

CHART IV

KOHC A ~~CO~~ W V H O O Y <sup>a</sup>  
 KOHC A ~~CO~~ W V H O O Y <sup>b</sup>

CHART V

TEHC O E H H E F V X ) W F <sup>a</sup>  
 TEHC P E H H E F Y X ) W F <sup>b</sup>  
 TEHC F E H H E F Y X ) W F <sup>c</sup>  
 F E H H E F Y X <sup>d</sup>  
 TEHC O E H H E F Y X ) W F

CHART VI

a. ДАУУА РМРНХХАУУ  
b. РУРЖРІУБНХУУ  
c. РУРЖРІУБНХУУ  
d. УУХУУУ  
e. ЖРІУРНХУУ  
f. РАВЖРІУБНХУУ  
g. РУРЖРІУБНХУУ

CHART VII

a. ТОУУ-ІОУННІА  
b. ТОУУГІОУННІА  
c. ТОУУГІОУННІА

CHART VIII

a. ΤΗCΘΕΟΤΩΚΟΥ  
 b. ΤΗCΘΕΟΤΝΚΟΥ  
 c. ΤΗCΘΕΟΤΜΚΟΥ  
 d. ΤΗCΘΕΟ

CHART IX

a. +ΦωΞΥΦΞ,ΠΑΣΙΗΚΑΥ+  
 b. +ΦωΞΥΦΞ,ΠΑΣΙΗΚΑΥ+  
 c. +ΦωΞΥΦΞ,ΠΑΣΙΗΚΑΥ+  
 d. +ΦωΞΥ ΞΠΑΣΙΗΚΑΥ+

## CHART X

· m ω x̃ γ ρ ∈ N ∪ Π A c ∪ K A γ H

ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРАВИТЕЛЕЙ

• ϕ ζ ε χ γ φ ∈ Η Π Α Σ Ι Ν Κ Α Λ Η

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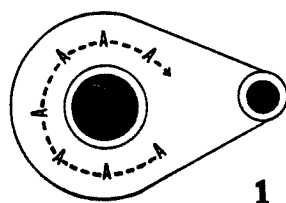
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## CHART XI

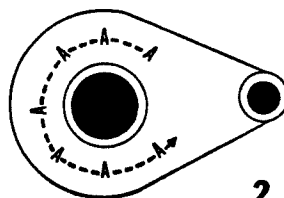
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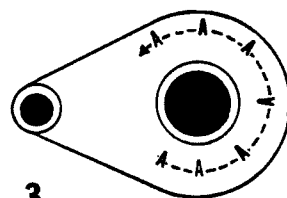
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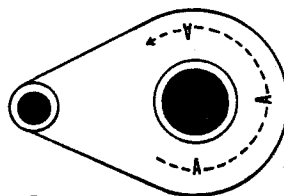
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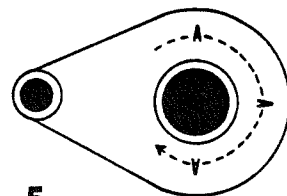
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3



4



5

1. Inscription read clockwise, right to left, without turning the lamp. Groups IIIa, IIIe, IVa, IVb.

2. Inscription read counter clockwise, right to left, without turning the lamp. Groups IIIb, IIIc, IIIId.

3. Inscription read counter clockwise, left to right, without turning the lamp. Groups Va, IX.

4. Inscription read counter clockwise, left to right, turning the lamp. Groups Vb, VIa, VIb, VIc, VII, VIII.

5. Inscription read clockwise, left to right, turning the lamp. Groups X, XI, XII.

In this province there are some people who know both Greek and Syriac, but others know only one or the other. The bishop may know Syriac, but he never uses it. He always speaks in Greek, and has a presbyter beside him who translates the Greek into Syriac, so that everyone can understand what he means. Similarly the lessons read in church have to be read in Greek, but there is always someone in attendance to translate into Syriac so that the people understand. Of course there are also people here who speak neither Greek nor Syriac, but Latin. But there is no need for them to be discouraged, since some of the brothers or sisters who speak Latin as well as Greek will explain things to them.<sup>1</sup>

The Syriac is a form dating to the fourth century, while the Arabic begins with the late seventh/early eighth, thus the beginning and end of the Luchnaria.

There are eleven formulae to be found among the lamp inscriptions, some only a variation by the the insertion or an abbreviation, others are as yet untranslatable. Numbers 1 to 7, 9 to 11 always contain the menorah on the nozzle, while 7 and 8 contain the cross.

(1) The first to be considered is the earliest inscription, which is in Syriac, MPRWS. Joseph Naveh has suggested that its meaning is similar to the phrase, "the light of Christ shines for all" and is interpreted with the meaning to "spread" or "disperse" light.<sup>2</sup> This is not only the earliest of the inscriptions, but by far the shortest. It is written in Syro-Palestinian script. The use of Syriac should not be deemed unusual since the Syrian church was quite strong as is evidenced by the force exerted by the *Apostolic Constitutions*. See Group I.

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<sup>1</sup>Egeria, 47:3-4.

<sup>2</sup>Naveh, p. 104.

(2) The next formula is the most "primitive" of the Greek inscriptions. The form has always been referred to as totally unintelligible, meaning that it is distorted into an unreadable form because of ignorance. Most of the eleven formulae contain abbreviations, it is possible that this group is so highly abbreviated that it cannot be read, which is not to say that they do not have meaning, we simply do not understand it at this time. See Group II.

(3) Since the phrase, "The light of Christ shines for all" is the most popular of all the formulae and is the one which contains the most variations, it will be treated separately below. It is this inscription which expresses the full meaning of *all* the symbolism of the lamps, Christ is the light, the lamps give light, the menorah which is always with this formula is the symbol of light and in turn Christ. See Groups IIIa, IIIe, IVa, IVb, Va, Vb.

(4) The first variation on the "phos Christou" formula is shown in Group IIIb. The first element "phos Christou phenei pacin" is readable, but a final character group is still unrecognizable. McCown has suggested that it is "ἐ[ν] οἰ[κῶ]" meaning 'in the home.'<sup>1</sup> For lack of a better interpretation, this translation must suffice for now.

(5) The formula of Group IIIc contains one of the most unusual characters of all, which appears to be more than a ligature of the first and last letters of pheni and pacin. Nevertheless, it falls into the category of the "phos Christou" type.

(6) The next variation contains the simple addition of the abbreviation IC for Jesus, and can be translated as, "The light of Christ Jesus shines for all." See Group IIIId.

(7) "The light of Christ shines beautifully for all" may be accompanied by either the menorah or cross on the nozzle. It is with this variation that the phos

<sup>1</sup>McCown, Vol. I, p. 174.

Christou formula becomes clearly readable. It is also with this form that the inscription is read from left to right rather than right to left as in all those which precede it. The final word ΚΑΛΗ in ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΛΗ has been a source of debate. Many are of the opinion the ΚΑΛΗ was taken from the inscription ΛΥΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΑ, "beautiful little lamps" (Groups VIa-VIc) and meant to complete the text, "the light of Christ shines for all, fine (lamp)."<sup>1</sup> However, this seems a rather unsatisfactory explanation. Although ΚΑΛΗ is ordinarily an adjective, it is justified to use it as an adverb, because at times predicate adjectives ending in an eta were used adverbially.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this is what was intended by the makers of these lamps to read, "the light of Christ shines beautifully for all." See Groups IX to XI.

(8) "The light of Christ the Lord shines for the servant of God." The longest, both in number of words and use of abbreviations, and the last in the line of phos Christou inscription. It is important also because of its use of the Arabic word for God, *allah*. Along with the Syriac inscription, this is the rarest of all. This form, although originally reported by Macalister, was totally misunderstood by him. It was Sylvester Saller who was the first to recognize the "unknown" word. Group XII.

(9) One of the most interesting and equally misunderstood of the formulae is that of luchnaria kala, "beautiful little lamps." Up to the present, the only explanation which has been accepted is that of Edgar

<sup>1</sup>See Kennedy, pp. 85, 86; Saller, *Excavations at Bethany* (Jerusalem, 1957), p. 176; Sellers and Baramki, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1961), p. 126, sec. 243; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, 1934), p. 295; and H. E. Dana and J. R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1960), p. 236.



R. Smothers, who explains it as, what "the vendor of lamps would have cried (it) in the streets as he made his rounds."<sup>1</sup> Saller thought of it as did Smothers, as meaning "fine lamp,"<sup>2</sup> while Kennedy also agreed with Smothers.<sup>3</sup>

The most reasonable of explanations can be found in an article about an early Christian prayer by Robert Taft:<sup>4</sup>

Pagans were accustomed to greet the light with exclamation "Khaire, phos agathon" ("Hail, good light!") or "Khaire, phos philon" ("Hail, friendly light!"), and Clement of Alexandria recommends that we greet the true God with "Hail, light!" So even before the development of even-song into a liturgical office held in church, Christian domestic piety had inherited from paganism the *lucernarium*, the practice of greeting the evening lamp with prayer and praise.<sup>5</sup>

He also points out the great lamp lighting hymn of thanks sited by St. Basil (+379), the ancient *Phos hilaron*:

O radiant Light, O Sun divine  
Of God the Father's deathless face,  
O Image of the light sublime  
That fills the heav'nly dwelling place.

Lord Jesus Christ, as daylight fades,  
As shine the lights of eventide,  
We praise the Father with the Son,  
The Spirit blest and with them one.

O Son of God, the source of life

<sup>1</sup>Smothers, pp. 46, 49.

<sup>2</sup>Saller, *Bethany*, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup>Kennedy, p. 85-86.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Taft, "Thanksgiving for the Light," *Diakonia*, 13 (1978), pp. 27-50.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 38, see this Appendix under Chapter III, A.

Praise is your due by night and day  
Unsullied lips must raise the strain  
Of your proclaimed and splendid name.<sup>1</sup>

Taft adds:

Basil says that the hymn was ancient even in his time--so old that he did not even know who wrote it.

It seemed fitting to our fathers not to receive the gift of the evening light in silence, but to give thanks immediately upon its appearance. We can't say who was the father of the words of the the thanksgiving for the light. But the people utter the ancient formula, and those that say, "We praise the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit of God" were never thought impious by anyone.<sup>2</sup>

See Groups VIa-VIc.

(10) "St. Elias," perhaps its importance to the lamps is that Elias or Elijah was equated with John the Baptist, the herald of Christ, the Light. No variation is evident in this text, only in the letters themselves. Group VII.

(11) "The Mother of God," *θεοτόκος*, literally, "Bearer of God." Predominately a 5th century expression, it was a phrase used by Alexander of Alexandria, Athenasius, Apollinaris, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria. It was not used by the School of Antioch, and Theodore of Mopsuestia would use it only when carefully guarded. It was a term frequently used in Constantinople. However, Nestorius, patriarch of that city, would not use it, his greatest enemy being Cyril of Alexandria. Group VIII.

<sup>1</sup>William G. Storey, *Morning Praise and Evensong* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1973), p. 73.

<sup>2</sup>Taft, p. 40.



### The Evidence for Classification

*Typology.* The evidence of typological sequence is dependent upon (1) inscription length, (2) inscription language, (3) direction of reading, (4) symbolism of nozzle design, and (5) the development of the nature of the Church. Close attention should be given to the "Proposed Typology Chart" for the following.

(1) **Inscription length.** The proposed typology is based on the assumption that the shortest inscription is first and progresses to the longest, following one of the axioms of textual criticism, that the shorter of the readings usually is the more original. The length of these texts is built by the addition of words and/or abbreviations, evident only in the mainstream formula of Phos Christou.

(2) **Inscription language.** The use of Syriac and Arabic in the inscriptions is the most important factor for setting the proper classification, dating, and sequence for the typology. The Syriac form, according to Naveh, must indeed be fourth century. It stands alone, never being mixed with Greek or any other language. The Arabic intrusion, on the other hand, which is always found mixed with Greek, could not be earlier than the seventh century. The Arabic, like the Syriac, but unlike the Greek, shows no development, either in text or letter formation. Each case is rare, which could be expected in forms used at the beginning and end of a family evolution.

(3) **Direction of reading.** The direction in which the inscription is read is coupled with a "flip" in the direction the lamp is to be held for reading. The "flip" occurs between Groups III<sub>d</sub> and IX, and Groups IV<sub>a</sub> and V<sub>a</sub>. The earliest lamps are read with the nozzle pointing to the right, the inscription read right to left, counter-clockwise, without turning the lamp. These are the most distorted inscriptions. The longer, clearer inscriptions begin at the "flip" with the nozzle pointing left and the inscription read from left to right, clockwise (except Group IX, which although left to right is still read counter-clockwise).

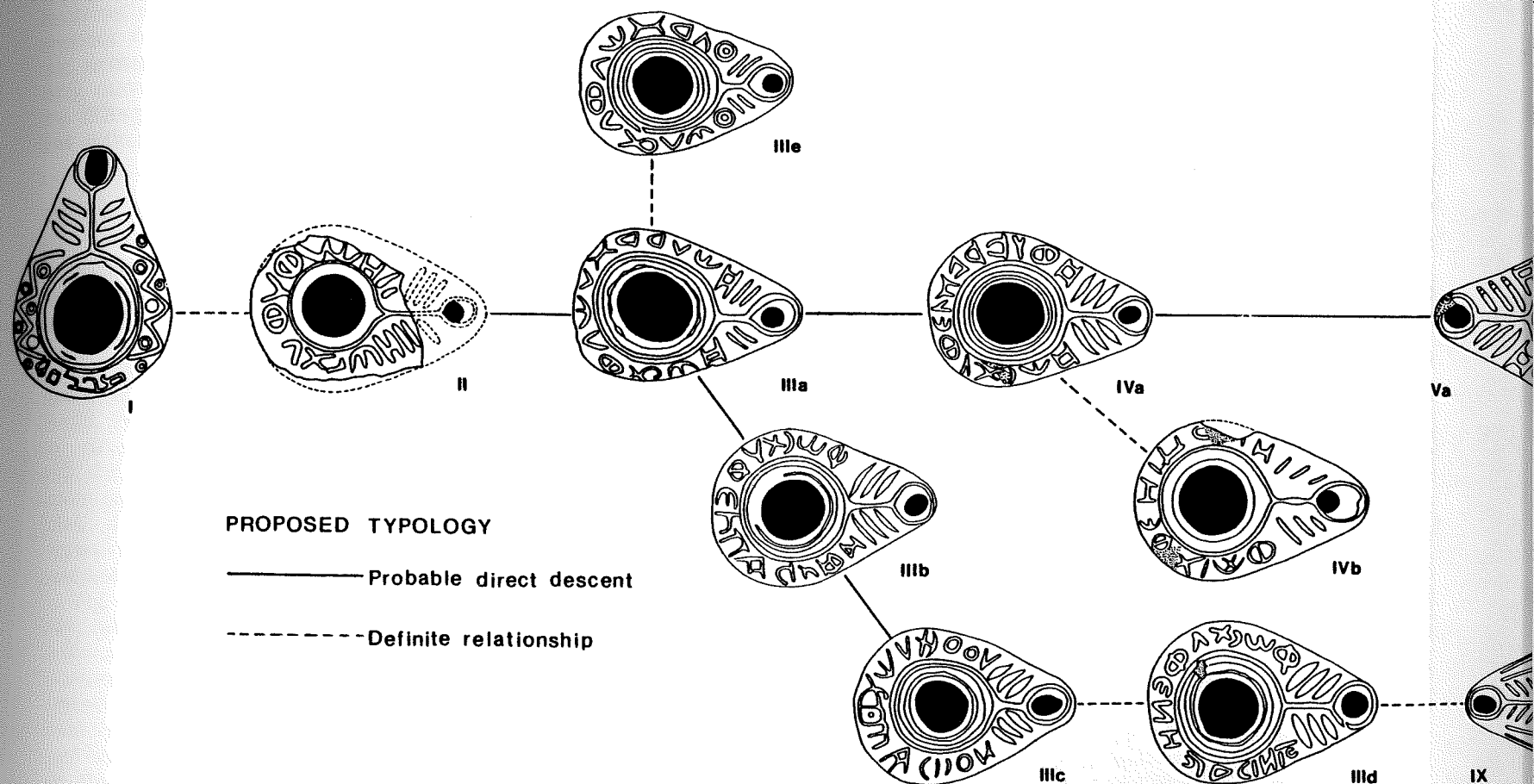
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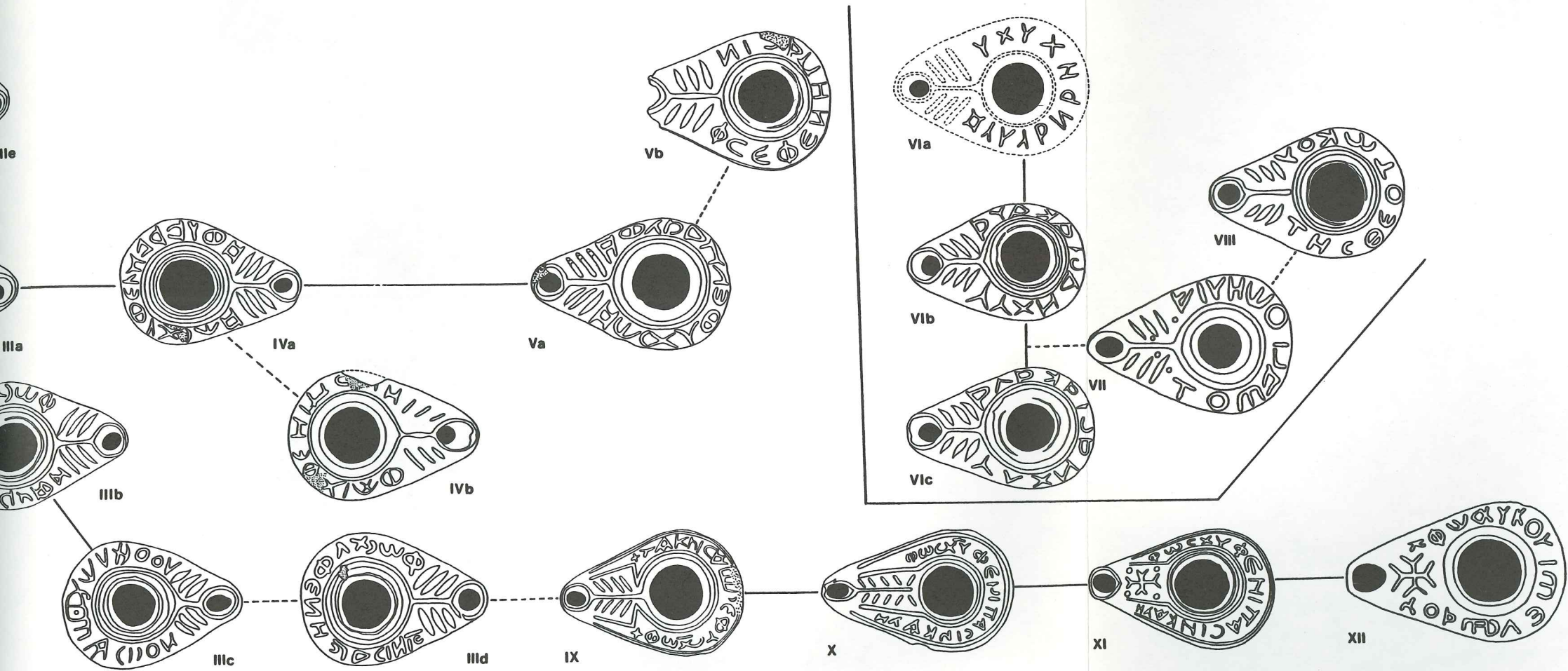
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(4) **Decorations on the nozzle.** The two common designs found on the nozzle are the candlestick and the Byzantine cross. The candlestick or menorah will change style in several ways. There is the very simple form with seven branches, or the branches may vary in number from five to eleven, some being connected to the center stem while others are not.<sup>1</sup> The candlestick may or may not be connected to the ring around the filling hole, and may also have a tripod base which has either curved or straight legs.<sup>2</sup> Partly because of

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<sup>1</sup>See, for menorahs depicted on lamps with more or less than seven branches, the following: Y. Aharoni, "Excavations at Ramat Rahel," *IEJ*, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 108, Fig. 4:1, for an eight-branched type, not connected to the wick hole; S. A. S. Hussein, "A Rock-cut Tomb-chamber at 'Ain Yabrud," *QDAP*, Vol. VI, No. 1, Pl. 7:2, 6, for the nine-branched type not connected to the wick or filling holes, and six-branched type not connected to the stem, or wick and filling holes; Kennedy, Pl. 26:658, 659, 702, three lamps each with nine branches; Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. III, eight-branched candlestick not connected with the ring surrounding the wick hole, Pl. 77:13; Pl. 104:1, 3 shows two lamps each with five unconnected branches, and Pl. 188:8, 4 and 3 give five, nine, and eleven branched types respectively; McCown, Vol. 1, Pl. 40:2, 41:12, 42:6, all eight-branched; Saller, *Bethany*, nine-branched types are seen on p. 53, Fig. 16:1, 4, and p. 54, Fig. 17:4, not connected to the wick hole; Sellers, p. 43, Fig. 5 shows one lamp with nine branches; Sellers and Baramki, five-branched type on p. 53, and the nine-branched type on pp. 48, 49, 51, 53; J. C. Wampler, *Tell en-Nasbeh*, Vol. 2, (New Haven, 1947), Vol. 2, Pl. 73:1666, ten-branched. Another type need only be mentioned here. It is an eight-branched palm-menorah not connected to the wick hole, but there is a circle connected at the top of the center stem. See McCown, Vol. I, Pl. 42:9, 14; and Wampler, Vol. 2, Pl. 73:1668.

<sup>2</sup>Aharoni, *IEJ*, p. 108, Fig. 14:1, tripod base with straight legs; Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 10:4, tripod with straight legs, and Fig. 25:1, curved legs not connected to the filling hole; G. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Fitzgerald, "Excavations



its varied style and partly because it is sometimes accompanied by a Christian inscription, this design is said to be a palm branch and not a candlestick or menorah. It is said that Christianity had too long been separated from Judaism to show any of the blending common in the Apostolic church.<sup>1</sup> The menorah, it is said, was not a Christian symbol and, being so Jewish, would not have been used on Christian lamps. The menorah was the symbol of light and light was the symbol of Christ. The menorah to the Jews was the symbol of the afterlife<sup>2</sup>--Christ was the future life. This problem is still not solved, and it is no more supportable to call the design a palm branch as it is to call it a menorah, for the following reasons. First, the fact that the design has more or less than seven branches is no proof that it is not Jewish. This has been pointed out by Goodenough:

The number of branches can by no means be taken as a criterion, for unmistakable menorahs have a varying number of branches. . . . I always feel that we are closer to rabbinic Judaism when the number is not seven, because of the rabbinic

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in the Tyropoeon Valley, Jerusalem," *APEF*, Vol. V, Pl. 17:31, 35, both have straight legs; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbolism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Vol. 3 (New York, 1953), Fig. 338, straight legs; R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations Against the North Wall, Jerusalem," *QDAP*, Vol. X (1940), Pl. 42, straight legs; Husseini, *QDAP*, Pls. 7:9 and 8:2-4, tripods with straight legs, not connected to the filling hole; Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. 3, Pl. 77:13, straight tripod legs not connected to the filling hole; Pl. 188:1 and 5, two examples of curved tripod legs, one not connected to the filling hole, while the other is connected; McCown, Vol. 1, Pl. 40:3, 6, straight legs; B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1969), Pl. 13, B4, straight legs; Sellers, p. 42, Fig. 1, curved legs not connected to the filling hole.

<sup>1</sup>See the discussion by Kennedy, pp. 83-85.

<sup>2</sup>W. Wirgin, "The Menorah as a Symbol of Afterlife," *IEJ*, Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2 (1964), pp. 102-104.

prohibition against reproducing articles from the Temple.<sup>1</sup>

Second, some of these, as has already been noted, have tripod bases. They are distinctive parts of the design on many menorahs, and cannot be considered parts of palm branches.<sup>2</sup> It may therefore be safe to strike a compromise and use the term which Goodenough applied to such designs, calling them "palm-menorahs." If a design shows merely branches, the term palm-menorah seems most suitable, but if the design contains a tripod base it seems to me that it should be called a menorah.

The Byzantine cross likewise shows style changes. It may be the ordinary type which consists of two intersecting bars with arms of equal length flaring at the ends.<sup>3</sup> Another type of cross is formed by four nearly equilateral triangles, whose apexes meet at the center without being connected.<sup>4</sup> Somewhat similar to

<sup>1</sup>Goodenough, Vol. 1, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup>For unmistakable Jewish menorahs see Goodenough, Vol. 3, Figs. 316, 334-337, 340, 345-347, 349, 923-928, 931, 934, 935; Mazar, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 13:B1.

<sup>3</sup>Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 26:9; J. W. Crowfoot; G. W. Crowfoot; and K. M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957), p. 375, Fig. 89:5; J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Fitzgerald, *APEF*, Pl. 17:24; Hamilton, *QDAP*, Pl. 42; Husseini, *QDAP*, Pl. 7:1, 3, 5, 7; Pl. 8:7, 10, No. 7, shows two crosses on each side of a palm-menorah; Kennedy, Pl. 25:631, 640; on No. 631 there are two crosses on each side of a nine-branched palm-menorah; Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. 3, Pls. 77:2, 3, 5, 14; 113:5; 118:12; McCown, Vol. 1, Pls. 40:8, 9, 11, 15; 41:7, 11, 14, 15-18; 42:3, 5, 7, 16, 17; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:3, 7-9; p. 54, Fig. 17:4, two palm-menorahs on each side of the cross; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, p. 50, Fig. 54; Wampler, Vol. 2, Pls. 72:1661, 1662; 73:1664, 1671, 1673, 1676.

<sup>4</sup>McCown, Vol. 1, Pls. 40:12, 13; 41:6; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:10; Wampler, Vol. 2, Pl. 73:1667, 1669.

this is a design consisting of a St. Andrew's cross made of double lines.<sup>1</sup> And the final of the four common design types consists of a cross of two intersecting bars of equal length with a single circle attached to the ends of the two bars.<sup>2</sup>

If we are to believe that the clear inscriptions preceded the distorted ones, in time, it would mean that the designs would change from a Byzantine cross (Groups XI-XII), to a menorah (Group X), and would end with a palm-menorah (Groups I to IX). This would seem strange. If these lamps are Christian as everyone believes, why would Christians give up the cross for a menorah or a palm-menorah on their lamps? But if we start with the distorted inscriptions first and work through to the clear, the design would change from the palm-menorah or menorah (Groups I to IX) to the Byzantine cross (Groups XI-XII).

(5) The development of the nature of the Church. If ignorance is not the reason for the distortion in the inscriptions, but rather, the secretive nature of the Church, this too must be an evidence for setting the typology. The *disciplina arcani*, or discipline of secrecy, so dominant in the early fourth century is the clearest explanation for the distortions of the texts. The start of the secrecy was during the time of Hippolytus, the height was reached in the fourth century, a slight decline in the fifth, the ending in the sixth, and by the seventh all remnants are gone, except in Constantinople (as seen in the writings of Maximus). The extent of this nature is illustrated by considering some of the prominent authors, their dates, and their spheres of influence:

|                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| AD 200 Tertullian      | North Africa |
| 215 Hippolytus         | Rome         |
| 350 Cyril of Jerusalem | Jerusalem    |

<sup>1</sup>Hamilton, *QDAP*, Pl. 42; Hussein, *QDAP*, Pl. 8:8; McCown, Vol. 1, Pls. 40:14, 20; 41:10.

<sup>2</sup>Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:14.

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|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 375 Apostolic Constitutions | Syria           |
| 383 Theodore of Mopsuestia  | Syria           |
| 384 Egeria                  | Jerusalem/Spain |
| 390 Ambrose                 | Milan           |
| 397 John Chrysostom         | Antioch         |
| 400 Augustine               | North Africa    |
| 500 John the Deacon         | Rome            |
| 630 Maximus the Confessor   | Constantinople  |

The end did not come abruptly; as the knowledge of Christianity spread, the secrecy faded. The reason for its continuance to the seventh century in the East has been suggested in the following way:

Perhaps it was Constantinople's foreign population of merchants, diplomats, and travellers--often from non-Christian nations--that explains the perpetuation of the catechumenate in the capital long after it had disappeared elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

For the most part, they began running out of adults, and with the start of infant baptism, the elaborate system of the discipline and instruction of candidates became meaningless. The two appropriate ends can be seen in ca. A.D. 200 with Tertullian, "... let them be made Christians when they have become competent to know Christ. . . . With no less reason ought the unmarried also to be delayed until they either marry or are firmly established in continence."<sup>2</sup> And on the other hand, John the Deacon of Rome who speaks exclusively of infant baptism by ca. A.D. 500.<sup>3</sup> He even expresses a lack of understanding as to why certain elements exist in the ceremony, the reason for initiatory rites which had applied to adults had by this time been lost.

With secrecy gone there was no reason to distort the texts any longer, slowly the inscriptions clear until

<sup>1</sup>Matthews, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Whitaker, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 154-158.



the addition of the Arabic which marked the end of the family. Even though Christianity was no longer persecuted after the rise of Constantine, paganism was by no means finished, the two co-existed for several centuries. It was not until the sixth century that Christianity gained dominance. With the invasion of Islam into Syria-Palestine in the seventh century, Christianity was no longer the dominant religion. Although tolerated by Islam, it was almost like the pre-Constantinian period, its character was changed to accommodate this for survival's sake.

*Dating.* Only a very few of these lamps can be accurately dated on the basis of the provenience as coming from well stratified excavations. Usually only general dates are given in reports, such as "5th or 6th century;" this provides little help to determine the sequence of the variations. At Ramat Rahel, inscribed as well as radiated-type lamps are dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>1</sup> At Tell Hesbân, two of the radiated-type lamps have been assigned specifically to the Umayyad period, 661-750.<sup>2</sup> The many lamps found in a tomb at el Bassa were dated to ca. 396, from coins that were found with them.<sup>3</sup> However, caution should be used with regard to this find as well as all other tombs, because they were often used for several centuries and the task of determining just what objects were placed in the tomb at the same time is often quite impossible. As to paleographical dating, some help comes from Jerash, by the many datable inscriptions discovered there. But again the closest dates arrived at are generalized to the fifth and sixth centu-

<sup>1</sup>See especially Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel* 1961-62.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. Sauer, *Heshbon Pottery 1971* (Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Monograph, 1973), pp. 41, 42, and Fig. 3:126, 127.

<sup>3</sup>J. H. Iliffe, "A Tomb at el Bassa of c. A.D. 396," *QDAP*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 81-91.

ries.<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations, four of which are represented on these lamps, are also datable. The most helpful of the four is IC, which has been given the earliest possible date of 524/533.<sup>2</sup> By this evidence, along with the previous discussion of the Syriac and Arabic, the safest time period which can be set for this family is from the early fourth to the early eighth centuries.

*Description of the Typological Chart.* Combining all of the above with several more features, the proposed Typological Chart will be seen as the most logical.

*Group I.* Nozzle pointing up with seven-branched menorah design, a single word in Syriac, read right to left.

*Group II.* Nozzle pointing to the right with seven-branched menorah, currently unreadable Greek text, probably all abbreviations, sometimes accompanied by the earliest form the symbol H.

*Group IIIa.* Nozzle pointing to the right with five-branched menorah, first intelligible Greek text, read right to left, clockwise, without turning the lamp. Contains one abbreviation (XY), and "open" phi in phos, which is split on each side of the nozzle, and a doubling of the small case alpha in pacin. The H symbol is used on each side of the menorah.

*Group IIIb.* Nozzle pointing to the right with seven-branched menorah. Intelligible Greek text read right to left, counter-clockwise, without turning the lamp. Contains one abbreviation (XY), and an added element at the end which is at present debatable in translation. The phi of phos is both open in some forms and closed in others. The nu of phenei is

<sup>1</sup>C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (New Haven, 1938), p. 336, Figs. 14 and 15.

<sup>2</sup>M. Avi-Yonah, "Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions," *QDAP* Supplement to Vol. IX, pp. 29 and 73.

shaped like a small h, the alpha is capitalized. The "flip" in reading direction begins here.

*Group IIIc.* Nozzle pointing to the right with seven-branched menorah. The Greek is read right to left, counter-clockwise, without turning the lamp. Most of the text is currently unreadable, especially the letter group  $\alpha\pi$ . The alpha is capitalized.

*Group IIIId.* Nozzle pointing right with seven-branched menorah. The Greek text is read from right to left, counter-clockwise, without turning the lamp. Two abbreviations are present ( $\overline{XY}$ ,  $\overline{IC}$ ). The nu is a capital that is reversed and there is a small case alpha. The pi is always in the unusual shape  $\pi$ .

*Group IIIe.* Nozzle pointing right with five-branched menorah. Highly distorted Greek text reading from right to left, clockwise. Contains one abbreviation ( $XY$ ). The symbol  $\mathbb{H}$  has been replaced by  $\odot$ . This Group seems to be current with Group IIIa (especially because of the number of branches in the menorah).

*Group IVa.* Nozzle pointing right with seven-branched menorah. The Greek text is distorted, but readable, containing one abbreviation ( $XY$ ). The text is read from right to left, clockwise, without turning the lamp. The symbol  $\mathbb{H}$  is used on each side of the menorah. The small case alpha is doubled in pasci and the word phos is split on each side of the nozzle. Seems to be in direct line with Group IIIa.

*Group IVb.* Nozzle pointing right with seven-branched menorah. The Greek inscription is read right to left, clockwise, without turning the lamp. Contains one abbreviation ( $XY$ ).

*Group Va.* Direction "flip." Nozzle pointing left with seven-branched menorah. The Greek inscription is read left to right, counter-clockwise, without turning the lamp. The symbol  $\mathbb{H}$  is on each side of the menorah. There is one abbreviation ( $XY$ ). There is a division of phos and a small case alpha.

*Group Vb.* Nozzle pointing left with seven-branched menorah. The Greek inscription is read left

to right, counter-clockwise, turning the lamp. The nu is reversed and the alpha is in the small case. This definitely becomes a dead end.

*Group VIa.* Nozzle pointing left with unknown-branched menorah. Contains a distorted, but readable Greek text, with the  $\mathbb{H}$  symbol at the beginning and on only one side. Reversible text, read left to right or right to left.

*Group VIb.* Nozzle pointing left with seven-branched menorah. A slightly distorted Greek text read left to right, counter-clockwise, turning the lamp. It contains an open rho, reversed nu, inverted upsilon, and small case alpha.

*Group VIc.* Nozzle pointing left with seven-branched menorah. A clear Greek text which is read from left to right, counter-clockwise, turning the lamp. The nu is reversed, the rho is open, the lambda is inverted, and the small case alpha is used.

*Group VII.* Nozzle pointing left with seven-branched menorah. The Greek text is read from left to right, counter-clockwise, turning the lamp. It uses an inverted omega in place of an upsilon, and the alpha is in the small case.

*Group VIII.* Nozzle pointing left with seven-branched menorah. A clear Greek inscription read from left to right, counter-clockwise, turning the lamp. An inverted omega has been used in place of omicron and there is an inverted upsilon.

*Group IX.* At the "flip" point. Nozzle pointing left with a nine-branched menorah. A readable Greek text, left to right, counter-clockwise, without turning the lamp. One abbreviation is used ( $\overline{XY}$ ). The pi has four "legs." Like Group X, it has more than seven branches in the menorah. There is a small cross at the end of the inscription.

*Group X.* Nozzle pointing left with nine-branched menorah which has a tripod base. A clear Greek inscription read left to right, clockwise, without turning the lamp. It contains one abbreviation ( $\overline{XY}$ ).