

*A Favissa of a Phoenician Sanctuary from Tel Dor**

EPHRAIM STERN

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM

I

In his article "Symbols of Deities at Zinjirly, Carthage and Hazor", Y. Yadin has pointed out the continuity between the Canaanite and Phoenician cult and tried to trace back some of the symbols of Phoenician iconography.¹ In the following discussion we intend to deal with some additional aspects of the Phoenician cult as they appear in our dig at Tel Dor.

During the first — 1980 — season of excavation at this coastal site,² we uncovered, in a Persian period stratum, an assemblage of clay figurines, and also two portions of limestone statuettes, which should be interpreted as the remains of a *favissa* of a nearby sanctuary.³

The *favissa* was discovered in Area B, named by us the "gates area" because at this point a natural break occurs in the steep *glacis* encircling the mound. Indeed, in this area defence walls and gates from three periods were discovered: Roman, Hellenistic and Persian (Fig. 1).

In the area of the *favissa* (see plan on Fig. 1), a section of the Hellenistic

* For Abbreviations, see p. 47.

¹ Y. Yadin, in J. A. Sanders (ed.), *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*, New York 1970, 199-231.

² The excavations at Tel Dor are being conducted by the present writer on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University and the Israel Exploration Society, with the participation of the Universities of Boston, New York and Sacramento.

³ Many *favissae* of the same period discovered along the Israeli coast have contained heterogeneous assemblages of clay figurines and stone statuettes: cf. *Beth-Shan*, 130-31, Fig. 116; *Makmish*; *Lachish III*, Pl. 33; *Areini*; *Bliss-Macalister* (1902), 146, Pl. 75; *idem*, *PEFQST* (1899), Pl. opp. p. 328; *Šippor*; *Gaza*; *Beer-Sheba*. Two additional unpublished *favissae* are known, one in Eliachin in the Sharon Plain and the other at Yabneh on the Philistine coast. Mention should also be made here of a wreck off the coast of Shave-Zion containing a hoard of figurines (cf. *Shave-Zion*). Others have been discovered along the Phoenician coast. Cf. *Amrit I*; *II*; *Sidon* and *Kharayeb I*, *II*.

More statuettes and figurines have been uncovered in strata and tombs of the Persian period in sites mostly also located along the Israeli-Phoenician coast. Others have been recovered from the sea. Cf. *Al-Mina*, 164, no. 7; 167-8, nos. 78, 130; *Sukas*, *passim*; *Sarepta*, Pls. 42, 46; *Tyre*; *Shave-Zion*; *T.A.H.*, Figs. 10, 25-26; *Akhziv* (*RB* 67 [1960], Pl. 25:B; and *Tyre*, 35, n. 3; Pls. I:A, V:C); *Tel Megadim*; *Mevorakh*, Pl. 42; *Jemmeh*, Pl. XV. All these assemblages are characterized by heterogeneous types which include mainly clay figurines of two different styles: eastern (Phoenician, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Persian, etc.) and western (mainly Greek), as well as stone statuettes mostly Cypriot in origin, with a few Egyptian or made locally. Most of the figurines were thrown into the *favissae* after being deliberately broken.

city wall (W-247) has been uncovered. Its width here was c. 3.5 m., but needless to say only the lowest course of sandstone masonry, above a base of field stones, has been preserved. In front and to the east of it, at a distance of about 1 m., the remains of a city wall from the Persian period were found (W-244). This wall, 2 m. wide, was built of large limestone boulders. In the narrow space between these two walls, about 1 m. in length and 0.6 m. wide (*locus* no. 228), we came upon four intact clay figurines and the sherds of another fifteen (Pl. 1A). In the course of the dig, we came upon additional broken figurines and limestone statuettes spread about in the surrounding ground (*loci* nos. 233, 207, 244 and 300; cf. plan on Fig. 1). They doubtless all derived from one and the same *favissa* from which they were scattered when the Hellenistic wall-system was erected. In one case at least, two sherds, one from *locus* 233 and the other from *locus* 288, proved when mended to be parts of the same figurine.

It may therefore be assumed that in this area inside the city wall of the Persian period, and near the city gate of the same era, a sanctuary stood which was completely razed during the Hellenistic age when the fortifications were rebuilt. Only one section of its *favissa*, cut deep into the earth, was preserved in the small space remaining between the two walls. Possibly, the main part of the *favissa* is still concealed below the Hellenistic wall (W-247) to the west. We hope to uncover the rest in the coming seasons.

Turning to the various types of figurines and statuettes from Dor and their analogies in other sites, we shall first discuss the eastern style clay figurines, males and females, then those of western style, males, females and boys; and finally the stone statuettes. Not all the finds are illustrated in the accompanying plates because some are represented by more than one example. However, reference will be made to the total number of each type. It should be added that since many small sherds could not be repaired, it is possible that the repertory of types in the *favissa* was actually larger.

II. The eastern group

Nos. 1-2 (reg. nos. 2683/2 & 2687 + 2582/1; Pl. I: 1-2). The two figurines represent a bearded man with a large moustache. He is seated on a chair, wrapped in a cloak, and is fondling his beard. A distinctive feature of this type is the flat round head-dress. The figurines are hollow, moulded in front, and their backs are sealed with smooth strips of clay. According to an identical unpublished specimen from Appolonia, it seems that they were also ornamented with paint.⁴

Of no. 1 (Pl. I: 1), only the head and shoulders and the hand fondling the

⁴ Cf. for example the decorated figurine of a horseman in Stern (1973), 168, Fig. 282.

beard have been preserved. Of no. 2 (Pl. I: 2), we possess the seated body, the chair and the two hands, one resting on the knee and the other holding the beard. Two additional specimens of this type were found (reg. nos. 2213/5 and 2283/5, not illustrated here).

Two of these figurines (including no. 1) were found in *locus* 228; no. 2 was repaired from sherds discovered in *loci* 228 and 233. The fourth head was uncovered in *locus* 207.

This type is well known from various *favissae* in two forms. The more common is the figure seated in a chair;⁵ the second, of which we have only a few examples, depicts him standing.⁶

The study of the distribution of this type, in both forms, shows that as far as is known at present it is confined to the Phoenician and Israeli coast, which supports the theory of N. Avigad that it should be considered a Phoenician product.⁷ Others (e.g., M. Chéhab) tend to identify the head-dress as Persian. It seems, however, to occur frequently on Phoenician reliefs of the Persian period, and represents the typical Phoenician head-dress of the time.⁸ On the other hand, the Persian head-covering of the period is very familiar from the reliefs of Persepolis as well as from figurines found in Syria and Israel.⁹

Figurines of this type have been dated by almost all the excavators to the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. M. Chéhab believes them to date from close to the days of Alexander the Great, i.e., around 330 B.C.¹⁰ The evidence for this is not clear, and we agree with A. Ciasca who notes that this date should be considered as a *terminus ad quem*. She herself tends to attributed the figurines to the fifth century B.C. because of their occurrence in assemblage no. 522 at Lachish together with "Persian bowls", but taking all the available data into account, including the date of the "Persian bowls" themselves, it would appear that they should not be confined to the fifth century alone.¹¹

For an interpretation of the figure we can turn to the finds at Sukas and Kharayeb. At Sukas, two portions of similar figurines were found, one made of clay and the other of limestone. On the clay figurine, P. J. Riis has

⁵ Cf. *Beth-Shan*, Fig. 116: 1,3; *Makmish*, Pl. 10:B; *Sippor*, Pl. 11:65-66; *Lachish* III, 378, Pl. 33:7, 17-19; *Bliss-Macalister* (1902), 29, 141, Fig. 53 (centre); *Kharayeb* I, Pl. 8:2-4; *Sukas*, 40, Figs. 122-125.

⁶ *Areini*, 46-47; Pl. 16, type 3A; *Beer-Sheba*, Pl. 18:1.

⁷ *Makmish*, 93.

⁸ Cf. M. Dunand, *BMB* 5 (1941), Pl. 5; *Omm El-'Amed*, Pls. 77; 78:1; 79: 3; 81:1.

⁹ Cf. for example R. Ghirshman, *Persia*, London 1964, 351, Fig. 447; *Stern* (1973), 166, Fig. 279 (from *Makmish*); 167, Fig. 280; *Kharayeb* I, Pl. 8:5.

¹⁰ *Kharayeb* I, 155, 160; cf. *Sukas*, 40, where P. J. Riis even suggests an "early classical date".

¹¹ *Areini*, 53-4; 59.

observed "an angular ridge on the chest which may indicate the forelegs of an animal-skin tied together". In the case of a smaller fragment of another figurine made from the same mould but not found *in situ*, "only the torso with the lower part of the beard, the chest and the thick belly was preserved and here the crosswise placed animal's legs, probably of a cloven footed species, seem certain".¹² Riis is of the opinion that this is the combined figure of Heracles and Bes.¹³

As will be seen in connection with the limestone statuettes, the cult of Heracles was quite common in Phoenician sanctuaries, where he was identified with Ba'al Melqart, the chief deity of Tyre.¹⁴

It should be noted that in the same *favissae* listed above, clay figurines of a very similar type have been found, i.e. of a male god sitting in a chair and fondling his beard. But, in these, he wears an Egyptian head-dress, that of Osiris.¹⁵

The next group of eastern figurines (nos. 3-5; Pl. I: 3; II: 4-5) consists of female goddesses in three variants: holding the breasts, pregnant and nursing a child.

No. 3 (reg. no. 2283/6; Pl. I: 3) is merely a sherd from the front of a clay figurine representing, in our opinion, a seated woman holding her breasts (only one hand has survived). The figurine is hollow, moulded in front, and the back is missing. It was discovered in *locus* 228.

Many similar figurines have been found in Israel, in Phoenician sanctuaries and *favissae*. Some are naked, others are draped; some stand, others are seated.¹⁶ They are common also along the Phoenician coast¹⁷ and in the Punic settlements of the western Mediterranean¹⁸ and can safely be regarded as in direct continuation of similar fertility goddesses popular in the Israelite, and even the Canaanite, periods¹⁹ throughout the region. They differ from their predecessors mainly in their new technique. Instead of being solid and made by hand, with only the head formed in a mould, they are altogether hollow and mould-made.

No. 4 (reg. no. 2281; Pl. II: 4) depicts a standing pregnant woman, her right hand resting on her swollen belly and the left hanging down by her

¹² Sukas, 40.

¹³ Cf. P. J. Riis, *AAS* 11-12 (1961-62), 143.

¹⁴ On the cult of Heracles-Melqart cf. *Gaza*, 106; *Sukas*, 66-68.

¹⁵ Cf. for example: *Makmish*, Pls. 9:b, 10:a; *Sippor*, Pl. 9:67-75; *Kharayeb I*, Pl. 7:2; II, Pl. 10:4; 14:3.

¹⁶ Cf. *Shave-Zion*, Figs on pp. 184-185; *Beth-Shan*, Fig. 116:6; *Stern* (1973), 168, Fig. 283:3-5 (from Tel Megadim and Tel e-Safi); *Sippor*, Pls. 3:11; 4:8; 5:15.

¹⁷ *Kharayeb I*, Pl. 2:2; II, Pl. 7:1-3; *Sarepta*, Fig. 46:2; *Tyre*, Pls. II-IV.

¹⁸ Cf. for example *Moscatti* (1973), Pl. 67.

¹⁹ J. B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known Through Literature*, New Haven, 1943.

side. The head is covered with an Egyptian veil. The figurine is hollow, moulded in front and smoothed behind. It was found intact in *locus* 228 (see Pl. 1A). Another intact figurine was discovered in the same *locus*, of an identical type but made from a different mould (reg. no. 2282), and also fragments of three others (reg. nos. 2283/1-3) not appearing in our plates.

The pregnant woman, either standing or seated, and wearing an Egyptian veil, is also a common find in Phoenician sanctuaries, *favissae* and even tombs of the Persian period. Sometimes she is depicted naked, sometimes, as in our case, clothed. Part of a larger group representing fertility goddesses, many such figurines have been found along the coasts of Israel²⁰ and Phoenicia,²¹ as well as in Phoenician settlements in Cyprus²² and as far away as Carthage.²³ Study of the dates attributed to them by the various excavators shows that they should be assigned to the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. Their Phoenician origin is attested by their very distribution.

No. 5 (reg. no. 2280; Pl. II: 5) is a woman carrying a child on her left arm, while her right hand rests on her swollen belly. The head is covered with an Egyptian veil. The figurine is hollow, moulded in front and smoothed at the back. It was found in *locus* 228. In general, it closely resembles No. 4, except for the child, and would seem to be a first figurine of the type representing the otherwise common motif of mother and child found in Israel. All other such hollow mother and child figurines found to date are draped in a Greek *chiton* (and see below).

But these mother and child figurines, in the eastern style, are well known from sanctuaries, *favissae* and strata of the Persian period in Israel and in neighbouring countries. Usually they appear in two variants a little different from our own. In one, the mother carries the child in her arms; in the other, she holds it on her shoulder. The first type usually takes the form of a hollow plaque; the second is a solid figurine. Until now, only a few figurines of the first type have been found in Israel,²⁴ whereas the second is much more common.²⁵ It is difficult to establish their origin, but N. Avigad is probably correct in considering the mother and child figurine from

²⁰ Cf. *RB* 67 (1960), Pl. 25:B; *Tyre*, 35, n. 3; Pls. I:A, V:C (from Akhziv): *T.A.H.*, 16-17, nos. 25-26; *Beth-Shan*, Fig. 116:4,7; *Stern* (1973), 169, Fig. 284:5 (from Tel Megadim); *Mevorakh*, Pl. 42:3 (solid).

²¹ *Amrit* II, Pl. 29:90; *Kharayeb* I, Pl. 2:1; II, Pls. 7:4, 8:1-2; *Sarepta*, Figs. 42:1; 46:1-2; E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris 1864, 55, Pl. 24:1; *Tyre*, Pls. II-IV.

²² *Breitenstein* (1941), Pl. 5:42-43.

²³ Cf. *Cintas* (1970), Pl. 13.

²⁴ *Sippor*, Pl. 1:2; *Beer-Sheba*, Pl. 19:3.

²⁵ *Bliss-Macalister* (1902), 138, Pl. 70:7; *Areini*, 45-46, 50-51, Pl. 15:1,3; *Sippor*, Pl. 1:1; *Lachish* III, Pl. 33:15; *Beer-Sheba*, Pl. 19:1-2; and cf. *Areini*, 56, for four additional figurines (unpublished).

Makmish to be a continuation of a local Canaanite tradition.²⁶

These two types, as well as that from Dor, are to be dated to the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. A. Ciasca has tried to limit the date of the second to the fifth century, relying on the date of analogous figurines from the Aegean Islands. We believe, however, that these others are not identical with ours.²⁷

On the identification of these figurines see below. It should be mentioned here that the mother and child figurines referred to above were all found along the coasts of Israel and Phoenicia, in the same sites containing the western style mother and child figurines.

III. The western group

No. 6 (reg. no. 2508; Pl. III: 6) was also recovered in area B, but in *locus* 290, about 10 m. west of *locus* 228. It is attributed here to the *favissa* of *locus* 228 on the grounds that similar types have appeared in the *favissae* of the Persian period in other sites. This is a solid clay head, moulded in front and smooth at the back, depicting a bearded male wearing a Greek helmet. The style is quite archaic and something of the well-known "archaic smile" can be detected.

Figurines of male warriors, in eastern or western styles, are frequent in *favissae* of the Persian period. The eastern style is chiefly represented by horsemen wearing the typical Persian head-dress, which also covers part of their faces,²⁸ or by horsemen made in the local tradition already in the Israelite period.²⁹

Of the Greek variants it is mostly the heads that are preserved.³⁰ It is therefore impossible to determine whether they depict horsemen or infantrymen or both. On the meaning of the warrior deity, see below.³¹

²⁶ *Makmish*, 93; additional figurines of the mother and child type in diverse variants have been found in Israel and also in Phoenicia in strata of the Israelite period; cf. for example *Beth-Shan*, Fig. 111:6.

²⁷ Ciasca and Negbi point to many additional analogous mother and child figurines from western Anatolia, Rhodes, Cyprus and Greece, and believe that they originate in Rhodes (cf. *Areini*, 51; *Šippor*, 5, n. 42). Study of these objects would seem however to indicate that their resemblance to our own is very small. Only the mother and child motif itself, which is one of the most common in the entire ancient Near East, is analogous. In detail, the western figurines are entirely different.

²⁸ Cf. *Stern* (1973), 166, Fig. 279; 167, Fig. 280; *Lachish III*, 378, Pl. 33: 1, 4-5; *Areini*, 56-58, Pl. 19:3-4; *Šippor*, Pl. 13:92; *Beer-Sheba*, Pl. 18:1-3; *Bliss-Macalister* (1902), 39, 138.

²⁹ *Stern* (1973), 168, Figs. 281-282; *Šippor*, Pl. 13:85.

³⁰ Cf. *Bliss-Macalister* (1902), 40, Fig. 14 (on right). A similar head was discovered in Memphis, Egypt (*Memphis I*, Pl. 36:16). Petrie identified him as "the Persian king", but as has been observed there is no resemblance between his helmet and the Persian head-dress. Cf. also *Šippor*, Pl. 12:83; *Sarepta*, Fig. 56:6; *Kharayeb II*, Pls. 15:2-3; 16-4.

³¹ On this, cf. G. M. A. Hanfman, "A Near Eastern Horseman", *Syria* 38 (1961), 243-245.

At Dor we have also found four fragments of female figurines in the western style. No. 7 (reg. no. 2444; Pl. III: 7) was found in *locus* 244; no. 8 (reg. no. 2283/4; Pl. III: 8), in *locus* 228. Both fragments show only the lower part of a standing female, one probably naked, the other wrapped in a *chiton*. No. 9 (reg. no. 2536; Pl. IV: 9) was found in *locus* 305 (cf. Fig. 1) and represents only the upper part of a woman's torso. No. 10 (reg. no. 2683/1; Pl. IV: 10) also comes from *locus* 228 and depicts only a head.

These four fragments are all of hollow figurines, moulded in front and smooth at the back, and all belong to the fertility goddess type, usually found naked, or dressed in a Greek *chiton*, a garment which does not cover the entire body. A few of these figurines are purely Greek in style; in others, the clothing is Greek but the figure eastern. They appear in the three familiar gestures: holding their breasts, pregnant or nursing a child.

Along the Israeli and Phoenician coasts, many similar figurines have been found, some intact and some only in fragments,³² as well as many heads differing from one another in regard to details of hair-style and head-dress.³³ Another type, missing from our own assemblage, shows a female seated on a throne.³⁴

No. 11 (reg. no. 2674; Pl. IV: 11), found almost intact in *locus* 228, is much smaller than the rest and shows a naked woman with a swollen belly and drooping breasts, seated with legs apart and smiling. To the best of our knowledge, this figurine is unique in *favissae* of the Persian period in Israel, but two similar, though not identical, figurines have been found in the *favissa* of Kharayeb on the Phoenician coast. Here, too, the image (only one was actually published) is of a female with protruding belly seated with her legs apart, one hand on her knee and the other pointing to her genitals.³⁵ M. Chéhab identifies this as "Baubo", according to one interpretation a "female demon of an obscene character, doubtless originally a personification of the *Cunnus*".³⁶ She has been thought to have played a

³² Especially similar are two female figurines found at Makmish, one holding her breasts, the other carrying a child (*ibid.* Pls. 10:C, 11:C). Cf. also *Shave-Zion*, Figs. on pp. 184, 186; *Mevorakh*, 42, Pl. 42:4-5 (lower part too); *Šippor*, Pls. 3:7, 9; 4-10. See also *Kharayeb* I, Pl. 37, for figurines in pure Greek style of the mother and child type.

³³ Cf. *Stern* (1973), 174, Fig. 290; *Mevorakh*, 42, Pl. 42:1-2; *Lachish III*, Pls. 32:1; 33:6, 10-12, 14; *Šippor*, Pls. 6:27; 7; 8:41; *Bliss-Macalister* (1902), 40, Fig. 14; *Kharayeb* II, Pl. 3:1. Similar female heads are also represented among the stone statuettes; cf. for example, *Bliss-Macalister* (1902) Pl. 75; *Gaza*, Pl. 19:C-D.

³⁴ Cf. for example *Stern* (1973), 173, Fig. 289:3-4.

³⁵ *Kharayeb* I, 32, 122, 136; Pl. 30:4 (nos. 216-17).

³⁶ Cf. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1978, 163 (containing also additional bibliography).

part in the Eleusian mysteries. More figurines of the same type have turned up in the sanctuary of Priene in western Anatolia.³⁷ Margarete Bieber believes them to "have been influenced by Alexandrine grotesques".³⁸

It seems possible that this Greek-type figurine was adopted by the Phoenician cult as a representation of the sacred prostitution practised in sanctuaries both in the east and the west.³⁹

In the *favissa* of Dor, two figurines in the western style showing boys were also found (nos. 12 and 13; Pl. V: 12, 13). No. 12 shows a lad wearing a long *chiton* and *haemition*; No. 13 is part of a figurine of the type often called the "temple-boy". In No. 12 (reg. no. 2283/7) only the lower part of the body is preserved; the head and shoulders are missing. The figurine is hollow, moulded in front and smooth at the back. It was discovered in *locus* 228.

Figurines in the Greek style of children and boys, sometimes naked and sometimes clothed, occur frequently in the *favissae* of the Persian and Hellenistic periods along the Israeli and Phoenician coasts. An impressive group was discovered in the *favissa* of Kharayeb, where several dozens of them were attested in varying forms: standing, studying, playing with animals, singing, dancing, etc.⁴⁰ Some are identical to our piece.⁴¹ Only a few can safely be identified with Horus-Harpocrates, since they carry the god's symbols.⁴² On the role of Horus-Harpocrates in the Phoenician cult, see below.

The same identification should be made in the case of No. 13 (reg. no. 2658; Pl. V: 13), also discovered in *locus* 228. Although merely a small fragment, there is no doubt as to its restoration. In Fig. 2 our sherd is illustrated over the background of an identical stone statuette from Tel Šippor⁴³ and they fit perfectly. This figurine represents a naked young boy, seated and usually leaning on one hand, of the type often called the "temple boy". It was, we believe, moulded in front and smooth behind. The "temple boy" figurines are among the most common finds in sanctuaries, *favissae*, and even tombs, of the Persian and Hellenistic periods along the

³⁷ T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-98*, Berlin 1904, 161, Figs. 149-156.

³⁸ M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1967, 105.

³⁹ *Samaria II*, 29, n. 8; Gilbert and Collette Charles-Picard, *La Vie Quotidienne à Carthage au temps d'Hannibal*, Paris 1958, 72-73.

⁴⁰ Kharayeb I, Pls. 36-93; II, Pls. 3-5; Tyre, Pl. VI.

⁴¹ Kharayeb I, Pls. 69:1-2; 70:2; 71:1; 72.

⁴² Kharayeb I, Pls. 3-5, cf. especially with Pl. 3:2-3.

⁴³ Cf. Šippor, Pl. 15:116. The same site also produced a sherd of a clay figurine of a smaller type; *ibid.*, Pl. 12:76.

Israeli coast⁴⁴ and the shores of Phoenicia and Cyprus.⁴⁵ They were also popular in the Greek and Punic worlds. Many theories are current concerning their role in the Phoenician cult.⁴⁶ Recent finds however indicate that they too should be regarded as representations of Horus-Harpocrates⁴⁷ (and see below).

IV. The Cypriot stone statuettes

The *favissa* of Dor also contained two fragments of limestone statuettes. No. 14 (reg. no. 2344; Pl. V: 14) shows the torso of a male draped in a *chiton* tied with a belt. The head, legs and a hand are missing. It was found in *locus* 244 (see Fig. 1) above the remains of the Persian city wall (W-244) and may possibly have been used as a building-stone in the wall during the Hellenistic period. The height of the fragment is 0.35 m. As a rule, this type of sculpture has only the front fully worked whereas the back is left smooth, but exceptionally in our specimen some details were added also to the back.

No. 15 (reg. no. 2613; Pl. V: 15) is again the lower part of another limestone statuette of which only the square stand and the two feet have survived. Found in *locus* 300, not *in situ* but at a small distance east of the same Persian wall (see Fig. 1), it belongs to a larger statuette than No. 14.

These two are also types commonly represented in the assemblages discovered along the Phoenician⁴⁸ and Israeli coasts.⁴⁹ In most cases they were discovered within the enclosures of sanctuaries or in the *favissae* attached to them. A few were found also in residential houses. The main source of this sort of sculpture is, however, Cyprus, where large quantities

⁴⁴ *Šippor*, Pls. 12:76,80; 15:116 (stone); cf. *ibid.*, 18 and 76 for the bibliography of the finds in Greece. An intact clay figurine of a "temple boy" was recently discovered in a tomb at Merhavia in the Jezreel Valley (cf. N. Zori, *The Land of Issachar, Archaeological Survey*, Jerusalem 1977 (Hebrew), Pl. 15:3. The boy holds his hand in his mouth in the gesture typically attributed to Horus-Harpocrates.

⁴⁵ *Sukas*, 36, Figs. 104-05; 51, Fig. 164; *Sidon*, Pl. 10:1; *Kharayeb* I, Pls. 50:2; 53; 56:3-4; *SCE* III, 36, no. 223; Pl. 35:5; and especially 42, no. 359; Pl. 159:5. D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, London 1963, 316, Pl. 102.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Westholm, 'The Cypriot "Temple Boys"', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 2 (1955), 75-77. M. Dunand, 'La statuaire de la favissa du temple d' Echmoun à Sidon' in A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch (eds.), *Archäologie und Altes Testament, Festschrift für Kurt Galling*, Tübingen, 1970, 61-67; *Sukas*, 36-37.

⁴⁷ Cf. P. Jean Ferron, 'La inscription Carteginesa en el Apocrates madrilenos', *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 28 (N.S.) (1971), 359-384; *idem*, 'El niño Horus en las estelas votivas de Cartago' in *Homenaje a García Bellido*, I, Madrid 1976, 113-126.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Al-Mina*, 164, no. 7; 167-68, nos. 78, 130; *Amrit* I, Pls. 14-29; II, Pls. 30-42; *Sukas*, 35, Figs. 99-102; 36, Figs. 104-05; 41, Fig. 139; 51, Fig. 164; *Byblos*, Pl. 42, nos. 1361, 1888; *Sidon*, Pls. 8,10,15; *Kharayeb* II, Pl. 17:2.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Eliachin* (*Stern* (1973), 20, Fig. 21; 162-64); *Makmish*, Pls. 9:C; 12:B-C; *Tell e-Safi* (*Bliss-Macalister* (1902), 146, Pl. 75); *idem*, *PEFQST* (1899), 196, Pl. opp. p. 328; *Šippor*, Pls. 15-16; *Areini*, Pls. 21-23; *Jemmeh*, Pl. 15:8; *Gaza*, Pls. 19-20.

of similar limestone statuettes have been discovered at Kition, Vouni, Arsos, Mersinaki and elsewhere.⁵⁰ Indeed, it is now generally accepted that the island is their place of origin.⁵¹ Moreover, the Swedish Cyprus expedition was able to distinguish detailed stylistic groups belonging to clearly delineated time-spans as follows:⁵²

1. the Archaic Cypro-Greek Style
2. the Sub-Archaic I Cypro-Greek Style
3. the Sub-Archaic II Cypro-Greek Style

These three general stylistic groups comprise different local styles:

	<i>Archaic</i>	<i>Sub-Archaic I</i>	<i>Sub-Archaic II</i>
Kition	II-III	IV	V
Vouni	I-II	III	IV
Mersinaki	I-II	III	IV
Arsos	V-VI	VII	—

As an example of the chronology of these local styles we may use the chronological division of Vouni,⁵³ according to which local styles I and II date to 500-450 B.C., style III to 450-400 B.C., and style IV to 400-380 B.C. Some of these groups were subdivided into A and B, as in style IV. This subdivision may theoretically yield dates which are even more specific.

It is difficult, because of the state of preservation of our two fragments, to compare them with finds from other groups and attribute to them accurate dates within the general chronological frame of this Cypriot style, i.e. 500-380 B.C. In Israel, we may compare no. 14 with the almost identical torsos from Eliachin, Makmish, Areini, Tell e-Safi and Tell Jemmeh,⁵⁴ and with others found along the Phoenician coast, e.g., at Amrit⁵⁵ and especially in Cyprus.⁵⁶ Our own impression is that the draped Greek

⁵⁰ SCE III, Pls. 7-26; 48-69; 191-93; 126-28; 133.

⁵¹ F. J. Bliss claimed already in 1902 that the stone statuettes from Tell e-Safi were "of a well known Cypriot type . . . dating to about 500 B.C." (*ibid*, 146). This is also the opinion of N. Avigad (*Makmish*, 94), A. Ciasca (*Areini*, 61), and O. Negbi (*Šippor*, 7). E. Gjerstad, who re-examined the finds from Tell e-Safi and Tell Jemmeh, has also concluded that they are all of Cypriot origin (SCE IV, 322-23). It should be noted that the statuette from Tel Jemmeh (*ibid*, Pl. 15:8) is the only one in Israel to derive from a clear stratigraphic layer, evidently of the fifth century B.C. The same picture emerges from an examination of the finds along the Phoenician coast (cf. *Gaza*, 104, n. 5).

⁵² Cf. SCE IV, 93, 119-24.

⁵³ Cf. SCE III, 286, 289.

⁵⁴ *Stern* (1973), 20, Fig. 21; *Makmish*, Pl. 12:B-C; *Areini*, Pl. 21; *Bliss-Macalister* (1902), Pl. 75; *Jemmeh*, Pl. 15:8.

⁵⁵ *Amrit* I, Pls. 25-29; II, Pls. 30-32.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* n. 50. But stone statuettes of other western styles were also found there; cf. for example, *Naveh-Stern* (1974).

garment of torso no. 14 demonstrates that it is somewhat more recent than the other statuettes, in which the cloth falls in straight lines. We feel that it should be dated to the later part of the period mentioned, i.e., to the very end of the fifth, or the beginning of the fourth, century B.C.

The feet and square limestone stand of no. 15 are regular features in this type of statuette found in Israel and Phoenicia and popular in most of its various styles,⁵⁷ but study of the Cypriot finds reveals that most of them belong to styles III-IV-V only, which again means that our piece should be assigned to the later part of the period.⁵⁸ Moreover, it closely resembles figurine no. 12 of our group (cf. Pl. V: 12 to Pl. V: 15).

The identification of statuette no. 14 is not easy to determine since so much is missing, but we suggest that it belongs to one of the two main types of male statuettes uncovered so far in Israel: one wearing a wreath,⁵⁹ and the other clothed in a lion-skin, a well-known attribute of Heracles. In the Phoenician cult, Heracles was identified with Ba'al Melqart, the chief deity of Phoenician Tyre.⁶⁰

V. Summary

From the many assemblages similar to that from Dor, discovered in sanctuaries or in *favissae* attached to them, we may safely deduce that the group from Dor itself forms part of the *favissa* of a sanctuary.

Study of the dates elsewhere attributed to the various figurines and statuettes clearly shows that they fall in the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. The Cypriot statuettes are perhaps the earliest (from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth century) and the figurines, especially the "Baubo" type, the more recent, from the end of the fourth century B.C.

The contents of the assemblage at Dor are similar to those from other *favissae* of the Persian period in this region and are distinguished by their heterogeneity. Three different sub-groups have been distinguished among them: figurines in an eastern style (nos. 1-5), figurines in a western style (nos. 6-13), and the two Cypriot limestone statuettes (nos. 14-15). This heterogeneity has been recognized and discussed by many scholars.⁶¹ N. Avigad, for instance, discerns in the Makmish finds Phoenician, Egyptian, Persian, Canaanite, Cypriot and Greek influences. He explains this

⁵⁷ Cf. Bliss-Macalister (1902), Pl. 75. A similar part of a pair of feet on a square stand was found in the Kharayeb sanctuary (*ibid.*, II, Pl. 17:2). *Amrit* II, Pl. 32:68.

⁵⁸ SCE III, Pls. 17:1-2; 23:2-3; 24:1; 27:1-3; 29:1-2; 32:2; 33:5-6; 34:2; 35:2; 60:2; 64:2-3; 66:4; 67; 68:3; 128:3-4; 133:1-5.

⁵⁹ Cf. for example: *Makmish*, Pl. 9.C; *Areini*, Pls. 22-23; Bliss-Macalister (1902), Pl. 75; *idem*, *PEFQST* (1899), Pl. opp. p. 328; *Gaza*, Pl. 19:a-b.

⁶⁰ Bliss-Macalister, Pl. 75 (top, second from left); *Gaza*, 106, Pl. 20.

⁶¹ See recently Stern (1973), ch. VI; *Gaza*, 106-07; *Sukas*, 67-68; *Kharayeb* II, 58.

phenomenon as typical of the sea-faring Phoenician people, who were mediators between various cultures.⁶² Similarly, A. Ciasca explains the existence of Greek and Cypriot elements in Israel and Phoenicia as a peripheral Hellenization which arrived through Cyprus and Phoenicia.⁶³ Another hypothesis which should be included in this connection is that of E. Gjerstad and P. J. Riis to the effect that some of the Cypriot statuettes of the period were made locally by Cypriot and Phoenician craftsmen.⁶⁴

Dor in the Persian period was definitely a Phoenician city. Apart from the nature of the material culture brought to light by the excavations, this is evident from two well-known historical records. The first is the inscription of Eshmun-'azar, king of Sidon in the late sixth or early fifth century B.C., attesting to the surrender of Dor to him by the Persian king.⁶⁵ The second is the later mid-fourth century source known as "Pseudo Skylax".⁶⁶

In regard to the interpretation of the figurines from the *favissa* at Dor, we may distinguish, taking into account also the contents of the other *favissae* already noted, three main types of deities which appear simultaneously in both the eastern and the western styles: an adult male (nos. 1, 2, 6, 14-15?); women representing fertility goddesses (holding their breasts, pregnant or carrying children: nos. 2-5, 7-10); and young boys (nos. 12-13) associated, according to various parallels, with the women. All this fits in very well with S. Moscati's observation concerning the Phoenician cult. "It seems evident," he writes, "that a triad of deities is common to all Phoenicia. This triad is composed of a protective god of the city, a goddess, often his wife or companion, who symbolizes the fertile earth, and a young god, somehow connected with the goddess (usually her son) whose resurrection expresses the annual cycle of vegetation. Within these limits the names and functions of the gods vary, and the fluidity of this pantheon, where the common name often prevails over the proper name, and the function over the personality, is characteristic. Another characteristic of the Phoenician triad is its flexibility from town to town."⁶⁷

In the absence of any identifying symbol on our figurines (of the kind occurring on those of Shavei Zion),⁶⁸ it is not possible to state whether the male deity at Dor represents Sidon's chief god Eshmun, Ba'al Melqart of Tyre, or someone else. The same is true of the fertility goddess. Is she

⁶² Makmish, 96.

⁶³ Areini, 61.

⁶⁴ Cf. Šippor, 9, n. 69; Makmish, 96; P. J. Riis, AAS 11-12 (1961-1962) 142-144.

⁶⁵ G. I. Cooke, *A Text Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, 30-40; Moscati (1973), 25; M. Dunand, BMB 18 (1965), 105-09.

⁶⁶ K. Galland, "Die syrische- palästinische Küste nach der Beschreibung bei Pseudo Skylax", ZDPV 61 (1938), 66-96.

⁶⁷ Moscati (1973), 62.

⁶⁸ Cf. Shavei Zion, 185, 186.

Ashtart, Tanit or perhaps Ba'alat Gebal? The boy, on the other hand, can be identified with more assurance as the son god Horus-Harpocrates, whose Phoenician name is still obscure.

The only exception in our assemblage is figurine no. 11 representing another aspect of the Phoenician fertility cult,*sacred prostitution.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ However, the few pointers to the presence of the figure of Heracles in the *favissa* of Dor may indicate a Tyrian rather than a Sidonian cult. This should cause no surprise. It is known that during the Persian period Tyrians and Sidonians inhabited the same towns along the coast of Israel (cf. Ezra 3:7). For recent debate on the identifications of these figurines see *Kharayeb I*, *passim*; II, 58; Tyre; J. B. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City*, Princeton 1978, 147-48; *Shave-Zion*; W. Culican, "Problems of Phoenicio-Punic Iconography", *The Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1 (1970), 28-57.

*Abbreviations

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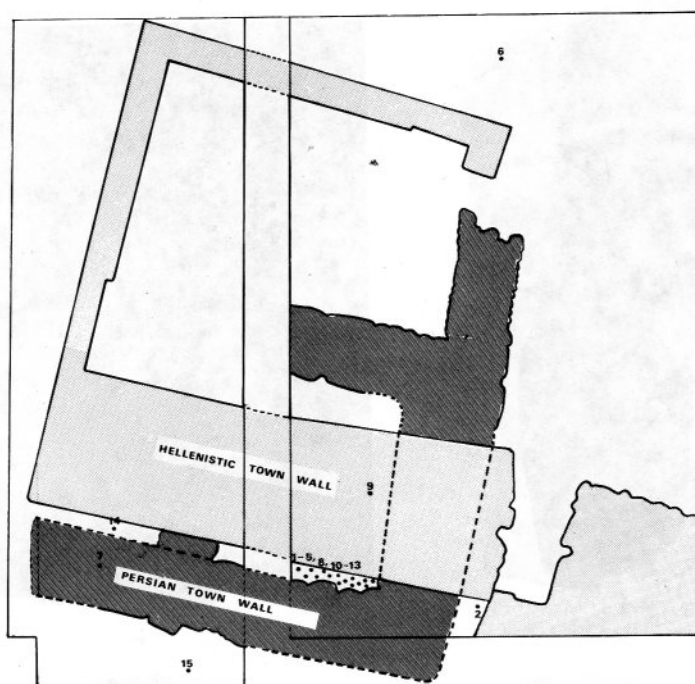


Fig. 1. Schematic plan of the *favissa* and its surroundings in area B at Tel Dor. The numbers indicate the places where the figurines were found.

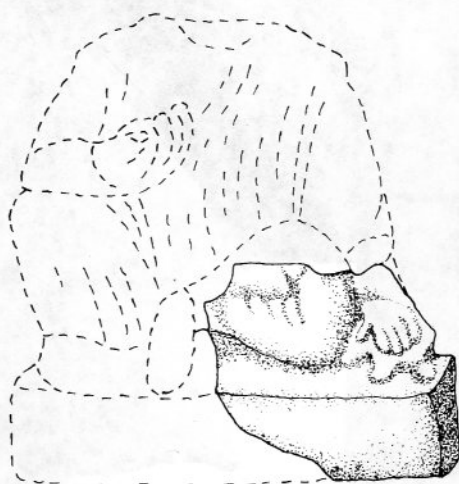


Fig. 2. Figurine of "temple boy" from Dor on background of a similar statuette from Tel Şippor.



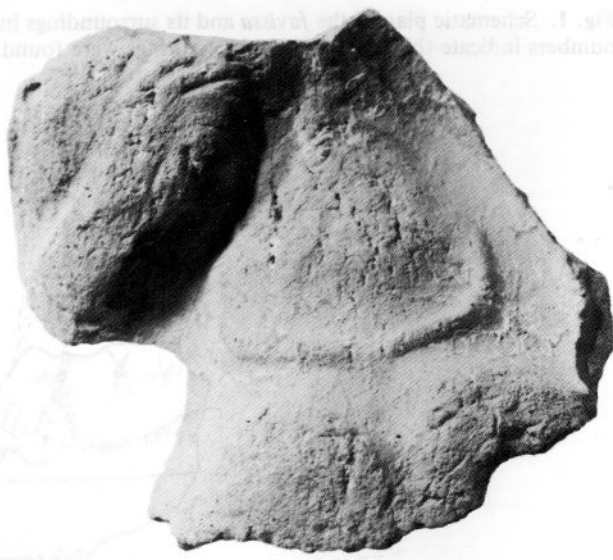
1



1a



2



3

Plate I



4



4a



5



5a

Plate II



6



7



8

Plate III



9



10



11



11a

Plate IV



12



13



14



15

Plate V