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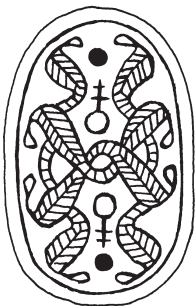
Special volume

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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



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Scarabs of Middle Bronze age rulers of Byblos

Daphna Ben-Tor¹

This paper discusses a small group of scarabs bearing names and titles of Middle Bronze Age rulers of Byblos, and argues on the basis of recent scarab studies for the Egyptian origin and late Middle Kingdom dating of these scarabs. The features of most examples indicate their production in the royal workshop at the residence, which produced the known corpus of late Middle Kingdom royal-name and private-name scarabs. Two examples, however, display typical features of products of the early scarab workshop at Tell el-Dab'a, which functioned during the late Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period. Based on evidence from both Byblos and Egypt, this paper argues that like the products of the royal workshop, the two Tell el-Dab'a examples date from the late Middle Kingdom, and that the scarabs bearing names and titles of Byblite rulers reflect the close commercial and cultural contacts between Egypt and Byblos, as well as the importance of Tell el-Dab'a as a major trading port with the Levant during this period.

Six scarabs bearing names and titles of rulers of Byblos written in Egyptian hieroglyphs have been published, each inscribed with the title 'Governor of Byblos' (*ḥ3ty-ꜥ n Kpn*) followed by a West Semitic name. Three of these scarabs bear the name *intn* (Martin 1971: nos. 261-63),² one bears the name *ib šmw* (Martin 1971: no. 105),³ one bears the name *rynty* (Martin 1971: no. 810),⁴ and one probably bears the name *in* or *intn* (Martin 1971: no. 1689).⁵ The last example also includes the conventional *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula, which is occasionally found on private-name scarabs of Egyptian officials (Martin 1971: 188). The formula on this scarab evokes Hathor Lady of Byblos (*Hthr nbt Kpn*).

¹ I am grateful to James Weinstein and Nadine Müller for reading a draft of this paper and for their helpful remarks, and to Pnina Arad for preparing the plates.

² See also Newberry 1928.

³ See also Newberry 1933.

⁴ See also Martin 1969.

⁵ See also Martin 1968; 1996. Martin reads the name of this scarab's owner as *k3-in*, but the *k3* is more likely part of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula. See, however, Martin 1996: 597, n. 14.

The private collection of Othmar Keel includes an additional example published here for the first time. This scarab also bears the name *intn* but the name is inscribed in an unusual manner, the *t* written with the group for *t* ‘bread’ (**pl. XXIII:1**).⁶ I am grateful to Othmar for providing me with photographs of this scarab, and I dedicate this paper to him on the happy occasion of his 70th birthday, looking forward to many more years of friendship and cooperation.

The names *ib šmw* and *intn* are attested as names of Byblite rulers on inscribed monuments found in Byblos. The name *ib šmw* occurs on a scimitar from royal tomb II (Montet 1928: no. 653), a faience vase from royal tomb IX (Montet 1928: no. 853), an obelisk from the Obelisk Temple (Dunand 1958: no. 16980), and a relief of unknown context (Montet 1964: no. 4). The name *intn* occurs on a relief found below building I (Dunand 1939: no. 3065),⁷ and possibly on an alabaster vase fragment from royal tomb IV (Montet 1928: no. 787; Albright 1964: 40). The name *rynty* is not attested elsewhere,⁸ this is also the case for the possible reading *in*.

The designs and features of four of these scarabs indicate that they were manufactured in Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom. Three of them display variations of Martin’s back type 6 (Keel’s scarab = **pl. XXIII:1**, and Martin 1971: nos. 262, 1689 = **pl. XXIII:2**),⁹ the dominant back type of 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs (Ward 1984: 156-59; Ryholt 1997: 34-37) and late Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs (Martin 1971: 5; 1996: 595-96; Quirke 2004: 178-79).¹⁰ The fourth example (Martin 1971: no. 105)¹¹ displays elaborate openwork features, the back decorated with apotropaic signs and symbols, and a human face replacing the beetle’s head (Newberry 1933: figs. 2-5). An almost identical naturalistic openwork side is found on a royal-name scarab bearing the names of Amenemhat III and IV (Tufnell 1984: pl. 53: 3091), and the human face replacing the beetle’s head is first attested on scarabs of the late Middle Kingdom (Keel 1997: 228-29, no. 372; Markowitz 1997: 83-84, fig. 3.8; Quirke 2003).

The three scarabs displaying Martin’s back type 6 and the one displaying elaborate openwork features argue not only for their late Middle Kingdom Egyptian origin but also for their production in the royal workshop, which produced the late Middle Kingdom royal-name and private-name

⁶ An additional example displaying the name *intn* in the same unusual manner was recently seen by this author in a private collection in Paris.

⁷ Together with the name of the 13th Dynasty King Neferhotep I (below).

⁸ See Martin 1969: 81.

⁹ Bearing respectively the names *intn*, *intn*, and *in* (or also *intn*, see above). I am grateful to Andrey Bolshakov of the Hermitage Museum for sending me photographs of the last scarab (**pl. XXIII:2**), which confirm Martin’s observation of its distinctive 13th Dynasty features (Martin 1996: 595-96).

¹⁰ This back type is attested also on the scarab bearing the name *intn* from a private collection in Paris (see above, n. 6).

¹¹ Bearing the name *ib šmw*.

scarabs noted above.¹² These four scarabs indicate that the rulers of Byblos were officially entitled by the Egyptian residence to the title *ḥ3ty-^c n GN*, attested during this period for governors of Egyptian domains, mainly large cities and nomes (Ward 1982: 104-107), and that they were granted personal scarabs identical to those of Egyptian officials. The fact that Byblite rulers used this particular title¹³ has raised the question whether Byblos was officially considered an Egyptian domain and its rulers saw themselves as governors on behalf of the Pharaoh (Ryholt 1997: 87-89), or whether their assumption of Egyptian titles reflects emulation of Egyptian culture by these rulers who chose Egyptian titles merely as equivalents to their native titles (Redford 1992: 97). The latter scenario seems more likely considering the fact that some of these rulers enclosed their names in cartouches (Montet 1928: nos. 618, 852-53), an act showing an attempt to adopt equivalent royal symbols, which was unthinkable in the case of Egyptian officials.¹⁴ This is supported by the use of royal epithets such as ‘beloved by DN’ – an exclusive royal prerogative in Egypt (Ryholt 1997: 88-89), and by the title *ḥk3 ḥk3w* ‘Ruler of Rulers’ possibly inscribed on a fragment of an alabaster vase (Montet 1928: no. 787) for a ruler whose name is partly lost but was reconstructed by some scholars as *intn* (Albright 1964: 40; Kitchen 1967: 40).¹⁵ The admiration of the rulers of Byblos for Egyptian culture is attested in the Egyptian-style reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions they commissioned, which often evoke Egyptian gods (Montet 1962; 1964; Teissier 1996: 2-3; Ryholt 1997: 89 with bibliography). It was recently argued that the primary function of private-name scarabs in late Middle Kingdom Egypt was amuletic rather than administrative (Ben-Tor 2004b: 27-28).¹⁶ The example bearing the *ḥtp-di-nsu* formula (above) indicates that this was also true in the case of the scarabs made for the rulers of Byblos.

¹² Ryholt’s statement that the scarabs of the Byblite rulers do not conform with those of contemporary 13th Dynasty items and are therefore locally produced (Ryholt 1997: 89, n. 286) is incorrect.

¹³ Local rulers of the Levantine city-states are usually referred to as *wr* or *ḥk3* in Egypt (Montet 1928: 277; Ryholt 1997: 87).

¹⁴ See also Montet 1928: 277; Kemp 1983: 146-47; Ryholt 1997: 88, n. 281.

¹⁵ See, however, Ryholt 1997: 88, n. 281. A noteworthy alternative scenario was put forward by Christoph Uehlinger (personal communication, August 29, 2007) who proposes that option A (argued by Ryholt) may represent the Egyptian point of view, whereas option B (argued by Redford and favoured by myself) would represent the Byblite self-perception. The two perspectives are mutually exclusive only if put in one and the same mind, but they may well have co-existed alongside each other in a socio-historical setting – a coexistence of different perspectives. As a matter of fact, option B is based on evidence from Byblos, whereas the involvement of Egyptian royal workshops in the production of the scarabs discussed in this article would be even more plausible if Byblos was officially considered an Egyptian domain by the Egyptians.

¹⁶ This issue is, however, still controversial (Wegner 2001: 93-97).

Of the three remaining scarabs bearing names and titles of Byblite rulers, two (Martin 1971: nos. 261, 810 = **pl. XXIII:3-4**)¹⁷ display features of the early scarab workshop at Tell el-Dab'a – Mlinar's type III. Scarabs displaying Mlinar's type III features occur at Tell el-Dab'a in the occupation levels assigned to strata G, F, and E/3,¹⁸ which are dated within the range of the late Middle Kingdom (13th Dynasty) and the early Second Intermediate Period (Mlinar 2004: 133-34, figs. 15-16). There is no record of the design and features of the seventh scarab bearing a name and title of a ruler of Byblos (Martin 1971: no. 263).¹⁹

The two scarabs displaying Mlinar's type III features are of special interest as they argue for the production of these scarabs in the early workshop at Tell el-Dab'a. The most distinctive feature of Mlinar's type III scarabs is the long narrow open head (Tufnell's type B) with eyes indicated at its base, and their dominant side is Tufnell's type e9 (Mlinar 2004: figs. 6-8). Mlinar's type III scarabs display both plain and lined backs, which were categorized respectively as types IIIa and IIIb (Mlinar 2004: figs. 6-8). One of the two Byblos examples displays type IIIa (Martin 1971: no. 810 = **pl. XXIII:4**),²⁰ and one displays type IIIb (Martin 1971: no. 261 = **pl. XXIII:3**). The combination of features comprising Mlinar's type III scarabs is almost completely absent in the corpus of private-name scarabs assembled by Martin, which includes only one example apart from the two Byblos scarabs (Martin 1971: no. 529).²¹ This example, however, displays the hieroglyphs reading *pth htp* flanked by two stylized papyrus plants (Martin 1971: pl. 33:37), and is a design scarab rather than a private-name scarab; a parallel displaying Mlinar's type III features and identical stylized papyrus plants flanking a falcon was found at Tell el-Dab'a (Mlinar 2004: fig. 8:10).²² I am not aware of private-name scarabs displaying Mlinar's type III features apart from the two examples of Byblite rulers noted above.

¹⁷ Bearing respectively the names *intn* and *rynty*. I am grateful to Jeffrey Spencer and Marcel Maree of the Department of Egypt and Sudan in the British Museum for providing me with photographs of these scarabs.

¹⁸ The isolated examples from strata E/2 and E/1 are almost certainly heirlooms (Mlinar 2004: 133, fig. 15).

¹⁹ Bearing the name *intn*.

²⁰ Martin erroneously assigns his back type 10b to this scarab (Martin 1971: no. 810) and dates it to the Hyksos period based on two Hyksos royal-name scarabs which he presents as parallels (Martin 1969: 82). The latter, however, display different head types as can be seen in Tufnell 1984: pl. 56: 3261, pl. 60: 3369. A recent examination of these royal-name scarabs in the Petrie Museum, London, confirmed the accuracy of the drawings presented in Tufnell 1984. I am grateful to Stephen Quirke for his generous assistance at the Petrie Museum.

²¹ Martin assigns his back type 8e to this scarab and to the Byblos scarab displaying Mlinar's type IIIb (Martin 1971: 261), but not to any other scarab in his corpus (Martin 1971: 202).

²² Both this scarab and the example presented by Martin display Mlinar's type IIIb.

The two examples displaying features of the early Tell el-Dab'a workshop raise two questions which are interdependent:

1. What triggered the production of scarabs of Byblite rulers at Tell el-Dab'a?
2. What is the date of production of these scarabs?

Attempts to establish a king-list of the rulers of Byblos in the Middle Bronze Age were based primarily on inscribed monuments and objects found in or assigned to the town's temples and royal tombs (Albright 1964; 1965; Kitchen 1967; Lilyquist 1993: 41-42; Martin 1996). The rulers assigned to royal tombs I-IV are usually dated to the late Middle Kingdom,²³ based on objects bearing names of Egyptian kings of the late twelfth and 13th Dynasties found in these tombs or associated with the Byblite rulers on monuments (Albright 1964; 1965: 39; Kitchen 1967: 40, nos. 2-5; Lilyquist 1993: 41-42; Ryholt 1997: 87-89). The rulers assigned to tombs VI-IX are generally dated to the first half of the 17th century BCE, i. e. the early Second Intermediate Period (below), based mainly on calculations established on the suggested sequence of the royal tombs and the rulers assigned to them (Albright 1965: 40; 1966: 30, n. 22; Kitchen 1967: 53-54; Redford 1992: 97; Lilyquist 1993: 43-44).

The evidence for establishing the sequence and absolute dates of the Middle Bronze Age rulers of Byblos and their association with particular royal tombs at the site is however very problematic and far from conclusive. Moreover, even the existence of some of the suggested rulers is controversial. Martin presents convincing evidence against the inclusion of two names customarily assigned to the king-list of Byblos in the Middle Bronze Age. The first name, the reading of which is not entirely clear,²⁴ is inscribed on an amethyst private-name scarab found at Byblos with the title *ir-p^ct h3ty^c* (Montet 1928: 197-98, fig. 88). Martin notes that the title associated with this individual does not refer to Byblos, and correctly argues for the identification of the scarab's owner as a late Middle Kingdom Egyptian official rather than a Byblite ruler (Martin 1996: 597-98). The second name is a questionable reading of a highly controversial hieroglyphic inscription occurring on a local cylinder seal found at Byblos (Martin 1998: 174-75), which more likely dates from the Early Bronze Age than the Middle Bronze Age (Martin 1998: 181-82 with bibliography). It is also not possible to determine if names occurring on more than one monument, such as *intn* or *ib-šmv* refer to the same ruler or if they are dynastic names referring to more than one ruler bearing the same name (Kitchen 1967: 40-42).

The problematic and inconclusive evidence available for dating the royal tombs at Byblos was noted already by Montet (1928: 213-14), and

²³ See, however, Lilyquist 1993: 44 and n. 57.

²⁴ It was read as *i3mip* (Montet 1928: 197-98, fig. 88), *i3myp* (Albright 1964: 40), *ilim3 y3pi* (Kitchen 1967: 41, no. 6), and *impy* (Martin 1971: no. 174a).

more recently by Lilyquist (1993: 43-44). Montet notes that the finds associated with tombs VI-IX are comparable with finds from tombs I-IV dated by him to the 18th century BCE, as well as with finds from tomb V dated by him to the 13th century BCE, and places tombs VI-IX between these two groups, arguing for a date closer to the 18th century group (Montet 1928: 214). Lilyquist also notes the occurrence of comparable finds in tombs I-IV and VI-IX stressing the mixed and disturbed deposits in both groups, and states that the finds assigned to these deposits should be carefully reexamined (1993: 43-44).

Aside from the confusion concerning the finds from Byblos, it is important to note the absence of Second Intermediate Period Egyptian imports at the site, which was pointed out in a number of studies (Montet 1928: 214; Negbi & Moskowitz 1966: 183; Lilyquist 1993: 44; Teissier 1996: 3). This absence is of special interest considering the fact that the last mention of wood from Lebanon in Middle Kingdom Egypt dates from the reign of the 13th Dynasty king Sobkhotep IV, and the latest pre-New Kingdom Egyptian import at Byblos is a royal-name scarab of Ibiaw Wahibre, the king who followed Sobkhotep IV (Ryholt 1997: 89-90, and n. 287). Moreover, parallels from Egypt presented by Lilyquist for objects found in the royal tombs are exclusively of Middle Kingdom or 18th Dynasty date (Lilyquist 1993: 42-44). This situation strongly argues for a break in the commercial and cultural contacts between Byblos and Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom²⁵ and the resuming of these contacts only in the early 18th Dynasty.

The end of the Middle Kingdom is now generally dated in the early 17th century BCE after the reign of Merneferre Ay (Bourriau 2000: 185; Ben-Tor 2003: 246; 2004a: 29; Quirke 2004: 171), the last 13th Dynasty king with monuments in both Upper and Lower Egypt, who followed King Ibiaw Wahibre (Ryholt 1997: 197; Bourriau 2000: 198). The archaeological evidence at Tell el-Dab'a argues that the end of the Middle Kingdom, which is attributed to the occupation level assigned to stratum F at the site (Bietak 1997: 108-109; Bourriau 2000: 192), coincides with the end of the Levantine MB IIA (Bietak 1997: 90, fig. 4.3; Ben-Tor 2003: 244-46).

The Middle Bronze Age ceramic assemblages found at Byblos include a significant number of MB IIA pottery vessels (Albright 1966: 27-28; Bagh 2000: 95-112), yet items assigned to the MB IIB were noted in the royal tombs (Tufnell 1969; Gerstenblith 1983: 39-41; Ward 1987: 529; Lilyquist 1993: 44). Tufnell also presents a small number of Egyptian vessels from royal tombs I-III (Tufnell 1969: fig. 3: 29-31, fig. 7: 59-60). Susan Allen, who examined these vessels at my request,²⁶ states that the bowls represented by three examples (Tufnell 1969: 12, fig. 3: 29-31), and one of two

²⁵ See also Ben-Tor 2003: 246; 2004a: 29.

²⁶ For which I express my sincere gratitude.

large zirs presented by Tufnell (1969: 16, fig. 7: 59) can be dated to the late Middle Kingdom.²⁷ The second zir presented by Tufnell (1969: 16, fig. 7:60), is according to Susan Allen closer in shape to New Kingdom examples; it is found at Tell el-Dab'a and other sites in Egypt mainly in occupation levels dated to the late Hyksos period and early 18th Dynasty (Bietak 1991: fig. 9: type 5; Bader 2001: 179-85, figs. 54-61, type 57g).²⁸ This large water jar is the only Egyptian import that can be dated to the Second Intermediate Period, but its occurrence in Egypt also in early 18th Dynasty contexts could argue for its arrival at Byblos at that time.

Regrettably, the available records relating to the finds from Byblos do not allow establishing a coherent stratigraphy, nor do they provide the precise find spot for much of the material (Tufnell 1969: 6; Gerstenblith 1983: 41; Bagh 2000: 95). It is therefore not possible to determine which of the royal tombs continued to be used in the MB IIB, and whether some were re-used in the final phase of the Middle Bronze Age, which coincides with the beginning of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt (Bietak 1991: 57-58).²⁹

Regardless of the difficulties noted above, the complete absence of Second Intermediate Period Egyptian imports at Byblos suggests that the two scarabs displaying features of the early Tell el-Dab'a workshop were not produced after the Middle Kingdom, i. e. not later than stratum F. The occupation level assigned to stratum F is dated by the excavators between ca. 1710-1680 BCE, and it was in the course of this stratum that the takeover of the site by the Canaanite settlers probably took place, marking the end of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt (Bietak 1997: 108-109; Bourriau 2000: 192; Ben-Tor 2004a: 28-29). There is no evidence allowing us to conclude if *intn* mentioned on one of the Tell el-Dab'a scarabs is the same as the *intn* mentioned on scarabs displaying distinctive late Middle Kingdom features (above),³⁰ or the *intn* mentioned with the 13th Dynasty king Neferhotep I on a fragmentary relief found in Byblos (Dunand 1939: 197-98; Albright 1964: 39-41; Kitchen 1967: 40).³¹ As noted above, it is not possible to determine whether all these sources refer to the same ruler or if *intn* was a

²⁷ In an e-mail sent on June 5, 2006 Susan Allen states that similar bowls were found at Tell el-Dab'a in strata H through F, dating between the late twelfth through mid-13th Dynasties, and that parallels for the zir are found in Egypt in contexts ranging between the early 13th Dynasty and the early Second Intermediate Period (Bader 2001: 166-178, figs. 48-55, type 57e).

²⁸ I owe these references to Susan Allen.

²⁹ It was recently shown (Ben-Tor 2007: 157) that a cowroid found in Group V at Jericho (Kirkbride 1965: fig. 299: 20) displays distinctive Egyptian 18th Dynasty characteristics, which strongly argue for the continuation of the Middle Bronze Age at Jericho into the early 18th Dynasty.

³⁰ See also Martin 1996: 596.

³¹ Albright identified this ruler with *Yantin Ammu*, the king of Byblos mentioned in the Mari archive as a contemporary of Zimrilim (Albright 1964: 41).

dynastic name in Byblos like Amenemhat or Senwosret in Middle Kingdom Egypt.

The designs decorating scarabs displaying Mlinar's type III features are in most cases close variations of designs occurring on late Middle Kingdom scarabs (Mlinar 2004: figs. 6-8), though some examples display peculiarities reflecting their "provincial" production.³² The two examples bearing names and titles of Byblite rulers display well-executed hieroglyphs and indicate knowledge of the Egyptian language, which strongly argues for their production during the late Middle Kingdom, when Tell el-Dab'a was still ruled from the residence *ʾtj-t3wy* in the Lisht-Memphis region.

A northern Levantine origin for the early wave of Canaanite settlers at Tell el-Dab'a in the late Middle Kingdom has long been suggested by Bietak (1987; 1998),³³ who claims that this is also implied by the petrographic analysis of the Canaanite pottery found at Tell el-Dab'a (Cohen-Weinberger & Goren 2004: 82-83).³⁴ Whether or not this is indeed the case is still highly controversial.³⁵ Nevertheless, the port of Tell el-Dab'a must have played an important role in the trade with the northern Levant during the late Middle Kingdom (Aston 2002: 55-57 with bibliography). As recently argued by Aston: "it is very probable that the royal crown not only actively supported the growth of Tell el-Dab'a as a maritime port, but probably actively encouraged the immigration of Levantine peoples, who perhaps, not only carried out the actual trading, but themselves also increased demand for Levantine goods" (Aston 2002: 56). Aston further argues that the occurrence of Canaanite imports in archaeological deposits in Lisht dated to the 13th Dynasty, though comprising only 3.4% of the pottery refuse (Arnold et al. 1995: 30), indicate strong contacts between the residence at *ʾtj-t3wy* and Tell el-Dab'a (Aston 2002: 56). Moreover, Arnold et al. argue that the initial importation of Canaanite jars to Lisht during the 13th Dynasty must have been connected to the rise of Tell el-Dab'a as a trading center in the northeastern Delta (Arnold et al. 1995: 30).

The importance of Tell el-Dab'a as a major trading port with the Levant during this period, when the primary Levantine trading port was Byblos, could explain the production of scarabs made for the rulers of Byblos in Tell el-Dab'a, where a local scarab workshop is attested from stratum G (Mlinar 2004: 113-14). The accurate hieroglyphs and knowledge of the

³² For example the design depicting a man holding a staff, standing next to hieroglyphs that do not form an inscription (Mlinar 2004: fig. 6a: 7), and the unusual form of the Hathor symbol (Mlinar 2004: fig. 7: 14). Both designs, which imitate late Middle Kingdom prototypes, are later attested also on Canaanite scarabs produced in Middle Bronze Age Palestine (Schroer 1989: 140-60; Keel 1994: 213-20).

³³ See also Aston 2002: 56-57.

³⁴ Contra the South Palestinian origin for the bulk of the Canaanite pottery found at Tell el-Dab'a, which was argued based on neutron activation analysis (McGovern & Harbottle 1997; McGovern 2000).

³⁵ For evidence supporting a Palestinian origin see Ben-Tor 2007: 188-92.

Egyptian language attested on these scarabs, argue for their production under close supervision of the late Middle Kingdom royal workshop in the residence.

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1. Scarab of a Byblite ruler (private collection Othmar Keel).



2. Scarab of a Byblite ruler (Hermitage Museum 5945).



3. Scarab of a Byblite ruler (British Museum 57383).



4. Scarab of a Byblite ruler (British Museum 67024).

Abstract

To consider images as sources in their own right for the history of ancient Near Eastern culture and religion; to correlate them, whenever appropriate, with biblical texts; thus, to have introduced a new way of looking and reading to biblical studies – these may be the most salient characteristics of Othmar Keel's internationally recognised scholarship. The papers published in this volume express the gratitude of many students and friends to a teacher and colleague with whom they have shared many years of inspiring research partnership.

Part I includes original publications of hitherto unpublished artefacts. In Part II, better or lesser known objects and images are studied anew in their cultural and socio-historical contexts. Part III brings biblical texts into a conversation with iconography and places them into the context of ancient Near Eastern religion and culture. Part IV opens wide religio-historical and theological horizons in the perspective of «vertical ecumenism». The volume comes with a comprehensive bibliography of Othmar Keel's published works from 1955 to the present.

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