

The Eighteen Century BC Princes of Byblos and Ebla and the Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age

LORENZO NIGRO

The discovery of Royal Hypogea at Ebla in 1978 provided a rich set of precious items and associated ceramic assemblages, firmly set into the stratigraphic/pottery sequence of Tell Mardikh. Such items exhibit a series of amazing similarities with symbolic and apparatus finds from Royal Tombs and other contexts (votive deposits in the Obelisks Temple) at Byblos. The analysis of these artifacts and imageries provides interesting insights into cultural and ideological connections between Ebla and Byblos in the Middle Bronze Age and, at a more detailed historical focus, allows to single out useful synchronisms between the Egyptian, Eblaite and Gublite royal personages. Metal vessels, ritual weapons, status symbols show a similar typological and chronological development, which permits to correlate tombs assemblages.

Inscribed items from Byblos Royal Tombs, as well as the Pharaohinic scepter bearing the name of Hotepibra (XIII Dynasty) from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats at Ebla reflect cultural and political interactions which deeply influenced Syria-Palestine in the 18th century BC¹

1. The Princely Necropolis at Ebla¹

Thirty years ago, in 1978, La Sapienza Expedition at Ebla, directed by Paolo Matthiae, discovered a princely necropolis concealed beneath the floors of the Western Palace, a royal building, hosting the Heir Prince of Ebla during the Middle Bronze Age². Three hypogea (Tomb of the Princess, Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, Tomb of the Cisterns) were excavated underneath courtyard L.2950 and the nearby room L.2975³.

The stratigraphic setting of the tombs was clear, as the *dromos* of the Tomb of the Princess, the only

hypogaeum remained almost inviolate, was cut through the Middle Bronze I floor and covered by the latest MB II pavement of the palace⁴. The two other tombs, the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats and the Tomb of the Cisterns were opened during the final sack of the city by the Hittites⁵, and very quickly depredated, being afterwards concealed under the collapsed structures of the burnt Palace.

The funerary equipment associated to the princely burials finds several interesting comparisons at Byblos, suggesting enlightening cultural and chronological connections.

2. The Royal Necropolis at Byblos

Between 1922 and 1923 Pierre Montet excavated a group of nine royal tombs at Byblos (**Figs 1 and 2**)⁶. The tombs were cut into the limestone bedrock of the spur dominating the seashore, on a spot where possibly the Middle Bronze Age Royal Palace of Byblos was located⁷.

Thanks to a series of inscribed objects it has been inferred that they belonged respectively: Tomb I to King Abi-Shemu⁸; Tomb II to his son Ipy-Shemu-Abi (a sword and a pendant with inscribed his name were found)⁹; Tomb III to King Yakin-el¹⁰; and Tomb IV,

though looted, to a prince (possibly the son of Yakin-El)¹¹ known as Yantin-Ammu (see below § 7)¹². To the same tomb also an amethyst scarab mentioning prince Ilimi-yapi was attributed¹³.

The rich Pharaohnic gifts (**Fig. 3**) retrieved in these tombs testify to the strict relationships established between the kings of Byblos and Egypt. They are namely: a vase of obsidian and gold bearing the prenomen of Amenemhat III (1853-1806/05 BC; von Beckerath 1997, 189) in Tomb I¹⁴; a small chest of obsidian and gold¹⁵, and a grey stone vase¹⁶ with the name of his son Amenemhat IV (1807/06-1798/97 BC) from Tomb II.

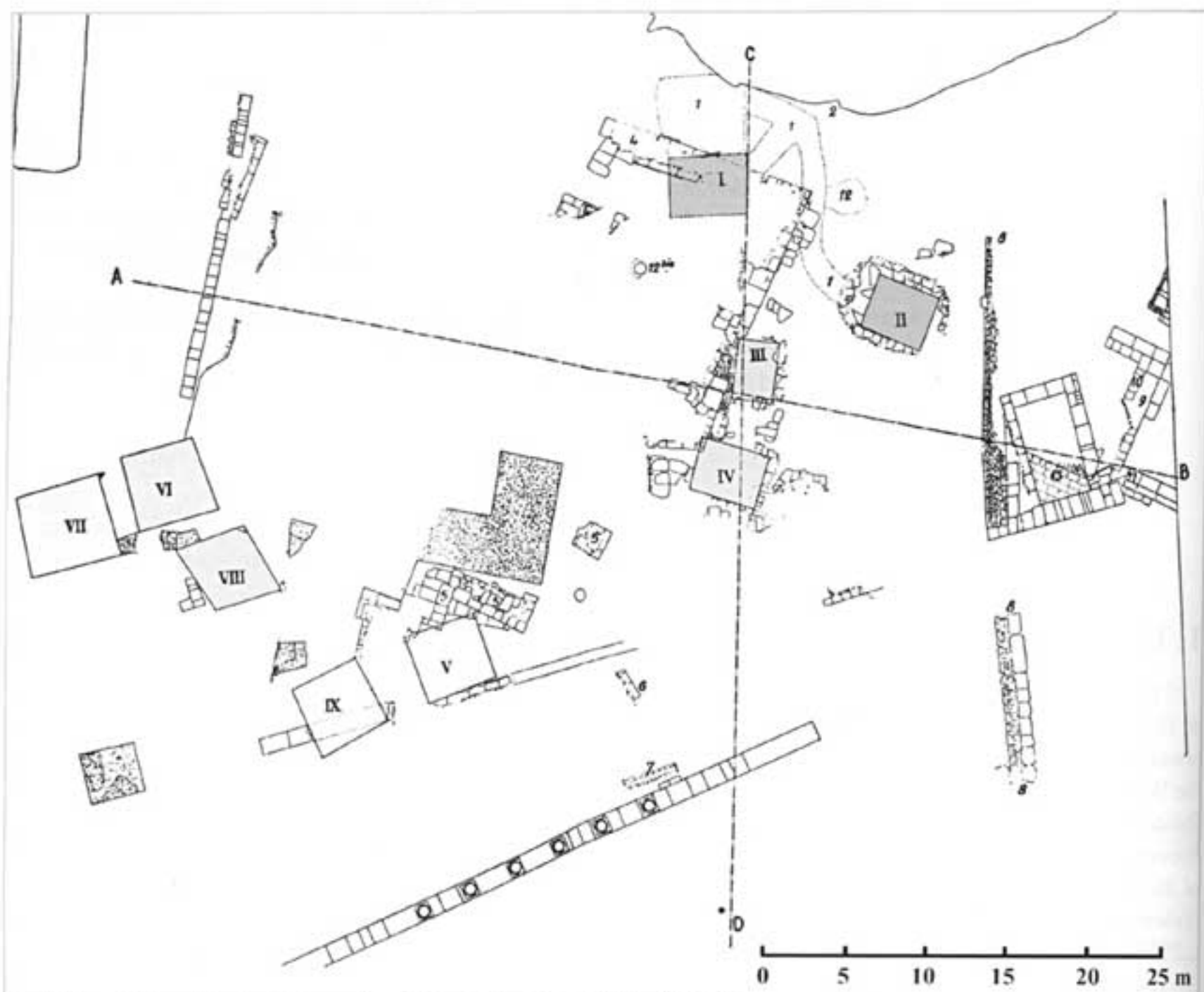


Fig. 1- General plan of the Royal Necropolis at Byblos (after Montet 1929a, pl. LXXII).

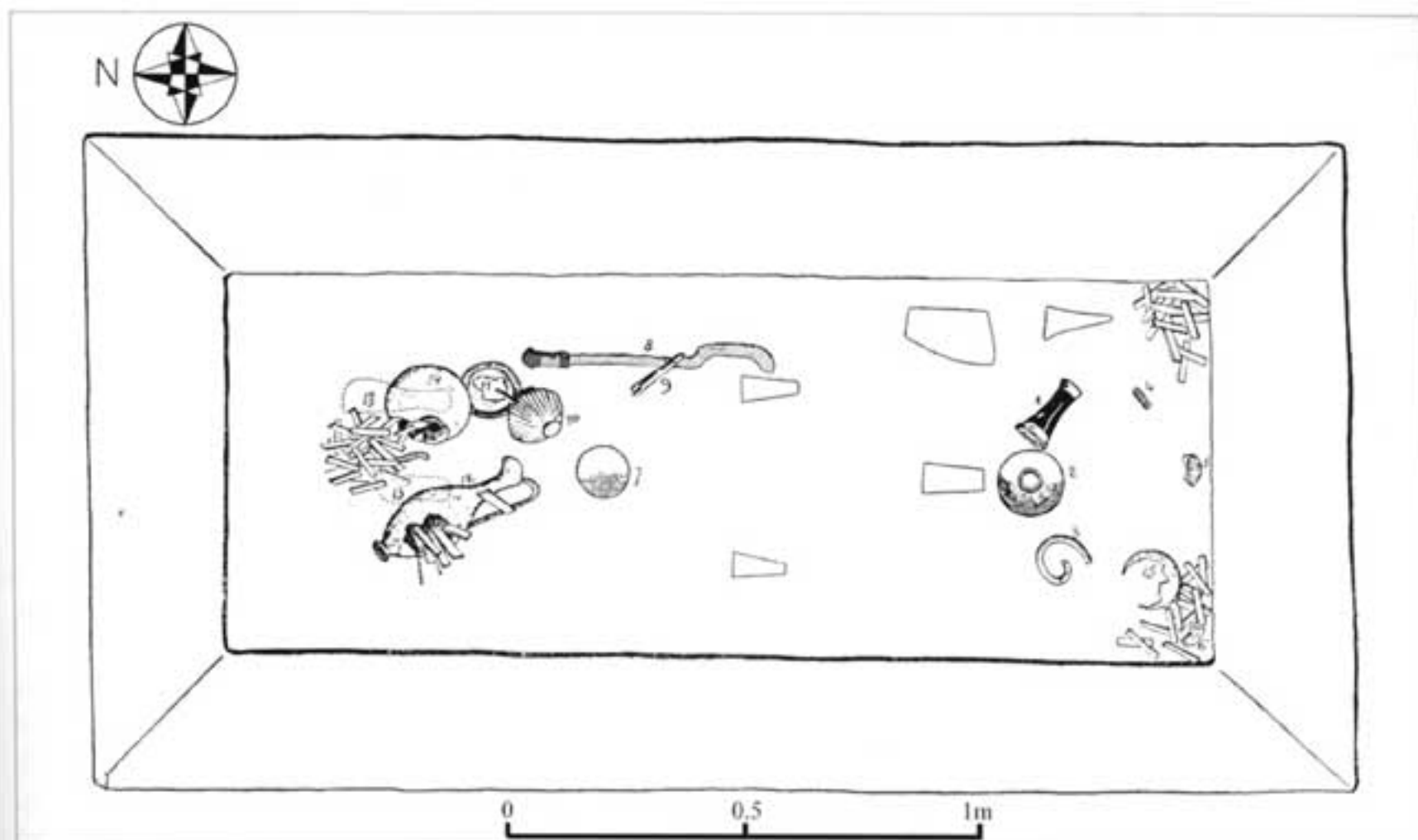


Fig. 2- Plan of the inner content of the sarcophagus retrieved in Tomb I at Byblos (after Virolleaud 1922, fig. 4).

Such precious objects suggest that the two kings of Byblos were buried between the end of the reign of Amenemhat III and that of Amenemhat IV, i.e. around 1800 BC. It is, thus, possible to draw out a quite clear sequence of rulers of Byblos and Pharaohs (**Tab. 1**), and, as we will see, this sequence is firmly correlated with that of Ebla, the connections with which we are going to go through.

3. The Tomb of the Princess

The Tomb of the Princess at Ebla is one of the earliest burial so far identified underneath the Western Palace. It consisted of a *dromos* with steps partially cut into the bedrock and partly built up with stones, covered by five slabs ending in a small chamber realized by enlarging a natural cavity¹⁷.

The Lady was buried with her personal ornaments (**Fig. 4**); a rich ceramic assemblage (**Fig. 5**), and some luxury items also accompanied the body. Especially



Fig. 3- Pharaonic gifts found in the Royal Tombs of Byblos (after Montet 1928, ns. 610, 611, 614).

Byblos	Egypt	
Abi-Shemu (Tomb I)	Amenemhat III (1853-1806/05 BC) (6 th Pharaoh of XII Dyn.)	XII Dynasty (1976-1794/93 BC)
Ipy-Shemu-Abi (Tomb II)	Amenemhat IV (1807/06-1798/97 BC) (7 th Pharaoh of XII Dyn.)	
Yakin-el (Tomb III)	Pharaohs from Wegaf to Neben-nu	XIII Dynasty (1794/93-1648/45 BC)
Yantin-Ammu (Tomb IV)	Har-nedj-her-jotef Hotep-ib-râ (1774-1764 BC) (9 th Pharaoh of XIII Dyn.)	
	Nefer-hotep I Cha-sechem-râ (1741-1730 BC) (22 nd Pharaoh of XIII Dyn.)	

Tab. 1- Chronological correlation between the rulers of Byblos and the Egyptian Pharaohs (according to von Beckerath) in the first half of II millennium BC.

the princess's golden jewels¹⁸ find several comparisons at Byblos: a series of bracelets with twisted wire (TM.78.Q.370-375)¹⁹ shows the same technique of a specimen found in Tomb II at Byblos (**Fig. 6**)²⁰; a necklace with amethyst beads (TM.78.Q.380)²¹ shows

the employ also at Ebla of the distinguished Egyptian semi-precious stone extracted in the Wadi el-Hudi, attested to also in the Royal Tombs of Byblos²².

Another luxury gift of this burial are two small bottles with expanded horizontal rim, apparently containers of a precious ointment; one is made of sardonyx (TM.78.QIA.76)²³, the other of calcite (TM.78.QIA.7; **Fig. 7**)²⁴. These two precious *unguentaria* find a striking comparison in a bronze bottle found in the Montet Jar at Byblos²⁵. The content of the latter votive deposit, including also several cylinder seals, was dated by Edith Porada to the last decades of the 19th century BC (end of Middle Bronze I)²⁶.

Two more containers of precious stuff were found in the Tomb of the Princess. One is a double-handled alabaster vessel (**Fig. 5**)²⁷, the other is a pointed faience vessel with two lost loop handles (TM.78.Q.150; **Fig. 8**)²⁸, a *situla*, which was compared to some specimens



Fig. 4. Personal ornaments of the Lady buried in the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla (copyright Ebla Expedition).



Fig. 5- The rich ceramic assemblage found in the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla; note the double-handled alabaster vessel (copyright Ebla Expedition).



Fig. 6- Golden twisted wire bracelets (TM.78.Q.370-375) from the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla (copyright Ebla Expedition), and the similar specimen found in Tomb II at Byblos (after Montet 1929a, pl. XCVII, n. 635).

(one in crystal of rock and two in obsidian) found in the Palace of Serikaya at Aem Hyk in Anatolia, dating from Kanesh Karum II²⁹. Another kind of *situla* is visible in the hands of some officials in the carved face of the lustral basin from the Temple D of Ishtar at Ebla, where a great priestess of Ishtar, probably a queen, is taking part into a ritual banquet (**Fig. 9**)³⁰. This ritual vessel, with a distinguished shape (a human hearth recalling the Egyptian hieroglyphic *ib*?), finds a striking counterpart in the golden specimen retrieved at Byblos in the Temple of the Obelisks (**Fig. 9**)³¹. The basin and its imagery were dated by Paolo Matthiae to the second half of 19th century³².

As regards the ceramic assemblage of the Tomb of the Princess³³, it also shows an interesting comparison with Byblos. A peculiar jug of metallic inspiration (TM.78.QIA.73)³⁴, belonging to a very specialized production, called Orange Burnished Ware, also attested to at Tell Nebi Mend³⁵, finds a striking parallel in a specimen retrieved in Tomb II at Byblos³⁶; both vessels belong to the final MB I horizon.



Fig. 7- Unguentaria in calcite (TM.78.QIA.7) and sardonix (TM.78.QIA.76) found in the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla, and the third one made of bronze from the Tomb of the Cisterns (copyright Ebla Expedition), and the bronze bottle found in the Montet Jar at Byblos (after Montet 1929a, pl. LXXI, n. 608).

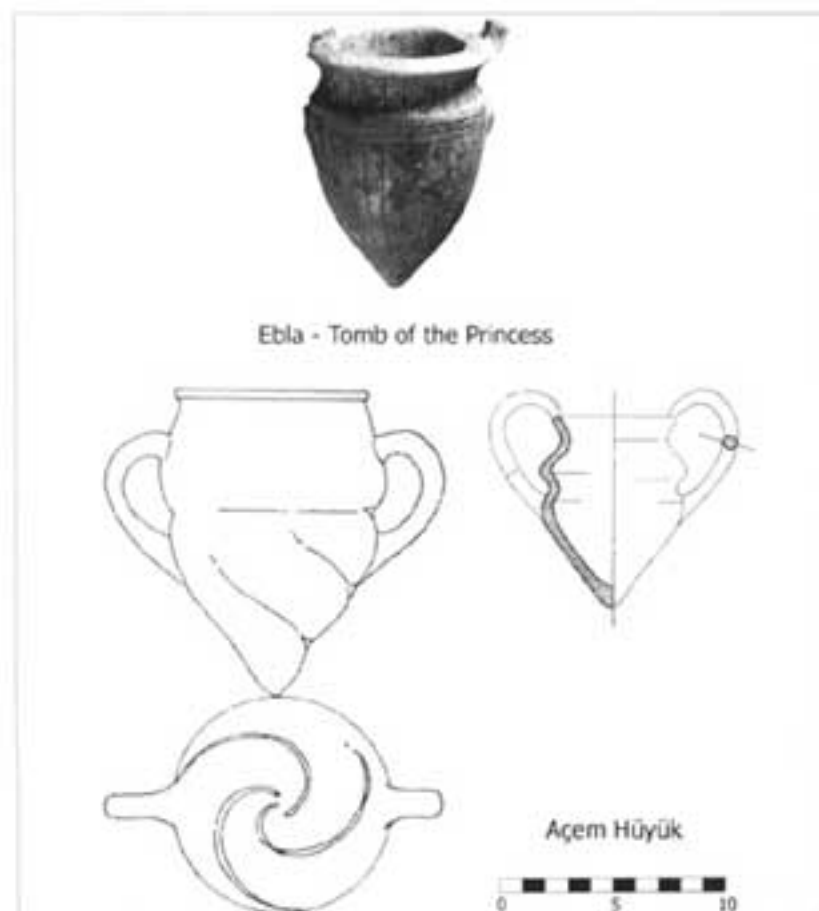


Fig. 8- The pointed faience vessel (TM.78.Q.150) from the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla (copyright Ebla Expedition), and the two specimens (in crystal of rock and obsidian) found at Aem Hyk (zgu 1966, figs. 5-6).



Fig. 9- Detail of the carved face of the basin from Temple D at Ebla with some officials carrying a situla (copyright Ebla Expedition), and the golden vessel from the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos (after Liban, 85).

4. The Lord of the Tomb of the Cisterns (earliest burial)

The Tomb of the Cisterns was a double room hypogeum built together with the adjacent Tomb of the Princess (**Fig. 10**)³⁷, but unfortunately badly damaged by a major intervention which affected both it and the nearby Tomb of the Lord of the Goats during the last century of the Middle Bronze Age, i.e. the building of a monumental *dromos* (**Fig. 11**)³⁸.

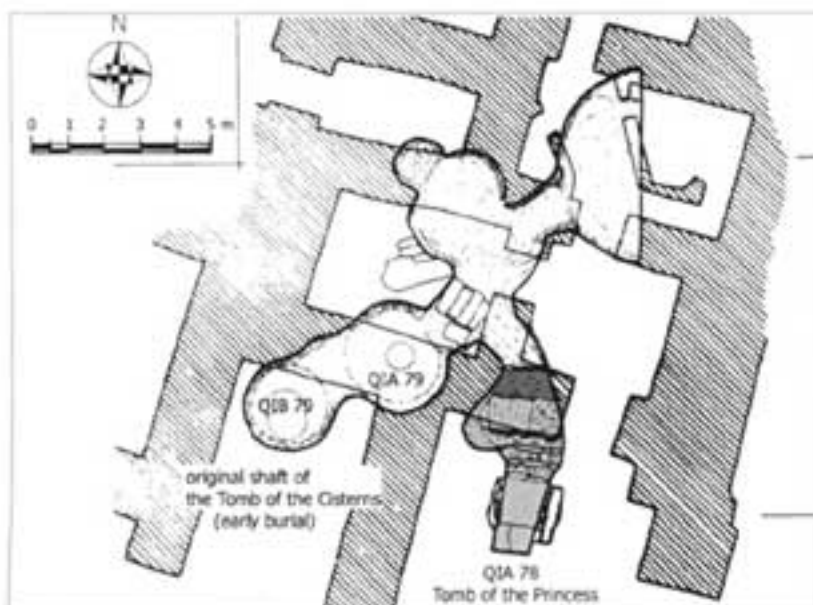


Fig. 10- Plan of the earliest utilization of the Royal Hypogaea at Ebla, with the Tomb of the Princess and the original shaft of the Tomb of the Cisterns (end of Middle Bronze IB, 1825-1800 BC).

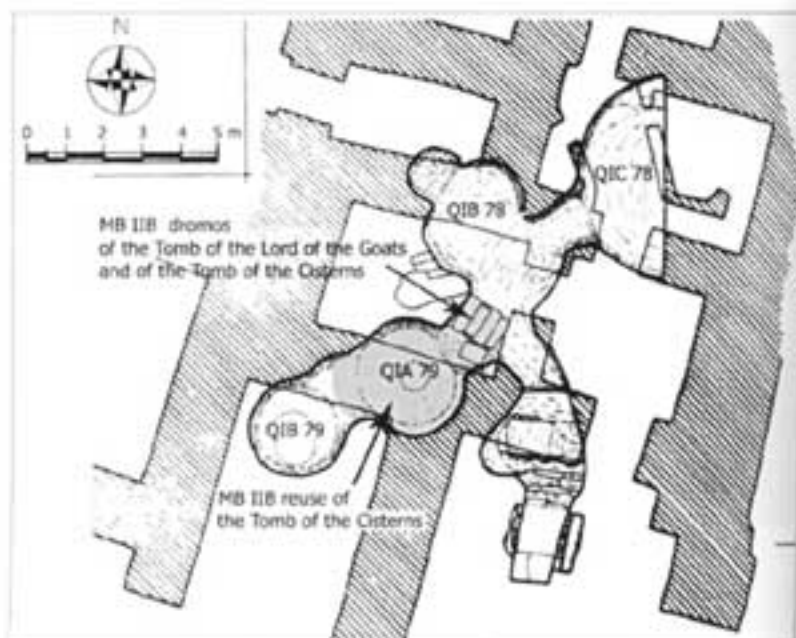


Fig. 11- Plan of the Royal Hypogaea at Ebla after the building of the monumental dromos for the last use of Tomb of the Cisterns (end of Middle Bronze IIB, 1625-1600 BC).

Moreover, the Tomb was heavily looted during the final Hittite attack at Ebla³⁹.

Nevertheless, some marks in the walls of the chamber and a close examination of what was left of the ceramic equipment inside it, revealed the existence of an early burial, almost contemporary to that of the Tomb of the Princess, and a later one, attributable to the last decades of the Middle Bronze at Ebla⁴⁰.

The earliest burial (Q.79.A) gave back some amazing items, pointing to the presence of a lord or a king also in this hypogeum. The most noticeable was a club, an emblem of royal power (**Fig. 12**)⁴¹, consisting



Fig. 12- The club from the earliest burial in the Tomb of the Cisterns at Ebla (copyright Ebla Expedition), and the golden knife inlaid with the same decorative technique found in Tomb II at Byblos (after Montet 1929a, pl. CII, n. 655).

of a fine limestone mace-head (TM.79.Q.148) with an ivory shaft including a golden and silver cylinder inlaid with exactly the same decorative technique as the handle of a golden knife found in Tomb II at Byblos (**Fig. 12**)⁴². Though not inscribed, this royal symbol may be considered a Pharaohic gift like the sceptre found in the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, with which we are dealing with in a while, and the similarity with the knife found in Tomb II at Byblos corroborates a dating around 1800 BC for the earliest royal burial in the Tomb of the Cisterns to which it presumably belonged.

In this hypogeum also a bronze vessel (**Fig. 7**)⁴³ almost identical to the already mentioned specimens from the Montet Jar at Byblos and the two sardonix and calcite specimens from the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla was found, thus remarking the connection of the two earliest Eblaite princely tombs (**Tab. 2**).

As regards the pottery assemblage, the earliest burial in the Tomb of the Cisterns was characterized by the presence of a collared bowl⁴⁴ and two Orange Burnished Ware jugs⁴⁵, like the one found in the Tomb of the Princess.

Archaeological Periodization	Dating	Ebla		Byblos	Egypt	
Middle Bronze IA (2000-1900 BC)	2000-1980	Mardikh IIIA1	Igrish-Kheb	-	Mentu-hotep III Mentu-hotep IV	XI Dyn. (2119-1976)
	1980-1960		Ibbit-Lim	-	Amenemhat I	XII Dyn. (1976-1794/93)
	1960-1940		-	-	Sesostris I	
	1940-1920		Ib-Damu	-		
	1920-1900			-	Amenemhat II	
Middle Bronze IB (1900-1800 BC)	1900-1880	Mardikh IIIA2		-		
	1880-1860			-	Sesostris II Sesostris III	
	1860-1840		-	-	Amenemhat III (1853-1806 BC)	
	1840-1820		-	Abi-Shemu (Tomb I)		
	1820-1800		early T. of Cisterns & T. of the Princess	Ipy-Shemu-Abi (Tomb II)	Amenemhat IV (1806-1797 BC)	
Middle Bronze IIA (1800-1700 BC)	1800-1780	Mardikh IIIB1	-		Pharaohs from Wegaf to Neben-nu	XIII Dyn. (1794/93-1648/45)
	1780-1760		Immeya T. Lord of the Goats	Yakin-el (Tomb III)	Hotep-ib-râ (1774 - 1764)	
	1760-1740		[Hammu-x]	Yantin-Ammu (Tomb IV)	Pharaohs from Sebek- hotep I to Sebek-hotep III	
	1740-1720		-	Ilima-yapi	Nefer-hotep I (1741-1730)	
	1720-1700		-	Abi-Shemu II	Pharaohs from Si-hathor to Ini	
Middle Bronze IIB (1700-1600 BC)	1700-1680	Mardikh IIIB2	-	-		XIV Dyn. (? -1648/45) XV Dyn. (1648/45-1539/36)
	1680-1660		-	-		
	1660-1640		-	-		
	1640-1620		-	-	-	
	1620-1600		Imdilingur & late T. of the Cisterns	-	-	

Tab. 2- Chronological correlation between Ebla rulers, Byblos and Egypt Pharaohs in the first half of II millennium BC.

5. The Tomb of the Lord of the Goats – King Immeya

The third major princely tomb at Ebla, the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats is the main royal burial discovered underneath the Western Palace, including two depositional chambers (Fig. 13), accessible through a vertical shaft and hosting an articulated funerary equipment, unfortunately partly removed and disrupted⁴⁶. As stated above, the structure of the tomb was successively modified due to the insertion of the *dromos* at the joint with the adjacent Tomb of the Cisterns⁴⁷.

A major find in the tomb is a silver bowl (TM.78.Q.497), decorated with two applied hands and an 'ankh (Fig. 14), symbol of Egyptian inspiration, with a cuneiform inscription bearing the name of the owner, "Immeya", most likely the king of Ebla buried into the tomb⁴⁸. The shape belongs to a classic Middle Bronze type of Syro-Palestinian metallic bowls called "Gublite" from Byblos, which have one of their earliest example in the silver specimen retrieved in the Montet Jar⁴⁹.

The king of Ebla was buried with several ceremonial weapons among which two fenestrated axes of the broad type, with median triple ridge⁵⁰, and one duck-bill axe⁵¹, of the slightly later type. A detailed review of such class of weapons in the Levant⁵², points to a dating around 1800 BC for the two axes of the broad type and to a date around 1750 for the duck-bill one. Since Byblos is one of the places which provided the largest number and typological variety of such weapons, one may here also recall for comparisons at Ebla the burial of a smith which included the moulds for the fusion of broad fenestrated axes⁵³, very similar to the renown golden specimens with central ridge found in the votive deposits of the Temple of the Obelisks dating from Abi-shemu times⁵⁴.

A small but outstanding find belonged to the Lord of the Goats is a golden and silver inlaid snake (TM.78.Q.430+TM.81.Q.123)⁵⁵, which, for its shape and dimensions, recalls the *ureus* of the Egyptian harpé found in Tomb II at Byblos⁵⁶. The "niello" technique of the inlay is the same, as well as the shape of the snake head to be placed in the apex of a ceremonial sword.

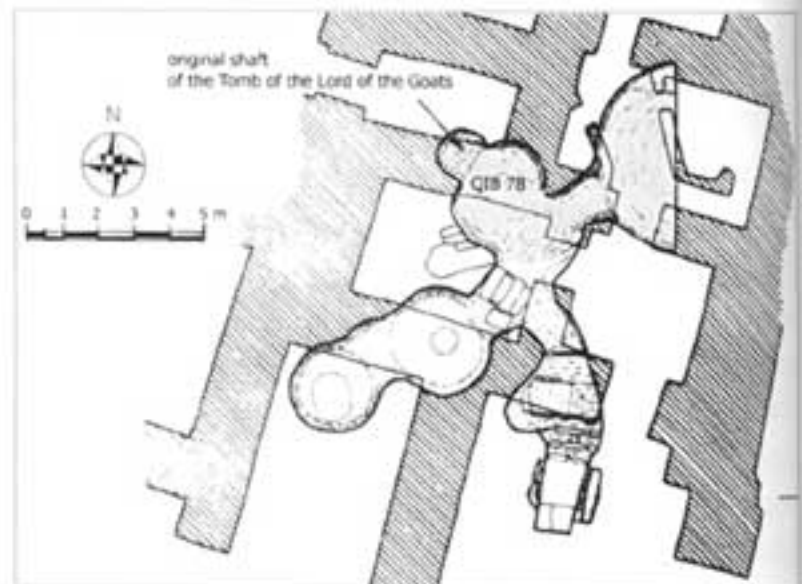


Fig. 13- Plan showing the original shaft of the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats.

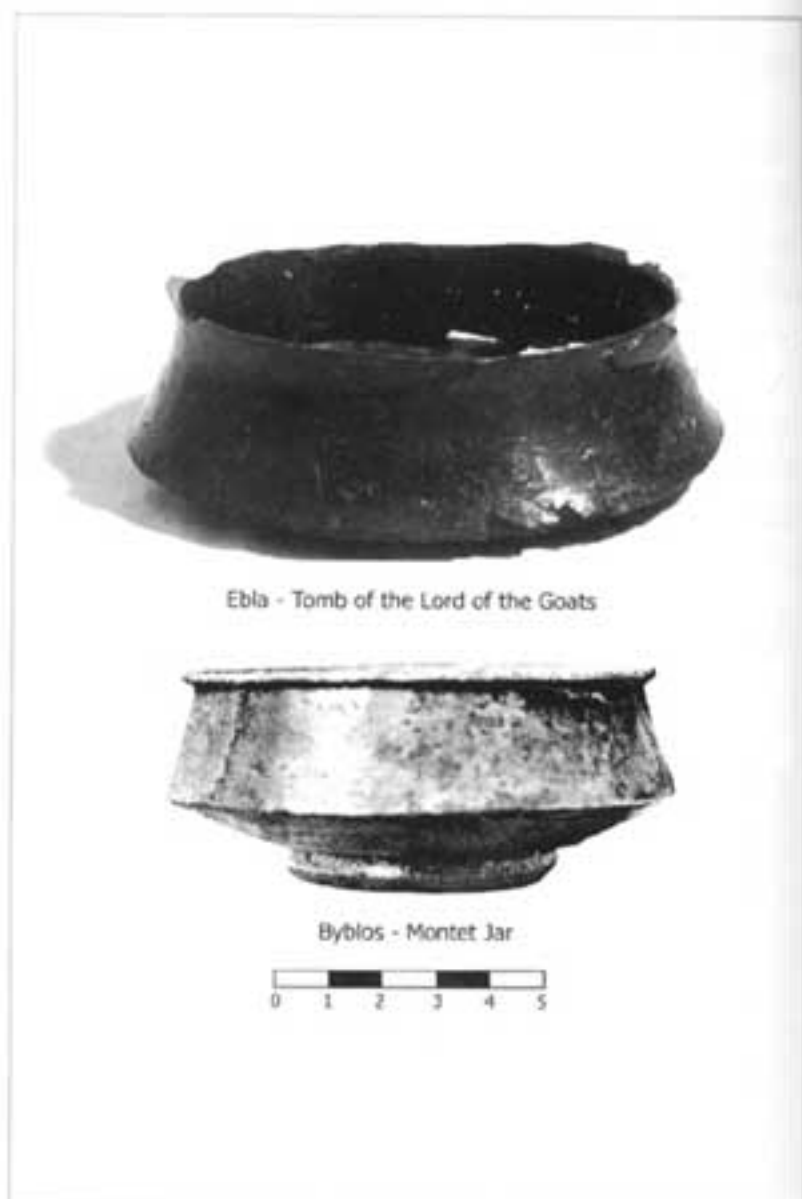


Fig. 14- The silver bowl (TM.78.Q.497) of King "Immeya" from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats at Ebla (copyright Ebla Expedition), and the similar silver specimen retrieved in the Montet Jar at Byblos (after Montet 1929a, pl. LXXI, n. 605).

Moreover, the granulation and filigree technique visible on a golden shaft (TM.78.Q.420) from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats⁵⁷ finds a series of possible parallels in some similar shafts from a deposit of the Temple of the Obelisks (**Fig. 15**)⁵⁸, also dating from the beginning of the 18th century BC⁵⁹. From the same princely burial of the Lord of the Goats comes a series of golden tubular beads (TM.78.Q.413)⁶⁰, of a distinguished type which may be compared with similar specimens found in Tomb III at Byblos⁶¹, dating to the first half of the 18th century.

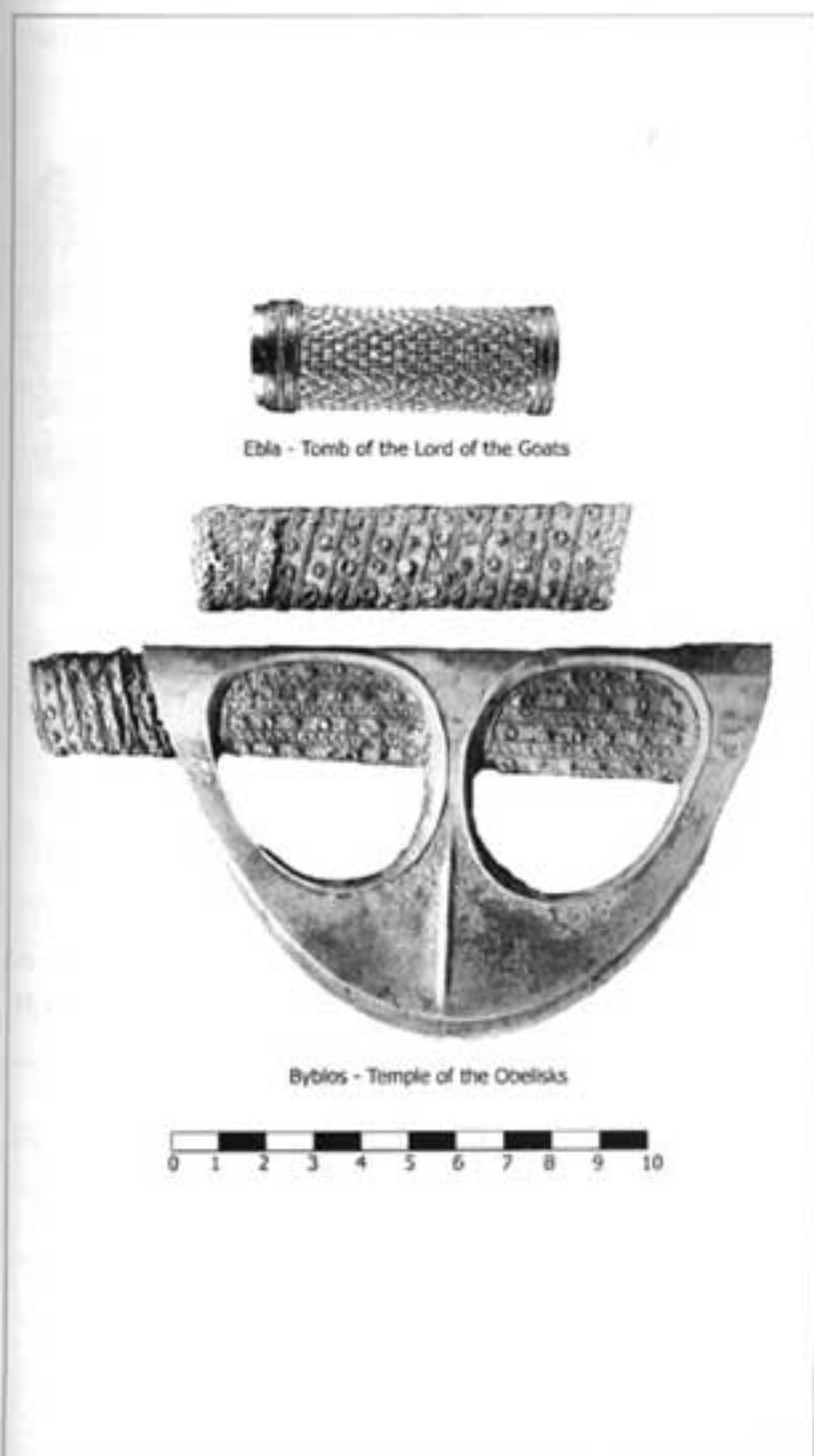


Fig. 15- The golden shaft (TM.78.Q.420) from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats at Ebla (copyright Ebla Expedition), and two similar shafts from a deposit of the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos (after Byblos II, pl. CXXXIV, ns. 16708 and 16720).

6. The Ebla Synchronism: Hotep-ib-ra's sceptre

Anyhow, the basic chronological pinpoint offered by the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats is the magnificent club with an ivory, golden and silver shaft with inlaid the name of Hotep-ib-ra Hornerjeryatef (TM.78.Q.453; **Fig. 16**)⁶², the 9th Pharaoh of the XIII Dynasty, who reigned between 1770-1760 BC⁶³. This symbolic emblem of royal power provides a *terminus post quem* of around 1770 BC to the whole burial equipment. Since the sceptre proved to have been repaired in antiquity at a certain point, one may surmise that it was in use for a long time before being buried in the Tomb of King Immeja, and thus



Fig. 16- The club of Pharaoh Hotep-ib-ra Hornerjeryatef (TM.78.Q.453) from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats at Ebla (copyright Ebla Expedition).

one may suggest that a reasonable time span for the closing of the tomb is 1760-1740 BC. The Eblaite relative sequence might, thus, be anchored to such an absolute reference point (**Tab. 2**).

7. The Byblos synchronism: Neferhotep and Yantin-Ammu

Also Byblos provides a fundamental synchronism with the XIII Dynasty, which allows to link Mesopotamian chronology with the apparently more reliable Egyptian one. A relief fragment⁶⁴ found by M. Dunand (**Fig. 17**) bears an inscription of Pharaoh Nefer-hotep I, a successor of Hotepibra (the 22nd Pharaoh of the XIII Dynasty), who reigned between 1741-1730 BC⁶⁵. This inscription quotes a king of Byblos called "Entin", probably the same Yantin-Ammu buried in Tomb IV (see above note 12)⁶⁶. A personage bearing the same name Yantin-Ammu is, in fact, mentioned in a letter from Mari at the time of Zimri-Lim⁶⁷.

In order to make functioning this epigraphically based synchronism pivoted on Yantin-Ammu connecting Egypt, Byblos and Mesopotamia, one may put forward two hypothesis: 1) if one adopts Middle Chronology, King Yantin-Ammu would be first a contemporary of Zimri-Lim, who reigned between 1775-1758 BC, and then he was mentioned on Pharaoh Neferhotep's relief, thus reigning at least 16 years until 1742 BC, but possibly some years more; 2) conversely, if one adopts Mesopotamian Low Chronology, Yantin-Ammu would have been

first quoted in Neferhotep's monument, and, after 20 years of reign, he became a contemporary of Zimri-Lim. Ultra Low Chronology may very difficultly match such a synchronism (there is even a third possibility, that there were two or more Yantin-Ammu, and in this case we would be not able to obtain any further absolute indication).



Fig. 17- The relief fragment found in Bâtiment I at Byblos with the inscription of Pharaoh Nefer-hotep I (after Byblos I, n. 3065, fig. 183, pl. XXX).

8. Conclusions

Archaeological observations (parallels and co-occurrences) so far illustrated allow to draw out the following sketch connecting Ebla, Byblos, Egypt and Mari in an absolute chronological perspective (Tab. 3). The Byblos synchronism and its Eblaite counterpart do not support automatically Low Chronology and may still be valid in a Middle Chronology system. In any case, one should perhaps be satisfied with the relative connections, which in general but substantial historical terms show how strong and enduring were the relationships between Ebla, Byblos and Pharaohnic

Egypt during the first centuries of the 2nd millennium BC, when a new geo-political and cultural system affected the Levant.

Dating	Ebla	Byblos	Egypt	Yamkhad	Mari	Babylon	Anatolia
2000-1980	Igrish-Kheb	-	Mentu-hotep III Mentu-hotep IV	-	Hanun-Dagan	-	-
1980-1960	Ibbit-Lim	-	Pharaohs of XII Dyn. (1976-1793) Amenemhat I	-	Isi-Dagan Ennum-Dagan	-	-
1960-1940	-	-	Sesostris I	-	Itûr-x, Amer-Nunnu Ter-Dagan, Dagan-x	-	-
1940-1920	Ib-Damu	-		-	-	-	-
1920-1900		-	Amenemhat II	-	-	-	Karum II (1920-1840)
1900-1880		-		-	-	Sumu-Abum (1894-1881)	
1880-1860		-	Sesostris II Sesostris III	-	-	Sumu-la-El (1880-1845)	
1860-1840	-	-	Amenemhat III (1853-1806 BC)	-	-	Sabium (1844-1831)	Karum Ia (1850-1800)
1840-1820	-	Abi-Shemu (Tomb I)		-	Yaggid-Lim (around 1820)	Apil-Sin (1830-1813)	
1820-1800		Ipy-Shemu-Abi (Tomb II)	Amenemhat IV (1806-1797 BC)	Sumu-epukh	Yakhdun-Lin (1815-1799)	Sin-muballit (1812-1793)	
1800-1780	-		Pharaohs of XIII Dyn. (1794-1645) from Wegaf to Neben-nu	Yarim-Lim I (1790-1770)	Yasmakh-Addu (1798-1775)	Hammurabi (1792-1750)	Karum Ib (1800-1780)
1780-1760	Immeiya	Yakin-el (Tomb III)	Hotep-ib-râ (1774 - 1764)	Hammurabi I (1770-1750)	Zimri-Lim (1775-1758)		-
1760-1740	[Hammu-x]	Yantin-Ammu (Tomb IV)	Pharaohs from Sebek- hotep I to Sebek-hotep III	Abba-El (1750-1720)	-	Samsu-iluna (1749-1712)	-
1740-1720	-	Ilima-yapi	Nefer-hotep I (1741-1730)		-	Abi-esukh (1711-1684)	-
1720-1700	-	Abi-Shemu II		Yarim-Lim II (1720-1700)	-	Abi-esukh (1711-1684)	-
1700-1680	-	-		Niqmi-epukh	-		-
1680-1660	-	-		Irkabtum	-	Ammi-ditana (1683-1647)	-
1660-1640	-	-	XIV Dyn. (-1645)	Yarim-Lim III	-	Ammi-saduqa (1646-1626)	-
1640-1620	-	-	XV Dyn. (1645-1536)		-		-
1620-1600	Imdilingur	-		Hammurabi II	-	Samsu-ditana (1625-1595)	-

Tab. 3- Chronological correlation in the ancient Near East in the first half of II millennium BC.

Notes

1- I wish to deeply thank friends and colleagues who carried out the International Symposium of Beirut, which surely will become a benchmark in Lebanese archaeology: Claude Doumet, Claude Asfar, Vassos Karagheorgis, and the friends of the DGA of Beirut, the General Director, Frédéric Hussein, Anne-Marie Afeiche, and Assaad Seif. The paper was read by my pupil Dr Maura Sala, who I sincerely thank.

2- Matthiae 1979a, 149-178; 1980a, 107-117; 1980b, 5-11; 1982a; 1982c; 1982d; 1985, pl. 69; 1995a, 162-171, figs. 37-38; 1997, 384-387, fig. 14.4. The historical-archaeological periodization adopted in this paper is the following: Middle Bronze I (2000-1800 BC), Middle Bronze II (1800-1600 BC; Matthiae 1995a, 54-56, 133-135, figs. 9, 26; 2000; Nigro 2002a; 2002b; 2007). Middle Chronology (Hammurabi's reign between 1792-1750 BC; Liverani 1988, 403-407, pl. XIII; 12th Dynasty of Egypt between 1776-1794/93, according to J. von Beckerath 1997, 131-135, 189) is followed only as a mere conventional system.

3- Matthiae 1979a, 138-149; 1979b; 1980a, 99-107; 1980b, 11-20; 1980c; 1982b; 1982c; 1995a, 175-186, fig. 41; 1997, 396-398.

4- Matthiae 1979a, 148; 1980c, Nigro 2009, § 1.2.2.1.

5- Matthiae 1985, 118-119; 1995b, 678; 2006; 2007; Klengel 1992, 80-83.

6- Virolleaud 1922; Montet 1928, 143-214; 1929a, pls LXXII-CXXVII; *Byblos* I, pl. XXVIII; Jidejian 1968, 26-35, pls 36-50, 52-59, 62.

7- Pinnock 2007, 124-126.

8- Tomb I was attributed to the father of the King Ipy-Shemu-Abi, which is the owner of Tomb II, that is Abi-Shemu (Montet 1928, 174-176).

9- The sword is a bronze harpè (Montet 1928, 174-177, n. 653; 1929a, pl. XCIX); while the pendant is decorated with the cloisonné technique (Montet 1928, 165-166, n. 618; 1929a, pls XCVII, CXXXIV; *Liban*, 87).

10- Albright 1964, 41.

11- Albright 1945, 11.

12- The name Entin (abbreviated form of Yantin[-Ammu] cited in the Mari Archives; Dossin 1939, 111; Albright 1945,

9-10, 12), "prince of Byblos", was read on a fragmentary alabaster vessel (Albright 1964, 39-40) retrieved in Tomb IV (Montet 1927, 88, fig. 3; 1928, 196, n. 787; 1929a, pl. CXVII). The same prince is cited on the monumental bas-relief retrieved by M Dunand in *Bâtiment I* in 1927 (*Byblos* I, 197-198, n. 3065, pl. XXX), together with the cartouche of Pharaoh Neferhotep I (fig. 17), the 22nd Pharaoh of XIII dynasty (von Beckerath 1964, 55-56; 1997, 136-138).

13- Montet 1927; 1928, 196-199, 203, fig. 88; Albright 1964, 39-41.

14- Virolleaud 1922, 284-286, pl. LXVII; Montet 1928, 155-157, n. 610; 1929a, pls LXXXVIII-LXXXIX; *Liban*, 72.

15- Montet 1928, 157-159, n. 611, figs. 68-69; 1929a, pls LXXXVIII-XC; *Liban*, 72.

16- Montet 1928, 159-161, n. 614, fig. 70; 1929a, pl. XCI.

17- Matthiae 1979a, 1949-1962; 1980a, 99; 1980b, 11; Nigro 2009, § 3.

18- Matthiae 1979a, 160-61; 1984, pls. 77, 81; 1981; 1997, 407-409; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 468-470 (ns. 390-394); Nigro 2009, § 1.2.3.1.

19- Matthiae 1981, 210-211, fig. 46; 1997, 407, fig. 14.26; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 469 (n. 391).

20- Montet 1928, 170, n. 635; 1929a, pl. XCVII. The Tomb of the Princess at Ebla and Royal Tombs I and II at Byblos are almost contemporary (Albright 1964; Tufnell 1969; Matthiae 1979a, 162, note 63).

21- Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 468 (n. 390).

22- Montet 1928, 170-171, ns. 636, 640-643; 1929a, pls XCVI-XCVII, CXXXIV; *Liban*, 73.

23- Matthiae 1984, pl. 80:a; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 502 (n. 466).

24- Matthiae 1979, 161-162, fig. 62a-b; Nigro 2009, § 1.2.3.2.

25- Montet 1928, 125, n. 608; 1929a, pl. LXXI; a fourth bottle of the same type was retrieved in the Tomb of the Cisterns (see below § 4).

26- Porada 1966, 257-258; Albright 1966, 27, note 3; Tufnell – Ward 1966, 224-227; Matthiae 1979a, 161-162; Bietak 1989, 88; 1991, 54.

- 27- Matthiae 1985, pl. 71b.
- 28- Matthiae 1979a, 158; 1985, pl. 71a; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 456 (n. 369); Nigro 2009, § 1.2.3.2.
- 29- Özguç 1966, 42, 48, figs. 5-6, pl. XXIII:3a-b.
- 30- Matthiae *et al.* 1966, 113-129, pl. XLVI:1; Matthiae 1984, 110-111, figs. 95, 97, pl. 59; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 421 (n. 290).
- 31- *Byblos II*, 853, pls CXXXVI: 16695, CXXXIV; *Liban*, 85.
- 32- Matthiae 1995, 191-192, pls 127-128.
- 33- Matthiae 1979a, 158-159, figs. I-L, P, 55-57; 1984, pls 71, 75, 76:b-c, 81.
- 34- Like the similar specimen retrieved in the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, TM.78.QIB.31 (Matthiae 1979a, pl. O:2), and the two ones found in the Tomb of the Cisterns, TM.79.QIB.1 and TM.79.QIB.10.
- 35- Pézard 1931, pl. XLI; Nigro 2003a, 355-359.
- 36- Montet 1928, 200, n. 793; 1929a, pl. CXIX.
- 37- Matthiae 1980a, 105-107; Nigro 2009, § 1.4.
- 38- Nigro 2009, § 1.4.1.1.
- 39- Matthiae 1980a, 99-102; 1982a; 1982b; 1985, 118-119; 1995b, 678; 2006, 41; 2007.
- 40- This discovery was made during the preparation of my PhD Thesis, under the tutorage of Prof. Paolo Matthiae: Nigro 2009, § 1.4.
- 41- Matthiae 1984, pl. 84e, where it is suggested that this originally belonged to the funerary equipment of the Lord of the Goats; however, its finding spot and the identification of an earlier burial also in the Tomb of the Cisterns make no more necessary to attribute this important item to the latter: Nigro 2009, § 1.4.3.4.
- 42- Montet 1928, 180, n. 655; 1929a, pl. CII.
- 43- Nigro 2009, § 1.4.3.2.
- 44- TM.79.QIA/8; Nigro 2009, pl. 31:3.
- 45- TM.79.QIB.1 and TM.79.QIB.10: Nigro 2009, pl. 33:1-2 (see above note 34).
- 46- Matthiae 1979a, 162-178; Nigro 2009, § 1.3.
- 47- This transformation took place during MB IIB (around 1750 BC): Nigro 2009, § 1.3.1.3.
- 48- Archi – Matthiae 1979; Matthiae 1984, pl. 84a-d; Nigro 2009, § 1.3.3.6.
- 49- Montet 1928, 125, n. 605; 1929a, pl. LXXI. On this diagnostic Levantine MB I ceramic shape and its metallic prototypes see: Nigro 2000, 1192-1193; 2002a, 301; 2002b, 102.
- 50- Matthiae 1980d, 57-62, figs 10, 12; 1984, pl. 83b; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 425 (n. 297), Nigro 2003a, 345-349; 2009, § 1.3.3.4.
- 51- Matthiae 1980d, 56-57, fig. 11; Matthiae 1985, pl. 83a; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 423 (n. 293).
- 52- Nigro 2003b, 10-26; Tubb 2007: 532-533.
- 53- Baffi Guardata 1988, 6; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 439 (n. 309); Nigro 2003a, 345-349.
- 54- Specimens ns. 14436 and 14438 (*Byblos II*, 694-695, pls CXX-CXXI), n. 16708 (*Byblos II*, 855-856, pl. CXXXIV), ns. 16709 and 16712 (*Byblos II*, 856, pl. CXXXVII); Nigro 2003b, 20, figs. 13-16.
- 55- Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 484 (n. 405-406).
- 56- Montet 1928, 174-177, n. 653; 1929a, pl. XCIX; *Liban*, 56.
- 57- Matthiae 1984, pl. 82f-g; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 466 (n. 385).
- 58- Specimens ns. 16708 (*Byblos II*, 855-856, pl. CXXXIV), and 16720 (*Byblos II*, 857, pl. CXXXIV).
- 59- The observations by C. Lilyquist (1993) are no more reliable from a chronological point of view (see also Dever 1992, 8, 37). This kind of refined decoration was already attested to at Ebla in the Tomb of the Princess (Matthiae 1984, pls 77a and 81).
- 60- Matthiae 1981, 216-217, fig. 55; 1985, 122, pl. 79a; Matthiae – Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 471 (n. 395); Nigro 2009, § 1.3.3.2.
- 61- Montet 1928, 169-170; n. 627; 1929a, pl. XCIV.
- 62- Scandone Matthiae 1979; 1987; 1997, 417-418, fig. 15.4; Matthiae 1984, pl. 80b-e; 1980a, 100; Matthiae

– Pinnock – Scandone Matthiae eds. 1995, 464-465 (ns. 383-384); Nigro 2009, § 1.3.3.5.

63- Kitchen 1996, 34; according to von Beckerath 1774-1764 BC (1964, 39-40, 231-232; 1997, 137-138); according to Ryholt 1791-1788 (1997, 97, tav. 36). Ryholt's criticisms on Hotep-ib-ra's club are not based upon a direct examination of the item.

64- *Byblos I*, 197-198, n. 3065, pl. XXX.

65- Von Beckerath 1964, 55-56; 1997, 136. According to Ryholt 1742-1731 (Ryholt 1997, 86-90).

66- Albright 1945; 1964, 39-42; Klengel 1992, 45; Ryholt 1997, 86-90.

67- Dossin 1939, 111; Limet 1984, 193-195.

Bibliography

- Albright, W. F. 1945.** "An Indirect Synchronism Between Egypt and Mesopotamia, cir. 1730 B.C.", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 99: 9-18.
- **1964.** "The Eighteenth-Century Princes of Byblos and the Chronology of Middle Bronze", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 176: 38-46.
- **1966.** "Remarks on the Chronology of Early Bronze IV-Middle Bronze II A in Phoenicia and Syria-Palestine", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 184: 26-35.
- Archì, A. – Matthiae, P. 1979.** "Una coppa d'argento con iscrizione cuneiforme dalla "Tomba del Signore dei Capridi", *Studi Eblaïti* 1: 191-193.
- Baffi Guardata, F. 1988.** "Les Sépultures d'Ébla à l'Âge du Bronze Moyen", in H. Waetzoldt – H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla. Akten der Internationalen Tagung Heidelberg 4-7 November 1986*, HSAO 2, Heidelberg: 3-20.
- Beckerath, J. von 1964.** *Untersuchungen zur politische Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, Ägyptologische Forschungen Heft 23, Glückstadt.
- **1997.** *Die Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Band 46, Mainz am Rhein.
- Bietak, M. 1989.** "The Middle Bronze Age of the Levant - A New Approach to Relative and Absolute Chronology", in P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987*, Part 3, Gothenburg: 78-123.
- **1991.** "Egypt and Caanan During the Middle Bronze Age", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 281: 27-71.
- Byblos I.** M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos. Tome I. 1926-1932*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 24, Paris 1937-1939.
- Byblos II.** M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos. Tome II. 1923-1938*, Études et documents d'archéologie III, Paris 1950-1958.
- Dever, W. G. 1992.** "The Chronology of Syria-Palestine in the Second Millennium B.C.E.: A Review of Current Issues", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 288: 1-25.
- Dossin, G. 1939.** "Les archives économiques du Palais de Mari", *Syria* 20: 97-113.
- Jidejian, N. 1968.** *Byblos through the Ages*, Beirut.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1996.** "Regnal and Genealogical Data of Ancient Egypt", in M. Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronization of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Second Millennium B.C.* Symposium held at Schloß Haindorf/Langenlois, Lower Austria, November 15-17, 1996, Wien: 23-41.
- Klengel, H. 1992.** *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C. A Handbook of Political History*, Berlin.
- Liban.** *Liban l'autre rive. Exposition présentée à l'Institut de monde du 27 octobre 1998 au 2 mai 1999*, Paris 1998.
- Limet, H. 1984.** "Documents relatifs au fer à Mari", *M.A.R.I.* 3: 191-196.
- Liverani, M. 1988.** *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*, Roma-Bari.
- Lyliquist, C. 1993.** "Granulation and Glass: Chronological and Stylistic Investigations at Selected Sites, ca. 2500-1400 B.C.", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 291: 29-94.
- Matthiae, P. 1979a.** "Scavi a Tell Mardikh-Ebla, 1978. Rapporto sommario", *Studi Eblaïti* 1: 129-184.
- **1979b.** "Princely Cemetery and Ancestors Cult at Ebla during Middle Bronze II: A Proposal of Interpretation", *Ugarit Forschungen* 11: 563-569.
- **1980a.** "Campagne de fouilles à Ébla en 1979: les tombes princières et le palais de la ville basse à l'époque amorrhéenne", *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1980: 93-118.
- **1980b.** "Fouilles à Tell Mardikh-Ebla, 1978: Le Bâtiment Q et la nécropole princière du Bronze Moyen II", *Akkadica* 17: 1-52.
- **1980c.** "L'area cimiteriale principesca nella città bassa di Ebla amorrea", *La Parola del Passato* 35: 212-231.

Matthiae, P. 1980d. "Sulle asce fenestrate del "Signore dei Capridi", *Studi Eblaïti* 3: 53-62.

_____ **1981.** "Osservazioni sui gioielli delle tombe principesche di Mardikh IIIB", *Studi Eblaïti* 4: 205-225.

_____ **1982a.** "Fouilles à Tell Mardikh-Ebla, 1980: Le Palais Occidental de l'époque amorrhéenne", *Akkadica* 28: 41-87.

_____ **1982b.** "Die Fürstengräber des Palastes Q in Ebla", *Antike Welt* 13: 2-14.

_____ **1982c.** "A New Palatial Building and the Princely Tombs of Middle Bronze I-II at Ebla", in H. Klengel (ed.), *Gesellschaft und Kultur im Alten Vorderasien. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 15, Berlin: 187-194.

_____ **1982d.** "The Western Palace of the Lower City of Ebla: A New Administrative Building of Middle Bronze I-II", in: *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Wien, 6.-10. July 1981*, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 19, Wien: 121-129.

_____ **1985.** *I tesori di Ebla* (2nd Edition), Roma-Bari.

_____ **1995a.** *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Saggi 719, Torino.

_____ **1995b.** "Fouilles à Ebla en 1993-1994: les Palais de la Ville Basse Nord", *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1995: 651-681.

_____ **1997.** "Ebla and Syria in the Middle Bronze Age", in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, Philadelphia: 379-314.

_____ **2000.** "Studies in the Relative and Absolute Chronology of Syria in the IInd Millennium B.C. An Integrated Parallel Project", in: *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Proceedings of an International Symposium at Schloß Haindorf, 15th-17th November 1996 and at the Austrian Academy, Vienna, 11-12 of May 1998, Wien: 136-139.

_____ **2006.** "Archaeology of a Destruction: The End of MBII Ebla in the Light of Myth and History", in E. Czerny et al. (eds.), *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, Volume III, Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA.: 39-51.

Matthiae, P. 2007. "The Destruction of Old Syrian Ebla at the End of Middle Bronze II. New Historical Data", in P. Matthiae – L. Nigro – L. Peyronel – F. Pinnock (eds.) 2007: 5-32.

Matthiae, P. et al. 1966. *Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria. Rapporto preliminare della Campagna 1965 (Tell Mardikh)*, Roma.

P. Matthiae – F. Pinnock – G. Scandone Matthiae (eds.) 1995. *Ebla. Alle origini della civiltà urbana*, Milano.

P. Matthiae – L. Nigro – L. Peyronel – F. Pinnock (eds.) 2007. *Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Relative Chronology to Absolute Chronology: the Second Millennium BC in Syria-Palestine (Rome, 29th November - 1st December 2001)*, Rome.

Montet, P. 1927. "Un Egyptien, roi de Byblos, sous la XII^e dynastie. Étude sur deux scarabées de la collection de Clercq", *Syria* 8: 85-92.

_____ **1928.** *Byblos et l'Égypte. Quatre Campagnes des fouilles à Gebeil 1921-1922-1923-1924. Texte*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 11, Paris.

_____ **1929a.** *Byblos et l'Égypte. Quatre Campagnes des fouilles à Gebeil 1921-1922-1923-1924. Atlas*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 11, Paris.

_____ **1929b.** "Sur quelques objets provenant de Byblos", *Syria* 10: 12-15.

Nigro, L. 2000. "Coordinating the Middle Bronze I Pottery Chronology of Syria and Palestine", in P. Matthiae – A. Enea – L. Peyronel – F. Pinnock (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, May 18th-23rd 1998*, Roma: 1187-1210.

_____ **2002a.** "The MB Pottery Horizon of Tell Mardikh/Ancient Ebla in a Chronological Perspective", in M. Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant. Proceedings of an International Conference on MB IIA Ceramic Material. Vienna 24th-26th of January 2001*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band XXVI, Wien: 297-328.

_____ **2002b.** "The Middle Bronze Age Pottery Horizon of Northern Inner Syria on the Basis of the Stratified Assemblages of Ebla and Hama", in M. al-Maqdissi – V. Matoian – C. Nicolle, *Céramique de l'Âge du*

Bronze en Syrie I. La Syrie du Sud et la Vallée de l'Oronte, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique T. 161, Beyrouth 2002: 77-131.

_____ **2003a**. "The Smith and the King of Ebla. Tell el Yahudiyeh Ware, Metallic Wares and the Ceramic Chronology of Middle Bronze Syria", in M. Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II*. Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 – EuroConference, Haindorf 2nd of May – 7th of May 2001, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band XXIX, Wien: 345-363.

_____ **2003b**. "L'ascia fenestrata e il pugnale venato: due tipologie di armi d'apparato dell'età del Bronzo Medio in Palestina", *Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie* XXIII: 7-42.

_____ **2007**. "Towards a Unified Chronology of Syria and Palestine: The Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age", in P. Matthiae – L. Nigro – L. Peyronel – F. Pinnock (eds.) 2007: 365-389.

_____ **2009**. *I corredi vascolari delle Tombe Reali di Ebla e la cronologia ceramica della Siria interna nel Bronzo Medio*, Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla VIII, Rome.

Özgüç, **1966**. "Excavations at Acem Hüyük", *Anadolu* 10: 29-52.

Pézar, **M. 1931**. *Qadesh. Mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend, 1921-1922*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 15, Paris.

Pinnock, **F. 2007**. "Byblos and Ebla in the 3rd millennium BC. Two urban patterns in comparison", in L. Nigro (ed.), *Byblos and Jericho in the Early Bronze I: social dynamics and cultural interactions. Proceedings of the International Workshop held in Rome on March 7th 2006*, by Rome "La Sapienza" University, Rome «La Sapienza» Studies on the Archaeology of Palestine & Transjordan, 4 Rome: 109-133.

Porada, **E. 1966**. "Les cylindres de la Jarre Montet", *Syria* 43: 243-258.

Ryholt, **K. S. B. 1997**. *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 B.C.*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20, Copenhagen.

Scandone Matthiae, **G. 1979**. "Un oggetto faraonico della XIII dinastia dalla 'Tomba del Signore dei Capridi' ", *Studi Eblaiti* 1: 119-128.

_____ **1987**. "The Mace of the Pharaoh Hotepibra and the connections between Egypt and Syria-Palestine during the XIIIth Dynasty", in S. Shaath (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine*, Vol. II, Aleppo: 49-58.

_____ **1997**. "The Relations between Ebla and Egypt", in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, University Museum Monographs 96, Philadelphia: 415-427.

Tubb, **J. 2007**. "The Duckbill Axe as a Cultural and Chronological Indicator", in P. Matthiae – L. Nigro – L. Peyronel – F. Pinnock (eds.) 2007: 531-539.

Tufnell, **O. 1969**. "The Pottery from Royal Tombs I-III at Byblos", *Berytus* 18: 5-33.

Tufnell, **O. – Ward, W. A. 1966**. "Relations between Byblos, Egypt and Mesopotamia at the End of the Third Millennium B.C.", *Syria* 43: 161-241.

Virolleaud, **C. 1922**. "Découverte a Byblos d'un hypogée de la douzième dynastie égyptienne", *Syria* 3: 273-290.