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TWO *FAVISSAE* FROM TEL DOR, ISRAEL

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I

During the first season of excavations at Tel Dor¹, in 1980, an assemblage of clay figurines was uncovered in a Persian period stratum, together with two fragments of limestone statuettes. These artefacts should be interpreted as the remains of a *favissa* of a nearby sanctuary².

¹ The excavations at Tel Dor are being conducted by the author 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.

² Many *favissae* of the same period discovered along the Israeli coast contained homogeneous assemblages of clay figurines and stone statuettes: cf. Beth Shan: F.W. JAMES, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan*, Philadelphia 1966, p. 130-131, fig. 116; Makmish: N. AVIGAD, *Excavations at Makmish 1958. Preliminary Report*, in *IEJ* 10 (1960), p. 90-96; Lachish: O. TUFTNELL, *Lachish III. The Iron Age*, Oxford 1953, pl. 33; Tel 'Erani: A. CIASCA, *Un deposito di statuette da Tell Gat*, in *OA* 2 (1963), p. 45-63 and pl. 15-23; F.J. BLISS - R.A.S. MACALISTER, *Excavations in Palestine (1898-1900)*, London 1902, p. 146, pl. 75; Id., in *PEFQS* 1899, pl. opp. p. 328; Tel Šippor: O. NEGBI, *A Deposit of Terracottas and Statuettes from Tel Šippor* ('Atiqot, English Series VI), Jerusalem 1966; Gaza: E. STERN, *A Group of Cypriot Limestone Sculptures from the Gaza Region*, in *Levant* 7 (1975), p. 104-107; Beer-Sheba: E. STERN, *A Deposit of Votive Figurines from the Beer-Sheba Region* (Hebrew), in *Nelson Glueck Memorial Volume* (Eretz-Israel 12), Jerusalem 1975, p. 91-94. Two additional unpublished *favissae* are known, one at Eliachin, in the Sharon plain, and the other at Yabneh, on the Philistine coast. Mention should also be made here of the wreck off the coast of Shave-Zion containing a hoard of figurines: E. LINDER, *A Cargo of Phoenicio-Punic Figurines*, in *Archaeology* 26 (1973), p. 182-187. Others have been discovered along the Phoenician coast. Cf. M. DUNAND, *Les sculptures de la favissa du Temple d'Amrit*, in *BMB* 7 (1945), p. 99-107; 8 (1946-48), p. 81-107; Id., *Le Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon. Essai de chronologie*, in *BMB* 26 (1973), p. 7-25; M. CHÉHAB, *Les terres cuites de Kharayeb*, in *BMB* 10 (1951-52) and 11 (1953-54); B. KAOUKABANI, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Kharayeb, 1969-1970*, in *BMB* 26 (1973), p. 41-60. - More statuettes and figurines have been uncovered in strata and tombs of the Persian period, mostly in sites also located along the Israeli-Phoenician coast. Others have been recovered from the sea. Cf. C.L. WOOLLEY, *Excavations at Al-Mina, Sueida*, in *JHS* 58 (1938), p. 1-30, 133-170 (see p. 164, No. 7; p. 167-168, Nos. 78, 130); P.J. RIIS, *Sukas VI. The Graeco-Phoenician Cemetery and Sanctuary at the Southern Harbour*, Copenhagen 1979, *passim*; J.B. PRITCHARD, *Sarepta. A Preliminary Report on the Iron Age*, Philadelphia 1975, pls. 42, 46; W. CULICAN, *Dea Tyria Gravida*, in *AjBA* 1/2 (1969), p. 35-50; E. LINDER, *art. cit.*; R.W. HAMILTON, *Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam*, in *QDAP* 4 (1934), p. 1-69 (see figs. 10, 25-26); M. PRAUSNITZ, *Akhziv*, in *RB* 67 (1960), p. 398 and pl. XXV b (cf. W. CULICAN, *art. cit.*, p. 35, n. 3, and

The *favissa* was discovered in Area B³, named by us the «gates area» because in this point there is a natural break in the steep *glacis* encircling the mound. Indeed, in this area defence walls and gates from four periods were discovered : Roman, Hellenistic, Persian and Israelite.

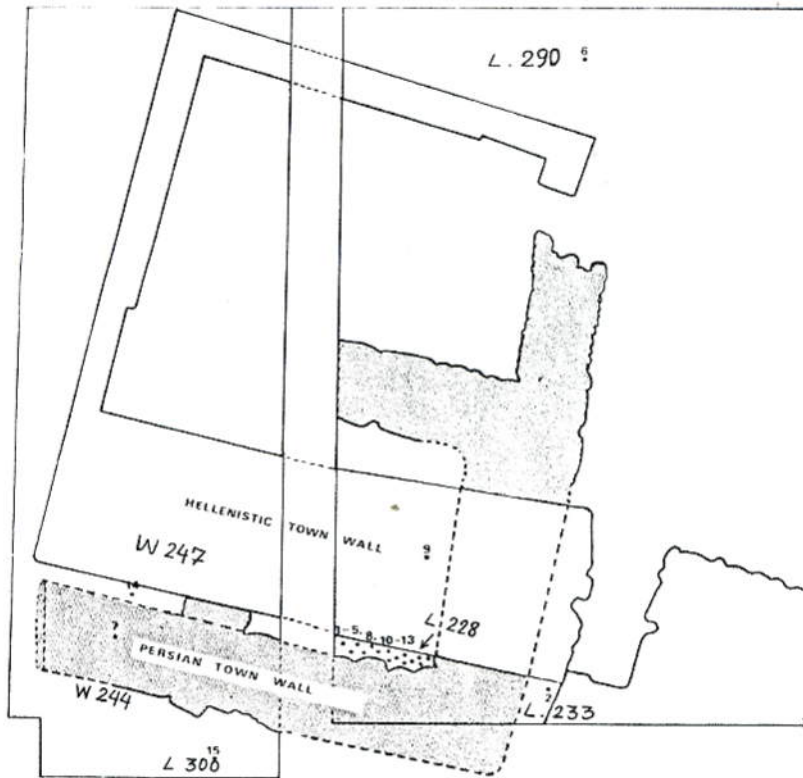


Fig. 1. Schematic plan of the *favissa* and its surroundings in area B at Tel Dor. The numbers indicate the places where the figurines were found.

pls. Ia, Vc); M. BROSHI, *Tel Megadim*, in *RB* 76 (1969), p. 413-414 and pl. XVIb; E. STERN, *Excavations at Tel Mevorakh I* (Qedem 9), Jerusalem 1978, pl. 42; Tel Gamma: W.M.F. PETRIE, *Gerar*, London 1928, 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 locally made artefacts. Most of the figurines were thrown into the *favissae* after being deliberately broken.

³ A photograph of Area B can be seen in *Recherches archéologiques en Israël / Archeologisch onderzoek in Israël*, Leuven 1984, p. 170, fig. 99.

In the area of the *favissa* (see plan of fig. 1), a section of the Hellenistic 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, on a base of field stones, has been preserved. In front and to the east of this wall, at a distance of about 1 m, the remains of a city wall from the Persian period were found (W-244)⁴. This older 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 N° 228), we came upon four intact clay figurines and the sherds of another fifteen (fig. 2). In the course of the dig, we came upon additional broken figurines and limestone statuettes spread about the surrounding ground⁵. 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 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 the city gate of the same era, there stood a sanctuary 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 beneath the Hellenistic wall (W-247) to the west.

In the *favissa* three types of figurines were uncovered: 1. Eastern style clay figurines, male and female; 2. Western style, males, females and boys; and 3. stone statuettes.

1. The *Eastern* group included four figurines representing 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. The second group of Eastern figurines consisted of female deities in three variants: holding their breasts, pregnant (fig. 3), and nursing a child. Also these figurines are hollow, moulded in front and smooth behind.

⁴ See plan of fig. 1.

⁵ Loci Nos. 233, 207, 244, and 300; cf. plan of fig. 1.



Fig. 2 (left). Locus No 228 in Area B, where the clay figurines have been found.
Fig. 3 (right). Eastern figurine of female deity.

2. The *Western* group of area B *favissa* included the head of a Greek warrior. This is a solid clay head, moulded in front and smooth at the back, representing a bearded male wearing a Greek helmet. The style is quite archaic and something of the well-known «archaic smile» can be detected. There were also fragments of four figurines depicting women. All are 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; the clothing of the others is Greek but the figure Eastern. They appear in the three familiar gestures: holding their breasts, pregnant or nursing a child. More interesting is the smaller figurine of 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 figurines, though not identical, have been found in the *favissa* of Kharayeb on the Phoenician coast. Here, too, the image⁶ represents a female with protruding belly, seated with her legs apart, one hand on her knee and the other pointing to her genitals⁷. M. Chéhab identifies this as «Baubo», according to one interpretation «a female daemon of a primitive and obscene character, doubtless originally a personification of the *cunnius*»⁸. She would have played a part in the Eleusinian mysteries. More figurines of the same type have turned up in the sanctuary of Priene in Western Anatolia⁹. Margarete Bieber believes them to «have been influenced by Alexandrine grotesques»¹⁰.

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 West¹¹.

Finally, in the Western group, we must mention the finding of two figurines depicting boys. One represents a lad wearing a long *chiton* and *himation*, and the other is a part of a figurine of a type often called the «temple boy».

3. The *favissa* of area B also contained two fragments of Cypriote limestone statuettes. One shows the torso of a male draped in a *chiton* tied with a belt; the head, the legs, and a hand were missing. The second is but the lower part of another limestone statuette of which only the square stand and two feet have survived.

These two are types commonly represented in the assemblages discovered along the Phoenician¹² and Israeli coasts¹³. In most

⁶ Only one was actually published.

⁷ M. CHÉHAB, *op. cit.* (n. 2), in *BMB* 10 (1951-52), p. 32, 122, 136; 11 (1953-54), pl. 30 : 4 (Nos. 216-217).

⁸ Cf. N.G.L. HAMMOND - H.H. SCULLARD (ed.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. repr., Oxford 1978, p. 163b (containing also additional bibliography).

⁹ T. WIEGAND - H. SCHRADER, *Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-98*, Berlin 1904, p. 161, figs. 149-156.

¹⁰ M. BIEBER, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1967, p. 105.

¹¹ J.W. - G.M. CROWFOOT, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London 1938, p. 29, n. 8; C. and G.-C. PICARD, *La vie quotidienne à Carthage au temps d'Hannibal*, Paris 1958, p. 72-73.

¹² Cf. Al-Mina : C.L. WOOLLEY, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 164, No. 7; p. 167-168, Nos. 78, 130. Amrit : M. DUNAND, *art. cit.* (n. 2), in *BMB* 7 (1944-45), pls. 14-29; *BMB* 8 (1946-48), pls. 30-42. Sukas : P.J. RUS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 35, figs. 99-102; p. 36, figs. 104-105 and 139; p. 51, figs. 164. Byblos : M. DUNAND, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, Paris 1937, pl. 42, Nos. 1361, 1888. Sidon : M. DUNAND, *art. cit.* (n. 2), in *BMB* 26 (1973), pls. 8, 10, 15. Kharayeb : B. KAOUKABANI, *art. cit.* (n. 1), in *BMB* 26 (1973), pl. 17 : 2.

¹³ Cf. Eliachin : E. STERN, *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Per-*

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 of similar limestone statuettes have been discovered at Kition, Vouni, Arsos, Mersinaki¹⁴ and elsewhere¹⁵. Indeed, it is now generally accepted that the island is their place of origin¹⁶.

A study of the dates attributed elsewhere 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 one, from the end of the fourth century B.C.

The contents of the assemblage of area B at Dor are similar to those from other *favissae* of the Persian period in this region which are characterized by their heterogeneity. This heterogeneity has been recognized and discussed by many scholars¹⁷. N. Avigad, for instance, discerns in the Makmish finds Phoenician, Egyptian, Persian, Canaanite, Cypriot and Greek influences. He explains this phenomenon by the syncretistic trends of the sea-faring Phoenicians, who were mediators between various cultures¹⁸. Similarly A.

sian Period, Warminster 1982, p. 17, fig. 21 ; p. 159. Makmish : N. AVIGAD, *art. cit.* (n. 2), pl. 9 C ; Tell eš-Šafi : F.J. BLISS - R.A.S. MACALISTER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 146, pl. 75 ; *Id.*, *PEFQS* 1899, p. 196 and pl. opp. p. 328. Tel Šippor : O. NEGBI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pls. 15-16. Tel 'Erani : A. CIASCA, *art. cit.* (n. 2), pls. 21-23. Tel Gamma : W.M.F. PETRIE, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pl. 15 : 8. Gaza : E. STERN, *art. cit.* (n. 2), in *Levant* 7 (1975), pls. 19-20.

¹⁴ Cf. also V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Material from a Sanctuary at Potamia*, in *RDAC* 1979, p. 289-315 and pl. XXXIII-XLVI.

¹⁵ E. GJERSTAD, *SCE* III, Stockholm 1937, pls. 7-26, 48-69, 191-193, 126-128, 133.

¹⁶ F.J. BLISS claimed already in 1902 that the stone statuettes from Tell eš-Šafi were «of a well known Cypriot type ... dating to about 500 B.C.» (F.J. BLISS - R.A.S. MACALISTER, *op. cit.* [n. 2], p. 146). This is also the opinion of N. AVIGAD (*art. cit.* [n. 2], p. 94), A. CIASCA (*art. cit.* [n. 2], p. 61) and O. NEGBI (*op. cit.* [n. 2], p. 7). E. GJERSTAD, who re-examined the finds from Tell eš-Šafi and Tel Gamma (Tell Jemmeh), has also concluded that they are all of Cypriot origin (*SCE* IV/2, Stockholm 1948, p. 322-323). It should be noted that the statuette from Tel Gamma (W.M.F. PETRIE, *op. cit.* [n. 2], 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. E. STERN, *art. cit.* [n. 2], in *Levant* 7 [1975], p. 104, n. 5).

¹⁷ See recently E. STERN, *op. cit.* (n. 14), chap. VI ; *Id.*, *art. cit.* (n. 2), in *Levant* 7 (1975), p. 106-107 ; P.J. RIIS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 67-68 ; B. KAOUKABANI, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 58.

¹⁸ N. AVIGAD, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 96.

Ciasca explains the existence of Greek and Cypriot elements in Israel and Phoenicia¹⁹. Another hypothesis which should be mentioned in this connection is that of E. Gjerstad and P.J. Riis who suppose that some of the Cypriot statuettes of the period were made locally by Cypriot and Phoenician craftsmen²⁰.

In the Persian period Dor 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'azor, king of Sidon in the late sixth or early fifth century B.C., attesting to the surrender of Dor to him by the Persian king²¹. The second is the later mid-fourth century source known as «Pseudo-Scylax»²².

With regard to the interpretation of the figurines from the area B *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; women representing fertility goddesses; and young boys associated, according to various parallels, with 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. Ano-

¹⁹ A. CIASCA, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 61.

²⁰ Cf. O. NEGBI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 9, n. 69; N. AVIGAD, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 96; P.J. RIIS, *L'activité de la Mission archéologique danoise sur la côte phénicienne en 1960*, in *AAS* 11-12 (1961-62), p. 133-144 (see p. 142-144).

²¹ G.A. COOKE, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, p. 30-40; S. MOSCATI, *The World of the Phoenicians*, London 1973, p. 25; M. DUNAND, *Nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes du temple d'Echmoun à Bostan ech-Cheikh près de Sidon*, in *BMB* 18 (1965), p. 105-109 and pl. I-II; J.B. PECKHAM, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, Cambridge Mass. 1968, p. 80-81, n. 55 with further bibliography.

²² K. GALLING, *Die syrisch-palästinische Küste nach der Beschreibung bei Pseudo-Scylax*, in *ZDPV* 61 (1938), p. 66-96, reprinted with a few changes in K. GALLING, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1964, p. 185-209.

ther characteristic of the Phoenician triad is its flexibility from town to town»²³.

In the absence of any identifying symbol on our figurines — of the kind occurring for example on those of Shave-Zion²⁴ —, 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 Astarte, 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 a figurine representing another aspect of the Phoenician fertility cult, sacred prostitution²⁵.

II

The second *favissa* was discovered at not too great a depth in the Eastern slope of the mound in Area C²⁶. Only its lowest part was preserved to a height of about 40 cm, while the upper part had been completely demolished during later constructions and consequently we have no way of assessing its original height. The base of the pit is round in shape and about 2 m in diameter.

The pit was dug into a surface of brick material. On the east side this surface extends to the edge of the present-day slope and it can be assumed that in antiquity it had continued further east. On the west it reached the broad brick wall which probably represents the city wall of Dor in the Iron Age. We have so far traced only the eastern part of this wall; the remainder is still concealed beneath the later walls.

²³ S. MOSCATI, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 62.

²⁴ E. LINDER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 185-186.

²⁵ 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 identification of these figurines see M. CHÉHAB, *op. cit.* (n. 2), *passim*; B. KAOUKABANI, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 58; W. CULICAN, *art. cit.* (n. 2); ID., *Problems of Phoenicio-Punic Iconography - A Contribution*, in *AJBA* 1/3 (1970), p. 28-57; E. LINDER, *art. cit.* (n. 2); J.B. PRITCHARD, *Recovering Sarepta, a Phoenician City*, Princeton 1978, p. 147-148.

²⁶ Photographs of Area C can be seen in *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 107, fig. 70, and p. 168, fig. 96.

At the bottom of the *favissa* three fragmentary figurines were found. One depicts the head of a bearded man²⁷. The second also represents a bearded man wearing a wide-brimmed hat. The third figurine is a plaque moulded in front and representing Astarte.

Two other figurines, which we also assigned to this *favissa*, were discovered at a short distance from it; one represents the head of a bearded man and has close analogies with one of the figurines mentioned above, though it is wearing a war helmet²⁸. The fifth figurine represents a young maiden; it was discovered several centimeters above the edge of the pit.

The five figurines belonged to an ensemble of votive objects of a temple which stood nearby. It is very likely that the *favissa* originally contained other figurines as well.

Four of the five figurines are Greek, three represent male heads: two wearing a hat and the third bareheaded. All have pointed beards and bear the archaic smile characteristic of early Greek sculpture. These figurines are so far unique in Israel, and they excel in their high standard of carving which sets them apart and places them firmly among the finest examples of figurines of the period in contrast to the majority of Greek figurines discovered in Israel which are indifferent specimens of a simple mass production²⁹. The fourth represents a young maiden and is archaic Greek too, but more schematic in style.

Generally speaking, the figurines are thus all archaic Greek. The Phoenician figurine may also have been included in this assemblage as a votive offering to Aphrodite, like the Greek votive figurine dedicated to Astarte by the Phoenicians³⁰. On the basis of the figurine types alone, it would probably be possible to assign the *favissa* to the middle of the fifth century B.C., but the dates of the Greek pottery, especially of the Attic ware, point to a later date, closer to the end of the fifth century.

²⁷ Colour photograph *ibid.*, p. 165, fig. 93.

²⁸ Photograph *ibid.*, p. 164, fig. 91.

²⁹ Dr. Robert Wenning, who examined the photos of these two figurines, noted that: «The two Greek terracotta heads are of best quality. I would like to date them close to 450/440 B.C. Therefore they belong to the earliest among the *favissa* material, which is the second half of the 5th century. But the heads have still to be researched if they can be dated a little further down (cf. the mouth) in this 5th c. with having some older features in the tradition of works from ca. 460 B.C. This depends partly on the location of the workshop».

³⁰ And see in this matter E. STERN, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 41 and 46.

A considerable quantity of pottery was uncovered both in the *favissa* and in the adjacent loci, and most of the latter probably originated from the pit. The sherds are of three types: 1) Attic ware, 2) East Greek painted ware, and 3) local ware. The first two types formed the bulk of the finds.

Numerous sherds of *Attic* ware appear which had been examined and dated by Dr. Robert Wenning, who concluded that all of them were in use during the period between 440 and 400 B.C.

The *East Greek pottery* which was found in large quantities both in the *favissa* and in the adjacent loci was popular in Eastern Greece and in the colonies from the end of the eighth century down to the fifth century B.C..

Most of the sherds of the third class of pottery, the *local ware*, were too small to allow a reconstruction of all the vessel types.

From the above evidence and on the basis of the archaic Greek style of the figurines and also of the large quantity of Greek pottery of diverse types discovered in the *favissa* of area C at Tel Dor, we suggest that this *favissa* belonged to a *Greek* temple located nearby³¹. The temple was in existence at the site at least during the second half of the fifth century B.C.

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The general impression we get from the Greek settlements of the seventh-fourth centuries B.C. in Phoenicia and apparently also in Israel is that of Phoenician cities which contain a very strong Greek element. The Greek population in these cities, except

³¹ The existence of Greek temples in the Phoenician cities in Israel may very likely have brought about the revival of the widespread custom of the use of *favissae* in local temples of the Persian period. Though the practice of burying ritual objects which were deemed unfit for use — figurines as well as large statues — was customary in the Late Bronze Age (and see, for example, O. TUFNELL *et alii*, *Lachish II. The Fosse Temple*, London 1940, p. 21, pls. X:2 and LXVI-LXVII), it enjoyed a resurgence in the Persian period. A considerable number of *favissae* of this period have been found so far at sites on the coast and in the Shephelah (above, n. 2) and, in most cases, these pits serve as the sole evidence for the existence of temples since actual remains of the buildings are very scarce. *Favissae* of this type have also been encountered on the Phoenician coast (above, n. 2), some of huge dimensions and containing hundreds of objects. This phenomenon may perhaps also be explained as a result of the imitation of a widespread Greek custom, i.e., the revival of an ancient local practice due to contact with the new Greek ritual. On the great *favissae* in Greek temples, see for example the finds from the Temple of Apollo in Kourion, Cyprus: J.A. and S.H. YOUNG, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion*, Philadelphia 1955.

perhaps at Tell Sukas for a brief period³², did not constitute the majority of the inhabitants, as it did in the Greek colonies of the Western Mediterranean, but rather formed an ἐνοικισμός, a settlement of Greeks among the Phoenicians, or enjoyed a more or less peaceful coexistence in a city which was already populated by local inhabitants. No matter which of these alternatives is applicable, it now seems that there is a more solid archaeological basis for the words written by W.F. Albright many years ago: «In the sixth century B.C. numerous Greek trading posts were established on the coasts of Egypt, Palestine and Syria»³³. We can therefore assume that the city of Dor, in the Persian period, could hardly have been a member of the Delian League under the leadership of Athens, as some scholars tend to believe³⁴. In the light of the new evidence, it seems that there was just a nucleus of Greek population within the city.

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³² P.J. Riis suggested that these settlements were consolidated as a result of a particular political constellation and with its change they ceased to exist. In the period under discussion, in his view, the state controlling the settlement at Tell Sukas was specifically interested in developing trade with Greece at the expense of the Phoenicians, and the coast at the time of the beginning of Greek settlement at Sukas was under the domination of the kingdom of Hamath whose kings desired to limit the monopoly of the Phoenicians (P.J. Riis, *The First Greeks in Phoenicia and their Settlement at Sukas*, in *Ugaritica VI*, Paris 1969, p. 435-450).

³³ W.F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Harmondsworth 1960, p. 124.

³⁴ On this matter, see G. DAHL, *Material for the History of Dor*, New Haven 1915, p. 62-63, and also V. TCHERIKOVER, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 92 and 445, n. 15.