

**TOWSON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH**

**JUDEAN PILLAR FIGURINES
A STUDY**

by

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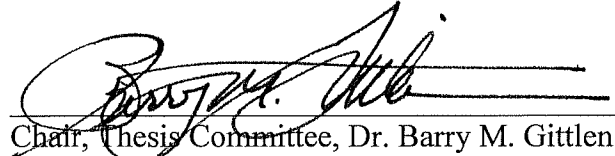
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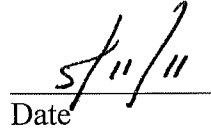
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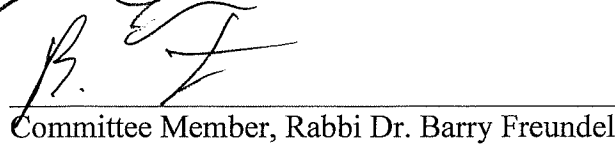
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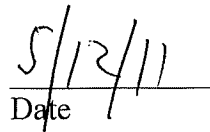
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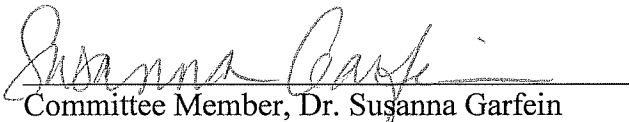
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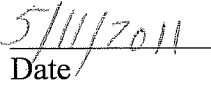

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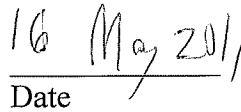

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Over one thousand small female terra cotta figurines have been discovered in almost every archaeological excavation within the region of ancient Judah in contexts dating from the eighth to the sixth century B.C.E (Kletter 1996: 4, 40-41). At some sites, such as Tel Beit Mirsim, these figurines were found in almost half of the homes excavated



Figure 1 - Pillar Figurines 9th - 6th century B.C.E. (Israel Museum)

(Hadley 1987: 276, Kletter 2001: 78, Keel & Uehlinger: 328). These standing “pillar” female figurines are characterized by moulded or handmade heads, large exaggerated breasts, and columnar lower bodies. Some of the bodies are solid and handmade or moulded like the head; some bodies are wheel-turned and hollow (Kletter

1996: 19) (see Figure 1). Engle first noted that “these figurines could be properly labeled Judean

pillar figurines”¹ (Engle: 12 and 6) and this designation was accepted in the subsequent studies of the figurines.²

Intriguingly, despite their large number, wide spread distribution and remarkable

¹ Hereafter referred to as JPFs

² Zevit agrees that “Engle’s contention that the JPFs are primarily (but not exclusively) Judahite was correct.” But he questions whether JPF finds at Ashdod, Tel en-Nasbeh, and Gibeon “count as Judahite, even though they are the geographical periphery of Judahite influence in Philistine and Benjamite territories?” (2001: 271).

appearance, the absence of any inscriptions on the JPFs or any direct biblical or other textual statements directly linking to the JPFs has sparked a vigorous debate among scholars concerning the figurine's function and purpose. Scholars have noted and speculated about the finds of JPFs, since at least the study of Clermont Ganneau in 1886³. Many scholars believe it is likely that the figurines are objects of the cult of Asherah or representations of the goddess herself (Engle: 9, Kletter 1996: 81, Dever 2005: 58, Finkelstein, et al: 177). Other scholars conclude that they were cult objects, vehicles of magic, fertility objects, or used for another specific purpose (Byrne: 139 and 143, Frymer-Kensky: 1992: 160, Meyers: 125-126). A few others have assumed the figurines to be representations of mortal women or images of an ancestor, toys, magic symbols, or a votive gift obtained at a temple or other place of worship and taken home as a symbol of the visit (Kletter 1996: 73, Toorn: 53-54).

This present study seeks to discover new insights, such as differences in the various types of JPFs found in the geographical regions of ancient Israel and the contexts of the finds, breakage patterns, and assemblages with other objects to suggest conclusions concerning their purpose. To this end, I created a database derived from Raz Kletter's published tabulation and catalogue of the typology, location, context, changes in the size and shape of the figurines in various regions, breakage patterns, and the site, square, location of the finds of JPFs, the association of JPFs with other artifacts, and bibliographic reference to each find (Kletter 1996: 147-231). Kletter's tabulation included the 359 figurines from T. A. Holland's unpublished dissertation⁴ and the 146 figurines from J. R. Engle's

³ The type of study, the number of JPFs considered, and some notes about the study are detailed in Table 1.

⁴ Holland, in his unpublished dissertation, provided data on the head types (rounded, with band or turban or side locks,

dissertation⁵ (Kletter 1996: 142-146). Kletter did not publish all of the results that he obtained from his database because of “lack of space” (Kletter 1996: 135).

Using Kletter’s data as a starting point, I created a database that included the 578 figurines in his tabulation (1996: 147-175) and catalogue (1996: 177-231) and the additional 276 figurines in his Addenda (1996: 218-231). This database of 864 figurines provides a larger sample size than used by Kletter and reduced statistical variances of the data. This produces somewhat different results in some cases from that of Kletter. For example, his 578 figurine database includes 150 handmade heads (45%) and 183 moulded heads (55%), while my expanded database with 864 figurines contains a more equal division of 198 handmade (49%) and 207 moulded (51%) heads.

Other differences arise because there are disagreements in spelling and categorization between Kletter’s database and the data in his Catalogue⁶. In these cases I have used the information contained in his Catalogue. In this thesis, my database is referred to as “Kletter Amended” or in some cases simply as the “Database.” Kletter’s original database is always referred to as Kletter’s database.

The present study, based on the data in my database, is organized into seven chapters.

and with applied hat and side-locks, depressions for eyes) of 359 JPFs (Kletter 1996: 15).

⁵ J. R. Engle, in his dissertation, published data on the eye types (long almond eyes, high almond eyes, oval almond eyes, weak eyes and outline eyes) of 146 figurines (16). Engle believed that “the shape and effect of the eyes provided a major clue in differentiating between five types of figurines.” He claimed that his eye types correlated well with the Holland’s JPF head types so that the JPFs could be categorized by specific combinations of eye and head styles (Engle: 12 and 16). Engle later abandoned this claim and Kletter’s data shows that this claim is not supported (Kletter 1996: 28), since Engle’s eye types do not correlate to many of Holland’s head types (see Table 8).

⁶ Kletter warned that “some mistakes were bound to happen” in working with the very large data base of over 20,000 data entries (1996: 135). The Kletter Amended database contains over 30,000 entries.

Background information on the JPFs in the historical and geographical context of the ancient Near East is provided in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2, Typology, examines the JPF types, the materials and techniques used to manufacture them, their size, number of rows of curls above the forehead, the presence of white wash, slip, and color and the tabulations of Holland's head types, and Engle's eye types. The data implies that studies by Holland and Engle do not provide any indication of the function and use of the JPFs.

Chapter 3 tackles the question of the geographical distribution of the various types of JPFs found in the various regions of modern Israel (Judean Mountains, Negev, Shephelah, Coastal Plain, and the North). This analysis suggests that the distribution of the handmade and moulded heads in Jerusalem and the Judean Mountains differs from the other geographical areas.

Chapter 4 provides a study of the context of the finds of handmade and moulded figurines and the classifications of Holland and Engle in domestic areas, public places, cisterns, caves, graves, and storehouses and shows that half were in domestic contexts.

Chapter 5 looks at the finds of assemblages of JPFs, consisting of those with other JPFs; with other types of figurines, such as horse and rider, animals and birds; and with other objects such as *lmlk* seal impressions, clay models of furniture, weapons, cult objects, and inscribed weights to determine what such associations may indicate about the possible

use of the JPFs. A limitation in the analysis of assemblages is that the data is not always sufficient to indicate whether the objects in the groupings were in use in the same period.

Chapter 6 explores the possible meaning to be found in the JPF breakage patterns.

Deliberate breakage of the JPFs would indicate that they are routinely destroyed after they had served their purpose or they were perhaps destroyed by religious reformers seeking to eliminate a popular religious cult, notably that of Asherah (Moorey 2003: 67). Deliberate breakage could be used to support an understanding of the JPFs as religious or cult objects.

My analysis suggests that the breakage patterns of the handmade and moulded heads in Jerusalem and the Judean Mountains differ from that in other geographical areas.

Chapter 7 draws together the conclusions indicated by the data in the previous chapters and suggests clear conclusions are elusive since there is no inscription on any of the figurines that have been found and a substantial amount of what is loosely called cult or ritual equipment revealed by excavations in the area of modern Israel cannot be connected with any reference in the Bible or other texts (Moorey: 1). Early on, scholars, such as Albright, had suggested toys as a use of a few or all of the figurines (Kletter 1996: 73). Other scholars suggested representations of mortal women, mother goddesses, Astarte, Anat, and Asherah, and magical figurines (Kletter 1996: 73-77).

The data in this study suggests three possible uses of the JPFs: (1) objects used in sorcery

or magic, (2) cult objects for fertility or other feminine purposes; or (3) objects representing or related to the goddess Asherah. In many ways these three are similar.

Table 1 – The Quantitative Factors in JPF Studies (Kletter 1996: 83)

Name and year	Type of publication	Total human figurines	PF/JPF author's definition	JPF my definition	Notes
Clermont Ganneau 1886	Paper	1	1	1	one JPF, from a museum's collection
Gezer II 1912	Report	?	?	?	Exact numbers not given
Pilz 1924	Summary	123	12	7	all JPFs from Gezer
TBM II 1943	Report	?	38	37	unpublished fragments
Pritchard 1943	Monograph	249	52	14	
Tel Nasbeh 1947	Report		148 (60)	148	Detailed registration
Lachish 1953	Report		12?	24	
Samaria I, III	Report		37	2?	Both JPFs in doubt
Gibeon WS 1961	Report		54	26	only 27 have photos
Holland 1975	PhD	958	573	359	
Engle 1979	PhD	187	147	145	“classical” JPF
Jeremias 1992	Paper	ca. 35	20	20?	JPFs from robbery
Kletter 1996	PhD	1852	854	854	

Notes:

- Often exact numbers are not available. The numbers in the column “total human figurines” do not include periods later than the Iron Age, nor animal figurines.
- The column “my definition” includes figurines which appear in the present catalogue.
- For Tel en-Nasbeh, 60 indicate the number of figurines with photographs or drawings in Kletter's report.
- The number 854 for the present study does not include 98 JPFs from unknown locations.
- The definition “JPF” (column “PF/JPFs author's definition”) was used since the thesis of J.R. Engle (1979).

CHAPTER 2

JPFs in their Historical and Geographical Contexts

Clay female figurines appear in Near Eastern archaeological contexts from the Neolithic to the Persian eras and beyond (Goodison and Morris: 24-25). These clay figurines “were as much artifacts as were the everyday pots, often made, used and disposed of with

them. By their actions, people incorporated them into their perceptions and value systems” (Moorey 2003: 22). Small ceramic figurines representing predominantly human females are characteristic artifacts of many of the world’s earliest settled villages (Lesure: 121). Many of the earliest female terracotta figurines, dating to the sixth millennium B.C.E. and earlier were the so-called “Mother Goddess” type (Goodison and Morris: 63). An excellent example of these early figurines is the handmade seated female terracotta with painted details (shown in Figure 2) that was excavated at Chagar Bazar, Syria and dated to the Halaf Period c. 5500-5000 B.C.E.



Figure 2 - Handmade seated female terracotta figurine excavated at Chagar Bazar, (Moorey Plate 1).

Highly stylized female images “without any trace of horned headdresses or other signifier of divinity” first appeared in Sumer in the middle of the third millennium (Moorey: 26). Subsequently, clay relief plaques of the nude female appeared in Babylonia around 2000-1650 B.C.E. “Their function is enigmatic, the more so in view of their diversity” and “frozen glimpses of many themes” (Moorey: 29). There has been wide spread interpretation of these female figurines based on contemporary sexual stereotypes

projected backwards into ancient times: “the figurines have large breasts so it represents motherhood; the figurine is naked so it represents sexuality and fertility” (Goodman & Morris, 9). These became a catch-all for the interpretation of ancient polytheistic religion and contextual and other data was overlooked (Goodman & Morris, 8-9).

The earliest appearance of clay figurines with the “columnar” or “pillar” shape dates to the Akkadian Dynasty (c. 2350-2150 B.C.E.). The pillar shape allowed these figurines to



stand upright and stable.

This shape was easy to

make and the pillar

form for the lower body

reflected real clothes

(Moorey 2003: 27).

Nevertheless, handmade

freestanding clay

anthropomorphic

Figure 3 - Handmade terracotta ‘pillar figurines’ from various sites in Syria, Seventh Century B.C.E. (Moorey Plate 12)

figurines are rare in

Mesopotamia from the third millennium B.C.E. to the first millennium B.C.E. (Moorey 2003: 58).

Narrowing our focus to the Levant, we find that moulded figurines appear in Syria in 1800-1700 B.C.E. (Moorey 2003: 28) and “are evident in Canaan towards the end of the second millennium B.C.E.” (Moorey 2003: 41). Some scholars believe that the technique of moulding heads came from the Aegean world (Engle: 7), although most scholars agree

that combining moulded heads with bodies that are handmade or wheel-made originated in the Levant. This technique later spread to Cyprus and the Aegean world and to the Western Mediterranean no earlier than the eighth century B.C.E. (Kletter 1996: 53).

Some scholars claim that the moulded and hand-made JPF type with columnar bodies appeared in Judah as early as the 10th century B.C.E. (Pritchard 1943: 57), most scholars date their inception to the late 8th century B.C.E. , as noted above (Engle: 21. Moorey 2003: 58, Kletter: 40, Frymer-Kensky 1992: 160, Day: 55), and believe that very few JPFs can be dated to the earlier period, Moorey notes that “it is still difficult to date accurately, as it is to explain the re-emergence in the mature Iron Age, during the eighth century B.C.E., of handmade free standing clay anthropomorphic figurines together with models of furniture and rare buildings” (2003: 58).

Very few of the JPF figurines have been found in the Persian Period, so it is reasonable to conclude that the JPFs went out of use before this era, most likely around 586 B.C.E. (Kletter 1996: 41).

While virtually all of the Judean Pillar Figurines have been found in Judah, some of the earliest known finds occur at northern sites such as Tell el-Far'ah (N). JPFs begin to appear in the South “barely one generation later” and may indicate a “phenomenon indirectly connected with the advance of the Assyrians” in the late eighth century B.C.E. (Holladay: 280) that caused changes in territorial boundaries and alterations in market conditions (Keel and Uehlinger: 202). Additional evidence that supports a northern iconographic origin for handmade figurines in the South Levant is the unmistakable

resemblance of the four handmade terracotta female pillar figurines shown in Figure 3 from various sites in Syria to the JPFs. Regardless of their origin, the large number and wide spread distribution of the figurines indicates that they were very popular (Kletter 1996: 40), as more fully described in Chapter 3.

The next chapter more fully defines what is meant by the term JPF and examines the differences in the JPF types to provide a basis to analyze whether typological differences among the various geographical regions, as well as in the context, breakage patterns, and assemblages with other objects, provide any indication of JPF function and use.

CHAPTER 3

Typology

This chapter examines the typology and typological differences of the JPFs with special regard to Engle's data on eye type and Holland's data on the shape of the heads. The small size of the JPFs indicates their likely personal or family use (Kletter 1996: 49). The form and variety of head and eye types indicate the number of moulds required, which may provide some indication of the number of manufacturing centers.



Figure 4 - Pillar figurines 9th - 6th century BCE (Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

Fabrication and Form

The Judean Pillar Figurines are characterized by a head with a smiling face and by a body with large exaggerated breasts and a pillar base which allowed the JPFs to be free-standing. They were inexpensive objects, made of a terra-cotta type of baked unlevigated clay, which had a high degree of grit and often

remnants of straw. The JPFs from Jerusalem were made from local terra-cotta clay, while the JPFs from

Tel Ira⁷ were made from local loess clay “so that they were probably manufactured in each locality or town” (Kletter 1996: 49).

⁷ Tel Ira is located on a strategic plateau looking over the Beer Sheva valley, first surveyed by David Alon in the early 1950's (The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology). Refer to the map on page 32 for the location of the sites included in Kletter's tabulation.

The figurines were very fragile because they were fired at relatively low temperatures.⁸

The firing usually gave the outer surface of the figurines a reddish-brown color, while the inner core remained gray or black (Pritchard 1961: 15).

There were two major variations: those with handmade heads and those with moulded heads (Kletter 1996: 29). The handmade heads are simple, solid, and pinched by the potter to form two shallow depressions for eyes and a protruding nose (see Figure 4).



Figure 5 - JPF from Tell Halif, Field IV, Stratum III, Locus G6008 (Jacobs)



Figure 6 - JPF from Tell Halif, Field IV, Stratum III, Locus G6008 (Jacobs)

Holland observed that there were variations in these heads which he categorized in his unpublished dissertation as: simple heads, heads with turbans, heads with turbans and side-locks, heads with hats, and others (Kletter 1996: 29).

The heads and the bodies of the handmade figurines were made as one piece. The bodies have arms across the chest and they support the breasts or are a little below them, as shown in Figure 46. In some cases, the arms meet and form a continuous band across the

⁸ Y. Goren of the Israel Antiquities Authority estimates the firing temperature for most of the JPFs was 600-700 degrees Celsius (Kletter1996: 49).

chest. The hands, with fingers that are not well indicated, are under the breasts. The lower body is pillar shaped and entirely lacking in a midsection, sexual organs, or legs or feet (Figures 1 and 4). The base is usually concave and shaped to provide for a free-standing figurine (Kletter 1996: 30).

Moulds

The moulded figurine heads were formed from a lump of clay stamped in an open mould. The face was “round and full with a smiling mouth and large eyes” (Kletter 1996: 29). There was a curly hairdress of ridges above the forehead, usually with up to 6 rows of curls. The head was made separately and connected to the body with a wooden dowel or by a plug protruding from the head which fit into the body (Kletter 2002: 181, 1996: 29-30). An excellent example of this is the plug on the base of the head shown in Figure 5 that fits into the neck of the figurine shown in Figure 6⁹. “The clay of the neck was smoothed upwards to hide the joint” after the head was attached to the body (Kletter 1996:29). The facial detail of these moulded heads is very clear, suggesting that some of the moulds were metal (Moorey 1994: 203).

The moulded head figurines were manufactured in two separate pieces: the head and the body. The body was moulded and the base of the body was widened and usually concave, without any indication of sex or pregnancy. Like the hand-made figurines, the body is a stereotype featuring a standing woman with large breasts. Often there are bracelets or necklaces depicted by red or yellow paint (Kletter 1996: 30). There was a

⁹ The figurines were found among debris is what appears “to have been incidental fill within Silo G6008 of Stratum III, Area G6, including a partial collapse of Silo G6008 itself.” (Jacobs).

lack of decorations on the reverse side of the figurines, which indicates that they were meant to be placed in a static position where they would be seen only from the front (Kletter 1996: 73).

Kletter concluded from his study of 129 moulded heads that the minimal number of moulds was 12, this being the number of all subtypes (Kletter 1996: 52). However, adding together the various combinations of Holland's three predominate head types and Engle's five eye types indicate that Kletter's estimates is probably low. Kletter believes it unlikely that one center would have that many different moulds and "we are dealing with mass production of which only a small part has been discovered so far" (Kletter 1996: 52). It is likely that these JPF manufacturing centers were located regionally to simplify distribution. Obviously, the handmade-head figurines did not require moulds and could be produced anywhere.

Only three moulds have been found that bear some resemblance to the JPFs (Kletter 1996: Appendix 5.VIII, nos. 1, 2, 14) and very few moulds of plaque and other anthropomorphic figurines have been found dating to Iron II. Keel and Uehlinger claim that the lack of finding any moulds was the result of not finding any potters' workshops, although some Judean workshops have been excavated (1992, as quoted in Kletter 1996: 51), including those found at Jericho and Lachish in Judah (King and Stager: 184-187).

Types

Kletter divides his data base into three types (handmade heads, his Type A, moulded heads, his Type B, and body parts, his Type C). Kletter was not able to associate body fragments with either handmade or moulded head types exactly, because, as Kletter observes:

“Whenever the upper end of the body remains, it is possible to classify it more exactly than assumed so far. Type A heads were made as part of the body, and when broken would leave a simple section at the neck. Type B heads have a peg and when broken would leave a distinctive depression in the body (if the peg remained intact with head) or appear as an inner circle in the section of the neck. This enables us to associate body fragments with types A or B exactly. Regrettably, earlier excavations missed this opportunity and did not present the necessary evidence in most cases” (1996: 38).

As a result, there is no attempt to associate body parts (Type C) in the Database with the two types of heads.

The percentage of the finds of the Handmade (Type A), Moulded (Type B), and Body fragments (Type C) in Table 2 shows a nearly equal relation between handmade and moulded types. Only a few of the JPF heads have been found attached to partial or complete bodies, as shown in Table 3. The fact that a large majority (over 96%) of the figurines are broken may indicate that the figurines were purposely broken after their use or by religious reformers. The breakage patterns of the figurines are examined in Chapter 6.

Size

Kletter found the average height of 140 handmade heads, including those of 12 whole figurines is 26 mm. There were variations from 14 mm (Kletter’s catalogue #327 and

#348) to 53 mm (Kletter's catalogue #369)¹⁰.

Kletter found that the average height of 150 moulded heads, including 13 whole figurines, was 28.3 mm. There were variations from 19 mm (catalogue #60) to 41 mm (catalogue #22). So that the handmade heads and the moulded heads were about the same size¹¹.

The average size of 12 complete and unbroken handmade specimens was 129 mm and varied from 68 mm (catalogue #287) to 160 mm (catalogue #125). The average size of the complete and unbroken moulded figurines was 162 mm and varied from 138 mm (catalogue #1) to 210 mm (catalogue #198), so that mould figurines are larger than the handmade.

Color

Kletter tabulated the use of white wash, slip, and color. White wash or the remains of it have been found on 319 of the 854 figurines (37%) and 8 figurines had red slip. He believed that "probably many other figurines were white-washed, but that this was not always mentioned in publications" and "the white-wash was probably done in order to give the figurines a light smooth finish, facilitating and stressing the painted decorations" (1996: 50).

¹⁰ Kletter measures the height of the moulded heads from the chin to the beginning of the hairdress. He does not provide information on how the size of the handmade JPFs was measured. Presumably, they were measured from the top of the head to the end of the neck for handmade and moulded JPFs and from the top of the fragment to the bottom of the fragment so that Kletter's data is misleading since there are differing variables.

¹¹ These measurements can help separate handmade JPF heads from the fragments of horse-and-rider figurines with only the head, since the heads of the horse-and-rider figurines are smaller (18 mm on the average) (Kletter 2002:188-190).

Many of the figurines excavated were hand painted. But, the paint has worn off with the passage of time. Of the 110 JPFs recorded with color (see Table 4), the large majority have some red paint. A lesser number have some red and yellow or only yellow paint. The distribution of the red, yellow, white, red & yellow, and red and black paint for different types of figurines is the same for both handmade and moulded figurines (see Table 5). The distribution is different for those figurines painted black, brown, or some other color. This may be due to the limited sample size since few figurines were found with these paint colors.

The distribution of color by geographical area is shown in Table 6. Most of the figurines with color (78%) were in the Judean Mountains. 13% were found in the Negev and 12% were found in Shephelah. Only one figurine with color with found in the Coastal Plain and none in the North. While red predominated in the Judean Mountains, Negev, and Shephelah, there was some variation in the distribution of the other colors. However, the data in the Negev and Shephelah is too sparse to draw any conclusions.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this data. First, as noted by Kletter, the predominance of the brighter colors when considered with their “smile, full face, and ‘offering’ the breasts” adds support that the JPFs were good or white magical objects (1996: 77). Second, the equal distribution of colors for the handmade and moulded heads, when considered with the equal distribution of these types is a possible indication that the use of both of these types was the same.

It is not clear what can be concluded from the greater number of figurines with color found in the Judean Mountains.

Head and Eye Types

Holland tabulated the types of heads of the figurines with both handmade and moulded heads (see Table 9). His study concluded that virtually all handmade heads were “simple rounded” heads, which is consistent with the simple construction of these handmade heads. There was more diversity in the type of heads shapes of the moulded heads (see Table 10). Three types of moulded heads predominate: “Rounded”, “Square,” and “Vertical.”

Engle examined the eye types of the JPFs and believed that “the shape and effect of the eyes provided a major clue in differentiating between five types of figurines” (Engle: 12). Engle defined five basic eye types: “Long Almond Eyes,” “High Almond Eyes,” “Oval Almond Eyes,” “Weak Eyes” and “Outline Eyes”. “Striking curls that overshadow the interest in the eyes are a sixth eye type.” Engle added two catchall types: “Uncertain” and “Related” (Engle: 12). The “Related” eye types were those of plaque or similar feminine figurines that he related to JPFs. He claimed that his eye types correlated well with the Holland’s JPF head types so that the JPFs could be categorized by specific combinations of eye and head styles (Engle: 12 and 16). Engle later abandoned this claim and the data in Table 7 shows that the specific combination of eye and head types can never be categorized this way.

The principal eye type of the figurines was “Long Almond Eyes” and this eye type along with “Outline Eyes” and “Oval Almond Eyes” comprised more than three-quarters of the eye type which he could identify. Data outside of the Judean Mountains is insufficient to draw any conclusion about the geographical distribution of Head and Eye types.

Conclusions about Typology

There were two principal types of JPFs: those with handmade heads and those with moulded heads. Both were made of unlevigated clay. The figurines with moulded heads are larger than the handmade head figurines. Kletter observes no differences between the typology of the figurines that were made at the beginning of eighth century and those that were made at a later date (Ketter1996: 66-67).

Assuming that the number of figurines was much greater than those that have been found, the large number and wide spread distribution of the figurines indicates that they were very popular. About an equal number of JPFs with handmade and moulded heads has been found. The number of moulded head JPFs indicates a mass manufacture at a rather high technical level.

There was diversity in the shape of the eyes and the shape of the heads of the figurines. This diversity was greater in the moulded heads, whereas the handmade heads were almost all of the rounded type. This indicates simplicity and ease of construction were important in the fabrication of handmade JPFs.

The diversity in both the mould and handmade heads may have been due to the preferences of the people who used the figurines. It may also have been the choices of the potters who manufactured the figurines or the way the figurines were distributed (Kletter 1996: 48).

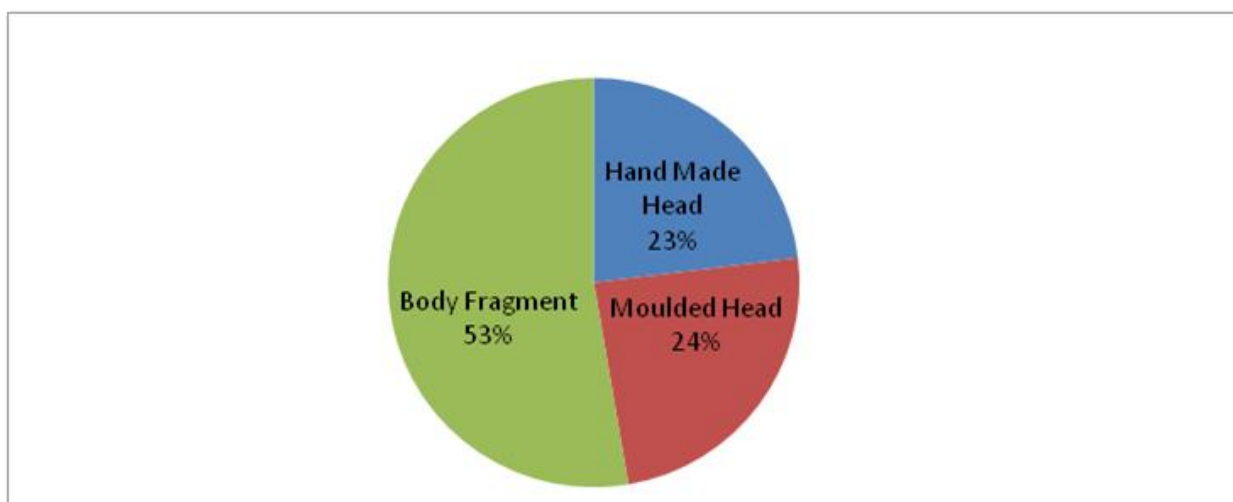
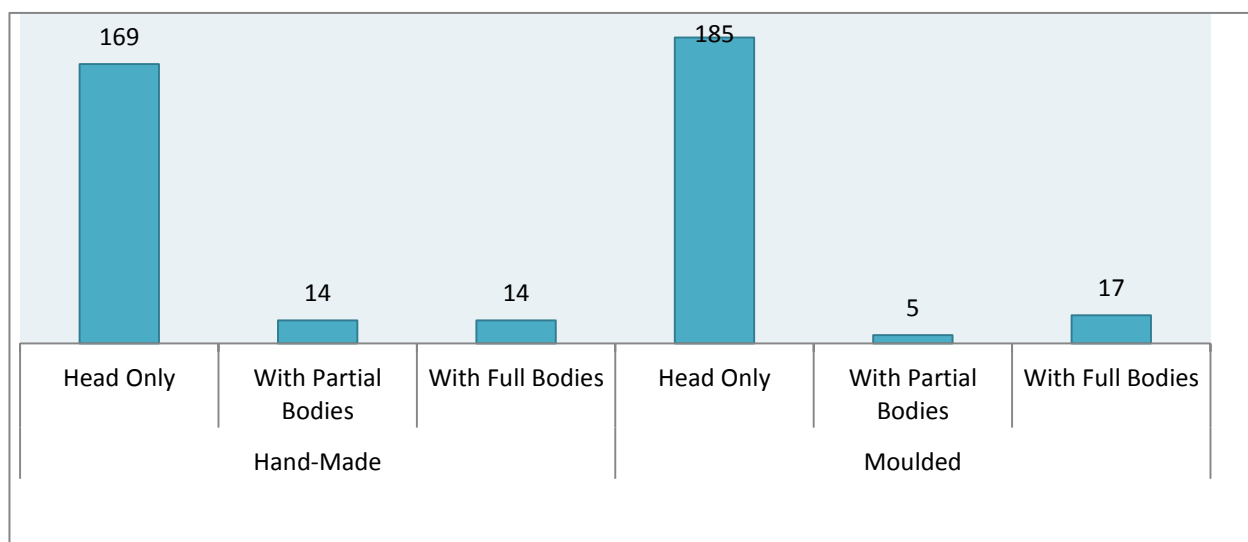
Table 2 – Class/Types of JPFs**Table 3 – Class/Types of JPF Finds**

Table 4 - Color of the JPFs

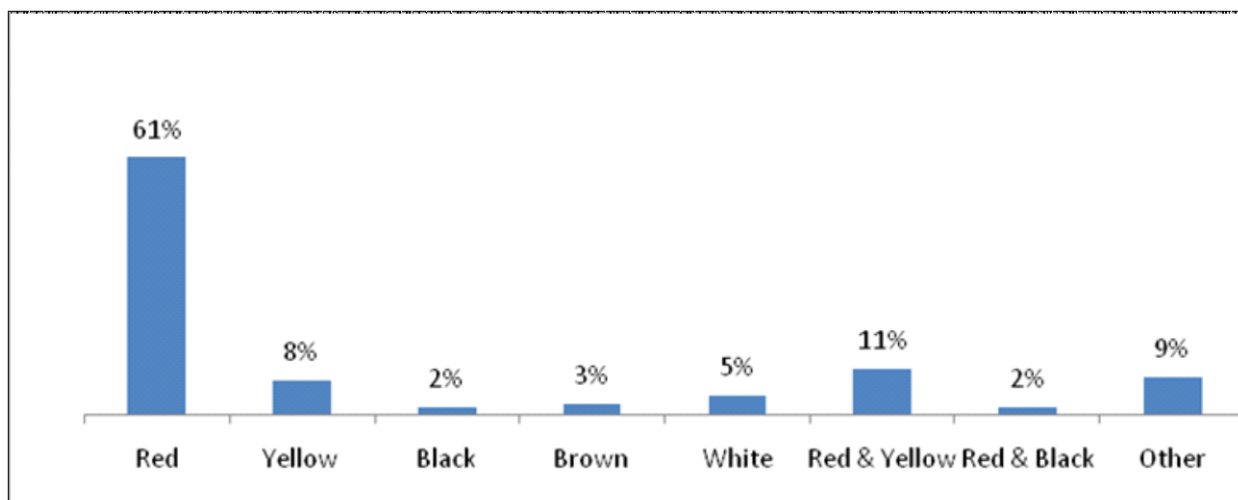


Table 5 - Colors of the JPFs by Type

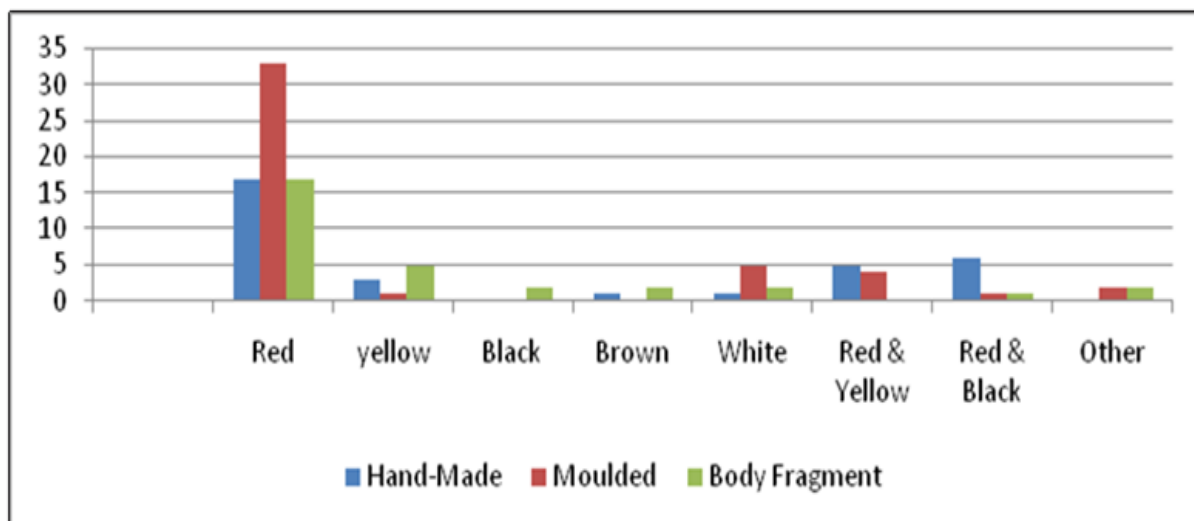


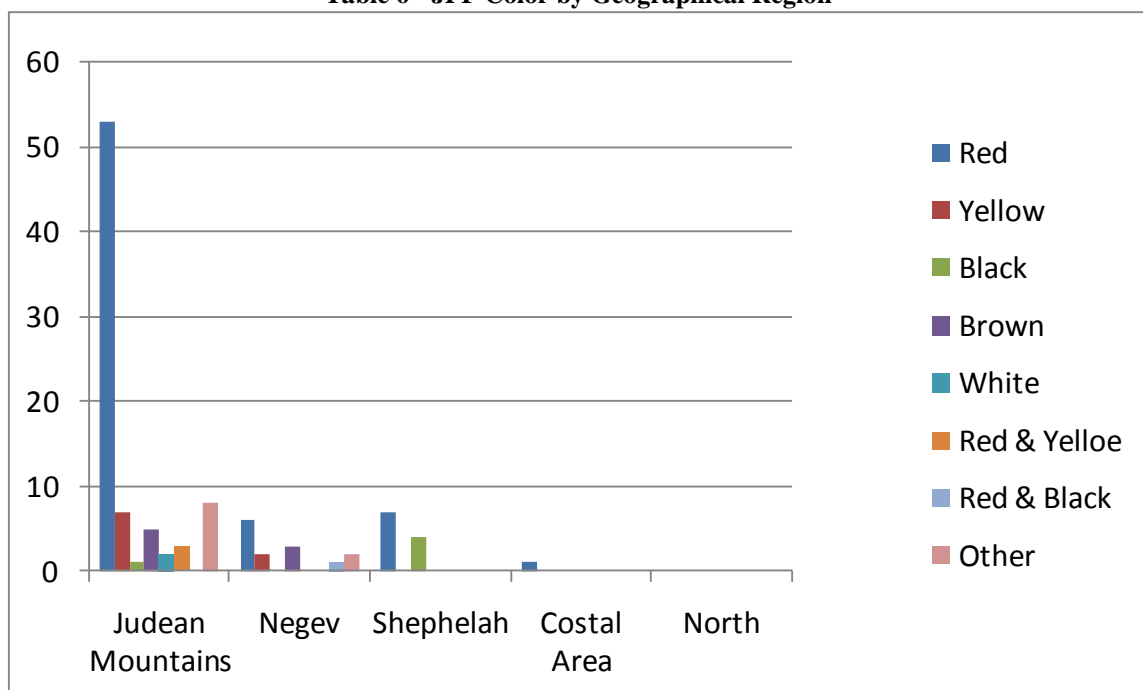
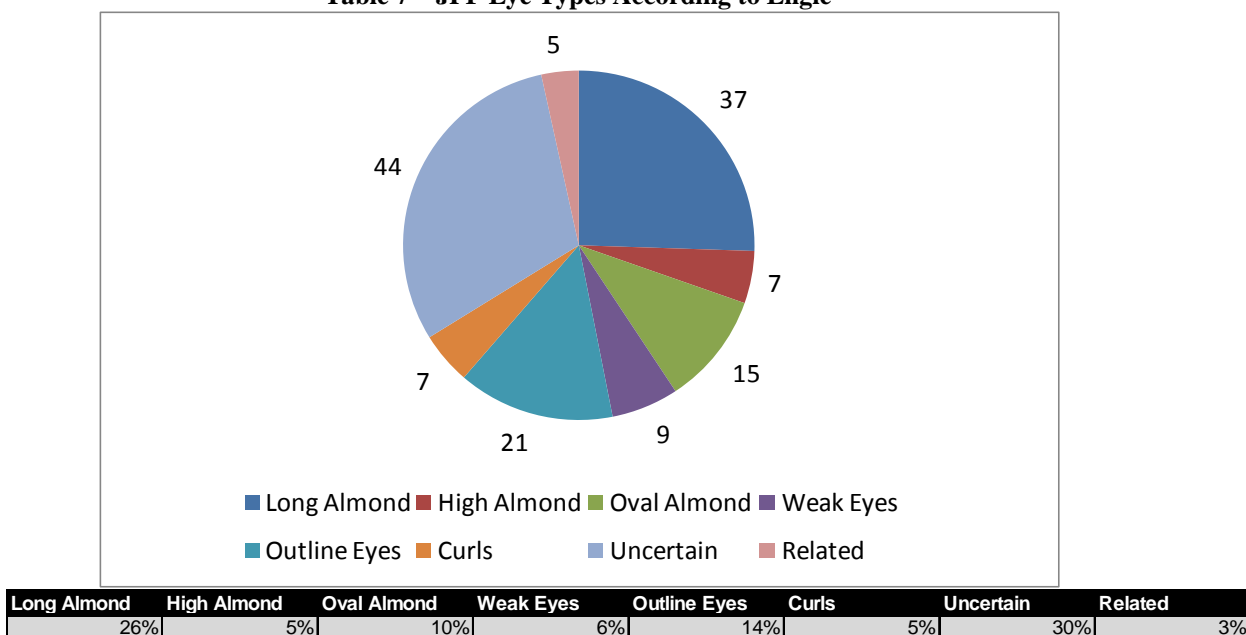
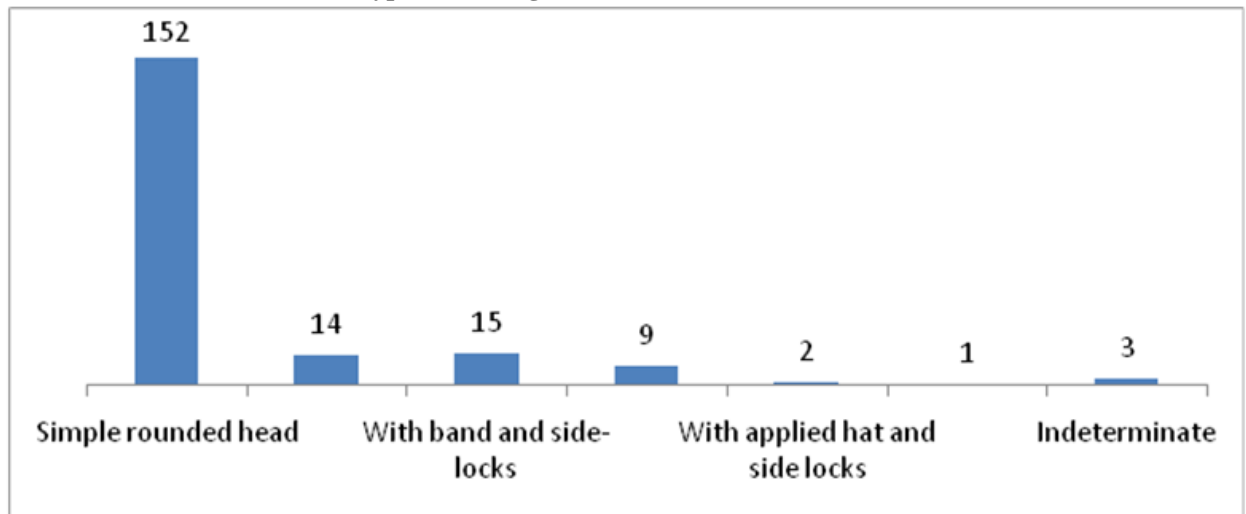
Table 6 - JPF Color by Geographical Region**Table 7 – JPF Eye Types According to Engle**

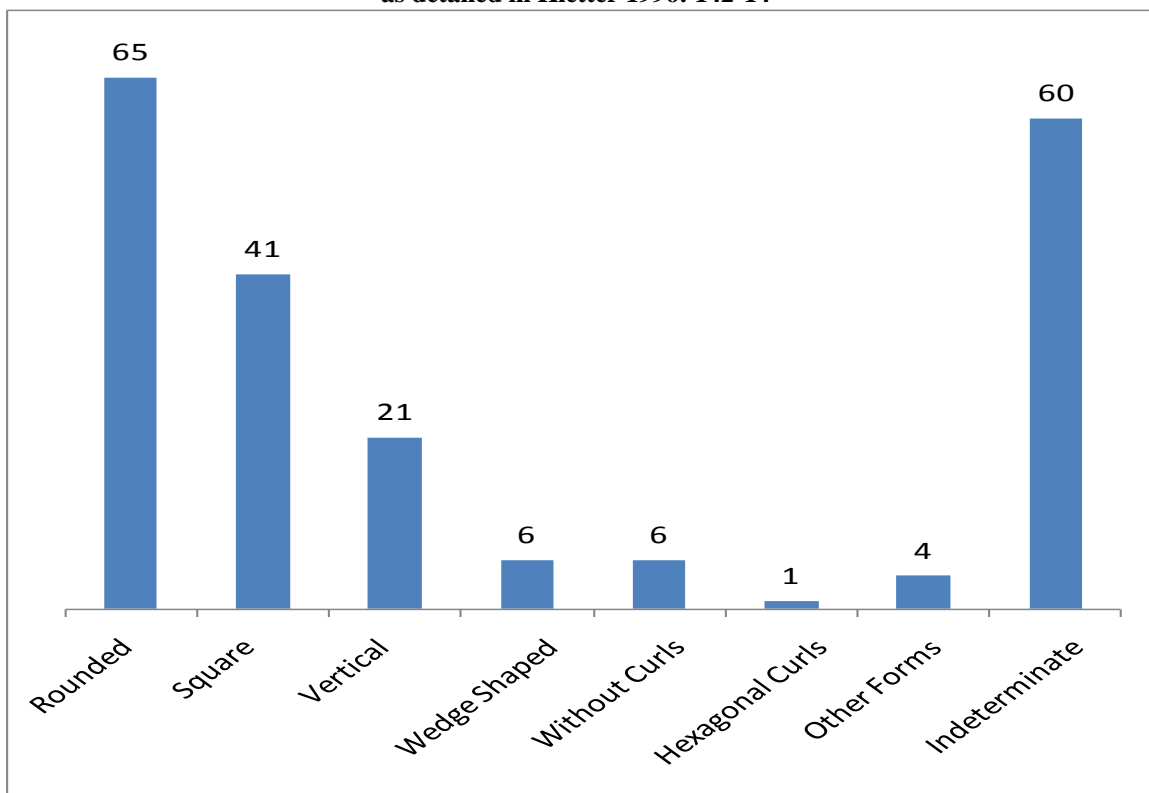
Table 8 - Correlation of Engle's Eye Types with Holland Head Types

Type Engle	Total No.	Holland A.II	Holland A.III	Holland A.IV	Holland A.V	Holland A.VI	Holland A.VII	Holland A.VIII	Holland A.IX	Holland A.XII
I	39	7	23		1	2				
II	7		4	1						
III	15	4		5			3			
IV	9	4	2			1				
V	21	12	1	6					1	1
VI	7	1	2		4					
VII	42	15	3	5		2	2	5	3	4

Note: Information is not available to match up some of Engle's eye types with Holland's head types so that the total of Holland's head types do not match the number of Engle's eye types.

Table 9 - Handmade Head Type (according to Holland, as Detailed in Kletter 1996: 145-246)

**Table 10 - Moulded JPF Head Type according to Holland,
as detailed in Kletter 1996: 142-14**



CHAPTER 4

Location of the Finds

This chapter examines the regional distribution of JPFs within Israel (Judean Mountains, Negev, Shephelah, and the Coastal Plain).¹² It also examines more closely the distribution within sites where 20 or more JPFs have been found in order to discover what this might indicate about the use of the JPFs.

The figurines were found almost exclusively within the presumed borders of Judah with a small number from east of the Jordan or from northern Israel, as shown in Figure 7 on page 32, confirming the JPFs were primarily Judean objects.

The Judean Mountains dominate the statistical analysis as shown in Table 11 and 12.

The sites which yielded the largest quantity of JPFs are:

- Jerusalem with 405
- Tel en-Nasbeh with 142
- 6 regional centers: Gibeon with 27, Arad with 23, Tel Beer Sheba with 47, Beth Shemesh with 31, Lachish with 29, Tel Beit Mirsim with 37

Kletter finds that the number of JPFs is uniform with respect to the size of the areas excavated and average about 3.5-3.8 per dunam, including those found in graves and

¹² Only 7 figurines have been found in Northern archaeological sites so that the data for this region is too sparse for analysis.

tombs (Kletter 1996: 47). Zevit agrees and relates the large quantity of finds in Jerusalem and at these sites “to the

Number of dunams excavated to Iron Age levels and the years of Iron Age occupation at a given site” (2001: 271).

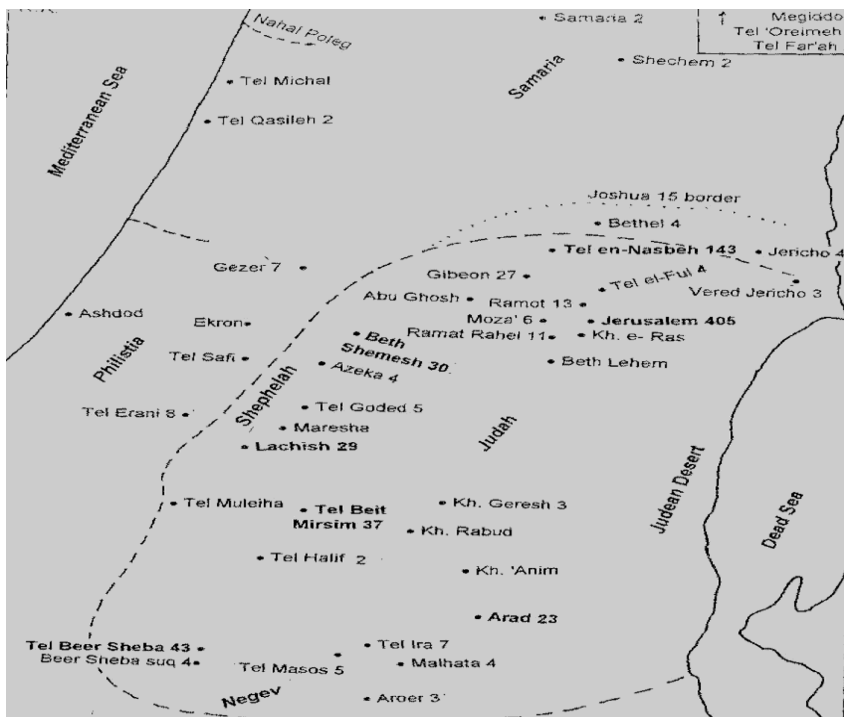


Figure 7 - Map of Location of Finds of JPFs (Kletter 1996:96)

Notes:

- Judah's border follows Na'aman 1989.
- The numbers indicate the number of JPFs found at each site according to Kletter's tabulation of his initial 578 figurines (when only one JPF was found, the number is omitted).
- An arrow points in the direction of sites outside the map

Kletter also found that the southern Judean Mountains (from Bethlehem to the Negev) were nearly devoid of JPFs, and that the Judean Desert also yielded very few, probably because it was an area of marginal settlement with few excavated sites.

Distribution of Major Type

The distribution of the finds of the different types of JPFs by major geographical area is shown in Table 11. The data shows that 60% of the total finds of JPFs are located in the Judean Mountains, 43% in the Negev and 24% in the Shephelah. The data also shows that the number of finds of handmade heads was greater than moulded heads in each of the archaeological sites in the Judean Mountains, but less in other geographical regions and sites (see Table 11 and 12).

Distribution by Eye Types

Engle's eye types tabulated by geographical area and by major archaeological site are displayed as Table 13. This table also relates Engle's designation of the figurines to Kletter's Catalogue number (indicated by the column marked "Catalogue"). The table clearly indicates that the ratio of the different eye types is the same in the Judean Mountains, Negev and Shephelah indicating that eye type does not provide a major clue in differentiating the JPF choices in the different areas¹³.

Distribution by Head Types

The distribution of the 197 handmade JPFs from Kletter Amended database, sorted by head type identified by Holland for each archaeological site is shown in Table 14 and geographical area is shown in Tables 15. The vast majority of the handmade heads were rounded. The dominance of rounded head types holds true even in the Judean Mountains

¹³ Engle did not have data for figurines in the Coastal Plain and the data for finds in the Coastal Region and the North was insufficient to draw any conclusions.

which yielded a much more diverse assemblage than the rest of the areas.

Figure 16 demonstrates that the diversity of moulded head types was relatively uniform throughout the Judean Mountains, the Negev, and the Shephelah. Such uniformity in manufacturing or in distribution may indicate a lack of preference for any particular type of JPF.

Conclusions about Location

Virtually all of the finds of JPFs have been within the borders of Iron Age Judah and the large majority of finds have been in Jerusalem and in the Judean Mountains. This does not indicate that the use of the JPFs was greater in these areas since this is where there is where the largest Judean cities existed, the greatest number of Iron Age dunams were excavated and there was longer periods of Iron Age occupation at a given site (Zevit 2001: 271). Kletter found that the number of finds of JPFs was uniform, in all areas at 3.5-3.8 per dunam, including those found in graves and tombs (Kletter 1996: 47).

A majority of the figurines were found with handmade heads in Jerusalem and in the Judean Mountains, whereas there was an equal distribution elsewhere. There also was a greater diversity of types of handmade heads in both of these areas. Jerusalem was the capital of Judah which was the center of “social, political, and theological spheres” of the Israelite nation state¹⁴ (King and Stage: 202-203, 330-331) and had a more direct

¹⁴ A nation state is defined as a people whose common identity creates a psychological bond and a political community. Their political identity usually comprises such characteristics as a common language, culture, ethnicity, and history (<http://www.britannica.com: nation state>).

influence on the people than in other regions. The Jerusalem influence may have limited the manufacturing and/or distribution of the moulded figurines in these locations and increased the fabrication and diversity of handmade figurines since they were easily produced.

The distribution of the variations in color, types of eyes and shape of the heads of the figurines was uniform among regions and sites indicating that the preferences and use of the different types of figurines was probably the same throughout Judah.

Table 11 - Geographical Distribution of JPF

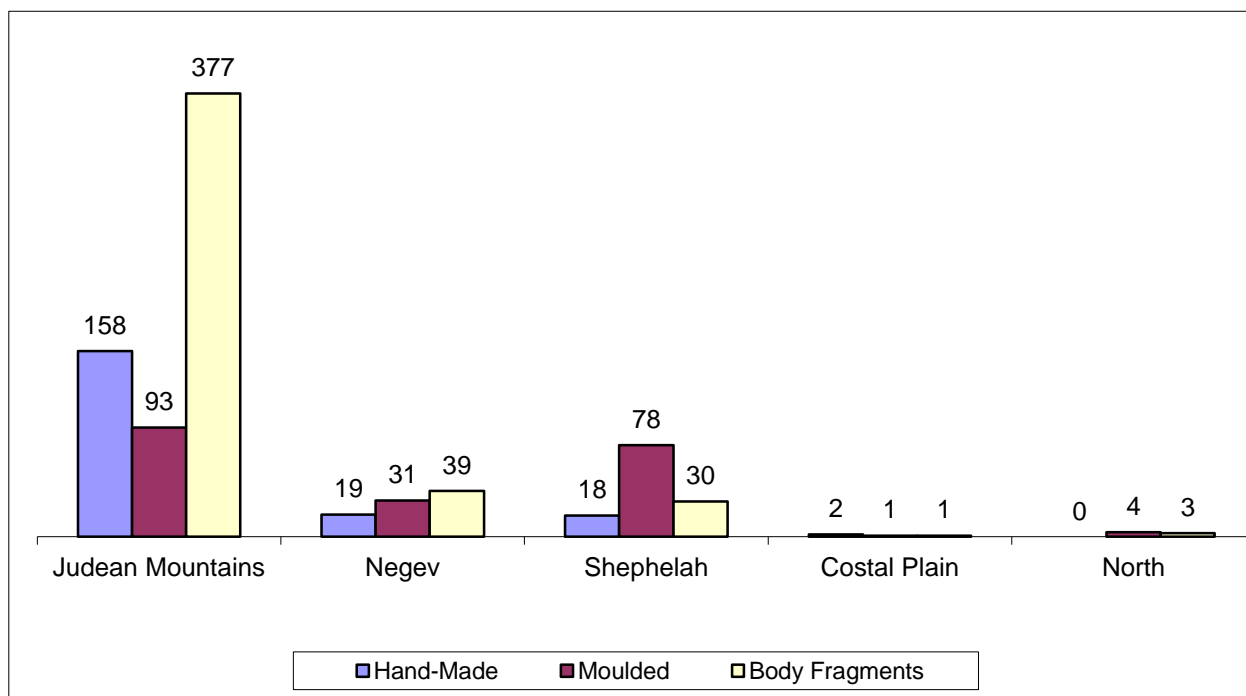


Table 12 - Tabulation of the Finds of 854 JPFs

Area	General Site	Handmade	Moulded	Body Fragments	Total
Judean Mountains	Abu Gosh		1		1
	Beth El			4	4
	Bethlehem?		1		1
	el Ras			1	1
	Gibeon	12	7	8	27
	Jericho	1	3		4
	Jerusalem	101	45	259	405
	Khirbet 'Anim	1			1
	Khirbet Geresh			3	3
	Khirbet Rabud (Debir)		1		1
	Moza	1	1	4	6
	Ramat Rahel	5	2	4	11
	Ramot (El-Burg)	1	2	10	13
	Tel el-Ful	2	1	1	4
	Tel en-Nasbeh	34	28	81	143
	Vered Jericho		1	2	3
Total Judean Mountains		158	93	370	628
Negev	Arad	9	4	10	23
	Aroer		3		3
	Malhata		2	2	4
	Tel Beer Sheba	8	16	23	47
	Tel Ira		5	2	7
	Tel Masos	2	1	2	5
Total Negev		19	31	39	89
Shephelah	Azeka		4		4
	Beth Shemesh	5	19	6	30
	Gezer	2	4	1	7
	Khirbet Hoga	1			1
	Lachish	5	21	3	29
	Maresha	1			1
	Tel Beit-Mirsim	2	17	18	37
	Tel el Areini (Erani)	1	7	1	9
	Tel el-Judeida		4	1	5
	Teles-Safi (Gat)	1			1
	Tel Halif (Lahav)		2		2
Total Shephelah		18	78	29	126
Costal Plain	Ashdod	1			1
	Tel Michal		1		1
	Tel Qasileh	1		1	2
Total Coastal Plain		2	1	1	4
North	Megiddo		1		1
	Samaria			2	2
	Shechem		2		2
	Tel el-'Oremeh		1	1	2
Total North			4	3	7
Grand Total		197	207	442	854

Table 13 - Engle's Classification of Eye by Geographic Area and Archaeological Site

Area	General Site	Engle's Classification	Catalogue	Long Almond	High Almond	Oval Almond	Weak Eyes	Outline Eyes	Curls	Uncertain	Related
Judean Mountains	Abu Gosh	7:27	1								1
	Abu Gosh Total										1
	Bethlehem?	2:07	7		1						
	Bethlehem? Total				1						
	Gibeon	1:39	54	1							
		4:03	58				1				
		4:06	59				1				
		7:15	60								1
		8:24	57								1
		5:201	55						1		
		5:203	56						1		
	Gibeon Total			1				2	2		1
	Jericho	1:19	72	1							
		6:02	73							1	
		7:20	70								1
	Jericho Total			1						1	1
	Jerusalem	1:02	295	1							
		1:03	296	1							
		1:09	307	1							
		1:14	378	1							
		1:15	371	1							
		1:16	301	1							
		1:17	300	1							
		1:18	373	1							
		1:26	291	1							
		1:36	308	1							
		3:01	376				1				
		3:02	375				1				
		3:03	374				1				
		3:04	370				1				
		4:07	377					1			
		7:32	289								1
		7:33	279								1
		7:34	278								1
		7:38	292								1
		7:41	294								1
		5:106	372						1		
	Jerusalem Total			10			4	1	1		5
	Khirbet Rabud (D)	7:01	69								1
	Khirbet Rabud (Debir) Total										1
	Ramat Rahel	4:05	120				1				
		5:08	121						1		
	Ramat Rahel Total						1		1		
	Tel el-Ful	7:09	193								1
	Tel el-Ful Total										1
	Tel en-Nasbeh	1:20	155	1							
		1:21	157	1							
		1:22	154	1							
		1:23	156	1							
		1:24	153	1							
		3:13	159				1				
		5:01	149						1		
		5:02	158						1		
		5:05	142						1		
		5:06	141						1		
		5:07	167						1		
		7:16	145								1
		7:17	146								1
		7:18	162								1
		7:19	160								1
		7:24	163								1
		7:39	152								1
		7:43	168								1
		7:44	166								1
		7:45	165								1
		7:46	143								1
		7:47	144								1
		7:48	169								1
		8:09	161								1
		5:103	148						1		
		5:101	150						1		
		5:102	151						1		
		5:104	164						1		
	Tel en-Nasbeh Total			5		1			9		12
Total Judean Mountains				17		1	5	4	13	1	22
Negev	2 Arad	7:27	446								1
		5:105	442						1		
	Arad Total								1		1
	Aroer	1:07	109	1							
	Aroer Total			1							
	Tel Beer Sheba	1:04	260	1							
		2:05	262		1						
		3:06	264			1					
		3:14	267			1					
		3:15	261			1					
		6:05	263								1
	Tel Beer Sheba Total			1	1	3				1	
Total Negev				2	1	3			1	1	1

Table 13 - Engle's Classification of Eye by Geographic Area and Archaeological Site (continued)

Area	General Site	Engle's Classification	Catalogue	Long Almond	High Imond	Oval Almond	Weak Eyes	Outline Eyes	Curfs	Uncertain	Related	Grand Total
	Azeka	7:35	105							1		1
	Azeka Total									1		1
	Beth Shemesh	1:01	11	1								1
		1:11	26	1								1
		1:25	19	1								1
		1:32	27	1								1
		1:37	26	1								1
		1:38	24	1								1
		2:01	15		1							1
		2:02	13		1							1
		4:09	124				1					1
		7:05	21							1		1
		7:06	23							1		1
		7:25	18							1		1
		7:29	16							1		1
		7:30	17							1		1
		7:31	20							1		1
		8:23	22								1	1
	Beth Shemesh Total			6	2		1			6		16
	Gezer	1:29	38	1								1
		1:29	37	1								1
		1:34	36	1								1
		7:02	39							1		1
	Gezer Total			3						1		4
	Lachish	1:05	74	1								1
		1:12	87	1								1
		1:13	88	1								1
		1:33	99	1								1
		2:03	76		1							1
		2:04	99		1							1
		2:06	85		1							1
		3:07	90			1						1
		3:08	77			1						1
		3:11	78			1						1
		3:12	84			1						1
		4:02	97					1				1
		6:01	94						1			1
		6:07	92							1		1
		6:08	79							1		1
	Shephelah	7:22	98	1							1	1
		7:26	75							1		1
		8:07	93								1	1
		8:08	86								1	1
		8:107	83						1			1
		8:108	91						1			1
	Lachish Total			4	3	4	1	2	3	2	2	21
	Tel Beit-Mirsim	1:10	206	1								1
		1:27	201	1								1
		3:09	212			1						1
		3:10	208			1						1
		4:01	197				1					1
		4:09	199					1				1
		6:03	207						1			1
		6:04	202						1			1
		7:10	213							1		1
		7:11	203							1		1
		7:12	206							1		1
		7:13	211							1		1
		7:14	198							1		1
		7:21	209							1		1
		7:28	200							1		1
		8:204	204					1				1
		8:202	210					1				1
		8:206	219					1				1
	Tel Beit-Mirsim Total			2		2	2	3	2	7		18
	Tel el Aneini (Eran)	1:08	188	1								1
		3:05	185			1						1
		4:04	186					1				1
		5:03	187						1			1
		6:04	189						1			1
	Tel el Aneini (Eran) Total			1		1	1	2				5
	Tel el-Judeida	1:30	233	1								1
		7:03	235							1		1
		7:07	234							1		1
		7:08	236							1		1
	Tel el-Judeida Total			1						3		4
3 Total				17	5	7	5	7	5	20	3	69
5 Megiddo	1:35	102		1								1
5 Megiddo Total				1								1
North Shechem	7:23	195								1		1
North Shechem Total										1		1
5 Total				1						1		2
Grand Total				37	7	16	9	21	7	44	5	145

Table 14 – Holland Head Types by Major Archaeological Site

Site	Type	Quantity
Gibeon	Rounded	9
	Applied Conical hat	2
	Other	1
Jerusalem	Rounded	75
	Band or Turban	11
	Band & Side-Locks	6
	Applied Conical Hat	4
	Applied hat and Side-l	2
Tel en-Nasbeh	Rounded	22
	Band or Turban	2
	Band & Side-locks	8
	Applied Conical hat	2

Table 15 - Holland's Types for Hand-Made Heads by Geographical Area

Type	Judean Mountains	Negev	Shephelah	Coastal Plain	North	Grand Total
Not Clear	7					3
Simple Rounded Head	114	36	54	8		212
With Band or "Turban"	12					12
With Band & Side Locks	14					14
With Applied Conical Hat	8	2				10
With Appliode Hat & Side Locks	2					2
Other	1					1
Totals	158	38	54	8		258

Table 16 - Holland's Types for Moulded Heads by Geographical Area

Type	Judean Mountains	Negev	Shephelah	Coastal Plain	North	Grand Total
Rounded	30	12	26			58
Square	16	1	22		2	40
Vertical	8	3	9	1		20
Wedge Shaped	1	1	4			6
Applied Hat and Side -Locks	3		1			4
Without Curls	1	1				2
Hexagonal Curls			1			1
Combination	1		3			4
Undefined	20	11	9		2	40
Total	80	29	75	1	4	189

CHAPTER 5

Context of the Finds of the Figurines

This chapter examines relevant statistical data on the context of the finds of 271 JPFs,¹⁵ concerning their type, geographical area, and Holland's head type. Dever notes that "an individual object, no matter how interesting in itself, is largely meaningless out of the larger behavioral and cultural system within which it once functioned" (2005:12). Before the mid-20th century, context was overlooked by scholars in establishing the purpose and function of the JPFs (Kletter 1996: 4). Today, all acknowledge the essential significance of context for the proper analysis of objects.

Types of Contexts

Kletter defined 71 context types in the "context1" field of his database, which he refined into "a more workable 19 types" in his "context 2" field (Kletter 1996: 57). There are problems and inconsistencies in both the context1 and context2 fields so that make their use problematic¹⁶. I have resolved these inconsistencies and other problems with Kletter's context of the JPFs by mapping Kletter's 71 types in his "context1" and the 19 in his "context2" into 13 types that I am more suitable for analysis. Table 17 shows the

¹⁵ Of the 854 members of the Kletter Database, 255 JPFs have recorded contextual data (Kletter 1996: 57). The Amended Database adds 62 for a total of 317¹⁵. However, 46 of these were found in debris, fills, pits or site surface, so that the context of only 271 yield significant information.

¹⁶ For example, Kletter's "context1" and "context2" fields for JPF #507 and #540 from Tel en-Nasbeh are blank. However the Appendix defines the context as from cistern 156 and cistern 359 respectively, as does Kletter's locus fields. Another example is JPF #21 from Beth Shemesh where the "context1" and "context2" fields are blank and the Appendix defines the context as the general area where domestic buildings and alleys were excavated. I have defined the context of this JPF as "Domestic." A third example is JPFs #274 and #276 from Tel Beer Sheba, where "context1" and "context2" are blank, but the Appendix defines the context of #274 as a room near house 416, perhaps part of this house or a nearby one, and the context of #276 as a room in the cellars of house 32 with a note that the excavators ascribed this fragment to the level VI under house 32. I have defined the context of these two figurines as "Domestic".

relationship between my 13 types and those Kletter used in his “context1” and “context2” fields and tabulates the number of JPFs found according to each category. The classification of “Not Specified” corresponds to where Kletter has a blank entry in “context1” and “context2” database, which could not be resolved using references in other fields or information in Kletter’s Addenda.

Context Analysis

The analysis of my context data, exclusive of debris, fills, and pits, or not specified, is summarized in Table 18. As the table shows, roughly half of the JPFs, 49%, were found in domestic settings or near a house. These are by far the largest group among the JPF fragments. “Close to in half of the houses that have been excavated at Tell Beit-Mirsim and at Beer-Sheba have had terra-cottas that might have served a function in a house cult.” Often these have been JPFs. (Keel and Uehlinger: 328).

Usually, there is one JPF to a domestic site (Keel and Uehlinger: 328, Miller: 233). In contrast to these domestic settings, hundreds of JPF fragments have been found in Cave 1 on the south-east hill (Ophel) in Jerusalem, which is the greatest number of JPFs found in a single context (Moorey 2003: 23). Cave 1 also contained two miniature stone cuboid altars or “incense-burners” of the type usually found in houses (Holland 1977, fig 9:21-2 as quoted in Moorey 2003: 53) and cooking, eating and drinking utensils. Currently, the cave is believed to be a center for a house or domestic cult (Dever 1990: 159). However, Kletter believes that it’s a storage assemblage and the JPFs were apparently deposited rather than used there, and the JPFs themselves are the main reason for the cultic label

(Kletter 196: 59).

Eshel's detailed comparative analysis by function and by type, of the Cave 1 pottery "points to normal household and domestic use" (Eshel and Prag 1995:22). Diana Gilbert-Peretz made a similar observation, that "based on the distribution of terracotta in Shiloh's City of David excavations and at other excavated sites in Judah that the distribution within the site was uniform" and "attempts to relate [JPFs] to specific ritual places are unfounded" (39). Holland, in his unpublished dissertation, states that the finds of JPFs "are entirely lacking or absent in significant numbers from state-sponsored altars, cult platforms and shrines of Israel and Judah so far excavated." (Stern 2001: 23).

20 of the figurines were found in tombs or graves. 12 of those found in tombs were of complete figurines and comprise the majority of the finds of complete figurines. This is not surprising because JPFs were not likely to be damaged naturally or by reformers after they were put in a tomb. Kletter reports that "to the best of my knowledge, there is not even one whole JPF, which can be related to a specific skeleton." So, there is no indication whether or not they were gender-specific grave equipment (Kletter 1996: 57) and no conclusions can be drawn about their use from the finds in tombs. Apparently, they were simply part of assemblages of artifacts placed with the dead (Kletter 1996: 57).

While half of the JPFs were found in domestic settings or near a house, the other half of the JPFs were found in a variety of contexts: public areas (13%), outside (10%), pools¹⁷

¹⁷ Kletter does not provide a definition of pools. Dr. Barry M. Gittlen, in a recent discussion, indicated that he believed that the pools are probably a secondary location.

(10%), cisterns (3%), caves (6%), in storehouses (3%) and silos (5%), and in tombs or graves (8%).¹⁸

Context of Type of Figurine

A tabulation of figurine contexts according to the figurine type (i.e. handmade, moulded, body fragment)¹⁹ is shown in Table 19. The context data shows that there are more body fragments in domestic contexts and few in tombs. The variation in the context of the major type of figurines as well as in color, eye type and head shape does not yield distinctive results.

Kletter notes that contextual data for whole figurines is likely to be more accurate than that for fragments because “there is a higher danger of mistakes in stratigraphy, and small fragments may migrate between loci and levels” (Kletter 1996: 57). However, the tabulations of whole figurines (14 handmade and 17 moulded), shown in Table 20, indicates that the contexts for complete figurines does not provide useful data since that almost a third (9) were found in a context that was not clear or not specified and almost half were found in either in tombs (12) or storehouses (2) where they were less likely to be broken. 6 were found in domestic sites.

Context by Geographical Region

Table 21 displays context statistics by geographic regions (Judean Mountains, Negev,

¹⁸ 12 of the 20 whole JPFs were found in graves.

¹⁹ There are many more handmade heads (133) and body fragments (320) than moulded heads (84) in unspecified contexts. This is probably due to the fact that the handmade heads and body fragments were not as easily identified when they were initially excavated so that the location of the find was not properly recorded.

and Shephelah).²⁰ The distribution of JPFs in a domestic context ranged from 43% in the Negev, 47% in the Judean Mountains, to 58% in the Shephelah. These variations are probably due to the more limited data in the Negev and Shephelah and it is reasonable to conclude that about half of the finds of JPFs were in domestic contexts. It may be significant to note that 20% of the JPFs were recovered from a pool at Tel en-Nasbeh in the Judean Mountains, but none in pools elsewhere. The meaning of this data remains unclear.

Context by Head Type

The analysis of contextual distribution of 64 hand-made head figurines, as defined by Holland, is shown in Table 22. The table is broken down between finds of only handmade heads and those with partial and full bodies. The data shows that all of the finds of JPFs with partial or full bodies and most of those with only the handmade heads are of the rounded head type. This may indicate that ease of fabrication of the handmade was more important than detail and decorations that was achieved with the moulded heads. Other conclusion probably cannot be made because the sample size (64 out of 854) is small.

The contextual distribution of the 95 moulded head figurines is shown in Table 23. Two conclusions stand out. First, there was a uniformity of style of heads in the different regions. Second, there was a greater variation in the style of moulded heads than in handmade heads. Half of the moulded heads had rounded curls and a significant number

²⁰ There is very little contextual information for the Coastal and North and these regions are omitted

had square or vertical curls. It is reasonable to conclude that there would have been more diversity of styles with the more elaborate manufacturing method for the moulded heads than with the simpler construction of the handmade heads.

Conclusions about Context

There are a number of uses of the JPFs which fit these contexts, such as representations of mortal women or images of a female ancestor, votive gifts, toys, objects used in sorcery or magic, or as part of a family or folk religion. The finds of JPFs in graves, caves, storehouses in Beer Sheba and Tel Ira, and the temple area and the public buildings in Arad indicates that their use as toys is probably unlikely. Second, the large number found in these non-domestic contexts probably indicates JPF discards rather than use, as indicated by Dr. Gittlen.

The finds in residential contexts and in silos, storehouses and graves fit their use in a folk or family based religion. Archaeological data and the biblical text support the existence of a folk or family based religion that was integrated into the daily life of the people in their homes (Moorey 2004: 204). For example, Judges 17-18 describes the household of Michah, a wealthy landowner in Mount Ephraim and his household shrine that was equipped with cultic paraphernalia and a cult image. There is also a reference to Gideon's family cult in Judges 6:11-13 and Judges 6:25.

Table 17 - Relation of My Context to Kletter Context 1 and Context 2

My Context	Kletter Context1	Kletter Context2	Total	My Context	Kletter Context1	Kletter Context2	Total
CAVE - 1	cave	cave	1	NOT SPECIFIED - 6	(blank)	(blank)	537
		cave?	9	NOT SPECIFIED Total			537
	cave entrance	cave?	4	OUTSIDE - 7	out	(blank)	1
	cave on bedroc	(blank)	1		out glacis	(blank)	2
	cave?	cave?	1		out open area	(blank)	1
CAVE Total			16		out quarter	(blank)	1
CISTERN - 2	cist open area	cist	1		out, surface	(blank)	1
	cistern	(blank)	4		room	room	1
	(blank)	(blank)	2	OUTSIDE Total			7
CISTERN Total			7	POOL - 8	pool	pool	27
DEBRIS/FILL/PIT - 3	debris	(blank)	7	POOL Total			27
	dump	(blank)	1	PUBLIC - 9	castmate	(blank)	1
	fill	(blank)	11		court neargate	publ?	1
	fills	fil	1		courthouse	dom	1
	found. Trench	(blank)	1		gate	publ	1
	open	(blank)	1		open	(blank)	5
	out	(blank)	1		room	publ?	1
	pit	(blank)	2		room entrance	publ?	1
	pit/open area	(blank)	1		room house	publ?	3
	street fill	(blank)	1		room?	(blank)	1
	surface	(blank)	7		street	publ	1
	surface/debris?	(blank)	1			(blank)	5
	surface find	surf	1		surface gate	publ?	1
	(blank)	(blank)	10		tower	publ	1
DEBRIS/FILL/PIT Total			46		tower debris	publ?	1
DOMESTIC - 4	alley	(blank)	1		water system?	publ?	1
	alley?	dom?	1		(blank)	publ?	1
	bedrock destruc	dom	1			(blank)	8
	casemate floor	sac?	1	PUBLIC Total			34
	casemate?	dom?	1	SILO - 10	silo	dom	1
	casm house	dom	1			dom?	3
	castmate	dom?	1		silo in house	dom	1
	cist in court	dom	1		silo in room	dom?	1
	cist open area	dom?	3		silo open area	dom?	1
	cist room	dom	5	SILO Total			7
	cistern house	dom	1	STOREHOUSE - 11	out glacis	(blank)	1
		dom?	1		room on floor	(blank)	1
	court house	dom	2		silo open area	(blank)	1
	court liv.laye	(blank)	1		storehouse	publ	4
	court open	dom	1		storehouse wa	publ	1
	courthouse	dom	5		storeroom	publ	1
	debris	(blank)	1			publ?	1
	dump	dom	1		(blank)	(blank)	3
	house	dom	1	STOREHOUSE Total			13
	house (room?)	dom?	1	TEMPLE AREA - 12	alley or court	sac?	1
	house?	dom?	2		room	sac	2
	open	dom?	3	TEMPLE AREA Total			3
	open court	court	1	TOMB - 13	tomb	tomb	11
	out quarter	open	2		tomb 34	bur	1
		(blank)	2		tomb left side	tomb	1
	pit	dom	4		tomb on divan	tomb	1
		dom?	1		tomb repositor	tomb	2
	room	dom	6		tomb room c	tomb	3
		dom?	7		tomb.communal	tomb	1
		(blank)	4		tomb?	tomb?	2
	room destruct	dom?	1	TOMB Total			22
	room house	dom	17	Grand Total			854
		dom?	1				
		(blank)	1				
	room house?	dom	1				
	room living	dom	3				
	room near wall	dom	1				
	room on floor	dom	1				
	room or alley	dom	1				
		dom?	3				
	room or court	dom	2				
		dom?	1				
	room?	dom?	4				
		(blank)	1				
	surface	dom?	1				
	(blank)	dom	12				
		dom?	3				
		(blank)	17				
DOMESTIC Total			134				
DOMESTIC SHRINE	room on floor	sac	1				
DOMESTIC SHRINE Total			1				

Table 18 - My Context of the JPFs, exclusive of Debris, Fill, or Pit

My Context	Numerical Total	Percentage
CAVE	16	6%
CISTERN	7	3%
DOMESTIC	134	49%
DOMESTIC SHRINE	1	0%
OUTSIDE	7	3%
POOL	27	10%
PUBLIC	34	13%
SILO	7	3%
STOREHOUSE	13	5%
TEMPLE AREA	3	1%
TOMB	22	8%
Grand Total	271	100%

Table 19 - JPF Context by Main Type

Context	Hand-Made Heads		Moulded Heads		Body Fragments	
CAVE	1	2%	3	3%	12	11%
CISTERN	2	3%	2	2%	3	3%
DOMESTIC	24	41%	52	49%	58	54%
DOMESTIC SHRINE		0%	1	1%		0%
OUTSIDE	1	2%	4	4%	2	2%
POOL	12	21%	7	7%	8	7%
PUBLIC	5	9%	17	16%	12	11%
SILO		0%	4	4%	3	3%
STORE HOUSE	4	7%	6	6%	3	3%
TEMPLE AREA	2	3%		0%	1	1%
TOMB	7	12%	10	9%	5	5%
Grand Total	58	100%	106	100%	107	100%

Table 20 - Context of Complete Figurines

	CISTERN	1
Complete	DOMESTIC	3
Handmade	NOT CLEAR	1
Heads	NOT SPECIFIED	3
	STOREHOUSE	1
	TOMB	5
Total		14
	DOMESTIC	3
Complete	NOT SPECIFIED	4
Moulded	PUBLIC	1
Heads	STOREHOUSE	1
	TOMB	7
	NOT CLEAR	1
Total		17

Table 21 - Context of the JPFs by Geographical Location

My Context	Judean Mountains		Negev		Shephelah		Total
CAVE	14	10%		0%	2	3%	16
CISTERN	5	4%		0%	2	3%	7
DOMESTIC	65	47%	23	43%	45	58%	133
DOMESTIC SHRINE		0%		0%	1	1%	1
OUTSIDE	2	1%	4	8%	1	1%	7
POOL	27	20%		0%		0%	27
PUBLIC	10	7%	13	25%	11	14%	34
SILO	4	3%	1	2%	2	3%	7
STOREHOUSE	2	1%	8	15%	1	1%	11
TEMPLE AREA		0%	3	6%		0%	3
TOMB	9	7%	1	2%	12	16%	22
Grand Total	138	100%	53	100%	77	100%	268

Table 22 - Context of Handmade Heads According to Holland's Head Types

Main Type	My Context	Simple Rounded	Band or turban	Band & Side Locks	Applied Conical Hat	Other	Total
Hand-Made Head	CAVE	1					1
	DEBRIS/FILL/PIT	4	2				6
	DOMESTIC	12	2	5	1		20
	OUTSIDE	1					1
	POOL	7			2	1	10
	PUBLIC	1		2	1		4
	STOREHOUSE	2					2
	TEMPLE AREA	2					2
	TOMB	1					1
Total		31	4	7	4	1	47
Hand-Made Heads with Partial Body	CISTERN	1					1
	DOMESTIC	1					1
	POOL	2					2
	PUBLIC	1					1
	STOREHOUSE	1					1
	TOMB	1					1
Total		7	0	0	0	0	7
Complete Figurine	CISTERN	1					1
	DOMESTIC	3					3
	STOREHOUSE	1					1
	TOMB	5					5
Total		10	0	0	0	0	10
Grand Total		48	4	7	4	1	64

Table 23 - Context of Moulded Heads JPFs According to Holland's Head Types

My Context	A	A?	AB	AB?	B	B?	C	C?	D	E	F	G	Total
CAVE					2								2
CISTERN	1				1								2
DEBRIS/FILL/PIT	3	1	1	1	2		2			1			11
DOMESTIC	24				11		6					3	44
DOMESTIC SHRINE					1								1
OUTSIDE		1			1		1						3
POOL	5												5
PUBLIC	6	2			3			1					12
SILO	3						1						4
STOREHOUSE	1				1		1		1				4
TOMB					4		1		1			1	7
Total	43	4	1	1	26		12	1	2	1		4	95

Head Type Codes (according to Kletter 1996: 137) – Classification by Shape of Curls)

- ? When added to a code below indicates some uncertainty in the classification
- A Rounded (Holland A.II)
- AB Maybe an A or B Head Type
- B Square (Holland A.III)
- C Vertical (Holland A.IV)
- D Wedge Shaped (Holland A.V)
- E Without Curls (Holland “linear”, A.VI)
- F Hexagonal Curls (Holland A VIII.a)
- G Combination or Other Form (Holland A VII b-c)

CHAPTER 6

Associations of JPFs with Other Objects

This chapter examines the data on assemblages of JPFs with other objects. Kletter's data shows that JPFs have been found in the same context with female, horse-and-rider, animal, and bird figurines and with other artifacts such as *lmlk* seal impressions, clay models of furniture, weapons and cult objects, and with inscribed weights, as well as with pottery vessels and shards. These assemblages of JPFs with other artifacts may provide an important indication of possible use.

The Kletter Amended database lists 90 JPFs found together with other JPFs; feminine figurines; animal figurines; horse-and-rider figurines²¹; dove or other bird figurines²² (see Table 24). Some JPFs were found with more than one other type of figurine. Kletter lists 58 finds of multiple JPFs, of these, 47 were not found with any other types of figurines. Groups of figurines with pottery and other objects in the same domestic context, provide an indication that JPFs may have been owned or used by a single family.

Kletter notes that while female figurines are numerous outside of Judah, non-JPF female figurines are “very rarely found in Judah, and the location of the finds is not clear.”

Kletter “concludes that “there is no evidence of JPFs used in pairs or in groups with other

²¹ Kletter also notes that the occurrence of male figurines in Judah “is meager (there are 4 horse or horse and riders listed in his database (catalogue #10, #14, #17, and #29).

²² Note that the total of figurines found is greater than the 90 JPFs found with other figurines because 43 JPFs are found with more than one type of other figurine and are totaled in each category.

female and male figurines” (1996: 65).²³ Table 25 shows otherwise and a total of 29 types of non-JPF feminine figurines (his key “F”)²⁴ were found with the JPFs. The database shows that 26 were found in Gibeon by Pritchard. Three more assemblages with non-JPF feminine figurines were found in Jerusalem (two by Kathleen Kenyon and one by Nahman Avigad). The JPFs in the assemblages were sufficiently intact²⁵ to make identification as JPFs unmistakable.

Pritchard reports that the feminine figurines found at Gibeon were from the large reservoir²⁶ which measured 18m x 11m. “78% of the female figurines came from a depth of between 4.45m and 7.60m below the rim of the pool; 56 inscribed jar handles were found in approximately the same context” (16). Pritchard described several figurines as variants of JPFs with “stylized stumps of arms which extend only to the ends of their breasts, which are firmly attached to their sides” (16). Pritchard also described three other pinched-face fragments: one with a pointed cap and a tassel that extends down the back of the head; a second appears to be holding a piece of cake, a disc, or a tambourine with the right hand; and a third with a long and narrow face with a suggestion of a mouth and there is a bun or a mass of hair at the back of the head (16).

²³ Kletter attributes this to a failure by some excavators to list this information (1996: 62).

²⁴ While the key “F” is omitted from Kletter’s list of codes (Kletter 1996, Key 2, 130), a comparison Kletter’s catalogue of 26 JPFs in Gibeon listed with key “F” with those tabulated by Pritchard (1961: 39) indicates that Kletter’s code “F” represented feminine figurines that were not JPFs.

²⁵ 12 were hand-made heads, 2 were with partial bodies; 7 were with moulded heads; and 3 were whole body and 4 were upper body fragments.

²⁶ The Pool of Gibeon

Assemblages by Geographical Areas

Table 24 displays the distribution of JPFs together with other figurine types by geographical area. This table demonstrates that JPFs were found with other figurines only in the Judean Mountains, Negev, and Shephelah. None are reported in the Coastal Plain and in the North. This may be due to more limited data from those regions.

The finds of 105 JPFs with other artifacts, such as *lmlk* seal impressions, clay furniture models, weapons and cult objects, and with inscribed weights in a single locus, are ordinarily together with one or two types of pottery vessels. However, only limited types of vessels were defined in Kletter's database, limiting the possibilities of interpretation and understanding. Kletter explains this constraint:

“If date and time were unlimited, we could have looked for every possible connection between JPFs and any other type of artifact. Some limitations are inevitable. I have concentrated on a few types of artifacts that seemed more promising. A registration of all the vessels found beside JPFs would be cumbersome and perhaps unrewarding” (1996:64).

Even with these limitations, Kletter's data shows that JPFs were found with models of beds, couches, chairs benches or stools, and tables and with male “horse and rider” figurines.

Moorey, Aharoni, Holland and others report assemblages of JPFs in addition to those recorded in Kletter's database. Assemblages containing JPFs in Cave I in Jerusalem, at Tel en-Nasbeh and in a cave at Tel Beit Mirsim indicate probable cult use of the JPFs. Outside an “extra-mural cave” at Tel en-Nasbeh, “two female pillar figurines, a horse and rider, and a model chair were found” (Moorey 2003: 57). At Tel Beit Mirsim, “a cave opened into a courtyard with two stone-lined basins or wine-presses, where two female

pillar figurines and two clay animals were also found” (Moorey 2003: 57).²⁷ At Beer-Sheba, a complete JPF was found with ordinary pottery vessels and a lamp and what maybe a model bed or a stool (Aharoni: 36). Holland listed examples of 84 JPFs with horse and rider, solid birds, and miscellaneous solid animals that were found in Cave I at the Ophel in Jerusalem (Holland 137).

Conclusions about Assemblages of JPFs with Other Objects

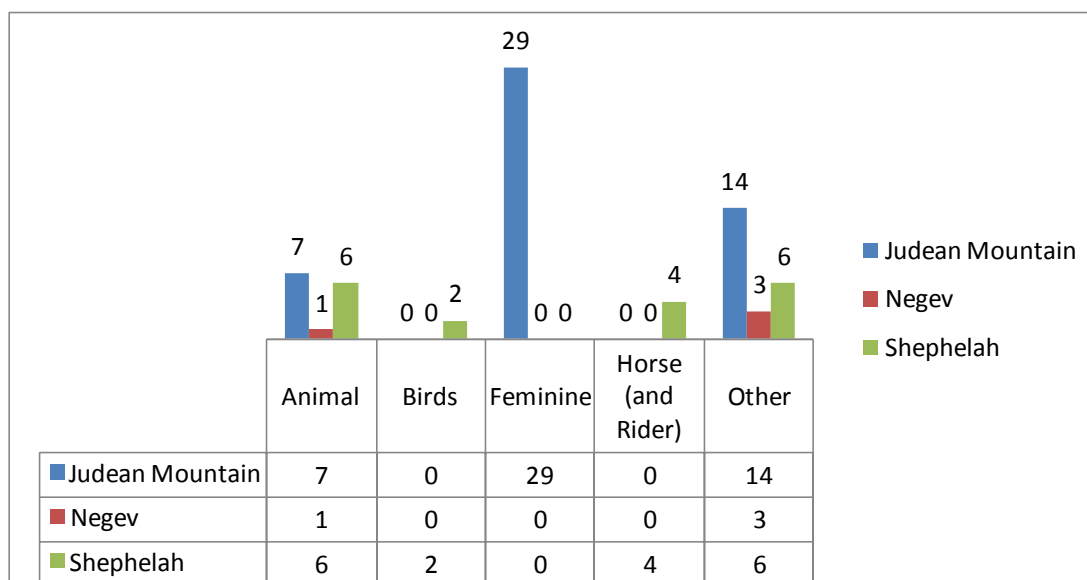
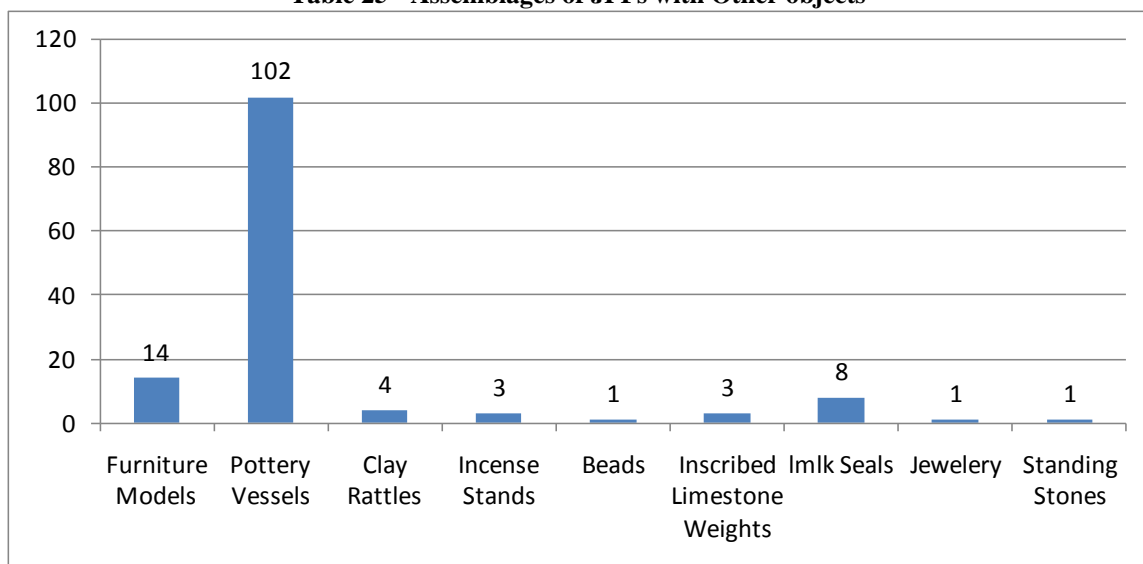
Kletter’s data shows that almost all of the assemblages of JPFs with feminine figurines were at Gibeon. Pritchard’s description of some of these figurines indicates that they were hand-made variants of JPFs so that these may have been local preferences and they could be included in the definition of a JPF. Since only 3 feminine figurines were found with JPFs elsewhere, it does not appear that local variations in JPFs were wide spread.

Very few JPFs were found with horse and rider figurines. This is significant since “if male and female images are considered together, plausible arguments may be advanced for regarding both as votive figurines in human form rather than anthropomorphic images of deities” (Moorey 2003: 63). This could provide support that the JPF was an image of a deity. However, this argument is weak because very few horse and rider figurines have been found in Judah so that there is insufficient data to draw conclusions.

The assemblages of JPFs with models of furniture are significant “in a society and amongst people where furniture is likely to have been minimal, the attention given to it

²⁷ While Moorey provides a detailed description of the cave, he does not specify the cave number.

on occasion by modelers in Judah, even if only as a minor constituent of their repertory, is striking” (Moorey 2003: 65). Interpretations highlighting the couches or seats as birthing aids overlook the tables and occasional model buildings (Moorey 2003: 65). These model furniture assemblages taken together with full range of assemblages of JPFs with household pottery and other objects and the large number of the JPF finds in domestic contexts indicates that the JPFs were likely household objects used by the family in domestic settings.

Table 24 - JPFs Found with Other Figurines by Geographical Area**Table 25 - Assemblages of JPFs with Other objects**

CHAPTER 7

Breakage Patterns of the Figurines

This chapter reviews the JPF breakage pattern data from Kletter's study and my study.

This data shows that very few of the JPF finds have been whole figurines and the majority of those were found in tombs where it was unlikely that they would be broken. In addition, the JPFs found in two caves, Cave 1 and Beer-Sheba were broken among lots of unbroken pottery. The JPF may have been routinely destroyed and discarded after serving their purpose,

They also may have been destroyed as part of the reforms of Hezekiah²⁸ and Josiah²⁹ to eliminate local cults and to centralize religious observance in Jerusalem. These local cults "had the potential to become powerful and independent even if they were not centers for the worship of foreign gods. The elimination of the high places and the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem put an end to the authority not only of the local priesthods but also of the local Yahwehs³⁰" (McCarter: 141).

Prior to Kletter's study, the breakage pattern of the JPFs had never been closely studied (Kletter 1996: 54). Kletter's study provides meticulous documentation of the breakage of

²⁸ Kings 18:4 describes that King Hezekiah "abolished the shrines and smashed the pillars and cut down the sacred poles (trees)."

²⁹ Chronicles 31 describes how king "Josiah smashed the pillars, cut down the sacred posts and demolished the shrines and altars throughout Judah and Benjamin, and throughout Ephraim and Manasseh."

³⁰ P. Kyle McCarter notes that the inscriptions, dated to around 800 B.C.E., found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud listed the God of Israel, as Yahweh with a geographical designation. "In particular, we have 'Yahweh of Samaria' (*yhw h sūmrn*) and 'Yahweh of Teman' (*yhw h tmn*) in the dialect of the northern kingdom of Israel, and *yhw h tymn* in the dialect of the southern kingdom of Judah). The Yahweh of Samaria was the local form, or manifestation, of Yahweh as he was worshiped in the capital of the northern kingdom (Israel). The Yahweh of Teman, or of "the Southland," was presumably the local Yahweh of the area around Kuntillet 'Ajrud" which is known in Hebrew as Horvat Teman, the ruins of Teman (142).

the JPFs. He assembled extensive information on the damage patterns of 515 (60% of his database). The specific breaks that Kletter tabulated are shown in Figure 8 (Kletter 1996: Fig. 25 101) and tabulated in Tables 26 to 29. The number of breaks listed in these tables is greater than the total number of broken JPFs (515) and the sum of the percentages of

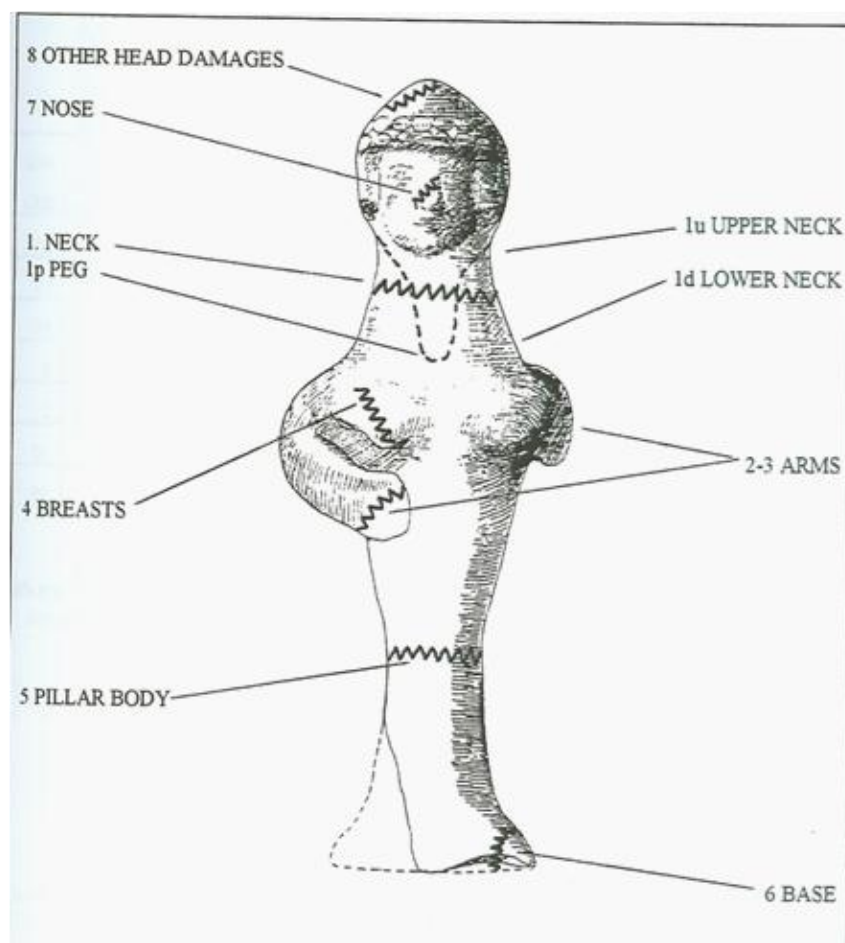


Figure 8 - JPF Break Points (Kletter 1996: Fig. 25 101)

each type of break is greater than 100% in these tables, because many of the JPFs are broken in two or more places.

The majority of the JPFs found were broken in several places, but most included a break at the neck. This was due to the weak way that most of the heads were attached

to the body (Kletter: 54). The breaks in the other parts of the JPFs are tabulated, both with and without breaks at the neck to see if there is a pattern that supports intentional breakage. Kletter argues that the data indicates random breakage (Kletter 1996: 54-6). Moorey argues that Kletter's documentation of JPF breakage indicates the opposite

(Morey 66). Zevit also disagrees with Kletter and points out that those JPFs “broken at the neck included figurines whose head was part of a solid body” so that their attachment of the head to the body was not weak (2001: 272).

Analysis of Breakpoints

Kletter separated breaks of the neck into 4 different types: the upper neck (1u), the lower neck (1d), breaks of the peg for attaching moulded heads to the body (1p), and all other types of breaks to the neck (1) (see Table 26). According to Engle, the method of manufacture partially explains the break at the neck because of the two piece construction where the head was plugged into the hand-formed body was not well formed. Zevit disagrees and points out that those JPFs “broken at the neck included figurines whose head was part of a solid body, i.e. they did not consist of a solid body to which a molded head had been attached, the break at this structurally-strong point could only have been deliberate” (2001: 272).

The other breakpoints illustrated are the nose (7), other breaks to the head (8), the left (2) and right (3) arms, the breasts (4), the pillar body (5), and the base (6).

Table 27 tabulates the combinations of breaks identified in JPF remains. Those that include a break at the neck are shown in the left hand column and those without a break at the neck are shown in the right hand column. The breaks of the neck are three times more likely than breaks at the right or left arm, 21% and 16% respectively, or at the pillar body (27).

Table 28 shows a tabulation of the breaks according to the different types of JPFs. The data for the aggregate of all of the JPF types is included to simplify comparisons. The breakage patterns for the handmade and moulded heads are similar.

Table 29 tabulates the breakpoints by different geographical region. The results for the Coastal Plain and North should be disregarded because of the limited data available. The data for the Negev and Shephelah shows agreement with the averages for the finds. However, there are fewer breaks at the neck in the finds in the Judean Mountains and a greater percentage of breaks of the arms. This could be an indication of intentional breakage in this area. On the other hand, it could be accounted for by a variance in the reporting by the archaeologists at the different sites.

Kletter notes that many scholars assumed that the JPFs were deliberately broken, based solely on the fact that more than 96%³¹ of the JPFs were found broken and many were broken through thick body parts such as the arms and breast. (1996: 54). Zevit points out that that the neck was a strong point with figurines whose head was part of a solid body (2001: 272).

Kletter personally inspected 120 figurines for clear signs of mutilation, but did not find any and his tabulations of the break points of the JPFs do not provide evidence of whether the JPFs were intentionally broken. Concerning the problem, he noted:

“If one searches for marks of cutting by knives, for example, there are none. But, if the mutilation was done by throwing the figurines against a wall, or a floor, what evidence should we look for?” (1996:54).

Kletter experimented with dropping model figurines that approximated the size and shape of the JPFs to provide further data. Kletter felt that the results were consistent with his tabulation of the breakage of the figurines and demonstrates that the breakage of the JPFs was random (Kletter 1996: 54-6). Moorey, however, argues that Kletter’s meticulous documentation of breakage of the JPFs shows just the opposite, that the breakage patterns in his tests indicated that the JPFs were intentionally broken (2003: 66). Nevertheless, Kletter concluded that these results only apply for modern figurines; they do not provide conclusions that can be applied to the JPFs. (1996: 56).

An indication that some of the JPFs may have been intentionally broken is supported by the discovery, in Cave 1 on the south-east hill (Ophel) in Jerusalem and at Tel Beer-

³¹ Only 31 complete JPFs have been found out a total of 854 catalogued in the data base and a third of those were found in tombs.

Sheba, of deposits of relatively intact Iron Age pottery with groups of JPFs that were broken (Holland: 137, Eshel and Prag 1995:215, Aharoni:36) Eshel reports an “enormous” amount of pottery in Cave I consisting of 1200 unbroken cooking pots and other “complete vessels, 1191 rim shards and a few other pottery shards” (Eshel and Prag 1995:215) and 84 JPFs, plus 9 from contexts just outside the cave³² (Holland: 137 and Chart 3). Moorey adds that “the all-embracing extent of breakage amongst the figurines including those in the Ashmolean collection is striking and so extensive as to seem more than the result of chance in this case” (1994:204). The difficulty with conclusions from this data is that the function of Cave I changed over time. Originally, its primary use was for Iron Age burial. Later, it appears that the skeletal remains were cleared out and the cave was enlarged for use possibly by a local cult, a residential area, or as a reservoir or dump (Eshel and Prag 1993: 211-213).

In another instance, Aharoni also reported that broken JPFs were found with pottery that was intact at Tel Beer-Sheba (36). In both of these instances, there are broken JPFs and intact pottery.

³² 81 JPFs were broken and 12 were body fragments.

Conclusion on Breakage

More than 96% of the JPFs were found broken and many were broken through thick body parts such as the arms and breast and at the neck with figurines whose head was part of a solid body. This indicates that the JPFs may have been intentionally broken. There were fewer breaks at the neck in the Judean Mountains and a greater number in the nose and arms which extend outward from the body. Since it is likely that the pattern from unintentional breakage should be uniform in the various regions, the difference in the Judean Mountains may indicate that they may have been intentionally broken.

Indications that the JPFs were intentionally broken is further supported by Kathleen Kenyon's excavations of Cave I in the Ophel and Aharoni's excavation at Tel Beer Sheba which show that assemblages of broken JPFs were found with large numbers of cooking pots and other pottery of which half were not broken. However, the use of the locations of these assemblages changed over time so no definite conclusion can be reached.

Table 26 - Tabulation of Breakpoints

Break Point	1	1d	1p	1u	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Count	182	123	36	61	111	83	57	140	27	12	23
Percentage	35%	24%	7%	12%	21%	16%	11%	27%	5%	2%	4%

Table 27 – Combinations of Breakpoints

BreakPoints	Count	Break Points	Count
12	1	23?5	2
12?5	1	2345	3
123	4	2346	1
1234	11	235	6
1235	23	236	1
1236	4	24	2
1245	10	245	1
134	2	2458	1
1345	6	25	6
1346	1	34	1
135	1	3457	1
14?5	1	35	3
145	1	354	1
146	1	45	1
15	14	46	3
15?	2	5?	1
16	3	56	3
17	1	8-7	1
18	10		
1d23	4		
1d24	1		
1d25	2		
1d26	2		
1d34	2		
1d35	1		
1d45	2		
1d5	8		
1d6	1		
1d7	6		
1d78	3		
1d8	5		
1p2	1		
1p23	4		
1p25	1		
1p26	2		
1p35	1		
1p5	1		
1p5?	1		
1p8	3		
1u23	1		
1u25	4		
1u5	5		
1u6	2		
1u7	1		
1u8	4		

Table 28 - Breakpoints by Main JPF Type

Break Point	1	1d	1p	1u	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hand-Made	38	48	1	17	11	11	12	13	3	5	7
Moulded	52	53	22	32	5	4	5	6	3	6	13
Body Fragments	92	22	13	12	95	68	40	121	21	1	3
Number Found	182	123	36	61	111	83	57	140	27	12	23
Percentage	35%	24%	7%	12%	21%	16%	11%	27%	5%	2%	4%

Note: While the data shown in this tabulation is derived directly from Kletter's database, it does not fully agree with the Kletter's data. This may be partially explained by the fact that Kletter indicates the following entries in his table with a "?", probably to indicate an uncertainty in the data:

- Catalogue #116 lists breakage as 1?
- Catalogue #314 lists breakage as 5?
- Catalogue #382 and #489 as 15?
- Catalogue #380 and 429 lists breakage as 23?5.
- Catalogue #413 lists breakage as 14?5.
- Catalogue #657 lists breakages as ?.

After allowing for this, some differences remained for which I was not able to account.

As described above, the numbers of breaks listed in this tabulation and in Tables 27 and 28 are greater than the total number of broken JPFs (515) and the sum of the percentages of each type of break is greater than 100% because many of the JPFs are broken in two or more places.

This table lists 13 Body Fragments that include a broken head peg. This occurs where the break at the head was above its peg and the peg, remained fixed to the body, much as when a tea cup is broken at the handle and part of the handle remains with the cup.

Table 29 - Break Points by Geographic Area

Area	1	1d	1p	1u	All Neck	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Judean Mountains	129	36	12	38	215	80	62	39	100	12	3	22
	41%	11%	4%	12%	68%	25%	20%	12%	32%	4%	1%	7%
Negev	42	42	18	18	120	22	20	20	42	8	8	22
	28%	28%	12%	12%	81%	15%	14%	14%	28%	5%	5%	15%
Shephelah	90	108	36	45	279	48	33	18	84	21	21	12
	26%	31%	10%	13%	80%	14%	9%	5%	24%	6%	6%	3%
Coastal Plain	0	4	4	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0%	33%	33%	0%	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions

This chapter reviews the new evidence derived from this study of the JPFs, concerning the typology and geographical locations of the finds, the context and assemblages with other objects and on their breakage patterns. The chapter is divided into six sections. The first three sections discuss conclusions drawn from this study which indicate the JPFs were probably objects of a local cult or family based religion. The next two sections, The JPFs as Representations of Asherah and Use of JPFs in a Feminine Cult summarize scholarly sources about these cults. The last section summarizes my conclusions.

Typology and Geographical Location

The data in Chapter 2 – Typology and Chapter 3 - Locations shows that the large number of JPFs and their wide and uniform distribution³³ in the Judean Mountains, Negev, and Shephelah indicate the JPFs constituted a very important element of Judean material culture. The style and the colors of heads of both the handmade and moulded head figurines in the different regions was the same and is an indication that the use of both types was probably the same all over Judah.

The data revealed an equal division of the handmade and moulded head figurines throughout Judah, except in Jerusalem and in the Judean Mountains where there were a greater number of handmade heads. The equal division of handmade and moulded heads is surprising since the handmade heads were easy to make and could be made locally in

³³ While almost half of finds were in Jerusalem, the distribution was uniform when the size of the areas excavated is considered and averages about 3.5-3.8 per dunam.

each town or village, whereas the moulded heads probably required pottery workshops and distribution networks. Thus, the greater detail of the faces and heads and the overall appearance of the moulded figurines was a significant aspect of these cult objects.

The fewer number of moulded heads in Jerusalem and the Judean Mountains probably indicates that there were restrictions on the distribution network and on the pottery workshops in this region where the state religion was strongest and where the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah were centralized.

Context and Assemblages with Other Objects

The data in Chapter 4 – Context and Chapter 5 – Assemblages with Other Objects showed that half of the JPFs were found in residential or domestic contexts and usually were about one-per-house. There was a JPF found in about half of the houses excavated at Tell Beit-Mirsim. The JPFs are entirely lacking or absent in significant numbers from state-sponsored altars, cult platforms and shrines of Judah so far excavated. These domestic contexts and the assemblages with household pottery and with models of furniture indicate that the JPFs were likely household objects used by the family in domestic settings. The assemblages with objects used by women in household activities such as food preparation, textile production, and reproductive items support the use of the JPFs as ritual objects related to women's issues and reproduction.

Breakage Patterns

The data supports intentional breakage since virtually all JPF finds are broken. The majority of the few whole figurines were found in tombs where it was unlikely that they would be broken. In addition, the JPFs found in two caves, Cave 1 in Jerusalem and at an excavation by Aharoni in Beer-Sheba were broken among a very large number of unbroken pottery. This indicates that the JPFs may have been destroyed as part of the biblically reported reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah to eliminate local cults and to centralize religious observance in Jerusalem and to put an end to local cult worship.

JPFs as Asherah

This section recognizes the complexity of the study of Asherah in Ancient Israel and provides a brief overview in order to make a linkage. The evidence for the existence of a cult in Israel that worshipped the goddess Asherah and the relation of that cult to the JPFs has received extensive treatment (Dever 2005, Gittlen 2002, Hadley 2000, Keel and Uehlinger, Kletter 1996 and 2001, Moorey 2003, and Petty).

Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence consists of inscriptions discovered in a burial cave near Khirbet el-Qom and on storage jars at Kuntillet 'Ajrud that clearly refer to the goddess Asherah (Moorey 2003: 3, Keel & Uehlinger: 210, Dever 2005: 132, Hadley 2000: 86, Zevit 1984: 39). In addition, Keel and Uehlinger and others believe that certain

iconography of stylized tree and grazing ibexes at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, Taanach, and Pella have been understood to show Asherah was worshiped as a goddess (Keel and Uehlinger: 236, van der Torn: 91-95, Day: 56-57, Hadley: 2000: 172).

Biblical Evidence

The biblical text provides strong evidence of a cult of Asherah in Israel. Over three dozen verses clearly refer to Asherah as a goddess or refer to or prohibit the worship of Asherah. Such worship would not have been barred so repeatedly unless such worship was common. One may, therefore, assume that the existence of a cult or worship of Asherah contemporary with JPF manufacture.

The Ugaritic texts describe Asherah as the mother of all the Ugaritic gods except Baal, so she was both a mother goddess and a fertility symbol. Since Asherah had been the wife of El, a chief god in the Canaanite religion, it is not surprising that she may have been recognized by some Israelites as the consort of YHWH (Smith: 440). Linking Asherah with YHWH places her in the position of being able to intercede with YHWH for the Israelite "folk" and to bring about "rain for your land in its season,"³⁴ a good harvest, and general good luck and wellbeing. This, together with numerous ostraca mentioning Asherah, leads to a reasonable assumption of the existence of a cult or worship of Asherah at the time that the JPFs were manufactured and the inference that the JPFs were objects representing Asherah within a family or folk religion.

³⁴ Deuteronomy 11:14

Use of JPFs in Feminine Cult

This section provides an overview of the archaeological, biblical and anthropological of data that supports the use of JPFs in a feminine cult. A variety of data indicates that fertility was an important concern to women who were responsible for the wellbeing of the family. Biblical examples include God's commandment to Adam and Eve "to be fruitful and multiply" (Genesis 1:28) and the biblical accounts of Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah's distress about their failure to become pregnant during most of their child bearing years (Genesis 16:1-2, 29:30, 1 Samuel: 1-2). Such interpretations are supported by "massive body of ethnographic and archaeological literature (Byrne: 141).

Extra-biblical evidence studied by Renz and Rotling of 651 personal names in Hebrew inscriptions, indicates that nearly twenty percent of the names reflect one of the several stages of the reproductive process (1995/2003 as quoted in Meyers: 125). Meyers observes "that these names associated with childbirth provide a kind of textual testimony, absent from the Hebrew Bible or present only in indirect allusions" and "attest to the religious nature of the process" (Meyers: 126).

If the JPFs are ritual objects related to women's reproductive and other issues not related to Asherah, "their limited chronological (eighth to sixth century B.C.E.) is puzzling" (Meyers: 126)

Summary

This thesis derived new evidence from the study of almost one thousand JPFs concerning their wide and uniform distribution of numbers, colors and styles throughout Judah, the large number of finds in residential contexts with household pottery and with models of furniture and with objects used by women, the balance between handmade and moulded figurines, the fact that there were fewer moulded figurines in Jerusalem and the Judean mountains, and that almost all the JPFs were broken support the conclusion that the JPFs were used as cult objects in a family based religion. Whether these objects were representations of the goddess Asherah or used in a Judean cult related to women's reproductive or other issues, both hotly debated items, remains an open question and this study provides no definitive evidence to further the debate.

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