Identity and Monumentality: The construction of an Early Bronze Age landscape on the Lebanese coast

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Abstract

This article will discuss the role of monuments in the construction of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) landscape on the Lebanese coast. The discussion is focused Byblos, with its extensively excavated EBA town plan showing evidence for at least seven temples and a monumental town wall. We also examine nearby contemporary sites which followed markedly similar phases of building activity during the period. We will argue that the construction of these buildings and the communal activities they facilitated were integral to the social organization of groups along this part of the Lebanese coast. Temples and related monumental architecture formed a nexus of labor and social ties integrating both the hinterland, but also participants in the overseas and overland exchange networks. We show that Byblos was composed of several neighborhoods built around temples, where people participated in events that served to integrate local communities, but simultaneously provided a stage for competitive display. Further, we'll present evidence that the temples stimulated contact with emerging powers such as Egypt, which delivered prestige and status to local elites fostering the development of political hierarchies evident in the following periods.

Introduction

The emergence of densely settled 'Urban' landscapes consisting of numerous fortified sites is considered a hallmark of the Early Bronze Age II-III Levant. In the central and southern Levant, this earliest experiment with urbanism has been described and its characteristics usefully summarized by numerous commentators.[1] There is broad agreement on the physical traits of these newly built fortified settlements and several models for their socio-political and economic organization have been posited. Common models include that of hierarchically controlled city-states where fortified cities control territories of varying size.[2] Traditionally these have been framed around economic organization and are underlain by evolutionary assumptions.[3] These models tend to view urbanism as the natural outcome of a long-term process of settlement nucleation that began in the Neolithic and underpinned by technological innovations and gradual agricultural intensification to cope with population growth and resource imbalance to manage risk. Others have proposed heterarchical models which view these communities as structured through kinship organization, taking forms such as corporate villages, or house society models, among others.[4] Fewer attempts have been made to explain process, causality, and the pathways to these new forms of complexity. Greenberg points out the lack of self-aggrandizing architecture and durable prestige goods during the EBII and argues that this may indicate a focus on community over individuals, seeing these developments as a reaction to the emergence of inequality late in the EBI.[5]

This paper proposes an alternative model for causality, development, and the organization of EBII-III Levantine 'urban' societies, one that emphasizes the role of ritual monumentality and managed agricultural production in the development of the EBA landscape and emerging socio-political hierarchies. Byblos and its surrounding region during the EBIII will be used as a case study, though the question remains how distinctive the Lebanese coast is as compared to the contemporary developments in the Southern Levant. The site represents one of the most extensively excavated for the period in the Levant and provides a near complete EBIII settlement plan. Additionally, the surrounding area is one of the most intensely investigated in Lebanon, thanks to several recent excavations and survey projects, which provide a new regional context within which the data from Byblos itself can be examined.

Our discussion is based around four interconnected themes. Firstly, a comparison of architectural units at Byblos with those from the nearby sites of Tell Fadous-Kfarabida and Tell Koubba suggests that the development of the settlement landscape, within what might be termed the Byblos hinterland, emphasised monumental construction, undertaken in pre-planned, large-scale, and near-simultaneous episodes at sites across the region, rather than reflecting organic growth. Secondly, monumentality was primarily focused on ritual architecture (temples and associated structures), though administrative and defensive architecture were important foci as well. Thirdly, the EBIII settlement of Byblos was composed of distinct neighbourhoods, each comprising a temple and closely associated buildings. Finally, the overall organisation of the settlement and the differential distribution of Egyptian objects suggests that neighbourhoods represent distinct socio-political or kinship units with potentially varying regional and international interests. Byblos, and other major Levantine sites of the period, are often represented as single entities in hypothesized political structures and exchange networks. We argue for a more complex, and possibly internally-competitive socio-political structure, at the site.

Monumentality and Sacred Architecture as Driving Mechanisms for Social Change

Monumentalization underpinning the formation and maintenance of social groups, is a common theme cross-culturally and has been discussed as a feature of Near Eastern Societies present since at least the Neolithic period.[6] Ritualized monument construction drives the development of cooperative labor parties and has been discussed as a strategy for reinforcing hierarchical structures in small-scale societies where power is temporary, fluid, and conferred by consensus of the larger group.[7] For the EBA Levant, similar frameworks have been drawn upon to explain the construction of Levantine EBA 'defensive walls'.[8] Greenberg and Askhenazi argued that the cooperative labor investment of groups, organized around ritual (seasonal) gatherings, were essential to the Early Bronze economy and most visible through the building of defensive walls erected partly or completely around settlements.[9] Ritual architecture is not treated in depth in their work, though they suggest that temples are important as entities around which the periodic labor needed to construct walls could be ritually.[10] Building on this notion, the archaeological

record of the EBA Southern Levant is full of examples which suggest that monumental building projects were equally if not primarily vested in sacred architecture, including at Khirbet ez-Zeraqon with its three temples, and at Megiddo, with its large temple built during the latter EBI.[11] Likewise, EBIII Byblos with at least *seven* contemporary temples distributed throughout the settlement, demonstrates that on this part of the northern Lebanese coast, ritual monumentality was a primary driver of the formation of the Early Bronze Age Landscape, embodying and motivating social change. Another dimension relevant to our understanding of these themes, as evidenced by recent excavations at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida and Koubba, is the primary role of these sites in the management of large-scale systems of communal agriculture that very likely focus on olive and grape.[12] This work will consider what role the temple might play in administering this system and its utilization in labor mobilization and monumentalization.

Byblos: Challenges and New Opportunities

The non-stratigraphic and otherwise problematic nature of the excavations at Byblos have been discussed by numerous authors, leading to the impression amongst scholars that the site has little new information to contribute to regional debates.[13] Attempts have been made over the years to sort through stratigraphy and documentation with varying degrees of success.[14] Jean Lauffray's 2008 publication greatly improved the available information on the Early Bronze Age levels of the site, and his architectural plans and thorough descriptions, together with previously unpublished notes by Dunand, offer a much more complete picture of the EBA settlement layout.[15] Crucially, his work gives much greater context to the originally published data providing new interpretive opportunities. Rather than dismissing the usefulness of Byblos because of what is lacking, the large body of material available and remarkably complete overview of Early Bronze Age town planning, should encourage us to explore the data at levels that are viable, which will lead to important new insights.

Byblos remains one of the most extensively excavated archaeological settlements in the region, particularly for the Early Bronze Age, yielding temples, auxiliary buildings, streets, and alleys. Andrew Bevan's work with Egyptian stone objects and Marwan Kilani's study of the Late Bronze Age have shown that Dunand's recording system can be used to trace published objects to their find spots.[16] Where objects are not specifically mentioned as *in situ*, at least their location within a 10x10m square can be identified and used to trace patterns of artefact distribution (used consistently in the second Byblos excavation volume).[17] Vertical stratigraphic control is far more problematic because the site was dug in 20 cm spits. This, along with extensive rebuilding in the ancient past has led to the mixing of archaeological material from various periods. Analysis of the material shows a tendency for earlier artefacts to 'migrate' vertically into later deposits, likely due to the extensive re-use of buildings (the same can be seen with typologically Early Bronze ceramics in later layers).[18] Crucially, however, objects generally remain within the approximate area of original deposition. Therefore, their horizontal distribution can still reveal interpretable patterns if considered carefully against the available stratigraphic information.

Considering the limitations of the methods and available documentation, we lack the details necessary to investigate most buildings on an individual level. We therefore apply a 'neighborhood' approach to gain a better understanding of Byblos as a settlement during the EBIII. Neighborhood studies have been utilized to argue for heterarchical models in the formation of urban landscapes.[19]

Early Bronze II-III: Monumentalizing Byblos and its Landscape

By the start of the EBIII, Byblos and its sacred spring had already been a focus of ritual activity for millennia. Thousands of jar burials were found at the site dating to the 5th and 4th millennium BC.[20] The first vestiges of monumental communal architecture are already visible during the 4th millennium BC, with the creation of a stone 'footpath' that ran between elevated areas to the southern border of the scared spring. The feature has close parallels to a contemporary structure, normally interpreted as a wall, at Sidon-Dakerman.[21] At the end of the EBI, a monumental wall with internal buttresses seems to have been built around the sacred spring, partly covering the older footpath, though its exact dating remains contested.[22]

Continuing these developments, a phase called the 'proto-Urban' phase by Lauffray, features a building with several EBII vessels stored in a group which find very close parallels in the Southern Levant[23] (**Fig 1**), suggesting that the phase dates to either the very late EBI or very early EBII, around 3200-3000 cal BC (ECL 1). The date suggested by *the in situ* ceramics places new building activity at Byblos in line with similar developments across the central and southern Levant.[24] The proto-urban plan is unclear due to incursions from later activity, but this initial phase of building seems to have been composed of built up of clusters of buildings with courtyards, encompassing a wide area without external walls.

INSERT FIG. 1

The next phase at the site labeled 'Sableux' by Lauffray because of the use of sandstone (called ramlah locally) represents the first phase of large-scale building at Byblos and when the EBIII settlement pattern is established.[25] The phase can be dated to the early EBIII (ca. 2800 BC, ECL 3) based on comparative analyses of *in situ* ceramic assemblages found in building XXVII.[26] This assemblage of vessels includes combed cooking pots, platter bowls, radially burnished bowls and juglets, and can be placed during the early EBIII phases as defined at Arqa and Fadous Kfarabida.[27]

Directly following the 'Sableux' is another phase ('Grosses Fondations'), marked by the presence of huge foundations and the use of ashlar blocks on larger buildings.[28] The architecture of this phase is mirrored at Fadous-Kfarabida where it starts at roughly 2700 BC.[29] During this phase the 6-meter thick internally buttressed 'fortification' wall of Byblos is built.[30] Likewise, a new fortification wall at Fadous- Kfarabida can be attributed to this time along with a large-buttressed enclosure wall at Tell Koubba.[31] Greenberg and Ashkenazi have recently pointed-out the tactical weaknesses of these walls suggesting their construction was at least in part aimed at promoting social cohesion and the projection of power.[32] Notable at Byblos is that buttresses are otherwise

used in association with sacred spaces and architecture, suggesting that the addition of an internally buttressed 'fortification wall' may have served to mark out the whole settlement as sacred. Many of the buildings at Byblos dating to this time contain stone bases adjacent to the walls and in corners of the rooms, presumably as supports for wood pillars that likely supported an upper story.[33] This is a feature associated with settlements on the Lebanese coast attested at least from Arqa to Byblos and as far as Tyre, for the remainder of the EBA.[34] Byblos, Fadous-Kfarabida, and Koubba constitute a region where buildings were composed mostly of stone, in contrast to other parts of the Lebanese littoral (e.g Arqa and Sidon) where mudbrick was preferred.

A final reorganizational phase of the late EBIII, continuing into EBIV (ECL5-6; Old Kingdom Dynasties 4-6), was called by Lauffray '*Piqueté* I-IV'.[35] During this phase, existing temples were modified into even more monumental structures (L-shaped temple, Ba'alat Gebal temple; Western temple/sacred spring) and new temples were erected in the vicinity of older sacred structures (e.g the Tower temple in the southwest).[36] Temples were often surrounded by larger free-standing structures, including many columned halls.[37] In general, buildings with larger rooms are created. A similar phase of construction can be seen at Fadous-Kfarabida (phase IV) during which a major reorganization took place at the site and earlier buildings where infilled to accommodate new larger buildings, including a columned hall (Building 3).[38] The material culture associated with these buildings at Fadous-Kfarabida suggests they had an administrative function.

Above we show that the architecture forms, and to some extent the phases of building activity at Byblos are closely mirrored by those at Fadous-kfarabida and Koubba, perhaps indicating they were planned and undertaken as broadly contemporaneous episodes of monumental building activity and did not reflect hundreds of years of organic growth. The C^{14} data, settlement plan, and sequence that emerged during excavation work at Fadous-kfarabida further supports this notion, by showing that the settlement was carefully laid out in an initial EBIII phase and reorganized later by infilling existing buildings.[39] The buildings of this initial phase are preserved to a height of up to 2 meters, suggesting that the infilling took place quickly. The evidence suggests that major building events in the region took place in defined episodes when the prevailing social conditions allowed for the organization and mobilization of large-scale cooperative labor parties.

Byblos: A Neighborhood Approach

EBIII Byblos is distinguished from other contemporary central and southern Levantine sites by the large number of temples, suggesting ritual architecture played a key role in monumentality at the site. The large number of temples might be mirrored at other contemporary sites, but these were rarely excavated over such extensive areas. The main temples show evidence for

continued reconstruction and investment, including the addition of ashlar masonry (Grosses fondations phase) the re-organizing of courtyards and the addition of new buildings.[40] One can postulate that a large proportion of the site must have been given over to ritual activity. Likewise, a significant section of the 1.5 hectare site of Fadous-kfarabida seems to have been given over to buildings of a public character, and this public building might in fact have been used to administer affairs as part of the Byblos hinterland.[41] Koubba has thus-far not produced any clear evidence for domestic architecture. The totality of the current evidence suggests that Byblos and known EBIII sites in the surrounding region were dominated by ritual and or public/administrative contexts. Unlike at Arqa or Sidon, clear evidence for domestic architecture remains elusive, save for one example from Fadous-kfarabida. We cannot exclude a domestic role for some of the numerous buildings found at Byblos, because the excavation methods employed there limit our understanding of their function in many cases. In the context of the EBIII, categorization into ritual, public, or domestic spaces perhaps fails to fully capture the fluidity and dynamism of building use at the site. Looking at the plan of Byblos shows that most buildings were organized into several clusters and closely associated with a temple, suggesting linkages to the activities of the temple.

Neighborhoods are integrative socio-spatial groups lying somewhere between the household and the settlement.[42] As such, neighborhoods represent a useful unit of analysis for investigating social interactions, one not normally considered for the period and region. Byblos is often treated as a single entity when discussing its role in the region or as an intermediary in interregional exchange.[43] The layout of the EBIII site with its apparent clusters of buildings, alternatively suggests the site was composed of several distinct socio-political or kinship groups with potentially varying regional and international interests.

INSERT FIG. 2

From the early EBIII onwards, the town plan of Byblos shows several densely built-up neighborhoods arranged around a central spring and lake (**Fig. 2**). The main neighborhoods can be visualized as islands within a network of streets and alleys, each dominated by a sacred building. We define a neighborhood as a cluster of buildings surrounding a temple which are divided from each other by main streets through the town of Byblos. The main streets are those that lead to one of the gates in the town wall and/or are particularly wide. The neighborhoods are built up of house-clusters that are spatially related to the temple, are oriented towards them, or have their closest access to them. The temples are usually located directly on a street at important intersections, facilitating access and highlighting their prominence in the design of the site plan. Conceptualizing the site in this way yields at least seven major neighborhoods (**Fig. 2**), which we will number **1 to 7** moving clockwise from the center of the site. Neighborhood **1** comprises the 'Western temple', which is closely linked to the sacred spring (**Fig. 2.1**). This temple complex grew from its EBI-II antecedents and includes a courtyard and small temple edifice with associated buildings. House clusters surround this temple to the west and northwest.

Neighborhood **2** (**Fig. 2.2**) is found to the north and extended around the Ba'alat Gebal temple. Large residences from the Piqueté I-IV, including a building rich in Egyptian stone vessels were associated with this temple.[44] The excavated sections of the site's monumental wall enclose this neighborhood to the north. The wall in this section contained a gate to a small sandy beach northwest of the site. The wall extended beyond this neighborhood, but whether it encircled the whole settlement remains unclear as walls of period are sometimes discontinuous.[45] The Ba'alat Gebal temple, and the household units surrounding it, saw several rearrangements during the Early Bronze Age, becoming incrementally more monumental throughout the EBIII (Grosses Fondations; Piqueté I-II).[46]

Neighborhood **3** (**Fig. 2.3**) located just east of Byblos's center, contains the L-shaped temple on its northwestern corner. Neighborhood **3** is further demarcated by a major street to the east, and the sacred spring and lake to the northwest. Across a road, there is a small number of buildings to the north abutting the city wall, which we suggest may have belonged to this cluster because they are oriented towards the L-shaped temple, and further separated from Neighborhood 4 and its temple (see below) by a small alley. The L-shaped temple saw several phases of reconstruction, and its architecture included a triple temple of Syrian 'in-antis' style in the early EBIII period (Grosses fondations), like examples from Syria as well as Megiddo and Khirbet ez-Zeraqon in the Southern Levant.[47] Its extensive courtyard featured a monumental wall with internal buttresses.

Neighborhood **4** (**Fig. 2.4**) lies in the eastern part of the site. This section contains the 'Oriental' Temple, so named because, like the L-shaped temple, it was built in a Syrian in-antis style with parallels in Syria and the southern Levant.[48] The neighborhood of this temple extends southeastwards up to the town wall. Neighborhood **5 (Fig. 2.5)**, located just south of the center of the site contains the so-called 'sanctuaire méridional'.[49] This small temple dating at least back to the late EBIII can be found in the cluster's southeastern corner. This temple developed into the well-known 'Champs des Offrandes' of the early MB period, again highlighting the continuity of sacred spaces into later periods. Neighborhood **6 (Fig. 2.6**), on the southeastern edge of the site contained the 'Temple Sud' and another small temple including a row of obelisks.[50] This neighborhood is linked to the southeastern gate with direct access to Skhiny Beach, now thought to be Byblos's main port in the period.[51] Lastly, Neighborhood **7 (Fig. 2.7**) is located on the south-western edge of the site. In an initial phase of the EBIII (Sableux-Grosses Fondations) the area contained small cultic buildings, including the South-West temple.[52] The neighborhood extended from these temples to the south and southwest. The South-West temple fell out of use and was replaced with the more monumental 'Tower Temple' during the late EBIII-IV (Piqueté) phase.[53] Monumental anchors in the Tower Temple's pavement point to the association of neighborhood **7** with harbor activities taking place to its immediate south.

The Integrative Role of Byblos's Temples

Pongratz-Leisten has described temples in Mesopotamia as being at the heart of urban life.[54] The great scope of their remit saw them oversee administrative tasks, learning, healing and economic

activity. The evidence from Byblos and from across the central and southern Levant shows that temples are, at least physically, at the very heart of early 'urban' communities.[55] Given their historically and archaeologically documented role in Mesopotamia and archaeological evidence from the Levant it is plausible to conceptualize EBII-III Levantine temples as institutions spearheading socio-political and economic change. In rethinking the concept of 'temple economy' for the Bronze Age, Wengrow has also highlighted their multifaceted and integrative socio-economic role.[56] Byblos's temples were the monumental embodiment of communal identity and principles, but evidence presented below also suggests they functioned as integrative hubs for redistribution (ceremonial or otherwise) and trade. In terms of monumentalizing the landscape, temples are ideal entities, as Greenberg and Ashkenazi have suggested, around which periodic and ritually sanctioned, labor could be organized.[57] They further point out that the presence of temples is an important predictor of large-scale fortification work further suggesting they play a key role in the economy and the organization of cooperative labor.[58]

The appearance of large (often combed) jar during the EBII-III represents a significant socio-economic development in which temples may have played a key part. The jars are the manifestation of a system of agriculture thought to focus on olive and, a system which intensified during the EBIII and played an increasingly important role in local political economies.[59] Large quantities of ceramics used for the storage, transport and processing of liquid products, like the huge *in situ* vats from Koubba, have been found at Byblos and nearby sites. At Koubba and Fadous-Kfarabida these vessels have been found in association with a substantial proportion of charred olive, indicating that the EBIII sites of the area functioned as nodes for mediating the storage and processing of these agricultural outputs. There is no direct evidence for the involvement of the temple in this activity but Old Kingdom and later texts do stress the centrality of at least the Ba'alat Gebal temple in interregional interaction.[60] We can theorize that its resulting outputs represented a valuable resource base for provisioning ritual (and other) monumental building projects through associated communal feasting or other redistributive mechanisms.[61] The presence of these jars in Egypt, also show that they and their contents played a key role in interregional trade networks, and that these continued well into the second half of the 3rd millennium.[62]

The Distribution of Egyptian Objects: Commonalties and Competition

INSERT FIG. 3

Byblos has yielded the largest assemblage of Egyptian objects in the Levant for the EBIII. Sowada has usefully summarized and synthesized the rich evidence of the period, like stone vessels, ivory furniture fittings (bovid paws), and bi-facial flint knives.[63] Stone vessels, including numerous fragments of prestige types, and flint knives form the main corpus of Egyptian objects recovered at the site. In Egypt, these objects are status markers, largely restricted to elite contexts, such as

cultic deposits, temple magazines, elite tombs and installations.[64] These objects likely carried similar connotations and were used correspondingly in Levantine contexts.

Most of the stone vessels and a number of bifacial flint knives were associated with the Ba'alat Gebal temple and its environs, and to a lesser extent with the *Enceinte Sacrée*, suggesting their preeminence over other the temples of the EBIII at Byblos in terms of Egyptian interaction.[65]

At Byblos at least 40 bifacial flint knives, or fragments of such knives, were found that can be classified as Egyptian, constituting the largest assemblage of such knives outside of Egypt proper (see T**able 1; Fig. 3**).[66] In fact, outside of Byblos, bifacial flint knives are rare in the Levant, and practically unknown after the EBI. From the Lebanese coast, only one example dating to the EBI is known from Sidon.[67] In the Southern Levant, they sporadically occur at sites traditionally associated with Naqada II/III/late EBI Egyptian influence.[68] Bifacial knives date to the Early Dynastic-Old Kingdom period, with some examples possibly extending to the Middle Kingdom. Their production in Egypt was possibly managed by emerging elites as part of a prestige goods economy.[69] The knives are strongly associated with the ritual slaughter of cattle.[70] Their presence at Byblos likely reflects the butchering and carving of bovine meat in ritual settings, suggesting that cattle was an important trade item and that feasting and sacrifice were important features of Egyptian interactions at the site. Direct evidence for the trade of cattle between Egypt and the southern Levant is attested for this period.[71] The presence of these Egyptian bifacial knives suggest that Byblos might have been an important recipient of cattle and associated ritualized feasting.[72]

Bifacial Knives and their Distribution at Byblos

INSERT FIG. 4

In contrast to the stone vessels, which are in the main associated with the (Ba'alat Gebal temple and its surroundings, and to a lesser degree with the *Enceinte Sacrée*), the bifacial knives were distributed throughout the site. They are often associated with temples, but also distributed amongst other contexts (T**able 1; Fig. 4**). What this shows is that the activities represented by these knives were practiced site-wide.

13 knives can be attributed to EBIII-IV levels (**see Table 1**), with the remaining 27 found in post-EBA levels or as surface finds. The distribution of most of these knives associates them with elements of the EBIII or EBIV plan, which along with their typology suggests the knives originally were brought to the site during the EBA. As discussed above, the excavation methods at Byblos make the vertical position of objects more difficult to reconstruct. Some have argued that typologically earlier stone vessels, found in later contexts, were brought to Byblos in post-EBA periods as heirlooms.[73] Rather than applying this argument to typologically earlier bifacial knives found in later contexts, we believe a more plausible explanation is that they and other Egyptian items of high socio-symbolic value, found their way into later deposits through long-term use at Byblos or were carefully redeposited during later building activity.[74]

Five knives which were found around the Ba'alat Gebal temple and a further seven were found in its associated neighborhood **(2)**. Most of these are in later contexts, but two fragmented knives were found together in the corner of one of the Ba'alat Gebal temples rooms (**Table 1**).[75] Dunand associated these with 'Salle C' dating to Lauffray's Piqueté (EBIII-IV). The level in which the knives were found, at a depth of 22.20-22.00m, should rather correspond to the temple room underneath, dating to the preceding EBIII phase (Grosses Fondations period).[76] Worth noting is that close to the knives were some other Egyptian objects such as the ivory bovid paws, probably belonging to a small table of a type known from Egypt and having parallels in Early Dynastic contexts.[77] These knives were thus probably used and stored together with other Egyptian objects in the EBIII Ba'alat Gebal temple complex. The number of stone bowls, knives, and other Egyptian objects found associated with the Ba'alat Gebal temple clearly mark it out as a focal point for Egyptian style cult-activity.

In Neighborhood **1,** three knives were found within square 6/10 in the courtyard of the 'Western Temple' associated with the central well (7; 10) (**Fig. 4**). These knives were 14741-14743, (see Table 1) found in (secondary) Middle Bronze Age contexts but deposited just above the small EBIII structure that Lauffray identifies as a chapel within the triangular courtyard.[78] Knives were also found in neighborhood **3**.[79] One knife from a clear EBIII-IV context was found in the L-shaped temple courtyard and two further knives were found in the vicinity. Several more knives were also found in L-shaped temple's associated neighborhood. In neighborhood **4** a knife (12855) was found in EBIV levels next to the Oriental temple, with three further examples noted in its associated neighborhood.[80] Two knives were found in EBIII-IV layers within a square belonging to Neighborhood **6**, but close to the corner of the 'Temple Méridional' of neighborhood **5**.

Additional concentrations of knives are found in neighborhood **6** with one example near its associated temple (**Fig. 4**). One knife was found in the neighborhood **7,** in proximity to the southern 'Tower Temple', though in a post-EB context.

The distribution of these flint knives is important in illustrating and reinforcing the association between various temples and their neighborhoods. The number of knives associated with a temple is a predictor of the number found in its postulated neighborhood. The varied designs among Byblos's temples, the plan of the site with its discrete building clusters, and the differential distribution of artefacts, like the Egyptian stone vessels in the Ba'alat Gebal temple, supports notions of institutional differentiation, and therefore, social heterogeneity among the site's inhabitants. At Byblos, various regional actors and a range of cultural affiliations were juxtaposed, creating an environment where competitive peer-polity interactions could develop. The knives, however, also serve to connect the various temples and neighborhoods to particular forms of feasting or ritual practice, probably involving cattle, linking the inhabitants by common threads despite varying regional and international interests.[81]

Constructing Social Identity at Byblos

In a recent work on Late Bronze sacred architecture in the Levant, Susnow estimates that the Middle Bronze Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos, with its large courtyard, could have welcomed a sizeable amount (47%) of the population living at the settlement for festivities and offering events.[82] The figure is significantly higher than other Middle Bronze Age settlements considered in his study. The courtyard of the preceding L-shaped temple was equally impressive in scale; and these only represent one of the seven temple precincts known from EB III Byblos. This suggests that during the Early Bronze Age, Byblos and its temples had the capacity to accommodate a population far greater than that of the site itself, suggesting the temples were also intended to serve people from the surrounding area and, perhaps, illustrious international guests. The construction of the temples and other monumental architecture would have required the pooling of aggregate labor from nearby communities, bolstering community identity and hierarchies. Communal activities at the temple after it was built would have further magnified these impacts. Evidence for the production and movement of oil and wine at a regional-level, and the distribution of bifacial flint knives at Byblos already highlighted suggest these events may also have involved both redistribution and communal consumption of oil, wine and the meat of cattle. In a recent study, Susnow suggests that Canaanite cultic spaces played multiple integrative roles, as the houses and residencies of deities, but also as venues for hosting feasts and commensal meals based around sacrifices.[83] Although Susnow's study focusses on Canaanite temples of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, Byblos exhibits continuity in sacred architecture, suggesting the template for the monumentalization and utilization of sacred space originated during the EBA.

The evidence from Byblos presented above shows that during the EBIII seven distinct neighborhoods emerged each with their own developmental trajectories, motivations, and networks. Further, the uneven distribution of Egyptian material culture, especially stone bowls, shows some temples (e.g Ba'alat Gebal) were preeminent in external interactions (in this case, Egypt). We suggest that these temples and their associated neighborhoods, embodied kin-groups or other units of socio-political organization that communally invested in sacred and other forms of monumental architecture. Key events for the community were linked to the temple and it functioned as a depot for important objects. The intensification, beginning in EBIII, of monumental building and other communal events such as feasting and sacrifice underpinned the formation and maintenance of community identity and drove the development of the EBA landscape in this part of Lebanon. At Byblos itself, exchange networks with Egypt and Syria/Anatolia provided opportunities for interregional trade, which served to enhance the status of particular temples and the individuals and groups associated with them in an increasingly competitive environment.

The texts and archaeological evidence suggest that the Ba'alat Gebal temple and its neighborhood was the focal point for Egyptian exchange from the EBA onwards.[84] The development of interregional exchange networks enhanced the social status, influence, and power of associated individuals. Perhaps the representatives of other neighborhoods, like those associated with the Syrian influenced 'L-Shaped' and 'Oriental Temples' looked north and east towards Syria to advance their own positions and access to resources, as the evidence shows was

the case by the Middle Bronze Age. Monumental building, ritual activity and communal feasting all provided opportunities for competitive behavior. As an individual, a clear drawback to not participating in these events would be forgoing their associated social, material, and ideological rewards, including the expansion of social networks that ultimately improves access to resources and is important for mitigating risk in time of stress or duress.[85]

The plan of Byblos clearly shows Larger monumental 'residences', monocellular buildings and temples emerge towards the Early Bronze Age IV.[86] Lauffray argued for the dominance of several households over what we have here identified as distinct neighborhoods.[87] Signs of social inequality already emerge during the EBA III across the central and southern Levant.[88] This indicates that the establishment of elites and eventually MBA kingship at Byblos was gradual and perhaps rooted in competitive environments as described above.

Contemporary Regional Developments

Developments in the region of Byblos (including at Fadous-kfarabida and Koubba) are mirrored by those on other parts of the Lebanese coast. Numerous similarities exist between the architecture of the Byblos region, and other EBA contexts at Tell Arqa, Sidon, and Tyre. For the EBA at Arqa, no clear architecturally distinctive sacred monumental buildings could be identified based on layout or associated artifacts.[89] The limited extent of the exposed area and position of the sounding in a more peripheral part of the site, suggest that ritual building might still be uncovered as work progresses towards the center of the site. Two buildings of interest from phase 18A (ECL4) suggest a 'hierarchization' in space according to Thalmann, though he ultimately argued for a domestic context.[90] Building 18.40 featured a large mudbrick bench that might have been used for communal activities, but in itself is not an uncommon feature in Levantine buildings. Notably this room also contained a remarkably high-quality metallic ware jar with radial pattern burnishing and net and figurative cylinder seal impressions decorating the body and base. Another room thought to be for communal activity (18.05) contained a central pillar and a worked and coated floor opening to the street.[91]

EBA Sidon shows no direct evidence of monumental architecture, but large buildings and facilities for large-scale grain storage were uncovered, and the site attests to sacred architecture for later periods starting from the Late Bronze onwards, suggesting that earlier EBA temple like buildings might have been present at the site, but not yet excavated.[92] A large structure has been uncovered at Tyre at the highest point on the island, which the excavator suggests may represent the first vestiges of sacred architecture at the site.[93]

As sites elsewhere on the Lebanese coast also provide architectural evidence for substantial, storage structures, we suggest that monumental building projects and the associated management of agricultural commodities played a key role in shaping EBIII political and economic landscapes throughout the area.

Conclusions and Future Prospects

A fresh look at the evidence from Byblos reshapes our understanding of the Early Bronze Age in this part of the Levant. Developments at Byblos during the EBII-III encapsulate region wide phenomena simultaneously occurring across the landscape at several sites. Byblos was an exceptional place, recognized well beyond its surrounding region for its scared character. Beginning in earnest in the EBIII, the inhabitants of the site and region capitalized on its favored location by extensively monumentalizing the site, creating new communal contexts for ritual activity and trade along with new opportunities for enhancing the status of communities and/or individuals. These themes offer us a dynamic framework in which to comprehend the development of the EBA landscape and changing regional and interregional interactions. In small-scale societies which often lack coercive means of control, ritual serves as a functional alternative to political power, driving, through related monumental building projects, the regular establishment of cooperative labor parties, useful for developing and reinforcing community identity and hierarchical structures.[94]

The almost complete absence of Egyptian objects outside of Byblos during the EBIII, and the fact that the 'Combed Ware' jars found in Egypt during the Old Kingdom appear to have been produced in the Byblos region, suggests that interregional contact took place largely at Byblos, with the Ba'alat Gebal temple as a particular point of focus.[95] At Byblos, the concentration of Egyptian durable prestige goods in that temple highlights its prominence in mediating the interactions with Egypt based on ritualized gift exchange.[96] Other temples, such as the L-shaped temple (and the succeeding Temple of the Obelisks) and Oriental temple, have Syrian inspired designs which may likewise distinguish their communities as arbiters of contact with parts inland, like Syria and other Levantine sites such as Megiddo level J-7 and Khirbet ez-Zeraqon where similar temples are found.[97] Moving into the EBIV, emerging evidence, including from the Ebla texts, places Byblos as a key intermediary in trade networks linking Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia.[98] The EBIV at Byblos shows increased evidence of social differentiation in the form of larger buildings, interpreted as elite residences, a process which begins to take shape during the Late EBIII. In an increasingly competitive environment, winners emerged, in the form of communities, families, or individuals, buffered by the status gains made through developing interregional exchange contacts.[99] The increasingly outward-looking focus resulted in the gradual detachment of Byblos from the nearby landscape and the communities that inhabited them as evidenced in the decline or abandonment of key sites. A further indication is the cessation or drastic decline in the production of Combed-ware vessels on the Lebanese coast south of Arqa, which were an integral part of the system of communal agriculture underpinning activity in the EBII and III.[100] The EBIV, often interpreted as a period of economic collapse, might be primarily characterized as a contraction of corporate will to engage with the ideological frameworks that encouraged monumental building activity. In the case of the region of Byblos during the EBIV, this activity was left to a handful of individuals at the site itself focused on fostering interregional

networks at the expense of relationships with regional communities and at the expense of the monuments that once brought them together.[101]

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[1] Genz 2016; Mazar 1990; Badreshany, Philip and Kennedy 2019; de Miroschedji 2018; Greenberg 2020; Marfoe 1998.
[2] Mazar 1990 and Marfoe 1998.
[3] Finkelstein 1995; Kempinski 1987; Mazar 1990; Marfoe 1998.
[4] Chesson 2003; Philip 2001; 2008; Paz 2012.
[5] Greenberg 2019.
[6] Miller 2021; Dietrich et al. 2012.
[7] Miller 2021: 164.
[8] Greenberg and Ashkenazi 2019; Ashkenazi 2020.
[9] Greenberg and Askhenazi.
[10] Greenberg and Askhenazi 2019: 26.
[11] Genz 2002; Douglas 2011; Adams, Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2015; Greenberg and Askhenazi 2019, 19.
[12] Genz 2016; Badreshany forthcoming; Badreshany, Philip and Kennedy 2019; Deckers et al. 2021.
[13] Genz 2014, 10; Kilani 2019; Lauffray 1995; 2008; Leriche 1995; Marqueron 1994.
[14] Saghieh 1983.
[15] Lauffray 2008. See also the observations on understanding 'urban' Byblos by Margueron 1994.
[16] Bevan 2007, 77: Fig. 5.6. Kilani 2019; Dunand 1938; 1958.
[17] Dunand 1958.
[18] Sowada 2009; Bevan 2007. The same phenomenon can be argued for with chronologically earlier objects collected in the numerous EBIV-MB 'foundation' depots at Byblos. See also note 63 below.
[19] Pacifico and Truex 2019; Stone 1987. See Lehner 2019 for an application of the neighborhood approach to the settlement at Giza.
[20] Artin 2010. Overseas contacts, including but not solely with Egypt are sporadically but well attested from these graves including ivory or bone human figures well known from contemporary Hierakonpolis (Prag 1986; Quibell 1900).
[21] Lauffray 2008, 22, Fig. 5: shows the same plan as the original by Saïdah 1972.
[22] Lauffray 2008, 38: Fig. 11; Dunand 1973, fig. 143, 236-237: Fig. 143. See Chanteau 2014 on the debated chronology of this internally buttressed wall. A very similar internally buttressed monumental wall is associated with Hacinebi in Turkey dating to the late Chalcolithic-EBI (Stein 2001), suggesting that eventually Uruk inspired monumental architecture, including internal buttresses (Roaf 1995), might have influenced some of these local developments, as well known from contemporary Egypt (Wilkinson 2002). The role of Uruk in Levantine developments remains a relevant theme (Philip 2002) that deserves more detailed considerations based on more recent archaeological developments.
[23] Lauffray 2008, 30: Fig 1. The vessels show clear resemblance to SLMW vessels that are associated with the (early) EBII but actually appear as early as the EBIb-EBII transition at sites like Beth Yerah and Tel Yaqush (Greenberg and Iserlis 2014, 59; Regev, Paz, Greenberg and Boaretto 2020, 12; Rotem, Iserlis, Höflmayer, and Rowan 2019, 115).
[24] Greenberg 2019.
[25] Lauffray 2008. Interestingly, a shift away from burials as communal investment and ritual display (during the Chalcolithic-EBI) might be noticed, where the onset of the EBII-III only attests to a single extra-mural burial so far, with local produced vessels as part of the funerary assemblage, currently on display at the AUB museum (Thalmann 2019).
[26] Dunand 1938, 368-371, 369, fig. 288; Pl. CCVI: vessels 5390-5416.
[27] For Arqa, see Thalmann 2016, Levels 18E-A; phase S3-2; phase S1. For Fadous-kfarabida (phase III) see Genz 2014, Table 21.2.
[28] Lauffray 2008.
[29] Genz 2016, 81; for the absolute dates associated with this phase at Fadous-Kfarabida, see: Höflmayer et al 2014.
[30] Lauffray 2008, Planche III.
[31] Badreshany et al. forthcoming.
[32] Greenberg and Ashkenazi 2019; Ashkenazi 2020.

[33] Lauffray 2008, 70. Thalmann 2006b; 2016.
[34] Thalmann 2006b, 2016, 74. For Tyre, see Aubet 2020. Future excavations my find this architectural style at EB sites in the interior (mountains) and Biq'a valley as well. It is attested at an MB site in the Biq'a (Hanan Charaf, personal communication).
[35] Lauffray 2008, 279- 446; Plan IV combines all of Lauffray's Piquete phases into a single plan. Lauffray calls the Piqueté phases the 'floruit' of urban life at Byblos (*épanouissement de la vie urbaine*).
[36] On the so-called Tower temple and its location and possible function, see: Frost 1998-1999, 255; Lauffray 2008, 391-395; Kilani 2019, 49
[37] Lauffray 2008, 375-376.
[38] Genz and Ahrens 2021, 50.
[39] Genz et al. 2016.
[40] Lauffray 2008.
[41] Genz 2011; Genz et al. 2016; Genz and Ahrens 2021.
[42] Pacifico and Truex 2019, 5; Fargher et al 2019. Truex 2019. This integrates the concept of neighborhoods with those of household archaeology used to better understand settlement developments in the region, including Egypt: Müller 2015.
[43] Biga and Steinkeller 2021; Greenberg 2020: 91; Marfoe 1987; Sowada 2009.
[44] Lauffray 2008; Bevan 2007.
[45] Ashkenazi 2020.
[46] Lauffray 2008.
[47] Genz 2002; Ussishkin 2015; D'Andrea 2020.
[48] D'Andrea 2020; Genz 2002, 94-96; Genz 2010, 48: Fig. 6.2.
[49] Lauffray 2008, 403-404.
[50] Lauffray 2008, 132-133 Fig. 68; 243-244; Fig. 132.
[51] See Francis-Allouche and Grimal 2016.
[52] Lauffray 2008: 181.
[53] Lauffray 2008, 391-395.
[54] Pongratz-Leisten 2021, 1.
[55] de Miroschedji 2019: also argues for the development of competitive lineages with dominant lineages eventually reflected in more central public buildings (so called 'palaces'), for instance at Tell Yarmouth. Similarly, Greenberg (2019: 325) discusses this principle referring to "tell factions" competing during the Late Bronze Age, for instance at Lachish. Central to our argument at Byblos is that these processes started out in a heterarchical way and predominantly reflected in monumental (temple) architecture but had the potential to spearhead one neighborhood faction or lineage group, foremost having more relevant external exchange contacts. The role of 'networking' in advancing one's social position has been argued convincingly for the Medici (Padgett and Ansell 1993). The roots of these social developments focused on temples can at least be traced to the Early Bronze Age in the Levant.
[56] Wengrow 2013: 291; following Silver 1985; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Bevan 2010.
[57] Greenberg and Askhenazi 2019.
[58] Greenberg and Askhenazi 2019, 26.
[59] Badreshany, Philip and Kennedy 2019; Deckers et al. 2021, see also Badreshany et al 2022.
[60] Diego Espinel 2002; see Rainey 2015 for the central role of the Ba'alat Gebal temple in the Amarna correspondence related to Byblos. The central role of the Ba'alat Gebal temple in interregional affairs as we currently understand is a particular textual artefact which is supported by material cultural finds. What is most stressed in these texts is the strong link that the Ba'alat Gebal temple, and as we suggest its neighborhood, had primarily with Egypt. Ongoing research on the Ebla texts, where Byblos is now most certainly identified as DU/GUBlu (Biga and Steinkeller 2021) might give further evidence of particular strong links with certain other temples in Byblos perhaps foremost the L-shaped; later temple of the Obelisks, sometimes identified with Reshef but awaiting further confirmation.
[61] On the role of feasting and forms of social authority in Mesopotamian, Emberling 2015 describes a similar scenario.
[62] Badreshany et al. 2022; Sowada et al. 2020; Sowada et al. 2021; Sowada Ownby and Wodzińska 2020; Sowada Ownby Bárta 2021; Iserlis Steiniger and Greenberg 2019.

[63] Sowada 2009.
[64] For the presence and social role of Egyptian stone vessels at Byblos, see Bevan 2007: 63–75. Some of these Early Bronze II-III objects found their eventual way into later EBIV-MB depots at Byblos (Tufnell and Ward 1960; Philip 1988; Seeden 1980). The foundation depots might be seen as final attestations of these ritually exchanged goods deposited within respective temples at Byblos.
[65] Sowada 2009, Bevan 2007; Montet 1928-1929; Dunand 1938 and 1958
[66] Dunand 1938; 1958.
[67] The Egyptian knife was found in the earliest phase of excavation dating to the EBI: Doumet-Serhal 2006, 293; Fig 2.d; phase I.
[68] Kobusiewicz 2015, 64-65. Angevin 2016. Most of these knives seem Early Dynastic in date. As judged by published drawings and photographs, all the knives seem cruder in execution to the finer ripple flaked Naqada II-III examples. So far, the only example of this earlier type of ripple flaked knife found outside of Egypt originates from the EBIb tombs of Azor, possibly intentionally fragmented (broken in half) and associated with other Egyptian objects (Ben-Tor 1975, 24: plate 21).
[69] Angevin 2015: detailed analysis of flint working associated with Khasekhewy's tomb suggests bifacial knives were part of elite controlled prestige goods. Perhaps not coincidentally, two of the flint knives ((#6066; 10420) from Byblos (although from a surface context) show particularly good comparison with those from Khasemkhewy's tomb (Petrie 1902, 8, Pl.XV, group marked V. EA 68775; Angevin 2015: 823: Fig. 5, see Figure 3 this article). Khasekhewy's inscription on a stone vessel (again from surface context: Montet 1928-1929, Diego Espinel 2002 105; Sowada 2009: 10) suggests that these flint knives could have been part of the exchange with Byblos from at least his reign onwards. Considering the prolonged use of Egyptian objects at Byblos itself as heirlooms, it strongly suggests that these types of knives and associated practices, started arriving as early as the stone vessels brought as gifts in exchange with Early Dynastic Egypt, in any case as early as the Early Bronze III period (ECL 3; late Dynasty II), ca. 2700BCE, if not indeed earlier.
[70] Lajs 2019; Lund 2015; contribution this volume
[71] Arnold et al 2016; Sowada 2018.
[72] It would be useful to conduct isotopic studies on the preserved faunal remains from the Dunand excavations in reliable contexts at Byblos to find direct evidence of (importation) cattle from Egypt. Similar studies are planned for the assemblages from Fadous-Kfarabida (Hermann Genz and Canan Cakirlar, personal communication) and Koubba.
[73] Bevan 2007.
[74] The foundation depots must most likely be seen as part of these redepositing events in association with the respective temples. Although most offering depots themselves date to the EBIV and MBI, Lauffray (2008: 182-184) makes significant note of slightly two earlier (EBIII-early EBIV) offering depots associated with the southwest temple placed under an altar and in a small room. Unfortunately, the finds associated with these depots are not further mentioned nor illustrated, but these two depots do show that the principle of burying valuable commodities obtained through exchange and collected at the temples, took place from the EBA onwards. The well-known EBIV-MBI depots must thus be seen as the culmination of these practices, and indeed include some earlier EBA objects (see note 64 above).
[75] Dunand 1938, 355-356: find numbers 5266; 6267.
[76] For a review of the stratigraphy, see Lauffray 2008, 228, room 24-96; Grosses Fondations period.
[77] Sowada 2009, Fig. 30; Dunand 1938, 356; 5269; Pl. CXLVI; contemporary ivory paws are known from 2nd Dynasty Abu Rawash: Klasens 1959, Pl. 59 C1 fig. 10.1-2; Pl. XXVII. See also Tristant (2008) for more recent results from Abu Rawash, including further evidence of boat burials that might reflect elite concerns with overseas trade.
[78] Lauffray 2008: 203
[79] Dunand 1958, 981, fig. 1096: 18278: EBIII-IV; post EBIV: Dunand 1958, 574, 566, fig. 639: 13093; Dunand 1958, 672, fig. 799: 14197.
[80] Dunand 1958, 555, 556, fig. 639: 12855.
[81] The association of lithics with temple precincts is also noted for late EBI Megiddo: Shimelmitz Adams 2014. Both lithic manufacture and use is strongly associated with sacrificial animal remains and suggest the strong association of temples with communal processes of food preparation and consumption. At Megiddo, the lithic traditions are of a distinctly local Levantine nature.
[82] 2021: 266, Table I.

[83] Susnow 2021, 222.
[84] Diego Espinel 2002.
[85] Miller 2021, 167.
[86] Piqueté III: Lauffray 2008, 286, plan IV.
[87] Lauffray 2008, 445-446.
[88] Greenberg 2019 and Greenberg and Ashkenazi 2019.
[89] Thalmann 2006a, 2016.
[90] Thalmann 2016, 27. Thalmann 2013, 259: here Thalmann argues for a domestic context.
[91] Thalmann 2016, 27.
[92] Doument -Serhal 2006; The multi-room building is described in more detail in Doumet Serhal 2013 (no page numbers).
[93] Aubet 2020. Bikai 1978.
[94] See Rappaport 1971 for the role of ritual in small-scale societies.
[95] See Genz and Ahrens 2021, 65-66 for the general absence of Egyptian objects outside of Byblos. See Badreshany et al. 2022 for evidence suggesting that interregional contact, as evidenced by combed ware exported to Egypt, took place largely at Byblos (Badreshany et al. 2022). For the Ba'alat Gebal temple as a particular point of focus (Diego Espinel 2002).
[96] Diego Espinel 2002. Mauss 2016 [1925].
[97] D'Andrea 2020; Genz 2002 and 2010 for Khirbet ez-Zeraqon. Usshishkin 2015, 94: Fig. 27: for the Megiddo temple.
[98] Biga and Steinkeller 2021; Greenberg 2020: 91; Marfoe 1987; Sowada 2009. Beyond maritime contact, overland routes and the role of non-sedentary (pastoral) segments of society in these exchange networks, particularly with Syria (for instance Ebla) and the inland southern Levant should not be neglected, see also Porter 2012 on their significance.
[99] See also de Miroschedji 2019 for a similar argument relating to the southern Levant. Further, footnote 54.
[100] Badreshany, Philip and Kennedy 2019, Badreshany et al. 2022.
[101] Greenberg 2019, 272 describes a similar situation for during the Late Bronze Age period in the southern Levant, indicating that these patterns may be cyclical.

Fig. 1


'Sacred Spring'
EBII phase at Byblos
after Lauffray 2008, Atlas
Plan 'Proto-Urban'
0 10 20m
18786
18789
18790
18791
Poteries contemporaines de la première dynastie d'Égypte.
FOUILLES DE BYBLOS. II.
PL. CCVI
Les poteries in situ.

Fig. 2


sandy beach
Northwest gate
Crudader castle
sacred spring
artificial lake
northeast gate
Southeastern gate?
Shkiny bay and the possible port
1 Western temple /Eincente Sacree
2 Ba'alat temple
3 L-shaped temple/Obelisk Temple
4 Oriental temple
5 Sanctuaire meridional/Champs des Offrandes
6 Small chapel: 'Temple du Sud'
7 South-West temple: later 'Tower Temple'
0 10 20m

Fig. 3

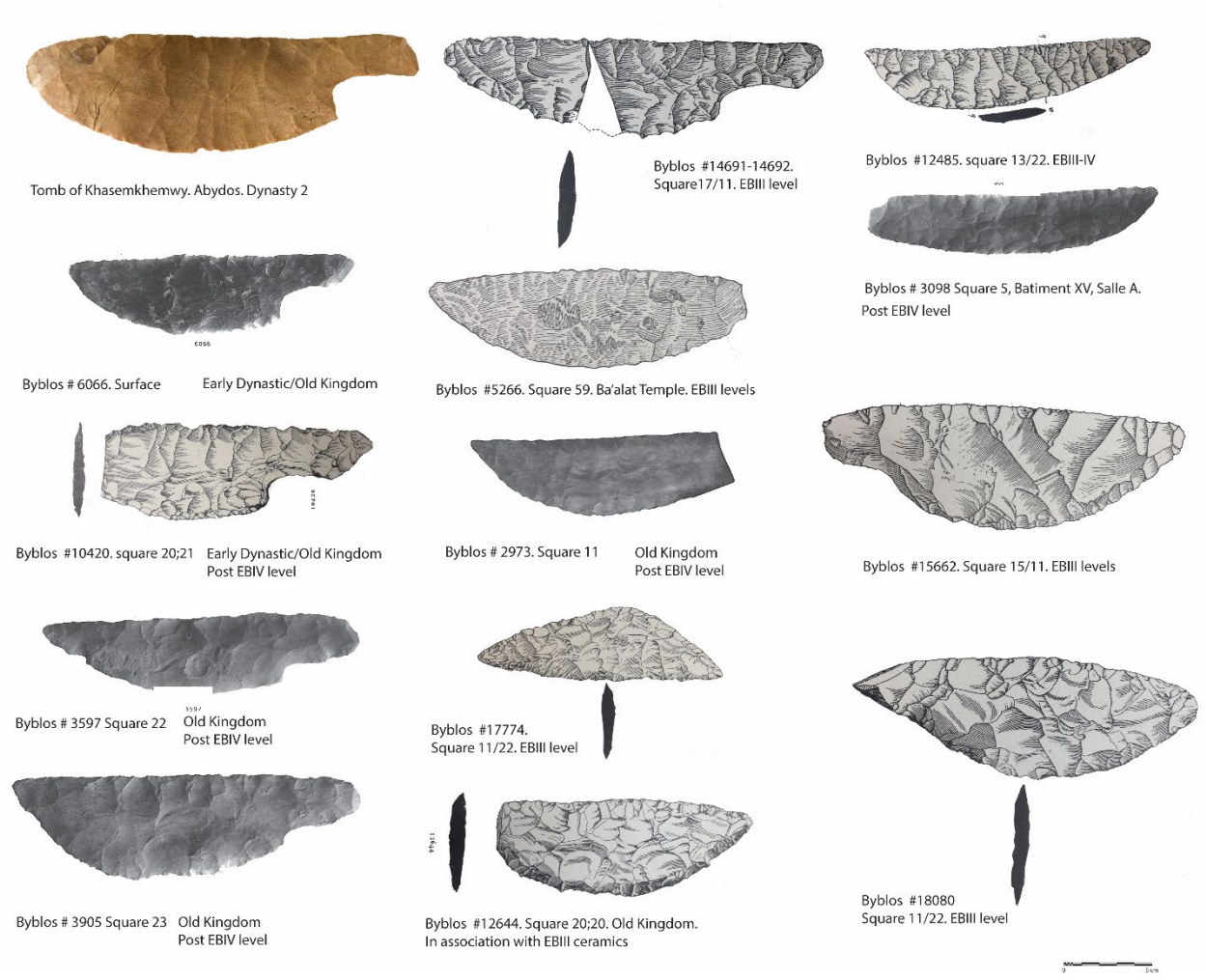

Tomb of Khasemkhemwy. Abydos. Dynasty 2
Byblos # 6066. Surface
Early Dynastic/Old Kingdom
Byblos #10420. square 20;21
Early Dynastic/Old Kingdom
Post EBIV level
Byblos # 3597 Square 22
Old Kingdom
Post EBIV level
Byblos # 3905 Square 23
Old Kingdom
Post EBIV level
Byblos #14691-14692.
Square17/11. EBIII level
Byblos #5266. Square 59. Ba'alat Temple. EBIII levels
Byblos # 2973. Square 11
Old Kingdom
Post EBIV level
Byblos #17774.
Square 11/22. EBIII level
Byblos #12644. Square 20;20. Old Kingdom.
In association with EBIII ceramics
Byblos #12485. square 13/22. EBIII-IV
Byblos # 3098 Square 5, Batiment XV, Salle A.
Post EBIV level
Byblos #15662. Square 15/11. EBIII levels
Byblos #18080
Square 11/22. EBIII level

Fig. 4

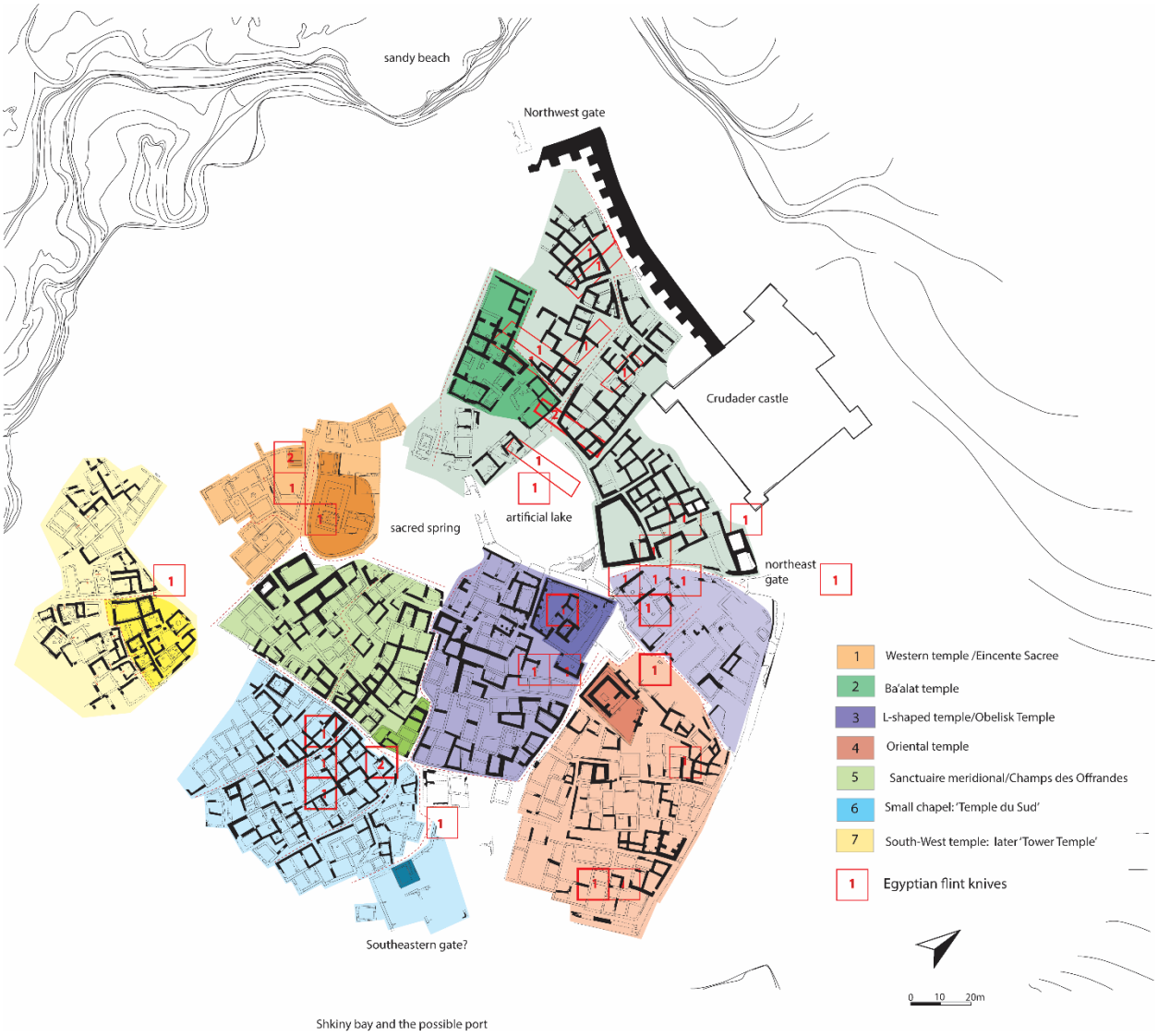
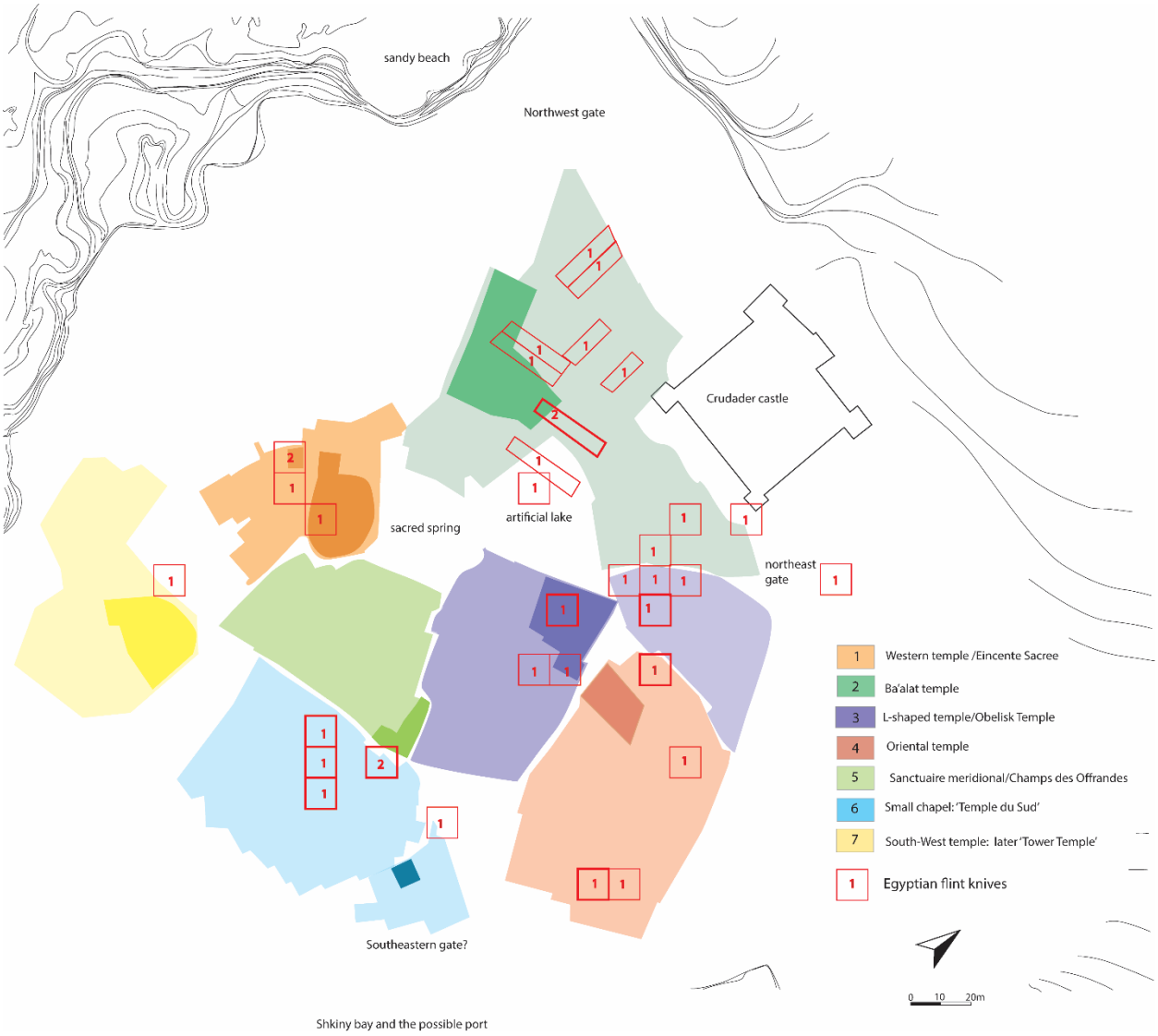


Fig. 4 *alternative*



De Vreeze and Badreshany FIGURE CAPTIONS

Figure 1: The late EBI-II (ECL 1) phase at Byblos with *in situ* Metallic Ware vessels stored in one of the buildings as published by Dunand (1958, PLCCVI).

Figure 2: This figure illustrates the seven identified neighborhoods with their temples during the EBIII period (Grosses Fondations: Lauffray 2008, Plate III). The neighborhoods are distinguished by colour and numbered 1-7 as discussed in the text.

Figure 3: A selection of Egyptian bifacial knives from Byblos (after Dunand 1938; 1958). In the upper left corner is the knife from Khasekhemwy's tomb providing close comparison to the earliest types found at Byblos.

Figure 4: The distribution of Egyptian flint knives in the various neighborhoods. A correlation can be seen with several temple precincts. The spatial information, as available, derives from Dunand (1938; 1958) and is further summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Egyptian bifacial knives as published from Byblos and associated stratigraphic information as aggregated from Dunand (1938; 1958) and Lauffray (2008).