



BYBLOS

A Legacy Unearthed

**NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (THE NETHERLANDS)
& MINISTRY OF CULTURE/DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF ANTIQUITIES (LEBANON)**



This is a free offprint – as with all our publications the entire book is freely accessible on our website, and is available in print or as PDF e-book.

www.sidestone.com

BYBLOS

A Legacy Unearthed

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (THE NETHERLANDS)
& **MINISTRY OF CULTURE/DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF ANTIQUITIES (LEBANON)**

© 2024 National Museum of Antiquities (the Netherlands),
Ministry of Culture/Tania Zaven/Directorate General of
Antiquities (Lebanon), and individual authors

Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com

Lay-out & cover design: Sidestone Press

Photography: Photo of Byblos in 2023 as viewed from the
north; back: Photo of the Mediterranean
Sea west of Byblos (both photos by Rami
Yassine).

ISBN 978-94-6426-220-9 (softcover)
ISBN 978-94-6426-221-6 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-94-6426-222-3 (PDF e-book)

DOI 10.59641/z8124cl



وزارة الثقافة – لبنان
Ministry of Culture – Lebanon
المديرية العامة للآثار
Directorate General of Antiquities

 RIJKSMUSEUM
VAN OUDHEDEN

Contents

Preface	9
Sarkis El-Khoury and Wim Weijland	
Foreword	11
Tania Zaven	
PART I: EXPLORING BYBLOS	
1. Byblos Excavations, Yesterday and Today	17
Julien Chanteau and Tania Zaven	
2. The Archive of Maurice Dunand: An Itinerary from Geneva to Byblos	27
Patrick M. Michel	
3. Quarrying the Sea	31
Jeanine Abdul Massih	
4. Byblos World Heritage Site: A Refuge for Floral Diversity	37
Moustapha Itani, Nivine Nasralla, Maryam Sedaghatpour, Michele Citton, Tania Zaven, Salma Talhouk	
5. Rescue Excavations and Their Contributions to the History of Byblos	41
Tania Zaven and Georges Doumet	
PART II: THE ORIGINS OF A HARBOUR CITY	
6. The Neolithic of Byblos	49
Corine Yazbeck	
7. Byblos during the Chalcolithic Period	53
Kamal Badreshany	
8. The Chalcolithic Jar Burials from Byblos	59
Gassia Artin	
9. Byblos during the Early Bronze Age	67
Michel de Vreeze	
10. The First Defensive Systems at Byblos	75
Ziad Jalbout	

11. Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: A Regional Perspective on Byblos	81
Hermann Genz	
12. Byblos and the Early Egyptian State	89
Karin Sowada	
13. The Connections between Byblos and Mesopotamia during the Early Bronze Age as Seen from the Ebla Archives	97
Maria Giovanna Biga	

PART III: THE FOCAL POINT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

14. Byblos during the Middle Bronze Age	103
Yasmine Makaroun	
15. The Bronze Age Harbour of Byblos	113
Martine Francis-Allouche	
16. The Relations between Byblos and Egypt during the Middle Bronze Age	123
Hanan Charaf	
17. Byblos: Egypt's Gateway to the Levant and beyond during the Bronze Age	129
Alexander Ahrens	
18. The Tale of Sinuhe: A Glimpse of Byblos from Middle Kingdom Egypt	135
Richard Bruce Parkinson	
19. Byblos and the Mediterranean in the Middle Bronze Age I as Seen from the Mari Archives	139
Nele Ziegler	
20. A New Middle Bronze Age Necropolis on the Byblos Acropolis	145
Julien Chanteau and Tania Zaven	
21. The Early and Middle Bronze Age Deposits at Byblos	153
Michel de Vreeze	
22. The Metal Figurines from Byblos	159
Camilla Saler and Gianluca Miniaci	
23. Weapons, Metals and Identities in Middle Bronze Age I Byblos	163
Ziad el Morr	
24. Faience Animals from the Obelisk Temple	169
Layla Abi Zeid	
25. Byblos and the Seals of the Green Jasper Workshop	173
Vanessa Boschloos	
26. The Scarabs from Byblos	177
Vanessa Boschloos	
27. The Byblos Script	181
Ben Haring	

28. The History of Byblos during the Late Bronze Age	185
Marwan Kilani	
29. Byblos and its Architecture during the Late Bronze Age	189
Marwan Kilani	
30. Relations between Sidon and Byblos during the Bronze Ages	195
Claude Doumet-Serhal	
PART IV: PROSPERING IN THE SHADOWS	
31. Byblos: The Transition between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age	207
Marc Abou-Abdallah	
32. Byblos during the Iron Age	213
Eric Gubel	
33. The History of the Phoenician Inscriptions in Byblos	217
Hélène Sader	
34. Byblos during the Persian Period	221
Josette Elayi	
35. Byblos during the Hellenistic period	229
Jean-Baptiste Yon	
36. The Colonnaded Street of Byblos: A Roman Symbol of Monumentality	235
Rola A. Saadi	
37. Haghia Byblos: Gods and Heroes between Rain, Waves and Waterfalls	243
Zeina Fani Alpi	
38. Byblos and the Tree of the Gods, the Cedar	249
Anne-Sophie Dalix	
39. The Myth of Adonis and Astarte in Byblos and its Hinterland during the Roman Period	251
Wissam Khalil	
40. A Roman and Byzantine Necropolis in Byblos (BYB 418)	255
Tania Zaven and Georges Doumet, with contributions by Mahmoud Mardini, Abdallah Alaeddine, Karl Azzam, Zeina Fani, and Georges Abou Diwan	
41. Byblos during the Byzantine Period	263
Frédéric Alpi	
42. Ġbayl in Medieval Times	267
Hassan el-Akra	
43. The Fortifications of Medieval Ġbayl/Byblos	271
Anis Chaayat	
Bibliography	277

BYBLOS AND THE EARLY EGYPTIAN STATE

Karin Sowada

The Egyptian relationship with **Byblos (ancient *keben*)** has a long history spanning over three millennia.¹ The connection was one of deep symbiosis originally grounded in the raw materials required by Egyptian elites, procured within reach of a port on the Lebanese coast. From embryonic beginnings in the Chalcolithic period, the relationship accelerated under the nascent Egyptian state of the Early Bronze Age. By c. 3100 BC, the first Egyptian kings emerged. Over four hundred years later around 2660 BC, the earliest stone pyramid rose from the desert sands of Saqqara, ushering the 'Pyramid Age' of the Old Kingdom (c. 2686-2181 BC).

Foreign connections were fundamental to the rise of Egyptian kingship ideologies, the emergence of the territorial state, and expressions of royal power. Byblos became Egypt's key east Mediterranean focus. Interactions and cultural influences developed over the course of the 3rd millennium to the point that Byblos assumed a religious significance for the Egyptians. The relationship had profound cultural and economic influence on Byblos, in addition to delivering status and prestige in competitive local peer-polity interactions with other urban centres. For the people of Byblos, the relationship with Egypt provided a stable economic base for much of the 3rd millennium, enabling maintenance of its position as a regional entrepôt until the interregional collapse of c. 2200 BC.

Egypt and Byblos in the 4th millennium BC

From an early time, somewhere in the mid to late 4th millennium BC of the Levantine Early Bronze Age (c. 3400 BC), archaeological evidence indicates that Egyptian connections with the Lebanese coast emerged. Silver, lapis lazuli and other exotica appear in Egyptian graves, attesting to long-range commodity exchange. The mechanism is opaque, but for lapis lazuli this must have involved extensive overland and river travel through Mesopotamia to the Levantine coast.

Yet there is an even earlier phase: similarities in the Chalcolithic material culture of the late 5th and early 4th millennium BC between Egypt, Byblos and the Southern Levant have long been noted by scholars as evidence of interaction and the interregional movement of ideas (Kantor 1942; Chéhab 1950; Prag 1986; see Chapters 7-8). To this can be added the use of resin from coniferous pine trees in early Egyptian mummification c. 4400-3700 BC, far earlier than previously assumed (Jones et al. 2014). Conifer species of cedar, pine and

1 Funding for this paper was provided by Australian Research Council Project Grant FT170100288 'Pyramids, power and the dynamics of states in crisis' awarded to the author.



Figure 12.1: Fragment of a travertine jar from the Baalat Gebal Temple. The outstretched wing of a deity is carved onto the surface; the fragmentary text reads left to right '[king of Upper and] Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Un[as]', 5th Dynasty, date of reign c. 2375-2345 BC, scale 1:1. DGA 128405 © Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities.

juniper are not native to Egypt, but originate in the higher altitudes of Lebanon, Syria and Turkey.

In the later 4th millennium BC, Byblos was a significant coastal settlement as its archaeological evidence attests (Dunand 1973b-c; Prag 1986; see Chapter 9). Silver objects found in early Byblos tombs form a significant status marker and like Egypt, the metal is not native to the region. The nearest source was the 'Silver Mountain' of Cilicia in southern Turkey, with other mines of the era known in the Aegean (Prag 1978; Maran 2021). Silver in Egypt may have originated from these far-flung regions via the Lebanese coast. Long distance land and sea networks are also seen in the appearance of Mesopotamian motifs on Egyptian carved artefacts, small amounts of imported pottery and crucially, the emergence of writing, coeval with the Uruk trade expansion from southern Mesopotamia (Wengrow 2006, 136-42). For this period, Byblos is the port of likely origin for direct and down-the-line networks reaching from deep within western Asia.

Imported ceramic jars found in Tomb U-j at Abydos in southern Egypt dating to c. 3320 BC provide further evidence of Lebanese connections. Belonging to an early local ruler, the tomb was richly furnished with hundreds of imported vessels, used as containers for liquid commodities, notably wine. This astonishing number reveals the scope and reach of early Egyptian elite acquisition of raw materials, manufactured items and liquid commodities. The tomb also included imported obsidian, lapis lazuli, a box made from Lebanese cedar and foodstuffs. Ceramic analysis exposed a wide range of Levantine manufacturing centres,



Figure 12.2: Unscripted diorite squat jar, 2nd-3rd Dynasty, from the Baalat Gebal Temple. AO 11067 © Louvre Museum / Thierry Olivier.

including vessels made of clays originating from Lebanon (Hartung et al. 2015). This evidence points to the region as an early trade node, and given the size and quantity of the jars (height >40 cm) it seems unlikely that overland donkey transport was used for their acquisition.

At this time, networks involved land and maritime journeys, although as timber acquisition and ship-building technologies improved, so did the scale of seafaring (Prag 1986; Marfoe 1987, 27). The connection emerges emphatically in the Egyptian First Dynasty (c. 3100-2870 BC). Tall, slender jars made of shapes best known from Byblos appear in tombs of the Egyptian elite (Fig. 9.6). Further data obtained through analyses of ceramic jars found in tombs at Abydos, Helwan and Abu Rawash indicate origins from coastal and inland sites of Lebanon (Köhler and Ownby 2011; Iserlis et al. 2019; Sowada et al. 2021). These results are supported by the presence of imported cedar in elite tombs of the period, acquisition of which formed the backbone of exchange activity. Over the next few centuries, the relationship between Egypt and Byblos escalated to a point of religious, cultural and economic importance for both state and polity.

Egypt exposed: early archaeological work at Byblos

French archaeologists Pierre Montet (1921-1924) and Maurice Dunand (1925-1975) ranged widely over the Byblos promontory, recovering extensive evidence of Egyptian activity (see Chapter 15). The material dated

to various phases of the site’s occupation, but of intense interest were 3rd millennium BC artefacts, coeval with the Early Dynastic period and the Old Kingdom. Egyptian carved stone vessels in many shapes such as bowls, jars, small circular tables and miniature vessels of fine travertine (alabaster) were discovered in large quantities, along with flint knives used for slaughtering animals, furniture fragments, sculptural pieces, and many other objects. Although most stone vessels were fragmentary and ‘out of context’ (i.e., found in deposits *later* than their date of production), a number were carved with the names and titles in hieroglyphs of Egyptian kings, several queens, and even officials. The names of many Old Kingdom kings, from Khufu to Pepi II (4th-6th Dynasties, c. 2613-2184 BC), were represented (Fig. 12.1). Some other uninscribed stone vessels belonged to the 1st-3rd Dynasties, pointing to earlier connections noted above (Fig. 12.2; Sowada 2009, 134, fig. 28 [no. 163c], App. I.1-5).

The stone vessels are regarded as diplomatic gifts, temple offerings and trade items, with the name of the king signifying a personal ‘calling card’ from the pharaoh himself (Bevan 2007, 70, 76-78). At the time, their discovery along with many other artefacts prompted intense speculation regarding the role of Egyptians at Byblos. Some other finds were architectural elements, suggesting Egyptian structures, or buildings with heavy Egyptian influences. Were they built by Egyptians resident at the site, or did it represent emulation of Egyptian cultural forms by Byblite elites? That the Egyptian state established a permanent presence or even



Figure 12.3: The so-called ‘Byblos seal’ and an impression of the text, with the Egyptian name for Byblos, *keben*, visible on the last line to the right. DGA 25745 © Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities.



Figure 12.4: Complete examples found in Egypt of types found in and around the Baalat Gebal Temple. F 1926/6.5, AAL 112, AAL 114 © Dutch National Museum of Antiquities.

a colony during this period was proposed and widely held. A cylinder seal with an inscription in hieroglyphs bearing the words *keben*, the name of the local deity, and the name of a Byblos ruler, suggested that it was carved by Egyptians for the local leader (Fig. 12.3; Montet 1928a, 62-81; Goedicke 1963). Many stone vessels, such as circular offering tables and jars (Fig. 12.4), types associated with cultic activity, were found in deposits in and around the Baalat Gebal Temple, implying Egyptian offerings to the local cult (Bevan 2007, 76-78). Importantly, did the Egyptians worship the local female deity and was it eventually conflated with the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Espinel 2002)? Over the decades, these questions have proved difficult to answer.

Problematically, much of the data has defied detailed explanation owing to the nature of the archaeological methods used in Montet's and Dunand's excavations. In addition, some objects are known only through old drawings and photographs. The best reconstruction

of the site's 3rd millennium archaeology remains that of Muntaha Saghih (1983), who pieced together the stratigraphy based on the published reports and fieldnotes. However, through the archaeological work and later studies, it is possible to discern the pattern and nature of continuous engagement between Egypt and Byblos from the 4th to 6th Dynasties, and evidence of much earlier contact.

Byblos in early Egyptian texts

Despite the volume of Egyptian material at Byblos, written evidence from the period regarding actual visits is slender. Texts generally allude to foreign products without stating the source. Dating to the 6th Dynasty (c. 2345-2181 BC), an inscription on the wall of the rock-cut tomb of Khui at Qubbet el-Hawa (near modern Aswan) mentions officials making multiple trips to *keben* (Newberry 1938). The likelihood that other texts exist but are now lost or undiscovered is shown by the recently published biographical inscription



Figure 12.5: Cedar coffin belonging to Idu, 'Overseer of the House of *ash*-wood', Giza, 6th Dynasty, c. 2345-2181 BC. Inv. 2511,1-2 © Römer und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim.

of the official Iny (Marcolin and Espinel 2011). He held the title 'seal-bearer of the god [i.e., the king]', showing he acted on behalf of the pharaoh. **Iny led multiple royal maritime voyages to Byblos and the Levant during a career spanning the reigns of 6th Dynasty kings Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II (date range c. 2321-2184 BC).**

This inscription is the most detailed record of foreign trade missions thus identified from the Pyramid Age. It paints a vivid picture of official expeditions, a pattern that probably reflects the nature of many such voyages from previous centuries. In addition to Byblos, the text also names other regional locations and a shopping list of commodities brought back by returning ships. These include lapis lazuli, silver, tin/lead, *sefetj*-oil, local people and 'Byblos-ships'.

The words 'ships' and 'Byblos' recall forests of magnificent Lebanese cedar for which the region was richly famous in antiquity (Rich 2017). Known in Egyptian texts as *ash*-wood, it was prized for boat-building, monumental architecture, statuary, coffins and small objects (Fig. 12.5). *Ash*-wood formed the backbone of Egypt's relationship with the Lebanese coast, with Byblos as the gateway to the high-country timber region near Tripoli. The most visible expression of this trade today is the royal boat of king Khufu (c. 2589-2566 BC), found in 1954 at the foot of his Giza pyramid. A full-size barge of 43.3 m made for river transport, it features multiple cedar hull beams – some planks are 23 m in length – raising questions about the nature of mechanisms required to cut and transport timber on this scale. The barge

is made for Nile River travel, and thus might be different from a 'Byblos ship' fashioned in Byblos.

The trade in cedar and other products was organised as a state enterprise. Led by trusted official agents and diplomats like Iny, missions involved flotillas of ships leaving and returning during the sailing season. Agents of the state may have been stationed at Byblos for a period of time. A returning expedition is even depicted on the pyramid causeway of king Sahure at Abusir (c. 2487-2475 BC): multiple ships bearing Egyptians and foreigners (Byblites?) all raise their hands in adoration of the king. This scene almost certainly depicts, even if symbolically, a returning voyage from Byblos and the Levantine coast.

Byblos in the Egyptian consciousness

The depiction of foreign expeditions on a royal funerary monument demonstrates their importance to the ideology of Egyptian kingship. The kings' capacity to project his power was embodied in two elements of his divine qualities – that of maintaining cosmic order (*ma'at*) through protection of Egypt from external forces of chaos, and his 'domination' of and benevolence to faraway lands. At this time, Byblos was too distant to be a territorial threat. The acquisition, royal display and gifting of luxury products enhanced the kings' status and enriched temple endowments, but for family and trusted officials, also signified social standing. **Byblos acquired an almost mythical position in the Egyptian consciousness, as a distant land with bountiful exotica,**

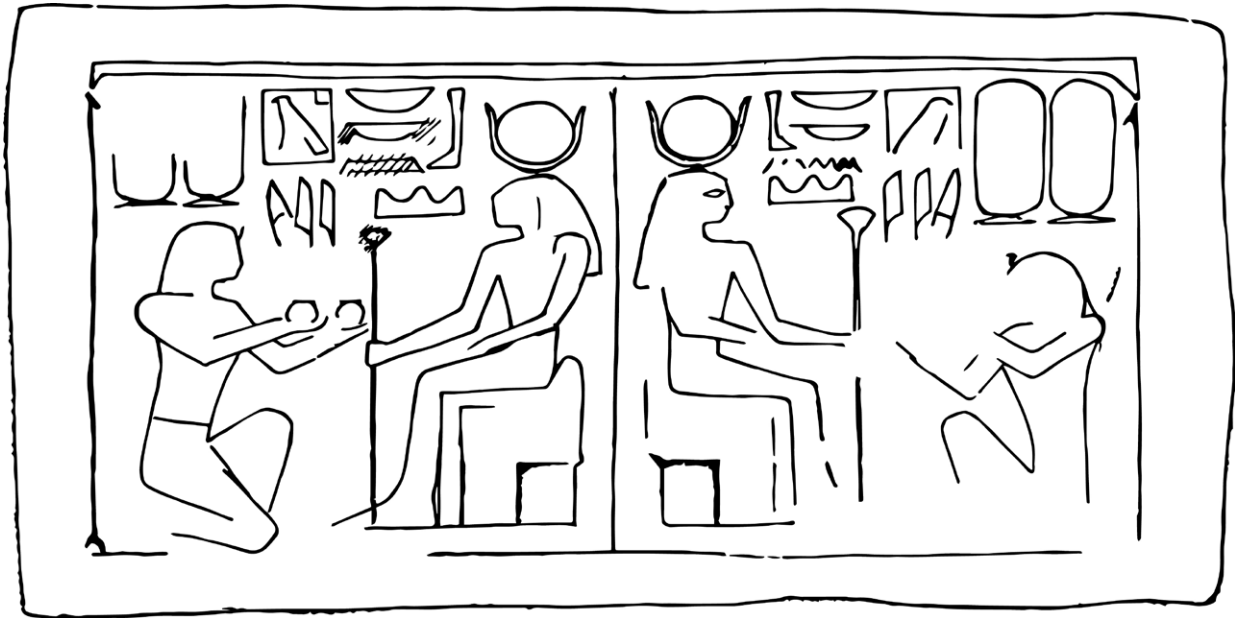


Figure 12.6: Stone lintel from Byblos depicting the goddess Hathor 'Lady of Byblos' with a kneeling king, possibly Pepi I, 6th Dynasty. DGA 2028 © Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities. Drawing after Montet 1928a, fig. 6.

access to which was a sign of royal favour and capable of improving one's status in the present and in the afterlife.

Yet the archaeological evidence at Byblos depicts a complex relationship based on more than trade. The 'Byblos seal' (Fig. 12.3) reveals the significant cultural influence on Byblos rulers, and even **the design of the Baalat Gebal Temple is regarded as having strong Egyptian influence (Saghieh 1983)**. The large number of stone vessels deposited in and around the temple indicates Egyptian regard for its deity over a long

period. The quantity of stone vessels dated to the 5th and 6th Dynasties increases exponentially in the mid to late Pyramid Age, with the names of 6th Dynasty kings Pepi I and Pepi II heavily represented. Many scholars believe that the deity worshipped at the temple by this time was conflated with the Egyptian goddess Hathor, who came to be associated with expeditionary activity (Espinel 2002). By the Middle Kingdom (c.1900 BC), she was known as 'Lady of Byblos' and was patron of expeditions generally. Evidence for this title in the Pyramid Age is



Figure 12.7: Egyptian flint knife from Byblos, Old Kingdom, c. 2613-2181 BC. Inv. 5004 © AUB Archaeological Museum.

ephemeral but it signifies a plausible explanation for the Egyptian regard of the local cult. Even at Byblos, none of the many Egyptian stone vessel fragments unequivocally bear the Hathor title ‘Lady of Byblos’, although it is a possible reconstruction of certain objects (e.g., DGA 15556). A carved stone lintel known as the *Relief de la Maisonette* (Fig. 12.6; Montet 1928a, 35-38; 1929, pl. 28 [no. 11]) is a further clue. ‘Hathor Mistress of Byblos’ is the named deity, with a king making offerings. However, the name of the king is not visible in the royal cartouches (name-rings) and the ruler’s kneeling stance is rarely attested in the Pyramid Age. The date of the block remains debated but it represents a potential key link in understanding the religious significance of the Egypt-Byblos relationship.

A considerable quantity of Egyptian flint knives of a kind used for butchering animals were also found in the temple precincts (Fig. 12.7). Such knives are depicted in Egyptian wall scenes in the slaughter of cattle. Could this point to animal sacrifice and feasting on the part of Egyptians and Byblite elites at the temple as part of a cultic ritual? The successful arrival of the fleet would have been cause for celebration by all involved (see Chapter 21).

Byblos and mechanisms of international exchange

Crucial to the success of Byblos was its location, affording access to other regions such as Ugarit, the fertile Beqaa Valley, the Akkar Plain and the Syrian hinterland. Such routes extended the Egyptian ‘reach’ through direct and indirect access, into which Byblite elites were co-opted. Evidence is revealed by Egypt’s relations with the major north Syrian polity of Ebla (see Chapter 13). Many Egyptian



Figure 12.8: Combed jar from Edfu, late 5th Dynasty-early 6th Dynasty, c. 2400 BC. E16577 © Louvre Museum / Maurice et Pierre Chazelle.

stone vessels were found in the Palace G complex, including two with the names of Khafre (c. 2558-2532 BC) and Pepi I (c. 2321-2287 BC), attesting to Egyptian relations with the city (Matthiae Scandone 1981; Bevan 2007, 78; Sowada 2009, 141-44, 222-23).

The mechanism for this relationship is now known to have included Byblos and a regional network of agents. The Ebla Archive of cuneiform inscriptions, dating to c. 2330/2300 BC, holds the clues. Various clay tablets reveal the roles of different envoys from Egypt, Byblos (respectively identified as Dugurasu and *DULu* in the Ebla texts), and 'hired' agents from inland Syria. All these people were directly involved in mediating the relationship between Ebla and the Egyptian state for goods such as lapis lazuli, tin and silver (Biga and Steinkeller 2021; see Chapter 13). According to the Ebla Texts, Byblite envoys, regional agents and Eblite representatives even travelled to Egypt at different times. When set alongside the biographical inscription of Iny dating to the same period, we are presented with a wider international exchange network, complete with the names of certain individuals, with Byblos at its geographical centre.

Product acquisition management is further evident in the manufacture of two-handled ceramic combed jars used for transport of oils and resins (Fig. 12.8). Analysis reveals that imported jars in Egypt were made in the Byblos region, if not at Byblos itself. Moreover, jars

even differed in their manufacture: the clays producing stronger jars more suited to long-distance travel made their way to Egypt (MFA 37.2724, E 16577), compared to clays for jars used at Byblos (Fig. 9.4; Badreshany et al. 2022). This suggests local specialised ceramic production 'made to order' for the needs of the Egyptian state. Further light is thus shed onto product acquisition and social complexity at Byblos: elites of the city co-operated with Egyptian agents to deliver commodities to the specifications of their customer. Seal-bearer of the god Iny and his crew may have been one such mercantile party working to ensure this.

Conclusion

Byblos was a meeting point of interregional cultures and commodity exchange networks, enabling the Egyptian state to extend its trade and diplomatic activity directly and indirectly for centuries into the eastern Mediterranean. For both Egypt and Byblos, the interdependence of the relationship is visible in the centuries-long nature of its interaction and the religious connection of cultures at the Baalat Gebal Temple. Status and prestige cloaked both sides in status display at home, however for the Byblos elite, adoption of Egyptian cultural forms was a form of royal patronage that increased its regional status. At some point around c. 2200 BC, Egyptian expeditions ceased for reasons that may have involved events in Egypt and along the coast of Lebanon itself, thus severing the supply chain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdul Massih, Jeanine. 2015. 'The Coastal Quarries of Lebanon, The Case Study of Enfeh, Batroun and Byblos'. In *SOMA 18th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Wrocław 24-26 April 2014*, edited by Blazej Stanislawski and Hakan Öniz. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- . 2017. 'L'exploitation de la pierre sur la façade maritime de Byblos'. In *Byblos maritime: une installation portuaire au piémont sud de la ville antique*, edited by Martine Francis-Allouche and Nicolas Grimal. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 17. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 138-47.
- . 2020. 'Report on the Rescue Excavation of Area H, 1350-51'. Lebanese University/DGA.
- Abi Zeid, Layla. 2015. 'Le symbolisme et le rôle des figurines zoomorphes en faïence du «Temple aux obélisques» à Jbeil à travers le symbolisme animalier dans la pensée religieuse au Proche-Orient et en Egypte à l'âge du Bronze Moyen'. PhD thesis, Lebanese University.
- . 2018. 'La fonction rituelle des figurines zoomorphes en faïence du Temple aux obélisques à Jbeil (Byblos) et les rites funéraires'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 18: 305-46.
- Abou Diwan, Georges. 2016. *Sarepta V: The Coin Finds of Areas I and II (X, Y) Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Medieval Periods*. BAAL Hors-Série 14. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities.
- . 2019. 'Burials from the Early Roman Period at Ashrafieh 163, Beirut'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 19: 53-146.
- Abou-Abdallah, Marc. 2018. *L'histoire du royaume de Byblos à l'âge du Fer, 1080-333*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta: Studia Phoenicia* 22. Leuven: Peeters.
- Acquaro, Enrico, Federico Mazza, Sergio Ribichini, Gabriella Scandone, and Paolo Xella, eds. 1994. *Biblo: una città e la sua cultura*. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Ahrens, Alexander. 2011. 'Strangers in a Strange Land? The Function and Social Significance of Egyptian Imports in the Northern Levant during the 2nd Millennium BC'. In *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25th to 29th October 2008*, edited by Kim Duistermaat and Ilona Regulska. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 202. Leuven: Peeters, 285-307.
- . 2020. *Aegyptiaca in der nördlichen Levante: eine Studie zur Kontextualisierung und Rezeption ägyptischer und ägyptisierender Objekte in der Bronzezeit*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis – Series Archaeologica* 41. Leuven: Peeters.
- Ahrens, Alexander, and Karin Kopetzky. 2021. 'Difficult Times and Drastic Solutions: The Diffusion of Looted Middle Kingdom Objects Found in the Northern Levant, Egypt and Nubia'. In *The Enigma of the Hyksos Volume IV: Changing Clusters and Migration in the Near Eastern Bronze Age. Collected Papers of a Workshop Held in Vienna 4th–6th of December 2019*, edited by Manfred Bietak and Silvia Prell. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 253-313.
- Al-Balāḍurī. 1983. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*. Beirut: Dār wa maktabat al-Hilāl.
- Albert d'Aix. 1879. 'Alberti Aquensis Historia Hierosolymitana'. In *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux, vol. 4*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- . 1980. 'Histoire de Jérusalem'. In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*. Beirut: Dar al-Sharq.
- Albright, William F. 1965. 'Further Light on the History of Middle-Bronze Byblos'. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 179: 38-43.
- Al-Dahabī. 1979. *Kitāb Duwal Al-Islām*. Translated by Arlette Nègre. Damascus: Institut français de Damas.
- Aliquot, Julien. 2004. 'Aegyptiaca et Isiacae de la Phénicie et du Liban aux époques hellénistique et romaine'. *Syria* 81: 201-28.
- . 2009. *La vie religieuse au Liban sous l'Empire romain*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 189. Beirut: Presses de l'Ifpo.
- Allen, James P. 2008. 'The Historical Inscription of Khnum-hotep at Dahshur: Preliminary Report'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 352: 29-39.

- Al-Maqrīzī. 1964. *Kitāb Al-Sulūk Li Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiya.
- Al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. 1992. *Nihāyat al-ʿarab fī funūn al-ʿadab*. Al-Qāhira: Wizārat at-Taḡāfa waʿl-Irṣād al-Qaumī.
- Alpi, Frédéric. 1998. 'La Phénicie chrétienne, une province au cœur de l'Empire chrétien d'Orient'. In *Liban: l'autre rive*, edited by Valérie Matoian. Paris: Institut du Monde Arabe, 202-17.
- . 2009. La route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les Églises d'Orient. Beirut: Institut français du Proche-Orient.
- . 2017. 'Le christianisme en Orient romain depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe'. In *Chrétiens d'Orient: 2000 ans d'histoire*, edited by Raphaëlle Ziadé. Paris: Gallimard, 20-31.
- André-Salvini, Béatrice. 1995. "Remarques sur les inscriptions des reliefs du palais de Khorsabad". In *Khorsabad, le palais de Sargon II, roi d'Assyrie: actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 21 et 22 janvier 1994*, edited by Annie Caubet. Paris: La Documentation française, 15-45.
- Archi, Alfonso. 2016. 'Egypt or Iran in the Ebla Texts?' *Orientalia. Nova Series* 85: 1-49.
- . 2017. 'Lapis Lazuli and Shells from Mari to Ebla'. In *Overturing Certainties in Near Eastern Archaeology: A Festschrift in Honor of K. Aslıhan Yener*, edited by Çiğdem Maner, Mara T. Horowitz, and Allen S. Gilbert. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 90. Leiden: Brill, 34-47.
- . 2019. 'Ebla and the Cities of Northern Syria'. In *Beiträge zur Kenntnis un Deutung altorientalischer Archivalien. Festschrift für Helmut Freydanck zum 80. Geburtstag*, edited by Doris Prechel and Hans Neumann. Dubsar 6. Münster: Zaphon, 1-17.
- . 2020. 'Personal Names of Proto-Anatolian Indo-European-Speaking Populations East of the Euphrates (24th Cent. BC)'. In *Talugaeš Witteš. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Stefano de Martino on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Michele Cammarosano, Elena Devecchi, and Maurizio Viano. Kasion 2. Münster: Zaphon, 27-36.
- Archi, Alfonso, Paola Piacentini, and Francesco Pomponio. 1993. *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla*. Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi 2. Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria.
- Aristodemou, Georgia. 2011a. 'Sculptural Decoration of Monumental Nymphaea at the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire'. In *Roma y las provincias: modelo y difusión*, edited by Trinidad Nogales and Isabel Rodà. Hispania Antigua, Serie Arqueológica 3. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 149-60.
- . 2011b. 'Theatre Façades and Façade Nymphaea. The Link between'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 135 (1): 163-97.
- Arnold, Dieter. 1981. *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahri, vol. III: Die königlichen Beigaben*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 23. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Artin, Gassia. 2006. 'La « nécropole énéolithique » de Byblos, nouvelles interprétations'. *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 23: 56-67.
- . 2009. *La « nécropole énéolithique » de Byblos, nouvelles interprétations*. BAR International Series 1993. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- . 2010. 'The Necropolis and Dwellings of Byblos during the Chalcolithic Period: New Interpretations'. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73: 74-84.
- . 2014. 'The Northern Levant during the Chalcolithic: The Lebanese-Syrian Coast'. In *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*, edited by Margreet Steiner and Ann E. Killebrew. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 212-22.
- . 2018. 'The Chalcolithic Period on the Lebanese Coast'. *Annalen Des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien, Serie A* 120: 471-84.
- Asmar, Camille, and Claude Doumet-Serhal. 2015. *Byblos, Everything You Ever Wanted to Know, A Global City of the Ancient World: 5000 Years of Growth and Opportunity*. Beirut: The Lebanese British Friends of the National Museum.
- Atallah, Wahib. 1966. *Adonis dans la littérature et l'art grecs*. Études et commentaires 62. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Aynard, Jeanne-Marie. 1961. 'Jugement des morts chez les Assyro-Babyloniens'. In *Le jugement des morts : Egypte ancienne, Assour-Babylone, Israel, Iran, Islam, Inde, Chine, Japon*, edited by Jean Yoyotte, Jeanne-Marie Aynard, and Henri Cazelles. Sources Orientales 4. Paris: Seuil, 81-102.
- Azzam, Karl. 2021. 'Le Mobilier Osseux: Analyse Technologique et Typologique Du Matériel Archéologique Des Fouilles de Beyrouth (de La Période Hellénistique à La Période Protobyzantine)'. PhD thesis, Beirut/Poitiers: Lebanese University/University of Poitiers.
- Bachelot, Luc, and Francis Joannès. 2001. 'Karkemish'. In *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Mésopotamienne*, edited by Robert Laffont. Paris: Bouquins, 444-47.
- Badreshany, Kamal. 2016. 'Lebanon's Earliest Potting Traditions in Regional Context'. *Berytus* 59: 5-42.
- Badreshany, Kamal, Hermann Genz, and Héléne Sader. 2005. 'An Early Bronze Age Site on the Lebanese Coast Tell Fadous-Kfarabida 2004 and 2005: Final Report'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 9: 5-115.
- Badreshany, Kamal, Graham Phillip, and Melissa Kennedy. 2020. 'The Development of Integrated Regional Economies in the Early Bronze Age Levant: New Evidence from "Combed Ware" Jars'. *Levant* 52: 160-96.

- Badreshany, Kamal, Karin Sowada, Mary Ownby, Mathilde Jean, Michel De Vreeze, Alice McClymont, and Graham Philip. 2022. 'The Characterisation of Ceramic Production from the Central Levant and Egyptian Trade in the Pyramid Age'. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 41: e103309.
- Badreshany, Kamal, Michel de Vreeze, Melissa Kennedy, Stephanie Piper, Hélène Sader, and Graham Philip. Forthcoming. 'Report on Excavations at Tell Koubba, Northern Lebanon 2015-2017'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*.
- Balard, Michel. 2001. *Croisades et Orient Latin, XIe-XIVe siècle*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Balcou, Jean. 2017. *Ernest Renan. Une biographie*. Paris: Honoré Champion.
- Baldi, Johnny Samuele. 2017. 'La région de Byblos de la fin du VIe au début du IIIe millénaire: formation d'un réseau territorial'. *Syria* 94: 123-55.
- Baratte, François. 2001. 'Exotisme et décor à Aphrodisias: la statue du jeune noir de l'ancienne collection Gaudin'. *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 80: 57-80.
- Bardinet, Thierry. 2008. *Relations économiques et pressions militaires en Méditerranée orientale et en Libye au temps des pharaons*. Etudes et mémoires d'égyptologie 7. Paris: Cybele.
- Bárta, Miroslav. 2003. *Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Bar-Yosef Mayer, Daniela E. 2013. 'Towards a Typology of Stone Beads in the Neolithic Levant'. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 38: 129-42.
- Béal, Jean Claude. 1983. *Catalogue des objets de tabletterie du Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine de Lyon*. Collection du centre d'études romaines et gallo-romaines de l'université Jean Moulin-Lyon III, nouvelle série 1. Lyon: Boccard.
- Beck, Horace C. 1928. 'Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants'. *Archaeologia* 77: 1-76.
- Beck, Pirhiya. 2000. 'The Art of Palestine during the Iron Age II: Local Traditions and External Influences (10th-8th Centuries BC)'. In *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium BCE)*, edited by Christoph Uehlinger. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 175. Fribourg / Göttingen: University Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 166-83.
- Beckman, Gary M. 1999. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. 2nd ed. Writings from the Ancient World 7. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Beffeyte, Renaud. 2008. *Les machines de guerre au Moyen Age*. Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France.
- Ben-Tor, Amnon. 1978. *Cylinder Seals of Third Millennium Palestine*. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Ben-Tor, Daphna. 1998. 'The Absolute Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs'. In *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies; in Memory of William A. Ward*, edited by Leonard H. Lesko. Providence: Department of Egyptology, Brown University, 1-17.
- . 2007a. *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections. Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis – Series Archaeologica 27. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2007b. 'Scarabs of Middle Bronze Age Rulers of Byblos'. In *Images as sources: studies on ancient Near Eastern artefacts and the Bible inspired by the work of Othmar Keel*, edited by Susanne Bickel, Silvia Schroer, René Schurte, and Christoph Uehlinger. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 177-88.
- . 2021. 'Egyptian-Levantine Relations in the Hyksos Period. The Southern Levant vs. the Northern Levant'. In *The Enigma of the Hyksos. Volume IV. Changing Clusters and Migration in the Near Eastern Bronze Age. Collected Papers of a Workshop Held in Vienna 4th-6th of December 2019*, edited by Manfred Bietak and Silvia Prell. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 243-52.
- Bessac, Jean-Claude. 2012. 'La Calcarénite Marine et Les Techniques de Construction de l'Âge du Bronze à Ougarit'. *Géologues* 173: 73-74.
- Bevan, Andrew. 2007. *Stone Vessels and Values in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bianquis, Thierry. 1986. *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359-468/969-1076): essai d'interprétation de chroniques médiévales. Vol. 1*. Damascus: Institut français de Damas.
- Bietak, Manfred. 2019. 'The Obelisk Temple in Byblos and Its Predecessors'. In *Stories Told Around the Fountain. Papers Offered to Piotr Bieliński on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Agnieszka Pieńkowska, Dariusz Szelağ, and Iwona Zych. Warsaw: The University of Warsaw Press, 165-85.
- Biga, Maria Giovanna. 2012. 'Tra Egitto e Siria Nel III Millennio a.C.'. *Atti Dell'Accademia Delle Scienze Di Torino, Classe Di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* 146: 17-36.
- . 2014a. 'Encore à propos des rapports entre les royaumes de Mari et d'Ébla à l'époque présargonique'. *Syria Supplément* 2: 173-81.
- . 2014b. 'Inherited Space – Third Millennium Political and Cultural Landscape'. In *Constituent, Confederate, and Conquered Space in Upper Mesopotamia: The Emergence of the Mitanni State*, edited by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Nicole Brisch, and Jesper Eidem. TOPOI Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 17. Berlin: De Gruyter, 93-110.

- . 2014c. 'The Marriage of an Eblaite Princess with the King of Dulu'. In *From Source to History. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Worlds and Beyond Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on June 23, 2014*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Alessandro Greco, Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, Simonetta Ponchia, and Robert Rollinger. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 73-79.
- . 2015. 'The Geographical Scope of Ebla. Commerce and War'. In *ARCANE III: History & Philology*, edited by Walter Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp. Turnhout: Brepols, 181-90.
- . 2016. 'La Syrie et l'Égypte au IIIe millénaire av. J.-C. d'après les archives d'Ebla'. *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 160 (2): 691-711.
- . 2017. 'Voies commerciales, ports et marchands de Syrie, Anatolie et Méditerranée orientale au IIIe millénaire av. J.-C.'. *Pallas* 104: 51-59.
- Biga, Maria Giovanna, and Alessandro Roccati. 2022. 'Eblaite, Egyptian, and Anatolian place names at the crossroads'. *Orientalia* 91: 70-93.
- Biga, Maria Giovanna, and Piotr Steinkeller. 2021. 'In Search of Durugasu'. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 73: 9-70.
- Bikai, Patricia M. 2001. 'The Cedar of Lebanon (Textual Evidence for the Sources)'. *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 14: 50-57.
- Blue, Lucy. 1997. 'Cyprus and Cilicia: The Typology of Second Millennium Harbors'. In *Res Maritimae, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*, edited by Stuart Swiny, Robert L. Hohfelder, and Helena Wylde Swiny. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 31-43.
- Bolla, Margherita. 1991. 'Les bassins. I bacili con attacchi a foglia di vite'. In *La vaisselle tardo-républicaine en bronze : actes de la table-ronde CNRS organisée à Lattes du 26 au 28 avril 1990*, edited by Michel Feugère and Claude Rolley. Dijon: Université de Bourgogne, 113-20.
- Bondi, Sandro Filippo, Massimo Botto, Giuseppe Garabati, and Ida Oggiano. 2009. *Fenici e Cartaginesi. Una civiltà mediterranea*. Rome: Libreria dello stato.
- Bonechi, Marco. 1993. *I nomi geografici dei testi di Ebla*. Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 12. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.
- Bonhême, Marie-Ange. 1987. *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 98. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Bonnet, Corinne. 1996. *Astarté. Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques*. Collezione de studi fenici 37. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche.
- . 2015. *Les enfants de Cadmos: le paysage religieux de la Phénicie hellénistique*. Paris: Éditions de Boccard.
- Bordreuil, Pierre. 1977. 'Une inscription phénicienne chaplevée des environs de Byblos'. *Semitica* 27: 23-27.
- Boschloos, Vanessa. 2011. 'Studie in de relaties tussen het oude Nabije Oosten en Egypte: De geo-chronologische distributie van Egyptische scarabeezegels in de noordelijke Levant (Syrië en Libanon) van het late 3e millennium tot de late IJzertijd'. PhD diss., Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel.
- . 2012. 'Egyptian and Egyptianising Scarab-Shaped Seals in Syria and Lebanon'. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 69 (3-4): 175-81.
- . 2014. 'Tyre, Achziv and Kition. Evidence for a Phoenician Iron Age II Scarab Seal Workshop'. In *Skarabäen Des 1. Jahrtausends. Ein Workshop in Münster Am 17. Oktober 2012*, edited by Angelika Lohwasser. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 5-36.
- . 2015. 'From Egypt to Byblos... and Back Again. The Production and Distribution of Green Jasper Seals in Egypt and the Levant during the Early 2nd Millennium BCE'. In *There and Back Again – The Crossroads II. Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague*, edited by Jana Mynárová, Pavel Onderka, and Peter Pavúk. Prague: Charles University, 297-314.
- . 2017. 'Traded, Copied, and Kept: The Ubiquitous Appeal of Scarabs'. In *Pharaoh's Land and Beyond: Ancient Egypt and Its Neighbors*, edited by Pearce Paul Creasman and Richard Wilkinson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 149-66.
- . 2020. 'Something Old, Something New and Something Egyptian Blue: What Sidon Can Do for Dunand's Finds in Byblos'. In *Three Global Harbours of the Ancient World. Acts of the International Symposium held in Beirut, 25-29 October 2017*. BAAL Hors-Série 18. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 139-45.
- Bottéro, Jean. 1987. *Mésopotamie, l'écriture, la raison et les dieux*. France: Gallimard.
- Bou Dagher-Kharrat, Magda, Hicham El Zein, and Germinal Rouhan. 2018. 'Setting Conservation Priorities for Lebanese Flora – Identification of Important Plant Areas'. *Journal for Nature Conservation* 43: 85-94.
- Bourriau, Janine. 1991. 'Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom'. In *Middle Kingdom Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke. New Malden: SIA Publications, 3-20.
- Božič, Dragan, and Michel Feugère. 2004. 'Les instruments de l'écriture'. *Gallia* 61: 21-41.
- Braidwood, Robert J., and Linda S. Braidwood. 1960. *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, Volume 1: The Earlier Assemblages, Phases A-J*. Oriental Institute Publications 61. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brandi, Baruch. 1982. 'The Tel Masos Scarab: A Suggestion for a New Method for the Interpretation of Royal Scarabs'. *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 28: 371-405.

- Breasted, James Henry. 1906-1907. *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents From The Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Breton, Jean-François. 1980. *Les inscriptions forestières d'Hadrien dans le Mont Liban*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Briquel-Chatonnet, Françoise. 1991. 'Les derniers témoignages sur la langue phénicienne en Orient'. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 19 (1): 3-21.
- . 2001. 'Les textes relatifs au cèdre du Liban dans l'antiquité'. *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 14: 42-48.
- . 2021. 'Quelques réflexions sur l'évolution de l'écriture Phénicienne à Byblos'. In *Travels through the Orient and the Mediterranean World. Essays Presented to Eric Gubel*, edited by Vanessa Boschloos, Bruno Overlaet, Ingrid Moriah Swinnen, and Véronique van der Stede. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 302. Leuven: Peeters, 413-20.
- Brown, John Pairman. 1969. *The Lebanon and Phoenicia. Ancient Texts Illustrating their Physical Geography and Native Industries*. Beirut: The American University of Beirut.
- Bryce, Trevor. 2005. *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bunnens, Guy. 1978. 'La mission d'Ounamon en Phénicie: point de vue d'un non-égyptologue'. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 6: 1-16.
- . 1985. 'Le luxe phénicien d'après les inscriptions royales assyriennes'. *Studia Phoenicia* 3: 121-33.
- . 2019. 'Phoenicia in the Later Iron Age: Tenth Century BCE to the Assyrian and Babylonian Periods'. In *Oxford Handbook of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean*, edited by Brian R. Doak and Carolina López-Ruiz. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 57-73.
- Burke, Aaron A. 2020. *The Amorites and the Bronze Age Near East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Busink, Theodor A. 1970. *Der Tempel von Jerusalem, von Salomo bis Herodes: eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus*. *Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata* 3. Leiden: Brill.
- Butcher, Kevin. 2003. *Small Change in Ancient Beirut: The Coin Finds from BEY 006 and BEY 045: Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods*. *Berytus* 45-46. Beirut: American University of Beirut.
- Callaway, Joseph. 1993. "Ai". In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, edited by Ephraim Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 39-45.
- Campagno, Marcelo. 2015. 'Egyptian Boundaries in the Tale of Sinuhe'. In *Fuzzy Boundaries: Festschrift für Antonio Loprieno*, edited by Hans Amstutz. Hamburg: Widmaier, 335-46.
- Capdetrey, Laurent. 2007. *Le pouvoir séleucide: territoire, administration, finances d'un royaume hellénistique (312-129 avant J.-C.)*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Carayon, Nicolas. 2008. 'Les ports phéniciens et puniques. Géomorphologie et infrastructure'. PhD Thesis, Strasbourg II University.
- Caschifellone, Caffaro di. 1895. 'De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis Liber'. In *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux, vol. 5*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 41-75.
- Caspi, El'ad N., Hanania Etedgui, Oleg Rivin, Martin Peilstöcker, Beni Breitman, Izhak Hershko, Sana Shilstein, and Sariel Sharev. 2009. 'Preliminary Neutron Diffraction Study of Two Fenestrated Axes from the "Enot Shuni" Bronze Age Cemetery (Israel)'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36: 2835-40.
- Caubet, Annie. 1987. 'Les objets en matières vitreuse, fritte, faïence, verre'. In *Ras Shamra-Ougarit III, Le centre de la ville, 38e-44e campagnes (1978-1984)*, edited by Marguerite Yon. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, 329-42.
- Cauvin, Jacques. 1968. *Les outillages néolithiques de Byblos et du littoral libanais*. Fouilles de Byblos 4. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient A. Maisonneuve.
- . 1997. *Naissance des divinités, naissance de l'agriculture: la révolution des symboles au néolithique*. Paris: CNRS éditions.
- Chaaya, Anis. 2014. 'Nouvelle lecture du château de Ġbayl/Gibelet'. In *Civilisations en transition: sociétés conséquentes et sociétés composites à travers l'Histoire: l'exemple du Liban. Actes du Colloque Scientifique International 4-5-6 septembre 2014, Centre International des Sciences de l'Homme*, edited by Jean-Michel Mouton and Jacques Paviot. Byblos: Centre International des Sciences de l'Homme, 180-206.
- . 2018. 'Results of the First Season of Excavation at the Medieval Castle of Gbail/Byblos'. In *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Barbara Horejs, Christopher Schwall, Vera Müller, Marta Luciani, Markus Ritter, Mattia Guidetti, Roderick B. Salisbury, Felix Höflmayer, and Teresa Bürge. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 475-84.
- . 2020. 'The Medieval Castle of Gbail/Byblos in Light of Recent Archaeological Work'. In *Three Global Harbours of the Ancient World. Acts of the International Symposium held in Beirut, 25-29 October 2017*, edited by Anne-Marie Maïla-Afeiche and Claude Doumet. BAAL Hors Série 18. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 273-80.
- Chanteau, Julien. 2014. 'L'enceinte sacrée et les origines de Byblos'. *Syria* 91: 35-54.
- . 2021. 'Du port à la Porte: l'accès au sud de l'acropole de Byblos'. In *L'autre 'porte de la mer' de Byblos*, edited

- by Martine Francis-Allouche, Nicolas Grimal, and Julien Chanteau. *Bulletin d'Archeologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 21: 323-361.
- Charaf, Hanan. 2014. 'The Northern Levant (Lebanon) during the Middle Bronze Age'. *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant. c. 8000-332 BCE*, edited by Margreet L. Steiner and Anne E. Killebrew. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 434-50.
- . 2016. 'The Pottery of Level 12 from Tell 'Arqa in North Lebanon'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Archaeology in the Ancient Near East, May 22 – 26, 2000, Copenhagen*, edited by Ingolf Thuesen. Bologna: Department of History and Cultures, University of Bologna, 733-44.
- . 2021a. 'La céramique de l'âge du Bronze de Byblos – Projet Byblos et la Mer'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 21: 365-95.
- . 2021b. 'Looking for Cultural Borders during the MBA. Preliminary Observations'. In *Changing Clusters and Migration in the Near Eastern Bronze Age. Acts of the International Symposium Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, December 4 – 6*, edited by Manfred Bietak and Sylvie Prell. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 176-221.
- Charpin, Dominique. 2010. 'Shamshi-Adad's Lebanon Campaign: Royal Inscriptions and Archival Texts'. *Canadian Society of Mesopotamian Study Journal* 4: 4-11.
- . 2019. « Tu es de mon sang ». *Les alliances dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, Collège de France.
- . 2021. "Année où Zimri-Lim est allé en renfort du Yamhad": une campagne des armées de Mari dans le royaume d'Alep'. In *Ougarit, un anniversaire. Bilans et recherches en cours*, edited by Valérie Matoïan. Leuven: Peeters, 535-72.
- Charpin, Dominique, and Nele Ziegler. 2003. *Florilegium Marianum V. Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: essai d'histoire politique*. Mémoires de NABU 6. Paris: SEPOA.
- Chéhab, Maurice. 1937. 'Un trésor d'orfèvrerie Syro-égyptien'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 1: 7-21.
- . 1948. 'Chronique: I. Travaux archéologiques: Fouilles de Byblos'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 8: 159.
- . 1950. 'Tombes des chefs d'époque énéolithique trouvées à Byblos'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 9: 75-85.
- . 1984. 'Fouilles de Tyr: La nécropole, II, Description des fouilles'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 34: 1-482.
- . 1985. 'Fouilles de Tyr: La nécropole, III, Description des fouilles'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 35: 484-805.
- . 1986. 'Fouilles de Tyr. La Nécropole, IV, Description des fouilles'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 36: 1-268.
- Chuvin, Pierre. 1989. *Chronique des derniers païens: la disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres/Fayard.
- Cohen, Suzan. 2012. 'Weaponry and Warrior Burials: Patterns of Disposal and Social Change in the Southern Levant'. In *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 12 April-16 April 2010*, edited by Roger Matthews and John Curtis. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 307-19.
- Collina-Girard, Jacques, Honor Frost, Michel Héluou, and Ibrahim Nureddine. 2002. 'Un promontoire sous-marin au large du port antique de Byblos: cartographie, interprétation géologique et implications archéologiques'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 6: 317-24.
- Collon, Dominique. 1972. 'The Smiting God'. *Levant* 4 (1): 111-34.
- . 1986. 'The Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop'. In *Insight through Images. Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, edited by Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. Malibu: Undena Publications, 57-70.
- . 2001. 'The Green Jasper Seal Workshop Revisited'. *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 13: 16-24.
- Copeland, Lorraine, and Corinne Yazbeck. 2002. 'Inventory of Stone Age Sites in Lebanon. New and Revised, Part III'. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 55: 121-325.
- Cornelius, Izak. 1994. *The iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al. Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c. 1500-1000 BCE)*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 140. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2004. *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qadeshet, and Asherah, c. 1500-1000 BCE*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 204. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Croissant, Francis. 1990. 'Hygieia'. In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Vol. 5*. Zurich: Artemis, 554-72.
- Cross, Frank Moore, and P. Kyle McCarter. 1973. 'Two Archaic Inscriptions on Clay Objects from Byblos'. *Rivista Di Studi Fenici* 1: 3-8.
- Crummy, Nina. 1983. *Colchester Archaeological Report 2: The Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester 1971-9*. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust.
- Curtis, John. 2009. 'Phoenicians on the Balawat Gates'. In *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean. Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages, Proceedings of the International Symposium, Beirut 2008*. BAAL Hors-Série 6. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 439-52.

- Dalix, Anne-Sophie. 2005. “L'épisode gibilite” chez Plutarque. (De Iside et Osiride, 357 A-D, chapitres 15-16). *A contrario* 3: 28-44.
- Dalix, Anne-Sophie, and Anis Chaaya. 2007. 'L'activité forestière au Liban dans l'Antiquité pré-classique. De l'exploitation à l'exportation'. *Archaeology & History in Lebanon* 26: 234-57.
- Damick, Alison, and Marshall Woodworth. 2015. 'Steatite Beads from Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: A Case Study in Early Bronze Age Technology in Northern Coastal Lebanon'. *Journal of Archaeological Science Reports* 3: 603-14.
- Dandamayev, Mohamed. 1995. 'A Governor of Byblos in Sippar'. In *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East, Festschrift E. Lipiński*, edited by K. Van Lerberghe and A. Schoors. Leuven: Peeters, 29-31.
- D'Andrea, Marta. 2020. 'The Religious Complexes of Megiddo and Khirbet Ez-Zeraqon and the Early Bronze Age Interregional Connectivity'. *Studia Eblaitica* 6: 1-39.
- Daniaux, Thomas. 2020. 'Les dés pleins cubiques et parallélépipédiques en os de Gaule romaine. De leur production à l'art de les manipuler'. *Bulletin Instrumentum* 52: 35-46.
- Dasen, Véronique, Danielle Gourevitch, Anna Moirin, and Nadine Rouquet. 2003. 'Protéger l'enfant: Amulettes et Crepundia'. In *Maternité et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité romaine: Catalogue de l'exposition Bourges, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, 6 novembre 2003 - 28 mars 2004*, edited by Danielle Gourevitch, Anna Moirin and Nadine Rouquet. Bourges: Éd. de la ville de Bourges, Service d'archéologie municipale, cop., 179-184.
- Davies, Nina M. 1963. *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (No. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Jong, Lidewijde. 2017. *The Archaeology of Death in Roman Syria: Burial, Commemoration, and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deckers, Katleen, Simone Riehl, Valentina Tumolo, Hermann Genz, and Dan Lawrence. 2021. 'Intensive Olive Production at Two Early Bronze Age Levantine Sites'. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 36: e102841.
- Délivré, Jean. 1998. 'La sarcophage d'Ahirom; un cas de réemploi'. In *Liban: l'autre rive*, edited by Valérie Matoïan. Paris: Flammarion, 75.
- Delvaux, Luc. 2014. 'Grenouilles et crocodiles: objets et pratiques magiques dans l'Égypte du Moyen Empire'. *Communication to the Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-mer* 60: 395-411.
- Denham, Simon. 2013. 'The Meanings of Late Neolithic Stamp Seals in North Mesopotamia'. PhD thesis, Manchester: The University of Manchester.
- Deroin, Jean-Paul, Rania Bou Kheir, and Chadi Abdallah. 2017. 'Geoarchaeological Remote Sensing Survey for Cultural Heritage Management. Case Study from Byblos (Jbail, Lebanon)'. *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 23: 37-43.
- Deschamps, Paul. 1939. *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre-Sainte: la défense du royaume de Jérusalem; étude historique, géographique et monumentale*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- . 1954. *Terre sainte romane*. La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque.
- . 1973. *Les châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte. III. La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 90. Paris: Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth.
- Deutsch, Robert, and Michael Heltzer. 1994. *Forty New Ancient West Semitic Inscriptions*. Tel Aviv: Archeological Center Publications.
- Devambe, Pierre, and Aliki Kauffmann-Samaras. 1981. 'Amazons'. In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicae Classicae, Vol. 1*. Zürich and München: Artemis, 1586-1653.
- Dever, William G. 1976. 'The Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine'. In *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, edited by Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller. Garden City: Doubleday, 3-38.
- Devreesse, Robert. 1945. *Le patriarcat d'Antioche: depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe*. Paris: Gabalda.
- Dhorme, Édouard Paul. 1930. 'Byblos et l'Égypte – Pierre Montet, Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil (1921-1922-1923-1924)'. *Journal des savants* 6, 260-72.
- Diarra, Myriam. 2013. 'La déesse syrienne de Lucien, ou les périls de l'ironie'. *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 1: 91-111.
- Dirven, Lucinda. 1997. 'The Author of "De Dea Syria" and His Cultural Heritage'. *Numen* 44 (2): 153-79.
- Donner, Herbert, and Wolfgang Röllig. 1973. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3rd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Dossin, Georges. 1969. 'Trois inscriptions cunéiformes de Byblos'. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 45: 241-55.
- Doumas, Christos. 2017. 'Figurines from Akrotiri, Naxos and Plastiras, Paros'. In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by Marisa Marthari, Colin Renfrew, and Michael Boyd. Oxford: Oxbow, 53-65.
- Doumet-Serhal, Claude. 2001. 'A Ram's Head Handle from Sidon'. *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon* 13: 9-16.
- . 2006a. 'Sidon: A Mud Brick Building at the Close of the Third Millennium BC'. *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon* 24: 4-17.

- . 2006b. *The Early Bronze Age in Sidon: 'College Site' Excavations (1998-2000-2001)*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 178. Beirut: Institut français du Proche-Orient.
- . 2011a. 'Thirteenth and Fourteenth Season of Excavation (2011-2012) at Sidon-Preliminary Report'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 15: 175-238.
- . 2011-2012. 'Tell El Yahudieh Ware in Sidon'. *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon* 34-35: 139-53.
- . 2014. 'Mortuary Practices in Sidon in the Middle Bronze Age: A Reflection on Sidonian Society in the Second Millennium BC'. In *Contextualising Grave Inventories in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings of a Workshop at the London 7th ICAANE in April 2010 and an International Symposium in Tübingen in November 2010, Both Organised by the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead"*, edited by Peter Pfälzner, Herbert Niehr, Ernst Pernicka, Sarah Lange, and Tina Köster. Qatna Studien Supplementa 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 29-37.
- . 2015. 'Seal Impressions and Cylinder Seals from the Sidon 2013-2014 Season of Excavation'. *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 42-43: 2-21.
- . 2021. 'Breathing from a Lotus Flower in Middle Bronze Age Sidon'. In *Travels through the Orient and the Mediterranean World: Essays Presented to Eric Gubel*, edited by Vanessa Boschloos, Bruno Overlaet, Ingrid Moriah Swinnen, and Véronique Van der Stede. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 302. Leuven: Peeters, 287-95.
- Doumet-Serhal, Claude, Vassos Karageorghis, Henri Loffet, and Nicholas Coldstream. 2008. 'The Kingdom of Sidon and Its Mediterranean Connections'. In *Networking Patterns of the Bronze and Iron Age Levant, The Lebanon and Its Mediterranean Connections*, edited by Claude Doumet-Serhal. Beirut: Lebanese British Friends of the National Museum, 2-70.
- Doumet-Serhal, Claude, and Karin Kopetzky. 2012. 'Sidon and Tell El-Dab'a: Two Cities – One Story, a Highlight on Metal Artefacts from the Middle Bronze Age Graves'. *Archaeology and History of Lebanon* 34-35: 9-52.
- Doumet-Serhal, Claude, and Jwana Shahud. 2013. 'A Middle Bronze Age Temple in Sidon. Ritual and Communal Feasting'. In *Ritual, Religion and Reason. Studies in the Ancient World in Honour of Paolo Xella*, edited by Oswald Loretz, Sergio Ribichini, Wilfred G.E. Watson, and José Antonio Zamora. *Alter Orient Und Altes Testament* 404. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 33-60.
- Doyen, Jean-Marc. 2014. 'Une monnaie pour le mort – des monnaies pour les vivants. L'obole à Charon: la fin d'un mythe? In *Diversité et évolution des pratiques funéraires dans les nécropoles à crémation de la période gallo-romaine en Gaule septentrionale*, edited by Frédéric Hanut. Colloque International d'Arlon 36. Namur: Institut du Patrimoine wallon, 93-100.
- Dunand, Maurice. 1937. *Fouilles de Byblos I, 1926-1932, atlas*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- . 1939. *Fouilles de Byblos I, 1926-1932, texte*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- . 1941. 'Encore la stèle du Yehavmilk, roi du Byblos'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 5: 57-85.
- . 1945a. *Byblia Grammata. Documents et recherches sur le développement de l'écriture en Phénicie*. Beirut: Ministère de l'éducation nationale et des beaux-arts, Direction des antiquités.
- . 1945b. 'Chronique. Travaux archéologiques. Fouilles de Byblos'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 7: 109-10.
- . 1949. 'Remarques à propos d'un article'. *Syria* 26: 127-32.
- . 1950. *Fouilles de Byblos II, 1933-1938, atlas*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- . 1954. *Fouilles de Byblos II, 1933-1938, texte 1*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- . 1955. 'Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Byblos en 1951'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 12: 13-20.
- . 1958. *Fouilles de Byblos II, 1933-1938, texte 2*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- . 1968. 'La Défense Du Front Méditerranéen de l'Empire Achéménide'. In *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations, Archaeological Symposium at the American University of Beirut*, edited by William A. Ward. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 3-51.
- . 1969. 'L'architecture à Byblos au temps des Achéménides'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 22: 93-99.
- . 1973a. *Byblos, son histoire, ses ruines, ses légendes*. 3rd ed. Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique.
- . 1973b. *Fouilles de Byblos V, L'architecture, les tombes, le matériel domestique des origines néolithiques à l'avènement urbain, planches*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- . 1973c. *Fouilles de Byblos V, L'architecture, les tombes, le matériel domestique des origines néolithiques à l'avènement urbain, texte. 2*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- . 1973d. Le temple d'Echmoun à Sidon. Essai de chronologie. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 26, 7-25.
- . 1978. 'Nouvelles inscriptions pseudo-hiéroglyphiques découvertes à Byblos'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 30: 51-59.
- Durand, Jean-Marie. 1999. 'La façade occidentale du Proche-Orient d'après les textes de Mari'. In *L'acrobate au taureau. Les découvertes de Tell el-Dab'a (Égypte) et l'archéologie de la Méditerranée orientale (1800-1400 av. J.-C.)*, edited by Annie Caubet. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 149-64.
- . 2014. 'Les plus anciennes attestations de la côte occidentale au Proche-Orient d'Ebla à Mari (XXIVe-XVIIIe

- av. J.-C.). In *Phéniciens d'Orient et d'Occident: mélanges Josette Elayi*, edited by André Lemaire, Bertrand Dufour, and Fabian Pfitzmann. Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1-12.
- Dussaud, René. 1927. 'Note additionnelle aux rapports de MM. Dunand et Pillet'. *Syria* 8 (2): 113-25.
- . 1951. *L'œuvre scientifique d'Ernest Renan*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Earle, Timothy. 1997. *How Chiefs Come to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Éddé, Anne-Marie. 2008. *Saladin*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Eder, Christian. 1995. *Die ägyptischen Motive in der Glyptik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes zu Anfang des 2. Jts. v.Chr.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 71. Leuven: Peeters.
- Egberts, Arno. 1991. 'The Chronology of the Report of Wenamun'. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77: 57-67.
- Elayi, Alain, Maryse Blet-Lemarquand, and Josette Elayi. 2012. 'Fluctuations in the Composition of the Silver Coinage of Byblos (5th-4th Cent. BC) as Determined by LA-ICP-MS and FNAA'. *American Journal of Numismatics* 24: 1-10.
- Elayi, Josette. 1983. 'Les monnaies des Byblos au sphinx et au faucon'. *Rivista di Studi Fenici Roma* 11: 5-17.
- . 1990a. *Économie des cités phéniciennes sous l'Empire perse*. Naples: Istituto universitario orientale.
- . 1990b. 'Tripoli (Liban) à l'époque perse'. *Transeuphratène* 2, 59-71.
- . 1995. 'L'ouverture du premier atelier monétaire phénicien'. *Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques* 32: 73-78.
- . 2006a. 'An Updated Chronology of the Reigns of Phoenician Kings during the Persian Period (539-333 BCE)'. *Transeuphratène* 32: 13-43.
- . 2006b. 'The Role of the Phoenician Kings at the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.E.)'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126: 411-18.
- . 2009. *Byblos, cité sacrée (8e-4e s. av. J.-C.)*. Paris: Gabalda.
- . 2013. *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris: Perrin.
- Elayi, Josette, and Alain Elayi. 1993a. 'L'ordre de succession des derniers rois de Byblos'. *Syria* 70: 109-15.
- . 1993b. *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire (Ve-IVe siècles avant J.-C.)*. Paris: Gabalda.
- . 2004. *Le monnayage de la cité phénicienne de Sidon à l'époque perse (Ve-IVe s. av. J.-C.)*. Paris: Gabalda.
- . 2010. 'A Series of Coins from Byblos with the Name of the City (4th Cent. BC)'. *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 3-8.
- . 2014. *Monetary and Political History of the Phoenician City of Byblos in the Fifth-Fourth Centuries B.C.E.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Elayi, Josette, and Jean Sapin. 1998. *Beyond the River. New Perspectives on Transeuphratene*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- El Morr, Ziad. 2017. 'Metal and Society in Middle Bronze Age Byblos'. In *Materials Chains in Late Prehistoric Europe and the Mediterranean*, edited by Alexis Gorgue, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, and Roderick Salisbury. Bordeaux: Memoires, Edition Ausonius, 123-40.
- El Morr, Ziad, Florence Cattin, David Bourgarit, Yannick Lefrais, and Patrick Degryse. 2013. 'Copper Quality and Provenance in Middle Bronze Age I Byblos and Tell Arqa (Lebanon)'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (12): 4291-4305.
- El Morr, Ziad, and Marianne Mödlinger. 2014. 'Middle Bronze Age Metal Artifacts and Metallurgical Practices at the Sites of Tell Arqa, Mougharet El-Hourryieh, Yanouh and Khariji in Lebanon'. *Levant* 46 (1): 27-42.
- El Morr, Ziad, and Michel Pernot. 2011. 'Middle Bronze Age Metallurgy in the Levant: Evidence from the Weapons of Byblos'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (10): 2613-24.
- Espinel, Andrés Diego. 2002. 'The Role of the Temple of Ba'alat Gebal as Intermediary between Egypt and Byblos during the Old Kingdom'. *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 30: 103-19.
- Ewing, Barbara. 2016. 'The Life of Sinuhe'. podcasts.ox.ac.uk/life-sinuhe.
- Falsone, Gioacchino. 1995. 'Sicile'. In *La civilisation phénicienne et punique, manuel de recherche*, edited by Véronique Krings. Leiden: Brill, 674-97.
- Fani Alpi, Zeina. 2016. *Dévotions lapidaires: reliefs divins du Liban romain*. BAAL. Hors-Série 11. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities.
- Fenet, Annick. 2016. *Les dieux olympiens et la mer: espaces et pratiques cultuelles*. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Finkbeiner, Uwe. 1981. 'Untersuchungen zur Stratigraphie des Obeliskentempels in Byblos: Versuch einer methodischen Auswertung'. *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 12: 13-69.
- Finkel, Irving. 2006. 'Report on the Sidon Cuneiform Tablet'. *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon* 24: 114-20.
- Flammini, Roxana. 2010. 'Elite Emulation and Patronage Relationships in the Middle Bronze: The Egyptianized Dynasty of Byblos'. *Tel Aviv* 37: 154-68.
- Fleming, Stuart James. 1997. *Roman Glass: Reflections on Everyday Life*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Flender, Matthias. 2000. 'Cylinder Seal Impressed Vessels of the Early Bronze Age III in Northern Palestine'. Edited by Graham Philip and Douglas Baird. *Ceramics and Change in the Early Bronze Age of the Southern Levant* 2: 295-313.
- Fontan, Elisabeth. 2001. 'La frise du transport du bois, décor du palais de Sargon II à Khorsabad'. *Archaeology & History in Lebanon* 14: 58-63.

- Fontijn, David. 2019. *Economies of Destruction. How the Systematic Destruction of Valuables Created Value in Bronze Age Europe, c. 2300-500 BC*. London: Routledge.
- Francis-Allouche, Martine, and Nicolas Grimal. 2016. 'The Maritime Approaches to Ancient Byblos (Lebanon)'. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 4 (2-3): 242-77.
- . 2017. 'Byblos maritime; une installation portuaire au piémont sud de la ville antique'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 17: 133-96.
- Francis-Allouche, Martine, Nicolas Grimal, and Julien Chanteau. 2021. 'L'autre "porte de la mer" de Byblos'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 21: 319-413.
- Frayne, Douglas. 1990. *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Frese, Daniel A. 2020. *The City Gate in Ancient Israel and Her Neighbors*. Leiden: Brill.
- Friedman, Florence Dunn, ed. 1998. *Gifts of the Nile, Ancient Egyptian Faience*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Frost, Honor. 1973. 'The Offshore Island Hard Rock at Sidon and Other Phoenician Sites in the Light of New Dating Evidence'. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 2, 1: 71-94.
- . 1998. 'Marine Prospection at Byblos'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 3: 245-59.
- . 2002. 'Fourth Season of Marine Investigation: Preliminary Charting of the Offshore Shallows'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 6: 309-16.
- Frost, Honor, and Christophe Morhange. 2000. 'Proposition de localisation des ports antiques de Byblos (Liban)'. *Méditerranée* 94: 101-4.
- Furlani, Stefano, Marta Pappalardo, Lluís Gómez-Pujol, and Andrea Chelli. 2014. 'The Rock Coast of the Mediterranean and Black Seas'. In *Rock Coast Geomorphology: A Global Synthesis*, edited by David Kennedy, Wayne J Stephenson, and Larissa Naylor. Geological Society, London, Memoirs 40. London: The Geological Society of London, 89-114.
- Galil, Gershon. 2014. 'A Concise History of Palistin/Patin/Unqi/mq in the 11th – 9th Centuries BC'. *Semitica* 56: 75-04.
- Gardiner, Alan Henderson. 1909. *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage: From a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 Recto)*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Garezou, Maria-Xeni. 1994. 'Orpheus'. In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, vol. 7*. Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Zürich and München: Artemis, 81-105.
- Garfinkel, Yosef. 1999. *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Pottery of the Southern Levant*. Jerusalem: Qedem.
- Gensheimer, Maryl B., and Katherine E. Welch. 2013. 'The Achilles and Penthesilea Statue Group from the Tetrastyle Court of the Baths at Aphrodisias'. *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Istanbul, Istanbulischer Mitteilungen* 63: 325-77.
- Genz, Hermann. 2011. 'Restoring the Balance: An Early Bronze Age Scale Beam from Tell Fadous-Kfarabida, Lebanon'. *Antiquity* 85 (329): 839-50.
- . 2014a. 'Excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida 2004-2011: An Early and Middle Bronze Age Site on the Lebanese Coast'. Edited by Felix Höflmayer and Ricardo Eichmann. *Egypt and the Southern Levant in the Early Bronze Age* 31: 69-91.
- . 2014b. 'The Northern Levant (Lebanon) during the Early Bronze Age'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant. c. 8000-332 BCE*, edited by Margreet L. Steiner and Anne E. Killebrew. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 292-306.
- Genz, Hermann, and Alexander Ahrens. 2021. 'Recent Early Bronze Age Glyptic Finds from Lebanon: The Evidence from Tell Fadous-Kfarabida'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 386: 47-76.
- Genz, Hermann, Canan Çakırlar, Alison Damick, Emilia Jastrzębska, Simone Riehl, Katleen Deckers, and Ann Donkin. 2009. 'Excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: Preliminary Report on the 2009 Season of Excavations'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 13: 71-123.
- Genz, Hermann, Alison Damick, Stephen Berquist, Martin Makinson, Zuzanna Wagnanska, Mahmoud Mardini, Metoda Persin, et al. 2018. 'Excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: Preliminary Report on the 2014 and 2015 Seasons of Excavations'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 18: 37-78.
- Genz, Hermann, Alison Damick, Zuzanna Wagnanska, Martin Makinson, Marshall Woodworth, Mahmoud Mardini, Naseem Raad, et al. Forthcoming. 'Excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: Preliminary Report on the 2016 Season of Excavations'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*.
- Genz, Hermann, Riva Daniel, Konstantin Pustovoytov, and Marshall Woodworth. 2011. 'Excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: Preliminary Report on the 2011 Season of Excavations'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 15: 151-74.
- Genz, Hermann, Simone Riehl, Canan Çakırlar, Francesca Slim, and Alison Damick. 2016. 'Economic and Political Organization of Early Bronze Age Coastal Communities: Tell Fadous-Kfarabida as a Case Study'. *Berytus* 55: 79-119.
- Genz, Hermann, Daniel Riva, Alison Damick, Alexander Ahrens, Sireen El-Zaatari, Felix Höflmayer, Walter Kutschera, and Eva M. Mild. 2010. 'Excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: Preliminary Report on

- the 2010 Season of Excavations'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 14: 241-73.
- Genz, Hermann, and Hélène Sader. 2007. 'Excavations at the Early Bronze Age Site of Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: Preliminary Report on the 2007 Season of Excavations'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 11: 7-16.
- . 2008. 'Excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida: Preliminary Report on the 2008 Season of Excavations'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 12: 149-59.
- Gernez, Guillaume. 2007. 'L'armement en métal au Proche et Moyen-Orient, Des origines à 1750 av. J.-C.' PhD thesis, Paris: Université Paris I.
- Gerstenblith, P. 1983. *The Levant at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Gibson, John C.L. 1982. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions. Vol. 3. Phoenician Inscriptions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gilboa, Ayelet. 2005. 'Sea Peoples and Phoenicians along the Southern Phoenician Coast – A Reconciliation: An Interpretation of Šikila (SKL) Material Culture'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 337: 47-78.
- Gilboa, Ayelet, Ilan Sharon, and Elisabetta Boaretto. 2008. 'Tel Dor and the Chronology of Phoenician "Pre-Colonisation" States'. In *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, edited by Claudia Sagana. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement* 28. Leuven: Peeters, 113-204.
- Givon, Raphael. 1964. 'Toponymes ouest-asiatiques à Soleb'. *Vetus Testamentum* 14: 239-55.
- . 1977. 'Remarks on the Transmission of Egyptian Lists of Asiatic Toponyms'. In *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, edited by Jan Assmann, Erika Feucht, and Reinhard Grieshammer. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 171-83.
- Goedicke, Hans. 1963. 'Seal of a Ruler of Byblos of the Third Millennium'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 19: 1-6.
- . 1975. *The Report of Wenamon*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Goiran, Jean-Philippe, and Christophe Morhange. 2001. 'Géoarchéologie des ports antiques de Méditerranée. Problématiques et études de cas'. *Topoi. Orient-Occident* 11 (2): 647-69.
- Golden, Jonathan M. 2010. *Dawn of the Metal Age: Technology and Society during the Levantine Chalcolithic*. London: Equinox.
- González de Canales, Fernando, Leonardo Serrano, and Jorge Llopart. 2004. *El Emporio Fenicio, Precolonial de Huelva (ca 900-770 a.C.)*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- Gophna, Ram. 1996. *Excavations at Tel Dalit: An Early Bronze Age Walled Town in Central Israel*. Tel Aviv: Ramot Publishing House, Tel Aviv University.
- Graesser, Carl F. 1972. 'Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine'. *The Biblical Archaeologist* 35 (2): 33-63.
- Grandet, Pierre. 2008. *Les pharaons du Nouvel Empire (1550-1069 av. J.-C.): une pensée stratégique*. Paris: Rocher.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. 1987. *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*. *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods* 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk, and Jamie R. Novotny. 2012. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC)*. *Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period* 3/1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Greenberg, Raphael. 2020. *The Archaeology of the Bronze Age Levant: From Urban Origins to the Demise of City-States, 3700-1000 BCE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greenberg, Raphael, Sarit Paz, David Wengrow, and Mark Iserlis. 2012. 'Tel Bet Yerah: Hub of the Early Bronze Age Levant'. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 75 (2): 88-107.
- Grimal, Nicolas. 1988. *Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris: Librairie générale française.
- Grimal, Nicolas, and Martine Francis-Allouche. 2012. 'Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Byblos'. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions* 156 (1): 279-302.
- Grousset, René. 1991a. *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*. Paris: Perrin.
- . 1991b. *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*. Paris: Perrin.
- . 1999. *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*. Vol. 3. Paris: Perrin.
- Gubel, Eric. 1987. *Phoenician Furniture. A Typology Based on Iron Age Representations with Reference to the Iconographical Context*. *Studia Phoenicia* 7. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 1994. 'Byblos: L'art de la métropole phénicienne'. In *Biblo: una città e la sua cultura*, edited by Enrico Acquaro, Federico Mazza, Sergio Ribichini, Gabriella Scandone, and Paolo Xella. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 73-95.
- . 2012. 'Decoding Phoenician Art (I): Pharaoh Triumphant'. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 40: 21-38.
- . 2015. 'Un dépôt votif phénicien d'œufs d'autruche?' *Semitica et Classica* 8: 117-24.
- . 2018. 'Imitations, faux et "faux-faux" dans le domaine phénicien'. In *Imitations, copies et faux dans les domaines pharaoniques et de l'Orient ancien. Actes du colloque Collège de France – Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 14-15 janvier 2016*, edited by Hanane Gaber, Olivier Perdu and Nicolas Grimal. *Études d'égyptologie* 16. Paris: AIBL-Soleb, 154-75.
- Gubel, Eric, and Henri Loffet. 2011-2012. 'Sidon, Qedem and the Land of Iay'. *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon* 34-35: 79-92.
- Guigues, Pierre Paul-Emile. 1937. 'Lébé'a, Kafer-Ġarra, Qrayé, nécropoles de la région sidonienne'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 1: 35-76.

- . 1938. 'Lébé'a, Kafer-Ġarra, Qrayé, nécropoles de la région sidonienne (suite)'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 2: 27-72.
- Guilaine, Jean. 2007. *Le Chalcolithique et la construction des inégalités. Tome II. Proche et Moyen-Orient, Amérique, Afrique*. Paris: Errance.
- Hagenmeyer, H. 1911. 'Chronique du royaume de Jérusalem'. *Revue de l'Orient latin* XII: 68-103, 283-326.
- Hajjar, Joseph. 1977. *La triade d'Héliopolis Baalbek: son culte et sa diffusion à travers les textes littéraires et les documents littéraires et les documents iconographiques et épigraphiques. Vol. T.1-2*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hamilton, Gordon J. 2006. *The Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet in Egyptian Scripts*. Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Hansen, Donald. 1969. 'Some Remarks on the Chronology and Style of Objects from Byblos'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 (3): 281-84.
- Hartung, Uli, E. Christiana Köhler, Vera Müller, and Mary Faye Ownby. 2015. 'Imported Pottery from Abydos: A New Petrographic Perspective'. *Ägypten und Levant* 25: 295-333.
- Havelock, Christine Mitchell. 1995. *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Helck, Wolfgang. 1994. 'Byblos und Ägypten'. In *Biblo: una città e la sua cultura*, edited by Enrico Acquaro, Federico Mazza, Sergio Ribichini, Gabriella Scandone, and Paolo Xella. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 105-112.
- Herzog, Ze'ev. 1997. *Archaeology of the City: Urban Planning in Ancient Israel and Its Social Implications*. Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology 13. Jerusalem: Emery and Claire Yass Archaeology Press.
- Higginbotham, Carolyn. 1996. 'Elite Emulation and Egyptian Governance in Ramesside Canaan'. *Tel Aviv* 23 (1): 154-69.
- Hill, George Francis. 1910. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*. London: Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum.
- Hoch, James E. 1995. 'Egyptian Hieratic Writing in the Byblos Pseudo-Hieroglyphic Stele L'. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32: 59-65.
- Höflmayer, Felix, Micheal Dee, Hermann Genz, and Simone Riehl. 2014. 'Radiocarbon Evidence for the Early Bronze Age Levant: The Site of Tell Fadous-Kfarabida (Lebanon) and the End of the Early Bronze III Period'. *Radiocarbon* 56 (2): 529-42.
- Hölbl, Günther. 1986. *Ägyptisches Kulturgut im phönikischen und punischen Sardinien*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hollis, Susan Tower. 2009. 'Hathor and Isis in Byblos in the Second and First Millennium BCE'. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1 (2): 1-8.
- Hoover, Oliver. 2010. *Handbook of Coins of the Southern Levant: Phoenicia, Southern Koile Syria (Including Judaea), and Arabia, Fifth to First Centuries BC*. Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Houghton, Arthur, Catharine C. Lorber, and Oliver D. Hoover. 2008. *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue*. New York: The American Numismatic Society.
- Hours, Francis, Olivier Aurenche, Jacques Cauvin, Marie Claire Cauvin, Lorraine Copeland, Paul Sanlaville, and Pierre Lombard. 1994. *Atlas des sites du Proche-Orient (14000-5700 BP)*. Paris: Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen.
- Ibn al-Athīr. 1973. *Al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīḥ*. Beirut: Dār Ṣāḍir.
- Ibn al-Qalānisi. 1908. *Ḍayl tāriḥ Dimaṣq*. Beirut: Imprimerie des Pères Jésuites.
- Ibn Ṣaddād. 2000. *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyah Wa al-Maḥāsin al-Yūsfiya*. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya.
- Ibn Wāṣil. 2004. *Moufarraj al-Qurūb fī 'aḥbār bani Ayyūb*. Saida: Al-Maktabah al-'Aṣriya.
- Iserlis, Mark, Daniel Steiniger, and Raphael Greenberg. 2019. 'Contact between First Dynasty Egypt and Specific Sites in the Levant: New Evidence from Ceramic Analysis'. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 24: 1023-40.
- Itani, Moustapha Abdallah. 2015. 'Physiognomy as a Basis for Plant Species Conservation in Urban Areas: Beirut as a Case-Study'. Master's thesis, American University of Beirut.
- Janin, Raymond. 1938. 'Byblos'. In *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, edited by Adolf de Meyer and Étienne Van Cauwenbergh. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1452-54.
- Jentel, Marie-Odile. 1984. 'Aphrodite'. In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Vol. 2*. Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Zürich and München: Artemis, 154-66.
- Jidejian, Nina. 1968. *Byblos through the Ages*. Beirut: Dar el-Machreq.
- . 1977. *Byblos à travers les âges*. Beirut: Dar el-Machreq.
- Joffe, Alexander. 2002. 'The Rise Secondary States in the Iron Age Levant'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45 (4): 425-67.
- Jones, Jana, Thomas F.G. Higham, Ron Oldfield, Terry P. O'Connor, and Stephen A. Buckley. 2014. 'Evidence for Prehistoric Origins of Egyptian Mummification in Late Neolithic Burials'. *PLoS ONE* 9 (8): e103608.
- Kahn, Dan'el. 2012. 'A Geo-Political and Historical Perspective of Merneptah's Policy in Canaan'. In *The Ancient Near East in the 12th – 10th Centuries BCE. Culture and History. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Haifa, 2 – 5 May, 2010*, edited by Gershon Galil, Ayelet Gilboa, Aren M. Maeir, and Dan'el Kahn. *Alter Orient Und Altes Testament* 392. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2-5.

- Kalcev, Krasimir. 1994. 'Bronzene Amphoren Aus Dem Territorium Augusta Trajana (Stara Zagora, Bulgarien)'. In *Akten Der 10. Internationalen Tagung Über Antike Bronzen, Freiburg, July 18-22, 1988*, edited by Jutta Ronke. Forschungen Und Berichte Zur Vor- Und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 45. Stuttgart: Theiss, 227-32.
- Kamrin, Janice. 2009. 'The Aamu of Shu in the Tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan'. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1 (3): 22-36.
- Kantor, Helene J. 1942. 'The Early Relations of Egypt with Asia'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1: 184-213.
- Keel, Othmar. 1989. 'Die Jaspis-Skarabäen-Gruppe. Eine vorderasiatische Skarabäen-Werkstatt des 17. Jahrhunderts v. Chr'. In *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel II*, edited by Othmar Keel, Hildi Keel-Leu, and Silvia Schroer. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 88. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 213-42.
- . 2006. 'Cylinder and Stamp Seals in the Southern Levant Between 1800 and 1500 BC'. In *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals (Warburg Institute Colloquia 9)*, edited by Paul Taylor. London: The Warburg Institute, 62-81.
- Kemp-Lindemann, Dagmar. 1975. *Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischer und römischer Kunst*. Bern: Lang.
- Kennedy, Melissa. 2016. 'The End of the 3rd Millennium BC in the Levant: New Perspectives and Old Ideas'. *Levant* 48 (1): 1-32.
- Khalidi, Lamya, Bernard Gratuze, Gil Stein, Augusta McMahon, Salam Al-Quntar, Robert Carter, Richard Cuttler, et al. 2016. 'The Growth of Early Social Networks: New Geochemical Results of Obsidian from the Ubaid to Chalcolithic Period in Syria, Iraq and the Gulf'. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 9: 743-757.
- Kilani, Marwan. 2016. 'Between Geographical Imaginary and Geographical Reality: Byblos and the Limits of the World in the 18th Dynasty'. In *Current Research in Egyptology 2015 – Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Symposium, University of Oxford, United Kingdom 15-18 April 2015*, edited by Ann-Katrin Gill edited by Christelle Alvarez Arto Beledkianian and Solène Klein. Oxford: Oxbow, 74-87.
- . 2019. *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age: Interactions between the Levantine and Egyptian Worlds*. Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 9. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2020a. 'Naming Practices and Identity in the Early Late Bronze Age Levant: A Linguistic and Geographical Analysis of Local Rulers' Names Attested in the Amarna Letters'. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 27: 70-93.
- . 2020b. 'Sociolinguistic Identities and Egyptian Imperialism in the Early Late Bronze Age Levant'. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 28: 47-64.
- Kirkbride, Diana. 1969. 'Early Byblos and the Beqa'a'. *Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph* 45 (1): 43-60.
- Kitchen, Kenneth Anderson. 1967. 'Byblos, Egypt and Mari in the Early Second Millennium BCE'. *Orientalia* 36: 39-54.
- . 2009. 'Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists: An Historical Resource with "Literary" Histories'. In *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, edited by Peter J. Brand and Louise Cooper. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 37. Leiden: Brill, 129-35.
- Kitchen, Kenneth Anderson, and Paul Lawrence. 2012. *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Klengel, Horst. 2000. 'The "Crisis Years" and the New Political System in Early Iron Age Syria: Some Introductory Remarks'. In *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, edited by Guy Bunnes. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 7. Leuven: Peeters, 21-30.
- Kletter, Raz, and Yosi Levi. 2016. 'Middle Bronze Age Burials in Southern Levant: Spartan Warriors or Ordinary People?' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 35 (1): 5-27.
- Koçel Erdem, Zeynep. 2009. 'Finds from a Plundered Tumulus at Karaevli, Tekirdağ, in Turkish Thrace'. *Anatolia Antiqua* 17 (1): 209-38.
- Köhler, E. Christiana, and Mary Faye Ownby. 2011. 'Levantine Imports and Their Imitations from Helwan'. *Ägypten und Levante* 21: 31-46.
- Kopetzky, Karin. 2016. 'Some Remarks on the Relations between Egypt and the Levant during the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period'. In *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC.) Vol. 2: Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion, and Written Sources*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki. London: Golden House Publications, 143-59.
- . 2018. 'Tell el-Dab'a and Byblos: New Chronological Evidence'. *Ägypten und Levante* 28: 309-58.
- Kozelj, Tony. 1980. 'Alik I: les carrières de marbre à l'époque paléochrétienne'. *Études Thasiennes* IX: 81-137.
- Kührt, Amélie. 2007. 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy'. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25: 107-27.
- Lafont, Bertrand, Aline Tenu, Francis Joannès, and Philippe Clancier. 2017. *La Mésopotamie, de Gilgamesh à Artaban, 3200-120 av. J.-C.* Paris: Belin.
- Larsen, Clark Spencer. 2015. *Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Behavior from the Human Skeleton*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lauffray, Jean. 1940. 'Une fouille au pied de l'acropole de Byblos'. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 4: 7-36.
- . 1977. 'Beyrouth Archéologie et Histoire, époques gréco-romaines. I. Période hellénistique et Haut-Em-

- pire romain'. In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen welt, Politische Geschichte (Provinzen und Randvölker: Syrien, Palästina, Arabien)*, edited by Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini. Berlin: De Gruyter, 135-63.
- . 1995. 'La méthode de fouille de Maurice Dunand à Byblos. II. Introduction à la méthode M. Dunand'. *Topoi. Orient-Occident* 5 (2): 453-68.
- . 2008. *Fouilles de Byblos – Tome VI. L'urbanisme et l'architecture. De l'époque proto-urbaine à l'occupation amorite (de l'Énéolithique à l'âge du Bronze II)*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 182. Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient.
- Lefebvre, Gustave. 1976. *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique. Traduction avec introduction, notices et commentaires*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- Lehmann, Reinhard G. 2004. 'Die Inschrift(en) des Ahirom-Sarkophags und die Schachtinschrift des Grabes V in Jbeil (Byblos)'. In *Dynastensarkophag mit szenischen Reliefs aus Byblos und Zypern. Teil 1.2*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- . 2005. 'Space-Syntax and Metre in the Inscriptions of Yahamilk, King of Byblos'. In *Proceedings Of Yarmouk Second Annual Colloquium on Epigraphy and Ancient Writings 7th-9th October, 2003*, edited by Omar Al-Ghul. Irbid: Department of Epigraphy, Faculty of Archaeology & Anthropology, Yarmouk-University, 69-98.
- Leichty, Erle. 2011. *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Lemaire, André. 1981. *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël*. Orbis biblicus et orientalis 39. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2003. 'Amulette phénicienne giblite en argent'. In *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in honor of Shlomo Moussaieff*, edited by Robert Deutsch. Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication, 155-74.
- Leriche, Pierre. 1995. 'La méthode de fouille de Maurice Dunand à Byblos. I. M. Dunand et l'archéologie au Proche-Orient au début du XXe siècle'. *Topoi Orient Occident* 5 (2): 439-52.
- Levy, Thomas. 1998. *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. Leicester: Continuum.
- Lewis, David M. 1958. 'The Phoenician Fleet in 411'. *Historia* 7: 395-97.
- Lichtheim, Miriam. 1973. *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lieverse, Angela R., Andrzej W. Weber, Vladimir Ivanovich Bazaliiskiy, Olga Ivanovna Goriunova, and Nikolai Aleksandrovich Savel'ev. 2007. 'Osteoarthritis in Siberia's Cis-Baikal: Skeletal Indicators of Hunter-Gatherer Adaptation and Cultural Change'. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 132 (1): 1-16.
- Lightfoot, Jane L. 2003. *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary by J.L. Lightfoot*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lilyquist, Christine. 1979. *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times Through the Middle Kingdom*. New York: New York University.
- . 1993. 'Granulation and Glass: Chronological and Stylistic Investigations at Selected Sites, ca. 2500-1400 B.C.E.'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 290 (291): 29-94.
- Linder, Elisha. 1986. 'The Khorsabad Wall Relief: A Mediterranean Seascape or River Transport of Timbers?' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106 (2): 273-81.
- Lipiński, Edward. 1995. *Dieux et deesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2009. *Resheph a Syro-Canaanite Deity*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 181. Leuven: Peeters.
- . 2015. *Peuples de la mer, Phéniciens, puniques, études d'épigraphies et d'histoire méditerranéenne*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 237. Leuven: Peeters.
- Liverani, Mario. 2008. *La Bible et l'invention de l'histoire*. Paris: Folio histoire.
- . 2014. *The Ancient Near East, History, Society and Economy*. London: Routledge.
- Lochin, Catherine. 1990. 'Hypnos/Somnus'. In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Vol. 5*. Zürich and München: Artemis, 591-609.
- MacAnany, Patricia, and Christian Wells. 2012. *Towards a Theory of Ritual Economy in Dimensions of Ritual Economy*. Bingley: Emerald group publishing.
- Maïla-Afeiche, Anne-Marie. 2009a. 'Le site de Nahr el-Kalb'. In *Le Site de Nahr el-Kalb*, edited by Anne-Marie Maïla-Afeiche. BAAL Hors-Série 5. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 11-75.
- . 2009b. 'L'histoire du site de Nahr el-Kalb'. In *Le Site de Nahr el-Kalb*, edited by Anne-Marie Maïla-Afeiche. BAAL Hors-Série 5. Beirut: Direction Générale des Antiquités, 123-57.
- Makarem, May. 2010. 'Rapatriement des archives de Dunand, après 33 ans d'absence'. *L'Orient-Le-Jour*, 21 September 2010. https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/672150/Rapatriement_des_archives_de_Dunand%252C_apres_33_ans_d%2527absence.html.
- . 2017. 'Le Liban va récupérer la tête de taureau d'Echmoun'. *L'Orient-le-jour*, 10 October 2017. <https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/1077927/le-liban-va-recuperer-la-tete-de-taureau-dechmoun.html>.
- . 2022. 'Genève restituée à Beyrouth un nouveau lot des archives libanaises de Maurice Dunand'. *L'Orient-le-jour*, 22 February 2022. <https://www.lorientlejour.com/>

- article/1077927/le-liban-va-recuperer-la-tete-de-tau-reau-dechmoun.html.
- Mallat, Hyam. 1996. *Renan au Liban. 1860-1861*. Beirut: FMA.
- Makaroun, Yasmine. 2008. 'Architectural Organization in Byblos (Lebanon) During the Ancient Bronze Age'. In *The Bronze Age in Lebanon*, edited by Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 51-60.
- . 2009. 'L'urbanisation de Byblos dans son contexte régional au Bronze Ancien', In *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean. Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages, Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Beirut 2008*. BAAL, Hors – Série 6. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 77-90.
- Maran, Joseph. 2021. 'Attica and the Origins of Silver Metallurgy in the Aegean and the Carpatho-Balkan Zone'. In *Sidelights on Greek Antiquity. Archaeological and Epigraphical Essays in Honour of Vasileios Petrakos*, edited by Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos and Dora Vassilikou. Berlin: De Gruyter, 197-225.
- Maraval, Pierre. 1985. *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient : histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*. Paris: Le Cerf.
- Marcolin, Michele, and Andrés Diego Espinel. 2011. 'The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscriptions of Iny: More Pieces to the Puzzle'. In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromir Krejčí. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 570-615.
- Marcus, Ezra S. 2007. 'Amenemhet II and the Sea: Maritime Aspects of the Mit Rahina (Memphis) Inscription'. *Ägypten und Levante* 17: 137-90.
- Marfoe, Leon. 1987. 'Cedar Forest to Silver Mountain: Social Change and the Development of Long-Distance Trade in Early Near Eastern Societies'. In *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, edited by Michael Rowlands, Morgen Larsen, and Kristian Kristiansen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 25-35.
- . 1998. *Kāmid el-Lōz 14 Settlement history of the Biqā' up to the Iron Age*. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 53. Bonn: Habelt.
- Margueron, Jean-Claude. 1994. 'L'urbanisme de Byblos: certitudes et problèmes'. In *Biblo: una città e la sua cultura*, edited by Enrico Acquaro, Federico Mazza, Sergio Ribichini, Gabriella Scandone, and Paolo Xella. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 13-35.
- Marriner, Nick, Christophe Morhange, and Claude Doumet-Serhal. 2006. 'Geoarchaeology of Sidon's Ancient Harbours, Phoenicia'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33: 1514-35.
- Martin, Geoffrey Thorndike. 1996. 'A Late Middle Kingdom Prince of Byblos'. In *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, edited by Peter Manuelian. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 595-98.
- Martin, Malachi. 1961. 'A Preliminary Report after Re-Examination of the Byblian Inscriptions'. *Orientalia. Nova Series* 30 (1): 46-78.
- Matthiae, Paolo. 1975. 'Unité et développement du temple dans la Syrie du Bronze Moyen'. In *Le temple et le culte : compte rendu de la vingtième Rencontre assyriologique internationale: organisée à Leiden du 3 au 7 juillet 1972 sous les auspices du Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten*, edited by Emeri Van Donzel, Pauline H.E. Donceel-Voûte, Arie A. Kampman, and Machteld J. Mellink. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 43-72.
- . 1993. 'La religion d'Ebla'. In *Syrie, mémoire Le temple et le culte : compte rendu de la vingtième Rencontre assyriologique internationale : organisée à Leiden du 3 au 7 juillet 1972 sous les auspices du Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten et civilisation*, edited by Sophie Cluzan, Eric Delpont, and Jeanne Moulérac. Nantes: Flammarion, 166-70.
- . 2012. 'L'archéologie du culte: les ancêtres royaux dans la documentation archéologique d'Ebla et les témoignages textuels d'Ougarit'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 156 (2): 951-92.
- . 2018. 'Doni faraonici alla corte di Ebla nell'antico regno: Una riflessione sul contesto storico'. In *A Oriente del Delta. Scritti sull'Egitto ed il VO antico in onore di Gabriella Scandone Matthiae*, edited by Agnese Vacca, Sara Pizzimenti, and Maria Gabriella Micale. Roma: Scienze e lettere, 347-66.
- . 2020. *Ebla. Archaeology and History*. New York: Routledge.
- Matthiae Scandone, Gabriella. 1979. 'Vasi iscritti di Chefren e Pepi I nel Palazzo Reale G di Ebla'. *Studi Eblati* 1: 33-43.
- . 1981. 'I vasi egiziani in pietra del Palazzo Reale G di Ebla'. *Studi Eblati* 4: 99-127.
- . 1997. 'The Relations between Ebla and Egypt'. In *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspective*, edited by Eliezer D. Oren. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 415-27.
- Maxwell-Hyslop, Rachel. 1946. 'Daggers and Swords in Western Asia. A Study from Prehistoric Times to 600 B.C.'. *Iraq* 8: 1-65.
- . 1949. 'Western Asiatic Shaft-Hole Axes'. *Iraq* 11: 90-130.
- May, Natalie. 2014. 'Gates and their functions in Mesopotamia and Ancient Israel'. Edited by Natalie N. May and Ulrike Steinert. *The Fabric of Cities. Aspects of Urbanism, Urban Topography and Society in Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome*. Leiden: Brill, 77-121.

- Mazzoni, Stefania. 1979. 'Essai d'interprétation des vases plastiques dans la Syrie du Bronze Moyen et Récent'. *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 29-30: 237-52.
- Meiggs, Russell. 1982. *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Melhem, Maya Ghassan. 2015. 'Guidelines for Establishing Ancillary Botanic Gardens'. MA thesis, American University of Beirut.
- Mettinger, Tryggve N.D. 1995. *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Meunier, Mario. 1924. *Isis et Osiris, traduction nouvelle avec Avant-Propos, Prolegomènes et Notes par Mario Meunier*. Paris: L'artisan du livre.
- Michalowski, Piotr. 2020. 'The Kingdom of Akkad in Contact with the World'. In *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East, Volume I: From the Beginning to Old Kingdom Egypt and the Dynasty of Akkad*, edited by Karen Radner, Nadine Möller, and Daniel T. Potts. New York: Oxford University Press, 686-764.
- Miniaci, Gianluca. 2018. 'Deposit f (Nos. 15121-15567) in the Obelisk Temple at Byblos: Artefact Mobility in the Middle Bronze Age I-II (1850-1650 BC) between Egypt and the Levant'. *Ägypten und Levante* 28: 379-408.
- . 2020. 'At the Dawn of the Late Bronze Age "Globalization": The (Re)-Circulation of Egyptian Artefacts in Nubia and the Northern Levant in the MB II-Mid MB III (c. 1710-1755 BC)'. *Clarusculo* 19 (2): 1-26.
- . 2021. 'La Siria e l'Egitto'. In *Archeologia della Siria antica*, edited by Davide Nadali and Frances Pinnock, 109-24. Roma: Carocci.
- Miniaci, Gianluca, and Stephen Quirke. 2009. 'Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu El-Naga'. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 109: 339-83.
- Miniaci, Gianluca, and Camilla Saler. 2021. 'The Metal Sheet Figurines from Byblos: Evidence of an Egyptian Import and Adaptation'. *Ägypten und Levante* 31: 339-55.
- Miron, Eli. 1992. 'Axes and adzes from Canaan'. *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* 9.
- Miroschedji, Pierre de. 2013. 'Fouilles de Tel Yarmouth: résultats des travaux de 2003 à 2009 (14e, 18e campagnes)'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 157 (2): 759-96.
- Miroschedji, Pierre de, Moain Sadeq, Dina Faltings, Virginie Boulez, Laurence Naggiar-Moliner, Naomi Sykes, and Margareta Tengberg. 2001. 'Les Fouilles de Tell es-Sakan (Gaza) nouvelles données sur les contacts égypto-cananéens aux IVe-IIIe millénaires'. *Paléorient* 27: 75-104.
- Mitasova, Helena, Michael C. Barton, Isaac Ullah, Jaroslav Hofierka, and Russell S. Harmon. 2013. 'GIS-Based Soil Erosion Modeling'. In *Treatise on Geomorphology, Vol. 3*, edited by John F. Schoder. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 228-58.
- Molnar, Petra, Torbjorn P. Ahlstrom, and Ido Leden. 2011. 'Osteoarthritis and activity – an analysis of the relationship between eburnation, Musculoskeletal Stress Markers (MSM) and age in two Neolithic hunter-gatherer populations from Gotland, Sweden'. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 21 (3): 283-91.
- Montet, Pierre. 1928a. *Byblos et l'Égypte, Quatre campagnes des fouilles à Gebeil 1921-1922-1923-1924, texte*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- . 1928b. 'Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire des relations entre l'ancienne Égypte et la Syrie'. *Kêmi* 1: 83-93.
- . 1929. *Byblos et l'Égypte, Quatre campagnes des fouilles à Gebeil 1921-1922-1923-1924, atlas*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- . 1962. 'Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire des relations entre l'Égypte et la Syrie: VIII, Ounamon chez Zekerbaal'. *Kêmi* 16: 79-83.
- Moorey, Peter Roger Stuart, and Stuart Fleming. 1984. 'Problems in the Study of the Anthropomorphic Metal Statuary from Syro-Palestine Before 330 B.C.'. *Levant* 16 (1): 67-90.
- Moran, William L. 1992. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mourad, Anna-Latifa. 2015. *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*. Archaeopress Egyptology 11. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Mouterde, Paul. 1986. *Nouvelle flore du Liban et de la Syrie*. Beirut: Librairie Orientale.
- Moysey, Robert A. 1974. 'Greek Relations with the Persian Satraps: 371-343 B.C.'. PhD thesis, Princeton: Princeton University.
- Muhly, James D. 1980. 'Bronze Figurines and Near Eastern Metalwork (Review Article)'. *Israel Exploration Journal* 30 (3/4): 148-61.
- Munnich, Maciej. M. 2013. *The God Resheph in the Ancient Near East*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Nacousi, Lina. 1985. 'Byblos au IIe millénaire'. MA Thesis, Paris: Paris I.
- Negbi, Ora. 1976. *Canaanite Gods in Metal. An Archeological Study of Ancient Syro-Palestinian Figurines*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- Negbi, Ora, and Samuel Moskowicz. 1966. 'The "Foundation Deposits" or "Offering Deposits" of Byblos'. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 184: 21-26.
- Nenova-Merdjanova, Rossitsa. 2002. 'Bronze Vessels and the Toilette in Roman Times'. In *From the Parts to the*

- Whole: Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress, Held at Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 28-June 1, 1996, edited by Carol C. Mattusch. Portsmouth: JRA, 200-204.
- Newberry, Percy. 1938. 'Three Old Kingdom Travellers to Byblos and Pwenet'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24: 182-84.
- Nicholson, Paul T. 1998. 'Materials and Technology'. In *Gifts of the Nile, Ancient Egyptian Faience*, edited by Florence Dunn Friedman. London: Thames and Hudson, 50-65.
- Nigro, Lorenzo. 2009. 'The Eighteenth-Century BC Princes of Byblos and Ebla and the Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age'. In *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean. Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Proceedings of the International Symposium Beirut 2008*. BAAL Hors-Série 6. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 159-75.
- Nijboer, Albert, and Johannes Van der Plicht. 2006. 'An Interpretation of the Radiocarbon Determinations of the Oldest Indigenous-Phoenician Stratum Thus Far, Excavated at Huelva, Tartessos (South-West Spain)'. *Babesch* 81: 31-36.
- Niwiński, Andrzej. 1995. 'Le passage de la XXe à la XXIIe dynastie: Chronologie et histoire politique'. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 95: 329-60.
- Nordguian, Lévon, and Jean-Claude Voisin. 1999. *Châteaux et églises du Moyen Âge au Liban*. Beyrouth: Éditions Terre du Liban/Trans-Orient.
- Novotny, Jamie R., and Joshua Jeffers. 2018. *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC), and Šin-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*. Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 5,1. University Park: Eisenbrauns.
- Olmo Lete, Gregorio del. 1992. 'The Divine panoply (KTU 1.65 12-14)'. *Aula Orientalis* 10: 254-56.
- Otto, Adelheid. 2000. *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik*. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 8. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Pace, Alessandro. 2020. 'Alcuni dadi 'particolari' da Pompei. Dall'evidenza materiale alla cultura ludica'. *Instrumentum* 52: 33-35.
- Parkinson, Richard Bruce. 1999. *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1649 BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2009. *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry: Among Other Histories*. Chichester: Blackwell-Wiley.
- Parks, Danielle, and Hector Neff. 2002. 'A Geochemical Vector for Trade: Cyprus, Asia Minor and the Roman East'. In *Geochemical Evidence for Long-Distance Exchange*, edited by Michael Glascock. Westport: Bergin and Garvey, 205-14.
- Pasquier, Alain. 2012. 'Figures antiques de pêcheurs : du grotesque au sublime'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1529-63.
- Patch, Diana Craig. 1998. 'By Necessity or Design: Faience Use in Ancient Egypt'. In *Gifts of the Nile, Ancient Egyptian Faience*, edited by Florence Dunn Friedman. London: Thames and Hudson, 32-45.
- Pettinato, Giovanni. 1983. 'Le città fenicie e Byblos in particolare nella documentazione epigrafica di Ebla'. *Studi Fenici* 16: 107-18.
- . 1986. *Ebla: Nuovi orizzonti della storia*. Milan: Rusconi.
- Pfälzner, Peter. 2007. 'Archaeological Investigations in the Royal Palace of Qatna'. In *Urban and Natural Landscapes of the Ancient Syrian Capital Settlement and Environment at Tell Mishrifeh / Qatna and in Central-Western Syria*, edited by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi. Udine: FORUM, 29-64.
- . 2014. 'Royal Funerary Practices and Interregional Contacts in the Middle Bronze Age Levant: New Evidence from Qatna'. In *Contextualising Grave Inventories in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings of a Workshop at the London 7th ICAANE in April 2010 and an International Symposium in Tübingen in November 2010, Both Organised by the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead"*, edited by Peter Pfälzner, Herbert Niehr, Ernst Pernicka, Sarah Lange, and Tina Köster. Qatna Studien Supplementa 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 141-56.
- Philip, Graham. 1988. 'Hoardings of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in the Levant'. *World Archaeology* 20 (2): 190-208.
- . 1989. *Metal Weapons of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Syria-Palestine*. BAR International Series 526. Oxford: BAR Publishing.
- . 1995. 'Warrior Burials in the Ancient Near-Eastern Bronze Age: The Evidence from Mesopotamia, Western Iran and Syria-Palestine'. In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 140-54.
- . 2006. *Tell el-Dab'a XV. Metalwork and metalworking evidence of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Pillet, Maurice. 1927. 'Le temple de Byblos'. *Syria* 8 (2): 105-12.
- Pingitzer, Paul. 2021. 'Aphrodite mit Handgirlande. Bronzestatuetten mit oft verkanntem Attribut'. In *Stein auf Stein. Festschrift für Hilke Thür zum 80. Geburtstag*, edited by Karin Koller, Elisabeth Trinkl, and Ursula Quatember. Graz: Unipress Graz, 187-200.
- Podany, Amanda H. 2012. *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Pomey, Patrice. 2015. 'Navires et construction navale dans l'Égypte ancienne'. In *Entre Nil et mers, La navigation en Égypte ancienne*, edited by Pierre Tallet and Bruno Argemi. NeHet 3. Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1-29.
- Pommier, Jean. 1965. 'Autour de la mission de Phénicie d'Ernest Renan'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 109 (1): 126-41.
- Porada, Edith. 1973. 'Notes of the Sarcophagus of Ahiram'. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 5: 355-72.
- Posener, Georges. 1940. *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie: Textes hiéroglyphiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du moyen empire*. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.
- . 1969. 'Sur les inscriptions pseudo-hiéroglyphiques de Byblos'. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 45: 223-39.
- Prag, Kay. 1978. 'Silver in the Levant in the Fourth Millennium B.C.'. In *Archaeology in the Levant. Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, edited by Peter Roger Stuart Moorey and Peter Parr. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 36-45.
- . 1986. 'Byblos and Egypt in the Fourth Millennium B.C.'. *Levant* 18: 59-74.
- Price, Martin Jessop. 1991. *The Coinage in the Name of Alexandre the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*. Zurich: The Swiss Numismatic Society.
- Pritchard, James B. 1969. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd edition with Supplement. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Puech, Émile. 2000. 'Les pointes de flèches inscrites de la fin du IIe millénaire en Phénicie et Canaan'. In *Actas del IV congreso internacional de estudios fenicios y púnicos, I Cádiz*, edited by Maria Eugénia Aubet and Manuela Barthélemy. Cádiz: Universidad, Servicio de Publicaciones, 251-69.
- Pulak, Cemal. 2001. 'Cedar for Ships'. *Archaeology & History in Lebanon* 14: 24-36.
- Puljiz, Ivana. 2021. *Gold von Königen und Göttern: Zur Bedeutung von Goldobjekten in den syrisch-nordlevantinischen Königtümern der Mittleren und Späten Bronzezeit ausgehend von den Funden aus den Gräften von Qatna*. Qatna-Studien 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Queyrel, François. 2016. *La sculpture hellénistique. Tome 1, Formes, thèmes et fonctions. Vol. T.1*. Paris: Picard.
- Radini, Anita, Efthymia Nikita, Stephen Buckley, Les Copeland, and Karen Hardy. 2017. 'Beyond Food: The Multiple Pathways for Inclusion of Materials into Ancient Dental Calculus'. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 162 (S63): 71-83.
- Rainey, Anson Frank. 1996. 'Who Is a Canaanite? A Review of the Textual Evidence'. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 304 (1): 1-15.
- . 2015. *The El-Amarna Correspondence*. Leiden: Brill.
- Rambach, Jörg. 2017. 'Schematic Marble Figurines from Secure Early Cycladic I Grave Contexts on the Islands of Ano Kouphonisi, Antiparos, Dhespotiko, Naxos, Paros and Siphnos'. In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by Marisa Marthari, Colin Renfrew, and Michael Boyd. Oxford: Oxbow, 65-88.
- Reade, Julian Edgeworth. 2018. 'Ships Bringing Timber for the Palace of Sargon'. In *Text and Image. Proceedings of the 61e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Geneva and Bern, 22-26 June 2015*, edited by Pascal Attinger, Antoine Cavigneaux, Catherine Mittermayer, and Mirko Novák. Leuven: Peeters, 355-68.
- Rehm, Ellen. 2004. *Der Ahiram-Sarkophag: Dynastensarkophage mit szenischen Reliefs aus Byblos und Zypern*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Renan, Ernest. 1858. 'Mémoire sur l'origine et le caractère véritable de l'Histoire phénicienne qui porte le nom de Sanchoniathon'. *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 23: 241-334.
- . 1864. *Mission de Phénicie*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.
- Renan, Ernest, and Marcelin Berthelot. 1898. *Correspondance 1847-1892*. Paris: Calmann Lévy.
- Renan, Ernest, and Hortense Cornu. 1994. *Correspondance 1856-1861 (Mission en Phénicie): Edition établie, présentée et annotée par Maurice Gasnier*. Paris: Centre d'étude des correspondances, CNRS.
- Renfrew, Colin, John E. Dixon, and Johnson Robin Cann. 1966. 'Obsidian and Early Cultural Contact in the Near East'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 32: 30-72.
- Rey, Emmanuel-Guillaume. 1871. *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Rey-Coquais, Jean-Paul. 2010. 'Liban chrétien des origines à Justinien'. *Archaeology & History in the Lebanon* 32-33: 1-26.
- Ribichini, Sergio. 1994. 'Le origini della città santa. Biblo nei miti della tradizione classica'. In *Biblo: una città e la sua cultura*, edited by Enrico Acquaro, Federico Mazza, Sergio Ribichini, Gabriella Scandone, and Paolo Xella. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 215-30.
- . 1995. 'Adonis'. In *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter Willem van Der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 12-17.
- . 1997. 'Les croyances et la vie religieuse'. In *Les Phéniciens*, edited by Sabatino Moscati. Paris: Stock, 120-52.
- Rich, Sarah A. 2017. *Cedar Forests, Cedar Ships. Allure, Lore and Metaphor in the Mediterranean Near East*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Roccati, Alessandro. 2012. 'Appendice. DUGURASU=rw-h'wt'. *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* 146: 37-41.

- . 2015a. 'DUGURASU = Rw-h'wt'. In *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome, 4-8 July 2011*, edited by Alfonso Archi. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 155-59.
- . 2015b. 'Iny's Travels'. In *Homenaje a Mario Liverani, fundador di una ciencia nueva*, edited by Maria Giovanna Biga, Joaquín M Córdoba, and Carmen Del Cerro Linares. Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 225-29.
- Rosenberg, Danny, and Ravika Chasan. 2020. 'Fishing for Answers: The Rarity of Fish and Fishhooks in the Late Chalcolithic of the Southern Levant and the Significance of Copper Fishhooks'. *Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 49 (2): 229-37.
- Routledge, Carolyn Diane. 2001. 'Ancient Egyptian Ritual Practice: 𓆎-𓆏 and Nt-'. PhD thesis, Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Rouvier, Jules. 1901. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie : Botrys, Gebal-Byblos, Césarée du Liban-Arca, Carne, Dora, Enhydra, Marathos, Orthosia, Ptolémaïs-Acé'. *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* 4: 35-66, 125-52, 193-232.
- Rowan, Yorke. 2014. 'The Southern Levant (Cisjordan) during the Chalcolithic Period'. In *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*, edited by Margreet Steiner and Ann E. Killebrew. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 223-36.
- Ryholt, Kim S.B. 1997. *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen – Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Sader, Hélène. 2005. 'An Inscribed Phoenician Weight from Byblos'. In *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress on Phoenician and Punic Studies*, edited by A. Spano Giamellaro. Palermo-Marsala, 47-51.
- Saghieh, Muntaha. 1975. 'Byblos in the Third Millennium: A Reconstruction of the Stratigraphy and a Study of the Cultural Connections'. PhD thesis, London: University of London.
- . 1983. *Byblos in the Third Millennium BC. A Reconstruction of the Stratigraphy and a Study of the Cultural Connections*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Saghieh-Beydoun, Muntaha. 2009. 'Byblos Revisited'. In *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean. Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages, Proceedings of the International Symposium Beirut 2008*. BAAL Hors-Série 6. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 29-36.
- Saidah, Roger. 1969. 'Archaeology in the Lebanon, 1968-1969'. *Berytus* 18: 119-42.
- . 1979. 'Fouilles de Sidon-Dakerman: l'agglomération chalcolithique'. *Berytus* 27: 29-55.
- . 1994. 'Beirut in the Bronze Age: The Kharji Tombs'. *Berytus: Archaeological Studies* 41: 137-222.
- Sala, Maura. 2013. 'The Middle Bronze Age Stone Glacis at Byblos'. *Scienze Dell'Antichità* 19 (2/3): 179-86.
- . 2015. 'Early and Middle Bronze Age Temples at Byblos: Specificity and Levantine Interconnections'. In *Cult and Ritual on the Levantine Coast and its Impact on the Eastern Mediterranean Realm, Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Beirut 2012*. BAAL Hors-Série 10. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, Lebanon/Directorate General of Antiquities, 31-58.
- Salamé-Sarkis, Hassan. 1987. 'Matériaux pour une histoire de Batrun'. *Berytus* 35: 113-14.
- Sallaberger, Walter, and Ingo Schrakamp. 2015. 'The Chronology of Ebla and Babylonian History'. In *ARCANE III. History & Philology*, edited by Walter Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp. Turnhout: Brepols, 96-104.
- Salles, Jean-François. 1980. *La Nécropole 'K' de Byblos. Recherche sur les grandes civilisations*. Paris: Maison de l'Orient.
- . 2003. 'Byblos hellénistique'. In *La Syrie hellénistique*, edited by Maurice Sartre. Topoi Supplément 4. Paris: Société des amis de la bibliothèque Salomon Reinach, 53-109.
- Sanlaville, Paul. 1977. 'Etude géomorphologique de la région Littorale du Liban'. PhD thesis. Lebanese University.
- Sass, Benjamin. 2002. 'Wenamun and his Levant – 1075 BC or 925 BC?' *Ägypten & Levante* 12: 247-56.
- . 2005. *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium: The West Semitic Alphabet ca. 1150-850 BCE: The Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- . 2019. 'The Pseudo-Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Byblos, Their Elusive Dating, and Their Affinities with the Early Phoenician Inscriptions'. In *Ina "marri u qan tuppi. Par la bêche et le stilet! Cultures et sociétés syro-mésopotamiennes. Mélanges offerts à Olivier Rouault*, edited by Philippe Abrahami and Laura Battini. Oxford: Archaeopress, 157-80.
- Sasson, Jack. 2015. *From the Mari Archives. An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Sattin, Anthony. 2015. *The Young Lawrence*. London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Sauma, Victor. 1994. *Sur les pas des saints au Liban*. Beirut: FMA.
- Sauvage, Caroline. 2012. *Routes maritimes et systèmes d'échanges internationaux au Bronze récent en Méditerranée orientale*. Travaux de la Maisons de l'orient et de la Méditerranée 61. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Sawaya, Ziad. 1998. 'Cronos, Astarté: deux légendes phéniciennes inédites sur des monnaies de Byblos (Ier s. av. J.-C.)'. *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* 53 (5): 93-99.
- Scheepers, Anne. 1991. 'Anthroponymes et Toponymes du récit d'Ounamon'. In *Phoenicia and the Bible*, edited by

- Edward Lipiński. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 44. Leuven: Peeters, 17-83.
- Schipper, Bernd Ulrich. 2005. *Die Erzählung des Wenamun: Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion*. *Orbis. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 209. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schneider, Thomas. 2002. 'Sinuhes Notiz über die Könige: Syrisch-anatolische Herrschertitel in ägyptischer Überlieferung'. *Ägypten und Levante* 12: 257-72.
- Schröder, Stephan F. 2004. *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen des Museo del Prado in Madrid*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Seeden, Helga. 1980. *The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant*. München: Beck.
- Seif, Assaad. 2010. 'Les archives des fouilles de Byblos: le "fonds Dunand"'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 14: 5-8.
- . 2012. 'Le "fonds Dunand" et sa récente restitution au Liban'. *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 350: 26-29.
- Seif, Assaad, and Germaine Noujaim-Clark. 2007. 'Petrographic Analyses of Selective Ceramic Material Discovered in the Eneolithic Tombs of Byblos'. In *Byblos and Jericho in the Early Bronze I: Social Dynamics and Cultural Interactions: Proceedings of the International Workshop Held in Rome on March 6th 2007*, edited by Lorenzo Nigro. Rome: Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', 83-94.
- Seigne, Jacques. 2000. 'Note sur le sciage des pierres dures à l'époque romaine'. *Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France* 39: 223-34.
- Service, Elman Rogers. 1962. *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective*. Random House Studies in Anthropology 3. New York: Random House.
- Seyrig, Henri. 1954. 'Antiquités syriennes. 56. Ères pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie'. *Syria* 31 (1-2): 73-80.
- . 1959. 'Antiquités syriennes 68. Une monnaie de Césarée du Liban'. *Syria* 36: 38-43.
- Sherratt, Andrew. 1981. 'Plough and Pastoralism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution'. In *Patterns of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*, edited by Ian Hodder, Glynn Isaac, and Norman Hammond. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 261-305.
- Sherratt, Susan. 1994. 'Commerce, Iron and Ideology: Metallurgical Innovation in 12th-11th Century Cyprus'. In *Cyprus in the 11th Century BC: Proceedings of the International Symposium*, edited by Vassos Karageorghis. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 59-106.
- Simpson, William Kelly. 1973. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Singer, Itamar. 1991. 'A Concise History of Amurru'. In *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*, edited by Shlomo Izre'el. Harvard Semitic Studies 40-41. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 135-89.
- Sobelman, Harvey. 1961. 'The Proto-Byblian Inscriptions: A Fresh Approach'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6: 226-45.
- Sowada, Karin. 2009. *Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Old Kingdom: An Archaeological Perspective*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 237. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 2018. 'Hidden Exports: A Likely Early Bronze Age Exchange in Egyptian Cattle to the Levant'. *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 26: 71-78.
- Sowada, Karin, Mary Ownby, Jane Smythe, Sylvie Marchand, and Yann Tristant. 2021. 'Early Bronze Age exchange patterns between Egypt and the Levant: a view from First Dynasty Abu Rawash'. *Ägypten und Levante* 31: 425-50.
- Soyez, Brigitte. 1977. *Byblos et la fête des Adonies*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 60. Leiden: Brill.
- Spielmann, Katherine. 2002. 'Feasting, Craft Specialization, and the Ritual Mode of Production in Small-Scale'. *American Anthropologist Societies* 104 (1): 195-207.
- Spycket, Agnès. 1981. *La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien*. Leiden: Brill.
- Stager, Lawrence E. 1985. 'The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260: 1-35.
- Starcky, Jean. 1969. 'Une inscription phénicienne de Byblos'. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 45: 257-73.
- Steinkeller, Piotr. 2021. 'International Trade in Greater Mesopotamia during Late Pre-Sargonic Times: The Case of Ebla as Illustrated by Her Participation in the Euphratean Timber Trade'. In *Measures and Money. Understanding the Technologies of Early Trade in a Comparative Perspective, Proceedings of Two Workshops Funded by the European Research Council (ERC)*, edited by Lorenz Rahmstorf, Gojko Barjamovic, and Nicola Ialongo. Weight & Value 2. Kiel: Wachholtz, 173-97.
- Stern, Ephraim. 2012. 'Archeological Remains of the Northern Sea Peoples along the Sharon and Carmel Coasts and 'Akko and Jezreel Valleys'. In *The Ancient Near East in the 12th – 10th Centuries BCE. Culture and History. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Haifa, 2 – 5 May, 2010*, edited by Gershon Galil, Ayelet Gilboa, Aren M. Maeir, and Dan'el Kahn. *Alter Orient Und Altes Testament* 392. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 473-507.
- Stieglitz, Robert R. 1990. 'The Geopolitics of the Phoenician Littoral in the Early Iron Age'. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, 279 (1): 9-12.
- Strabo, 'Geography', translated by Jones H. L., 1917-1932, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Stucky, Rolf A. 2005. *Das Eschmun-Heiligtum von Sidon. Architektur und Inschriften*. Basel: Vereinigung der Freunde antiker Kunst.
- Susnow, Matthew. 2021. *The Practice of Canaanite Cult. The Middle and Late Bronze Ages*. Ägypten un Altes Testament 106. Münster: Zaphon.
- Swiggers, Pierre. 1985. 'Byblos dans les lettres d'El Amarna: lumières sur des relations obscures'. In *Studia Phoenicia, III, Phoenicia and its Neighbours*, edited by Edward Lipiński and Eric Gubel. Leuven: Peeters, 45-58.
- Tadmor, Hayim. 1994. *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, King of Assyria*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- Tadmūrī, Omar Abd el-Salem. 2004. *Lubnān, min qyām al-dawla al-'abbassiya ḥata souqūt al-dawla al-iḥšādiyya (132-358/750-969)*. Dār al-'Imān: Tripoli.
- . 2006. *Lubnān, min al-siyadah al-Fāṭimiya ḥata al-souqūt bi yad al-ṣalībīn (358-518/969-1124)*. Tripoli: Dār al-'Imān.
- . 2008. *Lubnān, min al-souqūt bi yad al-ṣalībīn ḥata al-Taḥrīr (503-690/1110-1291)*. Tripoli: Dār al-'Imān.
- Talhok, Salma, Yaser Abunnasr, Matthew Hall, Tony Miller, and Asaad Seif. 2014. 'Ancillary Botanic Gardens in Lebanon: Empowering Local Contributions to Plant Conservation'. *The Journal of Botanic Garden Horticulture* 12: 111-28.
- Tallet, Pierre. 2012. 'Ayn Sukhna and Wadi El-Jarf: Two Newly Discovered Pharaonic Harbours on the Suez Gulf'. *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18: 147-68.
- . 2015. 'Les "ports intermittents" de la mer Rouge à l'époque pharaonique: caractéristiques et chronologie'. In *Entre Nil et mers. La navigation en Égypte ancienne*, edited by Bruno Argemi and Pierre Tallet. NeHeT 3. Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne, 31-72.
- Tassinari, Suzanne. 2012. *Digressions autour de vases domestiques en bronze*. Paris: Publications de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art.
- Tatton-Brown, Veronica, and Carol Andrews. 1991. 'Before the Invention of Glassblowing'. In *Five Thousand Years of Glass*, edited by Hugh Tait. London: British Museum Press, 21-61.
- Teissier, Beatrice. 1996. *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis – Series Archaeologica 11. Fribourg / Göttingen: University Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Thalman, Jean-Paul. 1998. 'Le Liban à l'âge du Bronze, du village à la cité-Etat'. In *Liban: l'autre rive*, edited by Valérie Matoïan. Paris: Flammarion, 50-59.
- . 2006a. 'Nouvelles données sur l'architecture domestique du bronze ancien IV à Tell Arqa (Liban)'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 150 (2): 841-73.
- . 2006b. *Tell Arqa I. Les niveaux de l'âge du Bronze*. Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient.
- . 2007. 'Settlement Patterns and Agriculture in the Akkar Plain during the Late Early and Early Middle Bronze Ages'. In *Urban and Natural Landscapes of an Ancient Syrian Capital, Settlement and Environment at Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna and in Central Western Syria*, edited by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi. Udine: Forum, 219-32.
- . 2008. 'Tell Arqa et Byblos, essai de corrélation'. In *The Bronze Age in the Lebanon. Studies on the Archaeology and Chronology of Lebanon*, edited by Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 61-78.
- . 2013. 'Le lion, la chèvre et le poisson. À propos d'une jarre à empreintes de sceaux-cylindres de Tell Arqa (Liban)'. *Syria* 90: 255-312.
- . 2016. 'Rapport préliminaire sur les campagnes de 2008 à 2012 à Tell Arqa'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 16: 15-78.
- . 2019. 'Un groupe de vases du Bronze Ancien au Musée de l'AUB'. In *Nuit de pleine lune sur Amurru. Mélanges offerts à Leila Badre*, edited by Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Emanuelle Capet, Eric Gubel, and Carole Roche-Hawley. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 131-42.
- Tiribilli, Elena. 2018. *The Bronze Figurines of the Petrie Museum from 2000 BC to AD 400*. Golden House Publications Egyptology 28. London: Golden House Publications.
- Tohme, George, and Henriette Tohme. 2014. *Illustrated Flora of Lebanon*. Beirut: National Council for Scientific Research.
- Tooley, Angela Mary Johanne. 1989. 'Middle Kingdom Burial Customs. A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material'. PhD thesis, University of Liverpool.
- Tufnell, Olga. 1969. 'The Pottery from Royal Tombs I-III at Byblos'. *Berytus* 18: 5-33.
- Tufnell, Olga, and William Ayres Ward. 1966. 'Relations between Byblos, Egypt and Mesopotamia at the End of the Third Millennium B.C. A Study of a Montet Jar'. *Syria* 43 (3-4): 165-241.
- Tusa, Vincenzo. 1973. 'La statuetta fenicia del Museo Nazionale di Palermo'. *Rivista di studi fenici* 1: 173-79.
- Ussiskkin, David. 1989. 'The Erection of Royal Monuments in City-Gates'. In *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: studies in honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, edited by Kutlu Emre. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 485-96.
- Üstündağ, Handan. 2009. 'Schmorl's Nodes in a Post-Medieval Skeletal Sample from Klostermarienberg, Austria'. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 19 (6): 695-710.
- Van der Stede, Véronique. 2021. 'Un « œil votif » mésopotamien au Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique'. In *Travels through the Orient and the Mediterranean World. Essays Presented to Eric Gubel*,

- edited by Vanessa Boschloos, Bruno Overlaet, Ingrid Moriah Swinnen, and Véronique Van der Stede. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 302. Leuven: Peeters, 217-28.
- Véla, Errol, and Samra Véla Ouzzani. 2015. 'Inventaire de la flore vasculaire de l'îlot de Byblos (El Ziré)'. *Flora Mediterranea* 25: 5-12.
- Vergidou, Chryssa, Georgia Karamitrou-Mentessidi, Sofia Voutsaki, and Efthymia Nikita. 2021. 'Oral Health and Its Implications on Male-Female Dietary Differences: A Study from the Roman Province of Macedonia'. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 35: e102784.
- Vidal, Jordi. 2011. 'Prestige Weapons in an Amorite Context'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 70 (2): 247-52.
- Vieillefon, Laurence. 2004. 'Les mosaïques d'Orphée dans les maisons de l'antiquité tardive. Fonctions décoratives et valeurs religieuses'. *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 116 (2): 983-1000.
- Vierneisel-Schlörb, Barbara. 1979. *Glyptothek München Katalog der Skulpturen Band II. Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* München: Beck.
- Villard, Pierre. 1986. 'Un roi de Mari à Ugarit'. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 18: 387-412.
- Viret, Jérémie. 1999. 'Nouvelles données sur le port de Tripoli'. *Tempora, Annales d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* 10-11: 131-32.
- . 2005. 'Les "murs de mer" de la côte Levantine'. In *Environnements littoraux méditerranéens, héritages et mobilité*, edited by Christophe Morhange, Jean-Pierre Goiran, and Nick Marriner. Aix-en-Provence: Amis de la Revue Méditerranée, 15-24.
- Viroilleaud, C. 1922. 'Découverte à Byblos d'un hypogée de la douzième dynastie égyptienne'. *Syria* 3: 274-90.
- Vita, Juan-Pablo, and José-Ángel Zamora. 2018. 'The Byblos Script'. In *Paths into Script Formation in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Silvia Ferrara and Miguel Valério. Rome: Edizioni Qasar, 75-102.
- Vreeze, Michel de, and Kamal Badreshany. Forthcoming. 'Identity and Monumentality. The Construction of an Early Bronze Age Landscape on the Lebanese Coast'. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*.
- Walters, Henry Beauchamp. 1915. *Select Bronzes. Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. London: British Museum.
- Walton, Joshua T. 2018. 'Trade in the Late Bronze and Iron Age Levant'. In *Behind the Scenes of the Old Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical contexts*, edited by Jonathan S. Greer, John W. Hilber, and John H. Walton. Ada: Baker Academic, 416-22.
- Ward, William Ayres. 1961. 'Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C. (Concluded)'. *Orientalia* 30 (2): 129-55.
- . 1963. 'Egypt and the East Mediterranean from Predynastic Times to the End of the Old Kingdom'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6 (1): 1-57.
- . 1971. *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200-1900 B.C.: Studies in Egyptian Foreign Relations during the First Intermediate Period*. Beirut: American University of Beirut.
- . 1978. 'Scarabs from the Montet Jar. A Late Eleventh Dynasty Collection at Byblos'. *Berytus* 26: 37-53.
- Weinstein, James M. 1981. 'The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment'. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 241 (1): 1-28.
- Weiskopf, Michael. 1989. *The So-Called 'Great Satraps' Revolt', 366-360 B.C.* Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Wengrow, David. 2006. *The Archaeology of Early Egypt. Social Transformations in North-East Africa, 10,000 to 2650 BC.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, Matthew. 2011. 'Late Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age I Structures from the 2012 Season at College Site'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 15: 224-27.
- Woolley, Charles Leonard. 1923. 'Early Pottery from Jebel'. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 10 (1-2): 36-41.
- Wright, Katherine, and Andrew Garrard. 2008. 'Stone Bead Technologies and Early Craft Specialization. Insights from Two Neolithic Sites in Eastern Jordan'. *Levant* 40 (2): 131-65.
- Wright, Katherine, Critchley Pat, and Andrew Garrard. 2003. 'Social Identities and the Expansion of Stone Beadmaking in the Neolithic Western Asia: New Evidence from Jordan'. *Antiquity* 77: 267-84.
- Xella, Paolo. 1994. Pantheoneculto a Biblio. Aspetti e problema. In *Biblio. Una città e la sua cultura. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Rome, 5-7 dicembre 1990*, Collezione di Studi Fenici 34, edited by E. Acquaro et al (eds.). Roma: 195-214.
- . 1995. 'Death and the Afterlife in Canaanite and Hebrew Thought'. In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2059-70.
- Yadin, Yigael. 1963. *The Art of Warfare in the Biblical Land in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Yazbeck, Corine. Forthcomng. 'Tabarja Wata Slam 100 (TWS 100): A Multi-Period Pre-Pottery and Pottery Neolithic Site on the Lebanese Coast'. *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises* 20: 178-218.
- Yazbek, Mariana, Nisrine Machaka-Houri, Mohammad S. Al-Zein, Samir Safi, and Salma Talhouk. 2011. 'Lebanon'. In *Important Plant Areas of the South and East Mediterranean Region: Priority Sites for Conservation*, edited by Elizabeth A. Radford, Gianluca Catullo, and Bertrand de Montmollin. Gland, Switzerland and Malaga, Spain: IUCN, 53-57.
- Yener, K. Aslihan. 2005. *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects*. Oriental Institute Publications 131. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

- Yon, Jean-Baptiste. 2015. 'De Marisa à Byblos avec le courrier de Séleucos IV. Quelques données sur Byblos hellénistique'. In *La Phénicie hellénistique*, edited by Julien Aliquot and Corinne Bonnet. Topoi Supplément 13. Lyon: Société des amis de la bibliothèque Salomon-Reinach, 89-105.
- Yoyotte, Jean. 1981. 'Le général Djehouty et la perception des tributs syriens: causerie au sujet d'un objet égaré'. *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* 92: 33-51.
- Zaven, Tania. 2017. Les objets en verre, en matière vitreuse et autres de l'hypogée d'Ashrafieh 1598'. In *Données nouvelles sur les nécropoles antiques de Beyrouth: L'hypogée d'Ashrafieh 1598*, edited by Joyce Nassar and Jeanine Abdul Massih. Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises 17, 109-21.
- Ziegler, Nele. 2015. 'Qatna at the Time of Samsi-Addu'. In *Qatna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism. Proceedings of an International Conference in Stuttgart and Tübingen in October 2009*, edited by Peter Pfälzner and Michel al-Maqdissi. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 139-48.
- . 2021. 'La Syrie occidentale avant Zimri-Lim'. In *Ougarit, un anniversaire. Bilans et recherches en cours*, edited by Valérie Matoïan. Ras Shamra – Ougarit 28. Leuven: Peeters, 519-33.
- Ziegler, Nele, and Dominique Charpin. 2004. 'Une lettre de Samsî-Addu découverte à Hazor?' *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*: No. 84.

