London, Petrie Museum: UC54558. Morocco, Volubilis-Walīlī: Christiane Boube-Piccot, *Les bronzes antiques*, 164, no. 190, pls. 95–97 (4th to 5th cent. AD). Museum pieces: Malcove Collection: Sheila D. Campbell, *The Malcove Collection*, no. 44 (6th cent. AD); Slobodan Ćurčić and Archer St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 87, no. 58 (6th cent. AD); Toronto: John Walker Hayes, *Ancient Lamps*, 182, no. 224; Detroit: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 104, LA 3.022; New York, Brooklyn Museum: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 104, LA 3.020; New York, Ariadne Galleries, Sale, 2 Nov. 1988–31 Jan. 1989: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 104, LA 3.023; Hamburg: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 102, LA 3.011; Cologne: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 102, LA 3.012; Bavaria: eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 100, LA 3.017; Mainz: Heinz Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, 106, no. 695; Copenhagen: Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 105, LA 3.027; Baltimore: Dorothy Eugenia Miner, *Early Christian*, pl. 38, no. 251 and pl. 42, no. 252; Alexander Mlasowsky, *Die antiken Tonlampen*, 450; Reinhold Baumstark, and Birgitt Borkopp, *Rom und Byzanz 1998*, 82, no. 71 (5th to 6th cent. AD) and 87, no. 80 (6th cent. AD). Their dating is 5th–7th cent. AD; more precisely 5th cent. according to Perlzweig and 6th–7th cent. according to Bouras and Parani.

<sup>44</sup> Judith Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, 199, no. 2943. Likewise, some samples of this type occur, showing, however, very different terminations: one in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 25, no. 47) is dated to the 3rd–4th cent.: another sample is preserved in the Museum of Yalvaç, inv. no. 1408. Further examples are Dóra Iványi, *Die pannonischen Lampen*, 301, nos. 4316–4318, type XXXV, pl. LXI/7,11; Branka Jeličić, “Bronzani žišci,” nos. 11–12; Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, inv. no. 610 (5th–7th cent. AD); and Ljubisa B. Popović, *Greek, Roman*, no. 316. This type of lamp is examined in the thesis of Meryem Acara (*Türkiye Müzelerindeki*, 57, no. 17, fig. 13), who dated it to the 5th–7th cent.

Four lamps, of different types, from Mardin can be dated to the period from the 3rd to 7th cent. AD.

**Pl. 2, no. 4** has two sets of vertical ribs on the body and a decorated ring-shaped grip.<sup>45</sup>

**Pl. 2, no. 5** matches Type 3 of Xanthopoulou; it is a very simple lamp with a plain conical body, small *infundibulum*, a wide opening for the wick and a hexagonal lozenge-shaped finger rest. The polygonal spout is typical of Italic lamps with volutes (Type 1 of Xanthopoulou) and for Type 4 of Xanthopoulou, dating respectively to the 3rd–4th and 4th–5th cent. AD.<sup>46</sup>

**Pl. 2, no. 6**, is configured to produce a female face in bas-relief; it is very unique. The elaborate grip, partly broken, has a bull's-head shape<sup>47</sup> and reminds us of the handles of bronze vessels, such as the one preserved in Silifke. This could mean that a manufacturer of bronze vessels, when necessary, also produced lamps. The lamp, very large and very heavy, is an outstanding product. The lamp has a triangular spout with slanting walls and traces of two minor volutes. Medusa appears on figured oil lamps from the provinces of Asia Minor and Egypt.<sup>48</sup> A Medusa head is visible on the lids of **pl. 1, no. 2** as well as **pl. 2, no. 6**. A specimen similar to ours, but with a different spout, and dated to the Late Hellenistic period, is in the Museum of Hatay.<sup>49</sup> An image of Medusa appears in the centre of black-gloss *gutti* from the Early Hellenistic period (genre Morel 8100). In accordance with our representation, it looks a little scary. In our case we see that the hair is divided by a band (*taenia*), with two braids flanking the face, which are tied under the chin – in the place of the snakes that appear, for example, on the Rondanini Medusa.<sup>50</sup> Two half-circles in relief recall the wings that sometimes appear in the pictures. The setting of the eyes with sunken pupils leads us to a date no earlier than the beginning of the 3rd cent., supported by the obvious comparison with the heads of Medusa in the *Forum* of Leptis Magna.<sup>51</sup> The representation certainly originates

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 3.101.

<sup>46</sup> Eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 1.010 and LA 4.06 etc.

<sup>47</sup> A bronze lamp (from Constantinople?), dated to the 6th cent., in the Dumbarton Oaks, has a cover decorated with a bull's head; cf. Marvin Chauncey Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine*, I, 36.

<sup>48</sup> Laurent Chrzanovski and Denis V. Zhuralev, *Lamps from Chersonesos*, 103 mention a copy from the Chersonesus and four other examples, which reflect, however, different shapes and iconography.

<sup>49</sup> See Ergün Laflı and Maurizio Buora, *Instrumenta domestica*, forthcoming.

<sup>50</sup> A discussion of the Medusa Rondanini and its influence on Late Hellenistic art goes beyond the present paper. The marble copy may depend on the bronze *Gorgoneion* donated by one of the Seleucids in Athens and perhaps could be an iconic image – particularly widespread in the eastern Aegean area between the 3rd and 2nd cent. BC – for the Asian Diadochoi of Alexander (cf. Janer Danforth Belson, "The Medusa Rondanini"; and Peter J. Callaghan, "The Medusa Rondanini").

<sup>51</sup> For other samples from the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome to the forum of Leptis Magna, see Marina Prusac, "The Ninth Mask."

from Classical Greek periods. The iconography is used on some coins from Asia Minor, such as Amisus at the time of Mithridates VI, 119–63 BC<sup>52</sup> or Amphipolis in 1st cent. BC.<sup>53</sup> In the same way that the coin representations suggest a typical feature of the Asia Minor style, so do the impressions scaled along the edge which end in two semi-circles and remind us of the wings. A further similar lamp with a bearded male face, now in the British Museum, was found in Rome near the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>54</sup>

With regard to the shape of **pl. 2, no. 7**, volutes near the nozzle and an elongated foot are typical of a small group, with specimens from Rome (?), Athens and Damascus.<sup>55</sup> This lamp has fittings to assist hanging and remains of the suspension chain are still evident. Above the handle, there is a *chrismon* surrounded by rays that form a kind of vegetation feature. The sample from Mardin confirms the hypothesis of an eastern source of production, as already suggested by Donald M. Bailey.<sup>56</sup>

Of significant interest is the peacock-shaped **pl. 2, no. 8**; the tripartite comb above its head is missing and it is fragmentarily preserved on the back. An accurate cleaning and descaling of the piece would allow for a better reading of its decoration. Some further details – such as the large circular eye and the deep transverse notch on the top of the beak – bring this sample close to pieces of Oriental origin. There are two loops, one horizontal behind the head and one vertical at the base of the neck, which were used for hanging the lamp by a chain (now missing). On the back there is a reservoir lid. We can recognize five parallel rows of feathers arranged on the wings, their detail being underscored by the burin, which follows a common pattern:<sup>57</sup> other samples, such as those held in Mainz, show only four rows of feathers. A wide horizontal spout is located on the bird's back, with a sort of swelling of the body. These lamps are intended for hanging, but they were usually equipped with a hollow foot as well so they could either stand on a table or could be stuck into a lamp stand. The foot of our sample, with its two horizontal ribbings, should be compared with two other pieces kept at the British Museum, which are deemed to be of Egyptian production,<sup>58</sup> one sample from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection<sup>59</sup> and finally one sample from the Metropolitan Museum, which is said to have originated in the Peloponnese.

Clara Agustoni distinguishes three types of peacock-shaped lamp on the basis of the spout location. This type would have begun production at the end of the 2nd cent., and would have continued to be produced in the East, with some variants,

<sup>52</sup> Cf., e.g., BMC 72 (around 100 BC) or SNG BMC 1190 (around 80 BC).

<sup>53</sup> SNG Cop., 85.

<sup>54</sup> Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, 92, LA I.017.

<sup>55</sup> Eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, type 2.

<sup>56</sup> Eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, 4–5.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. lamps kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and at the Metropolitan Museum.

<sup>58</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Q 3605 and Q 3606: 21, pl. 22.

<sup>59</sup> Laskarina Bouras, and Maria G. Parani, *Lighting in Early Byzantium*, 60, cat. no. 12.

into the Early Byzantine period. We can add to the catalogue of this type another lamp from Istanbul, designed to be hung.<sup>60</sup> According to Ernst Kitzinger<sup>61</sup> the bird and cock-shaped lamps were very popular in the eastern provinces and they have been found in great numbers in Egypt, where they were probably produced.<sup>62</sup> We are aware of about twenty lamps of this type,<sup>63</sup> whose main distribution is in the eastern Mediterranean region and covers the Byzantine period (5th–6th cent. AD). Prior to this period only sporadic finds of this type have occurred in Europe, such as the pieces unearthed in the *villa rustica* near Morat/Combette, in Switzerland,<sup>64</sup> which exhibit different shapes and sizes. In general terms, there are as many local variants as there are workshops. Thus, for instance, the lamps from Porolissum-Moigrad have two holes for the wick, in the front and in the rear portion;<sup>65</sup> lamps from the Iberian peninsula have different shapes, and so on.<sup>66</sup>

Some lamps which are very similar to the peacock-shaped type have also been discovered in Athens,<sup>67</sup> in Cairo,<sup>68</sup> in Morocco, at Volubilis<sup>69</sup> and in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. A Coptic lamp dated to the 5th or 6th cent. from the Louvre, similar in shape to ours, is published by Eva Baer.<sup>70</sup>

The most recent discussion on this form, carried out by Maria Xanthopoulou, analyses – by reference to a group of about thirty specimens – a dozen similar samples,<sup>71</sup> including three from Egypt and two from Syria. The same researcher dates these lamps to the 4th to 5th cent. AD.

### Lamps with Lampstand (pl. 2, nos. 9–12)

There are a dozen lampstands on display at the museums of Silifke, Mersin, Adana and Hatay. Four of them include a lamp. In general terms, when we consider materials housed in the museums, we are not always wholly sure that the lamps are really correctly paired with their original supports.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 56, no. 102, dated from the 4th to 6th cent. AD, and described, however, by the researcher as “dove-shaped.”

<sup>61</sup> Ernst Kitzinger, *Handbook of the Byzantine*, H 33, no. 116.

<sup>62</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 21.

<sup>63</sup> Laskarina Bouras, and Maria G. Parani, *Lighting in Early Byzantium*, 18.

<sup>64</sup> Jean-Luc Boisaubert, Dominique Bugnon, and Michel Mauvilly, *Archéologie et autoroute A1*, 98.

<sup>65</sup> Gavrilă Simion, *Opaițe greco-romane*, 111, no. 85.

<sup>66</sup> Salvador Pozo, “Lucernas antiguas.”

<sup>67</sup> Marvin S. Ross, “Byzantine Bronze,” 135.

<sup>68</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 21.

<sup>69</sup> Christiane Boubé-Piccot, *Les bronzes antiques*, 167–68.

<sup>70</sup> Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art*, 27.

<sup>71</sup> Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 15.044, 046, 049, 055, 056, 058, 061, 062, 063, 064 and 067.

<sup>72</sup> For this problem cf. Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 102.

The candlesticks, or rather the lampstands and their related lamps from Turkey, dating to the early Roman imperial period, could be part of the funerary equipment in the tombs, as evidenced by the discoveries made by Palimli in 1908.<sup>73</sup>

Two lamps presented in this paper (**pl. 2, nos. 9–10**) have a handle patterned in the shape of a double looped branch of foliage, possibly acanthus, which is placed at a different height at the rear of the known lamps of this type.

In spite of what has been asserted,<sup>74</sup> the presence of a cross between the double looped branch as in our **pl. 2, no. 9** is not always a constant feature. It is also important to note how this type often shows variations both in the form of the handles on the body of the lamp, as well as in the stands, which are of different heights. In fact, within this group, loosely united by the presence of looped handles with foliage patterns, several variants can be distinguished, perhaps in correlation with the different centres of production.

**Pl. 2, no. 9** has a large “baroque” loop, which consists of two parallel curved scrolls that arise from the body and are welded to a central, larger scroll. The scrolls are joined by a small Greek cross, which has extended arms and concave ends. Perhaps, a second cross could have been placed above the cap, as occurs in a specimen of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.<sup>75</sup>

Similar lamps, with a cross or a dove at the junction of the scrolls, are widespread in Syria, Cyprus and Asia Minor, as well as in the Balkans and even in Sardinia. The type seems to have been popular in Egypt, from which at least eight samples are known.<sup>76</sup>

On the top of the lampstand there is a wide flared disc. The stem consists of the usual elements elongated and curved. The central element has a pear-shaped profile.<sup>77</sup> More than sixty lamps of this group have been published so far, mostly monolycnes, but also bilycnes. Within the group the pieces differ in some of the details: especially the loop – the most developed part – but also in relation to the *infundibulum*, which may have smooth edges and can be marked with ribs. Even the body displays different degrees of restriction at the nozzle, as is also the case with the foot.

The presence of these distinctive features might depend on the fact that in each workshop there were several moulds for the same lamp type, with each slightly

<sup>73</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 73, no. 127.

<sup>74</sup> Shulamit Hadad, “Oil Lamps.”

<sup>75</sup> Laskarina Bouras and Maria G. Parani, *Lighting in Early Byzantium*, 62, cat. no. 13.

<sup>76</sup> Eadem, *Lighting in Early Byzantium*, 62.

<sup>77</sup> Some lamps which are very close in terms of their shape, but with decorative variants on the handles, are preserved in the museum of Madrid, Cordoba (with other samples of unknown origin in Salvador Pozo, “Lucernas antiguas,” 234–35), Lyon (Stéphanie Boucher, Gustave Perdu, and Michel Feugère, *Bronzes antiques*, 52, no. 579), and Mainz. Three samples that are very close in shape are housed in the British Museum (Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Q 3815 and Q 3817: 74–75, pls. 84–85) and they have various provenances. Usually, such objects were cast in bronze or in brass.

differing from the others in some of the decorative details. This is especially true for the more long-lasting and widespread forms, where the craftsmen were able to express a certain degree of freedom in their attempts at being innovative.

Sometimes, two scrolls come together in a single central stem, which then splits into two branches.<sup>78</sup>

Furthermore, the junction point of the scrolls on the top of the body, close to the hinge of the cap, is moulded in various ways: it can form the basis of a sort of capital (“hearth-shaped” for Hayes), above which a tripartite cornflower appears.<sup>79</sup> In other samples, at the junction of the scrolls, a cross arises or there is a diamond-shaped opening, as in the case of the lamp of Beth Shean.

A variety with the cross above the cornflower is also documented and the cross itself occurs in at least two different forms. Another significant change concerns the scrolls, which can take on various forms when they stem from the body. They often reproduce dolphins, which hold horizontal stems in their mouths, ending in heart-shaped leaves (?). In other cases, the terminations of the scrolls may just have the shape of heart-shaped leaves, either of a smaller size (ROM, no. 223) or larger (Beth Shean). Some extremely elaborate handles also exist, which have animalistic figures at their junction point.<sup>80</sup> Finally, the base, which can be of various shapes, is moulded in a way that allows the lamp to be placed on a lamp stand; it can vary in height.

An analysis of the distribution map shows the frequency of their occurrence, with a particular focus on “Egypt” (at least six samples, including two preserved in ROM), “Syria” (at least four), Turkey (three), Greece (three or four), and southern Italy (three). An identical lamp is housed in the Byzantine Museum of Chania, Crete. Other specimens are known from Kansas City<sup>81</sup> and from Timgad.<sup>82</sup> These lamps can probably be traced back to the Byzantine period. If the “Egyptian” samples come from Upper Egypt, we can assume that the majority date to the period before the Arab conquest, which occurred in AD 640.<sup>83</sup> Other specimens are known in Naples, Athens and Corinth.

A similar lampstand in the Louvre [x 5274 (E 11702)] of “Mediterranean type,” according to Eva Baer’s definition, is very common in Iran, Syria and Egypt.<sup>84</sup> A support of a very similar shape, but which is taller and therefore has a greater number of elements, is in the ROM<sup>85</sup> and has been tentatively dated to the 4th

<sup>78</sup> As in a copy of the ROM: John Walker Hayes, *Ancient Lamps*, 140–41, no. 217.

<sup>79</sup> Same lamp as no. 217 of the ROM.

<sup>80</sup> An extraordinary example is provided in ROM, and also in idem, *Ancient Lamps*, no. 240, 154, dated to the 5th or 6th cent. AD.

<sup>81</sup> Ross E. Taggart, and George L. McKenna, *Handbook of the Collections*, 58, top right and top left with its support.

<sup>82</sup> Albert Ballu, *Les ruines de Timgad*, 166–67, no. 1903, fig. facing p. 166; and *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil*, 182, with fig. = *L’art copte*, no. 121.

<sup>83</sup> Heinz Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, 109, No. 689.

<sup>84</sup> Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art*, 11, fig. 3.

<sup>85</sup> John Walker Hayes, *Ancient Lamps*, 152, no. 236.



or 5th cent. AD. Another candlestick, very similar in terms of type, and whose height including the lamp is 35.3 cm, was found in Jerusalem and has been dated to the 5th cent. AD. It has been offered for sale by Biblical Artefacts. The dating of this lamp to the 4th and 5th cent. AD, as proposed by Nazarena Valenza Mele, is generally accepted,<sup>86</sup> although Donald M. Bailey opts for a later date, i.e., the 6th–7th cent.

**Pl. 2, no. 10** boasts a handle that is decorated with a vegetation motif, consisting of a double ring from which arise a number of curls. The lid of the *infundibulum* is missing and only the hole for the hinge still remains. It has an elongated body, an oblique spout that bends inwards and a foot with slanted sides. A similar lamp, though less elaborate, with handle is housed at the British Museum.<sup>87</sup>

Maria Xanthopoulou lists nearly thirty lamps that are similar to ours, in which the double looped foliage branch rises from the same stem, whilst in another thirty specimens there are two branches, with separate stems.

The lampstand is made of several superimposed elements. On its top the stand has a point for fixing the lamp, on whose hollow foot there is a notch for the insertion. A double horizontal groove is moulded on the base feet. The stem consists of five elements of different diameter, thickness and profile, which are arranged one above the other. The final part of the stem has a concave plate with rounded edge; it is superimposed over a large flared base tapering upwards and ending with a groove. The stem is supported by a pedestal with three legs and ends with lion or panther paws: instead of animal legs, full lions sometimes occur.<sup>88</sup> From the centre of the concave base a protruding section arises, into which the stem is fixed.

This type of lampstand belongs to the so-called baluster group, for which Maria Xanthopoulou lists ninety-two specimens. At least a dozen identical or very similar candlesticks are also published in her catalogue,<sup>89</sup> dating from the 6th to 7th cent. AD.

**Pl. 2, no. 11** is similar<sup>90</sup> to the previous one, exhibiting a large and upwards curved handle formed by two diverging scrolls. These are joined by a cross motif at the very end of the scrolls. In a lamp preserved in the Museum of Bucharest, which has a downwards curved handle, the two loops are joined at the top instead of at the base of the body. The body is globular and elongated and the spout has a horizontal edge. The foot has a concave profile. In a similar way, the handles of two lamps from the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul present scrolls of course, with differences in shape and a cross.<sup>91</sup> The support comprises a tall stem that rises from a disc with a large lower fairing. Underneath the disc, three bulging discs are

<sup>86</sup> Idem, *Ancient Lamps*, 141, suggests “perhaps” the 4th cent. AD.

<sup>87</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Q 3814: 74, pl. 84.

<sup>88</sup> Idem, *A Catalogue*, Q 3928: 106, pl. 138; dated by Bailey to the 6th cent.

<sup>89</sup> Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, CD 7.053–C 7.065.

<sup>90</sup> Nazarena Valenza Mele, *Museo nazionale*, Type XII.

<sup>91</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 45–46, nos. 82–84, dated to the 6th and 7th cent. AD.

flanked by smaller ones. The base is similar to that of Adana, presented earlier, but the lampstand when compared to that from Adana, appears to have been simplified.

Here too, the feet are shaped like a feline's paws: the lower part is directly comparable with that of the London stanchion Q 3923.<sup>92</sup> In the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul there is a similar lampstand, only different in terms of the central part of the stem, dated by Sümer Atasoy to the 6th and 7th cent. AD.<sup>93</sup>

**Pl. 2, no. 12** has a body which is similar to the previous item, with a shell-shaped lid and a wide loop handle, over which is placed a Greek cross, at an angle of about 60 degrees. It has an elongated globular body, an oblique spout that bends outwards and a ring foot with slanting sides.

A similar lamp, but with a Latin cross, and decorated with globes at the ends of the arms is housed in the ROM.<sup>94</sup>

From the tall pointed stem of the lamp protrudes the opening of the *infundibulum*. The lamp has a standard base, with a large fairing, which flairs outwards. The stem has a slender central element, which is pear-shaped; above and below this protrusion are horizontal ribs.

The base rests on three bended knee supports, ending in feet the shape of feline paws and resting on a plinth. The triangular base has a concave profile and a central protrusion.

A candlestick from the British Museum is similar in shape, although more elaborate<sup>95</sup> and comes from "Lampsacus." It is provided with five hallmarks and can be dated to the Justinian age.

Two samples are similar to the lamp from London and come from Antioch-on-the-Orontes<sup>96</sup> and from Ephesus.<sup>97</sup> Their lampstands have a baluster-shaped stem.<sup>98</sup> Something like twenty four lampstands with a baluster-shaped stem have been published so far and they represent almost half of the known number of candlesticks. According to Maria Xanthopoulou, this type was being produced from the late 5th cent. onwards.

### Other Early Byzantine Lamps (pl. 2, no. 13–pl. 3, no. 5)

The circular lamp with disc,<sup>99</sup> **pl. 2, no. 13**, is of a basic type, with analogous body and spout; it can display a certain variety of handles, in particular a cross for Christians or a heart-shaped termination, without any hint at Christianity, as in our case.

<sup>92</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, 105, pl. 135, from the Great Church of Edfu, dated to the 6th cent. AD.

<sup>93</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 82, no. 140 to the 6th and 7th cent. AD.

<sup>94</sup> John Walker Hayes, *Ancient Lamps*, 145, no. 224.

<sup>95</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Q 3924 MLA: 105, pl. 106.

<sup>96</sup> Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, 90–91, no. 19.

<sup>97</sup> Franz Miltner, *Das Coemeterium*, 355.

<sup>98</sup> E.g., Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, CD 7.040.

<sup>99</sup> Eadem, *Les lampes en bronze*, Type 7; and Nazarena Valenza Mele, *Museo nazionale*, Type IV.

Examples of the first type are housed in Istanbul,<sup>100</sup> where a lamp similar to ours, but in fragments, is also preserved.<sup>101</sup>

The area of production for this type was certainly located in the eastern Mediterranean, probably along the Asia Minor coast and Constantinople. The type came into use in the Byzantine domains of Sicily and of the Ravenna Exarchate.

An identical sample – with almost equal dimensions, itself a clue that it originates from the same workshop – is preserved in the British Museum.<sup>102</sup> It was discovered during the 19th-cent. excavations, carried out at the villa of Hacı Kaptan in the western part of Halicarnassus, where in 1856 C. T. Newton conducted some excavations that he published in an exemplary manner in 1862. Other excavations were recently carried out by the Department of Greek and Roman Studies of the University of Southern Denmark, on behalf of the Underwater Archaeological Museum of Bodrum. According to the excavated mosaics it was possible to establish that the building, the so-called “Charidemios House,” was built around the mid-5th cent. or in the second half of the same century AD.

Three of the ten lamps listed by Donald M. Bailey, respectively from Bodrum, from Delos<sup>103</sup> and from Ephesus, are completely identical to ours, whilst the other ones are very similar. Our lamp must be added to the sixteen pieces published by Maria Xanthopoulou. The distribution map of this type reveals a concentrated presence on the coast of Asia Minor (in Istanbul, Ephesus and Halicarnassus), and scattered finds in Greece (three samples in Athens), in the Aegean islands (Delos, Rhodes and Crete) and finally in Egypt.<sup>104</sup>

A sample similar to our **pl. 3, no. 1** is in the British Museum<sup>105</sup> and another was found in Classe, near Ravenna, at the Chiavichetta farm, with material from the 5th and 6th cent. AD. There exists a sample, with a similar body but a different termination of the handle,<sup>106</sup> dated to 3rd–4th cent. AD.

**Pl. 3, no. 2** has a round body, with biconical profile, rounded, an extended and raised spout, which is flattened on the top, and an oval shape. It has a circular handle, wider towards the top where it forms a hinge for the lid (missing). The surface, originally smooth, is extensively corroded. It is very similar to the former lamp; however, it is shorter and taller. It was probably manufactured in Asia Minor in the Early Byzantine age.

<sup>100</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 31–32, nos. 58–60, dated to the 5th–6th cent.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, no. 57.

<sup>102</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Q3787.

<sup>103</sup> For Delos cf. Philippe Bruneau, *Exploration archéologique*, no. 4782.

<sup>104</sup> Select bibliography: Henry Beauchamp Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek*, 222, no. 1472, pl. VIII; Marvin Chauncey Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine*, 33, no. 32, pl. XXV (from Syria; 5th–6th cent. AD); Tihámér Szentlélek, *Ancient Lamps*, no. 285 (2nd cent. AD); and Georgi Konstantinov Kuzmanov, *Antični lampi*, 150, no. 439 (4th–5th cent. AD). It should be dated to the 5th–6th cent. AD.

<sup>105</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Q3807, 72, pl. 82.

<sup>106</sup> A similar: Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 28, no. 52.

**Pl. 3, no. 3**, with an elongated and carinated body<sup>107</sup> has a circular handle, which supports a flattened termination in the shape of a large leaf (length 6 cm). At the base of the frontal termination there is a shell-shaped lid, which is fixed by means of a hinge.<sup>108</sup> It belongs to Type 3 of Xanthopoulou. In profile (**pl. 3, fig. 3b**), it is possible to see the trend of the reflector, parallel to the rear side of the body, and especially the strong downward inclination from the cover to the spout. Several similar lamps are recorded by Maria Xanthopoulou.<sup>109</sup> Donald M. Bailey places these lamps in the 6th–7th cent. AD and Maria Xanthopoulou in the 5th–7th. According to their area of discovery and considering their shape, one can assume that the Near Eastern area is the plausible site of manufacture, spreading from Egypt to Asia Minor. A very similar lamp in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, with an oblique spout, a thinner edge and showing a more developed handle,<sup>110</sup> is dated to the 3rd–4th cent. AD. It is worth noting that the dimensions are the same.

With **pl. 3, no. 4**, the top of the body is inclined, as in the previous lamp; it is flared and has a very high foot, as in many samples from Asia Minor. In common with other Oriental samples, the sample also has a notch inside the hollow base, for inserting the lamp into the vertical stem of a candlestick. The broad base does not seem to appear before the 5th cent. AD.<sup>111</sup>

A similar lamp, also with a missing handle, and with the side spout having a polygonal edge, is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul and is dated to the 5th or 6th cent. AD.<sup>112</sup> Sümer Atasoy describes this type as “Jewish” or “Samaritan,” but with a bunch of ribbings on the spout, which are missing here. They usually have a long handle in the shape of a *shofar*, *lulav* or *etrog*. Sometimes, the motif of the *menorah* may have been intentionally removed.<sup>113</sup> The several known variants have different details. A menorah-shaped lamp from Beth Shean – with a missing handle – has a narrower *infundibulum* and is without a side. In our sample, instead, the edge is very wide and is bordered by a large rib, rectangular in shape. An identical lamp with vertical longitudinal lines belongs to the Schloessinger Collection and has been dated by Renate Rosenthal and Renée Sivan to the 5th to 6th cent. AD.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue*, Group G.

<sup>108</sup> To a general extent, with regard to the shape, the termination and the lid, some comparisons are possible with specimens from the British Museum, in particular Q 3805: 71, pl. 82, from “Egypt” and Q 3810: 72–73, pl. 82 from Baalbeck. A substantially identical lamp, even with regard to the dimensions, but with a differently carved leaf, is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 27, no. 50, dated to 3rd–4th cent. AD). A lamp with a leaf-shaped termination, but with a different form, is documented in Ptuj (Maria Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze*, LA 3.122).

<sup>109</sup> E.g., LA 3.119 from Beth-Shean (Israel), LA 3.120 from Sardinia (Italy), LA 3.122, from Ptuj (Slovenia), LA 3.123 from Egypt and LA 3.123 from Thessaloniki.

<sup>110</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 28, no. 53; from Xanthus.

<sup>111</sup> Shulamit Hadad, “Oil Lamps,” 182.

<sup>112</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 46, no. 83.

<sup>113</sup> Shulamit Hadad, “Oil Lamps,” 181.

<sup>114</sup> Renate Rosenthal and Renée Sivan, *Ancient Lamps*, 160, no. 662.

A similar lamp – though belonging to a different variant – from Beth Shean was unearthed in a shop (Loc. 706) that had been destroyed by an earthquake which occurred in AD. 749. In fact, it had been in use for some time before that date.

A little “outside the box” is **pl. 3, no. 5**, which presents a “ship-shaped” profile. It is based on rectangular legs and has a body with a quadrangular shape. Noteworthy is the tube-shaped spout. It is certainly a local product that does not seem to have been inspired by models currently in use in other areas.

### An Islamic Lamp (pl. 3, no. 6)

There are only three Islamic lamps from the area under consideration. Two, with circular bodies, have several arrowhead-shaped spouts.

**Pl. 3, no. 6** from Adana shows some typical characteristics of the Early Medieval period. Worthy of note is the upper spout, formed by juxtaposed limbs, which recalls Palestinian contemporary examples. The base, in the shape of a round basin with smooth and raised edges, seems peculiar to the Byzantine period; this feature also occurs in some Islamic glazed lamps from the 10th–12th cent. AD. According to Wladyshaw B. Kubiak the lamp corresponds to Type L and can be dated to the Mamluks period, or later.<sup>115</sup> Thus our lamp should be dated to 7th–10th cent. AD.

### A Lamp Filler (pl. 3, no. 7)

The lamp filler, **pl. 3, no. 7**, from Adana, has a concave basin. The top plate, the three radial appendices, and especially the nozzle with a pouring channel, most likely qualify such an object as a container for filling oil lamps. However, there are other interpretations as to its use: e.g., a lamp or a mortar for the manufacture of medicines or cosmetics.<sup>116</sup> There is evidence of comparable lamp-fillers in several other places, from Coptic Egypt to Greece. For instance, some samples are in the Collection of Georgios Tsolozides or in Athens at the Benaki Museum.<sup>117</sup> The shape remained substantially unchanged even during the Islamic Age. There are small vessels, about 8 cm in diameter, and larger ones that measure more than 13 cm. They were usually made of bronze, but they could also be cast of silver<sup>118</sup> or moulded in terracotta. Such objects with bronze openwork parts, such as handles, are known from the Byzantine period and in the Coptic culture of Upper Egypt.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Wladyshaw B. Kubiak, “Medieval Ceramic,” 8.

<sup>116</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 60.

<sup>117</sup> Laskarina Bouras and Maria G. Parani, *Lighting in Early Byzantium*, 3, reference four samples.

<sup>118</sup> E.g., a sample sold at auction from the Edgar Lowen House, at whose website its related image is still visible on 1 Sept 2014.

<sup>119</sup> E.g., Robert Leslie Pollington Milburn, *Early Christian Art*, 265–66.

A very similar object, with a frontal truncated appendix, housed at the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul<sup>120</sup> has been dated to the period between the 6th and 8th cent. AD.<sup>121</sup> A date of 3rd–5th cent. AD or the Early Islamic period is plausible.

## Conclusions

In conclusion, the objects we have presented in this paper further enrich the general overview already provided by the most recent studies on the topic. We also believe that the distribution chart is better able to clarify the role of the Cilician region as a place of production, not just as an area of consumption.

Maria Xanthopoulou records the existence of 31 Late Antique bronze lamps in Turkey: in this article, we have increased the total number by a further 27, which means an increase of 80%. Likewise, we have added 4 to 9 lampstands to the already published total identified by Xanthopoulou, or a 44% increase. We have not considered a number of others, without lamps, which will be the subject of a forthcoming study.<sup>122</sup>

The Cilician and other southern Anatolian workshops were thus influenced by the Byzantine art of Constantinople, and, after the Muslim conquest, by Islamic models.

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<sup>120</sup> Sümer Atasoy, *Bronze Lamps*, 60, no. 109.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. also Renate Rosenthal and Renée Sivan, *Ancient Lamps*, 168, nos. 695–97.

<sup>122</sup> Ergün Laflı and Maurizio Buora, *Instrumenta domestica*, forthcoming.



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## Abbreviations

BMC *British Museum Coins*

ROM Royal Ontario Museum

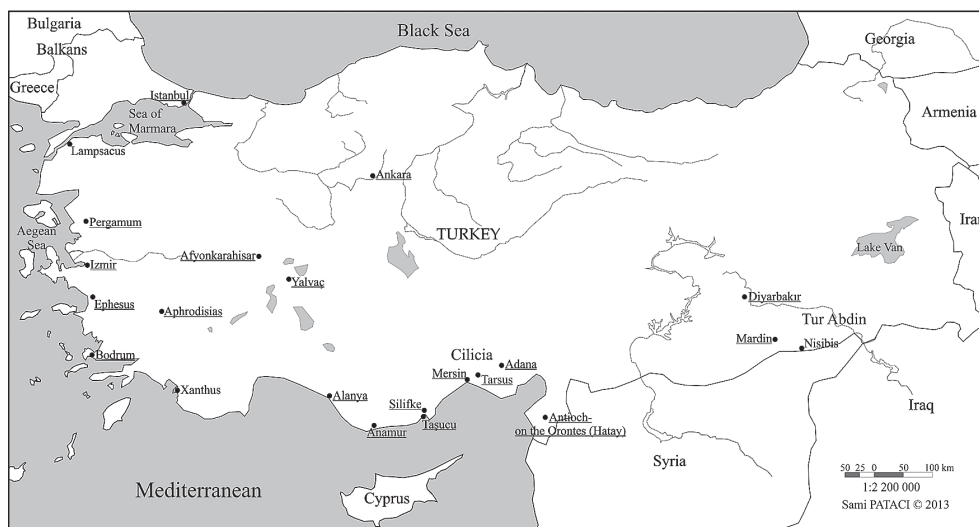
SNG Cop. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen

SNG BMC *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, The British Museum, London

## Figures

### Map

Museums in Cilicia and elsewhere in Turkey, as well as names quoted in the text. Underlined places indicate the existence of local museums.



## Catalogue of the Bronze Lamps

- Pl. 1, no. 1 (fig. 1) - Alanya 2673:** L 19 x Ø 5.5 x h 4 (body).
- Pl. 1, no. 2 (fig. 2) - Hatay 13478:** L 18 x Ø 4.8 x h 4.1.
- Pl. 1, no. 3 (figs. 3a-c) - Adana 4039:** L 14.2 x Ø 2.4 x h 6.5.
- Pl. 1, no. 4 (fig. 4) - Mardin 2010/2270 (A) (formerly 7751):** L 11.7 x Ø 4.9 x rim Ø 3.3 x bottom Ø 3.8 x h 6.2. Purchased on 25.03.2008 by Mr Metin Ezilmez.
- Pl. 1, no. 5 (fig. 5) - Mardin 2010/2272 (A) (formerly 5165):** L 11.7 x Ø 2.8 x rim Ø 2.1 x bottom Ø 3.0 x h 4.9. Purchased by Mr Mahmut Yıldırım.
- Pl. 1, no. 6 (figs. 6a-b) - Silifke 11672:** L 9.2 x Ø 4.1 x h 4.2.
- Pl. 1, no. 7 (figs. 7a-c) - Tarsus 18.21.1979:** L 13.2 x Ø 5.2 x h 5.8.
- Pl. 2, no. 1 (fig. 1) - Silifke 2813:** L 13.2 x Ø 5.3 x h 7.
- Pl. 2, no. 2 (fig. 2) - Alanya 1783:** L 7.7 x Ø 4.3 x h 4.7.
- Pl. 2, no. 3 (fig. 3) - Alanya 2384:** L 11 x Ø 5.6 x h 4.1.
- Pl. 2, no. 4 (fig. 4) - Mardin 2010/5865 (A) (formerly 7441):** L 8.0 x Ø 5.1 x rim Ø 2.0 x h 3.0. Purchased on 18.10.2007 by Mr Fehmi Ceylan.
- Pl. 2, no. 5 (fig. 5) - Mardin 2010/5864 (A) (formerly 7440):** L 7.2 x Ø 3.0 x rim Ø 1.1-1.3 x bottom Ø 1.8-3.0 x nozzle Ø 1.1-1 x h 2.2; weight: 58.55 gr. Purchased on 18.10.2007 by Mr Fehmi Ceylan.
- Pl. 2, no. 6 (figs. 6a-b) - Mardin 2010/5861 (A) (formerly 1760):** L 12.7 x Ø 6.6 x h 5.7; weight: 404.52 gr.
- Pl. 2, no. 7 (figs. 7a-b) - Mardin 2010/5863 (A) (formerly 4748):** L 10.0 x Ø 7.2 x bottom Ø 4.2 x nozzle Ø 3.0 x h 5.9; ; weight: 281.03 gr. Purchased on 13.10.2002 by Mr Metin Ezilmez.
- Pl. 2, no. 8 (fig. 8) - Silifke 6341:** L 12.4 x w 5.4 x h 11.8.
- Pl. 2, no. 9 (figs. 9a-c) - Mersin 91.4.7:** L 28.3 x Ø 11.9 x h 43.7.
- Pl. 2, no. 10 (fig. 10) - Adana 4189:** L 23.2 x Ø 9.1 x h 42.4.
- Pl. 2, no. 11 (fig. 11) - Hatay 8201:** L 19.7 x Ø 7.5 x h 38.9.
- Pl. 2, no. 12 (fig. 12) - Silifke 6048:** L 14.3 x Ø 4.9 x h 23.7.
- Pl. 2, no. 13 (figs. 13a-b) - Mersin 99.16.7:** L 13 x Ø 7 x h 2.8.
- Pl. 3, no. 1 (figs. 1a-c) - Mersin 89.8.1:** Max. l 10.3 x Ø 6.2 x h 4.5.
- Pl. 3, no. 2 (figs. 2a-b) - Mersin 01.3.22:** L 8.4 x Ø 4.4 x h 3.
- Pl. 3, no. 3 (figs. 3a-b) - Mersin 03.49.40:** L 11.3 x Ø 4 x h 7.8.
- Pl. 3, no. 4 (figs. 4a-b) - Mersin 81.19.6:** Max. l 8.5 x Ø 6.8 x h 5.3.
- Pl. 3, no. 5 (fig. 5) - Mardin 2010/2273 (A) (formerly 6803):** L 8.8 x Ø 5.1 x h 3.9. Purchased on 03.12.2006 by Mr Şeyhmuz Nuhoglu.
- Pl. 3, no. 6 (fig. 6) - Adana 5814:** Ø 8.4 x h 16.2.
- Pl. 3, no. 7 (fig. 7) - Adana 8721:** Ø 11.3 x h 3.1.

## Abbreviations

L: length; Ø: diameter; h: height; max.: *maximum*; and cent.: century. All the given measurements are in centimetres. The numbers after the museum names indicate the inventory numbers of each piece.

Plate 1

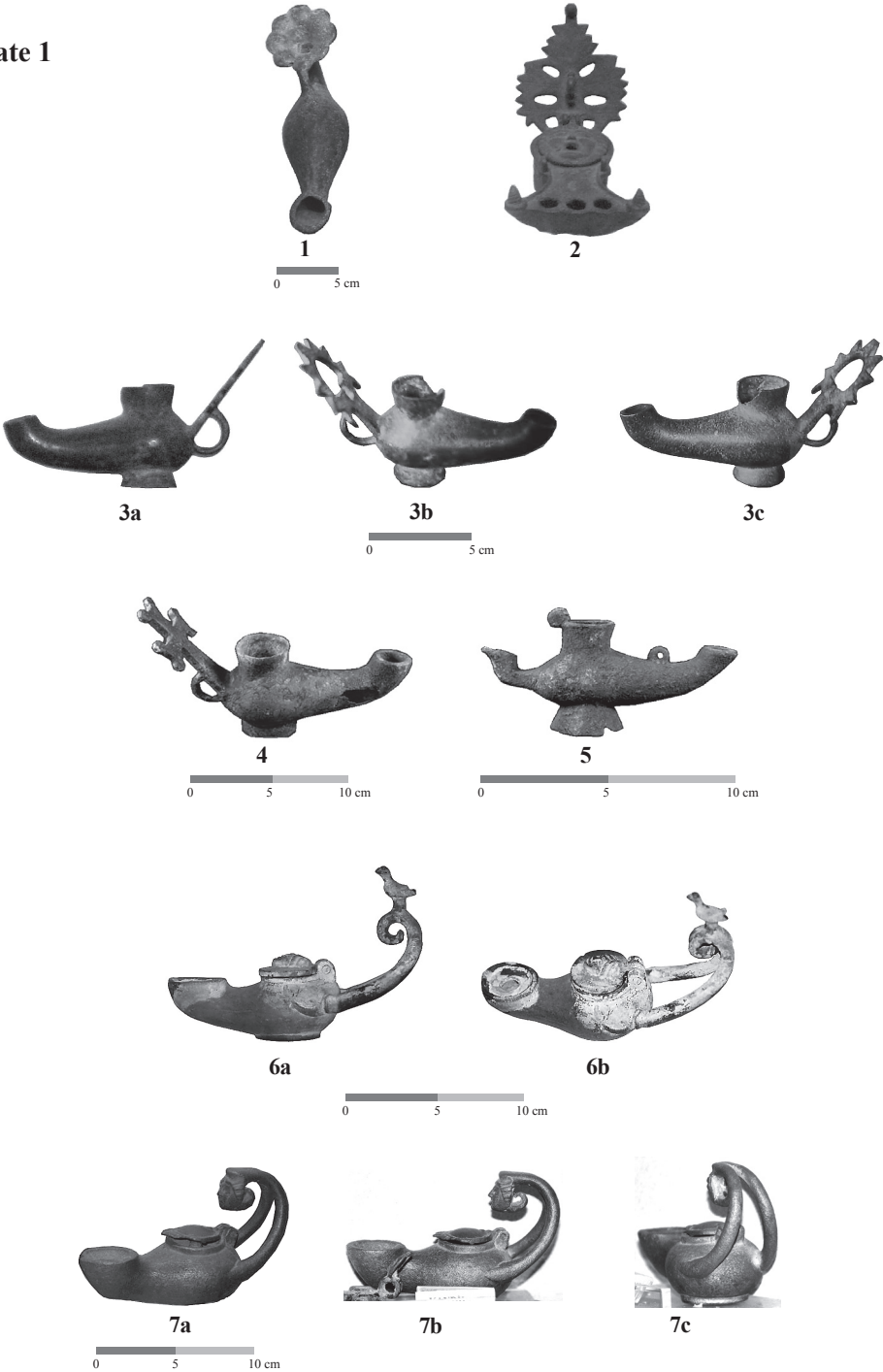




Plate 2

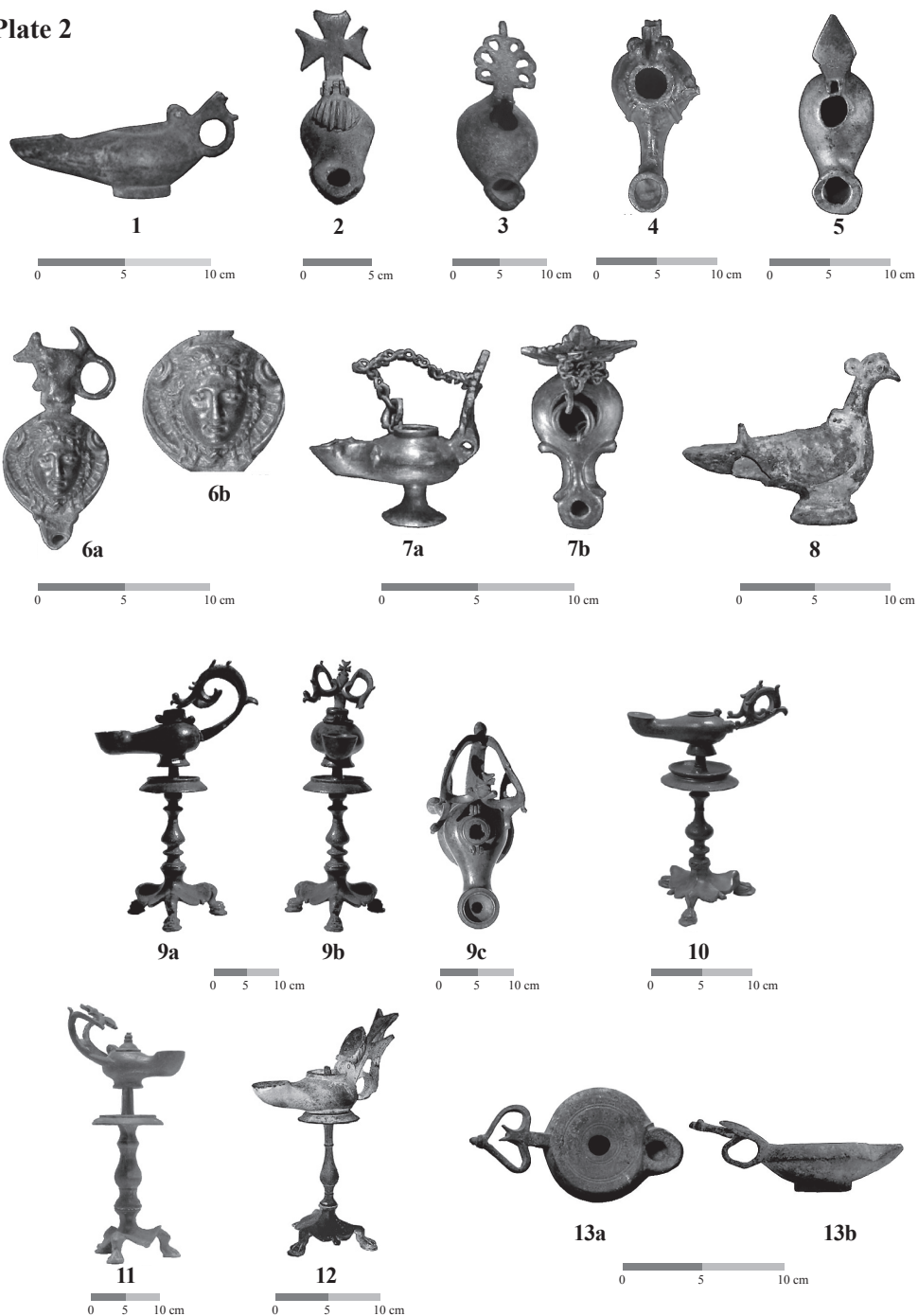
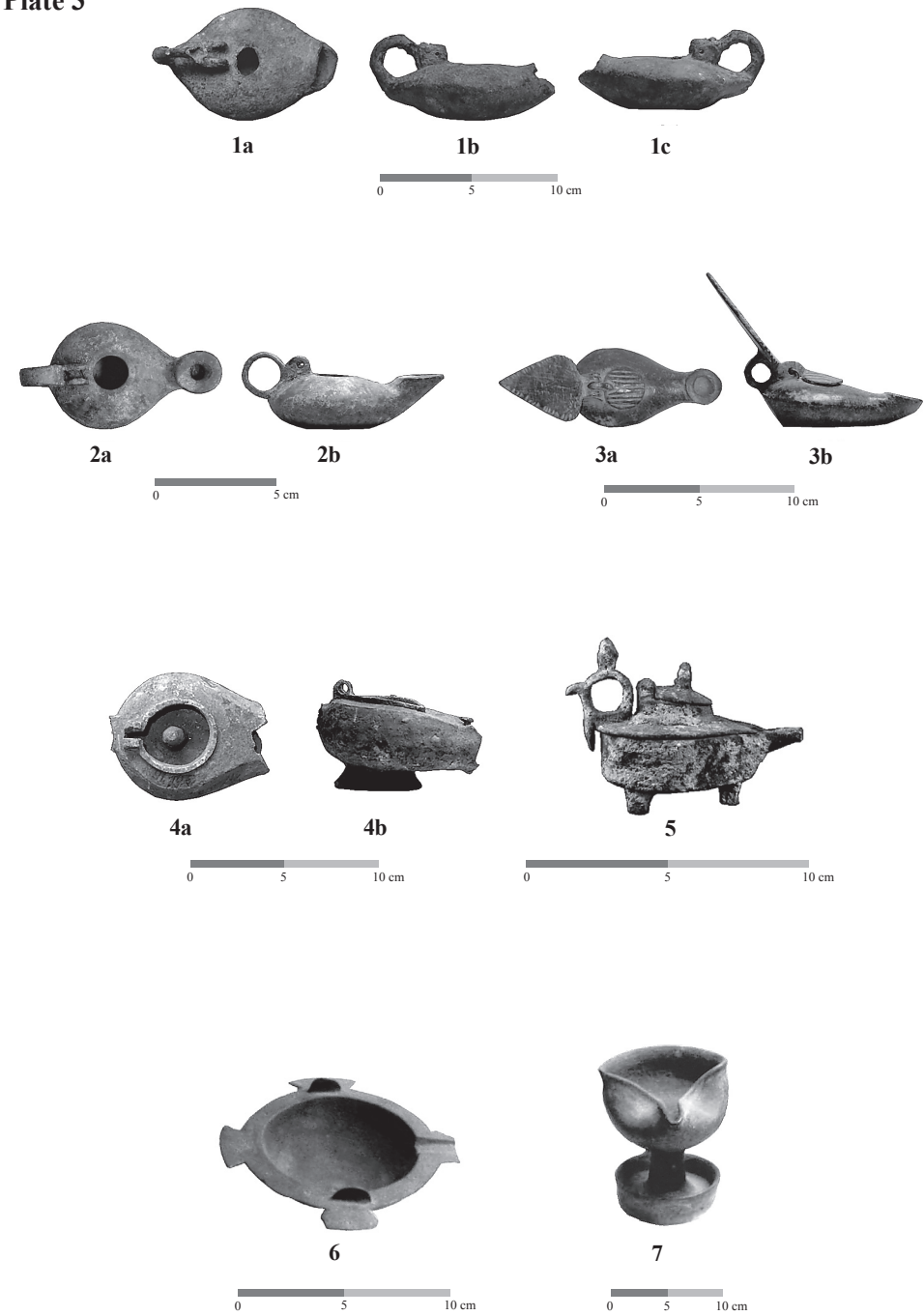


Plate 3



# Contents

## Articles

*Sherine El-Menshawwy*

- Notes on the Human Characteristics of Ancient  
Egyptian Kings ..... 411–430

Egyptian texts and monuments neither embody nor allow us immediate access to the individual characters and personalities of the kings. The aim of this article is to cast light on the “manners of behavior” of some of the Ancient Egyptian kings based on written documents and archeological evidence.

Egyptian literature has focused on kings as Khufu, Pepi II, Nebkaure, Amasis, as special personalities with individual character, such as cruelty, homosexuality, injustice and excess in drinking. Evidence for these human characteristics will be discussed, followed by analytical argument.

**Keywords:** King’s human traits – cruelty – homosexuality – injustice –  
excess in drinking

*Ergün Lafli and Maurizio Buora*

- Roman, Early Byzantine and Islamic Bronze Lamps  
from Southern Anatolia ..... 431–458

This paper presents some thirty unpublished bronze lamps that are housed in local museums of Cilicia, Hatay and Mardin in southern Turkey. The chosen methodology of this paper is to compare these lamps typologically, dating them by reference to the extensively published examples by Maria Xanthopoulou, 2010. The dating of our lamps does not generally extend beyond the Early Byzantine period, although some isolated samples could be later. In addition, they belong to a very homogenous group because of their restricted area of origin. Thus, our awareness of the objects enriches the general overview already offered by the latest European and Mediterranean studies on this topic. The Southern Anatolian workshops initially based their work on Italic patterns, were later influenced by the Byzantine art of Constantinople, and, after the Muslim conquest, by Islamic models.

**Keywords:** Bronze lamps – Roman – Early Byzantine – Islamic – Cilicia – Hatay –  
Mardin – Southern Anatolia – Turkey