



The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

Cultures in Contact

From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean
in the Second Millennium B.C.

Edited by
Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK
DISTRIBUTED BY YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW HAVEN AND LONDON

Most of the essays published in this volume were presented at “The Raymond and Beverly Sackler Symposium: Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.,” held on December 18 and 19, 2008, and “The Friends of Inanna Scholars’ Day Workshop,” held on February 4, 2009. George Bass’ and Cheryl Ward’s essays were part of the Charles K. Wilkinson Lectures “Ships and Shipwrecks,” held on December 17, 2008. Aslihan Yener’s essay is based on a lecture given in the series the Armand Brunswick Distinguished Lectures in Archaeology of The Raymond and Beverly Sackler Foundation, Inc., held on December 18, 2008. Gary Beckman’s essay was included in the Sunday at the Met program “Anatolia in the Time of the Hittites,” held on February 22, 2009. All the lectures were held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The Raymond and Beverly Sackler Symposium and the Armand Brunswick Distinguished Lectures in Archaeology were made possible by The Raymond and Beverly Sackler Foundation, Inc. The Scholars’ Day Workshop was made possible by the Friends of Inanna. The Charles K. Wilkinson Lectures were made possible by the many friends of Charles K. Wilkinson and of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

This publication is made possible by The Hagop Kevorkian Fund and by The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager of Publications
Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager
Michael Sittenfeld, Managing Editor
Robert Weisberg, Senior Project Manager

Edited by Alexandra Bonfante-Warren
Production by Douglas Malicki
Bibliography by Jayne Kuchna and Penny Jones
Maps on pp. viii–ix, 55, 74, 75, 80 by Anandaroop Roy

Photographs of works in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection by The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted.

Design implemented by Nancy Sylbert, based on a format established by Tsang Seymour Design Inc.
Typeset in Bembo Std and Lotus Linotype
Printed on 130 gsm LumiSilk Matte Artpaper
Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois
Printed and bound by Oceanic Graphic Printing, Hong Kong, China

Jacket illustration: Detail of wall painting with foreign emissaries bearing gifts. (See Feldman fig. 4, pp. 250–51.)

Frontispiece: Ivory pyxis lid (Feldman fig. 7, p. 253)

Page xviii: Satellite image: The eastern Mediterranean

Page 44: Archaeologist excavating copper ingots at site of Uluburun shipwreck

Page 72: Basalt stele. Ebla. Old Syrian period. Idlib Museum 3003. (See Matthiae fig. 9, p. 104.)

Page 154: Detail of jacket illustration

Page 214: Detail of bronze plaque with animal combats (Aruz fig. 20, p. 223)

Page 274: Detail of cuneiform tablet of Edict of Suppiluliuma I. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. National Museum, Damascus 17.227

Page 310: Basalt stele of Hammurabi. Found at Susa. Old Babylonian period. Musée du Louvre, Paris Sb 8

Copyright © 2013 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The Metropolitan Museum of Art endeavors to respect copyright in a manner consistent with its nonprofit educational mission. If you believe any material has been included in this publication improperly, please contact the Editorial Department.

First printing

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
1000 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10028
metmuseum.org

Distributed by
Yale University Press, New Haven and London
yalebooks.com/art
yalebooks.co.uk

Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-1-58839-475-0 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)
ISBN 978-0-300-18503-4 (Yale University Press)

Contents

Contributors to the Publication	vii
Map of the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean	viii
Chronology	x
<i>Introduction</i>	
Joan Aruz	xii
Acknowledgments	xvii

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AGE

Glenn M. Schwartz <i>An Amorite Global Village: Syrian–Mesopotamian Relations in the Second Millennium B.C.</i>	2
Karen S. Rubinson <i>Actual Imports or Just Ideas? Investigations in Anatolia and the Caucasus</i>	12
Eric H. Cline <i>Aegean–Near East Relations in the Second Millennium B.C.</i>	26
Malcolm H. Wiener <i>Contacts: Crete, Egypt, and the Near East circa 2000 B.C.</i>	34

MARITIME TRADE

Cheryl Ward <i>Seafaring in Ancient Egypt: Cedar Ships, Incense, and Long-Distance Voyaging</i>	46
Yuval Goren <i>International Exchange during the Late Second Millennium B.C.: Microarchaeological Study of Finds from the Uluburun Ship</i>	54
George F. Bass <i>Cape Gelidonya Redux</i>	62

INTERPRETING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Michel Al-Maqdissi <i>From Tell Sianu to Qatna: Some Common Features of Inland Syrian and Levantine Cities in the Second Millennium B.C. Material for the Study of the City in Syria (Part Three) Matériel pour l’étude de la ville en Syrie (troisième partie)</i>	74
Giorgio Buccellati <i>When Were the Hurrians Hurrian? The Persistence of Ethnicity in Urkesh</i>	84
Paolo Matthiae <i>Ebla: Recent Excavation Results and the Continuity of Syrian Art</i>	96
Peter Pfälzner <i>The Elephant Hunters of Bronze Age Syria</i>	112
Claude Doumet-Serhal <i>Tracing Sidon’s Mediterranean Networks in the Second Millennium B.C.: Receiving, Transmitting, and Assimilating. Twelve Years of British Museum Excavations</i>	132
K. Aslihan Yener <i>Recent Excavations at Alalakh: Throne Embellishments in Middle Bronze Age Level VII</i>	142

ART AND INTERACTION: WALL PAINTINGS

Janice Kamrin <i>The Procession of “Asiatics” at Beni Hasan</i>	156
Robert B. Koehl <i>The Near Eastern Contribution to Aegean Wall Painting and Vice Versa</i>	170
Christos G. Doulmas <i>Akrotiri, Thera: Reflections from the East</i>	180
Manfred Bietak <i>The Impact of Minoan Art on Egypt and the Levant: A Glimpse of Palatial Art from the Naval Base of Peru-nefer at Avaris</i>	188
Peter Pfälzner <i>The Qatna Wall Paintings and the Formation of Aegeo-Syrian Art</i>	200

ART AND INTERACTION: FURNISHINGS AND ADORNMENT

Joan Aruz <i>Seals and the Imagery of Interaction</i>	216
Annie Caubet <i>Of Banquets, Horses, and Women in Late Bronze Age Ugarit</i>	226
Robert B. Koehl <i>Bibru and Rhyton: Zoomorphic Vessels in the Near East and Aegean</i>	238
Marian H. Feldman <i>The Art of Ivory Carving in the Second Millennium B.C.</i>	248
Kim Benzel <i>Ornaments of Interaction: Jewelry in the Late Bronze Age</i>	258
Christine Lilyquist <i>Remarks on Internationalism: The Non-Textual Data</i>	268

LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR INTERACTION

Marc Van De Mieroop <i>Beyond Babylonian Literature</i>	276
Gary Beckman <i>Under the Spell of Babylon: Mesopotamian Influence on the Religion of the Hittites</i>	284
Beate Pongratz-Leisten <i>From Pictograph to Pictogram: The Solarization of Kingship in Syro-Anatolia and Assyria</i>	298

CLOSING REMARKS

Jack M. Sasson <i>“Beyond Babylon”: Closing Remarks</i>	312
Bibliography	320
Photograph and Illustration Credits	353

Contributors to the Publication

Michel Al-Maqdissi, Director of Excavations and Archaeological Studies and Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums, Ministry of Culture, Syria

Joan Aruz, Curator in Charge, Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

George F. Bass, Distinguished Professor Emeritus, Texas A&M University, College Station

Gary Beckman, Professor of Hittite and Mesopotamian Studies, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Kim Benzel, Associate Curator, Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Manfred Bietak, Chairman of the Commission of Egypt and the Levant at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Giorgio Buccellati, Professor Emeritus of Ancient Near East and History, University of California Los Angeles

Annie Caubet, Conservateur général honoraire du Patrimoine, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Eric H. Cline, Professor of Classics and Anthropology, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Christos G. Doulmas, Emeritus Professor, University of Athens; Director of Excavations at Akrotiri, Thera

Claude Doumet-Serhal, Special Assistant, The British Museum, London; Honorary Research Fellow, University College London; Director, Sidon Excavations

Marian H. Feldman, Associate Professor, Departments of History of Art and Near Eastern Studies, University of California Berkeley

Yuval Goren, Chair, Graduate Program in Archaeology & Archaeomaterials, Laboratory for Comparative Microarchaeology, Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations, Tel Aviv University

Janice Kamrin, Assistant Curator, Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Robert B. Koehl, Professor of Archaeology, Department of Classical and Oriental Studies, Hunter College, New York

Christine Lilyquist, Curator Emerita, Egyptian Art, and former Lila Acheson Wallace Curatorship in Egyptology, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Paolo Matthiae, Director, Italian Archaeological Mission at Ebla, Syria; Emeritus Professor of Archaeology and History of Art of the Ancient Near East, Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”

Peter Pfälzner, Professor, Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Studies, University of Tübingen, Germany

Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Karen S. Rubinson, Research Associate, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Jack M. Sasson, Mary Jane Werthan Professor of Jewish Studies and Hebrew Bible, Vanderbilt University, Nashville

Glenn M. Schwartz, Whiting Professor of Archaeology, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Marc Van De Mieroop, Professor of Ancient Near East History, Columbia University, New York

Cheryl Ward, Associate Professor and Director, Center for Archaeology & Anthropology, Coastal Carolina University, Conway, South Carolina

Malcolm H. Wiener, Prehistorian; Trustee, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; President, Board of Trustees, Institute for Aegean Prehistory and Study Center for East Crete; Chairman of the Board of Trustees, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

K. Aslihan Yener, Associate Professor of Anatolian Archaeology, The Oriental Institute and the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago; Professor, Archaeology and History of Art Department, Koç University, Istanbul

The Procession of “Asiatics” at Beni Hasan

The Middle Kingdom (ca. 1880 B.C.) tomb chapel of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan is best known for the procession of foreigners in brightly patterned garments depicted on its north wall (fig. 1). This scene has appeared numerous times in both scholarly and popular contexts, and remains a topic of lively debate and discussion. This article explores the identity of this group of men, women, and children and discusses how they might have functioned in both the real world and the microcosm of the tomb chapel in which they were painted.

THE FAMILY AND CAREER OF KHNUMHOTEP II

The rock-cut sepulcher of Khnumhotep II (Tomb 3; fig. 2) is one of thirty-nine Middle Kingdom tombs for the high officials of the Oryx (16th Upper Egyptian)

nome carved into the eastern cliffs at the Middle Egyptian site of Beni Hasan.¹ The earliest tombs most likely date to later Dynasty 11;² Khnumhotep II’s monument, completed during the reign of the fourth king of Dynasty 12, Senwosret II (r. ca. 1887–1878 B.C.), is the last in the series.

In his tomb autobiography,³ Khnumhotep II states that he inherited his principal titles, Administrator of the Eastern Desert (*jmj-rA HASwt iAbtt*) and Mayor (*HAty-a*) in the town of Menat Khuftu,⁴ from his maternal grandfather, Khnumhotep I (Tomb 14). Khnumhotep II’s father, Nehri, was a Hereditary Prince (*jrj-pat*), Mayor, Ruler of the New Towns (*HqA njwwt mAi*), and Overseer of the City (*jmj-rA njwt*); his mother’s name was Bakt. Khnumhotep II appears to have been raised at court, no doubt due to his family’s status. His principal wife, Khety, was the daughter of a nomarch of the adjacent Jackal (17th Upper Egyptian) nome.⁵

The title of Administrator of the Eastern Desert⁶—a post that he was granted in Year 19 of Amenemhat II and held until at least Year 6 of Senwosret II—has been interpreted by some scholars to indicate that Khnumhotep II was in charge of the entire Eastern Desert (the area between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea), although others believe that his purview was more

geographically limited.⁷ Rock inscriptions and archaeological deposits show clearly that the Eastern Desert was crucial for hunting, mining, and trade; in addition, it was a key point of contact between Egypt and its neighbors to the northeast.⁸ As Administrator of the Eastern Desert, therefore, Khnumhotep II was, at a minimum, directly responsible for prospecting and mining activities in the stretch of desert between the Oryx nome and the Red Sea, and may well have played a role in securing Egypt’s northeastern border.

THE FOREIGNERS IN TOMB 3: CONTEXT AND DESCRIPTION

The main chamber of Khnumhotep II’s tomb chapel is square, with a triple-vaulted ceiling supported by four pillars of living rock. Due to its location on the east bank of the Nile, the entrance is to the west and the cult niche, which contained a rock-cut statue of the deceased,⁹ is in the center of the east wall. The two burial shafts cut into the floor of the chamber were robbed in antiquity.¹⁰

The walls of the chapel are covered with brightly colored scenes and texts in paint on plaster. On the entrance wall are images of manufacture and food production, as well as of a pilgrimage to Abydos. Figures of the tomb owner and his wife Khety seated at offering tables dominate the south

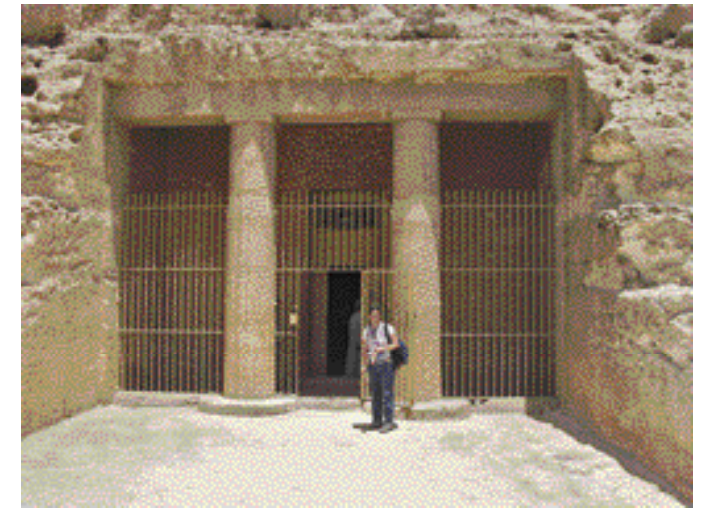


Fig. 2. Facade of the Tomb of Khnumhotep II

wall. On the east wall, Khnumhotep II is shown, on one side, fishing with a harpoon and, on the other, bringing down waterfowl with a throw stick. The north wall (figs. 7, 8) is dominated by two large-scale figures of the tomb owner: on the upper left, he hunts wild animals in the desert; on the lower right, he receives processions of officials, petitioners, and scribes. The foreigners (fig. 1), who are painted on the third register of this wall, are part of the scene on the lower right.¹¹

Fig. 1. Reconstruction of wall painting of the procession of Aamu. Beni Hasan, Tomb of Khnumhotep II, north wall. Dynasty 12, reign of Senwosret II, ca. 1887–1878 B.C.



The procession comprises eight men, four women, and three children; their clothing, sandals, and hairstyles, as well as the objects they carry with them, distinguish them clearly as non-Egyptians. The unusual nature of this scene, described below; the care taken in the rendering of its details; and the regnal date provided by an inscription within the scene suggest strongly that it represents, or at least alludes to, a real event.

The Caption

Above the scene is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs. Although there is disagreement about the exact transliteration and translation, this can perhaps best be rendered as *jyt Hr jnt msDm(w)t jn.n.f aAm(w) 37*; “Coming on account of bringing *mesdemet*; he brought 37 Aamu” or “Coming on account of bringing *mesdemet*, which 37 Aamu brought to him.”¹²

The fact that there are fifteen Aamu represented here,¹³ rather than the thirty-seven mentioned in the caption, is most likely an example of the common practice in Egyptian art of depicting a smaller group as shorthand for a larger one. The number of people in the larger group, however, is still unclear. Were there thirty-seven people altogether, counting men, women, and children? Or were there thirty-seven men plus their families, so perhaps more than one hundred altogether?¹⁴ At this point, we can draw no firm conclusion. The commodity mentioned in the inscription is *mesdemet*, which can mean either black or green eye paint, as well as galena, the dark gray lead ore that was the principal ingredient of most black eye paint, and malachite, the mineral used for green eye paint.¹⁵

The Royal Document Scribe, Neferhotep

The procession is led by the Royal Document Scribe, Neferhotep (*sS an nswt nfr-Htp*), who has the dark reddish skin usual for an Egyptian male and wears the traditional official garb of a white kilt that comes to midcalf. The text on the writing board or papyrus that he offers to the large standing figure of Khnumhotep II (fig. 3) reads: *rnpt-sp 6 xr Hm n Hr sSm-tAwj nswt-bjtj xa-xpr-ra rxt n aAmw jn.n sA HAtj-a Xnm-Htp Hr msDm(w)t m aAm n Sw rxt-jr 37* (Year 6 under the Majesty of Horus, Uniter of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakheperre [Senwosret II]: accounting of the Aamu that the son of the Mayor, Khnumhotep, brought because of *mesdemet*; being Aamu of Shu, number amounting to 37).¹⁶

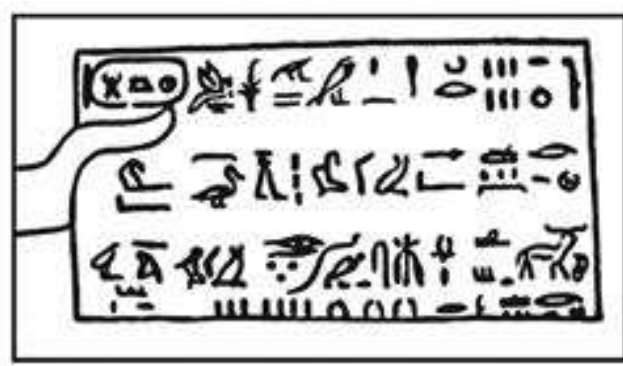


Fig. 3. Facsimile of the writing board or papyrus from the procession of Aamu



Fig. 4. Detail of the procession of Aamu

The Overseer of the Hunters, Khety

The second Egyptian official is named Khety. His title, *jmj-ra n nww*, is usually translated as Overseer of the Hunters. Sydney Aufrière offers as an alternative Superintendent of the Desert Policemen, and theorizes that these officials patrolled the deserts, using dogs to help them control the nomadic tribes who traveled along the fringes of the Nile Valley.¹⁷

Abisharie

Behind Khety is the leader of the Aamu, *HqA-xAswt jb-SA*. The title *HqA xAswt* (ruler of the hill-lands) is familiar in its Hellenized form, Hyksos, most often associated with the Levantine princes who conquered Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1650 B.C.). However, this term appears at least as early as Dynasty 6, generally referring to foreign rulers.¹⁸ *HqA*, written with a crook, is commonly translated as “ruler”; the hieroglyphic sign rendered as *xAswt* (or *smjt*) can mean foreign, desert, or hill-land, and is thought to symbolize the undulating pastureland of the Levant or the sandy hills of the desert, in contrast with the relatively flat, cultivated fields of the Nile Valley and Delta. Scholars agree that the name of the chieftain, *jb-SA* (Abisharie or Abishai) is of Semitic origin.¹⁹

Abisharie wears a brightly colored robe (fig. 4), fringed along the side, that leaves one shoulder bare; this is clearly a non-Egyptian garment, as the Egyptians did not use the tapestry technique until mid-Dynasty 18, while elaborately woven cloth, intricately patterned and colorful (most likely of wool), was a specialty of the cultures to the northeast, in particular the Levant and Mesopotamia.²⁰

Abisharie extends his right hand with the palm flat and facing down, in a gesture of respect or submission,²¹ toward a large standing figure of Khnumhotep II. With the other, he uses a short staff to restrain a Nubian ibex.²² His staff might be simply a shepherd’s tool, but might also be a symbol reinforcing his princely status by reiterating

his title (although it is significantly less curved than the hieroglyph for *HqA*). His feet are bare. His skin has yellow rather than red overtones and is much lighter than that of the Egyptian officials who head the procession. Like all the Aamu men, he has a short, pointed beard and wavy hair cut to the back of the neck. This hairstyle has been compared to the “mushroom-head” style seen, for example, on the head of a large fragmentary statue of a late Middle Kingdom Asiatic dignitary found at Tell el-Dab’a; this figure’s garment was also painted in a colorful pattern.²³

The Gazelle Tamer

Behind Abisharie, a second barefoot man, in a colorful striped kilt, restrains a dorcas gazelle (fig. 4),²⁴ his right hand on its horns and his left grasping a rope that runs around the animal’s neck. In current photographs, the skin of this man is slightly darker and redder than that of his comrades; however, earlier facsimiles do not show this, and it is clear from the lighter color of the wall, which creates a halo effect, that the figure has undergone cleaning. This present skin color, then, may be the result of cleaning, or perhaps of repainting. A teardrop, colored white and outlined in black, hangs from the man’s beard. Further examination would be needed to understand the possible significance of these odd details.

The Bodyguards

Four men wearing laced sandals,²⁵ dressed in one-shouldered tunics that reach to just below the knee, some red with gray patterns and the others white, walk behind the gazelle tamer. They are depicted in single file, but might be better interpreted as side by side or in a loose group. The first man holds a composite bow in his visible hand. This weapon, far superior to the simpler self-bow, made of a single shaft of wood, first appears in the late Early Bronze Age (ca. 2200 B.C.) in western Asia, but was not used in Egypt until the New Kingdom.²⁶ The second man carries a throw stick,

apparently a typical hunting tool and perhaps also a military weapon in his culture,²⁷ and has a bag, most likely a waterskin, strapped to his back.

The third man holds a throw stick in one hand and a spear in the other; the latter is visible in earlier facsimiles but is now difficult to make out. It would be interesting to ascertain whether this is a socketed spear, which would suggest a date in the Middle Bronze (MB) IIA period. The last man in this group turns to look behind him; he holds another long spear, whose head is no longer easily discernible.

The First Donkey and the Children

Behind this group is a donkey bearing two children and a saddlebag (fig. 5). Donkeys were domesticated in Egypt by at least the end of the Predynastic period and used to carry loads; however, there is no evidence that they were ever ridden by Egyptians.²⁸ In contrast, Asiatics ride donkeys in both Egyptian and Near Eastern records.²⁹

The children seem to be in some sort of carrier made of a red material. This carrier is strapped with fiber or leather bands

to the donkey's back, along with a large saddlebag that may hold gear or other supplies. Between the children is an enigmatic object that appears to be made of leather, accordion folded and held closed with a strap (?), and with two handles, perhaps of wood or bone, lashed to each end. Some scholars have interpreted this object as a skin bellows, without explaining exactly how it would have worked.³⁰ In fact, its shape is not exactly correct for such a tool: it has two protrusions on each end, whereas bellows would normally have two handles but only one outlet pipe.³¹ However, we lack alternatives that can be supported by comparanda,³² so until a better identification can be made for this mysterious object, skin bellows must remain a possibility. A third, larger child, dressed in a knee-length skirt of red cloth and dark red ankle boots with white bands on the tops, walks behind the donkey, holding a child-size spear.

The Women

The next group consists of four women (fig. 6), each with a fillet holding her long hair back from her face and wearing a

shin-length, colorfully patterned garment (in three instances covering only one shoulder), along with boots. The first and last women hold one fist to the chest, in a gesture of either greeting or reverence.³³

The Second Donkey

After the women comes a second donkey, with a blanket or bag decorated with red zigzags on its back. Strapped to this object is a small red bag or pillow, a spare throw stick,³⁴ a spear, and a second set of "bellows."

The Rear Guard

Behind the donkey is a man in a fringed kilt patterned with red chevrons, wearing laced sandals and carrying a waterskin on his back. As he walks, he plays an asymmetric lyre, a distinctively Near Eastern instrument seen in Egypt for the first time here.³⁵ Bringing up the rear is an eighth man in laced sandals and a red and white skirt patterned with zigzags and fringed at the bottom; he carries a compound bow and has a quiver strapped to his back. In his right hand he holds a duckbilled axe, distinctive of the Levantine MB IIA culture.³⁶

DISCUSSION

Several questions emerge from our examination of this scene: Where are these foreigners from? Who are they and what do they do? What event is illustrated here, and what is their role in it?

In the caption and on the writing board carried by the royal official, Neferhotep, the foreigners are designated as "Aamu." This Semitic loanword, possibly West Semitic and perhaps even Amorite, is usually translated as "Asiatic."³⁷ The contexts in which this word appears in the Old through Middle Kingdom suggest that the Egyptians used this as a general term for any Semitic-speaking people from east or northeast of the Nile Valley, including the nomads of the Eastern Desert.³⁸ This identification is reinforced at Beni Hasan, as discussed above, by details such as the garments of the foreign company and the equipment they carry, as well as by the name and title of their leader. They can be assigned temporally to the MB IIA culture, contemporary with Dynasty 12 in Egypt.³⁹

The homeland of these Aamu is still a matter of debate. To date, they have been

Fig. 5. Detail of the procession of Aamu showing the first donkey, with an enigmatic object on its back



Fig. 6. Detail of the procession of Aamu

identified as inhabitants of the Sinai or Eastern Desert, southern Palestine, northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and even northern Arabia.⁴⁰ On the writing board, they are called “Aamu of Shu.”⁴¹ Shu can perhaps be linked with the place name Shutu, which appears in the Execration Texts,⁴² and is rendered as *R-Swt* in the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut.⁴³ It has also been associated with “*shaddu*,” a term found in the Amarna Letters.⁴⁴ Based on geographical considerations and a biblical parallel, Wolfgang Helck links Shu with the nomadic tribes of the area of Moab in southern Palestine, at the southeast corner of the Red Sea.⁴⁵ Other scholars also place Shutu in this general area, with some variations.⁴⁶

Thus the bulk of scholarly opinion places the homeland of the Aamu of Shu in the southern Levant, more specifically in the area just east of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea; however the possibility that these Aamu came from the Sinai or the Eastern Desert cannot be dismissed.⁴⁷ In any case, they were certainly not Egyptian, and whether they were at this point in time living in the Eastern Desert or farther to the north and east, they reflect the material culture of the Levant in the Middle Bronze Age.⁴⁸

What are the Aamu doing in an Egyptian context? A number of scholars think these Aamu were traders, part of a caravan coming to Beni Hasan to deliver goods to Khnumhotep II.⁴⁹ William Hayes and others have interpreted the group as diplomatic envoys or political guests of Khnumhotep II.⁵⁰ In either case, the assumption is that they are bringing eye paint or galena, either to sell or as a gift. Eye paint had practical uses as well as religious overtones, and from very early in Egyptian history it is listed as one of the essential offerings for the mortuary cult, necessary for the resurrection of the deceased.⁵¹ Galena was mined in the Eastern Desert, mainly near the Red Sea, and also in the Sinai; malachite is found on the surface of copper ore deposits in the same general areas. A key source for galena

during the Middle Kingdom was Gebel Zeit, almost due east of Beni Hasan.⁵²

Since galena and malachite could be mined in Egypt, some scholars have questioned the interpretation of the group as traders or envoys bringing these substances from afar, passing through a large amount of Egyptian territory on the way.⁵³ Hans Goedicke also argues that thirty-seven people are too many for a trading caravan—which would not in any case have included women and children. He suggests instead that the Aamu represent a group of migrant workers coming to work and perhaps settle in Egypt as galena miners.⁵⁴ A point he uses to support this theory is the presence of royal officials, who he feels are unlikely to have come to Middle Egypt just to oversee the delivery of eye paint. Instead, they might be here as representatives of the central administration, sent to chaperone the Aamu from the point where they entered Egypt to a temporary home in the Oryx nome. Goedicke’s translation of the accompanying inscriptions leads him to the conclusion that Khnumhotep II is here being notified of this event and taking charge of the migrants who will be working under his jurisdiction.⁵⁵ In fact, there is abundant evidence that people from western Asia were moving into Egypt during this period and later.⁵⁶ Although some of these may have been brought as prisoners of war,⁵⁷ others were likely voluntary immigrants looking for greener pastures.

An alternative scenario, suggested by Detlef Franke, is that the scene commemorates an Egyptian galena-mining expedition led by Khnumhotep II’s second-eldest son with Khety, Khnumhotep III, to the area of Gebel Zeit.⁵⁸ Franke suggests that the Aamu represent native desert-dwellers who accompanied the expedition to help them survive in the hostile desert environment, assisting them, for example, to find water.⁵⁹ In response to Goedicke’s suggestion, one notes that the quality of eye paint was of great importance to the ancient Egyptians,⁶⁰ and imported galena was certainly

used in the New Kingdom, with Asiatics among its suppliers.⁶¹ Thus, the idea of the Aamu as traders or envoys should not be dismissed. As for the Aamu as desert guides, the presence of women and children renders this unlikely.

Another theory is that the Aamu are itinerant metalworkers, coming from an area where this was a well-established profession.⁶² Evidence for this idea could be the objects that are carried by the donkeys, if these are in fact portable skin bellows of the sort used to fan smelting fires. The connection between metalworking and the southern Levant goes back at least into the Early Dynastic era (ca. 3100–2649 B.C.), and analysis of subsistence patterns during the early Middle Bronze Age shows that this was an important factor in the regional economy. During EB II, there is evidence that Canaanites settled in the Sinai, most likely to exploit the copper mines there.⁶³

If the foreigners are metalworkers, they are perhaps bringing new technologies with them, along with samples of their wares in the form of new types of weapons, such as the duckbilled axe. The *mesdemet* that they bring with them could be interpreted as galena for metalworking, rather than for eye paint. Galena is the main ore for lead, and although lead was never widely used, small figures and jewelry, along with tools such as net sinkers, were made of lead from the Old Kingdom on.⁶⁴ Lead can also be used in the casting of copper; the addition of small amounts of this metal to a copper alloy facilitates the casting process by lowering the melting point and reducing the porosity of the metal without weakening it. There is no specific archaeological evidence to support this interpretation: although the technology of adding lead to copper appears in the Middle Kingdom, it is not attested on a large scale before the New Kingdom.⁶⁵ A third possibility is that foreign galena with a high silver content is being imported for use in the production of silver, since the silver levels in Egyptian galena are generally low.⁶⁶ In

regard to this possibility, it is interesting to point out a scene on the west wall of Tomb 3 that shows an official overseeing the weighing of precious metals, which might include silver.

The lack of a confirmed identification as bellows of the enigmatic objects transported by the donkeys and the fact that the second donkey does not seem to carry an anvil, along with the lack of clear evidence for this theory in the archaeological record, must call into question the interpretation of the Aamu as itinerant tinkers. However, the idea remains intriguing and should not be discarded.

In summary, although it is certain that they came in Year 6 of Senwosret II, along with members of the central administration, it is difficult at this point to draw any firm conclusions about the exact role played by the Aamu represented here. Perhaps the simplest reconstruction is that a group of southern Levantine pastoralists, led by their ruler, have come to Egypt, bringing high-quality galena, either for eye paint or to use in the smelting of metal, as a gift to ensure good relations with Egypt.⁶⁷ They might be bringing other gifts as well—one could (very tentatively!) suggest that the two children riding the first donkey are princes who are to be brought up in Egypt,⁶⁸ as foreign princes were during the New Kingdom. The third child, who wears a distinctive red kilt that matches the carrier in which the younger children ride and carries a spear (not a usual weapon for a child), could perhaps be an older prince or a high-born honor guard.

THE AAMU IN THE CONTEXT OF THE “*INW*” SCENE

It is important now to look at the Aamu scene in the context of the larger *inw* complex of which it forms a part (figs. 7, 8). The focus here is the large figure of Khnumhotep II at the east end of the north wall; he is labeled “Watching the levying of the cattle tax, consisting of all animals: the *inw*-gifts that were brought to him from his towns and his districts of the interior of the Oryx nome, and his

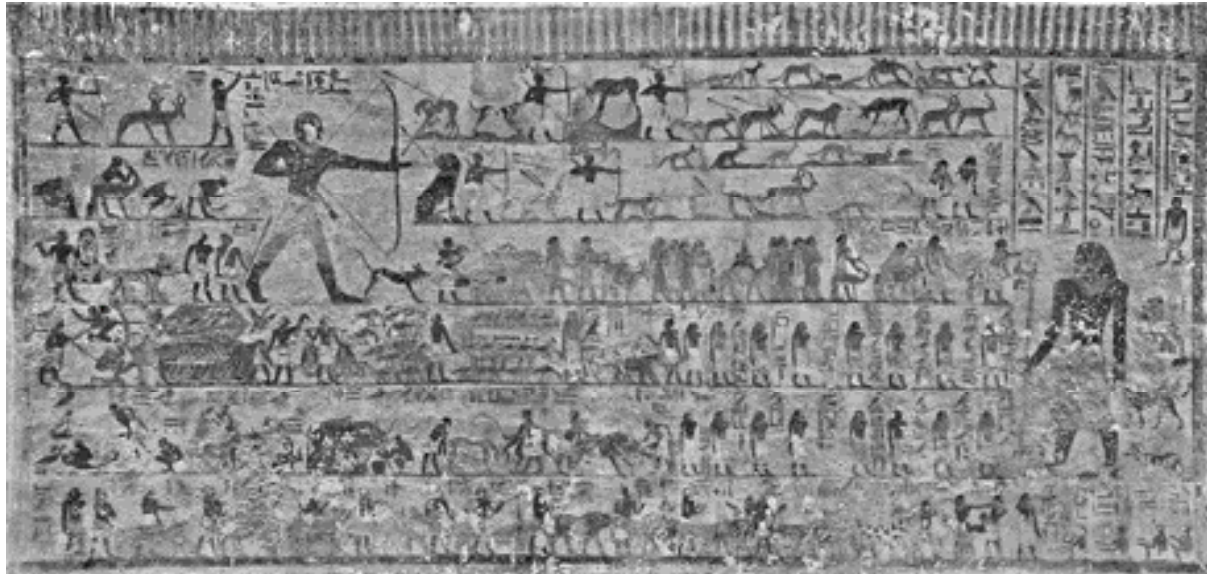


Fig. 7. North wall of Tomb of Khnumhotep II

city.”⁶⁹ Khnumhotep II is accompanied by three of his dogs, one of his personal attendants, and the “son of the Mayor . . . Khnumhotep” (his son Khnumhotep III). The Aamu occupy one of five registers associated with this large figure of the tomb owner. In the first register (the second from the top of the wall), desert animals captured in the hunt on the upper and western part of the wall are presented to the tomb owner by a Scribe of the Offering Table, Mentuhotep, who holds out a document on which various desert animals are enumerated,⁷⁰ paralleling the writing board held by Neferhotep. In the second register are the Aamu, followed by a flock of cranes and their herder. Directly below, another herdsman tends three flocks of smaller birds. Also in this register and continuing in the one below is a procession of officials, each labeled with his name and title. Most are overseers or stewards of one sort or another, and may be connected with either Khnumhotep II’s official or mortuary estates, or both. In the fifth register of this complex of scenes (the lowest register on the wall), a group of scribes sits at desks, “under” the figure

of Khnumhotep II,⁷¹ while various types of domesticated animals are brought to be recorded. Directly in front of the scribes are three officials, one of whom uses a staff to restrain a prisoner.

The *inu*-gifts, perhaps best translated as “impost,”⁷² are most likely being collected by Khnumhotep II on behalf of the royal house, whose involvement is indicated by the presence of several royal scribes. This interpretation is supported by a passage from the autobiography in the tomb of the last nomarch at Beni Hasan, Ameni, which states: “. . . I was praised for it in the king’s house in every year of the cattle tax. I delivered all their dues to the king’s house. . . .”⁷³ Thus, the scenes in the aggregate express Khnumhotep II’s loyalty to the royal house and his successful efforts on behalf of the king, enhancing his standing and status as an effective noble.⁷⁴ Since the king is rarely shown in tombs of this period,⁷⁵ Khnumhotep II also acts here as a royal delegate, receiving *inu* as if he were the king, analogously with tribute scenes from later periods in which the king himself appears.

This scene can be understood on a local as well as national level: the goods are being

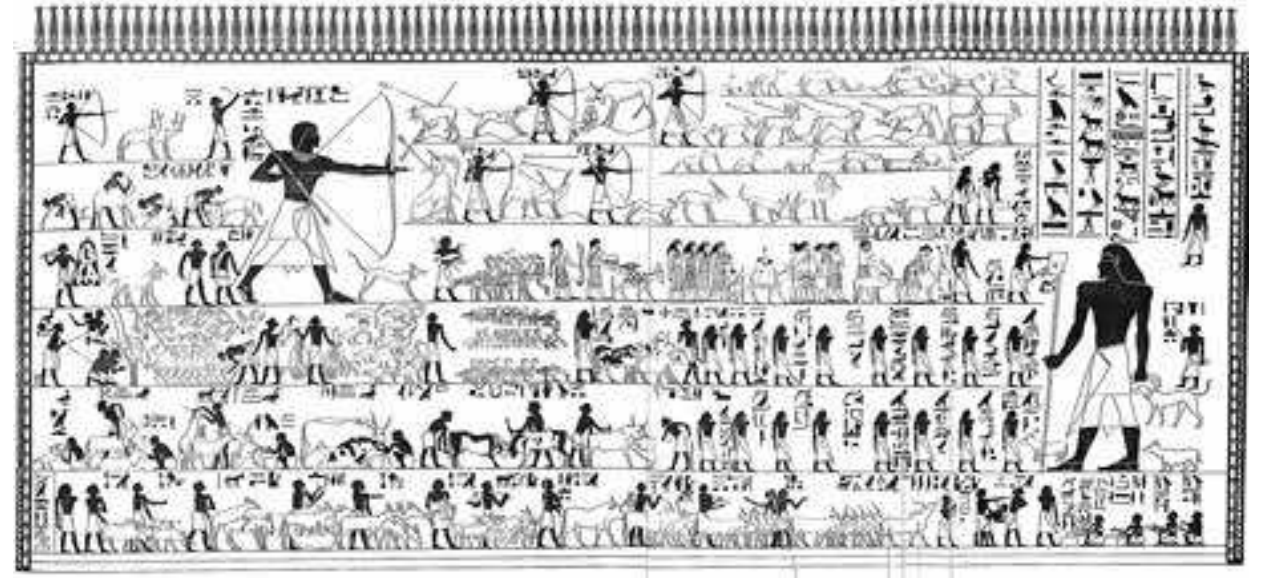


Fig. 8. Facsimile of north wall of Tomb of Khnumhotep II

provided, perhaps through some sort of redistributive mechanism, for the benefit of Khnumhotep II as well as for the king. In a comparable complex of scenes in Ameni’s tomb, a scribe hands the tomb owner a papyrus that mentions the *pr-Dt* (house of eternity, that is, the mortuary estate) several times. In this context, the processions here echo those of servants and officials who present offerings to the tomb owner seen in many tombs from the Old Kingdom on. On these levels, both part of the terrestrial realm, the Aamu bring *mesdemet* (for eye paint and/or metalworking) and desert animals (as greeting gifts and/or sacrificial animals for the cult)⁷⁶ to the tomb owner and, through him, to the king.

THE AAMU IN THE SYMBOLIC REALM

As with many other scenes in the tomb,⁷⁷ the significance of the Aamu goes beyond the terrestrial level discussed above. Dieter Kessler, for one, explores the scene’s symbolic meaning, concluding that the entire wall, taken with other images in the tomb, alludes to the celebration of the New Year’s Festival, with Khnumhotep II standing in for the Horus-king at his rejuvenation.⁷⁸ Whether or not his conclusions can be

proven, Kessler’s multivalent approach to this scene is extremely valuable.

There is certainly important symbolism both embedded in the Aamu scene and expressed through its placement and context. As discussed above, the *mesdemet* brought by the Aamu has cultic overtones, but more evident at this level of interpretation is the significance of the desert animals held by the group’s leaders. The cultic importance of the gazelle is particularly well documented.⁷⁹ The remains of sacrificed gazelles—some of which appear to have been kept in captivity for a time—have been found in a number of mortuary contexts,⁸⁰ in the Late and Greco-Roman periods, these animals were ritually mummified.⁸¹ The association of the gazelle with the cultures of western Asia is also shown, for example, by its appearance in the iconography of the Amorite god Reshef.⁸² A late Dynasty II inscription of the vizier Amenemhat from Wadi Hammamat illustrates the link between gazelles, sacrifice, and expeditions to the Eastern Desert: during an expedition led by this official to search for stone for his king’s sarcophagus, a gazelle arrived and gave birth on the very stone that had

been chosen for the lid. This was taken as a sign of wonder, and the gazelle was sacrificed. Twenty days later, as the block for the lid was being removed, it rained and a well appeared in the desert.⁸³ Overall, the sacrifice of wild animals was associated with the destruction of the god Seth and the maintenance of the proper order of the universe (*ma'at*) over the forces of chaos (*isfet*).⁸⁴

In the monumental contexts of tombs and temples, foreigners are by nature defined as manifestations of the chaotic powers that surrounded and constantly threatened the created Egyptian world. Although the reality of the relationships between Egypt and its northeastern neighbors was of course a complex one,⁸⁵ until the appearance of tribute scenes in the New Kingdom, Asiatics are depicted as enemies of Egypt in the vast majority of representations.⁸⁶ By including a group of clearly peaceful Aamu in his tomb, Khnumhotep II was making the statement that these traditional “enemies” had not only been pacified, but were participating actively in the Egyptian economy and cult by bringing products of the desert to Khnumhotep II. They not only bring *mesdemet*, but they even help subdue the forces of *isfet* by taming and offering desert animals. It is interesting to note that the way in which Abisharie holds the ibex, with a curved staff around its neck, directly iterates the gesture of one of the officials in the lowest register, who restrains a wrongdoer. Thus, the Aamu are no longer completely foreign, but, rather, mediate between Egypt and the outside world.⁸⁷ They are even permitted to carry weapons: foreigners bearing arms, unless they are part of a battle scene, are unusual in Egyptian monumental art.

The procession takes place between the complex of scenes showing the tomb owner hunting in the desert—symbolizing the triumph of the forces of order over the forces of chaos—and the registers with offering-bearers from the “civilized” world of the tomb owner’s estates—where domesticated animals were kept and scribes and petitioners carried out their business. Although the

Aamu come from the inhospitable desert, they play a part in transforming some of its chaos into properly controlled material that will benefit Egypt on the local, national, and divine planes. Within the larger context of the tomb, the scenes on this wall, including those of the Aamu, contribute to Khnumhotep II’s successful celebration of his mortuary cult and hence to his flourishing in the eternal afterlife. At the same time, he may be seen here as a delegate of both the king and the creator god, and as such helping to maintain the proper cosmic order.⁸⁸ Through the agency of this effective royal official, the Aamu both conceptually and visually bridge the gap between the disordered world above and the fully ordered world below.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Joan Aruz for her invitation to speak at the “Beyond Babylon” symposium, and to contribute to this volume. My gratitude also to David O’Connor for his insightful comments and suggestions.

1. For the tombs at Beni Hasan, see Newberry 1893a; Newberry 1893b.
2. The dating of the early tombs is still debated; for discussion of this issue, with references, see Kamrin 1999, pp. 27–28; Rabehl 2006, pp. 18ff.
3. Newberry 1893a, pls. XXV, XXVI.
4. For the location of Menat Khufu, see Kessler 1982; Kessler 1987a, p. 161.
5. Khnumhotep II had a second wife, Tjat; see W. A. Ward 1984.
6. Note that Khnumhotep II did not hold the nomarchial title *Hry-tp aA n mA-HD* (Great Chief/Nomarch of the Oryx Nome). During his tenure as Administrator of the Eastern Desert, there does not appear to have been a nomarch ruling in the Oryx nome. For discussion of this issue, see Franke 1991.
7. For example, Kees (1955, pp. 64–65) suggests that Beni Hasan was the Eastern Gate of Egypt. Kessler (1987a, pp. 161ff.) suggests instead that the Administrator of the Eastern Desert was connected, under the supervision of the nomarch, with a royal cult centered in the area, but does agree that he was involved with prospecting and mining. For a recent discussion of this issue, see Aufrère 2002.

8. For inscriptions germane to this issue, see discussion and references in Franke 1991, pp. 56ff.; Aufrère 2002; Allen 2008.
9. This statue, which is badly damaged, was flanked by images of three women: his principal wife, his mother, and another woman, perhaps his second wife. For a description, see Newberry 1893a, p. 71.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
11. For other reproductions of this scene, see J. G. Wilkinson 1847, vol. 1, pl. XII; Newberry 1893a, pls. XXX (north wall as a whole), XXXI (procession of foreigners), XXXVIII, 2 (writing board/papyrus); Davies (Nina M.) 1936, vol. 1, pls. X, XI; K. Michalowski 1968, p. 212, no. 86 (women only), p. 176, fig. 297; Freier and Grunert 1984, pp. 90–91, fig. 70; Shedid 1994, pp. 60–61.
12. Another translation of this inscription reads: “Arrival bringing kohl which thirty-seven Aamu bring to him” (Newberry 1893a, p. 69). Goedicke, pointing out that *mesdemet* cannot be the antecedent for *in*, divides the inscription into two parts, suggesting: “Coming about bringing (procuring) black eye-paint,” which he takes as a reference to the two Egyptian officials who appear in the scene, and “He (the foreign leader) has brought 37 Aamu” (Goedicke 1984, pp. 205–6). Kessler proposes: “Kommen mit der Augenschminke, indem ihm/er 37 Asiaten gebracht hat” (Kessler 1987a, pp. 150–51). Vernus offers: “Revenir d’aller chercher le collyre, en ramenant 37 Asiatiques” (Vernus 1989, p. 177). According to Rabehl, it might be: “Kommen mit dem Bringen der Augenschminke, nachdem er 37 Asiaten geholt hat” (Rabehl 2006, p. 244). Staubli offers: “Kommen in Bezug auf das Bringen von schwarzer Augenschminke” and “Er [the Aamu leader] bringt 37 *aAmu*” (Staubli 1991, p. 33).
13. The meaning of “Aamu,” generally translated as “Asiatics,” is discussed below.
14. Goedicke (1984, p. 209, n. 39) suggests that the full group might have numbered four or five times as many. On the other hand, Egyptian personnel lists often include both men and women (cf., for example, Hayes 1955).
15. Manniche 1999, p. 136.
16. For translations of this text, see Goedicke 1984, p. 205; Kessler 1987a, p. 151; Vernus 1989, p. 178. Kessler (1987a, pp. 150–51) suggests that this is a shorter, symbolic version of a record of supplies and payments that may have included the names of the thirty-seven Aamu. For a ledger that includes the names of more than forty Aamu immigrants who served on a late Dynasty 12 to Dynasty 13 estate, see Hayes 1955.
17. Aufrère 2002, p. 210.
18. Cf. Bietak 2001, p. 136.
19. Goedicke (1984, p. 203) renders this as Abisha(i), and equates it with the name borne by the brother of Joab and Asahel in the Old Testament

- (1 Chr. 2:16); Saretta (1997, p. 111, n. 280) also concludes that the best reading is Abishai, which she translates as “My father is a nobleman”; Schneider (1998, pp. 47–48) suggests Abi-sarie, “(Mein) Vater hat geloest/ist stark.”
20. Barber 1997, p. 193; Saretta 1997, p. 131, n. 341.
21. Cf. R. H. Wilkinson 1999, p. 194.
22. Identifiable as *Capra ibex nubiana (njAw)*; see Houlihan 1996, pp. 58–59.
23. See Schiestl 2006.
24. *Gazella dorcas (gHs)*; see Houlihan 1996, pp. 61ff., 66, where he also mentions the possibility that this particular gazelle might be a foreign species (p. 65).
25. Although the Egyptians wore leather sandals as well, the sandals worn by the Aamu men are composed of multiple straps, quite different from the simple Egyptian thong.
26. Chapman 1997, p. 336.
27. The Tell el-Dab’a dignitary mentioned above also holds a throw stick against one shoulder (see Schiestl 2006, p. 176).
28. Cf. Gautier 1999, p. 301.
29. Houlihan 1996, p. 31; Saretta 1997, pp. 121–27.
30. Shea 1981, pp. 222–23; Nibbi 1987, p. 33; Staubli 1991, pp. 31–32 and n. 109; Redford 1992, p. 83.
31. My thanks to Deborah Schorsch for her expert opinion on this matter (personal communication). Most representations of Egyptian metalworking show the smiths using pot, drum, or dish bellows. The only example of a skin bellows from ancient Egypt in either an archaeological or pictorial context is from a Middle Kingdom coffin (Scheel 1989, p. 23).
32. We could think perhaps of some sort of small tent, a bag or other container, or, as per a suggestion by Salima Ikram (personal communication), a portable child’s bed, but none of these ideas can be verified at present.
33. Brunner-Traut 1977; R. H. Wilkinson 1999, pp. 194, 198.
34. Redford (1992, p. 83) calls this an anvil, but it looks much more like the throw sticks depicted, for example, elsewhere in this scene.
35. Hickmann 1956, pp. 9, 36ff.; Manniche 1991, p. 37; Saretta 1997, p. 127.
36. See Bietak 1997, p. 125.
37. The case for a West Semitic origin is made in Redford 1986, pp. 131–32; Redford 1992, p. 32. For the possibility of an Amorite origin, see Saretta 1997, pp. 13–28, 65–66. For discussions of this term in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see Giveon 1975; Redford 1986, pp. 126ff.; Hoffmeier 1996, pp. 56ff.
38. The Aamu first appear, as enemies of the Egyptians, in the Dynasty 6 tomb autobiography of Weni at Abydos (l. 13, see Urk. I [Sethe 1932, p. 101]); then in the autobiography of Pepinakht at Aswan (l. 11, Urk. I [Sethe 1932, p. 134]); and again in the “Instructions for Merikare,” the

- “Prophecy of Neferti,” the “Admonitions of Ipuwer,” and the “Tale of Sinuhe.” They are also mentioned in sources such as a papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum (35.1446), which speaks of forty-five Asiatics among ninety-five household servants, and the “Annals of Amenemhat II” from Mit Rahina (for the latter, see Altenmüller and Moussa 1991). See Giveon 1975, cols. 462ff.
39. Although some chronological details of this era, as well as terminology, are still a matter of intense debate, the early Middle Kingdom in Egypt corresponds generally to the transitional era into the Middle Bronze Age in the Levant. See Bietak 1991; see also Redford 1992, p. 93, n. 122.
40. For an identification of the Aamu as inhabitants of the Sinai, see Goedicke 1984; of the Eastern Desert, Franke 1991, p. 56, n. 9; of southern Palestine, Helck 1971, p. 46; of northern Syria, Saretta 1997; of northern Arabia, Petrie 1897, p. 172.
41. This word is determined with the symbol for “hill land.”
42. See Helck 1971, as Shutu, p. 46, no. 2 (older group of clay vessels) and as Upper and Lower Shutu, p. 59, no. 52, no. 53 (later group of ceramic figurines).
43. Urk. IV (Sethe 1906, p. 385, l. 13); see Breasted 1906–7, vol. 2, pp. 123–24, § 299: “The land of Reshu and the land of Yu, they cannot [hide] from my majesty; Punt is mine. . . .”
44. Posener and van de Walle 1940, pp. 89ff., with reference to a writing board in the British Museum (EA 197.29).
45. Helck 1971, pp. 46, 51, 61–62.
46. Ahituv (1984, p. 184; Ahituv 1999, p. 188) tentatively agrees with the equation of Shutu with the area east of the Jordan River, perhaps more specifically with Moab; Aharoni (1962, p. 146) also places Shutu east of the Jordan, but farther north, in the Gilead of the Bible; Redford (1992, p. 90) places Shutu more generally in Transjordan.
47. For example, based primarily on the appearance of this term at Speos Artemidos, Goedicke (1984, p. 210 and n. 45) concludes that Shu refers to the northern Sinai.
48. Bietak (1997, p. 125) places the transition from EB IV/MB I to MB IIA about 1900/1925 B.C., between the reigns of Senwosret I and Senwosret II, based in part on the pictorial and inscriptional evidence from Beni Hasan. Redford (1992, pp. 76–97) offers an excellent discussion of this period as well. See also Tubb and Chapman 1990, pp. 53–57. A good textual portrait of the seminomadic lifestyle led by the pastoralists of this period can be found in the “Tale of Sinuhe” (R. B. Parkinson 1997).
49. Klebs 1922, fig. 6, pp. 162ff., figs. 120–21; J. A. Wilson 1950, p. 229; cf. Shea 1981, p. 219.
50. Hayes 1971, pp. 503–4. Aufrère (2002, p. 211 and n. 9) further suggests that Khnumhotep II is here overseeing an important official event that might be taking place at a “traditional trading post” rather than at Menat Khufu itself.
51. According to the rubric to chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, before he will be admitted to the presence of Osiris, the deceased must “utter this spell pure and clean and clad in white garments and sandals, painted with black eye-paint and anointed with myrrh” (Faulkner 2005, p. 141; cf. Manniche 1999, pp. 136–37 and n. 29).
52. Scheel 1989, p. 20; for other sources of galena, see Ogden 2000, p. 168 (with bibliography).
53. Goedicke 1984, p. 205.
54. Ibid., pp. 204–7 and n. 9.
55. Ibid., p. 205 and n. 14, pp. 206–7. Goedicke (ibid., p. 207, n. 23) discusses the evidence for foreign specialists working in Egypt.
56. For a discussion of this topic and a review of the relevant sources, see Redford 1992, pp. 76–97; see also Posener 1956, pp. 145–63.
57. Altenmüller and Moussa 1991.
58. As an adult, Khnumhotep III held the title Doorway/Doorpost of the Foreign Lands, which has been interpreted to mean that he was a sort of customs officer, dealing with the delivery of foreign peoples and products to the king (Franke 1991, p. 57 and n. 14; Aufrère 2002, p. 212; Allen 2008). Franke also suggests that the title *sA hAty-a Xnm-Htp* (Son of the Mayor, Khnumhotep) is more likely to refer to Khnumhotep III than to Khnumhotep II (Franke 1991, pp. 56–60).
59. Franke 1991, p. 60.
60. A late New Kingdom letter, for example, complains of the quality of the galena that has been delivered to the palace (cf. Manniche 1999, p. 137 and n. 31).
61. Manniche 1999, p. 137. There is apparently no archaeological evidence for imported galena before early Dynasty 18 (Goedicke 1984, p. 204), but the possibility that galena was imported earlier should remain open.
62. Redford 1992, p. 83.
63. W. A. Ward 1991.
64. Scheel 1989, p. 20; see also Ogden 2000, p. 168, for certain lead objects.
65. Ogden 2000, pp. 154ff.
66. Ibid., p. 170. Ogden also notes that the first extraction of silver from lead ores most likely took place in western Asia, since argentiferous lead ores are more commonly found in this region.
67. See, for example, the “Tale of Sinuhe,” in which the hero, singing the praises of the new king, says: “He will not fail to do good to a land that will be loyal to him” (Lichtheim 1973, p. 226).
68. It is interesting to note that Shea, in his analysis of the scene, suggests that the first group of four men are protecting the children and women who follow, and that the last two men also guard the caravan. He sees the two children on the donkey as the central figures, from a visual and aesthetic point of view (Shea 1981, p. 227).
69. See Newberry 1893a, pl. XXX, for facsimile.
70. See *ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII, 1, for facsimile.
71. See the census model from the tomb of Meketre in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 46724), for a three-dimensional rendering of such a scene (Tiradritti 1999, pp. 114–15).
72. For the term as “impost,” see Spalinger 1986, p. 209; Bleiberg (1984, p. 167) interprets this term as a reference to a system in which gifts were given to the king by both Egyptians and foreigners.
73. Lichtheim 1988, p. 139. Note that Tomb 2 contains a census scene very similar to this one.
74. Rabehl 2005; Rabehl 2006, pp. 249–50.
75. There are, however, exceptions: images of the king do appear in several Theban tombs of the Middle Kingdom; see Vasiljević 2005.
76. For animals as greeting gifts, see Staubli 1991, p. 33.
77. See Kamrin 1999.
78. Kessler has written a number of useful articles discussing the importance of addressing different levels of meaning in tomb scenes; see, for example, Kessler 1987b. On the importance of the symbolic levels inherent in Egyptian art, see also Weeks 1979, O’Connor 1991, and Kamrin 1999, pp. 42–44, 139ff. (with bibliography).
79. See, for example, R. H. Wilkinson 2003, p. 138.
80. Boessneck 1953, p. 27; De Meyer et al. 2005–6, pp. 67ff.
81. See Houlihan 1996, p. 66; for an example, see CG 29661 (Ikram and Iskander 2002, p. 11).
82. Cf. Cornelius 1994, p. 53; R. H. Wilkinson 2003, p. 127. Note also that this god sometimes holds some sort of stringed instrument.
83. Breasted 1906–7, vol. 1, p. 212, § 436, p. 216, § 451.
84. See, for example, Derchain 1962; Kamrin 1999, pp. 83–89.
85. See Tubb and Chapman 1990, pp. 53–57; Redford 1992, pp. 76–97.
86. Giveon 1975; Schulman 1982.
87. This can perhaps be compared to later sources, in which foreigners who perform their sacrifices in a similar fashion to the Greeks are seen to be like them, while those who perform their sacrifices differently are seen as “other” (see Nakhai 1993, p. 75).
88. Kamrin 1999, pp. 146ff.

Bibliography

A bronze figurine of a woman, possibly a prostitute, from the Neo-Assyrian period, 7th century BC, British Museum.

Abramishvili 2010. Mikheil Abramishvili. “In Search of the Origins of Metallurgy: An Overview of South Caucasian Evidence.” In *Von Majkop bis Trialeti: Gewinnung und Verbreitung von Metallen und Obsidian in Kaukasien im 4.–2. Jt. v. Chr.; Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Berlin vom 1.–3. Juni 2006*, edited by Svend Hansen, Andreas Hauptmann, Ingo Motzenbäcker, and Ernst Pernicka, pp. 167–78. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 13. Bonn, 2010.

Abu Assaf 1990. Ali Abu Assaf. *Der Tempel von ‘Ain Dārā*. Mainz am Rhein, 1990.

Acquaviva 2000. Marie-Noëlle Acquaviva. “Les ivoires de l’Égypte ancienne.” In *Des ivoires et des cornes dans les mondes anciens (Orient-Occident)*, edited by Jean-Claude Béal and Jean-Claude Goyon, pp. 93–99. Collection de l’Institut d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Antiquité, L’Université Lumière Lyon 2, vol. 4. Lyon and Paris, 2000.

Adams 1965. Robert McC. Adams. *Land behind Baghdad: A History of the Settlement on the Diyala Plains*. Chicago, 1965.

Adams 1981. Robert McC. Adams. *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates*. Chicago, 1981.

Adamthwaite 2001. Murray R. Adamthwaite. *Late Hittite Emar: The Chronology, Synchronisms, and Socio-Political Aspects of a Late Bronze Age Fortress Town*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 8. Leuven, 2001.

Aharoni 1962. Yohanan Aharoni. *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. London, 1962.

Ahituv 1984. Shmuel Ahituv. *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*. Jerusalem, 1984.

A bronze figurine of a woman, possibly a prostitute, from the Neo-Assyrian period, 7th century BC, British Museum.

Ahituv 1999. Shmuel Ahituv. “Canaanites.” In *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Kathryn A. Bard, pp. 186–89. London, 1999.

Akkermans 2006. Peter M. M. G. Akkermans. “The Fortress of Ili-pada: Middle Assyrian Architecture at Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria.” In *Les espaces syro-mésopotamiens: Dimensions de l’expérience humaine au Proche-Orient ancien; volume d’hommage offert à Jean-Claude Margueron*, edited by Pascal Butterlin et al., pp. 201–11. Subartu 17. Turnhout, 2006.

Akkermans and Rossmeißl 1990. Peter M. M. G. Akkermans and I. Rossmeißl. “Excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad, Northern Syria: A Regional Centre on the Assyrian Frontier.” *Akkadica* 66 (1990), pp. 13–60.

Akkermans and Schwartz 2003. Peter M. M. G. Akkermans and Glenn M. Schwartz. *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000–300 BC)*. Cambridge World Archaeology. Cambridge, 2003.

Akkermans and Smits 2008. Peter M. M. G. Akkermans and Elisabeth Smits. “A Sealed Double Cremation at Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria.” In *Fundstellen: Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens; ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, edited by Dominik Bonatz, Rainer M. Czichon, and F. Janoscha Kreppner, pp. 251–61. Wiesbaden, 2008.

Albright 1939. William F. Albright. “Astarte Plaques and Figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim.” In *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud, secrétaire perpétuel de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, par ses amis et ses élèves*, vol. 1, pp. 107–210. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 30. Paris, 1939.

Alexander 1986. Robert L. Alexander. *The Sculpture and Sculptors of Yazılıkaya*. Newark, Del., 1986.

Alexander 1991. Robert L. Alexander. “Šaušga and the Hittite Ivory from Megiddo.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50 (1991), pp. 161–82.

Algaze 1993. Guillermo Algaze. *The Uruk World System: The Dynamics of Expansion of Early Mesopotamian Civilization*. Chicago, 1993.

Allen 2008. James P. Allen. “The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur: Preliminary Report.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 352 (November 2008), pp. 29–39.

Al-Maqdissi 2003. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Recherches archéologiques syriennes à Mishirfeh-Qatna au nord-est de Homs (Èmèse).” *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147, no. 4 (2003), pp. 1487–1515.

Al-Maqdissi 2006. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Notes d’archéologie levantine, VIII. Stratigraphie du chantier B de Tell Sianu (plaine de Jablé).” *Syria* 83 (2006), pp. 229–45.

Al-Maqdissi 2008a. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Le complexe palatial de Qatna.” In “*L’Orient des palais*”: *Le palais royal d’Ougarit au Bronze récent*, edited by Michel Al-Maqdissi and Valérie Matoïan, pp. 265–67. Documents d’archéologie syrienne 15. Damascus, 2008.

Al-Maqdissi 2008b. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Matériel pour l’étude de la ville en Syrie (première partie).” *Studia orontica*, no. 4 (2008), pp. 5–10.

Al-Maqdissi 2008c. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Notes d’archéologie levantine, IV. Fouilles de sauvetage à Qal’at er-Russ dans la plaine de Jablé.” In *D’Ougarit à Jérusalem: Recueil d’études épigraphiques et*

archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil, edited by Carole Roche, pp. 63–72. Orient et Méditerranée 2. Paris, 2008.

Al-Maqdissi 2008d. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Notes d’archéologie levantine, XIV. Les premiers niveaux de la séquence stratigraphique du chantier B de Tell Sianu (plaine de Jablé).” *Syria* 85 (2008), pp. 223–28.

Al-Maqdissi 2008e. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Ras Shamra au Bronze moyen, travaux 1929–1974 (I^{re}–XXXV^e campagnes de fouilles).” In *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent*, edited by Yves Calvet and Marguerite Yon, pp. 51–71. Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée 47. Lyon, 2008.

Al-Maqdissi 2008f. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Réflexions sur Qatna et sa région.” *Studia orontica*, no. 3 (2008), pp. 3–41.

Al-Maqdissi 2008g. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Structures pré-palatiales à l’emplacement du Palais royal.” In “*L’Orient des palais*”: *Le palais royal d’Ougarit au Bronze récent*, edited by Michel Al-Maqdissi and Valérie Matoïan, pp. 30–33. Documents d’archéologie syrienne 15. Damascus, 2008.

Al-Maqdissi 2009. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Notes d’archéologie levantine, XVI. Remarque sur l’organisation urbaine dans la région de Homs à l’âge du Bronze.” *Estudos orientais* 10 (2009), pp. 35–51. Issue titled *II^e Rencontre Syro-Franco-Ibérique d’Archéologie et d’Histoire Ancienne du Proche-Orient: La basse et moyenne vallée de l’Euphrate syrien*, edited by Francisco Caramelo and Juan-Luis Montero Fenollós.

Al-Maqdissi 2010a. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Introduction aux travaux archéologiques syriens à Mishirfeh.” *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* 4 (2010), p. 347.

A bronze figurine of a woman, possibly a prostitute, from the Neo-Assyrian period, 7th century BC, British Museum.

A bronze figurine of a woman, possibly a prostitute, from the Neo-Assyrian period, 7th century BC, British Museum.

Al-Maqdissi 2010c. Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Qatna, Syrischer Kreis und amurritisches Quadrat.” *Antike Welt* 41 (2010), pp. 79–83.

Al-Maqdissi and Morandi Bonacossi 2005. Michel Al-Maqdissi and Daniele Morandi Bonacossi. *The Metropolis of the Orontes: Art and Archaeology from the Ancient Kingdom of Qatna. Seven Years of Syrian-Italian Collaboration at Mishrifeh/Qatna*. Damascus, 2005.

Al-Maqdissi and Souleiman 2004. Michel Al-Maqdissi and Antoine Souleiman. “Tell Iris.” In Galliano and Calvet 2004, p. 64.

Al-Maqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfälzner 2009. Michel Al-Maqdissi, Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, and Peter Pfälzner, eds. *Schätze des Alten Syrien: Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*. Exh. cat. Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart; 2009–10. Stuttgart, 2009.

Al-Maqdissi et al. 2002. Michel Al-Maqdissi, Marta Luciani, Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, Mirko Novák, and Peter Pfälzner, eds. *Excavating Qatna*. Vol. 1, *Preliminary Report on the 1999 and 2000 Campaigns of the Joint Syrian-Italian-German Archaeological Research Project at Tell Mishrifeh*. Documents d’archéologie syrienne 4. Damascus and Udine, 2002.

Alp 1968. Sedat Alp. *Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük bei Konya*. Ankara, 1968.

Alp 1991. Sedat Alp. *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*. Ankara, 1991.

Altenmüller and Moussa 1991. Hartwig Altenmüller and Ahmed Moussa. “Die Inschrift Amen-emhets II. aus dem Ptaħ-Tempel von Memphis: Ein Vorbericht.” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 18 (1991), pp. 1–48.

Amiet 1992. Pierre Amiet. *Sceaux-cylindres en hématite et pierres diverses*. Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra-Ougarit 2. Ras Shamra–Ougarit 9. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 1992.

Apakidze 1999. Joni Apakidze. “Lapislazuli-funde des 3. und 2.

A bronze figurine of a woman, possibly a prostitute, from the Neo-Assyrian period, 7th century BC, British Museum.

Jahrtausends v. Chr. in der Kaukasus-region: Ein Beitrag zur Herkunft des Lapislazuli in Troia.” *Studia Troica* 9 (1999), pp. 511–25.

Archi 1975. Alfonso Archi. “L’ornitomanzia ittita.” *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 16 (1975), pp. 119–80.

Archi 1979. Alfonso Archi. “Il dio Zawalli: Sul culto dei morti presso gli Ittiti.” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6 (1979), pp. 81–94.

Archi 1985. Alfonso Archi. “Mardu in the Ebla Texts.” *Orientalia*, n.s., 54, no. 1 (1985), pp. 7–13.

Archi 1986. Alfonso Archi. “The Archives of Ebla.” In *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*, edited by Klaas R. Veenhof, pp. 72–86. Leiden, 1986.

Archi and Biga 2003. Alfonso Archi and Maria Giovanna Biga. “A Victory over Mari and the Fall of Ebla.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 55 (2003), pp. 1–44.

Arnaud 2007. Daniel Arnaud. *Corpus des textes de bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (1936–2000) en sumérien, babylonien et assyrien*. Aula Orientalis, Supplementa 23. Barcelona, 2007.

Arneth 1999. Martin Arneth. “Möge Šamaš dich in das Hirtenamt über die vier Weltgegenden einsetzen”: Der ‘Krönungshymnus Assurbanipals’ (SAA III, I) und die Solarisierung des neuassyrischen Könintums.” *Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 5 (1999), pp. 28–53.

A bronze figurine of a woman, possibly a prostitute, from the Neo-Assyrian period, 7th century BC, British Museum.

Arnold (Dieter) 1981. Dieter Arnold. *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el Bahari*. Vol. 3, *Die Königlichen Beigaben*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo) 23. Mainz am Rhein, 1981.

Arnold (Dieter) 1991. Dieter Arnold. *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry*. Oxford, 1991.

Arnold (Dorothea) 1993. Dorothea Arnold. “Techniques and Traditions of Manufacture in the Pottery of Ancient Egypt.” In *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, edited by Dorothea Arnold and Janine Bourriau, pp. 5–142. Sonderschrift (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo) 17. Mainz am Rhein, 1993.

F. Arnold 1990. Felix Arnold. *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*. Vol. 2, *The Control Notes and Team Marks*. New York, 1990.

Aruz 1995. Joan Aruz. “Syrian Seals and the Evidence for Cultural Interaction between the Levant and Crete.” In *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, pp. 1–21. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 5. Berlin, 1995.

Aruz 2000. Joan Aruz. “Artistic Change and Cultural Exchange: The Glyptic Evidence.” In *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion; V. Internationales Siegel-Symposium, Marburg, 23.–25. September 1999*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 1–13. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 6. Berlin, 2000.

Aruz 2003. Joan Aruz, ed., with Ronald Wallenfels. *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus*. Exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. New York, 2003.

Aruz 2005. Joan Aruz. “Unravelling the Mysteries of the Well-Travelled Seal.” In Laffineur and Greco 2005, vol. 2, pp. 751–58.

Aruz 2006. Joan Aruz. “Central Anatolia and the Aegean (ca. 2650–1700 B.C.): Beads, Seals and Ivories—Enhancing the Case for Interaction.” In *Hayat Erkanal’a armağan: Kültürlerin yansması/Studies in Honor of Hayat Erkanal: Cultural Reflections*, edited by Betül Avunç, pp. 48–58. Istanbul, 2006.

Aruz 2008. Joan Aruz. *Marks of Distinction: Seals and Cultural Exchange between the Aegean and the Orient (ca. 2600–1360 B.C.)*. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 7. Mainz am Rhein, 2008.

Aruz 2010. Joan Aruz. “Inter-cultural Styles, Animal Combats, and the Art of Exchange.” In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik: VI. Internationales Siegel-Symposium aus Anlass des 50 jährigen Bestehens des CMS, Marburg, 9.–12. Oktober 2008*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 73–82. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 8. Mainz am Rhein, 2010.

Aslanidou 2002. K. Aslanidou. “Der minoische Spiralfries aus dem Grabungsareal H/IV in Tell el Dab’a: Malvorgang und Rekonstruktion.” *Ägypten und Levante* 12 (2002), pp. 13–27.

Aslanidou 2005. K. Aslanidou. “The Minoan Wall Paintings from Tell el-Dab’a/‘Ezbet Helmi: The Life-Size Male Figures.” In Laffineur and Greco 2005, vol. 2, pp. 463–69.

A bronze figurine of a woman, possibly a prostitute, from the Neo-Assyrian period, 7th century BC, British Museum.

Assante 2003. Julia Assante. “From Whores to Hierodules: The Historiographic Invention of Mesopotamian Female Sex Professionals.” In *Ancient Art and Its Historiography*, edited by A. A. Donohue and M. D. Fullerton, pp. 13–47. Cambridge, 2003.

Assyrian Dictionary 2006. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*. Vol. 18. Chicago, 2006.

Astour 1979. Michael C. Astour. “The Kingdom of Siyannu–Ušnatu.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979), pp. 13–28.

Astour 1936. Michael C. Astour. “Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops at the Siege of Emar?” In *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, edited by Mark W. Chavalas, pp. 25–56. Bethesda, Md., 1996.

Ataç 2008. Mehmet-Ali Ataç. “King of Sumer and Akkad, King of Ur: Figural Types, Astral Symbols, and Royal Titles in the Neo-Sumerian Period.” In *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, July 18–22, 2005*, edited by Robert D. Biggs, Jennie Myers, and Martha Tobi Roth, pp. 233–46. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 62. Chicago, 2008.

Atti 1961. *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Sottomarina, Albeiga, 1958*. Bordighera, 1961.

Aufrère 2002. Sydney H. Aufrère. “The Deserts and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Upper Egyptian Nomes during the Middle Kingdom.” In *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert*, edited by Renée Friedman, pp. 207–14. London, 2002.

Azerbaijan 2009. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung, ed. *Azerbaijan—Land between East and West: Transfer of Knowledge and Technology during the “First Globalization” of the VIII–IVth Millennium B.C.; International Symposium, Baku, April 1–3, 2009/ Azərbaycan—Strana, sviazy-vaushchiaa vostok i zapad obmen znaniiaimi i tekhnologiiami v period “pervoi globalizatsii” VII–IV tys. do n.e. mezhdunarodnyi simpozium, Baku, 1–3 aprelia 2009 goda*. Berlin, 2009.

Bachhuber 2006. Christoph Bachhuber. “Aegean Interest on the Uluburun Ship.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 110, no. 3 (July 2006), pp. 345–63.

Badalyan, Avetisyan, and A. T. Smith 2009. Ruben S. Badalyan, Pavel Avetisyan, and Adam T. Smith. “Periodization and Chronology of Southern Caucasia: From the Early Bronze Age through the Iron III Period.” In *The Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies*, vol. 1, *The Foundations of Research and Regional Survey in the Tsaghkahovit Plain, Armenia*, by Ruben S. Badalyan, Pavel Avetisyan, and Adam T. Smith, pp. 33–93. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 134. Chicago, 2009.

Badalyan et al. 2008. Ruben S. Badalyan, Adam T. Smith, Ian Lindsay, Lori Khatchadourian, and Pavel Avetisyan. “Village, Fortress, and Town in Bronze and Iron Age Southern Caucasia: A Preliminary Report on the 2003–2006 Investigations of Project ARAGATS on the Tsaghkahovit Plain, Republic of Armenia.” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 40 (2008), pp. 45–105.

Bader 2003. Bettina Bader. “The Egyptian Jars from Sidon in Their Egyptian Context: A Preliminary Report.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 18 (Spring 2003), pp. 31–37.

Bader et al. 2009. Bettina Bader, Irene Forstner-Müller, Karine Kopetzky, and Claude Doumet-Serhal. “An Egyptian Jar from Sidon in Its Egyptian Context: Some Fresh Evidence.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 29 (Spring 2009), pp. 79–83.

Badre 1980. Leila Badre. *Les figurines anthropomorphes en terre cuite à l'âge du Bronze en Syrie*. Paris, 1980.

Badre et al. 1994. Leila Badre, Éric Gubel, Emmanuelle Capet, and Nadine Panayot. “Tell Kazel (Syrie): Rapport préliminaire sur les 4^e–8^e campagnes de fouilles (1988–1992).” *Syria* 71, nos. 3–4 (1994), pp. 259–346.

Bagh 2003. Tine Bagh. “The Relationship between Levantine Painted Ware, Syro/Cilician Ware and Khabur Ware and the Chronological Implications.” In *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C., II: Proceedings of the SCIAM 2000–EuroConference, Haindorf, 2nd of May–7th of May 2001*, edited by Manfred Bietak,

pp. 219–37. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 4. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 29. Vienna, 2003.

Bagh 2004. Tine Bagh. “Levantine Painted Ware from the Middle Bronze Age Tombs at Sidon: New Material from the Lebanese Coast.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 20 (Autumn 2004), pp. 40–57.

Bahrani 1996. Zainab Bahrani. “The Hellenization of Ishtar: Nudity, Fetishism, and the Production of Cultural Differentiation in Ancient Art.” *Oxford Art Journal* 19, no. 2 (1996), pp. 3–16.

Bahrani 2001. Zainab Bahrani. *Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia*. London, 2001.

Bahrani 2002. Zainab Bahrani. “The Performative Image: Narrative, Representation, and the Uruk Vase.” In *Leaving No Stones Unturned: Essays on the Ancient Near East and Egypt in Honor of Donald P. Hansen*, edited by Erica Ehrenberg, pp. 15–22. Winona Lake, Ind., 2002.

Bahrani 2008. Zainab Bahrani. *Rituals of War: The Body and Violence in Mesopotamia*. New York, 2008.

Bakhchaliyev, Ashurov, and Marro 2009. Veli Bakhchaliyev, Safar Ashurov, and Catherine Marro. “The Excavations of Ovçular Tepesi (2006–2008): First Results and New Perspectives.” In *Azerbaijan* 2009, pp. 55–62.

Balkan 1957. Kemal Balkan. *Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mana to King Warshama of Kanish*. Ankara, 1957.

Barber 1997. E. J. W. Barber. “Textiles: Textiles of the Neolithic through Iron Ages.” In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, edited by Eric M. Meyers, vol. 5, pp. 191–95. New York, 1997.

Bard and Fattovich 2007. Kathryn A. Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, eds. *Harbor of the Pharaohs to the Land of Punt: Archaeological Investigations at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, Egypt, 2001–2005*. Naples, 2007.

Bard and Fattovich 2008. Kathryn A. Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, eds. “Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, 2007–2008.” Report available online at <http://www.archaeogate.org>.

Bard and Fattovich 2010. Kathryn A. Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich. “Spatial Use of the Twelfth Dynasty Harbor at Mersa/

Wadi Gawasis for the Seafaring Expeditions to Punt.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2, no. 3 (August 2010), pp. 1–13. <http://jaei.library.arizona.edu>.

Bardet et al. 1984. Guillaume Bardet, Francis Joannès, Bertrand Lafont, D. Soubeyran, and Pierre Villard, eds. *Archives administratives de Mari*. Vol. 1. Archives royales de Mari 23. Paris, 1984.

Barnett 1982. Richard D. Barnett. “Beneath the Wine Dark Sea: Nautical Archaeology and the Phoenicians of the *Odyssey*.” In *Greeks and Barbarians: Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and Non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism*, edited by John E. Coleman and Clark A. Walz, pp. 71–101. Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, Cornell University 4. Bethesda, Md., 1997.

Bass 1961. George F. Bass. “The Cape Gelidonya Wreck: Preliminary Report.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 65, no. 3 (July 1961), pp. 267–76.

Bass 1967. George F. Bass. *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., 57, pt. 8. Philadelphia, 1967.

Bass 1973. George F. Bass. “Cape Gelidonya and Bronze Age Maritime Trade.” In *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, edited by Harry A. Hoffner Jr., pp. 29–38. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973.

Bass 1986. George F. Bass. “A Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kaş): 1984 Campaign.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 90, no. 3 (July 1986), pp. 269–96.

Bass 1987. George F. Bass. “Oldest Known Shipwreck Reveals Bronze Age Splendors.” *National Geographic Magazine* 172 (1987), pp. 693–733.

Bass 1988. George F. Bass. “Return to Cape Gelidonya.” *INA Newsletter* (Institute of Nautical Archaeology) 15, no. 2 (June 1988), pp. 2–5.

Bass 1989. George F. Bass. “Cape Gelidonya: Once More.” *INA Newsletter* (Institute of Nautical Archaeology) 16, no. 4 (Winter 1989), pp. 12–13.

Bass 1991. George F. Bass. “Evidence of Trade from Bronze Age Shipwrecks.” In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean: Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, pp. 69–82. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90. Jonsered, 1991.

Bass 1997a. George F. Bass. “Prolegomena to a Study of Maritime Traffic in Raw Materials to the Aegean during the Fourteenth and Thirteenth

Centuries B.C.” In *Technē: Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age; Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference/6^e Rencontre Égéeenne Internationale, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18–21 April 1996*, edited by Robert Laffineur and Philip P. Betancourt, vol. 1, pp. 153–70. Aegaeum 16. Liège and Austin, 1997.

Bass 1997b. George F. Bass. “Beneath the Wine Dark Sea: Nautical Archaeology and the Phoenicians of the *Odyssey*.” In *Greeks and Barbarians: Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and Non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism*, edited by John E. Coleman and Clark A. Walz, pp. 71–101. Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, Cornell University 4. Bethesda, Md., 1997.

Bass 1998. George F. Bass. “Sailing between the Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.” In Cline and Harris–Cline 1998, pp. 183–91.

Bass 1999. George F. Bass. “The Hull and Anchor of the Cape Gelidonya Ship.” In Betancourt et al. 1999, vol. 1, pp. 21–24.

Bass 2010. George F. Bass. “A 50th Anniversary Reunion at Cape Gelidonya.” *INA Quarterly* (Institute of Nautical Archaeology) 37, nos. 2–3 (Summer–Fall 2010), pp. 16–17.

Bass and van Doorninck 1982. George F. Bass and Frederick H. van Doorninck Jr. *Yassi Ada*. Vol. 1, *A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck*. College Station, Texas, 1982.

Bass and Pulak 1989. George F. Bass and Cemal Pulak. “The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign.” Pt. 1, “Excavations at Ulu Burun in 1986.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, no. 1 (January 1989), pp. 1–12.

Bass et al. 2004. George F. Bass, Sheila Matthews, J. Richard Steffy, and Frederick H. van Doorninck Jr. *Serçe Limanı: An Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*. Vol. 1, *The Ship and Its Anchorage, Crew and Passengers*. College Station, Texas, 2004.

Bass et al. 2009. George F. Bass, Robert H. Brill, Berta Lledó, and Sheila Matthews. *Serçe Limanı: An Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*. Vol. 2, *The Glass of an Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*. College Station, Texas, 2009.

Bassiakos and Philaniotou 2007. Yannis Bassiakos and Olga Philaniotou. “Early Copper Production on Kythnos: Archaeological Evidence and Analytical Approaches to the Reconstruction of Metallurgical Process.” In *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by Peter M. Day and Roger C. P. Doonan, pp. 19–56. Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 7. Oxford, 2007.

Beal 2002. Richard Beal. “Hittite Oracles.” In *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, edited by Leda Ciraolo and Jonathan Seidel, pp. 57–81. Ancient Magic and Divination 2. Leiden, 2002.

Beale 1978. Thomas Wight Beale. “Bevelled Rim Bowls and Their Implications for Change and Economic Organization in the Later Fourth Millennium B.C.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37, no. 4 (October 1978), pp. 289–313.

C. Becker 1994. Cornelia Becker. “Elfenbein aus den syrischen Steppen? Gedanken zum Vorkommen von Elefanten in Nordostsyrien im Spätholozän.” In *Beiträge zur Archäozoologie und Prähistorischen Anthropologie*, edited by M. Kokabi and J. Wahl, pp. 169–81. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden–Württemberg 53. Stuttgart, 1994.

C. Becker 2005–6. Cornelia Becker. “Small Numbers, Large Potential: New Prehistoric Finds of Elephant and Beaver from the Khabur River/Syria.” In *Homenaje a Jesús Altuna*, vol. 1, *Paleontología y Arqueozoología*, pp. 445–56. San Sebastián, 2005–6.

C. Becker 2008. Cornelia Becker. “Die Tierknochenfunde aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu: Eine zoogeographisch-haustierkundliche Studie.” In *Umwelt und Subsistenz der assyrischen Stadt Dür-Katlimmu am Unteren Ḥābūr*, edited by Hartmut Kühne, pp. 61–125. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu 8. Wiesbaden, 2008.

J. Becker, Hempelmann, and Rehm 2010. Jörg Becker, Ralph Hempelmann, and Ellen Rehm, eds. *Kulturlandschaft Syrien: Zentrum und Peripherie. Festschrift für Jan-Waalke Meyer*. Alte Orient und Altes Testament 371. Münster, 2010.

Beckman 1982a. Gary M. Beckman. “The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 14 (1982), pp. 11–25.

Beckman 1982b. Gary M. Beckman. “The Hittite Assembly.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982), pp. 435–42.

Beckman 1983. Gary M. Beckman. *Hittite Birth Rituals*. 2nd ed. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 29. Wiesbaden, 1983.

Beckman 1993. Gary M. Beckman. “From Cradle to Grave: Women’s Role in Hittite Medicine and Magic.” *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 8 (1993), pp. 25–39.

Beckman 1995. Gary M. Beckman. “Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia.” In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson, vol. 1, pp. 529–43. New York, 1995.

Beckman 1996. Gary M. Beckman. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Edited by Harry A. Hoffner Jr. Writings from the Ancient World 7. Atlanta, 1996. [Also available as an American Council of Learned Societies Humanities E-Book. Accessed May 22, 2012.]

Beckman 1999a. Gary M. Beckman. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Edited by Harry A. Hoffner Jr. 2nd ed. Writings from the Ancient World 7. Atlanta, 1999.

Beckman 1999b. Gary M. Beckman. “The Tongue Is a Bridge: Communication between Humans and Gods in Hittite Anatolia.” *Archiv Orientalní 67* (1999), pp. 519–34.

Beckman 2001. Gary M. Beckman. “The Hittite Gilgamesh.” In *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, translated and edited by Benjamin R. Foster, pp. 157–65. New York, 2001.

Beckman 2002. Gary M. Beckman. “‘My Sun-God’: Reflections of Mesopotamian Conceptions of Kingship among the Hittites.” In *Ideologies as Inter-cultural Phenomena: Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project, Held in Chicago, USA, October 27–31, 2000*, edited by Antonio Panaino and Giovanni Pettinato, pp. 37–43. Melammu Symposia 3. Milan, 2002.

Beckman 2003. Gary M. Beckman. “Gilgamesh in Hatti.” In *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Gary M. Beckman, Richard Beal, and Gregory McMahon, pp. 37–57. Winona Lake, Ind., 2003.

Beckman 2003–5a. Gary M. Beckman. “Opfer nach

schriftlichen Quellen—Anatolien.” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 10, pp. 106–11. Berlin, 2003–5.

Beckman 2003–5b. Gary M. Beckman. “Pantheon—bei den Hethitern.” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 10, pp. 308–16. Berlin, 2003–5.

Beckman 2004a. Gary M. Beckman. “Sacrifice, Offerings, and Votives: Anatolia.” In *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, edited by Sarah Iles Johnston, pp. 336–39. Cambridge, Mass., 2004.

Beckman 2004b. Gary M. Beckman. “Visual Representation of Hittite Religion.” In *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, edited by Sarah Iles Johnston, pp. 610–12. Cambridge, Mass., 2004.

Beckman 2005. Gary M. Beckman. “How Religion Was Done.” In *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, edited by Daniel C. Snell, pp. 343–53. London, 2005.

Beckman 2009. Gary M. Beckman. “Hittite Literature.” In *From an Antique Land: An Introduction to Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, edited by Carl S. Ehrlich, pp. 215–54. Lanham, Md., 2009.

Beckman 2010a. Gary M. Beckman. “On Hittite Dreams.” In *Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Itamar Singer, pp. 26–31. Tel Aviv, 2010.

Beckman 2010b. Gary M. Beckman. “Temple Building among the Hittites.” In *From the Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible*, edited by Mark J. Boda and Jamie Novotny, pp. 71–89. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 366. Münster, 2010.

Beckman forthcoming a. Gary M. Beckman. “The Horns of a Dilemma, or On the Divine Nature of the Hittite King.” In *Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Würzburg, July 20–25, 2008*, edited by Gernot Wilhelm. Wiesbaden. Forthcoming.

Beckman forthcoming b. Gary M. Beckman. “Shamash among the Hittites.” In proceedings of the conference “Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer,” held in Leiden, December 17–19, 2008. Edited by E. van Soldt. Leiden. Forthcoming.

Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011. Gary M. Beckman, Trevor Bryce, and Eric H. Cline. *The Ahhiyava*

Texts. Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World 28. Atlanta, 2011.

A. Ben-Tor 2009. Amnon Ben-Tor. “A Decorated Jewellery Box from Hazor.” *Tel Aviv* 36, no. 1 (June 2009), pp. 5–67.

D. Ben-Tor 2006. Daphna Ben-Tor. “Chronological and Historical Implications of the Early Egyptian Scarabs on Crete.” In Czerny et al. 2006, vol. 2, pp. 77–86.

Benzel in preparation. Kim Benzel. “Sites of Enchantment: Early Dynastic Jewelry from the ‘Royal Cemetery’ at Ur, Mesopotamia.” PhD diss. (in preparation), Columbia University, New York.

Beran 1967. Thomas Beran. *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*. Pt. 1, *Die Siegel und Siegelabdrücke der Vor- und althethitischen Perioden und die Siegel der hethitischen Grosskönige*. Boğazköy-Ḥattuša 5. Berlin, 1967.

Bertram 2005. Jan-K. Bertram. “Befestigte Grossanlagen in der Südkaukasusregion: Ein Beitrag zum Siedlungswesen des 2. und frühen 1. Jts v. Chr.” *Metalla* (Bochum) 12, nos. 1–2 (2005), pp. 69–79.

Bertsch 2011. Julia Bertsch. “Elfenbein- und Knocheneinlagen aus der Königsgruft von Qatna.” In *Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, edited by Peter Pfälzner, pp. 249–58. Qatna Studien 1. Wiesbaden, 2011.

Betancourt 1985. Philip P. Betancourt. *The History of Minoan Pottery*. Princeton, N.J., 1985.

Betancourt 2005. Philip P. Betancourt. “Egyptian Connections at Hagios Charalambos.” In Laffineur and Greco 2005, vol. 2, pp. 449–53.

Betancourt 2006. Philip P. Betancourt. “Other Metallurgical Materials.” In *The Chrysokamino Metallurgy Workshop and Its Territory*, by Philip P. Betancourt, with contributions by Eleni A. Armpis et al., pp. 137–47. Hesperia, Supplement 36. Princeton, N.J., 2006.

Betancourt 2008. Philip P. Betancourt. *The Bronze Age Begins: The Ceramics Revolution of Early Minoan I and the New Forms of Wealth that Transformed Prehistoric Society*. Philadelphia, 2008.

Betancourt 2010. Philip P. Betancourt. “The Importance of Contexts in the Dating of Aegean Artifacts.” In *Die Bedeutung der*

minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik: VI. Internationales Siegel-Symposium aus Anlass des 50 jährigen Bestehens des CMS, Marburg, 9.–12. Oktober 2008, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 83–90. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 8. Mainz am Rhein, 2010.

Betancourt 2011. Philip P. Betancourt. “Newly Excavated Artifacts from Hagios Charalambos, Crete, with Egyptian Connections.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3, no. 2 (May 2011), pp. 1–5. http://jaei.library.arizona.edu.

Betancourt 2012. Philip P. Betancourt. “Trade and Interconnections in Lasithi between EM II and MM I: The Evidence from the Aiyos Charalambos Cave.” In Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012, pp. 184–94.

Betancourt and J. D. Muhly 2006. Philip P. Betancourt and James D. Muhly. “The Sistra from the Minoan Burial Cave at Hagios Charalambos.” In Czerny et al. 2006, vol. 2, pp. 429–35.

Betancourt et al. 1999. Philip P. Betancourt, Vassos Karageorghis, Robert Laffineur, and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, eds. *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*. 3 vols. Aegaeum 20. Liège and Austin, 1999.

Beyond Babylon. Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C. Exh. cat. edited by Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 2008–9. New York, 2008.

Bichta 2003. K. Bichta. “Luxuria ex Oriente: Ena proistoriko taxidi apo tē Thēra stēn Anatolē” (Luxuria ex Oriente: A Prehistoric Journey from Thera to the East). In *Argonautēs: Timētikos tomos gia ton kathēgētē Christo G. Douma: Apo tous mathētes tou sto Panepistēmio Athēnōn* (Argonaut: A Volume in Honor of Professor Christos G. Doumas from His Students at the University of Athens), edited by A. Vlachopouloskai and K. Birtacha, pp. 542–53. Athens, 2003.

Bietak 1991. Manfred Bietak. “Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 281 (February 1991), pp. 27–72.

Bietak 1995. Manfred Bietak. “Connections between Egypt and the Minoan World: New Results from Tell el-Dab’a/Avaris.” In

Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC, edited by W. Vivian Davies and Louise Schofield, pp. 19–28. London, 1995.

Bietak 1996. Manfred Bietak. *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos: Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab’a*. London, 1996.

Bietak 1997. Manfred Bietak. “Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom: New Results of Excavations.” In *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by Eliezer D. Oren, pp. 87–139. Philadelphia, 1997.

Bietak 2000a. Manfred Bietak. “The Mode of Representation in Egyptian Art in Comparison to Aegean Bronze Age Art.” In S. Sherratt 2000, vol. 1, pp. 209–46.

Bietak 2000b. Manfred Bietak. “‘Rich beyond the Dreams of Avaris: Tell el-Dab’a and the Aegean World. A Guide for the Perplexed.’ A Response to Eric H. Cline.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 95 (2000), pp. 185–205.

Bietak 2001. Manfred Bietak. “Hyksos.” In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Donald Redford, vol. 2, pp. 136–43. Oxford, 2001.

Bietak 2005. Manfred Bietak. “Neue Paläste aus der 18. Dynastie.” In *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, edited by Peter Jánosi, pp. 131–68. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 25. Vienna, 2005.

Bietak 2007a. Manfred Bietak. “Bronze Age Paintings in the Levant: Chronological and Cultural Considerations.” In *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C., III: Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000—2nd EuroConference, Vienna, 28th of May—1st of June 2003*, edited by Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny, pp. 269–300. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 9. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 37. Vienna, 2007.

Bietak 2007b. Manfred Bietak. “Context and Date of the Wall Paintings.” In Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b, pp. 13–43.

Bietak 2007c. Manfred Bietak. “Discussion of the Taureador Scenes from Avaris (Tell el-Dab’a/‘Ezbet Helmi).” In Bietak,

N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b, pp. 67–86.

Bietak 2009a. Manfred Bietak. “Perunefer: The Principal New Kingdom Naval Base.” *Egyptian Archaeology* 34 (2009), pp. 15–17.

Bietak 2009b. Manfred Bietak. “Perunefer: An Update.” *Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (2009), pp. 16–17.

Bietak 2010a. Manfred Bietak. “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?” In *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, edited by Marcel Marée, pp. 139–81. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192. Leuven, 2010.

Bietak 2010b. Manfred Bietak. “Minoan Presence in the Pharaonic Naval Base of Peru-nefer.” In *Cretan Offerings: Studies in Honour of Peter Warren*, edited by Olga Krzyszkowska, pp. 11–24. British School at Athens Studies 18. London, 2010.

Bietak 2011. Manfred Bietak. “The Aftermath of the Hyksos in Avaris.” In *Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures: Papers in Homage to Itamar Even-Zohar*, edited by Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Gideon Toury, pp. 19–65. Tel Aviv, 2011.

Bietak and Kopetzky 2009. Manfred Bietak and Karin Kopetzky. “The Dolphin Jug: A Typological and Chronological Assessment.” In *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, edited by J. David Schloen, pp. 17–34. Winona Lake, Ind., 2009.

Bietak and N. Marinatos 1995. Manfred Bietak and Nannó Marinatos. “The Minoan Wall Paintings from Avaris.” *Ägypten und Levante* 5 (1995), pp. 49–62.

Bietak, Dorner, and Jánosi 2001. Manfred Bietak, Josef Dorner, and Peter Jánosi. “Ausgrabungen in dem Palastbezirk von Avaris, Vorbericht Tell el-Dab’a/‘Ezbet Helmi, 1993–2000.” *Ägypten und Levante* 11 (2001), pp. 27–119.

Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007a. Manfred Bietak, Nannó Marinatos, and Clairry Palivou. “Fragments of the Bull Painting from Avaris (Tell el-Dab’a/‘Ezbet Helmi) and Their Reconstruction.” In Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b, pp. 45–66.

Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b. Manfred Bietak, Nannó Marinatos, and Clairry Palivou. *Taureador Scenes in Tell el-Dab’a (Avaris) and Knossos*. With a contribution by Ann Brysbaert, and Österreichische Akademie der

Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 43. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 27. Vienna, 2007.

Biga 2008. Maria Giovanna Biga. “Au-delà des frontières: Guerre et diplomatie à Ébla.” *Orientalia*, n.s., 77 (2008), pp. 289–334.

Birtacha et al. forthcoming. K. Birtacha, S. Sotiriopoulou, V. Perdikatsis, and Ch. Apostolaki. “Chromata: Nea dedomena gia ta ylika, tēn epexergasia kai tē chrēḗ tous ston proistoriko oikismo tou Akrotēriou” (Colors: New Data on Their Materials, Processing, and Use in the Prehistoric Settlement of Akrotiri). In *Akrotēri Thēras: 40 Chronia Ereunas (1967–2007)* (Akrotiri, Thera: 40 Years of Research [1967–2007]), edited by Christos G. Doumas and T. Devetzi. Hē en Athēnais Archaiologikē Hetaireia (The Athens Archaeological Society). Forthcoming.

von Bissing 1923–24. Friedrich Wilhelm, Freiherr von Bissing. “Zur Geschichte der antiken Rhyta.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1923–24, nos. 1–2, cols. 106–8.

Bittel 1975. Kurt Bittel. *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*. Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 9. Berlin, 1975.

Bittel 1976a. Kurt Bittel. *Die Hethiter: Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* Universum der Kunst 24. Munich, 1976.

Bittel 1976b. Kurt Bittel. *Les Hittites*. Univers des formes 24. Paris, 1976.

Black and Green 1992. Jeremy A. Black and Anthony Green. *Gods, Demons, and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary*. London, 1992.

Black et al. 2004. Jeremy Black, Graham Cunningham, Eleanor Robson, and Gábor Zólyomi. *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*. Oxford, 2004.

Bleiberg 1984. Edward Bleiberg. “The King’s Privy Purse during the New Kingdom: An Examination of INW.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984), pp. 155–67.

Blocher 2009. Felix Blocher. “Der Osten ist fern: Qatnas Kontakte nach Mesopotamien.” In Al-Maqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, pp. 258–61.

Blumenthal, Müller, and Reineke 1984. Elke Blumenthal, Ingeborg

Müller, and Walter F. Reineke, eds. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. [Vol. 2], *Übersetzung zu den Heften 5–16*. Berlin, 1984.

Bobokhyan 2008. Arsen Bobokhyan. *Kommunikation und Austausch im Hochland zwischen Kaukasus und Taurus, ca. 2500–1500 v. Chr.* BAR International Series 1853. Oxford, 2008.

Bobokhyan 2010. Arsen Bobokhyan. “‘Sicle caucasien’: Zur Frage der bronzezeitlichen Gewichtssysteme.” In *Von Majkop bis Trialeti: Gewinnung und Verbreitung von Metallen und Obsidian in Kaukasien im 4.–2. Jt. v. Chr.; Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Berlin vom 1.–3. Juni 2006*, edited by Svend Hansen, Andreas Hauptmann, Ingo Motzenbäcker, and Ernst Pernicka, pp. 197–203. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 13. Bonn, 2010.

Boehmer 1983. Rainer Michael Boehmer. *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy: Grabungskampagnen, 1906–1912, 1931–1939, 1952–1978*. Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 13. Berlin, 1983.

Boehmer and Kossack 2000. Rainer Michael Boehmer and Georg Kossack. “Der figurlich verzierte Becher von Karašamb.” In *Variatio Delectat: Iran und der Westen; Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*, edited by Reinhard Dittmann et al., pp. 9–71. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 272. Münster, 2000.

Boessneck 1953. Joachim Boessneck. *Die Haustiere in Ägypten*. Munich, 1953.

Boessneck and von den Driesch 1986. Joachim Boessneck and Angela von den Driesch. “Tierknochen- und Molluskenfunde aus Munbāqa.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 118 (1986), pp. 147–60.

Boessneck and Peters 1988. Joachim Boessneck and Joris Peters. “Tierknochen- und Molluskenfunde aus dem Grabungsbereich ‘Kuppe’ in Tall Munbāqa.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 120 (1988), pp. 51–58.

Bökönyi 1986. Sándor Bökönyi. “Subfossile Elefantenknochen aus Vorderasien.” In *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kāmid el-Lōz, 1977–1981*, edited by Rolf Hachmann, pp. 187–89. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 36. Bonn, 1986.

Bökönyi 1990. Sándor Bökönyi. *Kāmid el-Lōz. 12, Tierhaltung und Jagd*. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 42. Bonn, 1990.

Bonatz 2000. Dominik Bonatz. *Das syro-hethitische Grabdenkmal: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung einer neuen Bildgattung in der Eisenzeit im nordsyrisch-südostanatolischen Raum*. Mainz am Rhein, 2000.

Bordreuil and Al-Maqdissi 2007. Pierre Bordreuil and Michel Al-Maqdissi. “Le cercle des monarques disparus: La vénération des ancêtres en Syrie à la fin du II^e millénaire avant notre ère.” *Religions et histoire*, no. 13 (March–April 2007), pp. 46–49.

Börker-Klähn 1982. Jutta Börker-Klähn. *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*. Baghdader Forschungen 4. Mainz, 1982.

Börker-Klähn 1993. Jutta Börker-Klähn. “Noch einmal Iflatun Pınar.” In *Nimet Özgüç’e Armağan: Aspects of Art and Iconography, Anatolia and Its Neighbors; Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, edited by Machteld J. Mellink, Edith Porada, and Tahsin Özgüç, pp. 339–55. Ankara, 1993.

Borojevic et al. 2010. Ksenija Borojevic, Warren E. Steiner Jr., Rainer Gerisch, Chiara Zazzaro, and Cheryl A. Ward. “Pests in an Ancient Egyptian Harbor.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37, no. 10 (October 2010), pp. 2449–58.

Bottéro 1949. Jean Bottéro. “Les inventaires de Qatna.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 43 (1949), pp. 2–40.

Bottéro 1995. Jean Bottéro. “Akkadian Literature: An Overview.” In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson, vol. 4, pp. 2293–2303. New York, 1995.

Boulotis 2005. Christos Boulotis. “Aspects of Religious Expression at Akrotiri.” *ALS* 3 (2005), pp. 20–75.

Bounni 1982. Adnan Bounni. “Ras Ibn Hani au Bronze récent.” In *Archéologie au Levant: Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah*, pp. 147–54. Collection de la Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen 12. Lyon, 1982.

Bouquillon et al. 2007. Anne Bouquillon, Annie Caubet, Alexandre Kaczmarczyk, and Valérie Matoïan. *Fâiences et matières vitreuses de l’Orient ancien: Études physico-chimique et catalogue des oeuvres du Département des Antiquités Orientales*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Ghent and Paris, 2007.

Bourriau 1987. Janine Bourriau. “Pottery Figure Vases of the New Kingdom.” In *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne* 1 (1987), pp. 81–96.

R. J. Braidwood 1937. Robert J. Braidwood. *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch: An Archaeological Survey*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 48. Chicago, 1937.

R. J. Braidwood and L. S. Braidwood 1960. Robert J. Braidwood and Linda S. Braidwood. *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*. Vol. 1, *The Earlier Assemblages: Phases A–J*. Chicago, 1960.

Branigan 1968. Keith Branigan. “A Transitional Phase in Minoan Metallurgy.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 63 (1968), pp. 185–203.

Branigan 1970a. Keith Branigan. *The Foundations of Palatial Crete*. New York, 1970.

Branigan 1970b. Keith Branigan. “Minoan Foot Amulets and Their Near Eastern Counterparts.” *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 11 (1970), pp. 8–23.

Branigan 1970c. Keith Branigan. *The Tombs of the Mesara: A Study of Funerary Architecture and Ritual in Southern Crete, 2800–1700 B.C.* London, 1970.

Branigan 1973. Keith Branigan. “Crete, the Levant and Egypt in the Early Second Millennium B.C.” In *Pepagmeneta tou 3. Diethnous Krētologikou Synedriou* (Proceedings of the 3rd International Cretological Congress), pp. 22–27. Athens, 1973.

Breasted 1906–7. James A. Breasted, ed. *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. 5 vols. Chicago, 1906–7.

Bretschneider and van Lerberghe 2008. Joachim Bretschneider and Karel van Lerberghe, eds. *In Search of Gíbala: An Archaeological and Historical Study Based on Eight Seasons of Excavations at Tell Tweini (Syria) in the A and C Fields (1999–2007)*. Aula Orientalis, Supplementa 24. Sabadell, 2008.

Bronk Ramsey et al. 2010. Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Michael W. Dee, Joanne M. Rowland, Thomas F. G. Higham, Stephen A. Harris, Fiona Brock, Anita Quiles, Eva M. Wild, Ezra S. Marcus, and Andrew J. Shortland. “Radiocarbon-Based Chronology for Dynastic Egypt.” *Science* 328 (June 18, 2010), pp. 1554–57.

Broodbank 2000. Cyprian Broodbank. *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge, 2000.

Brysaert 2011. Ann Brysaert. “The Painted Plaster from Qatna: A Technological Study.” In von Rüden 2011, pp. 249–69, 329–35.

Brysaert, Melessanaki, and Anglos 2006. Ann Brysaert, K. Melessanaki, and D. Anglos. “Pigment Analysis in Bronze Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Painted Plaster by Laser-induced

Lexikon der Ägyptologie, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, vol. 2, cols. 573–85. Wiesbaden, 1977.

Bryan 1996. Betsy M. Bryan. “Art, Empire, and the End of the Late Bronze Age.” In *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-first Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*. Vol. 1, *The Earlier Assemblages: Phases A–J*. Chicago, 1960. Papers presented at a conference held at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, May 1991. Winona Lake, Ind., 1996.

Bryce 1989. Trevor R. Bryce. “Ahhiyawans and Mycenaean: An Anatolian Viewpoint.” *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 8, no. 3 (November 1989), pp. 297–310.

Bryce 1998. Trevor R. Bryce. *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford, 1998.

Brysaert 2002. Ann Brysaert. “Common Craftsmanship in the Aegean and East Mediterranean Bronze Age: Preliminary Technological Evidence with Emphasis on the Painted Plaster from Tell el-Dab’a, Egypt.” *Ägypten und Levante* 12 (2002), pp. 95–107.

Brysaert 2007a. Ann Brysaert. “Cross-craft and Cross-cultural Interactions during the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age.” In *Mediterranean Crossroads*, edited by Sophia Antoniadou and Anthony Pace, pp. 325–59. Athens, 2007.

Brysaert 2007b. Ann Brysaert. “Murex Uses in Plaster Features in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age.” *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 7, no. 2 (2007), pp. 29–51.

Brysaert 2007c. Ann Brysaert. “A Technological Approach to the Painted Plaster of Tell el-Dab’a, Egypt: Microscopy and Scientific Analysis.” In Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b, pp. 151–62.

Brysaert 2008. Ann Brysaert. *The Power of Technology in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean: The Case of the Painted Plaster*. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 12. London, 2008.

Brysaert 2011. Ann Brysaert. “The Painted Plaster from Qatna: A Technological Study.” In von Rüden 2011, pp. 249–69, 329–35.

Brysaert, Melessanaki, and Anglos 2006. Ann Brysaert, K. Melessanaki, and D. Anglos. “Pigment Analysis in Bronze Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Painted Plaster by Laser-induced

Breakdown Spectroscopy (LIBS).” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33, no. 8 (2006), pp. 1095–1104.

F. Buccellati 2010. Federico Buccellati. “The Monumental Temple Terrace at Urkesh and Its Setting.” In J. Becker, Hempelmann, and Rehm 2010, pp. 71–85.

G. Buccellati 2010a. Giorgio Buccellati. “The Semiotics of Ethnicity: The Case of Hurrian Urkesh.” In *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, edited by Jeanette C. Fincke, pp. 79–90. Dresden, 2010.

G. Buccellati 2010b. Giorgio Buccellati. “The Urkesh Temple Terrace: Function and Perception.” In J. Becker, Hempelmann, and Rehm 2010, pp. 87–121.

G. Buccellati forthcoming. Giorgio Buccellati. “Persistence of Tradition at Urkesh: The Temple Terrace from Protoliterate to Mittani.” To be published in a memorial volume for Paolo Emilio Pecorella.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995–96. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing.” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 42–43 (1995–96), pp. 1–32.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1996. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK.” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86 (1996), pp. 65–98. Issue titled *Festschrift für Hans Hirsch zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2002a. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “Die Grosse Schnittstelle: Bericht über die 14. Kampagne in Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Ausgrabungen im Gebiet AA, Juni–Oktober 2001.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 134 (2002) pp. 103–30.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2002b. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “Tar’am-Agade, Daughter of Naram-Sin, at Urkesh.” In *Of Pots and Plans: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of His 75th Birthday*, edited

by Lamia al-Gailani Werr et al., pp. 11–31. London, 2002.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2004. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “Der monumentale Palasthof von Tall Mozan/Urkeš und die stratigraphische Geschichte des *ābi*: Bericht über die 15. Kampagne 2002.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 136 (2004), pp. 13–39.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2005. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “Urkesh as a Hurrian Religious Center.” *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 47 (2005), pp. 27–59.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2007. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “Urkesh and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland.” *Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences* 175, no. 2 (2007), pp. 141–51.

G. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2009. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “The Great Temple Terrace at Urkesh and the Lions of Tish-atal.” In *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 11/2 in Honor of David I. Owen on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday, October 28, 2005*, edited by Gernot Wilhelm, pp. 33–70. Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 18. Bethesda, Md., 2009.

Buchanan 1966. Briggs Buchanan. *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*. Vol. 1, *Cylinder Seals*. Oxford, 1966.

Buchanan 1981. Briggs Buchanan. *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. New Haven, 1981.

Buchholz 1980. Hans-Günter Buchholz. “Some Observations concerning Thera’s Contacts Overseas during the Bronze Age.” In *Thera and the Aegean World*, vol. 2, *Papers and Proceedings of the Second International Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978*, edited by Christos G. Doumas, vol. 2, pp. 227–40. London, 1980.

Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973. Hans-Günter Buchholz and Vassos Karageorghis. *Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus: An Archaeological Handbook*. London, 1973.

Bunimovitz 1994. Shlomo Bunimovitz. “The Problem of Human Resources in Late Bronze Age Palestine and Its Socioeconomic

Implications.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 26 (1994), pp. 1–20.

A. Burke 2008. Aaron A. Burke. “Walled up to Heaven”: *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant*. Winona Lake, Ind., 2008.

B. Burke 1999. Brendan Burke. “Purple and Aegean Textile Trade in the Early Second Millennium B.C.” In Betancourt et al. 1999, vol. 1, pp. 75–82.

Burns 2010. Bryan E. Burns. *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*. Cambridge, 2010.

Busch 2006. Angela Busch. “Über Herkunft und Handel von Elfenbein im Neuen Reich.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 34 (2006), pp. 79–96.

Buschor 1919. Ernst Buschor. “Das Krokodil des Sotades.” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 11 (1919), pp. 1–43.

Butterlin 2003. Pascal Butterlin. *Les temps proto-urbains de Mésopotamie: Contacts et acculturation à l’époque d’Uruk au Moyen-Orient*. Paris, 2003.

Butterlin 2007. Pascal Butterlin. “Mari, les Šakkanakku et la crise de la fin du troisième millénaire.” In Kuzucuoğlu and Marro 2007, pp. 227–45.

Cameron 1979. Mark A. S. Cameron. “‘Stars of David’ on a Mural Plaster Fragment from Knossos.” *Kadmos* 18 (1979), pp. 40–46.

Cameron 1987. Mark A. S. Cameron. “The ‘Palatial’ Thematic System in the Knossos Murals: Last Notes on Knossos Frescoes.” In Hägg and N. Marinatos 1987, pp. 320–28.

Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum. “Emar aus der Perspektive Assurs im 13. Jh. v. Chr.” In *The City of Emar among the Late Bronze Age Empires: History, Landscape, and Society; Proceedings of the Konstanz Emar Conference, 25.–26.04.2006*, edited by Lorenzo d’Alfonso, Yoram Cohen, and Dietrich Sürenhagen, pp. 91–99. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 349. Münster, 2008.

Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974. André Caquot, Maurice Sznycer, and Andrée Herdner. *Textes ougaritiques*. Vol. 1, *Mythes et légendes*. Paris, 1974.

Caquot, de Tarragon, and Cunchillos 1989. André Caquot, Jean-Michel de Tarragon, and Jesús-Luis Cunchillos. *Textes*

ougaritiques. Vol. 2, *Textes religieux, rituels, correspondance*. Paris, 1989.

Carr 2005. David M. Carr. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*. Oxford, 2005.

Carruba 1966. Onofrio Carruba. *Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wišurjanza*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 2. Wiesbaden, 1966.

Carruba 1967. Onofrio Carruba. “Rhyta in den hethitischen Texten.” *Kadmos* 6 (1967), pp. 88–97.

Carruba 1974. Onofrio Carruba. “Tahurwaili von Hatti und die hethitische Geschichte um 1500 v. Chr.” In *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Kurt Bittel, Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, and Erica Reiner, pp. 73–93. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 35. Istanbul, 1974.

C. Carter 1988. Charles Carter. “Athletic Contests in Hittite Religious Festivals.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47, no. 3 (July 1988), pp. 185–87.

R. A. Carter and Philip 2010. Robert A. Carter and Graham Philip, eds. *Beyond the Ubaid: Transformation and Integration in the Late Prehistoric Societies of the Middle East; Papers from: The Ubaid Expansion? Cultural Meaning, Identity and the Lead-up to Urbanism; International Workshop Held at Gray College, University of Durham, 20–22 April 2006*. Studies in Ancient Civilization 63. Chicago, 2010.

Castel and Peltenburg 2007. Corinne Castel and Edgar Peltenburg. “Urbanism on the Margins: Third Millennium BC Al-Rawda in the Arid Zone of Syria.” *Antiquity* 81 (September 2007), pp. 601–16.

Castillo 2005. Jorge Silva Castillo. “Nomadism through the Ages.” In *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, edited by Daniel C. Snell, pp. 142–56. Oxford, 2005.

Catling 1964. H. W. Catling. *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology. Oxford, 1964.

Catling 1973–74. H. W. Catling. “Archaeology in Greece, 1973–74.” *Archaeological Reports*, no. 20 (1973–74), pp. 3–41.

Catling 1987–88. H. W. Catling. “Archaeology in Greece, 1987–88.” *Archaeological Reports*, no. 34 (1987–88), pp. 3–85.

Caubet 1991. Annie Caubet. “Répertoire de la vaisselle de pierre: Ougarit, 1929–1988.” In *Arts et industries de la pierre*, edited by Marguerite Yon, pp. 205–64. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 6. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 1991.

Caubet 1998. Annie Caubet. “The International Style: A Point of View from the Levant and Syria.” In Cline and Harris-Cline 1998, pp. 105–13.

Caubet 1999. Annie Caubet. “Chantres et devins: Deux cas de pratiques de la musique à Ougarit.” In “Schnittpunkt” *Ugarit*, edited by Manfred Kropp and Andreas Wagner, pp. 9–29. Frankfurt am Main, 1999.

Caubet forthcoming. Annie Caubet. “Considérations sur des gobelets de faïence à visage féminins.” In *Hommage à Leila Badre*, edited by Pierre Bordreuil, F. Briquel-Chatonnet, E. Capet, Eric Gubel, and C. Roche. Forthcoming.

Caubet and Gaborit-Chopin 2004. Annie Caubet and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin. *Ivoires de l’Orient ancien aux temps modernes*. Exh. cat. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Paris, 2004.

Caubet and Poplin 1987. Annie Caubet and François Poplin. “Les objets de matière dure animale: Étude de matériau.” In *Le centre de la ville, 38^e–40^e campagnes (1978–1984)*, edited by Marguerite Yon, pp. 273–306. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 3 (mémoire 72). Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 1987.

Caubet and Poplin 1992. Annie Caubet and François Poplin. “La place des ivoires d’Ougarit dans la production du Proche Orient ancien.” In *Ivory in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period*, edited by J. Lesley Fitton, pp. 91–100. Occasional Paper (British Museum) 85. London, 1992.

Caubet and Poplin 2010. Annie Caubet and François Poplin. “Réflexions sur la question de l’éléphant syrien.” In *Dur-Katlimmu 2008 and Beyond*, edited by Hartmut Kühne, pp. 1–9. Studia Chaburensia 1. Wiesbaden, 2010.

Caubet and Yon 1996. Annie Caubet and Marguerite Yon. “Le mobilier d’Ougarit (d’après les travaux récents).” In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, edited by Georgina

Herrmann, pp. 61–72. Mainz am Rhein, 1996.

Cecchini, Mazzoni, and Scigliuzzo 2009. Serena Maria Cecchini, Stefania Mazzoni, and Elena Scigliuzzo, eds. *Syrian and Phoenician Ivories of the Early First Millennium BCE: Chronology, Regional Styles and Iconographic Repertoires, Patterns of Inter-Regional Distributions*. Ricerche di archeologia del Vicino Oriente 3. Acts of the International Workshop held December 9–11, 2004, in the Aula Magna Storica, Palazzo La Sapienza, Università degli Studi di Pisa. Pisa, 2009.

Chapman 1997. Rupert Chapman. “Weapons and Warfare.” In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, edited by Eric M. Myers, vol. 5, pp. 334–39. New York, 1997.

Charaf 2004. Hanan Charaf. “An Assessment of the Continuity and Change in the LBI Pottery at Tell Arqa, Lebanon.” *Égypten und Levante* 14 (2004), pp. 231–48.

Charpin 1988. Dominique Charpin. “Les représentants de Mari à Babylone.” In *Archives épistolaires de Mari, I/2*, edited by Dominique Charpin et al., pp. 139–205. Archives royales de Mari 26/2. Paris, 1988.

Charpin 2004. Dominique Charpin. “Histoire politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595).” In *Mesopotamien: Die althabylonische Zeit*, edited by Pascal Attinger, Walther Sallaberger, and Markus Wäfler, pp. 25–480. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160, Annäherungen 4. Fribourg and Göttingen, 2004.

Charpin 2008. Dominique Charpin. “Les archives de l’époque amorrite.” In *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, nos. 77–78, pp. 233–48. Paris, 2008.

Charpin and Ziegler 2003. Dominique Charpin and Nele Ziegler. *Florilegium Marianum V: Mari et le Proche-Orient à l’époque amorrite. Essai d’histoire politique*. Mémoires de Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires 6. Paris, 2003.

Clark 1986. Grahame Clark. *Symbols of Excellence: Precious Materials as Expressions of Status*. Cambridge, 1986.

Cline 1987. Eric H. Cline. “Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century BC.” *Orientalia*, n.s., 56, no. 1 (1987), pp. 1–36.

Cline 1990. Eric H. Cline. “An Unpublished Amenhotep III Faience Plaque from Mycenae.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, no. 2 (April–June 1990), pp. 200–212.

Cline 1991a. Eric H. Cline. “Hittite Objects in the Bronze Age Aegean.” *Anatolian Studies* 41 (1991), pp. 133–43.

Cline 1991b. Eric H. Cline. “A Possible Hittite Embargo against the Mycenaeans.” *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 40 (1991), pp. 1–9.

Cline 1994. Eric H. Cline. *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. Bar International Series 591. Oxford, 1994. [Reprint ed., 2009.]

Cline 1995. Eric H. Cline. “‘My Brother, My Son’: Rulership and Trade between the LBA Aegean, Egypt and the Near East.” In *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean: Proceedings of a Panel Discussion Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992, with Additions*, edited by Paul Rehak, pp. 143–50. Aegaeum 11. Liège, 1995.

Cline 1996. Eric H. Cline. “Aššuwa and the Achaeans: The ‘Mycenaean’ Sword at Hattušas and Its Possible Implications.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 91 (1996), pp. 137–51.

Cline 1997. Eric H. Cline. “Achilles in Anatolia: Myth, History, and the Aššuwa Rebellion.” In *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael Astour on His 80th Birthday*, edited by Gordon D. Young, Mark W. Chavalas, and Richard E. Averbeck, pp. 189–210. Bethesda, Md., 1997.

Cline 1998a. Eric H. Cline. “Amenhotep III, the Aegean and Anatolia.” In *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, edited by David B. O’Connor and Eric H. Cline, pp. 236–50. Ann Arbor, 1998.

Cline 1998b. Eric H. Cline. “Rich beyond the Dreams of Avaris: Tell el-Dab’a and the Aegean World. A Guide for the Perplexed.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 93 (1998), pp. 199–219.

Cline 1999a. Eric H. Cline. “Coals to Newcastle, Wallbrackets to Tiryns: Irrationality, Gift Exchange, and Distance Value.” In Betancourt et al. 1999, vol. 1, pp. 119–23.

Cline 1999b. Eric H. Cline. “The Nature of the Economic Relations of Crete with Egypt and the Near

East during the Bronze Age.” In *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, edited by Angelos Chaniotis, pp. 115–43. Munich, 1999.

Cline 2005. Eric H. Cline. “The Multivalent Nature of Imported Objects in the Ancient Mediterranean World.” In Laffineur and Greco 2005, vol. 1, pp. 45–51.

Cline 2010. Eric H. Cline. “Bronze Age Interactions between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean Revisited: Mainstream, Periphery, or Margin?” In *Archaic State Interaction: The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age*, edited by William A. Parkinson and Michael L. Galaty, pp. 161–80. Santa Fe, 2010.

Cline and Harris-Cline 1998. Eric H. Cline and Diane Harris-Cline, eds. *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati, 18–20 April 1997*. Aegaeum 18. Liège and Austin, 1998.

Cline and Stannish 2011. Eric H. Cline and Steven M. Stannish. “Sailing the Great Green Sea? Amenhotep III’s ‘Aegean List’ from Kom el-Hetan, Once More.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3, no. 2 (2011), pp. 6–16.

Cline and Yasur-Landau 2007. Eric H. Cline and Assaf Yasur-Landau. “Poetry in Motion: Canaanite Rulership and Aegean Narrative at Kabri.” In *Epos: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology; Proceedings of the 11th International Aegean Conference/11^e Rencontre Égéeenne Internationale, Los Angeles, UCLA, the J. Paul Getty Villa, 20–23 April 2006*, edited by Sarah P. Morris and Robert Laffineur, pp. 157–65. Aegaeum 28. Liège and Austin, 2007.

Cline, Yasur-Landau, and Goshen 2011. Eric H. Cline, Assaf Yasur-Landau, and Nurith Goshen. “New Fragments of Aegean-Style Painted Plaster from Tel Kabri, Israel.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 115, no. 2 (April 2011), pp. 245–61.

Clutton-Brock 1987. Juliet Clutton-Brock. *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals*. Cambridge, 1987.

Cluzan, Mouliérac, and Bounni 1993. Sophie Cluzan, Jeanne Mouliérac, and Adnan Bounni, eds. *Syrie: Mémoire et civilisation*. Exh. cat. Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris; 1993–94. Paris, 1993.

Cohen-Weinberger and Goren 2004. Anat Cohen-Weinberger and

Yuval Goren. “Levantine–Egyptian Interactions during the 12th to the 15th Dynasties Based on the Petrography of the Canaanite Pottery from Tell el-Dab’a.” *Ägypten und Levante* 14 (2004), pp. 69–100.

Colburn 2008. Cynthia S. Colburn. “Exotica and the Early Minoan Elite: Eastern Imports in Prepalatial Crete.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, no. 2 (April 2008), pp. 203–24.

Coldstream 1972. John Nicolas Coldstream. “Deposits of Pottery from the Settlement.” In *Kythera: Excavations and Studies; Conducted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British School at Athens*, edited by John Nicolas Coldstream and George Leonard Huxley, pp. 77–204. London, 1972.

Collins 1995. Billie Jean Collins. “Ritual Meals in the Hittite Cult.” In *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, edited by Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, pp. 77–92. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 129. Leiden, 1995.

Collins 2004. Billie Jean Collins. “A Channel to the Underworld in Syria.” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67, no. 1 (March 2004), pp. 54–56.

Collon 1975. Dominique Collon. *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/ Alalakh*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 27. Kevelaer, 1975.

Collon 1977. Dominique Collon. “Ivory.” *Iraq* 39 (1977), pp. 219–22.

Collon 1981. Dominique Collon. “The Aleppo Workshop: A Seal-Cutters’ Workshop in Syria in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century B.C.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 13 (1981), pp. 33–43.

Collon 1982. Dominique Collon. “Some Bucket Handles.” *Iraq* 44, no. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 95–101.

Collon 1987. Dominique Collon. *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*. London, 1987. [Rev. ed., 2005.]

Collon 2000. Dominique Collon. “Syrian Glyptic and the Thera Wall Paintings.” In S. Sherratt 2000, vol. 1, pp. 283–94.

Collon 2006. Dominique Collon. “Report on the Seals and Sealings Found at Tell Atchana (Alalakh) during the 2003 Season of Excavation.” In Yener 2010, pp. 89–97.

Collon et al. 1975. Dominique Collon, C. Otte, M. Otte, and A. Zaqqouq. *Sondages au flanc sud du tell de Qala’at el Mudiq: Néolithique, chalcolithique, bronze ancien, 1970, 1972, 1973*. Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie, Miscellanea 11. Brussels, 1975.

J. Cooper 1972. Jerrold S. Cooper. “Bilinguals from Boğazköy. II.” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorder-asiatische Archäologie* 62, no. 1 (1972), pp. 62–81.

L. Cooper 2006. Lisa Cooper. *Early Urbanism on the Syrian Euphrates*. London, 2006.

Cornelius 1994. Izak Cornelius. *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 and Göttingen, 1994.

Cornelius 2004. Izak Cornelius. *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah, c. 1500–1000 BCE*. Fribourg and Göttingen, 2004.

Courtois 1969. Jean-Claude Courtois. “La Maison du prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies d’Ugarit.” In *Ugaritica VI: Publié à l’occasion de la XXX^e campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra (1968)*, edited by Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer, pp. 91–119. Mission de Ras Shamra 17. Paris, 1969.

Courtois 1973. Jean-Claude Courtois. “Prospection archéologique dans la moyenne vallée de l’Oronte (El-Ghab et Er Roudj. Syrie du Nord-Ouest).” *Syria* 50 (1973), pp. 53–99.

Couser, C. A. Ward, and Vosmer 2009. Patrick Couser, Cheryl A. Ward, and Tom Vosmer. “Hypothetical Reconstruction of an Ancient Egyptian Sea-Going Vessel from the Reign of Hatshepsut, 1500 BCE.” In *Historic Ships: The Royal Institution of Naval Architects, 19–20 November 2009*, pp. 86–139. London, 2009.

Cross 1980. Frank Moore Cross. “Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 238 (April 1980), pp. 1–20.

Crowley 1989. Janice L. Crowley. *The Aegean and the East: An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East in the Bronze Age*. Jonsered, 1989.

Culican and McClellan 1983–84. William Culican and Thomas L. McClellan. “El-Qitar: First Season

of Excavations, 1982–83.” *Abr-Nahrain* 22 (1983–84), pp. 29–63.

Czerny et al. 2006. Ernst Czerny, Irmgard Hein, Hermann Hunger, Dagmar Melman, and Angela Schwab, eds. *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*. 3 vols. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 149. Leuven, 2006.

Dalfes, Kukla, and Weiss 1997. Hasan Nühzet Dalfes, George Kukla, and Harvey Weiss, eds. *Third Millennium BC Climate Change and Old World Collapse*. Proceedings of a conference held at Kemer, Turkey, September 19–24, 1994. NATO Advanced Science Institute Series, Global Environmental Change 49. Berlin, 1997.

Damrosch 2003. David Damrosch. *What Is World Literature?* Princeton, N.J., 2003.

Damrosch 2004. David Damrosch, ed. *The Longman Anthology of World Literature*. Vol. A, *The Ancient World*. New York, 2004.

von Dassow 2008. Eva von Dassow. *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalah under the Mittani Empire*. Edited by David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm. Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 17. Bethesda, Md., 2008.

Daston 2004. Lorraine Daston, ed. *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*. Brooklyn and Cambridge, Mass., 2004.

Davaras 1976. Costis Davaras. *Guide to Cretan Antiquities*. Park Ridge, N.J., 1976.

Davaras and Betancourt 2004. Costis Davaras and Philip P. Betancourt. *The Hagia Photia Cemetery I: The Tomb Groups and Architecture*. Prehistory Monographs 14. Philadelphia, 2004.

Davies (Nina M.) 1936. Nina M. Davies, with Alan H. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*. 3 vols. Oriental Institute Special Publication. Chicago, 1936.

Davies (Norman de Garis) 1943. Norman de Garis Davies. *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē at Thebes*. Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 11. New York, 1943.

Davies (Norman de Garis) 1943/1973. Norman de Garis Davies. *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē at Thebes*. Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 11. New York, 1943. Reprint ed., New York, 1973.

Davis 1977. Ellen N. Davis. *The Vaphio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware*. Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts. New York, 1977.

Davis 1979. Ellen N. Davis. “The Silver Kantharos from Gournia.” In *Temple University Aegean Symposium 4*, pp. 34–45. Proceedings of the symposium “Gournia, Crete: The 75th Anniversary of the Excavations,” sponsored by the Department of Art History, Temple University, Philadelphia, March 2, 1979. Philadelphia, 1979.

Davis 1986. Ellen N. Davis. “Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 90, no. 4 (October 1986), pp. 399–406.

Day 1992a. John Day. “Asherah.” In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freedman, vol. 1, pp. 483–87. New York, 1992.

Day 1992b. John Day. “Ashtoreth.” In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freedman, vol. 1, pp. 491–94. New York, 1992.

De Meyer et al. 2005–6. Marleen De Meyer, Wim van Neer, Christoph Peeters, and Harco Willems. “The Role of Animals in the Funerary Rites at Dayr al-Barshā.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 42 (2005–6), pp. 45–71.

Derchain 1962. Philippe Derchain. *Rites égyptiens*. Vol. 1, *Le sacrifice de l’oryx*. Brussels, 1962.

Desroches-Noblecourt 1956. C. Desroches-Noblecourt. “Interprétation et datation d’une scène gravée sur deux fragments de récipient en albâtre provenant des fouilles du palais d’Ugarit.” In *Ugaritica III: Sceaux et cylindres hittites, épée gravée du cartouche de Mineptah, tablettes chypro-minoennes et autres découvertes nouvelles de Ras Shamra*, edited by Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer, pp. 179–220. Mission de Ras Shamra 8. Paris, 1956.

Devetzi 2000. Anastasia Devetzi. “The ‘Imported’ Stone Vases at Akrotiri, Thera: A New Approach to the Material.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 95 (2000), pp. 121–39.

Devetzi 2008. Anastasia Devetzi. “Ta eisēgmena lithina angeia tou Akrotēriou: Mia nea prosengisē” (The Imported Stone Vases from Akrotiri: A New Approach). In Doumas 2008a, pp. 453–74.

Dhorme 1940. Édouard Dhorme. “Textes accadiens transcrits en écriture alphabétique de Ras Shamra.” *Revue d’assyriologie et*

d’archéologie orientale 37 (1940), pp. 83–91.

Dietrich and Loretz 1969. Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz. “Beschriftete Lungen- und Lebermodelle aus Ugarit.” In *Ugaritica VI: Publié à l’occasion de la XXX^e campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra (1968)*, edited by Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer, pp. 165–79. Mission de Ras Shamra 17. Paris, 1969.

Dietrich and Mayer 1999. Manfred Dietrich and Walter Mayer. “The Hurrian and Hittite Texts.” In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by Wilfred G. E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt, pp. 58–75. Leiden, 1999.

Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1995. Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquin Sanmartín. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU)*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 8. Münster, 1995.

Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner 2008. Heike Dohmann-Pfälzner and Peter Pfälzner. “Die Ausgrabungen 2007 und 2008 im Königspalast von Qatna: Vorbericht des syrisch-deutschen Kooperationsprojektes in Tall Mišrife/Qatna.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 140 (2008), pp. 17–74.

Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner 2011. Heike Dohmann-Pfälzner and Peter Pfälzner. “Die Ausgrabungen 2009 und 2010 im Königspalast von Qatna: Vorbericht des syrisch-deutschen Kooperationsprojektes in Tall Mišrife/Qatna.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 143 (2011), pp. 5–62.

Dossin 1938. Georges Dossin. “Les archives épistolaires du Palais de Mari.” *Syria* 19, no. 2 (1938), pp. 105–26.

Dossin 1939. Georges Dossin. “Les archives économiques du Palais de Mari.” *Syria* 20, no. 2 (1939), pp. 97–113.

Dossin 1970. Georges Dossin. “La route de l’étain en Mésopotamie au temps de Zimri-Lim.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 64 (1970), pp. 97–106.

Doumas 1980. Christos G. Doumas. “Pitaria me endeixigia to ygro periechomeno tous” (Jars with Indication of Their Liquid Contents). In *STELĒ: Mnēmē N. M. Kontolontos* (STELE: Papers in Memory of N. M. Kondoleon), pp. 117–24. Athens, 1980.

Doumas 1985. Christos G. Doumas. “Conventions artistiques à Théra et dans la Méditerranée orientale à l’époque préhistorique.” In *L’iconographie minoenne: Actes de la Table Ronde d’Athènes (21–22 avril 1983)*, edited by Pascal Darque and Jean-Claude Poursat, pp. 29–34. Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, suppl. 11. Athens and Paris, 1985.

Doumas 1987. Christos G. Doumas. “Hē Xestē 3 kai oi kyanokephaloi tēs Thēras” (Xeste 3 and the “Kyanokephaloi” of Thera). In *Eilapinē: Tomos timētikos gia ton Nik. Platona* (Eilapine: *Honorific Volume for Nikolaos Platon*), pp. 151–59. Heraklion, 1987.

Doumas 1992. Christos G. Doumas. *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*. Athens, 1992.

Doumas 1994. Christos G. Doumas. “Anaskaphē Akrotēriou Thēras” (Excavation of Akrotiri on Thera). *PAE*, 1994, pp. 155–66.

Doumas 1995. Christos G. Doumas. *Die Wandmaleeien von Thera*. Munich, 1995.

Doumas 1999. Christos G. Doumas. “Anaskaphē Akrotēriou Thēras” (Excavation of Akrotiri on Thera). *PAE*, 1999, pp. 155–202.

Doumas 2000a. Christos G. Doumas. “Age and Gender in the Theran Wall Paintings.” In S. Sherratt 2000, vol. 2, pp. 971–81.

Doumas 2000b. Christos G. Doumas. “Anaskaphē Akrotēriou Thēras” (Excavation of Akrotiri on Thera). *PAE*, 2000, pp. 169–72, pls. 118–24.

Doumas 2001. Christos G. Doumas. “Anaskaphē Akrotēriou Thēras” (Excavation of Akrotiri on Thera). *PAE*, 2001, pp. 129–30, pls. 77–83.

Doumas 2003a. Christos G. Doumas. “Bringing to Life a Dead City at Akrotiri on the Island of Thera.” *ALS* 1 (2003), pp. 43–61.

Doumas 2003b. Christos G. Doumas. “To Neo Stegastro tou Archailogikou Chorou sto Akrotēri Thēras” (The New Roof of the Archaeological Site of Akrotiri on Thera). *Hylē kai Kiērio* 63 (2003), pp. 44–45. [Issue titled *To eo Stegastro tou Archailogikou Chorou sto Akrotēri tēs Santorinēs: Oi Technologies kataskeuēstou* (The New Shelter of the Archaeological Site of Akrotiri on Santorini: Its Manufacturing Techniques).]

Doumas 2004a. Christos G. Doumas. “Apo ta sēmeia kerameōs Athens, 1980.

stēn alphavētikē graphē: Mythos kai archaiologikē martyria” (From Potter’s Marks to Alphabetical Writing: Myth and Archaeological Testimony). In “*To Aigaios stēn Proimē Epochē tou Sidērou*”: *Praktika tou Diethnous Symposiou, Rodos 1–4 Noemvriou 2002* (The Aegean in the Early Iron Age: Proceedings of the International Symposium, Rhodes, 1–4 November 2002), edited by N. Chr. Stambolidēs and A. Giannikourē, pp. 495–503. Athens, 2004.

Doumas 2004b. Christos G. Doumas. “Oi epharmoges tēs photias stē Thēra (Santorinē) tēs Epochēs tou Chalkou” (The Applications of Fire on Thera [Santorini] in the Bronze Age). In *Althellenische Technologie und Technik: Von der prähistorischen bis zur hellenistischen Zeit mit Schwerpunkt auf der prähistorischen Epoche; 21–23. 2003 in Ohlstadt/Obb. Deutschland; Tagung*, pp. 405–25. Weilheim, 2004.

Doumas 2006a. Christos G. Doumas. “Quality not Quantity.” *ALS* 4 (2006), pp. 57–60.

Doumas 2006b. Christos G. Doumas. “Staphyli kai krasitē Thēra edo kai treisēmisi chiliades chronia” (Three and a Half Thousand Years of Grapes and Wine at Thera). In *Ampelos 2003: 10 Diethnes Synedrio gia to Ampeli 5–7 Iouniou, Santorinē* (Vine 2003: First International Conference on the Vine, 5–7 June, Santorini), pp. 1–11. Athens, 2006.

Doumas 2006c. Christos G. Doumas. “Thera: Prehistoric Times.” In *Archaeology: Aegean Islands*, edited by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos, pp. 312–19. Athens, 2006.

Doumas 2007. Christos G. Doumas. “Akrotiri on Thera: The Excavation of a Buried City.” In *Great Moments in Greek Archaeology*, edited by Panos Valavanis, pp. 236–55. Athens, 2007.

Doumas 2008a. Christos G. Doumas, ed. *Akrotēri Thēras: Trianta chronia ereunas, 1967–1997* (Akrotiri: Thirty Years of Research, 1967–1997). Athens, 2008.

Doumas 2008b. Christos G. Doumas. *Die Frühgeschichte der Ägäis im Licht der aktuellsten archäologischen Funde von Akrotiri, Thera*. Weilheim and Athens, 2008.

Doumas 2008c. Christos G. Doumas. “Ti ephanon oi Argonautes apo tēn Kolchida? Oi endeixeis apo to Aktotēri Thēras” (What Did the Argonauts Bring from Colchis? The Evidence from Akrotiri, Thera). In *Tagung Austausch von Gütern:*

Ideen und Technologien in der Ägäis und im östlichen Mittelmeer von der prähistorischen bis zu der archaischen Zeit; 19.–21.05 in Ohlstadt/Obb. Deutschland, pp. 39–56. Weilheim, 2008.

Doumas 2010. Christos G. Doumas. “Akrotiri.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000–1000 BC)*, edited by Eric H. Cline, pp. 752–61. Oxford, 2010.

Doumet-Serhal 2004. Claude Doumet-Serhal. “Warrior Burial 27 at Sidon.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 20 (Autumn 2004), pp. 21–29.

Doumet-Serhal 2006. Claude Doumet-Serhal. “Sidon: Mediterranean Contacts in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Preliminary Report.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 24 (Winter 2006), pp. 34–47.

Doumet-Serhal 2008. Claude Doumet-Serhal. “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, with Anne Rabate and Andrea Resek, pp. 2–70. [London], 2008.

Doumet-Serhal 2009. Claude Doumet-Serhal. “Second Millennium BC Levantine Ceremonial Feasts: Sidon a Case Study.” In *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean: Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages; Proceedings of the International Symposium, Beirut 2008*, pp. 229–44. Bulletin d’archéologie et d’architecture libanaises, hors-série, 6. Beirut, 2009.

Doumas 2007c. Christos G. Doumas. “Thera: Prehistoric Times.” In *Archaeology: Aegean Islands*, edited by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos, pp. 312–19. Athens, 2006.

Doumet-Serhal 2011–12. Claude Doumet-Serhal. “A Decorated Box from Sidon.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, nos. 34–35 (Autumn–Spring 2011–12), pp. 93–103. Issue titled “*And Canaan Begat Sidon His Firstborn . . . Gen. 10, 15; 1 Chr. 1, 13*”: *A Tribute to Dr. John Curtis on His 65th Birthday*, edited by Claude Doumet-Serhal, with Anne Rabate and Andrea Resek.

von den Driesch 1996. Angela von den Driesch. “Faunenhistorische Untersuchungen am prähistorischen Tierknochenmaterial vom Sirkeli Höyük, Adana/Türkei.” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 46 (1996), pp. 27–39.

Driessen 2007. Jan M. Driessen. “IIB or not IIB? On the Beginnings of Minoan Monument Building.” In *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean*, edited by Joachim Bretschneider, Jan M.

Driessen, and Karel van Lerberghe, pp. 73–92. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 156. Leuven, 2007.

Driessen, Schoep, and Laffineur 2002. Jan M. Driessen, Ilse Schoep, and Robert Laffineur, eds. *Monuments of Mino: Rethinking the Minoan Palaces; Proceedings of the International Workshop “Crete of the Hundred Palaces?,” Held at the Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, 14–15 December 2001.* Aegaeum 23. Liège and Austin, 2002.

Dschaparidze 2001. Othar Dschaparidze [Dzhaparidze]. “Zur früh Metallurgie Georgiens vom 3. bis zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.” In *Georgien: Schätze aus dem Land des goldenen Vlies*, edited by Irine Gambaschidze et al., pp. 92–119. Exh. cat. Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, Bochum. Bochum, 2001.

Duhoux 2003. Yves Duhoux. *Des Minoens en Égypte? “Kéftiou” et “les îles au milieu du Grand Vert.”* Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 52. Leuven, 2003.

Du Mesnil du Buisson 1928. Robert Du Mesnil du Buisson. “L’ancienne Qatna: Ou les ruines d’el-Mishrifé au N.-E. de Homs (Émèse). Deuxième campagne de fouilles (1927).” *Syria* 9, no. 2 (1928), pp. 81–89.

Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935. Robert Du Mesnil du Buisson. *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna.* Collection de textes et documents d’Orient 1. Paris, 1935.

Dunham 1989. S. Dunham. “Metal Animal Headed Cups at Mari.” In *To the Euphrates and Beyond: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon*, edited by Odette M. C. Haex, Hans H. Curvers, and Peter M. M. G. Akkermans, pp. 213–20. Rotterdam, 1989.

Durand 1983. Jean-Marie Durand. *Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du Palais de Mari: Transcrits, traduits et commentés.* Archives royales de Mari 21. Paris, 1983.

Durand 1992. Jean-Marie Durand. “Unité et diversités à l’époque amorrite.” In *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien: Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris 8–10 juillet 1991*, edited by Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès, pp. 97–128. Paris, 1992.

Durand 1997–2000. Jean-Marie Durand. *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari.* 3 vols. Littératures

anciennes du Proche-Orient 16–18. Paris, 1997–2000.

Durand 2008. Jean-Marie Durand. “La religion amorrite en Syrie à l’époque des archives de Mari.” In *Mythologie et religion des sémites occidentaux*, vol. 1, *Ebla, Mari*, edited by Gregorio del Olmo Lete, pp. 163–703. Leuven, 2008.

Duru 2003. Refik Duru. *Unutulmuş bir başkent: Tilmen. Islâhiye bölgesi’nde 5400 yıllık bir yerleşmenin öyküsü /A Forgotten Capital City: Tilmen. The Story of a 5400 Year Old Settlement in the Islahiye Region, Southeast Anatolia.* Istanbul, 2003.

Dzhaparidze 1988. N. O. Dzhaparidze. *Juvelimoe izskustvo epokhi bronzy v gruzii: Triadletskaia kul’tura* (Jeweler’s Art of the Bronze Age in Georgia). Tbilisi, 1988.

Ebeling 1915–23. Erich Ebeling. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assurreligiösen Inhalts.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1915–23.

Echt 1984. Rudolf Echt. *Kāmid el-Lōz. 5. Die Stratigraphie.* Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 34. Bonn, 1984.

Edgar 1904. C. C. Edgar. “The Pottery.” In *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos Conducted by the British School at Athens*, pp. 80–176. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Paper 4. London, 1904.

Edgerton 1923. William Franklin Edgerton. “Ancient Egyptian Ships and Shipping.” PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1923.

Ehringhaus 2005. Horst Ehringhaus. *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der hethitischen Grossreichszeit in der Türkei.* Mainz am Rhein, 2005.

Eidem 2011. Jesper Eidem. *The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan: Old Babylonian Letters and Treaties from the Lower Town Palace East.* Pihans 117. Leiden, 2011.

Eidem, Finkel, and Bonechi 2001. Jesper Eidem, Irving Finkel, and Marco Bonechi. “The Third-Millennium Inscriptions.” In *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2, *Nagar in the Third Millennium BC*, by David Oates, John Oates, and Helen McDonald, with contributions by Janet Ambers et al., pp. 99–120. Oxford, 2001.

El Awady 2009. Tarek El Awady. *Abusir XVI: Sahure, the Pyramid Causeway. History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom.* Prague, 2009.

El-Raziq, Castel, and Tallet 2006. Mohamed El-Raziq, Georges Castel, and Pierre Tallet. “Ayn Souknah et la Mer Rouge.” *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 41 (April 2006), pp. 3–6.

Ergenzinger and Kühne 1991. Peter J. Ergenzinger and Hartmut Kühne. “Ein regionales Bewässerungssystem am Hābūr.” In *Die rezente Umwelt von Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad und Daten zur Umweltrekonstruktion der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu*, edited by Hartmut Kühne, pp. 163–90. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu 1. Berlin, 1991.

Erman 1894/1971. Adolf Erman. *Life in Ancient Egypt.* London, 1894. Reprint ed., New York, 1971.

Evans 1906. Arthur Evans. *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos.* Pt. 1, *The Cemetery of Zafer Papoura.* Pt. 2, *The Royal Tomb of Isopata.* London, 1906. [Reprinted from *Archaeologia* 59.]

Evans 1921–35. Arthur Evans. *The Palace of Mino: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos.* 4 vols. in 6 parts. London, 1921–35.

Evans 1964. Arthur Evans. *The Palace of Mino: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos.* 5 vols. in 7 parts. New ed. London, 1964. [1st ed., 1921–35.]

Evans 1967. Arthur Evans. *Catalogue of Plates in Sir Arthur Evans’ Knossos Fresco Atlas.* Edited by Mark Cameron and Sinclair Hood. London, 1967.

Evely 1988. D. Evely. “The Potters’ Wheel in Minoan Crete.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 83 (1988), pp. 83–126.

Fabre 2005. David Fabre. *Seafaring in Ancient Egypt.* London, 2005.

Falconer 1994. Steven E. Falconer. “Village Economy and Society in the Jordan Valley: A Study of Bronze Age Rural Complexity.” In *Archaeological Views from the Countryside: Village Communities in Early Complex Societies*, edited by Glenn M. Schwartz and Steven E. Falconer, pp. 121–42. Washington, D.C., 1994.

Faulkner 2005. Raymond O. Faulkner, trans. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead.* With an introduction by James P. Allen. New York, 2005.

Fauth 1979. Wolfgang Fauth. “Sonnengottheit (ʾUTU) und

‘Königliche Sonne’ (ʾUTU^ṣ) bei den Hethitern.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979), pp. 227–63. Issue titled *Festschrift für Claude F. A. Schaeffer zum 80. Geburtstag am 6. März 1979.*

Fazal 2007. Tanisha M. Fazal. *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation.* Princeton, N.J., 2007.

Feldman 2002. Marian H. Feldman. “Luxurious Forms: Redefining a Mediterranean ‘International Style,’ 1400–1200 B.C.E.” *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (March 2002), pp. 6–29.

Feldman 2004. Marian H. Feldman. “Niniveh to Thebes and Back: Art and Politics between Assyria and Egypt in the Seventh Century BCE.” *Iraq* 66 (2004), pp. 141–50. Issue titled *Nineveh: Papers of the XLIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, London, 7–11 July 2003*, pt. 1, edited by Dominique Collon and Andrew George.

Feldman 2006a. Marian H. Feldman. “Ashur Tomb 45 and the Birth of the Assyrian Empire.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 343 (August 2006), pp. 21–43.

Feldman 2006b. Marian H. Feldman. *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an “International Style” in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE.* Chicago, 2006.

Feldman 2007. Marian H. Feldman. “Frescoes, Exotica, and the Reinvention of the Northern Levantine Kingdoms during the Second Millennium B.C.E.” In *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman, pp. 39–65. Winona Lake, Ind., 2007.

Feldman 2009. Marian H. Feldman. “Hoarded Treasures: The Megiddo Ivories and the End of the Bronze Age.” *Levant* 41, no. 2 (Autumn 2009), p. 175–94.

Ferrence 2007. Susan C. Ferrence. “Hippopotamus Ivory in EM–MM Lasithi and the Implications for Eastern Mediterranean Trade: New Evidence from Hagios Charalambos.” In *Krinoi kai Limenes: Studies in Honor of Joseph and Maria Shaw*, edited by Philip P. Betancourt, Michael C. Nelson, and Hector Williams, pp. 167–75. Prehistory Monographs 22. Philadelphia, 2007.

Finkbeiner 2001. Uwe Finkbeiner. “Emar 1999: Bericht über die 3. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen

Ausgrabungen.” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 32 (2001), pp. 41–120.

Finkbeiner 2002. Uwe Finkbeiner. “Emar 2001: Bericht über die 4. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen.” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 33 (2002), pp. 109–53.

Finkbeiner and Sakal 2003. Uwe Finkbeiner and Ferhan Sakal. “Emar 2002: Bericht über die 5. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen.” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 34 (2003), pp. 9–117.

Finkel 2006. Irving Finkel. “Report on the Sidon Cuneiform Tablet.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 24 (Winter 2006), pp. 114–20.

Finkelstein 1957. J. J. Finkelstein. “The So-called ‘Old Babylonian Kutha Legend.’” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11, no. 4 (1957), pp. 83–88.

Finkelstein 1966. J. J. Finkelstein. “The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 20, nos. 3–4 (1966), pp. 95–118.

Fischer 2007a. Erika Fischer. *Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Elfenbeine aus Megiddo und Lachisch: Inschriftenfunde, Flaschen, Löffel.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 47. Münster, 2007.

Fischer 2007b. Erika Fischer. “Der so genannte Internationale Stil der Späten Bronzezeit.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 39 (2007), pp. 803–86.

Fleming 1992. Daniel E. Fleming. “A Limited Kingship: Late Bronze Age Emar in Ancient Syria.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 24 (1992), pp. 59–71.

Fleming 2004. Daniel E. Fleming. *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance.* Cambridge, 2004.

Forest and Gallois 2006. Jean-Daniel Forest and Nathalie Gallois. “L’art mésopotamien: Architecture et arts plastiques des origines à la fin du III^e millénaire.” In *L’art en Mésopotamie*, edited by Giovanni Curatola, pp. 13–64. Paris, 2006.

Forsén 1992. Jeannette Forsén. *The Twilight of the Early Helladics: A Study of the Disturbances in East-Central and Southern Greece towards the End of the Early Bronze Age.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-Book 116. Jonsered, 1992.

Forstner-Müller 2008. Irene Forstner-Müller. *Tell el-Dab‘a XVI: Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab‘a.* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 44. Vienna, 2008.

Forstner-Müller and Kopetzky 2006. Irene Forstner-Müller and Karin Kopetzky. “An Upper Egyptian Import at Sidon.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 24 (Winter 2006), pp. 60–62.

Forstner-Müller and Kopetzky 2009. Irene Forstner-Müller and Karin Kopetzky. “Egypt and Lebanon: New Evidence for Cultural Exchanges in the First Half of the 2nd Millennium BC.” In *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean: Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages; Proceedings of the International Symposium, Beirut 2008*, pp. 143–57. Bulletin d’archéologie et d’architecture libanaises, hors-série, 6. Beirut, 2009.

Fortin 2007. Michel Fortin. “La vallée du Ghab: Nouvelle prospection archéologique.” In *Urban and Natural Landscapes of an Ancient Syrian Capital: Settlement and Environment at Tell Mishrifeh /Qatna and in Central-Western Syria; Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Udine, 9–11 December 2004*, edited by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, pp. 253–68. Studi Archeologici su Qatna 1. Udine, 2007.

B. R. Foster 2005. Benjamin R. Foster. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature.* 3rd ed. Bethesda, Md., 2005.

K. P. Foster 1979. Karen Polinger Foster. *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age.* New Haven, 1979.

K. P. Foster 1982. Karen Polinger Foster. *Minoan Ceramic Relief.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 64. Göteborg, 1982.

Franke 1991. Detlef Franke. “The Career of Khnumhotep III. of Beni Hasan and the So-called ‘Decline of the Nomarchs.’” In *Middle Kingdom Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke, pp. 51–67. New Malden, Surrey, 1991.

Frankel and Webb 2012. David Frankel and Jennifer M. Webb. “Pottery Production and Distribution in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: An Application of pXRF Analysis.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, no. 5 (May 2012), pp. 1380–87.

Frankena 1953. Rintje Frankena. *Täkult: De sacrale maaltijd in het Assyrische ritueel.* Leiden, 1953.

Frankfort 1939. Henri Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East.* London, 1939.

Frankfort 1952. Henri Frankfort. “The Origin of the Bit Hilani.”

Iraq 14, no. 2 (Autumn 1952), pp. 120–31.

Frankfort 1954. Henri Frankfort. *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient.* Harmondsworth, 1954.

Frayne 1990. Douglas Frayne. *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC).* Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 4. Toronto, 1990.

Frayne 1997. Douglas Frayne. *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC).* Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 3, pt. 2. Toronto, 1997.

Freier and Grunert 1984. Elke Freier and Stefan Grunert. *Eine Reise durch Ägypten: Nach den Zeichnungen der Lepsius-Expedition in den Jahren 1842–1845.* Munich, 1984.

French 1985. E. French. “The Figures and Figurines.” In *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, by Colin Renfrew, pp. 209–80. Supplementary volume (British School at Athens) 18. London, 1985.

Freu 2003. Jacques Freu. “Les relations assyro-hittites à la fin de l’âge du Bronze.” In *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Gary M. Beckman, Richard Beal, and Gregory McMahon, pp. 101–18. Winona Lake, Ind., 2003.

Freu 2004. Jacques Freu. *Suppluliuma et la veuve du Pharaon: Histoire d’un mariage manqué. Essai sur les relations égypto-hittites.* Collection Kubaba, Série antiquité 5. Paris, 2004.

Freu 2006. Jacques Freu. *Histoire politique du royaume d’Ugarit.* Collection Kubaba, Série antiquité 11. Paris, 2006.

Freu 2009. Jacques Freu. “Qatna et les Hittites.” *Studia Orontica*, no. 6 (2009), pp. 9–23.

Frey and Kürschner 1991. Wolfgang Frey and Harald Kürschner. “Die aktuelle und potentielle natürliche Vegetation im Bereich des unteren Hābūr (Nordost-Syrien).” In *Die rezente Umwelt von Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad und Daten zur Umweltrekonstruktion der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu*, edited by Alexandra Kleinerman and Jack M. Sasson, pp. 115–29. Bethesda, Md., 2010.

Gale 1991. Noël H. Gale. “Copper Oxhide Ingots: Their Origin and Their Place in the Bronze Age Metals Trade in the Mediterranean.” In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean: Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, pp. 197–239. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90. Jonsered, 1991.

Frost 1973. Honor Frost. “The Offshore Island Harbour at Sidon and Other Phoenician Sites in the Light of New Dating Evidence.” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater*

Exploration 2, no. 1 (March 1973), pp. 75–94.

Fugmann 1958. Ejnar Fugmann. *Hama: Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg, 1931–1938.* [Vol. 2, no. 1], *L’architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques.* Nationalmuseets skrifter, Større beretninger 4. Copenhagen, 1958.

Fujii and Adachi 2010. Sumio Fujii and Takuro Adachi. “Archaeological Investigations of Bronze Age Cairn Fields on the Northwestern Flank of Mt. Bishri.” *Al-Rāfidān*, 2010, pp. 61–77. Issue titled *Formation of Tribal Communities: Integrated Research in the Middle Euphrates, Syria*, edited by Katsuhito Ohnuma.

Gaballa 1976. G. A. Gaballa. *Narrative in Egyptian Art.* Mainz am Rhein, 1976.

Gabolde 2000. Marc Gabolde. “Les éléphants de Niyi d’après les sources égyptiennes.” In *Des ivoires (Orient-Occident)*, edited by Jean-Claude Béal and Jean-Claude Goyon, pp. 129–40. Collection de l’Institut d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Antiquité, L’Université Lumière-Lyon 2, vol. 4. Lyon and Paris, 2000.

Gachet 1987. Jacqueline Gachet. “Objets en os et en ivoire.” In *Le centre de la ville, 38^e–40^e campagnes (1978–1984)*, edited by Marguerite Yon, pp. 249–72. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 3 (mémoire 72). Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 1987.

Gachet-Bizollon 2007. Jacqueline Gachet-Bizollon. *Les ivoires d’Ougarit et l’art des ivoiriers du Levant au Bronze récent.* Ras Shamra-Ougarit 16. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 2007.

Gadotti 2010. Alhena Gadotti. “A Woman Most Fair: Investigating

Gale and Stos-Gale 1981. Noël H. Gale and Zofia A. Stos-Gale. “Lead and Silver in the Ancient Aegean.” *Scientific American* 244, no. 6 (June 1981), pp. 176–92.

Galliano and Calvet 2004. Geneviève Galliano and Yves Calvet, eds. *Le royaume d’Ougarit: Aux origines de l’alphabet*. Exh. cat. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon; 2004–5. Paris and Lyon, 2004.

Garfinkle forthcoming. Steven J. Garfinkle. “The Economy of Warfare in Southern Iraq at the End of the Third Millennium B.C.” In *Proceedings of the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 52, 2006*, edited by H. Neumann. Münster. Forthcoming.

Gasche et al. 1998. Hermann Gasche, James A. Armstrong, Stephen W. Cole, and Vahe G. Gurzadyan. *Dating the Fall of Babylon: A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology*. Mesopotamian History and Environment, Series 2, Memoirs 4. Ghent and Chicago, 1998.

Gautier 1999. Achilles Gautier. “Fauna, Domesticated.” In *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Kathryn A. Bard, pp. 300–306. London, 1999.

Gelb 1984. Ignace J. Gelb. “The Inscription of Jibbit-Lim, King of Ebla.” *Studia Orientalia* 55 (1984), pp. 213–29.

George 2003. Andrew R. George. *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition, and Cuneiform Texts*. Oxford, 2003.

George 2007a. Andrew R. George. “The Civilizing of Ea-Enkidu: An Unusual Tablet of the Babylonian Gilgameš Epic.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 101 (2007), pp. 59–80.

George 2007b. Andrew R. George. “Gilgamesh and the Literary Traditions of Ancient Mesopotamia.” In *The Babylonian World*, edited by Gwendolyn Leick, pp. 447–59. London, 2007.

George 2007c. Andrew R. George. “The Gilgameš Epic at Ugarit.” *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007), pp. 237–54.

van Gessel 1998. Ben H. L. van Gessel. *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*. Handbook of Oriental Studies, The Near and Middle East 33. Leiden, 1998.

Gibson 1981. McGuire Gibson. “Geographical and Historical Background.” In *Tell Razuk, Tell Ahmed al-Mughir, Tell Ajamat*,

edited by McGuire Gibson, pp. 11–27. Uch Tepe 1. Chicago and Copenhagen, 1981.

Gilan 2004. A. Gilan. “Überlegungen zu ‘Kultur’ und ‘Aussenwirkung.’” In *Die Aussenwirkung des spät-hethitischen Kulturraumes: Gütertausch, Kulturkontakt, Kulturtransfer; Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkollegs ‘Anatolien und seine Nachbarn’ der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003)*, edited by Mirko Novák, Friedhelm Prayon, and Anna-Maria Wittke, pp. 9–27. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 323. Münster, 2004.

Gilibert 2004. Alessandra Gilibert. “Jenseits von Stil und Ikonographie: Späthethitische Einflüsse auf das assyrische Wandrelief.” In *Die Aussenwirkung des spät-hethitischen Kulturraumes: Gütertausch, Kulturkontakt, Kulturtransfer; Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkollegs ‘Anatolien und seine Nachbarn’ der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003)*, edited by Mirko Novák, Friedhelm Prayon, and Anna-Maria Wittke, pp. 373–85. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 323. Münster, 2004.

Givoon 1975. Rafael Givoon. “Asiaten.” In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, vol. 1, cols. 462–71. Wiesbaden, 1975.

Glanville 1932. Stephen R. K. Glanville. “Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056.” Part 2, Commentary. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptischen Sprache und Altertumskunde* 68 (1932), pp. 7–41.

Glonti, Ketskhoveli, and Palumbi 2008. Lili Glonti, Marina Ketskhoveli, and Giulio Palumbi. “The Cemetery at Kvatskhelebi.” In *Archaeology in Southern Caucasus: Perspectives from Georgia*, edited by Antonio Sagona and Mikheil Abramishvili, pp. 153–84. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 19. Leuven, 2008.

Goedicke 1984. Hans Goedicke. “Abi-Sha(i)’s Representation in Beni Hasan.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984), pp. 203–10.

Goldwasser 2006. Orly Goldwasser. “Canaanites Reading Hieroglyphs. Horus Is Hathor? The Invention of the Alphabet in Sinai.” *Ägypten und Levante* 16 (2006), pp. 121–60.

Gonen 1992. Rivka Gonen. “The Chalcolithic Period.” In *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, edited by Amnon Ben-Tor, pp. 40–80. New Haven and Tel Aviv, 1992.

Goren 2008. Yuval Goren. “The Location of Specialized Copper Production by the Lost Wax Technique in the Chalcolithic Southern Levant.” *Geoarchaeology* 23 (2008), pp. 374–97.

Goren and Golding forthcoming. Yuval Goren and Nissim Golding. *Marine and Overland Interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean Area during the Late Bronze Age: The Canaanite Jar in Ports, Overland Routes and Shipwrecks*. Forthcoming.

Goren, Finkelstein, and Na’aman 2004. Yuval Goren, Israel Finkelstein, and Nadav Na’aman. *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Near Eastern Texts*. Tel Aviv, 2004.

Goren, Mommsen, and Klinger 2011. Yuval Goren, Hans Mommsen, and Jörg Klinger. “Nondestructive Provenance Study of Cuneiform Tablets Using Portable X-Ray Fluorescence (pXRF).” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (2011), pp. 684–96.

Goren et al. 2003. Yuval Goren, Shlomo Bunimovitz, Israel Finkelstein, and Nadav Na’aman. “The Location of Alashiya: New Evidence from Petrographic Investigation of Alashiyan Tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 107, no. 2 (April 2003), pp. 233–55.

Gorny 1996. Ronald L. Gorny. “Viticulture and Ancient Anatolia.” In *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, edited by Patrick E. McGovern, Stuart J. Fleming, and Solomon H. Katz, pp. 133–74. Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology 11. Amsterdam, 1996.

Grace 1956. Virginia R. Grace. “The Canaanite Jar.” In *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of Her Seventy-fifth Birthday*, edited by Saul S. Weinberg, pp. 80–109. Locust Valley, N.Y., 1956.

Graham 1987. James Walter Graham. *The Palaces of Crete*. Rev. ed. Princeton, N.J., 1987.

Grayson 1987. A. Kirk Grayson. *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1. Toronto, 1987.

Grayson 1991. A. Kirk Grayson. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, I (1114–859 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2. Toronto, 1991.

Grayson 1996. A. Kirk Grayson. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II (858–745 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3. Toronto, 1996.

Green 2003. Albert R. W. Green. *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake, Ind., 2003.

Grissom 2000. Carol A. Grissom. “Neolithic Statues from ‘Ain Ghazal: Construction and Form.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104, no. 1 (January 2000), pp. 25–45.

Gubel and Loffet 2011–12. Eric Gubel and Henri-Charles Loffet. “Sidon, Qedem and the Land of Iay.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, nos. 34–35 (Autumn–Spring 2011–12), pp. 79–92. Issue titled “And Canaan Begat Sidon His Firstborn . . . Gen. 10, 15; 1 Chr. 1, 13”: *A Tribute to Dr. John Curtis on His 65th Birthday*, edited by Claude Doumet-Serhal, with Anne Rebate and Andrea Resek.

Guichard 1999. Michaël Guichard. “Les mentions de la Crète à Mari.” In *L’acrobate au taureau: Les découvertes de Tell el-Dab’a et l’archéologie (Égypte) de la Méditerranée orientale (1800–1400 av. J.-C.); actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service Culturel le 3 décembre 1994*, edited by Annie Caubet, pp. 165–77. Paris, 1999.

Guichard 2005. Michaël Guichard. *La vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari: Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babyloniens de Paris*. Vol. 2. Archives royales de Mari 31. Paris, 2005.

Guigues 1937. P. E. Guigues. “Lébé’a, Kafer-Ġarra, Qrayé: Nécropoles de la région sidonienne.” *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 1 (1937), pp. 35–76.

Gulick 1980. Athenaeus. *The Deipnosophists*. Edited by Charles Burton Gulick. Vol. 5. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass., 1980.

Gündem 2010. Can Yümni Gündem. “Animal Based Subsistence Economy of Emar during the Bronze Age.” In *Emar after the Closure of the Tabqa Dam: The Syrian-German Excavations, 1996–2002*, edited by Uwe Finkbeiner and Ferhan Sakal, vol. 1, *Late Roman and Medieval Cemeteries and Environmental Studies*, pp. 125–76. Subartu 25. Turnhout, 2010.

Gündem and Uerpmann 2003. Can Yümni Gündem and

Hans-Peter Uerpmann. “Erste Beobachtungen an den Tiernochenfunden aus Emar (Syrien): Grabungen bis 2002.” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 34 (2003), pp. 119–28.

Gunter 2009. Ann C. Gunter. *Greek Art and the Orient*. Cambridge, 2009.

Güterbock 1940–42. Hans G. Güterbock. *Siegel aus Boğazköy*. 2 vols. Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 5, 7. Berlin, 1940–42.

Güterbock 1958. Hans G. Güterbock. “The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78 (1958), pp. 237–45.

Güterbock 1969. Hans G. Güterbock. “An Initiation Rite for a Hittite Prince.” In *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch, Semi-Centennial Volume: A Collection of Original Essays*, edited by Denis Sinor, pp. 99–103. Asian Studies Research Institute, Oriental Series 3. Bloomington, Ind., 1969.

Güterbock 1970. Hans G. Güterbock. “Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals.” In *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale: Université libre de Bruxelles, 30 juin–4 juillet 1969*, edited by André Finet, pp. 175–80. Brussels, 1970.

Güterbock 1975. Hans G. Güterbock. “The Hittite Temple according to Written Sources.” 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 E. J. van Donzel, pp. 125–32. Istanbul, 1975.

Güterbock 1978. Hans G. Güterbock. “Some Aspects of Hittite Prayers.” *Acta Universitatis Upsalensis* 38 (1978), pp. 125–39.

Güterbock 1980. Hans G. Güterbock. “An Addition to the Prayer of Mursili to the Sungoddess and Its Implications.” *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980), pp. 41–50.

Güterbock 1983. Hans G. Güterbock. “Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte.” In *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, edited by Rainer Michael Boehmer and Harald Hauptmann, pp. 203–17. Mainz am Rhein, 1983.

Güterbock and Kendall 1995. Hans G. Güterbock and Timothy Kendall. “A Hittite Silver Vessel in the Form of a Fist.” In *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend*

Vermeule, edited by Jane B. Carter and Sarah P. Morris, pp. 45–60. Austin, 1995.

Haas 2002. Volkert Haas. “Die hethitische Religion.” In *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich: Das Volk der 1000 Götter*, pp. 102–11. Exh. cat. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn. Stuttgart, 2002.

Haas 2006. Volkert Haas. *Die hethitische Literatur: Texte, Stilistik, Motive*. Berlin, 2006.

Haas 2008. Volkert Haas. *Hethitische Orakel, Vorzeichen und Abwehrstrategien: Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Kulturgeschichte*. Berlin, 2008.

Hägg 1987. Robin Hägg. “On the Reconstruction of the Western Façade of the Palace of Knossos.” In Hägg and N. Marinatos 1987, pp. 129–34.

Hägg and N. Marinatos 1987. Robin Hägg and Nannó Marinatos, eds. *The Function of the Minoan Palaces: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10–16 June 1984*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, 35. Stockholm, 1987.

Haines 1971. Richard C. Haines. *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*. Vol. 2, *The Structural Remains of the Later Phases: Chatal Hüyük, Tell Al-Judaidah, and Tell Taşyinat*. Oriental Institute Publications 95. Chicago, 1971.

Haldane 1992. Cheryl A. [Ward] Haldane. “The Lisht Timbers: A Report on Their Significance.” In *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, by Dieter Arnold, Appendix, pp. 102–12, and pls. 115–33. Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, South Cemeteries of Lisht 3. New York, 1992.

Haldane 1996. Cheryl A. [Ward] Haldane. “Archaeology in the Red Sea.” *Topoi* 6 (1996), pp. 853–68.

Hamblin 2006. William J. Hamblin. *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC: Holy Warriors at the Dawn of history*. London, 2006.

Hampe and A. Winter 1962. Roland Hampe and Adam Winter. *Bei Töpfern und Töpferinnen in Kreta, Messenien und Zypern*. Mainz am Rhein, 1962.

Harmansah 2008. Ömür Harmansah. Review of *Diplomacy*

by Design: Luxury Arts and an ‘International Style’ in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE, by Marian H. Feldman [Feldman 2006b]. *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 123–26.

Harper et al. 1995. Prudence O. Harper, Evelyn Klengel-Brandt, Joan Aruz, and Kim Benzel, eds. *Assyrian Origins: Discoveries at Ashur on the Tigris. Antiquities in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin*. Exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. New York, 1995.

Hawass 2007. Zahi Hawass. *King Tutankhamun: The Treasures of the Tomb*. New York, 2007.

Hawes et al. 1908. Harriet Boyd Hawes, Blanche E. Williams, Richard B. Seager, and Edith H. Hall. *Gournia, Vasiliki and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete: Excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp Expeditions 1901, 1903, 1904*. Philadelphia, 1908.

Hawkins 2000. J. David Hawkins. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. Vol. 1, *Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, n.s., 8, 1. Berlin, 2000.

Hawkins 2002. J. David Hawkins. “Anatolia: The End of the Hittite Empire and After.” In *Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Kontinuität und Wandel von Strukturen und Mechanismen kultureller Interaktion; Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereiches 295 ‘Kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte’ der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 11.–12. Dezember 1998*, edited by Eva Andrea Braun-Holzinger and Hartmut Matthäus, pp. 143–51. Paderborn, 2002.

Hawkins 2003. J. David Hawkins. “The Storm-God Seal of Mursili III.” In *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Gary M. Beckman, Richard Beal, and Gregory McMahon, pp. 169–75. Winona Lake, Ind., 2003.

Hawkins 2008. J. David Hawkins. “The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Hieroglyphic Luwian.” In *The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*, edited by John Baines, John Bennet, and Stephen Houston, pp. 31–43. London, 2008.

Hayes 1955. William C. Hayes. *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)*. Brooklyn, N.Y., 1955.

Hayes 1971. William C. Hayes. “The Middle Kingdom in Egypt.” In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 1, pt. 2, *Early History of the Middle East*, edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond, pp. 464–531. Cambridge, 1971.

Hazenbos 2003. Joost Hazenbos. *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults during the Thirteenth Century B.C.: An Appraisal of the Hittite Cult Inventories*. Cuneiform Monographs 21. Leiden and Boston, 2003.

Heimpel 1980–83. Wolfgang Heimpel. “Krebs.” In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 6, pp. 223–25. Berlin, 1980–83.

Heimpel 1986. Wolfgang Heimpel. “The Sun at Night and the Doors of Heaven in Babylonian Texts.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 38, no. 2 (Autumn 1986), pp. 127–51.

Heimpel 2003. Wolfgang Heimpel, ed. *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation, with Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*. Winona Lake, Ind., 2003.

Helck 1961. Wolfgang Helck. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22*. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums. Berlin, 1961.

Helck 1971. Wolfgang Helck. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* 2nd ed. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5. Wiesbaden, 1971.

Helms 1988. Mary W. Helms. *Ulysses’ Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton, N.J., 1988.

Helms 1993. Mary W. Helms. *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power*. Austin, 1993.

Helwing 2009. Barbara Helwing. “Azerbaijan in the Chalcolithic: A View from the Southwest.” In *Azerbaijan 2009*, pp. 63–70.

Herbordt 2005. Suzanne Herbordt. *Die Prinzen- und Beamteniegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullnen aus dem Nisantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*. Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 19. Mainz am Rhein, 2005.

Herrmann 1992. Georgina Herrmann. “The Nimrud Ivories, 2: A Survey of the Traditions.” In *Von Uruk nach Tuttul: Eine Festschrift für Eva Strommenger; Studien und Aufsätzen von Kollegen und Freunden*, edited by Barthel Hrouda et al., pp. 65–79. Munich, 1992.

Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009. Georgina Herrmann and Stuart Laidlaw, with Helena Coffey. *Ivories from the North West Palace (1845–1992)*. Ivories from Nimrud 6. London, 2009.

Herzog 1985. Ze'ev Herzog. *Das Stadttor in Israel und in der Nachbarländern*. Mainz am Rhein, 1985.

Herzog 1997. Ze'ev Herzog. *Archaeology of the City: Urban Planning in Ancient Israel and Its Social Implications*. Tel Aviv, 1997.

Hickmann 1956. Hans Hickmann. *Musikologie pharaonique: Études sur l'évolution de l'art musical dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Kehl, 1956.

Higginbotham 2000. Carolyn R. Higginbotham. *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 2. Leiden, 2000.

Hill, Jacobsen, and Delougaz 1990. Harold D. Hill, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Pinhas Delougaz. *Old Babylonian Public Buildings in the Diyala Region*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 98. Chicago, 1990.

Hirsch 1977. Ethel S. Hirsch. *Painted Decoration on the Floors of Bronze Age Structures on Crete and the Greek Mainland*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 53. Göteborg, 1977.

Hirschfeld 2010. Nicolle Hirschfeld. "INA in Depth." *INA Quarterly* (Institute of Nautical Archaeology) 37, nos. 2–3 (Summer–Fall 2010), p. 30.

Hoffmann 1961. Herbert Hoffmann. "The Persian Origin of Attic Rhyta." *Antike Kunst* 4, no. 1 (1961), pp. 21–26.

Hoffmeier 1996. James K. Hoffmeier. *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition*. New York, 1996.

Hoffner 1988. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. "A Scene in the Realm of the Dead." In *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, edited by Erle Leichty, Maria deJ. Ellis, and Pamela Gerardi, pp. 191–99. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 9. Philadelphia, 1988.

Hoffner 1992. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. "Syrian Cultural Influence in Ḫatti." In *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, edited by Mark W. Chavalas and John L. Hayes, pp. 89–106. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 25. Malibu, 1992.

Hoffner 1993. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. "Akkadian *Šumma immeru* Texts and Their Hurro–Hittite Counterparts." In *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg, pp. 116–19. Bethesda, Md., 1993.

Hoffner 1998a. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. *Hittite Myths*. Edited by Gary M. Beckman. 2nd ed. Writings from the Ancient World 2. Atlanta, 1998.

Hoffner 1998b. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. "Hurrian Civilization from a Hittite Perspective." In *Urkish and the Hurrians: A Volume in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*, edited by Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, pp. 167–200. *Urkish/Mozan Studies* 3. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26. Malibu, 1998.

Hoffner 2009. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*. Edited by Gary M. Beckman. 2nd ed. Writings from the Ancient World 15. Atlanta, 2009.

Höflmayer 2007. F. Höflmayer. "Ägyptische Skarabäen auf Kreta und ihre Bedeutung für die absolute Chronologie der minoischen Altpalastzeit (MM IB–MM IIB)." *Ägypten und Levante* 17 (2007), pp. 107–25.

Hofmann 1974. Inge Hofmann. "Die Artzugehörigkeit des syrischen Elefanten." *Säugetierkundliche Mitteilungen* 22 (1974), pp. 225–32.

Holy Land 1986. *Treasures of the Holy Land: Ancient Art from the Israel Museum*. Exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; 1986–88. New York, 1986.

Hood 1971. Sinclair F. Hood. "An Early Helladic Import at Knossos and Anatolian Connections." In *Mélanges de préhistoire d'archéocivilisation et d'ethnologie offerts à André Varagnac*, edited by Gabriel Marcel, pp. 427–36. Paris, 1971.

Hood 2000. Sinclair F. Hood. "Crete, Syria and Egypt." In *Karetsou* 2000, pp. 21–23.

Hood 2005. Sinclair F. Hood. "Dating the Knossos Frescoes." In *Aegean Wall Painting: A Tribute to Mark Cameron*, edited by Lyvia Morgan, pp. 45–81. British School at Athens Studies 13. London, 2005.

Hood and Cadogan 2011. Sinclair F. Hood and Gerald Cadogan. *Knossos Excavations, 1957–1961: Early Minoan*. Supplementary

volume (British School at Athens) 46. London, 2011.

Hooijer 1978. D. A. Hooijer. "The Indian Elephant at Bronze Age Ras Shamra, Ugarit." *Ugaritica* 7 (1978), pp. 187–89.

Hooker 1994. J. T. Hooker. *Eisagogē stē Grammikē B* (Introduction to Linear B). Athens, 1994.

Hörig 1979. Monika Hörig. *Dea Syria: Studien zur religiösen Tradition der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin in Vorderasien*. Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979.

Houlihan 1996. Patrick F. Houlihan. *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*. London, 1996.

van den Hout 1995. Theo P. J. van den Hout. "Tuthaliya IV. und die Ikonographie hethitischer Grosskönige des 13. Jhs." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52 (1995), pp. 545–73.

Houwink ten Cate 1987. Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate. "The Sun God of Heaven, the Assembly of Gods and the Hittite King." In *Effigies dei: Essays on the History of Religions*, edited by Dirk van der Plas, pp. 13–34. Leiden, 1987.

Hrouda 1991. Barthel Hrouda. *Der Alte Orient: Geschichte und Kultur des alten Vorderasien*. With contributions by Jean Bottéro et al. Munich, 1991.

Hutter 1993. Manfred Hutter. "Kultstelen und Baityloi: Die Ausstrahlung eines syrischen religiösen Phänomens nach Kleinasien und Israel." In *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament: Internationales Symposium Hamburg, 17.–21. März*, edited by Bernd Janowski, Klaus Koch, and Gernot Wilhelm, pp. 87–108. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 129. Fribourg and Göttingen, 1993.

Hutter 2003. Manfred Hutter. "Aspects of Luwian Religion." In *The Luwians*, edited by H. Craig Melchert, pp. 211–80. *Handbook of Oriental Studies*, sect. 1, The Near and Middle East 68. Leiden, 2003.

Iamoni and Kanhouch 2009. M. Iamoni and Yasmine Kanhouch. "Der Ostpalast." In *Al-Maqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfalzner* 2009, pp. 160–63.

Ikram and Iskander 2002. Salima Ikram and Nasry Iskander. *Non-Human Mummies*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo, 2002.

Ilan 1995. David Ilan. "Mortuary Practices at Tel Dan in the Middle Bronze Age: A Reflection of

Canaanite Society and Ideology." In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green, pp. 122–24. *Oxbow Monograph* 51. Oxford, 1995.

Iliakis 1978. K. Iliakis. "Morphological Analysis of the Akrotiri Wall-Paintings." In *Thera and the Aegean World: Papers Presented at the Second International Scientific Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978*, edited by Christos G. Doumas, vol. 1, pp. 617–28. London, 1978.

Immerwahr 1990. Sara A. Immerwahr. *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. University Park, Pa., 1990.

Immerwahr 2005. Sara A. Immerwahr. "Left or Right? A Study of Hands and Feet." In *Aegean Wall Painting: A Tribute to Mark Cameron*, edited by Lyvia Morgan, pp. 173–83. British School at Athens Studies 13. London, 2005.

Ismail and Cavigneaux 2003. Bahija Khalil Ismail and Antoine Cavigneaux. "Dādušas Siegesstele IM 95200 aus Ešnunna: Die Inschrift." *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 34 (2003), pp. 129–63.

Izre'el 1991. Shlomo Izre'el. *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*. 2 vols. Harvard Semitic Studies 40–41. Atlanta, 1991.

Jacobsen 1987. Thorkild Jacobsen. *The Harps that Once . . . : Sumerian Poetry in Translation*. New Haven, 1987.

Jacquet 2002. Antoine Jacquet. "Lugal-Meš et malikum: Nouvel examen du *kispum* à Mari." In *Florilegium Marianum VI: Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot*, edited by Dominique Charpin and Jean-Marie Durand, pp. 51–68. *Mémoires de Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 7. Paris, 2002.

Jahn 2007. Brit Jahn. "The Migration and Sedentarization of the Amorites from the Point of View of the Settled Babylonian Population." In *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman, pp. 193–209. Winona Lake, Ind., 2007.

Jones 2005. Bernice R. Jones. "The Clothes-Line: Imports and Exports of Aegean Cloth(es) and Iconography." In *Laffineur and Greco* 2005, vol. 2, pp. 707–15.

Kamlah and Sader 2010. Jens Kamlah and Hélène Sader. "Deutsch-libanesische Ausgrabungen auf Tell el-Burak südlich von Sidon: Vorbericht nach Abschluss der siebten Kampagne 2010." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 126, no. 2 (2010), pp. 93–115.

Kamp and Yoffee 1980. Kathryn A. Kamp and Norman Yoffee. "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia during the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Prospectives." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 237 (Winter 1980), pp. 85–104.

Kamrin 1999. Janice Kamrin. *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan*. London, 1999.

Kantor 1945/1999. Helene J. Kantor. "Plant Ornament in the Ancient Near East." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1945. Reissued in 1999 as an e-text: <http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/HJK/HJKIntro.html>

Kantor 1947. Helene J. Kantor. "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C." *American Journal of Archaeology* 51, no. 1 (January–March 1947), pp. 1–103.

Kantor 1960. Helene J. Kantor. "Ivory Carving in the Mycenaean Period." *Archaeology* (Archaeological Institute of America) 13 (1960), pp. 14–25.

Karageorghis 2008. Vassos Karageorghis. "An Inscribed Late Minoan III Stirrup Jar from Sidon." In *Networking Patterns of the Bronze and Iron Age Levant: The Lebanon and Its Mediterranean Connections*, edited by Claude Doumet-Serhal, with Anne Rabate and Andrea Resek, pp. 32–33. [London], 2008.

Karasu 2003. Cem Karasu. "Why Did the Hittites Have a Thousand Deities?" In *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Gary M. Beckman, Richard Beal, and Gregory McMahon, pp. 221–35. Winona Lake, Ind., 2003.

Karetsou 2000. Alexandra Karetsou, ed. *Krētē–Aigyptos: Politismikoi desmoi triōn chilitiōn* (Crete–Egypt: Three Thousand Years of Cultural Links). Heraklion, 2000.

Kariotis, Day, and D. E. Wilson forthcoming. S. Kariotis, P. M. Day, and D. E. Wilson. "Hē keramikē akolouthia tēs Proimēs Epochēs tou Chalkou sto Akrotēri Thēras" (The Early Bronze Age

Ceramic Sequence at Akrotiri, Thera). In *The Aegean Early Bronze Age: New Evidence; International Conference, Athens, April 11th–14th, 2008*, edited by Christos G. Doumas, A. Giannikouri, and Ou. Kouka. Forthcoming.

Karo 1911. Georg Karo. "Minoische Rhyta." *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 26 (1911), pp. 249–70.

Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel'tsev 2002. Alexei S. Kassian, Andrej Korolëv, and Andrej Sidel'tsev. *Hittite Funerary Ritual: Šalliš waštaiš*. *Hittite Studies* 288. Münster, 2002.

Kavtaradze 2004. Giorgi L. Kavtaradze. "The Chronology of the Caucasus during the Early Metal Age: Observations from Central Trans-Caucasus." In *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, edited by Antonio Sagona, pp. 539–56. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement* 12. Leuven, 2004.

Keel and Uehlinger 1998. Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger. *Gods, Goddesses and Images of God in Ancient Israel*. Translated by T. H. Trapp. Edinburgh, 1998.

Kees 1955. Hermann Kees. *Das alte Ägypten: Eine kleine Landeskunde*. Berlin, 1955.

Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi 1921–90. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin, 1921–90.

Kellerman 1978. Galina Kellerman. "The King and the Sun-God in the Old Hittite Period." *Tel Aviv* 5, nos. 3–4 (September 1978), pp. 199–208.

Kelly-Buccellati 1989. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. "A New Third Millennium Sculpture from Mozan." In *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, edited by Albert Leonard Jr. and Bruce Beyer Williams, pp. 149–54. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 47. Chicago, 1989.

Kelly-Buccellati 2002. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. "Ein hurritischer Gang in die Unterwelt." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 134 (2002), pp. 131–48.

Kelly-Buccellati 2004. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. "Andirons at Urkesh: New Evidence for the Hurrian Identity of Early Transcaucasian Culture." In *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, edited by Antonio Sagona, pp. 67–89. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement* 12. Leuven, 2004.

Kelly-Buccellati 2005. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. "Urkesh and the North: Recent Discoveries." In *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 11/1*, edited by David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm, pp. 29–40. *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 15. Bethesda, Md., 2005.

Kelly-Buccellati 2010a. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. "Mozan/Urkesh in the Late Chalcolithic Period." In J. Becker, Hempelmann, and Rehm 2010, pp. 261–90.

Kelly-Buccellati 2010b. Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. "Uqnitum and Tar'am-Agade: Patronage and Portraiture at Urkesh." In *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, edited by Jeanette C. Fincke, pp. 185–202. Dresden, 2010.

Kemp and Merrillees 1980. Barry J. Kemp and Robert S. Merrillees. *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*. Mainz am Rhein, 1980.

Kessler 1982. Dieter Kessler. "Menat–Chufu." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, vol. 4, cols. 41–42. Wiesbaden, 1982.

Kessler 1987a. Dieter Kessler. "Die Asiatenkarawane von Beni Hassan." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987), pp. 147–65.

Kessler 1987b. Dieter Kessler. "Zur Bedeutung der Szenen des täglichen Lebens in den Privatgräbern (I): Die Szenen des Schiffsbaues und der Schifffahrt." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 114 (1987), pp. 59–88.

Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 1998. Wahid Khayyata and Kay Kohlmeyer. "Die Zitadelle von Aleppo: Vorläufiger Bericht über die Untersuchungen 1996 und 1997." *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 10 (1998), pp. 69–96.

Klebs 1922. Luise Klebs. *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches (VII.–XVII. Dynastie, ca. 2475–1580 v. Chr.)*. Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Heidelberg, 1922.

Klengel 1965. Horst Klengel. "Der Wettergott von Ḫalab." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 19, no. 3 (1965), pp. 87–93.

Klengel 1969. Horst Klengel. *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. Part 2, Mittel- und Südsyrien*. Berlin, 1969.

Klengel 1970. Horst Klengel. *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend*

v. u. Z. Part 3, Historische Geographie und allgemeine Darstellung. Berlin, 1970.

Klengel 1975. Horst Klengel. "Zur ökonomischen Funktion der hethitischen Tempel." *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 16 (1975), pp. 181–200.

Klengel 1992. Horst Klengel. *Syria, 3000 to 300 B.C.: Handbook of Political History*. Berlin, 1992.

Klengel 2000. Horst Klengel. "Qatna: Ein historischer Überblick." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 132 (2000), pp. 239–52.

Klinger 1996. Jörg Klinger. *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 37. Wiesbaden, 1996.

Kloekhorst 2008. Alwin Kloekhorst. *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden, 2008.

Knapp 1991. A. Bernard Knapp. "Spice, Drugs, Grain and Knop: Organic Goods in Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean Trade." In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean: Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, pp. 21–68. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 90. Jonsered, 1991.

Knapp 2008. A. Bernard Knapp. *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*. Oxford, 2008.

Knapp, J. D. Muhly, and P. M. Muhly 1988. A. Bernard Knapp, James D. Muhly, and Polymnia M. Muhly. "To Hoard Is Human: Late Bronze Age Metal Deposits in Cyprus and the Aegean." *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1988, pt. 1, pp. 233–62.

Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2008. Carl Knappett and Irene Nikolakopoulou. "Colonialism without Colonies? A Bronze Age Case Study from Akrotiri, Thera." *Hesperia* 77, no. 1 (January–March 2008), pp. 1–42.

Koehl 1995. Robert B. Koehl. "The Silver Stag 'Bibru' from Mycenae." In *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, edited by Jane B. Carter and Sarah P. Morris, pp. 61–66. Austin, 1995.

Koehl 2006. Robert B. Koehl. *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*. Prehistory Monographs 19. Philadelphia, 2006.

Koehl 2008. Robert B. Koehl. "The Role of Ghassulian Culture in the Development of Early Bronze Age Crete." Lecture delivered at the conference "The Minoan World:

Exploring the Land of the Labyrinth,” at the Onassis Cultural Center, New York, September 13, 2008, in conjunction with the exhibition “From the Land of the Labyrinth: Minoan Crete, 3000–1100 BC,” organized in collaboration with the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Museums of Crete.

Koehl and Westlake forthcoming. Robert B. Koehl and Polly Westlake. “The Plaster.” In *The South West House at Knossos*, by Colin F. Macdonald and Carl Knappett. British School at Athens. London. Forthcoming.

Koerner 2004. Joseph Leo Koerner. “Bosch’s Equipment.” In Daston 2004, pp. 27–65.

Kohl 2007. Philip L. Kohl. *The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia*. Cambridge, 2007.

Kohl 2008. Philip L. Kohl. “Shared Social Fields: Evolutionary Convergence in Prehistory and Contemporary Practice.” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 4 (December 2008), pp. 495–506.

Kohlmeyer 1983. Kay Kohlmeyer. “Felsbilder der hethitischen Grossreichszeit.” *Acta praehistoricae et archaeologicae* 15 (1983), pp. 7–154.

Kohlmeyer 2005. Kay Kohlmeyer. “Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo in altsyrischer Zeit.” In *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes: Neue Forschungen und Entdeckungen*, edited by J. Gonnella et al., pp. 87–118. Münster, 2005.

Kořak 1982. Silvin Kořak. *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241–250)*. Texte der Hethiter 10. Heidelberg, 1982.

Krzyszowska 1988. Olga Krzyszowska. “Ivory in the Aegean Bronze Age: Elephant Tusk or Hippopotamus Ivory?” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 83 (1988), pp. 209–34.

Krzyszowska 2005. Olga Krzyszowska. *Aegean Seals: An Introduction*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 85. London, 2005.

Krzyszowska and Morkot 2000. Olga Krzyszowska and Robert Morkot. “Ivory and Related Materials.” In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, pp. 320–31. Cambridge, 2000.

Kuftin 1941. Boris Alekseevich Kuftin. *Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Trialeti* (Archaeological Excavations in Trialeti). Tbilisi, 1941.

Kühne 1991. Hartmut Kühne. “Die rezente Umwelt von Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad und Daten zur Umweltrekonstruktion der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu: Die Problemstellung.” In *Die rezente Umwelt von Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad und Daten zur Umweltrekonstruktion der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu*, edited by Hartmut Kühne, pp. 21–33. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu 1. Berlin, 1991.

Kühne 1998. Hartmut Kühne. “Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad: The Assyrian City of Dūr-Katlimmu. A Historic-Geographical Approach.” *Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan* 10 (1998), pp. 279–307.

Kühne 2000. Hartmut Kühne. “Dūr-Katlimmu and the Middle-Assyrian Empire.” In *La Djéziré et l’Euphrate syriens de la protohistoire à la fin du II^e Millénaire av. J.-C.:* *Tendances dans l’interprétation historique des données nouvelles*, edited by Olivier Rouault and Markus Wäfler, pp. 271–79. Subartu 7. Turnhout, 2000.

Kupper 1998. Jean-Robert Kupper. *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*. Archives royales de Mari 28. Paris, 1998.

Kürschner 2008. Harald Kürschner. “Hölzer und Holzkohlen der Grabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad und ihre Bedeutung für die Rekonstruktion der Umweltbedingungen in Nordost-Syrien.” In *Umwelt und Subsistenz der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu am Unteren Ḥābūr*, edited by Hartmut Kühne, pp. 149–54. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu 8. Wiesbaden, 2008.

Kushnareva 1997. K. Kh. Kushnareva. *The Southern Caucasus in Prehistory: Stages of Cultural and Socioeconomic Development from the Eighth to the Second Millennium B.C.* Translated by H. N. Michael. University Museum Monograph 99. Philadelphia, 1997.

Kushnareva and Markovin 1994. K. Kh. Kushnareva and V. I. Markovin, eds. *Epokha bronzy Kavkaza i Srednej Azii: Ranjaja i srednjaja bronza Kavkaza* (The Bronze Age of the Caucasus and Central Asia: Early and Middle Bronze Caucasus). Arkheologija. Moscow, 1994.

Kushnareva and Rysin 2001. K. Kh. Kushnareva and M. B. Rysin. “Novye dannye k probleme datirovki pamjatnikov ‘Tsvetnyshchei pory’ Trialetskoi Kul’tury” (New Data on the Problem of Dating of

the Monuments of the “Flowering Period” of the Trialeti Culture). In *Caucasus: Essays on the Archaeology of the Neolithic-Bronze Age Dedicated to the 80th Birthday of Prof. Otar Japaridze*, pp. 101–16. Dziebani, Supplement 6. Tbilisi, 2001.

Kutter 2008. Juliane Kutter. *Nūr ilf: Die Sonnengottheiten in den nord-westsemitischen Religionen von der Spätbronzezeit bis zur vorrömischen Zeit*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 346. Münster, 2008.

Kuzucuoğlu and Marro 2007. Catherine Kuzucuoğlu and Catherine Marro, eds. *Sociétés humaines et changement climatique à la fin du troisième millénaire: Une crise a-t-elle eu lieu en Haute Mésopotamie? Actes du colloque de Lyon, 5–8 décembre 2005*. Varia Anatolica 29. Paris, 2007.

Laboury 1998. Dimitri Laboury. *Le statuaire de Thoutmosis III: Essai d’interprétation d’un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*. Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 5. Liege, 1998.

Lacovara 2009. Peter Lacovara. “The Development of the New Kingdom Royal Palace.” In *4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie/4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Egyptian Royal Residences, London, June 1st–5th 2004*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and John H. Taylor, pp. 83–110. Königstum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4, 1. Beiträge zur altägyptischen Königsideologie. Wiesbaden, 2009.

La Fay 1978. Howard La Fay. “Ebla: The Splendor of an Unknown Empire.” *National Geographic* 154 (1978), pp. 730–59.

Laffineur and Greco 2005. Robert Laffineur and Emanuele Greco, eds. *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean; Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference/10^e Rencontre Egéenne Internationale, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004*. 2 vols. Aegaeum 25. Liège and Austin, 2005.

Lagarce 2008. Bérénice Lagarce. “Réexamen des documents du Palais Royal d’Ougarit inscrits en hiéroglyphes égyptiens conservés au Musée National de Damas.” In *Le mobilier du Palais Royal d’Ougarit*, edited by Valerie Matoian, pp. 261–80. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 17. Lyon, 2008.

Lakoff 1987. George Lakoff. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago, 1987.

Lambert 1981. Wilfred G. Lambert. “The Statue Inscription of Ibbit-Lim of Ebla.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 75 (1981), pp. 95–101.

Lambert 1983. Wilfred G. Lambert. “The God Aššur.” *Iraq* 45, no. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 82–86.

Lambert 1986. Wilfred G. Lambert. “Ninurta Mythology in the Babylonian Epic of Creation.” In *Keilschriftliche Literaturen: Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Münster, 8.–12.7.1985*, edited by Karl Hecker and Walter Sommerfeld, pp. 55–60. Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 6. Berlin, 1986.

Lambrou-Phillipson 1990. Connie Lambrou-Phillipson. *Hellenorientalia: The Near Eastern Presence in the Bronze Age Aegean, ca. 3000–1100 B.C.; Interconnections Based on the Material Record and the Written Evidence; Plus Orientalia: A Catalogue of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Mitannian, Syro-Palestinian, Cypriot and Asia Minor Objects from the Bronze Age Aegean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Pocket-book 95. Göteborg, 1990.

Lambrou-Phillipson 1991. Connie Lambrou-Phillipson. “Seafaring in the Bronze Age Mediterranean: The Parameters Involved in Maritime Travel.” In *Thalassa, l’Égée préhistorique et la mer: Actes de la troisième Rencontre Égéeenne Internationale de l’Université de Liège, Station de Recherches Sous-marines et Océanographiques (StaReSo), Calvi, Corse, 23–25 avril 1990*, edited by Robert Laffineur and Lucien Basch, pp. 11–20. Aegaeum 7. Liège, 1991.

Lamprichs 1995. R. Lamprichs. *Die Westexpansion des neuassyrischen Reiches: Eine Strukturanalyse*. AOAT 239. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995.

Landström 1970. Björn Landström. *Ships of the Pharaohs: 4000 Years of Egyptian Shipbuilding*. Garden City, N.Y., 1970.

Laroche 1960. Emmanuel Laroche. *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*. Vol. 1, *L’écriture*. Paris, 1960.

Laroche 1971. Emmanuel Laroche. *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Études et commentaires 75. Paris, 1971.

La Rosa 2002. Vincenzo La Rosa. “Pour une révision préliminaire du second palais de Phaistos.” In Driessen, Schoep, and Laffineur 2002, pp. 71–97.

Larsen 1995. Mogens Trolle Larsen. “The ‘Babel/Bible’ Controversy and Its Aftermath.” In *Civilizations*

of the Ancient Near East, edited by Jack M. Sasson, vol. 1, pp. 95–106. New York, 1995.

Lauinger 2010. Jacob Lauinger. “Epigraphic Report.” In *Yener 2010*, pp. 85–88.

Lebeau 2008. Marc Lebeau. “Tell Beydar: An Early Bronze Age City in the Syrian Jezireh.” *Journal* (Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies) 3 (Fall 2008), pp. 57–69.

Lebeau and Suleiman 2005. Marc Lebeau and Antoine Suleiman, eds. *Tell Beydar, Nabada: Une cité du Bronze antérieur en Jézireh syrienne. 10 ans de travaux (1992–2002)*. Documents d’archéologie syrienne 6. Damascus, 2005.

Lee 2010. Ryan Lee. “More Depth.” *INA Quarterly* (Institute of Nautical Archaeology) 37, nos. 2–3 (Summer–Fall 2010), p. 31.

Leick 1994. Gwendolyn Leick. *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature*. London, 1994.

Leonard 1981. Albert Leonard Jr. “Considerations of Morphological Variation in the Mycenaean Pottery from the Southeastern Mediterranean.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 241 (1981), pp. 87–101.

Leonard 1985. Albert Leonard Jr. *An Index to the Mycenaean Pottery from the Southeastern Mediterranean Littoral*. Tucson, 1985.

Leonard 1997. Albert Leonard Jr. “‘Canaanite Jars’ and the Late Bronze Age Aegeo-Levantine Wine Trade.” In *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, edited by Patrick E. McGovern, Stewart J. Fleming, and Solomon H. Katz, pp. 233–54. Luxembourg, 1997.

Leonard and Cline 1998. Albert Leonard Jr. and Eric H. Cline. “The Aegean Pottery at Megiddo: An Appraisal and Reanalysis.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 309 (February 1998), pp. 3–39.

Leroux et al. 2003. Gaël Leroux, Alain Véron, Christian Scholz, and Claude Doumet-Serhal. “Chemical and Isotopical Analyses on Weapons from the Middle Bronze Age in Sidon.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 18 (2003), pp. 58–61.

Lichtheim 1973. Miriam Lichtheim. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*. Vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdom*. Berkeley, 1973.

Lichtheim 1988. Miriam Lichtheim. *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies: Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: A*

Study and Anthology. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 84. Fribourg and Göttingen, 1988.

Lightfoot 2003. Lucian of Samosata. *On the Syrian Goddess*. Edited and translated by Jane L. Lightfoot. Oxford, 2003.

Lilyquist 1993. Christine Lilyquist. “Granulation and Glass: Chronological and Stylistic Investigations at Selected Sites, ca. 2500–1400 B.C.E.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, nos. 290–91 (May–August 1993), pp. 29–94.

Lilyquist 1995. Christine Lilyquist. *Egyptian Stone Vessels: Khian through Tuthmosis IV*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1995.

Lilyquist 1997. Christine Lilyquist. “A New ‘Foreign’ Vase Representation from Thebes: Chapel MMA 5A P2.” In Phillips 1997, vol. 2, pp. 307–43.

Lilyquist 1998. Christine Lilyquist. “The Use of Ivories as Interpreters of Political History.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 310 (May 1998), pp. 25–33.

Lilyquist 1999. Christine Lilyquist. “The Objects in the Texts.” In *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age, Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.: Selected Texts Recording Gifts to Royal Personages*, transcribed and translated by Zipora Cochavi-Rainey, with contributions by Christine Lilyquist, pp. 211–18. Beersheba, 1999.

Lilyquist 2003. Christine Lilyquist. “The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 2003.

Lilyquist 2007. Christine Lilyquist. “Reflections on Mirrors.” In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O’Connor*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Janet Richards, vol. 2, pp. 95–109. Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, Cahier 36. Cairo, 2007.

Lilyquist 2012. Christine Lilyquist. “Treasures from Tell Basta: Goddesses, Officials, and Artists in an International Age.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 47 (2012), pp. 9–72.

Limet 1986. Henri Limet, ed. *Textes administratifs relatifs aux métaux*. Archives royales de Mari 25. Paris, 1986.

Lipiński 1983. Edward Lipiński. Review of *Le culte à Ugarit d’après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabétiques*, by Jean-Michel de Tarragon (Paris, 1980). *Israel Exploration Journal* 33, nos. 1–2 (1983), pp. 137–39.

Lipke 1984. Paul Lipke. *The Royal Ship of Cheops: A Retrospective Account of the Discovery, Restoration and Reconstruction*. Based on *Interviews with Hag Ahmed Youssef Moustafa*. BAR International Series 225. Oxford, 1984.

Lissarrague 1990. F. Lissarrague. “Around the *Krater*: An Aspect of Banquet Imagery.” In *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, edited by Oswyn Murray, pp. 196–209. Oxford, 1990.

Littauer and Crouwel 1985. Mary A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel. *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tut’ankhamūn*. Tut’ankhamūn’s Tomb Series 8. Oxford, 1985.

Liverani 1990. Mario Liverani. *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East, ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* Padua, 1990.

Liverani 2001. Mario Liverani. *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600–1100 B.C.* Studies in Diplomacy. New York, 2001.

Livingstone 1989. Alasdair Livingstone. *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*. State Archives of Assyria 3. Helsinki, 1989.

Loffet 2006. Henri-Charles Loffet. “The Sidon Scaraboid S/3487.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 24 (Winter 2006), pp. 78–84.

Loffet 2009. Henri-Charles Loffet. “A Propos a Talismanic Sidonian Scaraboid and the God Horan.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 29 (Spring 2009), pp. 46–55.

Lombardi 2000. Alessandra Lombardi. “Il culto delle montagne all’epoca di Tudḫaliya IV: Continuità e innovazione.” In *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East; Papers Presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7–11 July 1997*, edited by Lucio Milano, Stefano de Martino, F. M. Fales, and G. B. Lanfranchi, vol. 3, *Landscapes in Ideology, Religion, Literature and Art*, pp. 83–88. History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs III, 3. Padua, 2000.

Lönnqvist 2010. Minna Lönnqvist. “Tracing Tribal Implications among the Bronze Age Tomb Types in the Region of Jebel Bishri in Syria.” *Al-Rāfidān*, 2010, pp. 165–73. Issue titled *Formation of Tribal Communities: Integrated Research in the Middle Euphrates*, Syria, edited by Katsuhito Ohnuma.

van Loon 1985. Maurits N. van Loon. *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.* Iconography of Religions, sect. 15, Mesopotamia and the Near East 12. Leiden, 1985.

Loud 1939. Gordon Loud. *The Megiddo Ivories*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 52. Chicago, 1939.

Loud 1948. Gordon Loud. *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935–39*. Chicago, 1948.

Luciani 2006a. Marta Luciani. “Ivory at Qatna.” In Czerny et al. 2006, vol. 3, pp. 17–38.

Luciani 2006b. Marta Luciani. “Palatial Workshops at Qatna?” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 37 (2006), pp. 403–29.

Lyonnet 2007. Bertille Lyonnet, ed. *Les cultures du Caucase, VI–III^e millénaires avant notre ère: Leurs relations avec le Proche-Orient*. Paris, 2007.

Lyonnet 2009. Bertille Lyonnet. “Surveys and Excavations in Western Azerbaijan: Settlement Changes and Relations with Surrounding Areas, from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age.” In *Azerbaijan* 2009, pp. 41–48.

Macdonald 2002. Colin F. Macdonald. “The Neopalatial Palaces of Knossos.” In Driessen, Schoep, and Laffineur 2002, pp. 35–54.

Macdonald 2005. Colin F. Macdonald. *Knossos*. London, 2005.

Macdonald 2010. Colin F. Macdonald. “Rejection and Revival of Traditions: Middle Minoan II–III A Footed Goblets or Eggcups at Knossos.” In *Cretan Offerings: Studies in Honour of Peter Warren*, edited by Olga Krzyszowska, pp. 203–11. British School at Athens Studies 18. London, 2010.

Macdonald 2012. Colin F. Macdonald. “Palatial Knossos: The Early Years.” In Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012, pp. 81–113.

Macdonald forthcoming. Colin F. Macdonald. “Rejection and Revival of Traditions: Middle Minoan II–III A Footed Goblets or Eggcups at Knossos.” In Macdonald and Knappett forthcoming.

Macdonald and Knappett forthcoming. Colin F. Macdonald and Carl Knappett, eds. *Intermezzo: Intermediacy and Regeneration in Middle Minoan III Palatial Crete*. British School at Athens. London. Forthcoming.

MacGillivray 1994. Joseph Alexander MacGillivray. “The Early History of the Palace at Knossos (MM I–II).” In *Knossos: A Labyrinth of History; Papers Presented in Honour of Sinclair Hood*, edited by Don Evelyn, Helen Hughes–Brock, and Nicoletta Momigliano, pp. 45–55. Athens and Bloomington, Ind., 1994.

MacGillivray 1998. Joseph Alexander MacGillivray. *Knossos: Pottery Groups of the Old Palace Period*. British School of Athens Studies 5. London, 1998.

MacGillivray 2007. Joseph Alexander MacGillivray. “Proto-palatial (MM IB–MM IIIA): Early Chamber beneath the West Court, Royal Pottery Stores, the Trial KV, and the West and South Polychrome Deposits Groups.” In *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Neolithic and Bronze Age (Minoan)*, edited by Nicoletta Momigliano, pp. 105–49. British School at Athens Studies 14. London, 2007.

MacGillivray 2009. Joseph Alexander MacGillivray. “Lebanon and Protopalatial Crete: Pottery, Chronology and People.” *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean: Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages; Proceedings of the International Symposium, Beirut 2008*, pp. 187–93. Bulletin d’archéologie et d’architecture libanaises, hors-série, 6. Beirut, 2009.

MacGillivray 2011–12. Joseph Alexander MacGillivray. “A Minoan Jar Fragment from Sidon.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, nos. 34–35 (Autumn–Spring 2011–12), pp. 7–8. Issue titled “*And Canaan Begat Sidon His Firstborn . . . Gen. 10, 15; 1 Chr. 1, 13*”: *A Tribute to Dr. John Curtis on His 65th Birthday*, edited by Claude Doumet–Serhal, with Anne Rebate and Andrea Resek.

MacGillivray, Driessen, and Sackett 2000. Joseph Alexander MacGillivray, Jan M. Driessen, and L. H. Sackett. *The Palaikastro Kouros: A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and Its Aegean Bronze Age Context*. British School at Athens Studies 6. London, 2000.

Machinist 1976. Peter Machinist. “Literature as Politics: The Tukulti–Ninurta Epic and the Bible.” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 38 (1976), pp. 455–82.

Machinist 1993. Peter Machinist. “Assyrians on Assyria in the First Millennium B.C.” In *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike: Die Nahöstlichen Kulturen und die*

Griechen, edited by Kurt Raaflaub, pp. 77–104. Munich, 1993.

Machinist 2006. Peter Machinist. “Kingship and Divinity in Imperial Assyria.” In *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, edited by Gary M. Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis, pp. 152–88. Brown Judaic Studies 346. Providence, 2006.

Machule et al. 1986. Dittmar Machule, Karsten Karstens, Heinz–Helmut Klapproth, Gerlinde Mozer, Wilfried Pape, Peter Werner, Walter Mayer, Ruth Mayer–Opificius, and Michael Mackensen. “Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbāqa 1984.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient–Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 118 (1986), pp. 67–145.

Machule et al. 1987. Dittmar Machule, Mathias Benter, Joachim Boessneck, Angela von den Driesch, Tenius Cornelis de Feyter, Karsten Karstens, Heinz–Helmut Klapproth, Sabine Koelling, Joachim Kunze, Ömer Tezeren, and Peter Werner. “Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbāqa 1985.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient–Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 119 (1987), pp. 73–134.

Maier 1992. Walter A. Maier III. “Anath.” In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freedman, vol. 1, pp. 225–27. New York, 1992.

Maiochi 2011. Massimo Maiochi. “A Hurrian Administrative Tablet from Third Millennium Urkesh.”

Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie 101, no. 2 (December 2011), pp. 191–203.

Makharadze 2008. Zurab Makharadze. “The Settlement at Tsikhiagora and the Early Barrows at Kavtiskhevi.” In *Archaeology in Southern Caucasus: Perspectives from Georgia*, edited by Antonio Sagona and Mikheil Abramishvili, pp. 63–104. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 19. Leuven, 2008.

Malamat 1971. Avraham Malamat. “Syro–Palestinian Destinations in a Mari Tin Inventory.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 21, no. 1 (1971), pp. 31–38.

Malamat 1998. Avraham Malamat. “Mari and Its Relations with the Eastern Mediterranean.” In *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon*, edited by Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, and Sharon Keller, pp. 411–18. Sheffield, 1998.

Malbran Labat 2003. Florence Malbran Labat. “Siyannu, Usnatu e Ugarit.” In *De la tablilla a la inteligencia artificial: Homenaje al Prof.*

Jesús–Luis Cunchillos en su 65 aniversario, edited by Antonino González Blanco, Juan–Pablo Vita, and José Ángel Zamora, pp. 67–75. Zaragoza, 2003.

Mallowan 1946. M. E. L. Mallowan. “Excavations in the Baliḥ Valley, 1938.” *Iraq* 8 (1946), pp. 111–59.

Manniche 1991. Lise Manniche. *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*. London, 1991.

Manniche 1999. Lise Manniche. *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrance, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca, N.Y., 1999.

Manning and Hulin 2005. Sturt W. Manning and Linda Hulin. “Maritime Commerce and Geographies of Mobility in the Late Bronze Age of the Eastern Mediterranean: Problemizations.” In *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, edited by Emma Blake and A. Bernard Knapp, pp. 275–307. Malden, Mass., 2005.

Marchesi 2006. Gianni Marchesi. *LUMMA in the Onomasticon and Literature of Ancient Mesopotamia*. History of the Ancient Near East, Studies 10. Padua, 2006.

Marchetti 2001. Nicolò Marchetti. *La coroplastica eblaita e siriana nel Bronzo Medio: Campagne, 1964–1980*. 2 vols. Materiali e studi archeologici di Ebla 5. Rome, 2001.

Marchetti 2003. Nicolò Marchetti. “Notes on an Old Syrian Seal Impression from Sippar.” *Iraq* 65 (2003), pp. 161–69.

Marchetti 2006. Nicolò Marchetti. “Middle Bronze Age Public Architecture at Tilmen Höyük and the Architectural Tradition of Old Syrian Palaces.” In *Ina Kibrāt Erbettī: Studi di archeologia orientale dedicati a Paolo Matthiae*, edited by Francesca Baffi, Rita Dolce, Stefania Mazzoni, and Frances Pinnock, pp. 275–308. Rome, 2006.

Marchetti 2009. Nicolò Marchetti. “The 2007 Joint Turkish–Italian Excavations at Tilmen Höyük.” In *30: Kazı sonuçları toplantısı, 26–30 mayıs 2008, Ankara*, vol. 3, pp. 387–98. Ankara, 2009.

Marchetti 2010. Nicolò Marchetti. “A Preliminary Report on the 2007 and 2008 Excavations and Restorations at Tilmen Höyük.” In *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, May 5th–10th, 2008, “Sapienza”—Università di Roma*, vol. 2. *Excavations, Surveys and Restorations: Reports on Recent Field Archaeology in the Near East*,

edited by Paolo Matthiae et al., pp. 369–83. Wiesbaden, 2010.

Marcus 2007. Ezra S. Marcus. “Amenemhet II and the Sea: Maritime Aspects of the Mit Rahina (Memphis) Inscription.” *Ägypten und Levante* 17 (2007), pp. 137–90.

Marée 2006. Marcel Marée. “A Jar from Sidon with the Name of Pharoh–Queen Tawosret.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 24 (Winter 2006), pp. 121–28.

Margueron 1977a. Jean–Claude Margueron. “Un ‘Hilani’ à Emar.” In *Archaeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project: Euphrates Valley, Syria*, edited by D. N. Freedman, pp. 163–76. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 44. Boston, 1977.

Margueron 1977b. Jean–Claude Margueron. “Ras Shamra 1975 et 1976: Rapport préliminaire sur les campagnes d’automne.” *Syria* 54, nos. 3–4 (1977), pp. 151–88.

Margueron 1982. Jean–Claude Margueron. “Topographie.” In *Meskéné–Emar: Dix ans de travaux, 1972–1982*, edited by Dominique Beyer, pp. 17–22. Mission archéologique de Meskéné–Emar. Paris, 1982.

Margueron 1989. Jean–Claude Margueron. “Problèmes de transports au début de l’âge du Bronze.” *Reflets des deux fleuves: Volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet*, edited by Marc Lebeau and Philippe Talon, pp. 119–26. Leuven, 1989.

Margueron 2003a. Jean–Claude Margueron. “À propos des temples de Syrie du nord.” In *Sanctuaires et clergés*, edited by Jean–Claude Margueron et al., pp. 11–38. Strasbourg, 2003.

Margueron 2003b. Jean–Claude Margueron. *Les mésopotamiens*. 2nd ed. Paris, 2003.

N. Marinatos 1993. Nannó Marinatos. *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image, and Symbol*. Columbia, S.C., 1993.

N. Marinatos 1995. Nannó Marinatos. “Divine Kingship in Minoan Crete.” In *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean*, edited by Paul Rehak, pp. 37–48. Aegaeum 11. Liège and Austin, 1995.

N. Marinatos 1998. Nannó Marinatos. “The Tell el–Dab’a Paintings: A Study in Pictorial Tradition.” *Ägypten und Levante* 8 (1998), pp. 83–99.

N. Marinatos 2007. Nannó Marinatos. “Rosette and Palm on the Bull Frieze from the Tell el–Dab’a and the Minoan Solar Goddess of Kingship.” In Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b, pp. 145–50.

N. Marinatos 2010. Nannó Marinatos. “Lions from Tell el Dab’a.” *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2010), pp. 325–55.

N. Marinatos and L. Morgan 2005. Nannó Marinatos and Lyvia Morgan. “The Dog Pursuit Scenes from Tell el Dab’a and Kea.” In *Aegean Wall Painting: A Tribute to Mark Cameron*, edited by Lyvia Morgan, pp. 119–30. British School at Athens Studies 13. London, 2005.

S. Marinatos 1971. Spyridon Marinatos. *Excavations at Thera*. Vol. 4, *1970 Season*. Athens, 1971.

S. Marinatos 1976. Spyridon Marinatos. *Excavations at Thera*. Vol. 7, *1973 Season*. Athens, 1976.

S. Marinatos and Hirmer 1973. Spyridon Marinatos and Max Hirmer. *Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas*. 2nd ed. Munich, 1973.

Mark 2009. Samuel Mark. “The Construction of the Khufu I Vessel (c. 2566 BC): A Re–Evaluation.” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (March 2009), pp. 133–52.

Markoe 1990. Glenn E. Markoe. “The Emergence of Phoenician Art.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 279 (August 1990), pp. 13–26.

Marriner, Morhange, and Doumet–Serhal 2006. Nick Marriner, Christophe Morhange, and Claude Doumet–Serhal. “Geoarchaeology of Sidon’s Ancient Harbours, Phoenicia.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 (2006), pp. 1514–35.

Marro 2008. Catherine Marro. “Late Chalcolithic Ceramic Cultures in the Anatolian Highlands.” In *Ceramics in Transitions: Chalcolithic through Iron Age in the Highlands of the Southern Caucasus and Anatolia*, edited by Karen S. Rubinson and Antonio Sagona, pp. 9–38. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 27. Leuven, 2008.

Marthari 2008. Marisa E. Marthari. “Minoan Religious Symbols in the Cyclades: New Evidence on the Figure–of–eight Shield from Akrotiri, Thera.” Lecture delivered at the conference “The Minoan World: Exploring the Land of the

Labyrinth,” at the Onassis Cultural Center, New York, September 13, 2008, in conjunction with the exhibition “From the Land of the Labyrinth: Minoan Crete, 3000–1100 BC,” organized in collaboration with the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Museums of Crete.

de Martino 1984. Stefano de Martino. “Il ^{LO}ALAN.ZÚ come ‘mimo’ e come ‘attore’ nei testi ittiti.” *Studi micenei ed egeo–anatolici* 24 (1984), pp. 131–48.

de Martino 1995. Stefano de Martino. “Music, Dance, and Processions in Hittite Anatolia.” In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson, vol. 4, pp. 2661–69. New York, 1995.

de Martino 2004. Stefano de Martino. “Purità dei sacerdoti e dei luoghi di culto nell’Anatolia ittita.” *Orientalia* 73 (2004), pp. 348–62.

Masetti–Rouault forthcoming. Maria Grazia Masetti–Rouault. “Globalization and Imperialism: Political and Ideological Reactions to the Assyrian Presence in Syria (IXth–VIIIth Century BC).” In *Globalisation in the First Millennium*, edited by Teodor Lekov and Mark Geller. Melammu Symposia 6. Forthcoming.

Masetti 2008. Marco Masetti. “A Zoomorphic Gold Figurine from the Late Bronze Age on the Island of Thera (Santorini), Greece.” In *Archaeozoology of the Near East VIII: Actes des huitièmes Rencontres Internationales d’Archéozoologie de l’Asie du Sud–ouest et des Régions Adjacentes, Lyon, 28 juin–1^{er} juillet 2006/Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on the Archaeozoology of Southwestern Asia and Adjacent Areas, Lyon, June 28–July 1, 2006*, edited by Emmanuelle Vila, Lionel Gourichon, Alice M. Choyke, and Hijlke Buitenhuis, vol. 2, pp. 553–59. Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée 49. Lyon, 2008.

Matoïan 2000. Valérie Matoïan. “Ras Shamra–Ougarit (Syrie) et la production des matières vitreuses au Proche–Orient au II^e millénaire av. J.–C.” PhD diss., Université de Paris I Panthéon–Sorbonne, 2000.

Matthaeus 1995. Hartmut Matthaeus. “Representations of Keftiu in Egyptian Tombs and the Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age.” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 40 (1995), pp. 177–94.

Labyrinth,” at the Onassis Cultural Center, New York, September 13, 2008, in conjunction with the exhibition “From the Land of the Labyrinth: Minoan Crete, 3000–1100 BC,” organized in collaboration with the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Museums of Crete.

de Martino 1984. Stefano de Martino. “Il ^{LO}ALAN.ZÚ come ‘mimo’ e come ‘attore’ nei testi ittiti.” *Studi micenei ed egeo–anatolici* 24 (1984), pp. 131–48.

de Martino 1995. Stefano de Martino. “Music, Dance, and Processions in Hittite Anatolia.” In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson, vol. 4, pp. 2661–69. New York, 1995.

de Martino 2004. Stefano de Martino. “Purità dei sacerdoti e dei luoghi di culto nell’Anatolia ittita.” *Orientalia* 73 (2004), pp. 348–62.

Masetti–Rouault forthcoming. Maria Grazia Masetti–Rouault. “Globalization and Imperialism: Political and Ideological Reactions to the Assyrian Presence in Syria (IXth–VIIIth Century BC).” In *Globalisation in the First Millennium*, edited by Teodor Lekov and Mark Geller. Melammu Symposia 6. Forthcoming.

Masetti 2008. Marco Masetti. “A Zoomorphic Gold Figurine from the Late Bronze Age on the Island of Thera (Santorini), Greece.” In *Archaeozoology of the Near East VIII: Actes des huitièmes Rencontres Internationales d’Archéozoologie de l’Asie du Sud–ouest et des Régions Adjacentes, Lyon, 28 juin–1^{er} juillet 2006/Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on the Archaeozoology of Southwestern Asia and Adjacent Areas, Lyon, June 28–July 1, 2006*, edited by Emmanuelle Vila, Lionel Gourichon, Alice M. Choyke, and Hijlke Buitenhuis, vol. 2, pp. 553–59. Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée 49. Lyon, 2008.

Matoïan 2000. Valérie Matoïan. “Ras Shamra–Ougarit (Syrie) et la production des matières vitreuses au Proche–Orient au II^e millénaire av. J.–C.” PhD diss., Université de Paris I Panthéon–Sorbonne, 2000.

Matthaeus 1995. Hartmut Matthaeus. “Representations of Keftiu in Egyptian Tombs and the Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age.” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 40 (1995), pp. 177–94.

Matthews and Eidem 1993. Donald Matthews and Jesper Eidem. “Tell Brak and Nagar.” *Iraq* 55 (1993), pp. 201–7.

Matthiae 1962. Paolo Matthiae. *Ars Syra: Contributi alla storia dell’arte figurativa siriana nelle età del Medio e Tardo Bronzo*. Rome, 1962.

Matthiae 1969. Paolo Matthiae. “Empreintes d’un cylindre paléo–syrien de Tell Mardikh.” *Syria* 46, nos. 1–2 (1969), pp. 1–43.

Matthiae 1975. Paolo Matthiae. “Syrische Kunst.” In *Der Alte Orient*, edited by Winfried Orthmann, pp. 466–93. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14. Berlin, 1975.

Matthiae 1986a. Paolo Matthiae. “The Archives of the Royal Palace G of Ebla: Distribution and Arrangement of the Tablets according to the Archaeological Evidence.” In *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*, edited by K. R. Veenhof, pp. 53–71. Leiden, 1986.

Matthiae 1986b. Paolo Matthiae. “Una stele paleosiriana arcaica di Ebla e la cultura figurativa della Siria attorno al 1800 A.C.” *Scienze dell’Antichità* 1 (1986), pp. 447–95.

Matthiae 1989. Paolo Matthiae. “Old Syrian Ancestors of Some Neo–Assyrian Figurative Symbols of Kingship.” In *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, edited by Leon de Meyer and E. Haerinck, pp. 367–91. Ghent, 1989.

Matthiae 1990a. Paolo Matthiae. “A Class of Old Syrian Bronze Statuettes and the Sanctuary B2 at Ebla.” In *Resurrecting the Past: A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, edited by Paolo Matthiae et al., pp. 345–62. Leiden, 1990.

Matthiae 1990b. Paolo Matthiae. “The Reception Suites of the Old Syrian Palaces.” In *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari: Mélanges offerts à M. J.–R. Kupper à l’occasion de son 70^e anniversaire*, edited by Ö. Tunca, pp. 209–28. Liège, 1990.

Matthiae 1992. Paolo Matthiae. “High Old Syrian Royal Statuary from Ebla.” In *Von Uruk nach Tutul: Eine Festschrift für Eva Strommenger—Studien und Aufsätzen von Kollegen und Freunden*, edited by Barthel Hrouda et al., pp. 111–28. Munich, 1992.

Matthiae 1993. Paolo Matthiae. “A Stele Fragment of Hadad from Ebla.” In *Nimet Özgüç’e Armağan: Aspects of Art and Iconography, Anatolia and Its Neighbors; Studies*

in Honor of Nimet Özgüç, edited by Machteld J. Mellink, Edith Porada, and Tahsin Özgüç, pp. 389–97. Ankara, 1993.

Matthiae 1996. Paolo Matthiae. “Due frammenti di un nuovo bacino scolpito dal Tempio P2 di Ebla.” In *Studi in memoria di Lucia Guerini: Vicino Oriente, Egeo, Grecia, Roma e mondo romano; tradizione dell’antico e collezionismo di antichità*, edited by Maria Grazia Picozzi and Filippo Carinci, pp. 1–12. Studi miscellanei 30. Rome, 1996.

Matthiae 1997. Paolo Matthiae. *La storia dell’arte dell’Oriente antico*. Vol. 3, *I primi imperi e i principati del Ferro, 1600–700 A.C.* Milan, 1997.

Matthiae 1998. Paolo Matthiae. “Les fortifications de l’Ébla paléo–syrienne: Fouilles à Tell Mardikh (1995–1997).” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles–Lettres* 142, no. 2 (1998), pp. 557–88.

Matthiae 2000a. Paolo Matthiae. “A Statue Base from the Western Palace of Ebla and the Continuity of the Old Syrian Artistic Tradition.” In *Variatio Delectat: Iran und der Westen; Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*, edited by Reinhard Dittmann et al., pp. 385–402. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 272. Münster, 2000.

Matthiae 2000b. Paolo Matthiae. *La storia dell’arte dell’Oriente antico*. Vol. 2, *Gli stati territoriali, 2100–1600 A.C.* Milan, 2000.

Matthiae 2002a. Paolo Matthiae. “About the Formation of the Old Syrian Architectural Tradition.” In *Of Pots and Plans: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of His 75th Birthday*, edited by Lamia al–Gailani Werr et al., pp. 191–209. London, 2002.

Matthiae 2002b. Paolo Matthiae. “Una nota sul Tempio di Salomone e la cultura architettonica neosiriana.” In *Da Pyrgi a Mozia: Studi sull’archeologia del Mediterraneo in memoria di A. Ciasca*, edited by M. G. Amadasi et al., pp. 339–44. Rome, 2002.

Matthiae 2002c. Paolo Matthiae. “L’origine dell’Edificio E di Büyükkale e il problema storico del Hilani.” In *Anatolia antica: Studi in memoria di F. Imparati*, pp. 571–92. Eothen 11. Florence, 2002.

Matthiae 2003. Paolo Matthiae. “Ishtar of Ebla and Hadad of Aleppo: Notes on Terminology, Politics and Religion of Old Syrian

Ebla.” In *Semitic and Assyriological Studies Presented to Pello Fronzaroli by Pupils and Colleagues*, edited by Paolo Marrassini, pp. 381–402. Wiesbaden, 2003.

Matthiae 2004. Paolo Matthiae. “Le Palais Méridional dans la Ville Basse d’Ébla paléosyrienne: Fouilles à Tell Mardikh (2002–2003).” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 148, no. 1 (2004), pp. 301–46.

Matthiae 2006a. Paolo Matthiae. “Archaeology of a Destruction: The End of MB II Ebla in the Light of Myth and History.” In Czerny et al. 2006, vol. 3, pp. 39–51.

Matthiae 2006b. Paolo Matthiae. “Old Syrian Statuary and Carved Basins from Ebla: New Documents and Interpretations.” In *Les espaces syro-mésopotamiens: Dimensions de l’expérience humaine au Proche-Orient ancien; volume d’hommage à Jean-Claude Margueron*, edited by Pascal Butterlin et al., pp. 423–38. Subartu 17. Turnhout, 2006.

Matthiae 2007. Paolo Matthiae. “The Destruction of Old Syrian Ebla at the End of Middle Bronze II: New Historical Data.” In *From Relative Chronology to Absolute Chronology: The Second Millennium BC in Syria-Palestine (Rome, 29th November–1st December 2001)*, edited by Paolo Matthiae et al., pp. 3–52. Rome, 2007.

Matthiae 2008. Paolo Matthiae. *Gli Archivi Reali di Ebla: La scoperta, i testi, il significato*. Milan, 2008.

Matthiae 2009a. Paolo Matthiae. “Crisis and Collapse: Similarity and Diversity in the Three Destructions of Ebla from EB IVA to MB II.” *Scienze dell’Antichità* 15 (2009), pp. 43–93.

Matthiae 2009b. Paolo Matthiae. “The Standard of the *malikum* of Ebla in the Royal Archives Period.” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 99 (2009), pp. 270–315.

Matthiae 2010a. Paolo Matthiae. “Early Syrian Palace Architecture: Some Thoughts about Its Unity.” In J. Becker, Hempelmann, and Rehm 2010, pp. 349–58.

Matthiae 2010b. Paolo Matthiae. *Ebla, la città del trono: Archeologia e storia*. Turin, 2010.

Matthiae 2011. Paolo Matthiae. “La Ishtar di Ebla: Immagine, potere, fortuna di una grande dea orientale.” In *Memorie dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Cl. Sc. Mor., St. e Fil., Lectio brevis, Anno Accademico 2010–2011, ser. IX, 28/3, pp. 555–74. Rome, 2011.

Matthiae and Pettinato 1972. Paolo Matthiae and Giovanni Pettinato. *Il torso di Ibbit-Lim, re di Ebla*. Rome, 1972.

Maul 1991. Stefan M. Maul. “‘Wenn der Held (zum Kampfe) auszieht . . .’: Ein Ninurta-Ersemma.” *Orientalia*, n.s., 60 (1991), pp. 312–34.

Maxwell-Hyslop 1971. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. *Western Asiatic Jewellery, c. 3000–612 B.C.* London, 1971.

Mayer-Opificius 1984. Ruth Mayer-Opificius. “Die geflügelte Sonne: Himmels- und Regendarstellungen im alten Vorderasien.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 16 (1984), pp. 189–236.

Mazar 1990. Amihai Mazar. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000–586 B.C.E.* Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York, 1990.

Mazzarella 2004. William Mazzarella. “Culture, Globalization, Mediation.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004), pp. 345–67.

Mazzoni 2010. Stefania Mazzoni. “Syro-Hittite Temples and the Traditional *in antis* Plan.” In J. Becker, Hempelmann, and Rehm 2010, pp. 359–76.

McClellan 1984–85. Thomas L. McClellan. “El-Qitar: Second Season of Excavations, 1983–84.” *Abn-Nahrain* 23 (1984–85), pp. 39–72.

McClellan 1986. Thomas L. McClellan. “A Syrian Fortress of the Bronze Age, El-Qitar.” *National Geographic Research* 2, no. 4 (1986), pp. 418–40.

McDermott 1938. William Coffman McDermott. *The Ape in Antiquity*. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology 27. Baltimore, 1938.

McGovern 1985. Patrick E. McGovern. *Late Bronze Palestinian Pendants: Innovation in a Cosmopolitan Age*. Sheffield, 1985.

McGovern 1999. Patrick E. McGovern. “Georgia as Homeland of Wine-Making and Viticulture.” In *National Treasures of Georgia*, edited by Ori Z. Soltes, pp. 58–59. London and Wappinger Falls, N.Y., 1999.

McGovern 2009. Patrick E. McGovern. *Uncorking the Past: The Quest for Wine, Beer, and Other Alcoholic Beverages*. Berkeley, 2009.

McMahon 1991. Gregory McMahon. *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities*. Assyriological Studies 25. Chicago, 1991.

Mekhitarian 1954. Arpag Mekhitarian. *La peinture égyptienne*. Les grands siècles de la peinture. Geneva, 1954.

Melchert 2004. H. Craig Melchert. “‘Luvian.’” In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*, edited by Roger D. Woodard, pp. 576–84. Cambridge, 2004.

Mellink 1966. Machteld J. Mellink. “The Hasanlu Bowl in Anatolian Perspective.” *Iranica Antiqua* 6 (1966), pp. 72–87.

Menu 1994. Michel Menu. “Analyse du Trésor de Tôd.” *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie*, no. 130 (1994), pp. 29–45.

Menzel 1981. Brigitte Menzel. *Assyrische Tempel*. 2 vols. Rome, 1981.

Metzger 1991. Martin Metzger. *Kämid el-Lōz. 7, Die spätbronzezeitlichen Tempelanlagen: Stratigraphie, Architektur und Installationen*. 2 vols. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 35. Bonn, 1991.

Metzger 1993. Martin Metzger. *Kämid el-Lōz. 8, Die spätbronzezeitlichen Tempelanlagen: Die Kleinfunden*. 2 vols. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 40. Bonn, 1993.

Meyer 2007. Jan-Waalke Meyer. “Town Planning in 3rd Millennium Tell Chucra.” In *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean*, edited by Joachim Breitscheider, Jan M. Driessen, and Karel van Lerberghe, pp. 129–42. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 156. Leuven, 2007.

Meyer 2010. Jan-Waalke Meyer. “The Cemetery of Abu Hamad: A Burial Place of Pastoral Groups?” *Al-Rāfidān*, 2010, pp. 155–63. Issue titled *Formation of Tribal Communities: Integrated Research in the Middle Euphrates, Syria*, edited by Katsuhito Ohnuma.

Michailidou 2008. A. Michailidou. “Metallina ergaleia kai skeuē sta ktēria tou oikismou: ‘Oikoskeuē’ kai koinonikes sxeseis paragogēs” (Metal Tools and Utensils in the Buildings of the Settlement: “Household Items” and Social Relations of Production). In Doumas 2008a, pp. 17–35.

K. Michalowski 1968. Kazimierz Michalowski. *Art of Ancient Egypt*. New York, 1968.

P. Michalowski 1983. Piotr Michalowski. “History as Charter: Some Observations on the

Sumerian King List.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, no. 1 (January–March 1983), pp. 237–48.

Mikrakis 2007. M. Mikrakis. “Xylina cheiromorpha krotala apo to Akrotēri” (Wooden Hand-shaped *krotala* [clappers] from Akrotiri). *ALS* 5 (2007), pp. 89–96.

Militello 1999. P. Militello. “Influenza orientale sul palazzo minoico? Il caso della decorazione parietale.” In *Epi pónton plazomenói: Simposio italiano di studi egei dedicato a Luigi Bernabò Brea e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli; Roma, 18–20 febbraio 1998*, edited by Vincenzo La Rosa, Dario Palermo, and Lucia Vagnetti, pp. 91–108. Rome, 1999.

Miller 1986. Robert Miller. “Elephants, Ivory, and Charcoal: An Ecological Perspective.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 264 (November 1986), pp. 29–43.

Mills and White 1989. J. S. Mills and R. White. “The Identity of the Resins from the Late Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kaş).” *Archaeometry* 31 (1989), pp. 37–44.

Miron and Orthmann 1995. Andrei Miron and Winfried Orthmann, eds. *Unterwegs zum Goldenen Vlies: Archäologische Funde aus Georgien*. Exh. cat. Saarland Museum, Saarbrücken. Saarbrücken, 1995.

Mitchell 1986. W. J. T. Mitchell. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*. Chicago and London, 1986.

Mitchell 1994. W. J. T. Mitchell. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago, 1994.

Mommsen 2006. Hans Mommsen. “Neutron Activation Analysis: Where Was the Dolphin Jar Made?” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 24 (Winter 2006), pp. 48–51.

Monroe 2009. Christopher Mountfort Monroe. *Scales of Fate: Trade, Tradition, and Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1350–1175 BCE*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 357. Münster, 2009.

Montchambert 2004. Jean-Yves Montchambert. *La céramique d’Ougarit: Campagnes de fouilles 1975 et 1976*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 15. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 2004.

Moody 2009. Jennifer Moody. “Environmental Change and Minoan Sacred Landscapes.” In *Archaeologies of Cult: Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell*, edited by Anna Lucia D’Agata and Aleydis van de

Moortel, pp. 241–49. Hesperia, Supplement 42. Princeton, N.J., 2009.

Moody, Rackham, and Rapp 1996. Jennifer Moody, Oliver Rackham, and George Rapp Jr. “Environmental Archaeology of Prehistoric NW Crete.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 23, no. 3 (1996), pp. 249–97.

Moorey 1994. P. R. S. Moorey. *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: The Archaeological Evidence*. Oxford, 1994.

Moorey 1999. P. R. S. Moorey. *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: The Archaeological Evidence*. Winona Lake, Ind., 1999. [Repr. of 1994 ed.]

Moorey 2003. P. R. S. Moorey. *Idols of the People: Miniature Images of Clay in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford, 2003.

Moortgat-Correns 1955. Ursula Moortgat-Correns. “Neue Anhaltspunkte zur zeitlichen Ordnung syrischer Glyptik.” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 51 (1955), pp. 88–101.

Moran 1992. William L. Moran, ed. and trans. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore, 1992.

Morandi Bonacossi 2008. Daniele Morandi Bonacossi. “Betrachtungen zur Siedlungs- und Bevölkerungsstruktur des Unteren: Hābūr-Gebietes in der neuassyrischen Zeit.” In *Umwelt und Subsistenz der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu am Unteren Hābūr*, edited by Hartmut Kühne, pp. 189–214. *Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu* 8. Wiesbaden, 2008.

Morandi Bonacossi 2009. Daniele Morandi Bonacossi. “Der Unterstadtpalast.” In Al-Maqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, pp. 156–59.

Morenz 2004. Ludwig D. Morenz. *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen: Die Herausbildung der Schrift in der hohen Kultur Altägyptens*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 205. Fribourg and Göttingen, 2004.

D. Morgan 2005. David Morgan. *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*. Berkeley, 2005.

L. Morgan 1995. Lyvia Morgan. “Minoan Painting and Egypt: The Case of Tell el-Dab’a.” In *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium B.C.*, edited by W. Vivian Davies and Louise Schofield, pp. 29–53. London, 1995.

L. Morgan 2004. Lyvia Morgan. “Feline Hunters in the Tell el-Dab’a Paintings: Iconography and Dating.” *Égypten und Levante* 14 (2004), pp. 285–98.

L. Morgan 2006. Lyvia Morgan. “Art and International Relations: The Hunt Frieze at Tell el-Dab’a.” In Czerny et al. 2006, vol. 2, pp. 249–58.

L. Morgan 2010a. Lyvia Morgan. “An Aegean Griffin in Egypt: The Hunt Frieze at Tell el-Dab’a.” *Égypten und Levante* 20 (2010), pp. 303–23.

L. Morgan 2010b. Lyvia Morgan. “A Pride of Leopards: A Unique Aspect of the Hunt Frieze from Tell el-Dab’a.” *Égypten und Levante* 20 (2010), pp. 263–301.

Moussli 1985. M. Moussli. “Fouilles dans le district de Homs: Site de Tell Safinet-Nouh.” *Syria* 62, nos. 1–2 (1985), pp. 133–34.

Moussli 1986–87. M. Moussli. “Rapport préliminaire sur les deux premières campagnes de fouilles (1981–1982) à Tell Safinet Nouh.” *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 36–37 (1986–87), pp. 73–85 (Arabic section).

Moussli 1989–90. M. Moussli. “Tall Safinat-Nouh.” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36–37 (1989–90), pp. 300–308.

Mouton 2004. Alice Mouton. “Use of Private Incubations Compared to ‘Official’ Ones in Hittite Texts.” In *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, edited by Manfred Hutter and Sylvia Hutter-Braunsar, pp. 293–300. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 318. Münster, 2004.

Mouton 2006. Alice Mouton. “L’importance des rêves dans l’existence de Ḥattušili III.” In *The Life and Times of Ḥattušili III and Tuthaliya IV: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12–13 December 2003, Leiden*, edited by Theo P. J. van den Hout, pp. 9–16. Leiden, 2006.

J. D. Muhly 1973. James D. Muhly. “Copper and Tin: The Distribution of Mineral Resources and the Nature of the Metals Trade in the Bronze Age.” *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 43 (1973), pp. 155–535.

J. D. Muhly 1993. James D. Muhly. “Early Bronze Age Tin and the Taurus.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 97, no. 2 (April 1993), pp. 239–53.

J. D. Muhly 2004. James D. Muhly. “Chrysokamino and the Beginnings of Metal Technology on Crete and in the Aegean.” In *Crete beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*, edited by Leslie Preston Day, Margaret S. Mook, and James D. Muhly, pp. 283–89. Philadelphia, 2004.

J. D. Muhly 2008. James D. Muhly. “Aya Photia and the Cycladic Element in Early Minoan Metallurgy.” In *Aegean Metallurgy in the Bronze Age: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at the University of Crete, Rethymnon, Greece, on November 19–21, 2004*, edited by Iris Tzachili, pp. 71–76. Athens, 2008.

Muller 1995. Béatrice Muller. “Les peintures murales de l’Euphrate à la Méditerranée: Des conceptions communes?” *Sources: Travaux historiques (L’Association Historisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Hattuša*. Wiesbaden, 1996.

A. Müller-Karpe 2009. Andreas Müller-Karpe. “Šarišša. B. Archäologisch.” In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 12, nos. 1–2, pp. 62–64. Berlin, 2009.

A. Müller-Karpe and V. Müller-Karpe 2009. Andreas Müller-Karpe and Vuslat Müller-Karpe. “Untersuchungen in Kayalipinar und Umgebung, 2006–2009.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 141 (2009), pp. 173–238.

Museibli 2009. Najaf Museibli. “Ethnocultural Connections between the Regions of the Near East and the Caucasus in the IVth Millennium BC.” In *Azerbaijan 2009*, pp. 48–54.

Nagel and Strommenger 1958. Wolfram Nagel and Eva Strommenger. “Alalah und Siegelkunst.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12 (1958), pp. 109–23.

Nakhai 1993. Beth Alpert Nakhai. “Religion in Canaan and Israel: An Archaeological Perspective.” PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1993.

Narimanishvili 2004. Goderdzi Narimanishvili. “Ritual Roads at Trialeti Barrows.” *Journal of Georgian Archaeology* 1 (2004), pp. 120–33.

Negahban 1979. Ezat O. Negahban. “Architecture of Haft Tepe.” In *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München, 7.–10. September 1976*, pp. 9–29. Archäologische

Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 6. Berlin, 1979.

Negahban 1991. Ezat O. Negahban. *Excavations at Haft Tepe, Iran*. University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. University Museum Monograph 70. Philadelphia, 1991.

Negbi 1970. Ora Negbi. *The Hoards of Goldwork from Tell el’Ajjul*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 25. Göteborg, 1970.

Negbi 1976. Ora Negbi. *Canaanite Gods in Metal: An Archaeological Study of Ancient Syro-Palestinian Figurines*. Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, Publications of the Institute of Archaeology 5. Tel Aviv, 1976.

Neu 1996. Erich Neu. *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung*. Vol. 1, *Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Hattuša*. Wiesbaden, 1996.

Neve 1975. Peter Neve. “Grosse Tempel in Boğazköy-Ḥattuša.” 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 E. J. van Donzel, pp. 73–79. Istanbul, 1975.

Neve 1992. Peter Neve. *Hattuša: Stadt der Götter und Tempel. Neue Ausgrabungen in der Hauptstadt der Hethiter*. Mainz am Rhein, 1992.

Newberry 1893a. Percy E. Newberry. *Beni Hasan*. Vol. 1. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1st Memoir. London, 1893.

Newberry 1893b. Percy E. Newberry. *Beni Hasan*. Vol. 2. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 2nd Memoir. London, 1893.

“New Shipwreck Finds” 1989. “Nostalgic Dives Yield New Shipwreck Finds.” *National Geographic Magazine* 176, no. 1 (July 1989).

Nibbi 1987. Alessandra Nibbi. *Ancient Egyptian Pot Bellows and the Oxhide Ingot Shape*. Oxford, 1987.

Nichols and Weber 2006. John J. Nichols and Jill A. Weber. “Amorites, Onagers, and Social Reorganization in Middle Bronze Age Syria.” In *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies*, edited by Glenn M. Schwartz and John J. Nichols, pp. 38–57. Tucson, 2006.

B. Niemeier and W.-D. Niemeier 2000. Barbara Niemeier and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier.

“Aegean Frescoes in Syria–Palestine: Alalakh and Tel Kabri.” In S. Sherratt 2000, vol. 2, pp. 763–802.

W.-D. Niemeier 1986. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier. “Zur Deutung des Thronraumes im Palast von Knossos.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 101 (1986), pp. 37–48.

W.-D. Niemeier 1991. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier. “Minoan Artists Traveling Overseas: The Alalakh Frescoes and the Painted Plaster Floor at Tel Kabri (Western Galilee).” In *Thalassa, l’Égée préhistorique et la mer: Actes de la troisième Rencontre Egéenne Internationale de l’Université de Liège, Station de Recherches Sous-marines et Océanographiques (StaReSo), Calvi, Corse, 23–25 avril 1990*, edited by Robert Laffineur and Lucien Basch, pp. 189–200. Aegeaum 7. Liège, 1991.

W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier 1998. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier and Barbara Niemeier. “Minoan Frescoes in the Eastern Mediterranean.” In Cline and Harris–Cline 1998, pp. 69–97.

Nigro 2002. Lorenzo Nigro. “The MB Pottery Horizon of Tell Mardikh/Ancient Ebla in a Chronological Perspective.” In *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant: Proceedings of an International Conference on MB IIA Ceramic Material, Vienna, 24th–26th of January 2001*, edited by Manfred Bietak, pp. 297–328. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 26. Vienna, 2002.

Nigro 2003. Lorenzo Nigro. “The Smith and the King of Ebla: Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware, Metallic Wares and the Ceramic Chronology of Middle Bronze Age Syria.” In *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C., II: Proceedings of the SCIAM 2000–EuroConference, Haindorf, 2nd of May–7th of May 2001*, edited by Manfred Bietak, pp. 344–63. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 4. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 29. Vienna, 2003.

Nikolakopoulou 2010. Irene Nikolakopoulou. “Middle Cycladic Iconography: A Social Context for ‘A New Chapter in Aegean Art.’” In *Cretan Offerings: Studies in Honour of Peter Warren*, edited by Olga Krzyszkowska, pp. 213–22.

British School at Athens Studies 18. London, 2010.

Nir 1989. Yaakov Nir. *Sedimentological Aspects of the Israel and Sinai Mediterranean Coasts*. Jerusalem, 1989.

Nishiaki 2010. Yoshihiro Nishiaki. “Archaeological Evidence of the Early Bronze Age Communities in the Middle Euphrates Steppe, North Syria.” *Al-Rāfidān*, 2010, pp. 37–48. Issue titled *Formation of Tribal Communities: Integrated Research in the Middle Euphrates, Syria*, edited by Katsuhito Ohnuma.

Nougayrol et al. 1968. Jean Nougayrol, Emmanuel Laroche, Charles Virolleaud, and Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. *Ugaritica V: Nouveaux texts accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit. Commentaires des textes historiques (première partie)*. Mission de Ras Shamra 16. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 53. Paris, 1968.

Novák 1994. Mirko Novák. “Eine Typologie der Wohnhäuser von Nuzi.” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 25 (1994), pp. 341–446.

Novák and Pfälzner 2001. Mirko Novák and Peter Pfälzner. “Ausgrabungen in Tall Mišrife–Qatna 2000: Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationalen Kooperationsprojektes.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 133 (2001), pp. 157–98.

Novák and Pfälzner 2002a. Mirko Novák and Peter Pfälzner. “Ausgrabungen in Tall Mišrife–Qatna 2001: Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationalen Kooperationsprojektes.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 134 (2002), pp. 207–46.

Novák and Pfälzner 2002b. Mirko Novák and Peter Pfälzner. “Excavations in the Western Part of the Bronze Age Palace (Operation G).” In Al-Maqdissi et al. 2002, pp. 63–110.

Nowicki 2000. Krzysztof Nowicki. *Defensible Sites in Crete, c. 1200–800 B.C. (LM IIIB/IIIC through Early Geometric)*. Aegeaum 21. Liège and Austin, 2000.

Numoto and Kume 2010. Hirotoshi Numoto and Shogo Kume. “Surveys and Sondage at the Cemeteries near the Site of Tell Ghanem al-‘Ali.” *Al-Rāfidān*, 2010, pp. 49–60. Issue titled *Formation of Tribal Communities: Integrated Research in the Middle Euphrates,*

Syria, edited by Katsuhito Ohnuma.

Nunn 1988. Astrid Nunn. *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im Alten Orient*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 7, Kunst und Archäologie 1, vol. 2, B, Lfg. 6. Leiden, 1988.

O’Connor 1991. David O’Connor. “Mirror of the Cosmos: The Palace of Merenptah.” In *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium of Ramesses the Great*, edited by Edward Bleiberg and Rita Freed, pp. 167–98. Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology 1. Memphis, 1991.

Ogden 2000. Jack Ogden. “Metals.” In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, pp. 148–76. Cambridge, 2000.

Oldenburg 1991. Evelyn Oldenburg. *The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Periods*. Sukas 9. Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 11. Copenhagen, 1991.

Oldenburg and Rohweder 1981. Evelyn Oldenburg and Jorgen Rohweder. *The Excavations at Tall Darūk (Usnu?) and ‘Arab al-Mulk (Palos)*. Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 8. Copenhagen, 1981.

Olivier 2010. Jean-Pierre Olivier. “Les sceaux et scellés inscrits en ‘Hiéroglyphique’ Crétois, en Linéaire A et en Linéaire B en Crète et en Grèce continentale, en Chypre–Minoen et dans les syllabaires du I^{er} millénaire à Chypre: Un bilan.” In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik: VI. Internationales Siegel-Symposium aus Anlass des 50 jährigen Bestehens des CMS, Marburg, 9.–12. Oktober 2008*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 287–95. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 8. Mainz am Rhein, 2010.

del Olmo Lete 2008. Gregorio del Olmo Lete. “Mythologie et religion de la Syrie au II^e millénaire av. J. C. (1500–1200).” In *Mythologie et religion des sémites occidentaux*, vol. 2, *Émar, Ougarit, Israël, Phénicie, Aram, Arabie*, edited by Gregorio del Olmo Lete, pp. 25–162. Leuven, 2008.

Opificius 1964. Ruth Opificius. “Syrisch-ägyptischer Einfluss auf die Kunst des Zweistromlandes in altbabylonischer Zeit.” In *Vorderasiatische Archäologie: Studien und Aufsätze; Anton Moortgat zum 65.*

Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern, edited by Kurt Bittell et al., pp. 216–20. Berlin, 1964.

Orlamünde 2001. Julia Orlamünde. “Überlegungen zum hethitischen KIN–Orakel.” In *Kulturgeschichten: Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Thomas Richter, Doris Prechel, and Jörg Klinger, pp. 295–311. Saarbrücken, 2001.

Ornan 2012. Tallay Ornan. “The Role of Gold in Royal Representation: The Case of a Bronze Statue from Hazor.” In *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 12 April–16 April 2010, the British Museum and UCL, London, vol. 2, Ancient and Modern Issues in Cultural Heritage; Colour and Light in Architecture; Art and Material Culture; Islamic Archaeology*, edited by Roger Matthews and John Curtis, pp. 445–58. Wiesbaden, 2012.

Orthmann 1971. Winfried Orthmann. *Untersuchungen zur Späthethitischen Kunst*. Bonn, 1971.

Otten 1951. Heinrich Otten. Evelyn Oldenburg and Jorgen Rohweder. *The Excavations at Tall Kizzuvatna.* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 5, no. 4 (1951), pp. 129–32.

Otten 1958. Heinrich Otten. *Hethitische Totenrituale*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 37. Berlin, 1958.

Otten 1981. Heinrich Otten. *Die Apologie Hattusilis III.: Das Bild der Überlieferung*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 24. Wiesbaden, 1981.

Otten 1988a. Heinrich Otten. *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.* Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 1. Wiesbaden, 1988.

Otten 1988b. Heinrich Otten. “Ebla in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Boğazköy.” In *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla: Akten der Internationalen Tagung, Heidelberg, 4.–7. November 1986*, edited by Hartmut Waetzoldt and Harald Hauptmann, pp. 189–96. Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient 2. Heidelberg, 1988.

Otten and Siegelová 1970. Heinrich Otten and Jana Siegelová. “Die hethitischen Gulš-Gottheiten und die Erschaffung der Menschen.” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23 (1970), pp. 32–38.

Otto 1992. Adelheid Otto. “Zur offiziellen Ikonographie auf Siegeln

aus der Regierung des Königs Šamši-Adad I.” *Acta praehistorica et archaeologica* 24 (1992), pp. 159–71.

Otto 2000. Adelheid Otto. *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik*. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie 8. Berlin and New York, 2000.

Otto 2006. Adelheid Otto. *Alltag und Gesellschaft zur Spätbronzezeit: Eine Fallstudie aus Tall Bazi (Syrien)*. Subartu 19. Turnhout, 2006.

Otto 2006–8. Adelheid Otto. “Qal’at al-Mudīq.” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 11, pp. 145–46. Berlin, 2006–8.

Ownby and Bourriau 2009. Mary Ownby and Janine Bourriau. “The Movement of Middle Bronze Age Transport Jars: A Provenance Study Based on Petrographic and Chemical Analysis of Canaanite Jars from Memphis, Egypt.” In *Interpreting Silent Artefacts: Petrographic Approaches to Archaeological Ceramics*, edited by Patrick Sean Quinn, pp. 173–88. Oxford, 2009.

Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts 1923–30. *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*. Oxford, 1923–30.

N. Özgüç 1965. Nimet Özgüç. *Kültepe mühür baskılarında Anadolu grubu/The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe*. Türk tarih kurumu yayımlarından, ser. 5, 22. Ankara, 1965.

N. Özgüç 1968. Nimet Özgüç. *Kanıs Karumu 1b kati mühürleri ve mühür baskıları/Seals and Seal Impressions of Level 1b from Karum Kanish*. Türk tarih kurumu yayımlarından, ser. 5, 25. Ankara, 1968.

N. Özgüç 1986. Nimet Özgüç. “Seals of the Old Assyrian Colony Period and Some Observations on the Seal Impressions.” In *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development; Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*, edited by Jeanny Vorys Canby, Edith Porada, B. S. Ridgway, and T. Stech, pp. 48–53. Madison, Wisc., 1986.

N. Özgüç and Tunca 2001. Nimet Özgüç and Önhan Tunca. *Kültepe-Kanış: Mühürlü ve yazıtlı kil bullalar/Sealed and Inscribed Clay Bullae*. Ankara, 2001.

T. Özgüç 1980. Tahsin Özgüç. “Excavations at the Hittite Site, Maşat Höyük: Palace, Archives, Mycenaean Pottery.” *American*

Journal of Archaeology 84, no. 3 (July 1980), pp. 305–9.

Palmer 1994. Ruth Palmer. *Wine in the Mycenaean Palace Economy*. Aegeaum 10. Liège, 1994.

Palmer 1996. Ruth Palmer. “Wine and Viticulture in the Linear A and B Texts of the Bronze Age Aegean.” In *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, edited by Patrick E. McGovern, Stuart J. Fleming, and Solomon H. Katz, pp. 269–85. Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology 11. Luxembourg, 1996.

Palumbi 2008. Giulio Palumbi. *The Red and Black: Social and Cultural Interaction between the Upper Euphrates and Southern Caucasus Communities in the Fourth and Third Millennium B.c.* Studi di preistoria orientale 2. Rome, 2008.

Panagiotaki 1997. M. Panagiotaki. “A Study of Vitreous Materials from Minoan Crete.” In *Archäia Hellēnikē Technologia: Praktika 10u Diethnous Synedriou* (Ancient Greek Technology Proceedings of the First International Conference, Thessaloniki), pp. 303–11. Thessaloniki, 1997.

Panagiotaki 2000. M. Panagiotaki. “Crete and Egypt: Contacts and Relationships Seen through Vitreous Materials.” In Karetsou 2000, pp. 154–61.

Panagiotakopulu 2008. E. Panagiotakopulu. “Parasita stis apothēkes” (Parasites in the Storerooms). In Doumas 2008a, pp. 491–98.

Papageorgiou and Birtacha 2008. I. Papageorgiou and K. Birtacha. “Ho pithēkos stēn eikonographia tēs Epochēs tou Chalkou: Hē periptosē tōn toichographion apo to Akrotēri Thēras.” (The Monkey in Bronze Age Iconography: The Case of the Frescoes from Akrotiri, Thera). In Doumas 2008a, pp. 287–316.

Papagiannopoulou 2008a. Angelia Papagiannopoulou. “From Pots to Pictures: Middle Cycladic Figurative Arts from Akrotiri, Thera.” In *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by Neil Brodie et al., pp. 433–49. McDonald Institute Monographs. Cambridge, 2008.

Papagiannopoulou 2008b. Angelia Papagiannopoulou. “Mesokykladikē eikonistikē paradosē ōs prodromos tōn toichographion” (The Middle Cycladic Figural Tradition as a

Precursor of Wall Paintings). In Doumas 2008a, pp. 239–60.

Parayre 1990. Dominique Parayre. “Seals and Seal Impressions from Tell Leilan, 1985.” In “1985 Excavations at Tell Leilan, Syria,” by Harvey Weiss, Peter M. M. G. Akkermans, Gil J. Stein, Dominique Parayre, and Robert Whiting. *American Journal of Archaeology* 94, no. 4 (October 1990), pp. 556–67.

Pardee 1997a. Dennis Pardee. “The Ba’lu Myth (1.86).” In *The Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, edited by William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, pp. 241–74. Leiden, 1997.

Pardee 1997b. Dennis Pardee. “The Kirta Epic (1.102).” In *The Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, edited by William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, pp. 333–43. Leiden, 1997.

Pardee 2000. Dennis Pardee. *Les textes rituels*. 2 vols. Ras Shamra–Ougarit 12. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 2000.

R. B. Parkinson 1997. R. B. Parkinson. *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC*. Oxford World’s Classics. New York, 1997.

W. A. Parkinson 2010. William A. Parkinson. “Beyond the Peer: Social Interaction and Political Evolution in the Bronze Age Aegean.” In *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age: Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22–24 February 2007*, edited by Daniel J. Pullen, pp. 11–34. Oxford, 2010.

Parpola 2007. Simo Parpola. “The Neo-Assyrian Ruling Class.” In *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Orient/Studies on Ritual and Society in the Ancient Near East, Tartuer Symposien, 1998–2004*, edited by Thomas Richard Kämmerer, pp. 257–74. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 374. Berlin, 2007.

Parrot 1958a. André Parrot. *Mission archéologique de Mari*. Vol. 2, *Le palais*. Pt. 1, *Architecture*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 68. Paris, 1958.

Parrot 1958b. André Parrot. *Mission archéologique de Mari*. Vol. 2, *Le palais*. Pt. 2, *Peintures murales*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 69. Paris, 1958.

Pedersén 1998. Olof Pedersén. *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient*

Near East, 1500–300 B.C. Bethesda, Md., 1998.

Pedersén 2005. Olof Pedersén. *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon: Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys, 1899–1917*. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 25. Saarbrücken, 2005.

H. W. Pendlebury, J. D. S. Pendlebury, and Money-Coutts 1935–36. H. W. Pendlebury, J. D. S. Pendlebury, and M. B. Money-Coutts. “Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi. I. The Cave of Trapeza.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 36 (1935–36), pp. 5–131.

J. D. S. Pendlebury, Money-Coutts, and H. W. Pendlebury 1937–38. J. D. S. Pendlebury, M. B. Money-Coutts, and H. W. Pendlebury. “Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi. II.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 38 (1937–38), pp. 1–56.

Petrie 1897. W. M. Flinders Petrie. *A History of Egypt*. Vol. 1, *From the Earliest Kings to the XVIIth Dynasty*. 3rd ed. New York, 1897.

Pfälzner 1995. Peter Pfälzner. *Mittanische und mittelassyrische Keramik: Ein chronologische, funktionale und produktions-ökonomische Analyse*. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu 3. Berlin, 1995.

Pfälzner 2007. Peter Pfälzner. “Archaeological Investigations in the Royal Palace of Qatna.” In *Urban and Natural Landscapes of an Ancient Syrian Capital: Settlement and Environment at Tell Mishrifēh/Qatna and in Central-Western Syria; Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Udine, 9–11 December 2004*, edited by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, pp. 29–64. Studi Archeologici su Qatna 1. Udine, 2007.

Pfälzner 2008a. Peter Pfälzner, with Constance von Rüden. “Between the Aegean and Syria: The Wall Paintings from the Royal Palace of Qatna.” In *Fundstellen: Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens; ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, edited by Dominik Bonatz, Rainer M. Czichon, and F. Janoscha Kreppner, pp. 95–118. Wiesbaden, 2008.

Pfälzner 2008b. Peter Pfälzner. “Syrische Elefanten: Wiederentdeckt im Königspalast von Qatna.” *Archäologie in Deutschland* 6 (2008), p. 4.

Pfälzner 2009a. Peter Pfälzner. “Elefantenjagd in Syrien.” *Damals:*

Das Magazin für Geschichte und Kultur, 2009, no. 11, pp. 47–48.

Pfälzner 2009b. Peter Pfälzner. “Das Königtum von Qatna.” In Al-Maqqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, pp. 134–37.

Pfälzner 2011a. Peter Pfälzner. “Die Chronologie der Königsgruft von Qatna.” In *Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, edited by Peter Pfälzner, pp. 55–67. Qatna Studien 1. Wiesbaden, 2011.

Pfälzner 2011b. Peter Pfälzner. “Goldplaketten und andere prestigehaltige Einzelobjekte aus Gold, Silber und Bernstein aus der Königsgruft von Qatna im Kontext von Bestattung und Ritual.” In *Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, edited by Peter Pfälzner, pp. 137–90. Qatna Studien 1. Wiesbaden, 2011.

Pfälzner 2012. Peter Pfälzner. “Levantine Kingdoms in the Late Bronze Age.” In *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Daniel T. Potts, pp. 770–96. Chichester, 2012.

Pfälzner forthcoming. Peter Pfälzner. *Die Stratigraphie des Gebäudes P am Westang der Zitadelle*. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Hamad/Dür-Katlimmu 12. Wiesbaden. Forthcoming.

Pfälzner and Dohmann–Pfälzner 2011. Peter Pfälzner and Heike Dohmann–Pfälzner. “Die Gruft VII: Eine neu entdeckte Grabanlage unter dem Königspalast von Qatna.” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 143 (2011), pp. 63–139.

Pfälzner and Vila 2009. Peter Pfälzner and Emmanuelle Vila. “Ein Elefant im Königspalast von Qatna.” *Alter Orient aktuell*, nos. 9–10 (August 2009), pp. 26–29.

Pfister 2002. Friedrich Pfister. *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen*. Heidelberg, 2002.

Phillips 1997. Jacke [Jacqueline] Phillips, ed. *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell*. 2 vols. San Antonio, 1997.

Phillips 2008. Jacqueline Phillips. *Aegyptiaca on the Island of Crete in Their Chronological Context: A Critical Review*. 2 vols. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 49. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 18. Vienna, 2008.

Phillips and Cline 2005. Jacqueline Phillips and Eric H. Cline. “Amenhotep III and Mycenae: New Evidence.” In *Autochthon: Papers Presented to O. T. P. K. Dickinson on the Occasion of His Retirement*, edited by Anastasia Dakouri–Hild and Susan Sherratt, pp. 317–28. Bar International Series 1432. Oxford, 2005.

Pini 1975. Ingo Pini. *Kleinere griechische Sammlungen*. Vol. 2. With contributions by John L. Caskey et al. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel 5. Berlin, 1975.

Pini 1988. Ingo Pini. *Kleinere europäische Sammlungen*. With contributions by John H. Betts et al. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel 11. Berlin, 1988.

Pini 2000. Ingo Pini. “Eleven Early Cretan Scarabs.” In *Karetsou 2000*, pp. 107–13.

Pitard 1999. Wayne Pitard. “The Alphabetic Ugaritic Tablets.” In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by Wilfred G. E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt, pp. 46–57. Leiden, 1999.

Pittman 1996. Holly Pittman. “The White Obelisk and the Problem of Historical Narrative in the Art of Assyria.” *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (June 1996), pp. 334–55.

Platon 1971. Nicholas Platon. *Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete*. New York, 1971.

Platon and Brice 1975. Nicholas Platon and William C. Brice. *Enepigraphoi pinakides kai pithoi grammikou systēmatos A ek Zakrou/ Inscribed Tablets and Pithos of Linear A System from Zakro*. Vivliothēkē tēs en Athēnais Archaiologikēs Hetaireias 85. Athens, 1975.

Platt 1976. Elizabeth Ellen Platt. “Triangular Jewelry Plaques.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 221 (February 1976), pp. 103–11. Issue titled *Memorial Issue: Essays in Honor of George Ernst Wright*.

Platt 1979. Elizabeth Ellen Platt. “Jewelry of Bible Times and the Catalog of Isa 3:18–23.” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 17 (1979), no. 1, pp. 71–84 (pt. 1); 17, no. 2, pp. 189–201 (pt. 2).

Platt 1992. Elizabeth Ellen Platt. “Jewelry: Ancient Israelite.” In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freedman, vol. 3, pp. 823–34. New York, 1992.

Podany 2010. Amanda H. Podany. *Brotherhood of Kings: How International*

Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East. Oxford, 2010.

Podella 1996. Thomas Podella. *Das Lichtkleid JHWHs: Untersuchungen zur Gestalthaftigkeit Gottes im Alten Testament und seiner altorientalischen Umwelt*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 15. Tübingen, 1996.

Pollock 2003. Susan Pollock. “Feasts, Funerals and Fast Food in Early Mesopotamian States.” In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara L. Bray, pp. 17–38. New York, 2003.

Polonsky 2002. Janice Polonsky. “The Rise of the Sun-God and the Determination of Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia.” PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2002.

Pomey 2012. Patrice Pomey. “The Pharaonic Ship Remains of Ayn Sukhna.” In *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Istanbul, 2009*, edited by Nergis Günsenin. ISBSA 12. Oxford, 2012. Forthcoming.

Pomponio and Xella 1997. Francesco Pomponio and Paolo Xella. *Les dieux d’Ebla: Étude analytique des divinités éblaites à l’époque des archives royales du III^e millénaire*. Münster, 1997.

Pongratz-Leisten 1999. Beate Pongratz-Leisten. *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König in 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* State Archives of Assyria 10. Helsinki, 1999.

Pongratz-Leisten 2002. Beate Pongratz-Leisten. “‘Lying King’ and ‘False Prophet’: The Intercultural Transfer of a Rhetorical Device within Ancient Near Eastern Ideologies.” In *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena: Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project, Held in Chicago, USA, October 27–31, 2000*, edited by Antonio Panaino and Giovanni Pettinato, pp. 215–43. Melammu Symposia 3. Milan, 2002.

Pongratz-Leisten 2009. Beate Pongratz-Leisten. “Akkadische Literatur.” In *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon*, edited by Heinz Ludwig Arnold, vol. 1, pp. 185–91. 3rd ed. Stuttgart, 2009.

Pongratz-Leisten 2011. Beate Pongratz-Leisten. “Divine Agency and Astralization of the Gods in

Ancient Mesopotamia.” In *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism*, edited by Beate Pongratz-Leisten, pp. 137–87. Winona Lake, Ind., 2011.

Popko 1978. Maciej Popko. *Kultobjekte in der hehitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen)*. Rozprawy Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 161. Warsaw, 1978.

Porada 1957. Edith Porada. “Syrian Seal Impressions on Tablets Dated in the Time of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957), pp. 192–97.

Porada 1973. Edith Porada. “Notes on the Sarcophagus of Ahiaram.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 5 (1973), pp. 355–72.

Porada 1981–82. Edith Porada. “The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia.” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1981–82), pp. 1–70.

Porada 1982. Edith Porada. “Remarks on the Tôd Treasure in Egypt.” In *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff*, pp. 285–303. Warmminster, 1982.

Porada 1985. Edith Porada. “Syrian Seals from the Late Fourth to the Late Second Millennium.” In *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, edited by Harvey Weiss, pp. 90–104. Exh. cat. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and other institutions; 1985–87. Washington, D.C., 1985.

Porter 2007. Anne Porter. “You Say Potato, I Say . . . : Typology, Chronology and the Origins of the Amorites.” In Kuzucuoğlu and Marro 2007, pp. 69–115.

Porter 2012. Anne Porter. *Mobile Pastoralism and the Formation of Near Eastern Civilizations: Weaving Together Society*. Cambridge, 2012.

Posener 1956. Georges Posener. *Littérature et politique dans l’Égypte de la XII^e Dynastie*. Bibliothèque de l’École des hautes études 307. Paris, 1956.

Posener and van de Walle 1940. Georges Posener and Baudouin van de Walle. *Princes et pays d’Asie et de Nubie: Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d’envoûtement du moyen empire suivis de remarques paléographiquies sur les textes similaires de Berlin*. Brussels, 1940.

Postgate 1974. J. N. Postgate. “Royal Exercise of Justice under the Assyrian Empire.” In *Le palais et la royauté (Archéologie et civilisation)*,

29 juin–2 juillet 1971; compte rendu, edited by Paul Garelli, pp. 417–26. XIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Paris, 1974.

Postgate 1992. J. N. Postgate. “The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur.” *World Archaeology* 23, no. 3 (February 1992), pp. 247–63.

Postgate 2007. J. N. Postgate. “The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur.” In *The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur: Studies on Assyria, 1971–2005*, pp. 199–215. Oxford, 2007.

Potts 1997. Daniel T. Potts. *Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations*. Ithaca, N.Y., 1997.

Potts 1999. Daniel T. Potts. *The Archaeology of Elam*. Cambridge, 1999.

Poursat 1977. Jean-Claude Poursat. *Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d’Athènes*. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 230 bis. Athens and Paris, 1977.

Poursat 1994. Jean-Claude Poursat. Response to Judith Weingarten, “The Sealing Studies in the Middle Bronze Age. I: Karahöyük. II: Phaistos” [Weingarten 1994]. In *Archives before Writing: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Oriolo Romano, October 23–25, 1991*, edited by Piera Ferioli, Enrica Fiandra, Gian Giacomo Fissore, and Marcella Frangipane, pp. 297–98. Rome, 1994.

Poursat 2008. Jean-Claude Poursat. *L’art égéen*. Vol. 1, Grèce, Cyclades, Crète jusqu’au milieu du II^e millénaire av. J.-C. Paris, 2008.

Poursat and Loubet 2005. Jean-Claude Poursat and M. Loubet. “Métallurgie et contacts extérieurs à Malia (Crète) au Minoen Moyen II: Remarques sur une série d’analyses isotopiques du plomb.” In Laffineur and Greco 2005, vol. 1, pp. 117–21.

Pritchard 1955. James B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 2nd ed. Princeton, N.J., 1955.

Pulak 1988a. Cemal Pulak. “The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1985 Campaign.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, no. 1 (January 1988), pp. 1–37.

Pulak 1988b. Cemal Pulak. “Excavations in Turkey: 1988 Campaign.” *INA Newsletter (Institute of Nautical Archaeology)* 15, no. 4 (December 1988), pp. 12–17.

Pulak 1993. Cemal Pulak. “The Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1993 Excavation Campaign.” *INA Quarterly (Institute of Nautical Archaeology)* 20, no. 4 (1993), pp. 4–12.

Pulak 1996. Cemal Pulak. “Analysis of the Weight Assemblages from the Late Bronze Age Shipwrecks at Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya, Turkey.” PhD diss., Texas A&M University, College Station, 1996.

Pulak 1997. Cemal Pulak. “The Uluburun Shipwreck.” In *Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity; Proceedings of the Second International Symposium “Cities on the Sea,” Nicosia, Cyprus, October 18–22, 1994*, edited by Stuart Swiny, Robert L. Hohlfelder, and Helena Wylde Swiny, pp. 233–62. American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports 4. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute Monograph Series 1. Atlanta, 1997.

Pulak 1998. Cemal Pulak. “The Uluburun Shipwreck: An Overview.” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 27, no. 3 (August 1998), pp. 188–224.

Pulak 1999. Cemal Pulak. “Shipwreck! Recovering 3,000-Year-Old Cargo.” *Archaeology Odyssey* 2, no. 4 (September–October 1999), pp. 18–29, 59.

Pulak 2001. Cemal Pulak. “The Cargo of the Uluburun Ship and Evidence for Trade with the Aegean and Beyond.” In *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity, 1500–450 B.C.: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University, November 16–18, 2000*, edited by Larissa Bonfante and Vassos Karageorghis, pp. 13–60. Nicosia, 2001.

Pulak 2005. Cemal Pulak. “Who Were the Mycenaean Aboard the Uluburun Ship?” In Laffineur and Greco 2005, vol. 1, pp. 295–310.

Pulak and Rogers 1994. Cemal Pulak and Edward Rogers. “The 1993–1994 Turkish Shipwreck Survey.” *INA Quarterly (Institute of Nautical Archaeology)* 21, no. 4 (1994), pp. 17–21.

Purpura 1986. Gianfranco Purpura. “Rinvenimenti sottomarini nella Sicilia occidentale.” *Bollettino d’arte*, nos. 37–38 (1986), suppl., *Archeologia subacquea* 3, pp. 139–60.

Puturidze 2005. Marina Puturidze. “About the Problem of South Caucasian–Near Eastern Cultural Relations according to the Items of Artistic Craft during the First Half of the 2nd Millennium B.C.” *Metalla* 12, nos. 1–2 (2005), pp. 8–22.

Quirke and Fitton 1997. Stephen Quirke and J. Lesley Fitton. “An Aegean Origin for Egyptian Spirals?” In Phillips 1997, vol. 2, pp. 421–44.

Rabehl 2005. Silvia Rabehl. “Eine Gruppe von Asiaten im Grab Chnumhoteps II. (BH 3): Tradierung eines Bildmotivs in den Felsgräbern des Mittleren Reiches von Beni Hassan.” *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2005; pub. 2006), pp. 86–97.

Rabehl 2006. Silvia Rabehl. *Das Grab des Amenemhat (Jmnj) in Beni Hassan oder der Versuch einer Symbiose*. Munich, 2006.

Radner 2004. Karen Radner. “Fressen und gefressen werden: Heuschrecken als Katastrophe und Delikatesse im alten Vorderen Orient.” *Welt des Orients* 34 (2004), pp. 7–22.

Rawlinson, G. Smith, and Pinches 1891. Henry C. Rawlinson, George Smith, and Theophilus G. Pinches. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Vol. 4. 2nd ed. London, 1891.

“Recent Acquisitions” 1993. “Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1992–1993.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 51, no. 2 (Autumn 1993).

Redford 1979. Donald B. Redford. “A Gate Inscription from Karnak and Egyptian Involvement in Western Asia during the Early 18th Dynasty.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99, no. 2 (1979), pp. 270–87.

Redford 1986. Donald B. Redford. “Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986), pp. 125–43.

Redford 1992. Donald B. Redford. *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton, N.J., 1992.

Redford 2003. Donald B. Redford. *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*. Boston, 2003.

Reeves 1990. Nicholas Reeves. *The Complete Tutankhamun: The King, the Tomb, the Royal Treasure*. London, 1990.

Rehak 1998. Paul Rehak. “Aegean Natives in the Theban Tomb Paintings: The Keftiu Revisited.” In Cline and Harris–Cline 1998, pp. 39–50.

Rehren and Pusch 2005. Thilo Rehren and Edgar B. Pusch. “Late Bronze Age Glass Production at Qantir–Pirameses, Egypt.” *Science*, n.s., 308 (June 17, 2005), pp. 1756–58.

G. A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner 1993. George A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner. “Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal.” Part 2, “The Granite Stela of Thutmosis III.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 69 (1993), pp. 24–39.

Rethemiotakis 2002. G. Rethemiotakis. “Evidence on Social and Economic Changes at Galatas and Pediaa in the New-Palace Period.” In Driessen, Schoep, and Laffineur 2002, pp. 55–69.

Reusch 1958. Helga Reusch. “Zum Wandschmuck des Thronsaales in Knossos.” In *Minoica: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Johannes Sundwall*, edited by Ernst Grumach and Helga Reusch, pp. 334–58. Berlin, 1958.

Reuther 1926. Oscar Reuther. *Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes)*. 2 vols. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientalgesellschaft 47. Leipzig, 1926.

Richter 1999. Thomas Richter. *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 257. Münster, 1999.

Richter and Lange 2012. Thomas Richter and Sarah Lange. *Das Archiv des Idadda: Die Keilschrifttexte aus den deutsch-syrischen Ausgrabungen 2001–2003 im Königspalast von Qatna*. Qatna Studien 3. Wiesbaden, 2012.

Riis and Buhl 2007. P. J. Riis and Marie-Louise Buhl. *Bronze Age Graves in Hama and Its Neighbourhood*. 2 vols. Hama, fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg, 1931–1938, I, 2. 2 vols. Nationalmuseets skrifter, Storre beretninger 14. Copenhagen, 2007.

Riis et al. 2004. P. J. Riis, Ingolf Thuesen, John Lund, and Thomas Riis. *Topographical Studies in the Ġabla Plain*. Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 13. Copenhagen, 2004.

Ristvet 2012. Lauren Ristvet. “Resettling Apum: Tribalism and Tribal States in the Tell Leilan Region, Syria.” In *Looking North: The Socioeconomic Dynamics of Northern Mesopotamian and Anatolian Regions during the Late Third and Early Second Millennium BC*, edited by Nicola Laneri, Peter Pfälzner,

and Stefano Valentini, pp. 37–50. Wiesbaden, 2012.

Rohrlich and Goldsmith 1984. V. Rohrlich and V. Goldsmith. “Sediment Transport along the Southeast Mediterranean: A Geological Perspective.” *Geo-Marine Letters* 4, no. 2 (1984), pp. 99–103.

Röllig 1999. W. Röllig. “Niḫi, Ni’i, Nija.” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 9, nos. 3–4 (October 1999), pp. 313b–314a.

Romant 1978. Bernard Romant. *Life in Egypt in Ancient Times*. Geneva, 1978.

Ross 1999. Jennifer C. Ross. *The Golden Ruler: Precious Metals and Political Development in the Third Millennium B.C. Near East*. Ann Arbor, 1999.

Roth 1997. Martha T. Roth. *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. 2nd ed. Writings from the Ancient World 6. Atlanta, 1997.

Rubinson 1991. Karen S. Rubinson. “Mid-Second Millennium Pontic-Aegean Connections: A Note to Chapter 12.” In *Ancient Economy in Mythology: East and West*, edited by Morris Silver, pp. 283–85. Savage, Md., 1991.

Rubinson 2001. Karen S. Rubinson. “Metal Vessels with Basket Handles at Trialeti.” In *Caucasus: Essays on the Archaeology of the Neolithic-Bronze Age Dedicated to the 80th Birthday of Prof. Otar Japaridze*, pp. 123–24. Dziebani, Supplement 6. Tbilisi, 2001.

Rubinson 2003. Karen S. Rubinson. “Silver Vessels and Cylinder Sealings: Precious Reflections of Economic Exchange in the Early Second Millennium B.C.” In *Archaeology in the Borderlands: Investigations in Caucasia and Beyond*, edited by Adam T. Smith and Karen S. Rubinson, pp. 128–43. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, Monograph 47. Los Angeles, 2003.

Rubinson 2006. Karen S. Rubinson. “Over the Mountains and through the Grass: Visual Information as ‘Text’ for the ‘Textless.’” In *Beyond the Steppe and the Sown: Proceedings of the 2002 University of Chicago Conference on Eurasian Archaeology*, edited by David L. Peterson, Laura M. Popova, and Adam T. Smith, pp. 247–63. Leiden, 2006.

von Rüdén 2006. Constance von Rüdén. “Die Wandmalereien von Tall Mišrife/Qatna im Kontext

interregionaler Kommunikation.” PhD diss., University of Freiburg, 2006.

von Rüdén 2011. Constance von Rüdén. *Die Wandmalereien aus Tall Mišrife/Qatna im Kontext interregionaler Kommunikation*. With studies by Ann Brysbaert and Ilka Weisser. Qatna Studien 2. Wiesbaden, 2011.

von Rüdén in preparation. Constance von Rüdén. *Plaster Reliefs from a Thutmosid Palace Precinct at Avaris*. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, edited by Manfred Bietak. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. In preparation.

Rutten 1938. M. Rutten. “Les animaux à attitudes humaines dans l’art de l’ancienne Mésopotamie.” *Revue des études sémitiques* (1938), pp. 97–119.

Säflund 1981. G. Säflund. “Cretan and Theran Questions.”

In *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12–13 May 1980*, edited by Robin Hägg and Nanno Marinatos, pp. 189–208. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4^o, 28. Stockholm, 1981.

Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakí 1997. Yannis Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakí. *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*. Athens, 1997.

Sallaberger 2007. Walthar Sallaberger. “From Urban Culture to Nomadism: A History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium.” In Kuzucuoğlu and Marro 2007, pp. 417–56.

Sandars 1963. N. K. Sandars. “Later Aegean Bronze Swords.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 67, no. 2 (April 1963), pp. 117–53.

Saretta 1997. Phyllis Saretta. “Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites in Art and Literature

during the Middle Kingdom: An Archaeological, Art Historical and Textual Survey.” PhD diss., New York University, 1997. [Microfilm, Ann Arbor, 1999.]

Sayce 1905. A. H. Sayce. “The Age of Abraham.” *Biblical World* 26, no. 4 (October 1905), pp. 248–57.

Sayed 1977. Abdel Monem A. H. Sayed. “Discovery of the Site of the 12th Dynasty Port at Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea Shore.” *Revue d’égyptologie* 29 (1977), pp. 140–78.

Sayed 1978. Abdel Monem A. H. Sayed. “The Recently Discovered Port on the Red Sea Shore.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64 (1978), pp. 69–71.

Sayed 1980. Abdel Monem A. H. Sayed. “Observations on Recent Discoveries at Wādī Gawāsīs.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66 (1980), pp. 154–57.

Sayed 1983. Abdel Monem A. H. Sayed. “New Light on the Recently Discovered Port on the Red Sea Shore.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 48 (1983), pp. 23–37.

Sbonias 1995. Kostas Sbonias. *Frühkretische Siegel: Ansätze für eine Interpretation der sozial-politischen Entwicklung auf Kreta während der Frühbronzezeit*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 620. Oxford, 1995.

Scandone Matthiae 1991a. Gabriella Scandone Matthiae. “Gli intarsi egittizzanti del Palazzo Settentriale di Ebla.” *Scienze dell’Antichità* 5 (1991), pp. 423–39.

Scandone Matthiae 1991b. Gabriella Scandone Matthiae. “Una testa paleosiriana in avorio con corona atef.” *La parola del passato* 46 (1991), pp. 382–93.

Scandone Matthiae 2002. Gabriella Scandone Matthiae. *Gli avori egittizzanti dal Palazzo Settentriale*. Materiali e studi archeologici di Ebla 3. Rome, 2002.

Scandone Matthiae 2006. Gabriella Scandone Matthiae. “Nuovi frammenti di avori egittizzanti di Ebla.” In Czerny et al. 2006, vol. 3, pp. 81–86.

Schaeffer 1932. Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. “Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra. Troisième campagne (printemps 1931).” *Syria* 13, no. 1 (1932), pp. 1–27.

Schaeffer 1937. Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. “Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Huitième campagne (printemps 1936). Rapport sommaire.” *Syria* 18, no. 2 (1937), pp. 125–54.

Schaeffer 1939. Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*. London, 1939.

Schaeffer 1949. Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. *Ugaritica II: Nouvelles études relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra*. Mission de Ras Shamra 5. Paris, 1949.

Schaeffer 1962. Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. *Ugaritica IV: Découvertes des XVIII^e et XIX^e campagnes, 1954–1955, fondements*

préhistoriques d’Ugarit et nouveaux sondages, études anthropologiques, poteries grecques et monnaies islamiques de Ras Shamra et environs. Mission de Ras Shamra 15. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 74. Paris, 1962.

Schaeffer 1966. Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. “Neue Entdeckungen und Funde in Ugarit (1962–1964).” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21 (1966), pp. 131–37.

Scheel 1989. Bernd Scheel. *Egyptian Metalworking and Tools*. Shire Egyptology 13. Princes Risborough, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, 1989.

Schiestl 2006. Robert Schiestl. “The Statue of an Asiatic Man from Tell el-Dab’a, Egypt.” *Ägypten und Levante* 16 (2006), pp. 173–85.

Schiestl 2009. Robert Schiestl. *Tell el-Dab’a, XVIII: Die Palastnekropole von Tell el-Dab’a. Die Gräber des Areals F/I der Straten d/2 und d/1*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 47. Vienna, 2009.

Schmökel 1963. Hartmut Schmökel. *Ur, Assur und Babylon: Drei Jahrtausende im Zweistromland*. Grosse Kulturen der Frühzeit. Berlin, 1963.

Schneider 1998. Thomas Schneider. *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit*. Vol. 1. Ägypten und Altes Testament 42. Wiesbaden, 1998.

Schoep 2006. Ilse Schoep. “Looking beyond the First Palaces: Elites and Agency of Power in EM III–MM II Crete.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 110, no. 1 (January 2006), pp. 37–64.

Schoep 2007. Ilse Schoep. “Architecture and Power: The Origins of the Minoan ‘Palation’ Architecture.” In *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean*, edited by Joachim Bretschneider, Jan M. Driessen, and Karel van Lerberghe, pp. 213–36. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 156. Leuven, 2007.

Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012. Ilse Schoep, Peter Tomkins, and Jan M. Driessen, eds. *Back to the Beginning: Reassessing Social and Political Complexity on Crete during the Early and Middle Bronze Age; Proceedings of the International Conference “Power and Architecture,” Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, the Universitè*

Catholique de Louvain and the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster on the 21st and 22nd of November 2002. Oxford, 2012.

Schulman 1982. Alan Schulman. “The Battle Scenes of the Middle Kingdom.” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 12, no. 4 (August 1982), pp. 165–83.

Schuol 1994a. Monika Schuol. “Die Terminologie des hethitischen SU-Orakels: Eine Untersuchung auf der Grundlage des mittel-hethitischen Textes KBo XVI 97 unter vergleichender Berücksichtigung akkadischer Orakeltexte und Lebermodelle, I.” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 21, no. 1 (1994), pp. 73–124.

Schuol 1994b. Monika Schuol. “Die Terminologie des hethitischen SU-Orakels: Eine Untersuchung auf der Grundlage des mittel-hethitischen Textes KBo XVI 97 unter vergleichender Berücksichtigung akkadischer Orakeltexte und Lebermodelle, II.” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 21, no. 2 (1994), pp. 247–304.

Schwartz 2001. Glenn M. Schwartz. “Syria and the Uruk Expansion.” In *Uruk Mesopotamia and Its Neighbours: Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*, edited by Mitchell S. Rothman, pp. 233–64. Santa Fe, 2001.

Schwartz 2006. Glenn M. Schwartz. “From Collapse to Regeneration.” In *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies*, edited by Glenn M. Schwartz and John J. Nichols, pp. 3–18. Tucson, 2006.

Schwartz 2007. Glenn M. Schwartz. “Taking the Long View on Collapse: A Syrian Perspective.” In Kuzucuoğlu and Marro 2007, pp. 45–67.

Schwemer 2001. Daniel Schwemer. *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen: Materialien und Studien nach der schriftlichen Quellen*. Wiesbaden, 2001.

Seeher 2002. Jürgen Seeher. *Hattusha-Guide: A Day in the Hittite Capital*. 2nd ed. Ancient Anatolian Towns 2. Istanbul, 2002.

Selz 2000. Gebhard J. Selz. “Five Divine Ladies: Thoughts on Inana(k), Ištar, In(n)in(a), Anunitum, and ‘Anat, and the Origin of the Title ‘Queen of Heaven.’” *NIN: Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity* 1 (2000), pp. 29–62.

Selz 2008. Gebhard J. Selz. “The Divine Prototypes.” In *Religion and*

Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond, edited by Nicole Brisch, pp. 13–31. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 4. Chicago, 2008.

Serpico et al. 2003. Margaret Serpico, Janine Bourriau, Laurence Smith, Yuval Goren, Benjamin Stern, and Carl Heron. “Commodities and Containers: A Project to Study Canaanite Amphorae Imported into Egypt during the New Kingdom.” In *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*, edited by Manfred Bietak, pp. 365–75. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 4. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 29. Vienna, 2003.

Sethe 1906. Kurt Sethe. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Leipzig, 1906.

Sethe 1932. Kurt Sethe. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 1, nos. 1, 2. Leipzig, 1932.

Shafer 2007. Ann Shafer. “Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space.” In *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter*, edited by Marian H. Feldman and Jack Cheng, pp. 133–53. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 26. Leiden, 2007.

J. W. Shaw 1973. Joseph W. Shaw. *Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques*. Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 49. Rome, 1973.

J. W. Shaw 2009. Joseph W. Shaw. “The Character, Genesis, and Influence of Minoan Palatial Architecture.” In *Bronze Age Architectural Traditions in the Eastern Mediterranean: Diffusion and Diversity; Proceedings of the Symposium, 07.–08.05.2008 in Munich/Gasteig München/Architektonische Traditionen im östlichen Mittelmeer während der Bronzezeit: Verbreitung und Vielfalt; Symposiumsband*, edited by Apostolos Kyriatsoulis, pp. 61–89. Weilheim, 2009.

M. C. Shaw 1970. Maria C. Shaw. “Ceiling Patterns from the Tomb of Hepzefa.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 74, no. 1 (January 1970), pp. 25–30.

Shea 1981. William H. Shea. “Artistic Balance among the Beni Hasan Asiatics.” *Biblical Archaeologist* 44, no. 4 (Autumn 1981), pp. 219–28.

Shedid 1994. Abdel Ghaffar Shedid. *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten*. Mainz am Rhein, 1994.

A. G. Sherratt and S. Sherratt 1991. Andrew G. Sherratt and Susan Sherratt. “From Luxuries to Commodities: The Nature of Mediterranean Bronze Age Trading Systems.” In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean: Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, pp. 351–86. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90. Jonsered, 1991.

S. Sherratt 1994. Susan Sherratt. “Comment on Ora Negbi, the ‘Libyan Landscape’ from Thera: A Review of Aegean Enterprises Overseas in the Late Minoan IA Period.” *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7, no. 2 (1994), pp. 237–40.

S. Sherratt 2000. Susan Sherratt, ed. *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium, Petros Nomikos Conference Centre, Thera, Hellas, 30 August–4 September 1997*. 3 vols. Athens, 2000.

“Sidon’s Minoan Cup” 2004. “Animal Bone Deposit under Sidon’s Minoan Cup: C14 Analysis.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 20 (Autumn 2004), p. 60.

Simmel 1900/1990. Georg Simmel. *Philosophy of Money*. Edited by David Frisby. 2nd ed. London, 1990. [Translation of *Philosophie des geldes*. Leipzig, 1900.]

Singer 1996. Itamar Singer. *Muwatalli’s Prayer to the Assembly of the Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381)*. Atlanta, 1996.

Singer 2002. Itamar Singer. *Hittite Prayers*. Writings from the Ancient World 11. Atlanta, 2002.

A. T. Smith 2001. Adam T. Smith. “The Limitations of Doxa: Agency and Subjectivity from an Archaeological Point of View.” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (October 2001), pp. 155–71.

A. T. Smith 2009. Adam T. Smith. “Historical and Anthropological Problems in the Archaeology of Southern Caucasia.” In *The Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies*, vol. 1, *The Foundations of Research and Regional Survey in the Tsaghkahovit Plain, Armenia*, by Ruben S. Badalyan,

Pavel Avetisyan, and Adam T. Smith, pp. 21–32. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 134. Chicago, 2009.

L. Smith et al. 2004. Laurence Smith, Janine Bourriau, Yuval Goren, Michael Hughes, and Margaret Serpico. “The Provenance of Canaanite Amphorae Found at Memphis and Amarna in the New Kingdom: Results, 2000–2002.” In *Invention and Innovation: The Social Context of Technological Change, 2; Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East, 1650–1150 BC; Proceedings of a Conference Held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, 4–6 September 2002*, edited by Janine Bourriau and Jacke [Jacqueline] Phillips, pp. 55–77. Oxford, 2004.

S. Smith 1949. Sidney Smith. *The Statue of Idri-mi*. Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara 1. London, 1949.

W. S. Smith 1965. William Stevenson Smith. *Interconnections in the Ancient Near-East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia*. New Haven, 1965.

Smogorzewska 2009. Anna Smogorzewska. “Andirons from Tell Arbid: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Studies.” *Études et travaux* 23 (2009), pp. 137–50.

von Soden 1952. W. von Soden. “Zu den Amarna Briefen aus Babylon und Assur.” *Orientalia* 21 (1952), pp. 426–34.

van Soldt 1991. Wilfred H. van Soldt. *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 40. Kevelaer, 1991.

van Soldt 1995. Wilfred H. van Soldt. “Babylonian Lexical, Religious and Literary Texts and Scribal Education at Ugarit and Its Implications for the Alphabetic Literary Texts.” In *Ugarit: Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient: Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung*, edited by Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz, pp. 171–212. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 7. Münster, 1995.

van Soldt 1999. Wilfred H. van Soldt. “The Syllabic Akkadian Texts.” In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by Wilfred G. E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt, pp. 28–45. Leiden, 1999.

Sørensen 2009. A. H. Sorensen. “Approaching Levantine Shores: Aspects of Cretan Contacts with Western Asia during the MM–LM I Periods.” *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 6 (2009), pp. 9–55.

Sotirakopoulou 1993. Panayiota Sotirakopoulou. “The Chronology of the ‘Kastri Group’ Reconsidered.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 88 (1993), pp. 5–20.

Soysal 2004. Oğuz Soysal. *Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung*. Handbook of Oriental Studies, sect. 1, The Near and Middle East 74. Leiden, 2004.

Spalinger 1986. Anthony J. Spalinger. “Foods in P. Bulaq 18.” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986), pp. 207–47.

Starke 1985. Frank Starke. *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 30. Wiesbaden, 1985.

Starr 1937. Richard F. S. Starr. *Nuzi: Report on the Excavation at Yorghān Tēpa near Kirkuk, Iraq, 1927–1931*. Vol. 2, *Plates and Plans*. Cambridge, Mass., 1937.

Starr 1939. Richard F. S. Starr. *Nuzi: Report on the Excavation at Yorghān Tēpa near Kirkuk, Iraq, 1927–1931*. Vol. 1, *Text*. Cambridge, Mass., 1939.

Staubli 1991. Thomas Staubli. *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 107. Fribourg and Göttingen, 1991.

Steible and Behrens 1982. Horst Steible and Hermann Behrens. *Die Altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*. 2 vols. Freiburger altorientalische Studien 5. Wiesbaden, 1982.

D. L. Stein 1984. Diana L. Stein. “Khabur Ware and Nuzi Ware: Their Origin, Relationship and Significance.” *Assur* 4, no. 1 (1984), pp. 1–65.

D. L. Stein 1997. Diana L. Stein. “Alalakh.” In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, edited by Eric M. Meyers, vol. 1, pp. 55–59. New York, 1997.

D. L. Stein 2009. Diana L. Stein. “Winged Disks and Sacred Trees at Nuzi: An Altered Perspective on Two Imperial Motifs.” In *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 11/2 in Honor of David I. Owen on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday, October 28, 2005*, edited by Gernot Wilhelm, pp. 573–603. Studies on

the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 18. Bethesda, Md., 2009.

G. Stein 1999. Gil Stein. *Rethinking World-Systems: Diasporas, Colonies and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. Tucson, 1999.

G. Stein 2002. Gil Stein. “From Passive Periphery to Active Agents: Emerging Perspectives in the Archaeology of Interregional Interaction.” *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (September 2002), pp. 903–16.

Steinkeller 2005. Piotr Steinkeller. “Of Stars and Men: The Conceptual and Mythological Setup of Babylonian Extispicy.” In *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran*, edited by Agustinus Gianto, pp. 11–47. *Biblica et Orientalia* 48. Rome, 2005.

Stos 2009. Zofia A. Stos. “Across the Wine Dark Seas . . . Sailor Tinkers and Royal Cargoes in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean.” In *From Mine to Microscope: Advances in the Study of Ancient Technology*, edited by Andrew J. Shortland, Ian C. Freestone, and Thilo Rehren, pp. 163–80. Oxford, 2009.

Stos and Gale 2006. Zofia A. Stos and Noël H. Gale. “Appendix C: Lead Isotope and Chemical Analyses of Slags from Chrysokamino.” In *The Chrysokamino Metallurgy Workshop and Its Territory*, by Philip P. Betancourt, with contributions by Eleni A. Armpis et al., pp. 299–319. *Hesperia*, Supplement 36. Princeton, N.J., 2006.

Stos-Gale and Gale 1992. Zofia A. Stos-Gale and Noël H. Gale. “New Light on the Provenience of the Copper Oxhide Ingots Found on Sardinia.” In *Sardinia in the Mediterranean: A Footprint in the Sea; Studies in Sardinian Archaeology Presented to Miriam S. Balmuth*, edited by Robert H. Tykot and Tamsey K. Andrews, pp. 317–46. Sheffield, 1992.

Stos-Gale and MacDonald 1991. Zofia A. Stos-Gale and Colin F. MacDonald. “Sources of Metals and Trade in the Bronze Age Aegean.” In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean: Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, pp. 249–88. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 90. Jonsersed, 1991.

Streck 2000. Michael P. Streck. *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 271. Münster, 2000.

Süel 2008. Mustafa Süel. *Bir Hitit başkenti: Ortaköy Şapinuva*. Ankara, 2008.

Swift 2009. Ellen Swift. *Style and Function in Roman Decoration: Living with Objects and Interiors*. Farnham, England, 2009.

Tadmor 1987. Hayim Tadmor. “Monarchie und Eliten in Assyrien und Babylonien: Die Frage der Verantwortlichkeit.” In *Kulturen der Achsenzeit*, [vol. 1], *Ihre Ursprünge und Vielfalt*, edited by Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, pp. 292–323. Frankfurt am Main, 1987.

Tadmor 1999. Hayim Tadmor. “World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire.” In *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East; Papers Presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7–11 July 1997*, edited by Lucio Milano, Stefano de Martino, F. M. Fales, and G. B. Lanfranchi, vol. 1, *Invited Lectures*, pp. 55–62. *History of the Ancient Near East*, Monographs III, 1. Padua, 1999.

Takaoğlu 2000. Turan Takaoğlu. “Heath Structures in the Religious Pattern of Early Bronze Age Northeast Anatolia.” *Anatolian Studies* 50 (2000), pp. 11–16.

Taraqji 1999. Ahmad Ferzat Tarqji. “Nouvelles découvertes sur les relations avec l’Égypte à Tel Sakka et à Keswé, dans la région de Damas.” *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie* 144 (1999), pp. 27–43.

Tavadze and Barkaja 1954. F. N. Tavadze and V. F. Barkaja. “Iz Istorii Obrabotki Metallov Davleniem po Arkheologicheskim Materialam Gruzii” (On the History of Metal Forming among the Archaeological Materials of Georgia). *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 20 (1954), pp. 357–81.

Taylor 1965. Joan du Plat Taylor. *Marine Archaeology: Developments during Sixty Years in the Mediterranean*. London, 1965.

Teixidor 1977. Javier Teixidor. *The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Graeco-Roman Near East*. Princeton, N.J., 1977.

Thalmann 2000. Jean-Paul Thalmann. “Le peuplement de la Plaine du Akkar à l’âge du Bronze.” In *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, May 18th–23rd, 1988*, edited by Paolo Matthiae, A. Enca, L. Peyronel, and F. Pinnock, vol. 2, pp. 1615–35. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche,

Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell’Antichità, Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza” 2. Rome, 2000.

Thalmann 2006. Jean-Paul Thalmann. *Tell Arqa, I: Les niveaux de l’âge du Bronze*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 177. Beirut, 2006.

Thoumin 1936. Richard Thoumin. “Le Ghab.” *Revue de géographie alpine* 24, no. 3 (1936), pp. 467–538.

Thrane 1978. Henrik Thrane. *A Middle Bronze Age Collective Grave on Tall Sukas*. Sukas 4. Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 5. Copenhagen, 1978.

Throckmorton 1960. Peter Throckmorton. “Thirty-three Centuries under the Sea.” *National Geographic Magazine* 117, no. 5 (May 1960), pp. 682–703.

Throckmorton 1964. Peter Throckmorton. *Lost Ships: An Adventure in Undersea Archaeology*. Boston, 1964.

Thureau-Dangin 1919. François Thureau-Dangin. “Un acte de donation de Marduk-zakir-sumi.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 16 (1919), pp. 117–56.

Thureau-Dangin et al. 1931. François Thureau-Dangin, A. Barrois, Georges Dossin, and Maurice Dunand. *Arslan Tash*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 16. Paris, 1931.

Thyrza Sparks 2007. Rachael Thyrza Sparks. *Stone Vessels in the Levant*. The Palestine Exploration Fund Annual 8. Leeds, 2007.

Tiradritti 1999. Francesco Tiradritti. *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. New York, 1999.

Todaro 2012. Simona Todaro. “Craft Production and Social Practices at Prepalatial Phaistos: The Background to the First ‘Palace.’” In Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012, pp. 195–235.

Tomkins 2012. Peter Tomkins. “Behind the Horizon: Reconsidering the Genesis and Function of the ‘First Palace’ at Knossos (Final Neolithic IV–Middle Minoan IB).” In Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012, pp. 32–80.

van der Toorn 1998. Karel van der Toorn. “Goddesses in Early Israelite Religion.” In *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence*, edited by Lucy Goodison and Christine Morris, pp. 83–97. London, 1998.

Tournavitou 1995. Iphiyenia Tournavitou. *The ‘Ivory Houses’ at Mycenae*. Supplementary volume (British School at Athens) 24. London, 1995.

Treasures of Tutankhamun 1976. *Treasures of Tutankhamun*. Exh. cat. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and other institutions. New York, 1976.

Trémouille 1999. Marie-Claude Trémouille. “La religion des Hourrites: État actuel de nos connaissances.” In *Nuzi at Seventy-five*, edited by David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm, pp. 277–91. *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 10. Bethesda, Md., 1999.

Trémouille 2000. Marie-Claude Trémouille. “La religione dei hurriti.” *La parola della passata* 55 (2000), pp. 114–70.

Trufelli 2000. F. Trufelli. “Andirons, Hut Symbols and Eye Idols.” In *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, May 18th–23rd, 1988*, edited by Paolo Matthiae, A. Enca, L. Peyronel, and F. Pinnock, vol. 2, pp. 1679–90. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell’Antichità, Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza” 2. Rome, 2000.

Tubb and Chapman 1990. Jonathan N. Tubb and Rupert L. Chapman. *Archaeology and the Bible*. London, 1990.

Tuchelt 1962. Klaus Tuchelt. *Tiergefäße in Kopf- und Protomengestalt: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte tierförmiger Giessegefäße*. *Istanbuler Forschungen* 22. Berlin, 1962.

Tufnell and W. A. Ward 1966. Olga Tufnell and William A. Ward. “Relations between Byblos, Egypt and Mesopotamia at the End of the Third Millennium B.C.: A Study of the Montet Jar.” *Syria* 43 (1966), pp. 165–241.

Turri 2009. Luigi Turri. “Elfenbein: Prestigeobjekte der Elite.” In Al-Maqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, pp. 188–91.

Twaltschrelidze 2001. Alexander G. Twaltschrelidze. “Erzlagerstätten in Georgien.” In *Georgien: Schätze aus dem Land des goldenen Vlies*, edited by Irine Gambaschidze et al., pp. 78–87. Exh. cat. Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, Bochum. Bochum, 2001.

Tzavella-Evjen 1970. Chara Tzavella-Evjen. *Ta pterota onta tēs*

proistorikēs epochēs tou Aigaiou (The Winged Creatures of the Prehistoric Era of the Aegean). Hē en Athēnais Archaiologikē Hetaireia (The Athens Archaeological Society). Athens, 1970.

Uehlinger 1998–2001. Christoph Uehlinger. “Nackte Göttin. B. in der Bildkunst.” In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 9, pp. 53–64. Berlin, 1998–2001.

Ur 2010. Jason A. Ur. “Cycles of Civilization in Northern Mesopotamia, 4400–2000 BC.” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18, no. 4 (2010), pp. 387–431.

Van De Mieroop 2005a. Marc Van De Mieroop. “The Eastern Mediterranean in Early Antiquity.” In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by W. V. Harris, pp. 117–40. Oxford, 2005.

Van De Mieroop 2005b. Marc Van De Mieroop. *King Hammurabi of Babylon*. Malden, Mass., 2005.

Van De Mieroop 2007a. Marc Van De Mieroop. *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II*. Oxford, 2007.

Van De Mieroop 2007b. Marc Van De Mieroop. *A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000–323 BC*. 2nd ed. Malden, Mass., 2007.

Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979. Frieda Vandenabeele and Jean-Pierre Olivier. *Les idéogrammes archéologiques du linéaire B*. *Études crétoises* 24. Paris, 1979.

Vandier d’Abbadie 1966. J. Vandier d’Abbadie. “Les singes familiers dans l’ancienne Égypte (peintures et bas-reliefs) III. Le Nouvel Empire.” *Revue d’égyptologie* 18 (1966), pp. 143–201.

Vasiljević 2005. Vera Vasiljević. “Der König im Privatgrab des Mittleren Reiches.” *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2005; pub. 2006), pp. 132–44.

Veenhof and Eidem 2008. Klaas R. Veenhof and Jesper Eidem. *Mesopotamia: The Old Assyrian Period*. Edited by Markus Wäfler. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 160, Annäherungen 5. Fribourg and Göttingen, 2008.

Vercoutter 1954. Jean Vercoutter. *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes*. *Orient ancien illustré* 6. Paris, 1954.

Vercoutter 1956. Jean Vercoutter. *L’Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique: Étude critique des sources égyptiennes (du début de la XVIII^e à la fin de la XIX^e Dynastie)*. Bibliothèque d’étude 22. Cairo, 1956.

Vermeule 1964. Emily Townsend Vermeule. *Greece in the Bronze Age*. Chicago, 1964.

Vernus 1989. Pascal Vernus. “Sur deux inscriptions du Moyen Empire (Urk. VII, 36; Caire JE 519 11).” *Bulletin* (Société d’Égyptologie, Geneva), no. 13 (1989), pp. 173–81.

Véron and Leroux 2004. Alain Véron and Gael Leroux. “Provenance of Silver Artefacts from Burial 27 at Sidon.” *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon*, no. 20 (Autumn 2004), pp. 34–38.

Villard 1986. Pierre Villard. “Un roi de Mari à Ugarit.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 18 (1986), pp. 387–412.

Vlachopoulos forthcoming. A. G. Vlachopoulos. “From Vase-Painting to Wall-Painting: The Lilies Jug from Akrotiri, Thera.” In *Amilla: The Quest for Excellence. Studies in Honor of Guenter Kopcke in Celebration of His 75th Birthday*, edited by Robert B. Koehl. Philadelphia. Forthcoming.

Vogler 1997. Ursula Vogler. “Faunenhistorische Untersuchungen am Sirkeli Höyük/Adana, Türkei (4.–1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.).” PhD diss., University of Munich, 1997.

Wachsmann 1987. Shelley Wachsmann. *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 20. Leuven, 1987.

Wachsmann 1998. Shelley Wachsmann. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. College Station, Texas, and London, 1998.

Walberg 1976. Gisela Walberg. *Kamare: A Study of the Character of Palatial Middle Minoan Pottery*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas 8. Uppsala, 1976.

Walberg 1990. Gisela Walberg. “The Finds in the Sealing Deposit at Phaistos and Minoan Administration.” In *Aegaeum* 6, edited by Robert Laffineur, pp. 25–27. Liège, 1990.

Walker and Dick 2001. Christopher Walker and Michael Dick. *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian Mīs Pī Ritual*. State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts 1. Helsinki, 2001.

C. A. Ward 2000. Cheryl A. Ward. *Sacred and Secular: Ancient Egyptian Ships and Boats*. Monographs (Archaeological Institute of America), n.s., 5. Philadelphia and Dubuque, 2000.

C. A. Ward 2003. Cheryl A. Ward. “Pomegranates in Eastern Mediterranean Contexts during the Late Bronze Age.” *World Archaeology* 34, no. 3 (February 2003), pp. 529–41.

C. A. Ward 2004. Cheryl A. Ward. “Boatbuilding in Ancient Egypt.” In *The Philosophy of Shipbuilding*, edited by Frederick Hocker and Cheryl A. Ward, pp. 13–24. College Station, Texas, 2004.

C. A. Ward 2006. Cheryl A. Ward. “Boat-Building and Its Social Context in Early Egypt: Interpretations from the First Dynasty Boat-Grave Cemetery at Abydos.” *Antiquity* 80 (March 2006), pp. 118–29.

C. A. Ward 2007. Cheryl A. Ward. “Ship Timbers: Description and Preliminary Analysis.” In Bard and Fattovich 2007, pp. 135–50.

C. A. Ward 2009. Cheryl A. Ward. “Evidence for Egyptian Seafaring.” In *Between the Seas: Transfer and Exchange in Nautical Technology; Proceedings of the Eleventh International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Mainz 2006*, edited by Ronald Bockius, pp. 9–16. ISBSA 11. Oxford, 2009.

C. A. Ward 2010a. Cheryl A. Ward. “From River to Sea: Evidence for Egyptian Seafaring Ships.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2, no. 3 (August 2010), pp. 42–49. <http://jaei.library.arizona.edu>.

C. A. Ward 2010b. Cheryl A. Ward. “Seafaring in the Bronze Age Aegean: Evidence and Speculation.” In *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age: Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22–24 February 2007*, edited by Daniel J. Pullen, pp. 149–60. Oxford, 2010.

C. A. Ward and Zazzaro 2010. Cheryl A. Ward and Chiara Zazzaro. “Evidence for Pharaonic Seagoing Ships at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, Egypt.” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (March 2010), pp. 27–43.

C. A. Ward, Couser, and Vosmer 2008. Cheryl A. Ward, Patrick Couser, and Tom Vosmer. “Building Hatshepsut’s Punt Ship: Science and Ship Reconstruction.” In *Historical Boat and Ship Replicas: Conference-Proceedings on the Scientific Perspectives and the Limits of Boat and Ship Replicas, Torgelow 2007*, edited by Maik-Jens Springmann and Horst Werner Nicke, pp. 122–28. Friedland, Mecklenburg, 2008.

C. A. Ward, Zazzaro, and Abdel-Maguid 2010. Cheryl A. Ward,

Chiara Zazzaro, and Mohamed Abd el-Maguid. “Super-sized Egyptian Ships.” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 39, no. 2 (September 2010), pp. 387–89.

C. A. Ward et al. 2012. Cheryl A. Ward, Patrick Couser, David Vann, Tom Vosmer, and Mohamed Abd el-Maguid. “Reconstruction and Sailing Performance of an Ancient Egyptian Ship.” In *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Istanbul 2009*, edited by Nergis Günsenin. ISBSA 12. Oxford, 2012. Forthcoming.

W. A. Ward 1963. William A. Ward. “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, no. 1 (May 1963), pp. 1–57.

W. A. Ward 1984. William A. Ward. “The Case of Mrs. Tchat and Her Sons at Beni Hasan.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 71 (1984), pp. 51–59.

W. A. Ward 1991. William A. Ward. “Early Contacts between Egypt, Canaan, and Sinai: Remarks on the Paper by Amnon Ben-Tor.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 281 (1991), pp. 11–26.

Warren 1969. Peter M. Warren. *Minoan Stone Vases*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge, 1969.

Warren 1972. Peter M. Warren. *Myrtos: An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete*. Supplementary volume (British School at Athens) 7. Oxford, 1972.

Warren 1974. Peter M. Warren. “Crete, 3000–1400 B.C.: Immigration and the Archaeological Evidence.” In *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean: Archaeological and Linguistic Problems in Greek Prehistory*, edited by R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall, pp. 41–50. Park Ridge, N.J., 1974.

Warren 1987. Peter M. Warren. “The Genesis of the Minoan Palace.” In Hägg and N. Marinatos 1987, pp. 47–56 (with discussion).

Warren 1995. Peter M. Warren. “Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt.” In *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC*, edited by W. Vivian Davies and Louise Schofield, pp. 1–18. London, 1995.

Warren 2004. Peter M. Warren. “Part II: The Contents of the Tombs.” In *The Early Minoan Tombs of Lebena, Southern Crete*, by Stylianos Alexiou and Peter M.

Warren, pp. 25–198. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 30. Sävedalen, 2004.

Warren 2005. Peter M. Warren. “A Model of Iconographical Transfer: The Case of Crete and Egypt.” In *Krēs technitēs/Lartisan crétois: Recueil d’articles en l’honneur de Jean-Claude Poursat, publié à l’occasion des 40 ans de la découverte du Quartier Mu*, edited by Isabelle Bradfer-Burdet, Béatrice Detournay, and Robert Laffneur, pp. 221–27. Aegaeum 26. Liège and Austin, 2005.

Warren and Hankey 1989. Peter M. Warren and Vronwy Hankey. *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*. Bristol, 1989.

Watkins 1995. Calvert Watkins. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York, 1995.

Watrous 1987. L. Vance Watrous. “The Role of the Near East in the Rise of the Cretan Palaces.” In Hägg and N. Marinatos 1987, pp. 65–70.

Watrous 1992. L. Vance Watrous. *Kommos*. Vol. 3, *The Late Bronze Age Pottery*. Princeton, N.J., 1992.

Watrous 1994. L. Vance Watrous. “Review of Aegean Prehistory III: Crete from Earliest Prehistory through the Protopalatial Period.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 98, no. 4 (October 1994), pp. 695–753.

Watrous 1998. L. Vance Watrous. “Egypt and Crete in the Early Middle Bronze Age: A Case of Trade and Cultural Diffusion.” In Cline and Harris–Cline 1998, pp. 19–28.

Watrous 2004. L. Vance Watrous. “State Formation (Middle Minoan IA).” In *The Plain of Phaistos: Cycles of Social Complexity in the Mesara Region of Crete*, by L. Vance Watrous, Despoina Hadzi-Vallianou, and Harriet Blitzer, pp. 253–76. *Monumenta Archaeologica* 23. Los Angeles, 2004.

Webb and Frankel 1994. Jennifer M. Webb and David Frankel. “Making an Impression: Storage and Surplus Finance in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.” *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (1994), pp. 5–26.

Webb and Frankel 1999. Jennifer M. Webb and David Frankel. “Characterizing the Philia Facies: Material Culture, Chronology and the Origin of the Bronze Age in Cyprus.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 103, no. 1 (January 1999), pp. 3–43.

Wedde 2000. Michael Wedde. *Toward a Hermeneutics of Aegean Bronze Age Ship Imagery*. Peleus (Series) 6. Mannheim, 2000.

Weeks 1979. Kent R. Weeks. “Art, Word, and the Egyptian World View.” In *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies*, edited by Kent R. Weeks, pp. 59–81. Cairo, 1979.

Weingarten 1990a. Judith Weingarten. “The Sealing Structure of Karahöyük and Some Administrative Links with Phaistos and Crete.” *Oriens Antiquus* 29, nos. 1–2 (1990), pp. 63–95.

Weingarten 1990b. Judith Weingarten. “Three Upheavals in Minoan Sealing Administration: Evidence for Radical Change.”

In *Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration*, edited by T. Palaima, pp. 105–14. Aegaeum 5. Liège and Austin, 1990.

Weingarten 1994. Judith Weingarten. “The Sealing Studies in the Middle Bronze Age. I: Karahöyük. II: Phaistos.” In *Archives before Writing: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Oriolo Romano, October 23–25, 1991*, edited by Piera Ferioli, Enrica Fiandra, Gian Giacomo Fissore, and Marcella Frangipane, pp. 261–95. Rome, 1994.

Weingarten 2005. Judith Weingarten. “How Many Seals Make a Heap: Seals and Interconnections on Prepalatial Crete.” In Laffneur and Greco 2005, vol. 2, pp. 759–66.

Weippert 1988. Helga Weippert. *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit*. Handbuch der Archäologie 2, Vorderasien, 1. Munich, 1988.

Weiss 1985. Harvey Weiss. “Rediscovering: Tell Leilan on the Habur Plains of Syria.” *Biblical Archaeologist* 48, no. 1 (March 1985), pp. 5–34.

Weiss et al. 1993. Harvey Weiss, Marie-Agnès Courty, Wilma Wetterstrom, F. Guichard, Louise Senior, Richard Meadow, and Anna Curnow. “The Genesis and Collapse of Third Millennium North Mesopotamian Civilization.” *Science* 261 (August 20, 1993), pp. 995–1004.

Wengrow 2007. David Wengrow. *Review of Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an “International Style” in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE*, by Marian H. Feldman [Feldman 2006b]. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17, no. 1 (February 2007), pp. 119–21.

Werner 1994. Peter Werner. *Die Entwicklung der Sakralarchitektur in Nordsyrien und Südostkleinasien vom Neolithikum bis in das 1. Jt. v. Chr.* Münchener vorderasiatische Studien 15. Munich, 1994.

West 2007. Martin L. West. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford, 2007.

Westenholz 1992. Joan Goodnick Westenholz. “Metaphorical Language in the Poetry of Love in the Ancient Near East.” In *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien: Actes de la XXXVIII Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991*, edited by Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès, pp. 381–87. Paris, 1992.

Westenholz 1998. Joan Goodnick Westenholz. “Goddesses of the Ancient Near East, 3000–1000 B.C.” In *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence*, edited by Lucy Goodison and Christine Morris, pp. 63–82. London, 1998.

Westenholz 2004. Joan Goodnick Westenholz. “The Good Shepherd.”

In *Schools of Oriental Studies and the Development of Modern Historiography: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project, Held in Ravenna, Italy, October 13–17, 2001*, edited by Antonio Panaino and Andreas Piras, pp. 281–310. *Melammu Symposia* 4. Milan, Bologna, and Rome, 2004.

Westenholz 2007. Joan Goodnick Westenholz. “The True Shepherd of Uruk.” In *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs, June 4, 2004*, edited by Martha T. Roth et al., pp. 305–24. *Assyriological Studies* 27. Chicago, 2007.

Westlake 2007. Polly Westlake. “Report on the Sculptural Fragments from the Trench in the Level VII Palace Courtyard.” Unpublished conservation report, 2007.

Weulersse 1940a. Jacques Weulersse. *L’Oronte: Étude de fleuve*. Tours, 1940.

Weulersse 1940b. Jacques Weulersse. *Le pays des Alaouites*. Tours, 1940.

Whitehouse 2000. Harvey Whitehouse. *Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity*. Oxford, 2000.

Whitelaw 2012. Todd Whitelaw. “The Urbanisation of Prehistoric Crete: Settlement Perspectives on Minoan State Formation.” In Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012, pp. 114–76.

Whiting 1995. Robert M. Whiting. “Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia.” In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson, vol. 2, pp. 1231–42. New York, 1995.

Wicke 2008. Dirk Wicke. *Vorderasiatische Pyxiden der Spätbronzezeit und der Frühheisenzeit*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 45. Münster, 2008.

Wiener 1987. Malcolm H. Wiener. “Trade and Rule in Palatial Crete.” In Hägg and N. Marinatos 1987, pp. 261–68 (with discussion).

Wiggermann 1998–2001. F. A. M. Wiggermann. “Nackte Göttin (Naked Goddess): A. Philologisch.” In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 9, pp. 46–53. Berlin, 1998–2001.

van Wijngaarden 2002. Gert Jan van Wijngaarden. *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (ca. 1600–1200 BC)*. Amsterdam, 2002.

Wilhelm 1997. Gernot Wilhelm. *Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A*. Rahden, 1997.

Wilhelm 1998. Gernot Wilhelm. “Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš.” In *Urkeš and the Hurrians: A Volume in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*, edited by Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, pp. 117–44. *Urkesh/Mozan Studies* 3. *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 26. Malibu, 1998.

Wilhelm 2002. Gernot Wilhelm. “‘Gleichsetzungstheologie,’ ‘Synkretismus’ und ‘Gottespaltungen’ im Polytheismus Anatoliens.” In *Polytheismus und Monotheismus in den Religionen des Vorderen Orients*, edited by Manfred Krebernik and Jürgen van Oorschot, pp. 53–70. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 298. Münster, 2002.

J. G. Wilkinson 1847. J. Gardner Wilkinson. *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. 3rd ed. 5 vols. London, 1847.

R. H. Wilkinson 1999. Richard H. Wilkinson. *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art*. London, 1999. [First ed., 1994.]

R. H. Wilkinson 2003. Richard H. Wilkinson. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. New York, 2003.

T. A. H. Wilkinson 2000. Toby A. H. Wilkinson. *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt: The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments*. Studies on Egyptology. London, 2000.

D. E. Wilson, Day, and Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2008. David E. Wilson, Peter M. Day, and Nota Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki. “The Gateway Port of Poros-Katsambas: Trade and Exchange between North-central Crete and the Cyclades in EBI–II.” In *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by Neil Brodie et al., pp. 261–70. McDonald Institute Monographs. Cambridge, 2008.

J. A. Wilson 1950. John A. Wilson. “Egyptian Historical Texts.” In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by James Pritchard, pp. 227–64. Princeton, N.J., 1950.

I. J. Winter 1973. Irene J. Winter. “North Syria in the Early First Millennium B.C. with Special Reference to Ivory Carving.” PhD diss., Columbia University, New York, 1973.

I. J. Winter 1983. Irene J. Winter. “The Program of the Throneroom of Assurnasirpal II.” In *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honor of Charles Kyrle Wilkinson*, edited by Prudence O. Harper and Holly Pittman, pp. 15–31. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1983.

I. J. Winter 1996. Irene J. Winter. “Sex, Rhetoric, and the Public Monument: The Alluring Body of Naram-Sin of Agade.” In *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, edited by Natalie Boymel Kampen, with Bettina Bergmann et al., pp. 11–26. Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism. Cambridge, Mass., 1996.

I. J. Winter 2000. Irene J. Winter. “Thera Paintings and the Ancient Near East: The Private and Public Domains of Wall Decoration.” In S. Sherratt 2000, vol. 2, pp. 745–62.

I. J. Winter 2004. Irene J. Winter. “The Conquest of Space in Time: Three Suns on the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin.” In *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, edited by Jan Gerrit Dercksen, pp. 607–32. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden 100. Leiden, 2004.

I. J. Winter 2012. Irene J. Winter. “Gold! Divine Light and Lustre in Ancient Mesopotamia.” In *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 12 April–16 April 2010, the British Museum and UCL, London*, vol. 2, *Ancient and Modern*

Issues in Cultural Heritage; Colour and Light in Architecture; Art and Material Culture; Islamic Archaeology, edited by Roger Matthews and John Curtis, pp. 153–72. Wiesbaden, 2012.

U. Winter 1983. Urs Winter. *Frau und Göttin: Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 53. Fribourg and Göttingen, 1983.

Wiseman 1953. Donald John Wiseman. *The Alalakh Tablets*. Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2. London, 1953.

Wolf 1954. Walther Wolf. *Die Welt der Ägypter*. Grosse Kulteren der Frühzeit [3]. Stuttgart, 1954.

Woolley 1921. Leonard Woolley. *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum*. Pt. 2, *The Town Defences*. London, 1921.

Woolley 1948. Leonard Woolley. “Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1939.” *Antiquaries Journal* 28 (1948), pp. 1–19.

Woolley 1953. Leonard Woolley. *A Forgotten Kingdom, Being a Record of the Results Obtained from the Excavation of Two Mounds, Atchana and Al Mina, in the Turkish Hatay*. Baltimore, 1953.

Woolley 1955. Leonard Woolley. *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 18. Oxford, 1955.

Yadin et al. 1960. Yigael Yadin, Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, T. Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, and J. Perrot. *Hazor*. Vol. 2, *An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*. Jerusalem, 1960.

Yasuda, Kitagawa, and Nakagawa 2000. Yoshinori Yasuda, Hiroyuki Kitagawa, and Takeshi Nakagawa. “The Earliest Record of Major Anthropogenic Deforestation in the Ghab Valley, Northwest Syria: A Palynological Study.” *Quaternary International* 73–74 (November 2000), pp. 127–36.

Yener 2005. K. Aslihan Yener. *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects*. Vol. 1, *Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 131. Chicago, 2005.

Yener 2007a. K. Aslihan Yener. “The Anatolian Middle Bronze Age Kingdoms and Alalakh: Mukish, Kanesh and Trade.” *Anatolian Studies* 57 (2007), pp. 151–60. Issue titled *Transanatolia: Bridging the Gap between East and West in the Archaeology of Ancient Anatolia*, edited by Alexandra Fletcher and Alan M. Greaves.

Yener 2007b. K. Aslihan Yener. “A Zoomorphic Vessel from Alalakh: Diplomatic Emblems in Three Dimensional Form.”

In *Studies in Honour of Refik Duru*, edited by Gülsün Umurtak, Şevket Dönmez, and Aslihan Yurtsever, pp. 217–28. Istanbul, 2007.

Yener 2009. K. Aslihan Yener. “Acrobats, Bulls, and Leaping Scenes on New Alalakh Amphoroid Kraters.” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72, no. 1 (March 2009), pp. 48–50.

Yener 2010. K. Aslihan Yener, ed. *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh*. Vol. 1, *The 2003–2004 Excavation Seasons*. Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları. Istanbul, 2010.

Yener 2011. K. Aslihan Yener. “Hittite Metals at the Frontier: A Three Spiked Battle Ax from Alalakh.”

In *Metalurgy: Understanding How, Learning Why; Studies in Honor of James D. Muhly*, edited by Philip P. Betancourt and Susan C. Ferrence, pp. 265–73. Prehistory Monographs 29. Philadelphia, 2011.

Yener 2012. K. Aslihan Yener. “Introduction: Imperial Demise and Forging Emergent Kingdoms.” In *Across the Border: Late Bronze–Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia; Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul, May 31–June 1, 2010*, edited by K. Aslihan Yener. Amsterdam, 2012. Forthcoming.

Yener forthcoming. K. Aslihan Yener. “A Plaster Encased Multiple Burial at Alalakh: Cist Tomb 3017.” In *Amilla: The Quest for Excellence. Studies in Honor of Guenter Kopcke on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, edited by Robert B. Koehl. Philadelphia. Forthcoming.

Yener in preparation. K. Aslihan Yener, ed. *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh*. Vol. 2, *The Late Bronze Age City*. Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları. Istanbul. In preparation.

Yoffee 1995. Norman Yoffee. “Political Economy in Early Mesopotamian States.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995), pp. 281–311.

Yon 1987. Marguerite Yon. “Les rhytons du sanctuaire.” In *Le centre de la ville, 38°–40° campagnes (1978–1984)*, edited by Marguerite Yon, pp. 343–50. Ras Shamra–Ougarit 3 (mémoire 72). Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 1987.

Yon 1991. Marguerite Yon. “Stèles de pierre.” In *Arts et industries de la pierre*, edited by Marguerite Yon, pp. 273–344. Ras Shamra–Ougarit 6. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris, 1991.

Yon 1996. Marguerite Yon. “The Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit.” In *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ugarit, Religion and Culture, Edinburgh 1994; Essays Presented in Honour of Professor John C. L. Gibson*, edited by Nicolas Wyatt, Wilfred G. E. Watson, and Jeffrey B. Lloyd, pp. 405–22. Münster, 1996.

Yon 1997. Marguerite Yon. *La cité d’Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra*. Guides archéologiques de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient 2. Paris, 1997.

Yon 2006. Marguerite Yon. *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*. Winona Lake, Ind., 2006. [Originally published in French as *La cité d’Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra*. Paris, 1997.]

Yon 2008. Marguerite Yon. “Le lion de Rashap.” In *D’Ougarit à Jérusalem: Recueil d’études épigraphiques*

et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil, edited by Carole Roche, pp. 109–18. Orient et Méditerranée 2. Paris, 2008.

Yon, Karageorghis, and Hirschfeld 2000. Marguerite Yon, Vassos Karageorghis, and Nicole Hirschfeld, with Annie Caubet. *Céramiques mycéniennes d’Ougarit*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit 13. Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations. Paris and Nicosia, 2000. [For a concordance, see Marguerite Yon, “*Céramiques mycéniennes d’Ougarit: Concordance entre l’inventaire du Louvre et la publication RSO XIII.*” *Syria* 77 (2000), pp. 297–304.]

Yoshida 1992. Daisuke Yoshida. “Das AN.TAH.ŠUM.SAR-Fest im Tempel der Sonnengöttin.” *Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan* 6 (1992), pp. 121–56.

Younger 1981. John G. Younger. “The Island Sanctuaries Group: Date and Significance.” In *Studien zur minoischen und helladischen Glyptik: Beiträge zum 2. Marburger Siegel-Symposium, 26.–30. September 1978*, edited by Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, pp. 263–72. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 1. Berlin, 1981.

Younger 1987. John G. Younger. “Aegean Seals of the Late Bronze Age: Stylistic Groups. VI. Fourteenth-Century Mainland and Later Fourteenth-Century Cretan Workshops.” *Kadmos* 26, no. 1 (1987), pp. 44–73.

Zaccagnini 1983. Carlo Zaccagnini. “Patterns of Mobility among Ancient Near Eastern Craftsmen.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, no. 4 (October 1983), pp. 245–64.

Zaccagnini 1987. Carlo Zaccagnini. “Aspects of Ceremonial Exchange in the Near East during the Late Second Millennium BC.” In *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, edited by Michael J. Rowlands, Mogens Trolle Larsen, and Kristian Kristiansen, pp. 57–65. New Directions in Archaeology. Cambridge, 1987.

Zamora 2005. J.-A. Zamora. “L’ébriété à Ougarit et la Bible: Un héritage discuté.” In *La Bible et l’héritage d’Ougarit: Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en hommage posthume à Monsieur André Caquot*, edited by Jean-Marc Michaud, pp. 183–207. Sherwood, Quebec, 2005.

Zazzaro 2007. Chiara Zazzaro. “Ship Blades, Anchors and Pierced Stones.” In Bard and Fattovich 2007, pp. 150–60.

Zazzaro 2009. Chiara Zazzaro. “Nautical Evidence from the Pharaonic Site of Marsa/Wadi Gawasis: Report on Two Parts of a Steering Oar/Rudder.” In *Between the Seas: Transfer and Exchange in Nautical Technology; Proceedings of the Eleventh International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Mainz 2006*, edited by Ronald Bockius, pp. 3–8. ISBSA 11. Oxford, 2009.

Zervos 1957. Christian Zervos. *L’art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l’âge du bronze, 2500–1100 avant notre ère*. Paris, 1957.

Zevulun 1987. Uza Zevulun. “A Canaanite Ram-Headed Cup.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 37, nos. 2–3 (1987), pp. 88–104.

Zhorzhikashvili and Gogadze 1974. L. G. Zhorzhikashvili and E. M. Gogadze. *Pamiatniki Trialeti epokhi rannei i Srednei bronzy: Raspoki 1936–1940, 1947–1948 gg* (Trialeti Monuments of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages). Katalog trialetsikh materialov 2. Tbilisi, 1974.

Ziffer 1990. Irit Ziffer. *At that Time the Canaanites Were in the Land: Daily Life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2, 2000–1550 B.C.E.* [In Hebrew and English.] Exh. cat. Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv. Tel Aviv, 1990.

Zimansky 2002. Paul Zimansky. “The ‘Hittites’ at ‘Ain Dara.” In *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, edited by K. Ashlhan Yener and Harry A. Hoffner Jr., pp. 177–91. Winona Lake, Ind., 2002.

Zuckerman 2008. Sharon Zuckerman. “Fit for a (Not-Quite-So-Great) King: A Faience Lion-Headed Cup from Hazor.” *Levant* 40, no. 1 (April 2008), pp. 115–25.

Photograph and Illustration Credits

Figure 1: The photograph of the Ram-Headed Cup from Tell Halaf, Iraq, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Schwartz: fig. 1a, b: The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 2: Mark W. Chavalas, ed., *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation* (Blackwell: Malden, Mass., 2006), fig. 1; fig. 3: James van Rensselaer IV

Rubinson: fig. 1a, b: Courtesy of the History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan; fig. 2a, b: Courtesy of the Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi; fig. 3: Kufitin 1941, pl. LXXXVIII; figs. 4, 6, 8–11: Rubinson with permission from the Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi; fig. 5: N. Özguç 1965, pl. XXVII, 82; fig. 7: N. Özguç 1965, pl. XVII, 50; figs. 12, 14, 15: Jean-François de Lapérouse, with permission from the History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan; figs. 13, 16, 17: Jean-François de Lapérouse, with permission from the Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi

Figure 2: The photograph of the Lion-Headed Cup from Hazor, Israel, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Cline: figs. 1–6: Eric H. Cline

Wiener: fig. 1: CMS II, 1, no. 248a; fig. 2: Dorothea Arnold 1993, fig. 7; fig. 3: Hampe and A. Winter 1962, fig. 60

Ward: figs. 1, 3, 4: Cheryl Ward; fig. 2: Courtesy of the Italian-American Expedition; fig. 5: Chiara Zazzaro

Goren: fig. 1: Anandaroop Roy; fig. 2: Geological Survey of Israel, modified by Yuval Goren; figs. 3–5: Yuval Goren

Bass: figs. 1, 4, 5, 8: Donald A. Frey; figs. 2, 3, 6, 7: Susannah Snowden; fig. 9: Peter Throckmorton; fig. 10: Gottfried Gruben, from Bass 1967, p. 48, fig. 46

Al-Maqdissi: figs. 1, 2: Anandaroop Roy; fig. 3: © Mission archéologique syro-française de Ras Shamra;

fig. 4: Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de Syrie; figs. 5, 6, 8: © Mission archéologique syrienne de Tell Sianu; fig. 7: © Mission archéologique syrienne de Tell Iris; fig. 9: Anwar Abdel Ghafour; figs. 10, 11: © Mission archéologique syrienne d’Amrit; figs. 12, 13: © Mission archéologique syrienne de Mishrifeh; figs. 14, 15: Image © 2012 GeoEye © 2012 Google, modified by Fiona Kidd

Buccellati: fig. 1: Claudia Wettstein; figs. 2, 3: Diadin Mustapha; fig. 4: Laura Ramos; fig. 5: Konrad Wita; figs. 6, 7: Giorgio Buccellati; figs. 8, 9, 11, 12: Cecily Hillsdale; fig. 10: Börker-Klähn 1982, fig. 13

Matthiae: figs. 1–14: © Missione archeologica a Ebla—Università La Sapienza

Pfälzner, “The Elephant Hunters”: figs. 1–4, 7, 12–15: © Qatna-Projekt, University of Tübingen; fig. 5: Woolley 1955, pl. XVIb; fig. 6: Reuther 1926, fig. 4; fig. 8: Starr 1937, pl. 28 C; fig. 9: Hartmut Kühne, “Umwelt und Subsistenz der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu: Was wissen wir wirklich?,” in Hartmut Kühne, ed., *Umwelt und Subsistenz der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu am Unteren Hābūr, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu*, Wiesbaden, 2008, vol. 8, pp. 215–31, fig. 13:15; fig. 10: Peter Pfälzner, 2010; fig. 11: Thoumin 1936, Ph. II; fig. 16: Courtesy of Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, Syrian-Italian Mission at Tell Mishrifē/Qatna; fig. 17: The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Doumet-Serhal: figs. 1–14: Sidon Expedition

Yener: figs. 1–7: Murat Akar; figs. 8–10: Polly Westlake, Alalakh conservation staff; figs. 11–13: Dominique Collon

Kamrin: fig. 1: Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *Atlas of Egyptian Art* (Cairo: Zeitouna, 1991), pl. II.47; figs. 2, 7: Gustavo Camps; figs. 3, 8: Newberry 1893a, pls. XXXVIII.1, XXX; figs. 4, 6: Courtesy of the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University; fig. 5: Kenneth Garrett

Koehl, “The Near Eastern Contribution”: fig. 1: Colin F. Macdonald, courtesy of the British School at Athens; fig. 2: Colin F. Macdonald and Carl Knappett, *Knossos: Protopalatial Deposits in Early Magazine A and the South-West Houses*, London, 2007, no. 293, bottom; fig. 3: Parrot 1958b, pl. 15; fig. 4: © Mission archéologique de Mari, Jean-Claude Margueron; fig. 5: Reconstruction by P. Karsay, after Woolley 1955, pl. XXXVIIIa

Doumas: figs. 1–10, 12: Archaeological Society at Athens, Excavations at Thera; fig. 11: Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Bietak: fig. 1: Nicola Math; figs. 2, 4, 5: Nicola Math, from Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b, figs. 13, 16, 36; fig. 3: Nicola Math, from Bietak 2005, fig. 22a; fig. 6: Nicola Math, from Aslanidou 2002, p. 27; fig. 7: Nicola Math © Bietak and the Austrian Academy of Sciences; fig. 8: Marian Negrete Martínez (Austrian Academy of Sciences), from Bietak, N. Marinatos, and Palivou 2007b, figs. 59b, 60; fig. 9: Marian Negrete Martínez (Austrian Academy of Sciences), from N. Marinatos 2010, p. 344; fig. 10: Marian Negrete Martínez (Austrian Academy of Sciences), from L. Morgan 2010b, figs. 2, 5;

fig. 11: Marian Negrete Martínez (Austrian Academy of Sciences) © Bietak and the Austrian Academy of Sciences; fig. 12: Marian Negrete Martínez (Austrian Academy of Sciences), from Bietak 2010b, fig. 2.4; fig. 13: Peter Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*, New York, 1991: top; pls. 27b, c, 28c, d; bottom: pl. 21d; fig. 14: Nicola Math, from Bietak 2007a, fig. 2

Pfälzner, “The Qatna Wall Paintings”: fig. 1: K. Wita © Qatna-Projekt, University of Tübingen; fig. 2: G. Miersch; figs. 3–7, 9, 10: Reconstruction with original pieces by Constance von Rüden; fig. 8: Reassembling of original pieces by Constance von Rüden, blue color intensified

Aruz: figs. 1–7, 10, 11, 17, 20: Bruce White; fig. 8: Edith Porada, “On the Problem of Kassite Art,” in George C. Miles, ed., *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952, pl. XXIX, fig. 4; fig. 9: Pini 1975, no. 657; fig. 12: Yale Babylonian Collection/The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 13: Pini 1988, no. 20 D; fig. 14: Jeanette and Jonathan Rosen, New York/The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art;

fig. 15: The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 16: Dominique Collon, “Bull Leaping in Syria,” *Ägypten und Levante* 4, 1994, pl. 2, fig. 9; fig. 18: Andreas F. Voegelin, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig; fig. 19: Schaeffer 1949, pl. VIII; figs. 21, 22: © The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Caubet: fig. 1: Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer, ed., *Ugaritica III*, Paris, 1956, p. 165, fig. 118; fig. 2:

C. Florimont, after Yon 1991, p. 336, fig. 16b; fig. 3: Yon 1991, p. 336, no. 10, fig. 16a; fig. 4: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY/Hervé Lewandowski; fig. 5: Annie Caubet; figs. 6–8: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY/Raphaël Chipault; fig. 9: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY/Les frères Chuzeville; fig. 10: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY/Franck Raux

Koehl, “Bibru and Rhyton”: fig. 1: Hirmer Verlag Fotoarchiv; fig. 2: Sandra Steiß; figs. 3, 4: Bruce White; figs. 5–13: Robert Koehl, from Koehl 2006, fig. 2, no. 21; fig. 10, no. 248; fig. 22, no. 555; fig. 44, no. 1248; fig. 1, nos. 1, 2, 10; p. 264, ill. 11; fig. 13, no. 350, pl. 28

Feldman: figs. 1, 4, 8: Bruce White; fig. 2: © Trustees of the

British Museum, London; fig. 3: Scala/Art Resource, NY; fig. 5: Harry Burton TAA 473a, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition; fig. 6: Tony Farraj; fig. 7: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY/Hervé Lewandowski; fig. 9: Archaeological Museum, Siteia/Bruce Schwarz; fig. 10: Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY; fig. 11: Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago/Photography by Anna R. Ressler; fig. 12: Gudrun Stenzel/Art Resource, NY; fig. 13: Jean M. Evans

Benzel: figs. 1, 12: *Holy Land* 1986, cat. nos. 52, 50; figs. 2, 6, 8: © Trustees of the British Museum, London; figs. 3, 10: Anwar Abdel Ghafour; figs. 4, 5: Bruce White; fig. 7: Cornelius 2004, fig. 4.1; fig. 9: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY/Franck Raux; fig. 11: Jürgen Liepe

Lilyquist: fig. 1: Harry Burton TAA 931, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition; figs. 2, 5: Christine Lilyquist; figs. 3, 4: The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 6: Courtesy Museo Egizio, Turin; fig. 7: Egyptian Museum, Cairo/Ahmed Amin

Van De Mieroop: fig. 1: Van De Mieroop 2007a, p. 194

Beckman: figs. 1, 2: The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 3: Bruce White; fig. 4: Sandra Steiß; fig. 5: Gary Beckman

Pongratz-Leisten: fig. 1: Matthiae 1989, pl. II 3, reconstruction by Dominique Collon; figs. 2, 6: Edith Porada, “Remarks on Mittanian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art,” *Akkadica* 13 (1979), pp. 2–10, figs. 2, 11; fig. 3: Beran

1967, pl. VI, nos. 165–67; fig. 4: *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich: Das Volk der 1000 Götter*, Stuttgart, 2002, p. 222; fig. 5: D. Alvarado, from Alexander 1991, p. 163, fig. 2; figs. 7, 9: © Trustees of the British Museum, London; fig. 8: Walter Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur und ihre Vorstufen in altassyrischen Wandmalereien*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 8

Sasson: fig. 1: © Musée du Louvre/Archives du Département des Antiquités orientales

Page xviii: PlanetObserver M-SAT

Page 44: Donald A. Frey

Pages 72, 274: Anwar Abdel Ghafour

Page 154, 214: Bruce White

Page 310: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY/Franck Raux