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HELLENISTIC DISCOVERIES AT TEL DOR, ISRAEL

ABSTRACT

This article is a preliminary publication of a series of finds made in 2000 at Tel Dor, Israel, during excavations sponsored jointly by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of California at Berkeley. A limestone Nike and a group of architectural fragments are conjectured to come from a 3rd- or early-2nd-century Doric temple or propylon. Fragments of a superb theatrical mosaic or mosaics in the *opus vermiculatum* technique are attributed to an *andron* or *oecus* and are compared with mosaics from late-3rd-century Alexandria and 2nd-century Delos, Pergamon, Rhodes, and Pompeii. The finds suggest the presence of a sophisticated Hellenized community at Hellenistic Dor.

INTRODUCTION

Twenty years of excavation by an international consortium at the harbor town of Dor (ancient Dora: Figs. 1, 2) have yielded significant remains of the Hellenistic city. These include stretches of the town wall and its main gate (areas A, B, and C); an arsenal of catapult balls (area B); numerous houses (areas A, B, C, D2, F, G, and H); olive presses (areas A, D2, and F); and masses of small finds, particularly terracottas, pottery, and coins. Evidence for both orthogonal plans and plans relating to contour lines (areas A, B, C, F, G, and H) has also been found. Furthermore, these campaigns have refuted a number of long-held beliefs about the site. Chief among these is the contention of its first excavator, John Garstang, that the impressive ashlar foundations and associated 10-m-high Ionic columns on the western, seaward side of the mound (areas F and H) are the remains of the earliest Hellenistic temple(s) in the Middle East. On the contrary, it is now clear that they are Roman and date to the later 2nd century C.E.[1]

In the summer of 2000, a team from the University of California at Berkeley opened five squares at Dor on the southern side of the mound (area D1) in order to clarify the chronology and form of a large building of the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic period, the so-called Persian Palace

1. See Garstang 1924; cf. Stern 1995, 2000. Unless otherwise noted, all dates in this article are B.C.E.

Figure 1. Map of the eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period. E. Dintino

(Fig. 3). Two large pits were discovered on the periphery of the building: one on the north side and one on the east (Fig. 3: squares AS 14 and AQ 12). Pit 1 (Fig. 4) in square AS 14 dates to the Late Hellenistic period. It produced a limestone statue of a Nike (Fig. 5) and two Doric capitals (Fig. 6:a–b) carved in the local sandstone, or kurkar. A nearby wall and fills below two nearby floors produced three more architectural members attributable to the same building, including an Ionic anta capital (Fig. 6:c). Pit 2 in square AQ 12 was Roman, and yielded many fragments of one or more mosaic floors—most spectacularly, pieces of a superb composition in *opus vermiculatum* of theater masks and assorted flora (Figs. 8–10).

These finds are described and illustrated in the following pages. Since excavation of the area and its surroundings has not been completed, however, it is likely that additional fragments—and perhaps the buildings from which these fragments originate—lie beneath the surface of the adjacent squares. This publication must therefore be regarded as preliminary.

SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Square AS 14: Pit 1

Pit 1 included loci L 26111 and L 26171 in square AS 14 (Fig. 4). L 26171 (sealed by a Late Hellenistic or Roman wall, W 16150) yielded the Nike (**1**) and L 26111 two Doric column capitals (**2**, **3**).

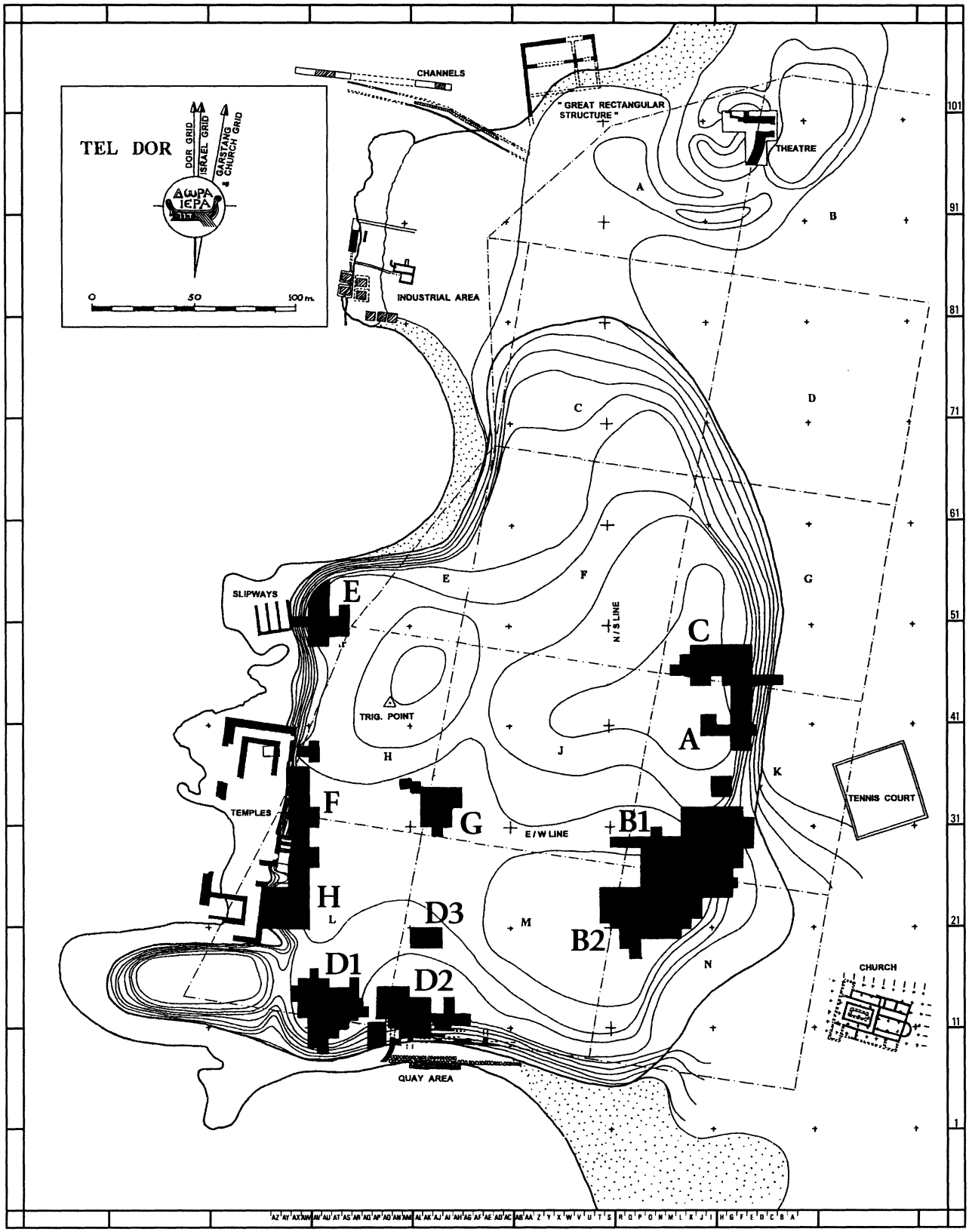

Figure 2. Tel Dor 2000, site plan. Areas excavated in 1980–2000 are marked in black. J. Berg

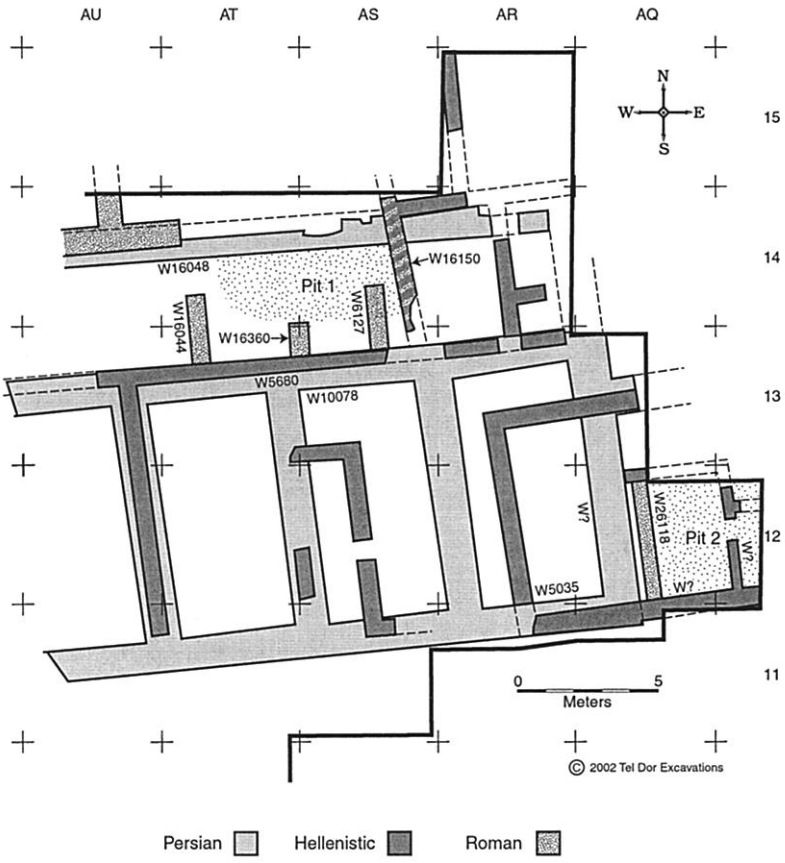

Figure 3 *(left)*. **Schematic plan of the eastern part of area D1 showing the so-called Persian Palace, the buildings above, and the locations of pits 1 and 2.** J. Berg

Figure 4 *(above)*. **Area D1, view of the Nike (1) and capitals (2, 3) in pit 1 during excavation.**
Photo I. Hirschberg

Diagnostic pottery and lamps recovered from the pit comprise the following:

261206	wheelmade lamp (3rd century)
261211	imported Attic plate (4th century)
261212	bowl with outcurved rim decorated with rouletting and palmettes (3rd century)
261372	"Megarian" relief bowl fragment; unguentarium fragment
261374	brazier fragment
261375	"Megarian" relief bowl fragment; unguentarium fragment; Eastern-type relief bowl fragment (2nd century)
261418	imported Attic lamp with handle missing (4th century)
261446	unguentarium with tall foot and teardrop-shaped body (late 3rd–early 2nd century)

The pit contained no Eastern Terra Sigillata A, or ES(A), a fabric that was introduced into northern Israel around 140–130. At Dor it first appears in areas A and C in stratum III, the earliest part of which dates to around 150–100 (though the chronology is imprecise).[2] The pit was thus probably closed in the mid- to late 2nd century, before ES(A) reached the site, and almost certainly no later than ca. 100.

2. For the introduction of ES(A) see Slane 1997, pp. 269–282 (Tel Anafa), where it first appears sealed under a building constructed ca. 125; cf. Berlin 1997, p. 24; at Tel Kedesh in the Galilee, ES(A) is absent from the destruction level of 145 but appears in the reoccupation level of the last quarter of the century (Sharon Herbert, pers. comm., 2002). For Dor see Stern 1995, I:A, pp. 43–44, 233–234; I:B, pp. 218–221.

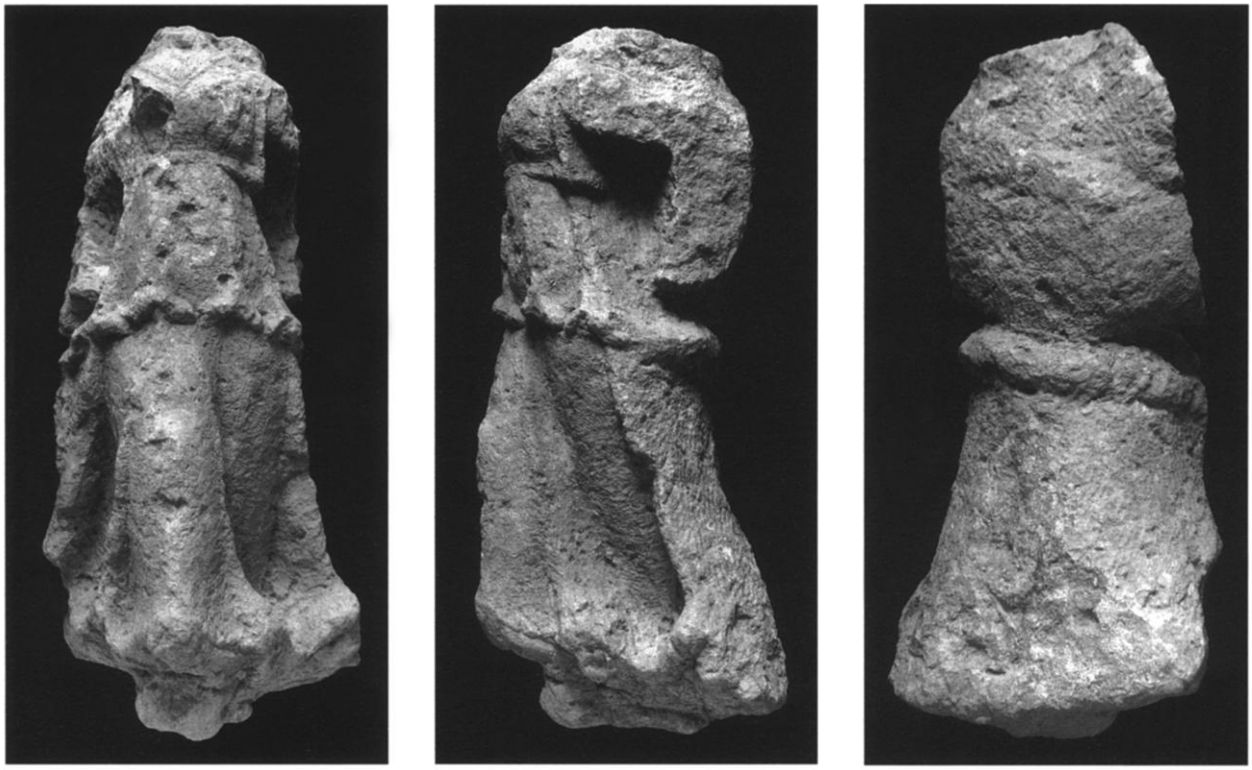

Figure 5. Limestone figure of Nike (1). Front, left profile, back. Nachsholim, Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Dor.
Scale ca. 1:6. Photos G. Laron.

1 Headless statue of a winged Nike Fig. 5

Inv. 261429. Limestone, no traces of plaster. H. 0.61; p.H. of figure 0.54; W. 0.27; D. 0.23 m. Missing head, both arms, right breast, wings, right shoulder, and much of right side above waist; battered and weathered. Draped in a long, V-necked peplos with overfold, girdled below the breasts, and a cloak crossing the back diagonally from lower right to upper left. The figure strides forward with right leg advanced and left arm extended sideways, perhaps to hold up the cloak. A roughly punched, rectangular tenon, 0.15 × 0.07 × 0.07 m thick, protrudes below the feet. On the front the recesses of the folds are roughly punched; the limbs and drapery are modeled with a fine claw chisel (three teeth/6 mm) overlaid by much flat chiseling; the back is sketched only, with a punch and coarse claw (five teeth/25 mm).

2 Doric capital Fig. 6:a

Inv. 261430. Kurkar, with small fragments of plaster (0.015 m thick) adhering. H. 0.270; Diam. (column) 0.460; abacus 0.61 × 0.62; H. (shaft) 0.080; H. (echinus) 0.080; H. (abacus) 0.110 m. Upper edges of abacus beveled in a band 0.07 m wide, reducing height of sides of abacus to 0.08 m. Traces of three necking rings at top of shaft.

3 Doric capital Fig. 6:b

Inv. 261985. Kurkar, with some plaster (0.005–0.015 m thick) adhering. H. 0.370; Diam. (column) 0.460; abacus 0.62 × 0.62; H. (shaft) 0.160; H. (echinus) 0.090; H. (abacus) 0.120 m. Upper edges of abacus beveled in a band 0.10 m wide, reducing height of sides of abacus to 0.095 m including plaster coating. No necking rings visible.

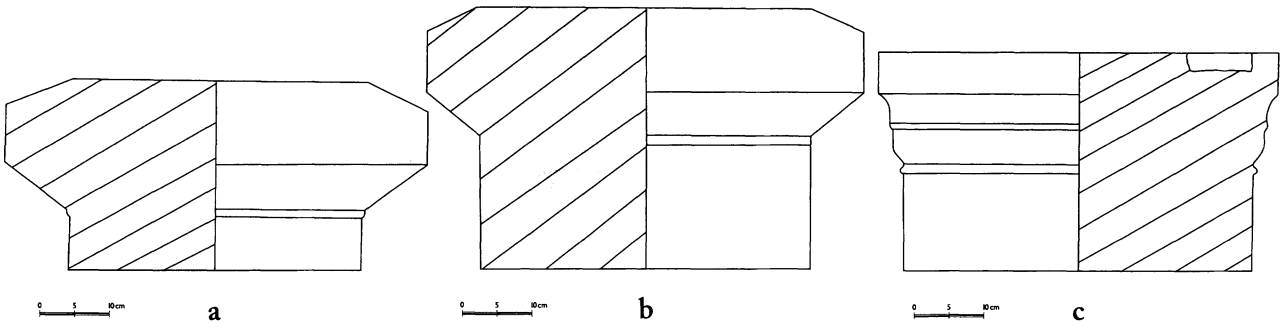

Figure 6. *(a, b)* **Doric capitals 2, 3; kurkar.** *(c)* **Ionic anta capital 6; limestone. Nachsholim, Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Dor.** Scale 1:10. A. Adams, E. Dintino.

Square AS/AT 14: Wall W 16360

Wall W 16360, constructed to the south of pit 1 (Fig. 3), is Late Hellenistic/Early Roman; no diagnostic pottery was recovered from it.

In secondary use as part of the foundation of the wall was:

4 Doric capital

Inv. 260202. Kurkar, with some plaster (0.005–0.015 m thick) adhering. H. 0.320; Diam. (column) 0.440; abacus 0.62 × 0.63; H. (shaft) 0.150; H. (echinus) 0.065; H. (abacus) 0.105 m. Upper edges of abacus beveled in a band 0.03 m wide, reducing height of sides of abacus to 0.10 m, including plaster coating. A single thick (0.015 m) necking ring visible.

Square AR 15: Fill Loci L 26212, L 26183

Square AR 15 includes fill locus L 26212, 1 m below a fragmentary floor, F 26076; and fill locus L 26183, immediately below fragmentary floor F 26134, which itself underlies floor F 26076. Floor F 26076 is Roman; the latest pottery in the fill below it, L 26212, was typical of the Early Roman period, including fragments of ridged storage jars.

Lying in the fill was:

5 Column drum

Inv. 262260. Limestone, no plaster adhering. H. 0.530; lower Diam. 0.585; upper Diam. 0.570 m. A beveled groove runs up its side, 0.06 wide narrowing to 0.04 wide in the trough, and 0.04 m deep; in its bedding, an empolion cutting 0.05 × 0.07 × 0.03 m deep.

Floor F 26134 is also Early Roman, dated by the latest pottery from its fill locus L 26183.

Lying in the fill was:

6 Ionic anta capital Fig. 6:c

Inv. 261744. Limestone, with small fragments of plaster (0.002–0.005 m thick) adhering to cavetto molding only. H. 0.310; below, W. 0.237 × L. 0.525; above, 0.295 × 0.575 m. On upper surface, a dovetail clamp hole: L. 0.10, W. 0.075/0.055, D. 0.03 m. H. (wall section) 0.135; H. (moldings) 0.175 m: from bottom, half round; ovolo; half round; cavetto; fascia.

Discussion

Although the actual building to which these fragments belong has yet to appear, the architectural fragments **2–5** could be from a Doric temple, propylon, stoa, porch, or colonnaded court. As will become clear, however, if these fragments, the anta capital (**6**), and the Nike (**1**) all belong together, then some of these possibilities can be excluded *a priori*.

Despite their different materials (limestone and the local sandstone), these objects probably were all associated with a single structure. Not only were they deposited near each other and at approximately the same level, but the diameter of the limestone column drum (**5**) neatly corresponds to that of the Doric capitals (**2–4**) when one allows for the obligatory diminution of the shaft (Fig. 7). The empolion cutting in the lower surface only and the material and size of the drum indicate that **5** was the lowest element, doweled to the building's stylobate for greater stability. Above it, the natural friction of the stone was evidently deemed sufficient, as was usual at Dor where clamps and dowels were rarely used. The need to protect the columns from damage by passing foot traffic, together with a conviction that a tougher material than kurkar was needed to carry the heavy weight of the colonnade, could easily account for the substitution. The plaster coating, still visible on **2–4** and **6**, would have covered any differences in color and texture.

The anta capital (**6**) has roughly the same proportions as the column capitals (especially **4**) and may also belong to the same structure. Here the choice of stone was perhaps determined by the complicated molding, which would have been difficult to carve in kurkar. If the capital belongs to the ensemble, the order incorporated some Ionic elements—a common feature of Late Classical and Hellenistic Doric. If not, we have complementary fragments of two buildings of almost exactly the same scale, a kurkar and limestone Doric one and a limestone Ionic one, both destroyed at the same time—an unlikely alternative.

The building apparently was secured with a grille (fitted into the groove on **5**) and embellished with Nike akroteria (as **1**). No remains of its entablature came to light and perhaps none should be expected. Kurkar is too weak a stone to sustain a lintel of any length, and of the hundreds of miscellaneous Graeco-Roman architectural fragments recovered at Dor, not one (to our knowledge) is from this kind of entablature. The building's superstructure was probably of timber. Garstang's Ionic "temple" on the west side of the mound (area F) furnishes a precise parallel.

As stated above, these Doric fragments could theoretically belong to a number of building types. Any freestanding structure must have stood to the north of the excavated area (area D1: Figs. 2, 3); the possibility of a porch immediately points to the still incompletely excavated "Persian Palace." But the porches of Hellenistic palaces and palatial mansions never seem to have been embellished with akroteria, and an interior colonnade affords no place for sculptural refinements of this kind. Furthermore, the dimensions of the Dor columns exceed all but those of the very largest temple and palatial courtyard colonnades in the Hellenistic Near East (see

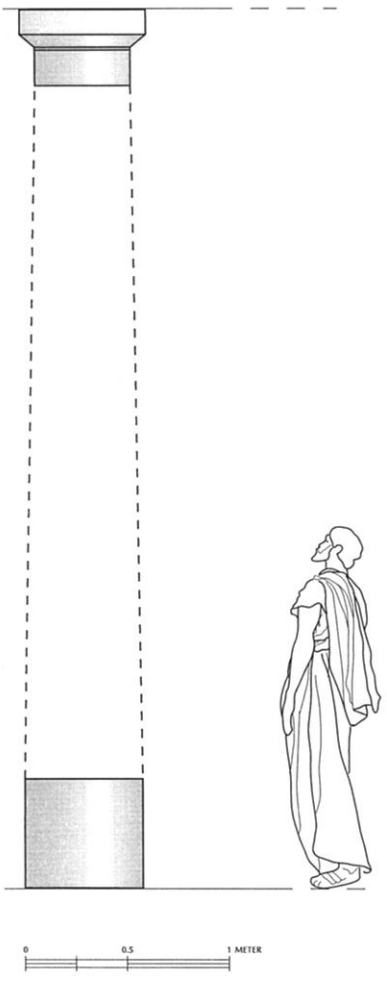

Figure 7. Restored elevation of Doric column incorporating 2 and 5.
E. Dintino

below). Nor is a freestanding stoa a likely possibility; these were not popular in the Levant, and Hellenistic examples built elsewhere apparently eschewed sculptured akroteria completely.[3]

Therefore, unless this Doric building was uncanonical (always a possibility, especially in the East), or the Nike stood on another structure entirely, a temple or propylon is the most likely source for these architectural fragments. Yet, to our knowledge, no pre-Herodian/Early Roman Doric temples or propylaia have been discovered in Israel and only three such temples are known in Syria and Jordan:[4]

1. Tell Jebel Khalid (Amphipolis/Tourmeda/Nikatoris?), North Syria. Hexastyle amphiprostyle limestone Doric temple, ca. 13 × 20 m, surrounded by altars. Discovered in the summer of 2000. Published by G. Clarke et al.[5] Date: 3rd century.
2. Tell Nebi-Mend (Laodicea ad Libanum), South Syria. Tetrastyle prostyle limestone Doric temple, ca. 9 × 20 m. In area 10 of the lower town. Excavated in the early 1990s. Unpublished. Date: possibly late 3rd–early 2nd century.
3. Pella, Jordan. Stylobate and part of the facade of a Doric temple in pink marble/limestone. On Tell Husn (S. Hill), University of Sydney, area 34. Discovered in 1993. Unpublished. Date: 1st century?

Unfortunately, the column heights of all three temples are uncertain. Nevertheless, as discussed below, the temple at Tell Nebi-Mend might be a useful guide to the possible appearance of the building at Dor; its publication is eagerly awaited.

The Dor columns are easy to reconstruct on paper—though the meager remains do make the result look somewhat comical (Fig. 7). If **5** was indeed the lowest drum, simple extrapolation from its two diameters and the diameter of the column stump on **2–4** indicates a shaft about 4.06 m high and a total column height of ca. 4.27 m, or about 12 Ionic feet. As noted above, these dimensions exceed those of most Near Eastern sanctuary and palace colonnades, but they are perfectly acceptable for a small temple or sizeable propylon (see Table 1).[6] The lower diameter/height

3. Synopses: Coulton 1976, pp. 55–56; Nielsen 1994. See also Netzer 2001.

4. We thank Graeme Clarke, director of the Tell Jebel Khalid excavations, for alerting us to these and for providing us with plans and reconstructed elevations of his newly discovered Doric temple.

For Doric in other contexts see, e.g., Bliss and Macalister 1902, p. 57, pl. 19:7, 8 (Maresha: houses); Avigad 1954, p. 95, fig. 57; Fedak 1990, p. 142, figs. 203, 204 (Jerusalem: Tomb of Bene Hezir); Dunand and Duru 1962, pp. 31–34, pls. 22, 23, 98, 99 (Hammon: hypostyle hall); Ploug 1985, p. 128, nos. 1, 2, fig. 21 (Hama, Syria: houses); Stucchi 1987, p. 258, fig. 14; Fedak 1990, pp. 148–150, fig. 221 (Es-Suweida, Syria: Tomb of Hamrath); Herbert 1994, pp. 37–42, fig. 2:7, 8, pls. 3–14 (Tel Anafa, Israel: mansion, drums only); Netzer 2001, pp. 88–91, 103, 304–305, figs. 127, 128, 453 (Jericho: Hasmonean palace, pavilion and porticoes). The two temples at Hammon are Ionic prostyle and amphiprostyle, and lack canonical propylaia: see Dunand and Duru 1962, p. 48, fig. 10, and p. 76, fig. 17.

5. Clarke et al. 2000, pp. 123–126, fig. 2; Clarke, forthcoming, with revised elevation of the facade. For the conjectured ancient name and exact location of the site, see Gawlikowski 1996, p. 128; Talbert 2000, map 67 (square G4).

6. In addition, at Dura, the citadel palace's courtyard columns had a lower diameter of 0.61 m and an upper diameter of 0.51 m (*Dura* II, p. 14); at Nippur, the palace's courtyard columns were a massive 0.84 m thick but only 4.2 m high, an idiosyncratic 1:5 ratio evidently occasioned by the use of brick (Fisher 1904, p. 422); and at Jericho, the Hasmonean palace's pavilion columns (ca. 100–80) were about 5 m high and those of the garden colonnade about 4 m high (Netzer 2001, pp. 304–305, fig. 453).

TABLE 1. EXAMPLES OF DORIC LATE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC TEMPLES, PROPYLAIA, AND PORTICOES

Structure	*Date*	*Lower Diam. of Columns (m)*	*Column H. (m)*	*Interaxial (m)*	*Lower Diam. to Column H.*	*Interaxial to to Column H.*
Epidauros, Tholos	ca. 360	1.0	6.88	2.37	1:6.9	1:2.9
Tegea, Temple of Athena Alea	ca. 340	1.55	9.56	3.58	1:6.2	1:2.6
Jebel Khalid, Doric temple	3rd century	0.88	5.47 or 4.55	2.40	1:6.2 or 5.1	1:2.3 or 1.9
Pergamon, Temple of Athena Nikephoros	ca. 250	0.75	5.25	2.37	1:7.0	1:2.2
Pergamon, Doric Temple of Asklepios	ca. 220–190	0.69	4.78	2.14	1:7.0	1:2.2
Pergamon, Propylon to Athena Nikephoros sanctuary	ca. 160	0.68	5.0	2.49	1:7.3	1:2.0
Dura Europos, Bicolumnar Monument (Propylon?)	2nd century?	0.90	6.3	2.9	1:7.0	1:2.1
Delos, Propylon to Kyntheion sanctuary	95/94	0.53	4.0	1.8	1:7.5	1:2.2
Jebel Khalid, Portico of Governor's palace	3rd century	0.70	3.6	2.1	1:5.2	1:1.7
Delos, Stoa of Antigonos Gonatas	ca. 250	0.70	ca. 4.5	2.53	1:6.4	1:1.8
Hammon, Porticoes of Milk'Ashtart sanctuary	222/221	0.56	3.92	2.16 (North)	1:7.0	1:1.8
				2.42 (East)	1:7.0	1:1.6
Priene, Agora, North Stoa	ca. 150	0.70	5.2	2.32	1:7.4	1:2.2
Athens, Stoa of Attalos II	ca. 150	0.74	5.23	2.43	1:7.1	1:2.2

ratio of the column was about 1:7.3; a 1-cm-thick plaster coating (see 2–4) would have reduced this to about 1:7.0. As such, it is canonically Early to Mid-Hellenistic, as Table 1 shows.[7]

Furthermore, minus its beveled top, one of the Dor capitals (2) neatly conforms to the Vitruvian (i.e., Hellenistic) division of the Doric capital into three equal parts (Vitr. 4.3.4). All three of the Doric capitals (2–4), although idiosyncratically proportioned in other respects, roughly echo the High and Late Hellenistic ratio of echinus height over abacus width that characterizes the capitals of later Hellenistic buildings from Lindos and Delos, and the capitals from Hammon (Umm El'Amed) in southern Lebanon—a Phoenician cult site only 62 km up the coast from Dor. The capitals from Hammon are as unevenly proportioned and finished as those

7. Since some of the measurements upon which these ratios are based are estimated (but must be correct to within a couple of centimeters), they have been rounded off to one decimal place. Sources: Roux 1961, pp. 177–178 (Tegea; Epidauros); Pakkanen 1998, p. 73 (Tegea); Clarke 2001a, p. 223, fig. 18; 2001b; and forthcoming (Jebel Khalid); *AvP* II, pp. 11, 50 (Pergamon, Athena temple; propylon); *AvP* XI.2, pp. 19–25 (Asklepios temple); Downey 1988, p. 83, fig. 38 (Dura; Downey 2003 shows that the 2nd-century ensemble of her fig. 35 is a fiction, though the columns are real and are indeed 7.3 times as high as their lower diameter); *Délos* XI, pp. 98–99 (Kyntheion); *Délos* V, pp. 17–18 (Antigonos stoa); Dunand and Duru 1962, p. 37 (Hammon, with p. 187 for the date); Wiegand and Schrader 1904, p. 193 (Priene); Travlos, p. 513, fig. 645 (Attalos stoa).

from Dor, and the site has also produced some Ionic anta capitals that are very similar to **6**.[8]

This marks the limit of what can be plausibly extrapolated from the remains. But the combination of the Nike (**1**) and the column drum (**5**) with its ca. 0.60-m diameter prompts a further, purely speculative, conjecture. The statue is now headless, but when complete it stood around 0.67–0.70 m (2 Ionic feet) high. If it too conformed to Vitruvius's prescriptions (Vitr. 3.5.12) and equaled the height of the building's tympanon, then the latter would also be around 0.67–0.70 m.[9] Hellenistic Doric tympana are typically eight to ten times as wide as they are high and Hellenistic Doric horizontal cornices are around nine to thirteen times as wide as the tympanon height. So hypothetically the tympanon should measure ca. 5.3–7 m wide and its horizontal cornice ca. 6.0–9 m wide.

As for the colonnade, the examples listed in Table 1 indicate that a column diameter of 0.60 m would produce interaxials of around 1.8–2.1 m, and thus a tetrastyle facade of modest width (6–7 m), on a foundation about 8–9 m wide. As a crosscheck, the Doric capitals and drums tentatively attributed to the 7.5 × 3.5 m foundation of the Roman propylon to Temple H at Dor are about 10% smaller than **2**–**4** and also indicate a tetrastyle facade; the propylon to the Kyntheion at Delos offers a rough parallel.[10] A hexastyle facade for **2**–**4**, however, would yield a much more substantial width (9.6–10.6 m), requiring a foundation around 11.5–12.5 m wide, and producing a tympanon considerably higher than the Nike (**1**). The excavation's next priority, therefore, is to search for a foundation that is ca. 8–9 m across, tailored for a tetrastyle prostyle or amphiprostyle temple or, perhaps, a propylon.

What of the Nike? The pose, tooling, and uneven finish indicate that the figure stood on the building's left-hand corner vis-à-vis the spectator. The material could suggest Cypriot manufacture, though the indifferent quality perhaps militates against this possibility. The pose is a stock one, exemplified most famously in the Hellenistic period by the Nike of Samothrace.

Typologically the figure seems to fit between a collection of Late Classical Nikai from 4th-century Megara, Epidauros, and Delos, on the one hand, and a series of flamboyantly baroque ones from 2nd-century Pergamon, Samothrace, and Halikarnassos, on the other.[11] The restrained pose and drapery align **1** squarely with the former group, and the figure shows little sign of the strongly tapering proportions, sprung rhythms, and wild, frothy draperies of the latter. In the Aegean at least, this high baroque—even rococo—fashion began to emerge around 200, to judge by a fine terracotta Nike in Paris from a well-dated grave at Myrina.[12] Unlike the Nike from Dor, these 2nd-century Nikai wear their girdles hiked up so far that their breasts jut provocatively, and sometimes one breast is even left bare.

Unfortunately, the hundred years between these two groups of Nikai (ca. 300–200) is something of a black hole: certifiably 3rd-century freestanding Nikai are all but nonexistent. The only viable candidate is the impressive statue, perhaps Athena Nike, from the ship monument in the

8. Cf. Coulton 1979, p. 81, figs. 2–4 (group 10); Dunand and Duru 1962, pp. 102, 104, 117, 133, figs. 23, 26, 35, 52, pls. 22, 23; cf. Shoe 1936, pp. 174–176 and, e.g., pl. 17:8, 31 (Delos).

9. This rule was generally observed from the 5th century onward: King 2000, p. 104.

10. Inventory numbers: the foundation is W 20270/20280; the capitals are 202086, 202205, and 203855; and the drums are 204409 and 203955. The capitals and drums are from late (phase I or later, i.e., Crusader) fills. For the Kyntheion, see *Délos* XI, pp. 98–99.

11. On these Nikai in general, see King 2000, pp. 104–116; *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 881–883, nos. 381, 388, 401–406, s.v. Nike (U. Grote). For illustrations of the late-4th-century Nikai, see Purgold 1881 (Megara); Marcadé 1951 (Delos); Alscher 1957, pl. 4 (Megara); Yalouris 1967 (Epidauros); Gulaki 1981, figs. 35–41 (all); and Webb 1996, fig. 115 (Delos); and for the 2nd-century examples, see Marcadé 1951, p. 84, fig. 11:b (Delos); Schober 1951, pls. 90, 98 (Pergamon); Grote 1992, pl. 15 (Pergamon); Webb 1996, fig. 135 (Samothrace); Poulsen 1997, pp. 77–78, figs. 97–100 (Halikarnassos).

12. Paris, Louvre MYR 171: Mollard-Besques 1963, p. 67, pl. 80:d; the grave contained autonomous coins of Myrina datable to 196–190.

TABLE 2. DOR CHRONOLOGY: LATE 4TH THROUGH 1ST CENTURIES

Date	*Event*
332	Alexander the Great passes by Dor on his march from Tyre to Gaza and Egypt.
323	Death of Alexander; Phoenicia (including Dor) soon disputed between Antigonos One-Eye (satrap of Syria) and Ptolemy (satrap of Egypt).
301	Antigonos is defeated and killed at Ipsos; Ptolemy annexes Judea, Phoenicia, and Coele-Syria.
219	Dor, now a Ptolemaic fortress, withstands a siege by Antiochos III of Syria (Polyb. 5.66.1), who then marches on to defeat at Raphia in 217 (the so-called Fourth Syrian War).
202–199	Antiochos III returns, destroys the Ptolemaic army at Paneion (Banyas, North Galilee), and annexes Coele-Syria, Phoenicia (including Dor), and Judea (the so-called Fifth Syrian War).
139/138	Dor, now a Seleukid dependency occupied by the pretender Tryphon, is besieged by Antiochos VII Sidetes and Simon Maccabee. Tryphon, however, manages to escape (I *Maccabees* 15:11–37; Joseph. *AJ* 13.223–224; *BJ* 1.50).
102–99	Dor, now ruled along with Gaza and Strato's Tower by the tyrant Zoilos, is taken by the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, who treats the town harshly (Joseph. *AJ* 13.324 (335); 14.76; Syncellus 558).
63	Pompey abolishes the Seleukid monarchy, takes Jerusalem, detaches Coele-Syria and southern Phoenicia from the Hasmonean kingdom, and gives Dor and the other cities their freedom (Joseph. *AJ* 14.4.4; *BJ* 1.7.7). Dor restarts its calendar at Year 1 and mints coins dated from this year.
34	Mark Antony gives Kleopatra VII of Egypt the coastal cities of Phoenicia and Judea, with the exceptions of Tyre and Sidon (Joseph. *AJ* 15.4.1; *BJ* 1.18.5).
31–30	Battle of Actium; Octavian marches south from Syria, invades Egypt, and takes Alexandria.

Agora at Cyrene. Possibly erected in connection with the Third Syrian War of 246–241, the figure has a torso similarly proportioned to that of the Nike at Dor and achieves a similar relationship between clothing and body, but has far longer legs and a differently draped himation. Finally, the symmetrically arranged swallowtail folds on the Dor Nike add an archaistic touch that is unparalleled in the genre until the Roman period, when hints of it occur on a number of Nikai from Palmyra and Jordan.[13]

If the temple or propylon was indeed built at Dor in the 3rd to early 2nd century, then it lasted barely a hundred years: the pottery in pit 1 dates its demolition to ca. 150–100. Although any number of factors could have occasioned its construction and destruction, the events outlined above in Table 2 are worth recalling.[14]

A natural temptation would be to connect the Nike from Dor and its temple or propylon with the Raphia campaign of 219–217, and (in the

13. See Ermeti 1981 (Cyrene); *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 879–881, nos. 15, 26b, 36, s.v. Nike (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

14. For sources and discussion, see Dahl 1915, pp. 65–78.

absence of recorded earthquakes or other natural disasters) their destruction either with Sidetes' siege in 139/138 or with that by Jannaeus in 102–99. According to Josephus, Sidetes besieged Dor both by land and sea, and catapult balls found on the city's seaward side demonstrate that it was indeed bombarded from that direction. As for Jannaeus, his egregious brutality and relentless destruction of pagan shrines in the cities that resisted him were legendary. Indeed, Syncellus even lists Dor among the coastal towns that he destroyed and whose inhabitants he massacred.[15] But so far the site has yielded no evidence of widespread destruction in this period, and to make these or any other connections, more excavation and much more hard evidence are needed.

THE MOSAIC

The superb fragmentary mask-and-garland mosaic also unearthed in 2000 (Figs. 8–10) is the first major example of Hellenistic *opus vermiculatum* in the region. Unfortunately, it was not found in situ, but had been broken up and tossed into a Roman pit (pit 2) in area D1 on the southwest side of the tel (Figs. 2, 3). Given the quality of this mosaic, it is hard to believe that someone destroyed it on a whim. Earthquake damage or urban renewal come to mind as possible explanations, but until the original context of the mosaic is found, no firm conclusions are possible.

The fragments vary in size from small clusters of tesserae to larger sections measuring over 0.40 × 0.30 m. Thanks to the efforts of colleagues from Hebrew University and at the site museum at Nachsholim, the disparate pieces of one mask and the area adjacent have been successfully restored; a fragment of a second mask and a separate geometric zone await supplementation from further excavation and restoration. The masks and garlands are almost certainly part of a border frieze; the central *emblema,* if there was one, has yet to be identified.

Square AQ 12: Pit 2

Pit 2 in square AQ 12 included loci L 26053, 26081–82, 26121–22, 26150–52, 26164–65, 26169, 26195, 26234, 26236–37, and 26248. The pit contained many mosaic fragments, apparently discarded at random. Unfortunately, the diagnostic pottery from the pit was extremely limited:

260674	Roman lamp (2nd century C.E.)
260909	Attic black-glaze fragment; Roman Western Terra Sigillata

The major mosaic fragments are:

7 Section of a mask-and-garland frieze Fig. 8:a–c

Inv. 260885. Recomposed from several fragments (A–I) found in L 26081. Stone, ceramic, and glass set into shelly mortar. H. 0.511; H. (field) 0.428; W. 0.747; Th. 0.020–0.204 m. Extensive damage on top, bottom, and sides and to nose and right eye of mask; heavily encrusted before restoration. Youthful

15. E.g., at Gaza shortly afterward (Joseph. *AJ* 13.364): see most recently Bar-Kochva 1996, pp. 127, 132–133.

male mask facing to its right with *speira* (or coil of hair over the temples and forehead), hat, and wool fillet tied by a blue *tainia,* set against a background of fruits and flowers. Bordered below by a red band of three rows of tesserae and above by two similar red bands, separated by a strip of white.

8 Fragment of a bouquet Fig. 9

Inv. 261241. From L 26122. Stone, ceramic, and glass set into shelly mortar. H. 0.475; H. (field) 0.269; W. 0.294; Th. 0.204 m. Extensive damage on top, bottom, and sides; heavy encrustation. Red and gold cloth wrapped around a fruit and floral bouquet. Bordered above by two red strips, separated by a strip of white.

9 Fragment with perspectival meander Fig. 10, left

Inv. 261718. From L 26169. Stone, ceramic, and glass set into shelly mortar. H. 0.168; H. (field) 0.120; W. 0.177; Th. 0.133 m. Damage to sides; very little encrustation. Perspectival meander set into blue field with rosettes framed by a partially preserved red and white border.

10 Fragment with perspectival meander Fig. 10, right

Inv. 261718. From L 26169. Stone, ceramic, and glass set into shelly mortar. H. 0.135; H. (field) 0.122; W. 0.124; Th. 0.126 m. Damage to sides; very little encrustation. Perspectival meander set into blue field with rosettes.

The technique represented in these mosaics is true *opus vermiculatum,* using 3–5 mm^2 tesserae in the field in a wide range of reds, blues, and yellows. There is also extensive use of glass in tones of blue and green, characteristic of Hellenistic mosaics.[16] To date there is no evidence for the use of lead strips.[17] The white limestone field is framed at top and bottom by red bands using larger tesserae up to 4 × 6 mm in size. Most of the tesserae used for this white background and adjacent sections of floor are rectilinear and laid horizontally. But as they approach the decorated areas they begin to curve and include tiny chips, often only 1 mm across, in order to follow the contours of the fruits, flowers, and mask. This technique is particularly clear where the top of the mask approaches the upper red border. The work is set into a bed of fine mortar 0.019 m thick, supported by a heavy backing of coarser mortar.[18]

16. Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 1992. Westgate (2000) attests to the popularity of the color scheme. Its basic palette of red and yellow stone and bright blue and green glass was especially popular with eastern Hellenistic mosaicists because of its visual kinship with *opus sectile.*

17. Joyce (1979) sees the use of lead strips in Delos as one indication of their origins in the pebble mosaics of mainland Greece, whereas in Punic-influenced Pompeii, lead strips are unknown in the early *opus signinum* floors. Cf. Dunbabin 1979.

18. Preserved up to 0.204 m thick in the bouquet fragment. In Palace V at Pergamon the tesserae are set into a thin mortar backed by a thicker (0.015) one, a coarse aggregate mortar (0.03–0.04 thick), and rubble (ca. 0.20 thick); *AvP* V.1, pp. 53–54. At Delos the tesserae are generally set into mortar 0.015–0.02 thick, backed by a coarser mortar (0.03 thick) and then mortared rubble (ca. 0.04 thick); *Délos* XXIX, pp. 26–27.

The Mask Fragment

The mask and its associated floral frieze (7) dominate the white limestone floor (Fig. 8:a–c). The mask occupies the right side of the fragment and is turned slightly to the spectator's left. The youthful face with its heavy eyelids, deep-set, large eyes, full mouth, and parted lips is typical of New Comedy masks (see below). Topping the mask is an extravagant, trefoil-shaped hat. The *speira* is held in place by a rolled, brown wool fillet secured by an X-shaped *tainia.* It is further embellished with sprays of broad-leafed and variegated ivy *(kittos)* and its fruits *(korymboi).* The blue ribbons that billow out on either side of the face are the ends of the *tainia,* implying that it serves a double function: it holds the whole concoction of hat, fillet, and fruits together, and it also secures the mask to the garland. The rich floral frieze enhances this luxuriant Dionysiac atmosphere. It features ivy sprays *(kittos* and *korymboi),* pinecones *(konoi* or *strobiloi),* wild olives *(agrielaiai),* pomegranates *(rhoai),* and wild roses *(rhoda agria).*[19]

The mask itself is 0.361 m high and 0.369 m wide. The face is rendered in stones (nine to sixteen tesserae per square centimeter) laid along contour lines and curving around features to suggest their volume. No glass is used on the face. A wide range of colors is employed: pinkish-brown and light gray for skin; pinkish-red for rounded features like the cleft chin, ear, left cheek, and nostrils; and white mixed with soft yellow for highlights. The proper right side of the face is shaded dark brown to emphasize its recession. Various tones of red are used for the parted lips, with lighter red for highlights. The open mouth is brown-black and ends abruptly at its proper left in a vertical line, showing that it is cut through the fabric of the mask. The extant portions of the nose are prominently outlined in brown. The full right cheek, seen almost in profile, contrasts pointedly with the smooth left one, emphasizing the rotation of the face. The eyes are heavy-lidded and are hooded by thick, dark eyebrows. There are no eyelashes. The enormous pupils occupy three-quarters of the brown irises. Here the tesserae are truly tiny—the left iris and pupil use no fewer than twenty-eight of them.

The face is framed at the sides by brown wavy hair and ringlets, and above by a thick, banded fillet. This fillet, rendered in browns and blues, is outlined at its bottom with blue glass. Four small clusters of light yellow-green ivy fruits stud the trefoil-shaped red and gold hat; each casts a shadow rendered in the dark hues of the background stones, either red or blue. The ivy leaves are rendered in olive green and dark green glass and contrast sharply with the turquoise stone. The blue-green ribbon that ties them all together is rendered in dark blue, bright blue, and light blue glass; green glass; and stones that are nearly turquoise. These variations create a striking chiaroscuro and depth. The very small, tightly laid tesserae measure between 2 and 3 mm^2.

Like many other Hellenistic theater masks, this one is eclectic. It seems to combine features of two comic masks described in Pollux's *Onomasticon* (4.147): mask 13, the Delicate Young Man, and mask 16, the *episeistos,* or Second Wavy-Haired (or perhaps Floppy-Haired) Young Man. These two

19. For identification of floral types, see Abbe 1965, pp. 100, 147, 156–160; Harrison 1962.

a

b

c

Figure 8. *(a)* Mosaic fragment 7 with comic mask and floral design; *(b)* detail of ribbon, flowers, and pomegranates; *(c)* detail of mask. Nachsholim, Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Dor.
Photos G. Laron

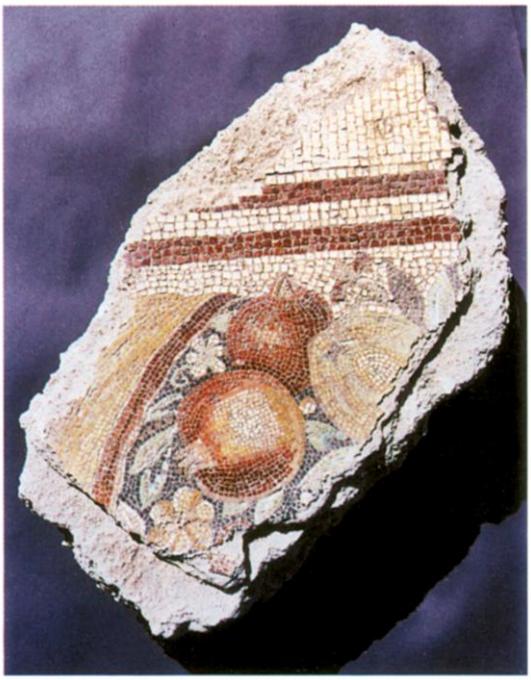

Figure 9 *(left)*. **Mosaic fragment 8 with bouquet of flowers and fruits. Nachsholim, Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Dor.**
Photo G. Laron

Figure 10 *(above)*. **Mosaic fragments 9 and 10 with perspectival meanders. Nachsholim, Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology at Dor.**
Photo Dor Excavations

youths spend too much time indoors enjoying parties. Pollux describes them as follows:

> (13) The Delicate Young Man has hair like the Admirable and is the youngest of all, white, reared in the shade, suggesting softness.
>
> (15) His hair is wavy, as is that of (16) the Second Wavy-Haired, who is more delicate and fair-haired.[20]

A terracotta suspension mask from Amisos (Fig. 11) also combines aspects of the masks described by Pollux.[21] The mask dates to the mid-2nd century, the beginning of Webster, Green, and Seeberg's period 3 (ca. 150–50).[22] Like the mask from Dor, it has a soft, round face, large, heavy-lidded eyes, and wavy hair. Wool fillets and ribbons bind the hair and hang down on either side of the face; loose ringlets (only partially preserved on the left side of the mask) also frame the face.

20. Poll. 4.147: (13) ὁ δ' ἁπαλὸς νεανίσκος. τρίχες μὲν κατὰ τὸν πάγχρηστον, πάντων δὲ νεώτατος, λευκὸς, σκιατροφίας, ἁπαλότητα ὑποδηλῶν. (15) ἐπισείονται αἱ τρίχες, ὥσπερ καὶ (16) τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐπισείστῳ, ἁπαλωτέρῳ ὄντι καὶ ξανθῷ τὴν κόμην. Greek text and translations are from Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, vol. 1, pp. 19, 21.

21. Paris, Louvre inv. D 510: Mollard-Besques 1972, p. 87, pl. 111:d; cf. Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, vol. 1, pp. 19–22. Webster, Green, and Seeberg (1995, vol. 2, p. 210) note that the Louvre mask should be reinterpreted as a female owing to its parted hair; but since no parting is visible in the published image—the ribbon covers the spot where it should be—we continue to identify it as a young man (see Webster 1961, p. 89, mask ZT 5; and Webster 1969, p. 89, mask ZT 5).

22. Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, vol. 1, pp. 60–64.

Figure 11. Amisos, terracotta comic mask. Mid-2nd century. Paris, Louvre D 510. Courtesy Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York; photo H. Lewandowski

The Dor mask's floral fringe consists primarily of ivy, with two olive leaves at the lower left. But in the frieze proper, olives and flowers soon take over, then pomegranates and oak leaves. The five- and six-petaled wild roses appear to be randomly placed, yet are usually located near the olive sprays; occasionally the flowers are shown in profile. With the exception of three glass tesserae in the centers of some flowers, the tesserae used for the flowers are of stone. Their petals are darker at the center and shade to white at their edges. The two pomegranates (Fig. 8:a–b) are largely stone, with darker colors in fired clay. The uppermost is modeled with golden and pinkish-brown stones like those used on the face of the mask. The olive berries are predominantly stone: browns, olive green, and opaque white. Most of the green leaves employ only green glass. The olive leaves, however, use both blue and blue-green glass and opaque white stone, and the oak leaves are white and light blue, with blue and blue-green glass highlights.

Most of the decorated area is set against a dark background of blue-brown stone. At times this background serves as a true shadow—as with the olive leaves below the chin of the mask and the lower edge of the fluttering ribbon. But in general it seems to function more as a dark backdrop against which the lighter glass and stone tesserae stand out. Many of the garland's leaves and flowers (as well as the top of the mask) extend beyond this dark ground.

The Bouquet Fragment

The border zone and white background of the bouquet fragment (**8**, Fig. 9) are identical to those of **7**. A cloth binding of deep gold with a red hem holds a bouquet that extends to the right. The bouquet's dark

background is also identical to that of **7**, and its flora are very similar, with two pomegranates, wild roses, and olive leaves. Novelties include one yellow-green fruit and a six-petaled flower of gold and orange with white highlights and a red center. To the left of the flower is a partial blue-glass leaf with white highlights and central veins. The pomegranates are larger and slightly cruder than those of **7**. This is most evident in the lower of the two fruits, where the opening crown is awkwardly placed and clumsily shaped. Clearly, at least two craftsmen produced this mosaic.

Extrapolating from **7**, a 16-cm-high section of the field is missing. The fragment shows a clear continuation of the tessellated floor beyond the frieze, with large white tesserae at its top laid perpendicularly to the banded border. There is no suggestion that the meander (see below) was laid in this direction.

The Meander Fragments

Two large sections of the mosaic's perspectival meander survive (**9**, **10**; Fig. 10). The white keys are 0.073–0.079 m high, and the width of a complete sequence can be estimated at 0.14 m. The number of tesserae ranges from seven to nine per square centimeter. Each perspectival "box" created by the double meander contains a simple, geometrically rendered rosette; at least five more rosettes are preserved in other small fragments. A wide range of colors is represented in the many small and two large fragments: gold, several blues, green, white, and red.[23]

Half of the tesserae used in the meander are glass (light blue and green), and the stones are white, two shades of red, and dark blue. The double key of the smaller fragment (**10**) is formed by a single row of white stones, and the illusion of depth is rendered in multiple colors: the "outside" of one exterior key is dark red, while the "inside" is light red. The center of the key on both sides is light blue, and the framed rosette is white with a blue center, set against the dark blue background. In the same fragment, the next sequence shows a variation on this color scheme, with dark and light blue glass for the exterior of the key, and shades of red for its interior. The larger of the two principal fragments (**9**) carries the same arrangement of colors, but here a more complete picture of the design can be seen, particularly the reversal of colors from exterior to interior. In this case, the dominant sequence is blue for the exterior and red for the interior. All of the rosettes contain the same colors.

The meander zone is thus quite varied. It is difficult to determine how, if at all, this part of the mosaic related to the garland frieze, although their borders hint at a certain continuity. Perhaps it framed the mosaic's central *emblema*. The workmanship, materials (particularly the heavy use of glass), and care in design indicate that this section was made by the same craftsmen who produced **7** and **8**. Both **9** and **10** have vertical seams that extend to the bottom of their preserved mortar bedding (0.133 and 0.126 m thick, respectively). This pattern, a conventional one, was most certainly laid in situ.[24] Three other geometrical fragments (not meanders) from Dor have these vertical seams. Possibly some or all of them were laid at the edge of the pavement or enclosed a putative central *emblema*. No seams appear on the two large garland fragments (**7**, **8**).

23. The double perspective meander of mosaic 25 in niche 37 of the Agora of the Italians on Delos, in which the distribution of colors is irregular, suggests how the disparate colors of the Dor meander would have worked together (*Délos* XXIX, pp. 136–139, figs. 29–31, pl. A:1).

24. For the mosaic-laying technique, see Ling 1998, pp. 14–15; Westgate 2000, pp. 272–273.

Figure 12. Thmuis, mosaic with personification of Queen Berenike II(?) by Sophilos. Late 3rd century. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. 21739. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Cairo

Discussion

Ongoing restoration of the dozens of remaining mosaic fragments and further excavation should yield a more complete picture of the composition. In particular, a second mask is suggested by a fragment of an eyebrow and adjacent wavy strands of hair. The colors used in this piece are identical to those of **7**, and the hair is treated similarly. It seems to come from the proper left side of a now-missing mask. Since the eyebrow terminates close to the edge of the face, this mask was also slightly averted from the viewer and foreshortened, facing in the opposite direction as the restored mask. Its thin eyebrow indicates a different character type.

Many of the other excavated fragments may come from different areas of the mosaic or from another floor entirely. They feature garlands, meanders, and other patterns that, in their current state, cannot be certainly connected with **7–10**. Of particular interest are several fragments that show two pomegranates together with red and blue fruits and flowers; grapes clustered among leaves and flowers; and two pinecones hanging by green glass pine needles. The possibility of a second floor is also raised by a decorative fragment that may represent part of Pan's throwing-stick, or *lagobolon,* and with a border consisting of only two rows of red tesserae.

The Dor mosaics strongly recall the technique, palette, and verisimilitude of Hellenistic works such as Sophilos's late-3rd-century personification from Thmuis now in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Fig. 12).[25] Sometimes identified as a portrait of Berenike II (reigned 246–221), this figure also displays a full face, animated countenance, and subtle

25. Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. 21739: Daszewski 1985, pp. 142–158, pls. A, 32, 42a; Grimm 1998, pp. 79–81, fig. 81:a, c; Dunbabin 1999, pp. 24–26, fig. 25, pl. 4.

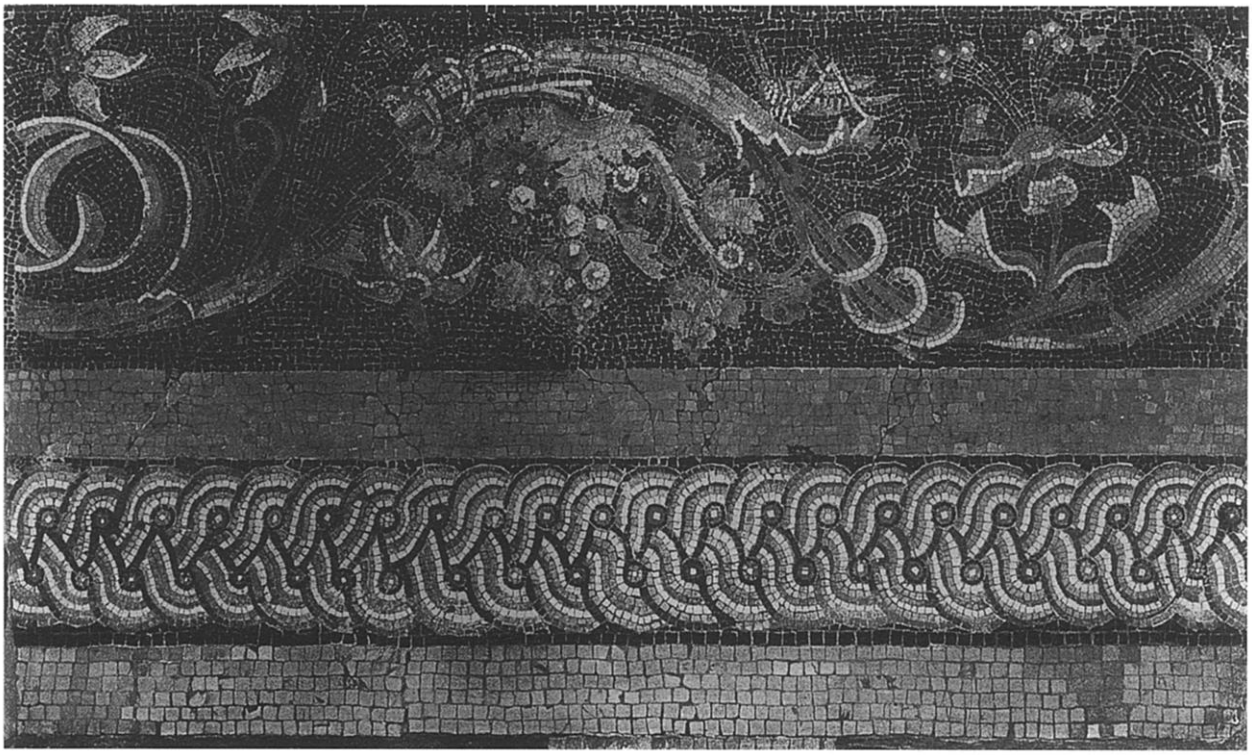

Figure 13. Pergamon, garland mosaic from Palace V. Mid-2nd century. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, inv. 70. After *AvP* V.1, pl. 18

chiaroscuro rendered in a virtuoso *opus vermiculatum*. The mid-2nd century garland of the Hephaistion mosaic from Palace V at Pergamon (now in Berlin) is set against a similar dark ground and contains a variety of scrolling vines from which fruits and flowers spring (Fig. 13). It also contains insects and playful erotes but remains more delicate and less lush and vibrant than the mosaics from Dor.[26]

The *opus tessellatum* and *vermiculatum* mask-and-garland mosaics from Delos may provide parallels for the entire composition. The closest come from the mosaic borders of the reception/dining rooms (*androne*s or *oeci*) of some of the 2nd-century houses. For example, on frieze M of mosaic 68, a (damaged) garland links bull-heads to theatrical masks.[27] Originally, there were three masks on each long side, two on each short side, and one angled bull-head at each corner. The eight preserved masks are spaced 1.10–2.40 m apart and vary in size, but are generally shorter and much narrower than the mask on fragment 7 from Dor; the young man (mask I) measures 0.30 (H.) × 0.20 (W.) m.[28] The frieze is 0.35 m high and encloses several concentric geometric patterns and a very damaged central *emblema* with a scene of Athena, Hermes, and an unidentified central figure. The mosaic is framed at the top and bottom by a thick black trim 0.06–0.09 m wide (with seven to ten rows of tesserae).[29]

These garland-and-mask mosaics are the visual equivalent of the floral "garlands" (*stephanoi*) of sympotic poetry "woven" for the Muses by the Hellenistic epigrammatists. They are the successors to the garlands that commonly embellish Classical and Early Hellenistic *symposion*-kraters, at least two of which have been found at Dor. By garlanding the room like

26. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, inv. 70: *AvP* V.1, pp. 53–61, pls. 17–19, figs. 27–38; Kriseleit 2000, pp. 17–23, figs. 8–15.

27. *Délos* XXIX, pp. 156–169, figs. 55–79, pl. A:3–4.

28. *Délos* XXIX, pp. 160–163, fig. 70, pl. A:3.

29. Cf. *Délos* XXIX, pp. 245–251, no. 215, figs. 184–195; Siebert 1971; also *AvP* V.1, pp. 53–74, figs. 67–74, pls. 5, 12–15, 26–39; Radt 1999, pp. 63–78, figs. 18–22 (Pergamon: Palaces IV and V); and Konstantinopoulos 1986, pp. 148–150, pl. 27; Papachristodoulou 1993, p. 37, pl. 22 (Rhodes).

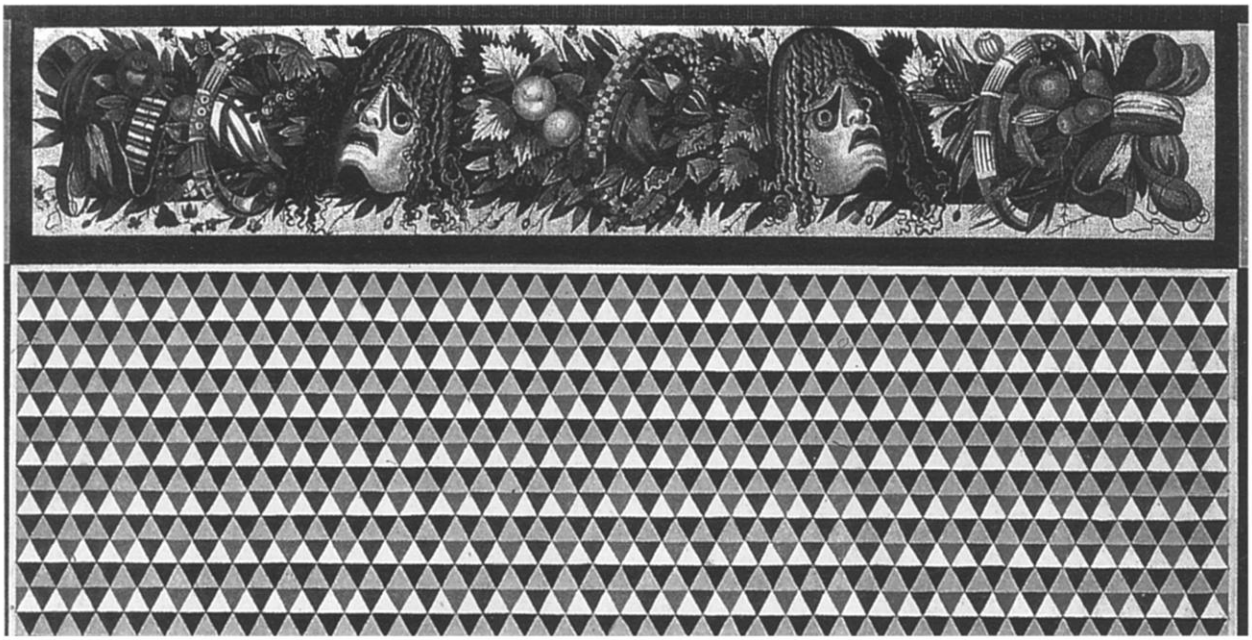

Figure 14. Pompeii, mask-and-garland mosaic from the *fauces* of the House of the Faun. Late 2nd century. Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 9994. After a 19th-century watercolor by G. Marsigli; Norman Neuerberg Archive, University of California at Berkeley

the banqueters themselves, the mosaics define it as a hospitable space marked by Dionysiac *enthousiasmos* and the altered state of consciousness it creates.[30]

Further comparanda come from the House of the Faun at Pompeii, whose mosaics date to the late 2nd century.[31] The mask-and-garland frieze that borders the *opus sectile* pavement in the house's *fauces* (Fig. 14)[32] displays many similarities to the Dor mosaic. The field measures 0.49 × 2.81 m and contains two symmetrically placed, female theatrical masks facing away from each other, connected by a long garland. The garland is bound together with a spiraling ribbon that is yellow on one side and red and white on the other. It encircles the garland three times and is tied in two large bows, one at either end. The garland contains a range of flora similar to that in the Dor frieze: pomegranates in various stages of ripening, quinces, pinecones, a shoot of grain, an acorn, ivy, and olives. These cover and overlap the edges of a rectilinear dark background set into a white field. The shading is more dramatic than in fragment 7 from Dor, but the light source is not consistent. Room 34 of the house (probably its *triclinium*) was decorated with the so-called Tiger-Rider Mosaic framed by a mask-and-garland frieze.[33] This frieze shares with the Dor mosaic the variety and opposing orientation of its masks; the multicolored ribbon that binds its garlands; and its dark backdrop.[34]

Although these parallels are suggestive, the extant fragments from Dor do not as yet entitle us to reconstruct the program of the mosaic floor or floors in any detail. It is likely, however, to have resembled the Delian-Pergamene *andron/oecus* type rather than the western *fauces* type. The technique, quality, and parallels (stylistic and iconographic) of the fragments allow us to date the mosaic at Dor with some confidence to the mid–late 2nd century.

30. See *Anth. Pal.* 4.1–2 (Meleager and Philip) with Gutzwiller 1998, pp. 276–291; cf., e.g., Lissarrague 1990a, p. 197, pls. 17, 19–22; 1990b, pp. 26–29; Stern 2000, color pl. 2:1 (Dor kraters).

31. Baldassare 1994, pp. 94–96, figs. 12–14.

32. Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 9994.

33. Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 9991: Baldassare 1994, pp. 104–105, fig. 28; Dunbabin 1999, pp. 43–44, fig. 43.

34. Its pervasive dark background here is akin to eastern Hellenistic mosaics, like those from Pergamon: Dunbabin 1999, p. 44.

CODA

Although the Nike found in recent excavations at Tel Dor was probably carved by a local craftsman or perhaps a Cypriot, the mosaicist(s) must have been trained in one of the main centers of Hellenistic art, such as Pergamon or—perhaps more likely—Alexandria. Yet the mosaic itself is almost certainly not an import. Both the shelly mortar used for the thin bedding for the tesserae and the coarser mortar below look very much like the same, local material, although laboratory analysis of the support is necessary to confirm this observation. The makers of the mosaic surely traveled to Dor to execute it. There is good evidence that Hellenistic craftsmen of all kinds traveled widely and there is some evidence that mosaicists themselves did so. Thus [Askle]piades from Arados in Syria signed a mosaic on Delos and Dionysios from Alexandria signed another at Segesta in Sicily.[35] The latter suggests an awareness of and desire for work of a particular style and quality—as does the newly discovered mosaic at Dor.

The eagerness of Dor's inhabitants to identify with things Hellenic is evinced in their foundation myth.[36] The name "Doros" or "Dora" for the site came from a Hellenization of the Semitic "Dor."[37] This name is tied to a mythical genealogy of the city, in which Doros, son of Poseidon, was its eponymous founder.[38] Although the group identity to which this genealogy bears witness need not be legible as such in the archaeological record,[39] the newly discovered architectural fragments, Nike, and mosaic suggest that at least some residents of Dor considered themselves Hellenized or even ethnically Greek.

Here an immediate question arises over the unusual popularity of the Doric order at Dor. In addition to the fragments published here and those attributed to the propylon of Temple H, the Roman "bouleuterion/synagogue" in area B was Doric, and many stray Doric capitals have been recovered in areas F and H. Did the inhabitants of Graeco-Roman Dor perhaps feel that the Doric order was somehow uniquely theirs? For if a Roman scholar could blandly conflate Doros son of Poseidon with Doros son of Hellen, renowned ancestor and eponymous hero of the Dorians and the Doric order's inventor, *a fortiori* so, surely, could they.[40]

The mosaic at Dor is an index of an individual's Hellenization that may owe its genesis to—and perhaps in turn even reinforced—the city's

35. Westgate 2000, p. 273.

36. For discussions of Hellenic and Hellenistic identity, see Hall 1997, 2002; Morris 2000.

37. "Dor": see, e.g., *Joshua* 17:11; *Kings* 4:11; "Dora/Doros": see, e.g., Polyb. 5.66.1; Joseph. *AJ* 13.223–224; *BJ* 1.50; cf. Dahl 1915, pp. 16–20. The Hellenized version was apparently current as early as ca. 500 (Hekataios of Miletos *ap.* Steph. Byz., s.v. Δῶρος; *FGrHist* 1 F275); it occurs in shortened form (ΔΩ) on silver tetradrachms of Ptolemy V minted in the city in 205, and in full in 139/138 on Tryphon's lead sling bullet; from 64/63 it occurs regularly on the city's Roman-period coins. See Dahl 1915, pp. 16–20, 62–63, 94–95; Stern 1995, I:B, p. 469, nos. 90–94 (coins), pp. 491–496 (bullet); 2000, pp. 211–213, 264–267, figs. 142, 182.

38. Claudius Iolaus *ap.* Steph. Byz., s.v. Δῶρος; *FHG* p. 363; Dahl 1915, pp. 16–19, 91–95; Stern 1995, I:A, p. 2; 2000, p. 201.

39. See Waldbaum 1997; Hall 1997; cf. Stern 1989; Berlin 1997.

40. Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.27: *sane Dorus Neptuni filius fuit, unde Dori originem ducunt;* cf. Vitr. 4.1.3 for Doros son of Hellen and the Doric order. On the origins and development of Dorian self-consciousness, see Hall 2002, pp. 82–89.

self-styled Hellenic filiation. This stunning composition reaffirms that patrons living outside the major centers of art were at times sophisticated and resourceful enough to turn to these centers to satisfy their tastes. Together with the architectural fragments described above, the mosaic offers a glimpse of the ways in which self- and group identities could be subjectively formed, not only through myth, but also through material culture.

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